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Nicholas D. Evans

A GRAMMAR OF KAYARDILD

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A Grammar of Kayardild



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With Historical-Comparative
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*Marrija kangka ngakuluwanjina jungarrana dangkana,
karrngijuruya bilwanjuruya ngungukuruya bana birrjilkuruy.*

Listen to the words of our old people,
so that we can keep their stories and ways.

Darwin Moodooonuthi

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Preface

The material for this book was gathered during field trips to Mornington and Bentinck Islands in June 1982–January 1983, May–July 1984, October 1985, April–May 1986, September–October 1987, June 1988, August 1989, April and December 1992, September 1994, and during June 1987 when a group of Bentinck Islanders attended a Kayardild literacy course at the School of Australian Linguistics in Batchelor, Northern Territory. Before my first field trip I was able to do some preliminary analysis of Stephen Wurm’s 1960 recordings and fieldnotes on Kayardild, and examine the insightful works on the related languages Yukulta (Keen 1972, 1983) and Lardil (Hale 1973, Hale et al 1981; Klokeid 1976).

The project was initiated following a request to Bob Dixon by the Bentinck Island community, who were concerned about the fate of their language and wanted a linguist to record it. Between 1982 and 1985 my research concentrated on Kayardild grammar and text collection, and the grammar in Part I is a substantially revised version of Evans (1985), a dissertation submitted for the degree of Ph.D. at the Australian National University. Subsequently I was able to continue gathering the text and lexical materials contained in Parts II and III of this book, and to revise various parts of the grammar.

Community support for the project was overwhelming, and virtually every Bentinck Islander helped me in some way. Thanks to this, my fieldwork procedure could be quite eclectic. It combined participant observation while hunting, fishing, drinking, “seeing the country” in the the South Wellesleys, reminiscing and gossiping, arguing, attending community meetings, and farewelling people at the airport, with more structured sessions “working on language”: gathering and transcribing texts and stories, plodding through paradigms, building up comprehensive word lists, and discussing the meaning and appropriateness of particular constructions heard in spontaneous conversation.

The grammar contained in this book deliberately eschews theory-specific assumptions and formalisms. My many frustrating experiences trying to extract generalizations about a particular language from a grammar, or “fragment” of a grammar, written in the ephemeral garb of a once-fashionable theory, have convinced me that grammars of little-known languages should be presented in as straightforward language as possible, and furnished with a generous set of naturally-occurring example sentences and texts. Only in this way can readers glean enough

to reach their own conclusions about the internal consistency and empirical accuracy of the description. And only when a relatively full informal account of a language's structure and its resources for encoding meaning becomes available can the next step, of more formal modelling, be taken. The present work does no more than indicate the rough direction this might take.

In analysing this highly unusual language I have drawn freely on whatever grammatical tools seemed appropriate, without worrying whether they all came from the same toolkit. A few key terms understood differently by different linguistic schools are discussed in Chapter Three, and pegged to language-specific definitions. Certain new terms necessitated by the novel structure of Kayardild are also introduced there.

Although the analysis I give is self-sufficient synchronically, I have included comparative/historical material from other Tangkic languages in several places, so that the grammar has ended up containing the seeds of a historical-comparative grammar of the Tangkic group. Experience has shown me that the more bizarre features of Kayardild grammar were only accepted by otherwise broad-minded linguists once their less eccentric pedigrees had been established.

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Part III: Dictionary

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Abbreviations and conventions

Section references give the main discussion of the relevant gloss.

Language names

K	Kayardild
L	Lardil
Y	Yukulta
Ya	Yangkaal
MIE	Mornington Island English

Sources on other Tangkic languages

DSCD	Hale (1973) 'Deep-surface canonical disparities ...'
DYL	Keen (1972) 'A description of the Yukulta language'
HFN	Hale (unpubl.) 'Field notes on Yangkaal'
TLG	Klokeid (1976) 'Topics in Lardil Grammar'
Y	Keen (1983) 'Yukulta'

Historical conventions

*	reconstructed form
pA	proto-Australian
pK	proto-Kanyara
pM	proto-Mantharta
pPN	proto-Pama-Nyungan
pT	proto-Tangkic

Morphological conventions

{ }	canonical form of morpheme	
TH	laminal stop archimorpheme (- <i>th-</i> or - <i>j-</i>).....	7.2.1
NH	laminal nasal archimorpheme (- <i>nh-</i> or - <i>ny-</i>).....	7.2.1
D	apical stop homorganic with preceding sonorant.....	4.2
-	morpheme boundary	
=	clitic boundary	
.	possible further segmentation	
:	separates elements of portmanteau, or where segmentation is irrelevant	

Phonological conventions

C	consonant	
V	vowel	
N	nasal	
TH	underlying lamino-dental stop.....	4.2
J	underlying lamino-palatal stop.....	4.2
/ /	phonemic representation	
[]	phonetic representation (IPA)	
σ	syllable, syllable boundary.....	2.4.1
# #	word boundary	
## ##	breath-group boundary	
á	primary stress on vowel /a/	
à	secondary stress on vowel /a/	
REDUP	reduplication	2.5.7

Syntactic categories

SUBJ	Subject	
OBJ	Object	
IOBJ	Indirect Object	
A	Transitive subject	
S	Intransitive subject	
O	Object	
SPRED	Secondary predicate.....	9.4
SSPRED	Secondary predicate on subject.....	9.4
OSPRED	Secondary predicate on object	9.2.4.3
SCOMP	Subject complement.....	9.2.2.2
OCOMP	Object complement	9.2.4.3
SCON	NP construed with subject (e.g. body part).....	10.3.2.1
OCON	NP construed with object (e.g. body part)	10.3.2.1
(i)	intransitive	
(t)	transitive	

Pronouns are glossed as:

1	First person	5.2.1
2	Second person	
12	First person inclusive	
3	Third person	
INC	Inclusive (speaker and hearer)	
POSS	Possessive	
du	Dual	
nsg	Non-singular	
pl	Plural	
sg	Singular	

Cases

ABL	Ablative	4.3.4
ALL	Allative	4.3.7
ASSOC	Associative	4.3.10
CONS	Consequential	4.3.13
ERG	Ergative (Yukulta, various Pama-Nyungan).....	App B
FOBJ	Future objective (Lardil)	10.4
GEN	Genitive	4.3.8
INSTR	Instrumental	4.3.9
LOC	Locative	4.3.3
MNFOBJ	Marked non-future objective (Lardil)	10.4
OBJ	Objective (Lardil)	10.4
OBL	Oblique	4.3.6
ORIG	Origin	4.3.11
PRIV	Privative	4.3.12
PROP	Proprietary	4.3.5
UTIL	Utilitive	4.3.14
VABL	Verbal ablative	4.4.2.4
VALL	Verbal allative	4.4.2.1
VD	Verbal dative	4.4.2.2
VDON	Verbal donative	4.4.2.6
VEVIT	Verbal evitative	4.4.2.5
VIALL	Verbal intransitive allative (Lardil)	
VPURP	Verbal purposive	4.4.2.7
VTRANSL	Verbal translative	4.4.2.3

Case functions are distinguished by the following abbreviations preceding the case name (e.g. MABL ‘ablative used modally, modal ablative’). Adnominal and relational functions are usually clear from context and not marked.

A	Associating	3.4.5
ADN	Adnominal	3.4.2
C	Complementizing	3.4.6
M	Modal	3.4.3
R	Relational	3.4.1
MOD	Variable representing appropriate modal case	

Nominal and locational derivational suffixes

AFFEC	Affectionate	5.1.1.5
BOUND	Geographical boundary	5.3.4.9
CONT	Continuous Direction	5.3.4.6
INDIV	Individualizer	5.1.1.1
INTENS	Intensifier	5.1.2.1
REM	Remote	5.1.1.2
XS	Excessive	5.1.2.4

Verbal suffixes

ACT	Actual.....	7.2.3.2
APPR	Apprehensive.....	7.2.3.11
CAUS	Causative.....	7.4.2
DES	Desiderative.....	7.2.3.9
DIREC	Directed.....	7.2.3.12
DO	'do like a'.....	7.5.3
FAC	Factitive.....	7.5.2
HORT	Hortative.....	7.2.3.10
IMMED	Immediate.....	7.2.3.4
IMP	Imperative.....	7.2.3.1
INCH	Inchoative.....	7.5.1
INDIC	Indicative (Yukulta)	
M	Middle (voice).....	7.4.1
MNF	Marked Non-Future (Lardil)	
N	Nominalization.....	7.2.3.13
NEG	Negative (e.g. NEG.POT 'negative potential').....	9.6.3
NEGN	Negative nominalization.....	11.2.1.3
POT	Potential.....	7.2.3.5
PRECON	Precondition.....	7.2.3.8
PST	Past.....	7.2.3.6
PSTN	Past nominalization.....	11.3
RECIP	Reciprocal.....	7.4.3
RES	Resultative.....	7.2.3.14
SUPP	Suppositional.....	7.2.3.3
THEMAT	Thematic.....	7.2.2

Particles and clitics

CTRFCT	Counterfactual.....	9.7.2.1
FOC	Focus.....	9.7.4.2
FRUST	Frustrated.....	9.7.2.2
INTERROG	Interrogative.....	9.5.1
NEGAT	Negator.....	9.7.3.3

Kin terms

B	Brother	Z	Sister
E	Elder	Y	Younger
F	Father	M	Mother
S	Son	D	Daughter
H	Husband	W	Wife

A note on translations:

English translations are my own unless in inverted commas; these latter are usually in Mornington English. Readers should note that

- (a) definiteness and gender are not grammatically marked in Kayardild, and I have translated these according to context;
- (b) the unmarked 'ACTual' tense may be past or present, according to context.
- (c) Kayardild terms that are highly specific semantically, such as pronouns, kin terms, and zoological/botanical terms have in places received a less specific English translation.
- (d) in general, I have supplied utterance translations rather than sentence translations, meaning that they may be more semantically specific than the source sentence itself requires.

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Chapter 1

The language and its speakers

1.1 Linguistic type

Kayardild is a dependent-marking, agglutinating, entirely suffixing language with a free order of phrasal constituents and a rich system of case marking, which functions both to relate NPs to the verb (1-1), and to relate one NP adnominally to another (1-2, 1-3).

(1-1) *Mardala-tha kuna-walad-a rirr-nguni ngimi-marr*
 rub-IMP child-MANY-NOM grease-INSTR night-UTIL
 ‘Rub the children with grease, ready for tonight (against the cold)!’

(1-2) *mirra-na dangka-na wangalk*
 good-ABL man-ABL boomerangNOM
 ‘the good man’s boomerang.’

(1-3) *mirra-wuru wangalk-uru dangka-a*
 good-PROP boomerang-PROP man-NOM
 ‘The man with a good boomerang.’

Unlike most Australian languages, including its ancestral language proto-Tangkic and its near-relative Yukulta, the case morphology of Kayardild is not ergative but accusative: intransitive and transitive subjects are treated alike, and are distinguished from objects. The gloss ‘Modal LOCative’ on the object noun will be explained below.

(1-4) *Dangka-a raa-ja bijarrba-y wumburu-nguni.*
 man-NOM spear-ACT dugong-MLOC spear-INSTR
 ‘The man speared the dugong with a spear.’

(1-5) *Dangka-a / bijarrba jawi-j.*
 man-NOM dugongNOM go.fast-ACT
 ‘The man / dugong went fast.’

It has a passive voice, marked by a “middle” verbal suffix and reassignment of case (1-6); the “middle” is also used in reflexive constructions (1-7). There is also a passive-like resultative participle (1-8).

- (1-11) *Dathin-a naljimdirri kurri-nyarra ngijin-inj , kala-nyarr.*
 that-NOM bush.turkeyNOM see-APPR 1sg-MOBL fly-APPR
 [EMOT]
 ‘That bush turkey might see me and fly off.’

But it may combine with the locative (“instantiated”) modal case when the unpleasant situation is already being realized (1-12), and with the propriative (“future”) modal case when the speaker is issuing a threat and stressing his or her potential to carry it out, as in (1-13). A full discussion of the independent use of modal case is in 10.1.3.

- (1-12) *Thararr-a kali-nyarra wambal-iya , naa-nyarr.*
 ember-NOM jump-APPR bush-MLOC burn-APPR
 [INSTANTIATED]
 ‘(Look out), the embers are jumping into the bush, it might catch fire.’

- (1-13) *Nyingka ngudi-na wangalk,*
 youNOM throw-NEG.IMP boomerangNOM

ngada ngumban-ju burldi-nyarr.
 1sgNOM you-MPROP hit.by.throwing-APPR
 [FUT]

‘Don’t you throw the boomerang, or I’ll throw (one) at you.’

In these examples I have supplied two glosses for the relevant morphemes—one relating to its more basic and normal case function (locative, ablative, propriative); the other to its semantic content—“prior” in (1-9), “future” in (1-10) and (1-13), “emotive” in (1-11), and “instantiated” in (1-12). In the rest of this grammar I shall in general only use the first type of gloss, but will use the second type when it is relevant—for example when arguing about the semantics of the modal case categories. In addition to the four categories just given there is a “directed” category, marked by the modal allative and signalling inceptive aspect or direction of the event towards the speaker, and a ‘zero’ category, marked by the absence of modal case, which is used in imperatives (e.g. 1-1) and progressive nominalizations.

Modal case—which as far as I know is unique to the insular Tangkic languages—appears to have evolved from two sources. A detailed comparative-historical study is in 10.4; for the moment these sources can be summarized as

- (a) the use of case to show interclausal relations (e.g. locative on all words in a subordinate clause to show simultaneity); this construction was later generalized to main clause use.

(b) the existence of a number of detransitivized case frames, responsive to modality, negation and inverse person combinations, in which the object is marked with an oblique case—the locative, dative, or proprietive.

The second unusual feature of Kayardild is the extent of agreement: in general, case percolates down indefinitely from higher to lower constituents, with the result that in certain types of construction deeply embedded nominals (such as adnominal possessives) may accumulate up to four case suffixes.

To begin with, adnominal NPs (including possessives marked with the ABLative or genitive) agree in case with their heads. Thus in (1-14) ‘man’ takes both an inner ablative, marking its role as possessor, and an outer instrumental, inherited from ‘net’, head of the NP:

- (1-14) *dangka-karra-nguni* *mijil-nguni*
 man-GEN-INSTR net-INSTR
 ‘with the man’s net’

Now the appropriate modal case will appear on the object and instrumental NPs:

- (1-15) *maku-wa* *yalawu-jarra* *yakuri-na*
 woman-NOM catch-PST fish-MABL

dangka-karra-nguni-na *mijil-nguni-na*
 man-GEN-INSTR-MABL net-INSTR-MABL

‘The woman caught fish in the man’s net.’

To show how we can get four layers of case marking, it is first necessary to explain a further use of case in Kayardild: the OBLique and LOCative cases may “complementize” clauses, appearing on all words (including the verb) of the subordinate clause, after all other inflections¹.

Example (1-16) illustrates this use; the gloss COBL stands for ‘complementizing function of OBLique case’. As the word *thabujukarranguninaantha* illustrates, nouns may accumulate four levels of case inflection: in this case an adnominal genitive, an instrumental by agreement with ‘net’, a modal ablative coding “prior” tense, and a “complementizing” oblique marking all words in the clausal complement of *mungurru* ‘know’.

¹ In fact there are certain conditions under which complementizing case is blocked from appearing—see 12.1.6.

- (1-16) *ngada* *mungurru,* [*maku-ntha* *yalawu-jarra-ntha*
 1sgNOM know woman-COBL catch-PST-COBL
- yakuri-naa-ntha* *thabuju-karra-nguni-naa-ntha*
 fish-M.ABL-C.OBL brother-GEN-INSTR-M.ABL-COBL
- mijil-nguni-naa-nth]*
 net-INSTR-M.ABL-COBL

‘I know that the woman caught the fish with brother’s net.’

Other constructions resulting in multiple case-marking include recursion of relational or modal case, and the use of an outer OBLIQUE case on NPs in nominalized clauses; these are discussed in 3.4.7. There I also discuss the degree to which the order of case suffixes is iconic, paralleling the syntactic level at which they originate: there are some examples of anti-iconic ordering which support a view of the morphological ordering as being historically rather than synchronically determined.

The functioning of the complementizing case system is the third unusual feature of Kayardild grammar, and is discussed in full in Chapter 12. Historically, complementizing case originated in proto-Tangkic as agreement with antecedent NPs in the ergative/locative or dative, although subsequent changes in the main clause case system have obscured this. Synchronically, its main functions can be broken down into

(a) marking complement clauses, which are syntactically the objects of main clause predicators like ‘know’, ‘see’, ‘rejoice’ and so forth; (1-16) is an example of this function.

(b) marking subordinate clauses obeying “odd pivot” conditions—essentially, when the coreferential NP is not subject of both clauses; this may include main clause object—subordinate subject (1-17), main clause subject- subordinate object, and various other conditions.

- (1-17) *dan-da* *banga-a,* [*kakuju-ntha* *raa-jarra-ntha*
 this-NOM turtle-NOM uncle-COBL spear-PST-COBL
- walbu-nguni-inj]*
 raft-INSTR-COBL

‘This is the turtle, which uncle speared from the raft.’

Although it is tempting to analyse this as a switch-reference system, with complementizing case being assigned under “different subject” conditions, I show in 12.2 that this is an inadequate characterization, since complementizing case still appears under certain “same-subject”

conditions as long as the pivot—the most salient common NP—is not subject of both clauses. An example is (1-18), in which both clauses have the same subject ('we'), but in which the pivot ('net') is object of the main clause and instrument of the subordinate clause.

- (1-18) *ngakulda* *kurrka-tha* *bakii-ja* *ngurrumanji,* *wumburung-k*
 1pl.inc.NOM get-IMP all-IMP bagNOM spear-NOM
- [*raa-juru-y* *yalawu-juru-y* *yakuri-wuru-y*]
 spear-POT-CLOC net-POT-CLOC fish-MPROP-CLOC

'Let us get all our bags and spears, with which to spear and net fish.'

In addition to these subordinate clause uses, complementizing clauses may be "insubordinated", or used as independent main clauses. In this case they may be interpreted in two ways, corresponding to the two types of subordinate use.

Corresponding to the "complement clause" use, they may be interpreted as having ellipsed main clause predicators of knowledge, perception, speech and so forth, as in (1-19); in some ways they function like evidential markers in other languages.

- (1-19) [*Dan-kurrka* *ri-in-kurrka* *thardawankawuru-ntha*
 here-LOC:COBL east-FROM-LOC:COBL aeroplane-COBL
- burri-jurrk!*]
 appear-IMMED:COBL

'(I can hear) the aeroplane coming in just now, here from the east!'

The exact interpretation of these clauses depends on a mixture of convention and inference—essentially, one uses context to narrow down the set of possible ellipsed main clauses that are compatible with the form of the subordinate clause, but there are additional conventional elements. Although I have glossed (1-19) as having an ellipsed main clause 'I can hear' since this was appropriate for that particular utterance, other utterances of the same sentence in different contexts might be glossed as 'Can you hear that ..', 'I can see that ..' and so on. The range of construction types, their interpretations, and their implications for the boundaries between grammar and pragmatics, are discussed in 12.4.

Corresponding to the "odd pivot" use, they may be used in a range of sentences which have a marked relationship between their grammatical structure and their discourse-functional structure: an initial and oversimplistic characterization is that they stray from the unmarked type in which the subject is the topic. The range of mappings between grammatical function and topic are similar but not identical to those

found in ‘odd pivot’ constructions in which the complementized clause is subordinated.

For example, in (1-20) the topic ‘pandanus nuts’ is object of the second sentence, and accordingly the second sentence receives complementizing case. In such “odd topic” sentences the topic NP is either in the nominative, itself escaping the complementizing case (1-20), or is omitted altogether (1-21).

- (1-20) *Kambud-a barji-j, ngaarrka barji-ja*
 pandanus-NOM fall-ACT pandanus.nutNOM fall-ACT
- rar-umban-da warrmar. [mutha-wuu-ntha*
 south-ORIG-NOM windNOM much-MPROP-COBL
- darr-u-ntha diya-juu-ntha ngaarrk]*
 time-MPROP-COBL eat-MPROP-COBL pandanus.nut

‘The pandanus fruit falls, the pandanus nut falls at the time of the south wind. (One) can go on eating pandanus nut for a long time.’

A similar example is (1-21). Here the topic is established by extralinguistic context rather than prior discourse.

- (1-21) A young man appears, and the speaker says of him:
- [*ngijuwa mima-tharra-nth*]
 1sgCOBL beget-PST-COBL
 ‘He’s my son.’ (lit. ‘I begot (him).’)

The fourth unusual feature of Kayardild is the existence of a second series of case suffixes which behave semantically and syntactically like ordinary case markers—in marking roles like recipient, direction of motion, instrument and so on, in occupying the same morphological position as regular case markers, and in showing concord over the NP—but which convert their hosts from morphological nouns to morphological verbs, which then agree in all verbal categories with the main verb. I shall refer to this phenomenon as “verbal case”.

Two examples from a series of six are the “verbal dative”, which marks beneficiaries and recipients, including the indirect objects of ‘give’ (1-22), and the “verbal allative”, which marks destinations (1-23, 1-24).

- (1-22) *ngada wuu-ju wirrin-ku ngijin-maru-thu*
 1sgNOM give-POT money-MPROP my-VD-POT

thabuju-maru-thu .
e.brother-VD-POT

‘I will give the money to my elder brother.’

- (1-23) *ngada warra-jarra dathin-kiiwa-tharra ngilirr-iiwa-tharr.*
1sgNOM go-PST that-VALL-PST cave-VALL-PST
‘I went to that cave.’

- (1-24) *ngada warra-nangku dathin-kiiwa-nangku*
1sgNOM go-NEG.POT that-VALL-NEG.POT

ngilirr-iiwa-nangku.
cave-VALL-NEG.POT

‘I will not go to that cave.’

Their structural and semantic parallelism with normal cases, their pattern of concord, their productivity and their semantic predictability all mark these “verbal cases” as inflectional rather than derivational (4.4), yet they clearly violate the view, often expressed by linguists, that inflections do not change word class. As such, the phenomenon of verbal case, with the mismatches it creates between morphological and syntactic categories, is an important one for theories of the relation between morphology and syntax. In 3.1.2 I propose to treat words inflected for verbal case as syntactically nominal but morphologically verbal.

1.2 Kayardild and its neighbours

1.2.1 Language names

Previous investigators have written the tribe and language name as Kaiadilt (Tindale 1962a et seq), Gayardilt (O’Grady – Voegelin – Voegelin 1966), Gayardild (Wurm 1972) and even Guyadilt (Uniting Church mission cassette). Phonetically it is [kajaɖilt] or [gajaɖilt]—the voicing of initial stops is in free variation. In the practical phonemic orthography used here it is *Kayardild*. In this book I will reserve this spelling for the language name, but will use the spelling Kaiadilt in referring to the people, as they do themselves (as in the name “Kaiadilt Aboriginal Association”).

The term Kayardild is, etymologically, a compound of the words *ka(ng)-* ‘language’ and *yardild(a)* ‘strong’. Although Kayardild speakers no longer recognize this etymology themselves, it is clearly preserved by one Yukulta term for their language: the uncompounded

yardilda kangka ‘strong talk’². Kayardild speakers also refer to their language as *ngarrkuwa kangk* ‘strong language’, *rarumbanda kangk* ‘southern language’ (Bentinck Island lies to the south of Mornington Island, where the majority now live) or, incorporating the English word “Bentinck”, *bandingkawanda kangk* ‘language from Bentinck’. In Mornington English it is simply called “the Bentinck language”. The Kaiadilt themselves are often known as “Bentincks” or “B.I.s”.

The Kaiadilt’s traditional lands comprised the South Wellesley Islands (Map 1): Bentinck Island, Sweers Island, several smaller islands, and sometimes Allen Island. In pre-contact times they were almost totally cut off from the rest of Australia, and had no regular contact with other tribes. The delineation of tribal and language boundaries is therefore quite unproblematic, in contrast to many other parts of Australia (cf. Rigsby—Sutton 1982, Merlan 1982a).

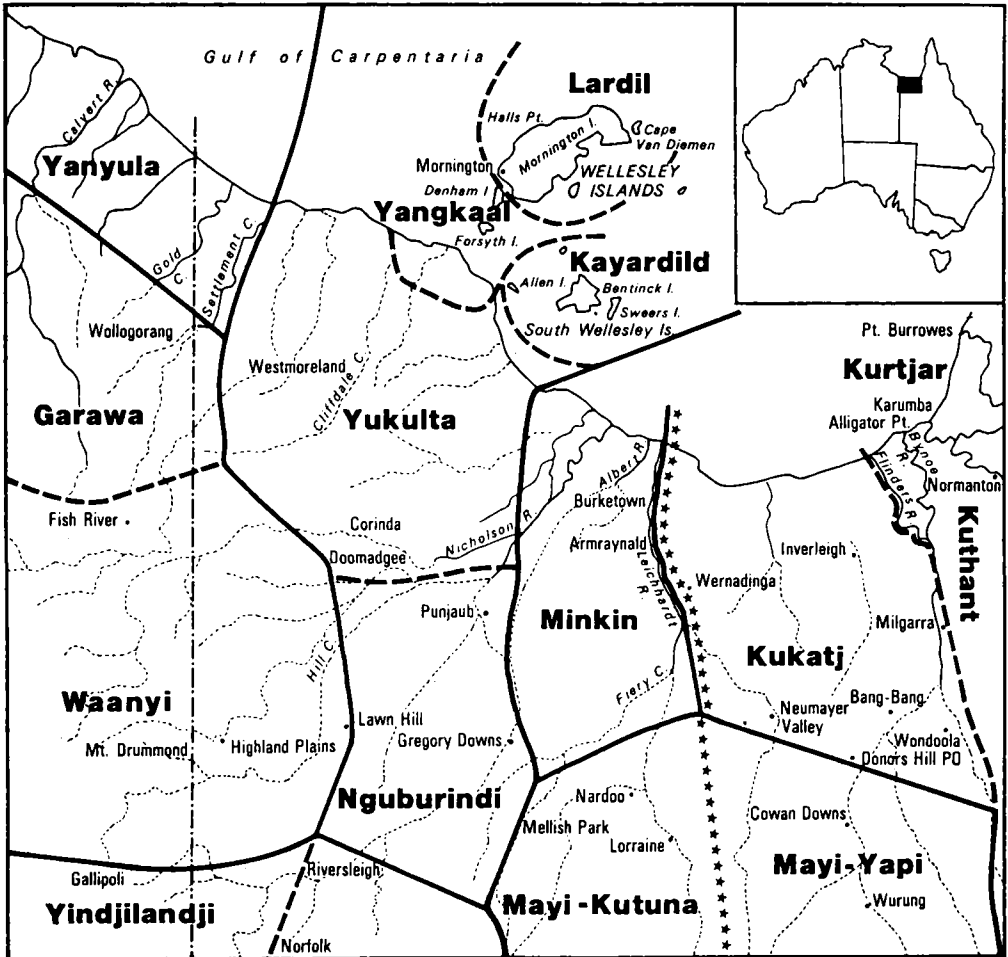
Dialect differences, if they existed at all, were very slight. At most they were limited to the pronunciation of the phoneme *r* and sporadic vowel harmony in a few words (e.g. *rilungk* or *rulungk* ‘to the east’), and the oblique bases of a few nouns. But it is hard to untangle these from the more important systematic differences due to age and sex. Apart from these few variations, the Kaiadilt speech community was homogeneous. There were no terms for regional speech variants.

1.2.2 The Tangkic subgroup

In the North Wellesley Islands and the adjoining mainland were spoken three other languages, Lardil (L), Yangkaal (Ya) and Yukulta (Y), which O’Grady—Voegelin—Voegelin (1966) classified together with Kayardild in the ‘Tangkic’ group (*tangka* means ‘person’ in all four languages)³. More recently Minkin, classified by O’Grady et al. as a family-level isolate, has been shown, on the basis of an analysis of scanty nineteenth century materials, to be fairly closely related to the Tangkic languages, though more distant from any of them than they are from each other (Evans 1990a). The locations of all these languages are shown in Map 1.

² The similarity of formation of the name for the related language Lardil (actually *Leerdil*) is shown in the Yukulta name for it, *Layardilda*, historically segmentable into *lak* ‘custom, way, tradition’ and *yardilda* ‘strong’, therefore ‘strong (in) custom’.

³ This has been misspelt by a number of writers as Tangic.



Ethnographic boundaries: Eastern boundary of circumcision and subincision

—————

Language subgroup boundaries

Map 1. Kayardild and neighbouring languages

Keen (1983) suggests that “Yukulta, Gayardilt and Yanggal, together with Nguburindi⁴, belong as dialects of one language while Lardil is a different but closely related language.” Comparison of a 220-word basic vocabulary list supports this (Table 1-1): the three “dialects” have cognacy rates of 70% or more, while all have between 45% and 60% cognacy with Lardil.

Moreover, there is closer phonological resemblance between cognates of the three “dialects” than with L. Y appears to have been most conservative, preserving the reconstructable proto-Tangkic forms. Ya and K share the same minor phonological change involving prosodic truncation of breath-group final short *a*. L has suffered the most drastic changes: radical final truncation of up to one syllable, development of a fourth vowel *e*, neutralization of the *d* vs *rr* contrast word-finally and

Table 1-1. Percentage of shared vocabulary within the Tangkic group

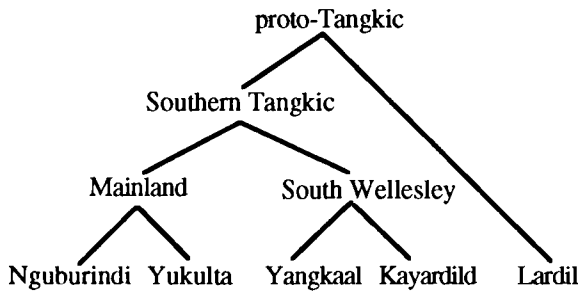
Yuk		% Cognacy		
		N/Adj	Verb	Total
69	77	Kay		
71				
75	92	85	89	Yang
80		86		
39	64	45	63	55 74
45		49		60
				Lard

preconsonantly, and a number of other morphonological changes (see Hale 1973 and Klokeid 1976). Like K it has merged the *r* and *rl* phonemes of proto-Tangkic, but where K has generalized the glide realization, Lardil preserves both in free variation. The effect of these changes on a number of Tangkic words is shown below. A full treatment of historical Tangkic phonology, and comparative Tangkic dictionary, is in Evans (in prep b).

⁴ Known only through a word list by Roth (1897), which shows 90% cognacy with modern Yukulta. See Keen (1983).

gloss	Yukulta & pT	Kayardild	Yangkaal	Lardil
'ear'	<i>marralda</i>	<i>marrald(a)</i>	<i>marrald(a)</i>	<i>merral</i>
'red'	<i>kandukandu</i>	<i>kandukandu</i>	<i>kandukandu</i>	<i>kandukan</i>
'kookaburra'	<i>thalkurrka</i>	<i>thalkurrk(a)</i>	---	<i>thalkurr</i>
'blowfly'	<i>ngirrnguda</i>	<i>ngirrngud(a)</i>	<i>ngirrngud(a)</i>	<i>nginngi(rr)</i>

The combined lexicostatistical and phonological data thus suggest the following subgrouping:



On the typological plane, substantial drift in the grammars of all the insular Tangkic languages (Yangkaal, Kayardild and Lardil) somewhat obscures this picture. Yukulta is alone in having retained ergative morphology, and is the only Tangkic language to possess an “auxiliary” complex, cliticized to the first clausal constituent, which cross-references core participants and codes tense, modality, and transitivity. Whether or not this auxiliary was present in proto-Tangkic is controversial, and will be discussed in 10.4.1. L, K and Ya have all developed systems of modal case, while Y has not, although it bears the germs of this development in its various semantically triggered detransitivized constructions. Finally, Y makes but occasional use of two verbal cases whereas K, Ya and L have expanded the number of verbal cases to seven, four and six respectively, with a commensurate increase in their functional load.

Typologically, then, Yukulta is the odd one out. The limited information available on Yangkaal (see Text 12) suggests that its grammar was basically the same as Kayardild’s. For this reason, it seems best to classify Kayardild and Yangkaal as dialects of one language, and Yukulta as a separate (but closely related) language⁵.

⁵ Until 1986 many of the Kaiadilt I worked with claimed not to have heard Yukulta spoken. In 1986 some of these attended a church conference at Doomadgee and came

The historical explanation for this is complex. An attempt at reconstructing the most important changes is made in 10.4 and 12.6; there I argue that proto-Tangkic resembled Yukulta in most respects, that this proto system was highly unstable, and evolved into the unusual systems found in the other Tangkic languages. It seems likely that Yukulta was restrained from these developments by sustained contact with neighbouring languages—Karrwa in particular resembles it structurally in having a bound subject and object pronoun complex showing tense.

To explain why Lardil should diverge most, lexically and phonologically, we must assume that it was separated first. Later on, Yangkaal and Kayardild separated from Yukulta; the drift away from ergativity was strong enough, as it were, to carry them in the same typological direction as Lardil. In support of the hypothesis that the Lardil and Kayardild/Yangkaal modal case systems developed separately, in Lardil the unmarked case for the object is an old dative, while in Kayardild / Yangkaal it is an old locative.

Looking beyond Tangkic to more distant linguistic relations, we shall see in 1.4 that its genetic affiliations lie with the non-Pama-Nyungan languages of Arnhem Land, well to the north west, although there is evidence for sustained subsequent contact with Pama-Nyungan languages now spoken on the northern fringe of the Central Australian desert. Before examining these issues, however, we must look at the traditional cultural setting of the Kaiadilt people.

back amazed at being able to understand Yukulta, saying “it’s just like ours, but they altogether take it a bit light”. Since that time the last fluent Yukulta speakers have died so I was unable to investigate this further, but the Kaiadilt reaction suggests the considerable grammatical differences were outweighed by the lexical similarities to give a feeling—how accurate we cannot say—of mutual comprehensibility.

1.3 Traditional Kaiadilt culture

1.3.1 Ecological setting

Within mythological memory the Kaiadilt have been isolated on their own group of small, low-lying islands in the southern Gulf of Carpentaria (see Map 2). Bentinck Island, the largest, is a mere 16 km across at its widest, and the total land area, including outlying reefs and sandbanks, is only 180 square kilometres. Mangrove flats, huge sand dunes and crumbly low cliffs enclose an interior of claypans, tidal estuaries and low-lying savanna woodlands. The highest point on Bentinck is 33' above sea level. Sweers Island, four kilometres to the east, is smaller but higher, rising to 102'.

Contrasting with the barren landscape is a sea whose intricate topography of reefs and sandbanks supports a rich diversity of fish, turtle and dugong, and it is this abundance which sustained a population known to have reached 123 in 1942 (Tindale 1962b). Tindale (1977:249) claims that the population density was "one of the highest known for a living stone tool using people dependent on foraging for their subsistence."

Lying at the semi-arid margin of the monsoonal tropics, Bentinck Island receives some 33" annual rainfall, almost all between December and April. A fresh water lagoon at Nyinyilki and a few other waterholes hold out till September, after which water must be sought in soaks behind the sandhills. Water rather than food seems to have limited population growth, and many myths stress its importance. In one myth, Rock Cod's liver is cut to pieces and thrown onto rocks at the foot of a cliff on Sweers Island, where it becomes a perpetual spring.

In another, thirsty men dig long and hard until finally *Nalkardarrowuru* ('the one with water lilies on his head') emerges from the dry sand. He consents to give humans water, but only in exchange for their wives and daughters. A plausible interpretation of this myth is that it recounts a historical situation in which newcomers intermarried with an existing local population, to whom they betrothed their womenfolk in exchange for knowledge of the country's resources—the "waterhole" is a widely used symbol in Aboriginal Australia for knowledge. However, it is not necessarily the case that these events took place in the South Wellesleys: Kaiadilt arriving on uninhabited Bentinck Island may have brought the myth with them, and it may derive from an earlier immigration of Tangkic-speaking peoples into the southern Gulf region.

Winds follow a regular seasonal pattern. In winter there are cold dry south-easterlies, which often wash up dead but perfectly edible fish, known as *balkanda*. In summer, monsoon-bearing winds blow from the north-west; cyclones and "waterspouts" are frequent.

During the monsoon the enormous volume of water discharged from the Gulf rivers sometimes turns the sea fresh⁶. In other years the north west monsoons driving into the Gulf may stack up the sea; in conjunction with king tides this can produce rises of nearly four metres. The disastrous results of this for the Kaiadilt are recounted in 1.5.

1.3.2 Food, hunting and material culture

Stretching around the rocky shores are⁷ “dozens of semi circular dams ... built of rocks of varying shapes and sizes, the whole naturally cemented together with the oysters that exist here in profusion. As the tide rises over the dam so the fish come in, to be left behind when it falls. By this simple yet very effective method of capture the natives secure all the fish they require” (Roth 1908b). The original construction of these fish traps (*ngurruwarra*) is attributed to the mythical black crane Bujuku and Kaarrku the seagull. But older Kaiadilt recall building and maintaining them.

In the shallow estuaries fish were frightened, by clapping the water, into folding nets (*mijilda*) woven from grass twine (*malbaa*). Creeks were blocked with grass dams and the fish poisoned by swishing mangrove bark (*jurrkaa*) in the water. The women dug quantities of mussels from the exposed shoreline, and hammered oysters open with rock fist axes (*jilanganda*), flicking the flesh into a baler shell dish with timber oyster picks (*thawurra*).

The men spent long silent hours on reefs and sandbanks, waiting to spear the larger fish, the marine turtle, or the dugong. Wounded dugong were “wrestled”—held under water until they drowned. Both dugong (*bijarrba*) and turtle (*bangaa*)—grouped together by the superordinate term *kunbulka* (‘big game’)⁸—yielded huge quantities of meat and if several were caught, messengers (*marrjinda dangkaa*) were sent to all corners of the island inviting everyone to share the feast. Such big animals were cooked in ground ovens (*walka*) dug in the sand, instead of on the coals like small fish.

The quest for ‘big game’, turtle eggs and birds often led men across to the waterless outlying islands *onwalbu*, rafts made from white

⁶ So pronounced is this effect that the Macassans called the sea south and east of the Wellesley *air tawar* ‘fresh water’ (Earle 1847).

⁷ Here and in the following sections I use the present tense when describing traditions that continue today, and the past for those which are no longer practiced.

⁸ Of course there are also many specific terms: at least fourteen for types of dugong, and eleven for types of turtle, as well as numerous words for special body parts.

mangrove or driftwood poles lashed together with bark rope (Roth 1908a). Sitting on a cushion of seaweed, with a baler shell or two of fresh water and a couple of spears propped beside them, they propelled themselves along with a mangrove root paddle or *bilirra*.

These rafts were used to transport families across estuaries, to nearby Sweers Island, and even to Allen Island twelve kilometres away. But they were not reliable enough to allow regular deliberate contact with the mainland which, although only eighteen kilometres distant, could not be seen from low-lying Bentinck Island. Harney (1946:124) reported meeting a Bentinck Islander on the mainland, who had been washed there by a storm, and Roughsey (1971) tells of two Bentinck men washed up on Mornington Island, where they were promptly killed. Memmott (1982) claims that Kaiadilt occasionally met mainlanders on Allen Island and heard about innovations like the dugong net. But whatever contacts there were, that did not end in death or exile, must have been separated by decades of isolation.

Although most food came from the sea and estuaries, and people spent most of their time there, the hinterland was far from neglected. Goannas and snakes were hunted all year round, and during the wet season birds and flying foxes were brought down with returning boomerangs. Wild figs (*kirrika*), mangrove fruit (*thaminyirri*), wild tomatoes (*birrbari*), pandanus fruit (*kambuda*) prepared in a number of ways, water lily roots (*barrngkaa*) pounded into flour, bull rush heads (*nardaa*), wild yams (*thawalda*), creeper roots, and swamp rush corms (*damuru*, *panja* in Mornington English) were all gathered⁹. It is clear from the post-contact reactions of other groups to Kaiadilt food-gathering practices that they gathered and ate a number of vegetable foods shunned by groups in richer coastal regions¹⁰. Ground nut and water lily sites belonged to women, as did their stories.

Throughout the Wellesleys a powerful taboo prohibited the cooking of land foods, especially yams, on the same fire as sea foods, or the

⁹ Nevertheless the relative unimportance of vegetable food is reflected in the lack of a word for it: *wurand* 'food' includes fish, shellfish, fruit, vegetables and can also be used for meat, although the term *wurdalji* 'muscle, meat' is more common with the flesh of turtle and dugong. The lack of a term for 'vegetable food' is unusual by Australian standards, but so is the low proportion of plant food in the diet.

¹⁰ "The Aurukun people were interested to see that the Allen Islanders ate things that they did not. Food was much scarcer on the little island than at Aurukun with its great river estuary, miles and miles of mangroves, coastal scrubs, and inland bush. The Allen Islanders and no doubt the Bentinck people too had found a few things were edible that our people had not. There was a little root, rather like a fossilized worm, that grew in the sand-dunes just back from the beaches, which we tasted, and decided was rather like an earthy potato. The Aurukun people were interested in this, but simply amused at the Allen Islanders eating hermit crabs." (McKenzie 1981: 96)

mixing of sea and land foods in one meal. The Kayardild verb *markurijja* describes the potentially fatal stomach illness (*mulgri* in Mornington Island English) which ensues. The fat of all land animals must also be washed from the body before entering the sea.

Land and sea each yielded important raw materials for artefacts. With great resourcefulness the Kaiadilt obtained everything from these few small islands: nothing was gotten by trade. From the land came the hardwoods used for spearheads, boomerangs, food-pounders, digging sticks (*kathirra*), prong-ended throwing sticks (*jardiyali*) and sharpened clubs (*karwaa*). In the swamps grew the beach hibiscus or “corkwood” (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*), whose trunks were used for spear shafts (*wumburungka*) and whose bark was made into rope (*murndulka*); the importance of this species is shown by the existence of two terms for it: *murdu* denotes the thinner specimens, *andrarrkurlda* the thicker ones used for heavy spear shafts.

Firesticks (*wijiri*) were cut from shrubs at the mangrove fringe (*biyalda*); mud cockles (*thubalda*) from the estuaries served as fish scrapers or wood planes.

Baler shells (*rawalanda*) were used as food and water carriers, and as scoops for well-digging; their shards were nibbled into serrated knives (*narraa*) or axeheads. Fish-bone hooks were not used—instead, bait tied to a line was gradually drawn in, enticing the fish to within spearing distance.

During the day the Kaiadilt sheltered under the casuarina trees growing just behind the beach. Night camp was usually pitched just above the next high tide mark. In the dry season they slept behind low circular windbreaks (*bankirri*) rolled from beach vines, warming themselves with small fires. “On normal cool nights when they felt the chill of heavy dews, and on occasions when mosquitoes were about, they tended to sleep sitting up, with legs folded, under a small grass tuft tied at the top to form a cone. They used a small smoky fire at the entrance for mosquito deterrence, or a somewhat warmer fire against the chill” (Tindale 1977).

However, the cool southerly trades of July and August and the monsoonal cyclones sometimes drove them back to the higher vegetated sandhills, where they dug pits which they covered with timber, bark and grass: “we discovered in one instance a large hole, containing two apartments (so to call them), in each of which a man might lie down” (Flinders 1814:145).

The only clothing worn was the grass-string belt (*birrka*), used for carrying objects or fish, and also presented ceremonially to young girls on betrothal. A pubic tassel of leaves (*wirrilda*) could be suspended from this during ceremonies. As elsewhere in Australia, red and white ochres were used in body decoration.

The material culture of the Kaiadilt, as summarized above, is essentially similar to that of the Lardil, Yangkaal, and the Yukulta on the adjoining mainland. Trigger (1987a), surveying the material culture of the region, points out a number of significant differences between these groups and adjoining mainland groups such as the Garawa and Waanyi¹¹ that suggest clear correlations between the Tangkic linguistic group and what he calls the “coastal mainlanders and Wellesley Islands” material inventory.

Contrasted with that of the Garawa/Waanyi, the material culture of the Tangkic-speaking groups is characterized by the absence of stone tools and stone axe blades and spear tips, with shell being substituted, the absence of longitudinal fluting on wooden artefacts such as boomerangs and woomeras (spearthrowers), the restriction of woomera designs to a single one-piece type known by some reflex of the word *murruku* (while Garawa and Waanyi have two other complex types with separate wooden pegs at the distal end), and the restriction of water-craft to mangrove rafts, whereas both the Garawa/Waanyi and the Yanyuwa used sewn bark canoes and (in the case of the Yanyuwa) dugout canoes. Counterbalancing these absences from the Tangkic-speaking peoples’ inventories are the intensive use of stone fish-traps and the manufacture of characteristic spear-types, used primarily for hunting dugong and turtle, made by attaching hardwood points to a light wooden shaft.

The material culture of the Kaiadilt, then, is in its essentials identical to that of the other Tangkic-speaking groups, and the whole Tangkic-speaking cultural bloc contrasts markedly with its neighbours, showing marked adaptation to both the material resources (such as lack of workable hard stone) and the predominantly marine food resources of the region.

1.3.3 Social organization

The South Wellesley group was divided into eight clan estates, each belonging to a patrilineal clan headed by a *dulmarra dangkaa* (‘land-having man’), whose permission was required before hunting or fishing on his land. Transgression could be punished by spearing or by sorcery, involving “roasting” the transgressor’s faeces in a ground oven, said to cause death by constipation. Upon the death of the *dulmarra dangkaa* ownership passed to a brother or son by a sort of verbal deathbed will. As this indicates, patrilineal clan membership is the most important

¹¹ I shall follow the established ethnographic spellings Garawa and Waanyi in referring to these groups, but in referring to their languages will use the versions Karrwa and Wanyi, which employ their recently developed practical orthography.

factor in claiming land ownership, but other factors often come into play, including one's birth-place.

The Kaiadilt lacked named subsections; in this they differed from their mainland neighbours and also from the Lardil (Sharp 1935). They did, however, have patrilineal totems or "signs" passed from father to children; these together with the birth-place name and conception name (see below) constituted (and still constitute) the principal means of personal identification. The eight main totems are *bijarrba* 'dugong', *thuwathu* 'rainbow', *dibidibi* 'rock cod', *kulkiji* 'shark', *ngarrawurna* 'bluefish', *thandamanda* 'water spout', *rukuthi* 'casuarina' and *walbu* 'raft'. Each of these has a primary association with a particular estate. But since the actual facts of descent are often more complex than Kayardilt theory prescribes—since, for example, a child may claim patrilineal links to its mother's present husband in addition to its own father, who may not have been from the same clan—it sometimes happens that such totem names appear on individuals from other clan territories than that primarily associated with the name.

Birth place names are formed by adding the suffix *-ngathi* to the name of the place where one was born, e.g. *murдумurdungathi* 'person born at Murдумurdu' (5.1.1.3). Birth at a particular place confers some rights to claim land ownership, and although there is a tendency for people to be born on their father's estate, they may be born elsewhere as a result of their mother's remarriage, or temporary visits to other parts of the island. When this happens they have some claims to the estate where they were born, and conversely their claim to their father's "real" estate may be weakened.

Conception names are given on the basis of some extraordinary event early in the mother's pregnancy which presages (*ngaarrngija*) the entry of the spirit child into the womb; the quickening of the foetus follows soon after. For example, a dugong may "give itself up" to the father of the child-to-be, and that child will be given the conception totem *bijarrba* 'dugong'. I shall call this "spiritual conception" to distinguish it from physiological conception; the Kaiadilt believe that both are necessary for a foetus to develop. Children are believed to show physical or temperamental resemblances to their conception totems—for example, a "dugong" child may have a squashed ear like that of a dugong, or a "rainbow" child may have a powerful temper like that of the rainbow serpent *thuwathu*. Nominally one should not eat the flesh of one's conception totem, although in practice this stricture is not observed when the totem is a large food source like a dugong or turtle. Both conception totems and patrilineal totems are known by the same expression *niwanda wuranda* 'his/her food'.

Although the Kaiadilt's social organization was different from their neighbours, their kinship system was virtually identical. To begin with, it is like all Australian kinship systems in being "classificatory": all

members of the social universe are one's kin, with the initial basis of extension being the treating of same-sex siblings as alike: one's father's brothers are also called "father", one's mother's sisters as "mother"; this then extends to calling one's father's brother's children or one's mother's sister's children "brother" or "sister", and so on. Nonetheless, there are a number of linguistic means for distinguishing "actual" from "classificatory" kin—see Appendix A.

The Kayardilt kinship system is essentially of the Nyulnyul (or Aranda) type (Fox 1967), with the favoured marriage being between children of patrilateral cross cousins (see Appendix A). Eligible partners were termed *bulmirra* [hair-good] 'straight head' and ineligible ones *bulbirdi* [hair-bad] 'wrong head'. Once an appropriate marriage was arranged, the baby girl would be placed upon the bridegroom's lap "in a ritual gesture of coitus" (Tindale 1977), and thereafter be known as *wajiyangu* 'promised one' or *darrwaanda maku* 'woman from the thigh'. Food and other gifts were due to her parents until she reached puberty when, if she had not been seduced or fought for by another man, she would go and live with her betrothed. Classificatory cross-cousins who were *warrawaanda* 'from a long way (by lineage)' or even *nguthunguthu marrwawaanda* 'from a bit close' could be married if no *wajiyangu* was available. Marriage of actual cross cousins was not allowed, and their non-marriageability was stressed by an Omaha skewing rule that shifted them up one generation, so that mother's brother's daughters, for example, are reclassified as 'little mothers' (*kunyaa ngamathu*).

Despite the social ideals embodied in the kinship system, the more powerful elder men, who were already in a position to accumulate wives through widow inheritance, often took 'wrong head' wives (such as nieces) as well. Tindale reports one man as having twelve wives—10% of the total Kaiadilt population! The more astute men won their younger brothers' support by "lending" them a wife, but dissatisfaction was widespread and led to many fights and ambushes. On one occasion this caused two men to flee for Allen Island with two raftloads of wives and children (Tindale 1962b).

1.3.4 Religion, ceremony, song and dance

Kaiadilt religion, in common with traditional Aboriginal religion throughout Australia, is based around the belief that a number of ancestral beings created the land, bird and animal life, and humans and their customs, before being transmuted into features of the landscape or "story places" which bear witness to these original world-creating exploits.

These “story places” or “sacred places” are known in Kayardild as *jungarrba dulka* ‘big (i.e. important) place’, *birdiya dulka* ‘bad (i.e. powerful) place’ or *niida dulka* ‘same place (i.e. same as the creator being)’. Sometimes these places are directly useful to people, such as the freshwater springs at the foot of a cliff on Sweers Island, created when Seagull and Crane threw Rock Cod’s liver there, and on Fowler Island, created when Nalkardarrawuru rose out of the ground there. Others are not directly useful but are visually significant, such as a small pool whose bottom contains different coloured ochres, said to be the scales of the Rainbow Serpent where he entered into the ground, or a small hole in the rock at *Waldarrakurdalayarra* (lit. ‘where the moon was speared’), said to be the scar where the spear entered Moon.

During this original epoch, known to the Kaiadilt as *yuujobanda* ‘the first time, the old time’, the boundaries between people, animals, and parts of the landscape were not clear: of Moon, in such a creation story, Pat Gabori remarked: *namu waldarra, dangkaa waldarra* ‘he was not (just) the moon, he was a human moon’. These exploits are recounted in stories (some of which are included in the Texts in Part II) and honoured by reverence towards and protection of the “story places”.

The major Kaiadilt ceremonies are individually oriented, celebrating the rites of passage of birth, betrothal, and circumcision. Compared to most parts of Australia there was little gender segregation during these: during circumcisions (the centrepiece of which is an exclusively male preserve in most of Australia) two old women knelt to form a table on which the initiate lay face up, and during birth (generally an all-female affair) the father and father-in-law of the baby were present. It is likely that the blurring of male/female ceremonial boundaries is a result of the Kaiadilt’s small population, reducing the labour force available to undertake these ceremonies.

Birth was attended by real or classificatory sisters of the mother, who delivered the child and were known to it as *ngijinkinyilutharra* ‘giver of form to me’. The newborn child would be rubbed with a mixture of grease (preferably from a turtle or dugong) and fish blood to keep it warm, and placed in a small coolamon lined with the soft and antiseptic leaves of *marndiwa* (*Wrightia saligna*). The umbilical cord was cut by the child’s future father-in-law.

Circumcision was carried out on young men as an admission to manhood (the Yukulta and Minkin of the adjoining mainland lay at the easternmost boundary of the circumcision and subincision¹² rites—Tindale 1974). Kaiadilt stories depict circumcision as part rite of passage, part punishment for a misdemeanour known to be irresistible to

¹² I have been unable to verify Tindale’s (1977) claims that the Kaiadilt also practiced “a form of subincision”.

young men: the spearing and cooking of young stingrays, reserved for the elders. Another story concerns a young man who ran away in fright from the circumcision ground (*bundalda*). He was pursued, caught and speared to death, along with his mother. Ever since, boys have been more scared to flee than to stay. Despite his cowardice, his memory is venerated because his death ensured the smooth running of the 'law' (*birrjilka*).

As day dawned after all-night dancing, initiates were circumcized with a stingray barb, whilst lying on a 'table' (*rulurulu*) formed by the backs of two old women. Initiates could not speak for several months until the excised foreskins (*binthu*), carried about by the old women in paperbark coolamons, withered "like a dried apricot" and were buried. During this period they could communicate terse requests for food, drink, etc., to their guardians, using different numbers of pinches (*baliyada*), but there was no auxiliary language comparable to Damin (see Hale 1973, 1982b) on Mornington Island. Initiated men were given names indicating the sequential order in which they had been circumcized, e.g. *ngariindarayarrba* 'circumcized (lit. 'broken') first', *warrkudaraayarrba* 'circumcized at daybreak'. The relations between an initiate and his circumcizer were also named, e.g. *ngijindaratharrba* 'my circumcizer, lit. breaker of me' and *ngijindaraayarrba* 'my circumcizee, lit. broken by me'.

Most singing was not ceremonial but personal, delivered pianissimo while reclining on one elbow, in a style quite different from that found anywhere in Australia: "sung in a constricted vocal manner, and ... quite unique in effect" (Moyle n.d.:3). Each individual had their own signature melody, to which new words were fitted as occasion demanded, often composed during the long silent vigils while waiting to spear fish, or "dreamed" at night. Grammatically complex constructions are prized in these songs, which tell of the day's hunting, of omens, or recall dead relatives who passed on their craft skills or other knowledge.

Kaiadilt dance is equally distinctive. There is a single style, a stomp unaccompanied by any music but the stomping of feet and the exclamation [ht] uttered in time with the dance steps. Sometimes individuals, sometimes groups participate; although each dance is supposed to have a story this is difficult to discern¹³. Lardil dance, by contrast, is highly imitative, and their varied repertoire of some 80 dances includes such scenes as wallabies being stalked, waterspouts, brolgas dancing, and waves washing against the rocks. The vast

¹³ But cf. Memmott 1982, page 66 "one dance did have a very simple format—the bush fire dance. Two men danced around supposedly causing a fire to start. They retreated and a line of women advanced representing the burning front of the fire. This two part sequence constituted the entire dance."

differences in song and dance are the most obvious cultural distinction between the Kaiadilt and the other Wellesley tribes.

As elsewhere in Australia, a name taboo applies after death (cf. Nash—Simpson 1981): the name of the deceased is replaced by the term *murdinyi*. Interestingly, this term is shared with Karrwa, from which it was probably borrowed, but not with the other Tangkic languages.

Funeral ceremonies were simple. “Bad people” were left unburied¹⁴, others were laid in a grave (*kirrbira* or *rundurra*). For a few days after death, their spirits (*ngabaya*) returned to slake their thirst from a baler shell left beside their grave; soon after, they travelled to a lonely bay on Sweers Island called *kanduwa dangkaa* ‘blood person’ (spirits were supposed to be red like blood). There they would importune people for a last meal of dugong or turtle before travelling on across the sea to *mawurru*, the spirit home in the east.

1.3.5 Dating the isolation of the Kaiadilt

Impressed by the apparent cultural and physical differences between the Kaiadilt, the Lardil and the mainlanders, Norman Tindale has suggested that “the Kaiadilt have long been removed from the main currents of culture change in the rest of Australia” and that “the ancestors of the Kaiadilt represent a type that has stood apart from the general flow of people who, over the last 50,000 years or more, have entered into Australia ...” (Tindale 1977:270).

A series of earlier studies had shown wide divergences in blood group (Simmons—Tindale—Birdsell 1962; Simmons—Graydon—Tindale 1964; Curtain—Tindale—Simmons 1966) and in immunoglobulin markers (Curtain et al. 1972) between the Kaiadilt, the Lardil and the Aborigines of the nearby mainland. The unusual features were not of the kind one would expect from European or Macassan¹⁵ admixture; rather, they were interpreted as “presumably brought into the area by migrants from the early Southeast Asian Neolithic complex”¹⁶ in New Guinea

¹⁴ Cf. Meggitt (1962: 322) on the Walbiri: “the body of a man who had a reputation as an adulterer, thief or homicide may also be denied the dignity of a platform burial”.

¹⁵ Boats from the port of Macassar (now Ujung Pandang) in Sulawesi visited the northern shores of Australia to gather trepang since the seventeenth century (see e.g. MacKnight 1976) and in Arnhem Land there was some intermarriage with Aboriginal people.

¹⁶ The main differences lie in the 40% frequency among the Kaiadilt of B group blood, which is virtually absent from the mainland, with the exception of a pocket in the Barkly tablelands, and in northern Cape York, where New Guinea admixture is evident. In addition, the A group blood type is absent in Kaiadilt, but occurs with

(Curtain et al. 1972:152). As well as unusual blood group characteristics, most Kaiadilt infants have blond hair, which often persists into late puberty; “in this respect the Kaiadilt resemble the innermost Western Desert people” (Tindale 1977:255).

If these considerable genetic differences could be used to date the isolation of the Kaiadilt, this would be highly significant for comparative Australian linguistics, which has been able to group and subgroup the languages of Australia and make quite detailed reconstructions of “proto Australian” (Dixon 1980) or perhaps only “proto Pama Nyungan” (1.4) without ever knowing whether these proto languages were spoken 4,000 years ago or 40,000 years ago. But if, say, the isolation of the Kaiadilt were set at 3,000 years (as implied by Tindale and his colleagues), comparison of their language with Lardil and Yukulta, which evolved almost completely independently, would allow us to calibrate a rate of lexical change suitable for Australian languages, to estimate the antiquity of proto Tangkic, and thence, more approximately, of proto Australian.

Unfortunately, the genetic differences discussed above can plausibly establish a maximum, but not a minimum time depth, since it was the skewed nature of the original population, rather than any subsequent changes, that are largely responsible: “their gene frequencies, unique for Australian aborigines, have largely been produced by random genetic drift. *This evolutionary force is considered to have had its largest impact in the initial migrant generation* but to have continued on a later intergenerational basis” (Simmons—Tindale—Birdsell 1962:319; italics mine).

The maximum time depth, they argue, is set by the presence of the B group gene, which gradually diffused down from New Guinea from 4000 B.P. when the first dugouts crossed the Torres Strait. Allowing 500 years for this gene to reach the mainland opposite the Wellesleys, and hence the founding population, sets a maximum time depth of 3,500 years. This agrees with climatic evidence that the sea level in the Gulf of Carpentaria did not fall sufficiently to permit the colonization of the South Wellesleys until some 3500 BP.

But no minimum time depth follows from these facts, since the Kaiadilt could have migrated to Bentinck Island at any time after 3500 BP. So in the absence of genetic or climatic evidence, Tindale (1962a, 1977) proposes other arguments suggesting a long period of isolation.

The lack of a subsection system, for example, is taken as evidence for long isolation, since the Yukulta and Lardil have one. But McConvell (1985, 1990) has shown convincingly that the subsection system has only diffused out from Northwestern Australia relatively recently, and it

high frequency in all mainland tribes, and in low proportion amongst the Lardil and Yangkaal.

is likely that the subsection terms only reached Mornington and the nearby coast in the last 100 years or so. The basic structure of the Kaiadilt kinship system is of the Aranda type, and virtually identical to that of Yukulta and Lardil (see Hale 1982b). The retention of this inherited Aranda system, despite the pressures for simplification that the small size of the population would have exerted, suggests a relatively short period of isolation.

Tindale also claims dramatic differences between the toolkits of the Kaiadilt and mainland tribes, but the work of Trigger (1987a) summarized above has shown this to be a general contrast between the Tangkic-speaking groups and the other mainlanders, rather than a specific feature of the Kaiadilt.

The most significant cultural differences between the Kaiadilt and nearby populations lie in their highly unusual song and dance styles. But there is no way of knowing how long these took to develop; it is likely that frequent killing off of the older people by famine and flood had removed the arbiters of cultural and linguistic tradition and accelerated the development of new styles. More than in literate communities, older people in traditional aboriginal societies are a repository of linguistic and artistic diversity, and of mythological memory. I believe that the precariousness of their survival in the South Wellesleys accelerated the process of cultural change, and led to the loss of a mythic record of how the Kaiadilt came to Bentinck.

The mainland people, on the other hand, do retain such myths: "one hears stories of how the Wa:nji tribe caused some of the Yukulta people to flee to Bentinck Island and many informants say the Bentinck Islanders were originally Yukulta people. It is hard to know what time in history these stories refer to or if there is any truth in them" (Keen 1972). It is also possible that the mysterious "Nyangga" tribe, the coastal neighbours of the Garawa who the latter claim died out quite recently¹⁷, were the ancestors of the Kaiadilt and Yangkaal; this is supported by certain Karrwa/Wanyi loans in Kayardild (see below).

My own belief is that the Kaiadilt migrated to the South Wellesleys quite recently, probably in the last 500 to 1000 years. This is what traditional glottochronology would predict from the vocabulary differences: despite certain unusual developments, the language is

¹⁷ "The Garawa say that originally the Nyanga [= Nyangga - N.E.] tribe occupied the coastal region of this area, and the Yanyula tribe occupied the country west of Garawa and Nyanga land. After the Nyanga tribe died out, the Garawa occupied their coastal area and the Garawa and Yanyula tribes continued to live in harmony with each other. The acquisition of coastal areas brought new pursuits (such as dugong hunting) to the Garawa people, and as their language did not have a vocabulary appropriate to these new activities Yanyula words were taken into the Garawa language to make good this deficiency." (Furby—Furby 1977: 1)

essentially a co-dialect with Yangkaal and Yukulta, suggesting quite a short separation. The peculiar linguistic features of the Tangkic languages must therefore predate the physical differences between the Wellesley populations: the Kaiadilt and Yangkaal differ widely in their blood groups and immunoglobulin markers, but are very similar in grammar.

A final piece of evidence for a recent date of isolation comes from the presence in Kayardild of two loans from Garawa and Waanyi which are not found in the other Tangkic languages: the ‘no-name’ term *murdinyi* and the ‘actual’ kin suffix *-nganji*. The fact that these found their way into Kayardild but not Yukulta or Lardil (we cannot be sure about Yangkaal) suggests that Kayardild was until relatively recently the Tangkic language in closest proximity to Garawa and Waanyi.

1.4 The Tangkic family in Australian perspective

1.4.1 Overview of the Australian phylum

The consensus among most Australianists today is that all Australian languages are related, but at such a remote time depth that it will be possible to reconstruct “proto-Australian” only sketchily—probably the main outlines of the phonological system and pronominal morphology, possibly an ancestral noun class system, and a few score lexical items. Because of the remoteness of their connection many prefer to use the term “Australian phylum” rather than “Australian family”. It is worth bearing in mind that the most conservative dates for the human occupation of Australia are now more than forty thousand years. Although there is no guarantee that modern Australian languages descend from those of the original colonizers, the possibility at least exists that Australian languages have had an extremely long time during which to diverge genetically.

Since the seminal classification of O’Grady—Wurm—Hale (1966), which proposed twenty-nine family-level groupings, there has been substantial comparative work on the nature, identity and number of these groupings, leading to a number of lumpings and reclassifications, but it seems unlikely that the number of language families will ever be reduced to much below ten. My own interpretation of our current understanding of the genetic picture is shown in Map 3.

Within the Australian phylum there is a concentration of genetic diversity in the north and north-west of the continent, where a large number of coordinate family-level groupings are found. The remaining seven-eighths of the continent is covered by the numerous members of the Pama-Nyungan family, whose relative similarity suggests a

time-depth of four to five millenia. The genetically diverse languages of the north and north-west are collectively known as “non-Pama-Nyungan”.

There is no evidence that the complete set of non-Pama-Nyungan languages form a genetic entity opposed to Pama-Nyungan, and although many share similarities in pronominal forms (Blake 1988) these are probably shared retentions from proto-Australian.

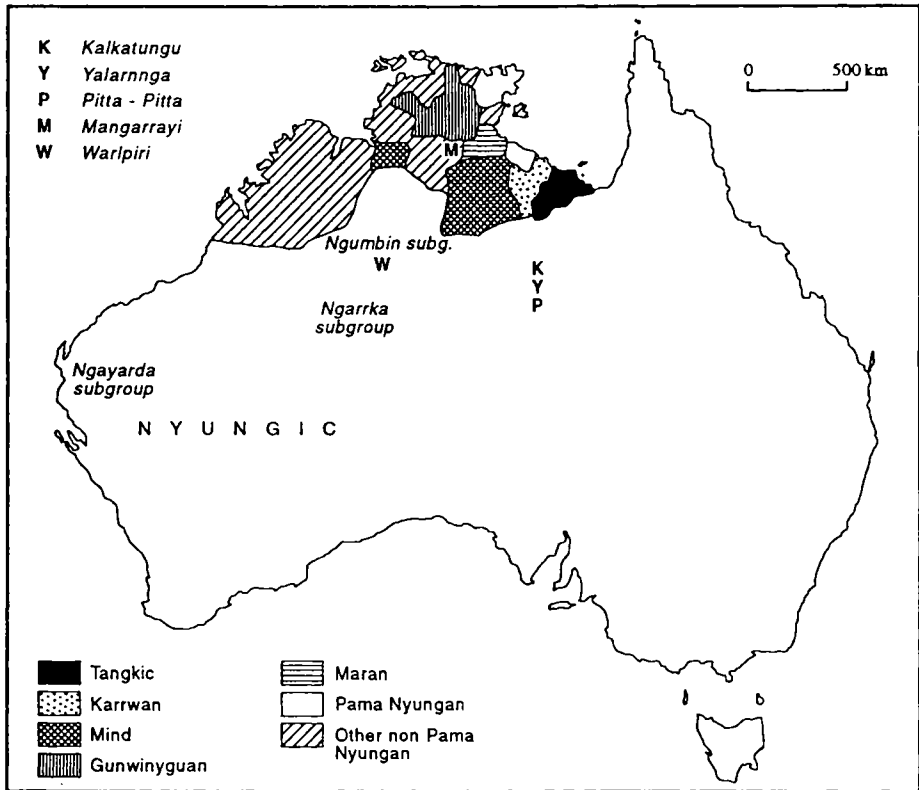
On the other hand, there is growing morphological evidence for an intermediate-level subgrouping we may term the “Arnhem Family”, which will probably include most of the non-Pama-Nyungan languages of Arnhem Land, subsuming the Gunwinyguan, Burarran, Iwaidjan, and Maran groups as well as several languages hitherto classified as isolates such as Ubugarla, Gagudju, Mangarrayi and Nunggubuyu.

Evidence for an intermediate-level “Arnhem family” comes from shared irregularities in noun class systems (Heath 1987, Evans in prep), in verbal morphology (Alpher—Evans—Harvey to appear; Green to appear) and lexicon. Within this grouping it may be possible to recognize a further subgroup, which we may call “core Arnhem”, on the basis of certain regularities in pronominal morphology. Some of this evidence will be discussed below in connection with the genetic position of Tangkic.

The Pama-Nyungan family was first proposed in 1966 by O’Grady, Wurm and Hale on lexico-statistical grounds, but it has taken another twenty-five years for substantial comparative evidence to establish its genetic reality convincingly; in the process there have been a number of revisions to its membership. The main diagnostic features of Pama-Nyungan are

- (a) a distinctive set of pronouns, set out by Blake (1988).
- (b) laminalization (to lamino-dentals or lamino-palatals) of inherited apicals in word-initial position (Evans 1988).
- (c) distinctive case forms for the ergative/instrumental (-ŋku ~ -lu), and locative (-ŋka ~ -la).
- (d) a set of conjugationally distinct verbal suffixes and other verb stem augments (Dixon 1980¹⁸, Alpher 1990).

¹⁸ The reconstructions of verbal and nominal morphology contained in Dixon (1980), though attributed by him to proto Australian, are more plausibly viewed as proto Pama-Nyungan.



Map 3. Main genetic groupings of Australian languages

There are also strong typological differences between Pama-Nyungan and non-Pama-Nyungan. In general, non-Pama-Nyungan languages are head-marking, make use of prefixation as well as suffixation, have four or more noun classes, have weakly developed systems of subordination, and make only optional use of core case marking. Pama-Nyungan languages, by contrast, are generally dependent-marking (though many use auxiliaries hosting clitic pronouns), use suffixation only, lack noun classes, have a tightly organized and rich system of case marking, are generally organized ergatively for nouns, and have a rich set of subordinate clause types, often using switch-reference, antecedent case agreement, or syntactically-defined pivots or some combination thereof.

It is only along the eastern edge of the Pama-Nyungan / non-Pama-Nyungan border that these correlations break down, and where languages are found whose classification as Pama-Nyungan or non-Pama-Nyungan has been revised.

Yanyuwa, for example, was originally classified by O'Grady et al. as a family-level isolate, but has been shown by Blake (1988) and Evans (1988) to be Pama-Nyungan on the basis of its pronouns, case forms, and the presence of initial laminalization; Blake has shown it should be grouped with Warluwarra, Wakaya and some other languages in the discontinuous Warlularic group within Pama-Nyungan. Typologically, however, it is in many respects a typical non-Pama-Nyungan language, with elaborate prefixing morphology on verbs and noun-class prefixes to nouns, although it does possess a participializing suffix with cognates in many Pama-Nyungan languages.

Karwa and Wanyi together form a group that is transitional between non-Pama-Nyungan and Pama-Nyungan in its pronoun forms, though typologically resembling Pama-Nyungan. The languages of the Jingiluan group, though clearly non-Pama-Nyungan, typologically resemble Pama-Nyungan languages in having suffixing morphology, but recent work by Blake (1990) shows this to have been a historically recent development: verbal suffixes, for example, have developed by suffixing an old auxiliary verb which bore prefixes.

1.4.2 Position of the Tangkic languages

The Tangkic languages lie at the eastern edge of the Pama-Nyungan / non-Pama-Nyungan border, and their genetic affiliations have been revised several times over the last two decades.

The balance of evidence now suggests that the Tangkic languages have their closest genetic affiliations, as shown by comparative phonology and morphology, with the non-Pama-Nyungan languages of Arnhem Land. But subsequent intensive contact with Pama-Nyungan languages of the North Central Desert region, specifically with those of

the Ngumpin and Ngarrka groups, has led to a typological assimilation to the dependent-marking, Pama-Nyungan type. Typologically they have come to resemble Pama-Nyungan languages in being dependent-marking and entirely suffixing; proto-Tangkic was, additionally, ergative in its case alignments, like the vast majority of Pama-Nyungan languages.

There has also been a certain amount of borrowing of vocabulary and morphology, so that although the percentage of shared vocabulary does not exceed 10% with any non-Tangkic group, the highest percentages (around 6-8%) are with Pama-Nyungan languages. Fuller discussion of lexical cognates is in Evans (in prep b).

1.4.2.1 Typological comparisons. Typologically the Tangkic languages—especially Yukulta and what we can reconstruct of proto-Tangkic—have very little in common with their closest relatives in Arnhem Land, and in fact could pass for typical Pama-Nyungan languages. These similarities are summarized here without substantial justification, which is given in comparative asides to the relevant sections of the grammar.

Although the grammar of all modern Tangkic languages is extremely unusual, the most plausible proto system was not atypical for a Pama-Nyungan language: suffixing, agglutinating, basically ergative, with free word order and a rich array of case inflections. Like many Pama-Nyungan languages, in particular those of the Northern Nyungic area, it may also have had an auxiliary which followed the first constituent and carried information about tense and mood, as well as subject and object bound pronouns. The “modal case” which is such a distinctive feature of Kayardild and Lardil was not a feature of proto-Tangkic, nor was “verbal case” present in other than incipient form. However, the use of case agreement on complement clauses, governed by the case of a main-clause antecedent, was more clearly present than in modern Kayardild or Lardil; again this is characteristic of many Pama-Nyungan languages and is particularly well-developed in the northern Nyungic area.

The main peculiarity of proto-Tangkic was a system of detransitivized constructions triggered by certain tense, mood and polarity conditions characteristic of “lowered discourse transitivity” (Hopper—Thompson 1980). In irrealis desideratives, for example, transitive clauses had an ABSolute:DATive case frame rather than the usual ERGative:ABSolute frame.

The typological resemblances between Tangkic and two Pama-Nyungan subgroups are also worth mentioning. The Ngayarda subgroup (Pilbara district, W.A.), like Kayardild/Yangkaal and Lardil, has become morphologically accusative from an ergative ancestor (Dench 1982). This is undoubtedly a recent and completely independent development. Closer at hand, Kalkatungu (Blake 1979b), Yalarnnga (Blake 1971) and Pitta Pitta (Blake 1979a), spoken to the south of the

Tangkic subgroup, are all basically ergative but with accusative constructions triggered by various tense/mood conditions (see Blake 1987), a feature they share with Yukulta and proto-Tangkic¹⁹.

This raises the question of whether the common presence of tense-triggered non-ergative constructions in Tangkic, Kalkatungu and Pitta Pitta is due to some genetic affiliation, especially since all are aberrant in a number of ways (pronouns, lexicon and case forms)²⁰. But there are no other similarities between Tangkic and these languages (and cognacy rates lie in the 2-3% range), which makes this hypothesis unlikely. More probable is a previous period of contact and structural diffusion of the relevant constructions.

1.4.2.2 Comparative phonology and morphology. Lexical items and typological features are readily diffusible, particularly in Australia, and to get a more reliable idea of the genetic affiliations of Tangkic we need to turn to subgroupings established by regular sound changes, as well as aspects of morphology that are resistant to borrowing, such as pronouns²¹. The comparative data that is decisive in grouping the Tangkic languages as non-Pama-Nyungan are the pronoun forms, and the retention of initial apical stops and nasals that laminalize in Pama-Nyungan. I shall also mention the significant lack of various nominal and verbal morphemes that are extremely widespread in Pama-Nyungan.

¹⁹ In fact there is a corridor of languages with tense-dependent nominal forms running south from the Tangkic group through Kalkatungu and Pitta Pitta to the closely related dialects Gurnu and Bāgandji (Hercus 1982) on the Darling River. In these last two languages, however, special pronominal forms are involved, rather than the alternative case frames found in Pitta Pitta and Kalkatungu; a Gurnu example is *wadhu* 'I-past', *gadhu* 'I-future' (Wurm—Hercus 1976). A third variation on the same functional theme is found in Karrwa (Furby—Furby 1977: 51-2). Here past tense is signalled by a morpheme *yi* which may follow the verb stem or replace the final vowel of one pronoun in the clause; future tense is marked by a clitic *-dja*, optionally attached as either a suffix or a prefix to one word (of virtually any type). Both past and future marking, it seems, are half-frozen tense clitics. The closely related language Wanyi (Breen to appear) has a similar system.

²⁰ It is interesting that Capell (1979) suggested that Tangkic, Kalkatungu and Karrwa are each isolate groups in the Gulf area.

²¹ Heath's (1978) classic book on "intense lexical diffusion" in Arnhem land mentions diffusion of nouns (including kin terms) and verbs, but not pronouns, although he makes no specific reference to this.

PRONOUNS

Blake (1988) reconstructs distinct non-Pama-Nyungan and Pama-Nyungan pronoun sets, which I draw on below. A number of features clearly identify the Tangkic languages with the northern set²²:

- Non-singular second person roots in *ki-* (e.g. Kayardild *kirra* ‘you two’, *kilda* ‘you pl.’) correspond to roots in *ku-/ki-* throughout non-Pama-Nyungan. In Pama-Nyungan languages the reconstructed second person dual root is *nyuNpalV* and the second plural root is *nyurra*.
- Non-singular third person roots in *pi-* (e.g. Kayardild *pirra* ‘they two’, *pilta* ‘they pl.’) correspond to roots in *pu-/pi-* throughout non-Pama-Nyungan. In proto-Pama-Nyungan the third person dual root was *pula* and the third person plural was *jana*.
- The second person singular root shows a characteristic alternation between oblique forms based on *ngum-* (e.g. Kayardild *ngumban-* ‘your’) and nominative forms based on *nying-* (e.g. Kayardild *nyingka* ‘you’). This alternation is widespread in non-Pama-Nyungan languages, e.g. Dalabon *nying* ‘you sg NOM’, *ngu* ‘you sg OBL’; Miriwung *nyengu* ‘you sg NOM’, *ngung* ‘you sg OBL’. In Pama-Nyungan the second singular root is **ngin* (Dixon 1980:342-3) without the nominative/oblique alternation found in non-Pama-Nyungan.
- The first person non-singular exclusive root *nya-*. This is preserved only in Lardil, e.g. *nyali* ‘we plural exclusive in harmonic generations’, *nyarri* ‘we dual exclusive in harmonic generations’; note the resemblance of these forms to the Gunwinyguan language Dalabon, whose first exclusive plural and dual forms are respectively *nyel* and *nyerr*. The other Tangkic languages have analogically reshaped the non-singular exclusive forms to begin with *ng* like all other first person forms. Blake reconstructs **nyirrV* as the non-Pama-Nyungan first exclusive non-singular root, but *nya-* is also found (e.g. Ngandi first plural exclusive *nyarr-*). The proto Pama-Nyungan form is **ngana*.

²² Capell (1979: 481), discussing the Yukulta pronoun system, noted that “the singular pronouns are of EA (‘Early Australian’—N.E.) origin, ... and the third person links with the Northern Kimberleys”, citing Ngarinyin. Capell’s notion of ‘Early Australian’, though not altogether clearly defined, correlates well with later definitions of non-Pama-Nyungan. Basically, it is taken to reflect an “early” linguistic type which remained in the north but was supplanted in the south by the later spread of “Common Australian”, which corresponds roughly to “Pama-Nyungan.”

- The third person singular root is *ni-*, reflecting non-Pama-Nyungan **nu-*. The Pama-Nyungan forms are **nyu-* '3 sg masculine' and **nyan-* '3 sg feminine'.

In addition to these formal similarities between Tangkic pronouns and the non-Pama-Nyungan set in general, there is a further specific similarity with a number of languages of the Roper River region (Table 1-2): the alternation between dual *-rr-* and plural *-l-* throughout the Tangkic pronoun paradigms (see 5.2.1) is paralleled in Alawa and Mara (Maran), Dangbon and Ngalakan (Gunwinyguan), and Mangarayi, for which affiliations have been proposed to both Maran (Merlan to appear) and Gunwinyguan (Alpher—Evans—Harvey to appear)²³.

Table 1-2. Reflexes of *rr* (du): *l* (plu) opposition in Arnhem pronominal systems

Language	Pronominal category			
	2 Du	2 Plu	3 Du	3 Plu
<i>Tangkic</i>				
Kayardild, Yukulta	<i>ki-rr-a</i>	<i>ki-l-ta</i>	<i>pi-rr-a</i>	<i>pi-l-ta</i>
Lardil	<i>ki-rr-i</i>	<i>ki-l-i</i>	<i>pi-rr-i</i>	<i>pi-l-i</i>
<i>Maran</i>				
Alawa (intrans. prefixes)	<i>wu-rr-</i>	<i>wu-l-</i>	<i>yi-rr-</i>	<i>yi-l-</i>
Mara (genitive)			<i>pirriwu</i>	<i>piliwu</i>
<i>Gunwinyguan</i>				
Ngalakan (nominal suffixes)			<i>-pirra?</i>	<i>-pulu</i>
Dangbon	<i>no-rr</i>	<i>no-l</i>	<i>pa-rra?</i>	<i>pa-la?</i>
	[free forms]		[verb prefixes]	
Mangarrayi ²⁴			<i>-w/purr</i>	<i>-wurla</i>

Although *rr* appears more widely as a plural formative in pronouns throughout non-Pama-Nyungan, the opposition of dual *rr* to plural *l* is

²³ Sources for the non-Tangkic languages are Sharpe (1972) for Alawa, Heath (1979) for Ngandi, Heath (1981) for Mara, Merlan (1982b) for Mangarrayi, Merlan (1983) for Ngalakan, and my own field notes for Dangbon.

²⁴ Number/case suffixes on kin terms; nominative forms given here. There is also a more general opposition between dual *rr* and plural *rl* in the free pronoun system—see Merlan (1982b: 102).

confined to the languages above²⁵ and suggests that Tangkic belongs to an intermediate level grouping within a tentative “Arnhem family”, which would include Gunwinyguan, Maran, Mangarrayi, and Tangkic. This correlates fairly well with the distribution of the reflexive formative *-yi* and the reciprocal formative *-nyji / -nyju* (see below), and of certain vocabulary items. However, the other resemblances between these families and Tangkic are minimal and a more definitive picture must await more detailed reconstructions of these groups.

RETENTION OF INITIAL LAMINALS.

Pama-Nyungan languages have neutralized the contrast between initial apicals and laminals, while non-Pama-Nyungan languages maintain the contrast (see Evans 1988 for details):

proto-Australian	non-Pama-Nyungan	proto-Pama-Nyungan
* <i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	* <i>TH</i>
* <i>TH</i>	<i>TH</i>	* <i>TH</i>
* <i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	* <i>NH</i>
* <i>NH</i>	<i>NH</i>	* <i>NH</i>

Inherited initial apicals in Tangkic fail to undergo initial laminalization, providing further evidence for excluding Tangkic from Pama-Nyungan. Examples of Tangkic members of these correspondence sets are given below.

pA *t* > Tangkic *t* :

pA **taa-* ‘copulate with’ > pT **daa- ja* ‘ibid.’, e.g. Kayardild *taa-ja* .
 pA **tulk* ‘tree, wood’ > pT **tulk* ‘place, ground, earth’²⁶,
 e.g. Kayardild *tulk-a* ‘place, ground, dirt’.

²⁵ The one exception to this statement is the presence in Yanyuwa of a dual noun class marker *rri-* and a plural noun class marker *li-* . Given the lack of any similar forms elsewhere in Yanyuwa, in the other languages of the Warluwarric group, or indeed anywhere in Pama-Nyungan, and Yanyuwa’s proximity to the Maran languages, it seems most likely that these are a borrowing. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that Yanyuwa is the last refuge of a morpheme series lost everywhere else in Pama-Nyungan. This would imply that Pama-Nyungan was more closely related to the Arnhem Land family than to other non-Pama-Nyungan languages; see Evans—Jones (to appear) for further arguments in support of this.

²⁶ In defence of this semantic shift see Evans (1992c), where I give widespread parallels of ‘tree’ > ‘firewood’ > ‘fire’ > ‘hearth’ > ‘place’.

pA *TH* > Tangkic *TH* :

pA * *THalaNH-* 'tongue' > pT * *jal-*, e.g. Kayardild *jal-wija* 'poke out tongue', Lardil *jal-da leman* 'tongue'.

pA * *THu(u)-* 'scold' > pT * *thuu-ja* 'swear at, scold', e.g. Kayardild *thuuja*

pA * *THaku* 'left hand' > pT * *thaku* 'left hand', e.g. Kayardild *thaku*

pA *NH* > Tangkic *NH*

pA * *nya-* 'first exclusive non-singular root' > pT * *nya-*

pA * *nyiN-* 'second singular nominative pronoun root' > pT * *nying-*
(see discussion of pronouns above)

pA *n* > Tangkic *n* :

pA * *na-* 'burn (intr.)' > pT * *naa-ja*, e.g. Kayardild *naa-ja* 'burn (intr.)', Lardil *netha*.

pA * *ni-* 'sit' > Yukulta *ning-karrngii-ja* 'sit with arms round legs', cf. *karrngi-* 'keep, have'

pArnhem * *nij-* 'name'²⁷ > pT * *nith-*, e.g. Kayardild *nith-* 'name'.

OTHER MORPHOLOGY

Dixon (1980) reconstructs a considerable amount of specific morphology for Australian languages: distinctive verbal "conjugation markers", some verbal inflections (such as imperative *-ka* for some conjugations) and a suite of distinctive case suffixes including ergative *-lu ~ -ngku*, locative *-la ~ -ngka* and probably also an ablative *-ngu*. Although he attributes these morphemes to "proto-Australian" it seems more likely that they characterize Pama-Nyungan or some slightly more inclusive genetic entity, since (with the exception of imperative *-ka*) there are no clear cases of any of these morphemes outside Pama-Nyungan²⁸. The forms nearest to the Pama-Nyungan "conjugation markers" are certain verb inflections in the Gunwinyguan languages, which also have a complex system of conjugations. Alpher—Evans — Harvey (to appear) argue that the Pama-Nyungan system of "conjugation markers" arose through analogical extension of certain tense forms still preserved in Gunwinyguan verbs; in some cases the present form served as an analogic base, and in other cases the past perfective form.

The only unambiguous member of the "Pama-Nyungan" verbal set to occur in Tangkic is the imperative suffix *-ka*, found with transitive verbs in Yukulta. Otherwise the verbal inflectional morphology of

²⁷ Since this item has not previously been proposed as a proto-Australian form, here are some non-Pama-Nyungan cognates: Gudanji *nija*, Karrwa and Wanyi *niji*, Pungu-Pungu and Wajiginy *nij*, Mangarrayi *rni*, all of which mean 'name'.

²⁸ Cf. Heath (1990: 403): "from a methodologically conservative point of view, we should really take Dixon's 'Proto-Australian' reconstructions as Proto-Pama-Nyungan, since the descriptive materials used are from Pama-Nyungan languages."

Tangkic is too innovative to be useful for comparative purposes: there is a new conjugational contrast between *th* and *j* conjugations, with membership mostly determined phonologically, and the system of tense / mood / aspect marking has been developed quite recently from subordinate verb forms inflected for complementizing case (see 7.3). To make matters worse, many of the verb roots most useful in diagnosing genetic affiliation, such as the perception, stance, and simple motion verbs, are simply absent from Tangkic.

If we allow evidence from Minkin, which appears to have had more conservative verbal morphology than Tangkic proper, there are some indications of cognacy with the verbal system of Gunwinyguan rather than of Pama-Nyungan (see Evans 1990a), but the difficulties of interpreting bad and scanty nineteenth century sources with any phonetic precision or morphological details weaken the force of this evidence.

Table 1-3. Non-Pama-Nyungan cognates of Tangkic reflexive *-yi* and reciprocal *-nyju-/nyji*

Language	Reflexive	Reciprocal
<i>Maran</i>		
Wamdarang	-i-	-yi ~ -ji
Alawa	-ndji-	-ndji-
<i>Burarran</i>		
Burarra	-ya	-tji-ya
<i>Gunwinyguan</i>		
Jawoyn	-ji- / -yi-	-ji- / -yi-
Ngalakan	-ji-	-ji-
Rembarrnga	-ti-	-ti-
Ngandi	-(y)i-	-ydhi-
Warray	-yi-	-ji-
<i>Nunggubuyu</i>		
Mangarrayi	-i- -yi- / jiyi / -nyjiyi-	-nyji- -yi- / -jiyi / -nyjiyi-

On balance, then, the evidence from case suffixes and verbal inflection is of little use in determining the genetic affiliations of the Tangkic languages.

By contrast, two verbal derivational suffixes—reflexive *-yi*, and reciprocal *-nyju-* (Kayardild/Yukulta) or *-nyji-* (Lardil)—are matched by

cognates in a number of non-Pama-Nyungan languages of Arnhem Land. Note that a number of languages have merged these categories into a single reflexive/reciprocal, which may be based on either original category, or combine exponents of both. The cognate forms are given in Table 1-3.

1.4.2.3 Wider relationships: summary. Morphological and phonological evidence clearly establishes the Tangkic languages as non-Pama-Nyungan: they have a number of diagnostic non-Pama-Nyungan pronoun roots, and have failed to undergo the initial laminalization that occurred in Pama-Nyungan. What is more, there is further evidence from the morphology—in particular the pronominal number forms, and the reflexive and reciprocal suffixes—and to a lesser extent from the lexicon, that their closest non-Pama-Nyungan languages are those of the Arnhem family.

On the other hand, there is evidence of lengthy contact with Pama-Nyungan languages of the northern Nyungic group—in particular, of the Ngumpin and Ngarrka subgroups of north Central Australia. This evidence comes from direct morphological borrowing, such as of the PROPrietive suffix, a substantial number of lexical items characteristic of Northern Nyungic languages, and from the typological convergence of the Tangkic languages away from the non-Pama-Nyungan head-marking, prefixing type to a fairly typical Pama-Nyungan type that is heavily dependent-marking, exclusively suffixing, morphologically ergative, and makes use of a second-position auxiliary.

The most plausible scenario that is compatible with these linguistic facts would see proto-Tangkic speakers originally living just to the south of the Arnhem Land escarpment, possibly along the upper reaches of the Roper River. This would make them adjacent to the non-Pama-Nyungan languages of Arnhem Land to which they are most closely related genetically, but also not far from the northern Nyungic languages with which they later came into lengthy contact, possibly after moving a short distance to the south. Later they would have moved downriver to the Carpentaria coast, and southeastwards along it as far as the Wellesleys.

As for the chronology of these proposed migrations, the relative internal homogeneity within the Nyungic group of languages suggests they have only been spoken over their current area fairly recently—possibly over the last two thousand years or so, although we are unable to say much more than this until more detailed comparative work has been carried out within Nyungic. It has also been suggested by McConvell (to appear) that the Ngumbin languages have moved northwards fairly recently. All this points to the period of Tangkic-Nyungic contact as being no more than a couple of millenia ago, and *a*

fortiori to the Tangkic occupation of the Carpentaria coast as being relatively recent.

There are also several pieces of non-linguistic evidence linking the Tangkic peoples with groups in Arnhem Land and to the west and southwest. Recent genetic studies (White to appear) have shown the people of Mornington to lie at the southeasternmost cline of a population extending along the Carpentaria coast from Arnhem Land. Lardil myths say their ancestors came from the south west. Kaiadilt and Lardil, like various Central Australian groups, have infantile blondness, and Lardil and Yukulta song styles “suggest a closer musical affinity with desert songs further south than with songs on Cape York Peninsula” (Moyle n.d.). Finally, the presence of the circumcision and subincision rites links the Tangkic groups to the circumcising and subincising tribes to their west (see Map 1).

1.5 Recent history

1.5.1 The early European explorers

Although the Kaiadilt were the last group of coastal Aborigines to come into full contact with Europeans (in 1948), they were afforded their first glimpses relatively early²⁹. In 1802 Mathew Flinders anchored off Sweers Island for lengthy repairs, and soon afterwards encountered a group of “Indians” near Allen Island. Tindale (1962a) assumes these were Kaiadilt, but their possession of a wide-meshed net, probably a dugong net (which the Kaiadilt lacked), suggests they were not Kaiadilt but mainlanders or Forsyth Islanders (cf. Memmott 1982). Over the next few months Kaiadilt were seen on both Sweers and Bentinck Island, but they eluded further contact.

Macassan praus had been sailing for centuries from Sulawesi to North Australian shores, where they gathered trepang, turtle-shell and other commodities (MacKnight 1976). Before Flinders’ voyages it is likely that they occasionally landed in the South Wellesley Islands, when the north-westerlies blew them beyond their usual destination in Arnhem Land³⁰. But the lack of Macassan influence on the Kaiadilt’s material

²⁹ These few pages cannot do justice to the colourful history of the South Wellesleys. Other accounts are in Tindale (1962a), Cawte (1972) and Dymock (1973) but the most thorough is Memmott (1982).

³⁰ On Fowler Island Flinders saw a squared piece of teak and several skulls, and on Bentinck Island he saw stumps of at least twenty trees which had been felled with an axe, and the remains of an earthenware jar. “He inferred that a ship from the East

and ceremonial culture, the lack of Macassan or Malay loan words³¹, their unfamiliarity with the food, tobacco and pipes offered to them by later visitors like Roth (1901), and with the eating and preparation of beche-de-mer, plus the general unreceptiveness of the Kaiadilt to strangers, all suggest minimal contact. This contrasts with the well-documented interactions of Aborigines and Macassans in Arnhem Land.

Following Flinders' visit, a number of other European vessels landed on Sweers Island, and a township, Carnarvon, was temporarily established there, soon growing to a place of some importance, with a hotel, store, Customs House, gardens, a steamer service to Burketown and some 35 residents. Although there were some contacts, the Kaiadilt mainly kept to Bentinck Island. In 1870 Normanton was established on the Norman River, attracting away most of the population of Carnarvon, and within a few years the Kaiadilt were able to resume their traditional occupation of Sweers Island, now stocked with large herds of cattle, sheep and goats.

Around 1916, a certain McKenzie arrived on Bentinck Island, built a hut near the mouth of the Kurumbali estuary, and tried grazing sheep. He is still remembered by older Kaiadilt, who tell of him riding across the island with dogs, shooting any Aborigines he saw and causing at least 11 deaths. They also remember him abducting and raping young girls, who later gave birth to light skinned babies (see Kelly—Evans 1985). Later he moved to Sweers Island, where he ran sheep and goats and built a kiln for lime, which he sold around the southern gulf. When he eventually left, the Kaiadilt returned to Sweers Island, once more a rich hunting ground with its sheep and goats. One boy received the conception name *thungalngumuru* 'black goat' (Tindale 1962b).

1.5.2 The Mornington Mission attempts contact

For over 120 years the Kaiadilt had periodically lived within a few miles of Europeans, but had managed to escape substantial contact, and to live

Indies had been wrecked within the previous two or three years, part of the crew had been killed and others might have gone elsewhere upon rafts constructed after the manner of the natives." (Tindale 1962a). Tamarind trees seen on Fowler Island in 1866 (Landsborough 1866, cited in Memmott 1982) also suggest that Macassans camped there. Campbell MacKnight (1972) cites various accounts by Macassans, showing knowledge of the Wellesley Islands, called *Pulona Tallumbatua* (or, in Malay, *Pulau Tiga* 'the three islands', *Pulona i Salasa* ('Disappointment Island' or 'Tuesday Island') or *Je'ne Tattungenga* ('Upside down water').

³¹ None of the Macassan loans listed in Walker—Zorc (1981) or in Evans (1992b) have Kayardild cognates.

a completely traditional life. But in the 1920s the Mornington Island Presbyterian Mission began attempts at systematic and friendly contact.

Young Lardil couples were dropped off on Bentinck Island to spend their honeymoons making friends with the Kaiadilt (a vivid account is in Lardil man Dick Roughsey's autobiography "Moon and Rainbow"). Several of the young Lardil, particularly Gully Peters and his wife Cora, were talented linguists, and already knew Yangkaal; they soon picked up some Kayardild. Various kin relationships were established at this time. For example, Cora Peters was adopted as Willy Rujurujungathi's daughter, and hence as the sister of his son Darwin.

But by late 1927 the missionary, Rev. Wilson, decided to suspend these overtures, as the Kaiadilt had been stealing from the Lardil's camp. Once again the Bentinck Islanders resumed their traditional life, over their whole territory. During the 1920s their population, which had been badly reduced by McKenzie's murdering sprees, rose to about 120 (Tindale 1962b). Whether or not this record population was the cause, conflict between groups intensified, with many men killed in ambushes as they came ashore at night. In 1940 Minakuringathi escaped from a fight by rafting to Allen Island with seventeen companions, three of whom drowned en route.

Between 1942 and 1945 the southern Gulf experienced severe drought, vegetable foods ran scarce, fishing was poor, and famine and fighting reduced the remaining population to 87. In 1945 Gully Peters, bringing gifts of dugong and water, persuaded a small party to visit Mornington Island for a month, and they returned impressed. Food problems continued, and in 1947 Mission Superintendent McCarthy found 42 more people camped on Sweers, near two large perennial wells, and evacuated them to Mornington.

In February 1948 those still on Bentinck were beset by another catastrophe, when a cyclone reached the Southern Wellesleys, causing widespread damage and stacking up the sea level. Low Bentinck Island was flooded, the sand wells were ruined, and the Kaiadilt were finally persuaded to move to Mornington Island.

1.5.3 On Mornington

At the Mornington Mission the Kaiadilt found themselves a despised minority, and for many years lived as a small closed community, dwelling in flimsy shelters on a beach facing towards Bentinck Island, begrudging the use of Lardil fishing grounds. The effects of stress and famine persisted for nearly a decade, and many died soon after reaching Mornington. At first all children were stillborn, or perished within weeks because their mothers could not give milk. This opened a five or six year gap in the the fabric of children's peer groups, so important for

the transmission of language. At the same time, children and even teenagers were put straight into “dormitories” where they were forbidden to speak their language—although it was used for preaching and converting. Departures from the expected European code of behaviour were rigorously punished—boys would be ridiculed by being forced to wear girls’ clothing. Despite attempts to match the Lardil and Kaiadilt kinship systems, few married outside the small Kaiadilt community.

Tremendous psychological strains were produced by the combined effect of the crises on Bentinck Island, their unprepared contact with the outside world, the denial of their culture by the missionaries and by the Lardil, the stress of living on another group’s land, and perhaps worst, the consistent insinuation that their beloved Bentinck was “no good country”, compared to “rich” Mornington Island. Although some Kaiadilt briefly visited their own country with Tindale in 1962, this was for many old people the only such occasion between 1948 and the 1980s, and homesickness produced profound suffering; many of the older people suffered from psychological disorders. Dr John Cawte, a psychiatrist who briefly visited Mornington in 1967 and wrote a book, “Cruel, Poor and Brutal Nations”, purporting to analyse the psychological problems there, labelled the Kaiadilt “the sickest society” and speculated about possible genetic, constitutional and culture-internal causes. Cawte’s claims are too complex³² to be refuted satisfactorily here, but the factors mentioned above would seem sufficient to explain the depression he noticed among the Kaiadilt.

By the 1970s things began to improve. Bentinck Islanders had built new fishtraps near the mission, and their skill as hunters and fishermen was openly acknowledged. The young Kaiadilt proved themselves steady workers, and the children began doing well at school. By the time of my first visit in 1982 a disproportionately high number of teacher aides, high school students and school prizewinners were Bentinck Islanders, because “never mind the B.I.s all come from myall country, all the parent bin bossem for go to school”.

However, the Kaiadilt remain much poorer than the other groups on Mornington Island, and until recently have lacked the means to return to their home country when they wish. In 1984 a community boat was at last obtained; an outstation has been proposed as a solution to the widespread fighting and alcoholism, and first steps in this direction have now been taken.

³² Cawte’s study would not be worth mentioning, had it not spawned a series of increasingly sensational and inaccurate secondary articles. The title of one (Calhoun 1972) speaks for itself—“Plight of the Ik and Kaiadilt seen as a chilling possible end for man”. It is full of such giddy leaps of inference as “I could find no mention (in Cawte’s book—N.E.) of laughter, normal or pathological. Perhaps the Kaiadilt don’t laugh.”

Following the enactment of Queensland legislation allowing the transfer of land ownership to traditional groups, the Kaiadilt had their traditional ownership recognized under Australian law for the first time in 1994 (see Evans 1993b), but many social, political and environmental problems remain: the difficulties of the “Back to Bentinck” movement in persuading people to leave the educational and medical facilities on Mornington, the feeling that tourist facilities on Sweers Island are an intrusion onto their land, and potential ecological problems (especially the endangering of large sea animals) associated with proposed new mining and port developments on the adjacent mainland.

1.6 The Kayardild language today

1.6.1 The linguistic milieu

The Kayardild language is being abandoned in favour of English with frightening rapidity, so that within less than forty-five years of substantial European contact there are no fully fluent speakers under fifty. Before we can understand this phenomenon, we must understand the overall linguistic and social position on Mornington Island. There are basically four groups of people on Mornington:

(a) The LARDIL, who are the traditional owners and residents, and number about 500. Mission contact since 1919, and in particular the infamous “dormitory system” that operated till the early 1950s, has severely reduced the number of speakers of Lardil. A full profile of the varieties of Lardil spoken by different age groups is impossible here, but the following oversimplified picture will give the reader some idea.

Perhaps five old people still speak Lardil fluently, but even they mostly use English. Those from forty-five to seventy know quite a bit of Lardil, often including a number of traditional songs, but their grammar is simplified, their vocabulary restricted, and language mixing is frequent: a typical utterance, combining Lardil, English and pidgin elements is *hey thabu, I never savvy your binngen bin waa!* ‘hey brother, I didn’t know your wife had gone’. For those below thirty knowledge of Lardil is restricted to a few formulaic expressions like *kunaatha* ‘goodbye’ and *nyingki waa* ‘hello’, basic lexicon (some kin and body part terms, taboo words like *dulda* ‘shit’, and some plant, animal and fish names), plus swear words like *ngamadaan* ‘mother fucker’. As contacts with Kriol³³-speaking groups to the west increases,

³³ Kriol is the generally-accepted term for a creolized variety of English, showing heavy substrate influence from Aboriginal languages, that is spoken by perhaps

Kriol is having an increasing influence on the English of younger speakers. The types of English spoken by these various groups are summarized in Table 1-4³⁴.

(b) About 100 “MAINLANDERS”—Aborigines who have come to Mornington from a number of places, especially Ganggalida (Yukulta), Garawa and Waanyi people from the adjoining mainland, and Wik Mungkan from Aurukun. Although some of these people still know traditional Aboriginal languages (particularly the Aurukun people), the internal fragmentation of this group, the small number of speakers of each language, their relative Europeanization (most paid jobs not held by Europeans are held by “mainlanders”) and perhaps their remoteness from their traditional territory, mean that the traditional languages of this group are peripheral to the linguistic network of Mornington Island. Most speak a form of Aboriginal English relatively close to Standard Australian English; with Mornington Aborigines they use “Mornington English”.

(c) About 100 EUROPEANS, who hold most of the paid jobs, wealth and power. All speak Standard Australian English; none speaks any Aboriginal language fluently, although most know a few of the Lardil words that have become part of Mornington English.

(d) The 150 KAIADILT, minus those residing on Bentinck Island and on the mainland at a given time. Those over 60 speak fluent Kayardild; with non-Kaiadilt they may use some English or Pidgin words. Those between 35 and 60 speak Kayardild with varying degrees of fluency, but are more at home in English, if younger, and a mixture of Kayardild and Pidgin, if older. The main activity domains where Kayardild is used are hunting, navigation, food gathering, scolding, swearing and joking.

15,000 Aborigines across northern Australia. See Sandefur—Sandefur (1981) for a grammatical description.

³⁴ The table is of course very oversimplified. Most speakers use several of these in different registers; in general speakers use a form close to Standard Australian English with Europeans, and a form close to “Mornington English” with other Aborigines. Aboriginal speakers regard all four as varieties of “English”; I do not want to tackle here the question of their exact status as Pidgin, Kriol or Aboriginal English.

Table 1-4. Varieties of English spoken on Mornington Island

Language Variety	Speakers	Main characteristics
Standard Australian English (SAE)	Europeans, some mainlanders	
'Mission English' - Aboriginal English close to SAE	Mission-educated Lardil (40-70) and Kaiadilt (40-50)	Most irregular English forms retained (e.g. 'I went'). Slow, careful delivery. Main phonological difference is devoicing of English /z/
		e.g. [bʌsi] for /bʌzi/
'Mornington English' (MIE): Aboriginal English with increasing influence from Kriol (a North Australian creole)	Younger speakers, all Aboriginal groups	Many lexemes from Lardil Kriol markers <i>bin</i> 'past', <i>-im</i> 'transitivity marker'; Kriol pronouns e.g. <i>minyu</i> 'we inclusive'
		Segmental phonology like SAE but distinctive intonation pattern. More rapid delivery than Mission English
'Pidgin'	Very old Lardil, Kaiadilt over 50	Kayardild/Lardil phonology retained, e.g. <i>mawurndaj(a)</i> for 'Mount Isa', <i>thistha</i> for 'sister, nurse'. Tense, transitivity markers and pronouns as for Kriol Idiosyncratic calques into Pidgin of traditional words, e.g. nose-woman 'effeminate' from K <i>kirmaku</i> .

In general, young females have a much better command of Kayardild than young males (and an equal or better command of English), so that several women in their thirties can speak Kayardild quite well, while men commanding that degree of fluency are typically over 40 (see Evans to appear). This reflects the differing social affiliations between sexes: males spend most of their time in peer group gangs, while females spend considerable time each day with the older women, and usually camp with the widows while menstruating.

Those below thirty all know some language (considerably more than their Lardil counterparts), and can carry on brief, joking conversations, with simplified grammar. Interestingly, very young children (under four) still learn Kayardild, but seem to abandon it once they become aware of their low social status as outsiders on Mornington Island. This milieu has created a peculiar sociolinguistic situation.

English of one form or another is the lingua franca, the primary prestige language, and the dominant language of all groups but the Kaiadilt.

Lardil, despite its dearth of fluent speakers, is the most prestigious and locally appropriate aboriginal language, and is the source of nearly all Aboriginal words in Mornington English³⁵. Speakers from all four groups will know at least some Lardil terms and use them in situations where Mornington English is suitable.

Kayardild is the numerically dominant aboriginal language, and heard daily by everyone on Mornington Island, but, like the Kaiadilt themselves, has a very low prestige³⁶. Although the Kaiadilt are often praised by other groups for “keeping their language strong”, there is virtually no-one outside the Kaiadilt community who can speak it³⁷, and it has not contributed any words to Mornington English. Even young Kaiadilt, when speaking English, will use Lardil rather than Kayardild terms—when fishing, for example, they will use the Lardil term *libarn* ‘queenfish’ rather than the Kayardild *karwarrk*. Kayardild words are reserved for “Kayardild speaking” language situations.

Besides the general low status of the Kaiadilt, the main social factor disfavouring the use of Kayardild is what might be called “local

³⁵ The remainder come from Kriol, e.g. *banji* ‘brother in law, distant kinsman’ (ultimately from English “fancy man”) or, in the case of a few seafaring terms, from the Torres Strait languages (e.g. *wap* ‘harpoon’).

³⁶ Among both mainlanders and Lardil, attitudes towards the sound of Kayardild exceed the usual amused condescension and mockery that are common in the Gulf Region towards the sound of other languages. Trigger (1987b: 233), discussing the mocking of other languages at Doomadgee, states: “The sound of the Bentinck Islanders’ speech is particularly singled out for such ridicule. People usually refer to, or mimic, this speech to indicate that the speakers appear to be choking on the sounds. Such ridicule is part of a view which accords low status to the general society of the Bentinck Islanders; they are known by a derogatory term and are patronised and pitied by some for being primitive and unsophisticated.”

³⁷ During my fieldwork I only met one Lardil, the late Cora Peters, who spoke good Kayardild, although a number knew a few basic expressions. Her deceased husband, Gully, is said to have known the language ‘straight through’, preached in it every week, and seems to have introduced in this way several Christian religious terms into Kayardild, as extensions of existing phrases: *ngakinmaand* ‘our father, God’ (literally ‘begetter of us’) and *mirraa ngunguk* ‘good news, the Gospels’ (literally ‘good story’).

inappropriateness". On my second expedition to Bentinck Island in July 1984, I was struck by a dramatic change in speakers' abilities: the whole age profile of apparent fluency shifted downwards by about ten years, so that forty year olds, who on Mornington always "mix in" English, suddenly began speaking Kayardild "straight through", with exuberant fluency. It seems that, as elsewhere in Australia, language and land are inextricably interlinked: the appropriate locale allowed people to speak their language without the inhibition they feel on Mornington. If this is true, the establishment of an outstation on Bentinck Island would be the most effective step towards language maintenance.

1.6.2 Lardil and English influence on Kayardild

Despite the prestige of Lardil, its effect on Kayardild has been limited to the lexicon; particularly flora and fauna terms, implements, and some kin terms like *yurrwardin* 'cross-cousin' and *nginngin* 'daughter's daughter'. There is no evidence of grammatical influence, or even of borrowing of particles. Words that are borrowed typically have the "Mornington English" rather than the traditional Lardil pronunciation—for example, Lardil *dulnhu* 'month fish', though phonologically quite compatible with Kayardild, has been borrowed as *durnyu* or even *dunyu*, which are the Mornington English pronunciations. Combined with the lack of grammatical influence, this suggests that borrowing has been indirect, through Mornington English, rather than directly from Lardil. This is quite understandable given the virtual absence of Kayardild-Lardil bilinguals from both communities, and the lack of opportunities to hear Lardil spoken.

Mornington English, with its many Kriol-like properties, has had more influence. The particles *namu* (< Eng. "no more") 'negative', *baymbay* (< Eng. "bye and bye") 'lest, might (unpleasant)', *marrbi* (< Eng. "might be") 'perhaps, might (hypothetical)', *biniji* (< Eng. "finished") 'do to completion' and *na* (< Eng. "now") are all used in most types of spoken Kayardild. *Garra* (Eng. "gotta") 'got to, have to' and *bin* (Eng. "been") 'past' are also common, though more characteristic of younger speakers. These particles are beginning to displace much of the modal case system and verbal inflections for tense, aspect and mood.

Word order, relatively free in traditional Kayardild, is in younger speakers predominantly SVO, and case marking of objects is being abandoned, although "semantic" case suffixes are retained. These trends are all typical of Australian Aboriginal languages under English influence (see, for example, Schmidt (1985) on Dyrbal and Bavin—Shopen (1985) on Warlpiri).

The adoption of English lexemes is also widespread, both with new entities like *mani* ‘money’, *duug* ‘dog’, *jikuul* ‘school’, *bija* ‘photo, film, camera’, and *mijinari* ‘missionary, priest’, and with entities for which Kayardild terms already exist, like *baya* ‘fire’ (traditional Kayardild *kaburrb*). Often English loans and their Kayardild doublets will be juxtaposed for added force or humorous effect, and there are short-lived fads in which the two are compounded: for about a week in 1982, ‘fire’ was only referred to as *kaburrba-baya* or *baya-kaburrb*, always provoking great mirth.

1.6.3 New coinages in Kayardild

Some speakers consciously resist these influences, and coin new Kayardild terms like *dul-jawind* [ground-runner] ‘car’, *miburkurriind* ‘mirror’ (literally ‘that by which the eye sees itself’), and *wadubayiind* ‘tobacco’ (‘that by which the smoke is bitten’). Most new formations of this type are nominalizations: see 11.2.

Some new coinages or extensions of traditional terms are widely established, with no English rivals, e.g. *thardawankawuru* (*thungald*) [shoulder-branch having (thing)] ‘aeroplane’, *malaa* [sea water] ‘beer’, *wirrind* [shell] ‘money’, *jaburrnganji* [sole, flounder] ‘thongs’, *dalurudaluru* [thundercrack-having-REDUP] ‘gun’, *ngamathuwalad* [mother-many] ‘cow’, *kathaa* [nest] ‘bed, blanket’.

1.6.4 Language variety described in this grammar

The variety of Kayardild described in this grammar is conservative, largely lacking in English influence. In Kayardild terms it is *yulkaand* ‘eternal, as it should be’, *junku* ‘straight’ and *juldajuld* [bone-bone] ‘strong, fluent’. Although the more Anglicized variety is interesting in its own right, the traditional variety is disappearing rapidly, is what the Kayardild themselves value most highly and wanted me to study, and is a necessary prerequisite to understanding the processes which are forming the modern variety. However, I have included scattered comments on more modern varieties.

1.7 Previous investigations

The first European to record anything of a language in the South Wellesleys was Mathew Flinders in 1802, who describes the following “interview” with a group of “Indians” on Allen Island: (Flinders’ party

and the islanders) “proceeded together, hand in hand” towards Flinders’ boat, but “they stopped halfway, and retreating a little, the oldest made a short harangue which concluded with the word *jahree*, pronounced with emphasis; they then returned to the rafts, and dragged them towards their three companions, who were sitting on the furthest rocks” (Flinders 1814). The word Flinders noted was probably *jariiija* ‘run away’.

Roth (1901), on a visit to Bentinck and Sweers Islands, made fleeting contact with the Kaiadilt, and also noted two words spoken by an old woman: “the subject of abject terror, she talked, yelled and gesticulated, every now and then pointing in a direction where we subsequently found the preceding night’s camp, with the words ‘*parra huli, parra huli,*’ rapidly repeated, the aspirate (unusual in the North Queensland vocabularies known to me) being distinctly articulated” (Roth 1901: 505-6). None of my informants recognize these words, and there is no aspirate in Kayardilt; the most likely utterance is *bada yulijj* ‘try in the west’ as she warned her countrymen. The initial *y-* in this environment is often reduced to a hiatus and could have been heard as an aspirate.

The most important work on the Kaiadilt has been the series of studies by Norman Tindale. Although they focus primarily on ethnography and population genetics, they contain a large number of Kayardilt words, transcribed reasonably accurately: place names, personal names (he gives a complete genealogy of the Kaiadilt from early this century to 1960), various social terms, and names for a number of implements. He has also collected a number of texts and songs, including the only extant text by a Yangkaal speaker (Part II, Text 12). Tindale is continuing to work on Kayardilt ethnography and myth.

Others who have investigated aspects of Kaiadilt culture are Paul Memmott, who has compiled a detailed material culture checklist, Alice Moyle who has recorded a number of songs, discussed further in Kartomi (1984), and Frank Woolston who has published some Lardil and Kayardilt botanical terms (Woolston 1973).

Stephen Wurm spent two months working on Kayardilt in 1960, and made a comprehensive series of tapes exemplifying most aspects of Kayardilt grammar. Both Wurm (1972) and other investigators (O’Grady—Voegelin—Voegelin 1966) make occasional references to this data, but no detailed analysis was ever undertaken.

Hale, although primarily interested in Lardil, also made field notes on Kayardilt and Yangkaal, providing the only grammatical information we have on Yangkaal other than a brief mention by Capell (1942), who recorded a little (under the name “Nemarang”) on a boat between Mornington and Karumba. In addition, Hale recorded from Lardil man Gully Peter a version of the “Moon story” in which one character speaks Yangkaal.

Keen, in her grammars of Yukulta (1972, 1983), points out the mutual intelligibility between Yukulta and Kayardild, but gives no examples of the latter. Wurm, Tindale, Memmott and Hale generously made their field notes and tapes available to me, and this material was most useful in suggesting lines of inquiry into half-forgotten areas of grammar and vocabulary which may otherwise have passed me by.

Chapter 2 Phonology

2.1 Phoneme Inventory

Kayardild's phoneme inventory, comprising seventeen consonant and six vowel phonemes, is displayed below. First the phonemic, then the orthographic, representation is given for each phoneme. In the rest of this chapter I shall cite words in practical orthography, italicized, except where there are special reasons to use the phonemic symbols.

Table 2-1: Kayardild phonemes

CONSONANTS						
	bilabial	apico- alveolar	apico- post- alveolar (retroflex)	lamino- dental	lamino- palatal	dorso- velar
stop	p (b)	t (d)	ʈ (rd)	t̪ (th)	t̺ (j)	k (k)
nasal	m (m)	n (n)	ɳ (rn)	ɲ (nh)	ɲ (ny)	ŋ (ng)
lateral		l (l)				
rhotic		r (rr)	ɻ (r)			
semi- vowel	w (w)				j (y)	
VOWELS						
		front			back	
	high	i (i)			u (u)	
		i: (ii)			u: (uu)	
	low		a (a)			
			a: (aa)			

Although I argue in 2.3 that a final short *a* is underlyingly present in the phonemic representation of Kayardild words that phonetically end in a stop in citation form, I shall omit it from the phonemic representations in this section since word-final position is an important determinant of surface phonetic form.

Typically for an Australian language, Kayardild has parallel series of stops and nasals, each with six points of articulation, and no voicing distinction for stops. Following the usual Australianist conventions (e.g. Dixon 1980) these series are called bilabial, apico-alveolar, apico-postalveolar (retroflex), lamino-dental, lamino-palatal and (dorso)-velar. Australianists generally group these into three pairs: *peripherals* (bilabials and velars), *laminals* (interdentals and palatals) and *apicals* (apico-alveolar and apico-retroflex). A number of phonotactic and morphophonemic generalizations make use of these natural classes. For example, the apical contrast is neutralized word-initially and at compounding and reduplication boundaries, and both sets of laminals have a number of parallels, such as being the conjugation-marking element of verbal inflections, and alternating with apicals in some nominal stems.

Stops are generally voiceless after sonorants and voiced elsewhere, except that *th* and *k* tend to a voiceless realization in all positions. This is discussed in more detail in 2.1.2.1.

In addition to the stop and nasal series, there is an apico-alveolar lateral, two rhotics (a trill *rr* and a retroflex approximant *r*) and two semi-vowels. I shall use the terms *liquid* for the class containing laterals and rhotics, and *sonant* for the class including nasals, laterals and rhotics.

There is a simple triangular vowel system with a length distinction.

For typographic convenience, and to make this material more accessible to non-linguists, a practical orthography using only roman symbols is adopted throughout this grammar, except for those parts where strictly phonetic differences are being discussed. This practical orthography is essentially that employed by Hale et al. (1981) for Lardil. Note in particular that

- (i) The velar stop is represented by *k*, to avoid confusion between /ŋ / (*ng* in this orthography), /ŋ / (written *ngk*) and /nk /, written *nk*.
- (ii) The interdental stop is written *th*, at the suggestion of Kayardild speakers literate in English.
- (iii) Elsewhere stops are written with voiced symbols: *b*, *d*, *rd*, and *j*. While the choice of voiced vs voiceless orthographic symbol represents the commonest allophone for the relevant place or articulation, the exact distribution of voicing is more complex and is discussed in 2.1.2.1.
- (iv) To avoid cumbersome strings of digraphs in homorganic nasal plus stop clusters, the symbol *n* is used before *th* and *j* as well as before *d*: phonemic /n̥t̥ /, /n̥t̥ / and /nt / thus give orthographic *nth*, *nj* and *nd*. As the

contrast between the above nasal phonemes is neutralized in these positions, no phonemic distinctions are lost by this convention.

- (v) Vowel length is represented by double letters, e.g. phonemic /a:/ is orthographic *aa*.
- (vi) Retroflexion is not contrastive initially and is not marked, even though there is phonetic retroflexion here and initial apical stops condition retroflexion in final vowels of preceding words. At reduplication and compounding boundaries, where the same neutralization occurs, usage alternates between writing a hyphen and no digraph, and no hyphen but a digraph: thus [d̪ibi d̪ibi] ‘rock cod’, phonemically /t̪ipi t̪ipi/, may be written orthographically as *dibi-dibi* or *dibirdibi*.
- (vii) The phonemic sequence /ɹt/ is written *rl* to distinguish it from phonemic /t/, written *rd* non-initially.
- (viii) Final /a/ is written in the citation forms of words (except in this section and in the language name itself), while in texts it is written or omitted according to what is pronounced, serving as a sort of punctuation device.

2.1.1 Minimal pairs

The following minimal (or near minimal) pairs illustrate critical phonemic contrasts between consonants in intervocalic and, where relevant, initial positions:

initial	intervocalic
/t/ - /t̪/ (neutralized)	/watu/ <i>wadu</i> ‘smoke’ /kaɽu/ <i>kardu</i> ‘father-in-law’
/n/ - /ŋ/ (neutralized)	/ŋanki/ <i>nganki</i> ‘temple’ /ŋaŋki/ <i>ngarnki</i> ‘on the beach’
/t/ - /t̪/ (no initial /t/)	/patinta/ <i>badind</i> ‘carrying’ /paɽint/ <i>bathind</i> ‘coming from the west’
/n/ - /ŋ/ (neither found initially)	/kuɽalanɛŋku/ <i>kurdalanangku</i> ‘will not spear’ /kuɽalanɛr/ <i>kurdalanharr</i> ‘might spear’
/t̪/ - /t̪ɹ/	/t̪aɹit̪/ <i>jarit̪</i> ‘swallow’ /t̪a:ɹit̪/ <i>tharit̪</i> ‘bring back’
	/maɽar/ <i>matharr</i> ‘nail fish’ /maɽari/ <i>majarri</i> ‘navel’

/ŋ / - /ɲ / (no initial /ŋ /)	/warap̄ar / warranyarr ‘might go’
	/waraŋar / waranharr ‘might send’
/t̄ / - /t / /t̄ulant / duland ‘fat’	/ŋaṭaː / nathaa ‘camp’
/t̄ulant / thuland ‘descending’	/ŋaṭaː / nardaa ‘bullrush’
/r / - /ɹ / (no initial /r /)	/kuriṭ / kurrij ‘see’
	/kuɹiṭ / kurij ‘wash’
/r / - /r̄ / (no initial /r /)	/ŋara-pan / ngarra-ban ‘we two (exc) too’
	/ŋata-pan / ngada-ban ‘me too’

Phonemic contrasts between short and long vowels are illustrated by:

/i / - /iː / /tiṭar / dijarr ‘dorsal fin; nail’	/kuriṭu / kurriju ‘will see’
/tiːar / diijarr ‘sat’	/kuriːtu / kurriju ‘will be seen’
/a / - /aː / /malip / Maliny (place name)	/waraṭari / warrajarri ‘didn’t go to’
/maːli / maali ‘swamp turtle’	/waraːṭari / warrajarri ‘wasn’t gone to’
/u / - /uː / /purmat̄ / burrmath ‘duck’	
/puːrmat̄ / buurrmath ‘fart’	

2.1.2 Consonantal allophones

2.1.2.1 Stops and nasals. Stops and nasals are produced by identical types of occlusion, differing only in the open velum characteristic of nasals.

Bilabial *b* requires closure of the lips in careful speech, but in more casual styles may be followed by a labial offglide, or lenited to [w]:

‘white’	<i>balarr</i>	[balar]	careful speech
		[b ^w alar]	casual
		[walar]	casual

Velar *k* is normally a dorso-velar stop, but is fronted to [k^j] before *i*. Similarly *ŋ* is fronted to dorso-palatal [ŋ^j]:

'sister'	<i>wakath</i>	[wakaɬ]
'clap on water'	<i>kijand</i>	[kjiɬant]
'spirit'	<i>ngabay</i>	[ŋap̃ai]
'night'	<i>ngimiy</i>	['ŋjimẽi]

Apico-alveolar *d* is produced by placing the tongue tip slightly behind the alveolar ridge further back than in English, closer to the position of an Indian retroflex. For apico-domal *rd* the tongue tip is curled back sometimes to pre-palatal position.

Although *th* and *j* are most commonly stopped with the blade of the tongue, justifying the label "laminal", their exact articulation varies greatly from speaker to speaker, particularly with *th*. Dugal Goongarra usually produced *th* by protruding the tip of the tongue between his teeth in an apico-interdental, whereas Darwin Moondoonthi made them by touching the blade of his tongue against his post-alveolar ridge, i.e. as a lamino-postalveolar; perhaps significantly, his front teeth were lacking. Similarly some speakers stop *j* with the blade of their tongue, others with the tip, although the passive articulator is in both cases the hard palate. In stressed position, and in word-final position, lamino-dentals may be affricated, so that *th* may be pronounced [t^θ].

This wide individual variation suggests that other articulatory and/or auditory features are as important as place of articulation, and that any articulatory gesture that reproduces such features is acceptable. A long period of closure, affrication, and intervocalic devoicing characterize *th*, and closing diphthongs in preceding vowels characterize *j*.

Because preceding sonants devoice all stops and tend to reduce the length differences between them, removing the normal cues distinguishing *d* from *th*, the contrast SON + *d* vs SON + *th* is often hard to hear. However, many speakers, particularly women, give a trilled release to apical sonant + stop clusters: *nald* 'head' [nalt^r], *nalda wuuj* 'pass the (fish)head' [nalt^rawo:ɔ], *wurand* 'food' [woɔant^r], *ngarnd* 'beach' [ŋaɲt^r]. Dissimilation prevents this before following *rr*: *waldarr* 'moon' may be [waltar] but not [walt^rar]. Those speakers allowing whispered vocalic release retain this with final apical sonant+stop clusters, and voice the stop: *ngarnd* 'beach' [ŋaɲd^rɓ], *nald* 'head' [nalt^rɓ]. Laminal sonant+stop clusters never have a trilled release: *kurunth* 'barramundi' [kuɹuɲt].

2.1.2.2 Laterals, rhotics and glides. *l* is always a voiced lateral. Intervocally and before peripherals and apico-alveolars it has an apico-alveolar articulation; interdental and palatal allophones are found before the respective stops and nasals:

gloss	orthographic	phonemic	phonetic
'descending'	<i>thuland</i>	/tʉlant/	[tʉlɔnt]
'raft'	<i>walbu</i>	/walpu/	[walpɔ]
'bush oven'	<i>walk</i>	/walk/	[walk]
(place name)	<i>Kalthuriy</i>	/kalʉuriy/	[kalʉɔɾei]
'muscle'	<i>wurdalji</i>	/wuʉaltʃi/	[wɔdɔɾdʒi]

rr is an apical trill finally and preconsonantly; intervocalically it is usually a tap but in declamatory speech, particularly among women, it is trilled:

gloss	orthographic	phonemic	phonetic
'tree'	<i>dabarr</i>	/tapar/	[dʌpar]
'dugong'	<i>bijarrb</i>	/pijarp/	[bidɔrp]
'ear'	<i>marrald</i>	/maralt/	[maralt]

r is an apico-alveolar approximant initially. Between high vowels the closure is greater and it approaches fricative quality, as it does word-finally, and initially before *i*. Tindale (1962a: 261) exaggerates this effect, transcribing *rara* as [ra:rθ]. In all positions it is slightly palatalized before *i*. Between low vowels some speakers, e.g. Dugal Goongarra, pronounce it as a retroflex flap, neutralizing the distinction between *r* and *rd*.

'south'	<i>rara</i>	/ra:ra/	[ra:ɾ]
'egg'	<i>kuru</i>	/kuru/	[kɔɾɔ]
'east'	<i>riya</i>	/riya/	[ʃei]
'young girl'	<i>nguriwa</i>	/ŋuriwa/	[ŋɔɾiɔ]
'red ant'	<i>barakurra</i>	/paɾakura/	[baɾɔkɔɾ ~ baɾɔkɔɾ]

Where the syllable which *r* initiates contains a liquid (*rr* or *rl*) in its coda, *r* is usually realized as [ɾ]:

'place name'	<i>Birarrki</i>	/piɾarki/	[biɾarki]
'curly'	<i>kururrji</i>	/kuɾurɟi/	[kɔɾɔɾɟi]
'place name'	<i>tharurki</i>	/ʉaɾurki/	[ʉaɾɔɾki]
'Morning glory cloud'	<i>warilda</i>	/waɾilta/	[waɾilt]
'heap of food'	<i>baralji</i>	/baɾaltʃi/	[baɾɔɾdʒi]
'pike eel'	<i>ralkaralka</i>	/ɾalkaɾalka/	[ɾalkɔɾalk]

For some older speakers (e.g. Pluto) *r* may be realized as either [ɹ] or [ʀ] before stops, including *rd*. Other speakers have only the [ɹ] pronunciation.

'boy, male'	<i>wurkara</i>	/wʉkara/	[wɔkɹɛ ~ wɔkɹɛ]
'hand'	<i>marlda</i>	/maɹta/	[mɔtɹ ~ mɔtɹ]

Historically *r* is a merger of the phonemes /ɹ/ and /ʀ/, distinct in proto Tangkic and preserved in Yukulta:

gloss	pT / Yukulta	Kayardild phonemic	Kayardild phonetic
'get, fetch'	/kiɹaɹa/	/kiɹaɹa/	[kiɹɛɹ]
'red ant'	/paɹakura/	/paɹakura/	['baɹɛkʉ]
'get up'	/ɹapiɹa/	/ɹapiɹa/	['ɹapiɹ]
'sweat'	/ɹaɹara/	/ɹaɹara/	['ɹaɹɛ]

In Lardil and Yangkaal as well, /ɹ/ and /ʀ/ have merged, with the lateral allophone predominating initially and before retroflex stops and nasals, and the rhotic elsewhere.

Historic /ɹʀ/ clusters are in Kayardild phonemic /ɹʀ/, phonetically [ɹʀ]. In the intervocalic environment to which they are restricted, they differ phonetically from the simple retroflex stop /ɹ/, phonetically [ɹ], in three ways:

- (a) there is a longer retroflex onglide and a shorter preceding vowel before the cluster;
- (b) the stop in the cluster is voiceless, conditioned by the preceding sonorant, whereas the simple retroflex stop is voiced
- (c) [ɹʀ] allows a trilled release as [ɹʀ^r]:

'corkwood'	<i>murdu</i>	/muɹu/	['moɹɔ]
'three'	<i>burldamurr</i>	/puɹɹamur/	['bɔɹɹ ^(r) ɛmɔ]

An alternative phonemicization of this sequence would be as /ɹʀ/, as implied by the orthographic representation *rld* (originally used in Hale's and Klokeid's Lardil orthographies, and retained in the Kayardild orthography to avoid the cumbersome *r.rd*). This implies that *l* assimilates to retroflex articulation before *rd*, which is not implausible: *l* occurs before every other stop and would condition devoicing and trilled

- [e˞] before retroflexes: *birdiy* [ˈb e˞d̪e̞i] ‘bad’
 [e˞] (slightly rounded centralized rhotacized mid vowel) between *w* and *rd*, with the preceding *w* contributing the rounding and the following *rd* the rhotacization: *wirdij* ‘stay’ [ˈw e˞d̪iɟ]

u is generally less rounded and more centralized than cardinal vowel number 8. Its allophones are

- [ɔ] in most stressed positions, and in final open syllables:
ngudij [ŋɔd̪iɟ] ‘throw’, *kardu* [ˈkaɟɔ], ‘fa-in-law’
 [o] before *rr* and sometimes before *w*: *barakurr* ‘ant’ [ˈbaɾakor],
ngulmuwa ‘deadly’ [ŋɔlmowə].
 [o˞] before retroflex consonants: *murdu* [ˈmo˞d̪ɔ] ‘corkwood’,
kuru [ˈko˞ɾɔ] ‘egg’
 [o˞>] (rounded centralized rhotacized mid back vowel) between *j* and *rd*:
jurdiij [ˈd̪o˞>d̪e˞ɟ] ‘set of sun’. The phonetic difference from *i* in this environment is very slight and only heard in the most careful speech: the *i* phoneme is less rounded. Cf. *jirdawath* ‘salivate’ [ˈd̪e˞d̪ewat̪].

a is [a] in most environments, reducing to [ə] when unstressed: *balanangku* [ˈbaləˈnaŋkɔ] ‘won’t spear’, *ngada kurrij* ‘I see’ [ŋadəˈkɔriɟ]. Departures from these values are

- [æ ~ a] before palatals: *majarri* ‘navel’ [ˈmæɟari ~ ˈmaɟari].
 [a˞] or [e˞] before retroflexes (which may initiate a new word):
nardaa ‘bulrush’ [ˈna˞d̪aː],
birdiya dangkaa ‘many men’ [be˞d̪ije˞ d̪aŋkaː].

In contrast to many Australian languages, e.g. *Diyari* (Austin 1981c), *a* is not rounded after *w*, so that *wangarr* ‘song’ is [ˈwaŋar] rather than *[ˈwoŋar].

Values before glides will be dealt with in 2.1.3.3.

2.1.3.2 Long vowels. *ii* and *uu* are lower than *i* and *u* in corresponding environments, so that they are normally realized as [e:] and [o:] respectively: *miid* ‘lobster, louse’ [meːd], *kuuk* ‘sore’ [goːk].

Long *aa* has a similar quality to *a* when not followed by a palatal: *maali* ‘swamp turtle’ [maːli]; *malaa* ‘sea’ [maːaː].

Before palatals long vowels tend to have a palatal offglide. This is most marked with *aa* e.g. *baaj* ‘bite’ [baːiɟ], but also possible with *uu*:

duujind 'younger brother' ['do:ɖɪnt] ~ ['do:ɪɖɪnt]. Similarly *ii* varies between [e:] and [e:ɪ] before *j*: *diij* 'sit' ['de:ɖ] ~ [de:ɪɖ]. That this diphthong is conditioned by the following palatal segment is shown by the reversion to a pure long vowel before a non-palatal, e.g. *wuund* 'giving, giver' [wo:nt], *diind* 'sitting, sitter' [de:nt].

As mentioned above, short vowels are somewhat longer, notated [v̄], before retroflexes. All phonemic long vowels are longer than this, and are notated [v:], and phonemic long vowels before retroflexes are even longer (notated [v::], e.g. *buurnd* 'sandfly' [bo:ɪŋt]).

2.1.3.3 Vowel-Glide-Vowel sequences. As well as phonemic long vowels, Kayardild has a number of phonemic short vowel-glide-short vowel sequences, some of which are realized as phonetic long vowels or diphthongs. The realization of short vowel-glide-long vowel sequences never gives rise to diphthongs as it always involves two distinct syllables, and is therefore not treated here.

The vowel-glide-vowel analysis of phonetic diphthongs has been amply justified in many Australian languages¹ and only sketchy arguments will be given here. The main reason is phonotactic, allowing the generalization that no two phonemic vowels occur contiguously. Certain phonetic differences from phonemic long vowels also exist.

Of the eighteen possible permutations of 3 vowels x 2 glides x 3 vowels, sixteen are attested: this excludes the sequences *iyu* and *uwi*.

The sequences *iyi* and *uwu*, where vowel and glide have the same locus, are articulated with a distinct onset before the second vowel in some formations, such as reduplications: *bukuwuku* ['buku,wuku] 'timothy vine, dodder laurel' and *kirrmiliyirrmili* ['kirmili,jirmili] 'pig's foot vine, portulac'. In other morphological environments, such as before suffixes, there is no clear glide onset before the second vowel, but there is a slight decrescendo: *maku* 'woman, wife', *-wuru* 'having', *makuwuru* 'married, having a wife' ['makuuu]. That the resultant sequence (here transcribed [uu] rather than [u:]) is not treated phonologically as a long vowel is shown by its failure to attract stress, which should appear on long vowels (2.6).

Of the remaining fourteen permutations, ten are realized as regular vowel-glide-vowel sequences; apart from the lowering of *i* before *y* and variations in the second vowel conditioned by stress and following segments, vowels have their expected values:

¹ See, for example, Dixon 1972 for Dyirbal, Donaldson 1980 for Ngiyambaa, Austin 1981a for Diyari.

Sequence	Example	Gloss
<i>iya</i> [eje]	<i>kiyarrngk</i> ['ke,jaŋk]	'two'
<i>iwa</i> [iwɐ]	<i>kiwalath</i> ['kiwɐ,laɬ]	'churn up'
<i>iwi</i> [iwi]	<i>jiwirrij</i> ['djiwi,riɖ]	'spin round'
<i>aya</i> [aje]	<i>ngayarndathu</i> ['ŋajeŋɖɛtɔ]	'cross cousin'
<i>ayu</i> [ajɔ]	<i>kayulumbulij</i> ['kaɔ,ɭɔmbɔ,le:ɖ]	'speak wildly'
<i>awi</i> [awi]	<i>jawij</i> ['dja,widɖ]	'run'
<i>awa</i> [awɐ]	<i>bawath</i> ['ba,wɛɬ]	'blow (wind)'
<i>uyi</i> [uji]	<i>kuyild</i> ['gu,jult]	'file stingray'
<i>uya</i> [uja]	<i>kuyalkamarnjuth</i> ['gujalkɛ,maŋ,ɖuɬ]	'back-bite'
<i>uyu</i> [uju]	<i>kuyurru</i> ['gujɔrɔ]	'wind-pipe'

The sequences *ayi*, *awu*, *uwa* and *iwu* are phonetically diphthongs; the second vowel component is usually somewhat longer.

<i>ayi</i> [aiː]	<i>bayi</i> ['baiː]	'fight'
<i>awu</i> [auː]	<i>thawul</i> ['t̪auːl]	'son-in-law'
<i>uwa</i> [oɑː]	<i>kuwalkulath</i> ['koɑːl,kɔlaɬ]	'spin round'
<i>iwu</i> [iuː]	<i>mariwu</i> ['ma.iuː]	'stone food-pounder'

Prosodic truncation of final *a* (see 2.3) affects several of these sequences, leaving diphthongs:

<i>iy</i> [eĩ]	<i>yakuriy</i> ['jako,ɾeĩ]	'fish-LOC'
<i>iw</i> [uɔ]	<i>nguriw</i> ['ŋuɾuɔ]	'girl'
<i>ay</i> [ɑĩ]	<i>bardakay</i> ['bɛːɖɛ,kaĩ]	'stomach-LOC'
<i>aw</i> [aɔ̃]	<i>walaw</i> ['walaɔ̃]	'rifle-fish'
<i>uy</i> [uĩ]	<i>makuy</i> ['ma,k:uĩ]	'woman-LOC'
<i>uw</i> [oũ]	<i>ngukuw</i> ['ŋu,k:ouĩ]	'water'

Compared to similar vowel–glide–vowel sequences, vowel–glide sequences give greater length to the first vocalic segment. For example *ay*, phonetically [eĩ], is distinguished from *ayi*, phonetically [eɪː], by the relative length of the two components. In other words, the vowel–glide–vowel sequence gives a rising diphthong, with greater emphasis on the second element, while the vowel–glide sequence is a falling diphthong, with greater emphasis on the first element (cf. Catford 1977:216).

2.2 Isolating the word

The following criteria allow us to segment Kayardild utterances into words. The units defined by phonological criteria coincide with those defined grammatically².

PHONOLOGICAL CRITERIA

Phonotactic constraints. Each Kayardild word must begin with a consonant and end with a vowel (except where “prosodic truncation” applies—see below). Other phonotactic constraints, such as the restriction of consonant clusters to word-medial position (2.4.2), rule out some possible word boundaries.

Stress placement. Primary stress always falls on the first syllable of a phonological word (2.6). The placement of secondary stress is complex, but the unmarked situation is for it to fall on the penultimate syllable of the phonological word.

Prosodic truncation. Word-final short *a* may be prosodically truncated when it is the final syllable of a breath-group.

“Exposed” vs “protected” allomorphs. Certain nominal and verbal suffixes have reduced forms when they appear word finally.

GRAMMATICAL CRITERIA

Potential pause. Pause may be made between two words, but not within the word.

Permutation. With certain well-defined exceptions (3.2.1), sequences of words may be permuted without substantial changes in meaning. Segments within the word, on the other hand, cannot be permuted without either altering the meaning or yielding nonsense.

Concord. All constituents higher than the word display complete concord. This process of “downward percolation” of inflections stops when the unit “word” is reached.

Isolability. Speakers are happy to talk about, and assign meanings to, grammatical words, inflected or not, but in general they will not recognize parts of words or give meanings to them³.

² The sole exceptions are the conjunctions *bana* and *birra*. These have word-like phonological properties, and are permutable within limits (9.7.5), but cannot be uttered in isolation.

³ However, Roland Moodoonuthi, perhaps my most articulate informant, will talk about certain case suffixes in isolation, provided they have word-like phonotactics and a fairly constant meaning, e.g. the instrumental suffix *-nguni*.

2.3 Prosodic truncation of final /a/

Word-final short *a* disappears before planned pauses at the end of a breath group.

In the following example two words, each ending in phonemic *a*, are repeated in different orders with a pause after each two-word group. The final *a* of each pause group is dropped, indicated here by “_”:

- (2-1) *jirrkur-ung-ka thaa-th_ , thaa-tha jirrkur-ung-k_*
 north-ALL-NOM return-ACT return-ACT north-ALL-ACT
 ‘They came back to the north, to the north they came back.’

The appearance or disappearance of *a* depends entirely on the placement of pause. The above phrase may be expanded to include a final overt subject, which protects other words from truncation but suffers truncation itself:

- (2-2) *jirrkur-ung-ka thaa-tha bithiin-d_*
 north-ALL-NOM return-ACT man-NOM
 ‘The man came back to the north.’

Among voluble speakers the pause group may be quite extended, but only the final *a* is dropped:

- (2-3) *ngijin-da kajakaja dan-da ra-yin-da dali-j_*
 my-NOM daddy-NOM here-NOM south-FROM-NOM come-ACT
 ‘Here comes my daddy from the south.’

a is likewise retained before unplanned pauses, notated here by “--”, where the speaker halts unexpectedly through distraction or forgetting a word. Such interrupted pause groups also lack the characteristic raised “suspense” or lowered “definitive” intonation contour, and are often followed by a glottal stop as phonation abruptly ceases:

- (2-4) *dan-da ra-yin-da --* [danta ra:jinda?]
 here-NOM south-FROM-NOM
 ‘Here from the south --’

Alternatively each word may be paused after as when speaking to an uncomprehending linguist, or adding afterthoughts, and accordingly suffers truncation:

- (2-5) *jirrkur-ung-k_ , thaa-th_ bithiin-d_*
 north-ALL-NOM return-ACT man-NOM
 ‘To the north, he came back, the man.’

Because pause cannot be made before clitics, between the elements of compounds, or between affixes within a word, word- or morpheme-final shwas are always protected in these contexts:

Form pronounced in isolation	Protected form
<i>wirdi-j_</i> stay-ACT 'stays'	<i>wirdi-ja=d_</i> stay-ACT=SAME 'still stays'
<i>kirrk_</i> noseNOM 'nose'	<i>kirrka-miburl-d_</i> nose-eye-NOM 'face'
<i>bijarrb_</i> dugongNOM	<i>bijarrba-nth_</i> dugong-OBL

Morphological statements are thus greatly simplified if the protected form is taken as basic, especially since the choice of following allomorphs may be conditioned by the presence of stem-final *a*: in the last example the allomorph *-nth* is selected after a non-front vowel; similarly the allomorph *-da* of the clitic *-ida* 'SAME' is selected by a preceding non-front vowel.

Because of this, and because final truncation depends on utterance-specific intonation, in turn partly determined by syntagmatic properties of phrase structure, I treat it as a prosodic boundary marker deleting a short vowel that is underlyingly present.

2.3.1 Reanalysis by younger speakers

The above analysis is suitable for traditional Kayardild, but there are signs that younger speakers are taking the truncated form as basic and adding final *a* as a morphophonemic process.

Since the truncation prosody affects words pronounced in isolation, citation forms lack final *a*. Probably because of this, younger speakers, the only ones literate in English, prefer words given in isolation to be written without final schwa, e.g. *wirdij* 'stay' rather than *wirdija*. A few words have been resegmented on the pattern of the citation form—for example, the OBLIQUE form of *kunawuna* 'child' is *kunawunanth(a)* in traditional Kayardild but *kunawuninj(a)* for younger speakers.

2.3.2 Morphologically conditioned truncations

A number of suffixes undergo various sorts of truncation which may well have originated as prosodic markers, but non-final position within

the pause-group is no longer sufficient to protect the full form—protection by a following suffix is required. I therefore treat these as alternations conditioned by position within the word.

Because of their idiosyncratic nature they are not discussed here but in the relevant morphology sections. The suffixes affected are ABLative {-*kinaba*}, PROPrietary {-*kuru*}, ALLative {-*kiring*}, NOMinative augment {-*wa* ~ -*ya*}, LOT {-*walaTH-*}, POTential {-*THuru*} and INCEPTive {-*THiring*}.

2.3.3 Exceptions to prosodic truncation

The short *a* exposed after truncation of the ablative, which is underlyingly *-(k(i))naba* but *((k)i)na* in word final position, does not undergo final truncation: cf. *wanalk-inaba-y(a)* ‘boomerang-ABL-LOC’ and *wangalk-ina* ‘boomerang-ABL’; nor does short *a* in words etymologically containing an ablative, such as *durdina* ‘younger brother or sister’, etymologically the ablative of *durdi* ‘soft, weak’.

English and Lardil loans ending in *a* also escape truncation, especially among younger speakers: the citation forms of *waydbala* ‘white man’ and *warnda* ‘mullet sp.’ (Lardil loan) are [ˈwaɪdbalə] and [ˈwaːɲdɐ], not the expected [ˈwaɪdbəl] and [ˈwaːɲt].

2.3.4 Lengthening of preceding vowel after truncation

The underlyingly penultimate vowel of some suffixes is optionally phonemically lengthened when prosodic truncation leaves them as the final syllable of a breath-group.

An example is the ORIGIN suffix *-waan-*. *dulwanda yarbuda* [earth-ORIG-NOM snake-NOM] ‘earthworm’ is phonetically [dɔlwante ˈjaɪpɔd], with no lengthening, but inversion of the word order gives *yarbuda dulwaand* [ˈjaɪpɔde dɔlwaːnt ~ jaɪpɔde ˈdɔlwant], with optional lengthening of the final syllable and consequent reassignment of stress. These length alternations are morphologically conditioned and are discussed under the appropriate suffix.

2.4 Phonotactics

2.4.1 Word, root and syllable structure

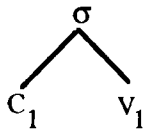
Discounting the effects of prosodic truncation, all Kayardild words bar some recent loans begin with a consonant and end with a vowel⁴. The overwhelming majority of Kayardild words are disyllabic or longer, but there is a handful of words—*jaa* ‘foot’, *raa* ‘south’, *duu* ‘clitoris’—that have a single, long syllable, though the first two of these have disyllabic alternants, respectively *jara* and *rara*. To include these in our generalization about minimum word-length, we can say that all Kayardild words have at least two morae, where short syllables are defined to have one mora, and long syllables two (cf. Wilkinson 1988 on Lardil).

Roots vary from one syllable, as in some verb roots with long vowels such as *baa-* ‘bite’, to at least seven syllables, as in *bunjanbalayambala-* ‘honeyeater’. The generous suffixing possibilities allow one to construct forms like *kunawunanurruwalakarranguninabayada* ‘whereas still using the (things) of the many people with children’ (16 syllables), but I have not heard such long forms in free speech. The longest spontaneously occurring word I have recorded is *ngurruwarrawalathinabamaruthurrka* ‘for the ones from the many fish-traps’ (13 syllables), in a text by Roonga Bentinck. Inflected words with eight or nine syllables are common.

Verbal roots and stems must end in a vowel; nominal roots may end in a vowel or in any consonant but *b*, *rd*, *m*, *nh*, *w* or *y*. A number of di- and tri-consonantal clusters occur medially, but there are no vowel clusters.

Although there is an overall preference for open syllables, Kayardild allows the following three syllable types. The first is unrestricted in position, while the others are limited to non-final syllables.

(a)

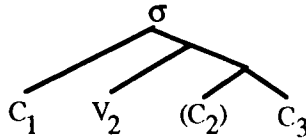


⁴ Nominals with the allative case in exposed final position are an exception, allowing final *r*. See 4.3.7.

where V_1 is any vowel, long or short. Syllables exemplifying this structure are contained in the following words:

<i>ku</i> ʃri <i>ja</i> ʃri	'wasn't seen'
<i>thu</i> ʃru <i>ʃbu</i> ʃdu <i>ʃyu</i> ʃbu ʃdu	'mud skipper'
<i>kuu</i> ʃjuu ʃju	'will swim'

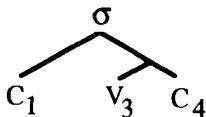
(b)



where V_2 is any short vowel, C_3 is any sonant, and C_2 is a liquid just in case C_3 is a peripheral nasal. The coda sequence *rm*, however, is attested only as one variant of the reduplicated word *burnburnda* ~ *burmburnda* 'parrot fish', where it results from retroflex excrescence (2.5.1.3), and is thus extremely marginal). Syllables with this structure are given in bold in the following words:

<i>bi</i> ʃjarr <i>ʃba</i>	'dugong'
<i>wu</i> ʃran <i>ʃda</i>	'food'
<i>nal</i> ʃda	'head'
<i>dul</i> ʃka	'ground'
<i>kur</i> ʃkang <i>ʃka</i>	'bulrush'
<i>nga</i> ʃnam <i>ʃba</i>	'old nut of spike rush'
<i>ku</i> ʃda <i>ʃdalng</i> <i>ʃka</i>	'stingray sp.'
<i>ki</i> ʃyarrng <i>ʃka</i>	'two'
<i>barrng</i> ʃkaa	'waterlily root'
<i>bulm</i> ʃbaa	'grasshopper, locust'
<i>burm</i> ʃburn <i>ʃda</i>	'parrot fish'

(c)



where V_3 is a long vowel and C_4 a non-peripheral nasal or, in one root each, *rr*, *r* or *j*. Syllables exemplifying this structure are given in bold in the following words:

<i>thaan</i> σ ku σ ru	‘returning’
<i>bi</i> σ thiin σ da	‘man’
<i>buurn</i> σ da	‘sandfly’
<i>marr</i> σ jin σ maany σ ju σ tha	‘send each other messengers’
<i>buurr</i> σ ma σ tha	‘fat’
<i>waar</i> σ barl σ da	‘poisonous bean-like plant’
<i>yuuj</i> σ ban σ da	‘long ago’

Throughout (a)—(c) C_1 represents any consonant, except that word-initially some consonants cannot occur (see 2.4.2 below).

Two overall generalizations about Kayardild syllable structure are worth noting. First, it is basically impossible to have a syllable-final stop; the only exception to this is a handful of syllables ending in *j*. Secondly, note the complementary nature of the syllable-final element in the two heaviest syllable types—when (b) has two consonants in the coda the final consonant is peripheral, while in (c) the final consonant is non-peripheral.

2.4.2 Distribution of consonants

Word-initially only 12 of the 18 consonant phonemes have been recorded: *b*, *rd*, *th*, *j*, *k*, *m*, *rn*, *ny*, *ng*, *r*, *w* and *y*. Apico-alveolars do not occur because the alveolar-retroflex contrast is neutralized initially.

In addition *nh*, *l*, *rl* and *rr* have not been recorded word-initially in native Kayardild words, though English loans such as *lakimatha* ‘like, take a fancy to’ have introduced initial *l*. *l* and *rl* are well-attested initially in Yukulta but have become *r* in Kayardild. *nh* begins one word each in Yukulta (*nhangkunhali* ‘grasshopper’) and Lardil (*nhura* ‘tree sp.’); neither Yukulta nor Lardil allow initial *rr*.

Word-finally only vowels may occur in traditional Kayardild. All three short vowels are possible, but the only long vowel that is at all common is *aa* in some nominative noun/adjectives. In Yukulta only short vowels are possible word-finally; Kayardild *aa* in word-final position stems from pT *ara*. The changed interpretation of prosodic truncation among younger speakers (2.3.1) makes final consonants possible; in fact word-final position allows the full range of intervocalic possibilities for these speakers.

Intervocally all consonants may occur; there are also a number of root-internal clusters, of the following types (for this section full digraphs are used in all cluster elements e.g. *nhth* for normal orthographic *nth*). These are given in Table 2-2. Note that this set is substantially smaller than what would be obtained from the combination of onset consonants with the coda consonants given in 2.4.1 above, since many possible combinations, such as *ngb* (which combines *ng*,

Table 2-2. Permissible root-internal intervocalic consonant clusters in Kayardild

(a)	mb	nd	nrnd	nhth	nyj	ngk
(b)	mb nb nyb			rnth	rnj	rnk nk
(c)	lb lm	ld	(l.rd)	lth	lj lny	lk lng
(d)	rb rm rrb rrm	rrd	(r.rd) ⁵	rth rth	rj rj	rk rng rnk rng
(e)	jb					
(f)	nym					
(g)	rw rrw lw				ry ry	
(h)	lmb rmb					lngk rngk

an acceptable coda in syllable type (b), with *b*, an acceptable onset in any syllable type), are ruled out by the stricter constraints on intervocalic clusters.

These clusters can be classified as follows:

1. DICONSONANTAL

- (a) all homorganic stop plus nasal clusters.
- (b) apico-retroflex nasal plus non-apical stop; apico-dental nasal plus peripheral stop; palatal nasal plus bilabial stop.
- (c) lateral plus any stop or any non-apical nasal.
- (d) a rhotic plus a peripheral or laminal stop, or a peripheral nasal.

⁵ The bracketed sequences represent alternative phonemicizations of [ɹɹ]—see 2.1.2.2.

- (e) the two stop sequence *-jb-* (rare).
- (f) the two nasal sequence *-nym-* (rare).
- (g) a liquid plus a glide.

2. TRICONSONANTAL

- (h) *l* or *rr* plus a peripheral homorganic nasal plus stop cluster.

Except for (e), (f) and (g), these clusters all consist of one or two sonorants plus a non-sonorant, a typical pattern in Australia (cf. Austin 1981a: 26). This can be phrased even more specifically: except for (g), which are all liquid plus glide clusters, equal or decreasing sonority is required for successive elements of a cluster⁶. This constraint rules out nasal plus glide clusters (found in Yukulta but not in Kayardild).

Word examples containing these clusters are:

- (a) *wumburungka* 'spear', *banda* 'soon', *marndurra* 'close-up dead', *kanhthathu* 'father'; *nganyjuna* 'sand frog'.
- (b) *barnbarnda* 'blue crab'; *ngarnthangka* 'groin', *kuyalkamarnjutha* 'backbite', *ngarnkirri* 'group of people'; *minbarra* 'wound', *wanka* 'branch, wing'; *kunybalka* 'edible root'.
- (c) *walbu* 'raft', *ngildija* 'cough', *burldamurra* 'three', *bulthuku* 'tree-creeper', *wurdalji* 'meat', *walka* 'ground oven'; *ngulmu* 'deadly', *kalnyirri* 'place name', *jalnganhangka* 'tongue'.
- (d) *yarbuda* 'snake', *bur.rdamurra* 'three', *barthaa* 'evening camp', *barjija* 'fall', *kurkangka* 'bulrush'; *barmatha* 'wrestle dugong', *warngiida* 'one'; *bijarrba* 'dugong'; *rarrthararrtha* 'sharing', *dakarrdinya* 'slender barracuda', *warrjawarri* 'slowly', *jardarrka* 'crow'; *warmara* 'cool S.E. wind', *kurrnguwa* 'feeding ground'.
- (e) *ngijbalutha* 'to cool food'.
- (f) *ngunymurra* 'grease, whale oil'.
- (g) *karwarrka* 'queen fish', *wiryilda* 'plant sp.'; *durrwaja* 'chase', *kurryaa* 'rock flagtail', *bulwija* 'be shy'.
- (h) *balmbiwu* 'tomorrow', *kurdalalngka* 'stingray'; *barrngkaa* 'lily-root'.

Across morpheme boundaries the set of clusters is increased by the combinations *n-m*, *rn-m*, *ny-ng*; *n-j*; *l-w*; and *rr-n*. Examples are: *ban-marri* 'not in the west'; *ngarn-mulaaja* 'leaving the beach'; *yarbun-nyngarrba* 'because of the snake'; *wangal-warri* 'without a boomerang', *damurr-nurru* 'with the short one'.

Among all clusters of equal sonority, namely *jb*, *nym*, *nm*, *rnm*, and *nyng*, the first element is to the right of the "articulator continuum" LABIAL > DORSAL > LAMINAL > APICAL proposed by Hamilton (1989) to account for a number of phonotactic features of Australian languages (see also Evans 1994a). All permissible clusters except type

⁶ This assertion assumes the sonority hierarchy in Durand (1990: 210).

(g) can thus be accounted for by the two principles of non-decreasing sonority and increasingly “light” articulator positions (where apical is the “lightest”).

2.4.3 Distribution of long vowels

Long vowels in lexical roots may fall in the first syllable, as in *maali* ‘swamp turtle’, *yuulutha* ‘go first’, *miida* ‘lobster, louse’; or in the second syllable as in *yulaaja* ‘be afraid’. In just one word both first and second syllables are long: *kuujuuja* ‘swim’. This is a frozen reduplication: ‘swim’ in Yukulta is *kuuja*.

Several inflectional and derivational processes also create long vowels in non-initial position. Disyllabic nominals with root-final *a* lengthen the vowel in the nominative, e.g. *malaa* ‘sea-NOM’ cf. *malaya* ‘sea-LOC’. Many middle verbs also contain long vowels, whether through stem-lengthening or insertion of *-yii-*: *kalatha* ‘cut-M’, *kalaaja* ‘cut-M-ACT’; *raaja* ‘spear-ACT’; *rayiija* ‘spear-M-ACT’ (see 7.4.1). Note that where a long-vowelled derivational suffix is inserted, as in the last example, the preceding vowel is shortened.

2.5 Morphophonemics

Morphophonemic changes in Kayardild are few, and do not obscure the basically agglutinative structure of the language. There are five basic types of morphophonemic change, summarized below:

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| 1. | Nasal assimilation | a | Regressive, of laminal stops |
| | | b | Progressive, of <i>w</i> |
| 2. | Lateralization | | |
| 3. | Delaminalization | | |
| 4. | Feature blend | | |
| 5. | Cluster simplification | a | Loss of nasal segment |
| | | b | Loss of other segment |

The only ordering restrictions are that Nasal Assimilation must precede all other changes, and that lateralization must precede cluster simplification.

Apart from delaminalization, the above morphophonemic changes only take place when a phonotactically unacceptable consonant sequence would otherwise arise. In other words, phonotactic constraints double as conditions on morphophonemic rules; they should be borne in mind throughout this section. For a formal account of how the similar but

more extensive morphophonemic changes in Lardil can be motivated by syllabification rules see Wilkinson (1988).

Because all verbal roots and derivational suffixes are vowel final, and vowel-final suffixes neither cause the violation of phonotactic constraints nor trigger laminalization, morphophonemic changes in Kayardild are confined to nominals although these may then be verbalized in a number of ways. Within the nominal class, inflection, derivation, compounding and reduplication all trigger identical morphophonemic changes, and examples will be drawn freely from all four types.

2.5.1 Nasal assimilation

This may be progressive or regressive, depending on the position of the nasal segment and the type of non-nasal segment.

2.5.1.1 Progressive glide to nasal assimilation. Suffix initial *w* assimilates the nasality of preceding apical nasals, becoming *m*⁷:

(2-6)	<i>kinyin-</i> + <i>-warri</i>	--> <i>kinyinmarri</i> 'non-existent'
	<i>dan-</i> + <i>-waalu-tha</i>	--> <i>danmaalutha</i> 'here-VEVIT-ACT'
	<i>ngijin-</i> + <i>-warra-a-n-ngarrba</i>	--> <i>ngijinmarraannngarrba</i> 'gone to by
me'	<i>ngarn-</i> + <i>-waanda</i>	--> <i>ngarnmaanda</i> 'from the beach'

Where the preceding nasal is a velar, cluster simplification takes place (2.5.5).

Sequences arising from reduplication do not assimilate: *wakirin-wakirinda* 'carrying coolamons under their arms'. This is an exception to the generalization that derivations, inflections, compounds and reduplications all trigger the same morphophonemic changes.

2.5.1.2 Regressive assimilation of nasality of final stops.

Morpheme-final laminal stops assimilate in nasality before stem-initial *m* or *ng* i.e. the peripheral nasals. Regardless of whether the underlying stop is palatal or dental, the palatal nasal *ny* results:

(2-7) *yarbuth-* 'snake' + *-ngarrba* 'CONS' ---> *yarbunyangarrba*

(2-8) *ngij-* 'wood' + *-marutha* 'Verbal Dative' ---> *nginyumarutha*

⁷ This rule is not found in Yukulta or Lardil, where glides may follow nasals across a morpheme boundary: Yukulta *kinyin-warri* 'having a bad shape', Lardil *maarn-werr* 'spear-PRIV' 'spearless'.

An optional subrule simplifies the cluster *nyng* generated by this rule to *ny*. Thus we may have *yarbunyangarrba* or *yarbunyarrba*, and *nginyngarrba* or *nginyarrba*.

Before other nasals the relevant segment is lost by Cluster Simplification (2.5.5).

2.5.1.3 Regressive assimilation of stem-final *ng*-. Apical nasals may be followed by a stop at any point of articulation (2.4.2). But *ng*, the only other nasal that can occur morpheme-finally, may only precede *k*. Where it would precede a heterorganic stop, it assimilates to the relevant point of articulation. Examples are:

(2-9) *kujurrung-* + *-balada* ---> *kujurrumbalada* 'lots of exposed sandbanks'

(2-10) *kang-* + *juldajulda* ---> *kanyjuldajulda* 'correct speech'

(2-11) *kang-* + *bardangu* ---> *kambardangu* 'strong-voiced, loud'

The same applies to reduplications, e.g. *Burrumburrungka* (place name). I have no examples of what happens when velar *ng* would precede an apical or interdental.

I have one example of the retroflex nasal *rn* assimilating (optionally) to a following bilabial. Interestingly, the retroflexion that appears allophonically on the preceding vowel is extruded and heard as an epenthetic glide: *burnburnda* [bu^ɻnbuŋt] ~ *burmburnda* [buɹmbuŋt] 'parrot-fish'.

2.5.2 Lateralization

The sequence *n-r* becomes *l* :

(2-12) *nganikin-* + *rilungka* --> *nganikililungka* 'yonder to the west'

(2-13) *birdin-* + *raaja* --> *birdilaaja* 'mis-spear'

(2-14) *kabin-* + *ru-tha* --> *kabilutha* 'wait for low tide'.

Historically the morpheme-initial *r* in these examples was once *l*; the preceding *n* was lost by cluster-simplification. Yukulta preserves initial *l* in all these morphemes. Some Kayardild compounds also preserve *l* as the initial of the second element, though it normally occurs as *r* word-initially. An example is *dangka-laajirrinda* 'speared by a man', compounded from *dangkaa* 'man' and *raajirrinda* 'speared'.

2.5.3 Delaminalization

There exists in Kayardild and in all languages of the Tangkic subgroup a regular alternation between stem-final apico-alveolar *d* and lamino-dental *th* or lamino-palatal *j*. The apical is found before the NOMinative *-a*; the laminal elsewhere. Examples of *d* alternating with *th* are:

<i>bad-a</i>	west-NOM	<i>bath-in-da</i>	west-FROM-NOM
<i>ngirrngud-a</i>	fly-NOM	<i>ngirrnguth-inja</i>	fly-OBL
<i>yarbud-a</i>	snake-NOM	<i>yarbuth-u</i>	snake-PROP
<i>nid-a</i>	name-NOM	<i>nith-i</i>	name-LOC

Examples where *d* alternates with *j*⁸ are:

<i>ngid-a</i>	wood-NOM	<i>ngij-inja</i>	wood-OBL
<i>warngiid-a</i>	one-NOM	<i>warngiij-u</i>	one-PROP
<i>miid-a</i>	lobster-NOM	<i>mij-u</i>	lobster-PROP

Preceding *i* or *ii* is a necessary but not sufficient condition for alternation with the palatal—cf. *nid-* ‘name’ which does not palatalize but dentalizes.

Although existing descriptions of Lardil and Yukulta, which have a comparable alternation, take the nominative stem as underlying and derive the other stems by a rule of “laminalization”⁹, I take the oblique-stem as underlying and derive the nominative from it by the following rule of delaminalization:

(2-15) Stop<Laminal> --> Stop<Apico-alveolar> / ___- Nominative

Note that the conditioning factor is morphological, since laminal stops fail to delaminalize in comparable verbal environments, e.g. *kurrkatha* ‘take’, *raaja* ‘spear’.

I have three reasons for taking the laminal form as underlying:

⁸ A full list is in 4.2.

⁹ See Keen (1983: 199) on Yukulta and Hale (1973: 423), Klokeid (1976: 40) and Wilkinson (1988) on Lardil.

In Lardil an analysis in terms of “laminalization” is justified for two reasons: the choice of laminal is predictable from the preceding vowel, and the process has been generalized to affect stems that etymologically end in *d* (which has changed to *rr* word finally in Lardil). Thus alongside alternations like *bad-a* / *baj-in* ‘west-NOM/OBJ’, where the root-final laminal is etymologically original, are alternations like *ngambid* ‘humpy-NOM’, *ngambij-in* ‘humpy-OBJ’, in which the root-final laminal is not present etymologically, but has been introduced by generalizing the alternation. It thus appears that Lardil has innovated by taking the apical form as underlying, and deriving the laminal from it by a more general rule.

(a) The apico-alveolar nominative stems can be predicted from the laminal forms, but not vice versa. Thus *nid-a* 'name-NOM', *nith-i* 'name-LOC'; but *ngid-a* 'firewood-NOM' *ngij-i* 'firewood-LOC'

(b) The laminal forms occur in a wider range of phonological environments than the apicals: in addition to appearing before high vowels, the laminal forms are found before stops and nasals (with the difference that the *palatal* form is always used here). Regressive assimilation of nasality (2.5.1.2) is fed by the laminal forms, as in the last three examples below:

<i>-yarraj-balad</i>	'many more'	< <i>-yarrath-</i> 'another' + <i>-balad</i> 'LOTS'
<i>birij-balad</i>	'many fathers'	< <i>birij-</i> 'father' + <i>-balad</i>
<i>marrkanymarrkad</i>	'swamp weed sp.'	< <i>marrkath-</i> 'soft' + REDUP
<i>yarbunyangarra</i>	'because of a snake'	< <i>yarbuth-</i> 'snake' + <i>ngarra</i> CONS
<i>miinyuthanda</i>	'lice-ridden person'	< <i>mij-</i> 'louse' + <i>uthanda</i> 'XS'

In Yukulta, underlying lamino-dentals retain the dental articulation when nasalized. For example the 1st singular nominative pronoun *ngada* 'I' (underlyingly *ngath-*) may be followed by the 'stative' clitic *-ma-*, giving the sequence *nganh-ma* (Keen 1983:228).

(c) comparative evidence suggests the laminal forms are historically prior, as shown by the following cognates which all have laminals rather than apicals¹⁰:

<i>nith-</i>	'name'	Bajamal	<i>nij</i>	'name'
		Karrwa, Wanyi	<i>niji</i>	'name'
		Gudanji	<i>nija</i>	'name'
<i>ngij-</i>	'firewood'	Warlpiri	<i>ngiji</i>	'firestick'
		Jawoyn	<i>ngiyamo</i>	'fire'
		(mother-in-law register)		
<i>mij-</i>	'louse; lobster'	Ngalakan	<i>mij</i>	'louse'
		Nunggubuyu	<i>mi:j</i>	'headlouse'
		Warlpiri	<i>miji</i>	'beetle sp.'
		Wik-Mungkan	<i>mijj</i>	'leech'

I therefore take the laminal-final stems as basic, and will cite stems in their laminal form, e.g. *ngij-* 'wood', *nith-* 'name'.

¹⁰ The type of laminal—dental or palatal—does not always correspond, but this is often due to the lack of a laminal contrast in the languages concerned. Jawoyn has lenited stops in intervocalic environments, some of these are now exposed word-finally.

A special case of cluster simplification is degemination, exemplified by *wumburung-* 'spear' + *-ngarrba* 'CONsequential' which gives *wumburungarrba*.

Cluster simplification does not occur with English loans. Adding the PRIVATIVE inflection *-warri* to the loan *tomahawk*, for example, gives *tomahawkwarri*, with the banned cluster *kw*.

Although some applications of cluster simplification (e.g. *wangal(k)warri*) have the effect of eliminating unacceptable syllable structures, in most cases the underlying form is compatible with syllable structure constraints, and it is the more restrictive constraints on possible clusters that are being violated. For example, the following syllabifications are perfectly acceptable, but contain the unacceptable clusters marked in bold:

min ***ɔ****barr* *ɔ****l****u* ***θ****ha* --> *minbalutha*
wum ***ɔ****bu* ***ɔ****rung* ***ɔ****wa* ***ɔ****rri* --> *wumburuwarri*

2.5.6 Sporadic vowel harmony

There is a tendency for vowels to assimilate to *u* of a neighbouring syllable. Some such assimilations occur in everyone's speech:

mura- 'short' + *-ru-tha* FACtitive-ACT --> *mururutha* 'shorten'
yuki- 'float' + *-n-da* N-NOM --> *yukunda* 'afloat'
wungi-n-da [steal-N-NOM] 'thief' -> *wungunduwungundu* 'habitual thief'

Sometimes harmonized and unharmonized forms are in free variation, e.g. *wuthiwuthi* ~ *wuthuwuthi* 'piggyback', *-wuthinda* ~ *wuthunda* 'a few' and *Dijurdiju* ~ *Dujurduju* (place name).

But most often old speakers preserve an original form (as demonstrated by etymology) which is harmonized by the young:

<i>ri-y</i>	east-NOM	(all speakers)
<i>ri-lung-ka</i>	east-ALL-NOM	(Dugal Goongarra, Pat Gabori)
<i>ru-lung-ka</i>	east-ALL-NOM	(Darwin Moodoonuthi, all young speakers)
<i>kurirr</i>	dead	(all speakers)
<i>kurilutha</i>	dead-FAC-ACT	(Roma Kelly)
<i>kuru-lu-tha</i>	dead-FAC-ACT	(Darwin Moodoonuthi, all young speakers)

All the above instances of vowel harmony involve specifiable lexemes. The only time vowel harmony affects an inflectional affix is with the ALLtative inflection *-kiring-* which becomes *-kurung-* under the influence of *u* in both flanking syllables:

(2-19) *ngada* *jinka-ju* *dathin-ku* *dangka-wu*
 1sgNOM follow-POT that-MPROP man-MPROP

mirrarun-kurung-ku
 house-ALL-MPROP

'I will follow that man into the house.'

2.5.7 Reduplication

Reduplication is frequent with both nominals and verbals. Its semantic functions are discussed in 5.1.4 and 7.7.

Usually the entire stem is copied, but in the rare case that the reduplicated portion would be more than three syllables it loses a syllable: *ngambu-ngambu* 'flatulent', *kukalu-kukalu-tha* 'rebound again and again', but *thurruburdu-yuburdu* 'mud skipper'.

Certain initial consonants of the reduplicated segment may change:

(i) *b*, *j* and *k* may lenite to the corresponding glides: *balarr-* 'white', *balarr-walarr-* 'yolk'; *junku* 'straight', *junku-yunku* 'in retaliation, in return'; *kurraji-wurraji* 'a few' (no unreduplicated form); *bardurrka-* 'foetus', *bardu-wardurrk-* 'gradually'. In two recorded cases *th* lenites to *y*: *thurdaki-yurdaki* 'fish sp.', *thurruburdu-yuburdu* 'mud skipper' (with additional loss of second syllable).

(ii) *rd* may lenite to *r*: *dunbu* 'deaf', *dunbu-runbu* 'useless'. This may be used as phonological evidence for placing *r* with the other glide phonemes: all initial stop lenitions would then be to the corresponding glide.

(iii) In some circumstances initial velars (*k* and *ng*) in verb stems may palatalize - see 7.7. *k* may thus remain unchanged (e.g. *kukalu-kukalu-tha*), may lenite to *w* (*kurraji-wurraji*) or may palatalize to *j* (*kulma-julmaja*).

As the behaviour of *k* illustrates, the above changes do not occur in all reduplications. Only with *j* is lenition obligatory; all other phonemes occur intact in some reduplicated form. And all phonemes not listed in (i)–(iii) above are retained unchanged in reduplicated forms, e.g. *murdu-murdu* 'corkwood thicket', *rulurulu* 'human table formed during initiation ceremony'.

A reduplicated element may be compounded with an unreduplicated one, as where the nonce reduplication *wurarrowurarra* is compounded with the root *ja-* to give *jawurarrowurarra* 'a little bit of rain'.

2.5.8 Note on rule ordering

Cluster simplification must be ordered after the assimilation rules, as it is far more powerful than them. If applied before progressive glide to nasal

assimilation, for example, it would eliminate the nasal before this could affect the following *w*, giving **kinyiwarri* rather than *kinyinmarri* (cf. 2.5.1.1). If applied before regressive nasal assimilation, it would eliminate the underlying laminal before this could be nasalized, so that in place of *nginymarutha*, for example, (2.5.1.2) we would get *ngimarutha*.

2.6 Stress

Stress in Kayardild is non-contrastive. Although predictable from the form of a word and its affixes, the rules governing its placement are more complicated than in many Australian languages; combined with the staccato effects of truncation, this gives Kayardild a jerky rhythm which contrasts with the even flow of Yukulta. The description “heavy” applied to their language by Bentinck Islanders and others alike, in contrast to the “light” Yukulta and Lardil, probably refers to this.

Three levels of stress may be identified: main (ˈ), secondary (ˌ) and unstressed. In what follows I write stress marks over the vowels for convenience; where a vowel is long I write it over the first letter. Primary and secondary stressed syllables are pitched higher than unstressed. With decreasing stress short vowels become increasingly centralized (2.1.3.1); prosodic lengthening of consonants between adjacent main and secondarily stressed syllables is another correlate (2.6.2).

The final short *a* eventually dropped by prosodic truncation (2.3) is always included in syllable counts made for stress assignment. Pre-truncated forms are also used with ABLative {-*kinaba*}; individuals vary with respect to PROPrietary {-*kuru*}, some using the full and others the truncated form.

2.6.1 Stress placement rules

Main stress falls on the first syllable:

(2-19) ‘rebound’ *kúkalùth(a)* ‘cut oneself’ *kálàj(a)*

Secondary stress falls on:

(a) all non-initial long vowels, and non-initial short vowels whose syllable closes with a trill.

(b) penultimate syllables, except in trisyllables whose second and third syllables begin with liquids or semi-vowels, e.g. *kúyurru* rather than *kúyùrru*.

(c) the first syllable of the second element of a compound, of a plurisyllabic inflectional suffix, or of any derivational suffix.

Two of these criteria may of course coincide. Note that nothing prevents adjacent syllables from being stressed.

Some examples illustrating these stress rules are:

(2-20)	Gloss	Form	Criterion
	'sea'	<i>málàa</i>	a
	'tree'	<i>dábàrr(a)</i>	a
	'cut'	<i>kálà-th(a)</i>	b
	'didn't cut'	<i>kála-thàrri</i>	b/c
	'face, lit. nose-eye'	<i>kírrka-mibùrld(a)</i>	c, then b
	'rope'	<i>thúngal-kürndiind(a)</i>	c, then a/b
	'someone else's'	<i>dángka-nàbà-n-d(a)</i>	b
	'impenetrable'	<i>kúkal-ìi-n-kùru</i>	a, then b
	'killed by me'	<i>ngíjin-bàlà-a-n-ngàrrb(a)</i>	c, then b, then b
	'but with uncle's'	<i>kákuju-kàrra-ngùni-nàa-nth(a)</i>	c, then c, then a/b/c
	'really scared'	<i>bárdaka-yùlàa-n-d(a)</i>	c, then a/b
	'got by a shark'	<i>kúlkiji-i-wà-nhàrr(a)</i>	c, then c, then b/c

As these examples illustrate, stress is assigned to penultimate syllables at the underlying level, before regular prosodic truncation deletes final short *a*. The more specific types of truncation that remove exposed final material from selected case forms such as the nominative, proprietive and ablative likewise follow penultimate stress assignment; in the following examples the underlying material is shown in brackets. Note that the final *à* resulting from truncation of the ablative suffix is the only instance of stressed final *à* in the language.

(2-21)	<i>mála-wù(ru)</i>	sea-PROP
	<i>mákù-(wa)</i>	woman-NOM
	<i>kármã-(ya)</i>	wife-NOM
	<i>wángalk-ìnà(ba)</i>	boomerang-ABL

There is one class of exceptions to the general stress rules given above. With RESultative *-THirrin-*, APPRehensive *-NHarra*, and PaST *-THarra*, the primary stress is attracted to the final syllable of the stem, leaving a secondary stress on the initial; the first syllable of the suffix does not receive the stress expected on suffix-initial syllables, though it is still stressed if penultimate. The second syllable of the RESultative receives

an unexpected secondary stress, whether or not it would receive it as a penult. Words illustrating this are:

(2-22)	<i>bàlá-thirrin-da</i>	hit-RES-NOM
	<i>bàlá-thirrin-inja</i>	hit-RES-COBL
	<i>bàlá-a-jirrin-da</i>	hit-M-RES-NOM
	<i>kàlá-nhàrra</i>	cut-APPR
	<i>kàlá-nharrà-ntha</i>	cut-APPR-COBL
	<i>kàlá-nharrà-ya</i>	cut-APPR-CLOC
	<i>kùrri-nyàrra</i>	see-APPR
	<i>kùrri-nyarrà-ntha</i>	see-APPR-COBL
	<i>kùrri-nyarrà-ya</i>	see-APPR-CLOC
	<i>bàlá-thàrra</i>	hit-PST
	<i>bàlá-tharrà-ntha</i>	hit-PST-COBL
	<i>bàlá-tharrà-ya</i>	hit-PST-CLOC

In fluent connected speech the stress on the penultimate syllable of each word is dropped, only remaining on the second last syllable before each pause, and all but the first primary stresses reduce to secondary. Thus *ngakulda* ‘we plural inclusive-NOM’ in isolation is [ŋákùlt], *ngudija* ‘throw-ACT’ is [ŋúdìd̥] and *mijilda* ‘net’ is [míd̥ilt]. Merged into one intonational group, the first primary and last secondary stress are retained, other primary stresses weaken to secondaries, and other word-penultimate secondaries are de-stressed: *ngakulda ngudija mijild* ‘let us cast the net’ is realized as [ŋákultɛŋùd̥id̥ɛmíd̥ilt]. The same applies to other word order permutations, so that *mijilda ngakulda ngudij* will be [míd̥iltɛŋákultɛŋùd̥id̥].

2.6.2 Interstress consonant lengthening

Where main and secondary stress fall on contiguous syllables, single intervening consonants are lengthened (2-23 to 2-26), i.e. the period of closure is increased. Because this lengthening follows from definable stress and syllable-structure combinations, I treat it as prosodic, not phonemic.

This lengthening is particularly marked if the second syllable is heavy, whether through having a long vowel, a short vowel followed by a trill, or a syllable resyllabified with a final consonant following prosodic truncation. To show why certain words below have stress on their final surface vowel I have included the underlying final segments that conditioned penultimate stress assignment before being deleted by prosodic and other types of truncation.

(2-23)	<i>kálathàrri</i>	[káleṭṭèri]	‘didn’t cut’	(no lengthening)
	<i>kálàth(a)</i>	[kál:èṭ]	‘cut’	(lengthening)
(2-24)	<i>wáduwàrri</i>	[wádowèri]	‘without smoke’	(no lengthening)
	<i>wádù(wa)</i>	[wád:ò]	‘smokeNOM’	(lengthening)
(2-25)	<i>málawù(ru)</i>	[málewò]	‘sea-PROP’	(no lengthening)
	<i>málaa</i>	[mál:à:]	‘seaNOM’	(lengthening)
(2-26)	<i>ríkàa</i>	[ɣík:à:]	‘coldNOM’	(lengthening)
	<i>kínàaj(a)</i>	[kín:à:ɖ]	‘ask-ACT’	(lengthening)
	<i>dábarr(a)</i>	[ɖáp:à:r]	‘tree-NOM’	(lengthening)

In addition, the phoneme *b*, which would otherwise have voiced and unvoiced allophones in free variation in this position, is obligatorily devoiced and optionally lengthened: *ngabaya* ‘ghost’ is [ŋáp:èi] or [ŋáp̥èi].

Clusters in this position are not lengthened:

(2-27)	<i>dángkàa</i>	[ɖáŋkà:], not [ɖáŋk:à:]	‘person, man-NOM’
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Nor are single consonants separating two long stressed vowels. Retroflexes likewise do not lengthen, probably because the preceding vowel is phonetically half long:

(2-28)	<i>kúujùuj(a)</i>	[kó:ɖò:ɖ], not [kó:ɖ:ò:ɖ]	‘swim-ACT’
	<i>júrdiija</i>	[ɖo ^r :ɖi:ɖ], not [ɖo ^r :ɖ:i:ɖ]	‘sink-ACT’

Consonant lengthening also occurs after stressed vowels if the next syllable but one is both stressed and phonetically long, including diphthong sequences such as *iy* resulting from final truncation.

(2-29)	<i>ngákinmùlàaj(a)</i>	[ŋákinmòlà:ɖ]	‘away from us’
	<i>ngákinmaand(a)</i>	[ŋák:inmà:nt]	‘father of us’
	<i>yakuriya jawij</i>	[jákwɹiyɛ ɖáwìɖ]	‘fish are running’
	<i>yakuriy(a)</i>	[jákwɹèi]	‘fish’

The prosodic lengthening described in this section may be partly explained as a device to space contiguous stresses by placing them on non-contiguous morae. If we count morae as for Japanese, giving two

morae to closed or long syllables¹¹, and assume that long consonants yield preceding closed syllables, it is clear that by lengthening intervening single consonants an unstressed mora will be created between adjoining stressed syllables. This need does not arise when the first syllable is long (two morae) or closed by a cluster (again two morae), so no lengthening takes place.

The one pattern not explained by this account is the lengthening in words like *yák(:)urìy* 'fish' where the lengthened consonant does not lie between contiguous stressed syllables. At present I am unable to account for this.

¹¹ The metrical equivalence between two short and one long syllable is illustrated by the chant in Text 6.

Chapter 3

Descriptive preliminaries

In this chapter I develop and define various descriptive terms that will be used throughout the grammar. The relevant phenomena are introduced here only briefly, without full exemplification; ongoing references are given to the appropriate chapters later in the grammar.

3.1 Parts of speech and phrasal categories

From Dionysius Thrax onwards it has been normal grammatical practice to define parts of speech through a combination of morphological, syntactic and semantic criteria. This works well enough when all three criteria coincide, but is more problematic in languages where, for example, a given word may be a “syntactic noun”—defined perhaps by its ability to govern case agreement and follow a determiner—but a “morphological verb”—defined by the fact that it inflects for morphological categories such as tense, mood, and polarity.

Kayardild is such a language. Although morphological and syntactic criteria, taken alone, yield clearcut results, there are cases when they do not give the same category. In other words, the grammar sanctions various types of mismatch between morphological, syntactic and semantic criteria. In this section I proceed by first defining a set of word classes on predominantly morphological criteria; then looking briefly at the two phrasal projections of these classes found in Kayardild, namely NP and VC; and finally considering the various types of categorial mismatch that are possible.

3.1.1 Word classes

For Kayardild five major word classes may be set up, based on the suffixing possibilities of each word. These are mutually exclusive; each root belongs to just one class. A number of derivational processes change word class; those deriving nominals from verbals are discussed in 11.2 and 11.3, and those deriving verbals from nominals in 7.5. The word classes are:

1. Nominals
 - (a) noun/adjective
 - (b) pronoun
 - (c) locational
 - demonstrative
 - compass locational
 - positional
 - (d) manner nominal
 - (e) predicate nominal
 - (f) time nominal
2. Verbals
3. Particles
4. Interjections
5. Conjunctions

The noun/adjective subclass and the verbal class are essentially the only open classes, although a few English loans are passing into the particle and interjection classes (9.7.3).

The *nominal* and *verbal* classes are the most important and populous. In general nominals denote entities or attributes, and verbals denote actions. States like “know”, “be ignorant” and “be jealous” are expressed by predicate nominals in Kayardild. The two major classes have distinct inflectional possibilities. A nominal word is obligatorily inflected for case; a verbal word must take one of a rich set of tense / mood / polarity markers. Nominal and verbal words also have distinct sets of derivational suffixes.

3.1.1.1 The nominal class. Several subclasses must be distinguished within the nominal class.

As in many Australian languages, there is a large open class of NOUN/ADJECTIVES, with identical inflectional and derivational possibilities. Typically, members of this class have several functional possibilities within the NP: *wurkara*, for example, may designate an entity, ‘boy’, or may be an adjective-like qualifier, ‘male’. *Jambarnda* may mean ‘hollow’ (attribute) or ‘hollow log’ (entity). *Warngiida* may function as a quantifier, meaning ‘one’, as a qualifier, meaning ‘common, shared’, or as a determiner, meaning ‘a, a certain’. The various possibilities for noun/adjectives are discussed in 6.3. Noun/adjectives may also function as nominal predicates in verbless clauses (9.1) and as “second predicates” (9.4), as in ‘you will return home *a good fisherman*’.

PRONOUNS form a closed class. They distinguish person (1st, 2nd, 1st + 2nd or 1st inclusive, and 3rd) and number (singular, dual and plural). The pronominal case system is basically identical to that of other nominals; minor differences are discussed in 5.2.2.

LOCATIONALS are another closed class. They are inherently locative and do not normally inflect for the LOCative case. A number of special derivational suffixes are found only with this class. Locationals may be

further subclassified into the DISTANCE LOCATIONALS *dan-da* ‘this, here’ and *dathina* ‘that, there’, the COMPASS LOCATIONALS, and POSITIONALS like *marrwaa* ‘near’ and *dulkalarri* ‘outside’.

All locationals may function as local adjuncts. In addition, demonstrative and compass locationals may function as spatial determiners, as in *danda dangkaa* ‘this man’ and *bada dangkaa* ‘(the) west man’. The demonstrative *dathina* ‘that’ doubles as a discourse determiner. And compass locationals and positionals occur in complex NPs giving the relative location of two entities.

MANNER NOMINALS describe the manner in which an actor accomplishes some action, e.g. *kantharrkuru* ‘alone, unaided’, *junkuyarrada* ‘in return, in revenge’. Whereas normal noun/adjectives may function as heads, modifiers, nominal predicates or second predicates, manner nominals may only function as second predicates on semantic actors. This limits their case possibilities to the nominative, or, with verbs taking object complements (e.g. ‘I saw / found / left him sitting alone’), to a case appropriate to objects.

PREDICATE NOMINALS have nominal form and nominal derivational possibilities, but can only function as predicators: they cannot be used attributively, or inflect for case. Typical examples are *mibulka* ‘asleep’ and *mungurru* ‘knowing, knowledgeable’. Some, such as *mungurru*, may take quasi direct objects ‘knowing OBJ’; and some take quasi indirect objects, e.g. *mulurra* ‘jealous, suspicious (of IOBJ)’.

TIME NOMINALS give temporal specification. They too take only a subset of nominal case inflections: see 5.4.2.

INTERROGATIVES belong to a functional class cross-cutting the *morphological* classification given above: there are interrogative pronouns, locationals and verbs. Interrogatives are discussed with the syntax of questions, in 9.5.

3.1.1.2 The verbal class. Verbals primarily denote actions and processes, but may also provide adverbial type information about the manner in which these are carried out. Thus the verbal lexeme *kurulutha* ‘kill’ may describe the action of “killing”, but may also combine with another verb, adding the meaning “do intensely”, e.g. *kurulutha marrija* [kill listen] ‘listen intently’. A natural way of describing this is to postulate a “verbal complex” (VC), comprising one or more verbal lexemes, much as a “noun phrase” comprises one or more nominal constituents. A given lexeme may then function as a head (as with the “kill” meaning) or a modifier (as with the “do intensely” meaning) within this verb complex (8.2.1). A few verbal lexemes only permit the modifier function: thus *bakiija* ‘all S do; do to all O’ can only function as a modifier within the VC, never as a head.

3.1.1.3 Particles. Kayardild has a handful of particles. These are uninflected and express, inter alia, counterfactuality, frustrated expectation, non-existence, and quantification; a full list is in 9.7. They may have phrasal or sentential scope.

3.1.1.4 Interjections. These are likewise devoid of inflections, but unlike particles typically constitute a complete utterance.

The nominal, *warirra* 'nothing', may also serve as an interjection meaning 'no' or 'I've got nothing'; when functioning as a nominal it inflects for case, but not when functioning as an interjection. This is the only word that may belong to more than one word class.

3.1.1.5 Conjunctions. There are two of these: *bana* 'and', which conjoins phrases and sometimes clauses, and *birra* 'too', limited to noun phrases. Like particles and interjections they are uninflected, but are distinguished from them by their inability to appear as free forms: they must always precede or follow other words in an utterance. Unlike all other parts of speech except clitics, their position is fixed, being limited to immediately before or after the conjoined elements.

3.1.2 Lexical and phrasal classes; category mismatches

For each of the two major word classes, nominals and verbals, it is useful to set up corresponding phrasal units:

NOUN PHRASES (NPs) consist of one or more nominal words, agreeing in case (3.4.2.1), whose order is largely determined by syntactic function (6.2.1); they are discussed in Chapter 6¹.

VERB COMPLEXES (VCs) comprise one or more verbal words, agreeing in "final inflection", whose order is determined by function (8.2); they are discussed in Chapter 8².

The syntactic behaviour of elements within NPs and VCs can be used to define categories of "syntactic nouns" and "syntactic verbs" independently of their morphological characteristics. Syntactic nouns govern relational and/or adnominal case agreement, and may be modified by demonstratives, adjectives, quantifiers, adnominal NPs. Syntactic

¹ Note that case agreement is a necessary but not sufficient condition for shared membership of a NP: second predicates may agree in case with another NP but do not form a constituent with it.

² Although the term "verb phrase" would reflect better the isomorphic relation between nouns and noun phrases, on the one hand, and verbs and verb complexes, on the other, it has been used so often with the meaning of "predicate" or "verb plus non-subject arguments" that this would be confusing. I therefore use Dixon's (1977) term "verb complex". In the X-bar theory of phrase structure, it corresponds to a V'.

verbs govern agreement in tense, aspect, mood and polarity within the VC, and may be modified by aspectual, motional or adverbial coverbs.

Kayardild grammar sanctions a number of mismatches between categories belonging to different components of the grammar—morphological, syntactic, and semantic—and in the rest of this section I show how this can happen, what mismatches occur, and propose a precise descriptive terminology.

One main source of such mismatches is a class of inflections that change the word-class membership of their constituents, so that there is a mismatch between the syntactic and morphological categories of fully inflected words: morphological verbs may be syntactic nouns, and morphological nouns may be syntactic verbs. I illustrate these in 3.1.2.2, after first spelling out, in 3.1.2.1, language-specific tests that successfully distinguish inflectional from derivational morphology. A second source of mismatches is the existence of constructions with non-verbal predicates, some of which are two-place; these are discussed in 3.1.2.3.

3.1.2.1 Phrasal inflection and lexical derivation. The distinction between “inflection” and “derivation” is a fundamental and traditional one, well formulated by Anderson (1982: 588): “the central issue ... appears to be the difference between processes which operate with essential reference to structure beyond the word-level vs processes which simply provide alternate words on the basis of the (word-)initial structure of the base.” Derivational processes, that is, create new lexemes which would be listed in a dictionary; while inflection fits these into a larger syntactic whole.

Despite the importance of this distinction, it is not always easy to find formal tests that will label a morpheme unambiguously as inflectional or derivational.

One diagnostic often employed is word-position: inflectional affixes usually lie “outside” derivational affixes. Among Australianists this “followability criterion” has become something of a standard test. Blake (1977: 38), for example, writes of the genitive suffix in Australian languages that “the suffix to the possessed is usually regarded as a *stem-forming* affix (my italics—N.E.) and can be followed by case inflections”; and Dixon (1980: 322-3), writing on Australian languages in general, asserts that “each word has an obligatory root and final inflection; between these two constituents there can optionally occur one or more of a number of derivational suffixes.” However, the followability test is not suitable for Kayardild, which allows extensive multiple inflection, with sequences of up to four case-like inflections (3.4.7). For an overview of other Australian languages permitting multiple case inflection, see Dench—Evans (1988).

In Kayardild a more fruitful test is based on the insight that inflection essentially operates on units “beyond the word level”, in particular on phrases, while derivation applies to individual lexemes. In illustration of this, inflections exhibit concord over the relevant noun phrase or verb complex, so that ‘on that beach’ is *dathin-ki ngarn-ki* [that-LOC beach-LOC], and ‘will hit hard’ is *kurulu-thu bala-thu* [kill-POT hit-POT].

Derivational suffixes, on the other hand, never show phrasal concord, but must be limited to a single word. For example the inchoative suffix, deriving verbs of becoming from nominals, can apply to the word *mundundunkuru* ‘maggot-PROP, maggoty’ to give *mundundunkuruwatha* ‘become maggoty, become fly-blown’, but not to the phrase *jungarrawuru mundundunkuru* [big-PROP maggot-PROP] ‘full of fat maggots’. A different construction must be employed, using a copula with a NP complement (9.1.8). Alternatively, a new lexeme may be derived by compounding a noun and adjective, and this compound lexeme may then take the inchoative derivational suffix: thus *nalda birdi* ‘bad (in the) head’ yields the compound *nalbirdi* [head-bad] ‘mad, drunk’, which may then take the inchoative derivational suffix, giving *nalbirdiwatha* ‘go mad, get drunk’.

In this grammar the possibility of phrasal concord will be taken as the crucial test distinguishing inflection from derivation. This allows us to handle the multiple inflection discussed in 3.4.7. It also enables us to deal with suffixes which, though functionally inflections, change the word class of their targets.

Another characteristic of inflections is that they are fully productive and regular in meaning; whereas derivational suffixes are limited to a small number of lexemes and often produce fairly idiosyncratic changes in meaning. This distinction correlates well with the phrasal scope test. Note, though, that sometimes inflectional forms may have a derivational use, in which case their scope is limited to the word.

3.1.2.2 Inflections changing morphological word class.

Two types of inflection change morphological word class without changing syntactic word class.

VERBAL CASES are morphologically verbalizing suffixes that function in all respects like oblique cases: they are totally productive, appear on every word of a NP, and code such case-like meanings as beneficiary, direction of motion, purpose, and so on. For example, there is a suffix *-marutha*, glossed ‘Verbal Dative’, having a range of dative-type meanings, including beneficiary, recipient, communicatee, and direction of transfer. This attaches to each word of the relevant NP. However, each word thereby becomes morphologically verbal, and agrees in tense/mood/polarity with the main verb. All but one of these “verbal cases” derive from free verbs; the Verbal Dative, for example, derives from a free verb *marutha* ‘put’.

- (3-1) *ngada waa-ju wangarr-u [ngijin-maru-thu*
 1sgNOM sing-POT song-MPROP my-VD-POT
thabuju-maru-thu]_{NP}
 elder brother-VD-POT

'I will sing a song for my elder brother.'

The range and use of verbal cases is discussed in 4.4.

NOMINALIZER suffixes have a range of uses. One is to mark ongoing uncompleted actions. Although nominalized verbs in this function are syntactically verbal, they are morphologically nominal, and take normal nominal case inflections. (Nonetheless they do have certain morphosyntactic properties not found with normal verbs: in particular, they trigger a special level of case-marking on their non-subject arguments—3.4.5). An example is:

- (3-2) *nyingka kurri-n-da warra-n-da wiridi-n-d*
 2sgNOM see-N-NOM go-N-NOM stay-N-NOM
 'You're going around to see (people) a lot.'³

Although the changing of word-class membership is considered by most linguists (e.g. Anderson 1982) to be limited to *derivational* morphology, both "verbal case" and "ongoing nominalization" display the criterial inflectional characteristic of applying to whole phrases: to the NP *ngijinda thabuju* 'my big brother' in (3-1) and to the VC *kurrija warraja wiridija* 'keep going to see' in (3-2). In this grammar they are therefore treated as inflections, although they have the peculiarity that they change the morphological word-class membership of the words receiving them. Note, however, that there are formally identical suffixes that do have a derivational function, and that this derivational function is historically prior in all cases. See 4.4 and 11.5.3.

3.1.2.3 Mismatches between morphological, syntactic, and semantic categories. The existence of inflections that change word class produces a lack of exact fit between morphological and syntactic word class. Even though the unmarked situation is for NPs to be made up of words that belong to the nominal category on both morphological and syntactic criteria, and VCs to be made up of words that are verbal on both morphological and syntactic criteria, we can have NPs made up of syntactic nouns that are morphologically verbal and VCs made up of syntactic verbs that are morphologically nominal:

³ On the use of *warraja* and *wiridija* in verbal complexes see 8.2. Here *warraja* contributes the meaning 'going around' and *wiridija* the meaning 'keep doing X'.

Morphological category of constituents	Phrasal category	
	NP (N')	VC (V')
Nominal	(default)	progressive nominalization
Verbal	verbal case	(default)

In addition, the basic tendency of languages to employ verbs as predicates and nominals as arguments is not strictly adhered to, for Kayardild shares with many other Australian languages the possibility of using nominal words or NPs as predicates in “nominal sentences”. There is even a small set of nominals, mostly referring to states, that may be described as “transitive” or “semi-transitive”: the noun/adjectives *mungurru* ‘know, knowing’ and *burdumbanyi* ‘ignorant’, for example, take quasi direct objects, and *mulurra* ‘jealous’ takes a quasi indirect object (9.1.7). However, it is not possible for verbals to act as arguments without undergoing some derivational process. This gives us the following picture:

Semantic function	Word-class category (phrasal category)	
	nominal (NP)	verbal (VC)
argument	+	-
predicate	+	+

Proposals as to how to handle categorial mismatches have been made by Sadock’s (1991) theory of autolexical syntax; in a formal grammar of Kayardild such mismatches could be stipulated in the lexical entry of the category-changing inflectional suffix, stating the morphological and syntactic categories they assign to their host. What is important for the purposes of this reference grammar is that a terminological distinction be maintained, where needed, between logical function (argument, predicator), phrasal category (NP, VC) and word class as defined by morphology (e.g. “morphological noun”) and by syntax (e.g. “syntactic noun”).

3.2 Word order and ellipsis

3.2.1 Word order

The order of phrases in Kayardild is basically free, with all orders attested. Case marking, not word order, codes syntactic relations.

Discussion of word order is rendered both difficult and unimportant by the frequent ellipsis of arguments, which leaves some clauses with nothing but verbs. On the other hand, phrases may be repeated within the one sentence, either as afterthoughts or for emphasis, and it is not always clear which NP to use in deciding constituent order.

Below I give word order counts taken from seven narrative texts (including six given in Part II); repetitions and subordinate clauses were ignored in the count. Ellipsed arguments are given in brackets, arbitrarily placed before non-ellipsed ones.

Transitive sentences (N=68)					
SVO	4	(5.8%)	(S)VO	14	(20.6%)
SOV	4	(5.8%)	(S)OV	17	(25%)
			(S)(O)V	15	(22%)
OSV	1	(1.4%)	(O)SV	7	(10.3%)
OVS	5	(7.3%)			
VOS	1	(1.4%)			
Intransitive sentences (N=67)					
SV	34	(50.7%)	(S)V	27	(40.3%)
VS	6	(8.9%)			
Semi-transitive sentences (N=5)					
(S) IO V	3	(60%)	(S) V IO	1	(20%)
V S IO	1	(20%)			

These figures illustrate the high incidence of argument ellipsis: 77.9% of transitive sentences have at least one argument ellipsed, and 67.6% have ellipsed subjects. The great freedom of word order is also shown: five out of the six orders possible with transitive clauses are found in this relatively small sample, and the other (VSO) has also been attested (e.g. *raaja ngada bijarrbay* 'speared I (the) dugong')⁴. It also illustrates the

⁴ When I was first working on the language and failed to understand a sentence, certain speakers would systematically permute the word order for me.

near-impossibility of ascribing a “basic word order” to the language, unless we do something like arbitrarily count ellipsed arguments as sentence-initial (as done above), which would give SOV and SVO as the two most common word orders.

There is a tendency for new discourse participants to be fronted, regardless of their grammatical function. Because new information tends to be fronted, it is common in extended narratives for the verb, which refers to a new event, to precede the subject pronoun, which refers to a well-established participant:

- (3-3) *barrbiru-tha manharr-iy, kiyarrng-ki kamarr-i wuu-j,*
 raise-ACT torch-MLOC two-LOC stone-LOC put-ACT

bala-tha ngad
 hit-ACT 1sgNOM

‘(I) lifted the torch, put it on two stones, then I hit (the diver birds).’

As this example illustrates, the reappearance of the subject pronoun after a series of clauses in which it is elided suggests a faint change in discourse direction, often translatable by English ‘then’.

With third person pronominal subjects this is almost a frozen idiom; the reduced form *ni* is only found in phrase-final, postverbal position.

- (3-4) *rabi-ja niya warngiid-a barmgka-a niwan-ji nal-i,*
 get up-ACT 3sgNOM one-NOM lily-NOM 3sg-LOC head-LOC

wanjii-ja ni, kamburi-ja ni
 go up-ACT 3sgNOM say-ACT 3sgNOM

‘He stood up, with a water lily on his head, he went up, and said ...’

Within both NPs and verb complexes word order is relatively fixed. This is discussed in Chapters Six and Eight.

Finite subordinate clauses are normally adjoined, preceding or following the main clause (Chapter 12). But they are occasionally embedded, particularly when coding purpose or parenthetical clauses. In such cases all words of the adjoined clause are contiguous, and are easily identifiable from the presence of “complementizing case-marking”.

3.2.2 Ellipsis

Kayardild is characterized by frequent NP ellipsis. Any participant whose referent has already been established can be anaphorically ellipsed.

The referent need not have been established within the one speech-session—especially if the genre is mythological narrative, whose story line is at least partly known to everyone in the Kayardild social

universe of about 120 people. This opening sentence from Dugal Goongarra's telling of the Rock Cod story at least contains a pronoun, albeit one whose reference is never made explicit:

- (3-5) *mildala-tha ni*
cut out-ACT 3sg
'He (Rock Cod) cut it out ...'

But in (3-6), again an opening line of a myth (this time the Kajurku story, also told by Dugal Goongarra), no such concession is made:

- (3-6) *rayin-da thula-tha tharda-a manharr-u,*
from south-NOM go down-ACT shoulder-NOM torch-PROP
wuu-ja kamarr-i, manarr-iy
put-ACT rock-MLOC torch-MLOC
'From the south (he) went down with a torch on his shoulder, and put the torch on a rock.'

NPs referring to people or things whose identity is unimportant may also be omitted, even if their reference has not been established. In (3-7) the subject of the second clause, 'they/someone', is omitted—its identity is not important. And in (3-8) the object is omitted, with context showing it to be fish whose species is irrelevant.

- (3-7) *dathin-a dangka-a yuuma-nangarr, [buru-tharra-nth]COBL*
that-NOM man-NOM drown-ALMOST grab-PST-COBL
'That man almost drowned, but (they/someone) pulled (him) out.'

- (3-8) *ri-lung-ka kada thaa-th, mar-maru-tha mijil-i*
east-ALL-NOM again return-ACT hand-PUT-ACT net-MLOC
yalawu-j barrbiru-th, bilarri-ja thaa-tha ra-rung-k,
catch-ACT raise-ACT empty-ACT return-ACT south-ALL-NOM
wuu-j
put-ACT
'(He) went back east again, took the net in his hand and caught (some fish), lifted (them) up, went back south to empty (them), put (them) there.'

Verbs are also omitted (though rather less frequently), either because they are clear from context, as in (3-9), because a directional case is present (9.1.6), or because the type of action has been established in a preceding sentence (3-10).

(3-9) *jinamulu-na* *bijarrba-na* *bi-l-d?*
 how many-MABL dugong-MABL 3-pl-NOM

warngiij-iya *bi-l-da* *bijarrba-y*
 one-MLOC 3-PLU-NOM dugong-MLOC

‘How many dugong did they (catch)? They (caught) one dugong.’

(3-10) (Discussing who is an appropriate circumcizer:)

PG: *wirka-a-n-ngarrba* *dangka-a* *kala-th*
 circumcize-M-N-CONS man-NOM cut-ACT

NE: *niwan-da* *ngaak?* *kakuju?*
 his-NOM whoNOM uncleNOM

PG: *kardu* *kardu* ____ *kakuju-y*
 father-in-lawNOM fa-in-law uncle-MLOC

PG: ‘An initiated man does the cutting.’

NE: ‘His who? his uncle?’

PG: ‘The father-in-law. The father-in-law (cuts) the uncle.’

Except where anaphoric ellipsis is being specifically discussed, the examples used in this grammar are atypically rich in arguments, for clarity of exposition.

3.3 Grammatical and discourse relations

Kayardild is a language where both grammatical relations like subject and object, and the discourse relation of topic, are syntactically important. In Li and Thompson’s (1976) terminology, it is a language where both subject and topic are prominent.

It is useful to make a further terminological distinction between *topic* (roughly: what the clause is about) and *pivot*. I define this as “the shared topic of two clauses in a complex construction”; an alternative definition is “the (or the most salient) coreferential NP”, e.g. ‘where is *the dugong*, *which* you speared’. Pivots, that is, are syntacticized topics⁵. I will reserve the term *topic* for coordinated discourse, where a number of coordinated sentences are about the same entity, e.g. ‘*the pandanus nuts*

⁵ Dixon (1979) defines “pivot” as a “coreferential NP”, though in his earlier description of Dyirbal (Dixon 1972) the term “topic” was used roughly in the sense of “pivot”. Foley—Van Valin (1984) define “pivot” as “the NP which is crucially involved (in a construction—N.E.) ... i.e. the NP around which the construction is built”.

fall with the north wind. One can go on eating *pandanus nuts* for a long time’.

Although subjects are the unmarked choice for topic/pivot, non-subject topic/pivots are permitted. This is discussed in 12.2 and 12.5.

3.3.1 Grammatical functions

3.3.1.1 Core functions, adjuncts and complements. Many syntactic and morphological phenomena are best described in terms of *grammatical functions* (or *grammatical relations*) such as subject, object, indirect object, complement and adjunct.

Although these ultimately reflect the detailed semantics of the proposition, the link may be complex: the “subject” may be an agent, patient, perceiver or location; the “object” may be, inter alia, a patient, location or perceived entity. But many syntactic phenomena, such as causativization, passivization, and the formation of non-finite and finite subordinate clauses, can be characterized directly in terms of grammatical functions, without recourse to semantic role. Grammatical functions are thus syntactic mediators between the semantic and morphological levels.

A major distinction must be made between *subcategorizable* or *core* functions, whose meaning depends on the verb of which they are an argument, and *non-subcategorizable functions*⁶ or *adjuncts*, which have “an invariant way of contributing to the meaning of the sentence, and appear whenever they are semantically appropriate” (Andrews 1982: 4).

Subjects, objects and indirect objects are always subcategorizable and “semantically unrestricted” inasmuch as they can express a range of meanings, depending on the governing verb. Every verb lexeme subcategorizes for one or more “core” functions: all transitive verbs have a subject and an object, all intransitives, a subject, and so on. Because their meaning depends on the syntactic configuration in which they appear, the main discussion of core functions is in Chapter 9 which deals with the syntax of the simple clause.

Non-subcategorizable functions, or “adjuncts”, have constant meanings directly related to their case or adpositional marking, and independent of the rest of the proposition. The local NP ‘on the sandbank’, for example, will mean the same regardless of whether the rest of the proposition is ‘we speared turtle’, ‘I was seen’, ‘they slept’ etc⁷.

⁶ “Core functions” correspond closely to the “actants” of Tesnière’s (1959) dependency grammar, while his “circonstants” merges complements and adjuncts.

⁷ In fact this is not quite true—locatives are infelicitous with stative predicators: ‘?He knew/knows Kayardild on the sandbank’. Although such limitations should not be underplayed, they are ignored here.

Between the semantically unrestricted, subcategorizable core functions of subject, object and indirect object, and the semantically transparent and freely addable adjuncts, are a class of *complement* functions which, though semantically transparent, “complete” the meaning of their predicator and would be part of a full dictionary entry for their governing verb. The verb *balatha* ‘hit’, for example, optionally takes a complement in the instrumental or propriative case, denoting the instrument used, while motion verbs optionally take complements in the allative or ablative case, giving the direction or source of motion. Such “semantically restricted” complements directly reflect the underlying meaning, but unlike adjuncts they only occur with certain verbs.

Because their meaning can be characterized directly, the main discussion of adjuncts and complements is in Chapters 4–6, which deal with nominals and noun phrases.

Certain verbs subcategorize “subject complements” or “object complements”, which are distinct NPs agreeing in case with subject or object⁸. For example, there is a verb *ngaarrngija* meaning ‘(unborn child) manifest its conception by the appearance of a sign’. This verb takes as subject the person who has been conceived, and as subject complement the entity appearing as a sign; both subject and subject complement take NOMinative case—see 9.2.2.2, for example. A number of verbs optionally take object complements; ‘find’ for example, takes the entity found as object, and the state the entity was found in as object complement, e.g. ‘I found him (object) alone (object complement)’. The range of verbs taking subject and object complements is discussed in 9.2.

3.3.1.2 Language-internal evidence for subject, object and indirect object. The core grammatical functions of Kayardild, and their defining properties, are summarized below; as we shall see, subjects can be identified unambiguously, objects can be characterized but with some difficulty, and the evidence for indirect objects is weak.

SUBJECTS:

- (i) are actors in the most basic clause types.
- (ii) are always nominative, except that they may bear complementizing case (like all words in the clause). As a corollary, they always escape modal case.
- (iii) With the exception of a small class of meteorological verbs, every verb governs a subject.
- (iv) are always coreferential with the reflexive pronoun *marinda* ‘self’.
- (v) are the pivot of non-finite subordinate clauses, from which they are obligatorily omitted.

⁸ In other words, they are second predicates subcategorized by particular verbs.

- (vi) are the unmarked choice for pivots in finite subordinate clauses, and for topics in discourse.
- (vii) Except in object complement constructions, subjects always control manner nominals.
- (viii) are the semantic controllers of “subject-oriented NPs” (10.3.2).
- (ix) Their person and number conditions the choice between oblique and locative complementizing case (12.1.4).

Properties (i) to (viii) are typical of subjects in most languages; property (ix) is peculiar to Kayardild⁹.

OBJECTS:

- (i) take no “relational” case, but may take modal or associating OBLique cases.
- (ii) feed the passive and reciprocal, though not all objects passivize easily (9.3).
- (iii) feed resultative nominalizations (11.2.7).
- (iv) obligatorily take the nominative in imperatives if non-pronominal, and optionally if pronominal (7.2.3).

The identification of objects is not always easy. Inflection for modal case fails to distinguish OBJects from LOCative adjuncts: only imperative examples, which leave non-object (i.e. adjunct) locations in the LOCative, are reliable here. Passivization sometimes works with non-object locations (9.3.2.3) but is not attested with certain apparently transitive verbs, such as *yulaaja* ‘fear’ (9.2.4.1).

INDIRECT OBJECTS:

It is standard practice for grammarians to take the recipient of the verb ‘give’ as the prototypical indirect object, but this procedure is problematic in Kayardild. Ditransitive verbs like *wuuja* ‘give’ allow a rich variety of case frames (9.2.6), and the recipient may be marked with the verbal dative case, with the locative, or just with modal case. Although the choice of the verbal dative case is unmarked both in its semantics and in terms of frequency, there are problems with taking NPs with the verbal dative as indirect objects: they cannot be relativized upon (4.4.3.3) and do not feed reciprocal formations. They do, however, display a productive alternation with direct objects in ditransitive constructions (9.2.5.1).

In terms of their more general morphosyntactic behaviour, the best candidates for indirect objects in Kayardild are arguments in the

⁹ There are of course many other typical subject properties lacked by Kayardild subjects. For example, the absence of argument cross-referencing means that Kayardild subjects do not control agreement.

PROPriative case, denoting the “intentional objects” (Quine 1960: 219-22) of verbs like *ngakatha* ‘wait for’ and *janija* ‘look for’. One reason to treat them as indirect objects is the presence of a productive alternation between transitive constructions (with regular objects) and middle constructions (with PROPriative “indirect objects”), reflecting the semantic difference between achievements and attempts, e.g. ‘shoot (OBJECT)’ vs ‘shoot at (INDIRECT OBJECT)’. Another reason for treating them as indirect objects is the possibility of deriving reciprocal clauses from basic clauses containing such PROPriative arguments, a possibility otherwise restricted to direct objects.

It is clear that Kayardild does not have straightforward, prototypical “indirect objects”. In this grammar I will term the abovementioned PROPriative arguments “indirect objects”, but the reader should bear in mind that this label is somewhat misleading, and a plausible alternative analysis would treat them as complements.

3.3.1.3 Alternate argument structures. Derived verb forms with different numbers or arrangements of arguments are found in the passive, reflexive, causative and reciprocal constructions (9.3). Identical verb forms may also govern different numbers of arguments or set them in different case frames. Intransitive motion verbs may add locative objects; indirect objects may be added to intransitive verbs; direct objects may be demoted to indirect, showing “anticipated affectedness”; indirect objects may be promoted to direct showing “failure of anticipated affectedness”; and ditransitive verbs allow a number of case-marking possibilities.

3.3.2 Non-subject pivots and topics

The grammatical relation of *subject* is the key to most syntactic processes in Kayardild: passivization, reciprocalization, causativization, and the formation of non-finite subordinate clauses. Subjects are the unmarked pivots in clause union and the unmarked topics in discourse.

However, there is one very productive type of clause union, involving finite subordinate clauses, where the pivot NP may be in any grammatical relation in either clause. It may be a subordinate subject, as in (3-11), but it may equally well be, say, a subordinate object, as in (3-12). Ellipsis of the downstairs NP is normal but not obligatory.

- (3-11) *jina-a maku-wa warra-j dan-kina*
 where-NOM woman-NOM go-ACT this-MABL

muri-na *nguku-na* *kurrka-tharr*
 baler.shell-MABL water-MABL take-PST

‘Where did the woman go, (who) took this baler shell of water?’

- (3-12) *jina-a* *bijarrb,* [*dangka-ntha* *raa-jarra-nth*]COBL
 where-NOM dugongNOM man-COBL spear-PST-COBL
 ‘Where is the dugong, (which) the man speared?’

Simplifying somewhat, when the pivot NP is not subject of both clauses, the subordinate clause is marked by a “complementizing case” (here, the OBLique) appearing on all its constituents. The exact triggering conditions are discussed in 12.2.

Just as the pivot in this type of clause is not restricted to subjects, neither is the “topic” in discourse consisting of coordinated clauses. In (3-13), for example, the topic ‘food’ is object of the first two clauses. Again “complementizing case” is triggered over the clause, although it bypasses the topical object NP.

- (3-13) [*mutha-a* *wuran-da* *ngalawa* *diya-jarra-ntha* *wakaku*],
 much-NOM food-NOM 1pl:SUBJ:COBL eat-PST-COBL sandfrogNOM
- [*mutha-a* *wuran-da* *ngalawa* *yakuri-ya* *diya-jarra-nth*]
 much-NOM food-NOM 1pl:SUBJ:COBL fish-NOM eat-PST-COBL
- nga-l-da* *kala-tharra* *rawalan-ku,* *nga-l-da* *birangkarra* *warra-ja*
 1-pl-NOM cut-PST baler-PROP 1-pl-NOM always go-ACT
- wirdi-ja* *walbu-y,* *yurda-y*
 stay-ACT raft-LOC open sea-LOC

‘We used to eat lots of sandfrogs as food, we used to eat lots of fish, we used to cut (things) with baler shells, we were always going about on rafts, far out to sea.’

The phenomena exemplified by (3-12) and (3-13) are clearly linked, even though the first involves a subordinate and the second a main clause. In both, the *topic*—the NP which continues through the discourse—is not in the expected subject relation, but in some other relation. It is object in these examples, but other relations are possible (Chapter 12).

In general, then, non-subject pivots and topics are possible in Kayardild, but require special case-marking over the whole clause.

3.4 Functional domains of case inflection

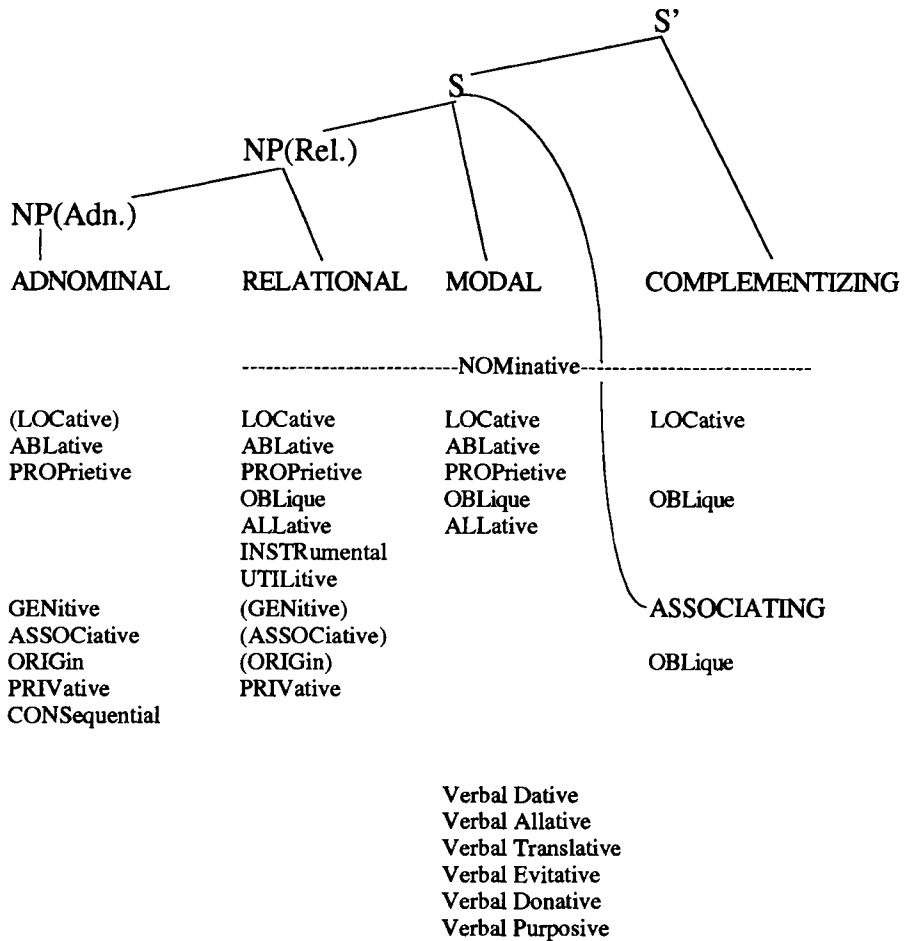
As we saw in 1.1, Kayardild is unusual in the number of functional domains in which case operates. This follows from the ability of a case marker to operate at a number of syntactic levels taking items of different syntactic rank as its arguments. Functioning adnominally, for example, it relates possessive and other NPs to the head of a NP; functioning as a complementizer, it relates clauses to other clauses, and so forth. These various functional domains are introduced and exemplified in this section; in 3.4.8 I justify treating them all as “case”.

Five types of functional domain (henceforth often abbreviated as “function”) must be distinguished for Kayardild case¹⁰. The *adnominal* function, typified by the GENitive of possession, relates one NP to another. The *relational* function either relates core arguments to the verb (e.g. nominative on subjects) or peripheral arguments like location, destination, etc., to the clause as a whole. *Modal* case indicates the mood/tense/aspect of the clause. *Associating* case links NPs with nominalized verbs. *Complementizing* case applies to whole clauses, and indicates either that they are an argument of the matrix clause, or that certain marked coreference relationships exist between matrix and subordinate clause. With some exceptions all five functions show complete concord over their domain—for example, when the OBLique case is used in complementizing function it appears on all words of the complementized clause.

Nominals may take up to four cases, whose functions follow the order adnominal, relational, modal, then complementizing or associating; the last two are mutually exclusive.

(3-14) Stem + Adnominal^{*} + Relational + Modal + Associating /
Complementizing

¹⁰ My use of “function” as an abbreviation for “functional domain” here should not be confused with the more usual meaning of case “function” in a phrase like “another function of the dative in Russian is to mark the deep subjects of certain types of verb”; I shall also use “function” with this second sense. The presence of such qualifiers as “modal function”, “adnominal function” etc. should disambiguate the two senses of “functional domain” and “function within a domain” (e.g. marking instruments, within the relational functional domain).



Not every entry can be justified here; the reader is referred to Chapter 4 for details. Unclear cases are in brackets—the GENitive, ORIGin and ASSOCiative, for example, are used with demoted agents of “resultative nominalizers”, and this could be treated as either an “adnominal” or a “relational” use. The LOCative may only be used adnominally if no other case suffix follows. The NOMinative is an “elsewhere case”, in equipollent opposition to all other cases: it appears only where no relational, modal, associating or complementizing case is assigned.

Figure 3-1. Functional domains of Kayardild cases

All five case functional domains draw on the same set of case suffixes, although a given functional domain may only use a subset of these. Figure 3-1 summarizes the range of functions discharged by each suffix, and diagrammatically relates their morphological order to the syntactic level at which they operate. In general case suffixes appear on all words over which they have semantic or syntactic scope. Adnominal and relational cases are marked over entire NPs, and complementizing case over all words in a clause, including the verb¹¹. The distribution of modal case is basically all NPs except the subject and some NPs linked to it semantically or syntactically; associating case has a slightly larger domain (10.3).

I will now examine individually the five functions of case suffixes in Kayardild.

3.4.1 Relational function of case

The canonical use of case inflection, as traditionally understood, is to mark a syntactic or semantic relation between a nominal argument and either the verb or the clause as a whole. In K, such case relations are marked by suffixes on every word of the NP constituent. Temporarily leaving aside the marking of subjects and objects we can see that, among other things, case inflections may mark LOCation (3-15), INSTRument (3-16), and direction of motion, glossed ALLative (3-17):

(3-15) *dathin-a yarbud barri-ja nal-iya kamarr-i*
 that-NOM snakeNOM crawl-ACT head-LOC stone-LOC
 'That snake is crawling round on top of the stone.'

(3-16) *dangka-a mardala-a-ja rirr-nguni*
 man-NOM rub-M-ACT fat-INSTR
 'The man rubs himself with fat.'

(3-17) *warra-ja nga-ku-l-da natha-r nga-ku-lu-wan-jir*
 go-IMP 1-INC-pl-NOM camp-ALL 1-INC-pl-POSS-ALL
 'Let's go to our camp!'

To avoid confusion with the other functions of case-like morphemes that will be discussed here, I shall refer to functions such as those exemplified above as "relational". This is intended to include both the essentially adverbial "semantic" cases like the LOCative, INSTRumental and ALLative, and the core "syntactic" cases signalling grammatical relations of subject (NOMinative) and indirect object (PROPrIetive). As we

¹¹ Particles and conjunctions, and pronominal subjects under certain conditions, are excepted—see 12.1.6.

shall see, the marking of direct objects is complex and does not involve relational case.

This is by no means an exhaustive list of relational cases in Kayardild: the full set is discussed in 4.3. Note that some primarily adnominal cases, such as the ABLative, may also be used relationally (3.4.2.2). Furthermore, many case relations can be marked by “verbal cases” (4.4). These have relational functions, including the marking of some types of indirect object and various sorts of complement and adjunct, but their further morphology is somewhat different—their further inflections signal verbal categories, as a result of verbal case converting their morphological category to verbal. Compare (3-17) with the synonymous (3-18), which uses the verbal allative; note in particular the presence of the imperative, i.e. a verbal inflectional category, on the latter.

- (3-18) *warra-ja* *nga-ku-l-da* *natha-yiwa-tha*
 go-IMP 1-INC-pl-NOM camp-VALL-IMP
- nga-ku-lu-wan-jiyiwa-th !*
 1-INC-pl-POSS-VALL-IMP
- ‘Let’s go to our camp!’

3.4.2 Adnominal function of case inflections

Another function of case is to show the relation of one NP to another, linking two arguments in an attributive relationship, rather than an argument and a predicate. Traditionally this is called the “adnominal” function.

Besides their attributive use, all adnominal cases may be used predicatively in nominal clauses—cf. ‘the man’s boomerang’ and ‘the boomerang (is) the man’s’ (9.1.4). They may also be used as second predicates (9.4).

The GENitive or ABLative cases, for example, may mark possessors (3-19); they link the head noun denoting the thing possessed to a modifying noun denoting the possessor (in this construction the two are virtually synonymous). The PROPrietary case codes a similar relationship, but takes the possessor as head (3-20; see 4.3 for fuller discussion).

- (3-19) *dangka-na* *wangalk* / *dangka-karra* *wangalk*
 man-ABL boomerangNOM man-GEN boomerangNOM
 ‘The man’s boomerang.’

- (3-20) *wangalk-uru* *dangka-a*
 boomerang-PROP man-NOM
 'The man with/having the/a boomerang.'

It could be argued that the ABLative and PROPrietary here are "deriving" adjectives (cf. Dixon 1972, Blake 1977¹²). But elsewhere in the grammar there is no good reason for setting up an adjective class in Kayardild, since (a) there are no morphological distinctions between nouns and adjectives, and (b) nominals may modify other nominals within complex NPs in a number of ways (e.g. generic-specific, part-whole etc.— 6.3), only one of which could be called "adjectival". It is therefore more consistent with other parts of the grammar to say that adnominals are, syntactically, one type of nominal modifier, than to call them "derived adjectives".

This is not to deny that certain adnominal suffixes cannot also function derivationally, in the sense of deriving new lexemes. The PROPrietary, for example, is a productive derivational suffix—see 4.3.5 for discussion and examples. But other adnominal suffixes, such as the GENitive and ABLative, do not function derivationally.

3.4.2.1 Concord, double case-marking and suffix ordering. When modifying a non-nominative head, adnominal suffixes are followed by a further suffix agreeing with their head:

- (3-21) *dan-kinaba-nguni* *dangka-naba-nguni* *mirra-nguni* *walbu-nguni*
 this-ABL-INSTR man-ABL-INSTR good-INSTR raft-INSTR
 '... with this man's good raft.'

Double case-marking follows from the "total concord" principle in Kayardild, which distributes case inflections, whatever level they originate at, over all subconstituents. This may be formulated in a general way as:

- (3-22) $X^n[\beta \text{ Case } (, \alpha \text{ Case}...)] \rightarrow$
 $X^{n-1}[\gamma \text{ Case}, \beta \text{ Case } (, \alpha \text{ Case}...)] \quad Y[\beta \text{ Case } (, \alpha \text{ Case}...)]$

This is similar to rules for feature inheritance that have been proposed for other languages, except that the percolation of features can continue

¹² In addition to Dixon's and Blake's arguments within the Australianist literature, Plank (1990) points out more generally that "for nouns in an attributive relation to agree with their head nouns in case is apparently so out of the ordinary that grammarians faced with it feel tempted to annul it terminologically, by labelling case-agreeing attributive nouns adjectives solely on the strength of their agreeing in case". He names Bopp (1848), in his treatment of Georgian, as the first to do this.

indefinitely, and that constituents may inflect for a sequence of case values rather than just one.

The ordering of multiple case suffixes is iconic: of two case suffixes X and Y representing categories originating at nodes X' and Y' of a syntactic representation, X will lie outside Y morphologically if X' dominates Y'. A number of syntactic accounts attempt to build this behaviour into universal grammar, ranging from Baker's (1985) GB-based "mirror principle", in which inflections are cogenerated with syntactic rules at the appropriate level, and Andrews' (1991) proposal of "inside-out unification" of inflectional features within an LFG framework, in which unification of morphosyntactic features proceeds morphologically by working outward from the stem morphologically, and syntactically by working outward from the terminal node of constituent structure to successively more remote layers of constituency. The most recent and best worked-out statement of this principle is the "linearity constraint", stated as an element of the theory of autolexical syntax in Sadock (1991: 103) in a strong and a weak form:

Linearity Constraints

a. Strong

The associated elements of morphological and syntactic representations must occur in the same linear order.

b. Weak

The associated elements of morphological and syntactic representations must occur in as close to the linear order as the morphological requirements allow.

The iconic nature of multiple case ordering in Kayardild is consistent with all these formulations, with the exception that the ordering of modal and associating case suffixes may be anti-iconic due to morphological constraints on the position of the OBLique case—see 4.1—and hence favours the weak rather than the strong version of the "linearity constraint".

In some cases the ordering of suffixes is determined by semantic rather than syntactic factors, as there is no plausible syntactic structure from which to derive the ordering. This is illustrated by the following minimal pairs, only two of many comparable examples:¹³

- | | | |
|--------|---|--|
| (3-23) | (a) <i>karndi-nurru-walad</i>
wife-ASSOC-MANY
'many (men) with wives' | (b) <i>karndi-wala-nurru</i>
wife-MANY-ASSOC
'(man) with many wives' |
|--------|---|--|

¹³ Besides the literal translations given for 3-24, Kayardild speakers would supply the more idiomatic interpretations (a) 'lacking the rainbow serpent' (often known by the circumlocution 'the two-eared one') (b) 'the two stupid ones' ('earless' or 'deaf' implying 'stupid').

- (3-24) (a) *marral-iyarr-warri* (b) *marral-warri-yarrng-k*
 ear-du-PRIV(NOM) ear-PRIV-du-NOM
 ‘without the two-eared one’ ‘the two earless ones’

I shall refer to both classes of ordering phenomenon—those where the morphological ordering mirrors the syntax, and those where it mirrors the semantics—by the common term “concentric scoping”.

Double case-marking of adnominals, and the fact that adnominal suffixes precede relational ones, thus follow from general principles needed elsewhere in the grammar; in the case of suffix ordering these rules are probably universal. There is no need, therefore, to treat them in a special fashion as “derivational suffixes” simply because they can be followed by other case suffixes.

In 4.1 I argue that the first rank of inflectional suffixes in K includes both adnominal and number suffixes, and that this level is recursive (needed to account for theoretically possible phrases like ‘with the many spears belonging to the two men’). The concentric scoping principle solves the problem of ordering suffixes within the same rank, and also accounts for the positioning of the relational case suffix outside the adnominal/number suffixes.

3.4.2.2 Relational use of adnominal cases. Although their primary use is adnominal, these suffixes may also function relationally. The ABLative may, for example, mark the demoted agent in a passive (9.3.2), and the PROPriative may mark instruments or the “intentional objects” of verbs like ‘wait for’ or ‘search for’ (4.3.5). The PRIVative may likewise function both adnominally and relationally.

Rather than postulate pairs of homophonous “adnominal” and “relational” suffixes, I shall assume that a single “case” suffix should be set up, but that its possible functions (adnominal vs relational) should be distinguished. I will assume, that is, that case suffixes can have a number of functions, and that their domain and rank depend on their syntactic and/or semantic scope. Whether the meaning differences between modal and relational functions of the “same” case in K are significantly greater than those obtaining between different “uses” of the “same” case in a more familiar language is a question I discuss briefly in 10.2.

3.4.3 Modal case

Consider the following sentences:

- (3-25) *ngada warra-ja ngarn-kir*
 1sgNOM go-ACT beach-ALL
 ‘I am going/have gone to the beach.’

(3-26) *ngada warra-ju ngarn-kiring-ku*
 1sgNOM go-POT beach-ALL-MPROP
 'I will go to the beach.'

(3-27) *ngada warra-jarra ngarn-kiring-kina*
 1sgNOM go-PST beach-ALL-MABL
 'I went to the beach.'

(3-28) *ngada warra-da ngarn-kiring-inj*
 1sgNOM go-DES beach-ALL-MOBL
 'I would like to go to the beach.'

The PROPriative, ABLative and OBLique suffixes here are being used “modally”: together with the verb inflection, they are providing information about the mood, tense and/or aspect of the clause¹⁴. The PROPriative shows futurity; the ABLative “prior occurrence”; the OBLique indicates a strong emotion (in this instance desire) towards the event. The ALLative may also be used modally; it shows that the event is spatially oriented towards the speaker, or that it is just beginning, or just coming into the speaker’s awareness (see 7.2.3.12 for examples). The exact modal meanings this series encodes are discussed in 10.1.

Modal case appears on all NPs in the VP, except those semantically oriented towards the subject in some way, such as “intentional objects” (3-29) which give the private intention of the subject (10.3.2).

(3-29) *ngada jani-jarra ngumban-ju (*-na)*
 1sgNOM search-PST 2sg-PROP (*-MABL)
 'I searched for you.'

Although modal case generally correlates with verb inflection, in certain circumstances it may be used independently (10.1.3).

Cases on non-core arguments are followed directly by the modal case suffix, as with the ALLative in (3-26), and the INSTRumental in (3-30). Objects, however, take modal case alone:

(3-30) *ngada yalawu-jarr yakuri-na mijil-nguni-na*
 1sgNOM catch-PST fish-MABL net-INSTR-MABL
 'I caught fish with the net.'

¹⁴ Modal case is a *morphosyntactic* category whose mapping onto *semantic* categories is not always clearcut. The semantic categories it represents are a mixture of tense, modality, and “associated motion” or “inceptive aspect” in the case of the Modal ALLative. Although I use the term “modal case” for brevity, I do not wish to imply that only modality is involved.

- (3-31) *ngada yalawu-ju yakuri-wu mijil-nguni-wu*
 1sgNOM catch-POT fish-MPROP net-INSTR-MPROP
 'I will catch fish with the net.'

A further two modal cases can be set up, although the pattern is less regular. Consider the following sentences:

- (3-32) *dathin-a ngunguk-a balmbi-marra karrngi-j!*
 that-NOM story-NOM tomorrow-UTIL keep-IMP
 'Save that story for tomorrow!'

- (3-33) *birangkarra bi-l-da mardala-tha dangka-walath-i,*
 long time 3-pl-NOM paint-ACT man-LOT-MLOC
ngimi-marra-y
 night-UTIL-MLOC

'They have been painting the men for a long time, getting ready for (the dance) tonight.'

In (3-33) the LOCative on object and time NPs is functioning modally, signalling that the proposition has actually taken place, a modality I will refer to as "instantiated". This is the default modality in Kayardild.

In (3-32) the object is not marked for modal case and appears in the NOMinative¹⁵; the UTILitive case is likewise not followed by a further modal case. This zero modal case marking is characteristic of imperatives and nominalizations expressing ongoing, uncompleted actions.

The distinctness of the modal LOCative and zero cases is less clear than with the other modal cases:

(a) Unlike noun/adjectives, pronominal objects are only optionally unmarked with imperatives—they may instead take the LOCative:

- (3-34) *(nyingka) dana-tha dathin-a dangka-a /*
 2sgNOM leave-IMP that-NOM person-NOM
**dathin-ki dangka-y*
 that-LOC person-LOC
 'Leave that person (behind, alone)!''

- (3-35) *(nyingka) dana-tha ngad / ngijin-ji*
 2sgNOM leave-IMP 1sgNOM 1sg-LOC
 'Leave me (behind, alone)!''

¹⁵ Recall that the NOMinative is an "elsewhere case" appearing when no relational, modal, associating or complementizing case is assigned.

(b) Some NP types that normally take modal case, such as ALLatives (3-26—3-28) and PROPrietives expressing instrument or theme do not take the modal LOCative.

(c) Objects of ACTual clauses may take the nominative as a result of topicalization (12.5.1.1), and the nominative on imperative objects could be attributed to topicalization rather than the operation of modal case¹⁶.

Despite these differences (which led me to consider collapsing the LOCative and zero modal cases, and attributing the choice to other factors, such as topicalization), the choice between LOCative and zero is sufficiently exploited to justify setting them up as two modal cases: the appearance of the LOCative after UTILitive, INSTRumental and (in some constructions) ABLative cases, in ACTual clauses only, could not otherwise be explained.

Table 3-1. Summary of modal case system

Modality	Modal Case	Domain, i.e. NPs taking modal case:		
		Object, Instrumental, Utilitive	Allative, Etc.	Proprietary "intentional object", etc.
Present unrealized	Zero	-	-	-
Instantiated	Locative	+	-	-
Future	Proprietary	+	+	-
Prior	Ablative	+	+	-
Emotive	Oblique	+	+	-
Directed	Allative	+	+	-

A summary of the Kayardild modal case system is given in Table 3-1. The meaning of each modal case, the verb inflections they correlate with, and their exact domain, are discussed in detail in Chapter 10.

¹⁶ The diachronic explanation for the nominative on imperative objects is that it is the one construction preserving the old absolutive case—see 10.4.

3.4.4 Identifying the modal function of case suffixes

Although word-position and domain often suffice to identify an inflection as either modal or relational, there are many instances in which paradigmatic tests are required. Consider the following pairs of clauses:

- (3-36) a. *ngada raa-ju ngumban-ju*
 1sgNOM spear-POT 2sg-MPROP
 'I will spear you.'
- b. *ngada raa-jarra ngumban-jina*
 1sgNOM spear-PST 2sg-MABL
 'I speared you.'
- (3-37) a. *ngada jani-ju ngumban-ju*
 1sgNOM search-POT 2sg-PROP
 'I will search for you.'
- b. *ngada jani-jarra ngumban-ju*
 1sgNOM search-PST 2sg-PROP
 'I searched for you.'

Considering only the first of each pair, it is impossible to discern the function of the proprietive suffix. However, paradigmatic variation of modality will change the suffix in (3-36) but not in (3-37), showing the former to be a modal inflection, the latter a relational. Throughout this grammar all suffixes glossed with a preceding M, e.g. MABL in (3-36), have been determined to be modal by paradigmatic variation, even where limitations of space prevent me from furnishing all examples with variants in multiple modalities.

3.4.5 Associating function of case inflections

The OBLIQUE case is also used to associate NP arguments with their nominalized verbs. As these verbs are morphologically nominal this could perhaps be treated as a type of adnominal function, but the peculiarities of K nominalized clauses introduce rather different morphosyntactic properties.

Verbs in K may be nominalized by adding the derivational suffix *-n-* (glossed N for Nominalizer) to their stem, then adding a case suffix agreeing with the subject of the nominalized verb. Such nominalized verbs may be used independently as predicators showing ongoing uncompleted action (3-38), or as complements of immediate perception predicates in the matrix clause (3-39). In the latter function they agree in modal case with their antecedent.

(3-38) *dathin-a kunawuna rajurri-n-d*
 that-NOM childNOM walk about-N-NOM
 'That child is walking around.'

(3-39) *ngada kurri-ja dathin-ki kunawuna-ya rajurri-n-ki*
 1sgNOM see-ACT that-MLOC child-MLOC walk.about-N-MLOC
 'I saw that child walking around.'

Although the subjects of these nominalized verbs do not receive special case-marking, the other NPs in the clause, whether in core or peripheral functions, receive an "associating" OBLique case, glossed AOBL.

(3-40) *niya kala-n-da thungal-inja bijarra-marra-ntha*
 3sgNOM cut-N-NOM tree-AOBL dugong-UTIL-AOBL

narra-nguni-nj
 shell-INSTR-AOBL

'He is cutting the tree with a shell axe, to use for (spearing) dugong.'

Even NP arguments that do not receive modal case, such as the PROPriative "intentional object" exemplified in (3-29), receive "associating" case:

(3-41) *bi-l-da jani-n-da bartha-wuru-ntha kunawuna-wuru-nth*
 3-pl-NOM search-N-NOM track-PROP-AOBL child-PROP-AOBL
 'They are looking for the child's footprints.'

Apart from subjects, the only arguments to escape are second predicates on the subject like 'alone' in (3-42), and "locus of effect on body part" NPs construed with the subject (9.4.2).

(3-42) *niya kiwali-n-da mala-ntha kantharrk*
 3sgNOM wade-N-NOM sea-AOBL aloneNOM
 'He is wading in the sea alone.'

The AOBL always follows modal case suffixes:

(3-43) *ngada balmbi-wu kurri-ju bilwan-ju*
 1sgNOM morrow-MPROP watch-POT 3pl-MPROP

barrki-n-ku kurda-wuu-nth
 chop-N-MPROP coolamon-MPROP-AOBL

'Tomorrow I will watch them chopping (making) a coolamon.'

(3-44) *ngada kurri-jarra niwan-jina kurdama-n-kina nguku-naa-ntha*
 1sgNOM see-PST 3sg-MABL drink-N-MABL water-MABL-AOBL

wuruman-urru-naa-nth
 billy-ASSOC-MABL-AOBL

'I saw him drinking the water in the billy.'

Since the modal case originates in a higher constituent (the matrix clause) than the associating case (the nominalized subordinate clause), the ordering of suffixes here is anti-iconic. To be iconically ordered, modal case would *follow* the Associating OBLique. In such sentences, we must conclude, the suffixes are extrinsically ordered by the rank ordering convention given in Figure 3-1, which requires that suffixes with modal function always precede those with associating function. The existence of this ordering mismatch is incompatible with the strong version of Sadock's "Linearity Constraint" (see 3.4.2.1), but compatible with the weak version.

This has the result that the expected sequence AOBL-MCASE does not arise. This sequence would violate the constraint against other suffixes following the OBLique (4.2.3). In Evans (1994b) I argue that this anti-iconic ordering results from a fixing of morphological order for the oblique suffix in Kayardild at a time when nominalizations were limited to derivational function and could not be used as participles or for continuous aspect. The morphosyntactic extension of the OBLique case to an associating function thus post-dated the establishment of morphological ordering.

Note that "subject-oriented" NPs which escape modal case in main clauses, e.g. PROPrietary locationals giving "intended direction", also escape it in subordinate clauses of this type, despite the fact that the modal case originates in a higher clause. Thus in (3-45) 'to the south' appears as *rarungkuuntha*, with no modal locative, rather than **rar-ung-kuru-rrka* [south-ALL-PROP-MLOC:AOBL].

(3-45) *ngada barruntha-ya kurri-ja dangka-yarrng-ki warra-n-ki*
 1sgNOM yesterday-LOC see-ACT man-du-MLOC go-N-MLOC
rar-ung-kuu-nth
 south-ALL-PROP-AOBL

'Yesterday I saw the two men going to the south.'

3.4.6 Complementizing function of case inflections

In one type of Kayardild subordinate clause, described in Chapter 12, finite verbal inflections are retained. These clauses are usually adjoined after the main clause, though they may be embedded under special conditions. They have a number of possible functions, distinguished by verbal tense/mood, by the matrix predicator, and by context: relative

clauses, jussives, perceptual complements, purpose clauses, complements of epistemic and attitudinal predicators, and so forth.

Under two conditions these Finite Subordinate Clauses receive an outer “complementizing case” on all constituents. One condition was mentioned briefly in 3.3.2: when the pivot of the construction is not subject of both clauses, the subordinate clause receives complementizing case on all its constituents. The other condition requiring “complementizing case” on all words of the subordinate clause is when the subordinate clause is an argument of the matrix predicator, as in (3-46). Fuller discussion of both these conditions is in Chapter 12.

- (3-46) *ngada* *murnmurdawa-th*,
 1sgNOM rejoice-ACT
- [*ngijin-inja* *thabuju-ntha* *thaa-thuu-nth*]_{COBL}
 my-COBL E.Br-COBL return-POT-COBL

‘I am glad that my big brother is coming back.’

Either the OBLique or LOCative case may function as complementizers, depending on the *person* of the subordinate subject: first and third person subjects require the OBLique, inclusive (first plus second) the LOCative, and second person subjects allow either. See 12.1.4.

Clauses marked with complementizing case also appear “insubordinated”, i.e. as independent main clauses. This signals either the ellipsis of a matrix predicator of knowledge, command, or utterance, or the presence of an “odd topic” sequence. This is discussed and exemplified in 12.4 and 12.5.

3.4.7 Multiple case marking

All of the case functions just outlined may be utilized in the same clause (except that complementizing and associating case are incompatible—see below). This means that nominal words are attested with up to four case inflections. Although the existence of limited recursion for adnominal, relational and modal functions theoretically means that more than four case inflections could occur, I have no naturally occurring examples, nor have I been able to elicit any or have such made-up examples accepted. This is probably due to processing limitations rather than a strict grammatical constraint.

We have already seen that adnominal NPs modifying a NP itself inflected for relational case have two case suffixes, an adnominal and a relational, ordered according to their scope:

- (3-47) ...*dangka-karra-nguni* *mijil-nguni*
 man-GEN-INSTR net-INSTR
 ‘...with the man’s net.’

Such complex NPs may then receive modal case:

- (3-48) *maku yalawu-jarra yakuri-na dangka-karra-nguni-na*
 woman catch-PST fish-MABL man-GEN-INSTR-MABL
mijil-nguni-na
 net-INSTR-MABL
 ‘The woman caught some fish with the man’s net.’

Note in passing that certain affixes may appear twice in different functions. The Ablative in (3-49), for example, appears first as an adnominal, marking possession, and then as a modal marking “prior” modality (the allomorph *naba* of the inner ablative is phonologically conditioned, being the protected form arising when the suffix is not word-final).

- (3-49) *nyingka karna-jarra ngamathu-naba-na wunkurr-ina?*
 2sgNOM light-PST mother-ABL-MABL grass-MABL
 ‘Did you set fire to mother’s grass windbreak?’

Finally, a complementizing suffix may appear on every word of the clause, as in¹⁷ :

- (3-50) *maku-ntha yalawu-jarra-ntha yakuri-naa-ntha*
 woman-COBL catch-PST-COBL fish-MABL-COBL
dangka-karra-nguni-naa-ntha mijil-nguni-naa-nth
 man-GEN-INSTR-MABL-COBL net-INSTR-MABL-COBL
 ‘The woman must have caught fish with the man’s net.’

(The semantic effect of the independent complementized construction here is to present the proposition as an inference—see 12.4.3.2.)

¹⁷ It is theoretically possible to obtain sequences of four case suffixes in another way, by nominalizing a clause with marked modality. (3-50), for example, could be made the complement of ‘I saw’, giving *ngada kurrijarra makuna yalawunkina yakurinaantha dangkakarranguninaantha mijilnguninaanth*. I have not heard spontaneous examples of such constructions, but there seems to be no reason why they should not occur. One can then ask whether five levels of case suffixes can occur, by complementizing a nominalized clause? The answer is no, due to a morphological constraint: OBLique suffixes may not be followed by another case suffix (4.2.3).

(3-50) illustrates the fundamental peculiarity of K morphosyntax: that nominal words carry an enormous amount of information, not only about their immediate syntactic environment (i.e. their mother NP) but also about the verb (is it nominalized?), the modality of the clause, about evidential categories, and even about the coreference relations between the immediately dominating clause and its matrix (as in 3-12).

In addition to cases like the above, where each case suffix has a different functional domain, one occasionally finds instances of recursion within a particular domain. This is attested for adnominal, relational and modal functions. An example of recursion of adnominal case function¹⁸, here represented by the associative (here encoding “having”) and ablative (here encoding “belonging to”) is:

- (3-51) ... *maku-yarr-nurru-naba-walad*
 woman-two-ASSOC-ABL-many
 ‘... the many belonging to (those) having two wives’

An example of recursion of case suffixes in relational function is:

- (3-52) (*Darira mardala-a-ja*) *mutha-wu ngunymurr-u,*
 newborn rub-M-ACT much-PROP grease-PROP

mutha-wu ngunymurr-u wuran-ku,
 much-PROP grease-PROP food-PROP

mak-un-maan-ju wuran-ku, ngimi-waan-ju wuran-ku,
 torch-VDON-ORIG-PROP food-PROP dark-ORIG-PROP food-PROP

kurdala-thirrin-ju ngimi-wan-jinaba-wu kanthathu-naba-wu.
 spear-RES-PROP night-ORIG-ABL-PROP father-ABL-PROP

‘(The newborn was rubbed) with lots of grease, lots of greasy food, with food (speared) by (the light of) a bark torch, with food (speared) at night-time, speared by (the baby’s) father at night-time.’

[The ellipsed material was not present when I recorded this, but was supplied later when I asked about the meaning of this sentence.]

Here the relational ABLative case, assigned to ‘father’ as demoted subject of the resultative nominalization *kurdalathirrin-*, is followed by the relational PROprietive case, assigned to the head noun *wuran-* in the main clause. Both relational cases are then percolated down to the adnominal NP *ngimiwan-* ‘(hunting) at night’. Such stacking of relational cases is only possible when the nominalized nature of the subordinate clause allows the matrix relational case to be inherited.

¹⁸ For examples of adnominal recursion in another Australian language, Martuthunira, see Dench—Evans (1988: 7).

Recursion of modal cases does not normally occur, since clauses assigning their own modal case are finite and do not normally inherit modal case from higher clauses. However, DIRECTED clauses, which assign the modal ALLative, are an exception: when used as subordinate clauses giving “movement with a purpose” (11.6), they inherit the matrix clause’s modal case, resulting in two modal case suffixes on subordinate NPs, as in (3-53). Again, case ordering is iconic here.

- (3-53) *balmb-u* *ngada* *warra-ju*
 tomorrow-MPROP 1sgNOM go-POT
- [*bijarrba-ring-ku* *raa-jiring-ku*]MPROP
 dugong-MALL-MPROP spear-DIR-MPROP

‘Tomorrow I will go to spear dugong.’

In general, then, Kayardild grammar displays “unbounded concord” whereby all cases percolate downwards, not just to immediate constituents, but on to their subconstituents, until the unit “word” is reached. The multiple case suffixes that result are ordered iconically, except in the case of nominalized subordinate clauses where the Associating OBLique is extrinsically ordered outside the inherited modal case.

3.4.8 Multiple function or homophony?

A central theoretical question is whether these really should be treated as different functions of the same suffix (as assumed this far), or as distinct suffixes that happen to be homophonous? Related to this is the question of whether their distribution across constituents and their positioning within words should be taken as primary defining characteristics, or as regular consequences of their function, combined with rules of semantic and syntactic scope.

First let me defend the extension of the term “case” to all the functional domains defined above. The rigorous definition of “case” in Mel’cuk (1986) takes two characteristics as criterial for calling an inflectional category “case”: first, it displays agreement, and secondly, it is used to distinguish types of syntactic dependency.

Now all functional domains of Kayardild case display agreement par excellence. As for the second part of the definition, with each domain the signalling of some sort of syntactic dependency is an important part of its function. The use of relational case choices to signal subject and indirect object (though not object) is quite clear, as is the use of adnominal case choices to signal the possessive relation and others. Modal case, apart from its primary use to signal mood, tense, and polarity, marks the object

relation as well as linking some kinds of secondary predicates to their objects. Associating case is the main marker of objecthood in the main clause, continuative use of nominalizations. And complementizing case, though its main function is to signal interclausal relations, distinguishes objects and instruments (by its absence) in particular types of topicalizations (12.5.2.1). All five functions of case in Kayardild thus fall within the scope of Mel'cuk's definition.

I now turn to the question of whether we are dealing with homophonous forms, or polysemous forms whose meanings are to be regarded as contextual variants in different syntactic environments. A number of factors are important here:

(A) FORM. Suffixes have the same form and range of allomorphy regardless of their function, except for variations resulting from exposed vs internal position, which are clearly derivative. (The only exception is with pronouns taking the complementizing OBLique—5.2.2.) It would clearly be inefficient to multiply statements of form by setting up five orders of homophonous suffixes.

(B) MEANING. The transparency of the semantic relation between “modal” and “relational” or “adnominal” meanings varies with the case considered. The relationship between ablative and “past”, and allative and “inceptive”, is one of straightforward transfer from the spatial to the temporal or aspectual planes. But the relationship between proprietive or “having” and potential modality requires more subtle analysis of the relational and adnominal meanings of the Kayardild proprietive, which include “intentional object” and “potential ability” (4.3.5). In the case of the OBLique, whose modal value is “emotive”, it has virtually been leached of a clear semantic value in its relational use. I consider the nature of these semantic relationships in more detail in 10.2.

This range, from semantically transparent polysemy to functional ranges with a less clear semantic basis, is typical of case systems in many languages—just consider the genitive with objects of negated verbs in Polish or Russian, and the effects of discourse factors on case-marking (Hopper—Thompson 1980) in a large number of languages. Cases that include information about tense are found in other Australian languages (e.g. Kalkatungu, Pitta-Pitta and of course Yukulta and Lardil) and also in the Caucasus (e.g. Georgian—see Vogt 1971 and Harris 1981). Although some semantic link may be uncovered by careful analysis (e.g. Wierzbicka's (1980) study of the Russian instrumental), the case systems of most languages abound in such problematic polysemy.

The radical difference between Kayardild and these other languages is that in Kayardild each semantic or syntactic component is factored out, as it were, and represented in a separate level of case-marking, whereas in most languages a number of factors combine to select a single case (see

Austin 1981b for some Australian examples). To consider a single example: in many languages, objects of nominalized verbs receive an oblique case instead of the regular object case (cf. Silverstein 1981). That is, two syntactic factors—object relation, and nominalized verb—combine to select a single case (usually the dative or genitive). In Kayardild, on the other hand, each is represented by a distinct case inflection: the object relation by the appropriate modal case, and the fact that the verb is nominalized by the associating OBLique.

(C) SEQUENCE RESTRICTIONS. Certain sequences of case-suffixes are not permitted in K (4.2.3): the OBLique may not be followed by another case, and the LOCative may only be “followed” by the OBLique, in which case the suppletive portmanteau *-(k)urrka* is used. A number of strategies may be used when such restrictions are encountered. For example, the inner suffix may be replaced by a near synonym that does not violate the restriction, or it may disappear entirely. What is relevant here is that these sequence constraints apply regardless of suffix function (although the choice of a synonymous substitute does depend on their function, as one would expect). Our morphological statements are therefore simplified if we assume that the same suffix is involved.

In this grammar I adopt a polysemy analysis, treating the various case functions as functional or contextual variants of single cases. This has the advantage of emphasising the strikingly case-like syntactic properties (in particular, concord) found with all functions of these suffixes, of drawing attention to the semantic connections between case and modality, of accounting for the identical sequence restrictions that these suffixes obey regardless of their function, and of being faithful to their historical origins: as I will show in 10.4 and 12.6, all these morphemes originated as case suffixes *sensu strictu*, regardless of their synchronic status.

At the same time, I will make the determining role of syntactic context explicit by treating case suffixes as bipartite entities, identified by a case label (e.g. ABLative) and a function (e.g. Modal). This makes it possible to formulate generalizations either in terms of function, or in terms of “case”.

3.4.9 Case, concord and constituency

In K, case concord is a valuable tool for diagnosing constituent structure. We have already seen how the domain of adnominal and relational cases clearly reflects the constituency of embedded NPs in a phrase like:

(3-54) [*dan-karra-nguni* *maku-karra-nguni*]_{GEN} *mirra-nguni*
 this-GEN-INSTR woman-GEN-INSTR good-INSTR

mijil-nguni]INSTR
net-INSTR

‘with [[this woman’s] good net] ...’

All four words of the complex phrase bear the relational instrumental, while the adnominal genitive is limited to the words of the embedded possessive phrase.

Similarly, certain types of embedded clause carry a “complementizing case” inflection on every subconstituent, down to word level (3-55); the presence of complementizing case clearly delimits the clausal constituent.

(3-55) *ngada murnmurdawa-th,*
1sgNOM be.glad-ACT

[*ngijin-inja thabuju-ntha thaa-thuu-nth*]COBL
my-COBL brother-COBL return-POT-COBL

‘I am glad that my brother will be coming back.’

Although the constituents identified in this way are typically contiguous, they need not be (Chapter 6). In this grammar I will assume that constituency is independent of contiguity or linear order, but diagnosed by the distribution and ordering of case inflections at various levels. Of course many examples are less straightforward than those just given, since there exist a number of specific rules blocking the occurrence of inherited case in certain situations, such as the rule preventing the complementizing locative appearing on pronominal subjects (12.1.6), or the rule preventing modal case from appearing on indirect objects (10.3.2), but this does not mar the general usefulness of case inflection as a test for constituency. Throughout this grammar the term “constituent” will be used in this special sense, implying immediate domination but not order; the same applies to c-structure representations.

While the use of case inflection as a diagnostic clearly distinguishes NP and S constituents, the existence of a VP constituent is more problematic, although the domain of both modal case and associating case approximates the VP.

Modal case appears on what could be defined as a VP minus certain grammatically specifiable NPs (such as indirect objects and a few “subject-oriented” NPs with a semantic connection with the subject). Historically it appeared on the verb as well, and most verb inflections comprise a thematic element plus what is etymologically an old case marker (7.3.3). However, this analysis is of limited value synchronically, as I will argue in 10.1. Most importantly, the verbal inflection is independent of modal case to a certain extent, so that it cannot be assigned by the same inflectional category. The best we could

say synchronically, then, is that modal case appears on all but a syntactically defined subset of NPs within the VP.

Associating case is a better candidate for diagnosing the VP: it appears on all NPs within the VP, but not on the verb itself. The only NPs to escape it are the subject and certain secondary predicates clearly associated with the subject (9.4.1.1).

With both associating and modal case it would be possible to state the conditions on their distribution without reference to the VP: that is, as all NPs in a clause, minus the subject, secondary predicates on the subject, and (in the case of modal case) indirect objects and some NPs semantically associated with the subject.

Stating the distribution of these items in this way would capture the semantic fact that modality and tense are semantic operators with clausal scope, and that nominalization takes clauses, not VPs as input. It seems likely that the historical explanation for the failure of modal case to appear on subjects has to do with the original distribution of modal case over all overt constituents of subordinate clauses, which typically lacked an overt subject (10.4).

What is more, our grounds for postulating a VP in Kayardild are weakened by the lack of any other syntactic evidence that could corroborate the criterion of case distribution—I have been unable to find any test that could be used as an equivalent to tests for VP-membership in other languages, such as the scope of “so did” conjunction in English.

Despite these arguments against the usefulness of postulating a VP constituent in Kayardild, I will continue to use the term VP in places where I discuss the distribution of modal or associating case marking, simply because it is more convenient than the long list of conditions that I would otherwise need to use.

Chapter 4 Nominals, Part I

The nominal word class includes a number of subclasses (3.1): noun/adjectives, pronouns, locationals, and manner and time nominals. In this chapter I discuss the case system, which is essentially identical for all nominal subclasses, plus a few nominal suffixes for number and the like. Derivational, compounding and reduplicational processes in the noun/adjective subclass, and specific properties of the remaining nominal subclasses will be treated in the next chapter.

4.1 Structure of the nominal word

Kayardild nominals consist of a root, with or without a number of derivational suffixes; this much constitutes the stem. In general, derivational possibilities depend on the subclass of nominal.

Following this are one or more inflections. Recall that in this grammar an inflection is defined as any suffix whose scope is phrasal or greater (3.1.2.1); this definition allows the possibility of multiple inflection after the stem. The inflectional possibilities of all subclasses are similar, except that for the manner, time and locational subclasses the set of possible adnominal and relational inflections is restricted.

Leaving the internal structure of the stem to concentrate on its possibilities for number and case inflection, we get the following picture:

(4-1)		RANK		
	1	2	3	4
	Stem + ADN / NUM [*] + Relational ⁰⁻² + Modal ⁰⁻² (+ Associating /) Complementizing			

Here ADN is an adnominal case suffix and NUM is a number suffix; the asterisk means that in principle any number of these may occur, from zero up. There may be from zero to two relational, and from zero to two modal, cases. Associating and complementizing case suffixes are optional, and the latter two are mutually exclusive. There must be at least one case at adnominal, relational or modal level. The above template does not cover suffixation with a verbal case (4.4), which is suffixed at Rank

2 and converts the hosting nominal into a morphologically verbal stem, whose further suffixing possibilities are identical to a regular verb stem.

The adnominal case and number slots are the only ones that are regularly recursive, to allow for words like *maku-yarr-nurru-naba-walad* [woman-du-ASSOC-ABL-LOT] ‘the many belonging to (those) having two wives’. The formulation allows alternative orderings of the same affixes (e.g. ASSOC + LOT vs LOT + ASSOC), as is required by pairs like *maku-wala-nurru* [woman-LOT-ASSOC] ‘having many wives’ vs *maku-nurru-walad* [woman-ASSOC-LOT] ‘the many having wives’¹.

(4-1) correctly generates all permissible inflected nominals in Kayardild. It overgenerates slightly, and two restrictions are needed to prevent banned suffix sequences—see 4.2.3.

4.2 Case inflections: forms

Figure 4-1 gives the forms of all Kayardild case inflections, except the verbal case set, which is discussed in 4.4. Some remarks on them are made on the following pages. Unless otherwise noted, inflections have the same form regardless of the rank they are used at. Figure 4-2 gives illustrative inflected words.

DECLENSION MEMBERSHIP. In general, declension patterns are predictable from the phonological composition of the nominative citation form; in such cases the declension classes have open membership, embracing all nominals with the phonologically appropriate ending. The two declensions whose membership is not predictable from the form of the nominative have closed membership:

CLASS 4B. When the nominative of a word ends in *Vda* this may be the root (as with *kambuda* ‘pandanus fruit’, whose locative is *kambudaya*), or it may be the delaminized form (2.5.3) of a root in *TH-* or *J-*. *TH* may follow any vowel, *J* only follows *i* or *ii*. The full membership of these classes is:

TH: *yarbuTH-* ‘snake, bird’, *ngirrnguTH-* ‘fly’, *marrkaTH-* ‘soft’, *niTH-* ‘name’, *baTH-* ‘west’, *buTH-* ‘behind’ and *yuuTH-* ‘already’. A similar pattern is found with the derivational suffixes *-walaTH-* ‘LOT’ and *-yarraTH-* ‘another’.

J: *warngiiJ-* ‘one’, *ngiJ-* ‘wood, firewood’, *miiJ-* ‘lobster, louse’, *riiJ-* ‘intestine’ and its derivatives *jungarrbariiJ-* ‘large intestine’ and *waldarrariiJ-* ‘caecum of dugong’, *wanjariiJ-* ‘one-eyed man’ and *biriiJ-* ‘alive; father’.

¹ I have been unable to determine whether multiple occurrences of the same adnominal suffix are allowed—if they are not, a constraint would be needed of the type: * $\alpha\text{Suf}^{\text{ADN}} + \alpha\text{Suf}^{\text{ADN}}$.

Declension	1	2	3a ¹	3b	4a ¹	4b	5a	5b	6	
Final segment of stem	<i>i</i> _	<i>u</i> _	<i>a</i> _	<i>a</i> _	<i>r, l</i> _	<i>rr, k</i>	<i>ng</i> _	<i>n, rn</i> _	<i>n</i> ^{#2}	
			(2σ)	(2 ⁺ σ)	<i>th, j</i> _					
NOM	{ <i>ka</i> }	-(<i>ya</i>) ³	-(<i>wa</i>) ³	- <i>a</i>	∅	- <i>da</i>	- <i>a</i>	- <i>ka</i>	<i>Da</i>	- <i>da</i>
LOC	{ <i>kiya</i> }	- <i>ya</i>	- <i>ya</i>	- <i>ya</i>	- <i>ya</i>	- <i>i(ya)</i>	- <i>i(ya)</i>	- <i>ki(ya)</i>	- <i>ki(ya)</i>	- <i>ji(ya)</i>
ABL	{ <i>kinaba</i> }	- <i>na[ba]</i> ⁴	- <i>na[ba]</i> ⁵	- <i>na[ba]</i>	- <i>na[ba]</i>	- <i>ina[ba]</i>	- <i>ina[ba]</i>	- <i>kina[ba]</i>	- <i>kina[ba]</i>	- <i>jina[ba]</i>
PROP	{ <i>kuru</i> }	<i>wu[ru]</i>	- <i>u[ru]</i>	- <i>wu[ru]</i>	- <i>u[ru]</i>	- <i>u[ru]</i>	- <i>u[ru]</i>	<i>ku[ru]</i>	- <i>ku[ru]</i>	- <i>ju[ru]</i>
OBL	{ <i>inja</i> }	- <i>nja</i>	- <i>ntha</i>	- <i>nuha</i>	- <i>ntha</i> ⁶	- <i>inja</i>	- <i>inja</i>	- <i>inja</i>	- <i>inja</i>	- <i>inja</i>
ALL	{ <i>kiring</i> }	- <i>r[ing]</i>	- <i>r[ing]</i>	- <i>r[ing]</i>	- <i>r[ing]</i>	- <i>ir[ing]</i>	- <i>ir[ing]</i>	- <i>kir[ing]</i>	- <i>kir[ing]</i>	- <i>ji[ring]</i>
GEN	{ <i>karran</i> }	- <i>karra[n]</i>	- <i>karra[n]</i>	- <i>karra[n]</i>	- <i>karra[n]</i>	- <i>karra[n]</i>	- <i>karra[n]</i>	- <i>karra[n]</i>	- <i>karra[n]</i>	- <i>karra[n]</i>
ASSOC	{ <i>nurru</i> }	- <i>nurru</i>	- <i>nurru</i>	- <i>nurru</i>	- <i>nurru</i>	- <i>nurru</i>	- <i>nurru</i>	- <i>nurru</i>	- <i>nurru</i>	- <i>nurru</i>
ORIG	{ <i>wan</i> }	- <i>wan</i> -	- <i>wan</i> -	- <i>wan</i> -	- <i>wan</i> -	- <i>wan</i> -	- <i>wan</i> -	- <i>wan</i> -	- <i>man</i> -	- <i>man</i> -
PRIV	{ <i>warri</i> }	- <i>warri</i>	- <i>warri</i>	- <i>warri</i>	- <i>warri</i>	- <i>warri</i>	- <i>warri</i>	- <i>warri</i>	- <i>marri</i>	- <i>marri</i>
CONS	{ <i>ngarrba</i> }	- <i>ngarrba</i>	- <i>ngarrba</i>	- <i>ngarrba</i>	- <i>ngarrba</i>	- <i>ngarrba</i>	- <i>ngarrba</i>	- <i>ngarrba</i>	- <i>ngarrba</i>	- <i>ngarrba</i>
INSTR	{ <i>nguni</i> }	- <i>nguni</i>	- <i>nguni</i>	- <i>nguni</i>	- <i>nguni</i>	- <i>nguni</i>	- <i>nguni</i>	- <i>nguni</i>	- <i>nguni</i>	- <i>nguni</i>
UTIL	{ <i>marra</i> }	- <i>marra</i>	- <i>marra</i>	- <i>marra</i>	- <i>marra</i>	- <i>marra</i>	- <i>marra</i>	- <i>marra</i>	- <i>marra</i>	- <i>marra</i>

NOTES: This table does not show the effects of "prosodic truncation" on final *a*, or the effects of post-prosodic truncational lengthening on the ORIGIN suffix {-*wan*-}. Nor does it show the effects on preceding segments of general morphophonemic changes, such as the loss of stem-final *k* (in 4b) before *n* by cluster simplification. { } encloses "basic" forms.

(1) The two irregular nouns *jara* or *jaa* 'foot' and *rara* or *raa* 'south' could be treated as a seventh, minor, declension type, mixing characteristics of the 3a and 4a declensions.

jara will illustrate. For what we may call "A-type" speakers the root is *ja-*; for them all cases have the 3a forms (e.g. NOM *ja-a*, LOC *ja-ya*, PROP *ja-wuru*) except the irregular OBLIQUE *ja-yinja*. "B-type" speakers take the root for some cases as *jar-*, giving the irregular nominative *jara* and the 4a type OBLIQUE *jarinja*; other case forms are identical to those for "A-type" speakers. *rara* exhibits parallel irregularities.

(2) *n*[#] represents morphemes in final *-n* that take a following palatal-initial suffix. The choice between velar- and palatal-initial suffixes is

morphologically conditioned—see notes on declension membership.

(3) Suffixes or suffix segments in round brackets are optional; their appearance depends on stylistic or rhythmical reasons alone.

(4) Segments in square brackets may be lost in word-final position. See discussion of individual case forms for specific conditioning factors.

(5) Some kin-terms in *-ju* belonging to this class change the final *u* to *i* before the ABLative, e.g. *thabujina* rather than *thabujuna*.

(6) Younger speakers form the OBLIQUE of two nouns of this class on the prosodically truncated citation form: from *bijarrb(a)* 'dugong' and *kunawun(a)* 'child' they get the Declension 4b OBLIQUES *bijarrbinja* and *kunawuninja* rather than the traditional 1b forms *bijarrbantha* and *kunawuninja*.

Figure 4-1. Case allomorphs

Decl.	1	2	3a	3b1	4a	4b1,2	4b3	4b3	5a	5b	6
Word	yakuri fish	maku woman'	mala sea	bardaka 'belly'	mal-da 'head'	wangalk-a 'boomrang'	nid-a 'name'	ngid-a 'firewood'	kangka 'langage'	daman-da 'tooth'	kuwan-da 'frestick'
NOM	yakuri-ya	maku-wa	mala-a	bardaka	mal-da	wangalk-a	nid-a	ngid-a	kangka	daman-da	kuwan-da
LOC	yakuri-ya	maku-ya	mala-ya	bardaka-ya	mal-ya	wangalk-i	nid-i	ngid-i	kangka	daman-da	kuwan-da
ABL	yakuri-na	maku-na	mala-na	bardaka-na	mal-ina	wangalk-ina	nid-ina	ngid-ina	kangka-ina	daman-ina	kuwan-ina
PROP	yakuri-wuru	maku-(u)ru	mala-wuru	bardaka-wuru	mal-uru	wangalk-uru	nid-uru	ngid-uru	kangka-uru	daman-uru	kuwan-uru
OBL	yakuri-nja	maku-nha	mala-nha	bardaka-nha	mal-inja	wangalk-inja	nid-inja	ngid-inja	kangka-inja	daman-inja	kuwan-inja
ALL	yakuri-r	maku-r	mala-r	bardaka-r	mal-ir	wangalk-ir	nid-ir	ngid-ir	kangka-ir	daman-ir	kuwan-ir
GEN	yakuri-karra	maku-karra	mala-karra	bardaka-karra	mal-karra	wangalk-karra	?	?	kangka-karra	daman-karra	kuwan-karra
ASSOC	yakuri-wuru	maku-wuru	mala-wuru	bardaka-wuru	mal-wuru	wangalk-wuru ²	nid-wuru	ngid-wuru	kangka-wuru	daman-wuru	kuwan-wuru
ORIG	yakuri-wan- ⁴	maku-wan-	mala-wan-	bardaka-wan-	mal-wan-	wangalk-wan-	nid-wan-	ngid-wan-	kangka-wan-	daman-wan-	kuwan-wan-
PRIV	yakuri-wari	maku-wari	mala-wari	bardaka-wari	mal-wari	wangalk-wari	nid-wari	ngid-wari	kangka-wari	daman-wari	kuwan-wari
CONS	yakuri-ngartha	maku-ngartha	mala-ngartha	bardaka-ngartha	mal-ngartha	wangalk-ngartha	nid-ngartha	ngid-ngartha	kangka-ngartha	daman-ngartha	kuwan-ngartha
INSTR	yakuri-nguni	maku-nguni	mala-nguni	bardaka-nguni	mal-nguni	wangalk-nguni	nid-nguni	ngid-nguni	kangka-nguni	daman-nguni	kuwan-nguni
UTIL	yakuri-marra	maku-marra	mala-marra	bardaka-marra	mal-marra	wangalk-marra	nid-marra	ngid-marra	kangka-marra	daman-marra	kuwan-marra

NOTES:

General: In Contrast to Figure 4-1, forms given are the normal "reduced" forms found in exposed final position, although again the effects of prosodic ununction are not shown.

(1) As the words *bardaka* and *wangalka* show, the stem form cannot always be deduced from the nominative form alone. We need other cases (e.g. the locative) to show us that in *bardaka* the final /a/ is part of the root (*bardakya*) and in *wangalka* it is the nominative ending (*wangalk-i*). Words whose nominative ends in *ra* are particularly tricky, as they may belong either to declension 3b or to 4b: compare *kamarra* 'stone', whose locative is *kamarri* and which we therefore segment as *kamar-ra* (4b), with *waldarra* 'moon', whose locative is *waldarra-ya* and which we segment as *waldarra-* (3b).

(2) The root-final *k* of *wangalk-* and *ng* of *kang-* disappear before the ASSOCIATIVE,

ORIGIN, PRIVATIVE, CONSEQUENTIAL, INSTRUMENTAL and UTILITIVE cases by the regular morphophonemic rule of CLUSTER SIMPLIFICATION (2.5.5). This rule also degeminates the /m/ that would otherwise arise in the ASSOCIATIVE forms of *damanda* and *kuwanda*.

(3) The words *nida* and *ngid-a* are included as examples of stems whose final segments are underlyingly lamino-dental and lamino-palatal respectively. The basically behave like normal 4b declension nouns, except that they undergo the morphophonemic changes DELAMINALIZATION (2.5.3) in the nominative, REGRESSIVE ASSIMILATION OF NASALITY (2.5.1.2) in the consequential, instrumental and utilitive, FEATURE BLEND (2.5.4) in the origin and privative (lamino-palatal stems only), and CLUSTER SIMPLIFICATION (2.5.5).

(4) The origin case never appears without further inflection.

Figure 4-2. Words illustrating Kayardild case inflections

CLASS 6. Nominatives ending in *Vnda* may either belong to the regular “apical nasal-final” declension 5b, or the “palatalizing” declension 6. Note that the sequences written *nji* or *nju* here are phonemically $n\text{t}\text{ʃ}i$ or $n\text{t}\text{ʃ}u$, so this pattern is similar to the delaminalization of Class 4a, but with a laminal nasal morpheme-finally. Here I list all the members of 6 (stems in final *n* not listed here belong to 5b):

(a) all possessive pronoun stems.

(b) the noun/adjectives *duujin-* ‘younger brother’, *malungin-* ‘daughter’s child’, *kuwan-* ‘firestick’, *ngawun-* ‘ashes, dust’, *bardangin-* ‘big toe, thumb’, *thalardin-* ‘old man, old man dugong’, *dirrkulin-* ‘male (tree)’, *bithiin-* ‘man’, and *kabin-* ‘low tide’.

(c) the origin suffix *-wa(a)n-*, the ‘plenty’ suffix *-wuthin-*, and time-nominals in *-ban-*: *yuujban-da* ‘long ago’ and *yandaban-da* ‘soon’.

(d) resultative nominalizations in *-THirrin-*.

ALLOMORPHY. In connection with the morphological forms given in the paradigms, note that:

(a) Suffix forms are selected by the immediately preceding morpheme, which is not necessarily the root: cf. *mala-ya* [sea-LOC], *mala-wan-ji* [sea-ORIG-LOC], *mala-ring-ki* [sea-ALL-LOC].

(b) Forms are shaped both by regular morphophonemic rules (see 2.5) and by irregular morphological conditioning.

An example of a regular morphophonemic rule is the assimilation to *m* of initial *w* in PRIVative *-warri* and ORIGIn *-wa(a)n-* after nasals, by the general morphophonemic rule PROGRESSIVE GLIDE ASSIMILATION (2.5.1.1).

Morphophonemic rules may also affect the preceding final. For example, morpheme-final *ng* will be lost before any consonant but *k*, (2.5.5): *kang-ki* [language-LOC] but *ka-marra* [language-UTIL], *ka-warri* [language-PRIV] etc. Such regular changes in the preceding morpheme are not shown in Figure 4-1 (but see note 2, Figure 4-2).

An example of morphological conditioning involves the choice between velar-initial and palatal-initial suffixes after *n*: Cf. *daman-ki* [tooth-LOC], *kuwan-ji* [firestick-LOC]. No conditioning phonetic environment can be found, and the choice must be specifically marked in the lexicon.

The varying initial segments of certain case suffixes likewise do not follow from regular morphophonemic rules.

The allomorphs of the NOMinative are totally idiosyncratic.

The LOCative, ABLative, and ALLative inflections (and also the Dual {-*kiyarrng-*}) share a common pattern. In fact, the ALLative and ABLative

could be derived by augmenting the first syllable of the LOCative with *-ring* and *-naba* respectively; this may well be their diachronic source. Representing the fullest form of these as *-kVX*, the conditioned allomorphy is:

<i>-kVX</i>	/	N ₋	(i.e. morpheme-final nasals/ declension 5)
<i>-jVX</i>	/	N* ₋	(“palatalizing” morpheme-final nasals, declension 6)
<i>-VX</i>	/	C ₋	(other morpheme-final consonants / declension 4)
<i>-X</i>	/	V ₋	(morpheme-final vowels / declensions 1-3)

The PROPriative, and the LOCative + OBLique portmanteau *-kurrka*², differ from this pattern only in having *-wVX* rather than *-X* after morpheme-final vowels.

Despite the regularity of this pattern, it is morphologically rather than phonetically motivated: the GENitive *karran-* or compounded nouns in initial *k* retain their full form in all these environments. It is likely that these non-palatalizing morphemes are more recent: the GENitive, for example, is a Kayardild-specific reduction from the fuller form *bakarran-* found in Yukulta.

Finally, note the OBLique form, *-inja* after all consonants, *-nja* after *i*, and *-ntha* after *a* or *u*. This is one of several instances in Kayardild of alternations between laminals being conditioned by the preceding vowel (cf. Keen 1983: 198-9 on Yukulta and Dixon (1970) on Australian languages in general).

4.2.1 Multiple inflection and the description of allomorphy

The multiple-inflecting nature of Kayardild nominals creates two special problems for morphological description.

Firstly, because inflections are not restricted to word-final position, they may act like a derived “stem” selecting a following allomorph. This means that inflections as well as roots belong to a declension class: the PROPriative {*-kuru*}, for example, belongs to declension 2 (*u*-final) and selects the same following allomorphs as a *u*-final root like *maku* ‘woman’.

Secondly, many inflections have a different, reduced form in exposed word-final position. The ALLative, for example, is always *-kiri* or *-kir* word finally (to cite the forms with the fullest initials); but *-kiring-*

² I have been unable to find any explanation for this strange form, totally unrelated to its components {*-kiya*} and {*-inja*}. An identical portmanteau is found in Yukulta, and can be reconstructed for Lardil.

word-internally. Likewise the ablative is *-kina* word-finally, but word-internally it is *-kinaba-* or *-kinaa-*³.

It is the word-internal allomorph that determines the allomorph of following inflections: thus the ALLative *-kiri(ng)* behaves like an *ng-* final stem, not an *r-* final or *i-* final:

<i>wumburung-kina</i>	'spear-ABL'	<i>mala-ring-kina</i>	'sea-ALL-ABL'
<i>mar-ina</i>	'hand-ABL'		
<i>yakuri-na</i>	'fish-ABL'		

The neatest way to represent this is to take the maximal word-internal form as canonical (represented as *{-kiring-}*, for example), and bracket off the portion lost word-finally (*{-kir(ing-)}*). The canonical form determines the declension-class of the inflection, so the ALLative *{-kiring-}* belongs to declension 5a.

4.2.2 Comparative remarks on case forms

Unless otherwise noted, the Kayardild forms can be shown to preserve the pT original. I do not wish to go into all the details here.

Few of these inflections have recognizable cognates outside the Tangkic languages.

The existence of a non-zero NOMinative inflection in Yukulta, virtually identical to the Kayardild NOMinative⁴ was noted as unusual by Capell (1979); it may have originated as a discourse particle *{-ka}* (lenited intervocally to *-wa*, assimilated in place of articulation to preceding consonants etc), but clear evidence is lacking: see 4.3.2.

Instrumental *-nguni* has a possible cognate in Guugu-Yimidhirr ergative/instrumental *-ngun* (Haviland 1979a) but the form is not widespread; moreover, comparison with Lardil suggests that the pT ancestor merely marked "having".

Privative *-warri* is probably reduced from a free form *warri*, so widespread with the meaning "bad" that it is a good candidate for proto-

³ Two points should be emphasized here: (a) this variation is not due to PROSODIC TRUNCATION (2.3), since reduction from *-kiring-* to *-kir-*, for example, occurs whether or not the relevant word is breath group final; furthermore, the addition of clitics does not protect the form, whereas it blocks prosodic truncation. (b) the appearance of "word-internal" forms does not depend on the "level" of the case inflection; merely on the fact that another inflection follows. The ALLative, for example, will be *-kir* word-finally, and *-kiring-* word-internally, regardless of whether it functions relationally or modally, and regardless of the function of the following suffix.

⁴ The only difference is with disyllabic roots in final /a/, which take a nominative suffix in /-ra/ in Y and in /-a/ in Kayardild.

Australian; see Evans (1990b) on the extension from “bad” to “privative” in Australian languages. In any case, *-warri* can be reconstructed back to proto-Tangkic with privative meaning⁵.

The PROPriative {-*kuru*}, deriving from pT {-*kurlu*} (preserved in Yukulta) by regular sound change, has cognates in Warlpiri and Kukatja PROPriatives *-kurlu* and probably the Nyangumarda privative *-kurlu*. The most likely scenario is that it is an early loan into Tangkic from some northern Nyungic language, such as Warlpiri, at a time when Tangkic was spoken well to the west of its current position⁶.

The LOCative {-*kiya*}, which in pT must have also had an ergative function (as in Yukulta), and the ABLative {-*kinaba*}, have no obvious cognates in nearby languages. However, within the Yiram group some 400km to the west we find possible cognates: the ergative/locative in Ngaliwurru includes *-ki* (after the velar nasal) and *-i* (after *l* or *n*); another allomorph *-ni*, with no Tangkic correspondent, has been generalized in the other Yiram languages. Within the pronoun paradigm, both Nungali and Ngaliwurru have possessive *-kina*. The exact interpretation of these similarities is problematic at present—do they represent inherited shared characteristics, or loans, and if the latter, in what direction? However, there is some other lexical evidence for early contact between Tangkic and Yiram (see Evans in prep).

4.2.3 Sequence restrictions

Generally any inflection may follow any other inflection, provided both are semantically and syntactically appropriate. However, there are two purely morphological constraints on suffix sequences:

- (a) the OBLique cannot be followed by any other inflection.
 - (b) the LOCative cannot be followed by any inflection but the OBLique.
- LOCative-OBLique sequences are realized by the portmanteau {-*kurrka*}

These restrictions are indifferent to the rank of the inflections involved. Relational, modal and associating OBLiques alike may not be followed by

⁵ Somewhat puzzling, though, is the stop-initial allomorph *-karri*, preserved only in the Kayardild word *wuran-karri* ‘hungry’ (cf the regular *wuran-marri* ‘without food’).

⁶ Its ultimate origin within Northern Nyungic may be as an allomorph of the ergative *-rlu*. In Bilinara, for instance (Nordlinger 1990:41-2), the ergative may be used, alone or following the proprietive, to mark instruments; and the ergative has an allomorph *-kurlu* (incorporating a “spacing element” *ku*) after *ng*, *k* and *p*. Generalization of this form with the instrument function, and subsequent extension of its function from instrument to proprietive could have yielded a proprietive *-kurlu*.

another suffix; nor may adnominal or relational LOCatives. Similarly, a LOCative of any rank, if directly followed by an OBLique of any (higher) rank, will give the portmanteau {*kurrka*}, e.g. an adnominal LOCative plus a modal OBLique (4-18), a modal LOCative plus an associating OBLique (11-30), or a relational LOCative plus a complementizing OBLique (12.1.5.1). There is a single exception to this: the relational locative disappears entirely before the modal OBLique, rather than yielding the portmanteau {-*kurrka*}—see (ii) below.

As these examples show, the sequence restrictions just outlined do not depend on a suffix's function. But the way the banned sequences are circumvented *does* depend on the function of both suffixes. There are four alternative strategies: substitution of a synonymous alternative that obeys the sequence constraints (i, iv); omission of the inner case suffix (ii); use of a single suffix as the exponent of two ranks with the same case (iii, iv); and the extrinsic ordering of suffixes into an acceptable sequence (v). I will now discuss these in more detail, organizing the presentation by case rather than strategy.

(i) ADNOMINAL LOCATIVE + CASE (EXCEPT THE OBLIQUE). Here the synonymous ASSOCIative case replaces the LOCative (cf. 4.3.3.2).

(4-2) *dangka-a* *yubuyubu-y* / *yubuyubu-nurru*
 person-NOM road-LOC road-ASSOC
 'The person (is) on the road.'

(4-3) *ngada* *kurri-ju* *dangka-wu* *yubuyubu-nurru-uru*
 1sgNOM see-POT person-MPROP road-ASSOC-MPROP
 (**yubuyubu-ya-wuru*)
 (*road-LOC-MPROP)

'I will see the person on the road.'

(ii) RELATIONAL LOCATIVE + (ANY MODAL) CASE. On location NPs the sequence LOC + MOD does not occur—only the modal case is present⁷:

(4-4) *nyingka* *ngaka-tharra* *kabara-na*
 2sgNOM wait-PST saltpan-MABL
 'You waited on the saltpan.'

This happens even when the allowable suffix sequence LOC + MOBL would occur: objects and locations in apprehensive clauses, for example,

⁷ In Lardil, too, LOCatives are the only relational cases to be replaced, rather than followed, by modal case suffixes, but the situation is clearer, because LOCatives cannot function modally as well: *ngada thaldi kela-a* [I stand beach-LOC] 'I stand on the beach' vs *ngada thaldi-thu kela-wu* [I stand-FUT beach-FUT].

take the modal oblique alone, rather than the LOC + OBL portmanteau {-kurrka}:

(4-5) *dathin-a yarbud-a baa-nyarra kunawuna-nth* (**kunawuna-wurrk*)
 that-NOM snake-NOM bite-APPR child-MOBL child-LOC:MOBL
 ‘That snake might bite the child.’

(4-6) *warrkur-inja* (**warrkur-urrka*) *daman-da dara-a-nyarr!*
 hide-MOBL hide-LOC:MOBL tooth-NOM break-M-APPR
 ‘(You) might break your tooth on the (dugong) hide!’

This raises the question of whether the LOCative in a clause like (4-2) above is in relational or modal function. To expand the latter analysis, is it possible that location adjuncts, like objects, are marked by the presence of modal case alone? This would automatically account for the absence of locatives in examples like (4-7). It would also account for why location NPs in nominalized clauses have zero modal case: like object NPs, they take no relational case here and are marked only with the Associating OBLique.

(4-7) *niya kiwali-n-da mala-nth* (**mala-wurrk*).
 3sgNOM wade-N-NOM sea-AOBL sea-LOC:AOBL
 ‘He is wading in the sea.’

This contrasts with their behaviour when the nominalized clause has inherited a modal LOCative from a higher clause, in which case both locations and objects take the sequence MLOC:AOBL:

(4-8) *ngada kurri-ja niwan-ji*
 1sgNOM see-ACT 3sg-MLOC
 [*dalwani-n-ki thawal-urrk*] / [*kiwali-n-ki mala-wurrk*]
 dig-N-MLOC yam-MLOC:AOBL wade-N-MLOC sea-MLOC:AOBL

‘I saw him digging yams / wading in the sea.’

And it would account for why locations can occur (optionally) in the nominative with imperatives:

(4-9) *dan-da yiiwi-ja katha-a!*
 here-NOM sleep-IMP bed-NOM
 ‘Sleep here on the bed!’

We are thus able to capture a number of generalizations by saying that the locative case on locative adjuncts is actually a modal rather than a relational case.

(iii) DOUBLE OBLIQUE OR LOCATIVE SEQUENCES. Double OBLIQUE sequences arise where a demoted agent taking a relational OBLIQUE is followed by a complementizing OBLIQUE. Here a single OBLIQUE suffix serves as the exponent of both relational and complementizing functions (glossed R:COBL).

- (4-10) *ngada* *jaa-nangku* *wida-wu,* [*yarbuth-inja*
 1sgNOM enter-NEGPOI hole-MPROP snake-R:COBL

 ba-yii-nyarra-nth]COBL
 bite-M-APPR-COBL

‘I won’t put my hand into the hole, in case a snake bites me.’

Double LOCATIVE sequences would arise where a relational LOCATIVE is followed by a modal LOCATIVE, as in (4-15), or by a complementizing LOCATIVE, as in (12-21). In both situations a single LOCATIVE inflection appears. This could be analysed either as a single suffix with double exponence (as with the OBLIQUE example just discussed), or as a special case of (ii) above, where relational locatives disappear before all following suffixes. I see no reason for preferring either analysis, and to avoid cluttered glosses I will simply label them LOC, with no indication of their functional status.

Note that with other cases repetition of the same suffix with different functions is allowed. An example of an ABLATIVE+ABLATIVE sequence is (3-49); a PROPRIETIVE+PROPRIETIVE sequence is (4-43). Another theoretically possible combination, (relational) ALLATIVE plus (modal) ALLATIVE, has not been attested; I suspect this gap is accidental rather than motivated.

On the evidence we have, therefore, it seems that the cases disallowing double sequences are just those cases that cannot be followed by any case (i.e. the LOCATIVE and OBLIQUE), so no special rule banning case-iteration is necessary.

(iv) MODAL OBLIQUE + COMPLEMENTIZING CASE. This possibility arises when APPREHENSIVE, DESIDERATIVE, and HORTATIVE clauses, which take the modal OBLIQUE, are complementized with the OBLIQUE case. With APPREHENSIVE clauses the “emotive” modal OBLIQUE is replaced by the “future” modal PROPRIETIVE, which is a normal alternative to the OBLIQUE with APPREHENSIVE verb inflections (4-11, 4-12).

- 4-11) *ngada* *bala-nyarra* *ngumban-ju / ngumban-inj*
 1sgNOM hit-APPR 2sg-MPROP 2sg-MOBL
 ‘I will/might hit you.’
- (4-12) [*ngijuwa* *bala-nyarra-ntha* *ngumban-juu-nth /*
 1sgCOBL hit-APPR-COBL 2sg-MPROP-COBL

*ngumban-inja-nth]COBL
 2sg-MOBL-COBL

‘(Watch out or) I’ll hit you!’

With hortatives and desideratives, a single OBLique suffix serves as the exponent of modal and complementizing ranks; see (12-25)⁸.

(v) There are constructions in Kayardild where a nominalized clause modifies a matrix head inflected for modal case; here NPs of the nominalized clause bear a modal case identical to the matrix NP, followed by an associating OBLique. This runs counter to the expected suffix ordering in which the modal case, which originates in the higher clause, follows the associating OBLique, which originates in the lower clause. This apparent re-ordering is due to the extrinsic ordering of modal before associating suffixes, regardless of their syntactic source. As a result, the banned sequence AOBL-MOD does not arise. See 3.4.5 and 3.4.9 for examples, and Evans (1994b) for discussion.

The body of data presented here on banned sequences, and the various ways of getting around them, provides strong justification for the bipartite analysis of Kayardild case proposed in 3.4.8. On the one hand, it allows *constraints* to be stated with the necessary generality, in terms of case alone (e.g. * OBL + Case), and without reference to function. On the other, it allows functions to be used in characterizing morphologically motivated case *substitutions* (e.g. M:OBL + Case → M:PROP + Case).

⁸ A theoretically possible but unattested combination is modal OBLique plus associating OBLique; to obtain this we would have to make an apprehensive or desiderative clause into a perceptual complement (11.4.1), which is odd semantically: ‘?I saw him lest he hit the man’.

4.3 Nominal case functions

Although all inflectional functions of nominals are mentioned at least briefly in this chapter, the main focus is on adjunct and complement functions, which can be characterized semantically without reference to larger grammatical units. The core functions of subject, object and indirect object, whose meaning depends on the argument structure of their governing verb, are discussed in Chapter Nine.

4.3.1 Approach to case meanings

Case meanings in Kayardild exhibit a structured polysemy of complex meanings. Summary labels of the type found in Fillmore's (1968) "deep cases" or the "thematic relations" originally proposed by Gruber (1965) and incorporated into various types of generative theory may be useful summary labels, but they are inadequate for describing the meaning, and the syntactic properties, of Kayardild case. Taking the thematic relation of "goal" or "purpose" as an example, Kayardild distinguishes the following (needless to say, many situations can be described by more than one of these):

- (a) the "goal" or "intentional object" of actions aimed at locating something, e.g. 'look for', 'listen for', 'walk around for'. This takes the PROPrietive.
- (b) "conventionally recognized goal" specifying what something is obtained for, e.g. 'get wood for (the fire)'. This takes the UTILitive case.
- (c) something that can be found at a predictable place, e.g. 'go down to the pub for (beer)', 'go digging at place A for (cockles)'. This takes the Intransitive ALLative (verbal) case.
- (d) something that must be waited for, whose appearance depends on someone else, e.g. 'go for (the pension cheques)'. This takes the (verbal) TRANSlative case.
- (e) something that is actively pursued, as when one charts a plane to go to Burketown for beer. This takes the Verbal PURPositive case.

Similarly, there are at least three ways of expressing cause (prior cause with the CONSequential, ambient cause with the LOCative, and cause of fear with the verbal EVITative), two ways of expressing the "having" relationship (ownership, with the PROPrietive, and temporary possession, with the ASSOCIative), three ways of expressing instruments (INSTRumental, stressing contact with the object; PROPrietive, stressing

the choice of a particular instrument; and ASSOCiative, stressing temporary use), and so on.

The effect of these differences in meaning is not limited to selection of the correct relational or adnominal case. In Chapter 10 I show that modal case is blocked from appearing on certain NPs whose meaning orients them towards the subject in some way.

In the following two sections I therefore devote considerable attention to characterizing, in an informal way, the various specific meanings of the Kayardild cases. For reasons of space I have not been able to tackle systematically the question of the relationships between the various meanings of each case, but have tried to bring these out through the order

CASE	ADNOMINAL FUNCTION	RELATIONAL FUNCTION
LOCative	spatial contiguity [restricted]	contiguity of place, time or event
ABLative	possession due to past event / situation	source of motion (obsol.)
V. ABLative CONSequential V. EVIT		source of motion prior time, event, cause cause of fear or flight
ALLative V. ALLative V. DAT		direction, extension direction, goal direction of moved OBJ, recipient
V. TRANSLative OBLique V. PURPositive UTILitive		temporal endpoint purpose (obsol.) goal, purpose potential use
PROPrietive	general or potential having	intentional object, object of communication, transferred object transferred object
V. DONative ASSOCiative	temporary co-location, temporary having, use	
GENitive ORIGin PRIVative	possession origin, provenance, source lack, absence	

Figure 4-3. Semantic values for adnominal and relational functions of verbal and ordinary Kayardild cases

of presentation. Interestingly, this often crosscuts the functional classification into adnominal, relational and modal uses. The PROPrIetive, for example, can be used with its “having” meaning adnominally, relationally, and also in deriving nouns of “characteristic possession”. And it can be used with a “potential” or “future-oriented” meaning relationally (marking intentional objects), modally, or in deriving “potential nominalizations”.

Despite the above, however, it is useful to begin with an overview of the basic semantic values of each case. In Figure 4-3 I give a summary of these values for the adnominal and relational functions of all case suffixes; those for the verbal cases, which form part of the semantic system, are also shown. No value is shown for the nominative, whose presence simply signals the lack of any relational, modal, associating or complementizing case. Cases are grouped into semantic classes as far as possible.

We now turn to a more detailed discussion of individual case meanings.

4.3.2 NOMinative {-Ca}

Citation forms of words always take the nominative, which also marks the subjects of intransitive (4-13), transitive (4-5) and passive (9.3.2) clauses, the subjects of nominal clauses and their equational or ascriptive predicates (9.1.1, 9.1.2). Objects of imperatives (3-34), second predicates on the subject (9.4), and topicalized objects in “odd topic” constructions (12.5.2.1) are also nominative.

- (4-13) *mutha-a* *dangka-a* *yuuma-th*, *buka-wa-th*
 many-NOM person-NOM drown-ACT rotten-INCH-ACT
 ‘Many people drowned and died.’

The NOMinative in Kayardild is essentially an “elsewhere case”, appearing where no other relational, modal, associating or complementizing case has been assigned. Thus if the subject is assigned a “complementizing OBLique” no nominative inflection appears: ‘man’, when subject of an OBLique-complementized clause appears as *bithiin-inja* [man-COBL] rather than *bithiin-da-ntha* [man-NOM-COBL]. Therefore the NOMinative does not belong to one of the ranks described in 4.1. Rather, it signals the absence of positive inflections at the relational rank and beyond—it is in a formally equipollent opposition to the set of other cases at relational level or above.

After adnominal suffixes the question of whether a NOMinative suffix is needed is more complex; essentially, it must appear whenever needed to avoid a consonant-final word. Thus after vowel-final adnominal

suffixes it is optional and indeed rare. There are two consonant-final adnominal suffixes, the ORIGIN *-waan-* and the GENITIVE *-karra(n)-*; after the ORIGIN the NOMINATIVE is needed if no other case is present (e.g. *ngimi-waan-da* 'night-ORIG-NOM' but not **ngimi-waan*), while with the GENITIVE there are two options: either the GENITIVE plus NOMINATIVE, giving the sequence *-karran-da*, or a specially reduced vowel-final version of the GENITIVE with no following nominative, *-karra*.

It is unusual for languages to have a non-zero exponent of functional unmarkedness, and it is interesting to ask how the Kayardild nominative in *-ca*—which most likely goes back to an absolutive *-ca* in proto-Tangkic⁹—might have arisen.

Now the Pitjantjatjara language of Central Australia has a suffix *-pa* which appears as a phonological augment on words that would otherwise end in a consonant; in particular, it appears when no overt case suffix is present on a consonant-final stem and on one analysis can then be treated as an allomorph of the absolutive case. Hale (1973) has suggested that *-pa* suffixation in Pitjantjatjara was a response to a shift in Pitjantjatjara phonotactics from an earlier stage permitting consonant-final words, to a later stage in which words (though not necessarily stems) must be vowel-final. In the neighbouring language Warlpiri the process has advanced further to the point that historically consonant-final nominal stems have absorbed *-pa*, which now appears before other case suffixes and therefore cannot be analysed as an allomorph of the absolutive. While Hale suggests that *-pa* was merely the phonologically most unmarked syllable to accomplish the augmentation, it seems more likely that it originated as a bland and bleached discourse particle—discourse-particle cognates of *-pa* are numerous in Australia.

It is likely that the proto-Tangkic absolutive *-Ca* originated in a similar way—and this may be yet more evidence for early Tangkic contact with northern Nyungic languages. This scenario would neatly

⁹ The Yukulta absolutive and Yangkaal nominative are formally parallel to the Kayardild nominative. In Lardil the effects of final apocope have left a more complex situation, since all words of three or more syllables have lost the final syllable which would have included the nominative desinence, and some final consonants are now phonotactically acceptable: in words like *thungal* and *ketharr* the nominative equals the root and no nominative suffix is needed, whereas the Kayardild equivalents have nominative suffixes: *thungal-da*, *katharr-a*. However, the nominative on roots of one syllable parallels the Kayardild nominative, e.g. 'grass', root *karn-*, nominative *karn-da*; 'edge', root *mil-*, nominative *mil-da*; 'thigh', root *derr-*, nominative *derra*. My interpretation of these facts is that the Lardil system was once parallel to those in the other Tangkic languages, but that Apocope has removed the evidence of this with all but monosyllabic roots. What little we know of Minkin suggests that it, too, had vowel-final phonotactics, and that stem-final words were suffixed with *a* in the nominative (Evans 1990a: 180-181, 187-188).

account for the phonotactic discrepancy between stems, which may be consonant-final, and words, which must be vowel-final. It would also account for the obligatory presence of the NOMinative when the final consonants of nominals bearing only certain adnominal suffixes (namely the POSSESSIVE and the ORIGIN) would be exposed.

However, a purely phonological account is not adequate, either diachronically or synchronically. Diachronically it is problematic because an augment also appears—at least in Kayardild and Yukulta—on vowel-final words which would be phonotactically acceptable without it. It seems more likely that the “vowel-final target” motivation conspired with an second motivation—possibly simply a tendency to make words bulkier by accruing a “degrammaticized” augment.

Synchronically, the nominative suffix in Kayardild likewise cannot be treated as a purely phonological augment, since it is added to several classes of phonologically acceptable stems—vowel-final disyllables (as in *maku-wa*, *birdi-ya* and *mala-a*, all of whose stems would be acceptable without augments) and optionally to longer vowel-final words as well (e.g. *yakuri-ya*).

4.3.3 LOCative {-kiya}

4.3.3.1 Location. The basic function of the LOCative is to mark location, whether in adjuncts (4-14), complements of certain motion verbs (4-15), locational predicates of nominal clauses (4-2) or “locative topics” of existential constructions (4-16).

(4-14) *ngaaka dangka-a waa-ja ngambirr-iy*
 whoNOM person-NOM sing-ACT humpy-LOC
 ‘Who is singing in the humpy?’

(4-15) *dulk-iya barji-ja wangalk*
 ground-LOC fall-ACT boomerangNOM
 ‘The boomerang fell to the ground.’

(4-16) *dathin-ki mijil-i mutha-wuru malji-wuru*
 that-LOC net-LOC many-PROP hole-PROP
 ‘In that net there are many holes.’

Even though the use of the LOCative here was originally relational, as shown by its straightforward relational use in Yukulta, there are good reasons—in particular the signalling of location by modal case alone in marked modalities—to analyse the LOCative here as modal in rank, even though the NPs it marks are relational in function—see 4.2.3.

As in most Australian languages, the LOCative merely indicates coincidence of figure and location, without specifying the nature of the

spatial relationship (cf. Hale (1982a) on Warlpiri). Usually this spatial relationship can be inferred from the type of action and participants (as in the above examples—one usually stands *on* sandbanks, and holes are usually *in* nets). If more detail is required, this is given by a “locational specifier” like *yurda-* ‘inside’ or *walmu* ‘high on; on top of’ in concert with the LOCative (5.3.2.3).

4.3.3.2 Block on adnominal use. The LOCative is normally used “adverbially”, as a clausal adjunct giving the location of the event described by the clause. As such, it has a *relational* function (3.4.1). It is not generally used to locate a particular participant; for this *adnominal* function the ASSOCIative case is used (4.3.10)¹⁰.

The Kayardild ban on the adnominal use of the LOCative appears to result from the sequence restriction against other suffixes following the LOCative (4.2.3), for the LOCative can be used adnominally in just the two contexts where sequence restrictions are not violated: (a) where the relevant NP is nominative, as in imperatives (4-17) (b) where the head NP is in the OBLique, giving the LOC:OBL portmanteau *-kurrka* on the adnominal (4-18). Recall that the OBLique is the only case that may follow the LOCative (4.2.3).

- (4-17) *bilarr-na dathin-a nguku-wa wurruman-ki,*
 spill-NEGIMP that-NOM water-NOM billy-(ADN)LOC
warra-a nguku
 far-NOM waterNOM

‘Don’t spill the water in the billy; the well’s a long way off.’

- (4-18) *kunawuna bilarr-nyarra nguku-ntha wuruman-kurrk*
 childNOM spill-APPR water-MOBL billy-(ADN)LOC:MOBL
 ‘The kid might spill the water in the billy.’

¹⁰ This contrasts with the situation found in, for example, Warlpiri, where the LOCative may function relationally, as in (a), or adnominally, as in (b), in which case it agrees in case with its head (here, the ergative). Examples are from Hale (1982a:268):

- (a) *ngarrka-ngku ka yankirri luwa-rmi ngapa-ngka*
 man-ERG PRES emuABS shoot-NPST water-LOC
 ‘At the water hole, the man is shooting the emu.’

- (b) *ngarrka-ngku ka yankirri luwa-rmi ngapa-ngka-rlu*
 man-ERG PRES emuABS shoot-NPST water-LOC-ERG
 ‘The man at the water hole is shooting the emu.’

In one interesting example a *-kurrka* construction forces an adnominal construal: the recursive LOCative NP [at this place [on Mornington Island]] takes an ASSOCIating OBLique as argument of the nominalized verb *wirdija* ‘stay at’ (4-19). Were the two LOCatives merely apposed—‘we stay at this place, on Mornington Island’—the second LOCative would, like the first, take only the ASSOCIating OBLique inflection: *kunhanha-nth*.

- (4-19) *nga-l-da* *wirdi-n-da* *dan-inja* *dulk-inja*
 1-pl-NOM stay-N-NOM this-AOBL place-AOBL

kunhanha-wurrk
 Mornington-(ADN)LOC:AOBL

‘We stay at this place on Mornington Island.’

4.3.3.3 Semantic extensions of the locative. A number of other (relational) uses of the Kayardild locative reproduce patterns of syncretism found in many languages by extending its meaning to NPs of time, ambient cause, manner, contrast and “ethical effect”.

LOCATIVE OF TIME: Temporal adjuncts, both durative (4-20) and punctual (4-21) take the locative:

- (4-20) *ri-in-ki* *warrku-ya ngada* *wirdi-ja* *ngakan-ki*
 east-FROM-LOC sun-LOC 1sgNOM remain-ACT sandbank-LOC
 ‘All morning (as the sun was coming from the east) I remained on the sandbank.’

- (4-21) *kabin-ji* *mala-ya* *biril-wa-th*
 low tide-LOC sea-LOC fine weather-INCH-ACT
 ‘It gets fine at low tide.’

IMMEDIATE/AMBIENT CAUSE: Where a cause is still present and effective at the time of the proposition, the LOCative is used (4-22). As with the LOCative of location, this is replaced by an appropriate modal case in marked modalities (4-23).

- (4-22) *mutha-ya* *wun-ki* *bunkurru-ya* *yubuyubu-y,* *nyingka*
 much-LOC rain-LOC immersed-LOC track-LOC 2sgNOM

yuulu-tha *warra-j!*
 go ahead-IMP go-IMP

‘With all this rain, with the track covered in water, you go ahead!
 (Don’t wait around).’

- (4-23) *dathin-a* *dangka-a* *kirrbuyi-n-da* *wirdi-n-d,* *ngada*
 that-NOM man-NOM snore-N-NOM stay-N-NOM 1sgNOM

yiiwi-nangku niwan-ju kirrbuyii-n-ku
 sleep-NEGPO T 3sg-MPROP snore-N-MPROP

‘That man keeps snoring, I can’t get to sleep for his snoring.’

MANNER NPS: Occasionally, the LOCative may mark manner NPs:

(4-24) *nyingka ngudi-ja mirra-ya wumburu-ngudi-n-ki*
 2sgNOM throw-IMP good-LOC spear-throw-N-LOC
 ‘Throw it like a good spear-thrower would!’

There are only a few attested examples of manner NPs with the LOCative. Usually manner NPs are second predicates on the subject, and take the NOMinative. Without more data one cannot know why the LOCative appears in these particular examples.

CONTRAST NPS: NPs contrasting the attribute of one participant with that of the clausal subject take the LOCative:

(4-25) [In a humorous song rejecting an ugly suitor:]
nyingka birdi-ya kurri-i-ja ngijin-ji mirra-y
 2sgNOM bad-NOM see-M-ACT 1sg-LOC good-LOC
 ‘See how ugly you are compared to (beside) beautiful me!’

Lit.: See your ugly self beside beautiful me.

ADVERSELY AFFECTED PARTICIPANT: these take the LOCative (cf. the English “on” construction, and the Romance or Russian “ethical dative”).

(4-26) *dara-tha ngijin-ji wumburung-k!*
 break-ACT 1sg-LOC spear-NOM
 ‘(Someone) broke my spear on me!’

4.3.3.4 Independent use of the LOCative. Elliptical clauses (usually shouted) consisting of a NP in the locative may be used either to suggest that something is relevant to the hearer (4-27, 4-28, 4-29) or that it is true of the hearer (4-30, 4-31):

(4-27) *warirra-y!*
 nothing-LOC
 (To a garbageman): ‘Hey, (there’s) nothing there (for you).’

(4-28) *wanku-ya dathin-ki ri-in-ki!*
 shark-LOC there-LOC east-FROM-LOC
 ‘Hey, there’s a shark (coming at you) from the east there!’

(4-29) *mutha-y!*
 much-LOC
 (Directing A’s attention to B): ‘Hey, lots (of fish)!’

- (4-30) (Circumcizer mocking initiand during circumcision ceremony:)

mala-yurruyurru-ya kakuju-y
 sea-persistent-LOC son in law-LOC
 'Hey you spend too much time in the sea!'

- (4-31) (Granny to toddler:)

rajurri-n-ki
 walk-N-LOC
 'Hey you can walk!'

This use of the LOCative resembles the independent use of the accusative in Russian—of which Jakobson (1936:67) wrote :

its use always suggests a missing and implied verb: *karetu!* 'the carriage!', *nagradu xrabrym!* 'a reward to the brave!' In such accusative addresses as *Van'ku! Lizu!* (a call from a distance or an emphatic call widely used in dialects), or in such exclamations as *nu ego (A) k lešemu* 'the devil with him!'; *pust' ego (A) kutit'* 'let him carouse', "*èk ego zalivaetsja!*" (Gogol'), 'how he pours forth (song)', the accusative object is portrayed as the object of the speaker's attitude, be it one of speech, refusal, yielding, or admiration

I interpret the Kayardild independent locative in a similar way, as a special instance of the modal locative marking found on objects. That is, it marks NPs as the objects and object complements of implied verbs of perception. (4-28) is thus to be interpreted as '(I see) a shark (OBJ) there coming from the east (OCOMP)', (4-30) as '(I see) son-in-law (OBJ) is sea-crazy (OCOMP)', and (4-31) as '(I see you as a) walker (OCOMP)'. This parallels the way in which whole subordinate clauses can appear marked with complementizing case with the main clause ellipsed—see 12.4.

4.3.3.5 Other uses of the LOCative. The use of the LOCative to mark demoted agents in passives is discussed in 9.3.2.2. As a modal case it marks "instantiated modality" (10.1); such modal locatives occur frequently as the marker of objects and locations. And it may function as a complementizing case—see 12.1.4.

4.3.4 ABLative {-kinaba}

4.3.4.1 Note on word-internal and word-final forms. The degree of truncation depends on protected vs unprotected position, on age and style, and on syntactic function.

Word-internally, the full form *-((k)i)naba-* is normally used before another case inflection: (4-32) illustrates this before LOC, and (4-39) before PROP. However, *-((k)i)naa-* is used before OBL (4-33).

(4-32) *kalman-da wirti-ja bilthurrka-naba-ya daru-y*
 sleepy snake-NOM stay-ACT bloodwood-(ADN)ABL-LOC hole-LOC
 ‘The sleepy snake lives in the holes of bloodwood trees.’

(4-33) [*niwa kurrka-tharra-ntha wumburung-kinaa-nth*]_{COBL}
 3sgSUBJ:COBL take-PST-COBL spear-MABL-COBL
 ‘He must have taken the spear.’

Most speakers realise this as *-((k)i)na* word-finally (e.g. 4-34). For all speakers, however, the full form *-((k)i)naba* is retained with “precondition” constructions (7.2.3.8).

4.3.4.2 Source of motion (relational). Among older speakers the ablative may indicate the source of motion or provenance:

(4-34) *mutha-na dulk-ina jani-ja maku-wala niwan-ju*
 many-ABL place-ABL search-ACT woman-LOT(NOM) 3sg-PROP
 ‘A lot of women (came) from many places to look for him.’

(4-35) *nga-l-da marri-ja kang-ki jungarra-na dangka-na.*
 1-pl-NOM hear-ACT story-MLOC big-ABL person-ABL
 ‘We heard the story from the old people.’

[The lack of MLOC after the ABLative shows it is not to be interpreted adnominally as ‘the old people’s story’.]

(4-36) *nga-rr-a warngij-ina bardaka-na*
 1-du-NOM one-ABL belly-ABL
 ‘We (come) from the one belly (have the same mother).’

In the cognate case in Yukulta this “source of motion” meaning is primary. In K, however, it is increasingly being expressed by the “verbal ablative” (4.4.2.4), and is perhaps the least common function of the nominal ABLative. I retain the gloss ‘ablative’, however, because it makes it easier to see what is common to the other case meanings.

4.3.4.3 Possession (adnominal). The ABLative may function adnominally, marking possession. It is often interchangeable with the GENitive (4.3.8), so that (4-32), for example, could take either. But there

is a subtle difference in meaning: the ABLative stresses that the possession *comes from* some past event: parentage (4-37), inheritance (4-38), or manufacture (4-39).

(4-37) *jungarrba-naba-ya dangka-naba-ya wungi-ja wuran-ki*
big-ABL-MLOC person-ABL-MLOC steal-ACT food-MLOC
'(The boys) stole (stingray) the food of the adults.'

(4-38) *ngijin-jina thabuj-ina kunawuna kurrka-th*
my-ABL EB-ABL childNOM take-ACT
'My older brother's child took it.'

(4-39) *burdumbanyi waydbala raba-nangku ngijin-jinaba-wu*
ignorantNOM white manNOM tread-NEGPOB my-ABL-MPROP
ngarriju-naba-wu jardi-naba-wu dulk-u
MM-ABL-MPROP mob-ABL-MPROP country-MPROP

'The ignorant white man must not trespass on the country of all my mother's mothers (that came down to me from them).'

4.3.4.4 Extended time (relational). The ABLative is occasionally used to indicate an extended period leading up to the time of the clause:

(4-40) *nga-ku-l-da warra-ja wiridi-j warrku-na birangkarr-ina*
I-INC-pl-NOM go-ACT stay-ACT sun-ABL long time-ABL
wurankarri, diya-n-marri
hungryNOM eat-N-PRIV

'We've been walking around hungry for a long time, without eating.'

4.3.4.5 Demoted agents (relational). The demoted agents of passives (4-41) and of resultative and passive consequential nominalizations (4-42) may take the ABLative. Other choices are discussed in the relevant sections. In each case the action is seen as "coming from" the (demoted) agent.

(4-41) *namu wungi-ja thungal-d, balarr-ina dangka-na bala-a-nyarr!*
NEG steal-IMP thing-NOM white-ABL man-ABL shoot-M-APPR
'Don't steal things, or you'll be shot by the white man!'

(4-42) *jina-a kunawun kinyi-l-ii-n-ngarrba marrkathu-na*
where-NOM childNOM form-FAC-M-N-CONS aunty-ABL
'Where is the child who was delivered ('given form') by aunty?'

4.3.4.6 Modal use. The ABLative serves as a modal case with Past, Precondition and ALMOST clauses, expressing the "prior" modality. The

possible relations between the basic spatial meaning of the ABLative and its modal meaning are discussed in 10.2.

4.3.5 PROPrietary {-*kuru*}

4.3.5.1 Note on word-internal and word-final forms. Word-internally, the PROPrietary is always ((*k*)*u*)*ru*, except that it may reduce to (*k*)*uu* when in modal function before a following OBLique (see examples in 10.1.1).

Word-finally, it may retain the full form (4-45) or be truncated to (*k*)*u*. Truncation is most likely where it functions modally, progressively less likely where it functions relationally or adnominally, and never occurs when it derives a new nominal. In other words, the closer it is to the root, the less likely it is to be truncated. Age, sex and style also determine the frequency of truncation, with full forms most common among older speakers, among women, and in declamatory or song styles.

Because the formal possibilities overlap, are statistically rather than discretely determined, and because the full form is always possible, there are no grounds for postulating several suffixes. A more insightful analysis would treat {-*kuru*} as a linguistic variable responsive to the multiple factors of phonology (word position), syntax (level of function) sex (male vs female) and style (informal vs declamatory or song). I have not carried out a full study of this and the above observations are impressionistic only.

Note that variations in truncation are NOT used to distinguish single from double occurrences of the PROPrietary: double occurrences have two full suffixes¹¹:

¹¹ In this respect Kayardild differs from Lardil, in which the reduced form ((*k*)*u*)*r* is used when the suffix occurs once (whether modally, as when marking future objects (b), or relationally, when marking instruments (a)), and the (historically) full form appears when the suffix occurs twice (e.g. instrumental plus modal in (b)). The following Lardil examples are from Hale et al. (1981: 27-8).

- (a) *ngada yuud-netha karnjin-i wangalk-ur*
 1sgNOM PERF-hitUNM wallaby-OBJ boomerang-INSTR
 'I hit the wallaby with a boomerang.'
- (b) *ngada ne-thu karnjin-ku wangalk-uru*
 1sgNOM hit-FUT wallaby-FOBJ boomerang-INSTR:FOBJ
 'I will hit the wallaby with a boomerang.'

This appears to result from an underlying form *wangalk-uru-r* [boomerang-INSTR-FOBJ] in which the full form of the inner suffix is protected by the following suffix,

- (4-43) *ngada kurri-ju midijin-kuru-wuru dangka-wuru*
 1sgNOM see-POT medicine-PROP-MPROP person-MPROP
 'I will see the doctor (medicine-having person).'

4.3.5.2 (Potential) having. The primary function of the PROPrietive is to express the proposition "X has Y". "Have", however, is a highly ambiguous word in English, and the following explication of the Kayardild PROPrietive is more precise: "X can expect Y to be in the same place as X when X wants, and X can do with Y what X wants". This allows for the possibility that Y is not currently in X's immediate possession (X may have left it at home, or lent it to someone); the PROPrietive may be used felicitously in such situations. The related ASSOCiative case, on the other hand, also expresses a kind of "having", but can only be used when X and Y are actually in the same place (see 4.3.10).

What is basically the same semantic relation may take a number of syntactic forms.

(i) AN ADNOMINAL RELATIONSHIP between two NPs:

- (4-44) *niya karrngi-ja dun-kuru-ya maku-y*
 3sgNOM keep-ACT husband-PROP-LOC woman-LOC
 'He is living with a married woman (with a woman having a husband).'

(ii) "INSTRUMENTS OF EQUIPMENT": the PROPrietive, along with the INSTRumental and ASSOCiative, is one of the three cases used to denote instruments. The PROPrietive is semantically the most general, and stresses that the actor was "equipped" with a certain tool; as in (4-45). The semantic differences between the three cases are discussed in 10.3.2.1.

- (4-45) *dathin-a barrki-ja wandawanda-wuru, narra-wuru kala-th*
 that-NOM chop-IMP stone axe-PROP shell knife-PROP cut-IMP

thubul-uru bijurr-uru burukura-th
 cockle sp.-PROP cockle sp.-PROP scrape-IMP

 'Chop it with a stone axe, cut it with a shell knife, and scrape it with a *thubulda* or *bijurra* shell.'

(iv) DERIVING NOUNS OF "CHARACTERISTIC HAVING": the PROPrietive may derive nouns denoting a person, mythical being, thing, animal or place characterized by possession of a particular entity:

itself lost. For parallels in dependent clauses see Hale et al. (1981: 28) and Appendix C.

kuja-wuru
pubic hair-PROP
'young pre-initiate'

bardi-wuru-bardiwuru
grey hair-PROP-REDUP
'old man'

nal-kardarra-wuru
head-water lily-PROP
'having a water-lily on his head': name
of a mythical being who emerged from
the earth with a water-lily on his head

daman-kuru
tooth-PROP
'whistler', old dugong with big teeth

tharda-wanka-wuru
shoulder-wing-PROP
'aeroplane'

mardal-kuru
mud-PROP
place name, Bentinck Island

Although formally similar to inflected adnominal formations, derived nouns can be distinguished from these latter in three ways:

(a) Adnominals need a head noun like *dangkaa* 'person' or *thungalda* 'thing' (e.g. *midijinkuru dangkaa* 'medicine-having person'), derivations do not. As adnominals become frozen, the head typically disappears: 'aeroplane' is *thardawankawuru thungalda* on Wurm's 1960 tapes but today simply *thardawankawuru*.

(b) Typically there is some specialization of meaning in derivations. Thus *kujawuru* is not used of anyone with pubic hair (it would be inappropriate for an old man, for example), but only of preinitiates.

(c) Like all derivational suffixes in K, the derivational use of the PROP is restricted to words, whereas the adnominal use can apply over NPs. See 3.1.2.1.

4.3.5.3 Thing transferred (relational). With verbs of transfer like *wuuja* 'give' or *marndija* 'deprive of, take off' the PROPriative marks the entity whose ownership is in question (see 9.2.5 for further examples and discussion).

(4-46) *dathin-a* *dangka-a* *dangka-walath-iy-a* *marndi-ja*
that-NOM man-NOM person-LOT-MLOC take off-ACT

yakuri-wuru
fish-PROP

'That man takes fish off lots of people.'

A number of other relational and derivational uses develop the "potential" component of the more basic "having" meaning.

4.3.5.4 Intentional objects (relational). The “intentional objects” (Quine 1960: 219-23) of a number of verbs describing actions directed into the future, e.g. *janija* ‘search for’, *ngakatha* ‘wait for’, take the PROPrietive. These are discussed and exemplified in 9.2.3. Nominal predicators in which anticipation is an important component, such as *mulurra* ‘jealous over, suspicious of’ and *bardakayulaanda* ‘terrified of’, also take PROPrietive arguments (9.1.7). Some transitive verbs have an alternative NOM:PROP case frame, with the implication that the action was attempted but not necessarily achieved, e.g. *balatha* ‘(a) shoot OBJ; (b) shoot at PROP’ (9.2.6.4).

4.3.5.5 Things discussed, sung about or presaged. PROP may function relationally to mark entities absent from the scene but potentially present, either because the participants speak (4-47), send messages (4-48) or sing about them (4-49) (i.e. *have* them in mind), or because they are immanent in the situation, as when presaged by something else (10-18).

(4-47) *jardaka kamburi-j kurirr-wu dangka-wu*
 crowNOM speak-ACT dead-PROP man-PROP
 ‘The crow speaks of dead men.’

(4-48) *bath-in-da warra-ja marrjin-d, bijarrba-wuru*
 west-FROM-NOM go-ACT messenger-NOM dugong-PROP

kunbulk-uru bana yakuri-wuru
 ‘big game’-PROP and fish-PROP

‘From the west came a messenger, with (news of) dugong, big game and fish.’

(4-49) *waa-ja wiridi-ja ngada bijarrba-wuru*
 sing-ACT stay-ACT 1sgNOM dugong-PROP
 ‘I am singing about a dugong.’

4.3.5.6 Other uses. The PROPrietive may attach to nominalized verbs, deriving nouns of “potential action”. This formation is discussed in 11.2.11. It may also function modally, signalling futurity or potentiality. This, and its semantic relationship to the more basic relational and adnominal meanings is discussed in Chapter 10.

4.3.6 OBLique case {-inja}

The Yukulta cognate of this case (probably preserving the ancestral use) is a DATive with a wide range of relational functions: indirect object, goal, purpose, beneficiary, recipient of transfer verb, and so on. In

Kayardild these have mostly been delegated to various “verbal cases” (4.4) and the old relational case functions have been overshadowed by the newly-extended modal, associating, and complementizing functions. For this reason I have chosen the non-committal case-label “oblique”. However, some minor relational uses remain.

4.3.6.1 Purpose. Older speakers occasionally use the OBLique for purpose NPs (4-50). But the verbal purposive is far more common (4.4.2.7) and indeed the only choice for younger speakers.

(4-50) *nyingka wanjii-ja kuru-nth!*
 2sgNOM go up-IMP egg-OBL
 ‘You climb up for eggs!’

4.3.6.2 Indirect objects of middle nominal predicators. In Yukulta (and pT) the cognate case marked the indirect object of a number of middle verbs. In Kayardild these take the PROPrietary or “verbal dative” (4.4.2.2), and the “indirect object” use of the oblique is limited to its optional use with the nominal predicate *mulurra* (4-51). Even here, the PROPrietary is more common—see 9.1.7.

(4-51) *dathin-a dangka-a mulurr-a niwan-inja maku-nth*
 that-NOM man-NOM jealous-NOM his-OBL wife-OBL
 ‘That man is jealous of his wife.’

4.3.6.3 Suitability of kin relationship. The oblique may be used in a nominal clause, stressing the suitability of the kinship relation between one person and another, or that one is an ongoing beneficiary from the existence of another (cf. ‘he was a father to me’).

(4-52) *mirra-a kunawuna wurkara ngijin-inja duujin-inj*
 good-NOM childNOM boyNOM my-OBL younger sister-OBL
 ‘(He’s a) good son for my little sister.’

4.3.6.4 Standard of comparison. The OBLique may mark the standard in a comparative construction¹²:

(4-53) *niya jungarrba ngijin-inj, ngada kunya-a*
 3sgNOM bigNOM 1sg-OBL 1sgNOM small-NOM
 ‘He’s bigger than me, I’m small.’

¹² In Lardil the OBJective case is used (Klokeid 1976: 204-5); this is cognate with the K OBLique and the Yukulta dative: *niya mutha ngithaan* [3sgNOM bigNOM 1sg:OBJ] ‘he is bigger than me.’

4.3.7 ALLative {-kir(ing)-}

This case is mainly used by older speakers. Its directional uses have been replaced among the young by the verbal dative and verbal allative (4.4), and its extensive, pergressive and perlative uses have been lost altogether—younger speakers use the less specific LOCative to express these.

4.3.7.1 Direction of motion (relational). The allative may show direction of motion, with transitive and intransitive verbs alike.

(4-54) *kurrka-tha nga-ku-l-da natha-r nga-ku-lu-wan-jir*
 take-IMP 1-INC-pl-NOM camp-ALL 1-INC-pl-POSS-ALL
 ‘Let’s take (it) to our camp!’

(4-55) *dathin-a thungal-da niwan-jiri barji-ja kirdil-ir*
 that-NOM tree-NOM 3sg-ALL fall-ACT back-ALL
 ‘That tree fell onto his back.’

4.3.7.2 Extensive, pergressive and perlative uses. It may also indicate a locale through which something is scattered (“extensive”, 4-56 and 9-12) or across which it passes (“pergressive”, 4-57) or lies (“perlative”, 4-58)¹³:

(4-56) *mutha-a dangka-a dathin walmunkarra-r dulk-ir*
 many-NOM man-NOM there-NOM on top-ALL place-ALL
 ‘There are lots of men all over the top of that hill.’

(4-57) *kamarr-a ngudi-ja katharr-ir jirrka-an-kir*
 stone-NOM throw-IMP river-ALL north-FROM-ALL
 ‘Throw the stone from the north across the river!’

(4-58) *dathin-a wumburung-ka ngijin-da dulk-ir*
 that-NOM spear-NOM my-NOM ground-ALL
 ‘That spear of mine is lying along the ground there.’

4.3.7.3 Non-relational uses. The allative also marks “DIRECTed modality” (10.1), and appears in “movement purpose clauses” (11.6).

4.3.8 GENitive {-karra(n)-}

4.3.8.1 Notes on form. Word-internally the form is *-karran-*. Note that in nominal predicate constructions a following nominative suffix

¹³ Avery Andrews (p.c.) has suggested a possible reason for this syncretism: in all these cases the eye must move along a certain path to see all the entities involved.

appears, giving the form *karran-da* (e.g. 4-63, 4-64). Word-finally, as when modifying a nominative NP (4-59, 4-62), it is *-karra*.

In Yukulta the cognate suffix is *-bakarra(n)-*. This form is limited in Kayardild to the distance locationals *dan-* ‘this; here’ and *dathin-* ‘that, there’. The recency of the contraction to *karra* explains its failure to undergo the reductions and initial alternations found with other inflections in *-kVX* (4.2.1).

4.3.8.2 Possession (adnominal). The GENitive is one of three ways of marking possession, along with the ABLative (4.3.4) and the apposed-noun construction (6.3.5). We have seen that the ABLative is used for possession “coming from” some past event, such as manufacture or inheritance; the apposed-noun construction is used for “part-whole” relations and “inalienable” possession. The GENitive covers the remaining types of possession. In general it contrasts with the ABLative in stressing that ownership is present or expected, and contrasts with the apposed noun construction in stressing separability or alienability. More specifically, it covers:

(a) kin, especially where the possessee is not seen as senior:

(4-59) *dathin-karra maku-karra kularrin-da kurrka-th*
 that-GEN woman-GEN brother-NOM take-ACT
 ‘That woman’s brother took (it).’

(b) ownership of land, seen as a presently existing right:

(4-60) *maraka kurri-ju dathin-ku dulk-u,*
 CTRFCT see-POT that-MPROP place-MPROP
dibirdibi-karran-ju dulk-u
 Rock Cod-GEN-MPROP place-MPROP
 ‘(We) would have liked to to see that place, Rock Cod’s place.’
 (Rock Cod is the name of the woman who owns it).

The GENitive is used for ownership by *people*. But with mythical beings who are the originators and alternate manifestations of places (e.g. the ‘moon story place’ in Line 18 of Text 4), the “part-whole” construction is used (6.3.5).

(c) expected allocation. In (4-61), for example, a number of hunters have taken turns to spear turtles; now it is the “father-in-law’s” turn.

(4-61) *burri-ja niwan-karra kardu-karra banga-a- kurirr*
 come out-ACT his-GEN WF-GEN turtle-NOM deadNOM
 ‘Up comes his father-in-law’s turtle, (and then it’s) dead.’

(d) body parts that are severed (4-62), or traces left by a body part (4-63). Tracks may also take the apposed nominal “part-whole” construction.

(4-62) *bijarra-karra marl-da nga-rr-a kurri-ja kabara-y*
 dugong-GEN hand-NOM 1-du-NOM see-ACT saltpan-LOC
 ‘We saw a dugong’s (severed) flipper on the saltpan.’

(4-63) *jar-a dangka-karran-d*
 track-NOM person-GEN-NOM
 ‘The track is a human’s.’

(e) the source of material, when the material has been removed (4-64) or thoroughly transformed (4-65). Elsewhere the part-whole construction is used, as in ‘grass string’ (6.3.5).

(4-64) *nguka murdu-karran-d*
 string-making.barkNOM corkwood-GEN-NOM
 ‘String-making bark comes from the corkwood tree.’

(4-65) ... *malba-karra mijil-d*
 wallaby.grass-GEN net-NOM
 ‘... a net made with wallaby grass string.’

Younger speakers are extending GEN at the expense of the ABLative and apposed-noun constructions. They will use it, for example, with *all* types of kin relation (e.g. *dangkakarra kunawuna* ‘man’s child’, *marrkathukarra kunawuna* ‘aunt’s child’) and with inalienable body parts (e.g. *dangkakarra marlda* ‘the man’s hand’).

4.3.8.3 GENitive plus LOCative: vague location. The sequence GEN-LOC indicates vagueness of location (4-66), or that one entity is surrounded by or encircled by another:

(4-66) *wardun-ki ngada dan-da kurri-ja wida-karran-ji*
 mangrove rat-MLOC 1sgNOM here-NOM see-ACT hole-GEN-LOC
 ‘I saw a mangrove rat by this hole somewhere.’

(4-67) *mutha-a majimaji thaldi-ja kaburrba-karran-ji*
 many-NOM dugong tailNOM stand-ACT fire-GEN-LOC
 ‘Dugong tails stuck up all around the cooking fires.’

(4-68) *ngirngud-a kala-ja nal-karran-ji*
 fly-NOM fly-ACT head-GEN-LOC
 ‘A fly is flying around (my) head.’

4.3.9 INSTRUMENTAL *-nguni*

4.3.9.1 Phonological note. The sequence *nguni-wu* (INSTR:MPROP) sometimes reduces to *ngunu*. Before a pause, following modal LOCatives may be lost: *nguni-ya ~ nguni*, as in (4-71). Modal LOCatives lost in this way will not be glossed.

4.3.9.2 Instrument of contact. The instrumental is one of three cases available for denoting instruments, and in many sentences is interchangeable with the PROPriative or ASSOCiative cases (see 10.3.2.1): fighting with boomerangs or spears, catching fish with nets, digging yams with sticks. But the instrumental is the only appropriate case when the physical contact between implement and object is being stressed, especially when the “instrument” is extended in space and is therefore in contact with the object over a large area:

(4-69) *mardala-tha rirr-nguni*
 rub-ACT grease-INSTR
 ‘(He) rubbed (it) with (dugong) grease.’

(4-70) *kari-ja kuwan-d, dunbu-wa-nharr,*
 cover-IMP firestick-NOM extinguished-INCH-APPR

wunkurr-nguni kari-j!
 grass-INSTR cover-IMP
 ‘Cover the firestick, lest it go out, cover it with grass!’

4.3.9.3 Locale as instrument. The instrumental may also mark a locale whose special properties help the agent achieve his goal. In (4-71) the sandhill is high, a good vantage point; in (4-72) the fugitive adolescents choose a nice secluded place to eat their illicit food; and in (4-73) the complainant wants to find somewhere where no-one will come and cadge off him.

(4-71) *thaldi-ja kurri-ja dumu-nguni-ya*
 stand-ACT look-ACT sandhill-INSTR-MLOC

walmathi-nguni
 high-INSTR(MLOC)
 ‘(They) stood and looked from on top of the sandhill.’

(4-72) *warra-warra-nguni-ya diya-j jungarrba-na dangka-na*
 far-REDUP-INSTR-LOC eat-ACT, big-ABL person-ABL

kurri-i-nyarr
see-M-APPR

‘(The adolescents) ate (the forbidden food) far far away, so that they wouldn’t be seen by the adults.’

- (4-73) *jina-nguni-wu* *baa-ju* *ngad?*
where-INSTR-MPROP smoke-POT 1sgNOM
‘Where can I smoke (so that no-one can see me and cadge all my cigarettes)?’

4.3.10 ASSOCIative *-nurru*

This case is used in a variety of situations where two entities are temporarily in the same place: temporary location, transient possession, and temporary use.

4.3.10.1 Temporary co-location. The ASSOCIative may be used relationally as an alternative to the LOCative, but stresses the temporary nature of the location:

- (4-74) *ngada* *dangka-walath-i* *junkuwa-tha* *yubuyubu-nurru*
1sgNOM person-LOT-MLOC meet-ACT track-ASSOC
‘I met the people on the track.’

It is also used for adnominal location: see 4.2.3.

4.3.10.2 Temporary having. The ASSOCIative may, like the PROPrietive, mark possessed objects. But whereas the PROPrietive implies ownership, and allows the possibility that the possessor does not have the object with him at the time, the ASSOCIative implies the opposite: the possessor must have the object with him at the time (“just like he holding it”), but need not entail ownership—the item may be borrowed, for instance.

- (4-75) *ngada* *wangal-kuru* // *wangal-nurru*
1sgNOM boomerang-PROP boomerang-ASSOC
‘I have a boomerang (own one // have one with me).’

In this use, the ASSOCIative normally functions adnominally, agreeing with its head, as in:

- (4-76) *kaba-tha* *dathin-ki* *dangka-y* *dangka-nurru-ya*
find-ACT that-MLOC man-MLOC man-ASSOC-MLOC

wara-y
mouth-MLOC

‘(They) found that fellow with a man in his mouth.’
[Literally: with a man-having mouth.]

The temporarily-present object may be an implied cause:

- (4-77) *kurirr-a kujiji-nurru, bukawa-th*
dead-NOM spear-ASSOC die-ACT
‘(He) was dead with a spear (through him), (he) died.’

The use of the ASSOCIative with instruments is discussed in 10.3.2.1; it is suitable for instruments that have been borrowed or snatched up for the purpose at hand. The pattern of modal and associating case marking, I will argue, suggests that ASSOCIative instruments are true “second predicates” on the subject, conveying the meaning “SUBJ, having ASSOC with SUBJ at the time, V-ed”.

Because the possession expressed by the ASSOCIative is so transient, it is usually inadequate for identifying the possessor, and rarely used in deriving entity nominals¹⁴; this contrasts with the PROPriative (4.3.5). There is one revealing exception: pregnant women, temporarily characterized by the presence of a child in their womb, are *bardakakunawunanurru* [belly-child-ASSOC].

4.3.10.3 Accompaniment. Here, too, the ASSOCIative NP functions as a second predicate on the person accompanied. In all my examples the accompaniment is temporary; in (4-79) it is a prerequisite for the clausal action.

- (4-78) *ngijin-urru thabuju-nurru niya warra-j*
my-ASSOC EB-ASSOC 3sgNOM go-ACT
‘She’s going (there) with my big brother.’

- (4-79) *ngakuluwan-urru bi-l-da wirrka-ju*
1INCpl-ASSOC 3-pl-NOM dance-POT
‘They’ll dance with us (i.e. when we get there).’

- (4-80) *ngumban-urru mala-diya-jarri*
2sg-ASSOC beer-drink-NEG.N
‘As long as you’re here (she’s) off the grog.’

¹⁴ Tindale gives “dolnoro” (*dulnurru*) for “patrilineally inherited territory”. This comes from *dulnurru dangkaa* ‘land-ASSOC person’, and is at odds with the transient association normally expressed by this case. In fact my informants reject *dulnurru dangkaa* in favour of *dulkuru* or *dulmarra dangkaa*, with the PROPriative or UTILitive case.

4.3.10.4 Temporary ambience. Temporary environmental or meteorological conditions that facilitate the clausal activity may be expressed with the ASSOC:

- (4-81) *ngimi-nurru* *ra-yii-j*
 darkness-ASSOC spear-M-ACT
 ‘(They) were speared under cover of darkness.’

4.3.11 ORIGIN -*wa(a)n*-

This case marks origin, provenance or source.

It only functions adnominally (if one counts its use to mark demoted agents with nominalized clauses as adnominal). I group it with the case inflections on the basis of its phrasal scope (e.g. *jungarra-wan-da mala-waan-d* [big-ORIG-NOM sea-ORIG-NOM] ‘from the high seas’), and because it forms a paradigmatic series with the “true” cases, that can also function adnominally.

4.3.11.1 Habitual or characteristic location. The entity under consideration may be human, as in *dan-man-da dangka-a* [here-ORIG-NOM person-NOM] ‘Lardil person’, or it may be a member of the animal kingdom (4-82) or a plant.

- (4-82) *mala-wan-da* *yakuri-ya* *kurirr-wa-th,* *katharr-wan-da*
 sea-ORIG-NOM fish-NOM dead-INCH-ACT estuary-ORIG-NOM
- yakuri-ya* *kurirr-wa-th,* *yurda-wan-da* *yakuri-ya*
 fish-NOM dead-INCH-ACT open sea-ORIG-NOM fish-NOM
- kurirr-wa-th*
 dead-INCH-ACT

‘Sea-fish died, estuarine fish died, fish from the open sea died.’

People, languages and customs are usually characterized by the ORIGIN form of the various compass terms (5.3.4).

Objects thought of as “belonging to”, or always found in, other objects, also take ORIG:

- (4-83) *maramara-wan-ji* *murndulk-i* *darrbuw-j*
 dinghy-ORIG-MLOC rope-MLOC pull-ACT
 ‘We pulled on the rope from the dinghy.’

4.3.11.2 Characteristic time. Creatures characteristic of a particular time of day may also be described using an adnominal ORIGIN NP.

Warrkuwanda kungulda [sun-ORIG mosquito] are those appearing during the day; *ngimiwanda kungulda* are those appearing at night.

A slight semantic extension of this is exemplified in (4-84), where the speaker is thinking not so much of when turtles appear, as of when they can be speared.

(4-84) *banga-a, ngimi-waan-d, ngimi-ya marri-j,*
 turtle-NOM night-ORIG-NOM night-LOC listen-ACT

ngimi-wan-ji raa-ja banga-y
 night-ORIG-MLOC spear-ACT turtle-MLOC

‘Night-time turtles, at night we listened, we speared night-time turtles.’

In the final clause of (4-85) the NP giving characteristic time is being used adnominally to modify the demoted agent ‘father’ (as shown by case agreement); the nuance here is ‘by father when he would go out at night’.

(4-85) (*Darirra mardala-a-ja mutha-wu ngunymurr-u,*
 newborn rub-M-ACT much-PROP grease-PROP

mutha-wu ngunymurr-u wuran-ku,
 much-PROP grease-PROP food-PROP

mak-un-maan-ju wuran-ku, ngimi-waan-ju wuran-ku,
 torch-VDON-ORIG-PROP food-PROP dark-ORIG-PROP food-PROP

kurdala-thirrin-ju ngimi-wan-jinaba-wu kanthathu-naba-wu.
 spear-RES-PROP night-ORIG-ABL-PROP father-ABL-PROP

‘(The newborn was rubbed) with lots of grease, lots of greasy food, with food (speared) by (the light of) a bark torch, with food (speared) at night-time, speared by (the baby’s) father at night-time.’

4.3.11.3 Source of existence. The ORIGIN case may give the material or economic source of an entity’s existence, or the means by which it was caught (4-88); see also ‘by the light of a bark torch’ in (4-85).

(4-86) *mutha-a nguku mangara-waan-d*
 much-NOM waterNOM storm-ORIG-NOM
 ‘There’s a lot of water from the storm.’

(4-87) *nga-ku-l-da kurrka-tharra wirrin-kina rawalan-maan-jina*
 1-INC-pl-NOM get-PST money-MABL baler shell-ORIG-MABL
 ‘We got money from (selling) the baler shells.’

(4-88) *jirrkara-wu thaa-nangku mala-wu, burri-nangku,*
 north-MPROP return-NEG.POT sea-MPROP come.out-NEG.POT

darr-waan-da, mawurraji-waan-d.
 thigh-ORIG-NOM spear.type-ORIG-NOM

Murrukurnangk, darr-a niwan-d.
 triang.kin.termNOM thigh-NOM his-NOM

‘(The dugong) won’t go back to the sea again, it won’t get away, the one caught by (his) thighs (i.e. by straddling), by (his) spear. The one who is your father and my cousin, his thighs.’

4.3.11.4 Inanimate cause with resultative nominalization.

With RESULTative nominalizations the ORIGIN case may mark an indirect and inanimate cause of the event (cf. 11.4).

(4-89) *bi-l-da dunbu-ru-thirri-n-da thura-waan-d*
 3-pl-NOM deaf-FAC-RES-N-NOM loud human noise-ORIG-NOM
 ‘They (the initiates) were deafened by the noise.’

4.3.12 PRIVative -warri

4.3.12.1 Lack, absence. The main function of the PRIVative is to express the lack or absence of an entity.

Usually the PRIVative functions adnominally, either as an attributive (4-90) or as a second predicate on the subject (4-91):

(4-90) *nga-ku-rra warra-ju dangka-warri-wu dulk-u*
 1-INC-du go-POT person-PRIV-MPROP country-MPROP
 ‘We will go to uninhabited places.’

(4-91) *nginyinangkuru-ya kiwali-ja niwan-marri wumburu-warri*
 why-MLOC wade-ACT his-PRIV spear-PRIV
 ‘Why is he wading about without his spear?’

Privatives may also be used relationally, as adjuncts nominating the lack of a person or thing as a precipitating cause (4-92), or expressing the lack of an impediment (12-3).

(4-92) *ngijin-marri-wu / dangka-warri-wu maraka yuuma-thu*
 1sg-PRIV-MPROP person-PRIV-MPROP CTRFCT drown-POT
 ‘Without me / had no-one been there (he) would have drowned.’

4.3.12.2 Negation. The PRIVative may also function as a negator, as in:

(4-93) *nyingka kurrka-na dan-da dangka-a ngumban-da*
 2sgNOM take-NEGIMP this-NOM man-NOM your-NOM

wajiyangu-warri, bulbirdi
 betrothed-PRIV wrongheadNOM

'Don't take this man (for a lover), he's not your betrothed, he's wronghead (to you).'

As (4-93) illustrates, the PRIVative need not display full phrasal concord when functioning as a negator; instead, the domain of case marking depends on the logical scope of negation. In (4-93), the nature of the man's marriageability is at issue (he's not your *betrothed*); were the emphasis to shift to whose betrothed he was, the possessive pronoun would be negated: *ngumbanmarri wajiyangu* 'not your betrothed'. The full-concord version, *ngumbanmarri wajiyanguwarri* is more vague—it can be true under either of the above conditions—and is pragmatically unlikely. The whole issue of negation is discussed in 9.6.

4.3.13 CONSequential -*ngarrba*

4.3.13.1 Succession and cause. Used adnominally, this means "one who has previously been in contact / involved with NP-CONS", e.g. *thararr-ngarrba wurdalji* 'meat that has been on the coals', *mala-ngarrba dangkaa* 'person who has been involved with beer, drunken person'.

Like other adnominal NPs, CONSequential NPs frequently function as second predicates on the subject: see 9.4.1.1 for syntactic evidence of their second predicate status. CONSequential second predicates may express temporal consequence (contingent succession) or cause (necessary succession). Often the two cannot be distinguished (4-94), but the use of *-ngarrba* in situations where cause is clearly involved but temporal consequence is not, such as 'no, it wasn't the mosquitoes, I was thinking about my own father, it was because of that (*dathin-ngarrba*) that I couldn't sleep' shows that the two meanings are distinct and distinguishable—see Evans (1994c).

(4-94) *niya warrku-ngarrba bukawa-th*
 3sgNOM sun-CONS die-ACT
 'He died because of the sun / after being in the sun.'

(4-95) *dathin-a dangka-a bukawa-nharra yarbu-nyarrb*
 that-NOM man-NOM die-APPR snake-CONS
 'That man might die from a snake(bite).'

I have one example of CONS being used as a second predicate on the object; here it means "(at the time) after OBJ became a NP-CONS".

- (4-96) *niya kuwariwari-ngarrba-na buda buru-tharr*
 3sgNOM orphan-CONS-MABL behind take-PST
 'He adopted (her) after she became an orphan.'
 (Lit. 'he took her on behind (her parents)')

4.3.13.2 Other uses. The CONSequential is used on nominalized verbs of various sorts, to indicate prior situation (11.2).

A homophonous suffix marks kinship dyads (5.1.1.4).

4.3.14 UTILitive

4.3.14.1 Conventional use. The UTILitive expresses the conventional, expected use that will be made of an entity. Two semantic types may be recognized:

(i) TO MAKE INTO X-UTIL. Here the UTILitive expresses the form into which the entity will be transformed¹⁵ :

- (4-97) *barrki-ja dathin-a burldamurr-a thungal-d, bankirri-marra*
 chop-IMP that-NOM three-NOM tree-NOM windbreak-UTIL

nga-ku-lu-wan-marr
 1-INC-pl-POSS-UTIL

'Chop down those three trees for our windbreaks!'

From (4-97) one might surmise that the UTILitive was functioning adnominally (modifying 'those three trees'). There are examples, however, in which the UTILitive is clearly an independent "relational" NP. In (4-98) the UTILitive argument takes modal case, while the object to be transformed takes the ASSOCiative and serves as a second predicate on the subject:

- (4-98) *nyingka ngi-nurru-wa dali-jarra kuwan-marra-na?*
 2sgNOM wood-ASSOC-NOM come-PST firestick-UTIL-MABL
 'Have you brought wood for firesticks?'

¹⁵ Yukulta lacks this case, using the DATive instead (Yukulta data from my own field notes):

- Kayardild: *mirra-a thungal-da murruku-marr*
 good-NOM tree-NOM spear-UTIL
 Yukulta: *mirra-ra thungal-da murruku-ntha*
 good-ABS tree-NOM spear-DAT
 'It's a good tree for a spearhead.'

(ii) TO USE FOR DOING THINGS TO X-UTIL:

(4-99) *barrki-ja dathin-a muri-y, nguku-marr*
 chop-IMP that-NOM baler shell-NOM water-UTIL
 'Chop (a handle into that) baler shell, we'll use it for (getting) water.'

(4-100) *yakuri-marra nga-ku-lu-wan-marra burldi-ja malba-a,*
 fish-UTIL 1-INC-pl-POSS-UTIL roll-IMP grass-NOM

birrk, babara-th!
 stringNOM hurry-IMP

'Roll some grass string quickly, for (catching) our fish.'

In this second function, a nominalized verb may be present, describing the action one wishes to perform on X-UTIL: hitting (4-101), roasting (4-102), and cutting (4-103).

(4-101) *ngada jungarra-wu wangalk-u barrki-ju*
 1sgNOM big-MPROP boomerang-MPROP chop-POT

dangka-walany-marra-wu bala-n-ku
 person-LOT-UTIL-MPROP hit-N-MPROP

'I will make a big boomerang for hitting lots of people.'

(4-102) *ngambura-tha bi-l-da maku-wa bithiin-da*
 dig hole-ACT 3-pl-NOM woman-NOM man-NOM

yakuri-marra-y dathin-marra-ya wuran-marra-ya
 fish-UTIL-MLOC that-UTIL-MLOC food-UTIL-MLOC

kawa-n-ki
 roast-N-MLOC

'Those men and women are digging a ground oven for roasting that fish.'

(4-103) *dathin-a birndibirndi-y thungal-marra kala-n-d,*
 that-NOM baler shell-NOM tree-UTIL cut-N-NOM

wumburu-marr
 spear-UTIL

'That baler shell is for cutting trees down, for making spears.'

Sentences (4-101) to (4-103) invite two possible analyses:

(a) as an embedded construction, in which the UTILitive NP is an argument of the nominalized verb. This would have the semantic interpretation reflected in the glosses, e.g. 'to hit lots of people'.

(b) as a flat, double-predicate construction, with both nominalized verb and UTILitive NPs being independent arguments of the matrix clause.

This would imply the semantic analysis: “to v with, to do things to N-UTIL with”.

There are two advantages to the second analysis. Firstly, were the UTILitive NP an argument of the nominalized verb, we would wrongly expect it to take an Associating OBLIQUE case (3.4.5). Secondly, we would only expect UTILitive NPs to appear with nominalized verbs, whereas as we have seen they regularly occur independently. Postulating an embedded construction is therefore an unnecessary complication.

The UTILitive suffix may function derivationally, providing names for tools or clothes: *damuru-marra* [panja-UTIL] ‘stick used for (digging) panja’; *thukan-marra* [chin-UTIL] ‘thing used for (shaving) chin; razor’; *mibur-marra* [eye-UTIL] ‘thing used for (helping) eyes; glasses’; *murnu-marra* [elbow-UTIL] ‘thing used for (supporting) elbow, sling’¹⁶.

A somewhat idiomatic use is in the term *dul-marra dangkaa* [country-UTIL person] ‘custodian of sacred site’. Here we can explain the presence of the UTIL through the paraphrase ‘person used for (maintaining/guarding) country’¹⁷.

4.3.14.2 Targeted time. Attached to time NPs, the UTILitive expresses the time for which some activity is targeted or scheduled—see also (3-33):

(4-104) *birangkarra bi-l-da mardala-a-j, ngimi-marra-y*
 long timeNOM 3-pl-NOM paint-M-ACT night-UTIL-MLOC
 ‘They’ve been painting up a long time for (the dance) tonight.’

This is similar in meaning to the verbal “translative” case (4.4.2.3), which is superseding it among younger speakers.

¹⁶ A similar meaning is expressed by the Nyangumarda suffix *pinti* ‘COMPLEMENT OF’ (O’Grady 1960) “denoting an element of the material culture which is associated with a particular object or action”, e.g. *ngarnka* ‘beard’, *ngarnka-pinti* ‘razor’. But in Nyangumarda this suffix may be used with nominalized verbs, e.g. *yangkan-* ‘spread over’, *yangkan-pinti* ‘jam’, whereas the Kayardild UTILitive is limited to basic nouns.

¹⁷ The cognate *dulmarr* ‘totemic and associated authority derived from ego’s patriline’ (Hale et al. 1981) and its derivatives are to my knowledge the only remnant of the UTILitive case in Lardil.

4.4 Verbal case

4.4.1 Introduction to verbal case

In addition to the regular nominal cases discussed in the previous section, Kayardild, as well as the other Tangkic languages¹⁸, has a set of what might be called “cases with verbal form” (Keen 1983) or, more briefly, “verbal cases” (not to be confused with modal cases!).

These have morphologically verbal endings, which agree with the main verb in the verbal categories of tense, mood and polarity (4-105, 4-106, 4-107).

(4-105) *ngada warra-jarra dathin-kiiwa-tharra ngilirr-iiwa-tharr*
 1sgNOM go-PST that-VALL-PST cave-VALL-PST
 ‘I went to that cave.’

(4-106) *ngada warra-ju dathin-kiiwa-thu ngilirr-iiwa-thu*
 1sgNOM go-POT that-VALL-POT cave-VALL-POT
 ‘I will go to that cave.’

(4-107) *ngada warra-nangku dathin-kiiwa-nangku ngilirr-iiwa-nangku*
 1sgNOM go-NEGPOT that-VALL-NEGPOT cave-VALL-NEGPOT
 ‘I will not go to that cave.’

Like main verbs, too, they can be nominalized, both with plain (11.4.1) and resultative (11.4.3) nominalizations. Yet they resemble case inflections both in meaning and in syntax. They exhibit concord over the NP, as the above sentences show. And they can frequently be paraphrased with “normal” cases. (4-106), for example, can be paraphrased with the “normal” allative:

(4-108) *ngada warra-ju dathin-kiring-ku ngilirr-iring-ku*
 1sgNOM go-POT that-ALL-MPROP cave-ALL-MPROP
 ‘I will go to that cave.’

Moreover, verbal cases resemble normal cases in being fully productive: they can apply to any semantically appropriate NP.

It is possible to omit the main verb in constructions involving verbal case, as in:

¹⁸ The similar Yukulta and Lardil systems are discussed by Keen (1983: 207-8) and Hale et al. (1981: 34-7) respectively. Hale et al. advance similar reasons to those given here for considering these suffixes to be inflections rather than derivations.

- (4-109) *ngada dathin-kiiwa-thu ngilirr-iiwa-thu*
 1sgNOM that-VALL-POT cave-VALL-POT
 'I will go to that cave.'

This is also allowed with some normal cases (3.2.2) but is more frequent with verbal cases. I interpret this as being due to the rich semantics of verbal cases, which often allows the main verb action to be inferred.

An example of another verbal case, the verbal dative, is:

- (4-110) *niya waa-jarra wangarr-ina ngumban-maru-tharra*
 3sgNOM sing-PST song-MABL your-VD-PST
thabuju-maru-tharr?
 elder.brother-VD-PST

'Did she sing the song for/to your elder brother?'

Here the benefactive NP 'for your brother' takes the verbal dative case *-marutha*. Again this agrees with the main verb, taking the PaST inflection. And like a normal case suffix it displays concord over the whole NP.

The forms of these two verbal cases are etymologically transparent.

The form *-marutha*, though usually bound in Kayardild, occasionally occurs as a free verb meaning 'put'. In Yukulta, which lacks this verbal case, a cognate form *-marlutha* recurs in a number of compounds involving putting, e.g. *darr-marlutha* [thigh-put] 'put on lap'. All but one of the Tangkic verbal cases can be related to free verbs of movement, transfer of position, searching, and avoiding.

The form *-kiiwatha*, by contrast, comprises the LOCative {-*kiya*} plus the verb-deriving INCHOative suffix *-watha*. *Ngilirriiwatha* in (4-106), in other words, is transparently 'become at the cave', which is precisely the semantic analysis Dowty (1979) and subsequently Foley—Van Valin (1984) propose for the ALLative complements of motion verbs. This is the only verbal case whose form suggests derivation from an inflected nominal.

4.4.1.1 Verbal case: forms. The forms for all Kayardild verbal cases are set out in Figure 4-4, together with the form and meaning of etymologically related verbs. In general, verbal cases follow the usual nominal stem and participate in normal morphophonemic changes. *ngiJ-* 'firewood' plus the verbal dative {-*maru-tha*}, for example, gives *nginyamarutha* by Nasal Assimilation (2.5.1). And the initial *w* of the verbal ablative, evitative and donative cases assimilates to *m* after nasals: *ngarn-* 'beach' plus *-wulatha* 'verbal ablative' gives *ngarnmulatha*. Like

other verbals, verbal cases belong to one of two conjugations: the dental, with citation forms in *-tha*, and the palatal, with citation forms in *-ja*.

Case	Form	Corresponding Free Form	Meaning of Free Form
Verbal Allative	{ <i>-kiiwa-tha</i> }	None ¹	
Verbal Dative	{ <i>-maru-tha</i> }	<i>maru<tha< i=""></tha<></i>	'put'
Verbal Translative	{ <i>-marii-ja</i> }	<i>marii<tha< i="">²</tha<></i>	'be put'
Verbal Ablative	{ <i>-wula-tha / -wula-a-ja</i> }	<i>bula-tha</i>	'pull off, remove'
Verbal Evitative	{ <i>-waalu-tha / -waal-i-ja</i> }	<i>waalu-tha</i>	'drive away'
Verbal Donative	{ <i>-wu-ja</i> }	<i>wuu-ja</i> ³	'give, put'
Verbal Purposive	{ <i>-jani(i)-ja</i> }	<i>jani-ja</i> ⁴	'look for'

Notes:

(1) The verbal allative { *-kiiwatha* } is formally the LOCative { *-kiya* } plus the INCHOative { *-wa-tha* }. The initial portion has the same allomorphy as the normal LOCative. The change from *iya* to *ii* before following suffixes is not confined to the LOCative—the place name *Minakuriya*, for example, undergoes a similar change before the 'bom at' suffix *-ngathi*, becoming *Minakuriingathi*.

(2) The Verbal TRANSLative *-marii-ja* is formally the middle form of the Verbal Dative, but is distinct enough semantically to be treated as a separate case.

(3) The Verbal DONative case { *-wu-ja* } has two formal irregularities on top of the regular morphophonemic changes:

(a) the allomorphs *-wu-ja* and *-mu-ja* are often pronounced *-wi-ja* and *-mi-ja*, assimilating to the following palatal.

(b) the *w* is lost after liquids, even though *lw* and *rrw* are phonotactically possible in Kayardild.

(4) As with the ORIGIN suffix *-wa(a)n-*, the vowel of *-jani(i)-ja* is lengthened when prosodic truncation leaves it as the final syllable.

Figure 4-4. Kayardild verbal case forms

The clear origin of the verbal case suffixes as either derivational suffixes or free verbs suggests two alternatives to their treatment as category-changing case inflections. Although neither is adequate, they have sufficient initial plausibility that I shall review each before passing on to a detailed discussion of individual case meanings.

4.4.1.2 Are verbal cases derived motion verbs? One alternative, particularly tempting with the Verbal Allative, would be to treat these arguments as a type of derived motion verb, obtained by first inflecting a noun for the LOCative, then adding the INCHoative suffix. To illustrate this analysis, consider the Yukulta sentence (4-111) where, I would claim, genuine derivation is at work:

(4-111) *dangka-ra=ngka warra-ja kalarr-i-wa-tha / natha-rlu*
 Y man-ABS=PRES go-IND open-LOC-INCH-IND camp-ALL
 'The man is going into the open / to the camp.'

From the noun *kalarr-* 'open space, clearing', we first get the LOCative *kalarr-i* 'in the open space', then add the INCHoative suffix *-watha* to derive a new verb *kalarriwatha* meaning 'become in an open space' or, more idiomatically, 'emerge, come out into the open'¹⁹. This may be used in a coverbal construction with a motion verb, as in (4-111). And the verb *kalarriwatha* is at least partly interchangeable with an ALLative noun phrase like *natha-rlu* 'to the camp'.

But in Yukulta, unlike in Kayardild, this process is not productive—in fact, *kalarriwatha* is the only derived word of this type in Keen's Yukulta corpus. What is more, it applies to a *word* rather than a NP—one could not use this with a phrase like 'into the large clearing'. In short, the Yukulta formation is non-productive, and lexical rather than phrasal. These features stamp it as a derivation.

In Kayardild, by contrast, the process is productive—any semantically appropriate NP can take the verbal allative case. And it applies to phrases, as in (4-109), not just to words; this distinguishes it from the derivational suffix *-watha* 'become', which is limited to words and therefore defined as derivational by the criteria given in 3.1.2.1. For these two reasons, the Kayardild verbal allative, unlike its Yukulta cognate, must be treated as an inflection.

This is not to say, however, that it did not *originate* as a derivation. It is likely that Yukulta preserves an earlier state of affairs, where the LOC:INCHOATIVE sequence was derivational, and that Kayardild (and

¹⁹ Derivation of verbs from inflected nouns is quite common in Australian languages. A Warumungu example is *walypali-kirra-jarri-mi* [whitefellow-ALL-INCH-PST] 'become like a whitefellow' (Simpson 1988).

Lardil) later extended this use, making it fully productive and giving it phrasal concord.

Nor do I wish to claim that *all* uses of the form {-*kiiwatha*} function as case-inflections. There are a few words, such as *dulk-ii-watha* [ground-LOC-INCH] ‘be born’, where the suffix is clearly derivational. Here the meaning is idiosyncratic, and the scope is lexical, ruling out phrases like **ngarrku-yi-watha dulk-i-watha* [hard-LOC-INCH ground-LOC-INCH] ‘be born onto the hard ground’ (although of course the “regular” inflectional meaning is possible here: ‘go onto the hard ground’).

4.4.1.3 Are verbal cases serial verbs? Where verbal cases have corresponding free forms functioning as verbs, e.g. *-maru-tha* in (4-110), a tempting alternative analysis is to treat the verbal element as a serial verb.

Constructions using serial verbs as prepositions, or to show case-like relations, are found in languages as widespread as Yoruba, Igbo, Thai and Chinese. In Chinese, for example, a number of NP arguments which would be realized in English as prepositional phrases, and in most Australian languages as phrases bearing oblique cases, appear as serial verb constructions, in which the NP is object of the added verb: ‘We often go to *New York*’ is ‘we often *arrive New York go*’, ‘S/He again borrowed money *from me*’ is ‘S/He again *follow me borrow money*’, and so on (examples from Li—Thompson 1981, see also Hagege 1975).

Could we not analyse the Kayardild verbal cases as serial verbs in which the argument is incorporated into the valence-adding verb?

There are four arguments against this.

Firstly, it would be unusual for the incorporation process to be repeated for each word in the NP.

Secondly, serial verb constructions do exist in Kayardild with motion verbs, but verbal cases have nothing in common with them syntactically. In these serial verb constructions, discussed in 8.2.2 and 8.2.3, the order of the two verbs is fixed; this is not so of the verbal case construction.

Thirdly and most tellingly, the nominal arguments in verbal case constructions are not in a syntactically or semantically consistent relation to the verbal formative. With *-marutha*, for example, the suffixed nominal is “destination” of the corresponding main verb. With the verbal ablative *-wulatha*, whose corresponding free form *bula-tha* means ‘pull off, remove’, the suffixed nominal is always the source, never the object (the thing pulled). Such irregular semantic relationships are more reminiscent of nominal compounding, with its inexplicit and varied relationships between formatives, than of serial verbs, where the added argument is always the object of the serial verb.

Finally, there is comparative evidence that such verbal cases originated not as serial verbs, but by increasing the productivity of compounds like the Yukulta verb *darrmarlutha* [thigh-put] ‘put on lap’.

To summarize, verbal cases are neither serial verbs with prefixed objects, nor derived nouns. They resemble normal cases in their phrasal scope, concord, complete productivity, and, as we shall see, in their range of meanings; they form part of the case frames for some verbs (e.g. ‘give’), and can be assigned as cases on demoted agents by voice alternations. They do, however, have some verb-like syntactic characteristics; these will be discussed in 4.4.3.

4.4.2 Functions of the verbal cases

I will now discuss the meanings which verbal cases can express, and the question of how much they parallel, and how much they complement, the “normal” case system given in 4.3.

4.4.2.1 Verbal ALLative {-*kiiwa-tha*}.

DIRECTION OF MOTION WITH TRANSITIVE VERBS. This was exemplified in (4-105). Unlike the normal ALLative, which can be used with transitive and intransitive verbs alike, {-*kiiwatha*} is restricted to intransitives. With transitives, the Verbal Dative is used—see below.

A further difference is that {*kiiwatha*} implies that the subject has, or intends to, reach the specified destination, whereas the normal allative merely states the direction of motion.

Among younger speakers the verbal allative has entirely replaced the normal allative, except with locative and compass words, so the latter distinction is not possible.

GOAL AT A PLACE: Sometimes it means “to the place where X can be found”, rather than just “to X”:

- (4-112) *ngada warra-ja bijurr-iwa-th*
 1sgNOM go-ACT cockle-VALL-ACT
 ‘I’m going to the place where there are cockles (i.e. to the cockles).’

This is yet another way of marking “goal” or “purpose” in Kayardild (besides the PROPRIETIVE, UTILITIVE, Verbal Dative and Verbal Purposive). It is limited to situations where the desired object is reliably and characteristically located at a certain place.

DEMOTED AGENTS OF PASSIVES, if non-human, may also take this case:

- (4-113) *nyingka ra-yii-nyarra kurdalalng-kiiwa-nharr*
 2sgNOM spear-M-APPR stingray-VALL-APPR
 ‘You might get stung by a stingray.’

The semantic rationale here seems to be that the subject “gets stung, coming into contact with a stingray”. However, there is no requirement that the passive subject initiate the activity or move toward the agent—I have sentences of this type involving piles of dead fish being eaten by marauding seagulls. What is important is that the two participants come together. As Roland Moodoonuthi put it, “never mind who move, long as they both end up the same place”.

As with other verbal case functions, it is possible to omit the main verb, so that (4-113) can be rephrased as:

- (4-114) *nyingka kurdalalng-kiiwa-nharr*
 2sgNOM stingray-VALL-APPR
 ‘You might have something done to you by a stingray.’
 (Lit.: you might get stingrayed.)

Rarely this case is also used to mark causal inanimate agents with intransitive verbs whose subject is a semantic patient:

- (4-115) *Mildan-da kalnaa-jalnaa-ja warrmara-yiwa-th.*
 crack-NOM be.split-REDUP wind-VALL-ACT
 ‘The crack (in the wood) is split all the way along from the wind.’

4.4.2.2 Verbal dative -*maru-tha*. This is one way of marking the recipients of ditransitive verbs (4-116; see also 9.2.5). It may also mark destination with transitive motion verbs (4-117), and beneficiaries as in (4-118). Note that whereas the recipient and destination meanings allow alternative codings with normal cases, the beneficiary meaning can only be expressed by a verbal case:

- (4-116) *wuu-ja ngijin-ji wadu / (wuu-ja) ngijin-maru-tha*
 give-IMP 1sg-MLOC smokeNOM give-IMP 1sg-VD-IMP
wadu
 smokeNOM
 ‘Give me a smoke!’
- (4-117) *nyingka kurrka-tha wumburung-ka ngarn-maru-th / ngarn-kir*
 2sgNOM take-IMP spear-NOM beach-VD-IMP beach-ALL
 ‘You take this spear to the beach!’
- (4-118) *kardu kala-tha kakuju-ya kunawuna-maru-th*
 Fa-in-lawNOM cut-ACT son-in-law-MLOC child-VD-ACT
 ‘A father-in-law circumcizes his son-in-law for his daughter.’

This polysemy parallels the semantic range of the dative in languages as diverse as Latin and Warlpiri; without making a detailed semantic analysis here it is clear that a metaphorical extension of the

change-of-position meaning is involved, with an object, or more intangibly, the benefits of an action, being transferred to a third participant.

Like other verbals, the verbal dative can be passivized using the Middle suffix:

- (4-119) *binthu kurda-mar-ii-j (wu-yii-j)*
 prepuceNOM coolamon-VD-M-ACT put-M-ACT
 ‘The prepuce is put in a coolamon.’

4.4.2.3 Verbal Translative -*marii-ja*. In (4-119) the Middle suffix applies regularly to the verbal case *-marutha*, giving the syntactically and semantically predictable passive meaning. But the Middle suffix, even with normal verbals, does not always effect a systematic change in meaning (7.4.1). Thus alongside regular pairs like *raaja* ‘spear’, *rayiija* ‘be speared, spear oneself’ are idiosyncratic pairs like *marraaja* ‘show’, *marrayiija* ‘know’ (although the regular meaning ‘be shown, show oneself’ is also possible’).

The Verbal TRANSLative is an example of such an idiosyncratic alternation, found with a verbal case; although formally identical to the Middle form of the Verbal Dative in (4-119), its meaning is sufficiently different to warrant treatment as a distinct case. It marks goals that (a) define the temporal endpoint of an activity, often translatable as ‘until’ (4-120)²⁰ or (b) are something that must be passively waited for (4-121). A possible semantic connection with the verbal dative *marutha* (or with the free form *marutha* ‘put’) is that the subject mentally “puts himself” at the awaited moment.

- (4-120) *kurndu-thaldi-ja mirdi-marii-j / kala-a-n-marii-j*
 chest-stand-ACT stingray pin-VTRANSL-ACT cut-M-N-VTRANSL-ACT
 ‘(The novices) lie chest up until the stingray pin (comes) / until (they) are cut.’

- (4-121) *dii-ja nga-ku-l-da mani-marii-j*
 sit-ACT 1-INC-pl-NOM money-V.TRANSL-ACT
 ‘We are sitting waiting for our pension cheques.’

Although it frequently follows nominalized verbs, as in (4-120), it may also occur with nouns seen as arriving or being meted out by someone else: the stingray pin at the crucial point of the circumcision ceremony, beer when the canteen opens, money when the welfare cheques arrive, and so on. Where the predicate denotes an undesirable event, VTRANSL often implies that the subject should have expected this to happen:

²⁰ One Yangkaal sentence (see Text 12, Line 41) suggests that that dialect has a transitive form *-maritha* used with transitive verbs with the meaning ‘for when V’.

(4-122) *diya-ja mutha-ya mala-y, nalbirdiwa-th,*
 drink-ACT much-MLOC beer-MLOC get.drunk-ACT

dangka-bala-a-n-marii-n-d.
 person-hit-M-N-VTRANSL-N-NOM

‘You drank lots of beer and got drunk, knowing very well you’d
 get beaten up by people.’

As mentioned in 4.3.14.2, the “targeted time” use of the UTILitive case is similar in meaning to the Verbal Translative; the latter has entirely superseded the former among younger speakers.

4.4.2.4 Verbal ablative *-wula-tha* ~ *-wula-a-ja*. This can be related to a free form *bula-tha* ‘pull off, remove’, and marks the source of motion:

(4-123) *bilarri-ja nguku-wa dathin-mula-tha wuruman-mula-th*
 tip-IMP water-NOM that-VABL-IMP billy-VABL-IMP
 ‘Tip the water out of that billy.’

This case may appear in either basic or middle forms. The choice is rather complicated, and it is easier to begin with the simpler Yukulta and Lardil systems. There, the verbal ablative has two forms: a basic form used with transitive motion verbs (4-124, 4-126), and a middle form used with intransitive motion verbs (4-125, 4-127). In Yukulta either “normal” or “verbal” cases may be used.

(4-124) *ngudi-ka biyuka mirra-wula-tha*
 Y throw-TR:IMP rubbishABS good-V.ABL-TR:IMP

nguku-wula-tha / mirra-naba nguku-naba
 water-V.ABL-TR:IMP good-ABL water-ABL

‘Skim the rubbish off the good water!’

(4-125) *bathin-da=kadi mirra-ja kurlukurlu-wula-ja /*
 Y west:from-NOM=1sgPRES return-IND Corinda-VABL-M:IND

kurlukurlu-naba
 Corinda-ABL

‘I’ve just come back from Corinda out west.’

In Lardil the verbal ablative is the only means of expressing source of motion:

(4-126) *maari yaka mar-burri*
 L takeIMP fishNOM hand-VABL(IMP)
 ‘Take the fish from my hand.’

- (4-127) *ngada ngithun-burri-i-thu nyerrwi-burri-i-thu waa-ngku*
 L 1sgNOM my-VABL-M-POT country-VABL-M-POT go-POT
 'I am going away from my country.'

At first sight, the Kayardild data are comparable. Thus alongside transitive sentences like (4-123), with the *-wulatha* form, are intransitive sentences like (4-128), with the *-wulaaja* form:

- (4-128) *warngiid-a dangka-a rar-ida*
 one-NOM man-NOM south-CONT-NOM

buruwan-mula-a-ja budii-j
 bora ground-VABL-M-ACT run-ACT
 'One man ran away southwards from the initiation ground.'

Other examples correlate with a voice alternation on the main verb:

- (4-129) *warrngal-du mibul-ula-tha ngijin-ji rila-th*
 wind-NOM sleep-VABL-ACT 1sg-MLOC wake-ACT
 'The wind woke me up from sleep.'
- (4-130) *ngada mibul-ula-a-ja warrngal-iiwa-tha rila-a-j*
 1sgNOM sleep-VABL-M-ACT wind-VALL-ACT wake-M-ACT
 'I was woken from sleep by the wind.'

However, there remain a number of sentences in which either form can occur with a transitive verb:

- (4-131) *wara-tha ngirrngud-a mibur-ula-th / mibur-ula-a-j*
 shoo-IMP fly-NOM eye-VABL-IMP eye-VABL-M-IMP
 'Shoo the fly away from your eyes!'

My initial reaction to such sentences was to assume a difference in focus. The first alternative, I hypothesized, would focus on the fly, meaning something like: 'Shoo the fly. Because of that the fly will move from your eyes'. The second would focus on the shooer: 'Shoo the fly. Because of that, your eyes will no longer be clogged with flies'. But I was unable to obtain informants' translations or explanations confirming this, so I tried setting up situations where one focus would be preferred. An example is the contrast between (4-132) and (4-133):

- (4-132) *nga-ku-l-da buu-ja walbu-ya ngakan-mula-th*
 1-INC-pl-NOM pull-ACT raft-MLOC sandbank-VABL-ACT
 'We pulled the raft off the sandbank.'
- (4-133) *biya-ja biya-ja walbu-ya ngakan-mula-a-j*
 paddle-ACT paddle-ACT raft-MLOC sandbank-VABL-M-ACT

ngarrku-wa-tha *tharda-a* *biya-ja*
 strong-INCH-ACT shoulder-NOM paddle-ACT

ngakan-mula-a-j
 sandbank-VABL-M-ACT

‘(We) paddled and paddled the raft off the sandbank. Paddling hard with our shoulders we paddled off the sandbank.’

In (4-132) the focus is naturally on the raft—one would not utter it unless the raft moved, while the fate of the subject is indifferent. As predicted, the transitive form was chosen. In (4-133), on the other hand, the nature of the activity decrees that the subject move with the raft. And, as predicted, the Middle form was chosen²¹.

We can subsume all the above under a single generalization: the unmarked form of VABL expresses the meaning “object moves from VABL”; the detransitivized form expresses the meaning “SUBJ moves from VABL”. In other words, the form of VABL specifies whether the movement is predicated of the subject or the object of the clause.

4.4.2.5 Verbal Evasive -*waalu-tha* ~ -*waal-i-ja*. This derives from the free form *waalutha* ‘chase away’, and usually expresses movement resulting from fear. Although fewer examples are available, the conditioning of the transitive/intransitive choice seems to parallel that found with the verbal ablative: it may code an active/passive contrast (4-134 vs 4-135) or switch the focus from effect on the object (4-136) to effect on the subject (4-137).

²¹ Many ergative Australian languages express a similar meaning via agreement of the directional NP with a core argument, as in the following Warlpiri sentences (Hale 1982a: 260):

(a) *kurdu-ngku* *ka* *maliki* *ngurra-kurra* *wajilipi-nyi*
 child-ERG PRES dogABS camp-ALL chase-PRES
 ‘The child is chasing the dog to the camp.’

(b) *kurdu-ngku* *ka* *maliki* *ngurra-kurra-rlu* *wajilipi-nyi*
 child-ERG PRES dogABS camp-ALL-ERG chase-PRES
 ‘The child is chasing the dog (all the way) to the camp.’

In (a) the allative NP is not further inflected and is thereby associated with the absolutive object ‘dog’, implying that the dog reached the camp, but not necessarily the child. In (b), on the other hand, the allative NP takes a further ergative inflection and is associated with ‘child’, suggesting that the child reached the camp as well.

Yet another way of expressing this distinction is found in the Caucasian language Lak (Kibrik, 1979), where the locational noun agrees in noun class with the argument whose movement is being stressed.

(4-134) *niya bala-tha kina-waalu-th*
 3sgNOM shoot-ACT hiding-VEVIT-ACT
 'He shot (at us), forcing us out of hiding.'

(4-135) *nga-l-da kina-waal-i-j*
 1-pl-NOM hiding-VEVIT-M-ACT
 'We were forced to come out of hiding.'

(4-136) *yarraman-da nga-ku-rr-a dan-maalu-tha dul-waalu-tha*
 horse-NOM 1-INC-du-NOM this-VEVIT-IMP place-VEVIT-IMP

durrwaa-j!
 chase-IMP

'Let's chase the horse away from this place! (So it goes somewhere else.)'

(4-137) *yarraman-da nga-ku-rr-a dan-maal-i-ja*
 horse-NOM 1-INC-du-NOM this-VEVIT-M-IMP

dul-waal-i-ja durrwaa-j!
 place-VEVIT-M-IMP chase-IMP

'Let's chase the horse away from this place! (So we won't have it in our backyard).'

With the middle form the subject is sometimes stationary rather than moving. Here the meaning is "SUBJ stayed (at LOC), fearing X-VEVIT / to avoid X-VEVIT":

(4-138) *ngada mirmin-maal-i-j, warra-a wirdi-j*
 1sgNOM spark-VEVIT-M-ACT far-NOM stay-ACT
 'I am sitting far (from the fire), fearing the sparks.'

(4-139) *dangka-a wirdi-ja Bardathurr-i walmu-y,*
 person-NOM stay-ACT (place name)-LOC high-LOC

mangara-waal-i-j
 storm-VEVIT-M-ACT

'People stayed high up at Bardathurr, away from the storm.'

The middle form of the Verbal EVITative may also be governed by the verb *yulaa-ja* 'be afraid':

(4-140) *kunawuna yulaa-ja dathin-maal-i-ja dangka-waal-i-j*
 childNOM be afraid-ACT that-VEVIT-M-ACT man-VEVIT-M-ACT
 'The child is afraid of that man.'

Except for its use with *yulaaja*, where it may be replaced by object-like case marking (9.2.4.1), the verbal evitative has no parallel in the normal case system.

4.4.2.6 Verbal Donative case {-wu-ja}. With ditransitive verbs this may replace the “normal” PROPriative case, which can mark the thing transferred (9.2.5):

- (4-141) *ngada ngumban-ji wumburung-kuru kiyarrng-kuru wuu-j*
 1sgNOM 2sg-MLOC spear-PROP two-PROP give-ACT
 “ “ *wumburu-u-ja kiyarr-wu-ja (wuu-ja)*
 spear-VDON-ACT two-VDON-ACT give-ACT
 ‘I gave you two spears.’

It may mark songs, stories etc, that are taught to a listener (OBJECT). See (9-99) and (9-100).

The Verbal Donative case may also mark instruments, again replacing the normal PROPriative case:

- (4-142) *nga-l-da kurdala-tha yakuri-ya mak-u-j / mak-uru*
 1-pl-NOM spear-ACT fish-MLOC torch-VDON-ACT torch-PROP
 ‘We speared fish using a bark torch.’

I have only three examples of this and am unsure of the semantic difference here.

4.4.2.7 Verbal purposive -jani(i)-ja. This derives from the free verb *janija* ‘look for’; like the ORIGIN case *-wa(a)n-* the penultimate vowel is optionally lengthened when prosodic truncation removes the final *a*.

It marks entities which the subject is actively trying to obtain (4-143, 4-144, 4-145) or be with (4-146), or is missing (4-147) or grieving for (4-148):

- (4-143) *ngambura-th, nguku-janii-j*
 dig well-ACT water-VPURP-ACT
 ‘(They) dug a well, trying to get water.’
- (4-144) *niya warra-ja rar-ung-ka mala-janii-j*
 3sgNOM go-ACT south-ALL-NOM beer-VPURP-ACT
 ‘He’s gone south (to Burketown) to get some beer.’
- (4-145) *ngada niwan-jani-ju balmbi-wu dali-ju*
 1sgNOM 3sg-VPURP-POT morrow-MPROP come-POT
 ‘I’ll come for him tomorrow.’

- (4-146) *jina-a nyingka warra-j? jal-janii-j?*
 where-NOM 2sgNOM go-ACT cunt-VPURP-ACT
 ‘Where are you off to? After cunt?’
- (4-147) *ngada ngaka-thu dan-ku ngumban-janii-ju*
 1sgNOM wait-POT here-MPROP 2sg-VPURP
 ‘I will wait here, missing you (while you are away from the island).’
- (4-148) *nal-da barrki-i-ja kajakaja-janii-j.*
 head-NOM gash-M-ACT dad-VPURP-ACT
 ‘(She) is gashing her head out of grief for her (dead) father.’

This is roughly synonymous with the “intentional object” use of the PROPrietary case (9.2.3). Where the subject is moving around seeking the object, either can be used, and I have been unable to find any difference in meaning. With verbs of paying attention, such as ‘listen (for)’, however, only the PROPrietary is possible. The verbal translative (4.4.2.3) may also express a very similar “purpose” meaning, but implies passive waiting on the part of the subject, rather than an active effort to procure the goal²².

4.4.2.8 Other incipient verbal cases. Two other free verbs are on their way to being grammaticalized as further verbal cases, to judge by a couple of examples in which they either show phrasal scope, or combine with closed-class roots that are not usually involved in compounds.

Kanthalatha ‘miss, grieve’ may combine with nominal stems, either retaining its ‘miss’ meaning (4-149), or being bleached to a simple privative (4-150):

- (4-149) *Ngumban-kanthala-thu ngada ra-wu wirti-ju.*
 2sg-miss-POT 1sgNOM south-MPROP stay-POT
 ‘Missing you I will stay in the south (on Bentinck).’
- (4-150) *Kirra thungal-kanthala-th ?*
 2duNOM thing-miss-ACT
 ‘Haven’t you got the thing (dictionary)?’

Wirdija ‘stay, be at’ is sometimes used, in nominalized form, to give characteristic location:

²² Such “purpose” meanings are usually expressed in Yukulta with the normal dative or proprietive. But a few individual lexemes may be compounded with the verb *janija*, as in *warrun-janija* ‘goanna-hunting’, *kambalarri-janija* ‘sugarbag-gathering’ (Yukulta data from my own field notes).

- (4-151) *mardal-wirdi-n-da yar-wirdi-n-da niya Barrindindi*
 mud-stay-N-NOM down-stay-N-NOM 3sgNOM [name]
 ‘Barrindindi dwells underneath the mud.’
- (4-152) *ngada bath-iji-wirdi-n-da natha-wirdi-n-d*
 1sgNOM west-REM-stay-N-NOM camp-stay-N-NOM
 ‘I am staying in the far west camp.’

4.4.3 Verb-like syntactic properties of verbal case

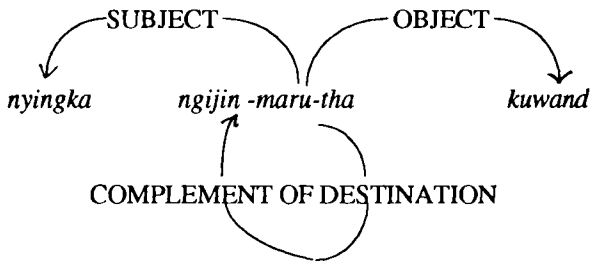
So far I have emphasized the functional resemblance of verbal case to “normal cases”. But they also share several important syntactic properties with verbs.

4.4.3.1 NPs inflected for verbal case used as main verbs. Main verbs are frequently omitted from clauses containing NPs inflected for verbal case (4-109, 4-114, 4-135)²³. A further example is:

- (4-153) (*nyingka*) (*wuu-ja*) *ngijin-maru-tha kuwan-d!*
 (2sgNOM) (give-IMP) 1sg-VD-IMP firestick-NOM
 ‘(You) give me the firestick!’

In such sentences one may treat the verbal case as governing NP arguments in various grammatical functions, shown here by arrows:

(4-154)



The proposition this encodes needs to make reference both to the free NP arguments and to the incorporated²⁴ NP. A rough logical representation

²³ Omission of the main verb is attested with all verbal cases. With the Verbal Dative, however, it is only possible with the transfer of position or transfer of ownership meanings, not with the benefactive meaning.

²⁴ Here I am using “incorporated” in a very general sense, and do not wish to imply that “noun incorporation” of any of the four types described by Mithun (1984) is involved.

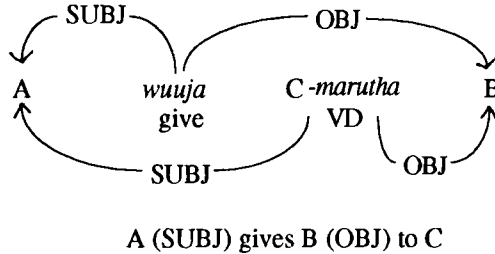
of (4-154) is “SUBJ cause OBJ to move to INCORP” where INCORP is the incorporated NP.

A satisfactory representation of verbal case, then, requires verb-like argument structures, making reference to several (typically three) NP arguments and their grammatical functions. But it must also allow verbal case to distribute over every word in the NP, or, alternatively, to incorporate as a prefix every word in the NP. How this is done will depend on the syntactic theory being used, and I will not go into this question here.

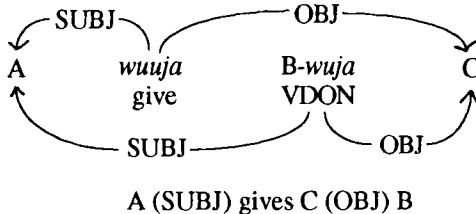
The two alternatives of “distribution” and “incorporation” imply different representations—the former more case-like, the latter more verb-like. Historically the Verbal Allative arose through distribution, the other verbal cases through noun-verb compounding.

4.4.3.2 Non-conflicting grammatical functions. Like co-members of a verbal complex (8.2), main verbs and verbal cases must assign non-conflicting grammatical functions to the core NPs in their clause. In the following clause schemas both main verb and verbal case have the same subject and the same object:

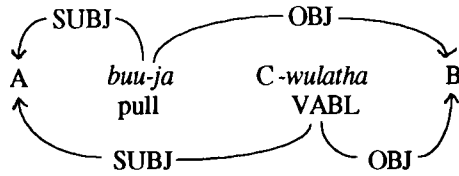
(4-155)



(4-156)

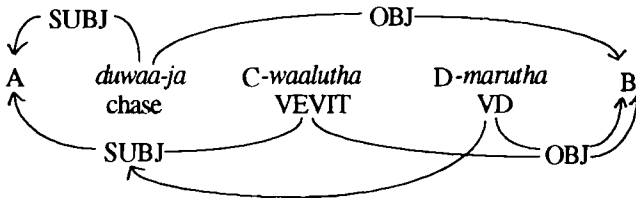


(4-157)



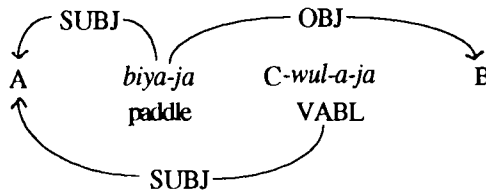
Two verbal cases may be present, provided they and the verb all have the same subject and object:

(4-158)



Note also that the possibility of using the middle form of the verbal case with *-wulatha* and *-waalutha* does not create problems, since intransitive and transitive verbs may combine in verb complexes provided they have the same subject (8.2). Our requirement stipulates only that the relations of each coverb not conflict, not that each coverb must govern the same number of relations.

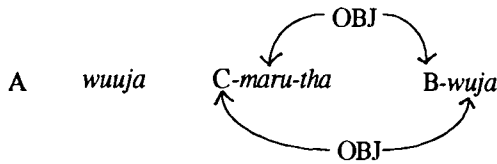
(4-159)



The principle of non-conflicting relation assignment, applied to verbal cases, also accounts for certain co-occurrence restrictions between verbal

cases. *Wuuja*, for example, has two argument frames involving verbal cases (plus others with normal cases—see 9.2.5). It may select the Theme (i.e., the entity transferred) as object, with the verbal dative on the Recipient (4-155), or the Recipient as object, with the verbal donative case on the Theme (4-156). But it may not select both the verbal dative and the verbal donative cases. We can now see why: the verbal dative would select the theme as object and the verbal donative would select the recipient, leading to conflicting assignment of grammatical relations. Ignoring the question of what grammatical relations are assigned by the main verb:

(4-160)



4.4.3.3. Restrictions on argument status. In all my corpus there is not a single example of a NP taking a verbal case being relativized on, or being the pivot in any complex construction. This may be an accidental gap, but more likely it reflects the less-than-full argument status of such constituents.

4.4.4 Discussion

4.4.4.1 Origins. As we have seen, the verbal case system integrates complex verbals of quite different provenance. The allative was formed by deriving an inchoative verb from a nominal inflected for the locative case. Formation of all the other cases involved prefixation of nominals to verbals, but the case relation originally obtaining between the prefixed nominal and the verb varied considerably: proprietive with the verbal purposive and donative cases, ablative with the verbal ablative and evitative, and locative with the verbal dative.

Comparative evidence suggests that the fully-fledged verbal case systems in Kayardild and Lardil have evolved quite recently. Yukulta has two verbal cases, corresponding to the Verbal Ablative and Verbal Evitative in Kayardild. Corresponding to other verbal cases in Kayardild, Yukulta has non-productive patterns of derivation (e.g. *kalarr-i-watha* [open space-LOC-INCH] ‘come out into the open’) or nominal prefixation (with *marlutha* ‘put’ and *janija* ‘look for’). The verbal case systems almost certainly evolved by increasing the productivity of these formations, and by expanding the scope from word to phrase.

Function	Normal case	Verbal Case
Subject	NOMinative	-----
Object	MOD	-----
Location	*LOCative	Incipient use of <i>-wirdija</i>
Direction of Motion	*(ALLative)	V ALLative / V Dative
Source of Motion	*(ABLative)	V ABLative
Instrument	*PROPrictive INSTRumental ASSOCiative	V DONative
Theme (in ditr.)	*PROPrictive	V DONative
Recipient (in ditr.)	*[OBLique]	V Dative
Beneficiary	*(OBLique)	V Dative
Purpose	*PROPrictive UTILitive	V PURPositive V TRANSlative
Temporal Target	UTILitive	V TRANSlative
Demoted Agent	*ABLative *LOCative *OBLique	V ALLative
Cause/Consequence	CONSequential	V EVITative
Possessor	GENitive *ABLative	-----
Having	PROPrictive ASSOCiative	-----
Lacking	PRIVative	Incipient use of <i>-kanthalatha</i>

* marks cases that can be used modally
 () marks moribund uses of a case
 [] marks extinct uses of a case (reconstructable for pT, but no longer found in Kayardild)

Figure 4-5. Case functions expressed by normal and verbal cases

How was the transition made from lexical to phrasal scope? I believe that the “apposition” or “unmerged” analysis of NP structure (6.1) provides an answer. Under this analysis, the words of an NP like ‘the big man’ are not parsed as sister NPs below a common NP node, but as apposed NPs: ‘the big one, the man’. If NPs in proto-Tangkic had this kind of structure, each word of the “unmerged NP” could undergo the word-level process of derivation or compounding, e.g. [big-put man-put] for ‘put to the big one, put to the man’. Later changes in syntax, leading to a more structured “merged” interpretation of the NP, would cause such sequences to be reinterpreted as NPs over which ‘put’ shows concord, rather than apposed compounds.

4.4.4.2 Integration of normal and verbal case systems. Despite their diverse origins, the verbal cases are fully integrated into the Kayardild case system. The main functions of normal and verbal cases are summarized in Figure 4-5.

Semantically, verbal cases are partly complementary and partly parallel to the normal case system. Core syntactic functions are always marked by normal case, as are “static” functions like the LOCative; so are all adnominal functions (which are also static)²⁵. What may be broadly described as “dynamic” functions, involving change over time (e.g. change of location, change of possession) tend to take verbal cases. Some dynamic functions, like the allative, ablative and purposive, take either, but the verbal case is gaining ground.

This may be attributed in part to the inherent suitability of verbs for expressing “dynamic” relationships, and in part to a shift in the functional load of the corresponding normal cases, increasingly used to signal modality or other non-relational functions. It is significant that in Yukulta, where the “normal” cases do not double as modality markers, the role of verbal cases is very limited, whereas in Kayardild, Yangkaal and Lardil, where modal cases have developed, the motion function of normal cases is moribund (as in Kayardild) or has disappeared completely (as in Lardil).

4.4.4.3 Why verbal case? This leads us to the typological question of why verbal case should be unique to the Tangkic languages, languages that are already peculiar in other ways. After all, it has been widely claimed that “semantic cases” and prepositions are predicates (e.g. Becker—Arms (1969), Fillmore (1971)), and verbs are the most natural lexical category for supplying predicates. Verbs with prepositional functions are found in many languages (see 4.4.1.3), but nowhere else,

²⁵ Although the incipient verbal case-like uses of *-wirdija* and *-kanthalatha* would, if extended, begin to encroach on the “static” LOCative and PRIVative functions.

to my knowledge, have they become case-like inflections with phrasal concord.

Although it is difficult to find definite answers to such typological questions, I believe that the co-occurrence of “modal” and “verbal” case in the Tangkic languages is more than coincidence. Firstly, as mentioned above, the evolution of modal case in Kayardild and Lardil greatly increased the functional load of certain normal cases, and would have favoured the development of new ways of expressing their erstwhile primary meaning. For every modal case in Kayardild except the LOCative there has developed a verbal case to express the once-primary “relational” meaning, and even with the LOCative an incipient verbal case is developing.

Secondly, Kayardild and Lardil have, for whatever reason, already developed a system in which tense and mood are signalled on NPs as well as verbs. Verbal case, which signals the full range of verbal categories instead of the six values signalled by modal case, provides an efficient way of doing this (although unlike modal case it cannot be used “independently” (10.1.3) to multiply the number of expressible modalities).

In summary, I believe that the two factors of functional shift and modal marking on NPs favoured the full development of verbal case in Kayardild and Lardil²⁶, and have been sufficient to outweigh the negative factor of high redundancy that is probably responsible for preventing their development elsewhere.

4.5 Number and related suffixes

As mentioned in 4.1, number suffixes are in the same rank as adnominal case inflections, which they may follow or precede depending on their semantic scope: cf. *jingka-wan-jiyarrng-ka* [swamp-ORIG-du-NOM] ‘two from the swamp’ and *jingka-yarr-wan-da* ‘from the two swamps’.

Number suffixes display concord over the whole NP, except where the LOT suffix co-occurs with the quantity nominal *muthaa* ‘many’ (see 4.5.2).

Number marking is optional on Kayardild noun/adjectives (though obligatory on pronouns (5.2.1)), and is only used when the number is being stressed. Generic statements like ‘great food-eaters were the south people’ (12-123), for example, are unmarked for number.

²⁶ But they cannot explain its initial development in proto Tangkic, which remains a mystery.

Included in this section are two other suffixes, the ‘another’ suffix *-yarrath-* and the ‘every’ suffix *-walaTHida* which have semantic affinities with the number suffixes.

4.5.1 Dual *-kiyarrng-*

The initial allomorphy of this suffix parallels the LOCative {-*kiya*}—see 4.2. Informants translate it as ‘two’, just like the free form, and in most situations they are interchangeable and mutually exclusive:

- (4-161) a. *ngijin-da kiyarrng-ka kularrin-da ngumal-d*
 my-NOM two-NOM sister-NOM single-NOM
- b. *ngijin-da kularrin-jiyarrng-ka ngumal-d*
 my-NOM sister-du-NOM single-NOM

(a) and (b): ‘My two sisters are single.’

When the two objects are seen as a pair, as united spatially or functionally, the suffix form is preferred:

- (4-162) *jirma-ja mar-iyarrng-ki*
 lift-ACT hand-du-MLOC
 ‘(I) lifted (the dugong) by its two front flippers.’

Younger speakers use the free form in all contexts.

4.5.2 LOT *-bala(TH)-* ~ *-wala(TH)-*

This is *-balath-* after nasals and *-walath-* elsewhere; it is the only morpheme with this alternation. Like other nominals in stem-final *TH-*, the nominative delaminalizes: *-walad-a*. This may further reduce (irregularly) to *-wala*. *Kunawuna* ‘child’ has the irregular form *kuna-walath-a*, based on the unreduplicated form (not otherwise attested).

LOT is used to designate a “lot”, “mob” or large group: *bithiin-bala* ‘group of men, many men’, *maku-wala* ‘group of women, many women’. Most of my examples involve humans, but a few involve geographical features, as in (4-164); interestingly, none involve animals.

- (4-163) *jina-a ngumban-bala karndi-wala*
 where-NOM your-LOT(NOM) wife-LOT(NOM)
 ‘Where are your wives?’

- (4-164) *mangara kurrka-tha thangkan-ki banki-walany-maru-th*
 stormNOM take-ACT porpoise-MLOC pool-LOT-VD-ACT
 ‘The storm took porpoises up into the pools (behind the dunes).’

Whereas the Dual suffix and the free form ‘two’ are synonymous and mutually exclusive, LOT and the quantifying nominal *mutha-a* ‘many’ are not synonymous, and a given nominal can be modified by both: *mutha-a dangka-wala* ‘a group of many people’. *Mutha-a* here does not take *-walad-*, possibly because both suffix and quantifier have equivalent scope (over the root).

4.5.3 EVERY *-walathij-*

This expresses the sharing of a characteristic by all members of a large group. Whereas *karndi-nurru-walada* [wife-ASSOC-LOT] means ‘a lot of men with wives (and perhaps also some without wives)’, *karndi-nurru-walathida* means ‘a lot of men, all of whom have wives’. *Kurirr-walathida* [dead-EVERY] can be used to refer to a mass of recently killed fish, and *buru-walathida* [cooked-EVERY] describes a group of yams that have all been cooked. In a song recalling a morning spent spearing bonefish, all of which escaped wounded, the singer laments:

- (4-165) *mutha-a, minbarra-walathid... ngada wara-tha mutha-ya*
 many-NOM scar-EVERY 1sgNOM send-ACT many-MLOC
buranthan-ki minbarra-walathij-i
 bonefish-MLOC scar-EVERY-MLOC
 ‘(There were many), all of them scarred I sent many bonefish off, all scarred.’

The suffix is most often used when the shared characteristic is recently acquired, and hence worthy of comment, but this is not a necessary condition: in the following example the assertion of sameness is a rhetorical reminder to a mother being reprimanded for favouring her own children:

- (4-166) *kunawuna-nurru-walathid*
 child-ASSOC-EVERY
 ‘Everyone’s got children (so let’s share the food equally)!’

In all my examples this suffix appears in a nominal predicate rather than an attributive phrase. Accordingly I have no examples with following inflections.

One could analyse this suffix further into ‘LOT’ *-walath-* plus the clitic *-ida* ‘SAME’. But the clitic would then deviate from its normal

postnominal meaning, which is to show persistence of a state (9.7.4.1). It is more likely that, in both, *-ida* derives from the free nominal *niida* ‘the same’, with appropriate semantic specialization in each case.

4.5.4 PLENTY *-wuthin-*

Initial *w* assimilates (regularly) to *m* after nasal-final stems. The final *n* selects palatal-initial following suffixes, like nominals in Declension 6.

This suffix is clearly related to the free form *wuthin-da* ‘lots, plenty’ (4-167), as well as to the reduplicated *wuthin-wuthin-da* ‘thick, dense (of trees)’.

- (4-167) *kala-a-n-marri*, [*wuthin-jinaa-ntha dana-tharra-nth*]COBL
 cut-M-N-PRIV plenty-MABL-COBL leave-PST-COBL
 ‘(The dugong meat) hasn’t been cut up, (they) left plenty (of it).’

Like *-walaTH-*, *-wuthin-* can often be translated as ‘many’, but applies to the entities that eschew *-walaTH-*: animals, plants, implements and meteorological forces²⁷. *Jardi-wuthin-da* [group-PLENTY-NOM] is typically used of a horde of swarming ants, and *warrngal-wuthin-da* [wind-PLENTY-NOM] of a series of gusts of wind.

-wuthin-da may also follow numerals, adding a sense of approximation:

- (4-168) *maarra mirndin-muthin-mirndin-muthin-d, maarra*
 all several-PLENTY-several-PLENTY-NOM all

wumburu-nurru
 spear-ASSOC
 ‘Each (man) is carrying four or five spears.’

4.5.5 ANOTHER *-yarrath-*

This means “another” in the sense of French *encore un* rather than *un autre*, viz. “another token of the same type”: *kakuju-yarrad-a* [uncle-ANOTHER-NOM] ‘(your) other uncle’; *birrjilbirdi-yarrada* ‘another immoral (person)’. Further examples are:

- (4-169) *balmbyarrath-u kada thaa-nangku*
 morrow-ANOTHER-MPROP again return-NEGPO
 ‘He won’t return the day after tomorrow (‘the other tomorrow’) either.’

²⁷ The only time I heard *-wuthin-* applied to humans was when they were seen from a plane, and deliberately compared with ants.

- (4-170) [Discussing types of food obtained from swamps:]
jalkarrangu *diya-a-n-kuru-yarrad,* *nguku-wirdi-n-d*
 crab sp.NOM eat-M-N-PROP-ANOTHER(NOM) water-stay-N-NOM
 ‘The freshwater crab is another edible one, that lives in fresh water.’

To convey the other sense of English “other” (i.e. “different”), the free nominal *jatha-a* is used:

- (4-171) *kamarr* *jatha-a* *wuran-d,* *dangka-kurulu-n-d*
 stonefishNOM other-NOM sort-NOM person-kill-N-NOM
 ‘Now the stone fish is something else again, it’s a deadly one.’

In simple existential clauses the addition of *-yarrath-* conveys the meaning “there are plenty of Xs left yet”:

- (4-172) *kurda-kurda-yarrad!*
 coolamon-REDUP-ANOTHER
 ‘There are coolamons and coolamons of food left yet!’

Note also the idiom *nyinka kada-yarrada* [you again-ANOTHER] ‘are you at it again?’

Chapter 5 Nominals, Part II

In Chapter Four we discussed the nominal case system and the structure of the nominal word. In this chapter we turn to derivation and compounding within the noun/adjective class, as well as the specific properties of pronouns, locationals, manner nominals, time nominals and nominal predicators.

5.1 Word formation in the noun/adjective class

In this section I discuss derivation, compounding and reduplication patterns that affect the noun/adjective class.

5.1.1 Derivational suffixes

5.1.1.1 INDIVIDUALIZER *-(i)n-* . This is *-in-* after consonants, *-n-* after *a* and *i*. The initial *i* of this suffix displaces stem-final *u*, e.g. *bardangu* → *bardang-in-da*. Derived forms join the palatalizing Declension 6 (e.g. *dirrkuli-n-ji* [husband-INDIV-LOC], except for the word *karndi-n-da* ‘female tree’, which does not palatalize: *karndi-n-ki* [female-INDIV-LOC]).

This suffix only occurs on some ten nouns, and the semantics are rather heterogeneous. Often the derived noun means “something that can be thought of as (a) Y”:

<i>bardangu</i> ‘big’	<i>bardang-in-da</i>	‘big toe, thumb’
<i>dirrkuli</i> ‘husband’	<i>dirrkuli-n-da</i>	‘male (tree)’
<i>karndi</i> ‘wife’	<i>karndi-n-da</i>	‘female (tree)’

Note also *kuwa-n-da* ‘firestick’, from *kuwa*, an archaic word for ‘eye’. Speakers drew my attention to this etymology by saying the burning tip of the firestick was like an eye glowing in the dark.

Two names of winds are derived, by this suffix, from fruits characteristically eaten in the season when they blow: *kambuda* ‘pandanus fruit’, *kambuda-n-da* ‘north wind’; *minjirr-a* ‘flesh of pandanus nuts that have been cooked in bushfires’, *minjirr-in-da* ‘cyclone’.

Because of the limited and semantically unpredictable nature of this morpheme, it will not be segmented off in glosses given outside this section.

5.1.1.2 REMote -ij-. This stresses the distance of the named location. Though most common with locationals (5.3.4.7), it sometimes occurs with noun/adjectives:

(5-1) *wambal-ij-i, wambal-i warra-ya wirti-j*
bush-REM-LOC bush-LOC far-LOC stay-ACT
'(They) stayed way off in the bush, in the far bush.'

(5-2) *mibur-ij-i karrngi-ja kuwan-d*
eye-REM-LOC keep-IMP firestick-NOM!
'Keep an eye on the firestick!' (Lit.: 'keep it in your far eye').

5.1.1.3 BORN AT -ngathi. This derives personal birth-place names, through addition to the name of the place where someone was born. Different place-names may be applied to the same individual depending on how precisely the birth-place is being identified: Darwin Moodoonuthi was born at Marrkukinji, in the region known as Murdumurdu, and could be called either Marrkukinjingathi or Murdumurdungathi.

Normally *-ngathi* is added to the citation form of the place name, as in the above examples. However, there are three deviations from this: (a) place names ending in LOCative *-ya* change this to *-yi* before the suffix, e.g. *Thunduya*¹ but *Thunduyingathi*; (b) place names ending in the ABLative drop this before adding the suffix, e.g. *Dawarrinaba* but *Dawarringathi*; (c) place names ending with the NOMinative augment *-da* drop this before adding *-ngathi*: *Bukamanda* but *Bukamanngathi*.

The *-ngathi* names of young Kayardild are now based on where they were spiritually conceived or "presaged" (*ngaarrngija*), presumably because the majority are now born in white hospitals, either on Mornington or in Mount Isa, so that the actual birthplace would have little distinctive value. The place of spiritual conception, on the other hand, has contemporary importance as one means of claiming affiliation to country.

Another contemporary change is the extension of *-ngathi* names to aeroplanes, with the meaning "with its home airport at X", as in *Biringathi* 'the Birri plane' (Birri is a small fishing resort on Mornington Island).

¹ In fact such words are almost always heard without the final /a/, e.g. *Thunduy*, due to the interaction of prosodic truncation with the fact that such names usually occupy their own complete breath group.

These contemporary usages suggest that the primary function of the *-ngathi* suffix is to signal rights to a particular country. Cognate nouns of the form *ngathi* or *ngaji* occur in a number of northern Nyungic languages, e.g. Bilinara *ngaji* ‘father’, suggesting that the construction originated as a compound “X(place)-father”, i.e. “whose father’s country (and hence whose own country) is X”.

Written *-nuthi* and pronounced [naθi] the birth place name has become the white surname of many Kaiadilt, in which case it is transmitted patrilineally and acquired through marriage, just like a European surname. Because these were initially given to the middle generation of arrivals from Bentinck, they have also been extended backwards to their parents. *Murdumurdungathi*, for instance, has become *Moodoonuthi* (pronounced according to English orthographic rules). The latter name, originally given to Darwin as a surname, was extended to his wife May and his mother Edith, even though their birth place names are quite different: *Dangkankurungathi* and *Kuwarajingathi* respectively. In other cases the birth place name without the *-ngathi* is used: Dugal’s Kayardilt birth place name was *Kungarrangathi*, and his European surname *Goongarra*. Kayardilt speakers now regard the two names as quite independent.

5.1.1.4 DYAD *-ngarrba*. Most kin terms can take a suffix *-ngarrba* (formally identical to the CONSequential case) after the stem. The derived term names pairs of people, one of whom calls the other X, and stresses that these two people are acting together². They may be used in reference (5-3) or address (5-4):

(5-3) *kiyarrng-ka=rna yiiwi-j, thabuju-ngarrb*
two-NOM=now sleep-ACT EB-DYAD(NOM)
‘Two are lying (in the sleeping bag) now, two brothers together.’

(5-4) *yakukathu-ngarrba dali-j, nga-ku-l-da warra-j!*
EZ-DYAD(NOM) come-IMP 1-INC-pl-NOM go-IMP
‘You two sisters come on, let’s all go!’

Dyadic kin terms may also be use ironically to emphasize that the referents’ behaviour is not appropriate to their kin relationship (cf. Merlan—Heath 1982):

² Note the difference between this and the Dual {-*kiyarrng-ka*}. *Ngamathu-yarrng-ka* [mother-du-NOM] refers to two people who are both mothers to some other person, whereas *ngamathu-ngarrba* is used of two people, one of whom is mother to the other. In other words, the Dual follows a stem expressing the relation of two people to an outside referent, whereas the DYAD follows a stem expressing a relation within the group.

- (5-5) *jambathu-ngarrba* *karndi-ya* *dun-d*
 cousin-DYAD(NOM) wife-NOM husband-NOM
 'Those two cousins are husband and wife.'

Where the base term is not self-reciprocal, as in (a), the senior term is used (b):

(a)

<i>kangku</i>	FF, FFZ, SCh	<i>kangku-ngarrba</i>	FF(Z) with (B)SCh
<i>kularrin-da</i>	Sibling of opposite sex	<i>kularrin-ngarrba</i>	B with Z.

(b)

<i>yakukathu</i>	EZ	<i>yakukathu-ngarrba</i>	EZ with YZ
<i>thabuju</i>	EB	<i>thabuju-ngarrba</i>	EB with YB
<i>ngamathu</i>	M	<i>ngamathu-ngarrba</i>	M with Ch.

An interesting exception occurs with pairs containing a *kakuju* 'uncle; son-in-law' and a *kardu* 'father-in-law; nephew'. Here whichever term refers to the senior member of the pair serves as the base: *kakujungarrba* 'uncle with nephew'; *kardungarrba* 'father-in-law with son-in-law'. This reflects the "dual focus" of these terms, with neither sense being clearly dominant.

Note that with the terms *karndi-ya* 'wife (male ego), sister-in-law (female ego)' and *dun-da* 'husband (female ego), brother-in-law (male ego)', the derived dyad terms allow only the "in-law" meaning: *karndi-ngarrba* is 'pair who are each other's sisters-in-law' and *dun-ngarba* is 'pair who are each other's brothers-in-law.' 'Husband and wife' can only be translated by *karndiya dunda* (order fixed)³.

There is one dyadic term, using this suffix, which is not based on a kin root: *dul-warniij-uru-ngarrba* [place-one-PROP-DYAD] means 'countryman'. This suggests that the semantics of hosting roots is somewhat wider than kinship, but involves shared relationships more generally.

The formal similarity with the CONSEQUENTIAL may be more than accidental. One semantic rationalization is that the pair behave the way they do *because* they have this kin relationship⁴. A comparative study of

³ One possible reason for this is that there is neither an appropriate reciprocal term (K lacking a word 'spouse') nor a clearly "senior" term, so neither of the regular principles could be employed.

⁴ Almost every ethnography of an Australian Aboriginal society contains ample discussion of how people's kin relationships determine their behaviour together. See, for example, Thomson (1935), Meggitt (1962), and the discussions by Dixon (1971), Haviland (1979b) and Rumsey (1982b) on appropriate speech styles.

the etymology of dyad suffixes throughout Australia would be interesting.

5.1.1.5 AFFECTIONATE -*barda*. This suffix may be added to basic kin terms in address, to “show you really love someone”. Such terms are particularly appropriate in such situations as expressing condolences (5-6) or asking for favours (5-7).

The suffix *-barda* usually follows the regular stem, e.g. *jambathu-bard* ‘cross-cousin-AFFEC’, *duujin-bard* ‘younger brother-AFFEC’. But the two words *kakuju* ‘uncle’ and *thabuju* ‘older brother’ have irregular stems before this suffix: *kakutha-barda* and *thabutha-barda*⁵.

(5-6)	<i>bi-rr-a</i>	<i>kamburi-ja</i>	<i>dandanangan-d:</i>	<i>yakukathu-bard</i>
	3-du-NOM	say-ACT	like this-NOM	older sister-AFFEC
	- <i>ngada</i>	<i>bi-rr-wan-da</i>	<i>yakukathu</i> -	<i>yakukathu-bard</i> ⁱ ,
	1sgNOM	3-du-POSS-NOM	sisterNOM	older sister-AFFEC
	<i>ngakin-da</i>	<i>kardu-wa</i>	<i>kurirr</i>	
	1nsgINC:POSS-NOM	son-NOM	deadNOM	

‘They spoke (to me) like this: dear older sister—I’m their older sister—dear older sister, our son is dead.’

(5-7)	<i>dan-da</i>	<i>kada</i>	<i>wuu-ja</i>	<i>kajakaja-bard</i>
	here-NOM	againNOM	give-IMP	daddy-AFFEC
	‘Give some more here darling daddy!’			

There is one special monomorphemic form in this series: *wangkurdu* may replace *kularrinbard* ‘darling opposite sex sibling’.

5.1.1.6 KIN -*THu*. Most kin terms contain a final segment *-ju* (after high vowels *i* and *u*) or *-thu* (after *a*). Examples are *babiju* ‘father’s mother’, *ngarriju* ‘mother’s mother’, *kakuju* ‘mother’s brother’, *ngathiju* ‘mother’s brother’s son’; *jambathu* ‘mother’s father’, *marrkathu* ‘father’s sister’, *ngamathu* ‘mother’, *kanthathu* ‘father’, *thabuju* ‘elder brother’, *yakukathu* ‘elder sister’, *ngardadathu* ‘daughter-in-law (of female)’, *ngayarndathu* ‘mother’s brother’s daughter’, *ngarrmandathu* ‘son’s child (of female)’.

Synchronically there is practically no evidence for this being a separate suffix: there is no opposition between it and zero or any other suffix. Inflection and derivation always follows *-THu*: *thabujuya* ‘elder

⁵ Speakers disagree on the forms of some of the other kin terms: some suggested forms without *-THu*, e.g. *babi-barda*, *marrka-barda*, while others suggested the full form: *babiju-barda*, *marrkathu-barda*. Forms on the pattern of *thabuju*, with irregular final *-tha* (e.g. *babitha-barda*) were not accepted.

brother-LOC'; *thabujungarrba* 'elder brother-DYAD'. The only evidence comes from its recent analogical extension to one new kin term (see below).

Diachronically, however, there is good evidence that it originated as a suffixed first person possessive pronoun (cf. the Yukulta first person oblique clitic =*thu*). Absorption of first person possessive affixes into kin terms (so that the word "my kin" comes to mean just "kin" and can then be combined with any possessive pronoun) is widespread in Australia—see Koch (1983a). Comparison of Kayardild and Yukulta with Lardil shows that at the level of proto-Tangkic only a few terms bore *-THu*: *kakuju* 'mother's brother', *thabuju* 'older brother' and possibly *jambathu* 'mother's father'; subsequently it has been extended by analogy to other kin terms in Kayardild and Yukulta.

The Lardil evidence for original final *-THu* being limited to a few lexical items is the following: although it is wiped out by apocope in the citation form, it is detectable either in the protected non-nominative stem or dyadic form (cf. *kaku* 'uncle', whose non-nominative stem is *kakuji-* and whose dyadic form is *kakujarrba*) or as the conditioning factor for lowering of the root-final vowel (cf. *jembe* 'mother's father' from **jambathu*⁶). On the other hand, the extent of truncation sometimes provides evidence for the absence of original *-THu*: 'father's father', which is *kangkarliju* in Yukulta and *kangkariju* in Kayardild, is *kangkar* (non-nominative stem *kangkari-*) in Lardil. Had *-THu* been present on this root at the time apocope applied, the nominative form should have been *kangkari* rather than *kangkar*. In all other Lardil kin terms—e.g. *bebi* 'father's mother', *ngama* 'mother', *kantha* 'father', *yakuku* 'elder sister', *merrka* 'father's sister'—there is no evidence for an original *-THu* suffix.

That the process of analogically extending *-THu* through the kinship vocabulary is still ongoing in Kayardild is shown by the recent addition of *-thu* in the term *ngarrmandathu* 'son's child (of woman)'; this constitutes the sole case in which synchronic evidence favours segmentation. The recency of its addition here manifests itself as (a) free variation between *ngarrmanda* and *ngarrmandathu* in the nominative (b) its appearance after the nominative suffix *-da* (c) use of *ngarrman-* as the non-nominative stem, as in *ngarrmanki* 'son's child-LOC'.

⁶ The most likely explanation for the fronting of the second vowel in *jembe* is the following interdental; against this, however, the evidence from the dyadic form *jembeerrba* suggests that either the truncated nominative form was generalized as the stem, or that the proto-Tangkic form lacked *-THu* and that some other explanation should be sought for the lowering of the final vowel

5.1.1.7 OWN -nganji. A number of classificatory kin terms may be made “actual” by the addition of the suffix *nganji* ‘own’. For example *kardu* can be applied to any classificatory father-in-law, while *kardunganji* is limited to the speaker’s actual father-in-law. *-nganji* terms may be used in reference or address.

This suffix is most often heard with *kardu*. When I tried it on other terms, e.g. *marrkathu-nganji* [aunty-OWN] or *kularrin-nganji* [opposite sex sibling-OWN], these were at first accepted, but later my informants had second thoughts. I am therefore unsure whether this suffix can combine with all kin terms. This would fit with the likely origin of this suffix—probably already attached to the kin root *kardu*—as a loan from Yanyuwa and/or Karrwa.

5.1.1.8 BODY PART -ri(i)J-. This suffix occurs in a few derived body part nouns:

<i>ngumu</i>	‘black’	<i>ngumuriida dulka</i>	‘navel’
<i>jungarra</i>	‘big’	<i>jungarrarida</i>	‘large intestine’
<i>waldarra</i>	‘moon’	<i>waldarrari(i)da</i>	‘caecum of dugong’

In Yukulta the cognate suffix *-(r)lid-* occurs in a number of words; Keen (1983) glosses it sometimes as ‘side’, e.g. *thaku-rlid-a* [left.hand-side-NOM] ‘left hand side, left’, and sometimes as ‘nominalizer’, e.g. *kangka-lid-a* [language-NMZR-NOM] ‘language’. It is likely that the ‘CONTINUOUS’ suffix on cardinal locationals in Kayardild (5.3.4.6) is etymologically related.

5.1.2 Compound-like derivations

The following derivational suffixes are transparently derived from compounding with free forms. Note that the vowel lengthening found in the nominative of disyllabic vowel-final free forms disappears in the compounds, e.g. *mirra-a* ‘good-NOM’, *birdi-mirra* ‘bad-INTENS’.

5.1.2.1 INTENSifier -mirra. As mentioned above, this derives from the free form *mirra-a* ‘good’. Bound *-mirra* indicates the possession of a quality to an exceptional degree, as in *kunya-mirra* ‘very small’. With object-prefixed agentive nominalizations (5-8) it adds the meaning ‘a great, a champion’:

(5-8)	<i>niya</i>	<i>banga-durrwa-n-mirra-∅</i>	<i>dangka-a</i>
	3sgNOM	turtle-chase-N-INTENS-NOM	man-NOM
	‘He is a champion turtle-chaser.’		

With nominals denoting groups it increases the number: *ngurrnga-mirra* [mob-INTENS] ‘really big mob’.

Hyper-intensives are formed by sandwiching *-mirr-* between two tokens of the nominal:

- (5-9) *mutha-mirra-mutha-a* *dangka-a*
 many-INTENS-many-NOM person-NOM
 ‘lots and lots of people.’
- (5-10) *bijarrba-diya-a-n-mirra-bijarrba-diya-a-n-d*
 dugong-eat-M-N-INTENS-dugong-eat-M-N-NOM
 ‘a place where lots and lots of dugong can be eaten’
 (see 11.2.3 on locational nominalizations)

A suffix *-mirra* occurs as a nominal intensifier in Karrwa and Wanyi (Breen to appear). Given that it can be transparently derived from the free form ‘good’ in Tangkic, but has no corresponding free form in Karrwan, it is probably a loan from a Tangkic language (probably Yukulta) into Karrwa and Wanyi.

5.1.2.2 SMALL -*kunya*. (Cf. *kunya-a* ‘small’). This usually derives nouns commenting on the small size of a body part: *mun-kunya* [arse-SMALL] ‘short-arsed’; *munirr-kunya* [breast-SMALL] ‘small-breasted’. But it may also modify other nouns, as in *mala-kunya* [sea-SMALL] ‘low tide’:

- (5-11) *ngada* *mala-kunya-na* *thaa-tharr*
 1sgNOM sea-SMALL-MABL return-PST
 ‘I came back at low tide.’

5.1.2.3 ABUNDANT -*mutha*. (Cf. *mutha-a* ‘big’). This derives nominals designating a place where a particular food-source is abundant. Allen Island is *warrun-mutha* [goanna-ABUNDANT] and also:

- (5-12) *mirra-a* *dulk,* *banga-muth*
 good-NOM placeNOM turtle-ABUNDANT(NOM)
 ‘Good country, with lots of turtles.’

A somewhat different sense occurred when on one occasion I heard a woman, married many times, describe herself as *dangka-mutha* [man/husband-ABUNDANT]. When based on the more general sense of *dangkaa*, namely ‘human being’, *dangkamutha* can also mean ‘populated place’.

5.1.2.4 EXcessive -*muthan-*. This could be segmented into *-mutha-* plus INDIVIDUALIZER *-n-*; like the latter it derives Declension 6 nominals. There is a difference in meaning, however: *-mutha-* is always

favourable and *-muthan-* generally unfavourable. So I will treat the two as distinct suffixes.

-muthan- derives deprecatory or humorous expressions of excess, always with human referents. The exact meaning depends on the nominal base:

- (a) ‘person indulging in too much X’,
- (b) ‘person having too much X’,
- (c) ‘person using their X too much’,
- (d) ‘person spending too much time with X’.

The derived meaning depends to some extent on the semantic type of the base, so that meaning (a) is produced with action nouns like *rik-* ‘crying’ and nominalized verbs, (b) and (c) with body part nouns, and (d) with human nouns.

(a)	<i>ka-muthan-da</i>	speech-XS-NOM	‘chatterbox’
	<i>ri-muthan-da</i>	cry-XS-NOM	‘crybaby’
	<i>mibul-muthan-da</i>	sleep-XS-NOM	‘sleepyhead’
	<i>kulu-yii-n-muthan-da</i>	scratch-M-N-XS-NOM	‘person always scratching themselves’
	<i>dukurr-kali-n-muthan-da</i>	sperm-jump-N-XS-NOM	‘person who is always ejaculating’
(b)	<i>kubul-muthan-da</i>	body hair-XS-NOM	‘hairy person’
(c)	<i>mibur-muthan-da</i>	eye-XS-NOM	‘lecher; brazen woman’ (MIE ‘big eye’)
(d)	<i>karndi-muthan-da</i>	wife-XS-NOM	‘Casanova, playboy’
	<i>maku-muthan-da</i>	woman-XS-NOM	

5.1.2.5 LADEN-*thalkuru* . This has not been attested as a genuine free form, although it does occur in the idiomatic dual *thalkuru-yarrng-ka* [laden-du-NOM] ‘mating turtles (one on top of the other)’. It may ultimately derive from *thali* ‘heavy’ plus PROPrietary *-kuru* .

As a derivational suffix it expresses the idea of being “fully loaded with X” (5-13); “overburdened with X”, as when a turtle carrying a man is described as *dangka-thalkuru* [man-~] ; “covered with X”, as when the tip of a fighting spear is *wanku-thalkuru* [stingray-~] ‘covered with stingray barbs’; “wrapped in X”, as when initiatory stingray pins are *kurda-thalkuru* [paperbark-~] ‘thoroughly wrapped in paperbark’; or “riddled with X”, as when Moon, after a treacherous attack, disappears into the ground *kurrumbu-thalkuru-da* [spear-LADEN-SAME] ‘still riddled with spears’.

- (5-13) *budubudu warra-ja dangka-thalkuru*
 boatNOM go-ACT person-LADEN(NOM)
 'The boat sailed off fully loaded with people.'

5.1.2.6 ORPHAN -kurirra. The addition of this suffix to kin terms derives "orphan" or "bereavement" terms, used in reference or address, and meaning "one whose X has recently died". The suffix is identical to the adjective *kurirra* 'dead'. Examples are *kangkku-kurirr* 'one whose father's father has recently died', and *kambin-kurirr* 'one whose child has recently died'. There are special monomorphemic terms for three categories of kin most affected by loss: *kuwariwari* "'orphan", one who has recently lost a parent'; *marirr*, 'widow(er), one who has recently lost a spouse' and *burjululu* 'one who has recently lost a sibling'; these replace the expected terms in *-kurirra*.

5.1.3 Nominal compounding

Nominal compounding is extremely productive in Kayardild, and only a sketchy account is possible here. Most are exocentric *bahuvrihi* compounds: a compound X-Y typically has the meaning "a person/thing whose X is Y".

5.1.3.1 Order of elements. Bahuvrihi compounds are made up of a head followed by a modifier, e.g. *nguku-birdi* [water-bad] 'place having bad water', *kirr-maku* [face-woman] 'effeminate looking man'. Note that although the modifier is usually a "qualifying nominal" (6.3.3), it may also be the name of an entity when a "part-whole" construction would be appropriate, e.g. *maku-wa kirrk-a* [woman-NOM face-NOM] 'woman's face'. The head-modifier order found in such compounds is the opposite of that found in normal NPs.

A few compounds are made up of a nominal predicator and its object. Here, as with normal prefixed-object constructions, the object precedes the predicator, e.g. *dabarr-mungurru* [tree-knowing] 'tree expert, child who keeps climbing trees'.

5.1.3.2 Some examples. There appears to be no limit on what nominals can be compounded. Some words, however, are particularly common as the second elements of compounds:

Birdi 'bad', as in *kamarr-birdi* [rock-bad] 'treacherous reef', *birrijil-birdi* [custom-bad] 'immoral', and *nguku-birdi* (see above).

Dami 'blunt', can be compounded with a number of body-part terms to give the names of emotions or of somatic manifestations of telepathy

felt in the particular body-part, e.g. *birrmu-rdami*⁷ [sternum-blunt] ‘be telepathically aware (of someone’s death)’, *kurndu-rdami* [chest-blunt] ‘sad’.

Mungurru ‘knowing, expert’, as in *mala-mungurru* [beer-expert] ‘alcoholic’; *mibul-mungurru* [sleep-expert] ‘sleepyhead’; *katha-mungurru* [bed-expert], used of a dog that always found its way into people’s beds, and *kunawuna-mungurru* [child-expert] ‘couple who can’t stop procreating’.

5.1.3.3 Use of compounds to feed NPs into lexical derivations. As mentioned in Chapter 3, a clear distinction can be made in Kayardild between inflection, which has phrasal scope and phrasal concord, and derivation, which has lexical scope (and no concord).

To repeat an example given there, the INCHOative suffix *-wa-tha*, deriving verbs of becoming from nouns, can apply to a single nominal word like *murndundun-kuru* [maggott-PROP], giving *murndundun-kuru-watha* ‘become full of maggotts’, but not to a phrase like *jungarra-wuru murndundun-kuru* ‘full of big maggotts’; to express this, a copula plus nominal predicate construction must be used (9.1.8).

The same goes for nominal-nominal derivational suffixes, and even derivational uses of case suffixes. The PROPriative, for example, can be used adnominally to express “having”, in which case it has phrasal scope and concord: *jangka-wuru maku-wuru* [other-(ADN)PROP woman-(ADN)PROP] ‘having another woman’. As we saw in 4.3.5, it may also be used derivationally, yielding nouns of “characteristic having”, like *daman-kuru* [tooth-(DER)PROP] ‘old man dugong’. But in this derivational “characteristic having” use it cannot apply to whole NPs.

The prefixation of objects to nominalized verbs (11.2.1) likewise operates with words, not phrases. Thus we can prefix the word *banga* ‘turtle’ to the agentive nominalization *raa-n-da* [spear-N-NOM] ‘spearer’, giving *banga-raa-n-da* ‘turtle spearer’. But we cannot prefix each member of a NP in this way: *mutha-raa-n-da banga-raa-n-da* ‘?many-spearer turtle-spearer’ is unacceptable⁸.

In all these situations the ban can be dodged by first turning the NP into a single word by compounding, then feeding the compound into the word-level processes of nominal-nominal or nominal-verbal derivation, or nominal prefixation, as in the following examples.

⁷ In the present orthography the retroflexion symbol *r*, omitted from initial occlusives, is included in compounds.

⁸ While this restriction holds for most types of multi-word NP, it is relaxed with part-whole and generic-specific constructions, so that formations like ‘man-eater blood-eater’ and ‘cartilaginous fish-spearer shark-spearer’ are possible. See 6.3.4 and 6.3.5.

- (5-14) NP → Compound nominal → Inchoative verb
birdi-ya nal-da nal-birdi nal-birdi-wa-tha
 bad-NOM head-NOM head-bad-INCH-ACT
 ‘bad (in the) head’ ‘mad, crazy’ ‘become drunk, mad’
- (5-15) NP → Compound nominal → Compound
 + Derivation
birdi-ya ngunguk-a ngungu-birdi ngungu-birdi-wuru
 bad-NOM story-NOM story-bad-PROP
 ‘bad story’ ‘scandal’ ‘scandalmonger’

Note also the word *dul-warniij-uru-ngarrba* [place-one-PROP-DYAD] ‘countryman’, where a compound noun feeds two successive nominal-nominal derivations.

The construction N_1 - N_2 -PROP need not mean “having an N_1 that is N_2 ”. It can also mean “having an N_2 on/in its N_1 ”, as in *tharda-wanka-wuru* ‘shoulder-branch-PROP’ ‘having branches on its shoulders (airplane)’, or *wara-dangka-wuru* [mouth-man-PROP] ‘having a man in his mouth (Kajurku)’.

- (5-16) NP → Compound → Nominal prefix to agentive nominalization
mutha-a wuran-da [wuran-mutha-] wuran-mutha-raa-n-da
 much-NOM food-NOM food-much-spear-N-NOM
 ‘a lot of food’ ‘spearer of lots of food’

5.1.3.4 Compounds with *minyi* ‘like a’. *Minyi* ‘toward; thus’ is usually a preverbal particle indicating that a trajectory is nearing its endpoint (8.1.5) or a sentence particle introducing the conclusion of a story (9.7.2.6). There is also a noun *minyi* meaning ‘kind; colour’; this may follow nominals with a semblative meaning: *dangkaa minyi* ‘like a man’.

There are a number of compound nominals with *minyi* as first element. These, too, have a semblative meaning, although the point of resemblance is not always clear to Europeans: compare *minyi-ngarnala* ‘witchetty grub’ and *ngarnala* ‘white cockatoo’ (both are white), *minyi-kandungka* ‘praying mantis’ and *kandungka* ‘jabiru’ (both are long with thin folding legs).

Highly abusive expressions can be formed on this pattern, using the kin term of a close relative, e.g. *nyinka minyi-ngamathu* ‘you are like your mother’. This expression manages to insult both the addressee and the relative concerned, the implication being that both share various unspeakable qualities. It is interesting that such abuse is reported using a compound verb comprising the kin term plus *-marutha* ‘put’: the curse

just given would be reported as *niya ngamathu-marutha ngijinji* ‘he mother-put me; he insulted me by comparing me to my mother’. The spatial metaphor begun by using *minyi* ‘towards’ as a semblative is thus preserved in the reported speech act by using the transfer verb ‘put’.

5.1.4 Nominal reduplication

On the morphophonology of reduplication, see 2.5.7. Nominal reduplication has five main functions:

5.1.4.1 Nonce reduplications. Many nominals are formally reduplications, but lack unreduplicated equivalents. Examples are the words *rukaruka* ‘cumulustratus cloud’ and *buyilbuyilka* ‘large shovel-nosed stingray’: there are no unreduplicated correspondents **ruka* or **buyilka*.

5.1.4.2 Entity having quality. Some reduplications derive the names of entities characteristically having some quality named by the unreduplicated form:

<i>marrkada</i>	‘soft’	<i>marrkany-marrkada</i>	‘soft swamp weed used for swaddling newborns’
<i>balarr-a</i>	‘white’	<i>balarr-walarr-a</i>	‘white of egg’
<i>bardiwuru</i>	‘whiskery’	<i>bardiwuru-bardiwuru</i>	‘old man’

5.1.4.3 Quality exemplified by entity. This is the reverse of 5.1.4.2, and considerably more common. Examples are:

<i>kandu</i>	‘blood’	<i>kandu-kandu</i>	‘red’
<i>jilangan-da</i>	‘hand-axe’	<i>jilangan-jilangan-da</i>	‘sharp’
<i>kurndungkal-da</i>			‘multi-coloured mudstone’
<i>kurndungkal-kurndungkal-da</i>			‘bright, multi-coloured’

I have two examples where manner nominals are derived, with fairly idiosyncratic semantic changes:

<i>junku</i>	‘straight’	<i>junku-yunku</i>	‘in return, in retaliation’
<i>murruku</i>	‘woomera’	<i>murruku-murruku</i>	‘bellicose, with hostile intent’

5.1.4.4 Number. Some nominals may be reduplicated to indicate plurality: *marngan-da* ‘prepubescent girl’, *marngan-marngan-da* ‘many prepubescent girls’; *kurda-a* ‘coolamon’, *kurda-kurda-a* ‘many coolamons’.

Note also *kunya-wunya* ‘a few’ from *kunya-a* ‘small’, and the nonce reduplication *kurraji-wurraji* ‘a measly, inadequate amount’.

5.1.4.5 Plurality of actors (manner nominals). Nominals functioning as second predicates of manner (including nominalized verbs and inherent manner nominals) can be reduplicated to show that many actors perform the same action:

- (5-17) *warra-ja ngarn-ki, wakiri-n-wakiri-n-d*
 go-ACT beach-LOC carry coolamon-N-carry coolamon-N-NOM
 ‘(They) went along the beach carrying coolamons.’

Reduplication is also possible with manner nominals serving as object complements:

- (5-18) *ngada kurri-jarra bi-l-wan-jina*
 1sgNOM see-PST 3-pl-POSS-MABL

rar-i-lar-ii-jina
 south-CONT-south-CONT-MABL

 ‘I saw them all heading ever southward.’
 (See 5.3.4.6 for discussion of the compass manner nominal *rariida*.)

5.2 Pronouns

Kayardild has a rich set of free form pronouns, distinguishing person (first person exclusive and inclusive, second, and third) and number (singular, dual and plural). Apart from minor differences (5.2.2), the pronominal case system is identical to that of other nominal subclasses. There are no bound pronouns in Kayardild, unless one counts the slightly contracted 3sg form *ni* (cf. the full form *niya*) sometimes placed after the verb in narrative (3.2.1). The issue of whether proto-Tangkic had bound pronouns is discussed in 10.4.3.

Pronouns are mainly used with human referents, but also with other animates (e.g. dugong in 5-92 and fish in 11-40), and with places when these are seen as personifications of mythical beings (Text 4, Line 18). Elsewhere demonstratives are used (5.3.2.2).

5.2.1 Stem forms

At most three stem variants occur: nominative, possessive pronoun, and “subject oblique”. The “subject oblique” form is limited to the

pronominal subjects of clauses complementized with the OBLique case (12.1.1). The first inclusive has an alternative non-singular form *ngakin-da* with a simplified stem. First person inclusive forms of the subject oblique do not occur, since clauses with first inclusive subjects select the complementizing locative (12.1.4).

All other case suffixes are added to the possessive pronoun stem (all Declension 6). The 1sg possessive pronoun stem, for example, is *ngijin-da*; from this we obtain the first singular LOCative *ngijin-ji(ya)*, the first singular PROPrietary *ngijin-ju(ru)*, the first singular verbal dative *ngijin-marutha*, and so on.

Person/ Number	Nominative	Possessive Pronoun	Subject Oblique
1 sg du plu	<i>ngada</i> <i>nga-rr-a</i> <i>nga-l-da</i>	<i>ngijin-da</i> <i>nga-rr(a)-wan-da</i> <i>nga-l(a)-wan-da</i>	<i>ngijuwa</i> <i>nga-rr(a)-wa</i> <i>nga-la-wa</i>
12 du plu (non-sg)	<i>nga-ku-rr-a</i> <i>nga-ku-l-da</i>	<i>nga-ku-rr-wan-da</i> <i>nga-ku-l(u)-wan-da</i> <i>nga-kin-da</i>	--- --- ---
2 sg du plu	<i>nyingka</i> <i>ki-rr-a</i> <i>ki-l-da</i>	<i>ngumban-da</i> <i>ki-rr-wan-da</i> <i>ki-l(u)-wan-da</i>	<i>ngumbaa</i> <i>ki-rr-waa</i> <i>ki-lu-wa</i>
3 sg du plu	<i>niya</i> <i>bi-rr-a</i> <i>bi-l-da</i>	<i>ni-wan-da</i> <i>bi-rr-wan-da</i> <i>bi-l(u)-wan-da</i>	<i>ni-waa</i> <i>bi-rr-waa</i> <i>bi-lu-wa</i>

Figure 5-1. Pronoun stems

The three stem variants for the pronoun series are shown in Figure 5-1. The number 1 indicates first person exclusive, and 12 first person inclusive (i.e. including speaker and hearer). Bracketed epenthetic vowels are optional, except that where the pronoun is breath-group final the epenthetic vowel of the 1st dual Subject OBLique is obligatory, supporting the final *w* left by prosodic truncation: *ngarraw*.

Apart from slight changes in the distribution of epenthetic vowels, these are identical to the Yukulta forms and, we may assume, to the proto Tangkic forms, except that the first non-singular exclusive root is likely

to have been *nya-*, as in Lardil, and to have been analogically reshaped to *nga-* in the South Wellesley languages.

Yangkaal pronouns are also virtually identical, except that the 1st and 2nd nominative singular have the extra forms *nganha* (besides *ngada*) and *nyiwa* (besides *nyingka*). The use of these forms is unclear. They may have been emphatic forms deriving from incorporation of an erstwhile emphatic clitic **-ma* into the singular stems: 1sg *nganha* (Yangkaal) < *nganh-ma* (Yukulta + stative clitic) < 1sg *ngaTH-* plus emphatic *-ma*, 2sg *nyiwa* (< 2sg *nyi(ng)-* plus emphatic *ma*, with irregular lenition of the nasal). Lardil pronouns have undergone a number of phonological changes, and have innovated a “harmonic” vs “disharmonic” distinction in non-singular pronouns (see Hale 1966).

5.2.1.1 Analysis of stems. Temporarily leaving aside the non-singular forms, the nominative and possessive pronoun forms can be neatly segmented as follows:

Person	Inclusion	Number	Possessive stem
1 <i>nga-</i>	<i>-ku-</i>	Dual <i>-rr-</i> Plural <i>-l-</i>	<i>-wan-</i> (<i>--umban-</i>)
2 <i>ki-</i>			
3 <i>bi-</i>			

The possessive pronoun formative *-wan-*, with irregular *-(u)mban-* in the second singular *ngumban-*, is clearly cognate with the ORIGIN case, with its parallel irregular alternation between *-wan-* with noun/adjectives and *-umban-* with compass locationals (the source of 1sg *-(i)jin-* is a mystery). It is likely that in pT *-mban-/wan-* was the possessive case form, and that semantic specialization has in the modern languages split this into a possessive pronoun formative with pronominals, and a distinct ORIGIN case elsewhere; certainly in K they can no longer be treated as one suffix.

Most “subject oblique” forms add *-waa* (after consonants or monosyllables) or *-wa* (after vowel-final disyllables) to the possessive pronoun stem, minus the *-wan-* formative. Alternatively, they can be derived by deleting *n* from the possessive stem). Epenthetic vowels that are optional in the possessive pronoun forms are obligatory in the subject oblique:

2 sg	<i>kirr-wan-da</i>	<i>kirr-waa</i>
3 sg	<i>ni-wan-da</i>	<i>ni-waa</i>
2 plu	<i>kil(u)-wan-da</i>	<i>kilu-wa</i>

Subject oblique forms in K are cognate with *dative* forms in Yukulta⁹ and probably proto Tangkic, as in the Yukulta sentence:

- (5-19) *nguku-wa* *kirla-ka=thu* *ngijuwa*
 Y water-ABS fetch-IMP=1sgOBL 1sgDAT
 ‘Get some water for me!’

The Yukulta dative forms were presumably also used for the subjects of clauses complementized with the dative case (12.6.1). This would have given rise to the Kayardild “subject oblique” use, which is the only place these forms still appear in modern K.

For other OBLIQUE functions the pT dative has been replaced in modern K by the OBLIQUE suffixed to the *possessive pronoun stem*, as in:

- (5-20) *dathin-a* *wanku* *baa-nyarra* *ngijin-inj*
 that-NOM sharkNOM bite-APPR 1sgPOSS-MOBL
 ‘That shark might bite me.’

5.2.2 Special characteristics of pronominal case

In most respects, case use with pronominals is indistinguishable from that with other nominals. Two differences are discussed in this section: the use of possessive pronouns to show possession of all types, and the formal identity (outside the NOMinative) of possessives and ordinary pronouns. Two other important differences are discussed elsewhere: the optional use of the LOCative case with pronominal objects of imperatives (3.4.3), and the unusual case forms of pronominal subjects in complementized clauses (12.1.1).

5.2.2.1 Possessive pronouns. These are used for all types of possession. The three-way distinction maintained with noun/adjectives between the ablative (possession through inheritance or manufacture), the apposed noun construction (inalienable possession) and the genitive (the unmarked case) is neutralized, with possessive pronouns being used for all types:

- (5-21) *ngamathu-na* *wunkurr* *ni-wan-da* *wunkurr*
 mother-ABL grass shelterNOM 3sg-POSS-NOM shelterNOM
 ‘Mother’s grass shelter (that she made)’ ‘Her grass shelter (that she made)’

⁹ My gloss ‘DATive’ here corresponds to Keen’s ‘benefactive’. See Appendix B for justification.

- (5-28) *ngada* *kurri-ja* *bi-l-wan-ji* *ngamathu-y*
 1sgNOM see-ACT 3-pl-POSS-MLOC mother-MLOC
 'I saw their mother.'

Given the possibility in Kayardild of conjoining nominals by simple apposition (6.5), e.g. *maku-wa bithiin-da* [woman-NOM man-NOM] 'women and men', and of representing groups by a "set" pronoun and a "subset" nominal (e.g. *bilda ngamathu* 'they (including mother)') one would expect this formal neutralization to lead to ambiguity: could not *bilwanji ngamathuya* in (5-28), for example, mean either 'their mother' or 'them, including mother'? Kayardild speakers, however, do not consider this ambiguous, accepting only the possessive meaning. Where ambiguity would arise, the set-subset construction is not used, and the ASSOCIative of accompaniment is used in its stead:

- (5-29) *ngada* *kurri-ja* *bi-l-wan-ji* *ngamathu-nurru-y*
 1sgNOM see-ACT 3-pl-POSS-MLOC mother-ASSOC-MLOC
 'I saw them, including mother.'

5.3 Locationals

5.3.1 Introduction

The locational subclass includes three types of inherently locative words:

- (a) the demonstratives *dathin-a* 'there, that' and *dan-da* 'here, this'. A third demonstrative, *nganikin-da* 'that, beyond the field of vision' is rarely used.
- (b) The four compass locationals *jirrkara* 'north', *rara* 'south', *riya* 'east' and *bada* 'west', plus a rich set of derivatives.
- (c) A number of positionals, including *marrwa-a* 'near, nearby', *kukurdu* 'close', *kurangkuru* and *warra-a* 'far; far away', *walmu* 'on top of; up high'; *walmathi* 'high'; *ngaruwarra* 'between'; *yurda-a* 'inside'; *dulkalarri* 'outside'; *yuthiji* 'in front of', *bud-a* 'behind (in a line)', *jardi-ya* 'behind', *kirnkirn-da* 'overhead'; *nal-iya* 'on top of' [lit. head-LOC]; *dulkida* 'low off the ground'; and *yark-a* 'underneath'.

Demonstratives are always deictic; compass locationals and positionals are deictic in certain constructions. Thus expressions like 'your east father in law' or 'a near(by) house' assume some *origo* or deictic anchoring point (Levinson 1986), since we must answer the question "east from where?" or "near to where?". Typically the *origo* is the scene of the speech act (i.e. east from, or near to, where we are now) but it may alternatively be a "standard reference location" (east from / near to where you habitually live) or a deictic centre given by the discourse (east

from where the character was at that point of the discourse). In most relevant constructions it is possible to make the *origo* explicit through phrases like ‘on east side of *me*’, or ‘near *the cliff*’.

In certain other constructions, such as the “heading continuously Xward” derivative (5.3.4.6), or the “X end of entity” derivative (5.3.4.8), the *origo* is not variable in this way, since the reference point is given by the construction as the current location of the moving object (in the case of “heading Xward”) or the space occupied by the entity (in the case of “X end of entity”).

All locationals can function as adjuncts of location. Since location is inherent in their meaning, they do not ordinarily inflect for the relational LOCative taken by other nominals (e.g. ‘beach’), but appear in the nominative in instantiated (a) and zero (b) modalities.

(5-30)	(a)	<i>ngada</i>	<i>wirdi-ja</i>	<i>dan-d</i>	(b)	<i>wirdi-ja</i>	<i>dan-d!</i>
		1sgNOM	stay-ACT	here-NOM		stay-IMP	here-NOM
		“	“	<i>bad</i>		“	<i>bad!</i>
				westNOM			
		“	“	<i>warra-a</i>		“	<i>warra-a!</i>
				far-NOM			
		“	“	<i>yurda-a</i>		“	<i>yurda-a!</i>
				inside-NOM			
		“	“	<i>ngarn-ki</i>		“	<i>ngarn-ki!</i>
				beach-LOC			

(a) ‘I am here / in the west / far off / inside / on the beach.’

(b) ‘Stay here / in the west / far off / inside / on the beach!’

(5-31)	<i>dii-ja</i>	<i>rar,</i>	<i>rara</i>	<i>thula-th</i>
	sit-ACT	southNOM	southNOM	descend-ACT
	‘He sat down in the south, in the south he went down.’			

(5-32)	<i>Kanduwadangkaa</i>	<i>marrwawuthun-da</i>	<i>dulk</i>
	(place name)	ghost-NOM	placeNOM
	<i>dathin-a</i>	<i>barrki-i-nangku,</i>	<i>buthuraa-nangku dan-ku,</i>
	there-NOM	chop-M-NEGPOT	sleep-NEGPOT here-MPROP
	<i>nganikin-da</i>	<i>barrki-ja</i>	<i>jirrkar</i>
	yonder-NOM	chop-IMP	northNOM

‘Kanduwadangkaa is ghost country. (Wood) mustn’t be chopped, (one) mustn’t sleep there. Chop (wood) way up north (of there)!’

- (5-33) *warra-a ngijin-da kularrin-d*
 far-NOM my-NOM brother-NOM
 'Far off is my brother.'

The lack of locative marking in such constructions is my criterion for grouping these lexemes together in a special "locational" subclass¹¹. In addition, special derivational possibilities are available to distance and compass locationals.

Outside imperative, nominalized and instantiated clauses, locationals inflect normally for modal case. (This parallels the noun/adjective pattern: in non-zero and instantiated modalities, locationals take the NOMinative and other nominals the LOCative; in other modalities, all subclasses take modal case alone).

- (5-34) *ngada wiridi-ju dan-ku / bath-u / ngarn-ku*
 1sgNOM stay-POT here-MPROP west-MPROP beach-MPROP
 'I will stay here / in the west / on the beach.'

- (5-35) *dathin-ku ri-wu dii-ju yakuri-y*
 there-MPROP east-MPROP sit-POT fish-NOM
 'The fish will sit down (be trapped) there in the east.'

Locationals may also take other spatial cases, normal or verbal (e.g. 5-37, 5-38), spatially-related adnominal cases like the ORIGIN (5-36)¹² and the "instrument of place" use of the instrumental (5-72):

- (5-36) *nga-la-wan-ji dangka-ya kurrka-th, jatha-ya dangka-y,*
 1-pl-POSS-MLOC man-MLOC take-ACT other-MLOC man-MLOC
dathin-man-ji dangka-y, dul-marra-ya dangka-y
 there-ORIG-MLOC man-MLOC place-UTIL-MLOC man-MLOC

'They took our man, another man, the one from there, the custodian of that place.'

- (5-37) *walmathi-maru-tha darrbuu-j, ban-maru-th*
 up-VD-ACT drag-ACT west-VD-ACT
 'They're dragging it up, to the west.'

- (5-38) *mala-a durldi-j, dathin-mula-a-j*
 sea-NOM murky-ACT there-VABL-M-ACT
 'The sea was foaming, so they went away from there.'

¹¹ We shall see, however, that under various conditions the LOCative case can appear: (a) when showing agreement with a LOCative-marked head (b) when functioning as discourse determiners (c) in certain kinds of "space relational" use.

¹² Compass locationals have special ORIGIN and ALLative forms, discussed in 5.3.3.

And with those motion verbs which code locations as objects (*warraja* ‘go to’, *jawija* ‘run to’, *diija* ‘sit on’ etc.), distance locationals take a locative (5-39, 5-40), which is a modal case marking the object (3.4.3).

(5-39) *kiyarrng-ka waydbala dathin-ki warra-j*
 two-NOM white man there-MLOC go-ACT
 ‘Two white men went to that place.’

(5-40) *dathin-ki bal-ung-ki jawi-j*
 there-MLOC west-ALL-MLOC run-ACT
 ‘(He) ran to there in the west.’

5.3.2 Functions of locationals

The local adjunct function just discussed is only one of four possible functions carried out by locationals. The others are:

(a) SPATIAL DETERMINERS, which use spatial information to restrict the reference of their heads. The demonstrative and compass locationals can be used in this way, and some of the positionals.

(b) DISCOURSE DETERMINERS, which use discourse information to restrict the reference of their heads. Only the distal demonstrative *dathina* ‘that’ can have this function.

(c) SPACE-RELATIONALS, which refine the basic spatial information given by the local cases. *Ngambirr-iyā* ‘hut-LOC’, for example, merely states the broad coincidence of figure and location, and is thus vague between ‘in the hut’, ‘at the hut’, ‘by the hut’, ‘on the hut’ and others. Locationals can combine with it to give a more accurate specification, e.g. *walmu-ya ngambirr-iyā* ‘on top of the hut’, *marrwa-ya ngambirr-iyā* ‘near the hut’, *yurda-ya ngambirri-ya* ‘inside the hut’. Compass locationals and positionals, but not distance locationals, can be used space-relationally.

The interaction of locational functions with the three subtypes can be summarized as follows:

Type of Locational	Function			
	Local Adjunct	Spatial Determiner	Discourse Determiner	Space-Relational
distance	+	+	+	-
compass	+	+	-	+
positional	+	(some)	-	+

We will now examine the determiner and space-relational functions in more detail.

5.3.2.1 Spatial determiner function. As mentioned above distance and compass locationals, and some positionals, can serve as spatial determiners. Note that this requires a different set of English translation equivalents in the case of the distance locationals: ‘here’ and ‘there’ for adverbial function, ‘this’ and ‘that’ for determiner function. Similarly, the compass locationals translate as ‘in the east’, ‘in the west’ etc. when functioning adverbially, and ‘the east one’, ‘the west one’ etc. when functioning as determiners.

(5-41) *dan-da* *kujiji* *birdi-y* *kalangin-d* *dathin-a*
 this-NOM spearNOM bad-NOM old-NOM that-NOM

kujiji *mirra-a*
 spearNOM good-NOM

‘This spear is bad, it’s old; that spear is good.’

(5-42) *bana* *ri-ya* *kardu* *wirra-a-ja* *bandingka-y*
 and east-NOM father-in-lawNOM initiate-M-ACT Bentinck-LOC

‘And your east father-in-law (i.e. the one staying at the east end of the settlement) was initiated on Bentinck Island.’

Determiners based on positionals take the ORIGIN case: *marrwa-wan-da dangka-a* [near-ORIG-NOM man-NOM] ‘the man nearby’; *ngaruwarra-wan-da* [between-ORIG-NOM] ‘the (one) from in between’, and so forth.

Distance and compass determiners may be combined, as in:

(5-43) *dan-da* *ri-ya* *dangka-a* *daami-jarra* *ngijin-jina*
 this-NOM east-NOM man-NOM ask-PST me-MABL

‘This man in the east asked me.’

Since they are now functioning as modifiers they agree in case with their head, even if this is in LOCative case (contrasting with the non-appearance of the LOCative when used adverbially):

- (5-44) *ngada* *wirdi-ja* *dan-ki* *ngambirr-iy*
 1sgNOM stay-ACT this-LOC hut-LOC

bath-iya *ngambirr-iy*
 west-LOC hut-LOC

warra-ya *natha-y*
 far-LOC camp-LOC

'I am staying in this hut / in the west hut / in the far camp.'

So in the zero and instantiated modalities the determiner use is distinguished from the adverbial by the presence of the LOCative, as well as by the potential for pause (and consequent prosodic truncation) in adverbials, since pauses can fall between NPs but not within them.

- (5-45) *ngada* *wirdi-ja* *dan-d(a)* (,) *natha-y*
 1sgNOM stay-ACT here-NOM camp-LOC
 'I stay here in the camp.'

- (5-46) *ngada* *wirdi-ja* *dan-ki* *natha-y*
 1sgNOM stay-ACT this-LOC camp-LOC
 'I stay in this camp.'

In limited contexts the head may be ellipsed:

- (5-47) [Pointing to one of a row of huts:]
Bana dan-ki dana-tha kangku
 and this-MLOC depart-ACT grandfatherNOM
 'And in this one your grandfather passed away.'

When other modal cases apply only the potential for pause distinguishes the two functions:

- (5-48) *ngada* *wirdi-ju* *dan-ku* (,) *natha-wu*
 1sgNOM stay-POT here-MPROP camp-MPROP
 'I will stay here in the camp.'
- (5-49) *ngada* *wirdi-ju* *dan-ku* *natha-wu*
 1sgNOM stay-POT this-MPROP camp-MPROP
 'I will stay in this camp.'

5.3.2.2 Discourse determiner function. Only *dathin-a* 'that' is used as a discourse determiner. It occurs with

(a) referents which cannot be represented by a pronoun (5.2) but which have been established in prior discourse. These include motives for action (5-50), implements (5-51), and places (5-52):

- (5-50) *birdi-ya birrjilk, kambin-ji karrngi-j, maraka*
 bad-NOM way-NOM child-MLOC keep-ACT CTRFCT

dathin-kuru ra-yii-ju
 that-PROP spear-M-POT

‘It was wrong, he committed incest with his own daughter, he should have been speared for that.’

- (5-51) *yuuma-th, dathin-ki thungal-i warna-j, dathin-kuru*
 drown-ACT that-MLOC thing-MLOC dislike-ACT that-PROP

bala-a-nyarr
 shoot-M-APPR

‘They drowned, because they didn’t like that thing (McKenzie’s gun), they were afraid they’d be shot by it.’

- (5-52) *mala-a warna-ja Bardathurr-i. maku-wa bithiin-da*
 sea-NOM avoid-ACT place name-MLOC woman-NOM man-NOM

kaa-ja dathin-kiya kaa-j
 shelter-ACT that-LOC shelter-ACT

‘The high seas avoided Bardathurr. Women and men sheltered there /at that place.’

Note that in the possible English translation ‘men and women sheltered there’, ‘there’ is vague between discourse and spatial deictic functions. In Kayardild the discourse deictic use requires the LOCative, which does not appear with the locational use.

(b) established human referents are usually ellipsed or pronominalized. But *dathina* may be used to give prominence to the main protagonist. Text Two provides several examples of this: the main character, Kajurku, is repeatedly identified as *dathina dangkaa* ‘that fellow’, whereas his relatively anonymous victim and pursuers merely rate zero anaphora or simple pronouns.

5.3.2.3 Space relational function. Positionals and compass locationals can combine with local adjuncts to give more precise location, as in:

- (5-53) *wirdi-jarra walmu-na kurndaji-na*
 stay-PST up-MABL sandhill-MABL
 ‘They were up on the sandhill.’

- (5-54) *dali-ja ngijin-jiiwa-tha marrwa-yiwa-th, dan-kiiwa-th !*
 come-IMP me-VALL-IMP near-VALL-IMP here-VALL-IMP
 ‘Come close to me, here !’

Such complex locational expressions are of two types:

(a) Expressions like ‘to the east of us’, ‘near to us’ or ‘on that side of us’, which give a directional relation between two distinct entities in different places. Here the reference point takes a locative governed by the space-relational, e.g. *danda-nangan-da kamarr-i* [this-side-NOM stone-LOC] ‘on this side of the stone’. Examples in unmarked modalities, such as (5-50), are crucial in deciding the syntactic relationship here: because the two components differ in case, we can conclude that the relation is one of government by the directional rather than agreement with the reference point. In marked modalities, where both take a modal case, e.g. *danda-nangan-ju kamarr-u* [this-side-MPROP stone-MPROP], there is no way of telling whether agreement or government is involved.

(5-55) [Traversing the central salt-pans of Bentinck Island must be done in complete silence, for fear of the *damurra dangkaa* ‘short people’ who inhabit the cliffs nearby. Anyone looking in their direction, or attracting their attention with untoward movements or bright clothing, risks instant death. Following a tense journey the leader speaks up:]

kamburi-ja ngada dathin-ki jardi-ya kunawuna-y:
say-ACT 1sgNOM that-MLOC mob-MLOC child-MLOC

wirra-ja=ma,
play-IMP=NOW

ri-ya nga-ku-lu-wan-ji dathin-a kiyarrng-ka ngilirr
east-NOM 1-INC-pl-POSS-LOC that-NOM two-NOM cliffNOM

‘I said to all the boys: relax now, those two cliffs are to the east of us.’

(5-56) *marrwa-a dii-ja niwan-ji!*
near-NOM sit-IMP 3sg-LOC
‘Sit close to him!’

(5-57) *niwan-ji jirrkara-nangan-da nyingka barnkaldi-ji!*
3sg-LOC north-SIDE-NOM 2sgNOM sit crosslegged-IMP
‘Sit down cross-legged on the north side of him!’

(b) Expressions like ‘on top of’, ‘at the west end of’, or ‘inside’, where the “position” is actually seen as “part” of the reference point. Here both take the same case (like a part-whole relation—6.3.5):

(5-58) *baa-n-marrī mala-a, ngarn-da bath-inyin-da*
bite-N-PRIV sea-NOM beach-NOM west-END-NOM
‘The tide didn’t cover it, the western end of the beach.’

(5-59) *dathin-a kuna-walad-a nal-iya kamarr-iya wirrka-j*
 that-NOM child-LOT-NOM top-LOC stone-LOC play-ACT
 ‘Those children are playing on top of the stones.’

(5-60) *nyingka kali-ju barji-ju yark-iring-ku*
 2sgNOM jump-POT fall-POT bottom-ALL-MPROP
ngambu-ring-ku
 well-ALL-MPROP

‘You will fall to the bottom of the well.’

The part-whole construction is also used of positions “in between” the reference point(s):

(5-61) *bakii-ja yiiwi-ja ngaruwarra-ya kaburra-ya, kalarrang-inja*
 all do-ACT sleep-ACT between-LOC fire-LOC mosquito-COBL
ba-yii-nyarra-nth
 bite-M-APPR-COBL

‘(They) all slept between fires, so they wouldn’t get bitten by mosquitoes.’

“Directional” and “part-whole” constructions are only distinguished formally in the instantiated and zero modalities—elsewhere both parts of both construction types agree in receiving modal case. As a result, decisive examples are rare, and the exact set of positionals occurring in each construction has not been fully determined.

5.3.3 Special derivations with demonstrative locationals

Demonstratives take the following special derivational suffixes:

(a) *-nangan-da* ‘side’ attaches to the full nominative form, deriving the manner demonstratives *dandananganda* ‘this way’ (5-62) and *dathinananganda* ‘that way’.

(5-62) *dan-da-nangan-da, ngada ngumban-ju marraa-ju*
 this-NOM-side-NOM 1sgNOM 2sg-MPROP show-POT
 ‘This way, I’ll show you.’

(b) the REMote suffix *-ij-*, which follows the stem:

(5-63) *kurirra dathin-ij-i dii-ja mala-y*
 dead-NOM there-REM-LOC sit-ACT sea-LOC
 ‘They sat down dead way over there in the sea.’

(a) and (b) also combine with cardinal demonstratives—see 5.3.4.

(c) The suffix *-murrkida* ‘as far as, up to’ only occurs on demonstratives:

- (5-64) *dan-murrkida budii-j*
 this-AS.FAR.AS run-ACT
 ‘(I) was running about (with water) up to here (pointing to thigh).’
- (5-65) *dathin-murrkida dulk*
 there-AS.FAR.AS countryNOM
 ‘(The Wind Story) country (reaches) as far as there.’

5.3.4 Derivatives of compass locationals

Compass locationals and their derivatives are centrally important in K. They recur constantly in myths and other narrative, and even requests to squeeze a few inches across a car seat make use of them: *jirrkara-yiwa-th!* (north-VALL-IMP) ‘move to the north!’ is a typical command in such circumstances.

In locating objects or giving directions the words *junku* ‘right’ and *thaku* ‘left’ are rarely employed; compass locationals are used in their stead¹³. Even in visualizing imaginary situations a cardinal reference is established. Once Dugald Goongarra was singing the praises of a newly made *kujiji* spear with many barbs. It would penetrate a big queenfish, he said, as far as the second barb; a turtle’s fin, as far as the fourth; a man’s chest, as far as the tenth. And speared into a dugong:

- (5-66) *burri-ja bath-inyin-da thawurr-i*
 come out-ACT west-END-NOM throat-LOC
 ‘The west¹⁴ end (of the spear) comes out of its throat.’

Reflecting the importance of the compass locationals, a large number of special derivatives exist¹⁵. These are discussed in this section. For semantic coherence I will also include:

¹³ Haviland (1989) and Levinson (1991) make similar points for Guugu Yimidhirr.

¹⁴ I have no idea why ‘west’ was chosen here—probably because the speaker visualized himself on a particular beach, with the dugong facing a particular way.

¹⁵ Such rich sets of compass derivatives are commonly found in Australian languages; see Levinson (1986). Furby—Furby (1976) and Laughren (1978) describe similarly complex systems in Karrwa and Warlpiri respectively. The Karrwa system includes formatives like *muwa* ‘hidden (needing to be uncovered) to the X’, *ngurra* ‘belonging to a specific place to the X’, and *-najnga /-jba* ‘obscured from view by a vertical object to the X’. To a greater extent than in Kayardild, these may be concatenated into forms such as *gula-najnga-ngurra* ‘one belonging to a south place

(a) the ALLative and ORIGIN cases, whose forms differ slightly from the regular nominal equivalents, as do their distributions: (i) they must follow the root, whereas the nominal ALLative and ORIGIN cases may be positioned further out. (ii) the allative form of cardinals must be followed by some other case (if only the nominative).

(b) special verb-deriving suffixes limited to compass locationals.

5.3.4.1 Forms. Compass locationals are rather irregular morphologically. Three stem sets must be recognized:

(a) THE ORDINARY STEM, exemplified by the following nominative and locative forms ('south' has the alternate stems *ra-* and *rar-*).

	North	South	East	West
Nominative	<i>jirrkara</i>	<i>ra-a, rar-a</i>	<i>ri-ya</i>	<i>bad-a</i>
Locative	<i>jirrkara-ya</i>	<i>ra-ya, rar-i</i>	<i>ri-ya</i>	<i>bath-i</i>

All case inflections except the ALLative and ORIGIN are based on these, in addition to a number of derivations applicable to all nominals (e.g. the INCHOative).

The root *bad-* 'west' is irregular. Before vowels it behaves like a lamino-dental final stem (e.g. *bath-i*); but before nasals it becomes an apical rather than the expected lamino-palatal nasal: *ban-maru-tha* [west-VD-ACT] and *ban-mali* [west-HAIL] rather than the expected *bany-maru-tha* and *bany-mali*. Before *w*-initial inflections like *-wula-tha* [VABL] the final segment is lost altogether: *ba-wula-tha*.

In addition to its use in locational adjuncts (e.g. 5-30—5-32), the ordinary stem is sometimes used in place of the ALLative form to give the destination of motion: see Text 10 for numerous examples, e.g. Line 116.

(b) THE "FROM" SET. This is identical to the ordinary set, except for the loss of final *-ra* from the 'north' form, and the unavailability of the *rar-* option for the 'south' form. It occurs with the irregular 'from' and 'boundary' derivations:

FROM	<i>jirka-an-da</i>	<i>ra-yin-da</i>	<i>ri-in-da</i>	<i>bath-in-da</i>
BOUND	<i>jirka-rrnga</i>	<i>ra-ngurrnga</i>	<i>ri-ngurrnga</i>	<i>bath-urrnga</i>
	<i>jirku-rrnga</i>			

(c) THE ALLATIVE STEM SET, found with the ALLative, ORIGIN, and CONTINUOUS forms:

obscured from view.' Lardil and Yukulta have systems that closely resemble the Kayardild one, with most morphemes being cognate.

ALL	<i>jirrkur-ung-ka</i>	<i>rar-ung-ka</i>	<i>ril-ung-ka</i> <i>rul-ung-ka</i>	<i>bal-ung-ka</i>
ORIG	<i>jirrkur-umban-da</i>	<i>rar-umban-da</i>	<i>ril-umban-da</i> <i>rul-umban-da</i>	<i>bal-umban-da</i>
CONT	<i>jirrkur-i(i)d-a</i>	<i>rar-i(i)d-a</i>	<i>ril-i(i)d-a</i>	<i>bal-i(i)d-a</i>

Some speakers vowel-harmonize the ‘east’ root before ALLative and ORIGIN suffixes. See 2.5.6.

The allative stem is also used before the verbal derivatives *-ija-tha* ‘turn to the X’ and *-ijulu-tha* ‘move (OBJ) to the X’¹⁶.

(d) FULL NOMINATIVE FORMS are used before the suffix *-nangan-da* ‘side’, e.g. *bada-nangan-da* ‘west side of’. This form is not a clitic, however, since case-marking appears on *-nangan-da*, not the preceding stem, e.g. *bada-nangan-ju* [west-SIDE-MPROP]. There is evidence that it has only recently become a bound form: in Yukulta (Keen 1983: 262) it is still an independent word, as shown by *nangan-da dan-da* [side-ABS this-ABS] ‘this side, this way’ (cf. the Kayardild equivalent *dandanangan-da*).

Each derivation draws all its forms from the same stem set, except for *-(i)injin-da* ‘END’. This takes the nominative as the base for the ‘east’ set—*riya-nyin-da*—and uses the ordinary stem for the other sets, e.g. *bath-injin-da*.

5.3.4.2 Multiple derivations. The only multiple derivations I have heard involve the REMote suffix, which may follow the ‘FROM’ form (5-81) as well as the root; the HAIL form, which may follow the ALLative and FROM forms as well as the root; and the CENTRIPETAL BOUNDary form, which follows the FROM stem.

5.3.4.3 ALLative. The compass ALLative, like the ordinary ALLative, can mark the observable direction of motion. Here it takes the appropriate modal case:

- (5-67) *niya* *warra-jarra* *rar-ung-kina*
 3sgNOM go-PST south-ALL-MABL
 ‘He went southwards.’

Two other uses are restricted to combinations of the ALLative with compass locationals.

¹⁶ The final /l/ in the east and west forms is a vestige of a pT ALLative form **(k)irlu* (Proto Tangkic /r/ has split in modern K into /r/ and /l/.)

(a) It may mark the *intended destination* rather than the current direction. I may, for example, be going to somewhere in the west, but en route move first northwards, then southwards, then eastwards. A compass allative is used to give the intended direction (here, west); it is followed by a relational 'PROPriative of anticipation', and escapes modal case:

(5-68) *ngada* *warra-ja* *bal-ung-ku*
 1sgNOM go-ACT west-ALL-PROP
 'I am going to the west.'

(b) It may function as a local adjunct referring to the horizon, or some distant place towards the horizon in a given direction.

(5-69) *rul-ung-ka* *kalnaa-j*
 east-ALL-NOM dawn-ACT
 'It's dawning in the east.'

Compass allatives used in this latter function can combine with verbal cases expressing movement, e.g. *bal-u-wula-a-n-da* [west-ALL-VABL-M-N-NOM] 'leaving from the far west, leaving from towards the western horizon'.

5.3.4.4 ORIGIN. The form *-umban-* is a suppletive alternative of the ORIGIN suffix {-*wan-*}¹⁷. It derives ordinary nouns/adjectives naming the inhabitant of a region (5-70) or its language or ways (5-71).

(5-70) *ngada* *rar-umban-d*
 1sgNOM south-ORIG-NOM
 'I am a southerner (from Bentinck Island).'

(5-71) *nyingka* *marri-ja* *nga-la-wan-ji*
 2sgNOM hear-ACT 1-pl-POSS-MLOC

 rar-umban-ji *kangk-i*
 south-ORIG-MLOC talk-MLOC

'You can understand our southern language (Kayardild).'

5.3.4.5 FROM-Vn- In contrast to the cases expressing movement, which must function as local adjuncts, FROM derivatives may modify any NP, agreeing with it in case¹⁸. In (5-72) it modifies the subject, taking the

¹⁷ The same alternation is found in Yukulta and Lardil; and in the Kayardild possessive pronoun system (5.2.1.1).

¹⁸ Because of this, because it is limited to the four compass points (and lacks parallel categories outside the compass locationals with which agreement could be set up) and because of its fixed position after the root, I consider it a derivation rather than

nominative (and escaping modal case); in (5-73) it modifies the object, agreeing with it in taking the modal LOCative:

- (5-72) *walmathi-nguni jirka-an-da warra-ja ngarn-ki*
 high-INSTR north-FROM-NOM go-ACT beach-LOC
wakirinwakirin-d
 with coolamon-NOM

‘Passing through the high country (we) came from the north along the beach carrying coolamons.’

- (5-73) *jirdawa-tha marri-ja ngada wangarr-i mutha-ya*
 salivate-ACT hear-ACT 1sgNOM song-MLOC many-MLOC
banga-ya bath-in-ki
 turtle-MLOC west-FROM-MLOC

‘Drooling with anticipation I heard the song of many turtles coming from the west.’

FROM may also feed the “instrumental of place” (4.3.9.3):

- (5-74) *ra-yin-nguni-ya kurri-ja kanthathu,*
 south-FROM-INSTR-MLOC see-ACT fatherNOM
yirrbaa-j
 speak.excitedly-ACT

‘Father had seen (the European boat) by looking from a vantage point on the way from the south, and spoke excitedly about it.’

Although usually implying movement concurrent with the main clausal action, this is not necessary: the subject may be temporarily at rest. The sentence *thaldi-ja ri-in-da* [stand-ACT east-FROM-NOM], for instance, was explained to me as ‘stand up, then he gonna come along again’.

Like motion verbs, FROM compass locationals may take the pre-verbal directional particle *minyi* ‘towards’ when modifying the subject:

- (5-75) *duburrka kala-tha minyi ri-in-d*
 mullet-NOM cut-ACT towards east-FROM-NOM
 ‘The Mullet Being cut it out (the Makarrki estuary) on his way back from the east.’

a case inflection. Klokeid (1976) treats the cognate Lardil suffix as an “elative case”, restricted to compass locationals.

5.3.4.6 CONTInuous *-(i)d-*. This derives nominals which mean either “continually heading Xward” or “heading in direction X at the reference time”. These meanings are linked: in either case, the direction is unchanging over the reference time frame.

- (5-76) *minyngkal-d jirrkur-iid*
 groper-NOM north-CONT(NOM)
 ‘Heading ever northward was a groper.’
 ‘Heading northward at that moment was a groper.’

In expressing instantaneous direction, this morpheme contrasts with the ALLative (5.3.4.3), which expresses the direction of the *ultimate destination* but not necessarily of *instantaneous direction*.

Syntactically, CONTInuous compass locationals function as second predicates of manner. This is shown (a) by their agreement in relational case with the actor, which is usually subject (5-76, 5-78) but may also be object (5-18), (b) by their failure to take an associating OBLique case when coreferential with the subject of a nominalized clause (5-77) and (c) by their reduplication to show plurality of actors (5-18).

- (5-77) *bi-l-da bal-iid-a warra-n-d*
 3-plu-NOM west-CONT-NOM go-N-NOM
 ‘They are heading westward.’

It often combines with *bardaka* ‘belly’, adding the meaning ‘facing X’:

- (5-78) *nga-ku-rr-a ril-iid-a bardaka warra-j*
 1-INC-du-NOM east-CONT-NOM bellyNOM go-ACT
 ‘We two went along facing eastwards.’

This suffix probably derives from the nominal *niida* ‘same’, like the clitic *-(i)da*, which differs from it only in vowel length (9.7.4.1).

I have recorded one example of the CONTInuous form being followed by *-ngathi*: *Nyinyaaki dangalwirdind, rilid, rilinyngathi* ‘Nyinyaaki the tree frog is a pandanus-dweller, (where one) goes eastward, born where (one) goes along eastward’.

5.3.4.7 REMote *-ij-*. This suffix, also found with noun / adjectives and demonstratives, stresses distance of location. It may follow the ordinary stem (5-79, 5-80) or the FROM suffix (5-81). ‘Remote’ may range from 100 metres to twenty kilometres (the greatest distance on Bentinck Island); for distances beyond that, the ALLative form is used.

The REMote suffix does not alter the function of its host, so compass locationals bearing it may function either as adnominals, agreeing in case with their head (5-79), or as local adjuncts. In this latter function a

LOCative case inflection is explicitly present after the REMote suffix (5-80).

- (5-79) *bal-ung-ku* *nga-ku-l-da* *thaa-thu,*
west-ALL-MPROP 1-INC-pl-NOM return-POT
- bath-ij-uru* *dulk-u* *kurri-ju.*
west-REM-MPROP place-MPROP see-POT

‘We’ll go back west now, to see that far west country (about fifteen kilometres away).’

- (5-80) *ngambura-tha bi-l-d,* *riya-th-i.*
dig.well-ACT 3-pl-NOM east-REM-LOC
‘They dug a well, way off in the east.’

- (5-81) *ngada* *katharr-u* *biya-ju* *wanjii-ju*
1sgNOM lagoon-MPROP swim-POT go up-POT
- bath-in-ij-u*
west-FROM-REM-MPROP

‘I will swim the lagoon and, far away (i.e. on the other side) will climb up a place oriented from the west.’

5.3.4.8 END *-(i)njin-* ~ *-(i)nyin-*. This suffix is *-(i)njin-* (phonemically *-(i)nyjin-*) in older speakers, a form also found in Yukulta (Keen 1972: 98). With younger speakers the stop segment is lost, giving *-(i)nyin-*. For all speakers the stop is retained when another suffix follows, e.g. *bath-injin-marutha* [west-END-VD].

It names a location at the end of, but still a part of, the entity under discussion. Thus in (5-66) above it specifies the western end of the spear thrust into the dugong; in (5-82) below it refers to the western end of the beach which the tide would have encroached upon; and in (5-83) it refers to the part of the traveller’s body furthest to the west (his ‘west shoulder’). This forms a “part-whole” NP (6.3.5) with the nominal denoting the full entity, agreeing with it in case.

- (5-82) *baa-n-marri* *mala-a,* *ngarn-da* *bath-inyin-da*
bite-N-PRIV sea-NOM beach-NOM west-END-NOM
‘The tide didn’t cover it (bite it off), the western extremity of the beach.’

- (5-83) [To a traveller approaching the deadly cliffs at Wamakurld:]
nyingka *bath-inyin-da* *wuu-ja* *tharda-a*
2sgNOM west-END-NOM put-IMP shoulder-NOM
‘Put (your gear) on your western shoulder.’

5.3.4.9 BOUNDARY -ngurrnga. This refers to a point of discontinuity or geographical boundary, located to the X of some other entity. It is appropriate when describing the coast of an island (5-84), and in fact Ringurrnga and Rangurrnga are often used as proper names for Sweers Island, which lies to the south east of Bentinck Island. It may also be used of a cliff or bluff (5-85) and even the wall of a building.

(5-84) *ri-ngurrnga bi-rr-a dali-j*
east-BOUND(NOM) they-du-NOM come-ACT
'They came to the east side (of Albinia Island).'

(5-85) *jatha-a ngilirr bath-urrng, jatha-a ri-ngurrng*
other-NOM cliffNOM west-BOUND(NOM) other-NOM east-BOUND
'There was one cliff on the west side (of a saltpan bounded by cliffs),
another on the east side.'

As these examples show, *-ngurrnga* words are themselves locationals and do not inflect for the locative; like other locationals they may take modal case:

(5-86) *maraka wirdi-ju mutha-a ra-ngurrnga-wu*
CTRFACT stay-POT many-NOM south-BOUND-MPROP
'A whole lot of (water lilies) should have stayed on the south coast.'

A single noun/adjective takes this suffix: *dumu-rrnga* [sandhill-BOUND] 'shoreline'.

5.3.4.10 CENTRIPETAL BOUNDARY -kirida. This also denotes a geographical boundary, but the compass direction is centripetal rather than centrifugal, as with *-ngurrnga*. *X-ngurrnga*, that is, denotes a boundary encountered in direction X as one moves away from the reference point; while *X-kirida* denotes a boundary moving from direction X towards the reference point. Significantly, it is only attested after compass locationals in the FROM form.

Taking Gununa township as an example reference point, one sees the northern end of Denham Island as one looks south. This is therefore described as *ra-ngurrnga* 'south-BOUND'. Alternatively, it could be described as *ra-yin-kirida* 'south-FROM-CENTRIPETAL.BOUND', since one passes through it by moving from the south towards the speaker.

A possible segmentation of this suffix is ALLATIVE *-kiri* plus the SAME clitic *-(i)da*.

5.3.4.11 SIDE -nangan-da. This is another suffix sometimes translated as English 'side'. It derives positionals giving the orientation on a flat surface of one location with respect to another, e.g. of houses laid out on flat ground (5-87) or of a swimmer relative to a rock (5-88).

Like other positionals it does not take the LOCative in the instantiated modality, and may be turned into a determiner by adding the ORIGIN suffix (5-87). The reference point may be implicit, as in (5-87), or may be given explicitly by a NP in the LOCative, as with 'rock' in (5-88) and 'him' in (5-57).

(5-87) *rara-nangan-man-da dangka-a kurrka-th*
 south-SIDE-ORIG-NOM man-NOM take-ACT
 'The man from next door (from the house to the south of mine) took it.'

(5-88) *kunawuna biya-ja jirrka-nangan-da kamarr-i*
 childNOM swim-ACT north-SIDE-NOM rock-LOC
 'The child swam around the north side of the rock.'

-nanganda may also follow distance demonstratives (5.3.3) and the interrogative *jina-a* 'where' (9.5.2.2).

5.3.4.12 HAIL -*mali*. This is used in hailing an unidentified person or group located in a particular direction. It follows the ordinary root if the person is stationary (5-89); if the group is moving it may follow the ALLative (5-90) or FROM (5-91) forms:

(5-89) *nyingka ngaak, ban-mali?*
 2sgNOM who-NOM west-HAIL
 'Who are you, standing to the west? (Answered by: I'm your uncle.)'

(5-90) *ril-u-mali, dali-!*
 east-ALL-HAIL come-IMP
 'You going eastward, come!'

(5-91) *jirka-an-mali, ngaakawuru warra-wa-th,*
 north-FROM-HAIL why far-INCH-ACT

dali-ja marrwa-yiwa-th!
 come-IMP near-VALL-IMP

'You coming from the north, why are you hanging back, come up close!'

5.3.4.13 Sea Territory -*mirdamirda*. This follows the allative stem. It derives locational nouns referring to stretches of sea territory, particularly dugong hunting grounds. Although *mirdamirda* does not occur as a free form, a related noun *mirdaa* means 'water churned up by dugong grazing'. My only examples of this are nominal clauses like *X jirrkurumirdamirda* 'X is a dugong hunting ground to the north'.

5.3.4.14 Wind names. Several names for winds are derived from compass terms:

<i>balu-bal-ung-ka</i> [REDUP-west-ALL-NOM]	'west wind'
<i>jirrk-uru-budii-n-da</i> [north-ALL-run-N-NOM]	'north wind'
<i>jirrkaraalinda</i>	'strong north wind'
<i>rulunganda</i>	'east wind'
<i>rarunganda</i>	'south wind'.

The *-linda* and *-nganda* formatives in the last three words are not found elsewhere; *-nganda* may be reduced from *-nangan-da* 'SIDE'.

5.3.4.15 Idioms and compounds involving compass words.

A number of special idioms and compounds exist.

(a) COMPASS-ALLATIVE/FROM + TERRAIN TRAVERSED. These are idioms rather than compounds. Word order is fixed, but both words are fully inflected and individually stressed. Examples: *ngarn-da bal-ung-ka* [beach-NOM west-ALL-NOM] 'westward along the beach', *mala-a ri-in-da* [sea-NOM east-FROM-NOM] 'from the east across the sea'.

(b) BODY-PART NOUN + COMPASS-ALL/FROM. These involve the body-part nominals *bardaka* 'belly' and *thukan-da* 'chin'.

The *bardaka* forms are idiomatic phrases, like the terrain forms in (a): *rul-ung-ka bardaka* [east-ALL-NOM stomach-NOM] 'facing eastwards', *bath-in-da bardaka* [west-FROM-NOM stomach-NOM] 'facing from the west'.

The *thukanda* forms are compounds, only attested with the ALLative compass term, e.g. *ril-u-thukan-da* [east-ALL-chin-NOM] 'facing/heading eastwards':

(5-92)	<i>jijina</i>	<i>kurrngu-w?</i>		<i>kurri-ja</i>	<i>junku-ru-tha</i>
	whither	dugong's.feeding.path-NOM		look-IMP	straight-FACT-IMP
	<i>kurrngu-w,</i>	<i>niya</i>	<i>ril-u-thukan-da</i>	<i>thaa-thu,</i>	
	path-NOM	3sgNOM	east-ALL-chin-NOM	return-POT	
	<i>bath-in-ku</i>				
	west-FROM-MPROP				

'Which direction is the dugong moving? Look straight ahead at where it has muddied the water, it'll head back eastward, from the west.'

(c) COMPASS-ALLATIVE-RAYAANDA. The verb *rayaa-ja* means 'open up; open one's eyes'; its nominalized form may be compounded with the ALLative, e.g. *rar-u-rayaa-n-da* [south-ALL-open eyes-N-NOM]. These function as manner nominals, meaning 'previous night's camp in the X'.

Because this orients the hearer to the coming day, it normally occurs with suffixes giving ‘movement away from’.

- (5-93) *rabi-ja bal-u-rayaa-n-mula-a-n-d*
 arise-ACT west-ALL-open eyes-N-VABL-M-N-NOM
 ‘They got up, leaving their previous night’s camp in the west.’

(d) *nganikin-* + COMPASS WORD. Allative or root forms may follow the distance locational *nganikin-* ‘yonder’ in a compound, as in *nganikin-bad* ‘way over there to the west’, *nganiki-lil-ung-ka*¹⁹ [yon-east-ALL-NOM] ‘way over there to the east’, and:

- (5-94) [Discussing the creation of a track by Rainbow:]
nganiki-la-a kurrka-a-ja mirrayala-a-j
 yon-south-NOM take-M-ACT make-M-ACT
 ‘Way out of sight to the south it was taken, and made.’

(e) *ngarnda* + COMPASS-ALLATIVE, as in *ngarnda rilungka* ‘eastwards along the beach’. In such idioms *ngarnda* does not take the expected modal locative. For examples see Text 10, Lines 72 and 84.

(f) INTERMEDIATE DIRECTIONS. There are no morphologized forms for intermediate directions. This is presumably because the compass terms denote quadrants rather than “true directions”, so that the term for ‘north’, for example, can still be applied to such directions as 5° west of north, 20° east of north, and so on.

Nonetheless, there are two formal devices for indicating deviations from the prototypical cardinal directions. One technique is to combine two cardinals:

- (5-95) *niya dali-j bath-in-da jirka-an-d*
 3sgNOM come-ACT west-FROM-NOM north-FROM-NOM
 ‘(S)he is coming from the north west.’

- (5-96) *budubudu rar-ung-ka ru-lung-ka warra-j*
 boatNOM south-ALL-NOM east-ALL-NOM go-ACT
 ‘The boat is going south east.’

The second technique, sometimes used for smaller deviations, is to add the word *ngaruwarra* ‘between’:

- (5-97) *kajakaj ngaruwarra ra-yin-da dali-j*
 daddyNOM betweenNOM south-FROM-NOM come-ACT
 ‘Daddy is coming from a bit off south.’

¹⁹ Initial *r* in the ‘south’ and ‘east’ forms alternates with *l* in the compounds by regular LATERALIZATION—see 2.5.2.

5.3.5 Verbalizing derivatives of compass words

The first two of these are based on the allative stem, the third on the ordinary stem.

5.3.5.1 TURN to the X *-ija-tha*. This is used of entities turning around to face to the X:

- (5-98) *tharda-wanka-wuru ril-ija-th, dii-ju*
 shoulder-branch-PROP east-TURN-ACT sit-POT
 ‘The aeroplane is turning to the east, so it can land.’

Occasionally the *j* lenites to *y* :

- (5-99) *[jirrkur-iya-thurrk, warrmara-ntha ra-yin-inja*
 north-TURN-IMMED:COBL wind-COBL south-FROM-COBL
ngudi-jurrk]COBL
 throw-IMMED:COBL
 ‘It’s blowing round to the north, the wind is throwing from the south now.’

5.3.5.2 MOVE TO the X *-ijulu-tha*. This derives verbs meaning “move (OBJ) to the X”:

- (5-100) *jirrkur-ijulu-tha dathin-a thungal-d!*
 north-MOVE TO-IMP that-NOM thing-NOM
 ‘Move that thing to the north (away from the flames)! ‘

The middle form is common, with a reflexive meaning:

- (5-101) *wadu-wa jinka-j, yakay! ngada ril-ijul-i-j!*
 smoke-NOM follow-ACT EXCL 1sgNOM east-MOVE TO-M-ACT
 ‘The smoke’s following (me), *yakay* ! I’m moving round to the east (side of the fire).’

5.3.5.3 LOOK *-maru-tha*. The ending *-maru-tha*, formally identical to the free form *maru-tha* ‘put’ and the verbal dative case (4.4.2.2), may attach to compass stems. It functions here as a verb-deriving suffix meaning “look to the X” (attached to the unmarked form) or “look from the X” (attached to the FROM form):

- (5-102) *ri-maru-tha kurri-j*
 east-LOOK-ACT look-ACT
 ‘He looked to the east.’

- (5-103) *bujuku* *kurri-j* *jirka-an-maru-th* *ngudi-ja*
 craneNOM look-ACT north-FROM-LOOK-ACT throw-ACT
ri-in-ki *mibur-iy*
 east-FROM-MLOC eye-MLOC

‘Black Crane looked from the north, from the east he cast his eye.’

5.4 Minor nominal classes

Three minor nominal classes have limited inflectional possibilities, due to semantic or functional restrictions: manner nominals, time nominals and predicator nominals. Note that manner, time and nominal predicator *functions* are not limited to the corresponding minor nominal classes: certain ordinary noun/adjectives, for example, may function as manner, time, or predicator nominals. The distinguishing feature of these minor subclasses is that they are restricted to one function, whereas the other nominal classes are versatile.

5.4.1 Manner nominals

These function as second predicates of manner, usually on the subject but sometimes on the object (see 9.2.4.3 for a discussion of object complements). When construed with the subject they take the nominative relational case and escape modal and associating case²⁰, as do other nominals in this function (9.4). When construed with the object, manner nominals agree with it in taking modal case. Some sentence examples are:

- (5-104) *nga-l-da* *wuu-ja* *kantharr-jarrad*
 1-pl-NOM give-ACT self-OTHER(NOM)
 ‘We’re sharing among ourselves (but YOU have to cook your own food).’
- (5-105) *ngada* *junkuyarrad-a* *bala-thu* *ngumban-ju* *kirrk-u*
 1sgNOM in.return-NOM hit-POT 2sg-MPROP face-MPROP
 ‘I’ll hit you back, in the face.’
- (5-106) *junkuyunku* *ri-in-ki* *bath-in-ki*
 towards.each.otherNOM east-FROM-MLOC west-FROM-MLOC

²⁰ This is the obverse of what happens in a number of morphologically ergative Australian languages (such as Pitjantjatjara or Warlpiri) where manner nominals agree with transitive subjects in taking the ergative case.

kurrka-th
take-ACT

‘(They’re) taking nets from the east and west towards each other.’

- (5-107) *maarra junkuyunku munirr-wu-j*
all among each otherNOM breast-give-ACT
‘(In the old days) all (the women) suckled each others children.’
- (5-108) *niya wuu-n-marri dangka-walay-arri junkii-yarri*
3sgNOM give-N-PRIV person-LOT-PRIV in.reciprocation-PRIV
‘He never gives food back to other people.’
- (5-109) *rakin-da daman-da burri-ju, walbu-uru baa-ju*
soon-NOM tooth-NOM emerge-POT corkwood-MPROP bite-POT
‘(A child’s) teeth will soon come, if he will bite on some corkwood.’
- (5-110) *dathin-a bath-in-da kalthakaltha-tha dangka-walada*
there-NOM west-FROM-NOM sneak up-ACT man-LOT(NOM)

murrukumurrku
warlikeNOM

‘There from the west all the men are sneaking ready for war.’

- (5-111) *nga-ku-l-da bakii-n-da mardala-a-ja marin-d*
1-INC-pl-NOM all-N-NOM paint-M-ACT self-NOM

kantharrkuru, rarrthararrth
aloneNOM individuallyNOM

‘We all paint ourselves, each man paints himself.’

All known Kayardild manner nominals are listed below, segmented into stem plus nominative.

<i>kantharrk-a</i>	Alone, unaided, without interference	(9-164)
<i>kantharrk-uru</i>	“ “ “	(5-111)
<i>kantharrjarrad-a</i>	Among members of a group (Etym: <i>kantharrka</i> plus <i>-yarraTH-</i> ‘OTHER’)	(5-104)
<i>junkuyarrad-</i>	In return, in retaliation (Etym: <i>junku</i> ‘straight’ + <i>-yarraTH-</i> ‘OTHER’)	(5-105)
<i>junkuyunku</i>	In return; towards each other; among one another	(5-106) (5-107)
<i>junkiid-a</i>	In reciprocation, e.g. returning gift of food	(5-108)

<i>warrjawarri</i>	Slowly, without undue movement. (Etym: perhaps from <i>warraja</i> 'go' plus <i>-warri</i> 'PRIV')	
<i>rakin-da</i>	Promptly, soon after	(5-109)
<i>murrukumurruku</i>	Hostilely, with aggressive intent, e.g. a raiding party. (Etym: <i>murruku</i> 'woomera')	(5-110)
<i>rarrthararrtha</i>	Separately	(5-111)
<i>jaburra</i>	Kneeling	
<i>jardirid-a</i>	behind people's backs (cf. <i>jardi</i> 'behind')	
<i>karbakarba</i>	In water up to waist	
<i>kirrkajara</i>	Gingerly, carefully (<i>kirrka</i> 'nose' + <i>jara</i> 'foot')	
<i>kirthan-da</i>	Behind someone's back (Text 3, Line 46).	
<i>wulthuru</i>	Lying in rows	

5.4.2 Time nominals

Some time nominals are invariable, and do not take modal case²¹: *banda* 'soon, now' (5-112); *wuljiya* 'yesterday night'; *dilaya* 'a few days ago'; *kurdiwirdi* 'some time ago (a few weeks or months)' (5-113), *yujbanda* 'in the old days, in historical times'; *yulkaanda* 'forever'; *birangkarra* 'usually; for a long time' (5-114). The lack of modally case-marked variants is not due to semantic incompatibility, since these words can occur in marked modalities, e.g:

(5-112) *ban-da* *nyingka* *kantharrkuru* *kala-thu*
 now-NOM 2sgNOM alone(NOM) cut-POT
 'Now you can cut (the spearhead) on your own (without my help).'

(5-113) *niya* *thaa-tharr* *kurdiwirdi*
 3sgNOM return-PST some time ago
 'He came back some time ago.'

(5-114) *bi-l-da* *wirra-ju* *birangkarr*, *jungarra-wu* *ngimi-wu*
 they-pl-NOM dance-POT long time big-MPROP night-MPROP
 'They'll dance a long time, late into the night.'

²¹ Although diachronically the words *dilaya* and *wuljiya* probably contain a locative inflection *-ya*.

Other time nominals take modal case, subject to semantic compatibility. Often the modal case contributes to the temporal meaning:

<i>yan-da</i> now-NOM 'now'	<i>yan-ki</i> now-MLOC 'a little while ago'	<i>yan-ku</i> now-MPROP 'in a little while'
	<i>balmbi-ya</i> morrow-MLOC 'on the morrow, the next day (past)'	<i>balmbi-wu</i> morrow-MPROP 'tomorrow'
	<i>barruntha-ya</i> a few hours off-MLOC 'yesterday'	<i>barruntha-wu</i> a few hours off-MPROP 'in a few hours'

Younger speakers take the modally-inflected forms as unanalyseable, so that *balmbiwu* or *balmbu* has become an invariable word meaning 'tomorrow', and *barrunthaya* an invariable word meaning 'yesterday'.

Balmbi- may also take the UTILitive suffix, giving *balmbimarra* 'for tomorrow' (3-32), the Verbal Translative, giving *balmbimariija* 'until tomorrow', and the 'another' suffix, giving *balmbiyarrada* 'the day after tomorrow'.

The word *ngimijida* 'before daybreak' has an irregular future modal form *ngimijuda* '(tomorrow) before daybreak'; the root *ngimiJ-* (with short vowel) is found before relational cases with a temporal component (e.g. *ngiminy-marii-ja* [before daybreak-V.TRANSL-ACT] 'in attendance of daybreak'). In all other modalities *ngimijida* is used, e.g.:

(5-115)	<i>bal-umban-da</i>	<i>jardi</i>	<i>warra-jarra</i>	<i>ngimijid</i>
	west-ORIG-NOM	mobNOM	go-PST	before.daybreakNOM
	'The western mob set off before daybreak.'			

The mixed behaviour of this word may reflect the half-completed absorption of an enclitic into the stem: *ngimi-* 'night' plus *-ij-* 'REMOTE' plus the 'SAME' clitic *-(i)da*, meaning 'far into the night; still night'.

Three other time words: *yuuda* 'already', *kada* 'again' and *buda* 'behind, later' are so closely integrated with the verbal complex that they may be treated as preverbal particles, and are discussed in 8.1.

TIME OF DAY TERMS. These give the time of day by reference to the position of the sun. They may combine with any modal case. Except for the interrogative, both words of the idiom inflect.

<i>kalna-n-da warrku</i>	[dawn-N-NOM sunNOM]	dawn
<i>ri-in-da warrku</i>	[east-FROM-NOM sunNOM]	morning
<i>kirnkirn-da warrku</i>	[overhead-NOM sunNOM]	midday
<i>warrku-nurru</i>	[sun-ASSOCNOM]	daytime

<i>warrku bad, bada warrku</i>	[sunNOM westNOM]	afternoon
<i>jinawarrku</i>	[where-sunNOM]	what time of day

DURATION TERMS. Based on *darri* ‘(stretch of) time’, these give impressionistic duration. The term *warngiida darri* is a post-contact coinage for ‘one week’. More specific durative expressions may be based on *warrku* ‘sun’, *waldarra* ‘moon’ or *wun-da* ‘rain(y season)’ with multiplicands as for *darri*.

<i>darri</i>		a while
<i>wartha-a darri</i>	[much-NOM timeNOM]	a long time
<i>warngiid-a darri</i>	[one-NOM timeNOM]	one week
<i>jangka-a darri</i>	[other-NOM timeNOM]	a few weeks later
<i>jinamulu darr-u</i>	[how manyNOM time-PROP]	for how long (future)

5.4.3 Predicate nominals

These are restricted to predicate function, either as the main predicates of nominal clauses or as second predicates. They may not be used attributively.

Thus *mungurru* ‘knowing, knowledgeable’ may be a nominal predicate, and even take an object (5-116) or a clausal complement (9.1.7). It may also function as a second predicate, as in (5-117). But it cannot be used attributively: **dathina mungurru dangkaa* [that knowing man] is unacceptable.

(5-116) *nyinka mungurru ngijin-ji.*
 2sgNOM know 1sg-MLOC
 ‘You know me.’

(5-117) *niya mungurru wirrka-j*
 3sgNOM knowingNOM dance-ACT
 ‘He knows how to dance (lit. he dances knowingly).’

Other nominals that can only be used predicatively are *birrmurdami* ‘know, be painfully aware that (Clause), be sad’, *jirdaa* ‘hungry’, *mibulka* ‘asleep’, *riki* ‘in tears’.

Other nominals may be used either predicatively or attributively; an example is *burdumbanyi* ‘ignorant, not knowing’, the antonym of *mungurru*. This can be used as a transitive main predicate (5-118), a secondary predicate (5-119), and can also be used attributively, as in *burdumbanyi waydbala* ‘the ignorant white man’ (4-39).

(5-118) *ngada burdumbanyi niwan-ji*
 1sgNOM ignorant 3sg-MLOC
 ‘I don’t know him/her.’

- (5-119) *ngada burdumbanyi kurri-ja bilwan-ji*
1sgNOM ignorant see-ACT 3pl-MLOC
'I looked at them without recognizing them.'

Chapter 6

The noun phrase

A Kayardild noun phrase consists of a head plus, optionally, one or more modifiers. All words in the NP agree in case (cf. 3.4.9). Modifiers may be nominal words (6-1) or noun phrases bearing an adnominal case (6-2, 6-3):

(6-1) *dathin-a* *jungarra* *dangka-a*
 that-NOM big(NOM) man-NOM
 ‘that big man’

(6-2) *dathin-a* *dangka-a* *kurrka-thu* [[*dathin-bakarran-ju*
 that-NOM man-NOM take-POT that-GEN-MPROP

 dangka-karran-ju] ADN:GEN *maku-wuru*] MPROP
 man-GEN-MPROP woman-MPROP

 ‘That man will take that other man’s wife.’

(6-3) [*jatha-a* *dangka-a* [*natha-wan-da* *bartha-wan-da*] ORIG] NOM
 other-NOM man-NOM camp-ORIG-NOM base-ORIG-NOM

 kamburi-j
 speak-ACT

 ‘Another man from the base camp spoke.’

NP heads may also be modified by clauses. Nominalized clauses precede and agree in case with the head (11.4). Finite subordinate clauses are adjoined before or after the main clause and do not agree in case with the head (Chapter 12).

The order of NP constituents depends on their function; this is discussed in 6.2.1. In the vast majority of NPs all constituents are contiguous. NP-splitting has clear semantic effects, discussed in 6.4.

6.1 The NP as a syntactic constituent in Kayardild

Several works on Australian languages (e.g. Simpson (1983) and Hale (1983) on Warlpiri, Heath (1986) on Nunggubuyu, and Blake (1983) on

Kalkatungu¹) have questioned the need for setting up NP constituents in these languages. Instead, they argue, apparent NPs can be treated as apposed, coreferential nominals; this would account for the high incidence of discontinuous or “unmerged” NPs. Case concord, on this interpretation, need not be mediated by constituency but can be attributed to semantic scope: an apparent “phrase” like [big-INSTR knife-INSTR] ‘with the big knife’ can be paraphrased as ‘with the big (one), with the knife’. I shall refer to this as the “apposition analysis”.

Valid as this analysis may be for some languages, it is not appropriate for Kayardild, for the following reasons:

(a) on the apposition analysis, every nominal word must be capable of occurring independently: sentences like [big came] ‘(the) big (one) came’ should be acceptable (as indeed they are in Warlpiri). But in Kayardild there are definite restrictions here: a large set of semantic adjectives, such as *jungarra* ‘big’, can normally only appear when qualifying an overt head. Thus in normal contexts *jungarra daliija* [big came] is unacceptable, as is *dathina jungarra daliija* [that big came]; an entity nominal like *dangkaa* ‘person’ is necessary, as in (*dathina*) *jungarra dangkaa daliija* ‘(that) big man came’.

Only in highly marked, contrastive contexts do adjectives occur alone; an example is:

- (6-4) *jungarra warrngal-d, nguthunguthu warrmar.*
 bigNOM wind-NOM littleNOM breezeNOM
 ‘The big one is called *warrngald*, the little one *warrmar*.’

(b) the clear ordering restrictions in Kayardild, and the requirement that all words in an NP be contiguous except under special discourse conditions, can be clearly stated in terms of an NP constituent.

(c) Perhaps the most powerful argument for the existence of NP constituents in Kayardild comes from the systematic distinction between inflections, with phrasal scope, and derivations, with lexical scope. The appositional analysis would predict that this dichotomy would not exist: derivations could apply indirectly to NPs by applying individually to each apposed word (see the discussion on possible origins of verbal case in 4.4.4.1).

¹ There are of course differences between their analyses, which do not affect the argument here. A quote from Blake (1983: 145) sums up the essence of these three scholars’ positions: “there are in fact no noun phrases, but where an argument is represented by more than one word we have nominals in parallel or in apposition.”

For the above reasons I assume the existence of NP constituents within Kayardild. This is not to say, however, that the apposition analysis is always inappropriate: entity-entity, part-whole and generic-specific constructions are best treated as apposed nominal words (see below), and “afterthought constructions” involve apposed NPs (6.5).

6.2 Syntactic functions within the NP

6.2.1 Functional structure of the Kayardild NP

The subconstituents of Kayardild NPs are ordered by function, as follows:²

(6-5)	(MODIFIERS)*	HEAD	(MODIFIER)
	(Determiner) (Number) (Qualifier)	Entity (Generic:Specific) (Part:Whole)	

Generic/specific and part/whole appositions occur in the “entity” slot, but the question of which is head is problematic—see 6.3.4 and 6.3.5. For now I treat them as composite heads.

Note that (a) all modifiers are optional (b) all modifiers precede the head, except that one modifier may be postposed, and (c) the head must be a word in “entity” function (or a generic/specific or part/whole pair). There is one exception to (c): some determiners may head one-word NPs (see 5.3.2.2).

Some sample NPs are:

(6-6)	<i>nga-la-wan-da</i>	<i>ngarrku-wa</i>	<i>kang-ka</i>
	1-pl-POSS-NOM	strong-NOM	language-NOM
	(Determiner)	(Qualifier)	(Entity)
	‘Our strong language’ (Kayardild)		

(6-7)	<i>kiyarrng-ka</i>	<i>yarbud-a</i>	<i>ngarnal</i>
	two-NOM	meat-NOM	white cockatooNOM
	(Number)	(Generic)	(Specific)
	‘Two white cockatoos.’		

² This section owes much to the analysis of Gooniyandi NPs by McGregor (1990).

- (6-8) *dathin-a kiyarrng-ka jungarra nal-da banga-a*
 that-NOM two-NOM bigNOM head-NOM turtle-NOM
 (Determiner) (Number) (Qualifier) (Part) (Whole)
 'Those two big turtle heads.'

The importance of ordering to the interpretation of NPs is illustrated by the semantic difference between *ngijinda nida wuranda* 'my totem animal' (lit. 'my name food') and *ngijinda wuranda nida* 'my totem name'; in the first *nida* functions as a qualifier, while in the second the qualifier is *wuranda*. More discussion on such function-based polysemy is in 6.2.2.

Very occasionally, the entity N is omitted when extralinguistic or discourse context makes its reference clear:

- (6-8) *ngada diya-ju warngiij-u*
 1sgNOM drink-POT one-MPROP
 'I'll drink one (can).'

- (6-9) *mawurraji-waan-d, plenty yakarr, mutha-a*
 spear.type-ORIG-NOM plenty porpoiseNOM many-NOM

dangka-a nurri-ja kala-tha murrukurnangk-inaba-ya
 person-NOM hack-ACT cut-ACT [triangular.kin.term]-ABL-MLOC

ngakin-jinaba-y
 our-ABL-MLOC

'Many people hacked and cut the porpoises, killed by *mawurraji* spears, the ones of our *murrukurnangk*.'

Note that the *functional* classification proposed here crosscuts the *morphological* subclasses proposed in 3.1. The determiner function, for example, may be discharged by possessive pronouns, demonstratives and compass locationals, genitive and ablative noun phrases expressing possession, and certain noun/adjectives like *niida* 'same' and *jathaa* 'different'. This places the burden of characterizing the NP on *functions* like determiner, qualifier, etc., rather than on formally-based phrasal *categories* like Determiner Phrase, Adjectival Phrase and so on.

Variation in the order of modifiers causes changes in their function. Possessive pronouns, for example, function as definite determiners when they precede the number nominal, but are indefinite qualifiers when they follow it: *niwanda kiyarrngka thabuju* 'his two brothers' vs *kiyarrngka niwanda thabuju* 'two (of) his elder brothers'.

6.2.2 Nominal lexemes and their function within the NP

Many lexemes can serve several functions within the NP; this does not correlate with their morphological possibilities. *Warngiida*, for example, may be an indefinite determiner ('a certain'), a number ('one') and a

DETERMINER	NUMBER	QUALIFIER	GENERIC	ENTITY
<i>dathina</i> 'that'	<i>kiyarrngka</i> 'two'	<i>jungarra</i> 'big'	<i>yarbuda</i> 'game'	<i>balangkali</i> 'brown snake'
			<i>wanku</i> 'elasmobranch fish'	<i>wanku</i> 'stingray sp.'
		<i>wurkara</i> 'male'		<i>wurkara</i> 'boy'
<i>jathaa</i> 'another'		<i>jathaa</i> 'different'		
		<i>dangkaa</i> 'human'	<i>dangkaa</i> 'person'	<i>dangkaa</i> 'man'
<i>warngiida</i> 'a certain'	<i>warngiida</i> 'one'	<i>warngiida</i> 'common'		

Figure 6-1. Some nominal lexemes and their functions within the NP

qualifier ('common; shared'); the third singular possessive pronoun *niwanda* may be a definite determiner 'the one belonging to him' or a qualifier 'belonging to him'. In addition, all nominals denoting extended bodies allow the part-whole construction.

Figure 6-1 shows the various types of multifunctional lexemes.

The polyfunctionality of K lexemes is systematic rather than random: only the above ten functional combinations are attested out of a theoretically possible $5! = 120$.

Many lexemes, for example, double as entities and qualifiers, e.g. *maku* ‘woman; female’, *jambarnda* ‘hollow log; hollow’, *balumbanda* ‘westerner; western’. And many double as entity and generics, e.g. *thungalda* ‘tree; thing’, *dangkaa* ‘man; human being’. There are also about 100 that can only function as qualifiers, e.g. *jungarra* ‘big’ and others discussed in 6.3.3, and a half dozen that can only function as numbers, such as *kiyarrngka* ‘two’. But there are no lexemes that double as determiners and generics, or qualifiers and generics, for example.

There are clear semantic reasons for these restrictions and multiple possibilities. The absence of lexemes that can be both determiners and generics is due to the inherent unsuitability of generic terms, which denote a large class of entities, for identifying individuals, which is the semantic function of determiners.

Given the strict restrictions on polyfunctionality, and the semantic rationale often evident, it is tempting to construct a set of minor lexical categories each with its distinctive set of functional possibilities, and to isolate their shared semantic characteristics.

An obvious example would be to set up an “adjective” subclass, which could be defined as just those nominals that can only occur in qualifier function.

The grammatical ramifications of such a subclassification, however, would not extend beyond the description of NP structure: all subclasses have identical morphological possibilities. Moreover, there are many facts that cannot easily be related to the semantics: why is it, for instance, that *maku* ‘woman’ is used to denote the quality ‘female’, but that *wurkara* ‘boy’ rather than *bithiinda* ‘man’ is used for ‘male’?

I will therefore assume that the specification of which function(s) a nominal can perform is left to the relevant lexical entry in the dictionary.

6.3 Modifier types

Because few NPs contain nominals in every function, and because many nominals are multi-functional, the identification of “determiners” and “qualifiers” in particular relies on certain decisive phrases that are either fully expanded, or contain unifunctional words like *kiyarrngka* ‘two’ that “fix” the position of the other nominals. The following discussion of functional possibilities is based on such crucial NPs, although many examples that I give will not be decisive in the above sense.

6.3.1 Determiners

Determiners make explicit the identifiability of a NP. My use of the term “determiner” here diverges somewhat from its normal technical use in syntactic description, since I am using it as a functional rather than a word-class label; it may include pronouns, demonstratives, certain noun/adjectives and compass locationals, provided they are functioning to “determine” the reference of their head. In Kayardild, NPs lacking a determiner may be definite or indefinite according to the linguistic context: *kiyarrngka dangkaa*, for example, may mean ‘two men’ or ‘the two men’.

“Definite” and “indefinite” are highly simplistic labels, summarizing complex assumptions by the speaker about both his own ability to identify the referent, and the ability of his interlocutor. In discussing the use of determiners, therefore, I shall supplement these labels by more explicit representations of the speaker’s assumptions.

The following may function as determiners. In (a) to (e) the identity of the referent is known to the speaker, in (f) to (h) it is not. (Note that more than one may occur in the one NP, e.g. *dathina riya dangkaa* ‘that man in the east’, *dathina niida dangkaa* ‘that same man’.)

(a) THE DEMONSTRATIVES *dathina* ‘that’ and *danda* ‘this’, as in *danda kiyarrngka wumburungka* ‘these two spears’. These determiners are used when it is assumed that the hearer can identify the referent by its demonstrated position in space (“spatial determiner”) or because it is an important established participant (“discourse determiner”). See 5.3.2.1 and 5.3.2.2 for examples.

(b) THE COMPASS LOCATIONALS *bada* ‘west’, etc., and the derived ‘from’ forms such as *bathinda* ‘coming from the west’, as in *bada dangkaa* ‘the man in the west’ and *bathinda dangkaa* ‘the man coming from the west’. See 5.3.2.1.

(c) THE PRONOUNS, as in *niya jungarra dangkaa* [he big man] ‘the big man’ and *ngarra kunawalada* [we-du children] ‘we two children’. Here it is assumed that the hearer can identify the referent either because it is established (3rd person) or because it is a participant in the speech act (1st, 2nd person). Note that on this analysis the pronoun in a phrase like the above is not just apposed (‘we, the children’) but helps identify which children are being talked about. A sentence example is:

(6-11) *ngoda bala-thu niwan-ju naljirndirri-wu, marrwa-wu*
 I:NOM hit-POT him-MPROP scrub turkey-MPROP near-MPROP

niya *rabi-ju*
 he-NOM get up-POT

'I'll shoot him, the scrub turkey, he'll fly up nearby.'

(d) POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS, AND ATTRIBUTIVE NPS bearing the ablative or genitive of possession. These assume that the hearer can identify the referent by knowing who the possessor is, and which entity belongs to the possessor. In *thabuju-karra kiyarrngka maku* [big brother-GEN two wife], for example, the speaker is assumed to know who 'big brother' is, and who 'big brother's two wives' are, and is therefore assumed capable of identifying the two referents.

Because the possessor must be readily identifiable, proper names or kin terms are more likely to appear in the adnominal phrase, but common nouns are possible in the right context.

Adnominal locatives, as in *nguku wuruman-urru* [water billy-ASSOC] 'the water in the billy', could also be treated as determiners on semantic grounds; certainly they are always definite. However, the fact that all examples in my corpus are postposed makes the position test impossible.

(e) THE QUALIFIER NOUN *niida* 'the same', as in *niida dangkaa* 'the same man', and in (6-12). Here the speaker assumes that the hearer can identify the referent, because it is identical to something that has just been talked about.

(6-12) (After talking about the responsibilities of the father-in-law):

rar-umban-ji *dulk-i* *niid-a* *warngiid-a* *mungkiji*
 south-ORIG-LOC country-LOC same-NOM one-NOM own(NOM)

kardu *kala-th*
 father-in-lawNOM cut-ACT

'In the south land (i.e. on Bentinck Island) the same one true father-in-law performed the circumcision.'

Within my corpus *niida* only appears in nominative NPs. Elsewhere the determiner *niwan-id-* (Declension 6) is used; formally this comprises the 3sg possessive pronoun stem plus the SAME clitic {-*id-*} (9.7.4.1). An example is *niwan-ij-i banki-ya* [3sgPOSS-SAME-LOC pool-LOC] 'in the same pool'.

(f) THE QUALIFIER NOUN *jathaa* 'different, other' and *jangkaa* 'some, some other', as in (6-13). Here the hearer is not expected to identify the referent completely, but merely to be aware of his non-identity with an established participant.

- (6-13) *maran-kuru* *raa-j*, *mawurraji*, *dami-wa-th*,
 spear type-PROP spear-ACT spear type(NOM) blunt-INCH-ACT
jatha-a *dangka-a* *buru-th*, *jurbulu-th*, *dami-wa-th*
 other-NOM man-NOM take-ACT sharpen-ACT blunt-INCH-ACT
 ‘(They) speared (at Kajurku) with marand spears, with mawurraji spears,
 (but they) became blunt. Other men picked (them) up and sharpened
 them, (but they) became blunt (again).’

Jathaa ...X, Jathaa ...Y means ‘one/some ...X, another/other ...Y’, as in Text 1, Line 15.

Jangkaa is also used to mean ‘someone, I don’t know who’, when no information about the referent’s identity is sought:

- (6-14) *ngada marri-jarra jangka-na dangka-na rajurri-n-kina*
 I:NOM hear-PST some-MABL man-MABL walk around-N-MABL
 ‘I heard someone walking around.’

(g) THE QUALIFIER NOUN *warngiida* ‘one, a certain’. Here the speaker is indifferent to the identity of the referent, merely stating “there is one X. It doesn’t matter who X is.”

- (6-15) *warngiid-a dangka-a rar-id-a*
 one-NOM man-NOM south-CONT-NOM
buruwan-mula-a-ja *budii-j*, *wiliwili* *niya*
 initiation ground-VABL-M-ACT run-ACT initiation ground 3sgNOM
jawi-j, *ngamathu-ya* *birmaru-th*
 run-ACT mother-MLOC inadvertently cause trouble for-ACT
 ‘One man ran away southward from the initiation ground. He ran, and inadvertently caused his mother to be killed (in punishment for his cowardice).’

(h) THE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS *ngaaka* ‘who/what/which’ and its derivatives, and *jinaa* ‘where’ and its derivatives. Here the speaker declares his own ignorance of the referent’s identity, and asks the listener to enlighten him if possible, e.g. *ngaaka kiyarrngka dangkaa* ‘which two men’.

Interrogative pronouns are discussed in 9.5.2.

6.3.2 Numbers

Kayardild makes use of the following number words:

<i>warirra</i>	nothing
<i>warngiida</i>	one
<i>kiyarrngka</i>	two
<i>burldamurra</i>	three
<i>mirndinda</i>	four
<i>muthaa</i>	many

The word for three may be reduplicated: *burldamurra-burldamurra* ‘quite a few’.

Counting is not a traditional activity in Kaiadilt society; in fact, the counting of turtle eggs was, and still is, tabooed. The only time I have heard a higher number used was in a discussion of how many wives a man had; the expression *kiyarrngka marlda* ‘two hands’ was used for ‘ten’:

- (6-16) A: *ngumban-da kanthathu jinamulu-nurru maku-nurru?*
 2sgPOSS-NOM father(NOM) how many-ASSOC wife-ASSOC
- R: *kiyarrng-ka marl-d*
 two-NOM hand-NOM
- A: ‘How many wives did your father have?’ R: ‘Ten.’

The approximate quantification of larger groups is accomplished by part-whole expressions using collective nominals. *Ngankirra* is translated as ‘mob’, it simply implies aggregation without specifying the internal composition of the group, and is thus appropriate for naming a pile of different fish, a group of people from different tribes, and so on. *Mumurra* is also a ‘big mob’, but is always human. *Ngurrngaa*, as in (6-17), is defined as a *jungarra mumurra* [big *mumurr*].

- (6-17) *ngurrnga-mirra warna-ja bandingka-y*
 big mob-INTENS dislike-ACT Bentinck-ACT
 ‘There are plenty of people (here) who don’t like Bentinck Island.’

Jardiya refers to a complete group, usually united by lineage or locality, as in *rarumbanda jardi* ‘the south mob’ (see Text 2, Line 84).

6.3.3 Qualifiers

These narrow down the potential reference of the head by naming a property or quality possessed by it.

Most commonly, qualifiers are ADJECTIVES, as defined in 6.2.2. These give:

DIMENSION AND SHAPE, e.g. *jungarra* 'big', *kunyaa* 'small', *bardubardu* 'low', *damurra* and *narri* 'short', *dingkarra* 'long', *narrkanarrka* 'deep', *barndibarndi* 'shallow', and *dakalda* 'round'.

PHYSICAL PROPERTY, e.g. *bardanda* 'withered', *balkaji* 'thin, scrawny', *mankarra* 'hefty', *dawurna* 'bitter, salty', *kunku* 'raw', *burungka* 'cooked', *bukaa* 'rotten, dead', *kurirra* 'ripe, cooked, dead', *marndu* 'dead (fish)', *dirralda* 'slippery, smooth', *kururri* 'curly', *kurrbulka* 'green, easily worked (wood)', *kurrukuru* 'smooth, shiny'.

COLOUR, distinguishing two primary hues (*balarra* 'white' and *ngumu* 'black, blue') and two secondary hues using reduplicated forms: *kandukandu* [blood-REDUP] 'red, yellow' and *kulawula* 'orange' (though this is formally a reduplication, there is no word *kula*-).

AGE, e.g. *dawurlda* 'new', *kalanginda* 'old'. More often, age is expressed by stage-of-life nouns in entity function, such as *marnganda* 'girl with fully developed breasts' or *makalmakalda* 'old woman'.

VALUE adjectives include *mirraa* 'good', *birdiya* 'bad', *ngulmuwa* 'secret/sacred/dangerous', *yulkaanda* 'perfect, eternal, as it should be'. *Junku*, 'right (hand)' can also mean 'right, correct, straight'.

HUMAN PROPENSITY is normally expressed not by adjectives but by entity nouns, e.g. *wungundu-wungundu* 'thief', *kamuthali* 'garrulous, drunken person'.

CORPOREAL adjectives include *jirdaa* 'hungry, greedy', *bardakawarri* 'hungry', *ngawarri* 'thirsty', *kurndubarraka* 'dry-throated', *nalbirdiya* [head-bad] 'deranged, drunk', *mibulkuru* 'sleepy', *nguru* 'lame', *ngithalkuru* 'hot' and *bayiwuru* 'wild, angry'. Note also *balinda* 'exposed by circumcision (glans penis), naked'.

Four qualifiers express ownership or non-ownership: *mungskiji* and *mawun-da*, 'own', and *mankin-da* and *dangkanaban-da* 'someone else's'. The members of each pair are roughly synonymous, but there are subtle differences. *Mungskiji* tends to be used when stressing an emotional association (e.g. *ngijinda mungskiji kunawuna* 'my own child', *ngijinda mungskiji dulka* 'my own country' (that I love)). *Mawun-da* stresses ownership or rights: *nyinka kurriju mawunku makuuru* 'you should keep your eyes on your own wife'. *Mankin-da* is always used with territory or hordal affiliations; '(territory) belonging to someone else' or 'foreign' are equally apt translations. *Dangkanaban-da* (formally person-ABL) is a general term for 'someone else's', and covers all sorts of ownership, from land to body-parts.

Qualifiers may also be nominalizations (11.2), e.g. *biya-n-kuru dangka-a* [paddle-N-PROP man-NOM] ‘the man who has to paddle’, *bayi-wirdi-n-da dangka-a* [angry-stay-N-NOM man-NOM] ‘trouble maker’.

Attributive NPs bearing an adnominal case, and possessive pronouns, may also function as qualifiers: *kiyarrngka mala-wan-da yakuri-ya* [two sea-ORIG fish] ‘two fish from the sea’, *jatha-a niwan-da nid-a* [other his name] ‘another of his names’. Embedded NPs inflected for an adnominal case tend to be postposed, e.g. *jatha-a dangka-a natha-wan-da bartha-wan-da* [other-NOM man-NOM camp-ORIG-NOM base-ORIG-NOM] ‘another man from the base camp’.

I have one example in which a comparison phrase is embedded in the qualifier slot:

- (6-18) *bil-da diya-ja jungarra-ya maraka bijarrba-ya*
 3pl-NOM eat-ACT big-MLOC CTRFCT dugong-MLOC
wujari-∅
 piece.of.meat-LOC

‘They ate pieces of (horse-)meat as big as what one gets from a dugong.’
 [Lit. ‘they ate big like dugong pieces of meat’]

6.3.4 Generic nouns

We now turn to two constructions in which the identification of a single head is problematic: generic-specific (6.3.4) and part-whole (6.3.5) constructions.

Many NPs in K include both a specific noun/adjective and one or more “generic” NPs naming a class of entities, or a use to which they can be put. (6-19) to (6-21) are examples: (6-19) includes the “class” generic *wanku* ‘elasmobranch fish’, (6-20) includes the “use” generic *wuran-da* ‘food’, and (6-21) includes both the “class” generic *yarbuda* ‘non-marine non-human vertebrate (‘game’)’ and the “use” generic *wuranda* ‘food’:

- (6-19) *dathin-a dangka-a niya wumburung-kuru raa-ja*
 that-NOM man-NOM 3sgNOM spear-PROP spear-ACT
wanku-ya kulkiji-y
 elasmobranch-MLOC shark-MLOC

‘That man speared a shark with the spear.’

- (6-20) *dathin-a jardi-wuthin-da badi-ja jul-i wuran-ki*
 that-NOM mob-PLENTY-NOM carry-ACT bone-MLOC food-MLOC
 ‘All those (ants) are carrying a bone.’

- (6-21) *mutha-a yarbud-a wuran-da kaarrku, wanikarr,*
 many-NOM game-NOM food-NOM seagullNOM pelicanNOM
- jirrkur-iid-a kada thaa-th, warmarra-y, [ngudi-jurrka]COBL*
 north-CONT-NOM again return-ACT wind-LOC throw-SIMUL:COBL
- ‘Lots of game, food, seagulls, pelicans are heading north again in the wind, which is throwing (them along).’

Identifying a head noun in such constructions is problematic. Either order is possible, although it is commoner for generics to come first. More importantly, either can appear alone, in contrast to the necessity that numbers and qualifiers be accompanied by a head. (6-19), for example, could be rephrased as *niya raaja wankuya* or *niya raaja kulkijiya*. And because the entity being discussed is included in the range of reference of both nominals, it is impossible to say which nominal controls reference in relative clauses (a test used by Hale (1981) to identify the head in part-whole constructions).

Because of these difficulties there is little point in identifying a single head, and I will consider such constructions as double-headed. Some support for this comes from the behaviour of generic-specific constructions under object-prefixation to nominalized verbs. Recall that this normally applies only to single words (5.1.3.3), and that NPs comprising a qualifier or number plus a head must be converted into a single word by compounding before they can be prefixed. With generic-specific constructions, by contrast, each word may be individually prefixed, e.g. *wanku-raa-n-da kulkiji-raa-n-da* ‘spearer of elasmobranchs, of sharks’.

The generic nature of certain Kayardild nominals is explicitly acknowledged by speakers. *Yarbuda*, for instance, was translated for me as “all the snake, bird, lizard”. Generic nouns plus qualifiers are often used in defining or describing species, and in naming assortments of different species (e.g. a catch of different fish). In discussing such matters, Kayardild speakers use the meta-terms *warngiida nida* ‘one/common name’ or *jungarra nida* ‘big name’ for generic terms, and *kunyaa nida* ‘small name’ for specific terms, as in:

- (6-22) *bi-l-wan-da warngiid-a nid, kunbulk*
 3-pl-POSS-NOM one-NOM nameNOM large sea animalNOM
- jatha-a nid-a kunya-a, bijarrb, banga-a,*
 other-NOM name-NOM small-NOM dugongNOM turtle-NOM
- yakarr, kanithu*
 porpoiseNOM whaleNOM

‘They have a common name, *kunbulk*. The other names are small ones: dugong, turtle, porpoise, whale.’

Some generic nominals recur at different taxonomic levels, with different meanings. The word *wuranda* is particularly complex. It functions sometimes as a class generic meaning ‘animate’, as in (6-23) and the phrase *ngaaka wuranda* ‘what sort (of animate being)’; here it contrasts with *thungalda* ‘(inanimate) thing’ (6-24). Cf. *ngaaka thungalda* ‘what sort of thing’.

(6-23) *ngada dangka-a wuran-d, ngada diya-nangku*
1sgNOM human-NOM being-NOM 1sgNOM eat-NEG POT

ngumban-ju
you-MPROP

‘I’m a human being, I won’t eat you.’

(6-24) *ngaaka thungal-da kamarr? mariw*
whatNOM thing-NOM stoneNOM stone.fist.axeNOM
‘What sort of stone (is this)? It’s a stone fist axe.’

But it may also function as a “use” generic, meaning ‘food’. In this function it may combine with the various “class” terms given below (see also (6-21)).

“Class” generics divide the animal kingdom into *dangkaa* ‘humans’, *yarbuda* ‘birds and reptiles’³ (henceforth ‘game’), *yakuriya* ‘bony fish’, *wanku* ‘elasmobranch fish—sharks and rays’, *kunbulka* ‘large sea animals—turtles, dugongs and cetaceans’.

The plant kingdom is divided into *karnda* ‘grasses and seaweeds’ and *thungalda* ‘trees’. No generic terms for ‘plant food’ exist, perhaps reflecting the relative unimportance of plant food in the Kayardild diet.⁴ There are, however, the phrases *miburlda wuranda* [eye food] ‘fruit’ and *nalda wuranda* [head food] ‘edible root’.

Both *yarbuda* and *thungalda* may also function as “use” generics, respectively classifying objects as harmful and useful. In this “use” function, *yarbuda* may refer to harmful insects such as spiders and

³ For the purposes of definition, speakers further subdivide these into *kalanda yarbuda* ‘flying game; i.e. birds, bats and flying foxes’, *barrinda yarbuda* ‘crawling game, i.e. snakes’ and *rajurrinda yarbuda* ‘walking game’, i.e. lizards and goannas.

⁴ This is a contrast with most Australian languages which do have a generic for plant food, usually a cognate of *mayi*. Lardil, too, lacks a generic for vegetable food, but its auxiliary language Damiin has one, *m!ii*—possibly cognate with *mayi* or an alternative form like Warlpiri *miyi*. Interestingly, there is one compound verb in Lardil that may preserve the form. *M!i(i)-wu* means ‘have responsibility for, look after (OBJ:child)’; a plausible etymology is ‘food-give’ (*wuu-* is ‘give’).

scorpions, and also to cyclones, *dirra yarbuda* [cloud yarbuda].⁵ *Thungalda*, as a use generic, may classify domesticated animals such as horses, goats and sheep; one Bentinck Islander received the conception name *ngumuwa thungalda* [black thing] in honour of a black goat on Sweers Island. These examples clearly illustrate the distinction between “use” and “class” functions: in the former, *yarbuda* refers to animates and *thungalda* to inanimates, while in the latter *yarbuda* may also refer to inanimates (e.g. a cyclone) and *thungalda* to animates (e.g. a goat).

Sometimes entities are treated as halfway between two generics, as in (6-25) where ‘seaweed’ *karnda* is described as *wuranda thungalda* ‘food thing’—it is food for dugong but a mere thing for humans:

- (6-25) *malawarri* *kinaa-jir,* *bijarrba-r,* [*karn-kurrka*
shallowNOM call-DIREC dugong-MALL seaweed-MLOC:COBL
- tharma-thurrka* *dathin-kurrka* *wuran-kurrka*
graze-SIMUL:COBL that-MLOC:PURP food-MLOC:COBL
- thungal-urrk*]COBL
thing-MLOC:COBL

‘They’re calling out that it’s shallow and there are dugong, grazing on that food thing seaweed.’

6.3.5 Part-whole NPs

In these a “part” nominal is juxtaposed with a “whole” nominal. These constructions are used when one entity is thought of as an inseparable or inalienable part of, an alternate manifestation of, or a subset of, the other. The orders part-whole and whole-part are equally likely. As with generic-specific constructions, there are no syntactic reasons for considering one nominal to be the head, and it is better to treat them as apposed nominals. Another similarity with generic-specific constructions is that each word may be prefixed to a nominalized verb, as in *kandu-diya-n-da dangka-diya-n-da* [blood-eat-N-NOM person-eat-N-NOM] ‘eater of people’s blood’ (Text 1, Line 13).⁶

⁵ This “harmful object” use probably results from the inclusion of ‘snakes’ within the reference of *yarbuda*.

⁶ Two tests could be used to isolate a “semantic” head:

(a) Scope of numerals. Does *kiyarrngka barthaa dangkaa* [two track man] mean ‘two tracks, of a man’ or ‘tracks of two men’. I did not investigate this in the field and cannot answer this.

(b) Semantic consequences of omitting one nominal. *ngada balatha dangkaya nali* [I hit man head] ‘I hit the man’s head’ is interpreted as roughly synonymous with

There are several semantic subtypes of part-whole NP:

(a) body parts, as in *dangkaa thukanda* [man chin/beard] ‘man’s chin/beard’, *ngida wamburra* ‘tree trunk’. Excretions and eggs are also included here, e.g. *bangaa kuru* ‘turtle egg(s)’. Severed body parts take the GENitive, e.g. *wanku-karra daman-da* [shark-GEN tooth-NOM], except where the species of their former possessors is at issue, e.g. *wanku-wa daman-da* [shark-NOM tooth-NOM] ‘shark tooth’. With human body parts the possessor may instead take a possessive pronoun or a genitive noun/adjective, even when the part is not detached (4.3.8.2, 5.2.2.1).

Body part constructions within the NP, such as those just given, must not be confused with the ‘body-part as instrument’ and ‘body-part as locus of effect’ constructions (9.4), where part and whole, although agreeing in (relational) case, are represented by distinct NP constituents.

(b) tracks, as in *jara barthaa* ‘foot track’ and *barthaa bangaa* ‘track turtle’, and the wakes of fish, as in *yakuriya dakarnda* ‘fish wake’.

(c) language, names, voice and characteristic sounds, e.g. *waydbala kangka* [whiteman language] ‘the white man’s language’; *bangaa wangarra* [turtle song] ‘the song/sound of turtles’; *dangkaa nida* [person name] ‘a person’s name’; *mutha-mirra kangka dangkaa* [many-INTENS language person] ‘many sounds of people’; *niya thawurra* [he throat] ‘his voice (quality)’.

(d) spirits, as in *dangkaa ngabaya* ‘person’s spirit’.

(e) ‘story-places’, seen as alternate manifestations of mythical beings. See Text 4, Lines 18 and 19.

ngada balatha dangkaya ‘I hit the man’, while *ngada balatha nali* [I hit head] would be interpreted as ‘I hit (a detached) head’, even if ‘he’ is well established in the discourse. This argument suggests that the “inalienable possessor” or “whole” is semantic head with body part constructions.

With “track” constructions, on the other hand, the omissibility argument suggests the “part” (the track) as semantic head: *ngada kurrija bangaya barthaya* [I saw turtle track] is a more explicit version of *ngada kurrija barthaya* ‘I saw a track’, but is a totally different proposition to *ngada kurrija bangaya* ‘I saw (a) turtle’.

And with “composite” constructions like *ngada kurrija kawukaya jardiyaliya* ‘I saw a bundle of fighting sticks’, either nominal can be omitted: ‘I saw a bundle’ and ‘I saw fighting sticks’ are both synonymous with the part-whole version.

It is thus impossible to make a single generalization about whether the “part” or the “whole” is “semantic head”: this depends on the subtype of the construction. Much more work would be needed before the exact semantic relationships can be delineated.

(f) component substance, as in *malbaa birra* ‘grass string’ and *kamarra dangkaa* ‘stone man (Kajurku)’.

(g) composition of bundles and packages, e.g. *kawuka jardiyali* [bundle fighting-stick] ‘a bundle of fighting sticks’.

(h) human groups and their members, as in *jardiya kunawuna* [mob child] ‘a mob of children’.

(i) groups and their subsets. These contain a pronoun referring to the whole group, and one or more entity nouns referring to subsets of the whole:

(6-26) *nga-rr-a kajakaja warra-ja thaa-th*
 1-du-NOM daddyNOM go-ACT return-ACT
 ‘Daddy and I will go’ (lit. ‘we two, including daddy, will go’).

(6-27) *dathin-a maku-wa bithiin-da bi-l-da warra-j*
 that-NOM woman-NOM man-NOM 3-pl-NOM go-ACT
 ‘Those men and women are going.’

6.4 NP-splitting

NP-splitting obeys precise rules and has a clear semantic rationale. It always involves a single modifier being split off; split NPs always straddle a verb.

NP-splitting is used

(a) when qualifiers convey a restrictive meaning: the speaker assumes that several entities suit the label offered by the entity nominal, and emphasizes that the qualifier helps find the right referent. In the examples below, one or some tokens of the type designated by the noun is selected, using the focussed attribute, from a larger set of tokens.

(6-28) *malba-a kaba-tha buka-a!*
 grass-NOM find-ACT dead-NOM
 ‘Find some grass which is dead!’

(6-29) *ngada jungarra-wu yakuri-wu diya-ju dathin-ku*
 I:NOM big-MPROP fish-MPROP eat-POT that-MPROP
 ‘I want to eat **that** big fish.’

(6-30) *dan-da kunya-a walbu-wa nga-ku-l-da kurrka-n!*
 this-NOM small-NOM raft-NOM 1-INC-pl-NOM take-NEGIMP

jungarra kurrka-tha walbu, dan-da mutha-a
big(NOM) take-IMP raftNOM here-NOM many-NOM

dangka-walad
person-LOT(NOM)

'Don't let's take this small raft! (Let's) take the **big** raft, there are lots of people here.'

(b) when emphasizing the degree or number of the adjectival attribute. Selection is not involved: in neither of the following examples is the existence of a larger set of tokens implied. (For an example where the qualifier follows the verb see (12-123)).

(6-31) *ngada jungarra-wu karna-ju kaburra-wu*
1sgNOM big-MPROP light-POT fire-MPROP
'I want to light a **big** fire.'

(6-32) *ngada kiyarrng-ku kala-thu wumburung-ku mirra-wu*
1sgNOM two-MPROP cut-POT spear-MPROP good-MPROP
'I want to cut out **two** good boomerangs.'

6.5 Complex and apposed NPs

Complex NPs may be formed by conjoining two normal NPs. "And" conjunction is usually accomplished by simple juxtaposition (6-33, 6-34).

(6-33) *nिया kurrka-tha barruntha-ya wuran-ki nguku-y*
he:NOM take-ACT yesterday-LOC food-MLOC water-MLOC
'Yesterday he took (with him) food and water.'

(6-34) *wumburu-nurru wangal-nurru bi-l-d*
spear-ASSOC boomerang-ASSOC they-pl-NOM
'They have spears and boomerangs with them.'

With many such pairs the order is conventionalized: *karndiya dunda* [wife husband] but not *dunda karndiya*, *makuwa bithiinda* [woman man] but not *bithiinda maku*, and so forth. But as (6-33) illustrates, the component words are separately inflected.

Under certain conditions, nominal words are linked by the conjunction *bana* 'and'. This is only used when accumulation is being stressed, or when the conjuncts are seen as alternative rather than co-occurrent. See 9.7.5.

It is also common to appose several NPs referring to the same individual, each of which gives an alternative designation of the same reference:

(6-35) [*Dathin-a Dulcie*] [*ngumban-da marrkathu*], [*yuujbadiyarrba-na*],
 that-NOM Dulcie your-NOM auntNOM first.born-ABL

[*yuujbadiyarrba-na your kangku-na*]
 first.born-ABL father's.father-ABL

'That Dulcie, your aunt, the first-born's (child), the first-born's, your paternal grandfather's.'

Often such constructions involve successive restriction of reference: the speaker may begin with a more general referring expression, decide the hearer has not yet identified the referent successfully, then give a more specific expression. The first NP is typically very general—e.g. a pronoun or generic noun—while the second is more specific. There is no requirement that such apposed NPs be contiguous:

(6-36) *mutha-ya wuran-ki bi-l-da dalwani-ja barrngka-y*
 much-MLOC food-MLOC they-pl-NOM dig up-ACT lily root-MLOC
 'They dug up a lot of food, lily roots.'

(6-37) *niya dathin-a dangka-a kamarri-ja thalardin-d*
 3sgNOM that-NOM man-NOM ask-IMP old man-NOM
 'Ask him, that man, the old man!'

Chapter 7

Verbals

7.1 Introduction

The morphological class of verbals includes three functional types: verbs proper, which function as predicators (e.g. *raaja* ‘spear’), adverbals, which only occur together with a main verb (e.g. *bakiija* ‘all S do, do to all O’), and verbal cases, which function like cases, attaching to each subconstituent of a NP. Despite their functional differences, these three types have identical possibilities for inflection and verb-verb derivation.

All verbals, regardless of function, belong to either of two conjugations, “dental” or “palatal” (7.2.1). Conjugation membership is largely determined phonologically (7.2.4).

We begin this chapter by discussing the functional relationships between verbal inflection, the systems of modal and verbal case, and the preverbal clitics and particles that may mark tense/mood. In 7.1.2 we summarize the structure of the verbal word; then in 7.2 the form and function of each verbal inflection is presented in detail. In 7.3 I attempt a reconstruction of the proto Tangkic system of verb inflections, arguing that all but the imperative and desiderative derive historically from nominalizations inflected for case. We then turn to the various verb-verb (7.4) and nominal-verb (7.5) derivations, certain nominal suffixes that may follow the verb inflection (7.6), verbal reduplication (7.7), and nominal prefixation (7.8).

7.1.1 Kayardild verbal inflection in its functional context

To a greater extent than in most languages, the signalling of tense, aspect and mood in Kayardild integrates a number of interdependent systems. Supplementing the many distinctions coded by verbal inflection is the set of six modal cases (3.4.3; 10.1); although in the majority of cases these could be considered to show a sort of concord with the verbal inflections, there are nonetheless many examples of their “independent” use (10.1.3). Aspectual distinctions can be expressed by nominalizing the verb (7.2.3.13), by preverbal particles, or by aspectual complexes; persistence may also be expressed using the ‘SAME’ clitic (9.7.4.1). And “insubordinated” clauses—main clauses bearing a complementizing case—may be used to express certain evidential categories (12.4).

As we discuss the use of verbal inflections, therefore, the reader should not forget that these interact constantly with other subsystems of the grammar; I shall cross-reference these where appropriate.

7.1.2 Structure of the verbal word

Verbal words comprise a verbal stem, with or without further derivational suffixes, followed by a “final inflection” signalling tense, aspect, mood and polarity. The verbal stem may be a simple root, a noun-verb compound, or a root of various word classes followed by a verbalizing derivational suffix. Under certain circumstances the final inflection may be followed by (a) a complementizing case (3.4.6) or (b) rarely, by one of the two nominal suffixes *-yarrada* ‘other’ or *-wanda* ‘ORIGIN’. I have no examples of (a) and (b) together and do not know if this is possible.

Stem + (Suf_{Der})² + Final Inflection + Complementizing Case /
Nominal suffix

Of the three verb-verb derivations (7.4), the only two that can co-occur are the CAUSative *-THarrma-* and the RECIProcal *-NTHu-*, attested only in the word *wirrka-jarrma-thu-tha* [dance-CAUS-RECIP-ACT] ‘tickle each other’ (lit. ‘make each other dance’).

The stem plus any derivational suffixes may also feed various nominal-verb derivations, discussed in 7.5.

7.2 Final inflections: form and function

7.2.1 Structure of the final inflection

Final inflections can be analysed into a “thematic”, signalling conjugation and/or polarity, and a “termination”, signalling tense/mood/aspect. The affirmative and negative potential forms of the verbs *raaja* ‘spear’ and *balatha* ‘hit’, which represent the two conjugations, will illustrate; the proposed point of segmentation is marked by a period, since their status as independent morphemes is not clear (7.2.2).

	POTential	NEGative POTential
‘spear’	<i>raa-j.u(ru)</i>	<i>raa-nang.ku(ru)</i>
‘hit’	<i>bala-th.u(ru)</i>	<i>bala-nang.ku(ru)</i>

As with nominal case inflections, the terminations have protected forms, found before complementizing case suffixes, and unprotected forms, found elsewhere. Segments only appearing in the protected forms are given in brackets.

The alternation between palatal *-j-* and dental *-th-* thematics in positive inflections is pervasive, and entirely conditioned by conjugation membership. All negatives but one, on the other hand, have the same thematic, *-nang-*, regardless of conjugation. The remaining one, *-THarri*, is based on the positive thematic plus privative *-warri*.

For economy, I will cite positive terms using a conjugation-neutral variable *-TH-*: the positive potential form just presented would thus be given as *-THu(ru)*.

The APPRehensive final maintains the palatal/dental alternation, but with a nasal rather than a stop: *raa-ny.arra* [spear-APPR], *bala-nh.arra* [hit-APPR]; this will be represented as *-NHarra*.

Two inflections cannot be segmented in this way: the desiderative, which is *-da* for both conjugations, and the nominalizer, *-n-* for both conjugations.

Verbs will be cited in their ACTual forms, with suffix *-THa*.

7.2.2 Final inflections: forms

The forms of all final inflections are given in Figure 7-1.

All verb inflections but the DESiderative have terminations with cognate case suffixes. These are given, for reference, in column 4; the cognacy of the PaST and ALMOST inflections with the CONSequential, and of the APPRehensive with the UTILitive, will be established by comparative evidence, in 7.3.

Not only are the basic forms cognate, but there are also striking similarities in allomorphy, sequence restrictions and sequence portmanteaux:

(a) Just as PROPrietary *{-kuru}* is usually *-(k)u* word-finally, *-(k)uu* before a Complementizing or Associating OBLique and *-(k)uru* before a Complementizing LOCative, so POTential *{-THuru}* is *-THu* word-finally, *-THuu* before COBL or AOBL, and *-THuru* before CLOC.

(b) The nominal OBLique cannot be followed by any case suffix. Similarly the HORTative inflections, whose termination is cognate with the OBLique, may not be followed by a complementizing case (4.2.3).

(c) The nominal LOCative *-(k)i(ya)* can only be followed by the OBLique, giving the LOC+OBL portmanteau *-kurrka* (4.2.3). Similarly the IMMEDIATE *-THi*, whose ending is cognate with the LOCative, cannot be

followed by CLOC, but it can be followed by COBL, giving the portmanteau *-THurrka* (12.1.5.1).

Many generalizations would therefore be captured by a synchronic analysis which treats verb finals as thematics plus case inflections. Unfortunately, however, it is impossible to do this consistently.

Firstly, the desiderative *-da* cannot be so analysed, even though it is part of the same paradigmatic series. Secondly, verb terminations sometimes show splits not found in the corresponding nominal: to the nominal CONSequential case *-ngarrba* there correspond *two* verb terminations : PRECONdition *-TH.arrba* and PAST *-TH.arra*. Thirdly, the meanings of the verb inflections are sometimes difficult to relate synchronically to the corresponding nominal case: the nominal OBLique case, for example, has a purely syntactic function, and has no meaning that can be linked synchronically to the HORTative meaning of the corresponding verb final. (Though a diachronic explanation *is* possible—10.4.2.3.)

Function	Positive	Negative	Cognate case	
IMPerative	<i>-TH.a</i>	<i>-na</i>	NOMinative	<i>-Ca</i>
ACTual	<i>-TH.a</i>	—		
NEGative ACTual	—	<i>-TH.arri</i>	PRIVative	<i>-warri</i>
IMMEDiate	<i>-TH.i</i>	<i>-nang.ki</i>	LOCative	<i>-(k)i(ya)</i>
POTential	<i>-TH.u(ru)</i>	<i>-nang.ku(ru)</i>	PROPrietary	<i>-(k)u(ru)</i>
PAST	<i>-TH.arra</i>	—	CONSequential	<i>-ngarrba</i>
ALMOST	—	<i>-nang.arra</i>	“ “	“ “
PRECONdition	<i>-TH.arrba</i>	—	“ “	“ “
DESIDERative	<i>-da</i>	—	None	
HORTative	<i>-TH.inja</i>	<i>-nang.inja</i>	OBLique	<i>-inja</i>
APPRehensive	<i>-NHarra</i>	—	UTILitive	<i>-marra</i>
DIRECTed	<i>-THiri(ng)</i>	—	ALLative	<i>-(k)iri(ng)</i>
NOMinalization	<i>-n-</i>	—	None	
RESultative	<i>-THirri-n-</i>	—	None	

Figure 7-1. Forms of final verb inflections, together with cognate case suffixes

How these problems might be reconciled with a THEMATIC-plus-case analysis is discussed in 10.1. But for the present, all verb inflections will be treated as monomorphemic.

7.2.3 Final Inflections: function

Most Kayardild verb inflections can appear both in subordinate and main clauses; in general the subordinate use is historically prior (10.4). In this chapter the focus is on main clause functions; the function of these inflections in subordinate clauses is discussed in Chapter 12.

7.2.3.1 Imperative -THa /-na. This expresses a command to perform (positive) or refrain from (negative) an action. The subject is optionally omitted when second person (any number) but is obligatory with first inclusives.

Objects take the nominative, except that pronominal objects may take either the NOMinative or the LOCative (cf. 5.2.2).

(7-1) *(nyingka) kurrka-tha / kurrka-na wangalk!*
2sgNOM take-IMP take-NEG.IMP boomerangNOM
'(You) take / don't take the boomerang!'

(7-2) *nga-ku-l-da kurri-j! / nga-ku-l-da kurri-n!*
1-INC-pl-NOM look-IMP 1-INC-pl-NOM look-NEG.IMP
'Let's look / let's not look!'

(7-3) *duura-tha ngad / ngijin-ji*
poke-IMP 1sgNOM 1sgPOSS-LOC
'Poke me!'

(7-4) *duura-na ngad / ngijin-ji*
poke-NEGIMP 1sgNOM 1sgPOSS-LOC
'Don't poke me!'

7.2.3.2 ACTUAL -THa /-THarri. This is used for actions that the speaker knows to be taking place or to have taken place (affirmative), or not to be taking place or not to have taken place (negative).

(7-5) *jungarra bawa-tha warmgal-d*
big(NOM) blow-ACT wind-NOM
'The wind's blowing strong.'

(7-6) *jirra-rmga-maru-tha kurrka-tha kunawuna-ya barmgka-y,*
north-BOUND-VD-ACT take-ACT child-MLOC waterlily-MLOC

kurndaji *jirrkur-ung-ka* *mirrayala-th* *Nalkardarrawuru*
 sandhill(NOM) north-ALL-NOM make-ACT (name)

'Nalkardarrawuru took the baby waterlilies to the beach to the north (Bentinck Island, from Fowler Island), and made a sandhill way to the north.'

(7-7) *ngada* *kala-tharri* *wangalk-i*
 1sgNOM cut-NEG.ACT boomerang-MLOC
 'I haven't made a boomerang.'

(7-8) *niya* *baa-jarri* *wadu-y*
 3sgNOM bite-NEG.ACT smoke-MLOC
 'He isn't smoking.'

The NEGative ACTual is sometimes used in making general statements about what ought not to be done, as an alternative to the NEGative POTential. See Text 8, Lines 2, 23, 25 and 28 for examples.

The ACTual inflection is the unmarked choice in narrative. It stresses that the action described has been "instantiated" (Hale 1976), rather than being concerned with locating the action in time. Time NPs (e.g. *barrunthaya* 'yesterday') or the preverb *yuuda* 'already' (8.1.1) may be used for greater temporal precision.

To stress the pastness of an action, the PaST inflection is chosen (7.2.3.6); to stress its completion, a resultative or consequential nominalization (11.2); to stress its ongoing nature, a plain nominalization (7.2.3.13).¹

Occasionally the NEGative ACTual is used to advise of something that must be avoided, e.g. *markuu-jarri* [get.mulgri-NEG.ACT] '(one must) watch out for mulgri'—see Nyinyaaki Text, lines (2) and (23).

7.2.3.3 SUPpositional -THi (archaic). This is only attested in three examples on Wurm's tapes, and I never heard it used during my field trips, although older speakers acknowledged the taped sentences as correct. All attested examples take the modal LOCative case.

The sole positive example involves a tentative suggestion:

(7-9) *nyinka* *kurri-ji*, [*kurri-juru-ya* *ngarnal*]CLOC
 2sgNOM see-SUPP see-POT-CLOC white.cockatooNOM
 'If you go and have a look, you might see some white cockatoos.'

¹ On formal grounds one could merge the positive ACTual and positive IMPerative into a single "plain" or "unmarked" inflection, as Hale et al. (1981) do for Lardil. But I have chosen to distinguish the two, for two reasons: (a) IMPerative and ACTual inflections have different negative counterparts (b) they select different modal cases.

The negative examples involve hypothetical actions that should have been carried out, but were not. The first clause of (7-10) is unmarked for complementizing case; the second clause of (7-10), and (7-11), take complementizing obliques. The complementizing case appears in (7-10) because of the odd pivot sequence [subject—object] (12.2). In (7-11) it suggests an ellipsed main clause command predicate (12.4).

- (7-10) *barruntha-ya dali-nangkiya nyingk, [ngijuwa*
 yesterday-LOC come-NEG.SUPP 2sgNOM 1sgSUBJ:COBL
wuu-nangkurrka wujari-wu-nangkurrk] COBL
 give-NEG.SUPP:COBL meat-VDON-NEG.SUPP:COBL
 ‘If you had come yesterday, I would have given you some meat.’

- (7-11) *[ngijuwa dali-nangkurrk]* COBL
 1sgSUBJ:COBL come-NEG.SUPP:COBL
 ‘I should have come. (I was told to).’

7.2.3.4 IMMEDIATE -THi. This is formally identical with the SUPpositional, and the two could be merged on formal grounds. Historically, however, they derive from different sources: the SUPpositional from the pT “irrealis imperative”, the IMMEDIATE from the pT “simultaneous” construction.

The IMMEDIATE stresses that the action described is occurring just at the moment of speech:

- (7-12) *burri-ji burri-ji wadu burri-ji*
 come out-IMMED come out-IMMED smokeNOM come out-IMMED
 (Rubbing firesticks together:) ‘It’s coming out now, smoke’s coming out.’

It selects the modal LOCative:

- (7-13) *ngaakarran-ji kunawuna-ya nyingka bala-thi?*
 whose-MLOC child-MLOC 2sgNOM hit-IMMED
 ‘Whose child are you hitting?’

The IMMEDIATE is fairly rare in main clauses but far commoner in subordinate clauses (12.1.5.1).

7.2.3.5 POTENTIAL -THu(ru) / -nangku(ru). This has a wide range of meanings.

(a) EXPECTATION / FUTURITY:

- (7-14) *niya bukawa-thu mungkiji-wu dulk-u*
 3sgNOM die-POT own-MPROP country-MPROP
 ‘He will die in his own country.’

- (7-15) *ngada ngudi-nangku wangalk-u*
 1sgNOM throw-NEG.POT boomerang-MPROP
 'I won't throw the boomerang.'

(b) PRESCRIPTION. The speaker prescribes (affirmative) or forbids (negative) some action. Agentless passives using the middle voice are frequent. For a further example see lines 21-22 of Text 9.

- (7-16) *ngurruwarra-wan-da yakuri wungi-i-nangku*
 fishtrap-ORIG-NOM fishNOM steal-M-NEG.POT
 'Fish from fish traps must not be stolen.'

Prescriptions that have been disobeyed are expressed with the POTential plus the COUNTERFACTUAL *maraka* (9.7.2.1).

(c) DESIRE. The POTential may express the desire of the subject to carry out (affirmative) or not to carry out (negative) the verbal action: it therefore translates as 'want to V' or 'not want to V' in this context. A good example is the sentence *waydbala kurriju* 'some whitefellers wanted to see' in Text 1, Line 21. In this example the tense is past, and in general the 'desire' sense is compatible with past, present or future readings.

- (7-17) *kunyawunya kunawuna rar-umban-ju kang-ku*
 smallNOM childNOM south-ORIG-MPROP language-MPROP
kamburi-ju.
 talk-POT

- (a) 'The little children want to speak Kayardild.'
 (b) 'The little children should speak Kayardild.' (prescriptive reading)

(d) ABILITY (affirmative) / INABILITY (negative).

- (7-18) *dali-j! ngada kantharrkuru ngudi-nangku*
 come-IMP 1sgNOM aloneNOM throw-NEG.POT
banga-walath-u
 turtle-LOT-MPROP

'Come! I can't turn all these turtles over on my own.'

As these examples illustrate, the POTential most often selects the modal PROPrietary case. Where, however, an ability or inability is attributed to an actual, past situation, the modal LOCative is used (10.1.3). *Maraka* plus POTential constructions can also take the modal LOCative when describing actions that could have happened in the past (9.7.2.1). For other senses of the POTential, such as the prescriptive or 'want' senses, I have no examples of it combining with a different modal case.

(e) REPEATED ACTIONS IN THE PAST. This is occasionally used as a narrative device. See Text 2, Lines 32-5, and Text 5, Lines 4,10 and 11.

(f) JUSSIVES AND PURPOSE CLAUSES. These only occur as finite subordinate clauses, and are discussed in 12.3.9.

7.2.3.6 PaST -THarra. As noted in 7.2.3.2, past events are most often coded with the ACTual verb inflection. This emphasizes the reality of the event described. The PaST inflection, on the other hand, is used specifically when the speaker wishes to emphasize the pastness of the action. It always takes the modal ABLative.

Because the choice is one of emphasis, many English sentences in the past may be translated with either ACTual or PaST inflections:

- (7-19) *ngada yakuri-na jungarrba-na raa-jarr /*
 1sgNOM fish-MABL big-MABL spear-PST
ngada yakuri-ya jungarrba-ya raa-j
 1sgNOM fish-MLOC big-MLOC spear-ACT
 'I speared a big fish.'

The PaST is most likely to be chosen over the ACTual when describing actions that have been left off (7-20), that are no longer performed (7-21), or whose effects haven't persisted (7-22):

- (7-20) *dangka-walad-a jani-jarra kunawuna-wuru*
 person-LOT-NOM search-PST child-PROP
 'Many people searched for the children.' (Further explained to me as 'had a go but couldn't find 'em.')
- (7-21) *nga-l-da kala-tharra rawalan-ku*
 1-pl-NOM cut-PST baler.shell-PROP
 'We used to cut (things) with baler shells.'
- (7-22) *ngada nguku-na dali-jarra-tharr, [bilari-jarra-nth]*
 1sgNOM water-MABL come-CAUS-PST spill-PST-COBL
 'I brought some water, but (someone) spilt (it).'

The PaST may also function as a non-future irrealis. It is common in questions (7-23) and may give hypothetical preconditions (7-24):

- (7-23) *kunawuna barji-jarra ngambu-rung-kina?*
 chil(NOM fall-PST well-ALL-MABL
 'Did the child fall in the well?'
- (7-24) *ngada kurri-jarra bukaji-na dii-n-kina, ngada*
 1sgNOM see-PST seahawk-MABL sit-N-MABL 1sgNOM

raa-ju
spear-POT

‘If I had seen a sea-hawk landing, I’d have speared it.’

In subordinate clauses the ACTual is not available: all past actions take the PaST inflection (12.3.1).

7.2.3.7 ALMOST -nangarra. This is used with actions that almost happened at some point in the past. These are usually undesirable (7-25), but may also be a desirable course of action that the subject is known not to have carried out (7-26). The essential thing is that the event was expected to happen, but didn’t. The ALMOST inflection selects the modal ABLative.

(7-25) *bulkurdudu ngijin-jina baa-nangarra kurthurr-ina*
crocodileNOM 1sgPOSS-MABL bite-ALMOST shin-MABL
‘A crocodile almost bit me on the leg.’

(7-26) [Of a man crushed by a falling tree:]

niya budii-nangarr, [warirra-ntha barji-n-marri-nja
3sgNOM run-ALMOST nothing-COBL fall-N-PRIV-COBL

niwan-jinaa-nth] COBL
3sg-MABL-COBL

‘He just about got away, then nothing would have happened, it wouldn’t have fallen on him.’

As this last example illustrates, failed positives take the ALMOST inflection, while failed negatives, as in (7-26) where ‘not falling’ didn’t happen, take a PRIVative nominalization, again with the modal ABLative.

7.2.3.8 PRECONdition -THarra. This expresses a state or action that precedes another action; depending on context it will translate as ‘if’ or ‘when’.

It only occurs in finite subordinate clauses (Chapter 12), and its time reference is always relative—i.e. prior to the time in the main clause—rather than “absolute”. With POTential main clauses, for example, its time reference is future relative to the speech event, but past relative to that of the main clause.

Usually, precondition clauses take the modal ablative (e.g. 7-27), which appears in its protected form *-((k)i)naba*². But I have one example

² There is a clear symmetry between PRECONdition -THarra, with the full modal ABLative *-kinaba*, and the PaST -THarra, with the reduced modal ABLative *-kina*. This

(7-29) of it taking the CONSequential, which could here be considered a very marginal modal case. Palatal conjugation forms optionally lenite from *-jarrba* to *-yarrba*, as in (7-29); see also (12-47).

I argue in 10.4.1.3 that proto Tangkic allowed either the ABLative or CONSequential in such constructions: Yukulta preserves the first alternative, Lardil the second, while Kayardild prefers the first but allows the second.

(7-27) *jatha-a dangka-a ngakan-kinaba wungi-jarrb,*
other-NOM man-NOM sandbank-MABL steal-PRECON

dul-marra dangka-a jul-iya barrki-j
country-UTIL man-NOM bone-MLOC chop-ACT

‘If another man stole (one’s) sandbank, the boss of that country would chop some bones (in a spell of vengeance).’

(7-28) *nyingka jungarra kunawuna wiridi-jarrb,*
2sgNOM bigNOM childNOM become-PRECON

nyingka kujiji-wu kala-thu
2sgNOM spearhead-MPROP cut-POT

‘When you are a big boy you will be able to carve spearheads.’

(7-29) *ngada yakuri-ngarrba ra-yarrb, ngada wuu-ju*
1sgNOM fish-CONS spear-PRECON 1sgNOM give-POT

ngumban-ju
you-MPROP

‘If I spear a fish I will give it to you.’

An identical inflection is used in certain types of nominalization—see 11.3.

7.2.3.9 DESiderative *-da*. This expresses the desire of some unspecified person that some event should take place. It takes the modal OBLique. Compared to the ‘want’ sense of the POTential, which always suggests the desire of the clausal subject, the DESiderative is more general—it is often best translated as ‘it would be a good idea for ...’ or ‘it would be alright for ...’ Even where it is actually the speaker who is the source of desire, the pragmatic effect of choosing the DESiderative is to suggest it is a more generally held view.

may reflect the obligatorily subordinate nature of PRECONdition clauses (cf. more systematic developments in Lardil—Appendix C).

- (7-30) *dan-inja nga-l-da jalji-nja wirdi-d*
 here-MOBL 1-pl-NOM shade-MOBL stay-DES
 ‘We should stay here in the shade.’
- (7-31) *nga-ku-lu-wan-maru-da muri-nj, nguku-marra-nth,*
 1-INC-pl-POSS-VD-DES baler shell-MOBL water-UTIL-MOBL
diya-n-inj
 drink-N-MOBL
 ‘(They) should give us the baler shells, for water, for drinking.’
- (7-32) *dathin-a dangka-a dali-d, dunbu-wa marral-d,*
 that-NOM man-NOM come-DES deaf-NOM ear-NOM
dali-jarrma-th!
 come-CAUS-IMP
 ‘That man should come, he’s deaf, bring him over!’

Indirect jussives, where the request is transmitted via a third person, also take the DESiderative (see 12.2.6.1 for more examples):

- (7-33) *dathin-a maku wara-th, buru-da ngurrumanji-nj*
 that-NOM woman-NOM send-IMP get-DES bag-MOBL
 ‘Send word to that woman, that she should bring the bags.’

The DESiderative may also be used for hypothetical future events, desirable or not:

- (7-34) *nga-ku-lu-wan-inja jungarra-ntha ngimi-nja dali-d,*
 1-INC-pl-POSS-MOBL big-MOBL night-MOBL come-MOBL
nga-ku-lu-wan-inja bakiin-inja raad
 1-INC-pl-POSS-MOBL all-MOBL spear-DES
 ‘If he comes upon us in the dead of night he will spear us all.’
- (7-35) [*ngijuwa ngudi-da wangalk*]COBL, *dathin-a*
 1sgSUBJ:COBL throw-DES boomerang(NOM) there-NOM
ri-in-da thaa-d
 east-FROM-NOM return-DES
 ‘If I throw the boomerang, it will return from there in the east.’

7.2.3.10 HORTative -THinja / -nanginja. This expresses a desire that someone should cause a state of affairs to occur (affirmative) or not to occur (negative); compared to the DESiderative it has more immediate relevance. It may substitute for an imperative when kin relationships

prevent one speaking directly to the hearer, as in (7-36). It takes the modal OBLique:

- (7-36) *wakatha nguku-ntha yalawu-jinj*
 sisterNOM water-MOBL fetch-HORT
 ‘Sister should fetch some water.’
- (7-37) *wirdi-jinja-da dathin-a dukurduku binthu*
 stay-HORT-SAME that-NOM moistNOM foreskinNOM
 ‘Let those moist foreskins wait a while yet (before burying them).’
- (7-38) *wirrka-nanginja dathin-a kunawuna ngijin-inja wumburung-inj*
 play-NEG.HORT that-NOM childNOM my-MOBL spear-MOBL
 ‘That child shouldn’t play with my spear.’
- (7-39) *niya jalji-maru-th, warrku-ntha wirdi-nanginj*
 3sgNOM shade-VD-IMP sun-MOBL stay-NEG.HORT
 ‘Put him in the shade, (he) shouldn’t stay in the sun.’

HORTatives derive from subordinate purpose clauses in pT (10.4.1.3). I have two examples which could be interpreted as purpose subordinate clauses, although HORTative interpretations are also possible:

- (7-40) *murruku wuu-j, dathin-inja dangka-ntha raa-jinj*
 woomeraNOM give-IMP that-MOBL man-MOBL spear-HORT
 (a) ‘Give me the woomera, so I can spear that man!’
 (b) ‘Give me the woomera, let me spear that man!’
- (7-41) *wuu-ja ngijin-ji, wadu-ntha baa-jinj*
 give-IMP me-LOC smoke-MOBL bite-HORT
 (a) ‘Give me (the tobacco), so I can have a smoke.’
 (b) ‘Give me the tobacco, let me have a smoke.’

7.2.3.11 APPRehensive-NHarra. This expresses the undesirability of an event, and the need to avert it. There is usually an implied injunction that the hearer be careful.

- (7-42) *warkurr-inja daman-da dara-a-nyarr*
 dugong hide-MOBL tooth-NOM break-M-APPR
 ‘(Careful, you) might crack your teeth on the dugong hide.’
- (7-43) *nyingka ba-yii-nyarra kulkiji-iwa-nharr*
 2sgNOM bite-M-APPR shark-VALL-APPR
 ‘(Watch out, you) might get bitten by a shark.’

Note that the “undesirable event” need not be particularly grave:

- (7-44) *natha-wu bartha-wu thaa-thu, warrku barji-nyarr*
 camp-MPROP base-MPROP return-POT sunNOM fall-APPR
 ‘We’ll go back to our base camp, the sun might set (on us).’

Apprehensive clauses may also be subordinated to a clause setting out the preemptive action; here the most fitting English translation is with ‘lest’, ‘otherwise’ or ‘or else’. Examples of this are in 12.2.6.3.

Apprehensive clauses may select the OBLique, PROPriative or LOCative modal cases, depending on whether one wishes to stress one’s fear, the probability of the event happening, or that it has already begun. See 10.1.3 for discussion and examples.

7.2.3.12 DIRECTed -THiri(ng-). Like the formally related nominal ALLative, the DIRECTed has a final *ng* that only appears when protected by a following suffix, e.g. a complementizing case. The unprotected form, again like the allative, may drop final *i* at the end of a breath-group. The DIRECTed is falling out of use: it is common on Wurm’s 1960 tapes but I only heard a few examples, from old speakers, on my field trips.

Most commonly this inflection indicates that an action is, broadly speaking, “directed towards” the speaker. This may involve direction of motion, as in (7-45); more frequently, there is the added implication that the action is just beginning (7-46) or just entering the speaker’s awareness (7-47).

It always selects the ALLative modal case.

- (7-45) *dathin-a dangka-a jirrka-an-da warra-jir,*
 that-NOM man-NOM north-FROM-NOM go-DIR
diya-jir wuran-kir
 eat-DIR food-MALL

‘That man came (to the camp) from the north and started eating.’

- (7-46) *dathin-a jirrka-an-da bilda wirrka-jir warra-jir*
 there-NOM north-FROM-NOM 3plNOM dance-DIR go-DIR
 ‘There from the north they are coming on dancing now.’

- (7-47) A: *niya jina-a dali-n-marri*
 3sgNOM where-NOM come-N-PRIV
 B: *niya dathin-a ri-in-da dali-jir*
 3sgNOM there-NOM east-FROM-NOM come-DIREC

A: ‘Where is he, he hasn’t come.’

B: ‘There he comes from the east now.’

This inflection is also used, again with the Modal ALLative, where the subjects are numerous and scattered (7-48), or there is a single subject extended in space (7-49, 7-50).

(7-48) *dathin-a marrwa-ri ngarnala tharma-thiri wirdi-jir*
 there-NOM near-MALL cockatooNOM feed-DIR stay-DIR
 'There are lots of cockatoos feeding around here.'

(7-49) *dathin-a marrwa-ri dabarr-iri yiiwi-jir*
 there-NOM near-MALL tree-MALL lie-DIR

dathin-a dangka-a
 that-NOM man-NOM

'There's a man lying beside the tree, on the grass.'

(7-50) *bilirr-a dathin-a walbu-ri wirdi-jir*
 paddle-NOM there-NOM raft-MALL stay-DIR
 'The paddle is lying there on the raft.'

These sentences parallel the "extensive" and "perlative" use of the relational allative (4.3.7.2), emphasizing the close link between the 'DIRECTed' construction, on the one hand, and the allative relational case on the other.

A form that could be analysed as the DIRECTed appears in "movement purpose" clauses—see 11.6.

7.2.3.13 Nominalization -n-. Nominalized verbs serve a number of functions. With prefixed nominals they mark habitual actors or instruments; they may function as participle-like second predicates, and they may supply the gerundive complements of perception verbs. These are all discussed in 11.2.

In addition, nominalized verbs mark ongoing uncompleted actions. In this function they govern an "associating oblique" (3.4.5) but no modal case:

(7-51) *nyingka bayi-wuu-n-da ngijin-inja kunawuna-nth*
 2sgNOM trouble-give-N-NOM my-AOBL child-AOBL
 'You are bothering my child.'

(7-52) *bartha-wuru-ntha kunawuna-wuru-ntha jani-n-d*
 track-PROP-AOBL child-PROP-AOBL search-N-NOM
 '(They) are searching for the child's footprints.'

Privative nominalizations in *-n-marri* may be used to negate those verb inflections lacking a special negative counterpart (11.4.2.2).

7.2.3.14 RESULTative nominalization -THirri-n-. These express states implying a previous event (cf. Nedjalkov 1988).

Like plain nominalizations they are morphologically nominal. They may derive lexical nominalizations like *dara-thirri-n-da* [break-RES-N-NOM] 'one who has been broken, circumcized man'. Or they may

function as participle-like predicators in nominalized clauses. Such nominalized clauses may among other things function as a de facto main clause “completive” category. Examples and discussion are in 11.4.3.

Resultative nominalizations belong to the “palatalizing declension” (4.2), e.g. *dara-thirri-n-ji* [break-RES-N-LOC].

Since plain nominalizations do not palatalize the suffixes that follow (e.g. *kali-n-ki* [jump-N-LOC]) one could argue that a unitary morpheme, *-THirri-*, is involved, and that this is not related to nominalizing *-n-*. But there are so many parallels with the plain nominalization that I prefer to analyse it as RESultative *-THirri-* plus nominalizer *-n-*, and attribute the palatalization to the phonological environment with its two preceding high vowels. (A precedent here is the INDIVIDualizer suffix *-(i)n-*, which palatalizes after some stems but not others—see 5.1.1.1).

The RESultative lacks other Tangkic cognates and is almost certainly a Kayardild innovation.³

7.2.4 Conjugation classes

All verbals belong to either the dental or the palatal conjugation class. Conjugation membership is largely conditioned phonologically: in the palatal conjugation are all verb stems ending in a long vowel (with one exception: *thaatha* ‘return’), or in *i*; in the dental conjugation are all verb stems ending in short *u*.

Only verb stems in short final *a* are not phonologically committed to one conjugation class, and here other factors determine conjugation membership. One factor is the presence of derivational suffixes. Thus middle verbs always join the palatal conjugation, and the INCHOative noun-verb derivational suffix *-wa-tha* recruits into the dental conjugation. All derived palatal conjugation verbs are intransitive, but derived dental conjugation verbs may be either transitive (e.g. CAUSatives and FACTitives) or intransitive (e.g. INCHOatives).

These facts are illustrated in Figure 7-2.

The partition of all verbs into two conjugation classes, with membership conditioned largely phonologically, partly by derivation, and partly lexically, undoubtedly goes back to proto-Tangkic. Yukulta and Yangkaal are essentially identical to Kayardild in this respect; Lardil has lost the conjugation class distinction and now has a merged set of final inflections with some forms drawn from the old palatal conjugation

³ Note, though, that the form *-THirri-* is widespread in Australia, sometimes as a ‘having’ nominal suffix, sometimes as a verbal ‘reflexive’ suffix (Dixon 1976). Either would be a plausible source for the Kayardild resultative function.

PALATAL CONJUGATION

Stem ending in long vowel, e.g.

baa-ja 'bite' *yulaa-ja* 'fear'
wuu-ja 'give' *kuujuu-ja* 'swim'
dii-ja 'sit' *yulii-ja* 'try'

Stem ending in *i*, e.g.:

ngudi-ja 'throw'
rabi-ja 'get up'

Stem ending in *a*, intransitive

warra-ja 'go'
thardakarrama-ja 'wave'

Stem ending in *a*, transitive

diya-ja 'eat'
karna-ja 'cook'

Middle, e.g.:

kala-a-ja 'cut-M'

DENTAL CONJUGATION

Stem ending in long vowel:

thaa-tha 'return' (only such verb)

Stem ending in *u*, e.g.:

yuulu-tha 'go on ahead'
barrbi-ru-tha 'raise'

Stem ending in *a*, intransitive

barama-tha 'snore'
burrma-tha 'duck'

Stem ending in *a*, transitive

wara-tha 'send'
kala-tha 'cut'

Inchoative, e.g.:

birdi-wa-tha 'go bad'
ngumu-wa-tha 'go black'

Figure 7-2. Conjugation membership

(e.g. the negative indicative *-jarri*) and others from the dental conjugation (e.g. the future *-thur*).

Since conjugation markers, and conjugation membership, play a key part in Dixon's (1980) arguments for genetic unity among Australian languages, a comparison with the Tangkic pattern is instructive. We find that neither markers nor membership bear any resemblance to the seven conjugation classes Dixon reconstructs for "proto-Australian", although this is not surprising if one attributes the emergence of the system of "conjugation markers" to Pama-Nyungan, as argued for in Alpher—Evans—Harvey (to appear).

7.3 Final inflections: a comparative note

I now propose an alternative account of the origin of Tangkic verb inflections: any original system of finite verb inflections was all but lost by proto-Tangkic, and was replaced by thematic *-th-* or *-j-* (this alternation being phonologically conditioned), inflected for case.

7.3.1 Cross-Tangkic comparison of final inflections

In Figure 7-3 I compare final inflections across the Tangkic languages, plus those I reconstruct for proto Tangkic; these are justified where necessary in the notes below. Conjugation-sensitive thematics in Yukulta, Yangkaal and Kayardild are written with the variable *-TH-*. Data on Yangkaal is incomplete; gaps are shown by a question mark.

Affirmative	Negative	Language	Function
<i>ka</i> (t), <i>THa</i> (i)	<i>na</i>	Y	Imperative ^a
<i>THa</i>	<i>na</i>	K, Ya	Imperative
<i>THa</i> ~ \emptyset	<i>na</i>	Lardil	Imperative
* <i>ka</i> (t), * <i>THa</i> (i)	* <i>na</i>	pT	Imperative ^b
<i>ki</i> (t), <i>THi</i> (i)	--	Y	Irrealis imperative
<i>ki</i>	--	Ya	Imperative
<i>THi</i>	<i>nangki</i>	K	Suppositional
* <i>ki</i> (t), * <i>THi</i> (i)	<i>nangki</i>	pT	Polite imperative
<i>THa</i>	<i>THarri</i>	Y	Indicative ^c
<i>THa</i>	<i>THarri</i>	K, Ya	Actual ^d
<i>tha</i> ~ \emptyset	<i>jarri</i>	L	Plain ^e
* <i>THa</i>	* <i>THarri</i>	*pT	Actual
<i>da</i>	<i>nada</i>	Y	Irrealis Desiderative
<i>da</i>	---	K	Desiderative
?	?	Ya	
<i>rr</i>	--	Lardil	Sequential Imperative ^f
* <i>da</i>	* <i>nada</i>	pT	Irrealis Desiderative
<i>THurlu</i>	<i>nangkurlu</i>	Yuk	Realis Desiderative ^g
<i>THu</i> ((r)u)	<i>nangku</i> ((r)u)	K	Potential ^h
<i>THu</i>	<i>nangku</i>	Ya	Future ^h
<i>thu</i> (r)	<i>nengku</i> (r)	Lardil	Future ^h
* <i>THurlu</i>	* <i>nangkurlu</i>	pT	Realis Desiderative

Figure 7-3. Comparative Tangkic verbal inflections (continues on next page)

<i>THi, THurrka</i>	?	Yuk	Simultaneous ⁱ
<i>THi, THurrka</i>	---	K	Immediate
<i>jirr</i>	---	Lardil	Simultaneous
<i>*THi, *THurrka</i>	---	pT	Simultaneous
<i>THarrba</i>	---	Y	'Participle'
<i>THarrba</i>	---	K	Precondition
<i>THarra</i>	<i>nangarra</i>	K	Past, Almost ^j
<i>THarrba</i>		Ya	
<i>tharr(ba)</i>	<i>nerr</i>	Lardil	Marked Non Future ^k
<i>*THarrba</i>	<i>nangarrba</i>	pT	Precondition ^l
<i>nymarra</i>	---	Yuk	Negative Purposive ^m
<i>NHarra</i>	---	K	Apprehensive ⁿ
<i>nymarra</i>	---	Yangk	Apprehensive
<i>nymerr</i>	---	Lardil	Apprehensive
<i>*NHmarra</i>	---	*pT	Negative Purposive ⁿ
<i>THinja</i>	---	Yuk	Purpose
<i>Thinja</i>	<i>nanginja</i>	K	Hortative
<i>*THinja</i>	<i>nanginja</i>	*pT	Purpose
<i>THirlung</i>		Yuk	Movement Purpose
<i>THiring-</i>		K	Movement Purpose, DIRECTed
?		L, Ya	
<i>*THirlung-</i>		pT	Movement Purpose

Figure 7-3. Comparative Tangkic verbal inflections (continued from previous page)

The following notes pertain to Figure 7-3:

(a) The Yukulta imperative is *-ka* with transitive verbs and *-ja /-tha* with intransitives, depending on their conjugation.

(b) The indicative form seems to have been completely generalized to positive imperatives in all but Yukulta, which preserves an imperative inflection *-ka*. This may be related to Dixon's reconstructed **-ka* imperative; one explanation for this is that the **-ka* imperative emerged

earlier than the other verbal inflections reconstructed by Dixon, and before the split of Pama-Nyungan from whatever group contained Tangkic.

(c) In Yukulta this inflection may be omitted in generic statements, leaving the bare stem (Keen 1983: 221).

(d) Yangkaal forms are only attested in the palatal conjugation.

(e) In Lardil *-tha* has only been retained with monosyllabic roots. Compare *kurri-∅* ‘see (PLAIN)’ and *ne-tha* ‘throw-PLAIN’.

(f) In Lardil, this is used for sequential imperatives: *Matha kiin nguka, kurdama-rr* ‘take this water and drink (it)’. This is a specialization of the purposive function which is one meaning of the Kayardild desiderative (12.3.9). The change from pT **-da* to Lardil *-rr* in word-final position is regular.

(g) In Yukulta this is used for “realis desideratives”, expressing a desire the speaker expects to fulfil, while in Kayardild, Yangkaal and Lardil this has evolved a future meaning—a natural semantic shift.

(h) In Kayardild, Yangkaal and Lardil this suffix is reduced in main clauses. In subordinate clauses, where the verb inflection is protected by a following case inflection, fuller forms appear (7.2.1, Appendix C.3).

(i) In Yukulta and Kayardild this is *-THurrka* when the combination *THi* + DAT would be expected; *-urrka* is an allomorph of the suppletive {*kurrka*}, a portmanteau used in LOC + DATIVE sequences (Yukulta) or LOC + OBL sequences (Kayardild). In Lardil the simple form *-THi* has been lost but *-THurrka* is reflected in *-jirr* (see Appendix C.3).

(j) In Kayardild this suffix has undergone a grammatically conditioned split into two: PRECONDITION *-THarrba* is restricted to subordinate clauses, and the PaST *-THarra* is used in main and subordinate clauses. (There are sporadic examples of this sound change, such as *jungarrba* ~ *jungarra* ‘big’ from pT **jungarra*).

(k) In Lardil the unprotected form is *-tharr*, but when the clause containing it is construed with a main clause object the historically full form *-tharrba* is restored (Appendix C).

(l) The negative form **-nangarrba*, though not attested in any modern tongue, is postulated through analogy with the affirmative form. The Kayardild form *-nangarra* may be an innovation from this, parallel to PaST *-THarra*.

(m) All Yukulta examples in Keen (1972, 1983) are from the palatal conjugation. It is not known whether the dental conjugation form would be *nhmarra* or *nymarra*.

(n) If the proto Tangkic form were conjugation-sensitive, with forms *nhmarra* and *nymarra*, Kayardild preserves evidence of this. Alternatively, Kayardild could have begun with a form *-nyarra* after simplification of a single inherited form *-nymarra*, then introduced a distinct dental conjugation form by analogy with other verb inflections.

7.3.2 Internal reconstruction from proto-Tangkic forms

If we now display the reconstructed proto-Tangkic forms alongside independently reconstructed case suffixes, further internal reconstruction is possible: see Figure 7-4. The imperative and desiderative inflections, which do not fit this pattern, are omitted.

The following notes pertain to Figure 7-4:

(a) An appropriate allomorph is given: with thematic *-TH-* that found in Yukulta and Kayardild after final laminal stops; with *-nang-* that found after stem final *ng*. See 4.2 on case allomorphy in Kayardild.

(b) In Kayardild the consequential suffix *ngarrba* is invariable. But its Lardil reflex, the “Marked Non-Future Objective”, though underlyingly *-ngarr(ba)*, has a number of allomorphs. Relevant here, it is *-arr(ba)* after stops, e.g. *yak-a* ‘fish’, *yak-arr* ‘fish-MNFOBJ’.

(c) Assimilation of laminal stops to nasals before *m* is obligatory in all Tangkic languages. So *-NHmarra* is the form we would expect from adding the ‘UTILitive’ suffix *marra* to *-TH-*. My reconstruction here is intended to show the elements from which *-NHmarra* derives; *-TH-marra* may never have been an actual form.

(d) Loss of exposed final *ng* occurs elsewhere in the Tangkic languages. For example the ALLative is *-kiring-* in Kayardild when protected by another suffix: *dathin-kiring-kina* [that-ALL-MABL] ‘to that (prior modality)’. But exposed final *ng* is lost: *ngarn-kiri* [beach-ALL].

Inflection	pT form	pT case suffix ^a	Proposed analysis into thematic + case-like final
Affirmative indicative	<i>THa</i>	-a (NOM)	<i>TH-a</i>
Potential	<i>THurlu</i>	-urlu (PROP)	<i>TH-urlu</i>
Contemporaneous	<i>THi</i> <i>THurrka</i>	-i (LOC) -urrka (LOC+DAT)	<i>TH-i</i> <i>TH-urrka</i>
Precondition	<i>THarrba</i>	-arrba (CONS)	<i>TH-arrba</i> ^b
Apprehensive	<i>NHmarra</i>	-marra (UTIL)	<i>TH-marra</i> ^c
Purposive complement	<i>THirlu(ng)</i>	-irlu (ALL)	<i>TH-irlu(ng)</i>
Negative indicative	<i>THarri</i>	-arri (PRIV)	<i>TH-arri</i>
Negative imperative	<i>na</i>	-∅ (NOM)	<i>na(ng)</i> ^d + ∅
Negative potential	<i>nangkurlu</i>	-kurlu (PROP)	<i>nang-kurlu</i>
Almost	<i>nangarrba</i>	-ngarrba (CONS)	<i>nang-arrba</i>

Figure 7-4. Analysis of proto-Tangkic verb inflections into thematic plus case suffix

If we assume that **-nang-* was originally a negative or privative nominalization, there are good reasons why negative imperatives should inherit its uninflected form. In many Australian languages ‘don’t V!’ is rendered by a nominalized verb plus the privative, followed by the imperative of a verb of desisting, as in the following example from the Warburton Ranges dialect of the Western Desert language

(Douglas (1964: 100); see also Dixon (1972: 112) on Dyirbal, Warlpiri and Kattang):⁴

(7-53) *yinka-ntja-maal-pa kanmarra-ri*
 WD sing-N-PRIV- \emptyset be quiet-IMP
 'Don't sing, be quiet' (lit. 'not singing be quiet').

In Yukulta, the most conservative Tangkic language, negative imperatives are often accompanied by the verb *wirdija* 'stay' in imperative form (Keen 1972: 217):

(7-54) *likirkala-na wirdi-ka*
 cry-NEG.IMP stay-IMP
 'Stop, don't cry!'

Once this construction becomes established the "desist" verb can be omitted and the former negative nominalization becomes specialized as a negative imperative.

7.3.3 Origin of final inflections as nominalized verbs inflected for case

The above reconstruction suggests that most final verbal inflections originated as nominalizations inflected for case. The thematic *-TH-* would have formed affirmative nominalizations, and the modern thematic *-na(ng)-* would have formed negative or privative nominalizations. Supporting this hypothesis are two arguments:

(i) In most Australian languages, only nominalized or other non-finite verbs can inflect for case. Many languages have special nominalized forms distinct from finite inflections—examples are Djapu (Morphy 1983: 131-9) and Ngarluma (Simpson 1983: 28), in which nominalized forms of the verb may inflect for a variety of cases, showing different relations between main clause and complement. In other languages, such as Pitta-Pitta (Blake 1979a: 218-9), Yuwaaliyay (Williams 1980), Anindilyakwa (Dench—Evans 1988) and Djamparrpuynghu (Wilkinson 1991) one finite form, usually identical to the past or indicative, doubles as a nominalized form. Proto-Tangkic *-TH(a)*, which could be both indicative and nominalization, seems to have paralleled the latter type;

⁴ Kroskrity (1984) describes a similar phenomenon in Arizona Tewa, where subordinate and negative clauses are formally similar. He suggests that the original marking of negatives involved the structure 'Not [Clause (Subord.)], Clause (Aff.)'. Subsequently, ellipsis of the affirmative clause allowed negative clauses to be "insubordinated".

note the parallel properties of the (possibly cognate) Anindilyakwa past inflection *-ja*.

In proto Tangkic, as in the above languages, most verb types deriving from nominalizations inflected for case were restricted to subordinate clauses. Their main clause use evolved later (10.4.2.3). If the *-TH-* and *-na(ng)-* thematics were originally nominalizations, this would explain why they could host the case inflections discussed above, and also why *further* case inflections, in the form of the “complementizing case” discussed in Chapter 12, are allowed. Significantly, the Kayardild desiderative, which does not derive from a nominalization, does not allow further case inflection (12.1.6).

(ii) This hypothesis also fits in with the account given in 10.4 of how modal case evolved. Most modal cases are related to the case-like final component of some pT verb inflection. This is what we would expect of complement clauses with case markers both on the nominalized verb and its arguments.

7.3.4 Reconstruction of final inflections: summary

The evidence assembled above suggests that all pT verb inflections, with exception of the imperative *-ka*, the irrealis imperative *-ki* and the desiderative *-da*, derived from nominalizations inflected for case. For positive nominalizations the nominalizing base was *-TH-*, identical to the indicative suffix; for negative nominalizations it was *-na(ng)-*.

This reconstruction is based on very restricted evidence: on morphology alone, and verb morphology at that. Before we can understand the wider causes of these changes, we must place the verbal suffixes in a broad syntactic perspective. This will be done in 10.4, where I argue that the above verb inflections were originally limited to subordinate clauses, in which a complementizing case appeared on both the nominalized verb and its nominal arguments. These complementizers coded relative tense/mood between clauses: simultaneity with the LOCative, anteriority with the CONSequential, and so on. Later, the complementized clauses were “insubordinated” (i.e. reinterpreted as main clauses) and the complementizing cases came to code *absolute* rather than relative tense.

The scenario presented here and in Chapter 10 leaves us with a rather puzzling proto language: rich in interclausal relations, but poor in its stock of main clause tense/mood categories. Indeed, McConvell (1981) effectively proposes that one reason for the subsequent insubordination was to enrich the inventory of main clause categories. One possible explanation for this is that the proto language, or its predecessor, was wholly or partly pidginized, leading to a drastic simplification of the

verbal inflections; these were then replaced by case-inflected nominalized verbs. This would account for the almost total lack of verb inflections relatable to those in any other group—only the imperative *-ka* is cognate with the set of inflections Dixon reconstructs for “proto-Australian”.

Unfortunately, however, very little is known about pidginization *between* Australian languages, as against between Indo-European and non-European ones, and until more is known about this it is hard to assess how plausible the changes suggested above really are.

A second possibility, also implicit in McConvell’s scenario, is that in proto-Tangkic, tense was not marked on the verb but on the auxiliary, as in Yukulta. Loss of this auxiliary in Kayardild and Lardil created a need for a new means of tense marking, which was met by the process of insubordination described above. Note that something very similar to this appears to have happened in the nearby languages Karrwa and Wanyi:

It seems that Wanyi and Garawa have lost a system of auxiliaries which presumably hosted bound pronouns. They retain old infinitives which now represent the neutralisation of a number of previous distinctions probably including tense and aspect. Garawa seems to have developed a new system of marking tense and aspect via clitic particles and Wanyi ... seems to be getting by without such a distinction. (Blake 1990: 64)

7.4 Derivations: verb–verb

These come between the stem and the final inflection.

The conjugation they recruit into is shown here by the following ACTual suffix. For instance the middle suffix {-yii-}, which always derives palatal conjugation verbs, will be represented as {-yii-ja}. And the INCHoative, which always derives dental conjugation verbs, will be represented as *-wa-tha*.

7.4.1 Middle {-yii-ja}

The middle suffix has a number of allomorphs.

Stems ending in a long vowel (which are all in the palatal conjugation) shorten this vowel and add *-yii-*. I have no examples with root final *ii*.

Basic form

baa-ja 'bite'
buu-ja 'pull'
marraa-ja 'show'
kuluu-ja 'scratch'

Middle form

ba-yii-ja
bu-yii-ja
marra-yii-ja
kulu-yii-ja

Non-initial *uyii* sequences resulting from this derivation optionally simplify to *ii*, e.g. *kuluyiija* ~ *kuliija*.

The remaining palatal conjugation stems lengthen the final vowel:

Basic form

diya-ja 'eat'
kurri-ja 'see'

Middle form

diya-a-ja
kurri-i-ja

Dental conjugation stems ending in *a* lengthen this and join the palatal conjugation. (An exception is *ngalamatha* 'get, marry' whose middle form is *ngalamayiija*).

Basic form

raba-tha 'tread on'
kala-tha 'cut'

Middle form

raba-a-ja
kala-a-ja

Simple stems ending in *u* add *-yii-* to the stem; the resultant *uyii* sequence optionally reduces to *ii*:

Basic form

buru-tha 'get'

Middle form

buru-yii-ja ~ *bur-ii-ja*

With complex stems in final *u* (e.g. those with FACTitive *-maru-* ~ *-ru-* ~ *-lu-*) or verbal cases in final *u* (the verbal dative *-maru-*), this reduction is obligatory:

Basic form

kuru-lu-tha 'kill' [dead-FACT-ACT]
barrbi-ru-tha 'lift' [light-FACT-ACT]
-maru-tha 'Verbal dative'

Middle form

kuru-l-ii-ja
barrbi-r-ii-ja
-mar-ii-ja

If the penultimate stem vowel is long, the replacing *i* is short:

waalu-tha 'chase'

waal-i-ja

Derived middle stems may feed other derivations, such as nominalization: compare *diya-a-ja* [eat-M-ACT], *diya-a-n-kuru* [eat-M-N-PROP] 'edible'. See 11.2.11.

Turning now to function, middle verbs may be used for:

(a) Passives (see 9.3.2 for full discussion):

- (7-56) *wurdalji wadu-maru-th, diya-a-nyarra ngirrnguth-inj*
 meatNOM smoke-VD-IMP eat-M-APPR fly-OBL
 'Put the meat in the smoke, or it'll get eaten by flies.'

(b) The inchoative use of verbs like 'break':

- (7-57) *budubudu dara-a-j*
 boatNOM break-M-ACT
 '(Our) boat broke down.'

(c) Reflexives (see 9.3.3):

- (7-58) *maraka nga-ku-rr-a mar-da kuri-i-ju*
 CTRFCT we-INC-du-NOM hand-NOM wash-M-POT
 'We should have washed our hands.'

(d) Actions whose execution adversely affects the actor. Compare *jawarrjawa-tha* 'go walkabout (to evade retribution)', *jawarrjawa-a-ja* 'go walk about (and get oneself lost)'.
 (e) The meanings of a number of middle verbs have rather idiosyncratic extensions, in addition to their predictable passive or reflexive meanings: *burukuratha* 'scrape, rub together' but *burukuraaja* 'make fire with firedrill'; *dana-tha* 'leave, abandon' but *dana-a-ja* 'come last' (also 'be abandoned'); *marraa-ja* 'show' but *marra-yii-ja* 'know' (also 'show oneself' or 'be shown'); *maa-ja* 'send message; (body part) betray telepathic presence through twitching' and *ma-yii-ja* '(turtle or dugong) betray location through the smooth water above its trajectory' (in local English, "spout"); *ngayama-tha* 'quarrel, argue with' but *ngayama-a-ja* 'miss, be lonely', *ngarrmatha* 'crow joyfully about, skite about' and *ngarraaaja* 'talk away about, talk a lot about'.

Some can still take objects: *marriija*, formally the middle of *marrija* 'listen to obj' means 'expect obj', as in *ngalda marriijarra ngumbanjina* 'we were expecting you'.

Comparable derivations exist in Yukulta and Lardil.

In Yukulta, dental conjugations join the palatal conjugation as in Kayardild, but without stem lengthening, e.g. *bala-tha* 'hit', *bala-ja* 'stab one's head during funeral rites'. Keen gives no examples with palatal conjugation verbs, but my own work with Lizzie Daylight suggests the allomorphs *-yi-ja* after long vowels (*baa-ja* 'bite', *ba-yi-ja* 'bite oneself') and lengthening of stem-final *i*: (*kurri-ja* 'look', *kurri-i-ja* 'look at oneself').

Keen's two descriptions of Yukulta describe the reflexive use only. But her M.A. thesis (1972: 211) contains one example of a middle verb used as a passive:

(7-59) *dathin=mangala=kurrkandi kurri kamu=kurringki bala-ja*
 Y that=if=we:du:TR:PAST see and=we:du:PAST hit-M:IND
 'If we'd watched that fellow coming we'd have got beaten up.'

In Lardil, as in Kayardild, middle verbs share reflexive and passive uses. Monosyllabic stems, which originally had long vowels, add *-yi-* e.g. *be-tha* 'bite', *be-yi* 'bite-M'; others lengthen the vowel e.g. *kurri* 'see', *kurrii* 'see-M'. There is only one conjugation, so conjugation switching is not used.

These facts point to a proto Tangkic distribution of forms as in Kayardild, except that conjugation switching was probably not accompanied by stem lengthening, and the form after long vowels was *-yi-* rather than *-yii-*. Originally this morpheme would have been confined to reflexive uses, although even in Yukulta it occasionally functions as a passive; widespread passive use would have developed in Kayardild and Lardil after they became accusative (cf. McConvell 1981).

Reflexive forms cognate with this are found in a number of languages of the Arnhem group: Warndarang (Maran); Burarra (Burarran); Jawoyn, Ngalakan, Rembarrnga, Ngandi and Warray (Gunwinyguan), Nunggubuyu and Mangarayi. For forms, see 1.4.2.2.

7.4.2 CAUSativizer {-THarrma-tha}

Unlike the middle and reciprocal inflections, the CAUSative is not productive. It is limited to intransitive verbs (usually motion verbs), and adds a causative meaning:

Basic verb	Causative form
<i>jawi-ja</i> run	<i>jawi-jarrma-tha</i> (i) ride (horse) (ii) cause to run away (wife)
<i>thaldi-ja</i> stand (i)	<i>thaldi-jarrma-tha</i> erect (t)
<i>dali-ja</i> come	<i>dali-jarrma-tha</i> bring
<i>thula-tha</i> descend	<i>thula-tharrma-tha</i> take down

wirrka-ja
dance

wirrka-jarrma-tha
tickle

burri-ja
emerge, come out

burri-jarrma-tha
take out, get out (t)

Somewhat irregular in meaning is *ngaka-tharrma-tha* ‘mind OBJ for OBJ’, derived from *ngakatha* ‘wait for PROP’.

(7-60) *niya* *dathin-ki* *ngambirri* *ngaka-tharrma-tha* *ngijin-ji*
3sgNOM that-MLOC humpy-MLOC wait-CAUS-ACT 1sg-MLOC
‘He’s minding the house for me.’

Other semantically irregular derivational pairs are *yuki-ja* ‘float, bob about’ and *yuki-jarrma-tha* ‘blow down, blow loose’, and *wari-ja* ‘take out, remove (where subject need not move)’ and *wari-jarrma-tha* ‘bring up, bring out (where subject moves with object)’.

Causative forms may feed other derivations such as nominalization: *kandu-burri-jarrma-n-da* [blood-emerge-CAUS-N-NOM] ‘short person (being who causes transgressors to bleed to death)’.

The syntax of causatives is discussed in 9.3.4.

This morpheme is also found in Yukulta, e.g. *bilwa-tha* ‘break (v.i.)’, *bilwa-tharrma-tha* ‘burst (v.t.)’, but not in Lardil.

The Kayardild-Yukulta form possibly originates from a verb serial with *karrma-tha* ‘grasp, grab’. Lardil has a functionally similar form *-jbennge*, e.g. *yalali* ‘laugh’, *yalali-jbennge* ‘cause to laugh’ (Hale et al. 1981:20). The Lardil sources give no examples of causativized transitive verbs.

7.4.3 RECIPROCAL {-NTHU-*tha*}

This is *-nju-tha* after *i*, *-nthu-tha* after long vowels, and *-thu-tha* after non-front short vowels:

Basic form

ngudi-ja ‘throw’
raa-ja ‘spear’
karrma-tha ‘grasp’

Reciprocal

ngudi-nju-tha
raa-nthu-tha
karrma-thu-tha

The reciprocal of *bala-tha* ‘hit’ has the alternants *balathutha* and *balanthutha*; the verb *thuuja* ‘swear’ has the more irregular reciprocal *junthutha*. The RECIPROCAL morpheme is reduplicated in one word: *wuu-ja* ‘give’ but *wu-thu-nthu-tha* ‘share around’, in other words ‘give multi-reciprocally’.

The Yukulta reciprocal is *-nju-* after roots in *i*, and *-nhthu-* elsewhere; in Lardil the reciprocal is always *-nji-*. This justifies us setting up *-NHTHu/i-* as the reciprocal in proto-Tangkic; determining the final vowel is difficult on Tangkic-internal grounds. As with the middle, there are cognates of this form in various groups of the Arnhem family, including Alawa (Maran), Burarra (Burarran), Nunggubuyu and Mangarayi. All have *i* rather than *u* —see 1.4.2.3 for forms.

The canonical type of reciprocal activity is illustrated by (7-61). See 9.3.1 on the syntax of reciprocal constructions.

- (7-61) *burldi-nju-na* *kirr*
 throw missile-RECIP-NEG.IMP 2duNOM
 ‘Don’t you two throw stones at one another!’

Reciprocation need not always be made to the original instigator. In the following sentence, the reciprocal morpheme implies that just as the speaker had been taught handcrafts by his father, so had his father been taught by his father⁵:

- (7-62) *ngada* *mar-mirra-yarrad*
 1sgNOM hand-good-OTHER(NOM)
 [*mar-mirra-ntha* *mima-thu-tharra-nth*]COBL
 hand-good-COBL father-RECIP-PST-COBL

‘I am a good craftsman, because a good craftsman fathered me and a good craftsman fathered him in turn.’

A related and specialized use of the reciprocal is to mark action by a human being on their own totem:

- (7-63) *niwan-da* *thabuju* *julwak.* *dangka-a* *diya-ju,*
 3sgPOSS-NOM brotherNOM trevallyNOM person-NOM eat-POT
mutha-a *dangka-a* *mutha-waan-da* *dul-waan-d.*
 many-NOM person-NOM many-ORIG-NOM place-ORIG-NOM
Kunawuna *diya-ju,* *ngamathu-wa* *diya-ju,* *kanthathu-wa*
 childNOM eat-POT mother-NOM eat-POT father-NOM
diya-ju, *marin-ju* *diya-a-ju.* *Julwak* *marin-ju*
 eat-POT self-MPROP eat-M-POT trevallyNOM self-MPROP

⁵ This corresponds to the “unilinear collective sense” (A → B → C) reported by Heath (1984) for the Nunggubuyu reciprocal “in which the individual component actions are one-way but in which they add up (like links in a chain) in such a way that all parties can be thought of as collectively associated by the actions” (p. 391).

diya-a-ju, *bilda* *diya-nju-thu*.
 eat-M-POT 3plNOM eat-RECIP-POT

'His brother is Trevally. People will eat (trevally), many people from many places. (His) children will eat (him), (his) mother will eat him, (his) father will eat him, he will be eaten by himself (i.e. by people of his totem). Trevally will eat his own totem, they (trevallies) will eat one another.'

7.5 Derivations: nominal-verb

Two productive derivations produce intransitive and transitive verbs from all sorts of nominals, and occasionally verb stems as well. There are also several non-productive derivations.

Nominal-verb derivational suffixes must be distinguished from Verbal Cases, which may be formally identical to them but have distinct syntactic properties. These differences were discussed in 4.4.

7.5.1 INCHoative *-wa-tha*

This derives verbs meaning "become X".

The initial stem may be a simple root, e.g. *ngarrku* 'strong', *ngarrkuwatha* 'become strong; recover from illness'; *mungurru* 'knowledgeable', *mungurruwatha* 'become knowledgeable, learn'; *malaa* 'sea', *malawatha* 'become sea' (said of a flooded area); *kamarr-a* 'stone', *kamarrwatha* 'turn to stone'. As these examples illustrate, the nominal may be a semantic adjective ('strong'), a nominal predicator ('knowledgeable'), or a semantic noun ('sea'). The inchoative of transitive nominal predicators such as *mungurru* may be transitive:

(7-64) *ngarrmandathu* *mungurru-wa-tha* *tharrawuka-y*
 grandsonNOM knowing-INCH-ACT paperbark sp.-MLOC
 'Grandson has come to know about the *tharrawuka* tree (that it should be used for cooking month-fish).'

Compounds like *nal-birdi* [head-bad] 'mad' also take the inchoative: *nal-birdi-wa-tha* 'get drunk, go mad', *bardaka-birdi-wa-tha* 'yawn'. See 5.1.3.3 for a discussion of how compounds feed phrases into lexical derivations.

The INCHoative may also follow various adnominal case suffixes, such as the privative, proprietive or associative: *bayi-warri-wa-tha* [fight-PRIV-INCH] 'quieten down, become peaceful'; *dulk-uru-wa-tha* [dirt-PROP-INCH] 'get dirty', *ja-nurru-wa-tha* [track-ASSOC-INCH] 'get marked

by footprints (e.g. mud)'. The LOCative, too, may feed the INCHOative, as in *kalarr-ii-wa-tha* [open space-LOC-INCH] 'emerge into an open space, come out of hiding', *dulk-ii-wa-tha* [earth-LOC-INCH] 'be born' (literally 'come onto the earth'). This is formally identical to the verbal allative, but is lexical rather than phrasal. The LOCative is the only attested relational case that feeds the INCHOative.

Though "inchoative" follows the standard Australianist gloss for verbs of this type, with some verbs 'be' is a better translation of this morpheme than 'become'. Thus *birdiwatha birrjilka* 'something bad happened' is literally 'event was bad' rather than 'event became bad'.

Finally, *-watha* may be used, without an inchoative meaning, to prepare borrowed words or onomatopaeics for verb inflection: English 'work' becomes *wuku-wa-tha* and *nganyanganya-wa-tha* means 'whinge' (*nganyanganya* never occurs as a free form).

7.5.2 FACtitive *-lu-tha* ~ *-ru-tha*

These two forms are in complementary distribution, and express the same meaning: "cause OBJ to be in state X". They can also follow verb roots, giving the meaning "cause OBJ to V". They probably derive from the pT root *marlu-tha* 'put', whose Kayardild reflex *maru-tha* may causativize nominalized verbs (9.3.4). *-lu-tha* follows verb roots, and nominal stems in final apicals (*rr*, *l* or *n*), which it replaces; *-ru-tha* occurs elsewhere. Examples are:

	Base	Factitive
Verbs	<i>yurrja-tha</i> 'get lost' <i>yulaa-ja</i> 'be afraid' <i>dulba-tha</i> 'drown (i)' <i>dula-tha</i> 'become fat' <i>maka-tha</i> 'rest'	<i>yurrja-lu-tha</i> 'lose' <i>yulaa-lu-tha</i> 'frighten' <i>dulba-lu-tha</i> 'drown (t)' <i>dula-lu-tha</i> 'fatten' <i>maka-lu-tha</i> 'stop (e.g. baby from crying), cause to rest, turn off'
Nominals	<i>kurirr-a</i> 'dead-NOM' <i>damurr-a</i> 'short-NOM' <i>kabin-da</i> 'low tide-NOM' <i>warirra</i> 'nothingNOM' <i>thathung-ka</i> 'together-NOM' <i>ngarrku</i> 'strongNOM' <i>yalulu</i> 'flameNOM'	<i>kuru-lu-tha</i> 'kill' <i>damu-lu-tha</i> 'shorten; chop into small pieces (wood)' <i>kabi-lu-tha</i> 'wait for low tide' <i>warirra-ru-tha</i> 'annihilate' <i>thathu-ru-tha</i> 'put together' <i>ngarrku-ru-tha</i> 'strengthen' <i>yalulu-ru-tha</i> 'light (t)'

Like the INCHOative, the FACTitive may apply to complex derived stems: *bayi-warri-ru-tha* [fight-PRIV-FAC] ‘pacify’, *jilkiri-n-marri-ru-tha* [hiccup-N-PRIV-FAC] ‘stop hiccups’.

When applied to verb stems the FACTitive usually indicates that the subject causes some other event, but with prior or remote rather than sustained contact (contrast this with the CAUSative above, where physical contact must be sustained). In (7-65), for example, the clumsy white man has no physical contact with the game—he merely makes a lot of noise. Likewise, with *maka-lu-tha* ‘switch off’ the subject gives a flick of the switch while the engine is running; with *yurrjalutha* ‘lose’ the act of neglect precedes the state of being lost; with *dula-lu-tha* ‘fatten’ some time elapses between eating and getting fat. The expression of causation is discussed more fully in 9.3.4.

- (7-65) *muldi-n-da jar-a dathin-a waydbala, mutha-a*
 bend-N-NOM foot-NOM that-NOM whitemanNOM many-NOM
- dari barji-j,*
 timeNOM fall-ACT

yulaa-lu-tha dathin-ki jardi-ya yarbutth-i
 fear-FAC-ACT that-MLOC mob-MLOC game-MLOC

‘That white man is clumsy, he’s always falling over, he scares all the game off.’

FACTITIVE WITH METEOROLOGICAL VERBS. A somewhat different use of the FACTitive is found with meteorological verbs. Here it can imply either

(a) that one set of meteorological conditions causes another:

- (7-66) *bath-in-da jungarra wun-d, ngimi-ru-thiri wanjii-jir*
 west-FROM-NOM bigNOM cloud-NOM dark-FAC-DIR go up-DIR
 ‘A big cloud is coming up from the west, making it dark.’

- (7-67) *mutha-a biring-ka wambaji-ru-tha mala-y*
 much-NOM lightning-NOM calm-FAC-ACT sea-MLOC
 ‘All the lightning has made the sea calm.’

(b) that humans wait until some meteorological state is reached. Here the FACTitive expresses sequence rather than cause proper:

- (7-68) *dan-da nga-ku-rr-a wiridi-ja kabi-lu-th*
 here-NOM 1-INC-du-NOM stay-ACT low tide-FAC-ACT
 ‘Let’s wait here until low tide.’

- (7-69) *dan-da nga-ku-l-da wiridi-ja yila-ru-tha*
 here-NOM 1-INC-pl-NOM stay-ACT fine-FAC-ACT

<i>wun-marri-ru-tha</i>	<i>warirra-ru-tha</i>	<i>ja-warri-ru-th</i>
cloud-PRIV-FAC-ACT	nothing-FAC-ACT	rain-PRIV-FAC-ACT

'Let's wait here until it's fine, until there's no clouds, nothing, no rain.'

The grammatical conflation of causal and merely temporal sequence occurs elsewhere in Kayardild—see 4.3.13 and 12.3.11.

7.5.3 DO *-yala-tha*

This suffix derives verbs meaning:

(a) ACT/DO (LIKE AN) X:

<i>birdi</i>	'bad'	<i>birdi-yala-tha</i>	'act immorally'
<i>thirrtha</i>	'sister, nurse'	<i>thirrtha-yala-tha</i>	'look after, care for'

(7-70) *marndurra-yala-th*, *mibulk-a* *ni*
 dead-DO-ACT asleep-NOM 3sgNOM
 'He's acting as if he's dead, (but) he's (really) asleep.'

(b) DO AS ONE TYPICALLY DOES WITH AN X:

<i>karndi</i>	'wife'	<i>karndi-yala-tha</i>	'take as one's wife; commit adultery (with woman)'
<i>dirrkuli</i>	'husband'	<i>dirrkuli-yala-tha</i>	'take as one's husband; elope with'
<i>ngankirra</i>	'pile'	<i>ngankirra-yala-tha</i>	'share out (food)'
<i>thangakara</i>	'spear shaft'	<i>thangakara-yala-tha</i>	'prepare spear shaft for spearhead'

(c) DO AS ONE DOES IN CONDITIONS X: The form *malawarri-yala-tha* [shallow-DO], for example, was used by a man who jumped out of a boat, on the mistaken assumption that the water around was shallow (12-73). Some indication of the productivity of this suffix comes from the following incident: I was once trying to collect a botanical sample of wallaby grass (*malbaa*) and when I picked the wrong grass species was told *nyingka birdinmalbayalatha* 'you failed to do what you intended with wallaby grass' (see 7.8.2.3 on the prefix *birdin-*).⁶

⁶ Another lexeme that includes a version of this formative is *wurdiyalaaja* 'go walkabout (usually along a beach)'. This may derive from *wurdu* 'corner' plus the middle form of *-yala-tha*. Most walking around involves long treks along beaches, with frequent turning of "corners" (small peninsulas).

(d) With the stem *mirra-* ‘good’, DO has a rather idiosyncratic, nearly factitive, meaning: *mirra-yala-tha* means ‘make, make good, repair’ (7-71); used adverbially it can mean ‘do properly, do well’ (8-39).

(7-71) *ngurnwarra* *dara-a-jarri,* *warirr,* *marrbi* *dibidibi*
 fishtrapNOM break-M-NEG.ACT nothing maybe rock codNOM

mirra-yala-th
 good-DO-ACT

‘The (abandoned) stone fish trap hasn’t broken, nothing, maybe (the) Rock Cod (Being) fixed it up.’

7.5.4 Minor nominal-verb derivations

These belong to small, semantically heterogeneous closed classes. Outside this section their formatives will not be glossed individually.

7.5.4.1 *-di-ja* *~ji-ja* typically means ‘maintain stance with body part’. This is *-di-ja* everywhere except after *rr*, where it is *-ji-ja*.

Verbs with this formative mostly denote body postures:

<i>bungkal-da</i> ‘knee’	<i>bungkal-di-ja</i> ‘kneel’
<i>mirn-da</i> ‘trunk’	<i>mirn-di-ja</i> ‘lie face up’
(no form <i>*barnkal-⁷</i>)	<i>barnkal-di-ja</i> ‘sit cross-legged’
<i>darr-a</i> ‘leg’	<i>darr-ji-ja</i> ‘sit with one leg over other’
<i>yulmburr-a</i> ‘long’	<i>yulmburr-ji-ja</i> ‘sit with legs straight’

But the stance may also be more metaphorical, as in *miburl-di-ja* [eye-~] ‘stare fixedly at’, and *marral-di-nju-tha* [ear-~-RECIP-ACT] ‘yarn to each other’. Note also *dirral-di-ja* [slippery-~] ‘slip, stumble’.

In a number of other verbs, formatives in *-di-ja*, *-ji-ja* and *-rri-ja* may represent frozen forms of this suffix, suggesting it was once more productive than it is now: *banyjija* ‘smell, stink’ (cf. the root *bany* ‘stink’ in Gunwinyguan), *marrija* ‘hear, listen’ (cf. *marral-* ‘ear’), *kurrija* ‘see, look’ (cf. pT **ku-* ‘eye’), *barndija* ‘smell, perceive by smell’ (no root *barn-* independently attested, but cf. proto Kanyara-Mantharta **parnti* ‘smell’ and Diyari **parni* ‘smell, be odorous’). Compounding with *-di* *~ji* ‘stand’ is a common mode of verb formation in Gunwinyguan languages.

A couple of other verbs in *-rri-ja* suggest, in their form and semantics, a more recent reduction from *kurrija* ‘see’: *walmu-rri-ja*

⁷ In Karrwa and Wambaya, however, there is an adverb *barnkala* meaning ‘sitting position with legs crossed’.

'look up into the sky' derives from *walmu* 'high', and *ngidarrija* 'look for firewood' is based on the nominative form of firewood, *ngida*, rather than the root *ngiJ-*, suggesting recent formation.

7.5.4.2 *-(w)i-ja* derives verbs denoting deliberate action with the suffixed body part. This is *-i-ja* after *rr*, *-wi-ja* elsewhere.

<i>ja-ra</i>	'foot'	<i>ja-wi-ja</i>	'run'
<i>tharda-a</i>	'shoulder'	<i>tharda-wi-ja</i>	'swing one's shoulders'
<i>darr-a</i>	'leg'	<i>darr-i-ja</i>	'stamp'
<i>munirr-a</i>	'breast'	<i>munirr-i-ja</i>	'breast-feed OBJ'

Keen (1983: 287) suggests that the cognate Yukulta form is reduced from the free verb *wija* 'scrape' or literally 'make a small sharp movement'.⁸

7.5.4.3 *-ra-tha* ~ *-la-tha*. The second allomorph is found after consonant final roots, replacing the consonant—cf. the distribution of factitive allomorphs. This morpheme has no recurrent meaning, although it may derive from the root *rla(a)-* 'spear'; most derived verbs with this are transitive. Examples are

<i>nid-a</i>	'name'	<i>ni-la-tha</i>	'name'
<i>miid-a</i>	'louse'	<i>mii-la-tha</i>	'delouse'
<i>ngambu</i>	'well'	<i>ngambu-ra-tha</i>	'dig well'
<i>warrku</i>	'sun'	<i>warrku-ra-tha</i>	'last until daylight'
<i>kantharrk-a</i>	'alone'	<i>kantha-la-tha</i>	'miss, grieve for someone absent'
<i>mildan-da</i>	'crack'	<i>milda-la-tha</i>	'cut out, sharpen'

- (7-72) *kanthathu* *ngamathu* *nila-tha* *kunawuna-y*
 fatherNOM motherNOM name-ACT child-MLOC
 'The father and mother name the child.'

⁸ Two *-wi-ja* verbs appear to preserve earlier meanings of body-part terms, now restricted to compounds.

Bal-da originally meant 'eyelash', a meaning preserved in the Yukulta cognate; it was then metaphorically extended to the fine 'strings' or underground roots of wild yams. This secondary meaning now predominates entirely in Kayardild; the original meaning is preserved in the compound *bal-da miburl-da* [*balda* eye] 'eyelash'. What is relevant here is that the derived verb *bal-wi-ja* means 'blink'.

The second verb is *jal-wi-ja* 'poke one's tongue out', from which we may hypothesize that *jal-da* originally meant 'tongue' (cf. pPN *THalany* 'tongue'). This then developed the secondary meaning, 'clitoris', preserved in Yangkaal. In K and L the meaning 'vagina' then developed by metonymy. Lardil has retained the original meaning in the compound *jalda leman* 'tongue' (*leman* = 'mouth'). K evolved an augmented form *jalnganhangka* (cf. Yukulta *jalnganha*, Yangkaal *jalngantha*); the origin of the augment *-nganh(th)a(ng)* is a mystery.

7.5.4.4 -ma(a)-ja . The vowel alternates between short and long. No recurrent meaning is identifiable. Derived verbs with this suffix include:

<i>nguku</i> ‘water’	<i>nguku-ma(a)-ja</i> ‘help, give succour to’
<i>kurndung-ka</i> ‘chest’	<i>kurndu-ma(a)-ja</i> ‘stand with arms behind back (thrusting out chest)’
<i>balmbi</i> ‘morrow’	<i>balmbi-ma(a)-ja</i> ‘wait until tomorrow’

7.5.4.5 -marutha ‘cause to be in one’s X (body part)’. Examples are *nalmarutha* [head-~] ‘put on one’s head’, *marmarutha* [hand-~] ‘take in one’s hand’, *thardamarutha* [shoulder-~] ‘put on one’s shoulder’.

7.6 Suffixation of nominal derivatives

Two suffixes that usually apply to nominals may sometimes appear on verbals after the “final” inflection for tense/aspect/mood/polarity. The limited number of examples that I have always appear in what would be their nominative form when used on a nominal.

ORIGIN *-wa(a)n-da* is only attested with the verbal *ngarii-ja* ‘precede, go before’; and only with the ACTual suffix, which appears here as *-ji* rather than *-ja* . It derives a nominal meaning ‘the ones from before’:

(7-73)	<i>yuthiji-waan-da</i>	<i>yakuri-y</i> ,	<i>ngarii-ji-waan-d</i>
	first lot-ORIG-NOM	fish-NOM	before-ACT-ORIG-NOM
	‘The first lot of fish, from before.’		

ANOTHER *-yarrad-a* , used with nominals, means “another token of the same type” (4.5.5). With verbs its meaning is similar: “another performance of the same action”:

(7-74)	<i>murruku</i>	<i>warra-j</i> ,	<i>yakuri-ya</i>	<i>bama-tha-yarrad</i> ,
	woomeraNOM	go-ACT	fish-NOM	smell-ACT-ANOTHER
	<i>dujjurarr</i>			
	salmonNOM			

‘He went along, war-like; then he smelled some fish again, salmon.’

Here the action is repeated by the same actor, and *kada* ‘again’ would be equally appropriate. But whereas *kada* implies identity of both actor and action, *-yarrad-* only requires that the actions be identical. Indeed, it may stress that different actors are performing the same action:

- (7-75) [Some white men have been trespassing on Kayardilt territory, fishing the place out, and even building a shack for their visits. In revenge, some Bentinck men plan a raid:]

wungi-ji-yarrada *bilwan-ji* *thungal-i*
 steal-ACT-ANOTHER 3plPOSS-MLOC thing-MLOC
 ‘We’re going to steal their things too.’

- (7-76) [Discussing the Kaiadilt practice of removing the stingray’s liver before cooking:]

dan-man-da *dangka-a* *jirma-ja-yarrad*
 here-ORIG-NOM person-NOM lift-ACT-ANOTHER
 ‘The people from here (the Lardil) lift it out too.’

As (7-75) and (7-76) illustrate, the ACTUAL may be realized as either *-ja* or *-ji* before *-yarrad-*. This may reflect vowel harmony, with *-ji* after a preceding *i* (as with *wungi-*), but I have insufficient examples to establish this.

The close link between domain of inflection and scope of predication is again illustrated here: the predication “another one of the same type” is made of the action alone, and inflection is limited to the word representing the action: the verb.

7.7 Verbal reduplication

Verb stems are reduplicated as follows:

(a) all non-velar initials remain unaltered, e.g. *jirrma-jirrma-ja* [lift-REDUP], *dara-dara-tha* [break-REDUP] or *diya-diya-ja* [eat-REDUP].

(b) stem-initial velar nasals become palatals on their second occurrence: *ngarrkuwa-nyarrkuwa-tha* [recover-REDUP], *ngarii-nyarii-ja* [before-REDUP], *ngawi-nyawi-ja* [breathe-REDUP] ‘pant’.

Initial velar stops palatalize in some words but not in others:

Palatalizing

kulma-julma-ja [pile up-REDUP]
karriya-jarriya-tha [churn up-REDUP]
kuu-juu-ja [bathe-REDUP]

Non-palatalizing

kamburi-kamburi-ja [talk-REDUP]
kala-kala-tha [cut-REDUP]
kukalu-kukalu-tha [rebound-REDUP]

This choice appears to be lexically conditioned: I can find no phonological environment predicting which *k*-initial stems palatalize under reduplication. Both palatalizing and non-palatalizing groups

contain all varieties of stem-final vowel, both conjugations, and disyllabic and trisyllabic stems.

Verbal reduplication indicates the multiple repetition of an action. This repetition may arise in several ways: a number of subjects may perform the same action, as in (7-77) and (7-78); an action involving the same single subject may repeat itself a number of times, as in (7-79); or the action may be inherently multiple, e.g. panting (*ngawi-nyawi-ja*) or digging in the sand to find eggs (*kurdala-kurdala-tha* [stab-REDUP]).

(7-77) *maku-wala* *jani-jani-ja* *niwan-ji*
 woman-LOT(NOM) search-REDUP-ACT him-MLOC
 'Many women searched for him.'

(7-78) *dara-dara-tha* *raa-ja* *wairr*
 break-REDUP-ACT spear-ACT nothing
 '(They) speared (him) but (their spears) broke and broke again,
 nothing happened.'

(7-79) *waldarra* *jabi-jabi-j,* *kurumbu*
 moonNOM shudder-REDUP-ACT barbed spearNOM

bula-a-nangku
 pull-M-NEGPO

'Moon shuddered and shuddered, but the spear could not be pulled out.'

With one verbal, reduplication indicates increased extent: *ngariija* 'go first, before', *ngariinyariija* 'a long while before'.

7.8 Noun-verb compounding

The compounding of nominal stems with verb lexemes is a fairly productive way of enriching the Kayardild lexicon. Of a sample of 510 verbs, about 260 were monomorphemic, 170 are derived by suffixation from nominals, locationals or verbals,⁹ and about 80 were noun-verb compounds.¹⁰

⁹ This tally excludes all middle and reciprocal verbs.

¹⁰ This proportion is far lower than in many languages to the west: Warlpiri, for instance, has no more than 115 simple verbs (after very thorough investigation by the Warlpiri Lexicography Project) but a richly productive system of "preverbs" which combine with them (Nash 1982); Nyangumarda has about 100 simple verbs (O'Grady 1970), Warumungu about 50 (Simpson 1980) and Walmatjarri about 40 (Hudson 1978). In many eastern languages, by contrast, there are large numbers of monomorphemic verbs but few compounds. Yidiny, for example, has 25 "compound

Only three nominal prefixes have constant meanings and are relatively productive: *birdin-* 'do unsuccessfully', *marin-* 'do to oneself, allow to happen to oneself' and *jul-/jil-* 'do repeatedly'. And just two verb roots productively take many nominal prefixes: *marutha* 'put' and *barrwaaja* 'block off'. These will be discussed in 7.8.2.

7.8.1 Non-productive types

Most examples of noun-verb compounding are semantically idiosyncratic: their meaning could not be inferred from their component parts, and the expression must be learned as a whole, e.g. *jurra-buuja* [message stick-pull] 'make sign in sand', *yurr-baaja* [body-bite] 'skite; effuse about'; *bunju-wungija* [nape of neck-steal] 'steal behind someone's back'; *kirr-buyiija* [nose-pull(M)] 'snore'.

They are also largely non-productive: few verbs, and few nominals, occur in more than one or two such constructions, although body-part nominals are by far the most prevalent.¹¹ Among the compounded nominal elements are three "cranberry morphs", only found compounded: *bir-* only occurs in *bir-marutha* [~-put] 'inadvertently do something that causes trouble for OBJ', *mirnirni-* in *mirnirni-maaja* [~-send] 'rub eyes'; and *nginy-* only in *nginy-mariija* [~-put(M)] 'ask OBJ for PROP'. Three verb roots only occur in noun-verb compounds: *-ngulatha* in *marral-ngulatha* [ear-~] 'dream of OBJ', *-jawaaja* in *marral-jawaaja* [ear-~] 'eclipse (moon)' and *-balutha* in *ngij-balutha* [fire-~] 'remove (food) from fire to cool'. The verb *daa-ja* has an idiosyncratic meaning when compounded: alone it means 'copulate with', but *ngarra-daaja* [forehead-~] means 'nod (head)'.

Finally, there is wide variation in the grammatical relation that would obtain between the verb and the compounded nominal, were the latter an independent argument. Even constructions using the same verb manifest different relations. Thus *buuja* 'pull' may take body-part-as-instrument (a), a body-part-as-object (e) or a location (g).

Classified by the grammatical relation of the prefixed nominal to the verb, the following types are found:

verbs" out of about 320 verbal items (Dixon 1977: 465-473); and Dyirbal, which has about 400 monomorphemic verbal roots, has "only a handful" of compounds (Dixon 1980: 280).

¹¹ Note that noun-verb compounding with *nominalized verbs* is far more productive—see 11.2.

(a) BODY-PART OF SUBJECT, USED AS INSTRUMENT (9.4.3), as in *darr-buuja* [leg-pull] ‘drag, using leg’, and *darr-ngalamatha* [thigh-marry] ‘betrothe (baby girl) by placing her on one’s thigh’.

(b) BODY-PART OF SUBJECT EXECUTING (INTRANSITIVE) ACTION,¹² as in *kurndu-thaldija* [chest-stand] ‘lie chest up’, *ngarra-kaaja* [forehead-shelter] ‘avoid (taboo relative) by lowering one’s gaze’, *mibur-thaatha* [eye-return] ‘flirtatiously keep staring’, *marral-durldiija* [ear-defecate] ‘forget’. A more metaphorical example is *kirdil-burrija* [back-emerge] ‘recover from serious illness’, as in:

(7-80) *kada birjin-da ngada kurirr-ngarrba, ngada kirdil-burri-ja*
again alive-NOM 1sgNOM dead-CONS 1sgNOM recover-ACT

walmu-kurra-thirri-n-d, [midithin-inja thaari-jurk]COBL
high-take-RES-N-NOM medicine-COBL bring back-IMMED:COBL

‘I am alive again after being dead, I recovered after being carried up
(towards death), because the medicine brought (me) back.’

(c) BODY PART AFFECTED BY (REFLEXIVE) ACTION: *nal-karrmaaja* [head-grasp(M)] ‘lie with hands pillowing head’, *murnu-rayiija* [elbow-spear(M)] ‘lie propped up on elbow’, *mar-ngudiiija* [hand-throw(M)] ‘wave away with hand’ (lit. ‘throw one’s hand away’), *tharda-karramaja* [shoulder-hold up(M)] ‘wave arms’, *mar-kuriiija* [hand-wash (M)] ‘get mulgri, suffer from stomach pains through violating food taboo e.g. by washing one’s greasy hands in sea-water’.

(d) OBJECT: *wumburung-karramatha* [spear-hold up] ‘wave spear (showing a turtle has been caught)’, *mala-warngiilutha* [sea-make one] ‘mix salty water (with fresh)’, *nal-wulatha* [head-pull out] ‘pull out edible yams (from under water)’, *jurra-buuja* [message stick-pull] ‘draw signs in sand (by pulling stick through the sand)’, *marrjin-maanthutha* [messenger-send(RECIP)] ‘send messengers to one another’.

(e) AFFECTED BODY-PART OF OBJECT, as in *marral-kamburija* [ear-speak] ‘whisper to OBJ’, *ngarra-buuja* [forehead-drag] ‘drag (turtle) along sand by head’.

(f) DESTINATION, with *-marutha* constructions (see below).

(g) LOCATION (TRAJECTORY), in *mala-buuja* [sea-pull] ‘pull through the sea, row in open sea’.

¹² Reasons for distinguishing this syntactically from (a) are given in 9.4.2—9.4.3.

(h) THEME (the thing transferred), which in an expanded construction would take the PROPrietive (9.2.5): *ka-wuja* or *kang-uja* [speech-give] ‘converse with OBJ’; *kandu-marndija* [blood-deprive] ‘suck blood from OBJ’, *bayi-marndija* [harm-deprive] ‘remove danger from OBJ’ (e.g. take stinger out of stingray).

(i) SECOND PREDICATE OF MANNER ON THE SUBJECT, e.g. *wurr-ngudijja* [sharp-throw(M)] ‘be born’; *bulwi-n-manjiliija* [be shy-N-elope] ‘elope shyly’ (said of relatively innocent young girl); *birdi-kalaaja* [bad-cut(M)] used only in the expression *birdikalaaja kangka* ‘speak weakly or tiredly’.

(j) NO GRAMMATICAL RELATION: A large number of compounded nominals cannot meaningfully occur in any grammatical relation to their host verb, at least in modern Kayardild. This may be for two reasons.

In the first class of cases, the semantic purpose of some incorporated body-part nominals is to suggest a directional metaphor for the relation of the actor to other protagonists; the relevant body part could not be directly expressed by a free NP. Examples are *bunju* ‘nape’ and *jardi* ‘back’, which add the meaning ‘do surreptitiously, do behind the affected person’s back’, as in *jardi-wungija* [back-steal] ‘steal from Y (VABL), unbeknown to Y’ and *bunju-kamburija* [nape-talk] ‘“backbite”, say bad things about OBJ in OBJ’s absence’.

In the second class of cases, the nominal has a meaning in the prefixed construction that is totally idiosyncratic, making correlation with a free NP impossible. Examples are *kurirra-yurrbaaja* [dead-skite] ‘skite blithely about’, *kurndu-kurrija* [chest-see] ‘scan carefully’, and a number of verbs to which the prefix *jil/jul-*, literally ‘bone’, adds the meaning ‘keep doing’ (see 7.8.2.4).

As the above discussion shows, nominal prefixation may affect the argument structure, and the transitivity, of the verb, adding or removing arguments. *Burrija* ‘emerge’, for example, is intransitive, but the compound *bayi-burrija* ‘get angry (with OBJ)’ may take an object (the person the fight is picked with) and an optional PROPrietive complement as well (the source of the dispute). Similarly *kaaja* ‘shelter’ is intransitive, but *ngarrakaaja* ‘avoid OBJ by lowering gaze’ is transitive. *Marndija* ‘deprive of’, on the other hand, subcategorizes three arguments (subject, object and indirect object), while the prefixed verbs *kandumarndija* ‘suck blood from OBJ’ and *bayimarndija* ‘take the harmful

element out of' are simple transitive verbs. These effects on the number of arguments are essentially unpredictable.¹³

7.8.2 Productive types

The examples discussed so far have been highly idiosyncratic: their meanings, and the grammatical relations between their elements, must be stated in the lexicon, and no general combinatory principles can be formulated. We now turn to two verbs, and three nominal prefixes, where the effects of noun-verb compounding are more predictable.

7.8.2.1 -*marutha* 'put'. This verb, whose free-form meaning is 'put', has already been encountered in our discussion of the "verbal dative" (4.4.2.2), in which case it appears on every word of the phrase. Used with a nominal prefix, however, it is restricted to single words.

Since both may have the meaning "cause to be at x", the two uses are often hard to distinguish. But the nominal-prefix meaning is usually more specialized, and is lost if the nominal word gives way to a whole phrase. Thus *dul-marutha* may be [ground-VD], meaning 'to the ground, put on the ground', or [ground-put], with the specialized meaning 'floor (in fight), knock to the ground'. But *ngarrku-marutha dul-marutha* [hard-~ ground-~] can only have the more general Verbal Dative meaning: 'put on the hard ground'.

Three main meanings are possible:

(a) 'CAUSE OBJ TO BECOME AT X'. The intended destination may be geographical, as in *kalarr-marutha* [open space-put] 'flush OBJ out, drive OBJ out in the open' or *kabilji-marutha* [grave-put] 'lay OBJ in grave'. Alternatively the destination may be a body-part; here a reflexive reading is implied. Examples are *jardi-marutha* [behind-put] 'put OBJ behind one's back', *nal-marutha* [head-put] 'put OBJ on one's head', *wajurr-marutha* [armpit-put] 'put OBJ under one's arm'. *Kirdil-marutha* [back-put] has a different semantic structure, meaning 'lean one's back against OBJ' rather than 'put OBJ against one's back'.

Two verbs of cognition employ the "destination" meaning rather metaphorically: *bardaka-marutha* [stomach-put] 'think feelingly about OBJ, miss OBJ' (literally 'put OBJ in one's stomach') and *marral-marutha* [ear-put] 'think intellectually about, concentrate on' (literally 'put OBJ in one's ear'). The stomach and ear are for the Kaiadilt, as for other

¹³ Here Kayardilt differs from Warlpiri, for example, where certain "preverbs" regularly introduce an extra adjunct in the dative (Nash 1982: 183-4). Yidiny (Dixon 1977a: 465) represents another type, in which compounds always have the same transitivity as the verbal root.

Australian Aboriginal groups, the seats of feeling and intelligence respectively.

(b) 'CAUSE OBJ TO BE IN STATE X'. Here X is limited to predicate nominals and nominalized verbs, e.g. *mibul-marutha* [asleep-put] 'put OBJ to sleep', *rajurri-n-marutha* [walk around-N-put] 'cause to be able to walk'. The semantics of this type of causation are compared to those of other causative constructions in 9.3.4.

(c) 'INSULTINGLY COMPARE OBJ TO KIN X'. This is used in reporting speech acts in which the addressee is compared to relative X, with the implication that both share some reprehensible characteristic. An example is *ngamathu-marutha* [mother-put] 'insultingly compare OBJ to OBJ's mother'. See also 5.1.3.4.

7.8.2.2 X-barrwaaja 'keep OBJ away from X'. The free verb *barrwaaja* is ditransitive, meaning 'block off OBJ (territory) from OBJ (people)'. The first object may be prefixed: *kalarr-barrwaaja* [open space-block] 'prevent OBJ from coming out into the open'. Usually the nominal prefix constructions are more metaphorical, as in *yirbirr-barrwaaja* [beloved-block] 'prevent OBJ from seeing OBJ's beloved' (said of a jealous old husband); *mibul-barrwaaja* [sleep-block] 'prevent from going to sleep' (e.g. by non-stop love-making).

7.8.2.3 *birdin-* 'fail to do V properly'. This prefix is clearly related to the adjective *birdi(ya)* 'bad', perhaps with the individualizer suffix *-n-* (5.1.1.1), which would mean 'bad one' (although there is no free form *birdin-da.*). *Birdin-* plus *raaja* 'spear' gives *birdi-laaja*, by Lateralization (2.5.2).

Birdin- marks the unsuccessful performance of an action:

<i>bala-tha</i>	'hit'	<i>birdin-bala-tha</i>	'hit wrongly, weakly'
<i>kurri-ja</i>	'see'	<i>birdin-kurri-ja</i>	'look at without recognizing'
<i>raa-ja</i>	'spear'	<i>birdi-laa-ja</i>	'spear at and miss'
<i>marri-ja</i>	'hear, listen'	<i>birdin-marri-ja</i>	'mishear'
<i>ngudi-ja</i>	'throw'	<i>birdin-ngudi-ja</i>	'throw askew'
<i>warra-ja</i>	'go'	<i>birdin-marra-ja</i>	'go off track'
<i>jinka-ja</i>	'follow'	<i>birdin-jinka-ja</i>	'follow wrong track'
<i>dii-ja</i>	'sit down, land'	<i>birdin-dii-ja</i>	'land in wrong place (missile)'

(7-81) *ngada birdin-ngudi-j, dirral-da marl-d, rirrk-uru*
 1sgNOM fail-throw-ACT slippery-NOM hand-NOM grease-PROP
 'I threw (it) off course, my hand was slippery, covered in grease.'

(7-82) *jirrkara-nyin-da thula-th, Kurndungkali, birdin-jinka-ja*
 north-END-NOM descend-ACT place name(LOC) fail-follow-ACT

wayirni, dangka-naban-d
 pathNOM man-another-NOM

‘(We) went down at the north end (of the scrub), at Kurdungkali, we took the wrong track, another man’s track.’

7.8.2.4 *jul-* ~ *jil-* ‘keep doing’. Most speakers vary between *jil-* and *jul-*, although some only have *jul-*; the latter appears to be the more basic form, with optional fronting after the palatal giving *jil-*.

This suffix indicates that an action persists without flagging: *bala-a-ja* [shoot-M] ‘be shot at’, *jul-bala-a-ja* ‘go on being shot at’ (Text 3, Line 18). The meaning of the prefixed verb is not always predictable from its elements: *buru-tha* ‘take, grab’, *jul-buru-tha* ‘stay (at OBJ) all the time; keep doing’ (7-83) *kaba-tha* ‘find’, *jul-kaba-tha* ‘hold tight; do fast, intensely’ (8-44).

(7-83) *warngiij-ina dulk-ina nga-ku-l-da jil-buru-tharr*
 one-MABL place-MABL 1-INC-pl-NOM bone-take-PST
 ‘We stayed camped at the same place.’

This prefix is probably related to *jul-da* ‘bone’, which recurs in a number of expressions involving intensity. The basic nominal may be used to mean ‘absolutely’, as in *julda warirra dulka* [bone nothing place] ‘absolutely nowhere’; and the reduplicated *juldajulda* means ‘strong, proper’. However, *jul-da* cannot occur as a free nominal with the persistive meaning: *ngada julda balaaja* [I bone shoot (M)] means ‘I was shot in the bone’, not ‘I kept getting shot at’.

7.8.2.5 *marin-* ‘self’. The free form *marin-da* is the reflexive object pronoun, optionally used in reflexive constructions with middle verbs (9.3.3); it can also serve as a nominal prefix.

With some verbs *marin-* merely forces a reflexive reading (recall that middle verbs allow both passive and reflexive interpretations): *marin-barrki-i-ja* [self-chop-M] ‘slash one’s skull (during mourning)’, *marin-marri-i-ja* [self-hear-M] ‘listen to oneself (e.g. on tape recorder)’.

With other verbs, however, *marin-* gives a “voluntary passive” meaning: *marin-kurrka-a-ja* [self-take-M] was used of a girl who let herself be seduced (‘taken’), and *marin-kurndi-i-ja* [self-tie-M] of a woman who captured a python by letting it coil around her.

7.8.3 Idioms with free nominal arguments

A number of idiomatic constructions involve a verb and a body-part nominal. These often exhibit semantic similarities to the prefixed-nominal constructions given above, and may be the historical source of at least

some of them. But in idioms the verb and nominal are separate words: they can be reordered (although the elements of the idiom remain contiguous), and the nominal is inflected for case. For example the idiom *bardaka kamburija* [stomach say] ‘say to oneself, think without speaking’ involves a nominal in the nominative case, and allows the alternative ordering *kamburija bardaka*.

Further comparable examples are *bardaka mirra-wa-tha* [stomach good-INCH] ‘feel happy, feel glad’, *jara kuuja* [foot bathe] ‘bathe one’s feet, cool feet in water’, *jara mutha-wa-tha* [foot-NOM much-INCH] ‘feel edgy, shift about nervously on one’s feet’ and *kirrka miburlda ngarrku-wa-tha* [nose eye strong-INCH] ‘set one’s face in a warlike expression’ (*kirrka miburlda* is a nominal idiom meaning ‘face’).

I have collected three idioms where the nominal is in object function (informants always cite these with the object in the nominative, but give them the appropriate object case in full sentences): *munda kurrija* [bottom see] ‘finish off’ (8-25), *miburlda duuratha* [eye poke] ‘warn’ (12-43) and *miburlda ngudija* [eye throw] ‘cast one’s eye’ (5-103).

Chapter 8

Structure of the verbal group

The predicate of verbal clauses, though typically a single verbal word, may be expanded to include preverbal particles, and complexes of verbs agreeing in final inflection. I shall refer to this expansion as the “verbal group”, and to the syntagm of agreeing verbal words within a clause as the “verbal complex”.

8.1 Preverbal particles

Five preverbal particles give directional or temporal/aspectual qualification of the verb. Most can also occur in other clause positions, with slightly different meanings and morphological possibilities, as manner or time nominals. Their classification as “preverbal particles” is thus a convenient summary of their commonest use rather than an absolute statement of their syntactic behaviour. Different preverbal particles also behave differently with respect to modal case. Two—*kada* ‘again’ and *kiya* ‘halfway’—take modal case, except in the zero and instantiated modalities. *Yuuda* ‘already’ and *buda* ‘later’ escape modal case in preverbal position, but take it elsewhere. And *minyi* ‘towards’ always escapes modal case.

8.1.1 *yuuda* ‘already’

This indicates that an action has already occurred or is already occurring:

(8-1) *nyinka yuuda barji-j*
2sgNOM already fall-ACT
‘You have already fallen down.’

(8-2) *yuuda kurri-ja ngad*
already see-ACT 1sgNOM
‘I can already see (it).’

In its preverbal use, *yuuda* does not inflect for modal case:

- (8-3) *jatha-a dangka-a yuuda jaa-jarra wida-na*
 other-NOM person-NOM already enter-PST hole-MABL
 ‘Someone else has already checked this hole (for fish).’

The preverbal use is clearly a specialization of the more general meaning ‘first’, conveyed by positioning *yuuda* elsewhere in the clause:

- (8-4) *ngijin-da ngamathu dana-tha yuud, yuulu-th,*
 my-NOM mother leave-ACT first lead-ACT
ngada jinka-j
 1sgNOM follow-ACT

‘My mother passed away first, she went ahead, I’ll follow her.’

In its more general use, *yuuda* does take modal case in modalities except for the zero and instantiated:

- (8-5) *yuuth-u jirrkara-wu kurri-ju nga-ku-l-d*
 first-MPROP north-MPROP look-POT 1-INC-pl-NOM
 ‘We’ll look in the north first.’

8.1.2 *kada* ‘again’

This indicates the repetition of an action by the same actor. In most instantiated clauses *kada* is uninflected:

- (8-6) *dathin-a wiridi-j, bala-tha ni, warirr, kaba-nangku,*
 there-NOM stay-ACT hit-ACT 3sgNOM nothing find-NEG.POT
kaba-tharri, kada wara-tha ru-lung-k,
 find-NEG.ACT again send-ACT east-ALL-NOM
kaba-tharri, warirr
 find-NEG.ACT nothing

‘He stayed there and pounded the bait (to attract fish with its grease). Nothing, he couldn’t find anything, didn’t find anything. He sent it east again, found nothing.’

However, I have one example with a modal locative; I have been unable to find any explanation for its appearance here.

- (8-7) *bala-tha ngad, maramara-maru-tha kulma-ja thaa-th*
 hit-ACT 1sgNOM dinghy-VD-ACT pile up-ACT return-ACT

jirrkara kada-ya thaa-th
northNOM again-MLOC return-ACT

'I killed (the diver birds), and went and piled them up into the dinghy.
Then I went back north another time.'

In other modalities modal case always appears:

(8-8) *nyingka ri-in-da kada-wu thaa-thu*
2sgNOM east-FROM-NOM again-MPROP return-POT
'You will come back from the east again.'

(8-9) *kada-ntha wirrka-da balmbi-nj*
again-MOBL dance-DES tomorrow-MOBL
'I hope they'll dance again tomorrow.'

Kada may also appear outside preverbal position, with the verbal TRANSLative case, and the meaning 'next time'.

(8-10) *ngijin-da duujin-da barji-ja dabarr-ula-a-j, kurthurra*
my-NOM YB-NOM fall-ACT tree-VABL-M-ACT calfNOM
dara-a-j, ngaakawuru dabarr-mungurru, kada-marii-j
fall-M-ACT why tree-knowingNOM again-VTRANSL-ACT

'My little brother fell out of a tree, and broke his calf. Why is he always playing in trees, (it'll happen) again next time.'

8.1.3 *ki-ya* 'partway'

Used with a motion verb, this indicates that the expected trajectory was not completed; this is expressed by 'halfway' in Mornington English. It takes modal case. The modal oblique and ablative are slightly irregular: *ki-inja* and *ki-ina*.

With other words in stem-final *i*, the nominative and locative forms are not distinct. *Kiya* is used in modalities calling for the zero and locative modalities; one cannot know whether this is motivated by the lack of distinct forms (as with *yakuri-ya* 'fish'), or simply because it does not distinguish these modalities (like *yuud-a* 'already'). I arbitrarily gloss all such occurrences as NOMinative.

(8-11) *dan-da birdi-ya wangalk, thaa-nangku,*
this-NOM bad-NOM boomerangNOM return-NEG.POT

ki-wu *barji-ju*
 partway-MPROP fall-POT

'This is a lousy boomerang, it won't come back, it'll fall down halfway back.'

(8-12) *ngada* *ki-ina* *thaa-tharr,* *kaba-tharri*
 1sgNOM partway-MABL return-PST find-NEG.ACT
 'I came back partway, but still couldn't find any (yams).'

(8-13) *ki-ya* *dathin-a* *barnkaldi-j*
 partway-NOM that-NOM sit down-ACT
 '(They) sat down there, halfway here.'

This form has only been found preverbally in Kayardild. It may be related to Lardil *kiwa* 'midsection'. But Roland Moodoonuthi suggested another etymology, wanting to relate it to the verb *kijjatha* 'come close'.

8.1.4 *buda* 'later'

This indicates that the subject will repeat, later, an action currently being performed by someone else. In preverbal position it escapes modal case:

(8-14) *ngada* *buda* *warra-ju*
 1sgNOM behind go-POT
 'I'll go later. (You go now).'

Buda also occurs elsewhere in the clause, meaning 'following close behind':

(8-15) *jirrkur-ung-ku* *kuujuu-ja* *thula-th,* *buda* *ngada*
 north-ALL-PROP swim-ACT descend-ACT behind 1sgNOM

bilwan-ji *bala-th,* *mun-kiya* *kurri-j*
 3pl-MLOC hit-ACT bottom-MLOC see-ACT

'They swam down to the north, and following close behind I clubbed them all to death.'

Outside the preverbal slot, in modalities other than zero and instantiated, *buda* takes modal case:

(8-16) *buth-u* *ngada* *jinka-ju,* *ngada* *bala-thu*
 behind-MPROP 1sgNOM follow-POT 1sgNOM kill-POT

bilwan-ju
 3pl-MPROP

'I'll follow behind and I'll kill them.'

8.1.5 *minyi* 'towards'

This indicates that an itinerary is reaching its end point:

- (8-17) *minyi thaa-tha natha-ya bartha-y*
 towards return-ACT camp-LOC base-LOC
 'So they came back to their base camp.'

Or that some spatially-oriented activity is reaching its goal:

- (8-18) [Two men have been lining up their spears, which are now aimed and ready:]
birra minyi kaba-nthu-th
 3duNOM toward find-RECIP-ACT
 'They are finding each other's mark now.'

Minyi may also modify non-verbal locationals implying motion:

- (8-19) *duburrka kala-tha minyi ri-in-d*
 catfishNOM cut-ACT toward east-FROM-NOM
 'Catfish cut out (Makarrki, an estuary) on his way back from the east.'

It may also be used as a sentence particle, introducing the conclusion of a story (9.7.2.6) or compounded as a nominal semblative (5.1.3.4).

8.2 The verb complex

A Kayardild clause may contain a number of verbal forms. Following Dixon (1972: 64, 1977a: 252) I call this syntagm the "V(erb) C(omplex)". All verbs of the VC must agree in final inflection. But there is no constraint requiring them to have equal transitivity: while it is common for the conjoined verbs to agree in transitivity (e.g. (8-20) and (8-21)) there is no bar on transitive and intransitive verbs being conjoined in one complex (8-22).

- (8-20) *bikibiki darrbuu-ja kala-tha yarbuth-i*
 pigNOM drag-ACT cut-ACT dog-MLOC
 'The pig dragged the dog along, goring it.'
- (8-21) *bilwan-da yakarr mutha-a dangka-a*
 their-NOM porpoiseNOM many-NOM people-NOM

nurri-ja kala-th
hack-ACT cut-ACT

‘Many people hacked and cut up their porpoise.’

(8-22) *bana nal-da niwan-da dan-ku dii-ju,*
and head-NOM his-NOM here-MPROP sit-POT

bardaka-wu ngadi-ju dii-ju
belly-MPROP wound-POT sit-POT

‘And his (the turtle’s) head will sit (land) here, it will land wounding your stomach.’

What is important, then, is not that each verb have *identical argument structures*, but merely that they have *non-conflicting argument structures*: it is acceptable for a NP to be an object of one verb in a clause but bear no grammatical relation to its clause-mate, but it is unacceptable for a NP to be subject of verb A and object of verb B.

This contrasts with the stricter constraint found in many morphologically ergative Australian languages (such as Dyirbal (Dixon 1972: 64), Yidiny (Dixon 1977a: 252), Ngiyambaa (Donaldson 1980: 203) and Kalkatungu (Blake 1979b)) which requires that all verbs and adverbs in a verb complex agree in (surface) transitivity. If we accept Goddard’s (1982) argument that such languages have three core cases, ergative (A), nominative (S) and accusative (O), the reason is clear: if transitive and intransitive verbs were mixed in a clause, they would assign conflicting cases (ergative and nominative, or nominative and accusative) to their subject. In an accusative language like Kayardild, on the other hand, there are no grounds for distinguishing A and S cases, these being joined in a single “nominative” case, so there can be no case clash.

The various elements of the VC may be more or less tightly linked, both syntactically and semantically; three types can be identified. I shall now examine these, proceeding from the looser to the tighter.

8.2.1 Adverbial complexes

These comprise a verb and either an adverb or a verb used as an adverb, typically with some semantic modification. The entire complex is always spanned by a single intonation contour, and the adverb typically precedes the verb.

8.2.1.1 Lexical adverbs. Adverbs take normal verbal inflections but cannot be the sole verbal in a sentence. Kayardild has very few, and

it is possible that a bigger corpus would see even these used as main verbs.

(a) *bakii-ja* ‘altogether’¹ means either ‘all S do (plural subject)’ or ‘S do with all his/her being’ (singular subject), or ‘do to all O’, but never ‘all A do’, which requires the particle *maarra* ‘all’ (9.7.2.7) or the nominalized form *bakii-n-da* ‘all’, which can modify nominals in any function.

(8-23) *bakii-ju* *nga-ku-l-da* *warra-ju*
altogether-POT 1-INC-pl-NOM go-POT
‘We’ll all go.’

(8-24) *ngaakawuru* *dathin-a* *kunawuna* *bakii-ja*
why that-NOM childNOM altogether-ACT

bayi-wuru-wa-th
angry-PROP-INCH-ACT

‘Why is that child going completely wild?’

(8-25) *bala-tha* *ngad,* *bakii-ja=da* *mun-kiya*
kill-ACT 1sgNOM altogether-ACT=SAME bottom-MLOC

kurri-j
see-ACT

‘I killed them all off.’

The verb *kuliya-tha* ‘fill up, give lots of’ may also function as an adverb, meaning ‘lots of S do’, ‘do to lots of O’:

(8-26) *kuliya-kuliya-n!*
give much-REDUP-NEG.IMP
‘Don’t give (me) too much!’

(8-27) *dali-ja* *kuliya-th*
come-ACT fill-ACT
‘Lots of people are coming.’

(8-28) *ngada* *raa-ja* *kuliya-tha* *banga-y*
1sgNOM spear-ACT fill-ACT turtle-MLOC
‘I speared lots of turtles.’

(b) *Yulkalu-tha* ‘A do for good’ (actually the factitive of *yulkaa-n-da* ‘eternal’), and *yulkalii-ja* ‘S do for good’ (its middle equivalent) are a

¹ The gloss follows Kayardild English, where “altogether” means ‘all S do’ or ‘do to all O’—an interesting case of substrate influence.

possible instance of transitivity-sensitive adverbs, as the first is only attested with transitive and the second with intransitive main verbs:

- (8-29) *ngada yulka-lu-tha dana-tha ngumban-ji*
 1sgNOM eternal-FAC-ACT leave-ACT you-MLOC
 'I'm leaving you for good.'
- (8-30) *yakuri-ya yulka-l-ii-ja jaa-ja mijil-iiwa-th*
 fish-LOC eternal-FAC-M-ACT enter-ACT net-VALL-ACT
 'The fish swam into the net for good.'

However I would maintain that these differ in more than "transitivity". *Yulka-lutha* means, roughly 'SUBJ did something, intending to affect OBJ. OBJ was affected for good because of that', while *yulka-lii-ja* means 'SUBJ did something. SUBJ was affected for good because of that'. This parallels the middle forms of verbal cases—see 4.4.2.4. A related verb, *yulkinjalii-ja*,² means 'go to for good':

- (8-31) *niya rar-umban-ji dulk-i yulkinjalii-j*
 3sgNOM south-ORIG-LOC place-LOC go for good-ACT
 'He's gone south for good (to stay there).'

(c) *Babara-tha* 'quickly, do straight away':

- (8-32) *nyingka jinka-ja babara-tha ngumban-da kajakaj!*
 2sgNOM follow-IMP quickly-IMP your-NOM daddyNOM
 'Quickly follow your daddy!'

(d) *kiyarr-marii-ja* 'two do together'. Formally this is [two-put(M)].

- (8-33) *nga-ku-rr-a kiyarrmarii-ja rabi-j badi-j*
 1-INC-du-NOM two do together-ACT get up-ACT carry-ACT
 'The two of us got up together and carried (it).'

8.2.1.2 Apposed verbs functioning as adverbs. The meagre stock of lexical adverbs is supplemented by a large number of constructions in which one verb takes on an adverbial meaning when paired with another.

For example *ngarii-ja* means 'be in front, lead' when used as a main verb:

- (8-34) *ngijin-da kajakaja ngarii-j*
 my-NOM daddyNOM first-ACT
 (Speaking of a file of people): 'My father is in front.'

² Etymology unclear, but possibly *yulka-l-ii-ja* (eternal-OBL-FAC-M-ACT). This would be an exception to the ban on other suffixes following the OBLique (4.2.3).

But it may also be used adverbially, meaning ‘first’. As in English, the exact meaning depends on its position within the clause. Clause-finally, it can mean either ‘be the first one to do’ or ‘do first in a series of actions’:

(8-35) *ngada kurri-ja ngarii-j*
1sgNOM see-ACT first-ACT
‘I saw it first / I was the first to see it.’

(8-36) *nyingka diya-ja wuran-da ngarii-j, dana-a-ja ngada*
2sgNOM eat-IMP food-NOM first-IMP leave-M-ACT 1sgNOM
nguku-wu-ju
water-VDON-POT

‘You eat some food first, then I’ll give you water.’

Immediately before the verb it means ‘do for the first time’:

(8-37) *ngada kunya-a kunawuna ngarii-ja kurri-j*
1sgNOM small-NOM childNOM first-ACT see-ACT
‘I first saw it as a small boy.’

Likewise *danaaja*, used as a main verb, is the middle form of *danatha* ‘leave’; hence ‘be left (behind)’. But used adverbially it means ‘be last, do last’ or ‘then’ as in (8-36) above.

Mirrayalatha, as a main verb, means ‘make’, as in (8-38), or ‘heal’.

(8-38) *ngada mirrayala-tha wangalk-i*
1sgNOM make-ACT boomerang-MLOC
‘I made a boomerang.’

As an adverb, it means ‘do properly, well’:

(8-39) *ngada mirrayala-tha marri-ja kangk-i*
1sgNOM do well-ACT hear-ACT language-MLOC
‘I can understand the language well.’

In the vast majority of cases, the adverb immediately precedes the main verb: *birdirutha waaja* [spoil sing] ‘sing wrongly’, *thaarija waaja* [bring.back sing] ‘sing back to life’, *kukurdurutha kamburija* [make.near speak] ‘summon’, *ngadija kuluuja* [wound dig] ‘despoil (sacred place) by digging/mining there’ (8-40), *birilutha karnaja* [do.until.fine.weather burn] ‘burn special fire to bring on fine weather’ (8-41):

(8-40) *nyingka dathin-ki dulk-i ngadi-ja kuluu-j,*
2sgNOM that-MLOC place-MLOC wound-ACT scratch-ACT

nyingka kalka-th
2sgNOM sicken-ACT

'You have despoiled that place by digging there, and you have fallen ill.'

- (8-41) *biril-u-tha karna-ja nga-ku-l-da yaluntha-y*
calm-FAC-ACT burn-ACT 1-INC-pl-NOM seaweed-MLOC
'We burned seaweed to bring on the fine weather.'

Many such constructions are somewhat idiomatic, with different main verbs selecting different apposed verbs to express what is essentially the same adverbial meaning. For example, the meaning 'do hard, intensely' is expressed by at least three different apposed main verbs: *kurulu-tha* 'kill' with verbs of impact (8-42), *bulba-ja* 'be full (of food)' with verbs of sound production (8-43), and *jilkaba-tha* 'seize, hold tight' with verbs of perception and communication (8-44):

- (8-42) *ngada kuru-lu-tha bala-tha niwan-ji wangalk-ur*
1sgNOM dead-FAC-ACT hit-ACT him-MLOC boomerang-PROP
'I hit him hard with the boomerang.'

(Note that this does not mean 'hit him fatally'; this literal meaning would require *kurulutha* to be in a separate clause.)

- (8-43) *nyingka kamburi-j, bulba-ja wama-th!*
2sgNOM speak-IMP be.full-IMP shout-IMP
'You speak, yell it out loud!'

- (8-44) *ngada jilkaba-tha kurri-j*
1sgNOM seize-ACT see-ACT
'I'm looking hard.'

Other verb+verb constructions are completely idiomatic: the apposed verb only has its particular adverbial meaning when paired with the one main verb:³

³ Functionally, these parallel the compound verbs in such languages as Walmatjarri (Hudson 1978: 44 et seq.), e.g. *turta-pung-* [rise-hit] 'stand up'. The difference is that in Walmatjarri the juncture is morphological—two roots are compounded, giving a complex stem which takes a single set of inflections, while in K the juncture is syntactic: each verb of the complex inflects individually. An intermediate type is found in a number of Central Australian languages, such as Diyari and Yankunytjatjara: in Diyari a number of verbs may be chained, but only the last may take derivational suffixes and inflections; the rest take participial inflections (Austin 1981a: 98).

Adverbial complex	Literal meaning	Collocational meaning
<i>ngudija kamburija</i>	throw speak	'refuse'
<i>julujulutha kamburija</i>	talk.a.lot speak	'persuade'
<i>birrkaliya kamburija</i>	take.pity speak	'console'
<i>junkuwatha kinaaja</i>	meet tell	'come clean, confess'
<i>yukija warraja</i>	float go	'stagger drunkenly'

8.2.2 Motion complexes

These have a main verb followed directly by a motion verb, which expresses the motion either concurrent with or following the main action. The motion verb often undergoes some semantic specialization, with the directionality implied by the main verb use being relaxed. Word order is less free: with one attested exception (8-53), the verb complex is clause-final.

Thaa-tha, as a main verb, means 'return'. In motion complexes it means 'go and V, expecting to return'. So while the main verb use implies motion *towards* some reference point, the motion complex use allows it to be *away from* the reference point. This difference is illustrated by the following two minimal pairs of sentences. In (8-45) the verbs belong to different clauses, as shown by the independent intonation contours (indicated here by a comma); a literal meaning is forced. In (8-46) the two verbs are clausemates, but *thaatha* comes first: it acts as an adverbial supplying direction. In (8-47) and (8-48) *thaatha* is a clausemate *and* follows the main verb, giving the 'go and return' meaning.

- (8-45) *niya kuujuu-j, thaa-th*
3sgNOM swim-ACT return-ACT
'He had a swim, and came back.'
- (8-46) *thaa-tha warra-j*
return-ACT go-ACT
'(He's) on his way back.'
- (8-47) *niya kuujuu-ja thaa-th*
3sgNOM swim-ACT return-ACT
'He's gone for a swim (and will come back).'
- (8-48) *warra-ja thaa-th!*
go-IMP return-IMP
'(You) go and come back!'

In all my examples with *V thaa-tha*, the object immediately precedes the verb:

- (8-49) *balmbi-wu thawal-u jani-ju thaa-thu*
 morrow-MPROP yam-PROP search-POT return-POT
 'Tomorrow we'll go and look for yams.'
- (8-50) *wuran-inja ngalama-n-da thaa-n-d*
 food-AOBL get-N-NOM return-N-NOM
 '(They) are going to get food.'

Such complexes are also used in describing short round trips.⁴ In the following sentence the speaker describes how people used to paddle to the outlying island of Jawari. Because it lacked water, they would not camp there.

- (8-51) *kuru-ya diya-ja thaa-th*
 egg-MLOC eat-ACT return-ACT
 '(They) used to go out (for the day) and eat (turtle) eggs.'

In one instance *thaa-tha* has fused with the main verb: *kabathaatha* 'go hunting for' transparently derives by haplology from *kabatha* 'find' plus *thaatha*; the collocation would mean 'go to find (and come back)'.

Warra-ja, used as a main verb, means 'go (to)' or 'come (to)'.⁵ As an associated motion verb it usually means 'go/come along while Ving'.

- (8-52) *walmathi-da walmathi bath-in-d, burldi-burldi-ja warra-j,*
 high-SAME high west-FROM-NOM roll-REDUP-ACT go-ACT
burldi-ja birrk-i
 roll-ACT string-MLOC
 'High up, moving from the west she (Kaarrku, the Seagull Being) came along, rolling string as she went.'
- (8-53) *jiki-ja warra-ja karn-ki*
 light fire-ACT go-ACT grass-MLOC
 '(They) went along setting fire to the grass.'
- (8-54) *niwan-burri-yarrba yathuyii-ja warra-j, jungarra-ya dulk-i*
 3sg-emerge-PRECON laugh-ACT go-ACT big-LOC place-LOC

⁴ It is possible that the 'and will come back' component is extended to mean that the activity is bounded in time (H. Koch, p.c.); this would fit all the examples given above.

⁵ There is no inherent direction in this verb. A more precise gloss would be 'move along a trajectory'.

rulungka-riya wanjii-j, ra-yii-ja warra-j
 eastward-east go.up-ACT spear-M-ACT go-ACT

'Having come out of it (the sea), (Kajurku) went along laughing, came up heading east at that big (story) place, went along being speared at.'

Less frequently a purposive/sequential meaning is conveyed: 'go/come to V'.

(8-55) *ngakan-ku thaldi-ju warra-ju*
 sandbank-MPROP stand-POT go-POT
 '(They're) going to stand on the sandbank.'

Dana-tha, as a main verb, means 'leave'. In a motion complex it means 'V as one moves away from X' or 'V before one moves away':

(8-56) *bi-l-da ngilirr-i kurri-ja dana-th*
 3-pl-NOM cave-MLOC look-ACT leave-ACT
 'They looked at the cave as they walked away from it.'

(8-57) *dan-da jardi kurulu-tha mutha-ya yakuri-y,*
 this-NOM mob kill-ACT many-MLOC fish-MLOC

diya-a-nangku, dathin-a narrkiri-ju dana-thu
 eat-M-NEG.POT that-NOM bury-POT leave-POT

'These people killed lots of fish, more than could be eaten, they'll bury them there before leaving.'

There is also an adverbial complex *kamburija danatha* [say leave], which means 'say as one's dying words' (see 12-15). *Dana-tha* is a euphemism for 'die', as is 'leave' in Mornington English.

Wara-tha 'send', used in a motion complex, has the opposite meaning to *dana-tha* 'leave': *V wara-tha* means 'V OBJ as OBJ moves away', or as Roland Moodoonuthi put it 'you look and he's going'. An example is:

(8-58) *yan-d, ngakuluwan-ju kurri-ju wara-thu balung-ku*
 now-NOM 1INCpl-MPROP look-POT send-POT westward-PROP
 'Now (the short people) are looking out at us (from their hiding places beneath the cliffs) as we go westwards.'

Wurdiyalaaja 'walkabout' may be used in a motion complex to mean 'walk about Ving (everywhere)'. See Text 3, Line 33.

Wanjii-ja 'go up' may be used in a motion complex without much change in meaning: 'go/come up to V'.

- (8-59) *niya buda ra-yiin-d , mura-tha wanjii-j*
 3sgNOM behindNOM south-FROM-NOM graze-ACT go up-ACT
 ‘(The dugong) is coming behind from the south, coming up to graze.’

It is easy to see how the motion verb could, with time, be morphologically fused onto the action verb, as has happened in *kabathaa-tha*, discussed above. This would give Kayardild a set of verbal suffixes showing “associated motion”, similar to those found in many Australian languages, such as Mparntwe Arrernte (Wilkins 1989), Kaytej (Koch 1983b), Diyari (Austin 1981a), Yidiny (Dixon 1977a: 219ff, where they are called “coming/going aspectual affixes”), and Djingili (Chadwick 1975: 23, 33-4).

8.2.3 Aspectual complexes

In these, one of the four verbs *wirdi-ja* ‘be, stay’, *dii-ja* ‘sit’, *karrngi-ja* ‘hold, grasp’ and *jirrma-ja* ‘pile up’ follows a main verb, or a motion or adverbial complex, and assumes an aspectual meaning. Unlike motion complexes, aspectual complexes need not appear clause finally:

- (8-60) *ngada warra-ja wirdi-ja wuran-kur , wuran-ki*
 1sgNOM go-ACT be-ACT food-PROP food-MLOC

kaba-tharri
 find-NEG.ACT

‘I was walking around all day looking for food, but didn’t find any.’

Wirdi-ja ‘be, stay’ shows durative aspect: X is engaged in some activity over a longish period of time:

- (8-61) [R.M. had just bought a car, and his proud young sons were sitting on the roof “guarding” it:]

bi-rr-a karrngi-ja wirdi-j
 3-du-NOM hold-ACT be-ACT
 ‘They’re guarding it.’

V wirdi-ja is compatible with nominalizations showing uncompleted ongoing actions. All verbs in the complex are nominalized, conveying the meaning ‘X is continuing to V a lot’. Note the chaining of a motion and an aspectual complex in the following example:

- (8-62) *nyingka kurri-n-da warra-n-da wirdi-n-d*
 2sgNOM see-N-NOM go-N-NOM be-N-NOM
 ‘You’re going around to see (people) a lot.’

Wiridi-ja frequently merges with preceding ACTual inflections, so that *V-THa wiridi-ja* becomes *V-THurdi-ja*: *kurri-ja wiridi-ja* becomes *kurrijurdija*. Once again, time would probably see this periphrastic construction becoming a verbal suffix.

Dii-ja 'sit', used in an aspectual complex, shows that the subject continues one activity without changing to another:

- (8-63) *wuu-ja yurda-ya muyinkalan-ki, yiiwi-ja dii-j,*
 put-ACT inside-LOC dinghy-LOC lie-ACT sit-ACT
yurda-y, warra-n-marri, barri-n-marri
 inside-LOC go-N-PRIV crawl-N-PRIV

'(I) put (the turtles) inside the dinghy, and (they) just stayed lying there, without moving, without crawling around.'

Karrngi-ja 'hold, grasp' shows that an activity persists for longer than one might wish or expect, possibly with a shade of disapproval:

- (8-64) *niya diya-ja karrngi-j*
 3sgNOM eat-ACT grasp-ACT
 'He keeps eating, he's eating all the time.'

Jirrma-ja 'pile up' indicates that an activity is generously indulged in, in preparation for some coming situation:

- (8-65) *yan-da kurirra narrkiri-i-j, ngabaya*
 now-NOM deadNOM bury-M-ACT spiritNOM
rundurr-ula-a-j nguku-y diya-ja jirrma-ja
 grave-VABL-M-ACT water-MLOC eat-ACT pile up-ACT
ngabay, ril-ung-ku warra-ju
 spiritNOM east-ALL-PROP go-POT

'Now the dead person is buried, and his spirit leaves the grave; the spirit drinks plenty of water, for his journey eastward across the sea.'

- (8-66) A man is "singing" himself into readiness for the hunt:

ngada thula-thu, wa-yii-ja jirrma-j,
 1sgNOM go down-ACT sing-M-ACT pile up-ACT
ngada thula-thu
 1sgNOM go down-POT

'I will go down (into the sea), I am singing myself into readiness, I will go down.'

Fusion with the preceding verb may occur, so that *diyaja jirrmaja* can be pronounced *diyajirrmaja*.

Chapter 9

Syntax of the simple clause

9.1 Verbless clauses

Kayardild, like most Australian languages, has a main clause type in which the predicator is a nominal (henceforth, “nominal clauses”). No copula is needed, although the verb *wirdija* ‘be, stay, become’ may be used under certain conditions (9.1.8). Nominal clauses are used for equative, ascriptive and locational sentence types, and also for certain kinds of stative predication involving “nominal predicators”, which may take their own nominal arguments.

Most nominal clauses lack any marker of tense/modality. But locative and existential clauses allow this to be expressed, using modal case (9.1.3).

I shall assume that sentences of this type should be parsed into a subject and a (nominal) predicate.¹ Nominal clauses have a more limited thematic structure than verbal clauses: their subjects must be topics (except for existential clauses—see below), and display the full range of topic characteristics: definiteness (pronominal, or marked by the discourse deictic *dathina* ‘that’), anaphoric ellipsis, and treatment as topic for the purpose of assessing “odd topic” sequences.²

¹ An alternative approach would be to analyse them into a subject and a subject complement, with an optionally-deleted copula. This would bring out the similarities with other subject complements, and with second predicates in general, and would allow us to “derive” nominal clauses from verbal ones by optional copula-deletion. Despite its elegance, this analysis has two drawbacks. Firstly, as argued in 9.1.8, the copula is often meaningful and copula-deletion would therefore be a meaning-changing transformation. Secondly, nominal predicators can take core arguments, while subject complements in verbal clauses cannot. For these reasons I reject the copula-deletion analysis, although certain generalizations are lost thereby—most importantly, *jungarra* in nominal clauses like *niya jungarra* ‘he (is) big’ is treated quite differently to *jungarra* in *niya wirdija jungarra* ‘he remains big’: as a “nominal predicate” in the first clause and as a subject complement in the second.

² Descriptions of other Australian languages usually parse these sentence types into “topic” and “comment” (Dixon 1977a on Yidiny, Keen 1983 on Yukulta, Morphy 1983 on Djapu), or into “subject” and “predicate” (Austin 1981 on Diyari, Goddard 1983 on Yankunytjatjara). The former division is justified by the frequent appearance

9.1.1 Equative clauses

These equate the referents of subject and nominal predicate:

- (9-1) *dathin-a dangka-a Wurdungathi*
 that-NOM man-NOM (name)
 'That man is Wurdungathi.'

- (9-2) *niya dangka-a dibirdibi mildala-tha dathin-ki*
 3sgNOM fellow-NOM rock codNOM cut out-ACT that-MLOC

dulk-i
 place-MLOC

'He was the fellow, rock cod cut out that place.'

9.1.2 Ascriptive clauses

These ascribe a certain property to their subjects. The predicate may be an entity nominal (9-3) or full noun phrase (9-4), as with equatives, but also a (semantic) adjective (9-5) or a nominal taking an adnominal inflection, e.g. the ORIGIN (9-6) or PRIVATIVE (9-7). Other adnominal cases, coding possession and location, are discussed in 9.1.3. There is usually a pause between subject and predicate—note the subject-final truncation in (9-4) and (9-5).

- (9-3) *dathin-a kunawun wungunduwungundu*
 that-NOM childNOM thiefNOM
 'That child is a thief.'

- (9-4) *dathin-a kamarr mirra-warri wuran-d*
 that-NOM stone-fishNOM good-PRIV(NOM) creature-NOM
 'That stone-fish is a no-good creature.'³

- (9-5) *dathin-a thawal-d kunku*
 that-NOM yam-NOM cookedNOM
 'That yam is cooked.'

on the first constituent of "prominence markers" (Djapu), "stative markers" (Yukulta) or deictic determiners (Yidiny), all characteristic of "topics" in their respective languages. The latter division has not been specifically motivated in the grammars I have consulted.

³ *Wuranda* is used here in its "class" sense of 'animate creature', not 'food'—the Kaiadilt readily eat it.

(9-6) *dathin-a yakuri-ya katharr-waan-d*
 that-NOM fish-NOM swamp-ORIG-NOM
 ‘That fish is a swamp fish.’

(9-7) *dathin-a nguriw dun-marri*
 that-NOM teenage girlNOM spouse-PRIV(NOM)
 ‘That girl is unmarried/has no husband.’

The subject is often omitted anaphorically:

(9-8) — *kunya-warri,* — *jungarra dibidibi*
 small-PRIV bigNOM rock codNOM
 ‘It wasn’t a small one, it was a big rock cod.’

All ascriptive nominal clauses with adnominally-inflected predicates have corresponding attributives, e.g. *kiyarrngka katharrwanda yakuriya* ‘two fish from the swamp’, *dunmarri nguriwa* ‘unmarried teenage girl’.

9.1.3 Locational clauses

Under “locational” I subsume locative and existential clauses: both relate two entities: a location (the place) and a locatee (the thing located), but differ in which is subject and which predicate (cf. Clark 1970).

9.1.3.1 Locative constructions. These involve a locatee as subject and a location as predicate (usually LOC, but ALLative if scattered or extended (4.3.7)):

(9-9) *dathin-a yarbud-a nal-iya kamarr-i*
 that-NOM snake-NOM head-LOC stone-LOC
 ‘The snake is on top of the stone.’

Marked modalities may be signalled by the “independent use” of modal case on the location (cf. 10.1.3):

(9-10) *marrbi dan-ku natha-wu*
 might be here-MPROP camp-MPROP
 ‘Maybe (they’ll stay) in this camp.’

The topicality of the locatee may be indicated by the discourse deictic *dathina*, as in (9-9). Or the locatee/subject may be omitted, as in the subordinate clause of (9-11); note that in this example it triggers “odd pivot” complementizing case because of the object-subject pivot sequence (12.2).

- (9-11) *ngada kaba-tharra kuru-na, [___ dan-kurrk]*COBL
 1sgNOM find-PST egg-MABL here-LOC:COBL
 'I found some eggs, (which are) here.'

9.1.3.2 Existential constructions. These translate 'there are ... at place LOC', and have the same NOM:LOC/ALL case frame as locative constructions:

- (9-12) *mutha-a mayaku mala-r*
 many-NOM crabNOM sea-ALL
 'There are many crabs around in the sea.'
- (9-13) *dathin-a ngarn-ki mutha-a dangka-walad*
 there-NOM beach-LOC many-NOM person-LOT(NOM)
 'There on the beach there are many people.'

But with existentials the location is the topic, as revealed by the many clauses in which it has been anaphorically deleted, leaving only the NOMinative locatee:

- (9-14) *mutha-a kalarrang-k*
 many-NOM mosquito-NOM
 '(There are) many mosquitoes (here).'

Existentials may also mark the location with LOC, and the locatee with PROP:

- (9-15) *dan-ki mijil-i mutha-wuru malji-wuru*
 this-LOC net-LOC many-PROP hole-PROP
 'There are many holes in this net.'

The location may take modal case:

- (9-16) *nyingka thaa-tharra balmbi-nab, dathin-ku*
 2sgNOM return-PRECON tomorrow-MABL that-MPROP
- mijil-u mutha-wuru malji-wuru*
 net-MPROP many-PROP hole-PROP

'When you return tomorrow, there will be many holes in that net.'

Clauses of this type may be analysed in two ways. The location may be taken as a subject/topic which, exceptionally, takes LOC and its modal variants, or as a predicate topic in a subjectless sentence. Either way, this clause type is unusual.

9.1.4 Possessive constructions

These involve a subject possessee, and a possessor predicate containing a GEN or ABL NP, or a possessive pronoun (see 4.3.8 for discussion of different types of possession):

(9-17) *ngaka ngumban-ju ngalama-thu, nyingka ngijin-d!*
 1sgNOM 2sg-MPROP marry-POT 2sgNOM my-NOM
 'I'm going to marry you, you're mine!'

(9-18) *dan-da wumburung-ka ngijin-jina thabuj-ina*
 this-NOM spear-NOM my-MABL brother-MABL
 'This spear is my brother's.'

(9-19) *dathin-a jar-a dangka-karran-d*
 that-NOM foot-NOM man-GEN-NOM
 'That footprint is a man's.'

9.1.5 Having constructions

These contain a subject denoting the possessor, usually human. Being topics, these are frequently omitted, e.g. (9-20). The possessee, a person, property or thing, takes ASSOCIATIVE case when present "on the spot" (9-21), and the PROPRIETIVE when more generally possessed (9-22).

(9-20) — *balarr-u jul-u*
 white-PROP hair-PROP
 '(She) has white hair.'

(9-21) *nyingka kuru-nurru*
 2sgNOM egg-ASSOC(NOM)
 'You have some eggs (with you).'

(9-22) *nyingka jangka-wuru maku-uru*
 2sgNOM other-PROP woman-PROP
 'You've got another woman.'

Occasionally a NOMinative:NOMinative frame is used.⁴ Usually this is where the possessee is only transiently present—a piece of fish about to be eaten (9-23), a dugong about to be shared out, or a corroboree to be danced overnight (12-38). But I have one example (9-24) in which the possession is more permanent, involving kin. This construction is also

⁴ NOM:NOM "having" constructions are found in a few other Australian languages, where they may be formally indistinguishable from ascriptives. Thus in Tiwi *purrikikini pakilithipa* [*purrikikini*:NOM initiand:NOM] may mean either 'Purrikikini is an initiand' or 'P. has an initiand', according to context (Osborne 1974: 60-1).

frequently used to characterize animals by their inalienably possessed attributes, in such sentences as ‘catfish eels (have) a long tail’ or ‘stout long tom fish (have) long mouths’; for examples see the dictionary entries for *kulirra* and *karmmuku*.

(9-23) *kunya-wunya* *ngad* *ngada* *jungarra-wu*
small-REDUP(NOM) 1sgNOM 1sgNOM big-MPROP

yakuri-wu *diya-ju* *dathin-ku*
fish-MPROP eat-POT that-MPROP

‘I’ve got a lousy small one, I want to eat that big fish.’

(9-24) *ngumban-da* *wakatha* *maku* *kiyarrng-k.*
2sgPOSS-NOM sisterNOM sister-in-lawNOM two-NOM
‘Your sister has two sisters-in-law.’

“Having” constructions may also ascribe properties to places:

(9-25) *mutha-wu* *kamarr-u* *dathin-a* *dulk*, *Mardalk*
many-PROP stone.fish-PROP that-NOM placeNOM “ “
‘That place Mardalk has a lot of stone-fish.’

(9-26) *jirrkara* *mutha-wu* *diwal-u*
northNOM many-PROP tree-PROP
‘(The) north (country) has a lot of trees.’

9.1.6 Nominal predicates inflected for relational case

These involve the OBLique (9-27) or the ALLative (9-28). The allative in verbless clauses is only attested with the modal future.

(9-27) *nguku-ntha* *karndi-ya* *kunawun*
water-OBL woman-NOM childNOM
‘The women and children (have to go) for water.’

(9-28) *ngada* *dathin-kiring-ku* *kamarr-iring-ku*
1sgNOM that-ALL-MPROP stone-ALL-MPROP
‘I will (go) to that stone.’

Although the verb *warraja* ‘go’ could be inserted in both these sentences, speakers do not deem it necessary for their grammaticality. With (9-27) at least, there would be some change in meaning: with no verb, the proposition outlines a general obligation of wives and children to fetch water; with *warraja* it would describe a single concrete situation.

The grammatical occurrence of these cases in verbless clauses is often treated as resulting from deletion of an underlying verb. Consider Morphy (1983: 108): “case-roles exist only in relation to verbs or

adjective-predicates. For all types of ‘equational sentences’ in which an NP is differentially case-marked, an underlying verbal structure has been posited.” And Dixon, on Dyirbal (1972: 70), claims that sentences like *bayi yara bagul barrangu* [the:NOM man:NOM the:PURP wallaby:PURP], though often heard, require a verb like ‘go’ for full grammaticality.

In Kayardild, however, there is no such syntactic constraint. Rather, the meaning of certain case suffixes includes a movement component, and provided that the meaning of “movement” is expressed, whether by case suffix, verb, or both, the sentence is grammatical.

That peripheral (or “semantic”) case suffixes are logical predicators is even more evident with the “verbal cases”, which regularly occur with no main verb (4.4.3.1).

9.1.7 Nominal predicators

Many nominals in ascriptive clauses may, like verbs, govern quasi direct⁵ or indirect objects, or clausal complements; these will be termed nominal predicators.

Unlike verbs, however, they do not inflect for tense/mood/polarity. Nor is the use of modal case, found with nominal predicates in locative and existential clauses, acceptable with nominal predicators: we have *ngada burdumbanyi niwanji* [I ignorant him-LOC] for ‘I do not know him’ but not **ngada burdumbanyi-wu niwan-ju* [I ignorant-MPROP him-MPROP] for ‘I will not know him’. To express modality with nominal predicators, one must use a marked form of the verb *wirdija* ‘be, remain’ (9.1.8).

Nominal predicators typically describe epistemic or emotional states (translated by English stative verbs): *mungurru* ‘know’, *burdumbanyi* ‘not know, be ignorant of’, *birrmurdami* ‘be sad, painfully aware’, *mulurra* ‘be jealous’, *bardakayulaanda* ‘be gut-scared’. *Mungurru* and *burdumbanyi* may take apparent direct objects (9-29, 9.2.4), *mulurra* and *bardakayulaanda* indirect objects (9-30, 9-31, 9.2.3). *Mungurru* and *birrmurdami* may also take clausal complements (12.3.3).

- (9-29) *dathin-ki kiyarrng-ki dangka-y ngada burdumbanyi*
 that-MLOC two-MLOC person-MLOC 1sgNOM ignorantNOM
 ‘I don’t know those two men.’

⁵ Semantically, and in their choice of case, these resemble direct objects. But none of the usual syntactic tests for objecthood — behaviour in imperatives, or ability to feed the passive or reciprocal — are possible. Similar comments apply to the “indirect objects” of nominal predicators.

(9-30) *mulurra dathin-a dangka-a niwan-ju maku-wuru*
jealousNOM that-NOM man-NOM his-PROP wife-PROP
'That man is jealous over/suspicious of his wife.'

(9-31) *ngada warra-ju, bardaka-yulaa-n-da niwan-ju dathin-ku*
1sgNOM go-POT stomach-fear-N-NOM him-PROP that-PROP
dangka-wu
person-PROP

'I'm going, I'm scared of that man.'

Two other nominals take PROPriative arguments: *yulkaanda* 'eternal', *yulkaanda* + NPPROP 'habitually inhabit'; *barrbarr* 'weak', *barrbarr* + NPPROP 'weak with':

(9-32) *dan-da dangka-a dan-kur natha-wu yulkaa-n-d*
this-NOM man-NOM here-PROP camp-PROP eternal-N-NOM
'This man lives here all the time.'

(9-33) *ngathal-d daru-wuru barrbarr*
pandanus-NOM hole-PROP weakNOM
'Pandanus wood is weak with holes.'

Thali 'laden' and *birrbirbi* 'full' take arguments in the ASSOCIative:

(9-34) *mutha-a wuran-da bi-l-wan-d, kurda-a*
much-NOM food-NOM 3-pl-POSS-NOM coolamon-NOM
thali-walath-id wuran-urru-wa bi-l-wan-urru
laden-LOTS-SAME food-ASSOC-NOM 3-pl-POSS-ASSOC(NOM)
'They have lots of food, the coolamons are laden with their food.'

(9-35) *dathin-a wuruman-da birrbirbi-ya nguku-nurru*
that-NOM billy-NOM full-NOM water-ASSOC
'That billy-can is full of water.'

Note the contrast between the temporary having expressed by the ASSOCIative case here, and the permanent, characteristic having expressed by the PROPriative in (9-33). This correlates with other uses of these suffixes (see 4.3).

Mirra-a 'good' takes a LOCative argument, giving the meaning 'good at':

(9-36) *rar-umban-ji kang-ki mirra-a, yulkaan-d*
south-ORIG-LOC language-LOC good-NOM properly-NOM
'(He) is good at Kayardild, (speaks it) properly.'

9.1.8 The ‘copula’ *wirdija*

(a) The verb *wirdija* ‘stay, be at, remain’ is optional and frequent in locative clauses. It is not a dummy copula however, but implies ‘staying’, ‘residing’ or ‘remaining’.

(9-37) *bi-l-da (wirdi-ja) natha-y*
3-pl-NOM stay-ACT camp-LOC
‘They are (staying) in the camp.’

(9-38) *mutha-a yarbud dathin-a wida-y wirdi-j*
many-NOM animalNOM there-NOM hole-LOC stay-ACT
(It is cold, so:) ‘Many animals are staying there in their holes.’

With the remaining verbless clause types, *wirdija* only occurs in the unmarked modality where a “persistive” meaning (‘is still’) is intended, and is usually accompanied by the clitic *-(i)da* ‘SAME’ (9.7.4.1).

(9-39) *ngumban-da ngamathu-wa birjin-ida wirdi-j?*
your-NOM mother-NOM alive-SAME stay-ACT
‘Is your mother still alive?’

(b) In nominal clauses other than locationals or existentials, modal case cannot be used “independently”. Here *wirdija* is the only way to express marked modalities:

(9-40) *wa-warri wirdi-j!*
cry-PRIV be-IMP
‘Be quiet!’

(9-41) *kunawuna bardaka-warri wirdi-jarr, bardaka-wuu-ja wuran-d!*
childNOM stomach-PRIV be-PST stomach-give-IMP food-NOM
‘If the child is hungry, give him food!’

Here *wirdija* has no intrinsic meaning; it is just a bearer of tense/mood.⁶

A limited exception involves the following formulaic request, built on the pattern ‘I could have an X / could be V-ing with an X, but have no X’. When a verb is present it takes the PaST with the modal ABLative, in the irrealis use of this combination:

⁶ In Lardil, the comparable verb *kunaa* ‘be (at)’ appears in ascriptive clauses of marked tense/mood, as in ‘if the child is hungry, then give him fish’ (Klokeid 1976):

mangarda kaburrjin kunaa-tharr, wutha yaka
childNOM hungryNOM be-MNFUT give fishNOM

Similarly Guugu Yimidhirr uses *wunaa* ‘lie, exist’ in marked tenses (Haviland 1979a: 117).

- (9-42) *ngada warra-jarra kuwan-juru-na, kuwan-marri.*
 1sgNOM go-PST firestick-PROP-MABL firestick-PRIV

kuwan-mu-j!
 firestick-VDON-IMP

'I could be going along with a firestick, but have no firestick. Give (me) a firestick!'

Nominal clauses on this pattern use an independent Modal ABLative to signal the irrealis part:

- (9-43) *ngada nguku-wuru-na, ngawarri*
 1sgNOM water-PROP-MABL thirstyNOM
 'I could have water, but instead I'm thirsty.'

(c) *Wirdija* may also be used with the meaning 'become'. It takes a subject complement which escapes modal case (9-44)–(9-46), but takes the associating oblique in nominalized clauses, at least for some speakers (9-47).

- (9-44) *mirra-a wirdi-ju*
 good-NOM become-POT
 '(It)'ll get better.'

- (9-45) *ngarrku-wa jungarra dangka-a wirdi-ju dathin-a*
 strong-NOM strongNOM man-NOM become-POT that-NOM
kunawun
 childNOM

'That boy will be a strong man when he grows up.'

- (9-46) *yujbanda bi-l-da wirdi-jarra ngarrku-wa dangka-a*
 long ago 3-pl-NOM become-PST strong-NOM man-NOM
wirra-a-n-ngarrb
 initiate-M-N-CONS

'In the old days they became strong men after being initiated.'

- (9-47) *niya wirdi-n-da jungarrba-nth*
 3sgNOM become-N-NOM big-AOBL
 'He's getting fat.'

This use of *wirdija* fills a functional gap: the INCHOative suffix *-wa-tha*, which from nominals X derives verbs meaning 'become X', may apply only to lexemes, not NPs (3.1.2.1). To express 'become NP' this *wirdija* construction must be used.

Of the three uses of *wirdija* considered here—locative/persistentive, bearer of tense/mood, and copula expressing “becoming”—it could be described as a dummy in only the second. An analysis of the type Klokeid (1976) proposes for Lardil *kunaa*, in which the copula is present in “underlying” structure but optionally deleted in clauses with unmarked tense, would be quite inappropriate, as it would fail to account for the distinct meaning *wirdija* has when it appears.

In Yukulta (Keen 1981: 329) the only verbless clause types allowing *wirdija* are those involving location.

9.1.9 Comparison and counting

Nominal predicates expressing degree contain *danda* ‘this’ plus a qualifying nominal:

- (9-48) *[dan-da walmu] [niwan-da wurrkin-d]*
 this-NOM highNOM his-NOM back-NOM
 ‘This is how high his back is.’

Resemblance is expressed by *maraka* ‘CounTeRFaCTual’ (9.7.2.1), *warngijida* [one-SAME] (9.7.4.1), or the semblative *miny*i (5.1.3.4):

- (9-49) *ngada warngij-ida kinyin-da ngijin-da kakaj*
 1sgNOM one-SAME body-NOM my-NOM daddyNOM
 ‘I’ve got the same body (physique) as my father.’

Possession of some attribute to a comparable degree is expressed by *maraka* with measure expressions, and by *thathungka* ‘together’ elsewhere:

- (9-50) *kiyarrng-ka wumburung-ka thathung-ka mirra-a*
 two-NOM spear-NOM together-NOM good-NOM
 ‘The two spears are equally good.’

- (9-51) *dathin-a damurr-a yarbud, maraka jatha-a bithiin-da*
 that-NOM short-NOM snakeNOM CTRFCT one-NOM man-NOM

damurr
 shortNOM

‘That snake is a short one, it’s only as long as one man.’
 (Lit. ‘it’s as short as one man’).

Comparatives use nominal predicates, with the standard in the OBLIQUE. In all my examples there follows an absolute predicate describing the standard.

- (9-52) *dathin-a dangka-a ngarrku-wa dan-inja maku-nth,*
 that-NOM man-NOM strong-NOM this-OBL woman-OBL
niya barrbarr
 3sgNOM weakNOM

'That man is stronger than this woman, she is weak.'

To express the number of items possessed by someone, the possessor is given as a possessive pronoun, then the number plus the type of item as the predicate:

- (9-53) *ngijin-da kunawuna burldamurr*
 my-NOM childNOM threeNOM
 'I have three children.'

This could in theory be parsed in two ways, with the division made after the first or the second word: 'Mine are three children' or 'My children are three'. But the first parsing is preferable, because it also accounts for clauses like the following (equally common):

- (9-54) *kakuju! ngumban-da mutha-a yakuri-y!*
 uncle your-NOM many-NOM fish-NOM
 'Uncle! You've got a lot of fish!' (Lit. 'yours are many fish').

9.2 Verbal clauses: basic argument structures

In this section, clause types will be characterized in terms of their main verb and the arguments it subcategorizes: subjects, objects, indirect objects, subject complements and object complements. The permissible argument structures in Kayardild are shown in Figure 9-1. A number of verbs also take finite subordinate clause complements, e.g. *murnmurdawatha* 'rejoice, be glad that S', *kamburija* 'speak, say that S'; these are discussed in 12.3.

My criteria for identifying subcategorized functions were given in 3.3.1; three points made there are worth reviewing:

(a) OBJECTS AND LOCATIONS often have identical case-marking: both take LOC alone in the instantiated modality, and MOD alone in marked modalities. They may be distinguished by:

- Case-marking in zero modalities, where objects must take the nominative and locations may remain LOCative (although they can also take the nominative). Imperatives are a ready test here.

- Objects, but not locations, can be topicalized by complementizing the clause (12.5.2.1).
- Passivizability: objects but not locations are readily passivized. This test is not foolproof—under certain conditions locations can be passivized (9.3.2.3), and objects of certain verbs resist passivization.
- Only objects and intransitive subjects feed the resultative construction (11.4.3); I have no examples of locations doing this.

Verb type	Case marking on arguments	Example
Impersonal	No arguments	<i>wambajiwatha</i> 'grow fine (weather)'
Intransitive		
1. Simple	Sub(NOM)	<i>yiiwija</i> 'sleep'
2. Subject complement	Sub(NOM) SComp(NOM)	<i>ngaarmgija</i> 'have one's birth presaged by SCOMP'
Semitransitive	Sub(NOM) IObj(PROP)	<i>janija</i> 'search for'
Transitive		
1. Simple	Sub(NOM) Obj(MOD)	<i>balatha</i> 'hit'
2. Cognate Object	Sub(NOM) Obj(MOD)	<i>kamburija</i> 'speak OBJ (language)'
3. Object Complement	Sub(NOM) Obj(MOD) OComp(MOD)	<i>kabatha</i> 'find OBJ OCOMP' (e.g. 'find her asleep')
Ditransitive		
1. Object-theme	Sub(NOM) Obj(MOD) Location (LOC/MOD)	<i>wuuja</i> 'put OBJ at Loc.'
2. IObj-theme	Sub(NOM) Obj(MOD) IObj(PROP)	<i>wuuja</i> 'give OBJ to IObj'

(Other argument frames of ditransitives are discussed in 9.2.5).

Figure 9-1. Basic argument structures

Arguments labelled “objects” have been so identified by the above tests.

(b) INDIRECT OBJECTS are defined more liberally here than in traditional grammar—they correspond better to the “oblique objects” discussed in Kaplan—Bresnan (1982: 196 et seq.). As used here, the term covers the PROPrietary second term of semi-transitive verbs like *ngakatha* ‘wait for IOBJ’, and the PROPrietary third term of three place verbs like *kamburija* ‘talk to OBJ about IOBJ’. Indirect objects may take the PROPrietary or LOCative (as with the verb *wuuja* ‘put OBJ at IOBJ’), but not all PROPrietary or LOCative NPs are indirect objects. What is distinctive about indirect objects is that they participate in the argument alternations of “promotion to object” and “demotion of object to indirect object”; some indirect objects also feed the reciprocal. And like other core grammatical functions their meanings are not immediately evident from their case-marking, but depend on the subcategorizing verb.

(c) SUBJECT AND OBJECT COMPLEMENTS. These are defined as subcategorized second predicates. Just about any verb can take a second predicate of manner on the subject, for example; these are adjuncts rather than complements (9.4). But a smallish class of verbs, expressing alternate manifestation, equation or self-declaration, specifically subcategorize a second nominative argument (9.2.2.2). With object complements the picture is less clear—see 9.2.4.3.

Derived verb forms with different numbers or arrangements of arguments are found in the reciprocal (9.3.1), passive (9.3.2), reflexive (9.3.3), and causative (9.3.4) constructions. Formally identical verbs may also govern different numbers of arguments, or set them in different case frames. For example, intransitive motion verbs may add objects, denoting “affected locations”. The full range of alternate argument structures is discussed in 9.2.6.

9.2.1 Impersonal verbs

These all refer to celestial or meteorological processes, tides, etc. Most translate into English expressions with “ambient it”, such as *malwija* ‘to flash (lightning)’, *mumatha* ‘to thunder’ and *kalnaja* ‘to dawn’. Many contain the INCHOative suffix, e.g. *biril-wa-tha* [calm-INCH] ‘grow calm’, or the Middle form of the FACitive (9-55). Clauses containing these verbs lack any core NPs; the only NPs that can occur are temporal or locational adjuncts.

(9-55) *balmbi-wu* *warmgal-warri-r-i-ju*, *wambaji-wa-thu*
 tomorrow-MPROP wind-PRIV-FAC-M-POT clear-INCH-POT
 ‘Tomorrow it will become calm and clear.’

9.2.2 Intransitive verbs

9.2.2.1 Simple intransitive verbs. These describe (a) postures, as in *yiiwija* 'lie, sleep', *barnkaldija* 'sit cross-legged'; (b) bodily processes as in *kakija* 'vomit', *kulaaja* 'urinate'; (c) mental or emotional processes as in *murnmurdawatha* 'rejoice', *kuwalkulaaja* 'dream', *kanjuliija* 'get angry'; (d) social activities, as in *kamburija* 'talk', *wirrkaja* 'dance, play'; (e) physical processes such as *naaja* 'burn, smoulder', *muldija* 'bend'; (f) controlled or uncontrolled movements such as *barrija* 'crawl, move about', *dirraldija* 'stumble', *dubuldija* 'jump out of water (of fish)', *barjija* 'fall'. An example with a stance verb is:

- (9-56) *warrku-nurru nga-ku-l-da barnkaldi-ja jalji-y*
 sun-ASSOC 1-INC-pl-NOM sit-ACT shade-MLOC
 'At noon we sit in the shade.'

9.2.2.2 Intransitive verbs taking a subject complement. These are few: *wirdija* 'become, remain', *ngaarrngija* '(child) be presaged by (animal)' and the near synonymous *ngawijaliija* 'have SCOMP as conception totem' (Mornington English 'sign for' SCOMP), *kinaaja* 'declare oneself, show oneself to be SCOMP', *nguthaliyatha* 'pretend to be SCOMP', *mungurruwatha* 'know how to be SCOMP'. The verb in this argument type either links two manifestations of the same entity (e.g. the birth-totem animal is seen as consubstantial with the conceived child), or an entity and a property.

- (9-57) *jangka-a kunawuna ngaarrngi-ja yakuri-y*
 other-NOM childNOM be.presaged-ACT fish-NOM
 '(The conception of) another child would be presaged by a fish.'

- (9-58) *niya ngawijalaa-ja bijarrb*
 3sgNOM be.presaged-ACT dugong
 'Her conception was presaged by a dugong.'

- (9-59) [After fighting his way across Bentinck Island through a shower of spears, Kajurku disappears into the sea. Some time later, his assailants sight a campfire on Sweers Island:]

(*kajurku*) *birjin-ida kinaa-j*
 Kajurku alive-SAME declare-ACT
 'Kajurku was showing he was still alive.'

- (9-60) *mungurru-wa-tha ngimi-ya niy*
 knowing-INCH-ACT night-NOM 3sgNOM
 '(He) knew how to be invisible (like the night).'

9.2.3 Semitransitive verbs

These take an indirect object in the PROPriative. They describe

(a) actions oriented into the future, such as *janija* ‘look for’ or *ngakatha* ‘wait for, on’ (but not *kabathaatha* ‘hunt, fish for, gather’, which is transitive).

(b) communications about entities, usually (perhaps always) absent, such as *kamburija* ‘talk about’, *waaja* ‘sing about’.

(9-61) *bal-umban-ju kang-ku ngaka-th*
west-ORIG-PROP word-PROP wait-ACT
‘(They) are waiting on word from the west (before staging a corroboree).’

(9-62) *barruntha-ya jani-ja thawal-u*
yesterday-LOC search-ACT yam-PROP
‘Yesterday (we) looked for yams.’

(9-63) *jardaka kamburi-ja kurirr-wu dangka-wu*
crowNOM speak-ACT dead-PROP man-PROP
‘The crow speaks of dead men.’

Although *janija* usually occurs in the SUBJ IOBJ frame, it also allows a “cognate object” naming the place searched:

(9-64) *jani-jarra dulk-ina niwan-juru*
search-PST ground-MABL 3sg-PROP
‘(They) searched the ground for him.’

Ngakatha and *janija* allow an alternate case frame in which the intentional object takes the Verbal Purposive; as the latter is semantically transparent it is best considered an adjunct. *Ngakatha* but not *janija* allows a third option, the Verbal TRANSLative; its unacceptability with *janija* is presumably due to the semantic incompatibility of the resigned waiting normally expressed by the Verbal TRANSLative and the active searching implied by *janija*.

Nominal predicates involving anticipation, such as *mulurra* ‘jealous of, suspicious of’ and *bardakayulaanda* ‘gut-scared of’ likewise take indirect object-like PROPriative arguments—see 9.1.7.

9.2.4 Transitive verbs

9.2.4.1 Simple transitive verbs. These describe processes of effect or transformation: (a) physical impact or transformation, e.g. *balatha* ‘strike, kill’, *karnaja* ‘burn, cook’; (b) manufacture as in

mirrayalatha 'make'; (c) transport as in *badija* 'carry'; (d) movement that reaches a goal, thereby affecting it, as in *warraja* 'go to or trespass on a place', *dalija* 'come through to, reach'; (e) socially significant acts directed at some person e.g. *kamburija* 'speak to', *wamatha* 'yell at', *durumatha* 'lie to', *kinaaja* 'inform', *ngarrakaaja* 'avoid looking at' (e.g. mother-in-law), *warnaja* 'avoid, dislike'; (f) failed telic activities, e.g. *ngayamaaja* 'look at and fail to recognize', *walatha* 'miss'; (g) controlled or uncontrolled perception or cognition as in *kurrija* 'see, look at', *marrija* 'listen to, hear, understand', *marralngulatha* 'dream (name for child)', *bardakamarutha* 'think about, miss', *yulaaja* 'fear, be scared of'. All these verbs take the affected or perceived entity as object.

In all groups but (f) and (g), lexical decomposition would yield a cause predicate. Type (a), exemplified by 'kill', would contain⁷ 'SUBJ cause [OBJect become (dead)]'; (b), e.g. 'make', would be 'SUBJ cause [OBJect exist]'; (c), e.g. 'carry', would be 'SUBJ cause [OBJ move]'; (d) is more complicated, and is discussed in 9.2.6.1. (e), as exemplified by *durumatha* 'lie', would be 'SUBJ cause OBJ to mistakenly believe'. "Failed telic" verbs contain a negative predicate embedded under a cause predicate. *Walatha* 'miss', for example, would be 'SUBJ want [X hit OBJ] and SUBJ cause [not [X hit OBJ]]'.

The presence of perception verbs in this group, even though they do not contain a cause predicate, is widespread in the languages of Australia and elsewhere.

(9-65) *dathin-a jardi-ya maku-y kamburi-j / bala-th*
that-NOM mob-NOM woman-MLOC speak-ACT hit-ACT
'Those people are speaking to / hitting the woman.'

(9-66) *ngarrakaa-ja jibarna-y, kurri-i-nangku jibarn*
avoid-ACT mo-in-law-MLOC look-M-NEGPOT mo-in-lawNOM
'One avoids looking at one's mother in law, one's mother in law mustn't be looked at.'

(9-67) *yakuri-wu niya ngayamaa-ju*
fish-MPROP 3sgNOM miss-POT
'She'll miss (eating) fish (going to Mt Isa).'

Also anomalous semantically is the presence of transitive verbs⁸ like *kamburija* 'speak to', *yulaaja* 'be afraid of' and *yathuyiija* 'laugh at',

⁷ These representations are grossly oversimplified. In particular, it is not the SUBJ but their actions which should be the first term in the CAUSE predicate. For discussion see Dowty (1979) and Foley—Van Valin (1984: 52).

⁸ For some of these, however, such as *yulaaja* 'fear' and *yathuyiija* 'laugh at', the label "transitive" must be qualified. Although their "objects" take regular object case-marking, and are NOMinative in imperatives, they cannot be promoted via

which are middle in most languages, Australian or otherwise. In Yukulta, at least some of their cognates, such as *kamburija* ‘speak to’ and *birkalija* ‘be sorry for’, are middle, taking dative indirect objects. It is likely that when pre-Kayardild took derived detransitive constructions as canonical (10.4.2.2), constructions with lexical middle verbs such as the above were reanalysed as derived semi-transitive constructions, and transitive argument structures were attributed to them by a sort of syntactic back formation. In another accusative Australian language, Martuthunira, a number of transitive verbs also derive from historic middle verbs, probably via a similar process (cf. Dench 1983).

9.2.4.2 Transitive verbs with cognate objects. The verbs *kamburija* ‘speak’ and *waaja* ‘sing’ can take as objects either the medium (or “cognate object”—Austin 1982), or the audience: cf. *rarumbanji kangki kamburija* ‘speaks the southern language(OBJ)’ and *ngijinji kamburija* ‘speaks to me(OBJ)’, and *wangarri waaja* ‘sings a song(OBJ)’ and *ngijinji waaja* ‘sings to me(OBJ)’. Although I never heard a spontaneous example, informants accepted made-up sentences with both types of object, such as:

- (9-68) *niya banda kamburi-ju ngijin-ju juldajulda-wu*
 3sgNOM soon speak-POT me-MPROP correct-MPROP
kang-ku
 language-MPROP

‘Soon he will speak proper language to me.’

9.2.4.3 Transitive verbs taking an object complement. A number of transitive verbs, most notably perception verbs, take an optional object complement. These agree in case with the object:

- (9-69) *malangarrba-ya ngada marri-ja dathin-ki dangka-y*
 drunk-MLOC 1sgNOM hear-ACT that-MLOC man-MLOC
 ‘I heard that man drunk.’
- (9-70) *ngada kurri-ja niwan-ji mibulk-i / dii-n-ki*
 1sgNOM see-ACT 3sg-MLOC asleep-MLOC sit-N-MLOC
 ‘I saw him asleep/sitting down.’

passivization. In Lardil, too, (Klokeid 1976: 281-2) there are verbs like *keeli* ‘wait for’ and *wutha* ‘give to’, which govern object-like case-marking but do not passivize. Such verbs, it appears, are only partly assimilated to the transitive pattern.

- (9-71) *ngada banaba-ya kurri-ja ngumban-ji*
 1sgNOM unknown-MLOC see-ACT 2sg-MLOC
 'I looked at you without recognizing you (i.e. as upon someone unknown).'

Object complements of active clauses (9-72) correspond to subject complements of passive clauses. And if the object is topicalized by complementizing the clause (9-73, see 12.5.2.1), the object complement still agrees with it in case, taking the nominative.

- (9-72) *dangka-a kurri-i-ja mibulk / dii-n-d*
 man-NOM see-M-ACT asleepNOM sit-N-NOM
 'The man was seen asleep / sitting down.'

- (9-73) [*dangka-a mibulk-a / dii-n-da ngijuwa*
 man-NOM asleep-NOM sit-N-NOM 1sgSUB:COBL
kurri-jarra-nth]COBL
 see-PST-COBL

'I saw the man (topic) asleep / sitting down.'

Although these properties could all be explained by taking the object complement as part of the same NP constituent as the object, there are good arguments against this:

(a) object complements do not obey the normal ordering requirements of modifiers within an NP: they are frequently widely separated from their heads (9-69), or appear out of the normal order. In (9-80), for example, the object complement precedes the pronoun *niwanji*; were an attributive reading intended, the order would be *niwanji kurumbali*.

(b) manner and predicate nominals, which cannot be modifiers within ordinary NPs, may appear as object complements, e.g. *mibulka* 'asleep' in (9-72)—(9-73).

(c) semantically, object complements serve not as qualifiers (? 'the asleep man') but as secondary predicates, with meanings as discussed below.

I therefore assume that object complements are distinct constituents, and that their agreement with the object is accounted for by case linkage. (Similar arguments may be applied to second predicates on the subject—see 9.4).

The most important use of object complements is with perception verbs: the object complement makes a predication about how the object is, or is perceived to be, at the moment of perception; there may be a further implication that more lasting knowledge about it was acquired in

the process (9-74). The object complement may be an ordinary noun/adjective (9-74), a manner nominal or nominalized verb (9-69), or a nominalized clause containing a verb, plus NP arguments bearing AOBL (9-75; 11.4):

- (9-74) *ngada barruntha-ya kurri-ja barrngka-warri-ya*
 1sgNOM yesterday-MLOC see-ACT waterlily-PRIV-MLOC
warirra-ya jingka-y
 nothing-MLOC swamp-MLOC

'Yesterday I saw the swamp to have nothing, no waterlilies.'

- (9-75) *ngada kurri-jarra niwan-jina barrki-n-kina thungal-inaa-nth*
 1sgNOM see-PST 3sg-MABL chop-N-MABL tree-MABL-AOBL
 'I saw him chopping the tree.'

Kabatha 'find' and *danatha* 'leave' are semantically similar. With *kabatha* the object complement is predicated of the object at the moment of being found; with *danatha* it describes the object after the subject left:

- (9-76) *niya dangka-na kaba-tharra jalji-nurru-na*
 3sgNOM person-MABL find-PST shade-ASSOC-MABL
yiiwi-n-kina
 sleep-N-MABL

'He found the person in the shade, sleeping.'

- (9-77) *dathin-a mangara dana-tha wambal-i*
 that-NOM cycloneNOM leave-ACT bush-MLOC
mala-nurru-y
 sea-ASSOC-MLOC

'The cyclone left the bush country submerged under the sea.'

Kinaaja 'say, tell' allows a number of case frames (9.2.6.6). Relevant here, it may take an object complement, with the meaning 'declare OBJ to be OCOMP, say that OBJ is OCOMP', as in (9-78). *Kamburija* 'speak, say' also allows this.

- (9-78) *niya dangka-duruma-n-d, kinaa-ja ngumban-ji warra-n-ki*
 3sgNOM person-lie-N-NOM say-ACT 2sg-MLOC go-N-MLOC
 'He's a liar, he said you were going.'

Some transitive nominal predicators, such as *mungurru* 'know', may also take object complements:

- (9-79) *niya mungurru niwan-ji Lorda-y*
 3sgNOM knowNOM him-MLOC Lord-MLOC
 'He knew him as the Lord, as Jesus.'

With many clauses it is hard to decide whether a true object complement (i.e. one subcategorized by the verb) is involved, or merely an adjunct second predicate on the object. My own data is too scanty to resolve this question. With some verbs the interpretation of the NP depends idiosyncratically on the nature of the main verb, favouring the complement analysis. Thus 'eat' takes "depictive" object complements describing the form in which the food is consumed (9-80), a meaning preserved in the corresponding passive (9-81). Other examples of depictive object complements are (9-82) and (9-83).

- (9-80) *kurumbal-i niwan-ji diya-j*
 squeezed balls-MLOC 3sg-MLOC eat-ACT
 '(We) eat it (the stingray) in the form of balls of squeezed flesh.'
- (9-81) *balkan-da diya-a-ju kurirr*
 fish washed up by cold wind-NOM eat-M-POT deadNOM
 'Balkanda fish can be eaten dead.'
- (9-82) *mibulk-i kurdala-tha kajakaja-y, malangarrba-y.*
 asleep-MLOC spear-ACT daddy-MLOC drunk-MLOC
 'He speared (your) daddy, (who was) asleep, and drunk.'
- (9-83) *Kardu ngalama-tha niwan-ji munirr-diya-n-ki.*
 WF betrothe-ACT 3sg-MLOC breast-drink-N-MLOC
 '(Your) father-in-law betrothed her while she was still at the breast.'

With others, more than one interpretation is available. In (9-84), for example, 'slippery' is interpreted as a circumstantial: 'they lost the dugong, because it was slippery'. But with the same verb in other contexts the NP can be interpreted as a depictive (9-85):

- (9-84) *bi-rr-a yurruma-n-ki wara-th*
 3-du-NOM slippery-N-MLOC send-ACT
 'They sent (the dugong) off slippery.'
- (9-85) *nga-l-da wara-tha niwan-ji dara-thirri-n-ji*
 1-pl-NOM send-ACT 3sg-MLOC break-RES-N-MLOC
 'We sent him away circumcized.'

A great deal more work is needed on how far the interpretation of such NPs depends on the meaning of the verb, and how far it depends on more general context.

9.2.5 Ditransitive verbs

About a dozen verbs, expressing the transfer of goods or information, are ditransitive.⁹

All of the verbs and frames discussed in this section express transfer of *possession*, rather than position, though the possession may be in a rather broad sense, as in (9-130), where the thing transferred is a rock “belonging to” a sacred cave. For *transfer of position* verbs like *thaarija* ‘take back to’, *kurrkatha* ‘take’, *dalijarrmatha* ‘bring’ and *badija* ‘carry’, the case marking is semantically predictable. The thing moved is object, the goal/destination takes the Verbal Dative, and the source of movement

Frame No.	Theme	Goal	Approx. meaning
1	Obj (MOD)	LOCation (LOC/MOD)	Pass OBJ to LOC, put OBJ at/in LOC.
2	PROP	OBJ (MOD)	Give PROP (important gift or information) to OBJ; implies contractual exchange.
3	OBJ (MOD)	VD	Give OBJ/PROP for immediate benefit of VD;
4	PROP	VD	implies regular minor obligation.
5	VDON	OBJ	Give VDON to OBJ out of kindness.

Figure 9-2. Alternate case frames of the verb *wuuja* ‘give’

takes the Verbal ABLative, as in:

- (9-86) *dali-jarrma-tha* *ngurrumanji dan-maru-tha* *ngarn-mula-th!*
 come-CAUS-IMP bagNOM here-VD-IMP beach-VABL-IMP
 ‘Bring the bags here from the beach!’

Ditransitive verbs allow up to five alternate case frames, if we include those involving verbal case. Figure 9-2 summarizes these for the verb *wuuja*, ‘give’, which is the only verb allowing all five; note that by

⁹ I use ditransitive in the broad sense of having three arguments, rather than in the narrow sense of taking two direct objects.

“theme” I mean the thing transferred, and by “goal” the place it is transferred to, or the human recipient.

9.2.5.1 Case frames of the verb *wuuja* ‘give’ and its hyponyms. Frame 1 above is used where the emphasis is on change of position alone; ‘put’ or ‘pass’ is usually the best translation (9-87)—(9-90). It is also suitable for informal transfers between humans, as in (9-91): a fish head may change hands over a camp fire, but is hardly a suitable ritual gift.

(9-87) *kaburrba-ya wuu-ja wuran-d, karna-j*
 coals-LOC put-IMP food-NOM cook-IMP
 ‘Put the food on the coals, cook it!’

(9-88) *dathin-a marrwa-ya wuu-ja wumburung-k!*
 there-NOM near-LOC put-ACT spear-NOM
 ‘Put the spear close by over there!’

(9-89) *Dathin-a makurrarr-a bukabarnji-n-d, wuu-ja jardarrka-y!*
 that-NOM wallaby-NOM stink-N-NOM give-IMP crow-LOC
 ‘That wallaby is stinking, give it to the crows!’

(9-90) *Wuu-ja nguku!*
 give-IMP waterNOM
 ‘Put water on it!’

(9-91) *nal-da wuu-ja ngijin-ji*
 head-NOM give-IMP 1sg-LOC
 ‘Pass me the (fish-)head!’

Frame 2 is used for important gifts made as part of a reciprocal contract. The PROPrietary stresses that the donor is initially in possession of some significant object, and is thereby in a position to enter a contract. (9-92), for example, discusses the infant betrothal ceremony: a mother gives the future son-in-law her daughter [PROP], thereby setting up a lifelong contract committing the man to frequent gifts of food to his mother-in-law:

(9-92) *ngamathu wuu-ja thawula-y darr-i*
 motherNOM give-ACT son in law-MLOC thigh-MLOC

kardu-wuru
 daughter-PROP

‘A mother would give her young daughter onto her son-in-law’s thigh.’

(9-93) is from the Nalkardarrawuru story, in which humans dig and dig for water, without success. Finally Nalkardarrawuru, the waterlily being, emerges from their dry well, and offers water to humankind, but only in

exchange for their wives and daughters. Note the use of alternate case frames: Nalkardarrowuru's call to 'give me your wives and daughters' uses the object-theme frame, since his demand is not, at that stage, in fulfilment of any ritual obligation: he is speaking from a position of power. But 'and I will provide mankind with water' takes the OBJECT-SOURCE frame, as it is offered as a fair gesture of reciprocation.

- (9-93) *wuu-ja ngijin-ji kilwan-d, nguku-wuru wuu-ja*
 give-IMP 1sg-LOC your(pl)-NOM water-PROP give-ACT

dangka-y
 person-MLOC

'Give me your (wives and daughters), (and I) will provide mankind with water.'

Frames 3 and 4 are used when small gifts and favours are transferred as part of the regular network of obligations to kin; I have been unable to find a meaning difference between them.

- (9-94) *wuu-ja wirrin-da ngijin-maru-th!*
 give-IMP money-NOM 1sg-VD-IMP
 'Give me money!'

- (9-95) *maku dun-maru-tha wuu-ja nguku-wuru*
 womanNOM spouse-VD-ACT give-ACT water-PROP
 'A woman gives water to her spouse.'

Frame 5 is used with gifts made out of spontaneous kindness or solace, as in (9-96), said on finding a small boy found exhausted and hungry after being lost for several days:

- (9-96) *[nga-ku-l-da wuu-juru-y wuran-mu-juru-y*
 1-INC-pl-NOM give-POT-CLOC food-VDON-POT-CLOC

nguku-u-juru-y] CLOC
 water-VDON-POT-CLOC

'We must give (him) food and water.'

Two transfer verbs take just one of the above case frames. *Yalawu-ja* 'obtain by scooping action; dig up water' takes frame 3, as in *yalawuja ngukuwa dunmarutha!* 'get water for (your) husband!'. *Wakaratha* 'share' takes frame 4: *wakaratha wurankuru ngijinmaruth!* 'share the food (PROP) with me (VD)!'.
 The remaining ditransitive verbs fall into two classes; verbs of information transfer, and verbs of dispossession.

9.2.5.2 Verbs of information transfer. The two chief verbs in this category are *kinaaja* ‘tell’ and *marraaja* ‘show’. Between them they use three of the five frames dealt with above, with comparable meanings; they also have a distinct THEME-LOCative GOAL-OBJect frame.

Frame 2 is used where a knowledgeable subject teaches the object-goal about the indirect object theme. The following command instructs the addressee to explain *about* the spear—how to use it, throw it etc (cf. 9-101 below):

- (9-97) *marraa-ja ngijin-ji kurumbu-wuru*
 show-IMP 1sg-LOC spear-PROP
 ‘Show me about the spear; teach me about the spear by showing me.’

Other communication verbs like *kamburija* ‘speak’ and *waaja* ‘sing’ have a similar meaning in this frame: ‘speak to OBJ about PROP (some complex subject)’; *waaja* ‘sing to OBJ (audience) about PROP (e.g. dugong hunting)’. (But *kinaaja*, in this frame, normally has a dispossession meaning—9.2.5.3).

When in this frame, information transfer verbs can co-occur with *wuuja*, which may be regarded as superordinate to them (cf. Dixon 1982, Ch.3), in a sort of adverbial complex (8.2.1), e.g. *marraaja wuuja ngijinji kurumbuwuru* (synonymous with (9-97)). When paired with *wuuja*, *kinaaja* can be used with the same sense:

- (9-98) *kinaa-ja wuu-ja ngijin-ji dathin-kuru dulk-u*
 tell-IMP give-IMP 1sg-LOC that-PROP place-PROP
 ‘Tell me about that place.’

Frame 3 is the unmarked choice with information transfer verbs. It merely implies that the subject presents the information to the recipient: *marraaja ngijinmaruth!* ‘show it to me’, *kinaaja ngijinmaruth!* ‘tell it to me (pass on the gossip)’.

Frame 5, like Frame 2, is typically used in an educational context:

- (9-99) *kinaa-ja kunawuna ngungu-u-j*
 tell-IMP childNOM story-VDON-IMP
 ‘Tell the child the story!’
- (9-100) *waa-ju ngada ngumban-ju kalangin-mu-ju wangarr-wu-ju*
 sing-POT 1sgNOM 2sg-MPROP old-VDON-POT song-VDON-POT
 ‘I’ll sing you an old song.’

The difference is that in Frame 5 the information *is* the theme, whereas in Frame 2 the information is *about* the theme.

Frame 6 is a special frame, limited to information transfer verbs (and hence not in Figure 9-2). Here the theme takes the LOCative, and the goal

is OBJECT. This is used where the information transferred is simple and spatial—typically it just involves pointing to or naming a location:

(9-101) *marraa-ja dangka-a kurumbu-y*
 show-IMP man-NOM spear-LOC
 ‘Show the man the spear (by pointing to it); show him where it is.’

(9-102) [*nying-ka ngaaka-ntha dangka-ntha kinaa-jarra-ntha*
 2sg-NOM who-COBL person-COBL tell-PST-COBL

bayi-naa-nth?]COBL
 fight-MABL-COBL

‘Who told you about the fight (where it was)?’

[Here the goal-object *nyingka* has been topicalized by complementizing the clause—12.5.2.1.]

9.2.5.3 Verbs of dispossession. These express the removal of PROP from the possession of OBJ. This is the only case frame available to verbs of this group, which includes the verbs *marndija* ‘deprive OBJ of PROP, cadge PROP off OBJ’; *nginymariija*, *daamija* and *kamarrija*, all ‘ask OBJ for PROP’; and *kinybatha* ‘yell out to OBJ for PROP’:

(9-103) *dathin-a dangka-a dangka-walath-iy a marndi-ja*
 that-NOM man-NOM person-LOT-MLOC deprive-ACT
yakuri-wur
 fish-PROP

‘That man cadges fish off everyone.’

(9-104) *nying-ka kamarri-ja ngumban-da duujin-da wumburung-kuru*
 2sg-NOM ask-IMP your-NOM YB-NOM spear-PROP
 ‘Ask your younger brother for the spear!’

(9-105) *namu nyingka nginymarii-ja ngijin-ji dirradirra-wu*
 NEG 2sgNOM ask-IMP 1sg-LOC ochre-PROP
 ‘Don’t you ask me for ochre!’

The verb *barrwaaaja* ‘block off person (MOD) from country (MOD), as in Text 3 Line 40, may be analysable as having two objects. But I lack the crucial sentences (passives, imperatives) that would provide evidence for this. Another possible analysis is that the person blocked off is Object and the place is a locative adjunct.

9.2.6 Verbs with alternate argument structures

Several classes of verbs exhibit systematic polysemy, reflected in alternate argument structures, but not signalled by formal change in the verb. Those found with ditransitive verbs have just been discussed. Other classes involved are:

9.2.6.1 Motion verbs. A number of basically intransitive motion verbs, such as *warraja* ‘go’, *daliya* ‘come’, and *burrija* ‘emerge’, though usually intransitive, may take an “object of location”, instead of the various motion cases that normally code destination. The object status of the location is shown by nominative marking in imperatives (9-106) and ready passivizability (9-107):

(9-106) *thula-tha jingka-a*
go down-IMP swamp-NOM
‘Go down to the swamp!’

(9-107) *dan-da marda-a ja-yii-jarri*
this-NOM hole under rock-NOM enter-M-NEG.ACT
‘This hole hasn’t been entered.’ (i.e. no-one has checked it for food)

With *warraja* and *daliya* the transitive frame implies that some location was reached, with bad consequences—respectively ‘go to a place one shouldn’t, trespass on’ and ‘get through to’ (cf. 9-145):

(9-108) *ngimiijida kungul-da dali-ja kunawuna-y*
early morning mosquito-NOM come-ACT child-MLOC
‘Early this morning the mosquitoes got to the child (through the smoke, net, etc.).’

Warraja, in a transitive frame, may also mean ‘go away from’:

(9-109) *warra-ja ngijin-ji wuran-ki / wangalk-i*
go-IMP my-MLOC food-MLOC rang-MLOC
‘Get away from my food / from my boomerang.’

Burrija ‘emerge, appear’, used transitively, means ‘ambush’:

(9-110) *ngada burri-i-j, dangka-a burri-ja ngijin-ji*
1sgNOM emerge-M-ACT man-NOM emerge-ACT 1sg-MLOC
‘I was ambushed, a man ambushed me.’

9.2.6.2 Emotion verbs. *Yulaaja* ‘feel afraid’ and *yathuyiija* ‘laugh’, normally intransitive, may take objects referring to the entity causing these emotions (9-111). “Objects” of these verbs, however, may not be promoted by passivization.

- (9-111) *namu yulaa-ja / yathuyii-ja ngad!*
 NEG fear-IMP laugh-IMP 1sgNOM
 'Don't be afraid of/laugh at me!'

9.2.6.3 *Wirrkaja*. This verb may be an intransitive verb meaning 'play' or 'dance'. But it may also be used transitively with the sense 'initiate (OBJ)', 'play with (OBJ)' or 'dance up (OBJ)' (e.g. a storm).¹⁰ This verb is readily passivizable:

- (9-112) *dan-ku darr-u dathin-a kunawun-a wirrka-a-ju*
 this-MPROP time-MPROP that-NOM child-NOM initiate-M-POT
 'This time that boy will be initiated.'
- (9-113) *dathin-a dangka-a warrmara-ntha wirrka-n-d*
 that-NOM man-NOM wind-AOBL dance-N-NOM
 'That man is dancing up a wind.'

9.2.6.4 Adding "anticipated" indirect objects. There is a productive alternation by which verbs of movement may add a PROPrietary indirect object indicating the anticipated goal or purpose of the action: *thaldija* 'stand (i.); stand up for IOBJ'; *warraja* 'go, walk; go about (looking) for IOBJ' (9-114). Note also *wirdija* 'stay; hang around for IOBJ' (9-115).

- (9-114) *ngada warra-ja wirdi-ja wuran-kur, wuran-ki*
 1sgNOM go-ACT stay-ACT food-PROP food-MLOC
kaba-tharri
 find-NEGACT

'I walked around all day looking for food, but didn't find any.'

- (9-115) *niwan-juru ngada nginja wirdi-j*
 him-PROP 1sgNOM FRUSTR stay-ACT
 'I waited around for him for nothing (he didn't turn up).'

Perception verbs may likewise add a PROPrietary indirect object marking the anticipated object of perception:

¹⁰ Possible cognates of this verb are Nyangumarda *wirrka-* 'cut (meat)' (O'Grady 1960) and Burarra *wirrka* 'scrape, scratch, polish'. This suggests the following sequence of semantic changes:

Cut (meat) --> cut (penis), --> initiate --> dance, as at --> play (v.i.)
 circumcize (v.t.) initiation (v.i.)

If this is correct, then the transitive meaning is historically prior.

(9-116) *ngada kurri-ja bulkurdudu-y*
 1sgNOM see-ACT crocodile-MLOC
 'I saw/looked at the crocodile.'

(9-117) *ngada kurri-ja bulkurdudu-wuru*
 1sgNOM see-ACT crocodile-PROP
 'I watched for a crocodile.'

This is not simply an alternation between transitive and middle case frames (as in Warlpiri), since a cognate object giving the place scrutinized may also be present:

(9-118) *kurri-ja karrngi-ja dulk-a niwan-ju!*
 see-IMP keep-IMP ground-NOM 3sg-PROP
 'Keep watching the ground for him!'

It is the anticipated indirect object, however, rather than the cognate object, that feeds reciprocals:

(9-119) *bi-l-da kurri-nju-tha dulk-i*
 3-pl-NOM see-RECIP-ACT ground-MLOC
 (Of two people each looking for the other's tracks:)
 'They searched the ground for each other.'

9.2.6.5 PROPrietive Indirect OBJects promoted to OBJects.

In two types of construction PROPrietive indirect objects may be promoted to object, although with rather different semantic effects.

Janija 'look for' normally takes an indirect object in the proprietive (eg 9-62). But if the act is viewed as abandoned without success, the thing searched for may appear as an object, presumably by analogy with transitive "failed telic activity" verbs like *ngayamaja* 'fail to recognize OBJ' (9.2.4.1).

(9-120) *mutha-na dulk-ina jani-ja maku-wala*
 many-ABL place-ABL search-ACT woman-LOTS(NOM)

niwan-ji
 3sg-MLOC

'Many women from many places searched for him (without success).'

(9-121) *warirra-y, warirra-ya jani-j*
 nothing-MLOC nothing-MLOC search-ACT
 'Nothing, they searched but found nothing.'

The verbs *kamburija* 'talk about IOBJ' and *waaja* 'sing about IOBJ', on the other hand, allow the person or thing talked about to appear as OBJECT if they are affected in some way by the communicative act:

- (9-122) (The Kaiadilt believe they can feel in their stomach when someone is saying bad things about them behind their back):

dangka-a kamburi-ja ngijin-ji, ngada bardaka
 person-NOM speak-ACT 1sg-MLOC 1sgNOM stomachNOM

warrilii-j
 feel strange-ACT

‘Someone is saying bad things about me; my stomach feels strange.’

- (9-122) *ngada kunya-na kunawuna-na waa-jarr, bardaka-jilari-wuru*
 1sgNOM small-MABL child-MABL sing-PST stomach-ache-PROP
 ‘I sang the small child (better), (he) had a stomach ache.’

- (9-123) *bi-l-da waa-n-da dijarr-inj*
 3-pl-NOM sing-N-NOM stingray pin-AOBL
 ‘They are singing the stingray pin (so it won’t hurt too much).’

9.2.6.6 Speech act verbs. This semantic class presents the richest set of alternative argument structures. The full set of possibilities are presented in Figure 9-3, using three out of a number of speech act verbs; although no single verb realizes them all, *kinaaja* makes use of eight, *kamburija* of five and *kamarrija* of three.

Examples of frames 5 and 6 are given in Chapter 12; the remainder have been exemplified in 9.2.2—9.2.5.

Note that often the alternative argument structures of one Kayardild verb lexeme translate into several English lexemes.

Other speech act verbs with multiple argument structures are *durumatha* ‘tell lies, lie to OBJ’, *wamatha* ‘yell, yell out at OBJ, yell out to (clause), yell out for IOBJ’, *waaja* ‘sing, sing OBJ, sing about IOBJ’, *daamija* ‘ask OBJ what (WH-clause), ask OBJ for PROP’.

(1)	simple intrans	Engage in communicative activity. <i>kamburija</i> 'talk, speak' <i>kinaaja</i> 'recount, tell stories'
(2)	simple intrans plus subject comp	Say something about oneself <i>kinaaja</i> 'declare oneself SCOMP'
(3)	simple trans	(i) Communicate in medium <i>kamburija</i> 'speak OBJ (language)' (ii) communicate to person <i>kamburija</i> 'speak to OBJ (person)' <i>kinaaja</i> 'inform OBJ (person)' <i>kamarrija</i> 'ask OBJ (person)'
(4)	trans with object comp	Say that OBJ is OCOMP <i>kinaaja</i> 'declare OBJ to be OCOMP'
(5)	simple trans plus jussive clausal comp	Communicate to person to do V <i>kinaaja</i> 'suggest to OBJ to CLAUSE' <i>kamburija</i> 'say to OBJ to CLAUSE'
(6)	simple trans plus WH clausal comp	Communicate to person about a question <i>kinaaja</i> 'tell OBJ about WH CLAUSE' <i>kamarrija</i> 'ask OBJ about WH CLAUSE'
(7)	simple trans plus utterance comp	Communicate to person that ... <i>kamburija</i> 'say to OBJ that [CLAUSE]'
(8)	ditransitive	(i) communicate OBJ (fact, story) to VD (person) <i>kinaaja</i> 'tell OBJ to VD (person)' (ii) tell OBJ about IOBJ <i>kinaaja</i> 'tell OBJ about IOBJ' (iii) communicate to OBJ (person) about (transfer of) IOBJ (to SUBJ) <i>kamarrija</i> 'ask OBJ for IOBJ'

Figure 9-3. Alternative argument structures with speech act verbs

9.2.7 Accusativity and argument structure: some typological consequences

As shown above, a large number of Kayardild verb lexemes alternate between transitive and intransitive case frames. Other accusative Australian languages are comparably liberal, as shown by the following examples from Lardil and from Martuthunira (Ngayarda subgroup):

Lardil (Hale et al 1981)

Lexeme	Meaning in intransitive frame	Meaning in transitive frame
<i>waa</i>	'go'	'go/come to OBJ; overwhelm OBJ'
<i>yileyi</i>	'be afraid'	'fear OBJ'
<i>luuli</i>	'play'	'play with OBJ'

Martuthunira (Dench to appear)

<i>paya-mpa-nguru</i> [angry-INCH-PRES]	'get angry, 'get wild'	'get angry with OBJ'
<i>panyu-mpa-nguru</i> [good-INCH-PRES]	'feel good, get well'	'feel good towards OBJ, do something good for OBJ'

In most ergative Australian languages, such as Dyirbal (Dixon 1972), Yidiny (Dixon 1977a: 206), Ngayambaa (Donaldson 1980) and Diyari (Austin 1981a), on the other hand, such alternations in transitivity are not possible. A given verb lexeme is either transitive or intransitive, and alternations in transitivity must be accompanied by some formal marking, such as a change in verb conjugation.

Dixon (1980: 378), basing his generalization on the ergative majority, comments: "every verb in an Australian language is strictly transitive—occurring with subject (A) and object (O) NPs—or strictly intransitive—occurring just with a subject (S) core NP. It is usually a simple matter to determine transitivity." There are three classes of exceptions to this.

Firstly, verbs taking "cognate objects" are a partial exception (Austin 1982). In Diyari, for example, six verbs take cognate objects: 'speak' (a language) 'dance' (a ceremony), 'lie', 'play' (a game), 'wear' (clothing) and 'be painted' (a pattern). Significantly, subjects remain in the nominative (intransitive subject) case, even though the extra NP behaves syntactically like an object.

Secondly, quite a few languages, such as Alawa, Djaru, and Kalkatungu (see Blake 1987: 28-29 for references) have an alternation

between basically transitive verbs and semi-transitive constructions that is used to show goals or “failed objects” for a small number of verbs. In the above three languages these alternations between ERG:ACC and NOM:DAT frames occur with the two verbs ‘see’ (-> ‘look for, try to see’) and ‘hear’ (-> ‘listen for’). Luritja and Kalkatungu have similar alternations between transitive ‘find’ and semitransitive ‘see, try to find’. Some of the Yolngu languages, notably Djapu (Morphy 1983) and Djinang (Waters 1989) extend this alternation to the verbs ‘hit’ and ‘strike’, while others, such as Djamparrpuynu (Wilkinson 1991) do not. In all of these languages the number of verbs with such alternations is less than half a dozen.

Warlpiri (Hale 1982a) and Mparntwe Arrernte (Wilkins 1989) have a productive pattern of adding dative arguments, which denote a goal or “failed object” of transitive verbs. Interestingly, even here the case of the subject is unchanged, remaining in the ergative. Cf. Warlpiri *luwa-rni* ‘SUBJ (ERG) shoot OBJ (ABS); SUBJ (ERG) shoot at IOBJ (DAT)’. In the Yolngu language Djamparrpuynu (Wilkinson 1991) the two perception verbs ‘see’ and ‘hear’ display the same transitive/semitransitive alternation as Kalkatungu, Djaru and Alawa, but the semitransitive construction assigns the ergative to its subjects. In Warlpiri, Mparntwe Arrernte and Djamparrpuynu, then, the case assigned to the subject remains constant through these case frame alternations.

The third category of exceptions involves what Wilkins (1989) has called “cognate subjects”: verbs whose semantics narrowly determine their possible subjects. In Warlpiri (Laughren 1987) two synonymous verbs of this type, both meaning ‘burn, cook’ display an alternation between an intransitive frame (‘the meat burns/cooks’) and a transitive, ERG:ACC frame (‘the fire burns/cooks the meat’). In Mparntwe Arrernte (Wilkins 1989) two verbs display this alternation—one meaning ‘cook/burn’ as in Warlpiri, and another meaning ‘(wind:NOM) blow’, ‘(wind:ERG) blow (OBJ:ACC) around or over’.

Fixed transitivity in ergative languages is thus a very strong tendency rather than an exceptionless law. But it is significant that each of the above classes of exceptions involves a small and semantically coherent class of verbs, and that cognate object constructions in all languages considered, and “failed object” constructions in some, maintain ergative case on the subjects.

In addition to the productivity of transitivity alternations, two other features of Kayardild grammar further stress the relative unimportance of transitivity as a syntactic category:

(a) As mentioned in Chapter 8, there is no requirement in Kayardild that all verbs in a “verb complex” agree in transitivity. In such ergative languages as Dyrbal (Dixon 1972: 64), Yidiny (Dixon 1977a: 252), Ngiyambaa (Donaldson 1980) and Kalkatungu (Blake 1979b), on the

other hand, transitivity-agreement within verb-complexes is strictly required.

(b) A corollary of (a) is that Kayardild has no transitivity-sensitive adverbial forms. *Mirrayalatha* 'do well', for example, may be used with intransitives, as in *mirrayalatha wirrkaja* 'dance well', and with transitives, as in *mirrayalatha ngudija wangalki* 'throw the boomerang well'. In ergative Yukulta, by contrast, adverbs have transitivity-specific forms: *mirralaja wukuwa* 'work well' vs *wangalka mirralatha ngudi* 'throw the boomerang well'. Similarly, the verbal ablative case is transitivity-sensitive in Yukulta but not in Kayardild¹¹ (see 4.4.2.4).

These differences between accusative Kayardild and the various ergative Australian languages mentioned above can be explained if we accept the arguments put forward by Mel'cuk (1979) and Goddard (1982) that most so-called ergative languages in Australia actually have three core cases, which Goddard labels ergative (A), nominative (S) and accusative (O).

If transitive and intransitive verbs were mixed in a clause, they would assign conflicting cases (usually ergative and nominative, but nominative and accusative in a syntactically ergative language like Dyrbal) to their subject. In an accusative language like Kayardild, on the other hand, there are no grounds for distinguishing ergative and nominative cases, these being joined in a single "nominative" case, assigned to the subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs alike, so there can be no case clash.

With regard to lexical argument structures, one might propose that verb lexemes readily tolerate changes in case-assignment to non-subject arguments, but require that their *subjects* always be assigned the same case. In an accusative language the subjects of intransitive and transitive argument structures alike will be assigned the same case (nominative); in an ergative language, on the other hand, transitive and intransitive argument structures will assign their subjects different cases (A or "ergative", and S or "nominative", respectively).

Two interesting implications emerge from the above discussion. Firstly, clausal transitivity is far more important as a syntactic category in ergative languages. Secondly, ergative and accusative languages differ not only in their syntactic rules, but also in their patterns of regular verbal polysemy, as manifested in case frame alternations.

¹¹ In this respect Lardil seems to be relatively conservative: the motion verbal cases are transitivity-sensitive (Hale et al. 1981).

Of course, this by no means exhausts the regular typological differences between ergative and accusative languages. All accusative languages in Australia, for example, have passives, which are rare in ergative languages;¹² and all have some kind of object-focussing construction.

9.3 Verbal clauses: derived argument structures

9.3.1 Reciprocal clauses

These indicate reciprocal activity, where each participant is at once agent and patient. The RECIProcal verb form (7.4.3) is used, and the subject is a nominal referring to the whole set of participants:

- (9-124) *burldi-nju-na* *kirr*
 throw missile-RECIP-NEG.IMP 2duNOM
 'Don't you two throw stones at one another!'

Although the two participants are merged in a single subject, leaving no overt patient, reciprocal clauses retain the transitivity of their corresponding non-reciprocals. This is demonstrated by the fact that involved body parts take modal case, as objects would:

- (9-125) *dan-da* *maku-wala* *mirra-yala-thu-th*,
 this-NOM woman-LOTS(NOM) good-DO-RECIP-ACT
darri-nju-thu *bardaka-wu*
 tread-RECIP-POT belly-MPROP

'These women, they massage each other, they tread on each other's bellies (to induce labour).'

Since body parts belonging to the subject would escape modal case, *bardakawu* must be construed with some object. Clauses of this type provide evidence that whole and part in locus-of-effect on object constructions should be treated as two distinct NP constituents, i.e. as object and second predicate on object, rather than subconstituents of the same NP. A representation of 'tread on OBJ's belly', for example, might be 'SUBJ tread on OBJ on belly (OCOMP)'. Reciprocalization then

¹² Among morphologically ergative languages in Australia, Diyari (Austin 1981a) has an adversative passive; Gugu Yalanji has been said to have a passive construction but its analysis is problematic and it functions as an antipassive with some verbs (Blake 1977, Patz 1982).

combines the objects of two clauses into a plural subject, leaving the object second predicate stranded. *Indirect objects* of the semi-transitive verbs *ngakatha* ‘wait for’ and *janija* ‘search for’ feed the reciprocal:

- (9-126) *ngaka-thu-tha* / *jani-nju-tha* *birr*
 wait-RECIP-ACT search-RECIP-ACT 3duNOM
 ‘They are waiting/searching for each other.’

So do the indirect objects of transitive verbs like *kurrija* ‘look’, set in a semi-transitive case frame (9.2.6.4).

9.3.2 Passive clauses

The passive involves (a) use of the middle verb form (7.4.1) (b) promotion of active object to passive subject (c) omission of the active subject, or demotion to an oblique NP in a variety of cases, as outlined in 9.3.2.2. A typical active/passive pair is:

- (9-127) *dathin-a* *kulkiji* *baa-ju* *ngumban-ju*
 that-NOM sharkNOM bite-POT 2sg-MPROP
 ‘That shark will bite you.’

- (9-128) *nying-ka* *ba-yii-ju* *dathin-kiiwa-thu* *kulkiji-iwa-thu*
 2sg-NOM bite-M-POT that-VALL-POT shark-VALL-POT
 ‘You will be bitten by that shark.’

(The verbal allative case is normal with demoted non-human agents—see below.)

Other core arguments, such as PROPrietary indirect objects, are unaffected:

- (9-129) *balarr-a* *dangka-a* *marndi-ja* *dathin-ki* *ngilirr-i*
 white-NOM man-NOM divest-ACT that-MLOC cave-MLOC

kamarr-uru
 stone-PROP

‘The white man robbed that cave of its stones.’

- (9-130) *dathin-a* *ngilirr-a* *marndi-i-ja* *kamarr-uru* *balarr-ina*
 that-NOM cave-NOM divest-M-ACT stone-PROP white-ABL

dangka-na
 man-ABL

‘That cave was robbed of its stones by the white man.’

9.3.2.1 Use. Passives in Kayardild main clauses always stress the effect of the action upon the patient. This effect is usually bad, but may sometimes be good (Text 3, Line 28). I will refer to this as the “happenstance” meaning. Passives are not primarily used to secure the identity of successive subjects in discourse—disjunction of topic and subject is readily tolerated in narrative (12.5), and non-subject pivots are allowed in finite subordinate clauses (12.2). Of course, the object-topic of a coordinated sentence *may* be promoted to subject, via passivization, but only if a happenstance meaning is also present (12.5.1.2):

- (9-131) (Rock Cod, after being caught, is cut up and eaten. Crane and Seagull, his captors, throw his liver onto the rocks, causing a perpetual fresh-water spring to gush forth.)

niwan-da rirrk, dana-tha niwan-ji, dathin-maru-th
his-NOM greaseNOM leave-ACT 3sg-MLOC there-VD-ACT

nguku-wuru wuu-ja dangka-y, thararr-a niya
water-PROP give-ACT person-MLOC liver-NOM 3sgNOM

ngudi-i-j
throw-M-ACT

‘His grease, (they) left it, put it there. He endowed mankind with water, and his liver was thrown away.’

Passivization is also used when an argument is agent of one verb and patient of another verb in the same (simple) clause, but again it is only attested with an adversative meaning:

- (9-132) *kurul-ii-j, niwan-da kardu ngarii-j, ngamathu jawi-ja*
kill-M-ACT 3sg-NOM sonNOM first-ACT motherNOM run-ACT

kurdala-a-j, birmaru-th
spear-M-ACT inadvertently.cause.trouble.for-ACT

‘They were killed, her son first, (then) the mother was speared as she ran. (He) caused (her) death.’

The only time passivization serves a purely syntactic function is in non-finite subordinate clauses, which require the pivot to be the subject—see 11.5.1.

9.3.2.2 Case-marking on demoted agents. Demoted subjects in finite passive clauses must be noun/adjectives: demoted pronominal subjects are restricted to resultative and passive nominalized clauses (11.4). The case-marking of demoted subjects is as follows:

Demoted subject	Case
pronoun	prefixed possessive pronoun
human NP	ABLative or OBLique
non-human animate	LOCative (MOD) / Verbal ALLative
inanimate	LOCative (MOD)

Demoted pronominal subjects prefix the possessive stem to the verb:

- (9-133) *Waldarr-a ra-yii-ja yuujband, ngakuluwan-kurri-i-jarri.*
 moon-NOM spear-M-ACT long.ago 1inclPOSS-see-M-ACT
 ‘Moon was speared long ago, (it) wasn’t seen by us (who are alive today).’

Demoted human subjects normally take the ABLative (9-134). But the OBLique is also possible, particularly when the patient is allowing the agent to act upon him (e.g. when being given an injection):

- (9-134) a. *ngada ra-yii-ju mun-da balarr-inja maku-nth*
 1sgNOM spear-M-POT buttock-NOM white-OBL woman-OBL
 b. *ngada ra-yii-ju mun-da balarr-ina maku-na*
 1sgNOM spear-M-POT buttock-NOM white-ABL woman-ABL
 ‘I will be injected in the buttocks by the white woman.’

Animate non-humans, the most common type of demoted agent, usually take the verbal allative, which agrees in final inflection with the main verb (see also 4.4.2.1):

- (9-135) *yulmburr-a warrku bilda ba-yii-ja kungul-iiwa-th*
 long-NOM sun-NOM 3plNOM bite-M-ACT mosquito-VALL-ACT
 ‘All day long they were bitten by mosquitoes.’
- (9-136) *nying-ka ra-yii-nyarra kurdalng-kiiwa-nharr*
 2sg-NOM spear-M-APPR stingray-VALL-APPR
 ‘You might get stung by a stingray.’

Often the nature of the action follows from the nature of the participants. The main verb may then be omitted:

- (9-137) [Of a pile of fish left unattended on the beach:]
baymbay yarbuth-ii-wa-th!
 WARNING bird-VALL-IMP
 ‘(They) might get (eaten) by the birds!’

Alternatively, the demoted subject may take an appropriate modal case, as would a location or an object:

(9-138) *ngada ba-yii-ja wanku-y*
1sgNOM bite-M-ACT shark-MLOC
'I was bitten by a shark.'

(9-139) *nying-ka ra-yii-nyarra kamarr-inj*
2sg-NOM spear-M-APPR stone-MOBL
'You might get stung by a stonefish.'

"Inanimate agents"—instruments or locations that have some affect on the patient—may be set in a passive construction, with the same case as in the corresponding active. Such instruments take the INSTRUMENTAL (9-140) or PROPRIETIVE (9-140, 9-141); and locations take the LOCATIVE (9-142) or a modal case (9-143, 9-144).

(9-140) *kungul-da jirndi-wuru / jirndi-nguni bala-a-j*
mosquito-NOM branch-PROP branch-INSTR hit-M-ACT
'Mosquitoes were shooed away with branches.'

(9-141) *yuuiban-da kala-a-ja narra-wu*
olden days-NOM cut-M-ACT shell knife-PROP
'In the old days (things) were cut with shell knives.'

(9-142) *dathin-a dangka-a wumburung-kiya niya ra-yii-j*
that-NOM man-NOM spear-LOC 3sgNOM spear-M-ACT
'That man cut himself on a spear.'

(9-143) *jangka-wu darr-u kamarr-u bala-a-ju*
other-MPROP time-MPROP stone-MPROP hit-M-POT
'Next time (you)'ll hit (yourself) on a stone.'

(9-144) *daman-da dara-a-nyarr warkurr-inj*
tooth-NOM break-M-APPR hide-MOBL
'(You) might break your tooth on that dugong hide.'

In Lardil, demoted subjects of tensed passives take the genitive, or the possessive if pronominal; with untensed passives they take the "objective" (Hale et al., 1981: 25, 33), cognate with the Kayardild OBLIQUE.

9.3.2.3 Promotion of locative arguments. Locations (usually secret/sacred) adversely affected by some action can be promoted to subject via the passive. These may be the locational objects of certain motion verbs:

(9-145) *Wamakurl-d. Dathin-a dulk-a warra-a-jarri, birdi-ya*
(place name) that-NOM place-NOM go-M-NEGACT bad-NOM

dulk
placeNOM

‘Wamakurld. That place was never gone to, it’s a bad place.’

Or they may just be local adjuncts, not subcategorized by the verb:

(9-146) *birdi-ya dulk, wirrka-a-nangku*
bad-NOM placeNOM play-M-NEGPOT
‘It’s a bad place, mustn’t be played in.’

(9-147) *jatha-ya dulk-i kamburi-j, kamburi-i-nangku dathin-a*
other-LOC place-LOC speak-ACT speak-M-NEGPOT that-NOM

dulk
placeNOM

‘(They) spoke in another place. That place mustn’t be spoken in.’

This shows the impossibility of formulating the passive rule purely in terms of the grammatical function “object”. The essential thing is that the promoted NP be adversely affected in some way, and we are most likely to talk about objects being adversely affected. But if the scenario involves a location being adversely affected, then passivization is possible.

9.3.3 Reflexive clauses

The reflexive construction involves the use of the Middle verb form, which it shares with the passive. A sentence like (9-148) is therefore ambiguous between passive and reflexive readings:

(9-148) *ngada bala-a-ja karwa-wuru*
1sgNOM hit-M-ACT club-PROP
a. ‘I was hit with a club.’
b. ‘I hit myself with a club (e.g. in grief).’

The middle form of verbs with alternate arguments structures may be three ways ambiguous. Thus *wayiija* [sing-M] may mean ‘sing to oneself’, ‘sing one’s own body part’ (to strengthen it) or ‘be magically sung’ (e.g. initiatory stingray fin). On the other hand, constructions in which a middle verb has a location as its subject (9.3.2.3) can only be passives.

In most reflexive constructions the object is deleted under coreference with the subject; (9-148) is an example. However, the part of the body at which the reflexive action is directed appears as a nominative NP (cf. body part constructions, 9.4.2), as in (9-149)—(9-151). In (9-152) the situation is slightly different—the reflexive argument ‘your nose’ is

underlyingly a complement in the verbal ablative (*bulatha* normally has the case frame ‘clean OBJ off VABL’), reassigned to the nominative in the reflexive construction; note that the object argument ‘that snot’ remains unaffected (its nominative case here is because it is object of an imperative).

- (9-149) *bala-a-j-bala-a-ja* *darr-iyarrng-ka* *niwan-d*
hit-M-ACT-hit-M-ACT thigh-du-NOM her-NOM
‘(Barrindindi) slapped her thighs (in lascivious anticipation).’
- (9-150) *miburl-da* *kurri-i-j,* *nal-da* *mirra-yala-a-j,* *kandukandu*
eye-NOM look-M-ACT head-NOM good-DO-M-ACT redNOM

wara-a *wu-yii-j*
mouth-NOM put-M-ACT

“She always lookin herself in mirror, prettyin her head, always make up her lips”.
- (9-151) *tharda-a* *mardala-a-j,* *kurndung-ka* *birrmu*
shoulder-NOM paint-M-ACT chest-NOM sternumNOM

wu-yii-j *barral-da* *yarbud* / *barral-uru* *yarbuth-uru*
put-M-ACT feather-NOM birdNOM / feather-PROP bird-PROP

‘(They) are painting their shoulders, and putting birdsdown on their chests.’
- (9-152) *nyingka* *thurrung-ka* *bula-a-ja* *kirrk-a* *ngumban-d*
2sgNOM snot-NOM remove-M-IMP nose-NOM 2sgPOSS-NOM
‘You clean that snout out of your nose!’

Once again, some of these constructions may also allow a passive interpretation, where semantically appropriate. (9-151), for example, could mean ‘their shoulders are being painted, and birdsdown is put on their chests.’

This potential ambiguity may be resolved by adding the reflexive pronoun *marinda* ‘self’. This inflects for modal case, like an object, except that the NOMinative is used in the instantiated modality, instead of the expected LOCative. See also (9-242).

- (9-153) *niya* *marin-da* *mardala-a-j*
3sgNOM self-NOM paint-M-ACT
‘He is painting himself up.’
- (9-154) *ngada* *mardala-a-da* *marin-inj*
1sgNOM paint-M-DES self-MOBL
‘I want to paint myself up.’

- (9-155) *namu warra-ja mala-ngarrb, mala-ngarrba marin-inja*
 NEGAT go-IMP beer-CONS beer-CONS self-MOBL

bala-a-nyarr
 shoot-M-APPR

‘Don’t go around drunk, you might shoot yourself!’

If a body part noun is present, it takes the nominative, agreeing with the subject, not the reflexive pronoun:

- (9-156) *nal-da marin-inja kala-a-nyarr, [niwan-inja dun-inja*
 head-NOM self-MOBL cut-M-APPR her-COBL husband-COBL

yuurrja-tharra-nth]COBL
 get lost-PST-COBL

‘(She) might slash her head (in mourning), because her husband has been lost.’

A special use of the reflexive with *marinda* is to express actions carried out by someone on their own totem:

- (9-157) *niwan-da thabuju julwak. dangka-a diya-ju ,*
 3sgPOSS-NOM brotherNOM trevallyNOM person-NOM eat-POT

mutha-a dangka-a mutha-waan-da dul-waan-d.
 many-NOM person-NOM many-ORIG-NOM place-ORIG-NOM

Kunawuna diya-ju , ngamathu-wa diya-ju , kanthathu-wa
 childNOM eat-POT mother-NOM eat-POT father-NOM

diya-ju , marin-ju diya-a-ju . Julwak marin-ju
 eat-POT self-MPROP eat-M-POT trevallyNOM self-MPROP

diya-a-ju , bilda diya-nju-thu.
 eat-M-POT 3pINOM eat-RECIP-POT

‘His brother is Trevally. People will eat (trevally), many people from many places. (His) children will eat (him), (his) father) will eat him, he will be eaten by himself (i.e. by people of his totem). Trevally will be eaten by his own totem, they (trevallies) will eat one another.’

Marin- may also be prefixed to the verb—see 7.8.2.5.

9.3.4 Causativization

Intransitive verbs may be causativized with the CAUSative suffix *-THarrma-tha* (7.4.2), the FACTitive suffix *{-lu-tha}*, or with *-maru-tha*

'put' following a predicate nominal or nominalized verb. From a basic intransitive clause meaning 'SUBJ V-es' is derived a transitive structure meaning 'SUBJ makes OBJ V' (sometimes extended metaphorically).

The choice of derivation depends on the basic verb meaning and the type of causation involved:

(i) THE CAUSATIVE SUFFIX applies to controlled motion or stance verbs, where the causer acts directly upon the causee, remaining in physical contact throughout the induced process: *thulatha* 'descend', *thulatharmatha* 'take down'; *daliya* 'come', *daliyarmatha* 'bring'; *thaldiya* 'stand (i.)', *thaldiyarmatha* 'erect'; *burriya* 'emerge', *burriyarmatha* 'extract, suck out'; *wirrkaja* 'dance', *wirrkajarmatha* 'tickle'; *jawija* 'run', *jawiyarmatha* 'ride (horse)' and, metaphorically, 'cause to run away (wife)'.

(9-158) *kada thula-tharrma-th, bukuwuku bana bukuwuku bana*
 again descend-CAUS-ACT vineNOM and vineNOM and

bukuwuku, kada thula-tharrma-th, rar-ung-ku
 vineNOM again descend-CAUS-ACT south-ALL-PROP

'Again one would take them down, timothy vines and timothy vines and more timothy vines, again one would take them down, to the south.'

It is likely that the CAUSative suffix derives from the free verb *karrmatha* 'hold, grasp'. This correlates well with the direct and sustained physical contact expressed by this construction.

(ii) THE FACTITIVE is typically used with process verbs: *yulaaja* 'be afraid', *yulaalutha* 'frighten'; *dulbatha* 'sink (i.)', *dulbalutha* 'cause to sink, drown'; *dulatha* 'grow fat', *dulalutha* 'make fat, cause to grow fat'; *maka-tha* 'rest', *maka-lu-tha* 'permit to have a rest' (also 'switch off (engine)').

Typically the causal sequence is somewhat indirect. *Dulbalutha*, for example, was used in the context of a white man who kept shooting at some Kayardild women hiding behind some offshore reefs until they eventually drowned. The causal event may occur well before the caused event, as with *dula-lu-tha* 'make fat', where the eating does not lead immediately to corpulence. Or it may be spatially removed: *yulaalutha* was used of a man whose clumsy stumbling scared away all the game (7-65).

The FACTitive after a PRIVative nominalization is used to express negative causation (i.e. cause not to X): *warranmarrirutha* [go-N-PRIV-FAC] 'prevent from going', *jilkinmarrirutha* [hiccup-N-PRIV-FAC] 'stop from hiccuping', *yiiwinmarrirutha* 'stop from sleeping':

- (9-159) *ngada jilkiri-n-marri-ru-tha ngijin-ji kunawuna-y*
 1sgNOM hiccup-N-PRIV-FAC-ACT my-MLOC child-MLOC
 'I stopped my child from hiccuping.'

(iii) *-MARU-THA* 'put' (7.8.2.1) is used with (positive) nominalized verbs and predicate nominals, with the meanings

- cause to be in a state, as in *yiiwi-n-maru-tha* [sleep-N-put-ACT] 'put to sleep' and the synonymous *mibul-maru-tha* 'asleep-put-ACT'.
- cause to have the ability to perform an action, as with *rajurrija* 'walk around, toddle', *rajurrinmarutha* 'enable to walk (e.g. young child) (9-160), *munirrija* 'breastfeed', *munirrinmarutha* 'induce lactation'.

Where a human induces a controlled behaviour indirectly (through communication, pulling funny faces (9-161) and so on) rather than with direct physical contact; a verb describing this behaviour often shares the same clause (9-162).

Since nominalizations and predicate nominals represent states, and *marutha* means 'put', the etymology of this construction is thus 'put in the state of V-ing'.

- (9-160) *yilda-a kunya-ya kunawuna-ya baa-ja bungkal-i,*
 windsnake-NOM small-MLOC childNOM bite-ACT knee-MLOC
rajurri-n-maru-th
 walk-N-put-ACT

'Windsnakes bite young children on the knee, making them able to walk.'

- (9-161) *nyingka yathuyii-n-maru-tha ngijin-ji*
 2sgNOM laugh-N-put-ACT 1sg-MLOC
 'You are making me laugh.'

- (9-162) *niya kamburi-ja ngijin-ji budii-n-maru-th*
 3sgNOM say-ACT 1sg-MLOC run-N-put-ACT
 'He told me to run.' (Or: 'he made me run, telling me.')

Constructions (ii) and (iii) are almost in complementary distribution. Both require that the causing event not be coterminous with the caused event. They are formally similar: like *-marutha*, the FACTitive probably derives from pT **marlutha*. Within my corpus, the FACTitive follows verb roots, noun/adjectives, and PRIVative nominalized verbs, and *-marutha* follows plain nominalized verbs and nominal predicators. However, there is one pair where the same root occurs both with the FACTitive and, in nominalized form, with *-marutha*: the root *yulkaa-* 'do with lasting effect' yields the FACTitive *yulkalutha* 'do to OBJ with lasting effect' (e.g. leaving someone for good, knock someone out for the count) but also the near synonymous *yulkaanmarutha*, derived from the nominalized stem *yulkaa-n-*; this latter is used in situations where the effect is more indirect

e.g. involving a transfer of land title, effected by verbal and legal rather than physical means. For examples see the dictionary entries under *yulkaaja*.

The three types of causativization just described are all restricted to intransitive verbs. I heard no spontaneous examples with transitive or middle verbs, and attempts to elicit them met with bewilderment.¹³ Instead, finite subordinate “purpose” clauses are used (12.3.9).

9.4 Second predicates on the subject and other case-agreeing adjuncts

Apart from subjects, four types of NP may appear in the nominative in finite clauses. These are exemplified by the NPs in bold in the following sentences.

(9-163) *nyingka ngarrku-wa dangka-a ri-lung-ku thaa-thu*
 2sgNOM strong-NOM man-NOM east-ALL-PROP return-POT
 ‘You will return east a strong man.’

(9-164) *niya thaldi-jarra kurnthur-ina kantharrk*
 3sgNOM stand-PST sandbank-MABL aloneNOM
 ‘He stood on the sandbank alone.’

(9-165) *jatha-a kunawuna ngaarmgi-ja bijarrb*
 other-NOM childNOM presage-ACT dugongNOM
 ‘(The birth of) another child would be presaged by a dugong.’

(9-166) *nyingka kalka-nharra bardak*
 2sgNOM sick-APPR stomachNOM
 ‘You might get sick in the stomach.’

(9-167) *dijarra wuran-d, ra-yii-nyarra marl-d*
 nailNOM type-NOM spear-M-APPR hand-NOM
 ‘It’s a nail fish, you might get spiked on the hand.’

(9-168) *baa-ju daman-d*
 bite-POT tooth-NOM
 ‘(You) have to bite (it) with your teeth.’

The expressions in bold in (9-163) and (9-164) are genuine second predicates. An ascriptive NP, which could appear alone as a nominal clause (e.g. ‘he is a strong man’), is incorporated within the main clause,

¹³ Cf. Blake (1987: 67), who notes that “[i]n Australia causativisation is, with only marginal exceptions, restricted to intransitive verbs”.

and serves to give manner-type information about the subject. Semantically, it makes a predication about the subject that is only asserted to be true during the time of the main predicate. Syntactically, they are adjuncts: they can freely appear with most—perhaps all—types of verb, always adding the same meaning.

(9-165) contains a subject complement: it has the same syntactic characteristics as adjunct second predicates on the subject, but is subcategorized by the main verb. Subject complements were discussed in 9.2.2.2.

(9-166) to (9-168) illustrate three types of adjunct, all in a “part-whole” relation with the subject. (9-166) involves an uncontrolled intransitive verb, (9-167) a passive construction, and (9-168) a transitive verb. Superficially, the phrases in bold here are syntactically comparable: all escape modal case, appearing in the NOMinative. But we shall see presently that they split into two types, semantically and syntactically.

Sentences of the first type, with uncontrolled or middle verbs, express the locus of effect on a body part; they pattern syntactically like true second predicates, remaining outside the VP and escaping “associating” case. Semantically, they limit the main predication in space (giving the exact point of impact) rather than time. However, they are not true second predicates: they cannot occur alone in a nominal predicate construction. An attempt to dissect out a nominal predicate from (9-166), for example, would give the nonsensical *nyingka bardaka* ‘you are a stomach’. Despite this semantic difference, their syntax exactly parallels true second predicates on the subject. I will refer to such body-part constructions as “subject-construed” (SCOMP) to distinguish them from true second predicates on the subject (SSPRED).

Sentences of the second type, with controlled verbs, express “body part used as instrument”. These pattern syntactically like instrument NPs, and in fact allow a paraphrase with the PROPrietary; they are inside the VP, and take associating case.

Second predicates in Kayardild may modify either subject or object. Here we discuss all second predicates on the subject, and “body part” NPs construed with the object. Second predicates on the object were discussed in 9.2.4.3 along with object complements.

9.4.1 Second predicates of manner

The difference between attribution and “manner” second predication is illustrated by the following pair of English sentences, where detachment of the modifier is the syntactic marker of secondary predication: (a) ‘Gloomy Ivan returned home’ and (b) ‘Ivan returned home gloomy’. In (a), where the adjective functions attributively, Ivan’s gloominess is implied to be more or less permanent and characteristic. But in (b), where

the adjective functions as a “second predicate”, his gloominess is restricted to the time of his returning home. A further illustration of the difference between attributive and second predicate uses is provided by the English sentence ‘the slow dog ran fast’¹⁴ which is non-contradictory because the attributive and second predicate adjectives are predicated over different time periods.

In principle any noun/adjective can serve as a manner second predicate with any verb, since the characteristics predicated of the subject are independent of what action they are performing. Thus the subject of (9-169), said to have ‘died thirsty’, could equally well have ‘fought thirsty’, ‘walked around thirsty’, and so on.

(9-169) *ngawarri bukawa-th*
 thirstyNOM die-ACT
 ‘(He) died thirsty.’

(9-170) *ngada kada ngumal-da yiiwi-ju*
 1sgNOM again single-NOM sleep-POT
 ‘I’ll be sleeping by myself (as a single man) again.’

Manner nominals can only occur as second predicates (usually on the subject, but also on the object—see 9.2.4.3). Among them are *kantharrka* and *kantharrkuru* ‘alone, unaided, without interference’, *junkuyunku* ‘in revenge, towards each other’ and others listed in 5.4.1.

(9-171) *niya kantharrkuru diya-ja mala-a*
 3sgNOM aloneNOM eat-ACT beer-NOM
 ‘He (always) drinks his beer on his own.’

And predicate nominals, which basically function as nominal predicates in nominal clauses (9.1.7), may also function as second predicates:

(9-172) *mibulka kaba-a-j*
 asleepNOM find-M-ACT
 ‘(He) was caught napping.’

(9-173) *ngada mungurru kurri-ja yarraman-ki,*
 1sgNOM knowingNOM see-ACT horse-MLOC
burdumbanyi kurri-jarri
 ignorantNOM see-NEG.ACT

‘I looked upon the horse knowingly, I didn’t look at it in ignorance.’

¹⁴ I thank Peter Austin for this example.

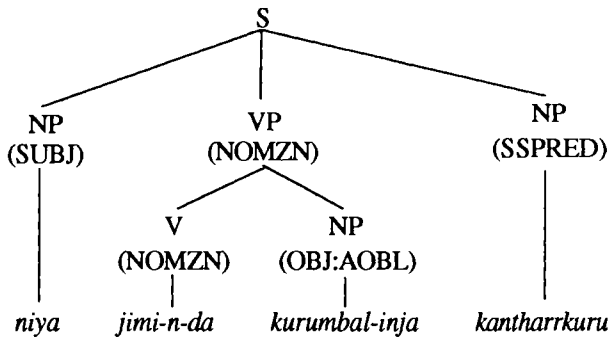
Kayardild has no object-to-subject raising construction, as in English ‘this water is good to drink’. Instead, it uses an agentless passive with a second predicate:

- (9-174) *mirra-a dan-da nguku-wa kurdama-a-j*
 good-NOM (SSPRED) this-NOM water-NOM drink-M-ACT
 ‘This water is good to drink (lit. ‘is drunk well’).’

9.4.1.1 Second predicates are outside the VP. As (9-163) and (9-164) show, second predicates on the subject escape modal case. This, however, does not prove that they are outside the VP, since certain NPs within the VP (e.g. “intentional objects”) also escape modal case (10.3).

What does show their non-membership of the VP is their failure to take *associating* case in nominalized clauses—recall that this appears on all NPs within the VP, including those that do not take modal case (3.4.5). Examples of secondary predicates on the subject escaping AOBL are *kantharrkuru* in (9-175) and *mungurru* in (9-176).¹⁵

- (9-175) *niya jimi-n-da kurumbal-inja kantharrkuru*
 3sgNOM squeeze-N-NOM stingray flesh-AOBL aloneNOM
 ‘She is squeezing stingray flesh (into balls) on her own.’



- (9-176) A: *namu kukurduru-tha kamarr, jilari-ya wuran-d!*
 NEG approach-IMP stone.fishNOM painful-NOM fish-NOM

¹⁵ In one example a subject complement takes AOBL:

niya wirdi-n-da jungarrba-nth.
 3sgNOM become-N-NOM big-AOBL
 ‘She is getting big.’

I cannot account for this exception.

B: *ngada* *alright*, *mungurru* *kurrka-n-d!*
 1sgNOM knowledgeableNOM hold-N-NOM

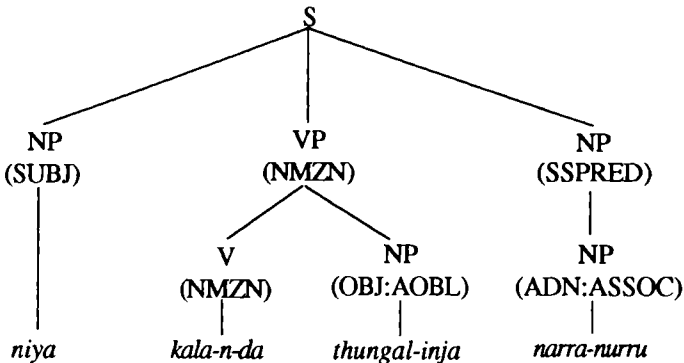
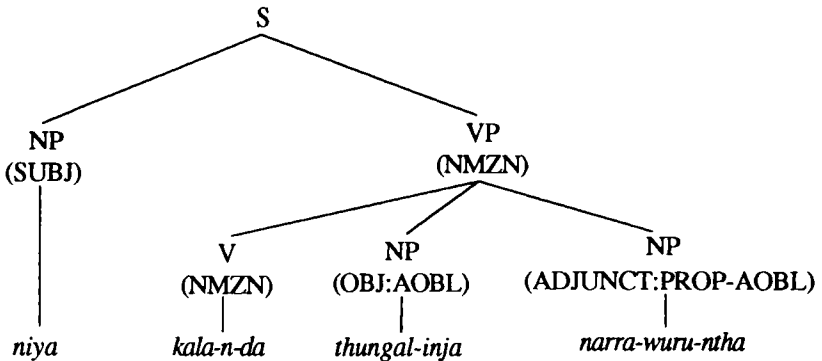
A: 'Don't go close to the stone fish, it's a painful fish!'

B: 'I'm alright, I know how to hold it.'

This test may be applied to several of the case functions, discussed in 4.3, whose status as relational or adnominal is not clear. Nominalizing the clause shows NPs with the ASSOCIATIVE (marking "temporary having"), PRIVATIVE and CONSEQUENTIAL to be second predicates on the subject, since they escape AOBL. But the PROPRIETIVE and UTILITIVE, which take AOBL, are shown to be within the VP.

(9-177) *niya* *kala-n-da* *thungal-inja* *narra-wuru-ntha* /
 3sgNOM cut-N-NOM tree-AOBL knife-PROP-AOBL
narra-nurru
 knife-ASSOC(-*AOBL)

'He is cutting the tree with a shell knife.'



- (9-178) *bi-l-da dali-n-da ngi-nurru-wa kuwan-marra-nth*
 3-pl-NOM come-N-NOM wood-ASSOC-NOM fire-UTIL-AOBL
 'They are coming with wood for the fire.'
- (9-179) *nga-ku-l-da warra-n-da wangal-warri marraldurldii-n-ngarrb*
 1-INC-pl-NOM go-N-NOM boomerang-PRIV forget-N-CONS
 'We are going along without boomerangs because we forgot (them).'
 (Lit.: 'we, after forgetting, without boomerangs, are going along.')

Since the second predicate NP is a detached NP modifier, we may conclude that cases yielding second predicates yield NP modifiers, and are thus adnominal (in the relevant use). Thus, the ASSOCIative, PRIVative and CONSequential are adnominal but the UTILitive and PROPrietary are relational (in the uses given above).

9.4.2 "Body part as locus of effect" constructions

These occur with the objects of transitive verbs and the subjects of passives, reflexives, and intransitive verbs denoting uncontrolled activity. There is considerable overlap with "part-whole" possession within the NP (6.3.5), but some differences: severed body parts, for example, are not seen as inalienably possessed, but may occur as loci of effect (9-183).

With simple intransitives the nominative adjunct names the locus of effect upon the subject; with reflexives, the place where the subject directs his action:

- (9-180) *ngada yarka bardaka / wirrwirriid-a barji-jarr*
 1sgNOM down stomachNOM side-NOM fall-PST
 'I fell on my tummy/on my side.'
- (9-181) *nga-rr-a maraka kuri-i-ju marl-d*
 1-du-NOM CTRFCT wash-M-POT hand-NOM
 'We should have washed our hands.'
- (9-182) *niya mardala-a-ja kirdil-d*
 3sgNOM rub-M-ACT back-NOM
 'He is rubbing his back.'

In passive constructions it gives the part of the body on which the action has its initial impact. These usually translate into English as 'X was V-ed in the (body part)/by the (body part)' or 'X had his/her (body part) V-ed':

- (9-183) *marral-da ba-yii-ja dathin-a kunawun*
 ear-NOM bite-M-ACT that-NOM childNOM
 'That boy had his ear bitten (off).'

- (9-184) *tharda-a bula-a-ja kiyarrng-ka banga-a*
 shoulder-NOM pull-M-ACT two-NOM turtle-NOM
 'The two turtles were pulled (into the boat) by their forelegs.'

These correspond to transitive sentences where the "body part as locus" is construed with the object:

- (9-185) *dathin-a dangka-a maku-ya tharda-ya buru-th,*
 that-NOM man-NOM woman-MLOC shoulder-MLOC grasp-ACT
dathin-a maku-wa warra-nangku
 that-NOM woman-NOM go-NEG.POT
 'That man is grasping the woman by the shoulder, (but) that woman doesn't want to go.'

Like second predicates on the subject, adjuncts designating body-part loci escape associating case under nominalization:

- (9-186) *dathin-a banga-a ra-yii-n-da nal-d*
 that-NOM turtle-NOM spear-M-N-NOM head-NOM
 'That turtle is being speared in the head.'

Unlike second predicates, body-part-as-locus NPs may be construed with arguments other than Subject and Object, e.g. the ALLative NP in (4-55) 'the tree fell onto his back/hit him in the back'.

9.4.3 "Body part as instrument" constructions

With controlled non-reflexive verbs, both transitive and intransitive, the nominative adjunct gives the body part used to execute the action:

- (9-187) *wajurr-a niya kurrka-th*
 armpit-NOM 3sgNOM take-ACT
 'She carried it around under her armpit.'
- (9-188) *mar-warri, warra-ja bardak*
 hand-PRIV go-ACT stomachNOM
 (Of a worm): '(It) has no legs, it moves with its stomach.'
- (9-189) *dathin-a kunawuna jalnganhang-ka burri-jiri ngijin-jir*
 that-NOM childNOM tongue-NOM emerge-DIREC 1sg-MALL
 'That child is sticking out his tongue at me.'

Note that the choice of interpretation between "body part used as instrument" and "body part as locus of effect" depends on the uncontrolled vs controlled nature of the verb, rather than its transitivity.

Warraja ‘go’ in (9-188), and *burrija* ‘emerge’, in (9-189), for example, are intransitive but controlled.

In contrast to “body part as locus” constructions, body parts used as instruments can be paraphrased with the PROPrietive case (this is less usual than NOM, but quite acceptable):

- (9-190) *dathin-a yarbud-a barri-ja bardak / bardaka-wuru*
 that-NOM snake-NOM crawl-ACT stomachNOM stomach-PROP
 ‘That snake crawls on/with its stomach.’

Again in contrast to the “body-part as locus” constructions, body parts used as instruments take the associating OBLique in nominalized clauses, with or without the optional PROPrietive just mentioned:

- (9-191) *dathin-a yarbud-a barri-n-da bardaka-nth /*
 that-NOM snake-NOM crawl-N-NOM stomach-AOBL

bardaka-wuru-nth
 stomach-PROP-AOBL

‘That snake is crawling on/with its stomach.’

- (9-192) *banga-a biya-n-da tharda-nth / tharda-wuru-nth*
 turtle-NOM paddle-N-NOM shoulder-AOBL shoulder-PROP-AOBL
 ‘Turtles paddle with their shoulders.’

From this we may infer that body part as instrument constructions, though superficially resembling body part as locus constructions in escaping modal case, have quite different syntax. The latter, like second predicates on the subject, lie outside the VP and escape associating case; the former, like the PROPrietive instrument construction that may paraphrase them, lie inside the VP and attract associating case.

9.5 Questions

9.5.1 Polar (yes-no) questions

Most often these are formally identical with declaratives, except for a rising intonation contour centred on the questioned word:

- (9-193) *nyingka marri-j?*
 2sgNOM hear-ACT
 ‘Do you understand?’

- (9-194) *nyingka kurri-jarra dangka-walath-ina?*
 2sgNOM see-PST person-MOB-MABL
 ‘Did you see some other people?’

Additionally, the interrogative particle *kara* may be used.

- (9-195) *kara nga-ku-rr-a yulii-ja jatha-a banga-a?*
 INTERROG 1-INC-du-NOM try-ACT other-NOM turtle-NOM

yuud, yulii-ja jatha-a banga-a
 already try-ACT other-NOM turtle-NOM

‘Will we try for another turtle? Good idea, let’s try for another turtle.’

- (9-196) *kara nyingka marri-j?*
 INTERROG 2sgNOM hear-ACT
 ‘Can you understand?’

This is cognate with the base for a number of WH- interrogatives in Lardil: *karaan* ‘which, where’, *karaankin* ‘when’, *karankuru* ‘how many’ and *karaan -nyingken* ‘how, in what way?’. In Yukulta the cognate form *karla* is restricted to polar interrogatives as in Kayardild.

9.5.2 Information questions

These use an “interrogative” word, referring to the entity or situation whose identification is being requested. Interrogative words contain one of three roots: *ngaaka* ‘what/who’, *jina-* ‘where/which’ and *nginyinang-* ‘what (complaint)’. *Ngaaka* and *jina-* combine with generic nouns, derivationals and/or nonce suffixes to yield more specific interrogative words. All three types inflect for relational and/or modal case, or verbal categories, as appropriate.

Interrogative words in Kayardild, as in many other Australian languages (e.g. Dyirbal, Yidiny, Ngiyambaa, Mayali), may be interpreted as interrogative (who) or indeterminate (someone) according to context; in fact speakers often translate them with phrases like ‘someone, who is it?’ An clear example of the indeterminate sense is:

- (9-197) *ngada ngaaka-na kurri-jarra dan-kina bath-ina,*
 1sgNOM who-MABL see-PST here-MABL west-MABL

ngada kinaa-nangku ngumban-ju
 1sgNOM tell-NEG.POT 2sg-MPROP

‘I saw someone here in the west, but I won’t tell you (who).’

9.5.2.1 Ngaaka ‘what/who’. When in a core grammatical function, this normally combines with the following four generic nouns:

<i>ngaaka dangkaa</i>	(+ ‘person’)	‘who’
<i>ngaaka wuranda</i>	(+ ‘food’)	‘which animal/bird/fish/edible plant’
<i>ngaaka thungalda</i>	(+ ‘thing’)	‘which thing/artefact’
<i>ngaaka nida</i>	(+ ‘name’)	‘what name’

Examples are:

(9-198) *ngaaka dangka-a ri-ya thaldi-ja wirdi-j ?*
 whatNOM person-NOM east-NOM stand-ACT stay-ACT
 ‘Who’s that standing in the east?’

(9-199) *nyingka ngaaka nid?*
 2sgNOM whatNOM nameNOM
 ‘What’s your name?’ (Mornington English ‘who your name?’)

The “class” generic nouns *yakuriya* ‘fish (non-elasmobranch)’, *wanku* ‘elasmobranch fish (sharks and rays)’, *yarbuda* ‘birds and reptiles’ and *kunbulka* “‘big game” (turtles, dugong, porpoises and whales)’ do not combine directly with *ngaaka*: I have not heard *ngaaka yakuriya* etc.

The interrogative element may be reduplicated, signalling plurality. This is only attested with *ngaaka dangkaa* :

(9-200) *ngaaka-ngaaka dangka-a nga-ku-lu-wan-jani-ju*
 what-whatNM person-NOM 1sg-INC-pl-POSS-V.D-POT
balmbi-wu thaa-thu
 morrow-MPROP return-POT
 ‘What people are coming back to see us tomorrow?’

The compound interrogatives given above are all topics, and often appear in the nominative in ACTual clauses:

(9-201) *ngaaka thungal-da nyingka jani-j ?*
 whatNOM thing-NOM 2sgNOM seek-ACT
 ‘What are you looking for ?’

Where they take a non-nominative case, the greater topicality of the subject is usually evident, as in (9-202), where the subject bears a string of adjectives and nominalizations. Here the interrogative is not fronted.

(9-202) *dathin-a kiyarrng-ka dangka-a thaldi-n-da wirdi-n-da*
 there-NOM two-NOM person-NOM stand-N-NOM stay-N-NOM

wurkar ngaaka-ya kurri-ja karrngi-ja thungal-i
 boyNOM what-MLOC see-ACT hold-ACT thing-MLOC

'Those two boys standing over there, what do they keep looking at?'

Compounds with *ngaaka* are not always used. In the following circumstances the interrogative base suffices:

(a) in asking someone their identity.

(9-203) *nyingka ngaak? nyingka ngijin-da ngaak ?*
 2sgNOM whatNOM 2sgNOM my-NOM whatNOM
 'Who are you? You are my what (relation)?'

(b) Where there is insufficient evidence to assign the questioned entity to one of these categories:

(9-204) *dathin-a dangka-a kiyarrng-ka dangka-a*
 that-NOM person-NOM two-NOM person-NOM

ngaaka-ntha kurri-n-d ?
 who/what-AOBL look-N-NOM

'Who/what are those two people looking for?'

(9-205) *dan-da ra-yin-da kila ngaak*
 here-NOM south-FROM-NOM trampling noiseNOM whoNOM
 'Who/what is trampling from the south there?'

Interrogatives bearing a semantic case are likewise not compounded:

<i>ngaaka-wuru</i>	[--PROP]	'why, with what purpose'
<i>ngaaka-nguni</i>	[--INSTR]	'using what'
<i>ngaaka-marra</i>	[--UTIL]	'to use for what'
<i>ngaaka-ngarrba</i>	[--CONS]	'because of what'
<i>ngaak-arra</i>	[--GEN]	'whose' (by haplology from <i>ngaaka-karra</i>)
<i>ngaaka-warri</i>	[--PRIV]	'lacking what, without what'
<i>ngaaka-maru-tha</i>	[--VD]	'for whose benefit'
<i>ngaaka-wula-tha</i>	[--VABL]	'from what' etc.

(9-206) *ngaakarra wumburung-ka nyingka karrngi-j ?*
 what-POSS spear-NOM 2sgNOM hold-ACT
 'Whose spear are you holding?'

(9-207) *ngaaka-wuru rik-iya kunawun ?*
 what-PROP cry-LOC childNOM
 'Why is the child crying?'

- (9-208) *maku-walad-a burldi-jarra birrk-ina, ngaaka-marra-na*
 woman-LOT-NOM roll-PST string-MABL what-UTIL-MABL

burldi-jarr ?
 roll-PST

‘The women rolled some string, to use it for what?’

- (9-209) *ngaaka-maru-tha nying-ka kurrka-th ?*
 what-VD-ACT 2sg-NOM take-ACT
 ‘Why did you take it?’

9.5.2.2 *Jina-a* ‘where’. The basic meaning, ‘where’, is illustrated in (9-210). Like other nominals having inherent location, *jinaa* does not take modal case in the instantiated modality, but does in marked modalities (9-211):

- (9-210) *jina-a ngijin-da wangalk ?*
 where-NOM my-NOM boomerangNOM
 ‘Where is my boomerang?’

- (9-211) *jina-wu nyingka wirldi-ju ?*
 where-MPROP 2sgNOM stay-POT
 ‘Where will you be / stay?’

Partially reduplicated *jijina* means ‘whither, where to’. It escapes modal case in the potential modality, but not in the past (no data on other modalities):

- (9-212) *nyingka jijina warra-ju ? ru-lung-ku ngada warra-ju*
 2sgNOM whither go-POT east-ALL-MPROP 1sgNOM go-POT
 ‘Where are you going? I am going to the east.’

- (9-213) *nyingka jijina-na warra-jarra wulji-na ?*
 2sgNOM whither-MABL go-PST last night-MABL
 ‘Which way did you head last night?’

Younger speakers have extended *jina* ‘where’ to cover ‘whither’ at the expense of *jijina*, probably under the influence of English. They would render (9-213) as *nyingka jinawu warraju*.

Various semantically compatible nominal suffixes—relational, adnominal and derivational—combine with *jina-* :

jina-rung-ka ‘to where’ (synonymous with *jijina*).
 where-ALL-NOM

jina-nurru ‘in what place’
 where-ASSOC

jina-wan-da 'from what place' (used to identify languages, songs,
where-ORIG-NOM dances, customs etc.)

jina-ngathi 'born where'
where-BORN AT

Some examples are:

(9-214) *nyingka jina-rung-ku?*
2sgNOM where-ALL-PROP
'Where are you going?'

(9-215) *nyingka jina-nurru-na kaba-tharr wangalk-ina?*
2sgNOM where-ASSOC-MABL find-PST boomerang-MABL
'Where did you find the boomerang?'

(9-216) *jina-wan-da kangk-a bi-l-da kamburi-j?*
where-ORIG-NOM language-NOM 3-pl-NOM speak-ACT
'What language are they speaking?'

-nangan-da 'SIDE', combined with *jinaa*, may have either a literal meaning ('which side of'), or one of two metaphorical extensions: it may mean 'what (kin) relation to' (governing a propositus in the locative, as in (9-217)), or 'how' (9-218). *Jijina-nangan-da* [whither-side] means 'by what route'.

(9-217) *ngada jina-nangan-da ngumban-ji?*
1sgNOM where-SIDE-NOM 2sg-LOC
'What relation am I to you?'

(9-218) *Marraa-ja ngad, jinananganda wangalk-a*
show-IMP 1sgNOM how boomerang-NOM

ngudi-ja nyingk.
throw-ACT youNOM

'Show me how you throw a boomerang.'

The nonce suffix *-mulu* derives *jinamulu* 'how much, how many':

(9-219) *jinamulu-na bijarrba-na bi-l-d?*
how many-MABL dugong-MABL 3-pl-NOM
'How many dugong did they (catch)?'

Jina- also occurs in compounds with the words *warrku* 'sun' and *darri* 'time'.

Jinawarrku means 'what time (of day)'. It is treated as one word, with modal case appearing only once:

- (9-220) *jina-warrku-ru* *thaa-thu ?*
 where-sun-MPROP return-POT
 'When (what time of day) will (you) come back?'

Compounds with *darri* refer to more distant time. They seem to be in transition from two words to one: with the modal ablative they inflect separately (9-221), while with the modal proprietive and oblique they inflect as a single word (9-222, 9-223, 9-224). I have no data on other modalities.

- (9-221) *jina-na* *darri-na* *dathin-a* *dangka-a* *dali-jarr ?*
 where-MABL time-MABL that-NOM person-NOM come-PST
 'When did that man come?'

- (9-222) *jina-darr-u* *ru-lung-ku* *thaa-thu ?*
 where-time-MPROP east-ALL-MPROP return-POT
 'When will you come back eastward?'

- (9-223) *jina-darr-u* *kantharrkuru* *mala-wu ?*
 where-time-MPROP aloneNOM beer-PROP
 'When will (I ever get to be) alone with my beer?'

- (9-224) *niya* *jina-darri-nja* *dali-d,* *nga-ku-lu-wan-jani-d ?*
 3sgNOM where-time-MOBL come-DES 1-INC-pl-POSS-VD-DES
 'When will he come back here to get us?'

9.5.2.3 *Nginyina(ng)-* 'why (complaint)'. This is used as a rhetorical interrogative—for complaints in the form of a question. Attested forms are:

<i>nginyinang-kuru</i> (+MOD) -PROP	why
<i>nginyinang-kina</i> -ABL	because of what, on account of what
<i>nginyina-nguni</i> -INSTR	using what
<i>nginyina-marra</i> -UTIL	to use for what
<i>nginyina-warri</i> -PRIV	without what
<i>nginyina-maru-tha</i> -VD-ACT	for what good, to what end

Clauses containing *nginyinang-* forms have a questioning intonation, but this is always rhetorical, and no reply is expected or given: the purpose is

to complain (9-226, 9-227) or to condemn some action (9-228). Contrast this with the *ngaaka*- forms (9.5.2.1), which are genuinely interrogative.

- (9-225) *nginyinang-kuru-wa nyingka kurndu-birdi-wa-n-d?*
 why-PROP-NOM 2sgNOM chest-bad-INCH-N-NOM
 ‘Why are you sulking?’ (Or: ‘don’t sulk!’)
- (9-226) *nginyinang-kuru-ya dathin-a thungal-da barji-ja*
 why-PROP-MLOC that-NOM tree-NOM fall-ACT
niwan-jir?
 3sg-ALL
 ‘Why did that tree have to fall on him?’
- (9-227) *nginyinang-kuru-na kurndunurru-wa-tharr?*
 why-PROP-MABL mother.with.young.baby-INCH-PST
 ‘Why on earth did we become mothers?’
- (9-228) *nginyina-maru-tha kurulu-th?*
 why-VD-ACT kill-ACT
 ‘Why did (you) kill (all those fish) (when we already have more than enough)?’
- (9-229) *dan-da barri-ja wanjii-j, nga-ku-lu-wan-janii-j,*
 here-NOM crawl-ACT ascend-ACT 1-INC-pl-POSS-VD-ACT
nginyinang-kuru?
 why-PROP
 ‘Here they come crawling up after us, why are they doing it?’
- (9-230) *nginyinang-kina bayi bi-rr?*
 why-ABL fightNOM 3-duNOM
 ‘What are they fighting about?’

Nginyinangkuru may be accompanied solely by a pronoun, with the meaning ‘what’s wrong with X?’, e.g. *nginyinangkuruwa bi-rr?* ‘what’s wrong with those two?’. The other forms are only attested in one word exclamations, e.g. *nginyinamarr?* ‘what the hell are (you going to) use that for?’.

9.5.2.4 Ngaakawatha ‘do what’. The interrogative verb *ngaakawatha* is the inchoative form of *ngaaka* ‘who/what’. It is only ever used intransitively, as in *nyingka ngaakawath* ‘what are you doing?’.¹⁶

¹⁶ Other Australian languages have both a transitive and an intransitive interrogative verb. The former type is exemplified by the following Dyirbal sentence (Dixon 1972: 55):

Other interrogative and demonstrative notions that are expressed in some Australian languages (e.g. Dyirbal, Yankunytjatjara) by verbs ('do how', 'do like this', 'do like that') are expressed by nominals in Kayardild (as in English): *jinananganda* 'which way', *dandananganda* 'this way', *dathinananganda* 'that way' (literally where-, this- and that-side).

9.6 Negation

Kayardild has a variety of negating devices. Described in detail elsewhere, they are brought together here in summary form.

9.6.1 Negative verb forms

These negate the entire proposition expressed by a clause (9-231, 9-232). As when negating an English verb with unmarked intonation, or a logical proposition, the negative truth condition may be satisfied by the falsity of any one term, or several.

(9-231) *ngada kantharrkuru ngudi-nangku banga-wu*
 1sgNOM aloneNOM throw-NEG/POT turtle-MPROP
 'I can't turn the turtle over by myself.'

(9-232) *ngada kala-tharri wangalk-i*
 1sgNOM cut-NEG/ACT boomerang-MLOC
 'I didn't / haven't cut out a boomerang.'

Negative clauses select the same modal case as positives: positive and negative instantiated clauses take the modal LOCative, positive and negative futures take the modal PROPrietary, and positive and negative hortatives take the modal OBLique (10.1). So Kayardild syntax treats modality and polarity as being independent (like Lardil, but unlike

nginda bayi yara wiyama-n
 you(A) the(MASC):O man(O) do what(tr)-NONFUTURE
 'What did you do to the man?'

I have been unable to elicit a transitive interrogative in Kayardild (an obvious candidate, *ngaakarutha* [what-FAC], was rejected). But I have one sentence where the interrogative nominal *ngaakawuru* is used as a quasi-transitive predicator:

ngaaka-wuru bi-l-da dathin-ki dangka-y
 what-PROP(NOM) 3-pl-NOM that-MLOC person-MLOC
 'What are they doing to that man?'

Yukulta syntax, where negatives favour irrealis-type constructions—10.4.1.2).

There is a fragment of evidence that Yangkaal case marking was sensitive to polarity. Although the Yangkaal recorded in Hale's 1960 field notes follows Kayardild, two sentences in the small amount of Yangkaal recorded by Capell (1942) suggest that the negative actual assigned the modal oblique, and the affirmative actual the modal locative—see 10.4.1.2. Given that a generation had elapsed between Capell's and Hale's recordings this may reflect a change in Yangkaal, possibly even under Kayardild and Lardil influence since Hale's Yangkaal informant would have been more used to speaking these languages than Yangkaal.

9.6.2 PRIVative *-warri* as a negator

PRIV commonly negates nominals (see also (4-93) and (9-8)).

(9-233) *dan-da ngijin-marri, niwan-da wangalk*
 this-NOM my-PRIV his-NOM boomerangNOM
 'This isn't mine, it's his boomerang.'

(9-234) *niya wirrin-marri*
 heNOM shell-PRIV
 'He has no money.'

(9-235) *Ngarrawurna nila-tha ngumban-ji, maraka ngumban-da*
 (name) call-ACT 2sg-MLOC CTRFCT 2sgPOSS-NOM
kunawuna-warri
 child-PRIV(NOM)

'Ngarrawurna is calling you by name, as if he weren't your son (i.e. he is behaving as if he were in some other kin relation to you).'

As these examples indicate, the scope of the negation is just those words taking PRIV: note the difference between the possessive phrases in (9-233) and (9-235), the first of which denies the identity of the modifier (the possessor), and the second denies the nature of the head (the type of kin). When functioning as a second predicate it may indicate that the main predicate was true of only a subset of the expected participants:

(9-236) *banga-a dii-ja bijarra-warri dathin-ki ngurruwarra-y*
 turtle-NOM sit-ACT dugong-PRIV that-LOC fish.trap-LOC
 'Turtle were caught in that fish trap, but not dugong.'

PRIV may also apply to nominalized verbs (see also 11.4.2):

- (9-237) *ngada kurri-n-marri dathin-ki bijarrba-y*
 1sgNOM see-N-PRIV that-MLOC dugong-MLOC
 'I didn't see that dugong.'

The difference between this and the negative indicative *-THarri* constructions is a subtle one. Basically, the negative actual always takes the subject as given and negates the predicate, while the privative nominalization allows a reading in which the negative predicate is given and the subject is offered as a new entity of which the negative predicate is true. This is well illustrated by the following pair, offered to me in explanation of the difference:

- (9-238) *ngada raa-n-marri banga-y, ngijin-da thabuju*
 1sgNOM spear-N-PRIV turtle-MLOC my-NOM EB(NOM)
raa-j
 spear-ACT
 'I didn't spear the turtle, my brother speared (it).'

- (9-239) *ngada raa-jarri banga-y, maarra bijarrba-ya*
 1sgNOM spear-NEGACT turtle-MLOC all dugong-MLOC
raa-j
 spear-ACT
 'I didn't spear any turtle, I only speared dugong.'

For an example of a succession of privative nominalized verbs and motion cardinals where the negative scope embraces a series of different subjects, see Text 10, Lines 94-6.

9.6.3 NEGator *-nang-*

This never occurs without a following case inflection—in my small corpus of six occurrences, either LOC or PROP.

In one example it functions like a PRIVative:

- (9-240) *ngada ngimi-wu warra-nangku, kurri-nangku*
 1sgNOM dark-MPROP go-NEG.POT see-NEG.POT
warrku-nang-ku dulk-u
 sun-NEG-MPROP place-MPROP

'I won't go out at night, I can't see anything with the sun not there.'

In another, it negates the predicate of a nominal clause; here a paraphrase with the PRIVative is possible:

- (9-241) *dan-ang-ki / dan-marri babiju, warra-a*
 here-NEG-LOC here-PRIV grandmotherNOM far-NOM
 ‘Granny isn’t here, she’s a long way off.’

It may also negate an attributive nominal within a larger NP:

- (9-242) *marin-da kurri-i-ja birdi-y, birdi-nang-kiya ngijin-ji*
 self-NOM see-M-IMP bad-NOM bad-NEG-LOC 1sg-LOC
 ‘Look at your ugly self, compared to not-bad-(looking) me.’

-nang- is also the negative thematic in verb inflections (7.3) in all the Tangkic languages; there it is followed by a case-like termination. The ‘why (complaint)’ interrogative *nginyinang-* also contains a *-nang-* element.

9.6.4 Existential negator *warirra*

Warirra, used as an interjection, can mean ‘no, empty, nothing’. Frequently it functions as a one word negative existential clause: ‘there is nothing’. It may also follow a subject as in *ngada warirr* ‘I’ve got nothing’. It is often followed or preceded by a more explicit clause with a privative NP or negative inflection:

- (9-243) *kurda-a ngijin-da wuran-marri, warirr*
 coolamon-NOM my-NOM food-PRIV nothing
 ‘My coolamon has no food in it, it’s empty/there’s nothing.’

- (9-244) *ngambura-th, nguku-janii-j, thungkuwa bal-ung-k,*
 dig well-ACT water-VPURP-ACT scrubNOM west-ALL-NOM
rul-ung-ka ngarn-da rul-ung-k, warirr, kaba-tharri
 east-ALL-NOM beach-NOM east-ALL-NOM nothing find-NEGACT
nguku-y
 water-MLOC

‘(They) dug for water, working westward through the scrub, eastward along the beach, nothing, (they) couldn’t find water.’

Its nominal meaning of ‘empty’ or ‘nothing’ is clear from its INCHOative and FACTitive verbal derivatives *warirra-wa-tha* ‘disappear, vanish’ and *warirra-ru-tha* ‘annihilate’.

Warirra may also modify a nominal head N, meaning ‘no N’:

- (9-245) *ngada kurri-jarra warirra-na dangka-walath-ina*
 1sgNOM see-PST nothing-MABL person-LOTS-MABL
 ‘I saw no-one, I saw no group of people.’

Any predicate expressed by semantic case has scope over the negative. With a locative NP, for example, it means ‘in no N’:

- (9-246) *ngada kurri-jarri, warirr, warirra-y dulk-i*
 1sgNOM see-NEGACT nothing nothing-LOC place-LOC
 ‘I didn’t see (him), nothing, nowhere (at no place).’

Warirra may also be used in place of *-warri* to negate a nominal, as in the following commentary on which stingrays yielded good blades for circumcision:

- (9-247) *kurdalng-ka warirr, burukurung-ka warirr,*
 brown stingray-NOM nothing stingray sp.-NOM nothing

mambun-da warirr, maarra jariraru
 black spotted ray-NOM nothing only cowtail rayNOM

‘Not the brown stingray, not the *burukurungk*, not the black spotted ray, only the cowtail ray.’

9.6.5 Double privatives

In Kayardild double privatives (on the nominalized verb and other nominals) may optionally be used to stress the negative nature of the proposition:

- (9-248) *ri-in-marri jawi-n-marri ra-yin-marri jawi-n-marri*
 east-from-PRIV run-N-PRIV south-from-PRIV run-N-PRIV
thaa-n-marri
 return-N-PRIV

‘From the east (the fish) aren’t running, from the south they’re not running, not coming back.’

PRIV on the object shows that *no OBJ was V-ed*; the normal OBJECT case implies that *a particular OBJ was not V-ed*:

- (9-249) *ngada kurri-n-marri dangka-warri / dangka-y*
 1sgNOM see-N-PRIV person-PRIV person-MLOC
 ‘I haven’t seen anyone / him.’

9.6.6 Other negative expressions

More specialized negative meanings are contained in the particles *maraka* ‘COUNTERFACTUAL, (subject) should have (but didn’t), (speaker) falsely

concluded that ...’, and *nginja* ‘in vain, to no avail, for no apparent reason’. See 9.7.2.1 and 9.7.2.2 below.

9.7 Particles, clitics and interjections

9.7.1 Use of modal and complementizing case instead of particles

Kayardild has fewer particles and clitics than most Australian languages, presumably because two of the functions normally discharged by particles and clitics are fulfilled by higher level case marking: modal qualification is partly provided by the modal case system, and evidential qualification by “insubordinated” complementized clauses.

To take two modal notions, ‘perhaps’ is expressed in Yukulta by the clitic *yana* ; and the notion ‘instantiated’ is expressed in Lardil by the post-verbal clitic *-kun*. But in Kayardild the opposition between PaST verbal inflection and/or modal ablative, and ACTual verbal inflection and/or modal locative, conveys these respective ideas. The functional equivalence of modal case/verb inflection and modal particles is illustrated by the tendency of younger speakers to create new particles, borrowed from English, such as *marrbi* (< English ‘might be’) ‘perhaps’, and *baymbay* (< ‘bye and bye’) ‘this unpleasant thing might happen’. These replace both the verb inflection and the modal case (see below).

As for evidentials, many Australian languages have special particles that either attribute the authorship of a proposition to someone else, or signal that the proposition is based on the direct sensory evidence of the speaker (see, e.g., Laughren 1982 on Warlpiri “propositional particles”). Both these functions are performed in Kayardild by “insubordinated” complementized clauses (12.4.3).

Moreover, other meanings expressed by particles in other languages are expressed in Kayardild by manner nominals. ‘In revenge, in return’, for example, merits a special particle in Dyirbal, while it is expressed in Kayardild by the manner nominal *junkuyunku*. Yet other meanings encoded elsewhere by particles are expressed in Kayardild by verbal inflections: negatives, for example, have their own special verbal inflections, and ‘almost’, expressed by particles in Diyari and Dyirbal, among others, has a special verb inflection in Kayardild.

What remains is a handful of particles and clitics, whose meanings vary according to their position within the clause, the constituents they modify, and their interaction with verb inflections and modal case.

9.7.2 Particles

9.7.2.1 *Maraka* ‘CounTeR-FaCTual’. This may modify a clause or a NP; its exact meaning depends on its scope, and the verbal inflection and modal case of the relevant clause.

Vèrbal clauses with *maraka* allow three combinations of verb inflection and modal case. *Maraka* is usually clause-initial, but clause-second and clause-final positions are also attested.

(a) Counterfactual clauses with the *potential verb inflection* and the *modal proprietive* case outline a course of action which should have been taken but wasn't. This corresponds directly to the “prescriptive” use of POTential plus MPROP clauses without *maraka* discussed in 7.2.3.5.

(9-250) *nyingka maraka raba-nangku dathin-ku dulk-u*
2sgNOM CTRFCT tread-NEG.POT that-MPROP place-MPROP
'You shouldn't have set foot in that place.'

(9-251) *maraka bi-l-da kinaa-ju ngumban-ju*
CTRFCT 3-pl-NOM tell-POT 2sg-MPROP
'They should have told you.'

(b) Those with the *potential verb inflection* and the *modal locative case* refer to events that could have happened but didn't. Again this corresponds directly to the non-counterfactual use: POT plus MLOC codes ability/potential located in the past (10.1.3).

(9-252) *maraka ngudi-ju banga-y*
CTRFCT throw-POT turtle-MLOC
'(They) could have thrown the turtle (overboard, to lighten the boat), but didn't.'

(9-253) *maraka yuuma-thu barruntha-y*
CTRFCT drown-POT yesterday-MLOC
'He could have drowned yesterday (but didn't).'

(c) Those with the ACTual verb inflection and the modal LOCative signal an appearance counter to fact. (The corresponding non-counterfactual clauses mark factual statements about actual occurrences.)

(9-254) *jani-jani-ja niwan-ju, yakuri-ya buru-tha thaa-tha*
search-REDUP-ACT 3sg-PROP fish-MLOC take-ACT return-ACT

marak
CTRFCT

'They searched for him, as if they were going out to get fish.'

The clausal complements of the verbs *nguthaliyatha* ‘pretend (that)’ and *durumatha* ‘lie (that)’ may also be introduced by *maraka* (see also 12-73):

- (9-255) *niya nguthaliya-th, maraka kalka-th*
 3sgNOM pretend-ACT CTRFCT be sick-ACT
 ‘He pretended he was sick.’

In (9-254) and (9-255) the scope of *maraka* is the whole proposition, and it is placed at the clause periphery. In ACTUAL clauses, however, it is more usual for the scope of the counterfactual to be limited to a single NP or modifier, which it precedes. This construction implies that, at the time of the clause, someone either held a false belief about the identity or characteristics of the relevant entity, or acts as if they had such a belief.

- (9-256) [A night fisherman has been seized by the monster Kajurku, who grasps him between his teeth and appropriates his bark torch, which the victim’s companions see from the shore:]

kurri-ja manharr-iy, maraka dangka-karran-ji, birra
 see-ACT torch-MLOC CTRFCT man-GEN-MLOC TOO

niwan-ji
 his-MLOC

‘(They) saw a bark torch, and wrongly thought it was the man’s, that it too was his.’

- (9-257) *maraka ngumal-iya kurrka-tha karrngi-j*
 CTRFCT single-MLOC take-ACT grasp-ACT
 ‘(He) went off with (a married woman), as if she was single.’

- (9-258) *maraka warra-wan-da dangka-a niwan-ji kurdala-th*
 CTRFCT far-ORIG-NOM man-NOM 3sg-MLOC spear-ACT
 ‘One would have thought it was an unrelated person who speared him (but no, it was a close relative).’

- (9-259) *ngada waa-ja maraka yiiwi-jirri-n-ji*
 1sgNOM sing-ACT CTRFCT sleep-RES-N-MLOC
 ‘I was singing, (at a time when) one would have thought I had got to sleep.’

- (9-260) *dulk-uru-y dangka-y barrwaa-j dulk-i, maraka*
 place-PROP-MLOC man-MLOC block-ACT place-MLOC CTRFCT

bilwan-ji *dulk-i*
 their-MLOC place-MLOC

(MacKenzie, a white settler) blocked the traditional owners off from their land, (a) wrongly thinking it was his.

(b) when they thought it was theirs.

(c) you'd have thought it was theirs, but not any more.

As these examples illustrate, the identity of the person suffering under the misconception is not determined grammatically, but left to context.¹⁷ Thus in (9-256) it is the *subject* of the sentence who holds the mistaken belief, while in (9-257) and (9-259) it is anyone holding normal expectations about human behaviour. (9-260) is three-ways ambiguous, and different listeners gave different explanations: the misconception could be attributed to the subject, the object, or any potential onlooker.

Maraka may also be used, with this “misconception” meaning, with scope over nominal clauses:

(9-261) *jatha-wuru maku-wuru, maraka nyingka ngumal-d*
 other-PROP woman-PROP CTRFCT 2sgNOM single-NOM
 ‘(You’ve) got another woman, (you’re carrying on like you) think you’re a single man.’

The following construction is rather problematic; it is the only one of its kind attested (although declared acceptable by several speakers):

(9-264) [A man asked me for cigarettes, a request I avoided by saying I didn’t smoke. He replied:]

maraka ngumban-ji wadu-baa-n-ki
 CTRFCT 2sg-M?LOC smoke-bite-N-M?LOC
 ‘Oh, I thought that you were a smoker (smoke-biter).’

Most likely, it is an elliptical object-complement construction of the type ‘(I) mistakenly (saw/asked) you (OBJ:MLOC) (as a) smoker (OCOMP:MLOC)’. Constructions of the general type ‘see OBJ to be OCOMP’ are attested (see 9.2.4.3), and there are parallels in the “independent” use of the modal locative (4.3.3.4).

Finally, *maraka* may modify a nominal predicate; here it indicates resemblance (9-263, 9-264) or comparability of some attribute (9-265),

¹⁷ Cf. Laughren (1982: 149) on the Warlpiri particles *kulanganta* and *nganta*: “it is left open to the addressee to interpret who actually held the belief deemed false by the speaker at the time of speaking. The implication by the speaker and the interpretation by the addressee can depend very heavily on extrinsic (pragmatic) information or context and/or contextual information in the larger discourse”.

without implying that anyone was actually deluded; the best translation here is 'like'.¹⁸

(9-263) *nyingka kirr-maku, maraka maku*
2sgNOM face-woman CTRFCT womanNOM
(From a taunting song to a rejected lover):
'You are a woman-face, (you) look like a woman.'

(9-264) *kaban-d maraka kamarr*
stargazer-NOM CTRFCT stone-NOM
'The stargazer (fish) is like a stonefish.'

(9-265) *dan-da kunawuna jungarr, maraka niwan-da kanthathu*
that-NOM child-NOM big-NOM CTRFCT his-NOM father-NOM

mankarr
sturdyNOM

'That boy is big, he's sturdy like his father.'

Comparative note: A cognate and semantically similar particle is used in Lardil (Hale et al. 1981). *Mara* plus the future verbal inflection (and, automatically in Lardil, the future modal case) is a counterfactual indicating "that the proposition embodied in the clause is hypothetical rather than actual."

In independent clauses it marks failed attempts of unachieved intentions:

(9-266) *ngada mara ra-thu kiin-ku karnjin-ku, yuud-denja*
L 1sgNOM MARA spear-FUT this-FOBJ wallaby-FOBJ PERF-leave
'I was going to spear the wallaby, but it ran off.'

In hypothetical periods it marks consequential falsity (i.e. that the antecedent condition is not met):

(9-267) *ngada kurri-tharr karnjin-a, ngada*
L 1sgNOM see-MNFUT wallaby-MNFOBJ 1sgNOM

mara la-thu
MARA spear-FUT

'If I saw a wallaby I would spear it (but I don't so I won't).'

It may also appear in both clauses if the conditional is cast in the past, with a false antecedent (and therefore a false consequent):

¹⁸ Clitics serving as both semblatives and counterfactuals have been reported by Breen (1984) for Yandruwandha and Pitta-Pitta, neither closely related to Kayardild.

- (9-268) *ngada mara kurri-tharr karnjin-a, ngada mara*
 L 1sgNOM MARA see-MNFUT wallaby-NOM 1sgNOM MARA
la-thu
 spear-POT

'If I had seen a wallaby I would have speared it.'

An extended form *maraka* has the same counterfactual sense, "but can also appear with non-future predicates, indicating an appearance contrary to fact":

- (9-269) *kiin nguthaliya-ku, maraka kalka-n*
 L this-NOM pretend-INSTANTIATED MARAKA sick-N
 'He's fooling, (acting) as if he were sick (but he's not really).'

9.7.2.2 *Nginja* 'FRUSTRATED'. This particle has a wide range of meanings, defying a single English translation. All express the fact that an event goes against someone's purpose, desire, moral code or expectations about the world. It almost always begins the clause.

Nginja usually implies that an action did not lead to its expected outcome (translatable by 'in vain' or, in Mornington English, 'for nothing'):

- (9-270) *nyingka jangka-ya bithiin-ji kurri-j, nginja*
 2sgNOM other-MLOC man-MLOC see-ACT FRUST
darr-maru-tha ngada ngumban-ji, mibur-muthan-d. ngada
 thigh-put-ACT 1sgNOM 2sg-MLOC eye-XS-NOM 1sgNOM
ngumban-ji yulkalu-tha dana-th.
 you-MLOC for.ever-ACT leave-ACT

'You look at other men. I put you on my thigh (betrothed you) for nothing, (you're a) flirt. I'm leaving you for good.'

- (9-271) *barruntha-y duruma-th, nginja ngumu-wa-th, nginja*
 yesterday-LOC lie-ACT FRUST black-INCH-ACT FRUST
kamburi-ja muma-th, ja-warri
 speak-ACT thunder-ACT rain-PRIV

'(The weather) lied yesterday. In vain the sky blackened, in vain the thunder spoke, there's no rain.'

Nginja may also precede a NP, signalling the uselessness of some implement:

- (9-272) *maarra minba-lu-tha wara-th, nginja wumburung-k*
 all wound-FAC-ACT send-ACT FRUST spear-NOM
 ‘(I) sent all (the fish) off wounded, my spear was useless.’

I have a single example in which *nginja* takes modal case. The same meaning, however, is conveyed:

- (9-273) *nga-ku-rr-a nginja-wu warra-ju, kaba-nangku*
 we-INC-du-NOM FRUST-MPROP go-POT find-NEG.POT
kumbuna-wu
 rat-MPROP

‘We’ll go for nothing, we won’t find the mangrove rat.’

In the above sentences *nginja* appears in the clause describing the purposeful action. But it may also appear in the clause describing the (disappointing) consequence; here it translates as ‘anyway’:

- (9-274) *nga-ku-l-da nginja wiridi-ja bardaka-warri*
 1-INC-pl-NOM FRUST stay-ACT stomach-PRIV
 ‘(We looked everywhere for food, but) we remained hungry anyway.’

Nginja may also be used to castigate an action that the speaker believes should not have taken place:

- (9-275) *nginja diya-ja mala-y*
 FRUST eat-ACT beer-MLOC
 ‘(You schoolkids) shouldn’t have drunk that beer.’

(This is paraphraseable with *maraka* plus the negative future: (*kilda*) *maraka diyantangku malawu*.)

- (9-276) *nginja rikarrkali-n-da kularrin-d*
 FRUST cry-N-NOM brother-NOM
 ‘Your brother shouldn’t be crying.’

Finally, *nginja* is also appropriate when an event goes against one’s expectations. Sometimes this is translatable as ‘for no apparent reason’ (9-277), and at other times as ‘would you believe’—see dictionary entry under *mardalatha*.

- (9-277) *nginja kalka-th*
 FRUST sick-ACT
 ‘He got sick suddenly, for no apparent reason.’

Comparative note: Hale’s notes on Yangkaal contain two sentences with a form *nginja*. Both appear to express unpleasant consequences, and co-occur with the apprehensive verb inflection *-nymarr*:

(9-278) *baa-nymarr, nginja bala-a-nymarr ngijin-d*
 Ya bite-APPR PART kill-PASS-APPR 1sgPOSS-NOM
 'If it doesn't bite me, I won't kill it.' ('it might bite, with the unpleasant consequence that it might get killed by me.')

(9-279) *nyiwa jawi-ji, bana nginja barlji-nymarr*
 Ya 2sgNOM run-SUPP AND PART fall-APPR
 'If you run you might fall.'

Mangarayi, not closely related to the Tangkic group, has a "prohibitive particle" *nginjag* (Merlan 1981), possibly cognate.

9.7.2.3 *kalala* 'really'. This draws attention to the truth of a proposition:

(9-280) *nyinka kalala kurdala-th?*
 2sgNOM really spear-ACT
 'Did you really spear (him)?'

It may also modify a NP with the meaning 'true, dinkum' as in *yuujbanda kalala ngunguka* 'old-time, true story'. I have no examples of *kalala* modifying a non-nominative nominal, so do not know whether it would inflect.

9.7.2.4 *kara* 'INTERROGative'. This was discussed in 9.5.1.

9.7.2.5 *barri* 'just'. This softens an imperative by suggestively minimizing the effort involved:

(9-281) *barri kuujuu-j!*
 just swim-IMP
 (To a learning child): '(Go on), just swim! (There's nothing to it!)

(9-282) *barri kuliya-kuliya-n, mutha-yarrath-id*
 just fill-REDUP-NEG.IMP many-OTHER-SAME
 'Just don't give me too much food, there's plenty yet (to feed).'

(9-283) *barri wuu-ja ni-y*
 just give-IMP 3sg-NOM
 'O.K, just give it back to him!'

(9-284) *barri wanjii-ju nga-ku-l-d*
 just go up-POT we-INC-PLU-NOM
 'Let's just go up home now.'

An identical word *barri*, meaning 'oh, okay then, go on' is reported for Yukulta by Keen (1983), but she classes it as an interjection; Wanyi has a word *barri* 'now'. I treat Kayardild *barri* as a particle because it has a

syntactic function, or at least selectional restrictions, only occurring in imperatives.

9.7.2.6 *minyi* ‘and so’. This introduces the moral or conclusion of a story:

- (9-285) [In the old days, a young novice about to be initiated took fright and ran away. He was pursued and speared to death, along with his mother. Thenceforth no-one dared shirk their ceremonial duties:]

wamgüid-a dangka-a birdi-ru-tha dathin-ki;
one-NOM man-NOM bad-FAC-ACT that-LOC

junku-ru-tha wayirni; yubuyubu niya
straight-FAC-ACT pathNOM trackNOM 3sgNOM

junku-ru-th, minyi yan-d, budii-jarri, dangka-a
straight-FAC-ACT and.so now-NOM run-NEGACT person-NOM

wirrka-a-ju
dance-M-POT

‘One man ruined that (ceremony), he straightened the way, he straightened the way, so that now (boys) don’t run away, people can be initiated.’

- (9-286) [Kajurku emerges from the sea and challenges men to spear him. But:]

mutha-a bithiin-da raa-ja niwan-ji kukalu-th,
many-NOM man-NOM spear-ACT 3sg-MLOC rebound-ACT

dami-raa-j, minyi wumburu-warri thaa-tha bi-l-da
blunt-spear-ACT and.so spear-PRIV return-ACT 3-pl-NOM

bal-ung-ka mutha-a dangka-a
west-ALL-NOM many-NOM person-NOM

‘Many men speared at him but (their spears) rebounded, speared blunt. And so the many men all returned westward with no spears.’

We have already seen the use of *minyi* as a directional prefix within the verbal group, meaning ‘towards’ (8.1.5), and also its metaphorical use as a semblative prefix (5.1.3.4). The use described here extends the directional metaphor into discourse, by seeing the moral or conclusion as the end-point towards which the narrative has been leading.

9.7.2.7 *maarra* ‘all’. This always begins the clause, and is followed by whatever word it modifies. NPs it modifies must be in the nominative; if they are in another case, an appropriate form of the nominal qualifier *bakiin-da* ‘all’ is used (see (7-34) for an example in the OBLique).

(9-287) *maarra jungarra thabuju kamburi-j: duujin-d,*
 all bigNOM brotherNOM say-ACT YB-NOM

kara nyingka wirrka-a-ju ?
 INTERROG 2sgNOM dance-M-POT

'All the big brothers say: little brother, do you want to be initiated?'

(9-288) *maarra yalulu-uru kurri-ju, maarra kang-ku marri-ju*
 all light-MPROP see-POT ALL voice-MPROP hear-POT

dangka-walath-u
 person-LOTS-MPROP

'You gonna see all the light, you gonna hear all the people sing out.'

(9-289) *maarra dulk-a kinaa-jarri*
 all place-NOM tell-NEG.ACT
 '(I) haven't told you about all the places.'

Subjects modified by *maarra* are generally omitted, so that it becomes a sort of pronoun:

(9-290) *maarra bad, bath-urrng*
 all westNOM west-BOUND
 'Everyone's down west (collecting their cheques), on the west side.'

(9-291) *maarra diya-a-n-kuru*
 all eat-M-N-PROP
 (Speaking of yams): '(They) are all edible.'

Distribution (each) and restriction (only) are also expressed with *maarra*. 'Each X V-es' is phrased 'all X-es V':

(9-292) *maarra mirndin-muthin-mirndin-muthin-d, wumburu-nurru*
 ALL several-PLENTRY-several-PLENTRY-NOM spear-ASSOC
 'Each person is carrying three or four spears.'

And 'only A is B' is turned round to 'all B is A', so that *maarra* can be used:

(9-293) *maarra maku-karran-d*
 all woman-GEN-NOM
 (On lice as food:) 'Only women eat (lice).' (Lit. 'all lice are women's')

Alternatively the word *warngiida* may be used, provided the subject is a single entity:

- (9-294) *niya warngiid-a burdumbanyi*
 3sgNOM one-NOM ignorantNOM
 'She alone is ignorant.'

Maarra plus verb is used to convey 'all X did was V':

- (9-295) *maarra kurri-ja ngijin-ji, kamburi-jarri*
 all see-ACT 1sg-MLOC speak-NEG.ACT
 '(He) just looked at me without saying anything.'

In Lardil *maa(rra)* has been specialized to the meaning 'only', as in (9-296), and a distinct verbal word for 'all', *malthuri(i)*, quantifies the object of transitive and the subject of intransitive verbs. Cf. Kayardild *bakii-ja* (8.2.1.1).

- (9-296) *dilanthaarr maltha maarra maarn*
 L long ago nothing only spear-NOM
 'Long ago there was nothing but the spear.'

9.7.2.8 *Bantharra* 'some'. This restricts the logical domain of the predicate to part of some set, defined by context. Sometimes it occurs in an isolated clause:

- (9-297) *bantharra bulwi-n-d, darrbu-yii-j*
 SOME be.shy-N-NOM drag-M-ACT
 'Some (of his wives) were shy, and were dragged away (by force).'

But more often it occurs in each of two contrasting clauses:

- (9-298) *nga-l-da wiridi-jarra bantharra malankarri-nurru, bantharra*
 1-pl-NOM remain-PST SOME humpy-ASSOC SOME

bankirri-nurru
 windbreak-ASSOC
 'Some of us had iron humpies, some had windbreaks.'

9.7.3 Particles borrowed from English

Three particles, borrowed from English or Kriol, are increasingly important in contemporary Kayardild, even among those upon whom the influence of English is otherwise restricted to a few lexical items. All three displace verb inflections and/or modal cases, to which they are functionally equivalent. With these particles only a limited subset of verbal and modal case inflections is used.

9.7.3.1 *marrbi* MAYBE. Deriving from English ‘might be’, this is a clause initial particle that replaces the irrealis use of the verbal PaST and modal ABLative inflections. It may be used with the ACTual/modal locative or the FUTure/modal propriative:

- (9-299) *marrbi dangka-karran-ji thungal-i wungi-j*
 MAYBE person-GEN-MLOC thing-MLOC steal-ACT
 ‘Maybe he’s been stealing people’s things.’

In traditional Kayardild this would be:

- (9-300) *dangka-karran-jina thungal-ina wungi-jarr*
 person-GEN-MABL thing-MABL steal-PST
 (=9-299)

Marrbi can also be used to enumerate a list of NPs giving hypothetical alternatives:

- (9-301) *jatha-a kunawuna ngaarrngi-j, marrbi yarbud, marrbi*
 other-NOM child-NOM presage-ACT MAYBE snake-NOM maybe

balangkali, rijjurl-d
 brown snakeNOM python-NOM

‘(The conception of) another child might be shown by a snake, maybe a brown snake, maybe a python.’

(In traditional Kayardild this would be expressed using the particle *bantharra* ‘some’).

9.7.3.2 *baymbay* ‘WARNING’. Derived from English ‘by and by’, this usually replaces the apprehensive verbal inflection, with the meaning ‘this unpleasant thing might happen’:

- (9-302) *baymbay nyingka ra-yii-j, kamarr-ii-wa-th*
 WARNING 2sgNOM spear-M-ACT stone-VALL-PST
 ‘You might get stung by a stonefish.’

Traditional Kayardild equivalent:

- (9-303) *nyingka ra-yii-nyarr, kamarr-ii-wa-nharr*
 2sgNOM spear-M-APPR stone-VALL-APPR
 (=9-302)

9.7.3.3 *namu, numu* ‘NEGATor’. Deriving from English/Kriol ‘no more’ (cf. Sandefur—Sandefur 1979: 125-7), this has acquired a range of negative functions. It may mark negative imperatives, replacing

the special negative imperative verb inflection. The zero modal case characteristic of imperatives is retained:

- (9-304) *namu dana-tha wumburung-k ngarn-ki*
 NEGAT leave-IMP spear-NOM beach-LOC
 'Don't leave the spear on the beach!'
- (9-305) *namu kamburi-j, baymbay kurri-ja ngumban-ji*
 NEGAT speak-ACT WARNING see-ACT 2sg-MLOC
 'Don't talk, or they'll see you!'

Traditional Kayardild equivalent:

- (9-306) *kamburi-n, kurri-nyarra ngumban-inj!*
 speak-NEG.IMP see-APPR 2sg-MOBL
 (= 9-305)

And it may supplant the privative suffix in denying attributes. Here *namu* precedes the attribute denied:

- (9-307) *namu kunya-a, jungarra dibidibi*
 NEGAT small-NOM big-NOM rock.codNOM
 'It wasn't a small one, it was a big rock cod!'

(The traditional Kayardild equivalent is given in 9-8).

9.7.4 Clitics

9.7.4.1 $\{=(i)da\}$ 'SAME'. This follows non-nominative case suffixes, but replaces the nominative suffix (e.g. 9-316, 9-317).

FORM: *-ida* / C₋; *-da* / V₋. Examples: *wululbu-ya-da* [bait-LOC=SAME] 'still at the bait', *marndu-warri-ya-da* [dead-PRIV-NOM=SAME] 'still not dead'.

Younger speakers tend to add this to the truncated form, as in *dangka-y-id* [man-LOC-SAME] 'still the man (OBJ)' and *naa-j-id* [burn-ACT-SAME] 'still burning'.

The first person singular pronoun has a lamino-dental form before this clitic: *ngad(a) + {-ida}* --> *ngathida* [1sg-SAME] 'me allright'; there are grounds for believing the lamino-dental stop is original, since (a) it feeds the lamino-dental nasal *nh* before clitic *-ma* in Yukulta and Yangkaal, giving the form *nganhma* (b) this would motivate the alternation to palatal-final *ngij-* in the rest of its paradigm (5.2.1). The participation of the clitic in this alternation suggests it is of considerable antiquity.

FUNCTION: This clitic probably derives from postposition of the nominal *niida* ‘the same’. It may cliticize onto verbs, pronouns, noun/adjectives, and locationals, all of which may be maximally inflected, and conveys whatever sense of “sameness” is appropriate to its host.

On nominals and pronominals in the nominative, it means ‘the same ones as previously referred to’. It is interchangeable with the word *niida* used as an adjective; the opposite meaning, ‘a different one’, is conveyed by *jathaa* ‘other’:

- (9-308) *dathin-a* *kiyarrng-ka* *dangka-a* *bi-rr=ida* *dangka-a*
 that-NOM two-NOM person-NOM 3-du=SAME person-NOM
- barruntha-ri* *nga-ku-lu-wan-jir* *kamburi-jir ?*
 yesterday-ALL 1-INC-pl-POSS-ALL speak-ALL
- bi-rr=ida* *dangka-a* // *niid-a* / *jatha-a*
 3-du=SAME person-NOM // same-NOM / different-NOM
- dangka-a*
 person-NOM

‘Are they the same two men who came to talk to us yesterday? The same two men // the same/different men.’

Cliticized to *warngiid-a* ‘one’, it means ‘same as’ (9-49); to *thathung-ka* ‘together’, it means ‘both’:

- (9-309) *thathung=ida* *bi-rr-a* *wurkar*
 together=SAME 3-du-NOM boy-NOM
 ‘They were both boys.’

On nominals bearing a semantic case it indicates the persistence of the role described (like English “still”):

- (9-310) *jungarra* *dibirdibi* *kurdala-a-j*, *nal-da*
 big-NOM rock.cod-NOM spear-M-ACT head-NOM
- ra-yii-j*, *jawi-n-marri*, *wululbu-ya=da* *dii-j*,
 spear-M-ACT run-N-PRIV bait-LOC=SAME sit-ACT
- kurirr*
 dead-NOM

‘The big rock cod was speared, speared in the head, didn’t swim off, sank down, still by the bait, dead.’

- (9-311) *rar-ungk-a* *dika-wula-tha* *kunawuna-y,*
 south-ALL-NOM shoulder-VABL-ACT child-MLOC
thungkuwa-ya=da *thungkuwa-ya=da* *thaa-th,*
 scrub-LOC=SAME scrub-LOC=SAME return-ACT
rar-ung-k
 south-ALL-NOM

‘To the south we took the children off our shoulders, kept going (the long way) through the scrub to the south.’

- (9-312) *mutha-a* *darri* *wirdi-j,* *maarra* *nguku-y;*
 many-NOM time-NOM stay-ACT ALL water-LOC
mala-y=ida *mala-y,* *durdi-wa-nangku*
 sea-LOC=SAME sea-LOC soft-INCH-NEG.POT

‘(The grass ropes) would last a long time, in water all the while, in the sea and still in the sea; they wouldn’t get weak.’

On qualifying nominals, on nominalizations, and on directionals, it shows the persistence of a state (English “still, yet”):

- (9-313) *kunya=da* *ngijin-da* *duujin-d*
 small=SAME my-NOM YB-NOM
 ‘My younger brother is still small.’
- (9-314) *minbarra-warri=da* *niya* *burri-j* *riya-th-i*
 wound-PRIV=SAME 3sgNOM emerge-ACT east-REM-LOC
kabara-y
 saltpan-LOC
 ‘Still unharmed he emerged from the far eastern side of the saltpan.’
- (9-315) *kala-a-n-marri-da* *mardala-a-j*
 cut-M-N-PRIV-SAME paint-M-ACT
 ‘(The initiates) were painted while still uncircumcized (before being circumcized).’
- (9-316) *ngada* *warirr,* *marndi-i-n=id*
 1sgNOM nothingNOM cadge-M-N=SAME
 ‘I’ve got nothing, I’m still cadged out.’
- (9-317) *jirka-an=ida* *kalka-th*
 north-FROM=SAME sick-ACT
 ‘While still coming home from the north he got sick.’

Persistence may be emphasized by the verb *wirdi-ja* ‘stay’, itself taking {=*ida* }:

- (9-318) *yan-d, ngarku=da wirdi-ja=d*
 now-NOM strong=SAME stay-ACT=SAME
 ‘And he’s still strong today.’

On verbs in the potential, it shows the activity is far from finished:

- (9-319) *ngada ngaka-thuu=d*
 1sgNOM wait-POT=SAME
 ‘I’ll have to wait a long time yet.’

In addition, {=*ida* } may be used to show extension, as with English “even” (line 10, Text 3) and assent (K lacks a word for yes):

- (9-320) *ngath=ida mungurru kamburi-n-d*
 1sgNOM=SAME knowing-NOM talk-N-NOM
 ‘Yes, I’m the knowledgeable talker (said by an old woman who owns a certain story).’

And amplification:

- (9-321) *ngari-ja=da narra-nguni-ya kala-th*
 before-ACT=SAME shell.knife-INSTR-MLOC cut-ACT
 ‘Way back in the old days we used to cut things with shell knives.’

9.7.4.2 *=(a)ka* ‘FOCUS’. This may be used for emphatic focus. I have only a few examples of its use; in one case it follows a consonant final stem (9-327), but elsewhere it follows the nominative suffix (e.g. 9-323), so the rules for its attachment are unclear.

This clitic is particularly common in excited exchanges, where it may redirect the hearer’s attention (9-322, 9-323) or show exasperation (9-324):

- (9-322) *niya-niya=k!*
 3sgNOM-REDUP=FOC
 ‘That’s him / watch him!’
- (9-323) *marri-ja ri-ya-ka marri-ja ri-ya=k!*
 listen-IMP east-NOM-FOC listen-IMP east-NOM=FOC
 ‘Listen to the EAST, listen to the EAST!’
- (9-324) *banaba dirrkuruk*
 ignorantNOM unceasingly=FOC
 ‘(You) KEEP getting it wrong!’

Often it marks a deviation from the speaker's expectations:

- (9-325) *niya=ka* *kuujuu-j*
 3sgNOM=FOC swim-ACT
 'So HE'S the one going in! (I thought you were).'
- (9-326) *mutha-a* *walbu,* *maraka* *budubudu,* *nga-l-da*
 many-NOM raftNOM CTRFCT boat 1-pl-NOM

kantharrka=k
 alone=FOC

 '(There were) lots of rafts, (big) like boats—and we thought we were ALONE!'
- (9-327) [A young man had been grouped with the old men for sleeping arrangements:]

niya *thalardin=ak ?*
 3sgNOM old.man=FOC
 'So he's an old man, eh?'

=(*a*)*ka* may also be used for purely rhythmic purposes, in songs and spells—see Text 6 for an example.

In Lardil, as in Kayardild, *-ka* is used as a focus marker: *ngerrur wuyinjin, niya-ka mathu dangka-r* '(his) own father-in-law, it is he who gets the person (i.e. initiate)' (Hale at al 1981). In Yukulta, *-ka* is a subordinate clause clitic, marking cause. It always follows the first constituent (Keen 1983: 249). Suffixes or clitics in *-ka* with elusive function are widespread in Australia—see for example Blake's descriptions of Kalkatungu (Blake 1979b: 95-6) and Yalarnga (Blake 1971: 22).

9.7.4.3 *-rna* 'NOW'. This follows the verb, or in its absence the head noun of the predicate. I am unsure whether this is a borrowing from English 'now' or Kriol *na*,¹⁹ or a traditional Kayardild clitic, as maintained by several older speakers who are normally great purists.²⁰

¹⁹ Cf. Bamyili Kriol *burrum na, ontap la eshis* 'Put it on the coals now' (Sandefur—Sandefur, 1981: 29).

²⁰ Yukulta has a clitic *-rna*, suffixed to the first clausal word, which derives polar questions:

dirrkuli-wurlu=rna=nyi
 husband-PROP=RNA=you
 'Are you married?' (Y: 242)

Whatever its origins, its function is remarkably like Kriol *-na*, and to a lesser extent English “now”. It may soften a request, or imply that although previous failures to obey were tolerated, the listener must now cooperate:

- (9-328) *marri-ja=rna!*
listen-IMP=NOW
‘Listen now!’

It may signal a change in state:

- (9-329) [In a narrative on circumcision rituals, an older man says to several initiates:]
bithiin-d, bithiin-da=rna, bithiin-da wirdi-ju, jungarra
man-NOM man-NOM=NOW man-NOM be-POT big-NOM
bithiin-d
man-NOM
‘Men, you’re men now, you’ll be men, big men!’

And it may contrast a present state of affairs with one that existed before:

- (9-330) *minyi diya-ja=rna nga-l-d, mungurru-wa-th,*
and.so eat-ACT=NOW 1-pl-NOM knowing-INCH-ACT
damper diya-j
eat-ACT
‘And so we eat it now, we learned about it, we eat damper.’

Note that *rna*, unlike {*-ida*}, does not displace the nominative suffix. This suggests a more recent origin, supporting the English/Kriol loan hypothesis.

9.7.5 Conjunctions

The role of these is quite limited.

Bana ‘AND’ is used far more rarely than its English counterpart, for conjunction is usually shown by simple juxtaposition (6.5). So *bana* is restricted to lists, which have a special intonation and require all NPs to be in the nominative, since they are topics.

- (9-331) *riya-thi nga-r-a banga-y kabathaa-th, bana banga-a,*
east-REM 1-du-NOM turtle-MLOC catch-ACT AND turtle-NOM

bana banga-a, bana bangaa
and turtle-NOM and turtle-NOM

'Way in the east we two caught turtles and turtles and turtles and turtles.'

Since what are listed may be alternatives rather than conjuncts, 'or' is often a better translation:

(9-332) *maku-wa ngaarrngi-j yakuri-y, bijarrb, bana*
woman-NOM presage-ACT fish-NOM dugongNOM AND
banga-a
turtle-NOM

'(The birth) of females was shown by (catching) fish, dugong or turtle.'

Occasionally two clauses may be conjoined:

(9-333) *ngijin-da thabuju biya-nangku bana ngijin-da kunawuna*
my-NOM EBr-NOM swim-NEG.POT AND my-NOM child-NOM
biya-nangku
swim-NEG.POT

'My older brother can't swim and my son can't swim.'

Bana may also follow a noun, with the meaning 'too':

(9-334) A & B: *nga-rr-a warra-ju.* C: *ngada ban.*
1-du-NOM go-POT 1sgNOM AND
'We two are going.' 'Me too.'

'Both .. and ..' can be expressed by the construction *bana .. bana ..*, as in:

(9-335) *mutha-a ngambu, bana ngarn-d, bana wambal-d.*
many-NOM wellNOM and beach-NOM and bush-NOM
'There are lots of wells, both beach ones, and bush ones.'

Birra 'too' expresses a similar meaning to *bana*: the NP it modifies is asserted to be another member of the set under discussion. It usually follows, but may also precede (9-256), the NP referring to the included individual:

(9-336) *ngada birr*
1sgNOM TOO
'Me too.' (alternate answer to 9-334).

(9-337) *yeah, nga-l-da thunduyingathi-na mutha-a maku,*
 1-pl-NOM (name)-ABL many-NOM wifeNOM

ngada birr
 1sgNOM TOO

'Yes, we, Thunduyingathi's wives were many. I was among them.'

This is formally identical to the third dual pronoun. It is possible that the 'TOO' use derived from a group/subset construction (6.3.5) in which the individual being included is the subset. The use of the dual suggests that the number of the group is determined by taking the second group (i.e. the other wives) as singular, qua single group, rather than non-singular, qua a number of individuals.

9.7.6 Interjections

These have no syntactic function, and usually make up a complete sentence. They include:

- warirr* '(I've got) nothing; nothing doing; no.' (May also be used as a noun, meaning 'nothing').
- yukurdida* 'That's right; there you go' (e.g. when easing a blind man into a car).
- kwi* 'Wow!' (A pleased exclamation at one's own success).
- dankuruk!* 'hey! Whatcha doing?' 'You gotta be kidding!' (An expression of outrage)
- ngarri* 'Oops, oh no!' This expresses disappointment at one's own stupidity (for example after leaving a spear behind, or missing a fish), or self-correction, as when substituting one word for another.
- yakay* 'Watch out, wow, ouch!' (Expresses surprise or sudden pain). While watching an event continue, as when watching a willy-willy tear through the camp, it may be reduplicated indefinitely: *yakayakayakayakay..!*
- yaniyuud* 'Wait a minute!' (Related to *yanda* 'now' and *yuuda* 'first').
- yaa! yaa!* (A special exclamation used during wind magic).
- ngii* 'yes'.²¹

Five interjections that use sounds outside the normal Kayardild phonemic repertoire are:

- ht* (A forceful aspiration followed by an unreleased alvolar stop, made while dancing.)

²¹ This word is used rarely, however. Assent is more commonly expressed by repetition of the interlocutor's assertion, by use of the clitic {-*ida*} 'same', by the English loan 'yeah', and by the words *junku-d* [straight-SAME] 'true indeed' or *yuud*, lit. 'already'—cf. Italian *già*.

- n!* (Nasal clicks which precede statements of regret,
m! self-reprimand or parody.)
- hurru* (A ceremonial interjection that releases initiates from silence).
- ?m?* (A bilabial nasal, initiated and terminated by glottal closure.
 This sound may be said in thanks as one receives food etc.)
- ee* yeah, hey (mid front vowel [e:])

Chapter 10

The modal case system

The “modal case” system is one of the most unusual and interesting features of Kayardild grammar. We have already seen how suffixes whose basic function is adnominal or relational can be used to signal modality (3.4.3); that these follow adnominal or relational case suffixes but precede associating and complementizing suffixes (4.1), and that their domain is, roughly, all NPs except subjects and those associated with subjects. Their correlation with verb inflections for tense, mood and aspect was discussed, in simplified fashion, in 7.2.2. The present chapter draws together the discussion of modal case as a system.

Firstly (10.1) I review the correlations between modal case and verbal tense/mood/aspect. For a subset of sentence types modal case seems to be distributed across the VP, appearing as modal case on NPs and as the termination on verbs. With other sentence types the many-to-one relation between verb-inflections and modal case invites an analysis in which modal cases code superordinate categories subsuming the more specific categories marked on the verb. Even this analysis, however, is too simple: to a limited extent modal case can be varied independently of, or in the absence of, verb inflection.

In 10.2 I discuss the semantic overlap between modal and adnominal or relational uses of case. There is, I argue, a parallel between modal case and the widespread use of local cases or prepositions as complementizers. But where the complementizer use of local case codes temporal or modal relations *between* clauses, i.e. *relative* tense/modality, modal case codes *absolute* relations between a single clause and the speech act.

In 10.3 I examine the domain of modal case in more detail. This roughly corresponds to the VP. But certain NPs, that the “associating OBLique test” (9.4.1.1) show to be inside the VP, nonetheless exhibit “modal blocking”, escaping modal case: e.g. PROPriative “intentional objects”. I argue that these are “semantically oriented” to the subject in the sense that a statement of their meaning must refer to the subject. A parallel is drawn between modal blocking and “ergative agreement” in other Australian languages.

In 10.4 I use comparative data from within the Tangkic subgroup to show how the modal case system evolved. Two factors in the proto language combined to produce the modal case systems found in Kayardild, Lardil and Yangkaal: (a) the replacement in main clauses of fully transitive ergative constructions by detransitivized case frames

under certain semantic conditions, and (b) the use of local cases as complementizers, marked over the verbs and NPs of subordinate clauses. With “insubordination”—the reinterpretation of subordinate as main clauses—these complementizers became markers of absolute rather than relative tense/modality. Since both (a) and (b) type constructions were morphologically accusative, the evolution of modal case is closely bound to the abandonment of morphological ergativity in Kayardild, Yangkaal and Lardil.

10.1 Verbal tense/mood and modal case categories

10.1.1 First approximation: distribution across the VP

We mentioned in 7.2.2 that the terminations of some verb inflections are formally identical to the modal case they select: such formal identities are found between the IMMEDIATE and Modal LOCative, the POTential and Modal PROPrietary, the HORTative and Modal OBLique, and the DIRECTed and Modal ALLative.¹

Even the range of allomorphs may be identical. Potential verb inflections, for example, normally end in *-(k)u*, with allomorphs *-(k)uu* (/COBL) or *-(k)uru* (/CLOC), while the corresponding modal case, the PROPrietary, is *(k)u*, with allomorphs *-(k)uu* (/COBL) or *_(k)uru* (/CLOC):

(10-1) *nyingka kurri-nang.ku niwan-ju balmbi-wu*
 2sgNOM see-NEG.POT 3sg-MPROP morrow-MPROP
 ‘You will not see her tomorrow.’

(10-2) [*nyingka kurri-nang.kuru-ya niwan-juru-ya*
 2sgNOM see-NEG.POT-CLOC 3sg-MPROP-CLOC
balmbi-wuru-ya]CLOC
 morrow-MPROP-CLOC

‘You better not see her tomorrow.’

¹ Identity could also be posited between the IMPerative verb inflection, analyseable into thematic plus nominative, and the zero modal case, realized as a NOMinative when no relational or associating case has been assigned.

(10-3) *[ngumbaa kurri-nang.kuu-ntha niwan-juu-ntha*
 2sgCOBL see-NEG.POT-COBL 3sg-MPROP-COBL

balmbi-wuu-nth]COBL
 morrow-MPROP-COBL

'You better not see her tomorrow.'

Similarly, the 'DIRECTed' verbal inflection ends in *-ir(i)*, with the allomorph *-iring-* (*/_MCASE*, 7.2.2), while the modal allative it selects is *-(k)ir(i)*; this extends to *(k)iring-* before modal case (4.3.7). In Lardil comparable formal parallels exist between the verbal future inflection and the nominal 'Future OBJECTive' (10-80), and the verbal 'Marked Non Future' and the nominal 'Marked Non Future OBJECTive' (10-85).

These formal similarities would be neatly captured by a rule distributing the appropriate modal case suffix across the whole VP, including both verbals and nominals:²

(10-4) $\langle \text{VP}_{[\alpha\text{MCASE}]} : \text{V-THM-}\alpha\text{MCASE}, (\text{NP}_{[\alpha\text{MCASE}]})^* \rangle$

IMMEDIATE : α =LOCative
 POTential : α =PROPrictive
 DIRECTed : α =ALLative
 HORTative : α =OBLique
 IMPerative : α = \emptyset

There are two further respects in which case-like verb terminations behave identically to the modal case they select:

(a) both have identical sequence restrictions (4.2.3). Thus HORTative verb terminations parallel OBLique inflections, with which they are formally identical, in proscribing further case suffixes. Similarly, IMMEDIATE verb terminations parallel the formally identical LOCative inflections in not permitting a further LOCative inflection.

(b) The LOCative case participates in the suppletive LOC:OBL portmanteau *{-kurrka}*. So does the IMMEDIATE verb inflection (analyseable into thematic plus LOCative) when followed by a complementizing OBLique (12.1.5.1).

² This, in effect, is the analysis Klokeid (1976:520) proposes for Lardil: "if a tense category is present in a clause, then that tense appears not only on the verb, but distributes to its dependents, excepting only the subject".

Both these facts would be accounted for automatically by the VP-distribution analysis. But elegant as it is, this rule only accounts for part of the data.

Firstly, there are constructions where verb and NPs bear formally different suffixes. For example, the PRECONdition suffix *-THarrba*, formally similar to the CONSEQUential *-ngarrba*, takes the modal ABLative *{-kinaba}* (7.2.3.8). To salvage the “distribution hypothesis” here one would need a category-sensitive rule assigning one case to NPs and another to verbs:

(10-5) $\langle \text{VP}_{[\alpha\text{MCASE}]} : \text{V-THM-}\alpha\text{MCASE}, (\text{NP}_{[\beta\text{MCASE}]})^* \rangle$

A model of modal case that uses a VP-distribution rule, with extra category-sensitive substitutions, is a reasonable account of how clausal complementizers, that were the ancestors of the modal case system, must have worked—see 10.4.1.3.

There are also verb inflections that cannot be analysed into thematic plus case, either because they were never so analyseable (e.g. DESiderative *-da*) or because sound change has left them synchronically unanalyseable (e.g. the APPRehensive *-NHarra*, whose original components *-TH-* plus UTILitive *-marra* are no longer obvious).³ For these we need an “irregular” rule of the type:

(10-6) $\langle \text{VP}_{[\zeta]} : \text{V-}\zeta, (\text{NP}_{[\alpha\text{MCASE}]})^* \rangle$

DESiderative:	$\zeta = -da$	$\alpha = \text{OBL}$
APPRehensive:	$\zeta = -NHarra$	$\alpha = \text{OBL}$
PaST:	$\zeta = -THarra$	$\alpha = \text{ABL}$

As (10-6) stands, the modal case values appear to be assigned quite arbitrarily. But in fact there is a clear semantic motivation, which we now examine.

10.1.2 Modal case as a semantic category superordinate to verb inflections

Figure 10-1 shows the unmarked correspondences between modal case and verbal inflection. Where there are several corresponding verb inflections, the modal case meanings are superordinate to a semantically coherent group of more specific verbal inflections.

³ See 7.3 for full discussion.

Verb Inflection	Positive Form	Negative Form	Unmarked choice for modal case	Form of Modal Case
IMPerative	-TH.a	-na	—	[zero]
ACTual	-TH.a	-TH.arri	LOCative	{kiya}
IMMEDIATE	-TH.i	—	“ “	
POTential	-TH.u(ru)	-nang.ku(ru)	PROPrietive	{ku(ru)}
PaST	-TH.arra	—	ABLative	{kina(ba)}
ALMOST	—	-nang.arra	“ “	
PRECONdition	-TH.arra	—	“ “	
DESiderative	-di	—	OBLique	{inja}
HORTative	-TH.inja	-nang.inja	“ “	
APPRehensive	-NHarra	—	“ “	
DIREcted	-THiri(ng)	—	ALLative	{kiri(ng)}

Figure 10-1. Modal case as a superordinate tense/mood category: verb inflections and unmarked choice for modal case.

Thus MLOC covers “instantiated” propositions—those that have been, or are, taking place (ACTual),⁴ or those that are specifically asserted to be taking place at the time and place of the speech act (IMMEDIATE).

MPROP covers “future” propositions, that the speaker expects to take place; when used in a subordinate clause (12.3.9) they mark an event which the matrix subject expects and intends to take place.

MABL covers “prior” propositions, that are asserted to have taken place some time before the speech act (PaST) or before the time of the main clause (PRECONdition), or not to have taken place some time before the speech act (ALMOST). It also extends to the secondary use of the PaST inflection to denote past and present irrealis conditions.

MOBL covers “emotive” propositions: DESideratives, which report the wish of the speaker to perform or have performed the action described by

⁴ Note that negative propositions can be instantiated as well as positives—by actually failing to take place.

the verb; APPRehensives, in which the speaker outlines an unpleasant possibility, in the hope that the hearer will help prevent it; and HORTatives, in which the hearer is requested to intervene and bring about (affirmative) or halt (NEG) the state of affairs described by the clause. It also extends to the secondary “future irrealis” meaning coded by the DESiderative (7.2.3.9).

The unmarked “zero” modality, being an “elsewhere” case, does not lend itself so well to a unified semantic characterization. But the two verb inflections it correlates with—the imperative and nominalization of ongoing uncompleted activity—could perhaps be grouped as “imminent uncompleted”.

On the basis of the above data, then, several of the modal categories are superordinate to the more specific tense/mood categories coded by the system of verb inflections. To account for this, we could propose a “modality distribution rule” which, after diagnosing the most salient modal feature of the verb inflection (e.g. “emotive” in the APPRehensive, “prior” in the PaST) would distribute the relevant modal case over the appropriate NPs.

10.1.3 “Independent” use of modal case

So far I have restricted the data by only presenting sentences in which the choice of modal case is entirely determined by the verb inflection. But further data shows that the above account needs refinement. Firstly, modal cases are often used in nominal clauses involving location or movement where no verb inflection is present. Examples are (10-7) to (10-9); see also (9-43).

(10-7) *ngada dathin-kiring-ku kamarr-iring-ku*
1sgNOM that-ALL-MPROP stone-ALL-MPROP
'I will (go) to that stone.'

(10-8) *jina-na darr-ina nying-ka jirka-an-kina ?*
where-MABL time-MABL 2sg-NOM north-FROM-MABL
'When did you (come back) from the north?'

(10-9) *nyingka yubuyubu-na mirra-na ?*
2sgNOM track-MABL good-MABL
'Are you on the right track?'
(Here MABL expresses the 'irrealis' meaning that is one extension of the verbal PaST / prior modality.)

They are also used meaningfully with nominalized verbs, which bear no information about mood or tense. Thus privative nominalizations, in which the regular verb inflections have been neutralized, may take either

the locative or the ablative modal case according to whether an instantiated or past/irrealis meaning is expressed:

(10-10) *nga-ku-rr-a* *bijarra-ya* *karrma-n-marri*
 1pl-INC-du-NOM dugong-MLOC wrestle-N-PRIV
 'We two haven't wrestled dugong.'

(10-11) *nying-ka* *nguku-na* *dali-jarrma-n-marri?*
 2sg-NOM water-MABL come-CAUS-N-PRIV
 'Haven't you brought the water?'

To retain the "VP distribution" hypothesis one would have to maintain that the verb "passes on" the modality feature to its daughter NPs before being neutralized by nominalization. But even this explanation would be unable to account for the following data:

(10-12) *ngada* *kurri-nangku* *mala-wu* (*balmbi-wu*)
 1sgNOM see-NEG.POT sea-MPROP morrow-MPROP
 'I won't (be able to) see the sea (tomorrow).'

(10-13) *ngada* *kurri-nangku* *mala-y* (*barruntha-y*)
 1sgNOM see-NEG.POT sea-MLOC yesterday-MLOC
 'I could not see the sea (yesterday).'

Here the modal case system is acting independently of the verbal inflection. The potential verb inflection can indicate ability as well as futurity (7.2.3.5), and it is this abilitative meaning intended in (10-12) and (10-13). But the possession of a certain ability may be located in time, and this is what the modal cases are signalling here: the "future" PROPrietary in (10-12) places the speaker's inability in the future, or merely makes a prediction (the two meanings merge) whereas the "instantiated" LOCative in (10-13) shows that there was a real occasion, yesterday, when the speaker was unable to see the sea. (The modal LOCative and PROPrietary are also in opposition in clauses with the POTential verb inflection and the CouNTERFaCTual particle *maraka*—see 9.7.2.1).

With the apprehensive verb inflection the alternatives become even richer, for three modal cases are possible:

(10-14) *warrjawarri* *ngada* *barrbiru-tha* *manarr-iy,*
 slowlyNOM 1sgNOM lift-ACT torch-MLOC

kurri-nyarra *ngijin-inj*, *kala-nyarr*, *rabi-nyarr*
 see-APPR 1sgPOSS-MOBL fly-APPR arise-APPR

'Unhurriedly I lifted the bark torch, in case (the diver birds) should see me and fly off.'

(10-15) *nying-ka* *ngudi-na* *wangalk*,
 2sg-NOM throw-NEG.IMP boomerang-NOM

ngada *ngumban-ju* *burldi-nyarr*
 1sgNOM 2sg-MPROP throw-APPR

'Don't you throw the boomerang, or I'll throw one at you.'

(10-16) *thararra* *kali-nyarra* *wambal-iya*, *naa-nyarr*
 ember-NOM jump-APPR bush-MLOC burn-APPR
 '(Look out), the embers are jumping into the bush, it might burn.'

The modal oblique, as in (10-14), is commonest, for the most basic meaning expressed by the apprehensive is that the event described is or would be unpleasant, calling for the "emotive" oblique. But in certain situations more potent factors may override this: in (10-15) the speaker stresses his certainty of being able to effect an unpleasant retaliation by choosing the "future" modal proprietive.⁵ (In Lardil the cognate of the PROPrietive—the 'Future OBJective'—is the only modal case allowed with the APPRehensive; see (10-82)).

A third possibility is that the unpleasant event is actually taking place, as in (10-16).⁶ Here the LOCative modal case shows the reality of the occurrence, while the APPRehensive verb inflection expresses the speaker's distress.

These examples show that modal case does not always depend on the verb inflection, but can to some extent be varied independently, allowing for a multiplication of subtle meanings. From this we may conclude that modal case can encode a *separate* meaning from that given on the verb, although the need for the two to be logically compatible (one cannot state simultaneously that the same event has actually happened and will occur in the future) places strict limits on the set of possible combinations.⁷

⁵ The "emotive" modal oblique would also be acceptable here, and would emphasize the unpleasantness of the consequence.

⁶ The use of "lest" clauses to describe actually-occurring undesirable events has been reported for Yidiny (Dixon 1977a:352-3).

⁷ There appear, however, to be conventionalized co-occurrence restrictions beyond the call of semantic compatibility. The DIREcted verb inflection, for example, always

An ideal grammar of Kayardild would combine the formal generalizations made by the VP-distribution rule (10-4) with the semantic generalizations about modal case as a semantic category superordinate to verbal inflection; it could also allow for the “independent” use of modal case just discussed. To do this it would need:

- (a) “Distribution rules” of the type proposed in 10.1.1, along with “category-sensitive” variants.
- (b) “Semantic diagnosis” rules that would select an appropriate modal case after examining the semantic content of the verb inflection.
- (c) “Independent” rules that could re-assign modal case on a semantic basis, in defiance of, or in the absence of, (a) and (b).

The “independent” use of modal case has not been reported for Lardil, and thus seems to be a recent Kayardild innovation, encouraged by the association of each modal case with a semantically coherent group of verbal inflections.

The modal case system has proved particularly vulnerable to English/Kriol influence. Some young speakers have abandoned the past and apprehensive inflections and their attendant verbal cases: in their place they use the particles *bin* and *baymbay* (“bye and bye”), together with the indicative verbal inflection and the locative modal case. They do, however, retain the future verb inflections and proprietive modal case.

Other, middle-aged, speakers, though not affected by English to the extent of replacing the traditional tense/mood system with particles, do have a system in which modal case correlates entirely with verb inflection: the independent use of modal case described above is not found. In other words, their grammar *could* be explained by a modality distribution rule. Thus the independent use of modal case described in this section is restricted today to the oldest speakers. And as one would expect, Wurm’s recordings of Kayardild, made in 1960, contain a higher incidence of independent uses than is found today.

Elsewhere in Australia are many other cases where those features of a language most interesting for general linguistic theory are the first to disappear following English contact; the situation is probably similar throughout the colonial world. Two examples are the disappearance of syntactic ergativity from Dyirbal (Schmidt, 1985) and the tendency among younger Warlpiri speakers towards freezing of word order (Bavin—Shopen 1985), which would leave it a more “configurational” language.

selects the modal ALLative, even though prior, instantiated or future values would be semantically compatible with it.

10.2 From locational to modal case meaning

In this section I examine the extent to which relational or adnominal meanings can be related to the modal meanings of the same case. This bears crucially on whether modal cases should be treated as different functions of the same case, as suggested in 3.4.8, or as homophonous forms quite distinct from the more usual case functions. More generally, it answers the typological question of why modal case should exist at all. I will argue that whereas relational cases relate the NP they mark to the action described by the verb, and case-like complementizers in many languages extend this to the relationship between two clauses, modal cases relate the event described by the clause to the event of the speech act.

The relevant cases are all, in a broad sense, locational: LOCative, ABLative, ALLative, PROPriative (having) and OBLique (etymologically an old dative).⁸ These locational cases are essentially two-place predicates. But there is no inherent restriction on what arguments they take. Used adnominally (“the fool on the hill”) they take two entities (NPs) as arguments. Used “relationally”, they take an entity argument (e.g. a local NP) and a proposition (the core of the clause). Used as complementizers they take as arguments two propositions: the main and subordinate clauses.

As the arguments being related change from NP to clause—i.e. as “rank-shifting” occurs—only some languages retain the same locational markers. Yidiny, for example (Dixon 1977a:332-346), does not use regular case suffixes as complementizers, but the subordinate verbal inflection is formally similar (and possibly related diachronically) to a local case.

Nevertheless, probably the commonest pattern is for local case markers or adpositions to double as complementizers. English, for example, uses local prepositions with the infinitive, as in “they stood up *to* applaud the musicians”. In Australia, many Pama-Nyungan languages

⁸ Clark (1970) argues that “possessive” and “having” (here, PROPriative) constructions are closely related to the semantically more fundamental “locatives”. Although her discussion is primarily concerned with predicative constructions, it can be applied with equal validity to attributive constructions employing adnominal suffixes. Possessives, she maintains, are more appropriate when the “location” is animate, and the thing located is not definite; the “having” relation is more appropriate when the location is animate and the thing located is definite. Accordingly, she groups existential and locative constructions (both “hyperlocatives”) with possessive and “having” constructions (both “possessives”) under the joint rubric “locational”. Her analysis may be extended to include the ALLative as the directional counterpart of the LOCative and the DATive as the directional counterpart of the PROPriative (i.e. “want to have”).

mark the appropriate local case on every subconstituent of the subordinate clause (except, of course, equi-deleted subjects), as in Djapu (10-17, from Morphy 1983:132-3). This appears to have been the situation in proto Tangkic (10.4.1.3).

(10-17) *ɲayi roŋiyi-n [nhá-nhara-ŋur málu-'mirriŋu-wal]*_{ABL}
 Djapu 3sgNOM return-PERF see-NMLSR-ABL father-KINPROP-OBL
 'He has come back from seeing his father.'
 (Human nominals in Djapu take OBLique case suffixes for the ablative case function.)

All of this is quite familiar, and few would dispute that genuine polysemy is involved, with similar relationships being set up between arguments of different types. Of course, the meanings of these relationships are not identical—with complementizers, the temporal meaning usually predominates over the spatial, for example—but a cluster of related but distinct meanings is typical of case polysemy, and more generally in “grammaticalization chains” (Heine—Claudi—Hünemeyer 1991). The important thing is that a substantial semantic overlap can be established.

The particular type of extension at issue here—that from spatial to temporal meanings—has been known for a long time (e.g. Cassirer 1923, Kronasser 1952) and the use of locationals as temporal or purposive complementizers, as in “she stood up *to* sing”, is found throughout the world’s languages.

Modal case, because it is so unfamiliar, may not appear to follow this pattern. I would claim, however, that it represents a further application of the case-as-complementizer pattern, but taking as its arguments the event of the speech act and the event expressed by the clause. The main difference from the uses just discussed is that here only one of the arguments—the proposition containing modal case—is overtly expressed. The other—the (time of the) speech act event—is not expressed by any linguistic material, but given by context.

This is typical of deictics. The word “now”, for example, means something like “the time at which the event described in this proposition happens is the same as the time at which I say this”; it could therefore be treated as a two-place predicate taking as arguments the containing proposition, and the context of utterance.

The difference between relative and absolute tense provides a good analogy with the difference between complementizing and modal uses of a local case, and in fact the evolution of modal from complementizing case corresponded to a shift from relative to absolute tense, as we shall see in 10.4.2.3. Relative tense involves a temporal relation between two propositions: the main and the subordinate clause. Absolute tense, on the other hand, involves a temporal relation between a proposition and the context of utterance. If we think of this in terms of “worlds”, then

relative tense relates the “world in which [main clause]” to the “world in which [subordinate clause]”, while absolute tense relates the “world in which [main clause]” to the “world including this speech act”.

This “absolute” complementizing use is far less common than the relative complementizing use, but examples are found in a number of creoles. In Tok Pisin the originally spatial word *klostu* (‘close up’) signals an “almost” modality, as in *dispela haus klostu pundaun* ‘this house is nearly falling down / nearly fell down’ (Dutton 1973:101). And in Gullah (Nichols 1975) the preposition *for*, as well as being a locational marker and a complementizer, may mark modal obligation in a main clause: *where for put this* ‘where should one put this’.

Having noted these somewhat marginal parallels from other languages, I would now like to examine the Kayardild modal cases from this perspective. With the LOCative, ABLative, ALLative and PROPriative, I will argue, the link between modal and adnominal/relational meanings is synchronically valid. With the OBLique, links of this type may once have existed but have been obscured by reconstructable historical changes.

Before discussing the semantic links, a note on the problem of the representation of the meanings to be connected. Although a number of recent scholars within the broad “cognitive semantics” movement have paid attention to space/time polysemy, their means of representing meaning have varied widely. Some, such as Langacker (1986) have used diagrammatic visual representations; others, such as Wierzbicka (Goddard—Wierzbicka 1994) use verbal definitions. Although visual representations have the advantage of conciseness, and of relating linguistic meaning to non-linguistic schemata, they have the disadvantage that their visual conventions may not be adequate for representing the more complex and subtle case meanings, and more importantly it is not clear how particular semantic components can be subjected to linguistic argumentation. I therefore adopt, below, a definitional approach to case meaning, using the “natural semantic metalanguage” developed by Wierzbicka and her colleagues (Goddard 1989, Goddard—Wierzbicka 1994). Note that the expression “can be thought of as” is intended to capture metaphorical extension.

The modal LOCative, as we have seen, marks the modality “instantiated”; in other words it describes a state of affairs the speaker knows to be occurring or have occurred. The choice of the LOCative, which primarily expresses the *coincidence* of two entities, is obvious enough with present events, but at first sight may appear inappropriate for past ones. Recall, though, that the modal ABLative with the PaST verbal inflection is used when pastness is being stressed; choice of the ACTual verb inflection, together with MLOC, stresses the actuality of the event. We can summarize this as follows: “the world including this speech act this can be thought of as *in a world where* [Main clause]”.

The “prior” modality associated with the modal ablative can similarly be paraphrased as: “the world including this speech act can be thought of as *coming from a world where* [Main clause]”. Where it is functioning *relatively*, as with PRECONDITION clauses, the following substitution could be made: “the world where [Main clause] can be thought of as coming from a world where [Subordinate clause]”.

The modal ALLative is used for events just coming into the speaker’s awareness, or to describe activities as they approach the speaker. The link between relational and modal meanings here is obvious: the meaning of the latter may be represented as “the world including this speech act can be thought of as moving towards a world where [main clause]”.⁹

The use of the modal PROPriative to code futurity requires some further explanation. Semantic developments from ‘have’ to futurity, mediated by a stage in which ‘have’ represents obligation, have occurred in the history of the Romance languages (see Fleischman 1982 for an overview) and also in Ukrainian, for example *citat’ imu* [read have-I] ‘I will read’.

But in the Tangkic languages a different semantic pathway has been followed. There is ample evidence in Kayardild grammar for a link between the PROPriative and expectation. The employment of the PROPriative to mark the “intentional objects” of verbs like ‘search for’ or ‘wait for’ was noted in 4.3.5.4 and 9.2.3. Moreover, it may attach to active or passive nominalized verbs, producing the meaning ‘able to V’ or ‘one can expect this to V’ (11.2.11.1). It may also mark some entity whose subsequent appearance is augured by an omen. In (10-18), from a mythical story, the protagonist has gone out spearing fish. All the fish he sees are a bloody red; unknown to him, this signals the imminent approach of the lecherous mud-dwelling predator Barrindindi, accordingly marked with the PROPriative.

(10-18) *mutha-a yakuri, yarbuth-uru dathin-kuru Barrindindi-wuru*
 many-NOM fishNOM monster-PROP that-PROP (name)-PROP
 ‘There were many fish, heralding that monster Barrindindi.’

The semantic connection between the PROPriative case and expectation is made clearer by comparing the two types of “having” case in Kayardild: the PROPriative and the ASSOCIative. As mentioned in 4.3.5, the

⁹ It is perhaps more natural here to think of the “other world” moving towards the world of the speech act. This would require the normal order of “context argument” and “main clause” to be reversed, as in “there is a world which the world containing this speech act can be thought of as moving towards, where [Main Clause]”. Cf. Fleischmann’s (1982:79) apt remark on “go-futures” vs “come-futures” in Romance: “the contrasts simply represent a perspectual difference between moving-event and moving-ego”.

ASSOCIative case is appropriate when the possessor actually has the object with him at the relevant time, though without necessarily owning it. The PROPriative case is far more general, and includes a component something like ‘X can expect PROP to be in the same place as X, when X wants’. (The presence of this “expect” component links it to the rather unusual “intentional object” and “presaged appearance” uses outlined above). Fitting this into the framework we have been using so far, this would give something like “one can expect that the world which contains this speech act will be in a world where [Main Clause].” Note that the definition I propose for the adnominal use of PROP already includes a modal element, “expect”: I am simply not deriving the modal meaning from the adnominal, but claiming that both include modal elements.

The OBLique case in modern Kayardild is essentially syntactic (4.3.6) and thus it is impossible to isolate a basic meaning for it in the way we can for the other modal cases. Data from the more conservative Yukulta, however, suggest that in proto Tangkic it was a general dative with a broad range of meaning; most importantly, this would have included “goal” or “purpose” arguments of verbs like ‘look for’ or ‘hunt for’ (4.4.2.7). In 10.1.2 above we characterized MOBL as coding an “emotive” modality, but an alternative view is that it is used for situations which it is the “goal” or “purpose” of the speaker to bring about or prevent: DESideratives reporting the intent of the speaker to perform or have performed the action described by the verb, APPRehensives whose purpose is to outline an unpleasant consequence and thereby preempt it, and HORTative clauses uttered with the purpose of inducing the listener to intervene and bring about or halt some state of affairs. A historical link between the purposive-like semantics of the modal oblique and the purposive relational use of its proto Tangkic reflex can thus be established (10.4.1.3), although it probably has no validity synchronically.

A fuller analysis of the meanings shared by modal and relational or adnominal case uses is beyond the scope of this grammar. But I hope to have shown that genuine polysemy is involved, with similar relations being set up between different entities: adnominal case relates two nominals, relational case links one nominal to the verbal action, complementizing case links two clauses, and modal case relates the world of the clause to the world of the speech act.

10.3 The domain of modal case marking

All other case functions—adnominal, relational, associating and complementizing—have as their domain a syntactic constituent: respectively, embedded NP, NP at clause level, all NPs in the VP, and the clause. The distribution of all these case suffixes can readily be accounted for by introducing the case at the appropriate constituent level. With adnominal, relational and complementizing suffixes this mirrors the semantic scope of the case. Associating case is purely syntactic and thus cannot be assigned a semantic scope.

Modal case, however, is more complicated. Its domain is, roughly, the same as the associating OBLique, viz. all NPs in the VP. Like associating case it does not appear on subjects, subject complements, second predicates on the subject (9-169), including those bearing an adnominal ASSOCiative or PRIVative (9.4.1.1), and the syntactically parallel “body part as locus of effect” NPs (9.4.2). In short, all NPs outside the VP escape modal case. Again like the associating OBLique, it appears on objects, locations and time NPs, allatives (10-7), instruments coded by the INSTRumental case (10-30) and UTILitives (10-35). These are all within the VP, as it is defined in 3.4.9.

Certain NP arguments, however, such as “intentional objects”, escape modal case (10-19), even though they are demonstrably within the VP, as shown by the fact that they take an AOBL if the clause is nominalized (10-20):

(10-19) *niya jani-jarra kunawuna-wuru / *kunawuna-wuru-na*
 3sgNOM search-PST child-PROP child-PROP-MABL
 ‘He searched for the child.’

(10-20) *niya jani-n-da kunawuna-wuru-nth*
 3sgNOM search-N-NOM child-PROP-AOBL
 ‘He is searching for the child.’

Other NPs which escape modal case, though demonstrably within the VP, are body part instruments in NOM or PROP (other instruments in PROP optionally escape modal case); PROPrietary “themes” of transfer verbs; and demoted human agents. I shall discuss these in more detail in 10.3.2, where I argue that all such NPs are semantically “oriented” to the subject in some way. I will contrast them with semantically similar arguments that are not “subject-oriented” and *do* take modal case.

These facts can be accounted for by assuming that modal case *is* distributed over the VP, but specifically blocked from appearing on those NPs whose semantics link them with the subject in some way. On this interpretation, Kayardild allows two degrees of positive syntactic linkage between subject and other NP arguments (Fig. 10-2).

The tighter link, existing between subject and other NPs outside the VP, expresses either secondary predication or the “subjects body part as locus” relation; NPs linked to the subject in this way escape both associating and modal case. I shall refer to NPs of this type as “construed with the subject” or “subject-construed”.

The looser link exists between subjects and NPs that do not make actual second predications about the subject, but nevertheless require reference to the subject in any characterization of their case meaning. NPs of this type are inside the VP, and take associating case; their link to the subject is shown by their failure to take modal case, a phenomenon I will call “modal blocking”. I shall refer to NPs of this type as “subject-oriented”.

Since modal case does not appear in NPs inflected for “verbal case”, such arguments cannot code “subject-orientation” in this way. With some verbal cases, however, there is a functional analogue in the choice between basic and middle forms. The verbal ablative, for example, uses the basic form when stressing the movement of the object, and the middle form when stressing the movement of the subject. This is discussed in 4.4.2.4.

Note that it is the NPs *escaping* modal case that are positively characterized semantically: they agree with the subject in *not* taking these cases. This is the obverse of what happens in many ergative Australian languages, where a semantically definable subclass of NPs *attracts* ergative case marking in transitive clauses (in agreement with the clausal

NP type	Associating case	Modal case
(a) Subject	–	–
(b) “Subject-construed”: Second predicate on subject; body part of subject as locus; subject complement	–	–
(c) “Subject-oriented”, e.g. “intentional object”. Inflected for relational case; statement of case meaning makes reference to subject	+	–
(d) Other NPs inflected for relational case. e.g. OBJect, LOCation; statement of case meaning does not make reference to subject	+	+

Figure 10-2. Associating and modal case as morphosyntactic indicators of semantic linkage with the subject

subject), and remains unmarked in intransitives.

A dramatic demonstration of this parallel is to compare ergative Yukulta with Kayardild—those NPs liable to ergative agreement in Yukulta are modally blocked in Kayardild (examples below).

Because the syntactic effect of linking subjects to NP arguments by case agreement is more obvious in ergative languages, a brief summary of this phenomenon will provide a useful introduction to the semantics involved. For fuller descriptions of individual languages see Hale (1982a) and Simpson (1991) on Warlpiri, Goddard (1983) on Yankunytjatjara, and Austin (1981b) on several Pilbara languages.

10.3.1 Ergative agreement in Australian languages

In Australian languages with ergative agreement no syntactic distinction between “subject-construed” and “subject-oriented” arguments has been reported: ergative agreement is used in both situations. (This is not surprising—perhaps no other Australian language has at its disposal a number of case “levels” comparable to Kayardild.)

The use of ergative agreement to mark “subject-construed” second predicates on the subject is illustrated by the following sentences from Yankunytjatjara (Goddard 1983:60 & p.c.): the second predicate ‘child’ agrees in case with the clausal subject, taking the nominative in (10-21) and the ergative in (10-22):

(10-21) *nganana nyara-kutu tjitji yanku-payi*
 Yank 1plNOM there-ALL childNOM go-CHARACTERISTIC
 ‘We used to go there as children.’

(10-22) *nganana tjitji-ngku nyaku-payi*
 Yank 1plERG child-ERG see-CHARACTERISTIC
 ‘We used to see (it) as children.’

Second predicates can often be construed with objects as well. In effect, this usually means they remain morphologically unmarked, since most objects take the ABSolutive, usually phonologically null. For a discussion of second predicates on the object in Warlpiri, see Simpson (1983).

In addition, there are frequently a number of “manner nominals”, e.g. Yankunytjatjara *wala* ‘quickly’. These too take ergative agreement. Like their Kayardild equivalents (see 5.4.1) they can only occur as second predicates; in Yankunytjatjara at least they can only modify the subject.

“Body-part” involvement can also be coded by case agreement, as in the following Pitjantjatjara example (10-23), from Blake (1977). Note that, as in Kayardild, body part NPs in many ergative Pama-Nyungan languages can be controlled by a greater range of functions than can other

second predicates, e.g. dative arguments; see Hale (1983:39) on Warlpiri.

- (10-23) *wati-lu tjitji mara-lu pu-ngu*
 Pitj man-ERG childACC hand-ERG hit-PAST
 ‘The man hit the child with his hand.’

The second predicate *manner NPs* above would be “subject-construed” in Kayardild. As mentioned in 9.4, *body-part NPs* in Kayardild are rather complex; they are subject-construed when loci of effect and subject-oriented when instruments.

Another example of ergative-agreement involves instruments. A common pattern, exemplified by Yukulta, is for them to take the “having” case, plus ergative agreement:

- (10-24) *barrunthaya=kadi mirliya-ja nayibi-urulu*
 Y yesterday=1sgS:PAST cut-(REFL:)IND knife-PROP
 ‘Yesterday I cut myself with a knife.’ (Y:248)

- (10-25) *laa-ja=kandi dathin-da makurrarra wurr-urulu-ya*
 Y spear-IND=3sgA:FUT that-ABS wallabyABS sharp-PROP-ERG

miyarl-urulu-ya
 spear-PROP-ERG

‘He will spear that wallaby with a sharp spear.’ (Y:248)

On a priori semantic grounds, one can treat such constructions as second predicates of having, with the instrument use inferred: ‘he, having a spear, killed the wallaby’ (inferred: with it). Alternatively, the semantic information supplied by the instrument NP may exceed mere second predication, and explicitly include a “use” component: ‘I cut myself, having a knife and bringing it into contact with myself’. Because ergative-agreement does not distinguish subject-construed from subject-oriented NPs, there is no syntactic clue to the semantics here. In Kayardild, however, these different semantic types correspond respectively to subject-construed second predicates with the ASSOCIative case, and subject-oriented PROPrietary NPs—see 10.3.2.1.

The remaining types of NP prone to ergative agreement clearly involve more than simple second predication, and correspond more closely to the subject-oriented NPs found in Kayardild. The motion cases (i.e. ablative and allative) commonly take ergative agreement when emphasizing the motion of the subject rather than the object—that is, when a component like ‘SUBJ became at ALLative’ is part of the meaning. A Warlpiri example was discussed in 4.4.2.4.

A less common type involves goal NPs. In Yankunytjatjara (Goddard 1983:129-30) NPs giving the intention of an action take the INTENTIVE suffix *-kitja* and agree in case with the actor:

(10-26) *wati maḷu-kitja ya-nu*
 Yank manNOM kangaroo-INTENT(NOM) go-PAST
 'The man went off, wanting (to get) kangaroo.'

(10-27) *wati-ngku ḷayipula maḷu-kitja-ngku kati-ngu*
 Yank man-ERG rifleACC kangaroo-INTENT-ERG bring-PAST
 'The man took a rifle, wanting (to get) kangaroos.'

Goddard points out that the PURPositive case could also be used here, but would imply "a need or conventionally recognized purpose", whereas the INTENT suffix "says that the actor has a strictly personal intention that may or may not be a conventionally recognized goal." Significantly, the PURPositive does not show ergative agreement. The semantic reason for this contrast apparently resides in the personal nature of the motivation shown by the INTENT suffix: the motivation can only be known by knowing something about the actor.

To summarize this section, a number of Australian languages use "ergative agreement" to signal a semantic link between subject and the target argument. The actual semantic conditions range from strict secondary predication (e.g. 10-21, 10-22) to a looser type of semantic orientation, where the case meaning includes a semantic component referring to the subject.

The semantic conditions calling for modal blocking in Kayardild (as distinct from those that place the target NP outside the VP and therefore block associating case as well) are more specific: they are limited to the looser "subject orientation", rather than second predication on the subject. We will now examine these in more detail.

10.3.2 The semantics of subject-orientation in Kayardild

The specific semantics of this phenomenon is best brought out by comparing constructions with basically similar participant roles, but differing in subject orientation.

10.3.2.1 Types of instrument. Perhaps the most subtle investigation of the semantics of the instrumental case is that given in Wierzbicka (1980). Her explications of the Russian instrumental include both a "subject component" ("SUBJ did something") and a contact component ("INSTR came into contact with OBJ"). Different languages take different components as paramount, leading to different patterns of

case syncretism. Ergative/instrumental syncretism, as in Dyirbal (Dixon 1972), stresses the subject component. Locative/instrumental syncretism, as in Warluwarra (Breen 1971), stresses the contact component. In yet other languages the instrument function may simply be inferred from the presence of a second predicate of having, as with the Yukulta examples discussed above; in ergative languages with this construction the having suffix is followed by ergative agreement.¹⁰

K allows a number of possibilities.

INSTRUMENT OF EQUIPMENT. When the instrument is borrowed or temporarily snatched up for the task at hand, the ASSOCIative is used. This functions as a second predicate on the subject, with the reading “X V-ed, temporarily having ASSOC” (implied: “and using it”). Like all other second predicates on the subject, the ASSOCIative NP escapes both AOBL (9-177) and modal case (10-28):

- (10-28) *bi-rr-a* *yalawu-jarr* *yakuri-na* *mijil-nurru*
 3pl-du-NOM catch-PST fish-MABL net-ASSOC
 ‘They caught some fish with the net.’ (temporarily using it)

Where the subject is using a body part as instrument, the NOMinative is most commonly used (9.4.3), although PROP is also possible (10-29); such NPs escape modal case.

- (10-29) *ngada* *ja-wuru* *ngawu-na* *jambila-tharr*
 1sgNOM foot-PROP dog-MABL kick-PST
 ‘I kicked the dog with my foot.’

We saw in 9.4.3 that such NPs take AOBL in nominalized clauses, and are therefore part of the VP. This shows them to be “subject-oriented”, as we would expect since they are *part of* the subject.

INSTRUMENT OF CONTACT. When emphasizing the physical contact between instrument and object (e.g. cooking yams under the coals, rubbing someone’s body with ochre), the INSTRUMENTAL case is used. Significantly, the INSTRUMENTAL requires modal case: instead of the link between SUBJECT and instrument it stresses the contact between instrument and OBJECT, and is therefore not “subject-construed”.

- (10-30) *kuri-ju* *wara-wan-nguni-wu*
 clean-POT mouth-ORIG-INSTR-MPROP
 ‘(He’ll) clean (it) with spittle.’

Returning to our fishing scenario, INSTR emphasizes the contact between fish and net, as when they are driven into it:

¹⁰ Blake (1977) gives further examples of these syncretisms in Australian languages.

- (10-31) *bala-tharra mijil-nguni-na kiija-n-d*
 kill-PST net-INSTR-MABL drive fish by clapping water-N-NOM
 '(We) killed the fish with the net, driving them into it by clapping.'

Mornington English preserves the “instrument of equipment” vs. “instrument of contact” distinction by its choice of prepositions: (10-28) was translated ‘catch fish got net’, and (10-31) ‘catch fish la net’ (*la* is the locative preposition).

A fourth possibility involves the PROPriative case. Semantically, this is the most general instrument case, and can be used to paraphrase any of the others. It takes AOBL in nominalized clauses, showing it to be part of the VP.

- (10-32) *ngada kala-n-da thungal-inja narra-wuru-nth*
 1sgNOM cut-N-NOM tree-AOBL shell knife-PROP-AOBL
 ‘I am cutting down the tree with a shell knife.’

This shows that even though its basic “having” use (4.3.5) would make a “having” second predicate meaning of the type found in Yukulta (see above) quite plausible, this is not the interpretation given it in Kayardild; for that, the ASSOCiative is used.

Interestingly, PROPriative instruments are the only type which allow both modally inflected and blocked variants. I do not have enough examples in marked modalities to formulate the conditions on this definitively, but it appears that they take modal case when an object is present, as in (10-33), but escape it where no object is expressed (10-34). See also (9-42) and (9-43).

- (10-33) *ngada burldi-ju wangalk-uru-wuru*
 1sgNOM hit by throwing-POT boomerang-PROP-MPROP

yarbuth-u
 bird-MPROP
 ‘I will hit that bird with a boomerang.’

- (10-34) *nga-l-da kala-tharra rawalan-ku*
 1-pl-NOM cut-PST baler shell-PROP
 ‘We used to cut (things) with baler shells.’

To summarize: the ASSOCiative functions as a “having” second predicate and escapes both modal and associating case, while the other constructions involve arguments within the VP and take associating case. Of these, the body-part as instrument construction is always subject-oriented, and escapes modal case; the object-oriented INSTRUMENTAL always takes modal case, and the rather neutral PROPriative allows both options.

10.3.2.2 Conventional vs private goal. Kayardild nominal cases distinguish two kinds of “goal”: those incipient in the situation, and those that may only be inferred through knowledge of the subject’s intentions.¹¹

CONVENTIONAL GOAL. The first type takes the UTILitive relational plus a modal case:

- (10-35) *nyingka* *ngi-nurru-wa* *dali-jarr* *kuwan-marra-na?*
 2sgNOM firewood-ASSOC-NOM come-PST fire-UTIL-MABL
 ‘Did you come with wood for the fire?’

The UTILitive plus modal construction is used here because any culturally attuned observer seeing you bringing wood would see immediately that your goal is to make fire: the fire is immanent in the situation described. Other appropriate situations include chopping down certain trees for windbreaks, gathering baler shells for water carrying, rolling strings for catching fish, making a fire for cooking fish on the coals, or digging a ground oven for roasting them (see examples in 4.3.14). In all of these situations the goal is so obvious to members of the culture that it can be known without access to the subject’s intentions.

PRIVATE GOAL. The second type uses the PROPriative with no modal case, as in (10-19) ‘he searched for the child’. This construction is appropriate when the goal cannot be directly observed, but can only be inferred from other knowledge we have about the subject. Unless we already know that X has lost his child, we may mistake his activity for animal-tracking; even if we work out that he is looking for someone we may not know whom.

This is comparable to the contrast between “conventionally recognized purpose” and “personal intention” in Yankunytjatjara (10.3.1). In both languages the personal nature of the subject’s motivation is emphasized by a morphological link with the subject: ergative agreement in Yankunytjatjara, and modal blocking in Kayardild.

Yukulta also codes “subject-orientation” through ergative agreement, when PROPriative goals are involved, although here the contrast of private vs conventional goal seems to have been neutralized in favour of the former, as indicated by the presence of ergative agreement on the totally determined goal of (10-36).

¹¹ Further distinctions may be made using “verbal cases”—see 4.4. But as NPs taking verbal case are not sensitive to the category “modal case”, these uses are not relevant to the discussion here.

(10-36) *miila-tha=karri* *mij-urlu-ya*
 Y delouse-IND=3sgA:PRES louse-PROP-ERG
 'He's delousing (that person) for lice.' (DYL 269)

(10-37) *thungal-urlu=ngarri* *jani-ja*
 Y stick-PROP=1sgA:PRES search-IND
 'I'm looking for a stick.' (DYL 269)

Note that the Yukulta verb *janija* 'look for' selects a transitive auxiliary, although its case frame is middle: ABS:PROP or ABS:DAT (compared to ERG:ABS for *miilatha* 'delouse').

10.3.2.3 Transfer of ownership. Modal blocking is also found with the PROPriative arguments of verbs of transfer of possession such as *wuuja* 'give PROP to OBJ' or *marndija* 'deprive OBJ of PROP, take PROP off OBJ' (10-38).

(10-38) *niya* *marndi-jarra* *kanthathu-na* *wirrin-kuru*
 3sgNOM deprive-PST father-MABL money-PROP
 'He took money off his father.'

These arguments are not second predicates, for they take AOBL in nominalized clauses:

(10-39) *niya* *marndi-n-da* *kanthathu-ntha* *wirrin-kuru-nth*
 3sgNOM deprive-N-NOM father-AOBL money-PROP-AOBL
 'He is taking money off his father.'

There is a clear semantic motivation for "subject-orientation": this frame stresses the ownership by SUBJ of the thing transferred, either before ('give'), or after ('deprive') the transfer. This contrasts with the NOM:OBJ:LOC frame of *wuuja*, for example, which implies a mere transfer of position (and induces no modal blocking).¹²

Again the corresponding construction in Yukulta codes subject-orientation by ergative agreement:

¹² However, with *marndija* at least it appears to be possible to emphasise possession at the other end of the transaction, by reversing the rules for assigning modal case. Line 6 of Text 12 is an example: in the context of a quarrel over a husband, the sentence 'you robbed *me* of *my husband* [PROP:MABL]' seems to stress the ownership of the transferred entity (the husband) by the object by assigning modal case to the propriative argument, in agreement with the clausal object. This is the only such example in my corpus.

- (10-40) *kunawuna=nganda wuu-ja / marndi-ja kulthangarra-urlu-ya*
 Y childACC=1sgA:PAST give-IND deprive-IND flying fox-PROP-ERG
 'I gave the flying fox to the child / took the flying fox off the child.'
 (DYL:272)

10.3.2.4 Demoted agents. The final and most problematic argument type to escape modal case involves demoted human agents. As outlined in 9.3.2, these may take the OBLique or ABLative.

Analogy with non-human agents, which can take modal case (see 9.3.2.2) suggests they lie inside the VP, although I have no examples with nominalized clauses that would provide a solid test of this.

The lack of modal case after the OBLique could be attributed to regular morphological sequence restrictions (4.2.3) and is therefore not an issue here. But modal blocking after the ABLative is significant, since ABL can be followed by other case suffixes, as in (3-49). (10-41) illustrates modal blocking after an ABLative demoted human agent NP, other examples are (4-41) and (9-134).

- (10-41) [Adolescents were forbidden to eat the tasty flesh of young stingrays. To avoid detection, they would sneak off and then:]
kurri-i-nyarra jungarra-na dangka-na, burukuraa-ja warra-y
 see-M-APPR big-ABL person-ABL make fire-ACT far-LOC
 'Lest (their smoke) be seen by the adults, they would make their cooking fires a long way off.'

It is difficult to relate this lack of modal case on demoted agents to "subject orientation". One possibility is that modal blocking here is "stranded", being induced at some level of representation in which the actor is the subject. At present I see no way of testing this claim.¹³

In Lardil, too, demoted agents escape modal case. But tense/mood does play a part in case selection: demoted agents take the OBJective in the unmarked modality, and the GENitive elsewhere (Hale et al. 1981).

10.3.2.5 The domain of modal case marking: overview. Modal blocking within the VP, as we have seen, always links it semantically with the subject in some way: a body part is seen as part of the subject himself; a goal or motivation is conceptualized as a personal concern of the subject, not necessarily evident to the public eye; a

¹³ But it is interesting to note that in the one clause type with no active correspondent—namely RESultative clauses—demoted agents do take modal case. See 11.4.3.

transferred object is seen as possessed by the subject either before or after the transaction.¹⁴

The exact semantics of “subject orientation” varies from construction to construction. It is clear, however, that the determination of “subject orientation” requires a far more detailed representation of case meaning than that provided by “thematic roles”; rather, something like Wierzbicka’s detailed explications of the Russian instrumental (Wierzbicka 1980) may be needed.

Whenever this representation includes explicit reference to the subject, modal blocking is appropriate. Glancing briefly through our examples, the “body part as instrument” meaning includes a component like ‘SUBJ did something with X, which is part of SUBJ’s body’; the PROPriative “private goal” includes a meaning component something like ‘SUBJ is thinking about PROP, SUBJect wants to be in the same place as PROP’; PROPriative themes with transfer verbs would express a meaning something like ‘SUBJ has PROP; because of this SUBJ can cause OBJ to have PROP’ for *wuuja* ‘give’ and ‘SUBJ has PROP after causing OBJ not to have PROP’ for *marndija* ‘deprive’. In other words, the (complex) predicates expressed by the case suffix include as arguments at least the host NP and the clausal subject.

The meanings of the non-subject-oriented NPs, on the other hand, may all be framed without specific reference to the subject. There are a number of possibilities here:

(a) The predicate expressed by the case can have as arguments the host NP and the proposition encoded by the clausal core, as with adjuncts like the (relational) LOCative.

(b) The predicate may take as arguments the host and the *object*, as with the INSTRumental of contact: ‘INSTR came into contact with OBJ, causing something to happen to OBJ’.

(c) The predicate may take as arguments the host and something else whose identity is left to context. The “UTILitive of conventional purpose” is an instance of this—a possible formulation is ‘*one* could see the people would use X with/to make UTIL’. Here the role of context is dual: it supplies the identity of X, which is usually an OBJect, e.g. (4-97) to (4-100), but may also be a second predicate on the subject (as in 10-35).

¹⁴ Surprisingly, the ALLative in Kayardild does not show modal blocking. In this respect Kayardild differs from those Pama-Nyungan languages like Warlpiri which use ergative-agreement to stress that the subject, as opposed to the object, reaches the destination (cf. 4.4.2.4). Perhaps the nominal ALLative in Kayardild is inherently non-specific with regard to which entity moves; should more precision be desired, a functionally equivalent verbal case can always be used.

And it supplies the identity of the “user”, who may not even be represented by an argument of the clause, e.g. (10-35) .

The fact that modal blocking is used specifically to signal a semantic link with the subject of a type that extends beyond simple second predication, while no such mechanism exists for non-subjects, is one consequence in Kayardild of the “syntactic privileges” accorded to the subject.

It follows that in assigning modal case we must have access to the detailed semantics of the case, for the construction in which it occurs. Models of grammar which content themselves with simple “thematic” labels like INSTRUMENT, GOAL or CAUSE will be ill-equipped to do this.

10.4 Evolution of the Tangkic modal case systems

Comparative reconstruction explains many of the unusual features of the Kayardild and Lardil modal case systems:

- (a) The formal similarities between (some) verb inflections and modal case.
- (b) The appearance of modal case, in “marked” modalities, on virtually all NPs in the VP.
- (c) Its more restricted domain in the unmarked modality.
- (d) The semantic link between modal and more basic case uses. It can also be shown that the unusual modal case systems arose from a relatively normal proto system.

In all modern Tangkic languages case-assignment depends on main vs subordinate clause status, and on the verbal categories of tense/mood. In Yukulta (and probably in the proto language) a third series of factors is important: negation, inverse person combinations, and irrealisness can all trigger middle constructions in underlyingly transitive sentences. Because case-assignment depends on so many factors, it is *construction type*, rather than cases considered in isolation, that must be compared across languages and used as the basis of historical reconstruction. Fortunately most construction types are preserved, in some guise, in at least two of the modern Tangkic languages, increasing the certainty of our reconstruction.

10.4.1 Nature of the proto-language

Despite an early suggestion by Hale (1970) that proto-Tangkic was morphologically accusative, it is now generally accepted that it was morphologically ergative.

Hale had suggested that Australian languages of the majority ergative type had evolved by generalizing a passive construction present in an accusative proto language. As he pointed out, this hypothesis “entails that the so-called ergative case is simply that of the agent of a passive” (Hale 1970:764). Changes of this type have occurred in several Polynesian languages (Hohepa 1969, Chung 1977).

Consideration of the marking of demoted agents in modern Tangkic passives gives no support to this. Each insular language has a different pattern. In Lardil, demoted agents take the OBJECTive (< pT *DAT), GENitive, or possessive pronoun. In Kayardild they take the ABLative, OBLique (< pT *DAT), LOCative, or verbal allative. The limited data on Yangkaal contains but one example, with a possessive pronoun. (Details on these choices are in 9.3.2.2.) Such diversity suggests recent and independent innovation, rather than continuation of an ancestral construction.

Klokeid (1978) and McConvell (1981), working independently, and both relying on Yukulta and Lardil data only, advanced similar arguments for an ergative ancestry.

Firstly, Klokeid showed that the underlying (i.e. pre-truncated) form of the Lardil ‘OBJECTive’ case is *-NHTHa*. This is identical to the Yukulta dative, which can mark objects in middle constructions; Klokeid inferred that the Lardil system arose through generalization of such a clause type, which replaced the old ergative type.

Secondly, Lardil (like Kayardild) leaves the (non-pronominal) objects of imperatives unmarked; this can be explained as a last residue of ergative morphology.

Thirdly, both pointed out that the passive in Lardil arose from an earlier reflexive construction with widespread non-Tangkic cognates.

Finally, McConvell demonstrated similarities between some Lardil main clause types and subordinate clause types in Yukulta, and suggested that the former were derived from the latter.

Although both Klokeid and McConvell agree that pT was ergative, they propose different explanations of *why* the ergative proto system was abandoned. I postpone discussion of this until 10.4.3.

In this section, I will take the morphologically ergative nature of the proto-language as established. The emphasis will be on the related question of how modal case evolved, a question which the addition of Kayardild and Yangkaal data now allows us to answer in some detail.

Clause type	Verb Function	Form	Cognate constructions in:		
1. "Ergative"					
ERG:ABS	Indicative	-THa	Y		
	Imperative	-THa/-ka	Y	K, Ya	L
	Realis Desid.	-da	Y		
2. Detransitivized case frame (see Figure 10-4)					
(a) ABS:DAT	(Neg) Indicative	-THa(ri)	Y		L
	Irrealis Desid.	-da	Y	K	L
(b) ABS:LOC	(Neg) Indicative	-THa(ri)	Y	K, Ya	
(c) ABS:PROP	Realis Desid.	-da	Y		
3. Complementized Subordinate clauses ([...] indicates subjects that are equi-deleted)					
(a) [ABS]:DAT	Purpose	-THinja	Y	K	
(b) [ABS]:PROP	Implicated	-THurlu	Y	K, Ya	L
(c) [ABS]:ALL	Movement Purpose	-THirlu	Y	K	
(d) [ABS]:LOC	Simultaneous	-THi	Y	K, Ya	(L) ¹⁵
(e) ABS:ABL ABS:CONS	Prior	-THarba	Y	K, Ya	
	" "	" "		K	L
(f) [ABS]:DAT [ABS]:PROP	Lest	-NHmarra	Y	K	
	" "	" "		K	L

Figure 10-3. Underlyingly transitive construction types in proto Tangkic

I will further assume that Y preserves the pT system in all respects but three: (a) some subordinate types in pT allowed alternate case-marking possibilities to those preserved in Y (b) where Y allows two

¹⁵ The "contemporaneous", which is the Lardil reflex of the simultaneous construction is heavily camouflaged by phonological and morphological changes—see Appendix C.

“general detransitivized” case frames—ABS:DAT and ABS:LOC—pT allowed only the former (c) the exact semantic conditions triggering main clause detransitivization may have been different in pT to what is now found in Y. When supporting claims about pT, I will give Y examples, which I take to be essentially representative of the pT situation, but the reader should bear the above differences in mind.

Proto-Tangkic appears to have had three basic construction types for transitive argument structures; two are further divisible into several subtypes.¹⁶ These are illustrated in Figure 10-3.

10.4.1.1 Unmarked clause type: ergative. The unmarked clause type was ergative. Non-pronominals had a formally distinct ergative case for transitive subjects (A); this was homophonous with the LOCative (see Appendix C). Intransitive subjects (S) and transitive objects (O) took the ABSolute. Pronominals appear to have had the same form for A, S and O. I will consider this a case of homophony and gloss them, like other nominals, ERGative if A and ABSolute if S or O. Since no word class distinguished S from O, the case system appears to have been ergative rather than “tripartite” (Goddard 1982).¹⁷

It is also likely that proto-Tangkic, like Yukulta, had an “auxiliary” cliticized to the first constituent, which included information about the person and number of subject and object, as well as tense/mood. The Yukulta auxiliary is complex:

(a) In the maximal case, argument roles are shown by person markers, ordered by person, plus a transitivity marker, e.g. =*nga-rrngu-ka-di* [1A-2/3DuO-TR-FUT].

(b) Third singular arguments are not overtly marked but the transitivity marker *-ka* indirectly indicates the presence of 3A and 3O arguments, e.g. =*ka-rrri* [(3sgA)-(3sgO)-TR-PRES].

(c) When first singular subjects occur with unmarked singular objects, the transitivity marker is absent; transitivity is inferred from the form of the person markers, e.g. *nga-rrri* [1A-(3sg)-(TR)-PRES].

¹⁶ Yukulta has a fourth type, in which both subject and object take the ABSolute. This is used for habitual statements like ‘rainbirds (ABS) make nests (ABS)’; this contrasts with ongoing present statements like e.g. ‘the rainbird (ERG) is making a nest (ABS)’.

¹⁷ In Yukulta A, S and O are represented by distinct forms on the auxiliary. But this is a distinct phenomenon to case—see remarks in Appendix B.

To avoid burdening the reader with these complications I give the AUX a simplified gloss in terms of roles alone, e.g. [3A:3O:PRES] for (b) above. The question of whether proto-Tangkic had some kind of auxiliary is discussed in 10.4.3.

(10-42) *dangka-ya=kari ngawu bala-tha*
 Y man-ERG=3A:3O:PRES dogABS hit-IND
 ‘The man is hitting the dog.’ (Y:206)

(10-43) *dangka-ra=ngka wirdi-ja karn-ki*
 Y man-ABS=3S:PRES sit-IND grass-LOC
 ‘The man is sitting on the grass.’ (NE:FN)

(10-44) *diya-ja=ngarri ngada*
 Y eat-IND=1A:3O:PRES 1sgERG
 ‘I am eating (it).’ (Y:214)

(10-45) *ngada=kadi wirdi-ja*
 Y 1sgABS=1S:PRES sit-IND
 ‘I am sitting.’ (Y:214)

(10-46) *jingka-ka=nk-i ngada*
 Y follow-IMP=1O-2A 1sgABS
 ‘(You) follow me!’ (Y:213)

Besides indicative (past/present) and imperative clauses, exemplified above, the ergative case frame could be used in realis desideratives:

(10-47) *mirliya-da=yikarri dan-da birrk-a*
 Y cut-DES=2A:3O:PRES this-ABS string-ABS
 ‘You should cut this string.’ (It’s a good idea). (Y:238)

10.4.1.2 Detransitivized case frames. Under a variety of semantic conditions—mostly where the effect of the action is not transferred to the object—underlyingly transitive clauses in Y take a detransitivized case frame (ABS:DAT, ABS:LOC or ABS:PROP); there is also a shift in auxiliary referencing from A:O to S:I OBJ. Although Keen (1983) and McConvell (1981) refer to these clause types as “antipassives”, this term is not really appropriate, since the phenomenon is quite different from the antipassive construction canonically exemplified by Dyirbal (Dixon 1972): no reassignment of grammatical relations takes place, and there is no voice change on the verb, which remains in the active form. I shall therefore eschew this term in favour of “detransitivized case frame”. The possibilities are summarized in Figure 10-4.

Case Frame	Conditions
ABS:PROP neg:obligatory)	Realis desideratives (pos:optional;
ABS:DAT	(a) Irrealis desideratives (b) General Detransitivized Construction when (i) no other DATive argument present AND (ii) target NP is non-pronominal
ABS:LOC	General Detransitivized Construction when (i) a DAT argument is already present OR (ii) target NP is pronominal.

Conditions triggering General Detransitivized Construction (GDC):

- (i) Negation of non-past sentence OR
 - (ii) Inverse subject-object combinations OR
 - (iii) Conditional/dubitative sentence.
-

Figure 10-4. Detransitivized case frames in Yukulta

The ABS:PROP frame is limited to realis desideratives; it is optional with positives (10-48) and obligatory with negatives (10-49) (this last could also be accounted for by GDC condition (i)):¹⁸

(10-48) *diya-da=ngarri kuruntha-wurlu*
 Y eat-DES=1A:3O:PRES barramundi-PROP
 'I am going to have a feed of barramundi.' (Y:238)

(10-49) *diya-nangkurlu=kadi kuruntha-wurlu*
 Y eat-NEGDES-REALIS=1S:PRES barramundi-PROP
 'I can't eat barramundi (it's taboo to me).' (Y:239)

With irrealis desideratives the ABS:DAT frame is used:

¹⁸ These conditions differ slightly from those stated by Keen (1983), but are consistent with all examples in her corpus. An example of a desiderative with an ERG:ABS frame is (10-47); the difference in case marking between it and (10-48) cannot be attributed to negation, inverse subject-object combinations or irrealisness, and illustrates the optional nature of the general detransitivized case frame with positive desideratives.

(10-50) *kawa-da=kadi makurrarra-ntha*
 Y cook-DES=1S:PRES wallaby-DAT
 ‘I’d like to cook a wallaby in a ground oven (but don’t expect to).’ (Y:239)

(10-51) *nga-rr-ma=ngarra kuli-nada kuluthu-ntha*
 Y 1-DU-STAT=1S:PRES wash-NEGDES(IRR) clothes-DAT
 ‘We don’t want to wash the clothes.’ (DYL:255)

The distinction between realis and irrealis desideratives is not coded in positive transitive verbs. Thus we have realis intransitive *-THurlu* vs irrealis intransitive *-da*, and realis negative *nangkurlu* vs irrealis *-nada*; both these contrasts are accompanied by the case frame alternations just described. But with positive transitives the same form *-da* may be realis or irrealis, the distinction being coded entirely by the choice of case frame: realis ERG:ABS or ABS:PROP vs irrealis ABS:DAT.

Elsewhere, one of several distinct factors may trigger what I will call the “general detransitivized construction” or GDC: it is “general” because of the variety of triggering conditions, compared to those triggering the ABS:PROP frame. Regardless of which factor is responsible, this selects an ABS:DAT case frame (e.g. 10-52), unless (a) the underlying OBJECT is a free pronoun (10-53) or (b) another DAT argument is already present (10-54). Under conditions (a) or (b) an ABS:LOC case frame is selected.¹⁹

(10-52) *walirra=ngka dangka-ra kunawuna-ntha bala-tha*
 Y NEG=3sgS:PRES man-ABS child-DAT hit-IND
 ‘The man isn’t hitting your child.’ (DYL:237)²⁰

¹⁹ Note that, because ERG and LOC are homophonous for non-pronominals the ABS:LOC frame would be potentially ambiguous for non-pronominal combinations: *man-ERG/LOC hit woman-ABS* could mean ‘the man hit the woman’ (basic ergative construction) or ‘the woman hit the man’ (antipassive). The above restrictions prevent this occurring.

In fact, the above sentence would not be ambiguous under the semantic conditions found in Yukulta—knowing that a sentence was affirmative, past, realis, and involved a non-inverse person combination, we could work out that the basic ergative construction was required, and hence that the first interpretation is correct. With a different set of triggering conditions, however, such as the “unaffected object” condition found in Warlpiri ERG:DAT constructions, we could not use this reasoning, and the sentence would be ambiguous.

²⁰ In fact Keen (1972) glosses this as ‘the man didn’t hit your child’, but a present tense gloss is more consistent with her analysis.

(10-53) *walirra=ngalawa-ningki* *bala ngalawan-ji* *burldamurr-i*
 Y NEG=1pluOBL-3sgS:PST.IRR hit 1pl-LOC three-LOC
 'He didn't hit us three.' (Y:231)

(10-54) *ngamathu-yarrng-ka=rrawa-rra* *karna-ja* *wurlan-ki* *kirr-wa*
 Y mother-du-ABS=2duOBL-3duS cook-IND food-LOC 2du-DAT

kunawuna-ntha
 child-DAT

'(Your) two mothers are cooking food for you two children.' (Y:206)

The main two factors triggering the GDC in Yukulta are (a) negation of a non-past sentence, as in (10-52) and (10-53) (b) "inverse" person combinations²¹ such as third acting on second person (10-54). Conditional and dubitative clauses may also trigger the GDC, although the evidence here is not conclusive (Keen 1983:234-8).

Of the two GDC frames, only the ABS:DAT has a Lardil parallel. It is therefore possible that this was the only frame in pT, and that the ABS:LOC frame, attested in all the other languages, developed after Lardil split off. Alternatively, Lardil may simply have generalized the ABS:DAT frame at the expense of the ABS:LOC.

Although the presence of cognate constructions in all modern languages provides firm evidence of their existence in pT, we cannot know what the exact triggering conditions were. The only semantic condition preserved outside Yukulta is the negative. Although neither negation nor inverse person combinations affect the choice of modal case in Kayardild, there is some evidence for the survival of an old NOM:DAT frame in Yangkaal and Lardil negatives.

Hale's 1960 field notes on Yangkaal contain no evidence of case frame being sensitive to polarity, but the scanty information on Yangkaal recorded by Capell a generation earlier "from a Forsyth Islander among the crew of the "Leisha" on the way from Mornington Island to Karumba" (Capell 1942:49) is worth quoting here:

If the verb is negative, the pronoun object ends not in *-dji* but in *-ni*, and this independently of tense: *guridjār ŋidjini*, he did not look at me; *guridjār girwani*, he did not look at you two (the positive would be *guri girwandji*). [Capell 1942:50].

The most plausible interpretation of these remarks is that the object pronouns in the negative form are a shortened form of the OBLique case (whose full forms would be *ngijininj* and *kirrwaniinj* in the orthography

²¹ See Mallinson—Blake (1981:2.4.5) and Comrie (1981:6.2.1) for discussion and references.

used here, or *ɲidjinindj* and *girwanindj* in Capell's orthography); this contrasts with the LOCative forms used in the positive (such as *kirrwandji*, or *girwandji* in Capell's orthography). At the time when Capell recorded it, then, Yangkaal preserved at least some vestige of a system in which negative clauses had a NOM:OBL case frame, even though we know neither the range of tenses in which the construction was used, nor the range of NPs taking the OBLique.

In Lardil the old dative has been generalized as the unmarked "objective" modal case (see 10.4.2.2), so that the special behaviour of negative objects has been obscured. But locative complements, which take the locative case in the affirmative (10-55, 10-57), take the "objective case" in the "plain negative" (10-56) and the "negative imperative" (10-58). Examples are from Hale et al. (1981: 25, 30).

(10-55) *niya yuud-ja-tha dawun-nge*
 L 3sgNOM PERF-enter-PLAIN house-LOC
 'He went into the house.'

(10-56) *bidngen ja-jarri dawun-i*
 L womanNOM enter-NEG house-OBJ
 'The woman did not go into the house.'

(10-57) *di-tha wik-e*
 L sit-IMP shade-LOC
 'Sit in the shade!'

(10-58) *di-ne dulk-in*
 L sit-NEG.IMP ground-OBJ
 'Don't sit on the ground!'

This raises the possibility that the use of ABS:DAT case frames in proto-Tangkic negatives was not confined to transitive verbs, but was also found with intransitive verbs taking a locative complement. Unfortunately, Keen's Yukulta corpus lacks any comparable examples so we cannot know whether similar rules existed in Yukulta.

Apart from negative constructions, we have no evidence outside Yukulta for other semantic conditions triggering a detransitivized case frame. All we can infer, then, is that *under semantic conditions including the negative, and possibly other conditions*, the ABS:DAT construction was used in proto-Tangkic. The lack of reflexes in Lardil of an ABS:LOC frame suggests it probably came into use as an alternative in proto-South Wellesley, though it may of course have existed in proto-Tangkic and been lost in Lardil.

What is important historically is that the relevant constructions were accusative rather than ergative: transitive and intransitive subjects were treated alike morphologically, and objects were distinguished. This

provided a clear model from which accusative morphology could develop.

10.4.1.3 Complementized subordinate clauses. Subordinate clauses are normally more conservative than main ones (cf. Givon 1979), and the Tangkic languages are no exception. Whereas pT main clause types (1) and (2) have either been lost or undergone a drastic change of function in all languages but Y, every modern Tangkic language preserves several pT subordinate clause types. Accordingly, examples from all four languages will be used here in support of our reconstruction.

Subordinate clauses in pT were formed by adding a “t-complementizing”²² case suffix to the verb, following the *-TH-*thematic, and a case-suffix to all NPs of the subordinate clause except the subject where present. In Keen’s Yukulta examples the subject is equi-deleted from all but PRIOR clauses; it is hard to know whether this was obligatory.

Figure 10-5 summarizes the probable pT clause types. In negatives the complementizer followed the negative thematic *-nang-* (7.2.1). To simplify the exposition negatives, which have undergone comparable changes, will not be discussed here.

The complementizing cases transparently signal the temporal/modal link between clauses. DATive and PROPrietive cases, for example, may apply to NPs marking purpose; DATive and PROPrietive complementized clauses have a similar “purpose” meaning, and function like ordinary NPs bearing the appropriate case. Likewise the CONSequential signals temporal priority whether it applies to a simple NP or a clause.

For most subordinate clause types—the various purposive clauses (purpose, implicated and movement purpose), and simultaneous—the case following the verb thematic and that appearing on NPs is identical.

Purpose clauses, with reflexes in Y (10-59) and the Kayardild hortative (7.2.3.10), involved a DATive on verbs and NPs alike:

(10-59) *kira warra-ja=ma,*
Y close go-IMP=him

²² Following Dench—Evans (1988) I use the term “t-complementizing case” for cases that establish a temporal, spatial or logical relationship between a main and subordinate clause; this is contrasted with the “c-complementizing” use of case to track coreference relationships between arguments in main and subordinate clauses (Mnemonically, “t” stands for “temporal”, “c” for coreference). pT had *both* types, t-complementizing and c-complementizing, with the latter outside; c-complementizing case is discussed in 12.6.1.

[*dathin-inja makurrarra-ntha burldi-j-inja=yi*]_{DAT}
 that-DAT wallaby-DAT hit-THM-DAT=2sg

‘Go close to him, so you can hit that wallaby!’

Clause function	Case suffix following verb thematic	Case on subordinate NPs	Construction attested in:
Purpose	<i>-inja</i> (*DAT)	{ <i>-inja</i> } (*DAT)	Y K
Implicated	<i>-urlu</i> (*PROP)	{ <i>-kurlu</i> } (*PROP)	Y K, Ya L
Movement Purpose	<i>-irlu</i> (*ALL)	{ <i>-kirlu</i> } (*ALL)	Y K
Simultaneous	<i>-i</i> (*LOC)	{ <i>-kiya</i> } (*LOC)	Y K, Ya
	<i>-urrka</i> (*LOC:DAT)	{ <i>-kurrka</i> } (*LOC-DAT)	Y K L
Prior	<i>-arba</i> (*CONS)	{ <i>-ngarba</i> } (*CONS)	(K) L
		{ <i>-kinaba</i> } (*ABL)	Y K, Ya
Lest	<i>-marra</i> (*UTIL)	{ <i>-inja</i> } (*DAT)	Y K
		{ <i>-kuru</i> } (*PROP)	K L

(See 7.3 for details of verbal reconstruction)

Figure 10-5. Complementized subordinate clauses in pT

“Implicated²³ clauses”, with reflexes in Y (10-60), and the purposive use of the future in L (10-61) and of the potential in K (7.2.3.5), involved a PROPrietary on verb and NPs:

(10-60) *wanji-ja=kadi* [marliyan-kurlu bala-th-urlu]_{PROP}
 Y go up-IND=1sgS:PRES possum-PROP hit-THM-PROP
 ‘I’m climbing up to hit that possum.’

²³ The difference between “purpose” and “implicated” clauses is a subtle one. According to Keen, purpose clauses mark “intended future result”. “Implicated clauses”, by contrast, mark the natural response to a situation: a sentence like ‘he lit the fire [in order to cook the wallaby]’ (Implicated) does not convey “that the fire was lit ‘with the purpose of’ cooking the wallaby, but that ‘having the wallaby’ implied ‘lighting a fire’ to cook it on” (Keen 1983:247).

- (10-61) *ngada yuurr-kangka niween*
 L 1sgNOM(*ABS) PERF-tell 3sgOBJ(*DAT)
- [*were-thuru wangal-kuru*](*PROP+DAT)
 throw-FUT(+OBJ) boomerang-FOBJ(+OBJ)
 (*THM.PROP+DAT) (*PROP+DAT)

'I told him to throw the boomerang.'

(Constituents of the subordinate clause here have an underlying "outer objective" (pT DATIVE)—which manifests itself by preventing truncation of its host. See Appendix C.)

"Movement purpose" clauses, with reflexes in Y (10-62) and K (11.6), took an ALLative on both verb and NPs:

- (10-62) *nganh-ma =kadi warra*
 Y 1sgS-STAT 1S:PRES go
- [*kurlkang-kirlu jani-jani-j-irlu kuluu-kuluu-j-irlu*]_{ALL}
 bulrush-ALL search-RDUP-THM-ALL dig-RDUP-THM-ALL

'I'm going to look for some bulrushes to dig up.' (Y:208)

And "simultaneous" clauses took a LOCative on verb and NPs, as in this Yukulta example:

- (10-63) *kurri-ja=ngarri [murruku-ya mirrala-th-i]*_{LOC}
 Y see-IND 1A:3O:PRES woomera-LOC make-THM-LOC
 'I'm watching him make a woomera.'

Kayardild and Lardil also preserve this construction in the form of *-THurrka* clauses (THM-LOC:DAT) in Kayardild (12.1.5.1) and *-jirr* "CONTEMPoraneous" clauses in Lardil (Appendix C).

In Yangkaal there has been a semantic shift, with these clauses being used for hypothetical protases:

- (10-64) *niya ngijin-ji baa-ji,*
 Ya 3sgNOM 1sg-LOC bite-SUPPOS(*THM.LOC)
- ngada jambala-thu niwan-ju*
 1sgNOM kick-POT 3sg-MPROP

'If he bites me, I'll kick him.'

Two clause types, however, required different cases on verb and NPs, although the cases involved were closely related semantically.

Prior clauses appear to have allowed two alternate constructions. In one, NPs took the CONSequential, which is the same case as appeared on the verb. This is preserved in Lardil (10-65) and as a rare alternative in Kayardild (7-29).

(10-65) *nyingki mara ja-tharr*
L 2sgNOM(*ABS) CTRFCT enter-MNF(*THM.CONNS)

dawun-ngarr, ngada mara kurri-thu ngimben-thar
house-MNFOBJ(*CONS) 1sgNOM CTRFCT see-FUT 2sg-FOBJ

'If you had gone into the house, I would have seen you.'

In the other alternative, preserved in Y (10-66), Ya (10-67) and K (7.2.3.8), the same verb inflection was employed, but with the ABLative on NPs (ABLative and CONSequential are of course related semantically: the first expresses spatial priority; the second, temporal priority).

(10-66) *dangka-ya=kanda kurri-ja maku [kunawuna-naba*
Y man-ERG=3A:PAST see-IND womanABS child-ABL

*jambila-th.arrba]*CONS/ABL
kick-THM.CONNS

'The man saw the woman (who had already started) kicking the child.'
(Y:246)

(10-67) *nyingka ngudi-jarrba wangalk-in,*
Ya 2sgNOM throw-PRIOR(*THM.CONNS) boomerang-MABL(*ABL)

ngada burldi-ju ngumban-ju junkijarrad
1sgNOM hit-POT 2sg-MPROP in return

'If you throw the boomerang (at me), I'll hit you back.'

The disparity in case-choice in the Y, Ya and K versions of this construction suggests some sort of combinatory restriction in pT, such that temporal priority was expressed by the ABLative with some word classes instead of the expected CONSequential: it may be significant that the CONSequential has ceased to be a productive relational case in all Tangkic languages but K. Restrictions something like this are found, for example, in Djapu (Morphy 1983:132), where human nominals take the OBLique case where others take the ABLative or CAUSal (10-17).

Lest clauses likewise required different case choices for verb and NPs: the UTILitive case *-marra* on the verb, and the DATive or PROPrietary on NPs. Y (10-68) and K preserve the first alternative; Lardil (10-69) and K the second. As mentioned in 10.1.3, K also allows the LOCative; because this is restricted to K it is hard to tell when this third possibility emerged.

(10-68) *yarrama-ja=ladi* [*jirma-ny.marra*
Y whisper-IND 3pLS:PRES wake-LEST(*THM.UTIL)

kunawuna-ntha]UTIL/DAT
child-DAT(*DAT)

‘They are whispering, lest they wake the child.’

(10-69) *kurri-kurri,* *ngawa* *wungi-ny.merr*
L look-RDUP(IMP) dogNOM(*ABS) steal-EVIT(*THM.UTIL)

wurdalji-wu
meat-FOBJ(*PROP)

‘Watch out or the dog might steal that meat.’

Here again it is worth noting that the UTILitive *-marra* survives as a case proper only in K (although even there it is not used on NPs of such complementized clauses). In the remaining Tangkic languages it is restricted in use (4.3.14); probably a later development.

Again, the cases chosen for verb and NP are closely related in meaning: the UTILitive of use in K is translated by the DATive in Y (4.3.14), and the “potential having” meaning, as in K and L *dul-marra dangkaa* [land-UTIL man] “hereditary custodian of territory” can be paraphrased with the PROPrietary.

To summarize this section, pT appears to have had up to six complementized clause types in which the verb and its non-subject NPs bore a case illustrating the relative temporal or modal relationships between the two clauses. In four (purpose, implicated, movement purpose and simultaneous) the same case suffix was added to verb and NPs. In one (prior) either the same case (CONS) could be used for verb and NPs, or the NPs could take a different case (ABL). With the remaining type, the APPREhensive, verb and NPs took distinct but again near-synonymous suffixes.

Two further features of these clause types were crucial in shaping the development of the K, Ya and L systems that evolved later:

(a) The subordinate subject is usually equi-deleted, but where matrix and subordinate subjects were not identical it would appear, without

“complementizing case” (e.g. 12-138). This applied to transitive and intransitive subjects alike. Objects, on the other hand, took complementizing case. To the extent that subordinate subjects appeared, case-marking in t-complementized clauses was totally accusative, morphologically equating A and S, with O marked differently. This would have increased the number of accusative constructions opposed to the “basic” ergative construction.

(b) Although our data on this is far from complete, it seems that all NPs but the subject took t-complementizing case. Objects have been exemplified already; Keen’s Yukulta corpus also contains examples of LOCations (10-70) and temporals (10-71), in both of which the t-complementizing case *replaces* the relational LOCative these NPs would take in a main clause. (Correspondingly, in K and L the marked modal cases replace relational LOCatives—see 4.2.3). There is also one example of a subordinate ALLative, which is followed by the t-complementizing case (10-72).

(10-70) *kurri-ja=nganda* [*kabaj-inaba jawi-jarrba*]
 Y see-IND=1sgA:PAST sand-ABL run-PRIOR
 ‘I saw you running on the sand.’

(10-71) *birikali-ja=wuluwaka* [*ylumburr-inaba-ntha*]
 Y sorry-IND=3plOBL:1sgA:PRES long-ABL-DAT

thaa-tharrba-ntha]_{DAT}
 come back-PRIOR-DAT

‘I feel sorry for them having had to walk so far.’

[The outer dative shows the subordinate subject is controlled by a matrix DATive, here the indirect object of ‘feel sorry for’. Cf. 12.6.1]

(10-72) *daami-ja=ngandi* [*natha-rlu-ngkurlu warra-jurlu*]_{PROP}
 Y ask-IND=1sgA:3sgO:FUT camp-ALL-PROP go-IMPLICATED
 ‘I’ll ask him to come to the camp.’ (DYL:270)

Unfortunately, Keen does not discuss whether other, “subject-oriented” NPs, such as PROPrietary intentional objects, themes and instruments, are retained before the t-complementizing case. As pointed out in 10.3, these almost always correspond to modally-blocked NPs in K. It is possible that such NPs in pT escaped complementizing case by association with their subjects. If so, this would account for their lack of modal case in K, as “insubordination” extended the pattern to main clauses.

The *domain* of t-complementizing case in pT thus set the scene for the domain of modal case in K, Ya and L: by not appearing on subjects, and appearing on all other NPs (with the possible exception of “subject-

oriented” NPs), a precedent was set for a domain covering all NPs in the VP. Note also that with t-complementizing case in pT, to a greater extent than with modal case in L or K, we can say that the domain is the *whole VP, including the verb*. The sole caveat needed is that in LEST and PRIOR constructions case substitution must be made according to whether the host is a NP or a verb.

10.4.2 The abandonment of the proto system

Yukulta has been the most conservative of the Tangkic languages: it alone preserves the original ergative construction. Further testimony to its conservative nature is the fact that all clause types in the other Tangkic languages, bar alternative variants on the PRIOR and LEST clauses, can be shown to derive from clause types preserved in Yukulta. This suggests that all such clause types date back to pT, with the possible exception of the ABS:LOC construction mentioned in 10.4.1.2.

The remaining languages—Lardil, Kayardild and Yangkaal—have undergone the same general types of change, although the details differ from language to language. Each has taken one detransitivized frame as the canonical main clause type, and phased out the originally canonical ergative construction; the only trace of ergative morphology is in imperatives. And each has recruited a number of new main clause types by “insubordination”—the use of subordinate as main clauses. Suffixes that were once t-complementizers, showing the tense/mood relation between main and subordinate clauses, have become “modal case” markers coding the tense/mood relation between clause and speech act (cf. 10.2). We now discuss these changes in more detail.

10.4.2.1 Preservation of unmarked objects in imperatives.

Non-pronominal objects of positive imperatives remain nominative in K (7.2.3.1), L (10-73) and Ya (10-74), as do objects of negative imperatives in K. The situation with negative imperatives in Yangkaal and Lardil was discussed in 10.4.1.2.

(10-73) *(nyingki) were / were-ne wanggal !*
 L 2sgNOM throwIMP throw-NEG.IMP boomerangNOM
 ‘(You) throw / don’t throw the boomerang!’

(10-74) *wirdi-ja durruwa-na bardubardu-wa buluku*
 Ya stay-IMP chase-NEG.IMP poor-NOM bullock(NOM)
 ‘Don’t chase the poor bullock!’

In K and Ya (10-75) this construction is also available (though optional) with pronominal objects:

(10-75) *bunji bala-tha niya*
 Ya napeNOM hit-IMP 3sgNOM
 'Hit him in the back of the neck!'

This is a relict of the old ergative construction, in which objects took the ABSolutive. In accounting for the retention of this pattern of object marking, it is significant that none of the triggering conditions for the detransitivized case frame can be met in positive imperatives: the subject must be second person, ruling out inverse subject/object combinations, the polarity must be positive, and the imperative mood is incompatible with irrealis or dubitative status: Yukulta uses a distinct verb inflection for irrealis imperatives.

Although the imperative construction is conservative with respect to object marking, the *subject* takes the NOMinative (pT ABSolutive), in accordance with modern case marking rules.²⁴

10.4.2.2 Detransitivized frames become the canonical clause type. As we saw in 10.4.1.2, Yukulta has two "general detransitivized constructions" reassigning the cases of subject and object as ABS:DAT or ABS:LOC. It is likely that pT had only the first of these, the second being innovated after Lardil split off. We cannot be sure of the triggering semantic conditions.

Each of these case frames has been taken as canonical by some modern language.

Lardil has generalized the ABS:DAT frame, so that its reflex is now the unmarked construction: transitive verbs in the "plain" form take the "OBJECTive case", cognate with the pT dative (10-76, 10-77). Klokeid (1978) uses internal reconstruction to set up {-*INHTha*}, cognate with the pT dative, as the underlying form for the L 'OBJECTive' case. For present purposes we may note that three regular morphophonemic processes in L are responsible for the surface forms: SCHWA-DROP, giving *-INHTh*, cluster-reduction, giving *-iNH*, and final-delaminalization, giving *-in*.

(10-76) *ngada yuurr-were wangalk-in*
 L 1sgNOM(*ABS) PERF-throw boomerang-OBJ(*DAT)
 'I threw the boomerang.'

²⁴ As mentioned in 10.4.1.1, pronouns in pT may have had the one form for A, S and O, so pronoun subjects of imperatives would not have been distinct anyway. But apposed nominals, which are quite possible in the modern languages (e.g. 'you children chase him!') would have taken a distinct ergative inflection, no longer preserved.

(10-77)	<i>niya</i>	<i>ne-jarri</i>	<i>ngawu-n</i>
L	3sgNOM(*ABS)	hit-NEGIND	dog-OBJ(*DAT)
	'He didn't hit the dog.'		

Kayardild (3.4.3) and Yangkaal (10-78), on the other hand, took the ABS:LOC form as canonical:

(10-78)	<i>niya</i>	<i>ngijin-ji</i>	<i>yathuyii-jarrma-th</i>
Ya	3sgNOM(*ABS)	1sg-(M)LOC(*LOC)	laugh-CAUS-ACT
	'He made me laugh.'		

In clauses of this type, that originated as detransitivized constructions in proto-Tangkic, the domain of modal case is essentially restricted to objects (but see 3.4.3 for some qualifications as regards K), rather than covering all NPs in the VP, as is typical with the other modal cases. This reflects their origin: pT antipassives reassigned the case of subject and object only, while complementized clauses, from which the other modal cases derived, assigned case to the whole complement VP.

We have already seen (10.4.1.2) that two other situations required a detransitivized construction: the irrealis desiderative (positive *-da*, negative *-nada*) triggered the ABS:DAT frame, and the realis desiderative (positive *-da*, negative *-nangkurlu*) triggered the ABS:PROP frame.

The irrealis desiderative construction, with its ABS:DAT frame, has parallels in K (7.2.3.9) and in L, where pT *-da* has become *-rr* by regular sound change; there has also been a semantic shift in L from desiderative to sequential imperative:

(10-79)	<i>ma-tha</i>	<i>kiin</i>	<i>wangal,</i>	<i>karnjin-in</i>	<i>nee-rr</i>
L	take-IMP	this	boomerang	wallaby-OBJ(*DAT)	hit-SEQIMP(*DES)
	'Take this boomerang and hit the wallaby.'				

In K the domain of the OBLIQUE has been extended to the VP (with the usual exceptions), presumably by analogy with the other modal uses of the desiderative, which all derive from subordinate clauses and hence had the VP as domain. The sources for Lardil do not specify the domain of the OBJective case in this construction.

Neither Kayardild nor Lardil has a correspondent of the positive version of the Yukultra realis desiderative construction. Both have main clauses that could be taken as corresponding to the negative version, namely NEGative POTential or NEGative FUTure clauses with verb inflection (*-nangku(ru)* in Kayardild, and *-nengku(ru)* in Lardil) and the modal PROPrietary. Although these could derive from middle constructions (via the widespread semantic shift from realis desiderative to future), an alternative explanation is that they are insubordinated "implicated" clauses (10.4.2.3). This latter explanation is more likely, as it would account automatically for the domain of the modal PROPrietary

pT Verb	pT NP	pT Function	K Function		L Function	
			Subordinate	Main	Subordinate	Main
<i>-THurlu</i>	PROP	Implicated	Jussive, Purpose	Future	Jussive	Future
<i>-NHmarra</i>	DAT	Lest Evitative	Lest	Appre- hensive	Lest	
	PROP	“ “	“ “	“ “	—	—
<i>-THarba</i>	ABL	Prior	Prior/ Precondition	Past	—	—
	CONS	“ “	“ “	—	Non-future with respect to main clause	Marked Non- Future
<i>-THinja</i>	DAT	Purpose	Purpose	Hortative	—	—
<i>-THirlu</i>	ALL	Movement Purpose	Movement Purpose	Directed	—	—
<i>-THi</i>	LOC	Simultaneous	Simultaneous	Immediate	Contemporaneous (Appendix C)	

Figure 10-6. Insubordination in Kayardild and Lardil

(all NPs in the VP) and its occurrence with positive as well as negative verb inflections.

10.4.2.3 Insubordination. All six pT subordinate clause types are preserved in K; four remain in L. In addition to their continued subordinate clause use, some in L and all in K may be “insubordinated”—used as main rather than subordinate clauses, with absolute rather than relative tense/mood. This is summarized in Figure 10-6. Insubordinated clauses retain the distinct morphosyntactic characteristic of complementized clauses in pT: a case suffix marked on the verb and NPs of the VP, but not on the clausal subject. Clauses originating in this way form the backbone of the modal case system in these languages.

We now examine the various types individually.

(A) PT IMPLICATED SUBORDINATE CLAUSE → FUTURE MAIN CLAUSE. Clauses deriving from pT “implicated” complements may be used as purpose complements in K (12.3.9) and as jussives in K (12.2.6.1) and L (10-61 above). But they may also be used as future main clauses, both in K (7.2.3.5) and Lardil:

(10-80) *dangka barrki-thur nyith-ur*
 L manNOM chop-FUT firewood-FOBJ(*PROP)
 ‘The man will chop the firewood.’

Semantically, two steps seem to have been taken here: (a) a shift from relative to absolute “intentional” meanings: from “at the time of the main clause, X intended to do Y” to “now, X intends to do Y” (b) a semantic extension from intention (still a possible reading, at least in K) to futurity. As McConvell (1981:163-4) points out, this change was not made “in isolation: a model did exist, from which the ... reanalysis proceeded by analogy. The model was probably the main-clause type present in Yukulta in which the desiderative tense is used in a middle (antipassivized) type of construction, with the intransitive desiderative {*w/kurlu*} suffix of the verb, and instead of a dative object, with a slightly different meaning, a comitative/purposive suffix on the direct object, with the same form as the desiderative verbal suffix”.

The development of main clause future tense markers from “purpose” subordinate clauses, usually involving the “bivalent” suffix *-ku* (so-called because it is regularly found both as a purposive or dative case marker and as a verbal purposive inflection), has occurred in several other Australian languages, e.g. Muruwari (Oates 1976) and Pitjantjatjara (example from Blake 1976:422):

(10-81) *minyma yula-ku*
 Pitj womanNOM cry-PURP
 ‘The woman may/will cry.’

Blake suggests a development from marking (i) goal of motion to (ii) purpose-beneficiary NPs to (iii) desiderative (infinitive clauses) to (iv) future.

(B) LEST SUBORDINATE CLAUSE → APPREHENSIVE MAIN CLAUSE. K and L both retain the subordinate use of *-NHmarra* clauses (e.g. 7-44 and 10-69), with the ‘lest’ meaning “[main clause] in order to prevent [subordinate clause]”. Both allow the *-NHmarra* clause to be insubordinated, with a more general “apprehensive” meaning: “do anything, to preempt [main clause]!” or just “[main clause], which is undesirable, is liable to happen”. As in subordinate clauses, K preserves

both ancestral case-marking patterns,²⁵ while L preserves only the PROPrietive alternative:

- (10-82) *ngawa wungi-nymerr wurdalji-wu*
 L dogNOM steal-EVIT meat-FOBJ(*PROP)
 'The dog is liable to steal the meat.'

As with the implicated clause type, insubordination of "lest" clauses is attested elsewhere in Australia. Austin (1981a:225-9) discusses the Diyari "lest" construction, which is basically subordinate but may also occur in main clauses:

- (10-83) *nhulu-ka kinthala-li yinanha matha-yathi*
 Di 3sgFemA-TOKEN dog-ERG 2sgACC bite-LEST
 'This dog might bite you.'

He suggests that "in all the examples of this type of construction it is clear from the context that an "understood" imperative, warning or suggestion is implicit ... these sentences may be regarded as structurally subordinate because it is always POSSIBLE to add a main clause before them, although context may make it unnecessary."

I would claim that the K and L examples are no longer structurally subordinate, and that ellipsis of the type Austin describes has become so frequent and conventionalized that in the modern languages one should speak of *alternate* subordinate and main clause uses, rather than deriving one from the other. The fact that one *can* add a "main clause" is not a definitive test—one can add a main clause containing a declarative verb before English indicatives, but this does not show them to be subordinate.

(C) PRIOR SUBORDINATE CLAUSE → PAST (KAYARDILD), MARKED NON FUTURE (LARDIL). Prior clauses appear originally to have coded events whose inception or completion preceded the event described by the main clause. This is preserved in K and Ya *-THarrba* clauses (K: 7.2.3.8, Ya: 10-67) and in L *-THarr(ba)* clauses (10-65).

In L, the corresponding clause type may also be used for relative clauses with non-future—usually past—reference:

- (10-84) *karaan ngani mangarda, diwarrku budi-tharr*
 L where that child yesterday fall-MNF
 'Where is the child, who fell yesterday?'

²⁵ With the modal LOCative as a third type. It is less clear whether this is an innovation or an ancestral possibility; see 10.4.1.3.

They may also be used as main clauses—again almost always with past reference. Here they usually have a focussing function, as in:

(10-85)	<i>kiin mangarda diwarrku-ngarr</i>	<i>budi-tharr</i>
L	this child yesterday-MNFOBJ(*CONS)	fall-MNF(*PRIOR)
	'That child (is the one that) fell yesterday.'	

It is easy to see how such focussed main clause constructions arose from clefts including a prior subordinate clause, as in the English gloss. Lardil, like K, allows zero anaphora and lacks a copula. So the only difference between a single clause, and a clefted construction with the *-THarrba* clause subordinate, is the presence of a pause in the latter: *kiin mangarda, diwarrkungarr buditharr* '(it is) that child, (who) fell yesterday'. Given the lack of formal differentiation, such clefted constructions could easily be reinterpreted as single main clauses.

A similar change has taken place in K, complicated by the split of pT *-THarrba* into two K forms: PRECONdition *-THarrba*, restricted to subordinate clauses, and PAST *-THarra*, used for relative clauses and hypotheses (7.3.1), as well as past main clauses. As in L, the extension of this inflection to main clauses may have been mediated by its use in clefts—see 12.5 on the use of *-THarra* in object focus constructions, but with added complications in c-complementizing case.

(D) PROTO-TANGKIC PURPOSE SUBORDINATE CLAUSE → HORTATIVE MAIN CLAUSE. proto Tangkic *-THinja* clauses marked purpose; some K *-THinja* clauses could be analysed as subordinate purpose clauses following imperatives. But their main use in K is as hortatives (7.2.3.10). This probably arose through ellipsis of a matrix imperative: "(Do something) in order that [Purpose clause]".

The evolution of hortatives from subordinate clauses of purpose is widespread—a well-known example is the hortative use of the "independent subjunctive", as in French *qu'il vienne!* [that he come-SUBJ] 'let him come'. A Yankunyjtatjara example is:

(10-86)	<i>ngayulu ngalku-nytja-ku / kuli-nytja-ku</i>
Yank	1sgERG eat-NMSR-PURP listen-NMSR-PURP
	'May I eat / listen?'

Goddard (1983:105-7), who provides this example, suggests that "these utterances are probably best interpreted as "indirect speech acts", for they implicitly request the addressee to do something, so that the situation they depict may become possible."

A second round in the evolution of hortatives from subordinate purpose clauses has occurred with K "potential of purpose" clauses bearing complementizing case. This is discussed in 12.4.1.

(E) PROTO-TANGKIC SIMULTANEOUS SUBORDINATE CLAUSE → IMMEDIATE MAIN CLAUSE (KAYARDILD). Proto Tangkic *-THi* subordinate clauses marked simultaneity, including the simultaneity of an act of perception, coded by the main clause, and the perceived event, coded by the subordinate clause. K subordinate clauses preserve this function (12.1.5.1); the L correspondent has extra morphological complications (Appendix C).

In K, *-THi* clauses may also occur as main clauses, coding events that can be immediately perceived from the time and place of the speech act (7.2.3.4). As with hortatives, this appears to have arisen through ellipsis of a matrix predicate, here a perception verb: (I see/hear that) X-SIMUL.

Since the full biclausal construction would in modern K (but not in pT) require complementizing case, because ellipsed and subordinate clauses have different subjects (12.2), and because complementizing case does not in fact occur, it is likely that insubordination of this clause type occurred during a period when the pT rules still governed assignment of complementizing case.

Like the hortative, this construction has a much commoner functional doublet, involving *-THurrka* clauses, which has arisen through a second round of insubordination. See 12.4.3.4 and 12.4.4.

(F) PROTO-TANGKIC MOVEMENT PURPOSE CLAUSE → INCEPTIVE MAIN CLAUSE (KAYARDILD). pT subordinate clauses with the ALLative marked “come/go in order to [Clause]”. This subordinate use is preserved in K; unlike other subordinate clause types it takes a further inflection for modal case (11.6).

They may also be used as main clauses. These have a variety of meanings, but the most important is “SUBJ is coming towards (speaker) and beginning to V”.

Once again it appears that a semantically predictable matrix clause has been ellipsed. Note that the only possible matrix verbs with the subordinate construction in K are *dalija* ‘come’ and *warraja* ‘go’ (11.6). The “motion in order to” meaning could therefore be unambiguously recovered from a sentence whose main clause had been ellipsed; as a result ellipsis could have become ever more common and eventually have been fully conventionalized.

The “inceptive” meaning probably developed later, through metaphorical extension of the type discussed in 10.2. The further development of “extensive” and “pergressive” meanings is harder to explain—see 7.2.3.12.

SUMMARY: In each case, it appears, insubordination occurred as ellipsis of the matrix predicate gradually became conventionalized. During the intermediate stages, recovery of the ellipsed predicate was facilitated by the natural compatibility of certain matrix predicates with certain types of subordinate relation: warning/command predicates with Lest clauses, “enabling” predicates with Purpose clauses, perception predicates with Simultaneous clauses, and movement predicates with “Motion Purpose” clauses. The evolution of Marked Non Future (Lardil) and Past (Kayardild) constructions may have followed a different route, via cleft constructions.

Sporadic cases of insubordination are widely attested, e.g. independent lest clauses in Diyari, and the independent subjunctive as a hortative in the Romance languages. What is unusual about the insular Tangkic languages is their generalization of insubordination to such a wide range of clause types. In Kayardild a second round of insubordination is even occurring—see 12.4.

10.4.3 Possible reasons for the loss of ergativity and development of modal case

As the “why” of language change is always more uncertain than the “how”, I have so far restricted myself to reconstructing what changes probably took place, without going into their possible causes. To the latter, more speculative, question this section is devoted.

Klokeid (1978) proposed that phonological change was the motivating factor in undermining the ergative system of pT. The battery of truncation rules that has shortened Lardil stems would, he claims, have eliminated the ergative as a distinct case, with subject and object forms no longer distinct in the “basic” construction type. The other, middle constructions, in which they *were* distinct, would then have been taken as canonical. Klokeid’s argument is repeated in Dixon (1980:457).

Two objections can be made to this analysis. Firstly, it is simply not true that truncation destroyed the distinctness of the ergative case. As mentioned in 10.4.1.1, the ergative of non-pronominals in pT, as in Yukulta (Appendix B), was formally identical to the locative. And this locative is preserved as a distinct case form in Lardil, having undergone some irregular sound changes, so that $\{- (ng)e\}$ replaces pT $\{-kiya\}$. On the basis of other, regular sound changes we would expect $\{- (ng)i\}$ ²⁶ but there has been irregular lowering of the vowel, probably conditioned by

²⁶ The initial *k*, which occurred only after nasals, changed to *ng* by progressive assimilation of nasality. A similar change has produced Lardil *ngan* [GEN] from pT *karran* in this environment.

the original following glide. In short the Lardil locative, which continues a form identical to the pT ergative, has remained distinct from the old ABSolutive despite the many phonological changes undergone by Lardil.

A second objection relies on evidence from K and Ya, unavailable to Klokeid when he wrote the above article. In K and Ya there have been only very minor phonological changes, and the nominative (< pT absolutive) and locative (<pT locative = pT ergative) are clearly distinct in all but one declension class (which was not distinct in pT either)—see 4.2. But despite the relative phonological conservatism of K and Ya, comparable morphosyntactic changes have occurred. We must therefore seek a non-phonetic causal mechanism.

On the other hand, pronominal subjects and objects appear to have been formally identical in pT (10.4.1.1). This would certainly have favoured the growth of any construction in which they were distinct.

McConvell (1981) offers a functional explanation for these changes. He suggests that in pT, as in Yukulta, there was a clitic complex or “auxiliary” distinguishing past, present and future tenses; verbs did not distinguish tense, but signalled mood and polarity. When “truncation” eliminated the tense element of the auxiliary (limited in Y to a segment NCV in final position), main clauses were left with no means of signalling tense. To this “there was a radical solution: the subordinate clause types of Proto-Tangkic (sic) ... which *did* make a distinction of tense ... were transplanted as main clause types” (p.163). This further increased the proportion of accusative-type constructions in main clauses, until “Lardil took the output of the ANTIPASSIVE (nominative subject—dative object) as the canonical form of the uninflected tense type, thus eliminating almost the last trace of ergative syntax, and bringing the uninflected type into line with the other indicative tense types” (p.165).

McConvell’s scenario contains three logically independent subplots:

- (a) the supposed existence in pT of a tense-bearing auxiliary,
- (b) the destruction of the auxiliary by the sound changes collectively known as truncation, and
- (c) the reanalysis of pT subordinate as main clauses, and subsequent “crowding out” of the originally canonical ergative construction.

While I believe (c) to be likely, and (a) to be plausible, the status of (b) is problematic.

The evidence for the existence of an auxiliary in proto-Tangkic is not decisive either way.

In favour of attributing an auxiliary to proto Tangkic, we can say that

(i) the Yukulta auxiliary system contains a lot of fusional and hence rather old-looking morphology; many of the bound pronouns cannot be related to free forms, and nor can the tense/mood markers

(ii) as Blake (1990) has pointed out, the Yukulta auxiliary can be regarded as containing person *prefixes* to a tense marking auxiliary base; if attributed to proto-Tangkic, this would provide a link to the prefixing non-Pama-Nyungan languages of Arnhem Land to which the Tangkic languages are most closely related. The languages of the Jingilian family provide a clear parallel for the move from a prefixing language to a suffixing language in which the only residual prefixes are in an auxiliary, deriving from a degenerate prefixed verb (Nordlinger 1993).

Against these rather weak arguments, we can cite the restriction of auxiliaries to Yukulta in the modern Tangkic languages, and the frequency with which auxiliaries have developed under areal influence in Australia (Yukulta has at least one neighbour, Karrwa, with an auxiliary), as possible evidence that the auxiliary is a late innovation confined to Yukulta.

So far, then, there is no clear evidence either way. What would be decisive proof of a proto-Tangkic auxiliary would be the discovery of cognacy between the tense-markers in the Yukulta auxiliary, and verbal or auxiliary morphology in non-Tangkic languages. But I have been unable to locate such evidence.

To turn to the causes of why any auxiliary that might have existed in proto-Tangkic should have been lost, it is clear that phonological explanations are inadequate. There is evidence that the processes of truncation found in Lardil free forms did not affect clitics: the pT clitic =*ka*, for example (9.7.4.2) is fully preserved in Lardil. More importantly K and Ya, which as we have seen suffered only minor phonological change, show no evidence of a clitic complex. (McConvell had no data on these languages). It is therefore unlikely that any loss of auxiliary that occurred resulted from sound change. We must therefore seek alternative explanations—and a more recent paper by McConvell (1990:14) raises the possibility of pidginisation. While the loss of such complex morphology is quite compatible with what we know of pidginisation processes, and fits in with the scenario of late Tangkic arrival in its present location (1.4.2), we have no positive evidence for it, and for the time being it must be regarded as no more than a plausible hypothesis.

Whether proto-Tangkic never had an auxiliary, or whether both pre-Lardil and pre-Yangkaal-Kayardild had lost an original auxiliary for some unknown reason, we are left with an ancestral system with a very restricted set of main clause tense/mood categories, but a developed system of signalling interclausal tense/mood relations. Although unusual, it conforms with the picture obtained by reconstructing verb inflections.

Such a system would be under some functional pressure to recruit new main clause categories, as McConvell argues, and the rich system of subordinate clause types would have provided an obvious model: as argued above, the syntactic shift from subordinate to main clause status was accompanied by a semantic shift from relative to absolute tense.

The historical productivity of this process in the Tangkic languages is emphasized by the occurrence in K of a second round of insubordination, to be discussed in Chapter 12: a second, outer layer of complementizing case suffixes may also be used in main clauses. These either indicate the ellipsis of a matrix perception, utterance or command predicate, or extend to main clauses the “odd pivot” tracking mechanisms originally applied only between matrix and subordinate clauses.

In summary, then, the sweeping morphological and syntactic changes undergone by the insular Tangkic languages cannot be attributed to sound changes which wiped out key inflections in pT, as Klokeid and McConvell propose. Rather, the reasons appear to have been functional: the ancestors of Lardil and Kayardild-Yangkaal had a meagre set of main clause tense/mood categories, but a rich set of subordinate clause types. They redressed this imbalance by allowing the subordinate types to be used in main clauses as well. In the process, old “t-complementizing case” was imported as new “modal case”.

This had the effect of increasing the number of accusative-type constructions allowed in main clauses: alongside the accusative “detransitivized” constructions were three (L) or six (K) old subordinate constructions, also accusative, compared to the one ergative construction, only possible in indicatives, imperatives and realis desideratives. To this might be added the non-distinctness of the subject and object pronoun forms in the ergative construction, whereas they were distinct in detransitivized and subordinate construction types. It is not surprising that in the end the accusative constructions were fully generalized and the ergative construction fell into disuse.²⁷

There is no evidence that the above syntactic changes served to realign morphological and syntactic categories, a mechanism Dixon (1977b) credits with certain changes in Dyrbal and Yidiny, and also relevant in the development of morphological accusativity in languages of the Ngayarda group, which were already syntactically accusative (Dench 1982). The relation between case-assignment and syntactic function was undoubtedly complicated in pT, but it has become even more so in K, Ya and L: in addition to the complicated tense/modality-dependent marking of objects found in all three, L in particular has a daunting array of

²⁷ Note, however, that K does have two constructions that could be considered ergative: resultative nominalizations, probably a recent innovation (11.4.3), and the *bakijja* qualifier construction (8.2.1.1). Lardil also has a newly-developed “object-topicalization” construction that could be considered ergative (McConvell 1981:172-6).

possibilities for subjects. To consider active clauses alone, they may be nominative (unmarked clause type), genitive (topicalized object in marked modality) and accusative (subject of active contemporaneous clause). There are also several possibilities for the “underlying” subjects of passive clauses (9.3.2).

Chapter 11

Non-finite subordinate clauses

In this and the following chapter I discuss subordinate clauses. These may be classified into non-finite and finite clauses according to the cluster of syntactic criteria in Figure 11-1.

Non-finite subordinate clauses	Finite subordinate clauses
1. Special rules for assigning modal, relational and associating case (except motion purpose clauses).	Normal pattern of relational and modal case (no associating case).
2. Pivot must be subordinate subject.	Pivot may be subordinate subject, object or instrument (at least).
3. Obligatory omission of subordinate subject.	Zero anaphora of subordinate pivot according to usual discourse rules; non-pivot not usually omitted.
4. Subordinate clause agrees in modal case with antecedent.	No case agreement with matrix antecedent. Instead, an outer complementizing case tracks marked coreference conditions.
5. Verb is morphologically nominal (except motion purpose clauses)	No restrictions on type of verb.
6. Distributionally equivalent to Noun Phrases.	Not distributionally equivalent to NPs; usually adjoined.

Figure 11-1. Syntactic characteristics of non-finite and finite subordinate clauses

Non-finite subordinate clauses will be discussed in this chapter, finite subordinate clauses in Chapter 12.

There are two basic types of non-finite subordinate clause.

“Nominalized clauses” have verbs with the nominalizing¹ formative *-n-* in place of the normal verbal inflection. In addition to their main clause function as de facto present ongoing (11-1) or completive (11-2) inflections, they function as object complements of perception verbs (11-3), as second predicates of manner (11-4) or consequence (11-5), as restrictive relatives (11-6), and as goal adjuncts (11-7).

- (11-1) *niya kala-n-da thungal-inj*
3sgNOM cut-N-NOM tree-AOBL
'(S)he is cutting the tree.'
- (11-2) *maramara balarr-ina dangka-na dana-thirri-n-d*
dinghyNOM white-ABL man-ABL leave-RES-N-NOM
'The dinghy was left behind by the white man.'
- (11-3) *ngada kurri-ja ki-rr-wan-ji kurri-nju-n-ki*
1sgNOM see-ACT 2sg-du-POSS-MLOC look-RECIP-N-MLOC
'I saw you two looking at one another.'
- (11-4) *warra-ja ngarn-ki wakiri-wakiri-n-d*
go-ACT beach-LOC carry coolamon-REDUP-N-NOM
'(They) went along the beach, carrying coolamons.'
- (11-5) *buka-ngarrba wuran-ngarrba diya-n-ngarrba bardaka jilari-y*
rotten-CONS food-CONS eat-N-CONS stomachNOM sore-NOM
'(His) stomach is sore from eating rotten food.'
(Lit: (he), after eating food, (has) a sore stomach.)
- (11-6) *ngada wayaa-jarra dathin-kina kunawuna-na*
1sgNOM sing.to.health-PST that-MABL child-MABL
markurii-n-ngarrba-na
get.mulgri-N-CONS-MABL
'I sang back to health that child who had got “mulgri”.'
(on *mulgri* see 1.3.2)
- (11-7) *karna-j, darri-j, junku-wa-n-marii-j*
heat-IMP tread-IMP straight-INCH-N-VTRANSL-ACT
'Heat (the spear shaft) and tread on it, until it straightens out.'

¹ I use the term nominalization rather than participle because of the absence of a morphologically-defined adjective class in Kayardild; since the functions of Kayardild nominalizations cover those of both nominalizations (deverbal nouns) and participles (deverbal adjectives) in some languages, nominalization seems a more appropriate term.

All nominalized clauses have special rules for assigning relational and modal case; “plain” nominalized clauses, for example trigger “Associating OBLique marking” (3.4.5), and resultative nominalizations have an ergative argument structure.

Together with nominalized clauses I will discuss “lexical nominalizations”: words like *wangal-ngudinda* ‘boomerang thrower’, *ngijin-kinyiliyarrba* ‘one who was given form (brought into the world) by me’, and *warrku-darayarrba* ‘one circumcized at daybreak’. Like clauses, these have an argument structure with a verbal predicator and up to two arguments: one prefixed, the other the referent of the nominalization. Like clauses, there are regular rules governing the voice of the verb stem and the semantic roles of the arguments. Syntactically, however, they are nominal words (usually entity nominals). They may inflect for number and nominal derivational suffixes such as *muthanda* ‘excessive’, may be modified by other nominals, and are part of a NP. And where the arguments of syntactic nominalizations are free NPs, lexical nominalizations must incorporate their arguments as prefixes.

“Motion purpose” clauses give a motivating action toward whose execution the matrix subject is moving in space as well as time. Syntactically they are ‘DIRECTed’ VPs directly embedded beneath a matrix adjunct NP; all their constituents (including the verb) take a further modal case inflection in agreement with that of the matrix clause:

- (11-8) *balmb-u* *ngada* *dali-ju* *ngumban-jiring-ku*
 tomorrow-MPROP 1sgNOM come-POT 2sg-MALL-MPROP
- kamburi-jiring-ku*
 speak-DIREC-MPROP
- ‘Tomorrow I’ll come to talk to you.’

11.1 Morphological structure of nominalized verbs

As mentioned above, nominalizations functioning as the verbs of nominalized clauses (henceforth, “clausal nominalizations”) have very similar morphological possibilities to “lexical nominalizations” (excepting *-THarriba* clauses—11.3). These are summarized in Figure 11-2.

The only three differences are that (a) lexical nominalizations may take PROPrietary after the nominalizing morpheme, (b) negative lexical nominalizations are formed with *-THarri* (which also functions as the NEGative ACTual suffix) while negative clausal nominalizations use nominalizing *-n-* plus PRIVative *-marri* (c) in syntactic, but not lexical nominalizations, the nominalizing morpheme may follow verbal case suffixes (e.g. 11-27, 11-32).

Prefix–	Verb Stem–	Voice–	Nominalizer–	Completive/ Potential / Negative
Nominal Stem	V	∅	-n-	∅
		-M- (-yii-)		-CONS -ngarrba
		-RES- -THirri-		[-PROP] -kuru
		-RECIP- -NTHu-		-PRIV -marri
			[Negative] -THarri	

Note: (a) [] encloses possibilities limited to lexical nominalizations.

(b) RESultative -THirri- is incompatible with CONSequential -ngarrba (through redundancy), and PROPrietary -kuru (through contradiction).

Figure 11-2. Morphological structure of nominalized verbal words

Nominal prefixation is far commoner with lexical nominalizations, but nevertheless possible with certain types of clausal nominalization. Because of this morphological overlap, a given *form* may double as a lexical and a syntactic nominalization (which itself may serve several distinct functions). Thus the stem *rajurri-n-* [walk around-N-] may function as a lexical agentive nominalization meaning ‘toddler’, or as a clausal nominalization with various functions, such as the object complement of a perception verb:

(11-9) *kurri-ja dathin-a dangka-a rajurri-n-d!*
 look-IMP that-NOM man-NOM walk around-N-NOM
 ‘Look at that man walking around!’

Nominalized verbs in either function may be inflected for modal or complementizing case. But only in their lexical function can they take relational case inflections, nominal number suffixes such as the dual (e.g. *rajurri-n-kiyarrngka* ‘two toddlers’), or nominal derivational suffixes such as eXceSSive -*muthan-da* (e.g. *ngayamaa-n-muthan-da* [quarrel-N-XS-NOM] ‘quarrelsome person’).

11.2 Lexical nominalizations in -n-

With most nominalizations there is a regular correlation between form and meaning, although there is some formal overlap between semantic types. I will discuss these individually, loosely following the classification in Comrie—Thompson (1985).

There are, however, a handful of simple lexical nominalizations that are semantically idiosyncratic: e.g. *kularri-n-da* ‘opposite sex sibling’ (from *kularri-ja* ‘untie’; the etymology most probably refers to the adolescent “untying” of the close relationship they enjoy in childhood) and *ngaka-n-da* ‘sandbank’ (from *ngaka-tha* ‘wait’: one waits there to fish).

11.2.1 Agentive nominalizations

These derive entity nominals meaning ‘one which V-ing; one characterized by V-ing; V-er’.

11.2.1.1 Intransitive. The verb stem alone is used:

wathangi-n-da
roll over-N-NOM
‘baby able to roll over’ (“turn-over baby”)

barri-n-da
crawl-N-NOM
‘baby at crawling stage’

ngarii-n-da
come first-N-NOM
‘first born; first portion of food’

rajurri-n-da
walk around-N-NOM
‘toddler’

danaa-n-da
come last-N-NOM
‘last born; last portion of food’

11.2.1.2 Transitive. Transitive verbs take a prefixed nominal object. Occasionally this is compounded (e.g. 11-21).

dangka-baa-n-da
person-bite-N-NOM
‘person-biter’ (e.g. snake)

mijil-burldi-n-da
net-cast-N-NOM
‘spider’ (‘net-caster’)

darr-kurri-n-da
thigh-look at-N-NOM
‘lecher’ (‘thigh-looker’)

kambin-kurri-n-da
child-look at-N-NOM
‘incestuous parent’
(As in English, ‘look at’ may have the extra connotation ‘with lust’)

dangka-kurndi-n-da
 person-tie up-N-NOM
 ‘policeman’

ngamathu-daa-n-da
 mother-fuck-N-NOM
 ‘mother-fucker’

dangka-dara-n-da, dangka-nurri-n-da *dangka-wuu-n-da*
 person-break-N-NOM, person-saw-N-NOM person-give-N-NOM
 ‘“butcher” who performs circumcision’ ‘generous person’ (‘person-giver’)

Cognate constructions exist in the other three T languages: Y *yarlbu-kaba-n-da* [meat-find-N-ABS] ‘hunter’; Ya *wakathu-daa-n-da* [sister-fuck-N-NOM] ‘sister-fucker’; L *dangka-bee-n* ‘person biter’.

Where the action is repeated on the same individual, rather than on a class of individuals, it is possible to prefix a pronominal stem (formally, a possessive pronoun):

(11-10) *nyingka ngijin-duruma-n-d*
 2sgNOM 1sgPOSS-lie-N-NOM
 ‘You always lie to me.’

There is also a class of “actual” kin terms having this form *-ngijin-badi-n-da* [1sg-bear-N-NOM] ‘bearer of me; my biological mother’. See Appendix A for the full set.

To emphasize the extent to which the action occurs, *mutha-* ‘many’ may be compounded with the prefixed object, or the eXcessive suffix *muthan-da* may follow the nominalization:

dangka-mutha-daa-n-da
 man-many-fuck-N-NOM
 ‘promiscuous woman’

dukurr-kali-n-muthan-da
 sperm-jump-N-XS-NOM
 ‘man who is always ejaculating’

11.2.1.3 Negative. Negative agentive nominalizations of transitive verbs take the suffix *-THarri* (formally identical to the NEGative ACTual inflection): *wuran-diya-jarri* [food-eat-NEGN] ‘fuss-pot’, *wadu-baa-jarri* [smoke-bite-NEGN] ‘non-smoker’. (11-11) illustrates their functional equivalence to positive agentive nominalizations:

(11-11) *banga-wala-tharri kiyarrng-k, birdi-ru-tharri,*
 turtle-miss-NEGN two-NOM bad-FAC-NEGN

banga-raa-n-da kiyarrng-k
 turtle-spear-N-NOM two-NOM

‘(They were) no pair of turtle-missers, no fumlbers, but a pair of turtle-spearers.’

Lardil has a parallel construction, e.g. *dangka-be-jarr(i)* ‘thing/animal that does not bite people’.

Unlike verbs in the NEGative ACTual, negative nominalizations can inflect for case, though this is rare. In (11-12) the negative nominalization takes the modal proprietive, here encoding manner (cf. 4.3.3.3).

(11-12) *warra-wu dulk-u warra-ju kurri-jarri-wu*
 far-MPROP place-MPROP far-MPROP see-NEGN-MPROP

ngijin-da kardu
 1sgPOSS-NOM father-in-lawNOM

'My father-in-law will go to a distant place, as one who sees nothing.'
 [Said about an old blind man about to travel.]

11.2.1.4 Agentive nominalizations with prefixed locale.

Occasionally the nominal stem plus a mysterious suffix *-inji*² is prefixed to the verb:

(11-13) *kaban-da dulk-inji-wirdi-n-d*
 stargazer fish-NOM sand-?-stay-N-NOM
 'The stargazer fish is a sand-dweller.'

(11-14) *niya warngiid-dulk-inji-wirdi-jarri*
 3sgNOM one-place-?-stay-NEGN
 'He never stays in one place.'

(11-15) *niya dulk-inji-wungi-n-da*
 3sgNOM country-?-steal-N-NOM
 'He's always poaching on other people's country.'

Note that *dul-wungi-n-da*, with the object directly incorporated, would mean 'stealer of (someone else's) country' rather than 'poacher on (someone else's) country'.

-inji may be an archaic form of the LOCative suffix (cf. the modern LOC, *-i(ya)* in this environment). A related form appears in some place names such as *barnunji* (*barnu* 'swamp root') and *kurthangarranji* (*kurthangarra* 'flying fox'), in the word *yurdanji* 'pregnant woman' (*yurda-* 'inside') and the partly analysable compound *balubunji-wirdi-n-da* 'lobster' (no free form *balubu*). Assuming (*i*)*nji* to be an old locative allomorph is consistent with other reconstructable allomorphs of the locative, such as *-ngki*.

² An identical form is the 'origin' suffix in Wambaya (Nordlinger 1993).

11.2.2 Instrumental nominalizations

These denote instruments—‘that which is used for V-ing OBJs’. The object is prefixed to a middle verb stem:

<i>banga-ra-yii-n-da</i>	<i>thungal-kurndi-i-n-da</i>	<i>mala-bala-a-n-da</i>
turtle-spear-M-N-NOM	thing-tie up-M-N-NOM	sea-hit-M-N-NOM
‘turtle spear’	‘rope’	‘harpoon’ (MIE <i>wap</i>)

Perhaps the most interesting example, deriving from the expression *baa-ja wadu* ‘smoke’ (lit. ‘bite the smoke’), is the word for tobacco: *wadu-ba-yii-n-da* [smoke-bite-M-N-NOM], literally ‘that by means of which the smoke is bitten’.

A reflexive meaning for the verb sometimes makes more sense than a passive, as in *mibur-kurri-i-n-da* [face-see-M-N-NOM] ‘mirror’ (that by means of which one sees (one’s) face).

Hale (1965) discusses similar constructions in Lardil, e.g. *kurka-thureme-e-n* [panja-pound-M-N] ‘pestle for pounding panja’. They are not attested in Yukulta.

Reciprocal instrument nominalizations require the reciprocal suffix alone, not using the middle:

(11-16)	<i>jardiyali</i>	<i>dangka-burldi-nju-n-d</i>
	throwing.stick	person-hit.at.a.distance-RECIP-N-NOM
	‘Throwing sticks are used for hitting one another at a distance.’	

11.2.3 Locational nominalizations

These are used to characterize places by what happens at them. There are two types:

(a) N(OBJ)-V(t)-M-n- ‘place for V-ing OBJ, where OBJs are V-ed’:

<i>walbu-kurndi-i-n-da</i>	<i>kunawuna-wirra-a-n-da</i>
raft-tie up-M-N-NOM	youth-initiate-M-N-NOM
‘place where rafts are lashed together’	‘initiation ground’

<i>bjarrba-durrwa-yii-n-da</i>
dugong-chase-M-N-NOM
‘dugong hunting ground’

Just one example lacks a prefixed object, presumably because the verb already specifies it semantically: *tharma-a-n-da* [graze.on.seaweed-M-N-NOM] ‘place where seaweed is grazed on (by dugong and turtle)’.

In another example an “intentional object” with the PROPrietary case is prefixed to an intransitive verb:

warrngal-uru-dii-n-da
 wind-PROP-sit-N-NOM
 'place where one summons up (sits down for) the wind'

(b) N(subj)-V(tr, motion)-M-n- 'place where SUBJ V-es, place V-ed at by SUBJ':

yakuri-barji-i-n-da
 fish-fall-M-N-NOM
 'grass dam used to catch jumping fish'

budubudu-warra-a-n-da
 boat-go-M-N-NOM
 'harbour'

dangka-wirdi-i-n-da
 person-remain-M-N-NOM
 'haven, place where people remain'
 (e.g. during flood)

Slightly anomalous is *warrku-burri-i-n-da* [sun-emerge-M-N-NOM] 'morning star'. This probably represents an extension from the above spatial meaning to a temporal one: 'time when the sun emerges'.

The corresponding negatives in *-THarri* mean 'place that is / has been V-ed at by no N':

dangka-barji-i-jarri
 person-fall (be bom)-M-NEGN
 'place no-one was born at'

dangka-kamburi-i-jarri
 person-speak-M-NEGN
 'place spoken in by no-one'

11.2.4 Time nominalizations

Like instrument nominalizations, these have the structure *N(obj)-V-M-n-*. They mean 'time when one V-es OBJs' or 'good time for V-ing OBJs':

(11-17) *biril-uru,* *yakuri-ra-yii-n-d*
 clear weather-PROP fish-spear-M-N-NOM
 'It's clear weather, just right for spearing fish.'

11.2.5 Cognate object nominalizations

These denote "dummy" or "cognate" objects; they contain an unadorned verb stem. Only two are attested: *kuwalkulaa-n-da* [dream-N-NOM] 'dream'; *wirrka-n-da* [dance-N-NOM] 'dance'. With *wirrkanda* at least the form is ambiguous, and also allows the agentive reading 'dancer' (in addition to the "syntactic" meanings discussed in 11.4).

11.2.6 Inchoative state nominalizations

These have form *V-M-n-*, and mean ‘one that has V-ed (inchoative), not necessarily as a result of another’s action’. They appear to derive from detransitivized verbs with inchoative or middle meaning:

<i>dara-tha</i>	—>	<i>dara-a-ja</i>	—>	<i>dara-a-n-da</i>
break (t)		break (inch.), get broken		broken (e.g. engine, bone)
<i>mirndili-ja</i>	—>	<i>mirndili-i-ja</i>	—>	<i>mirndili-i-n-da</i>
shut, close off		shut (inch.), grow over (path)		shut off, overgrown

11.2.7 Affected object nominalizations

These have the form *V-RES-n-*, and mean ‘one which has been V-ed, undergoing significant physical change as the result of another’s action’. An oft-heard example is *dara-thirri-n-da* [break-RES-N-NOM] ‘circumcised man’ (lit. ‘one who has been broken’), as in (11-18). Pronominal stems representing the demoted subject may be prefixed, as in *ngijin-dara-thirri-n-da* ‘person initiated by me’.

(11-18)	<i>dara-thirri-n-da</i>	<i>ngalama-th,</i>	<i>dara-a-n-marri-ya</i>	<i>wirdi-ja</i>
	break-RES-N-NOM	marry-ACT	break-M-N-PRIV-NOM	stay-ACT

ngumal-d
single-NOM

‘Circumcised men married, the uncircumcised stayed single.’

Other examples are *kawa-thirri-n-da* [roast-RES-N-NOM] ‘one who has been “roasted” (i.e. one punished for poaching by having his faeces roasted in a ground oven—said to produce total constipation and subsequent death)’, and the synonymous *wal-maru-thirri-n-da*, based on the compound verb *wal-maru-tha* [ground oven-put] ‘avenge OBJ by roasting OBJ’s faeces in a ground oven’.

One example has a prefixed body part, with reflexive meaning: *nal-barrki-jirri-n-da* [head-chop-RES-N-NOM] ‘(woman) who has cut her own head (during mourning)’.

With one verb an affected nominalization is formed by nominalizing the middle form, rather than using the resultative construction: *burukuratha* ‘rub, scrape (e.g. firestick)’ gives *burukura-a-n-da* [scrape-M-N-NOM] ‘scrapings from firesticks’.

There are also a few words in which object nominalizations are based on the plain stem of the verb, a construction which is probably archaic—see 11.2.10.

11.2.8 Miscellaneous types

Occasionally nominals in some other function are prefixed to the basic verb stem:

Subject complements, as in *bayi-wirdi-n-da* [aggressive-remain-N-NOM] ‘trouble-maker’.

Manner second predicates, as in *ngarrku-budii-n-da* [strong-run-N-NOM] ‘strong runner’ and *kiyarr-barji-n-da* [two-be.born-N-NOM] ‘twins’.

Body part of referent, as in *munirra-thaldi-n-da* [breast-stand-N-NOM] ‘young girl whose breasts are beginning to stand up’.

11.2.9 Word-structure and grammatical function

There is a certain regularity to the relation between the structure of lexical nominalizations, and the grammatical function, relative to the verb, of the prefixed nominal, and the referent of the nominalization. These regularities are summarized in Fig. 11-3.

Structure of verb stem	Function of prefixed argument w.r.t. verb	Function of referent w.r.t. verb	Example
V(t)-n-	Object	Subject	<i>banga-raa-n-da</i> ‘turtle-spearer’
V(t)-M-n-	Object	Instrument	<i>banga-ra-yii-n-da</i> ‘turtle spear’
“ “	“ “	Location	<i>walbu-kurndi-i-n-da</i> ‘place where rafts are lashed together’
V(motion)-M-n-	Subject	Location	<i>budubudu-warra-a-n-da</i> ‘harbour’
V(t)-THirri-n-	—	Object	<i>dara-thirri-n-da</i> ‘circumcised man’
“ “	(Demoted) subject	Object	<i>ngijin-dara-thirri-n-da</i> ‘man initiated by me’

Figure 11-3. Grammatical functions and the structure of lexical nominalizations

With one exception the roles of prefix and referent can be deduced directly from the structure of the nominalization. For example, seeing a nominalization of the form *N-V(t)-n-* we know the prefix is object and the referent is subject; seeing one of the form *N-V(motion)-M-n* we know the prefix is subject and the referent is the location.

The potential ambiguity arises with verbs whose form allows both instrumental and locative readings: that *walbu-kurndi-i-n-da* means 'a place where rafts are lashed together' and not 'thing used for lashing rafts together' seems to be an arbitrary fact of the language. This is further complicated by the existence of a third, minor choice: 'good time for Ving OBJ' (11.2.4).

11.2.10. Some anomalies and their diachronic sources

A. UNEXPECTED VOWEL LENGTH IN ACTIVE NOMINALIZATION. One active nominalization, *mardalaanda* 'flirt (n.)', from the verb *mardalatha* 'paint, rub, flirt' has an unexpected long vowel. This may be due to the effects of secondary stress on the affected syllable, or it may preserve an original long vowel (etymologically the word derives from *mardalk-* 'paint' plus *rlaaja* 'spear') in stress-favoured conditions.

B. RESULTATIVE NOMINALIZATIONS BASED ON ACTIVE STEM. Three nominalizations with resultative semantics are unexpectedly based on the active stem, instead of using the resultative form. They are *bulbanda* 'full', from *bulbaja* 'be full', *dulanda* 'fat' from *dulatha* 'grow fat', and *daranda* 'broken' from *daratha* 'break'; this latter alternates with the expected *daraanda* (11.2.6).

Now in Yukulta the simple nominalization, root plus *-n-*, is the only type available, and its semantics are accordingly more extended, so that resultative meanings like *darlanda* 'broken' from *darlatha* 'break' are a normal part of its range. Lardil, too, forms at least some resultative nominalizations simply by adding *-n*, which normally forms actor or action nominalizations—an example is *derlden* 'broken' from *derlde* 'break'. The limitation of special resultative nominalizations to Kayardild suggests they were not part of proto-Tangkic; rather, Yukulta and Lardil may preserve the original proto-Tangkic situation. The three anomalous nominalizations in Kayardild—*bulbanda*, *dulanda* and *daranda* may thus be archaisms from a phase in which no special construction form was available to express resultative semantics.

11.2.11 Use of PROPriative and CONSequential suffixes with lexical nominalizations

PROPriative *-kuru* and CONSequential *-ngarrba* may follow the nominalizing *-n-*. They derive qualifying nominals, and add a meaning of expectation (PROP) or priority (CONS).

11.2.11.1 PROPriative nominalizations: role, responsibility or potentiality. Attached to a nominalized active stem, PROP indicates an expectation about what the referent will do. Most often this reflects the subject's temporary role or responsibility:

buru-n-kuru dangka-a
grab-N-PROP person-NOM
'midwife (responsible for pulling the baby out)'

darri-n-kuru dangka-a
tread-N-PROP person-NOM
'woman responsible for treading the mother's belly (to stimulate labour)'

ngakatharra-n-kuru dangka-a
mind-N-PROP person-NOM
'person responsible for minding something (e.g. a house)'

Two sentence examples are:

(11-19) *kala-n-kuru dangka-a karrma-karrma-th*
cut-N-PROP person-NOM grab-REDUP-ACT
'The man who has to cut (the foreskin) grabs (the initiate) hard.'

(11-20) *mura-a kiyarrng-ka karrma-n-kuru-na dangka-na*
neck.meat-NOM two-NOM wrestle-N-PROP-ABL person-ABL
'The two pieces of neck-meat belong to whoever has wrestled (a dugong).'

More rarely, the expectation is based on known ability, disposition, or potentiality:

thaa-n-kuru wangalk-a kalka-n-kuru
return-N-PROP boomerang-NOM be sick-N-PROP
'returning boomerang' 'weak, ailing, easily tired'

(11-21) *dathin-a dulk-a mutha-dangka-kurulu-n-kuru*
that-NOM place-NOM many-person-kill-N-PROP
'That place can kill (has the power to kill) many people.'³

³ The order *mutha-dangka-* is unexpected here: normally the order of modifier and head is reversed in compounds (see example in 11.2.1.2).

Attached to a middle nominalized stem, PROP gives the meaning ‘capable of being V-ed’. This often translates with English *-able/-ible*.

diya-a-n-kuru
eat-M-N-PROP
‘edible (e.g. yam)’

kurri-i-n-kuru
see/look at-M-N-PROP
‘(a) visible (b) eligible
(woman), able to be made
advances to’

An important mythical example is the word *kukal-ii-n-kuru* [rebound-M-N-PROP], used to describe the monster Kajurku, from whom all spears rebound: he is ‘able to be rebounded off’.

Unlike other uses of PROP, the “ability” derivational use can be followed by the PRIVative of negation, as in *diya-a-n-kuru-warri* [eat-M-N-PROP-PRIV] ‘inedible’ and *wirrka-a-n-kuru-warri* [initiate-M-N-PROP-PRIV] ‘unable (e.g. not ready) to be initiated’.

11.2.11.2 CONSEquential -ngarrba: prior action. This adds the meaning ‘one that has V-ed before/already’. Thus while *dara-n-kuru dangkaa* [break-N-PROP person] means ‘man who has to do the circumcising’, *dara-n-ngarrba dangka-a* [break-N-CONS person] means ‘man who has circumcised (someone) before’.

The use of CONSEquential nominalizations to form relative nominalized clauses with this prior meaning is completely productive, making “lexical” and “clausal” nominalizations hard or impossible to distinguish. More examples of consequential nominalizations are given in the section on clausal nominalizations—11.4.4.

11.3 Lexical nominalizations in *-THarrba*

Lexical nominalizations may also be formed with the verb inflection *-THarrba* on an active or detransitivized stem, plus a prefixed nominal.⁴ They are used to denote entities characterized by having performed the nominated action some time in the past. Sometimes they are roughly synonymous with RESULTative or CONSEquential nominalizations, although *-THarrba* nominalizations lay greater stress on the social or mythological significance of the action.

Figure 11-4 summarizes the possible grammatical functions of the prefixed argument.

⁴ There is a single unprefix example—the word *wirrkayarrba* [initiate:M:THarrba] ‘initiated man’.

Active stem	Middle stem
Object-V- <i>THarrba</i>	Demoted subject-V-M- <i>jarrba</i> (pronoun only)
Location-V- <i>THarrba</i>	Location-V-M- <i>jarrba</i>
Time-V- <i>THarrba</i>	Time-V-M- <i>jarrba</i> Derived subject-V-M- <i>jarrba</i>

Figure 11-4. Grammatical functions of the prefixed nominal in *-THarrba* nominalizations

11.3.1 Form

The inflection *-THarrba* is also used as a finite verb inflection in PRECONdition clauses (7.2.3.8). Because *-THarrba* nominalizations belong to a different word class (nominals), I will gloss them differently, as PaST Nominalizations. Both inflections share two optional morphophonemic changes:

(a) The palatal conjugation form *-jarrba* may lenite to *-yarrba*. This gives *natha-wirdi-yarrba* as an alternative to *natha-wirdi-jarrba* ‘married man’. In nominalizations, unlike in PRECONdition verbs, this lenition is obligatory for some lexemes, e.g. the *-dara-yarrba* series described below.

(b) The long vowels preceding lenited palatals are optionally shortened. Thus:

wirra-a-jarrba → *wirraayarrba* → *wirrayarrba*
initiate-M-PSTN

This can result in neutralization of active and derived middle forms:

ngijin-badi-jarrba → *ngijnbadiyarrba*
1sgPOSS-carry-PSTN
‘my mother; bearer of me’

ngijin-badi-i-jarrba → *ngijnbadiiyarrba* → *ngijnbadiyarrba*
1sgPOSS-carry-M-PSTN
‘my child; one borne by me’

Where the middle stem involves a change from interdental to palatal conjugation the formal distinctness is preserved, since the interdental does not lenite—see the (*mi*)*ma-tha* examples discussed below.

11.3.2 Biological kin terms

These identify actual nuclear kin—parents, children and siblings—in terms of key biological processes, denoted by the verb stem. In contrast to the classificatory kin terms, which apply to a large class of referents, biological kin terms single out one significant and prototypical individual from a set of classificatory equivalents—for example, my biological father (*ngijinmimatharrba*), from the set of my classificatory fathers (*kanthathu*).

The mother relationship is epitomized by the verb *badi-ja* ‘carry, bear’ (see example above); the father relationship by the verb *mima-tha* ‘beget’ (usually shortened to *-ma-tha*). The offspring terms are obtained by passivizing the stem, as shown below. Sibling relationships use the verb *warra-ja* ‘go’ plus a prefixed nominal of relative position. With the parent and child terms the propositus is identified by a prefixed pronominal stem; the first singular possessive stem may be replaced by the reflexive pronoun *marin-da*. Examples are:

ngakin-(mi)ma-tharrba
1INCnsgPOSS-beget-PSTN
‘our father; begetter of us’

ngijin-(mi)ma-(a)-yarrba
1sgPOSS-beget-M-PSTN
‘my child; one begotten by me’

niwan-badi-yarrba
3sgPOSS-carry-PSTN
‘his/her mother; bearer of him/her’

niwan-badi-(i)-yarrba
3sgPOSS-carry-M-PSTN
‘her child; one borne by her’

ngijin-badi-yarrba or *marin-badi-yarrba*
1sgPOSS-carry-PSTN self-carry-PSTN
‘my mother; bearer of me’

danaa-n-marra-yarrba
come last-N-go-PSTN
‘youngest sibling’ (lit. ‘last gone’)

ngarii-n-marra-yarrba
precede-N-go-PSTN
‘oldest sibling’ (‘first gone’)

11.3.3 Ritually cemented relationships

These nominalizations identify individuals in terms of some ritually important activity performed on or by the person nominated in the pronominal prefix. Two such actions are represented in my corpus: midwifing/delivering, with the verb *kinyi-lu-tha* [physical form-FAC-] ‘endow with physical form, deliver’, and circumcizing, with the verb

dara-tha ‘break, circumcise’. These terms, like the biological kin terms, single out a single significant individual from a set of classificatory equivalents: normally the midwife is a “father’s sister” (*marrkathu*), and the circumciser a “wife’s father” (*kardu*). As with the parent terms, passivization is used to give the reciprocal term. Examples are:

ngijin-kinyilu-tharrba
1sgPOSS-deliver-PSTN
‘deliverer of me’

ngijin-kinyil-i-yarrba
1sgPOSS-deliver-M-PSTN
‘one delivered by me’

niwan-dara-tharrba
3sgPOSS-break-PSTN
‘circumciser of me’

niwan-dara-yarrba
3sgPOSS-break-M-PSTN
‘one circumcised by me’

These terms may be used in reference or address; frequently they are employed to enlist the addressee’s co-operation by reminding them of their ritual debt:

- (11-22) *ngumban-kinyilu-tharrba bardakawarri*
2sgPOSS-deliverer-PSTN hungryNOM
‘The person who brought you into the world is hungry.’
(Implied: give her some food—you owe it to her.)

Initiated men may also be referred to by a *-THarrba* nominalization specifying when in the ceremony they were circumcised:

ngarii-n-dara-a-yarrba
first-N-break-M-PSTN
‘one circumcised first in the ceremony’

danaa-n-dara-a-yarrba
last-N-break-M-PSTN
‘one circumcised last in the ceremony’

warrku-dara-a-yarrba
sun-break-M-PSTN
‘one circumcised as the sun came up’

11.3.4 Stages of life

-THarrba nominalizations with verbs representing ritually important actions may indicate someone’s arrival at a certain stage of life:

- (11-23) *dathin-a dangka-a natha-wirdi-jarrb*
that-NOM man-NOM camp-stay-PSTN
‘He got wife now’ (And lives in his own camp).

- (11-24) *kunawuna wirrka-(a)-yarrb*
childNOM initiate-M-PSTN
‘He finish, bin through already’ (‘The child has been initiated’).

The 'now' or 'already' in my informants' glosses focusses attention on the candidate's achievement of a new stage of life; on the effects of his action on his *social* role. Resultative nominalizations, by contrast, draw attention to the persistent *physical* effects of an earlier action (11.2.7); they would be more appropriate when examining someone's body for cicatrices or subincision.

11.3.5 Place names

Many place names have the form N-V-*THarrba*, and mean '(the place) where N V-ed' (with intransitive verbs); where they are based on the middle form transitives, they mean '(the place) where N was V-ed'. This meaning is closely related to the stage-of-life meaning: just as ritual actions bring people into a new stage of life, so do mythical actions form the landscape into its present state.

Some examples are:

wambal-barji-jarrba
bush-fall-PSTN
'the place where the bush was flooded'
(i.e. 'fell' under water).

kathuka-barndi-yarrba
redbill-stop(M)-PSTN
'the place where the redbills were
stopped (by a flood)'.

maali-badi-yarrba
swamp turtle-carry(M)-PSTN
'the place where the swamp turtles
were carried off (out to sea)'.

waldarra-kurdala-yarrba
moon-spear(M)-PSTN
'the place where the moon was
spearred.'

The mythical reasons for some of these have been lost. *Buka-rna-yarrba* [dead-burn(intr)-PSTN]⁵ is, etymologically, '(the place where) the dead/dead things were burned', but no-one could give any explanation for this.

11.3.6 Other uses

The above four types account for the vast majority of *-THarrba* nominalizations. Occasionally, however, ad hoc combinations are used as relative participles; they have definite reference and may or may not be followed by a further entity nominal:

⁵ Here, too, the final vowel of the verb stem has been shortened, although in this case it is intrinsic to the verb root (*naa-ja* 'burn (intr.)') rather than introduced by the middle form.

(11-25) *maku-ngalama-tharrba dangka-a ngumal-d, jardi-y*
 woman-marry-PSTN man-NOM single-NOM behind-NOM
 ‘The man who had married that woman is left behind (she’s run off).’

(11-26) [*ngijin-thuu-yarrba* / *ngijin-marndi-yarrba*
 1sgPOSS-insult-PSTN 1sgPOSS-take from-PSTN

ngijuwa walmaru-tharra-nth]_{COBL}
 1sgSUB:COBL avenge by cooking faeces in ground oven-COBL

‘Those who insulted me/who stole from my country I avenged by cooking their faeces in a ground oven.’

The -THarrba nominalizations here are the object topics of independent complementized clauses—see 12.5.2.1.

One particularly interesting example is the word for dog, *kurthurra-warra-yarrba* [calf-go-PSTN], literally ‘the one that followed at people’s calves’. Dogs had long disappeared from Bentinck Island, through flood or famine, as had their pT name, *ngawu*. But they were celebrated in several myths, and it seems likely that the explanatory term, which had been remembered, was re-applied when dogs were rediscovered following Lardil/European contact.

11.3.7 Comparative note

Both Lardil and Yukulta can use the cognate verb inflection, whose main function is to code “prior” (Y) or “marked non future” (L) clauses, to derive nominalizations. In both languages the use as a nominalization is relatively marginal.

Lardil verb stems with the Marked Non Future -*tharr*, may function as “non-future nominalizations”, as in *kanjawaa-tharr mangarda* [shake-a-leg dance-THARR youngster] ‘youngsters who are doing the shake-a-leg’ (Klokeid 1976: 481). -*Tharr* nominalizations contrast with “future nominalizations”, using the future inflection, and “generic” nominalizations in -*n-*: *kanjawaa-n mangarda* ‘youngsters who do the shake-a-leg’. From Klokeid’s examples it seems that nominalizations can only occur as modifiers.

The only example in Y is contained in the introduction to Keen’s 1983 grammar, where she mentions a place called *kurlthangarra-diya-jarrba* [flying.fox-eat-PRIOR]. Without further explanation we cannot know whether this means ‘the place where flying foxes eat’ or ‘the place where flying foxes feed’.

It seems likely that in all three languages these nominalizations originated as “prior” clauses modifying a main clause head. Subsequent developments led to argument prefixation (K,Y) and omission of the

head nominal (K,Y). But beyond this the path of their development cannot be reconstructed, without more information on the Y and L uses.

11.4 Nominalized clauses

Nominalized clauses fall into four types, classifiable by the form of their verb:

<i>V-n-</i>	Plain nominalization
<i>V-n-marri</i>	Privative nominalization
<i>V-THirri-n-</i>	Resultative nominalization
<i>V-n-ngarba</i>	Consequential nominalization

A nominalized clause may contain a multi-word verb complex; in this

Clause type	Permitted arguments	Case-marking rules
Plain	No restriction	Active: normal relational/modal case, plus Associating OBLique.
Privative	No restriction	Case-marking rules of corresponding finite clause.
Resultative	Demoted subject/ instrument only	Pronominal: free possessive pronoun Human non-pronominal: ABLative Non-human animate, "direct" instrument: CONSequential Indirect cause: ORIGIN
Consequential	No restriction	All arguments take CONSequential; this displaces relational/modal LOCative. Demoted pronominal agents of passive are prefixed, demoted animate agents take CONSequential.

Figure 11-5. Permitted arguments and case-marking rules for the four nominalized clause types

case all verbs of the complex have the same form. An example is (11-68).

Each type has its own rules governing which NP arguments are permitted, and what case(s) they take. These are summarized in Figure 11-5 (there are several gaps in my corpus).

Each type also has its own range of functional possibilities, drawn from a set of five: main clauses, second predicates on the subject, object complements, restrictive relatives, and goal adjuncts. The possibilities of each syntactic type are summarized in Figure 11-6.

Clause type	Function				
	Main Clause	Second pred on subject	Object Complement	Restrictive Relative	Goal Adjunct
Plain	Ongoing uncompleted	Accompanying action	Perceived simultaneous event	?	Goal of main action
Privative	(a) Negative in absence of specific finite inflection	Accompanying lack of action	Perceived lack of action	—	—
	(b) Focus on lack of action by subject				
Resultative	Perfective stressing complete effect on S/O	Completed previous action by S or on O	—	Completed previous action involving S or O	—
Consequential	Previous action by A or S (or O if middle)	Previous action by A or S (or O if middle)	—	Previous action by A or S (or O if middle)	—

Figure 11-6. Functional possibilities of nominalized clause types

11.4.1 Plain nominalizations

11.4.1.1 Permitted arguments; case assignment. *Active plain nominalizations* have no restrictions on possible arguments. All NP arguments within the VP take an “associating OBLique” following their other case inflections (see 3.4.5 and 9.4.1.1 for examples), which are assigned as for a finite clause.

Active plain nominalized clauses may function as main clauses describing ongoing, uncompleted actions, with zero modal case:

- (11-27) *bi-rr-a bula-n-da thungal-ula-n-da kurda-nth*
 3-du-NOM pull-N-NOM tree-VABL-N-NOM paperbark-AOBL
 ‘Those two are pulling paperbark off the trees.’

Plain nominalized clauses functioning as object complements of perception clauses have the same modal case as the matrix clause: e.g. zero in (11-28), MPROP in (11-29), and MLOC in (11-30). Unexpectedly, the modal case is inside the Associating OBLique (see Evans 1994b for discussion). NP arguments that normally escape modal case—such as those taking the “intentional proprietive”—also escape modal case arising through agreement.

- (11-28) *kurri-ja dathin-a maku-walad-a [dalwani-n-da*
 look-IMP that-NOM woman-LOT-NOM dig up-N-NOM
thawal-inj]!
 yam-AOBL

‘Look at those women digging up yams!’

- (11-29) *ngada balmbi-wu kurri-ju ki-l-wan-ju*
 1sgNOM tomorrow-MPROP see-POT 2-pl-POSS-MPROP
 [*dalwani-n-ku thawal-uu-nth*]
 dig up-N-MPROP yam-MPROP-AOBL

‘Tomorrow I will watch you two digging up yams.’

- (11-30) *ngada kurri-ja ki-l-wan-ji [dalwani-n-ki*
 1sgNOM see-ACT 2-pl-POSS-MLOC dig up-N-MLOC
thawal-urrk]
 yam-MLOC:AOBL

‘I saw you digging up yams.’

Passive plain nominalizations. My corpus contains only three of these. This is too few to warrant strong generalizations, and there appears to be some inter-speaker variation in whether AOBL is assigned.

(11-31), with its modal proprietive on ‘another time’, suggests that modal case may be assigned independently in main clauses of this type, and that the Associating OBLique is not used. (In a plain active nominalization AOBL would appear after MPROP in the time expression).

- (11-31) *jangka-wu* *darr-u* *kamarr-karra* *bala-a-n-d*
 other-MPROP time-MPROP stone-GEN hit-M-N-NOM
 ‘Another time (your head)’ll get broken on a stone.’

Apart from the time nominal here, the only nominal arguments attested are demoted agents. These take free possessive pronouns when pronominal (11-34), the Verbal ALLative when non-human and animate (11-32), and the GENitive when inanimate (11-31).

- (11-32) *ngada* *barruntha-ya* *kurri-ja* *niwan-ji*
 1sgNOM yesterday-LOC see-ACT 3sg-MLOC
 [*balangkali-iwa-n-ki* *ba-yii-n-ki*]
 brown snake-VALL-N-MLOC bite-M-N-MLOC

‘Yesterday I saw him being bitten by a brown snake.’

A puzzling example, recorded from Roma Kelly, is (11-33). Here the instrument takes a (relational) locative, then an Associating OBLique; this is the only example of AOBL being used with a passive nominalization and suggests that there is some inter-speaker variation on this point.

- (11-33) *kambuda* *narra-wurrka* *kala-a-n-da*
 pandanus.fruitNOM shell.knife-LOC:AOBL cut-M-N-NOM
 ‘Pandanus fruit is cut with a shell-knife.’

11.4.1.2 Functions of plain nominalizations. In general, these describe actions ongoing at the time of reference.

(A) MAIN CLAUSE USE. Active nominalized clauses describe ongoing, uncompleted actions. See 7.2.3.13 for examples.

Passive nominalized main clauses describe states that the subject brings about himself through carelessness (11-31) or misdeeds (11-34).

- (11-34) *karndiyala-n-ngarrb,* *bala-a-n-da* *ngijin-d*
 commit adultery-N-CONS kill-M-N-NOM 1sgPOSS-NOM
 ‘Having committed adultery with (my) wife you will be killed by me.’

(B) SECOND PREDICATE ON SUBJECT. Plain nominalizations in this function describe actions accompanying the main action (11-35; see also Text 8, line 28).

- (11-35) *bilaangka-nurru kari-i-n-da ngada warra-j*
 blanket-ASSOC cover-M-N-NOM 1sgNOM go-ACT
 'I went along, covering myself in a blanket.'

Second predicate plain nominalizations may, like manner nominals, be reduplicated with plural subjects (11-4).

(C) OBJECT COMPLEMENTS OF PERCEPTION VERBS. These describe an action ongoing at the moment of perception by the main clause subject. Examples of this have already been given: (3-43), (3-44), (11-3), and (11-28) – (11-30). In all these examples the object complement nominalized clause follows the object.

(D) RESTRICTIVE RELATIVES. I have two possible examples of these; each could equally allow a “depictive” (object complement) rather than a “restrictive” interpretation. Both examples lack NP arguments, and precede the head—the typical position for a qualifier (6.3.3)—but with such a small sample one cannot know if this is obligatory.

- (11-36) *nga-ku-l-da wirrka-n-ku dangka-wu kurri-ju*
 1-INC-pl-NOM dance-N-MPROP man-MPROP see-POT
 'We will watch the dancing men.'

- (11-37) *rarrwa-tha kali-n-ki nganjuna-y*
 roast-ACT jump-N-MLOC sandfrog-MLOC
 'We roasted the jumping sandfrogs.' (OR: 'we roasted them still jumping'?)

(E) GOAL ADJUNCTS. Nominalized verbs may be followed by (a) the Verbal Dative, giving the use to which the subject will put the object (11-38), or (b) the Verbal Translative, giving the temporal target of a purposeful action (11-39, also 4-120 and 11-7). In all my examples such adjuncts have no arguments of their own (although in (11-38) one could claim that the nominalized verb shares the object as well as the subject of the main verb).

- (11-38) *diya-n-maru-tha kurdala-tha kirrk-i manharr-u*
 eat-N-VD-ACT stab-ACT face-MLOC bark.torch-PROP
 'By the light of a bark torch (Kajurku) stabbed their faces to eat (them).'

- (11-39) *mutha-a dangka-walad-a mardala-a-j, wirrka-n-marii-j*
 many-NOM man-LOT-NOM paint-M-ACT dance-N-VTRANSL-ACT
 'Many men are painting up in readiness for the dance.'

11.4.2 Privative nominalized clauses

11.4.2.1 Permitted arguments; case assignment. Privative nominalizations permit all NP argument types and require no special case marking. They take the modal case that would appear in the corresponding finite affirmative clause: MLOC where the clause is ACTUAL (e.g. 9-238), MABL where the clause is in the PaST or ALMOST (e.g. 7-26).

Other modal case values are not attested. The absence of examples with MPROP is not surprising, since future verbs have their own special negative form, rendering negation by PRIVATIVE nominalization unnecessary. But the DESiderative (with MOBL) and DIRECTed (with MALL) lack special negative equivalents, so we would expect corresponding negative nominalizations. More data is needed here.

11.4.2.2 Functions of privative nominalizations. These describe a variety of types of non-occurring actions.

(A) MAIN CLAUSE FUNCTION. Here they can assert that a certain proposition is not true of the subject—see 9.6.2. Or they can provide negative counterparts to verb inflections which only have an affirmative form (see examples in 10.1.3).

(B) SECOND PREDICATE FUNCTION. These name an action that fails to accompany, or result from, that of the main verb (11-40, 11-41). Non-subject NP arguments are either omitted (11-42) or, if objects, prefixed (11-43).

(11-40) *malji-ya bil-wan-da yuki-n-marri barndi-jirri-n-da*
 school-NOM 3pl-POSS-NOM float-N-PRIV block-RES-N-NOM

thaa-th bil-wan-ji buth-i kiwalaaj
 return-ACT 3pl-POSS-MLOC behind-MLOC make.dirty-ACT

‘Their school, not floating on the surface, having been blocked (by a grass dam), return, dirtying the water behind them.’

(11-41) *diya-ja wuran-ki kinaa-n-marri*
 eat-ACT food-MLOC tell-N-PRIV
 ‘(He) eats food without telling (anyone).’

(11-42) *ngada kurri-i-n-marri kurri-ju niwan-ju*
 1sgNOM see-M-N-PRIV see-POT 3sg-MPROP
 ‘I will see him without being seen.’

(11-43) *tharda-jilarri-ya dangka-a bala-tha wurdiyalaaj*
 shoulder-sore-NOM man-NOM shoot-ACT walk about-ACT

dangka-birkali-i-n-marri
 person-feel.pity.for-M-N-PRIV

‘(McKenzie) was a “sore-shouldered” man (from too much shooting),
 he would walk about shooting (at people), feeling pity for no-one.’

(C) OBJECT COMPLEMENTS OF PERCEPTION VERBS. These name an action perceived not to occur. In all my half-dozen examples the PRIVative clause lacks NP arguments (as with second predicate PRIVative nominalizations), even when the verb is transitive.

(11-44) *ngada kurri-ja niwan-ji budii-n-marri*
 1sgNOM see-ACT 3sgPOSS-MLOC run-N-PRIV
 ‘I saw him not running.’

(11-45) *nyingka kurri-jarra niwan-jina barrki-n-marri-na*
 2sgNOM see-PST 3sgPOSS-MABL chop-N-PRIV-MABL
 ‘You saw him not chopping (the tree).’

11.4.3 Resultative clauses

In general, these describe actions that have been completed, with significant effects on the patient (if transitive) or the intransitive subject.

11.4.3.1 Argument structure and case assignment. The most significant feature of case assignment in RESULTative clauses is its ergativity: objects of transitive verbs and subjects of intransitives take the nominative, while the demoted subjects of transitive verbs take an oblique case or a possessive pronoun (see below). No other NP arguments are allowed.

(11-46) *budubudu balarr-ina dangka-na dana-thirri-n-d*
 boatNOM white-ABL person-ABL leave-RES-N-NOM
 ‘The boat was left behind by the white man.’

(11-47) *yakuri wuu-jirri-n-da kaburrba-y*
 fishNOM give-RES-N-NOM ash-LOC
 ‘The fish is/was put on the ashes.’

(11-48) *bi-l-da yiiwi-jirri-n-d*
 3-pl-NOM sleep-RES-N-NOM
 ‘They have gone to sleep.’

(11-49) *mutha-ya ngambirri-y wiridi-jirri-n-d*
 many-LOC house-LOC stay-RES-N-NOM
 ‘They have stayed in many houses.’

- (11-50) *dathin-a burrkun-da dun-maru-thirri-n-da kala-thirri-n-d*
 that-NOM scar-NOM husband-VD-RES-N-NOM cut-RES-N-NOM
 ‘That scar has been cut for her husband.’

Cross-linguistically, of course, there is a strong correlation between ergative constructions and completive aspect (see Bechert 1978, Dixon 1979, and DeLancey 1981). Interestingly, however, Kayardild is the only Tangkic language for which this construction has been reported. It therefore seems to be a new development, post-dating the adoption of accusative morphology elsewhere in the grammar (but see 7.2.3.14 for a discussion of possible cognates outside Tangkic).

Turning now to the case choice for demoted agents, we find a hierarchy rather different from that in finite clauses (9.3.2.2).

Pronominal (human) agents are represented by possessive pronouns (11-51), inflected where necessary for modal case (11-52):

- (11-51) *jina-a wangalk, ngakin-da*
 where-NOM boomerangNOM 1:INC:nsg:POSS-NOM

kala-thirri-n-d
 cut-RES-N-NOM

‘Where is the boomerang cut by us?’

- (11-52) *ngijin-ju kala-thirri-n-ju yarbuth-u kurri-ju*
 1sgPOSS-MPROP cut-RES-N-MPROP bird-MPROP see-POT

thaa-thu, jirkara-walathida dan-d
 return-POT north-EVERY here-NOM

‘(I) will go and see all the birds killed by me, all to the north here.’

Human non-pronominals take the ABLative (see also 11-46 and 11-62).

- (11-53) *ngaaka-na dara-thirri-n-d? bad-a dangka-a dathin*
 who-ABL break-RES-N-NOM west-NOM man-NOM thatNOM
 ‘Who was he circumcised by? That west man.’

Non-human animates (11-54) and instruments brought directly into contact with the patient (11-57) take the CONSequential:

- (11-54) *niya wirdi-ju rajurri-nangku ngarrku-wa-thu,*
 3sgNOM stay-POT walk around-NEG.POT strong-INCH-POT

ngamathuwala-nyarrba thubun-ngarrba raba-thirri-n-d
 bullock-CONS hoof-CONS tread-RES-N-NOM

‘He will not go walkabout but will stay here and get well, because he was trodden on by a bullock’s hoof.’

Instruments not brought into contact with patient, such as branches which poison fish when swished in the water (11-55) and roaring noises which deafen initiates (4-89) take the ORIGIN case:

- (11-55) *maarra jirndi-wan-da dina-jirri-n-d*
 all branch-ORIG-NOM poison-RES-N-NOM
 '(They) had all been poisoned by the branches (swished about in the water).'

Time NPs likewise take the origin case in resultative clauses. In (11-56) the time NP ('at night, by night') agrees with the demoted subject in taking the ablative, and further inflects for the (relational) proprietive inherited from the head noun *ngunymurra wuranda* 'greasy food'.

- (11-56) (*Darirra mardala-a-ja mutha-wu ngunymurr-u,*
 newborn rub-M-ACT much-PROP grease-PROP
mutha-wu ngunymurr-u wuran-ku,
 much-PROP grease-PROP food-PROP
mak-un-maan-ju wuran-ku, ngimi-waan-ju wuran-ku,
 torch-VDON-ORIG-PROP food-PROP dark-ORIG-PROP food-PROP
kurdala-thirrin-ju ngimi-wan-jinaba-wu kanthathu-naba-wu.
 spear-RES-PROP night-ORIG-ABL-PROP father-ABL-PROP
 '(The newborn was rubbed) with lots of grease, lots of greasy food, with food (spearred) by (the light of) a bark torch, with food (spearred) at night-time, spearred by (the baby's) father at night-time.'

11.4.3.2 Functions of resultative nominalizations. In general, these describe actions that have been completed, with significant effects on the patient—rendering it useless (11-58), affecting it in the way intended, e.g. successfully teaching someone (11-60), or transmitting the effect to all members of a group (11-55, 11-57).⁶ With intransitive verbs the action is asserted to have been successfully carried out: getting to sleep in (9-259); bending down far enough to drink the water in (11-61).

(A) MAIN CLAUSES. These mark completed actions, with the additional semantic implications just outlined. The temporal reference is determined contextually—it may be present, as in (11-57) and (11-58), or past, as in

⁶ The "total effect" semantics of ergative constructions is widespread. In Kabardian (Catford 1975) the sentence 'dog bites bone' will take an ergative construction just in case the bone is bitten through to the marrow; in other cases (e.g. if the dog is only gnawing on it) an accusative (antipassive) construction will be used. In Tongan (Foley 1976) some transitive verbs contrast an ergative construction, where all of a set of objects are affected, with a middle construction, where only some are affected.

(11-55) and (11-59). I have no examples of the potential in main clauses and do not know if they are possible.

(11-57) *karwa-ngarrba bala-thirri-n-d*
club-CONS hit-RES-N-NOM
'(They) were all hit with the club.' (My informant's translation was "hit 'em every one", even though no overt quantifier was present.)

(11-58) *dathin-a nayibi mura-thirri-n-d*
that-NOM knifeNOM smash-RES-N-NOM
'That knife is all smashed up.'

(11-59) *karndi-wuru marndi-jirri-n-da bana dun-kuru*
wife-PROP rob-RES-N-NOM and husband-PROP

marndi-jirri-n-d
rob-RES-N-NOM

'They were all robbed of their wives or robbed of their husbands.'

(B) SECOND PREDICATES ON THE SUBJECT. These describe a single action, performed on the nominalized clause O or by the S, which precedes the main clause and either enables it (11-60, 11-61) or causes it to occur (11-40, 11-62).

(11-60) *ngumban-da marraa-jirri-n-da yulii-j,*
2sgPOSS-NOM show-RES-N-NOM try-ACT

mungurru-wa-th, bijarrba-ya karrma-th
knowledgeable-INCH-ACT dugong-MLOC wrestle-ACT

'Having been shown how to by you (they) tried, learned, and wrestled dugong.'

(11-61) *burrma-thirri-n-da kurdama-j*
stoop-RES-N-NOM drink-ACT
'Having stooped down (he) drank.'

(11-62) *dathin-a dulk-a mirra-a, kajakaja-na wukuwa-thirri-n-d*
that-NOM place-NOM good-NOM daddy-ABL work-RES-N-NOM
'That place (garden) is lovely, having been worked on by daddy.'

(C) RESTRICTIVE RELATIVES. These identify their head in terms of what was previously done to it. So far only those with O pivots are attested (e.g. 11-63).

(11-63) *nyingka kada buru-tharra wungi-jirri-n-jina mala-na ?*
2sgNOM again get-PST steal-RES-N-ABL beer-MABL
'Did you get some stolen beer again?'

When used as restrictive relatives, RESultative clauses agree in case with their heads. The cases so inherited, whether relational as in (11-56), or modal as in (11-64), follow any cases assigned within the RESultative clause, such as the ABLative in (11-56) and (11-64).

- (11-64) *Wulkatharri bath-in-ki durrwaa-ja ngardarri*
 [place] west-from-MLOC chase-ACT pregnant.dugong(MLOC)
- ngakin-da murrukurnangk,*
 1INC.POSS-NOM [triang. kin term]
- bath-in-ki bal-umban-ji, niwan-jiyarrng-kinaba-ya*
 west-from-MLOC west-ORIG-MLOC 3sgPOSS-DU-ABL-MLOC
- jibarna-yarrng-kinaba-ya birdiru-thirrin-ji*
 uncle.in.law-DU-ABL-MLOC miss-RES-MLOC

‘At Wulkatharri the one who was your father and my second cousin chased a pregnant dugong from the west, one from the west that had been missed by his two uncles-in-law.’

In relative participles the “affected object” meaning is less evident. In most, perhaps all, cases, paraphrases with passive consequential nominalizations are possible. In (11-63), for example, *wungijirrinjina* can be replaced by *wungi-i-n-ngarrba-na* [steal-M-N-CONS-MABL] with no apparent change in meaning.

11.4.4 Consequential nominalizations

These basically describe actions preceding some reference point. Passive consequential nominalizations are similar in meaning to resultatives, but do not emphasize the effect on the patient.

11.4.4.1 Permitted arguments and case assignment. Unlike resultatives, consequential nominalizations have a normal argument structure. Both actives and passives are possible.

In active consequential nominalizations, NPs representing the object (11-65) or a location/ambience (11-68) are attested. In both the above, the CONSequential displaces the relational/modal LOCative which would appear in ACTual finite clauses.

- (11-65) *buka-ngarrba wuran-ngarrba diya-n-ngarrba bardaka*
 rotten-CONS food-CONS eat-N-CONS stomachNOM
- jilari-y*
 painful-NOM

‘(His) stomach is sore from eating rotten food.’

Passives attach the nominalizing suffix, then the CONSequential case, to the middle verb stem. The only arguments allowed are demoted subjects. My corpus contains examples of pronominal human agents (11-66), ABLative non-pronominal human agents (4-42) and CONSequential human non-animates (11-67), which parallels the case choice found in resultatives; so far I have no examples of consequential nominalizations with “indirect” agents (ORIGIn in resultatives). The one difference from resultative nominalizations is that pronominal agents in consequential nominalizations are prefixed (11-66, 11-76), while in resultatives they are free forms (11-51, 11-52).

(11-66) *nyingka kurri-jarra wangalk-ina*
2sgNOM see-PST boomerang-MABL

ngijin-kala-a-n-ngarrba-na?
1sgPOSS-cut-M-N-CONS-MABL

‘Have you seen the boomerang which was cut by me / which I cut?’

(11-67) *nyingka kamburi-ja dathin-a dangka-a yarbu-nyarrba*
2sgNOM speak-IMP that-NOM man-NOM snake-CONS

balangkali-ngarrba ba-yii-n-ngarrb!
brown snake-CONS bite-M-N-CONS

‘You speak to that man who was bitten by a brown snake!’

11.4.4.2 Functions of consequential nominalizations. These describe actions preceding the temporal reference point. Unlike resultative nominalizations, consequential nominalizations have a normal diathesis and do not stress object-affectedness.

(A) MAIN CLAUSES. Consequential nominalizations are rare here. They describe a prior act carried out by the subject, with persisting effects: ‘SUBJ has been Ving’. Note the passive in (11-69), which occurred in a discussion of the meat’s cooked flavour; the RESultative would be appropriate where the meat had been cooked ‘right through’, or recooked several times.⁷

(11-68) *niya ngildi-j, niya ngimi-ngarrba wurdialaa-n-ngarrba*
3sgNOM cough-ACT 3sgNOM dark-CONS walk about-N-CONS

⁷ Fires are the Kaiadilt’s refrigerators: cooked meat that has become flyblown will be recooked until the rotten part is charred.

warra-n-ngarrba *wirdi-n-ngarrba* *rika-ngarrb*
go-N-CONS stay-N-CONS cold-CONS

'He is coughing, he has been walking around in the dark, in the cold.'

- (11-69) *dathin-a* *wurdalji* *rarrwa-a-n-ngarrb*
that-NOM meatNOM cook on coals-M-N-CONS
'That meat has been cooked on the coals.'

(B) SECOND PREDICATES ON THE SUBJECT. These name an action already carried out by the (nominalized clause) subject at the reference time. Usually a causal link between the events is implied (11-70, 11-71, 11-65), but it need not be (11-72); sometimes both causal and non-causal readings are possible (11-72). In one example a nominal predicator is prefixed to the nominalized form of *wirdi-ja* 'be' (11-74). See also (11-78) for a passive example.

- (11-70) *marndi-nju-n-ngarrba* *kawa-thu-tharr*
rob-RECIP-N-CONS 'roast'-RECIP-PST
'Having robbed each other, they would "roast" each other.' (See 11.2.7)

- (11-71) *kinaa-n-ngarrba* *wirdi-ja* *kanthathu-warri*
tell-N-CONS remain-ACT father-PRIV
'Having told/because she told, (she) became fatherless.'

(Said of a young girl who revealed to her parents that she had been raped by her uncle—who then killed her parents to seal the secret.)

- (11-72) *ngada* *kurri-n-ngarrba* *duujin-ngarrba*
1sgNOM see-N-CONS YB-CONS

wuu-ju *wuran-ku* *niwan-ju*
give-POT food-MPROP 3sg-MPROP

'When I see younger brother I'll give him the food.'
('I, after seeing younger brother, will give him food.')

- (11-73) *banki-ya* *kuujuu-j* *mardalk-i* *bula-a-j*,
lagoon-LOC bathe-ACT mud-MLOC pull-M-ACT

kirma-n-ngarrba *jirma-jirma-n-ngarrb*
lift-N-CONS pile-REDUP-N-CONS

'(Black Crane) swam about in the lagoon, cleaning the mud off himself, after working hard lifting and piling up (stones for the fishtrap) all day.'

- (11-74) *kada* *birji-ja* *ngada* *kurirr-wirdi-n-ngarrb*
again be alive-ACT 1sgNOM dead-be-N-CONS
'I am alive again after being as dead.'

(C) RESTRICTIVE RELATIVES. These describe a past action that can be used to identify their heads. Both active (11-6, 11-75) and middle (11-76, 11-77) stems are possible. The only expressible NP arguments are the demoted subjects of passives (11-66, 11-67, 11-76). As mentioned in 11.4.4.1, these are prefixed to the verb stem when pronominal. Other arguments are omitted.

(11-75) *wungi-n-ngarrba dangka-a bala-a-j*
 steal-N-CONS man-NOM shoot-M-ACT
 'The man who had stolen (the cattle) was shot.'

(11-76) *ngada mungurru dathin-ki dulk-i*
 1sgNOM knowNOM that-MLOC place-MLOC

ngijin-marra-a-n-ngarrba-y
 1sgPOSS-go-M-N-CONS-MLOC

'I know that familiar place.' (lit. 'that place gone to by me.')

11.5 Nominalized clauses: overview

All nominalized clauses but the PRIVative show a number of departures from the pattern of case marking found in normal finite clauses. In increasing order of distortion:

(a) Active plain nominalized clauses retain the finite case-marking pattern, including modal case, but add an additional 'Associating OBLique' to all VP arguments.

(b) Consequential nominalized clauses add an outer CONsequential suffix to VP arguments; objects and locations, at least, lose their expected relational/modal case. Without further data we cannot tell whether this represents the non-coding of subordinate grammatical relations, or the regular disappearance of LOCative case suffixes before certain types of following suffix.

(c) Resultative clauses have an ergative pattern of case-marking, and a rich set of alternatives for agent marking, different from those found in finite passive clauses.

11.5.1 Strict pivot requirements

Except for resultative nominalizations, with their ergative argument structure, all non-finite clauses strictly equate pivot and subject.⁸ When nominalized clauses are subordinated, the subject/pivot is obligatorily deleted; the strict pivot requirements assure recoverability of the subject's identity.

If necessary, passivization is used to satisfy this condition. In (11-77), for example, the motivation for the passive is entirely syntactic: to place an object in pivot position. Unlike in finite clauses, where the passive serves no syntactic function, being purely semantic (coding "adversative" conditions), the passive in consequential nominalizations is primarily syntactic, with no adversative implications. The most natural English translation involves an active clause with gapped object:

- (11-77) *niwan-da duujin-da wungi-jarra kujiji-na*
 3sgPOSS-NOM YB-NOM steal-PST spearhead-MABL
ngumban-murrayala-a-n-ngarrba-na
 2sgPOSS-make-M-N-CONS-MABL

'His younger brother stole the spearhead you made.' (lit. 'made by you')

The strict pivot requirements on non-finite clauses contrast markedly with the very liberal conditions on what grammatical functions the pivot of a finite subordinate clause can hold. This is discussed in the next chapter.

11.5.2 Nominalized clauses or nominalized VPs?

The obligatory deletion of subjects from subordinate nominalized clauses suggests the possibility that such clauses could be generated directly as VPs. The crucial question here is: do any constituents appear that are not subjects, yet outside the VP as defined elsewhere in the grammar?

The answer is yes: manner second predicates on the subject (of the subordinate clause) (11-78), other second predicates on the subject such as ASSOCIative NPs (11-35), and subject-construed "locus" body parts (11-79) can all appear in the nominalized clause:

⁸ An interesting question, which I have yet to investigate, is: how many of the normal properties of "subjects" in K (3.3.1) are possessed by the pivots of resultative clauses? For example, can they control the reflexive pronoun *marin-da* 'self'? Does their person value control the choice of complementizing case? And can they control manner nominals? If the answers to these questions are yes, then we have a strong case for calling these pivots "subjects", despite their ergative argument structure.

- (11-78) *thaa-tha warra-ja niya wa-yii-n-ngarrb,*
 return-ACT go-ACT 3sgNOM sing-M-N-CONS

[*mirra-ya waa-n-ngarrba-ya*] *dangka-ya karrma-th*
 good-MLOC sing-N-CONS-MLOC man-MLOC embrace-ACT

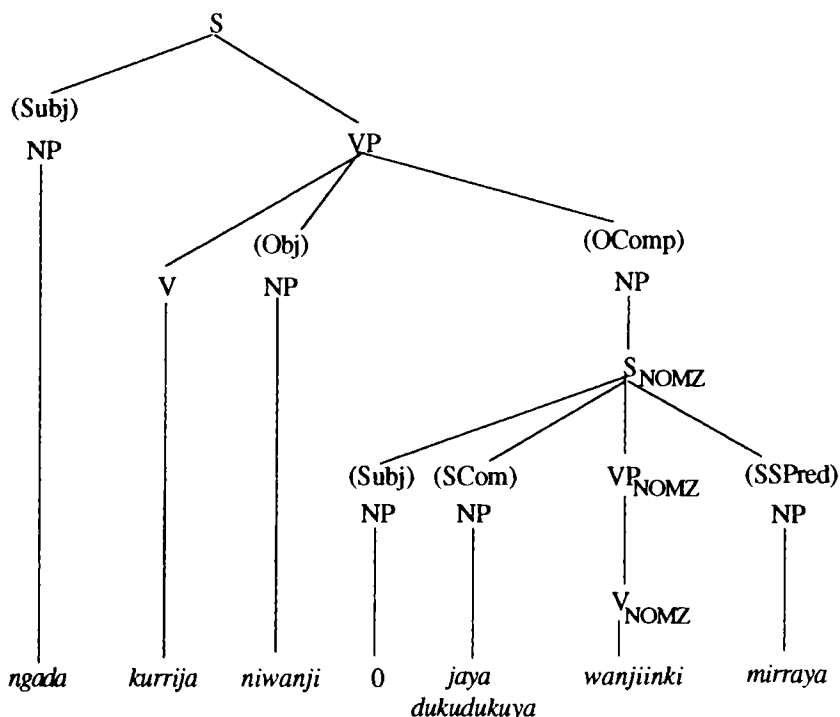
'(He) comes back (from the dead) after being sung, and embraces the man who has sung him properly (well).'

- (11-79) *ngada kurri-ja niwan-ji [ja-ya dukuduku-ya*
 1sgNOM see-ACT 3sgPOSS-MLOC foot-MLOC wet-MLOC

wanjii-n-ki mirra-y]
 go up-N-MLOC good-MLOC

'I saw him going up (the hot sand) on his wet feet, in comfort.'

This suggests the following constituent structure, in which the object complement is a full nominalized clause with subject omitted, rather than just a nominalized VP:



11.5.3 Comparative Note

All Tangkic languages have various types of lexical nominalization in *-n-*. Agentive nominalizations are found in all four languages; instrument nominalizations in K and L. But besides K, the only Tangkic language to use nominalized verbs in clausal constructions is Yangkaal, which employs plain nominalizations as object complements (11-80) and consequential nominalizations as circumstantials (11-81):

(11-80) *ngada* *bijilkurri-ju* *niwan-ju* *kali-n-ku*
 Ya 1sgNOM watch-POT 3sg-MPROP jump-N-MPROP
 'I will watch him jump.'

(11-81) *kali-n-ngarrba* *niya* *balji-j*
 Ya jump-N-CONS 3sgNOM fall-ACT
 'After jumping he fell.'

These examples are from Hale's field notes. No examples of nominalizations with NP arguments occur, so we cannot know whether Yangkaal employed an "associating" oblique like Kayardild.

The use of nominalized verbs in clausal constructions therefore appears to be a Kayardild-Yangkaal innovation. If this is correct, nominalizations have thus developed in the opposite direction to *-THarrba* nominalizations, which evolved from clausal to lexical use (see 11.3.7).

11.6 Movement purpose complements

Movement purpose complements share features of finite and non-finite subordinate clauses. Like finite subordinate clauses, they assign their own modal case (the modal ALLative) and verbs have a finite inflection (the DIRECTed). But like non-finite subordinate clauses they inherit the modal case of the higher clause; this follows the modal case assigned by the purpose complement itself.

Movement purpose complements give the purpose motivating a main clause action that involves movement by the subject, as in 'I have come to talk to you'. This complement type is only attested with the main verbs *warraja* 'go', *daliya* 'come' and the verbal purposive case *-janiija* which implies 'go looking for'. Where the main clause does not imply movement (e.g. 'we built the dam so fish would get trapped in it'), finite subordinate clauses in the POTential are used (12.3.9).

Motion purpose clauses contain a verb and optionally an object (11-8, 11-83). No overt subject appears, the complement being controlled by the main clause subject. Verbs take the DIRECTed inflection *-THiring*, and

nominals take the modal ALLative inflection *-iring*.⁹ Both these inflections are followed by a modal case inherited from the main clause: ABLative with a PaST main clause (11-82), PROPrietary with main clause POTential (11-8, 11-83), and OBLique with main clause APPRehensive (11-84) or DESiderative (11-85):

- (11-82) *ngada ngumban-jani-jarr kamburi-jiring-kina*
 1sgNOM 2sg-VPURP-PST speak-DIREC-MABL
 'I came to talk to you.'
- (11-83) *balmb-u ngada warra-ju bijarrba-ring-ku*
 morrow-MPROP 1sgNOM go-POT dugong-MALL-MPROP
raa-jiring-ku
 spear-DIREC-MPROP
 'Tomorrow I will go to spear dugong.'
- (11-84) *namu bala-thu-th, bulijiman dali-nyarr ngumban-jani-nyarra*
 NEG hit-RECIP-IMP policeman come-APPR 2sg-VPURP-APPR
kurndi-jiring-inj
 tie up-DIREC-MOBL
 'Don't hit each other, the policeman might come looking for you to tie up.'
- (11-85) *niya warra-d wirrka-jiring-inj*
 3sgNOM go-DES dance-DIREC-MOBL
 'He should come on and dance.'

⁹ The final *ng* in verbal and nominal allative inflections is due to the restoration of the full form before a following suffix. See 4.2.

Chapter 12

Finite subordinate clauses

12.1 Introduction

In this chapter we turn to a type of subordinate clause which closely resembles normal finite clauses, permitting almost the full range of verb inflections. Subordination is signalled by intonation, tense sequence, and commonly a Complementizing OBLique or LOCative case appearing after all other inflections, usually on all constituents. Unlike non-finite subordinate clauses, finite subordinate clauses do not agree in case with their main-clause head.

This clause type shares many properties of the “adjoined relative clause” described by Hale (1976): positioning before or after, rather than within, the matrix clause; distinctive intonation, and the possibility of a number of semantic interpretations (restrictive relative, purpose, cause, etc.) which are not distinguished formally but determined by context and tense sequence. However, embedding can sometimes occur, and I will therefore use the term “finite subordinate clause” instead of the more specific “adjoined”.

Syntactically, finite subordinate clauses have several possibilities:

- (a) They may supply clausal arguments of matrix predicates (e.g. ‘I saw that [Clause]’).
- (b) They may function as adnominal modifiers of matrix NPs (e.g. ‘Here is the man who [Clause]’).
- (c) They may function as temporal, causal, contrast or purpose adjuncts of the main clause, e.g. ‘we will dance [as soon as the sun sets]’.

The full range of finite subordinate clause functions will be discussed in 12.3; for now let us consider a few preliminary examples. (12-1)–(12-3) illustrate two functions of finite subordinate clauses: restrictive relatives in the past (12-1) and potential (12-2), and purpose clauses (12-3). In these examples the pivot is subject of both clauses. As in ordinary discourse, where there is zero anaphora of established participants (3.2) the subject is usually omitted from the finite subordinate clause (12-1, 12-3); less commonly, it may simply be pronominalized (12-2):

- (12-1) *jina-a dathin-a dangka-a dan-kina yii-jarrra-tharra*
 where-NOM that-NOM man-NOM here-MABL put-CAUS-PST

wangal-kina
 boomerang-MABL

‘Where is the man who left the boomerang here?’

- (12-2) *jina-a dathin-a dangka-a niya balmbi-wu*
 where-NOM that-NOM man-NOM 3sgNOM morrow-MPROP

wangalk-u kala-thu
 boomerang-MPROP cut-POT

‘Where is the man, who will cut a boomerang tomorrow?’

- (12-3) *ki-l-da karna-ja minal-i, karn-marri-wu*
 they-pl-NOM burn-ACT scrub-MLOC grass-PRIV-MPROP

rajurri-ju
 walk-POT

‘They are burning off the scrub, so (they) can walk about unimpeded by grass.’

12.1.1 Non-subject pivots and complementizing case

The above examples resemble non-finite clause types in equating subject and pivot. They are also morphologically identical to finite main clauses.

One of the peculiarities of finite subordinate clauses, however, is their tolerance of non-subject pivots. In (12-4), for example, the pivot is object of the subordinate clause, and in (12-5) it is object of both clauses. Both these conditions trigger what I shall call *odd pivot marking*, in the form of complementizing case on every word of the subordinate clause. Pronominal subjects of clauses complementized with the OBLique have special portmanteau forms, e.g. *ngijuwa* ‘1sgSUBJ:COBL’ in (12-4) below (see 5.2 for the full set). As with the sentences discussed above, the pivot NP is typically omitted from the subordinate clause. This is not obligatory, however, and the pivot may be retained as a pronominal with normal case-marking at all levels (e.g. *niwanjinaantha* in (12-5)). Once again, this follows the pattern of ordinary discourse, rather than being an obligatory rule like the equi-omission found in non-finite subordinate clauses (Chapter 11).

- (12-4) *dan-da banga-a, [kakuju-ntha / ngijuwa]*
 this-NOM turtle-NOM uncle-COBL 1sgSUB:COBL

raa-jarra-ntha walbu-nguni-nj]COBL
spear-PST-COBL raft-INSTR-COBL

'This is the turtle (which) uncle / I speared from the raft.'

(12-5) *nyingka kurri-jarra dathin-kina dangka-na,*
2sgNOM see-PST that-MABL man-MABL

[*thawurr-inaa-ntha raa-jarra-ntha niwan-jinaa-nth*]COBL
throat-MABL-COBL spear-PST-COBL 3sg-MABL-COBL

'Did you see the man, whom (he) speared in the throat?'

[Note that the spearer, an established participant, is here anaphorically deleted from the subordinate clause.]

Object pivots in subordinate clauses are not the only condition requiring complementizing case. Any complex sentence where the pivot is not subject of both clauses, e.g. Object-Instrument (for brevity I will first give the pivot's main clause function, then its subordinate clause function) or Object-Subject, or where there is no common argument, will trigger complementizing case. These conditions, which I will call *odd-pivot conditions*, will be examined in detail in 12.2, where I will also discuss the similarities and differences between this system and the better-known phenomenon of switch-reference.

12.1.2 Clausal argument condition on complementizing case

A second function of "complementizing case" is to mark clausal arguments of matrix predicates:

(12-6) *ngada murnmurdawa-th, [ngijin-inja thabuju-ntha*
1sgNOM be glad-ACT my-COBL brother-COBL

thaa-thuu-nth]COBL
return-POT-COBL

'I am glad that my brother is coming back.'

It might be argued that the complementizing case in (12-6) follows from the odd-pivot condition, since the subordinate and matrix clauses lack a common argument. However, clausal arguments require complementizing case, even under same-subject conditions:

(12-7) *ngada mungurru / murnmurdawa-th,*
1sgNOM knowNOM rejoice-ACT

[(ngjuwa) kada-ntha thaa-thuu-nth]_{COBL}
 1sgSUB:COBL again-COBL return-POT-COBL

‘I know/am glad that I will come back (here) again.’

The nominal predicator *mungurru* takes complementized clausal arguments when it has the meaning ‘know that’. When it means ‘know how to’ the verb it occurs with does not take complementizing case; the most appropriate parsing treats it as a second predicate: ‘SUBJ, knowingly, V-es’: cf. (5-117).

(12-8) *ngada marin-marri-i-jarr, [dathin-kurrka thungal-urrka*
 1sgNOM self-hear-M-PST that-LOC:COBL thing-LOC:COBL
*kamburi-jurrk]*_{COBL}
 speak-IMMED:COBL

‘I heard myself speaking on that thing (the radio).’

The presence of complementizing case here, then, cannot be derived from the “odd-pivot conditions”. Rather, a distinct condition, which I will call the *clausal argument condition*, is required.¹

12.1.3 Main clause functions of complementized clauses

Complementized finite subordinate clauses may be used as main clauses with two main functions.

One corresponds to the “clausal argument” condition in complex clauses, but with the matrix perception, epistemic or command predicate ellipsed. An example is (12-9); the ellipsed matrix predicator is given in brackets in the English translation. This “ellipsed matrix” use of complementized clauses is discussed in 12.4.

(12-9) [*dan-kurrka ri-in-kurrka dali-jurrka*
 here-LOC:COBL east-from-LOC:COBL come-IMMED:COBL
*budubudu-nth]*_{COBL}
 boat-COBL

‘(I can hear) the boat coming here from the east.’

¹ Wilkins (1988:171), discussing the Mparntwe Arrernte switch-reference system, notes that “for all perception verbs, including self-perception verbs, a perceived event will be marked with *-rlenge*” (the different subject marker).

Their other function represents an extension of the “odd pivot” condition into discourse: complementized clauses may be used, for example, where the topic is object rather than subject. Objects topicalized in this way take the nominative (12-10) or are omitted altogether (12-11, lines b and d):

(12-10) [yakuri-ya ngalawa diya-jarra-nth]_{COBL} [bijarrba
fish-NOM 1plSUB:COBL eat-PST-COBL dugongNOM

ngalawa diya-jarra-nth]_{COBL}
1pluSUB:COBL eat-PST-COBL

‘(Speaking of food) we ate fish, we ate dugong.’

(12-11) a. X kurri-ja dathin-a yarbud-a kamarr-ir
look-IMP that-NOM snake-NOM stone-ALL
‘Look at that snake on the stone!’

b. Y jina-a, [ngijuwa kurri-n-marri-nj]_{COBL}
where-NOM 1sgSUBJ:COBL see-N-PRIV-COBL
‘Where, I can’t see (it).’

c. X dan-da marrwa-r dabarr-ir
here-NOM near-ALL tree-ALL
‘Here, near the tree.’

d. Y [ngijuwa kurri-jurrk]_{COBL}
1sgSUBJ:COBL see-IMMED:COBL
‘Now I see (it).’

The use of insubordinated clauses in discourse is discussed in 12.5.

12.1.1.4 Subordinate subject and choice of complementizing case

All examples so far have had first or third person subjects in the subordinate clause; this selects the OBLique complementizing case. With first inclusive subjects, by contrast, the complementizing LOCative must be used:

(12-12) jina-a bijarrb, [nga-ku-rr-a / nga-ku-l-da
where-NOM dugongNOM 1-INC-du-NOM 1-INC-pl-NOM

kurulu-tharra-y]_{CLOC}
kill-PST-CLOC

‘Where is the dugong, which you and I speared?’

With second person subjects either case may be used (12-13); the choice depends on subtle factors of solidarity to be discussed in 12.1.4.2.

- (12-13) (a) *jina-a* *bijarrb*, [*nyingka* *kurulu-tharra-y*]_{CLOC}
 where-NOM dugongNOM 2sgNOM kill-PST-CLOC
- (b) “ “ [*ngumba-a* *kurulu-tharra-nth*]_{COBL}
 2sgCOBL kill-PST-COBL

‘Where is the dugong, which you killed?’

The conditions on choice of complementizing case are summarized below.

Person	Complementizing case
‘inclusive’ (1 + 2)	LOCative
2nd person	LOCative/OBLique
1st, 3rd person	OBLique

The existence of this choice means that, in addition to signalling odd pivot configurations, complementizing case roughly characterizes the person of the subordinate clause: LOCative excludes first and third person subjects, and OBLique rules out inclusive subjects. Perhaps because of this, subjects are omitted relatively more often in complementized clauses (see, for example, (12-32)).

The possible origin of this choice is discussed in 12.6.

12.1.4.1 Failure of CLOC to appear on pronominal subjects.

As (12-13) illustrates, the pronominal subjects of clauses complementized with the LOCative escape complementizing case, remaining in the NOMinative. But non-pronominals apposed to these subjects (12-14), or substituted for them (12-15), do receive a complementizing LOCative inflection, showing this to be a specific lexical block against CLOC appearing on pronominal subjects.

- (12-14) *jina-a* *bijarrb*, [*nga-ku-l-da* *bakiin-ki*
 where-NOM dugongNOM 1-INCL-pl-NOM all-CLOC
kurulu-tharra-y]_{CLOC}
 kill-PST-CLOC

‘Where is the dugong, which we all killed?’

- (12-15) *kanthathu kamburi-ja dana-th: karrngi-ja dan-da*
 fatherNOM say-ACT die-ACT look after-IMP this-NOM
- dulk-a ngumban-d, [duujin-ji wakatha-ya jardi-ya*
 country-NOM your-NOM YB-CLOC sister-CLOC mob-CLOC
- karrngi-juru-ya dan-da dulk]*CLOC
 look after-POT-CLOC this-NOM countryNOM

‘(My) father said when he died: look after this country of yours, (you) and all your younger brothers and your sisters must look after this country.’

There is comparative evidence explaining this block. As I will show in 12.6.1, the Kayardild Complementizing LOCative descends from an ergative-antecedent use of the proto-Tangkic ergative/locative. But in Yukulta, and we may infer also in proto-Tangkic, free pronouns do not have an ergative form distinct from the nominative. A phrase like *ngakulda bakiinki* in (12-14) would have had exactly the same form in proto-Tangkic if it had been an apposed pronoun and noun—the pronoun would have been formally indistinct from the nominative, while the noun would have taken the ergative/locative. Thus the failure of Kayardild subject pronouns to show the complementizing locative simply continues the lack of a distinct ergative form for free pronouns in proto-Tangkic.

12.1.4.2 Exploiting the LOCative/OBLique choice. With all but second person subjects the choice between COBL and CLOC is determined entirely by the person and number of the subject; both have identical functions. But with second person subjects a choice exists, and is semantically significant. CLOC, with its first inclusive affinities, is used when the speaker wants to group him/herself with the addressee, while COBL is used when no such grouping is sought. An example is:

- (12-16) *[jinamulu mani nyingka kurrka-tharra-ya*
 how much moneyNOM 2sgNOM take-PST-CLOC
- rawalan-maan-d]*CLOC
 baler shell-ORIG-NOM

‘How much money did you get from (selling) the baler shells?’

This was said by a woman who believed she had a right to the proceeds of the sale: by using the inclusive-oriented CLOC she implies: ‘how much money did you get from selling *our* baler shells?’.

The OBLique, on the other hand, is used when no such solidarity is implied, or when a contrast is drawn between the activities of speaker and addressee, as in:

- (12-17) *ngada diya-ju wuran-ku, [ngumbaa*
 1sgNOM eat-POT food-MPROP 2sgSUB:COBL
*dan-kuu-ntha barnkaldi-juu-nth]*COBL
 here-MPROP-COBL sit.cross.legged-POT-COBL
 ‘I’ll eat some food, while you sit here.’

12.1.5 Productivity of complementizing case

Every finite clause type, affirmative and negative, may appear complementized, except for the ACTual and the IMPerative. Non-finite clause types are also susceptible: plain nominalizations (12-18), privative nominalizations (12-105), and resultative clauses (12-19).

- (12-18) [*niwa kantharrk-inja rajurri-n-inj*]COBL
 3sgSUB:COBL unaided-COBL walk around-N-COBL
 ‘(I say:) let him (that toddler) walk around by himself.’
- (12-19) [*dathin-inja kunawun-inja rik-urrk, rila-thirri-n-inj*]COBL
 that-COBL child-COBL cry-LOC:COBL wake-RES-N-COBL
 ‘(I hear) that child crying now, who’s just been woken up.’

Complementizing case is thus almost fully productive. This does not mean, however, that the conditions on its use are uniform for all constructions. As we shall see in 12.2.6, complementizing case obeys rather different conditions in jussives, ‘when’ clauses, and apprehensives.

12.1.5.1 Complementized IMMEDIATE clauses. IMMEDIATE main clauses have verb inflection *-THi / -nangki*, analysable into verb thematic plus LOCative (7.2.2), and select the modal LOCative (10.1.1). When complementized with the OBLique, both modal locative NPs and the verb final use the LOC:OBL portmanteau {*-kurrka*}:

- (12-20) *ngada kurri-j, [niwaa natha-wurrka*
 1sgNOM see-ACT 3sgSUB:COBL camp-LOC:COBL
*dana-th.urrk]*COBL
 leave-IMMED(THEMAT.LOC):COBL
 ‘I saw him leaving the camp.’

When IMMEDIATE clauses have inclusive subjects, which would select the complementizing LOCative, a potential violation of the ban on iterated LOCative suffixes (4.2.3) arises. In constructions of this type, the

underlying (M)LOC-CLOC sequences are represented by a single LOCative inflection. Because of the additional lexical block against CLOC appearing on pronominal subjects (12.1.4.1) this leaves such clauses formally indistinguishable from uncomplementized IMMEDIATE clauses:²

- (12-21) *yiiwi-ja bi-l-d, [nga-ku-rr-a*
 sleep-ACT 3-pl-NOM 1-INC-du-NOM
*kabathaa-th.iya yakuri-y]*CLOC
 hunt-IMMED(THEMAT.LOC) fish-MLOC

'They are sleeping, as we hunt for fish.'

Note that two features of IMMEDIATE verb inflections here—their alternation with the *{kurrka}* LOC:OBL portmanteau, and their conformity to the regular ban on LOC-LOC sequences—favour a synchronic analysis into thematic plus LOCative (7.2.2), and hence a treatment of the whole clause type as having a LOCative distributed over the whole VP (10.1.1).

12.1.5.2 Appearance in complementized clauses of an overt LOCative on locational qualifiers and the reflexive pronoun *marin-da*. A further interesting feature of ACTual, IMMEDIATE and nominal clause types bearing a complementizing OBLique is the behaviour of locational adjuncts and the reflexive pronoun *marin-da*. In the corresponding uncomplementized clauses, these fail to take the expected LOCative case, presumably because the locationals have an inherent (relational) locative (cf. 5.3), and the reflexive pronoun, confined to object function, has an inherent modal LOCative (cf. 9.3.3). The expected LOCative reappears, however, in OBLique-complementized clauses, in the guise of the LOC:OBL portmanteau *{-kurrka}*:

- (12-22) *dathin-a kunawuna dathin-kina dangka-na, [warra-wurrka*
 that-NOM childNOM that-ABL man-ABL far-LOC:COBL
*jurrkara-wurrka niwan-inja kanthathu-nth]*COBL
 north-LOC:COBL his-COBL father-COBL

'This is the child of that man, who is sitting over there in the north.'
 (Lit.: '.. who his father is sitting over there in the north'.)

- (12-23) *ngada kurri-ja niwan-ji, [mardala-a-jurrka*
 1sgNOM see-ACT 3sg-MLOC paint-M-IMMED:COBL

² In principle, LOCative-complementized clauses are still potentially distinguishable: CLOC should appear on (a) non-pronominals apposed to the subject (cf. 12-14, 12-15) and (b) other NPs escaping modal case. But I have no examples of this.

marin-kurrk]COBL
self-MLOC:COBL

'I saw him painting himself up.'

I have no data on the equivalent LOCative-complementized constructions.

12.1.6 Exceptions to concord over the whole clause

In general, complementizing case applies to all words of the clause. But there are five exceptions:

(i) As shown in 12.1.4, pronominal subjects are not marked for CLOC. Since non-pronominals apposed to them *are* marked, we must assume this is a specific lexical block.

(ii) Particles and conjunctions escape complementizing case, e.g. the Counterfactual particle *maraka* in (12-73).

(iii) Nominals already taking an OBLique suffix escape a further complementizing case inflection (12-24); this reflects the general morphological ban on other suffixes following the OBLique. Hortative verb inflections, which contain an OBLique suffix, also escape further complementizing case. Since hortatives take the modal OBLique, the only place a complementizing OBLique appears in such clauses is on the subject (12-25) and, theoretically, on other NPs escaping modal case (not actually attested).

(12-24) *jambathu wirrka-nanginja wirti-nanginja wumburung-inj*
cousinNOM play-NEG.HORT stay-NEG.HORT spear-MOBL
'Cousin should not be playing with the spear.'

(12-25) [*jambathu-ntha wirrka-nanginja wirti-nanginja*
cousin-COBL play-NEG.HORT stay-NEG.HORT
wumburung-inj]COBL
spear-M:COBL

'(One might say) cousin should not be playing with the spear.'

(iv) The DESiderative verbal inflection *-da*. (The failure of this to take complementizing case may be related to its rather aberrant status as the only finite verbal inflection not analysable as thematic plus an old case inflection.) Since objects of desiderative clauses take a modal OBLique, and hence escape complementizing case by (iii), this means that desideratives, along with hortatives, are the least clearly marked of

complementized finite subordinate clauses. Nonetheless, complementizing case still appears on subjects and arguments escaping modal case, such as the PROPrietary theme in (12-26):

- (12-26) [ngijuwa kamarri-da duujin-inja wangalk-uru-ntha]COBL
 1sgSUBJ:COBL ask-DES YB-MOBL boomerang-PROP-COBL
 '(Someone said) I should ask younger brother for the boomerang.'

(v) Object topics of insubordinated complementized clauses escape both modal and complementizing case, taking the nominative; see (12-10).³ Other topicalized NPs likewise escape modal and complementizing case; if they have an (underlying) relational case that has been replaced by modal case, such as a locative (cf. 4.3.3), this resurfaces in the topicalized construction. An example is (12-27):

- (12-27) X: [badi-juu-ntha baki-juu-ntha wajurr-uu-ntha
 carry-POT-COBL all-POT-COBL underarm-MPROP-COBL
 bana dika-wuu-nth]COBL
 and shoulder-MPROP-COBL
 Y: [jungarra-ya mindula-ya ngijuwa badi-juu-nth]
 big-LOC bundle-LOC 1sgSUBJ:COBL carry-POT-COBL
 X: '(I) will carry it all (in a coolamon) under my arm and on my
 shoulder.'
 Y: '(Mine) I'll carry in a big bundle.'

In spite of (i)–(v), the complementizing case system has enough redundancy that the failure of inflections to appear on one argument is covered by their appearance on others. In desiderative clauses with object topics, for example, complementizing case may be absent from the object and verb, but will appear on the subject pronoun.⁴

12.1.7 Embedding

So far all example clauses have been adjoined. But it is also possible to embed the complementized clause; this is most common with purpose and jussive clauses, but also occurs in “parenthetical constructions”

³ This contrasts with the normal case-marking found on non-subject pivots, on the rare occasions when they appear in the subordinate clause (e.g. 12-5, 12-22).

⁴ The only situation where *all* words would escape would be object-topicalized desiderative clauses taking the complementizing LOCative (which wouldn't appear on the subject either). I have no examples of this.

(12.3.5). Note that my use of the term “embedding” refers solely to word order—the subordinate clause is positioned within the main clause. I do not wish to imply that such clauses have NP status, which is characteristic of non-finite but not finite subordinate clauses.

- (12-28) *murndu-ru-tha* [yakuri-nja dii-juu-nha]_{COBL} kiyarrng-ki
crooked-FAC-ACT fish-COBL sit-POT-COBL two-LOC

ngurruwarra-y
fishtrap-MLOC

‘They built corners on the two fishtraps, so the fish would sit down (be trapped) in them / that the fish would sit down in.’

- (12-29) *marl-da* *nyingka* [ngalaw *kuna-walath-inja*
hand-NOM 2sgNOM 1plSUB:COBL child-LOT-COBL

kurri-juu-nha]_{COBL} *kala-tha* *kujiji*
see-POT-COBL cut-IMP spearheadNOM

‘Cut out a wooden spearhead, so we children can watch you.’

Hale (1976) claims that embedded clauses in those Australian languages that have them (e.g. Kaytej) arise through “attraction” of adjoined clauses to post-head position. Klokeid (1976) repeats this argument for Lardil. In Kayardild, adjoined clauses are certainly less marked and more common than embedded ones, supporting Hale’s argument.

The development of embedding as a possibility in Kayardild may have been facilitated by the fact that high-level case concord clearly identifies each word of the subordinate clause. In (12-28) and (12-29), for example, every word of the finite subordinate clause is distinctively marked with complementizing case, and can readily be identified as part of the embedded clause; words lacking complementizing case can likewise be assigned to the matrix. Even clauses lacking complementizing case can be embedded without ambiguity, provided their tense/mood differs from the matrix, since modal case identifies their nominal arguments. Thus in (12-30), for example, the modal proprietive on *dulk-* ‘country’ marks it as an argument of the POTential verb *kurriju*:

- (12-30) *ngada* *warra-jarra* [kurri-ju *dulk-u*]
1sgNOM go-PST see-POT country-MPROP

Rukuthi-na
(place name)-MABL

‘I went to Rukuthi to see the country.’

12.2 Odd pivot conditions and complementizing case

In this section I discuss and exemplify in detail one set of conditions requiring complementizing case—the “odd-pivot” conditions—and compare them with those governing the better-known phenomenon of switch-reference. The other type of condition requiring complementizing case—the clausal argument condition—was discussed in 12.1.2.

There are three types of odd-pivot condition. All are marked identically: the subordinate clause is complementized by COBL or CLOC as the person of the subject dictates.

- (a) The pivot is a *subordinate* non-subject: objects, possessor NPs, and instruments are attested.
- (b) The pivot is a *matrix* non-subject. Only objects and possessors are attested.
- (c) No argument is common to the two clauses.

(a) and (b) can apply together, as when the pivot is object of both clauses; (c) is incompatible with (a) or (b).

I will now exemplify these conditions. The question of whether they can be reduced to a single generalization will be left for the end of this section.

12.2.1 Pivot is a subordinate non-subject

Examples of pivots which are matrix subjects but subordinate objects have already been given (e.g. 12-4). Pivots may also be object of both clauses:

- (12-31) *ngada nguku-na dali-jarrma-tharr, [bilarri-jarra-nth]_{COBL}*
 1sgNOM water-MABL come-CAUS-PST spill-PST-COBL
 ‘I brought some water, but (someone) spilled (it).’

The pivot may be an instrument in the subordinate clause; so far this is only attested with object antecedents:

- (12-32) *kiyarrng-ka walbu-wa nga-ku-l-da kurrka-th, [dathin-kuru-ya*
 two-NOM raft-NOM 1-INC-pl-NOM get-IMP that-MPROP-CLOC
bijarrba-wuru-ya raa-juru-y]_{CLOC}
 dugong-MPROP-CLOC spear-POT-CLOC

‘Let us get our rafts, from which to spear that dugong.’
 (Cf. (12-4), where ‘raft’ appears as an overt non-pivot instrument.)

- (12-33) *nga-ku-l-da* *kurrka-tha* *bakii-ja* *ngurrumanji,*
 1-INC-pl-NOM get-IMP altogether-IMP bagNOM
- wumburung-k,* [*raa-juru-y* *yalawu-juru-y*
 spear-NOM spear-POT-CLOC net-POT-CLOC
- yakuri-wuru-y*]CLOC
 fish-MPROP-CLOC

'Let us get all our bags and spears, to spear and net fish with.'

Note that in both these examples *two* arguments are shared: 'we', which is subject of both clauses, and 'rafts' (12-32) and 'bags and spears' (12-33), which are both matrix object and subordinate instrument. But the object/instrument is the pivot, and triggers complementizing case. Were Kayardild a switch-reference language, on the other hand, we would expect "same subject" marking here.

Where the pivot is a subordinate location, *-THarrba* PRECONdition clauses are used:

- (12-34) *dan-da* *dulk,* *ngijin-da* *thabuju*
 this-NOM placeNOM my-NOM older brotherNOM
- barji-jarrb*
 be born-PRECON

'This is the place where my brother was born.'

These do not take complementizing case, and are thus an exception to the odd-pivot condition.

I have no examples with the pivot in other subordinate relations.

12.2.2 Pivot is a matrix non-subject

My corpus contains many instances of Object-Object combinations; and several of Object-Instrument. Examples were given in (12-31) and (12-32). These all trigger complementizing case, but it is not clear whether this is due to the pivot's matrix or its subordinate relation, or both.

To demonstrate unambiguously that matrix non-subject pivots trigger complementizing case, examples are needed where the pivot is subject of the subordinate but not of the main clause. Two types of construction illustrate this.

- (a) the pivot is a possessor NP in the matrix (12-35, 12-22).

- (12-35) *dan-da budubudu dathin-kina dangka-na, [niwa*
 this-NOM boatNOM that-ABL man-ABL 3sgSUBJ:COBL
barruntha-wurrka dali-jurrk]COBL
 yesterday-LOC:COBL come-IMMED:COBL

‘This is the boat of the man, who came here yesterday.’

(b) “subject raised to object” versions of perception clauses, where the pivot is a matrix object and a subordinate subject. Alongside constructions in which the perceived event is an argument of the perception verb (12-20) are those where the perceived actor is “raised” to main clause object; these require complementizing case (12-36):

- (12-36) *ngada kurri-ja niwan-ji, [natha-wurrka*
 1sgNOM see-ACT 3sg-MLOC camp-MLOC:COBL
dana-thurrk]COBL
 leave-IMMED:COBL

‘I saw him leaving the camp.’

Object–Subject combinations are also found in concessive clauses, where they trigger complementizing case as expected (12-89). When they occur in jussives, complementizing case is optional (12.2.6.1).

12.2.3 No argument is common

This includes “while/whereas” clauses like (12-37), which contrast two activities occurring at roughly the same time, and “immediate” clauses like (12-38), which express close temporal succession:

- (12-37) *bi-l-da yiiwi-j, [nga-ku-l-da kabathaa-tharra-ya*
 3-pl-NOM sleep-ACT 1-INC-pl-NOM hunt-PST-CLOC
banga-naba-y]CLOC
 turtle-MABL-CLOC

‘They slept, while we were hunting for turtle.’

- (12-38) [*baya-thurrka warrku-ntha jurdii-jurrk]COBL,*
 set-IMMED:COBL sun-COBL sink-IMMED:COBL
nga-ku-l-da jungarrba wirrka-n-d
 1-INC-pl-NOM bigNOM dance-N-NOM

‘As soon as the sun sets, we will have a big dance.’

So strong is the association between contrasting participant sets and complementized clauses that all pronouns may be ellipsed. The complementizing case signals the contrast in participants and to an extent their person, while their exact identity is left to context:

- (12-39) [damuru-yiwa-thurrka]_{COBL} ngaka-th!
 panja-VALL-IMMED:COBL wait-IMP
 '(You) wait here while (we/they) go for panja (spike rush corms)!'
 [According to context the subordinate subject could be interpreted as first or third person.]

12.2.4 Syntactic conditions: possible generalizations

As we have seen, complementizing case is not found when the pivot is subject of both clauses. It is found in all other cases, namely (a) when the pivot is a subordinate non-subject, (b) when the pivot is a matrix non-subject and (c) when the two clauses lack a common argument.

Can these various conditions be captured in a single generalization? A first approximation would be to require "complementizing case" whenever the two clauses have different subjects.

This would be consistent with (a) to (c) above. But it fails to account for sentences like (12-32) and (12-33) where matrix and subordinate clauses have a common subject but still take complementizing case, because they also have a non-subject argument in common, and this non-subject argument is the pivot. Complementizing case here is not triggered by comparing the identity of successive subjects, but rather by the non-identity of subject and pivot. A related and more important drawback of the "different subject" analysis is that although it mostly predicts correctly the appearance of complementizing case, it misses the central functional principle, which operates not by tracking *subjects*, but tracking *pivots* and indicating whether they coincide with subjects. This could be formulated as follows:

- (12-40) In finite subordinate clauses complementizing case will apply whenever the pivot is not subject of both matrix and subordinate clauses

In Kayardild, the various odd-pivot conditions are not formally distinguished. Lardil, on the other hand has developed ways of distinguishing the four conditions Sub-Sub, Sub-Obj, Obj-Subj and Obj-Obj. See Appendix C.

Note that the derived subjects of passives count as subjects for the purposes of (12-40). See, for example, (12-81).

12.2.5 Comparison between odd-pivot and switch-reference marking

It may be useful at this stage to compare Odd Pivot marking (OP) in some detail with the related phenomenon of “switch-reference” (SR) marking, which signals the identity or otherwise of successive clausal subjects. In characterizing SR I am drawing on works by Jacobsen (1967), Austin (1981c), Haiman—Munro (1983) and Stirling (1993); although not all scholars would agree on the exact characteristics of SR, I believe the following would be accepted by most as typical, particularly in Australian languages.

(a) *Both are reference tracking devices.* But where SR tracks arguments in the same grammatical function, canonically subjects,⁵ and evaluates their identity or otherwise, OP tracks referentially identical arguments and evaluates their grammatical function: are they subject of both clauses?

(b) *Both appear to code information about referential identity/non-identity elsewhere than on the relevant nominal arguments themselves.* The fact that SR systems typically employ verbal suffixes (Diyari, Arrernte), particles (e.g. in Pima; see Langdon—Munro 1979) or conjunctions (Yankunytjatjara), while OP marking is realized by case marking over a whole clause, is of no particular significance. Verbal suffixes, particles and conjunctions are all classic means of coding functions with clausal scope, and case-marking over a whole clause is another such means, uncommon cross-linguistically but consistent with the rigorous concord found at all levels of Kayardild syntax. The formal similarity between OP marking and SR becomes all the more obvious when one considers that in most Australian languages SR verbal suffixes incorporate case inflections, at least diachronically (Austin 1981c, Dench—Evans 1988).

Although it has been asserted that SR is “weird” because “it seems to violate very general iconic tendencies whereby categories which define properties of nouns are expressed by *nominal* affixes” (Haiman 1983), I believe it is misleading to see either SR or OP as categories limited to particular nominal arguments.

For one thing, the information provided by SR usually extends beyond the identity of one argument. As Heath (1983) points out, by knowing that clauses have identical subjects we also know that the subordinate object, for example, is different from the main clause subject. As we saw above, SR and OP rules give similar results for most

⁵ See Stirling (1993: 32ff) for a discussion of various non-canonical SR systems, such as those in which requirements of agentivity or topicality are added to the requirement of subjecthood.

argument combinations; this is a consequence of the multiple information SR and OP marking both provide.

More importantly, I believe that SR and OP should be seen as providing information about *clauses* rather than nominal arguments. In a number of languages the SR mechanism doubles to code contrasts of a more general kind between the two clauses. In Yankunytjatjara, for instance, the “Contrastive Connective” *kaa* is used for switch reference but also “where one proposition is being contrasted with another, or when in a narrative, a surprising or exceptional development occurs” (Goddard 1983: 296). One of the “obviative” or SR suffixes⁶ in Warlpiri subordinate clauses, *rlajinta*, “is used to show SUBJECT control, but with the further implication that the action described in the matrix happened as an accidental consequence of the action described in the controlled clause” (Simpson—Bresnan 1983: 57). In Kayardild, too, the appearance of OP marking occasionally seems to reflect a more general type of contrast—see 12.2.6.3.

The semantic similarity between these two uses of SR morphology, and the fact that both refer to whole clauses, may be shown by the following approximate paraphrases. The “surprise/contrast” meaning could be expressed as “(in this clause) something happened that one would not expect, knowing what I’ve been talking about just now”. And the “different subject” meaning as: “(in this clause) I say something about someone whom one would not expect, knowing whom I’ve been talking about just now”. This second meaning, framed with SR in mind, is also suitable for OP marking.

On the analysis proposed here, then, the fact that both SR and OP systems employ syntactic means having clausal scope *is* iconic, as SR and OP provide information primarily about clauses and only secondarily about particular arguments. By marking all words of the affected clause, Kayardild expresses this iconicity in full.

12.2.6 Three problematic clause types

The syntactic conditions above hold for the vast majority of finite subordinate clauses. But there are three construction types where they are not fully applicable: jussives, precondition clauses, and apprehensives.

⁶ SR systems can be regarded as minimal “obviation” systems, where obviation refers to “the exclusion of possible antecedents or controllers for arguments” (Simpson—Bresnan 1983) and, conversely, to the specification of others. SR systems can only exclude the matrix subject as antecedent; more complex obviation systems such as that found in Warlpiri have one form for subject antecedents, another for object antecedents, and another for oblique antecedents.

12.2.6.1 Jussive clauses. I will use the term “jussive” rather loosely to include any subordinate clause dependent on a matrix verb of communication, where the communication is intended to bring about the state of affairs described by the subordinate clause. Typical matrix verbs are *kamburiya* ‘speak, tell’, *waratha* ‘send (word)’, *wamatha* ‘shout’, and *miburiya duuratha* (literally ‘eye poke’) ‘warn’.

Jussive subordinate clauses take the POTential (12-41, 12-42), or desiderative (12-44, 12-46). The desiderative suggests a more oblique or polite command; and is also appropriate when the communication is via a third person, as in (12-46).

Jussives allow both “unraised” versions (with the commandee in the subordinate clause) and “raised” versions (with the commandee in the main clause). In the clause types outlined so far, both raised and unraised structures require complementizing case, through the OP and clausal argument conditions respectively (12.2.2). In jussives, however, complementizing case is optional for both types:

(12-41) (a) *niya kamburi-j, ngada barrki-ju ngij-u*
 3sgNOM say-ACT 1sgNOM chop-POT wood-MPROP

(b) “ “ , [*ngijuwa barrki-juu-ntha*
 1sgSUB:COBL chop-POT-COBL

ngij-uu-nth]COBL
 wood-POT-COBL

‘He said for me to chop the wood.’

(12-42) (a) *ngada niwan-ju kamarr-ju, kinaa-ju ngunguk-u*
 1sgNOM 3sg-MPROP ask-POT tell-POT story-MPROP

(b) “ “ “ , [*kinaa-juu-ntha*
 tell-POT-COBL

ngunguk-uu-nth]COBL
 story-POT-COBL

‘I will ask him to tell the story.’

(12-43) (a) *ngada mibur-iya duura-tha niwan-ji, dan-ku*
 1sgNOM eye-MLOC poke-ACT 3sg-MLOC here-MPROP

dali-nangku
 come-NEG.POT

(b) *ngada mibur-iya duura-tha niwan-ji,*
 1sgNOM eye-MLOC poke-ACT 3sg-MLOC

[*dan-kuu-ntha* *dali-nangkuu-nth*]_{COBL}
 here-MPROP-COBL come-NEG.POT-COBL

'I warned him not to come here.'

With desiderative and hortative clauses it is not always possible to decide whether the clause is complementized, due to the morphosyntactic peculiarities outlined in 12.1.6. In (12-44), for example, the OBLique on 'bag' could be modal or complementizing, and in (12-45) the lack of COBL after the hortative verb inflection could reflect a real lack of complementizing case, or could simply be due to the morphological ban on other suffixes following the OBLique (see 12.1.6), which is a component of the hortative verb inflection. (12-46) is my only unambiguous example; in it the subordinate subject *thungaluruuru* escapes complementizing case, so we know the jussive clause is not complementized.

(12-44) *dathin-a* *maku* *wara-th*, *buru-da* *ngurrumanji-nj*
 that-NOM womanNOM send-ACT take-DES bag-OBL
 'That woman sent (word) to bring the bags.'

(12-45) *kamburi-ja* *dathin-a* *dangka-a*,
 speak-IMP that-NOM man-NOM

warra-nanginj
 go-NEG.HORT (NEG.THEMAT.OBL)

'Tell that man not to go.'

(12-46) *nyingka* *kamburi-ja* *thaa-th*, [*ngijin-inja* *kajakaja-ntha*
 2sgNOM speak-IMP return-IMP my-MOBL daddy-MOBL

mirrayala-da *thungaluruwuru*]_∅
 heal-DES white.manNOM

'You go and tell (them) that the white man should heal my daddy.'

There are clear semantic reasons why jussives of the raised variety should be deviant: the unmarked argument structure is for the pivot to be matrix object (of the communication verb) and subordinate subject (performing the action they have been asked to do).⁷ The optionality of complementizing case here can thus be explained by postulating two competing interpretations of the "odd pivot" principle—a "mechanical"

⁷ Cf. Dixon (1979: 114) "the subordinate clause (of jussives—N.E.) describes an instruction that has been given to someone to do something: plainly the participant must be agent, and thus subject, for the subordinate clause."

one, obeying the conditions given in (12-40) regardless of the construction type, and a “semantic” one for which the sequence Object-Subject is semantically unmarked, and therefore does not trigger OP marking.

It is less clear why “clausal argument” jussives should be deviant. One possibility is that sentences like (12-41) should not be treated as complex at all, but as a sequence of two main clauses, the second of which codes direct speech (though with the person values adjusted): ‘he said: I should cut wood’.

12.2.6.2 -THarrba “precondition” clauses. This clause type supplies real or hypothetical preconditions for the main clause action (see 7.2.3.8). The time it specifies can never be absolute but is always relative to that of the matrix clause; accordingly it is never used independently.

Usually -THarrba clauses precede their matrix. Regardless of the coreference relations between the clauses, complementizing case is never triggered.

Shared subject:

- (12-47) *nyingka jungarra dangka-a wiridi-jarrb, nyingka*
 2sgNOM bigNOM man-NOM become-PRECON 2sgNOM
kujiji-wu kala-thu
 spearhead-MPROP cut-POT

‘When you become a big man, you will cut spearheads.’

Subject-body part chain:

- (12-48) *dangka-a warra-yarrba dan-kinab, mutha-a kandu-wa*
 man-NOM go-PRECON here-MABL much-NOM blood-NOM
burri-j
 emerge-ACT

‘When the man got here, lots of blood came out (of his mouth).’

Different subjects:

- (12-49) *mangara barji-jarrb, ngada thaa-thu rul-ung-ku*
 rainsNOM fall-PRECON 1sgNOM return-POT east-ALL-PROP
 ‘When the rains fall, I will return eastwards.’
- (12-50) *ngada kurirr-wa-tharrb, nyingka karrngi-ja*
 1sgNOM dead-INCH-PRECON 2sgNOM look after-IMP

dan-da *dulk!*
 this-NOM countryNOM

'When I die, you look after this country!'

Many explanations could be given for the lack of complementizing case here. Temporal clauses are often aberrant with respect to switch-reference marking: since they introduce a sideline or backgrounded event not continuing the main thrust of the narrative, different subject sequences are semantically unmarked, which would explain their failure to trigger complementizing case.

Also significant is the availability of CONSequential nominalized clauses used as second predicates on the subject (11.4.4). These are basically synonymous, but *must* have the same subject as the main clause. It is likely that with the paradigmatically opposed *-THarrba* clauses, differing subjects are the unmarked case. Certainly the majority of *-THarrba* clauses in my corpus have different subjects.

12.2.6.3 Apprehensive clauses. Apprehensives may be main clauses, warning the hearer of an unpleasant consequence (7.2.3.11). Or they may be subordinate clauses, spelling out the unpleasant consequence to be averted by following the instructions given in the main clause. (They may also be clausal arguments of a main clause communication verb—see 12.3.6).

Most often, subordinate apprehensive clauses obey the normal OP rules, escaping complementizing case when the pivot is subject of both clauses (12-51, 12-52), and taking complementizing case under all other conditions, e.g. in the sequences Object-Subject (12-53), and Subject-Object (12-54).

(12-51) *walmathi* *kam-da* *rajurri-n,* *ba-yii-nyarra*
 on topNOM grass-NOM walk-NEG.IMP bite-M-APPR

yarbuth-iywa-nharr!
 snake-VALL-APPR

'Don't walk across the grass, in case you get bitten by a snake.'

(12-52) *dathin-a* *bal-ung-ka* *warra-na* *nga-ku-l-d,*
 there-NOM west-ALL-NOM go-NEG.IMP 1-INC-pl-NOM

mardalk-inja *jurdi-nyarr*
 mud-MOBL sink-APPR

'Don't let's go to the west there, in case we sink into the mud.'

- (12-53) *wadu-maru-th*, [*ngirrnguth-inja diya-a-nyarra-nth*]_{COBL}
 smoke-V.D-IMP fly-OBL eat-M-APPR-COBL
 ‘Put (the meat) in the smoke, so it doesn’t get eaten by flies.’

The single OBLique on ‘fly’ is a relational case; it marks the agent of a passive. No further case suffix may follow it (cf. 4.2.3). Similar remarks apply to (12-57) below.

- (12-54) *nyingka warra-j*, [*dathin-inja dangka-ntha raa-nyarra-nth*]_{COBL}
 2sgNOM go-IMP that-COBL man-COBL spear-APPR-COBL
 ‘You go away, or that man will spear (you)!’

I have three examples, however, where the subordinate clause is complementized even under Subject-Subject conditions:

- (12-55) *nyingka jirka-an-da* *wirdi-j*,
 2sgNOM north-FROM-NOM stay-IMP
 [*wadu-yiiwa-nharra-ya* *mibur-i*]_{CLOC}
 smoke-VALL-APPR-CLOC eye-CLOC

‘You stay on the south side of the fire (lit. coming from the north), or you’ll get smoke in your eyes.’

- (12-56) *buru-na* *thararr*, [*naa-nyarra-ya*]_{CLOC}
 grasp-NEG.IMP emberNOM burn(v.i.)-APPR-CLOC
 ‘Don’t get hold of those embers, or you’ll get burned!’

- (12-57) *ngada jaa-nangku* *wida-wu*, [*yarbuth-inja*
 1sgNOM enter-NEG.POT hole-MPROP snake-OBL
ba-yii-nyarra-nth]_{COBL}
 bite-M-APPR-COBL

‘I won’t put my hand in that hole, or I’ll get bitten by a snake.’

One possible explanation is that speakers are using complementizing case here to emphasize the contrast between the two clauses (cf. discussion in 12.2.5), which are seen as disjunctive possibilities. This “contrast use” (if this is indeed the explanation) is extremely marginal, and apparently limited to apprehensive clauses.

Another aberrant example is (12-58), in which the apprehensive inflection is followed by a LOCative which appears to result from antecedent agreement—i.e. the apprehensive clause appears to agree with ‘young child’ in taking a (modal) locative. This is my only example of this. (We cannot interpret the locative on ‘get smashed up’ as having complementizing function, since the third-person subject ‘small child’ would select the complementizing OBLique.)

(12-58) *burnjarra-wa-nharra-ya* *kunya-ya* *kunawuna-ya*
 smashed-INCH-APPR-M?LOC small-MLOC child-MLOC

kurda-maru-th.
 coolamon-VD-ACT

‘[We] put the baby, who might get smashed up, into a coolamon.’

It is common for apprehensive/lest clauses to behave unusually with regard to reference-tracking. Austin (1981c:311), discussing Australian languages with SR, points out that, unlike implicated and sequential clauses, “lest clauses do not mark sameness or difference of subjects”. And in Yidiny (Dixon 1977a: 350-353) “lest” clauses do not conform to the strict pivot requirements found in other subordinate clause types.

12.2.6.4 Summary. Each of the above construction types deviates from the normal “odd pivot” conditions in different ways. With jussives, complementizing case appears where expected, but only optionally. With precondition clauses it fails to appear where expected, i.e. where no arguments are shared. And in apprehensive clauses it appears under the expected conditions, but also under Subject-Subject conditions, which normally exclude complementizing case.

For each a semantic explanation (admittedly speculative) can be given: in jussives the Object-Subject sequence is semantically unmarked; in PRECONdition clauses different-subject conditions are semantically unmarked, and in lest clauses complementizing case is being used to express the contrast between the matrix and subordinate clause actions.

12.3 Functions of finite subordinate clauses

12.3.1 Tense system in subordinate clauses

The tense system of finite subordinate clauses differs somewhat from that in main clauses.

Main clauses have a basic division between ACTual, which covers past, present and immediate future, and POTential. While the ACTual is the unmarked, and non-specific, choice for non-future clauses, the more specific PaST and IMMEDIATE categories are available if extra precision is desired. These latter, however, are used relatively rarely.

In finite subordinate clauses the ACTual verb inflection is unavailable; there is no exact equivalent of its non-future semantic range. Instead, there is a tripartite division into PaST, IMMEDIATE (present and immediate past), and POTential. The PaST and IMMEDIATE categories are less marked in subordinate than in main clauses, and commensurately more frequent.

The relation between modal case and verb inflection in finite subordinate clauses is identical to that in main clauses.

Subordinate tense is in general relative rather than absolute. The one exception involves the perceptual complements of POTential verbs: these are coded absolutely, with the POTential, rather than relatively, with the IMMEDIATE—see (12-64).

With the IMMEDIATE category, spatial proximity may override purely temporal factors. In (12-35), for example, the IMMEDIATE is used even though the event is past (yesterday); this is because it took place in the same place as the speech act.

12.3.2 Syntactic types

Finite subordinate clauses have three basic syntactic possibilities: clausal arguments of a matrix predicate (e.g. epistemic, perception, and utterance predicates), adnominal modifiers of a matrix argument (restrictive relatives), and as clausal adjuncts to the matrix (of time, cause, goal, contrast etc.). The discussion below follows this order.

The positioning of finite subordinate clauses vis-a-vis the main clause depends on their syntactic function. Clausal arguments and adnominal relatives are invariably postposed, while adjuncts are less constrained, occurring before, within or after the main clause.

12.3.3 Complements of knowledge and emotion predicates

Clausal complements of the nominal predicates *mungurru* 'know', *mirraa bardaka* [lit. good stomach] 'be happy, be relieved' and *birmurdami* 'be sad, have painful (telepathic) awareness of', and of the verb *murnmurdawatha* 'rejoice' (12-6) take finite subordinate clause complements.

(12-59) *nyingka mungurru-wa [ngumban-inja kajakaja-ntha buka-nth]*COBL
2sgNOM know-NOM your-COBL daddy-COBL dead-COBL
'Do you know that your father's dead?'

(12-60) *mirra-a bardaka nga-l-da [jirrkur-ung-kurrk]*
good-NOM bellyNOM 1-pl-NOM north-ALL-LOC:COBL
'We're relieved that it's going north.'

(12-61) *ngada birmurdami [ngijin-inja kajakaja-ntha bukawa-thurrk]*COBL
1sgNOM sadNOM my-COBL daddy-COBL die-IMMED:COBL
'I can feel that my daddy has just died.'

Other such predicators taking complementized finite subordinate clauses as arguments are the nominal predicator *burdumbanyi* ‘be ignorant that’, and the verb *bardakamarutha* ‘think (feelingly) that’.

12.3.4 Complements of perception predicators

12.3.4.1 Basic construction. Clausal arguments of perception verbs in the ACTual take the IMMEDIATE modality (cf. 12-20, 12-36):

- (12-62) *ki-l-da kurri-j, [ngijuwa murruku-rrka*
 2-pl-NOM see-ACT 1sgSUB:COBL woomera-MLOC:COBL
*kala-thurrk]*_{CLOC}
 cut-IMMED:COBL

‘You see/saw that I am/was cutting a woomera.’

- (12-63) *mirra-a dathin-a yarbud, dangka-ya kaba-tha*
 good-NOM that-NOM dogNOM person-MLOC find-ACT
[thaa-thuu-ntha rul-ung-kuu-nth]
 return-POT-COBL east-ALL-MPROP-COBL

‘That is a good dog, it finds out when people are coming back (from the canteen) eastward.’

Where the perception verb is in the POTential, so is the complement:

- (12-64) *ngada balmbi-wu kurri-ju [kuru-wuru-ntha*
 1sgNOM tomorrow-MPROP see-POT egg-MPROP-COBL
*bilarrj-juu-nth]*_{COBL}
 spill-POT-COBL

‘Tomorrow I will watch (the bird) lay eggs.’

12.3.4.2 Subject-Object raising. Subjects of such subordinate clauses may be raised to matrix object position, with no apparent difference in meaning:

- (12-65) *ki-l-da kurri-ja ngijin-ji, [murruku-rrka*
 2-pl-NOM see-ACT 1sg-MLOC woomera-MLOC:COBL
*kala-thurrk]*_{COBL}
 cut-IMMED:COBL

‘You see/saw me cut a woomera.’

Younger speakers are tending to replace this by a sequence of two ACTUAL clauses, based on the raised construction. The intonation contour is characteristic of two independent clauses (with two successive falling contours). And the OP condition triggering complementizing case is waived, as it would be (for this sequence) between two independent clauses (12.5.1).

- (12-66) *ki-l-da kurri-ja ngijin-ji, murruku-ya kala-th*
 2-pl-NOM see-ACT 1sg-MLOC woomera-MLOC cut-ACT
 'You see/saw me, (I) am cutting/was cutting a woomera.'

Subject-Object raised sentences are also found in Lardil (Klokeid 1976: 323-4):

- (12-67) *ngada kurri-kun dang-an, yak-ur*
 L 1sgNOM see-ACTUAL man-OBJ fish-FOBJ
bule-jirr-kun
 catch-CONTEMP-ACTUAL
 'I saw a man catching fish.'

Klokeid gives no unraised sentences comparable to (12-62), so it seems "object-raised" versions are the only possibility.

12.3.5 Parenthetical clauses

A related construction involves "parenthetical clauses", which supply the perceptual evidence for an assertion:

- (12-68) [*ngijuwa kurri-jarra-ntha*]_{COBL} *kiyarrng-ka bithiin-da*
 1sgSUBJ:COBL see-PST-COBL two-NOM man-NOM
kamburi-nju-tharr
 talk-RECIP-PST
 'Two men, I saw, were talking.'

- (12-69) *nyingka [ngijuwa kurri-jarra-ntha]*_{COBL} *diya-jarra*
 2sgNOM 1sgSUBJ:COBL see-PST-COBL eat-PST
ngijin-jina yakuri-na
 my-MABL fish-MABL
 'You, I saw, were eating my fish.'

- (12-70) *dathin-a [ngijuwa barndi-jurrk]*_{COBL}
 that-NOM 1sgSUBJ:COBL smell-IMMED:COBL

buka-a *wuran-d*
rottenNOM food-NOM

'That, I smell, is rotten food.'

As a comparison with the normal perceptual complement construction will show, these represent a reversal of the usual pattern in which the perceived event clause is subordinate to the perception clause. In parenthetical constructions, that is, the perceived event clause has main clause morphology and the perception clause has subordinate clause morphology.

Although parenthetical constructions have not, to my knowledge, been reported in other Australian languages, they are common elsewhere, as in English "Roland, I believe, has already made that quite clear." Noonan (1985) notes that parenthetical constructions have the effect of making the logical complement into the main clause.

But while it is common for the perceived event clause to have main clause status, it is rarer for the parenthetical clause to be overtly subordinated, as it is in Kayardild. In fact, its exact status in Kayardild is problematic and I would argue that it must be considered a special construction type, with its own specific rules of interpretation, not obviously related to those of other finite subordinate clauses.

One conceivable analysis would see the parenthetical clause as a temporal or restrictive relative: 'you, when I saw you, were eating meat' or 'that, which I can smell, is rotten food.' But this is not the meaning these clauses convey, which is closer to 'you were eating meat—(I know this because) I saw (it)'.

Under a second possible analysis the perceived clause could be treated as a topicalized clausal object of the verb. As we shall see in 12.5.2.1, objects may be topicalized by marking all non-object arguments with complementizing case, and leaving the object unmarked; applied here this would leave the perception clause complementized and the clausal argument unmarked, the correct result morphologically. But this too suggests an inappropriate meaning: 'you eating my food was what I saw.'

A more serious failing is that some tense/mood sequences in parenthetical constructions have no "normal" correspondent. The tense sequence of (12-71), for example, is allowed in the parenthetical construction because the perception is very recent (I just saw his camp empty), which in subordinate clauses takes the IMMEDIATE modality; the perceived event is more distant (he must have left before I got there), allowing the PaST modality in a main clause. But these are not the modalities which would be selected in the equivalent non-parenthetical construction—we would expect an ACTUAL perception clause with an IMMEDIATE perceived event clause. Any attempt at deriving parenthetical

clauses by topicalizing the clausal object of a normal construction would therefore be complicated by the need to alter the verbal categories of both clauses.

(12-71) *niya* [kurri-jurrka ngijuwa]_{COBL} *dana-tharra*
3sgNOM see-IMMED:COBL 1sgSUBJ:COBL leave-PST

natha-na
camp-MABL

'He, I just saw, has left his camp.'

Since neither of these analyses is satisfactory, it seems wisest not to derive the parenthetical construction from the "normal" perceptual construction, but to treat it as a basic construction type with its own syntactic rules and semantic interpretation.

12.3.6 Utterance predicates

Clausal arguments of main clause communication verbs like *kamburija* 'say (that)' or *waaja* 'sing (that)' give the information communicated by the main clause subject.

(12-72) *ngada kamburi-ja niwan-ji*, [walbu-ntha dathin-inja
1sgNOM say-ACT 3sg-MLOC raft-COBL that-COBL

barji-nyarra-nth]_{COBL}
capsize-APPR-COBL

'I told him the raft would capsize.'

Clausal arguments of contrafactive verbs like *duruma-tha* 'lie' contain the CouNTERFACTual particle *maraka*:

(12-73) [One man fools another into jumping out of a boat into deep water:]

jatha-a dangka-a duruma-tha niwan-ji, [maraka
other-NOM man-NOM lie-ACT 3sg-MLOC CTRFACT

malawarriyala-thurrk]_{COBL}
(sea) be.shallow-IMMED:COBL

'The other fellow lied to him that the water was shallow.'

Utterance predicates coding commands are discussed with jussives (12.2.6.1).

12.3.7 Restrictive relatives

Examples of these have already been given, e.g. (12-1) and (12-2). Restrictive relatives obey the normal OP rules, and invariably follow the main clause; their antecedent is usually positioned main-clause finally. Further examples are:

(12-74) Wife: *nyingka kurri-ja jangka-ya maku-y*
2sgNOM see-ACT other-MLOC woman-MLOC

Husband: *jina-a maku, [ngijuwa*
where-NOM womanNOM 1sgSUB:COBL

kurri-jurrk]COBL
see-IMMED:COBL

Wife: 'You're seeing another woman.'

Husband: 'Where's this woman who I'm seeing?'

(12-75) *warra-y dulk-i kurri-j, niwan-marri warra-n-marri,*
nothing-LOC place-LOC see-ACT 3sg-PRIV go-N-PRIV

[dathin-inja kurrka-thurrk]COBL
that-COBL take-IMMED:COBL

'(They) can't see him anywhere, (no sign of) him going around, whom that one (Barrindindi) had just grabbed.'

(12-76) *nyingka kurri-ja ngijin-ji wangalk-i, [ngijuwa*
2sgNOM see-ACT my-MLOC boomerang-MLOC 1sgSUB:COBL

yüjarrma-tharra-nth]COBL
put-PST-COBL

'Have you seen the boomerang which I put down here before?'

12.3.8 Concealed and indirect questions

In restrictive relatives the relevant NP is definite, translating as English 'the X who/that ...'; it is overtly represented in the main clause, and omitted from the subordinate clause. No relative pronoun is used.

A different strategy is employed when the identity of the NP pivot is unknown either to speaker (12-77) or hearer (12-78) – in other words, when there is a 'concealed question' (Baker 1968). Here the NP appears in the subordinate clause only, in the form of an interrogative NP. Such constructions can be analysed as clausal arguments; like them, they trigger complementizing case.

- (12-77) *ngada burdumbanyi kurri-jarri, [ngaaka-ntha dangka-ntha*
1sgNOM ignorantNOM see-NEG.ACT what-COBL person-COBL

*dara-thurrk]*COBL
break-IMMED:COBL

'I don't know—I didn't see who broke it.'

- (12-78) *balmbi-wu nyingka kurri-ju, [ngaaka-ntha dangka-ntha*
morrow-MPROP 2sgNOM see-POT who-COBL person-COBL

*ngijin-jinaa-ntha wangal-wu-jarra-nth]*COBL
1sg-MABL-COBL boomerang-V.GIFT-PST-COBL

'Tomorrow you will see who gave me the boomerang.'

Where the subordinate clause contains a question involving location or manner, rather than the identity of a participant, a similar strategy is employed, using an appropriate interrogative. But in contrast to "concealed identity" questions, the embedded clausal argument does not take complementizing case:

- (12-79) *ngabaya kurri-j, jijina warra-ju*
spiritNOM look-ACT whither go-POT
'The spirits look which way to go.'

- (12-80) *ngada marraa-j, jinananganda wangalk-a ngudi-ja*
1sgNOM show-ACT how boomerang-NOM throw-ACT

nyingk
2sgNOM

'I will show how you throw a boomerang.'

This provides a further exception to the basic rules for assigning complementizing case.

12.3.9 Purpose and jussive clauses

Both of these types name the purpose which the matrix subject hopes to achieve by his action. Jussives may be regarded as a special subtype in which the matrix subject tries to achieve his aim indirectly by communicating it to someone else.

Both purpose and jussive clauses take POTential or DESiderative verb inflections, if affirmative, and negative POTential or HORTative inflections if negative, plus the appropriate modal case.

Jussives only optionally take “odd-pivot” marking—see 12.2.6.1 for discussion and examples.

Purpose subordinate clauses obey the normal “odd-pivot” conditions, escaping complementizing case where the pivot is subject of both clauses (12-30, 12-81) and receiving it otherwise (e.g. 12-82, 12-83). Purpose clauses in the POTential are often embedded (but see Text 4, Lines 1-2 for a postposed example). Those in the desiderative are postposed.

- (12-81) *nyingka karrngi-ja, marni-i-nangku*
2sgNOM look after-IMP rob-M-NEG.POT
‘You look after (your country), so you won’t be robbed of it.’
- (12-82) *dali-jarrra-tha [nga-ku-rr-a karna-juru-y]CLOC yakuri-y*
come-CAUS-IMP 1-INC-du-NOM cook-POT-CLOC fish-NOM
‘Bring the fish so you and I can cook it.’
- (12-83) *ngijin-maru-tha rawalan-d, [ngijuwa kala-d]COBL*
me-VD-IMP baler shell-NOM 1sgSUB:COBL cut-DES
‘Give me the baler shell, so I can cut (something) (with it).’

Purpose clauses following ascriptive measure clauses may convey the meaning ‘X to such an extent that [SUBJ can/can’t V]’:

- (12-84) *mutha-a wuran-da dathin [nga-ku-l-da diya-juru-ya*
much-NOM food-NOM thatNOM 1-INC-pl-NOM eat-POT-CLOC
bakiin-ki]CLOC
all-CLOC
‘There’s enough food there that we can all have a feed.’
- (12-85) *dathin-a thungal-d mutha-a ngirrwuthin-ngirrwuthin-d,*
that-NOM tree-NOM much-NOM thick-REDUP-NOM
[kurri-nangkuru-y, barrki-nangkuru-y]CLOC
see-NEG.POT-CLOC chop-NEG.POT-CLOC
‘Those trees are so dense that you can’t see to chop (them).’

When a subordinate purpose clause follows a matrix clause describing some real event, it may give an inference, being drawn from the main clause, about the future—cf. English clauses with “so that”, which are often ambiguous between purpose and inferential meanings. (12-86) is an example of this; note that the main clause has also been complementized, to signal the topicality of the object ‘my country’.

- (12-86) [ngijin-da dulk-a kariya-thurrka malji-nja
 my-NOM country-NOM muddy.up-IMMED:COBL school-COBL
 wuran-inj]COBL, [banga-ntha bijarrba-ntha bal-ung-kuu-ntha
 food-COBL turtle-COBL dugong-COBL west-ALL-PROP-COBL
 thula-thuu-nth]COBL
 go down-POT-COBL

‘Schools of creatures are muddying up my sea-territory, so that (one can infer that) turtle and dugong will be descending westwards upon it.’

12.3.10 Contrastive and concessive clauses

Contrastive constructions juxtapose two events occurring at roughly the same time, usually in different places, and seen as unconnected except for the contrast the speaker wishes to draw between them (12-17, 12-21).

In recounting past events the main clause may take the ACTual or PaST, while the “contrasted” clause always takes the PaST. That different tenses are used here for simultaneous events further demonstrates the difference between main and subordinate clause tense systems—cf. 12.3.1.

- (12-87) bi-l-da kamburi-j / kamburi-jarr, [nga-ku-rr-a kala-tharra-ya
 3-pl-NOM talk-ACT talk-PST 1-INC-du-NOM cut-PST-CLOC
 wangalk-inaba-y]CLOC
 boomerang-MABL-CLOC

‘They talked, while we made boomerangs.’

Concessive constructions involve two PaST clauses, or an “almost” main clause with a PaST subordinate. The dependent clause describes an action which undoes or prevents the action of the main clause.

- (12-88) dathin-a dangka-a yuuma-nangarr, [buru-tharra-nth]COBL
 that-NOM man-NOM drown-ALMOST pull-PST-COBL
 ‘That man almost drowned, but (they) pulled him out.’
- (12-89) ngada nguku-na dali-jarrma-tharr, [barji-jarra-nth]COBL
 1sgNOM water-MABL come-CAUS-PST fall-PST-COBL
 ‘I brought some water, but (it) spilt.’

12.3.11 Simultaneity and proximity

Immediate succession constructions comprise a nominal or ACTual main clause, with a subordinate IMMEDIATE clause coding an immediately prior event. They translate into English ‘as/because’ or ‘as soon as’ (cf. 12-38):

(12-90) *mibul-ula-a-ja ngada [warrngal-inja rila-thurrk]*COBL
 sleep-VABL-M-ACT 1sgNOM wind-COBL wake-IMMED:COBL
 ‘I was pulled from sleep as/because the wind woke me.’

(12-91) *dii-ja nga-ku-l-da yulaa-j, [yarangkarr-inja*
 sit-ACT 1-INC-pl-NOM fear-ACT star-COBL
*barji-jurrk]*COBL
 fall-IMMED:COBL

‘We sat down and were afraid, as the star fell/because a star had just fallen.’

(12-92) *ngumu-walathida kurirr-walathid, [yalulu-ntha*
 black-every cooked-every flame-COBL
*kurulu-thurrk]*COBL
 cook-IMMED:COBL

‘(The yams) are all black and cooked, as the flames have just roasted them.’

(12-93) *dathin-a mutha-a wuran-d, barri-jiri barakurr,*
 there-NOM much-NOM food-NOM crawl-DIR antNOM
[dathin-kurrka wirdi-jurrka marrwa-wurrka
 there-LOC:COBL stay-IMMED:COBL near-LOC:COBL

*makarrki-nja nal-inj]*COBL
 anthill-COBL head-COBL

‘There’s a lot of food here, ants crawling around, because there’s an anthill near here.’ (Here ‘head’ means ‘mound’.)

Despite their varying English translations, these constructions all involve a similar conceptualization in Kayardild: one situation (the main clause) immediately succeeds another (the subordinate clause) in time; there may be an additional implication of spatial proximity (12-93).

Where the prior situation is not seen by English speakers as a cause (e.g. 12-38) the gloss ‘as soon as’ is appropriate; where it is seen by English speakers as a cause, ‘because’ may be used. Thus English, unlike Kayardild, distinguishes between necessary succession (cause)

and contingent succession, although some subordinating conjunctions (e.g. ‘as’) ignore this distinction, allowing either interpretation.

Kayardild, on the other hand, leaves implicit the difference between contingent and necessary succession, but grammaticalizes a different distinction: that between immediate and non-immediate temporal succession. “Immediate succession” is coded in the way just described. “Non-immediate” succession requires either a consequential nominalization (11.4.4), or a PaST subordinate clause (12-94, 12-95); it is suitable where some time elapses between the two events.

(12-94) *niya rajurri-nangku, [thubun-inja ngamathuwalath-inja*
3sgNOM walk around-NEG.POT hoof-COBL bullock-COBL

raba-tharra-nth]COBL
tread-PST-COBL

‘He won’t be able to walk, because a bullock trampled him.’

(12-95) *niya nal-bala-a-j, [dun-inja kurirr-wa-tharra-nth*]COBL
3sgNOM head-hit-M-ACT husband-COBL dead-INCH-PST-COBL

‘She is hitting her head, because her husband has died.’ (Said at a funeral several days after the death.)

12.4 Complementized main clauses I: ellipsed matrix predicates

Complementized clauses may also be used as main clauses. The various main clause functions, nearly all of which have corresponding subordinate functions, fall into two groups:

(a) Those in which a matrix command, utterance or perception predicator, which could take the complementized clause as an argument, has been ellipsed. I will refer to this as the “main predicate ellipsis” type (MPE). The clause that remains will be said to be “insubordinated”.

(b) Those in which the Odd Pivot mechanism has been extended into free discourse. Since topics in discourse, rather than syntactic pivots, are involved, I will call this the “Odd Topic” condition. The distinction between Odd Pivot (OP) and Odd Topic (OT) conditions is justified by the difference in triggering conditions, and by a significant morphosyntactic difference: topicalized objects of Odd Topic clauses, when they appear, take the NOMinative, whereas pivots take the case appropriate to their grammatical function (cf. 12.1.3).

Complementized clauses resulting from main predicate ellipsis will be discussed in this section; those resulting from the OT condition in 12.5. Although the two conditions are discussed separately for expository reasons, they are not mutually exclusive. Complementized potential clauses, for example, may be used as indirect requests, with an ellipsed command predicate (condition (a)), but they may simultaneously involve an object topic (condition (b)); an example is (12-96). Text 12 contains a good number of complementized main clauses of both types.

- (12-96) [dathin-a yarbud thaari-juru-y]_{CLOC}
 that-NOM birdNOM bring back-POT-CLOC
 ‘(Eat that bird in such a way that) you can bring him back.’
 (i.e. don’t eat it all)

12.4.1 Indirect commands and hints

Insubordinated potential, desiderative and hortative clauses are used in a range of indirect commands and hints. Each insubordinated clause of this type corresponds to the jussive or purpose clause of a complex sentence.

In indirect commands the insubordinated clause specifies that an action should be performed, without issuing a direct imperative. Tense/mood in such clauses corresponds to that found in jussive finite subordinate clauses: like them, they may take the POTential (12-97, 12-98), DESiderative (12-26) or HORTative (12-25, 12-100). Indirect commands are used when the speaker wishes to make his wishes felt without asserting himself too obviously. The elliptical form of the construction, while not ruling out the interpretation ‘I, the speaker, want you to do this’, leaves open the alternative of attributing the command to someone else: ‘people say you should do this’.

- (12-97) [niwa dana-nangkuru-ntha ngijin-juu-ntha
 3sgCOBL leave-NEG.POT-COBL my-MPROP-COBL
 wumburung-kuu-nth]_{COBL}
 spear-MPROP-COBL
 ‘He better not lose my spear / (I say that) he must not lose my spear.’
- (12-98) [bilarri-juru-ya nguku-uru-ya jatha-maru-thuru-ya
 tip-POT-CLOC water-MPROP-CLOC other-VD-POT-CLOC
 muri-maru-thuru-y]_{CLOC}
 baler shell-VD-POT-CLOC
 ‘(One might say) (you) should tip the water into another baler shell.’

- (12-99) [nyingka ngij-uru-ya barrki-juru-y]CLOC
 2sgNOM wood-MPROP-CLOC chop-POT-CLOC
 '(I say that) you should chop some wood.'

Sometimes the commandee is the speaker. Here the implied matrix clause is '(X said that) I should V'; there is the further implication that 'it wasn't my idea'.

- (12-100) [ngijuwa buru-thinja ngij-inj]COBL
 1sgSUBJ:COBL get-HORT wood-MOBL
 '(Someone said that) I must fetch some wood.'

In hints, the desired end result is specified, but not the action used to achieve it. These correspond to purpose constructions with the "enabling" clause ellipsed. Like subordinate purpose clauses, they take the potential verbal inflection and MPROP:

- (12-101) [niya karna-juru-y]CLOC
 3sgNOM burn-POT-CLOC
 '(Bring the green spear shaft), so (we) can temper it.'

12.4.2 Consequence

Consequences of an action (either unspecified, or specified in some prior speech act) may be expressed by an insubordinated potential clause, as in the third line of (12-102). This is often best translated by 'so (that)' in English, and relates to the purpose clause use discussed in 12.3.9. Note that the insubordinated subject used by M here has a different function: that of contrastive subject with an established object topic. This is discussed in 12.5.2.3.

- (12-102) D: ngijin-jina dun-kina nyingka buru-tharr!
 my-MABL husband-MABL 2sgNOM take-PST
 'You've taken my husband!'
- M: [ngijuwa buru-tharra-nth, natha-maru-tharra-ntha
 1sgSUBJ:COBL take-PST-COBL camp-VD-PST-COBL
 ngijin-maru-tharra-nth !]COBL
 my-VD-PST-COBL
 'I've taken (him), to my camp!'
- D: [ngijuwa wirti-juu-ntha warirra-ntha
 1sgSUBJ:COBL remain-POT-COBL nothing-COBL

wirdi-juu-nth !]COBL
 remain-POT-COBL

‘So I’ll be left with nothing!’

12.4.3 Evidential qualification

12.4.3.1 Immediate perception. Complementized IMMEDIATE clauses are used when a proposition is being asserted on the basis of immediate perceptual evidence. This resembles the use of IMMEDIATE clauses as arguments of perception verbs (12.3.4):

(12-103) [People are sitting at the airport waiting for the plane. Suddenly one exclaims:]

[*dan-kurrka ri-in-kurrka thardawankawuru-ntha*
 here-LOC:COBL east-FROM-LOC:COBL aeroplane-COBL

burri-jurrk]COBL
 emerge-IMMED:COBL

‘(I can hear) the aeroplane is coming in, here from the east now.’

(12-104) [*yalulu-ntha karna-jurrka niwan-jurrk*]COBL, *naa-j*
 flame-COBL burn-IMMED:COBL 3sg-MLOC:COBL burn(v.i.)-ACT
 ‘(I see) the flames burning him, he’s getting burnt.’

(This is from one of Wurm’s tapes, offered as a translation of ‘I see him being bitten by the flames’.)

(12-105) Speaker is returning disappointed from the airstrip, where he hoped to meet the hearer’s father:

[*kajakaja-ntha dali-n-marri-nj*]COBL
 daddy-COBL come-N-PRIV-COBL
 ‘(I see) daddy hasn’t arrived yet, eh?’

For further examples see (12-9) and (12-19).

12.4.3.2 Inference. With verbs in the PaST or POTential, insubordinated constructions may express propositions inferred by the speaker:

(12-106) On finding a house empty:

[*thabuju-ntha warra-jarra-nth*]COBL
 big brother-COBL go-PST-COBL

‘Big brother must have gone (since he’s not here).’

(12-107) [*banga-ntha* *bjarrba-ntha* *balung-kuu-ntha*
 turtle-COBL dugong-COBL westward-MPROP-COBL

thula-thuu-nth]COBL
 go.down-POT-COBL

'The turtle and dugong will have to go down to the west (since I've seen the "spouts" where they have broken the surface en route).'

The inferential meaning can be related to non-elliptical constructions if we assume an ellipsed main clause like 'there's no-one here' in (12-106), for which the past subordinate clause supplies a reason: 'because big brother has gone' (cf. 12.3.11). In (12-107) we assume an ellipsed main clause 'they're "spouting" at X'. Although there is admittedly a semantic transition from reason clause to assertion made on the base of inference, in both insubordinated and full versions the assertion contained in the complementized clause follows from a situation in the (actual or ellipsed) main clause.

Note that PaST subordinate clauses cannot be complements of perception verbs—rather, past perceptions are expressed as IMMEDIATE complements of ACTUAL verbs (12.3.4). The transfer of this semantic constraint to insubordinated PaST clauses, with the result that they cannot be interpreted as complements of perception verbs, sets up a semantic contrast between insubordinated IMMEDIATE clauses, commonly used for propositions made on the basis of perceptual evidence, and insubordinated PaST clauses, which may be used for propositions made on the basis of inference. In the case of POTENTIAL clauses the use as perceptual complements is not unattested but is rare compared to the "purpose" or "consequence" use.

The contrast between insubordinated IMMEDIATE clauses on the one hand, with their use for assertions made on the basis of perceptual evidence, and insubordinated PaST or POTENTIAL clauses on the other, for assertions on the basis of inference, is reminiscent of the contrast between "perception" and "inference" evidentials in such languages as Quechua, though it is less clearcut because of the many other interpretations available for the two insubordinate clause types concerned.

12.4.4 Complementized clauses and the "relevant present"

One use of insubordinated clauses cannot be straightforwardly related to complex constructions. Complementized IMMEDIATE and ascriptive clauses can function as main clauses expressing what might be called the "relevant present": a present situation, usually newly-arisen, that

motivates the speaker's comment (12-108), curiosity (12-109, 12-111) or action (12-110). Informants always translate these with 'now'.

- (12-108) [*dathin-inja dangka-ntha natha-wurrk*]_{COBL}
 that-COBL man-COBL camp-LOC:COBL
 'That man is married now (i.e. sleeps in his own camp, with his new wife).'
- (12-109) (a) [*jina-wurrka ngakin-maan-inj?*]_{COBL}
 where-LOC:COBL our-begetter-COBL
 B: [*riya-thi-wurrka ngakin-maan-inj*]_{COBL}
 east-REM-LOC:COBL our-begetter-COBL
 A: 'Where's our dad now?' B: 'Our dad's way over in the east now.'
- (12-110) [*mala-ntha bala-thurrka kamarr-urrk*]_{COBL}
 sea-COBL hit-IMMED:COBL rock-MLOC:COBL
 'The sea is hitting the rocks now (we better move).'
- (12-111) (a) [*ngaaka-wa-thurrk?*]_{COBL}
 what-INCH-IMMED:COBL
 B: [*mawurraj-urrka kabathaa-thurrk*]_{COBL}
 spearhead-MLOC:COBL go looking for-IMMED:COBL
 A: 'What (are you up to) now?' B: 'Going out looking for spearheads.'

A number of analyses could be proposed here. One would see this construction as a metaphorical extension of the IMMEDIATE "spatial proximity" construction (cf. 12.3.11). Just as the subordinate clause there describes an event close in space to the matrix event, so the *-THurrka* "relevant present" construction indicates the proximity of the described situation to the speaker's interest. Alternatively, one could argue that the "immediate perception" use of *-THurrka* clauses (12.4.3.1), which describes a quintessentially present occurrence, has been extended to yield a new tense.

12.4.5 Discussion

How far can the various functions of insubordinated clauses just discussed be related to the various functions of finite subordinate clauses outlined in 12.2? Can we derive the insubordinated meanings from the finite subordinate ones, via main clause ellipsis? Or is there a sufficient difference that we should attempt to associate constructional meanings directly with the various types of insubordinate clause? The answers to

these questions have important implications for general theories of ellipsis on the one hand, and on the other for theories of how morphological material that is initially quite unspecific semantically can become “pragmaticized” by increasing association with contextually-inferred meanings.

In support of an ellipsis analysis one can cite the many constructions, exemplified in the last few pages, where appropriate main clauses can readily be supplied.⁸ To the insubordinated *yaluluntha karnajurrka niwanjurrk* [flame burns him]_{CLOC}, for example, we can supply a main clause *ngada kurrija* ‘I see’; this would account for the presence of complementizing case, the IMMEDIATE verb inflection, and the meaning supplied on the occasion of the utterance: ‘I see him being burned by the flames’.

Further support for the ellipsis analysis comes from the many interpretations available for a given insubordinated clause. Although I have given very specific translations to the insubordinated clauses in my examples, it must be borne in mind that these are *utterance* rather than *sentence* translations, and involve interpretations of the particular contexts in which they were recorded. Many would, in other contexts, be given quite a different interpretation. This makes it impossible to pair insubordinated clauses directly with constructional meanings (e.g. those summarizable as “perception evidential” or “polite command”).

Such a wide range of interpretations is available for two main reasons. Firstly, there is a range of possible matrix predicators—e.g. ‘see’, ‘hear’, ‘smell’ in the case of perception predicates. Secondly, some tense/moods in the insubordinated clause are potentially compatible with several types of matrix predictor. For example, POTENTIAL clauses are compatible with main clause imperatives (giving rise to the “hint” use exemplified in (12-101)), and with ACTUAL main clauses of different types (giving rise to the “inference” and “consequence” meanings exemplified in (12-107) and (12-102) respectively). Only hortative and desiderative insubordinated clauses have a unique reconstructed clause type, although even there the actual predicate (‘say’ vs ‘ask’ vs ‘warn’) is not specified.

Against the pure form of the ellipsis analysis one can make two arguments.

⁸ This sort of procedure—the “supplying” of an ellipsed governing clause which motivates morphosyntactic and semantic features of the main clause—is common in treatments of the independent subjunctive in European languages. It is essentially the method adopted by Robin Lakoff (1968) in her treatment of the independent subjunctive in Latin; for a good example of an application to Italian see Moretti—Orvieto (1979: 114).

Firstly, it is rather difficult to relate some insubordinated meanings (such as the “relevant present”) directly to those found in complex clauses, and even in some other cases (such as the “inferential” use of the PaST and POTential) some semantic bridging is necessary. In such cases it seems more reasonable to see ellipsis as an early precursor, but to attribute the detailed semantic characteristics to “depragmaticization”—the accruing of pragmatic associations (such as perceptual comments being most commonly made of present events) to the constructional meaning.

Secondly, there appear to be restrictions on what may be the subject of the “restored” main clause predicate if this is a perception verb: the subject of the higher clause is always interpreted as first person in a declarative and second person in a question. There are good pragmatic reasons for this—a perceptually-based assertion about an ongoing situation naturally implicates that the perceiver is the speaker, and a perceptually-based question naturally implicates that the perceiver is the addressee⁹— and these extra constraints appear to have accrued to the relevant constructions by pragmaticization.

The balance of evidence, then, supports a hybrid position. On the one hand, in many cases the presence of complementizing case seems to simply signal that the hearer should interpret an insubordinated clause by inferentially restoring an ellipsed, contextually appropriate main clause that is grammatically compatible with the insubordinated clause (in the sense that it would assign complementizing case, and use an appropriate sequence of tenses).¹⁰ On the other hand, there are further, conventionalized constraints on the interpretation of some insubordinated clauses that suggest they have been grammaticized: the meaning of these constructions is more specific than one would expect if it were simply a matter of restoring compatible ellipsed material.

⁹ See Hargreaves (1991) for a discussion of how evidentials in Kathmandu Newari take the speaker as epistemic source in statements, and the hearer in questions.

¹⁰ For some ideas on how one can represent this process as an interaction between inferential processes and grammatical “placedness conditions”, which constrain the set of grammatically compatible main clauses that could be restored, see Evans (1993a).

12.5 Complementized main clauses II: Odd topic marking

The second main function of complementized main clauses is the analogue, in connected discourse, of the “odd pivot” use of complementizing case in finite subordinate clauses. Such complementized main clauses are used in connected discourse, and indicate a deviation from the thematically neutral discourse sequence, which is basically a chain of identical subject-topics. Before detailing the “thematically non-neutral” discourse conditions that occasion odd topic marking, however, I shall outline the characteristics of “thematically neutral” sentences in Kayardild.

12.5.1 Thematically neutral discourse conditions

The least marked discourse sequence is a series of actions performed by the same subject. After its first appearance, SUBJ is usually omitted anaphorically (3.2.2). Where objects remain in the same syntactic function over a stretch of discourse with an unchanging and topical subject, they too are usually anaphorically omitted.

(12-112) This fragment of narrative continues a story in which both subject (the speaker) and object (some birds) have already been introduced:

ngada bi-l-wan-ji bala-th mun-kiya kurri-j,
1sgNOM 3-pl-POSS-MLOC hit-ACT arse-MLOC see-ACT

warijarrma-tha rar-ung-ku buu-j,
take up-ACT south-ALL-PROP pull-ACT

walmathi-maru-tha ngankirra-ru-th.
high-put-ACT pile-FAC-ACT

‘I hit them, finished (them) off (literally ‘saw their arse’), pulled (them) up to the south, piled (them) high.’

New participants may be introduced in any syntactic function. They appear as non-pronominals, with appropriate case inflection and usually fronted; established participants tend to be postposed. Participants that first appear as non-subjects may subsequently become subjects without the clause being specially marked. For instance, in the following example (from Text 1) ‘our man’ is introduced as an object, then becomes a subject in the second clause.

(12-113) *nga-la-wan-ji dangka-ya kurrka-th*
1-pl-POSS-MLOC man-MLOC take-ACT

karn-kuru niya bala-th
gun-PROP 3sgNOM shoot-ACT

mutha-a yalulu burri-j, mutha-a yalulu
many-NOM flameNOM come out-ACT many-NOM flameNOM

wuran-ki diya-j, dangka-a
food-MLOC eat-ACT man-NOM

‘(They) took our man (with them). He shot (their) gun (into the cave).
Many flames came out, many flames. (He) ate food there, the man.’

As (12-113) illustrates, changes in subject do not trigger any special marking. This contrasts with the situation in complex clauses, where successive different subjects trigger complementizing case.

12.5.1.1 Topic elaboration chains. Another very common type of discourse sequence is what I shall call the “elaboration chain.” Here the speaker gives a series of clauses similar in all respects but the identity of one participant. In a “subject elaboration chain”, for example, essentially equivalent actions are attributed to a series of different subjects (12-114). Although the exact identity of successive subjects varies, all are seen as similar, not only in the sense that they are performing similar actions, but also because they all belong to some larger natural class. In (12-114), for example, they are all ‘mobs’ or ‘hordes’ of ‘old time people’.

(12-114) *waydbala raba-tha dathin-ki dulk-i,*
white manNOM tread-ACT that-MLOC place-MLOC

budanda dangka-a — yuujbanda dangka-a
previousNOM person-NOM old timeNOM person-NOM

raba-tharri. bal-umban-da raba-tharri, jirrkur-umban-da
tread-NEG.ACT west-ORIG-NOM tread-NEG.ACT north-ORIG-NOM

raba-tharri, rul-umban-da raba-tharri, warra-a
tread-NEG.ACT east-ORIG-NOM tread-NEG.ACT far-NOM

bil-da wurdialaa-j
3pl-NOM walkabout-ACT

‘The white people trod (set foot in) that place. The people from before—
the old time people—never set foot there. The western mob never set foot
(there), the northern mob never set foot, the eastern mob never set foot.
They walked about far away.’

Such “elaboration chains” do not fit easily into the usual categories involved in discourse analysis. They are not contrastive, and the emphasis is not on picking out a single entity of whom the predication is

true: they could not be translated with a pseudo-cleft like ‘it was the northern mob who never set foot there’. They are simultaneously new, as individuals (e.g. the western mob), and given, as a generic class (the old time people). There is no doubt, however, that such chains contain and elaborate the “topic”—the thing being talked about.

Where the elaboration chain involves objects rather than subjects, the marking strategy depends on the tense/mood of the clause. If it is the unmarked ACTual tense/mood, the elaborated object-topics are usually fronted and appear in the nominative:

(12-115) *buranthan-da ngada raa-j, ngarrawurna ngada*
bonefish-NOM 1sgNOM spear-ACT bluefishNOM 1sgNOM

raa-j, karwarrk-a ngada raa-j
spear-ACT queenfish-NOM 1sgNOM spear-ACT

‘I speared bonefish, I speared bluefish, I speared queenfish.’

(12-116) *ngarii-ja mirrayala-tha ngurruwarra-y ... jatha-a buru-tha*
first-ACT build-ACT fishtrap-MLOC another-NOM take-ACT

ngurruwarr
fishtrapNOM

‘First (Black Crane) built a fishtrap ... (then) made another fishtrap.’

Here ‘fishtrap’ takes full object marking when first introduced, but only the NOMinative when repeated.

(12-117) *dangka-a bukawa-thu markuu-n-ngarrba*
person-NOM die-POT mulgri-N-CONS

ngunymurra-wu yakuri diya-j,
grease-PROP(NOM) fishNOM eat-ACT

ngunymurra-wu banga-a diya-j,
grease-PROP(NOM) turtle-NOM eat-ACT

ngunymurra-wu bijarrba diya-j
grease-PROP(NOM) dugongNOM eat-ACT

‘A person can die from *mulgri*, when they eat greasy fish, when they eat greasy turtle, when they eat greasy dugong.’

In other tense/moods, however, elaboration chains involving objects always trigger complementizing case. This will be discussed in 12.5.2.2.

12.5.1.2 Passive. The passive may place a participant in subject function for several successive clauses, as in (12-118). But its prime motivation is always semantic, and it will only be used when the speaker

is focussing on significant changes in the patient's ontological state or location. It is thus appropriate in (12-118), where the protagonists are suffering grievous abuse. But it is not suitable for "object elaboration chains" like (12-115) to (12-117), where the speaker wants to enumerate tokens of a type (fish that he speared) rather than focus on the effect on them (being speared).

(12-118) [Describing a massacre of Bentinck Islanders:]

<i>bala-a-j,</i>	<i>jul-bala-a-ja</i>	<i>durrwa-yii-j,</i>	
shoot-M-ACT	INTENS-shoot-M-ACT	chase-M-ACT	
<i>jingka-a-j,</i>	<i>marndi-i-j,</i>	<i>maku-wuru</i>	<i>marndi-i-j,</i>
follow-M-ACT	deprive-M-ACT	woman-PROP	deprive-M-ACT
<i>marngan-da</i>	<i>kunawuna</i>	<i>kurrka-a-j</i>	
teenage girl-NOM	childNOM	take-M-ACT	

'(They) were shot, chased, followed, robbed of their women, the teenage girls were taken away.'

12.5.2 Discourse conditions on complementizing case

We now turn to the various "thematically marked" discourse conditions requiring complementizing case: (a) object, instrument or locative topics (b) object elaboration chains (c) contrastive subjects. I will argue that all three conditions exemplify "odd topic sequences", in the sense that the subject is not the topic, and then examine a type of clause in which non-subject topics *are* thematically neutral: questions. Finally I will compare the functions of complementizing case in complex sentences and in discourse.

Before proceeding I must point out that the following construction types are found only in the oldest speakers. Middle-aged men, of Darwin Moodoonuthi's generation, rarely use it; these speakers simply put the object or instrument topic in the nominative. For an example see Line 25 of the Nalkardarrawuru story.

12.5.2.1 Object and instrument topics. Here an object or instrument is either an established topic (12-119, 12-11) or what might be considered a contextual topic—further comment is elicited when they are pointed out (12-120), held up (12-121) or appear on the scene (12-122). In all such cases the relevant clause is complementized, and the (non-subject) topic is either omitted or appears clause finally in the NOMinative. Verbs take the active form with object topics (12-119,

12-122), and the middle form with instrument topics (12-120, 12-121).¹¹

- (12-119) *kambuda* *barji-j* *ngaarrka* *barji-ja*
 pandanus.fruitNOM fall-ACT pandanus.nutNOM fall-ACT
rar-umban-da *warmarr.* [*mutha-wuu-ntha*
 south-ORIG-NOM windNOM much-MPROP-COBL
darr-u-ntha *diya-juu-ntha* *ngaarrk*]COBL
 time-MPROP-COBL eat-MPROP-COBL pandanus nutNOM

‘The pandanus fruit falls, the pandanus nut falls at the time of the south wind. (One) can go on eating pandanus nut for a long time.’

- (12-120) R. holds up a shell knife and tells me:

[*banga-ntha* *bijarrba-ntha* *kala-a-jurrk*]COBL
 turtle-COBL dugong-COBL cut-M-IMMED:COBL
 ‘Turtle and dugong are cut (with it).’

- (12-121) Discussing *marndiwa*, a type of disinfectant leaf:

[*kunawuna-ntha* *kari-i-jurrk*]COBL
 baby-COBL cover-M-IMMED:COBL
 ‘Babies are covered with it.’

- (12-122) A young man appears, and P. says:

[*ngijuwa* *mima-tharra-nth*]COBL
 1sgSUBJ:COBL beget-PST-COBL
 ‘He’s my real son.’ [i.e. ‘I begot (him).’]

The failure of topicalized objects in this construction to take relational, modal or complementizing case suggests an analysis as a cleft construction: ‘(it’s) pandanus nut that one can go on eating for a long time’. But there are three reasons to reject this as a synchronic description of Kayardild. Firstly it is not semantically appropriate, for it means something like ‘speaking of that pandanus nut—one can go on eating it for a long time’ rather than the pseudo-cleft meaning given above. Secondly, the clause has the intonation contour of a simple declarative sentence, not a complex one. Thirdly, words from the topicalized NP may be mingled with the rest of the clause (e.g. the second sentence of (12-124)); this would not be possible with a complex sentence.

¹¹ The use of a middle verb with instrument topics here echoes its use in “instrumental nominalizations”. See 11.2.2.

12.5.2.2 Object elaboration chains. This is the commonest discourse condition triggering complementizing case. The speaker makes a series of statements involving the same action, performed by the same subject, on objects thought of as similar in some way. In (12-123) and (12-124), for example, both excerpted from a long text on “the old days”, all the objects are some kind of food. The object normally appears clause-initially in the nominative; a qualifying adjective or specific noun, also nominative, may appear later in the clause. All other constituents take complementizing case.

(12-123) [*bul-da rarrwa-tharra-nth*]_{COBL}
yam sp.-NOM roast-PST-COBL

[*thawal-da diya-jarra-ntha mutha-a*]_{COBL} ...
yam-NOM eat-PST-COBL much-NOM

wuran-mutha-diya-n-da rar-umban-da dangka-a, diya-jarra
food-much-eat-N-NOM south-ORIG-NOM person-NOM eat-PST

yakuri-na, diya-jarra bijarrba-na, banga-na diya-jarr
fish-MABL eat-PST dugong-MABL turtle-MABL eat-PST

‘(We) roasted feather-yams, (we) ate lots of yams. Great food-eaters were the south people, (they) ate fish, (they) ate dugong, and ate turtle.’

(12-124) [*mutha-a wuran-da ngalawa diya-jarra-ntha*]
much-NOM food-NOM 1pl:SUBJ:COBL eat-PST-COBL

*wakaku*_{COBL}
sandfrogNOM

[*mutha-a wuran-da ngalawa yakuri-ya*]
much-NOM food-NOM 1plSUBJ:COBL fish-NOM

*diya-jarra-nth*_{COBL}
eat-PST-COBL

nga-l-da kala-tharra rawalan-ku,
1-pl-NOM cut-PST baler-PROP

nga-l-da birangkarra warra-ja wirdi-ja walbu-y, yurda-y
1-pl-NOM always go-ACT stay-ACT raft-LOC open sea-LOC

‘We used to eat lots of sandfrogs as food, we used to eat lots of fish, we used to cut (things) with baler shells, we were always going about on rafts, far out to sea.’

The presence in the discourse of a series of objects, categorizable in the same way, does not necessarily count as an object elaboration chain. In

the fourth line of (12-123), for example, the storyteller continues listing objects eaten on Bentinck Island, but the emphasis has shifted from what was eaten to what well-fed people they were, a transition signalled by the sentence *wuran-mutha-diyanda rarumbanda dangkaa* 'great food-eaters were the south people'.

In discourses of this type, that is, the speaker can choose either subject or the "object chain" as topic, and in (12-123) chooses each at different points in the discourse. In (12-124) she maintains the object chain 'food' until moving on to describe other more diverse old-time activities (cutting with baler shells, floating on rafts) where the subject is the only continuous topic, and reverts to the "normal" discourse pattern.

A similar progression is found in (12-125), from a "quarrel text" in which one woman has been accusing another of stealing food from her coolamon; this portion begins halfway through the quarrel and in the LOC-complementized clause of line (a) 'my coolamon there' has already been established as an object-topic; this is continued in line (b) where the accusee defiantly repeats the charge, with object NP omitted and the whole clause complementized with the OBL. In line (c) a non-complementized clause is used, apparently because of the shift from the container (coolamon) as object to the contents (food) as object, a slight shift in thematic role corresponding to the shift in translation from 'rob' to 'steal'. In line (d) the defiant accusee repeats the accusation against herself, narrowing it down to a specific instantiation of the second conjunct (mangrove crab as a type of food) and using the complementizing oblique.

(12-125)

- a. D *ngijin-da kurda-a dathin-a wungi-jarra-y*
 my-NOM coolamon-NOM that-NOM return-PST-CLOC
 'You've been robbing my coolamon there!'
- b. M *ngijuwa wungi-jarra-nth, ngijuwa wungi-jarra-nth!*
 1SUBJ:COBL rob-PST-COBL
 'So I've been stealing from it; so I've been stealing from it!'
- c. D *wungi-jarra ngijin-jina kurda-na, bana*
 rob-PST my-MABL coolamon-MABL and
 '(You)'ve been robbing my coolamon,'

wuran-kina ngijin-jina wungi-jarr
 food-MABL my-MABL steal-PST
 'And stealing my food.'
- d. M *ngijuwa bingkurn-da wungi-jarra-nth!*
 1SUBJ-COBL mangrove.crab-NOM steal-PST-COBL
 'So I've been stealing mangrove crabs!'

- e. D *Wungunduwungundu!*
thiefNOM
'Thief!'
- f. M *Wungunduwungundu... nyingka wungunduwungundu-yarrath-i!*
thief 2sgNOM thief-ANOTHER-CLOC
'A thief! (I'd say that) you're another thief!'

Instead of elaborating the topic chain by naming a number of comparable entities, the speaker may choose to further qualify the same entity. Here he characterizes 'what was eaten' as 'a small part':

- (12-126) A has passed B a large fish, for B to eat a part of. When B gives it back, A complains:

A: *ngijin-ji wuu-ja jul-i! dan-da jul-d!*
me-MLOC give-ACT bone-MLOC this-NOM bone-NOM

B: [*kunya-a dulk-a ngijuwa diya-jarra-nth!*]_{COBL}
small-NOM place-NOM 1sgSUBJ:COBL eat-PST-COBL

A: '(You're) giving me bones! These are bones here!'

B: 'I only ate a LITTLE BIT (of it)!'

Or a secondary predicate about the object may be made using an object complement:

- (12-127) A: *nyinka duruma-tha ngijin-ji, kurri-jarri!*
2sgNOM lie-ACT me-MLOC see-NEG.ACT
'You lied to/ you're lying to me, you didn't see (the dugong)!'

B: *eee, mirra-a ngunguk, [ngijuwa kurri-jarra-ntha*
good-NOM storyNOM 1sgSUBJ:COBL see-PST-COBL

*mayii-n-d]*_{COBL}
spout-N-NOM

'Eee, it's the truth, I saw (it) "spouting" (making ripples).'

As the above examples illustrate, the "object topic" may be elaborated in a number of ways: by enumerating specific members of a class, by adding an adjective (12-126) or by adding a second predicate on the object (12-127). In all cases, odd topic marking is triggered, in the form of complementizing case over all clausal subconstituents save the object / object complement.

12.5.2.3 Contrastive focus on subjects. Odd topic marking also applies to clauses involving contrastive focus on the subject (see also the second sentence of (12-102)).

(12-128) Two brothers discussing who will cut down a tree:

A: [*ngumbaa barrki-d*]_{COBL} B: [*ngijuwa barrki-d*]_{COBL}
 2sgSUBJ:COBL chop-DESID 1sgSUBJ:COBL chop-DESID

A: 'Will YOU cut (it)?' B: 'I'LL cut it.'

(12-129) [*wakatha-ntha buru-thinja ngid*]_{COBL}
 sister-COBL get-HORT firewoodNOM
 'SISTER should get the wood.'

Determining the topic in such sentences is difficult (cf. Chafe 1976). The predicate (=VP) is presupposed, possibly with an indefinite subject pronoun, e.g. 'someone will cut (the tree)'. Often the set of possible subjects is also presupposed (e.g. {you, me}). Perhaps the most plausible way of partitioning such clauses into topic and comment is to have a complex topic like 'the person who will chop the tree' and a comment supplying their identity—'is me'. Whatever the exact analysis proposed, it is clear that the topic is not just the subject, and to this extent the construction is thematically non-neutral.

Attempts to elicit paradigms of subject pronouns commonly yield this construction. The following sentence comes from a tape (recorded by Wurm in 1960) containing a series of different subjects: 'you saw the snake on the stone, he saw the snake on the stone, etc.' This was interpreted by the speaker as a series of contrastive statements—showing that not even paradigms can escape being treated as coherent discourses!

(12-130) [*ngijuwa kurri-jarra-ntha yarbud-a kamarr-nurru*]_{COBL}
 1sgSUBJ:COBL see-PST-COBL snake-NOM stone-ASSOC
 'I saw the snake on the stone!'

12.5.2.4 Contrastive locations. In clauses in which locations are contrasted, the locative NP (which may be in adnominal function, as in (12-131), or relational function, as in (12-132)) is brought to the beginning of a complementized clause, and takes the locative but no modal or complementizing case.

(12-131) [*ngijin-ji wungi-nangku-ntha wuran-kuu-nth*]_{COBL}
 1sgPOSS-LOC steal-NEG.POT-COBL food-MPROP-COBL
 'You won't steal the food in MINE (i.e. in my belly)!'

(12-132) P: [*ngijuwa baki-juu-ntha kurrka-thuu-ntha badi-juu-nth.*
 1SUBJ:COBL all-POT-COBL take-POT-COBL carry-POT-COBL
wajurr-uu-ntha bana dika-wuu-nth.]_{COBL}
 underarm-MPROP-COBL and shoulder-MPROP-COBL

D: [jungarra-ya mindulu-ya ngijuwa badi-juu-nth]_{COBL}
 big-LOC bundle-LOC 1sgSUBJ:COBL carry-POT-COBL

P: 'I'll take it all (the food) and carry it under my arms and on my shoulders.'

D: 'I'll carry (mine) IN A BIG BUNDLE.'

I interpret the morphosyntax of these constructions in the following way. Like other odd topic constructions, a NP is exempted from modal and relational cases. But whereas object NPs topicalized in this way end up in the nominative (since they never have a relational case, and now have no modal or complementizing case either, they take the nominative as an elsewhere case), location NPs, whose LOCative case is normally suppressed before a following modal or complementizing case, end up with the locative surfacing once topicalization gets rid of modal and complementizing case suffixes.

12.5.2.5 Information questions and unmarked topics. In

contrast to declaratives, where the unmarked thematic structure has a subject-topic, in WH-questions the unmarked topic is the interrogative word, regardless of its grammatical relation.¹² For example, the (topical) interrogative word may be subject, object, and instrument (among others), and none of these trigger complementizing case:

(12-133) *ngaaka thungal-da bad-a naa-j*
 whatNOM thing-NOM west-NOM burn-ACT
 'What's that burning in the west?'

(12-134) *ngaaka-na thungal-ina raba-tharr?*
 what-MABL thing-MABL tread on-PST
 'What did (he) tread on?'

(12-135) *ngaaka-nguni nyingka kuri-i-ja marl-d?*
 what-INSTR 2sgNOM wash-M-ACT hand-NOM
 'What did you wash your hands with?'

However, it is possible for the topic not to be the WH-word, as in the following example, part of a long conversation which establishes 'the story' (anaphorically omitted) as topic. In such cases complementizing case is triggered.

¹² Cf. Grimes (1975: 325) on topic structures in general: "the non-polar interrogative has as its topic a WH or question element".

- (12-136) [ngaaka-ntha dangka-ntha kinaa-jarra-nth]_{COBL}
 what-COBL person-COBL tell-PST-COBL
 ‘Who told (you) (the story)?’

Information questions thus have a different “unmarked thematic structure” from declaratives: it is the WH-word rather than the subject which is the unmarked topic. But thematically marked versions still trigger complementizing case: here the condition is disjunction of topic and WH-word rather than of topic and subject.

12.5.2.5 Summary of “odd topic” conditions in discourse.

The unmarked structure for Kayardild discourse is a sequence of subject-topics. However, successive clauses may have different subjects, and non-subjects in one sentence may advance to subject position in the next, without requiring any special discourse marking. Object-topics may be made subjects by passivization, but only where they are seen as seriously affected by the action.

Several discourse types stray from this unmarked type, and trigger complementizing case: object-topics and instrument-topics, object elaboration chains, and clauses with contrastive subjects or locations. In none of these do subject and topic coincide.

In information questions the unmarked topic is the interrogative word. Interrogative words may bear any grammatical relation without triggering complementizing case, since they are unmarked topics. But it is possible to have non-interrogative topics (e.g. an object topic with a subject WH-word), and this triggers complementizing case.

So whether the unmarked topic is the subject, as in declaratives, or the WH-word, as in information questions, the choice of another constituent as topic triggers complementizing case.

12.5.3 Comparison of Odd Pivot and Odd Topic marking

Odd Pivot and Odd Topic marking are essentially the same phenomenon: one operates between matrix and subordinate clauses, the other between successive simplex clauses in discourse. Nevertheless, there are significant differences, since certain coreference conditions that trigger complementizing case in subordinate clauses do not do so in simplex clauses. In complex clauses, recall, any departure of the pivot sequence from the subject–subject pattern triggers complementizing case. Yet simplex clauses in coordinated discourse allow two such departures to go unmarked; sequences where the topic is first a non-subject, then a subject (12-113), and those where successive clauses share no common arguments (again (12-113), second and third sentences). Other coreference conditions are treated identically in complex clauses and

coordinated discourse: object-object sequences, for example, trigger complementizing case in both situations.

12.5.3.1 Which is historically prior? The use of complementizing case for reference-tracking is found in subordinate clauses in Yukulta, Kayardild and Lardil, but only in Kayardild is it used in discourse, suggesting that its use in main clauses is a recent innovation.¹³ This development provides another example of “insubordination”—the use of a formally subordinate clause type as a main clause. By this means Kayardild could recruit into main clauses a useful reference tracking device, which could supplement the passive as a way of topicalizing non-subjects.¹⁴

12.5.4 Reference tracking in syntax and discourse: overview

For the bulk of this chapter I have characterized the odd pivot and odd topic systems in rather mechanical terms. This was motivated by the need to supply a well-classified corpus that could be compared with other reference tracking systems. In this conclusion I would like to step back and take a broader, more discourse-based perspective.

The Kayardild odd pivot and odd topic systems can be broadly characterized as ways of indicating “non-neutral thematic structure”. As indicated by the many special cases I have considered, and the need to tailor our triggering rules to the type of clause linkage, “neutral thematic structure” cannot be given a single characterization, but varies with the type of discourse and the type of clause juncture.

In “tight junctures” involving Non-Finite Subordinate clauses (Ch. 11) the discourse possibilities are most heavily syntacticized, to the extent that subject and pivot must be identical in the subordinate clause.

In “loose junctures”, involving finite subordinate clauses, there is more latitude: the pivot need be subject of neither clause. But all departures from the unmarked sequence of successive subject-pivots are treated as non-neutral, and trigger odd pivot marking. Only where the construction has an unusual and definite semantic structure is this rule neglected. Thus in jussives Object–Subject sequences, which are semantically unmarked, only optionally trigger odd pivot marking, even

¹³ Lardil has developed another way of handling object-topics in discourse. See Appendix C.

¹⁴ A roughly similar development has occurred in Mparntwe Arrernte, where switch reference has been extended into discourse. This “trans-sentential switch reference” is discussed in Wilkins (1988).

though they violate the “neutral” subject-subject sequence. Alternate constructions, with their own limitations on thematic structure, may also have an influence: “precondition clauses” with different subjects do not trigger odd pivot marking as expected, possibly because they are paradigmatically opposed to perfective nominalizations which, though synonymous, require subject-subject coreference.

Expectations about thematic structure are least restricted at the level of coordinated clauses in discourse: in addition to the universally unmarked sequence of successive subject-topics, three other sequences pass without special marking: successive clauses sharing no arguments, those with no common arguments, and those in which an argument advances from non-subject to subject. So do information questions with non-subject topics, provided the topic is the WH-word. However, certain discourse patterns still provoke odd topic marking; declarative sentences with object topics, object elaboration chains, or contrastive focus; and information questions where the topic is not the WH-word.

The gradual widening of thematic possibilities as we move from tight juncture to free discourse is quite natural. The universe of discourse is enlarged, the constraints on unity of time, place and participants are relaxed, and the number of participants, and the number of roles they may play, increase in complexity. It is likely that a more detailed study of how discourse is structured at higher levels, and of how reference tracking is tailored to different speech genres (e.g. rapid interactional repartee vs mythological monologue) would reveal further differences in the conditions triggering complementizing case.

12.6 The evolution of complementizing case

The peculiar Kayardild system of “Odd Pivot” marking appears to have evolved from an original system based on case agreement with the main clause antecedent NP. Under this system, preserved in Yukulta, subordinate clauses can be left unmarked, or further marked with one of two outer complementizing cases: the ergative (CERG) or the DATive (CDAT). The first is cognate with the Kayardild Complementizing LOCative, the second with the complementizing OBLique. As in Kayardild, these suffixes appear on every word of the subordinate clause.

12.6.1 Complementizing case in Yukulta

Although the forms, domains, and word-positions are identical, the conditions governing the use of complementizing case in Yukulta differ radically from those in Kayardild. The basic principle is antecedent agreement, using an A/S pivot in the subordinate clause. This correlates with the accusative morphology of subordinate, as opposed to main, clauses. See 10.4.

When the antecedent is a matrix S or O (i.e. in the unmarked ABSolute case), the subordinate clause is unmarked:¹⁵

(12-137) *dii-ja=thayi* [maka-thurlu]
 Y sit-ACT=1sgS:POT rest-IMPLICATED
 'I'll sit down and have a rest.' [S, S]

(12-138) *ngabanarra=ngarri* *marri-ja* [dan-ki *murndamurr-i*
 Y curlewABS=1sgA:30:PRES hear-ACT this-LOC island-LOC

wama-th-i *kamburi-kamburi-ji*
 call-THEMAT-LOC speak-speak-SIMUL

'I can hear the curlews crying out on this island.' [O, S]

(12-139) *dangka-ya=kanda* *kurri-ja* *maku,* [kunawuna-naba
 Y man-ERG=3A:30:PAST see-ACT womanABS child-ABL

jambila-tharrba
 kick-PRIOR

'The man saw the woman kick the child.' [O, A]

(See (10-60) for an [S, A] combination.)

Where the antecedent is an A (transitive subject), which takes the ergative case, the subordinate clause agrees:

(12-140) *dangka-ya=karri* *ngida* *karna-ja* [makurrarra-wurlu-ya
 Y man-ERG=3A:3S:PRES woodABS light-ACT wallaby-PROP-CERG

karna-jurlu-ya]CERG
 light-IMPLICATED-CERG

'The man lit a fire in order to cook the wallaby.' [A, A]

¹⁵ To avoid confusion with the inner layer of complementizing case in Yukulta, which marks relative tense/mood (see 10.4.1.3), only the outer, reference-tracking layer of case will be shown. Verb inflections will not be decomposed into thematic plus a (tense/mood) suffix, as they were in 10.4.1.3.

(12-141) *munyi diya-ka dan-da wurlan-da, [ngama-nymarra-ya]*_{CERG}
 Y now eat-IMP this-ABS food-ABS hunger-LEST-CERG
 'Eat this tucker now so you won't be hungry.' [A, S]

Where the antecedent is DATive, so is the subordinate clause:

(12-142) *birkali-ja=baka [miyarl-inaba-ntha]*
 Y feel sorry for-IND=2OBL:1S spear-ABL-CDAT
*darla-tharrba-ntha*_{CDAT}
 break-PRIOR-CDAT
 'I'm sorry for you breaking your spear.' [DAT, A]

So far, the assignment of complementizing case has involved strict agreement with the antecedent. But subordinate clauses may also receive the dative under several other conditions:

(a) Where the subordinate clause is an argument of a middle verb. *rlarli-ja* 'wait', for example, may take as an argument either a dative NP or a dative-complementized clause.

(12-143) *rlarli-ja=ngala [yakurli-nja naa-j-urlu-ntha]*_{CDAT}
 Y wait-IND=1pluS:PRES fish-CDAT burn-THEMAT-PROP-CDAT
 'We're waiting for the fish to cook.'

Yalalija 'be glad that' is another verb taking phrasal or clausal dative arguments. This condition is clearly the forerunner of the "clausal argument" condition on complementizing case in K.

(b) When the antecedent is an underlying object assigned a non-ABSolutive case by the General Detransitivized Case Frame (10.4.1.2). In this example the object NP does not appear overtly, being cross-referenced on the auxiliary. But were it to appear, it would take the LOCative (10.4.1.2). So here the case of the antecedent (LOCative) diverges from the complementizing case (DAT):

(12-144) *mutha=kurraringka kurri-kurri-ja*
 Y lot=1nsgOBL:3pluS:PAST watch-REDUP-IND
*[wirrka-jarrba-ntha wangarr-inaba-ntha]*_{CDAT}
 dance-PRIOR-CDAT corroboree-ABL-CDAT

'A big mob watched us dancing in the corroboree.' [O:LOC, S]

(c) Where no main clause antecedent exists for the subordinate subject (although the subordinate object may have an antecedent):

(12-145) *dangka-ya=kanda* *kurri-ja* *maku,* [*kunawuna-ntha*
 Y man-ERG=3A:30:PAST see-IND womanABS child-CDAT

jambila-tharrba-ntha]CDAT
 kick-PRIOR-CDAT

'The man saw the woman get kicked by the child.'

'The man saw the woman, as the child kicked her.'

(12-146) *baa-ja=kandi* *dathin-ki* *dirr-i* [*bala-tharri-nja=ma*]CDAT
 Y bite-IND=3A:30:POT that-ERG snake-ERG hit-NEG.IND-CDAT=if

'That snake will bite if someone doesn't kill (it).'

Keen (1983: 246) treats condition (c) as a type of concord: "the complement is marked by a dative case which agrees with an unfilled dative NP in S₁". This explanation is attractive. But to establish it satisfactorily we would need sentence examples in which the dative marks main clause NPs destined to become future pivots, and unfortunately Keen gives no examples of this.¹⁶ Without them, it is better to treat this construction as a special case of "obviation", supplementing the antecedent-agreement system.

There are thus two exceptions to the antecedent-agreement principle governing complementizing case: the complementizing DATIVE can appear

¹⁶ Despite this lack, her explanation gains cross linguistic support from some Warlpiri data reported by Hale (1982a: 296-7), showing "pure obviative complements" which take subjects in the dative:

kurdu-ngku *ka* *jarntu* *warru-wajilipi-nyi,* [*karnta-ku* *miyi*
 child-ERG PRES dog around-chase-NPST woman-DAT food
purra-nja-rlarni]
 cook-INFIN-OBVIATIVE

'The child is chasing the dog around, while the woman is cooking food.'

But it is possible to "foreground" the infinitival subject by raising it into the main clause, still marked dative. The subordinate infinitival complement then optionally agrees with it in case:

kurdu-ngku *ka-rla* *jarntu* *warru-wajilipi-nyi* *karnta-ku,*
 child-ERG PRES-3sgIOBJ dog around-chase-NPST woman-DAT
 [*miyi* *purra-nja-rlarni(-ki)*]
 food cook-INFIN-OBVIATIVE(-DAT)

'The child is chasing the dog around, while the woman is cooking food.'

when the antecedent is a LOCative underlying object, or where no antecedent exists at all.¹⁷

12.6.2 Evolution of the Kayardild Odd Pivot system

It is likely that pT—or at least proto southern Tangkic—had a system essentially identical to the Yukulta one just described. At some later stage, the case marking strategy for main clauses shifted from an ergative to an accusative system (10.4.2.2) with objects coming to take the LOCative in the commonest construction type. As the pT form {-kiya} lost its ergative function, the affiliations of the old complementizing ergative would no longer have been clear, and it was almost completely reanalysed as a LOCative, with which it was formally identical. The only residue of its original ergative status is the ban on C.LOC appearing on pronouns: this goes back to the fact that the ergative form of proto-Tangkic pronouns was identical with the absolutive (later nominative), so that the synchronically aberrant invariant subject pronouns merely continue the old ergative form (cf. 12.1.4.1).

If the rules for assigning complementizing case remained unchanged—and this is quite plausible, given the relative conservatism of subordinate clause constructions (cf. Givon 1979: 89)—we would obtain the schema illustrated in Table 12-1 (OBV represents the case where the subordinate subject has no antecedent).

Almost the entire complementizing system in stage 1 follows from the single principle of case agreement—the “obviative dative” and the use of the complementizing dative where the antecedent is an object remarked with the LOCative are two minor supplementary principles. By contrast, that at stage 2 lacks any obvious rationale, and would have to be learnt as a collection of unmotivated rules. Clearly the pressure to somehow refashion it would be great. One simple way would be to reinstate a modified agreement rule: if the antecedent is nominative (A or S), don’t mark the subordinate clause, otherwise mark it. Assuming further that speakers were aware of two alternate markers (*LOC and *DAT) but were unsure how to use them, we may postulate a stage in which all subordinate clauses with non-subject antecedents could take either. At this stage we essentially have a switch reference system, which marks

¹⁷ It is not uncommon for systems of antecedent-agreement to employ as complementizers only a subset of the available (relational) case inflections, resulting in exceptions to the agreement principle. In Martuthunira (Dench 1988) “Finite Relative Clauses” can be complementized with the Accusative or the Locative, marked on the verb. While the Accusative is used only with accusative antecedents, the Locative covers Genitive as well as Locative antecedents.

identity (unmarked) or non-identity (marked) between matrix and subordinate subjects.

Still later, in modern Kayardild, the choice between LOCative and OBLique (ex DATive) cases was reanalysed and aligned with the person of the subject, with LOCative used wherever the subject includes a second person referent (12.1.4).

How this happened remains a mystery. One possibility is that the

Table 12-1. The disengagement of complementizing case from its antecedent in pre-Kayardild

Stage 1: Yukulta; pK-Ya-Y

Syntactic role of antecedent	Subject		Object		IObj	
	A	S	O	O*	IObj	Obv
Case of antecedent	ERG	ABS	ABS	LOC/DAT	DAT	—
Complementizing case	ERG	∅	∅	DAT	DAT	DAT

Stage 2: pre-K

Syntactic role of antecedent	Subject		Object	
	A	S	O	Obv
Case of antecedent	NOM	NOM	LOC	—
Complementizing case	LOC	∅	DAT	DAT

O* represents objects assigned the DATive or LOCative by the General Detransitivized Case Frame. Note also that Dative Indirect objects disappeared sometime before modern Kayardild (9.2.4.1); they are not shown here.

LOCative became confused with a formally identical second person subject clitic: in Yukulta the 2nd person subject clitic is *-yi* and the complementizing LOCative is *-ya*.

The steps just outlined would produce a system close to that found in modern Kayardild: subordinate clauses with non-subject antecedents, or lacking a common argument with the main clause, would take the LOCative or OBLique depending on the person of the subject. There

remains one vital difference: this hypothetical system functions with reference to the subordinate subject (and is thus a true switch reference system), whereas the actual Kayardild system functions with reference to a pivot that need not be the subject.

The relevant change here would have occurred if there was a typological shift from a subject prominent language to one where both subject and topic are prominent. As Givon (1979) has argued, a necessary precondition for such a change is the tolerance in "free discourse" of non-subject topics; such topics can then be syntacticized and come to act as pivots in complex constructions.

Although Keen does not specifically analyse the question of topics in Yukulta discourse, some of the texts she cites provide evidence that they may have (at least) A, S or O function. In the following example (Keen 1983: 263), the topic 'he' persists through five successive sentences, from each of which it is anaphorically omitted; it tours through A, S, O, S then A functions.

(12-147) *kamu=kanda* -- *bilwarrma nguku*
 Y and=3A:3O:PAST (A) burst waterABS
 'And (he) burst the water...'

kamu=yingka --- *biya-ja bikali-ja*
 and=3S:PAST (S) swim-ACT float-ACT
 'and (he) floated.'

ngudi-ja=kanda -- *nguku-ya wambal-irlu*
 throw-ACT=3A:3O:PAST (O) water-ERG land-ALL
 'The water threw (him) on solid ground.'

wanyji-ja=yingka -- *kamu=kanda kurri* --
 go up-ACT=3S:PAST (S) and=3A:3O:PAST look (A)
 '(He) climbed out and looked around.'

At the level of discourse, therefore, though not at the level of complex syntax, Yukulta allows non-subject topics; we may assume pK-Ya-Y, and probably pT, did too.¹⁸ At a certain stage before modern Kayardild, these topics could have been syntacticized to the extent of becoming pivots in complex (finite) constructions.

Once non-subjects could be pivots, the conditions controlling complementizing case could be formulated equally well in terms of an odd-pivot or a switch-reference rule. As argued in 12.2.5, the switch-reference rule (SR) and the odd-pivot rule (OP) give the same results for almost all conceivable combinations. Consider, for example, the

¹⁸ Comparative support for this comes from the fact that Lardil, which split off from the Tangkic group relatively early, has evolved non-subject topics, although their syntactic realization is rather different from in Kayardild (Appendix C).

sequence [Matrix object—Subordinate object], as in (12-31) ‘I brought *some water*, but (they) spilled (*it*)’. The SR rule requires complementizing case, since the subordinate subject ‘they’ has no main clause antecedent, but so does the OP rule, since ‘water’ is object of both clauses and therefore not subject of both clauses.

The only sentences where the two rules give different results are those like (12-33) ‘let us get our spears so (we) can catch fish (with them)’. Here the two clauses have the same subject (which under the SR rule would disallow complementizing case) but the pivot ‘spears’ is not subject of either sentence and thus requires complementizing case under the OP rule. Given that the two rules make identical predictions about the vast majority of cases, it is likely that, at a certain point, some speakers had a SR rule and some an OP rule to account for the same data. Finally, the OP rule would have been generalized; the only sentences affected would have been those like (12-33) where the OP but not the SR rule required complementizing case.

The evolutionary path just proposed has been rather tortuous: it involves, more or less simultaneously, changes in case systems and a change from a basically subject-prominent language (Yukulta) to one which is both subject and topic prominent (Kayardild). Needless to say, it is extremely tentative, and is limited by our lack of detailed syntactic knowledge about Yukulta. I have also omitted the very interesting data from Lardil, which would have complicated my exposition without affecting my conclusions (a full synchronic description is in Klokeid (1976), and a summary of the changes between pT and Lardil is in Appendix C).

But even if the details are sketchy, I hope to have convinced the reader that the Kayardild “odd pivot” system could have arisen from an “antecedent agreement system” where the subordinate clause agreed in case with its main clause antecedent, and took an “obviative” dative if no antecedent existed. Moreover, an intermediate “switch-reference” stage is quite likely. The possibility of a language passing through these three stages so rapidly (remembering the virtually dialectal relationship between Kayardild, which represents the third stage, and Yukulta, which preserves the first) emphasizes the close functional and formal similarity between these three types of discourse tracking mechanism.

Appendix A

The vocabulary of Kayardild kinship

Throughout this section the following abbreviations will be used:

B	brother
D	daughter
F	father
H	husband
M	mother
S	son
W	wife
Z	sister

Symbols may be chained, e.g. MB ‘mother’s brother’.

A.1 Introduction

The Kaiadilt kinship system is classificatory: it potentially extends to the whole social universe through a number of rules that allow one to treat people as equivalent to kin. Within the normal typology of Australian kinship systems, it is of the Nyulnyul (or Aranda) type, distinguishing four lines of patrilineal descent, one from each grandparent. Although there are no explicitly recognized moieties, semi-moieties, sections or subsections, the pattern of extension of kin terms reveals an implicit system of kinship “superclasses” (Scheffler 1978) which correspond exactly to the eight “subsections” we would obtain by dividing each patriline into two “merged alternate generation sets”.

Figures A-1 and A-2 give schematic versions of the main kinship terms, with male and female egos respectively; Figure A-3 illustrates the sibling terms. Note that kin types can be defined consanguineally (e.g. MBS) or affinally (e.g. DHF), and in many cases alternate consanguineal definitions are possible (FZS or MBS). To avoid cluttering, I have given a single definition, reflecting what I consider to be the primary meaning; readers may work the others out for themselves by tracing marriage and descent lines. Alternate names in brackets are optional extensions from other semantic foci.

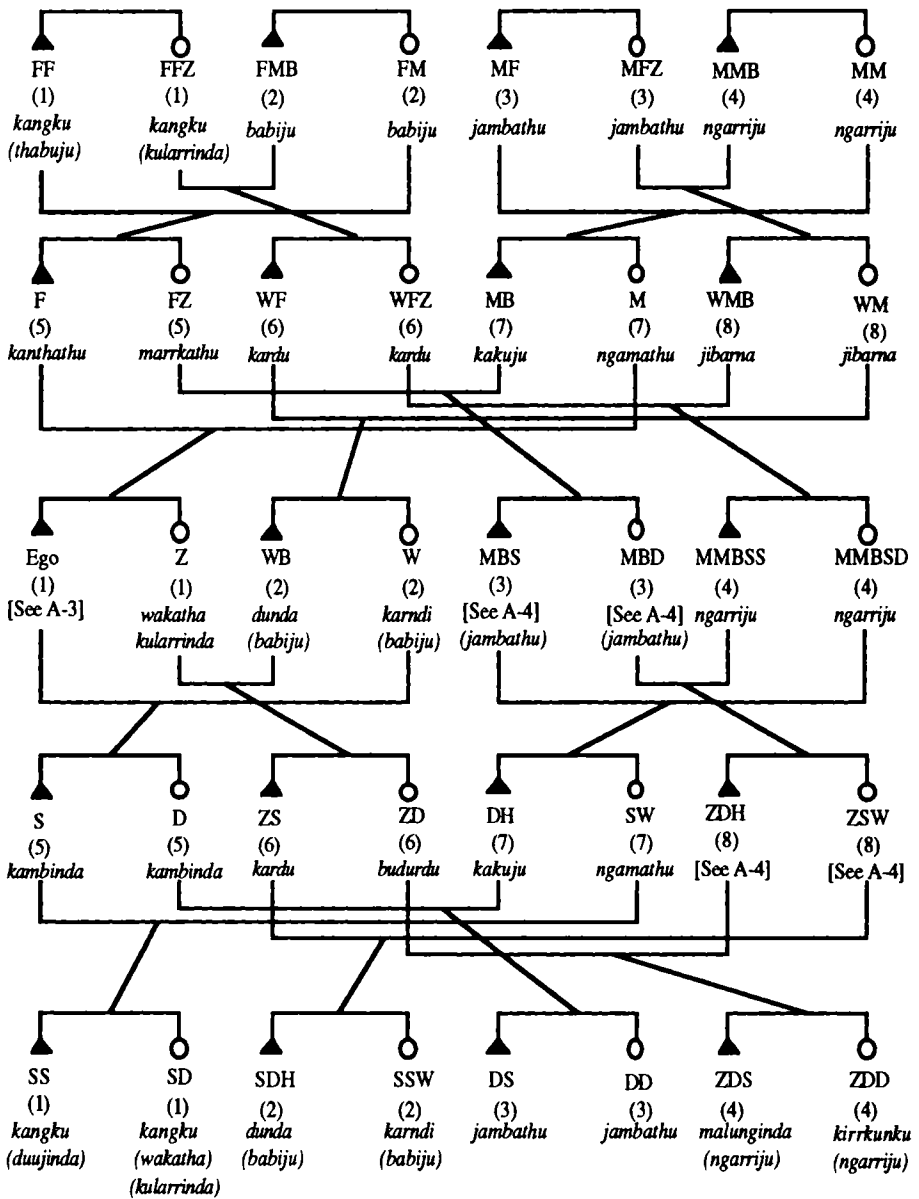


Figure A-1. Main classificatory kin terms, male ego (subsection-like “superclasses” are numbered 1 to 8)

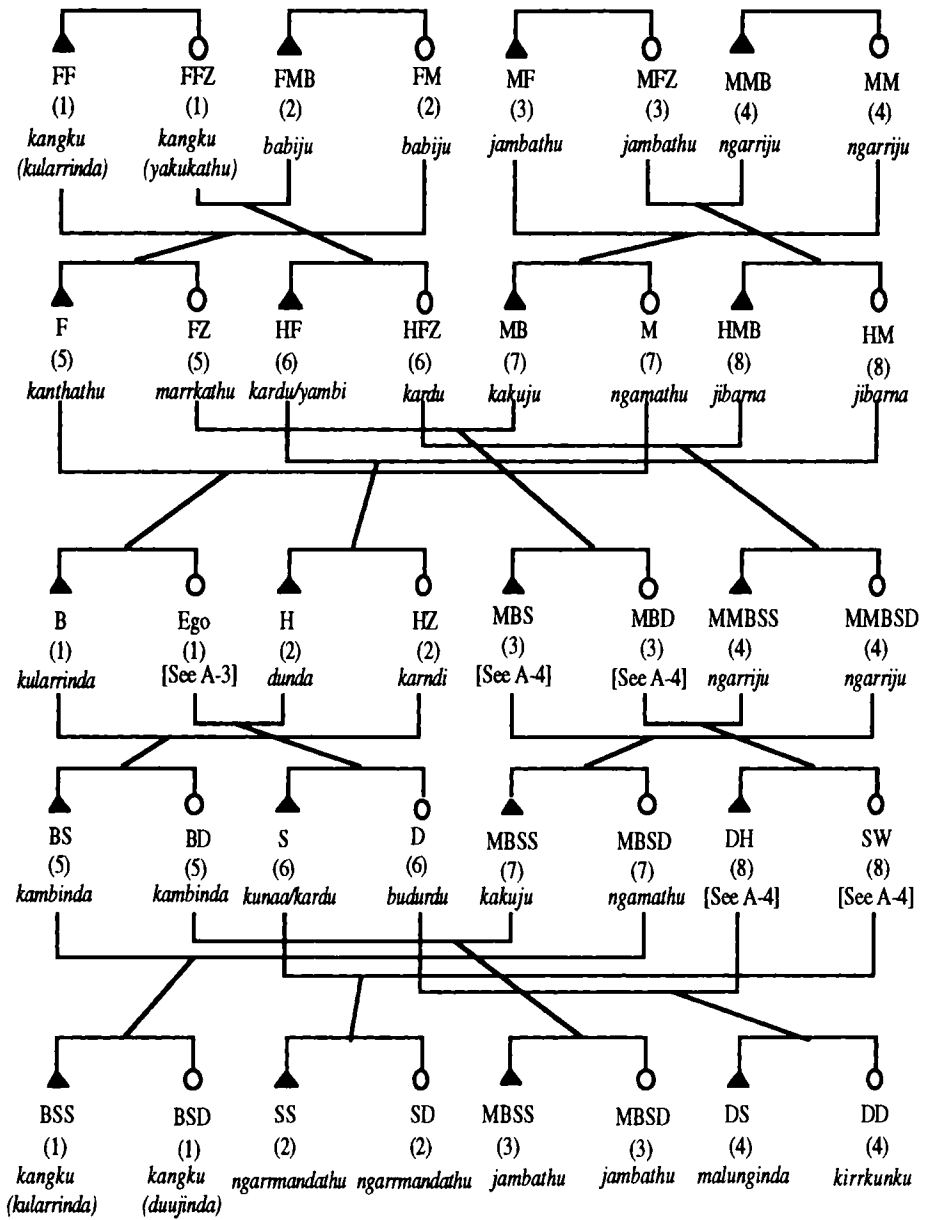


Figure A-2. Classificatory kin terms, female ego

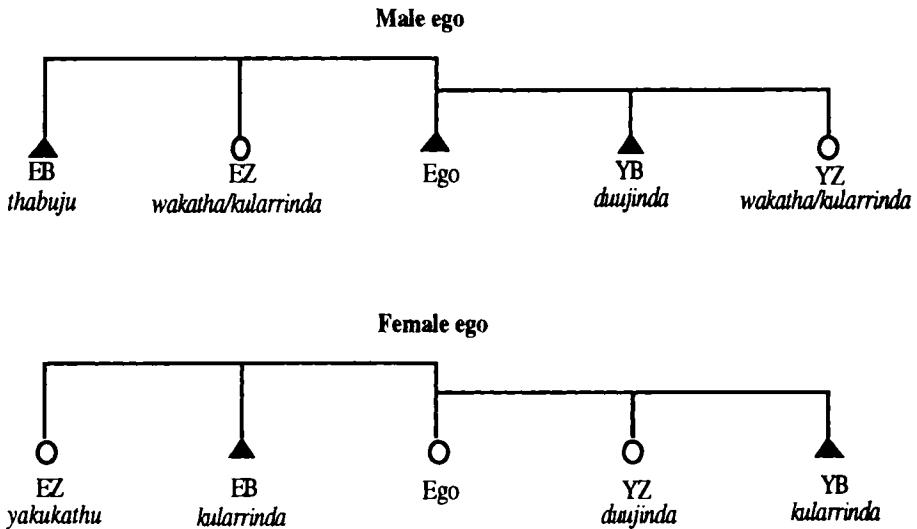


Figure A-3. Sibling terms

A.2 Skewing

A further complication is introduced by a skewing rule which reclassifies matrilineal cross-cousins, and their spouses and children, giving them special names and effectively shifting them up one generation. This is illustrated in A-4: the “expected” terms are in square brackets, followed by the special names and the terms people use to explain them (in parentheses).

The effect of this skewing rule is to stress the non-marriageability of cross-cousins by placing them in the non-marriageable, mother’s generation: as the alternative terms in parentheses indicate, the special term *ngayarndathu* (MBD) may be replaced by *kunyaa ngamathu* ‘little mother’.

Skewing extends to the cross-cousin’s offspring, who are likewise moved up a generation (into ego’s), being known by the sibling terms *kularrinda* and *duujinda*. These replace the expected -1 generation terms *jibarna* and *kardu* respectively.

Subsequent generations return to the normal pattern, so that the offspring of *budurdu* (ZD) and *duujinda* (MBDS) will be known as *malunginda* (DS/DD) or by the term *jambathu* in its superclass extension.

As yet I am unsure whether the skewing rule applies to all kin of the appropriate classification, or only to those from “close up”.

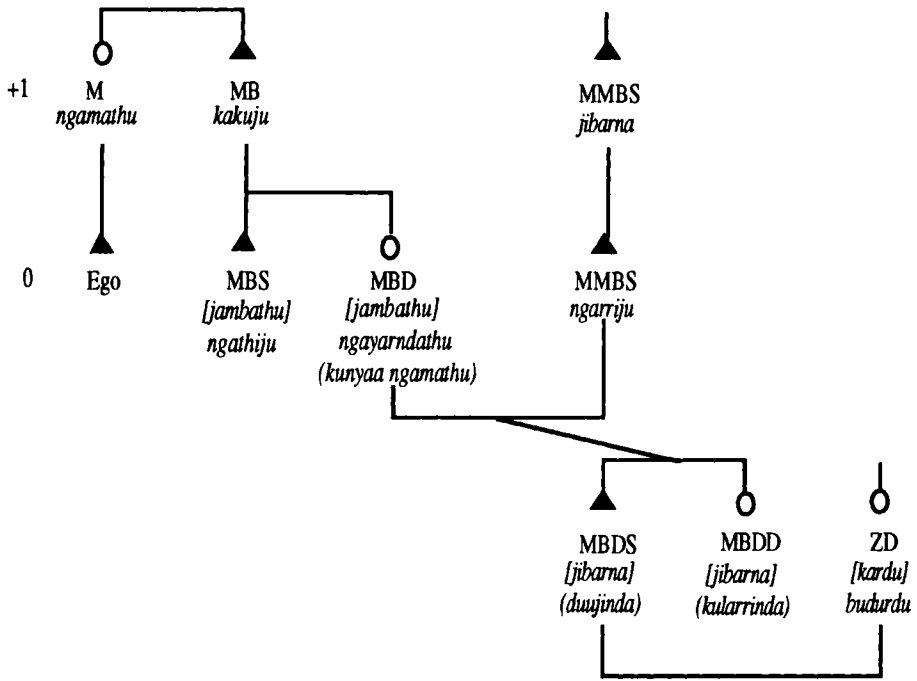


Figure A-4. The cross-cousin skewing rule in Kayardild (male ego)

The expected terms are in square brackets, followed by the special terms for skewed relatives, and the terms people use to explain them (in parentheses).

A.3 Other kin terms

The kin terms given above are *classificatory*: They extend to anyone whom the algebra of kinship places in the appropriate category. In addition, Kayardild possesses a number of other kin terms serving various purposes.

A.3.1 Affective terms

The words *kajakaja* ‘daddy’ and *kulakula* ‘mummy’ are used for someone in the “father” or “mother” category whom one regards emotionally as a mother or father. This includes biological parents but also others who have played a main part in one’s upbringing.

A.3.2 Actual terms

These commemorate biological or significant social relationships based on events that have actually occurred. Grammatically these are lexical nominalizations with prefixed pronominal object or demoted agent; their formation is discussed in 11.2 and 11.3.

Examples are *ngijin(mi)matharrba* “‘begetter of me”, biological father, genitor’, *ngijinmimayarrba* “‘begotten by me”, my biological offspring (male ego)’, *ngijinbadiyarrba* or *ngijinbadiinda* “‘carrier of me”, my biological mother, genitrix’, *ngijinbadiinda* “‘carried by me”, my biological offspring (woman)’, *ngariinmarrayarrba* “‘gone before”, actual older sibling’, *danaanmarrayarrba* “‘gone last”, actual youngest sibling’, *ngijinkinyilutharrba* “‘giver of form to me”, my (actual) midwife’, *ngijinkinyiliyarrba* “‘given form by me”, child delivered by me’, *ngijindaratharrba* “‘breaker of me”, my circumcizer’, *ngijindarayarrba* or *ngijindarathirrinda* “‘broken by me”, my circumcizee’.

Note that each of these forms singles out one significant and prototypical individual from a set of classificatory equivalents: one’s biological father from the set of classificatory fathers, one’s actual midwife from the set of classificatory “aunties” (who are the people who are normally entitled and obliged to perform the delivery), one’s actual circumcizer from the set of classificatory fathers-in-law (who alone are entitled and obliged to perform the circumcision).

The pronominal part of the nominalization may be varied, e.g. *niwandaratharrba* ‘circumcizer of him’, *ngumbandaratharrba* ‘circumcizer of you’, etc.

There are also a number of compound terms for actual affines, e.g. *nathawakathawuru* (lit. ‘camp-sister-having’) for ‘actual sister’s husband’, *nathakambinjuru* (lit. ‘camp-child-having’) ‘actual child-in-law (male ego), actual brother’s child-in-law (female ego)’. The sole non-compound term in this semantic domain is *kabiriju* ‘(actual) mother’s co-wife’ (who will normally be an actual or classificatory mother’s sister).

A.3.3 Affectionate terms

These are used in address, when “showing you really love someone”. They are particularly appropriate in such situations as expressing condolences or asking for favours.

Most are formed by suffixing *-barda* to the regular stem (5.1.1.5), e.g. *jambathu-barda* ‘dear cousin’. But the two words *kakuju* and *thabuju* have irregular stems before this suffix: *kakuthabarda* and *thabuthabarda*.

There is one special monomorphemic form in this series: *wangkurdu* may replace *kularrinbarda* ‘darling sister (of male)’.

A.3.4 Dyadic terms

These take a suffix *-ngarrba* (5.1.1.4) after the stem. They name pairs of people, one of whom calls the other X, and stresses that these two people are acting or being together. In fact, the designated group need not always be a strict pair, provided the extra members are terminologically equivalent to one member of the group, so that *thabujungarrba*, for example, may mean ‘pair of brothers’ or ‘group of brothers’. Dyadic terms may be used in reference or address.

Note that with the terms *karndiya* ‘wife or sister-in-law (of male), sister-in-law (of female)’ and *dunda* ‘husband or brother-in-law (of female), brother-in-law (of male)’ the derived dyadic terms allow only the in-law meaning: *karndingarrba* is ‘pair who are each other’s sisters-in-law’ and *dunngarrba* is ‘pair who are each other’s brother-in-law’. ‘Husband and wife’ can only be translated by *karndiya dunda*. One possible reason for this is that there is neither an appropriate self-reciprocal term (K lacking a term ‘spouse’) nor a clearly “senior” term, so neither of the regular principles could be employed.

The dyad suffix is also found with two other stems which, though not strictly kin terms, stress that two people are together in some way: *nathawirdinngarrba* (lit. camp-staying-DYAD) ‘two who live together’ and *dulwamgiijurungarrba* ‘two sharing the same country, countrymen’.

A.3.5 Triangular kin terms

These fix the relationship of a particular kinsman with reference to both speaker and hearer simultaneously, and are translatable according to the general template ‘the one who is my X and your Y (you being my Z)’.

Kayardild does not have a complete set of triangular kin terms (see McConvell 1982 for discussion of the much more elaborate system in Gurindji). However, some may be derived by prefixing first person non-singular pronominals to verb roots denoting “actual” kin relations. Thus *ngakinmaanda* ‘begetter of us’ specifies that the referent is father to both speaker and hearer. Because these terms are only possible if both speaker and addressee bear the same relation to the propositus, they are confined to conversation between siblings.

There are also five special triangular terms: *biriida* ‘(man to his son’s child) the one who is my son and your father’; *nganulka* ‘(woman speaker to her son-in-law) the one who is my cross-cousin and your father’; *murrukurnangka* ‘(between a man and his son-in-law) the one who is cross-cousin of one of us, and father of the other’,

karndinmangka '(man to his sister's child) the one who is my sister's child and your sister', *balkaji* '(man to his brother-in-law) the one who is sister to one of us, and sister-in-law to the other'.

Appendix B

The Yukulta Case System

Throughout this grammar I use a different analysis of the Yukulta case system to that in Keen (1972, 1983). The two analyses are compared in Table B-1; the GENitive raises extra problems that are irrelevant here, and is omitted.

Table B-1. Alternative analyses of the Yukulta case system

My analysis			Keen's analysis	
CASE	FORM		CASE	
(All parts of speech)	Non-pronominal	Pronominal	Non-pronominal	Pronominal
ERGative	{-kiya} (=LOC)	∅	ERG/LOCative	NOMinative
ABSolutive	{-ka}	∅	NOMinative	NOMinative
DATive	{-inja}	{-ra}	DATive	BENefactive
LOCative	{-kiya}	{-jiya}	ERG/LOCative	OBJective
ALLative	{-kirlu}	{-jirlu}	ALLative	ALLative
ABLative	{-kinaba}	{-jinaba}	ABLative	ABLative
PROPriative	{-kurlu}	{-kurlu}	COMitative (Derivational)	COMitative (Derivational)
PRIVative	{-warri}	{-warri}	PRIVative (Derivational)	PRIVative (Derivational)

My reanalysis has been motivated by several criteria that, though traditionally employed in descriptions of Indo-European case systems (e.g. Latin, Russian) have only recently become accepted by Australianists since the important papers by Mel'cuk (1979) and Goddard (1982). To quote Goddard's formulation (p. 169), "a case is a class of

nominal forms *which are mutually substitutable in certain syntactic or semantic environments* given that for any two cases, case_i and case_j are formally distinguished by at least one subclass of nominal” (italics mine).

On my analysis all nominals in apposition and all nominals that are mutually substitutable, have the same case. In (10-53), for example, the phrase *ngalawanji burldamurri* (‘we three (OBJECT)’) is glossed as containing two words, each in the LOCative; Keen glosses the pronoun ‘OBJECTive’ and the nominal ‘ERGative/LOCative’. Similarly, the phrase *kirrwa kunawunantha* ‘for you two children’ is parsed by my analysis into two dative words; Keen’s analysis glosses the nominal ‘DATive’ and the pronoun ‘BENefactive’.

A second difference is that I treat the PROPriative (Keen’s COMitative) as a case rather than a derivational suffix. This is a possibility Keen considers but does not adopt. There are two reasons for this: it may mark objects in detransitivized case frames, and it marks the subcategorized arguments of certain verbs (as in K). Both features are more characteristic of cases than derivational suffixes. Also relevant here are the arguments given in 3.4.2 against considering as derivational those suffixes that include an adnominal function, simply because they may be followed by a further suffix.

Finally, note that Yukulta nominals have a truly ergative/absolute, rather than a “tripartite” system (with distinct A, S and O cases), since no nominal subclass formally distinguishes S from O.¹

This is the appropriate point to mention another deviation between my glosses and Keen’s: in the interests of presenting the complex Yukulta facts, I use slightly more transparent labels than in her grammar for the tense/mood categories of the auxiliary. For example, in (10-53) I gloss the auxiliary as ‘PST.IRR’ rather than her ‘FUT’; this is justified by her own analysis (Keen 1983: 223).

¹ The “auxiliary” clitic complex does distinguish A, S and O, but I would argue that it is cross-referencing grammatical functions rather than case. The so-called ‘O’ clitic, for example, may cross-reference the dative arguments of ditransitive verbs (and it is these dative arguments, rather than the ABSolute “object”, that count as object for the purposes of determining “inverse” subject-object combinations). The ‘O’ clitic also cross-references the underlying objects assigned the PROPriative case by the antipassive.

Within Yukulta grammar there seem to be three partly independent systems that reflect grammatical functions: auxiliary cross-referencing, case frames, and verbal inflection for transitivity. The integration of these three systems into a consistent theory of grammatical functions in Yukulta is a task for the future.

Appendix C

The syntactic development of complementized clauses in Lardil

Lardil, like Kayardild, has reflexes of the pT complementized clause system discussed in 12.6. As in K, clauses appear in a special form when modifying an object antecedent; as in K, “object pivots” occur. But phonological changes and syntactic reanalyses have led to important differences, both from K and from pT.¹

As in K, subject-subject sequences go unmarked:

- (C-1) *kiin* *ngawa* [*ngithun-arr* *be-tharr-ku*] *bana* *be-thur*
 thatNOM dogNOM 1sg-MNFOBJ bite-MNF-ACT and bite-FUT

 ngimbenthar
 2sgMNFOBJ

 ‘That dog that bit me will bite you too.’

Object-subject sequences require that the subordinate clause take a complementizing “objective” form in agreement with the main clause object.

- (C-2) *ngada* *yuud=ne-tha* *niween*, [*ne-tharr-ba-nu*
 1sgNOM PERF=hit-UNM 3sgOBJ hit-MNF-COBY-ACT

 ngimben-arr-ba]_{COBJ}
 2sg-MNFOBJ-COBY

 ‘I hit him, who hit you / because he hit you.’
- (C-3) *niya* *kangka-ku* *ngithaan*, [*ma-thu-ru* *nguk-ur-u*]_{COBJ}
 3sgNOM say-ACT 1sg-OBJ get-FUT-COBY water-FOBJ-COBY
 ‘He told me to get water.’

However, the morphology of object forms has been complicated by radical phonological change in L, which has removed the original

¹ Examples are drawn from Hale et al. (1981) and Klokeid (1976, Chapter 24); the latter contains a fuller synchronic analysis than that given here. All examples in this appendix are Lardil unless otherwise specified.

“objective” suffix (once a complementizing DATIVE—see below) from the verb and the nominal arguments of the VP. Instead of the original contrast between unmarked and suffixed forms we have a contrast between truncated and protected forms, since the outer complementizing case suffix, though itself lost through truncation, protected the preceding suffixes. Diagrammatically:

pT			
(Verb)	(NP)	(Verb)	(NP)
Prior (-CDAT)	CONS (-CDAT)	Implicated (-CDAT)	PROPrietive (-CDAT)
<i>-THarrba(-ntha)</i>	<i>-ngarrba(-ntha)</i>	<i>-THurlu(-ntha)</i>	<i>-kurlu(-ntha)</i>
Lardil			
MNF(-COBJ) <i>-tharr(ba)</i>	MNFOBJ(-COBJ) <i>-ngarr(ba)</i>	FUT(-COBJ) <i>-thur(u)</i>	FOBJ(-COBJ) <i>-kur(u)</i>

Figure C-1. Truncation and evolution of the Lardil complementized form

At this point the reader might ask: since the final suffix has been lost, how do we know it was once a dative, rather than, say an ergative/locative, or something else? Fortunately, there is one piece of evidence that it was once a dative: subjects of “objective” clauses, when they appear (C-9, C-10), take a complementizing OBJECTive, which is a reflex of the pT dative. Its appearance on subjects is the last remnant of the old system whereby it appeared on *all* words of the subordinate clause.

LARDIL CONTEMPORANEOUS CLAUSES. Lardil “contemporaneous” clauses are a reflex of the pT and Y “simultaneous” construction, in which the ‘immediate’ inflection *-THi* (further analyseable into thematic *-TH-* plus the LOCative) plus a complementizing dative gave a suppletive form *-THurrka*; objects took a similar suppletive form *-kurrka*,

analyseable into a temporal-complementizing locative plus a coreference-complementizing dative. A Yukulta example is:²

- (C-4) *kurri-ja=kurra-rra* [*murruku-rrka*
 Y see-ACT=1sgO:3duA:PRES woomera-LOC:CDAT
mirrala-th-urrka]CDAT
 make-THEMAT-LOC:CDAT

'They're watching us make a woomera.'

Once again, phonological changes in Lardil have obscured the analysis. Firstly, the pT verb conjugation *-THurrka* has become *-jirr*, through truncation to *-THurr*, selection of one conjugational variant *-jurr* (cf. 7.3), and assimilatory vowel fronting. More confusing is the marking of objects, which now take the Future Objective suffix *-ku(r)*, regardless of main clause tense.

- (C-5) *ngada kurri-ku niween* [*were-jirr-ku*
 1sgNOM see-ACT 3sgOBJ throw-CONTEMP-ACT
wangal-ku]
 boomerang-FOBJ

'I saw him throw the boomerang.'

- (C-6) *ngada lakurri-thu niwentha* [*were-jirr* *wangal-ku*
 1sgNOM watch-FUT 3sg-FOBJ throw-CONTEMP boomerang-FOBJ
 'I will watch him throw the boomerang.'

Presumably the original object marker *-kurrka* was truncated to *-ku(rr)* by regular changes; since this particular suppletive portmanteau appeared nowhere else in the grammar it was no longer analyseable, and was confounded with the near-homophonous Future OBJective suffix. A sole word preserves the *u* of the contemporaneous form: *likurr*, the contemporaneous form of *lika* 'to cry, weep'.

This construction is also used for contemporaneous clauses with no common participants; here the subordinate subject appears, and takes the OBJective:

- (C-7) *ngada kubari-kun wangalk-in, birrngen-in*
 1sgNOM make-ACT boomerang-OBJ woman-OBJ

² The subordinate clause here is complementized with the dative because its antecedent is an object that would be assigned the dative through the detransitive construction triggered by the inverse subject/object combination.

<i>wu-jirr-kun</i>	<i>mangkurdangka-r</i>	<i>werne-ngkur</i>
give-CONTEMP-ACT	child-FOBJ	food-FOBJ

'I made a boomerang, while the woman gave food to the child.'

As with Future and Marked Non Future subordinate clauses, the OBJECTive form of the subject is the sole relict of what was once a complementizing Dative inflected on every word of the clause.

The above changes have greatly complicated Lardil grammar. The form of pT SIMULTaneous clauses was derivable from two independently-needed rules—one distributing the complementizing Dative to all words of the subordinate clause, and a suppletion rule converting the sequence LOC:DAT into the portmanteau *-kurrka*. But Lardil needs three special rules:

- (a) A rule assigning the now-unanalyseable CONTEMPoraneous suffix *-jirr*.
- (b) An unmotivated rule assigning the OBJECTive to the subordinate subject.
- (c) A rule assigning the Future OBJECTive to the clausal object, even when the clause is past.

OTHER PIVOT COMBINATIONS. In Kayardild all "odd pivot" combinations (where the pivot is not subject of both clauses) are formally identical, requiring the "complementized form" of the clause (see 12.2). The only distinction is in which arguments are omitted from the subordinate clause. But this distinction is not absolute: pivot NPs may be repeated in the subordinate clause (e.g. 12-5), and non-pivot NPs may be anaphorically omitted (e.g. 12-31).

Lardil differs from K in two ways, which result in the pivot combination being more highly specified than in K: (a) the "objective" form of the clause in L is confined to pivots controlled by object antecedents; (b) L has introduced special relational-case rules for subordinate subjects that are not pivots, in the form of the GENitive case for non-pronouns and the POSSessive form for pronominals. The finer characterization of pivot combinations that results from (a) and (b) is summarized in Figure C-2 and discussed below.

INNOVATION OF SPECIAL MARKING FOR NON-PIVOT SUBORDINATE SUBJECT. In K, non-pivot subordinate subjects are not specially marked. But Lardil has innovated a special case assignment rule for them,

Function of pivot		Form of subordinate clause	
Matrix	Subordinate	K	L
Subj	Subj	Unmarked	Unmarked form of clause
Obj	Subj	Comp. case	Objective form of clause
Obj	Obj	Comp. case	Objective form of clause; Subject takes Genitive/poss. pronoun
Subj	Obj	Comp. case	Unmarked form of clause; Subject takes Genitive/poss. pronoun.

Figure C-2. Marking of pivot combinations in Kayardild and Lardil

probably by analogy with the demoted agents of passives, which take the same case: GENitive if non-pronominal, possessive form if pronominal:

(C-8) *karaan-tha ngani wangal, [ngithun / thabuji-kan*
 where-NOW thatNOM boomerangNOM 1sgPOSS EB-GEN

kubari-tharr-ku]
 make-MNF-ACT

‘Where is the boomerang, which I / big brother made?’

DEPENDENCE OF “OBJECTIVE” CLAUSE FORM ON OBJECT ANTECEDENT. We saw in (C-2) and (C-3) that sentences where the pivot is a subordinate subject and a matrix object take the objective form. So do those where the pivot is object of both clauses; these are further distinguished by GENitive/possessive marking of the de-pivotal subject:

(C-9) *ngada kurri-thur wangalk-ur, [ngimben-in*
 1sgNOM see-FUT rang-FOBJ 2sgPOSS-COBJ

barrki-tharr-ba-nu]OBJ
 chop-MNF-COBY-ACT

‘I want to see the boomerang which you chopped.’

- (C-10) *kara nyingki kurri-ku kiin-i thungal-i, [ngithun-i*
 Q 2sgNOM see-ACT that-OBJ tree-OBJ 1sgPOSS-COBL
*kirdi-thu-ru]*COBL
 chop-FUT-COBL

'Do you see that tree, which I am going to cut down?'

As in K (but not Y—see 12.6.1) this is a genuine case of an object pivot: the "objective" form of the subordinate clause cannot be attributed to the lack of a matrix antecedent for the subordinate subject. This is shown by the use of the objective clause in situations where the two clauses share both subjects and objects, but the object is pivot:

- (C-11) *ngada jani-jani-kun [ngithun-in ra-tharr-ba]*COBL
 1sgNOM search-REDUP-ACT 1sgPOSS-COBL spear-MNF-COBL
karnjin-in
 wallaby-OBJ

'I looked for the wallaby which I speared.'

Where the pivot is object of the subordinate but subject of the main clause, the subordinate clause is unmarked, since its antecedent is not an object. The de-pivotal subordinate subject takes the GENitive/possessive, as in (C-8) above.

Insofar as the objective form of Lardil clauses is based strictly on antecedent-agreement, Lardil is closer to pT than K is. Although the case system has changed, the basic principle of antecedent agreement which underpinned the pT system has been retained.

A further L innovation is the limitation of the OBJective form to subordinate clauses from which the pivot has actually been omitted (Where the pivot appears in the subordinate clause, it takes the nominative). In K such clauses are complementized regardless of whether the pivot is omitted:³

- (C-12) *ngada kurri-thur wangalk-ur, ngimben barrki-tharr-kun*
 1sgNOM see-FUT boomerang-FOBJ 2sgPOSS chop-MNF-ACT
wangal
 boomerangNOM

'I want to see the boomerang which you chopped.'

³ Because such clauses must have one argument unexpressed under identity with the argument of another clause they are, par excellence, what Simpson—Bresnan (1983) call "controlled clauses".

- (C-13) *ngada kurri-thur wangalk-ur, [ngimben-in*
 1sgNOM see-FUT boomerang-FOBJ 2sgPOSS-COBJ
*barrki-tharr-ba-nu]*COBJ
 chop-MNF-COBJ-ACT

'I want to see the boomerang which you chopped.'

USE OF UNMARKED CLAUSE WHERE THERE IS NO COMMON ARGUMENT. In fact, Lardil has even stricter rules of antecedent agreement than Yukulta. Recall (12.6.1) that dative-complementized clauses are used in Y under the "obviative" condition where no matrix antecedent exists for the subordinate subject; this cannot be attributed to pure antecedent agreement. This condition is preserved as the "no common argument" condition on complementizing case in K.

In L, however, such clauses do not take the objective form. For example, "causal" subordinate clauses, which take the Marked Non Future, and Purpose clauses, which take the FUTure, appear in the unmarked form, even if they share no arguments with the main clause:

- (C-14) *ngithun thabu diin-kiya-thur, dulnhu*
 1sgPOSS EB(NOM) here-V.I.ALL-POT month.fishNOM
bira-tharr-kun
 arrive-MNF-ACT

'My older brother will come here, because the month-fish have arrived.'

- (C-15) *ngada kubari-kun maarn-in, ngithun thabu ra-thur*
 1sgNOM make-ACT spear-OBJ 1sgPOSS EB(NOM) spear-FUT
karnjin-kur
 wallaby-FOBJ

'I made a spear, so my brother could spear a wallaby.'

SUBORDINATE OBJECT-PIVOT CONSTRUCTION BECOMES MAIN CLAUSE OBJECT-TOPIC. A final difference between K and L that can be attributed to L's strict interpretation of antecedent agreement involves the different form of "object-topic" clauses in L.

As in K, these have evolved via insubordination of subordinate clauses with object pivots. But in L, matrix object-topic constructions have shed the subordinate clause marking which K has preserved in the form of complementizing case. The shedding of complementizing case can be attributed to the lack of an object antecedent once the clauses were insubordinated. Functionally, this was possible in L because the

topicalization of objects could be signalled by the newly-developed GENitive/possessive marking on the de-pivotal subject:

(C-16) *diin thawa bidngen-ngan ne-tharr-kun*
 thisNOM ratNOM woman-GEN kill-MNF-ACT
 'This rat the woman killed.'

(C-17) *diin ngarrka ngithun dulde-thur*
 thisNOM wellNOM 1sgPOSS dig-FUT
 'This well is the one I want to dig.'

Because these clauses have shed all trace of subordinate morphology, there is no synchronic reason in L for treating them as a subordinate clause type. Indeed, Klokeid (1976) derives the corresponding subordinate clause type from topicalized main clauses rather than vice-versa.

SUMMARY. Although the Lardil system of "objective" vs unmarked subordinate clauses clearly derives from the pT system discussed in 12.6, it has developed in a different direction to the "complementized clause" system found in K:

(a) Lardil "objective clauses", which correspond to complementized clauses in pT, are used only when the pivot is a matrix object. This preserves the pT "antecedent agreement" principle, despite the change in the overall case system. The "obviative" condition, which in Y represented a deviation from strict antecedent-agreement, does not trigger the objective form in Lardil subordinate clauses.

(b) Like K, Lardil allows object pivots and topics. Unlike K, it assigns a special relational case to de-pivotal or de-topicalized subjects; this development allowed the object-pivot construction to be generalized to main clauses without the accompanying complementizing case.

Developments (a) and (b) mean that L has a distinct subordinate clause type for each of the pivot combinations Subj-Subj, Subj-Obj, Obj-Subj and Obj-Obj. K, by contrast, only has two subordinate clause types: uncomplementized, for Subj-Subj conditions, and complementized, for all others.

(c) Phonological change has obscured the morphosyntax of the pT/Y/K -*THurrka* construction, so that in L it is no longer analyseable as an "immediate" clause plus a complementizing case. The old nominal LOC:DAT portmanteau -*kurrka*, reduced by truncation to -*ku(rr)*, has been confused with the Future OBJective -*ku(r)*. This has left the resultant

construction with an idiosyncratic case assignment rule, marking subjects with the OBJECTive (=pT *complementizing* dative) and objects with the Future OBJECTive.

Overall, the most significant difference between the L and K systems is that the former is based on an “antecedent agreement” rule (as in pT), the latter on the “odd pivot” rule described in 12.2. There are good historical reasons why the antecedent agreement principle should have been retained in L but not K: they have to do with which case came to mark objects once the pT case system was abandoned (10.4.2): the old DATIVE in L, the old LOCative in K.

O* indicates underlying objects assigned the dative by the General Detransitive Frame

Stage 1: pT

Antecedent	A	S	O	O*	IO
Case of antecedent	Erg	Abs	Abs	Dat	Dat
Complementizing case	Erg	∅	∅	Dat	Dat

Stage 2: pre-Lardil (after change to accusative case-marking, but with old rules for complementizing case)

Antecedent	A	S	O	IO
Case of antecedent	Nom	Nom	*Dat	*Dat
Complementizing case	Erg	∅	Dat	Dat

Stage 3: modern Lardil

Antecedent	A	S	O/IO
Case of antecedent	Nom	Nom	Obj (*Dat)
Complementizing case	∅	∅	Obj (*Dat)

Figure C-3. Remodelling the antecedent-agreement principle in pre-Lardil

In pre-K, the LOCative case assigned to objects bore no relation to the DATive complementizing case assigned to clauses with OBJECT antecedents. There was therefore no reason to analyse the complementizing case suffixes as a form of antecedent agreement, and a new set of rules were made, along the lines suggested in 12.6.2.

In pre-L, on the other hand, objects and indirect objects took the DATive, which was identical with the complementizing case assigned to the subordinate clause.⁴ There were thus grounds for postulating a remodelled antecedent agreement system, and extending it to the one instance where antecedent and complementizing case did not coincide—clauses with antecedent transitive subjects.⁵

The seemingly unimportant fact, described in 10.4.2.2, that Lardil took the old DATive as the new case for objects, while K took the old LOCative, has thus had enormous repercussions in quite a different part of the grammar—the organization of cross-clausal reference tracking.

⁴ I am assuming here, for reasons given in 12.4.1.2, that at the time Lardil developed its accusative case system only the dative could be assigned to objects by the General Detransitivized Case Frame, and that the possibility of LOCative marking on objects was a later development.

⁵ I have deliberately avoided reconstructing the situation with “obviative” clauses, since we cannot know whether the option of marking them with the dative was present in pT and abandoned in later L developments, or developed after Lardil split off, which is the minimum date set by the presence of reflexes in Y and K.

Texts

Below is a range of texts recorded and transcribed between 1982 and 1993 from a variety of Kayardild speakers, as well as a transcript of the only recorded Yangkaal text. In most cases they represent a verbatim transcript of spontaneous spoken material, although in a few places I have made noted alterations or additions suggested by the speaker on listening to the tape.

As a sample of spoken Kayardild genres I believe it to be reasonably representative, except that I have so far been unable to transcribe to my satisfaction any examples of the rapid, polyphonic story-telling style normal when several old women—often co-wives—tell a single story together. Such styles employ the resources of complementizing case with greater frequency than any other; unfortunately the old women who tell them are not interested in the slow job of transcribing conversation, and the younger people find such language “too hard”. However Text 11, which is a sample argument staged for my amusement by several old Kaiadilt women, exhibits a comparable degree of grammatical complexity; the argument was easier to transcribe than polyphonic stories because such arguments are so ritualised that the participants virtually know their lines by heart.

In addition to the normal glosses and conventions used in this grammar, note the following. Lines are numbered absolutely within a text, without bracket. Commas and line breaks represent the basic units of text, but numbering of lines is for convenience of reference only and no analytic significance should be attached to this. Apart from this, and the use of English-style punctuation, I have not represented intonation or voice-quality in the transcripts; I hope to publish more detailed transcriptions at a later date.

A cassette, entitled ‘Kayardild sample texts’ and containing Texts 1, 3, 5, 8 and 11, has been deposited with Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, GPO Box 553, Canberra City, ACT 2601, Australia.

1 Darwin Moodooonuthi: The cave at Wamakurld

This text, recorded in July 1982, recounts the fatal consequences of an expedition made to Bentinck Island in the early 1960s with two Europeans. It has become a modern myth, and is constantly repeated to children to demonstrate the importance of following the old law, and as a warning against further European intrusion into secret/sacred places.

In this first text the opening few lines are given in the following format:

dólmarè	dáŋkà:	[phonetic]
ɬulmara	ɬaŋka:	[phonemic]
<i>dul-marra</i>	<i>dangka-a</i>	[practical orthography]
land-UTIL	man-NOM	[interlinear gloss]
'The boss of that place'		[free translation]

1	wámagòɬɬ	dátine	dólke	wárà:ɬàɾɪ
	wamakuɬɬ	ɬaɬina	ɬulka	wara:ɬari
	<i>Wamakurlda.</i>	<i>dathin-a</i>	<i>dulk-a</i>	<i>warra-a-jarri,</i>
	(place name)	that-NOM	place-NOM	go-M-NEGACT

béɬdijjeɬ	dólk	béɬdijjeɬ	dól?
piɬiya	ɬulk	piɬiya	ɬul
<i>birdi-ya</i>	<i>dulk</i>	<i>birdi-ya</i>	<i>dul..</i>
bad-NOM	place(NOM)	bad-NOM	place(NOM)

'Wamakurld. That place was never gone to, it's a bad place. A bad pla...'

[A recurring theme of the story is unauthorized trespassing. Grammatically, this results in a number of passivized motion verbs, such as *warraajjarri* here, which express the ill effects of motion on a place.]

2	dólmarè	dáŋkà:	wárà:ɬàɾɪ	márwàɟ	márwàɟ
	ɬulmara	ɬaŋka:	wara:ɬari	marway	marway
	<i>dul-marra</i>	<i>dangka-a</i>	<i>warra-jarri</i>	<i>marrwa-y,</i>	<i>marrwa-y</i>
	land-UTIL	man-NOM	go-NEGACT	near-MLOC	near-MLOC
	'The boss of that place never went near (it).'				

3	wárà:	wáræɬ	wárà:	ɬ ^θ óŋkò
	wara:	waratɬ	wara:	ɬuŋku
	<i>warra-a</i>	<i>warra-j,</i>	<i>warra-a</i>	<i>thungku</i>
	far-NOM	go-ACT	far-NOM	mangrove.scrub(NOM)
	'Far away he walked, (in) the far scrub.'			

- 4 *ɟáɟòmbànt* *ɟáɟòmpàntɛ* *wárà:* *wáræje wámbàli* *wáràɟ*
ɟaɟumpant *ɟaɟumpanta* *wara:* *waraya wampali* *waratɟ*
rar-umban-d, *rar-umban-da* *warra-a,* *warra-ya wambal-i* *warra-j*
south-ORIG-NOM south-ORIG-NOM far-NOM far-LOC bush-LOC go-ACT
‘(People) from the south (stayed) far off, walked in the scrub far off.’
- 5 *ɟórgɔɟòmbànt* *ɟóŋkɔwàja* *wáràɟ*
ɟurkuɟumpant¹ *ɟuŋkuwaya* *waratɟ*
jurrkur-umban-d, *thungkuwa-ya* *warra-j*
north-ORIG-NOM mangrove.scrub-LOC go-ACT
‘(People) from the north went through the scrub.’
- 6 *ɟije* *ɟólòŋk* *báíòmbànde* *ɟá^ɟdèj* *ɟóŋkɔwàj*
ɟiya *ɟulɔŋk* *palumpanta* *ɟatɟiy* *ɟuŋkuway*
ri-ya, *rul-ung-k,* *bal-umban-da* *jardi-y,* *thungkuwa-y*
east-NOM east-ALL-NOM west-ORIG-NOM mob-NOM scrub-LOC
‘In the east, going east, the western mob (stayed) in the mangrove scrub.’
- 7 *ɟólòmbànde* *ɟá^ɟdije* *ɟóŋkɔwàje* *ɟá:t*
ɟulumpanta *ɟatɟiya* *ɟuŋkuwaya* *ɟa:t*
rul-umban-da *jardi-ya* *thungkuwa-ya* *thaa-th*
east-ORIG-NOM mob-NOM scrub-MLOC return-ACT
‘The eastern mob came back through the scrub.’
- 8 *ŋól mòwa* *ɟúŋ* *ŋól mòwa^ɟ* *ɟáŋkà:*
ŋulmuwa *ɟuŋ* *ŋulmuwa* *ɟaŋka:*
ngulmu-wa *thung..,* *ngulmu-wa* *dangka-a,*
deadly-NOM thing deadly-NOM person-NOM
‘(It’s) deadly stuff, (they’re) deadly people (there).’
- 9 *márwà:* *wárà:nàŋkɔ*
marwa: *wara:nàŋku*
marrwa-a *warra-a-nangku*
close-NOM go-M-NEG.POT
‘Nearby mustn’t be gone to.’
- 10 *ɟólkà:nmèrɟólkà:nta* *mírà:*
yulka:nmirayulka:nta *mira:*
yulkaan-mirra-yulkaan-da *mirra-a*
eternal-INTENS- eternal-NOM good-NOM
‘(That’s the way it’s) always been.’
[Literally: ‘Absolutely always (it had been) good’. (The law was observed.)]

¹ Exceptionally, this word exhibits vowel harmony here—it is normally pronounced *jirrkurumbanda*.

- 11 *dangka-diya-n-d, bath-urrnga jatha-a ngilirr*
 man-eat-N-NOM west-BOUND other-NOM caveNOM
 '(There are) man-eaters, on the west side (of the saltpan), another cave.'

12 *jathaa ngilirra bathurrng*
 'Another cave on the west side.'

- 13 *dangka-diya-n-da kandu-diya-n-d*
 person-eat-N-NOM blood-eat-N-NOM
 'Devourers of people's blood.'

[Note the prefixation to the verb of both whole and part here— see 6.3.5.]

- 14 *ri-ngurrng, kurirr-u dangka-wu, dangka-kuru-lu-n-d*
 east-BOUND dead-PROP man-PROP man-dead-FAC-N-NOM
 'The eastern side (of the saltpan) can have a lot of dead men, (it's) a man-killer.'

[Here the PROPriative expresses "potential association": the cave is potentially the cause of death. See 4.3.3.5.]

- 15 *jatha-a ngilirr-a ri-ngurrng, jatha-a bath-urrng*
 one-NOM cave-NOM east-BOUND one-NOM west-BOUND
 '(There's) one cave on the east side (of the saltpan), and one on the west side.'

- 16 *bath-urrnga-wan-da jardi dangka-diya-n-d,*
 west-BOUND-ORIG-NOM mobNOM person-eat-N-NOM

kandu-diya-n-d
 blood-eat-N-NOM

'The ones from the west side are eaters of men's blood.'

[Those from the east kill in another way—by wasting the muscles of the transgressor.]

- 17 *kandu-burri-j-- kandu-burri-jarrma-tha kuru-lu-th*
 blood-emerge-ACT blood-emerge-CAUS-ACT dead-FAC-ACT
 'Blood comes out-- (they) kill (people) by sucking their blood out.'

- 18 *yulkaan-da mirra-a ngunguk*
 eternal-NOM good-NOM story-NOM
 '(That's) the eternal truth.'

- 19 *dathin-a dulk-a warra-a-jarri, ngilirr*
 that-NOM place-NOM go-M-NEG.ACT caveNOM
 'that place wasn't gone to, the cave.'

- 20 *buthan-ji yaar-i*
 previous-LOC year-LOC
 'Some time ago ..'

- 21 *waydbala kurri-ju dath. marrwa raba-tha dathin-ki*
white manNOM see-POT tha.. clo. tread-ACT that-MLOC

dulk-i, buthan-da dangka-a, buthan-da jardi,
place-MLOC previous-NOM person-NOM previous-NOM mobNOM

raba-tharri
tread-NEG.ACT

‘Some white men wanted to see tha.. close.. they defiled that place, olden-time people, the old-time mob, never set foot there.’

[*Rabatha*, literally ‘tread on’, is frequently used with the sense ‘transgress on’ or ‘defile’ (a place).]

- 22 *raba-a-jarri ngarii-j, yuujban-da dangka-a raba-tharri*
tread-M-ACT before-ACT old time-NOM person-NOM tread-NEG.ACT
‘It was never defiled before, the old time people never defiled (it).’

- 23 *bal-umban-da raba-tharri, jirrkur-umban-da raba-tharri,*
west-ORIG-NOM trespass-NEG.ACT north-ORIG-NOM tread-NEG.ACT

rul-umban-da raba-tharri,
east-ORIG-NOM trespass-NEG.ACT

‘The western (mob) didn’t defile (it), the northern (mob) didn’t defile (it), the eastern (mob) didn’t defile (it).’

- 24 *warra-a bi-l-da wurdiyalaaj*
far-NOM 3-pl-NOM travel-ACT
‘They travelled about far away.’

- 25 NE: ‘Want to say about what Tindale did, with the gun?’

- 26 *daluru-daluru niya bala-th, dathin-a waydbala,*
gunNOM 3sgNOM shoot-ACT that-NOM white.manNOM
‘He shot (his) gun, that white man.’

- 27 *kiyarrng-ka waydbala, kiyarrng-ka waydbala dathin-ki*
two-NOM white manNOM two-NOM white manNOM that-MLOC

warra-j
go-ACT

‘Two white men, two white men went to that (place).’

- 28 *nga-la-wan-ji dangka-ya kurrka-th*
1-pl-POSS-MLOC man-MLOC take-ACT
‘(They) took our man (with them).’

29 *jatha-ya dangka-y, dathin-man-ji dangka-y,*
 other-MLOC man-MLOC there-ORIG-MLOC man-MLOC

dul-marra-ya dangka-y
 place-UTIL-MLOC person-MLOC

'Another man, the man from there, the boss of that place.'

30 *niya dul-marr, jirrkur-umban-d, Bukarnayarrbungathi,*
 3sgNOM country-ORIG north-ORIG-NOM Bukarnayarrbungathi
 'He was the boss, a northerner, *Bukarnayarrbungathi*.'

31 *Bukarnayarrbungathi, dulk-uru dangka-a*
 (nameNOM) place-PROP person-NOM
 '*Bukarnayarrbungathi*², the boss of the place.'

32 *dathin-ki dulk-iiwa-th, jirrkur-umban-d, Rukuthi-waan-d*
 that-MLOC earth-VALL-ACT north-ORIG-NOM (place)-ORIG-NOM
 '(He) was born at that (place), was a northerner, from Rukuthi (Oak-Tree point).'

[*Dulkiiwatha*, literally 'become on the earth' or 'become at the country', is the usual term for 'be born' when discussing the territorial rights conferred by birthplace.]

33 *karn-kuru niya bala-th, dathin-ki -*
 gun-PROP 3sgNOM shoot-ACT that-MLOC

dalururdaluru niya bala-th
 gunNOM 3sgNOM shoot-ACT

'He (one of the white men) shot with his gun, shot his gun.'

34 *dathin-ki ngilirr-i*
 that-(M)LOC cave-(M)LOC
 '(In) that cave.'

[Here, as always with locatives in the instantiated modality, we cannot tell whether the LOCative case marks an object ('shot the cave') or a location ('shot in the cave').]

35 *mutha-a yalulu burri-j, mutha-a yalulu*
 many-NOM flameNOM emerge-ACT many-NOM flameNOM
 'Many flames came out, many flames.'

² The *u* before the *-ngathi* suffix is unexpected here—the name of his birth place is *Bukarnayarrba*.

- 36 *yandabanda raba-a-ja dathin-a ngilirr*
nowNOM tread-M-ACT that-NOM caveNOM
'And now that cave was trodden in.'
- 37 *birdi-ya dulk, dangka-kuru-lu-n-d*
bad-NOM placeNOM man-dead-FAC-N-NOM
'(It's a) bad place, a man-killer.'
- 38 *dathin-ki dulk-i warra-ja dulk-i*
that-MLOC place-MLOC go-ACT place-MLOC
'(And he) went to that place, to the place.'
- 39 *warngiid-a waldarra wirdi-j, warngiid-a waldarra wirdi-j*
one-NOM moonNOM stay-ACT one-NOM moonNOM stay-ACT
'One month passed, another month passed.'
- 40 *jardi-ya ngilirr-i raba-th*
back-MLOC cave-MLOC tread-ACT
'(They'd) trampled all around the back of the cave.'
- 41 *wuran-ki diya-j, dangka-a*
food-MLOC eat-ACT person-NOM
'And eaten food there, the man.'
- 42 *"maraka raba-nangku dathin-ku dulk-u"*
CNTRFCT tread-NEG.POT that-MPROP place-MPROP
'[Someone said to him:] "(You) shouldn't have set foot in that place!"'
- 43 *marrwa-ya dali-j, dul-marra dangka-a marrwa-ya dali-j,*
close-LOC come-ACT place-UTIL person-NOM close-LOC come-ACT
dulk-uru dangka-a
place-PROP person-NOM
'(They) had come close, the boss of that place had come close, the owner.'
- 44 *minyi thaa-tha natha-ya bartha-y*
towards return-ACT camp-LOC home-LOC
'(He) came back to his home camp (on Mornington).'
- 45 *ngarrku-ru kandu burri-j, ngarrku-ru kandu*
strong-PROP bloodNOM emerge-ACT strong-PROP bloodNOM
burri-j
emerge-ACT
'His blood come out copiously, his blood came out copiously.'

[*Ngarrkuru* 'strongly' is one of two manner-type nominals formed with the PROPrietary case. (The other is *kantarrkuru* 'alone'.)]

- 46 (*jatha-a dangka-a natha-wan-da bartha-wan-da*
 another-NOM man-NOM camp-ORIG-NOM home-ORIG-NOM
kamburi-j:)
 say-ACT
 ‘Another man from the home camp said (to him):’³
- 47 “*nyingka raba-tha dathin-ki ngilirr-i rar!*”
 2sgNOM tread-ACT that-MLOC cave-MLOC southNOM
 ‘“You defiled that cave (when in the) south (i.e. on Bentinck).”’
- 48 “*dathin-ki ra-ngurmg raba-tha ngilirr-i!*”
 that-MLOC south-BOUND tread-ACT cave-MLOC
 ‘“At that (place), on Rangurmg (Bentinck Island) you defiled the cave.”’
- 49 “*nyingka marrwa-ya wuran-ki dathin-ki diya-j!*”
 2sgNOM near-LOC food-MLOC that-MLOC eat-ACT
 ‘“You ate food nearby, at that (place).”’

[Bukarnayarrbungathi died two months later, from a mysterious stomach illness.]

³ Line 46 was added later for clarity.

2 Dugal Goongarra: Kajurku

Kajurku is one of the two main malevolent beings in Kaiadilt mythology. (The other is the lecherous mud-dwelling Barrindindi who, to satisfy her appetite, steals young boys for weeks and then mysteriously returns them). As is typical in Kayardild discourse, he is not referred to here by name, but simply as *dathina dangkaa* ‘that fellow’. The text was recorded in August 1982.

Kajurku, his usual name, also refers to the murex shell, whose spines resemble the spears thrown at Kajurku. Another common appellation is *kukaliinkuru*, literally ‘the one who will be bounced off’ (11.2.10.1).

1 *ra-yin-da thula-tha tharda-a manharr-u*
south-FROM-NOM go down-ACT shoulder-NOM torch-PROP
‘(A night fisherman) went down from the south, a bark torch on his shoulder.’

2 *wuu-ja kamarr-i manharr-u-j*
put-ACT stone-MLOC torch-VDON-ACT
‘(He) put his bark torch down on a stone.’

3 *manharr-i karna-ja ni, manharr-iy*
torch-MLOC light-ACT 3sgNOM torch-MLOC
‘Then (he) lit the torch. (To attract the fish).’

4 *yalulu, jungarra yalulu burri-j*
flameNOM bigNOM flameNOM come out-ACT
‘Flames, big flames flared up.’

5 *mutha-a yakuri-ya ri-in-d*
many-NOM fish-NOM east-FROM-NOM
‘Many fish came up from the east.’

[No motion verb is needed with the ‘from’ series of compass locationals.]

6 *ngurruwarra-ya bal-ung-k wurdu-ya thaa-th*
fishtrap-LOC west-ALL-NOM comer-LOC return-ACT
‘westwards they came back round the corner of the fishtrap.’

7 *dathin-a dangka-a niya wirdi-j*
that-NOM fellow-NOM 3sgNOM remain-ACT
‘That fellow (Kajurku) was waiting’

8 *wurdu-ya ngurruwarra-y, jardi-ya ngurruwarra-y*
corner-LOC fishtrap-LOC behind-LOC fishtrap-LOC
‘at the corner behind the fishtrap.’

- 9 *ril-ung-ka kadaaaaa*
east-ALL-NOM agaiiiiin
'(The fisherman) went back east again.'
- 10 *mar-maru-tha mijil-i, yalawu-j, barrbiru-th*
hand-put-ACT net-MLOC scoop up-ACT lift high-ACT
'took a net in his hand, scooped up (the fish), lifted the net up high.'
- 11 *bilarri-ja thaa-tha rar-ung-k*
empty-ACT return-ACT south-ALL-NOM
'went south to empty (the net).'

[Note the "motion complex" here, in which *thaa-tha* is leached of its 'return' meaning: the whole means 'go off to V (and return)'. See 8.2.2.]

- 12 *wuu-j, jirrk-a thaa-th,*
put-ACT north-NOM return-ACT
'put (the fish down), went back north.'
- 13 *yalawu-ja jirrk-a wurdu-y*
scoop-ACT north-NOM corner-LOC
'scooped (some more fish) in the north, at the corner.'
- 14 *jirrk-a-da kulma-j,*
north-FROM-NOM carry-ACT
'carried (them) back from the north.'
- 15 *niid-a ngankirr-a warngiid-a*
same-NOM pile-NOM one-NOM
'(put them on the) same one pile.'
- 16 *ril-ung-ka thaa-tha ni*
east-ALL-NOM return-ACT 3sgNOM
'Back to the east he went.'
- 17 *ri-in-da thaa-thu kuri-l-ii-ju bath-u*
east-FROM-NOM return-POT dead-FAC-M-POT west-MPROP
wurdu-uru
corner-MPROP

'Coming back from the east (he'll) be killed at the west corner.'

[Here the narrator uses the potential in an anticipatory aside.]

- 18 *yalawu-ja=rna jirrk-a junku-wa bal-ung-ka kirrk*
scoop-ACT=now lift-ACT straight-NOM west-ALL-NOM noseNOM
'(He) scoops (some more fish) up now, facing due west.'

- 19 *bath-in-da dangka-a niya rabi-j*
west-FROM-NOM fellow-NOM 3sgNOM step up-ACT
'From the west the fellow steps up now.'
- 20 *junkuwa-tha buru-tha niwan-ji kirrk-i, kirrk-i, kurirr*
meet-ACT grab-ACT 3sg-MLOC face-MLOC face-MLOC deadNOM
'Meets him and grabs him by the face; by the face, and (he's) dead.'
- 21 *walmathi-wan-da dangka-a dumu-wan-da kurri-ja*
up high-ORIG-NOM person-NOM dune-ORIG-NOM look-ACT
natha-wan-d
camp-ORIG-NOM
'The people from up high looked from the sandhills, from their camp.'
- 22 *manarr-warri-y, warirra-y, yalulu-warri-y. kurirr.*
torch-PRIV-MLOC nothing-MLOC flame-PRIV-MLOC deadNOM
'(They saw) no bark torch, nothing, no flames. (He) was dead.'
- 23 *ra-yin-da thula-thi jawi-ji,*
south-FROM-NOM go.down-IMMED run-IMMED
'From the south (they) run down now,'
- 24 *maran-urru-da wumburu-nurru-da marl-d*
pronged.spear-ASSOC-SAME barbed.spear-ASSOC-SAME hand-NOM
'pronged spears and barbed spears in their hands.'
- 25 *kaba-tha dathin-ki dangka-y wara-dangka-wuru-y*
find-ACT that-MLOC fellow-MLOC mouth-man-PROP-MLOC
'(They) found that fellow with the man in his mouth,'
- 26 *dangka-nurru-ya wara-y*
man-ASSOC-MLOC mouth-MLOC
'with his mouth full of man.'
- [In another version, Kajurku audaciously challenges the men to come and try spearing him.]
- 27 *raa-ja dii-j*
spear-ACT sit-ACT
'(They) kept spearing (at him).'
- 28 *dathin-a ril-ung-ka raa-ja kurdala-tha kurrka-th*
there-NOM east-ALL-NOM spear-ACT stab-ACT grab-ACT
'There going east (they) speared and stabbed and grabbed (at him).'
- 29 *wanjii-ja ring-urrng, wanjii-ja ring-urrng, Ngarnari-y*
go up-ACT east-FACE go up-ACT east-BOUND Place name-LOC
'(He) came up at the eastern side (Sweers Island) at Ngarnariy.'

[*Ringurrnga* is one traditional name for Sweers Island, which defines the eastern boundary of the intervening channel. See 5.3.4.9.]

- 30 *Ngarnari-ya wanjii-ja ri-ngurrng*
place name-LOC go up-ACT east-BOUND
'Up onto Sweers Island at Ngarnariy.'
- 31 *yubuyubu-ya junkuwa-tha jirrkur-umban-d, ril-umban-da dathin-ki*
path-MLOC meet-ACT north-ORIG-NOM east-ORIG-NOM that-MLOC
'The northern and eastern (mobs) crossed that one's path.'

[In the following four lines the POTential is used to express repetition.
Cf. English "would" in the translation.]

- 32 *kurdala-a-ju dathin-ku ril-ung-ku*
stab-M-POT there-MPROP east-ALL-PROP
'(He) would be stabbed at going east there.'
- 33 *ngudi-i-ju, maran-da jurbu-l-ii-ju*
throw-M-POT prong spear-NOM sharp-FAC-M-POT
'(He) would be thrown (spears) at, the pronged spears would be sharpened up.'
- 34 *barnkaldi-ju jurbu-lu-thu*
sit.down.cross.legged-POT sharp-FAC-POT
'(They) would sit down to sharpen up (their spears) again.'
- 35 *thula-thu ri-wu, thula-thu ri-wu*
go down-POT east-MPROP go down-POT east-MPROP
'(They) would go down to the east, go down to the east.'
- 36 *ri-ya thula-tha kabara-y*
east-NOM go down-ACT saltpan-MLOC
'(They) went down to the saltpan in the east.'
- 37 *ril-umban-da jardi-y, junkuwa-th, rar-umban-d,*
east-ORIG-NOM mob-NOM join-ACT south-ORIG-NOM
jirrkur-umban-d
north-ORIG-NOM
'The eastern mob, south mob, north mob, they all joined up.'
- 38 *kaba-nangku, kuru-lu-nangku niwan-ju*
find-NEG.POT dead-FAC-NEG.POT 3sg-MPROP
'But (they) couldn't hit home, couldn't kill him.'

In another version *Kajurku* goes underwater and emerges on Sweers Island, where he lights a fire to show he is still alive.

Norman Tindale (p.c.) has suggested that the original Kajurku was a Macassan ship that temporarily abducted a Kaiadilt man, later dropping him off on Sweers Island. Certainly this would explain Kajurku's impenetrability, and the fact that he could hold a man in his mouth (perhaps the ship's bows).

3 Roma Kelly: The McKenzie massacre

This text, told to Roma Kelly by her parents and recounting events that occurred around 1918, was recorded in 1984. For fuller discussion of the incident see Kelly—Evans (1985) and references therein.

- 1 *rukuthi mutha-ya dangka-ya mala-maru-th dathina-wala*
place name many-MLOC person-MLOC sea-VD-ACT that-LOTNOM

do:g
dog

'At Rukuthi those dogs forced many (Kaiadilt) people into the sea.'

- 2 *do:g durrwa-j, dangka-wala jarii-j*
dog chase-ACT person-LOTNOM run away-ACT
'the dogs chased (them), many people.'

- 3 *yuuma-tha mutha-a dangka-a* people, *kunawun*
drown-ACT many-NOM person-NOM childNOM
'Lots of people drowned, and children.'

- 4 *yuuma-th, dathin-ki thungal-i warna-j, dathin-kuru*
drown-ACT that-MLOC thing-MLOC dislike-ACT that-PROP

bala-a-nyarr
shoot-M-APPR

'(They) drowned, (they) didn't like that thing, might get shot by it,'

- 5 *dathin-ki dalurudaluru warna-j, bayi-wuru jardi-ya*
that-MLOC gun dislike-ACT fight-PROP mob-NOM

warna-j,
dislike-ACT

'didn't like that gun, didn't like that warlike mob, and '

[*Dal.uru.daluru*, though a native Kayardild word analysable as [thundercrack-PROP-REDUP] is always indeclinable (quite irregularly). Cf. Text 1, Line 26.]

6 *yuuma-th. jangka-a dumu-y, jangka-a walmathi, jangka-a*
 drown-ACT some-NOM hill-LOC some-NOM high up some-NOM

yuuma-th.
 drown-ACT

'drowned. Some went to the sandhills, some went high up, some drowned.'

7 *kunawuna-nurru-da bardak, marl-da kunawuna-nurru, yuuma-th.*
 child-ASSOC-SAME bellyNOM hand-NOM child-ASSOC drown-ACT
 '(Women) drowned with children still in their bellies, or leading them by
 the hand.'

8 *kunawuna-wuru bardak, marl-da kunawuna-nurru yuuma-th*
 child-PROP bellyNOM hand-NOM child-ASSOC drown-ACT
 'With children in their bellies and at their hands they drowned.'

9 *wulthunga-tha biya-j, mala-ya wiriku-j, yarki wiriku-j*
 turn over-ACT swim-ACT sea-LOC dive-ACT underneath dive-ACT
 'They swam along turning over, dived into the sea, dived under the sea.'

10 *warra-thi-da kurirr-wa-tha yuuma-th*
 far-REMOTE-same dead-INCH-ACT drown-ACT
 'far out to sea they drowned and died.'

11 *kurirra dathin-ij-i dii-ja mala-y kunawuna-nurru*
 deadNOM there-REMOTE-LOC sit-ACT sea-LOC child-ASSOC
 'They sank dead with their children there way out at sea.'

12 *jangka-a dumu-y, thungkuwa-ya barri-j, katharratharr-i*
 some-NOM sandhill-LOC mangrove-LOC crawl-ACT estuary-LOC
 'Some (stayed) on the crests (of the sand hills), (some) crawled round among the
 mangroves, in the estuaries.'

13 *katharratharr-i kuujuu-j, yuuma-tha thungkuwa-y*
 estuary-LOC swim-ACT drown-ACT mangrove-LOC
 '(they) swam about in the estuaries, and drowned among the mangroves.'

14 *jaa-j, jaa-ja thungkuwa-y,*
 enter-ACT enter-ACT mangrove-LOC
 '(They) went into the mangrove swamps.'

15 *dathin-ki thungal-i warna-j, dathin-ki thungal-i*
 that-MLOC thing-MLOC dislike-ACT that-MLOC thing-MLOC

dalurudaluru
 gun

'they didn't like that thing, that gun thing.'

- 16 *dathin-ki thungal-i, wuran-kinaba diya-jarrba*
that-MLOC thing-MLOC food-MABL eat-PRECOND

wungi-yarrb,
steal-PRECOND

'that thing, after (they) had eaten and stolen food.'

- 17 *ngamathu-walada wungi-j, buluka ngamathu-wala.*
mother-LOTNOM steal-ACT bullock mother-LOTNOM
'(They) stole bullocks, the things that are like many mothers.'

[The neologism *ngamathuwala* does not mean 'many breasts', as one might expect—this would be *munirrwala*. Rather, the rationale seems to be that a cow supplies as much milk as many mothers.]

- 18 *bala-a-j, jul-bala-a-ja durrwa-yii-j, jinka-a-j*
shoot-M-ACT INTENS-shoot-M-ACT chase-M-ACT follow-M-ACT
'[They] were shot at, chased and constantly shot at, followed.'

- 19 *marndi-i-j, maku-wuru marndi-i-j*
rob-M-ACT woman-PROP rob-M-ACT
'robbed, robbed of their women.'

- 20 *marngan-da kunawuna thaari-j, marngan-da kunawuna*
nubile-NOM childNOM take back-ACT nubile-NOM childNOM

kurrka-a-j
take-M-ACT

'(McKenzie's men) took the nubile girls back (to their camp), the nubile girls were taken (sexually).'

[This line clearly contrasts the two possible treatments of an object topic, here *marnganda kunawuna*. Where the effects on the object are stressed as in the second sentence, describing the girls' rape, the passive is used. In the first sentence, by contrast, the action is less drastic, and the topic merely becomes nominative, with no change in voice.]

- 21 *jangka-wu maku-ru marndi-i-j, jangka-wu kunawuna-wu*
some-PROP woman-PROP rob-M-ACT some-PROP child-PROP

marndi-i-j, bandarr-u
rob-M-ACT half-PROP

'(They) were robbed of some of their women, robbed of some of their children, of half (their children).'

- 22 *kurrka-a-j, marngan-da kunawuna kurrka-a-j*
take-M-ACT nubile-NOM childNOM take-M-ACT
'(They) were seized, the nubile girls were seized.'

- 23 *marngan-da kunawuna rar-ung-ku thaari-j*
 nubile-NOM childNOM south-ALL-PROP take back-ACT
 '(They) took the nubile girls back towards the south.'

[McKenzie had a camp at Kurumbali, on the south side of Bentinck Island. One listener remarked here 'just takem one night altogether, bringim back then might be three day altogether. Lot of woman bin find a child, *jangkaa kandukandu, jangkaa ngumu* [some red (half-caste), some black.]]

- 24 *rar-ung-ka kurrka-a-j*
 south-ALL-NOM take-M-ACT
 '(The girls) were taken southward.'

- 25 *marngan-ki kunawuna-ya thaari-ja rar-ung-k*
 nubile-MLOC child-MLOC take back-ACT south-ALL-NOM
 '(They) took the nubile girls back to the south.'

- 26 *jangka-a yuuma-th, jangka-a thungkuwa-y, jangka-a*
 some-NOM drown-ACT some-NOM mangrove-LOC some-NOM

jingka-ri
 swamp-ALL

'Some (Kaiadilt) drowned, some (hid) in the mangroves, some (were) scattered about in the swamp.'

- 27 *thungkuwa-ya barri-j, wiridi-ja dakarldi-n-da dakarldii-j*
 mangrove-LOC crawl-ACT stay-ACT hide-N-NOM hide-ACT
 '(Some) crawled about in the mangroves, kept themselves hidden away.'

- 28 *kaba-a-nangku jangka-a*
 find-M-NEG.POT some-NOM
 'Some couldn't be found.'

- 29 alright *jangka-a yuuma-th, jangka-a mala-yiwa-tha*
 some-NOM drown-ACT some-NOM sea-VALL-ACT

katharr-iiwa-th, kunawuna-nurru
 estuary-VALL-ACT child-ASSOC(NOM)

'Yes, some drowned, some went into the sea, some went into the estuaries with their children.'

- 30 *jangka-a bala-a-j, walmathi dumu-y,*
 some-NOM shoot-M-ACT high up sandhill-LOC
 'Some were shot high up on the sandhills,'

- 31 *kunawuna-nurru bala-a-j, jangka-a bardaka-y,*
 child-ASSOC(NOM) shoot-M-ACT some-NOM belly-LOC
 'shot with their babies. Some were (still) in (their) bellies,'

- 32 *jangka-a kinyin-d, rajurri-n-d, bala-a-j*
 some-NOM form-NOM walk about-N-NOM shoot-M-ACT
 'some already having human form, toddlers, were shot.'

[The noun *kinyinda* means 'visible, extended form' and is appropriate here for a child that has emerged from the invisibility of the womb.]

- 33 *tharda-jilari-ya dangka-a, bala-tha wurdialaa-j*
 shoulder-hurt-LOC man-NOM shoot-ACT travel about-ACT
 '(That) man's shoulder must have got sore, (he) travelled about shooting,'
- 34 *dangka-birkalii-n-marri, warirr*
 person-feel sorry for-N-PRIV nothing
 'incapable of feeling sorry, nothing.'
- 35 *mankin-da dangka-a, warra-waan-d, maraka warra-wan-da*
 stranger-NOM person-NOM far-ORIG-NOM CTRFCT far-ORIG-NOM
- dangka-a*
 person-NOM

'(They were) strangers, looked like they came from a long way away,'

- 36 *maraka mankin-da dangka-a*
 CTRFACT stranger-NOM man-NOM
 'looked like strangers.'
- 37 *dathin-kuru dulk-uru jardi,*
 that-PROP(NOM) country-PROP mobNOM
 'The mob who owned that country,'
- 38 *dul-marra-ya dangka-y,*
 country-UTIL-MLOC person-MLOC
 'the *dulmarra dangkaa* (custodians)'
- 39 *dulk-uru-ya dangka-ya barrwaa-j dulk-i*
 country-PROP-MLOC person-MLOC block off-ACT country-MLOC
 '(they) blocked off the owners from (their own) country.'
- 40 *maraka bi-l-wan-ji dulk-i*
 CTRFACT 3-pl-POSS-MLOC country-MLOC
 '(You would have thought it was) their country.'

[For other possible translations of this phrase see 9.7.2.1]

- 41 *warra-ja dulk-i wirdi-n-barrwaa-j, kalarr-barrwaa-j,*
 go-ACT country-LOC stay-N-block off-ACT open-block off-ACT
 '(The Kaiadilt) went about barred from their own country, unable to go out in the open,'

- 42 *mala-maru-tha bala-tha kurulu-th, kurilu-th,*
 sea-VD-ACT shoot-ACT kill-ACT kill-ACT
 ‘(McKenzie’s mob) shot them out into the sea, and killed, killed.’
- 43 *ngamathu jarri-j, kanthathu jarri-j,*
 motherNOM run away-ACT fatherNOM run away-ACT
 ‘Mothers ran away, fathers ran away.’
- 44 *ngamathu jarri-ja ngarriju jarri-j,*
 motherNOM run away-ACT FM.NOM run away-ACT
 ‘mothers ran away, grandmothers ran away.’
- 45 *jangka-a yuuma-th, jangka-a kurirr,*
 some-NOM drown-ACT some-NOM deadNOM
 ‘some drowned, some were dead.’
- 46 *kirthan-da wuran-ki diya-j, buluku-ya diya-j,*
 surreptitiously-NOM food-MLOC eat-ACT bullock-MLOC eat-ACT
 ‘Behind his back (the Kaiadilt) ate (his) food, ate (his) bullocks.’
- 47 *wungi-ja diya-j, bala-a-ja wiridi...,*
 steal-ACT eat-ACT shoot-M-ACT stay..
 ‘stole and ate (them), they kept getting shot.’
- 48 *bi-l-da bala-a-n-janii-j*
 3-pl-NOM shoot-M-N-VPURP-ACT
 ‘they were asking to get shot.’
- 49 *bala-a-ju bakii-ju*
 shoot-M-POT altogether-POT
 ‘they would all get shot.’
- 50 *jangka-a bala-a-j, jangka-a wiridi-ja birjin-d*
 some-NOM shoot-M-ACT some-NOM stay-ACT alive-NOM
 ‘Some were shot, some stayed alive.’

4 Pat Gabori: Invoking the moon

It was customary to shout invocations at the new moon, begging him to bring up fish, dugong and turtle from the deep seas. In this version, told by Pat Gabori in June 1984, the shouted invocations are interspersed with asides describing the moon’s lack of response. There is no formal distinction between reported speech and the narrator’s comments, this being conveyed by a difference in voice quality, with a “whispered shout” for the invocation.

Tindale recorded a similar invocation from Percy Rukuthi in 1962.

- 1 *kinyba-tha: kiija-tha bath-in-da kiija-tha*
 call-ACT come close-IMP west-FROM-NOM come close-IMP
bath-in-d,
 west-FROM-NOM
 '(One) calls out: "Draw near from the west, draw near from the west,'
- 2 *marrwa-a ngijuwa kurri-juu-nth,*
 close-NOM 1sgSUBJ:COBL see-POT-COBL
 'so I can see you close up.'
- 3 *kukurdu-ru-tha kukurdu-ru-tha kiija-tha bath-in-d!*
 near-FAC-IMP near-FAC-IMP come close-IMP west-FROM-NOM
 'Approach, come near from the west,'
- 4 *nyingka kurulu-tha marri-ja ngijin-da kang-k!*
 2sgSUBJ kill-IMP listen-IMP my-NOM word-NOM
 'you listen carefully to my words!''
- [For the use of *kurulu-tha* 'kill' as a verbal intensifier see 8.2.1.2.]
- 5 *ni-ya marri-j, marri-n-marri, can't marri-j,*
 3sg-NOM hear-ACT hear-N-PRIV hear-ACT
 'He hears, (no he) doesn't hear.'
- 6 *dathin-a waldarra dathinanangan-da marral-da kuwa-juwa-a-j*
 that-NOM moonNOM like this-NOM ear-NOM twist-REDUP-M-ACT
 'That moon twists (his) ear like this,'
- 7 can't *marri-j, kurmdumaa-n-d*
 hear-ACT stoop forward with hands joined behind back-N-NOM
 'doesn't hear, he's stooping forward with his hands behind his back.'
- 8 *kiija-tha ngijin-da kang-ka kurulu-tha marri-j, kurulu-th*
 come close-ACT my-NOM word-NOM kill-ACT listen-ACT kill-ACT
 ' "Come close and listen to my words carefully, carefully,'
- 9 *kiija-tha bath-in-d, kiija-tha bath-in-d!*
 come close-IMP west-FROM-NOM come close-IMP west-FROM-NOM
 'draw near from the west, draw near from the west!''
- 10 *kira bath-in-d, marrwa-a na, mirra-wa-tha*
 nearNOM west-FROM-NOM near-NOM now good-INCH-ACT
bardak
 bellyNOM

'(The moon) is near coming from the west now, near now, (the people) are happy.'

- 11 *nadabala kamburi-ja marrwa-a*
 'nother fella say-ACT near-NOM
 'Someone else says (when he's) near:'
- [On rehearing, this lapse into English was replaced with *jathaa dangkaa* 'another person'.]
- 12 *kira bath-in-da kinaa-ja nga-l-d*
 nearNOM west-FROM-NOM ask-ACT 1-pl-NOM
 '“Now you're near, coming from the west, we ask”
- 13 *marndi-ja nga-l-da wuran-kuru ngumban-ji*
 get off-ACT 1-pl-NOM food-PROP 2sg-MLOC
 'that we get food off you,'
- 14 *marndi-ja kamburi-ja kang-k*
 get off-NOM say-ACT word-NOM
 'getting (food off you) we say these words.'"
- 15 *bijarrba banga-a yurdayurda-wula-tha ni-ya kurrka-th*
 dugongNOM turtle-NOM open sea-VABL-ACT 3sg-NOM get-ACT
 'Dugong and turtle he (the moon) would get from the open sea,'
- 16 *bijarrb, banga-a, yakuri-y.*
 dugongNOM turtle-NOM fish-NOM
 'dugong, turtle, fish.'
- 17 that's the *kangk.*
 word
 'That's the story.'
- 18 *ni-ya dulk, Jirndirriwuru.*
 3sg-NOM placeNOM place name.
 '(That's) his place (i.e. the moon's 'story place'), *Jirndirriwuru.*'

[Note the “inalienable possession” construction, which is used with “story places” belonging to mythical beings. Indeed, “belonging to” is a misleading expression: the story place *is* another manifestation of the Moon being.]

- 19 *kamarr-a dangka-a dulk, kamarr: Jirndirriwuru*
 stone-NOM person-NOM placeNOM stoneNOM place name
 'A stone is the fellow's place, a stone: *Jirndirriwuru.*'

The Kaiadilt practice of addressing the moon has also been noted by Tindale (1977):

The Kaiadilt recognize the primary dominance of the moon on their lives, linking it with the tide, whose ebbs at neap and king times govern most of their activities as food gatherers. At first sight of the new moon each month they address it, enumerating their needs for lower than ever tides to expose outer reefs where special shellfish and other foods may be obtained. They demand the absence of night fogs, which frequently make night excursions, far from the shore, hazardous.

5 Roma Kelly: Eclipse of the moon and the newly dead

Whereas the new moon could be addressed with impunity, even with arrogance, the moon in eclipse was greatly feared, as recounted in this text by Roma Kelly in 1984. The haze around “him” was believed to be a net that could scoop up the souls of the newly dead; as it filled he became extinguished, as if dead himself. At this moment people would take cover under male fig trees,⁴ lest they become like stones, covered with oyster-like sores.

- 1 *yujiban-da ngunguk, 'tory, kanthathu ngungu-u-ja*
oldtime-NOM storyNOM fatherNOM story-VDON-ACT

nga-la-wan-ji
1-pl-POSS-MLOC

'It's an old time story, father told it to us.'

- 2 *namu waldarr, dangka-a waldarr*
NEG. moonNOM person-NOM moonNOM
'(He's) not (just) the moon, the moon's a person.'

- 3 *bath-in-kuru dawurldawur-u dangka-wu rabi-ja*
west-FROM-PROP newly dead-PROP person-PROP get up-ACT

ngaka-th
wait-ACT

'(He) gets up and waits for the spirits of people newly dead.'

⁴ In terms of western botany, fig trees are hermaphrodites. I am unsure of the ethnobotanical rationale for calling certain figs “male”.

- 4 *niya kirru-maru-thu, ni-ya mijil-maru-thu,*
3sgNOM net-put-POT 3sg-NOM scoop net-put-POT
'He will put out his net, put out his scoop-net,'
- 5 *bath-in-da niya rabi-ja dan-da dali-j*
west-FROM-NOM 3sgNOM get up-ACT here-NOM come-ACT
'(Some spirit) comes up from the west, here he comes,'

[From their graves on Bentinck or Sweers Island spirits head towards *Mawurru*, the spirit home in the east; en route the moon intercepts them. Note the use of *bathinda* to track one participant (the spirits), and the relativization of deictic centre to the position of the moon in the use of *danda* 'here'.]

- 6 *burri-n-barrwa-j dathin-ki dawurldawur-iya dangka-y*
emerge-N-stop-ACT that-MLOC newly dead-MLOC person-MLOC
'he stops that new-dead spirit from getting out,'
- 7 *dan-da rundurr-i dangka-y, narrkiri-i-n-d, kurirr*
here-NOM grave-LOC person-MLOC bury-M-N-NOM deadNOM
'here in the grave (stops) the person. Who is dead and buried.'
- 8 *rabi-ja ngaka-tha dawurldawur-u jani-j*
get up-ACT wait-ACT newly dead-PROP search-ACT
'(The moon) gets up and looks for the ghost of the new dead.'
- 9 *dathin-janii-ja bath-in-janii-j rabi-ja ngaka-th,*
there-VPURP-ACT west-FROM-VPURP-ACT get up-ACT wait-ACT
'(He) gets up and waits for (spirits) coming from there in the west.'

[Once again *bathin-* is used in tracking reference (those coming from the west).]

- 10 *niwan-ju bardaka-wu jaa-ju*
his-MPROP stomach-MPROP enter-POT
'They will go into his stomach,'
- 11 *bana niya kurirr-wa-th, kurirr-a wirdi-ju,*
and 3sgNOM dead-INCH-ACT dead-NOM become-POT
'and the moon himself will become (as if) dead,'
- 12 *dunbu ni-ya kirru-ngarrb*
extinguishedNOM 3sg-NOM net-CONS
'(his light) will be extinguished after (using) the net.'

[The adjective *dunbu* is normally used of extinguished fires, firesticks and torches. Here it refers to the moment of total eclipse.]

- 13 *kurirr-nurru-wa dangka-nurru dunbu*
dead-ASSOC-NOM person-ASSOC(NOM) extinguishedNOM

dunbu-wa-th
extinguished-INCH-ACT

'Will be extinguished with all the dead people.'

- 14 *dathin-a durldi-ja bath-in-ki dawurldawur-i*
there-NOM cover-ACT west-FROM-MLOC new dead-MLOC

dangka-y
person-MLOC

'There he is covering (with his net) the spirits coming from the west,'

- 15 *kurirr-i dangka-ya durldi-j*
dead-MLOC person-MLOC cover-ACT
'covering the dead people,'

- 16 *niwan-ji bardaka-ya jaa-j*
his-LOC stomach-LOC enter-ACT
'(they're) entering into his stomach,'

- 17 *niwan-ji mijil-i jaa-j*
his-LOC net-LOC enter-ACT
'they're entering into his net,'

- 18 *niwan-ji kinbuyin-ji*
his-LOC web-LOC
'into his dark web.'

[*Kinbuyinda* is the faint "web" seen on the dark part of a half moon.]

- 19 NE: *dirrkulin-da thungal-d, RK: dirrkulin-ji thungal-i ..*
male-NOM tree-NOM male-LOC tree-LOC
NE: 'A male tree,' RK: 'At a male tree,'

- 20 *namu karndin-ki thungal-i, dirrkulin-ji thungal-i kinayiwa-th*
NEG. female-LOC tree-LOC male-LOC tree-LOC hide-ACT
'never under a female tree, (people) would hide under a male tree.'

- 21 *dangka-a kinayiwa-tha*
person-NOM hide-ACT

Interruption:

- NL Where's Penny and the baby? Home, eh?
NE She might be up seeing that baby I think.

- RK No, *bath-ij-urrka dali-n-marri-nj.* No,
west-REM-LOC:COBL come-N-COBL

bath-ij-urrka kangku-nth, kangku-ntha kiluwan-inj.
west-REM-LOC:COBL BSS-COBL BSS-COBL 2plPOSS-COBL

'No, (I think that) she's in the west (at the airstrip) and hasn't come yet. No, (I think that) grandson is in the west, your grandson.'

21 Resumes:

bana dirrkulin-jiyiwa-th
and male-VALL-ACT
'A person would hide and go under male (trees),'

22 *dirrkulin-ji jaa-j, namu karndin-d*
male-LOC enter-ACT NEG. female-NOM
'would enter male ones, not females.'

23 *dirrkulin-jiwa-tha kirrik-iiwa-th, kirrik-i jaa-j, dirrkulin-d*
male-VALL-ACT fig-VALL-ACT fig-LOC enter-ACT male-NOM
'Under male wild fig trees, entered wild fig trees, male ones,'

24 *bana kurubarr-i, kurubarr-iiwa-th, namu karndin-d,*
and coolibah-LOC coolibah-VALL-ACT NEG. female-NOM
'and under coolibahs, to coolibahs, not females,'

25 *namu maku-wa kirrik, wurkara kirrik dirrkulin-d*
NEG. woman-NOM figNOM boyNOM figNOM male-NOM
'not woman figs, males, boy fig trees, males,'

26 *baymbay kurul-ii-ja ni-y, bana jilja-yiwa-th*
WARNING kill-M-ACT 3sg-NOM and oyster-VALL-ACT

dangka-a kamarr-wa-th,
person-NOM stone-INCH-ACT

'or he would be killed, and be got by oysters, a person becomes like a stone.'

27 *dathin-a thungal-d, dathin-a dangka-a,*
that-NOM thing-NOM that-NOM fellow-NOM

dangka-a karndin-ki wirti-j, karndin-ki kirrik-i wirti-j.
person-NOM female-LOC stay-ACT female-LOC fig-LOC stay-ACT

'(When) that thing, that fellow (the moon) (was around), people stayed under female trees,'

[The speaker has got mixed up here and corrects herself:]

28 *dirrkulin-ji wirti-ja baymbay jilja-yiwa-th,*
male-LOC stay-ACT WARNING oyster-VALL-ACT

jilja-wuru-wa-th

oyster-PROP-INCH-ACT

‘stayed under male trees, lest they be got by oysters, lest they be covered in oysters (i.e. sores like oysters),’

29 *kamarr-wa-th*

stone-INCH-ACT

‘and become (like an oyster-covered) rock.’

30 *waldarra-waali-j, bi-l-da waldarra-waali-ja kina-yiwa-th*
 moon-VEVIT-ACT 3-pl-NOM moon-VEVIT-ACT hiding-VALL-ACT
 ‘They hid away from the moon,’

31 [*waldarra-ntha kurulu-nharra-nth*]_{COBL}
 moon-COBL kill-APPR-COBL
 ‘lest the moon kill (them).’

[Note the “odd pivot sequence” in this lest construction, triggering complementizing case: ‘they’ is matrix subject and subordinate object.]

32 *namu maku-wa kirrik, dirrkulin-da kirrik,*
 NEG. woman-NOM figNOM male-NOM figNOM
 ‘Never a woman fig tree, a male fig.’

33 *juuuuuungarrba kina-a dii-j,*
 biiiiiig:NOM hiding-NOM sit down-ACT

dunbu-ya warirra-y
 extinguished-MLOC nothing-MLOC

‘Hidden right away they would sit down, with their fire right out,’

34 *jungarrba-ya kirrungarrba-ya waldarra-y, ngimi-y*
 big-LOC pitch dark-LOC moon-LOC dark-LOC
 ‘while the moon was pitch dark, in the dark,’

[*Kirrungarrba* segments into *kirru* ‘net’ and the CONSequential case *-ngarrba*; i.e. ‘after the net’, referring to the dark phase of the eclipse, after the “net” has disappeared. But the form has been lexicalized, so that it can now refer to any period of total darkness, whether or not it follows an eclipse.]

35 *dan-da yalulu, torch, yalulu dan-da ngankirra-walad*
 this-NOM flameNOM flameNOM here-NOM pile-LOT(NOM)

yalulu,
 flameNOM

‘this flame, torch, this lot of flames,’

- 36 *kaburra dunbu, narrkiri-i-ja kaburra,*
 coals-NOM extinguishedNOM bury-M-ACT coals-NOM
 '(with) the coals extinguished, the coals were buried.'
- 37 *dunbu-wa wirdi-ja dirrkulin-ji kirrik-i*
 extinguished-NOM stay-ACT male-LOC fig-LOC
 'extinguished they stayed under the male fig trees.'
- 38 *jungarra-ya kina-y, jungarra-ya wirjang-ki, inthayd.*
 big-LOC hiding-LOC big-LOC shelter-LOC inside
 'Deep in hiding, sheltered right away, inside.'
- 39 *karndin-kuru wirdi-nangku, baymbay jilja-yiwa-th,*
 female-MPROP stay-NEG.POT WARNING oyster-VALL-ACT

kamarr-wa-th,
 stone-INCH-ACT

 '(You) couldn't stay under a female, or you'd be got by oysters, and turn to stone.'
- 40 *baymbay kamarr-wa-th, jilja-a kamarr-a wirdi-j*
 WARNING stone-INCH-ACT oyster-NOM stone-NOM become-ACT
 'or you'd turn to stone, become an oyster rock.'

[This is an example of the constraint limiting the inchoative derivation to lexemes: it can apply to the single word *kamarr* but not to the NP *jiljaa kamarr* 'oyster rock'; instead, a periphrastic inchoative with *wirdija* must be used.]

- 41 *yuujban-da ngunguk-a thory, yuujban-d, ngarrmandathu,*
 old time-NOM story-NOM story old time-NOM grandsonNOM

baymbay kamarr-wa-th
 WARNING stone-INCH-ACT

 '(That's) an old time story from way back, grandson: you might turn to stone.'
- 42 *baymbay kamarr-wa-th. ni-ya dangka-a bala-nharr,*
 WARNING stone-INCH-ACT 3sg-NOM person-NOM kill-APPR

waldarr
 moonNOM

 '(You) might turn to stone. He might kill (you), the moon.'

[Compare this topic sequence to the Odd Pivot sequence in (31). Both involve a subject-object sequence with a lest construction in the second clause, but only in (31) is complementizing case triggered. This is because (31) involves the logical subordination of the second clause to the first ('they hid from the moon, lest he kill them'), whereas (42) merely involves two coordinated and independent propositions:

Subject-Object sequences trigger complementizing case under the “odd-pivot” but not the “odd topic” condition. See 12.5.]

6 Pat Gabori: Singing back the dead

People who were ‘close-up dead’ (*marndurr*)—for example, in a trance state following a fit or turn—could be sung back to life by certain healers, possessing knowledge of a special spell, and known as *mirraa waraa dangkaa* ‘good mouth people’ or *kamirr* ‘word-good’. This version is told by Pat Gabori and was recorded in May 1984.

It seems the words of this spell were completely standardized, for Tindale’s 1962 tapes contain an identical rendition by Darwin Moodoonuthi (which Pat Gabori hadn’t heard). As far as I know it is the sole example of its genre.

The driving rhythmic effect of this spell, with its strict 4/4 metre, is achieved by the insertion of three special syllabic fillers: *-tha*, *-ka* and *-wa*. *-tha* does not occur elsewhere in Kayardild (but is a clitic in Lardil); *-ka* is a Focus clitic (9.7.4.2) and *wa* is an optional increment on nominative noun/adjective stems ending in *u* (4.3.2). Note that the long vowel in *riinki* is metrically equivalent to two short vowels. Although the verb *waja* ‘sing’ is used to describe the execution of this spell, it is more of a rhythmic chant than a song.

Successful healers were rewarded with food and fishing rights.

Pat Gabori also claimed that the same words, differently intoned, could be used to deliberately kill the victim.

- 1 *dangka-a wa-yii-ja marndurr*
person-NOM sing-M-ACT close.up.deadNOM
‘People could be sung when they were close up dead.’
- 2 *dan-da kunawuna baribari mibul-ngudi-i-j*
here-NOM childNOM comatoseNOM eye-throw-M-ACT
‘Here is a child in a coma, having a turn,’
- 3 *jina-a mirra-a wara-a dangka-a ?*
where-NOM good-NOM mouth-NOM person-NOM
‘(Someone asks:) “Where is a healer?”’
- 4 *nyingka mirra-ya wara-ya waa-j!*
2sgNOM good-LOC mouth-LOC sing-IMP
‘(He says to someone:) “You sing him the healing way!”’

- 5 *wamba-ya ngada waa-ja birdi-ru-th.*
 wrong-MLOC 1sgNOM sing-ACT bad-FAC-ACT
 '(Reply:) "I'll sing it wrong and spoil it"'

[I have been unable to find out whether *wamba-ya* is a word for 'spell', inflected for the object locative, or is a manner nominal meaning 'wrong', taking a locative of manner.]

- 6 *nyingka mungkiji-maru-tha dul-maru-th, thaari-ja waa-j*
 2sgNOM own-VD-IMP country-VD-IMP bring back-IMP sing-IMP
 '(He says to someone else:) "You sing him back to his own country!"'

[The healer chants:]

- 7 *dangka=tha=ka raba-nharra dangka=tha=ka raba-nharra*
 person=tha=ka tread-APPR
- 8 *riin-ki=ka mawurru-wa riin-ki=ka mawurru-wa*
 east-from=ka spirit home-NOM
- 9 *dangka=tha=ka raba-nharra dangka=tha=ka raba-nharra*
- 10 *riin-ki=ka mawurru-wa riin-ki=ka mawurru-wa riin-ki=ka mawurru*
- 11 *kiyarrng-ka marral-da bunyba-a-j, bardaka bunyba-a-j,*
 two-NOM ear-NOM blow-M-ACT bellyNOM blow-M-ACT
 '(The patient's) two ears are blown in, his belly is blown on.'
- 12 *bardaka bunyba-a-j, he mirra-a*
 bellyNOM blow-M-ACT good-NOM
 'His belly is blown on, now he's alright.'

Taken together, the words of the spell only make partial sense, and no line by line translation was offered to me. *Riinki=ka mawurru* clearly refers to bringing back the sufferer from the spirit-home in the east, *mawurru*. But the words *dangka=tha=ka rabanharra* are more mysterious—perhaps they express the fear (APPR) that the victim (*dangkaa*) may already have set foot (*rabath*) in death's domain.

7 Darwin Moodonuthi: Nalkardarrawuru

This text, recorded in August 1982, gives the origin of the waterlily swamp at Nyinyilki. It also describes an early arrangement struck between an incoming group who are unable to find water, and the previously resident *Nalkardarrawuru* (lit. 'the one with water-lilies on

his head’) who agrees to show them the local water resources if the newcomers will give him their wives and children.

It is almost certainly a mythical representation of contact between two groups who eventually intermarry, but the situation it describes may not have occurred on Bentinck Island: the myth may originally have arisen on the nearby mainland, or on Forsyth Island, and later been transferred to a Bentinck/Fowler locale (lines 37-8 are possibly an indication of some mismatch between an original story and a contemporary set of locales). Unfortunately we lack a collection of Yukulta and Yangkaal myths that could be used for comparison. One is tempted to see *Kalthuriya* as representing early Tangkic speakers, while *Nalkardarrawuru* represents an earlier population with knowledge of and rights to local water and food resources; contemporary Kaiadilt (and other Tangkic tribes) descend from the union of these two groups.

- 1 *Kalthuri-y. Kalthuri-ya kamburi-j:*
[name]-NOM [name]-NOM say-ACT
‘Kalthuriy. Kalthuriy said.’
- 2 “*nguku. nguku-wuru dangka-a ngambura-th!*”
water water-PROP person-NOM dig.well-IMP
‘“Water. (You) people dig wells for water!”’
- 3 *ngambura-th, nguku-janii-j.*
dig.well-ACT water-VPURP-ACT
‘(They) dug wells, seeking water.’
- 4 *thungkuwa bal-ung-k, rul-ung-ka ngarn-da rul-ung-k.*
scrubNOM west-ALL-NOM east-ALL-NOM beach-NOM east-ALL-NOM
‘The mangrove scrub in the west, in the east on the beach.’
- 5 *warirr, kaba-tharri nguku-y.*
nothing find-NEG.ACT water-MLOC
‘Nothing, (they) didn’t find water.’
- 6 *bal-ung-ka thaa-th, bad-a jirrkar-id-a thaa-th,*
west-ALL-NOM return-ACT west-NOM north-CONT-NOM return-ACT
‘(They) went back to the west, and once west they returned northwards.’
- 7 *warirr, kaba-n-marri, nguku-warri.*
nothing find-N-PRIV water-PRIV
‘Nothing, (they) didn’t find any water.’
- 8 *wambal-jirrkar-id-a bi-l-da warra-j.*
bush-north-CONT-NOM 3-pl-NOM go-ACT
‘They went on northwards through the bush.’

- 9 *bad-a jirrkar-id-a thaa-th, warirr, nguku-warri.*
west-NOM north-CONT-NOM return-ACT nothing water-PRIV
'Once in the west, they went back northwards, but there was nothing, no water.'
- 10 *warirr. "dan-da jirrkar!"*
nothing here-NOM northNOM
'Nothing. "Here in the north!"'
- 11 *yulii-ja niya jirrkar. dangka-a wanjii-ja wambal-i.*
try-ACT 3sgNOM northNOM person-NOM go.up-ACT bush-MLOC
'He tried in the north. People went up into the bush.'
- 12 *"mirra-a dan-da dulk, nguku-wuru ngaku-l-da kaba-thu!"⁵*
good-NOM this-NOM placeNOM water-MPROP 1inc-pl-NOM find-POT
'"This place is good, we'll find water here!"'
- 13 *ngambura-tha dangka-a, ngambura-th, ngambura-th, ngambura-th,*
dig.well-ACT person-NOM dig.well-ACT dig.well-ACT dig.well-ACT
'People dug a well, (they) dug and dug and dug.'
- 14 *warirr, kaba-n-marri.*
nothing find-N-PRIV
'Nothing, they didn't find anything.'
- 15 *dulk-a rabi-j, rabi-j, rabi-ja rabi-ja rabi-ja rabi-ja rabi-ja,*
dirt-NOM get.up-ACT
'Dirt flew up, and flew up, and flew up and up and up and up and up.'
- 16 *water. nguku-wa burri-j, nguku-wa burri-j.*
water-NOM come.up-ACT water-NOM come.up-ACT
'Water! Water came up, water came up.'
- 17 *rabi-ja dathin ... dathin-a dangka-a*
get.up-ACT that that-NOM fellow-NOM
'He got up, that, that fellow ...'
- 18 *yar-wan-da dangka-a milda-th,*
beneath-ORIG-NOM fellow-NOM burst.through-ACT
'That fellow from beneath the ground burst through.'
- 18 *Nal-kardarra-wuru.*
head-mother.waterlily-PROP
'Nalkardarrawuru. (lit. 'the one with mother waterlilies on his head').'

⁵ On listening to the tape, Darwin ventured the elaboration: *yarki thulath. "ngaakawuru thulatha warraja dulki?"*, translatable as 'they sank down, (and said:) "what's going on, why are (we) sinking into the ground as we walk" —Kalthuriya's party realize that the earth is soft because there must be water below.

19 *rabi-ja niya warngiid-a barrngka-a niwan-ji nal-i.*
stand.up-ACT 3sgNOM one-NOM lily-NOM his-LOC head-LOC
'He stood up with a waterlily on his head.'

20 *wanjii-ja ni, kamburi-ja ni:*
come.up-ACT 3sgNOM say-ACT 3sgNOM
'He came up, and said.'

21 *"wuu-ja ngijin-ji ki-l-wan-da kambin-d, karndi-y,*
give-IMP 1sg-LOC 2-pl-POSS-NOM child-NOM wife-NOM
'"Give me your children and women,"'

22 *ngada wuu-ju nguku-wuru.*
1sgNOM give-POT water-PROP
'"(And) I will supply water .."'

23 *ngada wuu-ju ki-l-wan-ju nguku-wu."*
1sgNOM give-POT 2-pl-POSS-MPROP water-PROP
'"I will give you water."'

[The parsing here is only one possibility. Another, with a single object, is 'I will supply your water'. See 9.2.5.1 on case frames with 'give'.]

24 *dangka-a wuu-ja niwan-ji, dangka-a wuu-ja ngu....,*
person-NOM give-ACT 3sg-MLOC person-NOM give-ACT wa..
'People gave him, people gave wa..'

25 *niwan-ji kambin-da bilwan-d, maku-wa bilwan-d.*
3sg-MLOC child-NOM their-NOM woman-ACT their-NOM
'him their children, their women.'

[The nominative here marks an object topic; this speaker does not use complementized clauses for marked topic constructions.]

26 *nguku-wa dathin-a wiridi-ja yulkaan-da dul-marra,*
water-NOM that-NOM remain-ACT for.ever-NOM place-UTIL
'That water remained for ever associated with the place.'

[This is an unusual use of *dulmarra*, which normally means 'boss, owner of a place'.]

27 *dathina yulkaan-d dul-marra yan-da wiridi-ja nguku-w*
thereNOM for.ever-NOM place-UTIL now-NOM remain-ACT water-NOM
'There for ever associated with the place, so that now water remains.'

28 *kardarr-a warngiid-a dathin*
mother.water.lily-NOM one-NOM thereNOM
'One mother water lily (remains) there.'

29 *jirrkarr-nga mutha-ya jingka-ya niya*
north-BOUND many-MLOC swamp-MLOC 3sgNOM

kurrka-tha jirrkur-ung-k
take-ACT north-ALL-NOM

'Across (the sea) to the north in the swamp he took many northwards.'

- 30 *barrngka-a, jungarra-karran-ji murdamurra-karran-ji jirrkar.*
water.lily-NOM big-GEN-MLOC island-GEN-MLOC northNOM
'Water lilies are around the big island (Bentinck) in the north.'
- 31 *warngiid-a dana-thirrin-da ra-ngurrng.*
one-NOM leave-RES-NOM south-BOUND
'(But) one was left behind across to the south (i.e. on Fowler Island).'
- 32 *maraka wiridi-ju mutha-a ra-ngurrnga-wu*
CTRFCT be-POT many-NOM south-BOUND-MPROP
'There should have been many on Fowler Island.'
- 33 *jirrkur-ung-ku wari-jarrma-tha jungarra-maru-tha wambal-maru-th*
north-ALL-PROP remove-CAUS-ACT big-VD-ACT bush-VD-ACT
'(But he) removed them to the north, to the big bush.'
- [*Jungarra wambalda* or 'big bush', sometimes translated as 'mainland', can be used in context to designate Bentinck Island in opposition to the smaller outlying islands.]
- 34 *mutha-y, kunawuna-y.*
many-MLOC child-MLOC
'many, children.'
- 35⁶ *jirrkar-nga-maru-tha kurrka-tha kunawuna-y barrngka-y.*
north-BOUND-VD-ACT take-ACT child-MLOC lily-MLOC
'Across to the north he took the baby waterlilies.'
- 36 *kurnthur-i jirrkur-ung-ka mirrayala-th, Nalkardarrawuru*
sandbank-MLOC north-ALL-NOM make-ACT [name]
'He made a sandbank (on his way, or pointing) northwards, did Nalkardarrawuru.'
- 37 *dathin-a jirrkur-ung-k.*
there-NOM north-ALL-NOM
'there northwards.'
- 38 *Marralda niya wanjii-j.*
[name] 3sgNOM go.up-ACT
'And went ashore at Marrald.'

⁶ The lines from 35 on were added later as further clarification.

8 Alison Dundaman: Nyinyaaki

Recorded and transcribed in Batchelor, N.T. September 1987 during a Kayardild literacy course, with the help of Mildred Gabori, Wendie Loogatha and Maria Gabori.

- 1 *Dathin-a ngijin-da dulk, ngalawan-da dulk-a Kungarr.*
that-NOM my-NOM countryNOM 1plPOSS-NOM country-NOM
'That's my country, our country, Kungarr.'
- 2 *Markuu-nangku dangka-a, markuu-jarri.*
commit.mulgri-NEG.POT person-NOM commit.mulgri-NEG.ACT
'People must not commit mulgri there, (they) do not commit mulgri.'
- [See Dictionary entry under *markuriija* for discussion of this taboo.]
- 3 *Dangka-a bukawa-thu markuu-n-ngarrba,*
person-NOM die-POT get.mulgri-N-CONS
'People can die of mulgri.'
- 4 *ngunymurra-wu yakuri diya-j, ngunymurra-wu banga-a diya-j,*
grease-PROP fishNOM eat-ACT grease-PROP food-NOM eat-ACT
'from eating greasy fish, or eating greasy turtle.'
- 5 *ngunymurra-wu bijarrba diya-j.*
grease-PROP dugongNOM eat-ACT
'or eating greasy dugong.'
- 6 *Wardun-da mutha-a, wardun-d*
mangrove.rat-NOM many-NOM mangrove.rat-NOM
'There's a lot of mangrove rats there, mangrove rats.'
- 7 *bukawa-tharra bantharra bardaka, yarbu-nurru.*
die-PST some bellyNOM animal-ASSOC
'Some people might die if the rats get in their belly, from those animals.'
- 8 *Nyinyaaki. Dathin-a ngalawan-da dulk, Kungarr,*
that-NOM our-NOM countryNOM
'Nyinyaaki ("Tree Frog"). That's our country, (near) Kungarra.'
- 9 *Kungarra ngalawan-da dulk.*
our-NOM country
'Kungarra's our country.'
- 10 *Dabarr-i wirdi-ja niya nyinyaaki, walmu.*
tree-MLOC live-ACT 3sgNOM tree.frogNOM high
'He, the tree frog, lives in trees, high up.'

- 11 *Kamburi-j, kamburi-ja ni.*
 speak-ACT speak-ACT 3sgNOM
 ‘He croaks, he croaks.’
- 12 *“Dan-da jina-a yarbud-a kamburi-j?*
 here-NOM where-NOM animal-NOM talk-ACT
 ‘“Where’s there an animal talking around here?”’
- 13 *Kurri-nangku ngakul-da yarbuth-u!”*
 see-NEG.POT 1INCLpl-NOM animal-MPROP
 ‘“We can’t see an animal!”’
- 14 *“Dathin-maan-da dangka-a, dathin-maan-da yarbud,*
 there-ORIG-NOM person-NOM there-ORIG-NOM animalNOM
dathin-maan-da dangka-a, dathin-maan-da wuran-d,
 that-ORIG-NOM person-NOM that-ORIG-NOM creature-NOM
niya yarbud.”
 3sgNOM animalNOM
 ‘“He’s the boss of that place, the creature of that place, the fellow from there,
 the creature from there, that’s who the animal is.”’
- 15 *“Yarbu-yarri-y, dangka-a! Dul-marra dangka-a*
 animal-PRIV-NOM person-NOM place-UTIL person-NOM
dathin-maan-da kang-k.”
 there-ORIG-NOM talk-NOM
 ‘“It’s not an animal! It’s a person! That’s the boss person for there talking!”’
- 16 *Dathin-a nyinyaaki, daru-ya wirdi-j,*
 that-NOM tree.frogNOM hole-MLOC live-ACT
daru-ya jambarn-d.
 hole-MLOC hollow.tree-NOM
 ‘That tree frog lives in a hole, in a hole in a hollow tree.’⁷
- 17 *Ka-ngarrku, ngarrku-wa ngid.*
 voice-strongNOM strong-NOM woodNOM
 ‘He’s got a strong voice, his home is a strong tree.’
- 18 *Ngarrku-wa dathin-a thungal-da thaldi-j.*
 strong-NOM that-NOM tree-NOM stand-ACT
 ‘That tree stands strong.’

⁷ Note that in this example the locative is only marked on the part ‘hole’ in the part-whole construction ‘hole (of a) hollow tree’.

- 19 *Dathin-maan-da dangka-a rni, yuujban-da dangka-a.*
 there-ORIG-NOM person-NOM 3sgNOM dreamtime-NOM fellow-NOM
 'He's that boss of that place, a fellow from long ago.'
- 20 *Yuujban-da nyinyaaki, yuujban-da yarbud.*
 dreamtime-NOM tree.frogNOM dreamtime-NOM animalNOM
 'A tree-frog from the dream-time, an animal from the dreamtime.'
- 21 *Bithiin-d, wurkar, wurkara dathin-a nyinyaaki,*
 man-NOM maleNOM maleNOM that-NOM tree.frogNOM
 'He's a man, a male, a male that tree-frog.'
- 22 *bithiin-da niya nyinyaaki.*
 man-NOM 3sgNOM tree.frogNOM
 'that tree-frog's a man (spirit).'
- 23 *Markuu-jarri dathin-kiya dulk-i dangka-walad.*
 commit.mulgri-NEG.ACT that-MLOC place-MLOC person-LOC
 'People don't commit mulgri in that place.'
- 24 *Kunawuna kunyawunya kunawun,*
 childNOM tinyNOM childNOM
 'Children, little children.'
- 25 *wuran-kiya diya-j, markuu-jarri.*
 food-MLOC eat-ACT get.mulgri-NEGACT
 'if they eat food, they mustn't get mulgri.'
- 26 *Marl-da kuri-i-j, kuri-ja mar-i, mardala-th.*
 hand-NOM wash-M-ACT wash-ACT hand-MLOC rub-ACT
 'One washes one's hand, one washes hands, and rubs (them clean).'
- 27 *Dathin-a Ngilthal-waan-d, Ngilthal-waan-d,*
 there-NOM [place.name]-ORIG-NOM

dathin-a ri-in-da bath-in-d,
 there-NOM east-FROM-NOM west-FROM-NOM
 'There from Ngilthalk, from the east or west there at Ngilthalk.'
- 28 *warra-na jardi-ya kuujuu-n-d, kuujuu-jarriya kunawun,*
 go-NEG.IMP behind-MLOC swim-N-NOM swim-NEG.ACT childNOM
 'don't go swimming around behind there, kids mustn't go swimming.'
- 29 *warra-jarri kunawun.*
 go-NEG.ACT childNOM
 'Kids don't go there.'
- 30 *Dathin-kiya, dan-kiya maku-wa thula-th,*
 that-MLOC here-MLOC woman-NOM go.down-ACT

warra-waan-da *dangka-a*,
far-ORIG-NOM person-NOM

'In that place, a woman went down here⁸, a person from far away,'

31 *warna-j*, *budii-ja* *dathin-mula-a-j*, *dathin-mula-a-j!*
avoid-IMP run-IMP there-VABL-M-IMP there-VABL-M-IMP
'avoid her, run away from there!'

32 *Mathali*, *mathali-ya* *dathin-kiya* *wirdi-j*.
seahawk-NOM seahawk-NOM there-MLOC live-ACT
'A seahawk, a seahawk lives in that place.'

33 *Kurdalalng-ka* *dathin-ki* *jurdi-j*.
stingray-NOM there-MLOC live.on.bottom-ACT
'Stingrays live on the bottom there.'

34 *Banga-a* *dathin-a* *wirdi-ja* *kurdala-a-nangku*.
turtle-NOM there-NOM live-ACT spear-M-NEG.POT
'A turtle lives there, and it can't be speared.'

35 *Ngalda* *marri-ja* *kang-ki* *jungarra-na* *dangka-na*.
1plINOM hear-ACT story-MLOC big-ABL person-ABL
'We heard the story from the old people.'

36 *Ngijin-da* *ngamathu-wa* *kinaa-j*,
my-NOM mother-NOM tell-ACT
'My grandmother told me,'

37 *warra-nangku* *dathin-ku* *dulk-u*, *kuujuu-nangku*,
go-NEG.POT that-MPROP place-MPROP swim-NEG.POT
'not to go to that place, not to swim,'

38 *banga-a* *jurdi-ja* *dathin-ki*, *maku*,
turtle-NOM live.on.bottom-ACT there-MLOC female-NOM

maku-wa *dangka-a*.
female-NOM human-NOM

'because a turtle lives on the bottom there, a female, who's really a female human.'

39 *Maku-wa* *dangka-a* *dathin-ki* *jurdi-j*.
female-NOM human-NOM there-MLOC live.on.bottom-ACT
'A female human has her story place there on the bottom.'

⁸ Such women are known as *wardajinda* (in Kayardild) from the the English/Kriol *water-gin*.

- 40 *Jirdabirribarjijarrb, jirdabirri-ya barji-j.*
 [place name] seahawk-NOM fall-ACT
 ‘*Jirdabarjijarrb* means that a sea-hawk⁹ fell there.’
- 41 *dangka-a barji-j, dathin-a jungarra banki.*
 person-NOM fall-ACT there-NOM bigNOM lagoonNOM
 ‘a (seahawk) person fell, there’s a big lagoon there.’
- 42 *Natha-a mirdamird.*
 camp-NOM dirty.water
 ‘In that dirty-water place.’
- 43 *Kurdalalng-k, kurdalalng-ka dathin-ki dii-j.*
 stingray-NOM stingray-NOM there-MLOC sit-ACT
 ‘The stingray, the stingray sits down there, and churns up the water.’

⁹ *Jirdabirri* and the earlier-mentioned *mathali* are synonymous.

9. Dawn Naranatjil: Wind magic

Recorded 3/1/93 on Mornington Island. The day before we had gone by boat to visit the wind-magic site at Riithaldiyarrba, a reef to the south of Bentinck Island, on an expedition to map sacred sites, and Dawn had performed the wind-magic incantation in the boat. Riithaldiyarrba is the main wind-magic site on the south-side of Bentinck, and the right to carry out wind magic there was the prerogative of people from the Tharurrki area.

- 1 *ngada barruntha-ya mara ngada wirrka-ju*
 1sgNOM yesterday-MLOC ? 1sgNOM dance-POT
 'Yesterday I was able to dance up the wind.'

[Here and in subsequent lines the word *mara* is used mysteriously; I have never encountered it in other texts. Given the sense of the text it appears to be a reduced form of *warrmara* 'wind'.]

- 2 *warrmara-wu ... warrmara-ya kamburi-ju*
 wind-MPROP wind-MLOC say-POT
 'To say to the wind.'

- 3 *wuu-juu-ntha wuran-kuu-ntha wambaji-ru-thuu-nth,*
 give-POT-COBL food-MPROP-COBL fine-FAC-POT-MPROP
biri-lu-thuu-nth,
 calm.weather-FAC-POT-COBL

'that it should give (us) food, that it should make it fine and calm.'

- 4 *mara ngada wirrka-ju barruntha-y,*
 ? 1sgNOM dance-POT yesterday-MLOC
 'I was able to dance up the wind yesterday.'

- 5 *dingki-ya mara ngada wirrka-ju,*
 dinghy-MLOC ? 1sgNOM dance-POT
 'I was able to dance up the wind in the dinghy.'

- 6 *wuran-ku kurulu-thu,*
 food-MPROP kill-POT
 'to kill food.'

- 7 *thaa-thu rar-ung-ku ngad,*
 return-POT south-ALL-MPROP 1sgNOM
 'I wanted to go back southward (to Bentinck Island).'

- 8 *wunkurr-wu-ju,* *jirndi-wu-ju,*
grass.shelter-VDON-POT branch-VDON-POT
'to use grass shelters and branches (for shelter).'
- 9 *ngijin-ji* *country* *ngada* *wunkurr-wu-ju,*
my-MLOC country 1sgNOM grass.shelter-VDON-POT
jirndi-wu-ju,
branch-VDON-POT
'In my country I was able to use grass shelters and branches.'
- 10 *rabi-ju* *thungal-warri-ya* *warra*
stand.up-POT thing-PRIV-MLOC nothing
thungal-warri-ya *rabi-ju,*
thing-PRIV-MLOC stand.up-POT
'to stand up with nothing on, to stand up with nothing on.'
- 11 *ngada* *thaa-thu* *rar-ung-ku,*
1sgNOM return-POT south-ALL-MPROP
'I want to return to Bentinck Island.'
- 12 *dulk-iiwa-thu* *mungskiji-wa-thu.*
country-VALL-POT own-VALL-POT
'to my own country.'
- 13 NE: *bana* *dathin-a* *kang-ka* *riithaldiyarrb?*
and that-NOM talk-NOM [place name]
'And that Riithaldiyarrba talk?'
- 14 DN: *Riithaldiyarrb.*
- 15 NE: *nyingka* *kamburi-j* *dathin-a* *kang-k*
2sgNOM talk-IMP that-NOM talk-NOM
'You talk that talk!'
- 16 DN: "*dan-da* *ngald!* *Riithaldiyarrb!* *Dan-da* *ngald!*"
here-NOM 1plNOM [place] here-NOM 1plNOM
'"Here we are! Riithaldiyarrb! Here we are!"'
ngada *kambu....*
1sgNOM say...
'I said [incomplete].'
- 17 *dan-da* *buya* *kamburi-j:*
this-NOM boy say-ACT
'This boy said:'

- 18 *"Marrkathu, rabi-ja kurri-ja dan-da ngumban-da country!"*
 auntyNOM get.up-IMP look-ACT this-NOM your-NOM
 ' "Aunty! Get up and look at this country of yours!" '
- 19 *"Dan-da ngad! Dan-da ngalda dali-jarra¹⁰!"*
 here-NOM 1sgNOM here-NOM 1sgNOM come-PST
 '(I said) "Here I am! Here we've come!" '
- 20 *Thaldi-ja rabi-ja ngada kurri-j,*
 stand-ACT get.up-ACT 1sgNOM look-ACT
 'I stood up and looked.'
- 21 *"Wuu-ju wuran-mu-ju ngalawan-ju,*
 give-POT food-VDON-POT 1pl-MPROP

wambaj-u wuu-ju ngalawan-ju,
 calm-MPROP give-POT 1pl-MPROP
 ' "(You) must give us food, must give us calm weather, '
- 22 *"jungarra-wu biril-u wuu-ju,*
 big-MPROP calm-MPROP give-POT
 ' "must give (us) great calm, '
- 23 *"wuran-ku kurulu-thu ngada thaa-thu jirka-an-d"*
 food-MPROP kill-POT 1sgNOM return-POT north-FROM-NOM
 ' "And I will return from the north to kill food." '
- 24 NE: *dathin-a kang-k*
 that-NOM language-NOM
 'Those words.'
- 25 DN: *"kurulu-thu wuran-ku!"*
 kill-POT food-MPROP
 ' "(You) shall kill food!" '
- 26 NE: *jungarra kang-ka kamburi-j,*
 bigNOM language-NOM say-ACT
 '(You) said it loudly.'
- 27 DN: *jungarra kang-ka kamburi-j,*
 bigNOM language-NOM say-ACT
 '(I) said it loudly.'

¹⁰ Exceptionally, this word was pronounced with a prestopped lateral and a final velar nasal on its first occurrence [d̪a^{d̪}lɪd̪arəŋ]; its second occurrence was pronounced normally.

- 28 “*wirdi-ju* *thaa-thu* *jirrkur-ung-ku* *thaa-thu*,
 stay-POT return-POT north-ALL-MPROP return-POT
 ‘I’ll go back north to stay for a while,’
- 29 “*dulk-iiwa-thu* *mungkiji-wa-thu* *jirka-an-da* *thaa-thu*,
 country-VALL-POT own-VALL-POT north-FROM-NOM return-POT
 ‘“(then I) will return from the north to (my) own country,’
- 30 “*dulk-u* *mungkiji-wu*, *wirdi-ju*.”
 country-MPROP own-MPROP remain-POT
 ‘“and will remain in my own country.”’

10 Dugal Goongarra: Crane, Seagull and Rock Cod

This story, recorded from Dugal Goongarra in 1982, recounts one of the most important founding myths of the Kaiadilt: the siblings Crane¹¹ and Seagull who travelled across Bentinck Island from West to East, and Rock Cod, who was responsible for shaping the South Wellesleys by eating out the land portions between the islands as he swam eastwards after an early unsuccessful attempt by Crane to spear him. The story ties together the three main types of fishing technology (stone fish-traps, spears, and fishing lines with bait); the order of events implies that fishing was only successful once Crane’s sister Seagull arrived with the string that she had been rolling as she travelled along. Note that Kaiadilt line-fishing techniques did not use hooks: bait was first pounded to release the smell of grease, then tied to the string, and fish were then enticed to within spearing distance.

Although this story does not emphasize the fact, the throwing away of Rock Cod’s liver is of great significance, as it was transformed into the perpetual freshwater spring in the rocks on the south-east corner of Sweers.

This text is typical of mythological narratives recounting founding events that shaped the landscape; the emphasis on compass locations, and the lack of explicitness with regard to key participants is entirely representative. A number of explanatory comments given by Darwin Moodoonuthi on listening to the tape are included as footnotes.

The action begins at *Marralda*; where *kaarrku* the seagull is talking.

¹¹ Crane or Black Crane is the term used in Mornington English; actually, *bujuku* refers to the black reef heron.

- 1 *"Darri-ya wambalwarraan-ki warra-a rar-id*
 for.a.while-MLOC going.through.bush-MLOC far-NOM south-CONT

ngijin-da kularrin-d,
 my-NOM opposite.sex.sibling-NOM

‘“My brother has been going along southward through the bush for a long time.’

- 2 *"warra-ya dulk-i mala-y.*
 far-MLOC place-MLOC sea-MLOC

‘“Far out at sea.¹²’

- 3 *"darri- wambal-warra-a-n-ki ngijin-da*
 for.a.while-MLOC going.through.bush-MLOC my-NOM

kularrin-da warra-ya yurda mala-y,
 opp.sex.sibling-NOM far-MLOC out.to.sea-MLOC¹³

‘“After travelling though the bush, my brother is far out at sea, ’¹⁴

- 4 *"wanjii-ju Rigurrnga-wu, Rangurrnga-wu wanjii-ju.*
 land-POT Sweers-MPROP Sweers-MPROP land-POT

‘“and will land on Sweers Island, on Sweers Island will land. ’

[Throughout this text I will not break the two names for Sweers Island down into their constituent morphemes *Ri-* or *Ra-* (east- or south-) plus *-ngurrnga* ‘boundary’ (see 5.3.4.9).]

- 5 *"darri- wambal-warra-a-n-ki ngijin-da*
 for.a.while-MLOC going.through.bush-MLOC my-NOM

kularrin-d, yurda-y,
 op.sex.sib-NOM out.at.sea-MLOC

‘“After travelling through the bush for a long time, my brother is far out to sea. ’

¹² Towards Sweers Island—DG.

¹³ Only the second word of the phrase *yurda malaa* ‘far out to sea’ is inflected, perhaps evidence that the words are beginning to coalesce.

¹⁴ DG: *Birrki burldija niwanda wakath.* ‘His sister was rolling string.’

- 6 *ri-lung-ku wanjii-ju Ringurrnga-wu, Rangurrnga-wu*
 east-ALL-MPROP land-POT Sweers-MPROP Sweers-MPROP
 ‘“(He) will land eastwards on Sweers Island (across the sea to the south-east).¹⁵’
- 7 *Rangurrnga-wu wanjii-ju, Rangurrnga-wu wanjii-ju,*
 Sweers-MPROP land-POT
 ‘“(He) will land on Sweers Island, will land on Sweers Island.’
- 8 *darr-iya wambalwarraan-ki ngijin-da kularrin-d.*
 for.a.while-MLOC going.through.bush-MLOC my-NOM op.sex.sib-NOM
 ‘“My brother has been travelling along for a long time.’
- 9 *warra-y, yurdayurda-ya mala-y,*
 far-MLOC way.out-MLOC sea-MLOC
 ‘“(He’s) far off, way out at sea.’
- 10 *yurda-ya ri-lung-ka mala-y ngijin-da kularrin-d.”*
 far.out-MLOC east-ALL-NOM sea-MLOC my-NOM op.sex.sib-NOM
 ‘“He’s heading eastwards far out at sea, my brother.”’
- 11 *darr-iya wambalwarraan-ki, kurda-y*
 for.a.while-MLOC go.along.though.bush-MLOC coolamon-MLOC
*wakirii-j*¹⁶
 carry.under.arm-ACT
 ‘She (seagull) went along travelling, carrying a coolamon under her arm.’
- 12 *jirra-ja kurda-y ri-lung-k, wakirii-ja*
 hold.up-ACT coolamon-MLOC east-ALL-NOM carry.under.arm-ACT
niwan-da wakath.
 3sgPOSS-NOM sisterNOM
 ‘She held up her coolamon towards the east, his (Crane’s) sister carried it under her arm.’
- 13 *Bujuku kurri-j,*¹⁷ *jirra-an-maru-th,*
 craneNOM look-ACT north-FROM-LOOK-ACT

15 DG: *Dumuya wanjiij. Will look round for place where you got lot of stones.*

16 DG: *Wajurrmarutha kurday. Kaarrku carrying coolamon.*

17 DG: ... *niwanji wakathay* ‘(saw) his sister.’

ngudi-ja ri-in-ki mibur-i.
cast-ACT east-FROM-MLOC eye-MLOC

'Crane looked from the north (for his sister), from the east he cast his eye.'

- 14 *"Ngijin-da wakath, dii-j, riya-thi Burririy,*
my-NOM sisterNOM sit-ACT east-REM [place.name]
' "My sister has sat down far in the east at Burririy. '

- 15 *"Burririya diija ngijinda wakath."*
' "At Burririya my sister has sat down. "

- 16 *Niwan-da wakatha jirka-an-d,*
3sgPOSS-NOM sisterNOM north-FROM-NOM

Burririya jirka-an-da warra-j, rajurri-j.
[place] north-FROM-NOM go-ACT walk.around-ACT

'His sister came from the north, went walking around from Burririya in the north.'

- 17 *Kurri-ja niwan-ji kularrin-ji,*
see-ACT 3sgPOSS-MLOC op.sex.sib-MLOC
'(And) saw her brother.'

- 18 *"Ee, Rangurrnga dii-j,"*
hey Sweers:NOM sit-ACT
' "Hey, he's sitting down on Sweers Island. "

- 19 *Rangurrnga dii-ja niwan-da kularrin-d,*
Sweers:NOM sit-ACT 3sgPOSS-NOM op.sex.sib-NOM
'Her brother was living on Sweers Island.'

- 20 *warra-j, rar-ung-ka rajurri-j,*
go-ACT south-ALL-NOM travel-ACT
'He travelled south.'

- 21 *ngurruwarr-i jirra-j, warra-a, jirra-j,*
fish.trap-MLOC build.up-ACT far-NOM build.up-ACT

badi-ja kamarr-i
carry-ACT stone-MLOC

'He built up (the walls of) the fish-trap, build them up along, carried stones.'

- 22 *tharbarra ri-in-d,*
cornerNOM east-FROM-NOM
'(Built) the corner coming from the east.'

- 23 *ngarii-ja jirrma-ja tharbarr-i ri-in-d ngurruwarr,*
first-ACT build.up-ACT corner-MLOC east-FROM-NOM fishtrapNOM

wurdu-wa bad
corner-NOM westNOM

'First he build up the corner of the fishtrap coming from the east, and a corner in the west.'

- 24 *rar-ung-ka bardaka jirrma-j,*
south-ALL-NOM bulgeNOM build.up-ACT

jirrma-ja warra-ja ngurruwarra-y,
build.up-ACT go-ACT fish.trap-MLOC

'Built up a bulge towards the south, went along building up the fish trap.'

- 25 *wurdu-wa biniji, biniji, kiwarndi wurdu*¹⁸
corner-NOM finish finish high cornerNOM
'Finished the corner, finished it with a high corner.'

- 26 *rar-ung-k ri-lijulu-th, murndu-ru-th,*¹⁹
south-ALL-NOM east-MOVE.TO-ACT crooked-FAC-ACT

warra-ru-th, walmath-ya dii-ja
far-FAC-ACT high-MLOC sit-ACT

'Going south he moved it along to the east, building on another corner, made it go further, (until) it came to rest high'

- 27 *ngarn-kiya marrwa-ya ee ri-lung-ka wanji-j,*
beach-MLOC near-MLOC east-ALL-NOM go.up-ACT
'near the beach, yeah, it goes up (there) eastward,'

- 28 *diij, rar, rar-a thula-th.*
sit-ACT southNOM south-NOM go.down-ACT
'came to rest in the south, went down to the south,'

- 29 *jatha-a ngurruwarra kaba-th,*²⁰ *banga-a dii-n-d,*
other-NOM fish.trapNOM find-ACT turtle-NOM sit-N-NOM

¹⁸ DM: *Jangkawu kabathu, going along eastern side.*

¹⁹ DM: *Make another corner: kiyarrngka banki yakurinja diijuuntha kiyarrngka banki, always fish stick alongside the trap burrinmarri.*

²⁰ 'Make another one because there too much reef.'

waradawuru dii-n-d,
trevallyNOM be.caught-N-NOM

'and found another (place for a) fishtrap, (a place where) turtle get trapped, where trevally get trapped.'

- 30 *karwarrk-a dii-j dathin-ki ngurruwarra-y*
queenfish-NOM be.caught-ACT that-MLOC fish.trap-MLOC
'Queenfish get trapped in that fish-trap.'

- 31 *mingungurr, kirdi-y,*
purple.rock.codNOM coral.troutNOM

kirdi-ya dii-ja dathin-ki ngurruwarra-y,
coral.trout-NOM get.trapped-ACT that-MLOC fish.trap-MLOC

'Purple rock cod and coral trout, coral trout get trapped in that fish-trap.'

- 32 *barduwardu, kurrang-k, matharr, dathinkiya*
spangled.perchNOM white.bream-ACT nail.fishNOM there-MLOC

dii-ja ngurruwarra-y,
get.caught-ACT fish.trap-MLOC

'Spangled perch, white school-bream, nailfish get caught there in the fish-trap.'

- 33 *banga-a, bijarrb, wanjii-ja jirrkarr, ngarn-kiiwa-th,*
turtle-NOM dugongNOM go.up-ACT northNOM beach-VALL
'Turtle and dugong go up onto the beach.'

- 34 *barnkaldi-j, kurri-ja ri-ya dulk-i*
sit.with.legs.crossed-ACT look-ACT east-MLOC land-MLOC

ri-maru-th, ri-lung-ka rajurri-j,
east-LOOK-ACT east-ALL-NOM travel-ACT

'(Black crane) sat with his legs crossed and looked at the land in the east, looked east and (then) travelled eastward.'

- 35 *barnkaldi-ja jalji-ya rukuthi-y,*
sit.cross.legged-ACT shade-MLOC casuarina-MLOC

jalji-ya wuyirr-i,
shade-MLOC casuarina-MLOC

'(He) sat cross-legged in the shadow of a casuarina tree.'

- 36 *wuyirr-i jalji-ya barnkaldi-j,*
casuarina-MLOC shade-MLOC sit.cross.legged-ACT
'in the shade of a casuarina tree he sat cross-legged.'

- 37 *rar-a thula-th, jirra-ja jatha-a (ngurruwarra-y),*
south-NOM go.down-ACT build.up-ACT other-NOM fish.trap-MLOC
'(He) went down to the south and built another fish trap.'
- 38 *warngiid, rar-ung-k, kurrka-th, jirra-j,*
oneNOM south-ALL-NOM take-ACT pile.up-ACT
'One, to the south, he took (stones), piled (them) up.'
- 39 *jirru-rung-ka thaa-th, thaa-tha jirru-rung-k,*
north-ALL-NOM return-ACT return-ACT north-ALL-NOM
'Went back northward, went back northward.'
- 40 *bada wurd-y, jirra-ja kamarr-ya walmankarra-ru-th,*
west-NOM corner-MLOC pile.up-ACT stone-MLOC high-FAC-ACT
kiwarndu-ru-th,
high-FAC-ACT
'In the west, at the corner, (he) piled the stones up high, made it high.'
- 41 *banga-a dii-n-d, bijarra-warri, bijarra*
turtle-NOM get.caught-N-NOM dugong-PRIV dugongNOM
dii-jarri dathin-ki ngurruwarra-y,
get.caught-NEG.ACT that-MLOC fish.trap-MLOC
'Turtles get caught (there) but not dugong, dugong don't get caught in that fish-trap.'
- 42 *banga-a dii-n-d, banga-a dii-j*
turtle-NOM get.caught-N-NOM turtle-NOM get.caught-ACT
dathin-ki ngurruwarra-y,
that-MLOC fish.trap-MLOC
'Turtles get caught there, turtles get caught in that fish-trap.'
- 43 *bad-a thaa-th, wurd-y, kiwarndu-ru-th,*
west-NOM return-ACT corner-MLOC high-FAC-ACT
'(He) went back west, at the corner, he built it high.'
- 44 *yakuri-ya dathin-kiya dii-j, dibirdibi-y, minyingkal-d,*
fish-NOM that-MLOC get.caught-ACT rock.cod-NOM groper-NOM
'Fish got caught in that one, rock cod, groper.'
- 45 *dibirdibi-ya minyingkal-d, karndikarrman-d,*
rock.cod-NOM groper-NOM greasy.cod-NOM
'Rock cod, groper, and greasy cod.'

- 46 *kamdikarrman-da dathin-kiya dii-j, duuju-w,*
greasy.cod-NOM that-MLOC get.caught-ACT small.rock.cod-NOM
kirmmurndu,
long-tailed.rock.codNOM
'Greasy cod got caught in that one, small rock cod, long-tailed rock cod.'
- 47 *buranthan-d, wurrubarr, dawarra dathin-kiya*
bonefish-NOM herringNOM herring.sp.NOM there-MLOC
dii-ja ngurruwarra-y,
sit.down-ACT fishtrap-MLOC
'Bonefish, herrings of different kinds got trapped there in the fishtrap.'
- 48 *thaldi-ja kurri-ja rar, ee, warra-ja rar-ung-k,*
stand.up-ACT look-ACT southNOM yeah go-ACT south-ALL-NOM
'He stood up and looked to the south, yeah, went to the south.'
- 49 *kirdil-iya duura-tha kamarr-iy*
back-MLOC poke-ACT stone-MLOC
'and stuck stones in the back of it.'
- 50 *jatha-ya ngurruwarra-y, warngii-i ngurruwarra-y*
another-MLOC fishtrap-MLOC one-MLOC fishtrap-MLOC
kirdil-iya duura-th,
back-MLOC poke-ACT
'Another fishtrap, he stuck one fishtrap behind another.'
- 51 *dathin-a rar-ung-k niya kurrka-th,*
there-NOM south-ALL-NOM 3sgNOM take-ACT
'There to the south he took it.'
- 52 *jirma-j, rar-ung-k, wurdu-ya rar,*
build.up-ACT south-ALL-NOM corner-MLOC southNOM
wurdu-ya kiwarndi-ru-th,
corner-MLOC high-FAC-ACT
'Built it up southward, south at the corner, he build it high at the corner.'
- 53 *walmunkarra-ru-tha kamarr,*
high-FAC-ACT stoneNOM
'Raised the stones high.'

- 54 *ri-lung-ka wanjii-j, jirrkar-a wanjii-j,*
east-ALL-NOM go.up-ACT north-NOM go.up-ACT
'Went up eastward, went up north.'
- 55 *kalajala-ja ba-lung-ka thaa-th, jirrma-j,*
move.around-ACT west-ALL-NOM return-ACT pile.up-ACT
'Moved all around heading back west, piled them up.'
- 56 *badi-ja kamarr-iya nal-maru-th wuu-j,*
carry-ACT stone-MLOC head-VDAT-ACT put-ACT
'carried the stones, put them on his head.'
- 57 *kiwarndi-ru-th, tharbarr-i, tharbarr-iya ngurruwarra-ya*
high-FAC-ACT corner-MLOC corner-MLOC fish.trap-MLOC

kiwarndu-ru-th
high-FAC-ACT

'made the corner high, made the corner of the fish-trap high.'
- 58 *jirrkar warra-ja jirrkur-ung-k*
north-NOM go-ACT north-ALL-NOM
'(He) went north, to the north.'
- 59 *kunya-a tharbarr-a kunya-a bardubardu kunya-a bulthuku,*
small-NOM corner-NOM small-NOM low-NOM small-NOM
'A small corner, a small, low, really small one.'
- [The idiom *kunyaa bulthuku*, lit. 'small mistletoe-bird', is often used with the meaning 'really small'.]
- 60 *rar-a kiwarndu-ru-tha walmankarra-ru-th,*
south-NOM high-FAC-ACT high-FAC-ACT

kiwarndi-ya wiridi-ja kamarr,
high-MLOC be-ACT stone-NOM

'Made it high in the south, the stones are really high (there).'
- 61 *wurdu-maru-th, bada jirrma-ja wurdu,*
corner-put-ACT west-NOM build.up-ACT corner-NOM

jatha-a wurdu-w,
other-NOM corner-NOM

'Put another corner on, and in the west built up a corner, and another corner.'
- 62 *wurdu-wa banki, banki-ya kurri-j,*
corner-NOM lagoon-NOM lagoon-MLOC look.at-ACT

*dathin-kuru dii-ju yakuri-y,*²¹
 there-MPROP get.caught-POT fish-NOM

'The corner lagoon, he looked at the lagoon (i.e. the enclosed body of water in the fish-trap), and said: "Fish will get caught there (now).'

63 *wurrubarr, buranthan-d, dawarr,*
 giant.herringNOM bonfish-NOM giant.herringNOM

dathin-kuru dii-ju ngurruwarra-wu."
 there-MPROP get.caught-POT fish.trap-MPROP

' "Giant herrings and bonfish will get caught there in the fish-trap. '

64 *thaldi-ja kurri-ja jirrk-a banki-y*
 stand-ACT look-ACT north-NOM lagoon-MLOC
 '(He) stood and looked at the north lagoon,'

65 *wuu-j, kuujuu-ja mardalk-a bula-a-ja, banki-y,*
 give-ACT bathe-ACT mud-NOM clean-M-ACT lagoon-MLOC
 'bathed in the lagoon and cleaned the mud off himself.'

[The significance of *wuuja* here is not clear.]

66 *banki-ya kuujuu-ja mardalk-a bula-a-j*²²
 lagoon-MLOC bathe-ACT mud-NOM clean-M-ACT
 'Bathed in the lagoon and cleaned mud off himself,'

67 *jirrna-n-ngarrb, jirrna-jirrna-n-ngarrb, jirrna-jirrna-ja ngurruwarra-y,*
 build-N-CONS build-build-N-CONS build-build-ACT fish.trap-MLOC
 'after building, after building and building, he had built fish-traps all over the place.'

68 *ri-in-kiya warrku-ya, yulmburr-iya warrku-y,*
 east-FROM-MLOC sun-MLOC long-MLOC sun-MLOC
 'Since morning, for a long time'

69 *jirrna-jirrna-ja niya ngurruwarra-y,*
 build-build-ACT 3sgNOM fish.trap-MLOC
 'he had been building fish-traps.'

70 *mardal-bula-a-j, mardalk-a bula-a-ja banki-y,*
 mud-clean-M-ACT mud-NOM clean-M-ACT lagoon-MLOC
 '(He) cleaned mud off himself in the lagoon,'

21 DM: When he keep lifting up them stone he say: "them fish ready now."

22 DM: Cleans himself, cleans all the mud off after he bin working hard all day.

71 *banki-y mardalk-a bula-a-j, kuujuu-j,*
lagoon-MLOC mud-NOM clean-M-ACT bathe-ACT

kunya-ya banki-y,
small-MLOC lagoon-MLOC

'cleaned mud off himself in the lagoon, bathed in the small lagoon.'

72 *jirrkar wanjii-j, ngam-da ba-lung-ka thaa-th,*
northNOM go.up-ACT beach-NOM west-ALL-NOM return-ACT

karna-ja kaburrba-y,
light-ACT fire-MLOC

'(He) went ashore in the north, went back westwards along the beach, and lit a fire.'

73 *burukuraa-ja burukura-tha wijiri-y,*
make.fire.with.fire-drill-ACT rub.together-ACT firestick-MLOC
'made a fire with (his) fire-drill, rubbed firesticks together.'

74 *wijiri-y bardangu, kunawuna buru-th,*
firestick-NOM bigNOM childNOM take-ACT

burukura-th, wadu-wa burri-j,
rub-ACT smoke-NOM come.out-ACT

'a big firestick, and took a small one, rubbed them, and smoke came up.'

75 *wunkurr-iya kaba-th,*
grass-MLOC find-ACT

'(He) put the flame in some dried grass.'

76 *karna-j, yalulu-wa burri-j, ngama-n-d, bardakawarri,*
burn-ACT flame-NOM come.up-ACT be.hungry-N-NOM hungryNOM
'burned it, and the flames came up, he was hungry, hungry.'

77 *thawal-da wanjii-j jirrkar, wirrnga-j, wirrnga-ja thawal-i,*
yam-NOM go.up-ACT northNOM dig-ACT dig-ACT yam-MLOC
'A yam (vine) was running up in the north, and he dug, dug up yams.'

78 *bardaka-wu-yii-j, thawal-ya wirrnga-j, jirka-an-da thaa-th,*
belly-put-M-ACT yam-MLOC dig-ACT north-FROM-NOM return-ACT
'(He) had dinner, dug up yams, and came back from the north.'

79 *dii-ja kaburrba-y, barnkaldi-j, barnkaldi-ja wir-di-j,*
sit-ACT fire-MLOC sit.cross.legged-ACT sit.cross.legged-ACT be-ACT
'sat down by the fire, stayed there sitting with his legs crossed.'

- 80 *ri-ya dulk-iya kurri-j, ri-lung-ku warra-ju,*
east-MLOC place-MLOC look-ACT east-ALL-MPROP go-POT
'(He) looked at the country in the east, wanting to go east.'
- 81 *rabi-j, tharda-maru-tha kurrumbu,*
get.up-ACT shoulder-put-ACT pronged.spearNOM
'(He) got up and put his pronged spear on his shoulder,'
- 82 *wumburung-k, murruku mar-maru-th,*
spear-NOM woomeraNOM hand-put-ACT
'and his spears, and took his woomera in his hand,'
- 83 *rarungk, thula-tha ngarn-kiiwa-th,*
south-ALL-NOM go.down-ACT beach-VALL-ACT
'and went down southward to the beach.'
- 84 *ee, ngarn-da ri-lung-k, rajurri-j, ri-lung-ka rajurri-j,*
yeah beach-NOM east-ALL-NOM travel-ACT east-ALL-NOM travel-ACT
'Yeah, eastward along the beach he travelled, he travelled eastward.'
- 85 *kabara jirka-an-d, Jiilki jirka-an-da*
saltpanNOM north-FROM-NOM [place] north-FROM-NOM
thula-th, ngarn-ki,
go.down-ACT beach-MLOC
'From the saltpan in the north, from Jiilki in the north, going down onto the beach,'
- 86 *ngarn-da ri-lung-k, ee, niwan-da wakath,*
beach-NOM east-ALL-NOM yeah 3sgPOSS-NOM sisterNOM
dan-da ri-y,
here-NOM east-NOM
'Going eastward along the beach, yeah, (he saw) his sister (coming down) here in the east.'
- 87 *Jiilki, jiilki-ya niwan-da wakath,*
[place.name] [place.name]-MLOC 3sgPOSS-NOM sisterNOM
'Jiilki, his sister was at Jiilki.'
- 88 *dii-jarri niwan-da wakath, Jiilki.*
sit.down-NEG.ACT 3sgPOSS-NOM sisterNOM
'His sister didn't stay at Jiilki.'
- 89 *wambal-i jirka-an-da warra-ja niwan-da wakath,*
bush-MLOC north-FROM-NOM go-ACT 3sgPOSS-NOM sisterNOM

rar-a *Barjajar.*
south-NOM [place]

'She had gone through the bush from the north, his sister, (and was) in the south at Barjajar.'

- 90 *Barjajara niwan-da wakath, dathin-a niwan-ji marrwa-y*
3sgPOSS-NOM sisterNOM there-NOM 3sg-MLOC near-MLOC

bud-a jirka-an-d,
behind-NOM north-FROM-NOM

'His sister was at Barjajar, there near him, she had come after him from the north.'

- 91 *yuthij, rar, niwan-da kularrin-d,*
in.front southNOM 3sgPOSS-NOM opp.sex.sib-NOM
'Her brother was ahead of her, in the south,'

- 92 *dathin-maan-da dangka-a, Rangurrnga-waan-da dangka-a,*
there-ORIG-NOM person-NOM Sweets-ORIG-NOM person-NOM
'the one from there, the boss of Sweets Island,'

- 93 *dathin-a Barjajara bala-th,*
there-NOM [place] hit-ACT
'there at Barjajara he was pounding,'

- 94 *bala-tha wululbu-y, warirr, ri-in-marri jawi-n-marri.*
hit-ACT bait-MLOC nothing east-FROM-PRIV run-N-PRIV
'he pounded the bait, but nothing, from the east no (fish) were running,'

[Bait is pounded before being thrown in the water, to release the smell that will attract fish.]

- 95 *darrngka-a, darrngka-a ri-in-marri jawi-n-marri,*
barracuda-NOM barracuda-NOM east-FROM-PRIV run-N-PRIV

dakarrdiny, ralkaralk,
slender.barracudaNOM pikeNOM

'no barracuda were running from the east, no slender barracuda or pike,'

- 96 *dibirdibi-y, dibirdibi-ya kirmurndu-w, ri-in-marri*
rock.cod-NOM rock.cod-NOM long.tailed.rock.cod-NOM east-FROM-PRIV
jawi-n-marri ra-yin-marri jawi-n-marri jirka-an-marri warirr.
run-N-PRIV south-FROM-PRIV run-N-PRIV north-FROM-PRIV nothing

'no rock cod or long-tailed rock cod were running from the east, were running from the south or running from the north, nothing.'

- 97 *nirka wara-a-ja ri-lung-k,*
fatNOM throw-M-ACT east-ALL-NOM
'The fat was thrown to the east (as bait).'
- 98 "*œ dan-da ri-in-da burri-j, jungarr-a dibirdibi*"
hey here-NOM east-FROM-NOM come.up-ACT big-NOM rock.codNOM
'"Hey, here comes a big rock cod from the east."'
- 99 *Kurdala-a-j, nal-da ra-yii-j, jawi-n-marri,*
spear-M-ACT head-NOM spear-M-ACT run-N-PRIV
wululbu-ya-da dii-j,
bait-MLOC-STILL sit.down-ACT
'It was speared in the head, and didn't escape, it just stayed there by the bait.'
- 100 *kurirr, darrbuu-ja ban-maru-th,*
deadNOM drag-ACT west-VALL-ACT
"dan-da ri-in-da niy, burri-j".
here-NOM east-FROM-NOM 3sgNOM come.up-ACT
'(It was) dead, (he) dragged it to the west. "Here he comes from the east" (thinks his sister).'
- 101 *dathin-maan-da dangka-a, kaarrku-wa dathin-maan-d,*
there-ORIG-NOM person-NOM seagull-NOM there-ORIG-NOM
jirrkar wirdi-j Jiilki.
northNOM be-ACT
'The person from there, Seagull, from there, was in the north at Jiilki.'
- 102 *bujuku ri-ya jirrkar, bala-tha jatha-ya*
craneNOM east-NOM northNOM hit-ACT other-MLOC
barjaja-y,
fishing.spot-MLOC
'Crane was in the north east, he pounded (bait) at another fishing spot.'
- 103 *warngiij-i barjaja-y jirrkar bujuku bala-th,*
one-MLOC fishing.spot-MLOC northNOM craneNOM hit-ACT
'At a certain fishing spot in the north crane was pounding (bait).'
- 104 *bada Rangurrnga-wan-da dangka-a.*
west Sweers-ORIG-NOM person-NOM
'The fellow from Sweers was in the west.'
- 105 *dathin-a dangka-a, dathin-kiya dangka-ya kurdala-th,*
that-NOM person-NOM that-MLOC person-MLOC spear-ACT

minyingkal-ia raa-j,
groper-MLOC spear-ACT

'He speared that fellow, speared Groper.'

- 106 *darrbuu-j, jirka-an-da jawi-j, bujuku.*
drag-ACT north-FROM-NOM run-ACT craneNOM
'ran along dragging him from the north, did Crane.'

- 107 *wakatha niwan-da kurri-j, walmathi-nguni, jirka-an-d,*
sisterNOM 3sgPOSS-NOM see-ACT up.high-INST north-FROM-NOM

warra-ja ngarn-ki, wakirin-wakiri-n-d.
go-ACT beach-MLOC REDUP-carry.coolamon-N-NOM

'His sister saw him, from high up to the north, as she went along the beach carrying a coolamon.'

- 108 *bujuku thaldi-ja bardarri-y, minyingkal-i,*
craneNOM stand-ACT rock.cod.tail-MLOC groper-MLOC

mirniwarrki-ya dangka-a,
victor-NOM person-NOM

'Crane was standing by the rock cod's tail, by the groper, as victor in the hunt.'

- 109 *Rangurrnga-ngathi, dathin-ki barji-j,*
Sweers-BORN that-MLOC be.born-ACT

Rangurrnga-ngathi-ya dangka-a,
Sweers-BORN-NOM person-NOM

'[Groper] was born at that place, he was a Sweers Island person.'

- 110 *jungarra dangka-a, niya raa-j thangakara*
bigNOM person-NOM 3sgNOM spear-ACT shaftNOM

wumburu-warri, kujiji-warri, wumburung-kuru thangakara-wuru,
spear-PRIV barbed.spear-PRIV spear-PROP shaft-PROP

'A great big fellow, he speared him with a handle, not with a barbed spear but just with a spear shaft.'

- 111 *thangakara-wuru wumburung-kuru dathin-a kurdala-th,*
shaft-PROP spear-PROP there-NOM spear-ACT
'he speared him with a spear shaft there.'

- 112 *jirrkar ngudi-i-ja * karmid, karmid-a*
northNOM throw-M-ACT liverNOM liver-NOM

jirrkar-a ngudi-i-j,
north-NOM throw-M-ACT

‘(Its) liver was thrown to the north, in the north the liver was thrown.’

- 113 *minyingkal-d, jirrkur-iid, darrbu-yii-j, jirrkar,*
groper-NOM north-CONT drag-M-ACT northNOM

kamarr-iya nguku-y kuujuu-j,
stone-MLOC water-MLOC bathe-ACT

‘Groper was dragged northward, in the north, and (Crane) bathed in the water by the rocks.’

[This refers to a spring issuing from the rock.]

- 114 *darrbuu-ja wirrka-j, wirrka-jarrma-tha darrbuu-j, kuujuu-j,*
drag-ACT dance-ACT dance-CAUS-ACT drag-ACT swim-ACT
‘He dragged (groper) along as he danced, he made (groper’s body) dance as he dragged it along through the water.’

- 115 *wirrka-jarrma-tha darrbuu-ja kuujuu-j,*
dance-CAUS-ACT drag-ACT swim-ACT
‘He dragged it along through the water making it dance.’

- 116 *jirrkar-a ngudi-i-ja karrmid, jirrkar barji-ja karrmid,*
north-NOM throw-M-ACT liverNOM northNOM fall-ACT liverNOM
‘(Its) liver was thrown away to the north, its liver fell in the north.’

- 117 *dathin-a barrki-ja wandawanda-wuru, narra-wuru kala-th,*
there-NOM chop-ACT axe-PROP shell.knife-PROP cut-ACT
‘(He) chopped it up there with an axe, cut it with a shell-knife.’

- 118 *thungkuwa warra-n-d, wululbu mardarr,*
mangrove.scrubNOM go-N-NOM baitNOM blue.spotted.rayNOM
‘Going along through the mangrove scrub, (with) stingray bait,’

- 119 *wululbu-ya niya badi-j, walmathi ru-lung-k,*
bait-MLOC 3sgNOM carry-ACT high east-ALL-NOM

kurrka-a-ja wululbu,
take-M-ACT baitNOM

‘He carried the bait, high up going eastwards, the bait was taken.’

- 120 *walmathi ru-lung-k, kurrka-a-ja wululbu,*
high east-ALL-NOM take-M-ACT baitNOM

balumban-ji dulk-i ra ra-yii-j, kaba-tharri
 westORIG-MLOC country-MLOC now spear-M-ACT find-NEG.ACT

'High up going eastwards the bait was taken, (Rock Cod) had been speared at in the country to the west, (but) (the spear) didn't find him.'

- 121 *mirra-yala-th kunya-a murndamurr, Duurathi, Karndingarrbay,*
 good-DO-ACT small-NOM islandNOM
 '(As he swam, Rock Cod) made the little islands, Duurathi, Karndingarrbay.'

- 122 *Nathayiiwind, the black crane was missed trying to kill him*
 [place name]

after that rock cod warra-ja ni,
 go-ACT 3sgNOM

'Nathayiiwind, Black Crane had missed killing him earlier and after that Rock Cod had gone around.'

- 123 *dathin-a ru-lung-ka ni, wululbu-ya badi-j,*
 there-NOM east-ALL-NOM 3sgNOM bait-MLOC carry-ACT
 'He had gone eastwards there, (Crane) had carried the bait.'

- 124 *Crane bin travel, niwan-da wakatha kamburi-j:*
 3sgPOSS-NOM sisterNOM say-ACT
 'Crane had travelled, and his sister said.'

- 125 *"Warra-a ngijin-da kularrin-d, wambalwarraan-ki."*
 far-NOM my-NOM op.sex.sib-NOM travelling.far-MLOC
 ' "My brother is far off, he is travelling a long way." '

11 May Moodoonuthi, Alison Dundaman and Dawn Naranatjil: Fighting over a husband

This text, recorded in 1987, is one of a series of four mock quarrels staged to the alarm of the principal in the school grounds of Mornington Island School at the end of a literacy workshop by the above women; all too old to write or read, they nevertheless wanted to contribute something to the materials produced during the workshop. Their staged performance closely resembles real quarrels I have witnessed; it is clear that such performances are highly ritualized, allowing quarrellers to produce morphosyntactically complex utterances at machine-gun speed. This particular quarrel, a dispute over a husband, follows earlier low-level quarrels over food-gathering; see 12-125 for an excerpt.

- 7 M *[inaudible portion] ngijuwa [laughs] duruma-th*
 1sgSUBJ:COBL deceive-ACT
 'I've [inaudible]. [We're] pretending.'
- 8 D *wungundu-wungundu!*
 thiefNOM
 'Thief!'
- 9 M *ngijuwa wungi-jarra-nth*
 1sgSUBJ:COBL steal-PST-COBL
 'So I've stolen him.'
- 10 D *wungundu-wungundu ngijin-jina dun-kina buru-tharr!*
 thiefNOM my-MABL husband-MABL take-PST
 'A thief has taken my husband!'
- 11 M *ngijuwa natha-maru-tharra-nth!*
 1sgSUBJ:COBL camp-VALL-PST-COBL
 'I've taken him home!'
- 12 D *ngijin-jina dun-kina nyingka buru-tharr!*
 my-MABL husband-MABL 2sgNOM take-PST
 'You've taken my husband!'
- 13 M *Ngijuwa buru-tharra-nth, natha-maru-tharra-ntha*
 1sgSUBJ:COBL take-PST-COBL camp-VALL-PST-COBL

ngijin-maru-tharra-nth!
 my-VALL-PST-COBL
 'I've taken him, to my camp!'
- 14 D *Ngijuwa wirdi-juu-ntha*
 1sgSUBJ:COBL remain-POT-COBL

warirra-ntha wirdi-juu-nth!
 nothing-COBL remain-POT-COBL
 'So I'll be left with nothing!'
- 15 M *warirra wirdiju nginja wirdi-ju ...*
 nothingNOM remain-POT FRUST remain-POT

damurr-u natha-wu damurr-u natha-wu!
 short-PROP camp-PROP short-PROP camp-PROP
 'You'll be left with nothing anyway, with a short camp, with a short camp!'

[The expression ‘a short camp’ is roughly equivalent to “in your single bed” in English: the windbreak area is a short one because it has to only accommodate one person.]

- 16 D *warirra-ntha* *wirdi-juu-ntha* *warirra-ntha*
 nothing-COBL remain-POT-COBL nothing-COBL
wirdi-juu-ntha *warirra-ntha* *thaa-thuu-nth!*
 remain-POT-COBL nothing-COBL remain-POT-COBL
 ‘So I’ll be left with nothing, left with nothing, so that I’ll go back to my camp with no-one!’
- 17 M *Damurr-u* *natha-wu!* *Ngijuwa* *karrngi-juu-nth.*
 short-PROP camp-PROP 1sgSUBJ:COBL keep-POT-COBL
 ‘(You’ll) have a short camp! I’ll keep him.’
- 18 D *warirra-ntha* *thaa-thuu-ntha* *ngiju,*
 nothing-COBL return-POT-COBL 1sgSUBJ:COBL
wirdi-juu-ntha *warirra-nth.*
 remain-POT-COBL nothing-COBL
 ‘So that I’ll go back with nothing, be left with nothing!’
- 19 M *warirra* *thaa-thu*
 nothing return-POT
 ‘You’ll go back with nothing.’
- 20 D *warirra-ntha* *ngijuwa* *wirdi-juu-nth*
 nothing-COBL 1sgSUBJ:COBL remain-POT-COBL
 ‘So I’ll be left with nothing.’
- 21 M *ngijuwa* *buru-thuu-ntha* *ngijuwa* *buru-thuu-nth.*
 1sgSUBJ:COBL hold-POT-COBL 1sgSUBJ:COBL hold-POT-COBL
 ‘I’ll hold him, I’ll hold him.’
- 22 D *ngijuwa* *warirra-ntha* *wirdi-juu-ntha,*
 1sgSUBJ:COBL nothing-COBL remain-POT-COBL
warirra-ntha *maka-thuu-ntha* *dii-juu-ntha* *warirra-nth.*
 nothing-COBL rest-POT-COBL sit-POT-COBL nothing-COBL
 ‘So that I’ll be left with nothing, so that I’ll sit down for a rest with no-one beside me!’
- 23 M *Damurr-a* *natha-a* *ngumban-d!* *Kunya-a*
 short-NOM camp-NOM your-NOM small-NOM

jirndi-ya ngumban-d!
 twig-NOM your-NOM

'Your camp is short! Your twigs are small!'

[As explained in line 15, 'your camp is short' has the flavour of "you'll just need a single bed!" The second insult, 'your twigs are small', implies that since D is now all alone, her household will be so small that she needn't gather much firewood for her cooking, something like "you'll be eating TV dinners on your own!"]

12 Barney Charles: Text in Yangkaal

This is the only recorded Yangkaal text, apart from some Lardil stories where the villains speak Yangkaal. It was told by the late Barney Charles in 1962 to Norman Tindale, who kindly allowed me to obtain a copy of his tape. In 1984 I played this to Cora Peters, who could still understand Yangkaal although she could no longer speak it; without her help the following text could never have been transcribed.

The Yangkaal phonemic system is almost identical to Kayardild, the only important difference is the retention of pT */l/ in Yangkaal, written as /l/ initially as with other retroflexes. But the two languages sound so different that Kayardild speakers to whom I played the tape found it very hard to understand. One cannot, however, rule out the possibility that Barney Charles' speech was in some way idiosyncratic. The main difference lies in voice quality. Yangkaal, like Lardil, is highly nasalized with a very lax articulation; in addition, stops tend to be voiced or even fricated, whereas Kayardild stops are mostly voiceless—intervocalic /th/ is [ð] in Yangkaal as in Lardil, but [t̥] in Kayardild. Darwin Moodoonuthi once summed up Yangkaal pronunciation for me as follows: 'yeah, they speak our language, but altogether take it a bit light.'

In the following transcript all lexical and grammatical differences from Kayardild are noted; if no comment is made, no difference exists. The dialectal relation between Yangkaal and Kayardild should be obvious.

1 *nga-rr-a warra-ju bal-u, kulthangarra-wu bala-thu*
 I-du-NOM go-POT west-ALL flying fox-MPROP hit-POT
 'We two will go west, to kill flying foxes.'

[The Yangkaal allative 'west' cardinal alternates between the full form *balungka* line 17 and the reduced *balu*; K requires the full form.]

- 2 *kurlirra yarlka jirndi, yani bala-thu nga-ku-rr-i*
 dead-NOM under branchNOM soon kill-POT 1-INC-du-NOM
 'They're hanging as if dead under the branches, we'll soon kill them.'

[(a) Note the *rl* phoneme in *kurlirra* and *yarlka*, which corresponds to Kayardild *r*: *kurirra, yarka*. Other words with intervocalic *rl* where K has *r* are *burlung-ku wurlan-ku* 'cooked-MPROP food-MPROP' line 6, *yakurli* 'fish' 22, *kurlkangka* 'rushes' 29 and *yarlbuda* 'game' 35.

(b) The lexeme *yarlka*, 'under' in Yukulta and Yangkaal, has specialized to 'underground' in Kayardild.

(c) As in Lardil, an accrescent *i* appears in Yangkaal following final *rr*, which has been exposed by truncation of short final *a*. Cf. Yukulta *ngakurra*, Kayardild *ngakurra*, Yangkaal and Lardil *ngakurri* .]

- 3 *bana nga-ku-rr-i dathin-ku karna-ju,*
 and 1-INC-du-NOM there-MPROP cook-POT
 'And we two will cook them there.'

- 4 *bana ngada dathin-ku karna-ju*
 and 1sgNOM there-MPROP cook-POT
 'And I will cook them there.'

- 5 *yani thaa-thu warrku, bada warrku thaa-thu*
 soon return-POT sunNOM west-NOM sunNOM return-POT
 'We'll soon come back in daylight, in the afternoon we'll come back.'

- 6 *burlung-ku wurlan-ku, badi-ja thaa-tha nal-da*
 cooked-PROP food-PROP carry-ACT return-ACT head-NOM

badi-ju
 carry-POT

'with the cooked food, we'll carry it back on our heads.'

- 7 *balmbi-mari-ju*
 morrow-VTRANSL-POT
 'for the next day.'

- 8 *dangka-a kabathaa-thu marrjin-d*
 person-NOM fetch-POT messenger-NOM
 'Someone will have to go to invite people with the message.'

- 9 *kara nyi?*
 INTERR 2sgNOM
 'Will you go?'

[The reduced form *nyi* is shared with Lardil but not K or Yukulta.]

- 10 *kurri! warra-a, dan-da ba-lu warra-a*
 look far-NOM here-NOM west-ALL far-NOM
 'Look, it's a long way, this place is far to the west.'

[Like Lardil, Yangkaal has a zero imperative form although forms in *-ja* also occur—see 19.]

- 11 *ngimij-u labi-juru balmb-u, warra-a liya-thi*
 predawn-MPROP get up-POT tomorrow-MPROP far-NOM east-REM
 'We should get up early tomorrow, we're a long way to the east here.'

[Yangkaal preserves initial [l] where K has [ɺ]. Hale's Yangkaal field notes, made with a different speaker Mick Charles, record initial [ɺ] for the same words. It seems likely that in Yangkaal, as in Lardil, these were different idiolectal realizations of the same phoneme.]

- 12 *barri-na kalka-na majimaji*
 crawl-NEG.IMP hurt-NEG.IMP calfNOM
 'Let's not be crawling around on sore calves.'
- 13 *bana ja-a barrunthaya kalka-th*
 and foot-NOM yesterday hurt-ACT
 'and my feet were hurting yesterday too.'
- 14 *wirdi warra-a dulk-a warra-a, nguthunguthu warra-j*
 stay far-NOM place-NOM far-NOM slowly go-IMP
 'That place is a long way away, let's take it easy.'
- 15 *barrunthaya thaa-th bana nguthunguthu jinka-ja dulk*
 yesterday return-ACT and slowly follow-ACT groundNOM
 'I came back yesterday and I was following the ground real slowly.'
- 16 *dan-da lara-lara li-lung-k,*
 here-NOM south-south east-ALL-NOM
 'Here to the south east.'
- 17 *dan-da lara dulk-a kunbalinymarr, ba-lung-ku*
 this-NOM south place-NOM place name west-ALL-MPROP
jirrkur-ung-ku wanji-ju
 north-ALL-MPROP go up-POT
 'This south place, Kunbalinymarr, we can head up to the north west here.'
- 18 *bana jina-ngku wanji-ju? dan-da bada wanji-ju*
 and where-MPROP go up-POT here-NOM west-NOM go up-POT

jinawurli
which.way

'And where do we go up? Here in the west we go up, which way?'

[The MPROP allomorph *-ngku* deviates from Kayardild and Yukulta use—which would be *-wuru*. Cf Hale (1973) on resegmentation of *ngku* segments in Damin.]

- 19 *wulimi bath-u karna-ju*
deep water fish sp.NOM west-MPROP cook-POT
'Wulimi fish we can cook in the west.'

[The exact reference of *wulimi* is not known.]

- 20 *bana jina nguku?*
and where waterNOM
'And where is there water?'

- 21 *bada jirrkar dimirrbin. yuuda nyuda nga-ku-l-da*
west north place name already fireNOM 1-INC-pl-NOM
jindiwirrin, ngambu-nguku
place name well

'In the north west at Dimirrbin. We already had a fire there at the well.'

[The use of *nyuda* for 'fire' is shared with Lardil; K has *ngida*.]

- 22 *dathin-ku buu-ju jirrna-ju yakurli-wu, mutha yakurli-wu.*
there-MPROP pull-POT lift-POT fish-MPROP lots fish-MPROP
'We'll catch fish there, plenty of fish.'
- 23 *mutha katharr-i, kurrang-k, dinjuman, dambidambi,*
lots estuary-LOC barramundi-NOM salmonNOM long tomNOM
'There's lots in the creek, barramundi, salmon, long tom,'

[Yangkaal *dambidambi* = Kayardild *karmuku*.]

- 24 *dibidibi buu-ju ngarrawum*
rock codNOM pull-POT bluefishNOM
'rock cod we'll pull in and bluefish.'
- 25 *ngimi jijinanganda warra-ju*
night which way go-POT?
'Which way will we go at night?'
- 26 *dana-nku, jirrkar-inyin warra-ja nga-ku-l-d,*
leave-NEG.POT north-end go-IMP 1-INC-pl-NOM
'We won't leave the island, we'll go round the north end,'

[NEG.POT *-nku* appears to be a contraction of the full form *-nangu*, found in Hale's Yangkaal notes.]

27 *Dunkurrurrungin burri*
place name come out
'and come out at *Dunkurrurrungin*.'

28 *ba-lung-ku jirrk-urung-ku kurrang-k*
west-ALL-MPROP north-ALL-MPROP barramundi-NOM
'To the north west there are barramundi.'

29 *bana marrnga kurlkang-ki jirrk-an-d,*
and panja.ground rush-LOC north-FROM-NOM
'and there's a panja ground in the rushes coming back from the north.'

[Yangkaal *marrnga* = Kayardild *kurrngu-wa*.]

30 *dinginburri jirrk-an-da wanji-ju, thaa-thu bumanku*
place name north-FROM-NOM go up-POT return-POT place name?
'You have to go up from the north at Dinginburri, and return to Bumanku.'

31 *ngambu-nguku*
wellNOM
'there's a well there.'

32 *bana nga-ku-l-da jina-ngku buthiya-ju? ngambu-nguku*
and 1-INC-pl-NOM where-MPROP sleep-POT wellNOM
'And where will we sleep? The well.'

[Like Yukulta, Yangkaal has *buthiya-ja* for sleep; Kayardild has *yiiwi-ja*.]

33 *wirdi-ja wirdi nga-ku-l-da katharr-i,*
stay-ACT stay 1-INC-pl-NOM estuary-LOC
'We'll stay on at the estuary.'

34 *katharr-i wirdi-ju buthiya-ju.*
estuary-LOC stay-POT sleep-POT
'at the estuary we'll stay and sleep.'

35 *marrwa-ya ngambu-nguku yarlbud, ngarn-ki, ngii*
near-LOC wellNOM gameNOM beach-LOC yes
'Near the well there's game, on the beach, yeah.'

36 *ba-lung-ku jirrk-urung-ku balmbi-wu, ngarn-ku*
west-ALL-MPROP north-ALL-MPROP morrow-MPROP beach-MPROP

li-lung-ku thaa-thu
east-ALL-MPROP return-POT

'We'll go north west tomorrow, and come back eastwards along the beach.'

- 37 *bana jilirra nga-ku-l-da buthiya-j mirra-a dulk-a*
 and milkwood 1-INC-pl-NOM sleep-ACT good-NOM place-NOM

dathin
 thereNOM

‘And we’ll sleep at the milkwood place, that’s a good place,’

- 38 *dathin-ku buthiya-ju*
 there-MPROP sleep-POT
 ‘we’ll sleep there.’

- 39 *ngarn-ku li-lung-ku warra-ju balmbi bilmarrkanku*
 beach-MPROP east-ALL-MPROP go-POT morrow place name
 ‘We’ll go east along the beach, to Bilmarrkanku the next day.’

- 40 *bana Wirriyang, bana Thungkuru, bana Ngamburu,*
 and place name and place name and place name
 ‘and to Wirriyang, and Thungkuru, and Ngamburu,’

- 41 *dathin-ku buu-ju mutha-wu ngarrawurn-u,*
 there-MPROP pull-POT many-MPROP bluefish-MPROP

Lamukin-mari-thu
 place name-VTRANS-POT

‘there we’ll catch many bluefish, for when we get to Lamukin.’

- 42 *kara! wirdi-ki wirdi-ki, mutha*
 what stay-IRR.IMP stay-IRR.IMP? lotsNOM

nga-ku-l-da buu-n
 1-INC-pl-NOM pull in-NEG.IMP

‘What! Leave it, we don’t want to catch too much,’

[-*ki* in Yukulta is an “irrealis imperative” or hortative; it has no reflex in Kayardild or Lardil.]

- 43 *burldamurr-a kurrka-tha thaari-jarrma-th*
 three-NOM take-IMP take back-CAUS-IMP
 ‘let’s just take back three or four.’

Kayardild-English Dictionary

The following Kayardild-English dictionary is a slightly revised version of the first part of Evans (1992a), which also contains an English-Kayardild finder list and a Kayardild ethnothesaurus, neither of which are included here. Illustrations for the dictionary were drawn by Penny Johnson and the late Marbuk Kohler.

Entries are arranged as follows, grouped together into lemmas .

(a) HEADWORD (in **bold**). The word to be defined. Verbs are given in their 'ACTual' form, e.g. **baaja** 'bite, bites, bit'. Nouns are given in the nominative form, e.g. **baburrka** 'splash'. Some words have variant pronunciations, shown in brackets, e.g. **kabanda** (~ **kabarnda**) 'stargazer (fish)'. Homonyms are distinguished in headwords through the use of numerical subscripts, e.g. **biriida₁** 'body'; **biriida₂** 'father'.

(b) PART OF SPEECH (in *italics*), e.g. *v.t.* (transitive verb) for **baaja**, and *n.* (noun) for **baburrka**.

(c) DIALECT (normal type, in brackets). Words from the Yangkaal (Forsyth Island) dialect are indicated by (Ya), those found in both Kayardild and Yangkaal by (K, Ya). Most of the Yangkaal words have been taken from Hale (1962); some were transcribed by the author from Ross Charles, Ronnie Charles and Cora Peters. If no dialect information is given this means that the information pertains only to Kayardild.

Sometimes this information follows just part of an entry—for example, (K, Ya) after the first meaning, 'tooth', of **damanda** indicates that only this meaning is known for both Kayardild and Yangkaal; the other meanings are known only for Kayardild. Usually this reflects the fact that we know much less about Yangkaal than Kayardild.

(d) ROOT or OBLIQUE FORMS (in bold between square brackets, e.g. [**bath-**] after **bada** 'west', [**LOC duujinji**] after **duujinda** 'younger brother'). This is used for nominals whose root and/or non-nominative forms cannot be predicted from the nominative form given in the headword. The root serves as the basis for most other declensions of the noun. Note that such special information is not given where the root differs from the nominative in a predictable way. Nouns ending in *nda*, *rnda*, *lda* and *rlda* always take off the *da* to get the root unless otherwise

indicated; those ending in *ngka* always take off the *ka*. Full details of nominal declensions are in 4.2 of the Grammar.

(e) MEANING(S). One or more *senses* of these may be given, depending on how rich the word is in polysemies (multiple meanings); each sense is numbered. In some cases I follow a number of senses or alternative translation equivalents with a single general sense in square brackets: an example is the entry for **kurrngu**. Sometimes an English word giving the meaning is in quotation marks, e.g. **birmarutha** cause trouble for OBJ without intending to, “spoilim”; this marks it as the usual translation in “Mornington English”.

As the “place-marker” OBJ in this definition illustrates, I sometimes use grammatical abbreviations to show how particular words of the English definition plug into the Kayardild: in this case, it means that whatever word fills that place in the definition will be treated as a grammatical object in Kayardild. Sometimes only words of a certain meaning can be plugged in; this is shown by characterizing the type of word that can be inserted through the use of a colon, e.g. under the entry for **dunbuwatha** the definition ‘(Faculty: body part SSPRED) become useless for its natural purpose’ means that this meaning of can only apply to nouns, designating body parts that represent some mental or physical faculty (e.g. the ear for hearing and memory), and that this noun will be treated grammatically as a secondary predicate on the subject, agreeing with it in taking the nominative case.

(f) EXAMPLE SENTENCES. As far as possible I have tried to include example sentences showing how a word is used; these are followed by English translations. Example sentences and translations are given in smaller type.

(g) SYNONYMS, i.e. words of the same meaning, are given in brackets, after an equals sign. This information is not represented systematically in the Kayardild-English section and can be discovered more systematically in the thesaurus.

(h) SUB-HEADWORDS, IDIOMS AND FIXED EXPRESSIONS follow the information for the headword. In some cases they contain the same range of information (from (b)–(g) above) as normal headwords.

In addition to the abbreviations given at the beginning of the grammar, the following abbreviations are used for parts of speech:

<i>cov.</i>	coverb
<i>ideoph.</i>	ideophone
<i>interjec.</i>	interjection
<i>interrog.</i>	interrogative

<i>loc.</i>	locational
<i>n.</i>	nominal
<i>n. manner</i>	manner nominal
<i>n. pred.</i>	predicate nominal
<i>n. qual.</i>	qualitative nominal (functions like an adjective)
<i>n. top.</i>	topographic nominal, place name ¹
<i>poss.pron.</i>	possessive pronoun
<i>pron.</i>	pronoun
<i>v.</i>	verb
<i>v. adv.</i>	verb functioning as an adverb
<i>v. ditr.</i>	ditransitive verb (with two objects, or an object and an indirect object)
<i>v. i.</i>	intransitive verb (with just a subject)
<i>v. impers.</i>	impersonal verb (with no subject)
<i>v. semi-tr.</i>	semi-transitive verb (with a subject and an indirect object)
<i>v. t.</i>	transitive verb (with a subject and an object)

¹ Some of these have a capital letter in brackets after the word “Bentinck Island” or “Sweers Island”. These refer to the clan territory location given for this place in Tindale (1962); words following “NT” give Tindale’s spelling of the place name.

A

apo *interjec.*

Bye-bye!

Recent loan from Wik-Mungkan.

B

baaja *v.t.*

1. Bite.

Ngawu ngijinjiya baaj. The dog bit me.

2. Make by biting, bite out.

Niya baaja narray. He is making a shell knife by biting it.

3. Hurt.

Dathina kunawuna kaburrbayiwatha bayiija, naaj. That child has been hurt by the fire, (she) is smarting.

baaja malaa tide go down, tide be low.

waraya baaja kiss.

wpranki baaja have a feed.

babaratha *v.i.*

Do quickly, immediately.

Nyingka jinkaja babaratha ngumbanda kajakaj! Quickly, follow your father.

babiju *n.*

1. Granny: father's mother, paternal grandmother.

Kangkiya marrija ngunguki babijarrathinabay. I heard the story from my other granny.

2. Father's mother's brother or sister.

3. Harmonic-generation member of father's mother's patriline, e.g. wife's brother, son's daughter's husband, son's son's wife.

babijungarrba *n.*

Pair, one of whom calls the other 'father's mother', e.g. grandson and paternal grandmother.

baburrka *n.*

Splash; sound of sand falling.

Jungarra baburrka dathina nguku. That water (made) a big splash.

bada [bath-] *n.loc.*

West.

bada warrku *n.time.*

Late afternoon.

Bathu warrkuwuru thaathu. (He) will come back in the late afternoon.

badarraba *n.*

Star (= *yarrangkarra*)

badija *v.t.*

1. Carry. (K, Ya)

Ngada badiju wurdaljiwu. I'll carry the meat.

2. (Mother) carry (child), bear (child).

3. (Country) carry/succour (inhabitants).

Ngijinji ngamathuya kakujuya badij.

(That country) carried my mothers and uncles.

dangka-badinda *n.*

Horse.

nguku-badinda *n.*

Water-bottle.

-badiinda *n.*

Offspring of PREF (mother); one borne by PREF.

(syn. **badi(i)yarrba**)

Ngijinbadiinda one borne by me, my child.

-badi(i)yarrba *n.*

Offspring of PREF (mother); one borne by PREF.

ngijinbadi(i)yarrba my child, child borne to me.

-badinda *n.*

Mother of PREF (offspring) (syn.

-badiyarrba).

Ngakinbadinda bearer of us, our mother.

-badiyarrba *n.*

Mother/bearer of PREF (offspring).

Ngakinbadiyarrba bearer of us, our mother.

Ngijinbadiyarra bearer of me, my mother.

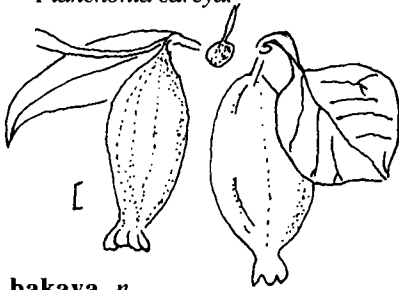
Marinbadiyarra my mother.

badukijarnda *n.*

Barramundi cod.

bajali *n.*

Plant with edible fruit, cocky-apple, *Planchonia careya*.



bakaya *n.*

Torres Strait pigeon.

bakiija *v.adv.*

All do (with intransitive verb); do to all OBJ (with transitive verb).

Bakiijarra burrijarra malaa niwanji.

(On shaking a half-drowned child):

All the seawater has come out of him.

Balatha ngada bakiijada munda kurrij.

I killed them all.

bakiinda *n. quant*

All.

Mardalaaja bakiinda dulk. (They are) painting themselves all over.

balali *n.*

Daybreak.

balaliija *v.impers.*

Break (day), dawn.

balangkali *n.*

Brown snake.

balarra *n.qual.*

White, pale.

balarra dangkaa white man, European (=waydbala).

balarra maku white woman, European woman.

nguthunguthu balarra yellow.

balarrwalarra *n.*

White of egg.

balatha *v.t.* (K, Ya)

1. Hit, strike, slap, pound.

Kiijanda balath. (They) are hitting the water with their hands to scare the fish.

Wululbuya balath. (She) pounded the bait (to get the grease out).

2. Kill.

3. Shoot.

balayiiij-balayiiija (*miburlda*)

v.i.

Blink (eyes).

balbarra *n.*

Yam sp; stem eaten

(= *kunybalka*).

Balbarra wambalwaand, walmarutha kawath.

The *balbarra* yam is from inland, (you) roast (it) in a ground oven.

balbirndibirndi *n.*

Green plum, *Buchanania obovata*.

Fruit eaten. (= *biribiri*).

balbudubudu *n.*

Coral tree, *Erythrina variegata*, var. *orientalis*. No use recorded.

balda [**bal-**] *n.*

Leaf (tree), creeper (root plant).

Baliya wurankiya darath. (You) break off the creepers (from a yam).

Dathina thungalda maraka wuyirra bald. That tree has leaves like a casuarina.

balda miburlda eyelash.

baldamurra *n.*

Short young grass; appears after first rains.

baldingkarra *n.*

Long grass at end of rainy season.

baldungkurlda *n.*

Turkey bush, *calytrix exstipulata*.

balwija *v.i.*

Blink.

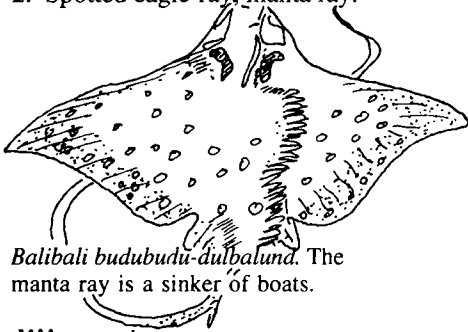
baldabalda *n.*

High branches.

Muthaa miburlda wuranda wirndiija baldabalday. Lots of fruit is hanging in the high branches.

balibali *n.*

1. Butterfly.
2. Spotted eagle-ray, manta ray.



Balibali budubudu-dulbalund. The manta ray is a sinker of boats.

baliiija *v.i.*

Wade. [REDUP **balij-baliija**]

Baliiijida thaanda. She's wading back to the mouth of the creek.

darra baliiija wade thigh-deep.

Darra ngarrwanda balij. We waded thigh-deep.

balijatha *v.i.*

Turn (self) to the west.

balijulutha *v.t.*

Move OBJ to west.

Warathirrinda balijuluthirrind.

They've been sent to the west.

balila *n.*

Sardine.

balilutha, balulutha *v.t.*

Uncover, expose, make naked.

Warrmara baliluth. The wind exposed (the things which had been under the tarpaulin.)

balinda *n.qual.*

Uncovered, exposed, naked.

Balinda dangkaa, rundulwarri, dangka-kurdalanda dangkaa. *Balinda diyaaja.*

The man was left exposed, with no

grave, the murderer. And thus exposed he was eaten (by the crows).

Balinda dinaja karndiija dund. (In old times) husband and wife would go about naked poisoning (fish).

balinda waraa circumcized.

baliyada *n.*

Pinch.

Used to attract attention during silence bans: novice would pinch 'doctor' once when he wanted to drink or eat, twice when he wanted to relieve himself.

baliyatha *v.t.*

Pinch, squeeze.

Kunawalada baliyathuth. The children are pinching each other.

balkaji *n.qual.*

1. Thin, scrawny.
2. Sister (used only between brothers-in-law).

balkajiwaangka *n.*

"Sister turtle" - exact meaning unclear.

balkajiwatha *v.i.*

Get thin, skinny.

balkajiwuru *n.*

Sister's husband, brother-in-law. (=nathawakathawuru)

balkanda *n.*

Dead fish washed up after cold S.E. winds. Edible after light cooking on ashes.

Balkanda naaj. *Yakuriya kurirra muthaa, warrngalda kuruluth.* The *balkanda* fish were cooked. (There were) a lot of dead fish, the wind had killed them.

balkunybalka *n.*

Edible root sp.

Balkunybalka diyaaj, wambalwaand, biriida diyaaj. The *balkunybalka* is eaten, it grows in the bush, its stem is eaten.

balkuranda *n.*

Black-shouldered kite, falcon.

balmararra *n.*

Large garfish.

balmbiya *n.time.*

Morrow, the next day.

Mirniwarrkiya dangkaa balmbiya diyaja bijarrbay. The man who killed it could eat the dugong the next day.

balmbimaja *v.i.*

wait until tomorrow

balmbimariija *v.adv.* (K, Ya)

Until/for the next day

Bada warrku thaathu burlungku wurlanku, badija thaatha nalda badiju balmbimariju. In the late afternoon we'll come back with the cooked food, we'll carry it back on our heads for the next day. (Ya)

balmbiwu, balmbu tomorrow.

Balmbu kurriju! See you tomorrow!

balmbiyarrada

[**balmbiyarrath-**] the day after tomorrow.

balmbu kurriju see you tomorrow (farewelling formula).

balmbura tomorrow (Ya)

Balmbura thaathu niy. He'll come tomorrow.

balmurdumurdu *n.*

Monkey nut.

Balmurdumurdu balaaj, barrkiiij, diyajaja warangk. The monkey nut is pounded and chopped up, and its kernel is eaten.

balubalungka (balubalu) *n.*

West wind [REDUP of **balungka**].

Balubalu jinkaj. The west wind follows.

balubunji *n.*

Seahorse.

balumbanda *n.*

Western, westerner .

Riya, rulungk, balumbanda jardiya thungkuway. (When) in the east, when going eastward (towards Wamakurlda), the western mob stayed in the mangrove scrub.

balumirdamirda *n.*

Sea territory to the west.

balungka *n.loc.* (Ya ~ *balu*)

To the west, westwards, the western horizon [west-ALL].

Ngada warraju balungku. I am going westwards.

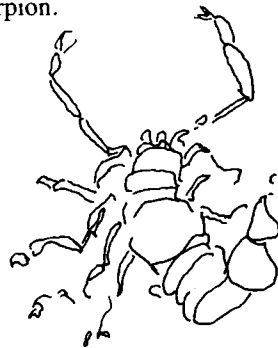
balurayaanda *n.loc.*

Previous night's camp in the west.

Rabij, balurayaanmulaand. They got up and left their previous night's camp in the west.

balunthurlda *n.*

Scorpion.



balurdiinda *n.*

New moon [lit. westward-sitter, so-called because the new moon is always in the west at dusk].

(syn **bathiji-diinda**)

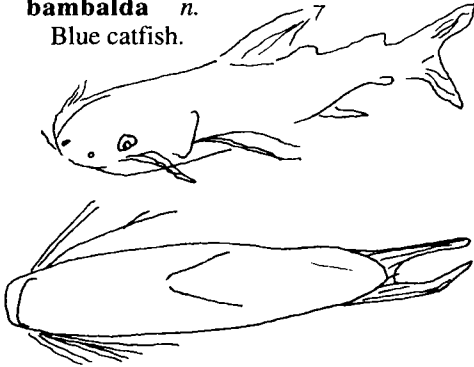
bamatha

1. *v.t.* Smell OBJ.

Dathinki bukaya makurrarri ngada bamath. I smell that rotten wallaby.

2. *v.i.* "Spout" (dugong), come up to breathe.

bambalda *n.*
Blue catfish.



bambularra [**bambularr-**]
Plant sp, with bitter-tasting fruit,
opilia amentacea.
Waraya karnaja bambularr. The
bambularra stings your mouth.

bamurra *n.*
Swelling on head, espec. on
forehead.

bana *conj.* (K, Ya)
And, or, nor, too.
Ngijinda thabuju biyanangku bana ngijinda kunawuna biyanangku. My big brother can't swim and my child can't swim.
Makuwa ngaarrngija yakuriy, bijarrb, bana bangaa. The birth of a girl can be signalled by fish, dugong, or turtle.
Ngada warraj. Ngada ban. I'm going. Me too.
Niya ngijinjiya wuuja bana ngumbanji. He gave it to me and to you (Ya).
bana ... bana ... *conj.*
Both ... and ...
Muthaa ngambu, bana ngarnd, bana wambald. There are lots of wells, both on the beach, and in the bush.

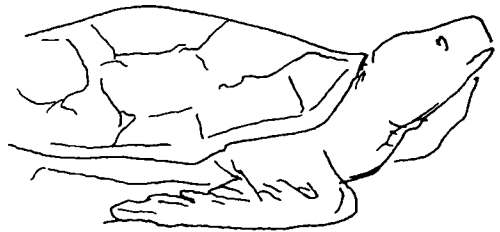
banaba *n. qual.*
Unknown, strange, unrecognized.
(When modifying an Object this is generally detached and may even be in a separate clause).

Danda dulka banab, mankinda dulk. This country is unknown (to me), it's someone else's country.
Ngada banabaya kurrija ngumbanji. I looked at you without knowing who you were (i.e. as upon someone unknown).
Banabawu ngada kurrkathu ngumbanju, kurriju barrnyalu. I will take you to see the meeting place, of which you are ignorant (which is unknown to you).

banda *n.time.*
Soon, by now.
Banda nyingka kantharrkuru kalathu. You can cut (a boomerang) yourself by now.
Niwanda kunawuna wirrkaanngarra dangkaa banda kurriju. His son, having been initiated, will soon see (it).

bandija *v.t.*
Variant of *barndija*.

bangaa *n.*
Turtle, sea-turtle (generic term.)



bangkarrka *n.*
Floating corkwood shaft of three-
pieced spear.

banjaa *n.*
Small black ant.

banji *n.*
Spouse, brother-in-law (= *dunda*),
sister-in-law (= *karndi*) and
anyone in that super-class (e.g.
babiju).

banjingarrba *n.*

Pair of people who call each other *banji*, e.g. two brothers-in-law, boyfriend and girlfriend.

banjija *v.i.*

1. Stink, emit odour .

2. Smell, perceive by smell.

Banjija diyaja ngada barrngkay. I tasted the lily roots.

banjinda stagnant, stinking.

banki *n.*

Lagoon, enclosed area of sea-water (e.g. inside fishtrap).

bankibanki *n. manner.*

Going along a beach.

bankirri *n.*

Windbreak.



banmali *n. voc.*

You to the west. *Nyingka ngaak, banmali?* Who are you, you in the west there?

banmarutha

1. *v.t.* Put to the west side.

2. *v.i.* Look to the west.

banthalwanthalka *n.*

Water weed.

Banthalwanthalka yarkiya ngukuya thaldij. Water weed stands under the water.

bantharra *part.*

Some.

Ngalda wirdijarra bantharra

malankarrinurru, bantharra

bankirrinurru. Some of us had iron humpies, some had windbreaks.

barabara *n.*

Shade built against sun.

baraburra *n.*

Black flying-fox.

Baraburra kurthangarrkarra thabuju.

The black flying-fox is the brother of the brown flying-fox.



barakurra *n.*

Red ant.

Kangku kamburij: "Mardalath, mardalatha kurdamaruth, baymbay barakurriyiwath, miburlda bayij, barakurr!" (The baby's grandfather says: "rub it, rub it (with grease) and put it in the coolamon, or else it'll be bitten by ants, it's eyes will be bitten, there are red ants around!")

baraliyanda *n.*

Pearl perch, trumpeter, diamond fish, archer-fish.

baralji *n.*

Heap, pile of food.

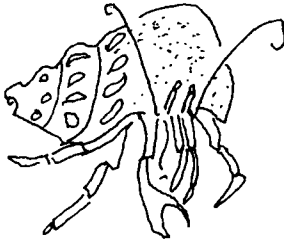
baraljirutha *v.t.*

Put together in a heap.

baramatha *v.i.*

Snore.

barangaji *n.*
Hermit-crab, snail.



barangka *n.*
Fat.
ngumuwa barangka "old fat" of stringray (lit. 'black fat').

bararra *n.*
Silver mullet, sea-mullet.

barbara *n. qual.*
Shallow (= *malawarri*).

-barda *Nominal suffix.*
Suffixed to kin terms, giving affectionate form.
Kajakajabarda dear daddy.

bardabarda *n.*
Black pomfret, common pony fish.

bardaka *n.*
1. Belly.
Niya jambilatha ngijinjiya bardakay.
He kicked me in the stomach.
2. Inside (of plane), hold (of boat).
3. Bulge (in fish trap).
4. Feelings; feel (emotion).
Nyingka mirraa bardak? Mirraa bardaka ngad. How do you feel? I feel good.
Ngada danda bardak. I feel like this.
Ngada bardaka birdi, kunawunajaniind. I feel bad, I'm missing my kids.

bardaka birdiwatha *v.i.*
Yawn.

bardaka jara sole of foot.

bardaka-burldija *v.t.*
Impregnate OBJ, make pregnant, give a child to OBJ.

Kajakaja bardaka-burldija cousin-ki.
Your dad made his cousin pregnant.

bardaka-kunawunawuru
pregnant

bardaka-marutha *v.t.*

1. Conceive (by man).
Ngada ngaruwarra-warrayarba bardakayiwath, bardakamarutharra ngaruwarrarrayarrbana ngijinjina.
I was the middle child, (my father) conceived me as the middle one.
2. Think of (with feeling).

bardakarutha *v.t.*

Console (e.g. bereaved person).

bardaka thaatha *v.t.*

Get jealous of OBJ.

Ngada bardaka thaathu ngijinjuru duujinjuru. I'm jealous of my little sister.

bardaka-thali *n.*

Pregnant woman or dugong.

bardakawarri *n. qual.*

Hungry.

bardaka-wuuja *v.t.*

Feed.

Dathina kunawuna bardakawarri, bardaka-wuuja wurand! That child is hungry, feed (him) some food!

bardaka-wuyiija *v.i.*

Feed oneself, have dinner

bardakayiwatha *v.i.*

(Spirit child) enter the womb.
Ngada kunyaa kunawuna wirdij, kunyaa kunawuna wirdij, small one, yarki, yarki dulki, bardakayiwam-marri, warirr. Marrija ngunguki.
I was just a small child, still inside the ground (i.e. my spirit hadn't come out of the ground to impregnate my mother), hadn't entered the womb, nothing. (I just) heard the story.

birdiya bardaka *n.idiom.*

Yawn.

dangkawarri bardaka mean, cruel.

kalkatha bardaka be out of breath.

mildalatha bardaka grieve, mourn, be grief-stricken.

ngarrkuwa bardaka determined, resolute.

rarungku bardaka facing south.
Jirrkaraalind, rarungku bardak.
(When there's a) north wind,
(people) face south.

walmuwa bardaka belly up.

bardanda *n.*

Healed, crusted over (wound); dried
(excised prepuce).

bardanmatha *v.i.*

Heal (wound), crust over (scab),
dry (excised prepuce).

Ngada bardanmathu minbarr. I'll let
my wounds heal (before taking my
revenge).

bardanginda *n.*

Big toe, thumb; largest digit.

bardangu *n.qual.*

Big (= *jungarra*).

bardangu-wardangu *n.qual.*

Nice and big.

*Thawaliya bardangu-wardanguya
karnaj.* (We) roasted nice big yams.

bardarri *n.*

Rock cod tail.

bardawuluwulu *n.*

Abalone, *Katylesia niantina*. Placed
in fire to cook.

bardi *n.*

1. Whiskers of fish.

2. Grey hair.

Ngada muthawu bardiwu. I've got a lot
of grey hair.

bardiwardi *n.*

Lardil man.

bardiwurubardiwuru *n.*

Old man, greyhair.

kunyaa bardiwuru *n.*

Middle-aged man.

bardibardi *n.*

Mangrove shell, pencil shell.

*Dathina bardibardi, murrthala niwanda
thabuju.* That mangrove shell, the
murrthala is his brother.

bardu *n. qual.*

Hard, tough, tough-skinned.

*Bardu-mirra-bardu dathina man,
rayiija bardu.* That man (*Kajurku*) was
really tough, (he) was speared at but
he was too tough.

bardubardu¹ *n. qual.*

Low.

Bardubarduwa dulk depression
between sandhills.

Ngurruwarra bardubardu. That
fishtrap's low yet (it's got to be built
up some more).

bardubardu² *n. qual.*

Rotten (fish).

bardurrka *n.*

Foetus, embryo.

barduardurrka *n. manner.*

Slowly.

barduardu *n.*

Spangled or yellow-tailed perch,
trumpeter.

baribari *n.qual.*

"Taking off", having a turn,
comatose.

*Danda kunawuna baribari,
miburngudij. Jinaa mirraa waraa
dangkaa?* That child is having a turn,
his eyes are rolling. Where is the
healer man?

baribari dangkaa *n.*

"Cheeky man", person who gets
carried away with aggression.

barjaja *n.*

Fishing spot on rocks or reef.

barjija *v.i.*

1. Fall, (breasts) sag, (sun) set.

*Niya budiinangarr, warirrantha
barjinmarrinja niwanjinaanth.* He
just about got away, then (the tree)

wouldn't have fallen on him, nothing.
Dathina makuwa munirra barjij. That woman's breasts are sagging.
Nathawu barthawu thaathu, warrku barjinyarr. We'll get back to our camp, before the sun sets on us.
 2. Be born.
Ngaaka nyingka barjijarrb? What's your sign? (Lit. 'what were you born as?')
 3. Capsize (boat).
Ngada kamburija niwanji, walbuntha dathininja barjinyarranth. I told him the boat would capsize.

barkuwaaja *v.t.*
 Abandon, leave (e.g. spouse, fight), give up (e.g. drink).
Niya barkuwaaja muthaya kangki kamuthay. He left (her), the chatterbox, because she talks too much.
Birdiya kangka barkuwaaj! Leave off your bad words!

barmatha
 1. *v.i.* Dive.
 2. *v.t.* Dive onto OBJ, wrestle (dugong).

barnbarnda¹ *n.*
 "Flying crab", blue crab.

barnbarnda² *n.*
 Chin of dugong.

barndaa *n.*
 Tailfin of dugong (= *majimaji*).



Barndaya badija ngumbanda kanthathu. Your father is carrying a dugong tail.

barndarra *n.*
 Sea ebony, *diosporos ferrea* var. *reticulata*. Fruit eaten when red. (= Lardil *jirdal*)

barndibarndi *n.qual.*
 Shallow. (= *malawarri*)

barndija¹ *v.t.* (~ **bandija**)
 Smell, perceive by smell.
Dathina ngijuwa barndijurrk bukaa wurand. That, I can smell, is rotten food.
Wardunda bandija ngulmu. Cats smell fantastically well.

barndija² *v.t.*
 Stop, hinder, block.
Thardaya burutha ngada niwanji, yulijja barndij. I took his shoulder, and tried to stop him.
Barndijirinda thaatha bilwanji buthiya kiwalaaj. Having been blocked off (the fish) returned, with the water being clapped behind them.
Kanthathu bilwanda barndija, wanjiinmarri. Their father stopped him, so that he did not go ashore.

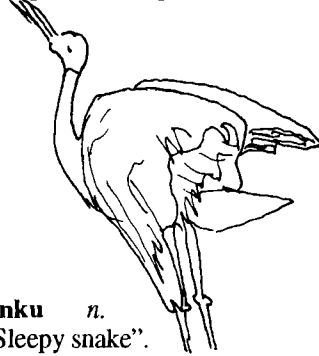
barndiija *v.i.*
 Choke.
Barndij. Julda yakuriya thawurri jaaj. (He) is choking. A fish bone has entered his throat.

barnjalda *n.*
 1. Placenta, afterbirth, womb.
 2. Roe of fish.

barnkaldija *v.i.*
 Sit with legs crossed; assume sitting position with legs crossed.
mirraa barnkaldija be fine, be nothing wrong with.
Mirraa barnkaldija ngad. I'm fine, there's nothing wrong with me.

barnkalji *n.*

Brolga. (= *birrangarra*)



barnku *n.*

“Sleepy snake”.

Barnku darruya *wirdij*. The sleepy snake lives in holes in trees.

barnu *n.*

Swamp food, sp.? Has leaf like *damuru* (‘panja’), *eleocharis dulcis*. *Barnu kamarruru barrkiind*. *Barnu* is chopped with a stone.

barra [barr-] *n.*

Bank, side, edge (e.g. of creek, estuary).

Barriiwath. (They) are going to the riverbank.

Barriya nganbuy, walmu. (They) are on the edge of the well, right up high.

barra miburlda eyelash (= *balda miburlda*)

barralda *n.*

1. Feather.
2. Leaf.
3. Petal.
4. Flowers of lily.

barralmaaja *v.imp.*

(New moon) appear .

barrangkarlda *n.*

Collar-bone.

barrbarra *n.qual.*

Light. When applied to languages (e.g. *Yukulta*) means “flowing” as opposed to “staccato”.

barrbalutha *v.t.*

Lighten, make light.

Kalatha wangalka barrbaluth! Trim the boomerang, make it light!

barrbirutha *v.t.*

Lift, remove by lifting.

barri¹ *Part.*

Okay, go on, just. Only attested with imperatives.

Barri kuliyakuliyani! Just don’t give me too much.

Barri kuujuuj! Go on, you can swim!
Barri kurrkatha wuuja niy! Go on, give it back to him!

barri² *Conj.*

But, but he.

Loan from English “but he”.

Maraka bukawathuunth, barri birjinid.
You’d have thought they would have died, but they were healthy.

barrija *v.i.* (K, Ya)

Crawl, slither, move around, move. *Barrinangku diiju burmathu.* (He’ll) sit ducked down, won’t be able to move.

Yildaa barrija warraj. The windsnake moves by slithering.

Barrina kalkana majimaji! Let’s not be crawling around on sore calves!
(Ya)

barrinda *n.*

Child at crawling stage.

Barrindindi (Barrirndirndi) *n.*

Mythical being.

Female monster living under mud at *Kathukabarndiyarrba*. Seizes young boys and takes them underground as husbands, returning them after several weeks. Her appearance is presaged by large numbers of red fish.

barrjaa *n.manner.*

Excited, loud, noisy (e.g. women at a fight).

barrjawuru dangkaa *n.*

Person dancing around barracking at a fight.

barrkija *v.t.*

Chop, chop up.

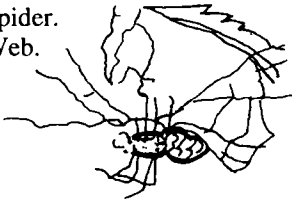
Ngada kurrijarra niwanjina barrkinkina ngijinaanth. I saw him chopping firewood.

Dathinki bangaya (ngada) kamarru barrkij. I chopped up that turtle with a rock.

nalda barkiija gash one's head during mourning.

barrmakalda *n.*

1. Spider.
2. Web.



barrngkaa *n.*

Water-lily; roots thereof.



barrnyanda *n.*

Big meeting, welcome.

Bulatha dulki, barrnyand. (They're) clearing the ground, it's a welcome.

barrunthaya *n.time.*

Yesterday.

Barrunthawanda kaburrba. Yesterday's fire.

barrunthawu *n.time.*

In a little while.

Barrunthawu ngada thaathu. I'll come back in a little while.

barrwaaja

1. *v.t.* Bar, block, block access to, guard.

Dathina yarbuda barwaaja ngambirri, rabaanmarrirutha ngambirri. That dog is blocking the (entrance to) the house, so that no-one can step into the house.

Ngada barrwaaja wuranki miburi mango, marndiinangku. I guarded the mango fruit, so that I wouldn't be robbed.

Dathinki dulki barrwaaj, maraka bilwanji dulki. (McKenzie) blocked off that land, but it was their (i.e. the Bentincks') country.

2. *v. ditr.* block off (land:OBJ1) to others (OBJ2).

Dulkuruya dangkaya barrwaaja dulki. (McKenzie) barred the land to its rightful owners.

-barrwaaja (*in compounds*).

Prevent from PREF, keep from PREF.

Mibulbarrwaaja keep from sleeping.

barrwatha *v.i.*

(Fire) burn low without flames, smoulder.

Kaburrba barrwathi, kaburrbaya wuuji. The fire's burning low now, put (the fish) on the fire!

barrwunbarrwuna *n.qual.*

Shaky, unsteady on one's feet.

barthaa *n.*

Footprint.

nathaa barthaa base camp, camp where one spends the night.

bathali *n.*

Smelly turtle.

bathawatha *n.*

Big dugong.

bathinda *n.loc.*

Coming from the west.

Jirdawatha marrija ngada wangarri muthaya bangaya bathinki. Drooling with anticipation I heard the sound of many turtles coming from the west.

Dathina durldija bathinki dawurldawuri dangkay. There he is (the eclipse moon) covering the spirits coming from the west.

bathinmali hey you coming from the west!

bawarriwarri *n. qual.*
(Shell) lacking edible flesh.

bawatha *v. impers.*
Blow (wind).

bawu¹ *n.*
Spit, spittle, foam.
malabawubawu *n.*
High foaming tide.

bawu² *n.*
Pelican (= *wanikarra*).

bayatha *v. i.*
Approach, go close to, set (sun).
Bayath! Move a bit closer!
Bayathurrka warrkuntha jurdijurrk, ngakulda jungarrba wirrkand. As soon as the sun sets, we will have a big dance.

bayi
1. *n.* Fight, trouble.
Yulmburra bayi, riinda bathind. It was a long fight, with everyone involved.
2. *n.* Troublesome, dangerous or painful thing or person, 'cheeky one'.
Jungarra bayi dathina thungalda mirdi. That thing, the stingray fin, is a really painful thing.
3. *n. qual.* Angry, dangerous, in the mood for a fight, 'cheeky'.
Kirrkka ngarrkuwath, bardaka naaj, yuuda ngada wurdija bayi. My face becomes stern, my stomach burns, already I am becoming angry.

bayiburrija
1. *v. t.* Make trouble over OBJ.
Niya bayiburrija thungali niwanji. She's making trouble over his things.

2. *v. t.* Squabble with OBJ over VPURP/PROP.

Thungaljaniija niya bayiburrij. She's squabbling with him, trying to get the things.

Bayiburrinjutha wurankur. (They) are squabbling over the food.

bayimarndija *v. t.*
Remove the danger or propensity to give pain from, make safe.
Dangkaa bayimarndija waaja mirdiy. The man is singing the stingray pin so it won't hurt (when used in initiation).

bayimarra *n. qual.*
Fight-hungry, aggressive.

bayimungurru *n. qual.*
Fight-hungry, aggressive, fond of fighting.

bayiwarri *n. qual.*
Peaceful, untroubled.

bayiwarrirutha *v. t.*
Pacify, make peaceful.

bayiwarriwatha *v. i.*
Calm down, become peaceful.

bayiwatha *v. i.*
Sulk.

bayiwuja *v. t.* (RECIP
bayiwunjutha)
Give cheek, provoke, cause distress to, upset.
Nyingka bayiwunda ngijininja kunawunanth. You are upsetting my child.

bayiwuru *n. qual.*
"Wild", fighting mad, angry.

bayiwuruwatha *v. i.*
Get mad, get angry.

bayi yulmburra (bayilmburra)
"whistler", mature male dugong.

bayiki *n.*
Bag. Eng. loan.

baymbay *part.*
Particle used in warnings. < Eng. "by and by". See Grammar, 9.7.3.

bibibi *ideoph.*

Zap! Pow! (e.g. sound of spearing.) =Lardil *birrbibi*.
Nyingka wungija ngijnji! Bibibi!
 You've been stealing from me! Zap!
 (He speared him.)

bida [**bith-**] *n.*

Smell (esp. under arms), flavour (esp. meat).

bida wagarra *tune*

Bida wangarr, kanthathukarr. The tune is performed in my father's style.

bida wuuja put underarm smell on.

bidalalkuru *n.*

(**bidararalkuru**)
 River garfish.

bidirirri (**birdirirri**) *n.*

Extension of breast-bone; base of sternum.

biiba *n.*

Paper, book. (Eng. 'paper').

bija *n.*

1. Photo, picture.
 2. Camera.
- From Eng. 'picture'.

bijaa *n.*

Tree sp., *Timonius timon*.
 Yellowish fruit eaten.

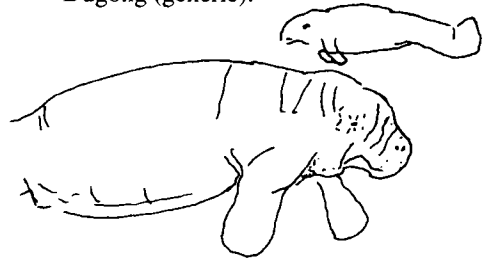
bijarala *n.*

Red meat, e.g. horsemeat, dugong meat, turtle meat.

Bijarala mirraa bid, mirraa kandukandu. Red meat has a good flavour, it's got plenty of blood.

bijarrba *n.*

Dugong (generic).



bijarrba-raanda *n.*

Dugong-spearer.

bijil-kurrija *v.t.* (Ya)

Watch. (= K *birrijil-kurrija*)
Ngada bijilkurriju niwanju kalinku.
 I'll watch him jump.

bijurra *n.*

Cockle-shell sp, *Gafrarium timidum*.

bika [**bik-**] *n.* (K, Ya)

Flank, side of body by kidneys.

bikurda *n.time.*

Evening.
Bikurdawu kurriju. See you this evening.

bikurdarutha *v.i.*

Wait for evening.
Malayida bikurdaruth, bayatha warraja warrku. Still in the sea (they) wait for evening, as the sun starts to go down.

bilaa *n.manner.*

Slowly, step by step.

bilarrija *v.t.*

Drop (solid object), spill (liquid).
ngukuwa bilarrija urinate (euph.) (= *kulaaja*)

bilbilda *n.*

Pike-eel.

bardaka bilbilda moonfish.

bilda *pron.* (K, Ya)

They, third person plural pronoun.

bildangka *n.*

1. "Apron", meat from dugong's guts.

bildangkarra *n.*

Red meat from horse's guts.

bildi *n.*

Tern, common noddy.

Bildiya birilutha kamburij. The tern sings out before fine weather.

Bildi muthawuru kunawunawuru. The tern has many children.

bildirra *n.*

Red bulldog ant.

bilida *n.*

Cowrie shell.

bilida wuranda generic term for shell-covered food including shellfish and crustaceans.

bililurlda [**bililur-**] *n.*

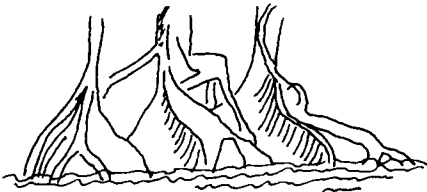
Cuttle, squid's backbone. Also rec. as **bilulurlda**.

Bilulurld maraka jardi rarrararr. Cuttle is like the back of the squid.

bilirra *n.*

1. Yellow mangrove, *Ceriops tagal*.

2. Buttress roots of yellow mangrove, used as paddles.



birri *n.*

Two-pronged spear. (= *birnkilda*).

birrirri *n.*

Carrying hook on spear.

biljirri *n.*

Lorikeet, king parrot, rosella.

bilkurra *n.*

Milkwood tree, *Canarium australianum*. Fruit eaten.

Bakaya diyaja miburi bilkurri, bilarrija dulmaruth, dangkantha diyajuunth. Torres Strait pigeons eat the fruit of the milkwood tree, and spill them to the ground, so that people can eat them.

Bilkurra diyaankuru. Kunyaa miburlda balaankuru, warangka diyaaaj.

Milkwood (fruit) is edible. The small fruit can be hit down, and their nuts are eaten.

bilmarra *n.*

Skate.



bilmirra *n.*

Spear-grass, *Vetiveria elongata*.

Used for making string.

bilngkada *n.*

Small edible root plant, sp.?, with yellow leaves.

Bilngkada wambalwaand, bakiinda dulka diyaaaj. Dangkaa rarrwath, ngawunmaruth. The *bilngkada* grows in the bush, and all of it is eaten.

People cook it on the coals, or put it on the ashes.

bilthalbilthalutha *v.t.*

Give sparingly, stint, give a little bit at a time (e.g. a mother feeding a fussy child).

bilthurrka *n.*

Bloodwood gum, *Eucalyptus clavigera*, which flowers at 'oyster

time' in late May;
syn. *kambumanda*. The term
bilthurrka is extended to most
eucalyptus sps. except *E. papuana*,
but including *E. dichromophloia*,
E. pruinosa.
Bunjanbalayambala diyaja naraya
bilthurrki. Honeyeaters eat the nectar
of the bloodwood gum.

bilwanda (biluwanda) *pron.*
Their. Third person plural
possessive pronoun.

bilwatha *v.i.*
"Spout" (dugong), surface for air.
(= *mayiija*, *bamatha*)

bindilka *n.*
Bird sp.
Bindilka ngarnkiya wirdij,
kunyawunyaya yalunthaya diyaj. The
bindilka bird stays on the beach, and
eats little bits of seaweed.

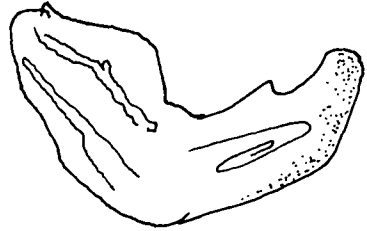
bingkurnda (~ birnkurnda) *n.*
Mangrove crab.
Nyingka kantharrajaajaanda
bingkurninj. You are digging for
mangrove crabs on your own.
Birnkurnda marndakarranji.
Mangrove crabs (live) in holes.

biniji *n.pred.*
Finished.
From Eng. "finished".
binijirutha (binijurutha) *v.t.*
Finish off.
binijiwatha *v.i.*
Finish, finish up.

bininya *n.*
River mullet.

binjarra *n.*
March fly.

binjibinji *n.*
Cut-out root from which
boomerang will be made.



binjinda *n.*
Widow.
Adapted loan from Eng. "pensioner".

binjinjurra *n.*
Pink soldier crab.

binthu *n.*
Foreskin, prepuce.

birangkarra *n.time.*
1. Over a long period.
Bilda wirrkaju birangkarr, jungarrawu
ngimiwu. They'll dance for a long
time, far into the night.
2. Usually.
3. Always.
Dathina dangkaa birangkarra diyaja
wuranki. That man is always eating.

birdi *n.qual.*
1. Bad.
2. Dangerous, powerful, sacred.
birdibaku *n.qual.*
Bad.
birdibirdi balatha *t. v. idiom*
Carry net rolled up on head.
birdikalaaja *v.i.*
Grow weak, tired.
Birdikalaaja kangk. (Her) voice is
growing tired; she is talking faintly.
birdikalatha *v.t.*
Get wrong.
Babiju birdikalatha kiyarrngki
kangk. Grandmother got two words
wrong.

birdimirra *n. qual.*

Ugly.

birdina kunawuna child bad like his father's mother, son of a bitch, son of a dog (lit. child of a bad one)

birdirutha *v.t.*

Spoil, wreck, make bad, miss (shot).

Maraka birdiruthu! They said I was going to miss, but I didn't!

birdiwatha *v.i.*

Be lazy, (sore) be infected.

birdiwuru *n.qual.*

Bad-charactered, lazy.

birdiya dulka dangerous place, sacred place that must not be disturbed

birdiyalatha *v.i.*

Do evil deeds, act immorally.

birdin- *preverbal prefix.*

Do badly, without the appropriate result, mis-.

birdilaaja *v.t.*

Misspear, throw spear off course.

birdinbalatha *v.t.*

Hit askew, miss, mishit.

Ngada birdinbalath, marlda dunbuwath. I hit him askew, my hand played up.

birdindiija *v.i.*

(Something thrown) land in wrong place.

Wumburungka birdindij, dulwarri mirrawarri. The spear landed off course, not in the right place.

birdinjinkaja *v.t.*

Follow wrong track.

birdinkarnaja *v.t.*

Cook in the wrong way (e.g. in violation of food taboo, as when cooking *jardiyardi* 'month-fish' on wrong sort of wood).

birdinkurrija *v.t.*

Look at without recognizing.

birdinmalbayalatha *v.t.*

Wrongly identify as wallaby grass, mistakengly think another grass is wallaby grass.

Nyingka birdinmalbayalath, dilmirr. You wrongly thought it was wallaby grass, but it's *dilmirr*.

birdinmarraja *v.t.*

Lose one's way, go off the track.

[< *birdin-* + *warraja*]

Birdinmarraj, yubuyubuwarri. (We) lost our way, there was no track.

birdinmarrija *v.t.*

Mishear.

Niya birdinmarrija ngijinji, marraldunbuwath. He misheard/misunderstood me, his ear played up.

birdinngudija *v.t.*

Misthrow, throw askew.

Birdinngudij, dirralda marld, rirrkuru, karbakarbawath. (He) threw it askew, his hand was slippery and covered in grease, it had got wet.

birdinnilatha *v.t.*

Misname, call by the wrong name.

birdinbirdinda (**birinbirinda**)

n.manner.

Spear at the ready.

biri *n.*

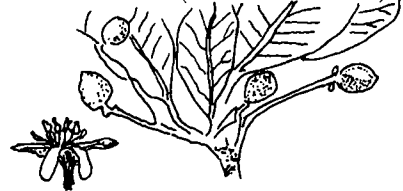
1. White gum, *Eucalyptus papuana*.

2. Trunk of tree.

biribiri *n.*

Green plum, *Buchanania obovata*.

Fruit eaten. (= *balbirndibirndi*)



biriiida¹ *n.*

1. Body.

2. Root of yam or vine.

Jiwi diyaand, biriida diyaaj. The *jiwi* yam is edible, its root is eaten.

3. Alive.

biriida² [**biriij-**] *n.*

Father. This is a “triangular term”, used by your father’s mother when talking about your father/her son.

REDUP plural **biriijbiriida**.

Ngarrmandathu! Jinaa biriijiyarrngk?

Where are your two fathers?

birilda *n.*

Fine, calm weather.

Birilda bada warrku. It will be fine this afternoon.

biriluru *n.qual.*

“Greasy water”, smooth seas.

birilutha *v.t.*

Cause fine weather, do while awaiting fine weather.

Birilutha kamburij. They are talking while waiting for the fine weather.

birilwatha *v.impers.*

(Weather) become fine, calm;

(weather) clear.

birinbirinda (**birdinbirdinda**)

n.manner.

Spear at the ready

birinka *n.*

Lightning (= *birnarra*).

Muthaa birink, wankukurulund.

There’s a lot of lightning, it’s a good time for spearing stingrays. (They congregate at the mouths of rivers).

Jirdangkuld, maku birink, wurkar barrbarr. The heavy (thunder) comes from female lightning, the light thunder from the male.

birirribirirri *n.*

Distant noise, racket, hubbub, e.g. of many squealing children, or a flock of magpies.

biriyarri (**biriirri**) *n.*

Tree, sp?. Used for fighting sticks and now for didgeridoos.

birjija *v.i.*

Survive; be alive.

Yakuriya birjinyarr. The fish (that we tried poisoning) may have survived.

Kada birjija ngada kurirrngarrb. I am alive again after being as dead.

birjilutha *v.t.*

Save, bring back to life.

Maraka yumathu ngijinmarri, ngada niwanji birjiluth. He would have drowned without me, I saved him.

birjinda *n.qual.*

Alive.

Jangkaa balaaj, jangkaa wirdija birjind. Some were shot, some remained alive.

birkaliija *v.t.*

Feel sorry for, feel pity for, care for, feel for.

Ngada birrkaliija ngumbanji. I feel sorry for you.

Mirraa dangkaa, dangka-mnungurru, birkaliind. He’s a good man, he understands people, he’s compassionate.

dangka-birkaliinda *n. qual.*

Merciful.

Mambunkinda dangka-birrkaliinda dulk. Mambunkind was a merciful place. (It saved people from the flood).

birmarutha

1. *v.i.* Be the cause of trouble (unintentionally).

Jungarrba dangkaa balathuth, kurdalathuth, dangkanabanji kunawunaya balath. Kunawuna birmaruth. The adults are hitting and spearing each other because one hit someone else’s child. The child is the cause of the trouble.

2. *v.t.* Cause trouble for OBJ without intending to, “spoiling”.
Warngiida budiiija bundalwulaaj, rayiija kurulij, ngamathu jawija kurdalaaj. Niya ngamathuya birmaruth. One boy ran away from the initiation ground, and was speared and killed, his mother was speared to death as she ran. (Through his cowardice) he caused his mother’s death.

birnarra *n.*

Lightning (= *birinka*).
Birnarra malwij. The lightning is flashing.
Bilda birnarriiwath. They were hit by lightning.

makuwa birnarra sheet lightning, with long rumbling thunder (lit. female lightning).

wurkara birnarra forked lightning, with sharp clap (lit. male lightning).

birndibirndi *n.*

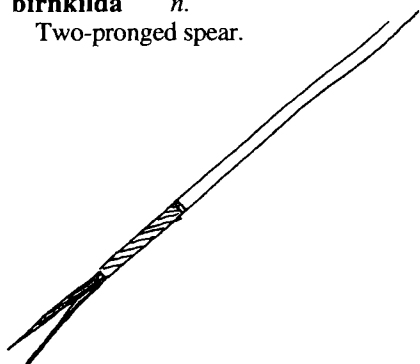
Shell, purple or drupe,
Megalotractus arvanus.
Birndibirndi ngukubadind. The drupe shell is a water-carrier.

birndiribirndiri *n.*

Triton, trumpet shell.

birnkilda *n.*

Two-pronged spear.



birnkurnda (~ **bingkurnda**) *n.*
 Mangrove crab.

birra¹ *pron.*

They two. Third person dual pronoun.

birra² *conj.*

Also, too.
Ngarra warraj. Ngada birr. We two are going. Me too.

birrangarra *n.*

Brolga.
Birrangarra jathaya kathaya kabath.
 The brolga finds another (a new) nest.

birrbalatha *v.t.*

Clean mud off OBJ, e.g. panja.
Makuwalada wirngaja damuruy, birrbalath, kurij. The women dig up panja, clean the mud off it, and wash it.

birrbari *n.*

“Wild tomato”. Sp.?

birrbirrbirbi *n.qual.*

Full (of ASSOC).
Dathina wurumanda birrbirrbiya ngukunurru. That billycan is full of water.
Dathina dangkaa birrbirrbirbi waraa.
Kuliyanda diyanda wuraninj. That man has a full mouth. He is eating too much food.

birribirri *n.manner*

Many travelling together.
Ngakulda warraja muthaa ngankirra, walbuy, birribirri. We went on the raft in a big group, all travelling together.

birrjilka *n.*

1. Time, occasion.
Ngada balatha niwanji warngiida birrjilk. I hit him once.
Kiyarrngka birrjilka warmara burrij.
 The wind came up twice.
 2. Way, manner, pace.
Ngarrkuwa birrjilka rajurrija dathina dangkaa. That man is walking along very fast.

3. "Law," way, custom.
Wirdija birrjilka dathin, danaanmarri.
 That custom continues, it has not
 been abandoned.

4. Morals, way of living.
Ngaakawuru mirrawatharra birrjilk?
 How come he's become good
 (reformed himself)?

5. Something (event).
Ngaakawuru? Mirraa birrjilk. What
 happened? Something bad.
Ngaakawuru birdiwatharra birrjilk?
 What bad thing happened?

birdiya birrjilka immoral.
Birdiya birrjilk, mungkijiya
kambinjiya karrngij. (He) was
 immoral, he cohabited with his own
 daughter.

birrjilbirdi *n.*

Immoral person.

birrjilbirdiwatha *v.i.*

Misbehave, behave immorally.

birrjiljungarra *n.*

Someone who walks fast.

birrjil-kurrija *v.t.*

Watch.

Birrjilkurrija ngada niwanji
ngarrkuya rajurrinki. I'll watch him
 running fast.

jungarra birrjilka, ngarrkuwa

birrjilka fast, quickly

mirraa birrjilka true; good idea

muthawatha birrjilka get
 fidgetty, be fidgetty, be nervous.

Muthawatha birrjilka duruman-
ngarrba dangkaa. The man who lied
 is getting nervous.

wuuja birrjilka instruct in
 "law".

birrka *n.*

1. String, rope, hair belt.

2. "String"; tap root of yam.

Jinkaja birrk, wirrngaj! Follow the
 tap root, dig it up!

dangkantha birrka (on net) free
 end of rope.

munda birrka (on net) secured
 end of rope.

birrmu *n.*

Sternum, chest-meat of dugong.

birrmurdami *n.pred.*

Be telepathically aware (of/that
 VPURP/ CL.COMP). Manifested by
 sharp pain in chest. (Lit. 'chest-
 sharp')

Ngada birrmurdami ngijinjanijia
kajakajajaniij. I'm feeling
 something about my daddy.

Ngada birrmurdami, ngijinjinja
thabujuntha thaathuunth. I can feel
 that my elder brother is going to
 come back.

birrmurdaraaja *v.i.*

Feel relieved. (Lit. 'sternum-
 be.broken').

Birrmurdaraanmarri. (He's) strung
 up, is fretting (lit. 'can't be
 relieved').

birrwanda *pron.*

Their (belonging to those two).

Third person dual possessive
 pronoun.

bitharri *adj.*

Strong-smelling, bad-flavoured.

Yirrngirndi bitharriya banjind. The
 smelly turtle has a bad flavour.

bithiinda *n.*

Man, adult male.

biyaja

1. *v.i.* Swim.

2. *v.t.* Paddle (raft, canoe etc).

Biyaja biyaja ngakulda walbuya
ngakanmulaaj. We paddled and
 paddled the raft off the sandbank.

biyanbirdi *n.*

Person unable to swim.

biyalda *n.*

1. Plant sp, *Premna serratifolia*,
 grows behind mangrove zone.

2. Flowers, leaves and branches thereof. Mixed with *kililikilili* over fire for medicine. Dried branches used for firesaws. Leaf blanket used to wrap babies.

biyaluja *v.t.*

Apply mangrove compress to umbilicus of newborn.

biyarinjunda *n.*

Group of dugong, e.g. mother and calf or bull and cow.

biyarri *n. loc.*

Far out to sea, on the open sea (= *yurdayurdaya*).

Dathina budubudu biyarri warraj. That boat is sailing on the open sea.

buda [**buth-**] *n.loc.*

1. Behind (in a line).

Nyinka buda warraj! You go behind/after us!

Ngada buda bilwanji. I (went) behind them.

2. After.

buthiiwatha *v.i.*

1. Be left behind.

Ngarri! Dathina thungalda murruku ngijinda dathina rar, buthiiwath.

Oy! That thingummy, my woomera, is in the south there, it got left behind.

2. Happen after something else.

buthinaba *n.*

Younger brother. (= *buthinda*, *duujinda*)

buthinda *n.*

Younger brother. (= *buthinaba*, *duujinda*)

budiija *v.i.*

Run, run away.

budubudu *n.*

Dinghy, boat. (Onomat.)

budubuduwarraanda *n.*

Harbour.

budukularra *n.manner.*

In line.

Budukularra warraj, yubuyubu jinkaj. They're going in line, they're following the road.

Budukularr, kiyarrngka dakarnd. The two wakes are in line, one behind the other.

budurdu *n.*

"Niece", i.e. sister's daughter (of male).

bujarra *n.manner.*

Behind, left behind.

Bujarra wirdija ngad. I remained behind.

bujinkaja *v.adv.*

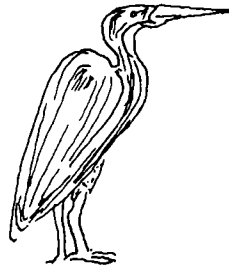
Do after someone else.

Blend of *buda* plus *jinkaja*.

Ngada bujinkaju waaju. I'll sing after (you).

bujuku *n.*

"Black crane"; black reef heron.



bujuwuru *n.*

Pregnant dugong.

Damurmuru bujuwuru, kunavunanurru, maraka bujuwuruwarri bijarrb. The dugong was pregnant, had a baby, though it didn't look it.

bukaa *n.qual.*

1. Rotten, stinking.

2. Dead (not usually used of humans).

Wunkurriya kabathaatha bukay. (We) looked for some dead grass.

3. Rich in food (country).

Muthaa makurrarr, *muthaa yakuri*, *bukaa dulk*. There are lots of wallabies, lots of fish, it's a place rich in food.

buka-banjinda *n.qual.*

Foul-smelling, stinking.

Dathina ngukuwa buka-banjind. That water is rotten, it smells stagnant.

Dathina makurarra buka-banjind, *wuuja jardarrkay!* That wallaby (meat) stinks, give it to the crows!

bukararrija *v.t.*

Make OBJ stink, stink out OBJ.

Bukararrija dulki. (They) made the place stink.

bukarutha

1. *v.t.* Spoil.

2. *v. adv.* Do wrongly.

Bukarutha buuja yakuriy. He pulled in the fish wrongly (it got away).

bukawatha *v.i.*

1. Rot, go rotten.

Ngariinmanda mumdulka

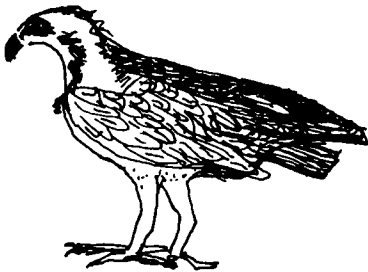
bukawatharrb, *dawurlda burldiij*.

When the first lot of ropes rotted, one rolled new ones.

2. Die.

bukaji *n.*

"Sea-hawk", osprey.



bukarlda (bukarlda-) *n.*

Nut, grows on sandridges. Eaten by brolgas and cockatoos, also by people.

Bukarldawuru dulk. Place with *bukarlda* nuts.

Diyaja bukarlda muthaa, *kurdamariij*, *ngawunmariij*, *rarrwaaj*. *Bukarlda* nuts

were eaten in great quantities, put into coolamons, and cooked in the ashes.

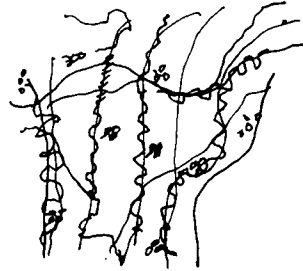
bukarrka *n.*

Edible root. Sp?.

Bukarrka wambali, *diyaaaja biriid*. The *bukarrka* grows in the bush, and its root is eaten.

bukuwuku *n.*

"Timothy vine", samphyre, dodder laurel, *Cassytha filiformis*. Grows on beach; gathered to use as windbreaks; fruit eaten. Used in wind magic.



Tharurkiwaanda jardi kamburij, *kangki warath*: *balmbu kabath*.

Bukuwuku rarungku thulatharrmath,

kamarrrmaruth. *Niya kuruluthu*

yakuriwu, *niya dulkuru dangkaa*. *Niya*

jungarra mungurru, *niya niida*

dangkaa, *warmmara-kaband*, *warmgiida*

mayara dangkaa. The mob from

Tharurki say, they send word (in

reply to a request for wind magic):

we'll find the wind tomorrow. They

take some samphyre southwards down

to the beach, (and lay it in a circle)

and put stones on it. He'll kill the

fish, the boss man. He knows a great

deal, he bears the name of that plaee,

he's the wind-finder, the one

countryman of the wind.

bulatha *v.t.*

1. Remove OBJ, pull OBJ off/up;

clean OBJ off/away (from VABL).

Karnda bulath! *Dulka bulath!* Clear

away the grass! Clean the sand off

(your shirt)!

Bilda bulanda kurdantha thungaluland.
They're pulling paperbark off the trees.

Bankiya kuujuuj, mardalki bulaaj.
They swam about in the lagoon, cleaning the mud off themselves.

2. Open.

Wirrinda bulath! Open the shell!

Waraa bulath! Open the door!

bulaaja *v. t. refl.*

Clean OBJ from oneself (can take body cleaned as a nominative NP construed with the subject).

Nyinka thurrungka bulaaja kirrka ngumbanda! Clean the snot out of your nose!

bulbaja

1. *v.i.* Be full (esp. of food); fill out (body).

Bulbajarra munirrwatharra wakath, kamburiinangku. After your sister fills out and she develops breasts, she can't be spoken to.

2. Loudly (of speech or song).

bulbalutha *v.t.*

Fill, cause to fill out; fatten up.

bulbanda *n. qual.*

Full.

bulbanda bardaka *n.qual.*

Full (with food), sated, with a full stomach.

Ngada bulbanda bardaka yiiwiju. I will sleep with a full stomach.

bulbu *n.*

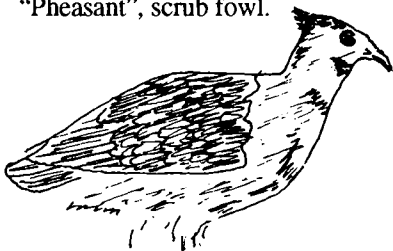
High sandhill.

Murrungulda bulbu, dangkawirdind.

Murrungulda is a giant sandhill, where people remained (during the flood).

bulbulka *n.*

"Pheasant", scrub fowl.



Bulbulka dulkidi jawij. Pheasants run along the ground.

bulbulda *n.*

Underpart of firedrill.

Bulbulda kuwalkulaand, waduburriind. The underpart of the firedrill is the part rubbed against, where the smoke comes out.

bulda *n.*

Yam sp; "small leaf, big tucker undermeath".

Bulda balaaj, rarrwaaj, ngawunmariij. The *bulda* yam is pounded, and cooked on the ashes.

bulbirdi *n. qual.*

"Wrong-head", inappropriate as marriage partner.

Jangkaa bithiinda kabatha bulbirdiya makuy. Some men marry wrong-head women.

bulmirra *n. qual.*

"Straight-head", appropriate marriage partner.

bulkubulku *n.*

Hat.

Niya bulkubulkunurru nald. He's wearing a hat.

bulkurdurdu *n.*

Crocodile.

bulmbaa *n.*

Grasshopper, locust.

bulthuku *n.*

Tree-creeper, pardalote, mistletoe bird.

kunyaa bulthuku (id.) really small.

Jirrkara warraja jirrkurungk, kunyaa tharbarra kunyaa bardubardu kunyaa bulthuku. Crane went northwards, and built on a small corner (to the fishtrap), a small, low one, a really small one.

bulubulungka *n.*

Tree sp., *terminalia platyphylla*.
Edible fruit.
Bulubulungk, dangakurld, murrband, maarra thabujungarrb. Terminalia platyphylla, terminalia platyptera and *terminalia carpentariae* are as brothers.

buluku *n.*

Cow, bullock, cattle.
From Eng. "bullock".

bulumudida *n.*

Mature female dugong.

bulunduwundu *n.*

Shovel-nosed stingray.

bulwija *v.t.*

Be shy of OBJ (esp. suitor), avoid gaze of OBJ.
Namu bulwija ngad! Don't be shy of me!

bulwinmanjiliija

Feign shyness, pretend to be shy.

bulwinjiija *v.i.*

Be shy.
Kurrinangu ngijnju, bulwinjiij, miburiya yulaaj. (She) won't look at me, (she's) shy, fears my eyes.

bunarrinda *n.*

Unlaid turtle egg.

bunarrinkuru *n.*

Female turtle carrying unlaid eggs.

bunbatha (bunybatha) *v.t.*

Blow on.
Bunbatha diyaja nganjunay, warangawunjurawanangu. You blow on sand-frogs as you eat them, so as not to get a mouth full of ash.

bundalda *n.*

1. Cleared place; corroboree ground.
Bundalda bulath! Clear a place on the ground!
2. Circle.
3. Town.

bundalwanda *n.pred.*

Having her periods, menstruating.
Burldamurra warrku, bundalwanda wurdij, kunawunaya kabath. Three days she stays in seclusion during menstruation, then she can conceive a child.
Maku wurdijarrba bundalwaand, dangkaa kamburiju: marinkurdalaanngarrb. When a woman goes into menstrual seclusion, a man will say: she has speared herself.
Warraa nathaa wurdij, bundalwaand. She camps far off, she's menstruating.

buningka *n.*

Blackhead, mole, growth on skin.

bungalatha *v.t.*

Peel.

bungkalbalanda *n.*

Hump-headed batfish.
Lit. 'knee-hitter'.

bungkalda *n.*

Knee.

bungkalda marlda knuckle.

bungkaldija *v.i.*

Sit with knees clasped; sit with one knee up.

bungkalwarndiija *v.i.*

Kneel.

bungu *n. manner.*

Behind someone's back.
Dathina dangkawalada kalthakalthatha ngakuluwanji, wijangki bungu. Those people are sneaking up on us, in hiding behind our backs.

bunguwala *n.*

Willy-willy.

bunjanbalayambala (bunjanbalambala) *n.*

Honeyeater.

Bunjanbalayambala diyaja naraya bilthurrki. Honeyeaters eat the nectar of the bloodwood gum.

bunji¹ *n.*

Nape of neck.

bunjiyatha (bunjuriyatha) *v.i.*

Twist one's neck to relieve stiffness.

bunji² *n.*

Sandbank.

bunju- *verb prefix.*

Do behind someone's back.

From *bunji*¹ - with vowel harmony.

bunju-kamburija *v.i.*

Say bad things behind someone's back.

bunju-wungija *v.t.*

Steal behind someone's back.

bunkurru *n.qual.*

Submerged, under water.

Kirrbij, jungarra malaa. Malaa birdiy, baanmarri, bunkurru. The tide is high and surging. It's a bad tide, hasn't fallen, (things are) submerged.

Ngilda jungarr, bunkurru thungald.

The waves are big, our cargo is covered in water.

bunkurruwatha *v.i.*

Become submerged (e.g. thighs when wading).

bunmarutha (bunymarutha) *v.t.*

Come behind OBJ.

Nyingka warraja bunmaruth, buda warraj! You come behind (me), come behind!

bunmurratha *v.t.*

(bunymurratha)

Inherit (widow). See entry under

bunymurratha.

bunthunaaaja *v.t.*

(Sea) smash up (e.g. rocks), erode.

Danda malaa bunthunaaaja kamarri.

Here the sea has eroded the rocks.

bunurija *v.t.*

Promise OBJ (young man) he will soon be initiated.

Yanda ngada bunurinda ngumbaninj,

jangkawu darru wirrkaju ngumbanju.

I am promising you now, that you will soon be initiated.

bunurijirrinda *n.*

Young man ready for initiation, novice.

Bunurijirrinda wirrkaanmarrida

kalaanmarri, banda daraaju. Novices

are waiting to be initiated and have

not yet been circumcized, but will be soon.

bunurra (burnurra) *n.*

Small quinine bush, *Petalostigma pubescens.*



bunurrbunurra *n.*

Full-size quinine bush,

Petalostigma pubescens. Wood used for spearheads.

Mardumarduwa diyaja bilwanji miburi. Black cockatoos eat their fruit (i.e. of quinine bushes).

bunybatha (bunbatha) *v.t.*

Blow on.

bunymurratha *v.t.*

(Oldest classificatory son) inherit (widow) from father. From *buTH-* 'behind' plus *murratha* 'break'.

Jungarra thabuju bunymurrathu

marirru, kunyaa duujinda

bunymurratharri, thabujuna kunawuna

bunymurrath. The oldest (co-wives')

son inherits the widow as wife, the

younger sons do not inherit her, but

the son of the oldest brother (who had been married to her) inherits her.

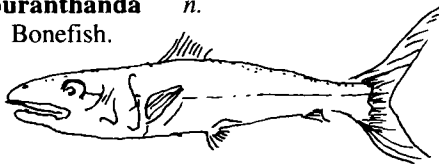
buraa¹ *n.*
Coccyx, "arse-bone".

buraa² *n.*
Kidneys of dugong.

buraji *n.*
Fish sp. like *wurubarra* (giant herring).

buralkijirrinda *n.*
Root sp.
Buralkijirrinda wambalkarranji thaldij, dangkaa wirrngaj, kurdaa wuyij, karnaja diyaj, diyaju burungku. The *buralkijirrinda* grows all around in the bush, people dig it up, put it in their coolamons, cook it and eat it. They must eat it well-cooked.

buranthanda *n.*
Bonefish.



burdalda *n.*
Tiger prawn.

burdarda *n.*
Moses perch, Queensland halibut.

burdumbanyi
1. *n. qual.* Ignorant.
Burdumbanyi waydbala rabanangku ngijinjinabawu ngarrijunabawu jardinabawu dulku. The ignorant white man must not trespass upon the country of all my mothers' mothers.

2. *n. pred. (tr.)* Ignorant of OBJ; don't know OBJ.
Ngada burdumbanyi (niwanji). I don't know (him).
Ngada burdumbanyi kurrija bilwanji. I looked at them without recognizing them.

burdumbanyiwatha *v. i.*
Become ignorant.

huri *n.*
Ground vine; root eaten.
Buri, bilngkad, ngankirri thaldij. The *buri* and the *bilngkada* grow alongside each other.

burji *n.*
Heart.

burjululu *n.*
Person who has lost a brother or sister, bereaved sibling.

burlda *n.*
Testicles, balls.
bur-dingkarra *n.*
Person with long testicles (insult).
burlda daajarrba Swearing expression, conveying frustration.

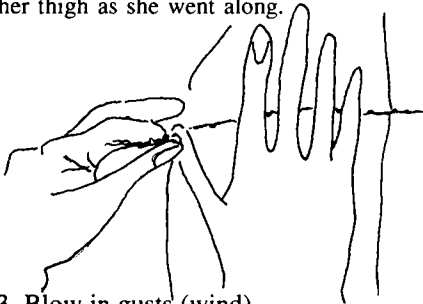
burldaburlda *n. manner.*
Walking fast.

burlda julda [**bur- jul-**] *n.*
Hair (of head).
Ngada kalatha niwanji buriya juli. I cut his hair.

burldamurra *n. number.* (K, Ya)
Three, a few.

burldija *v. t.*
1. Hit OBJ with something thrown; shoot.
Burldija niwanji kamarru! Hit him by throwing a stone at him!
2. Make (string) by rolling on thigh.

Rulungka na warraja, riya rarid. Niwanda wakath, Kaarrku, walmathida walmathi bathinda burldiburldija warraj, burldija birrki. Then (Rock-Cod) went eastward, to the south east. His sister, Seagull, stayed on high ground as she came from the west, rolling bush-string on her thigh as she went along.



3. Blow in gusts (wind).

dangka-burldiinda *n.*

Bullet (that by which a person is shot).

burldinburldinda

(**burldunburldunda**) *n.*

Gusty wind that keeps changing direction.

burnayijja *v.i.*

Beckon with torch.

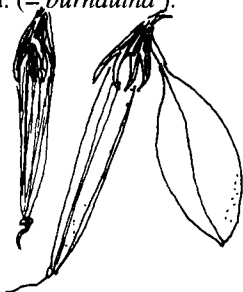
burnburnda (~**burmburnda**) *n.*

Small *ngarrawurna*, small parrot fish.

burndinda *n.*

Long spear-like seed of large-leaved mangrove, *Bruguiera exaristata*.

Not used. (= *burndutha*).



burndutha *n.*

Variant form of *burndinda*.

burnjarra *n.qual.*

Smashed, broken.

burnjalutha *v.t.*

Butcher (dugong); cut into pieces and share out, smash.

Narrada burnjalutha kalatha ngilirri. With the same shell knife they cut up the turtle shell.

burnjarrwatha *v.i.*

Get wrecked, smashed, break up. (= *daraaja*).

Burnjarrawanharraya kunyaya kunawunaya kurdamaruth. So that he wouldn't get smashed up, one put the young baby in a coolamon.

burnurra *n.*

Variant of *bunurra*, q.v.

burnyija *v.t.*

Feel around for OBJ, dig around for OBJ.

burraa *n.*

Achilles tendon.

burrija

1. *v.i.* Emerge, come out, appear. (K, Ya)

Warrkuwa burrinmarri. The sun hasn't come out yet.

2. *v.t.* Emerge into OBJ, come out onto OBJ, ambush.

Kabaraya burrij, bilmarrawulath.

(Kajurku) came out onto the saltpan, from Bilmarra.

Ngada burriij, birdiya dangkaa burrija ngijinji. I was ambushed, a bad man ambushed me.

3. *v.t.* Come out from OBJ; be cleared out from OBJ.

Malaa burrija niwanji kirrki. The seawater has come out from his nose.

4. *v.i.* Turn out.

Mirraa niya burriju. It'll turn out well (said of a spearhead being made).

burrijarmatha *v.t.*

Cause to come out (e.g. milk from breast).

burrku¹ *n.*

1. Claw of crab.
2. King prawn.

burrku² *n.*

Wild yam, sp.?
Burrku diyaankuru, wambali. The *burrku* is edible, and is found in the bush.

burrkunda *n.*

1. Cicatrice, scar.
Dathina dangkaa thardaa burrkunkuru. That man has cicatrices on his upper arms.
Kardu kalatha burrkunki tharday. One's father-in-law cut cicatrices on one's shoulder.
2. Tooth of sawfish; barbed spearhead.

burrkunburrkunda *n.*

Mourning scars on top of head.

burrkuratha *v.i.*

Burp (esp. baby).
Kunawuna burrkurath, bulbanda bardak. The baby is burping, it has a full stomach.

burrmanda *n.*

Wild yam, sp.?
Biriida diyaaaj, balaaj. Its root is eaten, it's pounded up.

burrmatha *v.i.*

Bend down, duck down.
kirrka burrmatha hang one's head.

burrthaa *n.*

Glutton, greedy-guts (= *jirdaa*).
Dathina dangkaa burrthawuru, bardaka jungarr. That man is a glutton, he has a big belly.

burrthalda *n.*

Boil, piles.
Ngada munda jilari, burrthaluru, durldiinangku. My backside is sore, I've got piles, I can't go to the toilet.

burru *n.*

"Mother water-lily."

burrwatha *v.i.*

(Water-lily) be ready to eat (happens late May).
Burrwatha barrngkaa. The water-lily is ready.

burrungayi *n.*

"Saltwater nut - looks like ball".
Burrungayi wirdija yarki malay. The *burrungayi* sits at the bottom of the sea.

burrurra *n.*

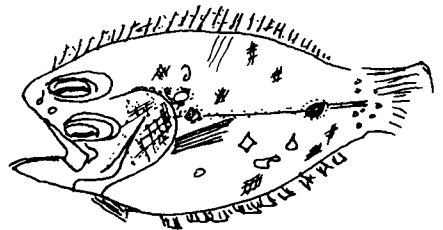
Barnacles.

burrurri *n.*

Purple tusk-fish.
 Said to be 'covered in barnacles'.

burrutha *n.*

Flounder.
Burrutha kariija mardalki narrkirij. The flounder hides by burying itself in the sand.
Ngada diyaja burruthay. I ate a flounder.



burthuku *n.*

Small one (e.g. bark torch).
 Usually in collocation *kunyaa burthuku*.

buruburu *n.*

Smell of cooking turtle.

burukuratha *v.i.*

Scrape (e.g. boomerang), rub together.

burukuraaja *v.i.*

Make fire with firedrill.

Burukuraaj, burukuratha wijiriy.

(He) is making fire, rubbing firesticks together.

Jirrkara wanjiij, burukuraanmariij.

He is going to the north, to make a fire.

burukuraanda *n.*

Scrapings from firesticks.

burukurungka *n.*

Stingray sp.

burumalda *n.*

Bulrush fruit.

Dalijarmathuruya burumalda

ngjinmaruthuruy. If you see ripe fruit (from *nardaa*) then bring them.

burumarri *n.*

Returning boomerang (= *thaankuru wangalka*)

burungka *n.qual.* (Ya **burlungka**)

1. Ripe.

2. Cooked.

Burungka naaju kurirr. It'll burn and be cooked.

burunjurrka *interjec.*

Word used to moon during invocation.

buruntha *n.*

Black-barred garfish.

Buruntha yurdayurdawanda yakuri.

The black-barred garfish comes from out at sea.

bururlda *n.*

Plant sp. growing in mangrove zone; used for *wijiri* firesticks.

burutha *v.t.*

1. Take hold of, grasp, clasp, take, get, grab. (K, Ya)

Ngada bantharra buruth. I took half.

Bangawalada burunthuth. The (mating) turtles are clasping each other.

Ngaka dangka burutha ngukuy? Who got the water?

2. Take (wife).

3. "Sing", put spell on.

burunkuru dangkaa *n.*

Midwife, person who pulls out newborn.

buruwanda *n.*

Corroboree ground.

buruwuru *n.*

Pleiades.

burwaduwuru *n.*

Comet (lit. 'testicle with smoke').

butha- *n.pref.*

Prefixed to kin terms to form abusive epithets meaning 'you have been committing incest with your KIN-X', e.g. *Nyingka butha ngamathuy.* "You've been having it off with your mother."

buthanda *n.qual.*

1. Past, previous, some time before.

Buthanji yaari kiyarmgka waydbala warraja danki dulki. Some years ago two white men went to that place.

2. Remaining, left behind.

Warngiida dangkaa dikakulinjuru mibala kurrija buthand, warngiida dangkaa, warngiida dangkaa

yarramand. We saw one horse that was left behind, one horse.

buthanda kujiji young man, youth.

buthandaraayarrba *n.*

Initiated man.

buthiyaja *v.i.* (Ya)

Sleep, camp.

Bana ngakulda jinangku buthiyaju?

And where will we sleep? (Ya)

buthuraaja *v.i.*

Sleep, camp (= *yiiwija*).

Buthuraanangku danku. (People) mustn't sleep here.

buthurlda *n.*

Spider mangrove, *Rhizophora stylosa*. Long-burning firewood. *Buthurlda marlda buruth, kuujuuja buruth*. You grab the roots of spider mangroves with your hands, you grab them while swimming.

buuja *v.t.*

1. Pull, drag.
Ngaaka thungal nyingka buuja wurdij? What are you dragging?
2. Row.
3. Catch fish on line, fish. (K, Ya)
Dathinku buuju jirmaju yakurliwu, mutha yakurliwu. We'll catch and pull up lots of fish there. (Ya)

jurra-buuja *v.i.*

Make sign in sand (showing where one has gone).

mala-buuja *v.t.*

Row across the sea.

ngarra-buuja *v.t.*

Drag (e.g. turtle) through water.

buumatha *v.i.*

Sit/be in smoke by side of fire.
Daninja waduntha buumad. She must sit in the smoke (to avoid the mosquitoes).

buumalutha *v.t.*

Put in smoke.
Buumalutha kaburrbaya wuu! Put it in the smoke by the fire, to keep warm.

buurnda *n.*

Sandfly.

buurmatha *v.i.*

Fart.

buuthu *n.*

Sea-snake.

buyadinbuyadinda *n.*

Car (= *duljawinda*).

buyalatha *v.t.*

Go behind, come after.

buyalanmarutha *v.t.*

Cause to go behind.
Buyalanmaruthuruya ngarrawathurrka. Let's make (these fish) go behind (those others) which are going upstream.

buyanda (buyaanda) *n.qual.*

Behind, last.
From . Eng. 'behind'.
Kilda kurrijuruya barrkijuruya thungald, jathaa dangkaa kurrijuruya buyaand. Next time you all cut a tree, one person should look behind it to see what's there.

buyanda kunawuna

descendants, future generations.

buyiija *v.i.*

Hang (e.g. fruit bats). Poss. M of *buuja*.
Kurthangarra buyiija buyiij. The flying foxes are hanging upside down all over the place.

buyilbuyilka *n.*

Large shovel-headed stingray.

buyurruru *n.qual.*

Persistent, pestering, harping, clinging.

buyurrurruwatha

1. *v.i.* Harp on and on.
2. *v.t.* Pester OBJ (e.g. for food, attention).
Ngada buyurrurruwatha kakujuy. I am pestering my uncle.

D

daaja *v.t.*

Fuck, copulate with.

dangka-daanda *n.*

Sodomite, male homosexual.

dangka-mutha-daanda *n.*

"Larrikin", promiscuous woman.

mun-daanda *n.*

Sodomite (active).

ngamathu-daanda *n.*
Mother-fucker.

wakatha-daanda *n.*
Sister-fucker.

daamija

1. *v.t.* Ask OBJ (question:
CLAUSE)

Ngada daamiju niwanju, ngaakarra ngunguk. I will ask her whose story it is.

2. *v. ditr.* Ask OBJ for PROP.

Ngamathu daamija niwanji wurdaljiwu. Mother asks her for meat.

dabaldabalda *n.*

Time after rain has finished.

Dabaldabalda ngukuwarriya dulk, dintirr. The rain has finished and the land has no water, it is dry.

dabarangka *n. loc.*

Hunting.

Ngada warraju dabaranku, raaju yakuriwu. I'm going hunting, to spear fish.

dabarra *n.*

Tree.

daburldija *v.i.*

Spit.

daburldiija *v.i.*

Slobber, slaver.

Daburldiija dathina kurthurrawarrayarb. That dog is slaving.

daburru *n.*

Sheaf of long grass used as windbreak.

dadarrarrarida *n.*

Roof of mouth, uvula.

Ngada kurriju dadarrarrariju niwanju. I will look at the roof of his mouth.

dakalda

1. *n. qual.* Round.

2. *n.* Round stone food-pounder. Used for opening pandanus fruit, cracking oysters etc.

Tharraratha ngariija kunyaa thawurr, kurdamarr, dakalnguniya barrkij, mudijuru. First you peel off bark from a small tea tree, then you chop the bark with a stone pounder, and tie it up.

dakardaka *n.*

Doctor (English loan).

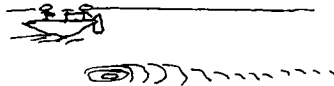
dakarldiija *v.i.*

1. Hide.

2. Tell lies.

dakarnda *n.*

Wake of fish.



dakarrdinya *n.*

Slender barracuda.

dala-baaja *v.i.*

Stand on one leg.

dalda *n.*

Crack (e.g. of knee-bone); thundercrack.

Dalda jungarr, warngiida dald. There was a crack of thunder, one crack.

daluru-daluru *n.*

1. Gun (lit. 'thundercrack-having-REDUP).

2. Camera.

dalija

1. *v.i.* Come, arrive.

2. *v.t.* Reach, get through to.

Dalijarri ngijinji kunguld. The mosquitoes didn't get through (the mosquito net) to me.

Balumbanji dulki dalij. They reached the south country.

3. *v.i.* Come, have orgasm.

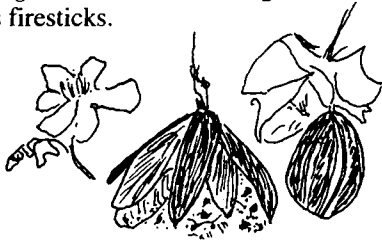
dalijarmatha *v.t.*

Bring, accompany.

Dalijarmatha ngakulda diyajuruya yakuri! Bring some fish so we can eat it.

daljirra *n.*

Wild kapok tree, with yellow flowers in spring, *Cochlospermum gregorii*. Roots eaten; twigs used as firesticks.



dalmatha *v.t.*

Pound, smash, break open.

Dalmatha ngaarrka dakalnguni! Break open the pandanus nut with a pounding stone!

dalwanija *v.t.*

Dig up.

Ngijuwa kurrijarrantha dangkawala dalwaninda thawalinj. I saw all the people digging up yams.

dalwayiji *n.*

Morning star.

damanda *n.*

1. Tooth.
2. Barb, tooth (of spearhead, etc.)
3. Claw (of crab).
4. Proboscis (e.g. of mosquito).

damanda kujiji barbed spear

damankuru *n.*

1. Large dugong (with tusks).
2. Generic term for insects that sting with their probosces: mosquitoes, sandflies etc.

Bitharriya muthawuru damankuru, buurnd, kalarrangk, kunguld. At Bitharriya there are lots of insects that sting with their probosces:

sandflies, red mosquitoes, black mosquitoes.

yurdaa damanda gums

damarrarra *n.*

Boat.

dambidambi *n.* (Ya)

Long tom fish. (= *K karrmuku*).

dami *n. qual.*

Blunt (= *milwarri*).

dami-raaja *v.t.*

Spear blunt, go blunt through being used as a spear.

damiwatha *v.i.*

Go blunt.

damulurra *n.*

Red morwong, anenome fish.

damurdiija *v.i.*

Clench ones hands.

damurra *n. qual.*

Short.

damulutha *v.t.*

Shorten by removing part (cf **mururutha**); cut into small pieces (e.g. wood).

damurra dangkaa "short person". Malevolent short beings living in caves.

damurrnurru *n.*

Woman with young child.

damuru *n.*

"Panja", spike rush, *Eleocharis dulcis*. Corms dug up and eaten.

danatha

1. *v.t.* Leave, leave behind, shed.

Kajakaj, yanda ngada danathu ngumbanju. Dad, I will leave you now. (As said when leaving someone).

Danathirinda warngiida dangkaa, warngiida dangkaa diyaaaj kantharrk.

One fellow (i.e. one horse) was left behind (when McKenzie left Sweers), one fellow was eaten on its own.

2. *v.t.* **Beat** (in competition).

Kakuju, nyingka karmatha burldamurra bangaa, balmbu ngada ngumbanju danathu. Uncle, you caught three turtles, tomorrow I'll beat you.

3. *v.i.* **Leave, die** (euph.)

danaaja *v.i.*

Be left behind; be last; (happen) afterwards; then.

Nyingka diyaja wuranda ngarii, danaaju ngada ngukuuju. Eat some food first, then I'll give you water.

danaanda *n. qual.*

Last-born; last (in a series).

Danaanda kanthathu "last father", youngest of father's brothers.

danathirrinda *n.*

Divorcee, abandoned spouse.

kamburija danatha *v. idiom.*

Say as one's dying words.

Kanthathu kamburija danath: karrngija danda dulka ngumband, duujinji wakathaya jardiya karrngijuruya danda dulk. Father said as he died: look after this country of yours, (you) and all your younger brothers and sisters must look after this country.

kurrija danatha *v. idiom.*

See and move on, see while moving away from.

Bilda ngilirri kurrija danath. They looked at the cave as they walked away from it.

danbi *n.*

Hip-bone; pelvis.

danda

1. *n. loc.* Here. (K, Ya).

Babiju, danda diij! Sit here, granny!
Ngada danku diiju. I'll sit here.

2. *n. qual.* This.

Danda dangkaa ngijinda duujind. This man is my younger brother.

dandananganda *n. manner.*

1. This way, like this.

Dandanangand, ngada ngumbanju marraaju. This way, I'll show you.

2. (In narratives introducing reported speech) Said like this.

danmurrkida *n. loc.*

Up to here, as far as this.

Danmurrkida budii. (I) was running about with (water) up to here (pointing to thigh).

dangakurlda *n.*

Tree with edible fruit and gum,
Terminalia platyptera.

dangalda *n.*

Pandanus tree, variety of *Pandanus spiralis* (= *ngathalda*).

Kambuda barjija dangalulaj.

Pandanus fruit falls from the pandanus tree.

dangkaa

1. *n.* Person.

2. *n. qual.* Human.

3. *n.* Man, adult male
(= *bithiinda*)

4. *n.* Fellow, one (dummy head of NP).

Dathina riinda jungarra dangkaa kalaj.
There's a big one flying in from the east there.

dangka-baanda yarbuda man-biter (e.g. death adder, mad dog).

dangka-daranda circumcizer

dangka-durumanda liar

dangka-kurdinda policeman

dangka-kurrinda brazen, bold woman

dangka-mungurru

understanding of people

dangkanabanda *n. qual.*

Somebody else's

(LOC *dangkanabanji*)

Dangkabanji dulki wungija yakuriy.

They've been stealing fish from someone else's country.

dangka-nurrinda "butcher", circumcizer

dangkawuru married (man or woman)

dangka-wuujarri stingy, ungenerous person

dangka-wuunda generous person

danmaanda dangkaa, dathinmaanda dangkaa boss of this place, boss of that place (in this collocation the referent need not be human)

Danda jinaa yarbuda kamburij?

Kurrinangu ngakulda yarbuthu.

Dathinmaanda dangkaa,

dathinmaanda yarbud, niya yarbud.

“Where’s that animal singing out here? We can’t see any animal.” “It’s the boss of that place, the creature of that place, he’s the animal.” (talking about a tree-frog).

dangkardangkarda *n.*

White-necked hawk, goshawk, collared sparrowhawk.

dangkarrburlda *n.*

Bush sp., grows in ‘bush’, used for firewood.

dangkungku *n.*

Stone implement, food pounder.



dangkuriyatha *v.t.*

Crack open oyster.

dangurlda *n.*

Mud-crab.

dankuruk! *interjec.*

You’re joking! Cut it out!

daratha *v.t.*

1. Break.

Ngaaka dangkaa daratha ngijinji wumburungki? Who broke my spear?

2. Circumcize.

daraaja *v.i.*

1. Break, crack (e.g. tooth, bone); break down (e.g. motor).

Dathina makalda damanda daraaja warkurri. That old woman’s tooth broke on the dugong hide.

darathirrinda *n.*

Circumcized man.

PREF(TIME)-dara(a)yarrba *n.*

One circumcized at time PREF.

Warrku-dara(a)yarrba one circumcized at daybreak.

Danaan-dara(a)yarrba one

circumcized last in ceremony.

Ngariin-dara(a)yarrba one

circumcized first in ceremony.

PRONOUN-dara(a)yarrba *n.*

One circumcized by PRONOUN.

Ngijin-daraayarrba one circumcized by me.

PRONOUN-daratharrba *one*

who circumcized PRONOUN.

Ngijin-daratharrba one who circumcized me.

dardanginda *n.*

Stone fish-trap (= *ngurruwarra*).

dardarrarra *n.*

[LOC *dardarrarraya*]

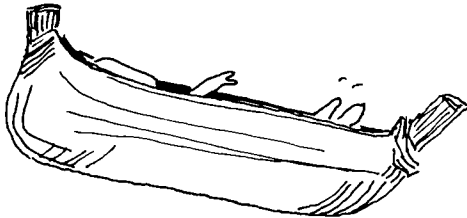
Masked plover .

dardingkarra *n.*

Jabiru (= *kandungka*).

darirra¹ *n.*

New born baby, baby still carried in coolamon.



darirra² *n. loc.*

Close to shore, ashore.
Ngijinkurrinmarri balatharrba darirrmarutharrb. Without seeing me (the queenfish) chased (the fish) right in to the shore.

darnuka *n.*

Black-tip shark, whaler shark.

darra [darr-] *n.*

Thigh, leg. Symbol of husband/wife relation.

darra dalija come on, be bold sexually

darra ngalamatha betrothe (baby girl) by having her placed on one's thigh in ritual intercourse (= *darrmarutha*).

darra nguwarri tired in the legs.

darra wuyiija be placed on (prospective husband's) thigh in ritual of betrothal.

Maburriywatha Murdumurdungathi, Marralngathi, rarumband, darra wuyiija ngijinji kunyaya kunawunaya darra wuyiij. Murdumurdungathi, Marralngathi, a southerner, he got lost in the fog, I had been placed on his thigh as a young child.

darra yardilda bold, brazen

dariyarrngka *n.*
Lap.

darr-kurrinda *n.*
Lecher.

darr-marutha *v. t.*

Betrothe (baby girl) by having her placed on one's thigh.

Kunyayida kunawunaya danath, darrmarunngarrb, karrnginngarrb.

The (husband) leaves the young girl alone, after he has had her placed on his thigh and embraced her.

darrwanda maku *n. idiom.*

Promised wife, betrothed wife.

darraanda *n. qual.*

Be burned.

Marndatharra darraand, ngid. The red-flowered black mangrove is used for warming, it's firewood.

darrambalda *n.*

Jew-fish.

darrarra [darrarra-] *n.*

Sky.

Walmuya darrarraya warray. It's way up in the sky.

Darrarra yilaa clear sky.

darrathi *n.*

Sweat, perspiration.

Darrathi burrij, muthaa darrathi

ngijind. I'm getting up a sweat, I've got a lot of sweat.

darrathiwuruwatha *v. i.*

Perspire, sweat.

darrbuuja *v. t.*

Pull, drag.

darri

1. *n. time.* For a while.

Makalutha darri thaldij! Stand up and have a spell for a while!

2. *n.* (Stretch of) time, (with number) week.

Thaathu warngiiju darru. She'll come back in a week.

jangkawu darru *n. time.*

Next time.

Jangkawu darru ngada marrij. Next time I'll understand.

jinamulu darri for how long
Nyingka jinamulu darru wurdiju?

How long will you stay for?

muthaa darri for a long time

darrija *v.t.*

Tread on, trample on, stamp on,
press on with foot.

Darrija wumburungk, junkuwanmariij.

One stamps on the spear handle, until
it becomes straight.

Maku darrinjutha bardak. The women
press on each other's stomachs (to
induce childbirth).

darrinkuru dangkaa *n. idiom.*

Person whose role is to stand or
stamp something, partic. woman
who treads on stomach to induce
labour, or man straightening spear
shaft.

darrjija *v.i.*

Lie on back with one leg crossing
the other.

darrkanthalatha *v.i.*

Grieve.

darrmirra *n. qual.*

In season.

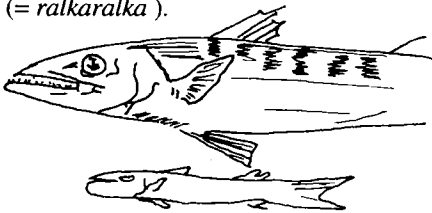
Prob. from *darri* 'time' plus *mirra*
'good'.

Jawarlda darrmirra jirrkaalinji.

Oysters are in season during the time
of the north winds.

darrngkaa *n.*

Red-mouthed garfish, barracuda
(= *ralkaralka*).



darrwanthanda *n.loc.*

At foot of (tree).

Wurdija biriid, bilkurriya

darrwanthanki. There are yam roots at
the the foot of the *bilkurra* tree.

daru *n.*

Hole in tree or wooden implement.

Ngarnala wurdija daruy. The white
cockatoo lives in holes in trees.

daruwuruwatha *v.i.*

Become riddled with holes.

daru mirrayalanda *n.*

Sugarbag, wild honey. Not known
on Bentinck Island.

darurrka *n.*

John Dory, coronation trout.

dathina (dathinda) *dem. (K, Ya)*

1 That.

Burldamurra murndamurra mildalatha:
Mirimanki, Durathi, Karndingarrbay,
Nathayiiwind, dathina jardiya
murndamurr. (Rock Cod) cut out three
or four islands: Mirrimanki, Durathi,
Karndingarrbay, Nathayiiwind, that
lot of islands.

2. There.

Niwanda wakatha jirrkanda burrija
na, marrwaya dalij. Dathina bilda
bakiind, dathina dangkaa diyaj,
kalath, ngudija bilda thararri.

Then his sister appeared from the
north, and came up close. They (sat)
there together, there the people ate
(Rock Ccd), cut him up, and threw
away his liver.

dathinananganda *n. loc.*

1. That side (of LOC)

Ngalda diija dathinananganda
kamarri. We sat down on that side of
the rock.

2. That way, like that.

Dathinanangand, dinthirrwand. It's
like that, it's going dry.

3. As is it is, just like that.

Balibali dathinananganda
diyaankuru. Manta rays can be eaten
just as they are (without removing
the fat).

dathiniji *dem.*

Way over there.

Kurirra dathiniji diija malay. (She) sat down dead way out there at sea.

dathinmaanda dangkaa

The boss of that place.

Dathinmaanda dangkaa niya Nyinyaaki, yuujbanda dangkaa. The boss of that place is Nyinyaaki, he's the original person.

dawanija *v.i.*

Spread one's legs ready to make love.

dawarlda *n.*

Tree sp., *Clerodendrum tomentosum* & *Clerodendrum floribundum*. Wood used for spearthrowers.

Dawarlda marndiwa ngankirr, thabujungarrb, kalaaja murruku. The *Clerodendrum tomentosum* and *Wrightia saligna* are similar, like brothers, woomearas can be cut from them.

dawarra *n.*

Giant herring. (= *wurrubarra*)

dawuna *n.*

1. Town. 2. House.

English loan.

Muthaa dangkaa rajurrija dawunki. In the town (Burketown) many people were walking around.

dawurdawi *n.*

Acacia, sp.?, "Christmas tree".

dawurlda *n. qual.*

New.

dawurldawurlda dangkaa *n. idiom.*

Ghost, spirit of newly dead person. *Danda rundurri dangkay, narrkiriind, kurirr. Waldarra rabija ngakatha dawurldawuru janij.* Here is someone in the grave, (just) buried, dead. The moon gets up and looks for the spirit of the newly dead person.

dayarra *n. qual.*

Clear, calm (sea).

Dayarra malaa, mirraa malaa, mala-kuny. It's clear water, good sea, with small waves.

dayarrinda *n. qual.*

Clear, crystal-clear (water).

Danda dayarrinda malaa, ngada kurriju bangawu. The sea is crystal-clear here, I can see the turtles.

dibirdibi *n. (K, Ya)*

Rock cod.

Jungarra malaa wanjiij, ngukuwa dathina wurdij, mirraa yulkaand. Niwanda dibirdibina dulk. Even when the tide comes up (over the spring) its water stays fresh, always. It's his place, Rock Cod's.

diija *v.i.*

1. Sit down.

2. Stay in one place, stay without moving away.

Jungarra dibirdibi kurdalaa, nalda rayiij, jawinmarri, wulubuyada diij.

The great rock cod was speared, speared in the head, and didn't escape but stayed there by the bait.

3. Be caught (in trap).

Yakuriya bijarrbawarri diija ngurruwarray. Fish but not dugong were caught in the fishtrap.



4. Land (e.g. bird, plane, spear).

Danki dulki diija tharday. The spear landed here, in the shoulder.

Ngada kurrijarra bukajina diinkina, ngada raaju. If I had seen the seahawk landing, I would have speared it.

dijarra *n.*

Dorsal fin; nail; spike; tail-pin (stingray).

Dijarra kurirrawu. The sting (of the *dulkayirra*) is deadly.

dijarrarutha *v.t.*

Attach nail or spike to OBJ.

dijarrulatha *v.t.*

Break the spike off OBJ (e.g. nail-fish).

dikaa *n.*

Shoulder, shoulder-blade.

dikaa karnda young grass sprouting from burnt-off tussock.

dika-badija *v.t.*

Carry on shoulder.

dika-burrkunda *n.*

Tribal scars, cicatrices made on shoulder.

dika-dangkawuru *n. manner.*

With someone on one's shoulders.

dika-kulinjuru *n.*

Horse.

Dika-kulinjuru .. yarramand, bardiwardikarra wuranda kulmajirrind.

The horse is (also called) *yarramand*, it's the mainlanders food which they brought (to Sweers).

Etymology of *kulin-* is unclear.

dikarida *n. manner.*

Carrying child on shoulder.

dikirrirri *n.*

Headache.

dikirrirriwatha *v.i.*

Have a headache.

Nyingka ngarraa dikirrirriwath?

Have you got a headache in you forehead?

dikurra¹ *n. qual.*

Sharp.

dikulutha *v.t.*

Sharpen.

dikurra² *n.*

Line (of people); clump (of trees).

dikurra ngida thicket of trees

dilawurdi (dilawirdi) *n.*

1. Cicada.

2. Tree-frog.

Both live in trees and make similar noises.

dilaya *n. time.*

Several days ago.

Dilawanda bayi. He's angry from what happened several days ago.

dilibi *n.*

Tea (i.e. tea-leaves).

English loan.

dilmirra¹ *n.*

Back of dugong (= *wuthiwuthi, diminda*).

dilmirralaaja (dilmilaaaja) *v.t.*

Spear dugong in back.

dilmirrawu *n.*

Dugong (generic term).

dilmirra² *n.*

Grass, sp.?, used to tie up stingray balls, (*kurumbalda*).

diminda *n.*

Back of dugong (= *dilmirra, wuthiwuthi*).

dimirra *n.*

Backbone. (= *dumu*)

julda dimirra backbone (Ya)

dinbirri *n.*

Water-skater.

dingkarra *n. qual.*

Long, tall (= *yulmburra*).

Dingkarra yubuyubu ngakulda daliya barrunthay. We came a long way yesterday.

Wayulmburr, dingkarra wak. (There was) a long cry, a long cry.

burldamurra dingkarra the three middle fingers

dingkalutha *v.t.*

Lengthen, sharpen.

dingkarra marlda index finger

dinjuburaji *n.*
Beach salmon.

dinjumana *n.* (Ya)
Salmon.

dinjurarra (dunjurarra) *n.*
Striped salmon.

dinmirra waraa *n. idiom.*
Upper lip.

dinthirra [dinthirr-] *n. qual.*
Dry.

dinthiliija *v. i.*
Wade in shallow water.

dinthirrwatha *v. i.*
Dry out.

dinthirrwanda *n.*
Seasonal, prone to dry up.
Dathinanangand, dinthirrwand.
(This creek) is like that, it's one that dries out.

dinthirrburaji *n.*
Tailor (fish), moray eel.

dirdiranda *n.*
1. Shovel-nosed stingray.
2. Name of constellation. Came into existence when Shovel-nosed Stingray bit Kaarrku the seagull, leaving bite-mark.
Dirdiranda warngiida kaarrku diyaj.
Shovel-nosed stingray ate a seagull.

dirmuru *n.*
Whole piece of meat.

dirnaja *v. t.*
Poison (fish) by swishing leaves in water.
Dirnaja kuruluth. We killed those fish by poisoning them.
Maarra jirndiwanda dirnajirrind.
(They) had all been poisoned by the branches (swished around in the water).

dirra (dirr-) *n.*
Cumulostratus cloud, comes from southeast.

dirra yarbuda *n.*
Cyclone.

dirra-dirra *n.*
Red ochre.

dirralda *n. qual.*
Slippery, smooth.

dirraldija *v. i.*
Stumble, slip.

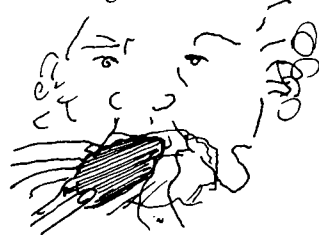
dirrbaaja *v. i.*
Stretch arms or legs to relax (M of *dirrbatha*).

dirrbatha *v. t.*
Line up, arrange. (Especially used of cockle shells arranged on coals. Small coals are then placed on top until the shells open).
Dirrbatha ngada wuranki bijurri. I lined up the cockle shells.

dirrbalutha *v. t.*
Straighten out.
Dirrbalutha kurthurr! Straighten out (the baby's) calves!

dirrbanda *n.*
Row of cockle shells cooked on coals.

dirrika [dirrika-] *n.*
Paperbark mouthguard used when making shell-knives by biting.
Kalatha narraa, dirrikanguniya baaj.
He's cutting out a shell knife, using a bark mouthguard to bite it with.



dirrikarda *n.*

Paperbark tree, *melaleuca acacioides*. Bark used for mouthguards. Wood used for cooking monthfish (*jardiyardi*). Flowers attract native bees and fruit flies.

dirrintha *n.*

Gut of dugong (= *jungarrbarida*).

dirrkaa *n.*

High cirrus or stratus cloud.

dirrkuli *n.*

Husband.

dirrkulinda *n., n.qual.*

Male (tree); particularly pandanus.

dirrkuliwuru *n. qual.*

Married (woman).

dirrkuru *n. qual.*

Unceasing, unrelenting, "keep going on and on".

Warmara dirrkuru. The wind doesn't let up.

Banaba dirrkuruk! (You) just keep getting it wrong!

diwalda *n.*

Tree (particularly crown).

Kamburijuruya dathina dangkaa, ngijinda diwalda barrkiinangku. Tell that man that my tree mustn't be cut down.

diyaja *v.t.*

1. Eat.

2. Ingest in any form (including drinking).

diyaja jirmaja *v.t.*

Eat (or drink) plenty in preparation for coming scarcity.

Ngukuya diyaja jirmaja ngabay.

The spirits drink plenty in preparation for their journey eastward.

dangka-diyanda *n.*

1. Man-eater (e.g. short people).

2. Murderer.

dubalanda *n.*

Sandbank (= *ngakanda*).

dubuldija *v.i.*

(Fish) jump out of water.

dubunda *n.*

Remora, sucker-fish.

duburrka *n.*

1. Diamond-scaled mullet, river mullet.

2. Culture hero of same name.

Duburrka ngurruwarraya mirrayalath.

River Mullet built fishtraps.

duju (~ **duuju**) *n.*

Small rock cod.

Duju, dibirdibi, thabujungarrb, kiyarrngka marndawand. The small rock cod and the rock cod are brothers, both live in rock holes.

dukurduku *n. qual.*

Wet.

dukurdukurutha *v.t.*

Make wet, soften (ground).

Muthaa wunda dukurdukurutha jungarrbaya mardalki. All the rain has made a lot of wet mud.

dukurrka *n.*

Sperm, semen; vaginal juices.

dukurrkalija *v.i.*

Ejaculate.

< *dukurrk-kalija*

dukurrkalinmuthanda *n.*

Person who is always ejaculating (swearing term).

dukutharri *n.*

Organ-grinder lizard.

Dukutharri ngarrku jawind. The organ-grinder lizard is a strong runner.

dulatha *v.i.*

Grow fat.

dulalutha *v.t.*

Fatten, make fat.

dulanda *n. qual.*
Fat.

dulbardu *n.*
Hard ground.
Dulk- 'ground' plus *bardu* 'hard'.

dulbatha *v. i.*
Sink, drown.
dulbalutha *v. t.*
(Cause to) sink, drown.
Balibali yuumarija dulbaluth.
Stingray drowned (the honeybees).

duldija
1. *v. impers.* Be dew, fog.
Nguthunguthu duldinda yand. There's a bit of dew now.
2. *v. impers.* Be murky, dirty.
Duldija malay. It's murky in the sea.
3. *v. i.* Be shut, closed, blocked; be dry (throat).
Thawurra duldij. (I) have a dry throat.

duldiinkuru able to be blocked off, blocked up.
Wiriwiri katharra durldiinkuru.
Wiriwiri is an estuary that can be blocked up.

duldinda maburra thick fog, dew

dulka [*dulk-*] *n.* (K, Ya)
1. Ground, dirt.
2. Place.
Wamakurld. Dathina dulka warraajarri, birdiya dulk. Wamakurld. That place was not gone to, it's a bad place.
3. Territory, country.

bakiinda dulka everywhere, all over.

duljaniija *v. i.*
Be homesick, pine for one's country.

dulka warngiida *n. idiom.*
World.

dulkiiwatha *v. i.*
Be born, come into the world (implying rights to place born at).

Ngada Murdumurdungathi, dathinki dulkiiwath. I am called Murdumurdungathi, I was born there (at Murdumurdu).

dulki raaja *v. idiom.*
Spear the ground instead of the desired target.

dulku kurriju / kurrinangku *v. idiom.*
Be able/unable to see.

dulkuru dangkaa *n. idiom.*
"Boss of country", owner or custodian of territory or sacred site (= *dulmarra dangkaa*).

dulkuru-dulkuru *n. id. plu.*
Bosses, owners of country.

dulkuruwatha *v. i.*
Get dirt/dust in one's eyes, get dirty.

dulmarutha *v. t.*
1. Put on the ground.
Yijarmatha dulmaruth! Put it on the ground!
2. Floor, knock to the ground.
3. Deliver (baby), bring into the world.

dulmarra *n. qual.*
Associated with a place.
Ngukuwa dathina wurdija yulkaanda dulmarr. Water remained there forever associated with the place.

dulmarra dangkaa *n. idiom.*
1. "Boss of country", owner/custodian of territory or sacred site (= *dulkuru dangkaa*).

dulthalkuru *n. qual.*
Covered with dirt.

dulwarngiijurungarrba *n.*
Countrymen.
Warngiida malaa, dulwarngiijurungarrb. It's all one sea here, we're countrymen.

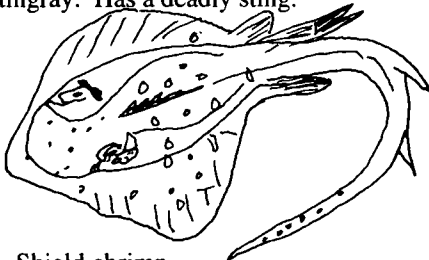
dulyalanda *n. pred.*
In someone else's country or home.
Maraka dulyaland. It's like it's not my home, somebody else's.

dulkalarri
1. *n.* Open place.

2. *n. loc.* Outside (LOC).
Dathina dulkalarri malankarri. There
 outside the humpy.
Nyingka warraja dulkalarriwath! You
 go outside!

dulkarrba *n.*
 Lock-head turtle.

dulkayirra *n.*
 1. Blue-spotted stingray, fantail
 stingray. Has a deadly sting.

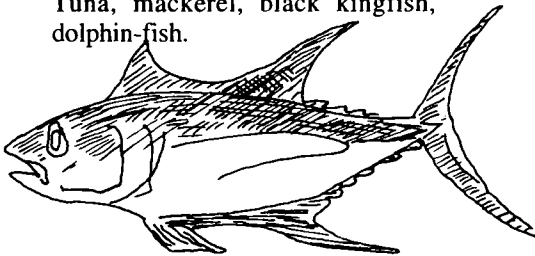


2. Shield shrimp.

dulkidi *n. manner.*
 Along the ground.
Bulbulka dulkidi jawij. The pheasant
 runs along the ground.

dulmatha *v.i.*
 Go underground, die (dreamtime
 beings).

duluka *n.*
 Tuna, mackerel, black kingfish,
 dolphin-fish.



dumu *n.*
 Shore.

dumumarutha *v.t.*
 Put to one side (e.g. of fire).
*Dumumarutha warija kurrkatha
 damuru!* Take out the panja and put it
 at the side of the fire!

dumurrnga *n. loc.*
 On the shore side.

dumuwa jara *n. idiom.*
 Upper surface of foot.

dunbu *n. qual.*
 1. Extinguished (fire).
 2. Dirty, murky, translucent.
Dunbuwa malaa dirty sea, murky
 sea where fish can't be seen.
 3. Dazed, stupid, dumb.
 4. Useless for its natural purpose.

dunburdunbu *n. qual.*
 Hard to light, e.g. wet matches.

dunbururutha *v.t.*
 1. Extinguish, put out (fire).
 2. Stun, stupefy.
Dunbururuthirinda thurawaand. The
 initiates were stunned by the noise
 of stomping.

dunbuwa marralda *n. qual.*
 Deaf, stupid.

dunbuwa miburlda *n. qual.*
 Blind.

dunbuwa waraa *n. qual.*
 Dumb, unable to speak.

dunbuwatha *v.i.*
 1. Get blind drunk.
 2. (Faculty: body part SSPRED)
 become useless for its natural
 purpose.

dunbuwatha marlda *v.i.*
 Do something wrongly with one's
 hand.

dunbuwatha marralda *v.i., v.t.*
 Forget, forget OBJ.
Dunbuwatha marralda yubuyubuy.
 (He) forgot the road.

dunbuwatha waraa *v.i.*
 Go dumb, be dumbstruck.

dunda *n.*
 Husband, boyfriend (of female);
 wife's brother (of male).
 "Mungkiji dunda yiiwij,
 ngumbanda dunda mungkijiya dunda
 ngumbanda yiiwij, no rikawuru,
 namu rikarrkaliya namu yulaaj,
 ngumbanda mungkijiya dund, my

son-in-law" *ngijinda ngamathu kamburij*. "Your own (future) husband is lying there, your own husband, don't cry, don't be afraid, my son-in-law (is there)" said my mother.

dunurru *n. qual.*

Married (female).

dunyalatha *v. t.*

(Woman) commit adultery with.

dungkurlda *n.*

Paperbark sp., *Melaleuca citrolens*.
Good firewood.

dungunda *n.*

Piece of meat, morsel.

dunjurarra (dinjurarra) *n.*

Salmon, queenfish.

dunkumudina *n.*

Sea turtle (Lardil word).

duratha *v. t.*

Variant of **duuratha**.

durdiwatha *v. i.*

Grow tired, weak.

Niya kamburij, birdirutha ngada muthaya buranthanki. Ngada kamburija niwanji, durdiwath. He said I'd missed a lot of bone-fish. I told him that (my arm) was getting tired.

durdiya julda *n. idiom.*

Curly hair.

durdina *n.*

Youngest brother or sister.

durdumbarrka *n.*

Grey nurse shark; shovel-nosed shark.

durlda *n.*

1. Innards, guts.

Ngada kalathu duru bulathu. I'll cut it out and take the guts out.

2. Excrement, shit.

durbarrbarruru *n. qual.*

Sick with diarrhoea.

durbirdiwuru *n. qual.*

Sick with diarrhoea.

durldiija *v. i.*

Defecate, shit, go to the toilet.

dururu *n. qual.*

Shitty, covered in shit.

durldurdi *n. qual.*

Soft (= *durdi*)

durldurdiya dulka soft ground, mud (= *mardalka*).

durldurdirutha

(*durldurdurutha*) *v. t.*

Make soft (ground).

Durldurdiruth, milwanda ngukuwa barji. The weather is making the ground soft, the first rains are falling.

durngudinda *n.*

"Crow-fruit tree", *Terminalia ferdinandiana*. Gum used.

Durngudinda murrbanda thabujungarrb. The crow-fruit and the *murrbanda* are brothers.

durnyija *v. t.*

"Finger"; pet, play together sexually.

Kunyaa maku, kunyaa wurkara wirrkanjuth, durnyinjuth. Young girls and boys play with each other, finger each other.

durnyinkuru *n.*

"Fingering woman" - girl with whom boy is allowed to engage in sexual play.

durnyuku *n.*

Knight-fish, month-fish (= *jardiyardi*).

durrinda *n. qual.*

Deep.

Durrinkiya malaya in the deep water.

durrwaaja *v.t.* (K)

Chase.

Bilwanjiya durrwaj, jarnangkurrgarrbaya diyann Garrbay. (They) used to chase them, because they'd been eating (their) goats.
Maraka kalarru ngakathu bilda durrwayiiju, durrwayiiju bilda balaaju, rayiiju. They should have waited before going out into the open when they were being chased, they were being chased and would be shot or speared.

durumatha

1. *v.i.* Lie, tell lie, deceive. (Includes all sorts of deceptive behaviour, such as failing to keep a promise, and non-intentional deception such as misleading weather).

Barrunthaya durumath, nginja ngumuwath, nginja kamburija mumath, jawarri. (The weather) was deceptive yesterday. The sky blackened in vain, the thunder sounded in vain, there was no rain.

2. *v.t.* Lie to.

dangka-durumanda *n.*

Liar.

duu *n.*

Clitoris.

duungambungambu *n. qual.*

"Big hole" (abusive).

duujinda *n.*

[LOC **duujinji**].

Younger brother (male ego);

younger sister (female ego).

Younger sibling of same sex

duuratha (duratha) *v.t.*

1. Poke, spike, tickle.

Ngada kujijiya duuraaj. I poked myself on the spearhead.

Makuwalada duuratha dulki kurujaniij. The women are poking in the sand for turtle eggs.

Wirrkajarmathuth, wajurri durathuth. They are tickling each other, poking at each other's armpits.

2. Point at.

Namu marlda duurath! Don't point (at the moon) with your finger!

Murrukuru duurath. (He) is pointing with his spearthrower.

miburiya duratha *v. idiom.*

Threaten, warn not to.

Ngada miburiya duratha niwanji, danku dalinanguku. I warned him not to come here.

H

ht *interjec.*

Sound uttered in time to stomping when dancing.

hurru *interjec.*

Sound addressed to initiates to release them from silence.

J

jaa *n.* (K, Ya)

Variant of **jara** 'foot' (q.v.).

jaa-thungalda *n.* (Ya)

Boot.

jaaja *v.t.*

1. Enter, go into. (K, Ya)

Bilda jaaja ngilirri. They entered the cave.

Julda yakuriya thawurri jaaj. A fishbone got stuck in his throat.

Ngumbanda jara mardalku jaaju. Your foot will sink into the mud.

2. Get into, put on (clothes).

Jathaa thungalda jaaj! Put some other clothes on!

jaajaanda *n. pred.*

Digging holes in sand (for crab).

Nyingka kantharjaajaanda bingkurninj! You're digging for crabs on your own!

jaara *n.* (Ya)

Foot.

jaba *n.*

Supper, evening meal.

[< Eng. "supper"].

jabayiwatha *v.i.*

Go for supper.

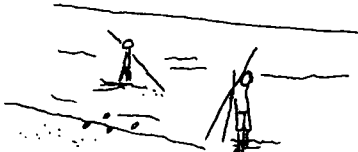
Jabayiwathurrk. They're going for supper right now.

jabarda *n.*

Sole (fish).

jabarrija *v.i.*

Look around for (fish, stingrays etc.) in shallow water.



Danmulaand, jabarrinngarrb. (They) are going from here, after looking around for stingrays.

jabija *v.i.*

Shudder with pain, have spasm.

Waldarra jabijabij, kurumbu bulaanangku. Moon shuddered with pain, and the spear could not be pulled out.

jaburnanganji *n.*

Shoe (= *jaburrnganji*).

jaburra *n. manner.*

Kneeling.

jaburrnganji *n.*

Shoe (= *jaburnanganji*).

jakabalkurutha *v. adv.*

Do to first.

Nyingka jakabalkuruth, nyingka diyaja ngariij. You have some first, eat first.

jakamu *n.*

Skin disease with many sores; causes sufferers to walk bow-legged. Possibly yaws.

jakarrangu *n.*

Freshwater crab.

Jakarrangu nguku-wirdind. The *jakarrangu* dwells in fresh water.

jalaku *n.*

Flat tail, e.g. of pike or eel (= *bilbilda*).

jalda *n.*

Vagina, cunt.

jaljaniija *v.i.*

(Man) be sexually aroused, be randy.

jalji *n.*

1. Shade, shadow.

Bujuku barnkaldija jaljiya rukuthi. Black crane sat cross-legged in the shade of a casuarina tree.

2. Reflection.

3. Colour (e.g. of rainbow).

jalnganhangka *n.*

Tongue.

jalngantha *n.* (Ya).

Tongue.

Ngada baaju jalnganthu ngijinju. I'll bite my tongue.

jalwija *v.i.*

Poke tongue out.

jamadinda *n.*

Sticky mud, bog.

jamakinda *n.*

Small bark torch.

jambalatha *v.t.* (Ya)

Kick.

Niya jambalatha ngijinjiya bardakay. He kicked me in the stomach.

jambarnda

1. *n.* Hollow tree.

2. *n. qual.* Hollow.

Jambarnd, yarbuda diyaj, darruwuruwath. It's hollow, birds ate it out, it got holes in it.

jambathu *n.*

1. Maternal grandfather; mother's father.
2. Sibling of maternal grandfather.
3. Harmonic-generation member of *jambathu* 's patriline, e.g. mother's brother's sister, daughter's son.

jambilatha *v.t.*

Kick.

jangandi *n.*

Shovel-nosed spear.
Not a "proper Kayardild" word but a "Munkaba" word.

jangkaa *n. qual.*

1. Some (of a group).
Burrija jangkaa yakuriy. Some of the fish came out.
Jangkaa badija wangalki. Some are carrying boomerangs.
2. Some (ignorative).
Ngarumathi warraju jangkawu jingkawu. That duck will go to some swamp.
3. Different.

jangkawu daru sometime soon

janija

1. *v. semi-tr.* Seek, search for PROP. (K, Ya)
Ngakulda barrunthaya warrunkuru janija jingkay. Yesterday we looked for goannas in the swamp.
2. *v.t.* Search for OBJ without success.
Muthana dulkina janija makuwala niwanji. Women from many places looked for him without success.

-jani(i)ja *verbal purposive case.*

For, wanting.

Ngamburath, ngukujaniij. They dug a well for water.

Nalda barrkiiija kakajajaniij. She is gashing her head out of grief for her father.

jara¹ (~ **jaa**) *n.*

1. Foot.

Jayinja durrwaand. (He's) chasing (the turtle) with his foot.

2. Footprint, track.

bardaka jara sole of foot

jamurimuriwuru *n. qual.*

Wearing thongs on one's feet.

jamuthanda *n.*

"Human Toyota", person who walks long distances.

janurruwatha *v.i.*

Leave tracks.

Janurruwanangku, jawarri wurand. It leaves no tracks, it is a kind without feet.

jara kuuja bathe ones feet; cool one's feet in the water.

jara thungalda root of tree

jarwirdinda *n.*

(On turtle) flesh joining legs to shell.

jathungaluru *n.*

White person (older term).

jawarrirutha *v.t.*

Take leaving no trace.

Barrindindi kurrkatha wurkaraya jawarriruth. Barrindindi took the boy, leaving no trace.

jawuru *n.*

Cane-toad.

jara² *n.*

Rain.

Kunyaa jara barjij. Only a bit of rain is falling.

Jawarri wund. It's a cloud with no rain.

jathaldinda *n.*

Steady rain.

jawarrirutha *v.i.*

Wait until it stops raining.

jawurarrawurarra *n.*

Light rain.

jaraanda *n. time.*

Too soon.

jarambalda *n.*

Spine-cheek, low-finned drummer.

jardarrka *n.*

1. Crow (K, Ya).

Jardarrka ngabaya-diyand. Crows are spirit-eaters.

Jardarrka kinaanda nyingk! You speak like a crow, you spoke of the devil, i.e. you were speaking about someone and they appeared.

2. Greedy person.

jardi¹

1. *n.* Back, shoulders.

2. *n. loc.* Behind.

jardi-burrinda *n.*

Extra high tide that reaches behind mangroves to saltpan.

jardi-burrthawuru *n.*

“Old man dugong”.

jardiida *n. manner.*

Walking backwards.

jardiiwatha *v.i.*

Go to back of something, go behind (= *buthiiwatha*).

jardi-kamburija *v.i.*

“Backbite”; talk behind someone’s back.

jardimarutha *v.t.*

Put behind one’s back.

jardirida *n. manner.*

Behind someone’s back, surreptitiously.

jardirithulutha *v.t.*

Turn OBJ around so it faces away.

jardirutha *v.t.*

Put on one’s back or shoulders (e.g. child).

jardiwalada *n.*

Area behind mangroves.

jardiya wuuja turn one’s back on someone, stand with one’s back turned to someone.

Ngijinji jardi wuuja dathina kunawun. That child’s standing with his back to me.

jardi² *n.*

Mob, group (of people); sometimes implies ‘all members of the group’.

Rarumbanda jardi the southern mob.

Rulumbanjina jardina dulk the eastern mob’s country.

Kunawuna jardi all the children.

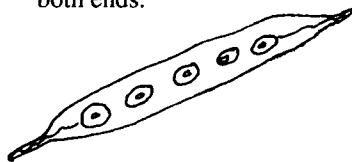
jardiwuthinda *n.*

Horde (e.g. of ants).

Jardiwuthinda barakurra badija wuranki juli. A horde of ants is carrying off the bone.

jardiyali *n.*

1. Throwing-stick, sharpened at both ends.



Jardiyali dangka-burldijund.

Throwing sticks are thrown at people by each other.

2. Pestle.

3. Root of tree, source for pestle or throwing-stick.

jardiyardi *n.*

“Month-fish”, black spine-foot (= *durnyu*).

Jardiyardi burrija rulungangarrb.

The month-fish come after the easterlies start.

jariija *v.i.*

Flee, run away.

jariijariija *v.i.*

Limp, walk with a limp.

jarija *v.t.*

Swallow.

Dadarrararida wuranki jarij. The uvula swallows (i.e. helps swallow) food.

jarirrbirirrb *n.*

Small black wasp, small stinging fly.

jariruru (jarirraru) *n.*

Flat-tailed stingray, stingaree. Tail-pin used in circumcision.

Jarirraru dijarra raaju ngumbanju. The stingaree will sting you with its spike.

jarnangkurri *n.*

Goat.

Jarnangkurriya burutha nginja buruth, dalijarmathu. (They) took goats when they shouldn't have, to bring (back from Sweers to Bentinck). [Poss. from English "nannygoat", with the expected form *narnangkurri* changing to initial *ja-* 'foot, track' by folk etymology, on the basis of its distinctive tracks.]

jarrbi *n.*

Tree growing in mangroves; roots like *bilirra* .

jarrjarrba *n.*

Big-mouthed garfish, flying-fish.

jaruka *n. loc.*

In the water.

Niya jarukaya warraj, malaya niya rabath. He went into the water, trod in the seawater.

jarurndurnda (~ **jarirndurnda**) *n.*

Hornet.

jathaa *n. qual.*

1. One in a series.

Ngithalkuru, jathaya malabaruya bulath. It was hot, so I took one shirt off.

Ngumbanda jathaa, bana ngumbanda jathaa, bana ngumbanda jathaa. One for you, and one for you, and one for you.

2. Another of the same type.

3. Some (speaker doesn't know, but would like to know).

Jathaa dangkaa daratha ngijinji wumburungki. Someone broke my spear.

jawalda *n.*

1. Boot.

2. Bootprint.

jawaljawaalija *v. i.*

Clump around in boots.

jawarlda *n.*

Reef oyster, *Ostrea sp.* Eaten raw or cooked in ashes. Opened with *mariwa*.

jawarrjawatha *v. i.*

Keep walking around.

jawarrjawaaja *v. i.*

Walk around and get lost.

jawija *v. i.* (K, Ya)

Run (humans, fish, boat, water), gallop; move fast.

Ngarrkuwa jawinda maramar. The dinghy's running along fast.

Ngukuwa jawijarr. The water ran out (of the billy).

jawijarmatha *v. t.*

1. Ride (horse).

2. Drive away (e.g. spouse); cause to run away.

jawinkuru *n. qual.*

Fast-moving (e.g. dinghy), able to move fast.

jibarna [**jibarna-**] *n.*

1. Mother-in-law, i.e. wife's mother.

2. Sibling of mother-in-law.

3. Disharmonic-generation member of *babiju*'s patriline. E.g. sister's daughter's husband, sister's son's wife.

jiinjawatha *v. i.*

Change one's clothing. Eng. loan.

jijina *loc. interrog.*

1. Where to, whither.

Ngabaya kurrij, jijina warraju. The spirits look which way to go.

2. Why.

jijinarnanganda *loc. interrog.*

(Ya **jijinanganda**)

By which route.

jijirrirri *n. qual.*
Itchy.

jikija *v. t.*
Light (grass fires); burn off
(country).

jilanganda *n.*
Stone hand-axe.



jilanganjilanganda *n. qual.*
Sharp.
Jilanganjilangand, miluru. It's
sharp, it has a point.

jilari *n. qual.*
Sore, painful.

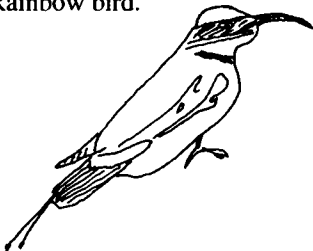
jilariwarriwatha *v. i.*
Pain stop.

jilariwatha *v. i.*
Be sore, hurt; begin to hurt.
Jinawarrkuna nyingka jilariwatharr?
When did the pain start?

jilarrabu *n.*
Blotched reef eel.

jilatha *v. t.*
Roll (string) (= *burldija*).

jilbimburlda *n.*
(~ *jilbimburnda*)
Rainbow bird.



Jilbimburnda muthaya kunawunaya waraya wuu. The rainbow bee-eater feeds many young mouths.

jilbiwatha *v. i.*
Keep on talking without giving
anyone else a chance, hold the
floor.
Namu jilbiwath, namu junku-burrij!
Don't keep talking, let someone else
have a say, don't keep answering
back!

jilburutha
1. *v. t.* Stay in one place at OBJ.
Warngiijina dulkina ngakulda jilburutharr. We stayed in the one place all the time.
2. *v. adv.* Keep doing.
Jilburutha kamarrij. You keep asking him all the time.

jilda (~ **julda**) *part.*
Absolutely. See also **julda**.
Jilda warirra dulk. (There was) absolutely nobody there.

jildajilda thungalda
See under *julda*.

jildaratha
See under *juldaratha*.

jilijili *n.*
Hawksbeak turtle shell.

jilirra *n.* (K, Ya)
Guttapercha tree, *Excoecaria parvifolia*.
Jilirra kungulmarr. The guttapercha tree is used against mosquitoes.

jiliyatha *v. t.*
Pull hair of OBJ.
Makuwa birra jiliyathuth. The two women are pulling each other's hair.

jiljaa *n.*
Oyster, *Ostrea sp.*
Karruruya ngalda diyaja muthaya mirraya jiljay. We ate many good ripe oysters.

Murratha diyaja buthiya kaarrku jiljay. Seagulls break open and eat oysters afterwards (i.e. after the humans have had a go).

jiljawatha *v. i.*

Break out in crusty sores, like oysters. Believed to happen to those who did not shelter from the moon in eclipse.

Kaburra dunbu, narrkiriija kaburra, dunbuwa wurdija dirrkulinji kirriki, jungarrbaya kina, jungarrbaya wirjangki. Karndinkuru wurdinangku, baymbay jiljawath, baymbay kamarrwath. They'd extinguish their embers, bury them, and stay well-hidden under a wild fig tree. They wouldn't stay under a female one, or they'd become like oysters, like rock.

jiljamburrmanda *n.*

Cat's eye shell.

jiljilwaanda *n. pred.*

Being verbose, talking too much. *Maraka warngiida kangka kamburija nyingk, muthaa kangk. Nyingka jiljilwaand.* You only should have said one word, but you said many. You're being verbose.

jiljulwaaja *v. t.*

Drag up.
Namu jiljulwaaj! Don't drag them up yet!

jilkaa *n.*

Wooden oyster-pick.

jilkabatha (julkabatha) *v. t.*

Hold fast, hold tight.
Ngada burutha jilkabath. I held onto him tight.

jilkabatha kamburija speak rapidly

Jilkabana kamburin, nguthunguthu! Don't speak fast, speak slowly!

jilkabatha kurrija stare

jilkiri(i)ja *v. i.*

Hiccup.

jilkinmarrirutha *v. t.*

Prevent from hiccupping.

jimatha *v. t.*

Miss seeing, look at without seeing.

Ngada jimatha budijurrk. I missed seeing him run past.

jimbilbilmarra *n.*

Rat-tailed stingray.

Jimbilbilmarra duujind, niwanda thabuju kuyild. The rat-tailed stingray is the younger brother of the file ray.

jimija *v. t.*

Squeeze (e.g. yam, to see if cooked; or stingray rissole, to get rid of juice).

jinaa *loc. interrog.*

Where (at). (K, Ya).

MPROP form is *jinawu* in K and *jinaangku* in Ya.

Jinaa ngijinda wangalk? Where is my boomerang?

Jinawu nyingka wurdiju? Where will you stay?

jinaa darri *time interrog.*

When (not today, or vague).

Jinana darrina dathina dangkaa dalijarr? When did that man come?

Jinadarru kantharrkuru diyaju malawu? When will I ever get to drink my beer on my own?

jinaa mulda (Ya) how many?

jinamulu *quant. interrog.*

How many.

Jinamulu kamdiwalada niwand? How many wives did he have?

jinamulu darri for how long?

jinangathi *n. interrog.*

Born where.

Nyingka jinangathi? Where were you born?

jinaangkura (Ya) where?

Daamija niya jinaangkura niy. Ask him where he's going.

jinananganda

1. *loc. interrog.* Which side of LOC.

2. *loc. interrog.* What kin relation to LOC.

Ngada jinarnanganda ngumbanji? What relation am I to you?

3. *manner interrog.* How, in what way.

Marraaja ngad, jinarnanganda wangalka ngudija nyingk. Show me how you throw a boomerang.

jinarungka *loc. interrog.*

Whither, where (to).

Nyingka jinarungku? Ngada balungku. Where are you going? I'm going to the west.

jinawanda *loc. interrog.* (K, Ya)

From where, which (where entity can be characterized by place of origin).

Jinawanda kangk? Rarumbanda kangk. Which language? Kayardild (the south language).

jinawarrku *time interrog.*

When, at what time of day.

Jinawarrkuru thaathu? When'll you come back?

jinbija *v.i.*

1. Put head up.

Dathina kalbarra jinbija kurrij. That egret has his head up, looking around.

2. (Of dugong) surface for air, "spout". (= *mayiija*, *bilwatha*).

jinbirra *n.*

Sandhill.

jinda [LOC **jinki**] *n.*

1. Ventral fin of fish.

2. Lower abdomen.

Nyingka ngarrkuwatha jind, kulanangku? Is your lower abdomen constricted, so that it's hard to urinate?

jinjimija *v.i.*

Be in labour pains, be in pain during childbirth.

Jinjimija wamath. She cries out in the pain of childbirth.

jinwirdinda *n.*

Tissue holding ventral fin.

jingkaa *n.*

Swamp.

jingkari (jingkar-) *n. loc.*

Out of sight in the scrub

(= *kinaa*, *wijangka*).

Dangkaya wirrkaj, biniji,

jingkarmaruth, birdi.

After they've initiated the boys, they put (the stingray pin) away in the scrub, it's bad.

Makuwa jardiya jingkariiwath.

(During the initiation) all the women hide away in the scrub.

jinjangala *n.*

Tail-meat of dugong.

jinkaja *v.t.* (K, Ya)

Follow.

jinkanda *n.*

One who follows from dead sibling by inheriting their spouse(s).

jiralka *n.*

Type of sea-plant eaten by dugong.

jirdaa *n. qual.*

1. Hungry, greedy.

2. Randy, lecherous, sexually voracious.

jirda-jungarra *n.*

Greedy or lecherous person.

jirdawatha

1. *v.i.* Be hungry, drool, salivate.

Jirdawatha marrija ngada wangarri muthaya bangaya riinki. I drooled as I heard the sound of many turtle coming from the east.

2. *v.i.* & *v.mid.* Grow lustful (for PROP).

Ngada lakimatha kurrij, jirdawatha niwanju. I looked upon him with desire, and grew lustful for him.

jirdabirri *n.*

Small hawk (= *mathali*).

jirdangkulda *n. qual.*

Heavy (cf. *thali*).

Dathina wangalka jirdangkuld, thaanangku. That boomerang is too heavy, it won't come back.

jirdangkulwatha *v.i.*

Get a cramp.

jiribi *n.*

Quail.



Jiribi nguku-diyand. Kariija mijilu.
Quails drink lots of fresh-water. They can be caught (lit. covered) with a net.

jirkarrba *n.*

Shell sp, *Pinctada sugullata*, found on reef.

jirnbijirnbi *n.*

Dragonfly.

Some speakers say this is not a Kayardild word.

jirndi *n. (K, Ya)*

Leaf, twig.

jirndijirndi *n.*

Kindling wood, small twigs.

jirndibarrki *n.*

Round mangrove shell.

jirndirri *n.*

Willy wagtail.



jirndulka *n.*

Bird sp., possibly tern (cf *bildi*).

jirnji *n.*

River white gum, *Eucalyptus tectifica* (=L *yangkul*). Leaves are mixed with ash and used against sores.

jirnkalda *n.*

Widow.

jirrachawuru *n.*

Metal axe (= *wandawanda*).

jirrikujirriku *n.*

Bat.

jirrka *n. (K, Ya)*

Middle.

Jirrk, nyingka jirrkiiwath! In the middle, you go in the middle!
Malawath, kunyaa jirrka. (During a flood, Bentinck Island) turned to sea, except for some small patches in the middle.

jirrkaanda *n. qual.*

(Moving) from the north.

Walmathinguni jirrkaanda warraja ngarnki wakirinwakirind. By way of the high country we came from the north along the beach carrying coolamons.

jirrkaanmali *n. voc.*

Hey you coming from the north!

jirrkaanmarutha *v.i.*

Look from the north.

jirrkara *n. loc. (K, Ya)*

North.

jirrkaramali *n. voc.*

Hey you in the north!
Nyingka ngaaka jirrkaramali? Hey who are you in the north there?

jirrkara(a)linda *n.*

Strong north wind.

jirrkarla *n. loc. (Ya)*

North.

jirrkur- *bound stem.*

Stem of many 'north' derivatives.

- jirrkurayaanda** *n.*
Previous night's camp in the north.
- jirrkuriida** *n. manner.*
Heading constantly north.
- jirrkurijatha (jirrkuriyatha)**
v. i.
Turn oneself around to the north.
Jirrkuriyathurrk. (The wind) is moving around to the north now.
- jirrkurijulutha** *v. t.*
Put OBJ on the north side.
- jirrkurubudiinda** *n.*
North wind.
- jirrkurungka** *n. loc. (K, Ya)*
1. To the north, northwards.
2. The north horizon.
- jirmaja** *v. t. (K, Ya)*
1. Lift, hold up.
2. Build up, pile up (e.g. fish-trap).
Dangkaa kamburij, banki jungarra narrkanarrk. Ngakulda jirmaju dathinku dulku. The man said: the lagoon is big and deep. We will build a fishtrap here.
- jirrwurlda** *n.*
Gills.
- jiwi**¹ *n.*
Long yam sp.
- jiwi**² *n.*
Whistle-duck.
- jiwirndili** *n.*
Dinghy.
- jiwirndulu** *n.*
Tomahawk.
- jiwirnduluwirndulu** *n.*
Motorcar.
- jiwirrija** *v. i.*
Spin round.

- jujujuju...** *ideophone.*
Exclamation mimicking sound of spear flying through the air.
- juju(u)ba** *n.*
Low shrub, berries eaten, *Grewia retusa.*
- juka** *n.*
Sugar.
English loan, does not lose final *a.*
Ngada danatha waduy, malay, jukay.
I've given up smoking, beer and sugar.
- jukulwatha** *v. i.*
Close one's legs, put ones legs together (= *thunduwatha*).
- jul-** (~ **jil-**) *preverb.*
Intensifies verbal meaning.
- julbalaaja** *v. i.*
All get killed, all get shot at.
Balaaj, julbalaaj, durrwayiij, jinkaaj, marndiij, makuwuru marndiij. They were shot at, all shot at, chased, followed, robbed, robbed of their women.
- juldaratha (jildaratha)** *v. t.*
Punish, give it to, dish it out to.
Ngada ngumbanju jildarathu. I'll punish you.
Juldaraankurud? Are (the fish) still getting it dished out to them? (Said to a spear-fishermen who's had a good run).
- julkabatha** *See jilkabatha.*
- julda** *n.*
1. Bone (K, Ya).
Julda ngijinji wuu! Give me the bone! (Ya)
2. Hair.
Niya balarru julu. She has white hair.
- julda bildangka** (Ya) lung
- julda dimirra** (Ya) backbone
- julda wirrwirra** (Ya) rib-bone

juldajulda *n. qual.*

Strong, loud (noise), fluent (language), properly.

Niya danku kangku kamburiju juldajuldawu. He can talk this language properly.

julijalatha *v. i.*

Grow thin, turn to skin and bone.

julujulutha *v. i.*

Talk forcefully.

julujulutha kamburija *v. t.*

Persuade.

Bilda julujulutha niwanji kamburij.

They persuaded him.

julwanda wuranda *n.*

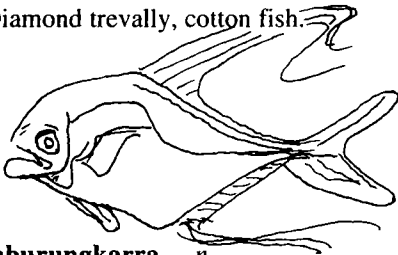
Meat from around the bone.

juluru *n.*

Porpoise fish; porcupine fish.

julwaka *n.*

Diamond trevally, cotton fish.



jumburungkarra *n.*

Child able to walk.

jumburungkarrarutha *v. t.*

Raise (small child), "growim up".

jumburungkarrawatha *v. i.*

Grow up (small child), become capable of walking.

jumurra *n.*

Coolamon, bark carrying dish used for babies or vegetable foods.



A Lardil loan; the proper Kayardild word is *kurdaa*.

junda *n.*

Chin-bone.

jungarra *n. qual.*

1. Big in size (= *jungarrba*).

Danda kunawuna kunyamirr, dathina kunawuna jathaa jungarr. This child is very small, that other child is big.

2. Older.

Jungarra thabuju older brother.

3. Important (= *jungarrba*).

4. Very.

Dathina dangkaa jungarra mungurru.

That man is very knowledgeable.

jungarra dangkaa adult, grown-up.

jungarra nida generic term, "big name".

jungarrba *n. qual.* (K, Ya)

1. Big, fat.

2. Important.

jungarrba dulka important place, dangerous place

jungarrbarutha *v. t.*

Fatten, make fat, make big.

Bukaa yakuriya jungarrbaruth, dulaluth. (Eating) fish (found) dead makes you big, makes you fat.

jungarrbawatha *v. i.*

Get bigger, fatter, stronger.

jungarrbawatha kangka speak up, speak louder.

Bilda jungarrbawatha niwanjina, jungarrbawatha kangk. They spoke to him, spoke louder.

jungarrbarida *n.*

Large intestine.

Mirniwarrkiya dangkaa diyaj,

jungarrbarid. The man who killed the animal eats it, the large intestine.

junku *n. qual.*

1. Right (side).

Junkuwa thardaa right arm.

Junkuwa marlda right hand.

2. Straight, straight at LOC.

Ngijinjiya junkuya kirkka miburld.

It's coming straight at me.

3. Correct, true (opposite of *thaku* 'left; wrong').

- junkijarrada** *n. manner.* (Ya)
Back, in revenge.
Ngada niwanju junkijarrada balathu kirrku. I'll hit him back, in the nose.
- junki(i)yarri** *n. manner.*
Without reciprocating.
Niya wuunmarri dangkawalayarri junkiiyarri. He never gives food to other people.
- junkuda** *n. qual.*
Correct, straight (marriage), true (statement).
Junkuda kinaaj. I'm telling the truth.
- junkurutha** *v.t.*
1. Make straight.
2. Make correct, practise (e.g. song), correct (e.g. language).
Nyingka junkurutha kangki. You're correcting the language.
- junkuwatha** *v.i.*
1. Become straight (e.g. spear).
2. Become clear (weather).
Junkuwatharri, ngarrku rarumbanda warrrar. It hasn't cleared up, the south wind is still strong.
3. Meet up.
Yubuyubunurru ngada dangkawalada junkuwath. On the road the people and I met up.
- junkuyarrada** *n. manner.*
In return (e.g. in sister exchange; in revenge).
- junkuyunku** *n. manner.*
1. Towards each other.
2. In return, in revenge, in compensation.
- junkurru** *n.*
Root sp.
- junthutha** *v.recip.*
Swear at each other. Irregular reciprocal of *thuuja*; *Yukulta* has the same reciprocal form.
- juraa** *n. qual?*
Song word appearing only in the incantation *juraa juraa, mirdi mirdii*

sung to make the stingray barb (*mirdi*) "cold" or sharp before circumcision.

- jurbulutha** *v.t.*
Lengthen, sharpen.
- jurdabirri** *n.* (Ya)
Fish-hawk. (=K *jirdabirri*).
- jurdabuwinda** *n.*
Black butcherbird, magpie.
- jurdiija** *v.i.*
1. Sink (e.g. into mud), set (sun).
2. Live on bottom, in mud (e.g. stingray).
Mathali dathinki wurdij, kurdalalngka dathinki jurdiij. An eagle lives there, and a stringray lives on the bottom there.
- jurdu** *n.* (Ya)
Dust.
- jurdungaji** *n.*
White lily, *Crinum angustifolium* or *Crinum uniflorum*.
Jurdungaji maraka thawald, kujamuth. Ngulmuwa wurand, diyajarri. Namu diyaja dathina jurdungaji, thawal-nurru. The white lily is like a yam, in having lots of "hairs" (fine roots). It's a poisonous food, and is not eaten. Don't eat that white lily, which has a tuber.
- jurnjurduku** *n.*
Wren.
- jurnjurnda** *n.*
Bird sp., eats seaweed.
Jurnjurnda yalunthaya diyaj. The *jurnjurnda* eats seaweed.
- jurnurru** *n.*
Bottle.
Prob. can be broken into a root *jur-* 'sharp' (cf *juraa, jurbulutha*) plus *-nurru* 'having'.

jurra¹ *n.*

Message stick.

jurr(a)-buuja *v.t.*

Make a sign on the ground.

Jurrbuuja dulk! Make a sign in the sand!

jurra² *n.*

Grass tied around stingray balls (*kurumbalda*) before cooking in oven.

jurrkaa *n.*

Mangrove tree sp., *aegiceras corniculatum*. Bark used as fish poison.

jurrwanda *n.*

Middle post of fence.

jurryurra *n.*

Grasshopper, cicada.

juuka *n.*

Wattle sp., wood used for spearheads. Poss. *Acacia doratoxylon*, *Acacia acanthoelada* or *Acacia beckleri*.

juurda *n.*

Vine sp. with grass-like, flat leaves. Well-buried root eaten. Grows in scrub.

juwalda *n. pred.*

Unburied (corpse).

Rundulwarri, juwald, balinda diyaja jardarrka kaarrku.

(He was left) with no grave, unburied, and the crows and seagulls ate him naked.

juwarnda *n.*

Black porpoise.

juway *interjec.*

Noise made when "chucking wind" at an adversary.

K

kaaja *v.i.*

Shelter (e.g. from rain), take refuge.

Makuwa bithiinda dathinkiya kaaj.

Women and men took shelter there.

kaarrku *n.*

Seagull.

Bungkaldija kaarrku dirdirankarranji marrway.

Seagull sat down close by Shovel-nosed Shark.

kaarrku bungkaldinda

Southern cross.

kabanda (~ **kabarnda**) *n.*

Stargazer (fish).

Kabanda dulkinji-wirdind, maraka kamarr.

The stargazer buries itself in sand, it's like the stonefish.

kabara [**kabara-**] *n.*

Saltpan, claypan.

Warrundiyajarrba kabaray.

Warrundiyajarrba is on a saltpan.

kabarkabara *n.qual.*

"Really dry".

kabatha *v.t.*

1. Find.

Kunawuna burutha wijiri, burukurath,

waduwa burrij, wunkurriya kabath.

The child takes the firestick and drills it. Smoke comes out, and he finds

some grass.

Yuuda kabatha mibulka ngijinji.

Sleep is already overtaking

('finding') me.

Mirraa dathina yarbud, dangkaya

kabatha thaathuuntha rulungkuunth.

That's a good dog, it hears (lit.

'finds') people approaching

eastwards.

2. Conceive (child).

3. Summon up, call forth (wind,

storm etc.)

Warrmarawu kabathu. (She'll) summon up the wind.
Mangara-kabaanda dathina dulk. That place (Sweers Island) is a good place for summoning up storms.
Wunda yarbuda kabaaj. A rain-storm was summoned up.

kabathutha (*recip. id.*) get together (lovers)
Birra warraja wambali kabathunmariij. They are going off into the bush to get together.

minyi-kabatha find one's mark (when spearing etc.)
Birra minyi-kabanthuth. They're finding each other's mark.

nginbuya kabatha snore
warrmara-kabanda wind-maker, person possessing knowledge of wind magic.

kabathaatha *v.t.* (K, Ya)
 Hunt, gather, fetch.
Kularrinmarutha ngukuwa kabathaath! Fetch water for your brother.
Ngada kabathaathur ngukur. I'll get some water. (Ya)

kabijinaba *n.*
 Son (of male) (= *kambinda*).

kabilda *n.*
 Big root sp.

kabilji *n.*
 Grave.

kabiljimarutha *v.t.*
 Bury, lay in grave.

kabiljingarrba *n.qual.*
 Returned from grave, resurrected.

kabinda *n.* [LOC **kabinji**]
 Very low tide.

kabilutha *v.i.*
 Wait for low tide.
Danda ngakurra wirdija kabiluth.
 Let's wait here until the tide is low.

kabiriju (kaburiju) *n.*
 Father's youngest wife, "last mother"; mother's younger sister.

kaburrba *n.*
 Coals, fire.
Jirrkar wanjiij, ngarnda balungka thaath, karnaja kaburrbay, burukuraaj, burukuratha wijiriy. (Crane) went north, went back westwards along the beach and lit a fire by rubbing firesticks together.

kaburrthawatha *v.i.*
 Grow weak.
Kaburrthawatha darr. (Her) legs grew weak.

kada *n.time.*
 Again.
Dathina wirdij, balatha ni, warirr, kabanangku, kabatharri. *Kada waratha rulungk, kabatharri, warirr.* He stayed there and pounded the bait (to attract the fish with its grease). Nothing, he couldn't find anything, didn't find anything. He threw it east again, found nothing.
Ngaakawuru dabarrmungurru kadamariij? Why are you always climbing trees, you're asking for it.
Nyingka kadayarrad? What's wrong with you this time?

kajakaja *n.*
 "Daddy", father, etc. Applied to actual father and those classificatory fathers who had a part in one's upbringing. May be extended to FZ ("auntie").

kajarduwurutha *v.?*
 Heap grass onto fish-weir to stop fish jumping over.

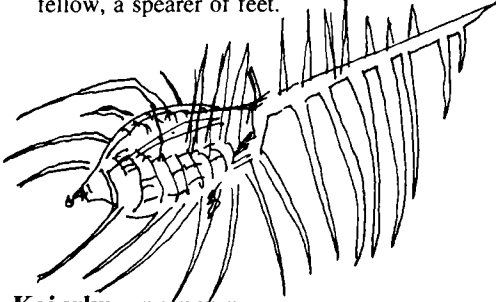
kajari *n.*
 Cord linking outer ends of net struts (*rilwirirri*).

kajirraru *n.*
 Brother-in-law (female ego), i.e. sister's husband (= *dunda*).

kajurku *n.*

Murex shell.

Kajurku dijarrdijarri dangkaa, jarinja raand. The murex shell is a spiky fellow, a spearer of feet.



Kajurku *proper n.*

Mythical being from whom all spears rebounded (= *kukaliinkuru*). Murex shells resemble him in having a number of spikes sticking out.

kakaa *n.*

1. Kidney.
2. Rib.

kakararra *n.*

White paint, white ochre.

kakawunya *n.*

Red-tailed tropic bird.

kakija *v.i.*

Vomit.

kakuju *n.*

1. Uncle, i.e. mother's brother.
2. Male disharmonic member of *jambathu* 's patriline, e.g. son-in-law.

kakuku *n.*

Swelling in skin.

kakukurutha *v.t.*

Cause (skin) to swell up.

kakukuwatha *v.i.*

Swell up (skin).

kala *n.*

Colour (esp. in racial sense).

Kirra kala warngiid! You two are the same colour (race).

kalaja *v.i.*

Fly.

Yarki wunki kalaj. It flies beneath the clouds.

kalajalaja *v.i.*

Move all around; roll over; rotate (willywilly).

Dathina dulka mirrayalatha kalajalaj thuwathu. Rainbow dug all around making that place.

kalala

1. *n.qual.* Dinkum; really; true. *Yuujbanda kalala ngunguka* a true, old-time story.

Nyingka kalala kurdalath? Did you really spear him?

2. *interjec.* That's right.

kalanginda *n.qual.*

Old, worn-out, no longer useable. (E.g. broken-down fishtrap, overgrown airstrip, old piece of wood too hard to work).

kalarra *n.*

Clearing; open place.

kalarrbarrwaja *v.t.*

Prevent from coming out into the open.

kalarriiwatha *v.i.*

Come out into the open; come out of hiding.

kalarrirutha *v.i.*

Wait until it is alright to come out into the open.

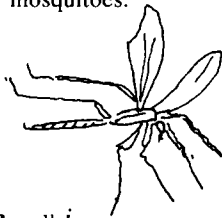
Bathinda jungarra wunda wanjiijiri ngimiruthir. Ngakulda kalarrirud, ngakathuru. From the west a big cloud is coming up making the sky dark. We'll wait until we can go into the open.

kalarrmarutha *v.t.*

Force out of hiding, drive out into the open.

kalarrangka *n.*

Large brown mosquito.
Bakiija yiiwija ngaruwarraya kaburrray, kalarranginja bayiinyarranth. Everyone slept between fires, so they wouldn't be bitten by mosquitoes.



kalarndija *v. i.*

Suffer pain (in NOM: body part); cry out with pain.
Ngada ngumbanji kalarndinki kurrij.
 I see you are in pain.

kalatha *v. t.*

1. Cut (K, Ya).
Ngada niwanju tharrawu kalathu. I'll cut his skin. (Ya)
 2. Make by cutting; cut out.
 3. Circumcize.

dulkalanda *n.*

Bulldozer.

kalatharrmatha *v. t.*

Turn OBJ around; turn OBJ over.
Bathinda bijarrba niya kalatharrmaaju ngarraa niwand. Coming from the west the dugong turns his head around.

kalbarra *n.*

Large egret.
Kalbarra wirdija kunyaya murndamurri. Egrets are found on small islands.
Kalbarra yakuri-raand, jimbijinjij, burrmaburmatha warraj, kurdalatha niya yakuriwu. The egret is a fish-spearer, he raises his head, goes along ducking down, he spears at fish.

kalija *v. i.*

1. Jump. (K, Ya)
Ngada bijilkurriju niwanju kalinku.
 I'll watch him jump. (Ya)

2. Grow (plant).

kaliku *n.*

Tent, groundsheet, tarpaulin. From Eng. "calico".

kaljirraru *n.* (Yangkaal)

"Mother totem", = K. *mimay*.

kalka *n. qual.*

Shiny.

kalkatha *v. i.* (K, Ya)

Hurt, be sore (in NOM: body part).
Bardaka ngada kalkath. My stomach aches.

kalkanda *n. qual.*

Sick.
Nyingka kalkand? Are you sick?

kalkankuru *n. pred.*

Feel sore (person).
Nyingka kalkankuru, ngada jimiju ngumbanju. You are sore, I will massage you.

kalkanmarrirutha *v. t.*

Cure, stop from hurting.

kalmanda *n.*

Snake that lives inside wood (=L *bungkurr*).
Jangkaa kalmanda wirdija ngathali darruy, jangaawirdija bilthurrki.
 Some *kalmanda* snakes live in holes in pandanus trees, some live in bloodwood trees.

kalnaaja *v. i.*

Be wounded, split open, torn open.
Kurrija dathina dangkaa, kalnaaja niya birrmu, marrbi niya kalkath.
 Look at that man, his chest is torn open, it must be painful.
Mildanda kalnaajalnaaja warrmarayiwath. The split in the wood is split all the way along from the wind.

kalnaja *v. i.*

Rise (sun).

Kuujuuja malaa kalnanda warrku!

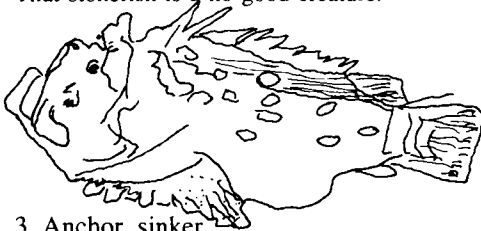
Swim in the sea when the sun comes up!

kalgija *v.i.*
Shelter one's eyes.

kalthakalthatha *v.i. & v.t.*
Sneak up (on).
Niya kalthakalthatha warraja ngakuluwanji, makujanij. He is sneaking up on us, after women.
Dathina bathinda kalthakalthatha murrukumurruku dangkawalad. There from the west many men are sneaking up ready for a fight.

kamaja *v.t.*
Try (food); taste.
Diyaja kamaj, mirraa. Eat it, taste it, it's good.

kamarra *n.*
1. Stone (K, Ya).
Maraka kamarra balath. (The hail) is like stones hitting us.
2. Stonefish.
Kurrinangu kamarra, mardalnurruwuru rabathu. You can't see stonefish, you tread on them in the mud.
Dathina kamarr mirrawarri wurand.
That stonefish is a no-good creature.



3. Anchor, sinker.
kamarra kurndinurru *n.*
Anchor.

kamarramarra *n.*
Gravel.

kamarrbirdi *n.*
Rocky reef.

kamarr-karduranda *n.*
Mangrove snake.

kamarr-madinda *n.*
Striped angler fish; brown carpet fish, red fire-fish.

kamarrija *v.t.*
Ask, ask for PROP.
Kamarrija dathina dangkaa! Ask that man!

kambararra *n.*
Snake sp. May be Lardil word (= *kalmanda*).

kambardangu *n.*
1. Strong voiced.
2. Loud roll of thunder.

kambarjinda *n.*
Bird, sp.?
Kambarjinda wirdija makarrki, daruy, jambarnki ngiji. The *kambarjinda* bird lives in anthills, in holes in trees, and in hollow logs.

kambarrbi *n.*
Suitor, sweet-talker.
Kambarrbi rayij, makuru ngalamathu. The suitor was speared, who wanted to take a wife.
Kambarrbi, makumariind. He's a sweet-talker, expecting a woman.

kambinda *n.*
Child (of male), brother's child (of female). [LOC **kambinji**]
kambin-kurrinda *n.*
Incestuous father.

kambirdi *n.*
Lie, untruth.
kambirdiwatha *v.i.*
Tell lie.

kambirnda *n.*
"Sleepy snake", legless lizard.

kambu *n.*
Type of rock cod.

kambuda [kambuda-] *n.*

Pandanus fruit.



Kambuda barjija jirkaanda warrmar. Ngaarrka barjija rarumbanda warrmar. The pandanus fruit falls with the north wind. The *ngaarrka* (another sort of pandanus fruit) falls with the south wind.

Kuriyalaya diyaja kambudaya, anythingki wuranki ngaakaya wuranki. (One) ate *kuriyal*, pandanus nuts, all sorts of food.

kambudanda *n.*

North wind. So named because the pandanus fruit fall when it blows.

kambulukambulu *n.*

Mud-skipper.

kambumanda *n.*

Bloodwood tree, *Eucalyptus clavigera*. (= *bilthurrka*).

kamburija *v.i. & v.t.* (K, Ya)

1. Say.

2. Speak (to OBJ).

Nguthunguthu kamburij! Speak slowly!

marlda kamburija communicate by sign language.

miburlda kamburija

communicate by glances.

Kamburinangu mindawanda dangkaa, maarra miburlda

kamburij, maarra kurrinjuth. The lover says nothing, just talks with his eyes, they just look at each other.

ngudija kamburija refuse, turn down.

"Ngada ngumbanju ngalamathu, nyingka ngijind." Karndiyangudija

kamburij, warnaj: "burunangu ngada ngumbanju." "I will marry you, you're mine". But the woman turns him down, doesn't like him: "I won't take you".

kamirra *n.qual.*

Truthful, reliable, dependable

kamirrawatha *v.i.*

Tell the truth.

kamutha *n.*

Talkative person.

kamuthali *n.*

Loudmouth; drunken, garrulous person.

kamuthaliija *v.i. & v.t.*

Constantly talk (to OBJ). RECIP

kamuthaliinjutha.

kamuthanda *n.*

Chatterbox, person who talks too much.

kandu (~ *karndu*) *n.* (K, Ya)

Blood. [All derivatives have retroflexed *md* variants for some speakers].

Muthaa kanduwa burrij. A lot of blood came out.

ka(r)ndu-marndija *v.t.*

Suck blood from OBJ.

ka(r)nduuja *v.i.*

Let one's blood (e.g. for body painting).

ka(r)nduwarrmatha *v.i.*

Bleed. (Cf *Yuk karnduwarrmaja*).

kandukandu *n.qual.*

Red; blonde (hair).

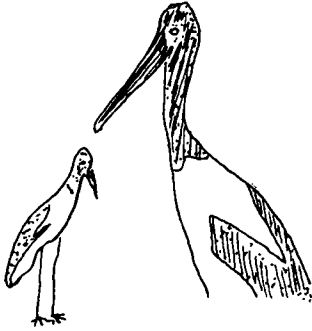
kandukanduwa dangkaa *n.*

Part-aboriginal, half-caste.

kandungka [kandungka-] *n.*

Var. *karndungka*.

Jabiru, 'redleg' (= *dardingkarra*, *dingkarra waraa*, *yulmburra kurthurra*).



Kandungkana kathaa yukija malakarranji, jirrkanda yulu kurrkath. The jabiru's nest was floating about in the sea, the current from the north took it.

Kanduwa dangkaa,

Kandurdangkaa. *n.top.*

Bay on east side of Sweers Island. Sacred place, spirits rest here before heading east across the sea. *Kandurdangkaa, dathina makath, rulungku warraju.* At *Kandurdangkaa*, they rest there, then they will go eastward.

kangarrku *n. qual.*

Loud-voiced, strong-voiced (e.g. tree-frog, cicada).

kangilda [kangil-] *n.*

Larynx, adam's apple.

kangka *n.* (K, Ya)

1. Word, talk.
 2. Language. *Ngada marrijarri dathinki kangki.* (a) I didn't hear that word. (b) I don't understand that language.
 3. Voice. *Kangki niwanji marrijarri.* I couldn't hear his voice.
 4. Story. *Ngalda marrija kangki jungarrana dangkana.* We heard the story from the old people.
 5. Characteristic sound, e.g. roar of motor, song of birds etc.
- kangkuru thungalda** tape-recorder.

kanguja (kangija, kawuja)

v.t.
(Be permitted by kin relationship to) speak to. *Nyingka kanginangku ngulmuuru wakathawu.* You must not speak to your 'deadly sister'.

mirraa kangka

1. Good news. *Mirraa kangka malaa jirrkurumband, ngarnkiya balath.* Good news—the sea is rolling from the north, it's pounding the beaches.
2. Truth.

ngalamatha kangki learn of through being told, get the word on.

Ngada kurrijarri, ngalamatha kangki. I didn't see it myself, I was told about it.

ngarrkuwa kangka *n.*

The Kayardild language.

nguthunguthu kangka,

kunyaa kangka whisper.

rarumbanda kangka *n.*

The Kayardild language.

waratha kangki send word,

send message.

kangkariju *n.*

1. Paternal grandfather, father's father (= *kangku*).

kangku *n.*

1. Paternal grandfather, father's father (= *kangkariju*).
2. (Male ego:) Son's child.

kangkuru *n.*

Trumpeter (fish), black-tipped fusilier.

kaningarra *n.*

(Female ego:) brother's mother-in-law.

kanhithu *n.*

Whale. *Muthaa julda kanithu Birrmuyi.* There are many whale bones at Birrmuyi.

kanjiliraaja *v. t.*

Sip, drink a small amount of.

kanjuldajulda *n. qual.*

Proper, correct (language).

kanjuliija *v. i.*

Get angry.

kankulda *n. (Ya).*

Cheek. (= *K karnkulda*).

kanthalatha *v. t.*

1. Miss, grieve for.

2. Lack.

Can incorporate missed object as prefix, as in examples below:

Ngumbankanthalathu ngada rawu wirdiju. Missing you I will stay in the south.

Kirra thungalkanthalath? Are you missing (lacking) that thing (the dictionary)?

kanthalutha *v. t.*

Feed (turtle), share (food) (?).

kantharrka *n. pred.*

Alone.

Niya kantharrk. He was alone.

Birra kantharrwarri wirdiju. They will not be alone.

kantha(rr)- *preverb.*

Do alone.

Kantharrajaanda. She's digging for crabs on her own.

kantharrjarrada

[**kantharrjarrath-**] *n. manner.*

Each to their own.

Ngalda wuuju kantharrjarrathu. We'll give to our own (we won't share with your children).

kantharrkiyarrngka *n. pred.*

Two on their own.

kantharrkuru *n. manner.*

Alone, on one's own, by one's own efforts.

Niya wungija kantharrkuru. He stole it by himself.

Kantharrkuru diyaja malaa. He drinks beer on his own.

Dalij! Kantharrkuru ngada

ngudinangku bangawu! Come! I won't be able to turn the turtle over on my own!

mala-kantha-diyanda *person*
who drinks beer on his own.

kanthathu *n.*

1. Father.

2. Father's brother.

kanthathuwarri *n.*

Orphan, fatherless child.

kunyaa kanthathu "last

father", father's youngest brother.

walmuwanda kanthathu *God,*
the Holy Father.

kanthungka *n.*

Wasp, hornet.

kanyinda *n.*

Sickle-fish, butter-fish.

kara (*K, Ya*)

1. *part.* Question particle (for yes-no questions).

Maarra jungarra thabuju kamburij:

duujind, kara nyingkawirraaju? All his big brothers ask: little brother, will you be initiated?

Kara ngumbanda ngawu bukath? Did your dog die? (*Ya*)

2. *interjec.* (*Ya*)

Kara! Wirdiki wirdiki, mutha ngakulda buun! What! Leave it, leave it, don't let's catch too much!

karakara *n.*

Blue tusk fish.

karantha *part.*

Hey, well.

Karant, jinaa ngijinda thungald?
Well, where are my things?

kararra *n. (Ya)*

Ashes.

karbakarba *n. qual.*

Dry.

Karbakarba jingkaa, ngukuwarri. It's a dry swamp, without water.

karbakarbarutha *v.t.*

Make dry.

Yijarrmatha karbakarbarutha wujari!

Put the meat (in the sun) to dry.

karbakarbawatha *v.i.*

Get dry.

Ngada birdinnugudij, dirralda marld,

karbakarbawath. I threw it off course, my hand was slippery, I'll get it dry.

kardabalda *n.*

Bird, sp.?

Kardabalda makarrki wurdij, daru-

wirdind. The *kardabald* lives in (old) anthills, and in holes in trees.

kardakarda *n.*

Bird sp., "bony seagull".

kardankardanda *n.*

Peewee, magpie lark.

Ngarrkuwa kamburinda

kardankardand: "thuyiinthuyiind!

Thuyiinthuyiind!" The magpie lark calls out loudly: "I'm swearing at myself! I'm swearing at myself!"

kardarra *n.*

Water-lily, "mother water lily".

kardinda *n. manner.*

Acting in a way that harms one's totem.

Kardinda raaj. He's spearing his totem.

kardu *n.*

1. Father-in-law; sibling thereof.

2. Son, daughter (of female); sister's son, sister's daughter (of male).

3. Member of father-in-law's superclass.

kardunganji *n.*

Actual father-in-law.

karduratha *v.t.*

Catch (fish) with hands in water.

kardurrba *n.*

Fishing-line.

karibatha *n.*

Thicken, grow thicker (e.g. baby's hair).

Karibatha bulda juld. His hair is getting thicker.

karija *v.t.*

Cover, hide.

Ngada karija thungali bulkubulkuuru.

I covered the thing with a hat.

miburkariinda *n.*

Shy.

ngarraa kariija

lower one's head, avoiding eye contact

karirra *n.*

Path.

Ngada balmbiwu kurriju dathinku

jangkawu karirrawuru. Tomorrow I

will see that other path.

kariyatha *v.t.*

1. Cover.

Bardaka kariyaaj! Cover your belly!

2. Cloud, churn up (water); make it hard to see through OBJ.

Mala-kariya-jariyanda He's mucking around, churning up the sea.

3. Make it hard for OBJ to see.

Rulunganda riinda jungarra warrngald,

ngakuluwanju kariyathu, ngakulda

kurrinangu dulku. That strong east

wind will make it hard for us to see,

we won't be able to see anything.

karmirra *n.*

Type of grass used for blocking creeks.

karnaja *v.t.* (K, Ya).

1. Light, set alight.

2. Cook.

3. Sting.

Warrkurarra karnaj. Sea-wasps sting (you).

karnakarnawatha *v.i.*

Feel dizzy.

Nyingka rabinngarrba nalda kalkatha karnakarnawath? Does your head hurt and do you feel dizzy when you stand up?

karnda *n.* [karn-]

1. Grass.
2. Seaweed.

karndada, karndarra *n.*

Rib-fruited mangrove, *Bruguiera exaristata*.

karndi *n.*

1. Wife, girlfriend (male ego), sister-in-law (female ego).
2. Wife's sister or brother (male ego), sister-in-law's sister or brother (female ego).
3. Any member of father's mother's superclass (= *banji*).

karndiija *v.i.*

Take as wife.

karndinda *n.*

Female tree (esp. pandanus or fig).

karndiwarri *n. qual.*

Lacking a wife, bachelor, widower.

karndiwuru *n. qual.*

Having a wife, married (man).

karndiya dunda husband and wife.

karndiyalatha *v.t.*

(Man) treat (woman) as girlfriend; make eyes at; (man) commit adultery with (woman).

karndikarrmanda *n.*

Rock cod (from river); greasy cod.

karndinmangka *n.*

Sister (used by uncle to his nephew about the latter's sister).

karndungka [kandungka] *n.*

Var. of *kandungka*.
Jabiru, redleg.

karnjalda *n.*

Hip (K, Ya).

karnjirri *n.*

Mud shell.

karnkaja *v.t.*

Dam creek with grass to catch fish.

karnkulda *n.*

1. Cheek, jaw.
2. Stick supporting side of net (pair of such sticks is called *karnkuliyyarrngka*).

karnkulda munirra *n.*

Girl with developing breasts (= *munirrhaldinkuru*).

karnkurldija *v.i.?*

Drag net along bottom.

karnkululu *n.*

Frill-neck lizard.



Karnkululu marraljungarra wurand.

The frill-necked lizard is a big-eared creature.

karnkuraja *v.i.*

Sleep sitting up; nod from sleepiness.

karnkurnku *n. qual.*

Grassy, overgrown with grass. *Dathina dulka karnkurnku, ngada yulaaj, warranangku, bayiinyarranth.* That place is overgrown with grass, I'm scared, I won't go there, I might get bitten.

karnthilu (~ **karnthulu**) *n.*
Grass sp., *Sorghum plumosum*,
used in making grass shelters
(*wunkurra*).

karnurruru *n.*
Sweetlip, snapper.

karramatha *v.t.*
Hold up.
tharda-karramaja *v.i.*
Wave arms.

wumburung-karramatha *v.i.*
Wave spear (e.g. to show turtle
has been caught).

karrangka *n.*
Gravel made of broken-up shells.

karranthalngu *n.*
1. Bittern.
2. Chicken, hen.
Kuruya karrngija karranthalngu. The
bittern looks after its eggs.

karrikarri *n.*
Paper fish, butter fish.

karriwarnda *n.*
Mud cod.

karrkarra *n.*
Stomach, belly (= *bardaka*).

karrkida *n.*
White fish.

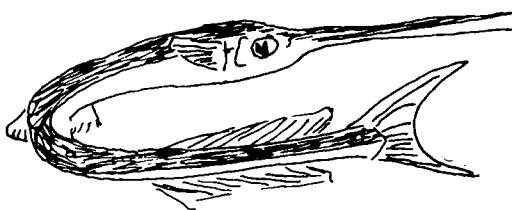
karrkungka *n.*
Bird, sp.?
Karrkungka wambali barjij. The
karrkungka is born in the scrub.

karrmatha *v.t.* (K, Ya)
Grasp, grab on to, seize; "wrestle"
(*dugong*).
Minda karrmath! Grab the waist
(when delivering baby)!
dangka-karrmanda *n.*
Man-grabber (said of Barrindindi).

mar-karrmaaja *v.i.*
Clasp one's hands together (in
invitation to fight).

karrmida [**karrmij-**] *n.* (K, Ya)
Liver.

karrmuku *n.*
Stout long tom (fish).
(= Ya *dambidambi*).
Dingkarra waraa, karrmuku. The
stout long tom has a long mouth.



karrngija *v.t.*
1. Keep, keep hold of; support.
Mariya karrngij. She kept it in her
hand.
Nyingka karrngij? Have you kept it
(the crab)?
Birra karrnginjutha warraj. They go
along holding each other up.
2. Guard (possession), look after
(country).
*Ngada kurirrwatharrb, nyingka
karrngija danda dulk!* When I die,
look after this country!
Dangkawalada karrngija bilwanji.
Many men used to guard them (the
novices).
3. Keep as one's wife, cohabit
with.
*Birdiya birrjilk, munkiji kaminji
karrngij.* It was immoral, he
cohabited with his own daughter.
*Yakukathu birrjilbirdiwatha
mulurrwath, kunyaa duujindakarrngij.*
The elder sister got upset and jealous,
because her younger sister was being
kept as wife (instead of her).
4. Keep doing.
*Nginyinangkuruya nyingka diyaja
karrngij!* Why do you keep on
eating?

karruru *n.*

1. Snot; pus.

2. Brain.

3. Ripe oysters.

Karruruya ngalda diyaja muthaya mirraya jiljay. When they're ripe we eat lots of oysters.

karruruwatha *v.i.*

(Oysters) become ready to eat.

Jungarra jiljaa jirrkaaralinji diyaaaj, karruwuruwatha mirrawath. The big oysters are eaten at the time of the north winds, they become good to (eat).

karulutha *v.t.*

1. Muck around with; act irreverently with (something sacred).

Dathina kamarra karuliinangu, danaaju. Those stones should not have been messed around with, they should have been left where they were.

2. Destroy wantonly.

Dathina mangara karuluth. That storm just went through destroying everything.

karwaa *n.*

Nulla-nulla.

karwarrka *n.*

Queen-fish (LOC *karwarrki*).

kathaa *n.*

1. Nest.

2. Grass placed in water container to stop spilling.

Kathaya wuuaj, ngukuwa barjinyarr. Put some grass in it, or the water will spill.

3. Comfortable place, bed, swag, rug, blanket.

4. Reef.

kathabirdi *n.*

One who marries wrongly.

Ngada kathabirdi, jambathuya ngalamath. I have married wrongly, I took my cousin.

katharra [**katharr-**] *n.* (K, Ya)

River, estuary, "lagoon".

Miburkalkatharrba katharr.

Miburkalkatharrba is an estuary.

Ngarrmalk katharr, yubuyubu

Mirniyiya rayind. Ngarrmbalk is an estuary, (where) the track at Mirniyiya comes up from the south.

katharratharra *n.*

River system, estuary with many branches.

Katharratharri kuujuuj. They swam about in the branches of the estuary.

kathidamuliinkuru *n.*

Bonefish (= *buranthanda*).

Poss. *kathirra* 'tail fin' plus middle form of *muliyaatha* 'chuck wind'.

kathirra *n.*

1. Digging-stick.

2. Tail of bonefish.

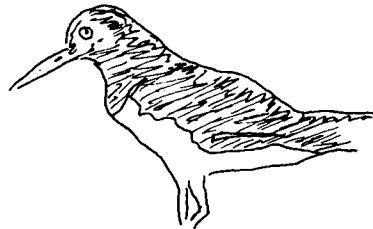
3. Horn of bullock.

kathirrujathirru *n.*

Bonefish.

kathuka *n.*

Redbill, pied oyster-catcher.



kawaraaja *v.t.*

Say goodbye to; farewell.

Muthaa dangkaa niya kawaraaja danath. A lot of people said goodbye to him.

kawarri *n.qual.*

Silent, speechless.

kawarriwatha *v.i.*

Go silent (person, motor, etc.)

kawarri-wirdinda *n. qual.*

Taciturn, remaining silent.

kawatha *v.t.*

1. Roast, cook in ground oven, "kapmari".
2. Attempt to kill OBJ by roasting their faeces in a ground oven. Done in revenge for trespassing. Produces fatal blocking up of bowels.

kawathirrinda *n.*

Victim of ground-oven sorcery.

kawuja *v.t.*

1. Tell, pass on (news).
Ngada kiluwanju kawuju. I'll tell you the news.
2. Speak to, engage in conversation with.
Ngadadathu kawunangku. Maarra balarra kangk. A daughter-in-law (of a woman) can't speak (to her mother-in-law). Only in English.

kawuka *n.*

Bundle.

Kawuka jardiyali a bundle of fighting sticks.

-kaya *suffix on kin and other human terms.*

Darling, dear, e.g. *kardukay* 'dear son', *ngarrmandathukay* 'dear grandson'.

Kunawunakaya badinda ngukunth.

The dear little child is carrying some water.

Kayardilda *n.*

Kayardild language.

kayarrada *n.*

Reply, answer.

kayarrnginda *n.*

Part of beach exposed at low tide.

kayirra *n.*

Tree, sp.?

kayulumbuliija *v.i.*

Speak recklessly, "talk a bit wild".

kibarrka *n.*

King snapper.

kiija *v.i.*

Sit down close by.

kiijatha¹ *v.i.*

Come close, approach.

Kinybatha "kiijatha bathinda kiijatha bathind, marrwaa ngijuwa kurrijuunth". (He) calls out: "come near from the west, come near from the west, so I can see you close up."

kiijatha² *v.t.*

Drive (fish) by clapping or striking water.



Balatharra mijilngunina kijand. We drove the fish into the net by clapping the water.

kiiwija *v.i.*

Boil.

Kiiwij, kurirri naaj. The water's boiling.

kiiwinda *n. qual.*

Boiling.

kilaa *n.*

Noise of walking through grass, swishing.

kilawarri *n.qual.*

Stealthily, without making noise as one moves.

Kilawarri warraj! Walk without making any noise!

kilawunkilawuna *n.*

Noise made near fish.

kilda *pron.* (K, Ya)

You all; second person plural pronoun.
LOC *kilwanji*.

kilikarika (kilikirika) *n.*

Crying, screaming, bawling (e.g. of child).

kilikirikawatha *v. i.*

Bawl, scream.

Kunawuna kalkankuru,

kilikirikawath, muthaa rik. The

child is in pain, it's bawling, crying a lot.

kililikilili *n.*

Sand-creeping vine sp., *Vitex aerifolia*, used as bush medicine; thick roots used as firesticks.

kilwanda (K), kiluwanda (Ya)

pron.

Your (belonging to all of you).

kimanyuthutha *v. recip.*

(Lovers) make love in hiding.

kinaa *n. pred.*

Hidden away, in hiding.

Kinawanda coming from a hiding place (Kajurku).

kinamarutha *v. t.*

Hide, put into hiding.

Mijili kinamarutha ngilirrmaruth.

(They) hid the nets in a cave.

kinawaalutha *v. t.*

Flush out, force from hiding.

kinayiwatha *v. i.*

Hide, go into hiding.

kinaaja

1. *v. t.* Tell (person).

Maraka kinaaju ngumbanju. (He) should have told you.

Kinaaja dathina dangkaa, kuwaninja bunybad. Tell that man he should blow on the firestick.

2. *v. t.* Tell, recount (story).

Ngada bilwanju kamarriju kinaaju ngunguku. I will ask them to tell me the story.

3. *v. i.* Declare oneself (to be) SCOMP.

Kajurku birjinida kinaaj. (By lighting a fire on Sweers Island), Kajurku declared himself to be still alive.

4. *v. t.* Declare OBJ to be OCOMP.

Nginyinariju ngukuwuru, niwanju kambinju karndiwu kinaaju ngawarriwu. He would ask for water, and declare his child and wife to be thirsty.

kinangarra *n.*

"Grape tree", *Vitex acuminata*.

kinawanda *n.*

Referee in fight; peace-maker.

Niwanurru kinawanurru dalij.

Warngiid, numu muthaabirrijik. Ee,

nguthunguthu, muraa ranthuth. He

comes with his referee. Once, not

many times (they will fight). Yeah,

only a bit, they only spear each other

for a short time.

kinburruku *n.*

Long-tailed catfish.

kinbuyiinda waldarra *n.*

Half moon.

Kinbuyiinda waldarra bada thaldij.

The half moon is standing up in the west.

kiningkarra *n.*

Adult.

Kiningkarra jungarra dangkaa,

buthandarayarrb. A *kiningkarra* is an adult who has been initiated.

kinkaja *v. ?.*

Give child for adoption.

kinkamu *n.*

Spectator, bystander at fight.

kinmarutha *v. t.*

Bring close.

Ngada kinmarutha thungali. I brought the thing close.

kinthulki *n.*

Muscle below thigh-bone. Only attested in Hale field-notes.

kinybatha *v.t. & v.ditr.*

Call out to OBJ (for PROP).
Niya kinybatharra ngijinjina (wumpurungkuru). He called out to me (for the spear).

kinyinda *n.*

1. Body.
Ngada warngiijida kinyinda ngijinda kajakaj. I have the same body (build) as my father.

2. Manifest or visible form.
Kinyinda dangkawalada rariji. Many people were visible way to the south.
Kunawunanurru balaaj. Jangkaa bardakay, jangkaa kinyind, rajurrind. Women with child were shot. Some (children) were in their mother's bellies, others were already manifest, were walking around.

-kinyiliyarrba *n; bears pronominal prefix.*
Person delivered by PREF.
Ngumbankinyiliyarrba the person delivered by you.

kinyilutha *v.t.*

Deliver (baby), bring (baby) into the world. Lit. 'give it a body'.

-kinyilutharrba *n; bears nominal prefix.*
Midwife who delivered PREF; "nurse" of PREF; usually classificatory Mother's Sister.
Ngijinkinyilutharrba deliverer of me, person who brought me into the world.

kinyinmarri *n.qual.*

Lacking physical presence.

kinyinmarrirutha *v.t.*

Cause to disappear without trace.

kinyinmatha *v.i.*

Be born.
Dathina rara ngada kinyinmath. I was born there in the south.

kira *n.loc.*

Coming close (= *marrwayiwatha*).

Kira bathinda malay. It's coming close, from the west, across the sea.
Kira danda diij! Sit down close here!

kiratha *v.t.*

Gather, pick up.
Muthaa wuranda ngalawa kirathurrka murrdal. We have picked up lots of *murrdal* shells.

kiraaja *v.i.*

Approach, come close
(= *marrwayiwatha*).

kirdi *n.*

Coral trout, coral cod.

kirdilbanga *n.*

Round back clam, harp shell.

kirdilda *n. (K, Ya)*

Back.

kirdilburrija *v.i.*
Recover from illness, pull through.
Kada birjija ngada kurirngarrb, ngada kirdilburrija walmu-kurrkathirrind, mirrithininja thaarijurrk. I am alive again after being as dead, I have recovered after being taken up (towards heaven), the medicine brought me back.

kirdildakirdildaatha *v.i.*

Stretch back for relief.

kirdildaratha *v.i.*

Twist one's back for relief.

kirdiliija *v.i.*

Move along on one's back. E.g. hermit crab, or person whose muscles have been wasted.

kirdilmarutha *v.i.*

Sit with one's back propped against something.

kirdilijurlda *n.*

Turban shell. (*kirdil-* 'back' plus *yijurlda* 'carpet snake'.)

kirdilwaldarra *n.*

Moon shell.

-kirida *locational suffix.*

Nearest side of PREF to speaker.
E.g. Andrew Island *-kirida* was used of boat moored in lee of Andrews Island, at the point closest to Forsyth Island, where the speaker was.

kiriija *v.i.*

1. Fail to reach destination, e.g. when intercepted.
2. Do too short (e.g. break off a lily stalk too high up).

kirjiwatha *v.t.*

Nurse (child).
Kirjiwatha burutha kunawunay, kurndungka wuyij. She is nursing the child, holding it to her breast.

kirmuyirmurra *n.*

Pig's foot vine, portulac, *portulaca oleracea*.

kirndibarrki *n.*

Shell sp., found in mangroves.

kirndirnkirnda *n. pred.*

Cuddling up, embracing.

kirnkirnda *n.loc.*

On top of; high up in.
Kirnkirnda warrku sun high in the sky.
Dathina kunawuna niya kirnkirkiri kamarri. Now the child is on top of the stone.

kirra *pron.* (K, Ya)

You two.

kirrbardi *n.*

Small centipede, scorpion.

kirrbija *v.i.*

Blow nose, sniffle.

kirrbijarrba *n.b*

Black-lined blenny, mud-skipper.

kirrbira *n.*

Grave. Speakers differ as to whether the stem is *kirrbir-* or *kirrbira-*.

kirrbukirrbu *n.*

Wood (unidentified *Acacia sp.*) used for *kujiji* spearheads.

kirrbulmatha *v.i.*

Wage war.

kirrburungka *n.*

Tree sp., "gidgea", *Acacia gonocarpa*, from which boomerangs are made.
Kirrburungka wungalbarrkiind. The *kirrburungka* is a thing boomerangs are chopped out of.

kirrbuyiija *v.i.*

Snore (*kirrk-* 'nose' plus *buyiija* 'pull oneself').

kirrika *n.*

Wild fig tree or its fruit, *Ficus opposita*. "Females (*karndinda*) bear edible fruit, "males" (*dirrkulinda*) bear no fruit or undeveloped fruit.

kirrjunku *n.*

Point (of coastline).

kirrka *n.*

1. Nose. (K, Ya).
Niya ngijinjiya yurra balatha kirrki. He hit me in the nose.
2. Face.
3. Point (of coastline).

kirrka miburlda *face.*

kirrkajara *n.manner.*

Carefully, gingerly, watching one's step.
Warraja kirrkajar, dathina muthaa kuyild! Go carefully, there are a lot of file stingrays there.

kirrkalajalaja *v.i.*

Go around (= *rajurrija*)

kirrkalatha *v.t.*

Spear. (= *kurdalatha*).

kirmaku *n.*

Effeminate, woman-faced.
Nyingka kirmaku, maraka maku.
 You're a woman-face, you look like a woman.

kirrka wuuja prepare fire.

kirrkunku *n.*

Granddaughter (female ego);
 daughter's daughter.

kirmulungka *n.*

Shell, *Asaphis sp.*, edible, from stony mud. Used as scraper.

kirmurndu (kirmurunkuru) *n.*

Long-tailed rock-cod, mud cod.

kirrthatha *v. t.*

Have one's back turned to OBJ.
Nyingka warraja kirrthatha dathinki ngilirri! You go with your back turned to that cave!

kirrthanda *n. pred.*

1. With one's back turned.
Niya kurrijarriya kirrthanda wirdij.
 He didn't see it because he had his back turned to it.
 2. Behind someone's back, surreptitiously, "backin".
Kirrthanda wuranda diyaj. They ate food behind his back.

kirru *n.*

Scoop net.

kirrungarrba *n.*

1. Pitch darkness in middle of eclipse.
 2. Pitch dark; moonless night.
 [Lit. 'after the net'. During an eclipse the moon is supposed to catch spirits in its "net", i.e. the crescent; the period of maximum darkness arrives after the "net" has disappeared.]

kirrwanda *poss. pron.* (K, Ya)

Your(s), belonging to you two.

kiwalatha *v. t.*

(Dugong) churn up (water); M
kiwalaaja .

kiwalija *v. i.*

Wade about in shallow water.
Kajakaja kiwalij, warraja rajurrija ngukuy. Daddy is wading about, he is walking around in the water.

kiwarndi *n. loc.*

High, at its zenith.
Warrkuwa kiwarndi, walmuya warrku.
 The sun is at its zenith, it's high up.

kiwarndirutha *v. t.*

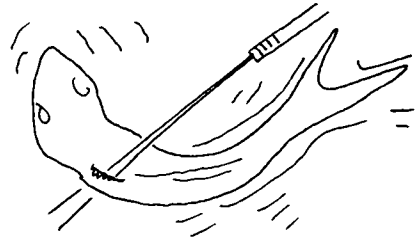
(~ **kiwarndurutha**)
 Raise (e.g. torch), build high (e.g. fishtrap).

kiwija *v. i.*

Burn, get burned, be overcooked.
Damuru kiwinyarra ngarrkuwanharr, warij! The panja might get burned and go hard, take them out!
Kiwiji thungald! Your bag's on fire!

kiwirrija *v. i.*

Be convulsed, give a dying spasm.
Dibirdibi rayij, kiwirrij. Rock cod was speared, and gave a dying spasm.



kiya *n. loc.*

Half-way, part-way. MABL *kiina* , MOBL *kiinja*, MPROP *kiwu(ru)*.
Danda wangalka birdiy, thaanangku, kiwu barjiju. This boomerang's no good, it won't come back, it'll fall down halfway.
Ngada kiina thaatharr, kabatharri. I came back halfway, but couldn't find them.

kiyarrngka *n. numer.*

Two.

Kiyarrngka waydbala dathinki warraj. Ngalawanji dangkaya kurrkath. Two white men went there (to the forbidden cave at Wamakurld). They took one of our men with them.

kiyalutha *v. t.*

Duplicate, make two, copy (e.g. tape).

kiyarrrbarjinda *n.*

Twins.

kiyarrrmariija *v. i.*

Do together as a pair, both do.

Ngakurra kiyarrrmariija rabij, badij.

We both got up and carried it.

Darrbuuja kiyarrrmariind! Both pull (the ropes of the net) at once!

Ngakurra waaja kiyarrrmariijad! We two sang it together.

kiyarutha *v. i.*

Go as a pair.

kubulda *n.*

1. Body hair, fur.

2. Down, feathers.

3. Grass (sp.?).

kubulmuthanda *n.*

Excessively hairy person.

kubulubulda *n.*

Stinging hairy caterpillar.



kubuluru *n.*

Hairy (man), sexually mature, virile.

kubuluyubulu *n.*

“Swamp grass”, sp. unknown.

kuburra *n.*

Ripple from dugong’s flipper.

kuburrjali *n.*

Shark ray, fiddler ray.

kuburu *n.*

Stern of turtle.

kujaa *n.*

1. Pubic hair (either sex).

2. Sprouts, e.g. from water-lily bulb.

Kujaa yarkiiwath. Sprouts are growing underneath.

kujawuru *n.*

Uninitiated young man.

kujiji *n.*

1. Barbed spear, barbed spearhead.

2. Young, adolescent.

Kujiji danath, bukawath. (She) left us young, died young.

buthanda kujiji young initiated man

kujiji bithiinda young man

kujiji dangkaa young person

kujiji maku young woman

kujurrungka *n.*

Shoal, sandbank exposed by tide.

Kabinda baaj, kujurrumbala wirdija buthi, karbakarb. The tide has gone down, and sandbanks remain behind, dry.

kujurruru¹ *n.*

Kneecap.

kujurruru² *n.*

Short yam sp, wild turnip.

Kujurruru wambalkarranji, diyaaj. The *kujurruru* is found around the bush country, and is eaten.

kukalutha *v. t.*

Bounce a thrown object off OBJ, throw missile at OBJ in such a way that it rebounds, cause to ricochet.

Jangkaa, buranhand, ngada kukaluth. Another fish, a bonefish, I speared but the spear rebounded.

kukaliija *v.i.*

Have something bounce off oneself.

Kajurku rayiija kukaliij. Kajurku was speared at and had the spears bounce off him.

kukaliinkuru *n.*

One from whom missiles will rebound. Alternative name for Kajurku.

kukiiija *v.i.*

Follow at one's leisure.

Buda daliij, kukiiija warraj! Come behind us, follow us when you're ready!

kukuratha *v.t.*

Clean (esp. baby). Performed with leaves, shells etc.

kukurdu *n. loc.*

Near, close by.

Kukurduwa dulk. The place is nearby.
Ngakulda kurriju kukurduwuru. We'll see from close by.

kukurdurutha *v.i.*

Come close, approach.

Kukurdurutha kukurdurutha kiiijatha bathind! Come close, approach from the west!

kulaja *v.i.* (K, Ya)

Urinate, piss (= *ngukuya bilarrija*).

kulakula *n.*

Mummy. (Applied to actual mother and those close classificatory mothers who had an important part in one's upbringing). Affectionate form is *kulakulabarda*.

kularr-buuja *v.t.*

Pull right out.

kularrija *v.t.*

Untie, unwrap.

Warraja balungka birrka kularrij! Go to the west and untie the rope!

kularrinda *n.*

Brother (of female); sister (of male); i.e. opposite-sex sibling.

kulawula *n.*

1. Egg yolk.
2. Orange (colour).

kulbarnda *n.*

Shell, sp.?

Kulbarnda jathaa wuranda mardalwaand. The *kulbarnda* is another mud-dwelling creature.

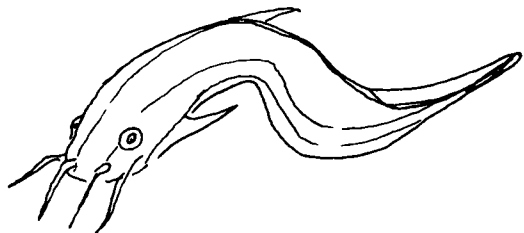
-kulinjuru *bound root.*

Bound root of unknown meaning, found in word *dika-kulinjuru* 'horse'.

kulirra *n.*

Catfish eel.

Kulirra dingkarra thuru. The catfish eel has a long tail.



kuliyatha

1. *v.t.* Fill.

Marlda kuliyaaaj. Their hands are full (have been filled).

2. *v.t.* Give plenty to OBJ.

Kuliyakuliyany! Don't give me too much!

3. *v. adv.* Plenty of (intransitive subjects) do (something); do (something) to plenty of (objects). May modify another verb, or stand alone where the nature of the action is obvious.

Yada kuliyath! Give a big smile!

Ngada raaja kuliyatha yakuriy. I speared lots of fish.

Daliya kuliyath. Plenty of people have come.

Kuliyān, muthaa malbaa kilda burldiji! Don't make too much, you're making a lot of string already! *Nginyinangkuru kuliyaaaj?* Why were so many (fish) (killed)?

kulkiji *n.*

1. Tiger shark.



2. Any dangerous shark.

kulmaja *v.t.*

Fetch, carry from one place to another.

Muthaa ngada kulmaja thaatha rarungk. I took a lot back to the south.

kulmajulmaja *v.t.*

Fetch over several trips.

kulububu *n.*

Brain.

kuluja *v.t.* (Ya)

Dig, = *K kuluuja*.
Kuluuja ngambu! Dig a hole!

kululurra *n.*

Scraper.

kulurr(w)ulurra¹ *n.*

1. Guts of turtle.
2. Small intestine (Ya).

kulurr(w)ulurra² *n.*

Vine sp., *Tinaspora smilacina*, wood burned to stop winds from blowing.
Dangkaa daratha karnaja kulurrulurri wambajiruth. People break off and burn (twigs of) the *Tinaspora smilacina* vine to make fine weather.

kulutha *n.*

Painted grinner, sergeant baker (fish).

kuluuja *v.t.*

1. Scratch.

2. Dig surface of.

Ngarrawurnakarra dulka birdiya dulk, storywu. Ngadinangku kuluunangku mankinju dulku ngarrawurnawu.

Bluefish's country is a dangerous place, a story place. (People) must not damage of dig in that country which isn't theirs but bluefish's.

kuluyiinda *n.*

Mosquito bite (= *mathambarra*).

kuluwarnda *n.*

Long-tailed bird, said to be like *bulbulka*. Poss. pheasant coucal.

kulwada [*kulwath-*] *n.*

Tree, "beefwood", *Hakea arborescens*. Wood is used for boomerangs, and as firewood when cooking *bijurra* (cockles).
Kulwada wanal-barrkiind. Beefwood trees can have boomerangs chopped from them.

kumbuna *n.*

Mangrove rat.

kumbu-thaldinda *n.*

Head-down, e.g. rainbow snake diving into ground (lit. 'arse-standing').

kumi *n.*

Catfish sp.
Kumi kunyaa, duujind, marndaji nguthunguthu jungarr, thabuju.

The *kumi* is small, it's the younger brother; the *marndaji* is a bit big, it's the elder brother.

kumirnbalka *n.*

1. Whistle (sound).

2. Didgeridoo (only known since coming to Mornington Island).
Nyingka kumimbalka warath!
 Whistle!
Kumimbalku warathu dathinku thungalu. They'll play the didgeridoo.

kunarumbu *n. pred.*
 Lonely, all alone.
Niya kunarumbu, kantharrwirdind, dangkawarri-wirdind. He's all on his own, without anyone.

kunawuna *n.*
 (Plural is **kunawalada**.)
 1. Child.
 2. Child of X, offspring (can be used by men or women to refer to their children, instead of *kambinda* or *kardu* respectively).
Ngijinda kunawun, namu yulaaj! My child, don't be afraid!

3. Small one.
Karnaja kaburrbay, burukuraaja, burukurath wijiriy, wijiriy bardangu, kunawuna buruth, burukurath, waduwa burrij. (Crane) lit a fire, he rubbed firesticks together, took a big firestick and a small one, rubbed them, and the smoke came up.

kunawunamarutha *v.i.*
 Make love, procreate.

kunawunawuru bardaka
n. pred.
 Pregnant.

kunawunjutha *v. recip.*
 Make love to each other, procreate.

kunawuna-mungurru *n. pred.*
 Child-loving, philoprogenitive.

kunbuka [**kumbuka**] *n.* (K, Ya)
 Urine, gall (of stingray, etc.).

kunbulka *n.*
 Large sea animal (generic), "big game". Covers sea-turtle, dugong, dolphins and whales.

kunburuku *n.*
 Freshwater catfish.

kungkara *n.* (Ya)
 Groin. [LOC **kungkari**, PROP **kungkawur**]

kungkurnukanda *n.*
 Vine sp. Root eaten, grows in swamps.

kungulda *n.*
 Mosquito (black).

kunji *n. pred.*
 "Tempted", on the prowl, looking for sex.
Niya kunji, makujanij. He's on the prowl, he's looking for a woman.

kunjuwuru *n.*
 Casanova, "Elvis", person always looking around for sexual partners.

kunjukunju *n. qual.*
 Sore, in pain.
Ngada kunjukunju, ngada jilari. I'm sore, I'm in pain.

kunku¹ *n. qual.* (K, Ya)
 Raw. REDUP **kunkuyunku**.
Ngukuwarri dulk, kunkuwa diyaj. In a dry place you eat things raw.

kunku² *n.*
 Small ant.

kunthaa *n. qual.*
 Very cold.
kunthakunthawatha *v.i.*
 Feel cold, shiver.

kunthuburrija *v.i.*
 Jump into an argument.
kunthuburrinda *n.*
 Person always getting into arguments.

kunthurlda (~ **kurnthurlda**) *n.*

Large shoal or sandbank; reef.

Kurnthukurnthurlda danda rara kanduwardangkaa. There are lots of shoals here in the south, at Kanduardangkaa.

Budubudu diija kunthuri. The boat got stuck on a sandbank.

Rangurrnga birrilbirdiwatha ngariij, jathaya kurnthuri mirrayalath, niida nid, Waldarrakurdalayarrb. On the south side he acted badly in the old times, and made another large sandbank there, named after the event, Waldarrakurdalayarrb (where the moon was speared).

kunyaa *n. qual.*

Small (K, Ya).

Kunyaada ngijinda duujind. My younger brother is still small.

kunyaa bulthuku (id.) really small

kunyaa nida specific name (as opposed to generic, "big name", *jungarra nida*).

kunyarutha *v. t.*

Make small, break (e.g. wood) into small pieces.

Dathina ngida jungarrb, kunyaruth!
That piece of firewood is too big, chop it into small pieces!

kunyawatha *v. i.*

Die down, diminish (e.g. wind).

kunyawunya *n. qual.*

Very small, tiny.

kunybalka *n.*

Vine sp. with edible root.

kurakura *n.*

Funny bone.

kuralda *n. qual.*

Stormy, wild, high (sea).

Kuralda malaa, walmuwa rabij. It's a stormy sea, rising high.

kurangkuru *n. qual. & n. loc.*

Distant, barely visible.

Kurangkuru waldarr, barralmaajir. It's a new moon, barely visible.

kurbi *n. loc.*

In deep water.

Kurbidakurb. He's going right out into the deep water.

kurdaa *n.*

1. Giant paperbark tree, *Melaleuca viridiflora*.

2. Coolamon made from its bark, used for carrying babies or food.

Kurdaa ngada warirr, wurankarri. I've got no food in my coolamon.



3. Coolamon-full.

Kurdakurdayarrad! There are coolamons and coolamons of food left!

kurda-mutha *n.*

Man with many wives.

kurda-thalkuru *n. pred.*

Wrapped in a coolamon. The recently-excised foreskins of initiates were carried about in paperbark coolamons until withered and ready for burial.

thukanda kurdaa *n.*

Tied end of coolamon.

kurdakarinda *n.*

Heron, sooty tern, greater frigate-bird.

kurdalangka *n.*

Long black-tailed ray. Prevalent in October.

kurdalatha (K, Ya)

1. *v. t.* Spear without letting go of weapon (e.g. when fishing at night), stab, inject.

Warrawaanda rayijj, marrwawaanda kurdalajaaj. Things are speared from afar, and stabbed from close up.
 2. *v.semitr.* Spear at, try to spear.
Kalbarra kurdalatha yakuriwu. The egret is spearing at fish (with its beak).

kurdalakurdalatha *v.i.*
 Dig in sand with stick for eggs.

kurdaliyatha *v.t.*
 Circumcize (= *kalatha*).
wumbu-kurdaliyaaja *v.i.*
 Have one's chest scarred.

kurdamaja *v.t.*
 Drink.

kurdantharra *n.*
 Edible root, sp.?

kurdarija *v.?*
 Rub on ochre.

kurdiwirdi *n. time.*
 Some time ago, about a week ago.
Kurdiwirdiya ngada kurrija ngumbanji makuy. I saw your wife about a week ago.
Kurdiwirdiwanda wangarra a song made up about a week ago.

kurimanda *n.*
 See **kurumanda**.

kurirra *n.qual.*
 1. Dead. (K, Ya).
 2. Cooked.
 3. Dead drunk.
 4. *preverb* Terrifically (intensifies verbal meaning.)
Ngada kurirra yurrbaaju. I'm really glad I saw my country.

kurirruru *n.qual.*
 1. Deadly, dangerous.
Kurirru warmara deadly (cold) wind.
 2. Terrific.

kurirrwatha *v.i.*
 Die.

-kurirra *nominal stem, requires prefixed kin term.*
 Someone mourning the death of their PREF.
Kangkukurirra someone mourning the death of their *kangku* (father's father).
Kambinkurirra someone mourning the death of their *kambinda* (son of male, nephew of female).

kuriyala *n.*
 Pandanus nut(s). Loan from Mornington English; proper Kayardild word is *kambuda*.

kuriyalaaja *v.i.*
 Double up (hands).

kuriyalatha (kuriyatha) *v.t.*
 (M **kuriyalaaja/kuriyaaja**)
 Heap up, pile up.
Ngada kuriyalatha thungalkurndiinki. I heaped up the rope.

kuriyalaanda *n.manner.*
 En masse, all in a big group together.
Buruuru miburlda thungalda kuriyalaanda warraj. The stars in the Pleiades all move along together.

kurkangka *n.* (Ya **kurlkangka**)
 Bulrush.



kurndaji *n.*
 1. Dorsal fin of shark or other fish.
 2. Very high sandhill.

kurndawurnda *n.*
 Barramundi.

kurndija *v.t.*

REDUP **kurndijurndija**, M

kurndiija.

1. Tie up; handcuff.
2. Make by tying up (e.g. grass shelter).

dangka-kurndinda dangkaa *n.*
Policeman.

kamarr-kurndinda, kamarr-kurndinurru *n.*
Anchor.

kurndinkurndinda *n.qual.*
Tangled.

kurndiyatha *v.t.*

Parry, defend oneself with spear.

kurndubarraka *n.pred.*

With a cool throat from having drunk.

kurndubarrakarutha *v.t.*

Cool one's throat with a drink.

kurndungka *n.*

Chest.

kurndu-barrkijja *v.i.*

Slash one's chest during mourning.

kurndubirdiwatha *v.i. & v.t.*

1. Sulk.

Nyinyinangkuru birdiwand? What are you sulking for?

2. "Bail up"; refuse to obey request of OBJ.

Ngumbanda duujinda

kurndubirdiwatha ngijinji, wukuwanangku. Your little brother refused to obey me, he won't work.

kurndubirdi *n. qual.*

Selfish.

kurndubirdiwuru *n.qual.*

Suffering from a bad chest; asthmatic.

kurndu-dangkawuru *n. pred.*

Carrying someone in one's arms (against one's chest).

kurndu-kurrija *v.t.*

Scan hard; look and look at/for. *Kurndu-kurrija dangkaya ngimiy, janijanija muthaya darri.* They

looked hard for the man in the dark, searched and searched for him.

kurndumaaja *v.i.*

Stand with arms crossed behind back (thrusting out chest).

kurndumirra *n. qual.*

Not tired.

kurndunurru *n.*

Woman breastfeeding baby child.

kurnduthaldija *v.i.*

Lie chest upwards, on one's back.

kurnduwan-dijarra *n.*

Ventral fin.

kurndungkald *n.*

Multicoloured mudstone, used as source of ochre.

kurndungkalkurndungkald *n.qual.*

Bright, motley, multi-coloured.

kurndungku *n.*

Tree sp., "milkwood or corkwood". Lardil used this tree for dugout canoes. *Kurndungku maarra ngid.* The *kurndungku* tree is only (good for) firewood.

kurnduriyatha *v.t.*

Club, hit with a club.

kurnthurlda *n.*

Variant pronunciation of *kunthurlda* (q.v.).

Kurnurrkurnurra *n.*

Character in *Duburra* story.

kurrajiwurraji *n.qual.*

A few, an inadequate number. *Kurrajiwurraji kuru bangaa dand.* There are only a few turtle eggs here.

kurralkurralda *n.*

Bower-bird, quail.

kurrangka *n.*

White school bream (K), barramundi (Ya).

kurrankurrinda *n.*

Breeze, light wind.

kurraya *n.*

Shell sp., with rough surface.

kurrbangka *n.*

Bat-fish.

[PROP **kurrbangkawuru**].

kurrbulka *n.qual.*

Green (wood), easy to cut.

kurrija *v.t.*

1. See, look at. (K, Ya)
2. Look upon with lust, lust after.
3. Choose (esp. as spouse).
Bulbirdiya makuwa kurriij. A wrong-head woman was chosen.

ja-kurriija *v.i.*

Have one's footprints seen.

kambin-kurrinda *n.*

Incestuous father.

kurrijurrinda yiiwija sleep with one eye open.

kurrinjutha *v.recip.*

Yearn for each other, "call each other sweetheart".

mariya kurrija *v.t. id.*

Learn to make something by watching.

mibur-kurriinda *n.*

Mirror.

wara-kurrinjutha *v.recip.*

Look at each other coveting food.

kurrkatha *v.t.*

1. Take, take hold of, obtain. (K, Ya)
Kurrkatha dunmarutha bilngkad. (One) obtained waterlilies for ones husband.

Marinja kurrkathuth. They shook hands.

Niya ngijanwulaja kurrkath. He took it from me. (Ya).

2. Take (sexually), rape.

kurrkaaja rikaa catch cold, fever.

kurrngu *n.*

1. Dugong's feeding path.

2. Furrows where corms have been dug up.

[Possible unified definition: Ground that looks different because food has been removed from it.]

Jijina kurrngu? Which way is the dugong heading? Which way is its feeding path leading?

kurrngurutha *v.t.*

Dig in mud, furrow around.

kurrukurru *n.qual.*

Smooth, clean, free of scars (skin), branches (tree) etc.

Also used to describe horizon after sunset.

Dathina thungalda kurrukurru, wankawarri. That tree has a smooth surface, without branches.

Binthu kurrukurru. "He got a straight foreskin, easy to cut him out".

kurrukururutha *v.t.*

Smoothe, straighten, make shiny.

kurruwarna *n.*

"Soap bush", *Acacia holosericea*.

kurryaa *n.*

Rock flagtail (fish), mangrove jack.

kurthangarra *n.*

(Ya **kulthangarra**)

Flying-fox.

kurthurra *n.*

1. Shin, calf of leg.

2. Sex.

kurthurramaruthutha *v. recip.*

Make love, have sex.

kurthurrawarrayarrba *n.*

Dingo, dog. (Lit. 'the one that followed at the calf').

Dingoes were absent from Bentinck Island, but remembered in myth.

kuru *n.*

1. Egg; roe. (K, Ya)

2. Flower.
3. Kneecap.

kuruba *n.*

Digging-stick (= *kathirra*). From Eng. "crow-bar".

kurubarra *n.*

Large tree offering shade on beaches, *Celtis paniculatum* and *Celtis philippinensis*. Red fruit not eaten.

kurubawuru *n.*

Blue-spotted fantail ray.

kuru burraa *n.*

Ankle-bone.

kurukuku *n.*

Pigeon sp.

kurulutha (kurilutha) *v.t.*

1. Kill. (K, Ya)
2. Cook.
3. *v. adv.* Do hard, intensely.
Ngada balatha niwanji wangalkuru kuruluth. I hit him hard with the boomerang.

kuruliija *v.i.*

"be sore" (e.g. after initiation).

dangka-kurulunda *n.qual.*

Deadly, dangerous.

kurumanda (kurimanda) *n.*

"Slippery lizard", skink.

kurumbalda *n.*

Stingray flesh rissoles. (With oil squeezed out).

kurumbu *n.*

Prong of spear; pronged spear.
Kada rabija ni, junku riya na, kurumbunurruda kurumbunurrud. Raa ngambuya mirrayalatha ni. Mirrayalath, niida dangkaa waldarr. He got up again, and went straight east, still with a pronged spear stuck in him. And in the south he made a

well. He made it, the fellow that place is named for, Moon.

kurunthukurunthutha *v. recip.*

Be heaped up.

Kurunthukurunthuth, ngankirra warraj. (They're) all heaped up, going along in a pile (said of people crowded onto a boat.)

kurunthuthu *n.*

Pupil of eye, eyeball.

kururrji *n.qual.*

Curly-haired.

nalkururrji, nalda kururrji
curly-headed person.

kururrka *n.*

Milkwood tree, *Alstonia actinophylla*. Used for shields. Seedling used by Lardil for love-magic.

kuruutha *n.*

Clothes (Eng. loan).

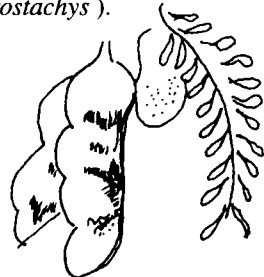
kuruuthawarri *n.qual.*
Naked.

kuruwarra *n.*

Little snake, whip-snake.

kuruwirriwirri *n.*

Term used for hanging pods of various trees, especially acacia pods, and for various trees with hanging pods, including tamarinds and ironwoods (*Erythrophleum chlorostachys*).



Kuruwirriwirri naljindirrikarra wurand.
Acacia pods are scrub turkey's food.

kuru wirrjiwirrji *n.*
Testicle(s), ball(s).

kuthankarra (kuthangkarra) *n.*
Bony bream.

kutharra *n.*
Yellow emperor (fish).

kuuja *v.i.*
Bathe.
Jara kuuja thaatha malaa. Go down to the sea and bathe your feet.

kuujuuja *v.i.*
Swim, bogey; take a bath or shower.

kuuka *n.*
Sore, boil.

kuurna *n.*
Black goose.

kuwa *n.*
1. Source.
2. Small holes in sand at high tide.
3. Place used in weather magic.

kuwa miburlda eye
(of hammerhead shark)

kuwa nguku source of water, spring.

Mirrimanki kuwa nguku.

Mirrimanki is a source of fresh water.

kuwa thandamanda place where cyclone is summoned up

kuwa warrngalda place where strong wind is summoned up, "wind story place".

kuwamanda thungalda spirit child. Spirit children were thought to dwell in the worm holes (**kuwa**) found in sand at low tide.

Kuwamanda thungalda kunawunakarra thungald. Wuranda ngaarrngija kunawun, bardakayiwatha ngamathuyiwath.

Spirit children belong to babies. When there is food as omen of a

child's birth, it enters the mother's belly.

kuwanda *n.*
LOC **kuwanji.**
Firestick; cigarette lighter.

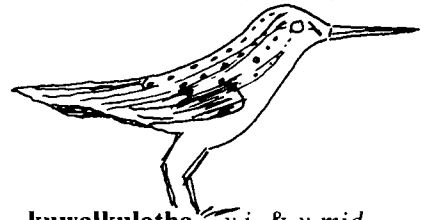
kuwajuwatha *v.t.*
Twist.
Kuwajuwatha birrk! Twist that string!

kuwajuwaja *v.i.*
Shake (body part); move in a circle.

Ngada kuwajuwaja nald. I am shaking my head.

Kunawuna budijiri malankarri kuwajuwajir. The children are running around the house in a circle.

kuwaku [kuwakuwa-] *n.*
Sandpiper.
Kuwaku, dingkarra waraa. Malaya kalaj, dangka-riland. The sandpiper has a long beak. It runs along (beside) the sea, and wakes people up.



kuwalkulatha *v.i. & v.mid.*
Dream (about PROP), see in a dream.
Ngada ngumbanju kuwalkulath. I dreamed about you.
Dilaya ngada kuwalkulath, kalaj. The other day I dreamed I was flying.

kuwalkulaja *v.m.*
dream about oneself
Marinda ngada kurrija kuwalkulaaj. I saw myself in a dream.

kuwalkulanda *n.*
Dream.

kuwanjiliija *v.i.*
Pretend.

kuwariwari *n.*

Person mourning death of parent, "orphan".

kuyalkamarnjutha *v.t.*

"Backbite", complain about (= *yalkayalkamarnjutha*).

kuyilda *n.*

1. File ray.
2. Bindi-eye thorn, *Tribulus*.

kuyirriija *v.i.*

Hog, refuse to share, "hunt im way".

kuyurru *n.*

Windpipe of turtle.

kuyuwuru *n.*

Backbone, sacrum.
buda kuyuwuru tailbone.

kwi *interjec.*

Hooray.

L

Note: Traditional Kayardild does not permit initial *l*, so words in this section are either English loans into Kayardild, or Yangkaal words. Initial *l* in Yangkaal words is retroflex; it corresponds to initial *r* in Kayardild.

laaja *v.t.* (Ya)

Spear (= *K raaja*).
Ngaka dangka laaja ngumbanji? Who speared you?

la(a)ra *n. loc.* (Ya)

South (= *K rara*, *raa*).
Danda lara dulka Kumbalinymarr, balungku jirrkurungku wanjiju. This south place, Kunbalinymarr, we can head up to the north west here.

lara lilungka south east

labatha *v.t.* (Ya)

Step on (= *K rabatha*).
Niya labatha ngijinji mariy. He stepped on my hand.

labija *v.i.* (Ya)

Arise, get up (= *K rabija*).

lakimatha *v.i.*

Like, fancy (< Kriol 'like-im').
Birdiya miburlda kurrij, dangka-lakimatharri, dirrkuliwarri. She gives everyone sour looks, she doesn't fancy any men, she's got no husband.

larungka *n.loc.* (Ya)

Southwards, far to the south (= *K rarungka*).

layinda *v.i.* (Ya)

From the south, coming from the south. (= *K rayinda*).

liinda *n.loc.* (Ya)

From the east, coming from the east (= *K riinda*).

likirrkalijarrmatha *v.i.* (Ya)

Cause to cry
(= *K rikarrkalijarrmatha*).

lilungka *n.loc.* (Ya)

Eastward (= *K rilungka*).
Ngarnku lilungku thaathu. (We'll) come back eastwards along the beach.

liya *n.loc.* (Ya)

East (= *K riya*).

lura *n.* (Ya)

Fat (= *K rura*).
Ngada kurrija niwanjiya rluriya diyaja. I saw him eat the fat.

M

maaja

1. *v.i.* Twitch (body part) signalling some event.

Ngijinda thabuju dalij, thardaa maaj.
My brother is coming, my shoulder is twitching.

2. *v.t.* Resemble.

Maaja makuya kirrk. His face is like a woman's.

kurndumaaja *v.i.*

Put hands behind back.

marrjin-maanjutha *v.recip.*

Send each other messages.

mayiija *v.i.*

Surface for air (dugong, turtle), "spout".

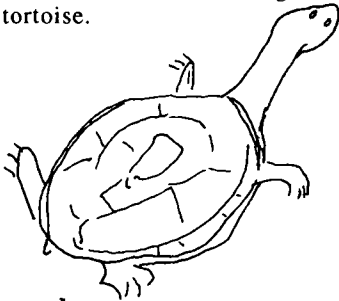
Kurrija muthaya naliya bangaya mayiinki. I saw the heads of many turtles surfacing for air.

maali *n.*

"Swamp turtle", long-necked tortoise.

Maali wurdija mardalki, dingkarra thawurr. The swamp turtle dwells in the mud, and has a long neck.

Yirringirndi maalikarra kunyaa duujind. The short-necked tortoise is the little brother of the long-necked tortoise.



-maanda *n.*

Begetter of PREF, father of PREF. Reduced nominalization of *mimatha* 'beget'.

Ngakinmaanda begetter of us, our father.

Ngijinmaanda begetter of me, my father.

maarra *part.*

1. All, every, everyone.

Maarra yaluluwuru kurriju. You'll see all the lights.

Maarra waydbalakarranji marrija kangki. All (our children) understand the white man's language.

2. Only, just.

Maarra kurrija ngijinji, kamburijarri. He just looked at me, and said nothing.

Miida maarra makukarrand. Lice is only women's food.

maburra¹ *n.*

Dew, fog.

Maburraya yakuriya warraja kurdalath. He went out to spear fish in the fog.

maburrayiwatha *v.i.*

Get lost in fog.

Maburrayiwath, thulatha maburri ngumbanda kangku, ngumbanda kangku thulatha maburriywath, yakurivwu maraka kurdalathu, maraka makunku kurdalathu yakurivwu. He got lost in the fog, your grandfather went down into the sea and into the fog, he was hoping to spear fish, hoping to spear fish by the light of a bark torch.

maburramaburra *n. manner.*

In/through a thick fog.

Ngaakawuru maburra-maburra dalijad? How did you get here through such a thick fog?

maburra² *n.*

Wolf-herring, oar-fish.

maburra-jingkanda yarbuda

Alternative name for *Barrindindi*, who always appears after these fish.

maburrumburungka *n.*

Knife.

madija *v.t.*

Stick to, clog up. (Cf. compounds *kamarrmadinda, jamadinda.*)

Kurndungka madij. Her chest is clogged up.

-maja *verbalizing suffix.*

Only attested in **balmbimaja** 'wait til tomorrow'.

majarri *n.*

1. Navel, umbilical cord. (K, Ya)
Majarri kalaaj. The umbilical cord is cut.
2. Liver (of fish). More common term is *thararra*.

majarriya nguku spring water.
Probably refers to the mythical association between Rock Cod's liver and certain freshwater springs.

majawuluwulu *n. pred.*

Cramped from sitting.
majawuluwuluwatha *v.i.*
Get a cramp from sitting.

majimaji¹ *n.*

Tail of dugong or shark. Cf. *barndaa* (dugong tail); *yarri* (tail of any marine animal).

majimaji² *n.* (Ya)

Calf of leg.
Barrina kalkana majimaji! Let's not be crawling around on sore calves!
(Ya)

majimaji³ *n.*

Harbour (= *budubuduwarraanda*).

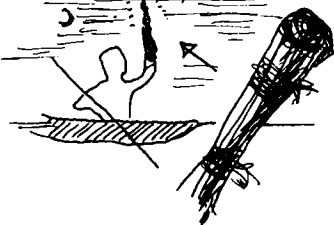
majinja *n. pred.*

1. Tired, sore from exercise.
Darra majinj, kurthurrbirdiwanda dangkaa. His legs are sore, he's a weak-calved man.
2. Lazy, non-co-operative.

majinjawatha *v.i.*
Get tired, sore.

maka *n.*

Bark torch (= *manarra*). Made from rolled-up paperbark tied up with vines.



Jirrkara mak! There's a torch in the north!

makuja *v.i.*

Hold up torch, use a torch.
Ngumbanda kangku thulatha maburriyiwath, yakuriwu maraka kurdalathu, maraka makunku kurdalathu yakuriwu. Your grandfather went down (to the sea) and got lost in the fog, he had meant to spear fish, to spear fish using a bark torch.

makunmaanda *n. qual.*

(Fish, etc.) caught by torchlight.

makalinda *n.*

Painted white, painted with ochre.
Nyingka daliija makalind, mardalaanngarrb. Come when you're all painted up.

makalinda ngimi midnight.

makalmakalda *n.* (K, Ya)

Old woman.

makarrka *n.*

Anthill.

makatha *v.i.*

Rest, have a break, stop.
Nyingka makatha thardaa! Rest your shoulder!

Makanmarri kurdamaj. He drinks without stopping.

makalutha *v.t.*

Cause to rest, stop (e.g. hiccups), turn off (motor).

Darriya makaluth. We gave our legs a spell.

maku *n.(qual.)*

1. Woman (K, Ya).
2. Wife
3. Female.

Makuwa kirrik female fig-tree.

makurrarra *n.* (Ya)

Wallaby. LOC **makurrarraya**.

malaa *n.* (K, Ya)

1. Sea.

2. Saltwater, brackish water.

2. Beer.

malabawubawu *n.*

High foaming tide.

malakunya *n.*

Low tide.

mala-kurrkanda *n.*

Harpoon, "wap".

malangarrba *n.qual.*

Drunk.

Mibulki kurdalatha kajakajay, malangarrbay. (He) speared daddy while he was in a drunken sleep.

malawanda yarramanda *n.*

Sea-horse (= *balubunji*).

malawarngiilutha *v.t.*

Mix salty with fresh water.

malawarri *n.qual.*

Shallow (sea).

malawarriyalatha *v.i. & v.t.*

Act as one would in shallow water or with shallow water (with regard to OBJ). E.g. jumping out of boat, or not bothering to bail out a dinghy.

Maraka ngakurra

malawarriyalatharra budubuduna.

We wrongly thought we had no water inside the boat.

malawatha *v.i.*

Become sea (e.g. flooded land); become salty (water).

ngarrkuwa malaa king tide.

malabaru *n.*

1. Tent.

2. Shirt, trousers.

malamala *n.*

1. Surf barnacle, "pearl shell".

2. Money.

Jinamulu ngumbanda malamala? How much money do you have?

malankarri *n.*

1. Corrugated iron.

2. Humpy.

Wunmaalinda malankarri. A humpy gives shelter from the rain.

malarrangka *n.*

Catfish skull, carapace of ornamental crab, tree-coral; decorative object from sea.

malathaliyanda *n.*

Soldier crab.

malathaluliyanda *n.*

Beach-dwelling stinging grub.

malawirndi *n.*

Stromb, scorpion shell, little auger shell.

malawuruwuru *n.*

Black bird that follows tide up and down. Sp.?

malbaa *n.*

1. "Wallaby grass", *Vetiveria elongata*. Used for making nets, string etc.

Malbakarra mijilda a net made from wallaby-grass.

2. Black spear grass, *Heteropogon contortus*.

malbangu *n.*

Fish like a tuna.

malji¹ *n.*

Hole in net, artefact.

Dathina mijilda muthawuru maljiwuru.

That net has a lot of holes in it.

Maljiwuru budubudu, muthaa ngukuwa jawind. The boat has a hole, lots of water is running in.

malji² *n.*

1. Rough water showing presence of dugong, fish etc.

Possible relation to *malji*¹: "hole" in surface of water.

2. School of fish, dolphins etc (making rough water, wake).

Yurdaa maljiya juward. Out at sea there's a school of porpoises.

malngu *n.*

Ochre for hair.

malthurrkarnanji *n.*

Remora, sucker-fish.

Malthurrkarnanji bijarrbaya karrngija diminki. The remora grasps onto the back of dugongs.

malumalu *n.*

“Diver duck”, pied cormorant.

malunginda *n.*

(LOC *malunginji*).

Daughter’s son (of woman); sister’s daughter’s son/ daughter (of man).

malwija *v. impers.*

Flash (lightning).

mamaa *n.*

Two banks of creek.

mambunda *n.*

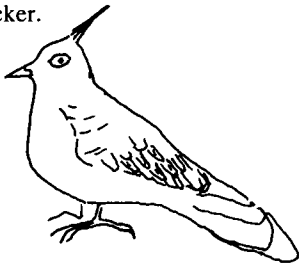
Black spotted ray.

manangurri *n.*

Emerald dove, crested pigeon.

Manangurri diyaaj, mirraa wurand.

The crested pigeon is eaten, it’s good tucker.



manarra [manarr-] *n.*

Bark torch (= *maka*).

Rayinda thulatha thardaa manarru, wuuja kamarri manarruj. Manarri karnaja ni. Yalulu, jungarra yalulu burrij. Muthaa yakuriya riind. He came down to the sea with a bark torch on his shoulder, and put the torch down on a rock. He lit the torch (to attract the fish). Flames, big flames flared up, and many fish came from the east.

manbawatha *v. i.*

1. (Sun) set.

Bada manbawatha thulatha warrku.

The sun sets in the west.

2. Feel strange, have sinking feeling in stomach.

Ngada yuuda manbawawath, warriliija ngijinda bardak, marrbi bayi. I’ve got a sinking feeling, my stomach feels strange, I think there’s going to be trouble.

mandatharra (~ marndatharra) *n.*

Black mangrove, *Lumnitzera littorea*.

Marndatharra darraaj, ngid. The black mangrove is burned for heating, it’s good firewood.

mangara *n.*

Storm, rain-storm.

Yuthiji mangar the first rains.

Muthaa nguku, mangarawaand.

There’s a lot of water from the storm.

mangarra [mangarr-] *n.*

Temple, side of face.

mangawarri *n. qual.*

Unconscious.

Niya mangawarriya balaaj. He was knocked unconscious.

mangayi *n.*

Mother’s totem; “dream-mother”. If animal or fish, this can’t be eaten.

Warngiida niya kamburij, riinda ngada yiiwinmulaaj. Rabij, bada ngada marrij ngijinda mangay,

thalkurrki niya kamburij. One sang, I was roused from my sleep in the east. I got up, and listened in the west to my “dream-mother”, the kookaburra was singing out.

mangkatha *n.*

[PROP **mangkathawuru**]

Large button jellyfish. Round with short purple tentacles and orange body.

Mangkatha bangantha diyajurrk.
Button jellyfish are eaten by turtles.

mangurra

1. *n.* High tide mark.
 2. *n. qual.* Prostrate, resting after initiation.
- mangurra malaa** high tide.

mani *n.*

Money. Eng. loan.

mankarra *n. qual.*

Big, hefty.
Niya maraka niwanda kanthathu mankarr. He's as big as his father.

mankinda *n. qual.*

[LOC **mankinji.**]
(Land or property) belonging to someone else (= *dangkanabanda*).
Nginja diyajurrka mankin-mankinjurrka wurankurk, waydbalakarranjurrk. (They) shouldn't have eaten food belonging to other people, to white people.

maraka *part.*

Counterfactual particle. Various senses depend on modality of clause.

1. (With future verb and modal proprietive) should have.
Nyingka maraka rabanangku dathinku duku. You shouldn't have set foot in that cave.

2. (With future verb and modal locative) could have, should but don't.

Maraka ngudiju bangaya bild. They should have thrown the turtle overboard (but didn't).

Maraka yuumathu barrunthay. He could have drowned yesterday.

Maraka marriju kangki rarumbanji. They should understand Kayardild, but don't.

3. One would think that, you (or someone else supplied by context) would wrongly think that, wrongly thought that; as if.

Kurrija manarriy, maraka dangkakarranji, birra niwanji. They saw a bark torch, and wrongly thought that it was the man's, that it too was his.

Maraka ngumaliya kurrkatha karrngij. (He) went off with (a married woman), (acting) as if she were a single woman.

Ngada waaja maraka yiiwijirrinji. I was singing, (at a time when) you would think I would be asleep.

4. Like, as if (in comparisons and similes).

Kirrmaku, maraka maku. He's effeminate, he's like a woman.

Danda kunawuna jungarr, maraka niwanda kanthathu mankarr. This child is big, he's sturdy like his father.

marakurra *n.* (K, Ya)

Forearm.

maramanda *n. qual.*

Black.

maramara *n.*

Dinghy. [LOC **maramaraya.**]

maranda *n.*

Hand spear. [LOC **maranki.**]

mararra *n.*

Mangrove sp, *Avicennia marina* (= *marrinda*).

marbanda *n.*

Gummy shark, wobbegong.



mardada (mardarra) *n.*

Small shrub growing behind mangrove zone; twigs used as firesticks.

mardalatha *v.t.*

1. Rub, caress.

Nginja mardalatha karnduwuru wurankuru, kandu yakuri, yakuriya muthaya wurankiya karnduya mardalath, karndumaruth, muthaya wuranki mardalatha karnduya wuyiija kunawunaya kunyaya mardalath, bukamaruth! Would you believe (we) rubbed (babies) with the blood of creatures, fish blood, rubbed on the blood of fish and other creatures, put blood on them, little children had all sorts of stuff put on them and rubbed on them, it made them stink!
Birra mardalathuth. They are caressing each other.

2. Paint.

Kunyaya kunawunaya mardalath. (They) are painting the young boy.

3. Fancy, flirt with.

Dathina dangkaa ngumbanmardalaand! That man keeps flirting with you.

mardalka *n.*

Mud.

mardal-bulaaja *v.i.*

Clean mud off oneself.

mardarra¹ *n.*

Blue-spotted ray.

Kurrinanku nyingka mardarrawu, mardalwirdind. You can't (easily) see the blue-spotted ray, it's a mud-dweller.

mardarra² *n.*Var. of *mardada*.**mardu** *part.*

Possibly, maybe.

Birilwatha mardu. It might get calm.

mardumardu *n.*

Black cockatoo.

marinda *n.*

Self. Reflexive pronoun.

[PROP **marinju**].

Marlda marinda kalaaj. He cut himself on the hand.

Marinda kurriija birdiy! Look at your ugly self!

Marininja balaanyarr! You might shoot yourself.

Ngada mardalaada marininj. I'd like to paint myself up.

marinbadiyarrba *n.*

Biological mother.

marin-barrkiija *v.i.*

Chop one's head during funeral rights.

marin-kurndiija *v.i.*

Let oneself be wrapped around.

E.g. when capturing python by letting it coil around you.

marin-kurrkaaja *v.i.*

Let oneself be seduced.

marirra *n.*

Widow, widower.

Marralngathi maburrayiwath, ngijinda jungarra maburrayiwath, ngada wurdija marirr. Marralngathi got lost in the fog, my big (darling) got lost in the fog, and I became a widow.

marirrngang *n.*

Single cooked *jardiyardi* (month fish) buried in sand by camp-fire to ensure return of a new school of fish next evening.

marirrwalada *n.*

Centipede.

mariwa *n.*[LOC **maridaya**]

Stone oyster-pounder, hand-axe.

mariyamburra *n.*

1. Milky Way.

2. Mast (so-called because it appears, as a white expanse, before the ship can be seen).

markuriiija *v.i.*

1. Get "mulgri".

Mulgri is a potentially fatal illness, whose symptoms are cramps and pains in the stomach, and/or vomiting. It results from the mixing of land and sea foods (e.g. goanna meat and fish, or yams and fish) on the one fire, or entering sea when still polluted with the fat of land foods. Shooting stars are believed to indicate that someone has just got mulgri.

2. Commit "mulgri", i.e. commit an act causing mulgri.

markuuja *v.i.*

Syn. of **markuriiija**.

1. Get mulgri.

2. Commit mulgri.

Dathina ngijinda dulk, ngalawanda dulka Kungarr. Markuunangku dangkaa, markuuarri. Dangkaa bukawathu markuunngarrba, ngunymurrawu yakuri diyaj, ngunymurrawu bangaa diyaj, ngunymurrawu bijarrba diyaj. That's my country, our country, Kungarr. People must not commit mulgri there, (they) do not commit mulgri. People can die of mulgri, from eating greasy fish, or eating greasy turtle, or eating greasy dugong.

Etymology: *mar-* 'hand' plus *kuuja* 'bathe'.

marlda [**mar-**] *n.*

1. Hand (K, Ya).

2. Finger

3. Fore-fin (of dugong).

Marlda bijarrba kuluuja dulki. The dugong's forefin (is used to) dig in the sand.

4. Symbolic origin of fatherhood.

mariya kurrija learn craft skills by watching.

mariya warraja learn about country by travelling around with its boss.

marlda warirra empty-handed.

Ngada marlda warirra thaath, yakuriwarri. I returned empty-handed, with no fish.

marmarutha *v.t.*

Take in one's hand.

marmirra *n.*

Skilled craftsman.

Ngijinda kajakaja marmirrayarrad.

My daddy is another good craftsman.

marmirrawatha *v.t.*

Look after.

marmirrayiija *v.t.*

Deliver, look after.

mar-ngudiiija *v.i.*

Wave away, decline with wave of hand.

marwuuja *v.t.*

Shake hands with OBJ.

mirraa marlda *n. qual.*

Skilled as a craftsman.

munda marlda heel of hand

warngiijina marina having the same father.

marldabanda *n.*

"Messmate", *Acacia platycarpa*.

marnalda *n.*

Yam sp.

Marnalda damanda wurand, buld. The *marnalda* is "tooth food" (?), and the *bulda* yam.

marndaa *n.*

Hole in reef, rock or bank, "cave".

Marbanda marndaya wurdij. The *marbanda* lives in holes in reefs.

marndaji *n.*

Whiskered catfish.

marndaki *n.*

White-man.

marndalnguwarra *n.*

Beach salmon, running salmon.

marndatharra *n.*

Variant of *mandatharra* (q.v.).

marndija *v.ditr.*

Take PROP away from OBJ;
deprive, rob OBJ of PROP.

Marndija dathina dangkaa wumburungkur! Take that man's spear away from him!

Dathina dangkaa dangkawalathiya marndija yakuriwuru. That man has taken fish off a lot of people.

Waydbala dangka-marndind. The white man is a robber of Aborigines.

kandu-marndija *v.t.*

Blood-suck, suck blood from.

Damurra dangkaa kandumarndija niwanji. The short people sucked his blood.

marndiwa *n.*

Shrub sp. with disinfectant leaves, *Wrightia saligna*. Leaves used to line baby's coolamon, and mixed with water as disinfectant, particularly after circumcision.

Wood used for *murruku*.

Marndiwa kunawunantha kariijurrk.

The *marndiwa* leaves are used for wrapping babies.

marndurra *n.qual.*

1. Dead (= *kurirra*).

2. Stunned, unconscious, "close-up dead".

marndulutha *v.t.*

Kill, stun.

Darra marndulutha yakuriy. (I) stunned the fish using my leg (to stir poisonous leaves in the water).

marndungarrba *n.*

Person who has been brought back from near death.

Marndungarrba dangkaa wuuju niwanju muthawuru wurankuru. The person who has been revived gives him (the healer) lots of food.

marndurrayalatha *v.i.*

Play dead, act as if dead.

marndurrwatha *v.i.*

Die.

marnganda *n.*

Plural **marngan-marnganda**.

Developed girl; girl with developed breasts.

marnimarni¹ *n.*

Shellfish, sp.?

marnimarni² *n.*

Spark, cinder.

marraaja *v.ditr.*

[M **marrayiija**, RECIP

marraanjutha.]

Show OBJ about PROP, show OBJ LOC (place).

Dangkawalada marraaja wuuja ngijinji muthaya dulki. People have shown me many places.

Maarra marraaju thaathu dulku.

(You'll) just go and show the country.

marralda *n.*

1. Ear (K, Ya).

2. Seat of intelligence and understanding.

Mirraa marralda marrij. They understand well.

dunbuwa marralda *n.qual.*

Deaf, stupid, unable to understand.

dunbuwatha marralda *v. id.*

forget

marralda wuthunthutha

whisper among each other.

marraldija *v.t.*

Yarn to.

Ngaakawuru kiyarrngka dangkaa kamburinjutha marraldinjuth? Why those two men yarning to each other?

marral-dunbuwatha *v.i.*

Forget.

Ngaakawuru ngada marraldunbuwatharr? Why have I forgotten?

marral-durldiija *v.i.*

Forget. [Doesn't take clausal complements.]

marralduuratha *v.?*

Poke finger into ear.

marraliyarrngka *n.*

Rainbow snake.

marraljungarra *n.qual.*

Big-eared.

Karnkululu marraljungarra wurand.

The frilled lizard is a big-eared creature.

marral-kamburinjutha

v.recip.

Whisper to each other.

marralkiniija *v.i.*

Cradle ear in hand.

marralmarutha *v.t.*

1. Think about.

Ngada marralmaruthu dathinku

kangku. I'll think about that word (i.e. try and remember it).

2. Miss.

Ngada marralmarutha dathinku

makuy. I'm missing/thinking about that woman.

marralmirra *n.qual.*

Smart, having a good ear.

marralngulatha *v.t.*

Dream about.

marralwarri (marralarri)

n. qual.

Stupid, inattentive, unable to understand (language).

marralwariyalatha *v.i.*

Act as if dead, act stupid.

marraljawaja *v.i.*

(Moon) eclipse.

marrambu *n.*

Tree-climbing gecko.

Marrambu ngirrnguthi diyaj. The gecko eats flies.

marrayaka *n.*

1. Octopus.

2. Water-skater.

Believed to get inside ensorcelled victim, causing him or her to waste away.

marrbi *part.*

Maybe, perhaps (fr. Eng. "might be").

marrija *v.t. (K, Ya)*

1. Hear, listen.

Dathina waldarra dathinananganda

marralda kuwajuwaa, can't marrij,

kumdumaand. "Kijjatha ngijinda

kangka kurulutha marrij, kurulutha

kijjatha bathind!' That (new) moon

twists his ear like this, but can't hear,

he's stopping forward with his hands

behind his back. "Come close and

listen to my words properly, come

right up close from the west!"

2. Understand.

Ngada marrijarri dathinki kangki. I

don't understand that language.

marrinda *n.*

[LOC marrinki.]

Grey mangrove, *Avicennia marina*.

Fruit (*thaminyirri*) is eaten after

soaking in fresh water. The term

marrinda is particularly applied

when the tree is in fruit; otherwise

the term *mardada* is preferred.

marrjinda *n. (K, Ya)*

Message, signal.

Ngaakawuru thardakarramaj? Marrbi

marrjind, bijarrba muthaa. Why is he

waving his arms? It might be a

message that he's got a lot of dugong

meat.

marrjinda dangkaa messenger.

Muthaa bijarrba rayij, marrjinda

dangkaa warraj, raranyind, riyanyind.

Kunyaya wurdalji kurrkath, kunyaa

barangk. When a lot of dugong is

speared, a messenger goes, to the

south side of the island, to the east

side. He takes a bit of meat, a bit of

fat.

marrjinmaanjutha *v.recip.*

Send each other messages.

marrkada [marrkath-] *n.qual.*

Soft.

Marrkada wirdijarrb, wirrinku

danathu. As they become soft, they

will shed their shell.

marrkanymarrkada *n.*

Swamp weed, *Alternanthera* sp.
Used for medicine on newborns,
pregnant mothers etc; also “like
nappies”.

marrkaji *n.*

Lizard, sp.?

marrkathu *n.*

Aunt; i.e. father’s sister.

marrkulda *n.*

Black-back turtle.

marrnga *n.* (Ya)

Panja ground (cf *damuru* ‘panja’).
Bana marrnga kurlkangki jirkaand.
And there’s a panja ground in the
rushes coming back from the north.
(Ya).

marrwaa *n.loc.* (K, Ya)

Near (to MCASE), close by, a short
distance away.

Ngalda marrwaya dulki diija ngarnki.
We sat down close by, on the beach.
Nyingka dathina dangkaa diija
marrwaa! Sit down near that man.

Niya dathina dangkaa barrbarra
thardaa, marrwaya ngudij. That man
is weak, he threw it a short distance.

marrwawuthinda *n.. pred.*

Huddled up, close together.
Bilda marrwawuthind, yulaanda
ngabayanth. They’re huddled up
close, afraid of the ghosts.
Waldarrakurdalayarrb, Bararra
marrwawuthind.

Waldarrakurdalayarrba and Bararra
are close together.

marryaa *n.*

Small mangrove type, club
mangrove, *Aegialitis annulata* ,
growing at edge of saltpan.

marurrkinda *n.*

1. Black sole.
2. Thongs.

-marutha *v.stem (bound only).*

Insult someone by comparing them
with a particular kin (PREF).
Ngamathumarutha niya ngijinji. He
insulted me by comparing me to my
mother.

mathaa *n.*

Handle of *kujiji* spear.

mathali *n.*

Eagle, grey seahawk.
Makurrarraya diyaja mathali. Eagles
eat wallabies.

mathambarra *n.*

Insect bite, pimple.
Ngada mathambarrmuthand. I’m
itchy all over, covered in insect bites.

matharra *n.*

Nail fish.

-matharrba *n.*

See **-mimatharrba**.

mawida *n.*

Half tide.

mawunda *n.qual.*

Somebody else’s (= *dangkanabanda*,
mankinda).

Danda wuranda diyaja mawund,
mungkiji wuranda diyaja biridbirid!
This food isn’t yours, eat your own
food!

Mankinji mawunji dulki wurdij.
They’re on someone else’s land.

mawunjuru *n.*

Large mullet.

mawunmawunda *n.*

Killer.

mawurra [mawurr-] *n.*

Heaven, spirit home in the east.

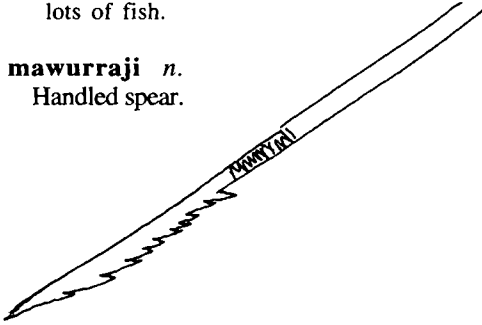
mawurrbarrwaja *v.t.*

Spear fatally.

mawurrbarrwaanda *n.*

Dead shot, good spearman.
Nyingka mirraa thardaa,
mawurrbarrwaand, walanmarri,
nyingka raaja muthaya yakuriy.
 You're a good shot, a deadly
 spearman, you don't miss, you spear
 lots of fish.

mawurraji *n.*
 Handled spear.



mayaa *n.qual.*

Responsible for catching food, for
 socially sanctioned killing, or for
 circumcision (= *mimiwarrki*).
Mayaa barnkaldija ngada
kalanngarra bijarrbangarrb. I, who
 got it, sit down after cutting up the
 dugong.
Niya mayara dangkaa, niya mijiluru
dangkaa. He's the one who caught the
 fish, he has the net.

ngijinda mayaa dangkaa
 man who circumcised me, my
 circumciser.

mayakinda *n.*
 Baler shell, *Ficus subintermedia* .

mayaku *n.*
 Sand crab, swimming crab.

mayara *n.qual.*
 1. Owner (of alienable possession).
 2. Countryman.

-mayarrba *n., with prefixed*
nominal.
 See **-mimayarrba**.

mayiija *v.i.*

See subentry of *maaja* .

mibulanda *n.pred.*
 Sound asleep.

mibuljulban *n.*
 Whopper fish. May be Lardil
 (= *mingungurra*).

mibulka *n.pred.*
 Asleep.
Jungarra mibulka yiiwij. She is fast
 asleep.

Mibulka kabaaja ngald. We were
 caught asleep.

mibulkaraaja *v.i.*
 Shut eyes for sleep.

mibulkuru *n.qual.*
 Sleepy.

mibulmarutha *v.t.*
 Put to sleep.
Kunawala mibulmarutha waaj. He is
 singing the children to sleep.

mibulmuthanda *n.*
 Sleepy-head.

mibululatha *v.t.*
 Wake.
Warrngalda rilatha ngijinji
mibululatha. The wind roused me,
 woke me up.

miburalngka *n.*
 Anchovy.



miburjuluru (~ **mibujuluru**) *n.*
 Flathead.

miburlda [**mibur-**] *n.*
 1. Eye (K, Ya).
Miburlda kurrija warirr,
mungurruwarri. (I) didn't see it with
 my own eyes, nothing, I don't really
 know about it.

2. Faculty of vision; visually mediated experience.

Muthaa miburlda ngad. I've seen a lot.

3. Berry, nut, fruit.

Miburlda wuyirra casuarina nut.

Jungarra miburlda big, ripe fruit.

Miburlda marrind .. burldamurra ngimi kawathawarngiida warrku ngukuy. The fruit of the mangrove .. roast it for three nights, and leave it in fresh water for a day.

4. Tip of sandbank, rich in fish.

Munuku miburld. *Rayinda yakuriya thaath.* *Munuku* is the tip of a sandbank. Fish come there from the south.

5. Term for any small, point-like object.

miburanjarida *n.qual.*

One-eyed.

miburarri (K), **miburwarri** (Ya) *n.qual.*

Blind.

miburatha *v.i.*

Develop fruit.

mibur-dingkarra *n.*

Antenna-eyes of crab, etc.

miburiji karrngija keep an eye on.

Miburiji karrngija kuwand! Keep an eye on the firestick!

miburiya ngudija glance, cast one's eye.

mibur-kurriinda *n.*

Mirror.

mibur-kurrinda *n.*

Glasses, spectacles.

miburldaatha *v.i.*

Blink.

miburlda dunbu *n.qual.*

Blind.

miburlda murruku *n.*

Hook of woomera.

miburlda thungalda *n.*

Star.

miburlda wuranda *n.*

Generic for all fruit, berry and nut food.

mibur-l-thungalda *n.* (Ya)

Star.

mibur-jungarra *n.*

Keen-eyed person, good hunter.

mibur-muthanda *n.*

"Big-eye", lecher.

mibur-ngudiija *v.i.*

Take a turn, faint.

mibur-raajirrinda *n.pred.*

Speared in the eye. (Conception totem for several people presaged by a dugong or turtle being speared in the eye).

mibur-thaatha *v.t.*

Ogle, stare at.

Mibur-thaatha darri. (He) is staring at her thigh.

mibur-thaldinda *n.*

Antenna-eyes of crab, etc.

ngarrkuwa miburlda *n.qual.*

Bold, brazen; stern-faced.

Ngarrkuwa miburlda warraj! Go along with a stern face (without smiling).

miida [mijj-] *n.*

1. Louse. 2. Lobster.

miilatha *v.t.*

De-lice.

Birra miilathutha. They are delousing each other.

mijilda *n.*

1. Net, net bag.

2. Beak of pelican.

mijilaaja *v.i.*

Make a string bag.

mijil-burldiinda *n.*

Spider.

mijinjarri *n.*

Missionary, priest, pastor.
Eng. loan.

mijurrka (mijirrka) *n.*

Tear.

miku *n.*

Beach vine with edible root,
Ipomoea macrantha.
Maraka miku, dangkaa. (Discussing
yams from the west-side caves, that
changed into 'short people'): they
look like *miku* roots, but they're
people.
Miku thungkuwaya thaldij. *Miku*
roots grow around the mangroves.

milangka *n.*

Clitoris (of woman, or dugong).

milda *n.*

1. Tip (spear), point.
2. First gust (wind).
Milu jirrkalarinku barjiju. They will
fall with the first gust of the north
wind.

mildalatha *v.t.*

Cut out.
Dibirdibi mirrayalatha dathinki
murndamurri, dibirdibi mildalath.
Rock Cod made that Island (Sweers),
Rock Cod cut it out (from the land).

mildalatha bardaka be stricken
with grief.

miljuldajulda thungalda *n.*

Thorn, prickle.

milwanda wunda first
monsoonal rain.

Milwanda wunda barjij. The first
monsoonal rains are falling.

mildatha *v.i.*

Split through, burst through.
Rabija dathin, dathina dangkaa
yarwaanda dangkaa mildath,
Nalkardarrawuru. He came up, that
man from beneath the ground burst
through (the surface),
Nalkardarrawuru.

mildanda *n.*

Crack, split (e.g. in spearhead).

miljaa *n.*

Fin of barramundi.

milmirri *n.*

Glans of penis exposed by
circumcision.

milnarra [**milnarra-**] *n.*

Shingleback skink.

mimatha *v.t.*

Beget, be biological father of.
Note RECIP **mimathutha** 'beget
each other in succession'.
Ngijuwa mimathurrk. I begot (him).
Niya jungarr, kunawunawu mimathu.
He is grown-up, he will beget a child.
Murdumurdungathi, rarubanda
dangkaa, ngijinda banji, Peter
niwanda kunawun, Peter niya mimath,
niya dulmaruth, mimath. Ngada
niwanda mungkiji wajiyangu,
Thaburrurukarr. Muthaa ngankirra
mimaajarr. Murdumurdungathi, a man
from the south, my husband, Peter is
his child, he begot Peter, he brought
him into the world. I was his
promised wife, Thaburruru's. Many
people were begotten (by him).

-(mi)matharrba *n.*, with prefixed
nominal stem.
Begetter of (pronominal prefix).
Niwanmimatharrba father of
him/her.

-(mi)mayarrba *n.*, with prefixed
nominal stem.
One begotten by (pronominal
prefix).

Ngijinmimayarrba/ngijinmayarrba
my child, one begotten by me.

minalda *n.*

Bush-fire.

minariminarija *v.i.*

Blink.

minbalutha *v.t.*

Scar, wound.

minbarra *n.*

Scar, wound, defect (on shell).

mindaa

1. *n.* Hip. (K, Ya)
2. *n.* Flips (of crab).
3. *n. loc.* Beside, alongside.
Marrwaya mindaya barnkaldij! Sit beside me.
Mindamarutha darri. They always sat side by side (hip beside thigh).

mindawanda dangkaa

bystander, onlooker (esp. in fight).

mindawiriwuru *n. manner.*

Leaning on a walking stick.
Mindawiriwuru warraj. He walks leaning on a walking stick.

mindulu *n.*

Rope used for tying up bundle (e.g. of wood).

mingungurra *n.*

Purple rock cod.

miniri *n.*

Whelk, volute, mangrove snail, turreted or wentle trap.

minjirra *n.*

Smashed-up pandanus nut.

minjirrinda *n.*

Cyclone.

minyi¹

1. *pre-locational.* Towards end-point of an action or itinerary.
Birra minyi-kabanthutha. They are finding each other's marks (aiming at each other).
Duburrka kalatha niya minyi-riind. Mullet cut it out on his way back from the east.
2. *part.* And so, thus. Introduces conclusion of story.
Minyi wumburuwarri thaatha bilda balungka muthaa dangkaa. So all the people went back westwards without their spears.

minyi² *n.*

1. Colour.
Muthaa minyi: bana ngumu, bana balarr, bana karndukarndu, minyiwuru. (It has) many colours: dark, and light, and red; it is coloured.
2. Kind.

Birra warngiida minyi. They're the same colour/kind.

Dathina kiyarrngka diwald, warngiida minyi. Those two trees are of the same kind.

3. *nominal prefix.* Like, similar to. Common in insults, where the insultee is implied to share various unspeakable characteristics with the nominated kin. An insult of the form *niya minyi-X* 'he is like his X' will be reported with a verb *X-marutha* 'insultingly compare to kin X'.

Niya minyi-thabuju. He is like his brother.

Ngada minyi-ngamathuwarri. I am not like my mother.

minyi-darurrka *n.*

Insect, sp.?

minyi-kandungka *n.*

Praying mantis. (Long folding legs like a jabiru).

minyi-ngarnala *n.*

1. Witchetty-grub.
 2. Sugar ant.
 3. Termite.
- All three are white like a white cockatoo.

minyiwuru *n. qual.*

Fair-skinned, fair-haired.

minyikarnjirrbi wuranda *n.*

Shell, sp.?

minyiliija *v.i.*

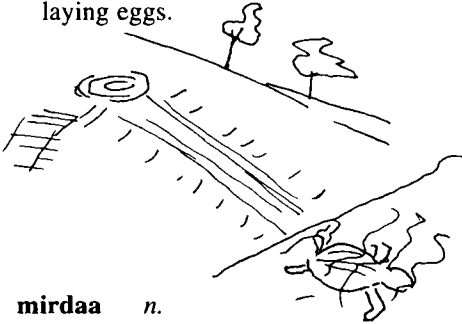
(Woman) go off and have a fling, abandon children so as to be free to run after men.

minyingkalda *n.*

Groper, spotted cod.

minyiriija *v.i.*
Laugh, as when tickled.

miraaja *v.i.*
(Turtle) crawl back into sea after laying eggs.



mirdaa *n.*
Churned up, "dirty water". Implies lack of visibility for spearing fish. *Jirrkurumbanda malaa mirdaa.* The sea in the north country is churned up.

-mirdamirda *n.*
[Follows compass locational] .
Sea territory in the direction of PREF. E.g. *jirrkurumirdamirda* 'sea territory to the north'.

mirdaraaja *v.i.*
Make water dirty, churn up seawater.
Kurdalalangka dathinki diij, mirdaraaj. Black-tailed ray sat down there, and churned up the water.

mirdi *n.*
Pin of sting ray. Used as blade for circumcision.

mirdija *v.t.*
Prepare a comfortable place, e.g. by sweeping ground where one will sit, by laying out blanket, or preparing a windbreak.

miriyirri *n.*
Edible root, sp.?

mirminda *n.*
1. Spark.
Ngada mirminmaalij, warraa wirdij. I am avoiding the sparks, sitting far from them.

2. Distant glare (of camp-fire).

mirnanmirnaja *v.i.*
Blink, have ones eyes half shut.

mirnda *n.*
1. Waist.
2. Trunk (tree).
3. Shaft (of spear).
mirnda kurija clean shaft of spear so it can be tied up and repaired
Mirnku ngada kuriju, wumburungku, ngarrkuruthu, bijarrbawu raaju. I clean the spear-shaft, to make it strong, can spear dugong.

mirn-kurndiinda thungalda *n.*
Belt.

mirndaburrthawuru *n.*
Bird, sp.?
Mirndaburrthawuru kuujuuj, yakuri diyaj, buruth. The mirndaburrthawuru bird swims, grabs fish and eats them.

mirndabuyiinda *n.*
Low tide.

mirndamirilmirilda *n.*
Spear (song word).
(= *wumburungka*).

mirndija *v.t.*
Pin down, hold to the ground.
Mirndija bukuwukuya kamaru. (One) holds down the timothy vine with stones.
Thardaya mirndija, darra mirndij. (The men) pin (the initiates) shoulders to the ground, their legs are pinned down.
Namu mirndij, dulka diij! Don't be pinned down, sit on the ground.

mirndilija *v.t.*
Close, shut off (a passage).
(= *duldija*).

mirndiliinda *n.qual.*
Closed (door), overgrown (track).

mirndirnda *n.number.*

Four, several.

mirndirmuthinda *n.number.*

A few each.

Maarra mirndinmuthinda

mirndinmuthinda wumburunurru.

Everyone's carrying a few spears each.

mirnirnimaaja *v.i.*

Rub one's eyes.

mirniwarrki (~ **miniwarrki**)

n.qual.

Victorious; responsible for death (of animal or person), successful in ensuring death or defeat.

Miniwarrkiya dangkaa diyanangku ngalamanangku bijarrbawu.

Balmbiya diyaja bijarrbay. The man who killed it must not eat any of the dugong. He eats dugong the next day.

Dathina makuwa miniwarrkiya thaath.

That woman is returning victorious (from a fight).

Karnkiya karnaj. Miniwarrkiya kinaaja waduwa kakujina. He sets fire to the grass. Uncle's smoke declares him successful in the hunt.

Mirniwarrkiya yarbuda bardakawulaaja, warraj. The creature responsible (for a death by mulgri) leaves (the corpse's) belly and goes away.

mirnkinda *n.*

Old, red, bitter yam.

mirnkirida (**mirnkirij-**) *n.qual.*

High water.

Jungarra malaa, mirnkirid. It's high water.

mirnmirnda *n.*

Splash of water from swimming turtle.

mirraa *n.qual.*

1. Good. (K, Ya)
2. Clean.

3. Pretty, handsome.

Jungarra mirraa danda thungald. That thing is very pretty.

4. Dear, darling.

Ngijinda mirraa kakuju my darling uncle.

5. (With 'word', 'story' etc.) True.

mirrarutha *v.t.*

1. Make good.

2. Tidy.

3. Make.

Ngada wangalki mirraruth. I made a boomerang.

mirrawatha *v.i.*

Become good, heal up, get fixed.

mirrawatha bardaka

1. *v.i.* Feel happy.

2. *v.t.* Like.

Mirrawatha bardaka danki dulki, muthawuru wurankuru. (She) likes this place, it's got lots of food.

mirraji *n.*

Morning star.

mirrayalatha

1. *v.t.* Repair, fix up.

Nguruwarra daraajarri, warirr, marrbi dibirdibimirrayalath. Those fish traps haven't collapsed, not at all, maybe Rock Cod has fixed them up (in our absence from Bentinck).

2. *v. adv.* Do properly.

Ngada marrijarri mirrayalatharri. I didn't understand it properly.

3. *v.t.* Make.

Nyingka mirrayalathu wangalku? Can you make a boomerang?

dangka-mirrayalanda *n.*

Doctor.

mirrayalaaja *v.i.*

Make oneself up.

Nalda mirrayalaaj. She is making up her hair and face.

mirrayalathutha *v.recip.*

Massage each other's stomachs (during childbirth).

mirri *n.*

Sweetlip (fish).

mirrin- *postulated formative.*
Form suggested by derivs., would mean 'far'.

mirrinmarutha *v.t.*
Send a long way away.

mirrithinda *n.*
Medicine.
Adapted Eng. loan.

miyalangka *n.*
Fresh shoots after new rain.

miyarlda *n.*
1. Pointed throwing-stick
(= *jardiyali*).
2. Barred spine-foot (fish).

mudija *v.t.*
Tie up (paperbark coolamon) so it will hold its shape.
Ngada kurdawu mudiju damuluthu, kunawunantha nyingka bilarrinyarr. I will tie up and shorten the coolamon, lest you drop the baby.

mudijirmaja *v.t.*
Roll up in bark coolamon.
Prob. contracted from *mudija* plus *jirmaja* 'pile up (e.g. food)'.
Wuranda mudijirmaj, barjinyarr. The food is wrapped up in a bark coolamon, in case it spills.

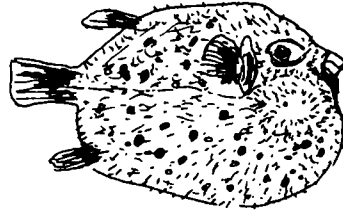
mudulumudulu *n.*
Spotted sting ray.

mujurnda *n.*
Husk of pandanus nut.

mukuku *n.*
Owl.
Dangkaa balaaj, mukuku mirrawu ngunguku. If someone's killed, an owl will give the news.

mukurrmukurra *n.qual.*
Rough (sea).
Jungarra wayikiki, mukurrmukurr, ngilda jungarr. There's a big current, it's rough, the waves are big.

mulaji *n.*
Toadfish.



Mulaji wanku. Barangka diyaaaja, rurra niya diyaaaj, diyanangku biriid, maarra barangk. The toadfish is a wanku (the normal generic for sharks and rays). Its fat is eaten, its grease is eaten, but the flesh is not eaten, only the fat.

mularnda *n.*
1. Swamp crab.
2. Tadpole.
3. Nickname for child, esp. one with a big belly.

muliyatha *v.i.*
1. *v.i.* "Chuck wind", exhale loudly (e.g. dolphin).
2. *v.t.* Hex someone by spitting in their direction.

mulurra *n.qual.*
Jealous (over OBL/PROP).
Mulurra dathina dangkaa niwanjuru makuru. That man is jealous over his wife.
Mulurrngarrba yakukathu wirdiju warrawu. Because she has got jealous of her younger sister, the older sister stays far away.

mululutha *v.t.*
Make jealous (= *mulurrarutha*).
Kiyarrngka maku mululuthuth. The two wives make each other jealous.

mululuthutha *v.recip.*
Quarrel from jealousy.
Birra mulaluthutha dunkuru. They are quarrelling jealously over a husband.

mulurrarutha *v.t.*
Make jealous (= *mululutha*).
Karndinja duninja mulurrarutha dathina dangkaa. That man makes husbands and wives jealous.

mulurruja *v.t.*
[RECIP *mulurrunjutha*].
Act jealous towards OBJ.

mulurwatha
1. *v.i.* Get jealous.
2. *v.t.* Act jealous of OBJ.

mumatha *v.i.*
Thunder, rumble loudly.

mumanda *n.*
Thunder, rumbling.

mumurra *n.*
Mob, lot.
Jathaa mumurra ngada raaj. I speared another lot of fish.

munawaliya *v.i.*
Sit without support.

munawalinda *n.*
Child able to sit up.

munbuda *n.*
Small conch shell.

munburmunburra *n.*
Round shell, top shell.

munda *n.*
1. Bottom, buttocks. (K, Ya)
2. Stern (raft, dugong).
3. Behind.

munmaanda stern meat (of dugong).

munda jara heel of foot.

mundinda *n.*
Stern of raft. [LOC *mundinki*].

munki kurrija do to all of a group, finish them all off.
Buda ngada bilwanji balath, munkiya kurrij. I hit them from behind and finished them all off.

munkiri(i)da *n.manner.*
Backwards.
Munkiriida thaath. He's coming back backwards.

munkunya *n.*
Short-arse.

mun-kurndiinda *n.*
Stern rope of raft.

mungki *n.*
Vine sp. with edible root, grows in scrub.

mungkiji
1. *n.qual.* Own (esp. country, kin), countryman.

Tharmathu niwanju mungkijuru duku. (The dugong) will graze on its own country.

Ngijinda mungkiji dangkaa my countryman.

Nyingka waaja niwanji mungkijimarutha dulk. You sang him back (from death) to his own country.
Ngijinda mungkiji kanthathu my own father (i.e. not just classificatory).

2. *refl.pron.* Self (= *marinda*).
Ngada mungkiji kalaaj. I cut myself.

mungurru *n.pred.*

1. Knowledgeable.

2. Knowledgeable about, know.
Nyingka mungurru (ngijinji). You know (me).

3. Know that (Clause).

Nyingka mungurru ngumbaninja kajakajantha bukanih? Do you know that your daddy is dead?

4. Know how to.

Niya mungurru wirrkaj. He knows how to dance.

mungurrurutha *v.t.*

1. Cause to know, teach, enlighten, communicate, initiate.
Karnkiya karnaja raanngarrba bangangarrba, mungurrurutha ngijinji wakathay. I lit the grass after catching the turtle, to let my sister know.

Baliyatha mungurruruth, ngukuuru diyaju. (The initiates, under silence bans) would pinch their guards to let them know they wanted a drink.

2. Know (in the biblical sense), make love to.

Birra mungurruruthuth. They are making love to one another.

mungurruwatha *v.i.*

1. *v.i.* Learn, become knowledgeable.

2. *v.t.* Learn about OBJ.
Ngarrmandathu mungurruwatha tharrawukay. Grandson is learning about the tharrawuka tree (that month-fish must be cooked on it).
 3. Learn, know how, how to be.
Ngada mungurruwath, bijarrbaya karrmath. I know how to wrestle dugong.

Mungurruwatha ngimiya niy. He knows how to be invisible (to be like the night).

mungurrualaa *v.i.*

Act knowledgeable.

Mungurrualaa, burdumbanyi. He acts like he knows, but he's ignorant.

-mungurru *nominal suffix*.

"Expert", person having a lot to do with PREF.

dabarr-mungurru Person always climbing up trees.

katha-mungurru Said of dog always getting into people's beds.

kunawuna-mungurru couple who can't stop procreating, who breed like rabbits, philoprogenitive.

mala-mungurru alcoholic, lush.

mibul-mungurru sleepyhead, lazybones.

munilayilayinda *n.*

Small fleshy twining shrub, *sarcostemma australe*. Leaves are crushed and applied to mother's nipples to stimulate the flow of milk.

munirra *n.*

1. Breast (K, Ya).

2. Milk.

Muthaa munirra burrij. A lot of milk comes out.

3. Pectoral fin of shark.

karnkurlda munirra *n.qual.*

With incipient breasts.

munirra wuuja suckle, give suck, breast-feed.

munirr-diyanda *n.*

Baby still at the breast.

Kardu ngalamatha niwanji munirrdiyanki. (Your) father-in-law betrothed her while she was still at the breast.

munirrija *v.t.*

Suckle, give suck, breast-feed (= *munirra wuuja*).

munirrkunya *n.*

Small-breasted, flat-chested girl.

munirrthaldinkuru *n.*

Girl whose breasts are "beginning to stand up", with incipient breasts.

munirru *n.*

Adolescent girl.

munkalatha *v.i.*

Go hunting on raft or in boat.

Lit. 'buttocks-cut'.

munkirdilda *n.*

"Arse-bone", coccyx (= *buraa*).

munkululu *n.pred.*

Burning well (fire).

munkululutha *v.t.*

(**munkulutha**)

Stoke, fan, cause to burn properly (fire).

Jungarra warmara dathina

munkuluth, naaja karn. The strong wind is fanning the flames, the grass is burning.

munmurda *n.pred.*

Glad, happy.

munmurdawatha

(**munmurdawatha**) *v.i.*

Be glad (that CLAUSE), rejoice (that CLAUSE).

Munmurdawatha ngada marrija

kangk kabinji. Gladly I heard my son's voice.

munuru *n.*

Hammerhead shark.

Munuru warraya dulki kurrija yakuriya dathinku miburu. The hammerhead sees fish a long way off with those eyes.

muraa¹ *n.*

Neck meat of dugong.

Muraa kiyarrngka wurdalji ... the two pieces of meat from the dugong's neck...

muraa² *n.qual.*

1. Short (= *damurra*) (K, Ya)

2. Round.

muraa dangkaa short people.

mururutha *v.t.*

Shorten by rolling (e.g. swag) or folding (legs).

Mururutha darri wathangind. (He) is lying on his side, drawing up his legs; he's lying in a foetal position.

muranda *n.*

"Dream mother", maternal totem.

Poss. blend of *mangaya wuranda*.

muratha *v.i*

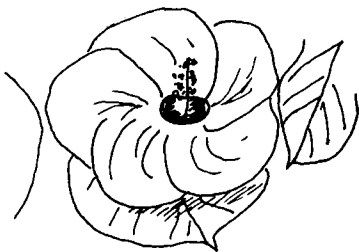
Feed (dugong), graze on seaweed.

murdinyi *n.*

No-name. Substituted for name of someone recently dead.

murdu *n.*

Corkwood, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*.



Used for spear shafts; bark used for string.

Thangakara murdu. The spear-shaft is corkwood.

murdumurdu *n.*

Corkwood grove.

muri *n.*

1. Baler shell, tun shell.

2. Crown of head, fontanelle (round and container-like).

Dathina kunawuna muriya bardubardu, banda ngarrkuwath. That child's fontanelle is still open, soon it will grow strong.

muriya nalda *n.*

Crown of head; fontanelle (= *muri*).

murija *v.t.*

Net; catch fish by dragging net.

Muthaa yakuriya muriind. Many fish are being netted.

murimuri *n.*

1. Narrow-banded sole.

2. Thongs.

murinaaja *v.i.*

Throw boomerang.

Muthaa darri jungarra kabara wirrkaja murinaaja, ngudija wangalk. Many times they played on the saltpan, throwing boomerangs.

muriyalaja *v.i* (Ya)

Sit.

Ngaka dangka bada muriyalaja wurdij? Who's that sitting in the west?

muriyalatha *v.i.*

Sit up straight, sit up unsupported.

Muriyalanmarrida ngijinda kunawun.

My child can't sit up yet.

muriyalaaja *v.i.*

Lie in cradle or coolamon.

Jungarra dangkaa barnkaldij,

kunawuna muriyalaaj. Adults sit,

babies lie in coolamons.

muriyalaanda *n.*

Baby still carried in coolamon.

Muriyalaanda kabaanda kunawun.

The baby was conceived while

(another baby) was still being

carried in the coolamon.

muriyalatharrmatha *v.t.*

Sit baby up in coolamon.

murldija *v.i.*

Be soft, bend (esp. spear); (man) be impotent.

Wumbuwa murldija wumburungk. The shaft of the spear is bending (from too many fish).

Bardaka jara ngada murldij. The soles of my feet are soft.

murldilutha *v.t.*

Make soft.

Ngaakawuru nyingka kurulunda karnand? Ngada murldiluthu karnaju, damanbirdi. Why are you cooking it so long? I want to cook it till it's soft, (I've got) bad teeth.

murldinda *n.qual.*

Soft, weak, bendy; impotent.

Murldinda jara dathina waydbala.

That white man has clumsy feet (they keep slipping in the undergrowth).

murmarra *n.qual.*

Strong-running (fish), full of fight.

Buranthanda murmarr, ngarrkujawind.

The bonefish is full of fight, a strong runner.

murndamurra [murndamurr-]

n.

Island.

Murndamurrwaanda jardi island people (incl. Bentinck, Forsyth and Mornington Islanders).

murndiinda *n.*

Prop, wedge. (E.g. to stop baler shells tipping when on raft).

murndu *n.qual.*

Crooked, bent.

murndumurndu *n.qual.*

Winding (of track).

murndurutha *v.t.*

Cause to bend; build another side (to fish trap).

murnduwatha *v.i.*

Go crooked, crick one's (body part).

Nyingka murnduwatha bunjiy? Have you cricked your neck?

murndulka *n.*

1. Rope.

2. Tendon, vein, nerve; any long string-like organ.

warkurra murndulka vein.

jungarra murndulka tendon.

murndundunda *n.*

Maggott.

murndundunkuru *n.qual.*

Maggotty, maggott-ridden.

murndundunkuruwatha *v.i.*

Become maggotty, become flyblown.

murnu *n.*

Elbow (K, Ya).

murnurayijja *v.i.*

Lie on side, propped on one elbow.

murnurru *n.*

Wire, wire prong of spear.

murratha *v.t.*

Break, bust.

Murratha diyaja buthiya miliya kaarrku jiljay. The seagulls break open and eat the oysters (after people have been there).

murrbanda *n.*

Tree, sp., *Terminalia carpentariae*.

Fruit and gum eaten.

Durngudinda murrbanda

thabujungarrb. The crow-fruit (another *terminalia* sp.) and the murrbanda are brothers.

murrka *n.*

Whirring noise (e.g. boomerang).

-murrkida *suffix to demonstratives.*

As far as, as high as, to ... extent.

Warraja dathinmurrkida dulk. He went as far as that place.

Muraa danmurrkid this short.

murrkurdi *n.*

King-fish, black queen-fish, marlin, bonito.

murrnyalda *n.*

1. Sap, resin.

2. Glue.

Murrnyalda wuuju, ngarrkurutha wuuju!

Put sap on it, to make (the joint) strong!

murrthala *n.*

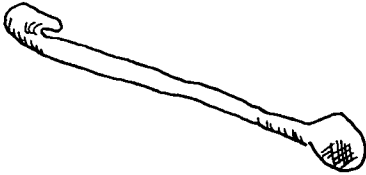
Long mangrove shell, bivalve.

murrukarrba *n.*

Young male dugong.

murruku *n.*

Woomera, spear-thrower (carved from one piece of wood).



miburlda murruku *n.*

Hook on woomera.

murrukumurruku *n.manner.*

Ready for a fight, for war.

Sometimes the unreduplicated form *murruku* is also used with this meaning.

Murrukumurruku niya ngakatha wurdij. He is waiting, ready for war.

murrukuraja *v.t.*

Ambush.

murrukurnangka *n.*

Father (used by X's parents-in-law to X about X's father, and by X to his parents-law).

Ngakinda murrukurnangka the father of one of us, and second cross-cousin of the other.

murrungulda *n.*

Shrub, sp., poss. *Solanum tetrandrum*.

Naljirndirri diyaja miburi murrunguli.

Bush-turkeys eat the fruit of the murrungulda.

murrwuja *v.t.*

Follow, come after OBJ.

Ngada yakuriwu kabathu. Kara nyingka murrwuju? I'm going to get fish. Will you come behind me?

murungka *n.*

1. Ball or bundle of string.

Murungkiya badij. (One) carried (excised foreskins) around in bundles.

2. Afterbirth.

mururutha *v.t.*

Bundle up, tie up (e.g. coolamon) in proper shape.

muthaa *n.qual.* (K, Ya)

Many, much, lots of.

Daluru-daluru niya balatha dathinki ngilirri. Muthaa yalulu burrij, muthaa yalulu. He fired a gun in the that cave. Lots of flames came out, lots of flames.

Dathinku buuju muthawu ngarrawurnu, Lamukinmarithu. There we'll catch many bluefish, for (when we get to) Lamukin. (Ya).

-mutha *nominal suffix.*

(Place/person having plenty of) PREF.

dangkamutha populated place.

warrunmutha place with plenty of goannas.

muthamuthaliija talk on and on.

-muthanda *nominal suffix.*

Excessive, "too much". Depending on prefix, can mean (a) one using PREF excessively (b) one with too much PREF (c) one Ving too much (where PREF is a nominalized verb).

jamuthanda *n.*

Person always walking around, "human Toyota".

kamuthanda *n.*

Chatterbox.

karndimuthanda *n.*

Casanova, "Elvis", womanizer.

kubulmuthanda *n.*

Excessively hairy person.

mibulmuthanda *n.*

Sleepyhead.

miburmuthanda *n.*

Lecher, "big-eye".

rimuthanda *n.*

Crybaby.

muthawatha *v.i.*

Not attested outside idioms listed below:

birrjilka muthawatha *get*
fidgetty, uneasy.

jara muthawatha *get* itchy feet,
get edgy to go.

kangka muthawatha *talk* a lot.

muyinkalanda *n.*

Dinghy.

muyiija *v.i.*

Ask to go, want to go.

Ngada muyiij. I want to go.

N

naaja *v.i.*

1. Be on fire, burn, get burned.

Kaburrbaya niya naanyarr, kurrija karrngija ngumbanda kunawun, yaluluntha karnanyarr. He might get burned in the fire, keep watching your child, in case the fire burns him.

2. Cook.

3. Sting, have burning sensation.

(This may result from sorcery performed elsewhere.)

Ngada kurirra naajarra jara ngijind, warrkungarrb. My feet are real sore, they're burning from (the sand that's been in) the sun.

Naanngarrba dangkaa, niya birdiwath. The man who has been burned by sorcery, he gets sick.

nalatha *v.t.*

Extract thorn from someone's foot.

nalbangu *n.*

Snub-nosed garfish. [= *dulkarrba*]

nalburruwuru *n.*

Fish sp.

nalda *n.* (K, Ya)

1. Head; crown (of tree).

Yuujbanda yuujbanda naliya ngijinji. It's been in my head a long time.

2. (*n.manner.*) Awake.

Ngada kabathu ngumbanju nalu. I'll find you awake.

3. Root vegetable.

Ngalda burutha karnjirrba muthaya nali. We found many *karnjirrba* roots.

nalbirdi *n. qual.*

Mad, drunk.

nalbirdiwatha *v.i.*

Get drunk, go mad.

nalda kururrji curly-haired

naldanaldaatha *v.i.*

Nod clumsily, loll head.

naliya *n.loc.*

On top of LOC, on LOC.

Dathina dangkaa naliya karnkiya rajurrij. That man is walking round on the grass.

naljiluru *n.qual.*

Having hair on head.

naljiluruwatha *v.i.*

Grow hair on head (e.g. baby).

naljilwarri *n.qual.*

Bald.

nalkarrmaaja *v.i.*

Lie with hands behind head.

nalkuwaajuwaaja *v.i.*

Shake one's head.

nalmarra jalji

Eye-shade, sun-visor.

nalmarutha *v.t.*

1. Put on head.

2. Think of, recall, remember, come up with (e.g. name).

Kakuju nalmaruth. Uncle will remember it (the name).

nalwija *v.i.*

Nod head.

nalwulatha *v.i.*

Pull up root vegetables.

naljirndirri (naljindirri) n.

Bush turkey.
Naljirndirri kiyarmgku kuruwuru. The bush turkey lays two eggs.

Nalkardarrawuru n. proper.

Old-time hero, 'the one with waterlilies on his head'.

nalkathirru n.

Bull. Lit. 'the one having digging sticks on its head'.

nalyakuri n.

Bird, "grey crane", like *bujuku*.

namu (numu) particle.

Not, don't. (< Engl. "no more").

-nanganda suffix on locationals.

Side; way, manner. See **dandananganda**.

naraa n.

1. Nectar.
Yuuda naraa diyaj. They're already eating nectar.
2. Marrow.

nardaa n.

Bulrush.
Kunyaa kunawuna wirrkaja nardawuru, raanthuth. The little children are playing with the bulrushes, they're spearing each other.

narraa n.

Axe made from baler shell.
narra-narra
Baler-shell knife used for cutting *kambuda* (pandanus fruit).

narri n.

1. Corner.
2. Short.
Narri danda muraa wambald. The bush is this short.

narrinarrirutha v.t.

Make corner (e.g. build one onto fish trap).

narrjara n.

Skink, beach-dwelling. Big head, small body.

narrkanarrka n.qual.

Deep.

narrkirija v.t.

Bury, cover with dirt.
Dulka narrkirija kangkuruya thungali. Dust has covered the tape-recorder.
Narrkirija malaa ngarnki! Bury the beer on the beach!

narru-narru n.

Port Jackson shark, blind shark.
Narru-narru wanku. Kunyaa damanda niwand. The *narrunarru* is a cartilaginous fish. Its teeth are small.

nathaa n.

1. Camp.
Ngijinda makuwa thaathu nathawu. My wife's going to go back to the camp.
2 Night (as unit of time).
Kiyarmgka nathaa yiiwiju. He'll sleep there two nights.

natha-dangkawuru n.

Married (woman), having a man in her camp.

nathakambinjuru n.

Son-in-law.

nathamakuwuru,

nathamakunurru n.

Married (man), having a woman in his camp.

Yand, nathamakuwuru yiiwij. Now, he sleeps as a married man, with a woman in his camp.

nathamarutha v.t.

Marry (of man).
Ngada danjaniija makujaniija warrajarr, buruthu nathamaruthu. I came for this woman, to take her and marry her.

nathawakathawuru n.

Brother-in-law (of man); sister's husband. (This is an 'actual' rather than a classificatory term.)

nathawirdinngarrba *n.*

Camp-mate, one who lives in the same camp; spouse.

nathayiwatha *v.i.*

Marry (of woman).

nida [nith-] *n.*

Name.

Nyingka ngaaka nid? What's your name?

jungarra nida Generic term or regional name.

kunyaa nida Specific name, e.g. species, or specific locality.

Bilwanda warngiida nid, kunbulk.

Jathaa nida kunyaa, bijarrb, bangaa, yakarr, kanithu. They all have the one name, *kunbulk* (large marine animal). (Their) other names are specific ones: dugong, turtle, porpoise, whale.

niida *n.qual.*

Same.

Niida kala kirrwand. You are the same colour (both white).

niida dangkaa Person with rights over magical place.

Niya niida dangkaa, warrmarakaband. He's the boss of that place, the wind-maker.

niida dulka "Name place", "story place", place formed by mythical creature of same name (lit. 'same place'). Inalienably possessed.

Kajurku niida dulk. (It's) Kajurku's story place, the place named after Kajurku.

niida warngiida Only.

Rarumbanji dulki niida warngiida kardu wirrkaj. On Bentinck Island only fathers-in-law performed circumcisions.

nilatha *v.t.*

1. Name, call, bestow name upon.

Kanthathu ngamathu nilatha kunawunay. The father and mother name the child.

Ngaaka nilaaj? What is (this) called?

2. Mention.

Kunyawunya dulka nilatharri; maarra jungarra dulka nilath. I have not mentioned the small places (that I visited), only the main localities.

3. Mention name of.

Warrawanda dangkaa nilanda ngijininja nithinj, bardaka ngada warrilij. Someone far away is mentioning my name, my stomach feels funny.

4. Call by name (rather than by kin term).

Ngarrawurna nilatha ngumbanji, maraka ngumbanda kunawunawarri. Ngarrawurn is calling you by name, as if he weren't your child.

5. Count out (e.g. money).

'Nilatha ngumbanda wirrind!'

'Ngijinda dand, dand, dand, burldamurr.' 'Count out your money!' 'I've got this one, this one, this one, three.'

ninthurra *n.*

Grass fibres, to be used for string.

ninthulutha *v.i.*

Make ochred string by rolling grass fibres on thigh.

niwanda *pronoun* (K, Ya)

His, her, its. Third person singular possessive pronoun.

niwalutha *v.t.*

(*Kardu*) make new-born male 'his own' (i.e. his circumcisee, his for circumcision) by cutting his umbilical cord at birth.

niya *pronoun.*

He, she, it. Third person singular pronoun. Non-nominative forms based on possessive stem, e.g. LOC

niwanji.

niyaniyaka *interjection.*

Where on earth are you going? (Implies hearer is going in the wrong direction, or believes something false about their

destination). Paraphrased as *nyingka ngaakawuru warraj?* *Niyaniyaka wakath.* *Warraa ngijinda kularrind.* Where are you going, sister? Your brother (whom you are seeking) is far away.

nurada *n.*
Tree sp. Coolibah?

nurnumu *n.*
Black spotted rock crab.

nurrija *v.t.*
Saw, hack, slit; make (cicatrices) by cutting.
Nurrija burrkunki. He is cutting cicatrices.

dangka-nurrinda *n.*
"Butcher", "doctor" at circumcision (lit. 'man-hacker').

nurru *n.*
Males of clan hostile to suitor of one of their daughters/sisters.
Cf Wanyi *nurru* 'bad'.
Nurru raanthutha kambarrbi. The woman's menfolk and the suitor speared each other.

nurru-nurru *n.*
Woman who has just given birth.

NG

ngaaka *interrog. pron.*
Who / what.
Ngada ngumbanda ngaak? I am your what? What relation am I to you?

ngaaka dangkaa *who*
ngaakamarra *what for, to use for what.*
Dathina thungalda ngaakamarra? *Bijarrbamarr.* What's that thing going to be used for? For (catching) dugong.

ngaakangarrba *why, because of what.*

ngaaka thungalda *what.*

ngaaka wuranda *what sort.*
ngaakawatha *do what.*
Nyingka ngaakawath? What are you doing?

ngaakawuru
1. Why, with what purpose.
2. What happened, what's happening, what's up?
Ngaakawuru? Mirraa birrjulk. What happened? Something good.

ngaarrka *n.*
Flesh of pandanus nut, "kuriyal".

ngaarrngija *v.i.*
Have one's conception presaged by, "be sign for". The Kaiadilt believe that a child's conception was presaged by some sign, such as an unusual meteorological event, or the catching of a large number of fish.

Ngaaka wuranda nyingka ngaarrngij? What was the sign for your birth?
Wuranda ngaarrngija kunawun, bardakayiwatha ngamathuyiwath kuwa thungald. Some food is caught, signalling the child's conception, and the spirit child enters the mother's belly.
Jangkaa kunawuna ngaarrngija yakuriy. The conception of another child would be presaged by a fish.
[Cf *ngawijalaaja*]

ngabaya *n.* [**ngabaya-**]
Spirit, ghost, dead person.

ngaburdurdu *n.*
Sandfly.

ngada *pron.* (K, Ya)
I, me. First person singular pronoun.
Non-nominative forms are based on the possessive pronoun stem **ngijin-**, e.g. LOC **ngijinji**.

ngadadathu *n.*
Daughter-in-law (female ego).

Ngadadathu kawunangku, maarra balarra kangk. (A woman's) daughter-in-law can't talk to her, only in English.

ngadija *v.t.*

Wound; damage (sacred place), disturb.

Namu ngadiija rayiija, warirr, ngadijarri. He was speared at without being wounded, nothing, they didn't wound him.

Birra ngadinjuth, minbarra kabathuth. They wounded each other, found each other's marks.

Kirra kurrkatha rulungk, kirrwanda thabuju, kaburrbantha widad, ngadinangkuruy, niya kantharrkuru widad. You two take him to the east, your older brother, he should stay by the fire, so we won't disturb him, he should be left alone.

ngajila *n.*

Deep water, deep sea.

ngaka *interrog. pron.*

(Ya, = K ngaaka)

ngakardangka who (Ya)

ngakathungal what (Ya)

Ngakathungal ngumbarji kalkaluth?
What made you sick?

ngakawura why (Ya)

Ngakawura wuuja niwanji? Why did you give it to him?

ngakayiwatha *v. interrog.* (Ya)

What's wrong?

Ngakayiwatha ngumbanda mibur?

What's wrong with your eyebrow?

ngakanda *n.* [LOC **ngakanki**]

Sandbank (esp. one used for spearing fish).



Bangaa bijarrba rayiija dathinki ngakanki. Turtle and dugong are speared on that sandbank.

ngakankuru dangkaa *n.*

Owner of sandbank.

ngakatha *v. semi-tr.*

Wait for.

Balumbanju kangku ngakath. (They) are waiting for the word from the west (before staging a corroboree).

ngakatharrmatha *v.t.*

Mind, look after OBJ.

Niya dathinki ngambirri ngakatharrmatha ngijinji. He is minding that house of mine.

Maarra junkuyunku munirrwuj, ngakatharrmath. (In the old days) everyone breastfed each other's children, looked after them.

ngakatharrmankuru dangkaa

n. idiom.

Man charged with looking after youth during initiation.

ngakinda *poss. pron.*

Our, belonging to you and me. LOC

ngakinji. Alternative form of

ngakulwanda or **ngakurrwanda**, but **ngakinda** may be dual or plural.

ngakinmaanda *n.*

Our father, father of us.

ngakulda *pron.* (K, Ya)

We all, you all and me. Plural inclusive pronoun. Non-nominative forms are based on the possessive pronoun stem **ngakulwan-**, e.g. **ngakulwanmarutha** 'for us'.

ngakulwanda *pron.* (LOC

ngakulwanji) (K, Ya)

Our, belonging to you all and me.

Plural inclusive possessive pronoun. Alternate stem form is **ngakuluwan-**.

ngakurra *pron.* (K, Ya)

We two, you and me. Dual inclusive pronoun. Non-nominative forms are based on the possessive pronoun stem **ngakurrwan-**, e.g. **ngakurrwanmarutha** 'for us two'.

ngakurrwanda *poss. pron.* (LOC **ngakurrwanji**). (K, Ya)

Our, belonging to you and me. Dual inclusive possessive pronoun.

ngalamatha *v.t.* Middle form is **ngalamayija**

1. Get, obtain, have. Takes as object important alienable possessions, e.g. land, dog, money, wife. *Muthaa darri wirrinki ngalamath.* Often she gets money.

2. Marry.

Ngada ngumbanju ngalamathu.

Nyingka ngijind! I will marry you. You're mine!

3. Betrothe.

Kardu ngalamatha niwanji munirrdiyanki. (Your) father-in-law betrothed her while she was still at the breast.

4. Cop, get (something bad).

Ngada kuwalkulath, kamarri ngalamath, kamarriwatha balaaj. I dreamed I was copping stones, that I was getting hit by stones.

ngalamatha kangki learn (story).

Ngada ngalamatha kangki jungarrbana dangkana. I learned the story from the old people.

ngalamathirrinda *n., n.qual.*

Married, married person.

ngalarra *n.*

Mark, track.

Jara ngalarra mark of a foot.

Marlda ngalarra rilungk, kiyarrngka marld. There are (dugong's) flipper marks in the ground, pointing north.

ngalawanda *poss. pron.*

[LOC **ngalawanji**]

Our, belonging to all of us but not you. First person plural exclusive pronoun.

ngalburra *n.*

Gills of crab.

ngalburrngalburra *n.*

White maggott, ready for hatching.

ngalda *pron.* (K, Ya)

We exclusive (not including hearer). First person plural exclusive pronoun. Non-nominative forms are based on the possessive pronoun stem **ngalawan-**, e.g. LOC **ngalawanji**.

ngalkatha *v.t.*

Be born at.

Ngalkatha ngada dathina kungarr. I was born there at Kungarra.

ngalkanda *n.*

Birth-place, to which one has birth-rights.

Ngijinda ngalkand my birthplace.

ngalutha (~ **ngaalutha**) *v.adv.*

Do hard, do intensely.

Ngada kurrija ngalutha ngumbanji. I am looking hard at you.

Ngada raaja ngalutha yakuri. I speared the fish hard.

ngaalutha kamburija *v.t.*

Persuade, force.

ngaluwanda *poss. pron.* (Ya)

Ours: first person exclusive plural possessive pronoun. [= K **ngalawanda**]

ngamaja *v.i.*

Go hungry.

ngamanda *n.qual.* (K, Ya)

Thirsty or hungry.

Ngada wuranki baajarri, ngamand. I haven't eaten any food, I'm hungry.

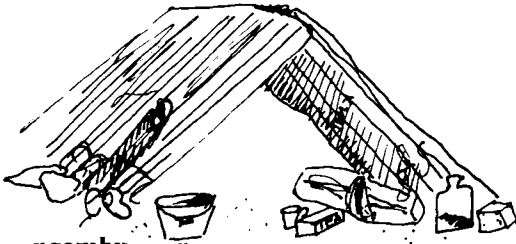
ngamankuru *n. qual.*
Thirsty.

ngamakatha *v. t.*
Drink.

ngamathu *n.*
1. Mother.
2. Mother's sister.
3. Actual or classificatory daughter-in-law (of male), brother's daughter-in-law (of female); female member of mother's superclass.

ngamathuwalada *n.*
Bullock, cow.
Etymology possibly due to the fact that it supplies many mothers' worth of milk, or has as many nipples as several mothers.

ngambirri *n.*
Shelter, humpy, house.



ngambu *n.*
Well, soak, hole in ground. (K, Ya) *Mirdidingki ngambu.* Mirdidingki is a well.

ngambu nguku well (Ya)
ngamburatha *v. i.*
Dig well.

ngambungambu *n. qual.*
Flatulent, farting a lot.

ngamurra *n.*
Fruit, type?
Ngamurra miburlda kalija warraya ranki baldabalday. Ngamurra fruit grows up in the highest branches of trees.

nganamba *n.*
Old panja nuts. Used of black nuts left over from previous season.

ngandilka *n.*
Toddler, small child able to walk.
ngandilkarutha *v. t.*
Prematurely treat as toddler, owing to closely-spaced births, cause to grow up too fast.
Yuuda jathawuru kunawunawuru, kunyaya ngandilkaruth. She already has another baby, she's making the little one grow up too fast.

nganikinda *n. loc.*
There (distant), way over there.
Nganikinda rayinda niya dalij. Way over there from the south he is coming.
Kanduwadangkaa, marrwawuthunda dulk, dathina barrkiinangku, nganikinda barrkiju jirrkara. Kanduwadangkaa is a haunted place, (trees) must not be chopped down there, you must chop way up to the north.

nganikilaa *n. loc.*
Way in the south.
Nganikilaa kurrkaaja mirrayalaaj. (Discussing how *thuwathu* made the sandhills on the east side of Bentinck Island:) They were taken and made way down in the south.

nganikililungka *n. loc.*
Way to the east.

nganikiliya *n. loc.*
Way in the east.

nganikinbada *n. loc.*
Way in the west.

nganikinbalungka *n. loc.*
Way to the west.

nganikinjirrkara *n. loc.*
Way in the north.

nganikinjirrkurungka *n. loc.*
Way to the north.

nganiyangani *n.*
Morning star.
Nganiyangani ngariija burrij. The morning star comes out first.

nganjarlda *n.* (Ya).

Flame. = K *yalulu*.

-nganji *kin suffix.*

Actual kinsman. Compare *kardu* 'father-in-law, actual or classificatory', and *kardunganji* 'actual father-in-law'.

nganjithu *n.*

Shell, sp.?

nganjuna (K, Ya) *n.*

Sand-frog. Water may be sucked from these during drought.

ngankardada *n.*

Small fish sp.

nganki *n.*

Temple, just above ear.

ngankirra *n.*

Mob, group, herd, collection of like objects; (as second pred.) all, together.

Ngalawanda ngankirra kangka our mob's language (i.e. Kayardild).

Dathina kiyarrngka dangkaa ngankirra barnkaldind. Those two men always sit together (lit. as a group).

Bilda diyaju ngankirrad. They (the short people) will all eat (people).

ngankirrirutha *v.t.*

Put together (e.g. fish in a pile).

ngankirri *n.pred?*

United, together, "one mob".

Ngalda ngankirri wurdij. We (the Kayardild and the Lardil) are all together now; "we one mob now".

ngankirriwatha *v.i.*

Meet, assemble.

ngankiyaaja *v.t.*

Avoid (taboo relative). Based on *nganki* 'side of head' because one turns ones head away.

Nyingka ngankiyaanda jibarnanth, wakathanth. You always avoid your mother-in-law and your sister.

nganulka *n.*

Father. Used between a man and his parents-in-law to refer to the father of the former.

Nganulka dalijarmath! Bring your father! (Father-in-law to son-in-law).

nganyaanyawatha *v.i.*

Whinge, cry, act like a baby.

nganyiri *n.loc.*

Far off.

nganyiriwatha *v.i.*

Stay far off.

ngardarrji *n.*

Mother dugong, pregnant dugong. A Lardil loan. The "proper Kayardild word" is *yurdanji*.

Muthaa dangkaa karnaja ngakinjinabaya

murrukurnangkinabaya bijarrbaya

ngardarrji. Many people cooked our daddy's mother dugong.

ngardu *n.time.*

Later.

ngariija

1. *v.i.* Be in front, go first.

2. *v.t.* Precede OBJ, go before OBJ.

Ngada ngariija niwanji. I came before him.

3. *v.adv.* Do first, happen first.

Ngada kunyaa kunawuna ngariija

kurrij. I first saw it as a small child.

ngariijawanda *n.qual, n.time.*

(~ **ngariiji-wanda**)

Old-time, from the old days.

ngariinda *n.*

First portion (of food).

ngariinmarrayarra *n.*

First-born (lit. 'the one that went first').

ngaringulka *n.*
River mullet.

ngariya *n. manner.*
“Digging water”, (dugong) churning up mud as it feeds.
Bijarrba ngariya tharmatha ngamaj, walananguuntha raajuunth, wuthi-wuthi. The dugong is feeding along churning up mud hungrily, in such a way that we won’t miss him, we’ll spear him, in the back.

ngarnaa *n.*
Creek.

ngarnaa thungalda *n.* (Ya)
Fork.

ngarnaburra *n.*
Scrub.
Danda ngarnaburra naaj, karnd. The scrub is burning here, and the grass.

ngarnala *n.*
1. White cockatoo.



2. Nick-name for white or light-skinned person.

ngarnda [ngarn-] *n.* (K, Ya).
Beach, esp. higher beach.
Ngada kurrija ngumbanji ngarnurruya wurdinki. I saw you sitting on the beach.
Kurndungki ngarnd. Kurndungki is a beach.

ngarnda kurakura *n.*
Funny-bone.

ngarndil *n.*
Flat-tailed stingray. Tail-pin used in initiation.
A Lardil loan; the proper Kayardild word is *jarirraru*.

ngarnkulda *n.*
Ditch, rut, hole in ground where rainwater lies; valley.
ngarnkulngarnkulda *n. qual.*
Full of ruts, place with many ruts.

ngarnthangka *n.* (K, Ya)
Groin.

ngarnyija *v.i.*
Walk as one does with a chafing groin.
Ngarnyija warraj, kalkath. (The initiates) walk along chafing at the groin, they feel sore.

ngarra *pron.* (K, Ya)
We two (not you), first exclusive dual pronoun.

ngarraa *n.*
Forehead.
ngarraa kariija lower one’s head, avoiding eye contact.

ngarra-bamurra *n.*
Porpoise sp. with pronounced bump on forehead.

ngarra-bithiinda *n.*
“Short hair - like young man”.

ngarra-buuja *v.t.*
Drag through water (e.g. turtle).

ngarra-daaja *v.i.*
Nod head.

ngarra-kaaja *v.t.*
Avoid gaze of, avert face from (esp. mother-in-law).
Ngarra-kaaja jibarnay, kurriinangku jibarn. One avoids looking at one’s mother-in-law, one’s mother-in-law can’t be looked at.

ngarra-thaldija *v.i.*
Stand up (e.g. dugong).

ngarranaja *v.t.*

Split.

Kiyarrngka ngarranaj! Split (the wood) in two!

ngarranaanda *n.*

Long scar, slash.

ngarraramurra *n.*

Maori rock-cod, silver-belly.

ngarrawatha *v.i.*

Head upstream (fish).

Jungarra jirndirri burutha ngakuld, ngarrawand. Let's grab big branches, the fish are heading upstream now.

ngarrawathi *n.*

Reef-dwelling fish.

Ngarrawathi karriwarnd, wida-wirdind. The *ngarrawathi* and the mud cod dwell in caves in the rock.

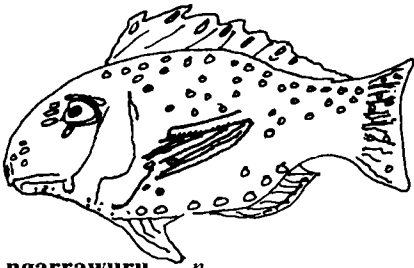
ngarrawurna [**ngarrawurna-**] *n.*

(K, Ya).

(Some speakers give form as

ngarrawurnda, with root **ngarrawurn-**).

Blue-fish, tusk-fish.



ngarrawuru *n.*

Sharp-pointed throwing-stick.

ngarrawuru-ngarrawuru *n.*

Trevally, sp.?

ngarrayakarra *n.*

White-breasted wood swallow.

-ngarrba *nominal suffix.*

Derives dyadic kin terms meaning 'two people, one calling the other X' e.g. *thabujungarrba* 'two

brothers; group of two, one calling the other 'big brother'.

ngarri¹ *interjec.*

Oh-oh, oops, oh no; I've forgotten.

Ngarri! Dathina murruku ngijinda dathina rar, buthiwath. Oh no! That spear of mine is there in the south, it got left behind.

ngarri² *n. pred.*

(Baby) presenting, turning over ready to be born.



Ngarri dathinananganda kunawun, kalatharrmaaj. That baby is presenting, it has turned around.

ngarriju *n.*

1. Mother's mother, maternal grandmother.

2. Brother or sister of mother's mother.

3. Harmonic-generation member of *ngarriju*'s patriline, e.g. daughter's daughter's (female ego).

ngarrkatha *v.i.*

Sit down (= *dijja*).

ngarrku *n.qual.* (K, Ya)

Hard, strong, tough.

ngarrkurutha *v.t.*

Toughen up, strengthen.

ngarrkuwa kangka the

Kayardild language (said to be *ngarrku*, "heavy", in contrast to the *barrbarra* or "light" Ganggalida and Lardil.)

ngarrkuwa miburlda

1. Bold, brazen, not shy.
2. Angry-looking.

ngarrkuwatha

1. *v.i.* Grow hard, strong, tough; get better from illness.
2. *v.adv.* Strongly, intensely, fiercely.

Ngarrkuwatha karnaja warrku. The sun is burning fiercely.

ngarrkuwuru *adv.*

(Do to something) for a long time.

Ngaakawuru nyingka ngarrkuwuru kurulunda karnand? Why are you cvooking it for so long?

ngarrmaaja *v.t.*

Talk a lot about OBJ.

Formally the middle form of *ngarmatha*, but remains transitive.

Nyingka ngarrmaaju dibidibiwu.

You'll talk a lot about Rock Cod.

ngarrmandathu (~**ngarrmanda**) *n.*

Son's children (female ego), sister's son's children (male ego). LOC

ngarrmanki.

ngarmatha *v.i. & v.t.*

Crow joyfully, "skite" (about OBJ).

Dangkawalada ngarmath, yurrbaaj.

The people are making noise and skiting because they feel happy.

Ngarmathurrka kuruwurrka. The birds are flying round crowing

happily about (having so many) eggs.

ngarrngarra *n.*

Toes; feeding arms of crab; fingernails.

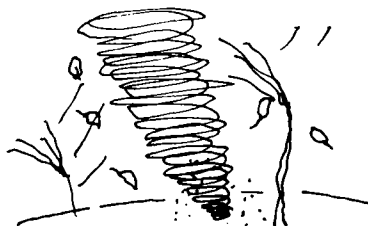
ngarrngarmutha full of leg bones (e.g. crab).

ngarrthiija *v.i.*

Squeal with delight.

ngarrwanajarri *n.*

Willy-willy, whirlwind.



ngarrwanda *poss. pron.*

Our, ours; belonging to us two (exclusive).

ngarrwarri *n.qual.*

Still alive.

ngarumathi *n.*

Burdekin duck, pied goose.

Ngarumathi wirdija jingakarranji.

Burdekin ducks live around swamps.

ngaruwarra *n.*

Middle; (with compass directional) off due.

Ngaruwarra rayinda bilda dalij. They are coming from a bit off due south.

ngaruwarrawanda *n.qual.*

Middle.

Ngaruwarrawanda thabuju middle brother.

Ngaruwarrawanda marlda middle finger (includes all three middle fingers).

ngaruwarraya *n.loc.*

Among, between LOC; through LOC.

Bakiija yiiwija ngaruwarraya

kaburrbay, kalarranginja

bayiinyarranth. (We) all slept

between fires, so we wouldn't be bitten be mosquitoes.

Ngijinda kajakaja ngaruwarraya

nathawalathiya warraj. My daddy is walking through the camps.

ngaruwarra wunda *n.*

Wet; middle of rainy season.

ngathalda *n.*

Pandanus tree (*Pandanus spiralis*).



ngathalngathalda *n.*

Coconut tree.

ngathamaaja *v.t.*

Love, look after (as after family).

Used to translate the Christian concept of love.

Ngathamaanjutha ngakuld, thathungka wuranda diyaj. Let us love one another, and eat food together.

-ngathi *nominal suffix*

Born at, e.g. *Rukuthingathi* 'born at Rukuthi'.

Derives "birth place names".

Extended to home-base of aeroplanes,

e.g. *biringathi*, 'plane based at Biri'.

The *-ngathi* names of young Kaiadilt are now based on where they are conceived, or presaged (*ngaarrngija*), presumably because the majority are now born in white hospitals so literally interpreted *-ngathi* names would have little distinguishing or spiritual value.

ngathiju *n.*

Cousin: mother's brother's son (male ego). Can also be known by the more inclusive term *jambathu*.

ngawaaja *v.i.*

Be in company, have company.

Ngada ngawaanangku, kantharrka ngada wirdij. I won't have any company, I'll be on my own.

ngawarri *n.qual.* (K, Ya)

Thirsty.

ngawarrngawarra *n.*

(~ **ngawurr-ngawurra**)

1. Umbilical cord.

Kunawuna barjijarrb, kardu kurdalatha ngawarrngawarri. When a baby was born, its father-in-law would cut its umbilical cord.

2. Pouch.

3. Woman early in pregnancy.

ngawiija *v.i.*

Breathe.

Jungarra ngawiind, budiinn Garrb.

He's breathing heavily, because he's been running.

ngawiinda *n.*

Breath, breath of life, heartbeat.

Dakadaka bana thirrthaa marriju kurdungku ngawiinku. The doctor and nurse want to listen to your heartbeat.

ngawinyawija *v.i.*

Pant.

ngawijalatha *v.t.*

Conceive.

Dathina makuwa ngawijalatha kunawunay. That woman has conceived a child.

ngawijalaaja *v.i.*

"Be sign for". Have one's birth presaged by, have one's conception signalled by (= *ngaarrngija*).

Niya ngawijalaaja bijarrb. His conception was signalled by a dugong.

ngawirra *n.*

1. Lungs.

2. Stomach (K, Y)

ngawirriwatha *v.i.*

Quicken (foetus).

Kunyaa kunawuna yarki wirdij, yarki dulki wirdij, rundurri, banda bardakayiwathu rabiju, ngawirriwathu. (I was) still a small child dwelling below, under the ground, in (my) hole, later I would go up and enter the womb, and quicken.

ngawu *n.* (Ya)

Dog.

Niya ngijinji kamburija ngawuru balathur. He told me to kill the dog.
= Kayardild *kurthurrarrayarra*.

ngawunda *n.*

Sand, fine ash, pollen; any fine granular substance. LOC

ngawunji.

Ngawunnguniya karnaj, ngawunjuru rarrwath. (One) cooks things in the sand, one roasts things in the sand.

ngawurrija *v.i.*

Boil, come to the boil.

Kunyaya ngijiya ngawurrij. It's boiling on the small fire.

ngawuuja *v.t.*

Feed with, nourish with; give (sustenance) to.

Dangkawalathi ngawuuja wurankuru. They nourished them with food.

ngayamaja

1. *v.t.* Look at without knowing what it is. (Through ignorance, or lack of recognition).

Waydbala kurrij, ngayamaja burdumbanyi, muthaa bangaa. The white man looked, but was ignorant and didn't know what he saw. There were many turtles.

Ngada ngayamaja kurrija ngumbanji. I looked at you without recognizing you.

Ngaakawuru ngayama(a?)nda ngijinj? Why are you staring without recognizing me?

2. *v. mid.* Miss, yearn for.

Yakuriwu niya ngayamaju. She'll miss (eating) fish.

ngayamatha *v.i.*

Quarrel, argue.

Birra raaja ngayamath, kinaanjutha ngakath. They are preparing to spear them, they are waiting talking to each other. (Getting ready for initiation).

ngayamathutha *v.recip. (idiom)*

Quarrel, have nothing to do with each other.

Kiyarrngka maku ngayamathuth.

The two women are quarreling with each other.



ngayangaya *n.qual.*

Exhausted, tired; too tired to speak.

Ngayangay, kawarriwath, kamburinmarri. He's exhausted, and just stays quiet without talking.

ngayangayawatha

1. *v.i.* Get weak with tiredness.

2. *v.t.* Fail to react to, see for the first time.

Ngayangayawatha kurrija wajiyanguwarri makuwarri.

He looked at her without reacting, without realizing she was his wife, his betrothed.

Ngada ngayangayawatha wurraji. I see whale's vomit for the first time.

ngayarndathu *n.*

Female cross cousin; mother's brother's daughter. May also be known by the more general term *jambathu*, or "skewed" up one generation and called by the term "little mother":

Ngayarndathu maraka kunyaa ngamathu. Your *ngayarndathu* is like a little mother.

ngii *interjec.* (Ya).

Yes.

ngida [ngij-] *n.*

Fire, firewood. PRIV **ngiyarri**, UTIL **nginymarra**, ORIG **ngiyaanda**.

Nyingka warraja ngijaniij! You go and get firewood!
Muthaa ngid! Bijarrbawu karnaju! Get lots of wood, we're going to cook a dugong!
Dilawirdi ngiji, ngiyaand. The tree frog (lives) in wood, is a wood-dweller.

ngidarrija *v.i.*

Look around for firewood, fetch firewood.

ngijbalutha *v.t.*

Cool by taking out of the fire. M *ngijbaliija.*

Ngijbaluth, waraa naanyarr! Cool the food, or you might burn your mouth.

ngijinda *poss. pron. (K, Ya)*

My, mine. LOC **ngijinji** etc. *Dathina yakuriya ngijind.* That fish is mine.

ngijinmaanda my father.

ngiju(wa) *pron.*

1. Oblique complementized form of **ngada** 'I' in complement or object-topicalized clauses.

Ngijuwa kurrijarranth! I saw (it)!

2. 'Mine!' 'For me!' (When contesting possession).

Ngaakarra maku? Ngiju ngiju! Whose woman is that? Mine, mine!

ngilanga *n.*

Shrub, *Exocarpus latifolius*, and edible berry thereof. Berry is yellow with seed on top.



ngilathija *v.i.*

Cough (= *ngildija*).

ngilda *n.*

Wave.

Jungarra ngilda malaa. There are big waves in the sea.

ngildija *v.i.*

Cough; sneeze.

ngilirra *n.*

1. Rib.

2. Shell of turtle, snail.

3. Cliff, rock overhang, cave.

ngilirranda dangkaa cave devil

ngimi *n. (K, Ya)*

Night (time, or measure).

Burldamurra ngimi three nights.

Jinardarru ngimiwu niya thaathu?

What time of night will he come back?

ngimijida *n.time.*

Early morning, pre-dawn. MPROP

ngimijuda (Ya **ngimiiju**)

'tomorrow before dawn'. Other modalities are invariable.

Nyingka warrajarra ngimiijid. You came before dawn.

Ngimiiju labijuru balmbu, warraa

liyathi. (We) should get up early

tomorrow, (we're) a long way to the east here. (Ya).

ngimirutha *v.i.*

Darken the sky, block out sun.

Bathinda jungarra wund,

ngimiruthiri wanjiijir. A big

raincloud is coming from the west, it's rising up darkening the sky.

ngimiwanda *n.qual.*

Obtained by hunting at night.

Ngimiwanji raaja bangay, yukunki.

We speared night turtles, as they floated.

Muthawu ngunymurru wuranku.

Makunmaanju wuranku,

ngimiwaanju wuranku,

kurdalathirrinju ngimiwaanjinabawu

kanihathunabawu.

(Babies were rubbed) with a lot of grease. With stuff obtained at night, with stuff speared by the father hunting at night.

nginbu *n.*

Dust.

nginbuwa waduwadu *hazy*
weather, smoky weather.

nginja *part.*

In vain; unexpectedly; suddenly; anyway; "for nothing"; (with NEG.POT) 'shouldn't'. More generally: contrary to what one would expect to happen.

Barrunthaya durumath. Nginja ngumuwath, nginja kamburija mumath, jawarri. The weather lied yesterday. In vain the sky darkened and the thunder spoke, there's no rain.

Nginja darrmarutha ngada ngumbanji, miburmuthand. I betrothed you in vain, you're a flirt.

Nginja rikarrkalinda kularrinda.

(Your) baby brother is crying, go and look after him. (One wouldn't expect him to cry if you were looking after him properly).

Nginja daraaj. (The net) broke for no apparent reason.

Maarra minbalutha warath, nginja wumburungk. I sent all the fish away merely wounded, my spear was useless.

Nginja kalkath. He got sick all of a sudden.

nginyinangkuru

1. *n.interrog.* Why (in complaint).

Nginyinangkuru kurndunurruwatharr. What on earth did we become mothers for?

2. *interjec.* Poor fellow!

nginymariija *v.ditr.*

Ask for.

Namu nyingka nginymariija ngijinji dirradirrawu! Don't ask me for ochre!

Karduya wurankuru nginymariija marndij. They're asking their father-in-law (the moon) for food.

ngirra *n.*

Outer husk of pandanus nut (= *thardanda*).

ngirra- *prefix to vbs*

(Derives verbs referring to genitalia.)

ngirra-diyaja *v.t.*

Perform oral sex on.

ngirra-kalaja *v.i.*

Cut one's penis (carried out by father of baby to obtain blood, which is mixed with fish blood and rubbed on baby).

ngirralatha *v.t.*

Shred. Knock bark together to make it soft for burning.

ngirringirri *n.qual.*

Wide.

ngirringirrirutha *v.t.*

Spread, spread out.

ngirringirri thaldija *stand*

with legs apart.

ngirringirriwatha *v.i.*

Sit with legs apart.

ngirrku *n.*

Eyebrow; brow (e.g. of crab).

ngirrkubulda *n.*

Spiny-legged crab, spider crab.

ngirrkuwuru *n.*

Sting ray sp. (= *bilmarra*).

ngirrnguda [**ngirrnguth-**] *n.*

(K, Ya).

Fly.

ngirrwuthin-ngirrwuthinda

n.qual.

1. Thick, dense (e.g. corkwood grove).

2. Ranged in lines, lined up.

ngithalkuru *n.qual.*

Hot (object, or weather).

Cf *ngida* 'fire' and *-thalkuru* 'laden'.

ngudija *v.t.* (K, Ya)

1. Throw, throw away.

Dibirdibi diyaaj, jirrka ngudija karmid. Rock Cod was eaten, and his liver was thrown to the north.

2. Turn over (turtle).

Dalij! Ngada kantharrkuru ngudinangu bangawu. Come! I can't turn this turtle over on my own.

bawu ngudija spit.

jara ngudija throw up sand with one's feet as one walks

miburiya ngudija look, cast one's eye.

nguka *n.*

Bark of corkwood tree, used to make **birrka** string.

nguka thungalda nail.

Connection with *nguka* uncertain.

nguku *n.* (K, Ya)

Water.

nguku-badinda *n.*

Water-bottle, water-carrier.

nguku-diyaanda *n.*

Place where water can be drunk.

Thaminyirri nguku-diyaand, marrinda kuriij. Thaminyirri is a place where fresh water can be drunk, and mangrove fruit is washed there.

ngukumaaja *v.t.*

Help, give food/nourishment to.

ngukuuja *v.t.*

Give water to.

ngukuwarri *n.qual.*

Waterless; thirsty, dry-throated.

ngukuya bilarrija urinate, make water (polite).

ngukuwarrba *n.*

Knot in grass showing ownership of plant food.

ngulmu *n.qual.*

1. Deadly, dangerous; taboo, secret/sacred.

Wamakurlda ngulmuwa dulk, ngulmuwa dangkaa, marrwa warraanangu. Wamakurlda is a dangerous people, (there are) deadly people there, it mustn't be gone near.

2. Fantastic, great, "deadly".
Wardunda bandija ngulmu. Cats smell fantastically well.

ngulmuwa wakatha "deadly sister" i.e. sister (of man), whom he must avoid.

ngulmuwa dangkaa "short people", malevolent creatures causing death of humans.

ngulmuwa yarbuda death adder.

ngulu *n.* (K, Ya)

Penis.

nguluwuru *n.*

Male turtle.

ngulujurnjurnda *n.*

Bull ray, devil ray; numb-fish.

ngulurduwuru *n.*

1. "Five shell". (S-shaped).

2. Forked lightning (shaped like five shell).

ngumalda *n.qual.*

Single, unmarried.

Ngada kada ngumalda yiiwiju. I'll sleep alone again.

ngumbanda *poss. pron.* (K, Ya)

Your, yours (belonging to one person).

ngumu *n.qual.*

Black, dark-coloured (incl. blue, green).

Ngumbanda durlda ngumu maraka thararr, bana ngumu maraka dulk? Are your stools black like charcoal, or brown like dirt?

ngumuriida dulka navel.

ngumuwa dangkaa, ngumuwa maku Aboriginal person/man, aboriginal woman.

Ngumuya makuya ngalamath. He married an Aboriginal woman.

ngumuwatha *v.i.*

Become black, become dark.

Damanda ngumuwath, thawalngarrba diyanngarra. Our teeth became black from eating yams.

ngumuyiija *v.i.*

Make black by applying some dark substance, e.g. putting on mascara (from **ngumu-wuyiija**).

ngumuyurra *adj.* (Ya)

Black.

ngunguka *n.*

Story, news.

Dathinki ngunguki kurrkatha jungarrbana dangkana. She learned that story from the old people.

mirraa ngunguka true, truth (whether good or bad).

Kara nyingka mirraa ngunguk? Are you telling the truth?

Dangkaa balaaj, mukuku mirrawu ngunguku. If someone's killed, an owl will give the true news.

ngungubirdiwuru *n.qual.*

False, lying, untrue.

Maraka ngungubirdiwuru, mirraa kangk, durumanmarri. You'd think it was untrue but it's the truth, I'm not lying.

ngunguuja *v.t.*

RECIP ngunguunjutha.

Tell (story), recount.

Ngada ngunguuju ngumbanju. I'll tell you the story.

niida ngunguka same story, same way.

Niida ngunguka rarumband. It's the same story with the Kayardild. (They have the same custom as the Lardil).

ngunymurra *n.*

Grease, oil, whale oil.

Ngada rirrbiju ngunymurru. I'll lick the grease.

Dangkaa bukawathu markuunngarrba

ngunymurrawu yakuri diyaj,

ngunymurrawu bangaa diyaj,

ngunymurrawu bijarrba diyaj. A

person can die from mulgri if he eats greasy fish, if he eats greasy turtle, or if he eats greasy dugong.

nguriwa *n.*

Young girl, teenage girl. PLU

nguriwalada, nguruwalada.

ngurnda *n.*

Whistle.

ngurnurru *n.*

Wire-pronged spear, "wire".

Ngurnurru nulumbanurru raaja

bangay. He speared the turtle with an eastern (i.e. Cape York) wire spear.

ngurrinda *n.qual.*

Cold (weather) (= *rikaa*).

Balmbiwu ngurrinda dulka wirdiju.

Tomorrow it will be cold.

ngurrindiija *v.i.*

Be cold.

ngurrinda dangkaa *n. idiom.*

Youth (= *kujiji dangkaa*).

-ngurrnga *suffix to cardinal*

demonstratives. 'Geographical

boundary to the X'. See entries for

ringurrnga, bathurrnga,

rangurrnga, jirkarrnga / jirrkurrnga,

walmurrnga.

ngurrngaa *n.*

Crowd, plenty, lot, "big mob".

Danda ngurrngamirr, warnaja

bandikay. There's a lot of people

here who don't like Bentinck Island.

ngurrulku *n.*

Eagle-like bird sp., "stop la mainland".

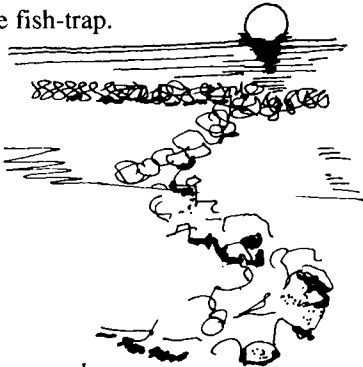
ngurrumanji *n.*
String bag, dilly-bag.



ngurrumbulka *n.*
Banded frogfish, stargazer.

ngurrurlda *n.*
Small mullet.

ngurruwarra *n.*
Stone fish-trap.



nguru *n.qual.*
Lame, crippled.

ngururutha *v.t.*
Cripple; take the sting out of (e.g. stingray pin).

nguruwatha *v.i.*
Be crippled, become crippled.
Maraka bukawathuunth, barri birjind. Munirrij, and maraka nguruwathu munirri diyaja kamdunurru wuranurru, muthawuru ngunymurrungunymurru. You'd think (our babies) would have died, but they lived. When we'd give them the breast (they'd be) smeared with fish blood, and you'd think they'd have been crippled, drinking at the breast, all covered with dugong fat.

nguthali *n.pred.*
Faking, pretending; "gammon".

nguthaliyatha
(**nguthaliwatha**) *v.i.*

Fake, pretend.
Niya nguthaliyatharra, maraka kalkand. He pretended he was sick.

nguthunguthu

1. *n.qual.* A little bit.
2. *n.manner.* Without the full consequences; "halfway".
Balangkali ngumbarji nguthunguthu baaj. The brown snake will bite you without killing you, "will bite you halfway".

3. *n.manner.* Slowly, carefully.
Nguthunguthu kamburij! Speak slowly!

nguthunguthuwatha *v.i.*
Go slowly, do slowly.

nguarri *n.qual.*

Tired.
Nyingka darra nguarri? Are you tired?
Ngada nguarriya darr, thaldinangku. My legs are tired, I can't stand up.

nguyarra *n.*
Skin, foreskin; scales; bark.
i.e. outside covering.

nguyalatha *v.t.*
Skin, peel, scale, remove bark.
I.e. remove outside covering.
(= *tharraratha*).

nguyiija *v.t.*
Hog, hang on to and refuse to share.
Nguyiija bangay, kamburij "ngijinda wurdalji, ngijinda kuyurru". He hogged all the turtle, he said "the muscle is mine, the windpipe is mine".

nguyulutha *v.t.*
Give in marriage, promise in marriage.

Nguyulutha kaminji dathinmarutha dangkamaruth. They promised their child in marriage to that man.

nguyunguka (~ **nguyungurrka**)

v.t.

Red-flowered plant, used for tying up coolamons. Poss. *Haemodorum coccineum*.

NY

-nya clitic.

Also, too. Only attested once.

Burirri-nya birr. *Burirri* are (edible plants) too.

nyanyaanyamatha *v.i.*

Talk funny, "like Donald Duck".

nyaraa *n.*

Small gecko, like *narrjara*.

nyi *pron.* (Ya).

You (singular). Reduced form of pronoun sometimes found in second position.

Kara nyi? What about you?

nyinbilda (~ **nyimbilda**) *n.*

Chip of wood.

nyinbilda kunyaa splinter.

Nyimbilda kalij. The chips are flying (lit. 'jumping').

nyingka *pron.*

You; second person singular pronoun. Non-nominative cases are based on the possessive pronoun stem *ngumban-*, e.g. LOC *ngumbanji*. Note *nyingida* 'you yourself'.

nyinyaaki *n.*

1. Tree frog.

Dabarri wirdija niya nyinyaaki, walmu. Kamburij, kamburija ni. The tree frog lives high up in trees. He talks and talks.



2. Nickname for premature child.

3. Invisible man, hero of *duburrka* story.

nyinyilka *n.*

Wattle sps.: *Acacia deanei*, *uncifera*.

nyirndirri *n.*

Wattle, "Christmas tree". Sps.

Acacia leptocarpa, *A. difficilis*, & *A. torulosa*.

nyiwa *n.* (Ya)

You (emphatic).

Nyiwa ngijinju ngawur balathu.

You'll kill my dog.

nyuda *n.* (Ya)

Fire (= *K ngida*).

nyunyuk *n.*

Story, fib.

nyuraa *n.*

Cartilage joining turtle shells together.

nyurraa *n.*

Mark on moon.

R

raa *n. loc.*

South, in the south (var. of *rara*).

raaja *v.t.*

1. Spear, inject.

Kunawalada raanthutha nardawuru.

The children are spearing each other with bulrushes.

Dangka-laajirrinda waldarr. Moon was speared by a person.
Ngada rayiiju munda balarrinja makunth. I will be injected in the buttocks by the white woman (i.e. the nurse).

2. Sew, make by sewing.
Dathina mijilda muthaa malji, yakuriya darath. Raaj! That net has lots of holes, the fish broke it. Sew it up!

3. Write.
RECIP **raanthutha**, M **rayiija**.

raajinda *n.qual.*
Smooth, clear, free of rocks or shells (sea-bottom).

raanda *n.loc.*
Deep down.
Nyingka barjinyarra raaninj! You might fall deep down (into the hole).

raanmaanda *n.qual.*
From deep down (e.g. sandfrogs dug out from a deep hole).

rabatha *v.t.*
1. Tread on, step on; trample on [M **rabaaja**].
Rabatha wumburungk, junkuwanmariij! Tread on the spear shaft until it becomes straight.
2. Trespass on, defile.
Nyingka rabatha dathinki ngilirri rar, dathinki rangurrng rabatha ngilirri. Nyingka marrwaya wuranki dathinki diyaj. You trespassed in that cave down south, at that place on Bentinck Island you defiled that cave. You ate food close up, there.

rabaanmarrirutha *v.t.*
Prevent OBJ from being trespassed upon.

rabija *v.i.*
1. Stand up, get up, (waves) swell, rise straight up.
2. (Water) come to boil.

rajurrija *v.i.*
Walk; move around (direction not specified).

rajurrinda *n.*
Toddler, child able to walk.

rajurrinmarutha *v.t.*
Make capable of walking.
Yildaa kunawunaya baaja bungkali, rajurrinmarutha. The wind-snake bites the child on the knee, and makes him able to walk.

rakija *v.adv.*
Do straight away, do promptly.
Rakija wanjiij. He went straight up ashore.

rakinda *n.manner.*
Immediately, promptly, straight away, soon after.
Rakind! Quick!
Rakinda damanda burriju, walbuwuru baaju. (A child's) teeth will come through soon, if he bites on some corkwood.
Dathina budubudu jawinkuru, rakinda kabatha dulki. That boat is fast, it quickly reaches land.

rakirakija *v.i.*
Chafe at the bit, be keen to go, be impatient.

ralatha *v.i.*
Bounce.

ralkaralka *n.*
Pike, barracuda.
Ralkaralkaya kurdalatha muthaya wuranki, ngaakawuru? Ngimiwaanji ralkaralkaya kurdalath, jardiyardi, jardiyardi ngimiwaan, ngilirrwaan, yarki ngilirri burrij, manharriya dalij. (My father) caught many barracudas, wow! He speared them by night, and month-fish, month-fish caught by night, that came up beneath the cliff, attracted to the torch-light.

rambaramba *n.*
Soft red stone, red mudstone. Used for rubbing body; also rubbed into string.
Murndulka burldiija rambarambawuru. Ropes are rolled with mudstone.

ramu *n.*

Slime, intestinal fluid.

ranbirdinda *n.manner.*

Spear in hand, warlike, armed.

randa *n.*

1. Butt (of spear).

2. Thin upper branch of tree.

Kunyaya rankiya wirdij, malawaalij.

(During the flood) people stayed in the upper branches of trees, to escape the sea.

rangarra *n.qual.*

Warm, sweaty.

Warrkuwa rabij, rangarra wirdij.

Ngimiya wirdija rika. When the sun gets high you get warm. At night you get cold.

rangalutha *v.t.*

Warm, make warm.

Warrkuntha barjijuunth, kaburrbawu karnaju, rangaluthu. When the sun sets we will light a fire to make him warm.

rangarrwatha *v.i.*

Get warm.

rangurangu *n.*

Seaweed thrown up on beach after being eaten by dugong.

rara [rar-] *n.loc.* [~ raa]

South, in the south. PROP

rawuru.

ramali *n.*

You in the south. (Used for hailing).

ramarutha *v.t.*

1. Put to the south.

2. Look to the south.

rangurrnga *n.loc.*

South across a geographical boundary. E.g. cliffs on south side of saltpan, or island south across the sea.

arananganda *n.loc.*

On the south side of, to the south of.

Rarananganmanda dangkaa kurrkath.

The man who lives (in the house) to the south of me took it.

rari(i)da *n.loc.*

Going continuously to the south.

rarijatha *v.i.*

Turn to the south.

rariji *n.loc.*

Far to the south.

rarijulutha *v.t.*

Put to the south.

rarinyinda *n.loc.*

At the south end of.

rawatha *v.i.*

Move to the south.

Rawatha ngijinda duujindabard,

wanjija walmathiiwath! Move up on top to the north, little brother!

rayinda *n.loc.*

Moving from the south.

Rayinda thulatha thardaa manarru,

wuuja kamarri manarruj. (A night fisherman) went down from the south, a bark torch on his shoulder, and put his torch down on a rock.

raratha *v.i.*

Be born.

rarrararra¹ *n.*

Cuttle-shell, squid's backbone.

Traditionally used as toy boomerangs by children.

rarrararra² *n.qual.*

Sticky.

Rarrararra nald. (The remora) has a sticky head.

rarrija *v.t.*

Lay (egg).

Kathuka rarrija kiyarrngki kuruy.

Redbill laid two eggs.

rarrkurlda *n.*

Corkwood, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*

(thicker than *murdu*). Used for shafts of *wumburungka* spears.

rarrthararrtha *n.manner.*

Separately, individually.

rarrthararrtharutha *v.t.*

Share out, divide up.

Ngalda rarrthararrtharutha wuranki dangkawalad. We all shared out the food.

rarrwaa *n.*

Bamboo pipe, Macassan Style.



rarrwatha *v.t.*

1. Cook on coals.

2. "Growl", scold.

Nyingka warraja rarrwath! You go and scold him!

rarumbanda *n., n.qual.*

Southern, southerner; Kayardild.

LOC rarumbanji.

Rarumbanda kangka the Kayardild language.

rarunda *n.qual.*

Young.

Rarunda ngijinda duujind. My little brother is young.

rarunganda *n.*

South wind.

rarungka *n.loc.*

Southwards; to the south; a long way to the south.

Kurrkaaj, marn ganda kunawuna kurrkaaj. Marn ganda kunawuna rarungku thaarij, rarungka kurrkaaj.

They were seized, nubile girls were seized and taken back to the south, taken away to the south.

rarumirdamirda *n.*

Sea territory to the south.

(Especially dugong and turtle hunting grounds).

rarurayaanda *n.*

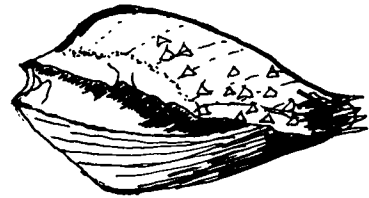
Previous night's camp to the south.

raruthukanda *n.manner.*

Facing south.

rawalanda *n.*

1. Baler shell, *Melo diadema*.



2. Any artefact made from baler shell e.g. water container, knife, prongs.

Rawalanda bijarrbantha kalaajurrk.

Baler shell knives are used to cut up dugong.

rayaaja *v.i.*

Open eyes, wake up.

rayaalija *v.i.*

Open one's eyes.

rayaalutha *v.t.*

Open.

Rayaalutha mijild! Open the net!

-rayaanda *suffix to compass*

stems. Previous night's camp in the direction PREF, e.g.

rulurayaanda 'previous night's camp to the east'.

rayarrawatha *v.i.*

Yawn, open one's mouth wide.

rayirrawatha *v.i.*

Be born in the south.

ribarrmatha *v.t.*

Mourn for.

Namu ribarrmatha ngijinji, ngada birjinid, wurdiju ngada ngijinju dulku.
Don't mourn for me, I'm alive, I'll be sitting down at my place.

rii *n. loc.*

Truncated variant of *riya* '(in the) east'.

riinda *n.loc.*

Moving from the east.

riinda bathinda towards each other; tit for tat; in return (lit. 'from the east from the west').

riinmanjiinda *n.*

Morning Star (lit. 'arising from the east').

rijangka *n.loc.* (~ **wijangka**)

In hiding, hidden .

Rijangki wuuj hide, put into hiding.

rijamarutha *v.t.*

Hide (= kinamarutha)

rijurlda *n.* (~ **yijurlda**)

Python, carpet-snake.

rika *n.*

Cry.

rikarika *n.pred.*

Crying.

rikarrkalija *v.i.*

(~ **rikalkalija**)

Cry, wail.

Rikarrkalinda kularrind. Brother is crying.

riki *n.pred.*

In tears.

Rikurrka! Now he's in tears!

rikija *v.i.* (Yangkaal)

Cry.

rimuthanda *n.*

Cry-baby.

riwarri *n.qual.*

Calm, quiet, not crying.

riwarrriija *v.i.*

Calm oneself down, refrain from yelling.

riwarriwatha *v.i.*

Become calm, cease to cry.

rikaa *n.qual.*

Cold.

rikaa kurrkaaja catch cold, shiver with cold.

rikawatha *v.i.*

Cool off, get cold, catch cold.

Ngakulda danku wurdiju jaljiwu rikawathu. We'll stay here in the shade and cool off.

rilatha *v.t.*

Wake, arouse.

Bayiwuru dangkaa niwanji rilath.

The angry man woke him up.

rili(i)da *n.loc.*

Going continuously to the east.

Ngakurra riliida bardaka warraj. We two kept going along eastwards.

rilijatha *v.i.*

Turn oneself round to the east.

Thardawankawuru rilijatha diiju. The aeroplane is turning to the east, so it can land.

rilijulutha *v.t.*

1. Move OBJ to the east.

Rilijulutha nathaa! Move our camp to the east!

2. Sleep with one's head to the east.

rilirili *n.*

Heap, pile, esp. of food.

rilirilimarutha *v.t.*

Put into a pile, heap up.

rilumbanda *n.; n.qual.*

(~ **rulumbanda**)

Eastern, Easterner.

rilunganda *n.* (~ **rulunganda**)

East wind.

rilungka *n.loc.* (~ **rulungka**)

Eastward, to the east; on the eastern horizon.

Rilungka kalnaaj. It's dawning on the eastern horizon.

Rilungku warraju. They'll go to the east.

rilukalnaanda *n.*

(~ **rulukalnaanda**)

Daybreak, first light.

rilurayaanda *n.*

(~ **rulurayaanda**)

Previous night's camp in the east.

Ngalda warraja rulurayaanmulaaj.

We left our previous night's camp in the east.

rilwirirri *n.*

1. Spindle, bobbin.

2. Stick supporting side of net.

(= *wiriwirri*).

rinburinbu *n.* (~ **runburunbu**)

Native bee that eats "sugarbag" (wild honey) from *tharrawuka* tree.

rinjumanda *n.* (~ **runjumanda**)

Black bream.

rirrbija *v.t.*

Lick, slurp up.

Dathina dangkaa rirrbinda ngukunth.

That man is slurping up the water.

rirrka *n.*

Grease, oil, fat, butter, honey; rich edible liquid.

Bilda mardalathutha rirrnguni. They are rubbing each other with fat.

riya [ri-] *n.loc.*

East, in the east.

rimali *n.*

You in the east.

rimarutha *v.i.*

Look to the east.

ringurrnga *n.loc.*

East across a geographical boundary.

Jathaa ngilirra bathurrng, jathaa ringurrng. There is one cliff on the west side (of the salt-pan), one on the east side.

riya bada *apart, in different places.*

Marrbi birra bayiwunjuth, riya bad.

Maybe they had an argument, (they stay) apart (now).

riyananganda *n.loc.*

On the east side of LOC, to the east of LOC.

riyanyinda *n.loc.*

At the east end of, the eastern extremity of.

riyathi *n.loc.*

Far in the east, way off in the east.

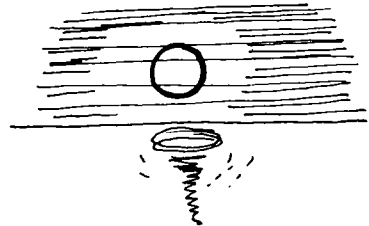
Ngamburatha bild, riyathi. They dug a well, way off in the east.

riyathi-diinda *n.*

Full moon (lit. 'far-east-sitter').

Riyathi-diinku waldarrawu thaathu.

She'll come back on the full moon.



rukaruka *n.*

High cumulostratus clouds. Come from south east.

Kunyawunya rukaruka small clouds.

rukuburrurruru *n.*

Barnacle.

rukuruku *n.*

Whiting, "sand-fish".

rukuthi *n.*

Casuarina; coastal she-oak; "oak-tree", *Casuarina equisetifolia*. This word is now rarely used to refer to

the tree, which is usually known as *wuyirra*.

Bujuku barnkaldija jaljiya rukuthi., jaljiya wuyirri. Black crane sat cross-legged in the shade of a casuarina tree.



rulmatha v.t.

Stretch, shake (off).

Ngada rulmatharra ngijinjina darrina.

I stretched my leg.

Wardarda rulman! Don't stretch my shoulder!

Warrngalda dulki rulmath. The wind shook the dirt off.

rulukalnanda n.

See **rilukalnanda**.

rulumbanda n.

See **rilumbanda**.

rulunganda n.

See **rilunganda**.

rulungka n.

See **rilungka**.

rulurayaanda n.

See **rilurayaanda**.

rulurulu n.

Table, flat surface (e.g. dugong's back), platform. Applied to the human "table", formed by the backs of two people (usually classificatory "aunts" of the initiand), on which the initiand lies face up during circumcision.

Kiyarrngka dangkaa yiiwija rulurulu.

Two people lie down forming a table.

Rulurulu malthurrkarnanjwuru. The flat top side of the dugong has remoras attached to it.

runburunbu n.

See **rinburinbu**.

rundurra [rundurr-] n.

1. Grave.

2. Small holes underground where spirit children dwell before entering their mother's womb.

Kunyaa kunawuna yarki wirdij, yarki

dulki wirdij, rundurri, banda

bardakayiwathu rabiju,

ngawirriwathu. (I was) still a small

child dwelling below, under the

ground, in (my) hole, later I would go

up and enter the womb, and quicken.

rungku n.

Black duck.

Rungku ngukuya wirdij, kurumbuwuru

rayij. Black ducks live in fresh

water, and can be speared with a

kurumbu.

runjumanda n.

Black bream. LOC **runjumanki**.

rura n.

Fat (= *barangka*).

ruurrbururrbu n.

Small dark-coloured eagle, said to

be young of *mathali*.

ruwarrawarra n.

Small lizard, sp.?

Ruwarrawarra barangkawarri,

dulanmarri. The *ruwarrawarra* lizard

doesn't have fat on it, it doesn't get

fat.

TH

-tha *clitic*.

Appears only in healing song. See Healing Spell, Text 6.

thaarija *v.t.*

Bring back.

Kiyarrngka ngarrangaj, thaarija nathamaruth! Split it in two and bring it back to the camp!

thaarija waaja sing back to life

thaarijarrmatha *v.t.* (Ya)
Take back.

thaatha *v.i.* (K, Ya)

1. Return, come/go back.

Makuwa kunawuna thaath, jingkari wurdij. The women and children come back (from the initiation ground), and stay under cover.

Nyingka birkurdawu thaathu? Will you come back this evening?

2. (As coverb) go to V and then return, go off to V.

Balmbiwu thawalu janiju thaathu. Tomorrow we'll go and look for yams.

thabuju *n.*

GEN **thabujina**, AFEC

thabuthabarda.

1. Older brother (of male).

2. Grandfather, i.e. father's father (of male), = *kangku*

3. (In discussing taxonomies)

Nearest taxonomic sister.

Yakarra duujind, kanithu thabuju. The porpoise is the younger brother, and the whale the older brother.

thabujungarrba *n.*

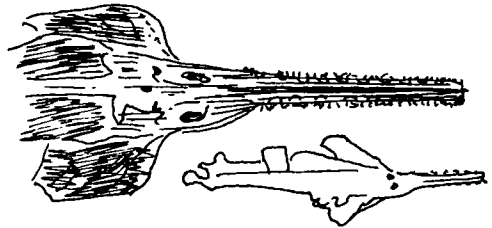
Pair of brothers, group of brothers.

thaburruru *n.*

Saw-fish.

Thaburruru, dathina burrkunkuru thungald, nurrinda malanurrind. The sawfish, that thing that can be used

for barbed spearheads, it's a hacker, a sea-hacker.



thadawa *n.*

Yam, sp.? Grows in bush.

thaku *n.*

1. Left hand.

2. Wrong, incorrect (opposite of *junku*).

Nyingka junkurutha kangki.

Bantharra thaku, bantharra junku.

You are checking words. Some are wrong, some are right.

thakurutha *v.t.*

Get wrong, tell wrongly, twist (e.g. a story).

Nyingka malangarrb, thakurutha ngariijarray. You're drunk, you got it wrong before.

thardaa thaku left-handed, left-handed person.

thakumana *n.*

Stockman (Eng. loan).

thakunda *n.*

Fish sp.: stripey; blue-banded sea perch.

thalardinda *n.*

1. Old man.

2. Old man dugong.

thalardinmatha *v.i.*

Become an old man.

Maarra wuuj, thalardinmath, niwanji thawulaya jibarna wuuja niwanju

karduwuru. You always have to give her to him, even if he's become an old man, the mother-in-law has to give her daughter to him (her son-in-law).

thaldija *v.i.* (K, Ya)

1. Stand (assume or hold position); tower (storm clouds); grow, be located (plant).

Ngakanku thaldiju warraju. They are going to stand on the sandbank.

Jiwi diyaanda, biriida diyaaj. Thaldija wambalkarranji. The *jiwi* yam is edible, its root is eaten. It grows in the bush.

2. *v. mid.* Stand up for/expecting PROP.

thaldijarrmatha *v.t.*

Erect, stand up.

thali *n.qual.*

Heavy, laden. (cf *jirdangkurlda*)

Kakuj, thaliya ngakurra rilungku thaathu. Uncle, we will return eastward laden with turtles.

thalirutha *v.t.*

Fill, load.

Marrkathu kurdaya thaliruth. Auntie has loaded the coolamons.

thaliwirndi *n.*

Shell: buccinid whelk.

Thaliwirndi mardalkiya wirdij.

Buccinid whelk shells live in mud.

thalkathalka *n.*

Salt. This occurs abundantly on saltpans, but traditionally was not eaten.

thalkurrki¹ *n.*

Kookaburra.



Thalkurrki dangkaya kabatha warrawanji. Kookaburras find people from a long way off.

Thalkurrki kamburij, waaja wambajiruth. The kookaburra is laughing, he sings before fine weather.

thalkurrki² *n.*

Gecko.

-thalkuru *nom. deriv. suffix.*

Bearing, covered with, laden with, riddled with.

Probably *thali* 'heavy' plus *kuru* 'having'.

Dangka-thalkuru full of people (e.g. boat), burdened with a person (e.g. a turtle with a man on its back).

Kurumbu-thalkuruda still riddled with spears.

Kurda-thalkuru wrapped in a coolamon (said of excised foreskins).

thalkurumanda *n.*

"Fast turtle", mating turtle. The suffix *-man-da* suggests an assimilated loan from Lardil, where *men* is the ORIGIN case.

thalkuruyarrngka *n.*

Pair of mating turtles.

thalunda *n.* (Ya)

Bark.

thambiri *n.*

Blue-spotted box-fish; toad-fish.

thami¹ *n.*

Blackhead; growth on skin.

thami² *n. pred.*

In a state of abstinence, not allowed to eat one's totem.

Maraka nyingka thami wirdiju, maraka nyingka diyanangku ngumbanju wuranku. You should be abstaining (from this food), you should not be eating your totem.

Ngijinda kakakaja thami, thamiya ngudija danatha bungkalbalanki, diyanangku. My father was forbidden to eat hump-headed batfish, and had to leave it, he couldn't eat it.

thaminyirri *n.*

Fruit of grey mangrove, *Avicennia marina* (*marrinda*), eaten after soaking overnight in fresh water, then light cooking on coals.

thamurlda *n.*

"Black crane", black reef heron. (= *bujuku*)

thanalu *n.*

Son-in-law (= *thawula*, *kakuju*). From English 'son-in-law'.

thanburrija *v.t.*

Pull up (plant:OBJ) by its roots.

thandamanda *n.*

Water-spout; water sucked up by whirlwind. Totem of one clan.

thangakara *n.*

Shaft of spear.

thangkarayalatha *v.t.*

Prepare spear-shaft for spear-head, haft.

thangkanki *n.*

"Big jaw", porpoise.

thangkarurra *n.*

Spotted javelin-fish.

tharalka *n.*

Noise, thump.

thararra *n.*

1. Liver.

Dathina bilda bakiind, *dathina dangkaa diyaj*, *kalath*, *ngudija bilda thararri*. *Thararri bilda ngudij*, *wurdalji bilda ngudij*. *Niwanji rirrk*, *danatha niwanji dathinmaruth*. *Ngukuwuru wuuja dangkay*. There (on Sweers Island) they (Black Crane and Seagull) ate (Rock-Cod) together, cut him up, and threw away the liver and muscle. His fat remained there, and furnished mankind with water.

2. Charcoal.

Thararrngarrba wurdalji meat that has been left on the coals.

tharbarra *n.*

1. Prow, front of raft.

2. Corner of fishtrap (= *wurdu*).

Ngariija jirmaja tharbarri riinda ngurruwarr. First he built the corner of the fishtrap.

3. Small headland.

tharbarr-kurndiinda *n.*

Prow-rope of raft.

thardaa *n.*

1. Shoulder, upper arm (K, Ya).

2. Wing (bird or ray).

3. Seat of strength in throwing, paddling etc.

tharda-jilari *n.qual.*

Trigger-happy (lit. 'sore-shouldered').

thardakarramaja *v.i.*

Wave one's arms.

thardamarutha *v.t.*

Pick up to carry on one's shoulders.

Rabij, *thardamarutha kurrumbu*, *wumburungk*, *murruku marmaruth*.

He stood up and put his spears on his shoulder and his woomera in his hand.

thardawankawuru *n.*

Aeroplane.

thardawarri *n.qual.*

Tired in the arm (e.g. from paddling).

thardawija *v.i.*

Swing one's shoulders.

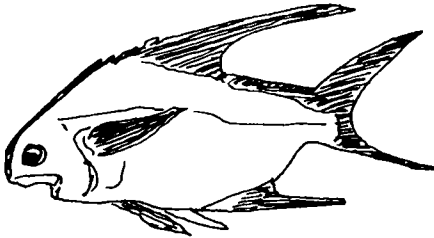
mirraa thardaa good at throwing, good spearer.**thardanda** *n.*

Segment of pandanus fruit.

thardarra *n.*

Mud flathead.

thardawukarra *n.*
 Snub-nosed dart, pumpkin-head.



tharmatha *v.t.*
 Chew; graze on (esp. dugong/turtle on seaweed).

tharmaanda *n.*
 Grazing-ground, place grazed upon by dugong or turtle.

tharmatha baaja *chew*
 (tobacco).

tharnalka *n.*
 Barred long-tom, trumpet-fish.

tharraa *n.* (Ya)
 Bark. (= K *nguyarra*)

tharraratha (K)
 Bark (v.t.), take bark off tree (syn. *nguyalatha*)
Tharraratha dathina ngid, nguyalath!
 Take the park off that tree!

tharraa waraa *n.*
 Upper lip.

tharrawuka *n.*
 Tea-tree sp., *Melaleuca stenostachys*. (= *dirrikarda*), whose bark is used for *dirrika* mouth-guards and *maka* bark-torches. This is the only wood that should be used for cooking *jardiyardi* fish, which will not return if another wood is used.

thathungka *n.manner.*
 1. Together.
Makuwa bithiinda birra thathungka janij. Men and women were searching together.

2. Equally.
Thathungka raanda mirraa wunburungka kiyarrngk. The two spears spear equally well.

thathurutha *v.t.*
 Assemble, heap up, put together.

thawaa *n.*
 Rat. (Prob. Lardil loan).

thawalda *n.*
 1. Yam, wild potato (generic).
Balmbiwu ngakulda thawalu janiju. Tomorrow we will look for yams.
 2. Kidney (Ya only).

thawardirrwardirra *n.*
 Vine sp. growing behind beach and in bush, *Tinaspora smilacina*. (= *kulurrwulurra*). Vine used in wind magic.

thawarriyawarri *n.*
 Vine sp. growing on beach, twines onto casuarina trees, *Alyxia spicata*. Used to tie up bark torches.
Thawarriyawarri wuyirri kurndij, manarrkurndiinyarrad. The *Alyxia spicata* vine curls up casuarina trees. It's another one you can use for tying up bark torches.

thawula *n.*
 LOC **thawulaya**.
 Son-in-law (female ego); sister's son-in-law (male ego).

thawurna *n. qual.*
 Sour, bitter.

thawunda *n.*
 Fish, sp.?

thawurra¹ [**thawurr-**] *n.*
 1. Throat, neck.
Kujiji burrija bathinyinda thawurri. The spear came out the west side of the dugong's neck.
 2. Voice (quality).
 3. Branch, fork (creek).

dingkarra thawurra tall.

mirraa thawurra a good singing voice.

thawurra wuranda neck meat of dugong.

thawurra durldiija be thirsty, have a dry throat.

thawurra² [**thawurra-**] *n.*

Tea-tree sp., paperbark, whose bark is used for coolamons. Forked branches used for frames of grass shelters.

Kurdawu kabathaathu thawurra-nguniwu. You can get coolamons from ti-trees.

thawurmaluwanda *n.*

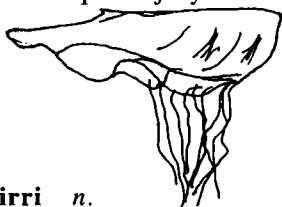
Branches serving as frames for grass shelters.

Dangkaa mirdija bankirri, kurrkath, kurrkatha mirdija bankirriya muthaya wunkurri. Karnkiya karrngija thawurmaluwanki, thawurmaluwanki muthaya karnki.

People prepared shelters, got shelters and lots of grass. They'd pile the grass against the shelter frames, lots of grass.

thibili *n.*

Small transparent jellyfish.



thirbirri *n.*

Bird: red-footed or brown booby.

thirmingka *n.*

Mangrove heron, nankeen night heron.

thirrthaa *n.*

Nurse, sister.

From English "sister".

thirrthayalatha *v.t.*

Nurse, look after.

thubalda *n.*

Cockle shell, *Gezoina coaxans*.

Traditionally used as scraper or plane; cooked by laying the shells in a line and placing ashes on top of them.

thubunda *n.*

1. Pestle.

2. Tail of male turtle.

3. Hoof of kangaroo, bullock etc.

thubunkuru balaanda *n.*

Mature female turtle.

thubunthubunda *n.*

Beche-de-mer, sea-slug, trepang.

thuburungkurra *n.*

Mangrove snake.

thuk! thuk! *ideophone*

Sound of circumciser's knife. This sound is also uttered during initiation, in time to stomping.

thukanda *n.* (K, Ya)

1. Chin.

2. Beard, whiskers.

thukanda bulaaja shave.

thukanda baaja, *v.t.*

thukanbaaja

Chew one's beard for joy.

thukanmutha *n.*

Person with many older brothers.

-thukanda(*in compounds with locational*s).

Facing in direction PREF., e.g.

riluthukanda 'facing east'.

thukungka *n.*

Lungs.

thulatha *v. i.* (K, Ya)

Descend, go down (esp. out into the sea); (in coverbal construction) down.

Dathina kunyaa kunawuna barrija thulatha malar. That little child is crawling down to the sea.

Rayinda thulanda yubuyubu, Wathariwuru. The path goes down from the south at Wathariwuru.

thulatharmatha *v. t.*

Cause to descend, take down.

thulunda *n.*

1. Sandhill, shore.
2. Mountain (Ya).

thuluthulu *nonce word in song.*

Only attested in lullaby song, in expression *mibulka thuluthulu* ('asleep *thuluthulu*'). Note also the compound *karnthulu* (grass-*thulu*) (q.v.) 'grass used in sleeping shelters', suggesting a meaning of 'sleep' for the root.

thundu *n. pred.*

Closed.

thunduwa thaldija stand with legs closed.

thundurutha *v. t.*

Encircle, enclose.

thunduwatha *v. i.*

Close (e.g. legs, eyes).

thungalda *n.*

1. Tree, esp. when seen as source of tools, building materials etc.)

2. Thing, inanimate object.

Many expressions for introduced objects have the form *n. qual.* plus *thungalda*, e.g. *thardawankawuru thungalda, kangkuru thungalda* (q.v.). With time *thungalda* is often dropped, e.g. *thardawankawuru*. Also used for unfamiliar objects, even if animate.

3. Euphemism for *ngulu*, 'penis'.

4. Business.

Dathina thungalda yabirdi, birdiya ngid. That *yabirdi* business involves bad wood.

thungalngumuwuru *n.*

Black goat.

thungalwarri *n. qual.*

Naked, without clothes = *balinda*.

thungkuwa *n.*

Mangrove scrub, mangroves (LOC **thungkuwaya**).

Thungkuwayada thungkuwayada balungka thaath. We came back westward always sticking to the mangroves.

thura *n.*

Sound of stomping.

Thura jungarrb! Give us a loud stomp!

thuramatha *v. t.*

Hit hard, hit with noisy impact, pound vigorously.

Kukarnukanda diyaankuru, thuramaaj. The *kukarnukanda* plant is edible, it is pounded vigorously.

thura wirrkanda *n.*

Stomp; traditional Kayardild stomping dance; "hoot".

thurala *n.*

Fishing rod.

From Lardil *thural*.

thurbili *n.*

Goose barnacle.

thurdakiyurdaki *n.*

Tripod fish.

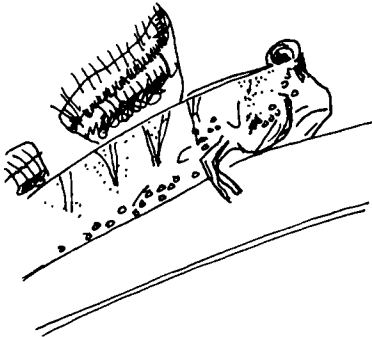
thurkangu *n. quant.*

Plenty, too many, packed in (e.g. sardines in a can).

thurthurlda *n.*

Chicken hawk.

thurruburduyuburdu *n.*
Mud-skipper.



thurrungka *n.*

1. Cough.
2. Snot, phlegm.
3. Cold (K, Y).

Thurrungk, ngildij. He has a cold, he's coughing.

Niya birdiwur thur(r?)ungkur. He has a bad cold. (Y).

thurru-jungarra heavy cold

thuru *n.*

1. Back (of fish).
2. Tail (of goanna).
3. Shin.

thurungumuru *n.*

Three-by-two garfish. (Has black spot on tail).

thuuja *v.t.*

Swear (at), abuse, curse; say bad things (about). Irreg. RECIP

junthutha.

Jathaa dangkaa ngijinjiya thuu.
Another man swore at me.

thuyiija *v.i.*

Swear at oneself, curse oneself.

Ngada thuyij, walanngarra muthangarra yakuringarrb. I swore at myself, because I had missed many fish.

thuyinthuyinda *n.pred.*

Swearing with gladness.

Ngijuwa thuyinthuyininj. I'm swearing from happiness.

thuwalka *n.*
Leather-jacket.

thuwarayiwatha *v.i.* (K, Ya)

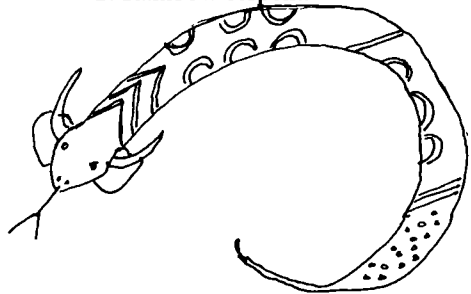
Fly up, go up into the sky.

Thuwarayiwath yarbud, walmuyiwath.
The bird flies up into the sky.

thuwa~~th~~u [**thuwa~~th~~uwa-**] *n.*
(K, Ya)

(LOC **thuwa~~th~~uwaya**).

1. Rainbow.
2. Rainbow serpent.



Thuwa~~th~~u, mirraa jalji. The rainbow has lovely colours.

W

waaja *v.t.*

1. Sing about PROP.

Ngada waaja wangarri bijarrbawuru. I sang a song about a dugong.

2. Sing OBJ (affecting it).

3. Sing up OBJ.

Warrngali waaj. She's singing up a storm.

wayiija *v.i. & v.mid.*

1. Sing to oneself; sing hymns.
2. Sing (body part).

wayiinda *n.*

Hymn, church service.

wayiyayija *v.i.*

Sing softly to oneself.

waajurra *n.*

Dugong (= *bijarrba*).

wakija *v. i.*

Make noise, cry out, "sing out".

wayulmburra *n.*

Drawn-out cry.

wakabinya *n.*

Great trevally.

wakaku *n.*

1. Frog (generic).

2. Adult sand-frog, swamp-frog (its babies are *nganjuna*).

Wakaku yarkiya ngukuya kamburij, miburjungarrawu, marralbardangu.

Kanthathu wakaku muthawu kunawunawu, nganjunawur kunawunawu.

Frogs croak under the water, and have big eyes and big ears. The father frog has many children, many children called *nganjun*.

wakaratha *v. t., v. ditr.*

RECIP wakarathutha.

Share, share out; share out with.

Wakaratha wurand! Share the food!

Wakaratha ngijinmarutha wurankuru!

Share the food with me!

wakatha [**wakatha-**] *n.*

1. Sister.

2. Female harmonic-generation member of father's father's patriline.

wakathawuru *n.*

(Male ego) brother-in-law (i.e. actual sister's husband), "banji".

wakilanda *n.* LOC **wakilanji.**

Yam, sp.?

Wakilanda kunyaa thawalda. The *wakilanda* is a small yam.

wakirija *v. t.*

Carry under one's arm, esp.

coolamon.

Warraja ngamki wakirinwakirind.

They went along the beach carrying coolamons.

Wuranki wakirija mijilnguni. One carries food under one's arm in a net bag.

wakurrkanda *n.*

Flood tide.

wakuruwakuru *n.*

Slimy weed sp. found in estuaries; wraps around fishing lines.

-walada [**walath-**] *nominal suffix..*

Many, lots of.

Muthaa karndiwalad many women.

walangku *n.*

Middle finger.

Walangku ngaruwarra marld. The middle finger is in the middle of your hand.

walarra [**walarra-**] *n.*

Flank of bluefish (exposed as it eats coral lying on one side).

walarrawu *n.*

Bluefish (= *ngarrawurna*).

walatha *v. t.*

Miss, fail to hit.

-walathida [**-walathij-**] *nominal suffix.*

All, every.

Kurirrwalathid. They're all dead.

Ngada waratha muthaya buranthanki minbarrawalathiji. I sent many bonefish off, all scarred.

walawa *n.*

Diamond-fish, anchor fish, rifle-fish.

walbarnda *n.*

Trail through grass.

walbu *n.*

1. Raft, made from mangrove roots, "floater".

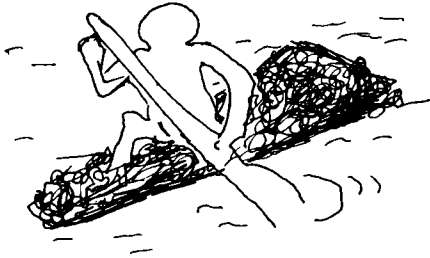
Jarnangkurri niya walbunguni

kabathaath, Ringurrng. Ngaakawuru?

Dathina riinda kurrkathu,

Ringurrngawulathu, walbunguni. He used to go across by raft to hunt goats on Sweets Island. How about that?

He'd bring (their meat) back from Sweers Island, by mangrove raft.



2. Cork on net.

walbuwalbu *n.*

“Corkwood” sp.: *Excoecaria ovalis*. (Rope made from bark is used to lash rafts, *walbu*, together.)

walbujimurranda *n.*

Little blue shark.

waldarra¹ [**waldarra-**] *n.*

1. Moon. (And Dreamtime character named after it).

Waldarra kamburij: ngijinji wirrkajarmath. Ngada wuunangu dangkawu yakuriwu. Maraka ngijinji thalardinji, danda jardiya wirrkajarmatha ngijinji. Moon said: they're making fun of me. I will not give fish to mankind. They think I'm an old man, this mob are making fun of me.

2. Month.

Yuujbanda warngiijiya waldarraya ngakath. In the old days (we) used to wait for one month (after childbirth, before resuming sexual activities).

kinbuyiinda waldarra *n.*

Half moon.

kurangkuru waldarra *n.*

High moon, moon at its zenith.

waldarra-² *n. root.*

Root in compounds referring to caecum or crop. Metaphorical extension of **waldarra**¹ based on moon-like shape of organ.

waldarranurru *n. qual.*

With stomach swollen from “mulgri” (see **markuriija**).
Ngada bardaka waldarranurru. My stomach is swollen from mulgri.

waldarrari(i)da *n.*

Caecum of dugong.

waldarrka *n.*

Spotted butterfly, John Dory.

walka [**walk-**] *n.*

Ground-oven, cooking-trench, “kapmari”.

walmarutha *v.t.*

Performing sorcery on someone by roasting his faeces in a *walka*. Causes death by constipation. This sort of sorcery was used against trespassers on one's hunting grounds.

walmaruthirrinda *n.*

Victim of *walka* sorcery.

walngarrba *n.*

Victim of *walka* sorcery.

walku *n.*

Tail, esp. of lizard.

walmathi *n.loc.*

High, high up; on top of LOC.
Walmathiwu wanjiiju. She'll go up on top.

walmu *n.loc.* [K, Y]

Up, on top of, high.

Walmuwa dathina wanjiija dabarr!

Climb up high in the tree there!

Muthaa wuranda yarbuda walmuwa jirrara kalaja ngarnal. Lots of birds are flying high, in the north, cockatoos.

walmu-kurrkathirrinda *n. qual.*

One who has been near death (lit. ‘one taken up high’).

Ngada kirdilburrija walmu-kurrkathirrind. I have come back to life, after being near death.

walmu-thaanda *n.*

Bumpy (drive).

walmu-wuuja *v. t.*

Put on top.

walmunkarra *n. qual.*

High, elevated.

Muthaa dangkaa dathin, walmunkarrar dulkir. There are lots of men there, on that high place.**walmunkarrarutha****(walmankarrarutha)** *v. t.*

Build up, make high.

Bada wurduy jirmaja kamarriya walmankarraruth, kwannduruth. In the west, on the corner (of the fish-trap) he piled the stones high, built it up high.**walmurrija** *v. i.*

Look up.

wamakurlda [**wamakur-**] *n.*

Spoonbill.

wamatha *v. i. & v. t.*

Call out (to OBJ).

Dathina dangkaa ngijinji wamath, rangurrnga katharr. That man called out to me, on the south side of the lagoon.**wambaa**¹ *n.*

Tree, sp. like ironbark.

wambaa² *n.*

Fishing net.

Wambaa yakuri-yalawuyiind. Fishing nets are used to catch fish.**wambaji** *n. qual.*

Fine (weather), calm (sea).

Jungarra wambaji. It's a fine clear day.**wambajirutha** *v. t.*

Make fine, calm, wait for it to become calm.

Muthaa biringka wambajirutha malay. All the lightning has made the sea calm.**wambalarrji** *n.*

Mainland, "big bush".

wambalda [**wambal-**] *n.*

1. Bush, scrub.

Warrawarraya wambali way off in the bush.*Murdumurduwuru wambald.*

Murdumurduwuru is a bush place.

Karndungka-diyanda marrwaya Mirdidingki, wambali. Karndungka-diyanda is near Mirdidingki, in the bush.

2. Bushfire; smoke from distant bushfire.

3. Fine, clear weather (i.e. weather clear enough to make out distant smoke).

Wuuju wuranmuju ngalawanju, wuuju wambalu ngalawanju. Give us food, and give us clear skies!**wambali warraja** (lit. 'go into the bush'). Euphemism for 'go off to have sexual intercourse'.**wambalmarutha kurrkatha**

(lit. 'take into the bush').

Euphemism for 'take away to have sexual intercourse'.

wambalwarraanda *n. manner.*

Going through the bush.

Ngada kurrija dathina dangkaa darriya wambalwarraanki. I saw that person whose legs were tired from having come a long way through the bush.**wambana** [**wambana-**] *n.*

Small scorpion.

wambarri *n.*

Shoal, sandbank.

wambaya *n. manner.*

Wrongly, ineffectively.

Ngada wambaya waaja birdiruth. I'll sing it wrong and spoil it.**wambi** *n.*

Whishing, whirring noise.

Ngada marrjarra wambina wangalkina. I heard the sound of a boomerang.*Dathina marrija wangalk, wambiya niwanda jirrkand.*

Listen to that boomerang whirring down from the north.

wamburra *n.manner.*

Horizontal, lying down.
Yuujband, kurnduthaldinda wayiij, wamburra wayiij. In the old days one sang with one's chest in the air, lying down.

wambulutha *v.t.*

Lay out, lay down.

wamurra [wamurr-] *n.*

Swamp-growing grass sp., fruit eaten.

wandawanda *n.*

Axe, tomahawk (European).

wangalka [wangalk-] *n.*

Boomerang.
barnkaldija wangalki Sit "boomerang style".

jawuru wangalka Hook boomerang (lit. 'foot-having boomerang').

thaankuru wangalka

Returning boomerang.

wurduwa wangalka

Returning boomerang (lit. 'corner boomerang').

yulmburra wangalka

Hunting boomerang (lit. 'long boomerang').

wangarduwangardu *n.*

Reticulated coral crab.

wangarra [wangarr-] *n.*

1. Song.
 2. Sound (e.g. of turtles).
- bida wangarra** [smell ~] tune

wangkarmaja *v.i.*

Sing.

wangk- *noun root.*

Formative for words meaning 'sister'. See also *karndinmangka*.

wangkurdu *n.*

Sister (affectionate).
(= *kularrin-barda, wakathabarda*)

wangkuruwala *n.*

Yellowfish tuna; black kingfish.
Wankuruwala muthawuru kanduwuru, wurdalji niwanda kandukandu. The yellowfish tuna has lots of blood, its flesh is red.

wanikarra *n.*

Pelican.
Wanikarra kuruwuru warngiiju, dingkarru kuruwuru. The pelican lays a single, long egg.

wanjarida *n. qual.*

One-sided, on one side.

miburlda wanjarida *n.qual.*

One-eyed.
Ngada kurriju niwanju miburu wanjariju. I'll see the man with one eye.

wanjarija *v.t.*

Move food to side of fire.

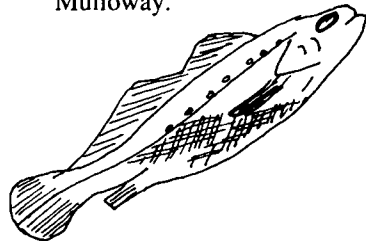
wanjarinda *n.*

Cooking stick (used for putting food to one side).

Warija damuru wanjarinnguni! Take out the panja with the cooking stick!

wanjarka *n.*

Mulloway.



wanja-thaku *n.*

Left hand.
Ngijinda riinda thardaa wanja-thaku. On my shoulder coming from the east is my left hand.

wanjijja *v.i.* (Ya **wanjija**)

1. Rise, go up, ascend, land.
Rangurrngawu wanjijju. (He) will land on Sweers Island.
2. *v.t.* Climb OBJ.

dabarr-wanjiwanjiinda
someone always climbing trees
(= *dabarr-mungurru*)

wanjiinda malaa Rising tide.

wanjiinmarrirutha *v.t.*
Prevent OBJ from going up.

wanjiliija *v.i.*

Pretend.

wanjirkarulutha *v.t.*

Interfere with, muck around with, wreck. [Cf. *karulutha*].
Wanjirkaruluna dathina thungald!
Don't muck around with that thing!

wanji *n. manner.*

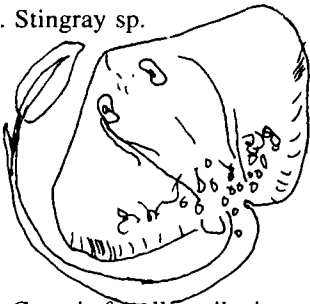
Left-handed.
Wanjiya ngudija ni. She throws left-handed.

wankaa *n.*

Branch of tree. (plural **wanka-wanka**).
Dathina wankaa mirraa wangalk.
That branch will make a good boomerang.

wanku *n.*

1. Stingray sp.



2. Generic for all cartilaginous fish (i.e. sharks and stingrays).

wanku-thalkuru *n.*
Spear tipped with stingray barbs; used in fighting.

wanthalngi (~ **wanthalngu**) *n.*

Whiskered salmon.

waraa *n.* (K, Ya)

1. Mouth.
2. Faculty of pronunciation.
3. Opening of penis, urethra.
4. Head (of line of people), avant-garde.

Kili waraya ngariija jawij. Kelly was always in front, ran ahead.

5. Seaward end of set net.
6. Door, doorway.
7. Prong of spear.
Kiyarrngku warawu birnkild. The *birnkilda* spear has two prongs.
8. Chimney (e.g. of steamer).

birdiya waraa swearer, foul-mouthed person.

dinmirra waraa upper lip.

mirraa waraa dangkaa person able to sing back the dead.

warabarrbarra *n.qual.*

One who mispronounces or speaks haltingly.

wara-dunbu *n. qual.*

[mouth-stupid] Dumb.

wara-kurrkaanda *n.*

Pipe.

wara-kuyukuyuwuru *n.*

Barge.

warangawunjuruwatha *v.i.*

Get ash in one's mouth.
Bunbatha nganjun,
warangawunjuruwanangku. Blow on the sandfrog (cooked in ashes), so as not to get ash in your mouth.

warawaduwuru *n.*

Barge, steamboat.

warawanda *n.*

1. Spittle.
Kuriija warawannguni! Wash it with spittle!

2. Whistle.
Warawanda warath. He is whistling (lit. sending a whistle).

warawarri blunt (Ya)

yarka waraa lower lip.

warabu *n.*

Beach vine, goat's foot
convolvulus, Ipomoea pes-caprae.



Root cooked and eaten; vine heated and bound around chest as cure for colds etc.; vine also used to bind paperbark sheets into a bark torch.

warangka¹ *n.*

Foreskin.

warangkardu *n.*

Uncircumcized penis.
Warangkardu waraa balind. An uncircumcized penis has its urethra exposed.

warangka² *n.*

Nut, edible inside part of fruit (e.g. of pandanus or *bilkurra*).

warangkawulatha *v.t.*

Take out edible flesh from
 OBJ:[fruit/nut].

warangkarutha *v.t.*

Break open (pandanus nut).
Ngaarrka warangkaruth,
kurdamaruth. Break open the pandanus husk and put it in the coolamon.

wardawuru *n.*

Golden trevally.

waratha *v.t.*

1. Send, cause to move away.
Ngada warathu ngumbanju. You should go now, lit. 'I will send you away'. [This is the usual formula for requesting guest to leave.]

2. Throw.

Kada waratha rulungka wulubuy, kabatharri, warirr. He threw the bait eastward again, but caught nothing.

waratha bawu *tr. verbal id.*

Spit.

waratha kangki *tr. verbal id.*

Send word, send a message.

waratha kurrija, kurrija

waratha *v.t.*

Look at OBJ as OBJ moves away.
Yand, ngakuluwanju kurriju warathu balungku. Now (the short people) will look at us (from their caves) as we move away to the west.

waratha mari *transitive verbal idiom.*

Bring together one's hands or what they hold (e.g. bringing stingray barbs together).

warayija *v.i.*

Look back.

warburlda *n.*

Wild yam sp., inedible.

wardajinda [wardajin-] *n.*

Widow, bereaved or kin-less person living alone.
 Poss. a recent loan from Mornington English "water-gin".

wardangayi *n.*

1. Paperbark mouthguard used when chewing out *narraa*.
 2. Paperbark used to wrap food for cooking or carrying.
Wardangayi wuranmuyiind. A *wardangayi* is what you put food in.

wardarda *n.*

Shoulder, edge of shoulder.

wardirra *n.*

1. Vine sp., *Cayratia trifolia*.
 Black berry eaten; often grows on 'crow-fruit' and wild fig trees.

2. Cycad. (The Kaiadilt had no knowledge of how to prepare cycad nuts and only learned about this after coming to Mornington.)

wardirriwardirri *n.*

Various vine sps: *Clitoria ternata* (purple flower; fruit eaten); *Abrus precatorius* (fruit not eaten).

warduku *n.*

Fish-hook.

The Kaiadilt did not use these traditionally, and borrowed this word from Yukulta or Yangkaal after coming to Mornington.

wardunda *n.*

1. Mangrove rat.
2. Cat.

waribanda *n.*

Silver biddy, sardine.

warija¹ *v.t.*

Take out, remove (esp. from fire). (Subject need not move).

Warija wurand, mayaku! Take the food, the crabs out of the fire!

warijarmatha *v.t.*

Bring up, out. (Subject moves with object).

Niya bangaya warijarmatha ngarnmulaaj. He brought the turtle up from the beach.

Warijarmatha rarungka buuj. They dragged them to the south.

warija² *v. adv.*

Well, O.K.

Ngada warija yiiwij. I slept O.K.

warilda *n.*

Storm cloud, Morning Glory cloud.

warilwatha *v.i.*

(Morning Glory cloud) appear.

warimbarra *n.*

Scent, esp. carried on wind.

Dangkaa warraja banjiija warimbarra.
As someone goes along their scent smells.

warirra

1. *interjec.* No; there's nothing; (X) has nothing.

Kurdaa ngijinda wuranmarri, warirr. My coolamon has no food in it, it's empty / there's nothing.

Ngada warirr, waduwarri. I've got nothing, no smokes.

2. *n. qual.* No, not.

Ngada kurrijarri, warirr, warirraya dulki. I didn't see him, nothing, nowhere.

Kurdalalngka warirr, burukurungka warirr, mambunda warirr, maarra jarirraru. Not the brown stingray, not the *burukurungk*, not the black-spotted ray, only the cowtail ray (was used as a source of circumcision blades).

3. *n.* Nothing.

warirrarutha

1. *v.t.* Destroy, annihilate.

2. *v.i.* Wait for something to end (e.g. storm).

warirrawatha *v.i.*

Disappear, finish, come to nothing.

warjanda *n. pred.*

Alone (= *kantharrka*)

warkaa *n.*

Shoulder, forefins (e.g. of turtle.)

Ngadija diija darra kiyarrngka warkaya bangay, niya baanangku ngakuluwanju. (We) trap the turtle's forefins between our thighs, so he can't bite us.

warku *n.*

Tail of stingray.

warkurra *n.*

1. (K) Hide (of dugong); jacket of leather-jacket fish.

Warkurrinja damanda daraanyarr. You might break your teeth on the dugong hide.

2. (Ya) Tendon.

warkurra murndulka *n.*
Vein.

warkurrarra *n.*

Jellyfish, stinger, box jellyfish.
Warkurrarra narkiriija karrangkuru.
Biridya thungald, dangka-birjilutharri. The box jellyfish buries itself in shell gravel. It's a bad thing, it doesn't let people stay alive (after being stung).

warnabalanda *n.*

Brigalow, *Acacia sp.*, *Affin. plectocarpa.* Wood used for boomerangs and spearheads; leaves used to flavour meat in ground oven. = *L karruwukan.*
Nyingka kalatha thaatha warnabalanda! You go and cut some brigalow wood!
Warnabalanda kalaaja mawurraji, kujiji. Brigalow wood is cut into spearheads.

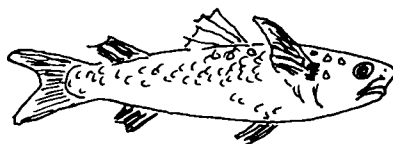
warnaja *v. t.*

1. Avoid, escape from.
Malaya warnaja Bardathurr. The hill at Bardathurr escaped the high seas.
Ngada yulaaj, yarbuti warnaj. I'm scared, I'm avoiding the snake.
Warrana jardiya kuujuund, kuujuujarriya kunawun, warrajarri kunawun. Dankiya makuwa thulath, warrawaanda dangkaa. Warnaj, budiija dathinmulaaj! Don't go swimming behind there, children mustn't swim or go there. A woman went down there, a woman from far away. Avoid her, run away from there!
2. Dislike.
Nyingka warnaja ngijinji! You don't like me!
"Ngada ngumbanju ngalamathu, nyingka ngijind." Karndiyangudija kamburij, warnaj: "burunangu ngada ngumbanju." "I will marry you, you're mine". But the woman turns

him down, doesn't like him: "I won't take you".

warndaa *n.*

River mullet.



warngiida [warngiij-]

1. *n. number.* One.
2. *n. det.* One, a, a certain.
Warngiida dangkaa rarida buruwanmulaaja budii, wiliwili. One man ran away southward from the initiation ground.
3. *n. qual.* One, the same.
Birra warngiijina bardakana. Ngarra warngiijina marina. They two are from the one belly (the one mother). We two are from the one hand (the one father).
4. *n. qual.* Common, alike.
Bijarrb, bangaa, kunbulka warngiid. Yakarr, warngiida kunbulk. Dugong, turtle, they are sea-game alike. Porpoises, they are one (with them) as sea-game.
5. Only, alone.
Niya warngiida burdumbanyi. She alone is ignorant.
dulka warngiida one place, everywhere, the whole world.
warngiilutha *v. t.*
Join together, make one, mix up, unite.
Warngiiluthu ngada waaju. I'll join these songs together (in a cycle).
mala-warngiilutha *v. i.*
Sea and freshwater mingle, (sea) salt up (wells).

warraa *n. loc.* (K, Ya)

Far, far off, distant.

Warraya diij. It landed a long way off.

warraa dulka a long way.

Warraya dulki niya warraj. He went a long way.

warrarutha *v.t.*

Lengthen, extend.

Ngurruwarraya warraruth, walmathiya diij. They extended the fish trap, so that it ended high up on the beach.

warrawarra *n.qual.*

Distant, really far.

Warrawarra dulk a distant place.

warra-warrayarrba *n.*

Oldest classificatory father

(lit. 'the one who has gone far').

warrawatha *v.i.*

Hang back, sit some distance away.

warraja

1. *v.i.* Go, go away. [K, Ya]

Dulmarra dangkaa warrajarri marrway, warraa warraj, warraa thungku. The boss of that place never went close to it, but went along far away, far off in the scrub.

Wiridi warraa dulka, warraa, nguthunguthu warraj. That place is a long way off, let's go slowly. (Ya).

2. *v.t.* Go to OBJ, trespass on OBJ. **M warraaja.**

Wamakurld. Dathina dulka warraajarri, birdiya dulk. Wamakurld. That place was never gone to, it's a dangerous place.

3. *v.i.* Continue, be passed on.

Warngiida nida warraj. The one name was passed on.

warraja mari be shown around country by its owner.

Mariya warraja ngumbanji kanthathuy. I was shown around that country by your father. (Lit. 'I went there at your father's hands').

-warrayarrba *prefixed nominal stem.*

Derives actual sibling terms giving relative age.

Ngariinmarrayarrba oldest sibling. See also *warrawarrayarrba* 'big father'.

warriliija *v.i.*

1. Go away, depart.

Ngijinda mirraa warriliij. My darling has gone away.

bardaka warriliija feel strange.

Dangkaa kamburija ngijinji, ngada bardaka warriliij. Someone is talking about me, my stomach feels strange.

warrirawija (~ **warayija**) *v.i.*

Look back.

warrjawarri *n.manner.*

Slowly, unhurriedly.

warrku *n.*

1. Sun. (K, Ya)

Juldajulda warrku The sun is hot.

2. Day (time, or unit of time).

Warrku yulmburriya diyaja malay. He's been drinking all day long.

3. Time (of day).

Niida warrku thaarijuruy. Bring it back the same time (tomorrow).

bada warrku *n. time.* late afternoon (K, Ya)

jinawarrku *interrog. adv.*

When, at what time of day.

Jinawarrkuru thaathu? Bathu

warrkuru thaathu. When will you

return? I'll return when the sun is in the west.

naliya warrku *n. time.*

Noon, mid-day.

riinda warrku *n. time.*

In the morning, while the sun is in the east.

Jirmajirmaja ngurruwarraya

riinkiya warrkuya yulmburriya

warrkuy. (Black Crane) had been

piling up stones to build fishtraps since morning, all day long.

warrku bada, bada warrku *n.time.*

Late afternoon.

warrku-burriinda *n.*

Morning star.

warrkunurru *n. (time).*

(In) daylight.

Namu ngimiya thaath!

Warrkunurruwa nyingka thaath!

Don't come back in the dark! Come back in daylight!

warrkuratha *v.i.*

Do until daylight.

Mirraa ngida buthurld, warrkurathu naaju. Spider mangrove makes good firewood, it'll burn through the night till daylight.

warrkuyija *v. adv.*

Do while it's still daylight.

Ngada warraju balmbiwu warrkuyiju. I'm going tomorrow while it's still daylight.

warrmara [warrmara-] *n.*

Cool southeast wind. (K, Ya)

warrmarawarri *n. qual.*

Calm, windless.

warrngalda *n.*

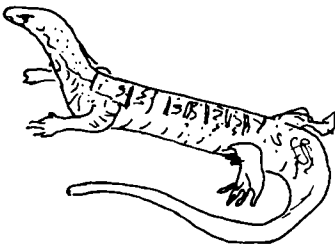
Strong wind.

Jungarra bawatha warrngald. The wind is blowing hard.

Jungarra warrngald, nguthunguthu warrmar. The strong one is the *warrngalda*, the gentle one is the *warrmara*.

warrunda *n.*

Goanna.



warukarra *n.*

Small *barduardu* fish, moose perch.

warutha *v. i.*

Cry out in fright.

wathangija *v.i.*

Lie on side.

Kalajalaj, wathangija yiiwij. He turns over, and sleeps on his side.

wathanginda *n.*

"Roll-over baby", baby able to roll over.

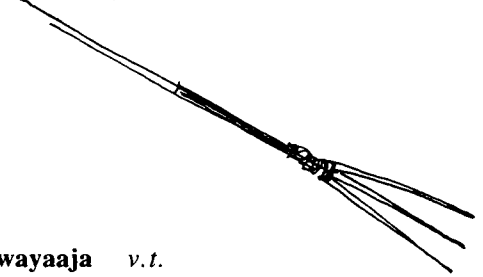
wathawatha *n.*

Peaceful dove.

waya *n.*

"Wire spear"; metal prong for spear.

From English "wire".



wayaaja *v.t.*

Sing lullaby to OBJ.

Ngada wayaajarra dathinkina kunawunana, markuriingarrbana. I sang a lullaby to that child who had got mulgri.

waydbala *n., n.qual.*

White-man, European.

waydbala kangka *n.*

White man's language, English.

wayikiki *n.*

Tidal rip, tidal current, whirlpool.

wayirni *n.*

Way, track, route, path (usually in wider metaphorical sense).

Junkurutha wayirni, niwanji wayirni kurrkath. He fixed up the way, and (others) took that way.

wayirruja *v.t. (Y)*

Wait for.

Wayirruja ngijinji! Wait for me!

widaa *n.*

Underwater cave, crack or hole.

Birnkunkarra widaa mangrove crab hole.

Widaya dathina yakuri! *Nguthunguthu marld, kamarriwanharr.*

In the hole there's a fish. Feel it carefully, or you'll get stung by a stonefish.

wiija *v.t.* (Ya)

Scrape (e.g. boomerang).

Niya wangalkiya wiija wirdij. He's scraping a boomerang.

wijangka (~ **rijangka**) *n.*

Hiding place.

Jingkariiwatha bilda kinayiwath, wijambalathiiwatha muthaa dangkaa. They went into hiding in the bush, many people went into different hiding places.

wijamarutha *v.t.*

Hide, conceal.

Nyinka wijamarutha ngijinji wangalki. You have hidden my boomerang.

wijangki *n.pred.*

In hiding, hidden, covered.

Balarra kurrkaanangu, wijangki warraja bathinda thardaa. (When crossing the saltpan where you are visible to the short people), white things must not be taken there, one goes along with one's western shoulder covered.

wijangkiiwatha *v.i.*

Hide oneself, go into hiding.

Ngalda yulaa, wijangkiiwatha warraj. We were scared, and went into hiding.

wijiri *n.*

Firestick.

kunawuna wijiri upper part of firestick.

ngamathu wijiri underpart of firestick.

wika *n.*

Shade.

wikurnduuja *v.i.*

Sit in shade.

wilija *v.i.*

Keep steady.

Marinj, marlda wilijaranth. You got a really steady hand.

wiliwili¹ *n.*

Initiation ground.

Wangiida dangkaa rarida buruwanmulaaja budij, wiliwili. One man ran away southward from the initiation ground.

wiliwili² *n.*

Heap.

Nyinka dathina wiliwiliya wuuja baralji! You take those out and heap them up here!

winjankuru *n.*

Yam sp. Creeper like green beans.

Winjankuru ngarnki wirdij. The *winjankuru* creeper is found on the beach.

wiraliija *v.i.*

Stay behind.

Wiraliija ngakath! Wait behind!

wirarra *n.?* [K, Ya]

Tree, up in tree.

Namu wirarriiwath, dulka wirdij.

Don't go up in the tree, stay on the ground.

Niya wirarwulaja baljij. He fell from the tree. (Ya)

wirdangkurra *n.*

Shade of tree.

Wirdangkurri jaljiya diija barnkaldij! Sit in the shade of the tree!

wirdi *part.* (Ya only)

Don't! Prohibitive particle, used with negative imperative. Derived from *wirdija* 'stay' which is used in a similar way.

Wirdi kurrin! Don't look at it!

Wirdija balana ngijinda miburld!

Don't look me in the eye!

wirdija *v.i.*

1. Be at, stay at, dwell at, live in.
Dathina dangkaa Kajurku niya wirdij, wurduya ngurruwarray, jardiya ngurruwarray. That fellow Kajurku was there at the corner of the fish trap, behind the fishtrap.
Dabarri wirdija niya nyinyaaki, walmu. The tree frog lives in trees, high up.

2. Remain, still be. When used in this sense, *wirdija* and/or its complement is usually followed by the clitic *-ida* 'same, still'.
Barrunthaya wirdija ngid, yandabanda kujiji. Yesterday it was still wood, today it's a spearhead.

Burldamurra waldarr, muthaya waldarraya wirdij. For three months, for many months (she) remains (a widow).

Wirdijad. They're not ready yet. (Used in any situation where further waiting is needed before something is ready).

3. Become, turn into.

Ngarrkuwa jungarra dangkaa wirdiju dathina kunawun. That child will become a big strong man.

-wirdinda *n.suffix.*

Dweller at, characteristically found at.

Ngada bathijiwirdinda nathawirdind. I stay at the far west camp.

Barrngkaa ngukuwirdind. The waterlily is found in fresh water.

Mardalwirdinda yarwirdinda niya Barrindindi. Barrindindi dwells underneath the mud.

wiri *n.*

Walking stick.

wirikuja *v.i.*

Dive.

wiriwiri *n.*

Curlew, "no-name bird" (syn. *wabaku*).

Wiriwiri kuruwuru warngiiju. The curlew lays a single egg.

wiriwirri *n.*

Spindle, stick supporting outside part of net (= *rilwirirri*).

wirndiija *v.t.*

Hang off, cling to, swing from.

Dabarri wirndiija karrmath. They are hanging off the branches.

Wirndiinda ngamathuntha munkijinja wardardanth. She is clinging to her own mother's shoulder.

wirni *interjec.*

A swearing interjection.

wirningathi *n.*

Shark sp.

Kunyaa kunawuna duujinda wirningathi; bardakabiriid, bijarrba-baanda jungarra wirningathi, bangadiyand, dangka-baand. The small child *wirningathi* is the younger brother; the big-bodied one, the big one, attacks sharks and people and eats sea-turtles.

wirra *n.*

Rib.

wirriku *n.*

Ground oven (= *walka*).

Ngirringirrirutha wirrikuy. They made the ground oven wider.

wirrilda *n.*

Pouch covering initiates' genital area. Made from leaves of *marndiwa* (*Wrightia saligna*).

wirrinda *n.*

1. Nail (of finger or toe).

2. Shell; shelly ground.

Muthaa wirrinda kalatha jar. All the shells are cutting my feet.

3. Money.

wirrinkuru *n.*

Sea-horse.

wirrirri *n.*

Aunt (= *marrkathu*).

wirrirriwangka *n.*
Mother dugong.

wirriwirri¹ *n.*
Rainbow colours.

wirriwirri² *n.*
Flippers of turtle.

wirrijwirri *n. formative.*
kuru wirrijwirri *n.*
Testicles, balls.

wirrkaja
1. *v.t.* Circumcise, initiate, hold initiation dance for OBJ.
Danku darru dathina kunawuna wirrkaaju. This time that child will be initiated.

2. *v.i.* Dance, hold dance.

3. *v.i.* Play.

Ngarra wirrkajarr. We used to play together.

4. *v.t.* Play with OBJ.

wirrkajarmatha *v.t.*

1. Cause to dance.

2. Make fun of, tickle.

wirrkajarmathutha *v.recip.*

Tickle each other.

wirrkanda *n.*

Dance, corroboree.

wirrngaja *v.t.*
Dig OBJ (ground) for VPURP, dig OBJ from VABL (ground).

wirrwirra *n.*
1. Rib-bones. (Ya).
Niya daratha ngijinji wirrwirri. He broke my ribs.

2. Bank(s) of river, sides of coolamon.

Wirrwirri kurdaa thunduwath. The sides of the coolamon are bulging.

wirrwirriida *n.*

Side of body.

Ngada wirrwirriida barjijarr. I fell on my side.

wiru *n.*
Mangrove oyster (grows on mangrove roots).

wiryilda *n.*
Plant sp., used to tie up navel (& vagina?) after birth. Small tree.
May be syn. for *marndiwa* (*Wrightia saligna*).

wujalku *n.*
Horse, bullock.

wujari *n.*
Red meat, esp. of dugong; portion of meat.
Bilda diyaja jungarraya maraka bijarrbaya wujari. They ate pieces of (horse) meat that were big like dugong pieces.

wuku *n.*
Hook.
From English "hook".

wukuwatha *v.i. & v.t., M*
wukuwaaja
Work, work on.
Danda dulka wukuwaaju. This place will be worked on.

wukuwanbirdi *n.*

Slacker, lazy person.

wukuwankuru jardi *n.*
Work gang.

wuli *n.*
Jumper, woollen clothing.
From Eng. "woolly".

wulimi *n.* (Ya)
Fish sp., lives in fresh water.

wulji *n.time.*
Last night.
Ngada wuljiya waaj. I sang it last night.

wulthunburra
(~**wulthumburra**) *n.*
Yam sp., long.

wulhungka *n.manner.*

Lying on stomach.

Bijarrba wulhungk, kalatharrmaanmarri. The dugong is lying on its stomach, it hasn't been turned over.

wulhungatha *v.i.*

Lie on stomach.

Dathina kunawuna wulhungathir, niwanda darra walmu. That child is lying on her stomach with her legs in the air.

wulthuruwulthuru *n.manner.*

Lying on stomach, parallel (as in initiation).

wulthuwulthu *n.*

Tumbleweed.

wulthuwulhungka *n.*

Thick mangroves.

wulukulatha *v.t.*

Rub, scrape. E.g. arm, or scraping stick of *jurkkaa* for poisonous bark.

wululbu *n.*

Bait. (Traditionally this was tied to the end of a string; no hook was used).

Wululbuya balath, rirrk burrij, yuluwa kurkatha rirki. He pounded the bait till the fat came out of it, and the tide took the (smell of) the bait out to sea.

wulunku *n.*

Cotton bush, sps *Flueggea virosa, Gossypium hirsutum.* Wood used for spindle (*rilwirirri*).

wumbu *n.*

1. Tree-trunk.

2. Mid-section.

Wumbuwa muldija wumburungk. The spear is bending in the middle.

wumbuwa marlida section of finger.

wumbuwuthija *v.t.*

Cut in half.

wumbuya *n.loc.*

In the middle.

wumbu-kurdaliyaaja *v.t.*

Have one's chest painted or scarred.

wumbunguru *n.qual.*

Cold, feeling cold.

Nyingka wumbunguru wirdiju. You'll get cold.

wumburiyatha *v.t.*

Cross.

Wumburiyath, darrarraya junku rarungk, yarki wunki kalaj. The plane is crossing straight to the mainland, under the clouds.

wumburiyaaja *v.i..*

Split up, disperse (e.g. mosquitoes).

wumburungka *n.*

Spear.

wumburuthalkuru *n.qual.*

Armed with many spears.

wumbuwuthinbuwuthinda *n.*

Tangle of "strings" or fine yam roots.

wunda *n.*

1. Cloud; rain.

Mutha wund. It's overcast.

Wunmarri It's cloudless.

2. Wet season.

3. Year.

milda wunda first rains of wet season.

muraa wunda short rain, shower.

ngaruwarra wunda wet season proper.

wunda yarbuda cyclone.

wunmarrirutha *v.i.*

Wait for rain to finish.

Danda ngakulda wirdija yilarutha wunmarrirutha warirraruth. We are waiting here for clear skies, for the rain to finish.

wungija *v. t.*

Steal (objects, land, or rights).

1. Steal OBJ belonging to owner (ABL).

Jungarrbanabaya dangkanabaya wungija wuranki. They stole the adults' food.

Ngurruwarrawanda yakuriya wungiiinangku. Fish from fishtraps must not be stolen.

2. Steal OBJ (from VABL).

3. Steal from OBJ.

Nyingka wungija ngijinji! Bibibi! You've been stealing from me! Zap!
Ngurruwarra wungiiinangku. Fishtraps must not be stolen from.

wungunduwungundu *n.*

Thief.

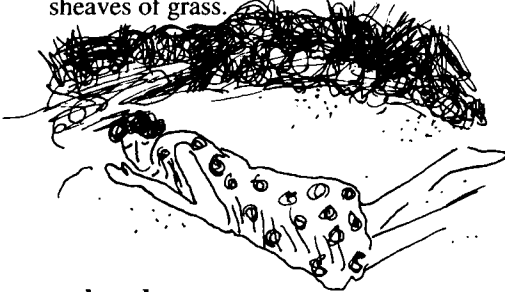
Dathina dangkaa wungunduwungundu wuraninj. That child is a stealer of food.

wunkurra *n.*

1. Gathered grass (typically in sheaves).

Wunkurriya kabath karnaj, yaluluwa burrij, ngamanda bardakawarri. (Crane) put the fire on some grass and burned it, and the flames came up, and he was hungry.

2. Shelter made by piling up sheaves of grass.



wuralaanda *n.*

Hunter (< *wuran-* + *-raanda*).

wuranda *n.* (Ya *wurlanda*)

1. Food, tucker.

Wuranda wambalwanda bush tucker (i.e. from the scrub hinterland).

Wuranda jingkawanda swamp tucker.

2. Meat, flesh.

Bardakawanda wuranda burrij. The flesh from ones belly comes out (under the influence of the short people).

3. Totem, "sign" (esp. in collocation *wuranda nida* 'totem name'). May refer either to conception or patrilineal totem.
Ngijinda nida Marrkukinjingathi, ngijinda wuranda ngarrawurnd. My name is Marrkukinjingathi, and my totem is bluefish.

Ngaaka ngumbanda wurand? Ngaaka nyingka ngaarrngij? What is your totem? What presaged your birth?
Ngaaka wuranda nid? What's (his) name?

4. Kind, sort, being.

Dathina jangkaa wurand, Dicky, ngulmuwa wurand. That fellow's another sort, that Dicky, a "deadly" (fantastic) sort.

Dathina kamarr mirrawarri wurand. That stonefish is a no-good creature. [Note that this does not mean 'no-good food' - it was traditionally considered good to eat.]

wurandiyanda *n.*

Dinner, meal.

wurankarnanda *n.*

Cook; woman able to prepare food, therefore of marriageable age.

wurankarri *n. qual.*

Hungry.

wurdalji *n.* (K, Ya)

1. Muscle.

Wurdalji darra thigh muscle.
Bathinda dangkaa warkurriya kurrkath, wurdalji minyi bukawath. The (short) person from the west seized his muscle, so that his flesh died away.

2. Meat, flesh.

Ngada badiju wurdaljiwu. I'll carry the meat.

wurdiyalaaja *n.*

Walk about, travel about.

Kalkatha darr, kiyarrngka warrku wurdiyalaaj. My legs hurt, I've been walking around for two days.

wurdu *n.*

1. Corner, curve.
2. Small point (on coastline), "corner".

Thalkiwa kunyaa wurdu. Thalkiwa is a small point.

wurdumarutha *v.t.*

Build on a corner (e.g. to fishtrap).

wurduwanda *n.*

Calf, leg below knee.

wurduwa thardaa *elbow.*

wurduwa wangalka *curved*

boomerang, returning boomerang.

wurdunda *n.*

Flat "panja" (see *damuru*).

wurdurrka *n.*

First heat or flames from fire, glow.

Wurdurrka naaj, waduwa rabij. The glow is igniting, the smoke is rising.

wurkara

1. *n.* Boy.
2. *n. qual. & n.* Male (any age or species).

wurkarawatha *v.i.*

Begin to manifest male characteristics (e.g. turtle).

wurraji *n.*

Whale's vomit.

Buranthanda diyaja wurrajiy. Bonefish eat whale's vomit.

wurrbu *interjec.*

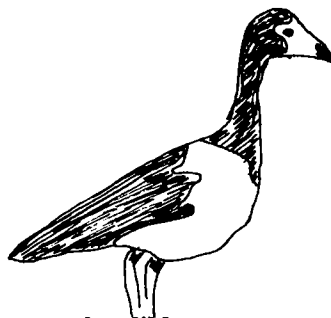
What for?

Eng. loan.

wurrbululu *n.*

Magpie goose.

Wurrbululu damuru-diyand. The magpie goose eats panja.



wurrkardilda *n.*

Large sandhill.

wurrkinda *n.*

Backbone of human, goanna, etc.

wurrkinki *n.loc.*

On top of.

wurrkurinda *n.*

Wet season.

wurrkurilda *n.*

1. Fresh rainwater.

2. Sweet yam.

Wurrkuru diyaju, mirrawatha bardak.

We will eat sweet yams, we are happy.

wurru *n.qual. (Ya wurrwu)*

Sharp, intense, painful.

Wurru warrku, dangkakarnand. It's an intensely hot sun, a roaster.

wurrngudiija *v.i.*

Be in the process of being born [lit. 'sharp-be.thrown'].

wurrurutha *v.t.*

Sharpen.

Wurrurutha baaja narray. She is biting the knife to make it sharp.

wurrubarra *n.*

Giant herring.

wurruku *n.*

Rat-tailed ray. Also recorded as *wurrukuru*.

wurumanda *n.*

Billy-can, mug.

wurungkulda *n.*

Smoke. (Ya, = K *wadu*)

Wijiri ngada burukuraaj, wurungkulda burrij. I rub the firesticks together, and smoke comes out.

wururkurungka *n.*

Flat stingray, brown.

wuthinda *n.*

Plenty, mobs, hordes.

Kalaanmarri, wuthinjinaantha danatharranth. It hasn't all been cut up, they left plenty (of meat).

-wuthinda (variants **-wuthunda**, **-withinda**) *n. suffix.*

Plenty of PREF, close together in space or time.

Jardiwuthinda horde of ants.

Warrngalwuthunda series of gusts of wind.

wuthinwuthinda *n. qual.*

Thick, dense (trees).

wuthiwuthi (**wuthuwuthi**) *n.*

Back of dugong.

Wuthiwuthiwanda wurdalji kiyarrngk. Two pieces of dugong back-meat.

wuthunthutha *v. recip.*

Share around. [Reduplicated reciprocal of *wuuja* 'give'.]

wuuja

1. *v.ditr.* Give, transfer ownership of OBJ to, give PROP/VDON to OBJ. May also cover transfer of information.

Wuuja ngalwanji ngunguk! Give us a story!

2. *v.ditr.* Give, create a new OBJ for.

Ngada damanku wuuju. I'll give it barbs, put barbs on it.

Niya kunawunaya wuuja niwanmaruth. He gave her a child, impregnated her.

3. *v.ditr.* Put OBJ at LOC, pass OBJ to LOC.

4. *cov.ditr.* Classificatory coverb in ditransitive constructions.

Kinaaja marraaja wuuja ngad. I'll show and tell you.

wuyiija *v.tr.refl.*

put OBJ on/in oneself, on/in one's NOM (body part).

Jathaa thungalda wuyiij! Put some other clothes on!

Dikaa wuyiija kunawunay. She put the child on her shoulders.

Mariya wuyiija look after.

dangka-wuunda *n. qual.*

Generous.

wuyirra *n.*

Casuarina, silky oak, coastal she-oak, *Casuarina equisetifolia* var. *incana*.

Barnkaldija jaljiya wuyirri. They are sitting in the shade of the casuarina.

miburlda wuyirr casuarina nut.

Y

yaa *interjec.*

Exclamation made during wind-calming ritual.

yabayirri *n.*

Uninitiated boy, prepubescent boy.

Yabayirri wirrkaanmarrid. A *yabayirri* is still uninitiated.

yabirdi *n. qual.*

(Wood) bad, under a malicious spell.

Dathina thungalda yabirdi, birdiya ngid. Ngaakawuru nyingka karnaj, baymbay kalkath. That *yabirdi*

business, involves bad wood. Why are you burning that wood, you might fall ill.

Dulmarra dangkaa - ngurruwarrawanda yakuri yabirdi wuyiij, yakuriya diinangku. The boss (of a poached-

on fish-trap) - fish from the fish-trap are put (by him) onto *yabirdi* wood,

so that fish will not be caught (in the fish trap).

yada [yath-] *n.*

REDUP **yadayada**, PRIV **yayarri**

Laugh, laughter, smile.

Yayarri wirdij! Stop laughing!

yanymarutha *v.t.*

Cause to laugh, make laugh.

Ngaakawuru dathina dangkaa ngijinji yanymaruth? Why is that man making me laugh?

yakarra *n.*

[LOC **yakarraya**]

Porpoise.

Yakarra bijarrba-durrwand. The porpoise is a chaser of dugong.

ngumuwa yakarra black dolphin.

yakay *interjec.*

Wow! Ouch! Exclamation of surprise or pain. May be reduplicated indefinitely when watching a surprising event unfold, e.g. a willy-willy tearing through the camp: *yakayakayakayaka...*

yaku *n.qual.*

Aggressive, wild, looking for a fight.

Yakuwa wirdij, ngarrkuwa kirkka miburld. He's wild, his face is cruel.

yakukathu *n.*

Older sister (of female).

yakuri *n.* (Ya **yakurli**)

Fish. Includes bony fish, but not cartilaginous fish - see *wanku* .

yalalija *v.t.*

Winnow.

yalawuja *v.t.*

Get by scooping action, e.g. with hands, bailer or scoop-net.

Makuwa yalawuja mijilnguni. The woman is catching (fish) in the net.

Ngukuwa yalawuja dunmaruth! Get water for your husband!

Yalawuja karduratha yakuriy. He got the fish by grabbing it up with his hands.

Wanikarra yakuri-yalawund. The pelican is a fish-scooper.

yalayarrada *n.manner.*

Straight through (e.g. spear).

yaljijalji *n.qual.*

Small, thin.

yalkayalkamarnjutha *v.t.*

"Backbite", complain about (= *kuyalkamarnjutha*).

yalmiyalmi *n.*

Dirty water.

yalulu *n.*

Flame; light (also light for cigarette).

Yaluluntha rabijurrk. The flames are rising now.

yalulurutha *v.t.?*

Blow on fire, make flames come up.

yaluluwuru *n.*

Match, cigarette-lighter.

yaluntha *n.*

[LOC **yalunthaya**]

Seaweed.

Yalunthakarranji niya bungkaldij.

He's sitting on the seaweed.

yambi *n.*

Wife's father, husband's father (= *kardu*).

yambingarrba [~-DYAD] *n.*

Father-in-law/son-in-law pair.

yanda *n.time.*

Now, today.

yandabanda *n.time.*

Now, just now, now in contrast to before.

Yandabanda ngada mungurruwath.

Now I understand.

yani *n. time.* (Ya)

Soon.

Kurlirra yarlka jirndi, yani balathu ngakurri. (The flying foxes are hanging) as if dead under the branches, we'll soon kill them. (Ya)

yanida [**yanij-**] *n.time.*

First; before doing something else.

Yanida banmaruth. First let's put them down here to the west.

Yanijinja wirdijin! Let the matches dry first!

yaniyuuda *interjec.*

Hold on, wait a minute!

Yaniyuuda ngakath! Hold on, wait!

yanku *n.time.* (K, Ya)

Soon.

Yanku kurriju! See you soon!

arakayaraka *n.*

Noise made by eagles and hawks.

araku *n.*

Blue-tongue lizard.



Ngada kuluuja yarakuy widamurruy. I dug up a blue-tongue lizard in its hole.

arbuda [**arbuth-**] *n.*

(Ya **arlbuda**)

Non-marine animal, game, esp. bird, reptile, snake.

dulwanda arbuda *n.*

Worm.

ardakarra *n.qual.*

Smouldering.

Nyingka kaburra karnan, yarakarrada wirdijir. Don't light the fire, it's still smouldering.

ardakarramaja *v.i.*

Smoulder.

ardakarrarutha *v.t.*

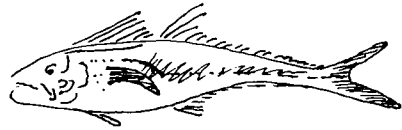
Stoke up fire.

ardilmaali *n.*

Cockroach.

arinyarra *n.*

Finny scad, wing fish.



arka *n.loc.*

(Ya **arlka**).

Down, under, underneath, oriented downwards.

Ngamathu wijiri arka, kunawuna wijiri walmathi. The mother firestick is underneath, the baby firestick on top.

Jungarra wambaji, arka dika. On a fine day, they face downwards.

Arka bardaka diij. They crouch with their stomachs down.

arka kangka under one's breath, to oneself.

Arka kangka kamburij: ngada junkuyunku balathu ngumbanju. He says to himself: I'll hit you back.

arka mardalka red mud used for ochre.

arki *n.loc.*

Underneath, below.

Arkiya wirikuj. She dived underneath.

Arki wunki kalaj. It flies under the clouds.

Marurkinda dulki arki, dirrald.

The sole stays under the sand, it's slippery.

Ngalda ngakatha arki. We all waited below.

armarutha *v.t.*

1. Put underneath.

2. Look down at OBJ.
Yarmarutha dulki. He looked down to the ground.

yarwanda *n. qual.*

From underneath, from underground.

Yarwanda marlda kiyarrngka "paddle", meat from under shoulder of dugong.

Yarwanda dangkaa person from underground, Barrindindi.

yarwatha *v. i.*

Go underground.

yarkarkarlda *n.*

Hawksbeak turtle; shell thereof.

yarnkalda *n.*

Scab, scabies.

Miida yarnkalmuth. Lice cause many scabs.

yarrakaka julda *n.*

Long, straight hair.

yarramanda *n.*

Horse. (Adapted loan from Kriol)

Dathinida mungurruwath
yarramanda, yarramanda dika-kulinjuru,
ngalda bakiinda diyaj. (We) got to experience horse(meat), we all ate it.

yarraman-badinbadinda *n.*

Stockman.

yarrangkarra *n.*

Star; starfish.

Barjija yarangkarr. A star is falling.
Yarrangkarra markurrij. A star has fallen, someone has caught mulgri.

jungarra yarrangkarra Venus.

rulumbanda / rarumbanda

yarrangkarra East / south pole star.

yarri *n.*

Tail of fish or dugong.

Yarri buthi durrwaj. We chased behind their tails.

yarrida *n.*

Larrikin, stirrer, trickster, joker.

Dangka-duurand, yarrid, yathuyiin-muthand. He tickles people, he's a trickster, he's always laughing.

yarrimbirlda *n.*

Underground shoots of water-lily.

yarwaa *n.*

Raft. (= *walbu*)

yathuyiija

1. *v. i.* Laugh.

2. *v. t.* Laugh at OBJ.

Nyingka ngaakawuru yathuyiija ngijinji? Why are you laughing at me?

yathuyiijarmatha *v. t.*

Cause to laugh, make laugh.

dangka-yathuyiijarmanda *n.*
joker, someone who makes people laugh.

yawukathi *n.*

Large "black crane", lives in mangroves.

yayarrirriija *v. i.*

Stop oneself from laughing.

Niya yayarririid, ngijuwa balanharantha niy. He better stop laughing or I'll hit him.

yibibi *n.*

Type of cloud.

yidilmundundunda *n.*

Witchetty grub.



yiiija *v. t.*

Put down, pass to.

Yiija ngijinmaruth! Pass it to me!

yiijarmatha *v. t.* (K, Ya)

Put, put down.

Dathina thungalda yiijarmatha dulmaruth! Put that thing down on the ground!

yiiwija *v. i.*

Lie down, sleep, camp the night.

yiiwinmarrirutha *v. t.*

Prevent from sleeping.

dangka-yiiwinmarunda *n.*

Somnifer, something that makes one sleep.

yijurlda¹ (~ **rijurlda**) *n.*

Python, carpet-snake.

yijurlda² (~ **rijurlda**) *n.*

Bark from river mangrove (*jurrka*, *Aegiceras corniculatum*), used as fish poison.

yilaa *n. qual.*

Clear-skied, fine, cloudless.

Darrarra yilaa. The sky is clear.

yilarutha *v. i.*

Wait for sky to clear.

Danda ngakulda wurdija

wunmarrirutha yilarutha jawarriruth.

Let's wait here for the clouds to go, for the sky to clear, for the rain to go.

yilayila *n.*

Shell, sp.?

yildaa *n.*

"Wind snake", legless lizard.

Yildaa kunyaya kunawunaya baaja

bungkali, rajurrinmarutha kunyaya

kunawunay. The wind snake bites the

young child on the knee, they make

young children able to walk.

yili *n.*

1. Razor-shell.

2. Steel axe (this term was used at time of first European contact; now *wandawanda* is more common).

yilibirndibirndi *n.*

Sandalwood, *Santalum*

lanceolatum. Small black berries can be eaten.

yingkiliji *n.*

English (language). [loan]

yinkirriwiriinda *n.*

Medicine grass, *Cymbopogon bombycinus*. Burned and rubbed on body for colds, etc., and against pain.

yirbirra *n. pred.*

Confined to camp in order to make love.

yirbirra thungalda a matter of true love.

yirbilutha *v. t.*

Confine (wife) to camp so as to make love to her.

yirbirrwatha *v. i.*

(Woman) be confined to camp out of husband's jealousy.

Dathina maku yirbirrwath, dunda

badiju ngiju, miburbarwaankuru,

kurrinangu dangkawu. That woman

is being confined to her camp, her

husband is carrying the wood so she

won't flirt, so she won't look at

men.

yirbirrbarwaanda *n. pred.*

(Woman) confined to camp out of husband's jealousy.

Dathina maku mungkijiwu nathawu

wirdiju, miburbarwaand, muthaa

dangkaa kurrinangu. That woman

has to stay in her own camp, to stop

her flirting, so that lots of men

won't look at her.

yirraki *n.*

Turtle spear. Song word?

yirrakuwuru *n. qual.*

(Fish) swimming with a spear stuck through it.



yirrbaaja (~ **yurrbaaja**).

1. *v.i.* “Skite”, talk excitedly.
Rayinnguni kurrija kanthathu yirrbaaj. Father saw it by looking from the south, and boasted about it.
2. *v.t.* Boast (to OBJ) that one is SCOMP.
Niya yirrbaaja bilwanji, marmirr. He’s skiting to them that he’s a good craftsman.

yirrbi *n.*

Fish sp., “tow-line”, mackerel or king-fish.

yirrbija *v.i.*

Variant of **rirrbija** ‘lick, slurp’.

yirralutha *v.t.*

Variant of **yurrjalutha** ‘lose, misplace’.

yirrkawatha *v.i.*

Twitch (muscle), in telepathic response.
Yirrkawath, ngijinda thabuju daliju. I’m twitching, indicating that my older brother will come.

yirrngirndi *n.*

“Smelly turtle”, short-necked tortoise.
Yirrngirndi bitharriya banjind. *Babijuwalada diyajarra yirrngirndina, yandabanda diyanmarri.* The smelly turtle has a strong taste. (Our) grandmothers used to eat the smelly turtle, but now (we) don’t eat it.

yubuja *v.adv.* (Ya)

Go quickly.
Yubujua warraj. He’s going quickly.

yubuyubu *n.*

1. Road, path, track, way.
Ngada dangkawalathi junkuwatha yubuyubunurru. I met the people on the track.
Yubuyubu niya junkuruth. He straightened the way (for younger generations).

yukaa *n.*

Chest plate of turtle.

yukanja *n.*

[LOC **yukanjaya**]
Long sardine.

yukija *v.i.*

Float, bob around.

yukijarmatha *v.t.*

Blow down, blow loose.
Warrngalda yukijarmatha kaliku. The wind has blown the tarpaulin loose.

yukija warraja stagger.

yukunda *n.qual.*

Afloat, adrift.

yukurdida *interjec.*

That’s right! Hear, hear!
A: Kangku marriju ngald.
B: Yukurdida warraja yandabanid, marrij! A: Let’s hear what he has to say. B: That’s right, we can go in a little while, listen now!

yulaaja

1. *v.i.* Be frightened, shy, ashamed.

2. *v.t.* Be frightened or shy of.
Yulaaja malay. He’s scared of the water.

Kunawuna yulaaja dathinmaalija dangkawaalij. The child is afraid of that man.

yulaalutha *v.t.*

Frighten, scare.

yulaanda *n.qual.*

Frightened, “touchy”.

yulaanmarrirutha *v.t.*

Calm OBJ down, cause OBJ not to be frightened.

yulijja *v.i. & v.t.*

Try, try OBJ. In coverbal construction means ‘try and, try to V’.

Ngada wuuju ngumbanju, yulijju danku kujiju kalathu nyingk. I will give it to you, and you will try and cut this spearhead.

yulinda *n.*
Echo.

yulkaaja *v. i.*

1. Go straight through without stopping, follow an unerring path.

Bawuwarriya thulanmarri .. yulkaand. They're not going down into the surf, they're going straight on past.

2. Always do, do without fail, do with lasting effect.

Mijilda daranmarri, yulkaaja jaaja mijiliiwath, burrinangu. The net isn't broken, they always go into the net and can't get out.

Yulkaaja warraj! Get away and stay away! (Said to women at a ritual).

yulkaanda *n. qual.*

1. Perfect, "number one", properly observed (law).

2. Eternal, permanent.

Yulkaanda mirraa! Perfect! Number one!

yulkaanmarutha *v. t.*

Do to for good (by indirect means, verbal rather than physical).

Nyinyilkiya balarra dangkawalada thaarija wuuja rarumbanmarutha jardimarutha bilwanda dulka mungkiji, yulkaanmaruth. At Nyinyilki white people gave the Kaiadilt people back their own country, for ever (in ceremony transferring legal title).

yulkaliija *v. i.*

Always, reliably, for good.

Ngada yulkaliiju warraju, ngada yulkaluthu danathu ngumbanju. I'm going away for good, I'm leaving you for good.

yulkalutha *v. t.*

Do with lasting effect on OBJ, do properly to OBJ.

Ngada ngumbanji yulkalutha danath. I'm leaving you for good.

Yulkalutha balath He hit him real hard.

yulkanjaliija *v. i.*

Leave for good, go away for good.

Niya rarumbanjir dulkir yulkinjaliij. He has gone to the south country for good.

Yulkanjaliija ngada warraj, ngada thaanangu. I'm going away for good, I won't come back.

yulmburra *n. qual.* (K, Ya)

Long in space or time, tall, lined up (e.g. stars).

Danda yulmburra niwanda thabuju.

His older brother is this tall.

Ngimi yulmburri biyaj. We paddled for a long time in the dark.

yulmburra thawurra *n.*

Young man tall enough for hunting.

yulmburrjija *v. i.*

Sit with legs parallel and extended.

yulu *n.*

1. Tide, tidal pull.

Wanjijia yakuri kabinji malaya jinkaj, yuluya jinkaj. The fish are coming up behind the high tide, following the tide.

2. Whirlpool, rip, current.

yumarija (~ **yuumarija**) *v. t.*

Submerge, turn upside down in water; (cause to) drown by holding under water.

Jungarra malaa yumarija ngukuya ngambuy. The high seas submerged the fresh water wells.

Ngalda yumarija bijarrbay. We drowned the dugong (by holding its head underwater).

yumatha *v. i.* (~ **yuumatha**)

Drown.

yurdaa *n. loc.*

1. Inside.

2. Far out to sea.

Darri wambalwarraanki ngijinda kularrinda yurday. After travelling for a long while through the bush my brother is way out at sea.

yurdaa damanda *gums.*

yurdaa jara instep.

yurdaa kirrka nostril.
yurdaa malaa far out to sea
yurdaya ngimi in the middle
of the night.
yurdayiwatha *v.i.*
Go inside.
*Kalija ngada yurdayiwatha
bardakayiwath.* I jumped up into the
belly (of the plane).

yurданji *n.*
Pregnant woman.

yurdayurda *n.*
High sea, open sea.
*Bijarrb, bangaa, yurdayurdawulatha
niya waldarra kurrkath.* Dugong,
turtle, Moon brought them in from
the open sea.

yurra *n.*
1. Body.
2. Form.
Niida yurra dangkaa same sort of
person (physically).
3. Colour.
Danda yurra thungalda marak.
(Barrindindi) was (red) in colour like
this dress.

yurralutha *v.t.*
Waste, reject, throw away.
Dathina kunawuna yurralutha wuranki.
That child is throwing away his food.
*Thurdakiyurdaki kurdamaruth, mirraa
wurand, yurralinmarri.* Tripod fish
were gathered in coolamons, they're
good food, weren't thrown away.

yurrbirdiwatha *v.i.* (Ya)
Be tired.
Ngada yuurra yurrbirdiwatha. I'm
tired.

yurrarrija *v.i.*
Warm one's body over fire.
Yurrarrija marlda kaburrbay! Warm
your hands over the coals!
Karnaja yurrarrija bardak, mirraruth!
Light a fire and warm your belly,
make yourself feel better!

yurrbaaja *v.i. & v.t.*
Variant of *yirrbaja* 'skite'.

yurrija *v.i.*
Roll.
Yurrija warraja kamarr. The stone is
rolling.

yurrjatha *v.i.* (~ **yuurrjatha**)
Get lost, disappear.
Ngakurra yurrjanangku. We two won't
get lost.
Ngukuntha yurrjatharrbanth. The
water has disappeared (from the well).

yurrjalutha *v.t.*
Lose, misplace.

yurrumija *v.i.*
(Surfacing dugong) roll.
Yurrumija budij. It's rolling along.
Yurruminki waratha ngad. I sent it
off rolling (i.e. failed to grasp it).

yurruurrija *v.t.*
(REDUP **yurruurriyurruurrija**)
Swear at, abuse with threats.
Yuurruurrinjutharri. They didn't swear
at each other.
Yuurruurrija ngijinji ngamathumaruth.
He swore at me, saying bad things
about my mother.

yurruurrinda *n.*
Swearer.

yurruyurru
1. *n. qual.* Pestering, persistent,
unceasing.
2. *n.* Lover, persistent suitor.
Ngijinda yurruyurru, ngalamathuthu.
My lover, we will make love to each
other.

yurruyurrurutha *v.t.*
Keep on at, keep teasing.
Birra yurruyurruruthuth. They keep
teasing each other.

yurruyurruwatha *v.i.*
Keep on going, go on and on,
persist.
Ngaakawuru bayi yurruyurruwath?
Why does this fight keep on going?

Yurruyurruwatha rajurrij, ngakulda barnkaldij. We've been walking on and on, let's sit down.

-yurruyurru *n. suffix.*

Person who can't stay away from something, e.g. *mala-yurruyurru* person always going down to the sea.

yurrwaa *n. qual.*

Insides, guts.

Jungarra kinyind, yurrwaa. He's got a big body, a big gut on him.

Danurru thungalnurru kurriju yurrawu ngumbanju. With this thing (the X-ray machine) (they) will look at your insides.

yuthiji

1. *n.loc.* Front, first part of; in front.

2. *n.* Prow of dinghy.

Yuthiji rar! It's in front, in the south.

yuthiji mangara first rain of storm.

yuthijiwanda *n. qual., n.*

First in a line or series.

Yuthijiwanda kurirrwath. The first lot (of fish) died.

Yuthijiwanda wurrkurld the first rains.

yuuda [**yuuth-**] *n.time.*

Ya allows **yuuda** ~ **yuurra**.

1. First.

Yuuthu jirrkawu. Let's try in the north first.

2. Now in contrast to before.

Ngawiija niya yuud. He's breathing again now.

3. (as preverb) already.

yuujbadiyarrba *n.*

Oldest sibling, firstborn sibling.

Bilkunngathi, Dukulukara, ngalawanda kajakaj, bana ngijind, ngijinda kajakaj, yuujbadiyarrb.

Bilkunngathi, Dugal's, our father, mine too, my father, (he was) the firstborn.

yuujbanda [LOC **yuujbanji**]

1. *n., n.time.* Long ago, (in the old time.

Waldarra rayiija yuujband, ngakuluwankurrijarri. Moon was speared long ago, by us unwitnessed.

2. *n. qual.* Old-time.

yuujbanda wangarra an old-time song.

Yuujbanda ngunguk, kanthathu ngunguuja ngalawanji. Namu waldarr, dangkaa waldarr. It's an old-time story, father told it to us. (He's) not just the moon, the moon's a person.

3. *n. qual.* Dream-time.

Yuujbanda nyinyaaki, yuujbanda yarbud. It's a dream-time frog, a dream-time animal.

yuulutha *v.i.*

Go ahead, go before.

May also be used as greeting to someone going past, acknowledging that they wish to continue on their way rather than visit: *yuuluth!*

yuulutharrmatha *v.t.*

Take on ahead, before others.

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Plates



Plate 1. Darwin Moodoonuthi, 1982



Plate 2. Darwin Moodoonuthi, Dugal Goongarra and Pluto Bentinck, Mornington Island, 1982



Plate 3. The author with Darwin and May Moodoonuthi,
Morningson Airport, 1982



Plate 4. Dugal Goongarra, Morningson Island, 1982



Plate 5. Pluto Bentinck, Mornington Island, 1982



Plate 6. Roma Kelly netting fish, 1984



Plate 7. Dawn Naranatjil smoking a *rarrwaa* , Mornington Island, 1984



Plate 8. Rhea and Roonga Bentinck, 1982



Plate 9. Roland Moodoonuthi with bonefish, Rukuthi, Bentinck Island, 1984



Plate 10. Cooking fish, Rukuthi, Bentinck Island, 1984



Plate 11. Beach camp, Rukuthi, Bentinck Island, 1984

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