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THE NGANKIKURUNGKURR LANGUAGE
(DALY RIVER AREA, NORTHERN TERRITORY)

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PREFACE

This study of the Ngankikurungkurr language was begun a long time ago, 1967, when the late Associate Professor W.G. (Bill) Hoddinott of the English Department at the University of New England first went to the Daly River to record as much as possible of the languages spoken there. He was at the same time working on languages from the North Coast of New South Wales and languages of the Djamindjungan group spoken in the Victoria River area south of the Daly River.

Much of the preliminary analysis of the Ngankikurungkurr material was undertaken during the five years, January 1970 to December 1974, I spent as Professor Hoddinott's research assistant. Further material in the language was recorded by Professor Hoddinott in 1972, 1973 and 1982 and by myself in 1971 and 1972. Professor Hoddinott continued the work on the language on a part-time basis in addition to a heavy teaching commitment in English and Linguistics. The study was approaching completion at the time of his death in late 1984.

The area presenting most problems in this study was the phonology. Ngankikurungkurr differs from most other Australian languages in having not only voiced and voiceless stop phonemes but also a fricative and two sibilants. When I began part-time work on completion of the study at the beginning of 1985, there were up to eight different versions of some sections of the phonology. At one stage Professor Hoddinott had obviously decided that there was only one phoneme in the velar position and all examples in the text and glossary had been phonemicised in accordance with this.

However, in what appeared to be the most recent version of the phonology he had had a change of heart, and included not only a voiced/voiceless contrast at the velar point of articulation, but also a fricative. This necessitated my re-listening to all the tapes so that I could come to my own decision and so that the glossary and examples given in the text would accurately reflect this decision.

Professor Hoddinott had recorded a good quantity of the related dialect Ngankiwumirri, but had not yet done any analysis of it. In an effort to come to the correct decision regarding the Ngankikurungkurr phonology, I decided to go through all the Ngankiwumirri material as well and have made some notes regarding this throughout the text. There still remains scope for more comparative work to be done on the two dialects.

Chapter 1 and most of Chapter 3 were completed by Professor Hoddinott and appear here in that form. Where there were several versions of a final draft, as was the case with Chapter 2 (Phonology) and Chapter 4 (Verbs), I have amalgamated what I could of Professor Hoddinott's words with additions of my own where necessary. Chapters 5 and 6 closely follow the draft and notes left by Professor Hoddinott. Copies of the final and pre-final drafts left will be deposited with the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies so that comparisons with this final version can be made by those interested.

The only other significant study of the language is an honours dissertation on 'The basic morphology of Ngankikurungkurr' written by Nicholas Reid at the Australian National University in 1982.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The most important acknowledgement must be to the Ngankikurungkurr and Ngankiwumirri people who not only spent time teaching us their language but showed us their beautiful country, with billabongs full of red lotuses, blue water lilies, turtles and fish and wide plains abundant with game.

Particular thanks are due to Miriam-Rose Angkanmerr Bauman for allowing us to use her traditional Ngankikurungkurr stories (see Appendix 2). In 1974 we were planning to try to publish these stories with illustrations by Miriam who is well known in the Daly area for her skill as an artist. She had started the paintings, but unfortunately they were destroyed by the flood in December of that year. The right to publish these stories in picture book form at a later date is retained by Miriam.

Thanks are also due to Bridget (Minnie) Tyululuk and her late mother, to Molly and her late husband, who had suffered from the terrible scourge of the North, leprosy and who was Bills' major Ngankiwumirri informant and the teller of the stories included in Appendix 3, to Rosie, Barney, Harry Wilson and to Charlie Eriyu.

Field work at the Daly River was funded partly by the University of New England and partly by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

I would like to thank Fathers O'Carrigan, Leary and Bisset and Brother Howley of the Daly River Mission (now Nawiya) for extending use of Mission facilities to Bill and myself.

I am grateful to Dr A. Capell and Dr D.T. Tryon for allowing us access to their field notes and Dr Tryon for agreeing to read the manuscript.

Thanks are due to Nicholas Reid and Dr M.J. Walsh for allowing A.N.U. to copy their theses on Ngankikurungkurr and Murrinypata for me. Thanks are also due to Dorothy May who typed the manuscript.

Completion of the work would not have been possible without a grant given by the University of New England.

Finally I must thank my husband and children for their patience with me while completing the work.

Frances Kofod

February 1986

EDITORIAL STATEMENT

The manuscript of this book was submitted to Pacific Linguistics after the death of W.G. Hoddinott. Consideration by our reviewers and consultation with various linguists familiar with recent work on languages of that area led the Pacific Linguistics editors to decide upon publication of the work, but we would ask the reader to bear in mind that the book is to be considered essentially as archival material.

The Hoddinott-Kofod manuscript was based on fieldwork carried out some fifteen to twenty years ago. As a result, much of the information contained in the introductory chapter is out of date, and reflects the situation which existed in the early sixties: as an example, the number of persons who speak Ngankikurungkurr as their first language is now hardly more than 150, none of them children, and the languages are rapidly declining. As a further result of the passage of time, and the changing state of the people, anthropological information on kinship systems and cults, as given in the introductory chapter, no longer entirely holds good. Moreover, the data on Ngankikurungkurr presented in the manuscript were obtained from a young informant, and constitute a dying form of the language, with grammatical and other features not met with in the traditional forms of the language. Nonetheless, so long as these factors are clearly understood by the reader, the Hoddinott-Kofod manuscript presents material of no little interest, giving a large amount of data of two little-known languages, and providing materials which can be compared with the traditional form of the languages involved, such as given by Nicholas Reid's BA Honours thesis.

It is for this reason that the editors have decided to make this manuscript available by publishing it in series D.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	Ablative (<i>nimbi</i>)	LIM	Limitative (<i>napa</i>)
AGE/INST	Agentive/Instrumental (<i>ningki</i>)	LOC	Locative (<i>nide</i>)
ALL	Allative (away from speaker/action) (<i>pefi</i>)	m	Masculine
ATT	Attempted action marker (<i>mene</i>)	MASC	Masculine generic term
AUX	Auxiliary	NEG	Negative particle (<i>mintā</i>)
C(i-viii)	Class marker	NP	Noun Phrase
COMP	Comparative Particle (<i>ngani</i>)	ns	Non-Singular
CONT	Continuous action marker (<i>puy</i>)	O	Object
CONJ	Conjunction	OA	Orientation Auxiliary
CS	Causative prefixes to verb stem (<i>fi-</i> , <i>mi-</i>)	P	Perfective
CVS	Compound Verb Stem	PAST	Past
d	Dual	pl	Plural
DEM	Demonstrative	PLUR	Pluraliser (<i>purpurrk</i>)
DEM(p)	Demonstrative (proximate)	pn	Pronoun
DEM(r)	Demonstrative (remote)	POSS	Possibility marker (<i>nana</i>)
DO	Direct Object	ppn	Personal Pronoun
DUR	Durative prefix to numerals (<i>me-</i>)	PREF	Preferential particle (<i>nawa</i>)
ELL	Ellative	PRES	Present
EMPH	Emphatic suffix (<i>-ta</i> , <i>-ga</i>)	PROP	Proprietary (<i>werrī</i>)
ex	Exclusive	PUN	Punctiliar marker (<i>kana</i>)
EXC	Exclamation	PURP	Purposive (<i>ngini</i>)
f	Feminine	RECIP	Reciprocal
FUT	Future	RED	Reduplication
GEN	Generic	REFLEX	Reflexive
HOR	Hortative	REL	Relative particle
IMP	Imperfective	REL(L)	Relative locative particle (<i>ngan</i>)
IMPERS	Impersonal	REL(T)	Relative temporal particle (<i>gimin</i>)
IMPR	Imperative	s	Singular
inc	Inclusive	S	Subject
INST	Instrumental	t/m/a	Tense, Mood and Aspect
INT	Interrogative	TSA	Toward Action/Speaker (<i>pagu</i>)
INTEN	Intensifier (<i>wurru</i> , <i>kirri</i>)	vb	Verb
IO	Indirect Object	VC1-26	Auxiliary Verb Class
ISOL	Isolative pronoun (<i>felfi</i>)	+	Obligatory
		±	Optional

1. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

1.1 LINGUISTIC TYPE

Ngankikurungkurr is a member of the Daly Family of languages which is located about 150 miles south and west of Darwin, Northern Territory. The Daly Family extends from the Daly River as far south as the Fitzmaurice River, and comprises nine languages and fifteen dialects (Tryon 1974:x). Ngankikurungkurr and Ngankiwumirri (a dialect with which it shares an estimated 84% of lexical cognates) together form the Tyemirri group of languages. Both are multiple-classifying languages within the prefixing group of Australian languages and are not members of the Pama-Nyungan Family.

Phonologically Ngankikurungkurr is a single laminal language with stops at bilabial, alveolar, alveo-palatal and velar positions and with corresponding nasals. However it differs from the normal Australian pattern described by Dixon (1980:125-127) in distinguishing voiced and voiceless stops at bilabial, alveolar and velar positions and in having a bilabial fricative and alveo-palatal and retroflexed spirants. There are also an alveolar and alveo-palatal lateral, a trill, a semi-retroflexed continuant and two semi-vowels. There are four vowels, distinguishing high and low, front and back. Words and roots may begin with either a consonant or a vowel.

Morphologically the language is agglutinative and employs prefixation and suffixation widely to indicate grammatical relationships. The following word classes have been identified: nouns, pronouns, adjectivals, adverbs, deictic specifiers, interrogatives, conjunctions, particles, interjections, verb auxiliaries and verb roots.

There are nine classes of nouns which are distinguished semantically. The classes discriminate human beings (distinguishing male and female in the singular but not in the plural), animals, dogs, vegetable foods, body parts, hunting weapons, trees and wooden objects. This last class may be extended to include any other manufactured object and so serves as the class for most articles from European culture. It also covers natural phenomena and songs and stories. The classes are normally indicated by means of a class-marker which is prefixed to the noun and/or to any other word which may act as the headword of the Noun Phrase as well as those words which serve to modify the headword. Nouns and headwords are also normally case-marked for agent, instrument, location, purpose or beneficiary, direction both towards or away from, and for the proprietive.

Pronouns distinguish singular, dual and plural number in all three persons and discriminate between inclusive and exclusive in the non-singular first persons. The pronoun subject of verbs are indicated by prefixes while object pronouns, both direct and indirect, occur as suffixes. Free pronouns, like nouns, may also be case-marked. Both nouns and free pronouns inflect in an ergative pattern. Verbs are morphologically either simple or compound. Simple verbs are finite auxiliary

verbs which consist of a verb root, a subject pronoun prefix and a tense marker and (if transitive) an object pronoun suffix. There are nine simple verbs which describe states like sitting, lying and standing or basic actions like going or seeing. A number of these verbs may occur with a copular function with predicative adjectives.

The majority of verbs are compound verbs which consist of an auxiliary verb with a modified or unmodified compound verb stem. There are 30 conjugations of auxiliary verbs of which nine are also simple verbs. Each conjugation class consists of the finite auxiliary verb and the verb roots which select it. The conjugation classes are morphologically distinct in the way they indicate such categories as tense, number, aspect, reflexivity and such functions as transitivity and intransitivity.

Phrase and sentence modification takes place by means of adjectives, adverbials, deictic specifiers, and free particles. Adverbials have freedom of placement in the sentence and their position is largely determined by the emphasis required by the meaning of the sentence.

1.2 NAMES AND TRADITIONAL TERRITORY

The Ngankikurungkurr are known by a number of names in the Daly River area, but this is the name by which the members of the tribe normally refer to themselves. The Daly River tribes often include the word for language as the first element in their names. This is true of those names beginning with *murriny* (like *murriyjyata* 'the good language'), and *marri* (as in the *marrithiyel* 'the language of the paper bark trees'), as well as *nganki* – (Nganki) Ngankikurungkurr literally means 'the language of the middle of the water' (*kuri* 'water' and *ngkurr* suffix). This is regarded by informants as meaning 'the language spoken by the people who live in an area surrounded by water' – an accurate description of the regions which they originally inhabited and the one in which they now live, both of which are well-watered by rivers and billabongs. They are also referred to as the 'Tyemirri', an adjective/adverb meaning 'finished' or 'completed' and so the alternative name for the language *Ngankityemirri* means 'the finished or perfected language'.

These names do not occur in the earlier literature, Stanner (1933:383) in his studies on the Daly River refers to the Wangiameri and to other tribes, such as the Djerait, Wogait, Kamar, Yunggor, Kungarakan, Nangimeri, and Nangiblerbi. Who the Nangiblerbi are is impossible to say; the name occurs elsewhere only as a tribal name in Davidson's Ethnic Map of Australia (1938) which incorporates Stanner's material. The usual designation for the Ngankikurungkurr is the 'Moyle' and it is as this that they are referred to by Stanner (1933:378) and Capell (1963:N60) and Oates and Oates (1970:28:25Nr).

As Tryon has pointed out 'Moyle' is a geographical term and may be the Marengarr word for 'swamp'. More specifically it refers to the area around the Moyle River which flows into Hyland Bay and the upper reaches of which drain the extensive Moyle Plains. This is the original home of the tribe to the east of Port Keats. Their tribal land occupies an area from Tom Turners Crossing to slightly north of Peppimenarti. The Nyankiwumirri, who speak the other dialect of Tyemirri, come from the junction of the Fish River near the Flora and the Daly to the east of them. Their immediate neighbours to the north and west are the Marrimanindii, the Marrithiyel and the Marengarr; in the south they border on to the territory of the Murrinykurra, a tribe of the Murrinykata people. Falkenberg's (1962:12) location of the tribe as living 'near the Wargod' at the southern side of the mouth of the Daly River is quite incorrect.

1.3 RECENT HISTORY

The history of the aboriginal peoples of the Daly River region over the last hundred years has been one of tribal migration which has led to a virtual depopulation of most of the area between the Daly and the Fitzmaurice Rivers apart from a few settlements chief among which are those at Port Keats and Daly River. The region remained largely unexplored by white settlers who set up cattle stations below the Fitzmaurice and along the Victoria Rivers to the south and around Katherine to the east. Exploration also went ahead along the Daly River, the course of which was traced in 1876. Copper was discovered in the early 1880s in the Hayward Range about six miles from the site of the present Daly River Mission, and a copper smelter was set up in 1904. Gold was discovered at Fletcher's Fully to the south-west and mining and mineral exploration continued until 1915. Since then there have been a number of shortlived agricultural enterprises including a sugar plantation, a government experimental farm and planned settlements of small farmers and sporadic attempts to grow peanuts, cashews and seed for tropical pastures. Other ventures include crocodile shooting, barramundi fishing and cattle raising.

During the 1880s and 1890s there were three attempts to set up a Jesuit Mission. The first mission was set up in 1886 at Uniya on the west bank of the Daly, a few miles downstream from the present crossing. This was closed in 1889 and a second mission was founded near Hermit Hill about 20 miles inland on the west bank. This lasted until 1891 when a third site was chosen on the eastern bank at New Uniya and this one remained in operation until 1899 when the Jesuits withdrew from the Northern Territory.

The effect of all these schemes has been to attract aborigines away from their tribal territories and towards the narrow fertile strip of land along the river which has been the centre of all attempts at settlement and development. This is the site of the present Sacred Heart Mission near the Crossing. It was originally the territory of the Kamu (Kamor) – a tribe which is now almost certainly extinct, and later of the Malag Malag. In 1884 the murder of six copper miners by local aborigines brought down on their heads a punitive expedition which shot over 150 aborigines as a reprisal. The majority of these were aborigines living close to the River, including Kamar and Malag Malag. These tribes were severely depleted in numbers leaving the area around the crossing barely occupied. The gap was filled by migrations which began about the turn of the century and increased in tempo. Stanner (1964:76) notes that the Ngankiwumirri left their tribal lands about the end of the last century for the gold mine at Fletcher's Gully and reached the Daly River somewhat later. In 1892 McKillop (1892:254) described the tribes around the Jesuit Mission at Hermit Hill as consisting of the Cherites (Djerait), the Ponga Ponga (Pungu Pungu), and Mulluk Mulluks and the Matngelli (Matngala). By 1933 Stanner noted 'Tribesmen from as far away as the Fitzmaurice River and even the Victoria River are to be met there. Between the crossing and Brians Creek, two points about eighteen miles apart on the middle Daly forming roughly the extremes of the settlement are to be found members of such tribes as Mulluk Mulluk, Madngella, Marnungo, Nangiomeri, Marithiel, Moil, Maringar, Wagaman, Nangor, Marimanindji, and the Pungu Pungu, other tribes such as the Djerait, Wogait, Kamor, Yunggor, Kungorakan, Nangimeri and Ngangiblerbi formerly were in contact with the settlement but are either now extinct or the few survivors have drifted into the stations and sidings along the railway line such as Pine Creek, Katherine, Brocks Creek, Adelaide River and Rum Jungle. Some Wogait are at Darwin.' (Stanner 1933a:383).

This wholesale migration brought the tribes into close and corrosive contact with one another and with European and Chinese settlers. Old and new tensions flared into violence. Stanner's informant Durmugam told him that he remembered, 'only two things clearly of his earliest days on the Daly,

where his mother died at the copper mine – endless, bloody fights between the river and the back-country tribes and numbers of drink-sodden aborigines lying out in the rain’ (Stanner 1964:76). Certainly the numbers of aborigines declined dramatically. Some of the small tribes ceased to exist. Those aborigines who did not die from the feuding along the river or from alcohol or opium, were subject to the diseases which the white men brought with them, measles, tuberculosis, influenza and syphilis. When Stanner arrived at the Daly in 1932 he estimated the total number of aborigines at about 200 (Stanner 1933a:383).

The first step in arresting the movement away from the tribal lands was taken by the founding of the Sacred Heart Mission at Port Keats in 1935. The Murrinykata and those Brinken and Djamindjungan people who had not gone elsewhere moved there instead of migrating to the cattle stations and the towns. Along the Daly River itself a Sacred Heart Mission was set up in 1955 initially with aborigines from Port Keats and this has had much the same effect. It has arrested the decline in numbers and now the aboriginal population is steadily increasing.

The Ngankikurrungkurr are now the largest single tribe at the Daly River Mission and there are not between 200-300 speakers there. Although there are significant numbers of Ngankiwumirri and small groups from other tribes, over the last ten years or so the Ngankikurrungkurr have become the dominant tribe in the region. In 1967 when field work was commenced the population of the Daly River Mission was far more heterogeneous. But over the years most of the Brinken have moved back to Port Keats. There are very few Malag Malag and Matngala speakers left and almost all of them are at Wooliana.

In 1975 as part of the outstation movement a cattle station and settlement were set up on the tribal homeland at Peppimenarti (*fepiminati* ‘big hill’) on the Moyle plains, about 60 miles from the Daly River Mission, and by 1982 there were about 200 people living there. Both there and at the Daly River Mission there is a literacy program in Ngankikurrungkur which is the first language of between 300-400 children and adults and is in active daily use.

1.4 PRESENT CULTURAL SITUATION

Stanner's studies of the Ngankiwumirri provide an invaluable insight into the cultural background of the Tyemirri tribes for they share the same social structure with its rituals and beliefs. Much of what he described nearly 50 years ago is relevant today though there have inevitably been changes in the aboriginal way of life.

Even today the Daly River is a relatively undeveloped, fertile and well-wooded area with abundant natural food and game; and it is possible for aborigines to hunt and collect food in many of the traditional ways. Indeed until comparatively recently the Mission employed many of the old men to hunt as a way of supplementing the food supply. Even now children are taught to hunt and fish although their lives no longer depend upon it; and on regular holidays in the bush they are able to develop the traditional aboriginal skills of living off the land. Initiation is still an important induction into full membership of aboriginal life and other aspects of the traditional way of life are still strongly preserved. Social structure is of the Kariera type with eight subsections – a social organisation which has been adapted in comparatively recent times from the Victoria River and which came eventually from the Kimberleys. Aborigines are well aware of which subsection they belong to and their totem and who they should marry even if marriages do not necessarily follow the pattern prescribed. There is also some marrying beyond the tribe. There is also widespread knowledge and practice of the social taboos like mother-in-law avoidance and *ngirrwat* – the taboo on speaking with someone who

has the same name. The most widely observed of traditional practices are those associated with death although these too have undergone change. Burial is now universal but the clothes of the dead person are ritually burned and it is forbidden to utter his name for about a year after his death. If the person is named after a place or an object which is frequently and necessarily mentioned a 'cover term' is employed to avoid breaking the taboo. When I discussed this matter with informants I found that they resented the way in which white men referred to the dead by name, and found it offensive and insensitive.

Other practices have perhaps lost significance though it is hard to generalise. Corroborees seem now largely a means of entertainment and do not necessarily accompany events of significance. The sorcery and witchcraft which Stanner found to be so prevalent along the Daly River that there was an atmosphere of fear in which men feared the kidney fat stealers or the sorcerer, has largely gone. But until recently those who offended against the tribal law could still be 'sung' (Birk: personal communication). It seems likely that these practices will disappear with the deaths of the old men who used the magical powers as a way of establishing and exercising their own authority. Ceremonies like Kunapippi which were known locally as 'Big Sunday' or 'the Sunday business' disappeared in the 1960s because they were accompanied by a number of tribal killings.

It is also not possible to make a clear statement about religious belief or the relationship between the real world and the spiritual. Stanner found that in about 1920 the traditional deity, the rainbow *angumungki* was believed to have died and been replaced by the cult of Kunapippi and Garwadi. Stories of Angumungki are still known and told, though it is doubtful if many of those listening know their full significance. Many of the aborigines on the Mission are nominally Catholic, though they find little difficulty in reconciling some belief in a spirit world in the aboriginal sense with a Catholic one. To some extent the degree of belief in an aboriginal spirit world is a function of age. Older speakers have a greater belief in spirit beings than the younger ones; just as the younger aboriginal girls understand the relation between the sexual act and conception whilst the older women still believe that conception results from the observance of certain traditional acts which cause the spirit children to enter them.

In many ways, then, the traditional beliefs are giving way or being modified in the light of changing circumstances and here the Missions have played a significant role. If they have helped to preserve the existence of the people they have also helped to change their way of life. This has occurred less through religion than through material benefits such as health care and education. Multiple births are not regarded with the same hostility and suspicion. Babies are named at birth; circumcision takes place at birth and in hospital and no longer as a part of the initiation into manhood. Education and the western way of life has profoundly altered the opportunities for girls far beyond the limits which traditional aboriginal society prescribes for them. They can now take up positions as teachers, nursing aides, and secretaries, positions in which they have an authority previously denied them. This is frequently resented by older men. They are also reluctant to follow the life they see their mothers and aunts enduring and remain unmarried longer or seek to marry at their own choice and for more romantic reasons than traditional society allowed. This has necessarily caused tension in aboriginal society. As the men have lost their traditional authority with the decline of a hunting economy, so women have increased their status in a way of life which values their skills more highly.

There has been a movement over the last few years to assert aboriginal identity along with the movement for land right. This has taken a number of forms. The outstation movement has resulted in a large number of the Ngankikurungkurr moving to their traditional land in the permanent settlement at Peppimenarti.

1.5 RELATION TO NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

The language to which Ngankikurungkurr is most closely related is Ngankiwumirri with which it shares 84% of cognates. The two are dialects of the Tyemirri language. The dialects are almost identical. They have the same unitary phonemes and differences between the phonemic systems are minor. There is the same close similarity in morphology. The only difference in the two main class systems in that Ngankikurungkurr has *ali-* as the class marker for hunting weapons where Ngankiwumirri has *yel-*. In the verb structure Ngankiwumirri has *-pe* as the future clitic and *-nyine* as the present where Ngankikurungkurr has *-ngini* future and *kana* present. In Ngankikurungkurr *-ngini* indicates both future in the verb phrase and purposive in the noun phrase whereas in Ngankiwumirri *-pe* is the future marker in the verb phrase and *-ne* is the purposive clitic. Elsewhere there are only lexical differences often of a minor nature, for example Ngankiwumirri has *wungkume* and *wagarri* where Ngankikurungkurr has *wukume* and *fagarri* for the numerals 'one' and 'two'.

Constant interchange and frequent intermarriage between the two tribes has given rise to lexical borrowing; Ngankikurungkurr speakers frequently use the Ngankiwumirri form *kunyungun* 'boomerang' in place of their own longer form *yuri karrityen muyi*. Other Ngankiwumirri words used include *madit* 'hawk', *mipurr* 'man' and the phrase *awa tyityipi* 'big mob' instead of the Ngankikurungkurr *awabakuty*.

Yet speakers are aware of these as borrowed words and when challenged will identify them as Ngankiwumirri words and provide the appropriate form in their own dialect.

There is little close lexical relationship with other languages of the Daly Family. The Brinken group has between 30-35% shares cognates and other languages have lower percentages. Structurally, however, the Brinken languages are similar to the Tyemirri groups and the low level of shared cognates does not prevent many Ngankikurungkurr speakers from being able to understand and speak the Brinken languages and others of the Daly Family. The remarkable multilingualism which Stanner noted is still a feature of the area.

1.6 PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS

There has been little written on the Ngankikurungkurr language until the last few years. In the course of his field work Stanner recorded some items of vocabulary but there are no structural details.

In 1968 Tryon published a lexico-statistical survey of the languages of the Daly River in which on the basis of shared lexical cognates he identified the Daly Family and showed the groups, sub-groups, languages and dialects which comprise it. He identified nine languages and eighteen dialects in the three groups which make up the Daly Family. His article includes a word list of 95 items (Tryon 1968).

In 1970 he published 'Noun classification and concord in the Daly River languages' (Tryon 1970a). This provides a description of noun classification in the Tyemirri group as being a four class system for nouns with eight classes for modifying adjectives. In the same year he published a structural survey of the Daly Language Family (Tryon 1970b). This work was consolidated and developed further in his *Daly Family languages, Australia* (Tryon 1974) which provides material on 18 languages and dialects from the three groups of Daly languages together with a comparative word list and an overview. The description of the phonology and grammar of Ngankikurungkurr occupies 20 pages and that of Ngankiwumirri, 13 pages. The study not only incorporates previous material

but substantially revises it. Tryon now recognises Ngankikurungkurr as having eight classes of nouns and nine classes of adjectives. He does not endorse the distinction between voiced and voiceless stops nor the existence of fricatives, although he tentatively postulates their existence. The study is of great importance in its range and detail and provides a key to understanding the Daly languages.

More detailed papers on selected topics of Nganikurungkurr morphology and syntax appeared in *Grammatical categories in Australian languages* (Dixon 1976). Hoddinott and Kofod contributed papers on 'Ergative locative and instrumental case inflections' and 'Simple and compound verbs'. These provided fuller discussions of these aspects of Nganikurungkurr than can be found in Tryon's study. They form the basis for some parts of this work though in some areas they have been revised and altered in the light of further evidence. Tryon also contributed a discussion of the verbs in the Daly Family of which two pages are concerned with verb structure in the Tyemirri group. The material is largely a summary of what appears in his earlier work.

As a result of work done in 1976 the School of Australian Languages has produced a Nganikurungkurr Alphabet book which includes a tentative phonemic alphabet. It accepts the distinction between voiced and voiceless stops in alveolar and bilabial position and the existence of a bilabial fricative and the sibilants which Tryon had as problematical. It also postulates a palatalised sibilant *sy* and a lamino-dental *th*.

1.7 INFORMANTS

The material on which this study is based was collected mainly at the Daly River Mission, Northern Territory, in the course of linguistic field work during 1967, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973 and 1982. A number of informants were used. Among them were Minnie Tjululuk, Barney, Roger Kingangu, Judy Kelembi, Rosie, Harry Wilson and Charlie Eriyu. Our principal informant was Miriam Rose Angkanmerr Bauman (nee Wilson) whose intelligence and patience are largely responsible for making this study possible. The mistakes are, of course, ours.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.0 PHONEMES

Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Post Alveolar (Retroflex)	Alveo-Palatal	Velar
Stops vless	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>ty</i>	<i>k</i>
vd	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>			<i>g</i>
Fricatives	<i>f(ɸ)</i>				
Sibilants			<i>rs(ʂ)</i>	<i>sy</i>	
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ny</i>	<i>ng(ŋ)</i>
Laterals		<i>l</i>		<i>ly</i>	
Trill		<i>rr(ṛ)</i>			
Flap		<i>r</i>			
Semi vowels	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>	

Vowels

	front	back
high	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
low	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>

2.1 ATTESTATION OF CONSONANTS

2.1.1 STOP : STOP CONTRAST

<i>p/b</i>	<i>pat</i>	'rise' (vb root)	<i>bat</i>	'fall to ground' (vb root)
	<i>pul</i>	'clear away' (vb root)	<i>bul</i>	'cook' (vb root)
	<i>depi</i>	'head'	<i>debi</i>	'leg'
<i>p/t</i>	<i>pirr</i>	3pl object pronoun	<i>tirr</i>	2pl object pronoun
<i>p/ty</i>	<i>pek</i>	'drip' (vb root)	<i>tyek</i>	'cover (footprints)' (vb root)
<i>p/d</i>	<i>pirr</i>	3pl object pn	<i>dirr</i>	'edge'
<i>p/k</i>	<i>purrpurr</i>	'drip' (RED vb root)	<i>kurrkurr</i>	'sharpen' (RED vb root)
<i>p/g</i>	<i>pat</i>	'rise' (vb root)	<i>gat</i>	'lift' (vb root)
<i>t/d</i>	<i>tu</i>	'sleep' (vb root)	<i>du</i>	'taste, feel' (vb root)
	<i>tirr</i>	2pl object pn	<i>dirr</i>	'edge'

<i>t/b</i>	<i>ta</i>	'hit' (vb root)	<i>ba</i>	'arm'
<i>t/ty</i>	<i>tip</i>	'catch' (vb root)	<i>tyip</i>	'all day until dark'
<i>t/k</i>	<i>tal</i>	'fall' (vb root)	<i>kal</i>	'chase' (vb root)
<i>t/g</i>	<i>tatit</i>	'set wood in place for fire' (RED vb root)	<i>gatit</i>	'gather' (RED vb root)
<i>ty/b</i>	<i>tyul</i>	'roast' (vb root)	<i>bul</i>	'cook' (vb root)
<i>ty/d</i>	<i>tye</i>	past tense marker	<i>dede</i>	'camp, place'
<i>ty/k</i>	<i>tyek</i>	'cover (footprints)' (vb root)	<i>kek</i>	'spurt out' (vb root)
<i>ty/g</i>	<i>tyutyuk</i>	'send' (RED vb root)	<i>guguk</i>	'wait' (exclamation)
<i>k/b</i>	<i>kawa</i>	'come' (exclamation)	<i>bawa</i>	'pick up' (vb root)
<i>k/d</i>	<i>keme</i>	'kidney fat'	<i>deme</i>	'hand'
<i>k/g</i>	<i>kurrkurr</i>	'sharpen' (RED vb root)	<i>gurr gurr</i>	'miss' (RED vb root)
	<i>naka</i>	'red loin cloth'	<i>naga</i>	'brother-in-law'
	<i>eke</i>	'uncle'	<i>dege</i>	'stomach'
	<i>wakay</i>	'finished'	<i>waga</i>	'urine'
<i>b/d</i>	<i>bebi</i>	'face, self'	<i>debi</i>	'leg'
<i>p/b/d/ty/g</i>	<i>pi</i>	'comb hair'	<i>bi</i>	'axe'
	<i>di</i>	'cry'	<i>tyi</i>	'breast'
	<i>gi</i>	'fight'		

2.1.2 FRICATIVE : STOP CONTRAST

<i>f/p</i>	<i>fal</i>	'all night'	<i>pal</i>	'break' (vb root)
	<i>pefi</i>	'towards'	<i>fepi</i>	'stone'
<i>f/b</i>	<i>fi</i>	'blow (didjeridoo)'	<i>bi</i>	'axe'
	<i>akumifi</i>	'vein'	<i>akumibi</i>	'sting'
<i>rs/t</i>	<i>awirsi</i>	'spider'	<i>aweti</i>	'small animal'
<i>rs/d</i>	<i>rsi</i>	'cut' (vb root)	<i>di</i>	'cry' (vb root)
<i>rs/sy</i>	<i>mursi</i>	'die'	<i>wusye</i>	'hair'
<i>rs/ty</i>	<i>rsi</i>	'cut'	<i>tyi</i>	'breast'
<i>sy/ty</i>	<i>syurr</i>	'pluck' (vb root)	<i>tyurr</i>	'swim' (vb root)
	<i>tyusyuk</i>	'be hurt' (vb root)	<i>tyutyuk</i>	'gather' (vb root)

2.1.3 NASAL : NASAL CONTRAST

<i>m/n</i>	<i>mawa</i>	'catch' (vb root)	<i>nawa</i>	'then'
<i>m/ny</i>	<i>minta</i>	negative marker	<i>nyinta</i>	'there, that' (EMPH)
<i>m/ng</i>	<i>mirr</i>	'thunder' (vb root)	<i>ngirr</i>	1pl.ex object pronoun
<i>n/ny</i>	<i>nin</i>	1d.inc object pn	<i>nyin</i>	'that'
<i>n/ng</i>	<i>nagurr</i>	2pl p pronoun	<i>ngagurr</i>	1pl.ex p pronoun
<i>ny/ng</i>	<i>nyinyi</i>	2sg p pronoun	<i>ngini</i>	future/purposive marker

2.1.4 CONTRASTS BETWEEN LIQUIDS

<i>rr/r//ly</i>	<i>weri</i>	'hole'
	<i>werri</i>	propriative clitic
	<i>wele</i>	'hang' (vb root)
	<i>delyek</i>	'woman with at least one child'

2.1.5 SEMI-VOWEL CONTRASTS

<i>w/y</i>	<i>waga</i>	'urine'	<i>yaga</i>	'that'
	<i>weri</i>	'hole'	<i>yeri</i>	'walk' (vb root)

2.2 REALISATION OF CONSONANTS

2.2.1 STOP CONSONANTS

Ngankikurungkurr distinguishes between voiced and voiceless stops in the bilabial, alveolar and velar positions. The Tyemirri subgroup is alone in the Daly Family in making this distinction since it does not occur in the Brinken, Wogaity or MalakMalak groups (Tryon 1974, Birk 1976). This does occur in Murrinypata which is territorially adjacent to Ngankikurungkurr but is not a member of the Daly Family.

In his discussion of Ngankikurungkurr Tryon (1974:230-231) did not recognise the existence of a phonemic contrast between voiced and voiceless stops. He noted the medial contrast between such minimal pairs as *depi* 'head' and *debi* 'leg' but explained it as a contrast between a single stop and a geminate sequence, seeing the distinction as between *teppi* 'head' and *tepi* 'leg'.

This description is inadequate in a number of ways. Voiced and voiceless contrasts are not limited to a few cases of medial contrast but are widespread and systematic. The only voiceless stop which does not have a corresponding voiced phoneme is the alveopalatal /ty/ which is realised by a voiced allophone after nasals. For all other stops voiced and voiceless phonemes contrast initially and medially.

Gemination also occurs in Ngankikurungkurr and as Tryon shows (1974:237) geminate sequences contrast with single stop and nasal consonants in examples like:

<i>ngini</i>	'I sit' PAST	<i>nginni</i>	'we (pl.ex) sit' PAST
<i>ngudupun</i>	'I push' PRES	<i>nguddupun</i>	'we (pl.ex) push' PRES

where the distinction is morphemic, contrasting singular number with non-singular. The lateral geminate sequence /ll/ occurs in such words as *kulli* 'throw' and *pallak* 'lie down, give birth' but cannot be shown to contrast with /l/.

Ngankiwumirri shares the voiced/voiceless distinction between stops with Ngankikurungkurr. It was thought at first that this might not be the case as several instances were noted of a change from a voiceless intervocalic stop in Ngankikurungkurr to the corresponding voiced stop preceded by the homorganic nasal in Ngankiwumirri.

Ngankikurungkurr	Ngankiwumirri	
<i>wukume</i>	<i>wungume</i>	'one'
<i>wupun</i>	<i>wumbun</i>	3s 'hit' PRES

ngenike
wityibem

ngeningge
windyibem

'sister'
3s 'hang' PRES

However this variation is not systematic, in one case it works the other way; Ngankukurungkurr *ngindi* 1 singular indirect object becomes *ngiti* in Ngankiwumirri (in which language it contrasts with *ngidi* 'wait' (vb root)). (In one case in Ngankiwumirri this change results in an aberrant initial consonant cluster: Ngankikurungkurr *pirri* → Ngankiwumirri *mbirri* 'in front, ahead, first'.)

2.2.2 PRODUCTION OF STOPS

Stops are normally long in medial and unreleased in final positions.

The alveolar stop /d/ has a slightly retroflexed allophone which is most commonly heard in medial position, particularly between and following back vowels in words such as *wadat* 'flying fox', *adi* 'spouse' and *madi* 'low, side'. Its occurrence is not confined to these positions, for example *dirpederr* 'river' [*diɾpedeɾ* ~ *ɟiɾpedeɾ*]. There is also occasional variation between [d] and [ɾ].

<i>madi</i>	[<i>madi</i> ~ <i>maɟi</i> ~ <i>mari</i>]	
<i>dederri</i>	[<i>dedeɾi</i> ~ <i>deɟeɾi</i> ~ <i>dereɾi</i>]	'back'

There is phonemic contrast between /d/ and /ɾ/; *yedi* 'man' *yeri* 'walk'. While there is definitely a phonemic contrast between the voiced and voiceless stops at this point of articulation, there is still some confusion between the two.

We have

<i>tir</i>	2pl.O	v.	<i>dir</i>	'bank, edge'
<i>tu</i>	'sleep' (vb root)	v.	<i>du</i>	'touch, feel'

but we also have

<i>data</i>	'shoulder'
<i>tada</i>	'peel' (vb root)
<i>dada</i>	'scrape' (vb root)
<i>ta</i>	'hit' (vb root with auxiliary <i>wupun</i> -)
<i>da</i> (<i>dada</i>)	'hit with missile' (with auxiliary <i>bengim</i> -)
<i>dada</i>	'sing'

It seems likely that the verb root in *wupun ta* was originally the same as that in *bengim da* and that *tada* 'peel' is of the same origin as *dada* 'scrape' but the distinctions always occur today; *data* 'shoulder' is always heard in that form but *dada* 'sing' is usually heard with the retroflex allophone as [*ɟada*].

In Ngankiwumirri the distinction between /t/ and /d/ also occurs but the retroflex allophone of /d/ is much more common and the voiced stop [d] occurs as an allophone of /t/. As our main Ngankiwumirri informant was much older than our Ngankikurungkurr informants it seems possible that the original phonemic contrast was between /d/ and /ɟ/, but that now we have

/t/	with allophones [t] and [d]
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and

/d/	with allophones [d] and [ɟ]
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The laminal /ty/ has been described elsewhere as a stop, and among older speakers it occurs as an alveo-palatal stop, normally with some fricative release. Among younger speakers it is now largely an affricate. A tendency towards increased frication is widespread in the language particularly among younger speakers. It seems likely that in the case of /ty/, as with sibilants, this tendency has been encouraged by contact with English speakers and the influence of English methods of articulation. As in other single laminal languages /ty/ has both lamino-dental and lamino-alveopalatal allophones (Yallop 1972:60-61).

In Murrinykata the lamino-palatal allophone occurs before front vowels while the lamino-dental occurs before back vowels (Street: personal communication). In Ngankikurungkurr no such general rule seems to apply. Both palatal and dental allophones tend to occur in free variation before back vowels.

<i>thatma</i> ~ <i>tyatma</i>	'straight, upright'
<i>anganthamu</i> ~ <i>angantiyamu</i>	'turkey'
<i>athambuli</i> ~ <i>atyambuli</i>	'grasshopper'
<i>thathalak</i> ~ <i>tyatyalak</i>	'stand upright' (vb root)
<i>therrawu</i> ~ <i>tyerrawu</i>	'saliva'
<i>thatit</i> ~ <i>tyatit</i>	'lean' (vb root)
<i>dithungkurr</i> ~ <i>dityungkurr</i>	'short'
<i>thundityi</i> ~ <i>tyundityi</i>	'fishing spear'
<i>dawanthirr</i> ~ <i>dawantiyirr</i>	'armpit'
<i>athalmerr</i> ~ <i>atyalmer</i>	'barramundi'
<i>dathamu</i> ~ <i>datyamu</i>	'cheek'

This is not a universal principle since no alteration occurs in words like *tyabuty* 'grandfather (m.f.)/grandchild (d.s.)', *tyagani* 'what' and *tyungmem* 'wet'.

In Ngankiwumirri the lamino-dental allophone is the most common before all vowels. Ngankikurungkurr *yetyi* 'sister's child (to man)/brother's child (to woman)' becomes *yethi* and *adityibi* 'bandicoot' becomes *arithibi* in Ngankiwumirri. The voiceless alveo-palatal sibilant /sy/ which occurs in Ngankikurungkurr is usually replaced in Ngankiwumirri by the voiced fricative [ʒ] in free variation with the voiced stop [dʒ] thus Ngankikurungkurr *anganisyi* 'king brown snake' becomes Ngankiwumirri *anganizyi* ~ *anganidyi*. It is difficult to say whether this points to an original dual laminal system for the Tyemirri group or to an original complete set of voiced/voiceless contrasts at all points of articulation.

The velar consonants have proved particularly difficult to unravel. In medial position the voiceless stop /k/ contrasts with the voiced /g/ which has three allophones [g], [ɣ] and [χ]. The voiced fricative is heard between back vowels and the voiceless fricative is heard between high front vowels. When preceded by a front vowel and followed by a back vowel either fricative is used.

<i>naka</i>	'red loin cloth'
<i>naga</i> ~ <i>nava</i>	'brother-in-law'
<i>bakuty</i>	'many'
<i>pagu</i> ~ <i>paru</i>	'towards'
<i>nugurr</i> ~ <i>nuɣurr</i>	'bundle of spears'
<i>ngukuma</i>	'dreaming'
<i>werrikirri</i>	'because'
<i>derrigirri</i> ~ <i>derriɣirri</i>	'like, want' (vb root)

<i>piket</i>	'cut hair' (vb root)
<i>pigat ~ pivat ~ piχat</i>	'sneak up on' (vb root)

In initial position all four velar allophones have been heard. Of 71 entries in the glossary beginning with a velar consonant (not counting compounds and reduplicated verb roots) 55 have never been recorded with any initial allophone other than [k]. These include common words such as *kana* 'now', *kerre* 'big', *kide* 'where' and *kulyi* 'evening' which have been recorded many times in all types of situations and from all informants. The remaining 16 words and their derivatives show consistent free variation between [k], [χ] and rarely [g-]. (The third imperfective subject prefix to the auxiliary verb *g-* shows the variation between these three allophones as well.) There is only one case where a minimal pair precludes the possibility of free variation with *k*.

<i>kurrkurr</i>	'dig, scrape, sharpen'
<i>χurrχurr</i>	'miss'

This last has been recorded as *gurr* in Ngankiwumirri but always *χurr* in Ngankikurungkurr.

<i>kangi ~ χangi</i>	'high, sky'
<i>kada ~ χada ~ gada</i>	'feel sad' (vb root)
<i>kerrkerryerr ~ χerryerr</i>	'rotten'
<i>gerryerr gerryerr</i>	
<i>kirr ~ χirr</i>	'burn' (vb root)
<i>kullirr ~ χullirr ~ gullirr</i>	'circle'
<i>kirrim ~ χirim</i>	3s imp 'sit' PRES

but

<i>kanbi</i>	'bamboo, didjeridoo'
<i>kadi</i>	'enough'
<i>kerrety</i>	'watch'
<i>-kirri</i>	intensifying clitic
<i>kulli</i>	'throw' (vb root)

never show allophonic variation of the initial stop.

Of the 71 lexemes beginning with a velar consonant in Ngankikurungkurr, 39 have been also recorded in Ngankiwumirri. The words which may have an initial fricative allophone in Ngankikurungkurr are the same in Ngankiwumirri, but in this language the voiced fricative and stop are more usual in initial position than the voiceless allophones. In those of the words it shares with Ngankikurungkurr which always begin with the voiceless stop in that language, a very few have been recorded with the voiced stop in initial position, but never a fricative.

It seems that there are definitely two different velar phonemes in initial position even though the allophones of one overlap with the only allophone of the other in all but one case. There is no clear three way contrast between [k], [g] and [χ]. It would perhaps be possible to make a case for the phonemic contrast in the velar position being between stop and fricative giving the minimal pair *kurrkurr* v. *khurrkhurr*, but the widespread occurrence of the stop allophone and the support of a comparison with Ngankiwumirri has led to a decision to describe the contrast as between /k/ and /g/ for the purposes of this study even though the most common realisation of /g/ in initial position is with [k] or [χ]. To propose a stop consonant which occurred in medial position only and a fricative

which occurred in initial position only would be against the general rules of phoneme distribution in Ngankikurungkurr.

All stops may occur initially and medially. The voiceless stops /p/, /t/, /ty/ and /k/ also occur finally.

2.2.3 FRICATIVES AND SIBILANTS

Ngankikurungkurr is unusual in possessing a bilabial fricative and two sibilants.

2.2.3.1 FRICATIVES

The bilabial stops /p/ and /b/ have the corresponding fricative /f/. Among older speakers it is usually a bilabial fricative produced without lip-rounding and is of low intensity. In younger speakers it is often a labio-dental. There are two allophones, the voiceless [ɸ] which occurs initially or medially before front vowels and trills, for example,

<i>fagarri</i>	[ɸagāri]	‘two’
<i>defir</i>	[deɸir]	‘foot’

and the voiced allophone [β] which occurs medially in syllables with voiced stops, laterals or nasals.

<i>efengku</i>	[εβeŋku]	‘snake’
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Occasionally, lip-rounding is heard in initial position before back vowels,

<i>fa</i>	[ɸa] ~ [ɸ̠a]	‘wax’
<i>falmi</i>	[ɸæłmi] ~ [ɸ̠æłmi]	‘woman’

Tryon (1976:231) rejects the notion of the bilabial fricative and writes /p/ for the three phonemes /p/, /b/ and /f/. However as has been shown (2.2.1) Ngankikurungkurr distinguishes between *pal* ‘break’ and *fal* ‘all night’; *fepi* ‘stone’, *pefi* ‘towards’ and *bebi* ‘self’; and *depi* ‘head’, *debi* ‘leg’ and *fi* ‘string, sinew’: and fricative/stop contrasts are frequent. The same phoneme is usually realised in Ngankiwumirri by the voiced allophone [β].

In the word list and three short texts recorded in ‘Nangumiri’ by Dr Capell in the 1930s (Capell:MS), 12 of the words which we have recorded as having a bilabial fricative also occur. Of these, ten are recorded by Capell as having the bilabial stop [b], for example,

Capell	Hoddinott and Kofod	
<i>bidi</i>	<i>fiti</i>	‘sun’
<i>bebi</i> or <i>bäbi</i>	<i>fepi</i>	‘stone, hill’
<i>bimä</i>	<i>fime</i>	‘give’

The word for ‘snake’ recorded by us as [εβeŋgu] in Ngankiwumirri appears once as [abängu] and three times as [ävängu]. The verb root [βeɪ] (which has various meanings depending on the auxiliary) is recorded three times in Capell’s list as [vel].

Two other words appear in this list with the sound [v]. Both have been recorded by us in Ngankiwumirri as having the semi-vowel [w] in the corresponding position.

Capell	Hoddinott and Kofod	
<i>veri</i>	<i>wəri</i>	'hole, cave'
<i>ädävi</i>	<i>adewi</i>	'fat'

wəri has also been recorded by us as having a labialised voiced fricative allophone [β] in initial position (2.2.7).

All stops in all positions in this list are given as voiced. It seems likely that Capell was not expecting a phonemic voiced versus voiceless distinction and so automatically phonemicised as he went along. It would be impossible to say whether this also occurred with fricatives. The sound described by us as a retroflexed post-alveolar sibilant (2.2.3.2) appears consistently in the same words as those recorded by us. There is no indication of any frication at all in any word which we have recorded in Ngankikurungkurr having the alveo-palatal sibilant /*sy*/, all of these appearing as the voiced alveo-palatal stop /*dy*/ which in Ngankiwumirri today appears to vary freely with the voiced sibilant /*zy*/. The minimal pairs *depi* v. *debi* and *kurrkurr* v. *gurrgur* cited by us in 2.1.1 occur in this list as *däbi* v. *debi* in the first case and *gurgur* in both instances in the second.

2.2.3.2 SIBILANTS

The two sibilant phonemes are the alveo-palatal /*sy*/ and the retroflexed / ζ /. While /*sy*/ probably developed from /*ty*/ (see comparison with Ngankiwumirri 2.2.2) it now contrasts with it initially and medially. Thus *syi* 'flow' (vb root) contrasts with *tyi* 'breast, milk'; *tyurr* 'swim' (vb root) with *syurr* 'pluck' (vb root) and *tyutyuk* 'gather' (vb root) with *tyusyuk* 'be hurt' (vb root).

The use of the alveo-palatal sibilant is also related to the age of the speaker. While the use of /*sy*/ is universal in words like *desyi* 'nose', *watyerrmusye* 'old man' and *wusyie* 'hair', younger speakers tend to use /*sy*/ in words like *syngki* 'sour, bitter' and *syungkun* 'grey haired' where older speakers would use /*ty*/ and say *tyngki* and *tyungkun*.

Younger speakers also tend to use the allophone [*s*] in free variation with [*sy*] in a number of words. This is a more affected way of speaking and seems to be done often for humorous effect to imitate an English way of speaking. Thus we find the variants:

<i>asapul</i> ~ <i>asyapul</i>	'white of egg'
<i>musarri</i> ~ <i>musyarri</i>	'slow'
<i>sisi</i> ~ <i>syisyi</i>	'flow' (RED vb root)
<i>tyusuk</i> ~ <i>syusyuk</i>	'be hurt' (vb root)

At no stage do [*s*] and [*sy*] contrast. [*sy*] is the more frequent allophone and has been chosen to indicate the phoneme. It has voiced allophones intervocalically and post nasally and may occur initially and medially but not finally.

The phoneme / ζ / can be described as a retroflexed post-alveolar sibilant. This sound is round in the Tyemirri and Brinken groups though not elsewhere on the Daly River. It is clearly the sound described by Capell (1940:249).

The sound \check{r} is peculiar to certain languages along the Daly River and is a difficult sound to describe without demonstration. Its general effect is that of a fricative cerebral *r* followed closely by the light French *j* phonetically ζ .

<i>were</i>	[^β _w ere]	'brother'
<i>weri</i>	[^β _w eri]	'hole'

Both semi-vowels occur initially, medially and finally although /w/ is found word finally in one case only.

kaw 'come here' (exclamation)

which contrasts with

kawu 'grandmother/grandchild (m.m.)'

The status of semi-vowels is further discussed in 2.3.4.

2.3 VOWELS

2.3.1 VOWEL CONTRASTS

There are four vowel phonemes /i/, /e/, /a/ and /u/. They contrast at front and back points of articulation and high and low.

<i>dada</i>	'sing' (vb root)
<i>dede</i>	'camp, country'
<i>didi</i>	'cry' (RED vb root)
<i>dudu</i>	'taste, feel' (RED vb root)

All vowels have slightly nasalised allophones between or before nasals, especially velar nasals.

<i>bang</i>	'poke' (vb root)
<i>mengkin</i>	3s 'lift' PRES
<i>dingim</i>	3s p 'do' PRES
<i>afungi</i>	'mosquito'

2.3.2 PRODUCTION OF VOWELS

Phoneme	Allophone	Description	Examples	
/i/	[i]	High close front unrounded vocoid occurring in open syllables	<i>bi</i> [bi] <i>fili</i> [φili]	'axe' 'look for' (vb root)
	[ɪ]	High open front unrounded vocoid	<i>fintyi</i> [φɪndyi] <i>adilmi</i> [adɪlmi]	'banyan' 'mullet'
/e/	[ɛ]	Lower mid open front unrounded vocoid occurring in open syllables	<i>tye</i> [tyɛ] <i>dege</i> [dege]	past marker 'stomach'
	[e]	Higher mid close front unrounded vocoid occurring in closed syllables	<i>yerrfetyen</i> [yerφɛɪtyen] <i>gerrgertyerr</i> [χɛrgeɪtyɛr]	'bloodwood' 'rotten'

	[e ^ʰ]	This allophone has a high fronted off glide occurring immediately preceding lamino-alveolar stops, nasals and laterals	<i>delyek</i> [de ^ʰ lyek]	'woman with at least one child'
/a/	[a]	Low central-back unrounded vocoid occurring in open syllables	<i>mata</i> [mata] <i>adaba</i> [adaba]	'tear' (vb root) 'wing'
	[æ]	Low close-front unrounded vocoid occurring in closed syllables	<i>mamak</i> [mamæk] <i>ngalwangka</i> [nælwæŋka]	'farewell' 'short-necked turtle'
	[a ^ʰ]	This allophone has a high fronted off glide occurring immediately preceding lamino-alveolar stops and nasals	<i>adany</i> [ada ^ʰ ŋ] <i>baty</i> [ba ^ʰ ty]	'shark' 'have' (vb root)
	[ʌ]	Lower mid back unrounded vocoid occurring before <i>rr</i> and <i>r</i>	<i>abalarr</i> [abalʌr̄]	'feather'
/u/	[u]	High close rounded vocoid occurring in open syllables	<i>tu</i> [tu] <i>bubu</i> [bubu]	'sleep' (vb root) 'decay' (vb root)]
	[ɔ]	High open back rounded vocoid occurring in closed syllables	<i>tum</i> [tɔm] <i>bulbulfi</i> [bɔlbɔlɸi]	'bury, sink' (vb root) 'hot'
	[ɔ]	Low closed back rounded vocoid found after velar stops and semi-vowels	<i>wup</i> [uɔp] <i>guguk</i> [gɔgɔk]	'sit down' (vb root) 'wait' (EXCL)
	[u ^ʰ]	This allophone has a high fronted off glide occurring immediately before the lamino-alveolar consonants	<i>luruty</i> [lutu ^ʰ ty]	'hard'

2.3.3 LONG VOWELS

In addition to the short vowels described earlier, Ngankikurungkurr has a series of long vowels which contrast with short vowels at close front and back positions, for example /i:/ contrasts with /i:/ in

<i>ali-</i>	(class marker)	<i>ali:</i>	'fat'
<i>ami</i>	'bone'	<i>ami:</i>	'black ant'
<i>amurri</i>	'egg'	<i>amurri:</i>	'spider'

/u/ contrasts with /u:/ in

<i>wu</i>	(class marker)	<i>wu:</i>	'dog'
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and there is also a contrast between /e/ and /e:/

<i>me</i>	(durative prefix)	<i>me:</i>	'hand'
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The phonemic status of vowel length is in doubt since such contrasts are not systematic. Long vowels are often accompanied by a discernable chest pulse and a glide. As a result long vowels have been treated as vowel-glide-vowel sequences; /i:/ as /iyi/, /u:/ as /uwu/ and /e:/ as /eye/.

<i>ali:</i>	<i>aliyi</i>	'fat'
<i>ami:</i>	<i>amiyi</i>	'black ant'
<i>amurri:</i>	<i>amurriyi</i>	'spider'
<i>wu:</i>	<i>wuwu</i>	'dog'
<i>me:</i>	<i>meye</i>	'hand'

2.3.4 INTERPRETATION OF GLIDE SEQUENCES

In addition to long vowels there are sequences of vocoids which occur either as:

- (1) glide-vowel sequences of the form *iV* or *uV* (where *i* and *u* are high front and high backvowels respectively and *V* is any vocoid),
- (2) vowel-glide sequences of the form *Vi* and *Vu*,
- (3) vowel-glide-vowel sequences of the form *ViV* and *VuV*.

2.3.4.1 GLIDE-VOWEL SEQUENCES

Glide-vowel sequences occur initially. In Ngankikurungkurr words may begin with the short low vowels /e/ and /a/, for example,

<i>etye</i>	'when' (interrogative)
<i>eke</i>	'uncle'
<i>angumungki</i>	'rainbow'
<i>apuderrri</i>	'girl (at puberty)'

Initial glide-vowel sequences occur with [ɪ] and [ʊ] as their initial element before all vowels. These have been analysed as the semi-vowels /y/ and /w/ respectively giving the sequences *ya*, *yu*, *yi* and *ye* and *wa*, *wu*, *wi* and *we*. All of these occur in the language.

<i>yaga</i>	'that'
<i>yubu</i>	'good'
<i>yipe</i>	'father's sister'
<i>yedi</i>	'man'
<i>wadat</i>	'flying fox'
<i>wuni</i>	'there'
<i>wirrim</i>	3pl ppn
<i>weti</i>	'little'

2.3.4.2 VOWEL-GLIDE SEQUENCES

Vowel-glide sequences occur in word final or morpheme final position (except in one case *ngaytpirr* 'far away') and are phonetic diphthongs which have the high front vowels [ɪ] and [ʊ] as their second element. These diphthongs are shorter than the corresponding vowel-glide-vowel sequences to which in many cases they contrast. They have been analysed as Vy or Vw sequences.

<i>kay</i>	'call' (vb root)
<i>ngayi</i>	1sg ppn
<i>ngaytpirr</i>	'far away'
<i>wayim</i>	3sg 'burn' PRES
<i>way</i>	'worry, be lonely' (vb root)
<i>fuy</i>	'smell' (vb root)
<i>awuyi</i>	'brush-tailed possum'
<i>kaw</i>	'come' (exclamation)
<i>kawu</i>	'grandmother/grandchild (m.m.)'

2.3.4.3 VOWEL-GLIDE-VOWEL SEQUENCES

Sequences of two or three vowels have been analysed as sequences of the form VyV and VwV where the phonemes /y/ and /w/ represent the corresponding glides. Such an analysis preserves the generalisation that no syllable has more than one vowel nucleus and enables the simplification of phonotactic rules, while preserving the phonetic realities of the language. Theoretically there are four possible sets of vowel-glide-vowel sequences each having any one of the vowels in first and third positions and with the two glides y and w. This gives a possible 32 sequences. Of these, 25 sequences have been observed. They are:

<i>awa</i>	<i>dawayirr</i>	'forehead'
<i>awu</i>	<i>mawuny</i>	'ironwood'
<i>awi</i>	<i>awiny</i>	'bream'
<i>awe</i>	<i>baweti</i>	'creek'
<i>aya</i>	∅	
<i>ayu</i>	<i>bayu</i>	'all right' (exclamation)
<i>ayi</i>	<i>dayi</i>	'cat fish'
<i>aye</i>	<i>mayerrung</i>	'clothing'
<i>ewa</i>	<i>mewarrakma</i>	'for three nights'
<i>ewu</i>	<i>gewurr</i>	'have a rest' (vb root)
<i>ewi</i>	<i>yewirr</i>	'tree'
<i>ewe</i>	<i>yewe</i>	'salt water'
<i>eya</i>	∅	
<i>eyu</i>	∅	
<i>eyi</i>	<i>peyi</i>	'there'
<i>eye</i>	<i>meyeningki</i>	'five'
<i>iya</i>	<i>mipiyagany</i>	'cheeky yam'
<i>iyu</i>	<i>nawiyu</i>	'name of Daly River Mission site'
<i>iyi</i>	<i>miyi</i>	'vegetable food'
<i>iye</i>	<i>aniyen</i>	'sand frog'
<i>iwa</i>	<i>piwarri</i>	'name'

<i>iwu</i>	<i>miwulngini</i>	'lotus'
<i>iwi</i>	<i>diwin</i>	'moon'
<i>iwe</i>	<i>ngiwem</i>	1sg 'do to self' PRES
<i>uwa</i>	∅	
<i>uwu</i>	<i>tuwul</i>	'float along' (vb root)
<i>uwi</i>	∅	
<i>uwe</i>	<i>wuweti</i>	'little dog'
<i>uya</i>	∅	
<i>uyu</i>	∅	
<i>uyi</i>	<i>awuyi</i>	'brush-tailed possum'
<i>uye</i>	<i>muyeyi</i>	'foreign'

2.3.5 USE OF EXTREME VOWEL LENGTH IN NARRATIVE

As in Miriwung (Kofod 1978:16) extreme vowel length is used in narrative, particularly of traditional stories, as a punctuating device and to demonstrate continuous action. It is usually the final vowel in a verb phrase that is lengthened.

<i>warranegu</i>	<i>pek</i>	<i>durrmu</i>	<i>pirri</i>	/	<i>warranegu</i>	
3d p scrape PAST	paint	design	first		3d p scrape PAST	
<i>pe:.....k,</i>	<i>tyemirri,</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>kak</i>	<i>kana</i>	<i>wadde</i>	
paint	finished	and	set off	now	3d p go PAST	
<i>karrbu</i>	//	<i>wadde:.....</i>	/	<i>mendi</i>	<i>ngan</i>	<i>kuderrri</i>
go down		3d imp go PAST		close	where	billabong
<i>nyin</i>	<i>nide</i>	<i>ngan</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>nyin</i>	<i>witinge</i>	<i>purppurrk</i>
DEM	LOC	where	C(iv)	DEM	3d p stand PAST	dance

'They painted themselves first. They painted until they were finished and then set off down. They kept going until they were close to the billabong where those animals danced.'

2.4 SYLLABLES

There are seven syllable types each with a single vowel nucleus.

V	<i>a-</i>	class iv marker
VC	<i>ep</i>	'perhaps'
CV	<i>bi</i>	'axe'
CVC	<i>man</i>	'crawl' (vb root)
CVCC	<i>ngurpp</i>	'emu'
CCV	<i>ngka</i>	'here' (exclamation)
CCVC	<i>klarr.kurrk</i>	'jabiru'

The most frequent syllable types are CV, CVC and CVCC. The CCV and CCVC syllable types have only one member each. *klarr.kurrk* 'jabiru' is probably an onomatopoeic word descriptive of the call of the bird. (Ngankikurungkurr's bird names are particularly apt depictions of the calls in many cases.)

Words consist of from one to six syllables. Words of more than five syllables are not common and are usually compounds. Most words are of two or three syllables not including the class marker.

Examples:

1.	<i>mam</i>	S	'more'
2.	<i>ma.gun</i>	SS	'stomach ache'
3.	<i>fa.ga.rrī</i>	SSS	'two'
4.	<i>fe.ki.de.rrī</i>	SSSS	'for a long time'
5.	<i>nin.tyi.sya.wu.ni</i>	SSSSS	'knee cap'
6.	<i>a.kun.kurr.pa.la.yin</i>	SSSSSS	'rainbow bird'

2.5 PHONEME DISTRIBUTION

2.5.1 CONSONANT DISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD

A phonological word is defined as a minimal utterance carrying one primary stress and in words of more than three syllables a secondary stress as well. Pitch, pause and phonemic distribution also help to define the word. Any single consonant except *ly*, *r* and *rr* may occur word initially.

<i>p</i>	<i>palat</i>	'plain'
<i>b</i>	<i>bafun</i>	'ashes'
<i>t</i>	<i>tatakma</i>	'type of passionfruit'
<i>d</i>	<i>daba</i>	'arm'
<i>ty</i>	<i>tyabuty</i>	'grandfather (m.f.)/grandchild (d.s.)'
<i>k</i>	<i>kuderrī</i>	'billabong'
<i>g</i>	<i>guguk</i>	'wait'
<i>f</i>	<i>falmi</i>	'woman'
<i>sy</i>	<i>syirre</i>	'behind'
<i>rs</i>	<i>rsi</i>	'cut' (vb root)
<i>l</i>	<i>lalirr</i>	'eat' (vb root)
<i>m</i>	<i>madit</i>	'hawk'
<i>n</i>	<i>nanama</i>	'song'
<i>ny</i>	<i>nyinyi</i>	'you' sg
<i>ng</i>	<i>ngagarri</i>	'we' plex
<i>y</i>	<i>yawul</i>	'spear'
<i>w</i>	<i>wanarr</i>	'lightning'

There are two word initial consonant clusters which occur uniquely in *klarrkurrk* 'jabiru' and *ngka* 'here' (exclamation).

Any single consonant except *b*, *d*, *g*, *f*, *sy*, *s*, *r* or *ly* may occur word finally.

<i>p</i>	<i>pugup</i>	'burn down' (vb root)
<i>t</i>	<i>ngirrwat</i>	'person having the same name'
<i>ty</i>	<i>walkity</i>	'flower'
<i>k</i>	<i>apukek</i>	'bottom, underneath'
<i>l</i>	<i>fal</i>	'all night'
<i>m</i>	<i>dagum</i>	'dew, fog'
<i>n</i>	<i>aniyen</i>	'sand frog'

<i>ny</i>	<i>adany</i>	'shark'
<i>ng</i>	<i>wung</i>	'homesickness, feeling for country'
<i>rr</i>	<i>atyalmerri</i>	'barramundi'
<i>y</i>	<i>wakay</i>	'finished'
<i>w</i>	<i>kaw</i>	'come' (exclamation)

Final consonant clusters are:

<i>-rrk</i>	<i>purrrrk</i>	'dance' (RED vb root)
<i>-rrp</i>	<i>ngurrrp</i>	'emu'
<i>-rrng</i>	<i>yirrrng</i>	'sea turtle'
<i>-rk</i>	<i>perperk</i>	'footprints'

2.5.2 CONSONANT CLUSTER DISTRIBUTION

Consonant clusters may occur:

- (1) within the syllable
- (2) across the syllable in the word
- (3) in reduplicated nominals and verb roots.

2.5.2.1 WITHIN THE SYLLABLE

There are five syllable final clusters, four of which are the same as the word final consonant clusters above. The other consonant cluster which is found in syllable final position is *yt* : *ngaytpirr* 'far away'.

2.5.2.2 INTER-SYLLABIC CLUSTERS

2nd \ 1st	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ty</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>sy</i>	<i>rs</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>
<i>p</i>					C						X					
<i>t</i>						X					X					
<i>d</i>				X												
<i>ty</i>	(X)					X					X					
<i>k</i>	(X)								C		X		X			
<i>m</i>	C	X						X								C
<i>n</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	C			X	X				
<i>ng</i>		C				X	C				C					
<i>l</i>	X			C	X	X	(X)	X	C		X	(X)	C	X	X	
<i>rr</i>	C	X	C	C	X	X	X	X		X	X	C	X	X	X	X
<i>r</i>				C			C	C			C					C
<i>y</i>	C										C				C	

The clusters marked C occur only across morpheme boundaries in compound words or where the cluster is the result of the use of a nominal prefix. The clusters marked by brackets occur only in partially assimilated English loan words.

Examples:

Homorganic nasal + stop

-mp-	<i>tyipmempi</i>	'black'
-mb-	<i>akalembi</i>	'bush rat'
-nt-	<i>kinta</i>	'here'
-nd-	<i>adudumenderri</i>	'beetle'
-ngk-	<i>angangkurr</i>	'prawn'
-ngg-	<i>kirrunggu</i>	3d- 'sit'-PRES

Nasal + nasal

-nm-	<i>minmi</i>	negative particle
-ngm-	<i>tyungmem</i>	'wet'

Nasal + stop

-np-	<i>denunpi</i>	'hip'
-nb-	<i>kanbi</i>	'bamboo, didjeridoo'
-nty-	<i>angantyanu</i>	'bustard'
-nk-	<i>kenkefili</i>	'wait' (vb root)
-ngb-	<i>taringbela</i>	'land beyond creek at Daly River'
-n.g-	<i>yin.gini</i>	'raw'

Nasal + fricative

-mf-	<i>animfilerri</i>	'green tree snake'
-nf-	<i>anganfepinimbi</i>	'rock snake'

Nasal + semi-vowel

-my-	<i>kurimyiliyili</i>	'mangrove spear'
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Lateral + stop

-lp-	<i>melpa</i>	'flat'
-ld-	<i>fildirr</i>	'shine' (vb root)
-lty-	<i>kultyi</i>	'evening'
-lk-	<i>wulkirim</i>	'ritual blood'
(-ig-)	<i>wulgumen</i>	'old woman' (from English)

Lateral + nasal

-lm-	<i>atyalmerri</i>	'barramundi'
(-ln-)	<i>wulnik</i>	'devil, old Nick'
-lng-	<i>filfilngini</i>	'bright'

Lateral + fricative

-lf-	<i>awilferr</i>	'whistle duck'
-lsy-	<i>ngalsyi</i>	'sit with nose in the air' (vb root)

Lateral + semi-vowel

-lw- *milwadi* 'waist'

Rhotic + stop

-mp- *akunkurrpalayin* 'rainbow bird'
 -mp- *karrbu* 'go down' (vb root)
 -nt- *tyerrta* 'open'
 -nd- *birrbirrdirr* 'blunt'
 -nty- *wurwerrtyi* 'girl before menstruation'
 -rk- *adirrket* 'cricket'
 -rg- *marrgu* 'new'
 -rd- *wurdebin* 'woman who has lost her sister'
 -rg- *wurguniguni* 'old woman'

Rhotic + nasal

-mm- *adirrmi* 'red-tailed black cockatoo'
 -mm- *yerrnugurr* 'seven sisters constellation'
 -mng- *ngarrngureri* 'centre'
 -m- *direrringki* 'other side'
 -mm- *yidirmadi* 'steep'

Rhotic + fricative

-pf- *agarrfuri* 'skin'
 -rf- *wurfalmi* 'woman'
 -mrs- *wirrsem-* 3ns-'pull'-PRES

Rhotic + lateral

-ml *tyerrlala* 'split, chop open' (vb root)

Rhotic + semi-vowel

-rw- *darrwa* 'raft'
 -ry- *fifirryirri* 'bump foot' (vb root)
 -rw- *aderwi* 'type of lizard'
 -ry- *wuryubu* 'good woman'

Geminate sequences

-dd- *wadde* 3d-'go'-PAST
 -nn- *wannim* 3pl-'go'-PRES
 -ll- *kulli* 'throw' (vb root)

Sequences having a stop as the initial consonant:

Homorganic stop + nasal

-pm- *tyipmempi* 'black'
 -kng- *tyatyalakngini* 'soft'

Heterorganic sequence with stop as first member

-pty-	<i>puptyin</i>	'plant' (vb root)
-tk-	<i>watku watku</i>	'frog'
-tm-	<i>tyatma</i>	'upright'
(-typ-)	<i>litypala</i>	'late'
-tyk-	<i>mutykuri</i>	'tears'
-tym-	<i>pupuritymadi</i>	'slippery'
(-kp-)	<i>tyikpale</i>	'sick'
-km-	<i>warrakma</i>	'three'
-ksy-	<i>kurrfuksyende</i>	'place name'

Heterorganic sequence with semi-vowel as first member

-yp-	<i>buypi</i>	'white haired'
-ym-	<i>buymangkarri</i>	'white'
-yw-	<i>muywursirr</i>	'be afraid' (vb root)

2.5.2.3 CLUSTERS RESULTING FROM REDUPLICATION

In reduplicated nominals and verb roots the following additional clusters occur.

Stop + stop

-tp-	<i>putput</i>	'pregnant woman'
	<i>patpit</i>	'rise, fly away'
-tb-	<i>batbit</i>	'fall to ground'
-kk-	<i>kurrwakkurwak</i>	'kookaburra'

Stop + semi-vowel

-tyw-	<i>wirritywirrity</i>	'type of parrot'
-kw-	<i>wilikwilik</i>	'galah'

Nasal + nasal

-nng-	<i>ngunngun</i>	'mangrove spear'
-nym	<i>menyminy</i>	'look at'

Nasal + stop

-nyb-	<i>tyerrbinybiny</i>	'kiss'
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Lateral + stop

-lb-	<i>bulbul</i>	'cook'
	<i>bulbulfi</i>	'hot'

Rhotic as first member of cluster

-rrsy-	<i>syirrsyirr</i>	'paddle'
-rp-	<i>miperperkngini</i>	'black gum'

Semi-vowel as first member

-yb-	<i>buybuy</i>	'burn'
-yk-	<i>kayki</i>	'call' (RED vb root)
-yf-	<i>fuyfuy</i>	'blow, sniff, sweep'

2.5.2.4 CLUSTERS OF THREE CONSONANTS

The following clusters of three consonants occur.

- <i>rrngp</i> -	<i>purrngpurrng</i>	'boil'
- <i>rrkw</i> -	<i>werrkwerrk</i>	'cockatoo'
- <i>rkng</i> -	<i>ngirkngirk</i>	'growl (dog)'
	<i>perperkngini</i>	'muddy'
- <i>ytp</i> -	<i>ngaytpirr</i>	'far away'

With the exception of *-ytp* in *ngaytpirr* all of the three consonant clusters are the result of reduplication or in the case of *perperkngini*, compounding.

2.6 WORD STRESS

Although stress is clearly perceptible it is not phonologically contrastive and is in the main predictable. Primary stress falls on the first or second syllable and in words of more than three syllables the secondary stress usually falls on the penultimate syllable. The final syllable is never stressed.

In words of two syllables primary stress falls on the first syllable.

<i>'a.kum</i>	'sting'
<i>'darr.wa</i>	'raft'
<i>'de.ge</i>	'stomach'

In words of three syllables primary stress falls either on the initial syllable

<i>'fung.ku.li</i>	'honey'
<i>'de.ngi.ni</i>	'body'
<i>'a.pu.kek</i>	'underneath'

or on the second syllable

<i>a.'ba.larr</i>	'wing'
<i>de.'tye.ngi</i>	'today'
<i>bi.'li.rrri</i>	'alive'

In words of four syllables primary stress falls on the first syllable with secondary stress on the penultimate syllable.

<i>'a.ngu.`mung.ki</i>	'rainbow'
<i>'we.ri.`fe.pi</i>	'cave'
<i>'fe.ki.`derrri</i>	'for a long time'

In words of five syllables the primary stress falls on the second syllable.

<i>a. 'nim.pirr. `mi.re</i>	'fire fly'
<i>a. 'tye.rrri. `wu.sye</i>	'frill-necked lizard'

Most words of six syllables are compound words. The primary stress falls in the first half of the compound and the secondary stress falls on that syllable in the last part of the compound which normally bears primary stress when the word stands alone.

<i>pa. 'la.yin</i>	'fire drill'
<i>'wu.ku.me</i>	'one'
<i>a. 'kun.kurr.pa. `la.yin</i>	'rainbow bird' (possible refers to the two very thin tail feathers)
<i>a. 'de.tyerr. `wu.ku.me</i>	'sword fish'

2.7 MORPHOPHONEMICS

There are relatively few morphophonemic rules in Ngankikurungkurr. The majority of them take place in the verb phrase. The most common are:

(1) Final nasal assimilation. The final nasal in the present tense of auxiliary verbs is usually assimilated to the articulatory position of an initial stop consonant in the following morpheme in the verb phrase.

<i>-m # k-</i>	→	<i>ng/k</i>	
<i>-m # d-, t-</i>	→	<i>n/d, n/t</i>	
<i>-m # ty-</i>	→	<i>n/ty</i>	
<i>bengim derrdu</i>	→	<i>bengin derrdu</i>	3sg 'finds'
<i>wirribem kay</i>	→	<i>wirribeng kay</i>	3sg 'calls'
<i>dangim tyip</i>	→	<i>danginy tyip</i>	3sg 'becomes dark (night falls)'

If the initial consonant of the following morpheme in the verb phrase is a nasal, the final nasal of the auxiliary is deleted.

<i>fil mem muy</i>	→	<i>fil me muy</i>	3 sg 'notices'
<i>mem nge</i>	→	<i>me nge</i>	3sg 'tells' 3sg (f) DO
<i>ngupun ne fili</i>	→	<i>ngupu ne fili</i>	1sg 'looks for' 3sg (m) DO

(2) Semi-vowel reduction. An initial semi-vowel in the verb stem is deleted if the auxiliary ends in a corresponding vowel.

<i>wudangu wuleri</i>	→	<i>wudanguleri</i>	3d 'go walking back'
<i>nganigi yeri</i>	→	<i>nganigeri</i>	1sg 'go along walking'

In fast speech the initial *w-* may be deleted if the auxiliary ends in a nasal.

<i>wudam wul</i>	→	<i>wudamul</i>	3sg 'goes back'
<i>wirringgin wurr</i>	→	<i>wirringginurr</i>	3pl 'tie up' 3sg O

The compound verb stem *wuleri* is formed by deletion of initial *y-* in *yeri* 'walk' following *wul* 'return'.

(3) High vowel backing. In compound verb stems a final high front vowel *i* in the first element of the compound changes to *u* when the second element begins in *wu-*.

madi + *wup* → *maduwup*
fi + *wutyity* → *fuwutyity*

Final *-i* in the auxiliary may also become *-u* when followed by *wu-*.

waddi wupup → *waddu wupup*

(4) Identical or similar syllable reduction. This is the only commonly observed morphophonemic process which takes place outside the verb phrase. It involves the non-singular human class marker *awa-* and the demonstratives *kinyi* 'here' and *wuni* 'there'.

When the class marker *awa-* precedes a word beginning in *wa-* or *wu-* the final syllable of the class marker is usually deleted.

awa-wakay → *awakay*
awa-warrakma → *awarrakma*
awa-wuni → *awuni*

The syllable may be retained in slow speech, for example when an informant is slowly spelling out the words to help in the transcription of a prerecorded text. It is also usually retained preceding *wuni* if the final syllable of *wuni* has been lost as described below.

The final syllables of *wuni* and *kinyi* are deleted preceding the clitics *nimbi* and *ningki*.

wuni + *nimbi* → *wunimbi*
wuni + *ningki* → *wuningki*
kinyi + *nimbi* → *kinimbi*
kinyi + *ningki* → *kiningki*

but note that

awa - wuni + *nimbi* → *awa wunimbi*

The final syllables of *wuni* and *kinyi* are also deleted in the compounds

kinyi + *napa* + *deti* → *kinapadeti* 'here still/always'

and

wuni + *napa* + *deti* → *wunapadeti* 'there still/always'

2.8 REDUPLICATION

The Syntax and semantics of reduplication are discussed elsewhere. Reduplication is largely confined to the verb root which occurs in most cases in both single and reduplicated forms. Nominals showing partial or complete reduplication usually occur in the reduplicated form only and the reduplication takes place without phonological change.

Reduplication in the verb root may take the following phonological forms.

(1) Total reduplication. This occurs with monosyllabic verb roots of the form CV and CVC. Thus C_1V_1 becomes $C_1V_1C_1V_1$ and $C_1V_1C_2$ becomes $C_1V_1C_2C_1V_1C_2$.

Illustrative examples are:

<i>biny</i>	<i>binybiny</i>
<i>tyip</i>	<i>tyiptyip</i>
<i>tu</i>	<i>tutu</i>
<i>man</i>	<i>manman</i>
<i>fuy</i>	<i>fuyfuy</i>
<i>lirr</i>	<i>lirrlirr</i>
<i>pek</i>	<i>pekpek</i>

Total reduplication of a disyllabic root takes place in:

<i>lala</i>	<i>lalalala</i>
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(2) Total reduplication with vowel change. In a number of verb roots total reduplication is accompanied by a change in the vowel nucleus. Thus $C_1V_1(C_2)$ becomes $C_1V_1(C_2)C_1V_2(C_2)$, V_1 is usually a low vowel and V_2 a high vowel.

<i>wa</i>	<i>wawu</i>
<i>bang</i>	<i>bangbung</i>
<i>bat</i>	<i>batbit</i>
<i>fel</i>	<i>felfil</i>
<i>fal</i>	<i>falfil</i>
<i>kay</i>	<i>kayki</i>
<i>ferr</i>	<i>ferrirr</i>

(3) Partial reduplication. There are three common forms of partial reduplication.

(a) Repetition of the initial CV of the unreduplicated verb root. $C_1V_1(C_2)C_3V_2(C_4)$ becomes $C_1V_1C_1V_1(C_2)C_3V_2(C_4)$.

<i>wele</i>	<i>wewele</i>
<i>kuduk</i>	<i>kukuduk</i>
<i>karrbu</i>	<i>kakarrbu</i>
<i>wurrity</i>	<i>wuwurrity</i>
<i>fulirr</i>	<i>fufulirr</i>
<i>minyirr</i>	<i>miminyirr</i>
<i>fili</i>	<i>fifili</i>

(b) Repetition of the final VC or CVC of the verb root.

<i>lit</i>	<i>litit</i>
<i>ngurrputy</i>	<i>ngurrputyputy</i>
<i>winy</i>	<i>winyiny</i>

(c) Repetition of the final CV or VC with accompanying vowel change, usually of a back to a front vowel.

<i>mata</i>	<i>matati</i>
<i>pigat</i>	<i>pigatit</i>
<i>wul</i>	<i>wulil</i>
<i>wuty</i>	<i>wutyity</i>
<i>tyat</i>	<i>tyatit</i>

There are only a very few verb roots which are not reduplicated according to one of the rules listed above. They are:

wirr
tet

wirrtiyirr
tesyet

In compound verb roots only the last constituent of the compound undergoes reduplication.

madi-fili
tyerr-syirr

madi - fifili
tyerr - syirrsyirr

3. THE NOUN PHRASE AND ITS CONSTITUENTS

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The Noun Phrase (NP) in Ngankikurungkurr can perform a number of functions in the sentence. It acts as the subject of intransitive, stative or reflexive sentences. In equative sentences it acts as both subject and predicate. In transitive sentences it can act as subject, object or indirect object. It can also indicate such functions as instrument, possessor and beneficiary as well as performing a number of 'local' functions. In Ngankikurungkurr the NP necessarily has a nominal or a free form pronoun as head word. The subject, object and indirect object NP's of transitive verbs and the subject NP of intransitive verbs are cross-referenced to the subject, object and indirect object bound pronouns in the auxiliary verb. Nominals acting as NP headwords can have qualifiers, quantifiers and deitic specifiers as adjuncts.

NP's are marked for concord by class prefixes and are marked for syntactic function by a set of clitics which are suffixed to the final constituent of the NP. The clitics and their functions are:

<i>ningki</i>	AGEntive INStrument
<i>werri</i>	PROPrIetive
<i>ngini</i>	PURPosive
<i>nimbi</i>	ABLative
<i>nide</i>	LOCative
<i>pefi</i>	ALLative (away from speaker/action)
<i>pagu</i>	Allative (towards speaker/action (TSA))
<i>napa</i>	LIMitative

These clitics do not necessarily appear on those NP's whose function they specify. NP's which function as the subject of intransitive verbs, as direct or indirect objects, or occur in stative or equative constructions, are not normally marked for case function. Nominals are also modified by two intensifying clitics *wuru* and *kinyi* (5.8) and by the emphatic suffixes *-ta* and *-ga* (5.9).

3.1 NOMINALS

The term 'nominal' is normally used in Australian languages to designate the joint classes of Noun and Adjective. In this study it is used to designate those word classes which may act as the head words of NP's. These include what are traditionally called 'nouns', 'adjectives', 'demonstratives' and 'numerals' and these may be regarded as forming subclasses within the functional category of 'nominals'. As constituents of NP's they normally take class prefixes to indicate concord across the noun phrase. With the exception of Nouns, nominals acting as head words in NP's obligatorily take a class prefix, which may be regarded as having a nominalising function.

3.1.1 NOUNS

Nouns normally consist of a noun stem (which may be a root or a derived stem), an optional class prefix and an optional case inflection. The structure of the noun is:

NOUN: \pm class prefix + noun stem [+ root \pm derivation] \pm case inflection

Noun stems may be from one to five syllables in length and may end in any vowel or consonant except *b, d, g, f, rs, sy, ly* or *r*. The majority of noun roots are monosyllabic, disyllabic or trisyllabic. Larger noun stems are mainly the result of reduplication or compounding. The majority of reduplicated and compounded stems are descriptive terms serving as the names of animals or natural objects.

Nouns with totally reduplicated stems:

<i>a pel pel</i>	'pearl shell'
<i>kurrwak kurrwak</i>	'kookaburra'
<i>tyungut tyungut</i>	'frogmouth'
<i>werrk werrk</i>	'cockatoo'
<i>watku watku</i>	'green frog'
<i>wilik wilik</i>	'galah'
<i>wirrity wirrity</i>	'parrot'
<i>wu wu</i>	'dog'
<i>mak mak</i>	'eagle'
<i>fun fun</i>	'hair belt'
<i>nintyi nintyi</i>	'bush'
<i>pangun pangun</i>	'whirly whirly'
<i>guni guni</i>	'old woman'
<i>ngun ngun</i>	'mangrove spear'

Compound nouns. In noun compounds the second element normally modifies the first.

(1) Noun-Noun Compounds

<i>a</i>	+	<i>tyerri</i>	+	<i>wusyē</i>	'frill-necked lizard'
C(iv)		ear		hair	
<i>weri</i>	+	<i>fepi</i>			'cave'
hole		hill			
<i>a</i>	+	<i>mentyi</i>	+	<i>nimba</i>	'egret'
C(iv)		neck		yellow snake	

(2) Noun-Adjective Compounds

<i>a</i>	+	<i>da</i>	+	<i>murri</i>	+	<i>kerre</i>	'eagle hawk'
C(iv)		[C(vii) +		egg]		big	
		testicle					

Note: there is another word, *pulyerrk*, which is not a compound, which refers to the same 'eagle hawk'.

(3) Noun + Numeral Compounds

de + *tyerr* + *wukume* 'swordfish'
 C(viii) mouth one

(4) ± Relative Demonstrative + Noun + Suffix Compounds

These compounds end with a local case suffix. The resultant compound noun can also take a further case suffix to indicate its syntactic function in the sentence.

a + *ngan* + *fepi* + *nimbi* 'rock snake'
 C(iv) REL rock ABL

a + *ngan* + *kuri* + *nimbi* 'water goanna'
 C(iv) REL water ABL

a + *fungi* + *nimbi* 'mosquito bite'
 C(iv) mosquito ABL

yerr + *de* + *pi* + *werri* 'hat'
 C(vii) C(viii) head PROP

3.1.1.1 NOUN CLASSIFICATION AND CONCORD

Nouns in Ngankikurungkurr can be marked for class membership by means of a prefix on the noun and optionally on all other constituents of the NP.

TABLE 2: CLASS PREFIXES AND GENERICS				
Class	Noun Prefix	Modifier Prefix	Possessive Prefix	Semantic category and generic
i	<i>wa-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	<i>wa-</i>	single male human
ii	<i>wur-</i>	<i>wur-</i>	<i>wur-</i>	single female human
iii	<i>awa-</i>	<i>awa-</i>	<i>awa-</i>	plural human
iv	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	'animals and edible body parts' <i>kagu</i>
v	<i>wu-</i>	<i>wu-</i>	<i>wu-</i>	'canines' <i>wuwu</i>
vi	<i>mi-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	'edible plants' <i>miyi</i>
vii	(a) <i>yerr-</i>	<i>ye- ~ yerr-</i>	<i>yerr-</i>	'trees, manufactured objects' <i>yewirr</i>
	(b) <i>yerr-</i>	<i>yerr-</i>	<i>ali-</i>	'hunting weapons' <i>yawul</i>
	(c) <i>yerr-</i>	<i>yerr-</i>	<i>yerr-</i>	'fighting sticks' <i>yuri</i>
viii	<i>da- ~ de-</i>	∅	∅	inseparable body parts

Class marking shows considerable variation. In some classes (for example body parts) the prefix on the noun is obligatory except where the noun occurs as part of a complex verb stem (4.9.2.1). In others (for example manufactured objects) the prefix is optional and usually omitted. Those nouns which do not take class prefixes can be assigned to the class appropriate to their semantic category and their adjuncts take the appropriate class prefix. Thus *ngurtp* 'emu' is always unmarked but

semantically is a member of class iv (animals and edible body parts). Its adjuncts take the appropriate *a-* class prefix, for example *ngurrp a-kerre* 'the big emu'.

The *mi-* class prefix (vi) is almost universal throughout the Daly Family (Tryon 1974:293). It also occurs as a noun classifier in Murrinypata to the west (Walsh 1976:142) and with vowel change to *ma-* in Nungali to the south (Bolt, Hoddinott and Kofod 1971b:63). The *m-*, *mi-*, *ma-* prefix is listed by Capell (1956:34) as occurring in a large number of languages throughout the north.

3.1.1.2 FORMAL INDICATION OF CLASS MEMBERSHIP

There are eight classes of nouns formally indicated. These correspond to the following semantic categories:

<i>wa-</i>	single human males
<i>wur-</i>	single human females
<i>a-wa-</i>	non-singular humans – sex not distinguished and dogs
<i>a-</i>	non-canine animals and edible body parts
<i>wu-</i>	canines
<i>mi-</i>	edible plants and trees with edible products
<i>yerr-</i>	wood, non-edible trees and plants, manufactured objects
<i>da- ~ de-</i>	inalienable body parts

3.1.1.3 GENERIC NOUNS

There are also a series of generic nouns to which a number of the class prefixed correspond. These are set out in Table 2. The generic nouns are:

<i>kagu</i>	'non-canine animals and edible body parts (beef)'
<i>wuwu</i>	'canines'
<i>miyi</i>	'edible plant food (tucker)'
<i>yewirr</i>	'trees and manufactured objects'
<i>yuri</i>	'fighting sticks'
<i>yawul</i>	'hunting weapons, spears'

3.1.1.4 THE PLURALISER *purrpurrk*

With the exception of the class marker for plural humans, class prefixes do not indicate number. The pluraliser *purrpurrk* 'numbers of small objects' indicates the plural membership of the class of noun indicated by the prefix. Thus:

<i>a - purrpurrk</i>	'animals'
<i>mi - purrpurrk</i>	'edible plants'
<i>yerr - purrpurrk</i>	'objects, things'
<i>awa - purrpurrk</i>	'children'

1. *Awa- wuni awa- purrpurrk werrmen derri pal*
 C(iii) DEM(r) C(iii) PLUR 3ns P-VC23-PRES back break
werrtyem yewirr -ngini wirrmi wa.
 3ns P-lie-PRES tree PURP 3ns P-lift-FUT pick up
 'Those little children are bending down to pick up sticks.'
2. *Mada wetimbi kagu a purrpurrk yi a- ngumungki*
 long ago GEN:animal C(iv) PLUR CONJ C(iv) rainbow
waddi wapup kuderri -nide.
 3ns P-go-PAST sit down billabong LOC
 'Long ago animals and the rainbow used to sit down beside a billabong.'
3. *Yerr- purrpurrk -nide wurr wudupun purity*
 C(viii(a)) PLUR LOC grass 3s P-VC15-PRES hide
yawul nyinin.
 spear DEM
 'He hides that spear in the grass.'
4. *Apuderi purrpurrk girrim madiwiri bengim*
 girl PLUR 3ns IMP-sit-PRES laugh 3s P-VC16-PRES
pirr ge.
 3plO stomach
 'The little girls are laughing because they are happy.'

Both the generic nouns and the pluraliser may be proposed to a list of specific nouns or to numerals.

5. *Wayim pirr minyirr kagu a- purrpurrk*
 3s P-VC26-PRES 3plO thirsty GEN:animal C(iv) PLUR
wamangkal alfugarri a- ngani nyin -werri.
 wallaby brolga C(iv) goose DEM PROP
 'Lots of animals, wallabies, brolga and geese were thirsty.'

Dual number may be distinguished from plural by the dual form of the verb or by the use of a numeral or both.

6. *Kagu purrpurrk fagarri gannangu yeri gangki.*
 GEN:animal PLUR two 3ns IMP-VC11-PRES-d fly high
 'The two birds are flying high in the air.'

3.1.1.4.1 OTHER INDICATORS OF NUMBER

Dual and plural number may also be indicated by the addition of the third person pronouns *wirrki* (dual) and *wirr* (plural) which usually occur as bound object pronouns in the verb phrase, after the nominal.

awa- kerre -wirrki 'two big people'
 C(iii) big 3d pn

awa- kerre -wirr 'big people'
C(iii) big 3pl pn

7. *Awa- kerr- -wirrki wannunggu fital kana.*
C(iii) big 3d pn 3ns P-VC11-PRES-d grow PUN
'These two big people are growing tall now.'

8. *Awa- kerre wirr wannam fital kana.*
C(iii) big 3 pl pn 3ns-P-VC11-PRES grow PUN
'These big people are growing tall now.'

3.1.1.5 THE SEMANTIC CATEGORIES OF NOUN CLASSES

3.1.1.5.1 CLASSES I, II AND III: HUMAN BEINGS

There are no generic terms for 'men' and 'women' in the way that *kagu* is the generic term for 'animals'. The terms *wa-yedi* and *wur-falmi* normally indicate individual members of the class of male and female human beings and are given as translations of the words 'men' and 'women'; but the terms properly designate 'male' and 'female'. Relatives of a new born child may be told:

Mempirr weti wuni wa- yedi.
baby small DEM(r) C(i) male
'That little baby is a boy (male).'

But the terms may also be used to discriminate the sex of animals:

<i>kagu wamangkal wur falmi</i>	'female wallaby'
<i>kagu wamangkal wa yedi</i>	'male wallaby'
<i>wuwu wa yedi</i>	'a male dog'
<i>wuwu wur falmi</i>	'a female dog/bitch'

The terms can, however, be used as generics: *yedi* in particular may be placed before a noun, replacing the male singular prefix *wa-*.

<i>yedi keme/wa-keme</i>	'kidney fat stealer'
<i>yedi tyerrmusye/wa-tyerrmusye</i>	'old man'
<i>falmi guniguni/wur-guniguni</i>	'old woman'

With plural nouns *yedi* takes the appropriate plural human prefix *awa-* unless plurality is indicated in the NP by a numeral:

9. *Yedi tyerrmusye fagarri wanne pek tye*
MASC old man NUM:two 3d P-VC18-PAST-d paint PAST
wersi-ningki kultyinimbi.
white clay-INST yesterday
'The two old men were painting barks with white clay last night.'
10. *Awa- yedi ngangkurr wadde-tye kana.*
C(iii) MASC young man 3d P-go-PAST PUN
'The two young men went then.'

Classes i, ii and iii comprise the nouns which refer to human beings.

The class prefixes are:

Class i	<i>wa-</i>	singular male humans
Class ii	<i>wur-</i>	singular female humans
Class iii	<i>awa-</i>	plural humans of both sexes

These can occur on all constituents of the noun phrase (see Table 2).

11. *Wa-weti wa wukume yi aba nem*
 C(i) little C(i) one CONJ sibling 3s(m)pn
wa-kerre wadde tye fungkuli -ngini.
 C(i) big 3d-go-PAST PAST honey PURP
 'The little boy and his big brother went to get honey.'
12. *Wur-wuni wur-guniguni wupun pirr -tyuk*
 C(ii) DEM(r) C(ii) old woman 3s P-VC14-PRES 3plO scold
yenim awa-purrpurrk.
 3s P-go-PRES C(iii) PLUR
 'That old woman scolds the children.'
13. *Awa-yaga awa-yedi warrakma wanna*
 C(iii) DEM C(iii)MASC three 3pl P-VC11-FUT
purrk ngini.
 dance FUT
 'Those three men will dance.'

The nouns normally prefixed by these markers form a closed set and reflect the important stages in the life of the aboriginal man and woman. Babies and young children are normally referred to by the derived nominals *wa-weti* 'little boy' and *wur-weti* 'little girl' or by *mempirr weti* which refers to a small child of either sex. Thereafter the terms are more specific. For males they are:

<i>wa - yeduwiti</i>	'uncircumcised person of any age but usually below 14 years'
<i>wa - tyembity</i>	'circumcised boy'
<i>wa - ngangkurr</i>	'young man who has undergone the early states of initiation'
<i>wa - tyerrmusye</i>	'old man'

For females the stages are:

<i>wur - werryti</i>	(literally: 'having-breasts') 'a girl before menstruation'
<i>wur - apuderi</i>	'adolescent virgin'
<i>wur - delyek</i>	'woman who has given birth to a child'
<i>wur - guni guni</i>	'old woman beyond child bearing'

Except in the case of plural class prefixes which designate the number of the nouns, the class markers may be regarded as redundant in that they indicate what we already know, that is the sex of the nouns to which they are prefixed. In some cases however they primarily indicate the sex of nouns which can otherwise refer to both male or female:

<i>mangkurferr</i>	'bereaved spouse'
<i>wa-mangkurferr</i>	'widower'
<i>wur-mangkurferr</i>	'widow'
<i>nuguman</i>	'parentless child'
<i>wa-nuguman</i>	'male parentless child'
<i>wur-nuguman</i>	'female parentless child'

In the case of nouns marked for plural sex is not specified.

<i>awa-mangkurferr</i>	'widows/widowers'
<i>awa-nuguman</i>	'female/male parentless children'

If indication of sex is required the generics *yedi* and *falmi* must be used:

14. *Awa- yedi wuni awa- mangkurferr.*
 C(iii) male DEM C(iii) bereaved spouse
 'Those men are widowers.'
15. *Awa- falmi wuni awa- mangkurferr.*
 C(iii) female DEM C(iii) bereaved spouse
 'Those women are widows.'

wa- and *wur-* marked nouns also describe activities in aboriginal society which are normally carried out by members of one sex rather than the other, for example *wa-keme* 'kidney fat stealer' and *wa-wanangkal* 'young man maker' are specifically male (though *wanangkal* is now used for 'a doctor' and *wur-wanangkal* may be used to refer to 'a female doctor'). They may also refer to spirit beings who are considered to be of a particular sex, for example *wa-buymem* 'the spirit inhabiting banyan trees' is seen as being specifically male, while his wife is referred to as *wur-anguty* (see Text No.8). Spirit being in general are in class iv, (*a-*) class.

Kinship terms are not class marked nor are the personal pronouns which modify them. Thus:

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>kalla ngayi</i> | 'my mother' |
| <i>angku ngayi</i> | 'my grandfather (f.b.)' |
| <i>awawu ngayi</i> | 'my wife' |
| <i>naga ngayi</i> | 'my brother-in-law' |
| <i>were ngayi</i> | 'my brother' |
| <i>ngatya ngayi</i> | 'my father' |
| <i>eke ngayi</i> | 'my uncle (f.b.)' |
| <i>aba ngayi</i> | 'my sibling' |
| <i>ngenike ngayi</i> | 'my sister' |
16. *Aba ngayi ngannanggu leli.*
 sibling ls pn 1d ex-VC11-PRES-d walk
 'I am walking along with my younger brother/sister.'
17. *Angku ngayi mirsi yenim wa- weti -ningki*
 grandfather ls pn die 3sg p-go-PRES c(i) little INST
deti tye ngagadi tye.
 still PAST ls-go-PAST PAST
 'My grandfather died when I was still a little boy.'

Two cases of *awa-* prefixed to an adjective qualifying dogs (usually in class V) have been recorded.

18. *Wuwu bakuty awa- syetyirr dedangkurr -nide.*
 dog many C(iii) savage camp LOC
 '(There are) lots of savage dogs in the camp.'
19. *Wu- wuni fagarri wirringgu menyminy pagu awa-*
 C(v) DEM(r) two 3ns P-sit-PRES-d watch towards C(iii)
syetyirr -wirrki girrmi- nin -gi kal.
 savage 3d pn 3ns IMP-lift-FUT 1ns inc O -d chase
 'Those two dogs looking this way are savage and might chase us.'

3.1.1.5.2 CLASS IV: ANIMALS AND EDIBLE BODY PARTS

The generic term for this class is *kagu* 'beef' which has the corresponding class prefix *a-* (realised in a small number of cases as *e-* preceding *e* in the first syllable). As is the case with many other aboriginal languages the generic *kagu* here refers both to animals considered as a source of food and to the food which they provide. It is used on those occasions when only a generic term can be used, when no specific animal is identified or is identifiable.

- kagu a- ningan*
 GEN:animal C(iv) that one
 'that animal'
20. *Kagu weti ganan yeri gangki.*
 GEN:animal little 3s IMP-VC11-PRES walk/fly high
 'The bird is flying high in the sky.'

The Ngankikurungkurr when out hunting are looking for *kagu* whether it be flesh or fowl, and the term is used for meat food in general.

21. *Kagu bakuty dangim pawal.*
 GEN:animal many 3s P-VC18-PRES spear
 'He spears many animals.'
22. *Ngara fime-gat kagu.*
 1s-VC25-FUT give-cut GEN: animal
 'I will share out the meat.'
23. *Kagu nganingiyi ngudu bul ngini.*
 GEN:animal tonight 1s-VC15-FUT cook FUT
 'I will cook the meat tonight.'

It is also used to point out individual members of the class and can occur before a noun which does not normally have a class prefix.

- | | | | |
|-----------------|------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>dayi</i> | 'catfish' | <i>kagu yaga dayi</i> | 'that catfish' |
| <i>amatyi</i> | 'kangaroo' | <i>kagu wuni amatyi</i> | 'that kangaroo' |
| <i>madit</i> | 'hawk' | <i>kagu madit</i> | 'that hawk' |
| <i>malarrgu</i> | 'turtle' | <i>kagu yaga malarrgu</i> | 'that turtle' |

24. *Kagu dayi kide ya ngi dudu.*
 GEN:animal catfish where 2s-VC18-FUT 1sDO show RED
 'You show me where the catfish is.'
25. *Kagu yaga malarrgu gerrbi nyi gatit nana.*
 GEN:animal DEM turtle 3rd IMP-VC16-FUT 2sDO bite POSS
 'Those turtles might bite you.'
26. *Kagu amatyi wani ngini ngunyiningki.*
 GEN:animal kangaroo 3s P-go-FUT FUT tomorrow
 'He will try to get a kangaroo tomorrow.'

It also occurs before the listing of a number of specific animals and may be followed by the pluraliser *purrrpurk*.

27. *Kagu a-werrbalarr a-purrrpurk warrgatyen*
 GEN:animal C(iv) bird C(iv) PLUR 3ns P-bring-PRES
tyutyuk mirrikulyi kuderu -nide.
 gather RED evening billabong LOC
 'The birds gather together in the evening at the billabong.'
28. *Kagu a-purrrpurk wamangkal alfugarru a-*
 GEN:animal C(iv) PLUR wallaby brolga C(iv)
ngani nyin -werri.
 goose DEM PROP
 'Animals, (that is to say) wallabies, brolga and geese were there.'
29. *Wannin tu ngirrngirr kana kagu a-purrrpurk.*
 3ns P-go-PRES sleep sleep now GEN:animal C(iv) PLUR
 'The animals are all sleeping now.'
30. *Kagu wu -ningki e-fengku wursini ngindi*
 GEN:animal DEM AGE C(iv) snake 3s P-eat-PAST 1sIO
tyerr -kukuduk tye.
 mouth drink PAST
 'That (animal) snake was flicking his tongue at me.'

As indicated earlier, the sex of animals may be indicated by *yedi* 'male', and *falmi* 'female', and this may occur in *kagu* phrases.

kagu wamangkal wur-falmi 'female wallaby'
kagu wamangkal wa-yedi 'male wallaby'

The range of animals encompassed by *kagu* is predictably very wide. Within this set there are the subsets whose generics are *a-werr-balarr* 'birds' (literally 'animals-with-wings') and *a-nginakul* 'fish'. These, like *kagu* may do duty when the name of any specific bird or fish is not mentioned or has yet to be discovered: for example when a man goes out fishing not knowing what will be caught, or in a list of members of the class. They normally follow *kagu*.

31. *Kagu a nginakul payik -nide wirrim*
 GEN:animal C(iv) fish bag LOC 3ns P-sit-PRES
me -syirr.
 hand -put
 'They put the fish into a bag.'
32. *Kagu yaga a nginakul yena kulli kuri -nide.*
 GEN:animal DEM C(iv) fish 2s-go-IMPR throw water LOC
 'Go and throw that fish back into the water.'
33. *Kuderrri nyin -nide waddi wapup kagu*
 billabong DEM LOC 3ns P-go-PAST sit/dwell GEN:animal
a ningan a werrbalarr a ningan -werri
 C(iv) that C(iv) birds C(iv) that PROP
a ngani a mentyinimba alfugarri burra a
 C(iv) goose C(iv) egret broлга pelican C(iv)
wilfirr a fekityerr a kunbatyerr
 whistle duck C(iv) cormorant C(iv) spoonbill
a ngani nyin -werri waddu wapup peyi
 C(iv) goose DEM PROP 3pl P-go-PAST sit/dwell there
kuderrri nyin -nide.
 billabong DEM LOC
 'Many kinds of birds lived at the billabong. Geese, egrets, brolgas, pelicans, whistle ducks, cormorants, spoonbills, all of them lived there at the billabong.'

There is a large set of nouns which obligatorily take the class prefix *a-* and which may optionally take the preceding generic *kagu*. However *kagu* normally includes only those animals which can be consumed, what in aboriginal terms is called 'beef'. The prefix *a-* occurs before a wide range of creatures which includes not only those mammals, fish, birds, molluscs and amphibians which could normally be eaten, but also creatures such as insects and leeches and some body parts (mostly those exclusive to animals such as tails, wings and stings).

<i>a-dilmi</i>	'mullet'
<i>a-maty</i>	'kangaroo'
<i>a-tyalmerr</i>	'barramundi'
<i>a-ngani</i>	'goose'
<i>a-furra</i>	'mussel'
<i>a-ngankityerr</i>	'spring leech'
<i>a-niyen</i>	'sand frog'
<i>a-darra</i>	'liver'
<i>a-guri</i>	'rock wallaby'
<i>a-mengkin</i>	'black goanna'
<i>a-tindiri</i>	'short-necked turtle'
<i>a-diny</i>	'leech'

<i>a-kalangu</i>	'blowfly'
<i>a-daba</i>	'wing' (C(iv) + 'arm')
<i>a-kumibi</i>	'sting'

It also includes mythological beings and spirits:

<i>a-dida</i>	'spirit noise'
<i>a-dinkek</i>	'shadow'
<i>a-ngumungki</i>	'rainbow'
<i>a-nguty</i>	'spirit of the dead, ghost'
<i>a-ngirrwat</i>	'totemic animal, "dreaming"'
<i>a-wulguru</i>	'crying spirit'

The type of spirit known as *wa-buymem*, while taking the male class marker, is still considered to be an *a-nguty* as may be seen in this example taken from Text No.8.

- 34a. *Dinyingkin kagu wa- buymem yedi tye pagu.*
 3sg P-see-PRES GEN:animal C(i) ghost 3s P-go-PAST PAST towards
 'He saw a ghost coming towards him.'
- 34b. "*Kagu kinyi a- nguty -wurru*" *mem.*
 GEN:animal DEM(p) C(iv) ghost INTENS 3s-say-PRES
 "'This is indeed a ghost!" he says.'

A small number of nouns referring to animals do not take the class prefix. These include:

<i>malarrgu</i>	'turtle'
<i>dayi</i>	'catfish'
<i>burra</i>	'pelican'
<i>ngurp</i>	'emu'
<i>pisyakiki</i>	'chicken hawk'
<i>pultyerrk</i>	'eagle hawk'
<i>wadat</i>	'flying fox'

It is not clear why this is so in some cases. Emus as flightless birds and flying foxes as flying mammals are often marked as exceptional in aboriginal languages by being excluded from the normal semantic categories. They do, however, belong to the *a-* class and their modifiers show the appropriate concord. But this does not explain why the words for pelican and hawk, which are not exceptional, should be included among the list of unmarked nouns.

Other unmarked nouns include those for introduced animals:

<i>nendu</i>	'horse'
<i>walfaka</i>	'buffalo'
<i>bulaki</i>	'cattle'

Those nouns for animals with reduplicated and onomatopoeic names also do not have class prefixes:

<i>kurrwak kurrwak</i>	'kookaburra'
<i>wilik wilik</i>	'galah'
<i>werrk werrk</i>	'cockatoo'
<i>wirrity wirrity</i>	'parrot'

<i>klarrkurrk</i>	'jabiru'
<i>mak mak</i>	'eagle'
<i>tyungut tyungut</i>	'frogmouth'
<i>watku watku</i>	'green frog'

In Ngankiwumirri the *a*- class marker occurs optionally with those words which are shared by both languages and in Ngankikurungkurr are always unmarked.

a- prefix concord extends across all the constituents of the NP.

35. *A- wuni nendu a- ngayi a- tyikmempi.*
 C(iv) DEM(r) horse C(iv) 1s pn C(iv) black
 'That black horse of mine.'/'That horse of mine is black.'
36. *A- yubu -kirri a- wamangkal a- nyinyi epe*
 C(iv) good INTENS C(iv) wallaby C(iv) 2s pn but
a- ngayi nawa a- yubu.
 C(iv) 1s pn PREF C(iv) good.
 'You have a very good wallaby but mine is better.'

A suppletive form of the generic *kagu* occurs in neighbouring Murinypata with exactly the same meaning: *ku* 'meat, animal' (Walsh 1976:144)

In this language the generic also acts as a noun classifier with a similar but not identical semantic range, non-aboriginal humans and female genitalia being included as well as the non-human animates and spirits included in the class in Ngankikurungkurr (Walsh 1976:141).

3.1.1.5.3 CLASS V: CANINES

This class contains only three members. The generic term for 'dog' is *wuwu* and the resultant prefix is *wu*. The members are:

<i>wu-wuwu</i>	'dog'
<i>wu-pidirri</i>	'dingo'
<i>wu-mebe</i>	'puppy'

The class marker as in the case of other animals extends to all constituents of the NP.

37. *wuwu wu- wuni wu- kerre fagarri wu- ngayi*
 dog C(v) DEM(r) C(v) big two C(v) 1s pn
 'those two big dogs of mine'

3.1.1.5.4 CLASS VI: EDIBLE PLANTS AND FRUIT

This class includes the names of a wide range of edible plants and the edible parts of trees. The generic term for this class is *miyi* 'tucker' and most members of the class are preceded by the generic or have the obligatory prefix *mi-*. Like *kagu*, *miyi* occurs in situations where a specific food is not named.

38. *Miyi -ngini ngagadi kayki tye.*
 GEN:plant food PURP 1s-go-PAST call RED PAST
 'I asked for some food.'
39. *Miyi yeyi -ningki gangki -wuru wannanggu*
 GEN:plant food other AGE high INTENS 3ns P-VC11-PRES-d
madi-way.
 be unable
 'Some of the fruit was so high they (d) could not reach it.'
40. *Miyi nga nyi fime ngunyiningki.*
 GEN:plant food 1s-VC18-FUT 2sDO give tomorrow
 'I will give you some food tomorrow.'
41. *Miyi kinyi minta mi- wuru -ngini.*
 GEN:plant food DEM(p) NEG C(vi) INTENS PURP
 'There is not enough food here.'

miyi also occurs before nouns for specific trees and plants.

42. *Ningki miyi bakuty mi- nimindi kuderri*
 AGE GEN:plant food many C(vi) red lily billabong
yaga -nide epe kuderri yeyi nawa bakuty.
 DEM LOC but billabong other PREF many
 'There are lots of red lilies in that billabong but even more in the other.'
43. *Miyi mi-muy minta nana gudu bul.*
 GEN:plant food C(vi)yam NEG might 3s IMP-VC15-FUT cook
 'She cannot cook yams.'
44. *Kana wudu bul ngini miyi mi-piyagany.*
 now 3s P-VC15-FUT cook FUT GEN:plant food C(vi) cheeky yam
 'She can cook the cheeky yams.'

The *mi-* prefix obligatorily occurs on a large number of food-bearing plants and trees, among which are:

<i>mi-meli</i>	'purple plum'
<i>mi-manmamba</i>	'white apple'
<i>mi-piyagany</i>	'cheeky yam'
<i>mi-ngukurr</i>	'tamarind'
<i>mi-dirrwi</i>	'black plum'
<i>mi-gaga</i>	'type of fig'
<i>mi-kulurrfuk</i>	'water yam'

The *mi-* class prefix is affixed to all constituents of the NP.

45. *Mi-wuni mityangari mi-kerre.*
 C(vi)DEM(r) C(vi)blue water lily C(vi)big
 'The big water lily.'/'The water lily is big.'

As in Murrinpata (Walsh 1976:303) faeces is placed in the *mi-* class. The word does not take the *mi-* prefix itself but may be observed in concord with other constituents of the NP.

46. *Ngekin dim pallak a-matyi.*
 faeces 3s p-sit-PRES excrete C(iv)kangaroo
Mi-marrgu dim pallak.
 C(vi)new 3s p-sit-PRES excrete
 'The kangaroo defecates. He passes a new/fresh one.'

3.1.1.5.5 CLASS VII (a): TREES, NON-FOOD BEARING PLANTS AND MANUFACTURED OBJECTS

In Murrumbidgee the generic *thawurr* 'tree' or 'wood' functions in much the same way as *miyi* and *kagu* and precedes specific names of trees whether they have class prefixes or not. In Murrumbidgee the generic term *yewurr* 'tree' does not normally function in this way. In the main it refers to trees in general or to the wood the trees provide. However, on occasions it may be used to indicate that in the case of a tree bearing fruit, which is in the *mi-* class, it is the tree itself rather than the fruit it bears which is the focus of attention. Then, the generic *yewurr* occurs before the name of the tree. For example:

<i>mi-dirrwi</i>	'black plum'
<i>yewurr mi-dirrwi</i>	'the tree of the black plum'

This is, however, exceptional; *mi-dirrwi* normally includes both fruit and tree, as the following example shows:

47. *Yenim pap mi-dirrwi.*
 3s P-go-PRES climb C(iv)-black plum
 'He climbs the black plum tree.'

Membership of this class is indicated by the corresponding separable prefix *yerr-* and the inseparable prefix *ye-* which normally occur on nouns referring to specific trees but which are normally absent from nouns referring to wooden or manufactured objects. The class of trees includes:

<i>yerr-fagu</i>	'tea tree'
<i>yerr-tyinge</i>	'river pandanus'
<i>yerr-wirre</i>	'woolly butt'
<i>yerr-syenityi</i>	'milkwood'

The range of this class is very wide and includes all those trees and bushes which are considered not from the point of view of their capacity to produce food but as providing the resources for the material aspects of aboriginal life. In a number of cases the same word indicates both the material and the use to which it is put:

<i>yerr-daba</i>	'branch/firewood'
<i>yeningkisyi</i>	'kapok tree/canoe'
<i>yengki</i>	'firewood/fire'

The class also includes those parts of the tree which are not normally edible:

<i>yerr-dagarri</i>	'stem, trunk'
<i>yerr-daba</i>	'branch'
<i>yerr-garfuri</i>	'bark'

Other members of the class include such material products as *yerr-finy* 'honey', *fungkuli* 'sugar bag' and *fa* 'beeswax', presumably because while they are produced on trees they are clearly not fruit but are manufactured by bees.

The list of manufactured objects not only includes indigenous objects like rafts, canoes and dilly bags, but is extended to a range of products acquired from contact with Europeans like clothing, chewing tobacco, cars and drink. These normally take the prefix on the noun.

<i>yerr-depine</i>	'hat'
<i>yerr-debiwerri</i>	'trousers'
<i>yerr-tyerrawu</i>	'chewing tobacco'
<i>yerr-kangkalang</i>	'tobacco'
<i>yerr-mudika</i>	'motor car'

The list of *yerr*- marked nouns includes the constellation of the Milky Way whose name *yerr-nugurr* means 'a bundle of sticks'.

A small number of names for trees, plants and indigenous manufactured objects do not take class prefixes. These include *kanbi* 'bamboo, didgeridoo', *kunara* 'white cedar', *panmi* 'forked branch', *wa* 'paperbark', *bude* 'nest', *bi* 'axe', *fun fun* 'hair belt', *pin pin* 'arm band', *wurr* 'grass' and *nintyinintyi* 'bushes'. Other constituents of NP's in which these occur do, however, take the *yerr* prefix.

The *yerr* class is, however, not limited to wooden or manufactured objects. Unmarked nouns referring to natural phenomena or not included in any other class may have *yerr* marked modifiers.

48. *Fepi yerr- fengku yerr- mulfang.*
stone C(viia) long C(viia) sharp
'The long sharp stone.'/'The long stone is sharp.'
49. *Yerr purrpurrk ngayi yerr-tyung-mem yiba*
C(viia) PLUR 1s pn C(viia) wet later
ngeme syirr ngini.
1s-VC25-FUT flow FUT
'My clothes are wet so I will wring them out.'
50. *A wa- yeyi ningki falmi yedi waddi tye*
C(iii) other AGE female male 3ns P-go-PAST PAST
yerr-kerre ningki mudika.
C(viia) big AGE motor car
'All those other men and women went in the big motor car.'
51. *Tyip nginy tyerri yerr- nyin nanama ep*
dark 1s -say-PRES ear C(vii) DEM song maybe
ngenike ngayi detyerri yenim.
sister 1s pn C(viii)-ear 3s P-go-PRES
'I have forgotten that song, maybe my sister knows it.'
52. *Marrawuk yerr- kerre wibem fuyfuy.*
wind C(vii) big 3s P-lie-PRES blow RED
'A big wind is blowing.'

The use of *yerr-* with natural phenomena is optional. We have also recorded:

53. *Marrwuk kerre winge fuyfuy tye.*
 wind big 3s p-lie-PAST flow RED PAST
 'A big wind was blowing.'

Rivers, billabongs, ground, water and their modifiers rarely take any class marker. If they do it is *yerr. fepi* when used to mean 'stone used in manufactured articles' usually takes *yerr-* but when used to mean 'hill' or 'mountain' the class marker is often omitted.

In the following example, from Text No.6, sentence 9, *yerr-* refers to 'path or direction':

54. ... *yerr-wuni pefi, kinyi pagu, wuni pefi ...*
 C(vii) DEM(r) ALL DEM(p) ALL DEM ALL
 '... in all directions ...'

Tea is included in this class presumably because it is not actually consumed.

55. *Tea yerr- bin kana.*
 tea C(vii) cooked/ready now
 'The tea is ready now.'

3.1.1.5.6 CLASS VII(b) AND (c): FIGHTING STICKS AND HUNTING WEAPONS

There are two generic terms which refer to nouns in this class, although they do not have corresponding prefixes to the noun. The generic term *yuri* 'fighting stick' refers to hand held weapons like clubs and boomerangs. It occurs rarely since in normal context both noun and modifiers are *yerr* marked. However, it occurs in the Ngankikurungkurr word for 'boomerang' *yurigarrityenmuy* (literally 'crooked fighting stick').

56. *Yuri ngayi kunyungun yaga.*
 GEN:stick 1s pn boomerang DEM
 'That is my boomerang.'

Its use is normally limited to contexts of conflict.

57. *Yuri gi -werri wirrem bulbul*
 GEN:stick fight PROP 3ns P-VC24-PRES fight RED

witibem kinyi.
 OA:3ns P-stand-PRES DEM(p)

'They are all fighting one another with fighting sticks.'

58. *Ngayim -ningki jungle fowl -ningki a ngani yuri*
 3s(f)pn AGE AGE C(iv) goose GEN:stick

nyin wupun ta.
 DEM 3s P-hit-PRES hit

'The jungle fowl hit the goose with that stick.'

Among hunting weapons spears are normally referred to by the generic term *yawul* 'spear' and this may precede the names of specific types of spears.

yawul ngunngun
yawul tyulut

'mangrove'
 'hook spear'

In general, however, both *yawul* and names of specific types of spears take the *yerr-* prefix. The class prefix for 'hunting spears' *yeli*, found elsewhere in the Daly area, appears in the phrase *yeli damuy* 'the point of a spear'; but in Ngankikurungkurr nouns, adjectives and deictics are *yerr-*marked while only possessive pronouns take the prefix *ali-* which is appropriate to hunting weapons.

59. *Yawul ali- ngayi yerr- mulfang.*
 spear C(viib) 1sg pn C(vii) sharp
 'My spear is sharp.'
60. *Ali- nem yaga yawul.*
 C(viib) 3sg(m)pn DEM spear
 'That is his spear.'
61. *Yerr- wuni yawul yerr- kerre wurru.*
 C(vii) DEM spear C(vii) big INTENS
 'This spear is very big.'

3.1.1.5.7 CLASS VIII: BODY PARTS

There is no generic term for this class of nouns. Class membership is indicated by the prefix *de-*. This is obligatory on all inalienable and external visible body parts when they occur in NP's. The prefix has two allomorphs: *de-* before syllables with the front vowels *e* and *i* as nuclei, *da-* before syllables with the back vowels *a* and *u* nuclei.

Examples are:

<i>da-ba</i>	'arm'	<i>de-me</i>	'hand'
<i>da-ta</i>	'shoulder'	<i>de-ge</i>	'stomach'
<i>da-wandyirr</i>	'armpit, side of body'	<i>de-pi</i>	'head'
<i>da-murri</i>	'testicles'	<i>de-bi</i>	'leg'
<i>da-muy</i>	'eye'	<i>de-tyerri</i>	'ear'
<i>da-tjamu</i>	'cheek'	<i>de-firr</i>	'foot'

The class prefix is normally omitted when the noun occurs in a complex verb root or when it is preceded by a modifier.

62. *De- syi nem melpe kana.*
 C(viii) nose 3s(m)pn flat now
 'His nose is flat now.'
63. *Melpe ø-syi yenim kana.*
 flat nose 3s P-go-PRES now
 'He has a flat nose now.'
64. *Miyi bengim me ket.*
 GEN:plant food 3s P-VC16-PRES hand gather
 'He has picked the fruit.'

65. *Wur falmi wur wuni mungkin ba wa.*
 C(ii) female C(ii) DEM(r) 3s P-lift-PRES arm take
 'He has married that woman' (literally 'he has taken her arm').

No class marker occurs on nouns which:

- (a) refer to separable body parts:

tyerrwasyan 'beard'
wusyey 'hair'

- (b) refer to internal organs:

kekukul 'heart'
fetyen 'blood'
yiringku 'kidneys'
kengarapa 'lungs'
mentyi kanbi 'windpipe'
ngekin garri 'small intestine'

NP's with *de-* marked nouns as headwords have the other constituents of the NP unmarked or infrequently *yerr-* marked.

66. *Wusyey yerr- ngayi tyatyalakngini.*
 hair C(vii) 1s pn straight/soft
 'My hair is straight.'
67. *Tyarrwasyan yerr- nem buymangkarri kana.*
 beard C(vii) 3s pn(m) white PUN
 'His beard is white now.'

(Hair probably takes *yerr-* concord because it is used in manufactured items.)

68. *Debi ngayim mukwerri.*
 leg 3s pn(f) scarred
 'Her leg is scarred.'

Liver, a special edible organ, is found in the *a-* class (3.1.1.5.2).

3.1.1.6 CROSS CLASSING

In the previous sections the generic term and the class prefix may be regarded as indicating the general semantic class of which a specific noun is an individual member.

Thus in the word *miwulngini* 'red lily' the class prefix *mi* designates the class of edible vegetable objects of which the derived stem *-wulngini* represents a specific member.

The majority of nouns in Ngankikurungkurr are of this type. Some noun roots, however, possess a more generalised meaning which the class prefix makes more specific. The meaning is seen as referring to some attribute common to a number of objects. The class prefix, by placing it in a semantically more restricted field, specifies the meaning more precisely.

Words of this kind permit what Capell and Hinch (1970:47) refer to as cross classing; they have the ability to select a number of class prefixes depending on the semantic context. This is, however,

confined to a small number of noun roots and is of limited productivity in extending the lexical range of the language. Some examples are:

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) | <i>-firr</i> | 'horizontal, lower limb' |
| | <i>de-firr</i> | 'foot' |
| | <i>yerr-firr</i> | 'root of tree' |
| | <i>a-firr</i> | 'corpse' |
| (2) | <i>-garrfuri</i> | 'outside' |
| | <i>a-garrfuri</i> | 'skin' |
| | <i>yerr-garrfuri</i> | 'bark of tree' |
| (3) | <i>muy</i> | 'face, self' |
| | <i>da-muy</i> | 'eye' |
| | <i>mi-muy</i> | 'yam' |
| | <i>mi-da-muy</i> | 'seed' |
| | <i>a-da-muy</i> | 'clitoris' |

3.1.1.7 DERIVED NOMINALS

3.1.1.7.1 CLASS MARKERS AS NOMINALISERS

The headword of an NP is obligatorily a nominal or a free-form pronoun. Where the headword is not a noun, nominals may be derived from adjectives, numerals and deictic specifiers by the addition of a class prefix. This is a highly productive mechanism and is the source of most headwords of NP's.

<i>weti</i>	'small'	<i>wa-weti</i>	'a male child'
		<i>wur-weti</i>	'a female child'
		<i>awa-weti</i>	'children'
<i>yeyi</i>	'other'	<i>mi-yeyi</i>	'other vegetable food'
		<i>a-yeyi</i>	'(an)other animal/s'
		<i>awa-yeyi</i>	'other people'
<i>kinyi</i>	'this (close at hand)'	<i>yerr-kinyi</i>	'this thing here'
		<i>awa-kinyi</i>	'these people'
<i>wukume</i>	'one'	<i>wa-wukume</i>	'one male person'
		<i>wu-wukume</i>	'one dog'

The names of some animals, plants and objects are descriptive and are derived from adjective roots by means of nominalising class markers:

<i>melpe</i>	'flat'	<i>a-melpe</i>	'stingray'
		<i>mi-melpe</i>	'flat yam'
<i>fengku</i>	'long'	<i>a-fengku</i>	'snake'
		<i>mi-fengku</i>	'long yam'
		<i>yerr-fengku</i>	'long spear'

Some temporal nominals like *dangim-fi-rsul* and *dangim-fi-derri-rsul* 'sunrise' are formally verb phrases. These may (rarely) take the *yerr-* prefix to form *yerr-dangim-firsul* and

yerr-dangim-fiderrirsul which are formally nominals. Such verbally derived nominals may take both tense and case marking.

69. *Yerr- dangim fi- derri- rsul tye kana pagu.*
 C(vii) 3s P-put-PRES CS back sunrise PAST now towards
 'Sunrise was now near.'

3.1.1.7.2 AGENT NOUNS

wa-, *wur-* and *awa-* prefixes derive agent nouns from verb stems or from adjectival finite verb phrases. The sense of the agent noun is 'person performing the action described by the verb'.

Agent nouns derived from verb stems:

<i>walamarra</i>	'dance (of women)'	<i>wur-walamarra (yubu)</i>	'a (good) female dancer'
<i>wangka</i>	'dance (of men)'	<i>wa-wangka (yubu)</i>	'a (good) male dancer'
<i>tyutyurr</i>	'swim'	<i>wa-tyutyurr (yubu)</i>	'a (good) swimmer'
<i>nanama</i>	'sing'	<i>wa-nanama (yubu)</i>	'a (good) singer'
<i>syisyi</i>	'paddle'	<i>wa-syisyi (yubu)</i>	'a (good) paddler'

Agent nouns derived from adjectival phrases:

<i>daba tyatma</i>	'straight arm'	<i>wa-daba-tyatma</i>	'a good shot'
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3.1.1.8 GERUNDIVES FROM VERB STEMS

Class prefixes may derive gerundives from verb stems. The sense of the gerundive is that the action described by the verb is capable of being performed or is fit to be performed. Gerundive constructions of the type described are not frequent in Ngankikurungkurr and are mainly confined to verbs of eating and drinking.

<i>lalirr</i>	'eat'	<i>a-lalirr</i>	'meat which is fit to eat'
<i>lalawaty</i>	'eat'	<i>mi-lalawaty</i>	'vegetable food which is fit to eat'
<i>kukuduk</i>	'drink'	<i>yerr-kukuduk</i>	'(water) fit to drink'

The negative of this, that is 'unfit to eat/drink', is formed by prefixing the negative *minta* to the gerundive:

<i>a-lalirr</i>	'edible meat food'	<i>minta a-lalirr</i>	'inedible meat food'
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A few other verbs may form gerundives in this way. The most common is *madiwirri* 'to laugh, play' which forms expressions like *yerr madiwirri yawul* 'a toy spear' (literally 'to-be laughed at/played-with spear').

70. *Kagu kinyi a- lalawaty.*
 GEN:animal DEM(p) C(iv) eat
 'This meat can be eaten/is edible.'
71. *Miyi kinyi minta mi-lalirr.*
 GEN:plant food DEM(p) NEG C(vi) eat
 'This vegetable food can't be eaten.'

72. *Kuri yaga minta yerr-kukuduk.*
 water DEM(r) NEG C(viia) drink
 'That water is not fit to drink.'

3.1.2 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives commonly modify nouns in Ngankikurungkurr, and may take class prefixes in concordial agreement with the nouns they modify. Formally they are distinguished from nouns in that they may take a variety of class prefixes which are determined by the class of the headword which they modify, whereas nouns take the class prefix appropriate to the semantic class of which they are a member. Semantically they are distinguished by describing properties of nouns such as colour, size, quality, etc. Like other noun adjuncts, class-marked adjectives may function as nominals and become the headwords of NP's.

Adjective roots are usually disyllabic or trisyllabic:

Disyllabic roots include:

<i>luruty</i>	'strong'
<i>kerre</i>	'big, deep'
<i>melpe</i>	'flat'
<i>mulfang</i>	'sharp'
<i>mumu</i>	'forbidden'
<i>lengkerrk</i>	'bright'
<i>yeyi</i>	'other'
<i>fengku</i>	'long, tall'
<i>yubu</i>	'good'
<i>lengkirr</i>	'bad'

Trisyllabic roots include:

<i>bulbulfi</i>	'hot'
<i>dityungkurr</i>	'short'
<i>kenkapurr</i>	'fat'
<i>lamurity</i>	'glad'
<i>yirifiny</i>	'sweet'
<i>yin gini</i>	'raw'
<i>bilirri</i>	'alive'
<i>firfirrge</i>	'noisy'
<i>wutitmi</i>	'heavy'

These may also occur as adverbs of manner.

Longer adjective stems may be derived from adjective roots in a number of ways:

(a) compounds formed from adjectives and nouns (usually *madi* 'side' or *dirr* 'edge'):

<i>lalirr-dirr</i>	'sharp'
<i>yidirr-madi</i>	'steep'
<i>pupurity-madi</i>	'slippery'
<i>birrbirr-dirr</i>	'blunt'

(b) adjective roots + the emphatic suffix *muy* 'self':

<i>garrityen-muy</i>	'crooked'
<i>pulpul-muy</i>	'spoilt'
<i>gi-muy</i>	'cheeky'
<i>yerifun-muy</i>	'reliable'
<i>syingku-muy</i>	'bitter'

(c) reduplicated adjective roots + the suffix *-ngini*:

<i>tyatyalak-ngini</i>	'soft'
<i>palpal-ngini</i>	'lazy'
<i>filfil-ngini</i>	'bright'

Adjectives may be derived from nouns by means of the proprietive clitic *werri*. The resultant adjective has the sense of having as a characteristic the quality exhibited by the noun.

<i>weri</i>	'hole'	<i>weri</i> + <i>werri</i>	'leaky (of a bucket)'
<i>ngityirr</i>	'earth'	<i>ngityirr</i> + <i>werri</i>	'dirty'
<i>kuri</i>	'water, beer'	<i>kuri</i> + <i>werri</i>	'drunk'
<i>mempirr</i>	'child'	<i>mempirr</i> + <i>werri</i>	'pregnant'
<i>muk</i>	'wound, scar'	<i>muk</i> + <i>werri</i>	'scarred'

Derived adjectives describing physical condition, emotional states and intellectual ability have body part nouns as the first element in adjectival stems. Adjectives describing physical condition often have *dengini* 'body' as the first element.

<i>dengini wulek</i>	'sick'
<i>dengini weti</i>	'thin'
<i>dengini yubu</i>	'healthy, strong'
<i>dengini kerre</i>	'fat, robust'

In compounds designating cognitive and emotional states the 'ears' *detyerri* are seen as the seat of knowledge and understanding and the 'stomach' *dege* (realised as *ge* in some compounds) as the source of emotion.

<i>detyerri werri</i>	'(ears-having) intelligent, understanding'
<i>minta detyerri werri</i>	'(not-ears-having) forgetful, stupid'
<i>ge ket</i>	'proud, fond, jealous of'
<i>minta ge</i>	'unhappy'
<i>dege lengkirr</i>	'upset'
<i>bengim ge</i>	'to be happy'

A few adjectives are derived from verb roots. Among those recorded are:

<i>buy</i>	'to burn to ashes'	<i>buy-buy</i>	'sunburnt'
		<i>buy-pi</i>	'white haired'
		<i>buy-yindirri</i>	'dead, used up'
		<i>buy-mangkarrri</i>	'white'
<i>pul</i>	'to clear away'	<i>pulpulmuy</i>	'spoilt'
<i>fafa</i>	'to shout'	<i>fafa-werri</i>	'noisy'

The adjective *yenim bubu* 'sleepy' is really a compound verb phrase, *yenim* 'he goes' -*bubu* 'be soft, decayed'. It may take class markers.

73. *Yedi ne man tye a-yenim bubu wamangkal.*
 3sg P-go-FUT 3sIO crawl PAST C(iv) sleepy wallaby
 'He sneaked up on a sleeping wallaby.'

Adjectives may occur both attributively or predicatively. Attributive adjectives can be marked for concord with the headword of the NP as indicated in Table No.2.

74. *Wa- wuni wa- lengkirr wa yedi dangim*
 C(i) DEM(r) C(i) bad C(i) man 3s P-VC18
pawal wur- wuni wur- falmi yawul yerr- kerre
 spear C(ii) DEM(r) C(ii) woman spear C(vii) big
-ningki gimin winge tye ngirrngirr.
 INST while 3s P-lie-past PAST sleep
 'That bad man speared the woman with a big spear while she was sleeping.'
75. *Yeri lalirrdirr yening kurr felpi.*
 C(vii) sharp 3s P-go-PRES pick up stone
 'He picked up a sharp stone.'
76. *A- nginifiny a- matyi warrakma winni*
 C(iv) true/genuine C(iv) big kangaroo three 3pl P-sit-PAST
tye ngirrgifiriny -nide.
 PAST spring LOC
 'Three really big kangaroos were at the spring.'

Many adjectives which describe physical conditions or cognitive and emotional states occur in predicative expressions with stative verbs.

77. *Minta lamurity yirim detyengi.*
 NEG happy 2ns-sit-PRES today
 'You (pl) are not happy today.'
78. *Detyerri -werri yenim.*
 ear PROP 3s P-go-PRES
 'He/she knows/is intelligent.'
79. *Dengini weti girim.*
 C(viii) body small 3s IMP-sit-PRES
 'He/she is thin.'

Physical conditions and emotional states may also be described by impersonal verb compounds (4.8).

80. *Wayim ngirr minyirr.*
 3s P-burn-PRES 1pl ex O thirsty
 'We (pl) are thirsty.'

81. *Awakay napa dangim pirr gada.*
 everyone 3sg P-VC18-PRES 3 p1 O be worried
 'They are all worried.'

The comparative or superlative degrees are normally expressed by juxtaposition.

82. *E- werrmisya a- kerre detyengi napa*
 C(iv) crocodile C(iv) big the first time
ngirrnyingkin ø yirrini wulil tye.
 1 pl ex-see-PRES 3s DO 3s-go along-PAST swim PAST
 'The biggest crocodile we have ever seen was swimming past.'
83. *Ya nginti du yerr- nginyi ngunguni*
 2s-VC18-FUT 1s IO dhow C(vii) 2s pn painting
yani pek tye yaga-ka yerr- yubu.
 2s-go-PAST paint PAST DEM EMPH C(vii) good
 'Show me the best painting you have done.'

Comparisons may also be made by use of the comparative particle *ngani* 'like'.

84. *Yerr- kinyi yewirr minta yerr- kerre ngani yerr wuni.*
 C(vii) DEM(p) stick NEG C(vii) big COMP C(vii) DEM(r)
 'This stick is not as big as that one.'

The preferential particle *nawa*, which usually occurs in the second of two related clauses, indicates that the action or state described in the second clause is preferable to that described in the first (6.9). This construction may be used to compare adjectives.

85. *A- yubu -kirri nendu yaga a- nyinyi / a-*
 C(iv) good INTEN horse DEM C(iv) 2s pn C(iv)
ngayi nawa a- yubu.
 1s pn PREF C(iv) good.
 'You have a very good horse but mine is better.'

The meaning of adjectives may be intensified by use of the clitics *-kirri* or *-wuru* (5.8), the adjectives *kerre* 'big' and *nginifiny* 'true' immediately following the adjective, and also by use of the limitative *napa*.

86. *Yewirr kinyi dityungkurr -wuru.*
 stick DEM(p) short INTEN
 'This stick is very short/too short.'
87. *Aya! Mirri wuni yubu -kirri din tum pefi.*
 ah! sun DEM(r) good INTEN 3s P-sit-PRES sink all
 'Ah! That sunset is very beautiful.'
88. *Wa- wuni yedi dagari fengku -kirri.*
 C(i) DEM(r) man C(viii)leg long INTEN
 'That man has very long legs.'

89. *Awakay napa yedi yerr- wasyanderi werrme baty*
 everyone man C(vii) bag 3ns P-VC13-PAST have
tye epe John nem yerr- kerre-nginifiny.
 PAST but 3s(m)pn C(vii) big true
 'All the men had a bag but John's was the biggest.'
90. *Wa- wuni wusyey nem buymangkarri nginifiny kana.*
 C(i) DEM(r) hair 3s(m)pn white true PUN
 'That man's hair is truly white now.'
91. *Wa- yedi wa- luruty -kerre yawul dagam kulli.*
 C(i) man C(i) strong big spear 3s P-VC11-PRES throw
 'The very strong man threw the spear.'
92. *Kultyinimbi were ngayi wupun gat*
 yesterday brother 1s pn 3s P-VC14-PRES catch
a- tyalmerr a- kerre napa.
 C(iv) barramundi C(iv) big only
 'Yesterday my brother caught a very big barramundi.'

Intensification may also be expressed by juxtaposition.

93. *Yewirr kinyi yerr- weti. Yerr- kerre pagu yewirr.*
 stick DEM(p) C(vii) little C(vii) big towards stick
 'This stick is too small. Give me a big one.'

Adjectives may also be modified by the clitic *-kadi* 'enough'.

94. *Ningki kinyi yewirr fengku -kadi yerr- dagarri*
 AGE DEM(p) stick long enough C(vii) stem
weti -wuru.
 small/thin INTEN
 'This stick is long enough but too thin.'

3.1.3 DEMONSTRATIVES

There are four demonstratives in Ngankikurungkurr.

<i>kinyi</i>	'this', 'here'	indicates proximity to speaker
<i>wuni</i>	'that', 'there'	indicates remoteness from speaker
<i>nyin (in)</i>	'that', 'there'	refers to nominals which cannot be seen by the speaker. It is the most common demonstrative in narrative.
<i>yaga</i>	'that', 'there'	indicates remoteness from speaker

kinyi and *nyin(in)* have close cognates in neighbouring Murinypata: *kanyi* and *nyini*. Murinypata, like Ngankikurungkurr, has four demonstratives which are set out as follows:

	'here'	'there'	
near	<i>kanyi</i>	<i>pana</i>	
remote	<i>nyini</i>	<i>pagu</i>	(Walsh 1976:174)

These are glossed as:

<i>nyini</i>	'here but not so close'	
<i>pana</i>	'there but not so far away'	
<i>kanyi</i>	'right here; just here'	
<i>pangu</i>	'over there; way over there'	(Walsh 1976:174)

It is possible that further investigation would reveal a similar situation with the demonstratives in Ngankikurungkurr.

There is no distinction for singular and plural so that *kinyi* means this one or ones near at hand and *yaga* that one or ones further away. Only in the case of the human nouns is plurality indicated (by class prefix).

Demonstratives follow the normal pattern of modification and nominalisation. As NP headwords they can take case inflections. The normal direction of modification is for unmarked demonstratives to follow the noun they modify, while marked demonstratives normally precede unmarked nouns. There is another adverb *peyi* 'there' which never functions as a nominal and has never been recorded taking nominalising class markers (5.4.1).

95. *Yerr wuni wembem yerr- kerre.*
C(vii) DEM(r) hut C(vii) big
'That hut is big./'That big hut.'
96. *Mi- kinyi mi- tyangari mi- kerre.*
C(vi) DEM(p) C(vi) blue water lily C(vi) big
'This water lily is big.'
97. *Miyi yaga minta yursu waty!*
GEN:food DEM NEG 2s-eat-FUT eat
'Do not eat that food!'
98. *"Aya kinyi minmi! Minta lalirrdirr!" meyi yi*
ah DEM(p) no NEG sharp 3s-say-PAST and
wu wuty yawul nyinin.
3s P-VC14-FUT throw away spear DEM
'"Oh, this is no good! It is not sharp!" he said, and he threw away that spear.'

kinyi and *wuni* are found in contracted forms in the locative adverbs *dirr-ki-ningki* and *dirr-wu-ningki* 'this side' and 'that side'. *wu-* also occurs in *data-wu-ningki* 'on the other side' (see 5.4.1).

There is also a demonstrative pronoun *ningan* 'that one, that thing' which is used when the precise noun cannot be immediately recalled. It is prefixed by the class marker appropriate to the noun it refers to, thus:

<i>ye-ningan</i>	'that object'
<i>a-ningan</i>	'that animal/meat'

It has the personal form:

<i>nangan</i>	'that person'
---------------	---------------

99. *Ngupun ne fifili nangan.*
 1s-VC14-PRES 3s(m)IO look for DEM pn
 'I'm looking for that person.'
100. *A- yeyi -ningki a- ningan a- werr-balarr*
 C(iv) other INST C(iv) DEM pn C(iv) PROP wing
mirrgangki nyinin yengki wuddupun pup
 daylight DEM fire 3ns P-VC15-PRES put on ground
mumbanelen -nide.
 road LOC
 'Those others, the birds, when it was daylight, spread the fire over the ground.'
101. *Wupun syiwat yawul nyinin ye- ningan nide yagama.*
 3s P-VC14-PRES hook up spear DEM C(vii) DEM pn LOC woomera
 'He hooks up that spear in that thing – the woomera.'

3.1.4 NUMERALS AND QUANTIFIERS

3.1.4.1 NUMERALS

There are three numeral adjectives:

<i>wukume</i>	'one'
<i>fagarri</i>	'two'
<i>warrakma</i>	'three'

These may be combined to form *fagarri fagarri* 'four' and *fagarri fagarri wukume* 'five'; but these are not indigenous to Ngankikurungkurr. There is also *meye ningki meye ningki* 'ten' which is based upon the hand *de-me* as a unit of five. Numerals usually follow nouns and like other constituents of the NP are class prefixed for concord and can form nominals by taking class prefixes.

102. *Wa- weti wa- wukume yi aba nem wa-*
 C(i) little C(i) one and sibling 3s(m)pn c(i)
kerre wadde tye fungkuli -ngini.
 big 3d P-go-PAST PAST honey PURP
 'One little boy and his big brother went for honey.'
103. *Awa- mursi wannunggu nime napa awa warrakma.*
 C(iii) die 3ns P-go-PRES-d all only C(iii) three
 'All three of them are dead now.'
104. *A(wa)- wuni yeduwiti fagarri aba wirrike -ngini*
 C(iii) DEM(r) young man two sibling 3d pn PURP
gitibenggu nganmentyi.
 3ns IMP-stand-PRES-d wait
 'Those two boys are waiting for their sister.'

There is a numeral interrogative *erreke* 'how many?'

105. *Erreke kagu a-nginakul yarim pawal kultyinimbi?*
 how many GEN:animal C(iv)fish 2s-VC18-PRES spear yesterday
 'How many fish did you spear yesterday?'

Like all interrogatives (3.2.5; 5.7) *erreke* may be followed by the preferential clitic *nawa* to give an indefinite form meaning 'some' or 'it is not known how many'.

106. *Ngunni filfili tye ngaddi malarrgu*
 lex ns-VC14-PAST look for RED PAST OA:lex ns-go-PAST turtle
-ngini ; yi ngayi erreke-nawa ... warrakma
 PURP and 1s pn how many-PREF three
ngebem derridu.
 1s-VC16-PRES find
 'We all went looking for turtles and I am not sure how many I found ... I found three.'

erreke may be followed by the agentive/instrumental clitic *ningki* to give *erreke-ningki* 'very', 'it can't be counted how very ...'. This usually applies to physical conditions expressed either by adjectives or by impersonal verb phrases.

107. *Lirrmem erreke -ningki nginni tye ngityirr bafun.*
 cold how many INST lex ns-sit-PAST PAST dirt ash
 'We were so very cold and dusty.'

Another example of the use of *erreke ningki* may be found in Text No.7, sentence 5. *erreke* may also function as a numeral interrogative adverb (5.7).

3.1.4.1.1 NUMERAL ADVERBS

Numerals can also function as numeral adverbs.

<i>wukume</i>	'once, at one time'
<i>fagarri</i>	'twice'
<i>warrakma</i>	'thrice'

They are usually modified by *napa* or by the emphatic suffix *ka/ta*.

108. *Wukume napa ngupun Ø ta.*
 one LIM 1s-VC14-PRES 3s DO hit
 'I hit him once only.'
109. *Wukume napa nginyingkin Ø*
 one LIM 1s-see-PRES 3s DO
 'I saw him once only.'
110. *Wa- wuni yedi wuni Ø tyuk tye*
 C(i) DEM(r) man 3s P-VC14-PAST 3s DO hit PAST
e- fengku warrakma.
 C(iv) snake three
 'That man hit the snake three times.'

Sentences 108 and 109 are open to two interpretations. In addition to the meaning given they could also mean 'I hit only one'; 'I can only see one'. Any ambiguity can be resolved if the appropriate class marker is prefixed to the numeral.

111. *Wa- /a wukume napa ngupun Ø ta.*
 C(i) C(iv) one only 1s-VC14-PRES 3s DO hit

can only mean

'I hit one man/animal.'

wukume also has the sense of 'the same'. Two children may be identified as having *kalla wukume* 'the same mother'. A sleeping person may sleep *data wukume napa* 'on the same side' as opposed to *data wu-ningki* 'on the other side'. A man may live in the 'same country' *dede wukume* for a long time before moving to a 'different region' *dede wu-ningki*.

wukume may also occur in adverbial expressions of time, for example, *kinyi wukume* 'on this occasion, this time'.

112. *Kinyi wukume-ta nguddupun nyi tyerr.*
 DEM(p) one EMHP 1ns-VC15-PRES 2s DO say goodbye
 'We are saying goodbye to you this time.'

In the following sentence, taken from Text No.4, *wukume* occurs with negative marker *mintā* and the past tense marker *tye* to imply repeated action.

113. *Minta wukume tye wannawani fulirr tye*
 NEG one PAST 3rd P-VC11-REFLEX-PAST rub PAST
gugarra wersi ; wirrim wilikwilik bingini napa
 red ochre white clay 3pl pn galah thick LIM
waddi tye.
 3ns P-go-PAST PAST

'They didn't just rub themselves once with red ochre and white clay; those galahs were thick with paint.'

3.1.4.1.2 THE DURATIVE PREFIX *me-*

me- prefixed to numerals designates the number of nights duration specified by the numeral.

me-wukume 'for one night'
me-fagarri 'for two nights'
me-warrakma 'for three nights'

114. *Ngarrani tu ngini kinyi me -wukume elifala*
 1ns ex-go-FUT sleep FUT DEM(p) DUR one early
nguddu wul ngini kana.
 1ns ex-VC15-FUT go back FUT PUN
 'We will stop here for the night and go back tomorrow.'

115. *Yenin tutu kinyi me -fagarri yi*
 3s P-go-PRES sleep DEM(p) DUR two and
ngunyiningki dem pat.
 tomorrow 3s P-VC13-PRES rise
 'He camped here for two nights and the next day went away.'

It may also translate 'ago' phrases (for example 'two days ago') since these may be regarded as expressions of duration from a fixed point of time in the past.

116. *Yedi tyerrmusye yenim fili me -fagarri kana.*
 GEN:male old man 3s P-go-PRES leave DUR two PUN
 'The old man left two days ago.'

The same idea may be expressed by preposing *dede* 'camp' (literally 'bed space, sleeping area') to the numeral; *dede* 'camp' *fagarri* 'two' = 'two nights'.

3.1.4.1.3 OTHER NUMERAL EXPRESSIONS

Ngankikurungkurr has no set of ordinals for 'first', 'second' etc.; *fangu* 'in front' expresses the notion of 'first' in:

117. *Ngayi ngagadi tye fangu painting-ngini.*
 1s pn 1s-go-PAST PAST in front PURP
 'I won first prize for my painting.' (literally 'I came in front for my painting.')

There is no obvious way of expressing second or third.

For the sense of 'first' in temporal sequence Ngankikurungkurr employs the adverbial phrase *marrgu ningki* 'the first time'.

118. *Marrgu ningki ngaddi tye gimin*
 first time (new-INST) 1ns ex-go-PAST PAST when
ngirrnyingkin pirri kagu a- -ngangkurr
 1ns ex-see-PRES 3d O GEN:animal C(iv) prawn
wadde wawu tye.
 3d P-go-PAST catch RED PAST
 'The first time we went there we saw the two of them catching prawns.'

It may also use *detyengi napa* 'the first time' (literally 'today only').

119. *Detyengi napa nginyingkin a- -fengku muy-*
 today LIM 1s-see-PRES C(iv) snake self
wursirr ngagadi tye.
 be frightened 1s-go-PAST PAST
 'The first time I saw a snake I was frightened.'

However these are not numerals in any true sense of the term.

Neither are there specific numeral expressions for 'one at a time' or 'in twos' as we find in Ngiyambaa (Donaldson 1980). These are expressed in Ngankikurungkurr by means of number in the verb, that is by the use of singular and dual. For example,

120. *Fagarri wuni gannunggu.*
two DEM(r) 3d IMP-go-PRES
'These two are going (in twos).'

Distributive expressions 'one each, two each, etc.' are conveyed by prefixing the personal pronoun *nem* to the numeral and repeating it the appropriate number of times.

121. *Yedi fagarri wamangkal wanne bangbung tye*
male two wallaby 3d P-VC18-PAST pierce RED PAST
nem fagarri nem fagarri.
3s(m)pn two 3s(m)pn two
'The two men killed two wallabies each.'

3.1.4.2 QUANTIFIERS

Quantifiers include *wakay* 'everything', *bakuty* 'many, much', *mabuk* 'many, much', *mam* 'more', *tyamirri* 'enough' and *weti* 'a bit' and the privative *mintā* 'none' and the derived forms *mintā bakuty* 'not many, much' and *mintā tyamirri* 'not enough'.

Like other constituents of NP's they normally follow the noun, take class prefixes in concord with the headword and may form nominals.

122. *Yawul yerr- bakuty dem baty.*
spear C(viic) many 3s P-VC13-PRES have
'He has a lot of spears.'
123. *Mi- tyamirri ngerim baty.*
C(vi) enough 1s-VC13-PRES have
'I have enough vegetable food.'
124. *Yewirr mabuk dingim pal.*
wood much 3s P-VC22-PRES have
'He has a lot of wood.'

In expressions conveying a complete absence of anything, *mintā* 'none' occurs after the noun it qualifies, which is then repeated.

125. *Wirrnyingkin fi-way kuri mintā kuri.*
3ns P-see-PRES be unable water NEG water
'They could see no water at all.'
126. *Palat wuni yewirr mintā yewirr.*
plain DEM(r) tree NEG tree
'There were no trees on the plain.'
127. *Dinyingkin wembem mintā wembem.*
3s P-see-PRES hut NEG hut
'He looked for the hut but it was not there.'
128. *Miyi nyinyi mintā miyi yerim baty?*
GEN:plant food 2s pn NEG GEN:plant food 2s-VC13-PRES have
'Haven't you got your own food?'

In other privative expressions *mintā* occurs with the appropriate class prefix.

129. *Mi- mintā yerim baty.*
C(vi) NEG 2s-VC13-PRES have
'You have no food.'
130. *Wur falmi wur- mintā mempirr.*
C(ii) woman C(ii) NEG child
'The woman has no children.'
131. *Mirri kinyi nguddupun gat a- mintā a- bakuty.*
sun DEM(p) 1pl ex-VC15-PRES catch C(iv) NEG C(iv) many
'This morning we did not catch many fish.'

mintā may precede a nominal without taking a class prefix in which case it negates the quality expressed in the nominal.

132. *Wa- yeyi mintā wa- tyerrmusye a-ngini dadirityer.*
C(i) other NEG C(iv) old man C(iv)flesh firm
'The other is not an old man; (his) flesh is firm.'
(see also Text No.1, sentence 9)
133. *Kuri wiringe syirrsyirr tye nganingiyi; mintā*
rain 3s P-stand-PAST rain RED PAST night NEG
kuri kerre.
rain big
'It rained last night; not a lot.'/'It rained a little bit last night.'

See also the expression *mintā mi- wurru -ngini* 'not enough food' in sentence No.41 in this chapter.

mintā also functions as the negative particle in the verb phrase (4.5).

3.2 FREE FORM PRONOUNS

3.2.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Ngankikurungkurr has both free and bound pronouns. Bound pronouns for subject, object and indirect object are affixed to the verb and will be discussed and illustrated under verbal morphology. The free form pronouns are given below:

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st inclusive		<i>nayin</i>	<i>nayin nime</i>
1st exclusive	<i>ngayi</i>	<i>ngagarri</i>	<i>ngagurr</i>
2nd	<i>nyinyi</i>	<i>nagarri</i>	<i>nagurr</i>
3rd masculine	<i>nem</i>	<i>wirrike</i>	<i>wirrim</i>
3rd feminine	<i>ngayim</i>		

The singular pronouns are not marked for number. They follow the regular pattern of having *ng-* to indicate first person and *ny-* to indicate second person. Third person singular discriminates gender: *n* is the masculine prefix and *ng* the feminine. As in Djamindjungan the first person inclusive

forms belong morphologically to the singular rather than to the dual or plural. There is no formal indication of number in the dual and the pronoun form is invariable for dual and plural. The plural is indicated by the addition of *nime* 'all' to the dual.

The non-singular pronouns, other than first person inclusive, indicate person by the prefix *ng-* as the non-inclusive first person marker, *n-* as the second person marker and *w-* as the third person marker. Non-singular is indicated by the *rr* morpheme while dual is distinguished from plural in the first and second by the lowering of the back vowel before *rr* and the presence of a final *i*. In the third person the dual ends in *-ke* and in the plural in *-m*. As will be seen these morphemes also appear on the bound pronouns in the auxiliary verbs (4.2.2.1; 4.2.2.2).

The third person plural pronoun *wirrim* is homophonous with the third person plural present perfect form of the verb *-ri-* 'to be' or 'sit'. Thus *wirrim* may translate 'they sit/are' or 'they (plural)'.

The free form pronouns behave syntactically like nouns except that when acting as headwords of NP's they are not class marked. Class marking only occurs on free form pronouns when they are used as possessives (6.4.4). Pronouns can take case inflections.

134. *Miyi kinyi yawam ngayi-nimbi.*
 GEN:plant food DEM(p) 2sg-take-FUT 1s pn ABL
 'Take this food from me.'

135. *Ngayi-ningki nginyingkin e- fengku.*
 1s pn AGE 1s-see-PRES C(iv) snake
 'I see a snake.'

The free form pronoun may be used in opposition with the NP headword as an emphatic marker.

136. *Nem alfugarri kanbi darra magat.*
 3sg(m)pn brolga didgeridoo 3sg P-VC25-PRES begin
 'The brolga began to play the didgeridoo.'

3.2.2 THE EMPHATIC AND REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

The emphatic pronouns 'one's self' etc. are formed by adding the prefix *me-* 'hand' to the free form pronoun: thus *me-ngayi* means 'I, myself' and is normally used to emphasise the subject pronoun in its function as actor. These pronouns are emphatic rather than reflexive because reflexivity normally is indicated by a variety of other ways in the morphology of the verb. Emphatic pronouns may be used in reflexive sentences but with a reinforcing function. They normally occur in unambiguously transitive utterances, often in sentence final position.

137. *Wa- yedi dangim pawal awerrapun me-nem.*
 C(i) man 3s P-VC18-PRES pierce C(iv)alligator EMPH 3s(m)pn
 'The man speared the alligator himself.'
138. *Me - ngayi ngagatyen nginti rsi.*
 EMPH-1s pn 1s-bring-PRES 1sIO cut
 'I cut myself.'

139. *Ngaran gulirr me-ngayi nayp- ningki.*
 1s-VC25-PRES cut EMPH-1s pn knife INST
 'I cut myself with a knife.'
140. *Webi ket ngini wa-weti me - nem bi-ningki.*
 3s IMP-VC16-FUT cut FUT c(i)-small EMPH-3s(m)pn axe-INST
 'That little boy will cut himself with an axe.'

3.2.3 THE ISOLATIVE PRONOUN

The isolative pronoun (by myself/on my own) is formed by prefixing *fefi* 'alone' to the free form pronouns.

141. *Wa- weti wuni wupun gat a- nginakul*
 C(i) little DEM(r) 3s P-VC14-PRES catch C(iv) fish
felfi- nem.
 ISOL 3s(m)pn
 'The little boy is catching the fish all by himself/on his own.'

felfi may also occur in sentences before the bound subject prefix. In such cases it refers to the subject of the auxiliary.

142. *Minta felfi dim awutyi ngayim*
 NEG ISOL 3s P-sit-PRES grandchild 3s(f)pn
gem pirrki pal girim.
 3s IMP-VC22-PRES 3d O have OA:3s IMP-sit-PRES
 'She is not sitting on her own; she has her two grandchildren (there too).'
143. *Felfi nganan yeri.*
 ISOL 1s-VC11-PRES walk
 'I am walking by myself.'

The isolative pronoun may also be expressed by prefixing the noun *dede* 'camp' to the personal pronoun which is then followed by the limitative *napa*.

144. *Kinyi ngayi ngirim dede ngayi -nide -napa.*
 DEM(p)1s pn 1s-sit-PRES camp 1s pn LOC LIM
 'I am sitting here on my own.'
145. *Girim kinyi napa dede ngayim napa.*
 3s IMP-sit-PRES DEM(p) LIM camp 3s(f)pn LIM
 'She is sitting here on her own.'

3.2.5 INTERROGATIVE AND INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Morphologically interrogative and indefinite pronouns belong with the other interrogatives (5.7). However, as they can take class prefixes, occur as headwords of NP's and take case markers, they belong to any discussion of the noun phrase and its constituents.

3.2.5.1 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

There are two interrogative pronouns *kene* 'who' and *tyagani* 'what'. These normally occur in sentence initial position.

146. *Kene yenim tyerrakul nganki kinyi?*
 who 3s P-go-PRES talk language DEM(p)
 'Who can speak this language?'
 147. *Tyagani derrigirri yerim?*
 what want 2s-VC13-PRES
 'What do you want?'

They may also occur in object position and take case markers.

148. *Kene yinyingkin?*
 who 2s-see-PRES
 'Who can you see?'
 149. *Kene - nimbi yimingkin wa kunyungun?*
 who ABL 2s-lift-PRES get boomerang
 'From whom did you get the boomerang?'
 150. *Tyagani - ngini yirim nganmendyi?*
 what PURP 2s-sit-PRES wait
 'What are you waiting for?'
 151. *Tyagani - ningki yupun ta a- matyi?*
 what INST 2s-VC14-PRES hit C(iv) kangaroo
 'With what did you kill the kangaroo?'
 152. *Tyaga(ni) nide yemem pul yirim?*
 what LOC 2s-VC23-PRES wash OA:2s-sit-PRES
 'What are you washing in?'
 153. *Tyagani - werri yirim bulbul?*
 what PROP 2s-sit-PRES cook RED
 'What are you cooking with?'

The enumerative interrogative 'which one of a number' is formed by prefixing the appropriate class markers to the adverbial interrogative *kide* 'where'.

154. *A- kide wuddupun ta a- matyi?*
 C(iv) where 3ns P-VC14-PRES hit C(iv) kangaroo
 'Which is the kangaroo they killed?'
 155. *Kagu a- kide derrigirri yerim?*
 GEN:animal C(iv)where like 2s-VC13-PRES
 'Which is the meat you like?'
 156. *Wa-kide kagu wupun gat?*
 C(i)where GEN:animal 3s P-VC14-PRES catch
 'Which boy caught the fish?'

157. *Yewirr yerr-kide wa-weti yenim pap?*
 tree C(vii)where C(i)little 3s P-go-PRES climb
 'Which tree did the little boy climb?'

Similarly the class markers may be prefixed to the compound adverbial interrogative *ngani-kide* 'how', to give the forms *wa-ngani-kide*, *mi-ngani-kide* etc. meaning 'which/what kind of boy', 'vegetable food?' etc.

When the predicate is topicalised the interrogative may occur finally.

158. *Ngatya nyinyi kene?*
 father 2s pn who
 'Who is your father?'

kene is also used when asking someone's name.

159. *Kene piwarri?*
 who name
 'What is your name?'

The interrogative stem *tyen-* 'what kind of' may occur prefixed to forms of the non-human generics *miyi*, *yewirr* and *kagu* giving:

- tyenmi* 'what kind of vegetable food?'
tyenewirr 'what kind of tree, manufactured object, etc.?'
tyen.ga 'what kind of animal?'

The derived interrogative appears sentence initially.

160. *Tyen-mi yerim baty miyi dedangkurr?*
 what kind of-vegetable food 2s-CL13-PRES have GEN:plant food in the camp
 'What kind of vegetable food do you have in the camp?'
161. *Tyen-ewirr yerr-yaga?*
 what kind of-object C(vii)DEM
 'What kind of thing is that?'
162. *Tyen-ga yaga a-nginakul?*
 what kind of-animal DEM C(iv)fish
 'What kind of fish is that?'

Sentences 161 and 162 may also be translated as 'What do you call/What is your name for that thing/fish?' When an informant was asked for the word for shield, she could not remember and turned to her friend and said.

163. *Tyenewirr melpe madi yaga?*
 what kind of object flat side DEM
 'What is the word for that flat thing?'

With the ablative clitic *-nimbi*, *tyen.ga* becomes *tyen.ga-nimbi* 'anything, everything' as in sentence 164.

164. *Wa-wuni minta benging gurr gurr yenim*
 C(i)DEM(r) NEG 3s P-VC16-PRES miss RED OA:3s P-go-PRES
tyen.ga-nimbi dinyingkin.
 what kind of animal-ABL 3s P-see-PRES
 'That man never misses any animal he sees.'
 (i.e. 'He always spears/catches everything he sees.')

tyen- may also occur with the suffix *-de*, probably a contraction of *dede* 'place, camp, country' to form a spatial interrogative *tyen-de* 'where; at which place' (5.7).

-de is homophonous with the ablative pronoun suffix *-de*. It is also very likely cognate with the Murinypata noun classifier *ɖa* which covers 'nouns associated with place and time' (Walsh 1976:142).

3.2.5.2 INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Indefinite pronouns are formed from interrogatives by placing the particle *nawa* after the interrogative pronoun. (All interrogatives may take *nawa* to produce indefinite forms (5.7.1)).

- | | | | | | |
|--|----------------|--------|--------------------------------|--|-------------|
| | <i>kene</i> | 'who' | <i>kene nawa</i> | | 'some one' |
| | <i>tyagani</i> | 'what' | <i>tyagani nawa/tyaga nawa</i> | | 'something' |
165. *Kene nawa ganan yeri mumbanelen -nide.*
 someone 3s IMP-VC11-PRES walk road LOC
 'Someone is walking up the road.'
166. *Yerr- wuni tyaga nawa wirribem fifili*
 C(vii) DEM(r) something 3s P-stand-PRES move RED
nintyinintyi -nide pagu.
 bush LOC towards
 'There is something moving in the bushes over there.'

Indefinite pronouns can take case markers. *nawa* follows the case marker.

167. *Yedi wumi yetyin rsi defirr tyaga -ningki nawa.*
 male DEM(r) 3s-take-PRES cut C(viii)foot what INST
 'The man cut his foot on something.'

3.2.5.3 NEGATIVE PRONOUNS

The negative pronoun *minmi* 'nothing' is homophonous with the negative statement 'no'. The negative form of the personal pronoun is formed by placing the negative particle *minta* before the interrogative pronoun.

- | | | | | | |
|--|-------------|-------|-------------------|--|----------|
| | <i>kene</i> | 'who' | <i>minta kene</i> | | 'no one' |
|--|-------------|-------|-------------------|--|----------|
168. *Minta kene wana yeri tye.*
 NEG who 3s P-VC11-FUT walk PAST
 'No one came.'

3.2.5.4 UNIVERSAL PRONOUNS

There are two universal pronouns. These are formed by prefixing the plural human class marker and the tree and manufactured objects class marker to the adverb *wakay* 'finished, complete' which is then followed by *napa* 'only':

- | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------------|--|--|--|--|--------------|
| | <i>a(wa)-wakay-napa</i> | | | | | 'everyone' |
| | <i>yerr-wakay-napa</i> | | | | | 'everything' |
169. *Awakay napa witinge fafa tye nganingiyinimbi.*
 everyone 3ns P-stand-PAST shout RED PAST last night
 'Everyone was shouting last night.'
170. *Awakay napa ngembimi tidi nime ngini yeningkisyi*
 everyone linc-VC13-FUT push pl FUT canoe
kuri -nide.
 water LOC
 '(Come on) everyone, let us all push the canoe into the water.'
171. *Yerrwakay napa yerr- yubu.*
 everything C(vii) good
 'Everything is good.'

3.2.6 CASE MARKERS

It is the NP rather than the nominal which is marked for case in Ngankikurungkurr. Case is indicated by the addition of a clitic to some constituent of the NP, usually the final one. Case marking is not however obligatory. The subject of intransitive sentences, and the subjects and direct and indirect objects of transitive sentences are all indicated by bound pronouns in the verb auxiliary. Word order also indicates subject and object. This topic is treated in greater detail elsewhere (6.2). At this stage all that needs to be said is that there is a clear preference in affirmative indicative sentences for transitive subject NP's (when expressed) to precede object NP's, and for instrumental locative NP's to go either sentence finally or sentence initially. These factors make the marking of noun phrases largely redundant unless for any reason the normal phrase order is disturbed or unless particular attention is required to be drawn to the NP.

There are eight disyllabic case markers which have the following functions:

<i>ningki</i>	agentive/instrumental
<i>ngini</i>	dative/purposive
<i>nide</i>	locational
<i>pefi</i>	allative away from speaker/action
<i>pagu</i>	indicating movement towards speaker/action
<i>nimbi</i>	ablative
<i>werri</i>	proprietary
<i>napa</i>	limitative

These case markers have no other allomorphs, and are better regarded as clitics than as suffixes. They invariably take secondary stress and have open juncture between them and the word to which they are affixed. The case markers have other functions, for example *ningki* occurs with both a

temporal and locational function. The dative/purposive marker *ngini* acts as the indicator of the simple future tense (4.4.1.4). The ablative marker *nimbi* occurs with both locational and temporal adverbs and with conditional sentences. *pefi* occurs as a locational and temporal adverb with the sense of 'almost' or 'nearly'. As a locative it usually indicates movement away from the speaker towards a place of object. Its opposite is the directional adverb *pagu* which indicates movement towards the speaker or the action described.

The NP may also be modified by the intensifiers *wuru* and *kirri* and the emphatic suffixes *-ta* and *-ga* as well as the clitics listed above (5.8; 5.9). Subtleties of modification may be achieved by combinations of two or even three of these.

3.2.6.1 NON-SYNTACTIC CASE FUNCTIONS

The syntactic function of *ningki* as agentive/instrumental marker will be discussed in 6.3. In this section the non-syntactic functions of the markers will be illustrated.

3.2.6.1.1 THE LOCATIVE CASES

NP's marked for locative have a number of syntactic functions which are traditionally divided into 'local' and 'non-local' (Lyons 1968:295, 298-302). 'Local' locative functions answer questions like 'where to' or 'where from'. In Ngankikurungkurr these are expressed by the locative *nide*, the allatives *pefi* and *pagu* and the ablative *nimbi*. In some cases where the locative function of the NP is implied in the verb root or is otherwise obvious, no case marker is necessary.

3.2.6.1.1.1 *nide*

The locative marker *nide* has a wide range of local functions and may translate 'in', 'on', 'into', 'onto', 'at', 'near' or 'through'. Its primary sense is one of contiguity and if more particular specification is required this is provided by the addition of the other locatives *nimbi*, *pefi* and *pagu* (3.2.6.1.1.5); by the use of locative adverbs and by the use of compound verb stems carrying locative information (4.9.2). The range of function is indicated by the following sentences.

'on':

172. *E-fengku fepi-nide nginyingkin.*

C(iv)snake rock LOC 1s-see-PRES

'I see a snake on the rock.'

173. *Awuni guniguni defir wannigi*
C(iii) old woman foot/footprint 3ns-go along-PAST

perpirk tye mumbanelen -nide.
make footprints PAST road LOC

'The old woman made footprints on the road (as they went along).'

'in':

174. *Falmi fagarri wirrmengkin.gu wa*
 woman two 3ns-lift-PRES-d pick up/catch
atyalmer walipan -nide.
 C(iv)barramundi net LOC
 'The two women caught a barramundi in the net.'
 (The instrumental *-ningki* has also been recorded with *walipan* in a similar sentence.)

175. *Walipan ngerim pul kana dirrpederr -nide.*
 net/clothes 1s-VC13-PRES wash PRES river LOC
 'I wash the clothes in the river.'

'inside':

176. *Mada wetimbi angalifin fagarri wadde wapup werifepi-nide.*
 long ago C(iv)lizard two 3ns-go-PAST-d dwell RED cave LOC
 'Long ago two lizards were living in a cave.'

'near':

177. *Awa-bakuty-napa ngetyini tye kuderri*
 C(iii) many only 1ns ex-lie-PAST PAST billabong
-nide nganingiyinimbi.
 LOC last night
 'We all camped near the billabong last night.'

'through':

178. *E-fengku gana man wurrgalangu -nide.*
 C(iv)snake 3s IMP-VC11-PRES crawl bushes LOC
 'The snake is crawling through the bushes.'

'among':

179. *Wamangkal a-kerre girrim wurr -nide nginyingkin.*
 wallaby C(iv)big 3s P-sit-PRES grass LOC 1s-see-PRES
 'I can see a big wallaby among the grass.'

'against':

180. *Ngaram firfirryiri tye mundurk fepi -nide.*
 1s-VC25-PRES bump ankle PAST ankle rock LOC
 'I bumped my ankle against the rock.'

181. *Yawul wuni gitibe -ngan-garri yewirr - nide.*
 spear DEM(r) 3ns IMP-stand-PRES lean tree LOC
 'The spears are leaning against the tree.'

'in' in the sense of 'by means of':

182. *Kalla ngayi yedi tye yeningkisyi yaga -nide.*
 mother 1s pn 3s-go-PAST PAST canoe DEM LOC
 'My mother came in that canoe.'

The clitics *werri* and *ningki* have also been recorded in a similar situation to *-nide* in the previous sentence.

183. *Ngaddi tye yerr- ngayim -werri motor car.*
 1ns ex-go-PAST PAST C(vii) 3s(f)pn PROP
 'We went in her motor car.'
184. *Awa- yeyi -ningki falmi yedi waddi tye*
 C(iii) other AGE woman man 3ns-go-PAST PAST
yerr -kerre -ningki motor car.
 C(vii) big INST
 'The other men and women went in the big motor car.'
- 'in a part of the body':
185. *Wa wuni wudupun garrarr debi -nide.*
 C(i) DEM 3s P-VC15-PRES unfold thigh LOC
 'That man has a spear wound in the thigh.'
186. *Mengkin kal dede -nide -napa bi deme -nide.*
 3s P-lift-PRES chase camp LOC LIM axe hand LOC
 'He chased her through the camp with an axe in his hand.'

The combination *-nide -napa* is covered in section 3.2.6.1.1.5.

'on a part of the body':

187. *Adiny mangkin -ngi tyap dagarri -nide.*
 C(iv) leech 3s P-lift-PRES 1sDO stick on lower leg LOC
 'A leech is stuck on my leg.'
188. *Werrbem pirr mentyi bayty a-ngani dementyi -nide.*
 3ns P-VC16-PRES 3plO tie by neck C(iv)goose neck LOC
 'They tied the gees up by the necks.'

In our material *nide* with body parts refers to external or visible locatives only. Compare the sentences above with:

189. *Dinging ∅ ket dege.*
 3s P-VC22-PRES 3sDO have a pain stomach
 'He has a pain in the stomach.'

However in the text in Reid (1982:143) the wife of the story teller has an asthma attack, *kengarapa - nide* 'in the lungs'. If someone or something is speared or hit in or on a body part - *napa* usually follows (see 3.2.6.1.1.4).

190. *Ngana madi-purity fepi-nide, kuri - nide ngaganim fel.*
 1s-VC11-PAST slip rock LOC water LOC 1s-go-PRES fall/dive
 'I slipped on the rocks and fell into the water.'
191. *Dem pat fepi yeyi -nide.*
 3s P-VC13-PRES fly away rock other LOC
 'He flew away to another rock.'

192. *Werifepi -nide yenim wirr.*
cave LOC 3s P-go-PRES enter
'He goes into the cave.'
193. *Yenim pap yewirr -nide emengkin.*
3s P-go-PRES climb tree LOC C(iv)goanna
'The goanna climbed up the tree.'
194. *Efengku wuni dara fiduru findyi -nide.*
C(iv) snake DEM(r) 3s P-VC25-PRES crawl around banyan tree LOC
'That snake is crawling around the banyan tree.'

Examples of the use of *-nide* where further specification of location is provided in the verb root or by a locative adverb:

195. *Wur - wuni wur- apuderi wudupun purity*
C(ii) DEM(r) C(ii) girl 3s P-VC15-PRES hide
kinyi yewirr fepi -nide madiyeningki.
DEM(p) stick rock LOC side-other-INST
'The girl hid her digging stick behind (on the other side of) the rock.'
196. *Wirringe yeledi tye gulirr yewirr*
3s-stand-PAST run RED PAST around/circle tree
wu -nide.
DEM(r) LOC
'He ran round and round that tree.'
197. *Wudupun mipit bafun - werri*
3s P-VC15-PRES rub tobacco in ashes ashes PROP
yetyerrawu wude-nge tyerr - wirr
chewing tobacco 3s P-VC10-PRES-3s(f)IO mouth enter
detyerr -nide.
mouth LOC
'She rubbed the chewing tobacco in ashes and put it in her mouth.'
198. *Wa-weti wa-wuni den derri*
C(i) little C(i) DEM 3s P-VC13-PRES back/hide behind
wirribem yewirr yerr- kerre -nide.
OA:3s P-stand-PRES tree C(vii) big LOC
'That little boy is hiding behind the big tree.'

-nide in the following sentence may be translated as 'a place having the characteristics of the NP'. The proprietive clitic *-werri* would normally be expected in this case (see sentence 265, section 3.2.6.1.3).

199. *Wunawul pundurung ngiwi tye.*
 over there Leitchfield (place name) 1s-sit-FUT PAST
Dede yubu kagu a tyityipi -nide malarrgu.
 place/camp god GEN:meat C(iv)many LOC turtles
 'I would like to live at Leitchfield.
 It is a good place with plenty game – turtles (for example).'

-nide is not obligatory on locative NP's. When the location or direction is obvious from the context, *-nide* is sometimes omitted. This is most common with geographic terms such as *dirrpederr* 'river', *kuderrri* 'billabong', *dirrkuri* 'bank of river' and *ngityirr* 'earth, ground'.

Like all the other case marking clitics except for *-ningki*, the agentive/instrumental, *-nide* has been recorded at least once in the verb phrase, in this case in combination with *pefi*. There is no locative nominal in the sentence. A bag was implied.

200. *Yurri madi-wirr -pefi -nide emengkin!*
 2s-VC14-FUT side enter/put in ALL LOC C(iv) goanna
 'Put the goanna in there!'

3.2.6.1.1.2 *pefi* AND *pagu*

pefi and *pagu* could perhaps be better described as adverbs of direction rather than case-marking clitics. They are heard as exclamations/commands with the meanings 'move away!' and 'come here!'.

They frequently occur following the demonstratives *wuni* 'that, there' and *kinyi* 'this, here'.

wunu - pefi 'that way'
kinyi - pagu 'this way'

In the following sentence taken from Text 6, line 9, we find:

201. *Yerr- wuni -pefi, kinyi -pagu, wuni-pefi*
 C(vii) DEM(r) ALL DEM(p) TSA DEM(r)ALL
waddi yeledi tye.
 3rd P-go-PAST run RED PAST
 'They ran that way, this way and that way.' Or, 'They ran in all directions.'

pefi indicates direction away from the speaker or action and towards the nominal it follows, that is it assumes that the goal is not or has not been attained. It occurs both with locative and temporal functions; as a temporal it has the sense of 'almost'.

202. *Ngana felfil wuni -pefi dirrpederr.*
 1s-VC11-FUT run along RED DEM(r) ALL river
 'I will run towards the river.'
203. *Nganingiyi pefi kana.*
 night ALL now
 'It is almost night now.'

204. *Kidin mendi - pefi kana.*
 wet season close ALL now
 'The wet season will soon be here.'

pagu indicates direction towards the speaker or action described. It is most common either as an adverb occurring anywhere in the sentence or embedded in the verb phrase with the tense/mood/aspect modifier(s) (4.4; 5.4.2).

When following an NP in a verbless statement it usually means 'bring' or 'give it here!'

205. *Kuri lirmem pagu!*
 water cold TSA
 'Bring me some cold water!'

This meaning is retained when the verb in the sentence is one of bringing/carrying.

206. *Yeninggisyi yeyi pagu yawam ngindi!*
 canoe other TSA 2s-bring-FUT 1sIO
 'Bring me another canoe!'

However in some cases *pagu* may indicate movement away from the NP towards the place of action, as in:

207. *Dangim piri fi-derri-rsul dede yeyi pagu.*
 3s P-VC18-PRES 3plO CS back sunrise place other TSA
 'The sun rose on them from another place.'

208. *Wibem tyerri-baty wari "Kay" me-ne*
 3s P-lie-PRES ear fall call 3s-say-PRES-3s(m)IO

wunu pagu.
 DEM(r) TSA
 'He heard a call "Kay" (someone) said to him from over there.'

In the phrase *kinyi pagu*, *pagu* indicates movement towards *kinyi* 'here', but when following other locative adverbs it may indicate direction from the location towards the action (see the following sentence, from Text 6, sentence 10).

209. *Fepi kana beyi baytbity tye gangki*
 rock now/then 3s-VC16-PAST fall RED PAST sky/high

pagu bakuty. Awakay napa peyi yaga dani
 TSA many all of them there DEM 3s-put-PAST

wir tyerrsyirrsyirr tye fepi -ningki.
 3plO squash RED PAST stone AGE/INST

'Lots of rocks fell then from the sky (towards them). All of them were crushed by rocks there at that place.'

210. *Yerr-tyaganawa defirr dangi (ngi) pawal.*
 C(vii) something foot 3s P-VC18-PRES-1sDO pierce

Tyusuk ngim apukek pagu kinyi.
 be sore 1s-say/do-PRES underneath TSA DEM
 'Something has pierced my foot. I am sore (from) underneath here.'

Like *nide*, *pagu* and *pefi* are capable of further specification by the addition of other locative markers (see 3.2.6.1.1.5).

3.2.6.1.1.3 *nimbi*

nimbi has the sense of movement or location away from the source and in traditional terms is the ablative. It may also occur in combination with *nide* and *pagu* (3.2.6.1.1.5). As an adverb it introduces conditional and contrafactive sentences with sense of ‘if’ or ‘lest’. In temporal phrases it has the sense of ‘before’ or ‘when’ (in sentences of the type ‘when X, then Y’). It has also the derived senses of ‘from’ in the sense of ‘on account of’ or ‘because of’. More abstractly it specifies the source of a particular state or action.

Examples of the various applications of *nimbi*:

As an ablative meaning ‘from’:

211. *Ngadde leli tye pagu kuderri -nimbi.*
1ns ex-go-PAST-d walk PAST TSA billabong ABL
‘We (d) walked here from the billabong.’

212. *Ngu mu - fuyfuy ngini amu mempirr eti*
1s-VC14-FUT eye brush RED FUT C(iv)fly baby little
-nimbi damuy.
ABL C(viii)eye
‘I will brush the flies away from the babies’ eyes.’

With reference to time as well as place:

213. *Nguddam wul -nimbi Wooliana -nimbi*
1ns ex-VC10-PRES return ABL ABL
Rosaria yedi di tye.
3s-go-PAST cry PAST
‘When we came back from Wooliana, Rosaria cried.’

214. *Wudam (w)uleri nganingiyi nyinin wangga -nimbi*
3s P-VC10-PRES return night DEM dance ABL
dem waty.
3s P-VC13-PRES finish
‘He went back that night from the *wangga* when it finished.’

‘On account of, because of’:

215. *Nganingiyi-nimbi ngemeni syirr tye*
night time ABL 1s-VC23-PAST scratch PAST
ngadi detyengi deti afungi -nimbi.
OA:1s-go-PAST today also C(iv)mosquito ABL
‘All last night I was scratching myself and today too on account of the mosquitoes.’

Indicating the material from which an object is made:

216. *Mawuny -nimbi dem wurrity yawul.*
 ironwood ABL 3s P-VC13-PRES make spear
 'He made the spear out of ironwood'.

'As a result':

In the following sentence from Test 5, sentence 22, the goose is hit on the head with a stick by the jungle fowl and as a result...

217. ... *yedi dudupi tye yewirr nyin -nimbi.*
 3s P-go-PAST swollen head PAST stick DEM ABL
 '... he was swollen headed as a result of that stick.'

In Test 8, sentence 28 almost the same phrase occurs with the addition of the *yerr-* class marker before the demonstrative *nyin*; *yewirr yerr-nyin -nimbi*. In this sentence a stick falls 'from that tree where he was chopping'.

The source of any condition affecting the subject:

218. *Mursi yenim pimut -nimbi dem minyirr.*
 die 3s P-go-PRES flu ABL 3s P-VC13-PRES have a cold
 'She died from having the flu.'

The source of any object affecting the subject:

- 219(a) *Dengini lengkirr fiti - nimbi wayim baty.*
 body bad/sick sun ABL 3s P-VC26-IMPERS be hot/burn

We have also recorded:

- 219(b) *Dengini lengkirr fiti -ningki wayim baty.*
 body bad/sick sun AGE INST 3s P-VC26-IMPERS be hot/burn

There is an interesting distinction between 219(a) and 219(b) both of which use impersonal constructions (4.8).

219(a) means literally:

'It made him a sick body from the sun.' That is, 'He became sick as a result of the sun.'

219(b) means:

'It made him a sick body by the sun.' That is, 'The sun made him sick.'

The distinction which is a minor one, is dependent on the impersonal construction. In 219(b) the sun is instrument, not agent, but the sense of 219(b) is more active than 219(a).

3.2.6.1.1.4 *napa*

The questions 'Where did it arrive/reach?' and 'What is its limit?' are answered by an NP using *napa*, usually translated by informants as 'only'. Following adjectives and adverbs it may act as an intensifier meaning 'very'. In locative NP's it indicates that 'that very spot has been reached'. It is perhaps best described as a limitative (LIM).

In temporal sense it may be translated as 'until'. It is also used to specify a point in time. It occurs in combination with *nide* (3.2.6.1.1.5). Examples of the range of functions of *napa*:

'only'

220. *Awa - fagarri - napa winne ngan-madi tye fepi -nide weri.*
 C(iii) two LIM 3ns-sit-PAST-d be inside PAST hill LOC hole
 'There were only two men in the cave.'
221. *Damuy wukume napa yedi menyminy.*
 C(viii) eye one LIM 3s-go-PAST look RED
 'He could see out of one eye only.'
222. *Awuni fagarri werringgu wurity yeningkisyi*
 C(iii) DEM(r) two 3ns P-VC13-PRES-d make canoe
me-wirrike -napa.
 EMPH-3d pn LIM
 'Those two men made their canoe all by themselves.'

As a locative:

223. *Kagu amatyi ngiwe ta-pup*
 GEN:animal food C(iv)kangaroo 1s-VC24-FUT shoulder-put on
ngini dedangkurr napa.
 FUT camp in LIM
 'I will carry the kangaroo right into the camp.'

In Text 2, sentence 42 the rainbow goes *kuri apukek napa* 'right to the bottom of the water'.

As a locative with body parts that have been hit or speared:

224. *Dangim Ø pawal dederri -napa.*
 3s P-VC18-PRES 3sDO spear C(viii) back LIM
 'He speared him in the back.'

As an intensifier:

225. *Ngen du miyi; mi- yubu -napa.*
 1s-VC22-PRES taste GEN:plant food C(vi) good LIM
 'I tasted the food; it was very good.'

'until':

226. *Yiwi ngini guguk ngunyiningki - napa.*
 2s-sit-FUT FUT wait tomorrow LIM
 'You will have to wait until tomorrow.'
227. *Detyengi - napa ngagadi tye dede kinyi.*
 today LIM 1s-go-PAST PAST camp DEM(p)
 'Only today I came to this place.' That is, 'This is the first time I've been here.'

napa is used to form the numeral adverb *wukume napa* 'once' (3.1.4.1.1). It is also used in the formation of the universal pronouns (3.2.5.4).

3.2.6.1.1.5 COMBINATIONS OF LOCATIVE AND DIRECTIONAL MARKERS

The following combinations have been recorded:

nide - *pefi*
nide - *pagu*
nide - *nimbi*
nide - *napa*
nimbi - *pagu*
nide - *nimbi* - *pagu*

nide - *pefi* indicates direction away from the speaker or action towards a specific goal.

228. *Mi nem kak kana yetyin dede nem*
 C(iv)3s(m)pn set off PUN 3s-take/bring-PRES camp 3s(m)pn

-*nide* -*pefi*.

LOC ALL

'He is taking his food away to his camp.'

229. *Kagu wuni werim pat a-purpurk*
 GEN:meat DEM(r) 3ns P-VC13-PRES rise/fly C(iv)little ones

yewirr -nide -pefi.

tree LOC ALL

'The birds flew away into the tree.'

230. *Nelen kide pefi ngambani nime dirpederr*
 road INT ALL 1du inc-go-FUT all river

-*nide* -*pefi*?

LOC ALL

'Which road shall we take to reach the river?'

When direction is implied in the verb, the directional clitics are often unnecessary (see sentences 195 to 198 in section 3.2.6.1.1). However the directional clitics are sometimes included, for example in Text 3, sentence 11 the two lizards go back *werifepi -nide -pefi dede wirrike -nide* 'to their camp in the cave'. In this case it seems likely that *-pefi* was included because of the change of direction of movement of the actors.

Note the one case of the combination *pefi -nide* in the verb phrase in sentence 200 in section 3.2.6.1.1.1.

nide - pagu indicates movement towards the speaker or to the place specified.

This next sentence comes from Text 10, The Lord's Prayer.

231. *Wulnik minta wani ngan ngagurr -nide -pagu.*
 devil NEG 3s P-go-FUT REL 1pl ex pn LOC TSA

'Don't let the devil come to where we are.'

232. *Yerr -wuni tyaganawa wirribem fifili*
 C(vii) DEM(r) something 3s P-stand-PRES move RED
nintyinintyi -nide -pagu.
 bushes LOC TSA
 ‘There is something moving here from in the bushes over there.’

nide - napa means ‘exactly at the place indicated’ or ‘right there’ or with motion verbs ‘right through’.

In Text 8, sentence 28 a stick falls *ngan wa-weti -muy nyin -mide -napa* ‘just where the little boy was’.

233. *Mengkin ∅ kal dede -nide -napa.*
 3s P-lift-PRES 3sDO chase came LOC LIM
 ‘He chased her right through the camp.’

In the use of *-nide -napa* in sentence 234, the sense of ‘only’ is retained as well as the specific locative sense.

234. *Kinyi ngayi ngirim dede ngayi -nide -napa.*
 DEM(p) 1s pn 1s-sit-PRES camp 1s pn LOC LIM
 ‘I am sitting right here in the camp on my own.’

nide - nimbi expresses both the concrete sense of the abessive (that is ‘from being in, on, inside, at, near’) and the sense of ‘as a result of’ or ‘because of’.

235. *Wur-guniguni dani gatit tye*
 C(ii)old woman 3s-VC18-PAST gather/pick RED PAST
miyi yewirr -nide -nimbi.
 GEN:plant food tree LOC ABL
 ‘The old woman picked the fruit from (being on) the trees.’

236. *Amu yu mu - syirrsyirr damuy*
 C(iv) fly 2s-VC14-FUT eye brush RED C(viii) eye
nyinyi -nide -nimbi.
 2s pn LOC ABL
 ‘Brush away the flies from (being in) your eyes.’

237. *Minta kuri -nide epe ngaytpirr kuri -nide*
 NEG water LOC but far away water LOC
-nimbi winne tye.
 ABL 3rd P-sit-PAST-d PAST
 ‘Not near the water but a long way from (being near) the water they lived.’

238. *Tyikmempi wayim tye yengki -nide -nimbi.*
 black 3s P-VC26-PRES/PAST PAST fire LOC ABL
 ‘They are burned black as a result (of being in) the fire.’

In sentence 239 *-nimbi* really refers to the verb phrase and can be translated as ‘if’.

239. *Fiti -nide -nimbi ya fi-tat*
 sun LOC ABL 2s-VC18-FUT CS put down
wa madityip madityip.
 3s P-VC26-FUT go black go black
 ‘If you leave it in the sun it will go black.’

nide - nimbi need not imply movement or result but simply direction as in 240.

240. *Wirryim wewele pagu yewirr -nide -nimbi.*
 3ns P-hang-PRES hang RED TSA tree LOC ABL
 ‘They (bats) are hanging down this way from the trees.’

nimbi - pagu may indicate movement away from a source toward the action or the speaker.

The following example is from Text 5, sentence 13.

241. ... *yi nem angani wudamuleri kana*
 and 3s(m)pn C(iv) goose 3s-VC10-PRES return PUN
wu -nimbi -pagu kuderrri -nimbi.
 DEM(r) ABL TSA billabong ABL
 ‘... and the goose came back to her then from there at the billabong.’

And from Text 6, sentence 3:

242. ... *fepi nana gangki -nimbi -pagu gerrbi baytbity.*
 rock POSS sky ABL TSA 3ns IMP-VC16-FUT fall RED
 ‘... rocks might fall towards them from the sky.’

In sentence 243 both the temporal sense of ‘when’ and the ablative ‘from’ could be applied to *nimbi*, and combined with *pagu* it means ‘when from there to here...’

243. *Ngudupun bul malarrgu ngudam-ul*
 1s-VC15-PRES cook turtle 1s-VC10-PRES-return
wu -nimbi -pagu pundurung.
 DEM(r) ABL TSA Leitchfield
 ‘I cooked the turtle when I came back here from Leitchfield.’

nide - nimbi - pagu may be used in the sense ‘from out of a specified location towards the place of action’, as in the following sentence from Text 8, sentence 56.

244. *Wirrim warrani fititit tye kana wurr*
 3 pl pn 3ns P-VC25-PAST rise RED PAST now grass
-nide -nimbi -pagu yawul -werri.
 LOC ABL TSA spear PROP
 ‘They got up from the grass then and went towards him with their spears.’

It is also used to describe the sound coming towards the listeners who hear it ‘from in the cave’ in Text 3, sentence 4.

245. *Wirrike winne werr -tyerri fepi -nide*
 3d pn 3ns P-sit-PAST-d PROP ear cave LOC
-nimbi -pagu girrim dada wangga.
 ABL TSA 3ns IMP-sit-PRES sing RED type of dance
 ‘They could hear from in the cave, coming towards them, the sound
 of them singing the *wangga*.’

3.2.6.1.2 *ngini*

ngini has a purposive, dative and benefactive function. It expresses the range of meanings of English ‘for’ in the sense of ‘in order to’, ‘for the benefit of’ or ‘with the purpose of getting’. *ngini* is also the future marker in the indicative mood of the verb. As the future is an expression of purpose and intention and of projected rather than of completed action, both uses of the modifier share the same general semantic meaning.

In Ngankiwumirri the purposive is indicated by a suffix *-ne* and the future marker is *-pe*. This is one of the few significant differences in case marking between the two languages.

Examples of the use of *ngini*:

As a purposive affecting a result:

246. *Kagu -ngini wupun ∅ ta wamangkal.*
 GEN:animal food PURP 3s P-VC14-PRES 3sDO hit wallaby
 ‘He killed the wallaby for food.’
247. *Kanbi ngerrbe gerrgirr yawul -ngini.*
 bamboo 1ns-VC16-PAST cut RED spear PURP
 ‘We cut some bamboo for spears.’
248. *Yinyiri kerrety pefi malarrgu -ngini!*
 2s-see-FUT watch ALL turtle PURP
 ‘Keep a look out that way for turtles!’
249. *Were ngayi weri wupun kurr wamangkal ngini.*
 brother 1s pn hole 3s P-VC14-PRES dig wallaby PURP
 ‘My brother dug a hole for the wallaby.’
250. *Ngayi ngara pek ngini ngunyiningki*
 1s pn 1s-VC25-FUT paint FUT tomorrow
wangga -ngini.
 type of dance PURP
 ‘I will paint myself for the *wangga* tomorrow.’

As a benefactive in the sense of ‘for the benefit of’:

251. *Falmi wuni fagarri wudupun.gi miwul*
 woman DEM two 3ns P-VC14-PRES-d bring back
kalla wirrike -ngini.
 mother 3d pn PURP
 ‘Those two girls brought the goanna for their mother.’

The complements of intransitive verbs towards which or on behalf of whom cognitive or emotional actions are directed or performed are marked by *ngini*. They occur after verbs such as ‘to be afraid of’, ‘to forget about’, ‘to show how to’ or ‘to want a person’.

252. *Tyip men tyerri kana aba nem ngini.*
 dark 3s-say-PRES ear now brother 3s(m)pn PURP
 ‘He has forgotten about his brother.’
253. *Wuruni -ningki dani ngi fime-tatit*
 C(ii)DEM(r) INST 3s-VC18-PAST 1sDO give-put RED
tye warrgadi -ngini.
 PAST dillybag PURP
 ‘That woman showed me how to make dillybags.’
254. *Nganki nyin mem pirr wabuymem -ngini.*
 story DEM 3s-say-PRES 3pIO C(i) ghost PURP
 ‘He told them that story about the ghost.’
255. *Wa-kinyi wa-yedi falmi -ngini derrigirri dem.*
 C(i)DEM C(i)man woman PURP want/like 3s P-VC13-PRES
 ‘That man wants to marry.’
256. *Ngaganim wursirmuy e-werrmisya -ngini.*
 1s-go-PRES be afraid C(iv)crocodiles PURP
 ‘I am afraid of crocodiles.’

ngini is used when asking the word for something in Ngankikurungkurr.

257. *Before sunrise; kide ngindim ngankikurungkurr -ngini?*
 INT 1inc-say-PRES PURP
 ‘What do we say in Ngankikurungkurr for *before sunrise*?’

3.2.6.1.3 *werri*

werri indicates the proprietive or comitative relationship in which the case marked noun is seen as accompanying the objects performing the actions depicted in the sentence, without playing any part in the actions themselves. It may also describe the characteristics which an object possesses. It is largely adjectival in function and is used to derive adjectives from nouns, for example *detyerri -werri* (literally ‘ears-having’) ‘intelligent’, ‘understanding’. As a prefix it forms nouns which are marked by some characteristic which all members of the set have in common, for example *a-werr -balarr* (literally ‘animals-having-feathers’) ‘birds’ and *wur -werr -tyi* (literally ‘female-having-breasts’) ‘young girl’.

Examples of the range of applications of *werri*:

The comitative relationship:

258. *Nem angumungki winge tye falmi nem*
 3s(m)pn C(iv)rainbow 3s-lie-PAST PAST wife 3s(m)pn
-werri fagarri.
 PROP two
 ‘The rainbow lay down with his two wives.’

259. *Walalma kana ngaddi tye ngagurr Mary -werri.*
 hunting then 1ns ex-go-PAST PAST 1 pl ex pn PROP
 'We went hunting then with Mary.'
260. *Awa -yeyi -ningki waddi tye yawul -werri.*
 C(iii) other AGE 3ns-go-PAST PAST spear PROP
 'The others went carrying spears.'
261. *Wirrim tyerrtum yeningkisyi -werri.*
 3ns P-sit-PRES sink canoe PROP
 'They sank with the canoe.'
262. *Yuri gi -werri wirrem bulbul*
 fighting stick argument PROP 3ns-VC24-PRES fight RED
witibem kinyi awa - wu - nimbi -pagu.
 OA:3ns P-stand-PRES DEM(p) C(iii) DEM(r) -ABL - TSA
 'Those fellows from there came here with a fight and are fighting.'
- To describe physical qualities:
263. *Gugarri -werri werrim pat.*
 red ochre PROP 3ns P-VC13-PRES fly/rise
 'They flew off with red ochre (on them).'
264. *Falmi wuni mempirr -werri yenim dege.*
 woman DEM child PROP 3s P-go-PRES stomach
 'That woman is pregnant.'
265. *Ewerrmisya -werri dirrpederr.*
 C(iv)crocodile PROP river
 'There are crocodiles in the river.'
- To describe the contents of a container:
266. *Yerr-wasyanderri nguddupun tyerrpek malarrgu -werri.*
 C(vii) bag 1ns-VC15-PRES fill turtle PROP
 'We filled up the bag with turtles.'
267. *Yerr-wukume wirrnyingkin.gu girribem fungkuli -werri*
 C(vii)one 3ns P-see-PRES-d 3s IMP-stand-PRES honey PROP
 'They (d) saw one tree there with honey (in it).'
268. *Billikan wuni bakuty kuri -werri.*
 billy-can DEM much water PROP
 'The billy-can has lots of water in it.'
- To be about or concerned with something:
269. *Ngagurr wurrkama -werri ngaddi tye mirrgangki*
 1pl ex work PROP 1ns ex-go-PAST PAST daylight
-ningki, kultyi ngerrim purrket.
 AGE evening 1ns ex-VC13-PRES stop
 'We who had work to do in the daytime, stopped in the evening.'

270. *Nganki mirri -werri.*
 story sun PROP
 'Stories about the sun.' (Heading on SAL sheet)

One case of a negative propriative formed by a combination of the negative particle *mintā*, the emphatic *-ka* and the propriative *werri* has been recorded.

271. *Dede kinyi lengkir. Kagu mintā -ka -werri.*
 place DEM(p) bad GEN:animal food NEG EMPH PROP
 'This place is no good. There is not enough beef (game) here.'

4. THE VERB PHRASE

4.1 SIMPLE AND COMPOUND VERBS

Morphologically there are two types of verbs in Ngankikurungkurr; simple and compound. The majority of verbs are compound verbs and consist of a finite auxiliary verb and a compound verb stem. There are 29 auxiliary verbs, all of which may occur with compound verb stems (CVS) to form compound verbs. Of the set of auxiliaries, 11 may occur as simple verbs or full verbs (that is without compound verb stems) in the same way as English auxiliary verbs like *have* or *do* may occur in sentences like *I have cut the grass* or *I don't like travelling* and as full verbs in sentences like *I have a headache* and *I do the shopping*. The remaining 18 cannot occur except in compound verbs. In what follows, while these auxiliaries may be cited in illustrative examples they will not be glossed.

Auxiliary verbs (AUX) are conjugated by means of prefixes and suffixes to the auxiliary verb stem. Prefixes indicate the person of the subject pronoun and in the third person show whether or not the action indicated by the verb is regarded as complete or incomplete. The auxiliary verb stem indicates the semantic range of the verb, the tense and whether the verb is singular or non-singular in number. Suffixes indicate when the subject is dual in the exclusive persons and plural in the first person inclusive, as well as the person and number of the non-subject pronouns. A series of post-verbal clitics indicate tense, mood and aspect. For a full discussion of these see 4.4.

The structure of the auxiliary verb may be represented as:

AUX vb = + subject pronoun + vb stem ± dual non-inc subject marker ± plural 1st in
subject marker ± object pronoun + t/m/a marker

There is normally the restriction that either the dual subject suffix or the plural inclusive marker may occur but not both.

Compound verbs consist of an auxiliary verb and a compound verb root (CVR). This normally follows the auxiliary verb, but in some cases (determined by convention) may precede it and in a few other cases both precede and follow it. Compound verb roots are non-finite and are capable of whole or partial reduplication. They may occur without auxiliaries in embedded complement constructions.

The structure of the compound verb may be represented as:

comp vb = + auxiliary + compound verb root + t/m/a marker

The simple verbs of class numbers 1, 2, 3, 4 and 4a may act as orientation auxiliaries following compound verbs with auxiliaries of class numbers 6 – 26. Class 6 simple verbs also take orientation auxiliaries. Orientation auxiliaries follow the tense, mood and aspect marker(s).

Object pronouns follow the auxiliary in the simple verb preceding the t/m/a marker(s). In compound verbs they occur after the auxiliary and before the compound verb stem. Ablative pronouns follow the verb stem. There may be an object pronoun or an ablative pronoun but usually not both.

The complete verb phrase may be represented as follows:

VP = + auxiliary verb ± object pronoun ± compound verb stem ± ablative pronoun + t/m/a marker(s) ± orientation auxiliary

The negative verb phrase is formed by preposing the negative particle *mintā* to the verb phrase.

4.2 THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE AUXILIARY VERB

The auxiliary verb indicates person and number by incorporated subject and non-subject pronouns. It also indicates the semantic range of the verb and its syntactic function.

4.2.1 SUBJECT PRONOUN PREFIXES

4.2.1.1 FIRST AND SECOND PERSON PREFIXES

All subject pronouns are indicated by an initial prefix to the auxiliary verb stem. The subject pronoun prefixes for the first and second persons are:

<i>ng-</i>	first person
<i>y-</i>	second person

These occur for all numbers.

The first person inclusive non-singular prefix is more complex in that it consists of the first person subject prefix *ng-* and the second person singular indirect object suffix *-mb* with the underlying form *ngVmb*. The second person indirect object marker may be realised by a homorganic nasal stop sequence appropriate to the conjugation in which it occurs giving the allomorphs *ngVmb*, *ngVmp*, *ngVnt*, *ngVnd*, *ngVnk* where V is the stem vowel of the conjugation. The first inclusive prefix is morphologically a singular form in that it always precedes the singular form of the stem-tense cluster.

4.2.1.2 THIRD PERSON PREFIXES

The third person is indicated by prefixes which designate not only person but aspect, and indicate whether the action is regarded as completed or incomplete. For a full discussion of this see section 4.4.1.2. In the present and future tenses there are usually two third person prefixes for each number,

for perfective and imperfective. The imperfective is indicated by *g-*. The perfective is indicated in the non-singular (all tenses) and in the singular future by *w-*. In nine of the auxiliaries (classes 2, 3, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17 and 26) the singular third person prefix in the present and past is also *w-*. In 11 of the auxiliaries the prefix is *d-*, (classes 1, 5, 5a, 7, 10, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24 and 25). In the remaining nine auxiliaries the perfective is indicated by a morphologically distinct form of the verb. These are listed below. The imperfective does not normally occur in the past tense.

Class	Present	Past	Future
4	<i>yenim ~ gaganim</i>	<i>yedi</i>	<i>wani ~ gani</i>
4a	<i>yirripin</i>	<i>yirini</i>	
6	<i>mem</i>	<i>meyi</i>	<i>wimi ~ gimi</i>
6a	<i>meyim</i>		
8	<i>yetyin</i>	<i>yentyi</i>	<i>wawam ~ gawam</i>
12	<i>mengkin ~ gimengkin</i>	<i>wime</i>	<i>wimi ~ gimi</i>
16	<i>bengim ~ gebem</i>	<i>beye ~ gebe</i>	<i>beyi ~ gebi</i>
18	<i>dangim ~ garim</i>	<i>dani</i>	<i>wa ~ ga</i>
23	<i>dingim ~ gem</i>		<i>we ~ ge</i>
27	<i>wayim ~ gawam</i>		<i>wa ~ ga</i>

4.2.2 NUMBER IN THE AUXILIARY VERB

4.2.2.1 SINGULAR AND NON-SINGULAR

The main distinction for number is between singular and non-singular. In the majority of verb classes the non-singular is indicated by the presence of the plural morpheme *-rr-* after the initial vowel of the verb stem. This morpheme is a common indicator of plural number in the prefixing languages. It also occurs in Wunambal (Vászolyi 1976:631), the Djamindjungan languages (Hoddinott and Kofod 1976:700), Malak Malak (Birk 1976:80) and Miriwung (Kofod 1978:180). The singular marker may be regarded as a zero morpheme.

Examples:

Class 5	<i>ng-i-∅-nyingkin</i> 1-sg-see-PRES 'I can see/I see'	<i>ng-i-rr-nyingkin</i> 1-ns-see-PRES 'we can see/we see'
Class 6	<i>y-∅-im</i> 2-s-say-PRES 'you say'	<i>y-i-rr-im</i> 2-ns-say-PRES 'you (pl) say'
	<i>ng-i-∅-me</i> 1-s-say-PAST 'I said'	<i>ng-i-rr-me</i> 1-ns-say-PAST 'we (pl ex) said'

Class 12	<i>ng-i-∅-mingkin</i> 1-s-lift-PRES 'I lift'	<i>ng-i-rr-mingkin</i> 1-ns-lift-PRES 'we (pl ex) lift'
Class 16	<i>g-e-∅-bem</i> 3 IMP-s-VC16-PRES	<i>g-e-rr-bem</i> 3 IMP-ns-VC16-PRES

An examination of the paradigms in Appendix 1 will reveal many more examples.

When there is an *-r-* after the initial vowel of the stem this is deleted after the *-rr-* plural morpheme.

Class 1	<i>ng-irim</i> 1-s-sit-PRES 'I sit'	<i>ng-i-rr-∅-im</i> 1-ns-sit-PRES 'we (pl ex) sit'
Class 13	<i>ng-erim</i> 1-s-VC13-PRES	<i>ng-e-rr-∅-im</i> 1-ns-VC13-PRES
Class 25	<i>y-aran</i> 2-s-VC25-PRES	<i>y-a-rr-∅-an</i> 2-ns-VC25-PRES

When there is an *rs* after the initial vowel it is sometimes deleted after *rr* and sometimes retained.

Class 17	<i>w-ursum</i> 2-s-eat-PRES	<i>w-urrrsum ~ wurrum</i> 2-ns-eat-PRES
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When the initial consonant of the stem is an alveolar stop or nasal the non-singular is indicated by a geminate sequence.

Class 4a	<i>ng-anigi</i> 1s-go along-PAST 'I kept going'	<i>ng-annigi</i> 1-ns-go along-PAST 'we (pl ex) kept going'
Class 10	<i>w-udem</i> 3s-P-VC10-PRES	<i>w-uddem</i> 3ns-P-VC10-PRES
Class 11	<i>y-anam</i> 2s-VC11-PRES	<i>y-annam</i> 2-ns-VC11-PRES
Class 15	<i>ng-udupun</i> 1-s-VC15-PRES	<i>ng-uddupun</i> 1-ns-VC15-PRES
Class 20	<i>ng-inem</i> 1-s-VC20-PRES	<i>ng-innem</i> 1-ns-VC20-PRES

In four verb classes the non-singular is indicated by a change in the verb stem. In two of these cases the stem change is accompanied by the inclusion of the plural morpheme.

Class 2	<i>ng-irribem</i> 1-s-stand-PRES 'I stand'	<i>ng-itibem</i> 1-ns-stand-PRES 'we (pl ex) stand'
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Class 3	<i>ng-ibem</i> 1-s-lie-PRES 'I lie'	<i>ng-errtyem</i> 1-ns-lie-PRES 'we (pl ex) lie'
Class 4	<i>ng-aganim</i> 1-s-go-PRES 'I go'	<i>ng-annim</i> 1-ns-go-PRES 'we (pl ex) go'
Class 9	<i>ng-ityibem</i> 1s-hang-PRES	<i>ng-irrtym</i> 1-ns-hang-PRES

In the past tense of verb classes 14 and 18 there are alternate forms of the non-singular based on the two principles of *-r-* morpheme insertion and geminate nasals.

Class 14	Singular Past	Non-singular Past
1st exclusive	<i>ng-uni</i>	<i>ng-urruni ~ ng-unni</i>
2nd	<i>y-uni</i>	<i>y-urruni ~ y-unni</i>
3rd perfective	<i>w-uni</i>	<i>w-urruni ~ w-unni</i>
Class 18		
1st exclusive	<i>ng-ani</i>	<i>ng-arrini ~ ng-anni</i>
2nd	<i>y-ani</i>	<i>y-arrini ~ y-anni</i>
3rd perfective	<i>d-ani</i>	<i>w-arrini ~ w-anni</i>

4.2.2.2 DUAL AND PLURAL MARKING

In the non-singular, with the exception of the first person inclusive forms, dual is distinguished from plural in the following ways.

(a) By the dual marker *-gu/-gi* suffixed to the appropriate non-singular form of the verb, which indicates the plural.

Examples:

Class 2	<i>y-itinge</i> 2-ns-stand-PAST 'you (pl) were standing/stood'	<i>y-itinge-gu</i> 2-ns-stand-PAST-d you (d) were standing/stood
Class 12	<i>w-irrminkin</i> 3ns-P-VC12-PRES	<i>w-irrminkin-gu</i> 3ns-P-VC12-PRES-d
Class 14	<i>ng-urrapun</i> 1-ns-VC14-PRES	<i>ng-urrapun-gu</i> 1-ns-VC14-PRES-d
Class 16	<i>ng-errbi</i> 1-ns-VC16-FUT	<i>ng-errbi-gu</i> 1-ns-VC16-FUT-d

Final *-m* in the non-singular form → *-ng* before *-gu*. Final *-n* usually remains unchanged.

Class 1	<i>ng-irrim</i> 1-ns-sit-PRES 'we (pl ex) are sitting'	<i>ng-irring-gu</i> 1-ns-sit-PRES 'we (d ex) are sitting'
Class 13	<i>ng-errim</i> 1-ns-VC13-PRES	<i>ng-erring-gu</i> 1-ns-VC13-PRES-d

(b) In the past tense of verb class 1, the past and future tenses of verb class 4 and the alternative forms of the past in classes 8 and 18, the dual is indicated by a change from final *-i* in the non-singular to final *-e* in the dual.

Class 4	<i>w-addi</i> 3-ns-go-PAST 'they (pl) went'	<i>w-add-e</i> 3-ns-go-PAST-d 'they (d) went'
Class 1	<i>w-inni</i> 3-ns-sit-PAST 'they (pl) were sitting'	<i>w-inne</i> 3-ns-sit-PAST-d 'they (d) were sitting'
Class 18 (Alternative form)	<i>ng-anni</i> 1-ns-VC18-PAST	<i>ng-anne</i> 1-ns-VC18-PAST-d

(c) When the subject is dual and there is a first or second person singular direct object or a first, second or third person indirect object, the duality of the subject is indicated by a suffix *-err* to the object pronoun (see section 4.3). When the subject is dual and the auxiliary is followed by an exclusive non-singular object pronoun, the dual suffix is omitted. Dual number may be indicated in the subject NP or in the orientation auxiliary if this occurs.

- Falmi fagarri w-errme wirrki batybyty*
 woman two 3ns-P-VC13-PAST 3dO hold RED
w-itinge-gu tye mempirr.
 3ns-P-stand-PAST-d PAST child
 'The two women were holding their babies.'
- Warrim pirrki tyerr wirring-gi.*
 3ns-P-VC18-PRES 3dO feed OA:3ns-P-sit-PRES-d
 'They (d) are sitting down feeding them (d).'
- Awa-wuni fagarri w-irri-ngirrki*
 C(iii)DEM(r) two 3ns-P-say-PRES-1d exO
kak kana w-annung-gu.
 set-off now 3ns-P-go-PRES-d
 'They (d) told us that they were going away.'

The third person singular direct object is zero marked and the dual subject suffix is then included.

4. *Yedi fagarri awa-purrpurk ngenike wirrike*
 male two C(iii)PLUR sister 3d pn
wuddupun-gi tidi kuri-nide.
 3ns-P-VC15-PRES-d push water LOC
 ‘The two little boys pushed their sister into the water.’

The dual suffix follows the first person inclusive object pronoun.

5. *Girrimi-nin-gi kal nana.*
 3ns-IMP-VC12-FUT-1inc O-d chase might
 ‘They (d) might chase us (d inc) (you and me).’

4.2.2.3 FIRST PERSON DUAL AND PLURAL INCLUSIVE FORMS

Unlike the dual and plural exclusive forms and first person dual and plural inclusive are not distinguished by the presence of bound number morphemes. The first person dual consists of the first person subject prefix *ng-* and the second person singular indirect object suffix *-mb* or an allomorph and is morphologically singular (see 4.2.1.1).

Plurality is indicated by the particle *nime* ‘all’ which occurs either after the auxiliary in the simple verb or in compound verb phrases, after the compound verb root.

Examples of simple verbs:

Class 3	<i>ng-imp-ibem</i> 1-2sIO-lie-PRES ‘we (d inc) are lying/ you and I are lying’	<i>ng-imp-ibem nime</i> 1-2sIO-lie-PRES all ‘we (pl inc) are lying/ all of you and I are lying’
Class 4	<i>ng-ank-inim</i> 1-2sIO-go PRES ‘you and I are going’	<i>ng-ank-inim nime</i> 1-2sIO-go-PRES all ‘we (pl inc)/all of you and I are going’
Class 5	<i>ng-imp-inyingkin</i> 1-2sIO-see-PRES ‘we (d inc) see’	<i>ng-imp-inyingkin-nime</i> 1-2sIO-see-PRES all ‘we (pl inc) see’

Examples of first person inclusive compound verbs used in sentences:

6. *Wakay-napa ngembimi tidi nime ngini yeningkisyi kuri-nide.*
 everyone 1-2sIO-VC13-FUT push all FUT canoe water-LOC
 ‘We will all push the canoe into the water.’

7. *Wiri di ngini, ngambani pitr nime nimbi ngini.*
 3s P-sit-FUT cry FUT 1-2sIO-go-FUT leave behind all ABL FUT
 ‘She will cry if we all go and leave her behind.’

4.2.2.4 OTHER *nime* PLURALS

Forming the plural from the dual with *nime* has been extended to the exclusive person forms by analogy. These *nime* plurals (which are a cumbersome way of forming the plural from a dual which is itself derived from the plural), have been recorded for all conjugations along with the regular forms. Reid (1982:83) claims that the *nime* series of plural are in fact the trial form. Our informants have said that it was simply an alternate form of plural and in all elicited sentences including the numeral *warrakma* ‘three’ only one uses the form of the plural. However, the only occurrence of a *nime* plural in free text is in the nominalised verb phrase from sentence 32, Text 1.

8. *Awa- mursi wannunggu nime napa awa-warrakma.*
 C(iii) die 3ns P-go-PRES-d all only C(iii) three
 ‘All three of them are dead now.’

As pointed out by Walsh (1976:157) *nime* is cognate with the Murinyata paucal marker *neme/ɲeme*. It seems likely that the *nime* plurals are in fact paucals if not specifically trials.

In simple verbs *nime* occurs after the dual marker and before the tense/mood/aspect marker(s). In compound verbs it follows the compound verb stem.

Examples:

Class 1	<i>ng-inn-e</i> 1ns-sit-PAST-d ‘we (pl ex) all sat’	<i>nime</i> all	~	<i>ng-inn-i</i> 1ns-sit-PAST
Class 2	<i>w-itinge-gu</i> 3ns P-stand-PAST-d ‘they were all talking’	<i>tyerrakul</i> talk		<i>nime</i> <i>tye</i> all PAST
Class 5	<i>ng-irr-nyingkin-gu</i> 1ns-see-PRES-d ‘we (pl ex) see’	<i>nime</i> all	~	<i>ng-irr-nyingkin</i> 1ns-see-PRES

Compare the following sentences:

9. *Ngagurr warrakma nginni ngan-dirr tye*
 1pl ex pn three 1ns-sit-PAST REL-bank PAST
kuderrri-nide
 billabong LOC
 ‘The three of us waited on the bank of the billabong.’

10. *Ngagurr kinyi awarrakma yerr-purr purrk*
 1pl ex pn DEM(p) C(iii) three C(vii) PLUR
ngurru-gu wuty nime ngini.
 1ns-VC14-FUT-d throw away all FUT
 'We three will throw these things away.'

4.3 NON-SUBJECT PRONOUN SUFFIXES

Non-subject pronouns comprise direct and indirect objects and ellative objects. The direct and indirect object pronouns follow the verb stem in the simple verb and the auxiliary in the compound verb. Different direct and indirect objects occur in the singular only. There is a separate set of direct and indirect objects of dual subjects.

4.3.1 DIRECT AND INDIRECT OBJECT SUFFIXES

TABLE 3: DIRECT AND INDIRECT OBJECT SUFFIXES						
Singular				Non-singular		
	Direct object	Dual subject	Ind. object	Dual subject	Dual	Plural
1st inc					<i>nin</i>	<i>nin nime</i>
1st exc	<i>ngi</i>	<i>ngerr</i>	<i>ngindi</i>	<i>nginderr</i>	<i>ngirrki</i>	<i>ngirr</i>
2nd	<i>nyi</i>	<i>nyerr</i>	<i>mbi</i>	<i>mberr</i>	<i>tirrki</i>	<i>tirr</i>
3rd m	\emptyset	\emptyset	<i>ne</i>	<i>nerr</i>	<i>wirrki~</i>	<i>wirr~</i>
3rd f	\emptyset	\emptyset	<i>nge</i>	<i>ngerr</i>	<i>pirrki</i>	<i>pirr</i>

4.3.1.1 DIRECT OBJECT PRONOUN SUFFIXES (NON-DUAL SUBJECTS)

The direct object pronoun suffixes follow the regular pattern of the free form pronouns in preserving the morpheme *ng-* throughout as the indication of the non-inclusive first person and *n-* for the first person inclusive dual and plural. *ny-* indicates the second person singular while the non-singular person marker is *t-*. The third person is indicated in the singular by \emptyset for both male and female; in the non-singular it is indicated by the allomorphs *w-* after a vowel and *p-* after a consonant. Number in the object pronoun is indicated by \emptyset denoting the singular and *-rr-* the non-singular. Dual is distinguished from plural by the final suffix *-gi*.

Direct object pronouns usually have only human or animate referents. The direct object occurs as would be expected with verbs of 'hitting', 'cutting', 'biting' etc.

11. *A-fungi-ningki wanni ngi bangbung tye*
 C(iv)mosquito-AGE 3ns P-VC18-PAST 1sDO pierce RED PAST
nganingiyi.
 last night
 'The mosquitoes were biting me last night.'
12. *Wuwu yaga gebi nyi gatit.*
 C(v)dog DEM 3s IMP-VC16-FUT 2sDO bite
 'That dog might bite you.'
13. *Wa-weti-ningki wupun ngi ta.*
 C(i)little-AGE 3s P-VC14-PRES 1sDO hit
 'The little boy hit me.'

It also occurs with 'see', 'wake someone up' and 'chase'.

14. *Wa-wuni dinyingkin ngi kerrety.*
 C(i)DEM(r) 3s P-see-PRES 1sDO look
 'That man is looking at me.'
15. *Kurrwak kurrwak-ningki werre nyi mi-filfil*
 kookaburra-AGE 3ns P-VC22-FUT 2sDO CS wake up
wa-firsul-syirre kana.
 3s P-VC26-FUT-sunrise-after-now
 'The kookaburras will wake you up just before sunrise.'
16. *Wirringkin ngi kal dede-nide-napa.*
 3ns P-lift-PRES 1sDO chase camp-LOC-only
 'They chased me through the camp.'

The direct object is used to indicate the inalienable possession of a body part which is the object of the verb. The body part is usually but not always incorporated into the compound verb root (see 4.9.2.1).

17. *De-mentyi gebi nyi mentyi-gat nana ami.*
 C(viii)throat 3s IMP-VC16-FUT 2sDO throat-cut POSS bone
 'The bone might cut your throat.'
18. *Nayp-ningki wawam nyi me-rsi.*
 knife-AGE 3s P-bring-FUT 2sDO hand-cut
 'The knife will cut your hand.'

19. *A-diny mungkin ngi mi-tyap dagarri-nide.*
 C(iv)leech 3s P-VC12-PRES 1sDO CS-stick on C(viii)leg-LOC
 'A leech is stuck to my leg.'

In reflexive verbs referring to inalienably possessed body parts the indirect object is used not the direct (4.7.3).

More unexpectedly the direct object is used to indicate the recipient of a gift, someone who is shown something or how to do something, someone who is answered or who is asked a question and also someone to whom the subject of the verb says "goodbye".

20. *Miyi nga nyi fime ngini.*
 food 1s-VC18-FUT 2sDO give FUT
 'I will give you food.'
21. *Wur-wuni-ningki dani ngi fi-me-tyatit*
 C(ii)DEM-AGE 3s P-VC18-PAST 1sDO CS-hand-put RED
tye warrgadi -ngini.
 PAST dillybag PURP
 'That woman showed how to make dillybags.'
22. *Yiba ngemi nyi mi-fala.*
 later 1s-VC13-FUT 2sDO CS show
 'I will show it to you later.'
23. *Minta-tye we ngi tyerr-gat.*
 NEG PAST 3s P-VC22-FUT 1sDO answer (mouth-cut)
 'He did not answer me.'
24. *Awa-purppurk warri(ni) ngi tyerrpu*
 C(iii)PLUR 3ns-P-VC18-PAST 1sDO ask
ngawam pirr ngini dedangkurr-pefi.
 1s-bring-FUT 3plO FUT camp ALL
 'The children asked me to take them to the camp.'
25. *Nguddupun nyi tyerr.*
 1ns-ex-VC15-PRES 2sDO say goodbye
 'We are saying goodbye to you.'

Direct objects are also used in a small number of cases with auxiliaries which would normally be regarded in English as intransitive.

26. *A-weti a-wirsi giri-ny*
 C(iv)little C(iv)spider 3s IMP-sit-PRES-2sDO
papup daba -nide.
 climb RED C(viii)arm-LOC
 'There is a little spider on your arm.'

27. *Giri-nyi* *ngan-wandyirr.*
 3s IMP-sit-PRES-2sDO REL rib
 'He is sitting near you.'
28. *Ngani* *nyi* *garri-pat* *ngini.*
 1s-go-FUT 2sDO catch up FUT
 'I will catch up with you.'

Direct objects are the most common pronoun suffix with impersonal verbs (see 4.8).

Two cases of the direct second person object pronoun suffixed to nominals in verbless statements have been recorded.

29. *Wa-lengkirr-nyi.*
 C(i) bad 2sDO
 'You are bad.' (Heard said as a joke to a baby.)

The second instance is from Text 2, sentence 27. The bat is told:

30. *Wa-wangga* *yubu-nyi-kirri.*
 C(i) dance good-2sDO-INTENS
 'You are a very good *wangga* dancer'.

See also *wur-weti-ngi-ningki* 'when I was a little girl' (5.3.1; example 6(a)).

4.3.1.2 INDIRECT OBJECT PRONOUN SUFFIXES (NON-DUAL SUBJECTS)

In Ngankikurungkurr the indirect object pronoun suffixes are distinguished from direct object suffixes only in the singular. As with the direct object pronouns the indirect object pronoun suffixes indicate whether the subject of the verb is dual or non-dual. Indirect object pronouns also distinguish between male and female in the third person singular. The indirect object pronouns which occur with non-dual subjects are:

1st person	- <i>ngindi</i>
2nd person	- <i>mbi</i>
3rd person (male)	- <i>ne</i>
(female)	- <i>nge</i>

The first person pronoun preserves the *ng-* morpheme which is found in all first person exclusive pronouns with the addition of a homorganic alveolar nasal and stop sequence. The second person form of a bilabial nasal and stop sequence is realised as *-nb* following verb stem final *-n*. The third person indirect object suffix distinguishes between male and female, with the alveolar nasal *n-* indicating the male and the velar nasal *ng-* indicating the female. These initial consonants are the same as the initial consonant of the personal pronouns (3.2.1). All the suffixes end in a front vowel.

Bound pronouns for both direct and indirect objects never occur suffixed to the same verb stem except in the case where the zero-marked third person singular object pronoun occurs with an indirect

object pronoun. Indirect object pronouns are formally marked relative to direct object pronouns particularly in the third person and take precedence of occurrence over them. The discrimination in the sex of the third person singular marker is also consistent with the function of the indirect object which indicates mainly a human or animate beneficiary of the act performed by the verb, or which occurs after verbs indicating cognitive or emotional states.

Verbs taking indirect object pronouns include:

call someone	understand
wait for someone	hear
take aim at	look for
make laugh	sneak up on
cheer	praise
know (a person)	reach/arrive at the place where someone (IO) is

It is also used in more obviously benefactive constructions such as bringing or getting something (DO) for someone (IO).

Examples:

31. *Kala ngayi -ningki wirribe-ngindi kay.*
 mother 1s pn AGE 3s P-stand-PRES-1sIO call
 'My mother is calling me.'
32. *Ngiti-mbi nanama.*
 1ns-ex-stand-FUT-2sIO sing
 'We will sing for you.'
33. *Ngirribe-ne kay epe minta tye*
 1s-stand-PRES-3s(m)IO call but NEG PAST
wim -ngindi tyerribaty tye.
 3s P-lie-FUT 1sIO hear PAST
 'I called him but he did not hear me.'
34. *Ngirri-mbi ngan-mentyi ngini.*
 1ns-sit-FUT-2sIO wait FUT
 'We will be waiting for you.'
35. *Miyi kinyi ngudupun-bi miwul.*
 GEN:plant food DEM(p) 1s-VC15-PRES-2sIO CS-return
 'I brought back this food for you.'

Compare the use of the indirect object pronoun in the last sentence with that of the direct object in the next.

36. *Wudupun-ngi mi-wul kinyi pagu aeroplane-ngini.*
 3s P-VC15-PRES-1sDO CS-return DEM(p) TSA PURP
 'He brought me back here to (catch) the aeroplane.'

The indirect object usually occurs with the simple verb class 6 'to do or say'.

37. *Me-nge.*
 3s-say-PRES-3s(f)IO
 'He/she told her.'
38. *Wirrmi-ngindi.*
 3ns P-say-FUT-1sIO
 'They will tell me.'

When this verb occurs in compounds it usually occurs with indirect object pronouns.

39. *Minta tyip wirrmi-ngindi tyerri tye.*
 NEG dark 3nd P-say-FUT-1sIO ear PAST
 'They did not forget me.'
40. *Yedi wuni pallak me-ngindi muy.*
 man DEM(r) wink 3s-say-PRES-1sIO eye
 'That man winked at me.'

It is interesting to compare the use of direct and indirect pronouns in the following three sentences. The direct object with the auxiliary verb class 12 which usually occurs with verbs of lifting and carrying refers to humans who are the objects of emotion or belief. With the indirect object the more usual interpretation of bringing or carrying prevails.

41. *Dege ngimingkin nyi wa.*
 stomach 1s-VC12-PRES 2sDO pick up
 'I love you.'
42. *Miyi kinyi ngimingkin -bi wa.*
 food DEM(p) 1s-VC12-PRES 2sIO pick up
 'I brought this food for you.'
43. *Minta ngimingkin nyi mawi.*
 NEG 1s-VC12-PRES 2sDO believe
 'I do not believe you.'

The simple verb *-inyi* 'to see' (verb class 5) always takes the direct object pronoun except when it is compounded with the inability marker *fiway*, and the object is human or animate. In the following example from Text 7, sentence 7, the indirect object pronoun does not occur following the verb.

44. *Kuri kana ngini mene yi wirrnyingkin fi-way.*
 water PUN PURP ATT and 3ns-see-PRES CS-be unable

Kuri minta kuri.
 water NEG water

'Then they tried for some water but they could not see any. There was no water.'

In Text 8, sentence 16 the same verb occurs with a human referent and in this case the indirect object pronoun occurs.

45. *Dinyere fi-kenke minta fala.*
 3s P-see-REFLEX CS-look around NEG fellow

Aba nem dinyingkin -ne fi-way.
 brother 3s(m)pn 3s P-see-PRES 3s(m)IO CS-be unable

'He looked around but there was no-one. He could not see his brother.'

Ambiguity does not usually occur in the non-singular object suffixes which are identical for direct and indirect pronouns because the non-singular pronouns usually refer only to human or animate referents. In the following sentence *pirr* would always be interpreted as an indirect object used as a benefactive rather than a reference to multiple sticks of bamboo as direct object.

46. *Kanbi ngebem ∅ -pirr gerrgirr.*
 bamboo 1s-VC16-PRES 3sDO 3plO chop RED

'I am cutting bamboo for them.'

Other examples of the use of non-singular object pronouns:

47. *Wa-weti-ningki wupun -ngirr ta.*
 C(i)little AGE 3s P-VC14-PRES 1pl exO hit

'The little boy hit us (pl ex).'

48. *Wirringe -wirr purrpurrk.*
 3s P-stand-Past-3plO dance RED

'He used to dance for them.'

49. *Muy- wursirr ngaddi wirr tye yedi.*
 be afraid 1ns-go-PAST 3plO PAST man

'We were afraid of the men.'

50. *Ngarim -pirrki fime atyalmerr.*
 1s-VC18-PRES 3dO give C(iv) barramundi

'I gave them two a barramundi.'

51. *Yawam ngirrki ngini engelin -ngini!*
 2s-bring-FUT 1dO FUT fishing PURP

'Take us two fishing!'

52. *Nagarri yinne tye. Nginyingkin-tirrk.*
 2d pn 2ns-sit-PAST PAST 1s-see-PRES-2dO
 'You two were sitting. I saw you two.'

4.3.1.3 SINGULAR OBJECTS OF DUAL SUBJECTS

Where the subject is dual the direct object pronouns in the first and second person singular have the final morpheme *-err*. There is no distinction made in the third person singular pronouns. The pronoun object suffixes are:

1st singular	<i>ng-err</i>
2nd singular	<i>ny-err</i>

The dual suffix *-gu/-gi* is omitted from the auxiliary verb when these suffixes occur.

Examples:

53. *Yedi wuni fagarri minta tye wirrnyiri ngerr tye.*
 man DEM(r) two NEG PAST 3ns-see-FUT 1sDO dS PAST
 'Those two men did not see me.'
54. *Ngarri nyerr fime ngini mi-weti.*
 1ex ns-VC18-FUT 2sDO dS give FUT C(vi) little
 'We two will give you a little food.'
55. *Nguddi nyerr ket ngini.*
 1ex ns-VC15-FUT 2sDO dS cut FUT
 'We two will cut you loose.'

In sentence 53 the dual number of the subject pronoun is indicated by the numeral as well as by the object pronoun. In sentences 54 and 55 however the number of the subject is indicated by the form of the object pronoun alone.

If we compare sentence 54 with the following:

56. *Ngarri nyi fime ngini mi-weti.*
 1 ex ns-VC18-FUT 2sDO give FUT C(vi) little
 'We (pl ex) will give you a little food.'

it is clear that the object pronoun suffix determines the interpretation of the number of the subject. In all other cases where the direct object has a human referent the distinction must be indicated by some other means, for example by the numeral *fagarri* 'two' as in sentence 53 or by the orientation auxiliary which agrees in person and number with the subject of the principal auxiliary in the compound verb.

As indicated in Table 3 there is a corresponding set of indirect object suffixes which occur in the singular with dual subject pronouns. These are distinguished from the other indirect object suffixes by the same morpheme *-rr* which occurs with direct objects of dual subjects.

The indirect singular objects of dual subjects are:

1st singular		<i>ngind-err</i>
2nd singular		<i>mb-err</i>
3rd singular	male	<i>n-err</i>
	female	<i>ng-err</i>

The third singular female indirect object suffix *ngerr* is homophonous with the first person singular direct object of dual subjects.

Examples:

57. *Ngirrmingkin* \emptyset *-mberr* *wa*
 1ex ns-VC12-PRES 3sDO 2sIO dS pick up/bring
 'We (pl ex) are bringing it for you.'
58. *Miyi warrgantyi nginderr tye.*
 food 3ns-bring-PAST 1sIO dS PAST
 'They brought me the food.'
59. *Yedi fagarri warrini -nerr du wa-weti e-fengku.*
 man two 3ns-VC18-PAST 3s(m)IO dS show C(i) little C(iv) snake
 'The two men showed the little boy the snake.'

Indirect object pronouns are frequently found in reflexive constructions (see 4.7.3).

4.3.2 OBJECT PRONOUNS IN NGANKIWUMIRRI AND OTHER NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

In Ngankiwumirri direct and indirect object pronouns are distinguished in the dual as well as in the singular. The singular object pronouns are identical, with the exception of the first person singular indirect object which is *ngiti* in Ngankiwumirri.

The non-singular object pronouns are as follows:

	Direct	Indirect
1st dual ex	<i>nginggi</i>	<i>ngirrkki</i>
1st plural ex		<i>ngirr</i>
2nd dual	<i>ninggi</i>	<i>nirrkki</i>
2nd plural		<i>nirr</i>
3rd dual	<i>wunggi/bunggi</i>	<i>wurrkki/burrkki</i>
3rd plural		<i>wurr</i>

Examples:

60. *Wuwu-ningki wubu-ninggi tharat.*
 C(v) dog AGE 3s P-VC16-FUT-2dDO bite
 'The dog will bite you two.'
61. *Ngirim burrki ngidi ngatha-ayi wer-ayi.*
 1s-sit-PRES 3dIO wait for father-my brother-my
 'I am waiting for my father and my brother.'
62. *Wurrike nginyiri wunggi pe.*
 3d pn 1s-see-FUT 3dDO FUT
 'I will see them (dual).'

As in Ngankikurungkurr the semi-vowel *w*- follows vowels and a bilabial stop follows consonants but in Ngankiwumirri it is the voiced stop *b*-. The second person non-singular has initial *n*-, as do the free form pronouns in both languages, rather than the corresponding stop *t*- which is found in the object pronouns in Ngankikurungkurr.

The use of initial *n*- to indicate non-singular second person and initial *w*- for non-singular third person object pronouns occurs in Maranungku (Tryon 1970b:48), Malag Malag (Birk 1976:31), Marridjebin (Hoddinott: field notes) and Murrinypata (Walsh 1976:205-209) as well as in the Ngankiwumirri. The singular object pronouns in Marridjebin, Murrinypata and Maranungku are also closely related to those in the Tyemirri group.

		1st singular	2nd singular	3rd singular (male)	3rd singular (female)
Ngankikurungkurr	DO	<i>ngi</i>	<i>nyi</i>	∅	∅
	IO	<i>ngindi</i>	<i>mbi</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>nge</i>
Ngankiwumirri	DO	<i>ngi</i>	<i>nyi</i>	∅	∅
	IO	<i>ngiti</i>	<i>mbi</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>nge</i>
Marridjebin	DO	<i>-ing/ung/ngi</i>	<i>inyi/nyi</i>	∅	∅
	IO	<i>ngin</i>	<i>mpi</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ng</i>
Murrinypata	DO	<i>ngi</i>	<i>nyi</i>	∅	∅
	IO	<i>nga</i>	<i>mba</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>nge</i>
Maranungku	DO & IO	<i>ngany</i>	<i>nimpe</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>nga</i>

(The examples in Murrinypata are from Walsh 1976:205-209 and those in Maranungku from Tryon 1970:48.)

4.3.3 USE OF INDIRECT OBJECT PRONOUNS OUTSIDE THE VERB PHRASE

A small number of cases of the use of indirect object pronouns outside the verb phrase have been recorded.

63. *Wung dede -ngindi.*
 sigh country 1sIO
 'I sigh for my country.' or 'I feel sorry for my country.'

The corresponding phrase has also been recorded in Ngankiwumirri: *wung dede -ngiti.*

The third person singular masculine indirect object pronoun is found suffixed to a temporal in the following sentence.

64. *Ep fekiderri -ngini -ne yerr-kinyi*
 perhaps a long time-PURP -3s(m)IO C(vii)DEM(r)
warrgadi minta nana ngemi waty detyengi.
 dillybag NEG POSS 1s-VC13-FUT finish today
 'This dillybag will take a long time; I will probably not finish it today.'

See also the use of the non-singular object pronouns to indicate number in the noun phrase 3.1.1.4.1.

4.3.4 THE ELLATIVE PRONOUN SUFFIX

The ellative pronoun is indicated by the final suffix *-de* which is added to the non-singular forms of the object pronouns. The first and third person singular are derived from the corresponding indirect object pronouns and male and female are discriminated in the third person singular. The second person singular is derived by adding the *-de* suffix to the second person singular direct object pronoun.

The ellative pronouns are:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st inclusive		<i>nin-de</i>	<i>nin-de nime</i>
1st exclusive	<i>ngin-de</i>	<i>ngirrki-de</i>	<i>ngirr-de</i>
2nd	<i>nyi-de</i>	<i>tirrkide</i>	<i>tirr-de</i>
3rd (male)	<i>ni-de</i>	<i>wirrkide</i>	<i>wirr-de</i>
3rd (female)	<i>ngi-de</i>		

The ellative pronoun expresses movement away from the person specified by the pronoun. It follows the compound verb stem.

Examples:

65. *Wu-pirirri bakuty ngirrmyingkin wannam*
 C(v) dingo many 1ns ex-see-PRES 3ns P-VC10-PRES
felfil ngirr-de.
 run away 1pl ex ELL
 'We can see a lot of dingoes running away from us.'

66. *Tyaga-nimbi yenam felfil nginde?*
 INT:why 2s-VC10-PRES run away 1s ELL
 'Why do you run away from me?'
67. *Yenim purity wirrki-de tyatmas.*
 3s-go-PRES hide 3d ELL straight
 'He hid from the two of them straight away.'

4.3.5 ALLATIVE PRONOUNS

Allative pronouns are formed by suffixing the indirect object pronouns to *yeri* which is homophonous with the compound verb stem 'to walk'. It usually follows the compound verb stem in compound verbs but has also been found suffixed to the nominal object of the verb. It is translated as 'after' or 'following' the person expressed in the pronouns.

Examples:

68. *Yani yeri -ne!*
 2s-go-FUT after 3s(m)IO
 'You go after him!'
69. *Ya! Kagu yeri-nerr yerrbigi dada*
 ah GEN:meat after 3s(m)IO dS 2ns-VC16-FUT-d hit with missile
ngini.
 FUT
 'Ah! You two go after the animal and catch it by hitting it.'
70. *Ngirri tyurr yeri-ne ngini malarrgu nguddi*
 1ns-sit-FUT swim after 3s(m)IO FUT turtle 1ns-VC15-FUT
tyurr ngini.
 swim FUT
 'We will all go swimming after turtle to catch them while swimming.'

See also sentence 23 in Text 1.

4.4 TENSE, MOOD AND ASPECT

Tense, mood and aspect are indicated in the verb phrase by the tense form of the auxiliary verb stem and by the tense mood and aspect clitics. The majority of auxiliary verbs occur in three tense forms; present, past and future. A full conjugation has been confirmed for class 4a *-(a)nigi/yirri* 'to go along' in the past only. In the present the third singular perfective only has been confirmed.

The reflexive verb class 6a *-(i)me* 'to say to oneself' has been recorded in the present tense only except for one instance of the past third dual. Class 9 *ityibem/irryim* 'to hang' has been recorded

in the present tense only. Class 7 *-emengke* 'to arrive' and class 20 *-ine* used with transitive verbs of cooking and heating and the impersonal verb class 26 *wayim/gawam* have been recorded in the present and future only. Only non-singular forms of the past tense have been recorded for the reflexive/reciprocal verb class 5a *-enyere-* and class 24 *-iwe*.

Present tense is most commonly indicated by a nasal suffix, the future by the absence of a nasal or by a high vowel and the past by the suffix *-ni* or by a front vowel. Corresponding clitics are \emptyset for the present tense or *kana* for the more immediate present, *tye* for the past and *ngini* for the future. These obligatorily follow the indicative forms of the verb. They immediately follow simple verbs and in the case of compound verbs they occur after the compound verb stem and before the orientation auxiliary if it occurs.

Further subtleties of tense, mood and aspect and also directional marking are achieved by various combinations of these and other modifiers, most of which also occur as case markers in the noun phrase or act as free adverbs or both. *pefi*, *pagu*, *nimbi*, *pirri*, *wityi*, *napa*, *puy*, *deti*, *nana*, *wurru* and *kirri* have all been recorded either singly or in combination in the t/m/a slot. We have even recorded one case each of the locative *-nide* and the agentive/instrumental *-ningki* in this slot. For details of occurrence of these modifiers with the different tense forms of the auxiliary see the respective section relating to each (present 4.4.1.2, past 4.4.1.3 and future 4.4.1.4).

4.4.1 STEM/TENSE FORMS OF THE AUXILIARY VERBS

The stem tense forms of the verb classes for singular and non-singular are listed below. Third singular perfective forms are shown where they do not use *w-* as the pronoun prefix. (Complete paradigms are give in Appendix 1.)

TABLE 4				
Class		Present	Past	Future
Auxiliary verb classes capable of standing alone as simple verbs.				
1.	s	<i>-iri-m</i>	<i>-ini</i>	<i>-iwi</i>
	3s P	<i>d-i-m</i>	<i>d-ini</i>	
	ns	<i>-irri-m</i>	<i>-inni</i>	<i>-irri</i>
2.	s	<i>-irri-bem</i>	<i>-irri-nge</i>	<i>-rri-m</i>
	ns	<i>-iti-bem</i>	<i>-iti-nge</i>	<i>-iti-m</i>

continued ...

continued ...

Class		Present	Past	Future
3.	s ns	<i>-i-bem</i> <i>-errtye-m</i>	<i>-i-nge</i> <i>-errtyi-ni</i>	<i>-i-m</i> <i>-errtye</i>
4.	s 3s P ns	<i>-aga-nim</i> <i>ye-nim</i> <i>-annim</i>	<i>-aga-di</i> <i>ye-di</i> <i>-addi</i>	<i>-ani</i> <i>arrani</i>
4a.	s 3s P ns	<i>yirri-pin</i>	<i>-anigi</i> <i>yirri-ni</i> <i>-annigi</i>	
5.	s 3s P ns	<i>-inyingkin</i> <i>dinyingkin</i> <i>-irnyingkin</i>	<i>-inyiri-ni</i> <i>dinyirini</i> <i>-irnyiri-ni</i>	<i>-inyiri</i> <i>-irnyiri</i>
5a.	s 3s P ns	<i>-inyere-m</i> <i>dinyerem</i> <i>-irnyere-m</i>	<i>-irnyere-nu</i>	<i>-inyere</i> <i>-irnyere</i>
6.	s 3s P ns	<i>-im</i> <i>mem</i> <i>-irrim</i>	<i>-ime</i> <i>meyi</i> <i>-irme</i>	<i>-imi</i> <i>-irrimi</i>
6a.	s 3s P ns	<i>-imem</i> <i>meyim</i> <i>-irrimem</i>	<i>-irme-ni</i>	
7.	s 3s P ns	<i>-emengkem</i> <i>demengkem</i> <i>-errmengkem</i>		<i>-emengke</i>
8.	s 3s P ns	<i>-agatyen</i> <i>yetyin</i> <i>-arrgatyen</i>	<i>-agantyi</i> <i>yentyi</i> <i>-arrgantyi</i>	<i>-awam</i> <i>-arrwam</i>

continued ...

continued ...

Class		Present	Past	Future
Verbs which act as auxiliaries and cannot stand alone.				
9.	s ns	<i>-ityi-bem</i> <i>-irrtym</i>		
10.	s ns	<i>-ude-m</i> <i>-udde-m</i>	<i>-ude-ni</i> <i>-udde-ni</i>	<i>-ude</i> <i>-udde</i>
11.	s 3s P ns	<i>-ana-m</i> <i>dagam</i> <i>-anna-m</i>	<i>-aga-ni</i> <i>dagani</i> <i>-anna-ni</i>	<i>-ana</i> <i>-anna</i>
12.	s 3s P ns	<i>-im-ingkin</i> <i>mengkin</i> <i>-irrm-ingkin</i>	<i>-im-e</i> <i>-irrm-e</i>	<i>-im-i</i> <i>-irrm-i</i>
13.	s 3s P ns	<i>-erim</i> <i>dem</i> <i>-errim</i>	<i>-eme</i> <i>deme</i> <i>-errme</i>	<i>-emi</i> <i>-errmi</i>
14.	s ns	<i>-u-pun</i> <i>-urru-pun</i>	<i>-u-ni</i> <i>-urru-ni</i>	<i>-u</i> <i>-urru</i>
15.	s ns	<i>-udu-pun</i> <i>-uddu-pun</i>	<i>-udi-ni</i> <i>-uddi-ni</i>	<i>-udu/-uri</i> <i>-uddu</i>
16.	s 3s P ns	<i>-eb-em</i> <i>bengim</i> <i>-errb-em</i>	<i>-eb-e</i> <i>beyi</i> <i>-errb-e</i>	<i>-eb-i</i> <i>-errb-i</i>
17.	s ns	<i>-ursu-m</i> <i>-urrsu-m</i>	<i>-ursu-nu</i> <i>-uirrsu-nu</i>	<i>-ursu-</i> <i>-urrsu-</i>
18.	s 3s P ns	<i>-arim</i> <i>dangim</i> <i>-arrim</i>	<i>-ani</i> <i>dani</i> <i>-arrini/anni</i>	<i>-a</i> <i>-arri</i>

continued ...

continued...

Class		Present	Past	Future
19.	s 3s P ns	<i>-irse-m</i> <i>dirsem</i> <i>-irrrse-m</i>	<i>-irse-ni</i> <i>dirseni</i> <i>-irrrse-ni</i>	<i>-irse</i> <i>-irrrse</i>
20.	s 3s P ns	<i>-ine-m</i> <i>dinem</i> <i>-inne-m</i>		<i>-ine</i> <i>-inne</i>
21.	s ns	<i>-i-m</i> <i>-irri-m</i>	<i>-i-ni</i> <i>-irri-ni</i>	<i>-i</i> <i>-irri</i>
22.	s 3s P ns	<i>-e-m</i> <i>dingim</i> <i>-erre-m</i>	<i>-e-ni</i> <i>dingim</i> <i>-erre-ni</i>	<i>-e</i> <i>-erre</i>
23.	s 3s P ns	<i>-eme-m</i> <i>demem</i> <i>-errme-m</i>	<i>-eme-ni</i> <i>demeni</i> <i>-errme-ni</i>	<i>-eme</i> <i>-errme</i>
24.	s 3s P ns	<i>-iwe-m</i> <i>diwem</i> <i>-irre-m</i>		<i>-iwe</i> <i>-irre</i>
25.	s 3s P ns	<i>-ara-m</i> <i>daram</i> <i>-arra-m</i>	<i>-ara-ni</i> <i>darani</i> <i>-arra-ni</i>	<i>-ara</i> <i>-arra</i>
26.	3s P 3s IMP	<i>wayim</i> <i>gawam</i>		<i>wa</i> <i>ga</i>

On examining the above list it will be seen that all present tense forms end in a nasal. This is normally realised as *-n* before alveolars, *-ng* before velars and *-m* or \emptyset before fricatives occurring in the verb phrase. Elsewhere it is realised as *-m* except in the case of verb classes 5, 8, 12, 14 and 15 where final *-n* in the present does not change even before the dual suffix *-gi/-gu*.

A summary of Ngankiwumirri forms of the auxiliary verb classes is given in Appendix 1a.

It will be seen that tenses in verb classes which occur only as auxiliaries in the compound verb except for classes 12, 16 and 21 are formed on the principle:

Present	<i>-m/-pun</i> (14 and 15)
Past	<i>-ni/-nu</i>
Future	\emptyset

In classes 12, 16 and 21 present is indicated by final nasal or nasal bearing morpheme; past by *-e* and future by *-i* with a stem change in the past and future in class 21. In the singular class 18 appears to follow the same principle:

Present	<i>-rim</i>
Past	<i>-ni</i>
Future	\emptyset

However an examination of the alternative forms suggests that the *-ni* of the past could be considered to be a stem/tense form rather than a tense suffix, as the non-singular may be formed as geminate *-nn-* or in the more regular way by insertion of *-r-*. This alternation between the two forms of non-singular also occurs in class 14.

The simple verb class 1 is formed on the same principle but with lengthening of the stem vowel in the future singular. Classes 5, 5a and 7 follow the same general principles as most of the bound auxiliaries. Class 6 is formed in a similar way to classes 12 and 16: indeed the loss of nasal bearing morpheme and the change to *-e* past and *-i* future results in homophonous past and future forms for verb classes 6 and 12.

The remaining simple verb classes are more irregular in form, changing stem for each tense in the case of class 4 and class 8, and singular versus non-singular in classes 2 and 3.

4.4.1.1 HOMOPHONY IN THE AUXILIARY VERB

One of the interesting features of the simple or auxiliary verb conjugations is the remarkable degree of homophony between the various stems. The example of the past and future tenses of classes 6 and 12 has already been mentioned above. Other examples are:

Class 1 plural present tense forms *ngirrim*, *yirrim* and *wirrim* are identical with class 2 singular future and class 6 plural present.

Class 1 present, dual and plural forms are identical with the same forms in class 21. This is a result of the use of the same principle of insertion of *-r-* to indicate the non-singular in both cases. For example class 1 first person singular *ngirim* → *ngirrim* in the non-singular by deletion of the stem *r* after *rr*. Class 21 first person singular *ngim* → *ngirrim* by insertion of *-r-* and insertion of *i* to prevent the final cluster *rrm*.

Class 1 past tense first and second person singular forms are identical with the same class 21 forms (*ngini* and *yini*).

Class 1 future non-singular forms are identical with those of class 21.

Class 13 past tense forms (except third singular and first inclusive) are identical with the future tense forms of class 22.

Class 4 future tense first and second person singular forms are identical with corresponding class 18 past tense forms (*ngani* and *yani*).

Class 1 past tense 1d ex, 2d and 3d forms are identical with class 20 future tense 1pl ex, 2pl and 3pl. For example class 1 1st d ex *nginne* is formed by a change of vowel from the plural *nginni* in the past tense. Class 20 1st pl ex is formed by loss of final nasal *-m* marking the present form *nginnem* to give the future *nginne*.

Class 26 3s future forms *wa-* and *ga-* are identical with corresponding class 18 future forms; in both cases as a result of the loss of nasal bearing morphemes.

4.4.1.2 THE PRESENT TENSE

The present tense is used to convey both actions occurring in the present as the result of recent inception and actions occurring in the present because they are habitual.

71. *A-furra -ngini ngupun fifili ngaganim.*
C(iv)mussel PURP 1s-VC14-PRES look for RED OA;1s-go-PRES
'I am looking for mussels.'

72. *Ngaganim wursirmuy e-werrmisye -ngini.*
1s-go-PRES be afraid C(iv) crocodile PURP
'I am afraid of crocodiles.'

Habitual action may be further indicated by the use of an habitual adverbial, for example *ferrp* 'often' or *mirrimirri yeyi* 'everyday'.

73. *Wa-tyerrmusye girim fifi kanbi ferrp.*
C(i) old man 3s-IMP-sit-PRES blow RED didjeridoo often
'The old man often plays the didjeridoo.'

74. *Aba ngayi wanninggu tyutyurr mirri mirri yeyi*
sibling 1s pn 3ns-P-go-PRES-d swimming everyday

kin-ta.

DEM(p)-EMPH

'My two sisters go swimming here everyday.'

Present is often used to describe action completed in the recent past which in English would be expressed in the past tense.

75. *Malarrgu ngerin tip kuri-nide detyengi*
 turtle 1s-VC13-PRES catch in hand water-LOC today
debi ngimingkin bi-wa.
 C(viii) 1s-VC12-PRES leg-pick up
 'I caught a turtle by hand in the water today; I picked it up by the leg.'

In compound sentences the present tense is often used in the second of two clauses to imply that the action described happened after or as a result of the action described in the past tense in the first clause. This frequently occurs in narrative.

76. *Wadde tye ngirrgifiriny-nide wirringgu kuduk.*
 3ns-go-PAST-d PAST spring LOC 3ns-P-sit-PRES-d drink
 'They (d) went to the spring to drink.'
77. *Yedi yeledi tye yedi nyinin ngirkirk mem.*
 3s-go-PAST run PAST man DEM out of breath 3s-do/say-PRES
 'That man was running and was out of breath.'
78. *Muywursirr ngaddi wirr tye yedi ngannim purity.*
 be afraid 1ns-go-PAST 3plO PAST man 1ns-go-PRES hide
 'We were afraid of the man and (so) we hid.'
79. *Ngirrngirr winge tye mampirweti epe daram*
 sleeping 3s-lie-PAST PAST child small but 3s-P-VC25-PRES
fitit kana.
 get up PUN
 'The baby was asleep but he has woken up now.'

Some auxiliary verb classes rarely occur in the past tense even though past tense forms have been recorded. This is particularly true of auxiliary verb class 5 'to see'.

80. *Ngurp ngirrnyingkin yirrini yeledi tye yi*
 emu 1ns-see-PRES 3s P-go along-PAST run PAST and
mumba yenim mentyi-fel.
 road 3s P-go-PRES neck-jump
 'We saw an emu run and cross the road.'

As already discussed in 4.2.1.2 there are two forms of the third person pronoun prefix in the present and future tenses; *g-* indicating the imperfective aspect and *w-* (or in the singular present *w-*, *d-* or various suppletive forms) indicating the perfective.

Consider the following examples:

- 81(a) *Wa-weti gudem fel dirrpederr-nide.*
 C(iv) little 3s IMP-VC10-PRES dive river LOC
 'The little boy is diving into the river.'

- 81(b) *Wa-weti wudem fel dirrpederr-nide.*
 C(iv) little 3s P-VC10-PRES dive river LOC
 'The little boy dived into the river.'/'The little boy dives.'

Both actions are described as taking place in that area of time considered to be the present. This is indicated by the present tense stem of the verb and by the zero t/m/a marker which indicates the present tense. However in the first case the action is incomplete and answers the question 'What is the person doing now?' In the second the action is seen as completed within the present time which in Ngankikurungkurr includes the recent past. Habitual repeated action as opposed to present incompleting action is usually expressed by the perfective form.

Other examples of this aspectual discrimination can be seen in the following:

- 82(a) *Girribem yeledi aeroplane-nide-pefi.*
 3s IMP-stand-PRES run LOC ALL
 'He is running after the aeroplane (at this moment).'
- 82(b) *Wirribem yeledi aeroplane-nide-pefi.*
 3s P-stand-PRES run LOC ALL
 'He has run to the aeroplane.'/'He runs to the aeroplane.'
- 83(a) *Mirri girim fel kana.*
 sun 3s IMP-sit-PRES jump PUN
 'The sun is rising.'
- 83(b) *Mirri dim fel kana.*
 sun 3s P-sit-PRES jump PUN
 'The sun has risen.'
- 84(a) *Aliyi gawam pudup girim yengki-nide.*
 C(iv) fat 3s IMP-VC26-PRES melt OA:3s IMP-sit-PRES fire LOC
 'The fat is melting in the fire.'
- 84(b) *Wayim pudup kana aliyi.*
 3s P-VC26-PRES melt PUN C(iv) fat
 'The fat has melted now.'
- 85(a) *Bi nem dem baty wirribem.*
 axe 3s(m)pn 3s P-VC13-PRES have OA:3s P-stand-PRES
 'He has an axe in his hand.'
- 85(b) *A-matyi gerim baty kak kana engki-nide.*
 C(iv) kangaroo 3s IMP-VC13-PRES have set off PUN fire LOC
 'He is carrying the kangaroo off to the fire.'

baty with VC13 may be used to mean 'have' or 'to carry'. Usually carrying is indicated by directional information either in the verb phrase or elsewhere in the sentence. In sentence 85(a) the action could be regarded as habitual. An axe is not actively possessed, whereas the kangaroo in

sentence 85(b) is possessed at that moment and the movement particle *kak* indicates that it is being carried (see also 5.10).

Both forms may occur in impersonal constructions. The perfective form is the more frequent.

- 86(a) *Wa-weti bengim baty.*
 C(i) little 3s P-VC16-PRES fall
 'The little boy is born.'
- 86(b) *Wa-weti gebem baty.*
 C(i) little 3s IMP-VC16-PRES fall
 'The little boy is being born.'

4.4.1.2.1 TENSE, MOOD AND ASPECT MARKERS WITH THE PRESENT TENSE FORM OF THE AUXILIARY

As already mentioned the t/m/a slot following the simple verb or the CVS in the compound verb is most commonly filled by \emptyset or by the punctiliar marker *kana*. *kana* brings the action into the more immediate present.

87. *Mempirr weti dem pat kana.*
 baby little 3s P-VC13-PRES rise PUN:now
 'The baby is awake now.'
88. *Awuni fagarri wirringu lalirr kana miyi.*
 C(iii)DEM(r) two 3ns P-sit-PRES-d eat PUN food
 'They (d) are eating the food now.'
89. *Kuderrri wuni wayim biny kana.*
 billabong DEM(r) 3s P-VC26-PRES dried up PUN
 'That billabong is dried up now.'

In narrative it indicates that the action follows immediately after that previously described. For example from Text 2, sentence 14:

90. *Taty dem pal yi wudupun*
 snap 3s P-VC13-PRES break and 3s P-VC15-PRES
mi-wul kana fepi nyinin.
 CS:return PUN stone DEM
 'He snapped it off and immediately took that stone back.'

Other modifiers or combinations of modifiers which fill this slot with the present tense auxiliaries are:

the ablative *nimbi* which is used in the temporal sense of 'when'.

91. *Kuri dirrpederr yenim madi-pap nimbi*
 water river 3s P-go-PRES side climb ABL
burra bakuty yinyiri wirr.
 pelican many 2s-see-FUT 3plO
 'When the flood water comes up here (in flood) you will see lots of pelicans.'
92. *Nguddam wul nimbi Wooliana-nimbi Rosaria*
 1ns-VC10-PRES return ABL ABL
yedi di tye.
 3s P-go-PAST cry PAST
 'When we came back from Wooliana Rosaria cried.'

The allative *pefi* with or without *kana* is used to indicate an unachieved goal ('almost') and also in the directional sense 'that way' with motion verbs.

93. *Dangim fi-rsul kana pefi.*
 3s P-VC18-PRES CS:rise (of sun) PUN ALL
 'It is almost sunrise now.'
94. *Ngaganim tu pefi kana yeri -ngi du.*
 1s-go-PRES sleep ALL PUN 2s-VC13-PRES-1sDO wake up
 'I was almost asleep when you woke me up.'
95. *Ngannanyeri pefi kana.*
 1ns-VC11-PRES-walk ALL PUN
 'We are walking that way now.'
96. *Kuderri kinyi wayim biny kana pefi.*
 billabong DEM(p) 3s P-VC26-PRES dried up PUN ALL
 'This billabong is nearly dried up now.'
 (Compare this sentence with sentence 89.)
97. *Mintyiri kukuluk minta ngaganim tu ngaganim*
 cold (sickness) cough RED NEG 1s-go-PRES sleep 1s-go-PRES
pefi fal.
 ALL all night
 'I could not sleep because I was coughing nearly all night.'

The continuative *puy*:

98. *Kuderri yenim puy.*
 billabong 3s P-go-PRES CONT
 'He kept going into the billabong.'

The intensifier *wuru*:

99. *Dagam felfil wuru.*
 3s-P-VC11-PRES run away INTENS
 'Indeed he has run away.'

pirri 'first, ahead':

100. *Ngerrim ∅ tada pirri yi ngurrrsum-aty kana.*
 1ns-VC13-PRES 3sDO peel first and 1ns-VC17-PRES-3sDO-finish PUN
 'We peel it first and then we eat it.'

The limitative *napa* which can be used with body parts in NP's to indicate that the part has been struck or speared (3.2.6.1.1.4) can be transferred to the VP with similar function.

101. *Dangin tyurutu napa nem aniyen.*
 3s P-VC18-PRES slit open stomach LIM 3s(m)pn C(iv) sand frog.
 'He slit open the sand frog's stomach.'

Its most common use in the VP is with the temporal function 'until a point in time'.

102. *Yedi leli tye mumba yi pallak mem napa.*
 3s P-go-PAST walk PAST road and tired 3s-do/say-PRES LIM
 'He walked along the road until he was tired.'

In the following it can be translated as 'very well' but really describes a point reached in the stage of the development of the child.

103. *Wuretimuy minta nana ganan leli epe*
 C(ii) little self NEG POSS 3s IMP-VC11-PRES walk but

yenim man napa.
 3s P-go-PRES crawl LIM
 'The baby girl can't walk yet but she can crawl very well.'
 (i.e. she has reached the crawling stage.)

4.4.1.3 THE PAST TENSE

The past tense is used to convey actions which took place in the past and have been completed. This action may either be regarded as punctiliar or as continuing for some time in the past before being completed. It is aspectually perfective. The third person imperfective prefix *g-* does not occur with past tense forms.

104. *Ngayi ngini tyerrakul tye.*
 1s pn 1s-sit-PAST talk PAST
 'I was talking.'

105. *Ngirringe ngan-mentyi tye fekiderrri.*
 1s-stand-PAST REL neck PAST long time
 'I was waiting for a long time.'

The punctiliar aspect may be emphasised by *kana* which may either precede or follow *tye*.

106. *Warrani fititit tye kana gangki-pefi.*
 3ns-VC25-PAST rise RED PAST PUN sky ALL
 'They rose into the air then.'
107. *Warrani pek kana tye durrmu.*
 3ns-VC25-PAST paint PUN PAST design
 'They painted themselves with designs then.'

The sense of habitual or continuous action is indicated by the omission of *tye*. For example from Text 3, sentence 1:

108. *Mada wetimbi angalifin fagarri wadde wapua*
 long ago C(iv) lizard two 3ns-go-PAST-d dwell RED
werifepi-nide.
 cave LOC
 'A long time ago two shaky-paw lizards used to live in a cave.'
109. *Yeningan kana ngitinge madiwirri walamara.*
 C(vii) that one PUN 1ns-stand-PAST laugh dance (women)
 'We (women) were laughing and dancing.'

The continuous aspect may be emphasised by the use of the continuous marker *puy*.

110. *Kagu a-ningan a-ngani ngerrbe dada*
 GEN:meat C(iv) that one C(iv) goose 1ns-VC16-PAST shoot RED
ngannigeri puy wadat wamangkal.
 1ns-go along-PAST-walk CONT flying fox wallaby
 'We kept going along shooting geese, flying fox and wallabies.'

The omission of *tye* may also indicate the incompleteness or non-achievement of the action.

111. *Dani madi-gerrgirr wirringe.*
 3s P-VC18-PAST side cut RED OA:3s P-stand-PAST
 'He went all the way for nothing.'
 (Literally 'It was cutting his side. He was disappointed.')

The past tense form of the auxiliary and *tye* may be combined with several other modifiers as well as *kana*. For example:

pefi in the sense of 'almost' as with the present tense:

112. *Mirri yedi filpurr tye kana pefi.*
 sun 3s P-go-PAST glow PAST PUN ALL
 'It was almost sunset.'

pefi and *pagu* giving direction information with verbs of motion and carrying:

113. *Nganageri pefi tye.*
 1s-go along-PAST-walk ALL PAST
 'I was going that way.'
114. *Deme baty pagu tye angantyanu.*
 3s P-VC13-PAST have TSA PAST C(iv) turkey
 'He brought the turkey here.'
115. *Miyi kinyi ngayi ngagantyi tye pagu.*
 GEN:plant food DEM(p) 1s pn 1s-bring-PAST PAST TSA
 'I brought this food here.'

pirri 'first, ahead':

116. *Dede werrbe pul tye pirri waddi wirrim yedi.*
 camp 3ns-VC16-PAST clear away PAST first OA:3ns-go-PAST 3pl pn man
 'The men had cleared the camp site first (before we got there).'

nimbi the ablative: in the only recorded instance of its occurrence with the past tense auxiliary, it has the sense of 'as a result of the action expressed by the verb ... then ... next verb', as in the following example from Text 2, sentence 19.

117. *Gaganim melpe-syi yawul-ta-ningki nyin*
 3s IMP-go-PRES flat nose spear EMPH INST DEM
yentyi ne rsirsi tye nimbi
 3s P-bring-PAST 3s(m)IO cut RED PAST ABL
yedi apirri.
 OA:3s P-go-PAST before
 'He has a flat nose as a result of his cutting himself with that spear before.'

wityi with the past tense has the sense of 'for a little while' or 'a little bit'.

118. *Dani pek wityi tye epe yubu*
 3s P-VC18-PAST drip for a little while PAST but good
kana ngerim wurity.
 PUN 1s-VC13-PRES make
 'It was leaking for a little while but I have fixed it now.'

4.4.1.4 FUTURE TENSE

The future tense is properly an irrealis. It indicates actions which are either projected or intended but whose results must necessarily be conjectural as they will take place in the future. It is also used to refer to actions which were projected but which did not take place in the past; and to express the imperative, the sense of obligation and necessity and the conditional (with *nimbi*). The third person aspectual prefix *g-*, which with the present tense is an indication of incompleting action, is used with the future tense in verbs expressing the mood of possibility: usually with the possibility marker *nana* in the *t/m/a* slot. There is a second person aspectual prefix *kVt-* which is used with second person future forms of the auxiliary to express possibility (4.4.1.4.3). The future indicative is formed by the future tense of the auxiliary with the clitic *ngini*. It expresses both the immediate and the continuous future.

119. *Yewirr werrmi madi-syisyi ngini miyi ngini.*
 tree 3ns P-VC13-FUT side bend RED FUT GEN:plant food PURP
 'They will bend down the tree for the fruit.'

120. *Ngivi ngini guguk fekiderrri deti.*
 1s-sit FUT PURP still a long time also
 'I will still be sitting here for a long time.'

The future may be an indication of desire to act as well as intention to act.

121. *Awuni fagarri werrbugu da ngini*
 C(iv)DEM(r) two 3ns P-VC16-FUT hit with missile FUT
adilmi yawul-ningki.
 C(iv) mullet spear INST
 'Those two men want to spear some mullet.'/'Those two men will spear some mullet.'

122. *Waytpala wa-wulmen wa ngindi du*
 white man C(i)old man 3s P-VC18-FUT 1sDO show
ngini ngirrgifiriny.
 FUT spring
 'The old white man wants to show me the spring.'/'The old white man will show me the spring.'

In the future indicative *ngini* usually immediately follows the auxiliary in the simple verb or the compound verb stem in the compound verb. However it is sometimes found following other adverbs in the sentence.

123. *Kagu anginakul yiba ngini ngawa-mbi pagu.*
 GEN:meat C(iv) fish later FUT 1s-bring-FUT-2sIO TSA
 'I will bring some fish for you later.'

ngini as a future marker is, as has already been noted, homophonous with the purposive clitic (3.2.6.1.2). When it is used in the sentence as a purposive it is sometimes omitted from the verb phrase.

124. *Gupun* *filfil* *yengki* *warrmadi* *-ngini*
3s IMP-VC14-PRES light up fire quickly PURP

wimi *pup.*
3s P-VC12-FUT put on ground
'He is blowing the fire so that it will burn quickly.'

125. *Awuni* *fagarri* *gurrupun.gu* *madi-kurr*
C(iii)DEM(r) two 3ns IMP-VC15-PRES-d side dig

anganifinyi *-ngini* *werrbigi* *tyul.*
C(iv) echidna PURP 3ns P-VC16-FUT roast
'They (d) are digging a hole to roast the echidna.'

The punctiliar marker *kana* may be combined with *ngini* either preceding it or following it to give the sense of 'being about to' or 'on the point of' performing an action.

126. *Wude* *fel* *kana* *ngini.*
3s P-VC10-FUT dive PUN FUT
'He is about to dive.'

127. *Wani* *man* *ngini* *kana* *mempirr* *weti.*
3s P-go-FUT crawl FUT PUN baby little
'The baby is just about to crawl.'

kana ngini may also precede the verb:

128. *Wurwuni* *yedi-werri* *kana* *ngini* *wani.*
C(ii)DEM(r) man PROP PUN FUT 3s P-go-FUT
'She is getting married soon.'

With motion verbs the movement particle *kak* combined with *kana* makes the punctiliar sense more immediate.

129. *Nayin* *kak* *kana* *ngambani* *ngini.*
1d inc pn set off now 1d inc-go-FUT FUT
'We are going straight away.'

The emphatic marker *-ka* suffixed to *ngini* expresses the notion of certainty.

130. *Wa-wuni* *wa-weti* *wana* *madi-purity* *ngini-ka.*
C(i)DEM(r) C(i) little 3s P-VC11-FUT side slip FUT EMPH
'That boy will certainly slip.'

ka may be combined with the intensifier *wurru* for even greater emphasis.

131. *Kak kana yani ngirr pirr ngini wurru-ka.*
 set off PUN 2s-go-FUT 1pIO leave FUT INTENS EMPH
 'Indeed you are leaving us right now.'

4.4.1.4.1 THE IMPERATIVE, HORTATIVE AND OBLIGATIVE

The imperative mood is expressed by the second person future without *ngini*.

132. *Yimi ba-wa daba!*
 2s-VC12-FUT arm-pick up C(viii) arm
 'Catch hold of her arm!'
133. *Yemi madi-syi yewirr!*
 2s-VC13-FUT side bend tree
 'Bend this tree over!'
134. *Yarri ngerr fi-me walkity!*
 2s-VC18-FUT 3s(f)IO dS CS hand flower
 'You (d) give her flowers!'
135. *Yirrimi ne nem!*
 2ns-say-FUT 3s(m)IO 3s(m)pn
 'You all tell him!'
136. *Yurrugu ta emengkin!*
 2ns-VC14-FUT-d hit C(iv) goanna
 'You two hit the goanna!'

The hortative is formed with the first person inclusive form of the future with either zero *t/m/a* marker or the hortative *wityi*. Its use is clearly illustrated in the following example from Text 3, sentence 5.

137. *Wirrmenigu "Ba! Ngambani wityi*
 3ns-say-RECIP-PAST-d come on 1inc-go-FUT HOR
wangga ngambana purrk", wirrmeгу.
 type of dance 1inc-VC11-FUT dance 3ns-say-PAST-d
 'They said to each other "Come on! Let us try to go and dance the *wangga*", they said.'

The imperative and hortative are rendered more urgent by the use of *kana*.

138. *"Ngumbuda wul nime kana!" me-ngirr.*
 1inc-VC10-FUT return all PUN 3s-say-PRES-1pIO
 "'Let us go right now!" she said to us.'

139. *Yirrimi ba-wa kana wa-nyinin yedi!*
 2ns-VC12-FUT arm pick up PUN C(i)DEM man
 'You all go and get that man now!'

Obligation and necessity are also expressed by the future form of the verb auxiliary with zero t/m/a marker.

140. *Wa ngi fi-me malarrgu.*
 3s P-VC18-FUT 1sDO CS hand turtle
 'He must give me the turtle.'

See also this example from Miriam-Rose's Ngankikurungkurr translation of the Lord's Prayer:

141. *Piwarri nyinyi awa-yeyi -ningki deti*
 name 2s pn C(iii) other AGE also
derrigirri weremi.
 like 3ns P-VC13-FUT
 'Everyone should love your name.' ('Hallowed be they name.')

4.4.1.4.2 UNFULFILLED PAST ACTION AND INTENTION

The sense of past unfulfilled desire and intention is expressed by the addition of the past marker *tye* to the future form of the auxiliary verb.

142. *Ngirrigu tyerrakul tye kultyinimbi.*
 1ns-sit-FUT-d talk PAST yesterday
 'We (d) were going to talk yesterday (but didn't).'
143. *Wunawul pundurung ngiwi tye.*
 over there Leitchfield 1s-sit-FUT PAST
 'I would like to have lived at Leitchfield.'
144. *Wurwuni dengini lengkirrr kana pefi mengkin*
 C(ii)DEM(r) body bad PUN ALL 3s P-VC12-PRES
wa; perrety wimi tye.
 pick up die 3s P-say-FUT PAST
 'That woman was very sick; she nearly died.'

Unsuccessful attempted action can be indicated by the use of *ngini* plus *tye* with the future auxiliary.

145. *Ngirse bang ngini tye luruty epe minmi,*
 1s-VC19-FUT poke FUT PAST strong but no
dadirityerr-wurru.
 hard INTENS
 'I tried to pull strongly but it was too tight.'

146. *Wuruni wuretimuy waniwani madi-wap ngini tye.*
 C(ii)DEM(r) C(ii) little one 3s P-go-FUT side clumb FUT PAST
 'The little girl was trying to get in (the car)'

kana plus *ngini* plus *tye* following the future form of the auxiliary expresses having been on the point of action but not doing it.

147. *Ngani fili kana ngini tye.*
 1s-go-FUT set off PUN FUT PAST
 'I was just about to go (but I didn't).'

4.4.1.4.3 POSSIBILITY

Possibility is expressed in the first person by use of the possibility marker *nana* following the future form of the auxiliary; and following the imperfective future form in the third person (that is third person forms taking the *g*-person and aspect prefix). In the second person, the future form with the addition of the prefix *kVt-* is used (where V is the same as the V of the first syllable of the auxiliary). For example the future indicative and the future possible of the compound verb 'to cry', which uses verb class 1 as the auxiliary, are listed below.

Indicative:

<i>ngiwi di ngini</i>	I will cry
<i>yiwi di ngini</i>	you will cry
<i>wiri di ngini</i>	he/she will cry
<i>ngirrigi di ngini</i>	we (d ex) will cry
<i>yirrigi di ngini</i>	you (d) will cry
<i>wirrigi di ngini</i>	they (d) will cry
<i>ngirri di ngini</i>	we (pl ex) will cry
<i>yirri di ngini</i>	you (pl) will cry
<i>wirri di ngini</i>	they (pl) will cry

Possible:

<i>ngiwi di nana</i>	I might cry
<i>kityiwi di nana</i>	you might cry
<i>kiwi di nana</i>	he/she might cry
<i>ngirrigi di nana</i>	we (d ex) might cry
<i>kityirrigi di nana</i>	you (d) might cry
<i>kirrigi di nana</i>	they (d) might cry
<i>ngirri di nana</i>	we (pl) might cry
<i>kityirri di nana</i>	you (pl) might cry
<i>kirri di nana</i>	they (pl) might cry

(The first person inclusive has not been recorded with *nana*. This does not mean that it does not exist: it probably does.)

Examples of sentences expressing possibility:

148. *Kani tyerr nana kuri.*
3s IMP-go-FUT rain POSS rain/water
'It might rain.'
149. *Wa-wetimuy yenim wursirrmuy ngudu*
C(i) little one 3s P-go-PRES be afraid 1ns-VC15-FUT
bat nana.
fall POSS
'The little boy is afraid I might drop him.'
150. *Kut-yuda bat nana.*
2POSS-2s-VC10-FUT fall POSS
'You might fall.'

Compare:

151. *Afungi garri nyi pawal nana.*
C(iv) mosquito 3ns IMP-VC18-FUT 2sDO spear POSS
'The mosquitoes might bite you.'
152. *Ket-yemi-mbi me-ket nana.*
2POSS-2s-VC13-FUT-2sIO hand-cut POSS
'You might cut your hand.'
153. *Kat-yani wap nana.*
2POSS-2s-go-FUT sit down POSS
'You might sit down.'

Possibility is also expressed in Ngankikurungkurr by the adverbial *ep* 'perhaps' which is usually placed at the beginning of the clause. It occurs with either the present or future indicative, not the future possible.

154. *Ep ngerim pallak warrgadi kultyinimbi.*
perhaps 1s-VC13-PRES lose bag yesterday
'I must have lost my bag yesterday.'
155. *Ep yiba yudu mi-wul ngini yawul*
perhaps later 2s-VC15-FUT CS-return FUT spear
dedangkurr -nide -nimbi -pagu.
in the camp -LOC -ABL TSA
'Perhaps you will bring the spears back here from the camp later.'
156. *Ep afungi-ningki benging gatit.*
perhaps C(iv) mosquito-INST 3s P-VC16-PRES bite RED
'Perhaps the mosquitos are biting him.'

4.4.1.4.4 CONDITIONAL

nimbi, which with the present tense form of the auxiliary expresses the punctiliar ‘when’, and with the past ‘as a result of’, (and which is homophonous with the ablative clitic used in the NP (3.2.6.1.1.3), is used with the future tense to indicate the conditional. It usually occurs in the first of two clauses both in the future tense.

157. *Nguda bat nimbi ngudawa syusyuk*
 1s-VC10-FUT fall ABL 1s-VC10-FUT-REFLEX hurt RED
 ‘If I fall down I will hurt myself.’
158. *Yani felfil nimbiluruty yemi tip ngini.*
 2s-go-FUT run RED ABL strong 2s-VC13-FUT catch in hand FUT
 ‘If you run quickly you will catch him.’

The past conditional is formed by the addition of *tye* to the future tense following *nimbi*.

159. *Yuda bat nimbi tye yude ba-pal tye.*
 2s-VC10-FUT fall ABL PAST 2s-VC10-FUT arm-break PAST
 ‘If you had fallen you would have broken your arm.’

nimbi-tye may be followed by the preferential particle *nawa*.

160. *Nguda bat nimbi tye nawa ngudawa*
 1s-VC10-FUT fall ABL PAST PREF 1s-VC10-FUT-REFLEX
syusyuk tye.
 hurt RED PAST
 ‘If I had fallen I would have hurt myself.’

4.4.1.4.5 SUMMARY OF MODIFIERS USED IN THE T/M/A SLOT WITH THE FUTURE FORM OF THE AUXILIARY

Such a large number of combinations of modifiers are found in the t/m/a slot following the future tense form of the auxiliary that a summary of the recorded combinations is included for easy comparison.

FUT <i>ngini</i>	future indicative
FUT \emptyset	imperative, hortative, obligative
FUT <i>ngini kana</i>	} S is just about to
FUT <i>kana ngini</i>	
FUT <i>kana ngini tye</i>	S was just about to
FUT <i>ngini pefi kana</i>	S will soon now
FUT <i>ngini ka</i>	S will certainly

FUT <i>ngini wurra ka</i>		S is going to right now
FUT <i>tye</i>	{	S wanted but didn't or couldn't
		S almost did
		S should have (but didn't)
FUT <i>ngini tye</i>	{	S was trying to
		S was about to
FUT <i>kana tye</i>		S was just about to
FUT <i>wityi</i>		S wants to; let S
FUT <i>wityi ngini</i>		S would like to
FUT <i>kana</i>		S will right now
FUT <i>napa ngini</i>		until S does ...
FUT <i>pirri ngini</i>		S will first ...
FUT <i>pagu ngini</i>		S will this way
FUT <i>pefi ngini</i>		S will that way
		} with motion verbs
FUT <i>nimbi</i>		if S does ...
FUT <i>nimbi tye</i>	}	if S had done ...
FUT <i>nimbi tye na wa</i>		
FUT <i>deti ngini</i>		S will too; S will again
FUT <i>nana</i>		S might

4.5 THE NEGATIVE VERB PHRASE

The negative verb phrase in Ngankikurungkurr is formed by use of the negative particle *mintā* which is preposed to the auxiliary or the simple verb. The modifiers *kana*, *tye*, *nimbi* and *deti* may be inserted between *mintā* and the verb.

4.5.1 THE NEGATIVE PRESENT TENSE

The negative present tense is formed simply by preposing *mintā* to the present tense form of the verb.

161. *Minta dinyingkin nin kana mintā ngimbinyingkin.*
 NEG 3s P-see-PRES 1incO PUN NEG 1inc-see-PRES
 'He cannot see us and now we cannot see him.'

162. *Minta wayim purngpurng.*
 NEG 3s P-VC26-PRES boil RED
 'It is not boiling.'
163. *Minta pallak ngim.*
 NEG tired 1s-say/do-PRES
 'I am not tired.'
164. *Minta ngimingkin nyi mawa.*
 NEG 1s-VC12-PRES 2sDO believe
 'I do not believe you.'

minta must precede the verb but not necessarily immediately. Subject or object NP's may be inserted between *minta* and the auxiliary.

165. *Minta yewirr kana dem baty.*
 NEG tree PUN 3s P-VC13-PRES have
 'He does not have one now.'
166. *Minta nem benging ge-pek.*
 NEG 3s(m)pn 3s P-VC16-PRES stomach drip
 'He is not angry.'

4.5.2 THE NEGATIVE PAST TENSE

Incompleted past action is expressed by means of the negative particle combined with the future form of the auxiliary and the past tense marker *tye*. The past tense form of the verb does not normally occur with *tye* if the negative particle is used.

167. *Minta wani tye pagu.*
 NEG 3s P-go-FUT PAST TSA
 'He did not come here.'
168. *Minta yinyiri ngirrkki tye.*
 NEG 2s-see-FUT 1dO PAST
 'You did not see us two.'
169. *Minta nga nyi tipek tye.*
 NEG 1s-VC18-FUT 2sDO follow PAST
 'I did not follow you.'

tye sometimes follows *minta* instead of, or as well as, the verb.

170. *Minta tye ngirrim ne tyerrakul luruty.*
 NEG PAST 1s-stand-FUT 3s(m)DO talk loud
 'I did/could not call him loudly (enough).'

The negative may be used with the past tense form of the auxiliary without *tye* to indicate the negative past habitual.

171. *Nem minta yedi wapup peyi ngan kuderri.*
 3s(m)pn NEG 3s P-go-PAST sit down there REL billabong
 ‘He did not live there at the billabong.’

The past tense form is also used with *minta* plus *nimbi* which is translated as ‘not previously’ or ‘not before’. For example from Text 2, sentence 38:

172. *Minta nimbi werime patpit waddi*
 NEG ABL 3ns P-VC13-PAST rise RED OA:3ns-go-PAST
epe werim patpit wannim detyengi.
 but 3nd P-VC13-PRES rise RED OA:3ns P-go-PRES today
 ‘They used not to fly before but they do today.’

The punctiliar *kana* may follow *minta* before *tye*.

173. *Minta kana tye wirnyeregu tye mi-bebi*
 NEG PUN PAST 3ns P-see-REFLEX-FUT PAST CS SELF
tye warrane.
 PAST OA:3ns P-go-PAST-d
 ‘They never saw each other again.’
174. *Minta kana tye muy-wursirr ngani.*
 NEG PUN PAST self afraid 1s-go-FUT
 ‘I was not frightened then/that time.’

4.5.3 FUTURE NEGATIVE

minta is preposed to the future indicative form of the verb to form the future negative.

175. *Minta ngani ngini.*
 NEG 1s-go-FUT FUT
 ‘I will not go.’
176. *Minta ngebi gerrgirr ngini.*
 NEG 1s-VC16-FUT cut RED FUT
 ‘I will not cut it.’

4.5.3.1 NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE AND HORTATIVE

The negative imperative and hortative are also formed by the preposition of *minta* to the future form of the auxiliary, but without *ngini*.

177. *Minta yebi gerrgirr!*
 NEG 2s-VC16-FUT cut RED
 'Do not cut it!'
178. *Minta ngambani nime!*
 NEG 1ns inc-go-FUT pl
 'Let us all not go!'
179. *Minta yiwi ne tyerrakul!*
 NEG 2s-sit-FUT 3s(m)IO talk
 'Do not speak to him!'

4.5.3.2 INABILITY AND PROHIBITION

Inability or prohibition by law may be indicated by preposing *minta nana* to future forms of the verb without *ngini*. In the third person the imperfective prefix *g-* is used.

180. *Minta nana gani fel.*
 NEG POSS 3s IMP-go-FUT dive
 'He can not swim./He must not dive.'
181. *Awa-purpurrk minta nana girri kinyi.*
 C(iii)PLUR NEG POSS 3ns IMP-sit-FUT DEM(p)
 'The children are not allowed to sit here.'
182. *Minta nana yiwi ne tyerrakul.*
 NEG POSS 2s-sit-FUT 3s(m)IO talk
 'You are not allowed to talk to him.'
 (Compare this with sentence 179 above.)

4.5.3.3 NEGATIVE CONDITIONAL

The negative conditional is formed by the use of *minta nimbi* with future forms of the auxiliary.

183. *Minta nimbi nginyiri ngini nguda wul*
 NEG ABL 1s-see-FUT FUT 1s-VC10-FUT return
ngini dedangkurr -pefi.
 FUT camp ALL
 'If I do not see him I will go back to the camp.'

4.6 THE SEMANTIC MEANING AND FUNCTION OF THE AUXILIARY VERB

The auxiliary verb stem classifies the action type of the activity described. Of the 29 auxiliary verbs, 11 are capable of acting as simple or full verbs; that is to say, they may occur on their own as

the headwords of verb phrases with both grammatical and lexical autonomy. The remaining 18 occur only as auxiliaries to compound verb stems.

All auxiliaries can be generally classified as intransitive, transitive or reflexive/reciprocal. However in nearly every case there are exceptions when combined with particular transitive or intransitive compound verb stems. Auxiliary verb class 26 is always impersonal.

4.6.1 SIMPLE VERBS

4.6.1.1 SIMPLE VERBS OF BODILY ORIENTATION AND MOVEMENT

The first three verb classes are generally intransitive verbs of bodily orientation. (Note: all verbs are quoted in the third singular present perfective/imperfective forms.)

1. *dim/girim* 'to sit, to be at rest, to be'. As well as describing the action position of sitting, this verb can frequently be translated as the verb 'to be'.

184. *A-nginifiny a-matyí warrakma winni tye*
 C(iv) true C(iv) kangaroo three 3ns P-sit-PAST PAST

ngirrigifiriny-nide.

spring LOC

'Three really big kangaroos { were sitting near the spring.'
 were near the spring.'

185. *Ngagarri -napa ngirrigu ngini kana.*
 1d ex pn LIM 1ns ex-sit-FUT-d FUT PUN

'Just we two will { sit here then.'
 stay here then.'

186. *Ep awa-nyin falmi fagarri syirrederra*
 perhaps C(iii)DEM woman two behind

girrunggu.

3ns IMP-sit-PRES-d

'Maybe those two women are (sitting) behind there.'

187. *Wirrim peyi-napa winni tye Saturday -napa.*
 3pl pn there LIM 3ns P-sit-PAST PAST LIM

'They stayed right there until Saturday.'

2. *wirribem/girribem* 'to stand, to be upright'. As well as describing humans, trees, posts etc. being at rest in an upright position, this verb is usually used to refer to vehicles and boats when at rest and to the sun 'standing' in the sky at midday.

188. *Yedi dirrwu-ningki witinge tye falmi*
 man side DEM(r)INST 3ns P-stand-PAST PAST woman
dirrki-ningki.
 side DEM(p)INST
 'The men were standing on that side, the woman on this.'
189. *Motor car ngayim wirringe tye peyi*
 3s(f)pn 3s P-stand-PAST PAST there
yeningan-nide wasyarri.
 C(vii) that one-LOC paperbark
 'Her motor car was there near that tree, the paperbark.'
190. *Mirri gangki kana wirringe tye.*
 sun high/sky PUN 3s P-stand-PAST PAST
 'The sun was high in the sky then.'

3. *wibem/gibem* 'to lie, to be in a horizontal position'. As well as lying, this verb can imply sleeping or camping.

191. *Awa-wuni guniguni fagarri gerrtyenggu meringki-nide.*
 C(iii)DEM old woman two 3ns IMP-lie-PRES-d shade LOC
 'Those two old women are lying in the shade.'
192. *Yinge tye yubu nganingiyi?*
 2s-lie-PAST PAST good last night
 'Did you sleep well last night?'
193. *Awa-bakuty -napa ngetyini tye kuderri-nide*
 C(iii) all LIM 1ns ex-lie-PAST PAST billabong LOC
nganingiyi-nimbi.
 last night
 'We all camped near the billabong last night.'

4. *yenim/gaganim* 'to go, to be in motion'. This verb is one of general movement. No direction is implied in the verb itself: this can be specified by use of *pefi*, *pagu* or a locative adverbial or noun phrase. It frequently occurs in narrative in the past tense with elongation of the last vowel (2.3.5) as the first element of a topic chain. It implies that the action previously described continues until the new topic begins. An examination of the texts will reveal many examples of this use of the verb. Examples of its use as a general motion verb follow here.

194. *Kak kana wannunggu.*
 set off PUN 3ns P-go-PRES-d
 'They two are setting off now.'

195. *Angani -ngini wani ngini.*
C(iv) goose PURP 3s P-go-FUT FUT
'He is going for geese.'
196. *Kulyinimbi ngaddi tye wunu-pefi Wooliana.*
yesterday 1ns ex-go-PAST PAST DEM(r)ALL
'Yesterday we went there to Wooliana.'
197. *Yeduwiti warrani ngini kinyi-pagu ngunyiningki.*
little boy 3ns P-go-FUT FUT DEM(p)TSA tomorrow
'The little boys will come here tomorrow.'

4(a) *yirripin* (perfective form only shown) 'to go along, to move continuously'. This verb is rare except in the third singular and a full conjugation has been recorded in the past only. No future form has been recorded and the only present form recorded in the third singular perfective *yirripin*. (However see note in Appendix 1.)

The third singular present and past tense are formed in the regular way; present tense with nasal bearing morpheme *-pin*, past tense *-ni*. (Compare these with the present and past tenses of verb classes 14 and 15.)

As with several other verb classes the third singular perfective forms are morphologically distinct from the rest of the conjugation.

This verb has been most frequently recorded as an auxiliary with compound verb stems or as an orientation auxiliary. As a simple verb it has been recorded several times describing the continuous movement of birds or snakes.

198. *E-fengku yirriini tye wurrgalangu-nide.*
C(iv) snake 3s P-go along-PAST PAST bushes-LOC
'The snake was moving through the bushes.'

The Ngankiwumirri equivalent of *yirripin* is *yirrimbin*. In this language the singular present has been recorded for all persons.

1st singular	<i>ngerrimbin</i>
2nd singular	<i>yerrimbin</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>yirrimbin</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>gerrimbin</i>

These five verb classes may exist on their own, may be selected by a number of compound verb stems to form compound verbs and may also occur as orientation auxiliaries following simple verb class 6 or compound verbs formed with auxiliary verb classes 10 to 26 (4.6.1.1.1)

4.6.1.1.1 ORIENTATION AUXILIARIES

Orientation auxiliaries (OA) are used to designate the orientation within which actions take place. They designate whether the action was performed while sitting, standing, lying, in motion or in continuous motion. They normally follow the last element in the verb phrase and agree in person, tense and number with it. They do not take the tense markers *ngini* and *tye*. In addition to their function denoting the orientation of the action they often imply continuous action and are frequently found with verbs which include reduplicated stems and/or are in the imperfective mood.

199. *Wa-yedi yewirr gebem gerrgirr girribem.*
 C(i) man tree 3s IMP-VC16-pres cut RED OA:3s IMP-stand-PRES
 ‘The man is chopping the tree while standing up.’
200. *Kuri dangim syirr yirripin warrmadi.*
 water 3s P-VC18-PRES flow OA:3s P-go along-PRES quick
 ‘The water flows quickly.’
201. *Awuni fagarri werrmegu wurity tye*
 C(iii)DEM(r) two 3ns-VC16-PAST-d make PAST
winne warrgadi.
 OA:3ns-sit-PAST-d bag
 ‘Those two were sitting making dillybags.’
202. *Wuwu-ningki dinging garri-fuyfuy yenim*
 C(v) dog AGE 3s P-VC22-PRES leg-sniff RED OA:3s P-go-PRES
yedi wuni.
 man DEM(r)
 ‘The dog is sniffing that man's legs.’
203. *Blanket wityi ya ngi fi-me?*
 a little while 2s-VC18-FUT 1sDO CS-hand (give)
Ngebi ngindi lit ngini ngim.
 1s-VC16-FUT 1sIO cover up FUT OA: 1s-lie-FUT
 ‘Can you lend me a blanket? I want to cover myself (while lying down).’

4.6.1.2 OTHER SIMPLE VERBS

5. *dinyingkin/ginyingkin* ‘to see’. This transitive verb is unusual in that it is most commonly encountered as a simple verb. It is combined only with *kerrety* ‘watch’ and *mi-kerrety* ‘look at’.

5(a) *dinyerem* (imperfective form not recorded) ‘to see oneself, see each other, realise’. This is the reflexive form of verb class 5. It is rarely found as a simple verb. In compound verbs it is combined only with verb stems semantically related to seeing. For example: *kerrety*, ‘to look at oneself/each other’; *mi-bebi*, ‘look at oneself/each other’; *fi-kenke*, ‘look around’.

6. *mem* 'to say, to do'. (No imperfective form has been recorded in the present tense.) This verb is arguably transitive; what is said or done being the third singular direct object which is realised as \emptyset . The listener is always the indirect object. The subject NP is frequently marked by the agentive/instrumental *-ningki*.

These are directly comparable to the 'Middle Verbs' in Murinypata (Walsh 1976:234) in that they never take a direct object apart from unmarked third singular. However it differs from Murrinypata in that the subject is if anything, more frequently agentive marked than that of genuinely transitive verbs and can occur in sentences with object NP's. For example:

204(a) *Me-ne* *nganki* *nyinin*.
 3s-say-PRES-3s(m)IO story DEM
 'He told him that story.'

204(b) *Yedi* *-ningki* *me-nge* *wani* *ngini*.
 man AGE 3s P-say-PRES-3s(f)IO 3s P-go-FUT FUT
 'The man told her he was going.'

In compounds it usually follows the compound verb stem (4.9) or occurs with discontinuous compound verb stems (4.9.6).

7. *demengkem/gemengkem* 'to arrive, to bring oneself'. This is the reflexive form of verb class 12 *mengkin/gimengkin* 'to lift'. It occurs only as a simple verb.

8. *yetyin* 'to bring, take, carry'. (No imperfective form recorded in the present tense.) This verb implies movement while carrying but direction is not specified. As with the movement verb classes 4 and 4(a) direction may be specified by use of *pefi* or *pagu*. It occurs as a simple verb. It has been recorded with only seven compound verb stems:

fel with other auxiliaries usually indicates actions like 'jumping, diving, hopping or running' with *yetyin* it means 'to lift up'.

firr (from *defirr* 'foot') with *yetyin*: 'to lead, to show someone a path'.

leli 'walk' with *yetyin* means 'to carry while walking'.

pallak has the general meaning 'to fall to the ground'. It occurs with six other auxiliaries with meanings like 'give birth, lay eggs, defecate, or be tired or sick'. With *yetyin* in means 'to lose'; that is 'to drop to the ground while carrying'.

rsi 'to cut' (humans, either self or someone else). This is not semantically connected with carrying and occurs with this auxiliary by convention.

tutu 'sleep' occurs with *yetyin* in Text 1, to describe the man sleeping with the two women he has taken as wives.

205. *Yetyin* *wirki* *tutu* *kana* *yedi*.
 3s-carry-PAST 3dO sleep PUN OA:3s-go-PAST
 'He slept with them then.'

tyutyuk 'to gather together' is found with non-singular forms of this verb.

4.6.2 VERBS ACTING AS AUXILIARIES ONLY*

Some of the auxiliaries which occur only in compound verbs have quite specific meanings such as class 17 'to eat or swallow' and class 20 'to heat or burn'. Others have very general meanings only such as 'actions done with the hands' or 'action involving downward movement'.

9. *wityibem/gityibem* 'to hang, to be suspended'. This verb is obviously morphologically linked with the two verbs of bodily orientation class 2 *wirribem/girribem* 'to stand' and class 3 *wibem/gibem* 'to lie, to be in a horizontal position'. It shares with them a change of stem in the non-singular (see Table 4). It is not met with very often and has only been recorded in the present tense and with two compound verb stems; *wele (wewele)* 'to be hanging' and *kay (kayki)* 'to call out from a tree' (said of a bird).

10. *wudem/gudem* 'to fall'. This verb has been recorded with 18 different compound verb stems most of which are verbs of falling, turning over, jumping, diving or otherwise connected with downwards intransitive movement. (Exceptions are *minyirr (miminyirr)* which with this auxiliary means 'laugh' and *gerrgir* which generally means 'cut' but with this auxiliary means 'rub against' or 'abrade'.)

11. *dagam/ganam* occurs with both transitive and intransitive compound verb stems. It has the general meaning 'action or movement with feet'. Transitivity can only be defined by the presence of an object and/or an animate agent subject not necessarily marked with *-ningki* (6.3).

The following sentences show *dagam/ganam* with both transitive and intransitive verb stems.

*Auxiliary verb classes 16 and 18 have been recorded twice each without CVS but followed by an orientation auxiliary.

<i>Ngarim</i>	<i>ngirim.</i>
1s-VC18-PRES	OA:1s-sit-PRES

occurs in both our field notes and also Tryon's fieldnotes with the meaning:

'I am writing.'

The third singular imperfective present form of auxiliary verb class 16 occurs with two different orientation auxiliaries with the meaning 'bite'.

<i>Wu-wuni</i>	<i>gebem</i>	<i>ganim</i>	<i>wawetimuy.</i>
C(v)DEM(r)	3s IMP-VC16-PRES	OA:3s IMP-go-PRES	C(i) little boy

'That dog is biting the little boy.'

<i>Burra</i>	<i>gebem</i>	<i>girim</i>	<i>atyalmer.</i>
pelican	3s IMP-VC16-PRES	OA:3s IMP-sit-PRES	C(iv) barrmundi

'The pelican is biting the barramundi.'

Intransitive:

206. *Wa-weti dagam felfil.*
C(i) little 3s P-VC11-PRES run away
'The little boy ran away.'
207. *Daga-madi-purity fepi-nide.*
3s P-VC11-PRES-side-hide(slip) rock LOC
'He slipped on the rock.'
208. *Dagam fufu.*
3s P-VC11-PRES glow, be reddish
'It shines reddish.' (refers to the rainbow.)
209. *Dagan tyuk munguyil-ngini.*
3s P-VC11-PRES be unable paddle PURP
'She does not know how to paddle.'
210. *Yewirr fagarri yubu wannanggu fital.*
tree two good 3ns P-VC11-PRES-d grow
'The two trees are growing well.'

Transitive:

211. *Wa-wetimuy dagam baty e-fengku.*
C(i) little boy 3s P-VC11-PRES tread on C(iv) snake
'The little boy trod on the snake.'
212. *Ngana nyi garri-pat.*
1s-VC11-FUT 2sDO catch up
'I will catch you up.' / 'I will catch up with you.'
213. *Dagany tyek defirr*
3s P-VC11-PRES cover footprints C(viii) foot/footprint
minta ga tipek.
NEG 3 IMP-VC18-FUT follow
'He covered his footprints so no-one could follow.'
214. *Wa-wetimuy miyi defirr-ningki dagam*
C(i) little boy GEN:plant food C(viii) foot-INST 3s P-VC11-PRES
tyerr-syirrsyirr.
mouth squash RED
'The little boy squashed the fruit with his foot.'

12. *mengkin/gimingkin* has the general sense of lifting or picking up. It has been recorded with 12 different compound verb stems which follow the auxiliary. The most commonly

encountered is *wa* 'to gather, pick up, catch'. Six of the other stems are compounds which include *wa*. These verb stems are all involved with lifting or taking in either a literal or a metaphorical sense.

mengkin ba-wa can mean literally 'he takes him or her by the arm' but it usually means 'to marry a woman' (the man is the subject).

mengkin ma-wa can mean 'he catches it' or 'he believes it' depending on context.

wa is the second element in three additional discontinuous compound verb stems (4.9.6).

<i>dege</i>	-DOPn <i>wa</i>	'to like or love someone'
<i>dengini wulek</i>	-DOPn <i>wa</i>	'to make someone sick'
<i>ngaka</i>	-DOPn <i>wa</i>	'to abduct'

The other five compound verb stems are *wurr* 'to tie up a bag', *tyerr-wurr* 'to tie up the mouth of a bag', *kal* 'to chase', *tyap* 'to stick on leg' (of leech) and *me-tyatip* 'to have sticky hands' which is used in impersonal constructions (4.8).

13. *dem/gerim* has the general sense of causing, making or doing with hands. For Example:

<i>dem</i>	∅	<i>pirr</i>	'he/she caused it/him/her to stop'
<i>den</i>	∅	<i>tyerr-tum</i>	'he/she made it sink'
<i>dem</i>	∅	<i>wurity</i>	'he/she made it'
<i>den</i>	∅	<i>tip</i>	'he/she caught it by hand'
<i>den</i>	∅	<i>syirr</i>	'he/she wrung it out by hand (caused it to flow)'

It is found as a causative verb with adjectives acting as compound verb stems.

<i>dem</i>	∅	<i>yubu</i>	'he/she makes it good, repairs it'
<i>dem</i>	∅	<i>dityungkurr</i>	'he/she makes it shorter'

It is also found with such diverse verbs as *baty* 'have', *tyerr-tatit* 'yawn', *mi-fala* 'show how', *derrigirri* 'like, want' (the same thing in many Aboriginal languages), *wursirr* 'be afraid' and *du* 'wake someone up'. It is usually transitive but not always. For example:

215.	<i>Den</i>	<i>derri</i>	<i>wirribem</i>	<i>yewirr-nide.</i>
	3s P-VC13-PRES	back	OA:3s P-stand-PRES	tree-LOC
	'He is hiding behind the tree.'			

It also occurs in impersonal constructions (4.8) with *ge-ket* 'to be fond of, proud of (a child)', *mitit* 'to have a headache' and *piyiri* 'to be shy or ashamed'. It has been recorded with more than 50 compound verb stems.

14. *wupun/gupun* has been recorded in compounds with approximately 50 compound verb stems. It generally involves hitting movements with hands; for example, *ta* 'hit with a stick', *fulful* 'skin an animal', *gerrgir* 'cut (with knife or axe)' and *purrk* 'to clap hands' (*purrk* usually means 'to dance' with one of the orientation or movement verbs). It is also used metaphorically with such verbs as *du* 'be suspicious, ba' 'to make someone laugh' and *mi-ferr* 'to cause someone to panic'

(*mi-ferr* with VC20, the heating auxiliary means 'to heat up'). It is also used with *mirr* 'to thunder' and with *felfil* to describe 'a dog's tongue going in and out when panting'.

15. *wudupun/gudupun* has also been recorded with a large number of different compound verb stems (approximately 40). Of these, only three also select class 14 as an auxiliary. Like *wupun/gupun* it also usually implies active, sometimes violent movement but not necessarily with the hands. The movements are frequently connected with the ground, for example *pup* 'put on the ground' and *mipit* 'rub tobacco in ashes'. It is also selected by verb stems with meanings such as 'pushing' *tidi*, 'chasing' *mi-tyirr*, 'sending' *tyuk* and 'taking back' *mi-wul*. With *tyerr* (*detyerr* 'mouth') it means 'to say goodbye to someone'.

Compare:

<i>wupun</i>	∅	<i>tyuk</i>						'he hits it'
<i>wudupun</i>	∅	<i>tyuk</i>						'he sends it'
216.	<i>Dede</i>	<i>kana</i>	<i>ngini</i>	<i>ngunnu</i>	<i>bat</i>	<i>tye</i>	<i>musyung.</i>	
	camp	PUN	PURP	1ns ex-VC14-PAST	fall	PAST	swags	
	'We made our beds then.' ('Set out our swags at the camping place.')							
217.	<i>Wudupun</i>	<i>bat</i>	<i>wabuymem</i>	<i>-ningki</i>	<i>ngayim</i>	<i>nyinin</i>		
	3s P-VC15-PRES	fall	C(i) ghost	AGE	3s(f)pn	DEM		
	<i>wur-anguty</i>	<i>falmi</i>	<i>nem.</i>					
	C(ii) ghost	wife	3s(m)pn					
	'The <i>wabuymem</i> ghost knocked his wife to the ground.'							

Class 14 and class 15 auxiliaries are definitely transitive despite the lack of any object in something like *wupun mirr* 'it thunders' (thunder is obviously very active). The corresponding intransitive verb must be considered to be class 10.

Several compound verb stems which form transitive verbs with these two classes form intransitive compound verbs with class 10. Compare *wudem bat* 'he falls' with the verbs in sentences 216 and 217 above.

See also:

<i>wudem madi-fili</i>								'he/she/it turns over'
<i>wudupun</i>	∅	<i>madifili</i>						'he/she turns it over'
<i>wudem pek</i>								'it falls in an upright position'
<i>wudupun</i>	∅	<i>pek</i>						'he/she sets it in an upright position'

16. *bengim/gebem* has the sense of hitting, cutting or splitting open with a downward movement. It has been recorded with more than 50 different compound verb stems, for example *mata* 'cut, split', *gatit* 'bite (of an animal)', *gerrgirr* 'cut down', *madi* 'dig out the side of a tree to make a canoe', *baty* 'be born, hit the ground', *me-ket* 'gather fruit' and *metyi-gat* 'cut throat'.

It also occurs with *lulu* 'swear', *mi-di* 'cause to cry' and *mi-fa* 'cause to scream'. It is found in impersonal constructions with *ge* (*dege* 'stomach') 'to be happy', *ge-pek* 'to be angry' and *perrety* 'to be cold' (*perrety* preceding VC6 means 'to die').

17. *wursum/gursum* is a verb of 'eating or swallowing'. It has been recorded with only a small number of compound verb stems, the most common of which is *waty* 'to finish' giving *wursum-aty* 'he/she eats it or finishes it up by swallowing'.

It has also been recorded with *tyerr-binybiny* 'kiss', *kuduk* with the meaning 'swallow' and *tyerr-kukuduk* describing 'the action of a snake putting its tongue in and out'. *kuduk* usually means 'drink' with any of the bodily orientation verb classes 1 to 3 or the movement verb class 4. *kuduk* meaning 'eat' also usually occurs with these verbs and not with class 17.

18. *dangim/garim* occurs with a large number of compound verb stems. It has been recorded with over 60. Only the movement verb class 4 *yenim/gaganim* has been recorded with more. It is the most frequently chosen auxiliary with CVSs which are prefixed by the causative *fi-*. Most of these involve putting or placing. A wide range of other verb stems select this auxiliary. Most of these are transitive, for example *bang* 'poke', 'bite (of mosquito)', *kurrkurr* 'sharpen', *ket* 'poke in mud for turtles', *pawal* 'spear', *syurr* 'scrape hair off animal', *syi-fuyfuy* 'wipe nose', *tipek* 'follow' and *tyurutu* 'slit open stomach to remove guts'; but not all are, for example *pek* 'drip, leak'.

It occurs with verbs of 'asking' *tyerrpu*, 'promising' *tyerri*, 'showing' *du* and 'giving' *fi-me*.

Its third person singular occurs in some impersonal constructions (4.8). It is not really possible to give an exact translation of this verb, 'put' would perhaps be closest.

19. *dirsem* (no imperfective form recorded) has the general meaning of 'pull out'. It has been recorded with only three compound verb stems.

bang, which with other auxiliaries usually means something like 'pierce' or 'poke', and *wirr*, which usually means 'to be inside' or 'to put inside', are reversed in meaning by use of this auxiliary.

<i>dirsem</i>	∅	<i>bang</i>	'he/she pulls out something which has been poked or stuck in'
<i>dirsem</i>	∅	<i>wirr</i>	'he/she pulls out something which is inside something'

The other CVS which has been recorded with class 19 is *madada* 'to be in labour'. It acts as an impersonal verb (4.8) in this case.

218.	<i>Dirse-nge</i>	<i>madada.</i>
	3s P-VC19-PRES-3s(f)IO	be in labour
	'She is in labour.'	

20. *dinem/ginem* is always transitive and occurs only with verbs related to heating, cooking, boiling or drying by heating.

219. *Wurwuni aliyi dinem ferr dim.*
 C(ii)DEM(r) C(iv) fat 3s P-VC20-PRES melt OA:3s P-sit-PRES
 'That woman is melting the fat.'
220. *Nginnem purngpurng angantamu parakut-ningki yerr-kerre.*
 1ns ex-VC20-PRES boil (RED) C(iv) turkey bucket INST C(vii) big
 'We boiled the turkey in a big bucket.'

21. *wim/gim* has been recorded with only seven CVs which are all related to bodily positions such as *gari-fiftyi* 'sit cross-legged' and *tyatit* 'to lean', or actions affecting the body such as *pi* 'to comb hair' or *tit* 'to choke'.

22. *dingim/gem* occurs with verbs of physical perception like 'touching/tasting' *du*, 'sniffing/smelling' *fuyfuy* and 'licking' *lek*. It also occurs with a small number of verbs of putting – *misyin-pup* 'put in fire', *pup* 'put on ground'; and planting – *puptyin* 'plant'. It occurs in impersonal constructions with *ket* 'to have a pain' and *syi-baty* 'to drown'.

Classes 23 to 25 are mainly reflexive and are covered in section 4.7. Class 26 is always impersonal (4.8).

4.7 REFLEXIVE AND RECIPROCAL VERBS

The reflexive is indicated in Ngankikurungkurr in three ways:

1. by use of verbs which are essentially reflexive (classes 5a, 6a, 7, 23, 24 and 25),
2. use of the suffix *-wa/-we*,
3. use of the indirect object pronouns with non-reflexive auxiliaries.

4.7.1 REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL VERB CLASSES

There are six verb classes which are essentially reflexive. Two are simple verbs which have not been recorded with any compound verb roots:

- 6(a) *meyim* 'to say to oneself/each other'
7. *demengkem/gemengkem* 'to arrive' (literally 'to bring or lift oneself').

5(a) *dinyerem* 'to see or look at oneself or each other', 'to realise' is the reflexive form of class 5 *dinyingkin/ginyingkin* 'to see' (4.6.1.2).

As previously mentioned it has been recorded as a simple verb, but is most commonly found in compound verbs, often with the verb stem *mi-bebi*, a compound of the causative prefix to verb roots *mi-* and *bebi* 'face or self'.

221. *Wa-wetimuy wuni dinyerem mi-bebi dim.*
 C(i) little boy DEM(r) 3s P-see-self-PRES CS self OA:3s P-sit-PRES
 'The little boy is looking at himself.'

222. *Wirrnyerem.*
3ns P-see self-PRES
'They looked at themselves.'
223. *Wirrnyerem finy-ngini mungkimungki kuderri-nide.*
3ns P-see self-PRES reflection PURP soul billabong-LOC
'They were looking at their reflections in the billabong.'

The other three are auxiliaries occurring with compound verb stems.

23. *demem/gemem* is used mostly with verb roots denoting actions done by bending parts of the body, for example *nintyi-lirr* 'kneel' (literally 'cold knees'), *derri-pal* 'bend over' (literally 'break back'), *madi-baty* 'fold arms' and *tapal* 'close wings (bird)'. It is also used with the verb stems *way* 'to be lonely', *ketet* 'to go outside', *tum* 'to bury oneself', *syirr* 'to scratch oneself' and *pul* 'to wash oneself'. (The meanings given are those which are formed when the root is combined with class 23 auxiliaries.)

224. *Ngemen derri-pal fepi -ngini ngimingkin wa.*
1s-VC23-PRES back break stone PURP 1s-VC12-PRES pick up
'I am bending down to pick up the stone.'
225. *Werrmeni pul tye werryini.*
3ns P-VC23-PAST wash PAST OA:3nd P-lie-PAST
'They were washing themselves.'
226. *Ngemeni syirr tye ngadi.*
1s-VC23-PAST scratch PAST OA:1s-go-PAST
'I was scratching myself.'

24. *diwem/giwem* has been recorded with only five compound verb stems, two with non-singular forms of the auxiliary only, *lek* 'to lick oneself', *tapup* 'to carry on one's shoulder, to left onto one's shoulder', *gat* 'to lift one's arm, to threaten', *mi-syusyu* 'to splash selves/each other' and *bulbul* 'to fight'. Its general meaning is that of lifting or raising.

227. *Diwen tapup yirripin amaty.*
3s P-VC24-PRES put on shoulder OA:3s P-go along-PRES C(iv) kangaroo
'He is carrying a kangaroo on his shoulder.'
228. *Diwen lek.*
3s P-VC24-PRES lick
'He licks himself.'
229. *Wirrengu lek.*
3ns P-VC24-PRES-d lick
'They two lick themselves/each other.'

230. *Wirrengu bulbul witibenggu.*
 3ns P-VC24-PRES-d fight RED OA:3ns P-stand-PRES-d
 ‘The two of them are fighting.’

25. *daram/garam* occurs with a number of verb roots which include *pek* ‘paint oneself’, *fulirr* ‘rub paint on oneself’, *gulirr* ‘to cut oneself’, *fidudu* ‘to be curled up (hair, snakes)’, ‘folded (of arms)’, *titit* ‘shiver’ and *barr* ‘to glide through the air’. Its general meaning is one of repeated or continuous sideways movement.

231. *Warranigu pek tye winne yedi fagarri.*
 3ns P-VC25-PAST-d paint PAST OA:3nd P-sit-PAST-d man two
 ‘The two men were painting themselves.’
232. *Garan dep gibem wusye.*
 3s IMP-VC25-PRES curl OA:3s IMP-lie-PRES hair
 ‘Her hair is very curly (the hair curls itself).’
233. *Daba daran fiduru.*
 C(viii) arm 3s P-VC25-PRES CS-fold
 ‘His arms are folded.’
234. *Wuwu daran kurrkurr yewirr-nide.*
 C(v) dog 3s P-VC25-PRES scratch RED tree LOC
 ‘The dog is scratching himself against the tree.’
235. *Efengku wuni fagarri warrangu fidudu*
 C(iv) snake DEM(r) two 3ns P-VC25-PRES-d CS-curl
werrtyenggu yewirr-nide.
 OA:3ns-P-lie-PRES-d tree LOC
 ‘Those two snakes were curled up near the tree.’
236. *Ngaram firfirryiri mundurrk fepi -nide.*
 1s-VC25-PRES foot-bump ankle rock LOC
 ‘I bumped my ankle against the rock.’

While this verb is usually reflexive it has been found used as a normal transitive verb in a small number of cases.

237. *Wa - weti garan dudu efengku.*
 C(i) little 3s IMP-VC25-PRES point C(iv) snake
 ‘The little boy is pointing at the snake.’

Verb classes 5a, 6a, 7, 23 and 24 appear to be derived from non-reflexive verb classes by, in four cases, a change in the verb stem involving a vowel change from *i* to *e* or the insertion of a morpheme bearing *e*, or in the other case the insertion in the singular of *-iw-* which changes to *-irr-* in the non-singular.

Compare the following uses of reflexive and non-reflexive verbs.

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|--------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--|--|
| | <i>nginyingkin</i> | \emptyset | | | | | 'I see it' |
| | <i>nginyerem</i> | <i>mibebi</i> | | | | | 'I am looking at myself' |
| | <i>ngim</i> | | | | | | 'I say it' |
| | <i>ngimem</i> | | | | | | 'I say to myself' |
| 238. | <i>Ngerim</i> | \emptyset | <i>tum.</i> | | | | |
| | 1s-VC13-PRES | 3sDO | bury | | | | |
| | | | | | | | 'I am burying it.' |
| 239. | <i>Anganifinyi</i> | <i>demen</i> | <i>tum.</i> | | | | |
| | C(iv) echidna | 3s P-VC23-PRES | bury | | | | |
| | | | | | | | 'The echidna is burying itself.' |
| 240. | <i>Wurwetimuy</i> | <i>miyi</i> | <i>gen</i> | <i>lek</i> | <i>girim.</i> | | |
| | C(ii) little girl | GEN:plant food | 3s IMP-VC22-PRES | lick | OA:3s IMP-sit-PRES | | |
| | | | | | | | 'The little girl is licking the food.' |
| 241. | <i>Wuwu</i> | <i>giwen</i> | <i>lek</i> | <i>girim.</i> | | | |
| | C(v) dog | 3s IMP-VC24-PRES | lick | OA:3s IMP-sit-PRES | | | |
| | | | | | | | 'The dog is licking himself.' |
| 242. | <i>Ngimingkin</i> | <i>wa.</i> | | | | | |
| | 1s-VC12-PRES | pick up | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | 'I am lifting it.' |
| 243. | <i>Ngemengkem.</i> | | | | | | |
| | 1s-VC7-PRES | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | 'I arrive.' (literally 'I lift myself.') |

These verb classes are formally reflexive and do not need to take object pronouns, however a small number of cases of the use of indirect object pronouns with reflexive verbs have been noted.

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------|------------------|------------------------|--|--|--|--------------------------------------|
| 244. | <i>Yinyere-mbi</i> | <i>kerrety.</i> | | | | | |
| | 2s-see self-FUT-2sIO | look after | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | 'Look after yourself.' |
| 245. | <i>Dara - ne</i> | <i>me - kek.</i> | | | | | |
| | 3s P-VC25-PRES-3s(m)IO | hand spit | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | 'He spat on his hand.' |
| 246. | <i>Minta yeme - mbi</i> | <i>syirr</i> | <i>afungi - nimbi!</i> | | | | |
| | NEG 2s-VC23-FUT-2sIO | scratch | C(iv)mosquito ABL | | | | |
| | | | | | | | 'Don't scratch your mosquito bites!' |

247. *Nginyere - ngndi mibebi tye ngini.*
 1s-see self-PRES/PAST-1sIO CS self PAST OA:2s-sit-PAST
 'I looked at myself.'

Reciprocals are not formally distinguished from reflexive verbs. They are confined to the dual and plural. They do not need an object pronoun but as with the reflexives they do sometimes take object pronouns.

Non-singular reflexive is distinguished from reciprocal only by context and logic.

248. *Werrmenggu tyululu wirringku.*
 3ns P-VC23-PRES-d tickle 3ns P-sit-PRES-d

is much more likely to mean:

'They (d) are tickling each other.' than
 'They (d) are tickling themselves.'

But:

249. *Warranggu kurrkurr wirringgu.*
 3ns P-VC25-PRES-d scratch RED 3ns P-sit-PRES-d

could mean either:

'They (d) are scratching each other.' or
 'They (d) are scratching themselves.'

Reciprocals with verb class 5a *dinyerem* are often found with object pronouns.

250. *Wirr nyere wirr ngini.*
 3ns-see self-FUT 3plO FUT
 'They will see each other.'
251. *Wirr-nyerem pirrki mi-kerety wirringgu.*
 3ns-see self-PRES 3dO CS-watch OA:3ns P-sit-PRES-d
 'They (d) are watching each other.'

Reflexive verbs have also been found to take indirect object pronouns referring to another noun phrase. This most commonly happens with class 7 *demengkem*.

252. *Demengke - nge.*
 3s-arrive-PRES 3s(f)IO
 'He reached her (he brought himself to her).'

4.7.2 REFLEXIVES FORMED BY USE OF THE SUFFIX -wa-

Reflexives are formed from verb class 10 *wudem/gudem* and verb class 11 *dagam/ganam* by use of a suffix -wa which precedes the tense suffix.

Compare:

253. *Wudam* *bat.*
3s P-VC10-PRES fall
'He fell.'
254. *Wudawam* *tyusyuk.*
3s P-VC10-REFLEX-PRES hurt
'He hurt himself.'
255. *Wudawam* *purity yewirr -nide.*
3s P-VC10-REFLEX-PRES hide tree LOC
'He is hiding himself in the tree.'
256. *Wannawani* *fulirr tye winni.*
3ns-VC11-REFLEX-PAST rub PAST OA:3ns-sit-PAST
'They were painting themselves.'

4.7.3 USE OF THE INDIRECT OBJECT PRONOUN WITH NON-REFLEXIVE AUXILIARIES TO INDICATE REFLEXIVITY

In those verb classes where the verb does not formally indicate reflexivity, the reflexive is conveyed by the use of an indirect object pronoun co-referential to the subject pronoun; and not, as might be expected, a direct object pronoun.

257. *Nge-bi ngindi lit ngini ngim.*
1s-VC16-FUT 1sIO cover FUT OA:1s-be-FUT
'I want to cover myself up.'
258. *Gi-ne tyerr-syurr tyarrwasyan.*
3s IMP-VC21-PRES-3s(m)IO mouth-pluck beard
'He is shaving his beard.'
259. *Wur - falmi gi - nge pi*
C(ii) woman 3s IMP-VC21-PRES- 3s(f)IO comb hair
girribem wusye.
OA:3s IMP-stand-PRES hair
'The woman is combing her hair.'
260. *Yetyi- ne rsi.*
3s P-bring-PRES- 3s(m)IO cut
'He cut himself.'
261. *Yawa - mbi me - rsi nayp ningki.*
2s-bring-FUT- 2sIO hand cut knife INST
'You will cut your hand with the knife.'

262. *Kerrbem* *pirrki* *lulu* *kana*.
 3ns IMP-VC16-PRES 3dO swear PUN
 ‘They (d) are swearing at each other.’
263. *Girim* *pirrki* *tyuk* *giringgu*.
 3ns IMP-VC22-PRES 3dO hit 3ns IMP-sit-PRES-d
 ‘They are hitting each other.’
264. *Wirrim* *pirr* *syusyu* *wannim*.
 3ns P-VC22-PRES 3pIO splash RED OA:3ns P-go-PRES
 ‘They are splashing each other.’
265. *Werrbim* *pirrki* *mentyi-tyerr*.
 3ns P-VC16-PRES 3dO neck - meet
 ‘They (d) met each other.’

4.8 IMPERSONAL VERBS

One of the features common to a number of Daly River languages (Tryon 1970:62) and also Murinypata (Walsh 1976:231) is the use of impersonal constructions. In these constructions the verb is in the third person singular while the semantic subject is in the grammatical objective case and may be singular, dual or plural (and, in the case of pronouns, first, second or third). The essence of impersonal constructions is their reduced transitivity. The semantic subjects are seen as being patients rather than agents; the actions in which they are involved are undergone rather than initiated. There is a sense of decreased responsibility for the action and in many cases, the impersonal verb gives the sense of what is essentially a passive.

Verb class 26 in Ngankikurungkurr is used only as an impersonal verb. It has four forms:

<i>wayim</i>	third singular perfective which is used in both the present and the past tense
<i>kawam</i>	third singular imperfective occurring in the present tense only
<i>wa</i>	future indicative
<i>ka</i>	future subjunctive (with <i>nana</i>)

This verb occurs with compound verb roots to form verbs of heating, cooking, boiling, burning and melting. The nouns to which it applies are inanimate – fires, billycans, food and water.

266. *Wayim* *pirrki* *purrngpurrng* *bilikan* *fagarri*.
 3s P-VC26-PRES/PAST 3dO boil RED two
 ‘The two billycans are boiling.’
267. *Aliyi* *kawam* *pudup*.
 C(iv) fat 3s IMP-VC26-PRES/PAST melt
 ‘The fat is melting.’

268. *Kuderrri wuni wayim biny kana.*
billabong DEM(r) 3s P-VC26-PRES/PAST dry up PUN
'That billabong is dried up.'
269. *Yengki waying gerrgirr.*
fire 3s P-VC26-PRES/PAST cut RED
'The fire is burning.'
270. *Wa pul pefi wurr wamangkal ngini!*
3s P-VC26-FUT clear away ALL grass wallaby PURP
'Burn off the grass for wallabies!'
(‘Let it burn the grass that way for wallabies!’)
271. *Wayim purrngpurrng tye wirringe fekiderrri.*
3s P-VC26-PRES/PAST boil RED PAST 3s P-stand-PAST a long time
'It was boiling for a long time.'

When applied to human beings the verb describes physical experiences undergone. The patient is usually expressed by a direct object pronoun.

272. *Wayim ngirrki minyirr.*
3s P-VC26-PRES 1dO thirsty
'We (d ex) are thirsty.'
273. *Waweti waying Ø gerrgirr dengini.*
C(i) little 3s P-VC26-PRES 3sDO cut RED body
'The little boy has a fever.'/'It burns the little boy's body.'
274. *Ngayi wayi -ngi baty.*
1s pn 3s P-VC26-Pres 1sDO be hot
'I am hot.'

Impersonal constructions may occur with the third person singular forms of other auxiliaries. They express personal feelings and emotions like being happy, worried, sick or shy, and cognitive states like forgetting or being deceived as well as physical states like being hot or cold. In all of these the individual is seen as patient rather than actor and is expressed by the direct object pronoun. The auxiliary verbs which form impersonal constructions are:

Class 12 *mengkin*:

275. *Deme ngayi mengkin ngi mæ - tyatip mi-fin - nimbi.*
hand 1spn 3s P-VC12-PRES 1sDO hand sticky C(vi)juice ABL
'My hands are sticky from the juice.'

An unusual use of the impersonal is found with fishing. *mengkin nyi mawa* can mean 'He believes you!' as well as 'He catches you!' So in the following sentence the literal translation could be 'How many fish believed you?' ('were gullible enough to be caught?').

276. *Erreke anginakul mungkin nyi mawa*
 how many C(iv) fish 3s P-VC12-PRES 2sDO believe/catch
yerim tip walipan -ningki?
 2s-VC13-PRES catch net INST
 'How many fish did you catch?'
 See also sentence 127 in 5.8.2.

Class 13 *dem/gerim*:

277. *Dem pirrki pi - yiri.*
 3s P-VC13-PRES 3dO head- be shy
 'They two are shy.'
278. *De - ngi mi - tit napa depit.*
 3s P-VC13-PRES-1sDO CS-headache LIM C(viii) head
 'I have a headache.'

Class 14 *wupun/gupun*:

279. *Mumba wupun ngirr mi-tyip.*
 road 3s P-VC14-PRES 1plexO CS-dark
 'We lost our way.'
280. *Ngani nimbi wuni gu ngi mi-tyip nana.*
 1s-go-FUT ABL DEM(r) 3s IMP-VC14-FUT 1sDO CS-dark POSS
 'If I go there I might lose my way.'

Class 16 *bengim/gebem*:

281. *Lirrmem bengi-ngi perrety.*
 cold 3s P-VC16-PRES-1sDO cold
 'I am cold.'
282. *Beyi wirrki ge tye.*
 3s P-VC16-PAST 3dO stomach PAST
 'They two were happy.'

Class 18 *dangim/garim*:

283. *Dangi -ngirr tit kana.*
 3s P-VC18-PRES-1plO full PUN
 'We are all full now.'
284. *Dangim pirrki tyerr-syirrsyirr.*
 3s P-VC18-PRES 3dO mouth-flow RED
 'The two of them were squashed flat.'

285. *Dangim* *pirr* *gada* *wur-guniguni* *-ningki*.
 3s P-VC18-PRES 3plO be sorry C(ii) old woman AGE
 'They were sorry for the old woman.'/'She made them sorry for her.'
286. *Dani* *ngirr* *da* *tye* *amuyi* *bakuty* *werri kirri*.
 3s P-VC18-PAST 1plO scratch PAST C(iv) ants many because
 'We were itchy because of all the ants.'
287. *Dani* *wirrk* *madi-ket*.
 3s P-VC18-PAST 3dO side-cut
 'They (d) were deceived.'

Class 22 *dingim/gem*:

288. *Dege* *dinge-ngi ket*.
 C(viii) stomach 3s P-VC22-PRES
 'I have a pain in my stomach.'
289. *Pallak* *ngim* *ngayi*. *We-ngi* *ge-wurr* *wityi*.
 tired 1s-do/say-PRES 1s pn 3s P-VC22-FUT-1sDO stomach-grass HOR
 'I am tired. Let me rest.'
290. *Ge-nyi* *syi-baty* *nana*.
 3s IMP-VC22-FUT-2sDO nose-hit POSS
 'You might drown.'

A surprising impersonal construction is found referring to a lot of leaves floating. The plural object pronoun is not usually used to refer to inanimate nouns, but two different Ngankikurungkurr sentences, both with the same English translation, use the impersonal construction with the third person plural object pronoun *pirr* presumably referring to the leaves.

- 291 (a) *Miringki* *bakuty* *gudupun* *pirr* *tuwul* *gaganim*
 leaf many 3s IMP-VC15-PRES 3plO float OA:3s IMP-go-PRES
kuderrri *-nide*.
 billabong LOC
- 291 (b) *Miringki* *bakuty* *garim* *pirr* *tatit* *gaganim*.
 leaf many 3s IMP-VC18-PRES 3plO put RED OA:3s IMP-go-PRES
 'Lots of leaves are floating on the billabong.'

These two sentences may be compared with the singular in the following:

292. *Yederi* *gudupun* *tuwul* *gaganim*.
 log 3s IMP-VC15-PRES float OA:3s IMP-go-PRES
 'The log is floating.'

With auxiliary verb classes 2 and 19, impersonal constructions using the indirect object pronouns have been recorded.

293. *Fiti wirribe - ngindi syirr.*
 sun 3s P-stand-PRES-1sIO flow
 ‘I am sweating (the sun is making me flow (?)).’

294. *Dirse-nge madada.*
 3s P-VC19-PRES be in labour
 ‘She is in labour.’

An impersonal type construction using the ablative pronoun has been recorded with class 6.

295. *Buybuy mem tyerr nginde fiti - nimbi kultyinimbi.*
 burn 3s P-say/do-PRES mouth 1sABLPn sun ABL yesterday
 ‘I got sunburnt yesterday.’

4.9 COMPOUND VERB STEMS

The majority of verbs in Ngankikurungkurr are compound verbs which consist of an auxiliary which is combined with a compound verb stem. The CVS usually follows the auxiliary but there are a small number which precede it (4.9.5) and another small group of discontinuous compound verb stems which both precede and follow it (4.9.6).

The position of the CVS in the compound verb is determined by convention and in Ngankikurungkurr appears to be fixed. In Ngankiwumirri however there seems to be some freedom of position of the CVS, for example *pawal dam* ‘he spears it’ appears as frequently in text as *dam pawal*. Most CVS do however follow the auxiliary as in Ngankikurungkurr.

The compound verb stem may consist of a simple verb root or one which is modified by a nominal; usually a body part without class marker; by the relative locative particle *ngan* or by the causative prefixes *fi-* or *mi-*. *fi-* and *mi-* are always the first element in the CVS if they occur, and in the two cases where both occur, *fi-* precedes *mi-*. Nouns or adjectives without class markers may also act as compound verb stems.

4.9.1 SIMPLE VERB ROOTS

The verb roots are invariable except for reduplication and the capacity to reduplicate identifies the verb root from the other parts of the compound verb stem.

Approximately 70 monomorphemic verb roots have been recorded. These are either monosyllabic or disyllabic and may end in any nasal, lateral, voiceless stop, *ɾ*, *y* or any vowel. Some have specific meanings which are not significantly altered by combination with different auxiliaries. For example:

<i>wa</i>	'pick up'
<i>bang</i>	'pierce'
<i>fityi</i>	'roll up'
<i>lalirr</i>	'eat'
<i>tum</i>	'bury'

Others have more general meanings which must be specified by combination with a particular auxiliary. For example:

<i>baty</i>	'general movement downwards'
<i>tyuk</i>	'general movement in a lateral plane'

The semantics of choice of auxiliary is discussed in section 4.10.

4.9.1.1 REDUPLICATION

The morphophonemics of reduplication in the verb root is discussed in section 2.8

Reduplication (RED) of the verb root normally indicates the repetition or continuation of an action. It is most common with past tense forms of the auxiliary or with the present tense third person imperfective.

296. *Wur guniguni gudupun wewele*
 C(ii) old woman 3s IMP-VC15-PRES hang RED
girribem walipan perek - nide.
 OA:3s P-stand PRES clothes fence LOC
 'The old woman is hanging the clothes on the fence.'
297. *Kala ngayi wuduni wewele tye walipan.*
 mother 1spn 3s-VC15-PAST hang RED PAST clothes
 'My mother was hanging out the clothes.'

Compare:

298. *Wuddupun wele cross nide.*
 3ns P-VC15-PRES hang LOC
 'They hung him (Christ) on a cross.'
 (from a hymn written by Miriam-Rose Angkanmerr)

When it occurs with the present perfective the action is usually regarded as habitual.

299. *Aba ngayi wanninggu tyutyurr mirrimirri yeyi.*
 sibling 1s pn 3ns P-go-PRES-d swim RED every day
 'My two sisters go swimming every day.'

300. *Ngambaty yenim madi - papup.*
 tide 3s P-go-PRES side - climb RED
 'The tide comes up.'

With transitive verbs it may indicate that the object is plural even though a plural object is not expressed in the verb.

Compare:

301. *Werrbe dade tye angani kulyi nimbi.*
 3ns P-VC16-PAST shoot RED PAST C(iv) goose yesterday
 'They shot lots of geese/kept shooting geese yesterday.'
302. *Werrben da angani.*
 3ns P-VC16-PRES shoot C(iv) goose
 'They shot a goose.'

In some cases the meaning of the reduplicated form is different from that of the un-reduplicated form.

303. *Wudem bat.*
 3s P-VC10-PRES fall
 'He fell./'He falls.'
304. *Wudeni batbit tye.*
 3s P-VC10-PAST roll over RED PAST
 'He rolled over and over.'
305. *Waweti kudem fel.*
 C(i) little 3s IMP-VC10-PRES dive
 'The little boy is diving.'
306. *Watguwatgu kudem felfil.*
 frog 3s IMP-VC10-PRES hop RED
 'The frog is hopping along.'

In some cases the reduplicated form occurs mainly with one of the four orientation auxiliary classes to denote repetition or duration of what may be an essentially transitive action.

307. *Fepi ngimingkin wa.*
 stone 1s-VC12-PRES pick up
 'I picked up a stone.'
308. *Ngagadi wawu tye miyi bakuty.*
 1s-go-PAST pick up RED PAST GEN:plant food a lot
 'I went gathering lots of food.'

309. *Ngayim wudu nin bul ngini kagu.*
 3s(f)pn 3s P-VC15-FUT linc cook FUT GEN:meat
 'She will cook the meat for us.'
310. *Falmi wuni girim bulbul kagu yengki-nide.*
 woman DEM(r) 3s IMP-sit-PRES cook RED GEN:meat fire LOC
 'That woman is cooking meat in the fire.'
311. *Miyi waddi bulbul tye.*
 GEN:plant food 3ns P-go-PAST cook RED PAST
 'They had cooked the food.'

Note: with the reflexive reciprocal auxiliary class 24 *diwem/giwem*, *bulbul* means 'fight' and occurs only in the reduplicated form.

312. *Wirrengku bulbul witibengku.*
 3ns P-VC24-PRES-d fight OA:3ns P-stand-PRES-d
 'They are fighting.'

4.9.2 INCORPORATION OF NOMINALS AND LOCATIVES IN THE CVS

4.9.2.1 BODY PARTS

Twenty different body parts (without the class prefix *da-/de-*) have been found incorporated into the CVS. They usually precede the simple verb root except in stative verbs formed by the use of the relative location *ngan*.

This is a highly productive mechanism and from a comparatively small number of simple verb roots (approximately 170), over 300 more derived forms have been recorded. These compound verb stems may be combined with up to eight different auxiliaries giving seemingly limitless possibilities for derived compound verb phrases.

tyerr (*detyerr* 'mouth') has been recorded in 28 different combinations. *mentyi* (*dementyi* 'neck, throat') has been recorded in 14, *me* (*deme* 'hand') in 11, *ba* (*daba* 'arm') in 10, *madi* (*damadi* 'chest') in 25 and *derri* (*dederri* 'back') has been recorded in 11 different combinations.

These last two, *madi* and *derri* also occur as locative adverbials meaning 'low', 'side' and 'bank (of river or billabong)'. It is not possible to say whether the body parts are derived from the adverbials or vice versa.

Body parts incorporated into the CVS may be the object of the sentence, in which case they are frequently reinforced by repetition of the full form of the nominal elsewhere in the sentence.

313. *Akimi napa ngaring kimi - ket.*
 C(iv) tail LIM 1s-VC18-PRES tail cut off
 'I cut off only the tail.'

314. *Wudam bat daba wudam ba-lung.*
 3s-P-VC10-PRES fall C(viii) arm 3s-P-VC10-PRES arm hurt
 'He fell and hurt his arm.'
315. *Werrbem pirr mentyi-baty a-ngani dementyi -nide.*
 3ns P-VC16-PRES 3plO neck - tie C(iv) goose C(viii) neck LOC
 'They tied the geese by the necks.'

In many cases however the original meaning of the incorporated body part has been lost. For example *mentyi* (*dementyi* 'neck') is found in verbs referring to waiting, meeting, crossing roads; possibly because road, like necks are long and thin.

- yenim mentyi-fel* 'he crosses the road'
yenim mentyi-wap 'he sits waiting'
bengim mentyi-tyerr 'he meets someone (*de-tyerr* 'mouth')
yenim mentyi-tyerr 'he comes to the road'

The same combination in the CVS may have different meanings depending on the auxiliary. In sentence 315 *mentyi-baty* with the auxiliary verb class 16 *bengim/gebem* means 'to tie by the neck'. In sentence 316 it means 'to lead along by the neck'.

316. *Wuwu gerim mentyi-baty mumba nelen - nide.*
 C(v) dog 3s IMP-VC13-PRES neck tie road LOC
 'She is leading the dog along the path.'

In sentence 27 in Text 3 *mentyi-baty* is combined with an auxiliary from class 11 to give a verb meaning 'to follow the path'; *wannanugu mentyi-baty tye mumba nelen nide* 'they two followed the path'.

mentyi also occurs in a CVS following the relative locative particle *ngan* giving *ngan-mentyi* 'to wait'.

317. *Ngiwi - mbi ngan-mentyi ngini.*
 1s-sit-FUT-2sIO REL(L) - neck FUT
 'I will be waiting for you.'

Both *derri* and *madi* occur singly in compound verbs as the CVS.

318. *Waweti wawuni den derri*
 C(i) little C(i) DEM 3s P-VC13-PRES back
wirribem yewir yerr-kerre -nide.
 OA:3s P-stand-PRES tree C(vii) big LOC
 'That little boy is hiding behind the big trees.'
319. *Ngupun derri wembem.*
 1s-VC14-PRES back house
 'I knocked on (the door of) the house.'

320. *Adewirsi apukek dangi- madi fepi nide.*
 C(iv) lizard underneath 3s P-VC18-PRES side rock LOC
 'The lizard is hiding under that rock.'
321. *Mi-purrpurrk wirrim madi.*
 C(iv) PLUR 3ns P-sit-PRES low/side
 'The fruit is down low.'
322. *Werrbenggu madi yeningkisyi.*
 3ns P-VC16-PRES-d side canoe
 'They two are digging out the side of a canoe.'

Seven of the other body parts are also found used singly as verb roots sometimes with unpredictable meanings.

daba 'arm':

323. *Wupun ngindi ba.*
 3s P-VC14-PRES 1sIO arm
 'He makes me laugh.'

defirr 'foot':

324. *Wakinyi wawam nin firr nime ngini mumba.*
 C(i)DEM(p) 3s P-bring-FUT 1inc foot pl FUT road
 'This man will lead us all.'

dege 'stomach' is the seat of emotion. *ge* occurs by itself in combination with the auxiliary verb class 16 *bengim/gebem* with the meaning 'to be happy'. This is always an impersonal construction.

325. *Bengim ngi ge.*
 3s P-VC16-PRES 1sDO stomach
 'I am happy.'

It has also been recorded once in Text 3, sentence 20, with the motion verb class 4 and the negative particle. In this case it precedes the auxiliary.

326. *Wirrim minta ge wannim kana awerrbalarr.*
 3pl pn NEG stomach 3ns-P-go-PRES PUN C(iv) birds
 'The birds were fed up then/they were unhappy.'

ge combined with simple verb roots may either refer to the emotional sense as in:

327. *Bengim ngi ge- pek.*
 3s P-VC16-PRES 1sDO stomach drip
 'It makes me angry.'

328. *Wakinyi deng ge-ket yenim*
 C(i)DEM(p) 3s P-VC13-PRES stomach-cut OA:3s P-go-PRES
wa-wu-ningki wa yeyi.
 C(i)DEM(r)AGE C(i) other
 'That other boy makes this boy jealous.'/'This boy is jealous of that boy.'

or in the literal sense as in:

329. *Ngumbudu ge-wirr dege fepi weti.*
 1inc-VC15-FUT stomach-inside stomach stone little
 'Let us put little stones in the stomach (of animal to be cooked).'

depi 'head':

pi is combined with auxiliary verb class 21 *wim/gim* and an indirect object pronoun to give a verb meaning 'to comb or brush one's hair'. Sometimes *wusye* 'hair' also occurs in the sentence but it is not necessary.

330. *Falmi wuni gi-nge pi girribem.*
 woman DEM(r) 3s IMP-VC21-PRES3s(f)IO comb OA:3s IMP-stand-PRES
 'That woman is standing brushing her hair.'

It also occurs with verb class 14 *wupun* to give a compound verb used to describe what happens when things are washed away in a flood.

331. *Kuri dinyingkul wupun pi yewirr wembem ngagurr.*
 water flood 3s P-VC14-PRES wash away tree house 1pl pn
 'The flood water washed away our trees and house.'

In the only instance of *pi* where *pi* precedes the simple verb root it also refers to hair rather than head. *pi-ket* means 'to cut hair' not 'to cut head'.

332. *Wusye ngayi yebi ngi pi-ket!*
 hair 1s pn 2s-VC16-FUT 1sDO head-cut
 'Cut my hair!'

pi does occur in one other compound verb root and in this case does refer to 'head', but is unusual in that it is the second element of the combined verb stem.

333. *Wudem tal-pi.*
 3s P-VC10-PRES hit-head
 'He fell on his head.'
334. *Wudu nyi ta pi yewirr-nide.*
 3s P-VC15-FUT 2sDO hit-head tree LOC
 'He will hit your head against the tree.'

desyi ‘nose, nostrils’, ‘bow of canoe’, ‘hook on woomera’, ‘point of hill’:

syi (reduplicated form *syisyi*) appears to be a verb root in its own right. None of the other body parts which also act as verb roots undergo reduplication. It is found combined with four different auxiliaries with the following meanings:

<i>wupun</i>	- <i>syi</i>	‘splash (trans)’
<i>wibem</i>	- <i>syi</i>	‘sweat’
<i>girim</i>	<i>syisyi</i>	‘shiver’
<i>yenim</i>	<i>syisyi</i>	‘paddle a canoe’
	<i>yeningkisyi</i>	

syi occurs as both the first or the second element in a compound verb stem. In all cases where it precedes the simple verb root as body parts usually do, the reference to the nose is obvious.

<i>ngebem syi-baty</i>	‘I smell it’
<i>gi syi-baty nana</i>	‘he might drown’

335. *Ya* *ngi* *syi* - *bang darri ningki!*
 2s-VC18-FUT 1sDO nose pierce wire INST
 ‘Pierce my nose with a nose-piercing wire!’
 (in order to insert nose peg)
336. *Ngara* *syi* - *fuyfuy ngini desyi.*
 1s-VC25-FUT nose - wipe RED FUT C(viii) nose
 ‘I will wipe my nose.’

The use of *desyi* to mean ‘hook on woomera’ and ‘bow of canoe’ as well as ‘nose’ is reflected in the CVS in the sentences 337, 338 and 339.

337. *Wupun* *syi* - *wat yawul yagama - nide.*
 3s P-VC14-PRES nose-hook up spear woomera LOC
 ‘He hooked up the spear in the woomera.’
338. *Ngudi* *syi-wul ngini yeningkisyi.*
 1s-VC15-FUT nose turn FUT canoe
 ‘I will turn the boat around.’
339. *Yeningkinyi* *gudem* *syi* - *wul.*
 boat 3s IMP-VC10-PRES nose-turn
 ‘The boat is turning around.’

syi also occurs as a CVS in combination with the adjective *melpé* ‘flat’ in Text 2, *yenim melpé-syi* ‘he is flat nosed’; and with *ngal*, found in only two verb roots, meaning ‘high in the air’; in this case in the metaphorical sense *yenim ngal-syi* ‘he is proud’, literally ‘he goes with a nose high in the air’ (also from Text 2).

In the other occurrence of *ngal* it follows the body part and is used in the literal sense.

340. *Ngarim firr-ngal ngirim.*
 1s-VC18-PRES foot-high OA:1s-sit-PRES
 'I put my feet in the air.'

syi occurs in the second element in the CVS in *dem madi syi* 'he bends it down'.

tyerr (*detyerr* mouth) has been recorded in the largest number of CVS combinations of any body part. It also occurs combined with four different auxiliaries as a simple verb root.

341. *Nguddupun nyi tyerr.*
 1ns ex-VC15-PRES 2sDO mouth
 'We say goodbye to you.'

dangim - tyerr 'to feed':

342. *A-wuni fagarri falmi warrim pirrki tyerr*
 C(iii)DEM(r) two woman 3ns P-VC18-PRES 3dO feed
wirringgi mepirr weti fagarri.
 OA:3ns P-sit-PRES baby little two
 'Those two women are feeding their babies.'

tyerr in combination with the class 4 auxiliary *yenim/gaganim* 'to go' presents a bit of a puzzle. With the subject *kuri* 'water, rain' it means 'to start to rain'.

- 343(a) *Kani tyerr nana kuri.*
 3s IMP-go-FUT mouth POSS water/rain
 'It might start to rain.'
- 343(b) *Kuri yenim tyerr.*
 water/rain 3s P-go-PRES mouth
 'It started to rain.'
- 343(c) *Kuri wani tyerr ngini.*
 water/rain 3s P-go-FUT mouth FUT
 'It will rain.'

However with a human subject it means 'to stop'.

344. *Watyerrmusye wuni yenim tyerr dinging*
 C(i) old man DEM(r) 3s P-go-PRES mouth 3s P-VC22-PRES/PAST
ge-wurr tye wirringe.
 stomach-grass PAST OA:3ns P-stand-PAST
 'That old man stopped and had a rest.'

345. *Awa-wuni fagarri wannunggu tyerr mi-muy*
 C(iii)DEM(r) two 3ns P-go-PRES-d stop C(vi) yam
ngini wirrigu kurrkurr.
 FUT 3ns P-sit-FUT dig RED
 'Those two women stopped to dig yams.'

The many compound verb stems combined with various auxiliaries using *tyerr* are listed here to demonstrate the wide range of subtlety of meaning which can be achieved. They are quoted with the third person singular present perfective form of the auxiliary used. The meaning of the simple verb root in the combination is given where this is known.

<i>dim</i>	<i>tyerrakul</i>	'sit talking'
<i>kirribem</i>	<i>tyerrakul</i>	'stand talking'
<i>yenim</i>	<i>tyerrakul</i>	'go talking'

(*tyerrakul* is obviously cognate with *djerrag* 'talk' in Gidja (Kofod: field notes) and *tjarrak* (P. and J. Taylor 1971:107) the word from which the Djarragan group of languages spoken in the East Kimberley gets its name. *djara* is 'mouth, lip' in Djamindjung (Cleverley 1968:53) and Ngaliwuru (Bolt, Hoddinott and Kofod 1971:158) and *djaragib* is 'talk' in both Ngaliwuru and Nungali.)

<i>wupun</i>	<i>tyerrbang</i>	'hit and cut (bang poke)'
<i>dem</i>	<i>tyerr-baty</i>	'lead' (<i>baty</i> 'general movement downwards')
<i>wursum</i>	<i>tyerr-binybiny</i>	'kiss' (<i>biny</i> is not recorded as a single verb root in Ngankikurungkurr but in Miriwung <i>buny</i> = 'kiss'; Kofod 1978:270)
<i>daran</i> IOpn	<i>tyerr-bu</i>	'scratch one's sunburn' (<i>bubu</i> 'be sleepy', 'soft', 'rotten, decayed')
<i>bengin</i>	<i>tyerr-fal</i> (<i>tyerr-falfil</i>)	'grow' (<i>fal</i> 'all night')
<i>dangin</i>	<i>tyerr-gat</i> (<i>tyerr-gatit</i>)	'gather', 'pick someone up in a car'
<i>dingim</i> DOpn	<i>tyerr-gat</i>	'answer someone' (<i>gat</i> 'pick up, gather,
<i>yenim</i>	<i>tyerr-kay</i>	'call, ask' (<i>kay</i> 'call')
<i>dim</i>	<i>tyerr-ket</i>	'be stuck in sand (car)'
<i>bengim</i>	<i>tyerr-ket</i>	'shave'
<i>dingim</i>	<i>tyerr-ket</i>	'light a cigarette' (<i>ket</i> 'cut')
<i>wursun</i>	<i>tyerr-kukuduk</i>	'put tongue in and out (snakes)' (<i>kuduk</i>
<i>bengim</i>	<i>tyerr-lala</i> (<i>tyerr lalalala</i>)	'chop open, split' (<i>lala</i> 'chop open, split')
<i>diwen</i>	<i>tyerr-lek</i>	'lick lips' (<i>lek</i> 'lick')
<i>yenim</i>	<i>tyerr-me</i>	'stop for a little while' (<i>me</i> durative prefix to numerals, see 3.1.4.1.2)

<i>wudupun</i>	<i>tyerr-pallak</i>	'prevent, stop (trans)'
<i>yenim</i>	<i>tyerr-pallak</i>	'fall off, come unstuck' e.g. spearhead (<i>pallak</i> 'lie down', 'give birth', 'lay eggs')
<i>wudupun</i>	<i>tyerr-pek</i>	'fill up (trans) (bag)' (<i>pek</i> 'paint', 'drip')
<i>dangim</i> DOpn	<i>tyerr-pu</i>	'ask'
<i>dagam</i>	<i>tyerr-tyirr</i>	'tread on'
	(<i>tyerr-syirrsyirr</i>)	
<i>dangim</i>	<i>tyerr-syirr</i>	'squash'
<i>wupun</i>	<i>tyerr-syirr</i>	'strike' (of lightning)
<i>wudem</i>	<i>tyerr-syirr</i>	'fall and break to pieces' (<i>syirr</i> 'flow, sweat, melt etc.')
<i>win</i> IOpn	<i>tyerr-syurr</i>	'shave self' (<i>syurr</i> 'pluck, remove hair of
<i>dem</i>	<i>tyerr-ta</i>	'open' (<i>ta</i> 'hit')
<i>dem</i>	<i>tyerr-tatit</i>	'yawn' (<i>tatit</i> 'put, set in place')
<i>dem</i>	<i>tyerr-tit</i>	'blow dust off something', 'set fire'
<i>dem</i>	<i>tyerr-tum</i>	'cause to sink, pull under'
<i>dim</i>	<i>tyerr-tum</i>	'sink (intrans)'
<i>wupun</i>	<i>tyerr-tum</i>	'close' (<i>tum</i> 'bury')
<i>bengim</i>	<i>tyerr-tyalit</i>	'cut up' (e.g. goose into joints)
<i>mengkin</i>	<i>tyerr-tyap</i>	'stick on' (spear head) (<i>styap</i> 'stick on')
<i>dangim</i>	<i>tyerr-tyuk</i>	'put into bag' (<i>tyuk</i> 'hit', 'send', 'move sideways' see 4.10)
<i>wudem</i> IOpn	<i>tyerr-wirr</i>	'put in one's mouth' (<i>wirr</i> 'inside')
<i>mengkin</i>	<i>tyerr-wurr</i>	'tie up mouth of sack' (<i>wurr</i> 'grass', 'tie up')

tyerr also occurs as the second element of the CVS in two cases.

346. *Wannim* *furr* - *tyerr* *fepi* *nyinin*.
3ns P-go-PRES foot-stop/mouth hill DEM
'They stop at the foot of that hill.'
347. *Werrbem* *pirrki* *mentyi-tyerr* *wuna* *pirri*.
3ns P-VC16-PRES 3dO neck stop/mouth DEM(r) ahead
'They (d) met each other up there ahead.'

detyerri 'ears' are the seat of knowledge and understanding. Most of the recorded instances of *tyerri* in the compound verb refer to this meaning of 'ear'.

348. *Wibem* *tyerri* - *baty*.
3s P-lie-PRES ear fall
'He hears.'
349. *Gebem* *tyerri* - *yilil*.
3s IMP-VC16-PRES ear listen
'He understands.'

tyerri occurs by itself with two different auxiliaries.

350. *Ngebi tyerri.*
1s-VC16-FUT ear
'I lost it.'

351. *Dangim tyerri dim.*
3s P-VC18-PRES ear OA:3s P-sit-PRES
'She is whispering.'

Presumably *tyerri* is used to mean 'whisper' because one has to 'put it in the ear' in order to be heard! An alternate verb root *we-tyerri* used with *dim* and *yenim* also means 'whisper'. *we* is the verb root meaning 'spit' so *we-tyerri* would mean 'to spit in the ear'. *tyerri* occurs in two discontinuous verb roots with the class 6 auxiliary *mem*.

<i>tyip men tyerre</i>	'he forgets' (<i>tyip</i> 'dark')
<i>werrng men tyerri</i>	'he remembers'

The adjective *detyerri-werri* 'knowing, knowledgeable' (literally 'ears having'), occurs preceding the movement verb class 4, giving *detyerri werri yenim* 'he knows'. *werri* is also combined with *tyerri* to give *werr-tyerri* 'to listen'.

4.9.2.2 OTHER NOMINALS AND LOCATIVES INCORPORATED IN THE CVS

A small number of other non-body part nominals have been observed in the verb phrase.

misyin 'oven, fireplace':

For example:

<i>yenim misyin - kulli</i>	'throw something on a fire (<i>kulli</i> 'throw')
<i>bengim misyin - pul</i>	'uncover food in fire (<i>pul</i> 'clean, uncover')
<i>dangim misyin - pup</i>	'put beside fire' (<i>pup</i> 'put on ground')

warrgadi 'bag' with auxiliary VC15:

<i>wudupun warrgadi</i>	'weave a bag'
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This is not the usual way of saying this. We have also recorded:

352. *Warrgadi dem wurity.*
bag 3s P-VC13-PRES make
'She is making a bag.'

Adjectives are used as compound verb stems usually with the causative auxiliary class 13 *dem/gerim* in transitive construction where the subject causes the object to take on the quality described by the adjective.

353. *Ngemi* \emptyset *dityungkurr.*
 1s-VC13-FUT 3sDO short
 'I will make it shorter.'
354. *Ngemi* \emptyset *fengku.*
 1s-VC13-FUT 3sDO long
 'I will make it longer.'

The relative locative particle *ngan* (6.7.6) occurs in eight compound verb stems preceding body parts of the locative nominal *dirr* 'edge'. All of these stems occur only with the orientation auxiliaries classes 1 to 4(a) except for the only stem in which the body part precedes *ngan*. Compare sentences 355 to 357 with sentence 358.

355. *Girim* *nyi* *ngan* *-wanyirr.*
 3s IMP-sit-PRES 2sDO REL(L) ribs
 'He is sitting near you.'
356. *Dini* *ngan-mentyi* *tye* *yewirr-nide.*
 3s P-sit-PAST REL(L) neck PAST tree -LOC
 'He was waiting near the tree.'
357. *Yerrwuni* *yerr-wasyanderri* *kirribe* *-ngan* *-fir* *wa-nide.*
 C(vii)DEM(r) C(vii)bag 3s IMP-stand-PRES REL(L) foot paperbark-LOC
 'That bag is at the foot of the paperbark tree.'
358. *Wannawam* *firr-ngan* *ngini* *kana.*
 3ns P-VC11-REFLEX-PRES foot-REL(L) FUT PUN
 'They went (took themselves) then to the foot of that place (hill).'

dirr 'edge, bank' is the second element in the CVS in *girim ngan-dirr* 'he is sitting on the edge'.

It occurs singly as a CVS in:

359. *Ngunni* *dirr* *tye* *ngannigeri* *dirrpederr.*
 1ns ex-VC14-PAST bank PAST OA:3ns ex-go along-PAST-walk river
 'We followed the river bank.'
360. *Diwin* *yerr - marrgu* *wiben* *dirr.*
 moon C(vii) new 3s P-lie-PRES bank
 'The new moon shines.'

It also occurs as the first element in the CVS in the verb phrases in sentences 361 to 363.

361. *Wudupun* \emptyset *dirr* *- fulirr.*
 3s P-VC15-PRES 3sDO edge - rub
 'He sharpens it.' (literally 'He rubs the edge.')

362. *Fiti wemi dirr-fil.*
sun 3s P-VC13-FUT edge-shine
'The sun will shine.'
363. *Yenim dirr-wap menyirr -nide.*
3s P-go-PRES bank -sit down wand LOC
'He went and sat down in the sand on the bank.'

4.9.3 THE CAUSATIVE PREFIXES TO COMPOUND VERB STEMS *mi-* AND *fi-*

4.9.3.1 *mi-*

mi- is found prefixed to simple verb roots (29 have been recorded) and in one case to a temporal *fal* 'all-night', and usually indicates that the subject causes the object of the sentence to do the action described. It has not been recorded preceding any stems which include body parts or other nominals.

Compare:

364. *Yedi fafa tye.*
3s P-go-PAST scream RED PAST
'He was screaming.'
365. *Bengim mi-fa.*
3s P-VC16-PRES CS-scream
'He hit him and made him scream.'/'He caused him to scream.'
366. *Wudem wul.*
3s P-VC10-PRES return
'He goes back.'
367. *Wudupun mi-wul.*
3s P-VC15-PRES CS-return
'He takes it back.'/'He causes it to return.'
368. *Wurwetimuy wuni yedi di tye wuni*
C(ii) little girl DEM(r) 3s P-go-PAST cry PAST DEM(r)
dani ngi mi-fal tye yedi.
3s P-VC18-PAST 1sDO CS-all-night PAST OA:3s P-go-PAST
'The little girl cried and kept me awake all night.'

Compound verb stems with the prefix *mi-* usually occur only with transitive auxiliaries. The one exception is *mi-wap* 'marry'.

369. *Yedi - werri kana yenim mi-wap.*
man PROP PUN 3s P-go-PRES CS-sit down/dwell
'She is married now (she is caused to live with a man now).'

Compare sentence 369 with *yenim wap* 'he/she sits down' (means either act of 'sitting' or 'to dwell').

4.9.3.2 *fi-*

The prefix *fi-* occurs mainly with verbs of putting, placing or giving. It may precede body parts, and even in two cases, the other prefix *mi-*.

It is homophonous with the single verb root *fi* (*fifi*) 'to breathe, blow'. *fi-* the prefix is never reduplicated.

It has been recorded in 30 different compound verb stems. In 17 of these it goes with auxiliary verb class 18 *dangim/garim* which has the general sense of putting (4.6.2). It has the general effect of causing the object to be in the position described.

370. *Dangi* (*ngi*) *fi-me*.
 3s P-VC18-PRES CS-hand
 'He gives it to me.'
 (The recipient is always the direct object with this verb.)
 'He causes it to be in my hand.'

371. *Bengim* *tyat*.
 3s P-VC16-PRES set upright
 'He sets it upright.'

372. *Dangim* *fi-tyat*.
 3s P-VC18-PRES CS-set upright
 'He sets it down.'

This verb often refers to firewood so it could also mean 'He sets wood in place for a fire.' or 'He makes a fire.'

373. *Dangim* *fi-misyin - tyat*.
 3s P-VC18-PRES CS-over - set upright
 'He puts it in the fire.'

374. *Yawul yewirr-nide ya* *fi - firr - tyuk*.
 spear tree LOC 2s-VC18-FUT CS - foot - put
 'Lean your spears at the foot of the tree.'

- 375(a) *Wudem* *wul*.
 3s P-VC10-PRES return
 'He goes back.'

- 375(b) *Wudem* *madi - wul*.
 3s P-VC10-PRES side - return
 'He turns over.'

375(c) *Wudupun* \emptyset *madi - wul.*
 3s P-VC15-PRES 3sDO side - return
 'He turns it over.'

375(d) *Wunni* *fi-madi-wul* *tye* *musyung.*
 3ns P-VC14-PAST CS-side return PAST swag
 'They loaded the swags (on the truck) (caused them to be turned over and placed there).'

The sunrise is considered to be putting itself on the place described.

376. *Dangim* *fi-rsul* *mirri.*
 3s P-VC18-PRES CS sunrise sun
 'The sun rises.'/'The sun causes its light to be there.'

377. *Dangim* *fi-derri - rsul.*
 3s P-VC18-PRES CS-back sunrise
 'The sun rises.'/'It causes the light to be on the riverbank.'

The two causative markers are combined in *fi-mi-tatit* 'teach'.

378. *Wuruningki* *dani* *ngi* *fi-mi-tatit* *tye*
 C(ii)DEM(r)AGE 3s P-VC18-PAST 1sDO CS-CS-put-RED Past
warrgadi -ngini.
 bag PURP
 'That woman taught me to make billybags.'

fi- also occurs in the two verb stems recorded which mean 'to make a mistake', *fi-gerrirr* and *fi-ket* (*gerrirr* and *ket* both mean 'cut').

With an indirect object, *fi ket* means 'to tell a lie'.

379. *Dingi - mbi* *fi-ket.*
 3s P-VC22-2sIO CS cut
 'He is telling you a lie.'

fi- also occurs with *way* 'nothing' to form an inability marker *fi-way*.

4.9.4. THE INABILITY MARKER *way*

The notion of ability to perform an action is normally expressed by the indicative form of the verb. 'Singing' involves knowing how to sing or being able to sing. Similarly inability is implied in the non-performance of an action. 'I am not able to go' is implied in 'I am not going'. It can also be expressed by a compound verb *dagan tyuk* 'he/she can't do it' (see 4.6.2, sentence 209; 4.10, sentences 411 and 412).

'I am not allowed to go' is expressed by use of *mintana nana* with the future indicative (4.5.3.2). However where the non-performance of an action depends on some external factor the notion of

inability is conveyed by *fi-way* or *madi-way*. *fi-way* means that the action is impossible because it is beyond the possibility of achievement. *madi-way* means it is impossible because it is out of reach.

380. *Wirrnyingkin fi-way ; kuri minta kuri.*
 3ns P-see-PRES CS-be unable water NEG water
 'They could not see any water (because there was none).'
381. *Minta fala aba nem dinyingkin ne fi-way.*
 NEG fellow brother 3s(m)pn 3s P-see-PRES 3s(m)IO CS-be unable
 'He couldn't see his brother (because no-one was there).'
382. *Miyi ngayi ngudupun purity werifepi - nide*
 GEN:plant food 1s pn 1s-VC15-PRES hide cave LOC
epe ngudam wul nginyingkin fi-way.
 but 1s-VC10-PRES return 1s-see-PRES CS-be unable
 'I hid my food in a cave but when I came back I could not see it (because it was gone).'
383. *Miyi yeyi - ningki gangki -wurru.*
 GEN:plant food other INST high INTENS
Wannangu madi - way.
 3ns P-VC11-PRES-d side - be unable
 'That other fruit is too high. They (d) can't reach it.'

way is used as CVS by itself to mean 'lonely'.

384. *Ngemen way.*
 1s-VC23-PRES be lonely
 'I am lonely.'

Combined with *me* (*deme* 'hand) it means 'empty handed'.

385. *Wa-tyatma-ba-ta epe detyengi yedi way-me tye.*
 C(i) straight-arm-hit but today 3s P-go-PAST empty-hand PAST
 'He is a good shot but today he came empty handed.'

way is combined with *muy* 'self' giving *way-muy* 'to be alone'.

386. *Dini ne wayi - muy tye / minta fala.*
 3s P-sit-PAST 3s(m)IO empty handed PAST NEG fellow
 'She was waiting alone for him but he didn't come.'

4.9.5 VERB STEMS PRECEDING THE AUXILIARY

A small number of compound verb stems precede the auxiliary verb. These verb stems are mainly adjectival in function and describe cognitive and emotional states or physical conditions. They

normally occur with the intransitive auxiliary verbs, classes 1 to 4 or class 6 'to say or do'. The main exception to this is *derrigirri* 'to like, want' which occurs with verb class 13 *dem/gerim*.

Body parts occurring in stems which precede the auxiliary usually retain the class marker *da-/de-*. In many cases they could perhaps be better described as idiomatic expressions.

387. *Dege lengkirr ngaganim.*
 stomach bad 1s-go-PRES
 'I am ill./I am upset.'
388. *Dege wirribem.*
 stomach 3s P-stand-PRES
 'She is pregnant.'
389. *Watyerrmusye mirsi yenim.*
 C(i) old man die 3s P-go-PRES
 'The old man had died.'
390. *Muy-wursirr yenim.*
 self move 3s P-go-PRES
 'He is afraid.'

Note: this compound is found reversed following the auxiliary.

- 390(a) *Yenim wursirr - muy.*
 3s P-go-PRES move - self
 'He is afraid.'
391. *Wur - guniguni nganki nyin detyerri - werri gaganim.*
 C(ii) old woman language DEM ear - PROP 3s IMP-g-PRES
 'The old woman can understand this language.'
392. *Wa - weti wuwu wu - ngayi derrigirri dem.*
 C(i) little C(v) dog C(v) 1s pn like 3s P-VC13-PRES
 'The little boy likes/wants my dog.'

walalma describes the state rather than the act of hunting. It usually precedes *yenim*. *ngini* or *kana* may follow *walalma* rather than the auxiliary.

- 393(a) *Walalma kana ngaddi tye.*
 hunting PUN 1ns-go-PAST PAST
 'We (pl ex) went hunting then.'
- 393(b) *Walalma -ngini yenim.*
 hunting PURP 3s P-go-PRES
 'He was going hunting.'

394. *Pallak ngim.*
sick 1s-do/say-PRES
'I am sick.'
395. *Damuy dudu mem.*
C(viii) eye swollen 3s-do/say-PRES
'His eye is swollen.'

Swollen body parts may also be described by discontinuous verb stems where the body part without class marker follows the auxiliary.

396. *Defirr dudu mem firr.*
C(viii) foot swollen 3s-do/say-PRES foot
'His foot swelled up.'

4.9.6 DISCONTINUOUS COMPOUND VERB STEMS

A small number of verb stems occur both prefixed and suffixed to the auxiliary verb. These verbs describe bodily actions and cognitive-emotional states, as do those which precede the auxiliary. Most of these occur with class 6 *mem* 'say', 'do'. (All the compound verb stems which have been recorded with *mem* either precede it or are discontinuous.)

fil - muy 'notice':

397. *Fil wirrim muy.*
right 3ns-say-PRES eye
'They noticed him.'

tyip - tyerri 'forget':

398. *Tyip mem tyerri nganki nyinin.*
dark 3s-say-PRES ear story DEM
'He has forgotten that story.'

tyety - ge 'stop':

399. *Kuri tyety meng ge.*
rain stop 3s-say-PRES stomach
'The rain stopped.'

pallak - muy 'wink':

400. *Yedi wuni pallak men - ngindi muy.*
man DEM drop/be tired 3s say-PRES-1sIO eye
'That man winked at me.'

yiri - pi 'be shy', 'ashamed':

401. *Yiri - mem pi.*
 be ashamed 3s-say-PRES head
 'He is ashamed.'

dege - DOpn wa 'love someone':

402. *Dege ngimingkin nyi wa.*
 stomach 1s-VC12-PRES 2sDO pick up
 'I love you.'

taty - pal 'break off':

403. *Taty dem pal.*
 snap 3s P-VC13-PRES break
 'He broke it off.'

tyifek - we 'spit':

404. *Tyifek yenim we midamuy.*
 spit 3s P-go-PRES spit C(iv) eye
 'She spat out the seed.'

4.10 THE SELECTION OF AUXILIARIES

Verb conjugations in Ngankikurungkurr are determined both by the morphology of the auxiliary verbs and by the compound verb stems which select them. The selection of auxiliaries is a complex matter and there is a great deal of variation between the ability of compound verb stems to occur with a number of auxiliaries. Some stems may occur with several different auxiliaries while others occur with only one or two.

Conversely some auxiliaries may occur with a large number of compound verb stems, while others may occur with only a handful. While the matter of selection is very complex it is clear that both semantic and syntactic considerations are involved. The compound verb stem in Ngankikurungkurr is capable of expressing meanings which are both wide and precise. It is in the combination of auxiliary and compound stem that the meaning of the verb resides. On its own either has a vague general significance which is often hard to establish, and which varies with different partners. In general the auxiliary provides information as to the manner in which the action was performed. This provides a rather general specification such as indicating whether the action was one done standing or sitting or whether it involved the hand in downward movements or horizontal ones. The verb stem in these cases makes the action more particular; identifying it as chopping rather than slicing or as covering rather than pulling, for example.

The range of meanings which can be achieved by use of the same CVS with different auxiliaries can be demonstrated by giving examples of the use of the very common CVS *tyuk* which has the

general meaning of ‘hit’ or ‘send on a horizontal place’. It occurs in its unmodified or reduplicated forms with eight different auxiliaries.

With VC14 it means ‘hit’:

405. *Wupun tyuk dim efengku yewirr -ningki.*
 3s P-VC14-PRES hit OA:3s P-sit-PRES C(iv) snake stick INST
 ‘He is hitting the snake with a stick.’

With VC15 it means ‘send’ or ‘let go’:

406. *Nyinyi napadeti yudupun tyuk!*
 2s pn must 2s-VC15-PRES let go
 ‘You must have let him go!’
407. *Kala ngagurr wudupun ngirr tyuk mi-purppurrk peke.*
 mother 1pl ex 3s P-VC15-PRES 1pl send C(vi) PLUR tobacco
 ‘Our mother sent us fruit and tobacco.’

With VC20 it means ‘to burn’ (transitive):

408. *Miringki wuni yine tyuk!*
 leaf DEM 2s-VC20-FUT burn
 ‘Burn up those leaves!’

With the impersonal VC26 it also means ‘to burn’ or ‘to be hot’:

409. *Fiti wayim pirr tyuk.*
 sun 3s P-VC26-PRES 3plO burn
 ‘The sun made them hot.’/‘They were hot because of the sun.’

With the reflexive/reciprocal VC24 it means ‘to hit each other’:

410. *Wirrenigu tyuk tye winne.*
 3ns P-VC24-PAST-d hit PAST OA:3ns P-sit-PAST-d
 ‘They (d) were hitting each other.’

With VC11 it has the unexpected meaning of ‘to forget’, ‘to be unable to do something’:

411. *Wuruni dagan tyuk munguyil - ngini*
 C(ii)DEM(r) 3s P-VC11-PRES forget paddle PURP
yeningan -ngini.
 C(vii)that one PURP
 ‘That woman cannot paddle that thing (the canoe).’
412. *Nganang tyuk.*
 1s-VC11-PRES forget
 ‘I have forgotten.’/‘I don’t know.’

With VC8 it has been recorded with the meaning 'gather together' in a reflexive type construction. The following example is from Text 4, sentence 1:

413. *Kagu awerrbalarr apurrpurk warrgatyen tyutyuk*
 GEN:meat C(iv) birds C(iv) PLUR 3ns-bring-PRES gather RED
mirri kulyi kuderrri - nide wangga - ngini.
 sun evening billabong LOC dance PURP
 'All the birds gathered together in the evening at the billabong for the *wangga*.'

This is the only record of this use in Ngankikurungkurr but in Ngankiwumirri we have *yawa tyutyuk* 'you heap it up' which obviously has the same auxiliary and general meaning.

In Text 1, sentence 2 we have the same general sense of 'gathered together' or 'heaped up' with VC1 being used as a stative verb.

414. *Fepi peyi bakuty dini tyuk tye.*
 stone there many 3s-sit-PAST heap up PAST
 'There were lots of stones heaped up there (by the flood).'

tyuk also occurs in modified form with body parts and the causative prefix *fi-* to give a further seven possible compound verbs.

firr - tyuk (*defirr* 'foot') 'burn foot':

415. *Wa wirrki firr - tyuk kana yengki - ningki.*
 3s P-VC26-FUT 3dO foot burn PUN fire INST
 'The fire will burn their (d) feet then.'

fi-firr-tyuk 'cause to be at the foot of':

416. *Yawul yewirr -nide ya fi-firr-tyuk!*
 spear tree LOC 2s-VC18-FUT CS-foot-put
 'Lean the spears at the foot of the tree!'

me-tyuk (*deme* 'hand') 'burn hand':

417. *Wayim pirrki me-tyuk.*
 3s P-VC26-PRES 3dO hand burn
 'Their (d) hands were burnt.'

me - tyutyuk 'prevent':

418. *Deme me-tyutyuk tye.*
 3s-VC13-PAST hand-stop RED PAST
 'She restrained him/stopped him (fighting).'

fi-me-tyuk ‘give’:

419. *Tyiringgi ya-ngi fi-me-tyuk.*
 string 2s-VC18-FUT-1sDO CS-hand-put
 ‘Give me some string.’

tyerr-tyuk (*detyerr* ‘mouth’) ‘put into something’:

420. *Ngarrim tyerr-tyuk mi purrpurrk bag -nide.*
 1ns ex-VC18-PRES mouth - put C(vi) PLUR LOC
 ‘We put the fruit into a bag.’

fi - tyuk ‘put’:

421. *Fepi warringgu fi-tyuk data - wu - ningki.*
 stone 3ns P-VC18-PRES-d CS-put side - DEM(r) - INST
 ‘They put the stones in the other side.’
422. *Yawul yerr-wu-nide warrim fi-tyutyuk wannim.*
 spear C(vii)DEM(r)LOC 3ns P-VC18-PRES CS-put RED OA:3ns P-go-PRES
 ‘They went and put the spears near that tree.’

fi-madi-tyutyuk (*madi* ‘low’, ‘side’, *damadi* ‘chest’) ‘put inside’:

423. *Malarrgu ya fi - madi - tyutyuk yerr-wasyanderri - nide!*
 turtle 2s-VC18-FUT CS - side - put RED C(vii) bag LOC
 ‘Put the turtles in the bag!’

An examination of the glossary will reveal many more compound verb stems which select different auxiliaries with different meanings. Most compound verb stems do not select as many auxiliaries as *tyuk*. Usually, as with *tyuk*, a general overall meaning can be perceived by examination of the different combinations. However in some cases the meanings vary widely.

For example, *minyirr* (*miminyirr*) with VC26 in impersonal constructions means ‘to be thirsty’:

424. *Wayi -ngi minyirr.*
 3s P-VC26-PRES 1sDO be thirsty
 ‘I am thirsty.’

With VC10 it means ‘to laugh’:

425. *Ngayim gudem miminyirr girim.*
 3s(f)pn 3 IMP-VC10-PRES laugh RED OA:3s IMP-sit-PRES
 ‘She is laughing.’
 (Could it mean to gasp as one would if one was thirsty?)

With VC18 it means 'to stab':

426. *Yawul -ningki warrim minyirr napa.*
 spear INST 3ns P-VC18-PRES stab LIM
 'They stabbed him with spears.'

And with VC14 it means 'to kill':

427. *Wayedi wuni tyuk tye efengku warakma*
 C(i) man 3s-VC14-PAST hit PAST C(iv) snake three
wupun minyirr kana.
 3s P-VC14-PRES kill PUN
 'The man hit the snake three times, then he killed it.'

In some cases prediction of the choice of auxiliary for a particular CVS is very difficult for the non-native speaker. Some verb stems may occur with any of the auxiliaries indicating bodily orientation or motion depending on the literal context.

For example, the singing sticks may be played while sitting down, standing up or while in motion; crying, eating and drinking may all be done in any state (for example babies lie down to drink).

The CVS *fili (fifili)* 'move about' has been recorded with auxiliary verb classes 1, 2, 3 and 4. (Crocodiles lie down to move about.) However, other verb stems always select one particular orientation auxiliary by convention. Rain always stands, the wind lies down. *tyerri - baty* 'to hear, understand, know' always occurs with VC3 *wibem/gibem* 'to lie down'; *wap* which describes the action of sitting down and is also used to mean 'dwell' or 'live somewhere' always takes VC4 *yenim/gaganim*.

leli 'walk' and *yeleli* 'run' may select *girribem/wirribem* 'to stand, be upright' as well as the motion verb classes 4 and 4(a).

Some of the semantic restrictions are determined by the subjects of the auxiliaries; whether they are male humans or females, animate or inanimate. Thus verbs like 'marry' or 'dance' vary in both auxiliary and stem depending on whether the subject is male or female.

428. *Wa-yedi mungkin ba-wa wur-falmi.*
 C(i) man 3s P-VC12-PRES arm-pick up C(ii) woman
 'The man marries the woman.'
429. *Wur-falmi yenim wap.*
 C(ii) woman 3s P-go-PRES sit down/dwell
 'The woman marries.'
430. *Awa - bakuty yenim purrpurrk.*
 C(iii) many 3s P-go-PRES dance RED
 'A lot of men are dancing.'
 (Note: *bakuty* is often treated grammatically as a singular.)

431. *Awa -falmi warrakma girrim walamara.*
 C(iii) woman three 3ns IMP-sit-PRES dance
 'Three women are dancing.'

Auxiliary selection is also determined by the syntactic meaning of the sentence, and is important in determining whether sentences are transitive, intransitive, reflexive, causative or impersonal. Auxiliary verbs are not formally marked for transitivity or intransitivity. They can only be classified as generally intransitive, generally transitive or generally reflexive. Transitive type verb stems normally select transitive auxiliaries while generally intransitive auxiliaries occur with the intransitive verb stems or as stative verbs. However as has already been mentioned in the discussion of the semantic meanings of each of the auxiliary verb classes, generally transitive auxiliaries sometimes form intransitive compound verbs and vice versa. This is most common with the intransitive verbs of bodily orientation and motion.

432. *Ngapa ngaddi wirr kutkut tye awa-purppurrk.*
 up on shoulder 1ns ex-go-PAST 3plO carry on shoulder PAST C(iii)PLUR
 'We carried the children on our shoulders.'
433. *Wuwu ding kurrkurr ngityirr.*
 C(v) dog 3s P-sit-PRES dig RED ground
 'The dog is digging the ground.'
434. *Wuruni wurapuderrri kuri yenim wuty.*
 C(ii)DEM(r) C(ii) young woman water 3s P-go-PRES pour out
 'The young woman poured out the water.'
435. *Awa-purppurrk tea giringgu madi-wutyity.*
 C(iii)PLUR 3ns IMP-sit-PRES-d side pour RED
 'The children are pouring out the tea.'

Transitivity is indicated by the presence of a direct or indirect object NP or pronoun suffix; as has been indicated earlier with the exception of the third person singular direct object, direct object pronouns normally do not occur with indirect object pronouns which take precedence over them. In the absence of an indirect object pronoun or an object NP, transitive auxiliaries are regarded as having the third person singular direct object pronoun which is zero marked. Where a transitive CVS occurs with an intransitive auxiliary and no object NP or pronoun it could be described as pseudo-intransitive.

Compare:

436. *A-nganifinyi dini kurrkurr tye.*
 C(iv) echidna 3s P-sit-PAST dig RED PAST
 'The echidna was digging.'

In sentence 436 the echidna could be said to be 'in a digging state', but in sentence 433 above the object NP *ngityirr* renders the sentence transitive.

In general the notion of transitivity is bound up with the action being performed by an active and controlling, usually human, agent. This can be seen if we compare the following sentences:

437. *Yedi ningki amatyi dangim pawal yawul ningki.*
 male AGE C(iv) kangaroo 3s P-VC18-PRES pierce spear INST
 'The man killed the kangaroo with a spear.'
438. *Yawul - ningki dangim ∅ pawal.*
 spear AGE INST 3s P-VC18-PRES 3sDO pierce
 'The spear killed it./'He killed it with a spear.'
439. *Wa - weti - ningki dangi - ne fi - ket ngatya*
 C(i) little AGE 3s P-VC18-PRES-3s(m)IO CS - kill father
nem yawul - ningki.
 3s(m)pn spear INST
 'The little boy killed his father with a spear accidentally.'
440. *Yawul warri-ne fi - ket.*
 spear 3ns P-VC18-PRES-3s(m)IO CS-kill
 'The spears killed him accidentally.'

In sentences 437 and 438 the killing of the kangaroo is carried out as a willed act. In 437 the agent is clearly specified as human; in 438 it is ambiguous as to whether the spear is the subject or the instrument but the verb makes it clear that the spearing was purposive. In both cases the compound verb is transitive and takes the direct object.

The verb in both 439 and 440 has the causative marker *fi* and the patient is expressed by the indirect object pronoun. The general sense of 439 and 440 is that the subject brought about a state of affairs by means of which the patient was killed, but that the subject was not directly the killer or the consciously responsible agent. In this it resembles some causative expressions like:

441. *Yengki nide nga-mbi fi-tat.*
 fire LOC 1s-VC18-FUT-2sIO CS put
 'I will put it near the fire for you./'I will cause it to be near the fire for you.'

where the agent is providing the conditions in which the action may take place rather than itself performing the action. Here again the beneficiary of the action is in the dative.

There is obviously scope for a lot of further study of the status of transitivity versus intransitivity in Ngankikurungkurr.

5. ADVERBS AND PARTICLES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Adverbs and particles in Ngankikurungkurr modify verb phrases, sentences and other adverbs. They express notions of time, frequency and duration. They describe spatial notions of location, direction and extent. They describe the manner and intensity of an action. Adverbs may occur in combination with other adverbs and may take derivational suffixes. They usually occur either sentence initially or sentence finally; but they need not do so. Unlike the other constituents of the sentence they have a relative freedom of position in the sentence.

The group of disyllabic modifying particles, some of which act as case marking clitics in the NP are usually (but not always) found embedded in the verb phrase when functioning as adverbs.

Much of the type of information carried by adverbs may already be expressed in the verb phrase for example, by the use of compound verb roots which include locatives, by reduplication of the verb root or by the use of orientation auxiliaries. Adverbs and particles offer further specification to this information.

5.2 ADVERBS OF MANNER

The manner in which an action is carried out is normally conveyed by an adjective which precedes or follows the verb phrase.

luruty 'strong', 'hard', 'loud':

1. *Kuri yaga luruty gibem yeledi.*
water DEM strong 3s IMP-lie-PRES run RED
'The water is flowing quickly (i.e. the current is strong).'
2. *Ngaytpirr yedi -tye. Minta tye ngirrim*
far away 3s-go-PAST PAST NEG PAST 1s-stand-FUT
ne kay luruty.
3s(m)IO call strong/loud
'He was too far away. I couldn't call loudly enough.'

yubu 'good, well':

3. *Yengki wuni waying gerrgirr yubu - napa.*
fire DEM(r) 3s P-VC26-IMPERS cut RED good LIM
'That fire is burning very well.'

warrmadi 'fast, quick':

4. *Wa - weti warrmadi dagam fital.*
 C(i) small quick 3s P-VC11-PRES grow
 'The little boy is growing quickly.'
5. *Wa-wetimuy wuda bat tye kuri -nide*
 C(i) little self 3s P-VC11-FUT fall PAST water LOC
epe aba nem -ningki dinyingkin Ø
 but brother 3s(m)pn AGE 3s P-see-PRES 3sDO
den Ø tip warrmadi.
 3s P-VC13-PRES 3sDO catch in hand quickly
 'The little boy was about to fall in the water but his brother saw him and grabbed him quickly.'

5.3 TEMPORAL SPECIFIERS

Temporal specification is one of the functions of the auxiliary verb and is obligatorily indicated by the tense stem and the tense marker (4.4). Additional temporal specification may be indicated by any of a number of temporal specifiers.

5.3.1 TEMPORAL NOMINALS

A number of temporal specifiers are formally nouns and are able to take case markers and/or adjectival qualification. They never occur with class prefixes. They include:

<i>kulyi</i>	'evening'
<i>mirrikulyi</i>	'sunset' (<i>mirri</i> 'sun' + <i>kulyi</i>)
<i>mirrgangki</i>	'daytime' (<i>mirri</i> + <i>gangki</i> 'high', 'sky')
<i>nganingiyi</i>	'night time'
<i>kidin</i>	'wet season', 'year'
<i>diwin</i>	'moon', 'month'
<i>kudede</i>	'rainy season' (<i>kuri</i> 'water' + <i>dede</i> 'camp', 'country')
<i>marrawuk</i>	'dry season', 'hot wind'
<i>detyengi</i>	'today'

Further temporal expressions may be derived by addition of the clitics *-nimbi*, *-ningki* and *-pefi*.

(a) *-nimbi* is used in temporal expressions with the meaning of 'before the time expressed by the adverb'. Thus:

<i>kulyi - nimbi</i>	'yesterday'
<i>nganingiyi -nimbi</i>	'last night'

With *apiri* 'before' it expresses 'the one before last'.

<i>diwin -apiri -nimbi</i>	'the month before last'
<i>kidin -apiri -nimbi</i>	'the year before last'

(We have no record however of the use of *diwin -nimbi* or *kidin -nimbi* as temporals.)

(b) *-ningki* may express the sense of ‘during’ or ‘at the time when’.

mirrgangka -ningki ‘during the daytime’

It may also be used to derive temporal expressions from noun phrases.

wa - weti ‘little boy’

wa - weti -ningki ‘when I/he was a little boy’

6. *Yengki ngebe gerrgirr ngagadi wa-weti-ningki.*
 firewood 1s-VC16-PAST cut RED OA:1s-go-PAST C(i) small - AGE
 ‘I used to cut the wood when I was small.’

Sometimes the direct object pronoun precedes *ningki*.

- 6(a) *Angku ngayi mirsi yenim wur-weti-ngi-ningki*
 grandfather 1s pn die 3s P-go-PRES C(ii) little-1sDO-AGE

deti ngagadi tye.

also 1s-go-PAST PAST

‘My grandfather died when I was a little girl.’

ningki also occurs in *ngunyine-ningki* ‘tomorrow’ and in the Ngankiwumirri *wada-ningki* ‘tomorrow’.

(c) *-pefi* occurs in temporal expressions with the meaning of ‘next’.

diwin kinta pefi ‘next month’

kidin kinta pefi ‘next year’

With *detyengi* it means ‘soon’ or ‘just recently’.

7. *Detyengi -pefi wayim purrngpurng.*
 today ALL 3s P-burn-IMPERS boil RED
 ‘It will soon be boiling.’

detyengi with *-napa* ‘only’ gives *detyengi napa* ‘the first time’ and with the emphatic *-ta*: *-detyengi -ta* ‘immediately’.

Other temporal expressions are formed by the use of *apirri* ‘before’ and *yeyi* ‘other’ which with the reduplicated form of the noun give the sense of ‘every’ and with the single noun only means ‘next’.

kidin ‘year’

diwin ‘month’

kidin apirri

diwin apirri

‘last year’

‘last month’

kidin kidin yeyi ‘every year’

mirri mirri yeyi ‘every day’

kulyi kulyi yeyi ‘every night’

diwin yeyi ‘next month’

kidin yeyi ‘next year’

8. *Yedi tyerrmusye kin-ta wannin wapup*
 GEN:male old man DEM(p)-EMPH 3ns P-go-PRES sit down RED
mirri-mirri-yeyi.
 every day
 'The old men sit here every day.'

We have also recorded:

- kultyi - yeyi - ningki* 'the day before yesterday'
mirri - yeyi - nawa 'the day after tomorrow'
Sunday syirre - nawa 'next week (after next Sunday)'

5.3.2 PUNCTILIAR TEMPORALS

There are a number of punctiliar temporals which indicate the time at which an action took place. These include:

- mada wetimbi* 'a long time ago, once upon a time'
marrgu - ningki 'the first time'
yiba 'later'
apirri 'before'
mendi - kana 'soon'
syirre 'after'

mada wetimbi is used to begin six of the traditional stories recorded in Ngankikurungkurr.

It also occurs with *nimbi* in the following:

9. *Detyerri-werri yenim yerr - yaga madawetimbi-nimbi*
 ear PROP 3s P-go-PRES C(vii) DEM old times ABL
wirrme waddi.
 3ns-do/say-PAST OA:3ns-go-PAST
 'He knows everything about the old times.'

marrgu -ningki:

10. *Marrgu -ningki ngaddi tye gimin ngirrnyingkin*
 new AGE 1ns ex-go-PAST PAST when 1ns ex-see-PRES
-pirrki John and Dora kagu angangkurr waddu
 3dO GEN:meat C(iv) prawn 3ns-go-PAST
wuty tye.
 throw PAST
 'The first time we went there we saw John and Dora catching prawns.'

yiba:

11. *Aba ngayi yiba yerr-kide warrim fityat.*
 brother 1s pn later C(vii) where 3ns-VC18-PRES move
 'My brothers will move it somewhere later.'

apirri:

12. *Apirri wur - weti - ningki ngagadi nanama.*
 before C(ii) little AGE 1s-go-PAST sing
 'Before when I was a little girl I used to sing.'
13. *Apirri nginyingkin Ø winge tye.*
 before 1s-see-PRES 3sDO 3s-lie-PAST PAST
 'The last time I saw him he was sleeping.'

apirri may be followed by the clitics *-nimbi* and *-kirri* giving

apirri - nimbi 'a long time ago'
apirri - kirri 'a very long time ago'

apirri-kirri occurs in a Ngankikurungkurr song by Miriam-Rose Angkanmerr with the past tense marker. *apirri-kirri-tye* is translated by Miriam as 'it should have been done before (i.e. people should have gone back to their country)'.

pirri 'first' (in time), 'ahead' (in place) and *kana* 'now' (with present tense), 'then' (with past tense) and 'soon' (with future tense) may be embedded in the VP (4.4) or sometimes may occur freely elsewhere in the sentence.

14. *Warranugu pek durrmu pirri.*
 3ns P-VC25-PAST-d paint designs first
Warranugu pe::::::::::::k tyamirri, yi
 3ns P-VC25-PAST-d paint finished and
kak kana wadde karrbu.
 set off now 3ns-go-PAST-d go down
 'They painted themselves with designs first. They kept painting until it was properly finished and then they set off down.'
15. *Yedi pirri wannu geri tye musyung -werri.*
 man ahead 3ns-go along-PAST-walk PAST away PROP
 'The men went ahead with the swags.'
16. *Ngiwi kuduk pirri yi miyi kana ngursu waty.*
 1s-sit-FUT drink first and food PUN 1s-eas-FUT finish
 'I will drink first and then eat.'

kana occurs in the derived expression *mendi kana* 'soon'.

17. *Kudede mendi kana.*
 wet season close now
 'It will soon be the wet season.'

syirre 'after' (in time), 'behind' (in location):

18. *Yi ngagurr ngannigeri tye kana pefi syirre.*
 and 1pl ex 1ns ex-go along-PAST-walk PAST PUN ALL after
 'Then we all went along that way later.'

syirre is often combined with the demonstrative *nyin(in)* giving *syirre nyinin* ‘after that’ (event), (see sentence 7, Text 6). *syirre nyin* may be followed by the intensifier *kirri* giving *syirre nyin kirri* ‘immediately after that’.

5.3.3 ADVERBS OF DURATION

Adverbs of duration describe how long the action described by the verb continued. They include:

<i>fal</i>	‘all night long’
<i>tyip</i>	‘all day until dark’
<i>fekiderri</i>	‘a long time’
<i>wityi</i>	‘a little while’
<i>puy</i>	‘continuous action’
<i>guguk</i>	‘still’
<i>napareti (napa + deti)</i>	‘always’, ‘still’

fekiderri ‘for a long time’:

19. *Dini ngan-mentyi tye fekiderri.*
 3s-sit-PAST wait PAST for a long time
 ‘He waited for a long time.’

fal ‘all night long’:

20. *Nginni syisyi tye fal.*
 1ns ex-sit-PAST shiver RED PAST all night
 ‘We were shivering all night.’
21. *Kuri wiringe syirrsyirr tye tyip.*
 rain 3s-stand-PAST flow RED PAST all day
 ‘It was raining all day long.’

guguk and *puy* are homophonous with exclamations meaning ‘wait!’ and ‘keep going!’.

guguk as an adverb means to continue performing the action while in the one place, and may be translated as ‘still’.

22. *Miyi guguk waddi lalirr tye.*
 food still 3ns-go-PAST eat PAST
 ‘They were still eating.’
23. *Ep guguk mindyirri dem baty.*
 perhaps still cold/flu 3s P-VC13-PRES have
 ‘Perhaps he still has a cold.’

guguk or its abbreviated form *guk* may be combined with *deti* ‘also’ or the intensifier *kirri*.

24. *Guk deti girrungu lalirr.*
 still also 3ns IMP-sit-PRES-d eat
 ‘They (d) are still eating.’

25. *Wirrim guguk - kirri wanawani fulirr*
 3pl pn still INTENS 3ns-VC11-REFLEX-PAST paint
tye winni.
 PAST OA:3nd-sit-PAST
 'They were still sitting rubbing themselves with paint.'

puy indicates continuous or repeated action. It has been found embedded in the verb phrase (4.4) or it may occur freely in the sentence. It is most common with verbs of motion but may be found with any verb.

26. *Puy nganigeri tye.*
 keep on 1s-go along-PAST-walk PAST
 'I kept on walking.'
27. *Puy nginni madi wirri tye nganki nyin*
 keep on 1ns-sit-PAST laugh PAST story DEM
ngertryem tyerri-baty.
 1ns ex-lie-PRES ear fall
 'We kept on laughing when we heard that story.'

It may be combined with *pefi* 'that way', the allative clitic:

28. *Ngambanime puy -pefi!*
 1inc-go-FUT-pl keep on ALL
 'Let us keep on going that way!'

wityi when embedded in the verb phrase usually acts as a hortative meaning 'let us do it' or 'let it happen', or as a desiderative with the meaning 'I/you/he etc. would like it to happen'. As a free adverb it can usually be translated as 'for a little while' or 'a little bit'.

29. *Dede wuni wityi wa -nide*
 camp DEM(r) for a little while paperbark LOC
ngitinge tutu tye epe fintyi
 1ns ex-stand-PAST sleep RED PAST but banyan tree
-nide kana ngitibem tutu.
 LOC now 1ns ex-stand-PRES sleep RED
 'We camped for a little while near that paperbark tree but now are camped near the banyan tree.'

In this sentence both interpretations of *wityi* are combined:

30. *Kin-ta wirrim wityi.*
 DEM(p)-EMPH 3ns P-sit-PRES HOR/for a while
 'Let them stay here for a while.'/'Leave them here for a while.'

wityi is found in the verbless statement in Text 7, sentence 18:

31. *Ngayi wityi -ka!*
 1s pn HOR EMPH
 'Let me do it!' or 'My turn now!'

napa deti (*napa* ‘only’ + *deti* ‘also’, ‘should’) (most commonly heard as *naparreti*) may be translated as ‘still’, ‘always’ or ‘for a long time’. It is often combined with the demonstrative *kinyi* and *wuni* ‘to give’.

- | | | |
|---------------------|--|----------------------|
| <i>ki-napa-deti</i> | | ‘still/always here’ |
| <i>wu-napa-deti</i> | | ‘still/always there’ |
32. *Ngitibem tyalak naparreti.*
 Ins ex-stand-PRES stand upright always
 ‘We all keep on standing.’
33. *Bilirri naparreti girim.*
 alive still 3s IMP-sit-PRES
 ‘He is still alive.’
34. *Kinapadeti ngaganim wapup.*
 here always 1s-go-PRES sit down RED
 ‘I always sit here.’
35. *Wunaparreti girrim.*
 there still 3s IMP-sit-PRES
 ‘He is still sitting there.’

In Text 8, sentence 46 *napadeti* acts as an emphatic.

36. *Nyinyi napadeti, yudupun tyuk!*
 2s pn only also 2s-VC15-PRES let go/send
 ‘You must have been the one to let him go!’

5.3.4 ADVERBS OF FREQUENCY

Numeral adverbs have been described earlier (3.1.4.1.1); other adverbs of frequency are:

<i>ferrp</i>	‘often’
<i>mendimendi</i>	‘everyday’
<i>deti</i>	‘again’
<i>mamdeti</i>	‘yet again’

ferrp ‘often’:

37. *Ferrp ngaganim leli angelin - ngini.*
 often 1s-go-PRES walk fishing PURP
 ‘I often go fishing.’
38. *Kuri mendimendi wani tyerr ngini.*
 rain everyday 3s-go-FUT rain FUT
 ‘It rains everyday.’

deti ‘also, again’ may refer either to the action which is repeated, to the subject who repeats an action done by someone else or acts in addition to a previously mentioned subject, or an object which occurs in addition to a previously mentioned object. It is sometimes said by informants to mean ‘should’.

It is homophonous with the verb root *deti* 'to tell a lie'. It is occasionally found embedded in the verb phrase (4.4).

- 39(a) *Gerrbenggu madi girrunggu.*
 3ns IMP-VC16-PRES-d dig out side of log for canoe OA:3ns IMP-sit-PRES
 'They are making a canoe.'
- 39(b) *Yiba deti werrbugu madi ngini wirrugu.*
 later also 3ns P-VC16-FUT-d make canoe FUT OA:3ns P-sit-FUT
 'They will be working at making the canoe again later.'
40. *Dede kinyi deti ngankidi tyerr nime kidin*
 place here also 1ns inc-go-PAST stop pl year
apirri gimin.
 before when
 'We stopped at the same place we stopped at last year.'
- 41(a) *Nginyingkin Ø dirrerringki yeningkisyi girribem.*
 1s-see-PRES 3s DO other side canoe 3s IMP-stand-PRES
 'I can see the boat on the other side.'
- 41(b) *Wa-wetimuy kinyi dinyingkin Ø deti.*
 C(i) little self DEM(p) 3s P-see-PRES 3sDO too
 'This little boy can see it too.'
42. *Nyinyi peyi deti ngebe nyi derridu.*
 you there also 1s-VC16-FUT 2sDO find
 'I found you there too.'

deti may also occur in anaphoric expressions following a main clause.

43. *Dinging gewurr tye dini yi mumba deti.*
 3s P-VC22-PRES have a rest PAST OA:3s P-sit-PAST and road again
 'He had a rest and then (took to) the road again.'

In some cases it could be thought of as meaning 'at the same time' or 'both', for example from Text 8, sentence 39:

44. *Minta deti werrmengkenggu dede -nide.*
 NEG also 3ns-arrive-PRES-d camp LOC
 'They did not both reach the camp.'
45. *Angku ngayi mirsi yenim wurweti*
 grandfather 1s pn die 3s P-go-PRES C(ii) little
ningki deti tye ngagadi tye.
 AGE also PAST 1s-to-PAST PAST
 'My grandfather died when I was still a little girl.'

mamdeti may mean ‘again’ or ‘yet more’:

46(a) *Detyengi-napa nginyingkin Ø e-fengku*
 the first time 1s-see-PRES 3sDO C(iv) snake

muywursirr ngagadi tye.
 be frightened 1s-go-PAST PAST
 ‘The first time I saw a snake I was frightened.’

46(b) *Nginyingkin Ø mamdeti minta kana tye*
 1s-see-PRES 3sDO more -again NEG PUN PAST

muywursirr ngani; ngupun ta yewirr -ningki.
 be frightened 1s-go-FUT 1s-VC14-PRES hit stick INST
 ‘When I saw one again I was not frightened; I killed it with a stick.’

47. *Ngatya ngayi mam deti wa ngi fime ngini.*
 father 1s pn more again 3s P-VC18-FUT 1sDO give FUT
 ‘My father will give me some more.’

deti occurs in the expression *minmi deti* ‘not yet’:

48(a) *Miyi mi-bin kana?*
 GEN:plant food C(vi) cooked PUN
 ‘Is the food cooked now?’

48(b) *Minmi deti detyengi pefi!*
 no also today all
 ‘Not yet! Almost!’

5.4 SPATIAL SPECIFIERS

Like the temporal modifiers, spatial modifiers may be divided into different classes. Locational modifiers state the position of things/people at rest; directional modifiers state the direction of movement. A number of adverbs act as both temporal and spatial specifiers. These include:

<i>mendi</i>	‘close’ (in time or space)
<i>syirre</i>	‘after’ (in time), ‘behind’ (in space)
<i>pirri</i>	‘first’ (in time), ‘ahead’ (in space)

5.4.1 LOCATIONAL MARKERS

The demonstratives *kinyi*, *wuni*, *yaga* and *nyin(in)* (3.1.3) also occur as locative adverbs. They do not take nominal class prefixes when functioning as adverbs. *kinyi* and *nyin* are very often heard with the emphatic suffix *-ta*, that is *kin-ta* and *nyin-ta*.

When *nyinta* is followed by the ablative *-nimbi* a conjunction joining clauses, *nyin-ta-nimbi* ‘as a result of that’ is formed (6.7.4).

Other locative adverbs with examples of their use are listed below.

gangki ‘high up, on top, up stream’ (also nominal ‘sky, heaven’):

The following example is from Text 2, sentence 14:

49. *Fepi yerr-fengku yerr-mulfang wirringe tyalak*
 stone C(vii) long C(vii sharp 3s-stand-PAST stand upright
tye gangki.
 PAST high up
 'A long sharp stone stood high up there.'

gangki occurs with the ablative *-nimbi* and the intensifier *-kirri*.

50. *Ngani gatit tye miyi cashew*
 Ins ex-VC18-PAST pick up RED PAST GEN;plant food
ngityirr -nide -nimbi yi gangki -nimbi.
 ground LOC ABL and high up ABL
 'We picked up the cashew fruit from the ground and from high up (on the trees).'
51. *Musyung nguddini fiftyi tye ngunni*
 swag Ins ex-VC15-PAST roll up RED PAST Ins ex-VC14-PAST
fi - madiwul tye gangki -kirri nginni tye!
 CS load PAST on top INTENS Ins ex-sit-PAST PAST
 'We rolled up our swags, loaded them on and sat right on top!'

fangu 'in front':

52. *Fangu yaga girribem wembem -nide.*
 in front DEM 3s IMP-stand-PRES house LOC
 'He is standing in front of the house.'

fangu can also mean 'first' as in a competition; see sentence 117 in 3.1.4.1.3.

ngarrngureri 'in the middle':

The following example is from Text 1, sentence 25:

53. *Nem ngarrngureri yirrini mumba.*
 3s(m)pn in the middle 3s-go along-PAST road
 'He was going along the road in the middle.'
54. *Wadde::::: mendi ngan kuderri nyin -nide -kide ngan*
 3ns-go-PAST close REL billabong DEM LOC where REL
anyinin a-werrbalarr -werri winni.
 c(iv)DEM C(iv) fird PROP 3ns-sit-PAST
 'They two went along close to the billabong where all the birds lived.'

ngaytpirr 'a long way off':

The following example is from Text 2, sentence 4:

55. ... *werifepi yedi wapup ngaytpirr.*
 cave 3s P-go-PAST sit down/dwell RED a long way off
 '... he lived a long way off in a cave.'

ngaytpirr may also be used to express distance travelled as in:

56. *Ngaytpirr ngaddi tye ngan kanbi bengin tyarrfal.*
 a long way 1ns ex-go-PAST PAST REL bamboo 3s P-VC16-PRES grow
 'We went a long way to where the bamboo grows.'

syirre 'behind':

(See 5.3.2 for examples of the use of *syirre* as a punctiliar temporal.)

57. *Wirrim awa-nyinin syirre wannigeri tye pagu.*
 3pl pn C(iii) DEM behind 3ns-go along-PAST-walk PAST TSA
 'Those others were coming up this way from behind.'

peyi 'there':

58. *Kuri peyi ngerrme baty.*
 water there 1ns ex-VC13-PAST have
 'We have some water there in the car.'
59. *Peyi kana ngagurr nginni tye.*
 there then/now 1pl pn 1ns ex-sit-PAST PAST
 'We stayed there then.'

apukek 'underneath, on the bottom', 'downstream':

60. *Yedi tye kuri apukek napa.*
 3s-go-PAST PAST water underneath LIM
 'He went right under the water.'

depi 'head' followed by *apukek* means 'head bent down'.

A small number of locative adverbs are formed by the use of the clitic *-ningki* which usually functions as an agentive/instrumental marker (see 6.3.1).

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>data - wu - ningki</i> | 'on the other side (or road, river)' |
| <i>dirr - ki - ningki</i> | 'on this side' |
| <i>dirr - wu - ningki</i> | 'on that side' |
| <i>direr - ningki</i> | 'on the other side (of the river)' |
| <i>gulirr - ki - ningki</i> | 'around here, around this way' |
| <i>madiye - ningki</i> | 'on the other side' |

5.4.2 DIRECTIONAL SPECIFIERS

Direction is most commonly indicated by use of the allative *pefi* 'that way' which indicates movement away from the speaker or place of action towards a goal not thought of as having been reached, and *pagu* 'this way' which indicates movement towards the speaker or the place or time of action. These have been discussed in section 3.2.6.1.1.2. Further examples of this use as adverbs are found below.

pefi in the sense of ‘almost’:

61. *Ngaganim tu ngirrngirr pefi kana yedi ngi du.*
 1s-go-PRES sleep sleep ALL PUN 3s-go-PAST 1sDO wake up
 ‘I was almost asleep when he came and woke me up.’

pefi in the sense of ‘movement away’ (hitting is movement away from the body):

62. *Luruty pefi yu ta e-fengku.*
 hard ALL 2s-VC14-FUT hit C(iv) snake
 ‘Hit the snake hard that way.’

pagu in the sense of ‘towards the place of the speaker or the action being described’:

63. *Awerrapun warrmadi pagu yenim madipap.*
 C(iv) crocodile quickly TSA 3s P-go-PRES climb
 ‘The crocodile is climbing up this way quickly.’

In sentence 64 the legs are folded ‘towards’ the body:

64. *Yedi wuni wing garrifityi dim pagu.*
 man DEM(r) 3s P-VC21-PRES leg roll OA:3s P-sit-PRES TSA
 ‘That man is sitting cross legged (i.e. with legs rolled towards him).’

Other directionals include:

tyatma ‘straight ahead’/‘back’:

65. *Wudanggu wuleri kana tyatma.*
 3ns P-VC10-PRES-d return PUN straight
 ‘They are going straight back.’

fangu - pirri ‘ahead’:

66. *Yani fangu pirri!*
 2s-go-FUT in front/ahead
 ‘You go on ahead!’/‘You go in front!’

marrgu marrgu (*marrgu* ‘new’) ‘anywhere’:

67. *Dem nge tyerrbaty yenim marrgumarrgu*
 3s P-VC13-PRES 3s(f)IO lead OA:3s P-go-PRES anywhere
-nimbi -ngini derrigirri dem.
 ABL PURP want/like 3s P-cause-PRES
 ‘She leads her anywhere she wants to go.’

5.5 ADVERBS USING THE NEGATIVE *mintā*

The negative particle *mintā* ‘not’ is homophonous with the quantifier *mintā* ‘none’ (see 3.1.4.2). Its use in the verb phrase is discussed in 4.5

Some temporal and spatial adverbs occur with *mintā*. For example:

- fekiderri* ‘a long time’
mintā fekiderri ‘a little while, soon’

<i>detyengi</i>	'today'
<i>minta detyengi nimbi</i>	'a long time ago, for a long time'
<i>ngaytpirr</i>	'far away'
<i>minta ngaytpirr</i>	'not far away, close'

5.6 OTHER ADVERBS

tyemirri 'completely, continuously, always':

If *tyemirri* occurs sentence finally it has the sense of completion.

68. *Awa- nyin -ningki falmi wirrminkingin Ø wurr tyemirri.*
 C(iii) DEM INST woman 3ns-VC12-PRES 3sDO tie up completely
 'Those women tied him up completely.'

It can also be translated as 'ready', see Text 8, sentence 52. If it occurs sentence initially it has the sense of continuation or duration.

69. *Tyemirri dinyingkin Ø kerrety yenim.*
 continuously 3s P-see-PRES 3sDO watch OA:3s P-go-PRES
 'He keeps on watching him.'

wakay adverb of completion, 'finished':

wakay may be used to express that an action has been totally accomplished.

70. *Wakay ngudupun garrarr musyung.*
 finished 1s-VC15-PRES unroll swag
 'I completely unrolled my swag.'
71. *Yawul wakay yetyin pallak kuderri -nide.*
 spear finished 3s-bring-PRES lose billabong LOC
 'He lost his spear altogether in the billabong.'

wakay also occurs at the end of a narration of a string of events to show that the final point has been reached, for example sentence 25, Text 8.

mene attempted action adverb:

mene expresses desired, attempted (usually unsuccessful) action. It is sometimes translated by informants as 'try' or 'to think to oneself'. It frequently occurs with the future form of the auxiliary.

72. *Wemi Ø tip ngini mene.*
 3s-VC13-FUT 3sDO catch in hand FUT ATT
 'He is trying to catch him.'
73. *Tyerrakul -ngini mene ngiwi tyerrakul epe*
 talk PURP ATT 1s-sit-FUT talk but
madiwirri werrikirri.
 laugh because
 'I was trying to talk but couldn't because I was laughing.'

With the present tense form of the auxiliary it may express unfulfilled desire.

74. *Ngayi ngim mene ngatya ngayi yi were*
 1s pn 1s-say-PRES ATT father 1s pn and brother
ngayi ; minta kene wanna yeri tye.
 1s pn NEG who 3ns-VC11-FUT walk PAST
 ‘I expected my father and brother but no-one came.’
75. *Yewirr mene wannunggu pap.*
 tree ATT 3ns-go-PRES-d climb
 ‘They tried to climb a tree.’/‘They wanted to climb a tree.’

mene can also mean ‘pretend’ with any tense form.

76. *Ngirrngirr kana mene waddi tu.*
 sleeping PUN ATT 3ns P-go-PAST sleep
 ‘They pretended to be sleeping.’
77. *“Mene ngirrngirr mene ngimbim nime” wirrme.*
 ATT sleeping ATT 1inc-lie-FUT-pl 3ns-say-PAST
 ‘“Let us pretend to lie down and sleep” they said.’

mene may be followed by the intensifier *-wurru*.

78. *Mene -wurru wiri kuduk tye.*
 ATT INTENS 3s-sit-FUT drink PAST
 ‘He really wanted a drink.’

ep ‘perhaps’

ep is usually but not always sentence or clause initial.

79. *Ep yengki kerre wayim pul yenim.*
 perhaps fire big 3s P-VC26-PRES clear away OA:3s P-go-PRES
 ‘Perhaps a big fire is burning.’
80. *Kuri ep ngunyiningki wani tyerr ngini.*
 rain perhaps tomorrow 3s-go-FUT rain FUT
 ‘Perhaps it will rain tomorrow.’

For more examples of the use of *ep* see 4.4.1.4.3.

The limitative *napa* (3.2.6.1.1.4) as an adverb is usually embedded in the verb phrase (4.4.1.2.1).

napa is frequently used to intensify other adverbs.

81. *Dangim pirrki tyerr - syirrsyirr peyi -napa yewirr*
 3s P-VC18 3dO crush RED there LIM tree
-nyin -nide.
 DEM LOC
 ‘They (d) were crushed right there in the tree.’

82. *Yubu napa witinge nanama tye.*
 good LIM 3ns-stand-PAST sing PAST
 'They sang very well.'

yubu napa 'very well' has been nominalised in the following by use of the class prefix *a-*.

83. *Nendu wuni ngatya ngayi nem. A-yubu -napa yenim.*
 horse DEM father 1s pn 3s(m)pn C(iv) good LIM 3s P-go-PRES
 'That horse is my father's. It goes very well./It is a very good goer.'

5.7 INTERROGATIVES

There are seven information seeking interrogatives.

<i>kene</i>	'who?'
<i>tyagani</i>	'what?'
<i>etye</i>	'when?'
<i>erreke</i>	'how many?'
<i>kide</i>	'where?'
<i>yityi</i>	'how?/what?'
<i>tyen</i> - (+ generic)	'what kind of ...?'

kene, *tyagani* and the interrogatives derived by use of the stem *tyen-* with contracted forms of the generics function largely as interrogative pronouns and their use as such has been discussed elsewhere (3.2.5.1).

All interrogatives may take case markers. *tyagani* has a largely adverbial function with these. It usually, but not always, occurs sentence initially.

tyagani - *werri* 'how?; by what means?':

84. *Tyagani werri yagadi tye pagu?*
 what PROP 2s-go-PAST PAST TSA
 'How did you come here?'

tyagani - *ningi* 'what for?; 'why?':

85. *Falmi wuni tyagani -ngini wirribem madiwirri pagu?*
 woman DEM what PURP 3s P-stand-PRES laugh TSA
 'Why is that woman laughing?'

tyaga(ni) - *nimbi* 'why?; as a result of what?':

86. *Tyaganimbi yarang kurrkurr yirim?*
 what - ABL 2s-VC25-PRES scratch RED OA:2s-sit-PRES
 'Why are you scratching yourself?'

tyaga(ni) - *nide* 'where?; in what?':

87. *Tyaganide yenem pul yirim?*
 what LOC 2s-VC23-PRES wash OA:2s-sit-PRES
 'What are you washing in?'

etye 'when?':

88. *Etye wani ngini?*
 when 3s P-go-FUT FUT
 'When will he come?'

etye is most commonly heard with one of the case marking clitics.

89. *Etye pagu yaga - di tye?*
 when TSA 2s-go-PAST PAST
 'When did you come here?'
90. *Etye ngini aeroplane waddi tye?*
 when PURP 3ns-go-PAST PAST
 'What time did they come on the aeroplane?'

etye-nimbi 'how often?':

91. *Etye -nimbi wupun ta wamangkal?*
 when ABL 3s P-VC14-PRES hit wallaby
 'How often does he kill a wallaby?'

etye-ningki 'at sometime':

92. *Minta detyengi yani. Fili ngini guk*
 NEG today 2s-go-FUT set off FUT wait
deti yiwi ngini yiba etye ningki.
 also 2s-sit-FUT FUT later when INST
 'You can't go today. You must wait until sometime later.'

See also *etye -nawa* in section 5.7.1.

erreke 'how many?':

The use of *erreke* as a numeral interrogative has been discussed in 3.1.4.1. It has been recorded with the adverbial meaning 'how many times?' when followed by *kana -ngini*.

93. *Ngimbi fagarri fagarri kana. Erreke kana*
 1s-say-PRES-2dIO two two PUN how many PUN
ngini ngimi - mbi?
 PURP 1s-say-FUT-2dIO
 'I have told you twice now. How many times must I tell you?'

See 3.1.4.1 for uses of *erreke -nawa* and *erreke -ningki*.

erreke -ningki -pefi is used to mean 'however?/how in the world?':

94. *Erreke -ningki -pefi yetyin Ø fel?*
 how many INST ALL 3s-bring/take-PRES 3sDO lift
 'However can he lift that?'

kide 'where?':

95. *Kide yerim ∅ fitat?*
 where 2s-VC13-PRES 3sDO CS:put
 'Where did you put it?'

kide takes the clitics *-nimbi*, *-pefi* and *pagu*.

96. *Kide - nimbi pagu yagadi tye?*
 where ABL TSA 2s-do-PAST PAST
 'Where did you come here from?'

97. *Kide -pefi yanayeri?*
 where ALL 2s-VC25-FUT-walk
 'Where are you going to?'

The derived spatial interrogative *tyen-de* (3.2.5.1) is also used to ask 'where?':

98. *Tyende yebem baty?*
 where 2s-VC16-PRES fall/be born
 'Where were you born?'

kide may be nominalised by the use of class prefixes (3.2.5.1).

With the *yerr-* class prefix it may be used as in sentence 157, section 3.2.5.1 as an interrogative pronoun or it may mean 'somewhere'. For example:

99. *Yengki yiba nga ∅ fityuk ngini yerr-kide.*
 firewood later 1s-VC18-FUT 3sDO move FUT C(vii) where
 'I will move the firewood somewhere later.'

In Text 5, sentences 10 and 24, *yerr -kide -pefi* means 'in a different direction, *yerr -kide -deti* means 'in the same direction'.

When asking for directions *kide - pefi* is frequently heard as the second element in the sentence.

100. *Wirrim kide - pefi warrani ngini?*
 3pl pn where ALL 3pl-go-FUT FUT
 'Which way will they go?'

Without class prefix *kide* is used to ask questions about the correct use of language.

101. *Kide ngindi -ngini Ngankikurungkurr -ngini?*
 what 1s-say/do-PRES FUT PURP
 'What is it in Ngankikurungkurr?'

If a story teller is temporarily lost for words he or she might say *kide yaga?* and then pause before going on. *tyen-de* has also been used in this context.

kide and *tyende* are also used to mean 'where' in the non-interrogative sense of 'the place in/at which'.

102. *Dayi kide kagu ya -ngindi du ngini*
 catfish where GEN:meat 2s-VC18-FUT 2sIO show FUT
ngimi wa kagu dayi!
 1s-VC12-FUT catch GEN:meat catfish
 'Show me where I can catch catfish!'
103. *Wa-wuni wa-yedi mem pirr yenim kagu*
 C(i) DEM C(i) man 3s-say/do-PRES 3plO OA:3s P-go-PRES GEN:meat
atyalmer -ngini tyende warrani gatit ngini.
 C(iv) barramundi PURP where 3ns-go-FUT catch RED FUT
 'He shows them where to catch barramundi.'

yityi 'how?':

104. *Yityi yim pefi yudam bat?*
 how 2s-do/say-PRES ALL 2s-VC10-PRES fall
 'How did you fall?'

yityi has the sense of 'in what way' or 'as the result of what action'. It may be compared with *tyagani* - *werri* (sentence 84) and *erreke -ningki* (sentence 94).

yityi also has the sense of 'what?'

105. *Yityi yim?*
 how 2s-say-PRES
 'What did you say?'
106. *Yityi yi-ngindi?*
 how 2s-say-PRES-1sIO
 'What are you saying to me?'

yityi is also found combined with the negative particle *mintā* in a non-interrogative sense of 'nothing will be done/said' in the following example.

107. *Ngambani ngini wur - wuni -nide dede miyi ngebi*
 1inc-go-FUT FUT C(ii) DEM LOC camp food 1s-VC16-FUT
me-ket ngini. Minta yityi kimi.
 pick FUT NEG how 3s IMP-do/say-FUT
 'We can all go to that woman's place to pick fruit. She won't say anything.'

ngani -kide a compound of the comparative particle *ngani* and the spatial interrogative *kide* is also used to mean 'how?' or 'in what way?' With nominal class prefixes it means 'what kind of...?' (see 3.2.5.1).

108. *Nganikide -ngini ngudu bul ngini kagu?*
 how PURP 1s-VC15-FUT cook FUT GEN:meat
 'How will I cook the meat?'

It is also used as a non-interrogative adverb in the following example:

109. *Wur-wuni dagan tyuk munguyil - ngini*
 C(ii) DEM(r) 3s P-VC11-PRES be unable paddle PURP
ye-ningan -ngini. Ya - nge du
 C(vii) that one PURP 2s-VC18-FUT 3s(f)DO show
nganikide wani syisyi ngini yeningkisyi.
 how 3s P-go-FUT paddle RED FUT canoe
 'That girl can't do anything with the paddle. Show her how she should paddle the canoe.'

5.7.1 USE OF *nawa* AFTER INTERROGATIVES

Indefinite pronouns or adverbs may be formed from interrogatives by the addition of the preferential particle *nawa* giving:

<i>kene nawa</i>	'someone; I don't know who'
<i>tyaga nawa</i>	'something; I don't know what'
<i>kide nawa</i>	'somewhere; I don't know where'
<i>etye nawa</i>	'sometime; I don't know when'
<i>erreke nawa</i>	'some; I don't know how many'

Examples of the use of *kene nawa* and *tyaga nawa* are found in section 3.2.5.2 and *erreke nawa* in section 3.1.4.1.

tyaga nawa may take case markers and as pointed out in 3.2.5.2 the agentive/instrumental precedes *nawa*. This is also the case with the ablative *-nimbi*. The purposive *-ngini* follows *nawa*.

110. *Awuni fagarri wannunggu ngalsyi tyaga - nimbi - nawa.*
 C(iii)DEM two 3ns-go-PRES-d frown what ABL PREF
 'They are frowning for some reason (i.e. as a result of something).'
111. *Witinge ngindi kayki tye ; tyaga - nawa -ngini.*
 3ns-stand-PAST 1sIO call RED PAST what PREF PURP
 'They are calling me for something.'
- etye nawa:*
112. *Etye - nawa ngani ngini.*
 when PREF 1s-go-FUT FUT
 'I don't know when I will go.'
113. *Etye nawa webi baty ngini.*
 when PREF 3s P-VC16-FUT be born FUT
 'It will be born soon.'
114. *Wirrike wuni kunyungun werrbenggu tyerri kide -nawa.*
 3d pn DEM(r) boomerang 3ns P-VC16-PRES-d lose where PREF
 'Those two lost their boomerangs somewhere.'

5.8 INTENSIFIERS

There are two intensifying clitics *wurru* and *kirri*.

5.8.1 *wurru*

wurru acts as an intensifier following most word classes with sense of 'indeed', 'certainly', 'truly' or 'very'. It asserts the identity of nouns. For example:

115. *Kagu kinyi anguty - wurru.*
 GEN:meat DEM(p) C(iv)ghost-INTENS
 'This is indeed a ghost.'

116. *Wa-wuni wa-mu-yeyi-wurru.*
 C(i)DEM(p) C(i)strange-other-INTENS
 'That man is certainly a stranger.'

It acts as an intensifier with adjectives and quantifiers with something of the idea of 'too much'.

117. *Yengki yerr-kerre-wurru - ngempibi kenket!*
 fire/firewood C(vii)big INTENS 1inc-VC16-FUT cut in half
 'The firewood is too big – let us cut it in half!'

(See also examples in section 3.1.2.)

118. *Yerr-bakuty-wurru wirrim deme derri-way*
 C(vii)many INTENS 3pl pn 3s P-VC13-PAST back empty
tye dini.
 PAST OA:3s-sit-PAST
 'There were so many spread out there.'

It may be nominalised itself by the use of noun class prefixes.

119. *Miyi kinyi minta mi-wurru -ngini.*
 GEN:plant food DEM(p) NEG C9iv)INTENS PURP
 'There is not enough food here.'

It may also follow verbs and adverbs.

120. *Mene wurru wirri kuduk tye.*
 ATT INTENS 3ns P-sit-FUT drink PAST
 'He really wanted a drink.'
121. *Miyi yeyi-ningki gangki-wurru; wannanggu madi-way.*
 GEN:plant food other INST high INTENS 3ns P-go-PRES-d side empty
 'The other fruit was too high; they couldn't reach it.'

It is used with the movement particle *kak* 'set off' to give the sense of the immediacy of an action.

122. *Yi kak wurru werri pat.*
 and set off INTENS 3ns P-VC13-PRES rise
 'And straight away, off they flew.'

It may be used in the t/m/a slot in the verb phrase to emphasise that the action really did take place.

123. *Ya Daga felfil wurru wa-nyinin wa-yedi.*
 ah! 3s P-VC11-PRES run away RED INTENS C(i)DEM C(i) man
 'Ah! That man has certainly run away.'

It may itself be intensified by the addition of the emphatic suffix *-ka*.

124. *Kak kana yani ngirr pir ngini wurru-ka!*
 set off PUN 2s-go-FUT 1pl exO leave FUT INTENS EMPH
 'You will be leaving us now indeed!'

In the sentence above the feeling of 'too much' is also present as regret is implied that the person is leaving.

wurru also occurs in Ngankiwumirri with similar function.

125. *Wunggume-wurru ngayi kinyi awakul.*
 one INTENS 1s pn DEM(p) C(iv) fish
 'I have just one fish.'

The use of *wurru* may be compared with that of the limitative *napa* by examining Text 8, sentences 44 and 45. In sentence 46 the ghost's wife looks in the bag and sees *fepi -napa-nide* 'only a stone in there'. In sentence 47 she says *fepi-wurru wuni, minta wa-weti* 'there is indeed a stone in there, not a little boy!'.
 .

5.8.2 *kirri*

kirri like *wurru* is an intensifier which may follow most word classes. Its range of function is broader and similar to that of the French *encore* in including the notion of continuation translated by English 'still'.

126. *Puy yenim syirrsyirr kuri -kirri.*
 CONT 3s P-go-PRES flow RED rain INTENS
 'Still the rain keeps falling.'
127. *Ngaddi gatit tye engelin kagu kirri minta*
 1ns-go-PAST fish RED PAST fishing GEN:meat INTENS NEG
tye wimi ngirr mawa tye.
 PAST 3s P-VC12-FUT 1pl exO take PAST
 'We were fishing but still those fish did not bite.'
128. *Fetyen kirri lirrirfin werrem fuy.*
 blood INTENS smell of fresh meat 3ns P-VC22-PRES smell
 'They could smell a strong smell of blood and fresh meat.'

Following adjectives and adverbials, *kirri* has a similar function to *wurru* but usually without the implication of excess.

129. *Warrgadi kinyi wutitmi kirri.*
 bag DEM(p) heavy INTENS
 'This bag is very heavy.'

130. *Wa-wetimuy kinyi kenkapurr-kirri.*
 C(i) little one DEM(p) fat INTENS
 'This little boy is very fat.'

(See also sentences 87 and 88 in 3.1.2.)

With temporals and locatives it accentuates the time or place of action.

131. *Gangki -kirri nginni tye.*
 high INTENS 1ns-sit-PAST PAST
 'We sat right on top.'
 (Compare this with *gangki -wurru* in 5.8.1, sentence 121.)
132. *Kulyi-kirri wuddangu wuleri.*
 evening INTENS 3ns P-VC10-PRES-d return-walk
 'Right on sunset they went back.'

5.9 EMPHATIC SUFFIXES *-ta* AND *-ka*

The suffixes *-ta* and *-ka* which, like the intensifiers, are found affixed to almost any word class, have a very similar function to the Murinykata suffixes *-ka* and *-wa* (Walsh 1976:261).

-ta is frequently used to identify the NP as being in fact the correct one as opposed to some other previously mentioned. It also has an emphatic function. It seems to be equivalent to the Murinykata *-ka* which Walsh (ibid) describes as a topicaliser and this term has been adopted here.

133. *Ngirri -ne nganki nyinin: ba!*
 1ns ex-say-PRES-3s(m)IO story DEM no I mean
wirrim-ta wirri-ne yedi-ningki.
 3pl pn TOPIC 3ns P-say-PRES-3s(m)IO man-AGE
 'We told him that story; no! I mean it was the men who told him (not us girls).'
134. *Wurrgalangu Ngankiwumirri wu-data; nganki*
 bushes DEM-shoulder/side word
ngayi-ta wurripiri.
 1s pn TOPIC bushes
 "'Wurrgalangu" is the Ngankiwumirri word for bushes; my word for it is "wurripiri".'

See also this example from Text 2, sentence 6:

135. *A-nyin fagarri aditymadi falmi nem-ta*
 C(iv)DEM two C(iv) whistle duck wife 3s(m)pn-TOPIC
arsiminmin nem.
 C(iv) bat 3s(m)pn
 'Those two whistle ducks were really his wives – the bat's (i.e. not the rainbow's).'

-ta is frequently found affixed to the demonstratives *kinyi* and *nyin* with an emphatic function. (Note: *kinyi + ta* → *kin-ta*)

136. *Kinta ngini ngini.*
 DEM(p)TOPIC 1s-sit-FUT FUT
 'I will sit right here.'

From Text 2, sentence 16:

137. *Yu! Yerr-kinta ngemi ne baty ngini.*
 yes C(vii)DEM(p)TOPIC 1s-VC13-FUT 3s(m)IO take FUT
 'Yes! This is the one I will take for him.'
138. *Nyin-ta ngerrbem madi-gat John.*
 DEM TOPIC 1ns-VC16-PRES side meet
 'It was there that we met John.'

It is rather difficult to predict when *-ka* glossed as emphatic would be chosen instead of *-ta*. It is found affixed to members of most word classes.

139. *Nyinyi-ka apuderri.*
 2s pn EMPH young girl
 'You are indeed a young girl.'
140. *Yawul mungkin wa a-nyin fepi – ngunngun-ka.*
 spear 3s P-VC13-PRES pick up C(iv)DEM hill shovel spear
 'That one (the bat) took the spear to the cave – a shovel spear.'
141. *Waya pagu pagu! Atyalmerr gaganim-ka.*
 fish spear TSA TSA C(iv)barramunti 3s IMP-go-PRES-EMPH
 'Bring the fish spear! There is indeed a barramundi going here.'

From Text 8, sentence 13:

142. “*Aya! Puy-ka fangu pirri” me-ne*
 ah CONT-EMPH front ahead 3s P-say-PRES-3s(m)IO
wa-weti-ningki.
 C(i) little AGE
 ‘‘Ah! Go on ahead’’ the little boy said to him.’

5.10 *kak*

The particle *kak*, glossed as ‘set off’, indicates immediate movement. It has an exact correspondent in Maranungku (Tryon 1970:63). It usually occurs with verbs of movement or carrying and as in Maranungku it always occurs immediately preceding the verb phrase.

143. *Detyengi kak ngaganim.*
 today set off 1s-go-PRES
 'I am going away today.'
144. *Awa bakuty kak warrani ngini.*
 C(iii) many set off 3ns P-go-FUT FUT
 'They will all go away.'

It is most commonly followed by the punctiliar *kana* or sometimes by the intensifier *wurru* or *pirri* ‘ahead, in front’ combined with *kana*.

145. *Kak kana ngaganim fili.*
 set off PUN 1s-go-PRES move
 'I am going away right now.'
146. *Kak-wurru warrgandyi ∅ tye.*
 set off INTENS 3ns P-lift-PAST 3sDO PAST
 'They carried him off immediately.'
147. *Kak pirri kana wani ngini.*
 set off ahead PUN 3s P-go-FUT FUT
 'He will go on ahead now.'

kak pirri kana may stand as a complete utterance often with the meaning 'come on, let's go now'. Any person may be the implied subject.

148. *Wa - yaga dini fifi tye kanbi*
 C(i) DEM 3s P-sit-PAST blow RED PAST didjeridoo
kak pirri kana.
 set off ahead PUN
 'The man who was playing the didjeridoo has gone away now.'

6. SYNTAX

6.1 SENTENCES WITHOUT MAIN VERBS

Non verb predicates are used for equative, stative, possessive and nominal comparative sentences.

6.1.1 EQUATIVE SENTENCES

In these sentences the subject is identified as a member of a particular group or class. Both subject and predicate are nominals and are usually both class marked. The subject is marked by a final rising intonation and there is a slight pause before the predicate nominal.

1. *Yerr- yaga yerr- fetyen.*
C(vii) DEM C(vii) blood
'That is a bloodwood tree.'
2. *Mempirr wa- weti wuni wa- yedi.*
child C(i) little DEM C(i) male
'That little child is male.'

6.1.2 STATIVE SENTENCES

The subject is identified as having some attribute or characteristic. The subject is a nominal while the predicate is an adjective. They are usually both marked or both unmarked for word class. The subject has rising final intonation and there is a pause before the predicate.

3. *Yengki yaga wutitmi.*
firewood DEM heavy
'That firewood is heavy.'
4. *Miyi mi- bin kana.*
GEN:plant food C(iv) cooked now
'The food is cooked now.'

They may also be irrealis or negative sentences.

5. *Ep dengini wulek nem.*
perhaps C(viii) body bad 3s(m)pn
'Perhaps he is sick.'
6. *Minmi ngayi minta yubu detyengi.*
no 1spn NEG good toady
'No, I am not well today.'

6.1.3 COMPARATIVE SENTENCES

Comparison of nominals may be indicated by the opposition of two equative or stative sentences. These may be simply juxtaposed:

7. *Yawul kinyi yerr- fengku yerr- wuni yagama.*
 spear DEM(p) C(vii) long C(vii) DEM(r) woomera
 'This spear is longer than that woomera.'

Further examples of verbless comparative sentences may be found in the section on adjectives (3.1.2). They occur more usually with the comparative particle *ngani* (6.8) and the preferential particle *nawa* (6.9).

6.1.4 POSSESSIVES

An extended discussion of possession occurs in 6.4. All that is noted here is that sentences indicating possession are often verbless: in them the possessed object occurs in subject position while the possessor occurs in the predicate. As with other verbless sentences the subject is marked by a final rising intonation and is followed by a slight pause.

8. *Yerr-wasyan derri kinyi aba ngayi yerr - wirrike.*
 C(vii) bags DEM brother 1s pn C(vii) 3d pn
 'These bags belong to my two brothers.'
9. *Yawul kinyi ngatya ngayi yerr - nem.*
 spear DEM(p) father 1s pn C(vii) 3s(m)pn
 'This spear is my father's.'
10. *Yedi wuni Mary ngayim.*
 man DEM 3s(f)pn
 'This man is Mary's husband.'
11. *Wuwu wuni wu-kerre wu-ngayi.*
 C(v) dog DEM(r) C(v) big C(v) 1s pn
 'That big dog is mine.'

6.2 WORD ORDER IN THE SENTENCE

Like most other Australian aboriginal languages Ngankikurungkurr does not have a fixed order of elements in the sentence and there are a number of permitted orderings of NP's and VP's. This variety is possible because the VP itself constitutes a matrix sentence and contains both subject and object pronouns as well as indicating tense, mood and aspect of the verb. In normal conversational situations the context and the logic of events often make further specification unnecessary. In the majority of situations subject and object NP slots are filled by pronouns and demonstratives. A sentence like:

12. *Wa wuni dangim Ø pawul.*
 C(i) DEM(r) 3s P-VC18-PRES 3sDO spear
 'That one stuck him through.'

will usually be uttered in a context which will indicate whether the object is human or animal and whether the subject is man or boy. The choice of verb stem and auxiliary determine whether the action was deliberate or accidental and the nature of the action, whether it was carried out by hitting, thrusting (as in this case) or in some other manner. Further specification occurs only when the immediate context does not provide sufficient information or when, as in stories or in the narration of unseen events, more information must be given. It may also be required where the actor, whether subject or instrument, or the object or patient are foregrounded, or where the time, place or manner in which the action was performed needs to be specified.

In these cases where subject and object NP's occur, there are a number of preferred orders, which may however be altered for stylistic reasons. In intransitive and reflexive sentences, the subject NP when it occurs usually precedes the VP.

13. *Yewirr bengin tyerrfal warrmadi.*
C(vii) tree 3s P-VC16-PRES grow quickly
'The tree is growing quickly.'
14. *Yawul gurr gitibe ngan - garri yewirr -nide.*
spear bundle 3s IMP-stand-PRES REL leg tree LOC
'The bundle of spears is leaning against the tree.'
15. *Wurguniguni demen derri - pal.*
C(ii) old woman 3s P-VC23-PRES back break
'The old woman is bending down.'

In transitive sentences the preferred orders are (S)VO and (S)OV.

16. *Wuwu -ningki dinging garri - fuyfuy*
C(v) dog AGE 3s P-VC22-PRES leg - sniff RED
yenim yedi wuni.
OA:3s P-go-PRES man DEM(r)
'The dog is sniffing that man's legs.'
17. *Wurguniguni wuni wursin tyerr-binybiny*
C(ii) old woman DEM(r) 3s P-VC17-PRES mouth-kiss RED
dim kawu ngayim.
OA:3s P-sit-PRES grandchild 3s(f)pn
'The old woman is kissing her grandchild.'
18. *Efengku - ningki kanyirra ngayi bencing gatit.*
C(iv) snake AGE friend 1s pn 3s P-VC16-PRES bite
'A snake bit my friend.'

This word order is not obligatory, for example from Text 1, sentence 10:

19. *Wa- nyinin wirrminkingin Ø wurr*
C(i) DEM 3ns-VC12-PRES 3sDO tie up
awa - nyin - ningki falmi.
C(iii) DEM AGE woman
'those women tied that man up.'

The subject NP usually occurs before the object NP in the sentence whether one or both precede or follow the VP. However, if the subject is a possessive noun phrase showing human relationships, and the object coincides with the possessor, the object NP is not repeated. For example:

20. *Wa-weti nem aba -ningki kerem* \emptyset
 C(i) little 3s(m)pn brother AGE 3s IMP-VC22-PRES 3sDO
bangbung kirim.
 pinch RED OA:3s IMP-sit-PRES
 'The little boy's brother is pinching him.'

Where there is no subject NP, the object precedes the VP as frequently as the VP precedes the object NP.

21. *Bengin derrdu a-wukume.*
 3s P-VC16-PRES find C(iv) one
 'She found one (turtle).'
22. *Miyi nginni lalirr tye.*
 GEN:plant food 1ns-fit-PAST eat PAST
 'We were eating food.'

Temporals and T-relative clauses are most frequently found in initial position whereas locative NP's and relative locative clauses are most frequently found in sentence final position.

23. *Apirri Frances gimin yedi tye kinyi,*
 before REL(T) 3s P-go-PAST PAST DEM(p)
malarrgu - ngini ngaddi tye, wunu - pefi
 turtle PURP 1ns-go-PAST PAST DEM - ALL
ngan Wooliana -pefi, Moon Billabong.
 REL(L) ALL
 'Before when Frances came here, we went for turtles, that way, to Wooliana, the Moon Billabong.'
24. *Mirri kulyi kana nyinin yi ngerr mengkem*
 sun evening PUN DEM and 1ns-arrive-PRES
kinyi dedangkurr.
 DEM(p) camp
 'It was evening then and we arrived here at the camp.'

6.3 AGENT AND INSTRUMENT CASE MARKING

Ngankikurungkurr is an ergative language in which the NP which is the subject of a transitive verb may be marked for agent (A) while the object NP or patient (P) is unmarked. In intransitive sentences the subject NP(s) is/are unmarked like the patient of transitive verb sentences. As free form pronouns in Ngankikurungkurr follow the same pattern as nouns the NP marking patterns are:

Transitive sentences	A(N, pn, DEM)AG	P(N, pn, DEM)∅
Intransitive sentences	S(N, pn, DEM) ∅	

Agent and instrument may be both marked by *ningki*. The cases may be distinguished because:

(1) The agent NP is always cross-referenced to the bound subject pronoun in the transitive VP while the instrumental is not.

(2) In reflexive and reciprocal sentences the verb is usually marked and treated as intransitive. In these sentences the subject NP is not marked for agent but instrument NP's can occur. For example:

25. *Wara nge tyerrbu ngini*
 3s P-VC25-FUT 3s(f)IO scrape sunburn FUT
milmilman -ningki.
 small flat stick used for scraping self/sunburn INST
 'She will scratch herself with a sunburn scraper.'

(3) In sentences where both agent NP's and instrument NP's occur the agent NP normally occurs before the verb while the instrument NP occurs in post-verb position.

26. *Yedi - ningki amatyi dangim pawal*
 man AGE C(iv) kangaroo 3s P-VC18-PRES pierce
yawul - ningki.
 spear INST
 'The man pierced the kangaroo with a spear.'
27. *Ngayi - ningki ngupun ta wa-weti yewirr-ningki.*
 1s pn AGE 1s-VC14-PRES hit C(i) little stick INST
 'I hit the little boy with a stick.'

This relative ordering is usually preserved when both agent NP and instrument NP are unmarked.

28. *Wur - wuni falmi dagam baty efengku defirr.*
 C(ii)DEM woman 3s P-VC11-PRES tread on C(iv) snake C(viii) foot
 'The woman trod on the snake with her foot.'

The agent NP is *ningki* marked in sentences with both direct and indirect objects.

29. *Kala ngayi - ningki wirribe- nginti kay.*
 mother 1s pn AGE 3s P-stand-PRES 1sIO call
 'My mother called me.'
30. *Kagu wu-ningki efengku wursi*
 GEN:meat DEM-AGE C(iv) snake 3s P-VC17-PRES
nginti tyerr - kukuduk tye.
 1sIO mouth - drink RED PAST
 'The snake was putting his tongue in and out at me.'

ningki is not obligatory on agent NP's and does not always occur. It is more common in elicited sentences than in free discourse. While there seems to be a fair degree of optionality in the marking of agent NP's, it seems clear that Ngankikurungkurr ergative marking follows the selectional restrictions described by Heath and Silverstein (1976:112-190). In Heath's words 'Some categories

of nouns and pronouns are natural subjects and less natural objects in transitive clauses. This is because most transitive verbs have selectional restrictions (either absolute or statistical) which favour human subjects and tend to favour non human especially inhuman objects. There are extremely few transitive verbs which favour non human subjects and human objects' (Heath 1974:6). In other words ergative systems tend to mark low ranking categories like inanimate, non-human and non-participant because these are less 'natural' as subjects. They are certainly less likely to be unmarked than animate, human and participant subjects.

Compare:

- 31(a) *Ngayi nginyingkin efengku.*
 1s pn 1s-see-PRES C(iv) snake
 'I see the snake.'

where the participant human subject is unmarked, with

- 31(b) *Efengku - ningki dinyingkin ngi.*
 C(iv) snake AGE 3s P-see-PRES 1sDO
 'The snake sees me.'

where the non-human non-participant subject is marked.

Agent marking is common in sentences with animal agents.

32. *Wuwu - ningki dangim fi wirribem yedi.*
 C(v) dog AGE 3s P-VC18-PRES bark OA:3s P-stand-PRES man
 'The dog is barking at the man.'
33. *Yinyere kerety! Efengku - ningki nana*
 2s-see self-FUT look after C(iv) snake AGE POSS
gerrbi nyi gat.
 3s IMP-VC16-FUT 2sDO bite
 'Look out! The snake might bite you.'

It is also frequent in sentences where the subject is inanimate.

34. *Ngityingani fuke - ningki yewirr winge fuyfuy tye.*
 last night breeze AGE tree 3s P-lie-PAST blow RED PAST
 'The breeze was blowing the trees last night.'
35. *Kuri - ningki bengim wulek memba.*
 rain AGE 3s P-VC16-PRES bad road
 'The rain has ruined the road.'
 (Note: this could be interpreted as an impersonal construction (4.8) 'The road has been made bad by the rains.)

Marking of the agent NP also serves to distinguish it from patient NP's and this is important in those cases where agent and patient NP's are equally liable to be 'natural' subjects or where the normal word order is changed. For example in the following sentence the agent is marked because it follows the VP instead of preceding it.

36. *Gari fi-mi-tatit wa-weti-ningki wuwu.*
 3s IMP-VC18-PRES CS-CS-put RED C(i) little AGE C(v) dog
 'The little boy is teasing the dog.'

Subjects of verbs of speaking, listening, understanding and shouting and swearing are more frequently marked by *ningki* in Ngankikurungkurr than more obviously active verbs such as hitting, cutting and spearing which are in fact only rarely agent marked.

37. *Wurwuni falmi - ningki wiben tyerri-baty nganki.*
 C(ii)DEM woman AGE 3s P-lie-PRES ear - fall language
 'That woman can understand the language.'
38. *Yedi wu-ningki bengin lulu falmi nem.*
 man DEM(r) AGE 3s P-VC16-PRES swear woman 3s(m)pn
 'That man is swearing at his wife.'

ningki is frequently used with reported speech to distinguish speaker from listener as both are human. For example from Text 8, sentence 52:

39. *"Nyin - ta gaganim mendi kana"*
 DEM EMPH 3s IMP-go-PRES close PUN
mem-pirr wawetimuy nyin - ningki yedi.
 3s say-PRES-3plO C(i) little boy DEM AGE man
 "He is coming close now" said the little boy to the men.'

From Text 8, sentence 7:

40. *"Ngembibi ket wityi!" me - ne ada*
 1inc-VC16-FUT cut HOR 3s-say-PRES-3s(m)IO brother
nem - ningki yi wa-weti - ningki nawa "Yu! Mamaka!"
 3s(m)pn AGE and C(i) little AGE PREF yes go on
 "Let us cut it!" said the big brother and the little brother answered "Yes! Go on!"

Instruments are usually inanimate. Body parts may be instrument marked if not already occurring as part of the compound verb.

41. *Nga fuyfuy ngini kana walipan - ningki.*
 1s-VC18-FUT wipe RED FUT PUN rag INST
 'I will wipe it with a rag.'
42. *Defirr - ningki nganam baty awursi.*
 C(viii) foot AGE 1s-VC11-PRES tread on C(iv) spider
 'I trod on the spider with my foot.'

They may occur in reflexive and impersonal constructions.

43. *Awuni warram pirr pek wersi - ningki*
 C(iii)DEM(r) 3ns-VC25-PRES 3plO paint white clay INST
wangga -ngini.
 dance PURP
 'They are painting themselves with white clay for the *wangga*.'
44. *Wayi - ngi baty defirr fiti-ningki.*
 3s P-VC26-PRES-1sDO burn C(viii) foot sun INST
 'My feet are being burnt by the sun.'

45. *Wa - kinyi deng ge-ket yenim*
 C(i)DEM(p) 3s P-VC13-PRES stomach-cut OA:3s P-go-PRES
wa - wu - ningki wayeyi.
 C(i)DEM(r) INST C(i) other
 'This boy is made jealous by that other boy.'/'This boy is jealous of that other boy.'

In the absence of agent NP's, marked instrument NP's may be interpreted as subjects when the subject of the verb is in the third person.

Compare:

- 46(a) *Yedi wupun ta anyin efengku yuri*
 man 3s P-VC14-PRES hit C(iv)DEM C(iv) snake GEN:stick
yewirr - ningki.
 stick INST
 'The man hit that snake with a stick.'
- 46(b) *Yuri yewirr - ningki anyinin efengku*
 GEN:stick stick INST C(iv)DEM C(iv) snake
wupun ta.
 3s P-VC14-PRES hit

It can be seen that sentence 46(a) has both an agent NP (unmarked) and a marked instrument NP occurring post verbally. Sentence 46(b) may be either regarded as having an inanimate marked agent NP or a preverbal marked instrument NP in a sentence which has no agent NP. The translation would be either:

'The stick killed that snake.' or 'He killed that snake with a stick.'

The instrument NP is usually unmarked if there is no sense of purpose in the action described.

Compare:

47. *Yawul warri ne fi-ket.*
 spear 3ns P-VC18-PRES 3s(m)pn CS-cut
 'The spear (accidentally) killed him.'
48. *Yawul - ningki dagim pawal.*
 spear INST 3s P-VC18-PRES pierce
 'He stuck him through with a spear.'

The instrumental may also be used to indicate cause and result in some expressions where its function is similar to that of *nimbi* (3.2.6.1.1.3).

49. *Wa - weti daran fi-tit , lirrmem - ningki.*
 C(i) little 3s P-VC25-PRES CS-upright cold INST
 'The little boy is shivering as a result of the cold.'
 'The cold is making the little boy shiver.'
50. *Yerr - purrpurrk gebi tyung kuri-ningki nana.*
 C(vii)PLUS 3s IMP-VC16-FUT wet rain INST POSS
 'The clothes might get wet as a result of the rain.'/'The rain might wet the clothes.'

It may also be used to indicate means or location.

51. *Demēn tum menyirr - ningki.*
 3s P-VC23-PRES bury sand INST
 ‘He buried himself in the sand.’
52. *Miringki - ningki bengin litit kagu.*
 leaf INST 3s P-VC16-PRES cover GEN:meat
 ‘He covered the meat with leaves.’
53. *Nginnem purrng purrng angan tyamu*
 1ns ex-VC20-PRES boil RED C(iv) turkey
parrakut -ningki yerr-kerre.
 bucket INST C(vii) big
 ‘We boiled the turkey in a big bucket.’

6.3.1 OTHER FUNCTIONS OF *ningki*

As well as its function as agent and instrument marker *ningki* is used in temporal expressions with the sense of ‘during’ or ‘at the time when’ (5.3.1).

It is also used in the formation of some locative adverbs (5.4.1). Most of these mean something like ‘on this side’ *dirr-ki-ningki*, ‘on that side’ *dirr-wu-ningki* or ‘around this way’ *gulirr-ki-ningki* with the implication of choice of one place or way over another, that is ‘on this side – not that side’.

ningki is frequently found in the type of construction which in English would be expressed by something like ‘on one hand ... and/but on the other ...’

This may be in the literal sense as in:

54. *Yedi dirr-wu-ningki witinge tye falmi*
 man bank-DEM(p)-INST 3ns P-stand-PAST PAST woman
dirr-ki-ningki.
 bank-DEM(p)-INST
 ‘The men stood on that side and the women stood on this.’

And also in this example from Text 2, sentence 25:

55. *Syirre nyinin ngayim mumba yeyi - ningki ngayim*
 after DEM 3s(f)pn path other INST 3s(f)pn
mumba yeyi - ningki; nem ngarrngureri yirrini
 path other INST 3s(m)pn middle 3s-go along-PAST
mumba.
 path.
 ‘After that one woman went on one path and one went on the other; he went in the middle.’

Or it may be used in the metaphysical sense as in this example from Text 2, sentence 7:

56. *Minta derrigirri deme yedi anyinin - ningki*
 NEG like 3s P-VC13-PAST OA:3s P-go-PAST C(iv)DEM AGE
anumungki - ningki nem arsiminmin, yi
 C(iv) rainbow AGE 3s(m)pn C(iv) bat and
arsiminmin - ningki minta deti derrigerri deme
 C(iv) bat AGE NEG also like 3s P-VC13-PAST
nem angumungki ; falmi peyi werrikirri.
 3s(m)pn C(iv) rainbow woman there because
 'The rainbow on one hand, did not like the bat and the bat on the other did not like
 the rainbow; because of the women.'

In a related function it is often found following *awa-yeyi* 'the others' whether it is the subject or object of a transitive or intransitive verb, giving *awa-yeyi-ningki* 'those others – not the one/ones previously mentioned'.

In Text 2, sentence 34 the rainbow, who has been speared in the back, screams. In sentence 35 'he wakes the other animals', *a-yeyi-ningki kagu*, which occurs as an object. It then occurs again as subject when they, in their turn, also scream.

ningki may also stand alone in sentence initial position in the first of two clauses in constructions similar to that described above.

57. *Ningki miyi bakuty miniminti kuderrri*
 AGE/INST GEN:plant food many C(vi) water lily billabong
yaga - nide, epe kuderrri yeyi nawa bakuty.
 DEM LOC but billabong other PREF many
 'There are plenty of water lilies in that billabong, but even more in the other billabong.'
58. *Ningki watyerrmusye, epe bilirri deti yenim.*
 AGE/INST C(i) old man but alive also 3s P-go-PRES
 'He is an old man, but he is still alive.'
 (From Tryon: field notes)

ningki is not really necessary in this type of construction. Compare sentence 57 with sentence 130 in section 6.9.

One case of *ningki* is found following the VP in a Ngankikurungkurr song by Miriam-Rose Angkanmerr.

59. *Ngani leli ningki dede nginyiri bebi ngani.*
 1s-go-FUT walk AGE/INST damp/place 1s-see-FUT self COMP
 'I wish I could walk there and see for myself.'

6.4 POSSESSION

Possession in Ngankikurungkurr is indicated in five ways:

- (1) by means of the verbs *dem/gerim baty* 'to own, possess' and *dingim/gem pal* 'to keep',
- (2) by use of the proprietive clitic *-werri*,
- (3) by use of object pronouns in the verb phrase,

- (4) by use of the appropriate personal pronoun,
 (5) by the juxtaposition of nouns.

6.4.1 VERBS OF POSSESSION

The verb *dem/gerim baty* can express possession. It often implies that the object is held at the time referred to so that with directional adverbs it can also be translated as 'bring', 'take' or 'carry'.

60. *Bi ngerim baty ngirribem.*
 axe 1s-VC13-PRES have OA:1s-stand-PRES
 'I have an axe.'/'I am holding an axe.'
61. *Ngatya nyinyi dem baty yeningkisyi.*
 father 2s pn 3s P-VC13-PRES have canoe
 'Your father has a canoe.'

But see:

62. *Deme baty pagu tye angantamu.*
 3s P-VC13-PAST have TSA PAST C(iv) turkey
 'He brought the turkey here.'

The other verb of possession is *dingim/gem pal* 'to have, keep'.

63. *Fagarri dingim pal yawul.*
 two 3s P-VC22-PRES have spear
 'He has two spears.'

It is frequently used to refer to wives, children or grandchildren.

64. *Awutyi ngayim gem pirrki pal girim.*
 grandchild 3s(f)pn 3s IMP-VC22-PRES 3dO have 3s IMP-sit-PRES
 'She has her two grandchildren with her.'
65. *Awawuni fagarri falmi mempirr bakuty werrem*
 C(iii)DEM two woman child many 3ns P-VC22-PRES
- pirrki pal.*
 3dO have
 'Those two women have lots of children.'
 (Note this sentence is reflexive in construction – it includes a dual object which is cross-referenced to the subject.)

6.4.2 *werri*

The use of the 'having' clitic *werri* has been illustrated in the discussion of the noun phrase (3.2.6.1.3). In general *werri* is needed to express the comitative relation, in which the noun which it follows is seen as being alienably possessed in the sense of being 'with' the possessor and not as a part of possessor.

66. *Nem angumungki falmi fagarri-werri yedi tye.*
 3s(m)pn C(iv) rainbow woman two PROP 3s P-go-PAST PAST
 'The rainbow had two wives.'

It is sometimes used in combination with the possessive verbs (6.4.1).

67. *Ngirringe tye dirr kuri yawul - werri ngeme*
 1s stand-PAST PAST bank water spear PROP 1s-VC13-PAST
baty tye.
 have PAST
 'I was standing near the water holding a spear.'

werri may apply to body parts but only as having characteristics which are temporary, not permanent. Thus a pregnant woman may be seen as *dege - werri* or *mempirr - werri* where this is a temporary feature of her existence and for the purposes of the pregnancy her stomach is seen as apart from herself. Similarly having a wound may be seen as *muk - werri*: again because it is a feature or characteristic of the body for a while – not a permanent characteristic.

6.4.3 USE OF OBJECT PRONOUNS TO INDICATE POSSESSION

As already mentioned the direct object pronouns are used to indicate the inalienable possession of body parts which are the objects of verbs, for examples see 4.3.1.1, sentences 17 to 19. With reflexive verbs the indirect object pronoun is used (4.7.3).

6.4.4 POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

There are no morphologically distinct possessive pronouns in Ngankikurungkurr. The free form personal pronouns function as possessive pronouns when they follow the nouns possessed. The possessive pronouns behave like other modifiers and may be class marked. They are not class marked when modifying kinship nouns or body parts.

68. *Ngaya ngayi yi were ngayi.*
 father 1s pn and brother 1s pn
 'My father and my brother.'
69. *Desyi nem melpe kana.*
 C(viii) nose 3s(m)pn flat PUN
 'His nose is flat now.'
70. *A-wuni nendu a-ngayi a-tyipmempi.*
 C(iv)DEM horse C(iv)1s pn C(iv) black
 'That horse of mine is black.'

Like all nominals, possessive pronouns may function as head words when class marked.

Compare:

- 71(a) *Nginyingkin nem.*
 1s-see-PRES 3s(m)pn
 'I see him.'

- 71(b) *Nginyingkin yerr nem.*
 1s-see-PRES C(vii) 3s(m)pn
 'I see his stick (or spear etc).'

They may also occur in predicate position in stative sentences and are usually class marked.

72. *Purpurrk falmi yedi wakay-napa yerr - nyinyi.*
 PLUR woman man finish LIM C(vii) 2s pn
 'Children, women and men all are yours.'
 (From a Ngankikurungkurr hymn by Miriam-Rose Angkanmerr)

Possessive structures are capable of right expansion. In such cases the possessed NP is in sentence initial position and the embedded constructions consist of a possessed noun and a possessor pronoun.

73. *Wuwuni nyenike ngayi ngayim yedi.*
 C(v)DEM(r) sister 1s pn 3s(f)pn husband/man
 'That dog belongs to my sister's husband.'

Inalienable possession may also be indicated by simple juxtaposition of NP's. For example *agarrfuri awamangkal* 'the wallaby's skin' as in:

74. *Gupun wulwul agarrfuri awamangkal.*
 3s IMP-VC14-PRES scrape C(iv) skin C(iv) wallaby
 'He is scraping the wallaby's skin.'

6.5 INTERROGATION

Interrogative sentences may be either polar or may be information seeking.

Polar sentences invite agreement or disagreement to a proposal or when that is not possible, a response like 'I don't know' *minta detyerri-werri ngaganim*. In Ngankikurungkurr polar sentences are identical to affirmative statements except that they have a final rising intonation.

Thus:

75. *Dayi yinyingkin kuri apukek kuri-nide.*
 catfish 2s-see-PRES water under water LOC

can mean:

'Do you see the catfish at the bottom of the water?' or
 'You see the catfish at the bottom of the water.'

depending on the intonation pattern.

Similarly:

76. *Ngatya nyinyi yedi tye walalma amatyi - ngini.*
 father 2s pn 3s-go-PAST PAST hunting C(iv) kangaroo PURP

could be translated as:

'Did your father go hunting for kangaroo?' or
 'Your father went hunting for kangaroo.'

again depending on intonation pattern.

Information seeking questions have the interrogative pronouns and adverbs (5.7) occurring sentence initially (or in the case of some emphatic sentences, sentence finally) before a statement sentence. For example:

77. *Kene yedi tye yeningkisyi - nide?*
 INT:who 3s P-go-PAST PAST canoe LOC
 'Who came in that canoe?'

6.6 CO-ORDINATION

Co-ordination can be indicated by simple juxtaposition of nouns, noun phrases or clauses in the sentence, or it may be formally indicated by the conjunctive particle *yi* 'and'. In simple co-ordination between noun clauses both are either positive or negative.

Examples of co-ordination between nouns and noun phrases:

From Text 8, sentence 1:

78. *Wa-weti wa wukume yi aba nem wadde*
 C(i) little C(i) one and brother 3s(m)pn 3ns P-go-PAST
tye wakerre fungkuli - ngini.
 PAST C(i) big honey PURP
 'A little boy and his big brother went for honey.'

Note: *yi* is more likely to be used to join nouns or noun phrases when there are only two elements to the conjunction and they are the subject of the sentence. It is not used when long lists of birds or animals are given as in Text 3, sentence 2, or in the following example where the additional object NP's occur anaphorically.

79. *Kagu aningam angani ngerrbe dada*
 GEN:meat C(iv) that one C(iv) goose 1ns-VC16-PAST shoot
nganni geri puy wadat wamangkal.
 OA:1ns-go along-PAST-walk CONT flying fox wallaby
 'We went along shooting geese, and (also) flying foxes and wallabies.'

Examples of co-ordination between clauses:

80. *Wuruni guniguni dem mentyi - fityi malarrgu yi*
 C(ii)DEM(r) old woman 3s P-VC13-PRES neck wring turtle and
yengki - nide yenim misyin - kulli.
 fire LOC 3s P-go-PRES oven - throw
 'That old woman wrung the turtle's neck and threw it on the fire.'
81. *Ya ngi fime pagu warrgadi yi*
 2s-VC18-FUT 1sDO CS-hand(give) TSA bag and
nyinyi kana yani pap ngini.
 2s pn PUN 2s-go-FUT climb FUT
 'Give me the bag and then you can climb over.'

As with phrases *yi* is more likely to occur when only two clauses are conjoined, not a long string. One of the clauses may already be a compound sentence with either T-relative (6.7.2) or NP-relative clause (6.7.1) embedded. For example, from Text 1, sentence 3:

82. *Fil mem muy falmi gerryem yi dagani*
 light 3s-say-PRES eye woman 3ns IMP-lie-PRES and 3s-VC11-Past
wirr pigat tye yedi.
 3plO sneak up PAST OA:3s-go-PAST
 'He noticed the women lying down and he sneaked up on them.'

An examination of the text will reveal many sentences or topic chains beginning with *yi*. The texts were divided into sentences or topic chains based on a study of the intonation patterns. A string of clauses or phrases with rising final intonation are followed by one or two with final falling intonation which signals the end of the topic. *yi* is used in these cases to link the narrative. It has the sense of 'and then ...'.

yi may also be used to join anaphoric expressions to the main clause where these are affirmative. These anaphora usually delete the verbs and often add *deti* 'also'.

83. *Ngupun gat anginakul kulyinimbi yi nem deti.*
 1s-VC14-PRES catch C(iv) fish yesterday and 3s(m)pn also
 'I caught a fish and so did he.'
 This could also read: 'I caught a fish and him also.'

6.6.1 DISJUNCTION

Disjunction may be indicated by the juxtaposition of two clauses. In general one of these is affirmative, while the other is negative.

84. *Kagu bakuty dangim pawal kagu minta*
 GEN:meat many 3s P-VC18-PRES pierce GEN:meat NEG
tye ya pawal.
 PAST 2s-VC18-FUT pierce
 'He speared many animals but you didn't.'
85. *Ngagarri ngadde tye Darwin - pefi, minta tye*
 1pl ex pn 1ns ex-go-PAST-d PAST ALL NEG PAST
nginyere ngirrkki muy tye.
 1ns ex-see-REFLEX-FUT 1d exO self PAST
 'We both went to Darwin (at the same time) but did not see each other.'

Disjunction is frequently indicated by the digjunctive co-ordinator *epe* 'but'. This usually occurs in the initial position in the second clause.

86. *Miyi nyin ngerrem du epe minta tye*
 GEN:food DEM 1ns ex-VC22-PRES taste but NEG PAST
derrigirri ngerrmi.
 like 1ns ex-VC13-FUT
 'We tasted the food but we didn't like it.'

87. *Ngirrim mene minta ngerrbi derridu tye*
 1ns ex-sit-PRES ATT NEG 1ns ex-VC16-FUT find PAST
mumba epe watyerrmusye - ningki dangirr
 path but C(i) old man AGE 3s P-VC18-PRES-1pl exO
du mumba.
 show path
 'We thought we couldn't find the way but an old man showed us the path.'

The second clause may be a verbless clause or anaphoric expression.

88. *Ngagurr ngannigi leli apirri - kirri epe*
 1pl ex pn 1ns ex-go-along-PAST walk before INTENS but
minmi kana.
 no PUN
 'We needed to walk there before but not now.'
89. *Malarrgu nginni lalirr tye epe*
 turtle 1ns ex-sit-PAST eat PAST but
kagu - kirri aminguri.
 GEN:meat INTENS bony
 'We ate the turtle but it was very bony.'

Disjunctive sentences may also be of the type described in section 6.3.1 where two verbless statements, the first with initial *ningki* and the second with clause initial *epe*, are juxtaposed.

6.7 SUBORDINATION

In the majority of cases subordination in Ngankikurungkurr is implied rather than formally indicated. In multiclause sentences the relationship is usually paratactic rather than hypotactic; subordination being indicated (as has been mentioned in 6.6), by a linking intonation pattern and by the relationship implied by the juxtaposition of clauses.

As well as this there are a small number of particles which are used in the formation of subordinate clauses.

<i>gimin</i>	'when, while, at the same time as'
<i>werri-kirri</i>	'because'
<i>ngini</i>	purposive marker
<i>ngan</i>	'where, the place at which'
<i>nyin-ta-nimbi</i>	'because of that, as a result of which'

6.7.1 NP RELATIVE CLAUSES

NP relative clauses are not formally indicated; the sense of the adjectival relative is conveyed by parataxis. 'See the big kangaroo which is sitting in the grass' may be seen as consisting of two matrix sentences:

90(a) *Amatyi akerre nyinyingkin.*

'I see the big kangaroo.'

90(b) *Amatyi akerre girim wurr-nide.*

'The big kangaroo is sitting on the grass.'

The resultant sentence:

90(c) *Nginyingkin, amatyi akerre girim wurr-nide.*

'I see the big kangaroo sitting on the grass.'

is formed by combining both sentences and deleting the identical NP in 90(a).

The order is unimportant: 90(c) may be realised as *Amatyi akerre nginyinkin girim wurr-nide* or *Amatyi akerre girim wurr-nide nginyingkin*.

6.7.2 TEMPORAL RELATIVE CLAUSES

Temporal relative clauses may be indicated by simple juxtaposition as are the NP relative clauses. As Hale says (1976:70) '... the NP relative interpretation is available when the main and subordinate clauses share an identical argument and the T-relative interpretation is available when the two clauses make identical time reference'. When 'both of these conditions are met ... both interpretations are possible'.

Sentence 90(c) could also be interpreted as 'I saw the big kangaroo when it was sitting on the grass.'

Similarly:

91. *Wa-wuni were nem mengkin bawa*
 C(i)DEM(r) brother 3s(m)pn 3s P-VC12-PRES arm-pick up
wa-weti, wani fel ngini tye kuri - nide.
 C(i) little 3s P-go-FUT dive FUT PAST water LOC

may be translated as:

'That man grabbed his little brother who was about to fall into the water.'

'That man grabbed his little brother when he was about to fall into the water.'

But in the following only the temporal relative interpretation is possible.

92. *Puy nginni madi-wirsi tye nganki nyin*
 CONT 1ns ex-sit-PAST laugh PAST story DEM
ngerrtyem tyerribaty.
 1ns ex-lie-PRES hear
 'We all kept laughing when we heard that story.'

93. *Ngani fili kana ngini tye kalla ngayi*
 1s-go-FUT set off PUN FUT PAST mother 1s pn
-ningki wirribe - ninti kay.
 AGE 3s P-stand-PRES-1sIO call
 'I was about to go when my mother called me.'

6.7.2.1 *gimin*

Temporal relative clauses may also be indicated by use of the temporal relative particle *gimin*. This usually occurs in the second or third position in the clause – never the initial position.

94. *Peyi gimin ngagadi tye, miyi guguk*
 there REL(T) 1s-go-PAST PAST GEN:plant food wait
waddi lalirr tye.
 3ns-go-PAST eat PAST
 'When I went there they were still eating.'
95. *Ep ngerim pallak warrgadi kultyinimbi, wuni*
 perhaps 1s-VC13-PRES lose bag yesterday DEM(r)
gimin malarrgu-ngini nguni fifili tye ngagadi.
 REL(T) turtle PURP 1s-VC14-PAST look for PAST OA:1s-go-PAST
 'I must have lost my bag when I was there looking for turtles.'

See also sentence 23 in this chapter.

gimin with verbs of tasting, asking, spearing and catching may be translated as 'try' or 'try out' but without any implications as to success or failure as with the attempted action marker *mene* (5.6)

96. *Ngen du gimin miyi, ep wulek.*
 1s-VC22-PRES taste REL(T) food perhaps bad
 'I am tasting the food in case it is bad.'
97. *Ngatya ngayi gimin nga tyerrpu ngini ngimbi*
 father 1s pn REL(T) 1s-VC18-FUT ask FUT 1inc-sit-FUT
nime ngini kinyi.
 pl FUT DEM(p)
 'I will ask my father if we can sit here.'
98. *Ngu gat gimin ngini dayi.*
 1s-VC14-FUT catch REL(R) FUT catfish
 'I am trying to catch catfish.'
99. *Yebi da gimin syirre-pefi!*
 2s-VC16-FUT hit REL(T) behind ALL
 'Try to hit it from behind!'

gimin is also used in comparative constructions in combination with the comparative particle *ngani* (6.8). Temporal relative clauses are also formed by use of the clitic *nimbi* with the present tense form of the verb (see sentences 157 to 160 in section 4.4.1.4.4).

6.7.3 CLAUSES OF REASON

Clauses of reason may also have no formal indicator and employ juxtaposition as a means of indicating subordination and the nature of it. In this sentence type the second clause implies the reason for the state of affairs described in the first.

100. *Apuderrri - purrpurrk girrim madi - wirsi,*
 young girl PLUR 3ns IMP-sit-PRES laugh
bengim pirr ge.
 3s P-VC16-PRES 3plO stomach
 'The little girls are laughing because they are happy.'

More usually however, indication of reason is provided by *werri-kirri* 'because' (literally 'having very much' – a combination of the proprietive and intensifying clitics). This most commonly occurs clause finally.

101. *Ngibem winyiny, bengi -ngi ge werrikirri.*
 1s-lie-PRES whistle RED 3s P-VC16-PRES 1sDO stomach because
 'I am whistling because I am happy.'

From Text 7, sentence 30:

102. *Yinyiri nem aniyen peyita girim,*
 2s-see-FUT 3s(m)pn sand frog there-EMPH 3s IMP-sit-PRES
yiri mem pi werrikirri.
 ashamed 3s-say/do-PRES head head
 'You will see the sand frog sitting there because he is ashamed.'

From Text 6, sentence 5:

103. *Wurweti wurwukume tyip men tyerri*
 C(ii) little C(ii) one dark 3s-do/say-PRES ear
nganki nyinin, miyi bakuty werrikirri.
 story DEM GEN:plant food many because
 'One little girl forgot that story because there was so much fruit.'

6.7.4 CLAUSES OF RESULT

Clauses of result are also commonly realised by juxtaposition. They are indicated by the fact that the second clause describes an action which is implied by the first clause or is consequent upon it.

104. *Waweti muy miyi dingim dudu*
 C(i) little self GEN:plant food 3s P-VC22-PRES taste RED
wulek yenim we.
 bad 3s P-go-PRES spit
 'The little boy didn't like the taste of the food and so he spat it out.'

105. *Kurri-werri wadde tye warrane wirrki*
 grow PROP 3ns-go-PAST-d PAST 3ns-VC18-PAST 3dO
gurrurr tye.
 miss RED PAST
 ‘They were both drunk and so they missed each other.’
 (When trying to spear each other)
106. *Kulyinimbi miyi cashew ngagadi lalirr*
 yesterday GEN:plant food 1s-go-PAST eat
tye bakuty, ngudam wul pagu, dege wulek
 PAST many 1s-VC10-PRES return TSA stomach bad
ngagadi tye.
 1s-go-PAST PAST
 ‘I ate so many cashews that when I came back here I felt sick.’

Reason or result may also be indicated by *nyin - ta - nimbi* (DEM + EMPH + ABL) ‘because of that, as a result of that’ in the clause-initial position.

107. *Dede minta fafa-werri pundurung: nyinta-nimbi*
 place NEG shout PROP Leitchfield DEM-EMPH-ABL
derrigirri ngerim.
 like 1s-VC13-PRES
 ‘Leitchfield is a quiet place; I like it because of that.’

Clauses of result may also be formed by use of *nimbi* using the past tense form of the verb (see example 117 in section 4.4.1.3).

6.7.5 CLAUSES OF PURPOSE

Clauses of purpose are usually indicated by the presence of the purposive/future clitic *ngini* in the subordinate purpose clause. This clause may contain a compound verb stem without auxiliary which is followed by *ngini*.

The presence of *ngini* as a purposive marker following a compound verb stem indicates a firm volition and refers to a particular action.

Compare:

108. *Aba ngayi waddi tye tyutyurr-ngini*
 sibling 1spn 3ns P-go-PAST PAST swimming PURP
kulyinimbi kin-ta.
 yesterday DEM(p)-EMPH
 ‘My brothers and sisters went for a swim here yesterday.’

109. *Aba ngayi wanninggu tyutyurr mirri-mirri-yeyi*
 sibling 1s pn 3ns P-go-PRES-d swim RED every day

kinta.

DEM(p)-EMPH

'My two siblings swim here every day.'

The difference between the two sentences is the difference which is expressed in English by 'to go swimming' versus 'to go for a swim', or 'to swim' versus 'to have a swim'; where what is discriminated is the fact that in one case we have an individual occurrence of the particular action described in the verb. That this is not indicated by the adverb alone (that is 'yesterday' as opposed to 'every day') can be seen in:

110. *Awuni fagarri falmi wanninggu wapup tyerrakul*
 C(iv)DEM two woman 3ns P-go-PRES-d sit down talk

-ngini mirri-mirri-yeyi.

PURP every day

'Those two women sit down for a chat every day.'

The purposive clause may also be one containing a finite verb phrase; *ngini* being obligatory in some position in the clause.

111. *Kak kana ngaganim ngimi - nge ngini nganki.*
 set off PUN 1s-go-PRES 1s-say-FUT 3s(f)IO FUT language

'I will set off to talk to her.'

112. *Awuni fagarri werringu madi - wyi,*
 C(iii)DEM two 3ns-VC13-PRES-d side-bend

miyi - ngini werrmugu ba-ket.

GEN:plant food PURP 3ns-VC13-FUT arm cut

'They are bending down the branches to get the fruit.'

113. *Gupun filfil yengki warrmade - ngini*
 3s IMP-VC14-PRES light RED fire quick PURP

wimi pup.

3s P-VC12-FUT burn well

'He is blowing the fire to make it burn well.'

6.7.6 CLAUSES OF PLACE

Clauses of place are usually introduced by the relative locative particle *ngan*. The relative locative particle *ngan* may introduce a locative NP or a subordinate locative clause. It is translated as 'where' in the sense of 'the place in/at/on which'. It is always the first element in such phrases or clauses. The relative locative phrase or clause itself is usually found in sentence final position.

Examples of the use of *ngan* with NP's:

From Text 6, sentence 2:

114. *Werrmengkem dede nyinin ngan mi-dirrwi bakuty.*
 3ns P-arrive-PRES place DEM REL(L) C(iv) black plum many
 ‘They arrived at the place where there were many black plums.’

From Miriam-Rose Angkanmerr's translation of The Lord's Prayer:

115. *Wulnik minta wani ngan ngagurr-nide-pagu.*
 devil NEG 3s-go-FUT REL(L) 3pl pn LOC TSA
 ‘Do not let the devil come to where we are.’

Examples of the use of *ngan* with relative locative clauses:

116. *Ngaytpirr ngaddi tye ngan kanbi bengin*
 long way 1ns-go-PAST PAST REL bamboo 3s P-VC16-PRES
tyerrfal.
 grow
 ‘We went a long way to where the bamboo grows.’
117. *Ep awa-wuni falmi detyerri-werri wannunggu,*
 perhaps C(ii)DEM woman ears PROP 3ns P-go-PRES-d
ngan e-werrmisya wirrnyingkin.gu.
 REL C(iv) crocodile 3ns P-see-PRES-d
 ‘Perhaps those two women remember where they saw the crocodile.’

ngan is also found in compound verb stems (4.9.2.2).

‘Where’ in constructions of the type ‘show me where...’ is translated by the interrogatives *kide* and *tyende* (see 5.7, sentences 102 and 103).

Clauses of place may also be indicated by the use of *peyi* ‘there’ which usually precedes the VP in the subordinate clause.

118. *Ngemengge wirrki ngini peyi girringgu.*
 1s-arrive-FUT 3dO FUT there 3s IMP-sit-PRES-d
 ‘I will go to where they (d) are staying.’
119. *Nem aniyen peyi gibem yenim*
 3s(m)pn C(iv) sand frog there 3s IMP-lie-PRES 3s P-go-PRES
pap fepi -nide.
 climb rock LOC
 ‘The sand frog is lying where he climbed on the rock.’

6.7.7 CONDITIONAL SENTENCES

The conditional has been covered in the section on tense, mood and aspect in the verb phrase (4.4.1.4.4). It is formed by use of the ablative clitic *nimbi* in combination with the future form of the verb in the first clause and future indicative in the second clause.

The past conditional is formed by addition of the past tense marker *tye* to the future tense, following *nimbi* (see 4.4.1.4.4, sentences 159 and 160).

nimbi also forms subordinate clauses with present and past forms of the verb. With present tense it produces temporal relative clauses (4.4.1.2.1). With the past tense it produces a clause of result (4.4.1.3).

6.8 COMPARATIVE PARTICLE *ngani*

The comparative particle *ngani* may be used to compare nominals as in:

120. *Yerr - kinyi yewirr minta yerr -kerre ngani yerr - wuni.*
 C(vii) DEM(p) stick NEG C(vii) big COMP C(vii) DEM(r)
 'This stick is not as big as that one.'

It may be nominalised by use of class markers.

121. *Yagama kinyi yerr-ngani wuni yagama girribem.*
 woomera DEM(p) C(vii) COMP DEM woomera 3s IMP-stand-PRES
 'This woomera is like the one standing there.'

It may also be used as a comparative conjunction comparing the action described in consecutive clauses.

- 122(a) *Awa-purrpurrk fagarri werrmenggu tyululu*
 C(iii)PLUR two 3ns P-VC23-PRES-d tickle
wirringgu.
 3ns P-sit-PRES-d
 'They (d) are tickling each other.'

- 122(b) *Ngani wirringgu napadeti wannunggu. Ngani*
 COMP 3ns P-sit-PRES-d always 3ns P-go-PRES-d COMP
wirrmugu deti ngini wirrigu elifala.
 3ns P-do/say-FUT-d again FUT 3s IMP-sit-FUT-d tomorrow
 'They always go on like that. They will be doing the same thing again tomorrow.'

ngani ngani meaning 'again and again' is found in Text 3, sentence 17:

123. *Ngani ngani wirrmegu napa deti.*
 COMP COMP 3ns P-say/do-PAST always
 'They did it again and again.'

It most frequently occurs in combinations with the relative temporal particle *gimin* in a construction taking the form *ngani V gimin*.

124. *Wurwuni yani wuni gimin.*
 C(ii)DEM COMP DEM(r) REL(T)
 'These two girls look alike.'
125. *Kunyungun minta ngani wuni gimin.*
 boomerang NEG COMP DEM(r) REL(T)
 'This boomerang is not like that.'

126. *Dede yubu nawiyu minta ngani dede yeyi gimin.*
 camp/place good Daly River Mission NEG COMP place other REL(T)
 'Nawiyu (Daly River Mission) is a good place, not like any other.'

This construction may also be used to form an adverbial phrase of manner as in:

127. *Wupun kurr ngani emengkin giwin.*
 3s P-VC14-PRES dig COMP C(iv) goanna REL(T)
 'He dug like a goanna.'
128. *Ngani wuwu gimin gaganim leli wawuni.*
 COMP C(v) dog REL(T) 3s IMP-go-PRES walk C(i) DEM(T)
 'That boy is pretending to be (going along like) a dog.'

6.9 THE PREFERENTIAL PARTICLE *nawa*

The preferential particle *nawa* may follow NP's or VP's indicating that the NP or VP thus marked is the preferred choice. For example if people are being chosen for a team someone might say *nagarri nawa* 'you two are preferred/chosen' (rather than those other slow ones).

See also:

129. *Ngiwi magat nawa.*
 1s-sit-FUT Leitchfield PREF
 'I would rather live at Leitchfield.'

It also occurs in comparative sentences indicating that the NP marked by *nawa* is better than or preferable to the unmarked NP.

130. *Kuderrri wu - nide angani a-minta bakuty, epe*
 billabong DEM LOC C(iv) goose C(iv)NEG plenty but
kuderrri yeyi nawa.
 billabong other PREF
 'There are not many geese on that billabong but plenty on the other billabong.'
131. *Nayp yaga yerr - wulek - nimbi, yerr - kinyi nawa*
 knife DEM C(vii) bad ABL C(vii) DEM(p) PREF
yerr - yubu.
 C(vii) good
 'If that knife is no good, this one will be better.'

The phrase or clause containing *nawa* most frequently follows that containing the NP with which it is favourably compared, but not always.

132. *Yerr - ki - nawa yeningkisyi yerr-yubu, epe yerr-wuni wulek.*
 C(vii) DEM(p) PREF canoe C(vii) good but C(vii)DEM(r) bad
 'This canoe is good but that one is bad.'/'This canoe is better than that.'

nawa is also used in the formation of indefinite pronouns and adverbs from interrogatives (5.7.1) and in the past conditional verb phrase (4.4.1.4.4, sentence 160).

7. EXCLAMATIONS

The following exclamations have been recorded:

<i>apma</i>	'be quiet'
<i>aya, ayi, ayay</i>	expression of disbelief
<i>ba</i>	'come on!'; also used when a mistake has been made in narrative when it could be translated as 'oh no, I mean...'
<i>bayu</i>	'all right'
<i>ngka, yingka</i>	'here, take this'
<i>kawa, kawa nawa, kaw</i>	'come here'
<i>guguk</i>	'wait' (homophonous with the adverb meaning 'still')
<i>mamak</i>	'good-bye', 'go on'
<i>pata</i>	'look out'
<i>pi kirri ya</i>	'go away'
<i>sya</i>	'go away' (to animal)
<i>syarri</i>	'hurry up, run'
<i>ya</i>	'hey'
<i>yakay</i>	'oh!' exclamation of pain or surprise
<i>ma</i>	'well then'
<i>yu, yuway</i>	'yes'
<i>puy</i>	'keep going' (homophonous with continuous adverb)
<i>pagu</i>	'come here, bring it here' (homophonous with the clitic indicating movement towards the speaker and/or action)
<i>pefi</i>	'move away' (homophonous with the allative clitic)
<i>kay</i>	A penetrating call starting on a high note with a falling tone. It is used to attract the attention of someone at a distance. In normal speech it is used as the CVS 'to call'. Most Aboriginal languages have a call of this type, e.g. <i>ba wu</i> in Miriwung (Kofod 1978:97). The Australian 'cooe' is probably from one of the New South Wales languages.

APPENDIX 1

AUXILIARY VERB CONJUGATIONS

Class 1: 'to sit, to be at rest, to be'

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-irim</i>	<i>ng-ini</i>	<i>ng-iwi</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-irim</i>	<i>y-ini</i>	<i>y-iwi</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>d-im</i>	<i>d-ini</i>	<i>wiri</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>g-irim</i>		<i>g-iwi</i>
1st dual inclusive	<i>ng-indim</i>	<i>ng-indini</i>	<i>ng-imbi</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-irringgu</i>	<i>ng-inne</i>	<i>ng-irrigu</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-irringgu</i>	<i>y-inne</i>	<i>y-irrigu</i>
3rd dual perfective	<i>w-irringgu</i>	<i>w-inne</i>	<i>w-irrigu</i>
3rd dual imperfective	<i>g-irringgu</i>		
1st plural inclusive	<i>ng-indim nime</i>	<i>ng-indini nime</i>	<i>ng-imbi nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-irrim</i>	<i>ng-inni</i>	<i>ng-irri</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-irrim</i>	<i>y-inni</i>	<i>y-irri</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-irrim</i>	<i>w-inni</i>	<i>w-irri</i>
3rd plural imperfective	<i>g-irrim</i>		<i>g-irri</i>

Class 2: 'to stand, to be upright'

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-irribem</i>	<i>ng-irringe</i>	<i>ng-irrim</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-irribem</i>	<i>y-irringe</i>	<i>y-irrim</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>w-irribem</i>	<i>w-irringe</i>	<i>w-irrim</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>g-irribem</i>		
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngimp-irribem</i>	<i>ngimp-irringe</i>	<i>ngimp-irrim</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-itibenggu</i>	<i>ng-itingegu</i>	<i>ng-itinggu</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-itibenggu</i>	<i>y-itingegu</i>	<i>y-itinggu</i>
3rd dual perfective	<i>w-itibenggu</i>	<i>w-itingegu</i>	<i>w-itinggu</i>
3rd dual imperfective	<i>g-itibenggu</i>		
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngimp-irribem nime</i>	<i>ngimp-irringe nime</i>	<i>ngimp-irrim nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-itibem</i>	<i>ng-itinge</i>	<i>ng-itim</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-itibem</i>	<i>y-itinge</i>	<i>y-itim</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-itibem</i>	<i>w-itinge</i>	<i>w-itim</i>
3rd plural imperfective	<i>g-itibem</i>		

Class 3: 'to lie, to be at rest in a horizontal plane'

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-ibem</i>	<i>ng-inge</i>	<i>ng-im</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-ibem</i>	<i>y-inge</i>	<i>y-im</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>w-ibem</i>	<i>w-inge</i>	<i>w-im</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>g-ibem</i>		
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngimp-ibem</i>	<i>ngimp-inge</i>	<i>ngimb-im</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-errtyenggu</i>	<i>ng-errtyinegu†</i>	<i>ng-errtyegu</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-errtyenggu</i>	<i>y-errtyinegu†</i>	<i>y-errtyegu</i>
3rd dual perfective	<i>w-errtyenggu</i>	<i>w-errtyinegu†</i>	<i>w-errtyegu</i>
3rd dual imperfective	<i>g-errtyenggu</i>		
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngimp-ibem nime</i>	<i>ngimp-inge nime</i>	<i>ngimp-im nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-errtyem</i>	<i>ng-errtyini†</i>	<i>ng-errtye</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-errtyem</i>	<i>y-errtyini†</i>	<i>y-errtye</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-errtyem</i>	<i>w-errtyini</i>	<i>w-errtye</i>
3rd plural imperfective	<i>g-errtyem</i>		

Note: in the past tense there are the alternative forms of the 1st exclusive, 2nd and 3rd person: dual *ng-errtyine*, *y-errtyine*, *w-errtyine*, plural *ng-errtyin*, *y-errtyin* and *w-errtyi*.

Class 4: 'to go'

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-aganim</i>	<i>ng-agadi</i>	<i>ng-ani</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-aganim</i>	<i>y-agadi</i>	<i>y-ani</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>y-enim</i>	<i>y-edi</i>	<i>w-ani</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>g-aganim</i>		<i>g-ani</i>
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngank-inim</i>	<i>ngank-idi</i>	<i>ngamb-ani</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-anninggi†</i>	<i>ng-adde</i>	<i>ng-arrane</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-anninggi†</i>	<i>y-adde</i>	<i>y-arrane</i>
3rd dual perfective	<i>w-anninggi†</i>	<i>w-adde</i>	<i>w-arrane</i>
3rd dual imperfective	<i>g-anninggi†</i>		
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngank-inim nime</i>	<i>ngank-idi nime</i>	<i>ngamb-ani nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-annim</i>	<i>ng-addi</i>	<i>ng-arrani</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-annim</i>	<i>y-addi</i>	<i>y-arrani</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-annim</i>	<i>w-addi</i>	<i>w-arrani</i>
3rd plural imperfective	<i>g-annim</i>		

Note: the non-inclusive dual has the alternate forms in the present: *ng-annunngu*, *y-annunggu*, *wannunggu* and *g-annanggu*.

Class 4(a): 'to go along, to move continuously'

This verb has been recorded in full in the past only. It is a verb of motion with the sense of prolonged or continuing movement.

	Present	Past
1st singular	<i>(ng-ananyeri)</i>	<i>ng-anigi</i>

2nd singular	(<i>y-ananyeri</i>)	<i>y-enigi</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>yirripin</i>	<i>y-irriini</i>
3rd singular imperfective	(<i>g-ananyeri</i>)	
1st dual inclusive	(<i>ngamb-ananyeri</i>)	<i>ngank-idi</i>
1st dual exclusive	(<i>ng-annanggeri</i>)	<i>ng-annigigi</i>
2nd dual	(<i>y-annanggeri</i>)	<i>y-ennigigi</i>
3rd dual perfective	(<i>w-annanggeri</i>)	<i>w-annigigi</i>
3rd dual imperfective	(<i>g-annanggeri</i>)	
1st plural inclusive	(<i>ngamb-ananyeri nime</i>)	<i>ngank-idi nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	(<i>ng-annanyeri</i>)	<i>ng-annigi</i>
2nd plural	(<i>y-annanyeri</i>)	<i>y-annigi</i>
3rd plural perfective	(<i>w-annanyeri</i>)	<i>w-annigi</i>
3rd plural imperfective	(<i>g-annanyeri</i>)	

Those forms given in brackets have been recorded as orientation auxiliaries in similar position to the third singular *yirripin*. They are homophonous with what has been presumed to be the compound verb VC11 + *yeri* 'to walk'. The compound VC11 + *yeri* has never been recorded in the third singular present perfective form. *yeri* has not been recorded in a compound with any other verb class and it is possible that this is in fact the conjugation to which the two commonly encountered third person singular perfective past and present forms belong.

Class 5: 'to see'

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-inyingkin</i>	<i>ng-inyirini</i>	<i>ng-inyiri</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-inyingkin</i>		<i>y-inyiri</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>d-inyingkin</i>	<i>d-inyirini</i>	<i>d-inyiri</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>g-inyingkin</i>		<i>g-inyiri</i>
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngimp-inyingkin</i>		<i>ngimp-inyiri</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-irrnyingkin</i>		<i>ng-irrnyirigu</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-irrnyingkin.gu</i>		<i>y-irrnyirigu</i>
3rd dual perfective	<i>w-irrnyingkin.gu</i>	<i>w-irrnyirini</i>	<i>w-irrnyirigu</i>
3rd dual imperfective	<i>g-irrnyingkin.gu</i>		
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngimp-inyingkin nime</i>		<i>ngimp-inyiri nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-irrnyingkin</i>		<i>ng-irrnyiri</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-irrnyingkin</i>		<i>y-irrnyiri</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-irrnyingkin</i>		<i>w-irrnyiri</i>
3rd plural imperfective	<i>g-irrnyingkin</i>		<i>g-irrnyiri</i>

Class 5(a):

This is the reciprocal and reflexive form of Class 5 *nginyingkin*. It is usually followed by *muy* 'face' (or *mi bebi* 'self') which has an emphatic force when used in the reflexive reciprocal. Only one form has been recorded in the past and two in the future. No imperfective forms were recorded.

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-inyeram (muy)</i>		
2nd singular	<i>y-inyeram</i>		

3rd singular	<i>d-inyeram</i>		<i>dinyere</i>
1st dual inclusive	<i>ng-imb-inyeram (bebi)†</i>		
1st dual exclusive	<i>ngirrnyerenggu</i>		
2nd dual	<i>y-irryerenggu</i>		
3rd dual	<i>wirr-nyerenggu</i>	<i>winyerenugu</i>	<i>winyeregu</i>
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngimbi-nyerem</i>		
1st plural exclusive	<i>ngirr-nyerem</i>		
2nd plural	<i>yirr-nyerem</i>		
3rd plural	<i>wirr-nyerem</i>		<i>wirr-nyere</i>

Note: an alternative form of the first person dual inclusive is *ngimbi-nyereng-gu*. This is formed by analogy with the non-singular forms instead of the more usual analogy with the singular.

Class 6: 'to do' or 'to say'

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-im</i>	<i>ng-ime</i>	<i>ng-imi</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-im</i>	<i>y-ime</i>	<i>y-imi</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>m-em</i>	<i>m-eyi</i>	<i>w-imi</i>
3rd singular imperfective			<i>g-imi</i>
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngind-im</i>	<i>ngimb-ime</i>	<i>ngimb-imi</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-irringgu</i>	<i>ng-irrmegu</i>	<i>ng-irrmigu</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-irringgu</i>	<i>y-irrmegu</i>	<i>y-irrmigu</i>
3rd dual perfective	<i>w-irringgu</i>	<i>w-irrmegu</i>	<i>w-irrmigu</i>
3rd dual imperfective			
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngind-im nime</i>	<i>ngimb-ime nime</i>	<i>ngimb-imi nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-irrim</i>	<i>ng-irrme</i>	<i>ng-irrimi</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-irrim</i>	<i>y-irrme</i>	<i>y-irrimi</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-irrim</i>	<i>w-irrme</i>	<i>w-irrimi</i>
3rd plural imperfective			

Class 6(a): 'to say to oneself, to do to oneself'

	Present	Past
1st singular	<i>ng-imem</i>	
2nd singular	<i>y-imem</i>	
3rd singular perfective	<i>m-eyim</i>	
3rd singular imperfective		
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngimb-emem</i>	
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-irrmemgu</i>	
2nd dual	<i>y-irrmemgu</i>	
3rd dual perfective	<i>w-irrmemgu</i>	<i>wirrmenigu</i>
3rd dual imperfective		
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngimb-emem nime</i>	
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-irrmem</i>	

2nd plural	<i>y-irrmem</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-irrmem</i>
3rd plural imperfective	

Class 7: 'to arrive'

There is only one tense form to cover both past and present. The future has been recorded in the singular only.

	Present/Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-emengkem</i>	<i>ng-emengke</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-emengkem</i>	<i>y-emengke</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>d-emengkem</i>	<i>w-emengge</i>
3rd singular imperfective		<i>g-emengge</i>
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngemp-emengkem</i>	
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-errmengkenggu</i>	
2nd dual	<i>y-errmengkenggu</i>	
3rd dual	<i>w-errmengkenggu</i>	
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngemp-emengkem nime</i>	
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-errmengkem</i>	
2nd plural	<i>y-errmengkem</i>	
3rd plural	<i>w-errmengkem</i>	

Class 8: 'to bring, to take, to carry'

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-agatyen</i>	<i>ng-agantyi</i>	<i>ng-awam</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-agatyen</i>	<i>y-agantyi</i>	<i>y-awam</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>y-etyin</i>	<i>y-entyi</i>	<i>w-awam</i>
3rd singular imperfective			<i>k-awam</i>
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngank-ityin</i>	<i>ngank-intyi</i>	<i>ngamb-awam</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-arrgatyen.gu</i>	<i>ng-arrgantyi^{gu}</i>	<i>ng-arrwanggu</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-arrgatyen.gu</i>	<i>y-arrgantyi^{gu}</i>	<i>y-arrwanggu</i>
3rd dual perfective	<i>w-arrgatyen.gu</i>	<i>w-arrgantyi^{gu}</i>	<i>w-arrwanggu</i>
3rd dual imperfective			
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngank-ityin nime</i>	<i>ngank-intyi nime</i>	<i>ngamb-awam nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-arrgatyen</i>	<i>ng-arrgantyi[†]</i>	<i>ng-arrwam</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-arrgatyen</i>	<i>y-arrgantyi[†]</i>	<i>y-arrwam</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-arrgatyen</i>	<i>w-arrgantyi[†]</i>	<i>w-arrwam</i>
3rd plural imperfective			<i>k-arrwam</i>

Note: in the past there is an alternative set of forms for the 1st exclusive, 2nd and 3rd person. The dual are *ng-arrintye*, *y-arrintye* and *w-arrintye*, and the plural are *ng-arrintyi*, *y-arrintyi* and *w-arrintyi*.

Class 9: 'to hang'

	Present
1st singular	<i>ng-ityibem</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-ityibem</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>w-ityibem</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>g-ityibem</i>
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngimp-ityibem</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-irryenggu</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-irryenggu</i>
3rd dual	<i>w-irryenggu</i>
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngimp-ityibem nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-irryim</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-irryim</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-irryim</i>

Class 10: downward movement

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-udem</i>	<i>ng-udeni</i>	<i>ng-ude</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-udem</i>	<i>y-udeni</i>	<i>y-ude</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>w-udem</i>	<i>w-udeni</i>	<i>w-ude</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>g-udem</i>		<i>g-ude</i>
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngumb-udem</i>	<i>ngumb-udeni</i>	<i>ngumb-ude</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-uddenggu</i>	<i>ng-uddenigu</i>	<i>ng-uddegu</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-uddenggu</i>	<i>y-uddenigu</i>	<i>y-uddegu</i>
3rd dual perfective	<i>w-uddenggu</i>	<i>w-uddenigu</i>	<i>w-uddegu</i>
3rd dual imperfective	<i>g-uddenggu</i>		
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngumb-udem nime</i>	<i>ngumb-udeni nime</i>	<i>ngumb-ude nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-uddem</i>	<i>ng-uddeni</i>	<i>ng-udde</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-uddem</i>	<i>y-uddeni</i>	<i>y-udde</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-uddem</i>	<i>w-uddeni</i>	<i>w-udde</i>
3rd plural imperfective			

Class 11: motion with feet

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-anan</i>		<i>ng-ana</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-enan</i>		<i>y-ena</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>d-agam</i>	<i>d-agani</i>	<i>w-ana</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>g-anan</i>		
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngamb-anan</i>		<i>ngamb-ana</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-annanggu</i>		<i>ng-annagu</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-annanggu</i>		<i>y-annagu</i>
3rd dual perfective	<i>w-annanggu</i>	<i>w-annanigu</i>	<i>w-annagu</i>
3rd dual imperfective	<i>g-annanggu</i>		
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngamb-ana(n) nime</i>		<i>ngamb-ana nime</i>

1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-annam</i>	<i>ng-anna</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-annam</i>	<i>y-anna</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-annam</i>	<i>w-anna</i>
3rd plural imperfective	<i>g-annam</i>	

Class 12: 'to lift'

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-imingkin</i>	<i>ng-ime</i>	<i>ng-imi</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-imingkin</i>	<i>y-ime</i>	<i>y-imi</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>mengkin†</i>	<i>w-imr</i>	<i>w-imi</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>gi-mengkin</i>		
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngimb-imengkin</i>	<i>ngimb-eme</i>	<i>ngimb-imi</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-irrmengkin.gu</i>	<i>ng-irrmegu</i>	<i>ng-irrmigi</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-irrmengkin.gu</i>	<i>y-irrmegu</i>	<i>y-irrmigu</i>
3rd dual perfective	<i>w-irrmengkin.gu</i>	<i>w-irrmegu</i>	<i>w-irrigu</i>
3rd dual imperfective			
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngimb-imengkin</i>	<i>ngimb-eme nime</i>	<i>ngimb-i nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-irrmengkin</i>	<i>ng-irrme</i>	<i>ng-irrimi</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-irrmengkin</i>	<i>y-irrme</i>	<i>y-irrimi</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-irrmengkin</i>	<i>w-irrme</i>	<i>w-irrimi</i>
3rd plural imperfective			<i>g-irrimi</i>

Note: the third singular present tense perfective has the alternative form *w-imengkin*.

Class 13: causing, making or doing with hands

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-erim</i>	<i>ng-eme</i>	<i>ng-emi</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-erim</i>	<i>y-eme</i>	<i>y-emi</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>d-em</i>	<i>d-eme</i>	<i>w-emi</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>g-erim</i>		
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngend-im</i>	<i>ngimp-ime</i>	
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-erringgu</i>	<i>ng-errmegu</i>	<i>ng-errmigu†</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-erringgu</i>	<i>y-errmegu</i>	<i>y-errmigu†</i>
3rd dual perfective	<i>w-erringgu</i>	<i>w-errmegu</i>	<i>w-errmigu†</i>
3rd dual imperfective	<i>g-erringgu</i>		
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngend-im nime</i>	<i>ngimp-ime nime</i>	<i>ngemp-imi nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-errim</i>	<i>ng-errme</i>	<i>ng-errmi†</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-errim</i>	<i>y-errme</i>	<i>y-errmi†</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-errim</i>	<i>w-errme</i>	<i>w-errmi†</i>
3rd plural imperfective	<i>g-errim</i>		<i>g-errmi</i>

Note: in the future the following alternative forms occur in the 1st exclusive, 2nd and 3rd persons: dual *ng-errmigu*, *y-errmigu* and *w-errmigu*; plural *ng-errmuku nime*, *y-errmuku nime* and *w-errmuku nime*.

Class 14: hitting

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-upun</i>	<i>ng-uni</i>	<i>ng-u</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-upun</i>	<i>y-uni</i>	<i>y-u</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>w-upun</i>	<i>w-uni</i>	<i>w-u</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>g-upun</i>		<i>g-u</i>
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngumb-upun</i>	<i>ngumb-uni</i>	<i>ngumb-u</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-urupun.gi</i>	<i>ng-urruni</i>	<i>ng-uruggu</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-urupun.gi</i>	<i>y-urruni</i>	<i>y-uruggu</i>
3rd dual perfective	<i>w-urupun.gi</i>	<i>w-urruni</i>	<i>w-uruggu</i>
3rd dual imperfective	<i>g-urupun.gi</i>		
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngumb-upun nime</i>	<i>ngumb-uni nime</i>	<i>ngumb-u nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-urupun</i>	<i>ng-urruni†</i>	<i>ng-urru</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-urupun</i>	<i>y-urruni†</i>	<i>y-urru</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-urupun</i>	<i>w-urruni†</i>	<i>w-urru</i>
3rd plural imperfective	<i>g-urupun</i>		

Note: in the non-inclusive plurals of the past tense, in addition to the forms listed there are the forms *ng-unnu/i*, *y-unnu/i* and *w-unnu/i*.

Class 15:

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-udupun</i>	<i>ng-udini</i>	<i>ng-udu†</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-udupun</i>	<i>y-udini</i>	<i>y-udu†</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>w-udupun</i>	<i>w-udini</i>	<i>w-udu</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>g-udupun</i>		<i>g-udu†</i>
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngumb-udupun</i>	<i>ngump-udini</i>	<i>ngump-udu</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-uddupungu</i>	<i>ng-uddinigu</i>	<i>ng-uddugu</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-uddupun.gu</i>	<i>y-uddinigu</i>	<i>y-uddugu</i>
3rd dual perfective	<i>w-uddupun.gu</i>	<i>w-uddinigu</i>	<i>w-uddugu</i>
3rd dual imperfective	<i>g-uddupun.gu</i>		
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngumb-udupun nime</i>	<i>ngumb-udini nime</i>	<i>ngumb-udu nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-uddupun</i>	<i>ng-uddini</i>	<i>ng-uddu</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-uddupun</i>	<i>y-uddini</i>	<i>y-uddu</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>y-uddupun</i>	<i>y-uddini</i>	<i>y-uddu</i>
3rd plural imperfective	<i>w-uddupun</i>	<i>w-uddini</i>	<i>w-uddu</i>

Note: in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd singular imperfective future, there are the alternative forms *nguri*, *yuri* and *guri*.

Class 16:

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-ebem</i>	<i>ng-ebe</i>	<i>ng-ebi</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-ebem</i>	<i>y-ebe</i>	<i>y-ebi</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>b-engim</i>	<i>b-eye</i>	<i>b-eye/w-ebi</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>g-ebem</i>		<i>g-ebi</i>
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngemp-ebem</i>	<i>ngemb-ebe</i>	<i>ngemb-ibi</i>

1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-errbenggu</i>	<i>ng-errbegu</i>	<i>ng-errbigu</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-errbenggu</i>	<i>y-errbegu</i>	<i>y-errbigu</i>
3rd dual perfective	<i>w-errbenggu</i>	<i>w-errbegu</i>	<i>w-errbigu</i>
3rd dual imperfective	<i>g-errbenggu</i>		
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngemp-ebem nime</i>	<i>ngemp-e</i>	<i>ngemp-ibi nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-errbem</i>	<i>ng-errbe</i>	<i>ng-errbi</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-errbem</i>	<i>y-errbe</i>	<i>y-errbi</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-errbem</i>	<i>w-errbe†</i>	<i>w-errbi</i>
3rd plural imperfective	<i>g-errbem</i>		<i>g-errbi</i>

Note: in the third plural past tense there is the alternative form *werrbini*.

Class 17: verbs of eating

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-ursum</i>	<i>ng-ursunu</i>	<i>ng-ursu</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-ursum</i>	<i>y-ursunu</i>	<i>y-ursu</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>w-ursum</i>	<i>w-ursunu</i>	<i>w-ursu</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>g-ursum</i>		<i>g-ursu</i>
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngump-ursum</i>	<i>ngump-ursunu</i>	<i>ngump-ursu</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-urrsugu</i>	<i>ng-urrsunugu</i>	<i>ng-urrsugu</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-urrsugu</i>	<i>y-urrsunugu</i>	<i>y-urrsugu</i>
3rd dual perfective	<i>w-urrsugu</i>	<i>w-urrsunugu</i>	<i>w-urrsugu</i>
3rd dual imperfective			
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngump-ursum nime</i>	<i>ngump-ursunu nime</i>	<i>ngump-ursu nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-urrsu</i>	<i>ng-urrsunu</i>	<i>ng-urrsu</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-urrsu</i>	<i>y-urrsunu</i>	<i>y-urrsu</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-urrsu</i>	<i>w-urrsunu</i>	<i>w-urrsu</i>

Class 18:

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-arim</i>	<i>ng-ani</i>	<i>ng-a</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-arim</i>	<i>y-ani</i>	<i>y-a</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>d-angim</i>	<i>d-ani</i>	<i>w-a</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>g-arim</i>		<i>g-a</i>
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngant-im</i>	<i>ngamb-ani</i>	<i>ngamb-i</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-arringgu</i>	<i>ng-arrinigu†</i>	<i>ng-arrigu</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-arringgu</i>	<i>y-arrinigu†</i>	<i>y-arrigu</i>
3rd dual	<i>w-arringu†</i>	<i>w-arrinigu†</i>	<i>w-arrigu</i>
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngant-im nime</i>	<i>ngamb-ani nime</i>	<i>ngamb-i nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-arrim</i>	<i>ng-arrini†</i>	<i>ng-arrim</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-arrim</i>	<i>y-arrini†</i>	<i>y-arrim</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-arrim</i>	<i>w-arrini†</i>	<i>w-arrim</i>

Note: in the present the alternative form *warringgi* is found in the 3rd dual. In the past alternative forms are dual: *nganne*, *yanne* and *wanne*; plural *nganni*, *yanni* and *wanni*.

Class 19: verbs of pulling out

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-irsem</i>	<i>ng-irseni</i>	<i>ng-irse</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-irsem</i>	<i>y-irseni</i>	<i>y-irse</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>d-irsem</i>	<i>d-irseni</i>	<i>w-irse</i>
3rd singular imperfective			
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngimp-irsem</i>	<i>ngimp-irseni</i>	<i>ngimp-irse</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-irrsenggu</i>	<i>ng-irrsenigu</i>	<i>ng-irrrsegu</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-irrsenggu</i>	<i>y-irrsenigu</i>	<i>y-irrrsegu</i>
3rd dual perfective	<i>w-irrsenggu</i>	<i>w-irrsenigu</i>	<i>w-irrrsegu</i>
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngimp-irsem nime</i>	<i>ngimp-irseni nime</i>	<i>ngimp-irse nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-irrrsem</i>	<i>ng-irrrseni</i>	<i>ng-irrrse</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-irrrsem</i>	<i>y-irrrseni</i>	<i>y-irrrse</i>
3rd plural	<i>w-irrrsem</i>	<i>w-irrrseni</i>	<i>w-irrrse</i>

Class 20: verbs of heating

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-inem</i>		<i>ng-ine</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-inem</i>		<i>y-ine</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>d-inem</i>		<i>w-ine</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>g-inem</i>		
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngimp-inem</i>		<i>ngimb-ine</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-inenggu</i>		<i>ng-inegu</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-inenggu</i>		<i>y-inegu</i>
3rd dual perfective	<i>w-inenggu</i>		<i>w-inegu</i>
3rd dual imperfective			
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngimp-inem</i>		<i>ngimb-ine nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-innem</i>		<i>ng-inne</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-innem</i>		<i>y-inne</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-innem</i>		<i>w-inne</i>

Class 21: used with action relating to the body

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-im</i>	<i>ngini</i>	<i>ngi</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-im</i>	<i>yini</i>	<i>yi</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>w-im</i>	<i>wini</i>	<i>wi</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>g-im</i>		<i>gi</i>
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngimpin</i>	<i>ngimpini</i>	<i>ngimpi</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ngirringgu</i>	<i>ngirrinigi</i>	<i>ngirrigi</i>
2nd dual	<i>yirringgu</i>	<i>yirrinigi</i>	<i>yirrigi</i>
3rd dual	<i>wirringgu</i>	<i>wirrinigi</i>	<i>wirrigi</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ngirrim</i>	<i>ngirriini</i>	<i>ngirri</i>
2nd plural	<i>yirrim</i>	<i>yirriini</i>	<i>yirri</i>
3rd plural	<i>wirrim</i>	<i>wirriini</i>	<i>wirri</i>

Class 22:

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-em</i>	<i>ng-eni</i>	<i>ng-e</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-em</i>	<i>y-eni</i>	<i>y-e</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>d-ingim</i>	<i>dingim</i>	<i>w-e</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>g-em</i>		<i>g-e</i>
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngemp-em</i>	<i>ngemp-eni</i>	<i>ngemp-e</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-errenngu</i>	<i>ng-erranigu</i>	<i>ng-erragu</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-errenngu</i>	<i>y-erranigu</i>	<i>y-erragu</i>
3rd dual perfective	<i>w-errenngu</i>	<i>w-erranigu</i>	<i>w-erragu</i>
3rd dual imperfective	<i>g-errenngu</i>		
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngemp-em nime</i>	<i>ngemp-eni nime</i>	<i>ngemp-e nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-errem</i>	<i>ng-errani</i>	<i>ng-erra</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-errem</i>	<i>y-errani</i>	<i>y-erra</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-errem</i>	<i>w-errani</i>	<i>w-erra</i>
3rd plural imperfective			

Note: the past and present tense 3rd singular perfectives are identical.

Class 23:

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-emen</i>	<i>ng-emeni</i>	<i>ng-eme</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-emen</i>	<i>y-emeni</i>	<i>y-eme</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>d-emen</i>	<i>d-emeni</i>	<i>w-eme</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>g-emen</i>		
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngemp-emem</i>	<i>ngemp-emeni</i>	<i>ngemp-eme</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-errmenggu</i>	<i>ng-errmenigu</i>	<i>ng-errmegu</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-errmenggu</i>	<i>y-errmenigu</i>	<i>y-errmegu</i>
3rd dual perfective	<i>w-errmenggu</i>	<i>w-errmenigu</i>	<i>w-errmegu</i>
3rd dual imperfective			
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngemp-emem nime</i>	<i>ngemp-emeni nime</i>	<i>ngemp-eme nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-errmem</i>	<i>ng-errmeni</i>	<i>ng-errme</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-errmem</i>	<i>y-errmeni</i>	<i>y-errme</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-errmem</i>	<i>w-errmeni</i>	<i>w-errme</i>
3rd plural imperfective	<i>g-errmem</i>		

Class 24:

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-iwem</i>		<i>ng-iwe</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-iwem</i>		<i>y-iwe</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>d-iwem</i>		<i>w-iwe</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>g-iwem</i>		
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngimp-iwem</i>		<i>ngumb-uwe</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-irrenggu</i>		<i>ng-irregu</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-irrenggu</i>		<i>y-irregu</i>

3rd dual perfective	<i>w-irrenggu</i>	<i>w-irrenigu</i>	<i>w-irregu</i>
3rd dual imperfective	<i>g-irrenggu</i>		
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngimp-iwem nime</i>		<i>ngumbu-we nime</i>
1st plural exclusive	<i>ng-irrem</i>		<i>ng-irre</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-irrem</i>		<i>y-irre</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-irrem</i>	<i>w-irreni</i>	<i>w-irre</i>

Note: there is an alternative form of the 1st person dual inclusive PRES formed by analogy with the other dual forms *ngimpi-wenggu*.

Class 25:

	Present	Past	Future
1st singular	<i>ng-aran</i>	<i>ng-arani</i>	<i>ng-ara</i>
2nd singular	<i>y-aran</i>	<i>y-arani</i>	<i>y-ara</i>
3rd singular perfective	<i>d-aran</i>	<i>d-arani</i>	<i>w-ara</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>g-aran</i>		
1st dual inclusive	<i>ngamp-iran</i>	<i>ngamp-irani</i>	<i>ngamp-ara</i>
1st dual exclusive	<i>ng-arranggu</i>	<i>ng-arranigu</i>	<i>ng-arragu</i>
2nd dual	<i>y-arranggu</i>	<i>y-arranigu</i>	<i>y-arragu</i>
3rd dual perfective	<i>w-arranggu</i>	<i>w-arranigu</i>	<i>w-arragu</i>
3rd dual imperfective	<i>g-arranggu</i>		
1st plural inclusive	<i>ngamp-iran nime</i>	<i>ngamp-irani nime</i>	<i>ngamp-ara nime</i>
2nd plural exclusive	<i>ng-arram</i>	<i>ng-arrani</i>	<i>ng-arra</i>
2nd plural	<i>y-arram</i>	<i>y-arrani</i>	<i>y-arra</i>
3rd plural perfective	<i>w-arram</i>	<i>w-arrani</i>	<i>w-arra</i>

Class 26:

This class occurs in the 3rd person singular only and is used as an impersonal with verbs of heating and burning. There are only two tense forms.

	Present/Past	Future
3rd singular perfective	<i>wayim</i>	<i>wa</i>
3rd singular imperfective	<i>gawam</i>	<i>ga</i>

APPENDIX 1A

NOTES ON THE NGANKIWUMIRRI FORMS OF THE AUXILIARY VERB CLASSES

- Generally the same as Ngankikurungkurr but present tense nasal *i* is sometimes realised as *-ny* instead of *-m*.
- & 3. In all recorded instances these are the same as Ngankikurungkurr.
- The same as Ngankikurungkurr but present tense *-m* → *-ny*.

- 4(a) Singular forms only recorded:
 Present tense: *ngerrimbin, yerrimbin, yirrimbin, gerrimbin*
 Past tense: 1st singular *ngerrini*
 3rd singular perfective *yirri* (as in Ngankikurungkurr).
5. Most recorded instances are identical to Ngankikurungkurr but in one case Ngankikurungkurr 3rd dual future *wirnyirigu* → *wunyurugu* in Ngankiwumirri.
- 5(a) Not recorded
6. Generally Ngankikurungkurr *i* → *u*
 3rd singular *mem* → *meny*
 Present and future tenses only have been recorded in Ngankiwumirri
- | | Present | Future |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1st singular | <i>ngumum</i> | <i>ngumu</i> |
| 2nd singular | <i>yumum</i> | <i>yimu</i> |
| 3rd singular perfective | <i>meny</i> | <i>wumu</i> |
| 1st dual inclusive | <i>ngumbumum</i> | <i>ngumbumu</i> |
| 1st dual exclusive | <i>ngurrmunggu</i> | <i>ngurrmugu</i> |
| 2nd dual | <i>yirmunggu</i> | <i>yirmugu</i> |
| 3rd dual | <i>wurrmunggu</i> | <i>wurrmugu</i> |
| 1st plural inclusive | <i>ngumbumum nime</i> | <i>ngumbumu nime</i> |
| 1st plural exclusive | <i>ngurrmum</i> | <i>ngurrmu</i> |
| 2nd plural | <i>yirmum</i> | <i>yirrmu</i> |
| 3rd plural | <i>wurrmum</i> | <i>wurrmu</i> |
7. The same as Ngankikurungkurr but generally final *-m* → *-ny*.
8. Usually the same but 1st singular past tense is *ngagany* or *ngagantyi*.
9. The third singular present tense perfective only has been recorded. Ngankikurungkurr *wityibem* → Ngankiwumirri *windyibem* or *wundyibem*.
10. The same as in Ngankikurungkurr but *-m* → *-ny*.
11. The same except in the 3rd singular perfective
 Present: *dagam* → *nagany*
 Past: *dagani* → *nagani*
12. In the present tense the first two *i*'s → *u* and in the future the second *i* → *u*.
 For example: 1st singular present *ngimingkin* → *ngumungkin*
 1st singular future *ngimi* → *ngimu*
 3rd singular perfective remains the same in both languages.
13. Generally as Ngankikurungkurr except for the 3rd singular perfective *dem* which becomes *deminy*.
14. Recorded in the singular only in Ngankiwumirri. There are two alternate forms in the present tense:
 Ngankikurungkurr: *ngupun, yupun, wupun*,
 Ngankiwumirri: *ngum* ~ *ngumbun*, *yum* ~ *yumbun*, *wum* ~ *wumbun*.
 Those future forms recorded are identical with Ngankikurungkurr.

15. As with class 14 there are two alternate forms in the present tense:
 Ngankikurungkurr *ngudupun, yudupun, wudupun, ngumbudupun, ngudupun.gu*
 → Ngankiwumirri *ngudum ngurumbum, yudum yurumbum, wudum wurumbum, ngumbudum, ngudumgi.*
16. The second vowel in the auxiliary is always *u* in Ngankiwumirri.
 The first vowel varies between *e* and *u*:
 For example: 1st singular present *ngenbum ~ ngubum*; future *ngebu ~ ngubu*
 Ngankikurungkurr 3rd singular perfective *bengim ~ bem* in Ngankiwumirri.
17. The second vowel which is usually *u* in Ngankikurungkurr becomes *i* in Ngankiwumirri.
 Present final *-m* → *-ny*.
18. The same as Ngankikurungkurr except for 3rd singular perfective *dangim* which becomes *dam*.
19. Present final *-m* → *-ny*.
20. & 21. The same as Ngankikurungkurr in all recorded instances.
22. 3rd singular perfective *dingim* → *weyi*.
23. The same as Ngankikurungkurr in all recorded instances.
24. Not recorded.
25. & 26. The same as Ngankikurungkurr in all recorded instances.

SUMMARY

- (1) Present final *-m* may become *-ny* but not necessarily.
- (2) There is a tendency for *i* or *e* in Ngankikurungkurr to become *u* in Ngankiwumirri except in the future of class 15 where *u* becomes *i*.
- (3) Voiceless intervocalic stops are replaced by voiced stops with preceding homorganic nasals, for example *wityibem* → *windyibem*, *wupun* → *wumbun*.
- (4) Third singular perfective forms in classes 16 and 18 follow the same pattern as classes 1 and 13 in Ngankikurungkurr.

For example: Ngankikurungkurr class 1, 1st singular *ngirim* → 3rd singular perfective *dim* Ngankiwumirri class 16, 1st singular *ngebum* → 3rd singular perfective *bem* Ngankiwumirri class 18, 1st singular *ngarim* → 3rd singular perfective *dam*

APPENDIX 2

TEXT 1: MERMAIDS

1. *Yedi tye wa- wukum walalma -ngini yedi tye*
 3s P-go-PAST PAST C(i) one hunting PURP 3s P-go-PAST PAST
kuri -ngini wayi(m) ∅ minyirr. Dinyingkin ∅
 water PURP 3s-VC26-PRES 3sDO thirsty 3s P-see-PRES 3sDO
dirpederr yening karrbu kuri kana -ngini mene wiri
 river 3s P-go-PRES go down water PUN PURP ATT 3s P-sit-FUT
kuduk tye.
 drink PAST

‘One man went hunting. He went for water (because) he was thirsty. He saw the river and went down to the water to try to drink.’

2. *Yening karrbu musyari. Fepi peyi bakuty dirrkuri*
 3s P-go-PRES go down slowly stone there many bank
dini tyuk tye.
 3s P-sit-PAST send/hit/gather PAST
 ‘He went down slowly. There were lots of stones piled there on the bank.’

3. *Yedi tye..... Fil me(m) muy falmi*
 3s P-go-PAST PAST notice 3s P-say-PRES self woman
gerryem yi dagani wirr pigat tye kana
 3ns IMP-lie-PRES and 3s P-VC11-PAST 3plO sneak up PAST PUN
yedi, ngan fepi nyin kuri -nimbi yenim
 OA:3sg P-go-PAST where stone that water ABL 3s P-go-PRES
madi-pap kuri dinyingkul pupuritymadi.
 side-climb water flood slippery
 ‘He went on. He noticed women lying down and then he sneaked up on them there where the slippery stones had been brought up by the flood water.’

4. *Dagani pigat tye yedi, daga(m)*
 3s P-VC11-PAST sneak up PAST OA:3s P-go-PAST 3s P-VC11-PRES
madi-purity fepi nyinin wudam bat.
 side-slip stone that 3s P-VC10-PRES fall
 ‘He was sneaking along (when) he slipped on those stones and fell.’

5. *Wudem me-pele yawul.*
3s P-VC10-PRES hand-clatter to ground spear
'His spears clattered to the ground.'
6. *Wirrim awa- nyin falmi fil wirrim muy.*
3pl pn C(iii) DEM woman notice 3ns-say-PRES self
"Yedi yedi yedi" *wirime tye waddi.*
man man man 3ns-say-PAST PAST OA:3ns P-go-PAST
'Those women looked up. "A man! A man! A man!" they said.'
7. *Warram fitit wirrim. Wirrime Ø kal*
3ns P-VC25-PRES rise OA:3ns P-sit-PRES 3ns P-lift-PAST 3sDO chase
tye kana wa- nyinin. Werrin Ø tip.
PAST PUN C(i) DEM 3ns P-Vc13-PRES 3sDO catch
'They got up. Then they chased that man. They caught him.'
8. *Yi kakkana warrgandyi tye werifepi peyi madi*
and off now 3ns P-bring-PAST PAST cave there side
wuddupun Ø wirr.
3ns P-VC15-PRES 3sDO inside
'They carried him to a cave in the side of the hill and put him in there.'
9. *Yedi yeyi fagarri peyi deti winne ngan-madi tye:*
man other two there also 3ns P-sit-PAST-d there-side PAST
wa- tyerrmusye wa- yeyi wa- minta.
C(i) old man C(i) other C(i) NEG
'There were two other men sitting in there too; one old man and one other not (old).'
10. *Yi wa- nyinin wirrmingkin Ø wurr awa- nyi(n) -ningki*
and C(i) DEM 3ns P-lift-PRES 3sDO tie up C(iii) DEM INST
falmi
woman
'And those women tied that one up.'
11. *Wirrmingkin Ø wurr tyamirri warrim fitat weri*
3ns P-lift-PRES 3sDO tie up properly 3ns P-VC18-PRES CS put hole
yeyi -nide ngan awa- nyin fagarri yedi yeyi winne
other LOC where C(iii) DEM two man other 3ns P-sit-PAST-d
tye.
PAST
'They tied him up properly and put him into the cave where the other two men were sitting.'
12. *Yi kakkana waddi tye. Mirri kultyi kana. Yengki*
and off now 3ns P-go-PAST PAST sun evening PUN fire
wanni fitatit tye atyat.
3ns P-VC18-PRES CS put RED PAST outside
'And off they went. It was evening now. They made a fire outside.'

13. *Yengki wanni fitatit tye:::,,, weri wurrupun Ø*
 fire 3ns P-VC18-PRES CS put RED PAST hole 3ns P-VC14 3sDO
kurr. Kagu syinbirr -ngini, werrbi tyul tye wa-
 dig GEN:animal roast PURP 3ns P-VC16-FUT cook PAST C(i)
nyinin.
 DEM
 ‘Having lit a fire, they dug a hole. They were going to roast that man.’
14. *Winni tye gimin atyat, werifepi -nide wirrim warrakma*
 3ns P-sit-PAST PAST while outside cave LOC 3pl pn three
yedi nyin winni tye, awa- yeyi -ningki fagarri
 man DEM 3ns P-sit-PAST PAST C(iii) other AGE two
wirri(m) nerr “Kinyi wurrsi nyi waty ngini”
 3ns-say-PRES 3sIO dS DEM(p) 3ns P-eat-FUT 2sDO eat FUT
wirrike wirri(m) nerr “Ngurri nyerr ket ngini
 3d pn 3ns-say-PRES 3sIO dS 1ns ex-VC14-FUT 2sDO dS cut FUT
derrigirri yerim, yene felfil ngini”,
 like 2s-VC13-PRES 2s-move-FUT run away RED FUT
wirri(m) nerr. “Yu”.
 3ns-say-PRES 3sIO dS yes
 ‘While they were outside and the three men were inside the cave, the other two men said to him (the one recently caught), “Here they will eat you. We will cut you loose if you like and you can run away”. “Yes” (he said).
15. *Yi wirrminkingin nerr wa fepi yerr- lalirrdirr*
 and 3ns P-lift-PRES 3sIO dS pick up stone C(vii) sharp
warrgatyen nerr rsi ye- ningan, yerr- nyin
 3ns P-bring-PRES 3sIO dS cut C(vii) that one C(vii) DEM
wirrminkingin Ø wurr.
 3ns P-lift-PRES 3sDO tie up
 ‘They (d) picked up a sharp stone for him and cut for him that thing that he had been tied with.’
16. *Wuni fepi peyi yawul nem yening kurr. Demeng*
 DEM(r) stone there spear 3s pn 3s P-go-PRES pick up 3s P-VC23-PRES
ketet weri nyin -nide -nimbi, filfil wirr me(m)
 go out hole DEM LOC ABL notice RED 3plO 3s-say-PRES
muy, ngirr winni tye.
 self sleep 3ns P-sit-PAST PAST
 ‘He picked up his spears (from) there on that rock. He came out of the cave and looked at them (women), they were asleep.’
17. *Dagam felfil. Yedi yeledi tye, kakkana*
 3s P-VC11-PRES run away 3s P-go-PAST run along PAST off now

- wudem* (w)uleri dede nem -nide -pefi.
3s P-VC10-PRES return camp 3s pn LOC ALL
'He ran away. He went running along, back towards his camp.'
18. *Epe minta wemengke tye dede nem -nide; dinging*
but NEG 3s P-arrive-FUT PAST camp 3s pn LOC 3s P-VC22-PRES
gewurr tye wityi dini.
rest PAST HOR OA:3s P-sit-PAST
'But he didn't reach his camp; he rested for a little while.'
19. *Yi wirrim winni tye ket-tyerri awa- nyin falmi.*
and 3pl pn 3ns P-sit-PAST PAST cut-ear (remember) C(iii) DEM woman
'And then those women remembered.'
20. *Wur- yeyi -ningki mem pirr "Yirrimi ba-wa*
C(ii) other AGE 3s-say-PRES 3plO 2ns-lift-FUT arm-pick up
kana wa- nyinin yedi!" "Ngumbudu bul nime kana ngini!"
now C(i) DEM man linc-VC15-FUT cook pl PUN FUT
wirrim.
3ns-say-PRES
'One said (to the others) "Bring that man now!" "Let us all cook him now" they said.'
21. *Awa- yeyi -ningki falmi wannim wirr weri -nide.*
C(iii) other AGE woman 3ns P-go-PRES go inside cave LOC
Wurrupun fili. Awa- fagarri napa winne
3ns P-VC15-PRES look for C(iii) two LIM 3ns P-sit-PAST-d
ngan-madi tye fepi -nide weri.
there-side PAST stone LOC hole
'The other women went inside the cave. They looked. There were only two men in the cave.'
22. *Waddi tye, warrim pirrki tyarrpu. "Ya*
3ns P-go-PAST PAST 3ns P-VC18-PRES 3dO ask oh
dagam felfil -wuru wa- nyin wa- yeyi. Minta
3s P-VC11-PRES run away INTENS C(i) that C(i) other NEG
ngirrnyirrigu tye."
1ns ex-see-FUT-d PAST
'They (women) went and asked them (d) (men). "Oh he has truly run away. We did not see him."'
23. *Yi fagarri kana wannam felfil -yeri nerr.*
and two now 3ns P-VC11-PRES run along after 3sIO dS
'And then two of them ran off after him.'
24. *Wanne dudu yi puy defirr yirriini*
3ns P-VC18-PAST-d track (RED) and CONT C(viii) foot 3s-go along-PAST

- perpirk menyirr -nide.*
make footprints sand LOC
'They tracked his footprints in the sand.'
25. *Syirre nyinin ngayim mumba yeyi -ningki ngayim mumba yeyi*
after that 3s(f)pn path other AGE 3s(f)pn path other
-ningki numba. Nem ngarrngureri yirrini mumba.
AGE path 3s(m)pn middle 3s-go along-PAST path
'After that, one woman went on one path and the other went on the other path. The man went along in the middle.'
26. *Awa- werrbim pirrki mentyi-tyerr, wunapirri*
C(iii) 3ns P-VC16-PRES 3dO meet there ahead
wirrrnyingkingu fiway defirr nem ngityirr -nide.
3ns P-see-PRES-d CS-be unable foot 3s(m)pn ground LOC
'They (d) met up there ahead and could not see his footprints on the ground.'
27. *"Ya! Yagatayirre girim!" wirrunggu.*
EXC back there 3s IMP-sit-PRES 3ns-say-PRES-d
'"Oh! He is back there!" they (d) said.'
28. *Yi wuddangu (wu)leri kana tyatma:::.*
and 3ns P-VC10-PRES-d return now straight
'And they (d) went straight back.'
29. *Yenim purity wirrki -de yewirr -nide wa- nyinin.*
3s P-go-PRES hide 3dO ABL tree LOC C(i) DEM
dem pirrki tip yi kakkana yentyi wirrki
3s P-VC13-PRES 3dO catch and off now 3s-bring-PAST 3dO
tye dede nem -nide.
PAST camp 3s(m)pn LOC
'That man hid from them (d) in a tree. He caught them (d) and took them (d) back to his camp.'
30. *Minta wudu wirrki mi-wul tye wuni -pefi werifepi*
NEG 3s P-VC15-FUT 3dO CS-return PAST there ALL cave
-nide; yentyi wirrki tye falmi nem kana ngini.
LOC 3s-bring-PAST 3dO PAST woman 3s(m)pn PUN PURP
'He did not take them back to the cave; he took them for his wives.'
31. *Yentyi wirrki tutu kana yedi.*
3s-bring-PAST 3dO sleep PUN OA:3s P-go-PAST
'He slept with them then.'
32. *Awa- mursi wannunggu nime napa awa- warrakma.*
C(iii) die 3ns P-go-PRES-d pl LIM C(iii) thre
'All three of them are dead now.'

TEXT 2: THE BAT AND THE RAINBOW

1. *Mada wetimbi kagu a purrpurrk yi a ngumungki*
 long ago GEN:animal C(iv) PLUR and C(iv) rainbow
waddu wapup kuderri -nide, kuri kerre.
 3ns P-go-PAST dwell RED billabong LOC water big
 'A long time ago lots of animals and the rainbow lived near a billabong, a big water.'
2. *Nganingiyi yedi wangga kana winni purrpurrk.*
 night 3s P-go-PAST type of dance PUN 3ns P-sit-PAST dance RED
 'When night time came they used to dance the *wangga*.'
3. *Wangga -kirri arsiminmin wirringe wir purrpurrk.*
 dance INTENS bat 3s P-stand-PAST 3plO dance RED
 'The bat used to dance the *wangga* for them.'
4. *Wa- wangga yubu yedi tye, epe nem minta yedi*
 C(i) dance good 3s P-go-PAST PAST but 3s(m)pn NEG 3s P-go-PAST
wapup peyi, ngan kuderri; werifepi yedi wapup
 dwell RED there where billabong cave 3s P-go-PAST dwell RED
ngaytpirr.
 far away
 'He was a good *wangga* dancer but he didn't live there at the billabong; he lived a long way off in a cave.'
5. *Yedi nganingiyi nyinta -pefi kuderri -nide ngan a-*
 3s P-go-PAST night there ALL billabong LOC where C(iv)
yeyi a- purrpurrk winni yi a- ngumungki wangga
 other C(iv) PLUR 3ns P-sit-PAST and C(iv) rainbow dance
-ngini, wirringe wir purrpurrk.
 PURP 3s P-stand-PAST 3plO dance RED
 'At night he used to go to the billabong where the other animals sat with the rainbow for the *wangga* and he used to dance for them.'
6. *Nem a- ngumungki falmi fagarri -werri yedi tye a-*
 3s(m)pn C(iv) rainbow woman two PROP 3s P-go-PAST PAST C(iv)
ditymadi. Dingim pirrki pal dini. A nyin
 whistle duck 3s P-VC22-PRES 3dO keep OA:3s P-sit-PAST C(iv) DEM
fagarri aditymadi falmi nem -ta a- rsiminmin nem.
 two whistle duck woman 3s(m)pn EMPH C(iv) bat 3s(m)pn
 'The rainbow had two whistle ducks for wives. He kept them sitting with him. Those two whistle ducks really belonged to the bat.'
7. *Minta derrigirri deme yedi a- nyinin*
 NEG like 3s P-VC13-PAST OA:3s P-go-PAST C(iv) DEM
-ningki a- ngumungki -ningki nem a- rsiminmin, yi
 AGE C(iv) rainbow AGE 3s(m)pn C(iv) bat and

a- rsiminmin -ningki minta deti derrigirri deme
 C(iv) bat AGE NEG also like 3s P-VC13-PAST

nem angumungki, falmi peyi werrikirri. Werrmeni
 3s(m)pn rainbow woman there because 3ns P-VC23-PAST

wirrkki muy-gi waddi.
 3dO self-fight 3ns P-go-PAST

'The rainbow did not like the bat and the bat in his turn did not like the rainbow because of the women. They used to argue about them.'

8. *Yi syirre nyinin mem "Nga pawal ngini nem*
 and after that 3s-say-PRES 1s-VC18-FUT spear FUT 3s(m)pn

a- ngumungki". Mem me- nem deti. Meyi
 C(iv) rainbow 3s-say-PRES EMPH- 3s(m)pn again 3s-say-PAST

tye dini.
 PAST OA:3s P-sit-PAST

'And after that he said "I will spear the rainbow". He said it to himself again. He kept on saying it.'

9. *Wudam (w)uleri nganingiyi nyinin wangga -nimbi*
 3s P-VC10-PRES return night DEM dance ABL

dem waty, werifepi -nide yenim wirr yawul
 3s P-VC13-PRES finish cave LOC 3s P-go-PRES enter spear

kana dani kurrkurr tye dini.
 now 3s P-VC18-PAST sharpen RED PAST OA:3s P-sit-PAST

'He went back from the *wangga* that night when it finished, he went into the cave and then sharpened a spear.'

10. *Yirrini tye:::::: Dem pat fepi yeyi -nide.*
 3s-go along-PAST PAST 3s P-VC13-PRES fly rock other LOC

Yerr- lalirrdirr yening kurr fepi. Dani
 C(vii) sharp 3s P-go-PRES pick up stone 3s P-VC18-PAST

kurrkurr tye kana dini fepi nyinin ngan
 sharpen RED PAST PUN OA:3s P-sit-PAST stone DEM REL

yening kurr wudupun mi-wul werifepi -nide.
 3s P-go-PRES pick up 3s P-VC15-PRES take back cave LOC

'He kept going along. He flew to another rock. He picked up a sharp stone. Then he was sharpening the stone that he had picked up and taken back to the cave.'

11. *Dani kurrkurr tye:::~::~: tyamirri.*
 3s P-VC18-PAST sharpen RED PAST ready

'He kept sharpening it until it was ready.'

12. *"Ngudu gimin" mem. Desyi nem kana*
 1s-VC15-FUT try out 3s-say-PRES C(iii) nose 3s(m)pn PUN

- yentyi ne rsirsi wirringe.*
3s-bring-PAST 3s(m)IO cut RED 3s P-stand-PAST
“I will try it out” he said. Then he cut his nose.’
13. *Meyi “Aya! Kinyi minmi, minta lalirrdirr!” meyi*
3s-say-PAST ah DEM(p) no NEG sharp 3s-say-PAST
yi wu wuty yawul nyinin yi fepi mam dewi
and 3s P-VC14-FUT throw away spear DEM and stone more also
yedu kurr.
3s P-go-PAST pick up
‘He said “Ah! This is no good, it is not sharp!” and he threw away that spear and picked up yet more stones.’
14. *Yi syirre nyinin -kirri yedi tye, fepi yerr- fengku*
and after that INTENS 3s P-go-PAST PAST stone C(vii) long
yerr- mulfang wirringe tyalak tye gangki; taty
C(vii) pointed 3s P-stand-PAST stand upright PAST high snap
dem pal. Yi wudupun mi-wul kana
3s P-VC13-PRES break and 3s P-VC15-PRES take back PUN
fepi nyinin.
stone DEM
‘Immediately after that he went to where a long pointed stone stood high up. He snapped it off and took that stone back.’
15. *Yentyi tye:::;, wudupun wirr weri nyin -nide*
3s-bring-PAST PAST 3s P-VC15-PRES enter hole DEM LOC
ngan wirringe wapup dede nem.
REL 3s P-stand-PAST dwell RED camp 3s(m)pn
‘He carried it along and took it inside that hole where he had his camp.’
16. *Dani kurrkurr tye kana fepi nyinin. Dinyingkin*
3s P-VC18-PAST sharpen RED PAST PUN stone DEM 3s P-see-PRES
“Yu! yerr- kinta ngemi ne baty ngini nem
yes C(vii) DEM(p)-EMPH 1s-VC13-FUT 3s(m)IO take PURP 3s(m)pn
a- ngumungki” mem.
C(iv) rainbow 3s-say-PRES
‘Then he sharpened that stone. He looked at it. “Yes! This is the one I will take for the rainbow” he said.’
17. *Dani kurrkurr tye lalirrdirr, wudini dudu*
3s P-VC18-PAST sharpen RED PAST sharp 3s P-VC15-PAST try RED
kana tye wirringe.
PUN PAST OA:3s P-stand-PAST
‘He made it really sharp and then tried it out.’

18. *Desyi nem yetyi ne rsi. “Yu! Kinta*
 C(viii) nose 3s(m)pn 3s-bring-PRES 3s(m)IO cut yes DEM(p)-EMPH
ngawam ne ngini”, mem.
 1s-bring-FUT 3s(m)IO PURP 3s-say-PRES
 ‘He cuts his nose. “Yes! I will take this one for him”, he says.’
19. *Peyi pagu desyi nem melpe kana yentyi tye*
 there towards C(viii) nose 3s(m)pn flat PUN 3s-bring-PAST PAST
yedi. Desyi yaga ngunu. Gaganim melpe-syi.
 OA:3s P-go-PAST C(viii) nose DEM remember 3s IMP-go-PRES flat-nose
Yawul-ta-ningki nyin yentyi ne rsirsi tye -nimbi
 spear-EMPH-INST DEM 3s-bring-PAST 3s(m)IO cut RED PAST ABL
yedi apirri. Melpe-syi yenim detyengi.
 OA:3s P-go-PAST before flat-nose 3s P-go-PRES today
 ‘From that he went with a flat nose. Remember that nose! He is flat-nosed. That is from when he cut himself before with that spear. Today he is flat-nosed.’
20. *Nganingiyi nyinin darani pek tye tyamirri.*
 night that 3s P-VC25-PAST pain PAST ready/properly
 ‘That night he painted himself up properly.’
21. *Wirrim awa- nyin a purrurrk -werri kagu a ningan*
 3pl pn C(iii) DEM C(iv) PLUR PROP GEN:animal C(iv) that one
a- ditymadi a ngani winni ne ngan-mentyi
 C(iv) whistle duck C(iv) goose 3ns P-sit-PAST 3s(m)IO wait
tye kana wangga -ngini.
 PAST PUN dance PURP
 ‘All those birds, the whistle duck and geese were waiting for him for the *wangga*.’
22. *Warrani pek tye winni tyamirri. Nem*
 3ns P-VC25-PAST paint PAST OA:3ns P-sit-PAST ready 3s(m)pn
darani pek tye. Nganingiyi nyinin yawul mengkin
 3s P-VC25-PAST paint PAST night DEM spear 3s P-lift-PRES
wa kakkana yentyi tye. Dem pat.
 pick up off now 3s-bring-PAST PAST 3s P-VC13-PRES fly
Yirriini tye ngan kuderrri -pefi.
 3s-go along-PAST PAST REL billabong ALL
 ‘They painted themselves properly. He painted himself. That night he picked up his spear and set off carrying it. He flew. He went along to a billabong.’
23. *Yedi tye:::::: Dinyingkin mendi kana kuderrri*
 3s P-go-PAST PAST 3s P-see-PRES close PUN billabong
dinyingkul. “Minta ngawam ngini yawul kinyi wuni -pefi
 flood water NEG 1s-bring-FUT FUT spear DEM(p) DEM(r) ALL

ngan wangga -nide nga wuty kana kinta syirre.
 REL dance -LOC 1s-VC18-FUT put down now DEM(p)-EMPH behind
 'He went along. He saw that he was close to the big water of the billabong. "I won't take this spear there to the *wangga* place, I will put it down back here.'

24. *Yedi tye:::::: bengim baty yewirr -nide. Yerr-*
 3s P-go-PAST PAST 3s P-VC16-PRES land tree LOC C(vii)
purrrpurrrk -nide wurr. Wudupun purity yawul nyinin.
 PLUR LOC grass 3s P-VC15-PRES hide spear DEM
yi dem pat kakkana yirrini tye.
 and 3s P-VC13-PRES fly off now 3s-go along-PAST PAST
Bengim baty ngan wirrim -nide a-purrrpurrrk ngan kuderri
 3s P-VC16-PRES land REL 3pl pn LOC C(iv) PLUR REL billabong
yengki kerre wanni fitatit tye winni awa-
 fire big 3ns P-VC18-PAST put RED PAST OA:3ns P-sit-PAST C(iii)
yeyi -ningki a-purrrpurrrk.
 other AGE C(iv) PLUR
 'He went on and landed in a tree. He hid the spear in the grass. He took off and flew along. He landed where the birds were at the billabong, where those others had made a big fire.'

25. *Wangga kana wannuwa magat. Winni purrrpurrrk*
 dance now 3ns P-VC11-REFLEX-PRES start 3ns P-sit-PAST dance RED
tye.
 PAST

'They started the *wangga* then. They were dancing.'

26. *Nem wurity winge a-ngumungki falmi fagarri -werri*
 3s(m)pn proud 3s P-lie-PAST C(iv) rainbow woman two PROP
aditymadi fagarri.
 whistle duck two

'The rainbow sat proudly with his two whistle duck wives.'

27. *Yi wanni ne yerryerr winni nem*
 and 3ns P-VC18-PAST 3s(m)IO cheer RED OA:3nd P-sit-PAST 3s(m)pn
a-rsiminmin. "Yu! Puy, puy" wirrme ne winni.
 C(iv) bat yes CONT CONT 3ns-say-PAST 3s(m)IO OA:3ns P-sit-PAST

'Wa- *wangga yubu nyi -kirri!*
 C(i) dance good 2sDO INTENS

'And they cheered the bat. "Yes! Go on!" they said to him. "You are a very good dancer!"

28. *Yi nem a-ngumungki tyamirri winge ngal-syi. Minta*
 and 3s(m)pn C(iv) rainbow properly 3s P-lie-PAST high-nose NEG
dani ne yerryerr yedi. Tyamirri winge
 3s P-VC18-PAST 3s(m)IO cheer RED OA:3s P-go-PAST properly 3s P-lie-PAST

ngal-syi.

high-nose

‘And the rainbow sat there with his nose completely in the air. He never cheered him. He always sat with his nose in the air.’

29. *Syirre nyinin wannam purr-ket wangga. Yerr- dani*
 after that 3ns P-VC11-PRES stop dance C(vii) 3s P-VC18-PAST

fi-derri-rsul kana tye pagu. Wannin tu.
 CS-back-sunrise now PAST towards 3ns P-go-PRES sleep

Ngirrngirr kana werityini tye kagu a-purrpurrk.
 be sleeping RED now 3ns P-lie-PAST PAST GEN:animal C(iv) PLUR

Nem a-ngumungki winge tye falmi nem -werri
 3s(m)pn C(iv) rainbow 3s P-lie-PAST PAST woman 3s(m)pn PROP

fagarri.

two

‘After that they stopped dancing. It was nearly sunrise then. They went to sleep. All the birds and animals were sleeping. The rainbow lay down with his two wives.’

30. *Nem a-rsiminmin winge tye:::..... Tit*
 3s(m)pn C(iv) bat 3s P-lie-PAST PAST look around

di(m) mentyi. Awa- yeyi ngirrngirr werityini
 3s P-sit-PRES neck C(iii) other be sleeping RED 3ns P-lie-PAST

tye kagu.

PAST GEN:animal

‘The bat was lying down. He looked around. All the others were sleeping.’

31. *Daram fitit musyarri. Yedi tye:::..... wur*
 3s P-VC25-PRES rise slowly 3s P-go-PAST PAST grass

nyin -nide ngan bengim pigat yawul. Nem
 DEM LOC REL 3s P-VC16-PRES hide spear 3s(m)pn

mengkin wa yawul nyinin.
 3s P-lift-PRES pick up spear DEM

‘He got up slowly. He kept going to that grass where his spear was hidden. He picked up that spear.’

32. *Daram fitit. Dem pat. Gangki kana*
 3s P-VC25-PRES rise 3s P-VC13-PRES fly high PUN

yedi tye. Dinyingkin a-ngumungki gangki pagu
 3s P-go-PAST PAST 3s P-see-PRES C(iv) rainbow high towards

gibem.

3s IMP-lie PRES

‘He got up. He flew away. High in the sky he went. From up there he could see the rainbow lying down.’

33. *Wupun syiwat yawul nyinin ye-ningan -nide yagama,*
 3s P-VC14-PRES hook up spear that C(vii) that one LOC woomera
darani ne mi-baty tye. Daga(n) ne kulli
 3s P-VC25-PAST 3s(m)IO aim PAST 3s P-VC11-PRES 3s(m)IO throw
yawul nyinin dangim pawal dederri napa.
 spear DEM 3s P-VC18-PRES spear C(viii) back LIM
 'He hooked up that spear in that thing – the woomera, he aimed it at him. He threw the spear and speared him in the back.'
34. *Nem bengim mi-fa. Dini fafa kana*
 3s(m)pn 3s P-VC16-PRES cause-scream 3s P-sit-PAST scream RED PUN
tye. "Yakay!" meyi tye dini a-ngumungki.
 PAST EXc:pain 3s-say-PAST PAST OA:3s P-sit-PAST C(iv) rainbow
 'He made him scream. He was screaming then. "Yakay!" said the rainbow.'
35. *Dingim pirr mi-filfil a-yeyi-ningki kagu yi*
 3s P-VC22-PRES 3plO cause-wake up C(iv) other-INST GEN:animal and
wirrim waddi fafa tye kana a-yeyi-ningki a-ngani.
 3pl pn 3ns P-go-PAST scream RED PAST now C(iv) other-INST C(iv) goose
 'He woke up the others. The geese in their turn were screaming then.'
36. *Warrani fi-titit tye kana gangki -pefi*
 3ns P-VC25-PAST CS -rise RED PAST PUN high All
waddi leli tye.
 3ns P-go-PAST walk PAST
 'They rose into the air and flew away.'
37. *Yinyiri -nimbi yaga detyengi a-ngani wirrim, wannin*
 2s-see-FUT ABL DEM today C(iv) goose 3pl pn OA:3ns P-go-PRES
leli gangki kagu a-purrpurrk.
 walk sky GEN:animal C(iv) PLUR
 'If you see the geese today, they fly in the sky with the birds.'
38. *Minta -nimbi werme patpit waddi epe*
 NEG ABL 3ns P-VC13-PAST fly RED OA:3ns P-go-PAST but
werrim patpit wannim detyengi.
 3ns P-VC13-PRES fly RED 3ns P-go-PRES today
 'They did not fly before but they do fly today.'
39. *Yi nem a-ngumungki dagam fufu kuri -nimbi*
 and 3s(m)pn C(iv) rainbow 3s P-VC11-PRES go reddish RED water ABL
dinginy tyiptyip yi ding kek kuderri.
 3s P-VC22-PRES go black RED and 3s P-sit-PRES spurt out billabong
nyin -nimbi yi yinyiri fetyen dederri nem -nide,
 DEM ABL and 2s-see-FUT blood C(viii) back 3s(m)pn LOC

- filfilngini ngani naka gimin; yawul nyinta -nimbi*
 shining red like loin cloth like spear DEM-EMPH ABL
- dangim pawal fetyen yaga ding kak nimbi.*
 3s P-VC18-PRES spear blood DEM 3s P-sit-PRES spurt out ABL
 ‘And the rainbow shines reddish from the dark water and spurts out of the billabong. You will see the blood on his back, shining red like a loin cloth – the blood from the spear that speared him, when he rises from the water.’
40. *Yi nem a-rsiminmin, yenim pirrki ba-kurr wirrike*
 and 3s(m)pn C(iv) bat 3s P-go-PRES 3dO arm-pick up 3d pn
- nyin a-wilfirr fagarri falmi nem -ngini.*
 DEM C(iv) whistle duck two woman 3s(m)pn PURP
 ‘And the bat took the two whistle ducks for his wives.’
41. *Wudeni batbit tye nem a-ngumungki yenim*
 3s P-VC10-PAST roll RED PAST 3s(m)pn C(iv) rainbow 3s P-go-PRES
- fel kuderri -nide.*
 go in/dive billabong LOC
 ‘The rainbow rolled over and over and fell into the billabong.’
42. *Ngayt puy yedi tye, kuri apukek napa, nyinta*
 far CONT 3s P-go-PAST PAST water underneath LIM DEM-EMPH
- nimbi yaga, kuderri yenim puy. Kuri -nimbi dingim*
 ABL DEM billabong 3s P-go-PRES CONT water ABL 3s P-VC22-PRES
- tyityip dingim filfil nimbi yenim yi*
 go black RED 3s P-VC22-PRES shine red RED ABL OA:3s P-go-PRES and
- ding kek.*
 3s P-sit-PRES spurt out
 ‘He kept going right under the water and from then on he stayed in the billabong. When the water darkens and he shines reddish, he rises out.’

TEXT 3: *Angalifin fafala* – THE WAVING LIZARDS

The shaky paw or waving lizard of Northern Australia may be frequently observed running a short distance then stopping to wave one front foot. It is believed to be a courtship or territorial display. It is easy to understand that they could be thought to be trying to cool a burnt hand.

1. *Mada wetimbi angalifin fagarri wadde wapup*
 long ago waving lizard two 3ns P-go-PAST-d dwell RED
- werifepi -nide. Kuderri peyi deti mendi fepi nyin -nide.*
 cave LOC billabong there also close cave DEM LOC
 ‘A long time ago two shaky-paw lizards lived in a cave. There was also a billabong near that cave.’
2. *Kuderri nyin -nide waddi wapup kagu*
 billabong DEM LOC 3ns P-go-PAST dwell RED GEN:animal

- a-ningan* *a-werrbalarr* *a-ningan* *-werri.* *A-ngani*
C(iv) that one C(iv) bird C(iv) that one PROP C(iv) goose
- a-mentyinimba* *alfugarri* *burra* *a-wilfirr*
C(iv) egret C(iv) brolga pelican C(iv) whistle duck
- a-fekityerr* *a-kunbatyerr* *a-ngani* *nyin* *-werri*
C(iv) little pied cormorant C(iv) spoonbill C(iv) goose DEM PROP
- waddu* *wapup* *peyi* *kuderrri* *nyin* *-nide.*
3ns P-go-PAST dwell RED there billabong DEM LOC
'Lots of kind of birds lived at that billabong. The goose, the egret, the brolga, the pelican, the whistle duck, the little pied cormorant, the spoonbill – all those who go with the goose, were living there at that billabong.'
3. *Nganingiyi* *yedi* *wangga* *kana* *wannigi* *purrk*
night 3s P-go-PAST dance now 3nsP-go along-PAST canoe
- witinge* *a-nyin* *kagu* *a-werrbalarr.*
OA:3ns P-stand-PAST C(iv) DEM GEN:animal C(iv) bird
'When night came all those birds used to dance the *wangga*.'
4. *Wirrike* *winne* *werr* *-tyerri* *fepi* *-nide* *-nimbi* *pagu*
3d pn 3ns P-sit-PAST-d PROP -ear cave LOC ABL TSA
- girim* *dada* *wangga.*
3ns IMP-sit-PRES sing RED type of dance
'From the cave they (d) could hear them singing the *wangga*.'
5. *Yi* *wirrmenu* *Ba,* *ngambani* *wityi* *wangga*
and 3ns-say-RECIP-PAST-d EXC linc-go-FUT HOR type of dance
- ngambana* *purrk*" *wirmegu.*
linc-VC11-FUT dance 3ns-say-PAST-d
'And they said to each other, "Come on, let us try to go and dance the *wangga*", they said.'
6. *Yi* *kakkana* *wadde* *wirrike.*
and off now 3ns P-go-PAST 3d pn
'And off they (d) went.'
7. *Ba* *warranugu* *pek* *durrmu* *pirri.* *Warranugu*
EXC 3ns P-VC25-PAST-d paint design first 3ns P-VC25-PAST-d
- pe::::::::::::k* *tyamirri,* *yi* *kakkana* *wadde* *karrbu*
paint finished and set off now 3ns P-go-PAST go down
'Oh, they painted themselves with designs first. They kept painting until it was properly finished and they set off down.'
8. *Wadde::::::::::::* *mendi* *ngan* *kuderrri* *nyin* *-nide* *-kide* *ngan*
3ns P-go-PAST-d close REL billabong DEM LOC where REL
- a-nyinin* *a-werrbalarr* *-werri* *winni,* *wirrim* *a-ningan*
C(iv)DEM C(iv) bird PROP 3ns P-sit-PAST 3pl pn C(iv) that one

-werri a-ngani -werri tyety wirrme ge wirrim
 PROP C(iv) goose PROP stop 3ns-say-PAST stop 3pl pn

wangga yi ngirngirr kana mene waddi tu.
 dance and sleep RED PUN pretend 3ns P-go-PAST sleep

‘When they (d) went on close to the billabong where those birds lived, those who went with the geese stopped the *wangga* and pretended to be asleep.’

9. Yi wirrike wadde a-ngalifin fagarri wuni ngaytpirr
 and 3d pn 3ns P-go-PAST C(iv) lizard two DEM(r) far away

pagu wirrnyirinugu ngirngirr kana wirrim a-ngani nyin
 towards 3ns P-see-PAST-d sleep RED now 3pl pn C(iv) goose DEM

yi a-werrbalarr werryini.
 and C(iv) bird 3ns P-lie-PAST

‘And the two shaky paw lizards who were going down saw from far away that the geese and all the birds were lying down sleeping.’

10. “Yu, wakay kana werrim waty werrim
 yes finished PUN 3ns P-VC13-PRES finish 3ns P-VC13-PRES

purrket kana. Wangga ngirngirr kana werryem. Wa nayin
 stop now dance sleep RED PUN 3ns P-lie-PRES EXC linc pn

ngumbuda wul deti”, wirrmegu.
 linc-VC10-FUT return again 3ns-say-PAST-d

“‘Oh, it is finished now. They have stopped dancing and are sleeping now. Come on, let us go back again”, they said.’

11. Yi wirrike, kak deti wirrike wuddenigu wuleri
 and 3d pn off again 3d pn 3ns P-VC10-PAST-d return

werifepi -nide -pefi dede wirrike -nide.
 cave LOC ALL camp 3d pn LOC

‘And the two of them both set off back again to their camp in the cave.’

12. Mirri yeyi ngani wirrmegu deti, winne:::::
 day other COMP 3ns-say/do-PAST-d also/again 3ns P-sit-PAST-d

kulyi yi ngani wirrmegu deti winne
 evening and COMP 3ns-say/do-PAST-d again 3ns P-sit-PAST-d

werryeri girrin dada “Ba ngambani wityi!”
 PROP-ear 3ns IMP-sit-PRES sing RED EXC linc-go-FUT HOR

‘Every day they (d) did it again – they were sitting in the evening and in the same way they would hear the singing (and say) “Come on, let us try to go!”’

13. Yi warranigu pek durrmu tyamirri yi kak deti
 and 3ns P-VC25-PAST-d paint design properly and off again

wadde karrbu kuderrri nyin -nide.
 3ns P-go-PAST-d go down billabong DEM LOC

‘And they painted themselves up properly and set off down to that billabong.’

14. *Wadde:::..... mendi ngan dede nyin -nide ngan a-nyin*
 3ns P-go-PAST-d close REL camp DEM LOC REL C(iv)DEM
witinge purrurrk. Fil wirrme muy wirrim
 3ns P-stand-PAST dance RED notice 3ns-say-PAST self 3pl pn
-ningki a-werrbalarr -ningki. “Wirrike nyin-ta gannunggu
 AGE C(iv) bird AGE 3d pn DEM-EMPH 3ns IMP-go-PRES
a-ngalifin fagarri. Mene ngirrngirr mene ngimbim nime”
 C(iv) lizard two pretend sleep RED pretend linc-lie-FUT pl
wirrme yi wirrim ngirrngirr kana waddi tu.
 3ns-say-PAST and 3pl pn sleep RED now 3ns P-go-PAST sleep
 ‘They (d) (lizards) went on close to the place where those birds were dancing. The birds
 looked up. “Those two shaky paw lizards are coming. Let us pretend to lie down and
 sleep!”, they said.’
15. *Yi dani wirrki madiket.*
 and 3s P-VC18-PAST 3dO hungry/unhappy
 ‘It made them (d) unhappy.’
16. *“Ya minmi! Minmi! Ngirrngirr kana gerrtyem. Ba*
 EXC no no sleep RED PUN 3ns IMP-lie-PRES EXC:come on
ngumbudam(w)uleri nime kana.”
 linc-fall-PRES-return pl PUN
 “‘Oh no! No! They are sleeping now. Come on! We are going back now.’”
17. *Yi kak kana wadde:::..... Wuddenigu wuleri wirrike.*
 and off PUN 3ns P-go-PAST 3ns P-VC10-PAST-d return 3d pn
 ‘And off they went then. They went back.’
18. *Ngani ngani wirrmegu napa deti.*
 COMP COMP 3ns-say/do-PAST-d LIM again
 ‘They did it again and again.’
19. *Mirrimirriyeyi dani tyip, dani wirrki*
 every day 3s P-VC18-PAST go dark 3s P-VC18-PAST 3dO
madi-gerrgirr wirringe wangga -ngini wirrike
 side cut (be disappointed) OA:3s P-stand-PAST dance PURP 3d pn
a-ngalifin fagarri.
 C(iv) lizard two
 ‘Every day at sunset the two lizards were disappointed about the *wangga*.’
 (Miriam said that *dani madigerrgirr wirringe* meant ‘he went all the way for nothing’. It is
 obviously an impersonal construction (4.8) as *dani wirrki madigerrgirr wirringe wangga*
-ngini could be translated as ‘they (d) went all the way for the *wangga* for nothing’ or
 ‘without success’ but the literal translation is ‘it stood cutting them (d) in the side for the
wangga.)
20. *Syirre nyin -kirri wirrim minta ge wannim kana*
 after DEM INTENS 3pl pn NEG stomach 3ns P-go-PRES PUN

a-werrbalarr.

C(iv) bird

'After that the birds were fed up.'

21. *“Yengki ngambi fi-tatit nime mumbanelen -nide, yi*
 fire linc-VC18-FUT CS-put RED pl path LOC and
wagirr -ngini pirri” wirrim “kulyi nyinin wa
 hot coals PURP first 3ns-say-PRES evening DEM 3s-VC26-FUT
wirriki firr-tyuk kana yengki -ningki.”
 3dO foot-burn PUN fire INST
 “‘Let us make a fire on the path so that the hot coals (will be there) first (before they come)”,
 they said, “then in the evening their (d) feet will be burned by the fire.””

22. *“Yu!” wirrim wirrim a-yeyi-ningki kagu a-ningan*
 yes 3ns-say-PRES 3pl pn C(iv)other-AGE GEN:animal C(iv) that one

a-werrbalarr.

C(iv) bird

“‘Yes!’ said those other birds.’

23. *Mirrgangki nyinin yengki wuddupun pup mumbanelen*
 daytime DEM fire 3ns P-VC15-PRES put on ground path
nyin -nide ngan witingegu kakarrbu pagu wirriki
 DEM LOC REL 3ns P-stand-PAST-d go down RED TSA 3d pn
fagarri a-nyinin a-ngalifin.
 two C(iv)DEM C(iv) lizard
 ‘That day they put fire on the path where the two lizards used to come down towards them.’

24. *Kulyi-kirri waying girr kana tye wirringe*
 evening-INTENS 3s-VC26-PAST burn now PAST OA:3s P-stand-PAST
ngityirr. Yengki waying gerrgirr tye apukek.
 ground/earth fire 3s-VC26-PAST burn PAST underneath
 ‘That evening it had burnt the ground. The fire was burning underneath.’

25. *Wirriki winne wertryeri kulyi wangga deti*
 3d pn 3ns P-sit-PAST-d hear evening dance again
wirrem magat.
 3nd P-VC24-PRES start
 ‘In the evening they (d) (lizards) heard the *wangga* start again.’

26. *Winni purrpurrk tye wangga winni dada tye.*
 3ns P-sit-PAST dance RED PAST dance 3ns P-sit-PAST sing PAST
 ‘They (birds) were dancing the *wangga* and singing.’

27. *Yi wirriki wannunggu karrbu durrmu -werri warranigu*
 and 3d pn 3ns P-go-PRES go down design PROP 3ns P-VC25-PAST-d

pek tye.
paint PAST

'And they (d) (lizards) went down with the designs they had painted on themselves.'

28. *Wannanugu mentyi-baty tye mumbanelen nyinin::::::*
3ns P-VC25-PAST-d be led (follow a path) PAST path DEM

mendi ngan yengki nyin -nide -kirri wadde tye
close REL fire DEM LOC INTENS 3ns P-go-PAST-d PAST

yerr- yengki -nide bafun wayim pirrki baty tye.
C(vii) fire LOC ashes 3s-VC26-PAST 3dO burn PAST

'They followed that path and when they came close to that fire and ash, it burnt them (d).'

29. *Yi wayim pirrki me-tyuk tye yedi deme*
and 3s-VC26-PAST 3dO hand-burn PAST OA:3s P-go-PAST C(viii) hand

defirr a-kimi dege.
C(viii) foot C(iv) tail C(viii) stomach

'It burnt their hands; hands, feet, tails and stomachs.'

30. *Wirrike -nimbi -kirri "Yakay! Yakay!" wirrme wityi*
3d pn ABL INTENS EXC:ouch EXC:ouch 3ns-say-PAST HOR

wadde.
3ns P-go-PAST

'It was because of this that they cried "Yakay! Yakay!" as they tried to go.

31. *"Aya minmi! Ngumbuda wuleri, yengki -werri -wurru", yi*
EXC no linc-VC10-FUT return fire PROP INTENS and

wuddanggu wuleri wuni.
3ns P-VC10-PRES return there

'"Oh no! Let us go back! There is too much fire (here)", and they (d) went back there.'

32. *Wannunggu wirr werifepi. Yi yengki wuni ngan*
3ns P-go-PRES-d enter cave and fire DEM(r) REL

wannanigu tyerrsyirrsyirr tye wadde bafun,
3ns-VC10-PAST-d tread on RED PAST OA:3ns P-go-PAST-d ashes

wangi wibem fuy mengkin pup. Waying
breeze 3s P-lie-PRES blow 3s P-lift-PRES catch fire 3s-VC26-PAST

gerrgirr kana tye.
burn PUN PAST

'They (d) went inside the cave. And that fire where they had trodden on the ashes was blown up by the breeze. It was burning then.'

33. *Yi wurr mengkin pup wayim pul tye*
and grass 3s P-lift-PRES catch fire 3s-VC26-PAST burn off PAST

yedi ngan wirrike napa weri -nide ngan weri wirrike.
OA:3s P-go-PAST REL 3d pn LIM cave LOC REL cave 3d pn

'And the grass caught fire and burned right up to their (d) cave where they (d) were (sitting).'

34. *Wirrike syarri kana ngini wannang girr -nimbi.*
 3d pn run PUN PURP 3ns P-VC11-PRES burn/smoke ABL
Yengki kerre kana yedi tye pagu.
 fire big now 3s P-go-PAST PAST TSA
 'They (d) ran (to see) where the smoke was coming from. A big fire was coming towards them (d).'
35. *Wangi winge fuyfuy tye kerre pagu.*
 breeze 3s P-lie-PAST blow PAST big TSA
 'A wind was blowing a big (fire) towards them (d).'
36. *Aya wayim pirrki mi-tyuk yi nyinin wuddanggu*
 EXC 3s-VC26-PRES 3dO CS-burn and DEM 3ns P-VC10-PRES-d
wuleri minmi yengki kerre pagu yedi tye yi
 return no fire big towards 3s P-go-PAST PAST and
wayim pirrki tyuk peyi deti fepi -nide.
 3s-VC26-PRES 3dO burn there also hill LOC
 'Well, it burnt them and they tried to go back, but no: a big fire came and burnt them (d) again there on the hill.'
37. *Fepi -nide wirringgi ta-me. Yani -nimbi dede*
 hill LOC 3ns P-sit-PRES-d open-hand 2s-go-FUT ABL place
nyin yinyiri wirrigu ta-me fepi -nide dengini
 DEM 2s-see-FUT 3ns P-sit-FUT-d open-hand hill LOC C(viii) body
wirrike.
 3d pn
 'They are sitting on the hill with open hands. If you go to that place you will see their (d) bodies sitting there with open hands.'
38. *Detyengi -nimbi yinyiri a-ngalifin deme*
 today ABL 2s-see-FUT C(iv) shaky-paw lizard C(viii) hand
yinyiri apukek yi defirr dege tyikmempi
 2s-see-FUT underneath and C(viii) foot C(viii) stomach black
wayim tyuk yengki -nide -nimbi.
 3s-VC26-PRES burn fire LOC ABL
 'If you see a shaky paw lizard's hand today and you look underneath at the stomach and feet, you will see they are black from when they were burnt in the fire.'

TEXT 4: HOW GALAHS BECAME PINK

1. *Mada wetimbi yedi minta fala deti, kagu*
 long ago man NEG (English-fellow) also GEN:animal
a-werrbalarr a-purrpurrk warrgatyen tyutyuk mirrikulyi
 C(iv) bird C(iv) PLUR 3ns-bring-PRES gather sun-evening

- kuderra -nide wangga -ngini.*
billabong LOC dance PURP
'Long ago, before there were any men, lots of birds used to gather together at sunset near a billabong to dance the *wangga*.'
2. *Nem alfugarri kanbi dara(m) magat a-yeyi*
3s (m)pn C(iv) brolga didjeridoo 3s P-VC25-PRES start C(iv) other
-ningki kagu wangga winni dada tye.
-AGE GEN:animal dance 3ns P-sit-PAST sing RED PAST
'The brolga started to play the didjeridoo and the others were singing the *wangga*.'
3. *Yengki kerre warrim fi-tatit. Mirri yedi*
fire big 3ns P-VC-18-PRES CS-put-RED sun 3s P-go-PAST
filpurr tye kana pefi.
go reddish PAST PRES ALL
'They made a big fire. It was getting towards sunset then.'
4. *Klarrkurrk yi wilikwilik alfugarri a-yeyi -ningki*
jabiru and galah C(iv) brolga C(iv) other AGE
warrani pek kana tye durrmu dirrkuri kuderra.
3ns P-VC25-PAST paint PUN PAST design bank billabong
'The jabiru, the galah and the brolga were painting designs on themselves then, on the bank of the billabong.'
5. *Wirrim wilikwilik gugarra wersi warrani pek tye.*
3pl pn galah red ochre white clay 3ns P-VC25-PAST paint PAST
'The galahs were painting themselves with red ochre and white clay.'
6. *Awa-yeyi -ningki kagu waddi purrpurrk tye kana*
C(iii) other AGE GEN:animal 3ns P-go-PAST dance RED PAST PUN
'The other birds were dancing then.'
7. *Wirrim guguk -kiri wannawani fulirr tye*
3pl pn still INTENS 3ns P-VC11-REFLEX-PAST rub PAST
winni.
OA:3ns P-sit-PAST
'They (galahs) were still rubbing themselves (with paint).'
8. *Syirre myinin wannim madi-pap wannawa(m) magat*
after that 3ns P-go-PRES side-climb 3ns P-VC11-REFLEX-PRES start
wangga. Minta wukume tye wannawani fulfirr tye
dance NEG one PAST 3ns P-VC11-REFLEX-PAST rub PAST
gugarra wersi; wirrim wilikwilik bingini napa
red ochre white clay 3pl pn galah thick LIM
waddi tye.
3ns P-go-PAST PAST
'After that they climbed up on the bank and started to dance. They didn't just rub themselves once with red ochre and white clay, those galahs were thick with paint.'

9. *Waddi purrpurrk tye:::,,,,, dangim pirr*
 3ns P-go-PAST dance RED PAST 3s P-VC18-PRES 3plO
fi-derrirsul dede yeyi pagu.
 CS-back-sunrise place other TSA
 'They kept on dancing until the sun rose on them from another place.'
10. *Dani fi-rsul tye pagu yirrini.*
 3s P-VC18-PAST CS sunrise PAST TSA OA:3s-go along-PAST
Fil wirrim muy, wirrimem "Aya dangim
 notice 3ns-say-PRES self 3ns-say-PRES-RECIP EXC 3s P-VC18-PRES
fi -rsul kana", werrim purrket wangga.
 CS sunrise PUN 3ns P-VC13-PRES stop dance
 'The sunrise was coming towards them. They noticed and said to each other, "Oh, it is dawn now", and they stopped dancing.'
11. *Kak kana werrme patpit tye.*
 off PRES 3ns P-VC13-PAST fly RED PAST
 'Then they flew away.'
12. *A-yaga klarrkurrk alfugarri werrmeni pul*
 C(iv)DEM jabiru broлга 3ns-VC23-PAST wash
tye werrtyini kuri -nide warsangari, kak kana
 PAST OA:3ns P-lie-PAST water LOC clean off PUN
werrim pat; epe wirrim wilikwilik guk -kirri
 3ns P-VC13-PRES fly but 3pl pn galah still INTENS
werrmeni pul tye winni fakiderri.
 3ns P-VC23-PAST wash PAST OA:3ns P-sit-PAST for a long time
 'The jabirus and brolgas washed themselves clean in the water and then flew away; but the galahs were still washing themselves for a long time.'
13. *Wirrnyerem "Ya minmi -wurru! Aya dadirimadi kana."*
 3ns-see-REFLEX EXC no INTENS EXC hard-side now
 'They looked at themselves. "Oh no! It is hard now."'
14. *Mirri mendi kana kirrbem fildirr yi kak -wurru*
 sun close now 3s IMP-stand-PRES shine and off INTENS
werrim pat. Minta werrme warsangari tye.
 3ns P-VC13-PRES fly NEG 3ns P-VC13-PAST clean PAST
Gugarra -werri werrim pat.
 red ochre PROP 3ns P-VC13-PRES fly
 'The sun was shining close to them then and they set off flying. They were not clean. They flew with red ochre (on them).'
15. *Detyengi -nimbi ngimbinyiri wirr nime kagu wilikwilik*
 today ABL 1inc-see-FUT 3plO pl GEN:animal galah

ngimbinyiri *gugarra* *-werri* *napa* *a-balarr* *wirrim* *-nide*
 1inc-see-FUT red ochre PROP LIM C(iv) feather 3pl pn LOC

wannim *fufu.*
 3ns P-go-PRES go reddish.

'If we see galahs today we see that they are reddish, having red ochre on their feathers.'

TEXT 5: GOOSE AND JUNGLE FOWL

1. *Mada* *wetimbi* *a-ngani* *yi* *a-ningan* *jungle fowl*
 long ago C(iv) goose and C(iv) that one

wadde *wapup* *dede* *palat,* *minta* *kuri* *-nide,* *epe*
 3ns P-sit-PAST-d dwell RED camp plain NEG water LOC but

ngaytpirr *kuri* *-nide* *-nimbi.*
 far away water LOC ABL

'A long time ago the goose and the jungle fowl lived together on the plain – not near the water – a long way from the water.'

2. *Winne* *tye* *merringki* *-nide.* *A-ngani* *-ningki*
 3ns P-sit-PAST-d PAST shade LOC C(iv) goose AGE

me-nge *ngayim* *jungle fowl* "Ya, *ngani* *wityi* *ngini*
 3s-say-PRES-3s(f)IO 3s(f)pn EXC 1s-go-FUT HOR FUT

nginyiri *ngini* *kalla* *ngayi* *ngatya* *ngayi,* *nginyiri* *wirrk*
 1s-see-FUT FUT mother 1s pn father 1s pn 1s-see-FUT 3dO

wityi *ngini.*
 HOR FUT

'They sat in the shade. The goose said to the jungle fowl, "I want to go to see my mother and father, I want to see them (d)."'

3. "Ngani *ngini* *wuni* *kuderrri* *-nide* *ngemengke* *wirrk*
 1s-go-FUT FUT DEM(r) billabong LOC 1s-arrive-FUT 3dO

ngini *peyi* *girrim.* *Yinyiri* *kerrety* *pirri* *ngini*
 FUT there 3ns IMP-sit-PRES 2s-see-FUT look after ahead FUT

dede", *me-nge.*
 camp 3s-say-PRES-3s(f)IO

'"I will go there to the billabong and reach the place where they live. You look after the camp", he said to her.'

4. "Yu, *mamak-a.*"
 yes goodbye-EMPH
 "Yes, goodbye then."

5. *Yi* *kak* *-wurru* *ngayim* *a-ngani* *yirrini* *tye.*
 and off INTENS 3s(f)pn C(iv) goose 3s-go along-PAST PAST

'And the goose set off then.'

6. *Yedi* *tye*.....: *dede* *nyinin* *kuderrri* *-nide*
 3s P-go-PAST PAST camp DEM billabong LOC
demengkem *kalla* *nem* *-werri* *peyi* *winni* *tye*.
 3s P-arrive-PRES mother 3s(m)pn COM there 3ns P-sit-PAST PAST
 'He went on until he reached the camp by the billabong where his mother lived with the others.'
7. *Yi* *ngayim* *jungle fowl* *dini* *tye* *peyi* *kana*. *Dede*
 and 3s(f)pn 3s P-sit-PAST PAST there PUN camp
fagarri *yenin* *tu* *peyi*. *Jungle fowl* *felfi* *dini*
 two 3s P-go-PRES sleep there ISOL 3s P-sit-PAST
tye *wuniyirre*. *Mem* "Etye *pagu* *kinyi* *a-ngani*
 PAST back there 3s-say-PRES when TSA DEM(p) C(iv) goose
wude *wuleri* *ngini*?" *Meyi* *tye* *dini*.
 3s P-VC10-FUT return FUT 3s-say-REFLEX-PAST PAST OA:3s P-sit-PAST
 'And the jungle fowl stayed there then. She camped there for two nights. The jungle fowl was lonely back there. She said, "When is the goose going to come back here?" She said to herself.'
8. *Dini* *tye*.....:, *dangim* *tyip*, *dangim*
 3s P-sit-PAST PAST 3s P-VC18-PRES sunset 3s P-VC18-PRES
fi-rsul, *dini* *ne* *waymuy* *tye*; *minta* *fala*.
 CS-sunrise 3s P-sit-PAST 3s(m)pn worry PAST NEG fellow
 'She was sitting there from sunset to sunrise worrying about him, but no-one (came).'
9. *Yedi* *tye* *yengki*, *mengkin* *purrr-wa*
 3s P-go-PAST PAST fire 3s P-lift-PRES firestick-pick up
yengkipurr, *wudupun* *pugup* *gari* *yerr-wirrike*.
 firestick 3s P-VC15-PRES burn down hut C(vii)3d pn
 'She went (to) the fire and picked up a firestick and burned down their (d) hut.'
10. *Yerr--purrrpurrrk* *ngayim* *yenung* *kurr* *yi* *kak* *kana*
 C(vii) PLUR 3s(f)pn 3s P-go-PRES pick up and off now
yirrini *tye* *yerr-kide-pefi*. *Minta* *wa* *tipek*
 3s-go along-PAST PAST C(vii) where-ALL NEG 3s P-VC18-FUT follow
tye *a-ngani* *nem* *mumba* *yerr-kide-deti* *yirrini*
 PAST C(iv) goose 3s(m)pn path C(vii) where again 3s-go along-PAST
tye *pefi*.
 PAST ALL
 'She picked up her things and set off in a different direction. She did not follow the path of the goose, she went a different way.'
11. *Yedi* *tye*.....:, *dinging* *gewurr* *tye*
 3s P-go-PAST PAST 3s P-VC22-PRES/PAST rest PAST

- dini wuni -kirri yewirr -nide.*
 OA:3s P-sit-PAST DEM(r) INTENS tree LOC
 'She went on and was having a rest right over there near a tree.'
12. *Yi nem a-ngani wudam (w)uleri kana wu-nimbi*
 and 3s(m)pn C(iv) goose 3s P-VC13-PRES return now DEM(r)ABL
pagu kuderri -nimbi.
 towards billabong ABL
 'And the goose came back then from there at the billabong.'
13. *Yedi tye:::;, dinyingkin wembem minta wembem,*
 3s P-go-PAST PAST 3s P-see-PRES hut NEG hut
ba garri yerr-wirrike.
 EXC:no, I mean paper-bark hut C(vii) 3d pn
 'He came and looked for their (d) hut, but there was no hut.'
 (*wembem* and *garri* are different types of hut. Miriam first said *wembem* and then corrected herself to *garri*.)
14. *Yedi nge kayki tye, ngayim jungle fowl minta*
 3s P-go-PAST 3s(f)IO call RED PAST 3s(f)pn NEG
we tyerrgat.
 3s P-VC18-FUT answer
 'He called to the jungle fowl but she did not answer.'
15. *Yedi tye:::;, Mumba menyirr -nide dinyingkin*
 3s P-go-PAST PAST path sand LOC 3s P-see-PRES
defirr gibem jungle fowl ngayim dani
 C(viii) foot 3s IMP-lie-PRES 3s(f)pn 3s P-VC18-PAST
dudu kana tye yirrini.
 track RED PUN PAST OA:3s-go along-PAST
 'He went on. He saw the jungle fowl's footprints lying in the sand and then he followed her track.'
16. *Dani dudu tye:::;, fil me(m) muy*
 3s P-VC18-PAST track RED PAST notice 3s-say-PRES self
girin dudu-pi merringki -nide. Yedi
 3s IMP-sit-PRES swollen-head shade LOC 3s P-go-PAST
tye:::;, demengke(ng) -nge.
 PAST 3s P-arrive-PRES 3s(d)IO
 'He kept on tracking her and he noticed the tip of her head in the shade (in the distance). He kept going and he reached her.'
17. "Tyaganimbi *yenam felfil nginde?*", *me-nge.*
 why 3s P-go-PRES run away 1sABLpn 3s-say-PRES-3s(f)IO
 "Why do you run away from me?", he said to her.'
18. "Ya *nyinyi -wara! Ngini -mbi ngidi tye minta*
 EXC 2s pn EMPH 1s-sit-PAST 2sIO wait for PAST NEG

ngindi tye warrmadi."

1sIO PAST quickly

"Oh you! I was waiting for you and you did not come back quickly."

19. *Yi yedi tye wirrenggu bulbul kana*
and 3s P-go-PAST PAST 3ns P-VC24-PRES-d fight RED now
yuri peyi-ta.
fighting stick there EMPH
'He went and they (d) had a fight with sticks right there.'
20. *A-ngani -ningki diwe -nge gat yuri*
C(iv) goose AGE 3s P-VC24-PRES 3s(f)IO lift stick fighting stick
yewirr -ningki wupun ta dederri.
stick AGE 3s P-VC14-PRES hit C(viii) back
'The goose lifted his fighting stick and hit her on the back with it.'
21. *Wirrenigi bulbul tye:::.. Ngayim kana jungle fowl*
3ns P-VC24-PAST-d fight RED PAST 3s(f)pn now
yuri kerre mungkin nawa. Diwe -ne
stick big 3s P-lift-PRES 3s(m)IO-pick up 3s P-VC24-PRES 3s(m)IO
gat nem a-ngani. Depi napa wupun
lift stick 3s(m)pn C(iv) goose C(viii) head LIM 3s P-VC14-PRES
ta ngayim -ningki jungle fowl -ningki a-ngani.
hit 3s(f)pn AGE AGE C(iv) goose
'They kept on fighting. The jungle fowl in turn picks up a stick (to hit) the goose. She hit him right on the head.'
22. *Yuri nyin wupun ta dudu mem pi.*
stick DEM 3s P-VC14-PRES hit swell 3s P-say/do-PRES head
Depi ye-ningan -werri yedi dudu-pi tye
C(viii) head C(vii) that one PROP 3s P-go-PAST swollen head PAST
yewirr nyin -nimbi.
stick DEM ABL
'The stick hit him (and) his head swelled up. He had that swollen thing on his head from (where) the stick (hit him).'
23. *Werrmenggu ngurrputyputy nyin wakay. Minta kana*
3ns P-VC23-PRES-d separate RED DEM finished NEG now
tye wirnyeregu mi-bebi tye warrane.
PAST 3ns-see-RECIP-FUT-d CS-self/each other PAST OA:3ns P-go-FUT-d
'They separated completely. They never saw each other again.'
24. *Ngayim yerr-kide-pefi yedi tye jungle fowl, nem*
3s(f)pn C(vii) where ALL 3s P-go-PAST PAST 3s(m)pn

yerr-kide-pefi.

C(vii) where ALL

'The jungle fowl went in one direction and he went another way.'

25. *Yi yinyiri nimbi detyengi a-ngani wani dudu-pi.*
 and 2s-see-FUT ABL today C(iv) goose 3s P-go-FUT swollen head
- Yi yimi "Yu nyin -ta jungle fowl -nimbi wupun*
 and 2s-say-FUT yes DEM EMPH ABL 3s P-VC14-PRES

ta depi''.

hit C(viii) head

'And if you see a magpie goose today he will have a swollen head. And you will say – "Yes, that is from when the jungle fowl hit him on the head."'

TEXT 6: ROCKS FALL FROM THE SKY

1. *Mada wetimbi awa-purppurk waddi tye mi-dirrwi*
 long ago C(iii) PLUR 3ns P-go-PAST PAST C(iv) black plum
- ngini waddi gatit tye.*
 PURP 3ns P-go-PAST gather PAST
- 'A long time ago some children went to gather black plums.'
2. *Waddi tye:..... Werrmengkem dede nyinin ngan*
 3ns P-go-PAST PAST 3ns P-arrive-PRES place DEM REL
- mi-dirrwi bakuty.*
 C(iv) black plum many
- 'They kept going. They arrived at that place where (there were) lots of black plums.'
3. *Waddi wawu tye kana. Detyerri-werri waddi*
 3ns P-go-PAST gather RED PAST now C(viii) ear PROP 3ns P-go-PAST
- tye nganki nyin kalla wirrim -ningki wirrim pirr;*
 PAST story DEM mother 3pl pn AGE 3ns-say-PRES 3plO
- yaga mi-damuy -ngini minta wurru wuty ngini*
 DEM C(vi) seed PURP NEG 3ns P-VC14-FUT throw on ground FUT
- ngityirr -nide, nyin fepi nana gangki -nimbi pagu*
 ground LOC DEM rock might sky ABL TSA
- gerrbi baytbity. Detyerri -werri waddi tye*
 3ns IMP-VC16-FUT hit ground C(viii) ear PROP 3ns P-go-PAST PAST
- nganki nyinin.*
 story DEM
- 'They were gathering then. They knew the story their mothers had told them – not to throw the seeds on the ground or rocks might fall on them from the sky. They knew that story.'
4. *Waddi wawu tye:..... bakuty, yi kak kana*
 3ns P-go-PAST gather RED PAST many and off now

- waddi* *tye* *merringki* *-nide* *wannim* *wap.* *Yi*
3ns P-go-PAST PAST shade LOC 3ns P-go-PRES sit down and
- werrbe* *du* *kana* *tye* *winni* *fepi* *-nide*
3ns P-VC16-PAST grind now PAST 3ns P-sit-PAST stone LOC
- yi* *wanni* *fi-madi-tyutyuk* *tye* *wasyari* *-nide.*
and 3ns P-VC18-PAST CS-side-put RED PAST paperbark LOC
'They kept on gathering lots and then they sat down in the shade. Then they ground them on stones and wrapped them in paperbark.'
5. *Wur-(w)eti* *wur-wukume* *tyip* *men* *tyerri* *nganki* *nyinin*
C(ii) little C(ii) one forget 3s-say-PRES ear story DEM
- miyi* *bakuty* *werrikirri* *bengim* *mi-fili.*
GEN:plant food plenty because 3s P-VC16-PRES move from one to another
- Wiringe* *lalirr* *tye* *miyi* *nyin,* *tyifek*
3s P-stand-PAST eat PAST GEN:plant food DEM spit out
- yenim* *we* *mi-* *nyinin* *mi-* *damuy.*
3s P-go-PRES spit C(vi) DEM C(vi) seed
'One little girl forgot what she had been told because there was so much food and she was moving excitedly from one to another. She was eating that food and spat out a seed.'
6. *Bengim* *baty* *ngityirr* *-nide.*
3s P-VC16-PRES fall ground LOC
'It fell to the ground.'
7. *Syirre* *nyin* *kirri,* *ngani* *kuri* *gimin* *kana* *wuni*
after DEM INTENS like rain/water like now 3s P-VC14-PAST
- mirmirr* *tye* *werrtyin* *tyerri-baty* *gangki,* *wu*
thunder RED PAST 3ns P-lie-PAST ear-fall (hear) sky cloud
- filfilngini* *yedi* *tye.*
red 3s P-go-PAST PAST
'Immediately after that, it was as though it would rain; they heard thunder in the sky. The clouds went red.'
8. *Yi* *waddi* *tye:::* *wirrnyingkin* *gangki* *wirrim*
and 3ns P-go-PAST PAST 3ns P-see-PRES sky 3ns-say/do-PRES
- muy.* "Ba!" *wirrim* "fepi-ta" *kinyi!"*
self come on 3ns-say/do-PRES rock EMPH DEM(p)
'They went on and looked up at the sky. "Come on!" they said, "there are rocks here!"'
9. *Syarri* *kana* *wuni.* *Wirr* *mi-ferr* *tye.* *Yerr-* *wuni*
hurry now 3s P-VC14-PAST 3plO CS panic PAST C(vii) DEM(r)
- pefi* *kinyi* *pagu,* *wuni* *pefi* *waddi* *yeleli* *tye.*
ALL DEM(p) TSA DEM(r) ALL 3ns P-go-PAST run PAST
'(They) hurried then. It made them panic. They ran in all directions.'

10. *Yi fepi kana beyi batybity tye gangki pagu*
and rock now 3s P-VC16-PAST fall RED PAST sky TSA
bakuty. Awakay napa peyi yaga dani wirr tyerr-syirrsyirr
many everyone there DEM 3s P-VC18-PAST 3plO squash RED
tye fepi -ningki.
PAST rock AGE
'Then many rocks fell towards (them from) the sky. All of them were crushed by rocks there at that place.'
11. *Awa-purrpurrk fagarri wadde yeledi tye yewirr mene*
C(iii)PLUR two 3ns P-go-PAST-d run PAST C(vii) tree try
wannunggu pap. Dangim pirrki tyerr-syirrsyirr
3ns P-go-PRES-d climb up 3s P-VC18-PRES 3dO squash RED
peyi napa yewirr nyin -nide.
there LIM C(vii) tree DEM LOC
'Two children ran and tried to climb a tree. They were crushed right there in that tree.'
12. *Yewirr nyin bengim baty kana yi fepi nyin peyi*
C(vii) tree DEM 3s P-VC16-PRES fall now and rock DEM there
deti gerntyenggu ngan panmi.
also 3ns IMP-lie-PRES-d REL forked branch
'That tree fell over and those two rocks are lying there too in the forked branch.'
13. *Panmi -nide yinyiri dede nyinin wunu -pefi muyil.*
forked branch LOC 2s-see-FUT camp DEM DEM(r) ALL Moyle
'You can see (them (d)) in the forked branch at that place near the Moyle (River).'
14. *Kulyi winni way-muy tye kana kalla ngatya.*
evening 3ns P-sit-PAST worry PAST now mother father
"Ngambani wityi ngumbu wirr fifili nime", yi
1inc-go-FUT HOR 1inc-VC14-FUT 3plO look for RED pl and
kak kana waddi tye.
off now 3ns P-go-PAST PAST
'In the evening, their mothers and fathers were worried. "Let us go and look for them", (they said) and they set off.'
15. *Wanni wirr dudu tye:::;, werrmengkem*
3ns P-put-PAST 3plO track RED PAST 3ns P-arrive-PRES
dede nyinin.
place DEM
'They went along tracking them and they arrived at that place.'
16. *Wirrnyingkin fepi bakuty deme derri-way. Tye*
3ns P-see-PRES rock many 3s P-VC13-PAST be spread out PAST
dini kulyi. Kana kinyi fetyen -kirri
OA:3s P-sit-PAST evening now DEM(p) blood INTENS

- lirr* *lirrfin* *werrem* *fuy.*
 smell of freshly killed meat/people 3ns P-VC22-PRES smell
- Di kana wirrim waddi di tye kalla ngatya.*
 cry now 3pl pn 3ns P-go-PAST cry PAST mother father
 'They saw lots of rocks spread out. It was evening. There was a strong smell of blood and freshly killed people. Then they cried. The mothers and fathers cried.'
17. *Fepi mene minta nana garrwam felfil tye. Yerr-bakuty*
 rock try NEG might 3ns IMP-lift-FUT lift RED PAST C(vii) many
-wurtu wirrim deme derri-way tye dini.
 INTENS 3pl pn 3s P-VC13-PAST be spread out PAST OA:3s P-sit-PAST
 'They tried to lift the stones but they could not. There were too many spread out there.'
18. *Wuddam (w)uleri dedangkurr -pefi waddi tye*
 3ns P-VC10-PRES return camp ALL 3ns P-go-PAST PAST
winni tye. Di winni di tye kana.
 3ns P-sit-PAST PAST cry 3ns P-sit-PAST cry PAST now
 'They went back to their camp and sat there. They sat there crying.'
19. *Yani -nimbi dede nyinin, yinyiri fepi nyinin peyi*
 2s-go-FUT ABL place DEM 2s-see-FUT rock DEM there
girrim Tom Turner's Crossing.
 3ns IMP-sit-PRES
 'If you go to that place you will see those rocks sitting there at Tom Turner's Crossing.'

TEXT 7: THE THIRSTY SAND FROG

Miriam-Rose's English version of this story was published in *Djugurba: tales from the spirit time*, a collection of stories told and illustrated by students at Kormilda College in Darwin, published by Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1974.

1. *Mada wetimbi kagu a-niyen dini tye menyirr*
 long ago GEN:animal C(iv) sand frog 3s P-sit-PAST PAST sand
-nide apukek yi mem me-nem meyi ne
 LOC underneath and 3s-say-PRES EMPH-3s(m)pn 3s-say-PAST 3s(m)IO
tye dini, "Kuri ngani lalirr ngini nge
 PAST OA:3s P-sit-PAST water 1s-go-FUT eat FUT 1s-do-FUT
pul ngini ngani kuderri -nide -nimbi yi
 clear away FUT OA:1s-go-FUT billabong LOC ABL and
dirrpederr, baweti purrpurrk" mem. "Nge pul
 river creek PLUR 3s-say-PRES 1s-VC22-FUT clear away
wirr-de ngini a-yeyi-ningki kagu a-ningan -werri
 3plO-ABL FUT C(iv) other AGE GEN:animal C(iv) that one PROP

wamangkal awa-nyin -werri’, *mem.*

wallaby C(iii) DEM PROP 3s-say-PRES

‘A long time ago a sand frog sat under the sand and he said to himself, “I will go and drink the water, I will clear it away from the billabongs and rivers and all the little creeks”, he said. “I will clear it away from those other animals, those who go with the wallaby”, he said.’

2. *Yi kak kana yedi tye. Mirri kulyi kana pefi nyinin.*
and off now 3s P-go-PAST PAST sun evening now ALL DEM

“*Ba! Yu!*” *yi yedi tye.*

come on yes and 3s P-go-PAST PAST

‘And he set off then. It was nearly sunset. (He said to himself) “Come on! Yes!”, and he went.’

3. *Kuri kana yedi kukuduk tye:::..... Awakay napa*
water now 3s P-go-PAST drink RED PAST everything

dingim pul kuderri-nide-nimbi dirpederr baweti.
3s P-VC22-PRES clear away billabong-LOC-ABL river creek

Awakay napa dingim pul.
everything/all 3s P-VC22-PRES clear away

‘Then he went along drinking water. He cleared it all away from the billabongs, rivers and creeks. All of it he cleared away.’

4. *Yi kak kana yedi tye:::..... Fepi yenim pap*
and off now 3s P-go-PAST PAST hill 3s P-go-PRES climb

fepi kerre.

hill big

‘He set off then. He climbed a hill; a big hill.’

5. *Wudeni felfil tye yedi:::..... Mepi -kirri,*
3s P-VC10-PAST hop along RED PAST 3s P-go-PAST high INTENS

fepi yerr-kerre -nide walalkawa yenin
hill C(vii) big LOC big round stone 3s P-go-PRES

derrri-wap. Wakay yenin tu. Ngirngirr kana
sit down on something finished 3s P-go-PRES sleep sleep RED PUN

winge tye.
3s P-lie-PAST PAST

‘He went hopping along. He sat down on a big round stone high on the hill. Then he went to sleep. He was sleeping.’

6. *Winge tye:::..... a-yeyi-ningki kak kana.*
3s P-lie-PAST PAST C(iv) other-AGE off now/then

Wayim pirr baty. Erreke-ningki kuri kana ngini
3s-VC26-PRES/PAST 3plO burn now many-AGE water PUN PURP

wayim pirr minyirr, kagu a-purrpurrk wamangkal,
3s-VC26-PRES/PAST 3plO thirsty GEN:animal C(iv) PLUR wallaby

alfugarri, a-ngani nyin -werri.

C(iv) broлга C(iv) goose DEM PROP

'While he was sleeping, the others set off. They were hot. It could not be counted how thirsty they were – those animals; wallabies, brolgas and those with the geese.'

7. *Waddi tye:::..... Kuri kana ngini mene yi*
3ns P-go-PAST PAST water PUN PURP ATT and

wirnyingkin fi-way. Kuri minta kuri.

3ns P-see-PRES be unable water NEG water

'They went on. They tried (to get) some water but they couldn't find any. There was no water.'

8. *Kagu a-ningan a-nginakul -werri wirrim pirr*
GEN:animal C(iv) that one C(iv) fish PROP 3ns-say-PRES 3plO

a-nyin wamangkal -werri "Kuri, nangan kinta yedi
C(iv) DEM wallaby PROP water that one DEM(p) EMPH 3s P-go-PAST

tye a-niyen yi yedi kukuduk tye. Kuri
PAST C(iv) sand frog and 3s P-go-PAST drink RED PAST water

kinyi dingim pul. Yi kide pirri gaganim
DEM(p) 3s P-VC22-PRES clear away and where ahead 3s IMP-go-PRES

ya minta detyerri -werri nganim."

hey NEG ear PROP 1ns ex-go-PRES

'Those animals with the fish (water animals) told the animals with the wallabies (land animals), "Water! That fellow the sand frog came here and drank it. He cleared it all away. We don't know where he went then."

9. *Wuni ne filfili kana tye yi kagu*
3s P-VC14-PAST 3s(m)IO look for RED PUN PAST and GEN:animal

a-ningan tyenga yaga; kagu madit nem-ta -ningki
C(iv) that one which DEM GEN:animal hawk 3s(m)pn-EMPH -AGE

dinyingkin a-niyen yenim madi-pap fepi nyin nide.
3s P-see-PRES C(iv) sand frog 3s P-go-PRES slide-climb rock DEM LOC

'They looked for him and that one; what's his name now!; the hawk, he was the one who saw the sand frog (where) he had climbed up the hill.'

10. *Demem ba-pal yedi tye:::,,, demem*
3s P-VC23-PRES swoop low 3s P-go-PAST PAST 3s P-VC23-PRES

ta-pal yedi tye:::,,, demengkem pirr a-nyin
close wings 3s P-go-PAST PAST 3s P-arrive-PRES 3plO C(iv)DEM

a-wamangkal -werri. Mem pirr "Nem a-niyen
C(iv) wallaby PROP 3s-say-PRES 3plO 3s(m)pn C(iv) sand frog

wunu-pirri yenim pap fepi -nide. Gibem peyi
DEM(r) ahead 3s P-go-PRES climb hill LOC 3s IMP-lie-PRES there

- ngirrngirr.* "Yu."
sleep RED yes
'He swooped low, he closed his wings and reached (landed near) them – those animals with the wallaby. He told them "That sand frog is up there on the hill. He is asleep." "Yes!" (they said).'
11. *Yi wannawam firr-ngan ngini kana. A-bakuty*
and 3ns P-VC11-REFLEX-PRES foot-REL FUT PUN C(iv) many
kagu waddi tye.
GEN:animal 3ns P-go-PAST PAST
'They all gathered at the foot of that place. Lots of animals went.'
12. *Waddi tye:::;, wannim firr-tyerr fepi nyinin.*
3ns P-go-PAST PAST 3ns P-go-PRES foot-stop hill DEM
Witinge ne kayki kana tye "A-niyen",
3ns P-stand-PAST 3s(m)IO call RED PUN PAST C(iv) sand frog
wirri-ne. "A-niyen", wirri-ne "Kuri
3ns-say-PRES-3s(m)IO C(iv) sand frog 3ns-say-PRES-3s(m)IO water
pagu ya ngirr fime. Wayi ngirr
TSA 2s-VC18-FUT 1pl exO give 3s-VC26-PRES/PAST 1pl exO
minyirr kuri -ngini", wirri -ne.
thirsty water PURP 3ns-say-PRES 3s(m)pn
'They went on and stood at the foot of that hill. They stood calling out to him. "Sand frog!", they said. "Sand frog! Give us water! We are thirsty for water!", they said to him.
13. *Tyamirri nem a-niyen winge tye.*
completely 3s(m)pn C(iv) sand frog 3s-lie-PAST PAST
'The sand frog kept on lying there.'
14. *Minta we wirr tyerr-gat tye. Puy winge tye.*
NEG 3s P-VC22-FUT 3plO answer PAST CONT 3s P-lie-PAST PAST
'He didn't answer them. He kept on lying (there).'
15. *Puy witinge ne kayki tye:::;. Bengim*
CONT 3ns P-stand-PAST 3s(m)IO call RED PAST 3s P-VC16-PRES
pirr gepek yuri gi kana. Wirrim
3plO be angry fighting stick fight PUN 3ns-say-PRES
"Ya ngirr fime ngini kuri", wirri -ne.
2s-VC18-FUT 1pl exO give FUT water 3ns-say-PRES 3s(m)IO
"Ngarri nyi bang ngini yawul -ningki!"
1pl ex-VC18-FUT 2sDO pierce FUT spear INST
'They went on calling to him. They became angry (and wanted) a fight then. They said "Give us water! We will pierce you with out spears!"'
16. *Tyamirri nem a-niyen winge tye.*
completely 3s(m)pn C(iv) sand frog 3s P-lie-PAST PAST
'The sand frog kept on lying there.'

17. *Nem kana alfarri yawul yening kurr,*
 3s(m)pn now/then C(iv) brolga spear 3s P-go-PRES pick up
di(m) ne kulli::: Benging gurrurr yi minmi
 3s P-sit-PRES 3s(m)pn throw 3s P-VC16-PRES miss RED and no
 'The brolga picked up his spear and threw it at him (sand frog). He missed. Oh no!'
18. "Ngayi wityi -ka!" *mem nem a-maty.*
 1s pn HOR EMPH 3s-say-PRES 3s(m)pn C(iv) kangaroo
 "My turn now!" said the kangaroo.'
19. *Yedi tye yawul yening kurr. Dara(n)*
 3s P-go-PAST PAST spear 3s P-go-PRES pick up 3s P-VC25-PRES
ne me-kek tyamirri. Wupun purrwat
 3s(m)IO hand-spit on ready 3s P-VC14-PRES hook up spear
yeningan yagama -nide. Dara(n) ne me-kek
 C(vii) that one woomera LOC 3s P-VC25-PRES 3s(m)IO hand-spit on
tyamirri. Di(m) ne kulli yawul nyinin. Yedi
 ready 3s P-sit-PRES 3s(m)pn throw spear DEM 3s P-go-PAST
tye yawul, dangim tyurutu napa nem a-niyen.
 PAST spear 3s P-VC18-PRES slit open stomach LIM 3s(m)pn C(iv) sand frog
 'He went and picked up a spear. He spat on his hand – ready now. He hooks up the spear in that thing, the woomera. He spits on his hand – ready now. He throws it at him. The spear goes – it slits open the sand frog's stomach.'
20. "Yakay", *mem nem a-niyen.*
 EXC:pain 3s-say-PRES 3s(m)pn C(iv) sand frog
 "Yakay!", said the sand frog.'
21. *Kuri kana dani syirr tye gangki -nimbi pagu*
 water PUN 3s P-VC18-PAST flow PAST high ABL TSA
ngan dini tye nem a-niyen.
 REL 3s P-sit-PAST PAST 3s(m)pn C(iv) sand frog
 'Water flowed (down) towards (them) from up there where the sand frog was sitting.'
22. *Dani madi-wurr tye yedi fepi defirr,*
 3s P-VC18-PAST wash away PAST OA:3s P-go-PAST stone C(viii) foot
fepi defirr napa.
 hill C(viii) foot LIM
 'It washed away the stones to the foot of the hill.'
23. *Wirrim a-purrpurrk beyi wirr ge tye kana.*
 3pl pn C(iv)PLUR 3s P-VC18-PAST 3plO be happy PAST PUN
Kuri ngini wuddeni felfil tye waddi.
 water PURP 3ns P-VC10-PAST jump along RED PAST OA:3ns P-go-PAST
 'The animals were happy then. They were all jumping for the water.'

24. *Nem a-niyen dinging ket tye.*
 3s(m)pn C(iv) sand frog 3s P-VC22-PRES/PAST have a pain PAST
Dini wunapadeti gangkiderrri fepi -nide.
 OA:3s P-sit-PAST still there high on top hill LOC
 'The sand frog had a pain. (He was) still right up there on top of the hill.'
25. *Kuri kana waddi kukuduk tye:::..... Beyi*
 water PUN 3ns P-go-PAST drink RED PAST 3s P-VC16-PAST
wirr ge tye.
 3plO be happy PAST
 'They were drinking water. They were happy (the animals).'
26. *Kuri nyinin dani syirr tye. Baweti -nide -pefi*
 water DEM 3s P-VC18-PAST flow PAST creek LOC ALL
yedi tye yi dirrpederr kuderrri dani syirr
 3s P-go-PAST PAST and river billabong 3s P-VC18-PAST flow
tye. Kuri -werri napa winni tye wakaynapa baweti,
 PAST water PROP LIM 3ns P-sit-PAST PAST all of them creek
kuderrri, dirrpederr.
 billabong river
 'The water flowed down. It went into the creeks and it flowed down to the rivers and billabongs. They all had water then – the creeks, billabongs and rivers.'
27. *Nem a-niyen dinging ket tye.*
 3s(m)pn C(iv) sand frog 3s P-VC22-PAST have a pain PAST
Dini "A-purrpurrk nyin kagu a-ningan -werri
 OA:3s P-sit-PAST C(iv) PLUR DEM GEN: animal C(iv) that one PROP
werrme ngurrrputy ngini kirri", mem "ngani
 3ns P-VC13-PAST go away FUT INTENS 3s-say-PRES 1s-go-FUT
karrbu kana ngini." *Yenim karrbu wudeni*
 go down PUN FUT 3s P-go-PRES go down 3s P-VC10-PAST
felfil tye yedi.
 hop along RED PAST OA:3s P-go-PAST
 'The sand frog had a pain. He said "When those animals go away I will go down". He went down and went hopping along.'
28. *Yedi tye:::..... kuderrri -nide, yenim dirr-wap*
 3s P-go-PAST PAST billabong LOC 3s P-go-PRES bank-sit down
menyirr -nide.
 sand LOC
 'He went on to the billabong and sat down beside it in the sand.'
29. *Yiri mem pi kana nem a-niyen.*
 be ashamed 3s-say-PRES head PUN 3s(m)pn sand frog

Demem tum menyirr -ningki tyamirri, dini
 3s P-VC23-PRES bury sand INST completely 3s P-sit-PAST

tye kana nyinin.
 PAST PUN DEM

'The sand frog was ashamed then. He buried himself completely in the sand.'

30. *Detyengi -nimbi yani menyirr -nide dirrpederr, kuderrri*
 today ABL 2s-go-FUT sand LOC river billabong
- nide yinyiri nem a-niyen peyi -ta firim*
 LOC 2s-see-FUT 3s(m)pn C(iv) sand frog there EMPH 3s IMP-sit-PRES

yiri mem pi werrikirri.
 be ashamed 3s-say-PRES head because

'If you go today to the sand near the river you will see the sand frog sitting there because he is ashamed.'

TEXT 8: A GHOST STEALS A LITTLE BOY

1. *Wa-weti wa-wukume yi aba nem wadde tye*
 C(i) little C(i) one and brother 3s(m)pn 3ns P-go-PAST-d PAST
- wa-kerre fungkuli -ngini.*
 C(i) big honey PURP
- 'A little boy and his big brother went (to look) for honey.'
2. *Wadde tye::::::, ngaytpirr ki dedangkurr -nimbi.*
 3ns P-go-PAST-d PAST far away DEM(p) in the camp ABL
- 'They went a long way away from the camp.'
3. *Werrbegu derridudu tye fungkuli yi werrbegu*
 3ns P-VC16-PAST-d find RED PAST honey and 3ns P-VC16-PAST-d
- gerrgirr tye bi -ningki yewirr.*
 chop RED PAST axe INST C(vii) tree
- 'They (d) found a hive and they (d) chopped the tree with an axe.'
4. *Wanne fi-madi-tyutyuk tye ngan*
 3ns P-VC18-PAST-d gather and wrap (CS-side-gather RED) PAST REL
- nide mirringki.*
 LOC leaf
- 'They gathered it up and put it in some leaves.'
5. *Wadde tye::::::. Kulyi -kirri wuddanggu*
 3ns P-go-PAST-d PAST evening INTENS 3ns P-VC10-PRES-d
- (w)uleri kak kana wunu-pefi dedangkurr -pefi.*
 return set off PUN DEM(r)ALL in the camp ALL
- 'They kept going. In the evening they set off back there to the camp.'
6. *Wadde tye mendi -kirri ngan dedangkurr yerr-wukume*
 3ns P-go-PAST PAST close INTENS REL in the camp C(vii) one

- wirrnyingkin.gu* *girribem* *fungkuli* *-werri* *nyin* *mirri*
 3ns P-see-PRES-d 3s IMP-stand-PRES honey PROP DEM sun
- kulyi* *kana.*
 evening PUN
 ‘They (d) went very close to the camp (and) just on sunset they (d) saw (a tree) standing there with a hive.’
7. “*Ngembibi* *ket* *wityi*”, *me-* *ne* *aba*
 1inc-VC16-FUT cut HOR 3s-say-PRES 3s(m)IO brother
- nem* *-ningki* *yi* *wa-weti-ningki* *nawa* “*Yu,* *mamaka!*”
 3s(m)pn AGE and C(i) little AGE EMPH yes go on ahead
 “‘Let us cut it first (before going home)”, the big brother said. “Yes! Go on!” answered the little brother.’
8. *Werrbegu* *gerrgirr* *tye* *winne* *tyamirri.*
 3ns P-VC16-PAST-d chop RED PAST OA:3ns P-sit-PAST-d finished
 ‘They (d) chopped until it was done.’
9. *Werrbengu* *pal.*
 3ns P-VC16-PRES-d break
 ‘They (d) broke it.’
10. *Yi* *werrbegu* *tyerr-lala* *tye* *winne*
 and 3ns P-VC16-PAST-d chop open PAST OA:3ns P-sit-PAST-d
- ye-ningan,* *yerr-daba* *yewirr.*
 C(vii) that one C(vii) trunk C(vii) tree
 ‘They chopped open that thing – the tree trunk.’
11. *Werrbengu* *lala* *tyamirri* *wirrnyingkin.gu* *yerr-weti*
 3ns P-VC16-PRES-d crack finished 3ns P-see-PRES-d C(vii) little
- napa* *fungkuli* *minta* *yerr-kerre* *tye* *wirim.*
 LIM hive/honey NEG C(vii) big PAST 3ns P-sit-PRES
- Detyengi-pefi* *wunni* *tye* *a-ningan* *-ningki*
 today-ALL (just started) 3ns P-VC14-PAST PAST C(iv) that one AGE
- a-fungkuli.*
 C(iv) bee
 ‘When they had finished chopping they saw there was only a little hive, not a big one. Those bees had only just started to make it.’
12. ‘*Yerr-weti-wurru* *kinyi.* *Ngambani* *pirr* *kana.* *Ba*
 C(vii) little INTENS DEM(p) 1inc-go-FUT leave PUN come on
- ngambani* *kana* *dangim* *tyip* *kana*”,
 1inc-go-FUT now/then 3s P-VC18-PRES become dark PUN
- me-* *ne* *aba* *nem* *-ningki* *wa-kerre.*
 3s-say-PRES 3s(m)IO brother 3s(m)pn AGE C(i) big
- “‘This is a very little one. Let us leave it now. Come on, let us go! It is getting dark”, the big brother said to him (little brother).’

13. *Aya, puy-ka fangupirri”, me- ne wa-weti*
 ah CONT-EMPH ahead/in front 3s-say-PRES 3s(m)IO C(i) little
-ningki. “Yiba ngani nyi garripat ngini.” “Yu.”
 AGE later 1s-go-FUT 2sDO catch up FUT yes
 “‘Oh! You go on ahead!’ said the little brother. ‘I will catch you up later.’ ‘Yes!’ (said the big brother).’
14. *Yi kak -wuru nem aba wa-kerre pirri*
 and set off INTENS 3s(m)pn brother C(i) big ahead
yirrini tye kana.
 3s-go along-PAST PAST PUN
 ‘And the big brother set off home then.’
15. *Nem kana wa-wetimuy dini tye felfi.*
 3s(m)pn PUN C(i) little boy 3s P-sit-PAST PAST ISOL
Dini lalirr tye:~~~~ tyip men tyerri kana
 3s P-sit-PAST eat PAST dark 3s-say-PRES ear PUN
aba nem ngini.
 brother 3s(m)pn PURP
 ‘The little boy sat there by himself. He was eating and he forgot about his brother.’
16. *Dini tye:~~~~ werrng men tyerri. Dinyere*
 3s P-sit-PAST PAST remember 3s-say-PRES ear 3s P-see-REFLEX
fi-kenke, minta-fala; aba nem dinyingkin
 CS-look around NEG - fellow (no-one) brother 3s(m)pn 3s P-see-PRES
ne fiway.
 3s(m)IO CS-be unable
 ‘He sat there and then he remembered his brother. He looked around but there was no-one; he couldn’t see his brother.’
17. *Daga felfil wunu-pefi.*
 3s P-VC11-PRES run away RED DEM(r) ALL
 ‘He ran that way.’
18. *“Aba!” me- ne Minmi! Minta we tyerrgat*
 brother 3s-say-PRES 3s(m)IO no NEG 3s P-VC22-FUT answer
tye.
 PAST
 “‘Brother!’ he said to him. No! No-one answered.’
19. *Wunuj-pefi daga felfil. Wirrbe- ne*
 DEM(r)ALL 3s P-VC11-PRES run away RED 3s P-stand-PRES 3s(m)IO
kay. Minmi!
 call no
 ‘He ran that way. He called him No! (no answer).

20. *Syirre* *-nyin* *daga* *felfil* *kinyi* *pagu* "Aba!"
 after that 3s P-VC11-PRES run away RED DEM(p) TSA brother
mem. *Yi* *wiben* *tyerri-baty* *wari.* "Kay!"
 3s-say-PRES and 3s P-lie-PRES ear-fall(hear) call call
me- *ne* *wunu* *pagu.*
 3s-say-PRES 3s(m)IO DEM(r) TSA
 'After that he ran this way and called "Brother!" He heard a call. (Someone) from over there said "Kay!"'
21. *Yi* *mem* "Yu! *aba* *ngayi* *myin!*" *mem* *yi*
 and 3s-say-PRES yes brother 1s pn DEM 3s-say-PRES and
daga *felfil* *kana* *ngan* *nyin* *-pefi* *wari.*
 3s P-VC11-PRES run away RED PUN REL DEM ALL call
 'And he said, "Yes! That is my brother!", and he ran off in the direction of the call.'
22. *Wirribeng* *kay* *epe* *dinyingkin* *kagu* *wa-buymem*
 3s P-stand-PRES call but 3s P-see-PRES GEN:animal C(i) ghost
yedi *tye* *pagu,* *yi* *yenim* *purity* *yewirr* *-nide.*
 3s P-go-PAST PAST TSA and 3s P-go-PRES hide tree LOC
 'He called out but he saw a 'wabuymem' ghost coming towards him and he hid in a tree.'
23. *Dinyirini* *mi-kerety* *tye:::rr* "Kagu *kinyi*
 3s P-see-PAST CS-look at PAST GEN:animal DEM(p)
a-nguty *-wurru!*", *mem.*
 C(iv) ghost INTENS 3s-say-PRES
 'He looked at him. "This is indeed a ghost!", he said.'
24. *Wudam* (*wuleri,* *yirri* *yeleli* *tye* *wuni* *ngan*
 3s P-VC10-PRES return 3s-go along-PAST run PAST DEM(r) REL
dini *lalirr* *tye* *fungkuli,* *ngityirr* *peyi* *wupun*
 3s P-sit-PAST eat PAST honey ground there 3s P-VC14-PRES
mi-kurr *ngani* *e-mengkin* *gimin.*
 CS-dig like C(iv) goanna like
 'He went running back to the place where he had been eating honey and he dug the ground there like a goanna.'
25. *Wupun* *ku:::rr* *tyamirri,* *demen*
 3s P-VC14-PRES dig finished 3s P-VC23-PRES
purrsyusu *ngani* *e-mengkin* *gimin* *deti.* *Wakay.*
 bury self like C(iv) goanna like also finished
 'When he had dug enough, he buried himself – also like a goanna. (It was) finished.'
26. *Dini* *tye* *kana* *weri* *-nide.*
 3s P-sit-PAST PAST PUN hole LOC
 'He sat in the hole then.'

27. *A-nyin a-nguty yedi tye::: wa-buymem,*
 C(iv)DEM C(iv) ghost 3s P-go-PAST PAST C(i) ghost
fungkuli nyin -nide ngan yewirr wirrbenggu pal,
 honey DEM LOC REL C(vii) tree 3ns P-stand-PRES-d break
dini tye kana fungkuli.
 3s P-sit-PAST PAST PUN honey
 'That ghost, the 'wabuymem', went on to the honey place where they had broken the tree
 and then he ate honey.'
28. *Dini ba-wurity tye weri nyinin yederri -nide.*
 3s P-sit-PAST arm-make (put arm in) PAST hole DEM log LOC
 'He put his arm into the hole in the log.'
29. *Bi kana mungkin wa, beyi tyerrlala tye*
 axe PUN 3s P-lift-PRES take 3s P-VC16-PAST chop open PAST
dini.
 OA:3s P-sit-PAST
 'He took an axe then and he was chopping.'
30. *Beyi tyerrlala tye dini:::, yewirr*
 3s P-VC16-PAST split open PAST OA:3s P-sit-PAST tree
yerr-nyin -nimbi ngan bengim tyerrlala, yerr-nyin
 C(vii)DEM ABL REL 3s P-VC16-PRES split open C(vii)DEM
yedi ful tye buk bengim baty ngan
 3s P-go-PAST fall PAST thud 3s P-VC16-PRES fall to ground REL
wa-wetimuy nyin -nide napa, ngan dini tye weri
 C(i) little boy DEM LOC LIM REL 3s P-sit-PAST PAST hole
-nide apukek.
 LOC underneath
 'He kept on chopping and from the tree where he was chopping a stick fell, thud!, to the
 ground, just where the little boy was; where he was sitting underneath in the hole.'
31. *Bengim baty yi wirringe tyalak*
 3s P-VC16-PRES fall to ground and 3s P-stand-PAST stand upright
kana yerr-nyin yewirr.
 PUN C(vii)DEM stick
 'When it fell that stick stood upright.'
32. *Dinyingkin nem wa-buymem. "Ya! tyaganimbi yewirr wuni*
 3s P-see-PRES 3s(m)pn C(i) ghost ah why stick DEM(r)
girribem tyalak?" mem.
 3s IMP-stand-PRES stand upright 3s-say-PRES
 'The ghost sees it. "Ah! Why is that stick standing upright?" he says.'
33. *Yedi tye kana a-nyinin dirsem wirrdirr*
 3s P-go-PAST PAST PUN C(iv) DEM 3s-pull-PRES pull out

- nyinin yewirr nyinin ngityirr -nide -nimbi. Dingim*
 DEM stick DEM ground LOC ABL 3s P-VC22-PRES/PAST
- fuy fetyen wa-wetimuy. Nyin nem yerr-nyin -ningki*
 smell blood C(i) little boy DEM 3s(m)pn C(viii)DEM AGE
- dangin derri-bang dederri.*
 3s P-VC18-PRES back poke C(viii) back
- 'He went then and pulled the stick out of the ground. He smelled the little boy's blood. That stick had poked him in the back.'
34. *Yi wupun kurr kana.*
 and 3s P-VC14-PRES dig PUN
 'And he digs then.'
35. *Dinyingkin girim wa-wetimuy nem dini*
 3s P-see-PRES 3s IMP-sit-PRES C(i) little boy 3s(m)pn 3s P-sit-PAST
- wursirmuy tye kana.*
 be frightened PAST PUN
 'He sees the little boy sitting there frightened.'
36. *Wa-wetimuy di yedi di tye, yedi fafa tye.*
 C(i) little boy cry 3s P-go-PAST cry PAST 3s P-go-PAST scream RED PAST
 'The little boy was crying and screaming.'
37. *A-nyin -ningki wa-buymen mengkin bawa, wudupun*
 C(iv) DEM -AGE C(i) ghost 3s P-lift-PRES pick up 3s P-VC15-PRES
- wirr ye-ningan -nide warrgadi.*
 put inside C(vii) that one LOC bag
 'The ghost picked him up and put him in a bag.'
38. *Yi kak kana beyi wul tye nyinin dede*
 and set off PUN 3s P-VC16-PAST take back PAST DEM camp
- nem -nide werifepi -nide.*
 3s(m)pn LOC cave LOC
 'And he set off to take him back to his camp in a cave.'
39. *Wadde tye:::,,, minta deti werrmengkenggu dede*
 3ns P-go-PAST-d PAST NEG again 3ns P-arrive-PRES-d camp
- nide. Wa-wetimuy nyin dinging gerrgirr tye yerr-nyin*
 LOC C(i) little boy DEM 3s P-VC22-PRES cut RED PAST C(vii)DEM
- warrgadi. Tyamirri. Fepi mengkin wa wudupun*
 bag finished stone 3s P-lift-PRES pick up 3s P-VC15-PRES
- wirr.*
 put inside
 'They (d) went on but they did not reach the camp. The little boy cut the bag. (it was) finished. He took a stone and put it inside.'

40. *Nem demeng keterret.*
3s(m)pn 3s P-VC23-PRES go outside
'He got out (of the bag).'
41. *Nem puy beyi wulil yirrini,*
3s(m)pn CONT 3s P-VC16-PAST take back RED OA:3s-go along-PAST
wa-buymen nyinin yerr-nyin warrgadi.
C(i) ghost DEM C(vii)DEM bag
'That ghost kept on pulling the bag back (to his camp).'
42. *Nem daga felfil dedangkurr -pefi wudam*
3s(m)pn 3s P-VC11-PRES run away RED camp ALL 3s P-VC10-PRES
(w)uleri.
return
'He (little boy) ran away back to the camp.'
43. *Yi nem wa-buymem yedi tye, dani*
and 3s(m)pn C(i) ghost 3s P-go-PAST PAST 3s P-VC18-PAST
fi-tatit tye nyinin warrgadi.
CS put down RED PAST DEM bag
'And the ghost went on; he put down the bag.'
44. *Mem yedi tye demengke-nge falmi*
3s-say-PRES 3s P-go-PAST PAST 3s P-arrive-PRES-3s(f)IO wide
nem, me-nge "Yu, kagu-na yudu.
3s(m)pn 3s-say-PRES-3s(f)IO yes GEN:animal-EMPH 2s-VC15-FUT
nin bul ngini. Wa-wetimuy ngerin tip."
1d incO cook FUT C(i) little boy 1s-VC13-PRES catch
'He said when he reached his wife; he said to her, "Yes, here is some meat! Cook it for the two of us. I caught a little boy."
45. *"Yu!" kak kana yedi tye ngayim wur-nyini:::n*
yes set off PUN 3s P-go-PAST PAST 3s(f)pn C(ii)DEM
a-nguty. Nem falmi; wur-a-nguty deti.
C(iv) ghost 3s(m)pn wife C(ii)-C(iv) ghost also
'"Yes!" (she said). And that woman, the ghost's wife, set off then. (She was) a ghost too.'
46. *Dinyingkin warrgadi -nide, fepi napa -nide dini*
3s P-see-PRES bag LCOC stone LIM LOC 3s P-sit-PAST
ngan-madi tye.
be inside (REL-side) PAST
'She looked in the bag but there was only a stone in there.'
47. *"Ayi! Deti yi-ngindi. Fepi -wuru wuni minta*
hey tell a lie 2s-say-PRES-1sIO stone -INTENS DEM(r) NEG
wa-weti. Aya yaga -ta wuni yinyiri! Ayi! minta-fala
C(i) little hey DEM EMPH DEM(r) 2s-see-FUT hey NEG-fellow

- ngupun ne fili minta-fala.*
1s-VC14-PRES 3s(m)IO look for NEG-fellow(no-one)
“Hey! You told me a lie. There is indeed a stone in there, not a little boy. Hey, you look at that in there! Hey! there is no-one. I looked for him, but there is no-one.”
48. *“Aya, nyinyi napadetik yudupun tyuk!”*
hey 2s pn still 2s-VC15-PRES let go
“Hey, you must have been the one to let him go!” (said the ghost).’
49. *Yuri kana wirrenggu bulbul wudupun*
fight now/then 3ns P-VC24-PRES-d fight RED 3s P-VC15-PRES
bat wa-buymem -ningki ngayim nyinin wur-a-nguty falmi nem.
hit C(i) ghost AGE 3s(f)pn DEM C(ii)-C(iv) ghost wife 3s(m)pn
‘The ghost hit the lady ghost – his wife.’
50. *Kak yedi tye:::., dani dudu*
set off 3s P-go-PAST PAST 3s P-VC18-PAST track RED
tye wa-wetimuy nyinin.
PAST C(i) little boy DEM
‘He set off and tracked that little boy.’
51. *Nem wa-wetimuy wudam (w)ul kana dede*
3s(m)pn C(i) little boy 3s P-VC10-PRES return set off camp
nem -nide nganki nyin mem-pirr wa-buymem -ngini.
3s(m)pn LOC story DEM 3s-say-PRES-3plO C(i) ghost PURP
‘The little boy went back to his camp and told them the story about the ghost.’
52. *Yi wirrim yedi tyerrmusye awa-yaga awa-yedi nganggurr*
and 3pl pn MASC old man C(iii)DEM C(iii) man young man
waddi tye kana yawul-werri wann(m) ne
3ns P-go-PAST PAST PUN spear-PROP 3ns P-go-PRES 3s(m)pn
mentyi-wap wurrgalangu -nide. Werrbini pigatit
wait bushes LOC 3ns P-VC16-PAST hide/make ambush RED
tye tyamirri.
PAST ready
‘And all of the men, old men and young men, went and waited for him (ghost) in the bushes. They set up an ambush, ready.’
53. *Nem a-nguty yirrini tye pagu:::.. Wa-wetimuy*
3s(m)pn C(iv) ghost 3s-go along-PAST PAST TSA C(i) little boy
yenim pap yewirr -nide.
3s P-go-PRES climb tree LOC
‘The ghost was coming towards (them). The little boy climbed into a tree.’
54. *“Kay!” wityibeng kay, nem wa-buymem “Kay!” mem.*
call 3s P-hang-PRES call 3s(m)pn C(i) ghost call 3s-say-PRES
‘(The little boy) called “Kay!” in the tree; the ghost said “Kay!”’

55. *Yenim mendi kana.*
3s P-go-PRES close now
'He was coming close now.'
56. "Nyin -ta gaganim mendi kana", mem-pirr
DEM EMPH 3s IMP-go-PRES close now 3s-say-PRES-3plO
wa-wetimuy nyin -ningki yedi.
C(i) little boy DEM AGE man
'"He is coming close now", the little boy told the men.'
57. *Nem wa-buymem yirrini tye mendi -kirri yi kide*
3s(m)pn C(i) ghost 3s-go along-PAST PAST close INTENS and where
yaga mem, 'Yenam felfil nginde. Yemi
DEM 3s-say-PRES 3s P-go-PRES run away 1sABLPn 2s-VC13-FUT
ngindi pup ngini!", yi wani pap ngini tye kana
1sIO come down FUT and 3s P-go-FUT climb FUT PAST PUN
yewirr yerr-nyinin.
tree C(vii)DEM
'The ghost came very close and – what did he say – "You ran away from me. Come down to me!", and he was about to climb the tree.'
58. *Wirrim warrani fititit tye kana wurr -nide*
3pl pn 3ns P-VC25-PAST rise RED PAST PUN grass LOC
-nimbi pagu yawul -werri.
ABL TSA spear PROP
'They got up from the grass then and went towards him with their spears.'
59. *Wanni dep tye kana yawul -ningki. Wuni waddi*
3ns P-VC18-PAST poke PAST PUN spear INST DEM(r) 3s P-go-PAST
minyirr napa. Yawul bakuty dini tye dederri
stab/kill LIM spear many 3s P-sit-PAST PAST C(viii) back
nem -nide dagarri depi. Waddi minyirr.
3s(m)pn LOC C(viii) leg C(viii) head 3ns P-go-PAST kill/stab
perrety mem.
die 3s-do/say-PRES
'They poked him with their spears. They killed him. There were lots of spears in his back, his legs and his head. They killed him. He died.'
60. *Yengki kana waddu wawu tye yengkiba. Warrim*
fire now 3ns P-go-PAST gather RED PAST firewood 3ns P-VC18-PRES
fititit. Yengki kerre wayim tyuk.
CS-make fire RED fire big 3s-VC26-PRES/PAST burn/be hot

Wuddupun bul a-nyin a-nguty.

3ns P-VC15-PRES burn C(iv)DEM C(iv) ghost

'They gathered firewood. They put it in place for a fire. A big fire was burning. They cooked that ghost.'

61. *Yi nem wa-wetimuy wuddupun muwul dedangkurr*
and 3s(m)pn C(i) little boy 3ns P-VC15-PRES take back camp

-pefi beyi ge tye kana yedi.

ALL 3s P-VC16-PAST be happy PAST PUN OA:3s P-go-PAST

'They took the little boy back to the camp. He was happy then.'

APPENDIX 3: NGANKIWUMIRRI TEXTS

TEXT 1: CATCHING ECHIDNA

1. *Ngagadi tye kultyinimbi, karimbiyeli.*
 1s-go-PAST PAST yesterday echidna
 'I went yesterday for echidna.'
2. *Girim nginyiri weri-nide; werifepi.*
 3s IMP sit-PRES 1s-see-FUT hole-LOC cave
 'I could see him sitting in a hole; a cave.'
3. *Ngaganim wurr.*
 1s-go-PRES enter
 'I went in.'
4. *Ngarin du girim.*
 1s-VC18-PRES feel/touch 3s IMP-sit-PRES
 'I could feel him sitting there.'
5. *Waya ngumu wa.*
 wire 1s-VC12-FUT pick up
 'I took a wire spear (i.e. with two wire prongs).'
6. *Ngarim ∅ bang.*
 1s-VC18-PRES 3sDO poke
 'I stuck the spear into him.'
7. *Ngarim ∅ bang, ngum ∅ wat hook - ningki atyat.*
 1s-VC18-PRES 3sDO poke 1s-VC14-PRES 3sDO hook out INST outside
 'Having stuck in the spear, I hooked him out with a hook.'
8. *Ngubum da fepi - ningki; depi-napa ngubum talpi.*
 1s-VC16-PRES hit rock INST head LIM 1s-VC16-PRES hit on head
 'I hit him with a rock; right on the head I hit him.'
9. *Yi ngarity ngeme baty tye ngari - ne ;*
 and 1s-VC13-PAST have PAST meat(?)PURP
ngagani wap meringki, kuru - nide.
 1s-go-PAST sit down shade water LOC
 'I took him for meat and went and sat down in the shade near the water.'

10. *Yengki ngum madi-kurr.*
fire 1s-VC14-PRES side-dig
'I dug a hole for a fire.'
11. *Ngum madi-kurr, fepi ngani gatit tye*
1s-VC14-PRES side dig stone 1s-VC18-PAST gather RED PAST
yengki - nide nganam misyin - kulli.
fire LOC 1s-VC11-PRES oven throw
'Having dug the hole, I gathered stones and made a stone oven in the fireplace.'
12. *Ngari zyerr.*
1s-VC18-FUT clean off prickles/hair, pluck
'Then I cleaned off the prickles.'
13. *Ngari zyerr tea - ngini, wakay.*
1s-VC18-FUT clean PURP finish
'I cleaned it for dinner, okay then.'
- (*ngini* is really *Ngankikurungkurr*. *wakay* is used here as a punctuating device.)
14. *Ngeriny tyirrity ngikin me yagurr, ngikingari*
1s-VC13-PRES cut out guts large intestine small intestine
ngum wuty.
1s-VC14-PRES take
'I cut out his guts; the large intestine and the small intestine I took out.'
15. *Adari ngudum bul ; ngursinyaty.*
C(iv) liver 1s-VC15-PRES cook 1s-eat-PRES-finish
'I cooked the liver and ate it up.'
16. *Nyin - nimbi fepi ngum wuty, karimbiyeli*
DEM - ABL stone 1s-VC14-PRES take echidna
ngumu wa, ngebe tyul.
1s-VC12-PAST pick up 1s-VC16-PAST roast
'After that I took stones (to put in stomach and around), I picked up the echidna and roasted it.'
17. *Ngini ngara tye.*
1s-sit-PAST wait PAST
'I waited.'
18. *Ngini pefi tye; abin.*
1s-sit-PAST ALL PAST C(iv) cooked
'I stayed until it was cooked.'
19. *Abin; ngumu derri-pul, ngum wat.*
C(iv) cooked 1s-VC12-PAST back clean 1s-VC14-PRES hook out
'When it was cooked, I cleared it off (i.e. covering of sand and ash) and hooked it out.'
20. *Ngeriny panmi - ta daba daba, milwari.*
1s-VC13-PRES crotch hit arm arm ribs
'I cut it into joints – the legs and the ribs.'

21. *Ngarim nimi yawurr - ningki.*
1s-VC18-PRES thread on a stick stick INST
'I threaded the pieces onto a stick (by means of a stick).'
22. *Pagu - ne ngerini tye kinyi dede - nide.*
TSA - PURP 1s-go along-PAST PAST here camp LOC
'I came along back here to the camp.'
23. *Awa - purrpurrk ngayi winni lalirr tye.*
C(iii)PLUR 1s pn 3ns-sit-PAST eat PAST
'My children ate it.'
24. *Kagu nyin winni lalirr tye thamirri.*
GEN:meat DEM 3ns-sit-PAST eat PAST finish
'They ate up all the meat.'

TEXT 2: THE ROCK SNAKE, THE POISON SNAKE AND THE KANGAROO

A story about how kangaroos were taught by the rock snake and the poison snake (taipan?) to behave as they do today. It is a beautiful simple description of the kangaroo's actions.

1. *Pandu wutyi, efengku wanna yerr tye.*
rock snake C(iv) snake 3ns-VC11-PAST walk PAST
'A rock snake and a poison snake were going along.'
2. *Wanna yeri tye:....., amatyi girim*
3ns-VC11-PAST walk PAST C(iv) kangaroo 3s IMP-sit-PRES
wunyurugu.
3ns-see-d
'They both kept going along and they saw a kangaroo sitting.'
3. *"Nuga" me -ne "Amatyi girim.*
brother-in-law 3s-say-PRES 3s(m)IO C(iv) kangaroo 3s IMP-sit-PRES
Yerim pawal pe, kawa!"
2s-VC13-PRES pierce FUT go/come on
"Brother-in-law!", one said to the other. "There is a kangaroo. You go and spear him!"
4. *Yi efengku nyin mirri yiny ne fel.*
and C(iv) snake DEM 3s-AUX 3s(m)IO sneak up on
'And that snake crept up on him.'
5. *Panduwutyi peke yenim ne muy-wuty.*
rock snake tobacco 3s P-go-PRES 3s(m)IO eye throw
'The rock snake threw tobacco in his eyes.'
6. *Ma, amatyi ba! efengku nginifin werifi*
well C(iv) kangaroo no I mean C(iv) snake true ISOL
yenim ne muy - wuty peke, nginifin - ne
3s P-go-PRES 3s(m)IO eye - throw tobacco true PURP

mirri amatyi.

C(iv) kangaroo

'Well then – the kangaroo, no I mean truly the snake himself threw tobacco into the kangaroo's eyes.'

7. *Thamirri wakay - mamirri -wurru.*
complete finish go on INTENS
'It was quite finished then.'
8. "Wunu -pefi fil yumu muy!"
DEM(r) ALL light 2s-do/say-FUT eye
Kinyi - pefi fil yumu muy!" mene.
DEM(p) ALL light 2s-do/say-FUT eye 3s-say/do-PRES-3s(m)IO
'"You look that way! You look this way!" he said to him.'
9. *Kinyi ngumbi galal pe miringki / fil*
DEM(p) 1s-VC14-FUT-2sIO tread on leaf PURP leaf light
yumu muy pagu pe.
2s-do/say-FUT eye TSA PURP
'When I crush a leaf here for you and you will look this way.'
10. *Wuni - pefi yiri -pe, wurr yursu waty!*
DEM ALL 2s-go-FUT FUT grass 2s-eat-FUT finish
'You will go that way and eat grass!'
11. *Nyin - nimbi ma! wunu - pefi yeme zyirr*
DEM ABL well DEM ALL 2s-VC23-FUT scratch
yira kukuduk, akimi yu ta.
2s-VC24-FUT lick C(iv) tail 2s-VC14-FUT hit
Mam yiri fili yiri fili pefi!
more 2s-go-FUT move about 2s-go-FUT move about ALL
'After that you will go that way, scratch yourself, lick yourself, hit your tail on the ground.
Then move about - move about that way!'
12. *Yi ma syirre yimu ngiti muy.*
and well then behind 2s-say/do-FUT 1sIO eye
'And then well! You will look back at me.'
13. *Yi wunu -pefi yirribem / yi mamirri daba*
and DEM -ALL 2s-stand-PRES and go on then arm
yira kukuduk deme.
2s-VC24-FUT lick RED hand
'And you can stand over there and then go on licking your arm and hand.'
14. *Yi mamirri fil yumu muy wunu-pefi.*
and go on notice 2s-say/do-FUT eye DEM-ALL
Yi miringki ngembi galal pe,
and leaf 1s-VC13-FUT-2sIO tread on leaf FUT

syirre yimu ngiti muy.
 behind 2s-say/d0-FUT 1sIO eye

'And you will go on and look that way. I will tread on a leaf and you will look back at me.'

15. *Wakay.*

finish

'That's the end.'

APPENDIX 4: NGANKIKURUNGKURR-ENGLISH GLOSSARY

All verb auxiliaries are quoted in the third person singular perfective present tense form.

* indicates that the word occurs in identical form in Ngankiwumirri. In the case of compound verb stems, this refers to the CVS only. The Ngankiwumirri form of the auxiliary would be used.

A

<i>a-/e-</i>	class marker of animals other than dogs (class iv)
<i>aba</i>	younger sibling
* <i>abalarr</i>	feather, wing, goosewing fan
<i>abalarrity</i>	type of small lizard
* <i>abarr</i> (<i>ngityirr-</i>)	boggy ground
<i>abatymirri</i> (Ngm. <i>abatymurri</i>)	green winged pigeon, also said by some informants to be a type of duck
<i>abegini</i>	egg yolk
<i>aburrburrbi</i>	type of lizard
<i>abutyu</i>	father's mother
<i>adaba</i>	wing (<i>daba arm</i>)
<i>adamuy</i>	clitoris (Reid 33) (<i>damuy eye</i>)
<i>adamurrikerre, pulyerrk</i>	eagle hawk (lit. animal with big testicles)
* <i>adany</i>	shark
<i>adarra</i> (Ngm. <i>adari</i>)	liver
<i>adawayirr</i>	headband
* <i>adentyi</i>	death adder
* <i>adenyiny</i>	type of beetle
<i>aderrimiburr, anmi</i>	fin of fish
<i>adetyerrwukume</i>	sword fish (lit. animal with one mouth)
<i>adewirsi</i>	'sleepy' lizard
<i>adi</i>	spouse, what husband and wife call each other
* <i>adida</i>	bad spirit, new dead body
<i>adidirr</i>	white ant
* <i>adilmi</i>	mullet
* <i>adiny</i>	leech
<i>adin</i>	shield
<i>adinkek</i>	shadow
* <i>adirrmi</i>	red-tailed black cockatoo (<i>Calyptorhynchus magnificus</i>)
* <i>adityerrminmin</i>	type of parrot

* <i>adityi</i>	little barramundi
<i>adityibi</i> (Ngm. <i>arithibi</i>)	bandicoot
* <i>aditymadi</i>	water whistle duck (<i>Dendrocygna arcuata</i>)
<i>adiwin</i>	moon snake (lit. moon animal)
<i>adudumenderri</i> (Ngm. <i>adurimerreerri</i>)	type of beetle
<i>afankirri</i> (Ngm. <i>afarin.gidi</i>)	small goanna with red mouth
<i>afatarr</i>	royal spoonbill (<i>Platalea regia</i>)
<i>afekityerr</i>	little pied cormorant (<i>Phalacrocorax melanoleucos</i>)
<i>affererr</i>	white ibis (<i>Threskiornis molucca</i>)
* <i>afferri</i>	blue tongued lizard
<i>afili</i>	green caterpillar
* <i>afilpurr</i>	whip snake
* <i>afir</i>	corpse
<i>afirripa</i>	carpet snake
* <i>afirilpi</i>	kookaburra
* <i>afu</i>	type of snake (this snake has been called whip snake, brown snake and also green tree snake)
<i>afungkuli</i>	bee
* <i>afungi</i>	mosquito
<i>afunginimbi</i>	mosquito bite
<i>afurra</i> (Ngm. <i>awurra</i>)	mussel
<i>afurrbursi</i>	type of small lizard
<i>agadirr</i> (Ngm. <i>anganngani</i>)	green ant
<i>agarrfuri</i> (Ngm. <i>agarrfuru</i>)	skin
* <i>agiminy</i>	type of bird (Ngk.), type of bat (Ngm.)
<i>agininny</i>	homet
<i>aguri</i> (Ngm. <i>aguru</i>)	black rock wallaby
* <i>akaka</i>	little egret
<i>akalangu</i>	blow fly
<i>akalembi</i>	water rat
* <i>akimi</i>	tail
<i>akum</i>	cheeky caterpillar
<i>akumibi</i>	sting
* <i>akumifi</i>	vein
* <i>akunbatyerr</i>	yellow billed spoonbill (<i>Platalea flavipes</i>)
<i>akunkurrpalayin</i>	rainbow bird (<i>Merops ornatus</i>) (<i>palayin</i> = fire drill, probably a reference to the two black tail feathers)
<i>akurrmirri</i>	bream
<i>alfugarri</i> (Ngm. <i>alfungarri</i>)	broilga
<i>alele</i>	curlew (<i>Numenius madagascariensis</i>)
<i>ali-</i>	class marker for hunting weapons (class vii[b])
<i>aliyi</i> (Ngm. <i>adevi</i>)	fat, marrow
<i>amadi</i>	track (e.g. <i>amadi efengku</i> – snake's track)
<i>amanbi</i>	nail fish
* <i>amatyi</i>	big grey kangaroo (male)
<i>amatyi filfilngini</i>	red kangaroo

- * *amebe* emu chicken (*wumebe* puppy)
- * *amelpé* stingray (lit. flat animal)
- * *amenbirr* shoulder blade
- amenyirr* peewee (*Grallina cyanoleuca*)
- * *amentyinimba* identified as large egret (*Egretta alba*) but also said by some informants to mean diver jack (*anhinga rufa*) (lit. animal-neck-yellow snake)
- * *ami* bone
- * *amimbi* body louse
- amimbi manarr* nit
- amintyerralfi* (Ngm. *amityelerrfi*) centipede
- aminyirr* red ant
- aminguri* thin, bony
- * *amire* water snake
- amiringki* flounder (lit. leaf animal)
- amisyawuni* stick insect (*misyawuni* = wild potato)
- amiyi* (Ngm. *amuyi*) black ant
- * *amu* fly
- amunal* Adelaide River (Reid 22)
- amurri* (Ngm. *amurru*) egg
- amurriyi* spider
- amuyfun* stingray barb (Tryon)
- anemuni* girlfriend (Reid)
- anererr* hawk (*Aviceda subcristata*)
- * *animba* yellow whip snake (Ngm. call it red)
- * *animbirrmire* fire fly
- animfilerri* (Ngm. *animbillerri*) green tree snake
- * *aniyen* sand frog
- anmi* (Ngm. *awayi*) fin
- anunggupana* (Ngm. *api*) butterfly
- anyirri* scorpion
- angalifin* 'shaky-paw' lizard
- anganaguwawu* (Ngm. *anganaguda/*
angerrguru) little flying fox
- angandirr* little cockatoo
- anganfepinimbi* (Ngm. *panduwutyi*) rock snake (Ngk. lit. animal-where-rock-from)
- angani* (Ngm. *aganinggi*) magpie goose
- * *anganisyi* king brown snake
- anganifinyi* (Ngm. (a-) *karimbiyeli*) echidna, 'porcupine'
- angankityerr* spring leech
- angankurinimbi* (Ngm. *angankurunimbi/*
angankulnimbi) water goanna (lit. animal-where-water-from)
- anganperrengerr* grass whistle duck (*Dendrocygna eytoni*)
- anganpipi* chicken hawk
- * *angantyanu* bustard (*Eupodotis australis*)
- angangkurr* prawn

<i>angari</i>	scale of fish (<i>mengari</i> fingernail, <i>firngari</i> toenail)
<i>angekin</i>	witchetty grub (Tryon) (lit. faeces animal)
<i>angelin</i> (Ngm. <i>agatindyi</i>)	fishing line
<i>angete</i>	forest kingfisher (<i>Halcyon macleayi</i>)
* <i>angku</i>	father's father, son's son, grandfather
<i>angidi</i>	worm, mangrove worm
<i>anginakul</i> (Ngm. <i>awakul</i>)	fish (generic term)
* <i>angini</i>	flesh
<i>angini kerre</i>	muscle
* <i>angirrgimi</i>	ribs
<i>angirrwat</i>	'dreaming' totem animal
<i>angiyi</i>	gecko
* <i>angumungki</i>	rainbow
* <i>anguty</i>	ghost
<i>apelen</i> (Ngm. <i>adilimbi</i>)	rifle fish
<i>apelpel</i>	pearl shell
* <i>aperrperr</i>	type of waterbird
<i>apirri</i> (Ngm. <i>ambirri</i>)	before, ahead, not long ago
<i>apirri gimin</i>	the last time
<i>apirri kirri</i>	a long time ago
<i>apirri nimbi</i>	a long time ago
<i>apma</i>	keep quiet! (exclamation)
<i>apukek</i> (Ngm. <i>warsifi</i>)	underneath, bottom, downstream
<i>kuri apukek girrbem</i>	(a turtle) is under the water
<i>kuri apukek gibem</i>	(a crocodile) is under the water
<i>depi apukek</i>	head down
<i>apukek apukek - pi [-mem-]</i>	to bend down head
<i>apuderi</i> (<i>wur-</i>)	girl (from puberty until marriage)
<i>apuderi purrpurrk</i>	little girls
<i>apurpurrk</i>	little birds/animals
<i>arrirrinbuk</i>	spotted fish
<i>arurumentyamu</i>	type of lizard
<i>asyapul</i>	white of egg
<i>asyara</i>	willy wagtail
<i>asyi</i>	vulva
<i>arsikarak</i>	plover (Reid)
<i>arsiminmin</i> (Ngm. <i>adirrminmin</i>)	bat
<i>ati</i>	cod
<i>atindiri</i> (Ngm. <i>atindirrit</i>)	type of short necked turtle
<i>atu</i>	promised spouse
<i>atularr</i>	frilled lizard
<i>atyalmerr</i> (Ngm. <i>awalangirr</i>)	barramundi
* <i>atyambuli</i> (Ngm. <i>awurr</i>)	grasshopper
<i>atyat</i>	outside (from English)
<i>atyemerreri</i>	swordfish
<i>atyerriwusye</i> (Ngm. <i>adityerri</i>)	frilled lizard (lit. animal-ear-hair)

<i>atyiratyira</i>	black cockatoo
<i>atyin</i>	mangrove kingfisher (<i>Halcyon chloris</i>)
<i>atyutyulak</i>	little finch
<i>awa-</i>	class marker for plural humans (class iii)
<i>awakubun</i>	mother kangaroo
<i>awalalipi</i>	click beetle
<i>awalirrimi</i>	small flying fox
<i>awalngirri</i>	centipede
* <i>awangki</i>	crow (<i>Corvus corvus</i>)
* <i>awapurpurrk</i>	small children
<i>awerrbalarr</i>	bird (generic term) (lit. animal-having wings)
* <i>awerrbawurr</i>	ant lion
<i>awerrapun</i> (Ngm. <i>ayerrkinwarri</i>)	estaurine crocodile
<i>awerrbifiny</i>	sulphur crested cockatoo (<i>Cacatua galerita</i>) .
<i>awirsi</i> (Ngm. <i>awursi/awurityi</i>)	spider
* <i>awilfirr</i>	whistle duck
* <i>awiny</i>	bream
* <i>awirsamuy</i>	egret, 'white crane'
<i>awulguru</i>	crying spirit
<i>awululu</i>	peaceful dove
<i>awuntyerr</i>	zebra finch (<i>Taeniopygia guttata</i>) (bamboo animal)
<i>awurr</i>	swamphen (<i>Porphyrrio porphyrio</i>) (lit. grass animal) (in Ngm. this means grass hopper)
<i>awutyi</i>	grandchild
<i>awuwu</i>	cricket (Reid 33) (<i>wuwu</i> dog)
<i>awuyi</i> (Ngm. <i>apunderrmi</i>)	brush-tailed possum
<i>ayay, ayi, yawu</i>	exclamations of wonder and disbelief
<i>ayerrkudi</i>	name when someone dies
<i>ayingimbi</i>	hornet
* <i>ayipiri</i>	black ant
<i>ayiwusye</i>	little yellow dragon fly

B

<i>ba</i>	come on! (exclamation); also used if the speaker changes his or her mind about a word e.g. <i>aditymadi, ba, arsiminmin</i> ... whistle duck, no I mean bat ...
<i>ba</i> [<i>wupun-IOPn</i>]	cause someone to laugh
* <i>ba</i> (<i>da-</i>)	arm
<i>ba-baty</i> [<i>dem-</i>]	hold, carry (OA1,4)
<i>bafun</i>	ashes, dust
<i>ba-gerrgirr</i> [<i>wudupun-</i>]	shake off (e.g. leaves from a tree) (trans)
<i>bakalang</i>	lower arm
<i>ba-kerrety</i> [<i>dem-</i>]	hold onto arm
<i>ba-ket</i> [<i>dem-</i>]	pick fruit

<i>ba-kurr</i> [<i>yenim- Opn-</i>]	fetch/take a number of people; take as wives
<i>bakuty</i> (Ngm. <i>tyityipi</i>)	many, mob
<i>ba-lung</i> [<i>wudem-</i>]	fall and hurt arm
<i>bambuy</i>	pregnant (early)
<i>bang</i> (<i>bangbung</i>) [<i>dirsem-</i>]	pull out
* [<i>dangim-</i>]	stab, bite (of mosquito), pierce
* [<i>bengim-</i>]	cut wood
[<i>dem-</i>]	pinch (OA1)
<i>ba-pal</i> [<i>wudem-</i>]	braek arm
[<i>demen-</i>]	swoop low (birds) (OA4)
<i>ba-palak</i> [<i>yenim-</i>]	fold arms, knock off shoulders
<i>ba-pup</i> (<i>ba-papup</i>) [<i>dim-/ girim-, yenim-</i>]	perch on arm (children)
[<i>dem-</i>]	return message stick
<i>barr</i> [<i>daran-</i>]	glide through the air
<i>barr</i> [<i>dangan-</i>]	throw (spear) through the air
<i>barr</i> [<i>yenim-</i>]	glide through air (e.g. bird)
* <i>bat</i> (<i>batbit</i>) [<i>wudem-</i>]	fall; may mean 'roll over and over' with the reduplicated form (OA1)
<i>bat</i> [<i>wupun-</i>]	make beds/swags
<i>batbit</i> [<i>wupun-</i>]	knock on ground
<i>bat</i> [<i>wudupun-</i>]	throw/drop on ground
* <i>baty</i> (<i>batbity/batybity</i>) [<i>dem-</i>]	have, hold, take, bring (OA2)
<i>baty</i> [<i>dingim-</i>]	chew, be stuck in wood (of axe) (OA1)
* <i>baty</i> (<i>batbity/batybity</i>) [<i>bengim-</i>]	be born, fall to the ground, get sick, land (plane/bird), float, set (sun), fall (rain), (Ngm. bring for someone – recipient is direct object), tie up
<i>baty-dadiri</i> [<i>bengim-</i>]	tie up tight
<i>baty</i> (<i>batbity/batybity</i>) [<i>dangam-</i>]	kick, stamp on, tread on
* <i>baty</i> [<i>wayim-</i>]	be hot, cook, burn (impersonal)
<i>batybity</i> [<i>dangim-</i>]	mend
* <i>ba-wa</i> (<i>ba-wawu</i>) [<i>mengkin-</i>]	pick up by arm, lift (child), adopt, marry
<i>baweti</i> (Ngm. <i>dabawed</i>)	creek
<i>ba-wirr</i> [<i>dem-</i>]	put arm into (hole, bag etc.)
<i>ba-wurity</i> [<i>dim-/girim-</i>]	put arm into (hole)
<i>bayu</i>	all right! (exclamation)
<i>bebi</i>	face, emphatic pronoun marker, self
<i>bebi</i> [<i>dinyingkin-</i>]	see for oneself
<i>bebi gin tyerr girribem</i>	she is making a funny face (as if about to lay an egg)
* <i>bi</i>	stone axe (Ngm. may be <i>ye-bi</i>)
<i>bi</i> (<i>de-</i>)	thigh, upper leg
<i>bi</i> [<i>wupun-</i>]	muster cattle, round up, lead horses
[<i>dangim-</i>]	pick a fight (e.g. <i>gi-ngini dangim pirr bi</i> he picks a fight with them)
<i>bi-baty</i> [<i>bengim-</i>]	tie up by leg

<i>bi-fefek</i> [wupun-]	mix up (cattle, people)
<i>bilikan</i>	billycan (English)
* <i>bilirri</i>	alive
<i>bin</i> (a-, mi-, yerr-)	cooked, ripe, ready (of food and drink; yerr- refers to tea)
<i>biny</i> [wayim-]	dry up (of billabongs), be empty (of buckets)
<i>bingini</i>	thick (of paint)
<i>birrbirrdirr</i> (Ngm. <i>birrbirrpurr</i>)	blunt (of axe)
<i>birrbirmuy</i>	blunt
<i>birrbirrfingini</i>	late
<i>bi-wa</i> [mengkin-]	pick up by leg
<i>bi weti</i>	native bee
* <i>bubu</i> [yenim-]	be sleepy, Ngm. shine (of sun) <i>yenimbubu</i> may function as an adjective, e.g. <i>a-yenimbubu a-matyj</i> a sleeping kangaroo
* [dem-]	fill with/get water
[dangim-]	decay (of leaves), go soft, be rotten (wood), go rotten (meat)
<i>bubu</i> [dagam-]	make soft
* <i>bubu</i> [wayim-]	be alight (fire)
* <i>bubungini</i>	rotten
* <i>bude</i>	nest
<i>buk</i>	used to describe sound of stick falling to ground
* <i>bul</i> (<i>bulbul</i>) [wudupun-]	cook on top of fire, roast, boil, burn (trans)
* <i>bul</i> [wayim-]	burn (intrans)
[dinem-]	heat up (trans)
<i>bulbul</i> [dim-/girim-]	be cooking (usually subject and object are given)
<i>bulbul</i> [wirrem-]	fight (non-singular only) (OA1,2,4)
* <i>bul - ge</i> [-mem-; -diwem-]	be sulky, be angry, jealous
* <i>bulagi</i>	cattle (from bullock)
* <i>bulbulfi</i>	hot
* <i>burra</i>	pelican (<i>Pelecanus conspicillatus</i>)
<i>butyikat</i>	pussy cat (English)
<i>buy</i> [dinem-]	burn bark for ashes
* [yenim-]	be underwater
<i>buy</i> [dangim-]	shine brightly
<i>buy</i> [wayim-]	heat up
<i>buybuy - tyerr</i> ABLpn <i>fiti-nimbi</i> [-mem-]	get sunburned
<i>buy; falmi minta dege mempir</i>	she can't have children (woman NEG stomach she stands white [haired])
<i>wirrbem buy</i>	white
* <i>buymangkarri</i>	white haired (<i>pi</i> head)
<i>buypi</i>	white haired (<i>pi</i> head)
<i>buyindirri</i>	dead, used up

D

<i>da-/de-</i>	noun class marker for body parts (class viii)
<i>da [dangim-DO-]</i>	be itchy (impersonal), scratch
* <i>da (dada) [bengim-]</i>	shoot, hit with missile (OA1,4)
<i>dada [dim-/girim-; yenim-; girribem-]</i>	play the singing sticks and sing
<i>dada [daran-]</i>	scrape, scratch
<i>daran dada milmilman-ningki</i>	he/she scratches him/herself with a sunburn scratcher
* <i>daba</i>	arm
<i>daba magumagu</i>	left hand
* <i>daba tyatma</i>	right hand (lit. straight arm)
<i>daba tyesyawuty</i>	
(Ngm. <i>ba nugunhtheriny</i>)	left hand
<i>daba tyityipi</i>	barbed spear (Tryon)
<i>dadirdirr</i>	sharp
<i>dadiri, dadirimadi, dadirityerr</i>	hard, firm, curly (of hair), thick (of paint)
<i>bengim baty-dadiri</i>	tie up tight
<i>wap dadiri-ka</i>	sit quietly!
* <i>dagarri</i>	lower leg
<i>dagum</i>	dew, fog
<i>dagum kerre</i>	heavy fog
<i>dakarrany (±wa-)</i>	man with many wives
<i>damadi</i>	chest
<i>damurri</i> (Ngm. <i>damurru</i>)	testicles (<i>amurri</i> egg)
* <i>damuy</i>	eye, hook on woomera
<i>yele damuy</i>	hook on woomera
<i>dangim firsul, dangifiderrirsul (±yerr-)</i>	sunrise
<i>dangisyirr (kuri)</i>	waterfall
<i>danguri</i> (Ngm. <i>danguru</i>)	penis
* <i>dapanmi</i>	two legs, lower half of body, crotch (<i>panmi</i> forked branch)
* <i>dapur</i>	buttocks, end of spear, tail, stern of canoe
<i>wu dapurr fenggu</i>	long-tailed dog
<i>darrwa</i>	raft
* <i>data</i>	shoulder, edge
<i>datawuningki</i>	on the other side (of road, river, etc.)
* <i>datyamu</i>	cheek
* <i>dawantyirr</i>	side of body, armpit
<i>dawayirr</i>	forehead, temple
* <i>dayi</i> (Ngm. <i>±a-</i>)	catfish
<i>-de</i>	ellative suffix to indirect object pronoun (from him, etc.)
<i>da-/da-</i>	noun class marker – body parts (class viii)
* <i>debi</i>	thigh, upper leg
<i>debiwerri (±yerr-)</i>	trousers
* <i>dede</i>	camp, country, sleeping place

* <i>dedangkurr</i>	in the camp
* <i>dederri</i>	back, backbone
<i>dederri wulek</i> (Ngm. <i>dederri wurek</i>)	bad back
* <i>dedirr</i>	tooth
* <i>defirr</i>	foot, footprint
<i>defirr fitipurr</i>	heel
<i>defirr firmadi</i>	sole of foot
<i>defirr - perpirk [-yeni-]</i>	make tracks/footprints
* <i>dege</i>	stomach
<i>dege - wa [-mengkin- DO-]</i>	like, love
<i>dege [-wirribem]</i>	be pregnant
<i>dege lengkurr [-yeni-]</i>	be upset
<i>dege warrirr</i>	full, replete
<i>delyek</i>	woman after birth of first child
* <i>deme</i>	finger, hand
<i>deme tyatma</i>	right hand
<i>deme magumagu</i>	left hand
<i>deme mamadi</i>	palm of hand
* <i>dementyi</i>	throat
<i>demengarritada</i>	bark of tree
<i>deminmi</i>	elbow
* <i>denintyi</i>	knee
<i>denunpi</i> (Ngm. <i>deyedirr</i>)	hip
* <i>dengini</i>	body (<i>angini</i> flesh)
<i>dengini kerre</i>	fat
<i>dengini lengkurr</i>	sick
<i>dengini weti</i>	thin
<i>dengini wulek weti</i>	a bit sick
<i>dengini wulek - wa [-mengkin-]</i>	make sick
<i>dengini wulek [-dim-/girim; -yeni-;</i> <i>-wibem]</i>	be sick, tired
<i>dengini yubu</i>	healthy, strong
<i>dengiringge</i>	tendon (Tryon)
<i>dep [dangim-]</i>	spear, sting, poke
<i>-dep - wusyey [daran -wibem -]</i>	be curly (hair)
<i>garan dep gibem wusyey</i>	her hair is very curly
* <i>depi</i>	head
<i>derri</i>	bank (<i>dederri</i> back)
<i>derri [bengim-]</i>	cover (Tryon)
* <i>[wupun-]</i>	knock
<i>[dem-]</i>	hide behind (OA1,2)
<i>derri-bang [dangim-]</i>	poke in the back, make a waterhold (in the dreaming)
<i>derri-du (derri-dudu) [bengim-]</i>	find (in one case only, the auxiliary used is <i>dangim-</i>)
<i>derri-fel [dim-/girim-]</i>	tread on the back of
* <i>derri-girri [dem-]</i>	like, need, want

<i>derri-lit [bengim-]</i>	cover
<i>derri-lung [wudem-]</i>	fall and hurt one's back
* <i>derri-pal [demen-]</i>	bend self down (OA3)
<i>derri-pul [bengim-]</i>	uncover (OA3)
<i>derri-tit [win-]</i>	lean on something (intrans) (OA2)
<i>derri-wap [yenim-]</i>	sit down on something
<i>derri-say [dem-]</i>	spread out (OA1)
<i>derri weti</i>	island
* <i>desyi</i>	nose, nostrils, bow of canoe, point of hill, hook on woomera
<i>deti</i>	again, too
<i>deti -mem</i> (Ngm. <i>dendi mem</i>)	tell a lie
* <i>detyeny</i>	tongue
<i>detyengi</i> (Ngm. <i>thawurru</i>)	today
<i>detyenginapa</i>	the first time
<i>minta detyenginimbi</i>	for a long time (lit. not from today)
<i>detyengipefi</i>	soon, just started
<i>detyengita</i>	now, immediately
* <i>detyerr</i>	mouth, lower face
* <i>detyerri</i>	ear
<i>detyerri, detyerri - werri - yenim</i>	know, understand, remember
* <i>detyerrmadi</i>	jaw, chin
<i>detyirrdirr</i>	waist
* <i>detyirri</i>	navel, exterior stomach
<i>detyunmi</i>	back of head
* <i>di (didi) [dim-/girim-; wibem-/ kibem-; yenim-]</i>	cry
<i>difafa</i>	shouting
<i>di gangki</i>	awake (baby) (lit. up crying)
<i>di-leli [yenim-]</i>	go along crying
<i>dinyingkul</i>	flood water
* <i>dinkirri</i>	circumcision
<i>dirr</i>	side, bank
<i>dirr [wupun-]</i>	follow the river bank
* <i>diwiny yerr-marrgu wiben dirr</i>	new moon
* <i>dirr-fill [demen-; wayim-]</i>	shine (of sun)
<i>dirr-fulirr (dirr-fufulirr) [wudupun-]</i>	sharpen (OA2)
<i>dirrkuri</i>	bank (of river, billabong etc.)
<i>dirrkingki</i>	on that side
<i>dirrngala</i>	steep bank, cluff
* <i>dirrpederr</i>	river
<i>dirr-wap [yenim-]</i>	sit on edge
<i>dirrwuningki</i>	on this side
* <i>direrningki</i>	other side (of river)
<i>dirimbi</i>	ankle
<i>dirinybuk</i>	bloodwood tree
* <i>dityungkurr (wa-, wur- etc.)</i>	short

<i>dityungkurr wurru</i>	too short
* <i>diwiny</i>	moon
<i>diwinyi</i>	moonlight
<i>diwiny yerr-marrgu</i>	new moon
<i>diwin yeyi</i>	next month
<i>du</i> [dem-]	wake up (trans)
	grind, smash, squash
* <i>du (dudu)</i> [bengim-]	show, touch, point at, feel for (e.g. turtles in mud), follow a track (OA2,4a)
	taste
<i>du (dudu)</i> [dingim-]	point at something
<i>dudu</i> [daran-]	follow footprints
<i>dudu defirr</i> [daran-]	touch, try out
<i>du (dudu)</i> [wudupun-]	be suspicious about something, hit out in thought
	swollen, heaped up (of earth)
<i>dudu</i>	
* <i>dudu (dududu)</i> [-mem + body part, usually without class marker]	be swollen
<i>dudu mem pi</i>	his head is swollen
<i>dudu [yenim-]</i>	be swollen
<i>dudu-body part [yenim-]</i>	to have body part swollen
<i>yenim dudu-pi</i>	he/she is swollen headed
* <i>dudumempi yerr-</i>	a swelling
* <i>durrnu</i>	design, pattern of painting (on body etc.)

E

<i>efengku</i>	snake (generic term) (lit. long animal)
<i>efeyi</i>	type of small goanna
<i>efekimi</i>	rabbit
<i>eke</i>	uncle (mother's brother)
<i>elifala</i>	morning, tomorrow (from English 'early fella')
<i>elifalanimbi</i>	all morning
<i>eme/keme</i>	kidney fat
<i>emenggin</i> (Ngm. <i>emengginy</i>)	goanna
<i>engelin/angelin</i>	fishing line
<i>ep</i>	perhaps
* <i>epe</i>	but
<i>ep neke</i>	perhaps
* <i>etye</i>	when?
<i>etye-nawa</i>	sometime, it is not known when
<i>etye-nimbi</i>	when? how often?
<i>etye-ningki</i>	when?
<i>etye-ngini</i>	until when? to what time?
<i>etyitye</i>	newly born
<i>erreke</i>	how many?
<i>erreke-nawa</i>	it is not known how many

- * *erreke-ningki* very, it can't be counted how very (hot, thirsty etc.)
- * *ewerrmisye* fresh water crocodile (*Johnsonii*)
- ewerrtimuy* baby crocodile

F

- fa* beeswax
- fa (fafa) [girim-; girbem-; yenim-]* scream, make noise, shout
- faderra* evil spirit
- fafa* shout, shouting, noise
- fafa-werri* noisy
- dede minta fafawerri* a quiet place
- * *fafel [yenim-]* cross over, jump over
- fagarri (Ngm. wagarri)* two
- fagarri fagarri* four
- * *fakurr [dinem-]* cook
- [bengim-]* cut (bamboo for spears)
- [dem-]* break up firewood
- [dagam-]* break with feet
- fal* all night long
- * *fala (fafala) [wirribem-/girribem-]* wave
- [yenim-]* wave, move about
- [demen-]* move about (people), fly (OA4)
- fala (wa-/wur-wetimuy) wudupun-* have a new baby, bring into the open
- falmi (±wur-)* woman
- falmi kuri* mermaids
- * *fangu* in front of, first
- fangupirri* in front
- fekiderrri (Ngm. fenggiderrri)* for a long time
- fekiderrrimbi* a long time ago
- * *fel [yenim-]* step in, go/dive into water
- * *[dim-/firim-]* dive, rise of sun (sunlight hits ground), stamp, go into water (boat)
- [dagam-]* dive, run into water
- [wudem-]* dive, jump from bank
- (Ngm. *fel [winy-IO-]*) sneak up on
- * *fel (felfil) [werifi]* alone, isolative pronoun
- * *felfil [yenim-; dagam-]* run away, escape, jump, flow
- [wudem-]* jump, hop along (usually refers to frogs or kangaroos) (OA4)
- [wupun-]* go in and out (of dog's tongue) (OA4)
- * *felfil-yeri-IO [dagam-]* go off after someone
- fengku (wa-/wur-)* long, tall
- e-fengku* snake
- mi-fengku* long yam

<i>yerr-fengku</i>	long spear
<i>fengku-kadi</i>	straight (of hair), long enough
* <i>fengku [dem-]</i>	make long
* <i>fepi</i>	stone, hill, rock, money
<i>fepi dudumempi</i>	little hill
<i>fepi kerre</i>	hill
<i>fepi minati</i>	mountain
<i>fær [dinem-]</i>	melt (trans) (OA1)
<i>[yenim-]</i>	spit into fire
(Ngm. <i>yenim ferrfirr</i>)	lightning
<i>færp</i>	often, always
<i>fetyen</i> (Ngm. <i>fuytyen</i>)	blood
* <i>fī</i>	string
<i>fī (fifi) [dim-/girim-]</i>	blow, play didjeridoo, smoke (tobacco)
* <i>[dangim-]</i>	breathe through bamboo while swimming under water
* <i>[wudupun]</i>	blow on fire
<i>fī-</i>	causative prefix to verb root
<i>fī-derri-rsul</i>	sunrise
<i>fī-derri-rsul [dangim-]</i>	rise (of sun)
<i>fī-derri-wurity [wupun-]</i>	cover
<i>fī-dudu [warrim-]</i> (plural form of <i>dangim-</i>)	sit around in groups
<i>fī-duru [daran-]</i>	be curly (hair), be curled up (snakes), crawl (snakes), fold arms
<i>fī-firr-tyuk [dangim-]</i>	lean against foot (of tree) (trans)
* <i>fī-garri-tyat [dangim-]</i>	lean against (trans)
<i>fī-gerrgirr [dingim-]</i>	make mistakes
<i>fī-kenke [dinyerem-]</i>	look around
<i>fī-ket [dingim-]</i>	make a mistake
* <i>fīl-muy [-mem-]</i>	notice, look up
<i>fīl-dirr [wirribem-/girribem-]</i>	shine (sun)
<i>fīlfil [wupun-]</i>	fan flames, blow (trans)
* <i>fīlfilngini</i>	red, bright, yellow
<i>fīlfilngini [yenim-]</i>	go red
* <i>fīli (fifili) [wirribem-]</i>	move (intrans)
* <i>[yenim-]</i>	set off, go away, move (intrans)
<i>fīli (fifili) [wupun-; daran-]</i>	look for (OA4)
<i>[bengim-]</i>	move about, move excitedly from one thing to the next
<i>[dem-]</i>	move (trans)
<i>fīfili [wibem-]</i>	move about (crocodiles in river)
<i>[girim-]</i>	this combination of auxiliary and verb root occurs in the negative sentence <i>mintā wirri fifili tye</i> they were not moving about
<i>fīlpurr [dagam-; yenim-]</i>	go down/reddish (sun at sunset)
<i>fī-madi-syi [daran-]</i>	twist self (on rock)
<i>fī-madi-tyutyuk [dangim-]</i>	wrap (in leaves, paperbark), put in bag

<i>fi-madi-wul</i> [wupun-]	load swags (into truck)
<i>fi-madi-wurity</i> [wupun-]	put (bags on tractor)
<i>[girim-]</i>	get on (truck)
* <i>fi-me</i> [dangim-]	give (recipient is direct object), marry e.g. <i>awuni fagarri warri-fi-me wawuni wa yedi</i> they were married
* <i>fi-me-gat/fi-me-ket</i> [daran-]	share out food
* <i>fi-me-leli</i> [dangim-]	give
<i>fi-mentyi-tyet</i> [daran-]	carry on shoulder
<i>fi-mesyirr</i> [dangim]	extinguish fire
<i>fi-misyin-tyat</i> [dangim-]	boil beside fire (trans)
<i>fi-mi-tatit</i> [dangim-]	teach, show how to, tease (dog)
<i>fi-mi-tyuk</i> [dangim-]	put
<i>fintyi</i> (Ngm. <i>fundyi</i>)	banyan tree
<i>finy</i>	sweat, pimple
<i>finy-ngini</i> [dinyerem-]	see oneself reflected
<i>finggal</i> [dangim-]	cross legs
* <i>firr</i> (de-)	foot, foot of tree
<i>firrati/firretyi</i>	shoes
<i>firr</i> [yetyin-]	lead
<i>firr-fakurr</i> [wudupun-]	grab someone and knock his (feet about), be washed down river (trees by flood)
<i>firfirge</i>	noisy, noisily
<i>firfirge</i> [win-]	make (too much) noise
<i>minta firfirge gibem</i>	he/she is quiet
<i>firfirryiri mundurrk</i> [daran-]	bump ankle
* <i>firri</i>	milky way
<i>defirr firrmedi</i>	sole of foot
<i>firr-ngal</i> [dangim-]	put legs in air while lying down (<i>ngal-syi</i> have nose in the air)
<i>firr-ngan</i> [warrgatyen] (plural of <i>yetyin-</i>)	gather at foot of hill
* <i>firngari</i>	toenail of human, claw (of bird or animal)
<i>firr-tit</i> [dem-]	pluck (grass by root) (Reid 95)
<i>firr-tyerr</i> (<i>fepi</i>) [yenim-]	go to foot of (hill)
<i>firr-tyuk</i> [wayim-DO-]	burn feet (impersonal)
<i>firr-wa</i> [mengkin-]	trip up (trans)
<i>firi</i>	dream (ordinary)
<i>firi</i> [-wibem]	be dreaming
<i>fi-rsul</i> (<i>fi-rsirsul</i>) [dangim-]	rise (of sun)
<i>fir-rsul</i> [wayim-]	be sunrise
<i>wa firsul ngini syirre</i>	just before sunrise
* <i>fi-tal</i> (<i>fi-tatel</i>) [dagam-]	grow (people, trees), stand up (kangaroo), fly (birds)
* <i>fi-tat</i> (<i>fi-tatit</i>) [dangim-]	put, leave standing, make fire (put wood on fire) (OA1)
* <i>fiti</i>	sun, heat
<i>defirr fitipurr</i>	heel

- * *fi-tit (fi-titit) [daran-]*
daran fitit lirmem-ningki
stand up, rise, rise into air, wake up
he is shivering (lit. the cold is making him stand up)
- fi-titit [dangim-]*
fi-tum [daran-IOPn-]
shake (trans) (e.g. blanket to remove dust)
dive down to grab something (indirect object) (e.g. turtle under water)
- fi-tyat (fi-tyatit) [dangim-]*
put down, move (trans), make fire, put wood on fire
stand
- fi-tyet [daran-]*
* *fityi (fifityi) [wudupun-]*
[wupun-]
roll up (swag), wrap up
be curling (hair)
his flesh is wrinkled (old man)
angini wupun fityi
leave (trans), put move (trans)
fi-tyuk (fi-tyutyuk) [dangim-]
put (baby) on hip (*dawantyirr* armpit, side of body)
fi-wantyirr-tyat [dangim-]
- * *fi-way/fu-way*
wupun fiway
be unable to do something
be unable to hit something (often preceded or followed by *madiket* hungry which is of course the fate of an unsuccessful hunter)
dinyingkin fiway
be unable to see something for which one is looking
fi-way
with a noun – have nothing e.g. *miyi fiway* food all gone
- * *fiwurr [dangam-]*
fiyat
be sick
hat
- * *fufu [dagam-]*
glow, gleam, be reddish (refers particularly to the rainbow)
[yenim-]
be/go along reddish (e.g. like a galah)
[dangim-IOPn-]
shine on (someone)
- * *[gawam-]*
burn fiercely (OA4)
- * *fuke*
breeze, wind with storm
- * *ful [yenim-]*
fall to ground, fly down (bird)
- fulangkit*
blanket (Kriol)
- fulful [wupun-]*
skin (trans)
- * *fulirr [daran-; dagam-; dagawa-]*
paint, rub on (OA1)
- * *fulirr [wudupun-]*
sharpen, copulate
- funfun*
hair belt
- fungkuli (yerr-)* (Ngm. *pungkulu*)
honey, hive
- fungkuli (a-)*
bee
- fuy [win-IOPn-]*
fan oneself
- [wupun-]*
sweep (OA4)
- * *fuy (fufuy/fuyfuy) [dingim-]*
sniff, smell (trans)
- fuy (fuyfuy) [yenim-]*
be smelly, blow (wind)
- fuyfuy [wibem-]*
blow (wind)
- fuyfuy [dangim-]*
wipe
- [wayim-]*
dry (intrans), blow (wind)
- [dinem-]*
dry (trans)

fuyfuy-derri [yenim-]
fu-wuty
fu-wutyity [yetyin-]

smell (intrans) food cooking
 tip
 drop through hole in bag while carrying (OA4a)

G

- gada* [dangim-DOpn-]
 * *gangki*
gangki [-wirribem]
gangki [dim-]
ding gangki kana wursetimuy yaga
gangki - muy [-mem-]
gangkiderrri
gangki-kirri [-girim]
garrafal (garrifalfil) [dem-]
garrarr [wudupun-]
 * *garrarr* [wibem-]
garri
garri (da-)
garri-fityi (garri-fifityi) [win-]
garri-fuyfuy [dingim-]
garri-pat [dagam-DOpn-]
garri-tada [demen-]
 * *garrityenmadi*
garrityen, garrityenmuy
yuri garrityenmuy
mumba garrityenmuy
gat (gatat) [diwem-]
gat [wupun-]
 * *gatit* [dangim-]
 * *gatit* [dim-; wirribem-; yenim-]
gatit [bengim-] (Ngm. *therat*)
 * *garrwuy* [dangim-]
 * *ge* (de-)
ge [bengim-DOpn-]
bengim ngi ge
mintu ge yenim
ge-ket/gerr-ket [dem-DOpn-]
 * *ge-pek* [bengim-DOpn-]
bengim pirr gepek
gerrgerrtyerr
 * *gerrgirr* [bengim-]
 [wudem-]
 [wudupun-]
- be worried, be homesick (impersonal)
 top, high, heaven, on high, upwards, upstream,
 surface of water
 be high up/overhead (of sun)
 be able to sit up (baby)
 that baby girl can sit up now
 look up at sky, look up at someone (IOpn)
 up on the bank
 sit right on top
 spread blanket
 unroll swag (trans)
 unroll (intrans), come undone (string), be loose
 (e.g. post in hole)
 paper bark hut
 lower leg
 sit cross legged
 sniff (of dogs)
 catch up to someone
 peel/take bark off tree
 crooked
 crooked
 boomerang
 crooked path
 lift up a stick in order to hit someone (IOpn)
 catch fish
 catch fish, gather, pick up
 be/go fishing (with a line)
 bite (animal, mosquito)
 feel sorry for someone, be apologetic
 stomach
 be happy (impersonal) (OA4)
 I am happy
 be unhappy, become irritated
 be proud of/fond of (child), be jealous (OA4)
 become angry, frown (impersonal)
 they are getting angry
 bad, rotten (meat)
 chop (e.g. tree to get honey, firewood), cut (grass)
 rub against, abrade (intrans)
 chafe (trans) (Tryon)

<i>gerrgirr</i>	see also <i>girr</i> ; <i>gerrgirr</i> is the reduplicated form
<i>ge-tyek</i> [dem-]	make sick, cause a stomach ache
<i>werrmi nyi getyek</i>	they will make you sick (green plums)
<i>ge-wirr</i> [wudupun-]	put into stomach (stones in animal being cooked)
<i>ge-wirr</i> (ge-wiwirr) [dirsem-]	pull out guts (reduplicated form Reid 105)
<i>ge-wurr</i> [dingim-DOPn-]	have a rest (impersonal) (OA1,2)
<i>we ngi gewurr wityi</i>	I will rest for a little while
<i>gi</i>	fight, argument
<i>gi</i> [-IOpn-dim]	annoy someone
<i>wawuni-ningki gi ne girim aba nem</i>	that boy is annoying his brother
<i>gi napa witibenggu</i>	they (d) are fighting
* <i>gidi</i>	shy
* <i>gidin</i>	year (from wet season to wet season), heavy rain
<i>gidin apirri</i>	last year
<i>gimin</i> (Ngm. <i>gumu</i>)	then, when
<i>gimin syirre pefi</i>	from behind
<i>ngani n. gimin</i>	like a n.
<i>gimin</i> [wudupun-]	try out
<i>gimuy</i> (wa-, wur-)	cheeky one
<i>girr</i> (<i>gerrgirr</i>) [wayim-]	be hot with fever (impersonal), burn (OA2,3)
	cut (with knife/axe), cut/chop down
	wait! (exclamation); be still there, still doing
* <i>guguk</i>	(adverb)
<i>guk deti</i>	wait a moment!
* <i>gugarri</i>	red ochre
* <i>gulirr</i>	circle, around
* <i>gulirr</i> (<i>gugulirr</i>) [wirribem-; dagam-;	
	<i>yenim-</i>
<i>gulirr</i>	go in a circle, go/come around
	[dim-/girim-]
	sit in a circle
	[wupun-]
	stir
	[daran-]
	cut self
	[dangim-DOPn-]
<i>gulirr-ningki</i> [yenim-]	cut self (impersonal)
<i>guniguni</i> (±wur-) (Ngm. <i>falmingerr</i>)	come/go around
* <i>gurr</i> (<i>gurr</i>) [bengim-; dangim-]	old woman
	miss (with a spear) (OA4)

K

<i>-ka/-ta</i>	emphatic suffix
<i>kadi</i> (<i>yerr-</i>)	name given when person bearing name dies
<i>yerr kadi nyi firr</i>	you are not allowed to say the name (<i>nyi</i> direct object pronoun)
<i>kadi</i> e.g. <i>fengu-kadi</i>	enough, really (clitic modifying adjectives) long enough, really straight (hair)
* <i>kafarr</i> [yenim-]	cross over (usually refers to river)
* <i>kagu</i>	meat, animal food (generic term)

<i>kagu gangki-nimbi abalarr-werri</i>	angel (lit. meat from heaven with wings)
* <i>kak</i>	particle indicating motion, set off
<i>kak kana</i>	go now (let's, he's, etc.)
<i>kak pirri kana</i> (Ngm. <i>kakmbirri</i>)	set off now
<i>kak wurru</i>	set off immediately
* <i>kal</i> [<i>mengkin-</i>]	chase (OA2)
<i>kal</i> [<i>werrmen-</i> (non-singular form of <i>demen-</i>)]	chase (reciprocal)
<i>kalla</i> (Ngm. <i>kalla/alla</i>)	mother, mother's sister
<i>kalla wukume</i>	from the same mother (lit. one mother)
<i>kalambang</i>	forehead band
<i>kaleli</i> [<i>dem-</i>]	greet, welcome warmly
<i>kaleli</i> [<i>werrmen-</i>]	greet (reciprocal)
<i>kana</i> (Ngm. <i>nyine</i>)	now
* <i>kanbi</i>	bamboo, shaft of spear, prickles on echidna, didjeridoo, fish spear
<i>mentyi kanbi</i>	windpipe
<i>kanbi mada</i>	big bamboo
<i>kanbi yewirr</i>	tree bamboo
<i>kanbi yerri</i>	type of pandanus
<i>kanyirra</i>	friend
<i>kangkalang</i>	chewing tobacco
<i>karrbu</i>	downwards
* <i>karrbu</i>	go down, come down, get down
* <i>kaw, kawa</i>	come! bring it!
<i>kawa kide awerrapun</i>	the salt water crocodile is coming
* <i>kawanawa</i>	come here!
* <i>kawu</i>	grandmother/grandchild (m.m.)
* <i>kay</i> (<i>kayki</i>) [<i>dim-</i> ; <i>wirribem-</i> ; <i>yenim-</i>]	call out
* [<i>wityibem-</i>]	call out from a tree/while hanging in a tree
<i>kay</i> (<i>kayki</i>) [<i>dem-Opn-</i>]	call someone
* <i>kelkulkul</i>	heart
* <i>kek</i> [<i>dim-</i> ; <i>yenim-</i>]	shine/come out (of rainbow), spurt (of blood), vomit
<i>keme</i>	kidney fat
<i>keme</i> (<i>wa-</i>), <i>yedi keme</i>	kidney fat stealer
* <i>kene</i>	who?
<i>kenenawa</i>	someone
* <i>kenkapurr</i>	fat
* <i>kenke; mumba kenke dim kuduk</i>	drink water along the path
<i>kenke-fili</i> [<i>dangim-</i>]	wait, hang around (of dogs) (OA4)
* <i>kenket</i> [<i>bengim-</i>]	cut in half, cut into pieces
[<i>yenim-</i>]	break (intrans)
<i>kenke-gerrgirr</i> [<i>bengim-</i>]	cut, chop
<i>kengarapa</i>	lungs
<i>kerre</i>	big, thick, wide, deep

- * *kerrety* (*kekerrety*) [*dinyingkin-*]
[*dinyerem-*]
watch, look at, look after (OA1)
look at (reflexive/reciprocal) (OA1,2,4)
- * *kerrety* [*dem-*]
look after something for someone, hold (e.g. fishing line)
- * *ket* [*bengim-*]
cut (e.g. tree to get honey), stop (rain), pass by someone (Opn)
cut, cut loose
poke in mud (for turtles) (OA4)
have a pain (impersonal) (OA2)
suddenly remember
go outside, emerge, come up (sun)
bleed
I am bleeding
where? where at? what?
what is the Ngankiwumirri for that?
somewhere
- [*wupun-*]
[*dangim-*]
[*dingim-DOpn-*]
ket-tyerri [*-dim-*]
ketet (*keterret*) [*demen-*]
fetyen demeng ketet (*ketesyet*)
fetyen demeng ketesyet nginde
- * *kide*
wumirri-ngini kide
kidenawa
- * *kide pefi*
kide nimbi
-kide (*wa-*, *wur-*)
yerr-kide-pefi
- * *kimi* (*a-*)
cut off the tail
right up to, completely
always, here still, altogether
recently
- * *kimi-ket* [*dangim-*]
kinapa (*kinyi+napa*)
kinapadeti (*kinyi+napa+deti*)
kinapirri (*kinyi+apirri*)
- * *kinimangkani*
yam, stick, type of ironwood with bigger leaf than *mawuny*
- kinta* (*kinyi+ta*)
here
- * *kinyi*
here, this
- * *kinyi pagu*
this way, towards here
- kinwul* [*bengim-*]
turn over (canoe)
- kirri*
intensifying clitic
- klarrkurrk*
jabiru (*Xenorhynchus asiaticus*)
- kudede*
wet season
- * *kuderri*
billabong, fishing hole
- kuduk* (*kukuduk*) [*dim-*; *yenim-*]
drink
- kuduk* [*wibem-*]
drink (of babies)
- [*wursum*]
swallow
- kagu-baty* [*yenim-*]
crawl up trees (snakes)
- * *kulli* (*kukulli*) [*dangam-*; *yenim-*; *dim-*]
throw
- * *kulyi*
evening
- kulyika*
tonight
- kulyi apirri*
the night before last (Tryon)
- * *kulyinimbi*
yesterday
- kulyi yeyiningki*
the night before last
- kulluk* (*kukulluk*) [*yenim-*; *dim-*]
(Ngm. *killik/kikillik*)
cough

* <i>kunara</i>	white cedar
<i>kunintyin</i>	bottle tree
* <i>kunyungun</i>	boomerang
* <i>kurr [yenim-]</i>	get, gather, pick up, take a wife
<i>[wupun-]</i>	dig, scratch
<i>kurrkurr [dim-]</i>	be digging, scratching holes
<i>[daran-]</i>	scratch self (OA1)
<i>[dangim-]</i>	sharpen (OA1)
<i>kuri (Ngm. kuru)</i>	water (fresh), rain, beer
<i>kuri damuy</i>	deep water (<i>damuy</i> eye)
<i>kuri dangim syirr</i>	running water
<i>kurimiyiliyili</i>	mangrove spear
<i>kuri - tyerr [-yenim-]</i>	start to rain
<i>kuri fepi</i>	rock hole
<i>kuri wangi</i>	monsoon rain
<i>kuriwerri (wa-, wur-)</i>	drunken (man, woman)
<i>kuri weti</i>	shallow water
<i>kurrwak kurrwak</i>	kookaburra
<i>kutkut [yenim-]</i>	carry on shoulders (children, bundles)
<i>kuwul</i>	school (Kriol)
L	
* <i>lala [bengim-]</i>	chop, split open
<i>lala - firr [wi-]</i>	cut foot
* <i>lalirr [dim-; werribem-; yenim-]</i>	eat
<i>tyi dim lalirr</i>	he is drinking milk from the breast (baby)
<i>lalirrdirr</i>	sharp
* <i>lamurity (wa-, wur-)</i>	glad, happy, active
<i>lamurity [-dim; -yenim]</i>	be happy
<i>lawa</i>	flour (Kriol)
<i>lek [dingim-]</i>	lick (trans)
<i>[diwem-]</i>	lick self
* <i>leli [yenim-; yirrini-; wirribem-; dagam-]</i>	walk, swim (of fish)
<i>leli [yetyin-]</i>	bring (OA2)
<i>leli-gulirr [wirribem-]</i>	walk in circle
<i>lengkerrk</i>	bright
<i>lengkirr</i>	bad, selfish, cunning
<i>dege lengkirr yenim</i>	be upset
<i>lirr [wudupun-]</i>	make cold
* <i>lirr [dingim-]</i>	come out of water (presumably one is then cold)
<i>lirrlirr [wayim-]</i>	burn up completely
<i>lirrlirrfin</i>	smell of freshly dead people or fish
* <i>lirrmem</i>	cold
<i>lirrmem [bengim-DOpn-] perrety</i>	be cold (impersonal)

<i>lit</i> [wupun-]	collide with
<i>lit</i> (<i>litit</i>) [bengim-]	cover, pack
[bengim-IOpn-]	cover self (OA3)
<i>lit dede</i> [yenim-]	take up all the space
<i>litypala</i>	late (from English 'late fella')
<i>litypala kana wurru</i>	it is very late now
<i>lulu</i> [bengim-]	swear (OA1,2,4)
<i>lung:body part-lung</i> [wudem-]	fall and hurt body part
<i>daba wudem ba-lung</i>	he fell and hurt his arm
<i>luruty</i>	hard, strong, loud
<i>luruty kerre</i>	strong
<i>kuri luruty kibem yeledi</i>	the current is running swiftly

M

* <i>ma</i>	exclamation
<i>mabuk</i>	plenty, a lot
* <i>madawetimbi</i>	a long time ago
* <i>madi</i>	low down, side
* <i>madi</i> (da-)	chest
<i>madi</i> [dim-/girim-]	be down low
[yenim-]	stoop
[bengim-]	dig out side of log for canoe (OA2)
<i>madi-baty</i> [demen-]	fold arms over chest
<i>madi-falfil</i> [dem-]	twist
<i>madi-fi</i> [dem-]	bend down (trans)
* <i>madi-fili</i> (<i>madi-fifili</i>) [wudem-]	turn over, around, boil over into fire (billy) (intrans)
* <i>madi-fili</i> [wudupun-]	roll, turn over (trans)
<i>madi-fuy</i> [wupun-]	sweep (OA4)
<i>madi-gat</i> (<i>madi-gatit</i>) [bengim-]	meet
<i>madi-gerrgir</i> [dangim-DOpn-]	be disappointed (impersonal) (OA2)
* <i>madiket</i>	hungry
<i>madi-ket</i> [dangim-DOpn-]	be made unhappy (impersonal)
<i>madi-kurr</i> [wupun-] (Ngm. <i>madukurr</i>)	dig a hole
* <i>madi-lit</i> (<i>madi-litit</i>) [bengim-]	meet from side
<i>madi-pap</i> (<i>madi-papup</i>) [yenim-;	come up over bank (flood water), rise, get out of
<i>yirini-</i>]	water
<i>madi-pirr</i> [wudupun-]	send away, leave behind
* <i>madi-purity</i> (<i>madi-pupurity</i>) [dagam-]	slip
* <i>madi-syi</i> (<i>madi-syisyi</i>) [dem-]	bend down (trans)
* <i>madi-syisyi</i> [wudupun-]	bend (fish bends fishing rod)
<i>madi-syusyu</i> [wudupun-]	heal (Reid 95)
<i>madi-tyutyuk</i>	pack up
* <i>madit</i>	hawk
<i>madi-tyip</i> [wayim-]	go black

<i>madiwanggi</i>	tribal scar (grooving on artefacts [Tryon])
<i>madi-way</i> [<i>dagam-</i>]	be unable to reach
<i>madi-wirr</i> [<i>dim-/girim -; wirribem-</i>] (Ngm. <i>madi-wurr</i>)	put inside, be inside
* <i>madi-wirri/madi-wirsi</i> [<i>dim-/girim-;</i> <i>wirribem-/girribem-; yenim -</i>]	laugh, play, play cards
<i>madi-wirri/madi-wirsi</i> [<i>dem-</i>]	cause someone to laugh
<i>yerr-madiwirri yawul</i>	toy spear
<i>madi-wirri walamarra</i> [<i>wirribem-</i>]	laugh and dance (women)
* <i>madi-wul</i> [<i>wudem-</i>]	turn over/around (intrans)
<i>[wudupun-]</i>	turn over/around (trans)
<i>madi-wap</i> (<i>madi-wapup</i>) [<i>yenim-</i>]	get into/onto vehicles/boats, sit down in
<i>madi-wurr</i> [<i>dangim-</i>]	wash away
<i>[wupun-]</i>	gather (trans), rake up (leaves)
<i>madi-wuty</i> (<i>madi-wutyity</i>) [<i>dim-/girim-;</i> <i>yenim-; dem-</i>]	pour
<i>madiyeningki</i>	behind, other side
<i>madi-yerr</i> [<i>wupun-</i>]	take down swags (off truck)
<i>madi-yerrp</i> [<i>dangim-</i>]	scoop out (inside of tree to make canoe) (Reid 96)
<i>mafal</i>	untidy
<i>magulfi</i> (Ngm. <i>magulfu</i>)	club, fighting stick
<i>magumagu</i>	left hand
<i>magun</i>	stomach ache
<i>magat</i>	Leitchfield Station
<i>mak</i>	message stick
<i>mak mak</i>	eagle
* <i>malal</i> [<i>wirribem</i>]	sway backwards and forwards (e.g. trees)
* <i>malarrgu</i> (Ngm. <i>a-</i>)	turtle (long necked)
<i>malgin</i>	spinifex (Tryon)
<i>mam</i>	more
<i>mama</i>	mother (English)
<i>mamak</i>	goodbye, go well!
<i>mamaka, mamakirri</i>	go on ahead!
<i>mamak nyinyi warrmadi pefi</i>	you go on ahead quickly
<i>mam deti</i>	again, more, some more
* <i>man</i> (<i>manman</i>) [<i>yenim-</i>]	crawl, sneak up on (IOpn)
<i>manimameni</i>	little spirit people
<i>manggureri</i> (<i>wa-/wur-</i>) (Ngm. <i>wa-/wur-mangkurrferr</i>)	widower/widow
<i>manguyawa</i>	poison
<i>marrawuk</i>	fierce wind, storm wind
<i>marrgat</i> [<i>daran-; wanuwan-; diwen-</i>]	begin (coroboree, playing didjeridoo)
* <i>marrgu</i>	new
<i>wa-marrgu</i>	a newly arrived/unknown man
<i>marrguningki</i>	the first time, at first

<i>marrgumarrgunimbi</i>	each place, anywhere
<i>wur-wuni kawu ngayim de-nge-</i>	that girl leads her (blind) grandmother anywhere
<i>tyerr-baty yenim marrgumarrgu-</i>	she wants to go
<i>nimbi ngini derringirri dem</i>	
* <i>marimari</i>	knife
<i>mata [dem-]</i>	tear
* <i>mata (matati) [bengim-]</i>	cut, split (OA2)
<i>matyerapu (wa-, wur-)</i>	clever, dexterous, skilful
* <i>mawa [mengkin-]</i>	take from, believe, be caught on a line, bring
<i>minta tye wirrmi mawa</i>	they didn't get caught/take the bait (fish)
* <i>mawuny</i>	ironwood
<i>mayerung</i>	clothing
<i>-mberr</i>	2nd singular indirect object of dual subject
<i>-mbi</i>	for/to you (2nd singular indirect object)
<i>me + numeral</i>	for n. nights
<i>me-wukume</i>	for one night
* <i>me + pronoun</i>	by one's self
<i>me (de-)</i>	hand
<i>me (wa-), wa-keme</i>	kidney fat stealer
<i>me-fafala [dem-]</i>	shake one's fist (at someone [DOpn])
<i>me-fiftyi [wi-]</i>	curl
<i>me-kek [daran-]</i>	spit on one's hand (to get a better grip on something)
<i>me-kerrety [dem-]</i>	hold someone's hand (e.g. to prevent slipping)
<i>me-kerrety [dinyingkin-]</i>	watch
* <i>me-ket [bengim-]</i>	gather fruit, cut
<i>[dingim-]</i>	cut hand
<i>[daran-]</i>	share out
* <i>dirsem-, dem-</i>	take someone's wife
<i>melpe</i>	flat
<i>a-melpe</i>	sting ray
<i>melpe-syi [-yenim]</i>	have a flat nose
* <i>mempirr</i>	son, daughter, child
<i>mimpirr-werri yenim dege</i>	she is pregnant
* <i>mendi</i>	close, near
<i>mendi kana</i>	soon
<i>mendi kirri</i>	very close
<i>mendimendi</i>	every day
<i>mendi pagu</i>	bring/come close (exclamation and adverb)
<i>mene</i>	attempt, think of attempting, pretend
* <i>mentyi (de-)</i>	neck
<i>mentyi-baty [dem-]</i>	lead by neck (dog)
<i>[bengim-]</i>	tie by neck
<i>[dagam-]</i>	follow a path
<i>mentyi-fel [yenim-]</i>	cross road
* <i>mentyi-fityi [dem-]</i>	wring neck (e.g. of turtle before cooking)
<i>mentyi-gat [bengim-]</i>	have throat cut

<i>mentyi-gerrgirr</i> [bengim-]	cut throat
* <i>mentyi kanbi</i>	wind pipe
* <i>mentyi-ket</i> [bengim-]	cut throat
* <i>mentyi-pal</i> [dem-]	break neck (trans)
<i>mentyi puderr</i>	nape of neck (Tryon)
<i>mentyi-pup</i> [mengkin-]	carry by neck (e.g. geese or ducks)
* <i>mentyi-tit</i> [dim-]	turn head, look around
<i>mentyi-tyerr</i> [yenim-]	come to/meet with road
[bengim-Opn-]	meet someone
<i>mentyi-tyirrk</i> [dim-],	
<i>mentyi-tyirr</i> [-dim]	have pins and needles, stiff neck
<i>mentyi-wap</i> [yenim-]	sit waiting
<i>mentyi-wurr</i> [mem-]	tie by neck (e.g. dog)
* <i>menyirr</i>	sang
<i>menyirrnganimuy</i>	
(Ngm. <i>menyirrngaramuy</i>)	that same sand
* <i>menyminy</i> [dim-; yenim-]	watch, look at, watch out of one eye
[wibem-]	be awake watching (when one is thought to be asleep)
* <i>mengari</i>	fingernail
* <i>mengke</i>	grandmother (f.m.)
<i>me-pelel</i> [wudem-]	drop from hand (and clatter to ground)
<i>mepi</i>	high up, tree top
<i>mepi kirri</i>	very high
* <i>merrepen</i>	fan palm, cabbage palm
<i>merringki</i>	shade, shadow
<i>me-syirr</i> (me-syisyirr) [dem-; wupun-]	extinguish fire
[yenim-]	go out (fire)
[dim-]	put (e.g. fish into bag)
<i>me-rsi</i> [yetyin-IOpn-]	cut one's hand
<i>me-tyatip</i> [mengkin-DOpn-]	have sticky hands (impersonal)
<i>metyuk</i>	message (from English or possibly from <i>me-tyuk</i> send)
<i>me-tyuk</i> {wayim-}	burn hand (impersonal)
[wupun-]	cause someone to wait for someone else
[wudupun-]	send a message
[dangim-]	prevent someone from doing something
<i>ngarin tirrki metyuk gi-nimbi</i>	I stopped you from fighting (Tryon)
<i>me-tyutyuk</i> [dem-]	hold someone back, restrain
<i>meyeningki</i>	five
<i>meyeningki meyeningki</i>	ten
<i>meye wukume</i>	five (<i>deme wukume</i> one hand)
<i>mi-</i>	vegetable food class marker (class vi)
<i>mi-</i>	causative prefix to verb root
<i>mi-baty</i> [dangim-]	aim (target is indirect object)
<i>mi-bebi</i>	self
<i>mi-bebi</i> [dinyerem-]	look at self

<i>mibimirriny</i> (Ngm. <i>mipurrmursi</i>)	red apple
<i>mibuymarri</i>	banana
* <i>midamuy</i>	seed (<i>damuy</i> eye)
<i>midamurri</i>	type of vine bearing five-cornered fruit (<i>damurri</i> testicles, <i>amurri</i> egg)
<i>mi-di</i> [<i>bengim-</i>]	cause to cry
<i>mi-di mudiga</i> [<i>dem-</i>]	start car (Reid 97)
<i>midirrwi</i> (Ngm. <i>migadi</i>)	black plum
<i>mi-du</i> [<i>dingim-IOPn-</i>]	ask permission
<i>midugurr</i>	small brown nut
<i>mi-fa</i> (<i>mi-fafa</i>) [<i>bengim-</i>]	cause to scream
<i>mi-fala</i> [<i>dem-</i>]	show something to someone (DOpn)
<i>mi-fala ngani-kide</i> [<i>dem-DOpn-</i>]	show someone how to do something
<i>mi-fal</i> [<i>dangim-</i>]	keep someone awake all night (OA4)
<i>mifengku</i>	long yam (<i>fengku</i> long)
<i>mi-ferr</i> (<i>mi-ferrirr</i>) [<i>dinem-</i>]	heat up
[<i>wupun-</i>]	cause to panic (impersonal)
<i>mi-filfil</i> [<i>wupun-</i> ; <i>dingim-</i>]	wake up (trans)
<i>mi-fili</i> [<i>bengim-</i>]	cause to move about excitedly
* <i>mifinfin</i>	stringy bark, gum of stringy bark tree
<i>mifiny</i>	juice
<i>mifiyi</i>	bush tucker
<i>mifugume</i>	type of fruit
<i>mi-fulirr</i> [<i>wudupun-</i>]	sharpen
<i>mi-fuyfuy</i> [<i>dangim-</i>]	wipe (Tryon)
<i>migaga</i>	fig tree
* <i>migangkityen</i>	edible lily with small blue flowers
<i>miganmi, migenbi</i>	cotton tree (<i>Cochlospermum</i> sp.)
<i>mi-kay</i> [<i>dangim-</i>]	cause to call out
<i>mi-kerrety</i> [<i>dinyingkin-</i>]	look at (OA4)
[<i>dinyerem-</i>]	look at (reflexive/reciprocal) (OA1,2)
<i>mikulurrfuk</i> (Ngm. <i>milwalirra</i>)	water yam
<i>mi-kurr</i> [<i>wupun-</i>]	dig
<i>mikurum</i>	small nuts
<i>mikuri, muykuri, mutykuri</i>	tears
<i>mil</i>	small black and white bird
<i>milmilman</i>	small flat stick for scraping sunburn
* <i>milwadi, milwarri</i>	waist, ribs
<i>mimanmamba</i>	white apple
<i>mimeli</i>	purple plum
* <i>mimenem</i>	crawling plum
<i>mimeyikefi</i>	black berry
<i>mimeyime</i>	turkey bush
* <i>mimuy</i>	type of yam (<i>muy</i> self, <i>damuy</i> eye, <i>midamuy</i> seed)
<i>minati</i> (Ngm. <i>minbadi</i>)	large
<i>mintyiri</i>	cold

<i>mintyiri</i> [dem-]	have a cold
<i>miniminti</i>	type of lily with edible seed (lotus)
<i>minintyi</i>	herb, seed
* <i>minmi</i>	no, nothing
<i>minmi-ket</i> [dagam-]	turn off onto another road
<i>minmipi</i>	elbow
<i>minmi wurru</i>	no indeed
<i>minta</i> (Ngm. <i>minbe</i>)	not, none
<i>minta detyengi nimbi</i>	a long time
<i>minta fafawerri</i>	quiet
<i>minta fekiderrri</i>	a little while, soon
<i>minta fala</i>	nobody (probably <i>minta</i> + 'fellow')
<i>mintaka</i>	no, not at all, nothing
<i>minta kene</i>	no one
<i>minta mi</i>	no food
<i>minta nimbi</i>	not before
<i>minta tyerrnganki</i>	dumb
<i>minta tyerri</i>	deaf
<i>minta yewirr</i>	empty (of bucket)
<i>minyirr</i>	thirsty
<i>minyirr</i> [wayim-DOpn-]	be thirsty (impersonal)
[dem-]	have a cold
<i>minyirr</i> (<i>miminyirr</i>) [wudem-; dim-]	laugh
[wupun-; dengim-]	kill, stab (OA1)
* <i>mingankiny</i>	pandanus nut
<i>minganmimbi</i>	Leichhardt pine
<i>mingarangka</i>	red plum
* <i>mingari</i>	small lily root, red lily seeds (<i>mengari</i> fingernail, <i>firngari</i> toenail)
* <i>mingugurr</i>	tamarind
<i>mi-palak</i>	dazzle, cause to blink
<i>mi-pek</i> [bengim-]	cause to stick upright
<i>miperperk, miperperkngini</i>	black gum, chewing gum
<i>mi-pit</i> [wudupun-]	rub tobacco in ashes
<i>mipiyagany</i> (Ngm. <i>midafi</i>)	cheeky yam
<i>mipurpurrk</i>	lots of vegetable food, fruit
<i>mipurrmadi</i>	type of creeper bearing edible fruit
<i>mipurrmursi</i>	red apple
* <i>mirr</i> (<i>mirrmirr</i>) [wupun-; yenim-]	thunder
* <i>mirri</i>	sun
<i>mirri depi</i>	midday
<i>mirri dim fel kana</i>	in the morning (lit. the sun hits the ground now)
<i>mirri kultyi</i>	in the evening, just on sunset
<i>mirri meng ketet kana</i>	sunrise (lit. the sun comes out now)
* <i>mirrimirri yeyi, mirri yeyi</i>	everyday
* <i>mirringki</i>	leaf
<i>mirringki marrgu</i>	little crocodile (lit. new leaf)

<i>mirrisyarra</i>	blind
* <i>mirrgangka</i>	daylight, morning
<i>mirrgangkingki</i>	in the daytime
<i>mirri yenim tum kana</i>	twilight (lit. sun goes down now)
<i>mirri yeyi nawa</i>	the day after tomorrow
<i>misya</i>	passionfruit
<i>misyawuni</i>	wild potato
<i>misyani</i>	billy goat plum
<i>mi-syarr [wupun-]</i>	bail out boat (Reid 98)
<i>misyin</i>	oven, fire place
* <i>misyin-kulli [yenim-]</i>	put on a fire
* <i>misyin-pudup [wudupun-]</i>	blow fire and make it burn
<i>misyin-pul [bengim-]</i>	uncover (food in fire)
<i>misyin-pup [dangim-]</i>	put beside fire
<i>[dingim-]</i>	put in fire
<i>misyin-wa [mengkin-]</i>	take out of fire
<i>misyin-wurity [wupun-]</i>	make an oven, put in fire
* <i>misyiwirr</i>	type of cheeky yam
<i>mi-syusu [diwem-; dim-]</i>	splash (reflexive/reciprocal)
<i>mi-tal [dangim-]</i>	wake up (trans)
<i>mi-ta^l [dem-]</i>	be unable to open eye (Reid 97)
<i>mi-tit [dem-] (Ngm. mididy)</i>	have a headache (impersonal)
<i>[wudem-]</i>	complain
* <i>mi-tum [dem-]</i>	steal
<i>[bengim-]</i>	close up, lock (Reid 98)
<i>mityangari</i>	blue water lily
<i>mi-tyip [wupun-DOPn-]</i>	lose one's way (impersonal)
<i>[dinyerem-]</i>	realise one is lost
<i>mi-tyirr [wupun-]</i>	chase
<i>mityity</i>	white woman ('missus')
* <i>mityiptyipmuy</i>	black plum
<i>mityityul</i>	lily root
<i>mityukmuy</i>	black plum
<i>mi-wat [wupun-]</i>	bear fruit
<i>minta wupun miwat yenim</i>	it does not bear fruit
<i>mi-way [dangim-]</i>	be giddy (from vertigo)
<i>miwerrmisya</i>	red plum (with bark like the skin of a fresh water crocodile [<i>ewerrmisyal</i>]) (Reid 33)
<i>mi-wukumuy</i>	type of plum
* <i>mi-wul/mu-wul [wudupun-]</i>	return, take back
<i>wudupun nginti mi-wul</i>	he brought it for me
<i>wudupun ngi mi-wul</i>	he brought me back
<i>mi-wul damuy [wudupun-]</i>	turn someone's face
* <i>miwulngini</i>	lotus red lily
* <i>miyi</i>	vegetable food (generic term)
<i>mudiga</i>	motor car (English)
<i>mudirr</i>	eye brow

<i>mu-fuyfuy</i> [wupun-]	brush away flies (<i>amu</i> fly)
* <i>muk</i>	sore, cut
<i>mukwerri</i>	scarred
<i>mulfang</i>	sharp, pointed
<i>mulfang</i> [bengim-]	sharpen
<i>mulurru</i> (wa-, wur-)	lame, cripple
* <i>mumba, mumbanelen</i>	path, road
<i>mumu</i>	forbidden, secret
<i>mumu</i> (wa-)	policeman
<i>mundupan</i>	green water melon
* <i>mundurrk</i>	ankle
<i>mununuk</i>	promised husband, reception committee of men (Reid 141)
* <i>mungkunmungkunymi</i>	whirly whirly
<i>munyerr</i> (wur-)	mature woman
<i>mungumungki, munggumungki</i>	reflection, soul, shadow
* <i>munguyil</i>	paddle
<i>murrisyia</i>	body louse
<i>mursi</i> [-yenim]	die
* <i>mursikin</i> (wa-, wur-)	dumb
<i>mursirr</i> [dem-]	move
<i>musyari</i> (wa-, wur-), <i>musyerityerr</i> (wa-, wur-) (Ngm. <i>mudyari</i>)	slow, soft-spoken (man, woman)
<i>musyung</i>	swag, load
<i>mu-tyirryirr</i> [wupun-]	brush away flies (<i>amu</i> fly, <i>damuy</i> eye) from eyes
<i>muy</i>	self
<i>muy</i> (da-)	eye
<i>muy</i> [dinyingkin-DOPn-] [wirnyerem-OPn-] (non- singular form of <i>dinyerem</i>)	see someone
<i>muydetyi</i>	see each other
<i>minta derrigirri ngerim muydetyi</i>	be stared at
<i>muygi</i>	I don't like being stared at
<i>muykuri, mutykuri</i> (Ngm. <i>muykuru</i>)	argument
<i>muywasyan</i>	tears
<i>muy-wursirr</i> [-yenim]	eye lash
<i>dim-IOpn-</i>	be afraid
<i>muyeyi</i>	be afraid of someone
<i>muyeyi</i> (wa-, wur-)	foreign
	stranger
N	
<i>naga</i> (Ngm. <i>nuga</i>)	friend, wife's brother
<i>nagarri</i> (Ngm. <i>narrgu</i>)	you (dual) (personal pronoun)
* <i>nagurr</i>	you (plural) (personal pronoun)
* <i>naka</i>	red loin cloth

<i>nali</i> [<i>yenim-</i>]	hang around
<i>nana</i>	might
<i>nanama</i>	song
<i>nanama</i> (<i>wa-</i> , <i>wur-</i>)	singer
<i>nanama</i> [<i>dim-/girim;</i> <i>wirribem-/girribem-</i>]	sing (usually refers to a lot of people)
<i>nanama werrem syirr</i>	they are all singing (<i>syirr</i> rain, flow)
<i>nangan</i>	that person (demonstrative pronoun)
<i>napa</i>	only, very
<i>napadeti/naparreti</i>	always, still
<i>nawa</i>	then (emphatic), may indicate preference for subject of phrase or clause over preceding subject name of Daly River Mission
<i>nawiyu</i>	we, us (dual inclusive personal pronoun)
* <i>nayin</i>	we, us (plural inclusive personal pronoun)
<i>nayin nime</i>	for him (3rd person masculine singular indirect object pronoun) (in Ngm. <i>ne</i> is also the purposive clitic in the noun phrase)
* <i>ne</i>	road
* <i>nelen</i>	he, him (3rd person masculine singular personal pronoun)
* <i>nem</i>	horse
* <i>nendu</i>	3rd person masculine singular indirect object of dual subject
<i>nerr</i>	locative marker
* <i>nide</i>	from, if (ablative marker)
* <i>nimbi</i>	us (dual inclusive object pronoun)
* <i>nin</i>	us (plural inclusive object pronoun)
* <i>nin nime</i>	knee
* <i>nintyi</i> (<i>de-</i>)	fold blankets (Reid 95)
<i>nintyi-fakurr</i> [<i>dagam-</i>]	kneel (lit. cold knees)
<i>nintyi-lirr</i> [<i>demen-</i>]	bush
<i>nintyinintyi</i>	bush, undergrowth
<i>nintyinintyi weti</i>	knee cap
* <i>nintyisyawuni</i>	that one
<i>ningan</i> (<i>a-</i> , <i>ye-</i>)	agent/instrumental clitic
* <i>ningki</i>	elbow
<i>nityiwuwu</i> (Ngm. <i>nityiwu</i>)	orphan
* <i>nuguman</i> (<i>wa-</i> , <i>wur-</i>)	seven sisters constellation
<i>nugurr</i> (<i>yerr-</i>)	steal
<i>nunbime</i> [<i>girim-</i>]	
NY	
<i>nyerr</i>	2nd personal singular direct object of dual subject
<i>nyim</i>	hurt

- * *nyin, nyinin* that, there (usually refers to someone/something unseen by the speaker at the time; most common demonstrative in narrative)
- * *nyinyi* you (2nd person singular personal pronoun)
- nyirra* friend

NG

- ngaga (wa-)* abductor
- ngaga - wa [-mengkin-]* abduct
- ngagarri (Ngm. ngarrgu)* we/us (dual exclusive personal pronoun)
- * *ngagurr* we/us (plural exclusive personal pronoun)
- ngal-syi [dim-/girim-; wibem-; yenim-]* be aloof, have one's hose in the air, frown
- * *ngalwangka* type of short-necked turtle
- ngamama* deaf
- ngambaty* tide
- ngamentyiket* brother/sister-in-law
- ngan* there, where, here (introduces locative adverbial phrases and clauses)
- nganambala* steep bank, cliff
- ngan-derri [dim-/girim-]* ride horse, be/sit on top (Tryon)
- ngan-dirr [dim-/girim-]* be/sit on edge (e.g. billabong)
- * *ngangka* story, word, language
- nganki [yenim-]* speak the language
- [yenim-Opn-]* scold
- ngan-firr [dim-/girim-]* sit at foot of (e.g. tree, hill)
- [wirribem-/girribem-]* be/stand at foot of
- [wibem-/gibem-]* lie at foot of
- ngani* like, similar, in that way
- ngani n. gimin yenim leli* pretend to be n.
- ngani kide* how?
- ngani kide ngini ngudu bul ngini kagu* how will I cook this meat?
- ngani kide (a-, mi-, yerr-)* what sort of?
- * *nganime* star
- nganime kerre* morning star
- * *nganingiyi* night, darkness, tonight
- nganingiyi* darkness
- nganingiyi mendi mendi* every night
- nganingiyi nimbi* last night
- ngani wuni gimin* alike, similar
- * *ngan-garri [wirribem-/girribem-]* lean (intrans), be behind
- ngankin* screw palm
- nganmadi* inside
- * *ngan-madi [dim-/girim-]* be inside
- ngan-madi-tyerr [dim-/girim-]* fall into water (from canoe)

<i>ngan-mentyi</i> [<i>dim-/girim-; wirribem-/gerribem-</i>]	wait
<i>ngan-wantyirr</i> [<i>dim-/girim-DOpn-</i>]	sit near someone (<i>dawantyirr</i> armpit, side of body)
<i>ngangkurr</i> (<i>wa-</i>)	young man, simple man
(<i>a-</i>)	prawn
<i>ngarrapa</i> (<i>wa-, wur-</i>)	weak (of body)
(<i>yerr-</i>)	light (of wood)
<i>ngarrngureri</i>	centre
<i>ngari</i>	nail, scale of fish, shell of turtle
<i>firrngari</i>	toenail
<i>mengari</i>	fingernail
<i>ngari</i> [<i>wupun-</i>]	prise open turtle (OA1)
* <i>ngatya</i> (Ngm. <i>ngatha</i>)	father, father's brother
<i>ngayi</i>	I/me (1st person singular personal pronoun)
* <i>ngayim</i>	she/her (3rd person feminine singular personal pronoun)
* <i>ngaytpirr</i>	far off, a long way
<i>nge</i>	for/to her (3rd feminine singular indirect object)
<i>ngedengede</i> [<i>yenim-</i>]	pant (Tryon)
<i>ngekin</i> (Ngm. <i>ngikin</i>)	anus, faeces
<i>ngekin garri</i>	small intestine
<i>ngekin masyapurr</i>	large intestine
<i>ngenike</i> (Ngm. <i>ngeningge</i>)	sister
<i>ngerr</i>	3rd feminine singular indirect object of dual subject
<i>ngete</i>	ant hill, ant bed
<i>ngi</i>	me (1st person singular direct object pronoun)
* <i>ngidi</i> [<i>dim-</i>]	sit and wait
<i>ngindi</i> (Ngm. <i>ngiti</i>)	for/to me (1st person singular indirect object pronoun)
<i>ngini</i>	future tense marker (with verbs) (Ngm. <i>pe</i>) purposive clitic (with nouns) (Ngm. <i>ne</i>)
* <i>nginifiny</i>	true, very, properly, genuine
<i>ngirr</i>	us (1st plural exclusive object pronoun)
<i>ngirr (ngirrngirr)</i> [<i>-dim</i>]	be asleep
* <i>ngirrgifiriny</i>	spring
<i>ngirrki</i>	us (1st dual exclusive object pronoun)
* <i>ngirrngirr</i> [<i>-wibem</i>]	be asleep
<i>ngirrngirr - tu</i> [<i>-yenim-</i>]	go to sleep
<i>ngirrwat</i>	person of the same name
<i>ngirrwat (a-)</i>	dreaming animal, totem
* <i>ngirkirk</i> [<i>-mem</i>]	be short of breath
<i>ngirkirk yubu</i> (<i>wa-</i>)	a man having 'good wind'
<i>ngirkngirk</i> [<i>dim-</i>]	growl (dog)
<i>ngityingani</i>	at night
<i>ngityirr</i> (Ngm. <i>ngithirr</i>)	earth, ground, funeral

<i>ngityirr bafun</i>	dusty
<i>ngityirrkun</i>	passed away, the late ...
<i>ngityirr abarri</i>	boggy ground
<i>ngityirr perperkngini</i>	mud
<i>ngityirwerri</i>	dirty
<i>ngulfi (±yerr-)</i>	log
* <i>ngukuma (±a-)</i>	dreaming, totem
* <i>ngunngun</i>	mangrove spear
* <i>ngunu</i>	remember! (exclamation)
<i>ngunyiningki (Ngm. wadaningki)</i>	tomorrow
<i>ngunyiningki kultyika</i>	tomorrow night
<i>ngunyiningki tyamirri</i>	every morning
<i>ngunguni (±yerr-)</i>	bark painting, stringy bark
<i>ngunguwe</i>	mirage (Tryon)
<i>ngurrket [bengim-]</i>	stop (of rain)
<i>ngurrp (Ngm. angiri)</i>	emu
<i>ngurrputy [dim-; dem-]</i>	fly away (birds)
<i>ngurrputy (ngurrputyuty) werrmem-</i> (non-singular forms of <i>demen-</i>)	separate and go different directions, spread out (e.g. cattle)
<i>ngure-waty [daran-]</i>	copulate (Tryon)

P

* <i>pagu</i>	this way, toward speaker, bring/come here! (exclamation)
* <i>pal [yenim-]</i> <i>[dagam-; bengim-; wupun-]</i> <i>[-mem]</i>	break (intrans)
<i>daba pal mem</i>	break (trans), cut down (tree) (OA1)
<i>pal (palpil) [dingim-; dem-]</i>	break (body part)
<i>palamurri yewirr (Ngm. palamurru)</i>	he broke his arm
<i>palat</i>	have, take
<i>palat (papalat) [dagam-]</i>	singing sticks
<i>papalat [wirribem-]</i>	plain
* <i>palayin</i>	pass by
* <i>pallak [-mem; -dim]</i>	be passing by
* <i>[wirribem-]</i>	fire drill
<i>[yetyin-]</i>	be tired/hurt/lazy
<i>[dem-]</i>	give birth, lay eggs
<i>pallak (papallak) [wibem-]</i>	lose
<i>papallak [dem-]</i>	lose, drop, cause to be sick, cause to excrete
<i>pallak - muy [-mem-]</i>	be sick
<i>pal-madi-wirsi [wudupun-]</i>	have a lot of children
<i>palpilingini</i>	wink
<i>panmi</i>	smile
<i>panmi (da-)</i>	lazy
	forked branch
	lower half of body, two legs

<i>panmi-baty</i> [dagam-]	kick in crotch (Reid 42)
<i>panmi-ta</i> [dem-]	cut into joints (echidna)
<i>pangunpangun</i>	willy willy
* <i>pap</i> (<i>papup</i>) [dim-]	sit up high
[yenim-]	climb, get out of water
<i>parakut</i>	bucket (Kriol)
<i>pat</i> [dagam-]	catch up with someone
<i>pat</i> (<i>patpit</i>) [dem-; dingim-]	wake up, fly, get up, rise (OA4,4a)
<i>pata</i>	look out! (exclamation)
<i>patpat</i>	grasshopper
* <i>pawal</i> [dangim-]	spear, pierce, bite (mosquito)
[wayim-]	burn (intrans)
<i>payik</i>	bag (Kriol)
* <i>pefi</i>	towards (of direction) (away from speaker), almost (of time)
<i>pefika</i>	look out! move away!
<i>pek</i> [wudem-]	be standing upright in ground (intrans) (OA4)
[wudupun-]	stick in ground, stand upright in ground (trans)
[daran-]	paint self (OA1)
<i>pek</i> (<i>pekpek</i>) [dangim-]	drip, leak
<i>peke</i>	tobacco
<i>peleli</i> [dem-]	stir around (Reid 103)
<i>perek</i>	fence (Kriol)
* <i>perrety</i> [-mem]	be dead, die
[bengim-DOpn-]	be cold (impersonal)
<i>perperk/perpirk</i>	footprints
<i>ngityirr perperkngini</i>	mud
<i>perperk</i> (<i>mi-</i>), <i>perperkngini</i> (<i>mi-</i>)	black gum, chewing gum
<i>perperk/perpirk</i> [yenim-; yirrini-]	make footprints
<i>perperk</i> [dangim-]	collide with (cars), smash (flesh to make if soft) (Reid 17)
* <i>peyi</i>	there
* <i>pi</i> (<i>de-</i>)	head
<i>pi</i> [wi-]	comb hair
[wi-IOpn-]	comb one's hair
[wupun-]	comb hair, wash away house (flood)
<i>pi-batybity</i> [yenim-]	grow (of creepers)
<i>pibuy</i>	beloved (of child), term of endearment
<i>pidudu/pududu</i> [dem-]	heap up
* <i>pi-gat</i> (<i>pigatit</i>) [dagam-]	creep up on (OA1)
[bengim-]	hide (trans, reflexive), make an ambush (non- singular subject)
<i>pi-ket</i> [bengim-]	cut hair
<i>pikirri ya</i>	go away! (exclamation)
<i>pilkitypilkity</i> [wirribem-]	rotate (wheel of car) (Reid 50)
<i>pimadi</i>	chest bone, sternum
<i>pimimbi</i>	all the bones of a body

<i>pimut</i>	influenza
<i>pinpin</i>	arm band
* <i>pipiri</i>	brain
<i>pirr/wirr</i>	them (3rd person plural object pronoun)
<i>pirr [dem-]</i>	depart, leave someone (DOpn) behind, get away
<i>pirri (Ngm. mbirri)</i>	in front, ahead, first
<i>pirrki/wirrki</i>	them (3rd person dual object pronoun)
<i>pirrpirrk [yeni-]</i>	crawl from underneath (snake)
<i>piri</i>	pus (Reid 41)
<i>piyagigi</i>	chicken hawk
<i>pityiwakaty</i>	menstruation
<i>piwari (Ngm. puwari)</i>	name
<i>kene piwari nyinyi</i>	what is your name?
<i>piwulil</i>	vines (Reid 21)
<i>pi-yiri [dem-]</i>	be shy/embarrassed (impersonal)
<i>pudup [wayim-; kawam-]</i>	melt (intrans) (OA2)
<i>[dinem-]</i>	melt (trans)
<i>[yeni-]</i>	carry child on shoulder
<i>pududu/pidudu [dem-]</i>	heap up
* <i>pugali</i>	cousin
<i>pugup [wudupun-]</i>	burn down (trans)
* <i>pul [wayim-; kawam-]</i>	burn (intrans) (OA4)
<i>[bengi-]</i>	clear away, uncover, clear camp site (OA4)
<i>[dingim-]</i>	eat up, clear away by eating or drinking (OA4)
<i>[dem-]</i>	wash (OA1,3)
<i>[demen-]</i>	wash self
<i>pulpulmuy (wa-, wur-)</i>	spoilt
* <i>pultyerrk (Ngm. a-)</i>	black eagle hawk
<i>pulurrk</i>	shield
<i>pundurung</i>	Leitchfield station
* <i>pup (pupup) [dingim-; wudupun-;</i>	
<i>dangim-]</i>	put on ground
<i>[mengkin-]</i>	stir up fire, catch fire
<i>puputyin [dingim-]</i>	plant (e.g. seeds in ground)
<i>pupumuy [dim-IOpn-]</i>	'humbug' someone (Reid 49)
<i>pupuritymadi</i>	slippery
* <i>pupuritymuy (wa-, wur-)</i>	handsome, beautiful, 'flash'
* <i>purrfuy [wayim-]</i>	give off an aroma, smell (while burning) (OA4)
<i>[bengi-]</i>	smell good (of rain)
<i>[dinem-]</i>	give off an aroma while cooking
<i>purrk [yirripin-]</i>	dance (OA2)
* <i>purrk (purpurrk) [dim-; wirribem-;</i>	
<i>yeni-; dagam-]</i>	dance
* <i>purr-gulirr [wim-]</i>	paddle
<i>purr-ket [yeni-]</i>	stop (intrans)
<i>[dem-]</i>	stop, stop work

- * *purrngpurrng* [wayim-; kawam-]
 wayim *pirrki purrngpurrng*
purrngpurrng [dinem-]
 [dem-]
purrpurr [dangim-]
purrpurrk (awa-)
 (a-, mi-, yerr-)
- purr-syusyu* [demen-]
purr-wa [mengkin-]
purr-wat [wupun-]
purity (pupurity) [yenim-]
 [wudupun-]
- putput*
 * *puy*
- boil (intrans/impersonal) (OA2)
 the two (billycans) are boiling
 boil (trans) (OA1)
 make bubbles (turtle in water)
 drip
 children
 a lot of (animals, vegetable food,
 grass/plants/things)
 bury oneself (like a goanna)
 pick up a fire stick
 hook spear in woomera
 hide (intrans), lose one's way
 hide (trans)
 pregnant woman
 continuous adverb, keep on doing it! (exclamation)

SY

- sya*
- * *syalarr* [wayim-]
syarr [dem-]
- * *syarri*
 wayim *ti syarri*
syarriki
sytetyirr (wa-, wur, a-, wu-)
 (Ngm. *syarrityirr*)
sentyiri
- * *syi* (de-)
- syi* (syisiyi) [wupun-; wi-]
 [wibem-]
 [dim-]
- * *syisiyi* [yenim-]
syi-baty [bengim-]
 [dingim-]
- * *syi-bang* [dangim-]
syi-fuyfuy [dem-]
 [dangim-]
 [daran-; demen-]
- syigininy* (Ngm. *tyigininy*)
syinbirr (Ngm. *tyinbirr*)
syingki
syingkimuy
 (yerr-)
- * *syirr* [dangim-]
 [wirribem-]
- go away! (said to animals)
 dry oneself, get warm
 take off (shirt) (Reid 24)
 hot, run, hurry (exclamation)
 almost dry
 hot
 wild, angry, fierce, cheeky (man, woman, animal,
 dog), hot (of sun)
 bubbles
 nose, nostrils, bow of canoe, hook on woomera,
 top of hill
 splash (trans), wet (trans)
 sweat
 shiver
 paddle
 smell (trans)
 drown
 pierce nose (in order to insert nose peg)
 blow nose
 wipe nose
 wipe nose (reflexive)
 nose peg
 roast
 bitter, sour, strong tasting
 sour
 strong tobacco
 flow (OA1,3)
 run down (of water)

[wirribem-IOpn-]	sweat
[kawam-]	melt (intrans) (OA1)
[dem-]	squeeze, wring out, shake
[demen-DOpn-]	scratch self, be itchy (OA1)
nanama werrem syirr	they are all singing
* syirrsyirr [wirribem-; wibem-; yenim-]	rain
syirre	behind, afterwards
syirre derri	behind
syirre kirri	after a while
Sunday syirre nawa	next week (after Sunday then)
syirre nyin kirri	immediately after that
syirre nyinin	later on
* syirre - muy [-mem-IOpn-]	look behind, look away
syirrsyirrtiyerr [yirri-]	break into pieces
syiting	wind break (probably Kriol from 'sheeting' – corrugated iron) see <i>yitetum</i>
syi-wat [wupun-]	hook spear into woomera
syi-wul (syiwulil) [wudupun-]	turn (boat) (trans)
	turn (intrans)
syiwurr	waterfall
syungkun (Ngm. tyunggun)	grey-haired, ghost
* syurr [wupun-; wudupun-]	pluck, shave fur off animal
[dangim-]	scrape off (e.g. prickles off echidna)
syusyu [wi-]	splash (OA4)

RS

rsi (rsirsi) [yetyin-]	cut
[yetyin-IOpn-]	cut self

T

ta	emphatic suffix
* ta (da-)	shoulder
ta [wupun-]	catch, hit with stick
[mem-]	leave (OA1)
* tada [dem-]	peel (OA1)
[bengim-]	scrape off bark
tadu [dem-]	pull (OA1)
tal [wayim-]	dry oneself
tal-pi [wudem-]	fall on head
[wudupun-]	cause to fall on head
[bengim-]	hit on head
ta-me [dim-]	sit with open hands
tatakma	passionfruit

<i>ta-pup</i> [diwen-]	carry on shoulders (OA4a)
[<i>dim</i> -]	be carrying on shoulders
<i>taringbela</i>	land beyond creek at Daly River
<i>tatit</i> [dem-]	light fire, set wood in place for fire
[<i>dangim</i> -DOpn-]	float (log, leaves in water) (impersonal) (OA4)
<i>mirringki bakuty garim pirr tatit</i>	
<i>gaganim kuri-nide</i>	lots of leaves are floating on the water
<i>taty-pal</i> [-dem-]	break, snap off
<i>teti</i> [<i>dim</i> -]	cut up, chop
* <i>tidi</i> (<i>titidi</i>) [<i>wudupun</i> -; <i>dem</i> -]	push
<i>tintinma</i>	quiet
<i>tinyang</i>	dreaming place
<i>tingityirr</i>	turtle hole (in dried up mud)
<i>tip</i> (<i>titip</i>) [dem-]	catch, catch in a net (OA4)
<i>titip</i> [dim-; <i>yenim</i> -]	catch
* <i>tipek</i> (<i>tipefik</i>) [<i>dangim</i> -]	follow
<i>tipup</i> [dem-]	return, give back (message stick)
<i>tirr</i>	you (2nd person plural object pronoun)
<i>tirrk</i>	you (2nd person dual object pronoun)
* <i>tit</i> [<i>dangim</i> -DOpn-]	be full/sated (impersonal)
[<i>win</i> -]	choke
<i>tit - mentyi</i> [- <i>dim</i> -]	look around, turn head
<i>titit</i> [<i>wudupun</i> -]	dust (trans), shake (trans)
[<i>daran</i> -]	shiver (with cold)
<i>tityit</i> [<i>wudupun</i> -]	fold (blanket)
* <i>tu</i> (<i>tutu</i>) [<i>wirribem</i> -; <i>yenim</i> -]	camp, sleep
<i>tutu</i> [<i>yetyin</i> -Opn-]	take as wife (OA4)
<i>tularr</i>	bearded dragon
* <i>tum</i> (<i>tundum</i>) [dem-]	plant, bury
[<i>dim</i> -]	go down (sun), sink (boat)
[<i>demen</i> -]	bury self
<i>turrbu</i>	a splash
<i>tuwul</i> (<i>tutuwul</i>) [<i>wudupun</i> -DOpn-]	be washed down a river, float, flow along (impersonal) (OA4)

TY

<i>tyabuty</i>	grandfather (m.f.), grandchild (d.s.)
* <i>tyagani</i>	why? what?
<i>tyaganawa</i> (\pm <i>yerr</i> -)	something or other
<i>tyaganawa ngini</i>	what for?
<i>tyaganimbi</i>	why?
<i>tyaganimbinawa</i>	cause unknown, I don't know why
<i>tyagani ngini</i>	what for?
<i>tyagani werri</i>	how?
<i>tyalak</i> (Ngm. <i>thalak</i>)	upright, straight

* <i>tyerr</i> (de-)	ear
<i>tyerri</i> [dangim-]	whisper, promise (OA1)
[bengim-]	lose
<i>tyerr-baty</i> [wibem-]	hear, understand, know
[wibem-IOpn-]	hear someone call
<i>tyerriwundi</i>	ear wax
<i>tyerr-yilil</i> [bengim-]	understand
<i>tyerrgarrfungge</i>	lips (Tryon)
<i>tyerr-gat</i> (tyerr-gatit) [dangim-]	father, pick someone up in a car
[dingim-]	answer someone (DOpn)
<i>tyerr-kay</i> [dangim-]	call, ask
<i>tyerr-ket</i> [dim-]	be stuck (in sand)
* [bengim-]	shave
[dingim-]	light cigarette
<i>tyerr-kukuduk</i> [wursu-]	put tongue in and out (snakes)
* <i>tyerr-lala</i> (tyerr-lalalala) [bengim-]	chop open, split
<i>tyerr-lek</i> [diwen-]	lick lips (reflexive)
<i>tyerr-me</i> [yenim-]	stop for a short time
<i>tyerr-pallak</i> [wudupun-]	stop (trans)
<i>yudu ngi tyerr-pallak nganki wulek</i>	stop me if I say anything wrongly
<i>nimbi ngimi ngini</i>	fall off, come unstuck (spear head)
<i>tyerr-pallak</i> [yenim-]	fill up bag
<i>tyerr-pek</i> [wudupun-]	ask (reduplicated form Reid 105)
<i>tyerrpu</i> (tyerr-pupu) [dangim-DOpn-]	tread on
* <i>tyerr-syirr</i> (tyerr-syirrsyirr) [dagam-]	squash
[dangim-]	strike (lightning)
[wupun-]	fall and break to pieces
[wudem-]	shave (self) (OA1)
<i>tyerr-syurr</i> [win-IOpn-]	open
<i>tyerr-ta</i> [dem-]	yawn
<i>tyerr-tatit</i> [dem-]	blow (dust off something), lay fire (OA2)
* <i>tyerr-tit</i> [wupun-]	cause to sink, pull under
<i>tyerr-tum</i> [dem-]	sink (intrans)
[dim-]	close
[wupun-]	cut up (e.g. goose into joints)
<i>tyerr-tyalit</i> [bengim-]	fasten (head on spear)
<i>tyerr-tyap</i> [mengkin-]	put into bag, fill bag
<i>tyerr-tyuk</i> [dangim-]	beard, moustache
<i>tyerrwasyan</i> (Ngm. tyerrwuwu)	land near airstrip at Daly River Mission
<i>tyerrwel</i>	put in mouth (reflexive)
<i>tyerr-wirr</i> [wudem-IOpn-; wi-]	tie up mouth of sack
<i>tyerr-wurr</i> [mengkin-]	overflow (Reid 95)
<i>tyerr-wityity</i> [wudem-]	stop
* <i>tyety - ge</i> [-mem-]	the rain stopped
<i>kuri tyety meng ge</i>	the little boy stopped (crying) when his mother
<i>wa-weti tyety meng ge miyi gimin</i>	gave him food
<i>kalla nem dangi fime</i>	

* <i>tyi</i>	breast, nipple, milk
<i>tyidaty</i>	large wallaby
* <i>tyifek</i>	spittle
<i>tyifek - we [-yeni-]</i>	spit
<i>tyikmempi</i>	
(Ngm. <i>tyikmamadi/tyipmamadi</i>)	black, blue
<i>tyikpala [-wibem-]</i>	be sick (from English 'sick fella')
<i>tyikpala kerre</i>	very sick
<i>tyindiny</i>	wind break
<i>tyip</i>	all day, until dark
<i>tyip [dangim-]</i>	fall of night, set of sun, become dark
<i>tyiptyip [dingim-]</i>	go black (e.g. sky, fruit)
<i>tyip-tyerri [-mem-]</i>	forget
<i>tyipmempi defirr</i>	sole of foot
<i>tyirrity [-wirrim-]</i> (plural of <i>-dim</i>)	be squashed up/crowded together
<i>tyirringapala [dim-; yeni-]</i>	sneeze
<i>tyityi [-mem-IOpn-]</i>	be surprised at someone (Reid 102)
<i>tyityip [mengkin-DOpn-]</i>	be jealous of someone (Reid 15)
* <i>tyuk [dagam-]</i>	be unable to (remember, paddle)
<i>[wupun-]</i>	hit, scold, beat, kill (OA1,4)
<i>[wirrem-]</i> (non-singular form of	
<i>[diwen-]</i>	hit, kill (reciprocal)
<i>[dim-]</i>	be gathered there (see <i>tyutyuk</i> gather together)
<i>fepi peyi bakuty dini tyuk tye</i>	there were lots of stones gathered there
<i>[wayim-Opn-]</i>	be hot (impersonal)
<i>[dinem-]</i>	burn up (trans)
<i>[kawam-]</i>	be cooked
<i>tyuk (tyutyuk) [wudupun-]</i>	send, let go
<i>tyuga</i>	sugar (English)
* <i>tyul (tyityul) [bengim-]</i>	cook, roast, cover (OA1)
* <i>tyululu [dem-]</i>	tickle
<i>[werrem-]</i> (non-singular of	
<i>demen-)</i>	tickle (reciprocal) (OA1)
* <i>tyulut</i>	hook, spear
<i>tyundityi</i>	fish spear, wire spear
* <i>tyung (tyintyung, tyungmem) [bengim-]</i>	to wet (trans)
<i>tyungmem</i>	be wet, wet
<i>tyungut tyungut</i>	frogmouth
* <i>tyurr (tyutyurr) [dim-]</i>	be swimming
<i>[dim-IOpn-; wudupun-]</i>	be swimming with intention of catching something
<i>[-yeni-/yeni-]</i>	(e.g. turtle)
<i>tyurutu</i> (Ngm. <i>tyiritu</i>) <i>[wupun-;</i>	swim, have a bath
<i>dangim-]</i>	
<i>tyusyuk [-mem-]</i>	slit open stomach to remove guts
<i>tyusuk - body part [-mem-]</i>	be hurt/sore
<i>dege tyusyuk ngim ge</i>	have a hurt/sore body part
	I have a sore stomach

tyutyuk (Ngm. *tyityuk*) [*yetyin-*]

heap up, gather together (with non-singular forms of the auxiliary this may refer to people coming together for an event)

W

<i>wa-</i>	male class marker
<i>wa</i>	paperbark, coolamin
* <i>wa</i> (<i>wawu</i>) [<i>mengin-</i>] [<i>wudupun-</i>]	bring, take, carry, gather, pick up, catch soak (trans)
<i>wabuymem</i>	ghost, devil
<i>wadabatyatma, wadabayubu</i>	man having a good aim (lit. a straight arm, a good arm)
* <i>wadat</i>	flying fox
* <i>wadakarrany</i>	man with many wives
<i>waderrigirri</i>	a familiar/known man (<i>derrigirri</i> like, want)
<i>wadi-fi-derrirsul</i>	all night
<i>wa-fi-rsul-ngini-syirre</i>	just before sunrise
<i>waferrkari</i>	boy (6-7)
<i>wafin</i>	man's bag
* <i>waga</i>	urine
<i>waga</i> [<i>yenim-</i>] [<i>wupun-</i>]	urinate
<i>wagirr</i>	urinate on something (e.g. dog on fence)
* <i>wagurruk</i>	red charcoal, hot coals
* <i>wakay</i>	type of hive/honey, 'sugarbag'
<i>wakay napa</i> (<i>awa-, a-, yerr-</i>)	finished, complete
<i>wakeme, wame</i>	everyone, everything
<i>wakulwakul</i> [<i>dangim-</i>]	kidney fat stealer
<i>wakunmirrmirr</i>	go green (meat) (Reid 51) (<i>awakul</i> fish in Ngm.)
<i>wakwak, awangki</i>	solid
<i>walal</i> (Ngm. <i>welel</i>) [<i>yenim-</i>]	crow
<i>walalma</i> [<i>-yenim/yenim-</i>]	hunt, go hunting
<i>walalkawa</i>	hunt, go hunting
* <i>walamara</i> [<i>dim-; yenim;-</i>]	big round stone
* <i>walandan</i>	dance (women)
<i>walangkar - fel</i> [<i>-wudem-</i>]	white river gum
* <i>walangkarribu</i> [<i>-yenim</i>]	dodge
* <i>walfaga</i>	be good at dodging (<i>walangkar + yubu</i>)
* <i>walipan</i>	buffalo (probably from English 'wild bugger')
<i>walirrkerr ferr</i>	fish net, spider's web, clothes, paper, rag
<i>walkity</i>	a gap in the hills, a pass
<i>walungku</i>	flower
* <i>wamakari</i>	knife
* <i>wamangkal</i> (Ngm. <i>±a-</i>)	young man maker
<i>wamangkurferr</i>	wallaby
	widower

wamatyerrapu	clever man
* wamumu	policeman
* wamuyeyi	stranger
* wanarr	lightning
* wanuguman	orphan (male)
wanangkal (\pm wa-)	doctor, clever man, young man maker
* wantyirr (da-)	side of body, armpit
* wantyirr-bang [dangim-]	spear right through
wantyirrfiny	armpit (<i>finy</i> sweat)
wanganimeke	a good hunter
wangangkurr	young man
wangga	type of dance
wangga - dada [-dim-]	sing the song for the <i>wangga</i> type of dance
wangi	pleasant cool breeze
wap	down
* wap (wapup) [yenim-]	sit down, stay, marry, dwell
[werribem-]	live, dwell
wap dadiri	sit quietly (idiom) (lit. sit hard)
* warrakma	three
warrgadi (Ngm. warrgulu)	bag, net
warrgadi [wudupun-]	weave a bag
warrmadi	quick
wasyan	hair on body, fur of animals
(Ngm. wakala)	paperbark, coolamin
wasyetyirr (Ngm. wasyarrityirr)	a savage/angry man
watku watku	green frog
wawalalmayubu	good hunter
waweti	baby boy
wawu	daughter's son
wawu [yenim-] (RED form of wa)	gather, pick up, catch turtles (i.e. pick up from the mud)
wawulmen	old man (from English)
wawutitmi	strong man
wayanengku	man who has lost brother or son
wayeduwiti	small boy (0-4)
wayenindada yubu	he is a good singer
wayenimpurrpurk yubu	he is a good dancer
way [demen-]	be lonely, empty
waya	fish spear, clothes line, wire (English)
way-me [yenim-]	come empty handed
way-muy [dim-' wibem-]	worry
waytpala	white man (English)
wayurulngini	get off the bark of paperbark
we (wewe) [dim-; yenim-]	spit, vomit
wele (wewele) [yenim-; wityibem-]	hang (intrans)
[wudupun-]	hang (trans) (OA2)
* wembem	house, hut

<i>wendili</i>	honeysuckle (with red flower)
* <i>werri</i>	comitative marker
<i>werri</i> [<i>wudem-</i>]	to dress (Tryon)
<i>werrikirri</i>	because
<i>werrkwerrk</i> (Ngm. <i>awerrkwerrk</i>)	white cockatoo
<i>werrng - tyerri</i> [<i>-mem-</i>]	remember
* <i>werr-tyerri</i> [<i>dim-</i>]	hear, listen
<i>werrtyi</i> (<i>wur-</i>)	girl before menstruation
* <i>were</i>	brother
* <i>weri</i>	hole
* <i>weri fepi</i>	cave
<i>weringuri</i>	greedy
<i>weri-weri</i>	leaky
<i>weri-werri-wurru</i>	very leaky
<i>weri yerngulfi</i>	hollow log
* <i>wersi</i>	white clay
<i>weti</i> (<i>wa-</i> , <i>wur-</i> , <i>a-</i> , etc.) (Ngm. <i>wedi</i>)	small, narrow, young, thin
* <i>wetimbi</i>	it's all right! (exclamation), old (adjective)
<i>we-tyerri</i> [<i>dim-</i> ; <i>yenim-</i>]	whisper
<i>wilikwilik</i> (Ngm. <i>awilikwilik</i>)	galah
<i>winy</i> (<i>winyiny</i>) [<i>dim-</i> ; <i>wirribem-</i> ; <i>wibem-</i>]	whistle
<i>winyerrmi yedi</i>	old men
<i>wirr</i> (Ngm. <i>wurr</i>)	them (3rd person plural object pronoun)
<i>wirr</i> (Ngm. <i>wurr</i>)	inside
<i>wirr</i> (Ngm. <i>wurr</i>) [<i>yenim-</i>]	go inside
	[<i>dirsem-</i>]
	[<i>wudem-</i>]
<i>wirr</i> (<i>wirryirr</i>) [<i>wudupun-</i>]	pull out, pull off (leech)
<i>wirriike</i> (Ngm. <i>wurriike</i>)	put on clothes
<i>wirrim</i> (Ngm. <i>wurruum</i>)	put inside, poke
<i>wirriitywirriity</i> (Ngm. <i>awirriitywirriity</i>)	they/them (3rd person dual personal pronoun)
<i>wirrki</i>	they/them (3rd person plural pronoun)
<i>wirrir</i>	parrot (green)
<i>wityi</i>	3rd person dual object pronoun
<i>wityi</i> [<i>dinyingkin-</i>]	charcoal
	try, a little while
	try to see
	want to go, try to go
	my turn to try now!
* <i>wu</i>	cloud
* <i>wu-</i>	dog class marker
<i>wukume</i> (Ngm. <i>wungume</i>)	one
<i>wukangani</i> (Ngm. <i>wuminbadi</i>)	thunderhead
<i>wukwuk</i>	owl
* <i>wul</i> (<i>wulil</i>) [<i>bengim-</i>]	take back (OA4a), pull (OA1,2)
<i>wul</i> [<i>wudem-</i>]	come back, return (intrans)
	[<i>yenim-</i>]
<i>wulek</i> (Ngm. <i>wurek</i>)	come down
	bad, wrong

<i>wuleri (wul+yeri) [wudum-]</i>	go/come walking back
<i>wulil (wuwulil) [dagam-]</i>	swim
<i>[wibem-]</i>	swim across
<i>[yirriini-]</i>	come out of water
<i>wulkirrim</i>	blood
<i>wulnik</i>	devil (from English 'old Nick')
<i>wulwul [wupun-]</i>	scrape (skin off kangaroo)
* <i>wumebe</i>	puppy (<i>amebe</i> emu chicken)
<i>wumendi</i>	near there
<i>wunapadeti</i>	still there
<i>wunapirri</i>	up there ahead
<i>wunawul</i>	over there
<i>wunbal</i>	name of Bob Judge's farm on the Daly River
<i>wuni</i>	that, there
<i>wunikirri</i>	over there (emphatic)
<i>wuningki</i>	that side
<i>wuningki gulirr</i>	around that way
<i>wunipirri</i>	there in front
<i>wuniyirre</i>	back there
* <i>wuntyerr</i>	cane grass, bamboo
<i>wunupefi</i>	that way
* <i>wung</i>	homesickness, a sigh, feeling for country
<i>wunge dede-IOpn</i>	I, you etc. feel homesick
<i>wupidirri (Ngm. wunganiwurnnimbi)</i>	dingo
<i>wupun-mirr</i>	thunder
* <i>wurr</i>	grass
* <i>wurr [mengkin-]</i>	tie up (e.g. dog by neck)
<i>wurrkama</i>	work (from English)
<i>wurрпири (Ngm. wurrgalangu)</i>	bushes
<i>wurru</i>	very, intensifying clitic
<i>wur-</i>	female class marker
<i>wurdebin</i>	woman who has lost her sister
<i>wureti (wur+weti), wuretimuy</i>	little girl, baby girl
* <i>wuriki mempurr</i>	sister's daughter
<i>wurity</i>	dainty, proud
<i>wurity (wuwurity) [dem-]</i>	make (OA1,4)
<i>[wirribem-]</i>	sway back gracefully (trees)
<i>[wibem-]</i>	be proud
<i>wuritypi</i>	proud
<i>wurnuguman</i>	orphan (female)
<i>wurwalamara yubu</i>	a good woman dancer
<i>wurwerityi</i>	girl before menstruation
<i>wurweti/wureti</i>	baby girl
<i>wursirr [dem-]</i>	move
<i>wursirrмuy [dim-; yenim-]</i>	be frightened
<i>muywursirr [-yenim]</i>	be frightened
* <i>wutitmi</i>	strong (people), heavy (objects)

<i>wuty</i> (<i>wutyity</i>) [<i>yenim-</i>] [<i>wudupun-</i>] [<i>wupun-</i>]	pour out throw away, pour out throw away, throw to ground, put on ground
* <i>wusyē</i> <i>wusyē dadiri</i> <i>wusyē tyatyalak</i> <i>wusyē - piket</i> [- <i>bengim-</i>]	hair on head, hair belt curly hair straight hair cut hair
* <i>wuwu</i>	dog (tame)
Y	
<i>ya</i>	hey!
* <i>yaga</i> <i>yagama</i> <i>yagayirre</i> <i>yakay</i> <i>yanaka</i> <i>yangarmada</i> <i>yawul</i> <i>ye-/yerr-</i>	that woomera back there oh! ouch! (exclamation of pain) mother who has lost a child mermaid spear class marker for non-edible plants, most made objects, tea and tobacco
<i>yedamurri</i>	tree from which woomera is made, milk wood (<i>amurri</i> egg, <i>damurri</i> testicles)
<i>yedagarri</i> <i>yederrri</i> <i>yedi</i> (Ngm. <i>mipurr</i>)	stem, trunk log man
* <i>yedidityi</i> <i>yedi keme</i> <i>yediwerri</i> <i>yedu</i> <i>yeduwiti</i> (wa-) <i>yele damuy</i> <i>yeleli</i> (Ngm. <i>yeleri</i>) [<i>yenim-</i> ; <i>dagam-</i> ; <i>yhirrini-</i> ; <i>wirribem-</i>]	roots kidney fat stealer married (of woman) sweet little boy spear point
<i>yenimbubu</i> <i>yenindada</i> (wa-) <i>yeningkisyi</i> (Ngm. <i>keningkisyi</i>)	run, flow (river) sleepy singer canoe, kapok tree (canoes are made from kapok trees)
* <i>yengki</i>	fire
* <i>yengkiba</i> , <i>yerrba</i> <i>yengkipurr</i>	firewood burning stic, fire stick
* <i>yengkitawan</i> <i>yengkityen</i> <i>yerr-/ye-</i>	smoke charcoal, hot ashes class marker for non-edible plants, most made objects, tea and tobacco
<i>yerrba</i> , <i>yengkiba</i>	firewood

<i>yerrdaba</i>	branch (<i>daba</i> arm)
<i>yerrdagarri</i>	trunk, stem (<i>dagarri</i> leg)
<i>yerrdangifiderrirsul</i>	sunrise, dawn
<i>yerrdangifisyisyirr</i>	waterfall
<i>yerrdebi dityungkurr</i>	short trousers <i>debi</i> leg)
<i>yerrdebi fengku</i>	long trousers
<i>yerrdebi werri</i>	trousers
<i>yerrden</i>	coolibah tree
<i>yerrdepi, yerrdepine</i>	hat (<i>depi</i> head)
<i>yerrdintyi</i>	mulgawood tree like bloodwood (grows on hills)
<i>yerrfagu</i>	tea tree
<i>yerrfengku</i>	long spear
<i>yerrfetyen</i> (Ngm. <i>yerrngarifuytyen</i>)	bloodwood
<i>yerrfini</i>	bloodwood
<i>yerrfiny</i>	honey (<i>finy</i> sweat)
<i>yerrfirr</i>	root (<i>defirr</i> foot)
<i>yerrgarrfuri</i>	bark of tree (<i>agurrfuri</i> skin)
<i>yerrkerr</i>	tobacco
<i>yerrki</i>	inland pandanus
<i>yerrkide</i>	which one? somewhere
<i>yerrkide deti, yerrkide pefi</i>	in another/different direction
<i>yerrkimeket</i>	a share
<i>yerrkinyipefi</i>	all over the place
<i>yerrmagu</i>	a new dress
<i>yerrmangki</i>	itchy tree
<i>yerrmasyi</i>	mangrove tree
* <i>yerrmendyi</i>	singing, didjeridoo
<i>yerrnugurr</i>	seven sisters (constellation) (<i>nugurr</i> bundle)
<i>yerrngulfi</i> (Ngm. <i>yerrngurufi</i>)	log
<i>yerrpurppurrk</i>	things, possessions, clothes, small bushes, grass
<i>yerrsyentyi</i>	milkwood
<i>yerrsyingkemuy</i>	strong tobacco
<i>yerrtyerrawu</i>	chewing tobacco
<i>yerrtyinge</i>	river pandanus, black pandanus
<i>yerrwasyanderi</i>	bag
<i>yerr-wutyi</i> [<i>dem-</i>]	take off clothes, change clothes
<i>yerrwirre, yerrwirrimbi</i>	wooly butt
<i>yerryerr</i> [<i>dangim-</i>]	cheer someone (IOpn) (OA1)
<i>yeri</i> [<i>dagam-</i>]	walk, fly, crawl, set (of sun)
<i>yeri</i> + IOpn	after (me etc.)
* <i>yerifun</i>	dried up
<i>yerifun derri kana</i>	all dried up now
<i>yerifunmuy</i>	quiet, calm, steady, peaceful, reliable
<i>yeri apukek</i> [<i>dangam-</i>]	go to bottom, sink
<i>yetyen</i> [<i>wupun-</i>]	go down (swelling)
* <i>yetyi</i>	cousin (son or daughter to man, brother's child to woman)

<i>yewe</i> (Ngm. <i>batyanggu</i>)	salt water
<i>yewirr</i> (Ngm. <i>yawurr</i>)	tree, stick (generic term)
* <i>yeyi</i>	other
<i>yi</i>	and
* <i>yiba</i>	later
* <i>yhidirrmadi</i>	steep bank
* <i>yilil</i> [<i>dingim-</i>]	tell stories, talk (OA1)
* <i>yin.gini</i>	raw, unripe (fruit)
<i>yingga</i> (Ngm. <i>yeka</i>)	here it is! (exclamation)
* <i>yipe</i>	father's sister
<i>yirrng</i>	sea turtle
<i>yiri - pi</i> [<i>-mem-</i>]	be ashamed, sweet
* <i>yirifiny</i>	sweet
* <i>yiringku</i>	kidney
<i>yiripin</i> (Ngm. <i>yirimbin</i>)	walking with a kangaroo, coming/going
<i>yitetum</i> (Ngm. <i>yudedum</i>)	windbreak
<i>yityi</i>	how?
* <i>yu</i>	yes!
<i>yu mamaka</i>	OK right away
<i>yubu</i> (Ngm. <i>yibu</i>) (<i>±wa-</i> , <i>wur-</i> , etc.)	good
<i>yuri</i>	fight, weapon
<i>yuri yewirr</i>	fighting stick
<i>yurigarrityenmuy</i>	boomerang

APPENDIX 5: NGANKIWUMIRRI-ENGLISH GLOSSARY

The Ngankikurungkurr-English glossary has been extensively checked with several informants. This is not the case with this list which is included for comparative purposes.

These words have been recorded in Ngankiwumirri. This does not necessarily mean that they do not occur in Ngankikurungkurr as well unless the alternative word in that language is given.

Words recorded with initial lamino-dental or alveopalatal stops have been listed separately.

A

<i>aburrana</i>	type of rock wallaby (also occurs without <i>a-</i>)
<i>adawurr</i>	butcher bird
<i>adewi</i> (Ngk. <i>aliyi</i>)	fat
<i>adilimbi</i> (Ngk. <i>apelen</i>)	rifle fish
<i>adirminmin</i> (Ngk. <i>arsiminmin</i>)	bat
<i>adirrket</i>	little frog
<i>afenkime</i>	ring-tailed possum
<i>afiliripirr</i>	type of snake
<i>afiriwirr</i>	black cormorant
<i>agangingki</i> (Ngk. <i>angani</i>)	goose
<i>agatindy</i> (Ngk. <i>angelin</i>)	fishing line
<i>aguripi</i>	big bat
<i>agudugu</i>	type of white water bird
<i>akaka</i>	little egret
<i>akarimbiyeli</i> (Ngk. <i>anganifinyi</i>)	echidna (also occurs without <i>a-</i>)
<i>alla</i> (Ngk. <i>kalla</i>)	mother
<i>amalifirr</i>	female kangaroo
<i>aminyine</i> (Ngk. <i>aminguri</i>)	bony
<i>amirrimpirr</i>	type of possum
<i>amiyiri</i>	crab
<i>amugarr</i>	tail of fish
<i>amukun</i>	little rock wallaby
<i>amuyi yerrba</i>	little alligator
<i>ani</i>	sea eagle
<i>angaga</i>	type of frog
<i>anganmikuru</i>	little rat

<i>anganggani</i> (Ngk. <i>agadirr</i>)	green ant
<i>angelawut</i>	moth
<i>angiri</i> (Ngk. <i>ngurp</i>)	emu
<i>angithirpa</i>	type of water bird
<i>api</i> (Ngk. <i>anungkupana</i>)	butterfly
<i>apunderrmi</i> (Ngk. <i>awuyi</i>)	possum
<i>aritherri</i> (Ngk. <i>atyerriwusye</i>)	frilled-neck lizard
<i>atherrpunggulu</i>	rat
<i>awakul</i> (Ngk. <i>anginakul</i>)	fish (generic)
<i>awalangirr</i> (Ngk. <i>atymerr</i>)	barramundi
<i>awambu</i>	hill kangaroo
<i>awarmil</i>	type of bat
<i>awawu</i> (Ngk. <i>adi</i>)	spouse
<i>awere</i>	black fish-eating water bird (type of cormorant?)
<i>awubumbugengutuwayir</i>	gekko
<i>awumbi</i>	mopoke
<i>awurr</i> (<i>atyambuli</i>)	grasshopper
<i>ayasya</i> (Ngk. <i>atyerriwusye</i>)	frilled-neck lizard
<i>ayelngurrgi</i>	wallaroo
<i>ayerrkinwarri</i> (<i>awerrapun</i>)	salt water crocodile

B

<i>badyangu</i> (Ngk. <i>yewe</i>)	salt water
<i>bafunmuy</i>	dirty, bad (of water)
<i>bakalang</i>	lower arm
<i>bandak</i>	black clay
<i>ba nugunyderiny</i>	left hand
<i>barang</i>	type of ghost
<i>bipa</i> [<i>yendyin</i> -]	take
<i>binindyidiri</i> , <i>depi-</i>	lever
<i>birrung</i>	toadstool
<i>budangu</i>	little cormorant
<i>bunggi/wunggi</i>	3rd person dual indirect object pronoun
<i>burr/wurr</i>	3rd person plural direct object pronoun
<i>burrki</i>	3rd person dual direct object pronoun
<i>burrana</i>	type of rock wallaby (also occurs with class marker <i>a-</i>)

D

<i>dabawedi</i> (Ngk. <i>baweti</i>)	crack
<i>damilil yengki</i>	fire burning up right around
<i>dan.ga</i>	fly
<i>darri</i>	wire to push through (to make a hole so that a nose peg can be worn)

<i>daruwu</i> (Ngk. <i>wasari</i>)	paperbark
<i>dayin</i>	little short-necked turtle
<i>deme minbadi</i>	thumb
<i>deme wedi</i>	little finger
<i>denditye</i> (<i>wa-</i>)	liar
<i>depi binindyidiri</i>	clever
<i>difilmuy</i>	shine (of fire fly)
<i>dimenin</i>	mist on river
<i>du</i>	sound of shot (accompanied by marked fall in pitch)
<i>duwula</i>	type of sugar bag

E

<i>emenginy</i>	type of long-neck turtle
<i>egerrdyi, egerzyi</i>	chicken hawk
<i>emengirrk</i>	red parrot

F

<i>falmi nyerr</i> (Ngk. <i>guniguni</i>)	old woman
<i>fefe wi-</i>	cause water to spurt
<i>fepi mulufulirr</i>	grind stone
<i>fepi surenymata</i>	steep hill
<i>fingiltyena</i>	type of sugar bag
<i>fipal</i> [<i>darany-</i>] (Ngk. <i>wudam</i> (<i>w</i>) <i>uleri</i>)	go back, return
<i>firekidiny</i> (<i>wa-</i>)	crippled
<i>firiny</i>	mirage (?)
<i>fiti</i> [<i>wurrumbun</i>]	whirlwind (in Ngk. <i>fiti</i> sun)
<i>fityurr</i> [<i>dam-</i>] (Ngk. <i>mesyirr</i>)	extinguish fire

G

<i>galal</i> [<i>wumbun-</i>]	crush leaves
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K

<i>karimbiyeli</i> (Ngk. <i>anganifinyi</i>)	echidna (sometimes occurs with <i>a-</i>)
<i>keninggisyi</i> (Ngk. <i>yeninggisyi</i>)	canoe
<i>kerrerrwirr</i>	axe handle
<i>kirrp wakay</i>	kill dead
<i>kunindyin</i>	stem, trunk

L

lurrrp bem baty

land on ground (stone)

M

makal [wibem-]

makari (Ngk. *lengkirr*)

malfiyin

malifirr (a-)

(wul-)

malitit [yentyin-]

mamirri

mana (Ngk. *mungumungki*)

man.guna

mangkurferr (wa-, wur-)(Ngk. wa-/

wur-manggureri)

me-bawa [yentyin-]

meny [wurumbun-] (Ngk. *menyminy*

watch)

merendi

me-tyerri dede ne [dim-]

mi-bubu [dam-]

midafi (Ngk. *mipiyagany*)

mifindyifindyi

migadi (Ngk. *midirrwi*)

minbadi (Ngk. *minati*)

minbaga

minbe (Ngk. *mint*a)

mipurr (Ngk. *yedi*)

mipurr tyerrnganbirr

(Ngk. *watyerrmusye*)

mirri kinyi

mityiptyipmuy

mityuk [ngan-]

[wanin-]

miwalirra (Ngk. *mi-kulurrfuk*)

have a rest

bad, useless, crawling (of snake, baby)

name of Rogers' country

female kangaroo

little girl

meet

keep going, do it! (exclamation)

soul

stone spearhead

widower, widow

catch by the arm

see something clearly so that it can be speared

kill with a spear

he is worried for (his) country

scold

cheeky yam

try to hook

black plum

big

nothing

negative particle

man

old man

today

bush apple

sit down

run away

water yam

N

naganda [yenim-]

nepandi [wibem-]

ne (Ngk. *ngini*)

nimi [dam-]

nuga (Ngk. *naga*)

sit with knees up

all lie down together

purposive marker

put on a stick

husband, brother-in-law

NY

nyine (Ngk. *kana*) now
nyinendimirri there

NG

ngad duri ni ket cut (with a *ngun ngun* spear)
nganngini fight
ngeningge (Ngk. *ngenike*) sister
ngikin meyagurr (Ngk. *ngekin masyapu*) large intestine
ngiti (Ngk. *ngindi*) 1st person singular indirect object pronoun

R

rituga stone, clay

T

tiit chicken hawk
terap (Ngk. *funfun*) hairbelt

TH

thalak (Ngk. *tyalak*) straight, upright
thale [*wum-*] hit, kill
thaminapa completely, altogether
thamiri all right
thanawurr (Ngk. *tyenewirr*) what kind of? what do you call it? (refers to members of *yerr-* class)
thawurr narrow
defirr thawurr yirimbin narrow track
thawurru today
therat [*bem-*] (Ngk. *gatit*) bite

TY

tyawuku (Ngk. *amatyi*) kangaroo
tyerrpal [*wayim-*] burn well (fire)
tyerrwuwu (Ngk. *tyerrwasyan*) beard, moustache
tyirr [*diwen-*] paddle
tyityipi (Ngk. *bakuty*) many
tyukun type of loin cloth

W

wadaningki (Ngk. *nyunyiningki*)
wadenditye
wafifilimuy

wafirekidiny (Ngk. *yirimbin tharat defirr*)
wagarri (Ngk. *fagarri*)
wagulgulpurr
wakala (Ngk. *wasyari*)
walirrk mipurr
wanganipurr (Ngk. *tyembity*)
wanginifirr
wangurr mumba yengki-ningki
wangurin.giri
warrfirr
miringki warrfirr
tyerakul warrfirr
detyerri wawarrfirr
kuru wawarrfirr -nide
warrgulu (Ngk. *warrgadi*)
warsifi (Ngk. *apukek*)
waterrawirr
watyrirmunge
werifi (Ngk. *felfi*)
wirrirr marrgu
witit [nagan-]
wu [dinem-]
wagurr (Ngk. *walkity*)
wu memetyipurr
wunganiwurrnimbi (Ngk. *wupidirri*)
wunggume (Ngk. *wukume*)
wurr [wudum-] (Ngk. *wirr*)
wurr [dirsen-]
wurr gurru
wurrzyari
wurek (wulek)
wurminyerr
wurngalanda

tomorrow
 liar
 something which moves about so much that it can't
 be speared (e.g. fish)

 a crippled man
 two
 'flash' one
 paperbark
 thin man
 young man
 little boy
 'making' young man with fire
 young man maker
 big
 big leaf
 fight
 big ears (on devil)
 deep water
 bag, net
 underneath, bottom, downstream
 paperbark
 dead person whose name cannot be said
 alone, isolative pronoun
 newly burned ground
 be tired
 put, cook in fire
 flower
 dog with a short tail
 dingo
 one
 go inside
 take off foreskin
 ghost like a dog
 burned/dry grass
 bad
 old woman
 woman with no children

Y

yawariny
yawurr (Ngk. *yewirr*)
yel- (Ngk. *ali-*)
yenggimi

type of tree
 tree, stick
 class marker for hunting weapons
 corkwood

<i>yerrdyari</i>	branch
<i>yerrgaga</i>	type of eucalypt
<i>yerrgiriny</i>	type of tree that grows in the hills
<i>yerrgiwiny</i>	type of tree
<i>yerrgiyilil</i>	story
<i>yerrnganmimbi</i> (Ngk. <i>minganmimbi</i>)	Leichhardt tree
<i>yerrngarifuytyen</i>	bloodwood
<i>yerrwirerr</i>	stringybark
<i>yerrzyari</i>	corkwood
<i>yerrzyeferr</i>	lilyroot
<i>yerrzyinberr</i>	cypress pine
<i>yerigi</i>	pandanus
<i>yewirrindyi</i>	type of tree
<i>yibendi</i>	fresh water
<i>yibu</i> (Ngk. <i>yubu</i>)	good
<i>yipendi</i>	dead (of snake that has been hit)

ZY

<i>zyirri</i>	stick
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