



Karajarri Sketch Grammar

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Abstract

This thesis is a reference (or sketch) grammar of Karajarri, an Australian Aboriginal language. As such, there is no attempt to be fully comprehensive at any point, but rather to provide a broad overview of the grammar of the language. I have chosen, however, to include in the study a more detailed analysis of one aspect of the language, namely the case-marking system (based on a framework developed by Dench and Evans 1988). This overview may be a basis for further research into particular aspects of the language. The reference grammar style of this study will also be of use in understanding the texts of Karajarri which already exist from past work. The analysis is based on previous work done on Karajarri, as well as a period of field research in June 1992.



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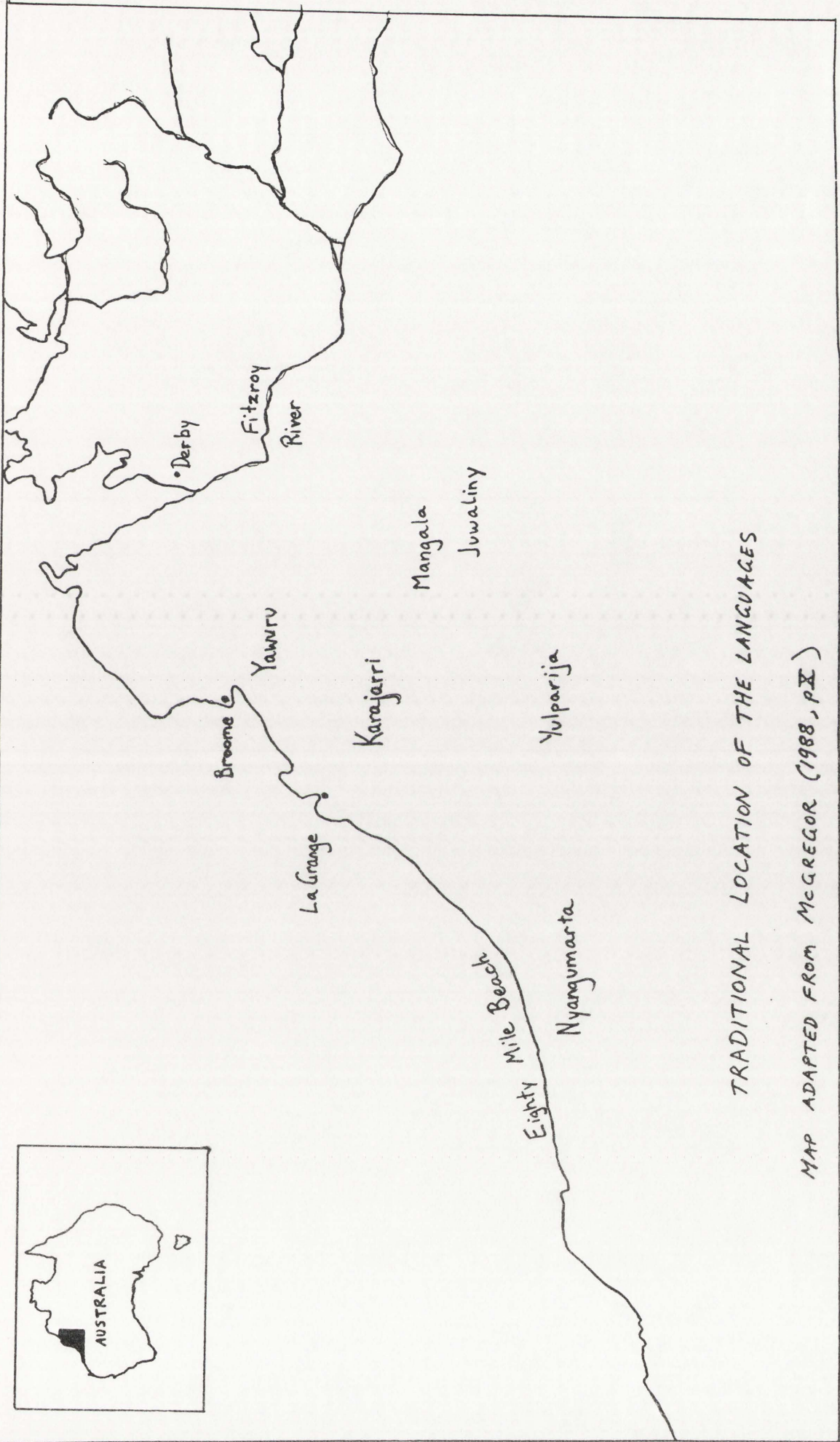
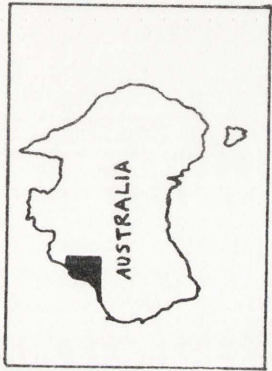
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TRADITIONAL LOCATION OF THE LANGUAGES

MAP ADAPTED FROM MCGREGOR (1988, P. 2)

List of Abbreviations

1	first person	INTENS	intensifier
2	second person	IRR	irrealis
3	third person	LIKE	resemblative
A	transitive subject	LOC	locative
ABL _{dir}	ablative of direction	LOCL	local
ABL _{loc}	ablative of location	NOM	nominative
ACC	accusative	NOMLSR	nominaliser
ALL _{dir}	allative of direction	NP	noun phrase
ALL _{loc}	allative of location	O	object
AUX	auxiliary	ORIG	origin
AVERS	aversive	PAST	past
BEN	benefactive	PL	plural
BPRO	bound pronoun	POT	potential
COMP	completive	PRES	present
CON	connective	PRIV	privative
CONJ	conjunction	PRO	pronoun
DAT	dative	PROP	propriative
DL	dual	PURP	purposive
EMPH	emphatic	QP	question particle
ERG	ergative	REFL	reflexive
EX	exclusive	S	subject
FUT	future	SEQ	sequential
GEN	genitive	SG	singular
HAB	habitual	SYN	synchronous
IMP	imperative	TNS	tense
IN	inclusive	V	verb
INST	instrumental		

1 LANGUAGE AND SPEAKERS

Karajarri is a Pama-Nyungan language of the Marrungu subgroup, traditionally spoken in the south-west corner of the Kimberley, extending into the Pilbara (McGregor 1988 - see map). Today, most speakers live in the Bidyadanga Aboriginal Community (La Grange, Western Australia), some live in Broome, and a few live in pastoral stations around the community.

1.1 LINGUISTIC TYPE

Karajarri is typical of the non-prefixing languages of Western Australia. The phonemic system has five points of articulation (with one lateral and two apical series), and three vowels. The pronominal system distinguishes three numbers and three persons with an inclusive/exclusive distinction in non-singular first persons. Bound pronouns are obligatory for core arguments. Demonstrative forms can be used both as third person pronouns, and as deictics.

Nominals inflect for over ten cases, many of these operating at more than one syntactic level. Inflectional possibilities for deictics and location/time qualifiers are more restricted. Reflexive forms exist for both object and dative reflexives.

Verbs belong to one of four conjugations, with the -NG-, -N-, and -L- conjugation being mostly transitive, and the -Ø- conjugation being mostly intransitive. Verbs inflect for present, past, future, imperative and irrealis forms, irrealis being used in various subordinate clause types. There are only a couple of verbal derivations, with changing transitivity and reciprocity being indicated by other means.

There is a three way case distinction between ergative (ERG), nominative (NOM) and accusative (ACC). The case marking system is split between bound pronouns (which mark ERG/NOM vs ACC) and all other nominals (which mark ERG vs NOM/ACC).

1.2 NEIGHBOURS AND DIALECTS

Traditionally, Karajarri has been neighboured by the following languages: Yawuru to the north, Mangala to the north-east, Juwaliny to the east/south-east, Yulparija to the distant south-east and Nyangumarta to the south (see map).

Karajarri has three dialects- Najanaja, Nangu and Nawurtu- all spoken at La Grange. The dialects are simply named after their respective words for 'this' or 'here'. Thus noting the word for 'here' is a simple test for determining which dialect is being used.

The difference between the dialects is seen most distinctly in the verbal paradigms (both inflections and bound pronouns) with practically all forms being different. For a brief dialectal comparison of verb morphology, see McKelson (1989). There are also some morphophonemic differences with Najanaja exhibiting regressive vowel harmony in certain environments (see Sands 1989, 2.3.3). Further differences do exist in lexical items, but there is much more commonality there. The dialects are all mutually intelligible, and some speakers (as the result of a parent or spouse speaking a different dialect) use a mixture of forms. McKelson (1989) comments that Nawurtu speakers often use Nangu forms, but Nangu speakers generally do not use Nawurtu forms.

The present study is in the Nangu dialect. All examples and text, unless otherwise indicated, are Nangu.

1.3 BACKGROUND AND PRESENT SITUATION

The following information comes from Fr McKelson (mainly 1979, and also personal conversation).

Traditionally, the three dialects were found in distinct areas in and around La Grange Bay. The Najanaja (or 'saltwater people' as they are known by the Aboriginals) camped close to the sea- this is the coastal dialect studied by Capell and Worms. The Nawurtu were situated to the north-west of the Najanaja, adjacent to the Mangala territory. The Nangu lived near Partu hill, a small stony rise south of the Nawurtu, and south-east of the Najanaja.

It seems that the dispersion of the Karajarri gradually took place earlier this century as they went to live in the growing town of Broome, or to work on cattle stations which had been established in the surrounding desert. For those who remained around La Grange, a government supply depot was set up, which in time also catered for some Mangala and Juwaliny people who were transferred there from Udialla.

In 1955 the La Grange mission was set up (by government request) by Fr Francis Huegel and, shortly after, the mission school began. Over time, contact was established

between the mission and surrounding pastoral stations, and many Aboriginals employed on these stations sent their children to the mission school. Eventually, as station employment became less stable, many came to live at the mission, only returning to their stations for seasonal work. This process re-established La Grange as a centre not only for Karajarri speakers, but also for many Nyangumarta speakers (who came north from Anna Plains cattle station), and also, during the late sixties and early seventies, for an increasing number of Juwaliny, Mangala and Yulparija people.

All this has made for the present situation at La Grange of there being a considerable amount of linguistic diversity and change. With seven languages (Yulparija, Nyangumarta, Mangala, Juwaliny, Karajarri, English and Creole) being used in such a small community, it is predictable that many of these will fall into disuse. It is really only amongst the older generations that the traditional languages are still used. The younger generation generally do not learn their traditional language in the home, though they are likely to be able to understand bits and pieces. Most of the younger people communicate in Creole. The language of instruction in the La Grange school (about one hundred students) is English. The school has in the past had traditional language classes as part of the curriculum, but as of 1992 these have been discontinued. The Mission church holds services each day of the week, which may be in any one of the five Aboriginal languages. Of these five, however, Yulparija appears to be the most dominant in terms of numbers of speakers.

Of a community population of around five hundred, Karajarri is the smallest tribe, with less than one hundred members. Of these, there are only about ten or so older people who still speak the language well. The language teachers for this study were Jack Mularti, his daughter Edna Hopika, Steve Possum and John Dodo.

1.4 PAST INVESTIGATIONS

Capell (1962) is a short sketch grammar of the Najanaja dialect. The morphology is analysed in terms of bases and supplements (roots and suffixes), with suffixes presented in an array of numbered series. The descriptions of suffixes are brief, there is no discussion of verb conjugations, and there is little syntax. Capell (1949) includes ten myths of the Karajarri tribe with interlinear and free translations.

McKelson (various dates) has done a lot of work on Karajarri (mainly Nangu, though all dialects), particularly an extensive vocabulary (1989) and various textual material.

'Learn a language' (1975) implicitly covers basic grammar, with some brief explicit linguistic notes. McKelson (1989) also includes a 'Precis of Karajarri grammar', giving brief descriptions of some case suffixes, some verbal paradigms and other grammatical notes. 'Catechism in Garadyari' (1974) provides a rich source of textual material, from which (as well as 'Learn a Language') many of the illustrative sentences in the present study have been drawn.

Sands (1989) is a sketch grammar of Najanaja based on texts collected and transcribed by Laves in the 1930's. Problems of the interpretation and insufficiency of the texts are discussed in Sands (1.3 and 6.1). Whilst Sands' grammar is comprehensive in scope, many descriptions of suffixes and other grammatical points are necessarily brief (due to lack of data), and there is little discussion of subordinate clauses, or of derivational, nominalising, verbalising and other processes.

For a more comprehensive listing of the linguistic and anthropological work done on Karajarri, see McGregor (1988).

1.5 PRESENT STUDY

The present investigation of Karajarri is based (to varying degrees) on all of the above material, as well as a period of field research in June/July 1992.

The thesis has been set out in the form of a reference (or sketch) grammar, as approved by the sponsors of this project, The North Australia Research Unit (NARU). As such, there is no attempt to be fully comprehensive at any point, but rather to provide a broad overview of the grammar of Karajarri. This overview may be a basis for further research into particular aspects of the language. The reference grammar style of this study will also be of use in understanding the texts of Karajarri which already exist from past work.

Having said this, I have chosen to include in the study a more detailed analysis of one aspect of the language, namely the case-marking system. This analysis is found in section 3.3.

Data collection for the study consisted of a series of field sessions with members of the Bidyadanga community. The main language teacher for the study was Edna Hopika, with whom the majority of the field time was spent. The structure of the field sessions

can be broken down into three basic types. The first type was that of direct elicitation - asking for items of vocabulary, or for translations of English sentences. The second was that of text collection. This involved recording the language teacher whilst they narrated a story at natural speed. The story was then played back to the teacher phrase by phrase to get accurate transcription and interpretation of the text. The third type of field session was that of checking with the teacher the grammaticality of particular Karajarri sentences. Apart from constructions which arose out of my own field sessions, a substantial resource in this respect was the 'Catechism in Garadyari' (McKelson, 1974). This catechism was translated into Karajarri by Broncho (a deceased Karajarri speaker). It is from this source that much of the analysis of subordinate clauses and other grammatical features has been made. Particular sentences and constructions found in these and other texts, as well as other constructed sentences, were checked with the teacher for accuracy. A typical field session may have consisted of a combination of these three types of data collection.

One further resource in this process was the extensive knowledge of Fr Kevin McKelson, who has spent over thirty years at La Grange. The meanings and uses of several words and constructions were analysed in discussion with him.

The actual textual examples which appear throughout the body of the thesis represent the variety of sources outlined above. Some are taken from the catechism and other texts (many of which have been checked with the language teacher), and some have been directly elicited. A few sentences have also been taken (where indicated) from Sands (1989). In all instances, the orthography has been standardised to that described in section 2.1.

2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMES AND THEIR REALISATIONS

Karajarri has a relatively small phonemic inventory of twenty distinctive sounds. The orthography used here is that recommended by McGregor (1988) for languages of the south Kimberley, which is also that used in McKelson's later work.

Typical of many Western Australian languages (e.g. Western Desert, Walmatjari), Karajarri has a five place system of consonant articulation, with two apical series and one laminal series. There are two rhotics (alveolar flap and retroflex continuant), two semivowels and three vowels.

2.1.1 CONSONANTS

	bilabial	apico- alveolar	retroflex (post alv.)	lamino- palatal	dorso- velar
stop	p	t	rt	j	k
nasal	m	n	rn	ny	ng
lateral		l	rl	ly	
rhotic		rr	r		
semivowel	(w)			y	w

To the English ear, the stops /p t k/ sound somewhere between English voiceless stops [p t k] and voiced stops [b d g]. In fact, they appear to be typically voiced in most environments. They can lack, however, the voiced onset which may be found with English stops. In word initial position there may be some aspiration, but this is subject to variation between individual speakers. In any case, voiced/voiceless variation is not phonemic in Karajarri.

Retroflex consonants are produced by curling the tip of the tongue back behind the alveolar ridge. It is important not to be misled by the orthography used for retroflex stops, nasals and laterals. The initial 'r' in these symbols does not indicate the presence of a rhotic sound, it merely indicates the retroflex position of the tongue. With unfamiliar words, it is often very difficult to distinguish the difference between a retroflex sound and its apical counterpart. Often, the place of articulation of these sounds can only be confirmed by observing the position of the speaker's tongue, or by repeating the word back to the informant until the correct sound is approved.

The retroflex rhotic is similarly produced, but in normal speech, the tongue is often not moved back very much, yielding a sound similar to the English rhotic. The apical rhotic is typically realised as a flap, though it is commonly trilled in word-final position.

Pre-vocally, laminal consonants can be realised with a slight semivowel offglide, though it is perhaps not as distinct as the sound in the English *canyon*. In word final position, however, these consonants are often unreleased, with no semivowel offglide. The orthography of the palatal /j/ does not necessarily imply any fricative quality (as in the English *major*). Initial /y/ is often heavily glottalised.

2.1.2 VOWELS

	front	back
high	i	u
low		a

Except in careful speech, vowel and semivowel sequences are typically realised as diphthongs, long vowels or offglides. For example:

/kuwi/	[ku ⁱ]	/jiyi/	[ji:]
/maya/	[ma ⁱ a]	/mayi/	[ma ⁱ]

Unstressed vowels do not appear to centralise towards a schwa sound as they do in English. Vowels are usually clearly distinguishable.

2.2 PHONOTACTICS

Karajarri has phonotactic patterns fairly typical of those found in Australian languages. Practically all words are disyllabic or longer, although there are a small number of monosyllabic words, for example *mul* 'pimple'. Words begin with a single consonant and can end either in a consonant or a vowel. Dixon (1980, p159) provides the following structure for disyllabic words in Australian languages:

$$C_1VC_2C_3V(C_4) \quad \text{or} \quad C_1VC_5V(C_4)$$

As Dixon (*ibid.*) comments, it is not possible to give a general syllable structure (e.g. $C_1V(C_2)$) for Australian languages. The reason for this is that in Australian languages the phonemic possibilities for consonants in the positions C_1 to C_5 will be different, and so a general syllabic structure will miss the distinctions. The possibilities for the different positions are outlined below.

Initial consonant (C_1)

It seems to be the case that all consonants can occur in initial position except for /r/. It is possible that there is some inaccuracy at this point - possibilities for initial position are usually more restricted than this in Australian languages. One explanation for this is the difficulty with the orthography of retroflex consonants. It may be that retroflex consonants have been written down (for example in McKelson 1989) without the characteristic 'r' when in initial position, mainly because it looks strange otherwise. Thus, /rtartarta/ 'moon' is written as *tartarta*. This possibility has made it difficult to tell whether or not initial 't, n, l' may in fact be retroflex, and consequently, whether or not one of these series of consonants may be impermissible in initial position. This would need to be checked in further research.

Final consonant (C_4)

There are examples of most consonants occurring in final position. Consonants which do not occur are /m/, /r/ and /rt/. Consonants which are very rare in this position, and perhaps just mistakes in transcription, are /p/, the velar consonants /k/ and /ng/, and the semivowels /y/ and /w/.

Medial single consonants (C₅)

Every consonant can occur by itself in medial position.

Medial clusters (C₂ and C₃)

The possibilities for medial clusters are far more restricted. C₂ position is restricted to nasals, laterals and the rhotic flap. C₃ position permits most consonants with the exception of retroflex consonants and rhotics. There are no examples of the palatal lateral /ly/ occurring in C₃, but since the other palatals are permissible, this may also be allowed.

Possibilities for the various combinations of C₂ and C₃ are shown in the following table:

C ₂	C ₃	p	m	t	n	l	j	ny	k	ng	y	w
m		✓										
n		✓	✓	✓			✓	✓(?)	✓	✓(?)	✓	
l		✓	✓				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
m		✓		(?)					✓			
rl		✓					✓		✓			
ny		✓	✓				✓		✓			
ly		✓	✓				✓					
ng		✓					✓		✓			
rr		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓

The question marks indicate that there are only a limited number of examples of the clusters, and their accuracy is not certain. Note also that impermissible clusters can often occur when reduplication of a word has taken place. For example the verb *kurtkurt yinta*- 'be surprised' contains the cluster /rtk/ which is not found except in a reduplicated word of this type. Such instances have not been included in the above analysis. Further note that there may be some clusters that are impermissible in the above description, but that will be found across morpheme boundaries, for example when a suffix is added to a word.

The phonotactic structure given above indicates that there is no possibility of there being a word-final consonant cluster. Whilst practically speaking this holds true, there is

evidence of one permissible final cluster, that being /rrp/ (e.g. *tirrpitirrp* 'marks on message stick', *rurrrp* 'exchange'). It is possible to analyse this cluster (which is not uncommon) as phonemically having a vowel between the /rr/ and the /p/, or else it can just be treated as a peculiarity of the language.

2.3 STRESS AND INTONATION

No detailed study of stress has been done in Karajarri, but as is typical of most Australian languages, basic stress patterns can be described by the following principles (Dixon, 1980): primary stress occurs on the initial syllable of a word, and secondary stress sometimes (though less common in rapid speech) on the third, fifth etc. syllables. A typical sentence from one of the texts, for example, has roughly the following stress pattern (this sentence is from text A.1.1):

yánu pála jálangkà ngájukura pírra kúwikàrti

Intonation patterns appear to be very similar to English, with a basic declarative statement beginning with a slightly raised pitch, and ending with a slight raising, then a lowered pitch:

3 2 2 2 2 2 3 1
yanu pala jalangka ngajukura pirra kuwikarti

Similarly, question intonation, with final raising, is similar to that in English.

2.4 MORPHOPHONEMICS

There are only a few morphophonemic processes in Karajarri. These rules describe instances of phonemic change brought about specifically by morphological processes. The single hash in the following rules indicates a morpheme boundary.

[a] Nasal assimilation- the two rules involving nasals given in Sands (1989, 2.4) can be generalised into the following:

$$C \quad \rightarrow \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \alpha \text{ anterior} \\ \alpha \text{ coronal} \end{array} \right] / \text{---} \# \left[\begin{array}{l} C \\ \alpha \text{ ant} \\ \alpha \text{ cor} \end{array} \right]$$

This rule states that when a morpheme-final nasal is followed by a suffix-initial consonant, it will assimilate to the place of articulation of the following consonant. This example from Sands (2.4, orthography modified) involves dative/purposive suffix.

yaliny → yaling-ku

[b] **Vowel deletion-** this rule deletes a high front vowel when it is followed by a suffix-initial high back vowel (with the intervening semivowel):

i → Ø / ___ #wu

The only known environment for the application of this rule is with the future suffix of -Ø- conjugation verbs:

jarri-wu → jarru

[c] **Nasal deletion-** if two nasals occur together at a morpheme boundary, the second is deleted. The only known example of this is given below. *janum-* 'vomit', an -L- conjugation verb, is the only known verb stem to end in a consonant, and thus the scarcity of environments for this rule:

C → Ø / C # ___
 [+nasal] [+nasal]

e.g.. janum-npa → janum-pa
 vomit-PRES

3 MORPHOLOGY

3.1 PARTS OF SPEECH

Karajarri is fairly typical of Australian languages (see Dixon 1980, 9.1) in having the following parts of speech.

Nominals- this class includes nouns and adjectives (which appear to be formally indistinguishable, although there are functional contrasts). Nominals may take inflections for number and case. The choice of certain case forms (e.g. resemblative) is possibly influenced by the syntactic level at which the nominal is functioning.

Pronouns- this is a closed class distinguishing three persons (including an inclusive/exclusive distinction in non-singular first person) and singular, dual and plural number. This class includes object and dative reflexive pronouns (with a special form for second person object reflexive), as well as interrogatives. Free form pronouns are inflected as other nominals, whilst bound pronouns are marked in an ERG/NOM vs ACC system.

Demonstratives/Deictics- a closed class of items which variously function as third person pronouns, as demonstrative specifiers, or as indicating the position of a referent relative to the speaker. These take special forms for the ablative case suffix.

Verbs- fall into four conjugations and are suffixed with obligatorily tense inflections and obligatory bound pronouns.

Location/Time qualifiers- a smaller group of words which provide locational and temporal qualification in a sentence. The status of this group as a separate word class is not clearly established in Karajarri, and would require further semantic and syntactic analysis (see 3.4 for discussion). However there are some syntactic features which set this group apart from general nominals. This is particularly the case with locational qualifiers which take special forms of the allative and ablative case suffixes.

Particles- a set of uninflected items which operate at the discourse level as propositional modifiers or logical/temporal markers.

Interjections- a set of single-word items which may function as complete utterances and which are not involved in any syntactic constructions.

3.2 NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

3.2.1 DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES

Suffixes described in this section are those which derive a new nominal stem from an existing one. Although they may occur on noun phrases of more than one nominal, they do not function to relate one nominal to another, and must thus be distinguished from adnominally functioning case inflections (see 3.3.1 [a]).

For noun phrases which involve a demonstrative, the marking conventions for derivational suffixes are the same as those for adnominal suffixes - that is, either or both of the elements may be marked. For noun phrases consisting of a noun and an adjective, whilst it is most usual for both elements to be marked, it is also acceptable for only the first to be marked. Marking only the second element is to some degree permissible, but considered less correct.

[a] -jarri/-rrangu

These are number suffixes indicating dual (DL) and plural (PL) number (respectively) on nominals:

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-------------------|
| (1) | marrungu | man |
| | marrungu-jarri | two men |
| | marrungu-rrangu | three or more men |

[b] -marta

The meaning of this suffix is difficult to define. When used on adjectives, it possibly gives a slight emphatic meaning (glossed as EMPH for convenience), but more likely gives them a well rounded form, perhaps akin to the English suffixes *-ly* and *-ish* in

goodly and *reddish*. It does not add anything to the translation i.e. *mapu* and *mapu-marta* are both translated as 'good'.

-marta can also occur on temporal words in which case it extends the specified duration or point of time (2).

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------|---------------|----------------|----------------------|
| (2) | janyja | now | janyja-marta | soon |
| | yulpurru | long time ago | yulpurru-marta | (very) long time ago |

When it co-occurs with the comparative *-kuran*, *-marta* is placed as the second suffix e.g. *wurtu-kuran-marta* 'the bigger dog'.

[c] *-kuran*

-kuran is a suffix added to adjectives giving a comparative meaning. Thus *wurtu/wurtu-kuran* 'big/bigger', *mapu-marta/mapu-kuran-marta* 'good/better' etc. Comparative meaning can also be expressed by stating two opposites, as in (3).

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|---------|--------|-------|
| (3) | warany | wiriman | warany | kunku |
| | other | long | other | short |
| | One is long, the other is short. | | | |

[d] *-karra*

-karra (not to be confused with the homophonous aversive case suffix) is an uncommon emphatic suffix (EMPH), the only examples of which occur on adjectives. Its use appears to be non-productive, being restricted to a few phrases (4). Produced forms such as *mapu-karra* 'very good' are unacceptable.

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------|----------------------|
| (4) | yulpurru-karra-jangka | (very) long time ago |
| | long time ago-EMPH-SEQ | |
| | wurtu-karra | plenty |
| | big-EMPH | |

By far the most common way of expressing emphasis is to use the nominal *yija* 'true' e.g. *yija wakala mapu* (true woman good) 'truly good woman'

3.2.2 VERBALISING PROCESSES

There are at least two basic processes in Karajarri by which verbs may be derived from nominals. There may be more, but the following two seem to be fairly common. The membership of the -L- and -Ø- conjugations are largely made up of verbs derived in these ways.

[a] **Transitive verbs-** may be derived by adding the verb *ja-* 'do' to a nominal (as in (5)). Resulting verbs are in the -L- conjugation.

- (5) mapu ja-la-nya pani
 make good-IMP-1SG O eyes
 Make my eyes better!

[b] **Intransitive verbs-** may be derived by adding *jarri* 'become' to a nominal (6). Resulting verbs are in the -Ø- conjugation.

- (6) jula-jangka pani mapu jarri-nyu
 blind-SEQ eyes become good-PAST
 The blind man [lit. from being blind his eyes] became better.

3.2.3 NOMINALISING PROCESSES

There are two suffixes in Karajarri which derive nouns from verbs. The basic factor influencing the distribution of the use of the suffixes appears to be animacy, although further analysis may show finer distinctions.

[a] *-yiti* is the nominalising suffix used when the resulting nominal is animate (7, 8). It is used in the following construction:

VERB ROOT + IRR + NOMLSR

- (7) wanti-nya-yiti-lu jinka-n yukurru
 sit-IRR-NOMLSR-ERG hit-PRES dog
 The sitting man hit the dog.

- (8) partany ya-nya yungu-nya-yiti-karti
 child go-PRES give-IRR-NOMLSR-ALL_{loc}
 The child goes to the generous man.

The suffix can also be simply added to a nominal, in which case there may be varying degrees of semantic modification. For example:

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------|------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| (9) | wayini | frightened | wayini-yiti | timid |
| | witi | play | witi-yiti | funny |
| | wakala | woman | wakala-yiti | larrikin |
| | jantu | quiet | jantu-yiti | quiet man |
| | kuli | angry | kuli-yiti | cheeky one, brave one |

[b] *-pinti* is the nominalising suffix used when the resulting nominal is inanimate. It is used in the same construction as *-yiti*. For example:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| (10) | wanti-nya-pinti | chair [the thing for sitting] |
| | sit-IRR-NOMLSR | |
| | jina-nya-pinti | law [the thing for following] |
| | follow-IRR-NOMLSR | |

3.2.4 REDUPLICATION

Dixon (1980) comments on the range of functions that reduplication is known to have in different Australian languages, including plurality, intensity and unreality. The study of reduplication in Karajarri is not substantial enough to confirm any of these functions as being generally noticeable. However the following comments are offered.

Within the class of nominals, both nouns and adjectives may consist of a reduplicated form. The following are examples of reduplicated forms for which there is no known use of the single form.

- | | | |
|------|--------------|---------------------------|
| (11) | mapanymapany | straight ahead |
| | kuntikunti | coiled round |
| | maramara | bed |
| | nyurmyurr | bridge of nose (Najanaja) |

There are, however, examples where there does seem to be some connection between an independent and a reduplicated form. For example, in the following two pairs, the single form is an adjective, whilst the reduplicated form is as semantically linked nominal.

- | | | | | |
|------|---------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|
| (12) | punja | slow (Najanaja) | punjapunja | little while |
| | wamparr | hungry | wamparrwamparr | side, waist |

However, the semantic link (if there is one) is not always clear, as with the following two adjectives:

- | | | | | |
|------|------|----------|----------|------|
| (13) | jarr | straight | jarrjarr | cold |
|------|------|----------|----------|------|

The following example shows a possible link between a verb form and a reduplicated nominal form.

- | | | | | |
|------|------------|------|------------|--------------------------------------|
| (14) | pakunta-L- | jump | pakutpakut | up and down (also the word for bait) |
|------|------------|------|------------|--------------------------------------|

There are several compound verbs which involve a reduplicated form. In the following examples there is no known independent use of the reduplicated form.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------|------|
| (15) | kutikuti ma-L- | mix |
| | pulupulu yinta-L- | boil |

There is, however, an example of a verb which does show some connection with a singular form:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------|-------------------|
| (16) | parrparr yinta-L- | quiver in muscles |
| | parr yinta-L | have fever |

3.3 CASE MARKING

The following analysis of case marking in Karajarri is based on a framework for multiple case marking outlined by Dench and Evans (1988). There it is argued that case morphemes in Australian languages operate at various syntactic levels. All five of the basic case functions identified by Dench and Evans occur in Karajarri. These will be outlined briefly here, and detailed in the later analysis.

3.3.1 FUNCTIONS OF CASE

[a] Adnominal

A case functions adnominally when it relates two nominals within a single noun phrase (NP). The prototypical example of this is the use of the genitive suffix to indicate possession. For example, in the phrase *kaka-kura yukurru* (uncle-GEN dog), the genitive suffix links the two nominals into the single constituent 'uncle's dog'.

However Karajarri also makes use of an adnominal function where the case suffix is joined only to a single nominal. In such instances (which must not be confused with the relational function of case or with derivational suffixes) a second nominal is often supplied in the English translation with a relative clause such as 'the one who...' or 'the thing which...'. The genitive suffix mentioned above can also be used in this way. Whereas *kaka-kura yukurru* means 'uncle's dog', *kaka-kura* means 'the thing belonging to uncle' (which, when no context is given, will mean 'uncle's place/home').

[b] Relational

The relational function is perhaps the most commonly understood function of case. By it, the role of an NP within a simple clause is marked, whether it be a core argument of the verb, a subcategorised complement, or an adjunct. For example, the use of the ergative suffix in (17) marks 'man' as being the subject of a transitive sentence.

- (17) *marrungu-lu jinka-n yukurru*
 man-ERG hit-PRES dog
 The man hits the dog.

[c] Complementiser

Complementiser function of case is when a clause is marked as being an unsubcategoryed argument (complement) of another clause. The clearest example of this is the purposive use of the suffix *-ku*:

- (18) ya-nu ma-nya-ku ngapa-ku
 go-PAST get-IRR-PURP water-PURP
 He went to get water.

In this example, *-ku* is used to mark that 'to get water' is a complement of the main verb 'go'.

[d] Referential

The referential function of case, whilst not mentioned in the later analysis, does exist in Karajarri. With this function, case copying is used to relate an NP or adverbial to a core NP. In Karajarri, this can be seen in the following examples where *kuli* 'angry' is related to both transitive (19) and intransitive (20) subject.

- (19) kartu-lu jinka-n yukurru kuli-lu
 child-ERG hit-PRES dog angry-ERG
 The child, angry, hits the dog.

- (20) kartu ya-nya kutany-karti kuli
 child(NOM/ACC) go-PRES mother-ALL_{loc} angry(NOM/ACC)
 The child goes to mother angry.

This type of referential function is described by Dench and Evans as 'ascriptive secondary predication'. That is to say, it allows a nominal ascriptive clause ('the child is angry') to be incorporated in the main clause ('the child hits the dog'). Whilst examples are limited, it seems that in Karajarri this secondary predication is limited to having subject reference. For example sentence (21), where the secondary predication is ascribed to a nominal in the allative case, is non-sensical.

- (21) * kartu ya-nya kutany-karti wangarr-karti
 child go-PRES mother-ALL_{loc} happy-ALL_{loc}
 The child goes to mother who is happy.

[e] Associating

The final function of case, the associating function, is also found in Karajarri. Case functions here by associating arguments to non-finite or subordinate clauses. This is done by a process of case reassignment where arguments of non-finite clauses are marked differently than if they were in a finite clause. In Karajarri, this associating function of case is found with the objects of relative and participial clauses. For further details and examples, see descriptions of locative, sequential and dative cases in 3.3.4, as well as section 4.6.2.

3.3.2 MARKING CONVENTIONS

In discussing marking conventions it is necessary to make a distinction between the scope and domain of a case morpheme (Dench and Evans, 1.2). The scope of a case morpheme is the syntactic constituent (whether it be a single nominal, several nominals, or a whole clause) over which it applies. The domain of a case morpheme is the part of that particular constituent on which the case is actually marked. Thus it is possible for the domain of a case morpheme to be only a part of the constituent over which it has scope, as in the following example from Nyigina shows.

- (22) *gudyarra-ni wamba mug yirrinymirri yita*
 two-ERG man hit they-did-it dog
 Two men hit the dog. (Dench and Evans 1988, p5)

In the noun phrase 'two men' (in (22)), the ergative case has scope over both words which make up the NP. Yet the ergative suffix is only marked on one of the words in the noun phrase. This particular sentence is an example of a language which operates under a system called 'free-marking'. Here the domain of the case morpheme need only be one of the elements in the scope of the case morpheme.

Karajarri, however, seems mostly to operate under a marking system termed 'complete concord'. Here, the domain and scope of a case co-incide so that every part of a constituent within the scope will receive case marking. This convention applies (with a couple of particular exceptions outlined below) at all levels of case function. (For marking conventions of derivational suffixes, see 3.2.1).

At the adnominal level, where only one nominal is marked (linking it to another), the choice of the noun which is marked is semantically determined. Thus with the

adnominal use of *-kura* to mark alienable possession, it is always the possessor which is marked (see 4.3).

At the relational and referential level, all parts of an NP (whether the NP is one or more elements) are marked to show its role in a sentence. Thus in sentence (23), all three elements of the NP 'their home town Bethlehem' are marked with the allative case. One exception to this 'complete concord' is when a nominal occurs with a demonstrative. In this instance, the relational or adnominal suffix may occur on either (or both) of these two. The only other exception seems to be when a suffix is used adnominally to relate a whole noun phrase to another nominal, thus forming a new noun phrase. In such instances, the noun phrase to which the suffix occurs does not have it occurring on each individual nominal (for an example of this, see (68) in 3.3.5 [g]).

- (23) kulpa-nyu-pula kinyangka-jarra-karti ngurrarra-karti
 return-PAST-3 DL SUBJ PRO 3-DL-ALL_{loc} home town-ALL_{loc}

Bethlehem-karti

Bethlehem-ALL_{loc}

They(2) returned to their home town Bethlehem.

Similarly, at the complementiser and associating level, all constituents in the subordinate clause are marked, including the verb. Note that in these instances (as well as in subcategorised complements) the subject of the subordinate clause does not come under the domain of the subordinate clause - it is marked according to its role in the main clause. Thus in (24), *warnku* 'money' receives zero marking as the object of the main clause rather than receiving purposive marking for its role in the purposive clause.

- (24) yu-ngu-jinya-ra warnku mira ka-nya-ku tataly-ku
 give-PAST-3PL OBJ-BEN money look after-IRR-PURP sick-PURP
 He gave them money to look after the sick man.

3.3.3 ORDERING CONVENTIONS

With case functioning at these various levels, it is not uncommon for a single nominal to be marked with more than one case inflection. In such instances, a principle of 'concentric scoping' applies - that is to say outer suffixes have logical scope over the

entire preceding string (Dench and Evans, 1.2.2). Furthermore, if the outer suffixes originates in a higher constituent, then the principle is extended such that 'a suffix X will be outside a suffix Y if it originates in a higher constituent than Y' (ibid).

The simplest and most common occurrence of multiple case marking is when a nominal is marked with both an adnominal and relational suffix (25).

- (25) marrungu-lu mirliny-parri-lu nyanga-nya pijarta
 man-ERG spear-PROP-ERG see-PRES emu
 The man with a spear sees an emu.

On *mirliny*, the proprietive suffix links this nominal with the preceding nominal into the noun phrase 'the man with a spear'. The ergative suffix, which marks this noun phrase as being the transitive subject of the sentence, is then applied to both the elements. The ergative suffix occurs on *mirliny* outside the proprietive suffix because it has logical scope over it.

Similarly, associating case has logical scope over both adnominal (26) and relational (27) case, and so occurs outside them.

- (26) kuru ja-na-jangka kinyangka-kura-jangka pulimanu-jangka
 gather-IRR-SEQ PRO 3SG-GEN-SEQ bullocks-SEQ

 kulpa-ya
 return-3PL SUBJ

After gathering his bullocks, they returned.

- (27) kura ja-na-jangka pirra-ngka-jangka pulimanu-jangka kulpa-ya
 gather-IRR-SEQ bush-LOC-SEQ bullocks-SEQ return-3PL S
 After gathering the bullocks in the bush, they returned.

In sentence (26), the genitive suffix is functioning at an adnominal level to form the noun phrase 'his bullocks'. The sequential suffix then marks this whole noun phrase as being associated with the subordinate clause. Hence, on *kinyangka* 'he', which is double marked, the sequential suffix occurs outside the genitive. Similarly in sentence (27), the locative suffix functions relationally to indicate the location of the action. The sequential

suffix, which occurs outside the locative on *pirra* 'bush', then associates this constituent as being an argument of the subordinate clause.

3.3.4 CO-OCCURRENCE CONSTRAINTS

There appears to be a general constraint that as the suffixes interact at different levels, identical suffixes cannot co-occur on the same nominal. This is illustrated by the following pair:

(28) a) marrungu ya-nu maya-karti walipi-ngka-karti
 man go-PAST house-ALL_{loc} camp-LOC-ALL_{loc}
 The man went to the house at the camp.

b) marrungu wanti maya-ngka walipi-ngka(*-ngka)
 man be house-LOC camp-LOC(*-LOC)
 The man is in the house at the camp.

Sentence (28 a) shows that it is quite possible for locative case to function adnominally (forming the noun phrase 'the house at the camp'), and then to be further marked with the relational allative suffix. To further mark the adnominally formed noun phrase with the same suffix (as in (28 b)), even if it is functioning at a different level, is not permissible.

3.3.5 CASE INFLECTIONS AND THEIR USES

Overview

The following tables have been included to give an overview of the various functions of case in the language and of the co-occurrence possibilities.

Table 1 - The functions of each case

Table 1 summarises the case suffixes and their functions. In Table 1 the cases have been grouped according to the way in which they function. As can be seen in the table, most cases have two functions - adnominal and relational. A couple of cases (ergative/instrumental and aversive) have primarily only a relational function (although

Table 1 - Cases and their functions

Case	Forms	Functions				
		Adnominal	Relational	Comple- mentiser	Referential	Associating
Ergative/ Instrumental	<i>-lu ~ -ju</i>		✓		✓	
Aversive	<i>-karra</i>		✓			
Allative	<i>-karti (loc)</i> <i>-jawa (dir)</i>	✓	✓			
Ablative	<i>-nguru (loc)</i> <i>-ngu (dir)</i>	✓	✓			
Benefactive/ Genitive	<i>-kura</i>	✓	✓			
Local	<i>-martaji</i>	✓	✓			
Origin	<i>-nyanu</i>	✓	✓			
Privative	<i>-kurlu</i>	✓	✓			
Propriative	<i>-parri</i>	✓	✓			
Resemblative	<i>-waliny (rel)</i> <i>-kula ~</i> <i>-kulara (ad)</i> <i>-kaja (synch)</i>	✓	✓			
Locative	<i>-ngka ~ -ja</i>	✓	✓			✓
Sequential	<i>-jangka</i>	✓	✓			✓
Dative/ Purposive	<i>-ku</i>		✓	✓		✓

ergative does also have a less common referential function). Only a few of the cases (locative, sequential and dative/purposive) have three functions.

Table 2 - Co-occurrence of functions

As outlined above, when there is a co-occurrence of case suffixes, the suffixes will be ordered such that the outer suffixes have logical scope over the inner suffixes. Table 2 shows the attested co-occurrence of suffixes at different levels. As seen in the table, when a word is double case-marked, the functions available for the inner suffix are very limited, with only adnominal suffixes occurring in this position. Functions that occur in the outer position may be relational, complementiser and associating. There are no

[a] Ergative/Instrumental

The allomorphs for the ergative (ERG) and instrumental (INST) cases occur according to the following distribution:

-*lu* following a vowel

-*ju* following a consonant

Ergative case has the relational function of marking the subject of a transitive sentence (29). Note that in this example, the noun phrase consists of three nouns, all of which receive ergative marking according to the marking conventions outlined in 3.3.2.

- (29) warany-ju jantu-lu narrungu-lu nya-ngu
 other-ERG countryman-ERG person-ERG see-PAST
 Another of his countrymen saw him.

Instrumental case functions relationally to indicate the instrument or object *with* which the action was carried out (30,31), or an object or process *by* which or *through* which the action was carried out (32).

- (30) jinka-lku-yarna-ngala warnku-lu
 hit-FUT-1PL EX S-CON stone-INST
 Shall we stone him [hit him with stones] ?

- (31) wunja-npa-rna-nyirrinya ngapa-lu
 wash-PRES-1SG S-2PL O water-INST
 I wash you with water.

- (32) warnku wakaj yilpa-nyu-ra kari-jangka-lu
 money all throw-PAST-COMP wine-SEQ-INST

wakala-yiti-lu

woman-NOMLSR-INST

He wasted all his money on wine and [loose] women.

It is possible to have both ergative and instrumental case occurring in the one sentence, for example:

- (33) nya-ngu-rna marrungu ngaju-lu pani-lu
 see-PAST-1SG S man PRO 1SG-ERG eyes-INST
 I saw the man with my eyes.

It is not uncommon for the instrumental case to co-occur with the proprietive or privative suffixes. In such instances, the instrumental case may retain its normal sense (as in (34)), but can also have the combined meaning of the two suffixes. For example, in sentence (35) the actors of the sentence are both *with* the boat (proprietive meaning) and *use* the boat (instrumental meaning). This combined use of the suffix can also tend toward being adverbial in meaning (36), describing the state of the actor, or the manner of the action.

- (34) muwarr-parri-lu Jesus-ju ja-nu jinu jurrar jinyirri-jangka
 word-PROP-INST Jesus-ERG do-PAST calm sea upset-SEQ
 With a word, Jesus made the rough sea calm.

- (35) walja-rrangu-lu ma-nu-ya kuwi boat-parri-lu
 friend-PL-ERG get-PAST-3PL S game boat-PROP-INST
 The friends went fishing [got game] in the boat.

- (36) warnku-kurlu-lu ngurngurpala-nu-jinya mayi-ku
 money-PRIV-INST look after animals-PAST-3PL O food-PURP

ma-nya-ku
 get-IRR-PURP

Penniless, he looked after money to get food.

Instrumental case is also used in the instrumental relative clause construction (37). In this use it describes the subordinated action as being an action *with which* (in an instrumental sense) the main action is brought about (see also 4.6.3).

- (37) jimi-na-jangka-lu julapani mapu ja-nu
 touch-IRR-SEQ-INST blind man make good-PAST
 With a touch, he made the blind man see.

[b] Aversive

-karra is the aversive (AVERS) and has only a relational function. It is used to indicate fear (38) or avoidance (39) of something as well as 'protection from/against' (40).

- (38) marrungu-karra wayitikarri-pula japulu-pa kurtany
 man-AVERS be frightened-3DL S father-CONJ mother
 Father and mother are frightened of the man.

- (39) yarra-ni-ya marrungu-karra
 go-HERE-IMP man-AVERS
 Come here, away from that man !

- (40) kurtany-ju pirra-na-la wangal-karra
 mother-ERG cover-PRES wind-AVERS
 Mother covers [the child] from the wind.

The emphatic suffix *-karra* (3.2.1 [d]) is an homophonous form with no obvious semantic link.

[c] Allative

There are two allative (ALL) suffixes in Karajarri, one used on general nominals, and another used specifically on inherently directional nominals. The general allative suffix will be labelled ALL_{loc} (or allative of location), and the other will be labelled ALL_{dir} (or allative of direction).

-karti

-karti is the general allative suffix indicating 'motion towards', whether it be towards a place (41), a person (42) or some more abstract concept (43). These examples illustrate the relational function of *-karti*, which is its primary use.

- (41) kulpa-ya kankarra walipi-karti
 return-3PL S up camp-ALL_{loc}
 They go back up to the camp.

- (42) karti ma-nu-jinya mapan-karti
 send-PAST-3PL O doctor-ALL_{loc}
 He sent them to the doctor.

- (43) kunkulu-pa ngalu-pa warany-karti jarri-nyu-pula
 head-conj feeling-CONJ other-ALL_{loc} become-PAST-3DL S
 Their thoughts and feelings were changed [lit. became to another].

When referring to some common activity, *-karti* can have a purposive meaning similar to one use of the purposive suffix *-ku*. In (44), for example, *-karti* indicates that the purpose of the main activity is 'to get meat'. It is thus possible that in the one sentence *-karti* can occur with an allative and purposive meaning (45).

- (44) ya-nu pala jalangka ngaju-kura pirra kuwi-karti
 go-PAST that grandfather PRO 1SG-GEN bush meat-ALL_{loc}
 My grandfather went bush to get meat.

- (45) kaka ya-nu Broome-karti mayi-karti
 uncle go-PAST Broome-ALL_{loc} food-ALL_{loc}
 Uncle went to Broome to get food.

Sentence (46) is an example of the co-occurrence of the allative and purposive suffixes. It seems that in this example, there is a combination of both allative and purposive meanings tied up in a single noun phrase, the co-occurrence indicating that the actor simultaneously went *to* the boy, with the *purpose* of seeing the boy.

- (46) rawarri-karti-ku nya-ngu-rala
 dead-ALL_{loc}-PURP see-PAST-3SG BEN
 He went to see the dead boy.

-karti can also function adnominally, marking one nominal as being the goal of the motion of another nominal. This can be translated as 'on the way to' or 'going towards', as in (47). In this example, *school* is marked with the allative case, making it the goal of the actor's motion, and linking to the actor to form the noun phrase 'the child going to school'.

- (47) kartu-lu school-karti-lu nyanga-nya-jinya walja-rrangu
 child-ERG school-ALL_{loc}-ERG see-PRES-3PL O friend-PL

kinyangka-kura
 PRO 3SG-GEN

The child going to school saw his friends.

-karti also functions adnominally in certain restricted phrases, with idiosyncratic meaning (48).

- (48) kujarra-karti papirr ten [to two hands]
 two-ALL_{loc} hand

There is one example of a sentence (49) in which adnominal allative is further marked with the locative suffix (functioning relationally). This appears to indicate the location of something that has undergone motions towards a place. Thus in this example the stone seems to be in a place as the result of having undergone motion.

- (49) nya-ngu-ya warnku waraja-karti-ngka japi-ngka
 see-PAST-3PL S stone one-ALL_{loc}-LOC side-LOC
 They saw the stone [moved] to one side.

jawa

-jawa is the allative suffix used with nominals of direction. These nominals include compass points, as well as other directional words such as *kankarra* 'up'. In its relational use, it differs slightly from *-karti* in meaning in that it does not necessarily imply 'motion towards', but only 'direction'. The meaning of motion is supplied by the verb, as illustrated in (50) and (51). Furthermore, because of the nature of the nominals with which it is used, its occurrence is not obligatory- there is little loss in meaning if it is left off (52).

- (50) pala marrungu yanja-jawa
 that man north-ALL_{dir}
 That man is facing north.
- (51) pala marrungu ya-nya yanja-jawa
 that man go-PRES north-ALL_{dir}
 That man is going north.
- (52) marrungu ya-nu yanja yanta-nu pajarri
 man go-PAST north spear-PAST kangaroo
 The man went north and speared a kangaroo.

Used adnominally, its meaning is similar to that of *-karti*, and can be translated as 'on the way' (53). Note that in this example, even though the suffix is functioning adnominally, it does not actually link two nominals together (since it only occurs in a noun phrase of one element). Rather, the second nominal is supplied in the English translation.

- (53) yanja-jawa-lu yanta-n pajarri
 north-ALL_{dir}-ERG spear-PRES kangaroo
 The man on his way north spears a kangaroo.

[d] Ablative

The two forms of the ablative (ABL) suffix correspond to the forms of the allative suffix (*-karti/-jawa*) in that one is used for locational nominals (ABL_{loc}), and the other for directional nominals (ABL_{dir}). In each case, the meaning is 'motion away from'.

-nguru

-nguru is the ablative of location. Used relationally, its basic meaning is 'motion away from' (54).

- (54) wakaj kartu-rrangu walipi-nguru ya-nu-ya jurrar-karti
 all child-PL camp-ABL_{loc} go-PAST-3PL S sea-ALL_{loc}
 All the children went from the camp to the sea.

Less commonly, *-nguru* can also have a sense of 'origin' (55), or 'from among' (56). Occasionally, in certain phrases, it is used to specify the manner/location of an action (57).

- (55) muwarr pina karri-nyu ringu-nguru
 word hear-PAST cloud-ABL_{loc}
 He heard a voice from the cloud.

- (56) wanjani pala-rrangu-nguru mapu
 which that-PL-ABL_{loc} good
 Which of them is good ?

- (57) ma-nu papirr-nguru
 take-PAST hand-ABL_{loc}
 He took him by the hand.

-Nguru is also used in the formation of a number of connectives and adverbial expressions, for example:

- (58) pala-nguru then [from that]
 that-ABL_{loc}

kuna-nguru all the time
 all the time-ABL_{loc}

kajarri-nguru from afar
 long way-ABL_{loc}

Used adnominally *-nguru* tends to specify the location or manner of an action or agent (see also 3.3.5 [k]). Semantically, this use of the suffix indicates the position or state *from which* the action is done. As is the case in (59), this type of adnominal use can often be translated as a participle. Again, although the case is functioning adnominally, it occurs in a noun phrase of only one nominal - the second nominal (in this case the first person singular pronoun) is supplied.

- (59) mana-nguru-lu muwarr pu-nya-rna-la
 sitting-ABL_{loc}-ERG talk-PRES-1SG S-3SG DAT
 Sitting, I talk to him.

-ngu

-ngu is the ablative suffix of direction. It functions relationally with the same meaning as *-nguru* (60, 61). In its adnominal use, it typically occurs in a noun phrase consisting of a single nominal of direction to mean 'the one from...'

- (60) ngapa jayi kankarra-ngu
 water come above-ABL_{dir}
 It is raining [water is coming from above].

- (61) ngarrungu-rrangu ya-nu-ya kakara-ngu
 person-PL go-PAST-3PL S east-ABL_{dir}
 The people came from the east.

It is not uncommon for the *-ngu* suffix co-occur with *-jangka* (SEQ) in which case the meaning seems to be one of 'origin' as well as 'motion away from'. This co-occurrence is possible both when *-ngu* is functioning adnominally (62) and relationally ((63) - although this particular example is ambiguous as to whether it is an adnominal or relation function). A very common connective phrase used in discourse is *pala-ngu-jangka* 'after that'.

- (62) wakala kakara-ngu-jangka-lu yinta-nu-nganinaku manti-ku
 woman east-ABL_{dir}-SEQ-ERG tell-PAST-1PL EX DAT go-DAT
 The woman from the east told us to go.

- (63) ma-nku-n-ngala rayi kankarra-ngu-jangka
 get-FUT-2SG S-CON spirit above-ABL_{dir}-SEQ
 You will receive the spirit from above.

Note that in (62), *wakala* does not receive ergative marking which would be expected according to the principle of 'complete concord' (see 3.3.2). This is an uncommon deviation from the standard marking conventions.

[e] Benefactive/Genitive

A single suffix, *-kura*, has both benefactive and genitive meanings, depending on the syntactic level at which it is functioning.

Benefactive (BEN)

This is the relational function of *-kura*. Used relationally, the suffix indicates that an action was done for the benefit of someone else (64), or done on behalf of someone else (65). Note that free form benefactive nominals may or may not be cross-referenced as bound pronouns on the verb.

- (64) ngaju-lu kampa-npa-rna-rala kurtany-kura
 PRO 1SG-ERG cook-PRES-1SG S-3SG BEN mother-BEN
 I cook [it] for mother.

- (65) manan punka-wu-rna-ngala nyurra-kura
 tomorrow die-FUT-1SG S-CON PRO 2PL-BEN
 Tomorrow I will die for you.

Genitive(GEN)

This is the adnominal use of *-kura*. For full discussion, see 4.3.

[f] Local

The form of the local (LOCL) case is *-martaji*. Functioning relationally (66), this suffix indicates the general location of an action, usually translated as 'near' (as opposed to the locative which gives a specific location such as 'in/at/on').

- (66) nya-ngu-jinya jiji ma-nu-rna-jinya jurrar-martaji
 see-PAST-3PL O shell get-PAST-1SG S-3SG O sea-LOCL
 I saw some shells and got them, near the sea.

Used adnominally (67), it has the same meaning of 'near', but refers to the location of a participant during the carrying out of an action, rather than to the location of the action itself.

- (67) marrungu-lu walipi-martaji-lu yu-ngu-nya mayi
 man-ERG camp-LOCL-ERG give-PAST-1SG O food
 The man near the camp gave me food.

[g] Origin

The suffix of origin (ORIG) is *-nyanu*, and it has both adnominal and relational functions. Functioning adnominally in a noun phrase of more than one constituent, it indicates that the nominal which is marked with *-nyanu* is the origin of the other nominal. Thus, in (68), the 'one father' is marked as being the origin of 'those children'. Note that in this example the phrase 'one father' not marked with the 'complete concord', according to an exception to this convention outlined in 3.3.2.

- (68) waraja-nyanu japulu pala-rangu kartupapa pala-ngu-jangka kaka
 one-ORIG father that-PL children that-ABL_{dir}-SEQ uncle
 All these children of one father [are here] then/as uncle [comes].

Sometimes adnominally formed noun phrases of *-nyanu*, as well as simply describing a participant in the action, can also form adverbial phrases which modify the action as a whole (69).

- (69) nyuntu-nyanu muwarr yilpa-wu-rna-ra yaliny
 PRO 2SG-ORIG word throw-FUT-1SG S-3SG DAT again
 At your word, I will throw it in again.

Functioning relationally, *-nyanu* indicates that the nominal on which it occurs is acting as some sort of *origin* or *source* in the action or process (70).

- (70) yu-wa-nya warnku nyuntu-nyanu
 give-IMP-1SG O money PRO 2SG-ORIG
 Give me money from you !

The semantic difference between *-nyanu* and *-jangka* is a fine one, but can be illustrated by the following example:

- (71) nangu mayi ma-nya-rna mayi-kura maya-jangka
 this food get-PRES-1SG S food-GEN house-SEQ

Sentence (71) is the normal way of saying 'I got this food from the store [lit. house of food]'. If, however, *-nyanu* is substituted for *-jangka*, the sentence retains this meaning, but has the additional implication that the food was given by the store (as apposed to purchased). The notion of *giving* is closely linked to that of *origin* when one considers it as a transfer of ownership rather than as just describing the place of the action.

[h] Privative

-kurlu is the privative (PRIV) suffix, usually translated as 'without'. Functioning relationally, it tends to have an adverbial meaning, describing the manner in which the action is carried out (72, 73).

- (72) pala motor car driving ja-n papirr-kurlu
 that motor car drive-PRES hand-PRIV
 He is driving that motor car without any hands.

- (73) pala jinka-*npa-rna* pajarri mirliny-*kurlu*
 that hit-PRES-1SG S kangaroo spear-PRIV
 I killed that kangaroo without a spear.

-kurlu also has an adnominal function, describing the noun which it modifies as 'not having' something (74). This type of adnominal use is used in the formation of a number of adjectives (for example (75)).

- (74) motor car-*kurlu-lu* marrungu-*lu* kuwi ma-nu-*jinya* jurrar-*jangka*
 motor car-PRIV-ERG man-ERG meat get-PAST-3PL O sea-SEQ
 The man without a motor car caught fish.

- (75) rawarri-*kurlu* immortal [without death]
 dead-PRIV

The use of *-kurlu* is also common in verbless sentences which simply state the lack of something (76).

- (76) mayi-*kurlu* There is no food.
 food-PRIV
- majarra ngurra-*kurlu* There was no place.
 not place-PRIV
- jami ngaju motor car-*kurlu* I have no motor car.
 not PRO 1SG motor car-PRIV

[i] Propriative

The form of the propriative suffix is *-parri*. The primary function of this suffix is adnominal, giving a propriative meaning (PROP) which is usually translated as 'with'. It is used both to link two nominals together into a single noun phrase (where the person or property marked with the suffix is described as belonging to the noun with which it is linked, as in (77) and (78)), and sometimes to make new nouns from existing ones (79).

- (77) warra lali-*parri* ka-wa-ni-*jinya-ra*
 clothes white-PROP get-IMP-HERE-3PL O-COMP
 Bring me some new [lit. 'with white'] clothes !

- (78) marrungu-lu warnku-parri-lu yungu-nya-ra kartu kinyangka-kura
 man-ERG money-PROP-ERG give-PRES-DAT son PRO 3SG-GEN
 The man with money gives it to his son.

- (79) jirrijirri-parri leper [a 'with leprosy']
 leprosy-PROP

In combination with the instrumental suffix (80), the proprietive suffix can also function relationally, with instrumental meaning.

- (80) wip-parri-lu wijinta-nu-ya
 whip-PROP-ERG hit-PAST-3PL S
 They hit him with whips.

[j] Resemblative

There are three suffixes which have resemblative (LIKE) meaning. Although the examples of these suffixes are somewhat limited, their uses appear to correspond roughly to different syntactic level. Note, however, that this correspondence is only rough, not rigid, and could bear further analysis. *-waliny* (glossed as LIKE₁) loosely corresponds to the relational function, *-kula ~ -kulara* (glossed as LIKE₂) to the adnominal function, whilst *-kaja* (the SYNchronous suffix) is restricted to a few particular expressions.

-waliny

Used relationally, this suffix tends to give an adverbial meaning, as in (81) and (82). This adverbial meaning is usually one of *manner*, describing the way in which an action is done.

- (81) ngaju-pa ya-nku-ma jurrar-ja nyuntu-waliny
 PRO 1SG-CONJ go-FUT-1SG S sea-LOC PRO 2SG-LIKE₁
 Let me walk on the sea like you !

- (82) jurjur pati-nyu-ngala rayi kurlukuku-waliny
 come down-PAST-CON spirit dove-LIKE₁
 There came down upon him a spirit like a dove.

-waliny can function adnominally (83) in which case it is difficult to discern whether the meaning is to be taken ascriptively (i.e. as ascribing a quality to the noun with which it is linked) or adverbially (describing the way in which the action was done, as in the above examples).

- (83) marrungu yukurru-waliny-ju jinga-n-jinya wayini ja-n-jinya
 man dog-LIKE₁-ERG chase-PRES-3PL O frighten-PRES-3PL O

kartupapa
 children

The man like a dog chases the children and frightens them.

-kula/-kulara

The two variants of this suffix are used exclusively by two different informants. Whether this variation is just stylistic, or perhaps emphatic, is not clear. In any case, it does not seem to affect the meaning.

-kula/-kulara is used adnominally to describe some sort of quality or likeness to the head noun of the noun phrase which it forms (84). It can also be used in a verbless sentence to ascribe a likeness or quality to a nominal (85).

- (84) waraja yantangal wangalangu-kulara
 one angel young man-LIKE₂
 an angel like a young man

- (85) marrungu pala yukurru-kula
 man that dog-LIKE₂
 That man [is] like a dog.

Depending on context, in addition to simply describing a likeness or quality, *-kula/-kulara* may also imply a deliberate degree of uncertainty - defining an object only by its likeness (86, 87).

- (86) kajari ngana pala yukurru-kula
 far what that dog-LIKE₂

Long way away- what is it- something like a dog/it might be a dog.

- (87) kunkulu-ngka jurrungu jarri-nyu-janaku tili-kulara
 head-LOC appear-PAST-3PL DAT flame-LIKE₂
 There appeared on their heads something like fire.

-kaja

-kaja is termed the 'synchronous' suffix because of its function in subordinated clauses. In such constructions it is attached to the verb indicating that the carrying out of the subordinated action is synchronous in time with the action of the main clause (as in (88)- see also 4.6.2). As a nominal case suffix, however, the use of *-kaja* is restricted to a few particular expressions. In such instances, its meaning seems to be very close to that of the resemblative suffixes (for example (89)). In example (89), *wiyu* is onomatopoeic for the curlew call, *-kaja* gives a resemblative meaning and *-yiti* is a nominalising suffix. Thus the meaning of 'curlew' is comprised of 'the thing that is like *wiyu*'.

- (88) kaka nyanga-nya-rna nga-nya-kaja
 uncle see-PRES-1SG S eat-PRES-SYN
 I see uncle eating.

- (89) wiyu-kaja-yiti curlew
 wiyu-SYN-NOMLSR

Unlike the sequential suffix *-jangka*, *-kaja* is not known to have other case functions (such as adnominal and relational). For this reason, it has not be treated as an independent case, but has been grouped with the resemblative suffixes because of its semantic similarities.

[k] Locative

The allomorphs of the locative (LOC) case suffix are distributed as follows:

-ngka following a vowel

-ja following a consonant

The function of the locative suffix is primarily relational, describing the location of an action or participant in terms of 'in' (90), 'at' (91) or 'on' (92).

(90) nurru-ngka ja-nu-rna-waninya
 hot sand-LOC put-PAST-1SG S-OBJ REFL
 I put myself in the hot sand.

(91) pala-ngka ngapa-ngka kampa-nu
 that-LOC water-LOC cook-PAST
 He cooked it at that water place.

(92) yanjilyparra-parri ya-nu jurrar-ja
 boat-PROP go-PAST sea-LOC
 He went with a boat on the sea.

As well as this physical/spatial sense, the suffix can also indicate more abstract locations such as persons (93) or emotions (94).

(93) ngarlu jayi-ja-ya ngaju-ngka
 believe-1SG DAT-IMP PRO 1SG-LOC
 Believe in me!

(94) ngarlu-ngka into the heart/feelings
 feelings-LOC

Occasionally, examples occur where locative is used to mark transitive object or dative. In (95), locative marks the object of a speech verb where the (presumably) subcategorised complement does not occur. In (93) above, locative corresponds to a dative bound pronoun on the verb, but in (96) it marks a free form which would normally be dative. This unusual use of the locative (in 96) presumably emphasises the change in position of the object in a way that the expected dative would not.

(95) yinta-nu-la marrungu-ngka
 tell-PAST-3SG DAT man-LOC
 He told the man [with no complement supplied].

(96) yu-ngu-pulaku kutany-ja-pa japulu-ngka
 give-PAST-3DL O mother-LOC-CONJ father-LOC
 He gave it to mother and father.

Locative is also used in the formation of a variety of adverbial expressions (predominantly temporal). The following are examples of some relatively common expressions.

- (97) warraja-ngka one day
 one-LOC
- yaku-ja-kaja in this way
 way-LOC-SYN
- purrtur-ja on the way
 middle-LOC
- wayilpila-kurlu-ngka in the time before white people
 white fella-PRIV-LOC
- ngaju-ngka nyirrani-nguru in my absence (or 'while I was away')
 PRO 1SG-LOC behind-ORIGIN

The adnominal use of locative, where it links two nouns into a single noun phrase, is less common. Its occurrence seems to be limited to non-subject constituents. When functioning in this way, the nominal with the locative suffix is marked as being the location of the nominal to which it is linked in the NP.

- (98) marrungu ya-nu maya-karti walipi-ngka-karti
 man go-PAST house-ALL_{loc} camp-LOC-ALL_{loc}
 The man went to the house at the camp.

In sentence (98), the nominal *walipi* 'camp' is linked to the nominal *maya* 'house' as being its location. This linking forms the single noun phrase 'the house at the camp'. Note that each element of this noun phrase is further marked with the relationally-functioning allative case.

Subject adnominal locative can be expressed by using adnominal ablative (as in (99)). Used in this way, the ablative suffix indicates the position from which the action was carried out, giving a sense of the location of the actor. The location of the subject can alternatively be expressed by splitting the clause in two (100).

- (99) marrungu-lu motor car-nguru-lu jinka-n yukurru
 man-ERG motor car-ABL_{loc}-ERG hit-PRES dog
 The man in [or from his position in] the motor car hit the dog.

- (100) marrungu wanti-nyu paka-ngka yilpa-nyu warnku
 man be-PAST tree-LOC throw-PAST stone.
 The man was in the tree, he threw a stone.

Finally, locative has an associating function in synchronous participial clauses (101). Whereas objects in finite clauses normally receive zero marking, in this type of subordinate clause they are marked as locative. This re-assignment of their normal case marks the objects as being associated with the subordinate clause (see also 4.6.2).

- (101) nya-ngu-yarna jinka-na-kaja pala-ngka yukurru
 see-PAST-1PL EX S hit-IRR-SYN that-LOC dog
 We saw him hitting that dog.

Note that in sentence (101) *yukurru* does not receive the locative marking, even though it is part of the locative constituent. This is in accordance with the permissible marking conventions for noun phrases containing a demonstrative, outlined in 3.3.2.

[I] Sequential

This very common suffix, *-jangka*, is used for a variety of purposes. The general meaning of the suffix is one of sequence, indicating an activity or participant as being in some way prior (whether this be temporally or logically) to some other activity or participant. Functioning as a relational case, it commonly has a causative meaning (which can usually be translated as 'because of'), indicating the reason for the present state or activity (whether it be caused by a volitional agent (102) or a more abstract phenomenon (103)). It can also simply indicate a prior state from which the present activity brings change (104,105).

- (102) ngaju papirr parraparra jarri pala pintany-jangka
 PRO 1SG hand be in pain that stingray-SEQ
 My hand is hurt because of that stingray.

- (103) kamininy jarri-rna kamininy-jangka katkat ja-*npa*-rna
 become cold-1SG S cold-SEQ shiver-PRES-1SG S
 I am cold - because of the cold I am shivering.
- (104) parraparra-jangka mapu ja-nu jinya
 sick-SEQ good put/do-PAST-3PL O
 He made them better [from their being sick].
- (105) wupartu-jangka wurtu jarri
 little-SEQ become big
 The little became big.

Occasionally, some verbs may take a complement with an aversive or preventative (opposite of purposive) meaning. In such instances (for example (106)), *-jangka* can be used (perhaps obligatorily) to mark the complement, indicating an action to be avoided, or an action which the actor is to be prevented from doing.

- (106) wartily pu-wa-nganaininya kurlu ja-na-jangka
 stop-IMP-1PL EX O do wrong-IRR-SEQ
 Stop us from doing wrong !

Functioning adnominally, the meaning of *-jangka* has a meaning of origin, both origin of place (107), and origin of state (108). Used this way it can, as in (107), link two nominals together such that the nominal which receives *-jangka* describes the origin of the other nominal. Two common adnominal expressions of this type are *pirra-jangka mayi* (bush-SEQ food) 'bush tucker' or 'food from the bush', and *jurrar-jangka kuwi* (sea-SEQ meat) 'fish' or 'meat from the sea'. Alternatively, as in (108), *-jangka* can occur on a single-nominal noun phrase with another nominal being supplied in the English translation.

- (107) marrungu-lu pirra-jangka-lu yungu-nu-nya kuwi jurrar-jangka
 man-ERG bush-SEQ-ERG give-PAST-1SG DAT meat sea-SEQ
 The man from the man from the bush gave me some fish.
- (108) rawarri-jangka-lu muwarr pu-ngu
 dead-SEQ-ERG speak-PAST
 The man who was dead spoke.

-jangka can also be used adnominally to form nouns from adjectives. In such cases, the nouns are a person or thing which has come from, or is the result of, a certain state or position. For example:

- (109) *tataly-jangka* wound
 sick-SEQ
- nyirrani-jangka* the last one
 behind-SEQ

-jangka is also used to produce a variety of adverbial (mainly temporal) and adjectival expressions such as the following:

- (110) *yalirra mira-jangka* in the beginning
 first-SEQ
- yulpurru-jangka* long time ago
 already-SEQ
- wakaj-jangka warnku* after all his money was gone [from the time of
 all-SEQ money having all money]
- jinyirri-jangka* rough [a state caused from being upset]
 upset-SEQ
- wara-jangka* in the middle
 way-SEQ
- manguny-jangka* eternal [from always]
 always-SEQ
- cf rayi *manguny-jangka-kura* wupa
 spirit always-SEQ-GEN son
 son of the eternal spirit/ Son of God

The sequential suffix is also used in an associating function in subordinate clauses. Here it marks the object of the subordinate clause (which would normally have zero marking), thereby associating it with this clause (see 4.6.2 for examples and discussion).

[m] Dative/Purposive

The dative (DAT) suffix *-ku* is used relationally mark both datives which are subcategorised by the verb (111), and those which are not (112,113). Dative phrases can usually be translated with the English 'for' (as in the examples below). Note that even if datives are subcategorised by the verb, they may or may not correspond to a bound pronoun on the verb (see 3.5.1).

- (111) ka-ngku-ma-rala mayi kaka-ku
 take-FUT-1SG S-3SG BEN food uncle-DAT
 I will take food to/for uncle.
- (112) wampar jarri-nyu-ya-ra ngarrungu-rrangu mayi-ku
 hungry become-PAST-3PL S-3SG DAT person-PL food-DAT
 The people were hungry for food.
- (113) ngajaka-nu-ya-rala wupartu-ku rawarri-ku
 cry-PAST-3PL S-3SG BEN little-DAT dead-DAT
 They cried for the little dead girl.

-ku is also used to mark subcategorised complements. A typical example of this is with speech verbs (e.g. (114)), which subcategorise for a subject (a sayer), an object (the one spoken to) and a complement (that which is said). Complements occur in the following construction:

VERB STEM + IRR + *-ku*

- (114) yinta-npa-ma-rala yukurru-ku jinka-na-ku
 tell-PRES-1SG S-3SG DAT dog-DAT hit-IRR-DAT
 I told him to hit the dog.

The complements of speech verbs can, alternatively, occur in future (115) or imperative (116) form, in which case they do not receive dative marking.

- (115) yinta-la-la kaka ma-nku kuwi
 tell-IMP-3SG DAT uncle get-FUT food
 I told uncle [that] he will get food.

- (116) marungu-lu yinta-nu-la wakala-ku mayi ma-rra
 man-ERG tell-PAST-3SG DAT woman-DAT food get-IMP
 The man told the woman "Get food!".

Some verbs, those which are semantically like *japirr ma* 'ask', subcategorise for a third argument which may be either a simple dative(as in (117)), or a dative-marked complement (as in (118)).

- (117) japirr ma-la medicine-ku
 ask-IMP medicine-DAT
 Ask him for medicine!

- (118) japirr ma-npa-rma-ra ya-nya-rna jurrar-karti-ku
 ask-PRES-1SG S-3SG DAT go-PRES-1SG S sea-ALL_{loc}-DAT

 kuwi-karti-ku
 game-ALL_{loc}-DAT

I ask him if I can go fishing.

Note that the verb in example (118) is not marked with *-ku*. This is perhaps akin to examples (115) and (116) above, where the position of the complement is filled with a declarative or imperative clause, which need not be dative marked.

The two expressions *karrira* 'like' and *malyparr* 'don't like', whilst not true verbs, also subcategorise for an argument which can be a dative-marked complement:

- (119) pala marrungu karrira maru-ku yimpa-na-ku
 that man likes cobba cobba-DAT sing-IRR-DAT
 That man likes to sing cobba cobbas.

- (120) malyparr muwarr pu-nya-ku kinyangka
 don't like speak-IRR-DAT PRO 3SG
 He doesn't like to speak.

The *-ku* case suffix also has an associating function, marking the object of some subordinate and purposive clauses. This is seen in (119) above where *maru*, the object of the subordinate clause, receives dative marking as well as the verb. This marking,

which would normally be zero for the object of finite clauses, associates *maru* with the subordinate clause. Purposive use of *-ku* is discussed in section 4.6.1 - see this section for further examples of *-ku*'s associating function.

3.4 WORDS OF LOCATION AND TIME

3.4.1 LOCATIONAL QUALIFIERS

Like most Australian languages, Karajarri has a set of words of locational meaning which seem to be limited in the number of inflections that they can take. Dixon (1980) notes that this word class usually takes only the three local case suffixes - locative, allative, and ablative. In Karajarri, the words in this class (though the inflectional patterns of the following forms have not all been individually checked) take special forms for the allative and ablative cases. Note that while the demonstratives/deictic 'this' and 'here' have been listed here on semantic grounds, they are syntactically distinct and actually form their own class (see 3.5.4).

(121)	yanja	north
	kulja	south
	kakarra	east
	kara	west
	yanjarra	northeast
	yanjakara	northwest
	kurlarra	southeast
	kurlarla	southwest
	nangu	here, this (Nangu)
	naja	here, this (Najanaja)
	nawurtu	here, this (Nawurtu)
	ngunu	there
	pala	that, there
	jurunguny	right
	kajari	far
	lani	close

kankarra	above, up
kantingka	above
kaninyjartu	down, inside
japingka	outside

The following group of words are difficult to classify in that they are clearly locational in nature, but it is not clear what their inflectional possibilities are. Unlike the above locational qualifiers, some of these words (for example 'among') seem, semantically, to require a second nominal (e.g. 'among the trees'). Whether or not this results in a syntactic distinction which would separate some of these words from the locational qualifiers into another class, would require further, more detailed analysis to ascertain.

(122)	purturr	among
	pulin	among (Najanaja)
	mapanymapany	straight ahead
	yalirra	ahead
	nyirrani	behind
	japirripirri	alongside
	wapu	across
	yitir	around

3.4.2 TIME QUALIFIERS

Amongst nominals which refer to time, there is a distinction to be made between those which refer to a period or duration of time (e.g. 'for a long time') and those which refer to a point in time (e.g. 'midday'). Whilst the two may be grouped together semantically, syntactically there are differences to note in their usage in Australian languages.

Generally speaking, point-time qualifiers are open to taking inflections (usually just two, corresponding to the allative and ablative cases), whereas duration-time qualifiers are not (Dixon 1980, p283). Whilst it is quite possible, and perhaps likely, that this general distinction also exists in Karajarri, the following list has not been separated into these two syntactic groups. Whilst all of these items provide some temporal modification to the sentence, the inflectional possibilities of each individual word has not been investigated, and would need to be further researched to substantiate Dixon's general syntactic distinction for the examples in Karajarri.

(123)	tanja parra	now, today
	wunyurr	immediately, straightaway
	jatara	already
	yulpurru	already, a long time ago
	jinkujarra	at the same time
	pukala	early
	jurilpiti	late
	warlakan	later
	kayipa	afterwards
	palajangka	after that, next
	palatujangka	after that, next (Najanaja)
	maruly	after rain
	punjapunja	little while
	pampi	(for a) long time
	rankarr	before dawn
	pukula	dawn
	manan	morning
	kankarrajari parra	midmorning, 9 a.m.
	parra jurungu kanka	midday
	kara wurrp	right up till sunset
	parajparaj	dinnertime
	purturr ngatura	midnight
	tanja naturra	last night
	yurkarakarra	yesterday

3.5 PRONOUNS

3.5.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The Karajarri pronoun system, both free and bound, distinguishes between first, second and third persons, as well as singular, dual and plural number. A further distinction between inclusive/exclusive operates in the non-singular first person forms. Bound pronouns mark case in a nominative/accusative system, and must occur obligatorily on the verb. Free forms inflect for case the same as other nominals (with transitive subject marked as ergative) and are optional.

This system, in which there is a split in case marking between bound pronouns and all other nominals, is relatively uncommon. Dixon (1980) argues that in Warlpiri, where a split of this type also occurs, free pronouns originally inflected like the bound forms, only changing systems as the bound forms became obligatory (from Goddard 1982, footnote [6]). Sands (1989) argues that as a result of the influence of surrounding languages, a similar change has also occurred in Karajarri. Based partly on the fact that during Laves' fieldwork in the thirties free pronouns seemed to vary randomly between the two case marking systems, she argues that 'at that time Karajarri was undergoing a system of change in the pronoun paradigm, adopting an ergative system akin to that of nominals. This time of change had become more settled some years later, and the ergative system was well established' (Sands 3.3.1).

Paradigms (see table)

[a] Free forms

The case forms for free pronouns are very straight forward, each taking the same case inflections as a normal nominal. Note that the dual and plural third person forms are themselves formed productively from the third person singular form by the addition of the dual (-jarra) and plural (-rrangu) suffixes.

[b] Bound forms

Many of the bound forms closely correspond to their free forms - particularly the datives which, apart from the singular and the third persons, are formed by the addition of the dative suffix *-ku*. Apart from the second and third person singular, the accusative forms are characterised by the presence of *-nya*, which is often just added to the free form and accompanied by some changes in vowel quality. The benefactive case can also be marked with bound forms by adding the suffix *-ra* to the dative form, the only exception being for the third person singular, where the benefactive is realised as *-ra-la* and not *-la-ra*.

Note that the correspondence between dative free forms and their bound forms is typically quite loose. A dative free form can be marked on the verb as *-la* (as in the paradigm), as *-ra* (the benefactive suffix occurring by itself), or it may not be marked at all.

The alternative forms of the first person object and dative, *-nyi* and *-ji* respectively, occur when the subject is third person plural (124, 125). It is possible to explain this

Paradigms for Free and Bound Pronouns

		FREE	BOUND		
			NOM	ACC	DAT
SG	1	ngaju	ma	nya/nyi	ja/ji
	2	nyuntu	n	nta	ngku
	3	kinyangka	Ø	Ø	la
DL incl	1	ngali	li	ngalinya	ngaliku
DL excl	1	ngalina	lina	ngalininya	ngalinaku
	2	nyumpala	nyumpala	nyimpilinya	nyumpalaku
	3	kinyangkajarra	pula	pilinya	pulaku
PL incl	1	nganyjurru	nya	nganyjurrinya	nganyjurruku
PL excl	1	nganina	yarna	nganininya	nganinaku
	2	nyurra	nyurra	nyirrinya	nyurraku
	3	kinyangkarrangu	ya	jinya	janaku

variation as a morphophonemic process of assimilation (where the *a* in *-nya* changes to *i* to assimilate to the place of articulation of the following *y*), but perhaps it is just a fact of the paradigm.

- (124) mirra ka-nku-nyi-ya
 look at-FUT-1SG O-3PL S
 Let them/they will look at me.

- (125) pararka jarru-ji-ya
 feel sorry(FUT)-1SG DAT-3PL S
 Let them/they will feel sorry for me.

3.5.2 REFLEXIVES

Karajarri has reflexive bound pronouns for both object and dative positions. There are two forms for object reflexives - one used for first and third persons, and the other for second person. Benefactive reflexive is derived by adding *-ra* to the dative reflexive form. The forms are as follows:

waninya	object reflexive (first and third person, as in (126) and (127))
pulininya	object reflexive (second person, as in (128))
wanungku	dative reflexive (as in (129))
wanungkura	benefactive reflexive (as in (130) and (131))

- (126) nurru-ngka ja-nu-rna-waninya
 hot sand-LOC put-PAST-1SG S-OBJ REFL
 I put myself in the hot sand.
- (127) japulu-lu kampa-nu-waninya
 father-ERG burn-PAST-OBJ REFL
 Father burnt himself.
- (128) kinyangka-jarra-lu kampa-nu-pulininya
 PRO 3-DL-ERG burn-PAST-OBJ REFL
 Two fellas burnt themselves.
- (129) yinta-lku-nya-wanungku
 say-FUT-1PL INCL S-DAT REFL
 Let's talk to one another.

- (130) japulu-lu kampa-lku-wanungkura kuwi
 father-ERG cook-FUT-BEN REFL meat
 Father will cook meat for himself.

- (131) kinyangka-jarra-lu kampa-lku-pula-wanungkura jurru
 PRO 3-DL-ERG cook-FUT-3DL S-BEN REFL snake
 Those two will cook the snake for themselves.

There are also constructions by which reflexive meaning can be conveyed without the use of bound pronouns. For example, in (132) and (133), the dative reflexive is expressed by using both subject and dative bound pronouns for the same participant, and by using either the free form *ngurtin* 'self', or the dative free pronoun (respectively).

- (132) ngaju-lu kurnga-npa-ma-ja ngurtin
 PRO 1SG-ERG chat-PRES-1SG S-1SG DAT self
 I am talking to myself.

- (133) ngaju-lu kurnga-nu-ma-ja ngaju-ku
 PRO 1SG-ERG chat-PAST-1SG S-1SG DAT PRO 1SG-DAT
 I talked to myself.

It is possible also to express third person benefactive reflexives in a way similar to (133) above, but a context is required to specify that the reference is actually reflexive, and not just a third person beneficiary (134).

- (134) marrungu ya-nya kuwi-karti kinyangka-kura jinka-n-kura
 man go-PAST meat-ALL_{loc} PRO 3SG-BEN hit-PRES-3SG BEN
 The man went to get meat. He killed it for himself.

One further use of the object reflexive is when the subject of the complement of a speech verb is the same as the subject of the speech verb itself. Thus in (135), the use of the reflexive seems to indicate that it is those who are speaking (i.e. 'they') who are the subject of the complement.

- (135) yinta-nu-ya-waninya kuluny kuluny-jangka
 say-PAST-3PL S-OBJ REFL wrong-SEQ
 They said that they [i.e. themselves] had done wrong.

Note that when the subject of the verb is plural, reflexive pronouns can (depending on context) also convey *reciprocal* meaning (136). There are no known separate forms for this reciprocal meaning, it is simply taken from the reflexive forms when the context asks for it.

- (136) ngalu mapu jarru-nya-wanungku
 heart good become(FUT)-1PL INCL S-OBJ REFL
 We will be good in our hearts to one another.

3.5.3 INTERROGATIVES

Of the various interrogative expressions used in Karajarri, the following six forms can be considered as basic:

(137)	ngartu	who
	ngana	what
	wanja	where
	nyangara	when
	wanjarra-kaja	how
	nyaminja	how many

ngartu and *ngana* are used to form questions simply by substituting them for any nominal in a sentence. They inflect according to the regular pattern for nominals (there are no irregular forms) in each of the cases (where semantically applicable). Note that instrumental interrogative requires the proprietive suffix in combination with the instrumental suffix i.e. *ngana-parri-lu* (what-PROP-INST) 'with what [did you do it]?'.

The interrogative *wanja* 'where' does show some irregularities, inflecting as follows:

(138)	wanja	where
	wanja-ngka where-LOC	where (specific)
	wanja-karti where-ALL _{loc}	where to
	wanja-ngunin where-ABL	where from (e.g. 'where did you come from?')
	wanja-nguru where-ABL	where from (e.g. 'where did you get it from?')

An alternative form of *wanja* which is sometimes used is *wanja-rni* (where-INTENS). There are no examples of this as an inflected form except *wanja-rni-jangka* (where-INTENS-SEQ) 'where from'.

wanjarra-kaja is used for 'how' questions of *manner* ('how will he get there?'), *state* ('how are you?') and *quantity* ('how much?'). Locative case can be added to it i.e. *wanjarra-kaja-ngka* to inquire 'what kind of place?'

nyangara is the temporal interrogative used for questions of 'when', both of *action* ('when are you going?') and *event* ('when is the feast?').

nyaminja is an interrogative used for questions of number e.g. 'how many people?'. It can also be used temporally to inquire as to length of time e.g. 'how many days?'

To convey the meaning of the English interrogative 'why', *ngana-jangka* (what-SEQ) is used i.e. 'because of what?'/ 'for what reason?'

One further interrogative, *ngapi*, functions like an interjection with a meaning similar to the English 'what's it called' or 'um...'. For example:

(139) white fella call it ... ngapi ... 'hot water'.

Similar to this is the interrogative *ngapawarra* which functions in the same way, but appears to be used specifically for a name. The following is the only known example of its occurrence:

- (140) ka-ngu ngunu-karti ngapawarra-karti lalurrjartu-karti
 take-PAST there-ALL_{loc} what called-ALL_{loc} Lalurrjartu-ALL_{loc}
 He took it to - what's that place - to Lalurrjartu.

There is no specific form for verbal interrogative, but this can be expressed as follows:

- (141) ngana pala-lu ja-n
 what that-ERG do-PRES
 What is he doing ?

The verb *ngapi jarri*, however, whilst not a true interrogative, seems to act as an emphatic pro-verb, drawing attention to the main verb of the sentence:

- (142) ngapi jarri-nyu wilyimrta-nu
 do (EMPH)-PAST swing around-PAST
 What he did was swing it around.

3.5.4 DEMONSTRATIVES/DEICTICS

The two forms *nangu* 'this/here' and *pala* 'that/there' function both as demonstratives and deictics (as well as, for *pala*, a pronoun). A further form *nguna* 'there' is used only as a deictic. All three forms take regular inflections for allative, ablative and locative, as well as the following irregular forms which indicate 'direction towards':

- (143) naningu this way/towards here
 pala-ngarra that way/towards there
 nguna-ngarra that way/towards there

3.6 VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

Most verbs in Karajarri are compound verbs - that is, they are formed by adding a common verb stem (which may be monosyllabic like *ma-* 'get', or disyllabic like *jarri* 'become') to a nominal. Some nominals used in compound verbs have some sort of independent existence (e.g. *mapu jarri* 'become good' - where *mapu* means 'good') but some appear to be restricted to their use in the compound (e.g. *pipit ma-* 'peep'). Only one of the verbs used in compounds, *pu-*, has no independent existence in Nangu (see below). I have, in general, chosen to gloss the combined meaning of the compound without glossing the two elements separately.

Apart from the distribution of *ma-* compounds (see below), compound verbs belong to the conjugation from which the common verb root comes. But compound verbs do not necessarily inherit the transitivity of their head verbs (e.g. *yinta-* is ditransitive, but most of its compounds are transitive).

More complex verb stems can be formed using auxiliaries. These differ from compound verbs in that they are added to already existing verbs (not nominals) in a special construction (see 3.6.6).

3.6.1 ORDER OF SUFFIXES

The following summary provides an overview of the ordering of suffixes which will be discussed in this section.

The order of verb suffixes is very rigid. For basic monomorphemic and compound verbs, the stem is followed by an optional derivational suffix, followed by an obligatory tense inflection, followed by obligatory bound pronouns, followed by optional post-inflectional suffix. This can be summarised in the following formula:

VERB STEM + (DERIVATIONAL SUFF) + TENSE + BOUND PRO(S) + (POST-INFLECT'L SUFF)

The bound pronouns are ordered *subject object dative* unless the object or dative is first person singular, in which case it precedes the subject. This alternation is illustrated in examples (144) (common ordering) and (145) (where the object is first person singular).

- (144) wira-nya pa-nu-ya-jinya
 shoot-IRR AUX(HAB)-PAST-3PL S-3PL-O
 They shot [used to shoot] them.
- (145) japulu-lu kurtany-ju ka-ngu-nya-pula kakarra
 father-ERG mother-ERG take-PAST-1SG O-3DL S east
 Mother and father took me east.

For verbs with auxiliaries, the suffix order is the same, but with a special stem construction (see 3.6.6).

3.6.2 TRANSITIVITY

The majority of verbs in Karajarri are either transitive or intransitive - that is, they can occur, respectively, only with an ergative subject, or only with a non-ergative subject. There are a few verbs which function with ambitransitivity, taking either an ergative or a non-ergative subject (e.g. *kuli jarri*- 'become angry/get angry at'). There is also a small set of mostly -L- conjugation verbs which are ditransitive (e.g. *yinta*- 'tell'), taking an object (zero marked) and a complement (dative marked).

3.6.3 CONJUGATION

All Karajarri verbs belong to one of four conjugations. The breakdown of the conjugations in Karajarri shows some similarity to Dixon's analysis of conjugation in Western Desert (1980, p390), and I adopt his labelling convention. The names for the conjugations, -Ø-, -NG-, -N- and -L- are derived from the initial phoneme of their respective future inflections. The only known irregularly inflecting verb is *nga*- 'eat' which takes the present inflection of the -NG- conjugation with other inflections from the -L- conjugation. Conjugation membership is as follows:

- Ø- this conjugation appears to be open with 45+ known members, of which about two-thirds are intransitive. All members are disyllabic or longer. Over half the members are compounds of *jarri*- 'become' e.g. *kuli jarri*- 'become angry'. Hence most members end in final *i*, but some end in final *a*.

-NG- this conjugation consists of about 30 members, most of which are transitive.

Almost all members are formed as a compound of one of the three monosyllabics *pu-* (no independent meaning), *ka-* 'carry' and *yungu-* 'give'. The stem *pu-* has no independent meaning only in the Nangu dialect (where it only occurs in compounds). In Najanaja, however, it means 'make'. Also, although *yungu-* is given as a citation form, the shortened stem *yu-* is used in all compounded forms. The only disyllabic monomorphemic is *nyanga-* 'see', which has a shortened form *nga-* used in the non-present/irrealis forms. There are no stems with final *i* in this conjugation.

-N- with a dozen or so members, this is the smallest conjugation, and is possibly closed. There are two monosyllabic members, *ya-* 'go' and *ma-* 'get', and all other members are formed as compounds of these. Membership is mostly transitive, and all stems end in *a*.

-L- has a membership of 150+, about 75 percent of which are transitive. Apart from the two roots *ja-* 'put' and *ma-* 'get', all members are disyllabic or longer. Stems may end with any vowel, and one stem only ends with a consonant (this has morphophonemic implications - see 2.4). Over half the membership are compounds, the transitivity breakdown of which is as follows:

monomorphemes	about 70 percent transitive
<i>ma-</i> compounds (e.g. <i>puntu ma-</i> 'take the side of')	about 85 percent transitive
<i>ja-</i> compounds (e.g. <i>pina ja-</i> 'remind')	about 85 percent transitive
<i>yinta-</i> compounds (mostly mouth functions e.g. <i>kintirl yinta-</i> 'cough')	about 80 percent intransitive.

Note that compounds formed with *ma-* 'get' exist in both the -N- and -L- conjugations. It is possible that the distribution may be semantically influenced. *ma-* compounds in the -N- conjugation are all transitive actions resulting in some transfer of the position of the object e.g. 'lift', 'steal', 'catch' etc. *ma-* compounds in the -L- conjugation also include this meaning but extend to cover more abstract concepts including 'cause',

'tease', 'remember', 'dream' etc. Note that as far as I know, a single *ma-* compound can only take inflections from one or other of these conjugations, not from both.

3.6.4 INFLECTION

The five verb inflections for each conjugation are set out in the following table.

	-Ø- e.g. wanti-	-NG- e.g. ka-	-N- e.g. ma-	-L- e.g. jinka-
PRES	Ø	-nya	-nya	-n/-npa
PAST	-nyu	-ngu	-nu	-nu
FUT	-wu	-ngku	-nku	-lku
IMP	-ya	-wa	-rra	-la
IRR	-nya	-nya	-nya	-na

[a] Present

Present inflection (PRES) is used to indicate present tense, near past tense (an event that is past, but still contemporary in the mind of the speaker) and present perfective tense ((147) below). In discourse it is also used as an 'historic present' tense i.e. recounting past events in the present tense for narrative effect.

The distribution of the -L- conjugation present tense allomorphs is difficult to plot, but can be summarised as follows:

- n is used when the following suffix is -Ø or begins with *p*
- npa is used elsewhere

The only variation to these rules appears to be in non-singular second person forms, which allow forms such as *jinka-n-nyumpala* (hit-PRES-2DL S) and *paja-n-nyurra* (bite-PRES-2PL S). That this is not conditioned by the following -*ny* is shown by such

forms as *jinka-npa-nya-pula* (hit-PRES-1SG O-3DL S), and so the explanation for this variation remains unclear.

[b] Past

This inflection is used primarily for distant past tense (i.e. non-near past). It can also, in certain contexts, have a perfective sense, but if so, perhaps the focus is on the past action (which has led to the present state (146)), where as with present perfective it is perhaps on the present state (147).

- (146) *jaly yilpa-nyu-rna-ra ngatura*
 in vain throw-PAST-1 SG S-COMP night
 I have thrown in vain during the night.

- (147) *ngaju-lu mapu ja-npa-rna-nta*
 PRO 1 SG good put/do-PRES-1SG S-2SG O
 I have made you better.

[c] Future

This inflection is used for statements about future events or actions. When used with a plural subject, it can also have the meaning of 'let us' (148) or 'let them' (149). In context, it can also indicate an unrealised intention (150).

- (148) *jinga-lku-nya-jinya-ra pala-rrangu-ku muwarr-rrangu-ku*
 follow-FUT-1PL S-3PL O-COMP that-PL-DAT word-PL-DAT
 Let us follow these words.

- (149) *pararrka jarru-ji-ya*
 become sorry (FUT)-1SG DAT-3PL S
 Let them be sorry for me.

- (150) *kinyangka mayaja jarru-ngala*
 PRO 3SG ruler become (FUT)-CON
 He wanted to be king.

[d] Imperative

The basic use of this inflection is to form a command (151). For other uses of the imperative, see 4.7. Note that third person bound pronouns are often used with second person free forms (see also 4.7).

- (151) rayuwin jarri-ya-pula
 quiet become-IMP-3DL S
 Be quiet (you two) !

[e] Irrealis

The irrealis inflection is used in a variety of ways: it is used on the verb in various subordinate clause types (e.g. (152) - see also 3.3.5 [m], 4.6); it is attached to the verb root in nominalising processes (e.g. (153) - see also 3.2.3); it is attached to the verb root in auxiliary constructions (see 3.6.6 [b] below); and it can also be used to mark the verb in transitivity processes (see 3.6.5 below).

- (152) kaka nyanga-nya-rna nga-nya-kaja
 uncle see-PRES-1SG S eat-IRR-SYN
 I see uncle eating.

- (153) wanti-nya-yiti-lu jinka-n yukurru
 sit-IRR-NOMLSR-ERG hit-PRES dog
 The sitting man hit the dog.

3.6.5 TRANSITIVISING PROCESSES

There are perhaps several processes by which an intransitive verb can function as a transitive verb. Three of the possibilities are as follows:

[a] If the main verb is monomorphemic, it can irrealis inflection and is immediately followed by *ja-* 'put/do'. For example:

- (154) a) paka punka
 tree fall
 The tree falls.

- b) wangal-ju punka-nya ja-npa
 wind-ERG fall-IRR do-PRES
 The wind makes the tree fall.

[b] If the verb is a compound intransitive, the second element of the compound can be replaced by *-ja* 'put/do'. For example:

- (155) a) kintirl yinta-mpa-rna ngaju
 cough-PRES-1SG S PRO 1SG
 I cough.

- b) wangal-ju wirra-nya karrikin kintirl ja-mpa-nya
 wind-ERG blow-PRES body cough put/do-PRES-1SG O
 The wind blows my body - it makes me cough.

[c] Both monomorphemic and compound verbs can, alternatively, receive irrealis inflection and occur with the compound verb *jakurl yungu-* 'cause'. For example:

- (156) a) kaka kanti paka
 uncle climb tree
 Uncle climbs the tree.

- b) ngaju-lu jakurl yungu-nya-rna kaka kanti-nya-ku
 PRO 1SG-ERG cause-PRES-1SG S uncle climb-IRR-PURP
 I cause uncle to climb the tree.

3.6.6 DERIVATIONS

Derivations refer to processes which change the stem of the verb before the inflectional suffixes occur. However, processes which, in many Australian languages, are achieved using derivational suffixes (e.g. changing transitivity), can, in Karajarri, be achieved by other means (see 3.6.5). Consequently, derivational suffixes appear to be very few in number. This section describes the use of the one known derivational suffix, as well as two auxiliaries which are aspectual in nature.

[a] *-ni*

-ni is a derivational suffix which localises the action of the verb to the position of the speaker. Its occurrence is highly restricted, the only examples being with the imperative form, and with the verbs 'take' and 'go'. It occurs after the tense inflection and before the bound pronouns. For example:

(157) a) ka-wa-ya mayi
 take-IMP-3PL S food
 You (PL) take the food !

b) ka-wa-ni-pula
 take-IMP-HERE-3DL S
 You (DL) bring it [to me/here] !

(158) a) ya-rra-ya
 go-IMP-3PL S
 You (PL) go !

b) ya-rra-ni-ya marrungu-karra
 go-IMP-HERE-3PL S man-AVERS
 Don't go near [i.e. come here, away from] that man !

[b] *pa-*

pa- is an auxiliary indicating habitual action (HAB). It is used only in a construction of the following type:

VERB ROOT + IRR AUX(HAB) + TNS + BPRO

Its primary use is with the past tense, in which it indicates a past habitual activity (159), or a former state or existence (160). It can also occur with the present tense giving a present continuous meaning (161). It does not occur with imperative or future tenses. *pa* takes *-L-* conjugation inflections, regardless of the conjugation of the verb from which the auxiliary construction is formed.

(159) nga-nya pa-nu-ya nangu pala ngapa
 drink-IRR AUX(HAB)-PAST-3PL S here that water
 They used to drink here, at that water place.

- (160) wanti-nya pa-nu church
 be-IRR AUX(HAB)-PAST church
 It [referring to a building] used to be a church.

- (161) nga-nya pa-npa-ya
 drink-IRR AUX(HAB)-PRES-3PL S
 They are drinking.

[c] *pala-*

pala- is an auxiliary used to indicate action that is unrealised (POTential). Its primary use is with the imperative form in a construction of the following type:

VERB ROOT + IRR AUX(POT) + TNS + BPRO + CON

It can refer to a potential action (one that could have been done but was not (162)), to an intended action (one that was intended or desired but did not eventuate (163)) or to an expected action (one that should have or normally would have taken place but did not (164)). *pala-*, like *pa-*, takes -L- conjugation suffixes (even though the verb from which the auxiliary is formed may come from a different conjugation).

- (162) manka-nya pala-la-pula-ngala
 break-IRR AUX(POT)-IMP-3DL S-CON
 Those two could have broken it [but didn't].

- (163) kati pu-nya pala-la-rna-ngala
 cut-IRR AUX(POT)-IMP-1SG S-CON
 I intended/wanted to cut it [but didn't].

- (164) pina karri-nya pala-la-rna-ngala
 feel pain-IRR AUX(POT)-IMP-1SG S-CON
 I didn't feel any pain [when I normally should have].

pala- can also be used with the imperative form to form a simple negative construction, where the verb is preceded by the negative particle. In such cases, the connective -*ngala* is no longer obligatory (165).

- (165) majarra jurrjurr pati-nya pala-la
 not sink-IRR AUX(POT)-IMP
 He did not sink.

Less commonly, *pala-* can also occur with the other inflections. When occurring with the past tense it indicates an extended or continuous past action. With present tense it indicates a present or near-past continuous action. With future tense it indicates a desired or intended future action.

3.7 POST-INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES

The suffixes in this section are those which always occur word-finally. Most are used exclusively on either nominals or verbs, with one suffix, *-partu*, used on both.

[a] -ngala

-ngala is a common connective suffix (CON) always occurring at the end of a verb. When used in the present or past tense, it seems to loosely connect the verb as the result of some prior action or event (166), or as the cause of the present event (167). It commonly occurs with the future tense, where the future verb is the implication or result of some present action (168).

- (166) parra-rrangu malu rawarri wanti-nyu pinin ja-nyu-ngala
 day-PL many dead be-PAST stink-PAST-CON
 Many days he was dead - he was stinking.

- (167) ngaju-lu jinka-nga-rna pala yukurru paja-n-ngala kartu
 PRO 1SG-ERG hit-PRES-1SG S that dog bite-PRES-CON child
 I am hitting that dog because he is biting the child.

- (168) mapu ja-la-nya pani ngurra nya-nku-ma-ngala
 make good-IMP-1SG O eyes country see-FUT-1SG S-CON
 Make my eyes better, I want to see the country.

When two future verbs are marked with *-ngala*, the resulting clause can be interpreted as a future of 'cause and effect', usually translated as an 'if/then' clause (169), or a 'when/then' clause (170).

- (169) ya-nku-ngala pala kartu school-karti kulpa-wu-ngala pirrka
 go-FUT-CON that child school-ALL_{loc} return-FUT-CON clever
 If that child goes to school, then he will return clever.

- (170) jurrar-karti-pa ya-nku-rna-ngala
 sea-ALL_{loc}-CONJ go-FUT-1SG S-CON

panja-lku-rna-ngala shell-ku
 look for-FUT-1SG S-CON shell-DAT

When I go to the beach, then I will look for a shell.

A more restricted occurrence of *-ngala* is as an obligatory element of the potential auxiliary construction ((171) -see also 3.6.6). *-ngala* is also commonly used (though not necessarily obligatorily) in questions (172).

- (171) manka-nya pala-la-ya-ngala
 break-IRR AUX(POT)-IMP-3PL S-CON
 They could have broken it [but didn't].

- (172) wayi kurlu ja-nu-nyurra-ngala nyurra-lu yulpurru
 QP do wrong-PAST-2PL S-CON PRO 2PL-ERG before
 Have you done wrong before ?

[b] -partu

-partu is a clitic which is attached to the ends of words to mean 'also'. The examples illustrate its occurrence with adjectives (173), with nouns (174) and with verbs (175).

- (173) pala marrungu mapu-marta pala warriny marrungu mapu-marta-partu
 that man good-EMPH that one man good-EMPH-ALSO
 That man is good. That one [other] man is good also.

- (174) pala wakala-parri marrungu yukurru-parri-partu
 that wife-PROP man dog-PROP-ALSO
 That man has a wife and also a dog.

- (175) ya-nya hospital-karti ya-nya-partu pirra-karti
 go-PRES hospital-ALL_{loc} go-PRES-ALSO bush-ALL_{loc}
 He goes to the hospital. He also goes to the bush.

[c] -rti

-rti is a post-inflectional suffix occurring only on a few common phrases. It generally has some sort of intensifying effect, although its exact meaning varies depending on the expression with which it occurs. For example:

- (176) wanjarra-kaja-rti Hey - how are you ?
 where-SYN-INTENS

kalaya-rti then/from that point on
 finish-INTENS

majarra-rti I didn't [do it] !
 not-INTENS

[d] -pa

-pa is a conjunctive suffix used to connect nominals into a single noun phrase. It can occur on either or all of the elements in a noun phrase. For example:

- (177) yani ma-nu-pilinya wakala-pa marrungu
 make-PAST-3DL O woman-CONJ man
 He made a woman and a man.

- (178) jurrar-ju-pa wangal-ju-pa pina karri-nyu-pula-la
 sea-ERG-CONJ wind-ERG-CONJ listen-PAST-3DL S-3SG DAT
 The sea and the wind listened to him.

[e] -ra

The meaning of this suffix is difficult to establish. It seems to add some sort of completive (COMP) aspect to the verb, indicating that an action is completed, or that the whole of an action is being talked about (Sands 1989, 4.7.4). Any difference in meaning is generally not brought out in the translation of the verb.

- (179) boat-ju paramirri kulpa-nyu-jinya-ra nangu
 boat-ERG perhaps return-PAST-3PL O-COMP here
 Perhaps a boat brought them back here.

4 SYNTAX

4.1 WORD ORDER

Constituent order in Karajarri is relatively free. However, the unmarked word order for transitive sentences appears to be A V O (as in (180)), and for intransitive sentences it is S V (as in (181)). The apparent word order for transitive sentences is somewhat dubious since this is in fact the order which would be given in English elicitation sentences. Spontaneously occurring transitive sentences which have both an explicit subject and object are less common. Dixon (1980) notes that unmarked transitive word order in Australian languages is almost always A O V. However Sands (1989) discusses the possibility that there may be an unmarked order which alternates between A O V and A V O (see Sands 1989, 5.1). The unmarked order for intransitive sentences is typical of that in Australian languages (Dixon 1980).

- (180) waraja-lu marrungu-lu pala-nu-pilinya wupa kajarra
 one-ERG man-ERG have-PAST-3DL O son two
 A man had two sons.

- (181) nyitingunya ya-nu kajarra
 son go-PAST far
 The son went far away.

Since core arguments are always indicated by the compulsory bound pronouns, it is very common for their free forms to be omitted. Thus, most transitive sentences are usually of the type A V or V O. Non-core arguments usually occur after the core arguments (as in (182)). But again, this pattern reflects the English from which it is translated.

- (182) kuli-yiti-lu yaka-nu-ra
 angry-NOMLSR-ERG leave-PAST-3SG DAT

kartu kinyangka-kura maya-ngka
 child PRO 3SG-GEN house-LOC

A soldier left his boy at home.

4.2 NOUN PHRASES

A basic noun phrase may consist of a single nominal - which may be a pronoun, a demonstrative acting as a pronoun, or a normal nominal. This nominal may be accompanied by a demonstrative and/or adjective, which seems usually to precede it. Thus: (DEM) (ADJ) N. This is only a preliminary analysis of the noun phrase. Again, the problem of elicitation comes in when trying to determine permissible ordering and co-occurrence of the elements. Spontaneously occurring NPs which include different combinations of these elements are not common.

Noun phrases of possession are discussed in 4.3. Noun phrases formed by the adnominal use of case are discussed under each case heading in 3.3.5. Co-ordinated noun phrases may be formed using the suffix *-pa*, see 3.7.

The only clear example of split noun phrases is with inalienable possession, in which case the possessed and possessor nouns can be separated by one or more other constituents. This is possible both when there is a free form possessor (183), and when there is not (184).

(183) papirr paja-npa-nya yukurru-lu ngalu
 hand bite-PRES-1SG O dog-ERG PRO 1SG
 The dog is biting my hand.

(184) punka-nyu-ja pupu walyaka kunkulu-ngka
 fall-PAST-1SG DAT branch leaf head-LOC
 The branch fell on my head.

4.3 POSSESSION

4.3.1 ALIENABLE

Alienable possession (possession of something not belonging to one's body or person) is marked by adding the genitive suffix to the possessor noun. Whilst pronoun possessors tend to follow the possessed, and other adnominal possessors tend to precede it (Sands 1989, 5.3.1.1), both can occur freely in either order, as in the following examples.

(185) walipi kinyangka-jarra-kura their (DL) home
 camp PRO 3-DL-GEN

nyuntu-kura ngarlu your feelings
 PRO 2SG-GEN feelings

pikipiki-kura mayi pig's food
 pigs-GEN food

walipi pikipiki-kura pigsty
 camp pigs-GEN

In copula clauses (186), the possessed noun can be ascribed to the possessor.

(186) nyuntu wanti-n nganina-kura
 PRO 2SG be-PRES PRO 1PL EX-GEN
 You are ours.

In clauses where the possessor noun has no explicit possessed, the meaning can be one of 'place' (i.e. place owned by the possessor noun). For example:

(187) ngaju-kura-ngka
 PRO 1SG-GEN LOC
 at home/at my place

(188) ya-nu-rna japulu-kura-karti
 go-PAST-1SG S father-GEN-ALL_{loc}
 I went to father's place.

4.3.2 INALIENABLE

Inalienable possession (i.e. possession of some part of one's body or self) is expressed simply by juxtaposing the possessor and possessed nouns (189, 190)

- (189) papirr-jarra ngaju jina-jarra ngaju
 hand-DL PRO 1SG foot-DL PRO 1SG
 My two hands, my two feet.

- (190) jawa-ngka pirti-ngka
 mouth-LOC cave-LOC
 At the mouth of the cave.

An inalienably possessed noun can be possessed by a bound pronoun, with no need for the free form (191).

- (191) kati pu-ngu-nya papirr
 cut-PAST-1SG O hand
 He cut my hand.

Note that the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession is not always clear. Some items can be possessed in either way, as in the following examples.

- (192) yirarru kinyangka-kura his name
 name PRO 3SG-GEN
- yirarru nyuntu your name
 name PRO 2SG

4.4 QUESTIONS

Apart from the uses of interrogatives outlined in 3.5.3, questions can be formed by putting the interrogative particle *wayi* (QP) at the beginning of a declarative sentence. For example:

- (193) wayi kurlu ja-nu-nyurra-ngala nyurra-lu yulpurru
 QP do wrong-PAST-2PL S-CON PRO 2PL-ERG before
 Have you done wrong before ?

Questions of this type can also be expressed without the question particle by using question intonation (final high-rising tone) in an otherwise declarative sentence. In occasional expressions, *wayi* can also mean 'how ?', for example *wayi wanti-n* (QP be-PRES) 'How are you ?'.

4.5 VERBLESS CLAUSES

Verbless clauses are not uncommon in spoken discourse. Nearly all of these are elided clauses in which the verb *wanti-* 'be' has been omitted. The two basic types of verbless clause are *existential* and *equational*. Some of the examples in this section have been modified from Sands (1989).

4.5.1 EXISTENTIAL

Existential verbless clauses simply state the existence (194) or the non-existence (195) of a particular entity.

- (194) kalaya jungku jarla
 then fire now
 So, there is fire now.

- (195) kuwi-kurlu
 meat-PRIV
 There is no meat.

Negative existential clauses (those stating non-existence) can also be expressed by using the negative particle *majarra*. In this instance, the remainder of the clause is marked with the purposive suffix *-ku* (196).

- (196) majarra kari-ku
 not wine-PURP
 There is no wine.

Occasionally, an existential verbless clause may be formed by using the question particle *wayi* in non-initial sentence position. This type of verbless clause seems to have a slightly different meaning from those given above, and can perhaps be translated as 'it was the case that/it happened that' (197).

- (197) pirti wayi murta
 hole QP nothing
 It happened that there was no hole.

4.5.2 EQUATIONAL

Equational verbless clauses equate one nominal with another. It is more common for an adjective to be ascribed to a noun (198), but it is also possible for two nouns to be equated (199).

- (198) mapu-marta yirarru nyuntu
 good-EMPH name PRO 2SG
 Your name is good.

- (199) kinyangka ngajarri
 PRO 3SG stranger
 He is a stranger.

This clause type can also be used to express ascriptions of location (200) and possession (201).

- (200) ngartu palaya (Najanaja)
 someone there
 Someone is there.

- (201) ngaju-kura jilpir minpuru
 PRO 1SG-GEN Jilpir Minpuru
 Jilpir and Munpuru are mine (by right).

Negative equations may also be expressed by using the negative particle (202). In these cases, the object is marked with *-ku*, similar to (196) above.

- (202) ngaju majarra miruru-ku
 PRO 1SG not ghost-PURP
 I am not a ghost.

Subordinate clauses may also be verbless equational, as with the complement in sentence (203). For discussion of purposive verbless clauses, see 4.6.1.

- (203) kinyangka mira-nu pala-rrangu-ku munju-yiti-rrangu-ku
 PRO 3SG know-PAST that-PL-DAT lie-NOMLSR-PL-DAT
 He knew they were liars.

4.6 SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

The subordinate clause types described in this section all make use of the irrealis inflection. Amongst Australian languages, there is more than one way to mark subordination. Some languages use a free particle or enclitic to mark a clause as subordinate (Blake 1987, p138). However, as Blake (1987) comments (referring to Mangarayi, where irrealis is also used to mark subordination), 'the use of irrealis as a subordinating device seems appropriate when one considers that subordinate clauses are backgrounded with reference to main clauses and normally do not contain assertions but present information as given' (p 139).

4.6.1 PURPOSIVE

The suffix *-ku*, in addition to its use in marking dative case and subcategorised complements, also has a purposive use, marking complements that are not subcategorised by the verb. Note that the use of the suffix *-ku* as having a dative function with nouns and a purposive function with verbs can be considered as a general feature of Australian languages (Blake, in Dixon 1976, chapter 53).

The purposive use of *-ku* is found in the following construction:

VERB STEM + IRR + PURPOSIVE

Complements of this type are purposive in meaning, implying that the first action was done in order to do the second. For example:

- (204) wakala yungu-nya-ra warnku mayi-ku ma-nya-ku
 woman give-PRES-3SG DAT money food-PURP get-IRR-PURP
 He gave the woman money to buy tucker.
- (205) ya-rra-ya turpu-karti wupartu-ku nyanga-nya-ku
 go-IMP-3PL S cave-ALL_{loc} child-PURP see-IRR-PURP
 Go to the cave to see the child !

In sentences with no main verb, the purposive construction can ascribe purpose or use to a nominal (206). This can also be expressed negatively (207), stating a purpose for which the nominal is not to be used.

- (206) nangu pen milimili-ku yanta-na-ku
 this pen paper-PURP spear-IRR-ku
 This pen is for writing [lit. spearing paper].
- (207) mayi pala kurlu-parri majarra nga-nya-ku
 food that bad-PROP not eat-IRR-PURP
 That food is bad, it is not for eating.

For discussion of the use of *-ku* on the object of purposive clauses, see 3.3.5 [m].

4.6.2 SYNCHRONOUS

Synchronous clauses can be formed with the following construction:

VERB STEM + IRR + SYN

They can be used to describe an action taking place at the same time as the main clause (208). The subject of the subordinate clause is controlled by the object of the main clause (in transitive sentences), even if this object is separated from it (209) or is not explicit (210). For discussion on the use of locative in (208), see 3.3.5 [k].

- (208) nya-ngu-yarna-pilinya marrungu-jarra jinka-na-kaja yukurru-ngka
 see-PAST-1PL EX S-3DL O man-DL hit-IRR-SYN dog-LOC
 We saw those two men hitting the dog.

- (209) kaka nyanga-nya-rna nga-nya-kaja
 uncle see-PRES-1SG S eat-IRR-SYN
 I see uncle eating.

- (210) Jesus-ju nya-ngu ngajaka-na-kaja
 Jesus-ERG see-PAST cry-IRR-SYN
 Jesus saw her crying.

It seems that in order to indicate the subject of the subordinate clause as being controlled by the subject of the main clause, the ablative suffix *-nguru* can be added to the above construction (as in 211). Semantically, this seems to mark the subordinate action as 'coming from' the main action, as being done during it.

- (211) kampa-n wakala-lu mayi kurrnga-na-la marrungu-ngka
 cook-PRES woman-ERG food chat-PRES-3SG DAT man-LOC
 kampa-na-kaja-nguru
 cook-IRR-SYN-ABL_{loc}

The woman is cooking food. She is talking to the man while cooking.

4.6.3 SEQUENTIAL

Sequential clauses can be formed by using the following construction:

VERB STEM + IRR + SEQ

This clause type indicates a temporal/logical relationship of sequence between the main clause and the subordinate clause, such that the clause in the sequential construction somehow precedes the action of the main clause. For example:

- (212) yawarta nyanga-nya-rna punka-nya-jangka
 horse see-PRES-1SG S fall-IRR-SEQ
 I see the horse which has fallen down.

- (213) nganyjurru kuluny kuluny-jangka ja-na-jangka
 PRO 1PL IN wrong-SEQ do-IRR-SEQ

kulpa-wu-nya-ngala japulu-karti
 return-FUT-1PL IN S-CON father-ALL_{loc}

We, after having done wrong, will return to father.

- (214) kuru ja-na-jangka pulimanu-jangka kulpa-ya
 gather-IRR-SEQ bullocks-SEQ return-3PL S
 After mustering the bullocks, they returned.

In addition to this basic sequential meaning, the construction can also convey a direct causal relationship between the main and subordinate clauses (215, 216).

- (215) paja-na-jangka jinka-lku-rna-ngala yukurru
 bite-IRR-SEQ hit-FUT-1SG S-CON dog
 If he bites, I will hit that dog.

- (216) ngarlu mapu jarri-nya-jangka nganyjurru mapu-marta-rrangu
 heart become good-IRR-SEQ PRO 1PL IN good-EMPH-PL

jarri-nya-ngala
 become-1PL IN S-CON

From loving [lit. becoming good in our heart], we become good.

In transitive sentences, to indicate that the subject of the subordinate clause is controlled by the subject of the main clause, the ergative suffix can be added to the perfective construction ((217)- compare with (212) above, where the ergative suffix is not added, and the subordinate clause consequently applies to the object of the main clause.

- (217) punka-nya-jangka-lu yawarta nyanga-nya-rna
 fall-IRR-SEQ-ERG horse see-PRES-1 SG S
 After I had fallen down, I saw the horse.

This subordinate clause types can be negated by inserting the privative suffix *-kurlu* after the tense inflection (218).

- (218) muwarr-jangka jinga-na-kurlu-jangka kurlu ja-npa-ngala japulu
 word-SEQ follow-IRR-PRIV-SEQ make sad-PRES-CON father
 If we do not follow/From not following these words, we make father sad.

For discussion of the use of *-jangka* on the objects of these subordinate clauses, see 3.3.5 [1].

Note that both the synchronous and sequential constructions can usually be translated into English either as a relative clause, or as a participial clause. What should come out in the translation is the logical/temporal relationship, rather than a specific syntactic form. For example the sentence:

- (219) ja-la-ya warra wupa-ngka kulpa-nya-jangka
 put-IMP-3PL S clothes son-LOC return-IRR-SEQ

can be translated as, 'Put new clothes on my son, *having returned*!', and 'Put new clothes on my son *who has returned*!'. Blake (1987, p135) sees as a noteworthy feature of clause linking in Australian languages the fact that 'a single formal type may correspond to the relative clauses, participial clauses and adverbial clauses of a language like English.'

4.6.4 INSTRUMENTAL

Instrumental subordinate clauses can be formed by adding the instrumental suffix to the sequential construction, thus:

VERB STEM + IRR + SEQ + INST

The resulting clause is, formally, similar to a subject controlled sequential clause. Semantically, however, it describes the *means by which* the action in the main clause was carried out, and goes beyond merely indicating subject control. These clauses may occur either with an explicit subject (220), or without one (221).

- (220) marrungu-lu parri parri ja-n kurtu kinyangka-kura jinka-na-jangka-lu
 man-ERG make hurt-PRES child PRO 3SG-GEN hit-IRR-SEQ-INST
 The man hurt the child with a hit.

- (221) *jimi-na-jangka-lu* *julapani* *mapu ja-nu*
 touch-IRR-SEQ-INST blind eyes make good-PAST
 With a touch, he healed his eyes.

4.6.5 DERIVATIVE

Derivative clauses may be formed by adding the ablative of direction *-ngu* to the main verb, followed by a subordinate purposive construction:

VERB STEM + TNS + BPRO + ABL VERB STEM + IRR + PURP

Though there is (as far as I know) only one example of this complete construction, the meaning appears to be that the second action is intrinsically derived from, or is an intrinsic consequence of, the first action. Thus in (222), the use of *-ngu* on the verb 'give' seems to indicate that this action is the origin of the second action, that the action of 'hitting' is derived from and dependant on the action of 'giving the word'.

- (222) *wayi kinyangka-rrangu muwarr pu-ngu-ya-ngu* *jinka-na-ku*
 QP PRO 3-PL word give-PAST-3PL S-ABL_{dir} hit-IRR-PURP
 Did they give the word for you to be stoned ?

There is also an example of the above construction without the accompanying purposive clause. In this case, the meaning appears to be one of present perfective, i.e. a present state derived from a past action (223).

- (223) *pampi wanti-nyu-rna-ngu mayi-ngka workumu-ngka*
 long time be-PAST-1SG S-ABL house-LOC work(ing)-LOC
 For a long time I have worked for you/been working in [your] house.

4.7 IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

There are a few constructions involving the imperative inflection, each of which is used to convey a particular set of meanings.

[a] The following construction can be used for a couple of purposes, depending on the person of the subject.

VERB STEM + IMP + BPRO

Second person

When the subject is second person, this construction is used for a basic non-negative command (224). Note, however, that third person bound pronouns are frequently used (perhaps for politeness) even with an explicit second person free form (225).

(224) ya-rra
go-IMP
You go !

(225) nyuntu-lu kaka-lu japirr ma-la japulu warnku-ku
PRO 2SG-ERG uncle-ERG ask-IMP-3SG DAT father money-DAT
You, uncle, ask father for money !

First and third persons

When the subject of an imperative clause is first or third person (explicitly, not just for politeness), the meaning is one of 'potential ability', usually translated as 'can' (226, 227). This use of the imperative can also carry the notion of past intent when followed by the particle *majarra-rti* 'I didn't' (228).

(226) ka-wa-rna
carry-IMP-1 SG S
I can carry it.

(227) ya-rra-rna
go-IMP 1SG S
I can go.

(228) jinka-la-rna majarra-rti
hit-IMP-1SG S not-INTENS
I was going to hit it, but I didn't.

The meaning of potential ability can be negated with *yijakatu* 'impossible' (229, 230). If, however, the basic construction is preceded by the standard negative particle, the meaning seems to be one of past negative (231), not negative potential.

- (229) yijakatu paja-la-nya
impossible bite-IMP-1SG O
It can't bite me.
- (230) yijakatu kanti-ya pala kurlu marrungu
impossible climbIMP that old man
That old man can't climb the tree.
- (231) wakala-lu jami (Najanaja) jinka-la yukurru
woman-ERG not hit-IMP dog
The woman did not hit the dog.

[b] There appears to be some semantic variation to first and third person imperatives when the connective *-ngala* is added to the construction. Thus:

VERB STEM + IMP + BPRO + CON

Examples are limited, but with a single clause, the meaning of 'intent' seems to be added

(232). With two consecutive clauses, the meaning can be one of past 'if/then' (233).

- (232) kaka-lu pala jinka-la-ngala yukurru
uncle-ERG that hit-IMP-CON dog
Uncle tried to hit the dog.
- (233) ya-rra-rna-ngala Hedland-karti nya-wa-rna-ra-ngala
go-IMP-1SG S-CON Hedland-ALL_{loc} see-IMP-1SG S-3SG DAT-CON
Had I gone to Hedland, I would have seen him.

[c] A further set of imperative clauses are formed using the purposive suffix *-ku*. This suffix, along with the negative particle, is an obligatory element of second person negative imperatives (234). Note that here *-ku* is only marked on the verb, not on other parts of the clause as it is in purposive constructions.

- (234) majarra ja-la-nyurra-ku warnku pirti-ngka
not put-IMP-2PL S-PURP stone hole-LOC
Don't you (PL) put the stone in the hole !

When, however, *-ku* is used on imperative clauses without the negative particle, it appears to indicate (in all persons) a potential event (235), or the consequence of a present event (236), usually translated as 'might'.

(235) pala-lu jurru paja-la-nya-ku
 that-ERG snake bite-IMP-1SG O PURP
 That snake might bite me.

(236) majarra kuwi nga-la-n-ku parraparra jarri-ya-n-ku
 not meat eat-IMP-2SG S-PURP become sick-IMP-2SG S-PURP
 Don't eat that meat ! You might get sick.

4.8 PARTICLES

Particles are a relatively small set of words that cannot take any sort of inflection. Their purpose is to 'provide logical/modal-type qualification of a complete clause' (Dixon 1980, p284), as in the following examples:

(237)	majarra	not (Nangu)
	mulal	not (Najanaja)
	jami	not (Nawurtu)
	janjalku	not yet
	kunamanin	for the last time
	manguny	always
	kunanguru	always
	malyparr	don't like
	muta	let
	nguya	almost
	paparr	by mistake
	paramiri	maybe
	wayikatu	maybe
	yaliny	again
	yijakatu	impossible

Dixon (1980) also indicates that another possible word class is that of 'adverb(al)' (p281). This class constitutes a set of roots which semantically modify the verb in the same way that adjectives serve to semantically modify nominals. However, true

adverbals, as described by Dixon, would differ from particles in that they have the same morphological possibilities as verbs. That is, they take verbal inflections and usually occur with the verb in the sentence. In Karajarri there is no known class of this type. There is, however, a group of words which I have classed with the particles which seem to perform the semantic function of adverbals, even if they are not syntactically distinct. These words semantically differ from the above particles in that rather than modifying the whole of the sentence, they appear to modify the verb, describing the manner in which the action is done.

(238)	jaly	in vain
	pangkuly	in vain (Najanaja)
	walyulyu	continuing, always
	japuny kujarra	right through (as in spear right through)
	purlumal	half way through
	kirrpinti	across
	lurrplurp	up and down
	pakutpakut	up and down
	miyarin	together
	purpijarrajangka	from all sides
	palajartukaja	in that way, like that
	yakujakaja	in that way (Najanaja)

It is perhaps possible that there may be some syntactic distinction to be made between these two groups of words, but this would need to be the subject of further research.

4.9 INTERJECTIONS

This class of nominal are single word utterances or very short phrases which can, in discourse act as complete utterances. They do not enter into syntactic constructions. Dixon (1980) notes that interjections are often marked off from other parts of speech in Australian languages in that they can exhibit deviance from the normal phonotactic patterns. There are no striking examples of this in Karajarri, except to say that there are monosyllables in this word class (e.g. *yu* 'yes') which are extremely rare in the nominal class. The following is a selection of interjections from Karajarri.

(239)	jamara wanti	shut up!
	japutu	poor fellow !
	yu, yuwayi	yes
	ngawayi	yes (Najanaja)
	jami	no
	kalaya	finish
	kalaki	finish (different dialect ?)
	majarra ngajukura	not for me
(245)	ngapawarra	what's that place? (when one is trying to remember something)
	ngapi	what's it called? (like English 'um...')
	ngutu	finish, okay
	warawu, wartawu	interjection expressing surprise or pain

4.10 NEGATION

There are a number of ways that negation can be expressed.

Particle

majarra (or *jami* in Nawurtu, and *mulal* in Najanaja) is the basic particle used to negate a sentence. The following examples show its use in a negative purposive clause (240), a negative verbless existential clause (241), a negative verbless equational clause (242), a negative clause involving the potential auxiliary (243), and imperative clauses (244, 245). Note the presence of the purposive suffix *-ku*, except in the potential and imperative clauses.

- (240) mayi pala kurlu-parri majarra nga-nya-ku
 food that bad-PROP not eat-IRR-PURP
 That food is bad, it is not for eating.

- (241) majarra kari-ku
 not wine-PURP
 There is no wine.

- (242) ngaju majarra miruru-ku
 PRO 1SG not ghost-PURP
 I am not a ghost.

- (243) majarra jurrjurr pati-nya pala-la
 not sink-IRR AUX(POT)-IMP
 He did not sink.
- (244) wakala-lu jami (Nawurtu) jinka-la yukurru
 woman-ERG not hit-IMP dog
 The woman did not hit the dog.
- (245) majarra ja-la-nyurra-ku warnku pirti-ngka
 not put-IMP-2PL S-PURP stone hole-LOC
 Don't you (PL) put the stone in the hole !

There is one specific known environment where another particle, *yijakatu* 'impossible', is used to indicate negativity. This is when the imperative form is used with the third person to indicate potential (see 4.7) as in (246).

- (246) yijakatu kanti-ya pala kurlu marrungu
 impossible climb-IMP that old man
 That old man can't climb the tree.

Case marker

In a couple of known environments, the privative case suffix *-kurlu* is used to negate a clause. For example a negative existential clause (stating the non-existence of something) as in (247), and a negative subordinated sequential clause (248).

- (247) kuwi-kurlu
 meat-PRIV
 There is no meat.
- (248) muwarr-jangka jinga-na-kurlu-jangka kurlu ja-npa-ngala japulu
 word-SEQ follow-IRR-PRIV-SEQ make sad-PRES-CON father
 If we do not follow/From not following these words, we make father sad.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: TEXTS

This section contains five Karajarri texts with interlinear and free translations. Texts A.1 to A.4 were collected during my fieldwork in 1992. Text A.5 was collected by McKelson as part of the 'Catechism in Garadyari' (1974).

Note that in the interlinear translations of the texts (as with the interlinear translations throughout the body of the thesis) zero morphemes have not been glossed. A zero morpheme may be one of the following:

- third person subject bound pronoun
- third person object bound pronoun
- present inflection of -Ø- conjugation verbs

A.1 BIDYADANGA

This text, told by Edna Hopika, recounts in Karajarri the traditional story of how the Bidyadanga community began and got its name.

1. ya-nu pala jalangka ngaju-kura pirra kuwi-karti muna
 go-PAST that gr.grandfather PRO 1SG-GEN bush meat-ALL_{loc} way
- ngarralangka pirra 2.nya-ngu pijarta 3.yanta-nu pala pijarta 4.ka-ngu
 ngarralangka bush see-PAST emu spear-PAST that emu carry-PAST
- wantura nangu-karti 5. ja-rnu marraja-ngka pala kunurru-ngka 6. nangu
 shoulders here-ALL_{loc} put-PAST shade-LOC that whitegum-LOC here
- ngapa-kura yiwiri ngurra 7.pirti wayi murta kali-nyu-ra 8. kali-nyu pala
 water-GEN place ground hole QP nothing dig-PAST-3SG DAT dig-PAST that
- pirti 9.kuli-nyu-ra ngapa-ku 10.lirri ma-nu-ra 11. yija ngapa
 hole dig-PAST-3SG DAT water-PURP soak make-PAST-COMP truly water

kaniny-ngu jarri-nyu 12. ngapa putput yinta-nu 13. nga-nu pala ngapa
 below-ABL_{dir} become-PAST water bubble-PAST drink-PAST that water

14. kampa-nu pala pijarta 15. pala-ngka ngapa-ngka kampa-nu
 cook-PAST that emu that-LOC water-LOC cook-PAST

16. jaka-nu-ra jungku 17. kampa-nu ka-ngu ja-nu-kura
 prepare-PAST-3SG DAT fire cook-PAST take-PAST put-PAST-BEN

18. pala-jangka yirra ma-nu-ya pijarta-ngka nangu ngapa 19. kunangkuru
 that-SEQ name-PAST-3PL S emu-LOC this water always

ja-nu-ya 20. ka-ngu ngunu-karti ngapawarra-karti? lalurrjartu-karti
 do-PAST take-PAST there-ALL_{loc} what place-ALL_{loc} Lalurrjartu-ALL_{loc}

21. lalurrjartu-ngka nga-nu-ya kuwi-karti narrungu-rrangu-lu
 Lalurrjartu-LOC eat-PAST-3PL S meat-ALL_{loc} people-PL-ERG

22. kalaya-rti pirra ya-nya pa-nu-ya
 finsh-INTENS bush go-IRR AUX(HAB)-PAST-3PL S

23. nga-nya pa-nu-ya nangu pala ngapa
 eat-IRR AUX(HAB)-PAST-3PL S this that water

1. My great grandfather went bush to get meat - a long way bush [Ngarralangka is inland, east of Kanjanangurru]. 2. He saw an emu. 3. He speared that emu. 4. He carried it on his shoulders back here. 5. He put it down in the shade of that gum tree. 6. This seemed like a water place [i.e. a place where water could be found]. 7. There was no hole - he dug it. 8. He dug that hole. 9. He dug it for water. 10. He made a soak. 11. Truly water did come from below. 12 The water was bubbling. 13. He drank that water. 14. He cooked that emu. 15. In that water [i.e. in the place where he had found the water] he cooked it. 16. He prepared a fire. 17. He cooked it and took it and got it for them [i.e. for the mob about to be spoken of]. 18. From then on, they called this water [i.e. the place where this water had been dug up] 'Bidyadanga' [that is 'the place of the emu']. 19. They do it [i.e. call it 'Bidyadanga'] all the time. 20. He took it to there - to what's that place? - to Lalurrjartu [now a soak near the old rubbish dump in Bidyadanga]. 21. At Lalurrjartu, many people ate the meat. 22. Then [from that point on], they used to go bush. 23. They used to drink that water.

A.2 WHITEFELLA

This story, told by Jack Mularti, recounts the experience of some Najanaja people with early white settlers.

1. najanaja ka-ngu-jinya wayilpila-lu nangu-nguru Darwin-karti
 Najanaja take-PAST-3PL O whitefella-ERG here-ABL_{loc} Darwin-ALL_{loc}

2. Darwin-nguru kulpa-nyu-ya 3. wanjarra-kaja kulpa-nyu-ya ? jina ?
 Darwin-ABL_{loc} return-PAST-3PL S where-PROP return-PAST-3PL S foot

no, too far [English] 4. boat-ju paramirri kulpa-nyu-jinya-ra nangu
 no, too far boat-ERG perhaps return-PAST-3PL O-COMP here

pirti-lu narrungu-lu 5. pala yulpuru wunyurr-jangka yinta-na
 local-ERG person-ERG that long time immediately-SEQ tell-IRR

pa-rnu-ya-nganyjurruku pala-ngu-jangka marrungu kankarra-ngu
 AUX(HAB)-PAST-3PL S-1PL IN DAT that-ABL_{dir}-CUASE man up-ABL_{dir}

nangu-martaji puntu-jangka 6. jayi-nyu-ya-janaku 7. tuku ja-na
 here-LOCAL spring country-SEQ come-PAST-3PL S-3PL DAT look after-IRR

pa-rnu-ya-jinya ya-rra-ni-ya-kaja wanti-ya nangu-ngka
 AUX(HAB)-PAST-3PL S-3PLO go-IMP-HERE-3PL S-SYN be-IMP here-LOC

8. pala partuwayipila wanti-nya pa-nu-ya 9. maya payarri ma-nu-ya
 that still whitefella be-IRR AUX(HAB)-3PL S house build-PAST-3PL S

10. kanja-na pa-nu-ya-janaku wayipila-lu kanja-na
 look for-IRR AUX(HAB)-PAST-3PL S-3PL DAT whitefella-ERG look for-IRR

pa-nu-ya-janaku 11. ma-na pa-nu-ya-jinya
 AUX(HAB)-PAST-3PL S-3PL DAT get-IRR AUX(HAB)-PAST-3PL S-3PL O

12. warrany-rrangu parama-na pa-nu-ya-ngala 13. wira-nya
 other-PL run-IRR AUX(HAB)-PAST-3PL S-CON shoot-IRR

pa-nu-ya-jinya 14. pala kuru narrungu miranu jarri-nyu-ya
 AUX(HAB)-PAST-3PL S-3PL-O that lot person learn-PAST-3PL S

15. marrungu-lu pala-lu workum ja-na pa-nu-ya-janaku jurungu
 man-ERG that-ERG work-IRR AUX(HAB)-PAST-3PL S-3PL DAT straight

marrungu-lu wakala-lu-pa 16. kalaya jurungu
 man-ERG woman-ERG-CONJ finish straight

1. The whitefella took the Najanaja away from here to Darwin. 2. They returned from Darwin. 3. How did they return ? By foot ? No, too far. 4. Perhaps a boat brought them back, the people from here. 5. From that time, straightaway, they [the people who were brought back] used to tell it [i.e. this story] to us - those people from up there, in the spring country, [who had] come around here. 6. They [some white people] came to [see] them. 7. They looked after them, [telling them to] 'Come here, stay here at this place'. 8. Whitefellas were still there. 9. They built houses. 10. He was looking for them, the whitefella was looking for them. 11 He got them. 12. The others ran away. 13. They shot them. 14. That lot of people learnt [from the white man]. 15. That man [the white man] worked them straight [hard, down the line?], man and woman [worked]. 16. From that time on [he worked] straight.

A.3 CHILDHOOD STORY

This story, told by Steve Possum, recounts some early childhood memories. Note that in the recording of this text, the auxiliary transcribed as *pa-* sometimes sounds more like *pu-*. My chief informant, however, assures me that *pa-* is the correct interpretation.

1. ngaju wupartu kartu japulu-lu kurtany-ju ka-ngu-nya-pula kakarra
 PRO 1SG little child father-ERG mother-ERG take-PAST-1SG O-3DL S east

2. jami kakarra kajarri nangu paturr kurtirra paka-ngka 3. wanti-nya
 not east long way this Pardu Hill round about there-LOC be-IRR

pa-nu-rna kartu ngaju 4. ngalina kapuju warraja wanti-nya
 AUX(HAB)-PAST-1SG S child PRO 1SG PRO 1DL EX sister one sit-IRR

pa-nu-lina and[E]yingalpu ngaju-kura 5.ya-nu-yarna
 AUX(HAB)-PAST-1DL EX S and br.in.lawPRO 1SG-GEN go-PAST-1PL EX S

kurtany-ju ka-ngu-nganininya kakarra ngapa-nguru jurr-nguru 6.pala kara-jawa
 mother-ERG take-PAST-1PL EX O east water-ABL_{loc} Jurr-ABL_{loc} that west-ALL_{dir}

paturr-nguru warnka-nguru 7. pala-jangka nganina kartupapa
 Pardu Hill-ABL_{loc} stone-ABL_{loc} that-SEQ PRO 1PL EX children

para ma-nu-yarna mintipa-karti 8. wupartu ngaju puturr 9.kapuju-lu
 run-PAST-1PL EX S sandhill-ALL_{loc} little PRO 1SG middle sister-ERG

ngaju-kura-lu jamiyaku tumpa-ngka pala-na pa-nu 10.yingalpu
 PRO 1SG-GEN-ERG tomahawk neck-LOC have-IRR AUX(HAB)-PAST br-in-law

ngaju-kura jampu-karti wanti-nya pa-nu 11. pala-jangka
 PRO 1SG-GEN left side-ALL_{loc} be-IRR AUX(HAB)-PAST that-SEQ

marrka ma-nujamiyaku 12.kati pu-ngu-nya kirrimarljina 13.pala-ngka ngajaka-rna
 drop-PAST tomahawk cut-PAST-1SG O nail foot that-SEQ cry-1SG S

ngaju 14.kutany-ju ma-nu-nya 15.ma-nu-ya ngapa panikin-ja
 PRO 1SG mother-ERG get-PAST-1SG O get-PAST 1SG O water billy can-LOC

jaka-nu
 prepare-PAST

1. [When] I [was] a little child, [my] father and mother took me east. 2. Not far east, around this Pardu Hill, around there. 3. I [as a child] sat down [there]. 4. Us two [i.e. me and my sister], one sister, we sat down [there], and also my brother-in-law. 5. We went - mother took us east from the Jurr waterhole. 6. That [is] to the west from Partu (stone) Hill. 7. After that, we children ran to the sandhill. 8. I, the little one, [was in] the middle [of the sandhill]. 9. My sister [had] a tomahawk- she kept it around her neck. 10. My brother-in-law was on the left side. 11. Then, she dropped the tomahawk. 12. It cut the toenail [from] my foot. 13. Then I cried. 14. Mother picked me up. 15 She got me and boiled water [for my foot].

A.4 STINGRAY

This short account, told by Edna Hopika, tells of an unpleasant experience with a stingray.

1.ma-nu-rna wiliwili 2. pala-ngu-jangka jinka-lku-rna 3.ma-nu-rna
get-PAST-1SG S fishing net(s?) that-ABL_{dir}-SEQ hit-FUT-1SG S get-PAST-1SG S

piju4.kati pu-ngku-rna5.kati pu-nya pala-la-rna-ngal 6. pala jiyi kuwi pala
knife cut-FUT-1SG S cut-IRR AUX(POT)-IMP-1SG S-CON that sting meat that

napi jarri-nyu wilyirnrtanu 7. kati pu-ngu-nya 8.pala marrkarra wilyirnrtanu
did do-PAST swing around-PAST cut-PAST-1SG O that tail swing around-PAST

9.kati pu-ngu-nya papirr10.pala-ngu-jangka ya-nu-rna kankarra jungku-karti
cut-PAST-1SG O hand that-ABL_{dir}-SEQ go-PAST-1SG S up fire-ALL_{loc}

11. nurre-angka ja-nu-rna-waninya jungku-angka
hot sand-LOC put-PAST-1SG S-OBJ REFL fire-LOC

12. kampa-nu-rna-waninya 13. jami pina karri-nya pala-la-rna-ngala
burn-PAST-1SG S OBJ REFL nothing feel-IRR AUX(POT)-IMP-CON

parraparra jami parraparra-ku mayil 14. wupa ngaju-kura jayi-nyu
pain nothing pain-PURP numb son PRO 1SG-GEN come-PAST

ka-ngu-nya hospital-karti
carry-PAST-1SG O hospital-ALL_{loc}

1. I brought in the fishing nets. 2. After that, 'I will hit him [the stingray]'. 3. I got the knife. 4. I cut it. 5. I wanted to cut it [but didn't]. 6. That sting, that meat [i.e. stingray], what he did was swing [his tail] around. 7. It cut me. 8. He swung that tail around 9. It cut my hand. 10. After that, I went up to the fire. 11. I put myself [i.e. my finger] in the hot sand, at the fire. 12. I burnt myself. 13. [But] I feel nothing, no pain. No pain, numb. 14. My son came, he took me to the hospital.

A.5 CREATION

The following account is a selected passage taken (modified) from the body of texts which comprise 'Catechism in Garadyari' (McKelson, 1974). These texts were translated into Karajarri by (the late) Broncho. In the catechism this text appears only with a free translation. The interlinear translation has been added, and the free translation (as well as the orthography) has been modified.

1. rayi manguny-jangka nganyjurru-kura japulu mapu wanti kankarra
spirit always-SEQ PRO 1PL IN-GEN father good be above

2. ngarlu karri-nganyjurruku japulu-lu kankarra 3. yalirra mira-jangka japulu-lu
feel for-1PL IN DAT father-ERG above already first-SEQ father-ERG

yani ma-nu-jinya wurtu-pa wupartu-pa paka kurlu-jangka4. ngana partu nganu
make-PAST-3PL O big-CONJ small-CONJ thing nothing-SEQ *phrase: all kinds*

paka yani ma-nu-jinya 5. parra tartarta jurrar wirinya-rrangu pitily paka-rrangu
thing make-PAST-3PL O sun moon sea star-PL grass tree-PL

parntarlmarta-rrangu yani ma-nu-jinya japulu-lu 6. japulu kankarra rayi
bird-PL make-PAST-3PL O father-ERG father above spirit

manguny-yiti yija miranu yija majapani yija mapu wanti 7. yalira
always-NOMLSR true knowing true strong true good be already

mira-jangka japulu-lu yani ma-nu-pilinya wakala-pa marrungu 8. yirra ma-nu
first-SEQ father-ERG make-PAST-3DL O woman-CONJ man name-PAST

marrungu Adam yirra ma-nu wakala Eve 9. yu-ngu-pilinya-ra pilyurr-pa
man Adam name-PAST woman Eve give-PAST-3DL O-BEN heart-CONJ

karrikin 10. pala-jangka kinyangka-jarra mapu-marta karrikin wanti-nyu-pula
body that-SEQ PRO 3-DL good-EMPH body be-PAST-3DL S

kinyangka-jarra mapu ngarlu parraparra-kurlu rawarri-kurlu wurtu-parri mayi-parri
PRO 3-DL good heart pain-PRIV dead-PRIV big-PROP food-PROP

wanti-nyu-pula 11. pala-jangka japulu-lu yinta-nu-pulaku 12. majarra
 be-PAST-3DL S that-SEQ father-ERG say-PAST-3DL DAT not

ma-rra-nyumpala-ku mayi pala paka-nguru waraja-nguru 13. majarra
 take-IMP-2DL S PURP food that tree-ABL_{loc} one-ABL_{loc} not

pina karri-nyu-pala-pula pala muwarr 14. jinka-nu-pula mayi pala kuriny kuriny
 listen-PAST-3SG DAT-3DL S that word hit-PAST-3DL S food that bad

pina karri-nyu-pula-waninya 15. mapa jarri-nyu-pula-la mapu muwarr
 hear-PAST-3DL S-OBJ REFL forget-PAST-3DL S-3SG DAT good word

16. kunkulu-pa ngarlu-pa warany-karti jarri-nyu-pula
 head-CONJ feelings-CONJ other-ALL_{loc} become-PAST-3DL S

17. ja-lku-pula-ngala tataly rawarri punka-wu-pula-ngala 18. majarra
 do-FUT-3DL S-CON sick dead die-FUT-3DL S-CON not

kinyangka-jarra kurrwal-karti-ku kankarra japulu-karti-ku ya-nya-ku
 PRO 3-DL sky-ALL_{loc}-PURP above father-ALL_{loc}-PURP go-IRR-PURP

19. marrungu-nyanu waraja wakala-nyanu waraja kinyangka-jarra-nyanu
 man-ORIGIN one woman-ORIGIN one PRO 3-DL-ORIGIN

nganjurru marrungu-pa wakala wakaj 20. japulu-lu yinta-nu-pulaku
 PRO 1PL IN man-CONJ woman all father-ERG tell-PAST-3DL DAT

kayi-pa kayi marrungu waraja ja-wu-ngala mapu ja-na-ku ngarlu-ngka
 bye-CONJ bye man one do-FUT-CON good put-IRR-PURP heart-LOC

21. narrungu-rrangu-lu pampi mima-nu-ya-rala 22. pala-jangka
 person-PL-ERG long time wait-PAST-3PL S-3SG BEN that-SEQ

japulu-lu kankarra-lu ngunyi ma-nu yatangkal wakala-karti yirarru Mary
 father-ERG above-ERG send-PAST angel woman-ALL_{loc} name Mary

23. yatangkal-ju yinta-nu-la wayiti Mary nyuntu yija mapu-marta ngarlu
 angel-ERG say-PAST-3SG DAT hello Mary PRO 2SG true good-EMPH heart

24. Mary-lu majarra pina karri-nya pala-la muwarr yatangkal-kura
 Mary-ERG not understand-IRR AUX(POT)-IMP word angel-GEN

25. yatangkal-ju yinta-nu-la majarra palala jarri-ya-n-ku
 angel-ERG say-PAST-3SG DAT not become worried-IMP-2SG S-PURP

nyuntu wupa-parri ja-lku-ngala yirraru kinyangka-kura Jesus
 PRO 2SG son-PROP do-FUT-CON name PRO 3SG-GEN Jesus

26. yirarru ma-nku-ya-ngala rayi manguny-jangka-kura wupa 27. Mary-lu
 name-FUT-3PL S-CON spirit always-SEQ-GEN son Mary-ERG

japirr ma-nuwanjara-kaja-rti marrungu-ku ngakumpa ngaju 28. yatangkal-ju
 ask-PAST where-SYN-INTENS man-DAT ignorant PRO 1SG angel-ERG

yinta-nu-la nyuntu-lu ma-nku-n-ngala rayi kankarra-ngu-jangka
 tell-PAST-3SG DATPRO 2SG-ERG get-FUT-2SG S-CONspirit above-ABL_{dir}-SEQ

29. Mary-lu yinta-nu-la yu kalaya 30. pala-jangka yatangkal ya-nu manti
 Mary-ERG say-PAST-3SG DAT yes alright that-SEQ angel go-PAST going

1. God [the eternal spirit] is our good father in heaven. 2. The father above feels for [loves] us. 3. In the beginning, God made things both great and small from nothing. 4. All kinds of things he made. 5. The father made the sun, the moon, the sea, the stars, the grass, the trees and the birds. 6. The father above is an eternal spirit - truly wise, truly strong, and truly good. 7. In the beginning, God made a woman and a man. 8. He named the man Adam. He named the woman Eve. 9. He gave those two a soul and a body. 10. So then, those two were good in their body, good in their heart, without pain, without death, and with plenty of tucker. 11. Then the father said to them: 12. 'Do not take the fruit from that certain tree'. 13 They did not listen to that word. 14. They broke that fruit. They felt bad [lit. heard bad to themselves]. 15. They forgot the good word. 16. Their thoughts and their feelings were changed [lit. became to another]. 17. They will fall sick, they will die. 18. They will not go to heaven, to their father above. 19. From this one man, from this one woman, we men and women all [come]. 20. The father said to them, 'Bye and bye a man will come to put things right again [lit. will do to put good in the heart]. 21. People waited a long time for him. 22. Then the father above sent an angel to a woman named Mary. 23. The angel said to her 'Hello Mary,

you are truly good in your heart'. 24. Mary did not understand the word of the angel. 25. The angel said to her 'Do not worry. You will have a child. His name [will be] Jesus'. 26. 'They will call him "The Son of God" [son of the eternal spirit]'. 27. Mary asked him 'How can this be. I know not man'. 28. The angel said to her 'You will receive the spirit from above'. 29. Mary said to him 'Yes, all right then'. 30. Then the angel went away.

APPENDIX B: VOCABULARY

B.1 ALPHABETICAL VOCABULARY

The following wordlist has been arranged alphabetically. The following abbreviations are used to identify the part of speech of each particular item.

N	noun
A	adjective
Vtr	transitive verb
Vin	intransitive verb
Vamb	ambitransitive verb
Vdi	ditransitive verb
loc	locational qualifier
time	time qualifier
particle	particle
int	interjection
manner	particle expressing manner

This word list is based on the extensive vocabulary compiled by Fr McKelson (1989). Some aspects of the vocabulary have been modified, but most items are unchecked. Only some of the vocabulary has been tested as to its word class membership. The allocations to word class, particularly for the transitivity value of the verbs, is only intended as a guide - it should not be taken as definitive. Further testing would be needed to accurately determine the transitivity possibilities of each individual verb (and also to determine the specific functions of other vocabulary items).

- ja-L- put, do; Vtr
 jaka-L- prepare; Vtr
 jakat ya-N- stalk; Vtr
 jakilya damp ground (Najanaja); N
 jakiny spear (barbed); N
 jakirri wet ground (Najanaja); N
 jaku yungu-NG- feed; Vtr
 jakuli pearlshell (small), tortoise shell; N
 jakurl hook on spearthrower; N
 jakurl ka-NG- report; Vdi
 jakurl mana hands around knees; Adj
 jakurl yungu-NG- cause; Vdi
 jalakany fight between two men; N
 jalala weak; N
 jalalu burnt country; N
 jalan tongue; N
 jalapananta herring; N
 jalapjalap ja-L- heap up wood; Vtr
 jalarapalpal crested pigeon; N
 jalayapulu turtle (Najanaja); N
 jalin hail; N
 jalkana hibernation, winter sleep (Nawurtu) N
 jalkurr baby; N
 jalngangurru doctor man; N
 jalngu grass; N
 jalpangurru cistern (man made); N
 jalparn eyelashes; N
 jalpintari finch (pictorella); N
 jalputari honeyeater bird; N
 jalupa lizard (pale); N
 jaly in vain; manner
 jamara wanti shutup!; int
 jami no not (Nawurtu); particle
 jamika-L- deprive; Vdi
 jampan flipper of turtle; N
 jamparr bush orange; N
 Jamparrnganyjal Goldwyre Mill; N
 jampartu mother's father; N
 jampu left (side); N
 jamununjurr initiate after being given stick; N
 jamununkurr young fellow after subincision; N
 janga oyster; N
 jangajanga jarri-Ø- imitate; Vtr
 jangaparri stingray with shell on its back; N
 jangka spikes (as on mountain devil); N
 jangkala calf; N
 jangkatany eel; N
 jangkurr hat; N
 Jangu Fish trap area north of Lalurrjartu; N
 jani beach (Najanaja); N
 jani yinta-L- chew?; Vtr
 janika-L- cover with ashes; Vtr?
 janja nangu right now; time
 janjalku not yet; particle
 janju tree lizard (long tail); N
 jankala calf of leg; N
 janma-L- fill up; Vtr?
 jantarrman white clothes (English borrowing from "gentleman"); N
 jantu quiet; Adj
 jantu woman (Najanaja); N
 janum-L- vomit; Vin
 janyjamarta soon; time
 janyungu tobacco (bush); N
 Japali Point near Crab Creek; N
 japaljakurli fighting ground; N
 japara bearded dragon (tree lizard); N
 japarany one eyed snake (mythical?); N
 japi song; N
 japij ma-L- make feint; Vtr
 japinangurru wallaby (female); N
 japingka outside; loc
 japiny sweet; Adj
 japiny ngapa fresh water; N
 japipi bush fruit red inside and yellow outside; N
 japirr ma-L- ask; Vdi
 japirripirri alongside; loc
 japula wet; Adj
 japulu father, father's brother; N
 japuny kujarra right through (as in spear right through); manner
 japunyjapuny spear (barbed); N
 japurn joey; N
 japurr fog; N
 japutu poor fellow !; int

- jara** handle of shield, shield; N
jarangka-L- be jealous of (lit "look at"); Vtr
jaranka-L- know, recognise; Vtr
jarata corroborree; N
jarinyjarr organ grinder wallaby (female); N
jarr straight; Adj
jarra boil; N
jarra pouch; N
jarri-Ø- become; Vtr
jarrjarr cold; Adj
Jarrmangunan Sheep camp on Roebuck Plain; N
jarrpal hip, rump (Najanaja); N
jarrpat ma-L- lift; Vtr
jarrpu tree lizard (long tail) (Najanaja); N
jarru afterbirth; N
jarungu dress (Malay borrowing from sarong); N
jaruru slack, tired, weak; Adj
jatamarta shallow; Adj
jatara already; time
jati bad; Adj
jatu daughter; N
jatu holes in the creek; N
jawa mouth; N
jawa kaniny sharp; Adj
jawa nirr nice teeth; N
jawa yala loose tooth; N
jawalka greedy; Adj
jawanyu present; N
jawarri crow; N
jawily fat (Nawurtu); Adj
jawuju trousers (English borrowing); N
jawul clean (Najanaja); Adj
jawul saliva; N
jaya stingray (spotted); N
jayi-Ø- come; Vin
jayu slime (as in tank); N
jayumartaji fish (stonefish?); N
jija cockle; N
jija fingernail, toenail (Najanaja); N
Jijajangka Soak near fish Trap area; N
jijajartukapu whiting; N
jijaputu shellgrit; N
jijartu pad for carrying things on head; N
jijartu spike on catfish; N
jijikirrkirr snake (red spots on head and black bands around body); N
jikarl wife's mother (loan word); N
jikarr jarri-Ø- feel sexual excitement; Vin
jikarran tree snake; N
jikarri ma-L- cause; Vdi
jikatany seasnake; N
jikily Bauhinia tree; N
Jikilyja Clusters of Bauhinia trees near Jijajangka; N
jikurr hollow, hollow tree; N
jilalka bush tomato; N
jilaman gun (from 'kill a man'); N
jilji back of beach; N
jilkarangu lark (singing bush); N
jilkarr anthill; Nawurtu; N
jilkurr tough (of meat); Adj
jilpajilpa tips (e.g. of leaves); N
jilpakutany fruit like a gherkin found at Larry Ennis; N
Jilparta Canning Stock Route aspect (Eastern country); N
jilwitingurru mullet (short); N
jimi-L- touch; Vtr
jimpartu calf; N
jimpartu mallee hen; N
jimpirrinny tree type; N
jimpu egg; N
jimpu nganja-L- lay an egg; Vtr
jina foot; N
jina ma-L- track; Vtr
jina-L- chase, follow; Vtr
jinapuka shoes, boots (introduced); N
jingkirr funny (Nawurtu); Adj
jinka-L- hit; Vtr
jinkarrapanti shell; N
jinkujarra at the same time; time
jinpalka grasshopper; N
jinpu ka-NG?- eject (as of egg); Vtr
jinputari stone knife; N
jinu calm, slow; Adj
jinyi-L- chisel it; Vtr

- jinyirri** hot (of weather); Adj
Jinyjarlkuriny Trees and soak near govt. well north of Post Office; N
Jipari Big Stone north of Kunjarani Warnku; N
jipirr ma-L- tease; Vtr
jirnal spear (light bamboo, imported); N
jirntikurru mountain devil; N
jirrji pubic covering; N
jirrka-L- bend; Vtr
jirrkala lizard (little, red); N
Jirrkangurru False Cape Bossut; N
jirmil perspiration, sweat; N
jirmil jarri-Ø- perspire; Vin
jirrpai thunderhead; N
jirrpiliny flower from Bauhinia tree; N
Jirrpujirru area near Kurunan; N
jirru sea eagle (red backed); N
jitama lightning, thunder; N
jitilara downhill; loc
jituru straight in one line; Adj
jiwiny smoke (a pall); N
jiwitivity shield (light, curved, for dancing) (Najanaja); N
jiyi bone (Najanaja); N
jukarta sugar; N
jukulu fully initiated man (16-17 years old); N
jukurtany tree in garden (bloodwood?); N
jukut yinta-L- go fast and stop; Vin
jukutu boy; N
jula blind; Adj
jularn caterpillar; N
juli tawny frogmouth; N
julira snake (grass snake); N
juluku gumnuts from bloodwood (Nawurtu); N
julunimin whitefish; N
julypu-NG- squeeze; Vtr
jumpurru tree for making shields; N
juna snake (small toothless); N
jungari cemetery (Nyangumarta loan word); N
jungari grinding stone (top); N
jungku fire, firewood; N
Jungkurljartiny Whistle Creek; N
jungu ma-L- pour; Vtr?
jungulanka moth; N
juni nankeen kestrel; N
junju poison tree; N
junta-L- clean up camp; Vtr
juntangu death adder; N
jupa-L- cover; Vtr
jural earth oven; N
juraljangka mayi damper ['bread from the fireplace']; N
jurarr sea; N
jurilpiti late; time
jurnkul Adjebut type; N
jurrjurr parti-Ø- climb down, come down; Vin
jurru snake (generic); N
jurrujanka pajana snakebite; N
juru ma-L- show; Vtr
jurungu right, straight (of a potential wife); Adj
jurungu straight line; Adj
jurunguny boomerang (right turning); N
jurunguny right; loc
jurunkul manpa show (Nawurtu) Vtr
jut kaja thump (of a wallaby); N
jut kujarra shortwind; N
jutarra noseplug; N
Jutayangka Old soak at new rubbish dump west of mission; N
jutayijutayi half-dead; Adj
jutiny jarri-Ø- bend down; Vin
jutukurr hot; Adj
juwi bower bird; N
juwiyi honeyeater bird; N
ka-NG- carry; Vtr
Kajanangurru Windmill near Yitamanajaku; N
kajari far; loc
kaju axe (steel); N
kaka wife's father, mother's brother; N
kakarra east; N
kakartu cockatoo; N
kaku deep; Adj
kakurri cockeye; N

- kalakala jarri-Ø-** diarrhoea; Vin
kalaki finish; int
kalamanta jellyfish; N
kalamanta seaweed (species which burns the eye); N
kalanganja plain; N
kalany python?; N
kalaya finish; int
kalayin small weed fruit (ground); N
kali-Ø- dig; Vin
kaliji father's father; N
kalil bonefish; N
kalinta girl (around 13 or 14 years old), marriageable girl; N
kalji clay, white paint; N
kaljinti song for women; N
kalkarramarra fork in tree; N
kalkaruru kookaburra (blue winged); N
kalmina joey; N
kalnginy armpit; N
kalpirri abreast; manner
kalu mud; N
kalukalupiki stingray (short tail); N
kalurujawa carpet snake; N
kalutu wallaby (male); N
kalwarra jarri-Ø- come out, emerge, be born (Nawurtu); Vin
kalyakalya pu-N- bring cooked food to the people; Vtr
kamana-L- taste; Vtr
kamari bone; N
kamari stingray with barb on tail; N
kami mother's mother; N
kamininy cold; Adj
kamira-L- crawl, trickle; Vin
kamirrpungu watangkara pointing stick; N
kampa-L- cook; Vtr
kampun round (like a ball); Adj
kamuru father's sister, husband's mother; N
kanany digging stick; N
kangumarta pregnant; Adj
kanguru charcoal (Najanaja); N
kanil beetle (big); N
kaninyjartu bottom, down, inside, sea side; loc
Kankapalngana Soak east of Nebrica; N
kankarra above, up; loc
kankarra ma-N- lift; Vtr
kankarrajarri parra midmorning, 9 a.m.; time
kankarrajartu top, plain side; N
kankularri blood-letting ceremony; N
kankurramarta more than two sisters, women of the same skin (Najanaja); N
kankurrangu two sisters, two women of the same skin (Najanaja); N
Kanpakujarra Small waterfall at Fasje Cape Bossut where water "boils" when tide is going out; N
kanparr centipede?, scorpion?; N
kanpurr paperbark; N
kanpurr tea tree; N
kanta gap (e.g. between fingers, groin, between hills); N
kantakanta backbone; N
kanti-Ø- climb; Vin
kantikanti ja-L- flake or sharpen; Vtr
kantinka above; loc
kantinka ja-L- hang up; Vtr
kantirr miraka-NG- stare at; Vtr
kanyi-L- kick; Vtr
kapara coolamon for winnowing; N
kaparli father's mother; N
kaparrarra half-blind; Adj
kapaya partara water hen; N
kapuju older sister; N
kapuru catfish (small mouth); N
kara west; N
kara wurrp right up till sunset; time
karaly smooth; Adj
karaly spinifex wax; N
karapiti sharp stick; N
karapulu organ grinder wallaby; N
karapulu white kangaroo; N
Karapulujartiny Soak east of Parturr \a Dr Petri; N
karara beer; N
kari wine; N
kari ngapa salt water; N

- karimarta** salty; Adj
karimpa skingroup, marries pajarri; N
karita fire (big); N
karli boomerang (generic); N
Karliluwiranya Hill north of Parturr (lit. "he threw a boomerang"); N
karlu mud; N
karnapin murderer; N
karntawarra yellow ochre; N
karnu skin shed by snake; N
karnu stingray (black, flat tail) (Nyangumarta loan word); N
karnumarta crust of bread; N
karra stone; N
karrapiti spiney tailed goanna; N
karrapiti stick for getting lice; N
karrikin body; N
karrjartu grass seed (edible); N
karrk yinta-L- clear throat; Vin
karrpila straight, erect; Adj
karrpirla karri-Ø- stand up, be standing; Vin
Karrpirna cobbacobba imported from the west; N
karrpirna shield (when used for deflecting boomerangs); N
karrurrurruru walkabout; N
karrutu cicada; N
kartaka sleepy; Adj
kartaka jarri-Ø- be lying down, become sleepy; Vin
kartakakarti ya-N- sleep; Vin
kartawurru wirewood? tree for making boomerangs; N
kartjartu type of grass; N
kartu boy (Nawurtu), son, father's brother's son; N
kartukurlu barren; Adj
kartupipirrangu father, mother and children; N
karu headband \cb Nj; N
karu spear (flat shovel nose); N
katawara ma-L- rescue; Vtr
kati ma-L- send; Vtr
kati pu-NG- cut; Vtr
katikati pu-NG- divide; Vtr
katimpa noseplug; N
katkat yinta-L- shiver; Vin
kawarr wattle tree (small with rough bark); N
kawit quiet; Adj
kawunta-L- sing out; Vtr?
kawurrkawurr hot southeast wind; N
kayarr kayarr white man; N
kayipa afterwards; time
kayukayu soft ground; N
kiki bindi-eye; N
kili double gee, prickle; N
kiliparn moon, half moon; N
kilwa gum (particularly from bloodwood); N
kima-L- choke; Vtr
kinkin stingray (blue spotted, short tail); N
kinkirirta coldsick; N
kintirl yinta-L- cough; Vin
kinturru pu-NG- make a sign of displeasure; Vin
kinyangka third person singular pronoun; N
kinyangkajarra third person dual pronoun; N
kinyangkarrangu third person plural pronoun; N
kirrily small grassfruit; N
kirrimal fingernail, toenail; N
kirrirti moon, new moon; N
kirrki crown; N
kirrkirr brown hawk; N
kirrpinti across; manner
kirrpirti box fish?; N
kirrwa semen; N
kitikiti ma-L- tickle; Vtr
kitirr grass seed (edible); N
kitirrkittirr rain bird (white); N
kuja crane (blue); N
kujarra two; Adj
kujarra warany three; Adj
kujarramarra twice; Adj
Kujarrani Warnku Two Rocks visible on coast about thirty miles north of the La Grange turn off; N
kuji ma-L- take from; Vtr
kujukuju cockeye; N

- kujupura** property, belongings; N
kukunjarri sheep; N
Kukunjayingapa Government well near Nebrica; N
kula sugar (cf. Malay 'gula') (Najanaja)?; N
kulakula initiate after being rubbed with red ochre (Najanaja); N
kulamanu umbrella lizard; N
kularapul turtle (small) (Mangala loan word); N
Kularapulu La Grange side; N
kuli angry; Adj
kuli jarri-Ø- become angry, get angry at; Vamb
Kulipilkurru Broome side of Thangoo Creek; N
kulja south; N
kulku forearm (Najanaja); N
kulpa-Ø- return, come back, bring back?; Vamb?
kulpi coolamon for digging; N
Kulpurturrnganyjal Soak west of Kulupariny; N
kulu ma-L- join; Vtr
kulu ril out of tune ; Adj
kululu tree ashes used for healing scars; N
kulumarta bad; Adj
kulungalurru old; Adj
Kuluparriny Windmill and Station area on north side of the (Engidine) plain; N
kulupil turtle; N
kulurr penis; N
kuluwatin corroborree; N
kumamu sandalwood tree; N
kumpaja bush walnut; N
kumpali namesake; N
kumparampara groin; N
kumpari yellow, yellow ochre (Najanaja); N
kumpulu bladder; N
kumpututu smoke (distant); N
kumu kulurr penis with foreskin; N
kumururu ja-L- heap up ashes, round off; Vtr
kuna-Ø- swallow; Vtr
kunamanin last, for the last time; Adj, particle
kunanguru always; particle
kunankunan throat; N
kunapu flathead (Yawuru loan word); N
kunji karri-Ø- crouch; Vin
kunka raw, unripe; Adj
kunkamarta half ripe; Adj
kunkara black berries; N
kunku short; Adj
kunkulu head, hair (on head); N
kunkunpiny bream; N
kunkununu toadfish, blowfish; N
kunkurr coldsick; N
kunmi-L- tie; Vtr
kunpulu blood; N
kuntikunti coiled round; Adj
kuntiri sour, stale; Adj
kunu hibernation, winter sleep; N
kunurru whitegum; N
kupan saltgrass; N
kuparu mullet (little one used for bait); N
kuramirti meal eaten at completion of circumcision corroborree; N
kurangarta club (big - can be for fighting) (Najanaja); N
kuriti dingo; N
kurlamana frilled-neck lizard; N
kurlarla southwest; N
kurlarra southeast; N
kurikurl yinta-L- rumble in stomach; Vin
kurlukuku cuckoo; N
kurlumarta bad; Adj
kurnangkurnang interior of neck; N
kurntayi wife's mother; N
kurntilyji armband; N
kurntujina shoulder; N
kurnturr dust; N
kurnurr ja-L- heap up wood; Vtr
kurrangul middle children; N
kurrjal ma-L- make trouble; Vtr
kurrjimankuru seeds (edible); N
kurrka ja-L- get up; Vin
kurrmalyi name of deceased person's dog; N

- kurrmi-L-** tie; Vtr
kurrnga-L- chat; Vtr
kurrngal very many, more; Adj
kurrngapurru butcher bird; N
kurrngayin greedy (Najanaja); Adj
kurrpa initiate after being brought back to camp; N
kurrpita full (of food, water); Adj
kurrpkurrrp jinka-L- clap hands on thigh; Vtr?
kurrtuwaran brologa; N
kurrujartiny echidna; N
Kurrurrungka Tidal creek near Jijajangka; N
kurrwal sky; N
kurtany mother, mother's sister; N
kurtin bark canoe; N
kurtkurt yinta-L- be surprised; Vtr
kurturr brologa; N
Kurunan Hill over main road east of Larry Ennis; N
kuta naked; Adj
kuta ma-L- take no notice; Vtr
kutan bag; N
kutanyanu cow; N
kutari mother, mother's sister (Najanaja); N
kutarrkutarr rotten; Adj
kutikuti ma-L- mix; Vtr
kutilykutily banded plover; N
kutiny bark from white gum tree; N
Kutinyngan Broome side of Pilkirinkum; N
Kutungarral Dam on east side near old telephone line; N
kuwarniya crocodile (Mangala loan word); N
kuwi animal, game, meat; N
Kuwiympirna Frazier Downs; N
kuya ma-L- call out, summon; Vin
kuyirn pu-NG- blow water; Vin
lakapa fat; N
lakayipa fat (Nawurtu); N
lalala milya white faced horse; N
lali white; Adj
lalka dry (bread or grass etc); Adj
Lalurrjartu Soak at old rubbish dump, old camp; N
lamarr half caste; N
lamparrngapa groper fish; N
Lampirrmartaji third creek south of Post Office Creek; N
lani close; loc
laparrlaparr bush suitcase; N
lapurr pu-NG- pluck; Vtr
larnkurr possum; N
larnparri warra clothes (Najanaja); N
larr kati pu-NG- split wood lengthwise; Vtr
larr pu-NG- cut down the middle lengthwise; Vtr
larra hairpin; N
larraparri hammerhead shark; N
larrkartti boab tree; N
Lawaru Big Hill on Coast near Kujarrani Warnku; N
lawurr whipsnake; N
layajartu sardine; N
layilayi smoke (continuous); N
lilikin big bush seed; N
limpa salty (Najanaja); Adj
linjarr nits, lice; N
linkura alligator (Mangala loan word); N
Lirinangapa Cowan Creek, Post Office Creek; N
lirlpurru echo?; N
lirmpi collar bone; N
lirri soak; N
lirrirnkin wattle with edible seeds; N
lirrkarrangu black cockatoo; N
liwa covering for eyes from cat's tail; N
liwiringu skink; N
lujuka fish (flat nosed, poisonous); N
luk wanti-Ø- crouch; Vin
lululu yita-L- roll; Vin?
lulya pubic rag; N
lumpu cave; N
lungkurta blue tongue lizard; N
lurr ma-L- pull out; Vtr
lurrplurrrp up and down; manner
lurumpa down; N
ma-N- take, pick up, fetch, get; Vtr

- majangkula** initiate after being shown sticks; N
majapani strong
majarra not; particle
majarra ngajukura not for me; int
makanya seargeant major; N
makapal murderer, enemy; N
makapala bush cucumber; N
makarl guts (Nawurtu); N
makawal stingray (big long brown one); N
makurr road, path; N
makurr track, road; N
malaka chickenhawk; N
malan poison tree for fishing; N
malikarr cold southeast wind; N
malinyanu wife's mother; N
malirri damper crushed from kajatu grass seeds; N
maliwira curlew (southern stone); N
malku jarri-Ø- become jealous; Vtr
malkura cheek; N
malnga fat; Adj
malu many, plenty; Adj
malulu circumcision candidate; N
malyparr don't like; particle
malyparrkurlu content; Adj
mamaramata brothers and sisters, people of one skin; N
mamiya jester; N
mampu hair (on body); N
mampungana marriageable man; N
mana wanti-Ø- sit down; Vin
manan morning time; time
manapurka buttock; N
mangajartu fat, too sweet; Adj
manganmangankurlu weak, slowed down from tiredness; Adj
mangarr clam; N
mangarr shoes made from wattle bark - traditionally to make it easier to walk on hot sand; N
mangarr jinakura boots (made from the bark of lirrinkirn wattle tree); N
Mangarrinyangu Creek near Yarrjarra; N
mangarryiti stonefish; N
mangkaja hut, humpy; N
mangkaja shelter; N
mangkanyiti herring (giant); N
mangkapan bandicoot; N
mangkulkarra bush country; N
manguny always; particle
Manja South end of Black Rock beach; N
manja pu-NG- invite; Vdi?
manjarta wooden bowl; N
manka-Ø- break; Vamb
Mankala rain season (name); N
Mankalakurn Crab Creek Point; N
manngi headband (special type, worn as a waistband after two weeks); N
manngukarra bush country (like at Pardoo); N
manta mud; N
manta mud (Najanaja); N
Manta Wantukuna Hill north of Karliluwiranya; N
mantaki object shown to initiate after he becomes a pungarna; N
mantalymantaly sticky; Adj
Mantanngurru North side of Mud Creek; N
mantarn crab (ghost); N
manti barramundi; N
mantirn pillow; N
Manulngurru Creek at False Cape Bossut; N
manyarr empty; Adj
manyarrmanyarr indistinct (e.g. as of speech); Adj
manyjarta coolamon for carrying water; N
manykarr gill; N
manyula slack, tired, weak; Adj
manyural stingray (big long one); N
mapa jarri-Ø- forget; Vtr
mapanymapany straight ahead; loc
mapu good; Adj
mapu ja-L- make better; Vtr
maraja shade; N
maraja jararr empty; Adj
maralankarr snake (like children's python); N
maramara bed; N

- marangurru** spinifex grass; N
Mararr Paddy Taylor's country; N
marin ka-L- praise; Vtr
marla anthill (big); N
marlajangka pirna ants or insects from antbed; N
marlpurn marsh fly; N
marraja shade (Nawurtu); N
marramarra mirage; N
marrangamarta more than two brothers, men of the same skin (Najanaja); N
marrangan two brothers, two men of the same skin (Najanaja); N
Marrangarna Derby side; N
marrka ma-L- drop, lose; Vtr
marrkala mist; N
marrkara tail; N
marrkartu younger sibling; N
marrkiti hat; N
marrnguparri married (of a woman); N
marrpa-L- rub; Vtr
marrpalya sulky; Adj
marrpanapinti jam; N
marrungu aborigine, circumcised man; N
martaly noise; N
martuwarra river [actually the name of the Fitzroy River]; N
maru cobbacobba; N
maru head (Najanaja); N
maruly after rain; time
matinyangu barramundi (Mangala loan word); N
matu long; Adj
matu kunkulu cat?; N
matuwarrajaku ibis; N
maya house; N
mayaja boss, lord; N
mayakaya hermit crab; N
mayangarra death adder (Najanaja); N
mayi food (vegetable); N
mayi purtaturu fruit from the sandal wood tree; N
mijajawa catfish (small mouth); N
mijin tick; N
mil pu-NG- deflect (a weapon); Vtr
Milananyarri Soak south of Jirrkangurru commonly called Cowrie Creek; N
milarnu ja-L- learn; Vtr?
milili meat juice; N
milimili paper; N
miljita tree type found on main road; N
milkin digging stick; N
milku ankle; N
milmil collar bone; N
milya nose; N
milya parti-Ø? drown; Vin?
milyimilyi tree type; N
mima-L- wait; Vin?
minja-L- light fire; Vtr?
minkurr hard, heavy; Adj
minpi chest; N
Minpikan Creek north of Yilangarrimayi; N
minta gum (edible?); N.
Mintanymartaji Gordon Bay; N
mintiljirri pubic covering (long - from possum fur); N
mintipa anthill (small); N
mintirrjina bush berries; N
minyarurru axe (stone); N
minyawu cat; N
minyjurn smell of cooked meat; N
miparr face, skingroup; N
miranu knowing, wise; Adj
miranu ja-L- teach; Vtr
mirliny spear; N
mirlka charcoal; N
mirr full (of food) (Najanaja); Adj
mirriyi rope; N
mirrpulu beetle (jumping); N
mirta helicopter tree; N
mirtany old man; N
mirtayirti ceremonial meal after pingka, when initiate is shown "sticks" for the first time; N
mirti shin; N
mirtimirti jarri-Ø- kneel; Vin
mita old man; N
mitily baby; N
mitimarlu plain kangaroo; N

- mitina** fan tailed cuckoo; N
Mitingurru Hill on north side of Post Office Creek; N
mitirn rainbow; N
miyara awake; Adj
miyarin together; manner
miyarra ja-L- wake up; Vin
muja lost?; Adj
mujijantu widow; N
mujila soft; Adj
mujipanti widower; N
mukatal scar; N
mul pimple; N
mulal not (Najanaja); particle
mulimuli crumbs; N
mulurmulurr rough (Najanaja); Adj
mulyukura woman after baby is born; N
munamuna branch; N
mungarnangarna greenfly; N
mungkalin big type of bush; N
mungkalin yams; N
mungku bream; N
muni-L- collect (wood), gather; Vtr
munja-L- kiss; Vtr
munjungku fire stick; N
munjiyiti rock cod; N
munju ka-L- deceive; Vtr
munjuwiti rock cod; N
munkarliny bush potatoes; N
muntinti curly; Adj
muntumuntu name of deceased person's dog; N
munturu wattle; N
munu organ grinder wallaby (male); N
munyju false; Adj
munyu knee; N
murlu fin; N
murra sand (generic); N
murri creek; N
murrka salty; Adj
murrkarany skipjack; N
murrpanu log; N
murrwarrarn skipjack; N
murta butt of an axe; N
murta heel; N
murru kidney; N
murru ma-L- hold; Vtr
murru yutuyutu jarri-Ø- back out (e.g. of garage); Vin
Murumuru Soak south of Pitirngapa; N
murupul barren; Adj
muta let; particle
Mutul Place in Shallow Bore area; N
muwara ant (black) (Najanaja); N
muwarr language, word; N
muwarr pu-NG- speak; Vin
Muwarrangka Soak between second and third creeks south of Post Office Creek; N
naja here, this (Najanaja); N
najimana shell (big); N
naka loincloth; N
nakirmarta lame; Adj
nakula sea (Najanaja); N
nangu here, this; N
naningu jawa on this side; loc
nanmarr porpoise (Yawuru loan word); N
Nantanarr Black Rock (Coastal Reef); N
Nanyikarra Creek near Milananyarri where children swim; N
narnka beard; N
narri minyaminya bat; N
nawurtu here, this (Nawurtu); N
ngajaka-L- cry; Vin
ngaji sugar; N
ngaji-L- warm; Vtr
ngajimana shell (big) (Najanaja); N
ngajirrp yinta-L- sneeze (Nawurtu); Vin
ngaju first person singular pronoun; N
ngakaraman left handed; Adj
ngakumpa ignorant; Adj
ngala ma-L- yawn; Vin
ngalala running water; N
ngali first person dual inclusive pronoun; N
ngalina first person dual exclusive pronoun; N
ngalinmarr corkbark tree; N

- ngaliwany** bush berries
 (=mintirjina) (Najanaja); N
ngalkumiti kangaroo rat; N
ngalkungalku cheek; N
ngalkurnkutany father's brother's
 son; N
ngalkurnkutany son; N
ngalkuru ma-L- sniff; Vtr?
ngalpa-Ø- enter, go in; Vin
ngalpurrungalpurru short sighted;
 Adj
ngalungalu shadow; N
ngalungka pregnant; Adj
ngalyawata leaf; N
ngamany brain; N
ngamany growth on tree; N
ngamari tobacco and plug
 (Najanaja); N
ngamarna breast, milk; N
ngana what (interrogative pronoun);
 N
ngana patu ngana all kinds (phrase);
 Adj
nganaminkal tree type; N
nganangana gumnuts from
 bloodwood; N
ngangki cicada; N
nganina first person plural exclusive
 pronoun; N
nganjunganju jarrinyarri pant
 (Najanaja); Vin
nganku shark (Mangala loan word);
 N
Nganpanangapa Gravel Pit Soak
 southeast of La Grange on Main Road;
 N
nganpi lap; N
nganpil shovelnose shark (Mangala
 loan word); N
nganti palarr top of backbone; N
nganya (irregular) eat, drink; Vtr
nganyjurru first person plural
 inclusive pronoun; N
ngapa water, rain; N
ngapakarra rainy season; N
ngapaliny spearthrower for jirnal; N
ngapalma-L?- wash, rinse; Vtr
ngapanakan bluebone fish; N
ngapawarra what's that place?
 (interjection, like English '...what's it
 called?'); int
ngapi what's it called? (interjection,
 like English 'um...'); int
ngapi jarri-Ø- emphatic pro-verb -
 translated as 'What he did was..'; V
ngarangara duck (colour on wing);
 N
ngarangarajarri deaf, crazy; Adj
ngararr prickly heat; N
ngarayalu flathead; N
ngariji half ground; Adj
ngarikurany catfish; N
ngarirri hairbelt (big); N
ngarli wet ground; N
ngarlkataman magpie goose; N
ngarlu belly, stomach, feelings, soul;
 N
ngarlu jayi-Ø- believe; Vtr
ngarlujartu pregnant; Adj
ngarlukurlu ja-L- offend; Vtr
Ngarralangka East of
 Kanjanangurru; N
ngarrkarrangu frogs raintime
 (small); N
Ngarrma Wyndham, Top End side;
 N
ngarrpngarrp (jurarrjanka)
 driftwood (from the sea); N
ngarrungu circumcised man, person,
 human being; N
ngart nyanga-NG- love, like; Vtr
ngartu who (interrogative pronoun);
 N
ngatin fox; N
ngatura night; N
ngawayi yes (Najanaja); int
ngawiny hot southeast wind
 (Najanaja); N
ngawu insane; Adj
ngilkirr whiteant; N
ngily headache; N
ngirri yinta-L- breathe in; Vin
ngirrpipi business place (specific); N
ngulara pu-NG- snore; Vin
ngulpalu goanna (black, in hollow
 tree); N

- ngulu** seeds (fully ground); N
ngulu wukurr wira-Ø- grind grass seeds; Vtr?
Ngulumpurr Soak at new airport; N
ngulurrngulurr sound of big wind, sound of a big truck; N
ngumul raw, unripe, half ripe (Najanaja); Adj
ngunirr hot; Adj
ngunjirr smoke (Najanaja); N
ngunjirr paja-L- smoke; Vtr?
ngunju moustache; N
ngunku ja-L- aim; Vtr
ngunngun beat (e.g. heartbeat); N
nguntipani eyebrow; N
nguntu ja-L- urinate; Vin
ngunturr hot, feverish; Adj
ngunu there; N
nguny dandruff, peeling skin; N
ngunyarri father's sister, husband's mother; N
ngunyi ma-L- send; Vtr
ngunymarta dirty with sand; Adj
ngurakarrangu death adder; N
ngurimparri firewood (Najanaja); N
ngurr yinta-L- snarl (a dog); Vin
ngurra ground; N
ngurrajarra everywhere; loc
ngurrarra country, place of origin; N
ngurrarrana cemetery; N
ngurripi horse (old times); N
ngurrjanu grass seed (edible); N
ngurrjila soft ground; N
ngurrukul red ochre; N
ngurrrpa ignorant; Adj
ngurru ma-N- steal; Vtr
ngurrun smoke; N
ngutiny jina alone, separate, free; Adj
ngutu finish, okay; int
nguwa same; Adj
nguwatal country, place of origin; N
nguya almost; particle
nikarrangu mosquitoes; N
nikilpatinya eel (Yawuru loan word); N
nilamilkin young turtle; N
nilany muscle; N
nimankurru flying fox; N
nimarraja shadow (Najanaja); N
nirapani forehead; N
niyaly lower part of body, lumbar region; N
niyamarri hill; N
Nulungu Broome; N
nyakilkil hawk (little); N
nyalumarramarra business place barred to women; N
nyaminja how many (interrogative pronoun); N
nyanga-NG- see; Vtr
nyangara when (interrogative pronoun); N
nyarru funny; Adj
nyarru pu-NG- laugh; Vin
nyija navel; N
nyikit lame; Adj
Nyila Far South (Great Victoria Desert); N
nyilirirri jawa nice teeth; N
nyim ta-L- close eyes; Vin
nyinji anus; N
nyinnyinparri finch (zebra); N
nyirrani behind; loc
nyirranijangka youngest child; N
nyirrju-L- lay on; Vtr?
nyuma egg; N
nyumpala second person dual pronoun; N
nyun nyun ta-L- blow nose; Vin
nyuni salmon (young); N
nyuntu second person singular pronoun; N
nyupa wife; N
nyurra second person plural pronoun; N
nyurrrnyurr bridge of nose (Najanaja); N
pa and; particle
paja-L- bite; Vtr
Pajalinyanu north of Jipari; N
pajalpi spring; N
pajanpanyu open sore; N
pajarri skingroup, marries karimpa; N

paka tree, thing; N
pakakurlu poor (lit. without things);
 Adj
pakali alone; Adj
pakanpuru octopus; N
Pakarnpul big stone near Gordon
 Bay; N
pakunta-L- jump; Vin
pakutpakut bait; N
pakutpakut up and down; manner
pala that; loc
pala-L- have; Vtr
palajangka after that, next; time
palajartukaja in that way, like that;
 particle
palala excited, worried; Adj
palari shovelnose shark; N
palarr back; N
palat ma-L- push; Vtr
palatujangka after that, next
 (Najanaja); time
palirna bush potatoes; N
paljarr high place to fish from; N
paljarranguny boomerang (left
 turning); N
palkun scar; N
palkurr rock cod (big); N
palparr clear place; N
palparrpalparr awry; Adj
palungkurru big tree nut from
 pantal tree; N
palunja pani oriental; N
palupuja-L- cave in; Vin
pampi (for a) long time; time
pampirta defenceless dragon; N
panaka skingroup, marries purungu;
 N
pangalu crab (small black in
 mangroves, in shells); N
panganu salmon; N
Panganunganyjal Hill at Whistle
 Creek; N
Pangarangara Soak on the other
 side of Gordon Bay; N
pangari jarri-Ø- transform
 (mythical change); Vin?
pangkatany big brown snake; N
pangkuly in vain (Najanaja); particle

pani eye; N
pani ngamurla oriental; N
pani wangulymarta curious; Adj
panijungku fire stick; N
panja tobacco (spent); N
panja-L- look for; Vtr
panjurta poison tree for fishing; N
panka-L-(?) copulate with; Vtr
pankara jarri-Ø- be born; Vin
pankiti spear (barbed); N
panpalji bullant; N
pantany pijara clean skin (free from
 parasites); N
pantily gecko? (tree or room lizard);
 N
pantirr ma-L- engrave; Vtr
panyi hand (Najanaja); N
papakuna blueish grey; Adj
papaly pu-NG- incise belly; Vtr
paparl lost; Adj
paparla older brother; N
paparr by mistake; particle
papatarr deaf, crazy; Adj
papi hill country goanna; N
papi water goanna (riverside - back
 and long tailed); N
papilpapil upper and lower arm; N
papirr hand, five; N
papirr kujarra karti ten (lit. "two
 hands"); Adj
papirr waraja karti five \cl lit. "one
 hand"; Adj
para ma-L- run; Vin
parajparaj dinnertime; time
parakara chestnut (of horse); Adj
parakuli bush fruit (= gabiny at
 Beagle Bay); N
parala water resting in the creek
 when tide is out; N
paralpi fish (found in anna Plains
 lake); N
paramiri maybe; particle
parangangu stingray (black, flat
 tail); N
pararr long tom pike; N
pararrka sad; Adj
pari sticking out; Adj
parlarr back; N

- parlita** mangrove snake; N
parljanin wallaby; N
parikurl big rock cod; N
parlparl tree type; N
parlpi tree (small type); N
parlurlkarrangu poverty bushes; N
parnti smoke (distant); N
parntima-L- smell; Vtr
parntirparntirr rifle fish (striped); N
parr yinta-L- have fever; Vin
parra day, sun; N
parra jurungu kanka midday; time
parra kanti sunrise; N
parraka jarri-Ø- feel sorry; Vin?
Parranganngapa north of Japali; N
parraparra pain; N
parraparra jarri-Ø- feel pain; Vin
parrarl long tom; N
parrjaniny wallaby; N
parrjirta bone; N
parrka tealeaf; N
parrkana cold time (winter); N
parrkarra scrub turkey; N
parrkuparrku bird (black, yellow on top); N
parrpa-L- pass over fire (to singe the hair off meat); Vtr
parrparr yinta-L- quiver in muscles; Vin
partany child; N
parti semen; N
partirri tree type; N
Parturr Parda Hill; N
patara jarri-Ø- melt; Vin
patarrangalu big brown snake; N
paya stingray (Mangala loan word); N
payarrpayarr short sighted; Adj
payinyu bloodwood (with plenty of foliage - near the mission); N
payirta horn; N
pi ripe, cooked; Adj
pi tobacco (cooked); N
pijal ma-L- remember, think; Vtr?
pijara ear; N
pijarta emu; N
Pijartangka La Grange; N
pikalymarta happy; Adj
pikijuru youngest child; N
pil ta-L- wait; Vin?
pilayi pelican; N
Pilingpilingja Main Creek in the middle of Port Smith; N
pilirri bobtail lizard; N
pilkiliny tiger shark; N
Pilkirinkurn Creek Broome side of Kulipilkurru; N
pilpal bright, clean; Adj
pilypurr initiate after being rubbed with red ochre; N
pilyurr heart; N
pilyurrjanga promised wife; N
pina ja-L- remind; Vdi?
pinakarri-Ø- hear; Vtr
pinanguru jarri-Ø- know; Vtr
pingka ant (small); N
pingka ceremonial hunt before final stages of initiation; N
pingpi ngurra level ground; N
pinjana shovelnose shark; N
pinjapinja artefact from pearlshell; N
pinka balershell; N
pinkamaran catfish (big); N
pinkarr clean; Adj
pinpal pain; N
pintal pu-NG- snap finger and thumb; Vin
pintany stingray; N
pintinya centipede?, scorpion?; N
pintirri cleared place; N
pinyjapinyja butterfly; N
pinypi kunkulu bald head; N
pinypiny marks on message stick (Najanaja); N
pinyunku children's python; N
piparramarta father, mother and children; N
pipij flash of lightning; N
pipit ma-L- peep; Vtr?
pirala salmon (whiskered); N
pirana-L- waninya cover self; Vtr
pirarrpirarr tree rich in bush honey; N
pirirr smooth; Adj

- pirirmakarra** spiney tailed goanna; N
pirirrpiki spiney tailed goanna; N
pirirrpikirr sawfish; N
pirlawal bloodwood; N
pirlilara long sighted; Adj
pirlu guts; N
pirlu ma-N- eviscerate; Vtr
pirna witchetty grub; N
pirni cat (olden times); N
pirniny pus; N
pirr trunk or base of tree; N
pirra bush; N
pirrapi soak; N
pirrjata truck; N
pirrka yija proper good man; N
pirrkapirrka cockle, cowrie shell; N
pirrkatinya porpoise; N
pirrkiri coolamon for digging; N
pirrp yinta-L- waranykarti turn around; Vin
pirrpa-L?- shine; Vin
pirrpala bright; Adj
pirrpirrkarra gravel; N
pirrpunta-L- go another way?; Vin
pirtany bandicoot; N
pirti hole; N
Pirtingapa Highway Bore; N
pitara galah; N
pitilmakarra perentie (big goanna Roebuck Plain) (Yawuru loan word); N
pitily green; Adj
pitimaru conception totem; N
pitipiti pati-Ø?- shake self when wet; Vin?
Pitirrngapa Shell Place near False Cape Bossut (site of aboriginal fish trap); N
piwily black berries; N
piyalpiyal sawfish (Mangala loan word); N
piyananguru wanti-Ø- remember, think; Vtr
piyarapin bee; N
piyarlpiyarl tree on the coast; N
piyarrpiyarr hardwood tree; N
pu ja-L- blow; Vtr
puj junta-L- pass wind; Vin
pujanayiti netted dragon (short tail, black); N
pujarrpujarr marsupial mole; N
pujiji beetle (black); N
pukala early; time
pukarri ma-L- dream; Vtr
pukarrikarra Dreamtime, Early Days; time
pukula dawn; time
pula bandicoot (male); N
pula bull; N
pulany snake in waterholes (mythical); N
pulimanu bullock, cattle (English borrowing, from bull); N
pulin among (Najanaja); loc
puliwana bullroarer sound; N
puljarti shield (when not used for blocking boomerangs); N
pulkarr oldest child; N
pulkaru ashes; N
puluku bullock, cattle (English borrowing, from bullock); N
pulupulu yinta-L- boil; Vin
puluru bone; N
pulyarr sinew; N
pulyurumarta greedy; Adj
puna axe handle; N
pungarna initiate after being given his pearlshell pendant; N
pungkun quiet; Adj
punja slow (Najanaja); Adj
punjapunja little while; time
punka-Ø- fall, die; Vin
puntakarnu bush rich in witchetty grubs (small); N
puntarl club with sharp sides (can be for fighting); N
puntaru quail (brown); N
puntu ma-L- take the side of someone; Vtr
punturr hot southeast wind; N
punturrpunturr bay (of horse); N
Punturrpunturr Port Smith; N
punup bush tomato (Najanaja); N
punyaral half dry (Najanaja); Adj
purayi dry; Adj
purla tick; N

- purlu** claypan (big); N
purlumal half way through; manner
purnpurnmarta thick bread; N
purntu plain; Adj
purr yaka-L- leave it be; Vtr
purrku charcoal made from kululu and kartawuru trees; N
purrku mangrove (type near Cape Bossut); N
purrku old man; N
purrpijarrajangka from all sides; manner
purrpingka against, towards; time
purta nape of neck; N
purtungan(karra) bush; N
purturr among; loc
purturr ngatura midnight; time
purturrjangka middle children; N
purukarrangu frogs after the rain (big); N
purulyupurulyu half-blind (Nawurtu); Adj
purungu skingroup, marries panaka; N
puta back of neck; N
puta excrement; N
puta nganja-L- defecate; Vin
putakurru business place (specific); N
putaly stiff; Adj
putaly pu-NG- throw on the ground; Vtr
putara dry (no water); Adj
putarapurru butcher bird; N
putatan whale; N
putijputij smoke (progressive rises); N
putirrrputirrr rough; N
putput yinta-L- heart beating; Vin
putukunanta shark; N
Putuputungka Soak on beach near Black Rock; N
putuwanin frog (generic); N
puwarr stingray (fat); N
puyunman shell; N
rakin stealing bird; N
ralal baby; N
ramu incisions or patterns on a weapon or shield; N
rang yinta-L- pant; Vin
rangan wife's mother; N
ranja bush fig; N
rankamarta rough bloke; N
rankarr before dawn; time
rapi hip, rump; N
rapurapu bruise, swelling; N
rarrkararrka grass on seafront; N
Rarrunmal Place this side of Jirrupujirru; N
raru yinta-L- talk too much; Vin?
rawal blowfly; N
rawarawa chestnut (of horse); Adj
rawarrijarri deceased; Adj
Rawinnnganyjal Fresh Water Creek north of Warnkurru-mirtanya; N
rawurr thin; Adj
rawurrmarta skinny; Adj
rawurrmarta thin slices of bread; N
rayi spirit; N
rayi ja-L- hide away; Vtr
riji pearlshell, pearlshell pendant given to initiate after circumcision; N
rijiriji cuttlefish; N
ringu cloud, cloudy; N
rira tooth; N
rirrkalinya whiting; N
rirrpi jawa toothache; N
rukuruku sponge; N
Rula Windmill at Wurrju; N
rurrrp exchange; N
rurrururru hornet; N
takitaki deaf, mad; Adj
talajawa gap between teeth; N
talku hooked stick for getting things from tree; N
talu ashamed; Adj
taly noise; N
talyji small club (can be for throwing); N
tamurl ma-N- snatch; Vtr
tangku chin, jaw; N
tanja naturra last night; time
tanja parra now, today; time
tap ma-N- catch; Vtr
tarluyirtu ashamed; Adj

- tarrarra** slippery ground; N
tariyal red tailed black cockatoo; N
tarrkaja noise; N
tarrnga pu-NG- belch; Vin
tarrngan unexpected; Adj
tarruku business place (general); N
tarta cup made out of bark or wood; N
tartarta moon; N
tatarl sick; Adj
tila hard; Adj
tilapak dillybag; N
tili light, flame; N
tili ja-L- light fire; Vtr
tiltil pu-NG- shake; Vtr
tiluntartu barramundi (Mangala loan word); N
tily sparks; N
timpul hole made in meat when gutted; N
tingki island, hill country (Nawurtu); N
tinjirrp yinta-L- sneeze; Vin
tintalpi tree lizard (long tail); N
tiparr steady; Adj
tipiny rib; N
tiputipu collared sparrow; N
tirratirra slope of hill; N
tirrka kingfish, mulloway; N
tirrpirtirrp marks on message stick; N
tirrpunta-L- dive; Vin
tirrutirrupanyanya headache (Najanaja); N
titi finch (painted); N
tititi wira-Ø- twist; Vin?
tiyuru red goose; N
tujup kawani ordeal for the wrong marriage; N
tuku ja-L- care for; Vtr
tukujala fish (poisonous?); N
tukul red ochre (Najanaja); N
tukut pati-Ø? become loose; Vin
tulinytuliny coiled round; Adj
tulku cup made out of bark or wood; N
tulpu heart; N
tulungu pregnant (Najanaja); Adj
tumpa front of neck; N
tumu blunt; Adj
tumu jawa blunt axe; N
turr thunder noise; N
turrkurr mopoke or boobook owl; N
turrkuturrku round; Adj
turrpa brave; Adj
turrpu cave; N
turrpu ngapakura rockhole ('cave of water'); N
tutu cicada; N
tuyi smoke (little); N
wailpila white person; N
waji pygmy goanna; N
wajirri spear (for fishing); N
wajit slack, tired, weak; Adj
wakaj all, whole lot; Adj
wakala woman; N
wakalaparri married (of a man); N
wakalayiti larrikan; N
walaja sugarbag or bush honey; N
walak frog (green); N
walakurru wedge tailed eagle; N
walalpiti fruit from wirewood tree (bush beans); N
walalpiti little bush; N
walanyu stranger; N ; N
walara seed; N
walipi camp; N
walipika ja-L- marry someone; Vtr
Waljurninyarri north of Rawinnganyjal; N
walka bream (Mangala loan word); N
walka thirsty; Adj
Walkanarr Big Plain north of La Grange; N
walkarrangu hair spilling from headband; N
walkat old; Adj
walkurukarti ya-N- swim (go swimming); Vin
walmirimiri octopus; N
walmiyangu coolamon for carrying fish and food; N
walpu bobtail lizard (Najanaja); N
walpurra wide; Adj
walu nuts on root; N
Walungarringka Pindan Mill; N

- walyaka** leaf; N
walyarr pubic hair; N
walyarrwalyarr hair on testicles; N
walyawalya thumb; N
walyayi walyayi wanti-Ø- hang down; Vin
walyi tree type (small); N
walyja japulu real father; N
walyjajarra twins; N
walyulyu continuing, always; particle
wamparr hungry; Adj
wamparrwamparr side, waist; N
wampurr confused, wrong - against tribal law (of a wife); Adj
wampurrkujarra Law, tribal business; N
wanal roots; N
Wanamalnyanungu Bohemia Downs (southeast of Larry Ennis over the main road); N
wanapiti damper when taken from the fire; N
wanga jarri-Ø- surprised; Vin
wangal wind; N
Wangalngurru Lugger landing, La Grange side of Cape Bossut; N
wangalwangal lung; N
wangarr happy, light (weight); Adj
wangawal shield (light, for dancing, made from mirra tree); N
wangkaja mudcrab; N
wangkarrangkarra spider, spiderweb; N
wangu black; Adj
Wangupalpal Claypan south of Nebraska; N
wanja where (interrogative pronoun); N
Wanjamalngurru Soak in mangroves in Post Office Creek; N
wanjarrakaja how (interrogative pronoun); N
wankapiny gun; N
wankayi alive; Adj
wankayi ja-L- rescue; Vtr
wankujaku bush tomato; N
wankuta young girl; N
wanmiji fish (poisonous?); N
wanminy fly; N
wanpa liver; N
wanpiny jellyfish; N
wanta jarri jurarr neap tide; N
wantanjirr seasnake; N
wanti-Ø- be, sit, stay, live; Vin
wantura on shoulders; loc
Wanunguta Place in Shallow Bore area; N
Wanyjakanala The Dam east of the mission; N
wapapijara kangaroo rat (Najanaja); N
wapirangu boy before circumcision; N
wapu across; loc
Wapuna Locality south of Frazier Downs; N
wara clothes; N
waraja one; Adj
warajamarra once; Adj
waralyurr half ripe; Adj
warangkaji awl (bone of kangaroo or cat); N
warangkula bandicoot (female); N
warany different, other; Adj
warany kati ja-L- turn it over; Vtr
warapa tea tree (Najanaja); N
Warapalnyanungu Soak on old turn off road to La Grange directly south of the mission; N
Warara Nimaka name of Big Stone north of Port Smith, regarded by people as an old man; N
wararra shaky, sick (Nawurtu); Adj
Wararrkurtinyarri old well near Gordon Bay; N
warawu, wartawu interjection expressing surprise or pain; int
Waringarri Eastern region (general term); N
warlakan later; time
warlakarri spear (barbed); N
warlkurru bird (generic); N
warlparra spearthrower; N
Warnayaka Balgo and Gardon Downs aspect (Eastern country); N
warnku money, stone; N

- Warnkurru-mirtarna** beach north of Pajalinyanu; N
Warnparta Port Hedland side; N
warnu digging stick; N
warraka throwing stick; N
warrampa full tide; N
warringurru queenfish; N
Warrmala Marble Bar side; N
warrpaj yinta-L- wave at; Vtr
warrul new; Adj
warrupu blood; N
Warrwarr old aerodrome near Gordon Bay; N
Warrwarrjangka Fresh water springs in mangroves where cattle drink when the tide is out at Lalurrjartu; N
wartawarta club (long with blunt ends - can be used for fighting); N
waruk fast; Adj
watara frog (Najanaja); N
watarrpiny flying fox; N
Watiyapulu Beagle Bay side; N
watuka breakwind (Najanaja); N
watuwatu kartaka jarri-Ø- lie on stomach; Vin
Wawayala Soak on plain side of Mud Creek; N
wawirrmarta returning boomerang; N
wayarti turtle; N
wayi interrogative particle; N
wayikatu maybe; particle
wayini frightened; Adj
wayini jarri-Ø- be frightened; Vin?
Wayungarri Eastern region (general term); N
wijinti tree ashes used for healing circumcision wounds; N
wijinyamarta narrow; Adj
wijulu tulurl willy wagtail; N
wijunu black kangaroo; N
wijunu plain kangaroo (male); N
wila armband; N
wilampi serrated stone; N
Wilangku Kimberley Tablelands; N
wilarr turtle (generic); N
wili wing feather; N
wiliny caustic tree; N
wilirmin parrot (red winged); N
wiliwili fishing line; N
wiliwili wira-Ø- sharpen or flake stone; Vtr
wilkarr blood; Nawurtu; N
wilkarrwilkarr red; Adj
wilkaru string for holding coolamon; N
wilurru kneecap; N
Wiluru Hill south of Parturr; N
winjarrka night bird like an owl; N
winji-L- promise, promise and not keep it, deceive; Vdi
winjilparri flathead; N
winka nits, lice; N
winki saltgrass on plain; N
winkujartu snake (lice eating); N
winkuwinku wrinkles; N
Wintanyi Three Sisters - three rocks in the sea south of Post Office Creek; N
wintanywintany wooden antennae from the jima tree; N
wintingirrin carpet snake; N
wintiri taturu seagull; N
wintirri beach; N
wintirri murra beach sand; N
winy sandfly; N
winya full (of water after drinking); Adj
winyiwinyi ma-L- shake; Vtr?
winyputu ant (big); N
winywiny maggot; N
wiraju barn owl; N
wiralpuru cold southeast wind; N
wiranyamarta grinding stone (lower); N
wiri top part of body; N
Wirijartiny Hill east of Karliluwiranya; N
wirijartu tree ashes used for healing circumcision wounds; N
wirilywirily wrinkles; N
wiriman long; N
wirimanguru whipsnake; N
wirimanngurru club (very long - can be used for fighting); N
wiringka stick (can be used for throwing); N

- wiriny** star; N
wirlki bent (like a boomerang); Adj
wirlkirr curved (long, as a road); Adj
wirikiwiriki bent (like a snake); Adj
wirnirni emu chick; N
wirrija hairbelt (small); N
wirrirn tree in mangroves near Post Office Creek; N
wirriyanyarna headache (Nawurtu); N
wirrkiny leaf (Najanaja); N
wirrkiny pubic covering; N
wirringa-L- abduct; N
wirrpamarta few; Adj
wirtany catfish (blue); N
wirtil policeman; N
wirtu brown snake (small); N
wirunta-L- become loose; Vin
wirunywiruny rainbow bird; N
witi play, fun; N
witirri ma-L- pull out; Vtr
witirmarta sad, serious; Adj
witiyiti funny; Adj
witiyiti pearl perch (black spot base of top fin); N
wiyukajayiti curlew (southern stone); N
wiyurr rain bird (black); N
wiyurru cockatiel; N
wujuju song from the northeast, song for women; N
wulkurru shade; N
wulkutany one eyed snake (mythical?); N
wulu bluebone fish (small); N
Wulukurrungan Thangoo Creek Jetty; N
wulunarrka bush tomato; N
wumpatu non doctor man; N
wumpulwumpul overflowing; Adj
wungkalka firedrill; N
wungku ambush, trap, stick, club (can be used for killing game), breakwind, open space; N
wungunywunguny ngurra moving ground, swamp; N
wunja-L- wash; Vtr
wunjurru crab (red, black and white with flipper like crayfish); N
wunkara-L- peep; Vtr
wunma-Ø- break; Vin
wunyurr immediately, straightaway; time
wupa daughter, son, father's brother's son; N
wupa ja-L- dodge, avoid; Adj
wupanyarri kangaroo with joey; N
wupartu little, small; Adj
wupartujina little (not much); Adj
wupu billycan; N
wurankanyangu initiate after circumcision; N
wurn jinyirrijinyirri rough waves; N
wurrja seaweed; N
Wurrju first Creek south of Post Office Creek; N
wurrkarn skink; N
wurrkul nest; N
wurtu big; Adj
wurtukarra everywhere; loc
wuta quiet; Adj
wutarr nut like fruit; N
ya-N- go, walk; Vin
yaka-L- leave; Vin
yakal ma-L- dislike; Vtr
yakarnu bark from Adjebut; N
yakarr wanti-Ø- float; Vin
yakirri headband; N
yaku father's sister's son; N
yaku husband; N
yakujakaja in that way (Najanaja); manner
yakurru pus, pustule; N
yala open, loose; Adj
Yalalakarr Old Post Office; N
Yalangarr second creek south of Post Office Creek; N
yalawara kartaka jarri-Ø- lie on back; Vin
yaliny again; particle
yalirra ahead; loc
yalirrajangka oldest child; N
yalki goanna (sand); N
yalpalparinyangu rock fish; N

- yalpurru** contemporary, went through the law together; Adj
yalurr pu-NG- pluck; Vtr
yalwa kangaroo rat ; Nawurtu; N
yalyarr plain kangaroo (female); N
yalyi yinta-L- lick; Vtr
yama deaf, crazy; Adj
yaman sea breeze; N
yamiyarra spotted eagleray; N
yamparra single, unmarried; Adj
yana ma-L- wake up; Vin
yanga ma-L- take out of fire; Vtr
yanga-L- collect food; Vtr?
yangalu garfish; N
yanginy wet; Adj
yanginy wet ground; N
Yangunyanya Nebrica Mill; N
yanja north; N
yanjakara northwest; N
yanjarra northeast; N
yanjilyparra boat; N
Yanjingalanyanu Larry Ennis Mill; N
yankarayin centipede; N
yanta-L- spear; Vtr
yantalaraku fish (poisonous?); N
yantu egg-like substance left by ants; N
yanurtany firesaw (Najanaja); N
yapan hot stone for cooking; N
yapananya butterfish; N
yapanpangu bat; N
yapi-L- winnow; Vtr
Yaralya second "Little Spring" (near Engidine Spring); N
yarama-L- untie; Vtr
yarapa stingray (fat); N
yari whale; N
yarrany cold front; N
yarrari open space; N
yarrowuly straight; Adj
yarrikan overflowing, full up; Adj
yarrinyarri bush onions; N
Yarrjarra North end of Black Rock; N
yarrka pati-Ø- hide oneself; Vin
yarrpal blankets spread out wide; N
yarrpany young people; N
yarrpiji coolamon for winnowing; N
Yartukarra Well on old main road to Broome; N
yatanginya flathead; N
yatangkal spirit child; N
yatanya seasnake; N
yatil clever; Adj
yawarta horse; N
yawirna pubic covering (small); N
yawirr yanta-L- miss; Vtr
yawurr drunk; Adj
yija true; Adj
yijakatu impossible; particle
yijalmarta ja-L- believe; Vtr
yila kartaka jarri-Ø- lie on side; Vin
yila-L- groan; Vin
Yilangaramayi Creek north of Waljurninyarri; N
yilany schnapper (red); N
yililinjirr budgerigar (small); N
yililkaja loose; Adj
yilinjirri skipjack (small); N
yilinpaljangka crab (green with black hands); N
yilkan pu-NG- hiccough; Vin
yilkari pillow; N
yilkurn club (big long one - can be used for fighting); N
yilpa-Ø- knock over, throw; Vtr
yilpi firesaw; N
yilpinji song from Ayers rock, song for women; N
yiluwarr rat; N
yilyipirri wooden shavings on armband; N
yimampin ghost; N
yiman from long way; loc
yimpa-L- sing; Vtr
yimparangu two sisters, two girls of the same skin; N
yimparramarta more than two sisters, women of the same skin; N
yinararri magic song; N
yinararri song; N
yingaliwa bluebone fish; N
yingati dark, dark night; N
yingirr yinta-L- be restless; Vin

- yingirmarta** restless; Adj
yinji-L- pinch; Vtr
Yinjitayina The Big Spring (Engidine Spring); N
yinki jarri-Ø- lean on; Vtr
yinpal song; N
yinta-L- tell, say; Vdi
yipa-L- growl; Vin
yipiriny boomerang (two ends blunt); N
yira ka-L- not know; Vtr
yirala canvas; N
yirarru name; N
yiri thorn; N
yiri jawa sharp axe; N
yirijanti business place; N
Yiringkurr Hill near old Frazier Downs boundary fence; N
yirnta soak connected with business place; N
yirra ma-L- name, beget; Vtr
yirrkili boomerang (two ends pointed); N
yirrngan cockle; N
yirrtil wattle (big); N
yirti stick; N
yitaman enemy, tribal fight; N
Yitarr East of Roebuck Station; N
yitirr around; loc
yiwa spear (Najanaja); N
yiwarra midnight wind (?); N
yu, yuwayi yes; int
yukurru dog; N
Yukurrungka Main stream in Mud Creek; N
yulku elbow; N
yulpurru already, a long time ago; time
yulu death adder; N
yuna circumcision corroborree; N
yungu-NG- give; Vdi
yungunyakurluyiti stingy; Adj
yungunayiti generous; Adj
Yunguwinjitana Govt. well south side of Mud Creek; N
yupukuru stingray (black, flat tail); N
yura bushfire; N
yurkarrakarra yesterday; time
yurli dirty; Adj
yurlimarta dirty; Adj
yurilkurr wirra-NG?- ache; Vin?
yurnta calm; Adj
yurntara flour (white in colour); N
yurnu bait; N
yurrkarakara afternoon; N
yurrkulu speargrass; N
yurrputa ma-L- grab; Vtr
yurrtul Adjebut type; N
yurruly turkey (foreneck); N
yurrunturru dancing men and women together; N
yurruyi fishing net; N
yuru back; N
yutaly mixed up; Adj

B.2 VOCABULARY IN SEMANTIC FIELDS

The following is a shortened form of the above wordlist arranged according to semantic fields. The list has been arranged according to the AIAS wordlist for Australian languages, as given in Sutton and Walsh (1979). The following selection contains most of those items in the AIAS wordlist which are marked as being members of the one hundred or five hundred word list. The divisions are arranged as follows (based on Sutton and Walsh, p38).

Nouns:

- A: body parts and products (going from head to foot)
- B: human classification (age-grades, kin terms etc.)
- C: language, mythology, ceremony (and associated objects)
- D: human artifacts (weapons, tools, clothing etc.)
- E: food, cooking and fire
- F: water (fresh water, salt water, mud, current etc.)
- G: elements (weather, sky, topography etc.)
- H: mammals
- I: reptiles
- J: birds
- K: marine life
- L: insects and spiders
- M: plants

Adjectives:

- N: physical (bodily states, colours, dimension, quantification)
- O: non-physical (values, emotions etc.)

Verbs:

- P: motion
- Q: state
- R: vocalisation and thought
- S: bodily functions
- T: impact and violence
- U: holding and transfer

Miscellaneous:

V: locationals, directionals and temporals

W: interrogatives

X: interjections

Y: particles

Z: pronouns

Nouns, Section A: Body Parts and Products

head kunkulu
 brain ngamany
 hair (on head) kunkulu
 forehead nirapani
 eye pani
 nose milya
 ear pijara
 cheek ngalkungalku
 jaw, chin tangku
 mouth jawa
 tooth rira
 moustache ngunju
 beard namka
 tongue jalan
 saliva jawul
 front of neck tumpa
 interior of neck kurnangkurnang
 nape of neck purta
 shoulder kurmtujina
 armpit kalnginy
 upper and lower arm papilpapil
 hand papirr, panyi (Najanaja)
 fingernail, toenail kirrimal, jija
 (Najanaja)
 thumb walyawalya
 back parlarr
 chest minpi
 heart pilyurr, tulpu
 rib tipiny
 breast, milk ngamarna
 navel nyija
 side, waist wamparrwamparr
 hip, rump rapi, jarrpal (Najanaja)
 kidney muru
 lung wangalwangal
 liver wanpa
 stomach ngarlu
 guts pirlu
 penis kulurr
 semen parti
 pubic hair walyarr
 anus nyinji
 buttock manapurka

excrement puta
 knee munyu
 calf jangkala
 shin mirti
 ankle milku
 foot jina
 heel murta
 body karrikin
 perspiration, sweat jirmil
 open sore pajanpanyu
 bruise, swelling rapurapu
 boil jarra
 blood kunpulu
 bone parrjirta, puluru, jiyi (Najanaja)

Nouns, Section B: Human Classification

aborigine, circumcised man
 marrungu
 person, human being ngarrungu
 baby mitily
 initiate after being given stick
 jamununjurr
 fully initiated man (16-17 years old)
 jukulu
 old man mirtany
 girl (around 10 or 11 years old)
 partan
 girl (around 13 or 14 years old)
 kalinta
 woman wakala
 woman jantu (Najanaja)
 widow mujijantu
 doctor jalngangurru
 white man kayarr kayarr
 white person wailpila
 policeman wirtil
 poor fellow ! japutu
 husband yaku
 wife nyupa
 son kartu, wupa
 daughter jatu
 mother kurtany, kutari (Najanaja)
 father, father's brother japulu
 older brother paparla

younger brother marrkatu
 older sister kapuju
 younger sister marrkatu
 younger sibling marrkartu

axe (steel) kaju
 axe (stone) minyarurru
 stone knife jinputari
 fire-drill wungkalka

Nouns, Section C: Language,
 Mythology and Ceremony

language, word muwarr
 name yirarru
 fighting ground japaljakurli
 song japi
 song from the northeast wujuju
 song from Ayers rock yilpinji
 magic song yinararri
 white paint kalji
 red ochre ngurrkul
 yellow ochre karntawarra
 ghost yimampin

Nouns, Section D: Human Artifacts
 (excluding ritual/musical objects)

camp walipi
 hut, humpy mangkaja
 road, path makurr
 boomerang (generic) karli
 throwing stick warraka
 digging stick kanany, milkin, warnu
 spear mirliny, yiwa (Najanaja)
 spear (for fishing) wajirri
 spearthrower warlparra
 dillybag tilapak
 coolamon for winnowing kapara
 coolamon for digging kulpi, pirrkiri
 coolamon for carrying water
 manyjarta
 coolamon for carrying fish and food
 walmiyangu
 wooden bowl manjarta
 fishing net yurrui
 pubic covering jirrji, wirrkiny
 bark canoe kurtin
 shield, handle of shield jara

Nouns, Section E: Food, Cooking and
 Fire

animal, game, meat kuwi
 food (vegetable) mayi
 small weed fruit (ground) kalayin
 small grassfruit kirrily
 nut from big tree kumpaja
 big bush seed lilikin
 big tree nut from pantal tree
 palungkurru
 nuts on root walu
 fire, firewood jungku
 ashes pulkaru
 charcoal mirlka, kanguru (Najanaja)
 firewood ngurimparri (Najanaja)
 flame, light tili
 smoke ngurrun

Nouns, Section F: Water

water, rain ngapa
 fresh water japiny ngapa
 salt water kari ngapa
 mud karlu, manta (Najanaja)
 creek murri
 river [actually the name of the Fitzroy
 River] martuwarra
 sea jurarr
 rainbow mitirn

Nouns, Section G: Elements

sky kurrwal
 cloud, cloudy ringu
 mist marrkala
 thunder, lightning jitama

thunder noise turr
 wind wanggal
 star wiriny
 moon tartarta
 half moon kiliparn
 new moon kirrirti
 day, sun parra
 shade marraja
 night ngatura
 ground ngurra
 level ground pingpi ngurra
 hill niyamarri
 stone warnku
 sand (generic) murra
 beach sand wintirri murra
 back of beach jilji
 dust kurnturr
 clay kalji
 claypan (big) purlu
 moving ground, swamp
 wungunywunguny ngurra
 hole pirti

Nouns, Section H: Mammals

echidna kurrujartiny
 kangaroo rat ngalkumiti
 cat (olden times) piri
 cat minyawu
 possum larnkurr
 white kangaroo karapulu
 black kangaroo wijunu
 wallaby parljanin
 tail marrkara
 dingo kuriti
 dog yukurru
 flying fox watarrpiny
 bat yapanpangu
 horse yawarta

Nouns, Section I: Reptiles

crocodile kuwarniya (Mangala loan
 word)

turtle (generic) wilarr
 young turtle nilamilkin
 bluetongue lungkurta
 bearded dragon (tree lizard) japara
 frilled-neck lizard kurlamana
 goanna yalki
 hill country goanna papi
 spiney tailed goanna karrapiti
 goanna (black, in hollow tree)
 ngulpalu
 water goanna (riverside - back and
 long tailed) papi
 goanna (sand) yalki
 snake (generic) jurru
 snake (like children's python)
 maralankarr
 carpet snake kalurujawa,
 wintingirrin
 tree snake jikarran
 death adder yulu
 whipsnake lawurr
 seasnake wantanjirr

Nouns, Section J: Birds

bird (generic) warlkurru
 egg nyuma
 wing feather wili
 down lurumpa
 emu pijarta
 brolga kurrtuwaran
 pelican pilayi
 magpie goose ngarlkataman
 red goose tiyuru
 curlew (southern stone)
 wiyukajayiti
 scrub turkey parrkarra
 mallee hen jimpartu
 bower bird juwi
 crested pigeon jalarapalpal
 tawny frogmouth juli
 crow jawarri
 butcher bird kalkarrurru
 kookaburra (blue winged)
 kalkarurru
 willy wagtail wijulu tulurl

cuckoo kurlukuku
 cockatoo kakartu
 red tailed black cockatoo tarriyal
 brown hawk kirrkirr
 duck ngarangara

Nouns, Section K: Marine Life

fish (generic) kuwi jurarrjangka (lit.
 meat from the sea)
 barramundi manti
 eel jangkatany
 bream mungku
 rock cod munjiyiti
 salmon panganu
 big rock cod parkurl
 shell pinka
 pearlshell riji
 small pearlshell jakuli
 frog (generic) putuwanin

Nouns, Section L: Insects and Spiders

insects (generic) jurru
 mosquitoes nikarrangu
 tick mijin
 maggot winywiny
 bee piyarapin
 sugarbag or bush honey walaja
 ant (black) muwara (Najanaja)
 ant (big) winyputu
 ant (small) pingka
 butterfly pinyjapinyja
 caterpillar jularn
 centipede yankarayin
 spider, spiderweb
 wangkarrangkarra

Nouns, Section M: Plants

tree, thing paka

leaf walyaka, ngalyawata, wirrkiny
 (Najanaja)
 stick yirti
 roots wanal
 flower (from Bauhinia tree) jirrpiliny
 grass jalngu
 grass seed (edible) karjartu, kitirr,
 ngurrjanu
 saltgrass kupan
 spinifex grass marangurru
 grass on seafront rarrkararrka
 saltgrass on plain winki
 speargrass yurrkulu
 bindi-eye kiki
 whitegum kunurru
 paperbark kanpurr
 tea tree warapa (Najanaja)
 yams mungkalin

Adjectives, Section N: Physical

one waraja
 two kujarra
 three kujarra warany
 many malu
 very many, more kurrngal
 white lali
 black wangu
 red wilkarrwilkarr
 big wurtu
 small wupartu
 long matu, wiriman
 short kunku
 straight yarrowuly
 sharp jawa kaniny
 rotten kutarrkutarr
 raw kunka
 unripe ngumul (Najanaja)
 hot (of weather) jinyirri
 cold kamininy
 wet japula
 dry purayi
 soft mujila
 hard, heavy minkurr
 new warrul
 sweet japiny

fat, too sweet mangajartu
 old kulungalurru, walkat
 deaf, mad takitaki, yama,
 ngarangerajarri
 blind jula
 hungry wamparr
 thirsty walka
 full (of food, water) kurrpita
 full (of water) winya
 sick tatarl
 deceased rawarrijarri
 alive wankayi
 fat lakapa
 thin rawurr
 sleepy kartaka
 strong majapani
 weak jalala

Adjectives, Section O: Non-physical

good mapu
 bad jati, kurlumarta
 clever yatil
 true yija
 wrong, confused wampurr
 frightened wayini
 insane ngawu, yama
 ashamed tarluyirtu
 angry kuli

Verbs, Section P: Verbs of Motion

-Ø
 go, walk ya-N-
 run para ma-L-
 climb kanti-Ø-
 climb down jurrrurr parti-Ø-
 fall, die punka-Ø-
 sit down mana wanti-Ø-
 stand up karrpila karri-Ø-
 come jayi-Ø-
 leave yaka-L-
 return, come back kulpa-Ø-
 turn around pirrp yinta-L-
 waranykarti

swim (go swimming) walkurukarti
 ya-N-
 break wunma-Ø-
 dive tirrpunta-L-
 enter, go in ngalpa-Ø-
 come out, emerge kalwarra jarri-Ø-
 jump pakunta-L-
 chase, follow jina-L-
 look for panja-L-

Verbs, Section Q: Verbs of State

be, sit, stay, live wanti-Ø-
 be standing karrpirla karri-Ø-
 be lying down kartaka jarri-Ø-
 be burning kampana-Ø-(?)
 be frightened wayini jarri-Ø-
 float yakarr wanti-Ø-
 wait mima-L-

Verbs, Section R: Verbs of
 Vocalisation and Thought

speak muwarr pu-NG-
 cry ngajaka-L-
 tell, say yinta-L-
 ask japirr ma-L-
 call out, summon kuya ma-L-
 laugh nyarru pu-NG-
 sing yimpa-L-
 dream pukarri ma-L-
 marry someone walipika ja-L-
 teach miranu ja-L-
 learn milarnu ja-L-
 promise, promise and not keep it,
 deceive winji-L-

Verbs, Section S: Bodily Functions

see nyanga-NG-
 stare at kantirr miraka-NG-
 hear pinakarri-Ø-
 smell parntima-L-

lick yalyi yinta-L-
 bite paja-L-
 swallow kuna-Ø-
 eat, drink nganya (irregular)
 vomit janum-L-
 copulate with panka-L-(?)
 die, fall punka-Ø-
 urinate nguntu ja-L-
 defecate puta nganja-L-
 eject (as of egg) jinpu ka-NG?-
 wake up yanama-L-
 ache yurkurr wirra-NG?-

Verbs, Section T: Verbs of Impact and Violence

hit jinka-L-
 kick kanyi-L-
 dig kali-Ø-
 break manka-Ø-
 cut kati pu-NG-
 wash wunja-L-
 tie kunmi-L-
 rub marrpa-L-
 burn kampana-Ø-
 squeeze julypu-NG-
 cover jupa-L-
 cook kampa-L-

Verbs, Section U: Verbs of Holding and Transfer

take, pick up, fetch, get ma-N-
 give yungu-NG-
 put, do ja-L-
 knock over, throw yilpa-Ø-
 catch tap ma-N-
 carry ka-NG-
 leave it be purr yaka-L-
 lose marrka ma-L-
 push palat ma-L-
 hang up kantingka ja-L-
 hide away rayi ja-L-

Miscellaneous, Section V: Locationals, Directionals and Temporals

north yanja
 south kulja
 east kakarra
 west kara
 northeast yanjarra
 northwest yanjakara
 southeast kurlarra
 southwest kurlarla
 here, this nangu (Nangu), naja (Najanaja), nawurtu (Nawurtu)
 there ngunu
 far kajari
 close lani
 above, up kankarra
 down, inside kaninyjartu
 ahead yalirra
 behind nyirrani
 now, today tanja parra
 later warlakan
 morning time manan
 dawn pukula
 last night tanja naturra
 yesterday yurkarrakarra

Miscellaneous, Section W: Interrogatives

who (interrogative pronoun) ngartu
 what (interrogative pronoun) ngana
 where (interrogative pronoun) wanja
 when (interrogative pronoun) nyangara
 how (interrogative pronoun) wanjarrakaja
 how many (interrogative pronoun) nyaminja

Mischellaneous, Section X:Interjections

yes ngawayi

no jami

what's that place? (interjection, like
English '...what's it called?')

ngapawarra

what's it called? (interjection, like
English 'um...') ngapi

Mischellaneous, Section Y: Particles

not jami (Nawurtu)

not majarra (Nangu)

not mulal (Najanaja)

Mischellaneous, Section Z: Pronouns

first person singular ngaju

second person singular nyuntu

third person singular kinyangka

first person dual inclusive ngali

first person dual exclusive ngalina

second person dual nyumpala

third person dual kinyangkajarra

first person plural inclusive

nganyjuru

first person plural exclusive

nganina

second person plural nyurra

third person plural

kinyangkarrangu

B.3 LIST OF SUFFIX ALLOMORPHS

- ja locative
- ja first person singular dative bound pronoun
- janaku third person plural dative bound pronoun
- jangka sequential
- jarri dual
- jawa allative of direction
- ji first person singular dative bound pronoun
- jinya third person plural object bound pronoun
- ju ergative
- kaja synchronous
- karra aversive
- karti allative of location
- ku dative/ purposive
- kula resemblative
- kulara resemblative
- kura genitive/ benefactive
- kuran comparative
- kurlu privative
- la third person singular dative bound pronoun
- la imperative inflection for -L- conjugation
- li first person dual inclusive subject bound pronoun
- lina first person dual exclusive subject bound pronoun
- lku future inflection for -L- conjugation
- lu ergative
- marta emphatic
- n second person singular subject bound pronoun
- n present inflection for -L- conjugation
- na irrealis inflection for -L- conjugation
- ngala connective
- ngaliku first person dual inclusive dative bound pronoun
- ngalinaku first person dual exclusive dative bound pronoun
- ngalininya first person dual exclusive object bound pronoun
- ngalinya first person dual inclusive object bound pronoun
- nganinaku first person plural exclusive dative bound pronoun
- nganininya first person plural exclusive object bound pronoun
- nganyjurrinya first person plural inclusive object bound pronoun
- nganyjurruku first person plural inclusive dative bound pronoun
- ngarra allative of direction (irregular form)
- ngka locative
- ngku second person singular dative bound pronoun
- ngku future inflection for -NG- conjugation
- ngu ablative of direction
- ngu past inflection for -NG- conjugation
- nguru ablative of location
- ni localiser
- nku future inflection for -N- conjugation
- npa present inflection for -L- conjugation
- nta second person singular object bound pronoun
- nu past inflection for -N- and -L- conjugation
- nya first person plural inclusive subject bound pronoun
- nya first person singular object bound pronoun
- nya present inflection for -NG- and -N- conjugation
- nya irrealis inflection for -all except -L- conjugation
- nyanu origin

- nyī first person singular object bound pronoun
- nyimpilinya second person dual object bound pronoun
- nyirrinnya second person plural object bound pronoun
- nyu past inflection for -Ø- conjugation
- nyumpala second person dual subject bound pronoun
- nyumpalaku second person dual dative bound pronoun
- nyurra second person plural subject bound pronoun
- nyurraku second person plural dative bound pronoun
- pa conjunction
- pa auxiliary (habitual)
- pala auxiliary (potential)
- parri proprietive
- partu also
- pilinya third person dual object bound pronoun
- pinti nominaliser (inanimate)
- pula third person dual subject bound pronoun
- pulaku third person dual dative bound pronoun
- pulinyinya object reflexive bound pronoun (second person)
- ra completive
- rna first person singular subject bound pronoun
- rra imperative inflection for -N- conjugation
- rrangu plural
- rti intensifier
- wa imperative inflection for -NG- conjugation
- waliny resemblative
- waninya object reflexive bound pronoun (first and third person)
- wanungku dative reflexive bound pronoun
- wanungkura benefactive reflexive bound pronoun
- wu future inflection for -Ø- conjugation
- ya third person plural subject bound pronoun
- ya imperative inflection for -Ø- conjugation
- yarna first person plural exclusive subject bound pronoun
- yiti nominaliser (animate)