competition, either individual or team. The same verb may be used with the addition of the causative suffix -ji-, as when instructing a child playing with toy trucks.

There are various ways of describing things 'in a line'. For example the verb stem -yuwayina 'follow each other' can describe trees in a stationary position as well as people following each other. In the case of people standing in line side by side, the verb used to describe this position includes arnda 'elbow'.

2.5 SPEED

Before the advent of modern technology, the concept of speed related to such things as the rate of movement of human beings on foot and of canoes, spears, fire, wind and water, animals, and the rate of growth of plant life. The skill of estimating speed, taking into account the natural forces which influence it, was and still is highly developed. Some examples have already been given in section 2.1 discussing estimation.

The basic terms relating to speed are waranja 'quickly' and ambakilangwa 'slowly'. The command 'Hurry up! Quickly' is waranja!

Waranju-bawiya also means 'quickly' but is used adverbially and includes the meaning of the English word 'early', as discussed in section 2.2.4.

Ambakilangwa has the extended meanings 'gently, carefully, little by little'.

The idiom mekawajiya 'make it (e.g. a bicycle) look good' is used with the meaning 'make it go fast'.

2.6 SPACE

The noun angwurn.dikirra 'space' is used for an area bounded on both sides by objects of any size. It is in common use for a strait, such as the strait between Groote Eylandt and Winchelsea Island. It is also used for the space between any objects such as rocks, houses etc., and refers especially to a narrow space.

The verb stem -ngurrkwarrnga-jungwuna 'be enclosed' is used to describe an area bounded on all sides by objects, making a confined space.
marrk-jinungkwa numulikenuma
yangungwa yarrri-jinungkwa
darri-jinungkwa diri
alingabi-jinungkwa eka
numungkurrbi-jinungkwa
mudirrbura mamurukwa
dirrbura warjiyinga!
wu-dirrbura-kina akina eka!
mawiyidi-kina makina mamurukwa!
wudirrburada!
makarda numamurrkwulinamurra
enungkwa numurkwulinama
ajiringku-manja
enungkwa nuwalkayenama
ajiringku-manja
enungkwa nuwandilyinama eku-manja
mijiyanga numilankwalyilyaduma
aburrilangwa angalya nalawurradinama X-langwa
their area it.a.returns X-from
'Their area goes as far as X.'
2.6.1 LINE SEGMENTS

In traditional Aboriginal society there was no need for arbitrary standards within spatial relationships. The concepts of lines and areas were only developed as far as they were needed, and in different ways from English. The following vocabulary items illustrate these concepts.

There is no Anindilyakwa word for 'a line', but there is a word to describe an object which has a straight line. The difference between a spear having a straight line and one with barbs, and between a tree with a straight trunk and one with branches, is significant. The concept of something having no obstruction is important and is therefore accounted for in the vocabulary. The concept 'without obstruction' is described by the root -jinungkwa. Prefixes must be added to elucidate precise meanings, some of which are listed. Another area of meaning was revealed when an old man with a bad cough was recording a story on tape for me. When I enquired about his cough he said ningarri-jinungkwa, meaning that he could keep on recording without stopping to cough.

Two adjectives adirrbura and awiyida 'straight' describe the concept of straight lines whether horizontal or vertical. The adverbial forms are dirrbura and awiyida. The verb stems -dirrbura-kina and -awiyidi-kina 'straighten' are formed by adding the causative suffix -kina to these adverbs. The verb stem -dirrbura-dina 'become straight' is formed by adding the suffix -dina 'become' to the adverb dirrbura 'straight'. However this suffix does not occur with awiyida which is not used as frequently as dirrbura.

Although there is no direct translation of 'horizontal', 'oblique' and 'vertical', the distinction between these positions is made by the verbs 'lying', 'leaning' and 'standing upright'.

The noun angurrkwuruwura 'corner' which is connected with the adjective ayangkwuruwura 'crooked' is used to describe a curve such as the bend in a river or road, and a bay on the coast.

When English speakers discuss geographical areas, it is said that a certain area extends 'from here to there'. The Anindilyakwa speaker takes a different point of view, thinking of the direction in terms of 'from there to here', as discussed in section 2.4.5.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>mamukwurra mamulerrbirra</th>
<th>the point of a hooked spear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>amukwurra angalya</td>
<td>a point of land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wungandingakina ena eka</td>
<td>sharpen this stick (to a point)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nara ar. darruma menba</td>
<td>don't poke your finger in the turtle's eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yimendi-langwa</td>
<td>a board (flat piece of wood)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aremberrbirra eka</td>
<td>an eel's tail is flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yangungwurl-langwa mamudakba muremberrbirra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.6.2 POINTS

There is no Anindilyakwa word for the mark made by a pointed object, but the word *amukwurra* 'face' is used for the point of something sharp like a spear, and therefore also a pencil. The same word is used for a point of land. The action of making something pointed is much more significant than the concept of a point as such. Spears and digging sticks have to be sharpened to a point.

The action of poking with the finger at a point is described by the verb *-ar.dirrena* 'spear'. It should be noted that an Anindilyakwa speaker does not use the finger to point. Instead he indicates a particular direction with movement of the chin and lips.

2.6.3 ANGLES

The noun *angurrkwuruwura* 'corner', already mentioned with the meaning of a curve, refers also to all sharp angles. The context elucidates whether the angle is a right-angle, acute or obtuse, since traditional Aboriginal culture was not concerned with abstractions out of context.

2.6.4 SHAPE

a) Planes

*Aremberrbirra* 'flat'

The adjective *aremberrbirra* 'flat' describes any flat object, such as a gramophone record, a slab of rock, and paper and books.

Rectangular, square

Pieces of bark for bark paintings are roughly rectangular when cut from the tree and left without trimming. Sails for canoes are the same rectangular shape. Before the introduction of ready-made cloth they were made without regard to the preciseness of the angles or the exact length of the sides.

*Angarumunkwa* 'concave'

The adjective *angarumunkwa* 'concave' describes an object which is shallow and only slightly concave, such as a saucer, and also deeper containers such as a bark coolamon, a boiler (for cooking),
'His head is spinning, he's giddy.'

'The water is going around in circles where he threw the stone.'

'He stirred the tea.'

'He went right around the house.'

'He's going around and around in circles.'

'The snake has curled itself up.'
a copper (for washing) and a Macassan cooking pot. The same word applies to the deeply concave hull of a ship. The perimeter of these containers may be either circular or elliptical.

The notion of planes being convex is irrelevant to the Anindilyakwa speaker because it does not have any practical implications, being no more than a description of things concave seen from a different aspect. A roof is only of interest as a covering above people. However, see section 2.5.4 for a discussion of solids which are convex.

The absence of an Anindilyakwa one-to-one correspondence with the English word 'horizon' does not prevent an Anindilyakwa speaker from talking about land and boats on the horizon. The Anindilyakwa speaker talks about them being so far away that one can hardly see them.

Circular

The word *amamuwa* 'elliptical object, small round object' is also used for a circle drawn on bark. The precise differentiation between circular and elliptical in either case is irrelevant, and the differentiation between planes and solids is obvious in context.

When objects are arranged 'in a circle' the abstract noun 'circle' is used in English to designate a more or less exact shape. In Anindilyakwa a description is given in concrete terms of the objects forming the shape, but the shape is unnamed. The objects forming the shape are in focus, instead of the shape itself. The space created by those objects is also significant. In example 144 describing an enclosed space, the actual shape of the enclosed area could in fact be circular.

The verb stems *-lyuwakena* 'circle', *-lyuwaka-jina* 'encircle' and *-lyuwaka-jungwuna* 'form a circle' require a prefix representing a noun in addition to pronominal prefixation. They are in common use and occur idiomatically as well as literally. It should be noted that movement is always involved.
157 amamuwa ayarrka
   amamuwa arika
   mamamumuwa menba
   am-amamuwa aninga

finget (hand)
toe (foot)
eye ball (eye)
fruit

158 yinumamuwa

eggs, particularly of y noun
class creatures e.g. yimenda
'turtle'

159 am-amamuwa duja
   am-amamuwa awarnda
   am-amamuwa jinaba
   am-amamuwa mirrijina
   mam-amamuwa

battery (torch)
coin (money)
bullet (gun)
tablet (medicine)
marble

160 m-embirrk-ambawura muninga
   yimawura y-embirrk-aruma

a few cycad nuts
the full moon (literally 'big')

161 yi-mungk-ababurna yinumukwena
   ma-mungk-ambilyuma murungkwurra

many heaps of cockles
two heaps of round yams

162 ni-rak-uwurra bajikala
   jinaba ni-rak-uwilyakama
   a-rak-adirrungwarna dudija

he threw the tin away
he was carrying a gun
a length of big pipe
b) Solids

Round, ovoid

The word *amamuwa* 'small elliptical object, sphere' was probably first used to describe fingers and toes and then extended to include other body parts, eggs and certain parts of plants. Various buds, fruits and pods are described as *am-amamuwa*.\(^{157}\)

The secondary meaning of *amamuwa* includes any small round object. The focus is on the spherical mass rather than the exact shape. Most eggs are oval, but the most sought after eggs are the round ones belonging to *yimenda* 'turtle'. Because turtle eggs are an important source of food it seems that *yinumamuwa* is used generally for any kind of egg, unless specifically stated.\(^{158}\)

Many introduced objects are called *amamuwa* and *mamamuwa*. The exact meaning is made clear by the context.\(^{159}\)

The fact that *amamuwa* can refer to both round and ovoid objects does not mean that a more precise definition of round is unavailable, when needed, although it is not used by children.

The prefix *-embirr-* represents the noun *andira* 'kidney' and also means 'round'. It is used by adults to describe such round things as introduced objects, pebbles, fruits, eggs and the round sting-ray.\(^{160}\)

By using prefixes describing particular characteristics, one can distinguish between round and ovoid eggs. The noun *amamuwa* 'small elliptical object' can take the prefix *-embirr-* 'round', with the appropriate noun class marker, to form a compound word. Thus *y-embirr-k-amamuwa yimendi-langwa* 'the round egg of the turtle'. The same prefix *-embirr-* 'round' added to the adjective root *-jirrirra-* 'long' produces a new adjective, 'ovoid', to describe the hen's egg *d-embirr-i-jirrirra dadumamuwa jukwujukwu-langwa*.

The prefix *-mungk-* is used by adults for a collection of round things such as eggs, bush food, shellfish and round rays.\(^{161}\)

The prefix *-rak-* representing the noun *yiraka* 'didjeridu' is used by adults to describe all round, hollow objects, such as bottles, tins, pipes, drums etc.\(^{162}\)
ningenum-ebinga
dadum-ebinga
yinum-ebinga
nenum-ebinga
warnum-ebinga

mamungina maliliyanga
yinumungina yinubarrininja

a...yukwuj ya - ayu...kujiya
ayukwuije-ka
awank-iyukwuj ya
awank-ayukwuj ya
awank-aruma - awank-adirrungwarna
aruma - adirrungwarna
arume-ka - adirrungwarne-ka
awank-amakwulyumuda
amakwulyumuda
amakwulyumude-ka

ena awarnda awank-iyukwuj ya
umba akina ayukwuj ya

this stone is rather small
but that one is (really) small

wulalika ayukwayuwa-wiya umba wumiya ena arumu-dangwa
leave small-plural but pick up this big-emphasis
'Leave the small ones and pick up this big one.'
Ebinga 'body shape, ant-hill'

Ebinga 'ant-hill' is so called because of its likeness to the human body — ningenum-ebinga 'my body' describes the human body in the way that 'trunk' is used in English. With reference to human beings ebinga usually describes a large, thick-set body. With reference to animals, it describes those having a relatively large, solid body, such as the dog and bandicoot.163

Amungina 'knob'

The word amungina is used for a 'knob'. It is used for the small bones such as knuckles, wrist bones and ankle bones, and for the joints of the fingers and toes. By extension of meaning it describes certain parts of plants having a similar appearance. The seed pods of plants and gumnuts are likened to these small bones.164

Convex

The concept 'convex' as applied to solids is described by the verb dirralinga 'heaped up'. The scrub hen piles up a large heap of leaves and earth for a nest in which to place its eggs to incubate them. This pile is na-dirralinga 'heaped up'. A tree having lumps which protrude from the trunk is alinga-dirralinga 'tall and lumpy'. See the description of thickness in section 2.7.2.

2.7 SIZE

The basic concept of size is expressed in three ways: ayukwujija 'small', aruma - adirrungwarna 'big' and amakwulyumuda 'huge'.

In the ordering of size the prefix awank- 'rather' and the emphatic suffix -ka occur.165 Comparison of size is expressed as indicated when discussing inequality, using angwurra 'more', awank- 'rather' and the emphatic suffix -ka (see section 1.2.4).166

The emphatic suffix -dangwa occurs and singles out one from a group, e.g. arumu-dangwa 'the big one' and ayukwujija-dangwa 'the small one'.167
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arukwudarrbe-ka</td>
<td>very short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awanki-rukwudarrba</td>
<td>rather short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arukwudarrba</td>
<td>short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awank-amurajirrirra</td>
<td>rather high, rather long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amurajirrirra</td>
<td>high, long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amurajirrirre-ka</td>
<td>very high, very long</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The basic concepts of height and length are expressed by the same words *amurajirirra* ~ *amurajirra* 'tall, long', and *arukwudarrba* ~ *adarrba* 'short'. In the past there was no need to differentiate between vertical and horizontal.

The adjective *adarrba* 'short' can occur alone but more frequently occurs with a prefix representing a noun. When the prefix *-ruk*-~*-rkw-* representing the noun *alika* 'foot' is added to *adarrba* 'short', the word *a-rukwu-darrba* is formed and used as an alternative for short in many contexts.

Depth is expressed by *angwujirira* ~ *angwujira* 'deep' and *abulala* 'shallow'.

The ordering of the concepts of height and length is listed opposite. The concept of depth can be similarly ordered. The emphatic suffix *-dangwa* can be used to single out 'the long one'.

Comparison of these concepts is expressed as indicated when discussing inequality (see section 1.2.4).

**2.7.2 THICKNESS AND WIDTH**

There are various words in Anindilyakwa to describe the English terms 'fat' and 'thin', 'thick' and 'thin', and 'wide' and 'narrow'.

The adjectives *engmurra* 'fat' and *ayarrmigarrrma* ~ *alarrkbulala* 'thin' qualify people, animals and also certain inanimate objects. Ordering and comparison are possible as indicated for height but are not generally used. The suffix *-dangwa* singles out one from a group.

Other words for thickness and width are complicated by the fact that the root cannot be used without a specific prefix representing a noun as well as the usual noun class marker. (See Appendix 2 regarding noun prefixation.)
alinga-dirralinga eka
tall-lumpy tree
'a tree with a protruding lump'

alinga-jamiyama eka
tall-thin tree ~ stick
'a tall thin tree ~ a long thin stick'

mirre-jamiyama merra
long.flexible-thin string
'a coil of thin string'

mungak-adirrungwarna makarda
thigh.shape-big sea
'rolling waves'

arra-jirrirra amukwurra
forehead.shape-long face
'a long peninsula'

amukwurra awank-arra-jirrirra
a fairly long peninsula
amukwurra arra-jirrirre-ka
a very long peninsula
amukwurra arra-jirrirri-dangwa
the very long peninsula
The following adjective roots occur:

- *dilidila*  
  fat, thick (people, animals and things)

- *biyiyi*  
  fat, thick (people, animals and things)

- *dirralinga*  
  thick (things), literally 'heaped, piled up', also 'lumpy'

- *jamiyama*  
  thin, narrow (people, animals and things)

- *kijuba*  
  thin, narrow (things)

- *ebirra*  
  wide (things)

The root *kijuba* is not in common use among young people.

The root *dirralinga* 'thick' has been discussed with reference to convex solids (see section 2.5.4).

The root *ebirra* 'wide' also means 'spacious', 'roomy'. In this case width is not the only component of meaning.

The diagram opposite of a canoe illustrates four of the above terms. The prefix representing *malamukwa* 'canoe' is *amba* - 'container' and that representing *eka* 'tree wood' is *arnda*. *Malamukwa* 'canoe' is in the *m* noun class, and *eka* 'tree' is in the *a* noun class, but in this example 'thin wood' has the *m* noun class marker because the wood is part of the canoe.

1. *mamba-kijuba* ~ *mamba-jamuyama*  
   'narrow canoe ~ narrow part of canoe'

2. *mamb-ebirra*  
   'wide canoe ~ wide part of canoe'

3. *marnda-kijuba* ~ *marnda-jamuyama*  
   'thin wood (edge of canoe)'

4. *marnda-dilidila* ~ *marnda-kibiyi*  
   'thick wood (edge of canoe)'

2.7.3 COMBINED CONCEPTS

Anindilyakwa has the potential for describing a combination of two concepts in one word. A few examples will suffice to show the remarkable flexibility of the language. The prefix *awank-* 'rather' and the suffixes *-ka* 'very' and *-dangwa* 'emphasis' can occur.
angwura alyikarrbarubara
firewood light and hollow
'firewood that is light to carry because hollow, and so useless'

angwala alyikarrbarubara
crab light and hollow
'crabs that are not worth catching because they feel light, which indicates very little flesh inside the shell'

dilyikarrbarubara dadiyuwangkwa
light and hollow old woman
'an old woman who has lost weight from not eating and is therefore light to carry'

awil yaba bajikal na-lyang-burrukwunama
one it a-head disappears
'One tin is full.'

ni-lyangburrukwa bajikala yilyakwa
it y-filled tin honey
'The tin is full of honey.'

numi-lyangburrukwa bajikala mangkarrkba arakba
it m-filled tin plums now
'The tin is full of plums now.'

wi-lyangburrukwajina bajikala mamudangku-murra
it a-fill tin sand with
'Fill the tin with sand!'

yinguma-lyangburrukwajuwa mamudangkwa bajikalu-manja
she it m-filled sand tin in
'She filled the tin with sand.'

nara ambaka aladuma I haven't had enough to eat yet

alyubarina kiladeni yada
eat you will be full purpose
'Eat so you will not be hungry.'
2.8 MASS

The basic words describing mass are *engkubarrngwarrngwa* 'heavy' and *ekilyarrba* 'light'.

The concepts of size and mass are not connected. Objects may be small and heavy or large and light. There is a special word *alyikarrbarubara* for things that are sometimes big but hollow and therefore light.\(^\text{171}\)

The ordering and comparison of the terms 'heavy' and 'light' follow the same pattern as that for height (see section 2.7.1).

2.9 CAPACITY

Before the era of technology, baler shells were used to hold water, and containers made of bark were made by the women for the daily gathering of food. They were also useful for holding objects such as ochres. These containers were made from stringybark (Levitt 1981:18). Paperbark is still used as a temporary container when other containers are not available. This is not carefully made into a container like those from stringybark, as it is soon discarded.

As in English the concept of fullness refers to both liquids and solids. A container is full when the contents reach the top, so the adjective *alyang-burrulkwa* 'full' is evidently connected with *-lyang-*, the prefix representing *aringka* 'head'. It is feasible that the root *-burrulkw-* has some connection with the verb stem *lyikarr-burrulkwuna* meaning 'slip and fall over' and thus in some situations 'disappear from sight'. The inside of the container disappears as far as the top, or head, when full.

The verb stem *-lyang-burrulkwuna* 'be filled', 'be full' refers to the contents and also to the container. The causative *-lyang-burrulkwa-jina* 'fill' also refers to both contents and container.\(^\text{172}\)

Capacity with reference to eating is described by the verb stem *-laden* 'be replete'.\(^\text{173}\) This word is also used to refer to a full bladder. When a person has had enough to eat and is offered something more, instead of refusing the food the expression *ngawa* 'enough' is used, being the equivalent of 'no thank you, I've had enough'.
kalyangburrukwuna bajikala (ayarrka) akwa kakwarringina
it.a.will.be.filled tin (hand) and it.a.will.break.in.two
'a tinful (handful) and a half'

mabun-debirra makarda
murn.-debirra medirra
arndi-debirra eka
marndi-debirra mangkarrkba
mamba-debirra malamukwa
mal.debirra miyerriya
ama-debirra angalya

empty sea e.g. devoid of fish
empty cave e.g. without any paintings
an empty tree e.g. without fruit or wild honey
empty plum tree
empty canoe
empty nest
empty camp

narrumalarrkarnu-manja
mamulerrbirra angerriba
ayangkwulyumuda-wa
nuwarrangbina awarnda
yakwujirra

when they sent hooked spears across to the mainland they got stone from there

am-alyukwurra
amu-jurra
am-amamuwa
ambarrngarna awarnda?
aruma awarnda

paper money (from alyukwurra 'paperbark')
paper money (from jurra 'paper')
coinage (from amamuwa 'small round objects')
how much money?
a lot of money
The concept 'half full' in Anindilyakwa is not exactly half but 'partly full'. The adjective *ekwarra* 'one part' is used to describe a partly filled container but reference is made to the contents and not to the container itself (see section 1.2.3). The amounts 'a tin and a half' and 'a handful and a half' are expressed idiomatically by verbs.\(^{174}\)

The concept 'empty' is described by the root *-debirra* which requires a prefix representing a noun. The concept has a wider area of meaning than the English. The use of the word focuses on the absence of what one might expect to find according to the context.\(^{175}\)

### 2.10 MONEY

Before the introduction of money, trading took place between the people of Groote Eylandt and the mainland tribes. Locally made hooked spears were traded on the mainland in exchange for a particular type of sharp stone used for spear heads\(^{176}\) and also for a type of red ochre which was considered superior to the red ochre available on Groote Eylandt. Trading also took place between the clans on Groote Eylandt itself. Certain kinds of wood required for particular purposes were traded between the clans on Groote because the supply was greater in some clan areas than other. The Wurraramarra clan, for instance, traded rope for hardwood which abounded in the Jaragba clan territory.

The term used for buying and selling is a transliteration of the English, and there is no clear differentiation between the two types of transaction. When both 'buy' and 'pay' are transliterated, the result is the same, since both words in Anindilyakwa become the one form *-bayindena*. However the context usually clarifies the meaning adequately.

Today two words are used for money. One is *mani*, transliterated from the English 'money', and the other is *awarnda*, literally 'stones'. Although *awarnda* is a general term for sums of money, it refers more specifically to coinage. The examples show other adaptations that have been made for modern needs.\(^{177}\)

### 2.11 AGE

The concept of precise age was not recognised in traditional Aboriginal society. Although years were not counted in any way, people's ages were compared. Stages of development in small children were
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dangariya</td>
<td>baby girl, toddler, infant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dadiyara</td>
<td>young unmarried girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>didarringka</td>
<td>female, woman, married woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dadiyuwangkwa</td>
<td>old woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
noted and compared with much interest, and this is still so today.

Some 'age' terminology in Anindilyakwa is beyond the scope of this paper because the focus of such terminology is not on age but on marital status, parenthood, and ritual stages for men. For this reason such terminology is not parallel for both sexes. A few basic examples are given opposite.

The comparative age of children is less important than their size. In a group of young boys to be circumcised, age might vary more than size. More is expected of bigger boys than of others of the same age. Those children who are big for their age may have a hard time, while their contemporaries are let off lightly. When the ages of two boys are compared, there may be little difference between their dates of birth, but one boy is said to be naruma 'the big one' (older), and the other is niyukwujija 'the small one' (younger). Exact ages are irrelevant.

When a new baby is talked about in a small community, the age is obviously not in focus but the sex is of great importance. Thus the answer to the question, 'Is the baby a boy or a girl?' is often nenungkwarba 'male, man' or didarringka 'female, woman'. The adjective amurrikalya 'soft' is also used for very young babies.

In a family the first born child is numilyengma or nenungwur.dangmanja if male, and dumilyengma or dadungwur.dangmanja if female. The last born child is nenungwarijilangwa or nenikubarukwena (male) and dadungwarijilangwa or dadikubarukwena (female). Every boy in the middle of the family is neninguwilyarra, and every girl is dadinguwilyarra.

Wurriyukwayuwa, the human plural form of the adjective 'small', has the special meaning 'children' when it is used alone but other pronominal prefixes can occur, e.g. kirriyukwayuwa 'you children'. The plural form with reduplication wurriyukiyukwayuwa is also used.

Wurrarumuruma, the human plural form of the adjective 'big' with partial reduplication, has the special meaning 'adults' when it is used alone, but the exact meaning depends on the context in which it is used. As well as meaning adults as opposed to children, it means older, more mature adults as opposed to young adults, and it is also used for ancestors. Another way of referring to ancestors is to use the term wurramurumurena 'grand-fathers' with the adjective warninungkwurakba 'old'. By analogy the same term
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>narumuda erriberribu-manja</td>
<td>he grew up in the bush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>yingin-arumurrkama</td>
<td>she brought up her older sister's baby boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>diyabadikbu-langwa nangariya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>kamakinama alawudawarra</td>
<td>I will tell you an old story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>enungkwurakba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ena alikira enikaduwa umba</td>
<td>this is a new house but the one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>angaba enungkwurakba</td>
<td>over there is old</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
wurrumurumurena with its reciprocal meaning 'grand-children' can be used with the adjective warninikaduwa 'new' to mean 'descendants'.

Age, size and importance of people are closely linked. Niyukwujya means 'small, young and unimportant' (masculine). Naruma - nadirruingwarna means 'big, old and important' (masculine). The word wurrarumuruma 'adults' thus carries the further meaning 'important people'.

The verb stem -arumudina 'become big' has the extended meaning 'grow up'. The causative verb stem -arumurrkina 'make big' translates the English 'rear, bring up'.

The terms for the age of things are enikaduwa 'new' and enungkwurakba 'old'. See examples 75 and 127 for figurative uses of these words.

3. CONCLUSION

The foregoing description of Anindilyakwa concepts demonstrates that there is a wide variety of constructions to describe the basic concepts of beginning mathematics. Some terminology referring to these concepts is not inadequate, but it is unsuitable for young children because it involves sophisticated and complex language forms. The complexity of these forms shows the richness of the concepts in the language.

Adaptation has been taking place already in some of these areas and further adaptation and extension are foreseen.
Either a vowel or a consonant, if the consonant is a continuant, e.g. m, n, r, may be lengthened. This phenomenon is common in Australian Aboriginal languages. In Anindilyakwa it signals emphasis in adjectives and adverbs. It usually occurs in the first or second syllable of the word. It also occurs in the conjunction biya 'and then' signalling an interval of time. The tone is high on the first syllable and falling gradually throughout the word. This feature is symbolised by the insertion of a few dots in the extended syllable.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{am...bakilangwa} & \quad \text{very slowly} \\
\text{a...rakbawiya} \sim \text{ar...akbawiya} & \quad \text{very long ago} \\
\text{a...yukwujia} \sim \text{ayu...kwujia} & \quad \text{very small} \\
\text{e...ninga} \sim \text{en...inga} & \quad \text{very good} \\
\text{akwu...dangwa} & \quad \text{very close} \\
\text{bi...ya} & \quad \text{and then, after a while}
\end{align*}
\]
NOUN PREFIXATION

Noun prefixation describes a phenomenon that is possibly more extensive in Anindilyakwa than in many other Australian Aboriginal languages. Many nouns can be represented by a specific prefix as well as having a free form. The prefix which cannot be used alone is usually quite different from the free form, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aringka} & \quad \text{'head' (free form)} \quad \text{mamurukwa} & \quad \text{'road' (free form)} \\
-\text{lyang-} & \quad \text{'head' (prefix)} \quad -\text{lukw-} & \quad \text{'road' (prefix)}
\end{align*}
\]

Noun prefixes occur in adjectives following the noun class marker. They are sometimes obligatory and sometimes optional, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
a-\text{lyang-mandukwuna} & \quad \text{(obligatory)} \\
& \quad \text{class.marker-head-true} \\
& \quad \text{'true, honest'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
m-\text{abiyakarbiya} & \quad \text{mamurukwa} \sim \text{mu-lukw-abiyakarbiya} \quad \text{mamurukwa} \\
& \quad \text{class.marker-three road} \quad \text{class.marker-road-three road} \\
& \quad \text{'three roads'} \quad \text{'three roads'}
\end{align*}
\]

Noun prefixes also occur in verbs following the subject + object pronominal prefixation. They are sometimes obligatory and sometimes optional, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ning-eni-lyang-barra} & \quad \text{(obligatory)} \\
& \quad \text{l-him-head-hit} \\
& \quad \text{'I hit him on the head.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ningi-lalika amurndakijika} \sim \text{ningi-larrngki-lalika amurndakijika} \\
& \quad \text{l-left things} \quad \text{l-things-left things} \\
& \quad \text{'I left the things.'} \quad \text{'I left the things.'}
\end{align*}
\]

Nouns having a specific prefix as well as a free form include body parts, common nouns, generic terms and topographical features.
In some cases there is a prefix without a corresponding free form, as in the terminology describing shape, e.g.

*yibilyubilya numindenama ~ yibilyubilya ni-ngarning-mindenama*

lightning  it.y.shines lightning  it.y-long.rigid-shines

'the lightning shines'     'the forked lightning shines'
ABBREVIATIONS

emph emphasis
excl exclusive
fem feminine
incl inclusive
masc masculine
sing singular
plur plural
~ alternating with
- separating morphemes in Anindilyakwa and in English examples
. separating English words

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to all Groote Eylandt Aborigines who have patiently taught me over the years and still continue to do so.

Since my first few handwritten pages in 1968 I have been encouraged by various people to pursue this study and I am grateful for their interest and support. I would like to thank three people in particular who have helped with editing successive drafts. Firstly Lois Reid, who taught in the Angurugu School for nine years, whom I consulted during the early stages and who helped with editing and typing the 1976 draft. Secondly John Harris who was principal of the Angurugu School during 1977 and 1978 and offered helpful comments and also arranged for the typing of a later draft. Thirdly Julie Waddy, ethnobiologist at Angurugu, to whom I am indebted for her co-operation in seeing the paper through the final stages of editing. Lastly the pre-publication typing was patiently done by Christine Ward.
REFERENCES

COLE, Keith. 1972. 'Groote Eylandt Stories'. Melbourne: Church Missionary Historical Publications

HARRIS, Pam. 1980. 'Measurement in Tribal Aboriginal Communities'. Darwin: Northern Territory Department of Education

LEVITT, Dulcie. 1981. 'Plants and People: Aboriginal Uses of Plants on Groote Eylandt'. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies

