

Across these variable examples and contexts, a significant shared feature is the physical shape of the hand during *gardaj* events. The gestural or physical component of the verb becomes quite salient when *gardaj* events are witnessed and Kriol speakers often used the gesture to accompany an oral explanation or description: all *gardaj* events involve a cupped hand with fingers close together, quickly extending and returning from the body in a swift circular ‘scooping’ motion. It appears that this physical shape and gestural quality is as much a part of the core semantics of the verbs as is the acquisition semantic component. This aligns *gardaj* with other gesturally iconic substrate verbs found in Kriol described elsewhere in this chapter, such as *moi*, *ngaja*, *gabai* and *ngarra*. The physical, gestural component of *gardaj* is also the most obvious commonality between the Marra definition of ‘sift’ offered by Heath and the description of the Kriol verb given here, where in both cases *gardaj* events involve a movement by a cupped hand with touching fingertips.

Like *gubarl* (discussed below), *gardaj* is a common verb in Ngukurr that has transferred from a Marra-isolate coverb and now also occurs in the neighbouring dialect, Barunga Kriol. Like many other verbs described in this chapter, it was not previously listed in the *Kriol Dikshenri*.

4.4.3 GUBARL

English gloss	scavenge, scrounge
Kriol Dikshenri	adj. rubbishy; second-hand; discarded. Location: Ngukurr.
Distribution	Common. Used and known to all speakers in Ngukurr. Also occurs in Barunga Kriol.
Etymology	Marra: <i>gubarl</i> - (coverb) ‘to eat rotten or unhealthy food’
Semantic equivalents in other substrates	Ritharrŋu/Wägilak, Alawa, Warndarrang, Ngandi, Ngalakgan, Nunggubuyu: ?

Gubarl is a prominent example of a Marra-only verb that is known and used by all Kriol speakers in Ngukurr. It has transferred directly from a Marra coverb which Heath defined as ‘to eat rotten or unhealthy food’. A more recent Marra example comes from Freda Roberts describing the diet of dingoes:

(4.9) *Wajinja-yinja nirrirri wardabirr ngaba gubarl-gubarl-arlindu*
 3SG:eat;PRS[REDUP] small goanna and scavenge-[REDUP]-3SG:go;PRS
 It eats small lizards and it scavenges

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Heath’s definition of *gubarl* – to eat rotten or unhealthy food – may be too narrow. I suggest it is not an eating verb but rather a getting verb, where the object acquired is