

ALAWA PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

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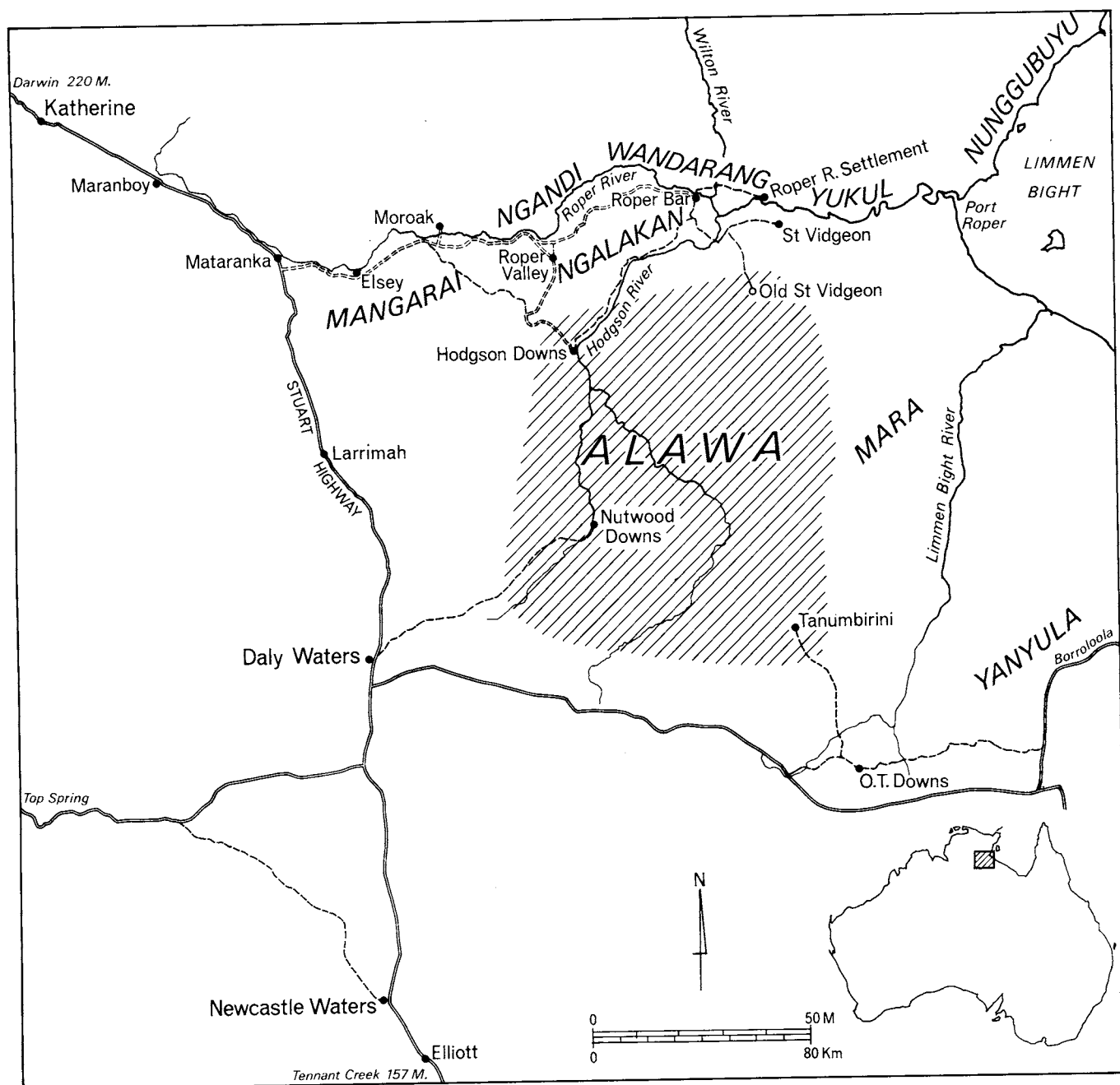


Figure 1 — Map of Alawa Territory

P R E F A C E

Alawa, also known as Galawa or Walibuŕu, is the language spoken in the area including Hodgson Downs, Nutwood Downs, and Tanumbirini stations, south of the Roper River and east of the Stuart Highway. It is not spoken extensively, the younger people hardly use the language except when speaking with their elders, and even the latter now use a creole which they call Pidgin English for many conversations.

The Alawa tribe has about a hundred members, according to the Northern Territory Welfare Branch records. As an estimate, about a hundred more of Aboriginal descent have an Alawa mother or foster parents. Most of these understand a little Alawa and use some Alawa words in their creole. The estimated number who know the language well is thirty. The others only know simple expressions.

Very little study of the language or people has been done in the past. The aim of the present study is to describe the phonology and grammar of the language systematically. Most detail has been given in phonology, including general voice quality and intonation, and in morphology. This study is based on data gathered during four field trips, totalling four and a half months, over a period of two years from June 1966 to May 1968.

Alawa is an inflexional language, of the type known as prefixing among Australian languages. In the singular, two genders are distinguished, masculine and feminine. Singular, dual and plural numbers are distinguished. Substantives are inflected for case; verbs are inflected for tense, aspect and mood, for agreement with subject, and sometimes for agreement with a referent. The structuring of a verb from an invariant verb root and an auxiliary verb is a phenomenon not shared by a very large number of Australian languages.

Minor revisions of this thesis have been made since 1970 when the author was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of English of The University of Queensland. The most important revision is the compilation of an index. Domestic duties have precluded further work on the language at the present; however, I hope in the future to complete compilation of a dictionary, and to do more analysis at the discourse level.

The extensive list of abbreviations in this work has been criticised; I also dislike it. Abbreviations could be eliminated altogether at the price of making many items more cumbersome; apart from this I see no easy way to avoid them. They are a price to be paid if mathematical-like formulae are to be easily followed. Some abbreviations are confined to phonology, others to grammar. Many (e.g. B, H) are defined when introduced, others (e.g. loc, intrans) are fairly self explanatory in context.

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INTRODUCTION

1. Previous Publications on Alawa

1.0.0 Very little of either linguistic or anthropological information has been published on Alawa. Spencer and Gillen, and later Spencer, list Allaua or Kallaua as a language of this area, and place it correctly on the map, but appear to have no other information specific to this tribe.¹ Capell obtained data from Barnabas Roberts, and published a summary of phonological and grammatical points of interest in 1942.² He considered tonal features of the language to be worth studying. The most extensive publication concerning the tribe is Douglas Lockwood's popular book, "I, the Aboriginal",³ a biography of Barnabas's eldest son. The book contains a number of words from the language, though only a few of them have been corroborated by the present data. This is understandable as some of these words are to do with ceremonial, a subject which has hardly been touched in the present data.

1.0.1 The state of knowledge on the neighbouring tribes Mara and Wandarang is very much the same. Spencer and Gillen have a little information on the Mara tribe. Capell has notes on these languages and has published a Wandarang myth.⁴ Hale has collected some Mara data.⁵ Wandarang is known now to only two or three people. Mara is probably known to about the same number as Alawa, or possibly to more. Another neighbouring tribe to the south is Ngewin, about which nothing is known. From comments by Alawa people at Nutwood Downs it may have been a subgroup of the Alawa tribe with a closely related dialect, but it could have been otherwise. Locations of the tribes are shown in the map, Fig. 1.

1.0.2 Dr. Capell kindly made available his notes on Alawa and other languages of the area. Comparison shows my data and his to be in substantial agreement.⁶

1.1 Informants and Field Procedure

The present analysis is based largely on data from one speaker, Mr. Barnabas Roberts, who was born between 1894 and 1898.⁷ Nutwood Downs was his territory, but since young manhood he has spent much of his life at the Roper River Mission (now a Government Settlement), where he worked as a stockman.⁸

1.1.1 Data was obtained by the following procedure:

1. Recording elicitation of words and sentences;
2. Recording and transcribing, first of monologue, then of conversation;
3. Further elicitation to elucidate commoner constructions.⁹

1.2 Introduction to the Language

Prenasalised stops, the alveolar and retroflexed alveolar consonants, and the vocoid [ɛ] were phones requiring much study before their phonemic status could be determined.

1.2.1 Nasals followed by their homorganic stops are common word medially in Australian languages; in some of these languages they also occur word initially. However not often have they been interpreted as unit phonemes; in Alawa such an interpretation seems the most satisfactory. Yet for describing some phenomena in the language the level of phonetic segments, that level at which a prenasalised stop is regarded as a sequence of a nasal and stop, is pertinent; therefore at these points this level of segments rather than phonemes will be referred to.

1.2.2 Alveolar and retroflexed alveolar consonants are clearly distinguished in many word medial and final occurrences, not so readily distinguished in other occurrences in these environments, and not distinguished at all word initially. Retroflexed alveolar consonants have been interpreted as unit phonemes in contrast with alveolar phonemes, except word initially where they have been interpreted as allophones of alveolar consonants.

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1.2.3 The three languages Alawa, Mara and Wandarang all have the three vowel phonemes /i/, /a/ and /u/; a fourth vowel phoneme /e/ is peculiar to Alawa. It has apparently developed from allophonic lowering of /i/ in the environment of certain liquids or /k/, from the raising of /a/ and lowering of /i/ in certain contexts in auxiliary verbs, and from the raising of /a/ after palatal consonants within other contributory environments. A phone [o] occurs in the environment of certain liquids, but there is as yet no evidence that it is other than an allophone of the phoneme /u/.

1.2.4 Morphophonemic change of semivowels /y/ and /w/ in some morphemic and phonological contexts follows the same pattern in Alawa, Mara and Wandarang. In certain morphemic and phonemic environments, these semivowels are replaced by stops, /y/ by the alveodental stop, /w/ by a velar or bilabial stop.

1.2.5 Some variation in phonology seems to occur from speaker to speaker. Word initially, prenasalised stops seem generally less common in the speech of women and younger people. One man in his thirties stated that the Galawa language was spoken by the older generation, and Alawa by the younger generation. An older man claimed the women were less accurate in speech. The women speakers encountered were usually younger than the men, so the difference noted between men and women could have been correlated in part with age. Yet in the speech of two of the most fluent younger women, distribution and frequency of word initial prenasalised stops and of the phoneme /e/ did not appear to differ markedly from that in the speech of the older men.

1.2.6 Two of the names of the language, Galawa and Alawa, together with other words, suggests that an initial /k/ has been lost comparatively recently from words that now begin with /a/ or /e/. However the younger man quoted above says the difference between the languages Galawa and Alawa lies in the change from "heavy" sounds (prenasalised stops) word initially to "light" sounds (devoiced stops). This suggests that reduction of prenasalised stops to devoiced stops and loss of initial /k/ in some words has occurred together.

1.2.7 It is therefore interesting to note that a few verb roots beginning with devoiced stops are closely associated with substantives identical phonemically except in having initial prenasalised stops.¹⁰ Only two verb roots found to date begin with prenasalised stops.¹¹ Mara, on the other hand, has a large number of verb roots beginning with prenasalised stops, roots which are cognate with Alawa roots. The same informant will give the Mara forms with prenasalised stops and the Alawa forms with devoiced stops.

1.2.8 Order of phrases within the clause and of words within noun phrases is variable; relationships are signalled by inflection. The order, however, is determined partly either by length of phrases, or by choice of item emphasised or chosen as topic. Variation of intonation within the major types in some cases is determined by the type and length of phrase occurring clause finally. One intonation pattern is limited largely to clauses having a continuous aspect verb.

1.3 Mode of Analysis

1.3.0 Analysis of phonemes and their allophones was aided by preparing a phone by phone concordance of samples of running text on the IBM 1410 computer. Frequency counts of phonemes and phoneme sequences were made on dictionary entries and running text, using the GE 225 computer. Pitch and intensity curves for extracts from running text were obtained using the Mingograph. Some sorting of data on the GE 225 computer speeded up grammatical analysis.

1.3.1 Analysis was begun at the level of the phonological utterance. Utterances of one or two words in length were used for preliminary analysis; wherever possible such short utterances are used to illustrate phonological contrasts. Longer utterances were needed for intonation study. In some cases it was necessary to treat the phonological discourse level (as for example when the discourse is a conversation

involving question and answer). Analysis in terms of the utterance clarifies problems involving alveolar and retroflexed alveolar consonants, between which there is some morphophonemic alternation. Contrasts of phonemes or suprasegmental items were considered established only when they could be shown at specific points in complete utterances.

The present analysis is based mainly on the speech of one informant, so that the utterance is the highest level of the hierarchy to which much reference is made. But the informant often took the part of two or more speakers in recounting incidents. Comparison with actual conversation shows his reproduction of a conversational situation to be realistic. Grammatical analysis depends heavily on analysis of intonation patterns, as there are often no grammatical clues to clause and sentence boundaries.

1.3.2 Eight levels have been distinguished within the phonological hierarchy. In descending order, these are: discourse, utterance, sentence, phrase, word, syllable, phoneme, segment. Each higher unit may contain one or more of the next lower unit; however, the number of phonemes per syllable cannot exceed four, nor the number of segments per phoneme, two. The segment is pertinent only in the phonological rules; prenasalised stops consist of two segments, and all other phonemes of one. The phonological sentence is a phonological phrase, or series of phonological phrases, either utterance initial, or preceded by a final intonation contour. All other phonological levels are determined without reference to suprasegmental items. Intonation contours are contrastive at the phrase level and above.¹²

1.3.3 Paralleling such phonological segmentation is grammatical segmentation into units, each of which may contain one or more of the next lower grammatical unit. In descending order these are: discourse, utterance, sentence, clause, phrase, word, morpheme, formative. Where phonological segmentation is into phrase and word, grammatical segmentation is into clause, phrase, and word; elsewhere, except for the phonological segment, which has no grammatical parallel, the units roughly parallel each other. Phonological and grammatical segmentations are often at variance in Alawa below the level of the sentence; grammatical and phonological units are often, but by no means always, coterminous at the level of the sentence and above.¹³

1.4 Competence and Performance

1.4.0 A useful distinction is made often between the competence and performance of a speaker of a language. This distinction corresponds to that between "correct grammar" and actual utterances (which may include what the native speaker regards as grammatical slips, or hesitations and false starts). That such a distinction exists for speakers of Alawa has been assumed. Informants will at times give constructions which they later deny to be correct. In some cases a construction or form has been obtained only once, in other cases many times; in some cases discrepancies may be due to errors of recording on the part of the linguist.

1.4.1 For constructions which seemed odd or inexplicable, whether uttered once or many times, it has not always been possible to obtain the informant's opinion. If in the analyst's judgement the construction is a grammatical error it has been ignored in making the analysis, though it may be referred to as an example of the type of discrepancy between competence and performance which can occur. An analysis of the relation between competence and performance makes an interesting study.¹⁴ If there is fair evidence that the construction is correct it is described in the body of the thesis with no comment. If there is only one or very few examples, and evidence as to grammaticality is inconclusive, the construction may be found mentioned in a footnote.

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1.5 Word Classes in Alawa

1.5.0 The various word classes in Alawa are introduced in the following section, to provide a brief introduction to the structure of the language.

Broadly the major word classes, and the phrases in which they occur are:

In the verb phrase: verb roots, auxiliary verbs, predicative negative, adverbs, adjectives;

In the noun phrase: pronouns, substantives, demonstratives, location words;

Other: non-existential, temporals, conjunctions, interjections, sentence words.

Interrogatives occur as a class intersecting many of the above. An interrogative verb root, interrogative substantives, interrogative locatives,¹⁵ an interrogative temporal, and an interrogative sentence word exist.

1.5.1 Inflectable stems are verb roots, auxiliary stems, pronouns, substantives, demonstratives, location words, and temporals. These are inflectable as follows: verb roots by substantivisers, and for some cases; auxiliary stems for tense and person-number; pronouns for case, for person-number, and to form substantive-like demonstratives; some demonstratives for person-number only, and some for case only; location words for two directionals; temporals for genitive case. All of these, except auxiliary stems, may also occur uninflected.

1.5.2 Affixes which occur are classified broadly as: pronominal affixes, case markers, directional suffixes, substantivisers, qualitative suffixes, and tense affixes.

1.5.3 A verb stem is the nucleus of the verb phrase. It consists in surface structure of either a verb root and an auxiliary stem (in this order), or an auxiliary stem only. The verb root is uninflected in this position. The auxiliary stem is affixed to indicate person and number of one or two participants in the action or state indicated by the verb stem, and for tense, aspect and mood, to form the auxiliary verb. Each verb root may occur with a limited choice of auxiliaries, with varying shades of transitivity or aspect meanings.¹⁶

1.5.4 The verb root is commonly of a distinctive syllable pattern, the most frequently occurring of these being CVC, which appears to occur in no other word class (except for one conjunction *mal* 'because'¹⁷). Patterns are: (CV)CV((L)C),¹⁸ CVCCV(C(V(C))), CVCVC(C)V, with one example each of VL and CVCVCVCVCV.¹⁹ The phoneme /e/ occurs quite frequently in roots of the shape CV(L)C, and in both syllable together of roots of the form CVCVC. Verb stems receive strong phrase stress in certain intonation patterns. Two verb roots begin with prenasalised stops, one with a vowel, and all others with other consonants.

1.5.5 All auxiliary verbs are affixed for tense, aspect and mood and with pronominal affixes. According to the type of pronominal affix they are classed as monoreferential or direferential. Monoreferential auxiliaries are affixed for person and number of the subject of the clause; direferential auxiliaries may (and usually do) have affixes agreeing with a referent in the clause as well as with the subject. Person-number affixes are usually prefixes; tense affixes (signalling tense, aspect, and mood, and sometimes reflexivity) are suffixed. Most auxiliary stems are of the form ((C)V)CV. The only syllable final consonants in auxiliary verb affixes are /n/, /l/ and /ɾ/. The two phonemes /n/ and /l/ sometimes occur geminate; such geminate consonants are phonetically very similar to the corresponding single consonants in normal speech, so initially were not recognised as geminate by the linguist. The auxiliary verb is most likely to be found with single intervocalic consonants, though consonant clusters with the syllable final consonants named above are not uncommon. Auxiliary verbs have been found with from one to seven syllables.

1.5.6 The predicative negative *ɲayi* may precede a verb stem or a predicative noun phrase to indicate that the action or state signified by the verb stem or noun phrase is not so. Adverbs or adjectives may modify meanings of verbs or predicative noun phrases.

1.5.7 Substantives are inflectable for case and person-number. They are classified as nouns and adjectives. Adjectives are distinguished from nouns by their greater generality; an adjective is applicable to a much more diverse collection of items than a noun. It usually (possibly always) presupposes an item representable by a noun to be specified in the linguistic or paralinguistic context, whereas the reverse is not true.²⁰

1.5.8 Nouns may be subclassified in various ways: according to gender (whether the gender is marked by prefixes or not), according to animateness or inanimateness, and according to possible suffixation for possessor. Many animate and inanimate nouns are not distinguished overtly, but their distribution is different.

1.5.9 Pronouns and pronominal substitutes may be distinguished from the demonstratives and locatives by having a complete range of persons and numbers co-extensive with that of the monoreferential pronominal affixes. Pronouns show a different range of cases to substantives, and the most frequently contrasting cases are shown by a choice between two sets of pronouns rather than by suffixation. Pronominal substitutes do not appear to have case inflection. Demonstratives have forms for the different third person genders and numbers. They usually, though not invariably, indicate spatial location of the item with regard to the speaker (near or far, etc.); some demonstratives are inflectable for case.

1.5.10 Location words when unaffixed, function similarly to nouns in locative case. They are subclassified into locatives and location names. Many locatives and all location names may be inflected for allative and elative directions. Prepositional locatives are a subclass which may optionally be followed by a locative case noun phrase.

1.5.11 The non-existential *madi* negates the existence of an item, which if expressed overtly is represented by a noun phrase in genitive case. It may also function as a sentence word 'no'.

1.5.12 Temporals are words indicating time. They tend to occur in peripheral positions in clauses. Genitive case inflection has been found on some temporals, to indicate purpose.

1.5.13 Conjunctions are a miscellaneous collection of small words of the form CV(CV) or VCV, functioning at different levels, and with different semantic contents. Two phrase level conjunctions appear to have no semantic function, but optionally mark certain relationships between phrases in the clause. Two other conjunctions subordinate the following clause to the preceding in specified semantic ways, and combinations of conjunctions sometimes occur. One other conjunction links two independent clauses in an adversative sense.

1.5.14 Interjections do not enter into syntactic relations with other words. One such is *kiři*, glossed 'oh'; a speaker often uses it when he corrects an utterance he has made.

1.5.15 Sentence words make complete clauses in themselves. They include *ka* 'what was that you said?', 'I beg your pardon?', and *yu* 'yes'.

1.5.16 Many interrogatives commence with the phonemes /*ŋa*/ followed by a nasal segment; the verb root interrogative commences with /*na*/ followed by a nasal segment. Two interrogatives begin with /*ka*/: the sentence interrogative *ka* (see above) and the locative *kala* 'where'. Interrogatives are distinguished intonationally from non-interrogative words by the occurrence of high pitch on the stressed syllable (the penultimate syllable).

1.5.17 The present analysis does not handle all constructions found in the data, though it generates most of them. Neither does it touch structures above the sentence very thoroughly. A word by word concordance of samples of text would be a great asset in such analysis; as there has not been opportunity to complete this at the present time, it has been handled only briefly in the present thesis.

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1.6 Theoretical Approach

1.6.0 Basically, the theory underlying much of the analysis here presented is tagmemics. However, some concepts from transformational-generative²¹ grammar have been incorporated. These are the surface level and deep structure distinction, the use of transforms to handle grammatical agreement, and the use of batteries of related clause and phrase types. The attempt has been made to let the data suggest the methods most fitted to elucidate it, rather than allowing a theory, a linguistic model, to dictate the presentation too closely.

However, where symbolic representation is used, the symbols often bear closer resemblance to those common in TG grammars, rather than to those used by most tagmemicists. A particular theory need not be, though in practice it often is, wedded to a particular set of symbols; there is a variety of ways in which the same information can be presented symbolically, without doing violence to the underlying linguistic theory or model.

1.6.1 Being most familiar with tagmemic theory, I had intended to use this theory entirely for the present grammar. This theory has been proved in value by the large number of publications of grammars using it, in a wide variety of languages, and by the contribution it has made to the analysis of languages, including this present one. However, I have not been happy at the sometimes laborious strivings of its proponents to describe all data in certain categories, including those of three interlocking hierarchies, slots and their fillers, and etic and emic distinctions; nor have I been happy with some of the symbolism usually employed.

The three interlocking hierarchies propounded by Pike²², the phonological, grammatical and semantic, have sometimes been criticised. Many TG grammarians have felt complications are introduced in the description by sharply delineating the hierarchies and levels, in particular the phonemic level of the phonological hierarchy. It often occurs that grammatical features can be mapped immediately on to phonetic features, and the phonemic level is irrelevant. Distinction between phonology, grammar and semantics is not stressed by TG grammarians; boundaries between these three hierarchies or strata of language are blurred, though by no means always completely absent.

Grammarians of other schools have also at times been dissatisfied with the three hierarchies as propounded by Pike. Even some tagmemicists have modified their view of these hierarchies for application to the language of their choice.

1.6.2 Some of these modifications have moved in the direction of stratificational grammar as propounded recently by Lamb²³. This type of modification has resulted in increasing the number of hierarchies, though sometimes groupings of the hierarchies are made. One such attempt was that of Crawford's "Totontepec Mixe Phonotagmemics",²⁴ where he introduced a hierarchy of phonotagmemic units; he thus postulates a hierarchy of filler units in the phonological structure plus a hierarchy of slot-plus-class units (his newly postulated hierarchy), paralleling a hierarchy of filler units (the lexical or morphemic hierarchy) and a hierarchy of slot-plus-class units (the tagmemic or grammatical hierarchy). Crawford felt "this represents a more consistent interpretation of hierarchical structure according to the general premises of Pike's "Language" than that actually presented in "Language"."²⁵

Lamb's stratificational grammar theory exemplifies this multiplication of hierarchies, or strata as he calls them. In various formulations of this theory he has postulated four, five, and six strata; he also states:

"Evidence available so far suggests that all natural languages have at least four, and that at least some languages, including English, have six strata. A six stratum structure may be regarded as made up of three major components, SEMOLOGY, GRAMMAR, and PHONOLOGY, each of which comprises two stratal systems. Such a three-way division into major components is perhaps appropriate for all natural languages, but until further research is done it remains an open question whether each of the three major components in every language comprises exactly two stratal systems."²⁶

There are certain attractive features of Lamb's system. One is his attempt to delineate clearly how semantics is mapped through grammatical and phonological structures to sound, and vice versa. Another is the symbolism employed; however, as stated above, this need not be irrevocably associated with a particular theory followed.

1.6.3 Therefore a description of the present data using stratificational grammar was attempted. Initially the results appeared promising. In morphophonemics, in particular, the postulation of morphons behaving in various ways showed promise of clarifying the changes which do take place, and the relationships between the different forms. But the net result was not simplification and clarification, but an unnecessary complication of symbols and an obscuring of relationships between different forms.

The stratificational theory also forced the separation of phonologically, grammatically, and lexically conditioned allomorphic variation in the description; this separation did not always seem desirable, or make the description clearer, particularly as some conditioned allomorphs are conditioned by a combination of two or more of these features. The equations were becoming too long and involved, obscuring the structure. Changes which could be described in three succinct lines of prose were being described by methods which took half a page of prose and complicated symbolism.

1.6.4 Hockett, one of the first to attempt division of language structure into strata, recently reviewed Lamb's 1966 book,²⁷ and with some wit and discernment showed that this division, which initially appeared so promising, has led up a blind alley.

"Here Lamb's current version of stratificational theory, for all its forbidding complexity, turns out to be a Procrustean bed. For each instance of alternation we discover, we have the choice only of one or another of five (or ten) treatments. . . . The diversity of the facts of languages is much greater than the diversity of treatment allowed for by stratificational grammar; that is perhaps the main reason why more and more strata have been recognized, with no obvious limit in sight.

"Even the old two-stratum model rendered awkward the discussion of certain facts about languages. If morphemes are abstract, unstructured units, not composed of phonemic material but only represented thereby, then certain cross-cutting similarities in shape and meaning between utterances — similarities, that, I am convinced, play a part in leading people to speak as they do and to understand the speech of others as they do — need to be ignored. The error here is, I believe, one only hinted at by Bloomfield, but then taken up uncritically by such theorists as Harris and me. We wanted a neat parallelism between language design viewed phonologically and language design viewed grammatically. An utterance consists . . . , without residue, of a hierarchical arrangement of ultimate phonological constituents. We wanted an utterance to consist grammatically of a similar hierarchical arrangement, the ultimate grammatical components being morphemes. . . . So, in the end, how many strata do we need? Not Lamb's current eleven or six. Not my two of 1961. Not even just one. None at all. The stratificational view was an error from the outset."²⁸

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While the faults of driving the stratum model to an extreme are clearly apparent, it cannot be denied that the general classification of language into phonology, grammar and semantics has been of considerable use, and generally has been widespread. Pike uses it; Lamb in his 1966 formulation groups his strata into these categories; the TG grammarians find the division generally useful, as does the English school under Halliday. The distinction has been retained in this analysis; however, it has been recognised that this concept of language theory, like other parts of language theory, can be found to be in conflict with the data if pushed too far.²⁹ In Alawa, as in other languages, examples showing "cross-cutting similarities" between form and meaning exist; they warn us that too rigid a partition of language into three hierarchies overlooks such phenomena.³⁰ As Pike states, the hierarchies interlock. Theories or models are helpful in explaining the data, provided they remain subservient to the data.

1.6.5 The tagmemic theory's distinction between slot and filler is sometimes criticised by TG grammarians, for similar reasons to their criticisms of the three hierarchies: they claim that sometimes a needless intermediate step is added. There are cases in all or most languages where there is but one filler for a particular slot, and distinction between slot and filler blurs. However, it is probably true that in all languages certain items (sometimes with minor modification by case endings, etc.) may fill many slots, and conversely, some slots may be filled by a variety of items. In these cases, both the form of the filler, and the function of the slot, are relevant; drawing a distinction between slot and filler adds clarity here, and saves much repetitious description. The distinction is therefore used in this analysis where useful.

1.6.6 A distinction made by Pike between etic and emic has been an extremely valuable one, particularly in phonology. However, when applied to grammatical features, the term etic appears to be used in a manner not always consistent with its use in phonology. In grammar the term etic is often used by tagmemicists to refer to semantic type distinctions, not grammatically signalled formal distinctions (which are the emes of this hierarchy). Elson and Pickett write that in general when an investigator begins analysing a language he makes notes initially in terms of his own background — in terms of his own language, other languages he has studied, and his other linguistic training. From these early notes the analyst seeks to find the units and groupings significant to the structure of the language itself.

"Generally speaking, the procedures for determining the emic units are fairly clear in dealing with sound systems (whether using phonemes or features as the basic units). They are also fairly clear in dealing with lexical systems. When dealing with tagmemes and constructions, however, there are still problems as to whether, say, the subject of an active sentence is the 'same' as the subject of a passive, or whether the transitive and intransitive clauses are the 'same' in English."³¹

Longacre states:

"As empirical investigation of the grammars of the world's languages moves forward, the range and variety of grammatical constructions will be increasingly well known. At present, enough is known about sound systems of the world's languages that systematic phonetics is now a reality. In this same fashion the time will come when the etics of grammar will be similarly capable of formulation. This formulation will then be available to guide the beginning guesses of the student of a previously unanalysed language."³²

It would seem that many of these so-called etic grammatical distinctions are emic in a deeper sense; they reflect categorisation of events that all human beings make, categorisation necessary in order to describe the world in which we live.

1.6.7 In the realm of grammar the TG grammarians' distinction between surface and deep structures seems more pertinent than that of emic and etic. Emic grammatical structures in the tagmemicist's sense correspond roughly (though not exactly) to surface structures in the TG sense, and "etic" distinctions contain many which pertain to the deep underlying structure, where many surface dissimilarities between languages do not appear. However the tagmemicist also includes among etic grammatical structures variants in the structures which are in free variation, or which are conditioned by context (and which in the TG view belong to surface structure). This application of the term etic to two entirely different types of grammatical distinction is one which certain tagmemicists have wrestled with, though they may not have stated the problem in this form.³³

1.6.8 The confused use of the terms etic and emic in grammar seems to me at present to be due to a lack of recognition of part of the meaning of these concepts as used in phonology, and possibly also to too great a striving after grammatical formulation paralleling phonological formulation. Phonetics deals with sounds irrespective of system, phonemics with the sound systems of languages. Procedures are taught in phonology for discovering the sound systems of languages. Less recognition is usually given to the general similarity of pattern of such sound systems.

It is a basic assumption, and therefore often overlooked, that certain patterns of phonemes are to be expected.³⁴ Why? Again it may be useful to rethink our use of the terms etic and emic in phonology. As grammar must be able to handle descriptions of certain types of events in the world, and therefore all languages tend to have similar deep structures, so all phonological systems must be able to be handled by the normally formed vocal tract and by the ear of the listener without too much effort, and therefore there are deeper similarities in phonological systems than those which are traceable to language family similarities. Similarities of phonological systems are no doubt imposed by the vocal and auditory apparatus as much as by their development from earlier phonological systems; similarities in deep structures of grammatical systems are also no doubt imposed by the common inventory of event-types which need to be discussed.

1.6.9 An example might make the problem of use of terms etic and emic in grammar clearer. In Alawa order of tagmemes in the clause or of words within a noun phrase is relatively free. Different orderings are etic (not emic) in the usual sense of the word as used in phonology. They are permutations at surface structure level in TG theory.

1.6.10 Another example concerns comparison between Alawa and PE.³⁵ In Alawa tense-aspect-mood and case are indicated by suffixation of auxiliary stems and substantives respectively; in PE they are indicated by preposed words. However the contrasts distinguished are found to be in nearly all respects identical. In surface structure the languages are very different; in deep structure and semantically they are almost identical; the structures are therefore emic to both languages at the deep level. Though the same semantic distinctions are emic to both languages, some tagmemicists would regard as etic the semantic distinctions which have been used to elicit the forms in the two languages. The etic-emic distinction, and also the surface structure-deep structure distinction, have been utilised in this present analysis, both in phonology and grammar.

1.6.11 Tagmemic symbolism is often criticised by other grammarians for its clumsiness. An attractive feature of Lamb's stratificational grammar is its symbolism, which is less clumsy in appearance (to me at least) than some tagmemic formulae. There is of course no reason why some modification of symbolism should not be borrowed from this and other theories, to be used in a tagmemic description.³⁶ Equations and symbols are only shorthand forms of descriptions; it is always advisable, whatever theory is followed, to supplement all equations by statements in clear prose.

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A particular piece of traditional tagmemic symbolism, which offends any person familiar with its mathematical usage, is the sign $\pm$ for optional occurrence; parentheses seem far clearer. Another awkward feature of tagmemic symbolism is the handling of constructions with non-contiguous items which are present or absent together; this is more neatly handled by stratificational or TG symbolism and equations.

1.6.12 Methods of TG grammar have been chosen in particular for presentation of grammatical agreement, which is well suited to the application of transforms. They also have been chosen for presentation of clause and some phrase types in batteries, following Hiž and Thomas.³⁷ These batteries emphasise the relationship between certain types of constructions which describe, with varying emphases, aspects of the same proposition or situation.³⁸

However, an underlying string constituent analysis is adhered to, rather than an immediate constituent analysis. Most TG grammarians use the latter, though it would seem that Fillmore's concept of propositions is more easily based on a string constituent analysis rather than an immediate constituent analysis.³⁹

1.6.13 It is assumed in the presentation here that language is a part of human behaviour, and that linguistic forms may sometimes be replaced or modified by paralinguistic forms.⁴⁰ A distinction between nuclear and peripheral items in a construction is made in this grammar, a distinction between optionally deletable and optionally present items. A nuclear item at any level is defined as one which is obligatorily specified semantically, even though sometimes it may be omitted from the linguistic signal.⁴¹ Stated differently, a nuclear item must be present in deep structure, though it may be absent linguistically from surface structure. In general, the informant always responds to a question to elicit a nuclear item as relevant and comprehensible, though he may not respond to a question on a peripheral item as comprehensible. Languages vary in what nuclear items they allow to be dropped from the linguistic signal, though probably not as markedly as formal descriptions of languages might suggest. It is also assumed, following Fillmore,⁴² that in the basic structure of clause nuclei, there is a proposition, a tenseless set of relationships involving verbs and noun phrases, which is separable from a modality constituent which includes negation, tense, mood and aspect.

This analysis is therefore presented, in the hope that it will in small measure show the pattern of this interesting language, and through this, contribute to general linguistic knowledge.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen (1904). "The Northern Tribes of Central Australia". London: Macmillan. Baldwin Spencer (1914). "Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia". London: Macmillan.
- 2 A. Capell (1942). "Languages of Arnhem Land, North Australia". *Oceania* 12:364-68, 13:29-31.
- 3 Douglas Lockwood (1962). "I, the Aboriginal". Adelaide: Rigby.
- 4 Capell (1942), p.382-85, p.31-33. Capell (1960). "The Wandarang and Other Tribal Myths of the Yabuduruwa Ritual". *Oceania* 30:206-224.
- 5 Kenneth Hale, unpublished data.
- 6 Capell's published Wandarang text was utilised in analysis of Wandarang for comparative purposes; otherwise the present analysis is based entirely on data I have collected.

INTRODUCTION

- 7 Details on all informants supplying data for the study is given in Appendix A.
- 8 He has also been a lay preacher in the church there. In this capacity he has made a number of trips over the years to Nutwood Downs and Hodgson Downs, so maintaining contact with Alawa speaking communities.
- 9 Elicitation was not a satisfactory means of obtaining less common constructions. Furthermore without a fair number of examples of the same construction in free speech, an elicited construction should be treated with extreme reserve. See discussion in McKaughan (1966), p.2,3.
- 10 /gapul/ 'cooked', /kapul neni/ 'it cooks'; /buṭa/ 'camp', /puṭa neni/ 'he cooks it'; /ḍili/ 'hill side', /ṭili naḷa/ 'he goes along the hill side'.
- 11 These are /daŋ/ or /taŋ/ 'thirsty', and /bul/ 'go away en masse'. In the first example the prenasalised stop fluctuates with a devoiced stop.
- 12 In normal speech, interruptions and hesitations may cause nonfinal intonation contours to occur at the ends of utterances.
- 13 In other languages also, phonological and grammatical units do not always coincide, for example in the English phrase 'has been taking'. Phonologically there are three words, 'has', 'been', and 'taking'. Grammatically there is a morpheme '-s', and three words 'have- -en', 'be- -ing', and 'take'. As an example of higher units not coinciding, one may take the phrasing of those people of one's acquaintance who are addicted to pausing in the middle of sentences only.
- 14 See for example D. S. Boomer and J. D. M. Laver (1968). "Slips of the Tongue". Brit Jnl of Disorders of Communication, 3:2-12.
- 15 Locatives are a subclass of location words.
- 16 One combination seems to signal the basic meaning of the verb stem; this combination seems understood whenever the verb root occurs alone. Interestingly, although informants will often use the verb root alone in speech, they tend to correct the foreign speaker who attempts to do the same, by adding the auxiliary corresponding to the basic meaning; they will often insist, when their own utterances are played back to them, that the auxiliary is present, though phonetically it is absent.
- 17 And in English borrowings.
- 18 C and V stand for consonant and vowel respectively; L stands for a liquid or the alveolar semivowel.
- 19 aṛ 'daybreak'; ɲariririma 'go round in corroboree'.
- 20 See discussion in Otto Jespersen (1924). "The Philosophy of Grammar". London: George Allen and Unwin, p. 75, 76.
- 21 Henceforth referred to as TG.
- 22 Kenneth L. Pike, (1967). "Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior". (2nd revised edn.) The Hague: Mouton.
- 23 Sydney M. Lamb (1966). "Outline of Stratificational Grammar". Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- 24 John Chapman Crawford (1963). "Totontepec Mixe Phonotagmemics". Norman, Oklahoma: Summer Institute of Linguistics, p. 12.
- 25 Crawford (1963), p.12.
- 26 Lamb (1966), p.1.

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- 27 Charles F. Hockett (1968). "Outline of a Stratificational Grammar (Lamb)". I.J.A.L. 34: 145-152.
- 28 Hockett (1968), p.152,3.
- 29 Such conflict between model and reality is not unknown in the physical sciences also, as, for example, in the two models of electrons, one as particles, the other as waves.
- 30 For example, *yililiṭilili* 'green parrots' is more than a language symbol, it is also an imitation of the shrill cries of a flock of these birds. Reduplication to show some plurals is another such example.
- 31 Benjamin Elson and Velma Pickett (1962). "An Introduction to Morphology and Syntax". Santa Ana: Summer Institute of Linguistics, p.3,4.
- 32 Robert E. Longacre (1964). "Grammar Discovery Procedures". The Hague: Mouton, p.12.
- 33 For example, see Longacre (1964), p.23 footnote, on discussion with Gudschinsky.
- 34 I have been unable to trace the reference, but a prominent linguist illustrated this point by showing a hypothetical and atypical list of phonemes of a supposed language to other linguists; reactions varied from surprise to outright disbelief.
- 35 PE will be used to refer to the "Pidgin English" creole of the Roper River area.
- 36 For example, Bee uses TG formulations for morphophonemic rules. Darlene L. Bee (1965). *Usarufa: A Descriptive Grammar*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis submitted to the Graduate School of Indiana University.
- 37 David D. Thomas (1964). "Transformational Paradigms from Clause Roots". *Anthropological Linguistics* 6:1:1-6. See ¶10.0.
- 38 For example, relationship between such clauses and phrases in English as 'John hit Bill', 'Bill was hit (by John)', 'John's hitting', 'the hitting of John', etc.
- 39 Charles J. Fillmore (1968). "The Case for Case", in Emmon Bach and Robert T. Harms (eds) "Universals in Linguistic Theory". Holt, Rinehart and Winston, p.1-88.
- 40 For example, a shake of the head can substitute for 'no' in English.
- 41 For example, the command 'look!' presupposes an object to look at, though it is not always indicated verbally; it is optionally deletable, but nuclear. But the same command does not necessarily presuppose the stating of the direction in which to look, nor the manner of looking, nor the exact time in the future; these items are optionally present, or peripheral. See discussion in Otto Jespersen (1933). "The System of Grammar". *Linguistica*. London: George Allen and Unwin, p.306,7.
- 42 Fillmore (1968).

VOICE QUALITY AND PHONEMES

2.1 Voice Quality and Articulatory Setting

2.1.0 Articulatory setting is defined by Hongikman as

“the gross oral posture, both external and internal, requisite as a framework for the comfortable, economic, and fluent merging and integrating of the isolated sounds into that harmonious, cognizable whole which constitutes the established pronunciation of a language.”¹

When compared with most varieties of Australian English, one sees that for Alawa (as for many other Australian languages) the jaw is more open, and the lips more spread and lax. There is no rounding of the lips in Alawa, except very slightly for /w/. The tongue, when at rest, is convex to the roof of the mouth with the tip behind the lower teeth. Possibly correlated with these or other features of the setting, the alveolar continuants /l/ and /n/ often have a flap onset syllable finally.

2.1.1 The effect of the rest position of the tongue can be seen in the allophones of the alveopalatal consonants. Unless these are contiguous to alveolar or retroflexed alveolar consonants, the tongue tip is behind the bottom teeth, and the tongue blade only is in contact with the alveolar ridge and palate; when these are contiguous to alveolar or retroflexed alveolar consonants (for which of necessity the tongue tip is raised to the alveolar ridge), the tongue tip also is touching the alveolar ridge in the alveopalatal position.

2.1.2 The effect of the wider jaw setting can be seen in the alveolar and retroflexed alveolar consonants, in both of which the underside of the tongue is clearly visible. The wider jaw setting, and the consequent curling up of the tongue for both alveolar and retroflexed alveolar consonants, contributes a quality to vowels preceding these consonants which is similar to retroflexion. Therefore distinguishing between alveolar and retroflexed alveolar consonants is a little difficult.

2.1.3 Because of the flap onset of /l/ syllable finally, it is also difficult for the English-tuned ear to distinguish between /l/ and /ɾ/ in this position (/ɾ/ is the vibrant, with flap and trill allophones). Several times also the informant apologised for indistinct articulation, particularly when the phonemes /l/, /ɾ/, /l/ and /r/ were involved, attributing this to his missing upper incisor teeth.

In listening to the Pidgin English of these people the quality of the lateral is very distinctive. Following a vowel, the lateral always has a retroflexed quality to it. This phenomenon is also to be noted in Brisbane Aboriginals, and is apparently associated with the wider jaw setting and the positioning of the tongue.

2.1.5 In voice quality there appears to be a marked lack of nasal tone, and considerable faucalisation. The situation seems analogous to that mentioned by Greene² concerning the Liverpool dialect in England, where the whole population sounds as though it had chronic catarrh; this was in many cases true, but the quality was mainly imitative. The quality of Alawa voices is approximated with no difficulty by the Australian English speaker suffering from a cold and sore throat. Colds are common among the Alawa, most children having runny noses. In the damp and dewy early mornings a whole chorus of coughing is often heard. The over-all effect of speaking voices is a pleasant, quiet, but distinctive type of voice for normal conversation, and a harsh penetrating voice when shouting.

2.1.6 Laryngealisation is common at the end of intonation contours, and throughout phrases of certain intonation types. Pitch of voice is not markedly different from that of Australian English; if anything the timbre is deeper (weaker higher harmonics).

ALAWA PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

2.2 Stress Patterns

2.2.0 In the phonological phrase the basic stress pattern is that of a rapid build up of intensity on the first syllable, and a decay of intensity on the last one to three syllables, sometimes marked enough that a final syllable is almost inaudible or voiceless; syllables of approximately equal intensity intervene. Within words, the penultimate syllable tends to have slightly more stress, and within the phrase marked stress is heard on certain words, usually grammatically predictable.

2.2.1 Mingograph curves corroborate the above description, showing stress in general to be fairly even on all syllables after the initial build up of intensity on the first syllable, and before the decay of intensity on the last syllables of the phrase, as mentioned above, except when phrase stress is involved. They also show that stress has components of raised intensity and pitch.³ Details of the stress pattern are described in the chapter on intonation (chapter 4). Syllables tend to be evenly spaced within phrases, though phrases may differ in speed; syllables with phrase stress are longer than other syllables.

In the following description of phonemes and their distribution, words which do not follow the phonological patterns are excluded; these words are dealt with at the end of the chapter on intonation (§4.6).

2.3 Segmental Phonemes

2.3.1 The phonemes as listed and described below are for convenience called surface level phonemes. They are found by using phonological techniques with minimal reference to grammar, techniques such as those described by Pike.⁴ But the word "phoneme" has been used in several ways in recent decades. When Sapir wrote on "The Psychological Reality of Phonemes"⁵ he was referring to a slightly different entity than Pike. It is this concept of phoneme which has again been used by Halle, Bach and Chomsky.⁶ As understood by these writers, phonemes include some of what other linguists have called morphophonemes or morphons; these are called here deep level phonemes. As understood by Pike, phonemes include some of what TG grammarians call phonetic segments; these are called here surface level phonemes.

2.3.2 Surface level phonemic representation of words and morphemes is used in this chapter. Chapter 5 on phonological rules shows deep level phonological representation, and how surface level representation is derived from it. In order to show such deep to surface level mapping, the grammar needs to be studied.

Table 1 — Segmental phonemes

	Alveolar		Palatal	Peripheral	
	alv	retr	alvpal	velar	bilab
Prenasalised stops	<i>d</i>	<i>ɖ</i>	<i>ɟ</i>	<i>ɡ</i>	<i>b</i>
Devoiced stops	<i>t</i>	<i>ʈ</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>p</i>
Nasals	<i>n</i>	<i>ɳ</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>m</i>
Liquids { Laterals Vibrant	<i>l</i>	<i>ɭ</i>	<i>ʎ</i>		
	<i>ɭ̃</i>				
Semivowels	<i>r</i>		<i>y</i>	<i>w</i>	
Vowels			<i>i</i> <i>e</i> <i>a</i>	<i>u</i>	

2.3.3 The segmental phonemes of the language are shown in Table 1. The columns have been rearranged slightly from the traditional ordering to place bilabial next to velar. This highlights that the alveolar and retroflexed alveolar consonants are related to one another in a way that other consonants are not; that the semivowel /w/ behaves partly as a velar, partly as a labial (see phonological rules VA6 ¶5.21, A5 ¶5.22); and that the three semivowels fit generally the three divisions alveolar, palatal and peripheral, while not corresponding exactly in point of articulation to any of the other consonants in these divisions. The three divisions alveolar, palatal and peripheral correspond to Halle's non-grave and diffuse, non-grave and non-diffuse, and grave and non-diffuse, respectively.⁷

2.4 Description of Consonant Phonemes

2.4.0.1 Prenasalised stops consist of a voiced nasal followed by a homorganic stop, usually perceived as voiced.

Devoiced stops are perceived as voiced following nasals, in most other word medial positions, and in most word initial occurrences; they are usually voiceless word finally, and are occasionally aspirated in this position in a stressed word. Voiced and voiceless allophones freely fluctuate, but one or other allophone predominates according to the context mentioned.

Nasals and laterals are always voiced.

The vibrant /ɾ/ is mostly trilled word finally, and in over half the occurrences preceding another consonant (according to the concordance count); it is flapped elsewhere, tending to a fricative flap contiguous to /i/. Particularly among old informants, it was sometimes very difficult to distinguish this phoneme from the alveolar semivowel /r/, as it often degenerated into a fricative continuant. It may be voiceless syllable finally, and is often only lightly voiced intervocally.

The alveolar semivowel /r/ is usually voiced, though sometimes only lightly, when it can sound like an allophone of /ɾ/. The semivowels /y/ and /w/ are nonsyllabic palatal and labio-velar vocoid glides respectively, fluctuating with absence of glide word initially preceding vowels of the same timbre (/i/ and /u/ respectively).

2.4.0.2 Ordinary alveolars, excluding the vibrant, have retroflexed articulation following a retroflexed consonant, and have retracted alveolar articulation elsewhere. The alveolar continuants /n/ and /l/ may have flap onset syllable finally, in the position where /ɾ/ is often trilled. A retroflexed quality off-glide is often heard on a preceding /a/ vowel.

Retroflexed alveolar consonants usually have the tongue tip retroflexed and touching behind the alveolar ridge. A retroflexed off-glide is usually heard on the preceding vowel, though it is less perceptible on /u/ than on other vowels.

Alveopalatals, not including the semivowel, have alveopalatal articulation when contiguous to alveolar or retroflexed alveolar consonants within a word, and alveodental articulation elsewhere. A palatal off-glide is heard on the preceding vowel, though it is less perceptible on /i/ than on other vowels.

Velars have palatal articulation contiguous to alveopalatal consonants or following the front vowels /i/ or /e/. They have velar articulation elsewhere.

Bilabials have bilabial articulation.

ALAWA PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

2.4.1 Prenasalised stops

2.4.1.0 Prenasalised stops are the only phonetically complex phones occurring phrase, word and syllable initially. For some features of the language, the level at which these phonemes are regarded as two segments is significant, yet in this description it is felt that they are reacted to as unit phonemes by the native speaker.

Prenasalised stops contrast with devoiced stops word initially, and syllable initially following another consonant.⁸ Within a stretch of speech at normal speed, when such a prenasalised stop occurs word initially following a vowel, the nasal segment of the phoneme syllabifies with the preceding syllable, though in dictation of words giving syllable breaks this does not occur.⁹ Where pertinent, syllable break is shown in the examples by a full stop.

2.4.1.1	/daway/	'hole of a grub'	/diyaŋa/	'foot'
	/tawar neni/ ¹⁰	'he digs'	/tiwaguwagu/	'small type of eagle'
	/ɖalkuyi/	'young man'	/ɖili/	'side of hill'
	/ʃalput/	'house'	/ʃili ɲala/ ¹¹	'he goes along the side of the hill'
	/yil.ɖalkalkuyi/	'young men'	/yil.ʃayawuʃu/	'blue tongue lizards'
	/gaɭman/	'cheek'	/guyuru/	'teeth'
	/kalawa/	'bone'	/kuyaŋu/	'hand'
	/pul.gun/	'cool place'	/waʃ.gu/	'right up'
	/mil.kiʃi/	'buttocks'	/wuʃ.kulaʃ/	'old man'
	/biɭpaʃ/	'throat'	/bulpul/	'heart'
	/piɭama/	'type of tree'	/pulwul nari/	'it (tent) is put up'

2.4.1.2 The sequence of nasal and homorganic stop segments word medially between vowels is in most cases interpreted as a unit phoneme. When dictating words slowly the informant usually makes the syllable break before the nasal segment; the nasal-stop sequence is then interpreted as a single phoneme. But sometimes the informant makes the syllable break between the nasal and the stop; the nasal and homorganic stop are then interpreted as two phonemes, not one, and they are found to belong to different morphemes (e.g. noun and suffix). For this reason, as well as for the reasons mentioned above, the prenasalised stop phonemes are symbolised with one symbol to distinguish them from such sequences. In word medial position a cluster of non-homorganic but similar nasal and stop can also be shown to contrast with a prenasalised stop, both in syllable division and (for alveolar and alveopalatal consonants) in allophones. Morphemic analysis shown below is indicated by underlining; morpheme breaks are symbolised by hyphens. Alveodental articulation is indicated phonetically by the acute accent, alveopalatal by the symbols used for the alveopalatal phonemes. Square brackets enclose phonetic symbols.

/-maɖa/	[ma.n'd'a]	'your(sg)'
/ɲanʃa/	[ɲan.ɖa]	'what-do-you-call-it'
/kiʃaɖi/	[ki.d'a.n'd'i]	'circumcised boy'
/-wanʃi/	[wan.ɖi]	'with'
/kaʃkaʃi/	[kaʃ.kan'.d'i] kaʃkaʃi-ti	'kitehawk(op)'
/yaʃamanʃi/	[ya.ʃa.man.ɖi] yaʃaman-ti	'horse(op)'
/yagultʃa/	[ya.ɲgul.ɖa]	'a season'
/ayaŋkaŋanna/	[a.yaŋ.ga.ɲan.na] a-yaŋ-a-ɲan-na	'he shot it'

2.4.2 Interpretation of retroflexed alveolar consonants

2.4.2.0 The retroflexed alveolar series /ɖ/, /t/, /n/, and // are interpreted as unit phonemes of limited distribution. In the data, they do not contrast with corresponding alveolar consonants phrase initially or syllable initially following other consonants; alveolar-type consonants occurring in these positions are interpreted as alveolar.

2.4.2.1 Difference between alveolar and retroflexed alveolar consonants was hard to either hear or see in some words. In some other words, the retroflexed off-glide on the preceding vowel was marked enough to suggest that the retroflexed consonant was really a sequence of the semivowel /r/ and an alveolar consonant. The informant would never react to the many attempts to contrast alveolar and retroflexed alveolar consonants, either initially in the phonological phrase or following and contiguous to another consonant. As consonant clusters occur elsewhere than in these positions, it was therefore possible to consider the retroflexed alveolar consonants as sequences. But a study of syllable types shows interpretation of these as units to be preferable.

2.4.2.2 In syllable final position, there are occurrences of /rp/ and /rk/ sequences (but none interpreted as /rt/), other liquid-stop sequences, and the sequences /lj/ and /rj/. Syllable patterns CVC and CVLC occur, so syllable final retroflexed consonants could be interpreted as either C or LC, with no violence to existing well-substantiated patterns. But if the retroflexes are interpreted as sequences, a syllable type CVLLC must be postulated for the words [wad'ałk] 'mud' and [delk] 'fall down, be born'. There are no other examples in the present data which would indicate the existence of such a syllable type, so the interpretation of the retroflexed alveolar series as units is preferable.

2.4.2.3 Retroflexed alveolar consonants occur word initially following a vowel in the same phonological phrase; in the same words pronounced phrase initially the consonants are alveolar. This has been handled as a morphophonemic change.

2.4.3 Contrast of alveolar, retroflexed alveolar, and alveopalatal points of articulation

2.4.3.1 Prenasalised stops contrast in:

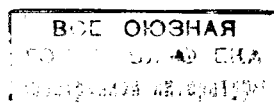
/dula/	'foot'	/-wada/	'without'
/duma/	'fat'	/kaða/	'that one(op)'
/da/	(topic linking conjunction)	/-maða/	'your(sg)'
/ða/	'but'		

2.4.3.2 Devoiced stops contrast in:

/taki ɣulenu/	'we tire'	/tatpiɣatpi/	'grasshopper'
/ʔaka ɣuleñunu/	'we go out for it'	/ʔatpatpulangan/	'grasshopper'
/kuta/	'now'	/buʔa/	'camp'
/kuʔa/	'mother'		
/paʔakałta/	'spear(op)'		
/paʔakałʔa/	'spear(gen)'		
/kutpaʔiʔa/	'nulla nulla'	/kaputmayin/	'black'
/paʔpaʔa/	'butterfly'	/kuduʔmayin/	'crooked'
/kat kewedilunu/	'he is chopping it'	/yaʔ keʔeñunu/	'I am waiting for him'
/wat keʔenu/	'I leave him'	/kaʔ keʔeni/	'she picks it up'

2.4.3.3 Nasals contrast in:

/nała/	'he is going'	/ɳaɳini/	'what'
/ñala/	'you and I are going'	/ɳabiɳi/	'who'
		/miʔidiɳi/	'tomorrow'
/kuɳ kadanaga/	'he might see you'	/wankapankan/	'separate'
/kuɳ kadanaga/	'he saw you'	/waɳkuku/	'rock wallaby'
/ɳa! aɳana/	'he spoke to him'	/waɳka ɳeni/	'he lies face up'
/panpan/	'woomera'	/lun ɳuleñunu/	'we put it'
/magaɳ/	'road'	/tuɳ ɳulała/	'we get up'
/kaʔkaɳ/	'kitehawk'	/kuɳ ɳulenu/	'we are watching him'



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2.4.3.4 Laterals contrast in:¹⁴

/wuluk/	'sleepy'	/wułurkñin/	'leafy branch'
/kułak	ɲulɟatanna/		'we washed it'
/balka/	'ground'	/pałkuř/	'fish'
/tul	ɲulaɲanna/	/tuł neni/	'it is bow-like'
/kuł neni/	'he is drinking'		

2.4.4 Contrast of liquids and the alveolar semivowel

Contrast between liquids and the semivowel /r/ is often hard to hear. This is particularly so for /l/ and /r/ syllable finally, and for /l/ and /ř/ syllable finally (where /l/ has a flapped allophone). Because of restrictions on the distribution of the retroflexed alveolar series, the rarity of /l/, and the lack of occurrence of the vibrant syllable initially, only /l/ and /r/ can be contrasted word initially or following other consonants. As /l/ is rare it has been omitted from contrasts here.

/law ɲulaɭa/	'I am crossing over'	/yillilmi/	'men'
/raw ɲulanna/	'we made it'	/yilruwu/	'trees'
/yili/	'they sat'	/ɲalu/	'we'
/yiři/	'they two sat'	/ɲaɭa/	'I am going'
/yiri/	'you(sg) sat'	/muřu/	'alright'
		/maru/	'wing'
/balpalpi/	'slowly'	/ñaɾpa ñaɾpa/	'sugar'
/yaɭpun/	'lily seed'	/marparpa/	'shrub'
/kal neni/ ¹⁵	'he bites'	/kaɾ ɲulɲana/	'we will roast it'
/kaɭ ɲulenu/	'we are digging it up'	/kar neni/	'he dances'
/pelk ɭilpan/	'they are tired'	/kuɾp ɭilpeɭi/	'they cut it'
/teɭk ɭilñitan/	'they were born'	/murp ɭilaɭa/	'they scatter'
/peɾk ɭiluɭala/	'they shift'		

2.4.5 Other contrasts of consonants and consonant clusters

2.4.5.1 /ř/, /t/ and /t/ contrast in:¹⁶

/wiři nuřkan/	'he put it in'	/wař ɲulenu/	'we call it'
/witi enu/	'he chases it'	/wat ɲulenu/	'we leave it'
• /wiřika/	'hair belt'	/yař ɲuleñunu/	'we wait for him'

2.4.5.2 Alveopalatal consonants contrast with clusters with /y/ in:

/yelya/	'he understands'	/wułurkñin/	'leafy branch'
/waɭya/	'boy'	/wulyařayařaɭa/	'you children'
/ɲaɭ aňana/	'he talked to him'	/anyařařa/ ¹⁷	'girl'

2.4.5.3 /u/ and /wu/, /i/ and /yi/, contrast in:

/pulwul nari/	'it (tent) is put up'	/yiři yili/	'two animals'
/yaɲ ɲululɟatan/	'they hit me'	/yiři ga/	'strong'

2.4.5.4 Single consonants and geminate clusters contrast in:

/yaɲ	tiɲa.na/	'you will hit it'	/yaɲ	taɲan.na/	'you hit it'
/yilikaři/		'boss'	/yil lilmi/		'men'
/kapuři/		'blind'	/awuř.ti/ ¹⁸		'house(lo)'

2.5 Description of Vowel Phonemes

2.5.0.0 All vowels are unrounded. Off-glides heard on vowels and correlated with contiguous consonants have been dealt with in the section on the description of consonants. Other allophones of vowels correlated with intonation patterns will be described in chapter 4.

- /i/ [i] high front vocoid, lowered from cardinal [i].
- /e/ [ɛ] mid front vocoid.
- /a/ [æ] low front vocoid; occurs following palatal consonants, except when this is also word finally.
- [ɔ] low back vocoid; occurs infrequently fluctuating with [a] following velar consonants, and between retroflexed consonants (including /r/).
- [a] low central vocoid; occurs elsewhere.
- /u/ [o] mid back vocoid; only occurs contiguous to a liquid, alveolar semivowel, or palatal, or in one syllable closed syllable words. The predisposing factors appear to be especially:
- (a) a sequence /*(u)(L)uLu*/, where L stands for /l/, /ll/, /ř/, or /r/;
 - (b) a syllable /*CuLC*/, where C stands for any permitted consonant;
 - (c) a one syllable word ending in an alveolar or alveopalatal stop, or in the alveolar semivowel.
- [u] high back vocoid, lowered from the cardinal [u]; occurs elsewhere.

2.5.0.1 Allophones of /a/ and /u/ are illustrated below.

/a/	/yaʔaʔa/	[yæd'æd'a]	'child'	/nu[ʔaʔi]	[nu[ɔdɪ]	'he alone'
	/wañma/	[wa'n'ma]	'alive'	/mama/	[mama]	'food'
	/katiya/	[gɔdiya]/[gadiya]	'that way'			
/u/	/kuřp kuřp/	[kořp kořp]	'knife'	/ñur nebeʔi/	[n'or]	'he howls'
	/mut kenu/	[mot genu]	'he breaks it'			
	/ruʔ keŋeteñunu/	[ro't']	'he cuts it'	/wulpul/	[wulbul] ¹⁹	'billabong'

2.5.1 Discussion of vowels

2.5.1.0 The vowels /i/, /a/ and /u/ can easily be shown to be in contrast. The phone [o] has been interpreted as an allophone of /u/; the statement of distribution is not very neat, but there is insufficient evidence to set up /o/ as a phoneme.²⁰

2.5.1.1 /a/, /i/ and /u/ contrast in:

/pap neni/	'it is covered'	/kata/	(peripheral tagmeme linking conjunction)
/pip neni/	'it is full'	/kita/	'here'
/pup kewedĩlumu/	'it cools'	/kuta/	'now'
		/kuta/	'now'
		/kuti/	'lead'
		/wuʔu/	'honey comb'

2.5.1.2 The phoneme /e/ is not so easily contrasted with /i/ and /a/, but in the light of the evidence it is regarded as a full phoneme. The phone [ɛ] occurs frequently in the present tense of auxiliary verbs; elsewhere its distribution is rather similar to that of [o]. In a count of about 1000 dictionary entries only about 30 words contained the phoneme /e/, and some of these were place names.²¹ In a count taken on running text, where /e/ is more common, more examples of the phoneme /e/ follow /l/ than follow any other phoneme (this is without excluding auxiliary verb forms, in which there are only a small proportion of the sequence /le/, but in which the majority of occurrences of /e/ are found).

Study of morphophonemics shows that /e/ in the auxiliary verb pronominal prefixes substitutes for /a/; it also shows that /e/ in auxiliary verb stems substitutes for /i/, except when there are /e/ phonemes in two consecutive syllables of the stem, in which case the first substitutes for /a/. Fluctuation between /CeCe/ and /CaCi/ is heard in any auxiliary verbs where /e/ phonemes are heard in two consecutive

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syllables. The first vowel varies in quality over every gradation between /a/ and /e/ while the second varies with it over every gradation between /i/ and /e/22. It appears that [ɛ] has been developing from allophones of /i/ and /a/ into a new vowel phoneme. Mara shows the vowel /a/ in many words where Alawa has /e/; Mara appears to have no /e/ phoneme.

2.5.1.3 /a/, /e/ and /i/ contrast in:

/altin/	'flower'	/ełti/	'down'
/lařwa/	'pipe'	/liřiw neřeni/	'he burns his feet'
/leřin/	'leaf'		
/yili/	'game (animals, birds, etc.)'	/ęele/	'index finger'
/kal yileni/	'they bite'	/keł yilmutuwwunu/	'they pulled away from it'
/kał yilenu/	'they dig it up'	/kil kil kil/	'broken teeth'

2.5.1.4 A study of the examples given to contrast the vowels, will show that /e/ cannot convincingly be contrasted with /i/. However in many words /e/ seems to be linked to /a/ by morphophonemics rather than to /i/. In one text, Barnabas used the English word 'windmill' in the form /winmeł/. The locative suffix on this word was -ta, the form expected following the vowel /a/; it was not -ti, which would have been expected following an allophone of /i/.23 Though foreign words have not been included in the analysis, this seems a valuable piece of evidence that the informant, in one case at least, is not reacting to [ɛ] as derived from /i/ but as derived from /a/. PE appears to have only three vowel phonemes, /a/, /i/ and /u/, even when spoken by those of Alawa background.

2.5.1.5 The phone [ɛ:] (with length) also occurs in Barnabas's speech, substituting for /iyu/ in /adapuřkiyunu/ [andabuřęe:nu] 'after that', and for /epe/ in /pepepeti/ [pe:peti] 'above'. Only in speech at normal speed did these contractions occur; when repeating slowly the informant pronounced the syllables clearly. This contraction did not seem to occur with other speakers. It was definitely absent from the speech of Barnabas's older brother, who spoke very slowly.

For other phones not conforming to the phonological patterns, see chapter 4 on intonation.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Beatrice Hongikman (1964). "Articulatory Settings", David Abercrombie et al (eds), in "In Honour of Daniel Jones". London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., p.73.
- 2 Margaret C. L. Greene (1964). "The Voice and its Disorders". 2nd ed. London: Pitman Medical, p.206.
- 3 Some Mingograms of typical intonation patterns are shown in Appendix K.
- 4 Kenneth L. Pike (1947). "Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing". Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- 5 Edward Sapir (1949). "Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture and Personality", ed. David G. Mandelbaum. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p.46-60.
- 6 Morris Halle (1964b). "On the Bases of Phonology", in J. Fodor and J. Katz (eds) "The Structure of Language". Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, p.324-33.
- Emmon Bach (1966). "An Introduction to Transformational Grammars". New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, p.126ff. Noam Chomsky (1964). "Current Issues in Linguistic Theory". The Hague: Mouton, p.68ff.
- 7 Halle (1964b).
- 8 The only consonants prenasalised stops may follow word medially are /l/ and /ř/.

- 9 Blake (1969) in Kalkatungu has interpreted prenasalised stops as sequences, even though they are then, as interpreted, the only sequences which can occur word initially. However he still finds it necessary to make word medial syllable breaks before the nasal of a homorganic nasal-stop sequence. (Barry J. Blake (1969). "The Kalkatungu Language: A Brief Description". Australian Aboriginal Studies No. 20: Canberra).
- 10 In examples quoted, a verb root is usually given with an appropriate auxiliary, so that the reader may compare contrasts in common environments. Although a verb root may occur as a whole phonological phrase in text or conversation, and although from this and related evidence verb roots have been regarded as complete phonological words, the informants rarely gave a verb root as a complete utterance, though nouns were easily obtained as complete utterances. A very large number of verb roots are of one syllable, and many minimal pairs are found to illustrate phonological contrasts. Minimal pairs in other word classes are rare.
- 11 Verb roots hardly ever begin with prenasalised stops in Alawa, though related nouns may, as in this and the preceding example.
- 12 The phonemes /t/ and /t̥/ also contrast with the cluster /t̥t̥/ between vowels: /kuta/ [gud̥a] 'now', /kuʃa/ [gud̥'a] 'mother', /kut̥ʃa/ [gud̥d̥a] 'yamstick'.
- 13 The phoneme /ŋ/ can also be shown to be in contrast: /ŋaʃa/ 'I am going'.
- 14 Retroflexed alveolar consonants do not occur utterance initially, and the rare phoneme /ʃ/ has not been found word initially in the data. All words containing /ʃ/ that have been found are listed here: /tuʃ/ 'bow-like', /wuʃaʃa/ 'type of turtle', /wuʃuʃk̥ni/ 'leafy branch', /yeʃ/ 'stick up'.
- 15 Compare also the following: /ʃaka yileñunu/ 'they went out for it', /ʃakar yiluʃkan/ 'they ate breakfast', and /ʃaŋaʃ yiluʃala/ 'they were sick'.
- 16 Note also that stops and nasals occurring finally in verb roots have different morphophonemic effect on a following auxiliary verb than do liquids, semivowels and vowels (see chapter 5): *wat i-na* /wat kenu/ 'he leaves it', *waʃ i-na* /waʃ enu/ 'he calls it'.
- 17 The cluster /ny/ only appears to occur across morpheme boundaries.
- 18 Derived from English 'house'. Foreign words have mostly been avoided in illustrations. The only other geminate consonant clusters found occur across word boundaries.
- 19 The first [l] is flapped.
- 20 PE also has this type of problem with [u] and [o], but a check among three literate speakers of this creole shows that the speakers tended to classify both phones as "u". This evidence reinforced the decision to regard [o] as an allophone of /u/.
- 21 All words with the phoneme /e/ are listed in Appendix B.
- 22 These fluctuations have not been handled under the description of the vowel phonemes. The phenomenon occurs in other languages when a phonemic system is in a state of flux, or when there is a choice of phonemes in a given word. For example, the word 'plant' is heard from some Australian English speakers with every gradation of vowel between [a] and [æ], though no such variation occurs in words such as 'pat' or 'part'.
- 23 The vowel /e/ does not occur word finally following a consonant cluster, see ¶3.2.3.

DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES

3.0 Phoneme distribution is here described as it occurs within the phonological utterance, of which a minimal example is the phonological word. Frequency of phonemes and certain phoneme sequences were counted using the GE 225 computer. This was done for a dictionary listing of 350 verb roots (VR), a dictionary listing of 620 stems other than verb roots (NVR), and for two samples of texts, one of 100 lines or 1038 words (T1), and one of 125 lines or 1309 words (T2).

3.1 Utterance Initial

Utterance initially the retroflexed alveolar consonants (/ɖ, ɗ, ɳ, ɽ/), and the vibrant /ʁ/ may not occur. All other consonants except /l/ occur, although /r/ is not very common. The absence of /l/ is presumed to be because of its rarity, not because of any inherent restriction. Utterances and words most commonly begin with a consonant (94 per cent. of all words in T1); the vowels /a/ and /e/ begin all other utterances. Sometimes a phonetic [i] or [u] occurs word initially; repetitions of the word will have [yi] fluctuating with [i] and [wu] with [u]; these are always interpreted as /yi/ and /wu/ respectively. Word initially among the two vowels /a/ and /e/, /a/ occurs about 93 per cent. of the time, and /e/ about 7 per cent. of the time, though the proportion in text would vary according to the tense of the narrative. Table 2 shows the word initial VC syllable patterns found, with their frequencies in the two text samples¹ (not all possible patterns occurred in the samples).

Table 2 — Word initial VC syllables

	T1	T2
<i>ař</i>	77%	76%
<i>eř</i>	9%	
<i>an</i>	14%	20%
<i>en</i>		
<i>al</i>		4%
<i>el</i>		

3.2 Utterance Final

3.2.1 Utterance finally the prenasalised stops never occur. The phoneme /r/ is comparatively rare word finally, though possibly more frequent than the data would indicate.² All other consonants may occur utterance finally. However when verb roots, and nouns known to be derived from verb roots, are excluded from consideration, stops are rare in this position, as are /ŋ/, /w/ and /r/.

3.2.2 Clusters of two consonants occur word finally; the penultimate consonant is one of the group /l, ɭ, ʁ, r/ (L consonants), and the final consonant is always a peripheral stop or /ŋ/. The velar nasal /ŋ/ has only been found finally in verb roots and in the cluster /lŋ/.

3.2.3 All vowels may occur word finally, though /e/ is rare. There is no evidence to suggest that an utterance final phonetic [i] or [u] should be interpreted as /iy/ or /uw/. Evidence from noun morphology rather militates against this hypothesis, as words ending in /y/ and /w/ have different operative case suffix allomorphs to those ending in /i/, /u/ and /a/. The vowel /e/ only occurs in the final syllable (open or closed) of native Alawa words of certain forms: one syllable words with a final consonant or consonants, and words of more than one syllable with the vowel /e/

in the last two syllables separated by one consonant only. Table 3 shows the percentages of occurrences of the vowels among themselves, (a) word finally, (b) preceding a final consonant, and (c) preceding a final LC cluster. Table 4 shows the percentages of occurrences of the final consonants in the two text counts. Final vowel is most common (69-74 per cent. of all final patterns), then final VC (30-25 per cent.), then final VLC (1 per cent.).³

Table 3 — Vowels in word final syllables

		VR	NVR	T1	T2
Final V		%	%	%	%
	<i>a</i>	38	46	42	53
	<i>e</i>	6	0.25	0	0
	<i>i</i>	30	33	21	23
	<i>u</i>	25	21	35	23
V before final C	<i>a</i>	44	43	45	55
	<i>e</i>	7	1	4	5
	<i>i</i>	18	25	16	12
	<i>u</i>	30	31	33	26
V before final LC	<i>a</i>	12	60	12	26
	<i>e</i>	28	20	50	6
	<i>i</i>	12	0	0	0
	<i>u</i>	48	20	37	66

3.2.4 Examples of word initial and final occurrences of consonants and vowels are given below. For the consonants, both verb roots and words of other classes are given to illustrate final consonants. A dash indicates that the phoneme does not occur in that position. For examples of word initial prenasalised stops, see under prenasalised stops, ¶2.4.1.1 in the previous chapter of word final clusters, see below under Clusters within the Syllable (¶3.4).

Table 4 — Word final consonant frequencies

	VR	NVR	T1	T2
	%	%	%	%
<i>n</i>	6	33	18	20
<i>ŋ</i>	14	24	17	15
<i>l</i>	13	20	9	9
<i>ʃ</i>	8	1	8	7
<i>y</i>	3	3	8	6
<i>ʎ</i>	6	5	7	6
<i>k</i>	14	3	3	7
<i>ñ</i>	1.5	2	4	6
<i>tʃ</i>	5	0.5	4	4
<i>w</i>	2	0	5	1
<i>p</i>	8	0.5	3	2
<i>t</i>	7	1	3	2
<i>m</i>	4	0.5	3	1
<i>ŋ</i>	4	2	0.5	4
<i>r</i>	4	3	1	1
<i>ŋ</i>	1.5	2	0.5	1

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3.2.4.1 Examples of consonants

initial	final in verb root	final, other words
/t/ taʔaʔaʔa/ 'crocodile'	/wat/ 'leave'	/ʔalput/ 'house'
/t/ —	/yaʔ/ 'wait for'	
/t/ ʔaʔa/ 'goodbye'	/kaʔ/ 'pick up'	
/k/ kaʔkaʔ/ 'kitehawk'	/wak/ 'laugh'	
/p/ papa/ 'older brother'	/yap/ 'sit down'	
/n/ naʔaʔa/ 'my father'	/lun/ 'put'	/ŋaykan/ 'strong'
/n/ —	/tuŋ/ 'get up'	/magaŋ/ 'road'
/ŋ/ ŋukuʔ/ 'sacred'	/kuŋ/ 'watch'	/kaʔkaʔ/ 'kitehawk'
/ŋ/ ŋuku/ 'water'	/yaŋ/ 'hit'	— ⁴
/m/ mama/ 'food'	/ŋam/ 'close'	/lulpam/ 'young plain kangaroo'
		/minil/ 'scrub'
/l/ lilmi/ 'man'	/kal/ 'bite'	/paʔaka/ 'spear'
/l/ —	/ka/ 'dig out'	
/l/ —	/yel/ 'stick up'	
/ʃ/ —	/kaʔ/ 'roast'	/giʔaʔ/ 'grinding stone'
/r/ ruwu/ 'tree'	/kar/ 'sing'	/biŋʔur/ 'throat'
/y/ yaʔaʔa/ 'child'	/kuy/ 'hunt'	/makay/ 'yam stick'
/w/ wiʔmuʔ/ 'wire spear'	/law/ 'cross over'	

3.2.4.2 Examples of vowels

word initial	word final	final syllable
/a/ altin/ 'flower'	/mama/ 'food'	/bilpaʔ/ 'throat'
/e/ eʔti/ 'below'	/ŋele/ 'index finger'	/tebeʔ/ 'stalk' (vb rt)
/i/ —	/dili/ 'side of hill'	/kutin/ 'shady tree'
/u/ —	/muʔu/ 'coolibah tree'	/paʔkuʔ/ 'fish'

3.3 Medial in the Word

3.3.1 Clusters of two and three consonants occur word medially;⁵ clusters of three consonants will be dealt with later (§3.4). Geminate clusters /nn/, /ŋŋ/, /ll/, and /tt/⁶ occur, and homorganic nasal stop sequences /ŋt/ and /ŋk/ occur, but always such clusters arise from conjunction of morphemes. There is no evidence to suggest their existence in uninflected stems. Geminate clusters are hardly distinguished from single consonants in normal speech, but in slow dictation it is clear that one syllable is closed with one consonant and the next is begun with one. Similarly the homorganic nasal stop sequences are not distinguishable from prenasalised stops in normal speech, though in slow speech the different syllable break is clear. These phenomena apply both within words and across word boundaries.⁷ Grammatical analysis also indicates the probability of these geminate clusters and homorganic sequences. No other geminate clusters or homorganic sequences of nasal-stop appear possible within words, except /mm/.⁸ In clusters nasals and liquids occur more often syllable finally (first in the cluster) and stops syllable initially (second in the cluster).

3.3.2 Within words, vowel clusters do not occur. An /aa/ (phonetically [a:]) is occasionally heard within an utterance across word boundaries. In the relatively rare occasions when there apparently is a vowel cluster within a word, one of the vowels is always /i/ or /u/, and there is a palatal or labio-velar glide from one vowel to the next; the glide is interpreted as a /y/ or /w/ consonant between the vowels. The glide is sometimes not heard in /iyi/ and /uwu/ sequences.

3.3.3 Table 5 shows the possible clusters of two consonants word medially across syllable boundaries; in it a dash indicates that a cluster cannot occur, and an "x" that although examples have not been found, this cluster should be possible (it could occur when certain stems and affixes occur together, in combinations which seem semantically and morphophonemically possible). The rare phoneme /l/ has not been found in clusters and is omitted from the table. Table 6 shows frequencies of the commonest of these clusters for the four samples noted.

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Table 5 — Possible word medial consonant di-clusters

	<i>d</i>	<i>ɖ</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ʈ</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɳ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>r</i>
<i>t</i>					—	<i>tʈ</i>	<i>tk</i>	<i>tp</i>		x	x	<i>tm</i>				
<i>ʈ</i>								<i>ʈp</i>		x	<i>tŋ</i>	x				
<i>k</i>						<i>tʈ</i>				<i>ʈɳ</i>	x	<i>ʈm</i>				
							—			<i>kɳ</i>	<i>kŋ</i>	<i>km</i>				
<i>p</i>						<i>pʈ</i>		—		x	x	<i>pm</i>				
<i>n</i>					—	<i>nʈ</i>	<i>nk</i>	<i>np</i>	<i>nn</i>	<i>nɳ</i>	<i>nŋ</i>	<i>nm</i>		<i>ny</i>	<i>nw</i>	
<i>ɳ</i>						<i>nʈ</i>	<i>ɳk</i>	<i>ɳp</i>		x	<i>ɳŋ</i>	x				
<i>ɳ̃</i>						<i>ɳ̃ʈ</i>	<i>ɳ̃k</i>			—	x	<i>ɳ̃m</i>				
<i>ŋ</i>						<i>ŋʈ</i>	<i>ŋk</i>			<i>ŋɳ</i>	<i>ŋŋ</i>	<i>ŋm</i>				
<i>m</i>						<i>mʈ</i>		—		<i>mɳ</i>	<i>mŋ</i>	x				
<i>ɽ</i>	<i>ɽd</i>	<i>ɽɖ</i>	<i>ɽg</i>	x	x	<i>ɽʈ</i>	<i>ɽk</i>	<i>ɽp</i>	<i>ɽn</i>	<i>ɽɳ</i>	<i>ɽŋ</i>	<i>ɽm</i>	<i>ɽl</i>	<i>ɽy</i>	<i>ɽw</i>	<i>ɽr</i>
<i>l</i>	<i>ld</i>	<i>lɖ</i>	<i>lg</i>	<i>lb</i>	<i>lt</i>	<i>lʈ</i>	<i>lk</i>	<i>lp</i>	<i>ln</i>	<i>lɳ</i>	<i>lŋ</i>	<i>lm</i>	<i>ll</i>	<i>ly</i>	<i>lw</i>	<i>lr</i>
<i>ʅ</i>					<i>ʅt</i>	<i>ʅʈ</i>	<i>ʅk</i>	<i>ʅp</i>		x	<i>ʅŋ</i>	<i>ʅm</i>	—	<i>ʅy</i>	<i>ʅw</i>	
<i>y</i>		<i>yɖ</i>					<i>yk</i>	<i>yp</i>		x	<i>yŋ</i>	x		—		
<i>w</i>		<i>wɖ</i>								x	x	x			—	
<i>r</i>								<i>rp</i>			<i>rŋ</i>	<i>rm</i>			<i>rw</i>	—

Table 6 — Frequencies of word medial di-clusters
(most frequent only)

	VR	NVR		T1	T2
	%	%		%	%
<i>ɽp</i>	17	3	<i>ɽk</i>	18	28
<i>lk</i>	17	3	<i>nn</i>	11	16
<i>lm</i>	7	5	<i>lp</i>	11	9
<i>lp</i>	1	9	<i>nʈ</i>	9	4
<i>ɽk</i>	3	7	<i>lm</i>	4	8
<i>np</i>	3	6	<i>lk</i>	8	1
<i>nʈ</i>	4	4	<i>lŋ</i>	6	3
			<i>ɽm</i>	5	1
			<i>np</i>	1	3
			<i>ɽŋ</i>	4	1
			<i>ɽp</i>	3	1

Examples of these clusters are given below. Wherever possible two examples are given, one with the cluster within one morpheme, another with the cluster across morpheme boundaries.

3.3.4	within stem	across morpheme boundaries
	<i>/tʈ/</i> <i>/kutʈa/</i> 'yam stick'	<i>/mabulutʈi/</i> 'road(lo)'
	<i>/tk/</i> <i>/wiɽitkal/</i> 'possum'	
	<i>/tp/</i> <i>/kutpaʈiɽa/</i> 'nulla nulla'	
	<i>/tm/</i> <i>/matmu/</i> 'ankle'	<i>/kaputmayin/</i> 'black'
	<i>/ʈp/</i> <i>/paʈpaʈa/</i> 'butterfly'	
	<i>/tŋ/</i>	<i>/niʈ niʈŋuwal/</i> 'with headache'

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within stem	across morpheme boundaries
/tʃ/	/awuʃʃi/ 'house(lo)' (English borrowing)
/ʃn̩/ /ʃiwaʃn̩in/ 'whistler duck' ⁹	
/ʃm/	/kuduʃmayin/ 'crooked'
/kñ/ /aligalikñin/ 'galah' ⁹	
/kŋ/	/wak wakŋuwal/ 'laughing'
/km/ /punarikma/ 'type of fruit'	/kulmukmayin/ 'deaf'
/pʃ/	/yapʃi/ 'sit(lo)'
/pm/	/parapmayin/ 'grey'
/nʃ/ /munʃi/ 'follow'	/anʃiʃŋa/ 'my niece'
/nk/ /kankima/ 'raw'	/ankiʃiya/ 'woman'
/np/ /wunpul/ 'paper bark'	/anpiʃaŋa/ 'my daughter'
/nn/ —	/anna/ (aux verb form)
/nñ/	/anñiʃi/ 'good girl'
/nŋ/ /munŋu/ 'type of tree'	/anŋata/ (aux verb form)
/nm/ /ʃinma/ 'shark'	/pilinmayin/ 'wide'
/ny/	/anyaʃaʃa/ 'girl'
/nw/ /gunwaral/ 'ghost'	/anwuduña/ 'little girl'
/nʃ/	/magaŋʃi/ 'road(lo)'
/ŋk/ /kimin̩ka/ 'hook'	
/ŋp/ /wiʃiñanpu/ 'possum'	
/ŋŋ/	/lakanŋuwal/ 'key'
/ŋʃ/ —	/kaʃkañʃi/ 'kitehawk(op)'
/ñk/ /wañka/ 'lie face up'	
/ñm/ /wañma/ 'alive'	/ʃiliñmayin/ 'red'
/ŋʃ/ /waŋʃu/ ¹⁰ 'turn'	
/ŋk/ —	/ayaŋkaŋanna/ 'he shot it'
/ŋñ/	/yaŋñiyi/ 'for killing'
/ŋŋ/ —	/yaŋŋuwal/ 'hitting'
/ŋm/	/yaŋmaɖawada/ 'unkillable'
/mʃ/	/lulpamʃi/ 'kangaroo(op)'
/mñ/	/ñam ñamñiyi/ 'edible'
/mŋ/	/liʃimŋuwal/ 'diving for lily'
/ʃd/	/yiʃdula/ 'two legs'
/ʃd/ /kutaʃdina/ 'old'	/yiʃdalkuyi/ 'two young men'
/ʃg/ /waʃgu/ 'right up'	/yiʃgutaru/ 'two coins'
/ʃʃ/ /muʃʃi/ 'hand'	/maruwaʃʃa/ 'aeroplane(gen)'
/ʃk/ /aʃkuli/ 'lily root'	/yiʃkiʃiya/ 'two women'
/ʃp/ /muʃpin/ 'jabiru'	/yiʃpeʃi/ (aux verb form)
/ʃn/	/yiʃnana/ (aux verb form)
/ʃñ/	/kaluʃñiyi/ 'for getting water'
/ʃŋ/ /maʃŋap/ 'lightning'	/yiʃŋana/ (aux verb form)
/ʃm/ /kaʃmaŋin/ 'kitehawk'	/ŋeʃmayin/ 'sandy'
/ʃl/	/yiʃlilmi/ 'two men'
/ʃy/	/yiʃyaʃaʃa/ 'two children'
/ʃw/ /laʃwa/ 'pipe'	/tyiʃwaʃya/ 'two boys'
/ʃr/	/yiʃruwu/ 'two sticks'

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within stem	across morpheme boundaries
/lɔ/	/yilɔalkalkuyi/ 'young men'
/lg/	/yilgutaru/ 'stones, coins'
/lb/	/yilbeřin/ 'lily leaves'
/lt/	/minilti/ 'scrub(lo)'
/lɕ/	/miɕalta/ 'rainy season'
/lk/	
/lp/	
/ln/	/yilneřin/ (aux verb form)
/lñ/	/yilñitan/ (aux verb form)
/lŋ/	/nałipalŋa/ 'my younger brother'
/lm/	/pilmayin/ 'flat'
/ll/	/yillilmi/ 'men'
/ly/	/yilyaɕayaɕaɕa/ 'children'
/lw/	/yilwuřkuwuřkulař/ 'old people'
/lr/	/yilruwu/ 'sticks, trees'
/lt/	/pařakałta/ 'spear(op)'
/lɕ/	/pařakałta/ 'spear(gen)'
/lk/	
/lp/	
/lŋ/	/ŋałŋuwal/ 'always talking'
/lm/	/ŋałmaɖawada/ 'doesn't talk much'
/ly/	
/lw/	/pařakałwanɕi/ 'with a spear'
/lɔ/	/mimayɕi/ 'spouse(op)'
/yk/	
/yp/	
/yŋ/	/namimayŋa/ 'my-husband'
/wɔ/	/law lawɔa/ 'other side(lo)'
/rp/	
/rŋ/	/karŋuwal/ 'dancing'
/rm/	
/rw/	

3.4 Clusters within the Syllable

Clusters of two consonants may occur syllable finally, and thus clusters of three consonants may occur word medially. Table 7 shows the syllable final di-clusters found; table 8 shows word medial tri-clusters found. At the end of a syllable, the final consonant is either the velar nasal or a peripheral devoiced stop; the non-final consonant is either /l/, /l/, /ř/ or /r/. Only preceding /k/ may all four of these L consonants occur. Examples are shown below.

Table 7
Syllable final di-clusters

	k	p	ŋ
ř	řk	řp	řŋ
l	lk		lŋ
ɕ	ɕk		
r	rk	rp	

Table 8
Word medial tri-clusters

	ñ	m	ɕ
řk	řkñ	řkm	
lk		lkm	
ɕk			ɕkɕ
rk		rk m	
řp			řpɕ
lŋ			lŋɕ

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word finally	word medially
/řk/ yuřk/ 'hide'	/wuřkñin/ 'leafy branch'
/lk/ nelk/ 'tire'	/manalkma/ 'clay'
/lk/ wařalk/ 'mud'	/wařalkti/ 'mud(lo)'
/rk/ park neni/ 'it is sharp nosed'	/parkmađa/ 'milk snake'
/řp/ leřp/ 'fall to ground'	/knřp kuřpiti/ 'knife(op)'
/rp/ murp/ 'go en masse'	
/řŋ/ yařŋ/ 'scatter'	
/lŋ/ dɛyelŋ/ 'tongue'	/dɛyelŋti/ 'tongue(lo)'

3.5 Frequency of Phonemes

Frequency counts of phonemes were made on the four samples noted above. Table 9 shows the percentages of vowels and consonants to total phonemes, and of vowels among themselves and consonants among themselves (for the more common consonants only).

Table 9 — Phoneme frequencies

	VR	NVR	T1	T2	T2 1st sylls	T2 initial
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Vowels	39	45	46	46		
Consonants	61	55	54	54		
Proportion C's to V's	1.57	1.22	1.18	1.18		
Vowels among themselves						
<i>a</i>	43	46	40	47	45	93
<i>e</i>	7	2	8	3	3	7
<i>i</i>	19	23	22	24	24	0
<i>u</i>	29	27	28	24	26	0
Most frequent consonants					T2 initial	
<i>l</i>	10	9	10	11	1	
<i>k</i>	12	9	9	10	14	
<i>ř</i>	9	9	10	7	0	
<i>n</i>	3	7	10	12	8	
<i>y</i>	6	5	8	9	18	
<i>p</i>	9	8	4	4	5	
<i>m</i>	7	7	5	4	6	
<i>w</i>	7	7	5	4	7	
<i>ʃ</i>	6	5	4	6	8	
<i>ŋ</i>	4	4	5	5	10	
<i>t</i>	7	2	3	4	2	
<i>ñ</i>	2	2	4	4	4	
<i>!</i>	3	2	4	2	0	

From this table it can be seen that the proportion of consonants to vowels is very much higher in the verb roots than in other words and in text samples. It is also seen that in all samples /a/ and /e/ together account for about one half the vowels and /i/ and /u/ together for the other half, even though the frequencies of each vowel vary considerably. In text the frequencies of consonants /n/, /ŋ/ and /y/ are significantly higher than in dictionary listings, and the frequency of /n/ in verb roots is very much lower. Relative proportion of /a/ and /e/ in different texts is to a

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large extent determined by the tense. The higher proportion of the three consonants /n/, /ŋ/ and /y/ in text, when compared with dictionary listing, is due to their frequent occurrence in verb pronominal affixes for third person singular masculine, first person singular, and third person plural respectively, and the frequent occurrence of /n/ in past tense morphemes.

Table 10 gives indication of the relative frequencies of different CV sequences for the four samples.

Table 10 — Frequencies of CV sequences

(a) Most common CV sequences

	VR	NVR		T1	T2	T2 word initial
	%	%		%	%	%
<i>ma</i>	5	7	<i>yi</i>	5	5	12
<i>ku</i>	6	5	<i>ka</i>	5	5	7
<i>ka</i>	5	5	<i>ŋa</i>	4	5	6
<i>wa</i>	5	5	<i>nu</i>	4	3	
<i>pa</i>	3	5	<i>na</i>	3	5	4
<i>pu</i>	4	3	<i>la</i>	3	4	
<i>ya</i>	5	3	<i>ku</i>	3	4	5
<i>ʔa</i>	3	4	<i>řu</i>	3	2	0
<i>wu</i>	3	3	<i>da</i>	3	3	5
<i>ña</i>	3	3	<i>ʔi</i>	3	3	3
			<i>ña</i>	2	3	
			<i>mu</i>	4	1	4

(b) Most uncommon CV sequences
excluding *Ce*, *qV*, *lV*
(x indicates uncommon)

	Dict	Text
<i>bi</i>	x	x
<i>bu</i>		x
<i>da</i>		x
<i>du</i>	x	x
<i>gi</i>	x	x
<i>ʔu</i>		x
<i>lu</i>	x	
<i>nu</i>	x	
<i>ra</i>		x

(c) Commoner *Ce* sequences

	VR	Text
		%
<i>le</i>		1
<i>ke</i>		1
<i>pe</i>		0.6
<i>we</i>		0.6
<i>ye</i>		0.5

Commoner in VR: *di*,
pe, *ta*, *ti*, *tu*, *ke*, *ñu*, *le*
Commoner in NVR:
ba, *du*, *gu*, *ʔi*

Over half the /e/'s in VR's are following /l, ʔ, ř, r/. Highest frequency of /eC/ sequences is /el/ in VR, /eř/ in NVR.

3.6 Syllables

3.6.1 The most common syllable pattern in the language is CV. Other patterns found are CVC and CVLC, and in word initial syllables V and VL. The syllable breaks made are supported by evidence from very slowly dictated speech, where the syllable break is always made immediately before a CV sequence, except for word initial syllable beginning with a vowel. Word initial vowels are either /a/ or /e/, and an initial VL syllable has only been found to date followed by /n/, /ŋ/, /m/, /t/ or /l/ (though /l/ never follows another /l/ in this position).

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Words have been found with from one to seven syllables; two syllable words are on the whole the most common. One syllable words are either verb roots, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs, or the word for 'yes'; words of five or more syllables are usually auxiliary verbs.

3.6.2 Restrictions on sequences of certain phonemes in contiguous syllables appear to exist. It appears that /n/, /ñ/ and /ŋ/ are not repeated in successive syllables of the shape CV. With all other phonemes except /n/, occurrence of the same consonant phoneme in successive syllables of the form CV only appears to happen when both consonants are either preceded or followed by the same vowel. The phoneme /n/ only appears to occur in successive syllables of a few auxiliary verbs; in these occurrences the first consonant always has the potential of being retroflexed.

/pipi/ 'uncle'	/yililiŋilili/ 'green parrot'
/pupuka/ 'bandicoot'	/kaɖaɖaɖa/ 'gravel country'
/ŋaŋaŋuŋun/ 'underneath'	/kalmaɖaɖa/ 'type of goanna'
/akakuɖa/ 'left hand'	
/neni/ 'it is'	/kaya yilnana/ 'they heard'
/puɖa neni/ 'he is cooking it'	/kaya ɲana/ 'he heard'

3.6.3 No word has been found containing two CVLC syllables. Words are of the form:

$$(V_1(L))(CV(C))CV((L)C)(CV(C))^n$$

or $a(L)$

where $n = 0, 1, 2, \dots$,
and $V_1 \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} a \\ e \end{Bmatrix}$

However unaffixed stems with a syllable of the form CVLC are of the more restricted pattern:

$$(CV)CVLC(CV(C))^n \text{ where } n \leq 2$$

A large number of verb roots are of the form CVLC; examples below show two of these, all other stems found to date with a CVLC syllable, and examples of inflected forms of these stems.

/nelk/ 'tire'	/kuɾp kuɾp/ 'knife'
/kuɾp/ 'cut'	
/pabilk/ 'break, squash'	/ɖeyelŋ/ 'tongue'
/ŋuluɾŋ/ 'groan'	/wuɭuɾkɲin/ 'leafy branch'
/waɖaɭk/ 'mud'	/taɾkmanɲi/ 'brolga, native companion'
/kuɾp kuɾpɲi/ 'knife(op)'	/parkmaɖa/ 'milk snake'
/waɖaɭkɲi/ 'mud(lo)'	/annelkmaɖawada/ 'she never tires'

3.6.4 Consonant clusters occur in less than one quarter of words in text, as can be seen from table 11. This table shows the approximate percentages of words with no clusters, one to three consonant di-clusters, and the percentages of words having a consonant tri-cluster, in each of the four samples. The count does not distinguish between word final consonant clusters and other consonant clusters.

3.6.5 Table 12 shows the percentage counts of words with from one to seven or more syllables in the four samples.

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Table 11 — Frequencies of words with consonant clusters

	VR	NVR	T1	T2
	%	%	%	%
no cluster	81	66	82	75
1 CC	17	30	16	20
2 CC's	0.3	2	0.5	3
3 or more CC's	0	0	0.2	0.2
1 CCC	0	1	1	0

Table 12 — Number of words of n syllables

No. of sylls	VR	NVR	T1	T2
	%	%	%	%
1	47	1 ^a	26	21
2	40	35	34	34
3	10	37	23	23
4	0.2	20	9	11
5	0.05	4	5	5
6	0	0.2	3	3
7 or more	0	0	0.1	0.2

^a Conjunctions and /yu/ 'yes' make up this total.

Almost half the verb roots are of one syllable; verb roots make up about one quarter of the words in text. More dictionary stems other than verb roots are of three syllables than of any other length, though there are almost as many two syllable as three syllable stems. About one third of words in text are of two syllables, one quarter of one syllable, and another quarter of three syllables; the proportion of words of more than six syllables in all samples is minute.

3.6.6 Examples of words of various lengths and syllable types are given below. One and two syllable words of all syllable patterns are given, but for longer words not all possible syllable combinations are shown. Table 13 shows the number of words and number of syllables per phonological phrase in the 125 line text sample (T2). Almost one third of all phonological phrases consist of two words (usually a verb root and an auxiliary, or a noun and conjunction), and 90 per cent. are of five words or less. Phrases cluster around five syllables in length, 80 per cent. of phrases having from 2 to 11 syllables. Although, as the count shows, some phrases are quite long, most are very short.

One syllable

/a/ (aux verb form)
 /ař/ 'daybreak'
 /ɖa/ 'but'
 /mal/ 'because'
 /nelk/ 'tire'

Two syllables

/ala/ 'so that'
 /ařan/ (verb form)
 /eřti/ 'below'
 /altin/ 'flower'
 /mama/ 'food'
 /tebeř/ 'stalk'

Two syllables (continued)

/pabilk/ 'break, squash'
 /munři/ 'follow'
 /pulgun/ 'shady place'
 /parmařk/ 'west wind'

Three syllables

/eřeni/ 'she is, sits'
 /ařnana/ (aux verb form)
 /kukuku/ 'maternal grandmother'
 /maruwař/ 'aeroplane'
 /ɖeyelři/ 'tongue(lo)'
 /parkmaɖa/ 'milk snake'
 /lilmiri/ 'man(op)'

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Four syllables

/kuřureřu/ 'dog'
 /anwuřkulař/ 'old woman'
 /yinpiřjatan/ (aux verb form)

Five syllables

/řariririma/ 'go round in
 corroboree'
 /yinřatannaga/ (aux verb form)
 /eřřeteřunu/ (aux verb form)
 /yildalkalkuyi/ 'young men'

Six syllables

/maruwařayunu/ 'from the plane'
 /puyařakiřyunu/ 'from the place
 of smoke trees'
 /annelkmařawada/ 'she never gets
 tired'

Seven syllables

/(k)anřataňanagakay/ (aux verb
 form)
 /ayedapuřkiyunu/ 'from that place'

Table 13 — Numbers of words and syllables per phrase

Number	Words per phrase	Syllables per phrase	Number	Syllables per phrase
	%	%		%
1	21	2	18	0.7
2	29	7	19	0.2
3	21	8	21	0.7
4	13	10	22	0.5
5	6	12	23	0.2
6	3	11	24	0.2
7	3	11	25	0.5
8	2	7	26	0.5
9	1	5	27	0.5
10	0.7	5	30	0.2
11	0.2	4	38	0.2
12		3	47	0.2
13		3	50	0.2
14	0.2	2		
15		3		
16	0.2	2		
17	0.2	0.7		

FOOTNOTES

- 1 All counts such as these were obtained using the GE 225 digital computer. Because integer mode was used, all figures are rounded off to the next lower digit. Hence, although slight adjustments have sometimes been made, the figures do not necessarily add exactly to 100%.
- 2 Barnabas's /r/ and /l/ were rather hard to tell apart. Comparison of words with those obtained from Cleo indicated that some cases of word final consonants recorded from Barnabas as /l/ were probably /r/.
- 3 Though 0% counts appear for final /e/ and for /i/ preceding LC, these vowels can occur in these positions.
- 4 See under Clusters, ¶3.4.
- 5 Even were the prenasalised stops interpreted as sequences, larger clusters would not occur, as word medially prenasalised stops have only been found following /l/ and /ř/.
- 6 This has only been found to date in the locative case of the English borrowing 'house': /awuřři/.

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- ⁷ Across word boundaries other geminate clusters do, of course, occur.
- ⁸ This could arise when *-mayin* or *-maḍawada* is suffixed to a verb root.
- ⁹ It is possible that *-ñin* is a fossilised morpheme; it has only been found in three words: */ʔiwaʔñin/* 'whistler duck', */aligalikñin/* 'galah', and */wuʔurkñin/* 'leafy branch'. The forms */ʔiwaʔ/*, */aligalik/* and */wuʔurk/* are similar in form to verb roots, but have not been found alone.
- ¹⁰ Meaning uncertain. The form may be */waḥinta/*, in which case the cluster */ɲt/* has not been found.

INTONATION

4.1 Word Stress

4.1.0 The general stress pattern was outlined in the section on articulatory setting in chapter 2. Stress is relatively even on all syllables of words, except for an initial build up of intensity on the first syllable, and a decay of intensity on the last syllable or syllables; it is therefore very hard to declare whether any of the fairly evenly stressed syllables have more stress than others. Phrase stress is very marked, and can obscure this word stress. However I tend to hear stress within words as on the penultimate syllable of the stem of the word (or on the only syllable of one syllable stems), though I do not always hear it in this position.

4.1.1 In two syllable stems stress always appears to be penultimate, except that in interrogatives the penultimate syllable of the word is always the one stressed. On three syllable stems stress is mostly on the penultimate syllable, though a large number is heard as having stress initial. On four syllable stems stress and secondary stress occur on the first and third syllables, it sometimes being difficult to decide which has more stress. On five syllable stems, stress tends to be heard penultimate or antipenultimate, with secondary stress on the first syllable. Word stress is marked in the examples by an acute accent, morpheme break by hyphen.

Two syllable stems

/máma/ 'food'
 /núla/ 'he'
 /núla-ti/ 'he alone'
 /nípa/ 'him'
 /nípa-ña/ 'his'
 /áltin/ 'flower'
 /wáʔalk/ 'mud'
 /dúma-waʃ/ 'fat'
 /an-píña-ŋa/ 'my daughter'

Three syllable stems

/aláwal/ 'properly'
 /alúbuʃ/ 'over there'
 /balpálp/ 'slowly'
 /dudúʃa/ 'dust'
 /núʔaʃi/¹ 'right up'
 /páʔaka/ 'spear'

Four syllable stems

/baʔiríña/ 'devil'
 /daʔíñi/ 'one'
 /ʔabiʔina/ 'plain turkey'
 /aʔáñaʔi/ 'moon'

4.1.2 In multisyllable words, stress is normally penultimate. However if the word contains a repeated stem part, stress may be on the first syllable of the repeated part.

/mugululpíña/ 'white currant'
 /ʔatpatpulúgan/ 'grasshopper'
 /yililiʔilili/ or /yililiʔilili/ 'green parrot'

4.1.3 Interrogative words have a distinctive intonation pattern. The stress seems invariably penultimate on the word, not the stem, and with stress is a more conspicuous heightening of pitch.²

/ŋanʔíní-ʔa/ 'what for'	/ŋáni/ 'how'
/ŋanʔíni/ 'what'	/náʔal/ 'what' (verb root)
/ŋabíni/ 'who'	/kala kála/ 'where(from)'
/ŋabiníʔi/ 'who(op)'	/ŋanʔáwa/ 'where'

4.1.4 In auxiliary verbs, stress almost always seems to be on the first syllable of the auxiliary stem. The exception is the stem *apu* 'spear', where stress seems to be on the second syllable of the stem, except when this is the final syllable of the word, and on stems followed by the suffix *-wun* 'punctiliar past' when the stress is on the final syllable of the stem.

/tiwan keʔke-ŋéte-ñunu/ 'she is roasting it'	/a-mutú-wun-nu/ 'he gave it to him'
/a-múta-yaŋuʃu/ 'he gave it to her'	/wak-áʔi-kunu/ 'come here'

4.1.5 Despite the variability of stress to my ear, I suspect stress is predictable within the word. The stressed syllable of interrogative words is very much more prominent than that in non-interrogative words, due to the marked pitch rise on this syllable. This does suggest that to the native speaker stress could always be heard as penultimate in the word, and the variations heard could be conditioned by phrase stress interference or by the foreign grid of the linguist, imposed on a system where the stressed syllable is not very prominent in any case.

4.2 Phrase Stress

4.2.0 Phrase stress is very much more prominent than word stress, particularly in certain intonation patterns. It occurs on grammatically predictable elements of the utterance. In a phrase containing a verb phrase, stress occurs on the predicative negative if one is present, otherwise on the verb root. In other phrases, stress occurs on the head word of a noun phrase, or on the head word of the subject phrase of an equational clause. Weaker stresses may occur on noun phrase heads not receiving the primary stress in a phonological phrase.

4.2.1 When phrase stress occurs on a repeated monosyllabic verb root or a verb root of two or three syllables, it is heard on the second syllable; with four or five syllable stems it is on the third syllable. However Mingograph curves show stress to be reasonably prominent on all such syllables (see Appendix K). Phrase stress, marked by /[^]/, is manifested by the co-occurrence of raised pitch, raised intensity, and lengthened syllable or syllables of the word.

<i>/ŋulpuy pûy puy/</i> 'we are dry'	<i>/kuñ kûñ kanna/</i> 'he watched it'
<i>/tiwân keŋéteñunu/</i> 'he is roasting it'	<i>/ŋariririma naŋa/</i> 'he goes round in corroboree'

4.2.2 Intonation and stress are closely linked over the phrase. In the more common intonation patterns there is a marked tendency for rise in pitch, rise in intensity, and gain in length of syllables to co-occur; but phrase finally intensity almost always decays, even though rise in pitch and gain in length of syllables may still occur.

4.3 Intonation

4.3.0 There are three major utterance final intonation patterns: final statement, open statement, and question. There is one other major phrase final but not utterance final intonation, the tentative pause. Two patterns, the normal narrative and the continuous action, occur phrase medially. Quotation markers are words such as */namuban/* 'he said', uttered often less loudly than the quoted matter, but in other respects following the above intonation patterns. Quoted material appears to have the same intonation that one would expect it to have in original utterance.

4.3.1 Approximately five modifications to these patterns signalling attitudes of the speaker have been noted; these modifications usually apply to a series of phrases or sentences. In most cases these intonation patterns are illustrated by copies of Mingograph traces in Appendix K.

4.3.2 When hesitation occurs, sometimes the intonation pattern is broken and another one launched on, sometimes the intonation pattern is broken and resumed at the same point, and sometimes the pattern is broken and part of it is repeated. In the first case an unrelated sentence or phrase (requesting information, acknowledging an unrelated action or remark, and so forth) is usually inserted, in the second the same grammatical sentence is usually resumed where it was broken off, and in the third a mispronounced word is usually corrected and the same grammatical sentence continued.

4.4 Basic Intonation Patterns

4.4.1 /./ The final statement intonation

The final statement intonation, symbolised by /./ following the pattern, is basically that of a marked fall in pitch, and usually occurs at the end of a sentence. Phrase

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stress usually occurs on a word, usually the verb root, noun, or interjection /*muřu*/ 'alright', occurring closest to the end of the sentence. This is the most common statement intonation at the end of an utterance or major section of an utterance; it conveys reasonable finality, and does not invite response from the hearer. This intonation also occurs on all examples of verb roots without accompanying auxiliary verbs, except when hesitation or a slip of the tongue is involved, or when the verb root is the first of a repeated pair without auxiliary verb. It occurs on all sentences (clauses) containing an interrogative word. The interrogative word is almost always initial in the clause. This intonation also occurs on any single word following a continuous action pattern phrase finally.

4.4.1.1 A variant on this pattern has, preceding the final fall in pitch, a rise in pitch, sometimes concluded in a glottal stop. This pattern is most common in short normal equational statements, though it may occur at the end of a larger verbal sentence. It is in mutually exclusive distribution with the topic linking conjunction *da* (see ¶12.3.2).

4.4.2 /:/ The open statement pattern

4.4.2.0 The open statement pattern, symbolised by /:/ following the pattern, is in basic form that of a strong phrase stress, followed by well spaced unstressed syllables of equal length (often almost as long as the stressed syllable), with a rise in pitch on the last few syllables of the phrase (the intensity as noted earlier drops at the end of the phrase). The phrase often ends with a glottal stop. If a verb root is present it receives the phrase stress except when preceded by the predicative negative *ɲayi*, which then receives the phrase stress. Where no verb root or *ɲayi* is present, the stress is on the first syllable of the stem of the auxiliary verb. The open statement pattern is a very common statement intonation, and in conversation it seems to occur more frequently than the final statement intonation. It is no less definite than the final statement, but often invites a response from the listener, or indicates a sequence of statements which are closely linked. The pattern also occurs on any verb root plus auxiliary verb combination (verb phrase nucleus) which stands with no other words after a continuous action intonation pattern. It is the pattern occurring most frequently on quotation markers.

4.4.2.1 The variant of the pattern with no final glottal stop is very much more common in conversation; the variant with glottal stop is more common in narrative. Short variants of this pattern omit the strong stress and have only the final relatively unstressed part with rising pitch, again with or without the glottal stop according to context. The full variants of the pattern (with strong stress) occur:

1. when there is a verb root in the phrase;
2. sometimes on short equational statements or on nouns.

Short variants usually occur when the phrase is not a complete grammatical sentence. They therefore occur:

1. when the phrase is part of a grammatical sentence begun in the previous phonological phrase;
2. when the phrase is an afterthought or further clarification tacked on to a previous phonological phrase;
3. when the phrase is a quotation marker.

In the first two cases of the short form, the previous phrase usually ends in a full open statement pattern.

4.4.2.2 Sometimes two such open statement patterns occur in succession, with the second one uttered at an overall lower pitch and intensity; this pattern indicates two closely correlated statements. Lower pitch on the second pattern is indicated by .: .

/ɣâr eřɣeteñunu: tâř eřyekenu.:/

pull	I-do-it	arrive	I-with-do-it
------	---------	--------	--------------

'I pull it and get it out.'

4.4.3 /?/ The question intonation

The question pattern, symbolised by /?/ at the end of the phrase, has a rising pitch and never ends with a glottal stop. Rise in pitch is more constant over the phrase than in the open statement, and verb roots are less likely to be stressed; the pattern indicates a yes-no question (with no interrogative word present), though sometimes it appears to be used to indicate surprise rather than question.

4.4.4 /,/ The tentative pause

4.4.4.0 Tentative pause, symbolised by /,/ at the end of the phrase, has a very slightly rising, level, or very slightly rising and then falling intonation. It occurs at the end of phrases which are often in themselves parts of grammatical sentences; it is followed in a successive phrase either by another tentative pause or by a final intonation contour. The variation with slight rise is most common in listing, and in an introductory phrase in a sentence, such as the sequence conjunction /*adapuṛkiyuu*/ 'from there', 'after that'.

4.4.4.1 All phrase final intonation patterns (/./, /:/, /?/, /,/) may occur phrase medially. However, as is also so when occurring phrase finally, the patterns usually coincide with the end of grammatical sentences or clauses (or grammatical phrases in the case of /,/).

4.4.5 / / Normal narrative intonation

The normal narrative phrase medial pattern, which is not symbolised, has a succession of one or more slightly stressed words or syllables, separated by less stressed words or syllables. Usually the stresses are approximately as prominent as the stressed word or syllable in the final statement, but weaker than the stress in the full open stressed statement pattern. Sometimes stresses are stronger, and equivalent to that in the full open statement; sometimes stress almost vanishes. As the definition of stress implies, syllables are well spaced when strong stresses are present, and are very short and also slurred together when stress is weak. Sometimes strength or weakness of stress is conditioned by extra-linguistic factors (tiredness, a cough, etc.); sometimes it seems to be correlated with attitude or emotion, but the correlation has not been studied in detail. When stress is present, it occurs on verb roots or noun stems or both. The normal narrative pattern precedes and merges with either of the statement patterns. It signifies normal unemphatic narrative.

4.4.6 /(. . . +/ The continuous action intonation

4.4.6.0 The continuous action pattern, symbolised by /(/ at its onset and /+/ at its end, is manifested by a rise in pitch with strongly syllable timed rhythm, culminating in the lengthening of one syllable of a word for a varying length of time (sometimes the interval is as short as two normal syllables, sometimes it is at least as long as a normal phrase), with maintained pitch and gradually falling intensity. Laryngealisation of the lengthened vowel often occurs, sometimes with a drop of and regaining of an octave in pitch, and the vowel may also change in position. High vowels /i/ and /u/ are usually lowered towards [ɛ] and [o] respectively.

4.4.6.1 The lengthened syllable is the last syllable in a word, and most frequently the last syllable in an auxiliary verb. However sometimes, and commonly it seems among Mara speakers (even when speaking Alawa), the continuous action pattern is placed on a vowel [i] which is inserted at the beginning of the phrase. This vowel is often lowered as described above.

4.4.6.2 The verb in any clause with this intonation pattern is most frequently continuous aspect; if it is not marked as continuous aspect it is often a repetition of a verb stem, the first occurrence of which is marked for continuous aspect. The pattern signifies continuous or prolonged action, motion, or state (according to the meaning of the verb); it may follow a normal narrative pattern in the same phrase, and always precedes and merges into a normal narrative pattern or statement intonation at the end of the same phrase (except if part of a prolonged action modification pattern).

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4.4.7 /“ . . . ”/ Quoted speech

Quoted speech, symbolised by enclosure between /“ ”/ marks, is sometimes marked by greater stress on the quoted matter, sometimes by an effect of greater pitch variation (often this can be correlated with the question intonation /?/), or the exasperation modification /#~/, or conversation intonation variants, see ¶4.4.2.1.

The quotation is marked by a word such as /*namuban*/ ‘he said’, inserted after (occasionally before) the quoted speech; this quotation marker is usually less loud than the quoted speech. When it follows a quoted speech, the quotation marker is uttered with one of the statement intonation patterns, most frequently the short form of /:/ . Sometimes a pause rather than lower intensity marks off the quotation marker.

4.5 Modifications of Intonation Patterns

The above intonation patterns may be exhaustively described without reference to levels above that of the sentence. Other patterns occur which often affect a series of phonological sentences. These are described below.³ Symbols for these patterns are to be inserted before the onset of the pattern; a symbol /#/ indicates end of the modification. Not mentioned as a modification is dictation intonation, which is adequately symbolised by use of the /./ mark. In dictation the final statement contour occurs on every word or short group of words instead of on the end of grammatical sentences or clauses.

4.5.1 /# +/ Prolonged action or sequence of actions

The pattern begins with a phrase with continuous action intonation, which is not resolved into normal narrative or statement intonation. Succeeding phrases may be on the pitch of the lengthened syllable of the continuous action pattern, with some syllables lengthened (lengthened syllables are symbolised by /+ / following), and the other concomitant phonetic phenomena of the continuous action lengthened syllable. Syllable timing may not be so marked on the unlengthened syllables. One or more of the phrases modified with /# +/ may have open statement intonation finally, but at a higher pitch and with less prominent stress. The pattern concludes with a phrase ending in one of the two statement intonations, most commonly the final one; this concluding intonation is sometimes preceded by a normal narrative pattern. The meaning is similar to that of / (. . . + /, but focuses on a series of actions rather than one.

4.5.2. /#~/ Exasperation

A succession of phrases have exaggerated rise and fall of pitch in this pattern. Final pitch rise in an open statement intonation is very marked. The pattern conveys exasperation or scolding; as this usually occurs in conversation or quoted conversation, the final statement intonation would not be frequently expected, and is in fact rare.

4.5.3 /#ə/ Arrival

Usually when the arrival pattern occurs, it modifies a normal narrative intonation preceding a final statement intonation. A stressed syllable is lengthened, and the pitch swings from the normal stress pitch to below the normal final statement ending pitch; on succeeding words the pitch rises to normal again; the final statement intonation concludes the phrase. Distortion of vowels, especially of /u/ to [o], may occur between onset of this pattern and the end of the phrase. The pattern appears to indicate the feeling of ‘at last we have arrived’ experienced at the end of a long journey, and is used at the appropriate point in the narrative of such a journey.

4.5.4 /# =/ Dreary action

The dreary action pattern is a succession of phrases all concluding with a slightly modified statement intonation. In this pattern final statement usually concludes in a glottal stop, and pitch does not drop as quickly or as far as normal; for open

statement pitch does not rise as high as normal. Slight laryngealisation occurs towards the end of the phrases; voice quality throughout changes to a whiney tone. The pattern is used in a section of narrative which may describe a relatively unremarkable and repetitious set of actions, or a set of actions leading up to some cataclysmic event. Normal narrative intonation preceding final intonations is also affected: there is often a marked singsong effect with the slight rise and fall of pitch, and the pitch never falls to a low level.

4.5.5 /#>/ Overwhelmed

The examples of the overwhelmed pattern each extend over one prolonged phonological sentence consisting of one phonological phrase. There is a normal stress pattern on the first few syllables, and the voice quality here is normal, or becoming slightly laryngealised towards the end (as for the dreary pattern). Successive stresses are weaker (with still weaker unstressed syllables, maintaining the same relative stress over successive groups of syllables); there is a slow steady overall drop in pitch, and a change of voice to laryngealised and then voiceless laryngealised. The phrase concludes with an abrupt return to normal pitch, volume and voice quality, with an open statement intonation. (This open statement is then closely followed by a final statement intonation pattern.) Syllables remain of the same relative length throughout, not shortening with overall drop in intensity. One or two grammatical phrases are introduced and repeated (first one, and then if present the other), several times during the intensity drop, the start of the grammatical phrase coinciding with the stresses; a new grammatical sentence forms the part of the phrase with normal stress and voice quality. In meaning the pattern is related to the dreary action pattern /#=/.

Further work remains to be done on distribution of intonation patterns; distribution has been noted in some cases, but has not been dealt with exhaustively.

4.6 Phonetic Segments not Conforming to Phonemic Patterns

Certain phones which do not conform to phonemic patterns or phoneme distribution occur, and are used to carry intonation contours. These are for continuous action, assent, disapproval, and attracting attention; other forms occur as hesitation words.

4.6.1 Continuous action, by two speakers at Nutwood Downs, was often signalled by the use of the vowel /i/ lengthened and on a high pitch, followed by the grammatical phrase describing the action, uttered with a statement intonation.⁴ It appears to have the same meaning as the continuous action intonation occurring on a phrase, and the vowel /i/ tends to be lowered in the same way as was noted there.

/(i+ nida./
this 'Here it is.'

4.6.2 Assent may be signalled in two ways. The first signals fairly definite assent. The forms used are /ye/ (distributionally unphonemic) alternating with /ya/ and /yu/. For a certain or emphatic 'yes' /yu/ is usually used; phonetically /yu/ is [yɔ] or [yɔw], which is not quite the phonetic form expected. Intonation is usually either normal narrative (unemphatic, with little stress); for /yu/ a final statement intonation can also be used. The second way signals mild assent, and is often used to indicate merely that the person is attending to what another speaker is saying. The form is a doublet consisting of two nasals or two nasalised vowels, each one terminated in a glottal stop; the nasals are bilabial, the nasalised vowels usually mid front in articulation, though they may vary from this. The doublet is uttered on a rising pitch like that of the short open statement, and it is symbolised by /mʔmʔ/.

/'yu." ne-be|i/
yes he-says '“Yes,” he says.'

/ye nipaña aŕka-mutiñu-nu:|
yes his she-gives-him 'She gives him his share.'

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/(ɣul-uʒala+ ʒum. mʔmʔ:/

we-went down mhm

‘“We went a long way, then went down.” “Yes.”’

4.6.3 Disapproval or correction appears to be signalled by a phonetic doublet uttered on the same contour as */mʔmʔ/*; the doublet is usually of the non-nasalised vowel */e/* terminated with a glottal stop, and repeated (symbolised */eʔeʔ/*). It also appears to be used to attract attention of the one spoken to.

/adapuʔkiyunu ɳa-muban “eʔeʔ.” nida peda:/ ‘Afterwards the one above said:
after that he-said hey this above “Hey!”’

Sometimes */mʔmʔ/* appears used in this sense also.

/# ~ “mʔmʔ: ɳa-bala wuʔuɳa ɳayi wiʔ kuʔ-eɳa-na:”/

no I-said you not get you-can-it

‘“I told you two not to take it!”’

4.6.4 The attention attracting device is the doublet */aʔaʔ/*, the vowel */a/* terminated with a glottal stop and repeated. Its intonation is usually that of tentative pause; it is usually closely followed by a word indicating where to look. It therefore functions in syntax almost as a substitute for the verb *kuɳ a* ‘watch’, ‘look’.

/yaɳan. aʔaʔ, nuʔu:/

snake look! that

‘There’s a snake! There, look!’

4.6.5 Hesitation forms are commonly */nʔ/* and */eʔ/*, the alveolar nasal or the mid front vowel terminated in a glottal stop. The nasal, as well as occurring alone, may finish a phonological word when hesitation occurs, provided the part of the word preceding the */nʔ/* ends in a vowel; the glottal stop */ʔ/* may also occur marking hesitation at the end of a word fragment.

/ɳayi-nʔ ɖuduʔa ɖa ɳa-ɳidiʔ madi./ ‘. . . until there is none — until there is
, not- dust it-might be no no dust.’

/wat-ʔ wiʔ ka-ɳan-na:/⁵

leave- get he-did-it

‘He g- got it.’

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Phrase stress on typical occurrences of this word may account for initial stress; the same cannot account for stress on ‘spear’.
- 2 See Appendix K.
- 3 Examples, with Mingograms, are given in Appendix K.
- 4 One of these was Limmen Harry, a Mara man, who used this pattern more extensively in Mara text; the other was Barnabas’s older brother, who also spoke Mara.
- 5 This shows a slip of the tongue anticipating a vowel in the following auxiliary verb, with a replacement of the retroflexed stop by an unretrorflexed one. No verb root of the form */waʔ/* has been found; it is understandable that once the anticipatory slip in the vowel is made the alveolar stop occurs to make a common verb root form. See Boomer and Laver (1968).

PHONOLOGICAL RULES

5.0 Introduction

5.0.0 Generation of surface level phonological forms from deep phonological structure is described in this chapter. The deep level phoneme inventory includes equivalents of all phonemes as described in chapter 2,¹ together with another high vowel of restricted occurrence, and a reduplication form. Deep and surface level representations of the same word may or may not be identical: they are likely to be identical for unaffixed simple stems, but not for affixed or reduplicated stems.

Table 14 shows the inventory of deep level phonological elements, together with their classification. Some notes on distribution follow the table.

Table 14 — Deep level phonological inventory

	alv	alvpal	peripheral	
Prenas. stops (B)	<i>d</i> <i>d̥</i>	<i>d̥</i>	<i>g</i> <i>b</i>	} Hard (H)
Devoiced stops (P)	<i>t</i> <i>t̥</i>	<i>t̥</i>	<i>k</i> <i>p</i>	
Nasals (Ij)	<i>n</i> <i>n̥</i>	<i>n̥</i>	<i>ŋ</i> <i>m</i>	
Laterals	<i>l</i> <i>l̥</i>	<i>l̥</i>		
Vibrant	<i>ř</i>			
Semivowels (Y)	<i>r</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>w</i>	
Vowels (V)	<i>i</i> <i>ú</i> <i>u</i> <i>e</i> <i>a</i>			
Reduplication form	redup			

/e/ does not occur in deep level in any pronominal affixes.

/u/ does not occur in deep level in any tense affixes.

/ú/ only occurs stem finally in auxiliary verb stems.

Retroflexed alveolars do not occur word or stem initially.

5.0.1 Two classes of phonological rules are given here. Class 1 is used for affixing stems, and for general rules of phoneme alteration, class 2 for reduplicating or repeating stems. Class 1 rules include those for generation of affixed verb forms and affixed noun forms. Ordering of these rules, some of which are quite involved, will be discussed, and the rules stated formulaically. Class 2 rules, for reduplication and repetition, are stated in prose but not formulaically. The reduplication form cannot be symbolised by phonemes, but only by phoneme arrangements.

5.0.2 The first class of rules includes two general rules for phoneme alteration, which apply even when affixes are not involved. After this chapter, except for Appendix J, phonemes affected by these two rules will be written in their deep, not surface form. Adjustments needed to surface phonological representations are:

1. Replacement of any word and stem initial retroflexed alveolar consonants by alveolars.
2. Replacement of any $/xV_1TV_1/$ by $/xV_1tV_1/$, where $/x/$, $/T/$, $/t/$ stand for alveopalatal stop segment, alveolar consonant, and retroflexed alveolar consonant respectively.

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5.1 Discussion of Ordering of Class 1 Rules

5.1.0 An ordering system has been followed in the formulation of phonological rules for stems and affixes. Ordering of some rules is necessary, because these rules either affect or are affected by other rules; ordering of other rules can be random, because their outputs neither affect nor are affected by other rules. Because some rules must be sequentially ordered, and others can be randomly ordered, there is a choice of ways of presenting them. One way, suggested by Chafe,² is to carry out rules simultaneously wherever possible, and further, to apply each rule at the latest possible point. This procedure has been followed in formulation of the following rules, though even within this framework orderings and stating of rules can be done differently. In the following formulae, individual rules may have several steps; orderings of rules could be different if each step were regarded as one rule, or if some related rules were combined.³

5.1.1 Some phonological variations of restricted occurrence are stated in the rules, though they could be equally well handled as peculiarities associated with particular stems or affixes, and could be listed with these in the lexicon. Rules in this category are VD4, VC6, VC5, VB9 and VB8.⁴ All the rules should be regarded as hypotheses to derive surface phonological structure from postulated underlying forms, but for these few rules corroborative evidence to support the hypotheses is less easily produced. It is possible that at a stage in the past history of the language, there were more widespread phenomena in the language of the type covered by these rules, but this is not so at present.

5.1.2 Some phonological rules in the language may be of considerable antiquity. Some such rules may have fallen into disuse except in a few restricted environments; such rules in Alawa presumably include those suggested to account for forms of the verb *rir* 'eat' and *ri* 'be', as well as rules VC5, VB9 and VB8 mentioned above. Other such rules may continue in operation in languages and dialects which have since developed from one ancestor language. Such rules in Alawa would almost certainly include those for retroflexion of alveolars word initially following vowels, and the "hardening" of semi-vowels in certain positions. These two changes occur also in the related languages Mara and Wandarang.

5.1.3 Phonological rules are stated with brief titles, in order of decreasing depth of levels. They are followed by examples of operation of rules (together with brief prose statements of them), in order of increasing depth of levels. Rules at any one level can be applied simultaneously or in any order. Each individual rule must be applied in its listed order of options. If an environment is not stated, the form on the left remains unaltered.

5.1.4 Rules for auxiliary verbs are listed first (VF-VA6), rules of general application next (A5-A1), then rules for nouns and location names (ND1-NA6). Table 15 shows chains of rules which must be applied in the order stated; the table therefore shows what rules have outputs affected by later rules. Morphemes are underlined; phonemes are not underlined; symbols for classes of affixes are in bold type. Word boundary is indicated by # where pertinent, morpheme boundary by -.

5.2 Class 1 Rules

5.2.1 Auxiliary verb rules

VF Variable /ú/ stems

$\acute{u} \rightarrow i \mid x_ [\underline{wun}, \underline{n}\#, \underline{Cv\check{r}}],^5 \text{ am_} dv\check{r}$
 $\rightarrow u \mid _n, _wu$
 $\rightarrow i \mid _$

VE2 Future continuous subjunctive vowel harmony

$v \rightarrow i \mid x_ \check{r}$
 $\rightarrow V_1 \mid V_1(C)\text{-}C_ \check{r}^6$

VE1 Stem final /u/ and /i/ vowels

$u \rightarrow i \mid _ \#$
 $\rightarrow u \mid am_n$
 $u, i \rightarrow a \mid _ n(na)$

VD4 Loss of /r/ and metathesis in *rir* 'eat'

$\underline{rir}\text{-}[V] \rightarrow i\text{-}[V\text{-}r$

VD3 Anomalous vowel with stem *amú*

$i \rightarrow i, u \mid am_diři$

VD2 Third singular feminine suffix *-ŋařa*

$\underline{-\eta a \check{r} a} \rightarrow \eta u \check{r} u \mid _ \#$
 $\rightarrow \check{r} a \mid V_ \text{-} ga$
 $\rightarrow \eta a \check{r} \mid C_ \text{-} ga$

VD1 Third singular masculine suffix *-na*

$\underline{-na} \rightarrow na \mid _ \text{-} ga, \underline{rir}\text{-}_, \underline{ři \check{r}} \text{-}$
 $\rightarrow nu \mid [V \sim a](C)_?$
 $\rightarrow na \mid _$

VC6 Loss of initial /r/ in *ri* 'be'

$\underline{ri} \rightarrow i \mid _ \text{-} ni$

VC5 Vowel harmony in double pronominal prefix

$i \rightarrow u \mid _ \text{-} wuR\text{-}^8$

VC4 Reduction of past punctiliar subjunctive suffix

$\underline{-ři \check{n} a} \rightarrow ři \check{n} a \mid n \check{t} i \text{-}_, \underline{ri \text{-}}$
 $\rightarrow [\check{n} a, ři \check{n} a] \mid i \check{d} i \text{-}_ . ['go']^9$
 $\rightarrow \check{n} a \mid _$

VC3 High vowels in tense affixes

$i \rightarrow u \mid _ (C) nu, u\text{-}C_ (C_), ry \text{-}$
 $\rightarrow u, i \mid _ \eta u \check{r} u$

VC2 Retroflexion of nasal in third singular masculine suffix

$n \rightarrow \check{n} \mid \text{-} dV \text{-}_$
 $\rightarrow n \mid C_ \text{-}_, [V \sim a] \text{-}_ \text{-}_,^? \underline{ta} \text{-}_ \text{-}_, \underline{\eta a} \text{-}_ \text{-}_ \#$
 $\rightarrow \check{n} \mid _$

VC1 Stem vowel harmony before *-la¹⁰*

$i, u \rightarrow a \mid _ \text{-} la$

VB9 Loss of /w/ in double pronominal prefixes

$w \rightarrow \emptyset \mid \check{N} un \text{-}_, b \text{-}_ \text{ (where } \check{N} \text{ is any nasal)}$
 $\rightarrow R_1 \mid [\check{t}, \eta] u \text{-} uR_1\text{-}^8$

VB8 Vowel harmony in double pronominal prefix

$u \rightarrow i \mid yinw \text{-}\check{r}$

VB7 Loss of vowel for singular persons in subjunctive of 'go'

$i \rightarrow \emptyset \mid CV \text{-}_ \check{d} i . [pa \text{-}_ \text{-}_] . ['go']$

VB6 Appearance of /k/ between affix and stem initial vowel

$\emptyset \rightarrow k \mid [V \text{-}_ V] . [\eta anu \text{-}_ \text{-}_ V, af \text{-}_ \text{-}_ a]^{11}$

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VB5 Assimilation of trill and nasal

$$\check{r}n \rightarrow n / \text{ta-pa}$$

Lowering of high and raising of low vowels in stems

$$\begin{aligned} \text{VB4} \quad \underline{a} &\rightarrow a, e / \text{---}\check{n}\check{i} \\ \underline{na} &\rightarrow ne / \text{---}y\check{i} \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{VB3} \quad \underline{a[t, l]i} &\rightarrow a[t, l]i / \text{imperative singular---} \\ &\rightarrow e[t, l]i / \text{---}\# \text{ (future indicative)} \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{VB2} \quad \eta ati &\rightarrow \eta ati / \text{---}\check{n}a \\ \text{N}a[t, k]i &\rightarrow \text{N}a[t, k]i \text{ (rarely)} / \text{---} \\ &\rightarrow \text{N}e[t, k]e \text{ (commonly)} / \text{---} \end{aligned}$$

VB1 Vowel change in one syllable stems

$$\begin{aligned} i &\rightarrow e / \text{stem initially, ---}ni \\ &\rightarrow i / \text{---}\#, r\text{---} \\ &\rightarrow e, i / \text{---} \end{aligned}$$

VA14 Hardening of /y/ in sg persons (except fem) of rir 'eat' future subjunctive

$$y \rightarrow \check{t} / [\text{CV}, (\text{C})\text{VC}]\text{-ri(r)}\text{---}un$$

VA13 Coalescence of /r/ and following consonants

$$\begin{aligned} r[y, \check{t}] &\rightarrow [y, \check{t}] \\ rn &\rightarrow \check{n} \end{aligned}$$

VA12 Third singular feminine suffix with muta 'give'

$$\begin{aligned} \eta u\check{r}u &\rightarrow \eta a\check{r}i / \underline{muta}\text{---} \\ &\rightarrow \eta u\check{r}u \} / \text{mutaya---} \\ &\eta a\check{r}i \} \end{aligned}$$

Anomalous final vowels (VA11-VA9)

VA11 Third singular suffixes with muta 'give'

$$a \rightarrow \underline{i} / \underline{muta}\text{---}[\check{r}, \check{n}]\text{---}$$

VA10 Final vowel in variable /ú/ stems

$$i \rightarrow a / \text{lam---}\#, \eta u\check{r}im\text{---}\#$$

VA9 Final vowel with a

$$a \rightarrow u / \text{pa-}\underline{a}\text{---}\check{n}\text{---}\#$$

VA8 Prefix vowel harmony in auxiliary verbs

$$a \rightarrow e / \text{---}(\text{C})(\text{C}[a, i]^n(\text{C})e \text{ for all } n \leq 2$$

VA7 Reduction of consonants in auxiliary verbs

$$[\text{B}, \text{Y}] \rightarrow [\text{P}, \emptyset] / \text{R---}\underline{\text{pa}}\text{---}\text{---}^{12}$$

VA6 Consonant hardening at word boundaries in auxiliary verb prefixes

$$\begin{aligned} \emptyset &\rightarrow \emptyset, k / k\# \text{---}\underline{\text{vr}}\# \text{---} \\ [y, w, \emptyset] &\rightarrow [t, k, k] / \text{H}\# \text{---}\underline{\text{vr}}\# \text{---}\text{---}^{13} \end{aligned}$$

5.2.2 Rules applicable also to nouns and location names

A5 Consonant hardening within words and with locative suffix

$$[y, w] \rightarrow [t, p] / \text{H---}[\text{kinship noun}, \text{pa}, \text{locative suffix}]$$

5.2.3 Universal rules

A4 Vowel reduction to avoid contiguous vowels

$$V \rightarrow \emptyset / _V.pa$$

A3 Lowering of /i/ in backed consonant environment

$$i \rightarrow e / k_l$$

A2 Loss of retroflexion in alveopalatal environment

$$retr + alv^{14} \rightarrow alv + [alv, retr] / alvpalV_1_V_1_$$

$$retr \rightarrow retr / alvpal-V_1_V_1$$

$$\rightarrow alv / alvpal V_1_V_1$$

A1 Universal retroflexion rule

$$alv \rightarrow retr / V\#_, V_.\textbf{prefix}_$$

5.2.4 Rules for nouns and location names

ND Operative and locative case suffix¹⁵

$$ti \rightarrow di / yi_$$

$$\rightarrow \check{r}i / i_ , -\eta a_$$

$$\rightarrow \emptyset / -ma\check{d}a_$$

$$\rightarrow \check{r}a / \underline{diya\eta a}_ , \underline{gulu\eta a\check{d}a}_ , \underline{\eta itma}_ \text{ (all optionally)}^{16}$$

$$\rightarrow \check{r}i / \underline{wuna\check{r}u}_$$

$$\rightarrow \check{r} / [a, u]_$$

$$\rightarrow a / -wa\check{r}_$$

$$\rightarrow tV_1 / \sqrt{V_1} [L \sim r]_^{17}$$

$$\rightarrow \check{d}i / Y_$$

NC3 Genitive suffix

$$ta \rightarrow \check{d}a / Y_ , [y, \check{n}]i_$$

$$\rightarrow yi / V_$$

$$\rightarrow \check{t}a / _$$

NC2 Change of second singular suffix in one kinship noun

$$\underline{wi\check{n}a-ma\check{d}a}\# \rightarrow \underline{wi\check{n}aba}\#$$

NC1 Adjustment of locative suffix before directionals

$$i \rightarrow \emptyset / \check{r}_ -[\underline{wu\check{r}}, \underline{yumu}]$$

NB5 Raising of vowels in second singular suffix

$$\underline{ma\check{d}a} \rightarrow \underline{mi\check{d}i} / _ -[yi, \check{r}u, yiRi]$$

NB4 Kinship noun wu\check{t}a\check{r}a¹⁷

$$\underline{wu\check{t}a\check{r}a} \rightarrow \underline{wu\check{t}a\check{r}a} / _ -li$$

$$\rightarrow \underline{ku\check{t}a\check{r}a} / _$$

NB3 Feminine prefix

$$a\left\{\begin{matrix} \check{r} \\ n \end{matrix}\right\} \rightarrow a\left\{\begin{matrix} \check{r} \\ n \end{matrix}\right\}ka / _ -[r, l, V]$$

NB2 Lowering of stem final vowel in kinship nouns

$$i \rightarrow a / _ -(l)\underline{-\eta a}$$

NB1 Allative suffix

$$\underline{wu\check{r}} \rightarrow u / \check{r}_$$

$$\rightarrow \check{r}u / \check{x}i_$$

$$\rightarrow \underline{wu\check{r}} / _$$

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NA10 Reduction of *-wař* in 'old man'

-wař → *ař* / *wuřkul-*

NA9 Change of vocative form for *yĩř*

li → *ilka* / *yĩř-*

NA8 Raising of stem final vowel

a → *i* / *__mĩđi*, *__wuřŋa*, *__li*, *__da*

NA7 Coalescence of trill and stop

ř-t → *d*

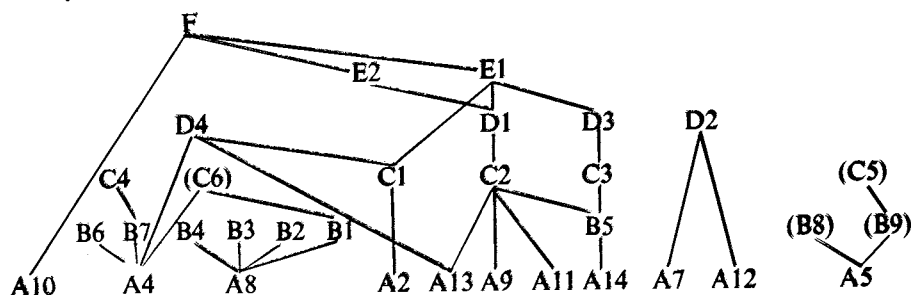
NA6 Stem final vowel before operative and locative suffix

a → *a* / *__řa*

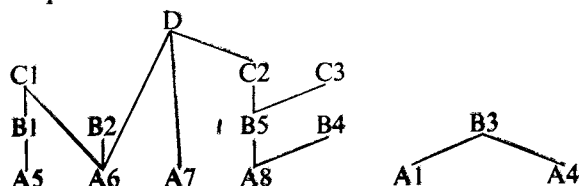
a,u → *i* / *__ř*

Table 15 — Chains of rules

Auxiliary verbs



Nouns and place names



5.2.5 Description of rules with examples

A1 Universal retroflexion rule. An alveolar consonant is retroflexed following a vowel across word or certain morpheme boundaries.

(a) across word boundaries

kuñ kařaŋan yeł. da mululpĩři. 'I saw the porcupine sticking up.'

kuñ kařanna řa mululpĩři: 'I saw the porcupine.'

[pause] *dakĩni řikuř:* 'only the tail'

řabiŋi řa řaňa. 'Who is that?'

nĩda. 'this'

da nĩda. 'this'

řaŋĩni řa nĩda. 'What is this?'

kař ni 'pick it up'

puřa ni 'cook it'

(b) following pronominal affixes

puřa řa-ni 'I will cook it'

puřa ař-ni 'she will cook it'

kaya ře-řeni 'he hears (it)'

kaya yil-neni 'they hear (it)'

lipili 'younger brother(voc)'

na-řipalřa 'my younger brother'

anka-řipalřa 'my younger sister'

řul-lamuwunnu 'we tried it'

a-řamuwunnu 'he tried it'

- A2 Loss of retroflexion in alveopalatal environment. A retroflexed alveolar between two identical vowels becomes alveolar following a syllable beginning with an alveopalatal, provided the alveopalatal does not immediately precede a morpheme boundary.

<i>tum ɬ-aɬa</i> 'you are going down'	<i>ɲaba-la</i> 'I was saying'
<i>pili yilneɬi-ɬunu</i> 'they are going en masse'	<i>ɲawuɬa-la</i> 'I was going'
<i>tut keɲneɬi-li</i> 'I am starting out'	<i>ɲabiɲi</i> 'who'
<i>melk kuɲeɬi-li[n,ɲ]aga</i> 'it makes you heavy'	<i>ɲanɲini</i> 'what'

- A3 /i/ does not occur between /k/ and /l/; in this environment it becomes /e/.
ɲayi ɬaɲaɬ ɲuɾkiɲa 'I didn't kill it' *ɬaɲaɬ ɲuɾkeɬi* 'I am killing it'

- A4 Contiguous vowels do not occur. If in the derivation of forms two vowels are contiguous, the first is lost.

<i>ɲul-mutuɰunu</i> 'we gave it to him'	<i>ɲul-aɬa</i> 'we are going'
<i>yɪ-mutuɰunu</i> 'you gave it to him'	<i>y-aɬa</i> 'you are going'

- A5 Consonant hardening within words. Semivowels /y/ and /w/ occurring initially in kinship nouns, locative suffixes, or pronominal affixes, become stops /t/ and /p/ respectively, following hard consonants.

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| (a) kinship nouns | |
| <i>na-wiɲaɲa</i> 'my son' | <i>na-yiɾɲa</i> 'my nephew' |
| <i>an-piɲaɲa</i> 'my daughter' | <i>an-ɬiɾɲa</i> 'my niece' |
| (b) locative suffix | |
| <i>kewuɬi-wuɾ</i> 'to Roper Valley' | <i>wuɬuk-puɾ</i> 'to Salt Creek' |
| (c) pronominal affixes within verbs | |
| <i>yaɲ kaɾɲata-wulu</i> 'I will hit them' | <i>yaɲ kaɾɲatan-pulu</i> 'I hit them' |

5.2.6 Description of rules for nouns and location names

- NA6 Stem final vowels /a/ and /u/ become /i/ before the operative or locative case suffix.

<i>gutaru</i> 'stone', 'hill'	<i>aka</i> 'fish'
<i>gutariɾu</i> 'to the hill'	<i>akiɾ</i> 'fish(op)'
<i>gutariɾ</i> 'stone(op)'	

- NA7 The operative and locative case suffix fuses with a stem final /ɾ/ to produce the consonant /d/.
guluɾ 'eye' *guludu* 'eye(lo)'

- NA8 A stem final vowel changes to /i/ preceding possessive pronominal suffixes with a high vowel, the vocative suffix (which has a high vowel), and preceding a suffix with an alveopalatal consonant.¹⁸

<i>ankuɬaka</i> 'mother'	<i>nawiɲimiɬiyi</i> 'your son(gen)'
<i>ankuɬakiwuɾɲa</i> 'your(pl) mother'	<i>naɲaɾakaɲa</i> 'mother's brother'
<i>nawiɲaɲa</i> 'my son'	<i>aɲaɾakaɲiɬa</i> 'mother's brother(gen)'
<i>wiɲili</i> 'child(voc)'	

- NA9 The vocative form of *yɪɾ* 'sister's child' is *yɪɾilka*, not *yɪɾli*, the form that would parallel other kinship vocatives.

- NA10 The suffix *-waɾ* 'with' is reduced to /aɾ/ following *wuɾkul* 'grey hair'. This rule accounts for case forms of *wuɾkulaɾ* 'old person', which follow those for the suffix *-waɾ*.

<i>wuɾkultu</i> 'at (time of) grey hair'	<i>aɾwuɾkulaɾawuɾ</i> 'towards the old woman'
<i>wuɾkulaɾa</i> 'old man(op)'	

NB1 The allative suffix is of the form /*wuř*/ following location names and locative suffix allomorphs of the form /*tV*/ (i.e. following nouns ending in /*ř*/ or a lateral); it is of the form /*řu*/ following locative allomorphs with a form /*xV*/, and of the form /*u*/ following /*ř*/.

- ### 5.2.7 Examples of rule chains for nouns and location names

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5.2.8 Examples of rules for auxiliary verbs

- VA6 Consonant hardening at word boundaries. Following verb roots ending in hard consonants, /k/ is added to auxiliaries beginning with vowels, and /y/ and /w/ become /t/ and /k/ respectively. However, following /k/, an auxiliary with initial vowel does not always add a /k/ initially.

<i>yała</i> 'you are going'	<i>ɲuy ałała</i> 'she is swimming'
<i>mal yała</i> 'you are climbing'	<i>tuɲ kałała</i> 'she is getting up'
<i>ɬum ɬala</i> 'you are going down'	<i>ɲak ɬilapuwunnu</i> 'they speared it'
<i>tul wulaɲanna</i> 'you (pl) found it'	<i>ɲak (k)apuwunnu</i> 'he speared it'
<i>wiɬ kulaɲanna</i> 'you (pl) got it'	

- VA7 Reduction of consonants in auxiliary verbs. Prenasalised stops in auxiliary verb stems or suffixes are reduced to devoiced stops following a prefix with a final consonant; semivowels in the same environment are lost.²⁰

(a) verb suffix

<i>yaɲ kanɲataɾ-ga</i>	'she will hit me'
<i>yaɲ kanɲatanɲaɾ-ka</i>	'she hit me'

(b) verb stems

<i>ɲa-bała</i> 'I was speaking'	<i>ɲul-pała</i> 'we were speaking'
<i>ɲa-wiña</i> 'I will go'	<i>yiɾ-iña</i> 'they two will go'
<i>na-yiman</i> 'he went'	<i>aɾ-iman</i> 'she went'
<i>a-riña</i> 'he will eat'	<i>yil-iña</i> 'they will eat'

- VA8 Prefix vowel harmony. /a/ vowels in prefixes change to /e/ when the auxiliary stem contains this vowel.

(a) pronominal prefixes

<i>ɲaɭ ɲa-bała</i> 'I was speaking'	<i>ɲaɭ ɲe-beɭi</i> 'I am speaking'
<i>wakaɾ aɾ-i</i> 'she sat down'	<i>wakaɾ eɾ-eni</i> 'she is sitting down'
<i>tiwan kaɾka-ɲatañana</i> 'she was roasting it'	
<i>tiwan keɾke-ɲeteñunu</i> 'she is roasting it'	

(b) other prefixes also

<i>a-ya-kanna</i> 'he brought it'	<i>e-ye-kenu</i> 'he is bringing it'
<i>a-ya-kaɲa</i> 'he will bring it'	
<i>aɾ-aɾi-kanna</i> 'I went to it'	<i>eɾ-eɾi-kenu</i> 'I am going to it'

- VA9 Anomalous final vowel with *a* (a DR auxiliary verb). Following the unmodified auxiliary stem *a* (i.e. when prefixes *ya-* or *aɾi-* are not present), the word final vowel in the morpheme for 3m changes to /u/.

<i>kuɲ ka-ɲu</i> 'he will watch it'	<i>kuɲ ka-ɲa-ga</i> 'he will watch you'
<i>ayak-a-ɲa</i> 'he will bring it'	

- VA10 Final vowel in variable /ú/ stems. Instead of the expected /i/, two auxiliary verb stems *lamú* 'try' and *ɲuɾimú* 'show' end in /a/ in future tense when there is no person suffix.

<i>kaya anuɾkami</i> 'I will feel myself'	<i>anlama</i> 'I will try myself'
<i>aɾlamunu</i> 'I will try it'	
<i>ɬiɲuɾima</i> 'show me'	<i>aɾɲuɾimunu</i> 'I will show him'

- VA11 Third singular suffixes with *muta* 'give' have final vowel /i/.

<i>aɾmuta-ɲi</i> 'I will give it to him'	<i>anmuta-ɲi-ga</i> 'he will give it to me'
<i>anmuta-ɾi-ga</i> 'she will give it to me'	

- VA12 Third singular feminine suffix with *muta* 'give'. The form *-ɲaɾi*, not *ɲuɾu* is found after the future tense of *muta* (unaffixed), and sometimes after the past tense (*mutaya*).

<i>aɾmuta-ɲaɾi</i> 'I will give it to her'	<i>aɾmutaya-ɲaɾi</i>	} 'I gave it to her'
	<i>aɾmutaya-ɲuɾu</i>	

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- VA13 Coalescence of /r/. Stem final /r/ in *rir* 'eat' is lost in subjunctive forms, and coalesces with /n/ in the future indicative.
ariṭunu 'he might eat it' *ariṇa* 'he will eat it'
- VA14 Hardening of /y/ in singular persons of *rir* 'eat'. Instead of /y/, /t/ is found in the future subjunctive forms for 'eat' in singular persons with one syllable pronominal prefixes.
a-riṭunu 'he might eat' *aṛka-riyunu* 'she might eat'
aṛ-iṭunu 'I might eat' *ṇul-iyunu* 'we might eat'
- VB1 Lowering of /i/ in one syllable stems. /i/ does not occur stem initially, and is changed in all stem initial occurrences to /e/, including cases where due to metathesis or consonant loss it becomes the first phoneme of the stem. /i/ is usually changed to /e/ in one syllable stems with initial consonant; however /i/ remains when such a consonant is /r/ (even if the /r/ is lost following a consonant), or the vowel occurs word finally, or in the allomorph *ni* 'be'.
a-mapi-nu 'he is keeping it' *puṭa ṇa-ni* (*ni* 'be') 'I will cook it'
kuṇ k-e-nu 'he is watching it' *puṭa ṇa-ni-diṛ* 'I might cook it'
a-ri-ṭunu 'he might eat' *ṇa-ri-ṛiṇa* 'I can cook it'
aṛ-i-ṭunu 'I might eat' *ṇaṭ ṇa-bi* 'I will say'
kaya ṇe-ṇe-ni 'I hear it' *ṇayi ṇaṭ* {*ṇe-be-ṇa*} 'I did not speak'
ṇayi kuṇ ṇ-e-diṛi 'I did not see you' *ṇa-bi-ṇa*
- VB2 In two syllable stems with medial /t/ or /k/ the sequences /ati/ and /aki/ usually become /eCe/, except with /ṇati/ and the present punctiliar allomorph /ṇaṭ/.
tiwan {*keṛ-ṇete-ṇunu*} 'I am roasting it'
ṇayi kaya {*ṇul-nete-yiṛi*} 'we did not hear'
ṇayi kaya ne-ṇeke-ṇa 'he did not hear'
ṇayi tiwan kaṛ-ṇati-ṇa-na 'I did not roast it'
- VB3 'Come' and 'bring' have the stem initial vowel /a/ in singular imperatives, usually /e/ elsewhere in the future indicative, and /a/ in all other forms.
wak-aṭi-kunu 'come here!' *yiṛ-eṭi-kunu* {*'come here (d1)!'*}
w-aṭi-ṇuṛu 'get her!' {*'they two will come'*}
wiṭ k-aṭi 'get it!' *wiṭ t-eṭi* 'you will get it'
n-eṭi-kunu 'he will come' *wiṭ k-eṭi* 'he will get it'
 aṭi-ṇana 'he brought it'
- VB4 Raising of /a/ in *a* and *na*. /a/ fluctuates with /e/ in the stem *a* before the reflexive present suffix *-ṇṭi*; /a/ in the stem *na* is raised to /e/ before the future suffix *-yi*.
yaṇ {*yil-a-ṇṭi-ni*} 'they are hitting themselves'
kaya ne-ṇe-yi 'he will hear it'
- VB5 Assimilation of trill and nasal. /ṛ/ is lost finally in the future subjunctive suffix preceding a 3m suffix.
ṇak ṇapuduṛ 'I might spear you' *kuṇ kadaṛ* 'he might look'
ṇak ṇapudu-nu 'you and I might spear him' *kuṇ kada-naga* 'he might watch you'
- VB6 Appearance of /k/ between affix and stem initial vowel. When *ṇanu-* or one of the stem modifying prefixes *ya-*, *aṛi-*, *yaṇ-* or *na-* occur before a vowel initial stem, /k/ is inserted.
yaṇ ṇanu-ṇatan 'she hit her' *yaṇ ka-ṇaṭanna* 'he hit him'
kuṇ ṇanu-k-a 'she will watch her' *wiṭ ṇul-aṇanna* 'we got it'
kuṇ ṇ-a 'I will watch you' *a-yaṇ-k-aṇanna* 'he shot it'²¹
ṇ-aṛi-k-a 'I will go to you'

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- VB7²² Loss of vowel for singular persons in subjunctive of 'go'. The subjunctive stem *idi* of 'go' loses the initial vowel following a vowel final pronominal affix.

<i>ḡayi yil-idiṛi</i> 'they didn't go' <i>nayi ḡa-ḡiṛi</i> 'I didn't go' <i>ḡul-idiṛ</i> 'we might go' <i>ḡa-ḡiṛ</i> 'I might go'	<i>na-ḡiṛ</i> 'he might go' <i>yī-ḡ-ṛ</i> 'you might go' <i>aṛ-idiṛ</i> 'she might go'
--	--

- VC1 Stem vowel harmony before *-la*. The stem vowel preceding the past continuous suffix *-la* changes to */a/*.
ṇak apu-wunnu 'he speared it' *ṇak apa-la-nakay* 'he used to spear it'

- VC2 Retroflexion of nasal in third singular masculine suffix. See VD1.

- VC3 High vowels in tense affixes. */i/* in *-li* and *-ṇi* becomes */u/* preceding a 3m suffix allomorph */nu/*, and may do so preceding a 3f suffix (referent only).

<i>tut ḡulneṭi-li</i> 'we are starting out' <i>pili yilneṭi-lu-nu</i> 'they are going in en masse' <i>kuy e-ṇi</i> 'he is hunting'	<i>lun ke-ṇu-nu</i> 'he is putting it' <i>lun</i> { <i>ke-ṇi-ḡuṛu</i> } 'he is putting her' <i>ke-ṇu-ḡuṛu</i>
--	---

- VC4²² Reduction of present punctiliar subjunctive suffix. *-ṛiṇa* more commonly occurs in the reduced form */ṇa/*. The full form occurs following reflexive suffixes, following *ri* 'be', and optionally with 'go'.

ḡayi ḡulmutiṇana 'we didn't give it to him'
ḡayi ḡulmuti-ṇi-ṛiṇa 'we were not giving it to each other'
ḡayi wakaṛ nari-ṛiṇa 'he wasn't sitting down'
ḡaḡi-ṛiṇa } 'I can go'
ḡaḡi-ṇa }

- VC6 Loss of initial */r/* in *ri* 'be'. Initial */r/* in the stem *ri* 'be' is lost before the present continuous suffix *-ni*, but retained in past indicative and in present punctiliar subjunctive.²³

wakaṛ ḡa-ri 'I was sitting' *wakaṛ ḡa-ri-ṛiṇa* 'I can sit'
wakaṛ ḡe-ni 'I am sitting'

- VD1 and VC2 The third singular masculine suffix has the vowel */a/* preceding *-ga* and following *rir* 'eat' and the subjunctive of the DDR auxiliary *aṇa*, */u/* following */uC/* or a high vowel, and */a/* elsewhere. The nasal is retroflexed alveolar following the suffix *-dV* after the stem *a* (past or present tense); it is alveolar following a consonant, a vowel other than */a/*, a tense affix, or word finally following stem allomorph *ḡa*; it is retroflexed alveolar elsewhere.

VC2 point of articulation of nasal
kuṇ kan-a-da-ḡa-ga 'he was watching me'
kuṇ ken-e-di-ḡa-ga 'he is watching me'
ṇak apuwun-nu 'he speared him'
kuṇ kadaṛ-na → *kuṇ kadana* 'he might watch him'
amapu-nu 'he will keep it'
tiwan kaṛḡata-ṇa-na 'I roasted it'
aḡama-la-na 'he was trying it'
yaḡ ḡa-na 'hit it!'
yaḡ ku-ḡa-ḡa-ga 'he will hit you'
ayaka-ḡa 'he will bring it'

VD1 position of vowel
kayaka-ḡa-ga 'he will bring you'
ḡul-rir-na → *ḡul-i-ḡa* 'we will eat'
amutuwwun-nu 'he gave it to him'
ṇak ṇapuduṛ-nu → *ṇak ṇapudu-nu* 'we might spear it'

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- VD2 Third singular feminine suffix *-ŋařa* usually occurs word finally as /*ŋuřu*/ (see also VA12). Preceding *-ga* it occurs as /*řa*/ following a vowel, and /*ŋař*/ following a consonant.
yaj kařŋatan-ŋuřu ‘I hit her’ *yaj kanŋata-řa-ga* ‘she will hit me’
 yaj kanŋatan-ŋař-ka ‘she hit me’
- VD3 Anomalous vowel with stem *amú*. In the present continuous subjunctive, the stem *amú* may have the vowel /*u*/ or /*i*/ finally.
- ŋayi piŋ* { *n-ami-diři*
 n-amu-duřu } ‘he didn’t finish it’
- VD4 Loss of /*r*/ and metathesis in *rir* ‘eat’. The initial /*r*/ of the auxiliary stem *rir* is dropped, and the final /*r*/ metathesises with the continuous suffixes *-V*.
- a-rir-na* → *a-ri-ŋa* ‘he will eat’
a-rir-yuřunu → *a-ri-yuřunu* ‘he can eat’
rir-la-na → *i-la-r-na* → *aľana* ‘he ate’
rir-li-na → *i-li-r-nu* → *eľunu* ‘he eats’
- VE1 A stem final /*u*/ vowel becomes /*i*/ word finally, and /*u*/ in *amun*; stem final /*u*/ or /*i*/ becomes /*a*/ preceding *-n* or *-nna*.
- ňak ňapu-nu* ‘you and I will spear it’ *amapu-nu* ‘he will keep it’
ňak ňapi ‘I will spear you’ *amapa-n-na* ‘he kept it’
piŋ nami ‘he will finish it’ *yana naňiti* ‘he will go to sleep’
piŋ namun ‘he finished it’ *yana naňita-n* ‘he went to sleep’
- VE2 Future continuous subjunctive vowel harmony. This suffix has the same vowel as found in the preceding syllable.
- ŋaľ na-ba-yař* ‘he might speak’ *piŋ ŋami-diř* ‘I might finish it’
ňak ňapu-duř ‘I might spear you’
- VF Variable /*ú*/ stems occur with final vowel /*i*/ following an alveopalatal stop segment and preceding *-wun*, *-n* word finally, or the future subjunctive suffix; the vowel is /*u*/ preceding /*n*/ other than word finally, or preceding /*wu*/; it is /*i*/ elsewhere.
- tuj ŋulneři-wu-nu* ‘we got up’ *yijuřimu-wun-nu* ‘you showed it to him’
tut keřneři-n ‘I started out’ *tijuřimu-wun* ‘you showed me’
pup kewedı-wun-nu ‘it cooled’ *yilmuti-ńiri* ‘they are giving it to each
 other’
pup kewedu-nu ‘it will cool’ *kaya anuřkami* ‘I will feel (it)’

5.2.9 Examples of chains of rules for auxiliary verbs

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| VF,VA10 | <i>an-lamú</i> → <i>an-lami</i> (VF) |
| | 'I will try myself' → <i>anlama</i> (VA10) |
| VC4,VB7 | <i>ŋa-idi-řiña</i> → <i>ŋa-idi-řiña</i> (VC4) |
| | 'I can go' → <i>ŋa-đi-řiña</i> (VB7) |
| VB1,VA8 | <i>ŋa-bi-łi</i> → <i>ŋa-be-łi</i> (VB1) |
| | 'I say' → <i>ŋebelì</i> (VA8) |
| VD1,VC4,VC2,VB2 | <i>ař-ŋati-řiña-na</i> → <i>ař-ŋati-řiña-na</i> (VD1) |
| | 'I can . . . it' → <i>ař-ŋati-ña-na</i> (VC4,VC2) |
| | → <i>ařŋatiñana</i> (VB2) |
| VD1,VC3,VC2,
VB2,VA8 | <i>ař-ŋati-ñi-na</i> → <i>ař-ŋati-ñi-nu</i> (VD1) |
| | 'I . . . it(pres)' → <i>ař-ŋati-ñu-nu</i> (VC3,VC2) |
| | → <i>ař-$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \etaete-ñu-nu \\ \etaati \end{array} \right.$</i> (VB2) |
| | → $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} eř\etaeteñunu \\ ařŋatiñunu \end{array} \right.$ (VA8) |

VD2,VA6	<i>yaŋ aŋ-ŋaŋa-ŋaŋa</i> → <i>yaŋ aŋ-ŋata-ŋuŋu</i> (VD2) 'I will hit her' → <i>yaŋ kaŋŋatanŋuŋu</i> (VA6)
VD2,VA7,VA6	<i>yaŋ an-ŋata-n-ŋaŋa-ga</i> → <i>yaŋ an-ŋata-n-ŋaŋ-ga</i> (VD2) 'she hit me' → <i>yaŋ kaŋŋatanŋaŋka</i> (VA6,VA7)
VD2,VA11	<i>an-muta-ŋaŋa-ga</i> → <i>an-muta-ŋa-ga</i> (VD2) 'she will give it to me' → <i>anmutaŋiga</i> (VA11)
VF,VD3,VC3	<i>na-amú-diŋi</i> → <i>na-ami-diŋi</i> (VF) 'he can . . . ' → <i>na-</i> { <i>ami-diŋi</i> (VD3) <i>amu-duŋu</i> → { <i>namidiŋi</i> (A4) <i>namuduŋu</i>
VF,VE1,VD1,VC2	<i>a-mutú-wun-na</i> → <i>a-mutu-wun-na</i> (VF) 'he gave it to him' → <i>a-mutu-wun-na</i> (VE1) → <i>a-mutu-wun-nu</i> (VD1) → <i>amutuwunnu</i> (VC2)
VF,VE1,VD1,VC2	<i>ku-mutú-wun-na-ga</i> → <i>ku-mutu-wun-na-ga</i> (VF) 'he gave it to you' → <i>ku-mutu-wun-na-ga</i> (VE1) → <i>ku-mutu-wun-na-ga</i> (VD1) → <i>kumutuwunnaga</i> (VC2)
VF,VE1,A4	<i>ŋa-amú-n</i> → <i>ŋa-amu-n</i> (VF) 'I . . . (past)' → <i>ŋa-amu-n</i> (VE1) → <i>ŋamun</i> (A4)
VE1,VD1,VC2	<i>a-mapu-n-na</i> → <i>a-mapa-n-na</i> (VE1) 'he kept it' → <i>a-mapa-n-na</i> (VD1) → <i>amapanna</i> (VC2)
VE2,VD1,VC2,VB5	<i>ŋa-mapu-dvř-na</i> → <i>ŋa-mapu-duř-na</i> (VE2) 'you and I might keep it' → <i>ŋa-mapu-duř-nu</i> (VD1) → <i>ŋa-mapu-duř-nu</i> (VC2) → <i>ŋamapudunu</i> (VB5)
VF,VE2,A4	<i>na-amú-dvř</i> → <i>na-ami-dvř</i> (VF) 'he might . . . ' → <i>na-ami-diř</i> (VE2) → <i>namidiř</i> (A4)
VD4,VD1,VC3,VC2,VB1,VA13,A4	<i>a-rir-ŋi-na</i> → <i>a-i-ŋi-r-nu</i> (VD4,VD1) 'he eats it' → <i>a-i-ŋu-r-nu</i> (VC3,VC2) → <i>a-e-ŋu-r-nu</i> (VB1) → <i>eŋunu</i> (VA13,A4)
VE2,VD1,VC3,VC2,VB5	<i>yil-a-ŋvř-na</i> → <i>yil-a-ŋiř-na</i> (VE2) 'they might . . . it' → <i>yil-a-ŋiř-na</i> (VD1) → <i>yil-a-ŋiř-na</i> (VC3,VC2) → <i>yilaŋina</i> (VB5)

5.3 Class 2 Rules for Reduplication and Repetition

5.3.0 Reduplication of parts of stems and repetition of stems, either within the one phonological word or as two or more words, occurs in Alawa, mostly to signal a grammatical or semantic distinction. A change in the initial consonant of the stem sometimes occurs in repetition of a stem within one phonological word.

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5.3.1 Repetition of verb roots occurs quite often; except for stress placement (see ¶4.2.1) there is little to note. However such repeated roots are considered as separate words. (The informant regarded one verb root plus its auxiliary as one word, and a repeated verb root plus an auxiliary as two words.)²⁴ A number of consonant clusters, other than those found to be possible word medially, would occur if these repetitions were considered to be one word. Such doublets or multiplets (up to four found to date) do have something in common with single phonological words, in that they function as a unit in syntax and only the final root is suffixed when the root functions as a substantive.²⁵

<i>law lawḡa</i> 'on the other side'	<i>kuṛp kuṛp</i> 'knife'
<i>pup kewedilunu</i> 'it cools'	<i>kuṛp kuṛpṭi</i> 'knife(op)'
<i>pup pup naṭini</i> 'it (wind) is blowing'	

5.3.2 Two types of reduplication have been distinguished, the regular and the irregular. What is classed as regular reduplication, may not always follow a regular pattern (at least with the present data the patterns have not been fully analysed), but there is no alteration of stem initial consonants, and the meaning signalled is plurality (as contrasted with duality or singularity) for nouns, and intensification in quality for adjectives. When reduplication signals plural of nouns, the plural prefix *yil-* is sometimes omitted. Reduplication does not always occur for plurals of nouns; it is apparently confined mostly to human nouns, and even then is sometimes omitted.

5.3.3 For substantives with initial CVCV (i.e. two open syllables), the regular reduplication is mostly by prefixation of a repetition of the initial CVCV. For substantives of other forms reduplication occurs differently.

<i>maya</i> 'hand'	<i>mayamaya</i> 'right hand'
<i>paṭaṭa</i> 'little'	<i>paṭapaṭaṭa</i> 'very little'
<i>yaṭaṭa</i> 'child'	<i>(yil)yaṭayaṭaṭa</i> 'children'
<i>ankiriya</i> 'woman'	<i>(yil)kiriṭkiriya</i> / <i>yilkiṭiya</i> 'women'

5.3.4 Reduplication of the adjective *rukalaṛa* 'long' suggests that the consonant /r/ is lost in reduplication and (applying phonological rule A4) the preceding vowel is also lost. Alternatively (see 'underneath', ¶5.3.8) the first VC sequence is repeated.

rukukalaṛa 'very long'

5.3.5 Reduplication of two words suggests the vowel /a/ in the second syllable may sometimes shift to /u/ in a reduplication where /u/ is present in the first syllable; presumably this occurs for ease of articulation.

<i>munumunaṇa</i> 'white people' ²⁶	<i>yumuyumaṛ</i> 'very good'
--	------------------------------

5.3.6 Where a word is of the form CVCVC, it seems that the whole word may be reduplicated (as it is for stems of the shape CVCV).

yilmupulmupul 'bachelors'

5.3.7 A number of words with initial CVC syllable appear to reduplicate by repetition of the first consonant of the second syllable, followed by the VC of the first syllable inserted between the first and second syllable.

<i>wañma</i> 'alive'	<i>yilwañmañma</i> 'living people'
<i>ḡalkuyi</i> 'young man'	<i>yilḡalkalkuyi</i> 'young men'
<i>buṛkadi</i> 'half way'	<i>buṛkuṛkadi</i> 'half way'

However reduplication of *wuṛkulaṛ* 'old man' is different.

yilwuṛkuwuṛkulaṛ 'old people'

5.3.8 Some locatives appear to have their own unique pattern.

<i>ṇaḷuṇun</i> 'underneath'	<i>peti</i> 'above'
<i>ṇaḷaḷuṇun</i> 'underneath', 'at the bottom'	<i>pepepeti</i> 'on top'

5.3.9 In irregular reduplication a stem initial consonant changes; the change is usually from a semivowel /y/ or /w/ to the corresponding hard consonant (/t/ or /k/ respectively), or from a prenasalised stop to the corresponding semivowel. Some words appear to have this reduplication, though unreduplicated forms have not been found. The phenomenon has not been studied.

yililiṭilili 'green parrots'

gulma 'gully', 'creek'

gulmawulma 'lots of gullies'

5.3.10 Reduplication of auxiliary verbs follows one of two patterns. Such reduplication only occurs when the verb stem is one manifested in surface structure by an auxiliary stem only. In one pattern found for the auxiliary stem *wiña* 'go(future)', the initial CVCV is reduplicated (including the pronominal prefix).

yiwīña 'you will go'

ḡuliña 'we will go'

yiwīyiwīña 'you will go and go'

ḡuliḡuliña 'we will go and go'

In the other pattern, found for past continuous of 'go' and for *aṭa* 'give', the initial VC of the auxiliary stem is repeated.

yiluṭala 'they were going'

yilaṭana 'they gave it to him'

*yiluṭaṭala*²⁷ 'they were going and going'

yilaṭaṭana 'they were giving it to him'

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Prenasalised stops could be omitted from the deep level phoneme inventory. However, as it is debatable whether this simplifies the description, they have been retained.
- ² Wallace L. Chafe (1968). "The Ordering of Phonological Rules". I.J.A.L. 34:115-136. Chafe suggests there are psychological reasons for suggesting that such ordering may reflect an ordering "used" by speakers of the language—usually unconsciously—in deriving spoken forms from underlying forms. There is less psychological cost, he suggests, in a fixed ordering than in a random ordering, and in carrying out rules simultaneously wherever possible, rather than sequentially. One cannot, however, claim that a particular ordering chosen by the analyst is the one used by the speakers of the language.
- ³ For example, VD1 and VC2 on the 3rd singular masculine suffix.
- ⁴ VC5, VB9 and VB8 are hypotheses to account for certain direferential pronominal affix forms, based on, but distinct from, similar changes elsewhere in the language. If these forms were obtained by the operation of rules still used (even unconsciously) rather than being forms learnt in toto, the occasional speaker of Alawa should have no difficulty with them. However they are incomprehensible to him.
- ⁵ *χ* is an alveopalatal stop segment; square brackets indicate items belonging together, or items which may substitute in this environment. When more than one set of square brackets appear, the items enclosed are ordered. Round brackets enclose optional items.
- ⁶ *V*₁ *V*₁ signifies that both vowels are the same.
- ⁷ [*V*~*a*] signifies any vowel but /*a*/. Similarly [*L*~*r*] signifies any L except /*r*/.
- ⁸ R stands for /*l*/ or /*ř*/.
- ⁹ Notation *a.b* means *a* and *b* simultaneously.
- ¹⁰ This harmony does not appear to apply if /*i*/ follows an alveopalatal. It does not occur with *neṭú*, the form here being *eṇeṭiḷana*.
- ¹¹ *af* stands for an affix other than a pronominal affix.
- ¹² B stands for a prenasalised stop, P the corresponding devoiced stop, Y for a semivowel, and R for /*l*, /*ř*/.

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- ¹³ H stands for a hard consonant, i.e. devoiced stop or a nasal.
- ¹⁴ **a** + **b** means **a** succeeded by **b**, in this case in successive syllables.
- ¹⁵ See also Chapter 6, where these forms are illustrated in tables and more details are given, also Chapter 13.
- ¹⁶ 'foot', 'shoulder', and 'night' respectively.
- ¹⁷ 'woman's daughter's child', or 'man's sister's daughter's child'.
- ¹⁸ All examples with genitive case suffix /*d̪a*/ are on words with an alveopalatal consonant in the open last syllable. It may be that the conditioning feature for the vowel in this case, is that it is between alveopalatal consonants.
- ¹⁹ A transition vowel [i] is often heard between /*ř*/ and /*y*/, and therefore before the elative suffix -*yunu*. It is not phonemic.
- ²⁰ This reduction does not occur with noun stems, cf *yil-dalkalkuyi* 'young men', *yil-gutaru* 'stones', and *yir-yaṭaṭa* 'two children'.
- ²¹ Here *yan-* is an affix, not a verb root.
- ²² Rules VB8, VB9 and VC5 are postulated only, and cannot be illustrated. See footnote 4, this chapter.
- ²³ The stem *ri* is replaced by the stem *ni* in future tense and continuous subjunctives.
- ²⁴ For this reason regarding the verb root plus auxiliary as one word was considered. However for various reasons they have been regarded as two words. One important reason is that when a verb root ends in /*k*/ and morphophonemic hardening of the auxiliary would produce a /*k*/ initially in the auxiliary, this /*k*/ is often absent, yet syllable break is made after the other /*k*/ and before the auxiliary's initial vowel. Only word initial syllables begin with vowels.
- ²⁵ However there are some doublets with meaning not directly linked to the unit occurrences; these are considered as from different verb roots (homophonous ones), e.g. *ñam* 'close', *ñam ñam* 'eat'; *pup* 'cool', *pup pup* 'blow'.
- ²⁶ *yubuyubar* 'soldiers' (from *yubar* 'angry') was also found but not corroborated.
- ²⁷ The stem is *wuṭa*, but the initial /*w*/ is lost after a consonant.

NOUN PHRASES AND THEIR CONSTITUENTS

6.0 Noun phrases may manifest clause level tagmemes for subject, predicate, referent (two kinds), instrument, purpose, beneficiary, and location; they may also form part of predicate or location tagmemes. They contain a noun as head item. The noun may be modified by adjectives, other nouns, demonstratives, pronominal substitutes, or clauses. Noun phrases are inflectable for case according to their function. A pronoun may occur instead of a noun phrase. This chapter therefore describes pronouns and their derivatives, the case marking system for pronouns, substantives and demonstratives, and briefly introduces location words. It then describes reduplication of substantives, derivation of substantives from other words, and finally forms of noun phrases.

6.1 Pronouns

6.1.0.0 Pronouns, either free pronouns or pronominal substitutes, may substitute for noun phrases. Two basic sets of free pronouns occur, the direct and the indirect; they are shown in table 16. Some pronominal substitutes function as do pronouns in substituting for noun phrases, but they are constructed differently (see ¶6.1.2); others may occur in noun phrases. Locative and allative inflection¹ may occur on indirect pronouns; some demonstratives² may be derived by suffixation of pronouns. Duals are derived from plurals by substitution of /ř/ for /l/, but there is no dual form for the 12 pronoun. The 12 singular form involves two people, speaker and hearer, and no further contrast is found between speaker and two or more hearers (12 non-singular).³

6.1.0.1 The direct pronoun is used for subject of equational and verbal clauses, and in verbal clauses also for any other noun phrase with which the verb agrees in person and number. It is also used whenever a pronoun is placed at the beginning of a clause or phrase for emphasis. As verb phrases and normal equational predicates indicate person and number of subject (and referent also for some verb phrases), the function of any direct pronoun is usually emphasis; however with direferential verbs and some non-singular numbers, the function may be to render person and number of participant more explicit.⁴

Table 16 — Direct and indirect pronouns

		Direct		Indirect	
sg	12	<i>ñanu</i>		<i>ñaka</i>	
	1	<i>ñina</i>		<i>ñapa</i>	
	2	<i>ñagana</i>		<i>ñaba</i>	
	3m	<i>nuḷa</i>		<i>nipa</i>	
	3f	<i>ñaduḷa</i>		<i>ñatu</i>	
ns	12	<i>ñalu</i>		<i>ñalaṇa</i>	
		p1	d1	p1	d1
	1	<i>ñalu</i>	<i>ñaru</i>	<i>ñalaṇa</i>	<i>ñaruṇa</i>
	2	<i>wulu</i>	<i>wuru</i>	<i>wuluṇa</i>	<i>wuruṇa</i>
	3	<i>yiluḷa^a</i>	<i>yiruḷa</i>	<i>yiluṇa</i>	<i>yiruṇa</i>

^a All 3ns forms are found also with /u/ in the first syllable, e.g. *yuluḷa*, *yuruṇa*.

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<i>ɲina</i>	<i>ɲa-maʔa.</i>
I	I-Mara
S:pron _{dir}	PR:pa-adj 'I am Mara.'

. . . *da* *ɲina* *da* *madi*.
 but I nothing
 cn_{advS} B:pron_{dir}-emph⁵ cn_t PR:non ‘. . . but nothing for me.’

<i>nula</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ñiṇaya</i>	<i>n-eni</i>	<i>nipa.</i>	
he		feelings	he-is	him	
S:pron _{dir}	cn _t	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	R ₁ :pron	'He likes him.'

ɲina *ɲ-a-la*
I I-go
S:pron_{dir} PR:pa-av_{MR} 'I am going.'

nula *yaŋ* *kař-ŋatan-na*
he hit I-did-him
R:pron_{dir} VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] 'I hit him.'

ɲina *yaŋ* *kař-ɲatan-na*
I hit I-did-him
S:pron_{dir} VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{PR}] 'I hit him.'

ñagana *yaŋ* *wuř-ku-ŋatan*
you(sg) hit you-them-did
S:pron_{dir} VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] ‘You(sg) hit them.’

ḡanṭini-ṭa da ḡina ḡayi ṭuwi ne-beṇa da wupu.
 what-gen me not send he-can-do fire
 P:adj_{int}-gen cn_t R:pron_{dir}-emph VP:[prdneg vr pa-av_{DMR}] cn_t R_{1:n}
 'Why didn't he send fire to me?'

6.1.0.2 The indirect pronoun is used elsewhere in clauses for other nuclear noun phrases, for possession, both alienable and inalienable, and whenever the genitive case of the substantive would be used (i.e. for purpose or beneficiary). In verbal clauses therefore, the direct pronoun is always used for the subject of the verb, but is only used for a referent when the verb is direferential (DR) and has an agreeing affix (or for emphasis as stated above).

<i>ŋa-muban</i>	<i>nipa:</i>	
I-said	him	
VP:pa-av _{DMR}	R:pron	'I said to him.'

kala da paṛakaḷ nipa.
 where spear him
 L:loc cn, S:[n pron] 'Where is his spear?'

η-aṭina-kunu *ñaba:*
I-came-from you
VP:pa-av_{MR} P:pron 'I came for you.'

madi *da* *gubi-yi* *nipa*.
no meat-gen him
PR:[non cn_t NP:[n-gen pron]]
'There is no meat for him.' / 'He has no meat.'

<i>gurukuru</i>	<i>ɲapa</i>	<i>niɬ niɬ</i>	<i>ŋ-eni.</i>	
head	me	headache	I-am	
PT:[n	pron]	VP:[vr vr	pa-av _{MR}	'I have a headache.'

<i>ninaya</i>	<i>weneju</i>	<i>η-eni</i>	<i>ηatu.</i>
feelings	bad	I-am	her
PT:n	VP:[adj	pa-av _{MR}	P:pron ⁶ 'I am sad for her.'

6.1.1 Suffixation of pronouns

The direct pronoun may take the suffix *-wan̄ti* 'with' (alienable accompaniment) as may nouns. This suffix does not change the word class or case of suffixed items. Examples are shown in ¶6.9.1.

Both direct and indirect pronouns can be suffixed to form substantive-like or demonstrative-like words; the indirect pronoun can also be suffixed for locative case and for allative. The substantive- or demonstrative-like words derived from pronouns do not appear to have any case inflection. They could be classified as uninflected demonstratives, yet those formed from indirect pronouns may take person-number prefixes, for example, *ɣulnipaña* we-him-property 'we are his'. Other demonstratives do not take pronominal prefixes.

6.1.1.1 Locative case and allative directional

Locative case is formed by suffixing the indirect pronoun with *-ñiř*, and allative by suffixing the indirect pronoun with *-ñiřu*.

<i>yilunañiř</i>	'at them' (i.e. 'where they are')
<i>yilunañiřu</i>	'towards them'

6.1.1.2 Other pronoun suffixes

The indirect pronoun may take one of two suffixes both glossed 'property of'. The second of these seems to stress the concept of ownership more emphatically. Both of these suffixed pronouns may take person-number prefixes to make substantive-like or demonstrative-like words.

The suffix *-ña*⁷ on the indirect pronoun is glossed 'property of', 'belonging to'; the suffix *-ñini* is glossed 'own property of'. Before *-ñini* the final vowel of the pronoun changes to /i/ in all two syllable pronouns, and optionally to /i/ in three syllable pronouns.

<i>yil-nipa-ña</i>	<i>yil-yaṭayaṭaṭa</i>
pl-him-property	pl-children 'his children'

<i>an-nipa-ña</i>	<i>ñul-nipa-ña</i>
f-him-property 'his girl'	12ns-him-property 'We are his.'

nida *da* *ñaba-ña*, *nida* *da* *yalanja-ña*.
 this yours this ours
 [S:dem cn_i PR:dem] [S:dem cn_i PR:dem]
 'This part is yours, this part is ours.'

yilunq-a-ñini ‘their own’

The direct pronoun takes the suffix *-ti*, forming a demonstrative; the suffix may be glossed 'alone', 'by themselves'.

ṇaduḷa-ti *wat* *kaṛk-aṇan-na* *da* *an-mimay:*
 she-alone leave she-did-him husband
 S:pron-dem VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] cn_i R:n
 'She went off alone and left her husband.'

<i>yiřuľa-ti</i>	<i>yiř-uřaľa</i>	
they-alone	they(dl)-went	
S:pron-dem	VP:pa-av _{MR}	'They two went alone (together).'

6.1.2 Pronominal substitutes

Pronominal substitutes are words derived by prefixing the substantival pronominal affixes (shown in table 17) to certain stems (some of which are otherwise not found alone). One substitute, with the stem *wini* (only found with dual, plural and 12 prefixes) has been found substituting for noun phrases as do pronouns. There is little semantic difference between it and a corresponding plural free pronoun. Other substitutes are found as modifiers in some phrases; these have meaning added to that of the pronouns. Case inflection has not been found on any of the substitutes.

Table 17 — Substantival pronominal prefixes

	sg	pl	dl
12	<i>ña-</i>	<i>ñul-</i>	
1	<i>ŋa-</i>	<i>ŋul-</i>	<i>ŋuř-</i>
2	<i>yi-</i>	<i>wul-</i>	<i>wuř-</i>
3m	<i>ø-</i>		
		<i>yil-</i>	<i>yir-</i>
3f	<i>an-</i>		

Table 18 lists the pronominal substitutes found.

Table 18 — Pronominal substitute stems

stem	gloss	usage
<i>wini</i>		as pronoun, non-sg only (including 12 sg)
<i>alalmaki</i>	'altogether'	in noun phrases
<i>wuyka</i>	'many'	in noun phrases, plurals only. Stem may occur alone meaning 'many'.

ŋul-aŋa-ŋa *da* *yili* *ŋulwini*.
we-ate-it meat we
VP:pa-pá-av_{DR} cn_i R:Ob:n S:Ag:pron 'We ate the meat.'

ŋul-wini *ŋul-aŋa*.
we we-go
S:Ag:pron VP:pa-av_{MR} 'We are going.'

ñul-alalmaki *yaŋ* *ñul-ŋa-na*.
we-all together hit we-will do-it
S:Ag:pron VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] 'We will all kill it.'

ŋul-wuyka *kuñ* *ŋuř-k-ada*.
we-many see we-them-did
S:Ag:pron VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] 'We saw them.'

wiři *wuyka*.
mosquito many
S:n PR:pron 'There were many mosquitoes.'

yil-wuyka *yaŋ* *kař-ŋa-tanpulu*⁸ *yil-kiřibu*.
pl-many hit I-did-them pl-kangaroo
R:Ob:pron VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] R:Ob:n 'I killed many kangaroos.'

6.2 Substantives

6.2.0 The distinction between nouns and adjectives was discussed briefly in the introduction. The distinction turns on semantics, but reflects itself in different but overlapping distributions of the two classes. An adjective is unlikely to be introduced in an utterance, without prior specification by a noun of the item to which it applies. The gender marking of an adjective is determined by the gender of the noun it modifies (whether the noun is present in the immediate context or not). The converse is not true: most nouns (apart from kinship nouns and some other human nouns) are either always masculine or always feminine in gender. Adjectives, or some of them, may occur in the verb phrase modifying verbs; nouns never do.

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6.2.1 Some substantives are derived from other classes of words. Some suffixes convert nouns, others convert verb roots, to adjectives denoting a quality associated with the meaning of the stem. Many adjectives derived in this way from nouns become idioms, and are used as nouns; they take a specific meaning not entirely deducible from the sum of their parts. A few verb roots may function as nouns or adjectives without any suffixation; in all examples found to date, such verb roots are repeated at least once when functioning as substantives.

Idioms:

<i>guyuřuwař</i>	'crocodile' (lit. 'has teeth')
<i>maruwař</i>	'bat', 'aeroplane' (lit. 'has wing')
<i>miřidiwař</i>	'type of fish' (lit. 'has forehead')

Substantives derived from verb roots:

<i>kuřp kuřp</i>	'knife' (from <i>kuřp</i> 'cut')
<i>řnuř řnuř</i>	'blunt'

6.2.2 Singular substantives fall into several intersecting sets of classes according to form and function. These are:

1. those with a gender prefix versus those with no gender prefix.
2. those which obligatorily take a possessive pronominal suffix, versus those which cannot take one.
3. those of feminine gender versus those of masculine gender (gender is determinable from agreeing verb pronominal affixes).
4. animate versus inanimate.
5. human versus non-human.

Most feminine gender nouns have a feminine gender prefix and denote human beings. The feminine prefix is occasionally dropped from feminine stems. It is always absent from *wunařu* 'sun' (which is usually feminine according to criterion 3 above, but is sometimes masculine⁹). Nearly all gender marked nouns are animate and furthermore human,¹⁰ though many masculine human, and all masculine animate but non-human nouns, are unmarked for gender. All nouns with obligatory possessive pronominal suffix, and nearly all with optional pronominal suffix, are human, and furthermore are kinship nouns. Adjectives are marked for feminine gender if applying to a feminine gender noun, otherwise they are not marked for gender. Examples of the different types of substantives are given below.

6.2.3 Adjectives:

<i>yamiři</i>	'big'	<i>rukalařa</i>	'long'
<i>dakiři</i> ¹¹	'only'	<i>rukukalařa</i>	'very long'
<i>yumař</i>	'good'		

Adjectives derived from nouns and verb roots:

<i>gutaruwař</i>	'stony' (from <i>gutaru</i> 'stone')
<i>řumawař</i>	'fat' (from <i>řuma</i> 'fat')
<i>witmayin</i>	'black' (from <i>wit</i> 'blacken')
<i>kuduřmayin</i>	'crooked'
<i>řařařuwal</i>	'crying' (from <i>řařa</i> 'cry')
<i>yařřuwal</i>	'hitting' (from <i>yař</i> 'hit')
<i>yařmařawada</i>	'unkillable' (from <i>yař</i> 'hit', 'kill')

Nouns, masculine and not marked for gender:

<i>lilmi</i>	'man'	<i>ruwu</i>	'tree'
<i>papapa</i> ¹²	'older brother'	<i>pařakař</i>	'spear'
<i>kiřibu</i>	'stone kangaroo'	<i>ařařaři</i>	'moon'

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Nouns, gender marked but not obligatorily possessed:

<i>ankiřiya</i>	'woman'	<i>namimay</i>	'husband'
<i>anpapapa</i> ¹²	'older sister'	<i>anmimay</i>	'wife'

Nouns, gender marked and possessed:

<i>nawaŋkaja</i>	'my totem'	<i>anpiñaŋa</i>	'my daughter'
<i>nawiñaŋa</i>	'my son'	<i>anřiŋađiyi</i>	'his niece', 'her daughter'

6.3 Case Marking in Substantives

6.3.0 Table 19 shows the case inflection for unsuffixed and non-gender marked singular substantives. Case inflection for non-singular, gender marked, or suffixed substantives is derived in part from these forms. For all singular non-gender marked nouns, except possibly those ending in a semivowel,¹³ operative and locative cases are homophonous. The rows are ordered in table 19: each row should be checked for applicability before moving to the next lower row.¹⁴ The nominative case form is regarded as uninflected, i.e. as not having any case suffix. Symbols used are: /V/ for any vowel, /L/ for a lateral or the alveolar semivowel /r/, /H/ for a hard consonant (i.e. a stop or nasal), and /Y/ for the semivowels /y/ or /w/. When successive V's are written, they stand for the same vowel.

Table 19 — Case endings

final phonemes (nom case)	genitive	operative and locative	allative	elative
<i>yi</i>	<i>yiđa</i>	<i>yiři</i>	<i>yiřu</i>	<i>yiřyunu</i>
<i>yV</i>	<i>yiđa</i>	<i>yiř</i>	<i>yiřu</i>	<i>yiřyunu</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>iyi</i>	<i>iři</i>	<i>iřu</i>	<i>iřyunu</i>
<i>V</i>	<i>Vyi</i>	<i>iř^a</i>	<i>iřu</i>	<i>iřyunu</i>
<i>Y</i>	<i>Yđa</i>	<i>Yđi^b</i>	<i>Yđiřu</i>	<i>Yđiyunu</i>
<i>H</i>	<i>Hđa</i>	<i>Hđi</i>	<i>Hđiřu</i>	<i>Hđiyunu</i>
<i>Vř</i>	<i>Vřđa</i>	<i>VđV</i>	<i>VđVwuř</i>	<i>VđVyunu</i>
<i>VL</i>	<i>VLđa</i>	<i>VLtV</i>	<i>VLtVwuř</i>	<i>VLtVyunu</i>

^a Some words ending in /a/ may instead form operative and locative case by addition of -řa; these are *diyaja* 'foot', *guluŋađa* 'shoulder', *ŋitma* 'night'. As operative-locative case of *wunařu* 'sun', *wunařiři* is found.

^b See footnote 13, this chapter.

6.3.1 Use of the cases is outlined here, though their usage is defined more exhaustively in the section on noun phrases, and in chapters on equational and verbal clauses. Nominative case (unmarked) is used for subject (S) of equational or intransitive clauses, and for object or dative object of transitive clauses (covered by the referent tagmemes R and R₁); it is also often used for location-goal in motion batteries. Operative case is used for subject of transitive clauses, and for instrument or location (tagmeme I) causally involved in an action. Location-goal tagmeme is labelled L2.

lilmi na-wuŋała gutaru.

man he-went

hill

S:n VP:pa-av_{MR} L2:n 'The man travelled and came to a hill.'

lilmi-ři yaŋ ka-ŋatan-na da kiřibu pařakał-ta.

man-op hit

he-did-it

kangaroo

spear-op

S:n-op VP:[vr

pa-pa-av_{DR}

cn₁

R:n

I:n-op

'The man killed the kangaroo with a spear.'

n-aḷa *diyaŋa-řa/diyaŋiř*.¹⁵
 he-goes foot-op
 VP:pa-av_{MR} I:n-op 'He is going on foot.'

n-aḷa *mabulut-ti*.
 he-goes road-op
 VP:av_{MR} I:n-op 'He is going by road.'

6.3.2 Locative case is used for location (L) in equational and verbal clauses, and after certain prepositional locatives. Allative and elative suffixes are directional suffixes which may co-occur with locative case; allative and elative occur in different tagmemes (L2 and L4 respectively) than does locative case alone. Allative, glossed 'towards', expresses the goal towards which the motion is directed; elative, glossed 'from', expresses the source from which it proceeds. Elative has not been found with animate nouns nor with pronouns.¹⁶ Allative and nominative case may both occur in the allative tagmeme (L2) in motion batteries, to express the goal towards which motion is directed. Allative marking is used more often when the motion has not attained its goal, nominative when it has.

yaŋ *ka-ŋatan-na* *minił-ti*.
 hit he-did-it scrub-at
 VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] L:n-lo 'He killed it in the scrub.'

wulabuř *liłmi-ři*.
 near man-at
 PR:[prploc n-lo] 'It's near the man.'

ŋa-yiman *law law-đi-řu*.
 I-went across-to
 VP:pa-av_{MR} L2:n-lo-all 'I went over to the other side.'

liłmi *na-wuṭaḷa* *gutar-iř-u/gutaru*.
 man he-went hill-to hill
 S:n VP:pa-av_{MR} L2:[n-lo-all/ n]
 'The man went [to the hill/ and arrived at the hill].'

6.3.3 Genitive case is used for possessor in phrases expressing alienable possession, to express purpose of an action (tagmeme P), beneficiary of an action or state (tagmeme B), and with the non-existential *madi* to express non-existence.

đalkuyi-đa *pařakaḷ* *ñuṭ ñuṭ*.
 young man-gen spear blunt
 S:[Mod:n-gen n] PR: adj 'The young man's spear is blunt.'

liłmi *kuy* *eři* *kiřibu-yi*.
 man hunt he-does kangaroo-for
 S:n VP:[vr pa-av_{DDR}] P:n-gen 'The man is hunting for kangaroo.'

liłmi-ři *yaŋ* *ka-ŋatan-na* *wuřkulař-ṭa*.
 man-op hit he-did-it old man-for
 S:n-op VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] B:n-gen 'The man killed it for the old man.'

nida *madi* *ŋuku-yi*.
 this no water-gen
 S:dem PR:[non n-gen] 'There is no water here.'

6.3.4 Inalienable possession (part-whole relation) is signalled by the possessed item or part being in the same case as the possessor or whole; the noun signifying the part appears always to precede that for the whole.

lamalma *atiyin* *ruwu*.
 log trap hole tree
 S:n PR:[PT:n n] 'The lamalma is a hollow log.'

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n-a|a *guyumu-du* *gutar-iř.*
 he-goes nose-at hill-at
 VP:pa-av_{MR} L:[PT:n-lo n-lo] 'He goes along the point of the hill.'

tañ tañ *řil-i* *piřimil-ti* *kiřib-iř.*
 slice they-were shoulder blade-op kangaroo-op
 VP:[vr vr pa-av_{MR}] I:[PT:n-op n-op]
 'They sliced it with a kangaroo shoulder blade.'¹⁷

6.3.5 Number and gender marking prefixes form one mutually exclusive class of prefixes. Masculine and feminine genders are distinguished only in the singular. A gender marked substantive forms dual and plural by replacing the gender prefix with the dual or plural prefix, *yiř-* or *yil-* respectively. There is no suffix for operative case for non-singulars, so that operative and nominative cases are homophonous in non-singulars. Therefore, as locative and other cases are inflected according to table 19 (as well as having the dual or plural prefix), operative and locative cases become distinct in form for all non-singulars. Non-human items often occur as singular forms, even when semantically they are plural; however such plurality sometimes reflects itself in the aspect of the verb. Affixing for plural of non-human items, either on the noun or in verb affixation, is not common.

yil-lilmi *yil-a|a.*
 pl-man they-go
 S:n VP:pa-av_{MR} 'The men are going.'

yil-lilmi *yañ* *řil-ñatan-na.*
 pl-man hit they-did-it
 S:n VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] 'The men killed it.'

yil-lilmi *yañ* *řin-piř-ñatan* *da* *yil-kiřibu.*
 pl-man hit them-they-did pl-kangaroo
 S:n VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] cn_t R:n 'The men killed the kangaroos.'

yil-lilmi *yañ* *řil-an-na* *kiřibu:*
 pl-man hit they-were doing-it kangaroo
 S:n VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] R:n 'The men killed some kangaroos.'

wulabuř *yil-lilmi-ři:*
 near pl-man-at
 PR:[prploc n-lo] 'It is near the men.'

kuy aña *yil-lilmi-yi:*
 hunt he-did pl-man-for
 VP:[vr pa-av_{DDR}] P:n-gen 'He was hunting for the men.'

6.3.6 Substantives may also be prefixed for all persons and numbers, using the pronominal affixes shown in table 17, ¶6.1.2. When this occurs their use is predicative; see the chapter on equational clauses.

6.3.7 Gender marked substantives have in the nominative case either the masculine prefix *na-* or the feminine prefix *an-*; in all other cases the prefixes are *a-* or *ař-* respectively, and operative case is not further marked by suffixation. For gender marked substantives therefore, nominative, operative and locative cases are all marked distinctly.

an-kiřiya *ař-a|a:*
 f-woman she-goes
 S:n VP:pa-av_{MR} 'The woman is going.'

ař-kiřiya *tawař* *ař-i* *řalma.*
 f(op)-woman dig she-was yam
 S:n-op VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] R_l:n 'The woman was digging yams.'

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<i>malmal</i>	<i>wulabuř</i>	<i>ař-kiřiya-iř.</i>	
child	near	f(op)-woman-at	
S:n	PR:[prploc	n-lo]	'The child is near the woman.'
<i>n-aļa</i>	<i>ař-wuřkulař-a-wuř.</i>		
he-goes	f(op)-old person-at-to		
VP:pa-av _{MR}	L2:n-lo-all		'He is going towards the old woman.'
<i>n-aļa</i>	<i>ař-kiřiya-yi.</i>		
he-goes	f(op)-woman-for		
VP:pa-av _{MR}	P:n-gen		'He is going for the woman.' (i.e. to get her.)
<i>na-mimay</i>	<i>n-aļa.</i>		
m-spouse	he-goes		
S:n	VP:pa-av _{MR}		'Her husband is going.'
<i>a-mimay</i>	<i>yaŋ</i>	<i>ka-ŋatan-na:</i>	
m(op)-spouse	hit	he-did-it	
S:n-op	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	'Her husband killed it.'

6.3.8 Table 20 shows inflection of suffixes for case. Suffixes shown are the inalienable quality suffix *-wař* (see ¶6.9.1), and the possessive pronominal suffixes (see ¶6.2.2). Gender of third person singular possessor is not distinguished in the possessive suffix. For plural possessors, no possessive suffixes have been found except for the second person non-singular; the indirect pronouns seem to be used for other persons.¹⁸ Nominative case only has been found for second person non-singular. Its form, *-wuřŋa*, with morphophonemic change in the stem final vowel, seems to apply to dual and plural indistinguishably. Elative forms have not been obtained for the pronominal suffixes.

Table 20 — Case inflection for suffixes

	nom	gen	op	all	el
'with'	<i>-wař</i>	<i>-wařja</i>	<i>-wařa</i>	<i>-wařawuř</i>	<i>-wařayunu</i>
1s	<i>-ŋa</i>	<i>-ŋayi</i>	<i>-ŋiři</i>	<i>-ŋiřu</i>	
2s	<i>-mađa</i>	<i>-miđiyi</i>	<i>-mađa</i>	<i>-miđiřu</i>	
3s	<i>-ŋađiyi</i>	<i>-ŋađiyiđa</i>	<i>-ŋađiyidi</i>	<i>-ŋađiyidiřu</i>	
2ns	<i>-wuřŋa</i>				

6.3.9 Some nouns have both a gender marking prefix and one of the suffixes. As with common nouns above, operative case is marked by change of prefix only when one is present, and not by suffixation; other cases are shown by change of prefix and by suffixation. Prefixes for possessed nouns behave as described earlier, but plurals and duals are often formed differently. For some stems in the non-singular, the feminine prefix is present, and the suffix *-yili* for plural, *-yiři* for dual, is added.¹⁹

<i>lilmi</i>	<i>n-aļa</i>	<i>maruwař-a-wuř.</i>	
man	he-goes	aeroplane-to	
S:n	VP:pa-av _{MR}	L2:n-lo-all	'The man goes to the plane.'
<i>naŋa-ŋi-ři</i> ²⁰	<i>yaŋ</i>	<i>ka-ŋatan-na</i>	<i>pipi-ŋađiyi-đa.</i>
father-my-op	hit	he-did-it	uncle-his-for
S:n-op	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	B:n-gen
			'My father killed it for his uncle.'
<i>na-wiřa-ŋa</i>	<i>n-ařini-kunu:</i>		
m-son-my	he-comes-from		
S:n	VP:pa-av _{MR}		'My son is coming.'

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anipĩña-ŋa-yili *yil-aĩni-kunu:*
 f-son-my-pl they-come-from
 S:n VP:pa-av_{MR} 'My children are coming.'

6.3.10 Kinship nouns have vocative forms; for these the gender prefix is omitted. With stems which are not prefixed for masculine gender, and are not obligatorily possessed in other than the vocative, there is often a shortened form for vocative; for other stems *-li* is suffixed. A list of commoner kinship and relationship terms, with some of their case forms, is given in Appendix C.

6.4 Demonstratives

Two classes of demonstratives exist. One class has no inflection for case, but is inflectable for all third person genders and numbers; table 21 shows two examples.

The other class is inflected for case and some third persons; table 22 shows some examples. Forms for all cases among the second class have not been found. Some gaps may be due to restrictions in the data; other gaps are inherent and are marked with a dash. A complete list of demonstratives found to date, with their various inflections, is given in Appendix D. Sentences below illustrate their usage.

Table 21 — Demonstratives not inflected for case

	masc	fem	plural	dual
'this'	<i>nida</i>	<i>anĩida</i>	<i>yilařĩida</i> ^a	<i>yĩřařĩida</i> ^a
'that'	<i>nuļu</i>	<i>aduļu</i>	<i>yiluļu</i> ^b	<i>yĩřuļu</i> ^b

^a The nasal may be /n/, or /ñ/ may fluctuate with /n/.

^b The vowel in the first syllable is often /u/.

Table 22 — Demonstratives inflectable for case

	nom	gen	op	all	el
'another'	<i>nakul</i>	<i>nakulťa</i>	<i>nakultu</i>	<i>nakultuwur</i>	<i>ñakultuyunu</i>
'different'	<i>ñakul</i>	<i>ñakulyi</i>			
'that'	<i>nuļiki</i> ^a	<i>nuļikiđa</i>	<i>nuļikiři</i>		
'those'	<i>yiluliki</i>				
'that(m)'	—	<i>kađiťa</i>	<i>kađa</i>		
'that(f)'		<i>ařkađiťa</i>			

^a This may be derived from *nuļu* 'that one'.

nida *da* *pařakał:*
 this spear
 S:dem cn₁ PR:n 'This is a spear.'

nuļu gutaru *mal* *ŋa-wiña.*
 that hill climb I-will go
 S:[dem n] VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] 'I will climb up that hill.'

aduļu *an-kĩriya* *eř-eři-kunu:*
 f-that f-woman she-will come
 S:[dem n] VP:pa-av_{MR} 'That woman will come.'

ñakul *beřin-wař.*
 different leaf-with
 S:dem PR:adj 'Another way is with a lily leaf.'

<i>kaḍa</i>	<i>a-lipil-ḡaḍiyi</i>	<i>yaḡ</i>	<i>ka-ḡatan-na:</i>
that-op	m(op)-younger brother-his	hit	he-did-it
S:[dem-op	n-op	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]
'His younger brother killed it.'			
<i>nakul-ṭa</i>	<i>kuy</i>	<i>yil-eñi:</i>	
another-for	hunt	they-do	
P:dem-gen	VP:[vr	pa-av _{DDR}]	'They look for another one.'

6.5 Location Words

Location words include location names and locatives. Examples are given below

6.5.1 Location names

<i>ḡukuř</i>	'Picnic Point' (site of Roper River Mission)
<i>kewuḷi</i>	'Roper Valley'
<i>ñawilpař</i>	'Mission Gorge'
<i>kaṭařan</i>	'Katherine' (from English)

6.5.2 Locatives

<i>peda</i>	'above'
<i>ḡaḷuḡun</i>	'underneath'
<i>ḡaṇakařa</i>	'east'

6.5.3 When unaffixed, location words behave as locative case substantives; they may take allative and elative directional suffixes. Locatives may also modify nouns in noun phrases as shown in examples below. Location names may occur as subject or predicate in equational clauses, thus acting as of nominative case. More details on locatives is given in chapter 11; a list of all locatives found to date is given in Appendix E.

<i>na-yiman</i>	<i>kewuḷi.</i>	
he-went	Roper Valley	
VP:pa-av _{MR}	L2:locnm	'He went to Roper Valley.'
<i>ḡa-wiña</i>	<i>kaṭařan-puř.</i>	
I-will go	Katherine-to	
VP:pa-av _{MR}	L2:locnm-all	'I am going to Katherine.'
<i>peti</i>	<i>n-aḷa:</i>	
up	he-goes	
L:loc	VP:pa-av _{MR}	'He goes up.'
<i>nida</i>	<i>peda</i>	<i>n-aṭa-kunu:</i>
this	above	he-came
S:[dem	loc]	VP:pa-av _{MR}
'The one above came.'		
<i>ḡawari</i>	<i>nipa</i>	<i>kaniyařaḡ.</i>
name	him	Ganiyarang
S:[n	pron]	PR:locnm
'Its name is Ganiyarang.'		
<i>kaniyařaḡ</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>walpa</i>
Ganiyarang	country	another
S:locnm	cn _t	PR:[n
dem] 'Ganiyarang is another place.'		

6.6 Affixation of Demonstratives and Location Words

As well as directional suffixes for allative and elative, there are two other suffixes with directional connotation, *-ñidi* 'this way' and *-ñaki* 'that way'. Allative and elative suffixes have grammatical as well as lexical meaning: these suffixes only occur in allative or elative tagmemes respectively. However *-ñidi* and *-ñaki* have lexical meaning only. Words with these suffixes may occur in any tagmeme except allative and elative. The suffixes *-ñidi* and *-ñaki* may occur on location names, on the demonstratives *nida* 'this', *nulu* 'that' and *kalu* 'that' in all their person and number forms, and *-ñaki* occurs with *kata* 'that'.²¹

6.7 Reduplication of Substantives

Forms of reduplication are described in chapter 5. Reduplication of some noun stems denoting human beings usually occurs in the plural (but never in the dual); plural can then be signalled by reduplication only with omission of the plural prefix, and this is sometimes done. Reduplicated plurals with feminine prefixes are sometimes found.

yaṭaṭa 'child', *yiṛyaṭaṭa* 'two children', *yilyaṭaṭa* 'children' (rare), *yilyaṭayaṭaṭa*, *yaṭayaṭaṭa* 'children'; *wuṛkulaṛ* 'old man', *yilwuṛkulaṛ* 'old people' (rare), *yilwuṛkuwuṛkulaṛ*, *wuṛkuwuṛkulaṛ* 'old people', *anwuṛkuwuṛkulaṛ* 'old women'.

Reduplication of adjectives signals a greater degree of the quality signified by the stem.

paṭaṭa 'little', *paṭapaṭaṭa* 'very little'; *rukalaṛa* 'long', *rukukalaṛa* 'very long'

6.8 Derived Substantives

Substantives may be derived from other substantives and from verb roots, usually by suffixation with substantivising suffixes (though as noted above, some verb roots can be used as substantives without such suffixation). Derivations are described below under the possible suffixes.

6.9 Derivation of Substantives from Substantives

6.9.0 Three suffixes have been found, *-waṛ* 'with', *-wada* 'without', and *-wanṭi* 'with'. Case inflection of the suffix *-waṛ* was given in table 20; case inflection has not been found for the other two.

6.9.1 Added to a substantive (either noun or adjective), *-waṛ* forms an adjective indicating that the object to which the adjective applies has in it the quality indicated by the stem. It indicates inalienable possession of the quality, and often the derived adjective is used idiomatically as a noun (see ¶6.2.1). The suffix *-wanṭi* indicates alienable accompaniment; it may occur on nouns and direct pronouns. The suffix *-waṛ* cannot occur on pronouns and demonstratives.

nuku 'water', *nukunukuwaṛ* 'with water', 'soaked'
gutaru 'stone', *gutaruwaṛ* 'stony'
ṇalal 'body', *ṇalalwaṛ* 'big-bodied, fat'

Examples such as the following have not been numerous or varied enough to be sure to which tagmemes the *-wanṭi* and *-wada* suffix belong, so analysis has been omitted.

pili ṇa-yiman wiḷmuṛ-wanṭi:
 enter I-went spear-with 'I went in with a spear.'

kuy eṇi yilula-wanṭi:
 hunt he-does they-with 'He is hunting, the others also.'

The suffix *-wada* indicates the converse of *-waṛ*.

karayaṛa da yaḷpun, ḍuduṛa-wada.
 clean lilyseed dust-without 'The lilyseed is clean, without dust.'

6.9.2 The form /*wada*/ in the passive suffix *-maḍawada* (see below) appears to be this same suffix, both in form and meaning. However the suffix *-maḍa* alone has not been found on any verb roots where *-maḍawada* has been found.

6.10 Derivation of Substantives from Verb Roots

Four types of verb root substantivising suffix have been found. They convert verb roots to adjectives. Sub-categorisation of a verb root determines which suffixes can occur with it. The suffixes are the stative, the active, the negative passive, and the

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purposive. In addition a few verb roots have been found functioning as substantives alone, or with locative inflection (see ¶6.2.1). The stative and active suffixes are inflectable for gender and case; words with these suffixes or the negative passive suffix may be inflected for gender or number.²²

6.10.1 The stative suffix

The suffix *-mayin* occurs only with verb roots indicating stative and inherent qualities, such as shape, weight and colour. Most verb roots which may take this suffix occur with the auxiliary *ri* 'be' in verbal clauses, and such verbal clauses are almost all intransitive.²³ Usage of the suffix *-mađa*, occurring by itself on a restricted group of verb roots,²⁴ appears to be very similar to that for *-mayin*. See also ¶10.3.2.

<i>kaluřmayin</i>	'round for water'	<i>kulmukmayin</i>	'deaf'
<i>kulkmayin</i>	'heavy'	<i>witmayin</i>	'black'

6.10.2 The active suffix

The active suffix occurs on verb roots indicating actions, both transitive and intransitive, describing an item or being carrying out this action (often habitually). The suffix does not appear to occur on verbs of motion, by which is meant verbs indicating change of location from one place to another.²⁵

<i>ankaluřřuwal</i>	'woman always getting water'
<i>řařařuwal</i>	'always crying'
<i>lakařřuwal</i>	'key' (from <i>lakař</i> 'shut')

<i>wat</i>	<i>ka-řu</i>	<i>yař-řuwal:</i>
leave	do-it	hit-act
VP:[vr pa-pá-av _{DR}]	R:adj	'Stop hitting!'

<i>yil-iman</i>	<i>tař tař-řuwal-ta-wuř</i>
they-went	arrive-act-lo-to
VP:pa-av _{MR}	L2:adj-lo-al 'They went to the doorway.'

Transitive verb roots which can occur with *-řuwal* may also occur with *-mađawada*.

6.10.3 The negative passive suffix

The negative passive suffix *-mađawada* may occur on transitive verb roots indicating various actions, to indicate that the item specified by this word is not affected by this action. It also occurs with stative verb roots to indicate the converse of *-mayin*.

<i>ankuřmađawada</i>	
f-see-passivneg	'not visible' (of woman)
<i>yařmađawada</i>	
hit-passivneg	'unkillable'
<i>kulkmađawada</i>	
heavy-passivneg	'not heavy'

6.10.4 The purposive suffix

The suffix *-řiyi*²⁶ occurs on transitive verb roots, to indicate that the item to which the word is applied should have that action applied to it, or is suitable for that action, or that that action is purposed.

<i>wiřři</i>	<i>yařřiyi</i>	
mosquito	hit-purp	'mosquitoes should be killed.'

<i>řam řamřiyi</i>	
eat eat-purp	'edible, good to eat'.

<i>na-wuřařa</i>	<i>řaw-řiyi</i>
he-went	catch-purp
VP:pa-av _{MR}	P:vr-gen 'He went for fishing.'

6.11 The Noun Phrase

6.11.0 In deep structure the noun phrase has as head item a noun. (The head item may be deleted from surface structure.) This noun is tagged for gender and number, and such tagging, if retained till near surface structure, determines gender-number of any modifying demonstratives and adjectives, as well as gender-number of any agreeing verb pronominal affixes. Very commonly the noun phrase is manifested in surface structure only by the verb pronominal affixes, by a one word noun phrase, or a pronoun.

6.11.1 The head of the noun phrase may be modified by any or all of the following: a demonstrative; a grammatically (but not phonologically) suffixed indirect pronoun to indicate possessor; another modifier, which may be a possessor (alienable or inalienable possession), an adjective, a locative, another noun, a phrase or a clause. When the noun phrase is marked for case, case marking occurs on the head word, and on all inflectable items in the phrase which are of the same underlying case as the head word. Case marking does not affect a grammatically suffixed indirect pronoun. The choice of demonstratives available for use in a noun phrase varies for different cases, as some demonstratives are restricted in occurrence to certain cases (see ¶6.4 and Appendix D). In examples below noun phrases and their parts are marked.

ŋa-wuṭaḷa kayi liñliñ.
I-went another sloping stone
VP L2:NP:[dem Head:n]
'I went and came to another sloping stone area.'

ŋaḷa ŋe-beḷi yaḷpun-ṭa walpa-yi:
cry I-do lilyseed-for country-for
VP P:NP-gen:[PT:n-gen Head:n-gen]
'I long for the lilyseed country.'

ŋuṛ-ku-muta paṭa-paṭaṭa gubi.
we-them-will give very little beef
VP R₁:NP:[Mod:adj Head:n]
'We will give them a little meat.'

ŋa-wiña kalubuṛ yamiñi-ṛ-u lilmi-ṛ-u buṭ-iṛ-u nipa.
I-will go over there big-to man-to camp-to him
VP L2:NP-lo-all:[dem-all adj-lo-all Head:n-lo-all Mod:[n-lo-all pron]]
'I'm going to that big man's camp.'

. . . da dañaki kulmuk kulmuk.
that deaf deaf
cn_i NP:[dem adj] ' . . . that deaf man.'

6.11.2 The word *buṭa* 'camp' behaves differently from other nouns, when occurring in a noun phrase following a gender marked noun. It is of the same case as the animate possessor (in this way behaving as though the animate being were inalienably possessed by it). It also takes whatever gender prefix the animate noun has, a phenomenon which seems unique to this word. It is usually followed by an indirect pronoun agreeing with the animate being in person and number.

ŋa-wiña aṛ-kiṛiy-iṛ-u aṛ-buṭ-iṛ-u ŋatu.
I-will go f(op)-woman-to f(op)-camp-to her
VP L2:[Head:n-lo-all Mod:[n-lo-all pron]]
'I will go to the woman's camp.'

ŋa-wiña a-winiṭ-iṛ-u a-buṭ-iṛ-u nipa.
I-will go m(op)-father-to m(op)-camp-to him
VP L2:[Head:n-lo-all Mod:[n-lo-all pron]]
'I will go to his father's camp.'

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ For use of locative and allative, see under Substantives, ¶6.3.2. This statement applies to all pronouns and pronominal affixes. Some plural affixes do not have /l/, in which case there is no plural-dual contrast. One cannot derive plurals from duals.
- ² These may be better classed as substantives, see ¶6.1.1.
- ³ In Burera three-way contrast is maintained for 12 pronouns. See Kathleen Glasgow (1964). "Four Principal Contrasts in Burera Personal Pronouns". Occasional Papers in Aboriginal Studies Number Three. Canberra: A.I.A.S., 109-117.
- ⁴ This is so for affixes where dual and plural (or in one affix where singular, dual and plural) are not differentiated.
- ⁵ Without emphasis the indirect pronoun *ɲapa* should occur in this construction, in a different position.
- ⁶ Analysis of this clause is a problem, see ¶10.3.4.1.
- ⁷ Locative and allative suffixation of the indirect pronoun mentioned above would be homophonous with locative and allative suffixation of the indirect pronoun with the *-ña* suffix. Yet if locative and allative were derived from the forms with *-ña* the meanings would presumably be different, e.g.: *nipaña* 'his item'; *nipañiř* *'at his item'; *nipiñiřu* *'towards his item'.
- ⁸ /k/ is introduced by phonological rule VA6 after *yaŋ*.
- ⁹ For example: *wunařu mal ař-a|a/n-a|a*.
sun up she-goes/he-goes 'The sun is rising.'
- ¹⁰ A few nouns to which the English speaker reacts as non-human or inanimate are marked for gender. These are: *nawaŋka* 'totem', *anmumuna* 'women's corroboree', *anyařaman* 'mare'. While the last is an animal name, no native animal names have been found marked for gender.
- ¹¹ Evidence is insufficient on the class of this word; it modifies nouns, but has only been found with non-gender marked nouns. It does not modify verbs; the adverb *řugu* 'only' is used with verbs.
- ¹² In the shortened form *papa* this stem may be possessed.
- ¹³ Some substantives ending in semivowels have been found suffixed *-da*, others with *-di*, both interpreted as being locative or operative suffixes. As examples are few, it is not clear whether the difference is correlated with case or stem, or whether possibly the form *-da* is a genitive suffix.
- ¹⁴ For example, if a word ends in /yi/ the first row, not the second or third, applies; if it ends in /i/ but not /yi/ the third row, not the fourth, applies.
- ¹⁵ In the case of the operative suffix on a noun ending in a vowel, the exact location of the morpheme break cannot be specified, see phonological rule NA6, ¶5.2.4. However, the convention will be followed of marking it before the final /iř/ in all examples. Similarly, for the form of the operative case of a noun ending in /ř/, the convention will be to mark the morpheme break before /dV/.
- ¹⁶ Possibly the meaning of elative is 'out of'. Such a meaning would account for its non-occurrence on animate nouns and pronouns in the data, as the occasions where its use would be required are rare. Elative with a language name glosses the English 'in the . . . language', for example: *alawiřyunu* 'in Alawa', *munajiřyunu* 'in English' (from *munaja* 'white man').
- ¹⁷ Such an item as this can also be found described as *piřimil kiřibuyi* (alienable possession); the shoulder blade is removed from the kangaroo and used as a tool.

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- ¹⁸ Operative case inflection of indirect pronoun forms was obtained twice following kinship nouns, viz. *papaŋalaŋiř*, *naŋaŋalaŋiř*. Other evidence however suggests that these were grammatical errors.
- ¹⁹ There is evidence that these forms may be replaced by the regular prefixed plural forms, see Appendix C.
- ²⁰ The initial /*na*/ of this word is part of the stem, not the masculine prefix.
- ²¹ The form *kataŋaki* 'that way' only has been found; neither *kataŋidi* nor *kata* occur. This *kata* is not to be confused with the conjunction *kata*.
- ²² It is possible that further data would show the passive suffix to be inflectable for case also.
- ²³ *kaluř* 'round for water', found with *ri* in intransitive clauses, is also found with the direferential stem *a* in transitive clauses, with the meaning 'fill with water'.
- ²⁴ *park* 'sharp nosed', *parkmađa* 'milk snake' (an idiom); *kuřpula* 'magpie call', *kuřpulamađa* 'magpie'.
- ²⁵ The suffix *-ŋuwal* has been found on the motion verb root *tiwu* 'fly', and a suffix *-maga* has been found on one verb root of motion, *tul* 'travel', with a sense like that of *-ŋuwal*. However neither of these suffixes has been obtained on other motion verb roots.
- ²⁶ It is possible that this suffix is genitive case of a suffix *-ŋi*. Two occurrences in text which have not been properly corroborated suggest that *-ŋi* might be a suffix which can take case suffixation. The clearest example is: *yaŋaŋiđiřu* 'towards the sleeping one' (from *yaŋa* 'sleep'). This form seems more likely to be an allative suffixation of the suffix *-ŋi* than to be derived from *yaŋa ŋiti* 'to go to sleep'.

EQUATIONAL CLAUSES

7.0.0 An equational clause nucleus is defined as a clause nucleus with no marked tense in deep structure. It consists of a topic (the subject) and a comment (the predicate), most commonly in this order in surface structure, except when the predicate is interrogative. Either or both of these may be deleted in surface manifestation, in whole or in part. As verbs are sometimes deleted from verbal clauses, some terminal strings could be derived equally well from deep structures of equational or verbal types. If such a terminal string is derived from a verbal clause the deleted verb is usually stative,¹ if from an equational clause the tense is nonetheless usually implicit in the context of the string. Equational clause nuclei may have peripheral tagmemes for beneficiary, etc., as may verbal clauses, see chapter 11.

7.0.1 The subject of an equational clause is always of nominative case. There are three types of predicate. The predicate contains a noun phrase (sometimes with other words) of nominative, genitive or locative case, according as the predicate is normal equational, non-existential or locative.

7.0.2 The normal equational predicate consists of a predicative adjective, or of an adverb (optional) and a noun phrase, either of which may be preceded by the predicative negative *ɲayi*. Subject and predicate here have person-number concord. Predicative adjectives, which could also be described as tenseless verbs, are a small class of words which have only been found in equational clause predicates. They are not found with case inflection; they take the substantival pronominal prefixes. They include *wuɲun* 'know not' and *yelya* 'understand'. Other adjectives may function like them, but these do not function like other adjectives.

7.0.3 The non-existential predicate consists of the non-existential *madi* with accompanying (and most often in surface structure, following) noun phrase in genitive case. The locative predicate consists of a noun phrase in locative case, with or without a prepositional locative.² The topic linking conjunction *da* is optionally present between subject and predicate.³ Interrogative clauses usually have predicate before the subject; normal equational and locative equational interrogative clauses have been found.

7.1 Normal Equational with Predicative Adjective

ɲina *ɲa-wuɲun:*
I I-don't know
S:pron_{dir} PR:pa-prdadj 'I don't know.'

an-kiɾiya *an-yelya.*
f-woman she-understands
S:n PR:pa-prdadj 'The woman understands.'

ɲayi *ɲa-yelya:*
not I-understand
PR:[prdneg pa-prdadj] 'I don't understand.'

7.2 Normal Equational with Noun Phrase

ɲina *ɲa-waɖuɾu-waʃ.*
I I-axe-with
S:pron_{dir} PR:pa-adj 'I have an axe.'

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giŋař *da* *yamiŋi:*
grinding stone big
S:n cn_t PR:adj ‘The grinding stone is the big one.’

yalpun *alawal* *mama.*
lilyseed proper food
S:n PR:[adv n] ‘Lilyseed is a real food.’

nida *ŋayi* *wulaki* *daŋaki:*
this not like that
S:dem PR:[prdneg adv n] ‘This one is not like that one.’

lamalma *atiyin* *ruwu.*
fish trap hole tree
S:n PR:[PT:n Head:n] ‘The fish trap is a tree with a hole in it.’

nida *ɖalkuyi-ɖa* *pařakaɭ* *nipa.*
this young man-gen spear him
S:dem PR:[Mod:n-gen Head:n pron] ‘This is the young man’s spear.’

ɖalkuyi-ɖa *pařakaɭ* *nipa* *ñuɥ* *ñuɥ.*
young man-gen spear him blunt
S:[Mod:n-gen Head:n pron] PR:adj ‘The young man’s spear is blunt.’

wul-ŋabi-ŋabiŋi *da* *wulu.*
you-who you
PR:pa-adj cn_t S:pron_{dir} ‘Who are you?’

ŋaŋi *da* *yalpun* *yawuřwaɥa.*
how lilyseed Yellow Water
PR:adj cn_t S:[Head:n Mod:locnm] ‘How is the lilyseed at Yellow Water?’

7.3 Non-Existential

nida *da* *madi* *yalpun-ɥa.*
this no lilyseed-gen
S:dem cn_t PR:[non n-gen] ‘There is no lilyseed here.’

mama-yi *madi.*
food-gen none
PR:[n-gen non] ‘There is no food.’

7.4 Locative

yaɥaɥa *ruw-iř.*
child tree-at
S:n PR:L:n-lo ‘The child is in the tree.’

kala *da* *pařakaɭ.*
where spear
PR:L:loc cn_t S:n ‘Where is the spear?’

yaŋan *wulabuř* *wulpul-tu.*
snake near billabong-at
S:n PR:L:[prploc n-lo] ‘The snake is near the billabong.’

nida *ŋaɭuŋun* (*ruw-iř*).
this underneath (tree-at)
S:dem PR:L:[prploc (n-lo)] ‘It’s underneath (the tree).’

7.5 Comparison

Comparison is signalled by juxtaposition of normal equational clauses. If one wishes to state that A is bigger than B, the form is to state 'A big, B small'.

yaṛkaḷa yamiṇi, aṭu paṭaṭa.
 kangaroo big dog small
 Clause:[S:n PR:adj] Clause:[S:n PR:adj]
 'The kangaroo is bigger than the domestic dog.'

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ In some travel narratives, motion verbs are omitted; however the clauses have allative or elative tagmemes remaining, and these do not occur in equational clauses.
- ² Presumably the locative predicate may contain the predicative negative *ḡayi*, though examples have not been found.
- ³ See chapter 12 on the topic linking conjunction (§12.3.1).

VERB PHRASES

8.0 A verb phrase in deep structure consists of a nucleus and optional modifier. Some portion of the nucleus always takes the phrase stress in a verb phrase. In surface structure, the modifier precedes or follows all of the nucleus except the predicative negative; when the predicative negative occurs in the nucleus it precedes the remainder of the verb phrase and receives phrase stress.¹

8.1 The Nucleus

8.1.1 The nucleus is made up of two parts. The first is the verb stem, which in deep structure consists of a verb root and following auxiliary stem. The auxiliary stem always follows the verb root in surface structure also. The verb root determines the transformational clause battery in which the nucleus belongs. Each verb root may occur with a limited variety of auxiliary stems signalling various degrees of transitivity, causality, and so forth. Conversely each auxiliary stem may usually occur with a variety of verb roots. In surface structure some verb stems are manifested by auxiliary stems only; an auxiliary stem which occurs alone in surface structure in this way has a clearly defined meaning which is also apparent in many combinations of the auxiliary with overt verb roots.

8.1.2 The second part of the nucleus is the modality constituent, which relates the action to time and reality. It is signalled by a tense affix, the optional predicative negative, and other devices. By transformation, pronominal affixes are added to the auxiliary stem (see ¶9.0.0, also ¶13.2) to form the auxiliary verb. The auxiliary verb and its accompanying verb root together make up the verb. The auxiliary verb may be deleted in surface structure.

8.2 The Optional Modifier

The optional modifier in the verb phrase is an adverb or an adjective. As such modifiers were seldom used, data is not sufficient to know whether all adjectives may occur here, or only a limited number. Choice of adverbs and adjectives seems limited in part by the semantics of the verb root. Examples of adverbs are given here; all adverbs found to date are given in Appendix F.

<i>balpalpi</i>	'slowly'	<i>alawal</i>	'properly, really'
<i>ḍurka</i>	'quickly'	<i>ṭugu</i>	'only'
<i>ṇaykanṭi</i>	'strongly' (from adj <i>ṇaykan</i> 'strong')		

Examples of verb phrases are given below.

<i>pup pup</i>	<i>n-aṭini-kunu</i>	(<i>ṇaykan-ṭi</i>).
blow	it-comes-from	(strongly)
vr	pa-av _{MR}	(adv) 'It is blowing (hard).'

<i>ḍurka</i>	<i>n-aḷa</i>	/	<i>n-aḷa</i>	<i>ḍurka</i> .
quickly	he-goes		he-goes	quickly
adv	pa-av _{MR}		pa-av _{MR}	adv 'He goes quickly.'

<i>alawal</i>	<i>puy puy</i>	<i>ne-beḷi:</i>
really	dry dry	it-does
adv	vr vr	pa-av _{MR} '... until it dries properly.'

aṛka-mutuwwun-nu
she-gave-him
pa-pá-av_{DDR} 'she gave it to him'

ɲayi yumař kuñ kař-adař
 not good see I-might do
 prdneg adj vr pa-av_{DR} 'I can't see well'

mař a-mutaya-ɲuřu
 carry he-gave-her
 vr pa-pá-av_{DDR} 'he made her carry it'

. . . *ař-a|a-na ʃugu*
 . . . I-ate-it only
 pa-pá-av_{DR} adv 'I only ate . . . (item eaten)'

8.3 Modality

8.3.0 The modality constituent places the action of the verb stem with regard to time, duration and reality. Tense, aspect and mood are usually indicated by a single suffix on the auxiliary stem. This suffix, called the tense suffix, is made up of smaller formatives whose meaning can be isolated. Tenses are three: past, present and future; aspects are two: punctiliar and continuous; moods are two: indicative and subjunctive. Table 23 shows what combinations of these occur. In future indicative the form is neutral with respect to aspect.² The subjunctive forms closely parallel indicative forms for distribution of aspect, with the tenses shifted.

Table 23 — Tense, aspect and mood combinations

	Past	Present	Future
Indicative	punctiliar continuous	— continuous	neutral
Subjunctive	— —	punctiliar continuous	— continuous

8.3.1 Continuous aspect is used for continuous or repeated action. The meaning of many verb roots restricts their occurrence with regard to aspect. It is not surprising to find only continuous aspect in the present indicative. Subjunctive mood is used for abilitative and possible action. Present subjunctive indicates present abilitative; future subjunctive indicates probable future action, often contingent on a previously stated action.

8.3.2 Negation of action requires the presence of the predicative negative *ɲayi* at the beginning of the verb phrase. With *ɲayi*, present and future subjunctives are used for negation of action in past and present tenses respectively; for negated future action, *ɲayi* occurs with the indicative future tense. Thus there is in the negative a shift of tense meaning of the subjunctive forms, giving aspect distinctions at each tense parallel to indicative aspect distinctions.

8.3.3 Two other devices help signal modality. The first is reduplication of the verb stem to indicate repeated action. Such reduplication usually, but not invariably, is found only in the presence of a continuous aspect tense affix. Reduplication is manifested by a repeated verb stem where the verb stem is overtly retained in surface structure, and by a reduplicated auxiliary stem where the verb stem disappears in surface structure. In the former case the verb root is usually repeated once, but has been found repeated twice or three times. In the latter case the first syllable of the auxiliary stem is reduplicated (see ¶5.3.10), and only one reduplication has been found to date. The second device is a suffix *-kay* for habitual action; it is described under K-suffixes below.

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8.4 K-Suffixes

8.4.0 Three unrelated suffixes occur on auxiliary verbs, each beginning with /k/. They each follow the tense affix and any pronominal suffixes. Their functions are unrelated. One functions as a type of supplementary tense affix; one functions as an optional part of two auxiliary stems, and may be transferred from the auxiliary to other words in the clause; the third functions as a verb root substitute. The first may occur on any stem, but only with one tense-aspect-mood combination; the second and third are confined to specific auxiliary stems. Though examples have not been found, it would seem semantically and syntactically possible for the first to occur together with either of the other two.

8.4.1 The habitual action suffix

The first k-suffix, the habitual action suffix *-kay*, may be regarded as a supplementary tense affix. It may be found with any auxiliary verb in continuous past indicative tense, to indicate habitual past action. Some auxiliaries only occur in continuous past indicative form in the presence of *-kay*.

kuy yil-aña-kay.
hunt they-did-habit 'They used to hunt.'

ñak ʔil-apaʔa-na-kay³.
spear they-were spearing-it-habit 'They used to spear them.'

8.4.2 The verbal elative suffix

The second k-suffix, the verbal elative suffix *-kunu*, is found associated with two auxiliary stems, *aʔi* 'come' and *aʔi* 'bring', both with the semantic element of motion towards the speaker.⁴ It may be suffixed to the auxiliary verb, or to a demonstrative or locative in the same clause, or to both the auxiliary verb and one of these other words. It implies motion towards the speaker, but is not really translatable.

payiga pup pup n-aʔini-kunu.
wind blow it-comes-from 'The wind is blowing.'

yilulu-kunu yil-aʔina(-kunu).
those-from they-were coming(-from) 'Those people were coming.'

ʔantawa-kunu wul-aʔina.
where-from you-were coming 'Where have you come from?'

wiʔ keʃ-eʔi-kunu kitaña.
get I-will bring-from here 'I will bring it here.'

8.4.3 The same action suffix

The third k-suffix, the same action suffix *-ki*, may only be found with the verb stem (the dative monoreferential auxiliary) *ba* 'do, say', in any of its tenses. The combination *ba . . . ki* substitutes for any verb stem which expresses the same action as one previously stated, often for another actor.

kuy yil-eñi, paʔa ne-beʔi-ki.
hunt they-do later he-does-same
'They go hunting, and later he does the same.'

FOOTNOTES

¹ For details of stress on the verb phrase, see ¶4.1.4 - ¶4.2.1.

² There are, however, some pairs of DR auxiliary stems which can be used with certain classes of verb roots, one of which being inherently punctiliar and the other inherently continuous. An aspect distinction in future tense can therefore be made in certain clauses.

³ This auxiliary does not occur in past continuous form except with *-kay*.

⁴ It is also found with one prepositional locative, see ¶11.3.1.

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9.0.0 Pronominal affixes are affixed to the auxiliary stem to form the auxiliary verb. The pronominal affix or affixes indicate person-number agreement with one or two participants in the action. Certain auxiliary stems, the direferential (DR, and including the dative direferential DDR), have potential for affixation for agreement with two participants in the action. Other auxiliary stems, the monoreferential (MR, and including the dative monoreferential DMR), have potential for affixation for only one participant in the action. Direferential stems may sometimes be found with affixation for only one participant in the action. One stem belongs to either class according to the person and number involved. Pronominal affixes for DR¹ verbs, when only one participant is signalled, differ from those for MR verbs in first and third persons singular, but are identical elsewhere. Most tense affixes are identical for both classes of auxiliary stem (the term tense affix applies to any affix signalling tense-aspect-mood).

9.0.1 The pronominal prefix with the MR auxiliaries, or with the DR auxiliaries affixed for only one participant, agrees with the subject (S) of the clause in person and number. The subject is commonly the actor in the action, or sometimes the sufferer or object, according to the verb stem. The pronominal prefix, or prefix and suffix, of the DR auxiliaries agrees with the subject and referent (R) of the clause in person and number. The subject is then actor or sufferer in the action, the referent is object, dative object,² or location. Whether object, dative object or location is signalled by the referent is usually determined by the auxiliary stem, not the verb stem. Some DR auxiliaries, though suffixed for third singular masculine referent, are semantically monoreferential, and thus intransitive. The MR and DR classes are not coterminous with intransitive and transitive classes; many MR verb stems are for transitive actions.

9.1 Monoreferential Auxiliary Pronominal Affixes

The pronominal prefixes for the MR verbs are shown in table 24. Duals are formed by replacing /l/ in corresponding plural forms by /ř/ (see ¶6.1.0.0). There is, however, no dual form corresponding to the 12 plural form.

Table 24 — Pronominal prefixes for MR auxiliaries

	singular	plural	dual
12	<i>ñā-</i>	<i>ñul-</i>	
1	<i>ŋa-</i>	<i>ŋul-</i>	<i>ŋuř-</i>
2	<i>yī-</i>	<i>wul-</i>	<i>wuř-</i>
3m	<i>na-</i>		
		<i>yil-</i>	<i>yīř-</i>
3f	<i>ař-</i>		

9.1.1 One auxiliary verb exists which has a solitary form, for third person singular subject. It has no other forms. It is *ařkaña* 'he/she went', the form being unaltered for masculine or feminine subject. It may occur in any context where the third singular past of 'go' may occur, including use with verb roots. In form it appears to be the DDR auxiliary stem *a*₂ with the DR third singular feminine prefix, and past continuous suffix, but in use it is quite unrelated. It occurs commonly.

Table 25 — Pronominal affixes for direferential auxiliaries

S \ R	12p	12	1p	1s	2s	2p	3p	3m ^a	3f ^b
12p							ñuřku-	ñul-	% ^c
12							ñuřku-	ña-	%
1p					añi-	ñuřku-	ñuřku-	ñul-	%
1s					ña-	ñulku-	ař- -wulu	ař-	%
2s			ñun-	ti-			wuřku-	yi-	%
2p			ñunuř-	řulul-			wuřku-	wul-	%
3p	ñunuř-	ñunuř-	ñunuř-	ñulul-	ñabul-	wunpuř-	yinpiř-	yil-	%
3m ^e	ñun-	ña-	ñun-	an-	ku-	wun-	yin-	a-	%
3f ^d	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	ařka-	ñanu-

^a 3mR is signalled by -na suffix.

^b 3fR is signalled by -ña suffix, except when subject is 3f also.

^c 3mS is signalled by -naga except when referent is 3m also.

^d 3fS is signalled by -ñařaga except when referent is 3f also.

^e % signals that the form is the same as that immediately to the left.

9.2 Direferential Auxiliary Pronominal Affixes

Table 25 shows the DR pronominal affixes for non-reflexive persons; table 26 shows those for singular reflexive persons. The blank areas in table 25 indicate absence of forms due to reflexive person involvement. Though according to form, 12 person is a singular, yet semantically it is not, and it functions as a non-singular in reflexive forms. Non-singular reflexives are signalled by the prefixes as found for MR auxiliaries (or for DR verbs with 3sR — the prefixes are the same in the plural) with the addition of a reflexive tense suffix. Table 25 only contrasts singular and non-singular (ns).

Whenever /l/ occurs in a non-singular form, the form quoted is a plural, and the dual is obtained by substituting /ř/ for /l/. Wherever there is no /l/, dual is not distinguished from plural. Pronominal prefixes for DR verbs affixed for only one participant are identical with the prefixes used with third person singular referent. A study of the three tables shows some clear morphemes as well as considerable patterning at a lower level. Pike³ has suggested the name formative for such a recurring partial below the morpheme level.

Distinguishable morphemes in table 25 include the suffixes *-na* and *-ñařa* for third singular masculine and feminine, and the suffix *-ga* signalling that third singular person is subject (shown, for space considerations, in footnotes to the chart), the suffixes *-wulu* and *-wuřu* for third plural and dual referent respectively, *ař-* prefix for first singular subject, and other prefixes which are the same as those in table 24.

Table 26 — Singular reflexive affixes

2s	<i>añi-</i>
1s	<i>an-</i>
3m	<i>ñun- -na</i>
3f	<i>ñun- -ñařa</i>

9.2.1 Patterning in direferential affixes

9.2.1.1 Study of recurring partials in the auxiliary pronominal prefixes for DR verbs reveals some interesting patterns. Most obviously, forms for 3nsS-3nsR and 3nsS-2nsR, *yinpiř-* and *wunpuř-* respectively, may be derived from *yinwuř-* and *wunwuř-*, using the word internal hardening rule and assuming a vowel harmony change in *wuř-* after *yin-* (see phonological rule VB8). In fact, vowels occurring in pronominal forms are mostly predictable from the general form of the affix together with the type of consonants; they are therefore, except when lost morphophonemically, useful redundant signals in the system. In other forms with 3nsS, and also in the forms for 2S-1nsR, the partials */(R₁)uR₁/* could be considered as derived from */wuR/* according to the phonological rule VB9. In prefix initial position *wuR-* always signals second person (ns in all but one case); when suffixed *-wuRu* always signals 3ns.⁴ In prefix non-initial position *wuR* usually signals 3ns, but in the combination *řuRuR-* it signals 2ns, and in the combination *ñunuR-* either 3ns or 2ns.

9.2.1.2 Table 25 and its footnotes shows:

1. An N-class consonant (N = {*n*, *l*, *ř*}) marks all examples of non-singular person involvement, except for 1nsS acting on 2sR.
2. An R-class consonant (R = {*l*, *ř*}) marks:
 - (a) all cases of 3s involvement,
 - (b) all 1s involvement except with 2s (one acting on the other) and some 12np forms, and including all 1sS except with 2sR.
3. */n/* marks many non-singular referent persons, and 1sR with 3sS.

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9.2.1.3 Tables 27 and 28 show the above patterns. Dashes indicate absence of the formative. Suffixes are excluded from consideration in these two tables: the change from R-class to /n/ does not occur here with change from subject to referent. Table 27 shows that distinction between dual and plural is maintained for all subjects with 3sR, all persons with 1s subject or referent, and for third persons with 2sR.

Distinction between 2s,d,p is lost in one position only, that with 3ns referent. The form *nuřku-* has several meanings, so that for non-singular referent there is no distinction between 1sS-2dR and 1nsS-2nsR, nor between these and 1nsS-3nsR.

Table 27 — Subject marked with formative /ř/ or /l/^a

S \ R	12	1p	1s	2s	2p	3p	3s
12						ř	R
1p				—	ř	ř	R
1s				—	R	R	ř
2s		—	—			ř	—
2p		ř	R			ř	R
3p	ř	ř	R	R	ř	ř	R
3s	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

^a R indicates /ř/ or /l/ for dual, plural, respectively.
/ř/ indicates /ř/ only.

Table 28 — Referent marked with formative /n/^a

S \ R	12	1p	1s	2s	2p	3p	3s ^b
12						—	
1p				—	—	—	
1s				—	—	—	
2s		n	—				
2p		n	—				
3p	n	n	—	—	n	—	
3s	n	n	n	—	n	n	

^a 1s reflexive and 3s reflexive are also marked with /n/.

^b 3m suffix contains /n/, but this does not signal referent unambiguously.

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9.2.1.4 Table 25 shows also that usually:

1. third person formatives or affixes follow third or any other person affixes.
2. second person formatives or prefixes follow first person prefixes.

The exceptions are:

1. where *ɣanu-* indicates 3fS and 3fR.
2. where *ñ* and *ʃ* signal first person and second person (one acting on the other).
But even for 2nsS-1R the rule holds in part.

Table 29 — Consonants (or CVC) preceding any N-class consonant

S \ R	12	1p	1s	2s	2p	3p	3s
12						<i>ñ</i>	<i>ñ</i>
1p				<i>ñ</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	<i>ɣ</i>
1s				<i>ñ</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	<i>ø</i>	<i>ø</i>
2s		<i>ñ</i>	<i>ʃ</i>			<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>
2p		<i>ñ</i>	<i>ʃ</i>			<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>
3p	<i>ñ</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	<i>ñab</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>y</i>
3s	<i>ñ</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	<i>ø</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>ø</i>

Table 30 — Vowel in first syllable of prefix

S \ R	12p	12	2s	2p	1p	1s	3p	3s
12p							<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>
12							<i>u</i>	<i>a</i>
2s					<i>u</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>i</i>
2p					<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>
1p			<i>a</i>	<i>u</i>			<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>
1s			<i>a</i>	<i>u</i>			<i>u</i>	<i>a</i>
3p	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
3s	<i>u</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>a</i>

9.2.1.5 Table 29 shows all consonants (once a CVC instead of a C) of the outermost prefix preceding any N-class consonant (the initial consonant in all but two cases); table 30 shows first vowels of all prefixes. First and second persons have been permuted to show patterns more clearly. There is some symmetry in both these tables. Table 29 shows:

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1. all L shapes with "corners" at non-singular persons, with the exception of that at 2p, are symmetrical about the downwards diagonal.
2. the L shape with corner at 1s is almost symmetrical.
3. some pairs of individual squares are symmetrical, e.g., those for 2p and third persons, 1s and 3s.

In table 30 all L shapes are symmetrical except that with corner at 2s. Occurrence of /t/ with /i/, /y/ with /i/, and /ñ/ with /a/ for singular persons accounts for correlated asymmetries in C and V for 2s with 1s, and 3s with 3p.

9.2.1.6 The *ñabuR*- forms for 3d,pS-2sR contain the formative *ñab*-⁵ which is also found in the indirect pronoun, but nowhere else. Some other correspondences between pronominal forms for DR verbs with those for MR verbs, noun prefixes or free pronouns occur; these correspondences are only seen when all classes are considered together. The summary below shows the signalling patterns of all pronominal forms in the language, except the possessive pronominal suffixes, with special reference to the auxiliary verbs. Vowel harmony change of /a/ to /e/ and change of /n/ to /ɲ/ in the 3m suffix is ignored. However hardening of consonants and loss of vowels is taken into consideration in the summary.

9.3 Pronominal Signalling System

9.3.1 Suffixes

A pronominal suffix indicates third person is involved.

-*wulu*, -*wuɽu* only occur with 1sS prefix (k)*ař*- to indicate 3p,3dR respectively.

-*ga* indicates 3sS. Its absence indicates 3s is referent or reflexive (when other suffix present).

-*nV* 3m involvement.

-*ɣVř(V)*, -*řV* indicate 3f involvement.

Table 31 — Occurrences of underlying form *wu* for 3ns and 2nd person

S \ R	12	2s	2p	1p	1s	3p	3s
12						<i>wu</i>	
2s						<i>wu</i> ^a	
2p				<i>wu</i>	<i>wu</i>	<i>wu</i> ^a	<i>wu</i>
1p			<i>wu</i>			<i>wu</i>	
1s			<i>wu</i>			<i>wu</i>	
3p	<i>wu</i>	<i>wu</i> ^b	<i>wu</i> ^a	<i>wu</i>	<i>wu</i>	<i>wu</i>	
3s		<i>wu</i> ^c	<i>wu</i>				

^a occurs twice, signalling both 3ns and second person.

^b signals 3ns, not 2.

^c usually found as k(u).

9.3.2 Prefixes — first consonant

/ñ/ In combination *ñun*- + 3sR suffix, reflexive. Otherwise, second person involved with or without first person.

ñab-, *ñag*- (i.e. /ña/ followed by prenasalised stop in next syllable), second person involved without first person.

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Non-initial /*ñ*/ in (*k*)*añ*(i)-, 2sR, either with 1nsS or as reflexive 2s.

Otherwise 2 and 1 person involvement, either both acting together or one acting on the other.

With any unambiguous third person suffix, or with *ku*- inner prefix, signals 12 acting together.

In combination *ñunuř*-, either 3nsS-12R or 2nsS-1nsR.

ñun- 2sS-1nsR.

/t/ *t*iN- combination, 3ns. See *y*iN- under /y/. Otherwise second person involvement.

With no 3s suffix, signals 2S-1sR.

With /l/ or /ř/, 2d,pS-1sR.

With no other consonant, 2sS-1sR.

With 3s suffix, see under /y/.

/k/ *ku*N- combination, see under /w/. With future tense and no 3s suffix, possibly 2s imperative, see under /w/.

k(u)- with *-ga*, 2sR.

Otherwise, see under /ø/.

/w/ ⁶*wuřk(u)*- combination, may be 2sS.

*wu*N- outer prefix, 2ns involvement without first person.

With future tense and no 3s suffix, may be 2s imperative.

/ŋ/ In combination *ŋanu(k)*-, *ŋad*-, *ŋat*- (/ŋ/ followed by an alveolar segment),⁷ 3f (*ŋanu(k)*- 3fS-3fR).

Otherwise signals involvement of first person without second person.

With DR verbs either 1ns, or 1s with ns person.

/y/ *y*iR- with future tense, possibly 2ns imperative.

*y*iN- 3ns involvement.

Otherwise 2s involvement without 1s.

/ø/ *ařk(a)*- with *aña* (*ařkaña* 'he went') 3s.

(*k*)*ařk(a)*- elsewhere, 3fS.

(*k*)*a*N- with MR or substantive, 3f, with DR, 1s involvement without second person.

(*k*)- *-ga*, 2sR (usually /k/ is present).

Otherwise, 3mS or in substantive 3m operative case (no /k/ present with substantive).

9.3.3 Inner prefix

ku- with *ŋul*- 2pR (1sS); with *ŋuř*-, 2dR (1sS) or 2,3nsR (1nsS).

uř- with *ñun*-, either 2nsS or 3nsS.

(C)[*u,i*]R- elsewhere, 3nsS.

9.3.4 N-class consonants in affixes

/n/ suffix, 3m involved.

/n/ initial, 3mS with MR verb, 3m nominative case with noun.

an- with noun, 3f nominative case.

/n/ with DR, referent (when prefixed).

(*k*)*an*- with DR, 1sR.

Otherwise /n/ with DR signals nsR.

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9.3.5 R-class consonants in affixes

- /l/,/ř/ suffix after -wu, 3pR,3dR respectively.
- /ř/ suffix otherwise, 3f involved.
- (k)ař- with substantive 3f operative case, with MR verb 3fS.
- /R/ with DR, indicates subject.
- (k)ař- with DR, in form (k)ařk(a)- 3fS, otherwise 1S.
- /R/ elsewhere with DR indicates nsS.
- /l/ indicates plural.
- /ř/ indicates dual or non-singular.

9.4 Ranking of Formatives in the Pronominal Signalling System

9.4.1 Some Amerindian languages show a clear ranking of persons reflected in the formatives. For example, in Potawatomi⁸ second person involvement is always signalled by /k/, and first person by /n/ in the absence of second person. In Alawa the pattern is not as regular. The clearest pattern of ranking is shown as in table 29 when 12 person is placed first, then second, first and third persons in that order. A pattern almost as clear is obtained when first and second persons are interchanged, as in table 32 (which follows table 25 in order). However as the description above of the pronominal signalling system shows, the general pattern is as follows:

- /ñ/ (/ʃ/ with 1sR) indicates involvement of second person singular, which outranks first person.
- /w/ indicates involvement of second person, usually non-singular, which also outranks first person.
- /ŋ/ indicates first person without second person involvement (with two exceptions, see below).
- /y/ indicates involvement of third person non-singular in the absence of first or second person, and outranks third person singular.
- /ø/ indicates third singular acting on third singular (and sometimes 1s and third person — possibly a later diachronic development).⁹

9.4.2 However, another type of ranking is also present as noted earlier: When separate prefixes indicate subject and referent, affixes for first person precede those for other persons, affixes for second person precede those for third person, and affixes for third person plural precede those for third person singular. Hence the initial formative /ŋ/ in two cases where second person is involved.

Table 32 — Consonants (or CVC) preceding any N-class consonant — permutation of table 29

S \ R	12	2s	2p	1p	1s	3p	3s
12						ñ	ñ
2s				ñ	ʃ	w	y
2p				ñ	ʃ	w	w
1p		ñ	ŋ			ŋ	ŋ
1s		ñ	ŋ			ø	ø
3p	ñ	ñab	w	ŋ	ŋ	y	y
3s	ñ	k	w	ŋ	ø	y	ø

AUXILIARY VERB MORPHOLOGY

9.4.3 Second person imperatives are signalled differently from other second persons (see ¶9.5.3 on Imperatives).

9.5 Modal Affixation of Verb Stems

9.5.0 Auxiliary stems, both MR and DR, always end in a vowel. They fall into four classes according to the nature of the final vowel: /u/ pure, /ú/ variable, /a/ and /i/.

There is considerable variety of affixation of verb stems for the different tenses. In some auxiliaries the verb stem final vowel varies for different tenses, or a different stem is chosen for different tenses or pronominal affixations. For the auxiliary stem 'go' a different stem is chosen for each tense-aspect-mood combination, except for the two continuous subjunctive moods which have a common stem.¹⁰ No other stem is quite as irregular. The present variety of forms of the auxiliaries allows for some different interpretations and analyses: more extensive data may show one of these to be preferable, or may show that some stems should be classed differently. Maximum predictability of affixation for tense is found in the /u/ and /ú/ vowel classes.

Table 33 shows the most regular kinds of inflection for different tenses and moods. Examples below also illustrate the different tenses, aspects and moods.

Table 33 — Regular inflection of verbs

stem	<i>ηata</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>apu</i>
future indic	<i>ηata</i>	<i>bi</i> ^a	<i>api</i>
fut cts subj	<i>ηatayař</i>	<i>bayař</i>	<i>apuduř</i>
past punct indic	<i>ηatan</i>	<i>ban</i>	<i>apuwun</i>
past cts indic	<i>ηataña</i>	<i>bała</i>	<i>apała</i>
pres punct subj	<i>ηatiña</i>	<i>beña</i>	<i>apiña</i>
pres cts subj	<i>ηeteyiři</i>	<i>beyiři</i>	—
pres cts indic	<i>ηeteñi</i>	<i>beři</i>	<i>apili</i>

^a Irregular vowel.

<i>ařmutuwunna</i> (past punct)	'I gave it to him'
<i>ηayi ařmutiñana</i> (pres punct subj)	'I didn't give it to him'
<i>kuñ ñada</i> (past cts)	'I was watching you'
<i>kuñ ñadař</i> (fut cts subj)	'I might see you'
<i>ηayi kuñ ñadař</i> (fut cts subj)	'I am not watching you'
<i>kuñ ñedi</i> (pres cts)	'I am watching you'
<i>ηayi kuñ ñediři</i> (pres cts subj)	'I was not watching you'
<i>yaη kanna</i> (past punct) ¹¹	'he was hitting him'
<i>yaη kaηu</i> (fut)	'he will hit him (several times)'
<i>yaη kaηanna</i> (past punct)	'he hit him (once)'
<i>yaη kaηana</i> (fut)	'he will hit him (several times)'
<i>ηawiña</i> (fut)	'I will go'
<i>ηayi ηawiña</i> (fut)	'I won't go'
<i>ηađiña</i> (pres punct subj)	'I can go'
<i>ηađiři</i> (pres cts subj)	'I can go'
<i>tuwi wiña</i> (imperative)	'go away!'

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9.5.1 Stem vowel change with tense

Except in the reflexives, the auxiliary stem final vowel changes to /i/ for present tenses; for a few stems, change of final vowel to /i/ with no further affixation signals this tense in the indicative. There is a tendency for the vowel /a/ to occur in the past tenses: /a/ always precedes -/a/, and often precedes -n (see chapter 5). Elsewhere, with a few exceptions, stem final vowels are those expected from the phonological rules.

Table 34 lists the affixes found for the various tenses.

Table 34 — Affixes for the various tenses

	tense affixes				reflexives with tense affixes
past punct indic	ø,	-n,	-wun ^a ,	-ya	-nʔana
fut indic	ø,			-yi	(not yet found)
fut cts subj	-yvř,	-dvř,	-ɖvř,	-ʈvř	-nʔiřiř
pres cts subj	-yiři,	-diři,	-ɖiři,	-ʈiři	-nʔiřiři
past cts indic		-la,	-ña,	-na	-nʔana, -nʔaʔaña
pres cts indic	ø,	-li,	-ñi,	-ni	-nʔini, -nʔiři
pres punct subj		-řiña			-nʔiřiña

^a Does not occur with MR stems.

9.5.2 Future tense and the auxiliary stem

No suffix on an auxiliary stem is usually a sign of the future indicative. However, because of the phonological changes outlined in chapter 5, the final vowel of the stem will not always show the vowel class of the stem. The basic final vowel of the stem is usually found by comparing past indicative and future subjunctive forms. Sometimes change in stem final vowel occurs for the past or the future indicative: where there is no suffix for past punctiliar tense, as for *aʔi* 'come', and there is a future form, a vowel change occurs in one of these to distinguish them. A few auxiliaries change stems for future tense ('be' and 'go' are two), or for future tense with some person-number combinations (some DR verbs only). One auxiliary only, *na* 'be, sit', has been found with a suffix for future tense.

9.5.3 Imperatives

Imperative forms occur for second persons in all numbers. That for second person singular is, with two exceptions found to date, identical with the unaffixed future indicative auxiliary stem; those for dual and plural are identical with third person dual and plural future indicative respectively.¹² The second person singular forms found to date which are not those of the unaffixed future indicative stem are for *aʔi* 'come' and *aʔi* 'bring' (both with a semantic element of 'come'). The future indicative stems of these are *eʔi* and *eʔi* respectively; the singular imperative forms are *wakaʔi* and *wali* respectively. Imperative or future may be used for an independent verb in situations where in English the imperative would be used; imperative is never used for a verb dependent on a preceding verb.

<i>wiña</i>	'go!' (sg)	<i>yiliña</i>	'go!' (pl)
<i>yaŋ ɲana</i>	'hit him!' (sg)	<i>puʔa ni</i>	'cook it!'
<i>wiʔ kaʔi</i>	'get it!'	<i>wiña puʔa yiɲi</i>	'go and cook it!' (sg)
<i>waliɲuʁu</i>	'get her!'	<i>yiliña puʔa wulni</i>	'go and cook it!' (pl)

9.5.4 Past punctiliar indicative suffixes

The most common past punctiliar indicative suffixes are *-wun* and *-n*. The form *-wun* occurs with all DR /ú/ variable stems (although one, *neřú*, takes *-n* where there is no following 3m suffix), and with *apu* 'spear'. The form *-n* occurs with the MR stem *amú*, and extensively with other stems. The forms *-jan* is found for punctiliar past with the continuous auxiliary stem *a*.

9.5.5 Other indicative suffixes

Many indicative suffixes, except some of those following the reflexive suffixes, are of the form /CV/.¹³ These are analysable into two parts: C indicates the aspect, V the tense. Only one tense contrast is distinguished by these affixes: past and non-past, /a/ indicating past, /i/ non-past. Most of these suffixes indicate continuous aspect. Continuous aspect suffixes commence with /l/, /ñ/, /n/ or /d/, according to stem; tenses distinguished are past and present.¹⁴ Forms /!V/ are the most common of the continuous aspect suffixes according to stem, then /ñV/ and then /nV/. The suffixes *-dV* are confined to certain person-number combinations of the continuous DR stem *a*. A suffix *-nV* never occurs together with the 3m suffix, with which it can be homophonous.

9.5.6 Reflexive suffixes

Suffixes indicating reflexivity for plural numbers are of the form *-nřV*; V is /a/ for past, /i/ for present. The reflexive suffix is always followed by another suffix of form *-CV₁(CV₁)* for the indicative, or *-řiña*, *-řiř(i)* for subjunctives; the vowel or vowels in the indicative suffixes usually change according to tense, and the indicative suffixes are *-n[i, a]*, *-ři*, and *-řaña*.

9.5.7 Subjunctive suffixes

Present punctiliar subjunctive suffixes are always of the form *-řiña*; with most verbs this suffix is reduced to /ña/, except when following a reflexive suffix. The suffix is added to the present tense form of the stem, except for the irregular auxiliary *wiña* 'go'.

Continuous subjunctive suffixes are of the form *-CV₁ř(V₁)*.¹⁵ Forms *-Cvř* are future continuous subjunctive; forms *-Ciři* are present continuous subjunctive. The initial consonant is most commonly /y/, often /d/, occasionally /d/ or /t/ (according to stem), and is /ř/ following the reflexive suffix. The phoneme /d/ is found with all /u/ pure stems, /d/ is found with *uřka* 'cause' and with 'go', and /t/ is found with *aña*, a DDR verb.

For continuous subjunctive inflection, the irregular auxiliaries 'go' and 'be' use the stems *i* and *ni* respectively (*ni* is also the stem for future indicative of 'be'). For all other verbs, future continuous subjunctive is added to the auxiliary verb stem, and present continuous subjunctive is added to the present tense forms of the stem.

9.6 Auxiliary Verb Conjugations

9.6.1 Auxiliary verbs are not easily subclassified into conjugations according to their form and the form of the tense affixes they take. Variable /ú/ stems and /u/ pure stems are the most consistent in affixation, but the choice of different stems for different tenses or for different person-number combinations complicates the picture even here. The most satisfactory method of classification is quotation of the basic form of the stem, future form if different, and subjunctive forms if different again, and a listing of affixes for the past punctiliar indicative, present indicative and future subjunctive. For three stems which signal present tense only by stem final vowel change to /i/, the past continuous indicative affix also needs to be listed.

9.6.2 About thirty auxiliary stems have been found in the data: two are /u/ pure (one of which is a little irregular), eight are variable /ú/; these eight, with the regular /u/ pure stem, are the most regular in form. All /u/ and /ú/ stems but two (one /u/

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and one /ú/, both a little irregular) are DR stems. More data could show the differences between the MR and DR verbs here are predictable and are not idiosyncratic. One DR stem *a* may take first order prefixes inside the pronominal prefixes, which add to the semantic content of the stem. Such affixed *a* stems may stand alone as verb stems; *a* cannot.

9.6.3 Table 36 shows all auxiliary stems found, grouped as far as possible with stems of like behaviour together. Auxiliary stems for which this table supplies insufficient information are listed in full in table 35. Appendix G lists all tense forms of all auxiliary forms found.

Table 35 — Irregular auxiliaries plus affixations^a

	'go'	'be'	'be, sit' ^b
fut indic	<i>wiña</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ne-yi</i> (<i>na-yi</i> ^c)
fut cts subj	<i>i-điř</i>	<i>ni-diř</i>	<i>nata-yař</i>
pres cts subj	<i>i-điři</i>	<i>ni-diři</i>	<i>nete-yiři</i> (<i>nati-yiři</i> ^c)
past cts indic	<i>wuța-la</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>na-na, a-ña</i>
pres cts indic	<i>a-la</i>	<i>e-ni</i> (<i>ri-ni</i> ^c)	<i>ne-ni, e-ñi</i> (<i>ni-ni, i-ñi</i> ^c)
pres punct subj	<i>iđi-(ři)-ña</i>	<i>ri-řiña</i>	<i>neke-ña</i> ^d (<i>naki-ña</i> ^c)
past punct indic	<i>yima-n</i>	—	<i>naka-ŋan</i> ^d

^a Morpheme boundaries shown by hyphens.

^b This auxiliary does not occur alone as a verb stem; 'go' and 'be' may.

^c See phonological rules VB1, VB2, VB4, VB6.

^d This patterns as a *na-* prefix to the stem *a*.

9.6.4 The stems listed in table 36 are usually those underlying the future subjunctives, and usually also the future indicative. If stems vary, but not too drastically, the notation used will be *a/b/c*, where *a* is the main stem, *b* the future stem (if different from the main stem), and *c* the future continuous subjunctive stem (if different from main stem). Where the future continuous subjunctive stem differs from the main stem, the present continuous subjunctive stem is derived from the future continuous subjunctive stem, by the vowel change described in ¶9.5.1 for present tenses. A dash in table 36 in the position of any of these stems indicates obligatory absence of use of that stem for future indicative or subjunctive.¹⁶

9.6.4.1 Following the stem listings are (separated by commas):

1. the affix for past punctiliar indicative (for continuous stems this is semantically continuous aspect, though morphemically punctiliar).
2. the affix for continuous indicative.
3. % or ∅. % indicates continuous affix (of same form as that under 2, but with non-past vowel) used for present tense. ∅ indicates no affix is used for present tense.
4. the consonant found initially in continuous subjunctive affixes, if this consonant is other than /y/.

If forms have not been found in the data for any of these, 0 is inserted. The past tense affix is not indicated for variable /ú/ stems, unless a form other than /wun/ is found.

9.6.4.2 Following these are:

1. VS column, indicating with + or – capability or lack of capability respectively, of occurrence of the auxiliary alone as a verb stem (where discernible meanings can be found for the stems, these are indicated).
2. comment column, in which are noted any irregularities or restrictions in the use of the stem.

9.6.5 As noted earlier (§9.0.1) some DR auxiliaries are suffixed for 3mR but are semantically and syntactically intransitive. Such a 3mR suffix is referred to as a dummy 3mR in the comment column.

Table 36 — Auxiliary stems and their behaviour

Stems	Affixation	VS	Comments
<i>/ú/ verbs</i> <i>mutú</i> ‘give’	$\tilde{n}V, \%$	+ DDR	In past and fut only with 3m, pres only with 3mR, cf <i>muta</i> , <i>aṭa</i> . No past cts.
<i>uṛkamú</i> <i>lamú</i> ‘try’	$\tilde{I}V, \%, 0$ $\tilde{I}V, 0, 0$	– DR + DR	Reflexive only found.
<i>neṭú</i>	$wun/n, \tilde{I}V, \%$	– DR	But dummy 3mR suffix, no referent. With no 3mR suffix, has <i>-n</i> in past.
<i>wedú</i> <i>ṇuṛimú</i> ‘show’	$\tilde{I}V, \%, 0$ $\tilde{I}V, \%, 0$	– DR + DDR	
<i>amú</i>	$n, \tilde{I}V, \%, d$	– MR	See phonological rules VE1, VD3.
<i>/u/ pure verbs</i> <i>apu</i> ‘spear’	$\tilde{I}V, \%, d$	– DR	Past cts only with <i>-kay</i> .
<i>mapu</i> ‘keep’	$n/na, 0, \emptyset, d$	+ DR	<i>-na</i> past used in absence of 3m suffix.
<i>/i/ verbs</i> <i>mubi/mibi/-</i> ‘do, say’	$n, -, -, -$	+ MR	Only punct indic, cf <i>ba</i> .
<i>ṇiti/</i> ‘about to’	$n, -, -, -$	– MR	Only punct indic and fut subj.
<i>rir</i> ‘eat’	$-, \tilde{I}V, \%$	+ DR	Cts only. Metathesising.
Verbs taking <i>-n</i> past			
<i>ba/bi/</i> ‘do, say’	$n, \tilde{I}V, \%$	+ MR	
<i>uṛka</i> ‘cause’	$n, \tilde{I}V, \%, d$	– MR	
<i>wiṇa</i> ‘go’ (irreg)	$n, \tilde{I}V, \%, d$	+ MR	See table 35.
<i>ṇata/ṇata ~ ṇa</i>	$n, \tilde{n}V, \%$	– DR	In fut <i>ṇa</i> used with 3m suffix, <i>ṇata</i> elsewhere.
<i>muḷa</i>	$n, 0, \emptyset, 0$	– ? DR	
<i>a</i> (may take affixes <i>yaṇ-, ya-, aṛi-</i>)	$\eta an, -, -, -$ $-, n \sim dV,$ $\%, d$	– DR – DR	Punct in past only. Inherently cts. <i>-dV</i> forms when 3m suffix absent.
<i>a</i> (with <i>na-</i> affix)	$\eta an, -, -, -$	– MR	See <i>a</i> above.
<i>yaka</i> ‘take’	(see <i>a</i>)	+ DR	
<i>aṛika</i> ‘go to’	(see <i>a</i>)	+ DR	
<i>yaṇka</i> ‘shoot’	(see <i>a</i>)	+ DR	Punct only, i.e. with <i>-ṇan</i> only.
<i>naka</i>	(see <i>a</i>)	– MR	Punct only, i.e. with <i>-ṇan</i> and punct subj.
<i>a₂</i>	$-, \tilde{n}V, \%, t$	– DDR, MR	(MR form only for 1sS, 3sS). Form <i>aṛkaṇa</i> ‘he went’, which may also occur where 3s past of ‘go’ occurs (i.e. with verb roots also), may belong with <i>a₂</i> or with ‘go’.

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Table 36 — continued

Stems	Affixation	VS	Comments
Taking -ya past <i>muta/</i> /- 'give' <i>adi</i> <i>aḷi</i> 'bring'	<i>ya</i> , —, —, — <i>ya</i> , 0, 0, 0 <i>ya</i> , <i>n̄</i> V, %, 0	+ DDR — DR + DR	Cf <i>mutú</i> . May occur with 3mR in fut. Past with 3mR only found. No R found with fut. May take - <i>kunu</i> .
Taking -na past <i>aṭa/</i> /- 'give' <i>aṭi</i> 'come' <i>na/</i> / <i>nata</i> <i>ri/ni/ni</i> 'be'	<i>ø</i> ~ <i>wun</i> ~ <i>na</i> , <i>n̄</i> V, %, <i>ø</i> , <i>n̄</i> V, % —, <i>n̄</i> V, % —, <i>ø</i> , <i>n̄</i> V, <i>d</i>	DDR — + + MR — MR + MR	Past with <i>wun</i> before 3mR, with <i>ø</i> , <i>na</i> before - <i>wuRu</i> , - <i>ø</i> . Cf <i>mutú</i> . Past punct final vowel / <i>a</i> /. No punct subj. May take - <i>kunu</i> . Fut suffix - <i>yi</i> . Punct stem <i>naka</i> , q.v. See table 35. Inherently cts. Pres punct subj stem <i>ri</i> . See table 35.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ In this chapter auxiliaries will be classed as MR or DR; dative auxiliaries are distinguished from others by possible case frame, but not by morphology.
- ² The term dative object is chosen rather than indirect object, as such a referent is most commonly either recipient of an object given by the actor, or is the person spoken to in verbs of speaking.
- ³ Kenneth L. Pike and Barbara Erickson (1964). "Conflated Field Structures in Potawatomi and in Arabic". I.J.A.L. 30:201-212.
- ⁴ In Mara and Wandarang, *wuR*- are morphemes for 3rd non-singular person, not 2nd non-singular.
- ⁵ *n̄abuR*- forms could be analysed as *n̄am-wuR*- with a rule *mp* → *b*. Free pronoun forms for 2nd person singular are *n̄aba* and *n̄agana*. However (see ¶3.3.1) clusters /*n̄t̄*/ and /*ŋk*/ are not elsewhere reduced to /*d̄*/ and /*g*/ respectively. The analysis *n̄ab-wuR*- therefore seems preferable.
- ⁶ Table 31 shows distribution of the formative *wu* to signal 3ns or 2nd person (2ns with one exception of 2S-3nsR).
- ⁷ The possessive pronominal suffix for 3rd person singular also begins with /*ŋ*/: -*ŋaḍiyi*.
- ⁸ See Pike and Erickson (1964).
- ⁹ Comparison with Mara forms shows Mara has /*ŋ*/ for these combinations involving 1st person singular where Alawa has /*ø*/.
- ¹⁰ By a different interpretation of allomorphs of the subjunctive suffixes, all subjunctive mood forms of 'go' would share a common stem *i*. One could suggest also that the present tense form of 'go' *aḷa* has the same stem *i*, to which is affixed an anomalous past continuous suffix -*ḷa* (instead of the present continuous suffix -*ḷi*), see phonological rule VC1, ¶5.2.1.
- ¹¹ Punctiliar in form, but the auxiliary stem is semantically continuous.
- ¹² Imperative forms for direferential auxiliaries, with other than third person singular referent, have not been obtained.

- ¹³ A form /*ñā*/, reduced from the present punctiliar subjunctive suffix -*řĩñā*, is homophonous with one of the indicative suffixes. Verbs with these forms are distinguished by final stem vowel change.
- ¹⁴ One less common suffix appears to indicate punctiliar aspect: it commences with /*y*/, and the tenses distinguished are past and future. However -*ya* and -*yi* have not both been found with the one stem.
- ¹⁵ By one possible analysis, reduced forms -*ř(i)* would be found for 'go'. The subjunctive forms of 'go' are: *idĩřĩñā* pres punct subj; *idĩř* fut cts subj; *idĩři* pres cts subj. Either the stem is held to be *idĩ* for all three forms, and the continuous subjunctive suffixes are considered to be shortened from the normal -CV $\check{r}$ (V) forms, or the stem is taken to be *idĩ* for the punctiliar subjunctive, and *i* for the continuous subjunctives. At present the latter is preferred: 'go' is irregular in any case; *uřka* 'cause' has a suffix -*dĩř* for future continuous subjunctive, and no other examples of reduction of continuous subjunctive suffixes have been found to date.
- ¹⁶ Three stems are given only if they differ. For example, **a/b** indicates **c** and **a** are identical; **a** indicates **a**, **b** and **c** are identical.

TRANSFORMATIONAL CLAUSE PARADIGMS

10.0 Batteries and Clause Types

10.0.0 It has been assumed that in the deep structure all verb stems have verb roots present, even when in the surface structure the verb stem consists only of an auxiliary stem. It is also assumed that verb roots fall into a limited number of mutually exclusive classes or batteries, each containing more than one member. Each battery consists of a set of clause kernels and phrase kernels derivable from one another by transformations. Batteries are distinguished from one another by case constellations typical of each, that is, the group of deep case relationships which can be associated with each verb root. A battery is a syntactic analogue of the traditional morphological paradigm.¹ Of the deep cases associated with a verb root, some are found in all clause and phrase kernels in the battery; others only occur in some of the kernels. Because of limitations on the data, and the difficulty in eliciting uncommon constructions,² classification of verb roots into batteries, and the number and type of batteries distinguished, are tentative only. However, sufficient data exists to show that this type of classification is useful, and, as far as it is made here, generative of acceptable constructions.

10.0.1 Clause kernels or clause types in which a verb root may occur are determined by the verb root subcategorisation and the general type of auxiliary stem used with the verb root. The auxiliary stems in some clause types are predictable, but in other clause types the choice of auxiliary stems which co-occur with a verb root is often an idiosyncratic and arbitrary property of the verb root.

10.0.2 Batteries distinguished are the following:

impersonal, qualitative, instrumental qualitative, sensation, transitive sensation, action state, transitive action state, instrumental transitive, change of state, transitive change of state, purposive action, motion, personal object transitive, ditransitive, quotative.

10.1 Nuclear and Non-Nuclear Tagmemes in the Clause

10.1.0 Description of the verb subcategorisation in terms of transformational batteries is more fruitful than in terms of clause types only. However, in order to carry out such classification, it is necessary to describe types of clause kernels and the tagmemes occurring in them. Tagmemes have been classed as nuclear, peripheral and relational, though sharp distinctions cannot be drawn between some members of these three classes.

10.1.1 Defining of nuclear and peripheral tagmemes was discussed in the introduction. Relational tagmemes are those which relate the action or state designated by the clause to the space-time continuum. The following four criteria taken together specify the three classes of clause level tagmemes.

1. Most nuclear tagmemes are obligatorily defined by the linguistic signal or by paralinguistic context. Peripheral and relational tagmemes are only optionally defined.
2. Nuclear and relational tagmemes are those which, if omitted from the linguistic signal, can always be elicited by appropriate questions (for relational tagmemes this only applies to real situations, not hypothetical ones).
3. Nuclear tagmemes (other than the verb phrase) are those which subcategorise verbs. Peripheral and relational tagmemes do not.

4. Each nuclear and peripheral tagmeme may only occur once in each clause. Relational tagmemes are not so restricted. (If a non-relational tagmeme appears to be repeated, it is either because of conjunction of two items in the same relation to the action, or because two different tagmemes are marked alike for case.³)

10.1.2 Using these criteria, nuclear tagmemes are: the verb phrase; tagmemes agreeing with the verb in person and number, i.e. subject (S) and referent (R) (referent with dative monoreferential verbs has no agreeing verb pronominal affix); other referent (R₁); instrument (I); purpose (P); location (L) in some clauses only; partitive (PT); allative (L2); elative (L4). Beneficiary (B) is a peripheral tagmeme. Relational tagmemes are location (L) in most clauses, and time (T). Only nuclear tagmemes will be referred to in this chapter; peripheral and relational tagmemes are described in the next chapter. More information on allative, elative and locative tagmemes is also given in the next chapter.

10.2 Clause Types

10.2.0 The most obvious surface classification of clauses is into transitive and intransitive. Another classification is into clauses with monoreferential or direferential verbs. Transitive clauses have subject (with which the verb agrees in person and number) marked for operative case; intransitive clauses have unmarked subject (nominative case). In either type of clause the auxiliary stem occurring may be monoreferential or direferential, though most intransitive clauses do not have a verb with a referent affix. In the few intransitive clauses which do, the referent affix is third person singular masculine; this suffix is a dummy suffix, usually signalling that the subject is a large number of beings active together.⁴ The referent in a transitive clause is in nominative case, and if the verb is direferential it agrees with the referent in person and number as well as with the subject.

In examples below the tagmemes are marked, and in most cases the function of the filler is also indicated (i.e. the deep case of the filler). The symbol n, in the absence of following case symbol, stands for noun in the nominative case.

10.2.1 Transitive clauses

<i>lilmi-ři</i>	<i>yay</i>	<i>ka-ŋatan-na</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>kiřibu.</i>
man-op	hit	he-did-it		kangaroo
S:Ag:n-op	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	cn _i	R:Ob:n 'The man killed the kangaroo.'

<i>lilmi-ři</i>	<i>taŋaŋ</i>	<i>n-uřkan</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>kiřibu.</i>
man-op	die	he-caused		kangaroo
S:Ag:n-op	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	cn _i	R ₁ :Ob:n 'The man killed the kangaroo.'

10.2.2 Intransitive clauses

<i>lilmi</i>	<i>kuy</i>	<i>eři</i>	
man	hunt	he-does	
S:Ag:n	VP:[vr	pa-av _{DDR}]	'The man is hunting.'

<i>lilmi</i>	<i>tum</i>	<i>n-aŋa-kunu</i>	<i>gutar-iř-yunu.</i>
man	down	he-came	hill-from
S:Ag:n	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	L4:n-lo-el 'The man came down from the hill.'

<i>yil-lilmi</i>	<i>tut</i>	<i>řil-neřiwun-nu.</i>	
pl-man	set out	they-went-it	
S:Ag:n	VP:[vr	pa-*pá-av _{DR}]	'The men set out (in a group).'

<i>lilmi</i>	<i>yap</i>	<i>ka-ŋan</i>	<i>gutar-iř.</i>
man	sit down	he-did	stone-at
S:Ag:n	VP:[vr	pa-av _{DR}]	L:Lo:n-lo 'The man sat down on a stone.'

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10.2.3 Clauses with instrument

Clauses may be classified as those which may have an instrument and those which cannot. The instrument is signalled by a noun phrase in operative case. There is no agreement with verb in person and number.

lilmi-ři yaŋ ka-ŋatan-na da kiřibu pařakał-ta.
 man-op hit he-did-it kangaroo spear-op
 S:Ag:n-op VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] cn_i R:Ob:n I:n-op
 'The man killed the kangaroo with a spear.'

kiřibu țaŋał na-yiman pařakał-ta.
 kangaroo die he-went spear-op
 S:Ob:n VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] I:n-op 'The kangaroo was killed with a spear.'

n-ała diyaŋa-řa|diyaŋ-iř.
 he-goes foot-op
 VP:pa-av_{MR} I:n-op 'He goes on foot.'

10.2.4 Clauses with purpose tagmeme

Some clauses have a purpose tagmeme, manifested by a noun phrase in genitive case. Transitive clauses with this tagmeme are always quotative. In intransitive clauses, the purpose tagmeme indicates a purposed goal.

lilmi kuy eři kiřibu-yi.
 man hunt he-does kangaroo-for
 S:Ag:n VP:[vr pa-av_{DDR}] P:Ob:n-gen 'The man is hunting for kangaroo.'

lilmi-ři ȧał a-mutuŋun-nu da yațaȧa aka-yi.
 man-op speak he-gave-him child fish-for
 S:Ag:n-op VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DDR}] cn_i R:Do:n P:Qo:n-gen
 'The man spoke to the boy about the fish.'

lilmi ka na-ban aka-yi.
 man call out he-said fish-for
 S:Ag:n VP:[vr pa-av_{DMR}] P:Qo:n-gen 'The man called out for fish.'

10.2.5 Ditransitive clauses

Ditransitive clauses are so called because many of them have two referents. The first referent (R), with which the verb (if direferential) agrees in person and number, is human. Some ditransitive clauses have also a second referent (R₁) in nominative case; R₁ may be animate or inanimate and the verb has no agreement with it. Some have a referent (P) in genitive case; these clauses are quotative clauses, and the item in genitive case is the topic of the quote. When direct speech is quoted, no genitive case marking occurs. Some ditransitive clauses have no second referent, though semantically one appears to be present; these express causative actions. Auxiliaries which occur in ditransitive clauses are the dative direferential (DDR) auxiliaries *muta* 'give', *ȧuřimú* 'show', and *aña* (no gloss), and the dative mono-referential (DMR) auxiliary *ba* 'do, say'. However these auxiliary stems may also be found with some verb roots in other than ditransitive clauses.

lilmi-ři a-mutaya-ȧuřu da an-kiřiya da aka.
 man-op he-gave-her f-woman fish
 S:Ag:n-op VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DDR}] cn_i R:Do:n cn_i R₁:Ob:n

OR

lilmi-ři me na-ban da an-kiřiya da aka.
 man-op give he-did f-woman fish
 S:Ag:n-op VP:[vr pa-av_{DMR}] cn_i R:Do:n cn_i R₁:Ob:n
 'The man gave the woman some fish.'

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lilmi-ři *ŋaɭ* *aña-na* *da* *yaɭaɭa* *aka-yi.*
 man-op speak he-did-him child fish-gen
 S:Ag:n-op VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DDR}] cn_t R:Do:n P:Qo:n-gen
 'The man told the child about the fish.'

ŋanɕini-ɕa *ŋaɭ* *yi-ban* *nipa.*
 what-gen speak you-said him
 P:Qo:adj-gen VP:[vr pa-av_{DMR}] R:pron 'What did you tell him?'

lilmi-ři *mař* *a-mutaya-ŋuřu* *da* *an-kiřiya.*
 man-op carry he-gave-her f-woman
 S:Ag:n-op VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DDR}] cn_t R:n
 'The man made the woman carry it.'

10.2.5.1 The last example is one in which an object is semantically present, though it cannot be expressed in this clause type; if it is asked 'what did she carry?', the answer is expressed in a clause such as the following.

ař-kiřiya *mař* *ař-paɭa* *da* *aka* (*lilmi-yi*).
 f(op)-woman carry she-did fish (man-for)
 S:n-op VP:[vr pa-av_{DMR}] cn_t R₁:n (B:n-gen)
 'The woman carried the fish (for the man).'

10.2.6 Clauses with allative or elative

Clauses may be classified into those which may have either or both allative and elative tagmemes present, and those which may have neither. Some clauses with these tagmemes are transitive, some intransitive. Some may have both tagmemes, others only one. The elative tagmeme is always marked by locative case with elative suffix; the allative tagmeme is marked by locative case with allative suffixation, or by nominative case. It is probable, that only clauses which may have both allative and elative tagmemes may have allative tagmeme marked by nominative case.

10.2.6.1 Clauses with both allative and elative

lilmi *n-aɭa* *walp-iř-yunu* *gutar-iř-u.*
 man he-goes river-from hill-to
 S:n VP:pa-av_{MR} L4:n-lo-el L2:n-lo-all
 'The man goes from the river to the hill.'

lilmi *n-aɭa* *gutaru.*
 man he-goes hill
 S:n VP:pa-av_{MR} L2:n 'The man goes to the hill.'

lilmi-ři *a-ya-kan-na* *da* *aka* *walp-iř-yunu* *buɭ-iř-u.*
 man-op he-with-did-it fish river-from camp-to
 S:n-op VP:[pa-pá-av_{DR}] cn_t R:n L4:n-lo-el L2:n-lo-all
 'The man took the fish from the river to the camp.'

10.2.6.2 Clauses with allative

lilmi-ři *lun* *ka-mutuwun-nu* *aka* *wup-iř-u.*
 man-op put he-gave-it fish fire-to
 S:n-op VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DDR}] R:Ob:n L2:n-lo-all
 'The man put the fish in the fire.'

10.2.6.3 Clauses with elative

lilmi-ři *wiɭ* *kaŋan-na* *da* *aka* *walp-iř-yunu.*
 man-op get he-did-it fish river-from
 S:Ag:n-op VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] cn_t R:Ob:n L4:n-lo-el
 'The man got the fish from the river.'

10.2.6.4 Clauses with neither allative nor elative

lilmi-ři *yaŋ* *ka-ŋatan-na* *da* *aka.*
 man-op hit he-did-it fish
 S:Ag:n-op VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] cn_t R:Ob:n 'The man killed the fish.'

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lilmi-ři *aři-kan-na* *da* *walpa.*
 man-op he-to-did-it river
 S:Ag:n-op VP:pa-pá-av_{DR} cn_i R:Lo:n 'The man went to the river.'

10.2.7 Clauses with locative tagmemes

10.2.7.0 Locative tagmemes, marked for locative case, may occur in most types of clause. As locative and operative cases are homophonous for singular non-gender marked nouns, there is sometimes doubt as to the classification of a tagmeme. However the question which will elicit the tagmeme usually shows whether it is location or instrument. If the tagmeme is instrument, the interrogative *ḡanṡiniři* (what-op) 'with what' will elicit it; if it is location, the interrogatives *kala* or *ḡanṡawa* 'where' will elicit it. But certain locative-type tagmemes are hard to classify, even using this criterion. These include those in clauses with a motion verb, signifying route of motion ('by road', 'via the hills', etc.), or signifying mode of travel. Such location tagmemes in motion clauses are regarded as nuclear to these clause types, as they occur only with a certain category of verbs. Other location tagmemes are regarded as relational and may occur with most if not all verbs; these relational tagmemes are omitted from paradigms in this chapter.

10.2.7.1 Nuclear location tagmeme

n-aḡa *mabulut-ṡi.*
 he-goes road-lo
 VP:pa-av_{MR} L:n-lo 'He goes by road.'

n-aḡa *diyaḡa-řa.*
 he-goes foot-lo
 VP:pa-av_{MR} L:n-lo 'He goes on foot.'

10.2.7.2 Non-nuclear location tagmeme

lilmi-ři *yaḡ* *ka-ḡatan-na* *minil-ti.*
 man-op hit he-did-it scrub-at
 S:n-op VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] L:n-lo 'The man killed it in the scrub.'

10.2.8 Clauses with partitive

Some clauses may have a partitive signalled by a noun phrase in nominative case. The partitive never agrees with the verb in person and number; it is thus different from an intransitive subject which does so, and from a transitive referent which does so with a direferential verb.

gurukuru *ḡapa* *liři* *ḡe-beḡi.*
 head me hurt I-do
 PT:[n pron] VP:[vr pa-av_{DMR}] 'I have a headache.'

kaya *an-uřkami* *da* *biḡpař* *ḡapa.*
 feel me-will do throat me
 VP:[vr pá-av_{DR}] cn_i PT:[n pron] 'I will feel my throat.'

guluř *da* *ḡayi* *kuñ* *kař-adař:*
 eye not see I-might do
 PT:n cn_i VP:[prdneg vr pa-av_{DR}] 'My eyes don't see very well.'

lilmi-ři *yaḡ* *kan-ḡatan-naga* *gurukuru* *ḡapa.*
 man-op hit me-did-he head me
 S:n-op VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] PT:[n pron]
 'The man hit me on the head.'

10.2.9 Classification of clause types

Clause types are defined by intersection of the above categories. For example, there are transitive instrumental clauses with partitive, intransitive instrumental clauses, purposive intransitive clauses, and so forth.

10.2.10 Causative clauses

Causative clauses have not been studied in detail, as data on them is limited. For verb roots which most commonly occur in an intransitive sense with MR auxiliaries, causative is signalled by occurrence of the verb root with *uřka* 'cause'. For transitive actions, it appears that the DDR auxiliaries may be used for caused action. This is so for *mař* 'carry', the only example found to date.

kiřibu *taŋa!* *na-yiman:*
kangaroo die he-went
S:Ob:n⁵ VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] 'The kangaroo died.'

lilmi-ři *taŋa!* *n-uřkan* *da* *kiřibu.*
man-op die he-caused kangaroo
S:Ag:n-op VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] cn_i R_i:Ob:n 'The man killed the kangaroo.'

ař-kiřiya *mař* *ař-pała* *da* *aka.*
f(op)-woman carry she-did fish
S:Ag:n-op VP:[vr pa-av_{DMR}] cn_i R_i:Ob:n 'The woman carried the fish.'

lilmi-ři *mař* *a-mutaya-ŋuřu* *da* *an-kiřiya.*
man-op carry he-gave-her f-woman
S:n-op VP:[vr pa-pa-av_{DDR}] cn_i R:n 'The man made the woman carry it.'

10.2.11 Functions of clause level tagmemes

10.2.11.1 It is necessary also to note the function of the different tagmemes, or the deep cases they represent. The subject of a transitive clause is usually agent (Ag), the animate being initiating the action. Sometimes subject signals the animate being affected by the action or state signified by the verb; this being is dative object (dative object is subject of verbs of sensation). Elsewhere subject sometimes signals agent (Ag), sometimes object (Ob), sometimes dative object (Do), in one kernel found to date instrument (In), and sometimes the item in the state signified by the verb. Referent (R) signals either object (Ob), dative object (Do), or location (Lo), and only occurs with direferential or dative verbs. The second referent (R_i) signals object. Referent only signals location with auxiliary verbs having the prefix *aři-* 'towards'.

10.2.11.2 Instrument tagmeme always signals instrument (In), though with some verb roots it may be a location classed as an instrument (eg.. 'roast' with 'fire' as instrument). Purpose tagmeme signals an unattained object-goal (Ob) with some verb roots, and subject of speech (Qo) with others. Partitive tagmeme (PT) signals part of the agent with some verb roots, part of the sufferer (Do) or object with other verb roots.⁶ Nuclear location tagmeme signals route or mode of motion. Allative (L2) signals place towards which motion is directed, and may be filled by a noun phrase marked for allative direction, or by a noun phrase in nominative case; the latter signals place towards which the motion has headed and has arrived. Elative (L4) signals place out of which the motion comes, and is filled by a noun phrase marked for elative direction.

10.3 Verb Batteries

10.3.0 It is now possible to describe the batteries occurring. Examples of verb roots in each battery are given. Following each verb root is a list of the kernels it may enter, separated by sloping lines. If two auxiliaries appear to function in the same clause type (clause kernel) they are separated by commas. Verbal kernels are signified by the auxiliary verb stem or stems (separated by commas), and a list of the tagmemes occurring with the verb phrase together with the deep cases each tagmeme represents. Derived adjectives are signified by the substantivising suffixes and the deep case relation the adjective represents. Semantically optional tagmemes are enclosed in parentheses. After a description of the battery, clauses manifesting the parts of the paradigm are given.

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10.3.1 Impersonal verb battery

Case constellation: None for some; object for some.

<i>ař uřka</i>	'dawn, daybreak'	<i>miřiř ba, aři</i>	'sunrise'
<i>kululu ba</i>	'thunder'	<i>peř ri S:Ob</i>	'full moon'
<i>kurumi ri</i>	'whirlwind'	<i>řiř ri S:Ob</i>	'rain'

Impersonal verbs are found with third singular masculine subjects only and in one clause type only, intransitive, with no nuclear tagmemes other than subject. For most of them the pronominal affix for subject is probably no more than an obligatory grammatical marker with no semantic content, and no subject noun phrase occurs. However for some, a specified subject may occur: for *peř* 'full moon' the optionally expressed subject is *ařařaři* 'moon'; for *řiř* 'rain' the optional subject is *miřal* 'rain'.

<i>ař</i>	<i>n-uřkan</i>	intrans
daybreak	it-caused	
VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}	'at daybreak' (past)
(<i>miřal</i>)	<i>řiř na-ri.</i>	intrans
(rain)	rain it-was	
(S:n)	VP:[vr pa-av _{MR}	'It rained.'

10.3.2 Qualitative battery

Case constellation: Ob

<i>kulk ri S:Ob/ mayin, mařawada Ob</i>	'heavy'
<i>kulmuk ba S:Ob/ mayin Ob</i>	'deaf'
<i>park ri S:Ob/ mařa Ob</i>	'sharp nosed'
<i>tewu ri S:Ob/ mayin Ob</i>	'white'
<i>wit ba S:Ob/ mayin Ob</i>	'black'

Qualitative verb roots most commonly occur in a clause kernel with auxiliary stem *ri* 'be' and are intransitive, or in a phrase with the substantivising suffix *-mayin*. The subject of the clause, or the item described by the adjective, are the same, being the item having the quality signified.

<i>ruwu kulk n-eni.</i>	intrans
tree heavy it-is	
S:Ob:n VP:[vr pa-av _{MR}	'The tree is heavy.'
<i>ruwu kulk-mayin.</i>	adj
tree heavy-qual	
S:Ob:n PR:adj	'The tree is heavy.'
<i>ruwu kulk-mařawada.</i>	adj
tree heavy-passivneg	
S:n PR:adj	'The tree is not heavy.'
<i>park-mařa</i>	adj
sharp nosed-qual	
adj	'milk snake' ('sharp nosed')
<i>řuku wit wit na-bi.</i>	intrans
water black black it-will do	
S:Ob:n VP:[vr vr pa-av _{DMR}	'The water will blacken.'

10.3.3 Instrumental qualitative battery

Case constellation: (Ag) In (Ob)

<i>kaluř a S:Ag R:Ob (I:In)/ ri S:In/ řuwal Ag/ řiři In/ mayin In</i>
'round for water'

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Only one verb root has been found to date to suggest this battery. When agent is absent, the kernels are the same as those for the qualitative battery. The intransitive kernel has as subject the instrument with the quality signified; in the transitive kernel this item appears in the instrument tagmeme.

luṭuluṭu kaluř n-eni. intrans
cooliman round it-is
S:In:n VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] 'The cooliman is round for water.'

luṭuluṭu kaluř-mayin. adj
cooliman round-qual
S:n PR:adj 'The cooliman is round for water.'

luṭuluṭu kaluř-ṇiyi adj(purp)
cooliman water getting-purp
S:n PR:adj 'The cooliman is for getting water.'

ař-kiřiya kaluř ařk-an-na da ŋuku luṭuluṭ-iř. trans with
f(op)-woman round she-did-it water cooliman-op inst
S:Ag:n-op VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] cn_t R:Ob:n I:In:n-op
'The woman got water with the cooliman.'

an-kiřiya an-kaluř-ṇuwal. adj
f-woman f-get water-act
S:Ag:n PR:pa-adj 'The woman is always getting water.'

10.3.4 Sensation battery

Case constellation: Do (Pt-Do)⁷

kaya uřkamú R:Do (PT:Pt-Do) 'feel oneself'⁸
liři ba S:Do (PT:Pt-Do) / *ṇuwal* Do 'hurt, ache'
liřiw [ba, na] S:Do (PT:Pt-Do) / *ṇuwal* Do 'burn'
niř niř ri S:Do (PT:Pt-Do) / *ṇuwal* Do 'headache'

Verb roots denoting internal sensations enter clauses where the body part involved is optionally present. There are two kernels in the battery. One is an intransitive clause with subject and partitive tagmemes. The partitive tagmeme signifies the body part involved in the sensation. The other is a substantivised form describing the being undergoing the sensation.

lilmi gurukuru (nipa) niř niř n-eni. intrans with
man head (him) headache he-is partitive
S:Do:n PT:Pt-Do:[n (pron)] VP:[vr vr pa-av_{MR}]
'The man has a headache.'

niř niř-ṇuwal adj
headache-act
'having a headache'

kaya an-uřkami da biřpař ṇapa. reflexive with
feel me-will do throat me partitive
VP:[vr pá-av_{DR}] cn_t PT:Pt-Do:[n pron]
'I will feel my throat.'

10.3.4.1 Similar to the intransitive clause kernel in this battery are clause kernels with adjectives *yumař* 'good' or *weneřu* 'bad' apparently functioning as verb roots, and *ṇiřaya* 'feelings' functioning somewhat like a partitive.⁹

lilmi ṇiřaya yumař n-eni. intrans
man feelings good he-is
'The man is happy.'

lilmi ṇiřaya weneřu n-eni. intrans
man feelings bad he-is
'The man is sad.'

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10.3.5 Transitive sensation battery

Case constellation: Do Ob

<i>kaya na</i>	S:Do R ₁ :Ob	'hear'
<i>ñiñiya ri</i>	S:Do R ₁ :Ob	'like'
<i>tul a</i>	S:Do R:Ob	'find, see'

The transitive sensation battery includes verb roots which occur in transitive clauses. Instrument and partitive have not been found, nor have substantivising suffixes.

<i>tul</i>	<i>ñul-añan-na</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>yařkařa:</i>	trans
find	we-did-it		kangaroo	
VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	cn _i	R:Ob:n	
'We found the kangaroo.'				

<i>kaya</i>	<i>ñe-ñeni</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>kuřureřu</i>	<i>ñur</i>	<i>ne-beři.</i>	trans
hear	I-am		dingo	howl	it-does	
VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	cn _i	R ₁ :Ob:[n	Mod:VP]		
'I hear the dingo howling.'						

<i>nula</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ñiñaya</i>	<i>n-eni</i>	<i>nipa.</i>	trans
he		feelings	he-is	him	
S:Do:pron _{dir}	cn _i	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	R ₁ :Ob:pron	
'He likes him.'					

10.3.6 Action state battery

Case constellation: Ag (Lo)

<i>kar ri</i>	S:Ag / <i>ñuwař</i>	Ag	'dance'
<i>ñur ba,aři</i>	S:Ag / <i>ñuwal</i>	Ag	'howl'
<i>ñala ba</i>	S:Ag / <i>ñuwal</i>	Ag	'cry, weep'
<i>řiri ba</i>	S:Ag / <i>ñuwal</i>	Ag	'sneeze'
<i>wak ri</i>	S:Ag / <i>ñuwal</i>	Ag / <i>ařika</i>	S:Ag R:Lo 'laugh'

The action state verb roots may occur in intransitive clauses with subject only, or with *-ñuwal* as substantives. Occurrence of *wak* 'laugh' in a transitive kernel suggests that others in this battery could also occur with *ařika*.

<i>malmal</i>	<i>ñala</i>	<i>ne-beři.</i>	intrans
child	cry	he-does	
S:Ag:n	VP:[vr	pa-av _{DMR}]	
'The child is crying.'			

<i>malmal</i>	<i>ñala-ñuwal.</i>	adj
child	cry-act	
S:n	PR:adj	
'The child is a crybaby.'		

<i>wak</i>	<i>wak-ñuwal.</i>	adj
laugh	laugh-act	
PR:adj		
'He is always laughing.'		

<i>lilmi-ři</i>	<i>wak</i>	<i>aři-kan-na</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>yařařa.</i>	trans
man-op	laugh	he-to-did-him		child	
S:Ag:n-op	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	cn _i	R:Lo:n	
'The man laughed at the child.'					

10.3.7 Transitive action state battery

Case constellation: Ag (Ob) (Pt-Ag)

<i>kuñ a</i>	S:Ag (R,P:Ob) (PT:Pt-Ag)	'see, watch'
<i>mapin a</i>	S:Ag (R,P:Ob)	'think, remember'
<i>řaw ñata</i>	S:Ag (R/P:Ob) / <i>ñiyi</i>	'feel, catch'

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The transitive action state battery includes verb roots which may occur with an object as referent, or (with the same auxiliary stem) with an object as purpose, when the action has not attained its goal; the object may be absent. The partitive represents the body part involved in the action; this is more commonly present when object is absent.

<i>lilmi-ři</i>	<i>kuň</i>	<i>kan-na</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>kiřibu.</i>	trans
man-op	watch	he-did-it		kangaroo	
S:Ag:n-op	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	cn _t	R:Ob:n	
'The man was watching the kangaroo.'					

<i>lilmi</i>	<i>kuň</i>	<i>kada</i>	<i>kiřibu-yi.</i>	intrans with purpose
man	watch	he-did	kangaroo-for	
S:Ag:n	VP:[vr	pa-av _{DR}]	P:Ob:n-gen	
'The man was watching for kangaroos.'				

<i>lilmi</i>	<i>guluř</i>	<i>nipa</i>	<i>ňayi</i>	<i>yumař</i>	<i>kuň</i>	<i>kadař.</i>	intrans with partitive
man	eye	him	not	good	see	he-might	
S:Ag:n	PT:[n	pron]	VP:[prdneg	adj	vr	pa-av _{DR}]	
'The man doesn't see well.' or 'The man's eyes do not see well.'							

<i>lilmi-ři</i>	<i>řaw</i>	<i>a-ňatan-na</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>aka.</i>	trans
man-op	feel	he-did-it		fish	
S:Ag:n-op	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	cn _t	R:Ob:n	
'The man caught some fish.'					

<i>lilmi</i>	<i>řaw</i>	<i>a-ňataňa</i>	<i>aka-yi.</i>	intrans with purpose
man	feel	he-was doing	fish-for	
S:Ag:n	VP:[vr	pa-av _{DR}]	P:Ob:n-gen	
'The man was feeling for fish.'				

10.3.8 Instrumental transitive battery

Case constellation: Ag Ob (Pt-Ob) (In)

yaň a,yaka S:Ag R:Ob (I:In) (PT:Pt-Ob) / *ňuwal* Ag / *mađawada* Ob / *ňiyi* purp
'hit'

manpař a R:[Ag + Ob] 'cut oneself' (only reflexive found)

ňak apu S:Ag R:Ob 'spear'

ňaraň a R:[Ag + Ob] 'scratch'

mař ba,yaka S:Ag R:Ob (I:In) / *muta* S:causAg R:causedAg 'carry'

The instrumental transitive battery contains verb roots which occur in transitive constructions with an instrument, but which cannot occur in intransitive clauses. These verbs may occur as reflexives.¹⁰ Active and passive nominalisations are possible. Such verb roots indicate actions which may, but do not necessarily, change the state of some object. For example, *yaň* 'hit' most often is used to imply 'kill', but not always; on the other hand, *řaňal* 'sick, die' always indicates a change of state of the object to sickness or death. When the part of the object "touched" by the instrumental transitive action is mentioned, it is in nominative case. Such an item could be analysed as a clause level partitive tagmeme, or as an inalienable possession item in the referent noun phrase.

<i>lilmi-ři</i>	<i>yaň</i>	<i>ka-ňatan-na</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>kiřibu</i>	<i>ruw-iř.</i>	trans with inst
man-op	hit	he-did-it		kangaroo	stick-op	
S:Ag:n-op	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	cn _t	R:Ob:n	I:In:n-op	
'The man hit the kangaroo with a stick.'						

<i>lilmi</i>	<i>yaň</i>	<i>ňun-ňatan-na</i>	<i>gurukuru</i>	<i>nipa</i>	<i>ruw-iř.</i>	trans with inst
man	hit	him-did	head	him	stick-op	
S/R:Ag/Ob:n	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	PT:Pt-Ob:[n	pron]	I:n-op	
'The man hit himself with a stick.'						

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lilmi-ři yaŋ ka-ya-kan-na da yaŋan. trans with
man-op hit he-with-did-it snake inst
S:Ag:n-op VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] cn_t R:Ob:n
'The man hit the snake over and over.'

lilmi yaŋ-ŋuwal. adj
man hit-act
S:n PR:adj
'The man is always hitting.'

kiřibu yaŋ-mađawada. adj
kangaroo hit-passivneg
S:n PR:adj
'The kangaroo is unkillable.'

lilmi-ři mař na-bała da kiřibu guluŋađ-iř. trans with
man-op carry he-did kangaroo shoulder-op inst
S:Ag:n-op VP:[vr pa-av_{DMR}] cn_t R₁:Ob:n I:In/Lo:n-op
'The man carried the kangaroo on his shoulder.'

lilmi-ři mař a-mutaya-ŋuřu da an-kiřiya. caus
man-op carry he-gave-her f-woman
S:causAg:n-op VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DDR}] cn_t R:causedAg:n
'The man made the woman carry it.'

lilmi mař řun-mutuwwun-nu. reflexive
man carry him-gave
S:Ag VP:[vr pá-av_{DDR}]
'The man carried it for/by himself.'

10.3.9 Change of state battery

Case constellation: Ob

<i>leřp aña,řiti</i>	'go' S:Ob	'fall down to ground'
<i>puŋ řiti</i>	S:Ob	'be born'
<i>pup weđu</i>	S:Ob	'cool'
<i>putit</i>	'go' S:Ob	'get up, go'
<i>puy ba</i>	S:Ob	'dry' ¹¹
<i>yap a</i>	S:Ob	'sit down' ¹²

The change of state verb roots are those which denote actions which change the state or position of the subject. Only one kernel appears to exist, the intransitive clause. These verb roots do not occur with *-mayin* or *-ŋuwal*.

pup ke-weđiřu-nu da yařpun. intrans
cool it-does-it lilyseed
VP:[vr pa-*pá-av_{DR}] cn_t S:n
'The lilyseed damper cools.'

lilmi yap kaŋan. intrans
man sit down he-did
S:n VP:[vr pa-av_{DR}]
'The man sat down.'

lilmi putit n-ała. intrans
man get up he-goes
S:n VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}]
'The man sets out.'

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10.3.10 Transitive change of state battery

Case constellation: ((Ag) In) Ob

mut 'go' S:Ob / *a* S:Ag R:Ob 'break'
ɲawur 'go' S:Ob / *a* S:Ag R:Ob 'drown'
ɬaɲaɬ 'go' S:Ob (I:In) / *uŋka* S:Ag R₁:Ob (I:In) / *ɲuwal* Ob 'sick, die'
tiwan na S:Ob (I:In) / *ɲata* S:Ag R:Ob (I:In) 'roast in ashes'

In this battery, verb roots occur with an MR auxiliary with object¹³ as subject, and an optional instrument, or with an MR causative or DR auxiliary with transitive sense. They signify actions which inherently change the state of an object, and which may be caused by an external agent. When the active suffix is used with one of these verb roots, it signifies the item undergoing the change of state. Verb roots in this battery are often repeated in successive clauses, first with the transitive kernel, then with the intransitive, see ¶12.9.1.

aŋ-kiŋiya tiwan keŋke-ɲeteɲu-nu da aka wup-iŋ. trans with
 f(op)-woman roast she-does-it fish fire-op inst
 S:Ag:n-op VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] cn_t R:Ob:n I:In/Lo:n-op
 'The woman roasts the fish in the fire.'

tiwan ne-ɲeni da aka wup-iŋ. intrans with
 roast it-is fish fire-op inst
 VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] cn_t S:Ob:n I:In/Lo:n-op
 'The fish is roasting in the fire.'

lilmi-ŋi ɬaɲaɬ n-uŋkan da mamaŋ-waŋ: trans (with
 man-op die he-caused porcupine inst
 S:Ag:n-op VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] cn_t R₁:Ob:n
 'The man killed the porcupine.'

ɬaɲaɬ na-yiman da mamaŋ-waŋ wiɬmu-du. intrans with
 die he-went porcupine spear-op inst
 VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] cn_t S:Ob:n I:In:n-op
 'The porcupine was killed with a wire spear.'

lilmi ɬaɲaɬ na-wuɬaɬa. intrans (with
 man die he-was going inst
 S:Ob:n VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}]
 'The man was sick.'

10.3.11 Purposive action battery

Case constellation: Ag (Ob)

kuy aña S:Ag (P:Ob) 'hunt'
ɬagay 'go' S:Ag (P:Ob) 'hunt'

Purposive action verb roots occur in one kernel only, an intransitive clause with animate subject (agent), and the goal of the action in genitive case. Though the object has been listed as optional in the case constellation above, it is possibly obligatory semantically. Peripheral tagmemes found are instrument and location. The same clause kernel can also occur in the motion and transitive action state batteries.

lilmi kuy eɲi kiŋibu-yi. intrans with
 man hunt he-does kangaroo-for purpose
 S:Ag VP:[vr pa-av_{DDR}] P:Ob:n-gen
 'The man is hunting for kangaroo.'

lilmi ɬagay na-yiman kiŋibu-yi. intrans with
 man hunt he-went kangaroo-for purpose
 S:Ag:n VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] P:Ob:n-gen
 'The man hunted for kangaroo.'

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10.3.12 Motion battery

Case constellation: Ag (route) (Ob) (L2) (L4)

'go', *aṭi* S:Ag (I:route) (P:Ob) (L2) (L4) / *aṛika* S:Ag R:Lo / *yaka*, *aḷi* S:Ag R:Ob (L2) (L4) (*aḷi* no L2) 'go', 'come'.

Other verb roots plus the above:

<i>mal</i>	'climb, go up'	<i>ṭuṭ</i>	'come back, return'
<i>murp</i>	'go en masse'	<i>keṭ</i>	'run'
<i>pili</i>	'enter' (no L4)	<i>tiwu</i>	'fly'
<i>ṭum</i>	'go down'	<i>wakul</i>	'return'

Motion verb roots enter several clause types. All of them may occur with the following auxiliary stems (with a few restrictions): 'go', *aṭi* 'come', *aṛika* 'go to', *yaka* 'take', *aḷi* 'bring'; probably all can occur with *neṭú* 'go en masse'. Not all verb roots which occur with the auxiliary 'go' are in this battery, but almost all verb roots which may occur with *aṭi* 'come' are. These verb roots are basically intransitive in meaning, and subclassify according as they are most likely to co-occur with a locative tagmeme of locative case, or with allative or elative directionals; such subclassification is determined by the meaning of the stem. When occurring with *aṛika* 'go towards', *yaka* 'take' and *aḷi* 'bring' the clauses are transitive; with *aṛika* the referent is the place towards which the motion is directed, and no allative tagmeme can co-occur. With *yaka* and *aḷi* the referent is an item taken by the agent in the manner specified by the verb root, *yaka* usually being used when it is being taken away from the speaker, and *aḷi* towards.

lilmi na-yiman walp-iṛ-u buṭ-iṛ-yunu. intrans
man he-went river-to camp-from motion
S:Ag:n VP:pa-av_{MR} L2:n-lo-all L4:n-lo-el
'The man went from the camp to the river.'

lilmi (ṭum) na-yiman walp-iṛ-u (aka-yi). intrans
man (down) he-went river-to (fish-for) motion with
S:Ag:n VP:[(vr) pa-av_{MR}] L2:n-lo-all (P:Ob:n-gen) purpose
'The man went (down) to the river for fish.'

yil-lilmi ṭum ṭil-neṭiwun-nu walp-iṛ-u. intrans
pl-man down they-went-it river-to motion
S:Ag:n VP:[vr pa-*pá-av_{DR}] L2:n-lo-all
'The men went down to the river en masse.'

lilmi-ṛi (ṭum) aṛi-kan-na walpa.¹⁴ trans
man-op (down) he-to-did-it river
S:Ag:n-op VP:[(vr) pa-pá-av_{DR}] R:Lo:n
'The man went (down) to the river.'

lilmi-ṛi (ṭum) a-ya-kan-na da muwata walp-iṛ-u. trans
man-op (down) he-with-did-it canoe river-to accomp
S:Ag:n-op VP:[(vr) pa-pá-av_{DR}] cn_i R:Ob:n L2:n-lo-all motion
'The man took the canoe (down) to the river.'

lilmi-ṛi (ṭum) aḷiṇa-na da kiṛibu gutar-iṛ-yunu. trans
man-op (down) he-brought-it kangaroo hill-from accomp
S:Ag:n-op VP:[(vr) pa-pá-av_{DR}] cn_i R:Ob:n L4:n-lo-el motion
'The man brought the kangaroo (down) from the hill.'

10.3.13 Personal object transitive battery

Case constellation: Ag Ob(person)

<i>malmal a</i> S:Ag R:Ob	'have children growing up'
<i>miṛk ṇata</i> S:Ag R:Ob	'jealous of'
<i>lipi a</i> S:Ag R:Ob	'be angry at'

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The personal object battery consists of transitive verb roots which by their meaning must take personal objects. They do not appear to take instrument tagmeme.

<i>ař-kiriya</i>	<i>miřk</i>	<i>kařka-řatan-na</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>na-mimay.</i>	trans
f(op)-woman	jealous	she-did-him		m-spouse	
S:Ag:n-op	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	cn _t	R:Ob:n	
'The woman was jealous of her husband.'					

10.3.14 Ditransitive battery

Case constellation: Ag Do Ob

<i>(ma) muta</i>	S:Ag	R:Do	R ₁ :Ob	'give'
<i>me ba</i>	S:Ag	R:Do	R ₁ :Ob	'give'
<i>řuř¹⁵ muta</i>	S:Ag	R:Do	R ₁ :Ob	'give back'
<i>řuřimú</i>	S:Ag	R:Do	R ₁ :Ob	'show'

The ditransitive battery contains verb roots which appear to occur in only one clause type. The referent of the verb is personal; there is a second referent with which the verb (if direferential) has no agreement and is object. Only dative direferential auxiliaries and the dative monoreferential auxiliary may occur in this battery.

<i>lilmi-ři</i>	<i>a-mutaya-řuřu</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>an-kiriya</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>gubi.</i>	ditrans
man-op	he-gave-her		f-woman		meat	
S:Ag:n-op	VP:pa-pá-av _{DDR}	cn _t	R:Do:n	cn _t	R ₁ :Ob:n	

OR

<i>lilmi-ři</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>na-muban</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>an-kiriya</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>gubi.</i>	ditrans
man-op	give	he-did		f-woman		meat	
S:Ag:n-op	VP:[vr	pa-av _{DMR}]	cn _t	R:Do:n	cn _t	R ₁ :Ob:n	
'The man gave the woman the meat.'							

<i>lilmi-ři</i>	<i>a-řuřimuwun-nu</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>yařařa</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>aka.</i>	ditrans
man-op	he-showed-him		child		fish	
S:Ag:n-op	VP:pa-pá-av _{DDR}	cn _t	R:Do:n	cn _t	R ₁ :Ob:n	
'The man showed the fish to the child.'						

10.3.15 Quotative battery

Case constellation: Ag (Do) (Qo)

<i>řař muta,ařa,ba</i>	S:AG	(R:Do)	(P:Qo)		
<i>řuwal,mařawada</i>	Ag				'speak, say, tell'
<i>ka ba,ařika</i>	S:Ag	R:(Do)	(P:Qo)	/ <i>řuwal</i>	Ag
<i>wele muta</i>	S:Ag	R:Do	(P:Qo)		'ask question'

The quotative battery shares with the ditransitive battery the general restriction of auxiliary verbs to the dative auxiliaries, though *ařika* has been found. The referent of the verb is personal, and the matter of the speech is given in genitive case, unless the actual quotation is given. If an MR auxiliary is used, and there is no overt referent (person spoken to), the subject (speaker) may optionally be in nominative case; elsewhere it is in operative case. Verbs which have direferential auxiliaries may occur as reflexives. Substantivisers *-řuwal* and *-mařawada* occur; the suffix *-mařawada* indicates the converse of *-řuwal*, and does not have a passive sense in this battery.

<i>lilmi</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>na-muban</i>	<i>muwařa-yi.</i>		intrans with
man	call out	he-said	canoe-for		purpose
S:Ag:n	VP:[vr	pa-av _{DMR}]	P:Qo:n-gen		
'The man called out for a canoe.'					

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lilmi ka ka-ŋuwal. adj
man call call-act
S:n PR:adj
'The man is always calling out.'

lilmi-ři ka aři-kan-na da yaṭaṭa (muwaṭa-yi). trans with
man-op call he-to-did-him child (canoe-for) purpose
S:Ag:n-op VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] cn_t R:Do:n (P:Qo:n-gen)
'The man called out to the child (for a canoe).'

lilmi ka na-ban: "wiṭ kaḷi da muwaṭa." quote
man call he-did get bring canoe
S:Ag:n VP:[vr pa-av_{DMR}] Qo:[VP:[vr imper-av_{DR}] cn_t R:Ob:n]
'The man called out: "Get the canoe!"'

lilmi-ři ṇaḷ yin-mutuwun-naga kaṇaḍi-ṭa peda. trans with
man-op speak them-gave-he that-gen above purpose
S:Ag:n-op VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DDR}] P:Qo:[dem-gen Mod:loc]
'The man spoke to them of the one above.'

lilmi ṇaḷ-maḍawada. adj
man speak-passivneg
S:n PR:adj
'The man doesn't talk much.'

yil-lilmi ṇaḷ yil-a-nṭini. reflexive
pl-man speak they-do-selves
S:Ag/Do VP:[vr pa-av_{DDR}-refl]
'The men are talking to each other.'

FOOTNOTES

- 1 See for example David D. Thomas (1964). "Transformational Paradigms from Clause Roots". *Anthropological Linguistics* 6:1:1-6. Also J. E. Banker (1964). "Transformational Paradigms of Bahnar Clauses", in David D. Thomas (ed.), *Mon-Khmer Studies* 1. Linguistic Circle of Saigon, p.7-39.
- 2 See footnote 6, chapter 1.
- 3 Two tagmemes marked alike for case may be separated by other criteria: transform potential, animateness or inanimateness of filler, and so forth.
- 4 This occurs most frequently with the auxiliary *neṭu*.
- 5 The subject of this sentence might be classed better as deep dative object.
- 6 Fillmore (1968) has suggested that the being experiencing sensations like sight, hearing, etc., is a dative object rather than agent. If this concept is followed through consistently, partitive in Alawa may always signal part of sufferer or object.
- 7 Pt-Do stands for part of Do.
- 8 Reflexive verb. Its placement in this battery is tentative.
- 9 It is a problem to clarify these constructions with *ñiṇaya* and an adjective. One solution is to say the adjective stem is functioning as a verb root, and *ñiṇaya* as a body part in partitive tagmeme. However *ñiṇaya* is never followed by an indirect pronoun. Another is to regard *ñiṇaya* as an adverb. However other adverbs may precede or follow the verb, and *ñiṇaya* only precedes it. A third is to regard *ñiṇaya* as a partitive and *yumaṛ* (or *weneṭu*) as an adjective modifying the verb stem *ri* 'be'. None of these solutions seems very satisfactory. *ñiṇaya* acts as a verb root in the following battery.

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- ¹⁰ Placing of *mař* 'carry' in this battery is tentative; occurring with an MR auxiliary it behaves a little differently from the others, and with its meaning it probably cannot be used reflexively. This verb root has been found in causative clauses; *yaŋ* and *ñak* have not to date. If they formed causatives in the same way, this would suggest *mař* does belong with them.
- ¹¹ *puy puy puy* functions as an adjective.
- ¹² Although classified here, *yap a* should possibly be classified elsewhere, as it can be used transitively:
- yap ñ-aŋan.* 'I sat on you.'

sit I-you-did
- ¹³ Possibly in some of these this should be classed as dative object rather than object; the item is affected by the action and often animate. See Fillmore (1968) p.24.
- ¹⁴ With the verb root *law* 'cross over', the auxiliary *ŋata* is also found in this construction. The object is then either the place or the person(s) crossed over to.
- ¹⁵ *tut* also occurs in the motion battery, see ¶10.3.12.

NON-NUCLEAR TAGMEMES

11.0 As defined in Chapter 10, relational tagmemes are time and most location tagmemes (some location tagmemes are regarded as nuclear). The only peripheral tagmeme defined to date is beneficiary. This chapter describes these tagmemes.

11.1 The Beneficiary Tagmeme

The beneficiary tagmeme when present indicates the beneficiary of the action or state indicated by the verb. It is manifested by a noun phrase in genitive case, or by an indirect pronoun. It is identical in form with the purpose tagmeme, but differs from it in that the head item must be human.¹

ñak apuwun-nu a-ŋařakañi-đa.
spear he-speared-it m(op)-uncle-for
VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] B:n-gen 'He speared it for his uncle.'

ŋ-ařina-kunu ñaba:
I-came-from you
VP:pa-av_{MR} B/P:pron 'I came for you.'²

11.2 Relational Tagmemes

There are some time and location phrases similar in forms. However the following criteria usually distinguish time and location and their fillers:

1. Temporals and locatives are distinct classes of words. Locatives may occur as modifiers in noun phrases; temporals may not.
2. Noun phrases inflected for locative case may manifest location tagmemes, but do not manifest time tagmemes, except in the case of a few nouns with time meaning.
3. Interrogatives for time and location are different.

11.3 Location Tagmemes

11.3.0.1 A location tagmeme is manifested by a locative or locatives, a noun phrase in locative case with or without a prepositional locative, or a clause. A prepositional locative is a locative which may modify a locative case noun phrase. In the data some of these always occur with a noun phrase; others may stand alone as locatives, without even a noun phrase being "understood". Examples of prepositional locatives are given below.

<i>wulabuř</i>	'near' (noun phrase obligatory)
<i>ŋarawañ</i>	'around'
<i>ŋaľuŋun</i>	'underneath'

The prepositional locative *ŋarawañ* may also be suffixed with the k-suffix *-kunu*, which is otherwise only found in clauses with the verbs *aři* 'come' and *ali* 'bring'.

ŋarawañ-kunu ŋa-yiman
around-from I-went
Prploc-kunu VP:pa-av_{MR} 'I went around.'

11.3.0.2 Allative and elative tagmemes (defined as nuclear) also may be manifested by certain locatives, or by noun phrases marked for allative or elative respectively. Some locatives, including *ŋaľuŋun*, may be suffixed for allative or elative. A list of all locatives found to date, with brief descriptions of their usage, is given in Appendix E.

11.3.0.3 Examples of location tagmemes not regarded as nuclear are given here:

ňak apuwun-nu minil-ti.
spear he-speared-it scrub-at
VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] L:n-lo 'He speared it in the scrub.'

n-aļa gutar-iř.
he-goes hill-lo
VP:pa-av_{MR} L:n-lo 'He is travelling in the hills.'

kalu abař ñak apuwun-nu.
over there spear he-speared-it
L:[loc loc] VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] 'He killed it over there.'

tař n-aļa-kunu ayedapuřki.
arrive he-came-from this place
VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] L2:loc 'He arrived at this place.'

11.3.1 Interrogative locatives

Interrogative locatives are *kala* and *ňanřawa*, both glossed 'where'. The word *ňanřawa* is confined to use in clauses with the semantic element of coming, and therefore to clauses with the auxiliaries *aři* 'come' or *aři* 'bring'. The word *kala* (not repeated) is used for locative predicate in an equational clause. The repeated form *kala kala* is used of motion away from the speaker. Thus *kala kala* behaves as allative, and *ňanřawa* as elative. However *ňanřawa* may be suffixed with *-kunu*, whereas elatives ending in *yunu* are not.³

kala da pařakař.
where spear
L:loc cn_i S:n 'Where is the spear?'

kala kala y-aļa.
where you-go
L2:loc VP:pa-av_{MR} 'Where are you going?'

ňanřawa (kata) y-ařina-kunu.
where-from you-came-from
L4:loc (cn_p) VP:pa-av_{MR} 'Where did you come from?'

11.4 The Relational Elative

A frequently occurring word is *adapuřkiyunu*, in form an elative, glossed 'from there', 'after that', but in function often a conjunction. It occurs usually at the beginning of a clause with tentative pause intonation. Whenever it occurs non-initially in the clause it has locative meaning only; when it occurs initially it often indicates a time relation. In initial position it functions as a conjunction (see ¶12.6.2). Slightly variant forms *ayedapuřkiyunu*, *adapuřyunu*, *ayedapuřyunu*, are found, but only with locative meaning.

adapuřki-yunu milař yil-iman da řalput yiluřa.
after that build they-went house them
cn_s VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] cn_i T₁:[n pron]
'After that they built their house.'

11.5 Time Tagmemes

A time tagmeme is manifested by a temporal or temporal phrase, or by a clause. Time words include some time nouns with locative⁴ inflection. The interrogative temporal is *ňankuyař*. Among verb stems which may occur in clauses filling time tagmeme is at least one which is found nowhere else, *ař uřka* 'daybreak'. Examples of time tagmemes are given in the following clauses; a list of temporals and temporal phrases found to date is given in Appendix H. Time tagmeme most commonly occurs initially or finally in the clause; though the interrogative tagmeme has only been found initially.

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miřidiñi (*puki*) *tuñ* *ŋa-yiman:*
 morning (early) arise I-went
 T:[t (t)] VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] 'I set out (early) in the morning.'

gulul gulul *yañ* *ka-ŋatan-na:* *yařkařa:*
 late afternoon hit he-did-it kangaroo
 T₁: [t t] [vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] R:n
 'In the late afternoon he killed a kangaroo.'

miřidiñi *ař* *n-uřkan* *tuñ* *na-yiman:*
 morning dawn it-caused arise he-went
 T:[t VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}]] VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}]
 'He set out the next day at dawn.'

n-ařa *wunař-iři.*
 he-goes sun-at
 VP:pa-av_{MR} T:n-lo 'He is going at noon.'

ŋitm-iř *kata* *na-wiña:*
 night-at he-will come
 T:n-lo cn_p VP:pa-av_{MR} 'He will come at night.'

ŋankuyař *kata* *y-ařa-kunu* *kitaña.*
 when you-came-from here
 T:t cn_p VP:pa-av_{MR} L:lo 'When did you come here?'

11.5.1 Some temporals may be inflected for genitive case and fill purpose tagmeme.

wat. *miřidiñi-yi.*
 leave morning-for
 VP:vr P:t-gen 'I left some, ... for the next day.'

FOOTNOTES

- 1 It is possible that beneficiary tagmeme may only occur with certain clause types or batteries. More data is needed.
- 2 'You' here could be beneficiary or purposive. In the former case the translation could be 'I came looking for you'; in the latter case 'I came for your sake'.
- 3 This co-occurrence restriction is no doubt dictated by phonological elegance.
- 4 Or operative case; the two are homophonous.

SYNTAX

12.0 Clause types and verb batteries have been described. This chapter sketches the distribution and typical surface manifestations of clauses, indicating distribution of conjunctions, interjections and sentence words in syntax.

12.1 Clauses within Clauses

Reference has been made to clauses forming parts of noun phrases, or manifesting clause level tagmemes. A clause may fill the modifier slot in a noun phrase. It may therefore be the manifestation of a noun phrase, as any part of a noun phrase can be deleted from surface structure, including the head item. However, a distinction between a noun phrase modifier manifested by a clause, and a noun phrase replaced by a clause, needs to be made. In the latter case, if the tagmeme is one for which a verb has referent pronominal affixation, the referent affixation of the verb is almost always absent. This reinforces the hypothesis that verb pronominal affixation is in deep structure part of the noun phrase. It suggests that if a referent noun phrase is replaced in deep structure by a clause, there is no verb pronominal affixation for it. Though this may be true for referent, it appears that verb affixation for subject is obligatory, as suggested in ¶10.3.1.

tul ŋul-aŋan nida. da traktu yiluŋa wut na-ri.
 find we-did this tractor them lie it-was
 VP:[vr pa-av_{DR}] R:Cl:[S:dem cn_i PR:[n pron Mod:[vr pa-av_{MR}]]]
 'We saw their tractor standing there.'

kuñ kaŋ-aŋan: yeŋ. da mululpiŋi.
 see I-did stick up porcupine
 VP:[vr pa-av_{DR}] R:Cl:[VP:vr cn_i S:n]
 'I saw the porcupine sticking up.'

12.1.1 Clauses may also occur manifesting relational tagmemes time and location; in these tagmemes they are usually linked to the rest of the containing clause by the conjunction *kata*.

ŋul-i kata na-ri:
 we-were he-was
 VP:pa-av_{MR} cn_p L:VP:pa-av_{MR} 'We were where he was.'

aŋ n-uŋka kata ŋa-wiña:
 dawn it-will cause I-will go
 T:VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] cn_p VP:pa-av_{MR} 'I will go at daybreak.'

12.2 Surface Level Manifestation of Clauses

There are more verb phrases than noun phrases in utterances of any length. The following observations were made after investigating about 100 clauses of text; they sum up the most common phenomena.

1. About half the clauses occurring are manifested by verb phrases with no attendant noun phrases.
2. Most of the remaining clauses had only one tagmeme manifested by a noun phrase or pronoun.
3. Very few clauses occur with two or more noun phrases.
4. Word types other than verb roots, auxiliary verbs, nouns and conjunctions occurred in about one-third or less of the clauses.
5. Ten per cent. of the verb phrases were manifested by a verb root only.

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These points are illustrated below.

1. *ral* *ař-mutiñu-nu:*
hook up I-give-it
Cl:[VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DDR}]] 'I hook it up.'
2. *pařakał* *wiř* *keř-e-nu:*
spear get I-do-it
Cl:[R:n VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}]] 'I get the spear.'
- ñina* *ñ-a-ł:*
I I-go
Cl:[S:pron_{dir} VP:pa-av_{MR}] 'I am going.'
3. *nuła* *ñiñaya* *n-eni* *nipa.*
he feelings he-is him
Cl:[S:pron_{dir} VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] R_i:pron] 'He likes him.'
4. *adapuřki-yunu* (*mař* *na-bała* +
after that carry he-did
Cl:[cn_s VP:[vr pa-av_{DMR}]] 'After that he was carrying it.'
- tuř* *ñ-a-wiña* *kitaña.*
return I-will go here
Cl:[VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] L:loc] 'I will return here.'
- alawal* *puy* *puy* *ne-beli:*
really dry dry it-does
Cl:[VP:[adv vr vr pa-av_{DMR}]] '. . . until it is really dry.'
5. *wiř.*
get
VP:vr 'He gets it.'

12.3 Phrase Linking Conjunctions

It has been seen how the case marking system helps to signal relationships between tagmemes in the clause. Two phrase linking conjunctions exist which also help signal relationships between tagmemes in the clause, though both of them are optional.

12.3.1 The topic linking conjunction

12.3.1.0 The topic linking conjunction *da* (cn_t) may occur:

1. Linking topic and comment;
2. Linking verb phrase and subject of intransitive verb;
3. Linking verb phrase and either referent of a transitive verb;
4. Linking partitive tagmeme and verb phrase.

It is associated with the noun phrase, not the verb phrase, and may precede or follow the noun phrase (or its substitute, a clause or a pronoun). It does not occur between substantive or verb phrase and an indirect pronoun,¹ and is not found with a noun phrase marked for operative case, though it is occasionally found with subjects of transitive clauses, either plural or with case unmarked, or with a direct pronoun.

- giyař* *da* *yamiñi:*
grinding stone big
S:n cn_t PR:adj 'The grinding stone is the large one.'
- da* *qawari* *ñatu* *yip.*
name her Eve
Cl:[cn_t S:[n pron] PR:n] 'Her name is Eve.'

nida da madi yalpun-ʒa
 this no lilyseed-gen
 S:dem cn_t PR:[non n-gen] 'There is no lilyseed here.'

kuñ kař-aŋan: yeļ. da mulpīri.
 see I-did stick up porcupine
 VP:[vr pa-av_{DR}] R:Cl:[VP:vr cn_t S:n] 'I saw the porcupine sticking up.'

ŋaduļa da ař-mušan nipa "e?e?:"
 she she-said him hey!
 S:pron_{dir} cn_t VP:pa-av_{DMR} R:pron P:quote 'She said to him, "Hey!"'

ŋaļ aņa-na da nida peda.
 speak he-did-him this above
 VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DDR}] cn_t S:[dem loc] 'The one above said to him.'

miyat miyat ʒil-uʒaļa da tina⁵ yil-aļa-na.
 move around they-went dinner they-ate
 VP:[vr vr pa-av_{MR}] cn_t S:Cl:[R:n VP:pa-pá-av_{DR}]
 'They were moving around and eating dinner.'

yalpun da (waku yil-peļi +
 lilyseed rub they-do
 R₁:n cn_t VP:[vr pa-av_{DMR}] 'They grind the lilyseed.'

wiļ keř-e-nu da wiļmuř:
 get I-do-it wire spear
 VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] cn_t R:n 'I get the wire spear.'

kuñ ŋul-aŋan da traktu⁵ yiluņa wut na-ri.
 see we-did tractor them lie it-was
 VP:[vr pa-av_{DR}] cn_t R:Cl:[S:[n pron] VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}]]
 'We saw their tractor standing there.'

guluř da ŋalpi kuñ ʒiř-aŋan.
 eye long way see they(dl)-did
 PT:Pt-Ag:n cn_t VP:[adv vr pa-av_{DR}] 'They could see far off.'

The same conjunction can be found within subsidiary clauses filling phrase level slots.

yamiņi da nida peda naņa-ñalaņa n-aļa-kunu:
 big this above father-our he-came
 S:[Mod:Cl_E:[S:adj cn_t PR:[dem loc]] n] VP:pa-av_{MR}
 'The great one above, our father, came.'

kaya ñul-neyi yiluņa da yil-ařkulipa yil-wuřku-wuřkulař.
 hear we-will them pl-other pl-old people
 VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] R₁:[pron cn_t NP:[dem n]]
 'We will hear them, those old people.'

tul ařk-aŋan-na da nuļiki mama da ñukuř.
 find she-did-it that fruit forbidden
 VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] cn_t R:[dem Hd:Cl_E:[S:n cn_t PR:adj]]
 'She found that forbidden fruit.'

ñukuř da mama buřkadi da nuļiki ruwu ʒir na-ri:
 forbidden fruit middle that tree stand it-was
 PR:adj cn_t S:[Hd:n² loc cn_t Mod:Cl:[S:[dem n] VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}]]
 'The fruit of the tree in the middle of the garden is forbidden.'

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12.3.1.1 The conjunction *da* is in mutually exclusive distribution with a certain intonation pattern, which is therefore considered as its functional substitute. In equational clauses, and sometimes at the end of verbal clauses, there is a rising intonation medially in the phonological phrase terminated by a glottal stop, followed then by a fall (see ¶4.4.1.1). The rise and glottal is symbolised by /ʔ:/.

<i>giŋař</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>yamiŋi:</i>	
<i>giŋař</i>	ʔ:	<i>yamiŋi.</i>	
grinding stone		big	
S:n	cn _i	PR:adj	'The grinding stone is big.'

12.3.1.2 Generally *da* occurs in about half the situations where it is possible. Where it may occur with a phrase before the verb, it occurs only 30 - 40 per cent. of the time; where it may occur with a referent phrase following the verb it occurs about 70 - 80 per cent. of the time; where it may occur with a subject phrase following the verb it appears to occur more frequently than not.³ Referents when present precede the verb slightly more often than they follow the verb. In the same sample *da* occurs once with a preverb transitive subject pronoun, and once with an example of inalienable possession in nominative case.

12.3.2 The peripheral tagmeme linking conjunction

The peripheral tagmeme linking conjunction *kata* may occur linking time, location or purpose tagmemes to other parts of the clause. It can often be glossed by a relative pronoun in English. As with *da* it may precede or follow the tagmeme concerned. It is quite common for time or location tagmemes manifested by clauses to be linked by *kata* to the nucleus of the clause. Following an initial phrase, *kata* seems also to mark this phrase as the focus of attention of the clause, or as in apposition to what follows.

<i>ŋalpi</i>	<i>kata</i>	<i>na-yiman:</i>	
long way		he-went	
L:loc ⁴	cn _p	VP:pa-av _{MR}	'It was a long way he went.'

<i>kala kala</i>	<i>(kata)</i>	<i>wul-iŋa.</i>	
where		you-will go	
L2:loc	(cn _p)	VP:pa-av _{MR}	'Where are you going?'

<i>ŋul-i</i>	<i>kata</i>	<i>na-ri:</i>	
we-were		he-was	
VP:pa-av _{MR}	cn _p	L:VP:pa-av _{MR}	'We were where he was.'

<i>na-ri</i>	<i>kata</i>	<i>ŋalput-ŋi</i>	<i>nipa.</i>	
he-was		house-at	him	
VP:pa-av _{MR}	cn _p	L:[n-lo	pron]	'He was at his house.'

<i>raytap⁵</i>	<i>kata</i>	<i>kita.</i>	
right up		here	
L:loc	cn _p	PR:loc	'Right up to here.'

<i>gulul gulul</i>	<i>kata</i>	<i>tař</i>	<i>ŋuř-iŋa.</i>	
sunset		arrive	we(dl)-will go	
T:[t t]	cn _p	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	'At sunset we will arrive.'

<i>kata</i>	<i>miřidiŋi</i>	<i>ař</i>	<i>n-uřkan, ...</i>	
	morning	dawn	it-caused	
cn _p	T:[t	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]]	'The next day at dawn, ...'

<i>keř keř</i>	<i>yil-aŋa-na</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>mařayin</i>	<i>nipa</i>	<i>kata</i>	<i>mař</i>	<i>na-bařa.</i>
pull away	they-did-him		things	him		carry	he-did
VP:[vr vr	pa-pa-av _{DDR}]	cn _i	R _i :[n	pron]	cn _p	VP:[vr	pa-av _{DMR}]]
'They took away from him his belongings that he was carrying.'							

ñakulyi pařakał-ta wulaki wiłmuř kata milar yil-uřała-kay.
 another spear-op like wire spear make they-went-habit
 I:[dem n-op] PR:[adv n cn_p VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}]]
 '... with another spear, like the wire spear, which they used to make.'

ñanžini-řa kata wiř ř-añan-na.
 what-for get you-did-it
 P:adj-gen cn_p VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] 'Why did you take it?'

12.4 Subordinating Conjunctions

12.4.0 Conjunctions *mal* 'because' and *ala* 'so that' are called subordinating conjunctions. Each of these can also occur with *kata*. Sentences with *ala* can be transformed into sentences with *mal*; some sentences with *mal* can be transformed into sentences with no conjunction.

12.4.1 The consequence conjunction *ala* occurs preceding a clause indicating the consequence of an action; the action is stated in the clause preceding the conjunction, and the consequence clause is always in future tense, either indicative or subjunctive.

yinmi ři-muta ala kuñ kař-a-ñu.
 show you-me-will give so that see I-will do-it
 VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DDR}] cn_{con} VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}]
 'Show me so I will see.'

ñ-ařina-kunu wulañ-a-ñiř-u, ala wagaya wul-mibi ñapa.
 I-came you-to so that language you-will talk me
 VP:[pa-av_{MR}] L2:pron-lo-all cn_{con} R₁:n VP:[pa-av_{DMR}] R:pron
 'I came to you so that you will talk language to me.'

12.4.2 The reason conjunction *mal* occurs preceding a clause indicating the reason for an action; there is no tense restriction on this clause. Exchange of negative for positive form, indicative for subjunctive, and *ala* for *mal* gives a construction similar in meaning.

malmal ñała na-bała mal nelk na-yiman.
 child cry he-did because tired he-went
 S:n VP:[vr pa-av_{DMR}] cn_r VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}]
 'The child was crying because he was tired.'

12.4.3 Exchange of *ala* and *mal*

yiriřa y-a-ñu mal ñawuř yi-řiř.
 strong you-will do-it because drown you-might go
 VP:[vr:adj pa-pá-av_{DR}] cn_r VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}]
 'Make it strong, because you might drown.'

yiriřa y-a-ñu ala ñayi ñawuř yi-wiña.
 strong you-will do-it so that not drown you-will go
 VP:[vr:adj pa-pá-av_{DR}] cn_{con} VP:[prdneg vr pa-av_{MR}]
 'Make it strong so you will not drown.'

12.4.4 Deletion of *mal*

ñayi ña-řiři gulul, mal an-kiřiya ñapa řaňal ař-uřała.
 not I-can go evening because f-woman me die she-went
 VP:[prdneg pa-av_{MR}] T:t cn_r S:[n pron] VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}]
 'I didn't go last night because my wife was ill.'

an-kiřiya ñapa řaňal ař-uřała. ñayi ña-řiři gulul.
 f-woman me die she-went not I-can go evening
 S:[n pron] VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] VP:[prdneg pa-av_{MR}] T:t
 'My wife was sick so I didn't go last night.'

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12.4.5 Conjunctions *ala* and *mal* are distinguished from other conjunctions in that they may co-occur with *kata*, the peripheral phrase linking conjunction. Orders *mal kata* and *kata ala* are found, but never the reverse orders. Tense restrictions are the same for *kata ala* as for *ala*. Co-occurrence of *mal* and *ala* with *kata* is additional evidence to support analysis of clauses following these conjunctions as subordinate clauses manifesting non-nuclear tagmemes in the clause. Meaning difference between *mal kata* and *mal* is not yet clear; *kata ala* is often used in a sense glossed 'if'.

<i>kata ala</i>	<i>ʃil</i>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} na-ŋi \\ na-ŋidiř \\ \text{it-will be} \\ \text{it-might be} \end{array} \right\}$	<i>ŋayi</i>	<i>ŋa-wiña.</i>
if	rain		not	I-will go
cn: _i [cn _p	cn _{con}]	VP:[vr pa-av _{MR}]	VP:[prdneg	vr pa-av _{MR}]
'If it rains I won't go.'				

12.5 Independent Clause Conjunctions

12.5.0 Simple clause sequence

Alawa has no conjunction corresponding to the English 'and'; simple juxtaposition of noun phrases, clauses, or sentences, with certain concomitant intonation patterns, signals conjunction of the type signalled by 'and' in English. For phrases, such intonation is usually tentative pause at the end of each phrase. Clauses may be linked with tentative pause, or with similar statement intonations with very little pause between them. In particular, when two open statement patterns occur in close succession with the second at an overall lower pitch, the relationship is that signalled in English by 'and' (see ¶4.4.2.2).

<i>dakiŋi</i>	<i>dikuř,</i>	<i>gunu,</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ař-liña-na.</i>
only	tail	intestines		I-brought-it
R:NP:[adj	[n 'and' n	]	cn _i	VP:pa-pá-av _{DR}
'I brought only the tail and intestines.'				

<i>tar</i>	<i>eř-ŋeteñu-nu:</i>	<i>tař</i>	<i>eř-ye-ke-nu:</i>
pull out	I-do-it	arrive	I-with-do-it
VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]
'I pull it and get it out.'			

12.5.1 The adversative conjunction

Two clause conjunctions have been found in Alawa. The first is the adversative conjunction *da*, glossed 'but', which links two clauses adversatively.

<i>kuy</i>	<i>aña-wulu,</i> ⁶	<i>da</i>	<i>yiluła</i>	<i>yuřk</i>	<i>ʃil-i.</i>
hunt	he-did-them	but	they	hide	they-were
VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DDR}]	cn _{advs}	S:pron _{dir}	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]
'He looked for them but they had hidden.'					

12.5.2 The sequence conjunction

The other is the sequence conjunction *adapuřkiyunu* 'from there, after that', which only occurs sentence initially as a conjunction. It does not specifically link clauses. When this form occurs medially in a clause, it is interpreted as filling elative tagmeme, not as acting as a conjunction.

<i>adapuřki-yunu</i>	(	<i>milař</i>	<i>yil-iman</i>	+
after that		build	they-went	
cn _s		VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	

12.6 Interjections

Interjections do not enter into propositional or modal relationships with other tagmemes in the sentence, nor link clauses. Two or three have been found to date. One, *muřu*, glossed 'alright', 'OK', occurs comparatively frequently initially or finally in a clause. It often occurs on final statement intonation endings to continuous action contours. It may be linked by the phrase level conjunction *da* with the remainder of the clause.

muřu da mamař-wař puřa na-ri.
 alright porcupine cook he-was
 intj cn_i R_i:n VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}]
 'Alright, he cooked the porcupine.'

Another, *kiři*, glossed 'oh', is an exclamation by the speaker when he realises he has made an error and stops to correct it. It is usually less loud than the rest of the utterance in which it is inserted.

12.7 Sentence Words

Sentence words (wd_s) are words other than nouns or verbs which may form complete utterances in themselves. They do not enter into syntactic relations with other words forming longer clauses.

yu 'yes'
ka 'what was that you said?' 'I beg your pardon?'
m'm? 'yes, I'm attending.'
e'e? 'no!'

12.8 Narrative Structure and Identification of Participants

12.8.0 Verbs preponderate over nouns in utterances of any length and in stories. In a count of about 200 clauses there were, for every 100 verbs, 60 nouns and pronouns of various cases, 11 verb roots standing alone, 3 or 4 conjunctions other than *da*, about 50 occurrences of *da*, and about 30 other types of words. Substantives are introduced as needed to indicate participants in the action or state. It is general that each succeeding clause contains reference in the verb pronominal affixes to at least one item of the previous clause, unless nouns or change of person show otherwise. New participants are usually introduced by name or change of grammatical person.⁷

12.8.1 Verbs or verb roots are often repeated in succeeding clauses and sentences. Sometimes the verb root is repeated with a different auxiliary, often with a change from active to passive or with a change of aspect; sometimes there is meaning overlap but different verb roots used, or a verb root is repeated with continuous action intonation. A check on a large sample of text showed:

1. one verb root in every five is repeated.
2. one verb in every six has the same verb root and auxiliary repeated.
3. a partial overlap of meaning occurs once in every eight verbs.
4. a repetition of a verb, but not in contiguous clauses, occurs once for every eight verbs.

řar eř-řeteňu-nu: tař eř-ye-ke-nu:
 pull out I-do-it arrive I-with-do-it
 VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}]
 'I pull it and get it out.'

parik řil-uřkelī: parik n-eni (yař řil-eňu-nu + . . .
 dry they-cause dry it-is wait they-do-it
 VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DDR}]
 'They dry it. They wait while it dries . . .'

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yamiñi. (*tak* *ṭil-eni* + *adapuṛki-yunu* *tiwan* *ṭil-ṇeteñu-nu:* *wup-iṛ:* (*tiwan*
big knead they-are after that bake they-do-it fire-op bake
PR:adj VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] cn_s VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] I:n-op VP:[vr

ne-ṇeni + *gapul.*
it-does cooked
pa-av_{MR}] PR:adj
'They take the large (stone), they knead it, after that they bake it in the fire. It
bakes until cooked.'

adapuṛki-yunu, *kaṭ* *ṭil-eni* *pek-ṭi-ṛu* *lun* *ṭil-eñu-nu.* *pek-ṭi-ṛu*
after that pick up they-are bag-to put they-do-it bag-to
cn_s VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] L2:n-lo-all VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] L2:n-lo-all

(*lun* *ṭil-eñu-nu* + *muṛu.*
put they-do-it alright
VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] intj
'After that they pick it up and put it into a bag. They put it in a bag, alright.'

muṛu *pup* *ke-wedṭilu-nu.* (*pup* *ke-wedṭilu-nu* + *muṛu.*
alright cool it-does-it cool it-does-it alright
intj VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] intj
'Then it cools. It cools down.'

FOOTNOTES

- 1 One exception to this statement has been found, in the clause *ḡawari da nipa kaniyaṛaṇ* 'Its name is Ganiyarang.' The construction without *da* is so common that this is possibly to be regarded as a grammatical error.
- 2 *mama ruwu* 'fruit of the tree' is inalienable possession.
- 3 There were in the sample counted 105 occurrences of referent and only 25 occurrences of intransitive subject, so the trend is more clearly established for referent than subject.
- 4 *ṇalpi* has elsewhere been classed as an adverb. Data is inconclusive.
- 5 English borrowing.
- 6 It is not usual to have 3pR suffix with 3mS prefix, see table 25.
- 7 Or in quoted conversation, intonation patterns and breaks indicate change of speaker and change of participants.

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13.0.1 When the symbol S for sentence is rewritten in a TG grammar, the complex reasons behind the choices made are usually ignored. S may be rewritten as a transitive clause, or as an intransitive or equational clause, according to choices which are made during generation of the final output. These choices of course depend to a large degree on the information the speaker wishes to communicate.

13.0.2 But choice of clause type is also influenced by syntactic arrangements above the clause level. In Alawa, for example, as noted in chapter 11, a transitive clause with final intonation is often followed by an intransitive instrumental clause with the same verb root and a continuous intonation pattern. This is a feature of grammar above the sentence level.

13.0.3 It was also noted, that in general, nuclear tagmemes are only manifested by noun phrases, when necessary to indicate a change of participant, or to make the participant explicit in any way. Though situations have a conditioning effect on utterances, the speaker's free choice of information to be conveyed cannot be handled in formulae. No attempt is made here to handle syntactic structures above the clause level in formulae, as these phenomena need further study before this could be adequately done.

13.0.4 Equations given below start with the structure (i.e. choice of tagmemes) of the different clause types as given, and generate syntactic arrangements and morphological structure within these clauses. A similar ordering system to that in the chapter on phonological rules is used.

13.1 Clause Subsumptions for Writing TG Equations

13.1.0 For the purpose of writing TG equations of clauses, five clause subsumptions are made: equational (Cl_E), intransitive (Cl_{IT}), transitive (Cl_T), ditransitive (Cl_{DT}), quotative (Cl_Q). Each of these subsumes clauses derivable from different batteries, with different numbers and selections of the optional tagmemes present. For the generation of grammatical agreement and other details, these subsumptions are all that are needed. Each clause is considered in deep structure to have all its possible tagmemes present, though some of them are deleted below the lowest level of formulae.

13.1.1 Two symbols used in the previous chapters are used differently here: R is used here for first referent in clauses, whether a monoreferential or a direferential verb is present; R_1 is used for second referent occurring in ditransitive clauses. Additional symbols used here are: S_1 for subject with no operative case, P_1 for the quoted matter in quotative clauses, NP_1 for a noun phrase, and as for unaffixed auxiliary stem.

13.1.2

$$Cl \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} Cl_E \\ Cl_v (L) (T) \end{array} \right\}$$

$$Cl_v \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} Cl_{IT} \\ Cl_T \\ Cl_{DT} \\ Cl_Q \end{array} \right\}$$

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Cl_E	$\rightarrow$	S	PR
Cl_{IT}	$\rightarrow$	VP	S (PT) (I) (P) (L) ((L2) (L4))
Cl_T	$\rightarrow$	VP	S R (I) (PT) ((L2) (L4))
Cl_{DT}	$\rightarrow$	VP	S R R_1
Cl_Q	$\rightarrow$	VP	S R P_1

All verbal clauses may have peripheral tagmemes T and L present.

13.1.3 In intransitive clauses, subject is agent, object, or sufferer according to verb stem. I, P, and L signal instrument, purpose, or location respectively. Motion verbs may have either or both of L2 and L4 present; they may also have P and L; with other verbs only P or L may occur.

13.1.4 Transitive clauses have subject usually signalling agent, referent signalling object or location, I signalling instrument. PT, when present with sense verbs as 'watch' (*kuñ*), signals the part of the agent used; when present with verbs as 'hit' (*yag*), it signals the part of the object affected. Transitive clauses containing motion verb roots may have L2 and L4 or one of them present.

13.1.5 Ditransitive clauses have subject signalling agent, referent signalling dative object (recipient, always animate), and R_1 signalling object.

13.1.6 Quotative clauses have subject signalling speaker (agent), R signalling hearer (recipient) and P_1 signalling message, either in indirect or direct quotation.

13.2 TG Equations

TG equations below generate nuclear and peripheral clause level tagmemes. They do not generate conjunctions¹ or interjections. They do not show detail of generation of person-number agreement; this could be done in equations, but the equations would be clumsy and not as enlightening as the various tables in previous chapters. For detail of pronominal affixes, their combinations and relative positions on the auxiliary verb, and detail of case marking, chapters 6 and 9 should be consulted.

TG Equations

G1	S	$\rightarrow$	pa NP op / — R	
		$\rightarrow$	pa S_1 / —	
G2	P_1	$\rightarrow$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{quotation} \\ P \end{array} \right\}$	quotation can be any collection of clauses or sentences.
G3	R	$\rightarrow$	pa R_1	
G4	L2	$\rightarrow$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} L \\ NP_1 \end{array} \right\}$	
G5	L4	$\rightarrow$	L el	
G6	PR	$\rightarrow$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP \\ L \\ \text{madi } P \end{array} \right\}$	where NP is not replaced by pronoun.
G7	T	$\rightarrow$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ Cl \\ L \end{array} \right\}$	where L contains inflected time nouns only.
G8	VP	$\rightarrow$	(Mod _v) Nuc	
F1	S_1	$\rightarrow$	NP	
F2	P	$\rightarrow$	NP gen	NP $\rightarrow$ Cl has not been found.
F3	I	$\rightarrow$	NP op	NP $\rightarrow$ NP_1 only.
F4	PT	$\rightarrow$	NP	NP $\rightarrow$ Cl has not been found.
F5	R_1	$\rightarrow$	NP	

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- F6 $L \rightarrow NP \text{ lo}$ See restriction G7.
- F7 $Nuc \rightarrow (\eta ayi) \text{ vr}^n \text{ as ta}$ vr may occur n times, $n = 1, 2, 3, 4$. With ηayi present, $n = 1$. With $n > 1$, ta is usually continuous. With ηayi present, ta is restricted to subjunctives or fut ind. For reduplication ($n > 1$) see ¶5.3.1, ¶5.3.10.
- E1 $NP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP_1 \\ \text{pron} \\ Cl \end{array} \right\}$ See restrictions G6, G7, F2, F3, F4.
- D1 $NP_1 \rightarrow (\text{gender}) \text{ n } (\text{pron}) (\text{dem}) (\text{Mod})$
- D2 $as_{MR} \text{ pa} \dots \text{ pá} \Rightarrow as_{MR} \text{ pa} \dots \emptyset$
- D3 $S.D. \text{ pa PR}$
 $\text{pa} \Rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ — } \left\{ \begin{array}{c} L \\ \text{madi} \end{array} \right\} P \}$
 $\text{pa } NP_1 \Rightarrow (\text{gender}) NP_1$ gender present unless $\text{pa} = 3m$
- D4 $\text{case} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{op} \\ \text{gen} \\ \text{lo } (+ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{all} \\ \text{el} \end{array} \right\}) \end{array} \right\}$
- Cl $\text{gender} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} m \\ f \\ dl \\ pl \\ [12, 1, 2] \cdot [sg, dl, pl] \end{array} \right\}$
- C2 $\text{Mod} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP_1 \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{lo} \\ \text{gen} \end{array} \right\} \\ Cl \\ \text{adj} \\ \text{loc} \end{array} \right\}$
- C3 $S.D. (\text{gender}) NP_1 (\text{case})$
 $(\text{gender}) [n (\text{pron}) (\text{dem}) (\text{Mod})] (\text{case})$
 $\Rightarrow (1) + 2 + (6) (3) ((1) + 4 + (6)) ((1) + 5 + (6))$
- C4 $\text{pa pron (op)} \Rightarrow \text{pa pron}_{dir}$
- C5 $S.D. VP \dots R + \text{emph}$
 $VP \dots \text{pron}_{(dir)} + \text{emph} \Rightarrow \text{pron}_{dir} VP \dots$
- C6 $S.D. R$
 $\text{pa Cl} \Rightarrow Cl / VP.[\text{past tense}] \dots \text{ —}$
- B1 $\text{op} \Rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} dl \\ pl \end{array} \right\} + n + \text{ — }, Cl \text{ —}$
- B2 $(\text{gender}) + \text{Mod} + (\text{case}) \Rightarrow \text{Mod}$
when $\text{Mod} = \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP_1 + \text{case} \\ Cl \\ \text{loc} \end{array} \right\}$
 $\Rightarrow (\text{gender}) + \text{Mod} + (\text{case})$
when $\text{Mod} = \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{adj} \\ \text{bu} \text{ta} (\text{pron}) \\ n (\text{pron}) \end{array} \right\}$

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B3 S.D. VP R
 VP pron $\Rightarrow$ VP pron

B4 as ta pa (pá)
 1 2 3 (4) $\Rightarrow$ 3 + (4) + 1 + 2 = auv
 by definition

A1 P $\Rightarrow$ (kata) P

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} R_1 \\ S_1 \\ PT \\ S \sim \text{op} \\ \text{pron}_{\text{dir}} \\ \text{Mod} \sim \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{case} \\ \text{bu} \acute{t}a \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow (da) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} R_1 \\ S_1 \\ PT \\ S \sim \text{op} \\ \text{pron}_{\text{dir}} \\ \text{Mod} \sim \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{case} \\ \text{bu} \acute{t}a \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$$

Optional change

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kata} \\ da \end{array} \right\}_1 [P, R_1, S_1, PT, S \sim \text{op}, \text{pron}_{\text{dir}}, \text{Mod} \sim \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{case} \\ \text{bu} \acute{t}a \end{array} \right\}]_2 \Rightarrow 2 \ 1$

A2 S.D. m + Mod + (case)
 m $\Rightarrow$ m / buta
 $\Rightarrow$ $\emptyset$ / —

A3 Mod_v $\rightarrow$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{adv} \\ \text{adj} \end{array} \right\}$

A4 Mod_v η ayi
 1 2 $\Rightarrow$ 2 1

A5 In permutations, the following always remain together:

VP pron
 n(+case) pron
 dem(+case) loc
 vr auv = vb by definition

All items linked by + belong to the same word and also remain together.

A6 S.D. pa+as+ta S where S is a large group
 Often pa+as+ta S. [big group]
 1 2 3 4 5
 $\Rightarrow$ pa+3mR+neŋú+ta S
 1 5 2+5 3 4

13.3 Optional Deletions of Tagmemes and Other Items

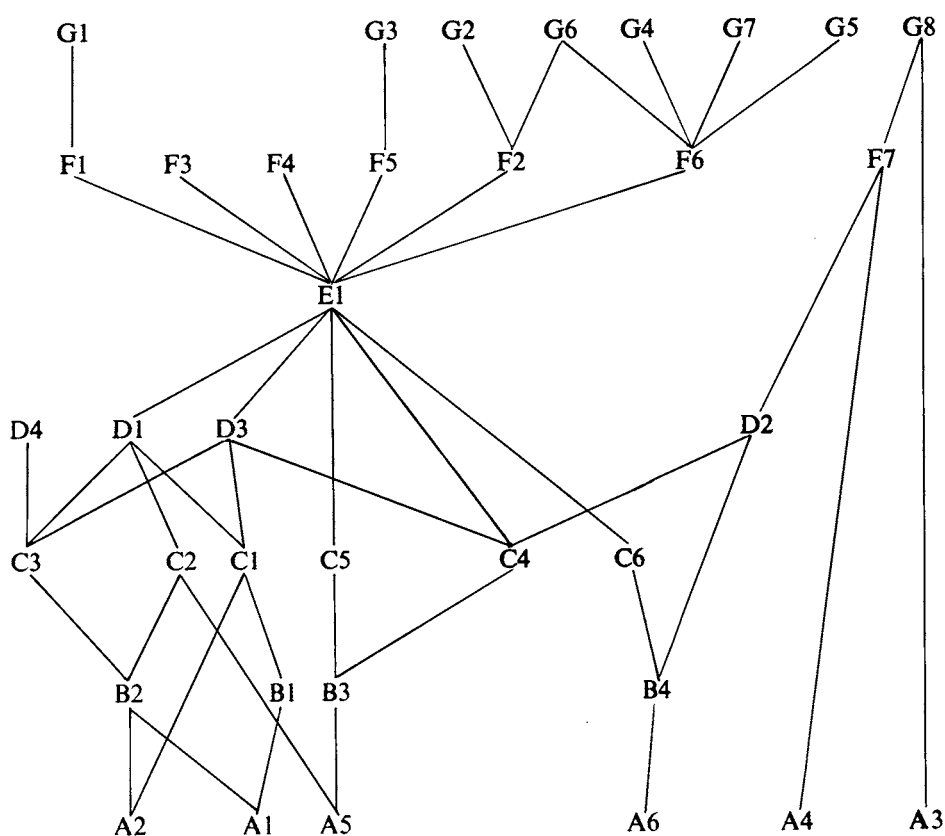
Although these deletions are listed as optional, they are conditioned by syntactic considerations, see chapter 12.

NP₁ (case) $\Rightarrow$ $\emptyset$
 pron_(dir) $\Rightarrow$ $\emptyset$ except with emphasis
 auv $\Rightarrow$ $\emptyset$
 VP $\Rightarrow$ VP / η ayi . VP obligatory
 $\Rightarrow$ $\emptyset$ / — $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} L2 \\ L4 \end{array} \right\}$ optional
 op $\Rightarrow$ $\emptyset$ / Cl_Q . as_{DMR} if R is deleted.

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Table 37 shows the chains of TG equations which are dependent.

Table 37 — Chains of TG formulae



FOOTNOTE

¹ Except for the phrase linking conjunctions *da* and *kata*.

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A P P E N D I X A

List of Informants

Alawa Informants

Name	Date of birth	Location as at May, 1968
Barnabas Roberts ¹	1894-1898	Roper River
Agnes Stanley (sister)	c. 1900	Roper River
Bessie Farrell (step-sister)	c. 1917	Roper River
Norman (cousin)	1890	Hodgson Downs
Ivy (cousin)	1901	Hodgson Downs
Lucy	1918	Hodgson Downs
Chicken	1925	Hodgson Downs
Walker	1935	Hodgson Downs or Roper River
Cleo (Walker's wife, Isaac's daughter)	1939	Roper River
Caleb Minimiya (brother)	c. 1890	Nutwood Downs
Left Hand Billy	1895	Nutwood Downs
Jerry	1901	Nutwood Downs
Kelly, also known as Girlie	c. 1925	Nutwood Downs
Limmen Harry (husband of Kelly)	c. 1905	Nutwood Downs

In addition some help was obtained from Jacob Roberts (Barnabas's son, born 1930), and Hazel Farrell (born 1944), daughter-in-law of Bessie Farrell, and step-sister of Cleo. Bessie had the same father as Caleb, Barnabas and Agnes. Norman and Ivy are cousins, and their fathers were "brothers" of Barnabas's father. Limmen Harry is a Mara man. Jerry was the husband of Bet Bet, now deceased, of Mrs. Aenaeas Gunn's books.

Mara Informants

Name	Date of birth	Location as at May, 1968
Caleb Minimiya	c. 1890	Nutwood Downs
Limmen Harry	c. 1905	Nutwood Downs
Stanley (husband of Agnes)	c. 1908	Roper River
Isaac Joshua	c. 1904	Roper River
Wandarang Informant		
Isaac Joshua	c. 1904	Roper River

Isaac Joshua is a Wandarang man, but has used Mara more of recent years (he and Stanley camped together).

¹ Relationship in parentheses after a name refers to relationship to Barnabas, unless otherwise stated.

APPENDIX B

Words Containing the Vowel /e/

<i>el̥ti</i>	'down', 'bottom'	<i>ŋele</i>	'index finger'
<i>beřin</i>	'lily leaf'	<i>ŋeřitmayin</i>	'sandy ground'
<i>beřiweřilin</i>	'rib'	<i>peda</i>	'on top', 'above'
<i>đeli</i>	'kidney'	<i>pegeři</i>	'big wild dog'
<i>đeyel̥ŋ</i>	'tongue'	<i>peti, pepepeti</i>	'above'
<i>gewukewu</i>	'lungs'	<i>ʃaputedeň</i>	'small grasshopper'
<i>keleyi</i>	'fontanel'	<i>weneřtu(nuka)</i>	'bad', 'thin', 'sad'
<i>kunaŋeřewu</i>	'ghost'	<i>weřeŋ</i>	'dry place'
<i>kuřaŋeni</i>	'turtle'	<i>weyi</i>	'south'
<i>kuřureřu</i>	'dingo'	<i>wulaŋeři</i>	'this side'
<i>ledeřa</i>	'big red and green parrot'	<i>yelya</i>	'understand'
<i>lekul</i>	'deep depression in ground'	<i>yenku řinkuřili</i>	'prickly tree'
<i>leňki(ti)</i>	'north'	<i>yenur̥</i>	'bad cold'
<i>leřin</i>	'leaf'		

Location names

<i>kewuři</i>	'Roper Valley'	<i>meřalař</i>	'gorge on way to Hodgson Downs'
<i>meňeři</i>	'Hodgson Downs'		

Verb roots

<i>kel</i>	'go on hands and knees'	<i>ŋey</i>	'sick'
<i>kelele</i>	'gelele call'	<i>pelk</i>	'tire'
<i>keř</i>	'pull away from'	<i>peř</i>	'beat sticks'
<i>keřepepmayin</i>	'grey hairs' (affixed root)	<i>peř</i>	'full moon'
<i>keř</i>	'run'	<i>peřk (or perk)</i>	'shift oneself'
<i>keř</i>	'trip, fall'	<i>peret̥</i>	'sneak up on'
<i>lelele</i>	'shiver with fright'	<i>pet</i>	(meaning unknown)
<i>leř</i>	'set fire'	<i>tebet̥</i>	'stalk'
<i>leřp</i>	'fall to ground'	<i>tepet̥ekŋuwal</i>	'talking noise'
<i>let</i>	'be inside'	<i>teřeger</i>	'scream'
<i>me</i>	'give'	<i>telk</i>	'snap by pulling'
<i>melk</i>	'tire'	<i>telk</i>	'be born'
<i>meŋ</i>	(meaning unknown)	<i>telpet</i>	(meaning unknown)
<i>ňen</i>	'see badly'	<i>tewu</i>	'white'
<i>nelk</i>	'tire'	<i>wele</i>	'ask questions'
<i>neři</i>	'steal'	<i>wer</i>	'lift up'
<i>neřitmayin</i>	'sandy ground' (affixed root)	<i>were</i>	'move as a leech does'
<i>neřmayin</i> ¹	'sand', 'red stone' (affixed root)	<i>yekey</i>	'scream'
<i>ner</i>	'build up'	<i>yel̥</i>	'stick up'
		<i>yeř</i>	'throw down'

Auxiliary stems (prefixes also)

neřú
weđú

¹ It is possible that this or the preceding entry is a mistaken rendering of the other. Phonetically, a syllable final /ř/ is somewhat like [ř̥t].

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Certain tenses of the following auxiliaries (prefixes also)

<i>a</i>	(<i>e-nu</i> , <i>edi</i> , <i>en̄i</i> and compounds)	
<i>aña</i>	(<i>eñi</i> , <i>eña-na</i>)	
<i>aļi</i>	(<i>eļi</i>)	'bring'
<i>aļi</i>	(<i>eļi</i>)	'come'
<i>ba</i>	(<i>beļi</i> , <i>beña</i> , <i>beyiři</i>)	'do, say'
<i>na</i>	(<i>neyi</i> , <i>neni</i> , <i>neteyiři</i> , <i>nekeña</i>)	
<i>ηata</i>	(<i>ηeteñi</i> , <i>ηeteyiři</i>)	
<i>ri</i>	(<i>eni</i>)	'be'
<i>rir</i>	(<i>eļu-nu</i>)	'eat'
<i>uřka</i>	(<i>uřkeļi</i>)	'cause to'

APPENDIX C Common Kinship Terms

Gloss	vocative	nominative	operative	genitive	allative	locative
father						
my ~	<i>kuni</i>	<i>nanaŋa</i>	<i>nanaŋiri</i>	<i>nanaŋayi</i>	<i>nanaŋiŋu</i>	
my two ~ s		(yiŋ)nanaŋayiŋi				
your ~		<i>nanaŋaŋa</i>	<i>nanaŋaŋa</i>	<i>nanaŋiŋidi</i>		
his/her ~		<i>naŋapuraŋaŋa</i>				
his/her/their ~ s		<i>nanaŋaŋayi</i>	<i>nanaŋaŋiyidi</i>			
your(pl) ~		<i>nawiniŋa</i>	<i>awiniŋa</i>		<i>awiniŋiŋu</i>	
		<i>yilwiniwiniŋa</i>				
		<i>naniwuŋa</i>				
mother						
~	<i>kuŋa</i>	<i>ankuŋaka</i>	<i>aŋkuŋaka</i>	<i>aŋkuŋakayi</i>	<i>aŋkuŋakiŋu</i>	<i>aŋkuŋakiŋ</i>
two ~ s		<i>yirkuŋaka</i>				
~ s, ~'s brothers		(yiŋ)kuŋakakaŋa				
his/her ~		<i>ankuŋakayili</i>				
your(pl) ~		<i>ankuŋakanaŋayi</i>				
his/her mother		<i>ankuŋakiwuŋa</i>				
his/her mother's brother		<i>anaŋakaŋa</i>	<i>aŋŋaŋakaŋa</i>			
		<i>nanaŋakaŋa</i>	<i>anaŋakaŋa</i>	<i>anaŋakaŋa</i>		
mother's brother						
my ~	<i>pipi</i>	<i>pipi(pi)</i>				
your ~		<i>pipiŋa</i>	<i>pipiŋiri</i>			
his/her ~		<i>pipimaŋa</i>	<i>pipimaŋa</i>			
		<i>pipinaŋayi</i>		<i>pipinaŋayiŋa</i>		
mother's mother,						
mother's mother's brother						
(my) ~	<i>kuku</i>	<i>kuku(ku)</i>	<i>kukukiri</i>			
my ~		<i>kukuŋa</i>	<i>kukuŋiri</i>			

Gloss	vocative	nominative	operative	genitive	allative	locative
older sibling						
~	<i>papa</i>					
~(m)		<i>papa(pa)</i>				
~(f)		<i>anpapapa</i>				
two ~s		<i>yir̥papapa</i>				
		<i>anpapayiri</i>				
~s		<i>anpapayili</i>				
younger sibling						
my ~						
my ~(m)	<i>lipili</i>	<i>nalipal̥pa</i>	<i>alipal̥pa</i>			
my ~(f)		<i>ankal̥pal̥pa</i>	<i>aṛkal̥pal̥pa</i>			
your ~(m)		<i>nalipilmaḍa</i>				
his/her ~(m)		<i>nalipil̥paḍiyi</i>	<i>alipil̥paḍiyi</i>			
man's child, woman's brother's child						
my ~	<i>wiṇili</i>					
my ~(m)		<i>nawiṇaṇa</i>	<i>awiṇaṇa</i>			
my ~(f)		<i>anpiṇaṇa</i>		<i>nawiṇamiḍiyi</i>		
your son		<i>nawiṇaba</i>				
your two children		<i>anpiṇimiḍiyiri</i>				
his son/her nephew		<i>nawiṇiṇaḍiyi</i>	<i>awiṇiṇaḍiyi</i>			
his two children		<i>yir̥wiṇiṇaḍiyi</i>				
his children		<i>anpiṇiṇaḍiyiyili</i>				
		<i>yil̥wiṇiṇaḍiyi</i>				
woman's child, man's sister's child						
my ~	<i>yir̥ilka</i>					
my ~(m)		<i>nayir̥ṇa</i>	<i>aṛyir̥ṇa</i>		<i>aṛyir̥ṇu</i>	
my ~(f)		<i>anir̥ṇa</i>				
your ~(m)		<i>nayir̥maḍa</i>				
his/her ~(m)		<i>nayir̥ṇaḍiyi</i>	<i>aṛyir̥ṇaḍiyi</i>			<i>aṛyir̥ṇaḍiyidiru</i>
his/her ~(f)		<i>anir̥ṇaḍiyi</i>				

Gloss	vocative	nominative	operative	genitive	allative	locative
spouse ¹ husband wife	—	<i>mimay</i> <i>namimay</i> <i>anmimay</i>	<i>mimaydi</i> <i>animay</i>			
relative ² my ~ (m) my ~ (f) our (1p) ~ our (12p) ~		<i>ŋapapařa</i> <i>anŋapapařa</i> <i>ŋalanapařa</i> <i>annalanapařapařa</i>				

1 Possessive suffixes are not found on this word.
2 The stem of this word is *pařa*; indirect pronouns are prefixed to show the “possessor”.

APPENDIX D

Demonstratives

Uninflected demonstratives					
	Gloss	masculine	feminine	plural	dual
	this	<i>nida</i>	<i>anijida</i>	<i>yilařñida</i> ¹	<i>yirařñida</i> ¹
	that	<i>nulu</i>	<i>adulu</i>	<i>yilulu</i> ²	<i>yirulu</i> ²
	that	<i>daña</i>	<i>aduña</i>	<i>yiludaña</i> ³	<i>yirudaña</i> ³
	that	<i>dañiki</i> ³			<i>yurudañakki</i> ³
	over there	<i>nudiya</i>	<i>adutiya</i>	<i>yilutiya</i>	<i>yurutiya</i>
	that (unseen?)	<i>nulta</i>			
Inflectable demonstratives					
Gloss	nominative	genitive	operative	allative	elative
another(m)	<i>nakul</i>	<i>nakulṭa</i>	<i>nakultu</i> ⁴	<i>nakultuwur</i>	
another(f)	<i>ařkul(?)</i>				
another(dl)	<i>yirařkul</i>				
other lot(sg)	<i>nakakulipa</i>				
other lot(pl)	<i>yilarřkulipa</i>				
different	<i>řakul</i>	<i>řakulyi</i> ⁵	<i>řakultuñidi</i> ⁶		<i>řakultuyunu</i>
that one(m)	—	<i>kaḍṭa</i>	<i>kaḍa</i>		
that one(f)			<i>ařkaḍa</i>		
those ones		<i>yilkadṭa</i>	<i>yilkadṭa</i>		
that one		<i>kañadṭa</i>			
those two	<i>yiraḍaṇa</i>				
that(m)	<i>nuliki</i>	<i>nulikida</i>	<i>nulikiři</i>		
that(f)	<i>aduliki</i>				
those	<i>yiluliki</i>				
over there(m)	<i>kalu</i>				
over there(f)	<i>ankalu</i>	<i>kaluṭa</i>			<i>alubuřyunu</i>
over there(pl)	<i>yilkalu</i>	<i>ařkaluṭa</i>		<i>(k)alubuř</i> <i>ařkalubuř</i>	<i>ařkalubuřyunu</i>
another(m)	<i>kayi</i>				
another(f)	<i>ankayi</i>		<i>ařkayi</i>		

1 The nasal may be /n/. 2 The vowel in the first syllable may fluctuate with /u/. 3 The vowel in the penultimate syllable appears to fluctuate between /a/ and /i/. 4 This also seems to act as nominative case at times. 5 Case uncertain. 6 -ñidi suffix.

APPENDIX E

Locatives

If no indication is given, forms below function as locatives of locative case. Where forms are allative, elative, or may act as prepositional locatives, this is noted. Two locatives derived from verb roots are included. Reduplicated forms of locatives are listed separately.

<i>abař</i> 'higher up'	<i>leñkiyunu</i> 'from the north' (el)
<i>adapuř(ki)</i> 'over there', 'towards there' (all)	<i>luřuga</i> 'west'
<i>adapuřki</i> 'at the same place, over there' (loc and all)	<i>luřugati</i> 'westward' (all)
<i>adapuř(ki)yunu</i> 'from there' (el)	<i>luřugayunu</i> 'from the west' (el)
<i>adiya, adiyiř</i> 'over there'	<i>ñu ñuđa</i> 'where it slopes down' (from verb root <i>ñu</i> 'slope down')
<i>adiyapuř</i> 'towards there' (all)	<i>ñalpi</i> 'long way'
<i>aļiyunu</i> 'from lower down' (el)	<i>ñalpi(dī)yunu</i> 'from a long way' (el)
<i>awayi</i> 'over there'	<i>ñalaļuñun</i> 'inside, underneath' (prploc also)
<i>ayedapuřki</i> 'at, to that place' (lo and all)	<i>ñaluñun(yi)</i> 'inside, underneath' (prploc also)
<i>ayedapuřkiyunu</i> 'from there, from the same place' (el)	<i>ñaluñunñiřu</i> 'into, under' (all)
<i>eļti</i> 'down, bottom'	<i>ñaluñunñiyunu</i> 'from inside, from underneath' (el)
<i>eļtidi</i> 'down, bottom' (all (?))	<i>ñanřawa</i> 'where (from)' (lo and el)
<i>buřkadi</i> 'half way, middle' (prploc also)	<i>ñanakařa</i> 'east'
<i>buřkuřkadi</i> 'half way, middle' (prploc also)	<i>ñanakati</i> 'eastward' (all)
<i>gawađi</i> (?) 'a rather long way' (?) ('close up long way')	<i>ñanakařyunu</i> 'from the east' (el)
<i>kala</i> 'where' (stative)	<i>ñarawañ(kunu)</i> 'around' (prploc also; -kunu is detachable)
<i>kala kala</i> 'where (to)'	<i>ñulti</i> 'behind, backward'
<i>kalu</i> 'over there' (takes -ñidi, -ñaki with meaning 'in that direction')	<i>ñulukunu</i> 'half way' ¹
<i>katañaki</i> 'in that direction'	<i>peđa</i> 'straight up', 'towards the zenith'
<i>kita(ña)</i> 'here' (takes -ñidi, i.e. <i>kitañidi</i> 'this way')	<i>pepepeti</i> 'on top' (prploc also)
<i>law lawđa</i> 'on the other side' (from verb root <i>law</i> 'cross')	<i>peti</i> 'higher up'
<i>law lawđiřu</i> 'to the other side'	<i>petidi</i> 'higher up' (all (?))
<i>leñkiti</i> 'north, northwards' (lo and all)	<i>pulkařan</i> 'half way up' (prploc (?))
	<i>weti</i> 'south, southwards' (loc and all)
	<i>weyiyunu</i> 'from the south' (el)
	<i>wulabuř</i> 'near' (prploc only)
	<i>wulañeņi</i> 'this side' (prploc also)

¹ Though this word ends in /kunu/, /kunu/ has not been found detached from /ñulu/ in the data.

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APPENDIX F

Adverbs

<i>alawal</i> 'really, properly'	<i>paŋa</i> 'first' ²
<i>balpalpi</i> 'slowly'	<i>ŋapay</i> 'perhaps' (also a sentence word)
<i>duřka</i> 'quickly'	<i>ŋugu</i> 'only'
<i>maŋunŋi</i> ¹ 'cold' (from adj <i>maŋun</i> 'cold')	<i>wařgu</i> 'right up' ²
<i>ñuřađi</i> 'altogether', 'right up'	<i>wulakuli</i> 'nothing'
<i>ŋalpi</i> 'long way' ²	<i>weneŋu</i> 'sad' (from adj <i>weneŋunuka</i>
<i>ŋaŋi</i> 'try to'	'bad')
<i>ŋaykanŋi</i> ¹ 'strongly' (from adj <i>ŋaykan</i>	<i>yumaři</i> ¹ 'well' (from adj <i>yumař</i> 'good')
'strong')	<i>yunpuři</i> 'straight'

¹ *maŋunŋi* and *yumaři* (and *weneŋu* 'sad' which may class as an adverb) are only found before the verb, and the verb is *ri* 'be'. In form 'cold' and 'strongly' are operative case of the adjectives. Their classification as adverbs is tentative only.

² Possibly these three words are locatives and not adverbs. Data is not sufficient to be certain.

APPENDIX G

Auxiliary Verb Paradigms¹

Citation form Tenses	<i>a</i> DR pct cts	<i>a</i> ₂ DDR <i>a</i> ₂ MR	<i>adi</i> DR
p pct ind + 3m + refl	<i>aṇan</i> <i>aṇanna</i> <i>ada(ṇaga)</i> <i>anna#</i> <i>aṇana</i>	<i>aṇaṛaṇa</i> (?)	<i>adiyana</i>
f ind + 3m	<i>a</i> <i>aṇu</i> (compounds <i>aṇa</i>)	<i>a</i> (?)	
f cts subj + 3m + refl	<i>adaṛ</i> <i>adana</i> <i>aṇṭiṛiṛ</i>	<i>aṭaṛ</i> (?) <i>aṭina</i> <i>aṭana</i> <i>aṭaṛ</i> (?)	
pr cts subj + 3m + refl	<i>ediṛi</i> <i>ediṛunu</i> <i>aṇṭiṛiṛi</i>		
pr pct subj + 3m + refl	<i>eṇa</i> <i>eṇana</i>	<i>eṇa</i> <i>eṇana</i>	
pr cts ind + 3m + refl	<i>edi(ṇaga)</i> <i>enu</i> <i>enṭini</i> <i>aṇṭini</i>	<i>eṇi</i> <i>eṇunu</i>	
p cts ind + 3m + refl	<i>ada(ṇaga)</i> <i>anna</i> <i>aṇana</i>	<i>aṇa</i> <i>aṇana</i>	
Comments	Inherently cts. p cts ind refl also <i>aṇaṛaṇa</i> .	Often lacks R and has P tagmeme. <i>aṛkaṇa</i> 'he went' prob- ably belongs with 'go'.	

¹ After the stem MR or DR etc. shows the type of stem, and + shows the stem can be found alone without an overt verb. Gloss is given if one exists.

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Citation form Tenses	<i>aḷi</i> DR + 'bring'	<i>amú</i> MR	<i>apu</i> DR 'spear'
p pct ind		<i>amun</i>	<i>apuwun</i>
+3m	<i>aḷiyana</i>	—	{ <i>apuwunnu</i> <i>apuwunnaga</i> }
+refl			
f ind	<i>eḷi</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>api</i>
+3m		—	<i>apunu</i>
f cts subj		<i>amidiř</i>	<i>apuduř</i>
+3m		—	{ <i>apudunu</i> <i>apudunaga</i> }
+refl		—	
pr cts subj		{ <i>amuduřu</i> <i>amidiři</i> }	—
+3m		—	
+refl		—	
pr pct subj		<i>amiña</i>	<i>apiña</i>
+3m		—	<i>apiñana</i>
+refl		—	
pr cts ind	<i>aḷiñi(naga)</i>	<i>amiḷi</i>	<i>apiḷi</i>
+3m	<i>aḷiñunu</i>	—	<i>apiḷunu</i>
+refl		—	
p cts ind	<i>aḷiña</i>	<i>amaḷa</i>	<i>apaḷa</i>
+3m	<i>aḷiñana</i>	—	<i>apaḷana</i>
+refl		—	
Comments	Imper 2s <i>waḷi</i> . Only 3f R found with f ind, no 3mR although trans.	Usually intrans use.	Inherently pct, only found with <i>ñak</i> . p cts ind only with <i>-kay</i> .

Citation form Tenses	<i>aṭi</i> MR + 'come'	<i>eṭi</i> DR	<i>ba/bi/ mubi/mibi/-</i> DMR + 'do, say'	
p pct ind	<i>aṭa</i>		<i>ban</i>	<i>muban</i>
+ 3m	—		—	—
+ refl	—		—	—
f ind	<i>eṭi</i>		<i>bi</i>	<i>mibi</i>
+ 3m	—		—	—
f cts subj	<i>aṭiyiř</i>		<i>bayař</i>	—
+ 3m	—		—	—
+ refl	—		—	—
pr cts subj	<i>aṭiyiři</i>		<i>beyiři</i>	—
+ 3m	—		—	—
+ refl	—		—	—
pr pct subj	—		<i>beña</i>	—
+ 3m	—		—	—
+ refl	—		—	—
pr cts ind	<i>aṭini</i>		{ <i>beli</i> }	—
+ 3m	—		{ <i>biḷi</i> }	—
+ refl	—		—	—
p cts ind	<i>aṭina</i>		<i>baḷa</i>	—
+ 3m	—	<i>eṭaḷana</i>	—	—
+ refl	—		—	—
Comments	Imper 2s <i>wakaṭi</i> . Always retains mean- ing 'come'.		Imper 2s <i>mibi</i> .	

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Citation form Tenses	<i>lamú</i> DR+ 'try'	<i>mapu</i> DR+ 'keep'	<i>muła</i> DR
p pct ind +3m +refl	<i>lamuwunnu</i>	<i>mapana</i> <i>mapanna</i>	<i>mułanna</i>
f ind +3m	<i>lama</i> <i>lamunu</i>	<i>mapunu</i>	<i>mułana</i>
f cts subj +3m +refl		<i>mapuduř</i> <i>mapudunu</i>	
pr cts subj +3m +refl		<i>mapidiři</i> <i>mapidiřunu</i>	
pr pct subj +3m +refl	<i>lamiňana</i>		
pr cts ind +3m +refl		<i>mapinu</i>	<i>mułinu</i>
p cts ind +3m +refl	<i>lamałana</i>		
Comments	Sg refl found.	Not found without R.	Fairly rare.

Citation form Tenses	<i>muta</i> / /- <i>mutú</i> 'give'	<i>aṭa</i> / /- DDR +	<i>ñiti</i> MR 'about to'
p pct ind	<i>mutaya</i> { $\begin{matrix} \# \\ \eta u \acute{r}u \\ \eta a \acute{r}i \end{matrix} \}$	<i>aṭa</i> { $\begin{matrix} \# \\ (na)wuRu \\ wunnaga \end{matrix} \}$	<i>ñitan</i>
+3m	{ <i>mutuwunnaga</i> <i>mutuwunnu</i> }	<i>aṭana</i>	—
+refl		<i>aṭanṭana</i>	—
f ind	<i>muta</i> (<i>ṭaṛi</i>)	—	<i>ñiti</i>
+3m	{ <i>mutunu</i> # <i>mutaṇi</i> (<i>ga</i>) }	—	—
f cts subj			<i>ñitiyĩṛ</i>
+3m			—
+refl			—
pr cts subj	<i>mutiyiṛi</i> <i>mutiyiṛunu</i>		
+3m			
+refl			
pr pct subj	<i>mutiṇa</i> <i>mutiṇana</i> <i>mutiṇiṛiṇa</i>		
+3m			
+refl			
pr cts ind	<i>mutiṇi</i> <i>mutiṇunu</i> <i>mutiṇiṛi</i>	<i>aṭini</i> (<i>naga</i>)	—
+3m			—
+refl			—
p cts ind		<i>aṭana</i> (?)	—
+3m			—
+refl			—
Comments		Reduplicated form <i>aṭaṭana</i> in p pct ind + 3m occurs.	

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Citation form Tenses	<i>na/ /nata</i> MR	<i>neŕú</i> DR	<i>ŕata</i> DR
p pct ind	<i>nakaŕan</i>	<i>neŕin</i>	<i>ŕatan</i>
+3m	—	<i>neŕiwunnu</i>	<i>ŕatanna</i>
+refl	—		<i>ŕatanŕana</i>
f ind	<i>neyi</i>		<i>ŕata</i>
+3m	—	<i>neŕunu</i>	<i>ŕana</i>
			<i>naŕaga</i>
f cts subj	<i>natayař</i>	<i>neŕiyiř</i>	<i>ŕatayař</i>
+3m	—	<i>neŕiyunu</i>	
+refl	—		
pr cts subj	<i>neteyiři</i>	<i>neŕiyiřinaga</i>	<i>ŕeteyiři</i>
+3m	—		<i>ŕeteyiřunu</i>
+refl	—		
pr pct subj	<i>nekeňa</i>		<i>ŕatiňa</i>
+3m	—		<i>ŕatiňana</i>
+refl	—		
pr cts ind	<i>neni</i>	<i>neŕili(naga)^a</i>	<i>ŕeteňi</i>
+3m	—	<i>neŕilunu</i>	<i>ŕatiňi</i>
+refl	—		<i>ŕeteňunu</i>
			<i>ŕatiňunu</i>
p cts ind	<i>nana</i>	<i>neŕilana</i>	<i>ŕataňa</i>
+3m	—		<i>ŕataňana</i>
+refl	—		<i>ŕatanŕaňa</i>
Comments		3mR usually dummy, shows big group as subject.	fut form <i>ňeŕeti</i> for 1sS-2sR found once.

^a Lateral is not retroflexed here, see phonological rules.

Citation form Tenses	<i>ḡuřimú</i> DDR + 'show'	<i>ri/ni/ni</i> MR + 'be'	<i>rir</i> DR + 'eat'	<i>uřka</i> MR 'cause'
p pct ind + 3m + refl	<i>ḡuřimuwun</i> <i>ḡuřimuwunnu</i>	— — —	— — —	<i>uřkan</i> — —
f ind + 3m	<i>ḡuřima</i>	<i>ni</i> —	— <i>riņa</i>	<i>uřka</i> —
f cts subj + 3m + refl		<i>nidiř</i> — —	— { <i>riyunu</i> } { <i>riřunu</i> }	<i>uřkađiř</i> — —
pr cts subj + 3m + refl		<i>nidiři</i> — —	— <i>riyuřunu</i> —	
pr pct subj + 3m + refl		<i>riřiņa</i> — —	— — —	<i>uřkiņa</i> — —
pr cts ind + 3m + refl	<i>ḡuřimiņana</i>	<i>eni</i> — —	— <i>eļunu</i> —	<i>uřkeļi</i> — —
p cts ind + 3m + refl	<i>ḡuřimaļana</i>	<i>ri</i> — —	— <i>aļaņa</i> —	<i>uřkaļa</i> — —
Comments	Not yet found with verb root.	Inherently cts.	Always retains meaning 'eat'. Only 3mR.	Sometimes with- out causative sense.

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Citation form	<i>uřkamú</i> DR	<i>weđú</i> DR	<i>wiña</i> MR + 'go'
Tenses			
p pct ind +3m +refl	<i>uřkamuwunnu</i>	<i>weđiwunnu</i>	<i>yiman</i> — —
f ind +3m	<i>uřkami</i>	<i>weđunu</i>	<i>wiña</i> —
f cts subj +3m +refl			<i>iđiř</i> — —
pr cts subj +3m +refl			<i>iđiři</i> — —
pr pct subj +3m +refl			<i>iđi(ři)ña</i> — —
pr cts ind +3m +refl	<i>uřkami</i>	<i>weđi</i> ^a <i>weđi</i> unu	<i>a</i> la — —
p cts ind +3m +refl			<i>wu</i> ta ^a la — —
Comments	Only refl found.	Usually intrans with dummy 3mR.	/i/ before /đi/ lost after sg CV- pronominal affixes. Reduplicated forms of <i>wiña</i> and <i>wu</i> ta ^a la repeat initial CVCV of affixed auxiliary verb.

^a Lateral not retroflexed here, see phonological rules.

APPENDIX H

Temporals and Temporal Phrases

<i>gulul</i>	'yesterday', 'afternoon time (4 p.m. approx.)'
<i>gulul gulul</i>	'sunset time'
<i>kukuñiyi waḡa</i> ¹	'day before yesterday'
<i>kuta</i>	'now'
<i>madi waḡaniñi</i>	'not yet'
<i>makuṛṭa</i>	'hot weather' (genitive case suffix on <i>makuṛ</i>)
<i>miṛidiñi</i>	'morning', 'tomorrow' (may take genitive case for purpose: 'for tomorrow'
<i>miṛidiñiyi</i>)	
<i>miṛidiñi nakultu</i>	'day after tomorrow' (lit. 'another morning-op')
<i>miṭaṭa</i> (rain-gen)	'wet season'
<i>muṛkiḡiṛ</i> ²	'for three days'
<i>nakultu aṭaḡaṛiṛi</i>	'last month' (lo)
<i>ḡankuyaṛ</i>	'when?'
<i>ḡitmaḡitmaṛa</i> (night night-lo)	'night time'
<i>ḡitmiṛ</i> (night-lo)	'night time'
<i>puki</i>	'very early dawn'
<i>ṭil</i> (<i>miṛidiñi ṭil</i>)	'early'
<i>wuṇa</i>	'now', 'today'
<i>wuṇa miṛidiñi puki</i>	'today early in the morning'
<i>wuṇaṛiṛi</i> (sun-lo)	'daytime'
<i>wuṇayiḡa</i> (<i>wuṇaya-lo</i>)	'new time' (<i>wuṇaya</i> 'new, fresh')
<i>yagulṭa</i> (<i>yagul-gen</i>)	'cold season' (meaning doubtful, may be 'dry season') ³
<i>yalpi</i>	'later'
<i>yalpi baṭa</i>	'later on'
<i>yiṛwaṛini yaḡa ṇulni</i>	<i>nakultu</i> [<i>taṛ neṭi</i>] ⁴
two	sleep we-will another [arrive he-will come]
	'after two days [he will come]'

¹ The form may be *kukuniyi waḡa*.

² *yilmuṛku* is the word for 'three'. The above form may mean 'for three', and may be only used by implication of time.

³ The cold part of the year occurs during the dry season.

⁴ The section bracketed off is not part of the temporal phrase, but is included to show how a clause can occur in the time tagmeme.

APPENDIX J

Sample Texts

In the transcription, translation and analysis of the following texts, detail given differs slightly from that given in examples in the body of the thesis. Firstly, all phonemes in the transcription are given in surface level form. See ¶5.0.2 for differences from deep level form. Intonational glottal stops are also marked.

Secondly, a morpheme by morpheme breakdown of the transcription is given, using the deep level phonemes and (in general) deep level morpheme forms, as given in the chapter of Phonological Rules. This means, for example, that all operative case suffixes are given in the form *-ji*, but past punctiliar suffixes are given as *-n*, *-wun*, etc. according to form. A line showing morpheme by morpheme translation then follows, retaining Alawa forms where no English translation can be given.

Here tense, mood and aspect are indicated: where these are signalled by stem vowel change, they are enclosed in brackets; where they are indicated by a separate morpheme, they are separated by hyphens from other morpheme translations. The marking used for tense, mood and aspect is as follows:

f	future indicative
fs	future continuous subjunctive
pp	past punctiliar indicative
pc	past continuous indicative
pct	punctiliar
prps	present punctiliar subjunctive
pr	present continuous indicative

The abbreviation redup indicates reduplication.

The fourth line indicates tagmeme analysis. In both the morpheme translation and the analysis line, hesitations and false starts are indicated by $\emptyset$. In the morpheme translation, some intonation pattern meanings are given following the symbol #.

In the analysis, clause boundaries are indicated by / and sentence boundaries by // /. Free translations are given separately below the texts. In longer texts, for ease of reference, Alawa sentences are numbered in the translation line (third line) and in the free translation.

TEXT AC

<i>wiṭ keṛenu</i>	<i>ḍa wiḷmuṛʔ:</i>	<i>yipuk eṛenu</i>	
<i>wiṭ aṛ-i-na</i>	<i>da wiḷmuṛ</i>	<i>yipuk aṛ-i-na</i>	
get I-a(pr)-it	wire spear	take off I-a(pr)-it	
/VP:[vr pa-pá-av _{DR}]	cn _t R:Ob:n /	VP:[vr pa-pá-av _{DR}]	
<i>paṛakaḷtayunuʔ:</i>	(<i>ñuṛu ñuṛu</i>	<i>ḡeni</i>	+ <i>muṛu. pili</i>
<i>paṛakaḷ-ḡi-yunu</i>	<i>ñuṛu-redup</i>	<i>ḡa-ri-ni</i>	+ <i>muṛu pili</i>
spear-from	sharpen-well	I-be-pr	#cts OK enter
L4:n-lo-el /	VP:[vr vr	pa-av _{MR}]	intj / VP:[vr pa-av _{MR}]
<i>wiḷmuṛwanṡiʔ:</i>	<i>mululpiṛi</i>	<i>ḍa kar</i>	<i>aṛmutiñunuʔ:</i>
<i>wiḷmuṛ-wanṡi</i>	<i>mululpiṛi</i>	<i>da kar</i>	<i>aṛ-muti-ñi-na</i>
spear-with	porcupine	pierce	I-give(pr)-pr-it
S:Ag:n-accomp /	R:Ob:n	cn _t VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DDR}] /
<i>kar aṛmutiñunu</i>	(<i>yaṭ keṛeñunu</i>		+ <i>aṛ-i-ñi-na</i>
<i>kar aṛ-muti-ñi-na</i>	<i>yaṭ</i>	<i>aṛ-i-ñi-na</i>	
pierce I-give(pr)-pr-it	wait	I-a ₂ (pr)-pr-it	#cts
VP:[vr pa-pá-av _{DDR}]	/ VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DDR}]	/

<i>taŋaŋ</i>	<i>naŋaʔ:</i>	<i>taŋ</i>	<i>eŋeteŋunuʔ:</i>	<i>taŋ</i>	<i>eŋyekenuʔ:</i>
<i>taŋaŋ</i>	<i>na-aŋa</i>	<i>taŋ</i>	<i>aŋ-ŋati-ŋi-na</i>	<i>taŋ</i>	<i>aŋ-ya-i-na</i>
die	it-go(pr)	pull out	I-ŋata(pr)-pr-it	#and	arrive
VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]		VP:[vr

I get the wire spear. I pull the wire off the spear. I sharpen it well. I go in with the wire spear. I spear the porcupine. I pierce it and wait. It dies. I pull it and get it out.

TEXT AI

<i>kala kala</i>	<i>yaŋa.</i>					
<i>kala kala</i>	<i>yi-aŋa</i>					
where	you-go(pr)					
/L2:loc _{int}	VP:pa-av _{MR}	/				
<i>kaluñidi.</i>	<i>kaluñidi</i>	<i>ŋawiña.</i>	<i>nuŋu</i>	<i>gutaru.</i>	<i>mal</i>	<i>ŋawiña.</i>
<i>kalu-ñidi</i>	<i>kalu-ñidi</i>	<i>ŋa-wiña</i>	<i>nuŋu</i>	<i>gutaru</i>	<i>mal</i>	<i>ŋa-wiña</i>
that way	that way	I-go(f)	that	hill	climb	I-go(f)
/L2:loc	/ L2:loc	VP:pa-av _{MR}	/ L2:[dem	n]	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]

ŋanŋiniŋa.

ŋanŋini-ŋa

what-for

/P:Ob:adj_{int}-gen /

<i>mulupiŋiyi.</i>	<i>ŋaŋa</i>	<i>kuy</i>	<i>aŋmuta.¹</i>
<i>mulupiŋi-ŋa</i>	<i>ŋa-aŋa</i>	<i>kuy</i>	<i>aŋ-muta</i>
porcupine-for	I-go(pr)	hunt	I-give(f)
/P:Ob:n-gen	/ VP:[pa-‘go’	vr	pa-av _{DDR}]

Where are you going?

I'm going that way. To that hill. I'm going up it.

What for?

For porcupine. I'm going hunting.

TEXT AG

<i>ŋawiña</i>	<i>wiŋ</i>	<i>kaŋaŋuʔ:</i>	<i>eŋelikunu</i>	<i>kitaña.</i>
<i>ŋa-wiña</i>	<i>wiŋ</i>	<i>aŋ-a-na</i>	<i>aŋ-eŋi-kunu</i>	<i>kita-ña</i>
1. I-go(f)	get	I-a(f)-it	I-bring(f)-kunu	here
/VP:[pa-‘go’	vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	/ VP:pa-av _{DR}	L:loc / / /
<i>panikin</i>	<i>wiŋ</i>	<i>kaŋaŋuʔ:</i>	<i>muŋuʔ,</i>	<i>ŋukuʔ,</i>
<i>panikin</i>	<i>wiŋ</i>	<i>aŋ-a-na</i>	<i>muŋu</i>	<i>ŋuku</i>
2. billy	get	I-a(f)-na	OK	water
R:Ob:n	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	/ intj	R ₁ :Ob:n
<i>panikinŋiŋuʔ:</i>	(	<i>ŋululu</i>	<i>ŋuŋkaʔ</i>	<i>muŋu.</i>
<i>panikin-ŋi-wuŋ</i>	<i>ŋululu</i>	<i>ŋa-uŋka</i>	<i>muŋu</i>	<i>leŋin</i>
billy-into	3. spill	I-cause(f)	#cts	OK
L2:n-lo-all / / /	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	intj / / /	R:Ob:n
<i>ŋun.</i>	<i>leŋin</i>	<i>ŋun</i>	<i>ŋuŋkaʔ:</i>	<i>wupiŋuʔ</i>
<i>ŋun</i>	<i>leŋin</i>	<i>ŋun</i>	<i>ŋa-uŋka</i>	<i>wupu-ŋi-wuŋ</i>
put	5. leaf	put	I-cause(f)	fire-into
VP:vr / / /	R:Ob:n	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	L2:n-lo-all /

¹ This construction has not been handled in the grammar. Evidence is accumulating to suggest that when the verb ‘go’ is immediately followed by another verb phrase, the combination should be treated as one verb phrase, and can be glossed ‘going to . . .’, ‘intending to . . .’. Analysis as a unit has been followed in this appendix, for such constructions with both ‘go’ and ‘come’.

ALAWA PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

<i>wiṭ</i> <i>wiṭ</i> get	<i>kaṣaṇu</i> <i>aṣ-a-na</i> I-a(f)-it	<i>da</i> <i>da</i> cn _t	<i>panikin?</i> <i>panikin</i> billy	<i>wupiṣu</i> <i>wupu-ṭi-wuṣ</i> fire-to	<i>ḷun.</i> <i>ḷun</i> put	<i>muṣu</i> <i>muṣu</i> 6. OK
VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}	/	R:Ob:n	/	L2:n-lo-all	VP:vr / / / intj
<i>ṭaṭ ṭaṭ</i> <i>ṭaṭ-redup</i> warm	<i>neṇeyi.</i> <i>na-na-yi</i> it-na-f	(7.	<i>ṭaṭ ṭaṭ</i> <i>ṭaṭ-redup</i> warm	<i>neṇeyi</i> <i>na-na-yi</i> it-na-f	+	<i>muṣu</i> <i>muṣu</i> OK
VP:[vr vr	pa-av _{MR}	/ / /	VP:[vr vr	pa-av _{MR}	#cts	intj VP:[vr
<i>kaṣaṇu</i> <i>aṣ-a-na</i> I-a(f)-it	<i>wit wit.</i> <i>wit-redup</i> black	<i>da</i> <i>da</i> cn _t	<i>ḷuku.</i> <i>ḷuku</i> water	<i>wit wit</i> <i>wit-redup</i> black	<i>nabi?</i> <i>na-bi</i> it-do(f)	8. VP:[vr vr pa-av _{DMR}
pa-pá-av _{DR}	R:Ob:Cl _E [PR:adj:[vr vr]	/ / /	S:n]	/ / /	VP:[vr vr	pa-av _{DMR}
<i>kawuy</i> <i>kawuy</i> pull out	<i>aṣaṇu?</i> <i>aṣ-a-na</i> I-a(f)-it	9.	<i>aṣyakaṇa</i> <i>aṣ-ya-a-na</i> I-with-a(f)-it	<i>pulgunṭiṣu</i> <i>pulgun-ṭi-wuṣ</i> cool place-to	<i>ḷun.</i> <i>ḷun</i> put	10. VP:vr / / / R ₁ Ob:n
/VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}	/ / /	VP:pa-pá-av _{DR}	L2:n-lo-all	VP:vr	/ / /
<i>da</i> <i>da</i> cn _t	<i>yeṭ</i> <i>yeṭ</i> throw	<i>ḡaṇi?</i> <i>ḡa-ni</i> I-be(f)	<i>muṣu</i> <i>muṣu</i> OK	<i>pup</i> <i>pup</i> cool	<i>kayagaṇa?</i> <i>a-yaṇ-a-na</i> it-hit-a(f)-it	<i>daṇiki</i> <i>ḡuku.</i> <i>ḡuku</i> that water
VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}	/	intj	VP:[vr	pa-*pá-av _{DR}	S:[dem n]
(	<i>pup</i> <i>pup</i> cool	<i>kayagaṇa</i> <i>a-yaṇ-a-na</i> it-hit-a(f)-it	+	<i>adapuṣkiyunu</i> <i>adapuṣki-yunu</i> after that	<i>kuḷ</i> <i>kuḷ</i> drink	<i>ḡaṇi?</i> <i>ḡa-ni</i> I-be(f)
11.	/ / /	VP:[vr	pa-*pá-av _{DR}	#cts	cn _s	VP:[vr pa-av _{MR}
<i>ḡu</i> <i>kuḷ</i> <i>kuḷ-redup</i> <i>ø</i> <i>ø</i>	<i>kuḷ</i> <i>kuḷ</i> drink vr vr	<i>ḡaṇi</i> <i>ḡa-ni</i> I-be(f) OK	<i>muṣu.</i> <i>muṣu</i> OK	12.	<i>kaya</i> <i>kaya</i> feel	<i>anuṣkami:</i> <i>an-uṣkami</i> me-uṣkamú(f)
VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}	intj	/ / /	VP:[vr	pá-av _{DR}	cn _t
<i>bilpaṣ</i> <i>bilpaṣ</i> throat	<i>ḡapa.</i> <i>ḡapa</i> me	13.	<i>kaya</i> <i>kaya</i> feel	<i>anuṣkami</i> <i>an-uṣkami</i> me-uṣkamú(f)	<i>bilpaṣ</i> <i>bilpaṣ</i> throat	PT:Pt-Ag/Ob:Cl _E :S:n
PT:Pt-Ag/Ob:n	pron]	/ / /	VP:[vr	pá-av _{DR}	PT:Pt-Ag/Ob:Cl _E :S:n	
<i>da</i> <i>da</i> good	<i>yumaṣ.</i> <i>yumaṣ</i> good	14.	<i>“yu</i> <i>yu</i> yes	<i>muṣu,</i> <i>muṣu</i> OK	<i>yumaṣ</i> <i>yumaṣ</i> good	<i>anayaṇaga”</i> <i>an-a-ḡa-na-ga</i> me-a-pct(f)-it-3sS
cn _t	PR:adj]	/ / /	wd _s	/	intj /	VP:[vr:adj pa-pá-av _{DR}

ḡamibi?

ḡa-mibi

I-do(f)

VP:pa-av_{DMR} / / /

1. I will go and get it, I will bring it here. 2. I will get a billy, alright. I will pour water into the billy. 3. I'll pour it in, alright. 4. I'll put the leaf in. 5. I'll put the leaf on the fire. Then I will get the billy, and put in on the fire. 6. Alright, it heats. 7. It heats, alright, I watch it till the water goes black. 8. It will go black. I pull it out. 9. I take it to a cool place and put it there. 10. I throw the leaf away. Alright, that liquid will cool. 11. It will cool and then I'll drink it. I'll drink it up. 12. I'll feel my throat. 13. I'll feel to see if my throat is alright. 14. "Yes, it's alright, it will make me well," I'll say.

TEXT AO

wulɣabiŋabiŋi. da wulu.
 wul-ɣabiŋi-redup da wulu
 you(pl)-who(pl) you(pl)
 / PR:pa-adj_{int} cn_t S:pron_{dir} / / /

ɣahu.
 ɣahu
 we
 S:pron_{dir} / / /

ɣanɕawakunu wulaɕina.
 ɣanɕawa-kunu wul-aɕi-na
 where from-kunu you(pl)-come-pc
 L4:loc_{int} VP:pa-av_{MR}-kunu /

kitakunu luɣayunu.
 kita-kunu luɣa-yunu
 here-kunu west-from
 L:loc L4:loc-el VP:kunu / / /

kita luɣayunu ɣulaɕina.
 kita luɣa-yunu ɣul-aɕi-na
 here west-from we-come-pc
 L:loc L4:loc-el VP:pa-av_{MR} / / /

Who are you?
 It's us.
 Where do you come from?
 Here, from the west. We came here from the west.

TEXT AR

ɕum	ɕilaɕa	wulpultuwuɕ:	lim	ɕilaɕaʔ:	kiɕiya
ɕum	yil-aɕa	wulpul-ɕi-wuɕ	lim	yil-aɕa	kiɕiya
1. down	they-go(pr)	billabong-to	2. dive	they-go(pr)	woman
/ VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	L2:n-lo-all	/ / /	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]

ɣuy	yilaɕa:	lim	ɕilaɕa:	ɣaɕaɕuɣun	munɕi
ɣuy	yil-aɕa	lim	yil-aɕa	ɣaɕaɕuɣun	munɕi
swim	they-go(pr)	dive	they-go(pr)	3. underneath	follow
VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	/	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	/ / /

yileɕikenu	da	daɕiki	yalpunʔ:	ɕaw ɕawʔ:	kuɕ
yil-aɕi-i-na	da	daɕiki	yalpun	ɕaw ɕaw	kuɕ
they-to-a(pr)-it		that	lilyseed	stalk	4. see
pa-pá-av _{DR}]	cn _t	R:Lo:[dem	n]	R:Lo:n	/ / / VP:[vr

ɕilenu	nida.	da	yalpun	alawal	mama.	wiɕ
yil-i-na	nida	da	yalpun	alawal	mama	wiɕ
they-a(pr)-it	this		lilyseed	really	food	5. get
pa-pá-av _{DR}]	R:Ob:[dem	cn _t	Mod:Cl:[S:n	PR:[adv	n]]]	/ / / VP:[vr

ɕilenuʔ:	kaɕal	yilamiɕi	muɕu.	nakultuwuɕ
yil-i-na	kaɕal	yil-ami-ɕi	muɕu	nakul-ɕi-wuɕ
they-a(pr)-it	bite	they-amú(pr)-pr	OK	6. another-to
pa-pá-av _{DR}]	/	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	intj / / /

ALAWA PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

yilaḷa. *lim.* (*yilpeḷi* + *waṛgu* *wuyka*
yil-aḷa *lim* *yil-bi-li* *waṛgu* *wuyka*
they-go(pr) dive 7. they-do(pr) #cts right up many
VP:pa-av_{MR} / VP:vr / / / VP:pa-av_{DMR} / L2:[adv adj]

ṇaḷaʔ: *mal* *yilaḷaʔ:* *mal* *yilyekenuʔ:*
na-aḷa *mal* *yil-aḷa* *mal* *yil-ya-i-na*
he-go(pr) up they-go(pr) #and up they-with-a(pr)-it
VP:pa-av_{MR} / VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] / / VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] / / /

1. They go down to the billabong. 2. They dive, the women swim and dive down.
3. They follow down that lily stalk underneath. 4. They watch — there is the
real lilyseed, the real fruit. 5. They get it, they bite it through, alright. 6. They
go to another one and dive down. 7. They keep doing this till they have plenty.
They come up, they bring them up.

TEXT AT

ṇaṇi *ḍa* *yili.*
ṇaṇi *ḍa* *yili*
how game
/ PR:adj_{int} cn_i S:n / / /

ṇak *aṛapuwunnu:*
ṇak *aṛ-apu-wun-na*
spear I-apu-pp-it
VP:[vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] / / /

muṛu *kala.* *ṭaṇaḷ* *nayimanʔ*
muṛu *kala* *ṭaṇaḷ* *na-yima-n*
OK where die he-go(pp)-pp #?
intj L:loc_{int} / / / VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] / / /

yu *ṭaṇaḷ* *ṇuṛkanʔ:*
yu *ṭaṇaḷ* *ṇa-uṛka-n*
yes die I-cause-pp
wd_s / VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] / / /

How is the meat situation?

I speared one.

Good! Where? Did it die?

Yes, I killed it.

TEXT AW

kulmaṭa *ṇida* *ṇaḷuṇun.* *yilyaṭayaṭa* *wuṛkuyaka*
kulmaṭa *ṇida* *ṇaḷuṇun* *yil-yaṭaṭa-redup* *wuṛ-ku-ya-a*
1. teacher this below 2. pl-children you-them-with-a(f)
/ S:n PR:Lo:[dem loc] / / / R:Ob:n VP:pa-pá-av_{DR}

walpiṛu *skultuwuṛ.* *kulmaṭa* *ṇida* *ṭaṛ* *nayiman.* *yumaṛ.*
walpa-ṭi-wuṛ *skul-ṭi-wuṛ* *kulmaṭa* *ṇida* *ṭaṛ* *na-yima-n* *yumaṛ*
river-to school-to 3. teacher this arrive he-go(pp)-pp good
L2:[n-lo-all n-lo-all] / / / S:[n dem] VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}] / PR:adj

yuʔ *baṭa* *ṇuliṇaʔ:* *kuṇ* *ṇulaṇu:* *kaya* *ṇulneyi*
yu *baṭa* *ṇul-wiṇa* *kuṇ* *ṇul-a-na* *kaya* *ṇul-na-yi*
4. yes later we-go(f) see we-a(f)-it 5. hear we-na-f
/ / / wd_s T:t VP:[pa-ʔgoʔ] vr pa-pá-av_{DR}] / / / VP:[vr pa-av_{MR}]

	<i>yiluŋa</i> <i>yiluŋa</i> them	<i>da</i> <i>da</i> cn _i	<i>yilařkulipa</i> <i>yil-ařkulipa</i> pl-those	<i>yilwuřkuwuřkulař:</i> <i>yil-wuřkulař-redup</i> pl-old people		<i>ŋaŋi</i> <i>ŋaŋi</i> how	<i>yiluŋa</i> <i>yiluŋa</i> them
R ₁ :Ob:	[pron		NP:[dem	n	]]	/ / /	PR:adj _{int} pron ²
	<i>yu?</i> <i>yu</i> yes	<i>yiludaŋaki</i> <i>yilu-daŋaki</i> pl-that	<i>wuřwař</i> <i>wuřwař</i> sit	<i>řileni:</i> <i>yil-ri-ni</i> they-be-pr		<i>yu</i> <i>yu</i> yes	<i>wuřk</i> <i>wuřk</i> work
7.	/ / /	wd _s	S:dem	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	/ / /	wd _s VP:[vr pa-av _{DMR}]
# =	<i>muřu</i> <i>muřu</i> OK	<i>ŋuliŋa</i> <i>ŋul-wiŋa</i> we-go(f)	<i>miřidiŋi.</i> <i>miřidiŋi</i> tomorrow	<i>#unenthusiastic</i>		<i>kuŋ</i> <i>kuŋ</i> see	<i>ŋuřka.</i> <i>ŋuř-ku-a</i> we-them-a(f)
9.	/ / /	intj	VP:pa-av _{MR}	T:t		VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]
#		(	<i>yilařinakunu</i> <i>yil-ař-na-kunu</i> they-come-pc-kunu	+	<i>law</i> <i>law-redup-ři</i> across-at	<i>lawđa.</i> <i>ka</i> call out	
#unenthusiastic	10.	/ / /	VP:pa-av _{MR}	#cts	L2:adj:[vr vr-lo]	/	VP:[vr
<i>yilpan?</i> <i>yil-ba-n</i> they-do-pp	11.		<i>law</i> <i>law</i> cross	<i>yinpiřařikaŋan</i> <i>yin-piř-a-ři-a-ŋa-n</i> them-they-to-a-pct-pp	<i>tigiři:</i> <i>tigi-ři</i> dinghy-op	<i>kař.</i> <i>kař</i> pick up	
pa-av _{DMR}]	/ / /	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]		I:In/Lo:n-op	/	VP:vr
	<i>muřu</i> <i>muřu</i> OK	<i>ŋař</i> <i>ŋař</i> speak	<i>yinaŋanaga</i> <i>yin-a-ŋa-na-ga</i> them-a ₂ -pc-he-3sS	<i>munariř.</i> <i>munariř-ři</i> white man-op		(<i>ŋař</i> <i>ŋař</i> speak	
12.	/ / /	intj	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DDR}]	S:Ag:n-op	/ / /	VP:[vr
<i>yinaŋanaga</i> <i>yin-a-ŋa-na-ga</i> them-a ₂ -pc-he-3sS	+	(	<i>piřagiř</i> <i>piřagiř</i> blanket	<i>yinařawunnaga</i> <i>yin-ařa-wun-na-ga</i> them-give-pp-he-3sS	+	<i>“yilyařayařařa</i> <i>yil-yařařa-redup</i> pl-children	
pa-pá-av _{DDR}]	#cts	/	R ₁ :Ob:n	VP:pa-pá-av _{DDR}	#cts	/	R ₁ :Ob:n
<i>wulkeři.</i> ³ <i>wuř-ku-eři</i> you-them-bring		<i>ŋamuban:</i> <i>na-muba-n</i> he-do-pc	14.	<i>“yu”</i> <i>yu</i> yes	15.	<i>řuř</i> <i>řuř</i> return	<i>řilařakunu:</i> <i>yil-ařa-kunu</i> they-come(pp)-kunu
VP:pa-pá-av _{DR}	/	VP:[pa-av _{DMR}	/ / /	wd _s	/ / /	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]
<i>yilařinakunu</i> <i>yil-ař-na-kunu</i> they-come-pc-kunu		<i>ŋidal</i> <i>ŋidal</i> collect	<i>ŋunuřřatan?</i> <i>ŋun-uř-řata-n</i> us-they-řata-pp	(	<i>ŋunuřařliřakunu</i> <i>ŋun-uř-aři-ŋa-kunu</i> us-they-bring-pc-kunu	+	
VP:[pa-‘come’	vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	/ / /	16.	VP:[pa-pá-av _{DR}	#cts	
<i>law</i> <i>law-redup-ři</i> across-lo		<i>yap.</i> <i>yap</i> sit-down	17.	<i>munariř</i> <i>munariř</i> white man	<i>řaw</i> <i>řaw</i> cross	<i>nařakunu?</i> <i>na-ařa-kunu</i> he-come(pp)-kunu	
L2:adj:[vr	vr-lo]	/	VP:vr	/ / /	S:Ag:n	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]
<i>ŋalařa?</i> <i>ŋalařa</i> us	(	<i>ŋař</i> <i>ŋař</i> speak	<i>ŋunmutuwunnaga</i> <i>ŋun-mutu-wun-na-ga</i> us-give-pp-he-3sS	+	<i>yilkuřaka</i> <i>yil-kuřaka</i> pl-mother	<i>ŋalařa</i> <i>ŋalařa</i> us	<i>đa</i> <i>đa</i> cn _i
P:Ob:pron	18.	/ / /	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DDR}]	#cts	R:Do:[n	pron]

² This construction, of adjective ‘how’ followed by an indirect pronoun, has not been handled in the grammar.

³ *wulkeři* is possibly wrongly recorded for *wuřkeři*.

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<i>ŋaɭ</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>ŋaɭ</i>	<i>yinañanaga:</i>		<i>yu,</i>	<i>miřidiñi</i>	<i>law</i>
<i>ŋaɭ</i>		<i>ŋaɭ</i>	<i>yin-a-ña-na-ga</i>		<i>yu</i>	<i>miřidiñi</i>	<i>law</i>
speak	ø	speak	them-a ₂ -pc-he-3sS	19.	yes	tomorrow	cross
VP:[vr	ø]	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DDR}	]	wd _s	T:t	VP:[vr
<i>ŋulpeli</i>	<i>law</i>	<i>ŋuliman?:</i>	<i>kata</i>	<i>miřidiñi</i>	<i>ař</i>	<i>nuřkan?:</i>	
<i>ŋul-bi-ŋi</i>	<i>law</i>	<i>ŋul-yima-n</i>	<i>kata</i>	<i>miřidiñi</i>	<i>ař</i>	<i>na-uřka-n</i>	
we-do(pr)-pr	cross	we-go(pp)-pp		next day	dawn	it-cause-pp	
pa-av _{DMR}] /	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}] /	cn _p	T:[t	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]] /	
<i>ŋunuřyakada</i>	<i>law</i>	<i>lawɖa.</i>		<i>ɖum</i>	<i>nařakunu</i>	<i>ɖa</i>	
<i>ŋun-uř-ya-a-da</i>	<i>law-redup-ɖi</i>			<i>ɖum</i>	<i>na-ařa-kunu</i>	<i>da</i>	
us-they-with-a-pc	across-at		20.	down	he-come(pp)-kunu		
VP:pa-pá-av _{DR}	L2:adj:[vr	vr-lo]	/ / /	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	cn _t	
<i>munaja</i>	<i>wiř.</i>	<i>wiř</i>	<i>ŋunyakaŋannaga?:</i>	(	<i>liřim</i>		
<i>munaja</i>	<i>wiř</i>	<i>wiř</i>	<i>ŋun-ya-a-ŋa-n-na-ga</i>		<i>liřim</i>		
white man	get	21.	get	us-with-a-pct-pp-he-3sS	22.	swim	
S:Ag:n	/	VP:vr	/ / /	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	/ / /	VP:[vr
<i>ŋulaña</i>	+	<i>muřu.</i>	<i>kuřak</i>	<i>ŋulhatanana.</i>	<i>mal</i>		
<i>ŋul-a-ña</i>		<i>muřu</i>	<i>kuřak</i>	<i>ŋul-ŋata-ñana</i>	<i>mal</i>		
we-a ₂ -pc	#cts	OK	23.	wash	we-ŋata-refl(p)	up	
pa-av _{DDR}]	intj	/ / /	VP:[vr	pá-av _{DR}]	/	VP:[vr	
<i>ŋunyakaŋannaga?:</i>							
<i>ŋun-ya-a-ŋa-n-na-ga</i>							
us-with-a-pct-pp-he-3sS							
pa-pá-av _{DR}]	/ / /						

1. "The school teacher is below. 2. Take the children to the river, to the school. 3. This school teacher has arrived. He is good." 4. "Yes, later we will go and see him." 5. We hear them, those old people. 6. "How are they? 7. Yes, they are there sitting down in a group. 8. Yes, they are working." 9. "Alright, we will go tomorrow. We will see them." 10. They came across and called out. 11. They went across to them in a dinghy and picked them up. 12. Alright, the white man talked to them. 13. He talked to them and gave them blankets. "Bring the children," he said. 14. "Yes." 15. They returned. They came and collected us. 16. They brought us across and we sat down. 17. The white man came across to us. 18. He spoke to our mothers, he spoke to them. 19. "Yes, tomorrow we will come across." We crossed over the next day at dawn. They brought us to the other side. 20. The white man came down and got us. 21. He took us. 22. We bathed, alright. 23. We washed ourselves. He took us up.

TEXT AX

	<i>pařakaɭ[?]:</i>	<i>milař</i>	<i>yiluřalakay:</i>	<i>raw</i>	<i>yilannakay[?]:</i>	<i>mañañař</i>	
	<i>pařakaɭ</i>	<i>milař</i>	<i>yil-wuřa-[a-kay</i>	<i>raw</i>	<i>yil-a-n-na-kay</i>	<i>mañañař</i>	
1.	spear	build	they-go(pc)-pc-habit	make	they-a-pp-it-habit	was	
/	R ₁ :Ob:n	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	/	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	/
	<i>wiř.</i>	<i>mañañař</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>(yilyakañanakay⁴</i>	+	<i>lun.</i>	
	<i>wiř</i>	<i>mañañař</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>yil-ya-a-ña-na-kay</i>		<i>lun</i>	
	get	2. wax	they-with-a ₂ -pc-it-habit	#cts	put		
	VP:vr	/ / /	R:Ob:n	cn _t	VP:pa-pá-av _{DDR}	/	
	<i>lun</i>	<i>řilañanakay</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>dañiki</i>	<i>ruwu:</i>	<i>mađařařa</i>	<i>muřu.</i>
	<i>lun</i>	<i>yil-a-ña-na-kay</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>dañiki</i>	<i>ruwu</i>	<i>mađařařa</i>	<i>muřu</i>
3.	put	they-a ₂ -pc-it-habit		tree	sharp	OK	
/ / /	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DDR}]	cn _t	R:Ob:[dem	n]	/	PR:adj
							intj

⁴ This is the only example found to date of a *ya-* prefix on the auxiliary stem *a₂*.

	<i>yipařa</i>	<i>wiř.</i>	(	<i>tal</i>	<i>yileřalanakay</i>	+	<i>muřu</i>
	<i>yipařa</i>	<i>wiř</i>		<i>tal</i>	<i>yil-eřa-[a-na-kay</i>		<i>muřu</i>
4.	string	get	5.	tie	they- <i>eřa</i> -pc-it-habit	#cts	OK
/ / /	R:Ob:n	VP:vr	/ / /	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	/	intj
	<i>yiriga</i>	<i>yilannakay?</i>		<i>ral?</i>	<i>ral</i>	<i>yilařannakay?</i> ⁵	
	<i>yiriga</i>	<i>yil-a-n-na-kay</i>		<i>ral</i>	<i>ral</i>	<i>yil-a-řa-n-na-kay</i>	
	strong	they- <i>a</i> (pc)-pp-it-habit		hook up	they- <i>a</i> -pct-pp-it-habit		
VP:[vr:adj	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	/	VP:[vr	ø	vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	
	<i>yeř</i>	<i>řiluřalakay</i>		<i>muřu</i>	<i>yiriga.</i>	<i>pan?</i>	
	<i>yeř</i>	<i>yil-wuřa-[a-kay</i>		<i>muřu</i>	<i>yiriga</i>		
6.	throw	they-go(pc)-pc-habit	OK	strong	7.	ø	
/ / /	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	/	intj	PR:adj	/ / /	ø
	<i>řalıka.</i>	<i>řalıka</i>	<i>milař</i>	<i>yiluřalakay?</i>	<i>panpan.</i>		
	<i>řalıka</i>	<i>řalıka</i>	<i>milař</i>	<i>yil-wuřa-[a-kay</i>	<i>panpan</i>		
round	woomera	round woomera	build	they-go(pc)-pc-habit	flat woomera		
n	/	R ₁ :Ob:n	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	/	R ₁ :Ob:n	
	<i>řakulyi</i>	<i>panpan</i>	<i>milař</i>	<i>yiluřalakay.</i>	<i>muřu</i>		
	<i>řakul-yi</i>	<i>panpan</i>	<i>milař</i>	<i>yil-wuřa-[a-kay</i>	<i>muřu</i>		
8.	different-op	flat woomera	build	they-go(pc)-pc-habit	9.	OK	
/ / /	R ₁ :Ob:[dem-op	n	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	/ / /	intj	
	<i>yiliyi</i>	<i>řak</i>	<i>ařařa</i> ⁶	<i>kuy</i>	<i>yilařanakay?</i>	<i>kiřibuwanři</i>	
	<i>yili-řa</i>	<i>řak</i>	<i>ař-a-řa</i>	<i>kuy</i>	<i>yil-a-řa-na-kay</i>	<i>kiřibu-wanři</i>	
game-for	spear	I- <i>a</i> ₂ -pc	hunt	they- <i>a</i> ₂ -pc-it-habit	kangaroo-accomp		
P:Ob:n-gen	VP:[vr	pa-av _{DDR}]	/	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DDR}]	/	R:Ob:n
	<i>wiřmuřa</i>	<i>kata</i>	<i>madi,</i>	<i>wařinři.</i>	<i>řak</i>	<i>řilapařanakay.</i>	
	<i>wiřmuř-řa</i>	<i>kata</i>	<i>madi</i>	<i>wařin-ři</i>	<i>řak</i>	<i>yil-apu-[a-na-kay</i>	
wire spear		none	stone spear-op	spear	they- <i>apu</i> -pc-it-habit		
PR:[n-gen	cn _p	non]	I:In:n-op	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]		
	<i>wařinři.</i>	<i>řařař.</i>	<i>řakulyi</i>	<i>wiř?</i>	<i>pařakařta.</i>	<i>wulaki</i>	
	<i>wařin-ři</i>	<i>řařař</i>	<i>řakul-yi</i>	ø	<i>pařakař-ři</i>	<i>wulaki</i>	
stone spear-op		die	10. different-op	ø	spear-op	11. like	
I:In:n-op	/	VP:vr	/ / /	I:In:[dem-op	ø	n-op]	/ / / PR:[adv
	<i>wiřmuř.</i>	<i>kata</i>	<i>milař</i>	<i>yiluřalakay.</i>	<i>řamupuř.</i>	<i>kata</i>	
	<i>wiřmuř</i>	<i>kata</i>	<i>milař</i>	<i>yil-wuřa-[a-kay</i>	<i>řamupuř</i>	<i>kata</i>	
wire spear		build	they-go(pc)-pc-habit	wire(?)	12.		
n	cn _p	Mod:Cl:[VP:vr	pa-av _{MR}]	R ₁ :Ob:n]	/ / /	cn _p	
	<i>řař</i>	<i>řilařanakay</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>yili.</i>	<i>řinalřiřiwanři.</i>		
	<i>řař</i>	<i>yil-a-řa-na-kay</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>yili</i>	<i>řinalřiři-wanři</i>		
catch	they- <i>a</i> ₂ -pc-it-habit	game	emu-accomp				
VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DDR}]	cn _t	R ₁ :Ob:n	R ₁ :Ob:n	/ / /		

1. They used to make spears, they used to make them; they got wax. 2. They took wax and put it on. 3. They would put it on a stick, a sharp stick, alright. 4. They got string. 5. They tied it, alright they made it strong. They would hook it up, 6. and throw it. "Yes, it is strong." 7. The fla—round woomera they used to make, also the flat woomera. 8. The flat woomera is different that they used to make. 9. Alright, they went out to spear game. They used to go hunting, for

⁵ It is unusual for *-kay* to occur with a punctiliar aspect verb, see ¶8.4.1.

⁶ Elsewhere the verb root *řak* has only been found with the auxiliary *apu*. Here it is being used with object as purpose, compare ¶10.3.7, ¶10.3.8 and ¶10.3.11.

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kangaroo also. They had no wire spear, they used the stone spear. They used to spear them with a stone spear. They killed them, 10. with a different spear, 11. like the wire spear they used to make with wire (?). 12. They used to catch the game, also emu.

TEXT AY EXTRACT

<i>ηaduḷaṭi</i>	<i>wat</i>	<i>kaṛkaṇanna</i>	<i>ḍaʔ</i>	<i>namimayʔ:</i>	<i>wat</i>				
<i>ηaduḷa-ti</i>	<i>wat</i>	<i>aṛka-a-ηa-n-na</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>na-mimay</i>	<i>wat</i>				
1. she-alone	leave	she-a-pct-pp-him		m-spouse	2. leave				
/ S:Ag:pron _{dir}	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	cn _t	R:Ob:n	/ / / VP:[vr				
<i>kaṛkaṇanna</i>	(	<i>aṛuṭala</i>	+	<i>tul</i>	<i>aṛkaṇanna</i>	<i>ḍa</i>	<i>ṇuḷiki</i>		
<i>aṛka-a-ηa-n-na</i>		<i>aṛ-wuṭa-la</i>		<i>tul</i>	<i>aṛka-a-ηa-n-na</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ṇuḷiki</i>		
she-a-pct-pp-him		she-go(pc)-pc		find	she-a-pct-pp-it		that		
pa-pá-av _{DR}]	/	VP:pa-av _{MR}	/	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	cn _t	R:Ob:[dem		
<i>mama:</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ñukuṛʔ:</i>	<i>ñukuṛ</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>mama</i>	<i>buṛkadi</i>	<i>ḍa</i>		
<i>mama</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ñukuṛ</i>	<i>ñukuṛ</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>mama</i>	<i>buṛkadi</i>	<i>ḍa</i>		
fruit		forbidden	3. forbidden		fruit	in middle			
n	cn _t	Mod:adj]	/ / /	PR:adj	cn _t	S7:[Hd:n	loc	cn _t	
	<i>ṇuḷiki</i>	<i>ruwu</i>	<i>ṭir</i>	<i>nariʔ:</i>		<i>“ya</i>	<i>ṇida</i>	<i>ḍa</i>	
	<i>ṇuḷiki</i>	<i>ruwu</i>	<i>ṭir</i>	<i>na-ri</i>		<i>ya</i>	<i>ṇida</i>	<i>ḍa</i>	
	that	tree	stand	it-be(pc)	4. yes	this			
Mod:Cl:[S[:dem	n]	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]]	/ / /	wd _s	/	S:[dem	cn _t	
<i>mama</i>	<i>yumaṛ:</i>	<i># = ḍa</i>	<i>ṇuḷikiři</i>	<i>kaḍaʔ.</i>	<i>#</i>	<i>baṭiriṇiṛ</i>	<i>namuban</i>		
<i>mama</i>	<i>yumaṛ</i>	<i>ḍa(?)</i>	<i>ṇuḷiki-ti</i>	<i>kaḍa</i>		<i>baṭiriṇa-ti</i>	<i>na-muba-n</i>		
fruit	good	but(?)	that-op	that(op)		satan-op	he-say(pp)-pp		
n]	PR:adj /	cn _{adv}	S:Ag:[dem-op	dem(op)]		S:n-op	VP:pa-av _{DMR}		
<i>ηatu.</i>	<i># =</i>	<i>“wiṭ</i>	<i>kaṇu</i>	<i>ḍa</i>	<i>ḍaṇa</i>	<i>mama</i>	<i>yumaṛ.”</i>		
<i>ηatu</i>		<i>wiṭ</i>	<i>a-na</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ḍaṇa</i>	<i>mama</i>	<i>yumaṛ</i>		
her	5. get	imper-a(f)-it			that	fruit	good		
R ₁ :Do:pron	/ / /	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	cn _t	R:Ob:[dem	n]	/	PR:adj	
<i>#</i>	<i>namuban</i>	<i>ηatu:</i>	<i>ηaduḷa</i>	<i>ḍa</i>	<i>aṛmuban</i>				
	<i>na-muba-n</i>	<i>ηatu</i>	<i>ηaduḷa</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>aṛ-muba-n</i>				
he-say(pp)-pp		her	6. she		she-say(pp)-pp				
/	VP:pa-av _{DMR}	R ₁ :Do:pron	/ / /	S:Ag:pron _{dir}	cn _t	VP:pa-av _{DMR}			
<i>nipa</i>	<i>“eʔeʔ:</i>	<i>ηayi</i>	<i>wiṭ</i>	<i>kaṛaṇu:</i>	<i>mal</i>	<i>ṭaṇaḷ</i>			
<i>nipa</i>	<i>eʔeʔ</i>	<i>ηayi</i>	<i>wiṭ</i>	<i>aṛ-a-na</i>	<i>mal</i>	<i>ṭaṇaḷ</i>			
him	yes?	not	get	I-a(f)-it	because	die			
R ₁ :Do:pron	/	wd _s	/	VP:[prdneg	vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	/	cn _t	VP:[vr
<i>ηaḍiṛ</i>	<i>ṭaṇaḷ</i>	<i>ηuṛiḍiṛ:</i>		<i>ηayi</i>	<i>ηuṛiṇa:</i>				
<i>ηa-i-ḍiṛ</i>	<i>ṭaṇaḷ</i>	<i>ηuṛ-i-ḍiṛ</i>		<i>ηayi</i>	<i>ηuṛ-ri-na</i>				
I-go(subj)-fs	die	we(dl)-go(subj)-fs	7. not		we(dl)-eat(f)-it				
pa-av _{MR}]	/	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	/ / /	VP:[prdneg	pa-pá-av _{DR}]			
<i>“madiʔ</i>	<i>yupaʔ</i>	<i>yumaṛ</i>	<i>kaṇaga:</i>		<i>kuṇ</i>	<i>ṭa</i>			
<i>madi</i>	<i>ø</i>	<i>yumaṛ</i>	<i>wu-a-na-ga</i>		<i>kuṇ</i>	<i>ṭa</i>			
8. no	<i>ø</i>	good	you-a(f)-it-3sS	9. see	you-a(f)				
/ / /	non	/	VP:[vr:adj	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	/ / /	VP:[vr	pa-av _{DR}		

⁷ Alternate groupings could be made within this subject tagmeme.

<i>kuta</i>	<i>ŋalpi:</i>	<i>mayak</i>	<i>ʔaŋu</i>	<i>da?</i>	<i>ŋaŋʔa:</i>	<i>weŋeweŋeʔu</i>	<i>da</i>
<i>kuta</i>	<i>ŋalpi</i>	<i>mayak</i>	<i>yi-a-na</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ŋaŋʔa</i>	<i>weŋeʔu-redup</i>	<i>da</i>
already	far	understand	you-a(f)-it		what	pl-bad	
Mod _v :[adv	adv]	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	cn _t	adj _{int}	S/R ₁ :Ob:adj	cn

<i>kuta</i>	<i>yiyeŋya</i>	<i>yili:</i>	<i>wiʔ</i>	<i>ʔaŋu:</i>	(raw)	<i>wulaki</i>
<i>kuta</i>	<i>yi-yelya</i>	<i>yili(?)</i>	<i>wiʔ</i>	<i>yi-a-na</i>	<i>ø</i>	<i>wulaki</i>
already	you-understand	pl-(?)	get	you-a(f)-it	<i>ø</i>	like
PR/VP:[Mod:adv	pa-prdadj	(?)	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]		(?):adv

<i>wul?</i>	<i>wul</i>	<i>kadaŋaga:</i>	<i>yuřk</i>	<i>nuřkan:</i>	<i>adapuřkiyunu</i>
<i>ø</i>	<i>wul</i>	<i>ku-a-da-na-ga</i>	<i>yuřk</i>	<i>na-uřka-n</i>	<i>adapuřkiyunu</i>
<i>ø</i>	pretend	you-a-pc-he-3sS	hide	he-cause-pp	10. after that
	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	VP:vr	pa-av _{MR}]	/ / / cn _s

<i>wiʔ</i>	<i>kařkaŋanna:</i>	<i>muřu</i>	<i>yiřaŋa.</i>	<i>kađa</i>	<i>amimay.</i>
<i>wiʔ</i>	<i>ařka-a-ŋa-n-na</i>	<i>muřu</i>	<i>yiř-ri-ŋa-na</i>	<i>kađa</i>	<i>a-mimay</i>
get	she-a-pct-pp-it	alright	they(dl)-eat-pc-it	that(op)	m(op)-spouse
VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	intj	VP:pa-pá-av _{DR}	S:Ag:[dem(op)	n-op]

(	<i>yiřaŋa</i>	+	<i>adapuřkiyunu,</i>	<i>guluř</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ŋalpi</i>
	<i>yiř-ri-ŋa-na</i>		<i>adapuřki-yunu</i>	<i>guluř</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ŋalpi</i>
11.	they(dl)-eat-pc-it		then	eye		far
/ / /	VP:pa-pá-av _{DR}	#cts	/	cn _s	PT:n	cn _t VP:[Mod _v :adv

<i>kuñ</i>	<i>tiřaŋan</i>	<i>mapin</i>	<i>tiřaŋan</i>	<i>kiři.</i>	<i>wankan</i>
<i>kuñ</i>	<i>yiř-a-ŋa-n</i>	<i>mapin</i>	<i>yiř-a-ŋa-n</i>	<i>kiři</i>	<i>wankan</i>
see	they(dl)-a-pct-pp	think	they(dl)-a-pct-pp	oh	12. alone(?)
vr	pa-av _{DR}]	VP:[vr	pa-av _{DR}]	intj	/ / / PR:[adj

<i>ŋaŋuku?</i>	<i>weŋeʔu</i>	<i>ŋaŋařaŋa?</i>	<i>“ŋaŋtiniŋa</i>	<i>kata</i>	<i>wiʔ</i>
<i>ŋa-aŋuku</i>	<i>weŋeʔu</i>	<i>ŋa-a-ŋa-řaŋa</i>	<i>ŋaŋtini-ŋa</i>	<i>kata</i>	<i>wiʔ</i>
I-poor fellow	bad	(we)12-a-refl-pc	why		get
pa-prdadj]	VP:[vr:adj	pá-av _{DR}]	P:adj _{int} -gen	cn _p	VP:[vr

<i>ʔaŋanna.”</i>	<i>namuban</i>	<i>ŋatu?</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ankiřiya</i>	<i>ŋipa?</i>
<i>yi-a-ŋa-n-na</i>	<i>na-muba-n</i>	<i>ŋatu</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>an-kiřiya</i>	<i>nipa</i>
you-a-pct-pp-it	he-say-pp	her		f-woman	him
pa-pá-av _{DR}]	VP:pa-av _{DMR}	R ₁ :Do:[pron	cn _t	[n	pron]]

<i>adapuřkiyunu?</i>	<i>yamiŋi</i>	<i>đa</i>	<i>nida</i>	<i>peda</i>	<i>ŋaŋaŋalaŋa</i>
<i>adapuřki-yunu</i>	<i>yamiŋi</i>	<i>đa</i>	<i>nida</i>	<i>peda</i>	<i>ŋaŋa-ŋalaŋa</i>
after that	great	this	above		father-our(12p)
/ / /	cn _s	S:Ag:[Hd:adj	cn _t	[dem	loc]

<i>ŋaŋakunu?</i>	<i>kuy</i>	<i>aña</i>	<i>yiřuŋa</i>	<i>đa</i>	<i>yiřuŋa</i>
<i>na-aŋa-kunu</i>	<i>kuy</i>	<i>a-a-ña</i>	<i>yiřuŋa</i>	<i>đa</i>	<i>yiřuŋa</i>
he-come(pp)-kunu	search	he-a ₂ -pc	them(dl)	but	they(dl)
VP:pa-av _{MR} -kunu	VP:[vr	pa-av _{DDR}]	P:Ob:pron	/	cn _{adv} S:Ag:pron _{dir}

<i>keř</i>	<i>tiřiman</i>	<i>yuřk</i>	<i>tiřniitan?</i>	<i>muřu</i>	<i>yuřk</i>
<i>keř</i>	<i>yiř-yima-n</i>	<i>yuřk</i>	<i>yiř-ñita-n</i>	<i>muřu</i>	<i>yuřk</i>
run	they(dl)-go(pp)-pp	hide	they(dl)-begin(pp)-pp	OK	hide
VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	intj	VP[:vr

<i>tiři.</i>	(	<i>yuřk</i>	<i>tiři</i>	+	<i>kaya</i>	<i>yiřnakanaŋ?</i>
<i>yiř-ri</i>		<i>yuřk</i>	<i>yiř-ri</i>		<i>kaya</i>	<i>yiř-na-a-ŋa-n</i>
they(dl)-be(pc)	14.	hide	they(dl)-be(pc)	#cts	hear	they(dl)-na-a-pct-pp
pa-av _{MR}]	/ / /	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	/	VP:[vr	pa-av _{DR}]

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<i>kata</i>	<i>wař</i>	<i>wař</i>	<i>anna?</i> :	" <i>atam.</i>	<i>atam</i>	<i>kala</i>	<i>kala</i>	<i>yyiyan.</i>
<i>kata</i>	<i>wař</i> -redup		<i>a-a-n-na</i>	<i>atam</i>	<i>atam</i>	<i>kala</i>	<i>kala</i>	<i>yi-yima-n</i>
as	call	call	he-a-pp-him	Adam	Adam	where		you-go(pp)-pp
cn _p	VP:[vr	vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}] /	n	n	L:loc _{int}		VP:pa-av _{MR} /

<i>ñanřawa</i>	<i>yeni.</i> "		<i>řa</i>	<i>ñuřa</i>	<i>yuřk</i>	<i>nañi</i>	<i>yuřk</i>
<i>ñanřawa</i>	<i>yi-ri-ni</i>		<i>řa</i>	<i>ñuřa</i>	<i>yuřk</i>	<i>na-ñiø</i>	<i>yuřk</i>
where	you-be-pr	15.	but	he	hide	ø	hide
L:loc _{int}	VP:pa-av _{MR}	///	cn _{adv}	S:Ag:pron _{dir}		ø	VP:[vr

<i>nañitan.</i>	# =	<i>kata</i>	<i>yakul</i>	<i>naña.</i>	#
<i>na-ñita-n</i>		<i>kata</i>	<i>yakul</i>	<i>na-a-ña</i>	
he-begin(pp)-pp		for	afraid	he-a ₂ -pc	#unenthusiastic
pa-av _{MR}] /		cn _p	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	

	<i>ñanřiniřa</i>	<i>kata</i>	<i>yuřk</i>	<i>řeni.</i>		<i>madi.</i>	<i>ařkaña</i>	<i>řa</i>
	<i>ñanřini-řa</i>	<i>kata</i>	<i>yuřk</i>	<i>yi-ri-ni</i>		<i>madi</i>	<i>ařkaña</i>	<i>řa</i>
16.	why		hide	you-be-pr	17.	no	he/she	went
///	P:adj _{int} -gen	cn _p	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	///	non	/	VP:pa-av _{MR} cn _t

<i>řimutaya.</i>		<i>anřida</i>	<i>ankiřiya.</i>	<i>řimutaya.</i>		<i>ñeři</i>
<i>ři-muta-ya</i>		<i>an-řida</i>	<i>an-kiřiya</i>	<i>ři-muta-ya</i>		<i>ñeři</i>
you-me-give-pp		f-this	f-woman	you-me-give-pp	18.	steal
S:Ag:VP:pa-pá-av _{DDR}	/	R ₁ :Ob:[dem	n]	VP:pa-pá-av _{DDR}	///	VP:[vr

<i>ařaňa</i>	<i>řa</i>	<i>řařiiki</i>	<i>mama.</i>	<i>adapuřkiyunu</i>	<i>ňukuduyunu.</i>
<i>ař-a-ňa</i>	<i>řa</i>	<i>řařiiki</i>	<i>mama</i>	<i>adapuřki-yunu</i>	<i>ňukuř-ři-yunu</i>
she-a ₂ -pc		that	fruit	that place-from	forbidden-from
pa-av _{MR}] cn _t	R ₁ :Ob:[dem	n]	L4:[loc-el		n-lo-el]

	<i>anmutayařaga</i>	<i>ařařaňa.</i>	<i>m?m?</i> :	<i>řabařa</i>
	<i>an-muta-ya-řařa-ga</i>	<i>ař-ři-řa-na</i>	<i>m?m?</i>	<i>řa-ba-řa</i>
19.	me-give-pp-she-3sS	I-eat-pc-it	20.	no
///	VP:pa-pá-av _{DDR}	VP:pa-pá-av _{DR}	///	wd _s /

<i>wuřuňa</i>	<i>řayi</i>	<i>wiř</i>	<i>kuřeňana:</i>	<i>ala</i>	<i>řaňal</i>
<i>wuřuňa</i>	<i>řayi</i>	<i>wiř</i>	<i>wuř-e-ňana-na</i>	<i>ala</i>	<i>řaňal</i>
you(dl)	not	get	you(dl)-a(pr)-prps-it	so that	die
R ₁ :Do:pron	Qo:VP:[prdneg	vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}] /	cn _{con}	VP:[vr

<i>wuřiňa</i>	<i>kiři(?)</i> :	<i>ala</i>	<i>wurk</i>	<i>wurk</i>	<i>kuřmibi:</i>
<i>wuř-wiňa</i>	<i>kiři(?)</i>	<i>ala</i>	<i>wurk</i> -redup	<i>wuř-mibi</i>	
you(dl)-go(f)	oh(?)	so that	work	work	you(dl)-do(f)
pa-av _{MR}] intj(?)	/	cn _{con}	VP:[vr	vr	pa-av _{DMR}] ///

1. Then she went off alone, leaving her husband. 2. She left him and went. She found that fruit, the forbidden one. 3. There was a forbidden fruit in the centre where that tree stood. 4. Yes, that fruit is good. But that Satan said to her: 5. "Take that fruit — it's good," he said to her. 6. She said to him: "Oh yes?! I won't take it, because I might die, we both might die. 7. I will not eat it." 8. "No? It will do you good. 9. You will see far. You will understand all sorts of things, you will know bad things (?). You get it. Like he only lied to you. He hid it." 10. Then she took it, and the two of them ate, she and her husband. 11. They ate it up, then they could see far. They thought: "Oh! 12. Poor me. We two have spoilt together. Why did you take it?" he said to his wife. 13. Then the great one above, our father, came. He looked for them, but they had run away and had hid. 14. They were hidden. They heard him calling: "Adam, Adam, where did you go? Where are you?" 15. But he had hidden as he was afraid. 16. "Why are you hiding?" 17. "No. She went, the woman you gave me, 18. she stole that fruit from that forbidden thing. 19. She gave me and I ate." 20. "Oh yes? I told you not to take it. You will now die. You will have to work."

TEXT BJ

<i>lamalma</i> <i>lamalma</i> 1. hollow log trap S:n	<i>atiyin.</i> <i>atiyin</i> cave PR:[Pt:n	<i>ruwu.</i> <i>ruwu</i> tree n]	2.	<i>ruŋ</i> <i>ruŋ</i> chop VP:[vr	<i>ŋiheteñunu</i> <i>yil-ŋati-ñi-na</i> they- <i>ŋata</i> (pr)-pr-it pa-pá-av _{DR}]
<i>mankan.</i> <i>mankan</i> type of tree R:Ob:n /	<i>yilyekenu</i> <i>yil-ya-i-na</i> they-with-a(pr)-it VP:pa-pá-av _{DR} /	<i>yeŋ.</i> <i>yeŋ</i> throw VP:vr	3.	<i>wulpultu.</i> <i>wulpul-ŋi</i> billabong-at Cl _E :PR:[n-lo	<i>ŋukiř.</i> <i>ŋuku-ŋi</i> water-at n-lo] /
<i>ŋileni</i> <i>yil-ri-ni</i> they-be-pr pa-av _{MR}	<i>ñuřađi</i> <i>ñuřađi</i> altogether Mod _v :adv] /	<i>yilaŋa</i> <i>yil-aŋa</i> they-go(pr) VP:pa-av _{MR}	<i>buŋa</i> <i>buŋa</i> camp L2:[n	<i>yiluŋa.</i> <i>yiluŋa</i> them pron]	<i>muřu</i> <i>muřu</i> OK intj
<i>ŋilpeŋi</i> <i>yil-bi-ŋi</i> they-do(pr)-pr pa-av _{DMR}]	<i>yileni</i> <i>yil-ri-ni</i> they-be-pr VP:pa-av _{MR}	<i>piŋiŋi</i> <i>piŋiŋi</i> sleep T(?):[n(?) ⁸	<i>piŋiŋi</i> <i>piŋiŋi</i> sleep n	<i>piŋiŋi</i> <i>piŋiŋi</i> sleep n	<i>piŋiŋi</i> <i>piŋiŋi</i> sleep n
<i>piŋiŋi</i> <i>piŋiŋi</i> sleep n] /	<i>yaŋa</i> <i>yaŋa</i> sleep VP:[vr	<i>yileni.</i> <i>yil-ri-ni</i> they-be-pr pa-av _{MR}]	5.	<i>mapin</i> <i>mapin</i> think VP:[vr	<i>ŋilenu?</i> <i>yil-i-na</i> they-a(pr)-it pa-pá-av _{DR}] /
<i>ñulaŋa?</i> <i>ñul-aŋa</i> we(12p)-go(pr) pa-av _{MR}]	<i>lamalma</i> <i>lamalma</i> trap R:Ob:n	<i>kuñ</i> <i>kuñ</i> watch VP:[vr	<i>ñulaŋu.</i> <i>ñul-a-na</i> we(12p)-a(f)-it pa-pá-av _{DR}]	6.	<i>ŋapay</i> <i>ŋapay</i> perhaps Mod _v :adv
<i>pili</i> <i>pili</i> enter VP:[vr	<i>eŋeŋiŋana.</i> <i>a-neŋi-ŋa-na</i> it-neŋú-pc-it pa-*pá-av _{DR}]	<i>pili</i> <i>pili</i> enter VP:[vr	<i>eŋeŋiŋana</i> <i>a-neŋi-ŋa-na</i> it-neŋú-pc-it pa-*pá-av _{DR}]	<i>da</i> <i>da</i> fish cn _t	<i>paŋkuř.</i> <i>paŋkuř</i> fish S:Ag:n
<i>ŋařu</i> <i>ŋařu</i> we(dl) S:Ag:pron _{dir}	<i>ŋuřiña</i> <i>ŋuř-wiña</i> we(dl)-go(f) VP:[pa-'go'	<i>ŋaw</i> <i>ŋaw</i> feel/catch vr]	<i>yilařkulipa:</i> <i>yil-ařkulipa</i> pl-other R:Ob:dem	<i>yiliyi.</i> <i>yili-ŋa</i> game-for P:Ob:n-gen	<i>yiliña.</i> <i>yil-wiña</i> they-go(f) VP:pa-av _{MR} /
<i>ŋagay</i> <i>ŋagay</i> hunt VP:[vr	<i>wulni.</i> <i>wul-ni</i> you(pl)-be(f) pa-av _{MR}]	<i>kata ala</i> <i>kata ala</i> in case Ø	<i>ŋayi.</i> <i>ŋayi</i> not prdneg	<i>kata ala</i> <i>kata ala</i> in case cn:[cn _p cn _{con}]	<i>ŋayi</i> <i>ŋayi</i> not VP:[prdneg
<i>namibi</i> <i>na-mibi</i> it-do(f) pa-av _{DMR}]	<i>yamiñi</i> <i>yamiñi</i> big S:Ag:[adj	<i>aka</i> <i>aka</i> fish n]	<i>muřu</i> <i>muřu</i> OK intj	<i>ñeřikenu.</i> <i>ña-aři-i-na</i> we(12)to-a(pr)-it VP:pa-pá-av _{DR}	<i>ñaŋa</i> <i>ña-aŋa</i> we(12)-go(pr) VP:pa-av _{MR}
<i>ñanu.</i> <i>ñanu</i> we(12) S:Ag:pron _{dir}	<i>ŋaŋi⁹</i> <i>ŋaŋi</i> try VP:vr	<i>kata</i> <i>kata</i> watch cn _p	<i>kuñ</i> <i>kuñ</i> watch VP:[vr	<i>ñeni.</i> <i>ña-ri-ni</i> we(12)-be-pr pa-av _{MR}]	<i>kađiŋa.</i> <i>kađa-ŋa</i> that(op)-gen P:Ob:[dem-gen

⁸ *piŋiŋi* 'sleep' is not a verb root, although which other word class it belongs to is uncertain.

⁹ *ŋaŋi* has been postulated here. *naŋi* or *ñaŋi* was recorded.

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<i>lamalmayi.</i> <i>lamalma-ʔa</i> trap-gen	10.	<i>ʔaʔi</i> <i>ʔaʔi</i> how	<i>ʔul</i> <i>ʔul</i> find	<i>yaʔannaʔ ?</i> <i>ya-a-ʔa-n-na</i> you(sg)-a-pct-pp-it	#question
n-gen]	/ / /	R:Ob:adj _{int}	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	/ / /
<i>yu</i> <i>yu</i> yes	<i>ʔida</i> <i>nida</i> this	<i>wiʔi</i> <i>wiʔi</i> grass	<i>adapuʔkiyunu</i> <i>adapuʔki-yunu</i> there-from	<i>waʔiʔ</i> <i>w-aʔi</i> you(sg)(imper)-get(f)	<i>muʔu</i> <i>muʔu</i> intj
/ / /	wd _s	R ₁ :Ob:[dem	n]	L4:loc-el	VP:pa-av _{DR}] /
<i>ʔaʔi</i> <i>ʔaʔi</i> how	<i>ʔuduʔ</i> <i>ʔuduʔ</i> (?)	<i>da</i> <i>da</i> cn _t	<i>ʔaʔikiʔ</i> <i>ʔaʔiki</i> that	#question	12. <i>yu</i> <i>yu</i> yes
PR:adj _{int} /	PR:adj(?)		S:dem	/ / /	wd _s / L(?) :dem
<i>muʔu</i> <i>muʔu</i> OK	<i>ʔawini</i> <i>ʔa-wini</i> we(12)-pl	<i>pili</i> <i>pili</i> enter	<i>ʔuʔkeʔi</i> <i>ʔa-uʔki-ʔi</i> we(12)-cause(pr)	<i>aka</i> <i>aka</i> fish	<i>ʔa</i> <i>da</i> n
/ / /	intj	S:Ag:pron	VP:[vr	pa-av _{MR}]	/ S:Ag:n c _t VP:[vr
<i>eʔeʔiyunu.</i> <i>a-neʔi-yiʔ-na</i> it-neʔi-fs-it	14. <i>yu</i> <i>yu</i> yes	<i>muʔu.</i> <i>muʔu</i> OK	<i>kuta</i> <i>kuta</i> now	<i>let</i> <i>let</i> fill	<i>ʔuʔkan.</i> <i>ʔa-uʔka-n</i> I-cause-pp
pa-*pá-av _{DR}]	/ / /	wd _s /	intj /	T:t	VP:[vr pa-av _{MR}]
<i>wer</i> <i>wer</i> lift up	<i>ʔenu</i> <i>ʔa-i-na</i> we(12)-a(pr)-it	<i>ʔaʔi.</i> <i>ʔaʔi.</i> how	<i>yu</i> <i>yu</i> yes	<i>yamiʔi</i> <i>yamiʔi</i> big	<i>aka.</i> <i>aka.</i> fish
VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}] /	PR:adj _{int} ¹⁰	/ wd _s /	S:[adj	n] S:[adj n]
<i>ʔidaʔa.</i> <i>nida-ʔa</i> here	<i>mal</i> <i>mal</i> up	<i>ʔeyekenu.</i> <i>ʔa-ya-i-na</i> we(12)-with-a(pr)-it	<i>ʔuʔka.</i> <i>ʔuʔka</i> quickly	<i>payal</i> <i>payal</i> get-away	VP:[vr
PR:L:loc	/ / /	VP:[vr	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	Mod _v :adv /	
<i>ʔaʔatayanaga.</i> <i>ʔa-ʔata-yaʔ-na-ga</i> us(12)-ʔata-fs-it-3sS	pa-pá-av _{DR}]	/ / /			

1. The trap is a hollow log. 2. They chop a certain type of tree, they get it and throw it down. 3. They leave it in the billabong, in the water, for a long time. They go to their camp. 4. Alright, they (?), they rest many nights.¹¹ 5. They think: "Yes, let's try it. Let's see the trap. 6. Perhaps some have entered it already, fish have gone in. 7. No, we two will go to feel out the others (?).¹² You all go hunting for game, in case, in case the big fish gets away. Alright, you and I go to it (the trap). 8. We two will go. 9. We will try to look at that trap. 10. How did you find it? 11. Yes, get this grass from here. Alright, how is it? *ʔuduʔ*¹³ there. 12. Yes, here it is. 13. Alright, we make the fish go in, it might get there. 14. Yes, alright. Now I fill it. 15. Alright, we lift it up. How is it? Yes, a big fish, this one is a big fish. 16. We'll bring it up, quickly, he might get away from us."

¹⁰ *ʔaʔi* could be analysed as filling referent after *wer ʔenu*.

¹¹ They leave it about three weeks.

¹² Translation uncertain.

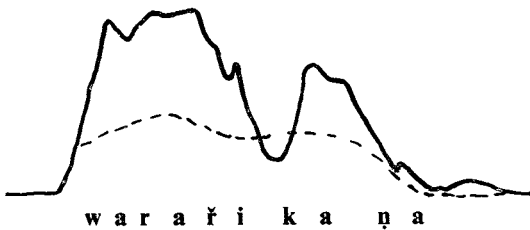
¹³ Meaning not known.

APPENDIX K

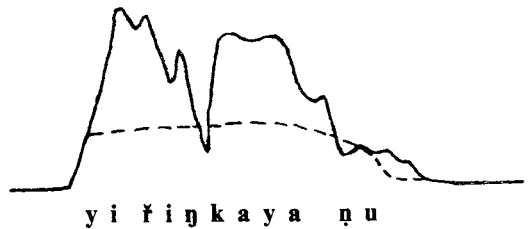
Mingograph Traces

Diagrams in this appendix are copied from Mingograph curves. The scale is 50 mm/sec. The full line represents intensity variation and the dotted line pitch variation of utterances; intensity and pitch are relative only. Some of the minor fluctuations in these curves (particularly the intensity curve) are not significant, being due to background noise; this is seen particularly between phonological phrases. Occasionally a base line is sketched in to aid interpretation. Where an utterance has been too long to show across the page, corresponding points at the end of one line and the beginning of the next are indicated by placing an "x" over the curves. The upper transcriptions follow the sequence of segments as uttered, as closely as can be determined; this transcription is of segments rather than phonemes, and intonational glottal stop is indicated by ?. In the transcription, phrase stress is indicated by ' placed before the stressed syllable.

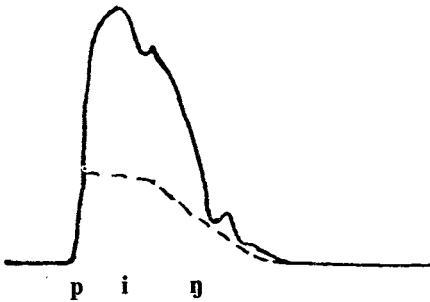
/. / Final Statement



war ařikaŋa.
reach up it-will go to-it
'It will reach up to it.'

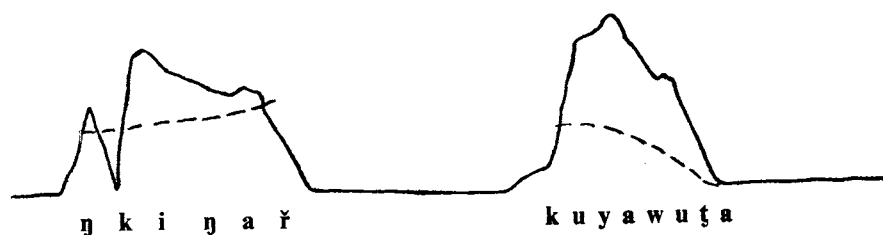


yiřiga yaŋu.
strong you-will do-it
'You will make it strong.'

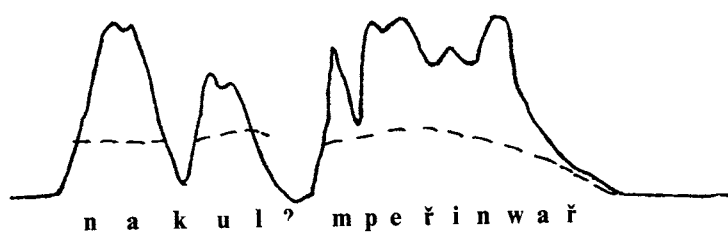


piŋ.
end
'It came to an end.'

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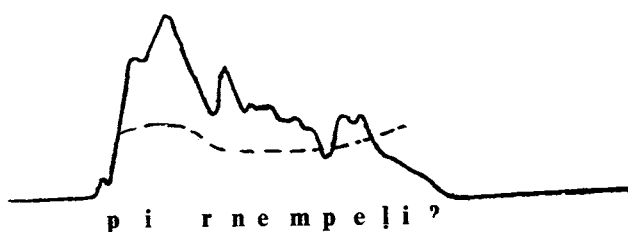


giŋař *kuyawuřa*.
 grinding stone pounder
 'the grinding stone and the pounder.'



nakul *beřinwař*.
 another lily leaf-with
 'Another way is with a lily leaf.'

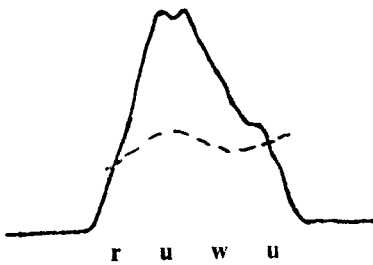
/ : / Open Statement



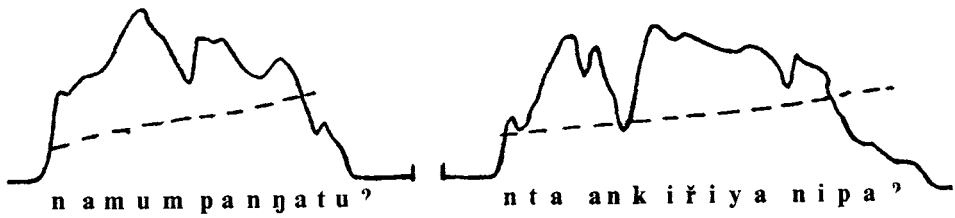
pir *nebeli*:
 full he-does
 'He is full up (with food).'



parik ṭiluṛkeḷi:
 dry they-cause
 'They dry it out.'

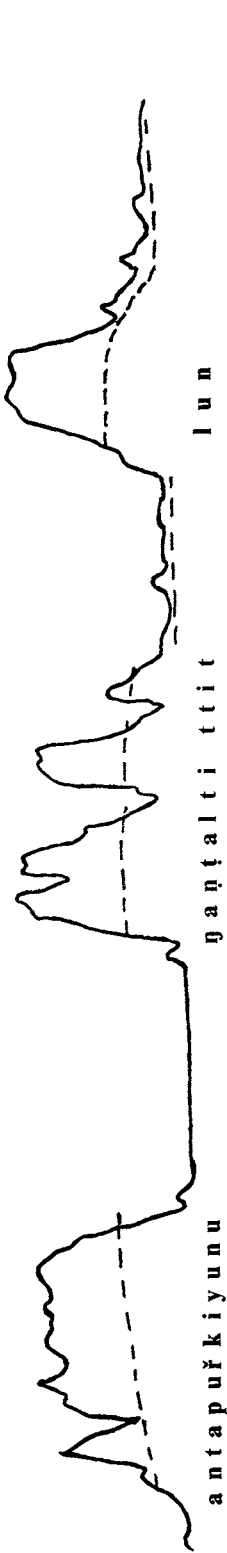


ruwu:
 tree
 '... trees.'

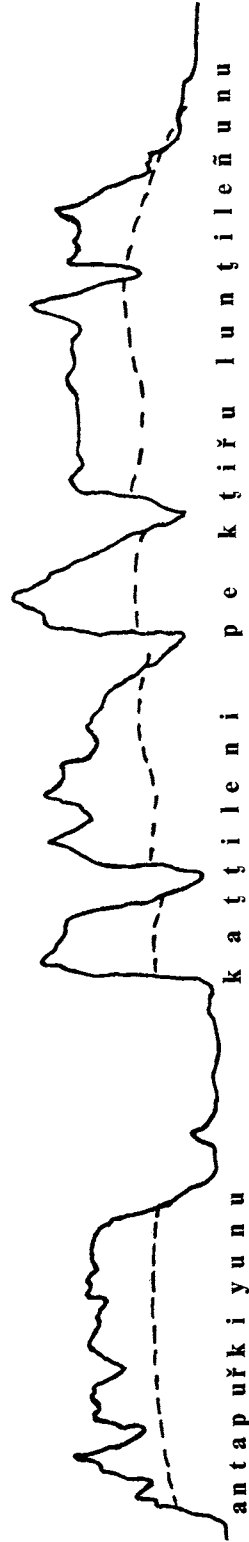


namuban ṇatu: da ankiṛiya nipa:
 he-said her woman him
 '... he said to her, to his wife.'

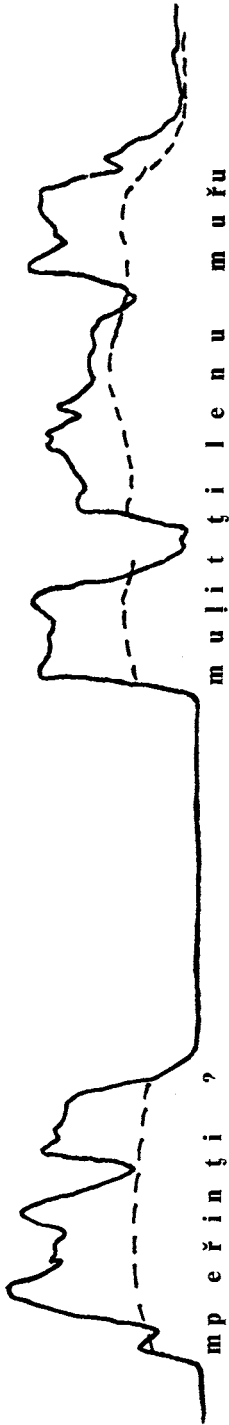
/, / Tentative Pause



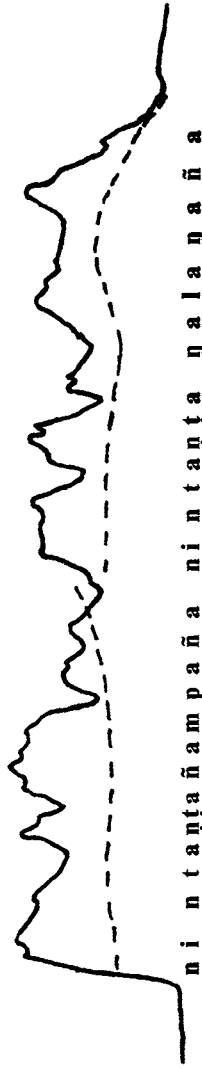
adapuŋkiyumu, ŋaŋal tit tit. lun.
 after that mouth tie tie put
 'After that, they tie the mouth (of the sack) and put it down.'



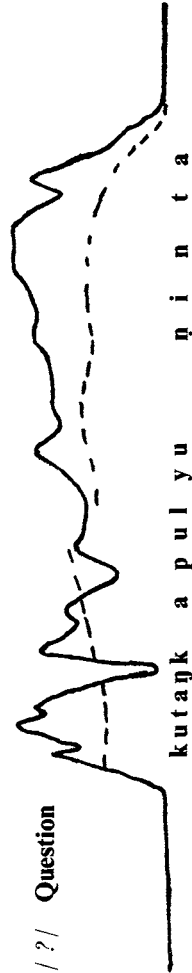
adapuŋkiyumu, 'kaŋ tɰileni 'pekɰiŋu 'lun tɰileñunu.
 after that pick up they-are bag-into put they-do-it
 'After that, they pick it up and put it in a bag.'



'beřinři, muřit řilenu muřu.
leaf-op cover they-do-it OK
'Alright, they cover it with a lily leaf.'

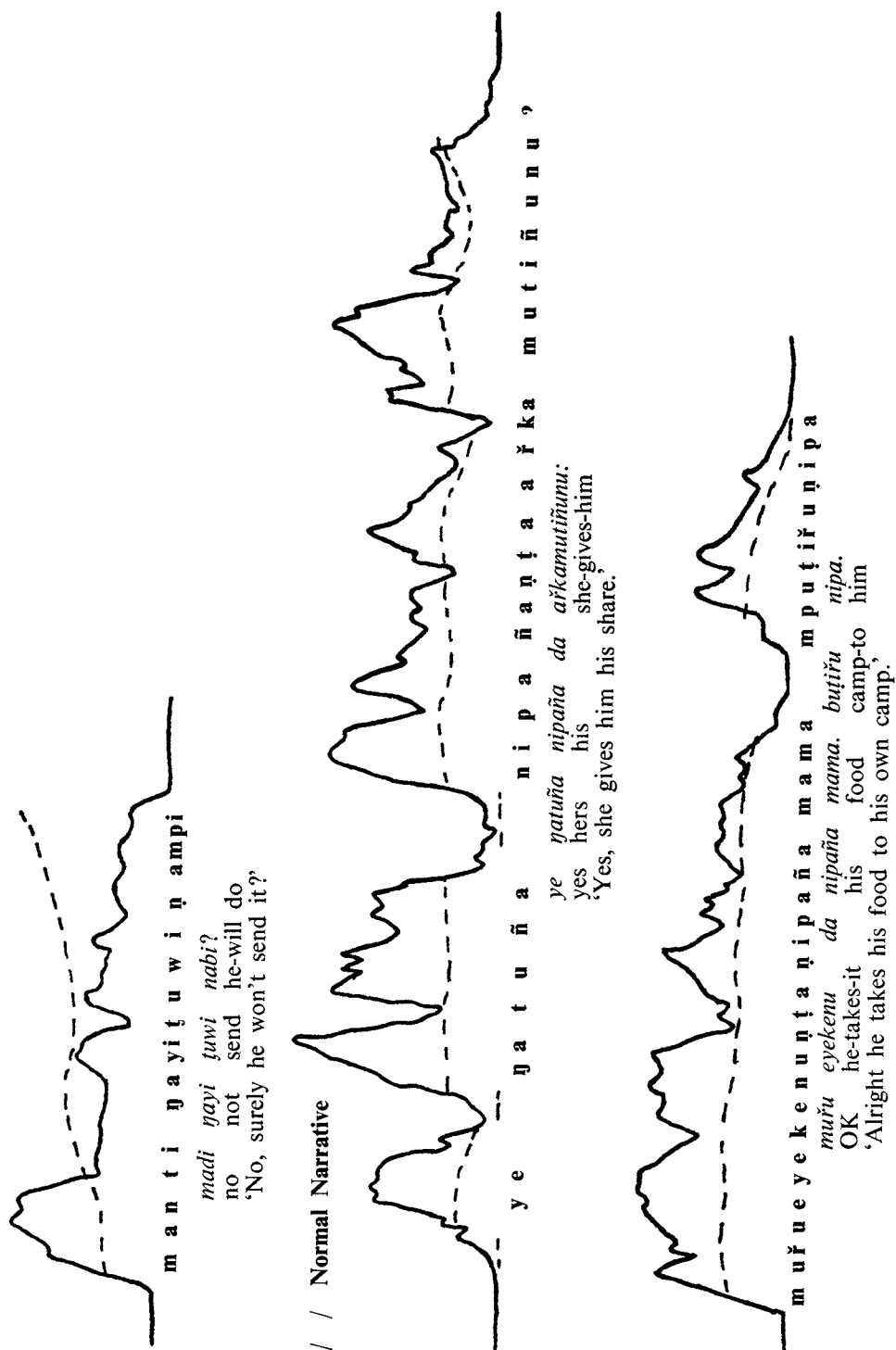


nida da ñabaña, nida da řalayaña.
this yours this ours
'This part is for you, this part for us.'

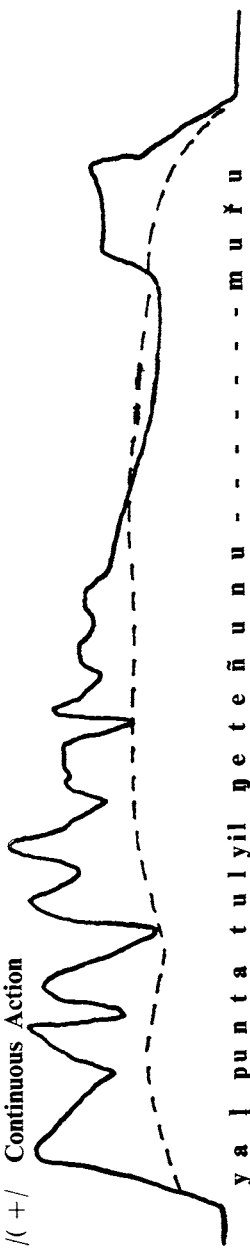


/ ? / Question

kuta gapul? yu 'nida.
now cooked yes this
'Is it cooked? Yes, here it is.'

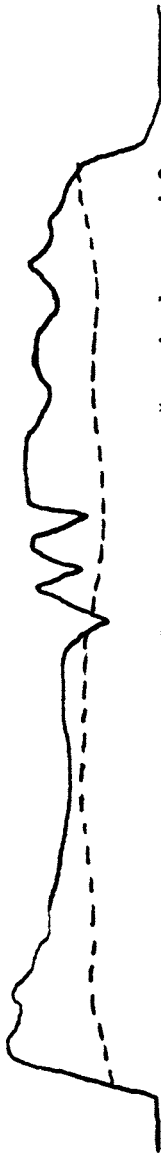


/ (+ / Continuous Action



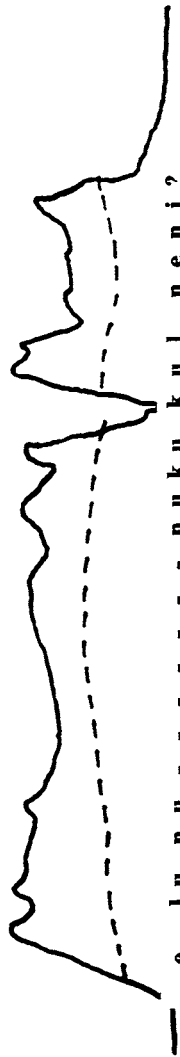
y a l p u n t a t u l y i l ɲ e t e ɲ u n u - - - m u ʃ u

y a l p u n d a (t u l y i l ɲ e t e ɲ u n u + m u ʃ u .
lily seed find they-do-it OK
'They keep finding lily seed.'



n e n i - - - k a t a w a y a ʃ y i l e n i ?

(n e n i + k a t a w a y a ʃ y i l e n i :
it-is hungry they-are
'It stays there until they get hungry.'



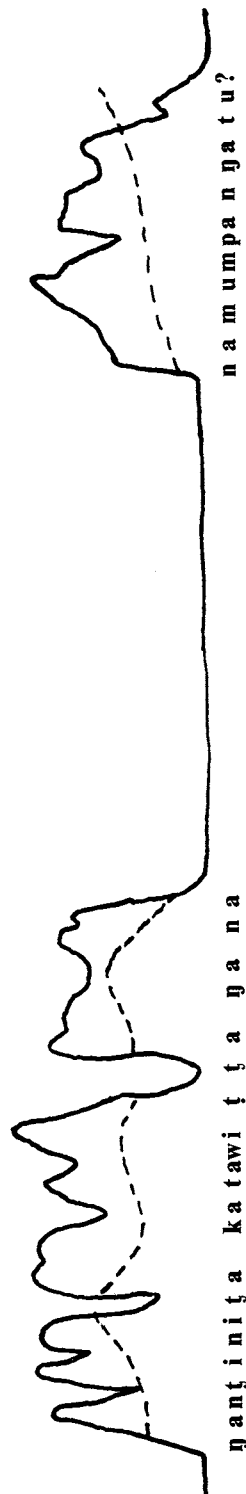
e l u ɲ u - - - ɲ u k u k u l n e n i ?

(e l u ɲ u + ɲ u k u k u l n e n i :
he-eats water drink he-is
'He eats it, then has a drink.'

/“ ”/ Quotation

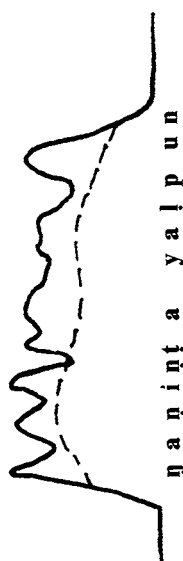


“yu” *nebeli*:
yes he-says
“Yes,” he says.

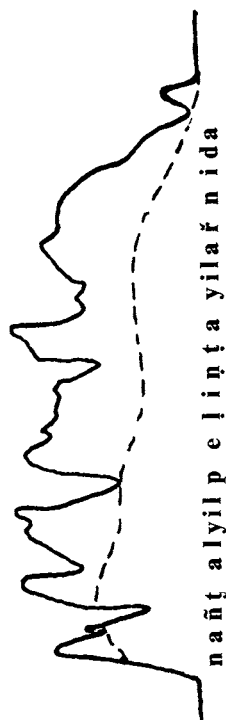


“*pañiniṭa* *kata* *wiṭ* *ṭaṇanna*.” *namuban* *ṇatu*:
why get you-did-it he-said her
“Why did you take it?” he said to her.

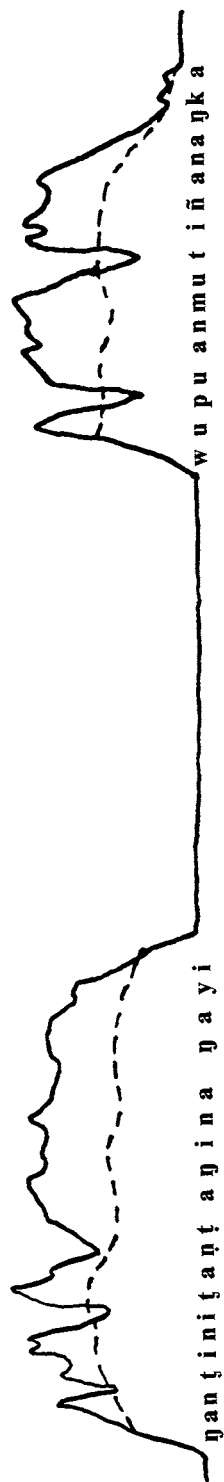
Interrogative Word



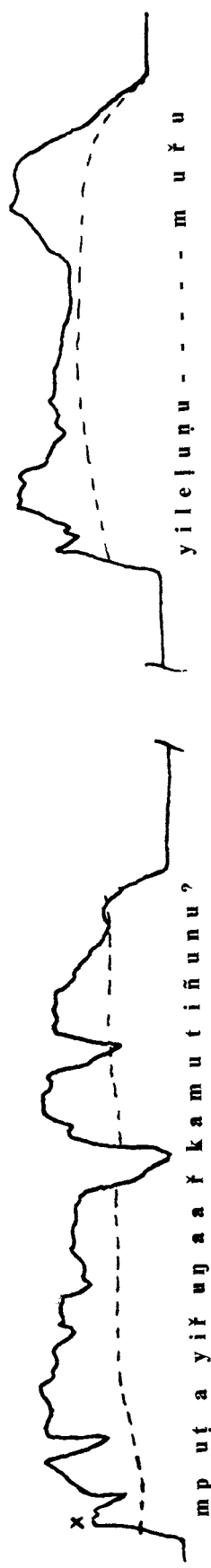
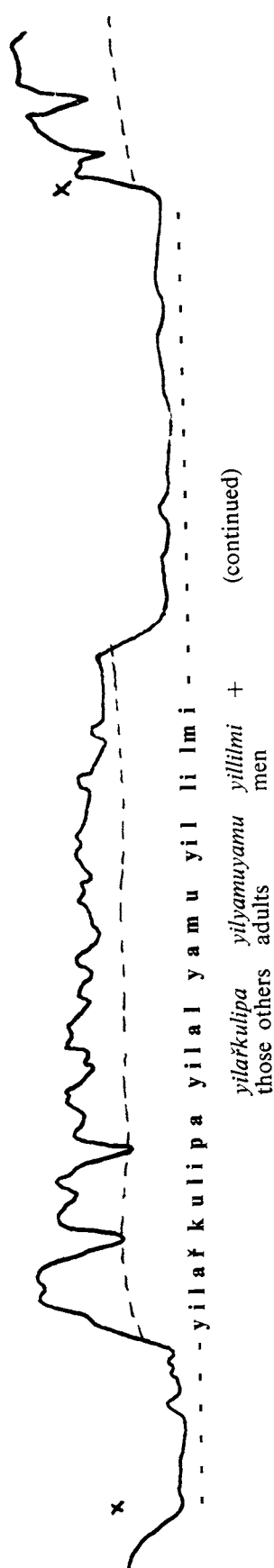
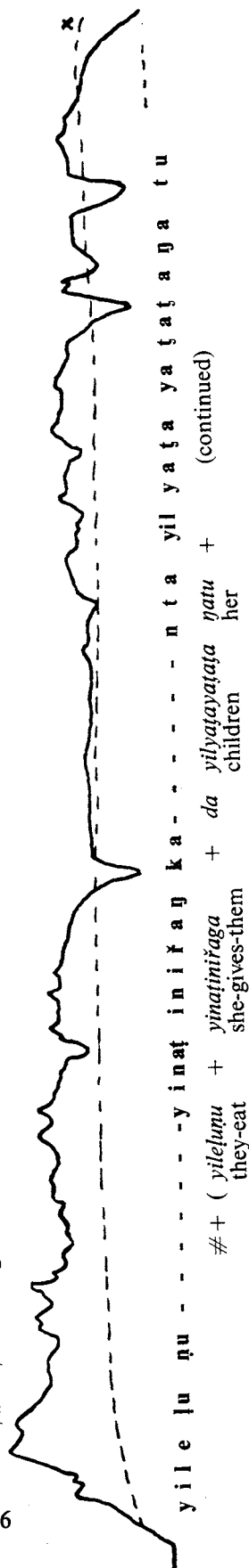
nañi da yalpun.
how lily seed
'How is the lily seed dumper?'



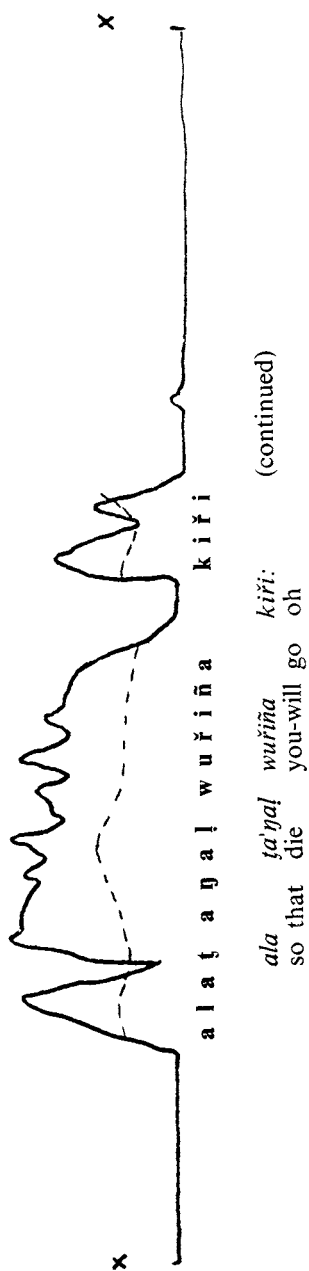
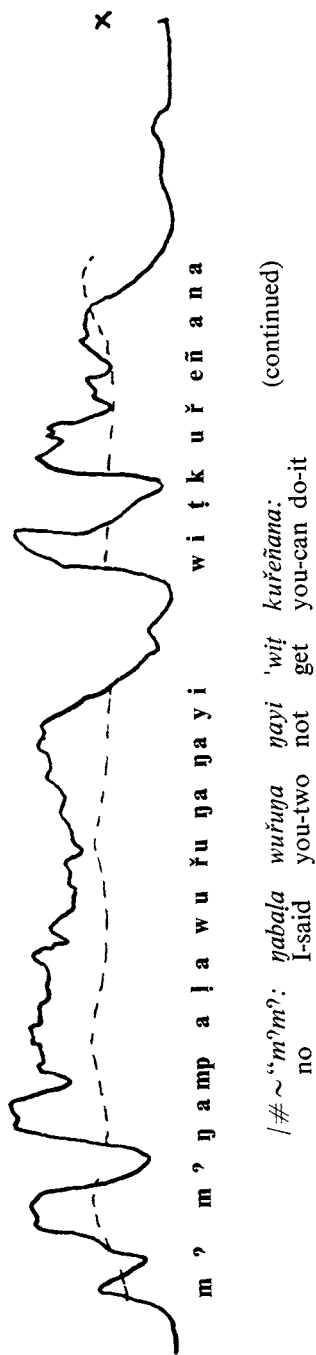
nañi alyilp e liñta yilañ nida.
what they-do these
'What are these people doing?'



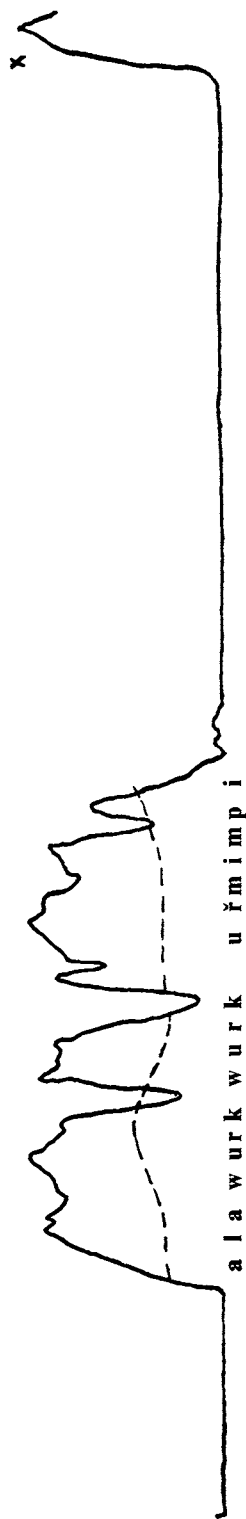
nañiñiñta da ñina ñayi wupu anmutiñanaga.
why I not fire he-can give-me
'Why didn't he send me some fire?'



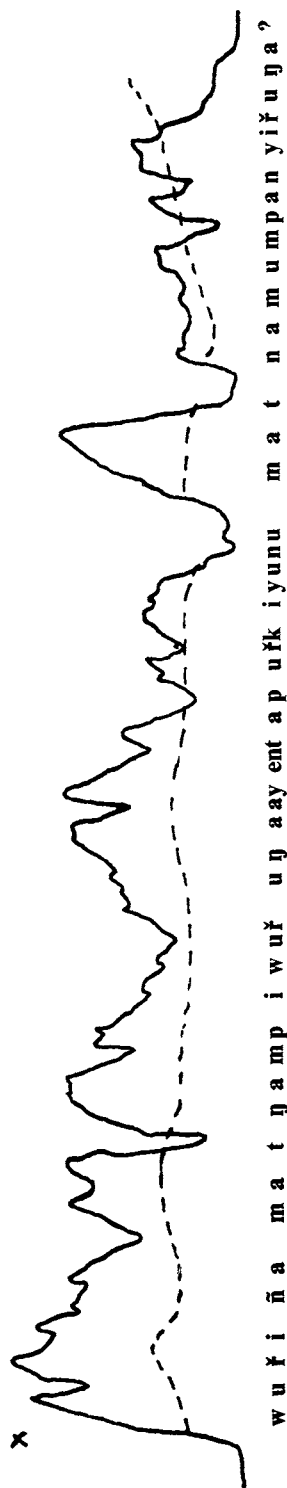
/ # ~ / Exasperation



Exasperation continued

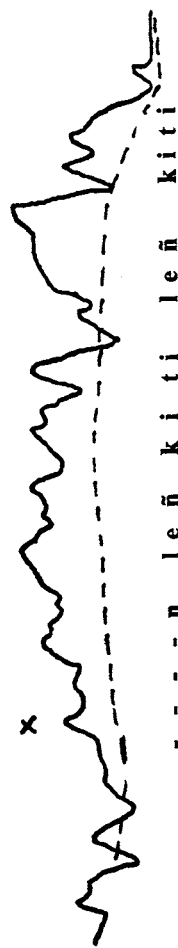
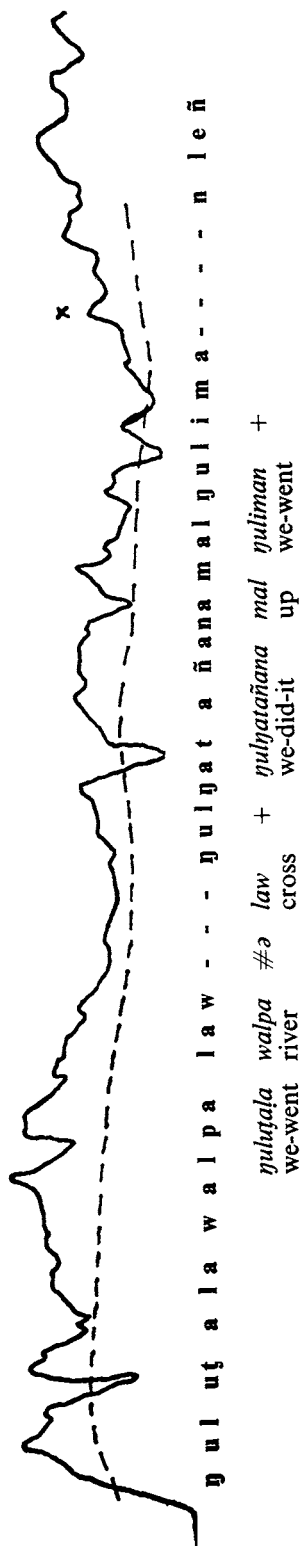


ala 'wuk wurk kuŋmbi: (continued)
so that work work you-(dl)-will do



wu'ŋiŋa 'mat ŋabi wuŋa ayedapuŋkiyunu' 'mat namuban yiŋuŋa: #
you-will go chase out I-will do you(dl) there-from chase out he-did them(dl)
'“No, I told you not to take it! because you will die, because you will have to work. I will chase you out from there.”
He chased them out.'

/#ə/ Arrival



'We came to the river and crossed it, then climbed northwards.'



p i ŋ p i l i p i l i y i l i m a n ? y i l a l m a k i ? y i l u l a w a n t i ?
 # = *piŋ.* *pili pili* *yiliman.* *yilalmaki.* *yilulawanŋi.* (continued)
 finish enter they-went they-all they-with

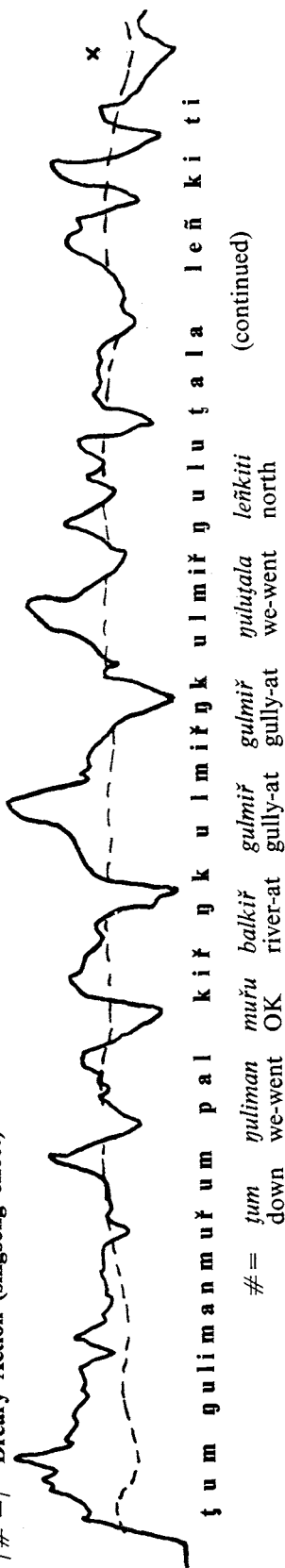


n a w i n i t a y i l u ŋ a ? a n ŋ a ʔ a k a ñ a y i l u ŋ a ?
nawiniŋa *yiluŋa.* *anŋaʔakaña* *yiluŋa.* (continued)
 m-father them f-mother them

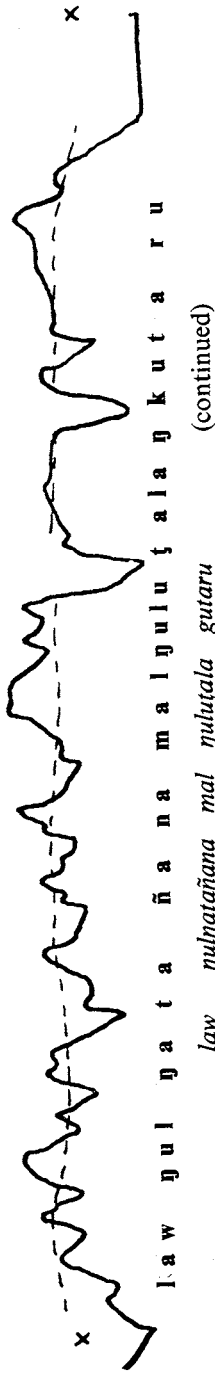


y i l k t t i y a y i l u ŋ a p i l i p i l i y i l n e t i w u n u ? y i l i w a n t i ? p i ŋ
yilkiŋiya *yiluŋa* *pili pili* *yilneŋiwunnu,* *yiliwanŋi* *piŋ.* #
 pl-women them enter they-went-en masse animals-with end
 'He finished it. They all went in, their father, their mother, their wives, they all went in together with the animals.'

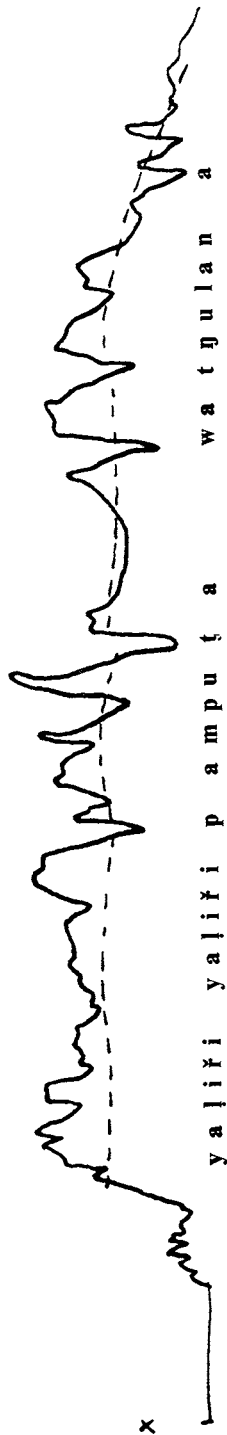
/# = / Dreary Action (singsong effect)



= tum ŋuliman muŕu OK down we-went
balkiŕ river-at gulmiŕ gully-at leñkiti north we-went

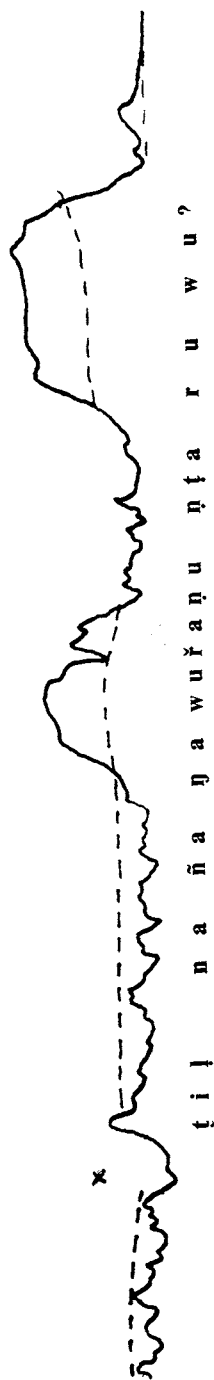
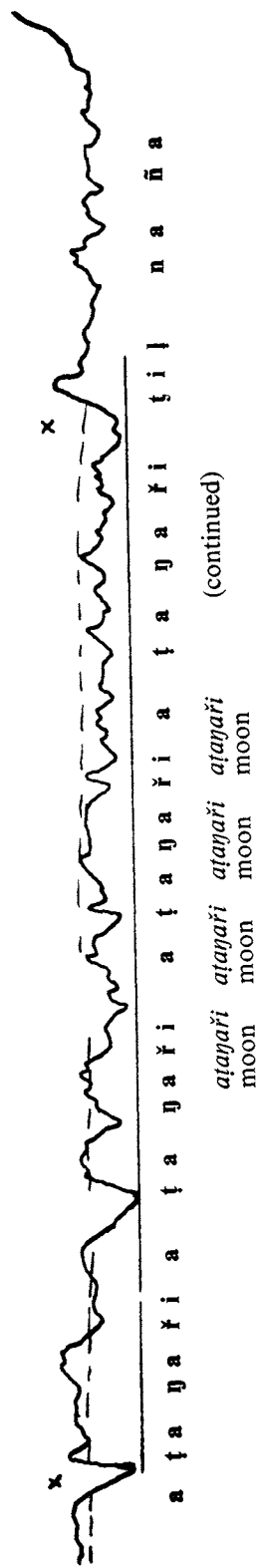
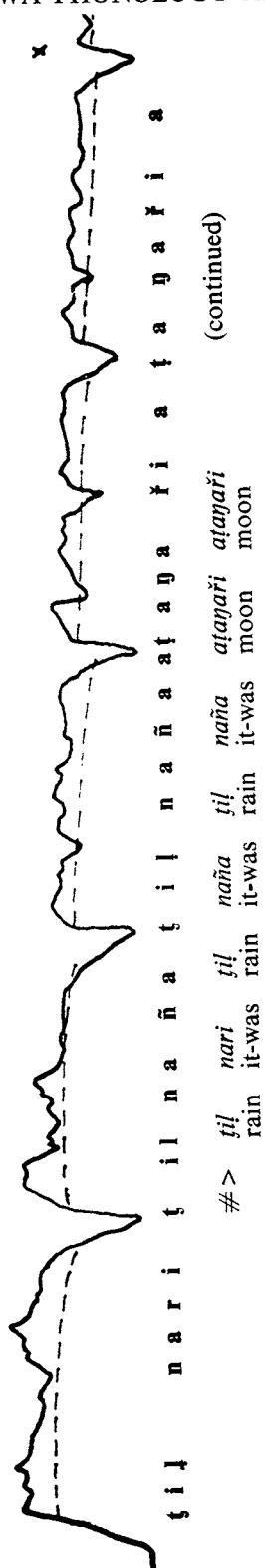


law ŋulŋatañana mal ŋulŋata gutaru
cross we-did-it up we-went hill



'wat ŋulanna, #
yaliri yaliri pabuŕa white bark stringy bark leave we-did-it

'We went down by the river, through a gully, through another gully, going north; we crossed the gully and climbed a hill, we passed white bark and stringy bark trees, we left behind . . .



<i>ti!</i>	<i>naña</i>	<i>#</i>	<i>ɲawuʃ</i>	<i>anna</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ruwu:</i>
rain	it-was		drown	it-did-it	tree	

[illegible]

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LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

General Abbreviations and Symbols

c.	circa
PE	Pidgin English creole
sylls	syllables
TG	transformational-generative
(?)	uncertain
(a)	a optionally
a.b	a and b simultaneously
a ~ b	a not including b
[a. .]	used to bracket items in involved formulae
[a,b,c]	a, b or c, choose one
[. . .]	see also phonological and morphological symbols
*	(preceding gloss) hypothetical form not occurring; (preceding pá) dummy suffix

Phonological Abbreviations and Symbols

alv	alveolar
alvpal	alveopalatal
B	prenasalised stop
bilab	bilabial
C	consonant
H	hard consonant (devoiced stop or nasal)
L	liquid (/l, ɫ, ʎ, ʀ, r/); or lateral or alveolar semivowel (/l, ɫ, ʎ, r/)
N	/n/, /ɲ/ or /ɳ/
Ŋ	nasal
P	devoiced stop
R	/r/ or /ʀ/
redup	reduplication form
retr	retroflexed alveolar
T	alveolar consonant
t	retroflexed alveolar consonant
ú	a high vowel in auxiliary verb stems (see chapter 5)
v	a harmonising vowel in a subjunctive suffix (see chapter 5)
V	vowel
V ~ a	any vowel except /a/
x	alveopalatal stop segment
Y	semivowel
[. . .]	phonetic symbols enclosed
/ . . . /	phonemic symbols enclosed
'	word stress
^	phrase stress
.	syllable break; final statement intonation
,	tentative pause intonation
?	question intonation
:	open statement intonation
∴	open statement at lower pitch following another open statement
?	intonation pattern
?	glottal stop (where pertinent)
(. . . +	continuous action intonation
∅	zero phoneme
#	word boundary; end of intonation modification
# +	prolonged action intonation modification
# ~	exasperation intonation modification
# ∅	arrival intonation modification

LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

# =	dreary action intonation modification
# >	overwhelmed intonation modification
a + b	a and then b
→	becomes

Morphological and Tagmeme Abbreviations and Symbols

accomp	accompanitive
act	active suffix (- <i>ḡuwal</i>)
adj	adjective
adv	adverb
advs	adversative (cn _{advs})
af	affix (often other than pa)
Ag	agent (deep case)
all	allative
as	auxiliary stem (not including prefixes or tense affixes) (chapter 13 only)
auv	auxiliary verb (with all affixes) (chapter 13)
aux	auxiliary
av	auxiliary stem (including tense affixes)
B	beneficiary
caus	causative (causAg causative or causing agent)
causedAg	caused agent
cn	conjunction (cn _{advs} , cn _{con} , cn _p , cn _r , cn _s , cn _t)
'come'	auxiliary stem 'come' (Appendix J only)
con	consequence (cn _{con})
cts	continuous aspect
d	dual (1d, 2d, 3d)
DDR	dative direferential
dem	demonstrative
dir	direct (pron _{dir})
DMR	dative monoreferential
Do	dative object (deep case)
DR	direferential
DT	ditransitive (Cl _{DT})
E	equational (Cl _E)
el	elative
emph	emphasis
f	feminine; future indicative (Appendix J)
fem	feminine
fs	future continuous subjunctive (Appendix J)
fut	future tense
gen	genitive case
'go'	auxiliary stem 'go'
habit	habitual past action suffix (- <i>kay</i>)
Hd, Head	head of noun phrase
I	instrument tagmeme
imper	imperative
In	instrument (deep case)
ind, indic	indicative mood
int	interrogative (adj _{int} etc.)
intj	interjection
intrans	intransitive
IT	intransitive (Cl _{IT})
k-suffix	see ¶8.4
L	location tagmeme
L2	allative tagmeme

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L4	relative tagmeme
lo	locative case
Lo	location (deep case)
loc	locative (word)
locnm	location name
m, masc	masculine
Mod	modifier (in noun phrase)
Mod _v	modifier (in verb phrase)
MR	monoreferential
n	noun; noun in nominative case (when not followed by hyphen)
neg	negative
nom	nominative case
non	non-existential (<i>madi</i>)
np	non-plural
NP, NP ₁	noun phrase (NP ₁ in chapter 13 only)
ns	non-singular
Nuc	nucleus (of verb phrase, chapter 13)
Ob	object (deep case)
op	operative case
p	past tense; peripheral (cn _p); plural (12p, 1p, 2p, 3p)
P	purpose tagmeme
P ₁	quote tagmeme (in chapter 13 only)
pa	pronominal affix (usually for subject)
pá	pronominal affix for referent; if not following pa-, pronominal affix for reflexive
*pá	dummy 3mR suffix
passivneg	negative passive suffix (<i>-maḍawada</i>)
pc	past continuous indicative (Appendix J)
pct	punctiliar (Appendix J)
pl	plural
pp	past punctiliar indicative (Appendix J)
pr, pres	present tense (continuous indicative)
PR	predicate tagmeme
prdadj	predicative adjective
prdneg	predicative negative (<i>ḡayi</i>)
pres	see pr
pron	(indirect) pronoun
pron _{dir}	direct pronoun
prploc	prepositional locative
prps	present punctiliar subjunctive (Appendix J)
Pt	part (deep case) (Pt-Ag, Pt-Ob)
PT	partitive tagmeme
punct	punctiliar aspect
purp	purpose; purposive suffix (<i>-ḡiyi</i>)
Q	quotative (Cl _o)
Qo	quote (deep relationship)
qual	qualitative suffix (<i>-mayin</i>)
r	reason (cn _r)
R	referent of direferential or dative auxiliary; in chapter 13 first referent.
R ₁	referent of monoreferential auxiliary or second referent of dative auxiliary; in chapter 13 referent with which no verb pronominal affix is associated.
refl	reflexive
s	singular (1s, 2s, 3s); sentence (wd _s)
S	subject tagmeme
S ₁	subject tagmeme (no operative case, chapter 13)

LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

S.D.	structural description (chapter 13)
sg	singular
subj	subjunctive mood
t	temporal; topic linking (cn _t)
T	time tagmeme; transitive (Cl _T)
ta	tense affix
trans	transitive
v	see Mod _v
V	verbal (Cl _v) (chapter 13)
vb	verb (verb root and auxiliary verb) (chapter 13)
voc	vocative (kinship nouns only)
VP	verb phrase
vr	verb root
wd _s	sentence word
12	first and second person (first person inclusive)
1	first person (first person exclusive)
2	second person
3	third person
—	morpheme boundary
+	(chapter 13) morpheme boundary
#	word boundary
∅	zero; hesitation form
/	clause boundary
/ / /	sentence boundary
/ . . —	in the environment . . .
→	is replaced by (generative formulae)
⇒	is replaced by (transformational formulae)
=	is (chapter 13)
a/b	a or b
X:[a. . .]	X manifested by a . . .
$\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} a \\ b \\ c \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$	$\begin{pmatrix} a \\ b \\ c \end{pmatrix}$ or $\begin{pmatrix} a \\ b \\ c \end{pmatrix}$ a, b or c, choose one
#cts, #and, #?, #unenthusiastic	intonation patterns glossed continuous and, question, unenthusiastic

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