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NGALAKAN GRAMMAR, TEXTS AND VOCABULARY

by

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INTRODUCTION

The language and its speakers

Ngalakan is an Australian Aboriginal language spoken by small groups of people who mainly live at Bulman, Roper Valley Station, and Ngukurr (see map). G. Cowlshaw, who did anthropological field work at Bulman during 1976, estimates (personal communication) that perhaps 25 of the 90 people there had some knowledge of Ngalakan, though a smaller (uncertain) number were highly proficient speakers. The main Aboriginal language at Bulman at that time was Rembarŋa, followed by Ngalkbon. Some people at other places — at Bamyili, Jemberę, and possibly also Mountain Valley and Beswick Stations — have some knowledge of Ngalakan and are able to understand it to some extent. I would estimate that the number of people who speak the language very proficiently would not exceed 25, and all of them are adults. I cannot be absolutely certain of this figure since inquiries on this point were carried out at Bulman, Jemberę, Bamyili, and mainly Roper Valley, and did not involve any thorough canvass of people at Ngukurr; however, while I was at Roper Valley in 1977, the Aboriginal community there was in almost daily contact with Ngukurr people, and I believe my estimate of proficient speakers is not far off, but may perhaps err on the high side. It is quite clear that a much larger number of people can speak the language to some degree.

Abstract of language; genetic relationships

Of Arnhem languages for which we possess descriptions, Ngalakan appears most closely related to Rembarŋa (McKay 1975) and Ngandi (Heath 1978). All of these in turn appear to belong to a large and diffuse Gunwiŋguan group, including Gunwiŋgu (Mayali), Gunbaŋaŋ, Ngalkbon, Jawoŋ and other languages. Good evidence for subgroupings within this large family remains to be assembled. Rembarŋa, Ngalakan and Ngandi share the following characteristics:

1. All exhibit a fortis-lenis (or geminate-simple) stop contrast.
2. All have a distributionally-restricted but nonetheless phonemic glottal stop.
3. All have a minimum of five short vowels (Ngandi has long-short vowel contrasts, and Rembarŋa has a sixth, mid-central vowel).
4. All show considerable development of nominal case-marking by suffixes distributed according to ergative-absolutive patterning over major syntactic functions.
5. All have fairly complex verbal morphology of an agglutinative to mildly fusional sort, with factitives, causatives and other verbal derivations effected by suffixation.

6. All show a tendency for the verb to be a clause in miniature, with marking contained within the verb for most major clausal constituents, including pronominal prefixes marking person and number for a maximum of two noun phrases.
7. None shows especially elaborated morphological means of effecting clause linkages; on the contrary, each language has a highly generalised, multi-functional subordinate clause type as the most powerful and flexible device in its syntactic-discourse repertoire. The subordinate clause type functionally corresponds both to ad-sentential and NP-relative clause types of other languages which distinguish these.

There are also important differences among these three languages, of which the following are the most striking:

1. Both Ngandi and Ngalakan have noun-class prefixation systems, while Rembarŋa lacks noun classification.
2. Though all three languages make a distinction in past positive tense-aspect forms between past punctual and past continuous and have some obviously comparable suffixal tense-aspect allomorphs for given categories, Rembarŋa (like Jawoŋ) makes a basic morphologically-marked distinction between factual and counterfactual mood categories which is not marked in the same way by discretely segmentable morphs in Ngalakan and Ngandi.
3. Ngalakan and Ngandi obligatorily mark negation by addition of negative suffixes to certain tense-aspect forms which serve as negative stems, while Rembarŋa marks negation by means of a particle external to the verb. Again, in this feature Rembarŋa and Jawoŋ are similar.

Traditional territory and anthropological literature

Tindale (1974:233) comments on the traditional territory of the Ngalakan as follows:

North of Roper River to Mainoru; from east of the Wilton River to upper Maiwok and Flying Fox creeks. At Mountain Valley. Spencer misplaced this tribe south of the Roper River. Berndt and Berndt 1951 were in error in ascribing it to the headwaters of the Katherine. Tindale first worked with people of this tribe in 1922 on the Wilton River.

Very little anthropological work has been done which focusses on the Ngalakan. The major sources, though meagre, include Spencer (1912, 1914), Sweeney 1939 manuscript, Tindale 1922 manuscript. More recently, Bern's work at Ngukurr includes references to Ngalakan as a traditional ethnolinguistic grouping (Bern 1971, 1976). The most comprehensive inquiry into traditional Ngalakan territory has been carried out recently by Morphy and Morphy (1981) in preparation for a land claim involving a small area near Roper Bar; see that source for more detailed remarks on Ngalakan territory.

Like most people of the southern Arnhem area, the Ngalakan have a term (gu-jaworo) for the patrilineal land-holding group. Several speakers with whom I worked expressed the idea that (at least formerly, when Ngalakan was more widely spoken) dialect differences within Ngalakan could be discerned at the level of the individual patrilineal group. Edna Nuluk in particular observed that each jaworo spoke differently, making it clear that the

patrilineal land-holding group was an ideological locus of linguistic differentiation. However, I observed only minor differences in the speech of people I worked with, the greatest being the alternate use of past continuous suffixal allomorphs of thematic verbs (3.3.3.19) -miyiñ and -meṛiñ by two speakers, while others (including Edna Ñuluk, the principal informant) used -miyiñ almost exclusively. It may be that due to great reduction and dispersion of the active users of the language, the degree of intra-language variation has been significantly reduced. Awareness of linguistic difference corresponding to patri-clan level groups is in accordance with some other fairly elaborate ideologies which include this feature, better documented from especially the north-east Arnhem area (see e.g. Schebeck 1968).

Spencer (1914:77-79) gives Ngalakan ('Nullakun') kin terms. The way in which he lists denotata seems to reflect an attempt to work systematically from a (basically, English-centric) relationship grid intended to detect all terminological distinctions. Thus denotata of a single term are listed separately which could be more simply displayed together; for example nokagini (= ṅu-ge-ṅini) is listed once as *son*, *brother's son* and again as *son*, *sister's son*, *husband's father*, *husband's father's brother*, *husband's brother's son*; the feminine form (tjokangini, tjukangini = ju-ge-ṅini) is also listed several times. Not all the denotata for Spencer's listings are correct. As often is the case, too, he does not seem to recognise all terminological identifications; thus nokopungini *husband* is listed separately from kaupungini *husband's sister*, so it is not clear whether Spencer recognised that both contain the same stem gopo (which may be applied to any actual *spouse* and *spouse's sibling* relation, not just ones between people recognised as related in particular ways). See the listing of kin terms in 2.1.1.1 and 3.2.22.

Spencer (1914:64-65) describes the Ngalakan as having a 'four-class' (= semimoiety) system. However, at least two of the 'class' names that he gives are simply kin terms; e.g. his gindar (which he elsewhere writes kinda, and is actually giṅḍar) is the term for *cross-cousin*, while his jobal is the term for MoMoBrSo and MoMoBrSoSo. Further, he gives moiety terms at least one of which (ballaknini) is the kin term (balak) for MoMoBrDa and MoMoBrSoSoDa. Since Spencer shows the 'four-class' terms as equivalent to Mara semimoiety names, it would appear that his method of obtaining information on social categories relied upon comparison with the Mara system. I am unable to confirm the existence of Ngalakan semi-moiety labels. Though semimoiety organisation is characteristic of some Roper-area groups, it is not characteristic of groups of the southern Arnhem fringe (e.g. Jawoñ), except insofar as these people are able to establish and make use of equivalences between their own category systems and those of Roper-area groups. See 3.2.23 for listing of the subsection or 'eight-class' terms which Ngalakan speakers now consider most appropriately theirs. These are different from terms used by Maṅarayi and Alawa speakers, but are nearly identical to one set in use among Jawoñ speakers (though ʎetburiṭ Jawoñ speakers, who claim affiliation to areas north of Katherine, regard a different set as truly ʎetburiṭ). It is possible that subsections have been recently adopted by Ngalakan, perhaps over the last two- to four-score years.

Spencer (1914:169-176) features a long description of male initiation among the Ngalakan.

Previous linguistic work on Ngalakan

Tindale (1928) gives a list of 412 Ngalakan forms (along with similar lists for seven other languages). Some of these forms are morphologically complex, but there is no recognition of boundaries; there are also various transcriptional problems. Capell (1942) gives a brief description of Ngalakan, noting the presence of noun classes, the ergative ('agentive') suffix, number-marking, something of the tense-aspect categories of the verb, and negative forms of the verb. Capell's transcriptions, using geminate voiced symbols in some forms (e.g. -gabbul for what I transcribe as plural -gapul) show a recognition of the need to transcribe a fortis-lenis stop contrast, though there is no reference to the phonemic status of the distinction.

McKay (1975:7), during a field trip to the Roper area, worked briefly on Ngalakan in 1972, and Heath also collected some information during brief field-work at Ngukurr in 1976. When Heath learned that I was returning to the Bamyili and Western Roper area in 1977, he generously passed on his notes to me, which enabled me to proceed much more rapidly in beginning stages of field-work that I could have otherwise. However, the present grammar is based entirely on material which I subsequently gathered.

Informants and field work

My first inquiries about Ngalakan were made in 1976 during a brief trip to Bulman from Bamyili, where I was then working mainly on Jawoñ. At Bulman I gathered a small amount of material from Larry Murray and got a preliminary idea of the numbers of speakers of the language. In 1977, while living at Jembeře Aboriginal community on the western Roper River, I did extensive preliminary elicitation working with Harriot Daniels (whose primary Aboriginal languages are Ngalakan and Rembarŋa), and Daisy Maḍawurŋ? (now deceased). Daisy's first language was Ngalakan but due to long residence in Maŋarayi-dominated communities, she had gained equal fluency in that language. Close family and other ties exist between people at Jembeře and some at Roper Valley Station and Roper Bar; and with introductions from Jembeře people I moved to Roper Valley during August-September 1977 and did intensive field work on the language which provided most of the material contained in this grammar. Roper Valley then had a total population of around 90 (Department of Aboriginal Affairs estimate), though there were never that many people present at any one time during my stay. The people I worked with at Roper Valley included Harriot Daniels (then visiting there) and her sister Lizzie, Blutcher (from whom I gathered some text material primarily), but mainly Edna Ñuluk. Edna made time in her schedule (she was then tending the Roper Valley Station garden) to work with me several hours almost every day of my stay. Her tirelessness and keenness of understanding are really what made it possible to do a tremendous amount of work in a short time. I hope to return to the eastern Roper especially to gather further Ngalakan text and dictionary material, but I wish to make available basic Ngalakan grammatical materials at this stage as a tribute to Edna and her interest in her language. I also wish to thank other people at Roper Valley — especially Daylight, Eileen and members of their family, and also Rita and Marina — who made my stay more pleasant than it would have been otherwise. I regret only that I was working under a time limitation imposed by the station management which made a prolonged stay impossible. Roper Valley Station itself had been built on a well-watered spot associated with an important mid-Roper Valley sacred ceremony. During my stay there was much tension and

difference of opinion over whether the Aboriginal community should remain at their location near the station, or move to a planned excision area a few miles away. The Morphys (personal communication) inform me that since that time, there has been little change: there is still continuous movement back and forth from station to excision area.

Other Aboriginal languages spoken more widely than Ngalakan by members of the Roper Valley Station community include Alawa and Rembarŋa; also Riŋarŋu, Maŋarayi, Mara and (today, most widely) Roper Kriol are spoken. During my stay in the Roper area (1977-78) there was only limited contact between Ngalakan speakers at Roper Valley and those at Bulman, though major ceremonial events at Bulman during that time attracted people from Roper Valley and the wider Roper area.

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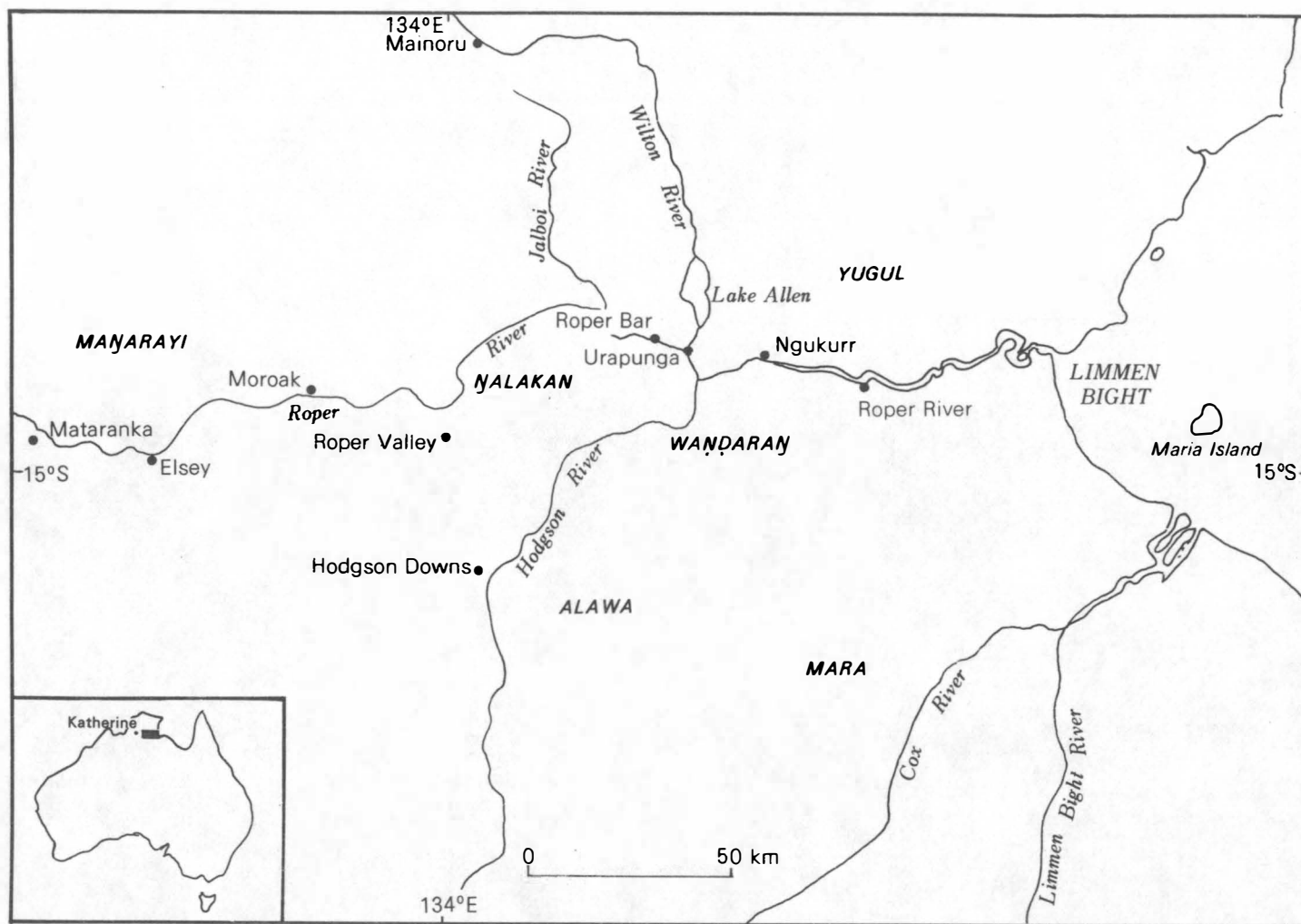
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ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	ablative	NP	noun phrase
ABS	absolutive	NSG	non-singular
ACC	accompaniment	NUM	number
ADJ	adjective	OBL	obligative
ADV	adverbial prefix or suffix	OP	object-promoting
ALL	allative	ORIG	originative
ANA	anaphoric	PC	past continuous
ASP	aspect	PL	plural
AUX	auxiliary	POT	potential
AV	avoidance style	PNEG	past negative
CAUS	causative	PP	past punctual
CMP	compassion prefix	PRES	present
COLL	collective	PRNEG	present negative
CON	continuous aspect	PRIV	privative
COP	copula	PRO	pronoun
DAT	dative	PROP	proprietary
DEM	demonstrative	PURP	purposive (also, same case form sometimes label PG = pergressive)
DI	desiderative-intentional		
DIR	direction	RED	reduplicative
DU	dual	RR	reflexive-reciprocal
DY	dyadic kin term	SG	singular
ERG	ergative	SUB	subordinate
EVIT	evitative	SUPP	suppletive
EX	exclusive pronominal category	TNS	tense
F	feminine noun class	TNSV	transitiviser
FAC	factitive	TOP	toponym
FOC	focus	TRANS	transitive
FUT	future	3	first-position prefix -gu
GEN	genitive		
IMP	imperative		
IN	inclusive pronominal category		normal kin term abbreviations
INST	instrumental		Br = brother
INTRANS	intransitive		Ch = child
LAT	lative		Fa = father
LOC	locative		Hu = husband
N	noun		Mo = mother
NEG	negative		Si = sister
			So = son
			Wi = wife

Special symbols

- 'act upon', transitive relation; e.g. 1SG → 2SG first person singular transitive subject acting upon second person singular transitive object.
- ~ alternates with



Map showing relative locations of ethnolinguistic groups: Ngalakan, Manjarayi, Alawa, Wanḍaraj, Yugul, Mara

CHAPTER I
SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

1.1 Phonemes

The phonemes of Ngalakan are the following

bilabial	apico- alveolar	apico-domal (retroflex)	lamino- palatal	velar	glottal
p	t	ɖ	ç	k	ʔ
b	d	ɗ	j	g	
m	n	ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	
	l	ɭ			
	r	ɽ			
w			y		
Vowels:	High	i	u		
	Mid	e	o		
	Low	a	(a:)		

There are five corresponding stop-nasal positions; some neighbouring languages (e.g. Ngandi) have a sixth, lamino-dental series. The Ngalakan inventory is typical of Australia in lacking fricatives and affricates, and typical of the Roper area in distinguishing only two laterals and two rhotics.

Apico-domal or retroflex articulation involves contact of the apex with the forward part of the hard palate. In lamino-palatal articulation the tongue is widely spread and contacts the upper part of the lower teeth.

This representation of the phonemic inventory is not entirely unproblematic. There are two widespread phenomena in the phonology of Arnhem and Arnhem-area languages which have been variously interpreted by different investigators. The first is the nature of the stop contrast which is here represented by voiced and voiceless symbols and referred to, for reasons described in 1.1.1.1, as *lenis* versus *fortis*; the second is interpretation of the glottal stop.

1.1.1 Stop contrast

The majority of Australian languages have only one stop series, members of which vary in phonetic realisation depending upon position of the stop within the syllable or word. It is now clear, however, that many Arnhem languages make a distinction in the stop series which investigators have variously labelled 'geminate' versus 'simple' (Glasgow and Glasgow 1967), Schebeck n.d. (1972?), McKay (1975), 'tense' versus 'lax' (Heath 1978), or 'voiced' versus 'voiceless' (Wurm 1972:51).

For reasons to be described below, it is quite certain that characterisation of the distinction in terms of voicing alone is not apt. I prefer not to use 'tense' and 'lax' because these terms have been applied to a phonological feature, the phonetic correlates of which are not entirely clear. On the other hand, a geminate analysis assumes that there is only one stop series, but that geminate distribution of stops is distinctive (in some environments). Thus the geminate analysis has direct implications for distributional segmental analysis, including the frequencies of syllable types. If the stops represented by voiceless symbols are taken to be geminate, then there is a high frequency of syllables ending in a stop, with the following syllable beginning in a homorganic stop (k-k etc.). If, however, the stops represented by voiceless symbols are not taken to be geminate, then (given restrictions on their distribution, described below) a single stop of this kind would always be the onset of a syllable frequently preceded by an open syllable, or sometimes by one with a non-nasal sonorant as the final segment. The main structural evidence for the geminate analysis given in McKay 1975 is the phonetic similarity of underlying medial 'geminate' to homorganic stop clusters which arise from the juxtaposition of segments across morpheme boundaries (k+k → kk). While such evidence may be suggestive, in my opinion it does not provide a clear warrant for interpretation of the stop contrast elsewhere.

Though phonetic analysis of the contrast cannot automatically provide evidence for phonemisation, it is important to know what are the phonetic correlates of the contrast for each language. Spectrographic analysis has been done by McKay (1980) for Rembarrnga, and less complete analysis by me for Ngalakan. See also Jaeger MS for phonetic analysis of the contrast in Jawoň.

Spectrograms of Rembarrnga stops showed the 'geminate' to be characterised

by a more abrupt closure ... and by a more prominent burst of noise at the point of release, with greater interval before voice onset after the release ... than the corresponding single stops. These characteristics of the geminate stops may be considered indicators of fortis or tense articulation

(McKay 1980:346). Note that, according to this, 'single' stops may be followed by some period of voicelessness, even if brief. Spectrograms of Rembarrnga stops showed mean duration for various medial geminates ranging from 125.4-193.3 milliseconds and mean durations for single stops ranging from 21-66 milliseconds.

My results for Ngalakan were based on a smaller, preliminary sample of 25 spectrograms. I examined both slow, careful 'elicitation' pronunciation and ordinarily-paced speech. The careful speech revealed duration of fortis stops of maxima ranging between 230 ms to 150 ms. In ordinarily-paced speech this figure fell to maxima between 80-100 ms, while lenis stops in ordinary speech reached maxima of 80 ms but most were below 50 ms. Thus, the two series show a non-overlapping distribution. Some lenis segments medially had spectrographic characteristics of flaps rather than stops. Some of the Ngalakan fortis stops

(in both slow and ordinary speech) were followed by a period of voicelessness upon oral release with a perceptible degree of aspiration. Like McKay, I found that the fortis release was characterised by significantly greater energy than for lenis stops; this seemed to be the most constant feature of the fortes. Although fortis stops tended to involve significantly less voicing than lenes, nevertheless some lenis stops were characterised by a preceding period of relative voicelessness just as were some of the fortes.

I prefer to use the labels 'fortis' and 'lenis' throughout this description as the least prejudicial labels for the contrast. However, the provisional spectrographic results seem to indicate that there is little or no overlap in duration of occlusion for fortis and lenis consonants, making a long versus short analysis plausible. Duration is the most salient parameter of contrast in Jawoñ also (see Jaeger MS). But due to the fact that my comparisons concentrated on good samples from which maxima could be determined but little attention was paid to minimal occlusion times, further analysis of naturally-paced speech in Ngalakan would be desirable.

What is most urgently required for better understanding of the stop contrast in Arnhem languages includes details of the distribution of the contrast in various languages, and details of the interaction of the contrast with distribution of other segments and phonological processes. The following remarks are intended to suggest areas which deserve closer study.

In all the Arnhem languages for which a distinction has been reported, the stop series (or geminate versus simple stops) contrast only medially. Contrastive positions are: between vowels, and following non-nasal sonorants. This is also true of Ngalakan. That is, there is no contrast in morpheme-initial position except in a small number of suffixes which show fortis-lenis alternations; there is no contrast syllable-finally, or following nasals and stops including glottal. The distribution of the contrast in the phonological system could be described as 'defective'; it suggests that the contrast has arisen historically from a conditioned, phonetic alternation. Synchronically, the 'yield' of the contrast varies somewhat from language to language. Given the hypothesis that the contrast developed historically from a prior situation in which it was a conditioned, phonetic one, we may begin to look more closely at the distributional characteristics of the contrast within each language and across languages, as well as its interaction with other phonological phenomena in each language.

As noted, the fortis-lenis contrast does not exist word-initially, nor in general, morpheme-initially. However, a few suffixes show fortis-lenis alterations. (See 2.3 for a listing of these). Syllable-finally the contrast is always neutralised, so that, for example, in stop-stop clusters at syllable margins, there can be no contrast. Phonetically, the syllable-final stop is generally voiceless (though it is not clear that it is the same as fortis medially) while the following syllable-initial stop is voiced and seems most similar to the medial lenis stop.

Intervocally within morphemes the contrast is illustrated by the following pairs:

gača	<i>nothing</i>	wijiri?	<i>ceremony, totem</i>
gaja?	<i>dog</i>	bičiri	<i>filesnake</i>

No non-reduplicative Ngalakan root can contain more than one fortis stop. A few reduplicative roots (e.g. wapawapa? *clothing*) contain two, one in each segment. However, roots may contain more than one lenis stop, or one or more

lenis stops and one fortis stop. Using examples where the stops in question occur only intervocalically, we can illustrate this situation:

Limitation to one fortis stop:

gutabi ?	<i>yellow bittern</i>	(no forms like *gutapi ?)
gapuji	<i>old person</i>	(no forms like *gapuči)
japuđeñ?deñ	<i>grasshopper</i>	(no forms like *japuđeñ?teñ)

More than one lenis stop:

ŋođogoč	<i>ankle</i>
jađugal	<i>male plains kangaroo</i>
miđimidi	<i>ribs</i>
bađigulu?	<i>E. ferruginea</i> (tree species)

Often roots contain a lax stop in a position of neutralisation (e.g. following a nasal, where only the lenis series can occur), and a fortis stop elsewhere:

jambaku	<i>tobacco</i>
yipuñja	<i>a long time ago</i>

Otherwise, roots may contain both lenis stop(s) and one fortis:

yukaji?	<i>forcefully, hard, forever, completely</i>
gaykubur?	<i>in the daytime</i>

The fortis series is thus distributionally restricted in a way that the lenis series is not, and we have some justification for regarding the fortis series as distributionally 'marked'. Looking at the stops which occur intervocalically, one finds a great difference between the frequency of certain fortis stops, and corresponding lenis ones. Out of a sample of 148 noun and adverb roots, 78 were found to contain one fortis stop (nine of these also contained lenis stops) and 70, at least one lenis stop. Comparing those with fortis and lenis, we find that particular stops occurred in the following frequencies in the two sets:

Roots with one fortis	Roots with (at least) one lenis
k 25	g 14
p 24	b 15
č 18	j 14
t 5	d 5
ʈ 5	ɖ 29
<u>77</u>	<u>82</u>

(Note that the total for the 'lenis' column exceeds the total number of words, since some words contained more than one stop). In the fortis inventory, peripheral stops predominate and apical stops are the fewest, while in the lenis inventory, the instances of the retroflex apical outnumber all the other stop positions; the frequency of the alveolar apical remains low.

The fortis and lenis series contrast intramorphemically following non-nasal sonorants. Compare the following pairs:

gu-marji	<i>hand</i>	gu-ŋalpor	<i>egg</i>
gu-marči	<i>white man</i>	gu-malba?	<i>ironwood</i>
golkol	<i>new</i>	ŋu-ŋarku?	<i>agile river wallaby</i>
gu-golgoŋo?	<i>coolamon</i>	gu-ŋurgu	<i>womb, belly</i>

In a sample of 68 nominal and adverbial roots, 57 of these had medial combinations of non-nasal sonorant plus fortis stop, while only ten had combinations of non-nasal sonorant plus lenis stop. In this position the occurrence of the fortis is overwhelmingly favoured, suggesting that this environment historically may have been moving towards becoming non-contrastive.

As mentioned above, medially following nasals (and also the few intramorphemic occurrences of glottal stop), the fortis-lenis contrast is neutralised, and only lenis stops occur:

gu-maranga|pa *green tree snake*
 weɾʔdak *dry, arid*

What sort of pattern emerges from these facts? The fortis-lenis contrast is neutralised after stops, nasals and the glottal. We may say that (1) syllable-final nasals followed by stop; (2) the few instances of intramorphemic glottal followed by stop; and (3) intramorphemic stop-stop clusters, all constitute environments of what I will call 'strong' syllable closure, after which a stop, as margin of the next syllable, must be lenis. Recall that the lenis series is the distributionally unmarked one, equivalent to that which underlyingly occurs word- and (almost entirely) morpheme-initially. Non-nasal sonorants, on the other hand, constitute what may be called a 'weak' syllable closure following which the statistically frequent stop-type is fortis. Finally, vowels represent the unmarked type of syllable closure: intervocalically, stops seem to be fortis or lenis with approximately equal frequency in Ngalakan. These relationships may be summarised as follows:

Syllable closure type		Onset margin of following syllable
Nasal	} 'strong'	unmarked (lenis)
ʔ		
stop		
non-nasal sonorants	'weak'	marked (fortis)
vowels	'neutral'	either

(When the shapes of verb roots are presented in 3.3.16, it will become apparent why the fortis-lenis contrast so far has been exemplified using non-verbal parts of speech. The inventory of possible verb-root shapes is more restricted than that of other parts of speech; a great number of verb roots are monosyllabic and so cannot possibly exhibit a fortis-lenis contrast. Due to statistical frequencies of certain root shapes, the fortis-lenis contrast is implemented less frequently in verbs than in other parts of speech).

1.1.1.2 Relation of the stop contrast to other phonological processes

The occurrence of fortis versus lenis stops is linked to processes of suffix-initial stop alternation, particularly in nominal suffixes but also in one verbal one. These alternations are described fully in 2.3-2.4; here, the nature of the interaction of suffix-alternations with the fortis-lenis contrast is briefly described. The presence of fortis stops within noun roots conditions the lenition of certain suffix-initial, underlyingly fortis stops (e.g. locative-allative -kaʔ ~ -gaʔ, privative -čʰi ~ -ji). The future negative verbal suffix -čʰiʔ ~ -jiʔ also shows lenition of the underlying fortis-initial form following -n, ʔ or stops which, with great frequency, are the final segments in stem-forms to which the suffix is added. A general condition upon the lenition is that

the fortis consonant of the root be within two syllables to the left of the suffix; that is, it can occur in the preceding syllable, or the one to the left of that, but if it occurs further to the left it produces no effect upon the suffix-initial stop:

nočo-ga?	<i>in/to the grass</i>
wařačara-ga?	<i>in/to the flood water</i>
gulukulu-ga?	<i>to the boss</i>
but gulukulu-ŋoji-ka?	<i>to her boss</i>

In the last example, the 3Sg F possessive suffix following the noun distances fortis k of the root an additional two syllables from the suffix, and thus removes the suffix-initial stop from the range within which it undergoes lenition. For similar conditions on lenition in Ngandi, see Heath 1978:22. The only exceptions encountered to the two-syllable leftwards condition are a few frozen reduplicative forms which contain medial glottal between the two reduplicative segments, the second of which must always begin within a non-vocalic segment. The glottal followed by a non-vocalic segment acts as a conditioning environment for lenition in the same way that a fortis stop does even though it is more than two syllables to the left: *bolo?bolo-ga?* *to the woman/women*, not **bolo?bolo-ka?*. Note that it is the suffix-initial stops which alternate; there is no alternation medially within noun roots themselves. The link between presence of a fortis consonant in the root and the lenition of suffix-initial stops makes it clear that the domain of these combined processes should in principle be regarded as the *word*, and not some lower-level unit such as the syllable. The interaction between noun root and alternating suffixes has an effect such that if the forms to which the alternating suffixes are added have more than two preceding syllables which lack a fortis consonant, then the suffix contains one. As described briefly in 2.13, the presence of a fortis segment is not directly linked to placement of major word stress. That is, the placement of word stress, in both zero-inflected and overtly inflected forms, is independent of the position of any fortis consonant, but is related to the number of syllables in the word.

Of course, not all nominal and verbal suffixes show fortis-lenis alternations. For example, the ergative-instrumental suffix -yi? does not alternate but all nominal and verbal stop-initial suffixes except paucal -gapul and negative suffix -koro, do so. However, some (not all) occurrences of glottal stop appear to create word-internal syllable boundaries which functionally approximate the conditions on occurrence of fortis stops observable in inflected forms containing suffix-initial alternating stops. This leads to the next major consideration in segmental phonology, the characteristics and distribution of glottal stop.

Further remarks on fortis-lenis alternations are made in sections on reduplication (2.4.1), and the phonology of verb composition (2.4.2).

1.1.2 Glottal stop

Ngalakan is among the languages of the Arnhem area for which the glottal must be recognised as having distinctive value. In spectrographic analysis of ordinarily-paced speech, the Ngalakan glottal shows up mainly as stretches of 'creaky voice', not characterised by any abrupt glottal closure. Even so, the Ngalakan glottal is considerably easier to be sure of than the even less fortis but distinctive glottal segment in neighbouring, genetically distant Maŋarayi.

Some accounts treat the glottal as a segment (e.g. Heath 1978), while others (McKay 1975) treat it as a 'phonemic syllabic feature'. It is not clear to me that there is any difference in practice between these two interpretations; there is certainly no difference in transcriptional practice. The main reason for treating the glottal as a syllabic feature is that it is restricted in all these languages to syllable-final position, so that one option may be to characterise it in terms of its distributional properties. But in this case, it is not clear to me at what level the glottal is to be treated as phonemic. In Ngalakan and all the languages in question, glottal stop can constitute the sole difference between roots and other (semantically related or unrelated) parts of speech (e.g. the thematic verbs *ler* to *fall* versus *lerʔ* to *set alight*; *mu-muṇun* *darkness* versus *muṇunʔ* thematic verb to *be/get dark*; *maṇiṅ* to *care for* versus *maṇiṅʔ* to *make*). If one treats the glottal as a distinctive feature of the syllable, the claim seems to follow that the distinctive difference made by glottal between lexemes can be described at the level of the syllable: one word contains a syllable characterised by glottal, the other lacks it. However, since it is possible to state *distributional* restrictions on the glottal in terms of syllable structure, but it is *not* possible to predict a priori which lexemes it will differentiate, it seems to me that (synchronically at least) describing its distinctive value in terms of its position within the syllable represents an unwarranted elevation of a distributional fact directly to a higher phonological level. One must still state which syllables as parts of words contain glottal, and which do not. Therefore I prefer to treat the glottal directly as a segment, noting that its capacity to distinguish lexical forms is restricted because it cannot occur in all positions. At the same time, it is important to observe that its restricted distribution is clearly one of the key considerations in historical analysis of the glottal. As in the case of the fortis stops, the restricted distribution of the glottal strongly suggests that it represents the historical phonemicisation of an originally phonetic boundary-making feature.

The presence of distinctive glottal stop in Arnhem-area languages appears to largely coincide with the presence of a distinctive fortis-lenis stop contrast. Historically, these two phenomena may prove to be partly interdependent; synchronic evidence supporting this hypothesis is discussed further on in this section. There are some languages in which the glottal is distinctive (though still highly restricted in distribution) but there is no distinctive stop contrast (e.g. in Maṅarayi, which does not belong to the same genetic subgroup as Ngalakan). Languages like Maṅarayi attest to the importance of the glottal as an areal-diffusion phenomenon.

The Ngalakan glottal almost invariably occurs as the final segment of syllables at morpheme boundaries of certain kinds. It occurs root-finally mainly in nouns, verbs and adverbs following vowels and other sonorants, and is of especially high frequency following sonorant-final monosyllabic thematic verb roots (i.e. CVSʔ or CVSSʔ, where S=non-vocalic sonorant). As in most Arnhem-area languages, the glottal is very rare medially in roots except between partially or completely reduplicative segments (in Ngalakan, this is limited to frozen reduplicative ones like *wurʔwuruṇu* *old person*, or *joḍowʔjoḍowʔ* *morning star*, related to *joḍowʔ* *early morning*). There are a few instances of intramorphemic glottal in non-reduplicative roots, but some of these look suspiciously as if they contain old (now unanalysable) morpheme boundaries: *giriʔyiʔ* *youngest mother* (i.e. *father's junior wife*), *goʔʔyiʔ* *senior mother*; (also *werʔdak* *dry*, where segmentation is not obvious).

A number of suffixes are glottal-final (e.g. dual -pira[?]~-bira[?], ergative-instrumental -yi[?]), while a few suffixes begin with a glottal (e.g. -[?]gVn genitive-dative-purposive, see also glottal initial ablative allomorph -[?]wala below). The fact that glottal can be suffix-initial, but not initial in roots or words, suggests that its placement within the word is not (and was not historically) determined by particular morpheme boundaries per se, but by the relation between root and suffix within the phonological word. Glottal stop can never follow a stop or another glottal, so that when glottal-initial suffixes are added to a stop- or glottal-final element, the (second) glottal is deleted (see 2.6). There are several circumstances under which a word may contain more than one glottal. First, since noun and other roots may end in a glottal, addition of a suffix containing a glottal results in words containing a maximum of two glottals: ɲu-ɲal[?]-ji[?] *I can't climb up* (ɲal[?] to climb, -ji[?] future negative suffix); ɲu-ɖodoy[?]-ɲini-pulu-[?]gon *for my (pl) MoBrSoCh*. Following a root containing medial glottal, addition of a suffix containing a glottal also results in words with a maximum of two glottal stops: weɾ[?]dak-(k)a[?] *into a dry place*; bolo[?]bolo-bira[?] *two women*. Some sequences of glottal-final suffixes may occur within a single word: ju-bolo[?]bolo-bira[?]-yi[?] *two women* (ergative). Finally, many demonstrative pronouns and adverbs contain medial (and some also final) glottal at what are certainly morpheme boundaries, and these, combined with suffixes containing glottal, result in such forms as nu-go[?]ye-yi[?] *this one* (masculine ergative-instrumental).

As mentioned in 1.1.1.2, there is some reason to think that the suffix-initial glottals were historically comparable in their effects to suffix-initial stop alternations of fortis-lenis stops. The evidence for this comes from a live synchronic alternation in ablative case forms. Two case suffixes, ablative -wala and purposive -wi, may be described as having basic forms as given, which do not contain underlying initial glottal. However, there are certain environments in which the basic forms alternate with -[?]wala and -[?]wi, respectively. These environments are not the same for each. Purposive has the shape -[?]wi following genitive-dative marked personal pronouns (e.g. ɲayakaɲi[?]-([?])gin genitive *mine, for me*, but ɲayakaɲi[?]-([?])gin-[?]wi which has a purposive meaning as in (*I'll get it*) *for my own*. This environment is not easily compared with that of suffix-initial alternating stops.

But ablative -[?]wala occurs with greatest frequency following noun stems which do not contain a fortis stop. It does, however, also occur following noun and interrogative stems which *do* contain a fortis consonant, though the spread of glottal-initial ablative case form to this environment seems to be a secondary development. The glottal-initial form is most frequent in environments following roots which do *not* contain fortis stops (e.g. guɲɖu-ɲowi-[?]wala *from his camp*, ju-mana(ɲ)-[?]wala *from mother*), and relatively less frequent following roots which contain fortis stops (e.g. wereka-wala *where from?*, though wereka-[?]wala was found as a less frequent alternative). This situation suggests that glottal stop has, over the recent past, been in the process of becoming a fixed initial boundary of the suffix, by being generalised from fortis-free environments to those containing a fortis stop. This may have been what happened in the case of e.g. the genitive-dative suffix -[?]gVn. If this is correct, then historically there was certainly at least a statistical connection between the presence of suffix-initial glottal and absence of a fortis stop. This suggests a possible similarity historically between suffix-initial fortis-lenis alternations, and presence of suffix-initial glottal in structuring a limited kind of consonantal harmonic in inflected forms.

1.1.3 Distribution of alveolar and retroflex apicals

Word-initially, or following a vowel (e.g. after a noun class prefix as in *ṅu-ḍuḍu* [*my*] *FaFa*) almost all morpheme initial apicals are phonetically retroflex. The only exceptions found to this are the interjections *duṅ* *yummy* and *naman* *poor fellow*; also, while all verbal and nominal apical-initial prefixes are phonetically retroflex initially or following vowels, no verbal suffixes are ever realised as retroflex. Thus, we have such verbal suffixes as potential *-ni* and past continuous *-niñ*. No apical-initial nominal suffixes occur.

Word-initial retroflexion is usually fairly easily perceived. In rather striking contrast to Maṅarayi, where the word-initial retroflex norm involves only very moderate phonetic retroflexion, word-initially Ngalakan shows a much stronger degree of retroflexion. (Ngalakan seems more similar in this respect to Alawa than to Maṅarayi). In compound verbs following vowels and sequences of vowel-glottal, morpheme-initial sonorants are still quite strongly retroflex (e.g. compound verb *-goʔ-ṅa-* with auxiliary *-ṅa*, sometimes phonetically approximating [*goʔna*] with anticipatory retroflexion before the glottal). But following stops and sequences of consonant-glottal, morpheme-initial apicals which otherwise are phonetically retroflex are realised as apico-alveolar. For example, after vowel-final prefixes the verb root *ṅa* *to see* is retroflex-initial [*ṅu-ṅaʔna*] *I saw it* (PP), but when serving as auxiliary in compound verbs it is realised as apico-alveolar if it follows a stop or glottal: [*ṅu-bop-na*] *I smelled it* (PP), [*ṅu-burʔ-na*] *I knew it* (PP). Thus also, within frozen reduplications such as *!et!et* *varied lorikeet* the first liquid is phonetically retroflex, the second phonetically apico-alveolar: [*!et!et*].

In sum, there are scarcely any positions of direct contrast between morpheme-initial alveolar and retroflex apicals. Apical-initial prefixes, and almost all morphemes (including lexical words) except suffixes are realised as retroflex except following stop or glottal as noted above; the only exceptions are the interjection-initial alveolar apicals. All apical-initial suffixes are invariably realised as alveolar. At least two different specifications compatible with these facts could be given to apicals underlyingly. In the first place, all apicals could be specified as neutral underlyingly, and retroflexion assigned to all prefixes and lexeme-initial apicals by a redundancy rule (with exception made for the interjections); likewise, apico-alveolar characterisation could be assigned by phonological rule to underlyingly neutral suffixes. Alternatively, almost all morpheme-initial apicals – except for the interjections and the suffixes – could be taken as underlyingly retroflex (that is, fully specified for this feature in underlying form) and the pronunciation rules which neutralise retroflexion as described above could be applied to produce the correct phonetic forms; suffixes could be specified as non-retroflex (=alveolar).

It seems to me there is not too much to unequivocally recommend one solution over the other; nevertheless, certain considerations cause me to pick the second. It is important to point out that the distribution of retroflex and alveolar apicals is not fully comparable to that of fortis and lenis stops, so that there is no compelling reason that phonological distributions of fortis-lenis and retroflex-alveolar consonants need be handled in exactly the same way. Briefly, there is a live morpheme-initial fortis-lenis alternation in certain suffixes (see 2.5), while morpheme-initial apicals in prefixes and lexemes are retroflex (unless 'neutralised' after glottal or other stop); no suffixes can ever be phonetically retroflex-initial. Thus there is a live fortis-lenis alternation suffix-initially, while there is never live morphophonemic retroflex-alveolar alternation morpheme-initially. Having established that

there is no necessity to handle the two distributions in the same way, it seems simple to take prefixes and lexemes as underlyingly retroflex-initial, suffixes as underlyingly non-retroflex (=alveolar) initial. Orthographic practice can then be made consistent with the posited underlying level even where consonants are phonetically 'neutralised' and realised as apico-alveolar. Thus, in the example -bop-ŋa-, marking of retroflexion orthographically is consistent with the posited underlying form of the root /ŋa/ (and also with the distributional fact that no sequences of stop+(apical) nasal occur intramorphemically). This solution is maximally consistent with both phonological distributions within the word and actual pronunciation (except where retroflexion is neutralised). However, as noted, the other solution (taking all apicals as archiphonemes unspecified underlyingly for place, and specifying them as retroflex or alveolar by means of redundancy rules) is also quite plausible, given the clear-cut distribution of these segment types initially by order class within the word.

In 1.1.1.1 it was noted that the lenis retroflex stop ɖ is of much higher frequency intervocally than its counterpart ʈ, a fact which requires further comparative and historical investigation.

1.1.4 Rhotics: distribution and characteristics

The retroflex rhotic ʀ is a continuant, generally pronounced with the tip of the tongue curled well back as in some American dialects, but sometimes (especially before stops within clusters) slightly less retroflex. The segment r is an apico-alveolar tap, sometimes very lightly trilled when syllable final (e.g. [Ngukuʃ] *Roper River*, [gu-ŋuʃgu] *belly*). The distribution of the rhotics as single segments is similar except morpheme-initially. In that position, with one exception, only the retroflex glide can occur (e.g. gu-ʀere *camp*). The exception is the non-singular morpheme -r(V) found in the pronominal prefixes; and this is thoroughly bound to other elements within the prefix forms. Both rhotics occur morpheme-finally (e.g. gu-gaɖagoʃ *fever*, giŋɖar *MoBoCh*), and in sonorant-stop clusters, but the alveolar is more common in the latter.

1.1.5 Liquids

The segments l and ɭ are voiced bilateral segments produced without audible friction. In the environment of front vowels, both are quite clear; but they tend to take on a 'darker' colouration in the environment of back vowels. Syllable-finally they can be quite difficult to distinguish from the alveolar and retroflex rhotics because they tend to involve minimal contact with, in rapid speech sometimes only approximation to, the passive articulators. Spectrographic samples of syllable-final liquids show that in ordinarily-paced speech they are characterised by relatively low energy.

1.1.6 Lamino-palatals

In syllable-final position, the lamino-palatal stop ʎ tends to be characterised by a very weak release, making it somewhat difficult to perceive. The lamino-palatal ñ is very easy to distinguish but is fairly rare initially in nominal roots (only four instances in the corpus). There were ten instances

verb root-initially, and one occurrence initially in a verbal prefix. The nasal ñ is cluster-initial in one word-internal morpheme -ñjaʔ, the base in second person singular and third person singular pronouns.

The segment y is a lamino-palatal approximant, which does not tend to be dropped initially before i (e.g. yikaʔ *we* IIN DU) as happens in some languages.

1.1.7 Vowels

The long vowel a: was recorded only in predicative forms of the adjectival root *good*: ma:ʔ (*it*) *is good*. This contrasts with the attributive form maʔ (see 3.2.15). No other long vowels occurred.

The 'elsewhere' realisation of high vowels /i/ and /u/ are slightly lower, more central and laxer than the high, tense vowels of some languages.

/i/ [i] The vowel /i/ tends to have its highest and tensest realisation in the environment of /ñ/, and in open syllables, especially word-finally: [ŋu-balkip] *policeman*, [bičiri] *file snake*, [ŋu-bigur] *man*.

[ɪ] It has slightly lower, laxer and more centered realisation in syllables closed by consonants other than /ñ/, e.g. [batɪʔ] *mosquito*, [bayɪr] *female euro*, [bɪlpɔ] *wide*, [bɪʔ] *sharp point*, [bɪndi] *real, proper*.

When /i/ occurs before /r/, the two merge completely, yielding the syllabic vocoid [ɶ]: [mɶpara] *child*, [bɶmir] *clapstick*, [mɶʔ] *cave house*.

/u/ [u] This allophone tends to occur in open syllables, especially word-finally. It is closer than the major allophone, [ʊ], which is slightly lower and laxer and occurs in closed syllables.

/e/ [e] This allophone is slightly higher and tenser than the major allophone, and occurs word-finally: [gu-bere] *brisket*, [gɛrɛpɛrɛ], man's name, [bore] *theirs*. This allophone sometimes approximates [i].

[ɛ] Major allophone, [bɛwkiʔ] *white*, [bɛvuk] *turkey*.

/o/ [o] Again, slightly higher and tenser than the major allophone, occurs word-finally, [ŋɔlko] *big*, [gu-mɔŋo] *lair*.

[ɔ] Major allophone, a mid-to-slightly lower-back, rounded vowel: [mɔkɔl] *father*, [mɔnič] *on the sly*.

/a/ [a] Shows little variation, except may be slightly raised and fronted before rhotics, and can be somewhat centered in rapid speech. This is normally open low vowel.

Spectrographic examination of vowels before retroflex consonants shows that the anticipatory retroflex 'colouring' all of them show in this environment is not constant throughout production of the vowel. There is a slight drop in the third formant only milliseconds before closure for the retroflex consonant.

The only vowel which can begin a word or morpheme is a. This occurs in a handful of forms only, most of them conjunctions and adverbs: *alako by and by*, *alanga directly, straightaway*; *alkiʔ still, yet*, *añji* emphatic NP conjunction *too* (also clausal conjunction); and *añiʔ*, a prefix of allative meaning used with cardinal directions.

Neighbouring Maŋarayi has a five-vowel system but /e/ and /o/ are restricted to lexical roots and do not occur in pronouns, demonstratives, or other grammatical morphemes. In Ngalakan, all five vowels can occur in some grammatical morphemes as well as lexical ones.

1.1.8 Consonant clusters

No words begin with consonant clusters. Four word-internal morphemes begin with clusters. There are reflexive-reciprocal allomorphs -yji- (found only with the CV verb root bu- *to hit*) and -yči- (found only with the root wu- *to give*; the morpheme -ñjaʔ which can be segmented in the 2Sg and 3Sg pronouns; 2Sg possessive suffix -ŋgi and 1InPl possessive suffix -ŋgore (see 2.12).

It was noted in 1.1.1.1 that monosyllabic verb roots are frequent, and these can only show a restricted number of final consonant cluster types. For this reason, the segmental phonology of verbs is statistically quite different from that of other parts of speech; many cluster types found elsewhere are either not found in verb roots within the corpus, or are much less common. Therefore, charts of attested intramorphemic double clusters are drawn up separately for verbs as opposed to all other parts of speech (see Tables 1-1 and 1-2). Before clusters can be presented, it is necessary to summarise orthographic conventions used.

Retroflexion is orthographically marked morpheme-initially (see 1.1.3). In all double apical clusters, the members have been found to be homorganic. Intramorphemic apical clusters were found to involve only nasal-stop pairs (i.e. there were no clusters ld, rd or the like). The homorganic nasal-stop clusters are written as e.g. nd, nɖ with retroflexion indicated for both members of clusters where appropriate. Intramorphemically, no stop-sonorant combinations were found except in frozen reduplications. As per 1.1.3, in frozen reduplications, any phonetically neutralised segment will be written as retroflex, since the corresponding morpheme initial apical has always been found to be retroflex (e.g. forms will be written on the model |ark|arkan *rainbow fish*, rather than |arklarkan. A complete listing of stop-sonorant clusters in frozen reduplications will not be given. Syllable-final stops are written with voiceless symbols, syllable-initial ones with voiced symbols, thus: nu-jitbi|iri *male agile wallaby*. This corresponds fairly closely to phonetic norms. In other non-contrastive positions (morpheme-initially, following nasals and glottal) the voiced stop series is used. Of course in contrastive positions the stop contrast is indicated by use of voiced and voiceless stop symbols.

1.1.8.1 Intramorphemic clusters in non-verbal parts of speech

Table 1-1 shows attested intramorphemic clusters found in non-verbal parts of speech. These are exemplified below by major cluster type.

Stop-Stop

No stop-stop clusters can be word- or morpheme-initial or final.

tb	ŋatban	<i>archer fish</i>
tb	jaɖba	<i>firstborn</i>
čb	jičbu	<i>stringybark</i>
kb	ɖakbarara	<i>green pandanus frog</i>

Table 1-1: Intramorphemic double clusters in non-verbal parts of speech

First segment →

	p	t	ṭ	č	k	m	n	ŋ	ñ	ŋ	l	ḷ	r	ɾ	y	w	ʔ	
b		tb	ṭb	čb	kb	mb	nb	ŋb	ñb	ŋb	lb		rb					
d							nd											
ḍ							ŋḍ											
j		ṭj			kj		nj	ŋj	ñj					ɾj				ʔj
g		ṭg			kg		ng	ŋg	ñg	ŋg	lg		rg					
p											lp	ḷp	rp	ɾp	yp			
t																		
ṭ																		
č											lč		rč	ɾč				
k											lk	ḷk	rk	ɾk	yk	wk		
m							nm	ŋm	ñm		lm	ḷm	rm	ɾm	ym			
n																		
ŋ																		
ñ																		
ŋ							ŋŋ				lŋ	ḷŋ	rŋ	ɾŋ	yŋ			
l																		
ḷ																		
r																		
ɾ																		
y											ly	ḷy		ɾy				
w							ŋw						ɾw		yw			
ʔ						mʔ	nʔ	ŋʔ	ñʔ	ŋʔ	lʔ	ḷʔ	rʔ	ɾʔ	yʔ	wʔ		

tg	gibiṭguluč	<i>tawny frogmouth</i>
ṭj	buruṭji	<i>water python</i>
kg	garakgarak	<i>darther duck</i>
kj	gayakjiṇiwen	<i>cranky (person)</i> (may be complex but etymology not apparent)

The intermorphemic cluster tj is indistinguishable from č intervocalically, viz. gajet-ji [gajeṭi] *no knife (knife-PRIV)*.

Sonorant-stop

Medially, the following non-nasal sonorant-stop clusters were found:

lb	malba?	<i>ironwood</i>
rb	gorboḷogorboḷo	<i>butcher bird</i>
ɾj	maɾji	<i>hand</i>
?j	gu?jel?	<i>cold</i> (temperature of object or atmosphere)
lg	golgoɾo?	<i>coolamon</i>
rg	ɲurgu	<i>belly</i>
lp	bilpo	<i>wide</i>
!p	marəŋga!pa	<i>green tree snake</i>
rp	murpun?	<i>Terminalia</i> (tree species)
ɾp	buɾpa	<i>lily species; also rifle</i>
yp	buypu	<i>elder brother</i>
lč	gulči	<i>mortar</i>
rč	bururči	<i>brown tree snake</i>
ɾč	joɾča?	<i>little bandicoot</i>
lk	ba!ku	<i>rope</i>
!k	wa!kara	<i>freshwater hardyhead?</i>
rk	burkaji	<i>really, real, genuine</i>
yk	gayka	<i>MoBr, uncle</i>
wk	gowko	<i>MoMo</i>

The absence of !č is probably an accidental gap.

Of these, the following subset and one additional cluster (ɾk) were found finally: rp (gorpgorp *kookaburra*), lk jawelk grass species, rk giyark *tooth*, ɾk gapuɾk *dry*, wk gowk *humpy*. The cluster yk was found finally in verb roots.

Sonorant-nasal

nm	jinma	<i>shark</i>
ɲm	gunmaŋ?	<i>perhaps</i>
ɲɲ	maŋŋal	<i>dew</i>
ñm	!iñman	<i>Triglochin procera</i> (plant species)
!m	balmaŋa	<i>hat</i>
!m	ja!mayal	<i>King Brown</i> (snake species)
rm	yarmaḍa	<i>big bandicoot</i>
ɾm	biɾmir	<i>clapstick</i>
ym	yimuymuy	<i>long way</i>
lɲ	ga!ɲorkɲoɾk	<i>brains</i>
!ɲ	bu!ɲu?	<i>ashes</i>
rɲ	jurŋa	<i>crooked</i>
yɲ	mayŋo?	<i>red ochre</i>

Of these, the following plus rɲ were found finally: maŋaɾalɲ *hairbelt*, wača!ɲ? *mud*, yiɾɲ *wax*, guɾɲ *black-striped grunter*. (No examples were found of final !ɲ not followed by glottal, but such clusters probably exist).

Nasal-Stop

mb	jamben	<i>snake</i>
nb	munbič	<i>woman's pubic covering</i>
ŋb	beŋbereñ	<i>ghost gum (E. papuana)</i>
ñb	wañba	<i>negative particle</i>
ŋb	ɖaŋbon	<i>(name of Arnhem sociolinguistic group)</i>
nd	ŋondo	<i>wind</i>
ŋɖ	jaŋɖiya?	<i>pandanus mat</i>
nj	ganju	<i>directly, straightaway</i>
ŋj	muŋjum	<i>shoulder</i>
ñj	wañjat	<i>arm</i>
ng	mangaɖa?	<i>woollybutt</i>
ŋg	joŋgolo?	<i>straight</i>
ñg	yiñgon	<i>today</i>
ŋg	jaŋgu	<i>meat, flesh</i>

These may be summarised as including: (1) any non-peripheral nasal plus j; (2) any nasal except m plus g; (3) apical nasal only with homorganic apical stop (nd, ŋɖ), with no contrasting nɖ or ŋɖ.

Sonorant-Non-nasal sonorant

ly	waŋbaŋgulyi	<i>toponym</i>
!y	ŋu!yi?	<i>black (but may be analysable, see 3.3.4.1.2)</i>
ry	buɾyi	<i>very old person</i>
ŋw	waŋwaŋ	<i>Terminalia grandiflora (tree species)</i>
rw	!uŋurwa	<i>Vigna vexillata (yam)</i>
yw	geywar	<i>young man</i>

Triple intramorphemic clusters in non-verbal parts of speech fall into the following categories:

1. S-?-S in reduplicative forms, exemplified by:

joɖow?	joɖow?	<i>morning star</i>
jaw?	jaw?	<i>lily species</i>
ŋin?	ŋin?	<i>finches</i>

2. S-?-S in a handful of non-reduplicative forms

ɾey?me	<i>jaw, face</i>
--------	------------------

3. Possible morpheme-final double cluster plus consonant in frozen reduplicative forms

ɖilkɖilk	<i>peewee</i>
gaŋoɾkŋoɾk	<i>brains</i>
ŋaɾŋŋaɾŋ	<i>Burdekin duck</i>

4. Possible morpheme-final double cluster plus consonant in non-reduplicative forms

waɾŋmele	<i>hip</i>
maɾŋgi	<i>unknowledgeable, inexpert</i>
guraŋmuŋ	<i>greedy</i>

5. Any possible morpheme-final cluster of S+S followed by glottal

ŋawolŋ?	<i>navel</i>
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6. The cluster *rmb*, the only triple cluster in which the first two segments do not constitute a possible final cluster.

warmbaya *anywhere, any which way*

1.1.8.2 Intramorphemic clusters in verb roots

The same cluster categories will be presented for verb roots, except that Non-nasal Sonorant+Nasal and Sonorant+Non-nasal sonorant are collapsed into a single category because of the small number of attested clusters.

Stop-Stop

The only attested intramorphemic cluster is *pj* across reduplicative boundary (*jopjop-ma-* to collect, gather, *-buŋ-jopjop-woŋ-* to lie on back with legs crossed).

Non-nasal Sonorant-Stop

<i>rb</i>	<i>garbe</i>	<i>to crawl</i>
<i>rj</i>	<i>warja?</i>	<i>to go walkabout</i>
<i>lp</i>	<i>balpar</i>	<i>to dance in a group</i>
<i>rp</i>	<i>ɖorpo?</i>	<i>to lie belly down</i>
<i>rč</i>	<i>marča</i>	<i>to be starving</i>
<i>řč</i>	<i>gořči</i>	<i>to pour</i> (perhaps contains an old boundary <i>ř-č</i>)
<i>řk</i>	<i>yirkiđi?</i>	<i>to move, be active</i>

Some of the above, plus others, were found finally: *lp mułp* to chase, *rp warp* to tell a lie, *řp ɖerpɖerp* to be sleepy, *lk jilk* to rain, *ɖolkɖolk* to line up, *łk jołk* to pass by, *řk ɖeršk* to slice, *řk burškburšk* to dive in, *yk wojk* to fish, *wk worowk* to jump in.

Sonorant-sonorant

<i>lŋ</i>	<i>welŋ-bu-</i>	<i>to make mistake</i>
<i>rŋ</i>	<i>jorŋ</i>	<i>to stretch</i>
<i>yŋ</i>	<i>ɣuyŋuy</i>	<i>to swim</i>
<i>nw</i>	<i>wanwan?</i>	<i>to not understand</i>

Nasal-Stop

<i>ñd</i>	<i>weñdu+ma-</i>	<i>go to meet</i>
<i>nj</i>	<i>menjolk-baya</i>	<i>to accuse</i> (AUX <i>-baya</i> ; may be boundary <i>men-jolk</i> ; see 3.3.4.3)
<i>ñj</i>	<i>miñji</i>	<i>remember</i>
<i>ng</i>	<i>mungu</i>	<i>follow</i>
<i>ŋg</i>	<i>joŋgolo?</i>	<i>to straighten</i>
<i>ñg</i>	<i>jereñgo?</i>	<i>to sneeze</i>
<i>ŋg</i>	<i>worŋgor?</i>	<i>to sweat</i> (cf. <i>gu-worŋgor?</i> sweat)

Triple clusters found were a subset occurring in other parts of speech:

1. S-?-S in reduplicative forms

<i>mar?mar?</i>	<i>to tie up</i>
<i>ñim?ñim?</i>	<i>to go out, extinguish itself</i>

2. S-?-S in non-reduplicative forms

<i>ɖer?ba-ga-</i>	<i>to tie up</i>
<i>řer?bar?</i>	<i>to be frightened</i>

Table 1-2: Intramorphemic clusters in verb roots

First segment →

	p	t	t̥	č	k	m	n	ŋ	ñ	ŋ	l	l̥	r	ɾ	y	w	?	
b													rb					
d									ñd									
d̥																		
j	pj						nj		ñj				rj					
g							ng	ŋg	ñg	ŋg								
p											lp	l̥p	rp	ɾp				
t																		
t̥																		
č													rč	ɾč				
k											lk	l̥k	rk	ɾk	yk	wk		
m																		
n																		
ŋ																		
ñ																		
ŋ											lŋ		rŋ		yŋ			
l																		
l̥																		
r																		
ɾ																		
y							ny											
w							nw											
?						m?	n?	ŋ?	ñ?	ŋ?	l?	l̥?	r?	ɾ?	y?	w?		

3. Possible morpheme-final clusters plus consonant in non-reduplicative forms
 nurŋgi-baya- *to be jealous of* (AUX -baya)

A great many more clusters (including triple and quadruple ones) are possible across morpheme boundaries (e.g. yilk-bu- *to shovel under, cover up*, as with coals). However, since no alternations result from juxtaposition of clusters except those already noted involving glottal and suffixes showing fortis-lenis suffix alternations, it is not necessary to present intermorphemic clusters.

1.1.9 Syllable types

Occurring syllable types may be broken down into the following (where S = non-vocalic sonorant):

V	a-laŋ-ga	<i>directly</i> (rare initially)
VC	al-ki?	<i>still</i> (rare)
CV	gu-ba-ḍi-gu-lu?	<i>E. Ferruginea</i> (tree species)
CVC		
(a) CVC	mu-jet	<i>ground oven</i>
(b) CVS	gu-ŋoy	<i>fire</i>
CVCC		
(a) CVS?	mu-ral?	<i>hair</i>
(b) CVSC	gu-malk	<i>skin, subsection</i>
(c) CVSS	jorŋ	<i>to stretch</i>
(d) CVSS?	mu-belŋ?	<i>leaves, foliage</i>

Note that all of these, except V and VC, may be equivalent to lexical roots, or may be segments of longer roots.

Syllable and morpheme-final y contrasts with final yi (e.g. gu-ŋoy *fire* versus goyi *inexpert*). Word and morpheme-final w (ḍow *to break*), contrasts with final -wu of barawu *canoe, boat*, but the latter is clearly a borrowing from prau (type of blunt canoe in which the Macassans travelled to Australia).

CHAPTER II
PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

2.1 Reduplication

2.1.1 Nominal reduplication

Reduplication of nominals (nouns and adjectives) is not highly productive, except in one small area of nominal morphology. This is in the reduplication of kin stems to form 'dyadic' terms.

2.1.1.1 Dyadic kin terms

In most languages in the area, stems can be formed (usually by reduplication plus suffixation) which designate the relationship between pairs or larger numbers of kinsmen, giving such meanings as 'father and child', 'father's father and son's son' and the like. Terms which designate a pair are 'dual dyadic', and those which designate larger numbers of persons in a relationship are 'plural dyadic'. In the creation of some dyadic terms, a choice is made between the simple stems designating the junior or the senior relative as the basis for the dyadic term (e.g. 'father' or 'child'), and those designating the male or the female in some relationships (e.g. 'brother' or 'sister' to express 'brother and sister'). In relation to the first case, Ngalakan dyadic terms permit *both* selection of the senior term, *and* selection of the junior term, as follows. Terms meaning 'father and child', 'mother and child', 'father's sister and brother's child', and 'mother's brother and sister's child', are all built by addition of the dyadic suffix *-koʔʷ-goʔ* to the simple terms which ordinarily designate the senior relative, e.g. from *mokol father*, *mokol-goʔ father and child*. But dyadic forms can also be built on the 'child' terms. The simple 'child' terms are: *ge man's child, woman's brother's child; namu woman's child, man's sister's child*; and *gaya same sex sibling's child* (i.e. *woman's sister's child, man's brother's child*). The collateral distinction made by the last term is neutralised in reciprocal usage ('mother' and 'father'). On these child terms are built the following dyadic forms: *ge-koʔ woman and brother's child or man and own child; namu-koʔ man and sister child or woman and own child; gaya-koʔ woman and sister's child, man and brother's child*. In other words, these dyadic terms enable one to fully exhaust the terminological possibilities of the 'parent-child' pairs by use of both sets.

In the second case, in designation of 'brother and sister' the dyadic term is built on *yapa*, applied by female speaker to *Si+* and by male speaker to all *Si*. The same dyadic term, *yapa-goʔ*, is also used for the 'sister and sister'

relation. In designation of the 'brother and brother' relation, the dyadic term is built on *buypu*, used by male speaker for Br+.

In formation of dual dyadic terms, the suffix *-koʔu-goʔ* is added to the simple stem. (The underlying stem 'mother' is /*manaŋ*/, but this reduces to *mana-koʔ* *mother and child*.) There are three reduplicative patterns involved in formation of plural dyadic terms: (1) complete reduplication for (mostly vowel-final) bi- and tri-syllabic roots and two monosyllabic ones; (2) CVCV- for CVCVC roots; (3) reduplication of stem plus suffix for two monosyllabic roots. Those showing pattern (1), complete reduplication, are:

Dual Dyadic	Plural Dyadic	Denotata (simplified)
<i>buypu-goʔ</i>	<i>buypubuypu-goʔ</i>	Br+Br
<i>yapa-goʔ</i>	<i>yapayapa-goʔ</i>	Br+Si, Si+Si
<i>mana-koʔ</i>	<i>manamana-koʔ</i>	Mo+Ch
<i>marke-goʔ</i>	<i>markemarke-goʔ</i>	FaSi+BrCh
<i>duʔu-koʔ</i>	<i>duʔuduʔu-koʔ</i>	FaFa+SoSo, FaFaSi+SoDa
<i>gowko-goʔ</i>	<i>gowkogowko-goʔ</i>	MoMo/MoMoBr+DaCh/BrDrCh
<i>gaya-koʔ</i>	<i>gayagaya-koʔ</i>	person+same-sex sibling's ch
<i>ge-koʔ</i>	<i>gege-koʔ</i>	woman+BrCh, man+own Ch
<i>ŋamu-koʔ</i>	<i>ŋamuŋamu-koʔ</i>	man+SiCh, woman+own Ch
<i>wawaya-koʔ</i>	<i>wawayawaya-koʔ</i>	MoMoBrSo/MoMoBrSoSoSo+FaSiDaCh/FaFaFaDaCh
<i>wulukurʔ</i>	<i>wulukurʔwulukurʔ-goʔ</i>	brothers-in-law, or man+wife's brother/ sister

Those showing pattern (2), reduplication of CVCV-, are:

<i>mokol-goʔ</i>	<i>mokomokol-goʔ</i>	Fa+Ch
<i>giŋdar-koʔ</i>	<i>giŋdagiŋdar-koʔ</i>	MoBrCh+FaSiCh (cross-cousins)
<i>memem-goʔ</i>	<i>memememem-goʔ</i>	FaMo/FaMoBr+SiSoSo/SiSoDa
<i>balak-(g)oʔ</i>	<i>balabalak-(g)oʔ</i>	MoMoBrDa+son/da-in-law
<i>jamiñ-go</i>	<i>jamijamiñ-goʔ</i>	spouses
<i>jobal-koʔ</i>	<i>jobajobal-koʔ</i>	MoMoBrSo+reciprocal

The two monosyllabic roots showing pattern (3) are *joy FaMoBrSo*, and *ŋoy* (female ego's) *brother's wife and brother's wife's siblings*. They have dual dyadic forms e.g. *joy-koʔ*, plural dyadic *joyko-joykoʔ*, with reduplication of stem and suffix. (For *ŋoy*, one speaker also gave the alternative *ŋoy-ŋoy-koʔ* as plural dyadic term).

2.1.1.2 Frozen nominal reduplications

There are two high frequency, partially reduplicative nouns in which the reduplicative segments are separated by glottal stop. These are *wurʔwuruŋu* *old person*, and *boloʔbolo* *woman*. There are many other complete and partial frozen reduplicative nominals, adverbs and particles. Examples of complete reduplicative forms are: *gu-maraʔara* *maggot*, *gu-meŋʔmeŋʔ* *tommyhawk*, *gu-miʔimiʔi* *ribs*, *gengen* *long*, *waʔukwaʔuk* *all over, all around*, *waʔwar* *supposedly, allegedly*. Examples of partial reduplicative forms are: *gu-gayarʔyarʔ* *plain, open space*, *gajuʔuʔjuʔuʔe* *hard to get*, *gamuyumuyu* *prohibited, secret*. A very minor productive reduplicative process was found with nominal prefix *mala-* (see 3.2.11) in the construction of forms meaning *locale characterised by*, as in *mala-rokorokon* *place with pandanus*, *gu-roka* *pandanus*, with apparent collective suffix).

From the phonological point of view, problematic frozen nominal forms are some in which each reduplicative segment begins with a stop; in some of these the second segment has fortis stop, in others lenis stop. Compare the following two columns:

Fortis		Lenis	
gulukulu	<i>boss, owner</i>	gumbugumbuṅa	<i>snail</i>
golkol	<i>new</i>	gobolḡobol	<i>turkey</i> (introduced variety, English)
burupuru	<i>scabies</i>	buruburuʔ	<i>short way</i>
bulupulun	<i>spoonbill</i>	bulubuluṅa	<i>second child</i> (cf. buluṅaʔ <i>middle</i>)

Since none of these result from productive processes, it is unnecessary to develop a rule to account for them. It does appear that there may have formerly been a contrast between roots which underwent fortition when reduplicated, versus those which did not. Reduplicative stems in which the first segment ends in glottal, nasal or stop cannot show such a contrast because these are environments of neutralisation of the stop contrast: guralʔgural *channel-billed cuckoo*, bulačbulač *female agile wallaby*, biñbiñ *skinny*.

2.1.2 Adverbial reduplication

There are several commonly used, productive partial reduplications of adverbs which are intensitive forms in relation to the unreduplicated forms. Among these are:

gamiñjiko	<i>always</i>	gamiñjiʔjiko	<i>all the time always</i>
jajabaṅṅʔ	<i>yesterday, afternoon</i>	jajajabaṅṅʔ	<i>afternoon, late afternoon</i>
muṅuñju	<i>tomorrow, daylight</i>	muṅumuṅuñju	<i>(first thing) tomorrow, first thing in the morning</i>

2.1.3 Verbal reduplication

There is considerable use of the process of partial reduplication in the formation of certain verbal categories. These can be described as fully 'grammaticalised' uses in that they are the obligatory way of forming these categories. Several CV roots have reduplicative present tense forms: for bu- *to hit, kill*, -bunubun; for wu *give*, -wunuwun; for ḡu- *eat*, -ḡunuṅun; for ma- *get*, -maʔma; and so forth. Several CV roots have reduplicative past punctual (PP) forms: for bu-, boʔbo; wu-, woʔwo; ma-, meʔme; ḡa- *see*, -ḡaʔḡa, and so on. The 'thematic' verbs — i.e. those with stem equivalent to the simple root in the present — form potential and future by a process of 'echoing' the final segment of the root (unless this is semivowel or rhotic, see 3.3.3.8 for details).

Many verbs have basic, fully or partially reduplicative root forms. Examples are: ḡokḡok *to bark*, ḡolkḡolk *to line up*, galiʔgaliʔ *to go away*; dumudumurʔ *to break foliage* (ALL thematic).

Most verb stems can be reduplicated to express meanings of distributive, repetitive or continuative action. Such reduplications, unlike those described above, are not 'grammaticalised' uses of the process, but express nuances of

meaning within particular categories. Many of these reduplications have no effect on segmental phonology, and show no glottal between the reduplicative segments. Examples are: reduplicative present of ɾabo- *to go*, ɾabo-ɾabon; reduplicative present of ɾu- *to cry*, -ɾunuɾun; reduplicative past continuous (PC) of ɾu- *to cry*, ɾuni-ɾuniñ; reduplicative PC of yo- *to sleep, lie*, yoŋo-yoŋoniñ. One feature of such reduplications lacking the glottal is illustrated by the last two examples; they must consist of two syllables. Thus ɾu-niñ is the non-reduplicative PC form of *to cry*; the reduplicative ɾuni-ɾuniñ shows inclusion of the first CV of the suffix to make up a second reduplicative syllable. Other reduplications show placement of glottal between the two segments:

mare	<i>to spear</i>	-mareʔ-mareñ	PC
		-maraʔ-mara	PRES
baɾe	<i>to hang up</i>	-baɾeʔ-baɾeŋiñ	PC

(See 3.3.3.18-19 for verbal paradigms). Two verbs which have facultative reduplicative forms show lenition of medial fortis stops within the stems; see 2.5. Some stop-initial verbs, when reduplicated, show fortition of the stop of the reduplicative segment (e.g. baya-paya-, reduplicative form of baya- *to look at, see, go to visit*; see 2.4.1).

Thematic stems can reduplicate fully or partially, e.g. bo-bop *to smell very bad* from bop *to smell*; ba!ʔba! *to make up bed(s)* from ba! *to make up a bed*; boɖoboɖop *to keep crossing over* from boɖop *to cross*; ga!uga!uk *to keep playing* from ga!uk *to play*. So far none of the stop-final thematic roots have been observed to have initial fortis stop in the second segment (e.g. *bo-pop).

2.1.4 Suffixal reduplication

The nominal suffix -kaʔ~gaʔ (which can be used in both locative and allative senses) was found to have reduplicative forms -kagaʔ and -gagaʔ, the former occurring in the same environment as the fortis-initial allomorph -kaʔ, and the latter in the same environment as allomorph -gaʔ (see 2.5 on lenition for this alternation). The reduplicative forms were found only in the allative sense of motion *to, towards*:

yiri-ŋalʔ-miñ	biŋ-gagaʔ
LEX-climb-PP	stone-ALL
<i>We climbed up towards the stone/hill.</i>	
ŋu-ɾaboniñ	gungu-!anga-kagaʔ
1SG-go PC	GU-billabong-ALL
<i>I was going towards the billabong.</i>	

2.2 Morpheme-initial distribution of alveolar and retroflex apicals

With the exception of a few interjections and all verbal suffixes (see 1.1.3), all morphemes with initial apical consonant are considered underlyingly retroflex. Thus it is easy to formulate a statement of the distribution of alveolar and retroflex consonants in morpheme-initial position: in prefixes and lexical roots, initial apicals can be specified as underlyingly retroflex,

apical-initial suffixes which follow the verb stem are underlyingly alveolar. No apical-initial nominal suffixes occur; all begin with glottal, semivowel, or non-apical stop.

2.3 Distribution of fortis and lenis stops

Stops are specified as neutral underlyingly in non-contrastive positions. As described in 1.1.1.1-2, non-contrastive positions are: morpheme-initially, syllable-finally, and following nasals and stops including glottal. In keeping with phonetic norms, I write morpheme-initial stops as lenis (with voiced symbols), and syllable-final stops as voiceless. There are, however, two exceptions which must be noted. One noun frequently is pronounced with stem-initial, phonetically fortis stop following a vowel-final noun class prefix. This is *ge man's child, woman's brother's child*, e.g. [ŋu-/ju-k^he-ŋini] *my BrCh* (this term occurs with first person singular possessive suffix, whereas for most kin terms first person singular propositus is often zero). Following noun-class prefixes, sometimes other initial stops in nominal roots tend towards a fortis (voiceless) pronunciation, but this is rare; it is more frequent in verbs (see 2.4.2). One verbal suffix, present negative -koro, phonetically always tends towards the fortis norm, no matter what the preceding segment. This stop is invariably written as fortis.

In the position of neutralisation following nasals and stops, stops are written with the voiced symbols; phonetically they are more lenis and tend to be more fully voiced than fortis stops.

Thus stops must be specified as underlyingly fortis or lenis medially only in the contrastive positions within roots between vowels and following non-nasal sonorants. They must also be specified (as underlyingly fortis, see 2.5) in those nominal and verbal suffixes which show fortis-lenis alternations. The fortis-lenis contrast is represented orthographically by use of the contrastive voiced and voiceless stop symbols.

2.4 Fortition

2.4.1 Fortition in verb reduplication

There is one consideration which this straightforward assignment of underlying fortis-lenis features ignores. There are some fortitions shown by initial stops of verb stems under compounding and reduplication.

As noted in 2.1.4, no stop-final thematic verbs have been found to show fortition of the stop at reduplicative boundaries. But four stop-initial non-thematic bi- and tri-syllabic verb roots were found to undergo fortition under stem-reduplication (complete for three of them, partial for one). These are:

baɾa-paɾa-	<i>to hang up</i>
baya-paya-	<i>to look at, go to see</i>
jaɟi-ɟaɟi-	<i>to twirl fire-drill</i>
ju-ču-ruwe-	<i>to run, rush about, hurry</i>

In addition, the root /ja/ *to stand* was commonly found with fortified reduplicative segment-initial stop in bi- or polysyllabic conjugational forms: PRES jaŋa-ɟaŋa, PC jaŋa-ɟaŋaniñ. The transitive *baɾe to hang up* shows insertion of glottal in one reduplicative form (PC baɾeʔ-baɾeŋiñ), but even where there is no glottal it does not show fortition in the alternative

reduplicative present -ba-baṛa. The stem *goṛči* to *pour* may be prevented from undergoing fortition (**goṛči-koṛči*) because this would result in three fortis stops within the reduplicative stem. In fact, this verb shows lenition in reduplicative forms (see 2.5). The simplest solution to the problem posed by fortition in the above verbs is to continue to regard all verb roots as underlyingly lenis-initial, and to note the method by which verbs reduplicate as a (presently) unpredictable feature of individual roots.

2.4.2 Fortition in verb compounding

As mentioned in 2.3, following vowel-final pronominal prefixes, initial stops of verb stems are sometimes phonetically more similar to fortis than to lenis consonants. Examples are: *gu-čaṇa-čaṇan* *it's standing* (instead of -*jaṇa-čaṇan*); *ju-kaʔwar* *get it!* (instead of *ju-gaʔwar*).

None of the initial verbal prefixes (see 3.3.2) such as -*bak* or -*baṛa*- show fortition following vowel-final pronominal prefixes within the verb. Nor do those compounding elements which may precede the verb – including incorporated noun stems – show any tendency towards fortition of initial stops. Fortition thus affects only the 'main' stem within the verb following vowels, and for some stems, following other non-nasal sonorants. However, the initial stop of particular stems is not always fortified when preceded by a compounding element, even after some elements which seem to be fully comparable to others (e.g. are the same parts of speech) after which fortition does occur. For example, there are many nouns and other initial elements which can precede /*bu*/; but among recognisable noun stems which occur before it, some cause fortition of the verb stem to -*pu*- and others do not. The following (including noun stems and other initial elements) result in fortition: *buy-pu* to *rub sweat* (*gu-buy sweat*); *majirijiri-pu* to *quarrel with* (plus direct object; *jiri* *bellicose, belligerent*) *mala-mu-pu* to *gather one's things* (*mala*- generally expresses collectivity, see 3.3.2; and -*mu*- here is probably prefix of the MU noun class indicating an understood NP such as *mu-gamajiʔ* *swag*); *waṇere-pu*- to *singe, scorch*; (*waṇere* *partly cooked*; *bata-ge-pu-* to *slip away from, out of one's hand's*. But the following do not result in fortition: *jele-bu-* to *urinate* (*gu-jele* *urine*), *ṇey-bu-* to *name, call a name* (*gu-ṇey* *name*). The difference may be due to different degrees of fixity in the compounds. That is, it may be desirable to distinguish productive from more fixed compoundings, and to thus have a means for describing those elements which do not cause fortition as less integrated into the verb complex (given that e.g. *ṇey* and *jele* are commonly used as independent nouns). But it is doubtful that such a solution is adequate; there are many nouns capable of independent use and incorporation which determine fortition of a following stop of some verb stems.

Other examples of fortition in thematic verbs are *ṇere-čiliṇʔ* to *be sleepy* (*mu-ṇere* *sleep*); and also *goṛ* to *be sick/ache* when preceded, as it often is, by an incorporated noun stem ending in a (non-nasal) sonorant: *ṇiṇ-juṅgu-koṛ* *your SG. back aches* (*gu-juṅgu* *back*). Note that *goṛ* and also non-thematic /*ja*/ *stand* show fortition following elements which end in non-nasal sonorants including rhotics and liquids, while /*bu*/ never is fortified following rhotics and liquids. Compare /*bu*/ verbs: *ṇa|-bu-* to *shut*, *waṛ-bu* to *sing* (*ensorcell*) with /*ja*/ verbs *jumbu-ča-* to *bend over* and *goṛ-ča* to *sit, lurk inside* (*lair, cave*) (not the same as *goṛ* to *be sick, ache* as above). Note however that /*ja*/ does not always undergo fortition in circumstances where it might be expected: *de|e-ja* to *lean against* (with locative complement), *wuṇji-ja-* to *be hidden*.

Similarly, the root *baya-* to *look at, see* undergoes fortition when reduplicated (see 2.4.1), and following some but not all compounding initials. Compare *jira-paya-* to *sneak up on* and *ñiṅaya-paya* to *like* with *ṅurugi-baya-* to *be jealous of*, as is the case with a nasal-final compounding element, *ḡewen-baya-* to *frighten someone*.

Finally, the stop-initial root /ga/ which is found in many compounds and also functions as a causitiviser (4.3), was not found to undergo fortition: *mal-ga-* to *beget*, *yeṛ-ga* to *shame someone* (intransitive *yeṛ* to *be ashamed*) etc.

There is a transitivising verbal prefix -ṛe- (cf. Ngandi -ṛi-) which expresses removal 'away from'. This was found to occur before only one stop-initial stem in the corpus, /juruwe/ to *run, hurry*, resulting in fortition:

buruṅ-ṛe-ḡuruwe-ñ
3SG/3PL-TNSV-rush-PP
He rushed them away.

The situation regarding fortition in verb compounds, then, is rather complex. The main stems which can undergo fortition under some circumstances do not always do so. The stop-initial roots found as main stems in compound verbs are: /ja/, /baya/, /bu/ and /ga/. Of these, the first three undergo fortition following some initial elements but not others; ga, as noted, was not found to undergo fortition.

2.5 Lenition

Three lenition processes were found. The first two of these affect underlying suffix-initial fortis stops in a number of nominal and verbal suffixes.

The following nominal suffixes have underlying fortis stops:

dyadic kin suffix	-koʔ~goʔ
locative-allative suffix	-kaʔ~gaʔ
dual suffix (with all nouns)	-piraʔ~biraʔ
plural kin suffix	-pulu~bulu
privative suffix	-či~ji

(Also as noted at 2.3, the present negative suffix -koro is taken to have underlying fortis-initial stop but this does not alternate). The dual suffix -piraʔ~biraʔ may also be used as a verbal inflection to disambiguate dual and plural pronominal categories. The sole, strictly verbal suffix with underlying initial fortis stop in future negative is -ciʔ~jiʔ. This suffix is added to the evitative form of the verb (which differs from present positive only for a few verbs). Since the present positive-evitative ends in -n for many non-thematic verbs, and post-nasal position in an environment of neutralisation for the fortis-lenis contrast, the future negative suffix often shows up in lenited form -jiʔ: *yi-ṅan-jiʔ* you and I can't/won't see it (*ṅa-* to see); *ṅuru-ṛabon-jiʔ* we 1nPl can't/won't go. Thematic verbs add this suffix to the root-form, which is often stop-or glottal-final; and in these environments, the suffix also is -jiʔ: *ṅuru-boḡop-jiʔ* we can't/won't cross, *ḡoroʔ-jiʔ* it won't dry. However, following both thematic and other verbs which do not end in stop, nasal or ? (or contain medial fortis stop within two syllables to the left of the suffix see below), the form -čiʔ occurs: *yi-ma-čiʔ* you and I can't get it (evitative stem *ma-*); *buru-banar-čiʔ* they can't/won't listen (thematic *banar* listen).

Lenition II Stop → [-fortis] / ... C₁CV₂V(C)- __ V

(Either C₁ or C₂ is a fortis stop or ?C; final C may be any consonant;
- = morpheme boundary).

The third lenition process, as far as is known, only affects verbs. In 2.4.1 it was noted that optional (i.e. not fully 'grammaticalised' as per 2.1.4) reduplicative forms of some verbs show lenition of an underlying medial fortis stop. There are only three non-thematic verbs which have shapes such that they could show lenition of intervocalic fortis stops under reduplication. These are wake- *to return*, goṛči- *to pour*, and bači-, suppletive form of bu- *to hit* with initial compounding elements. In fact, we find that both wake- and goṛči- show lenition both in the reduplicative segment and the stem, but bači- does not. The non-reduplicative stem forms compared with reduplicative ones are:

	Regular	Reduplicative
PC	-wakeniñ	-wage?-wageniñ
PRES	-waken	-wage?-wagen
PC	-goṛciñ	-goṛji-goṛjiñ
PC	-bačiñ	-bači?-bačiñ
PRES	-bača	-bača?-bača

2.6 ?-deletion

There are a few forms which show sporadic and unpredictable glottal deletion. An example is the adverb buluṇa? *in the middle* versus the related noun bulubuluṇa *second/middle child*.

Suffix-initial glottal stop (in genitive-dative-purposive -?gVn and the past negative verb suffix -?molk) is always deleted following a stop:

gu-got-gon *for paperbark*
biḷarak-molk *is/was not a long time*

There can be no sequences of two glottals. If a glottal-initial suffix is added to a form ending in a glottal, one of them is deleted. These two conditions on glottal deletion may be expressed:

$$? \rightarrow \emptyset \left\{ \begin{array}{l} ? \\ \text{Stop} \end{array} \right\} - \underline{\quad}$$

2.7 ?-insertion

As described at 1.1.2, the glottal-initial ablative allomorph -wala occurs most frequently in environments where there is no fortis stop within two syllables leftwards. However, -?wala also sometimes occurs where there *is* a fortis stop within two syllables, though with lesser frequency. The occurrence of glottal in these environments cannot be expressed as a conditioned, regular phonological rule.

The insertion of glottal as the mark of the construction type 'to call someone X' (where X is a kin term) is described in 3.2.22.

2.8 Homorganic cluster reduction

Only one homorganic cluster was found intramorphemically, in the frozen reduplicative form *garakgarak darter duck*. Elsewhere, across morpheme boundaries (except in formation of potential and future of thematic verbs with root-final liquids, see 3.3.3.19 for details), homorganic cluster reduction obligatorily or facultatively applies. Cluster reduction obligatorily applies across morpheme boundaries, where homorganic stops occur on either side of the boundary; but here, the resulting segmental realisation is fortis. Examples of stop-cluster reduction across morpheme boundaries are:

walk-ga- enter-CAUS	walk-a	<i>to put inside, make go in</i>
balak-ko? MoMoBrDa-DY	balak-o?	<i>mother-in-law and son/daughter-in-law</i>

Some forms may be interpreted as undergoing both ?-deletion (2.6) and cluster reduction. An example is:

/buwambuwa- η owi down	benuk- η gan/ 3SG turkey-GEN	<i>turkey down</i>
	benuk-gan benuk-an	?-deletion after stop stop-cluster reduction

Homorganic sonorant clusters which may occur across morpheme boundaries (e.g. certain nasal-nasal sequences, y-y) are facultatively reduced, but may be retained in careful speech. See 3.3.3.19 for special conditions on clusters in thematic verb paradigms.

2.9 y-deletion

Stem- or suffix-initial y is sometimes deleted following a consonant:

bur-yini η -ga- η i η 3DU/PL-3SG-say-CAUS-PP <i>they told him, said to him</i>	[bur-ini η -ga- η i η]
wirč-yo- <i>to be/lie on either side</i>	[wirč-o-]
η u-geywar-yi η u η <i>husband's brother</i>	[η u-geywar-i η u η]

Following η , root- or suffix-initial y is always absorbed:

mari η -yi η u η <i>wife's sister</i>	[mari η -i η u η]
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2.10 Glide assimilation

Following the pronominal prefix η i η -, the /r/ of the verb η abo- *to go* is usually realised as the laminal semivowel:

η i η - η abona 2SG-go-FUT	[η i η -yabona]
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This process, which shows assimilation of the glide r to the place of articulation of nasal of the prefix, was not observed before other r-initial verb stems.

2.11 Cluster reduction in possessive suffixes

Two possessive suffixes begin with nasal-stop cluster ηg : 2Sg $-\eta gi$ and 1InPl $-\eta gore$. Both of these have reduced allomorphs in the following environments:

1. Following stops p , t , t , č , and glottal stop, these are reduced to $-gi$ and $-gore$, i.e. they drop the η .

$wa\tilde{n}jat-gi$	<i>your SG. arm</i>	$wa\tilde{n}jat-gore$	<i>our arms</i>
$gu\text{!}a?-gi$	<i>your skin</i>	$gu\text{!}a?-gore$	<i>our skins</i>

2. Following k , both drop the initial ηg cluster:

$malk-i$	<i>your subsection</i>	$malk-ore$	<i>our subsections</i>
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2.12 Other intermorphemic cluster simplifications

Across morpheme boundaries, the combination $t+j$ does not differ phonetically from intramorphemic č , while $\text{t}+j$ ($\text{t}+\text{č}$) is also approximately equivalent to a single segment in length. Examples are:

$gu-jet-ji?$	<i>he can't/won't pluck it out</i>	$[je\text{č}i?]$
$gu-\eta\text{u}\text{t}-ji?$	<i>he can't/won't stop</i>	$[\eta\text{u}\text{t}\text{č}i?]$

2.13 Remarks on basic stress patterns

The description of stress given here is far from complete; mention only is made of some basic stress patterns in roots and words. There is a tendency for word-stress to be penultimate, but many kinds of factors can prevent this seeming tendency from being realised. One of these factors is that there are variable patterns of root stress, and another, that a number of bisyllabic nominal and verbal suffixes cannot take a major stress, so that stress must occur earlier in the inflected word.

There are many monosyllabic roots in Ngalakan; with monosyllabic suffixes, or bisyllabic ones which cannot bear stress, these take major word stress on the root (e.g. $gu-\eta\acute{o}y-ka?$ *in the fire*, $\eta\text{u}-b\acute{e}\text{t}-(\text{t})a$ *I will roast it*, $\eta\text{u}-b\acute{e}\text{t}-koro$ *I am not roasting it*). Most bisyllabic roots have penultimate stress: $\acute{a}lki?$ *still*, $j\acute{u}pi?$ *Antidesma ghaesembilla* (shrub); $\text{!}\acute{a}\eta ga$ *billabong*; though a handful of nouns ($ju\acute{r}\acute{e}r?$ *friarbird*), interjections ($ga\text{!}\acute{a}y$ *hey!*, *look out!*) and other parts of speech (usually, the particle $gu\eta m\acute{a}\eta?$ *perhaps*) were found to have final root stress.

There are two major patterns in trisyllabic nominal and adverbial roots: $\acute{1} \acute{2} \acute{3}$ and $1 \acute{2} \acute{3}$. Examples of each are:

$\acute{1} \acute{2} \acute{3}$		$1 \acute{2} \acute{3}$	
$b\acute{a}l\acute{c}u\acute{d}a?$	<i>blanket lizard</i>	$bud\acute{o}lgo?$	<i>brolga</i>
$b\acute{a}raga\text{!}?$	<i>spear</i>	$bi\text{!}\acute{a}rak$	<i>long time</i>
$m\acute{i}\eta i\acute{c}a$	<i>scrub</i>	$burk\acute{a}ji$	<i>genuine, real</i>
$j\acute{a}woro$	<i>patriclan</i>	$ba\acute{r}\acute{a}ra\acute{c}$	<i>thin, skinny</i>

Note also the conjunctions of $\acute{1} \acute{2} \acute{3}$ pattern $\acute{a}lako$ *later*, $\acute{a}\eta ga$ *then*, and demonstrative stem $g\acute{u}\eta b\acute{i}ri$. The trisyllabic vocative form is stressed $ba\acute{r}a\acute{ju}?$ *you all!*

There are at least three patterns in quadrisyllabic roots. One is 1 2 3 4; that is, a major stress falls on the first syllable, with sometimes a secondary stress on the alternate (third) syllable: bídipìdì *ti tree*, bádigùlu? *E. ferruginea*, dákbaràra *green tree frog*, búlupùlun *spoonbill*. The second appears to be a variant of the first, in which the major stress falls on the third syllable and the secondary stress if detectible on the first syllable: 1 2 3 4: mìlibákiñ *salt water* (probably etymologically complex, bálkiñ *salty, sharp, dangerous*, now also *police*), màrangá!pa *green tree snake*. The third pattern is 1 2 3 4, with major stress on the second syllable and no other major stress on the root: gaṅdálpuru *female plain kangaroo*, golódodok *peaceful dove*, buwámbuwa *turkey down, small feathers*, gibítguluč *tawny frogmouth*.

Five-syllable roots mostly showed the pattern 1 2 3 4 5, with major root stress on the third syllable: diḍibáwaba *lotus bird*, gamuyúmuyu *prohibited*; but some showed major penultimate stress (gurijaṭbóngo *olive python*, ṅamilaṅḍáṅḍa *blue tongue species*, ma!ama!ápa *young girl*), while a partly reduplicative form ma!uru!uru *briny, salt water* has stress on the first syllable of the reduplicative segment.

Most six-syllable roots showed a major stress on the penultimate syllable (barabaradáku! *crested pigeon*), a few on the ante-penult, gaṅṅgáṅṅini *large Petrogale species*; note also the partially reduplicative betélérelere? *masked plover*.

Monosyllabic case suffixes do not cause any shift of root stress to the new penultimate syllable. Thus, a bisyllable like bígur *person, Aborigine, man* inflected for ergative case continues to show stress on the same syllable of the root: bígur-yi?, likewise genitive-dative bígur-?gun, ablative bígur-(?)wala; řére *camp* has inflected forms locative řére-ka?, řére-(?)wala and so forth. However, the bisyllabic nominal inflectional suffixes -kága?~gága? (allative), plural -gápul, kin plural -púlu, all can take at least secondary word stress. When suffixed to a monosyllabic root, these can cause major word stress to be reassigned to the penultimate word syllable: biṅ-gága?, ṅoy-kága?, though it appears that alternatively, major stress may remain on the root, bíṅ-gaga?. With bisyllabic and longer roots, major word stress does not shift (e.g. !áṅga-kaga? *to the billabong*) though the suffix may bear a secondary stress. Nominal prefixes even if bisyllabic cannot be stressed and never affect word stress assignment, thus ṅugu-bígur *person*, mungu-bárawu *canoe*.

The majority of bisyllabic thematic verbs when occurring in root form have the stress pattern 1 2; thus, ṅu-báwun? *I leave it*, ṅu-bánar *I hear it*, ṅu-dóḍo? *I descend*); but there are a few which may have a pattern 1 2 (yi-ṅurúm? *you and I dig*, buru-mi!ár? *they are being born*).

Where the addition of verbal inflectional suffixes does not create forms of more than three syllables, all non-thematic roots have major word stress on the first root syllable:

ṅu-báyan	<i>I visit, go to see it</i>
ṅu-rábon	<i>I go</i>
ṅu-júruwen	<i>I rush</i>

In positive trisyllabic verb forms, stress remains root-initial, thus:

ṅu-búnubun	<i>I hit it</i> (obligatorily reduplicated)
ṅu-góřčiṅi	<i>I should want to pour/load it</i> (potential suffix -ṅi)
ṅu-yíniṅiñ	<i>I was saying, doing</i> (past continuous suffix -ṅiñ)
ø-báṅṅan	<i>it is hanging up, suspended</i>

However, in some forms the major word stress can alternately fall on the penult: η -wákena or η -wakéna *I will return*. In most quadrisyllabic forms consisting of root+inflection, major word stress falls on the penult:

ϕ -juruwéniñ *he was rushing* (past continuous -niñ)
 ϕ -baraḡániñ *he was suspended, hanging up* (past continuous -niñ)

Observe the effect on placement of major word stress resulting from negative suffixation in non-thematic verbs:

Pres	η -ṛábon	<i>I go</i>	η -júruwen	<i>I rush</i>
PrNeg	η -ṛaboní-koro	<i>I do not go</i>	η -juruwení-koro	<i>I do not rush</i>
Fut Neg	η -ṛábon-ji?	<i>I can't, won't</i>	η -júruwen-ji?	<i>I can't/won't rush,</i>
	η -ṛabón-ji?	<i>go</i>	η -juruwén-ji?	<i>run</i>
PNeg	η -ṛabóni-ʔmolk	<i>I didn't rush</i>	η -juruwéni-ʔmolk	<i>I didn't run</i>

The present negative suffix -koro can never bear stress, but major word stress is shifted to the preceding potential inflection. With future negative suffix -číʔ~ji?, major stress may be penultimate or remain on the first root syllable. With addition of the monosyllabic past negative suffix -ʔmolk to the potential stem, major word stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable (if the stem+potential consists of more than two syllables; compare η -búni-ʔmolk *I didn't hit it*).

Thematic verbs add negative suffixes directly to the root. Some bisyllabic thematics show a tendency for major word stress to move to the syllable immediately preceding the negative suffix; e.g. η -ḡ-ḡóroʔ *it is drying up*, ϕ -ḡóroʔ-jiʔ *it will not dry up*, ϕ -ḡóroʔ-(ʔ)molk *it did not dry*, but stress appears alternatively to remain on the first syllable of the root. Some bisyllabic thematic verbs show no tendency towards stress shift, e.g. ϕ -máḡiñʔ-(ʔ)molk *he did not make it*, ϕ -máḡiñʔ-jiʔ *he will not/cannot make it*. Stress shift with the addition of past punctual suffix -miñ is also apparently variable for some roots (ϕ -ḡóroʔ-miñ *it dried up* or ϕ -ḡóroʔ-miñ), but does not occur with others (ϕ -máḡiñʔ-miñ *he made it*). But the past continuous thematic suffix -míyiñ always bears at least a secondary stress: ϕ -ḡóroʔ-míyiñ *it was drying up*, ϕ -ḡalʔ-míyiñ *he was climbing*. This makes the past continuous more prominent and somewhat longer than the past punctual suffix, so that, even though there is some tendency for the medial semivowel to be much reduced, past continuous thematic verb forms can be quite easily distinguished from past punctual ones.

CHAPTER III

MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Parts of speech

The following parts of speech are recognised for Ngalakan:

- (a) nominal (noun, adjective)
- (b) pronoun (first, second and third persons)
- (c) demonstratives (pronominal, adverbial)
- (d) indefinite-interrogatives
- (e) verb
- (f) adverb
- (g) particle
- (h) interjection
- (i) conjunction

The distinction between noun and adjective is not absolutely clear-cut syntactically; or perhaps it is better to say that the boundaries of each do not correspond exactly to our English notions of noun and adjective classes. Both adjectives and certain kinds of nouns can enter into a variety of construction types, including predicate nominal and inchoativised clauses, and both can be inflected for noun class and other nominal categories. A principal difference between them is that most nouns inherently belong to one noun class or another, while adjectives are inflected to agree in noun class and/or case and number with the noun they modify, whether this is present or otherwise understood. However, some human status and kin nouns have 'variable gender' depending on the sex of the referent (e.g. ηu -/ $j u$ - $m i \dot{r} p a r a$ *child*) and so according to this criterion would be more like adjectives.

Pronouns have the same possibilities for number/case inflection as nominals (consistent of course with person/number categories which they inherently express); but only third person forms show a two-way noun class opposition between feminine $j i \dot{n} j a ?$ and masculine and other $\eta i \dot{n} j a ?$, the latter capable of serving as pronoun for any non-feminine referent, though most often for masculines. (This is not surprising in view of the general lack of semantic and distributional markedness of the 'masculine' class, see 3.2.2). In some languages of this area, it is desirable to count only first and second person forms as pronouns, and to treat all third person forms as part of the class of demonstrative pronouns. This is not the case in Ngalakan: third persons singular $j i \dot{n} j a ?$ and $\eta i \dot{n} j a ?$ are built on the same base $- \dot{n} j a ?$ as second person singular $\eta i \dot{n} j a ?$. This formal consideration, combined with the fact that these third person forms do not encode distance categories, shows that we may consider them part of the set of non-demonstrative pronouns.

Another word-class is comprised of demonstratives, which are semantically selective for distance categories. There is a great deal of overlap formally between demonstrative pronominal and adverbial bases; some of the adverbial bases, inflected for noun class and case, can function as demonstrative pronouns.

The indefinite-interrogative forms (who, nobody, where, what etc.) are considered a class on functional grounds; formally, they have most of the same inflectional possibilities as nouns.

Except for the fact that first and second person pronouns do not inflect for noun class, pronouns, nouns, demonstratives and interrogative-indefinite forms show similar possibilities of inflection for case, number and noun class, and all have basic ergative-absolutive patterning over major clause functions.

Ngalakan verbal constructions can be divided into two types according to constituency of the verb stem. In the first type, the stem is 'simple', equivalent either to an indivisible root form, or consisting of an indivisible paradigmatic stem-form of a root appropriate in a particular tense-aspect category. The largest class of 'simple stems' is comprised of thematic verbs, which have stems equivalent to their root forms in present/evitative/imperative forms, and take no tense-aspect suffixes in these forms. Examples are *ɲu-banar I listen, I hear it* in which the present stem banar is equivalent to the root; and *ɲu-boɭor I sleep on my back* with root boɭor. Another class of verbs with simple stems includes 3l mono- and bisyllabic roots, for which however no paradigmatic form need necessarily be equivalent to the root. Examples of this kind are *ɲu-ɾabo-na I will go, future*, with stem ɾabo-; *ɲubu-ɲa'ɲa I saw them*, past punctual stem form ɲa'ɲa of ɲa- *to see*.

In the second type, the stem is 'compound', consisting of at least one initial or 'compounding' element, and one of 16 auxiliaries. Together, initial element(s) and auxiliary comprise the inflecting unit to which person, number and noun class prefixes and tense, aspect, negation and other verbal suffixes are added. With the exception of the copulative root me- *to be, become*, all of these roots which can function as auxiliaries can also function as simple stems; but not all simple stems occur as auxiliaries. The copulative root me- chiefly occurs with predicate noun or adjective in the position of 'compounding' element. Included within the compound class of verbs are also stems with causativising and factitivising roots ga-, wu- (and in a few compounds, also ye- and ma-), as well as copulative me-. Examples of compound stems are *bop-ɲa- to smell* (transitive), with auxiliary ɲa- which, as simple stem, means *to see*; *melegen-yo- to sleep on one's side* with auxiliary yo-, simple stem *to sleep*; *ɖow-ga- to break something* with root ɖow- *to break* (intransitive) followed by causative ga-; *gapuɾk-me- to dry out, become dry*, inchoative of gapuɾk *dry, arid*. The number of initial elements is generally, but not necessarily, limited to one. The internal structure of most compound verb stems is remarkably clear (see the examples above), even though many initial elements do not occur outside of compound verb constructions, and thus cannot themselves be assigned any meaning independent of that expressed by the entire stem (e.g. *ɖeɭe-ja- to lean on*, where ɖeɭe- occurs only in the compound verb and ja- as simple intransitive stem means *to stand*). If we define the structure of compound stems as that between modifier and nucleus, there is little difficulty in classing the many instances of verbs with incorporated noun stems as within the range of the modifier-nucleus type. However, compound stems with incorporated noun are not fully comparable to other compound stem-types in that the incorporated noun often represents one of the major arguments within the clause.

Adverbs modify verbs; most do not inflect, but a subset of demonstrative adverbs inflects quite productively (see 3.4).

Within the class of particles are included some rather diverse elements, such as *añi?* which may precede cardinal directions in allative function (e.g. *añi? yi-roro to, towards the south*); *baliñ?* which expresses similitude *like X*, and a few quite unusual forms like *mubugu to relay message, report* which may modify a variety of verbs (e.g. 'he returned with news', 'he went to give news' etc.) but differ somewhat from most adverbs in the kind of meaning expressed. That is, a few particles such as this do not merely modify the verb qualitatively or quantitatively, but add a component of 'verbal' lexical meaning.

Interjections of surprise, distress, approval, fright and other sentiments and emotions may occur as isolated expressions, without necessarily presupposing any other linguistic elements.

The conjunctions include *alako later*, *alanga directly*, *añji also, too*, and others; these function to express particular links between utterances, in two ways. All of these may have either 'internal' or 'external' reference (as per Halliday and Hasan 1976:241), 'internal' referring to the link between linguistic or other events within the speech situation, and 'external' to links between events or elements within the thematic content. One of these, *añji also, too* may function as an emphatic NP conjunction. As can be inferred from their meanings, some of the conjunctions are not easily distinguished from adverbs in some occurrences, and sometimes may clearly function as adverbs within clauses, rather than as links between clauses.

3.2 Nominal morphology

3.2.1 Nominals – nouns and adjectives

There is no absolute distinction between nouns and adjectives. Noun roots tend to have inherent gender, but there are many nouns (especially human status nouns including kin terms, such as *bolo old person*, or *giñdar cross-cousin*) which may vary in noun class according to sex of the referent. These will be called 'variable gender' nouns. Adjectives agree with nouns they modify, but frequently semantically adjectival nominals (descriptive of qualities) function as nouns, whether or not there has been mention of some noun which the adjective is understood to stand for. Thus, an 'adjective' like *yařkyarık inferior, trashy*, perhaps with noun class prefix appropriate to the class of an intended or understood referent, is often used as a noun: *mu-yařkyarık inferior (vegetable) food, rubbish*. Ngalakan, like some other languages in the area, challenges the traditional clear-cut distinction between a form-class of nouns most or many of which may be said to refer to entities, and a form-class of adjectives which may be said to describe or qualify. In Ngalakan, constituents of either semantic type may function as nouns. As modifiers within expanded nominal groups, adjectives can be distinguished functionally from nouns in a quite clear-cut way.

Both nouns and adjectives occur in predicate nominal constructions, differing slightly in their inflection for tense/aspect and negation from other intransitive predicate types. Both adjectives, and mainly human (non-kin) status nouns such as *geywar young man*, or *mirpara child*, can be inchoativised by means of the copulative root *me-*. The relation of tense-aspect forms of *me-* to other verbal paradigmatic categories is slightly 'displaced' compared to other auxiliaries. Since predicate nominals are zero-inflected in the

simple present, the morphologically simple present form of *me-* expresses *becomes, is becoming* rather than *is*. The suffix used to negate the meaning 'becomes' is the same as that which ordinarily negates a simple present form; the ordinarily past negative suffix *-ʔmolk* is used as present or past negator of 'be'. These and other resulting displacements are fully described in 3.2.15.

Dyadic (dual or plural) kin terms occur commonly in predicate nominal constructions (3.2.15). That is, the predication of a relation between or among two or more persons by a predicate nominal construction is common (e.g. *buru-yapa-goʔ they are brother and sister, sister and sister*), where the relation is what is being foregrounded, and neither nominal argument is identified except as a participant in the relation. But to express a meaning which *identifies* a person in terms of his relation to some other, one may resort to a construction which has some superficial properties of a transitive configuration:

3-1 *ɲun-manaʔ He calls me mother.*
 3Sg/1Sg-mother

Here, the prefix *ɲun-* is the same as that required in transitive combinations of 3Sg/1Sg; the reduced stem *mana-* from */manan/ mother* must be followed by glottal, a consistent syntactic mark of the construction type. A person is being singled out in terms of a distinctive property, relation to (in this case) the speaker (see 3.2.22) Kin terms do not occur in inchoative constructions.

These facts suggest that for Ngalakan, any attempt to divide nominals into traditional 'noun' and 'adjective' classes on the basis of syntactic criteria would result in a division such that most human status nouns would belong to the 'adjective' class, kin terms would form a specialised subset of adjectives, and these two would be distinguished from other nouns.

3.2.2 Noun classes

There are four noun classes. Two of these contain all nouns which are distinguished as masculine (*ɲu-*) versus feminine (*ju-*). Some human and other nouns referring to higher animals (e.g. kangaroo and wallaby species) belong inherently to either masculine or feminine class; thus *ju-gaŋɖalɖuru female plains kangaroo, ɲu-jaɖugal male plains kangaroo*. 'Variable gender' human nouns and some animal nouns are assigned gender according to sex of the referent: *ɲu-/ju-giŋɖar my (male, female) cross-cousin*. Mixed-gender duals and plural are masculine: *ɲu-giŋɖar-ɲini-pulu my cross-cousins (pl)*.

However, sex gender is not distinguished for all nouns with referents which are 'animate' in the biological sense. Nouns to which the criterion of sex gender does not apply fall into one of three formal categories. First, they may belong to the formally 'masculine' class. For example, many animal nouns are conventionally of 'masculine' gender: *ɲu-waʃuŋɖu goanna (V. gouldii), ɲu-goŋ kangaroo (generic), ɲu-giku mussel, ɲu-jirkiŋʔ long-tailed mouse, ɲu-jamben snake, ɲu-geweɾeʔ dingo*. Some of these can be recategorised as feminines in contexts which require that degree of specificity in regard to a particular referent; but at least for *ɲu-goŋ*, the degree of taxonomic generality of the noun itself guarantees that it will always be used as a 'masculine' noun. Within the classes of higher terrestrial and other animals, there is great consistency, so that subtypes of a more general category (e.g. snake species) belong to the same class as the more general term. Many nouns referring to lower-order animate beings, (and inanimate things), frequently occur without

noun class prefix, but all nouns belong to one of the four classes and/or can be recategorised as masculine or feminine depending on sex of the referent. A limited number of inanimate nouns (ṅu-jaṅḍiya? *pandanus mat*, ṅu-mayṅo? *red ochre*) are 'masculine' class. A very few nouns were found capable of alternative masculine or gu-class categorisation (e.g. ṅu-, gu- *ḷambak (turtle) shell*).

It can be appreciated that within the 'masculine' class there are really two subsets: one, a class of animate nouns assigned to masculine class on the basis of actual sex gender of the referent; and two, a class of mainly animate nouns to which the criterion of sex gender has no application. This formal class is opposed to the feminine class, to which nouns are assigned only on the basis of actual sex gender. Therefore, the designation 'masculine' is not really apt (unmarked animate would be more nearly correct), but will be retained for simplicity's sake, and with the understanding that the term refers to the expanded, semantically unmarked animate class which has predictable application to a subset of masculine nouns.

There are two grammatically inanimate classes. The gu-class includes most body parts, the majority of specific tree names and some general terms referring to vegetation (gu-belḥ? *leaves, foliage*) and some other plants and grasses, some natural phenomena (gu-guṅuṅ *cloud*, gu-jaṅmur *junction*), many implements and other cultural objects including some introduced items (gu-golgoṛo? *coolamon*, gu-baragaḷ? *bamboo spear*, gu-jambaku *tobacco*, gu-ṅul? *coolamon* now also used for automobile), and some bodily secretions and other physiological phenomena that are approximately evenly divided with the mu-class (gu-jolok *phlegm*, gu-gaḍagoṛ *fever, flu*). Finally, most words for topographic zones or types of locale appear to be gu-class: gu-gaṅḍuyun *sandridge*, gu-gayar?yar? *plain, open place*; also gu-bo *river*.

The mu-class includes the generic mu-may *vegetable food* and many terms for edible and inedible plant species, including a minority of tree species which do not belong to gu-class. Despite the fact that most vegetable foods and products belong to mu-class, one cannot predict that all terms for vegetable foods will be so assigned, viz. gu-bičurk *plat potato (Microstemma species)*. Those implements, containers and other items of manufacture which do not belong to the gu-class, are assigned to mu-class: mu-jaka? *digging stick*, mu-gir? *stone spear*, mu-waṛurku *nulla nulla*, mu-gaḷigaḷi? *boomerang*, mu-boṅḍok *woomera*, mu-muwaḍa *canoe*. Also included are some items used by man but not necessarily man-made, e.g. mu-bol? *road, track*, equivalents of which all over the area are used to mean *path which can be followed* (whether man-made or not). Most terms for types of ochres, earth, seasons and times, and other natural phenomena are mu-class: mu-muṅun *darkness*, mu-makur *cold weather*, mu-gapaṅḍa? *white mud*, mu-miṅgur *star*, mu-wacaḷḥ? *mud*, mu-bim *white ochre*, mu-wači *sun*, mu-ḡere *sleep*. Though almost all human and animal body parts, with a few exceptions, like mu-jikur *tail*, are gu-class, a few secretions are mu-class, as are also hair and things made of it: mu-gurač *blood*, mu-jele *urine*, mu-maḡaṛaḷḥ *hairbelt*. *Rainbow serpent* muč is mu-class. Finally, all terms for wild honey, and for native bees which produce it, are mu-class. There are a few (non-obvious) extensions of the meaning of terms to introduced items so that, for example, mu-buṛpa *lily* is now also used to mean *rifle*; presumably the extension is or was based on some perceived similarity of shape, but it is not clear that this polysemy strikes people (at least those I asked) as curious or susceptible of explanation. The thematic verb root diw? means *to fly away*; mu-ḍiw?diw? is used for *airplane*, though the reason for its assignment to mu-class is not clear. There is one interesting case of variable assignment: gu-we? *water* versus mu-we? *rain*. However, variable categorisation as a way of distinguishing

possible senses of a single phonological word does not seem to be more generally used.

The mu-class clearly contains a subset of terms referring to plants and vegetable foods; the prefix is no doubt relatable to another widespread form ma- (found e.g. in Ngandi). It is not apparent that the gu-class contains any definable core subset.

3.2.3 Noun class prefixation

Each noun class has two overt forms, a 'short' and a 'long', and also a potential zero form, since many nouns (most frequently non-human ones, but also sometimes human and animate ones) are often used without any prefix. Kin terms, however, must always be prefixed except in dyadic and vocative forms. The prefixes are:

	Short	Long
'masculine'	nu- ϕ -	nugu-
feminine	ju- ϕ -	jugu-
GU	gu- ϕ -	gungu-
MU	mu- ϕ -	mungu-

The distribution of these forms over case functions is as follows: the long forms, where used, are preferentially found in transitive object and intransitive subject functions. However, it must be noted that in every text count of prefix forms (I excluded from these counts material directly elicited for grammatical investigation), the number of zero-prefixed intransitive subject forms was approximately equal to the number of subject forms prefixed with long forms. Thus, occurring long forms show preferential distribution over NPs in absolutive-marked case functions, but reversing the procedure and looking at the relation of functions to forms, the intransitive subject function, taken by itself, does not seem to show a strong preference between long and zero forms. In every count in which ergative and instrumental functions (identically suffixed, with -yi?) were related to prefix forms, zero was the most frequently occurring prefix by a minimum factor of about 2 in relation to the short forms, and the long forms were least frequent. There is, however, a preference for the use of prefixes in human masculine nouns, and in feminine nouns. Exceptions include a few human nouns such as *mirpara child*.

With the local case-endings (allative-locative, ablative), zero and short prefix forms are the most frequent, though it must be stressed that *all* prefix forms are found. For nouns in genitive and dative functions, zero or long prefixes are the most common, and for explicitly purposive-marked nouns, zero is the overwhelmingly most frequent form, followed by the short form. (The qualification of 'explicit' purposive marking is necessary because dative-genitive case may alternatively be used to express purposive meaning).

These tendencies in the relation of prefix forms to grammatical functions of NPs may be summarized as follows:

<i>function</i>	<i>form</i>
intransitive subject	zero and long predominate
transitive object	long and zero predominate
ergative/instrumental	zero and short predominate
genitive/dative	zero and long predominate
local	zero and short predominate
purposive	zero predominates

A brief summary of counts of prefix forms can be given in support of these statements. In the first four texts (see Ch. 5), of 58 long prefix forms, 25 were on nouns in direct object function, 24 in intransitive subject function, and nine in transitive subject function (most of which, but not all, had ergative suffix). Of 48 short forms, 22 were prefixed to nouns in direct object function, 13 to nouns in intransitive subject function, and 13 to nouns in transitive subject function. Of 73 zero-prefix nouns, 26 were in direct object function, 27 in intransitive subject function, and 20 in transitive subject function. Of three ablative-marked nouns in these texts, all had zero prefix. Of ten locative-marked nouns, eight had zero prefix, one long, and one short. Of 12 genitive or dative nouns, six had zero prefix, four long, and two short. Of four purposive-marked nouns, three had zero prefix, one short. Other counts indicate that of these, locative is atypical in that it usually shows a preponderance of short over long, rather than their being equal (there is one of each above).

We see some indication of the formal grouping of intransitive subject and transitive object functions with respect to prefix forms (as well as the fact that these functions share zero absolutive suffix form), and also some evidence that the other, unpaired major clause function, ergative, has, in a statistical sense at least, all other functions except purposive formally subordinated to it. Whether these tendencies are the result of relaxation of earlier, stricter norms (with long forms in absolutive-marked functions, short or zero in ergative/instrumental and elsewhere) is difficult to say.

The demonstrative pronouns and adverbs are very frequently used as nominal modifiers expressing discourse definiteness of NPs (rather than just relative spatial location). Especially *goʔje* (which as demonstrative adverb means *there*) prefixed with noun class markers and/or case suffixes, is used to express that a nominal element is presupposed and its reference taken to be understood, generally by virtue of previous mention:

3-2 *ɲu-muŋʔ-miñ* *ɲu-goʔje* *ɲugu-giku*
 1SG/3SG-*grab-PP* M-*that* M-*mussel*
 I grabbed the/that mussel.

Here, *ɲu-goʔje* indicates that *mussel* has been previously established in the discourse, and this instance of *giku* is to be interpreted in terms of those previous mentions. When functioning as heads of NPs, all demonstratives can occur with long prefix forms, e.g. *ɲugu-goʔje* or *ɲu-goʔje* *that one*. Although as modifiers within a nominal group the demonstratives must occur with a noun class prefix, it is almost invariably the case that this will be a short form, as in the example cited above; modifying demonstrative pronouns with long prefix forms, like *ɲugu-goʔje* *ɲugu-giku* are rare, but do occur. See special *gu-* and *mu-*class pre-demonstrative 'short' forms in 3.2.27. A striking fact which illustrates the relative lack of markedness of the formal masculine class is that any non-feminine noun (including referents of mixed gender, and the inanimate classes) can be modified or referred to by a demonstrative with masculine prefix, so that demonstrative modifiers explicitly marked as *gu-* or *mu-*class are relatively rare. Feminine referents are always modified or referred to by feminine-marked demonstratives, e.g. *ju-goʔje* *jugo-bolo* *that old woman*. (See 3.2.29 on agreement within the nominal group, where it is shown that although every constituent *may* be pleonastically marked for case function of the entire NP, often this does not happen, so it is possible that demonstrative modifier and noun, for example, not be identically case-marked).

There are no distinct dual/plural prefix forms; a distinct plural suffix exists only for kin terms, while dual *-pira?~bira?* may occur with all nouns. Referentially specific plural (human or animate) nouns are cross-referenced in the verb by plural pronominals. Thus, *ṅugu-bigur* may demand interpretation as *the men, the man, people* (where the relevant opposition is to *marči white people*), or *a man*, depending on verbal cross-reference and other factors relating to the establishment of discourse reference. In the verb, there is no distinction between dual and plural pronominals for second and third persons, so that explicit dual-marking on nouns (or alternatively, on the verb) is required if dual is to be clearly distinguished from plural number. The collective suffix *-gapul* also serves to make explicit the difference between dual versus more than two.

3.2.4 Verb agreement for noun class

In Ngalakan, *nu-* and *ju-* class nouns are cross-referenced in the verb by the regular third person zero pronominal (see 3.2.30), but *mu-* and *gu-* class nouns, especially in intransitive subject and transitive object functions, may be cross-referenced in the verb by pronominal prefixes identical to the 'short' forms of the noun class prefixes. Unless thus explicitly cross-referenced, *mu-* and *gu-* class nouns are cross-referenced by zero. See 4.7 for conditions on explicit cross-reference and comments on its discourse function.

3.2.5 Proprietary ('having') constructions

Like most Australian languages, Ngalakan has a way of expressing 'having X', where X is a noun. The proprietary construction is expressed by the frame *baṭa-X-yi?*; noun class prefixes are never present within this structure. The construction is usually used to express temporary possession, association or accompaniment, but it is often used in an instrumental sense 'by means of, with X'. In the latter meaning it is a functional alternative to instrumental case. Examples are:

- 3-3 *baṭa-yaraman-yi?* *buru-ṛabo* *go?je* *gara*
 PROP-horse 3NSG-go PP *there high*
On horseback they went there high up.
- 3-4 *Yiri-wakeñ* *baṭa-barawu-yi?* *gowk-ṅowi-ka?*
 LEX NSG-return PP PROP-boat *house-his-LOC*
We returned by boat to his house.
- 3-5 *buru-ṛabon* *buruṅ-gum-ja* *ju-go?je* *jugu-milkanda*
 3NSG-go PRES 3SG/3NSG-cover-AUX F-that F-widow
baṭa-wapawapa-yi? *baṭa-got-yi?*
 PROP-dress/cloth PROP-paperbark
They go and cover the widow with cloth, with paperbark.

In addition to functioning as adverbial adjuncts, proprietary constructions can be nominally inflected (with noun class prefixes and case suffixes), and function as nouns or adjectives:

- 3-6 *añji bur-ṅa?ṅa* *ṅugu-baṭa-guṅḍaroro-yi?*
 and 3NSG/3SG-see PP M-PROP-horn
And they saw a cow (literally having horns).

- 3-7 Yirbi-barañ ðarʔ-gaʔ baʔa-miðark-yiʔ-gaʔ
 1EX NSG/3PL-*hang* PP *tree*-LOC PROP-*small branches*-LOC
We hung it in the tree in the small branches.

Note that the proprietive may be further case-marked as in (3-7), but no additional ergative suffix is added. Inflected with intransitive pronominal prefixes, proprietive constructions can function as predicates in predicate nominal constructions:

- 3-8 ŋu-baʔa-jolok-yiʔ
 1SG-PROP-*cold*
I have a bad cold.
- 3-9 buru-baʔa-gaka-yiʔ
 3NSG-PROP-*brother*
They have brothers.

See 3.2.15 for further discussion of predicate nominal constructions.

3.2.6 Privative construction

The privative construction 'lacking X' is expressed by noun plus privative suffix -ʒiʷ -ji (see 2.3 for the alternation). Like the proprietive construction, this can be used as adverbial adjunct, can be inflected nominally, or used in predicate nominal constructions. The noun occurs commonly with zero prefix in adverbial adjuncts, otherwise with short-form prefix; in predicate nominals, it cannot have a prefix. Examples are:

- 3-10 ŋuru-gowk-ji
 1IN PL-*house*-PRIV
We are without houses.
- 3-11 gu-weʔ-ji-meniñ
 GU-*water*-PRIV-*be* PC
There was no water.
- 3-12 ŋu-may-ʒi
 1SG-*vegetable food*-PRIV
I've no food.

See 3.2.15 for syntactic restrictions on expression of the possessive relation in privative and proprietive constructions functioning as predicate nominals.

3.2.7 Case-marking

The case suffixes are:

- ∅ Absolutive (transitive object, intransitive subject)
- yiʔ Ergative/Instrumental
- ʔgVn Genitive/dative
- kaʔʷ-gaʔ Locative/allative, also -kagaʔʷ-gagaʔ in allative sense
- walaʷ-ʔwala Ablative
- wi Purposive, pergressive

In this section the functions of each suffixal category are described. All of the suffixes are multifunctional, capable of expressing more than one semantically and/or syntactically distinguishable type of case relation.

Absolutive $-\emptyset$ marks nominals in transitive object and intransitive subject functions; the zero is not written in cited forms. Examples of transitive object function are:

3-13 $\eta u-wi-\eta a$ $gungu-\eta ey-\eta owi$
1SG-forget PP GU-name-his
I forgot his name.

3-14 $jeki$ $gu-we?-ji-meniñ$, $alanga$ $langa$ $\emptyset-ma\eta iñ?-miñ$
first GU-water-PRIV-be PC *directly* *billabong* 3SG/3SG-make PP
At first there was no water, then he (a mythical figure) made the billabong.

In (3-14), the first nominal is an incorporated stem in intransitive subject function, the second a zero-prefixed noun $langa$ in transitive object function. Examples of intransitive subject are:

3-15 $\emptyset-\dot{d}oro?-ji?$ $ma\dot{c}i$ $ja\dot{d}ugal$ $\emptyset-\dot{d}urur?-miñ$
3SG-dry up-FUT NEG *indeed* *male* *plains* *kangaroo* 3SG-cough-PP
It can't dry up indeed (= because) plains kangaroo coughed.

(This refers to the coughing of a mythical kangaroo which resulted in a perpetual water source at a particular place).

3-16 $\emptyset-bolk-miyiñ$ $bo\dot{n}i$ $gungu-we?$
3SG-emerge-PC now GU-water
Now the water came out.

3-17 $gun?biri$ $buru-ba\dot{r}ana\eta iñ$ $bi\eta-ga?$ $yapan?$
there 3NSG-hang PC *stone-LOC* *two*
There the two were hanging (= perching precariously) on the hill.

NPs in intransitive subject and transitive object functions are cross-referenced in the verb, the former by subjective prefixes, the latter by objective ones.

Absolutive also marks 'object-promoted' NPs in construction with verbal prefixes $-bak-$ and $-ba\dot{t}a-$. See 3.2.8 for these constructions.

Nominals in transitive subject function are marked with ergative suffix $-yi?$, and cross-referenced by subjective pronominal prefixes in the verb. Examples are:

3-18 $mi\dot{r}para-yi?$ $yiri\eta bi-\eta a-n-ji?$
child-ERG 3NSG/LEX-see-PRES-FUT NEG
Children can't see us (i.e. are not permitted to see us).

3-19 $\eta amulu$ $gu-\emptyset-mu-\eta i\eta yaya-paya-n$ $\eta u-gun?biri$ $\eta u-bigur-yi?$
really 3-3SG-MU-like-PRES M-that M-man-ERG
That man really likes (his) food (i.e. is a bit greedy).

(The pronominal prefix $-mu-$ here represents understood *mu-may vegetable food, food*).

3-20 $gu-mu-\eta unu\eta un$ $mu-\eta oro$ $\eta u-wanar-yi?$
3SG-MU-eat RED PRES MU-flower M-rock possum-ERG
Rock possums eat flowers.

3-21 $\emptyset-yini\eta iñ$ $gun\dot{m}a\eta?$ $\eta u-yana?-\dot{r}a$ $gowko$, $\emptyset-yini?-ganiñ$
3SG-do thus PC *maybe* 1SG-do what-FUT *MoMo* 3SG/3SG-say AUX PC

$mi\dot{r}para-yi?$
child-ERG
He did/said like this, "What'll I do, granny?", the child said to her.

- 3-22 mu-balku \emptyset -bak-war?-miñ ju-go?je-yi?
 MU-*rope* 3SG/3SG-OP-*throw* PP F-*that*-ERG
She threw the rope for/to him.

All noun classes conform to an ergative-absolutive patterning over major clause functions (see 3.2.8); any noun which functions as transitive agent can be ergative-marked. That is, there is no restriction (in terms of inherent lexical properties) on nominals which may function as transitive subjects. Examples (3-23) and (3-24) show ergative-marked MU-class nouns:

- 3-23 mu-wařačara-yi? ħun-war?-miñ
 MU-*floodwater*-ERG 3SG/1SG-*throw*-PP
The floodwater knocked me over.
- 3-24 wači-yi? ħun-ħe?ħe
 sun-ERG 3SG-1SG-*burn* PP
The sun burned me.

Notice that agent nominals are typically marked with ergative case even where there is no expressed or clearly-individuated object:

- 3-25 jađugal-yi? \emptyset -ħurum?-miñ
 kangaroo-ERG 3SG/3SG-*dig*-PP
Plains kangaroo dug.
- 3-26 ħunbu-goy-wuniñ wur?wuruħu-yi?
 3NSG/1SG-*show* PC *old people*-ERG
Old people showed/taught me.

In the context in which (3-26) was said, it clearly had the force 'They showed me these things I've been telling you about', as opposed to a single or clearly individuated object; but the fact that the object is of this more 'diffuse' type does not result in diminished transitivity of the clause as measured by the presence of the ergative suffix. (Note that *goy-wu- show* is typically used in a ditransitive case frame; see 3.2.9). Overall there is a fairly clear demarcation in Ngalakan between verbs which normally occur in transitive configurations, and those which normally occur in intransitive ones; and the former tend to occur with ergative-marked agent NP even if the object is not present or not clearly distinguished.

Occasionally, however, the ergative suffix is omitted (from pronouns or nominals). The majority of examples occurred where the transitive subject followed the verb, and its clause function was quite unmistakably that of agent:

- 3-27 ħu-gu-go?-ħa-n ħayka?
 1SG-GU-*have*-AUX-PRES 1SG ABS
I have it (gu-class).

Here we would expect, and usually find, ergative *ħaykaŋi?-yi?*. In this context, the prefix *-gu-* referred to *gu-yaŋ language, story*; the speaker was asserting knowledge of a certain myth.

- 3-28 \emptyset -ħurum?-ħurum?-miñ ħu-go?je ħugu-wurki|iñ
 3SG/3SG-*dig* RED-PP M-*that* M-*euro*
The euro dug and dug.

Compare (3-28) with (3-25) involving the same verb. Omissions of the ergative suffix from agent nominals preceding the verb were found, but were less common.

If continued reference to the same argument over several clauses occurs in such a way that the nominal is first in an absolutive-marked function, and subsequent NP slots are understood to presuppose reference to the same entity in transitive subject function, normal cross-clause coreference of arguments in major syntactic functions by zero anaphora still holds. There is no repetition of the nominal simply because it is no longer in an absolutive-marked function, as the following example illustrates:

- 3-29 *ṅugu-jaḍugal* *ϕ-ṛabo-gon* *jičan-ṅowi* *ϕ-guč-miyiñ-gin*
M-kangaroo 3SG-go PP-SUB *dreaming his* 3SG/3SG-create PC-SUB
guṅḍu *ϕ-maṇiñ-miñ-gin* ...
country 3SG/3SG-make-PP-SUB
When/where kangaroo went and created dreamings and made country ...

Finally, in view of the developing literature on transitivity as a gradient rather than either/or phenomenon (see e.g. Hopper and Thompson 1980), it is important to note that there is no evidence of diminished transitivity as measured by case-marking in negative and counterfactual clauses. The following examples illustrate ergative marking under negation and in an evitative-marked clause:

- 3-30 *ṅu-gaʔyen-yiʔ* *ṅun-boʔbo* *ḍarʔ-yiʔ* *ṅu-gunʔbiri-yiʔ-(?)molk*
M-this-ERG 3SG/1SG-hit PP *stick-INST* *M-that-ERG-NEG*
This one hit me with a stick, not that one.

(Notice that the second clause is fully elliptical except for the contrastive transitive subject expressed by a demonstrative, which takes the negative suffix.)

- 3-31 *yi-ḍoḍoʔ-jiʔ* *ḷanga-kaʔ* *yin-mele-be*
 1IN DU-go down-FUT NEG *billabong-ALL* 3SG/1IN DU-evit-bite PRES
jimiʔ-yiʔ
leech-ERG
We can't go down to the billabong, lest leeches bite us.

Instrumental function, as noted at 3.2.5, can be expressed by the proprietive construction (which contains a suffix *-yiʔ* homophonous with ergative/instrumental). Otherwise, means or instrument is expressed by *-yiʔ*, identical to the ergative. The instrumental NP cannot be cross-referenced in the verb, but may occur within a clause containing an ergative-marked nominal:

- 3-32 *ϕ-gar-bu-gar-buniñ* *ju-bolo-yiʔ* *balku-yiʔ*
 3SG/3SG-pull AUX RED PC F-old person-ERG rope-INST
The old woman pulled him with a rope.
- 3-33 *bur-mara* *ṅu-goʔje* *ṅugu-manapuṅ* *juḷu-yiʔ*
 3NSG/3SG-spear PP M-that M-echidna lancewood-INST
baṭa-mereʔ-yiʔ *mači* *mungu-juḷuʔ*
 PROP-point indeed MU-lancewood
They speared the echidna with lancewood, indeed (= because, for) lancewood is pointed/has a sharp point.

- 3-34 *maṛji-yiʔ-bugiʔ* *gu-weʔ-(?)gen* *gu-ϕ-gaṇaʔ-wu-n*
hand-INST-only GU-water-DAT 3-3SG-ask AUX-PRES
Only with her hand does she ask for water (i.e. not verbally).

(This was in explanation of imposition upon widows of a period of silence).

It is noticeable that the proprietive construction is often used to express 'means' where these are e.g. large conveyances, boats, animals or the like, which cannot be easily manoeuvred or manipulated, while the instrumental is more frequent when the NP refers to some smaller and more easily manipulated item. Instrumental may be viewed as a secondary, non-syntactic case-function of the ergative case form.

The vowel of genitive-dative (also purposive) suffix $-ʔgVn$ assimilates to the last vowel of an immediately preceding stem or suffix; thus it is not possible to assign this vowel a single 'underlying' phonetic description. Its assimilation can be observed in examples below. The suffix is added to the genitive nominal in possessive NPs; if the possessor is expressed by an expanded nominal group (e.g. consisting of modifier plus noun), the suffix may not be added to all genitive constituents, but is minimally suffixed to the head:

- 3-35 ηu -goʔje ηu gu-miɾpara ϕ -ɾuni-ɾuniñ baliñʔ ηu -gunʔbiri miɾpara
 M-that M-child 3SG-cry RED-PC like M-that child
 ηu - ηa ɾaɾi-ʔgin yinimbala
 F- ηa ɾaɾi-GEN just the same
 That child cried and cried, just like that child of ηa ɾaɾi's.

(ηa ɾaɾi belongs to one of several sets of subsection, or 'eight class' terms in use in this area; see 3.2.23 for the set considered to be most appropriately in use among Ngalakan speakers).

- 3-36 ηu -gowko- ηo ji yuwʔwe ηu -goʔje-ʔgen miɾpara-ʔgan
 F-MoMo-hers supposedly F-that-GEN child-GEN
 (She was) supposedly that girl's mother's mother.
- 3-37 goʔje guru-Maynoru gu-guŋdu-bore ηa lakan-ʔgan, gungu-guŋdu
 There ANA-Mainoru GU-country-3NSG Ngalakan-GEN GU-country
 ηa lakan-ʔgan Maywak, ηa ɾawuŋʔ
 Ngalakan-GEN (toponym) (toponym, Flying Fox).
 There that (same) Mainoru is Ngalakan country, country for the
 Ngalakan is Maiwok, Flying Fox.
- 3-38 ϕ -wake-ñ jugu-miçič yir-goʔ- ηa niñ goʔje walam
 3SG-return PP F-missus (English) 1EX/3SG-have AUX PC there south
 ηu gu-balkiñ-ʔgin jugu-boloʔbolo- ηo wi baɾa-miɾpara-yiʔ
 M-constable-GEN F-woman (wife)-his PROP-child
 He went back, we had/kept the Missus there in the south, the
 constable's wife with her/their child(ren).

Notice in these examples that the possessed noun is almost always appropriately suffixed to cross-reference the genitive-marked possessor, though this can be omitted, as in gungu-guŋdu maɾarayi-ʔgin *Maɾarayi country, country belonging to the Maɾarayi*. Presence of the suffix is one of the criteria which can be used to distinguish between genitive, and dative or purposive uses of the case form, though a possessive suffix may be present in the dative uses. Possessed and possessor, if both expressed by nouns, may occur in either order. See further examples in Text 4 (1,3).

There is no 'double' case marking: genitive nouns are not further suffixed to express case function of the entire NP:

- 3-39 *nugu-gaja?-noji-yi? ju-ṅaṅaṅi-?gin yin-mele-be*
 M-dog-hers-ERG F-ṅaṅaṅi-GEN IIN DU-*evit-bite*
ṅaṅaṅi's dog might bite you and me.

(See 3.3.3.6 on the range of functions and meanings of the evitative).

Pronouns have a single genitive/dative form, built on the ergative stem-form, used in predications of possession:

- 3-40 *ṅu-gun?biri ṅaykaṅi?-(?)gin*
 M-that LSG GEN/DAT
That is mine/for me.

There is a genitive form of nominative pronouns (e.g. *ṅayka?-(?)gan* first person singular), but these generally have a specialised topicalising function ('as for me') see 3.2.25.

Certain occurrences of *-?gVn*, where the suffixed NP is also cross-referenced by the verbal prefix *-bak-*, must be considered expressions of dative case function. See the discussion of the functions of verbal prefixes *-bak-* and *-baṅa-* in 3.2.8.

There are some predicates (both adjectives and verbs) which often occur with genitive/dative-marked NP complement, e.g. *goyi to be knowledgeable*, *marṅi to be ignorant, ineexpert*. Some of these predicates have alternative case frames; see 3.2.9.

Although there is a distinct purposive case form, the genitive/dative suffix is more common in a purposive sense 'for which, on account of which' something occurs or is done. Examples are:

- 3-41 *naman, mu-may-?gan gu-!i-marawul-me-n*
poor thing MU-food-DAT 3SG-CMP-hunger AUX PRES
Poor thing, he's hungry for food.

(See 3.2.21 for the prefixes *-!i-* and *wi!i-* expressing compassion).

- 3-42 *añji ṅu-gewen-juruweñ nu-go?je-?gen jičan-?gan*
and LSG-run away in fright PP M-that-DAT dreaming-DAT
And I ran away in fright because of that dreaming.

- 3-43 *ṅu-banar buru-ñawk-(g)an jambaku-?gun, may-?gan we?-(?)gen*
 LSG-hear 3NSG-talk-sub tobacco-DAT food-DAT water-DAT
I hear/understand where they say (when they use words for)
'tobacco', 'food', 'water'.

- 3-44 *jeñ-?gen bur-ma nugu-miṅarpu? ruṅgal-ṅowi*
fish-DAT 3NSG/3SG-get M-crab bait-his/its
They get crab-bait for fish (= in order to get fish).

Purposive constructions differ from genitive ones semantically in that there is no identifiable possessed-possessor relation, and syntactically in that the purposive NP is not cross-referenced elsewhere in the clause. Purposive will be regarded as a sub-function of genitive/dative case usually in application to inanimate NPs.

The suffix *-ka?~ga?* is used to express both locative (stationary) and allative meanings for ordinary nouns and pronouns (but cardinal directions are not suffixed, see 3.2.10). Examples are:

- 3-45 boŋoyi?-ga? ɲu-giŋdar-ŋgi-ka? ø-bawun?-miñ
other-LOC M-MoBrSo-your SG-LOC 3SG/3SG-leave-PP
He left it at/with your other cross-cousin.
- 3-46 go?je ɲugu-jamben bur-nañ yele-ka?
there M-snake 3NSG/3SG-see PP cave/hole-LOC
They saw a snake there in a hole.
- 3-47 ɲu-jap-miñ ɲayka? gun-go?jen-ga? gungu-ɭanga-ka?
1SG-dive-PP 1SG ABS GU-that-ALL GU-billabong-ALL
I dived into that billabong.
- 3-48 Gogo, yi-waken ɾere-ka?, may-ka? bawun?
goody, 1IN DU-return PRES camp-ALL food-ALL leave
Goody, let's go back to camp now for food, leave it!

Note that the two allative-marked nouns in 3-48 may be thought to express different case meanings, but there is a tendency in Ngalakan to put two such nouns into a kind of appositional relation 'to camp to food' by case-marking them identically; this commonly occurs with locative/allative case, and genitive/dative used in a purposive sense (see also Text 11(6)).

Frequently a single nominal is marked with locative/allative suffix to express a sense very close to purposive:

- 3-49 guŋmaŋ? janay?-ga? ø-ɾabo
maybe goanna-ALL 3SG-go PP
Maybe she went for (to) goanna.

As noted in 2.1.4, reduplicative forms -kaga?~gaga? are used mainly in the allative sense 'towards':

- 3-50 buru-ɾabo bur-jaŋjaŋ-ganiñ gamaji? aŋi? yi-walam
3NSG-go PP 3NSG/3SG-carry-AUX PC swag ALL ALL-south
 yana?way-gaga? waŋbaŋgulyi-kaga?
where to-ALL (toponym)-ALL
They went and carried (their) swag(s) south towards where,
towards Waŋbaŋgulyi.

(This example seems pleonastic since yana?way by itself means *where (to)*).

- 3-51 bo-kaga? yiri-ɖoɖo?-miñ
river-ALL 1EX PL-go down-PP
We went down towards the river.

Toponyms are typically unsuffixed in locative and allative uses; see 3.2.13.

Ablative -wala~?wala is suffixed to a nominal or other NP constituent expressing the point of departure for motion or transit:

- 3-52 ɲaŋjuɭa-ŋini-?wala ɲu-yerk-(g)aŋiñ
eye-mine-ABL 1SG/3SG-come out-CAUS PP
I removed it from my eye.
- 3-53 yi-yerk-(g)a-n ɲoy-wala
1IN DU-take out-CAUS PRES fire-ABL
Let's take it out of the fire.
- 3-54 Gu-gu-wol-koro bul-ɲowi-?wala
3SG-GU-smoke-PRNEG pit-its-ABL
Smoke is not coming out from the (its) pit (i.e. from a ground oven).

Ablative is also used to express the language in which something is said:

- 3-55 ϕ -raboniñ ñamañ-yi? Đalañuñ?, bigur-?wala gungu-ñey
 3SG-go PC foot-INST toponym Aborigine-ABL GU-name
He went on foot to Flying Fox, (that's its) name in Aboriginal language

This suffix -wi expresses purpose:

- 3-56 ju-gowko gunmañ? ϕ -rabo řay-wi
 F-MoMo maybe 3SG-go PP meat-PURP
Maybe granny went for meat.

- 5-57 gu-wawarja? ñoy-wi
 3SG-look for RED fire/wood-PURP
He's looking for wood.

As noted 1.1.2, an allomorph -?wi is suffixed to genitive and absolutive forms of pronouns; see also 3.2.2.5. The suffix is additionally used to express an obligative verbal meaning; see 3.3.3.12.

The suffix -wi is fairly rare in purposive meaning. More commonly, it is used to express a liminal or lative notion 'up to X, up to a certain point', and somewhat less commonly, pergressive 'along (the extent, border of)'. Examples are:

- 3-58 mu-jučuruwe-niñ goykun? denek-wi
 MU-race RED PC this way lower rib-PG
It (flood water) was rushing this way up to (the level of the) lower rib.
- 5-59 malama-wi buru-řark-bu-či-n añji ñaņa?bay ... gu-je-wi
 forehead-PG 3NSG-paint-AUX-RR-PRES and moreover GU-nose-PG
They paint themselves along their foreheads and further, along their noses (see Text 3(18)).

3.2.8 Object-promoting prefixes: -bak- and -baťa-

There are two verbal prefixes -bak- and -baťa- which, when used in transitive configurations, express that there is an (animate, usually human) notional 'indirect object' cross-referenced in the verb by object pronominals. The prefix -bak- may also be used to derive from intransitive constructions transitive ones with two cross-referenced arguments.

There are in Ngalakan a few verbs which ordinarily occur in 'di-transitive' constructions. The most common of these is *wu-* to give (and compounds with this auxiliary), where the agent is cross-referenced by subject pronominals, and the NP corresponding to English indirect object is cross-referenced as direct object in the verb, with absolutive-marking on the external, cross-referenced NP (if present). This configuration is illustrated in 3.2.9; here we simply note that there are no formal grounds for considering the NP cross-referenced by object pronominals in the di-transitive construction an 'indirect object'.

Indirect object relation to the predicate in transitive clauses of an animate, usually human NP is expressed by means of -bak- or -baťa-; the first usually expresses a benefactive meaning 'to, for (the benefit of)', the second, often an anti-benefactive sense 'away from, from'. There are some verbs, however, with inherent meaning such that the relation to any animate indirect

object can only be of the anti-benefactive kind. An example is *jeka-*, seemingly underlying *jek-(g)a-* *to sweep, wrench away* (as floodwater might sweep away an object). In a simple transitive configuration, the direct object is that which is swept away:

- 3-60 *ɲugu-gaja?* *ø-jekaɲiñ* *mu-waračara-yi?*
M-dog 3SG/3SG-sweep away AUX PP MU-floodwater-ERG
Floodwater swept the dog away.

In a configuration with indirect object, the possessor from whom the object is swept away is cross-referenced in the verb, but this relation is marked by *-bak-*, not *-bača-*:

- 3-61 *buruŋ-bak-jekaɲiñ*
 3SG/3NSG-OP-sweep away PP
It swept it away from them.

This shows that of the two prefixes, *-bak-* is the distributionally and semantically more general, since it can be used where anti-benefactive meaning is to be expressed provided the adversative sense is made clear by the verb. The prefix *-bača-*, on the other hand, seems limited to expression of anti-benefactive meaning and accompaniment. In glosses, both will simply be labelled 'op' = 'object promoting'.

As mentioned, the indirect object indicated by *-bak-* or *-bača-* is cross-referenced in the verb by object pronominals. There are only two pronominal form/order positions in the verb, subjective and objective. Where the objective slot is occupied in cross-referencing an NP as signalled by *-bak-* or *-bača-*, the notional direct object cannot be cross-referenced. It can be expressed outside the verb by an NP, or under appropriate discourse circumstances (i.e. where continuing reference to it is still understood) it can be represented by zero anaphora. The NP cross-referenced by object pronominal, if also present, is absolutive-marked. Examples are:

- 3-62 *mu-may-bore buruŋ-bak-yeñ* *jugu-mana-bore-yi?*
 MU-food-3NSG 3SG/3NSG-OP-put PP F-mother-3NSG-ERG
Their mother set down their food for them.
- 3-63 *Guyangan-?wala bur-bak-juy?-miñ*
Elsey-ABL 3NSG/3SG-OP-send-PP
They sent it for her from Elsey. (a local pastoral station)
- 3-64 *wangiñ?* *gunmaŋ?* *ju-ŋamu-ŋoji* *gu-ø-bak-(g)an* *mu-may*
one perhaps F-daughter-her 3-3SG/3SG-OP-take PRES MU-food
Maybe she's taking one (loaf) for/to her daughter.
- 3-65 *ɲun-bača-me* *mu-wapawapa?* *mu-ŋondo-yi?*
 3SG/1SG-OP-get MU-clothes MU-wind-ERG
The wind took (picked up) the dress from me (i.e. tore it out of my hands).

The prefix *-bak-* is used to enable an additional predicate-argument relation to be signalled in intransitive clauses. The argument indicated by *-bak-* is cross-referenced in the verb as direct object. However, treatment of any external NP so cross-referenced is quite variable. The NP is treated in any one of the following ways:

First, an indicated NP may be understood but not present:

- 3-66 \emptyset -bak-gaw?-miñ
3SG/3SG-OP-call-PP
He sang out (to/for him, someone).
- 3-67 Yiri-bak-|uk-miñ gun?biri
1EX/3SG-OP-dance-PP *there*
We danced (for her/him) there.

(3-66) contrasts with the transitive clauses (3-68) and (3-69)

- 3-68 \emptyset -bak-gaw?-baya-ñ
3SG/3SG-OP-call-AUX-PP
He sang out to him.
- 3-69 \emptyset -gaw?-bayañ
3SG/3SG-call-AUX PP
He called to him.

Second, depending perhaps on the precise nuance to be expressed, the indirect object may be in locative/allative or genitive/dative case-form:

- 3-70 \emptyset -bak-gaw?-miñ jugu-gowko-ḡowi-ka?
3SG/3SG-OP-call-PP F-MoMo-his-LOC
He sang out to his grandmother.
- 3-71 \emptyset -bak-gaw?-gaw?-miñ ju-gowko-ḡowi-?gin ḡalpor-?gon
3SG/3SG-OP-call RED-PP F-MoMo-his-DAT egg-DAT
He sang out to his grandmother for an egg.

Of these, genitive/dative marking is the most common.

Third, with some predicates, the NP is found to be alternatively genitive/dative or absolutive-marked:

- 3-72 ḡu-bu-bak-weḡ-ḡa ḡu-go?je-?gen
1SG/3NSG-OP-look-FUT M-that-DAT
I'll wait for them.
- 3-73 gu- \emptyset -bak-weḡ? ju-gun?biri ju-bolo?bolo
3-3SG/3SG-OP-look F-that F-woman
He's waiting for that woman.
- 3-74 ḡu-bak-wurk-miñ ḡu-balkiñ // ḡu-balkiñ-?gin
SG-OP-work (English)-PP M-constable M-constable-DAT
I worked for the policeman.

Such configurations can of course have ergative-marked agent NP, although they do not always:

- 3-75 bigur-yi? ḡun-bak-goyi-?molk
man-ERG 3SG/1SG-OP-know-NEG
The man doesn't/didn't know me.

The prefix -baḡa- is rarer than -bak-, and its object-promoting function is limited to transitive clauses. In intransitive clauses it expresses association or accompaniment ('with'), and thus in meaning is more like the undoubtedly related prefix of the proprietive frame baḡa-X-yi?.

- 3-76 baliñ? munaja gu-woč-ma ju-mariñ, munaja-yi?
like white man 3SG/3SG-steal-AUX F-girl white man-ERG
- gu-ma ... ø-yineriñ-bugi? nugu-malayi, bur-ma?mañiñ
 3SG/3SG-take 3SG-do-just M-Malayan 3NSG/3SG-take RED PC
- jugu-mariñ, buru-baža-juruweniñ gojegun? nugu-geywar
 F-girl 3NSG-ACC rush PC that way M-young man
Just the way the white man steals girls, the white man steals (them)
... the Malays did just that, they took girls, and the young men
rushed away with them that way. (Text 7 (41,43)).

More commonly, however, various types of compound reduction (see 3.2.29) are used to express straightforward accompaniment where the parties are both portrayed as going voluntarily. In several examples recorded, -baža- had a nuance of forced accompaniment, and this may be the semantic link between its use as prefix in the proprietive construction (accompaniment, temporary possession or association) and its anti-benefactive use in transitive clauses. See further 3.3.2 for -baža- in intransitive clauses.

Throughout this grammar, the phrase 'major syntactic (clause) function' is used to refer only to those NP functions which can be cross-referenced by pronominals in the verb. These include the following configurations (intransitive subject = IS, transitive object = TO, transitive subject = TS):

- IS
 TS - TO
 TS - TO (marked by -bak- or -baža-)

The prefixes -bak- and -baža- in transitive clauses are considered to have the effect of promoting an animate (usually human) object over what would normally be cross-referenced as direct object in a two-place transitive configuration. All other predicate-argument relations, including those marked by -baža- in intransitive clauses, are not considered 'major' clause functions. The advantage in making this distinction is discussed in 4.6 in relation to subordination.

3.2.9 Case frames

Di-transitive clauses are those in which the notional indirect object (that NP corresponding to the English indirect object) is cross-referenced by object pronominals in the verb, without -bak- or -baža-. There is no indication of the promotion of this NP over any other in terms of verbal cross-reference. Any additional (notional direct) object is absolutive-marked if present, as is the cross-referenced objective NP if represented outside the verb. The verb which occurs most frequently in this frame is *wu- to give*, and compounds containing this auxiliary. Examples are:

- 3-77 Gu-ø-we?-wu-n nu-gopo-ŋoji
 3-3SG/3SG-water-give-PRES M-spouse-here
She gives her husband water.
- 3-78 Añji ø-wor-wo bolo?bolo-ŋowi-yi?
 and 3SG/3SG-feed AUX PP woman (wife)-his-ERG
And his wife fed him.

- 3-79 $\eta i\tilde{n}$ -goy-wu-na gu-bi η η olko, gun[?]biri η alakan-[?]gan
 1SG/2SG-show-AUX-FUT GU-rock big there Ngalakan-GEN
 gungu-gu η du-bore
 GU-country-theirs
I'll show you the big stone, there is Ngalakan country. (i.e. where it begins). (Text 7 (34)).

A number of verbs occur frequently enough with -bak- in certain somewhat specialised meanings so that it may be said that -bak- is fairly indispensable to the expression of those senses of the verb; in other words, -bak+stem- come close to constituting a lexical verb unit. These are all senses of verbs in which the object is animate or human, and with most, there seems little likelihood that an additional object would normally occur in the same clause; in this they differ from most instances of -bak- mentioned in 3.2.8. Examples are -bak-men-gol- *to think of someone, be concerned about someone* (-men-gol-, thematic *think about*); -bak-wen[?]- *to wait for* (wen[?], thematic *to look*); -bak-yo η - *to gossip about* (-yo η -, thematic *to gossip*). An external NP is usually absolutive-marked, but can be genitive/dative.

Predicates which may variably take absolutive or genitive/dative complements include -men-muk-, thematic *to forget*, wanwan[?], thematic *to not understand*; thematic -le[?]-, *to look for, search for* (usually absolutive complement); and adjectives mar η gi *to be unknowledgeable, inexpert*, and goyi *to be expert, knowledgeable*. An exemplary contrast is:

- 3-80 Yiri-goyi-[?]mol η gun-go[?]je gungu-dar[?]
 LEX-know-PNEG GU-that GU-tree
We didn't know that tree.
- 3-81 Yiri-mar η gi gun-go[?]je-[?]gen gungu-lan η ga-[?]gan
 LEX-not know GU-that-DAT GU-billabong-DAT
We don't (didn't) know that billabong.

All such predicate adjectives may function as derived transitives with -bak-, in which case any external NP may be variably marked as absolutive, genitive/dative, or locative:

- 3-82 η u-go[?]je η ugu-bigur-yi[?]
 M- that M-man-ERG
 \emptyset -bak-mar η gi
 3SG/3SG-OP-not know
The man doesn't know that (girl).
- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| ju-go [?] jen-ga [?] | ju-mari \tilde{n} -ga [?] |
| F-that-LOC | F-girl-LOC |
| ju-go [?] jen- [?] gen | |
| F-that-DAT | |
| ju-go [?] je ju-mari \tilde{n} | |
| F-that | F-girl |

Note that as a predicate adjective, in present meaning -bak-mar η gi- cannot take first-position gu-: *gu- \emptyset -bak-mar η gi (see 3.3.3.15)

Special uses of locative/allative in marking the complement of intransitives with -bak-, and as an alternative expression of purposive meaning (alongside dative, and purposive proper) were mentioned in 3.2.7 and 3.2.8.

3.2.10 Cardinal directions and points

Cardinal directions and points are shown in Table 3-1.

Table 3-1

	locative	allative	ablative
<i>east</i>	ꞑoro	yi-ꞑoro	ꞑoro-wala
<i>west</i>	geriñ	yi-geriñ	geriñ-wala
<i>north</i>	bay	yi-bay	bay-wala/bay-ala
<i>south</i>	walam	yi-walam	walam-bala
<i>up, top</i>	garku gara garkara	yi-gara garku-ga?	garku-wala gara-wala
<i>bottom, inside</i>	yerke	yerke-ga?	yerke-wala
<i>low down</i>	yere? ye?yere	yi-yere?	yere?-wala

Allative prefix *yi-* is restricted to these stems; ablative *-wala* is the same as the regular nominal suffix. The allative form of the cardinal directions is commonly preceded by *añi?*, e.g. *añi? yi-ꞑoro to the east*. Note the unique ablative alternant *-bala* following the nasal in *walam*. Examples of usage are:

- 3-83 Gu- ϕ -waken boñi ꞑoro-wala-gan baṭa-ꞑark-yi?
 3-3SG-return PRES now east-ABL-ADV PROP-paint
She's returning now from way over in the east, painted up (i.e. for dancing).
- 3-84 Ngalakan go?je-wala buru-ꞑaboniñ bay-ala
 Ngalakan there-ABL 3NSG-go PC north-ABL
The Ngalakan came from the north.
- 3-85 Bur-maṇiñ?-miñ awuč-bore, garkara Guwiñjilen
 3NSG/3SG-make-PP house(English)-their higher up Queensland
 boy nu-gun?biri munṇa-yi? ϕ -go?-ṇaniñ
 boy(English) M-that white man-ERG 3SG/3SG-have-AUX PC
They built their house, higher up (i.e. upstream on the Roper) that white man had 'Queensland boys' (i.e. Aborigines brought from Queensland). (Text 7(19)).

As illustrated by 3-85, the terms for 'up' and 'down' are frequently used to mean 'upriver' and 'downriver', with the west-to-east flow of the Roper River as reference point.

3.2.11 Number-marking

Number is not highly developed as a category of the noun phrase. Almost all explicit expression of nonsingular number within the NP is by suffixation: reduplication as an expression of number is little developed except in dyadic kin formations (see 2.1.1.1). No explicit means exist for marking plural (as opposed to collective or multiple) number in most NPs; marking of plurality is handled largely by nonsingular pronominal prefixes in the verb. Conditions under which plural number is explicitly marked in the verb or NP are more restricted than in English; see 3.2.30.3. A prominent characteristic of expression of number is that most elements which mark number can occur suffixed to or within the verb complex, as well as (often facultatively) within the NP, a manifestation of the tendency of the Ngalakan verb to contain marking for most categories of the clause, and thus to be capable of functioning by itself as sole clausal constituent.

The suffix *-koʔ~goʔ* is almost exclusively applied to dual and plural dyadic kin formations (see 2.1.1.1). It was found in two instances suffixed to the noun *gu-malk* *subsection* (locally called 'skin' in Pidgin English, but the term is different from *gu-gu|aʔ* *skin of body*) to express appropriateness of members of two subsections as potential marriage partners. The following are paraphrases of each other:

3-86 *yi-wač-malk-(g)oʔ*
 1IN DU-*each-skin-DY*
We're correct (for each other).

3-87 *Yi-wač-malk-maʔ*
 1IN DU-*each-skin-good*
You and I are right skins (for each other).

The prefix *-wač-* express distributive *each* (see below), and the dyadic suffix as usual expresses a reciprocal or commutative relation.

Dual *-piraʔ~biraʔ* (see 2.5 for the fortis-lenis alternation) may be suffixed to any noun (including kin stems), and is also very commonly suffixed to verbs to disambiguate dual and plural number in second and third nonsingular categories, for which no distinct dual versus plural pronominal prefixes exist. Examples are:

3-88 *ŋiñ-jorŋ-mi-či-n* *gu-wañjat-gi-piraʔ*
 2SG-*stretch-AUX-RR-PRES* GU-*arm-yours* SG-DU
You're stretching your (two) arms.

3-89 *Gunmaŋʔ buruŋ-boʔbo* *bigur-yiʔ boloʔbolo-biraʔ*
Maybe 3SG/3NSG-*hit* PP *man-ERG* *woman-DU*
Maybe the man hit the two women.

3-90 *Yiri-ŋuy-miñ-biraʔ*
 1EX-*swim-PP-DU*
He and I swam.

As in other languages locally, dual can be suffixed to the numeral *two* (*yapanʔ-biraʔ*), producing a somewhat pleonastic form evidently meaning *dual set of two*. The dual suffix is also commonly employed to distinguish dual pronominal number, in those categories in which no other formal differentiation exists (viz. *yirkaʔ* 1EX DU or PL, versus 1EX DU *yirkaʔ-biraʔ*), as well as in forms which cannot be confounded with any others (*yikaʔ-biraʔ* 1IN DU, also simply *yikaʔ*).

The suffix *-pulu* marks plurality only for kin stems:

- 3-91 *yar?* *mana-ŋgi-pulu*
many mother-yours SG-PL
You have a lot of mothers.

(Also correct would be plural-marked predicate nominal *buru-yar?* *they are many*; the form cited above has something of an elliptical or terse quality). A distinct collective meaning with kin terms is generally expressed by *gara-* (see below).

The suffix *-gapul* is used to express collectivity *all, whole lot*, where the collectivity consists of individual or countable members:

- 3-92 *wur?**wuruŋu-gapul* *buruŋbu-me?**me*
old people-PL/COLL 3NSG/3NSG-*get* PP
They picked up (all) the old people.
- 3-93 *Ju-go?**je bolo?bolo-gapul* *ani?* *yi-geriñ* *buru-ḍolkḍolk*
F-that woman-PL/COLL DIR ALL-*west* 3NSG-*line up*
(All) the women are lining up to the west. (Text 3(3)).

An identical suffix in Ngandi (Heath 1978:107) may be either plural or paucal. In Ngalakan, though in some instances *-gapul* could be interpreted as either, the majority of occurrences were clearly expressions of plurality. This may also occur as verbal suffix:

- 3-94 *Yiri-ṛabo-na-gapul* *yerke-ga?*
 1EX NSG-*go-FUT-COLL* *down-ALL*
We'll all go down river.

The prefix *-wač-* *each* may occur either within the NP or as a verbal prefix. Within NP or verb, unless explicit indication is given otherwise, its distributive meaning appears usually to apply to a duality *each of two*:

- 3-95 *Yiri-wač-muṇañ?*
 1EX-*each-*(subsection)
We're both muṇañ? subsection.
- 3-96 *Yiri-wač-waṇa-ṛaboni*
 1EX-*each-OBL-go* POT
We should've both gone.

(That these were said in reference to a duality was clear in the context; on the other hand, it may be that the greater possibility of contextual clarity of dual reference as opposed to plural, contributes to making dual the normal interpretation of forms not otherwise explicitly number-marked). However, it is not uncommon to find seemingly pleonastic explicit dual marking on the verb and/or noun where the intention is to express 'each of two' with the verbal prefix:

- 3-97 *buru-wač-wiḷi-ñar?-miñ-bira?* *ju-giṇḍar-pira?*
 3NSG-*each-CMP-die-PP-DU* F-*cross cousin-DU*
Both of them died, (poor things) my cross-cousins.

See also the examples in Text 2(9), and 4(27).

The morpheme *gara-* may serve as verbal prefix, and nominal prefix or suffix expressing collectivity or united multiplicity ('all'), and in combination with *-gapul-*, multiple collectivity ('all of several units'). An example of *gara-* preminally is:

- 3-98 gara-bolo?bolo yir-ḡuna
 COLL-woman 1EX/3SG-eat FUT
All we women will eat together.

An example expressing collectivity in reference to a non-count noun is:

- 3-99 gara-gun?biri gungu-guḡḡu ø-gu-maḡiḡ?miḡ jamben-yi?
 COLL-that GU-country 3SG-GU-make-PP snake-ERG
The snake(a mythical olive python) made all that country.

An example of it expressing multiple collectivity with -gapul- is:

- 3-100 ju-gun?biri bolo-gapul-gara muḡuḡju buru-wakena
 F-that old person-PL-COLL tomorrow 3NSG-return FUT
All those (groups of) old ladies will come back tomorrow.

An example of it as verbal prefix expressing multiplicity is the predicate nominal:

- 3-101 buru-gara-ḡuḡju
 3NSG-COLL-same
They're all the same.

There is an idiom which means 'a lot, a big amount' (of some non-count item), gara-ḡul?-ga?. This consist of prefix gara-, noun stem ḡul? meaning *coolamon* (also now extended to *automobile*), followed by locative suffix -ga?. In conception this is similar to (American?) idiomatic 'buckets', as in response to 'How many/much did you buy?', i.e. it represents the amount in terms of container-units. It is used as a regular nominal (adjective or noun):

- 3-102 gu-ø-baḡa? gara-ḡul?-ga? ḡugu-ḡambak-ḡowi
 3-3SG/3SG-heap lots N-shell-its
He's heaping up lots of shells.

A collective prefix man- is found in the quantifier man-waḡaman? *everybody, a lot, a big group* (by itself, waḡaman? has a similar but slightly less inclusive and emphatic meaning *a lot, a big group*), and also as verbal prefix in e.g. -man-yopyop *to all come in, muster up* (yopyop, thematic *collect, muster up*):

- 3-103 bolo?bolo-gapul buru-man-yopyop
 woman-PL 3NSG-COLL-collect
All the women are gathering.

- 3-104 bur-man-yeḡ
 3NSG/3SG-all-put PP
They put it all down.

The prefix mala- also was found capable of occurrence within NP or verb. A handful of examples show it can function to refer in terms of the collectivities which characterise the referent, e.g. locale in the example below:

- 3-105 mala-ḡokorokon
 COLL-pandanus RED (pandanus ḡoka)
(Place with) a lot of pandanus.

(The evident suffix here, which no doubt accounts for vowel quality, was not attested elsewhere). It can also be identified in the indefinite pronoun mala-boḡo *some* (of a count item), where -boḡo can be related to alternants boḡo and boḡoyi? (*an*)*other, different (one)*. (The formation of indefinite 'some' on a stem meaning '(an)other' or 'different' is characteristic of other languages in this area, e.g. Maḡarayi).

Finally, most attestations of *mala-* are as verbal prefix expressing collectivity or 'group': *-mala-maŋi-či-* to collect, gather; *-mala-mu-pu-* to gather up, collect (as into a pile):

3-106 buru-mala-maŋi-či-niñ
 3NSG-COLL-POT of ma-RR-PC
They gathered, collected themselves.

This morpheme is undoubtedly relatable to *mala group*, widespread in (north-eastern) Arnhem Land (see Schebeck 1968 manuscript).

Another verbal prefix besides *-gara-* which expresses a meaning relating to sets is *-welen-* together; see 3.3.2.

Some demonstrative pronouns have explicitly plural stem-forms with a plural number morpheme *-kun?~gun?* (not subject to any productive alternations elsewhere). The majority of demonstratives, like most nouns, cannot be explicitly pluralised.

Ngalakan expression of nonsingularity seems to focus on set concepts rather than nonsingular number per se. It is noteworthy that even expressions for sets are rather diverse and fragmentary in the corpus (many forms of relatively low rates of occurrence). The large role played by the pronominal prefixes in marking nonsingular number is described at 3.2.30.3.

3.2.12 Vocatives

Vocatives are formed by omitting noun class prefixes from kin terms (*ɖuɖu ! FaFa!*) and human status nouns (*gapu|a ! old man/woman!*).

A commonly used plural vocative form *baraju? you all!* appears to be morphologically third person (cf. 3NSG *buru-*) but the morphemes are unique. (Compare Ngandi 3PL pronominal prefix *ba-*.) Maŋarayi has a pair of morphologically third person vocative forms; the fact that Maŋarayi has a dual makes it plausible to suppose that there is also a Ngalakan dual, which however was not attested in the data.

3.2.13 Proper nouns

Proper names in Ngalakan almost invariably have the appropriate (masculine or feminine) noun class prefix when used referentially (e.g. *ju(gu)-Maygidi*, name of a mythical female dog) but lack it when used vocatively.

Toponyms do not occur with noun class prefix, and are generally unsuffixed in locative and allative functions unless the toponym happens to be a common noun descriptive of some feature of the locality, in which case it may be suffixed in both locative and allative uses, viz. *ŋačal-ga? to/at Roper Valley* (*ŋačal = spring*).

3.2.14 Originative *-balukun*

The lexical suffix *-balukun* is added to a noun expressing the source or material from which something is made. The noun may have zero prefix, or short prefix form; no examples occurred with long prefix.

- 3-107 wanar-balukun bur-maṇiñ?-miyiñ munbič
possum-ORIG 3NSG/3SG-make-PC pubic covering
They made pubic cloths from possum (hair).
- 3-108 mu-boy-balukun bur-maṇiñ?-miyiñ gungu-ḡuṇi?
MU-grass sp.-ORIG 3NSG/3SG-make-PC GU-firedrill
They used to make firedrills from grass (species).

It is also suffixed to kin stems to express a posited relation of descent/filiation:

- 3-109 ḡu-giṇḡar-ḡini ḡu-gayka-balukun
M-cross cousin-1SG M-MoBr-ORIG
My cross-cousin from my uncle

(As opposed, for example, to cross-cousin from father's sister).

3.2.15 Predicate nominals: 'to be X', 'to become X'

Predicate nominals may have either noun or adjective functioning as predicate. Nouns which may serve as predicates include human status nouns, and kin stems including dyadic kin formations. There is only one overt copula verb *me-* which can mean *to be* or *to become* as described below.

Predicates other than predicate nominals with 3SG intransitive subject (and 3SG transitive subject acting on 3SG object) require the first-position prefix *gu-* in present and future positive and present negative verb forms. This *gu-* is distinct from noun class prefix *-gu-*; compare e.g. *gu-ϕ-ma* *He/she is getting it* (noun class of object M or F, or unspecified) versus *gu-gu-ma* *he/she is getting it* (*gu*-class object). (See discussion of the distribution of *gu-* in 3.3.3.15). Predicate nominals lack first-position *gu-* in the simple present; in this form, they also have zero copula:

- 3-110 ϕ-ḡolko *he/she/it is big*
 3-111 mu-ḡolko *MU-class item is big*
 3-112 ϕ-gajaṛ? *he/she/it is tired*

Note however that they *may* have a noun class prefix, generally *mu-*, *gu-* or *ju-*, *ḡu-* rarely. In all other person-number categories, the subject is marked with the appropriate intransitive prefix form:

- 3-113 ḡu-gajaṛ? *I'm tired*
 3-114 buru-ḡolko *they are big*
 3-115 buru-buypu-go? *they are brothers* (dyadic)

Thus, the simple present 'to be X' is expressed with zero copula.

Present inchoative meaning, however, is expressed with the present-tense form of the copula *me-* (and always zero first-position prefix, i.e. *gu-* does not occur):

- 3-116 ϕ-ḡolko-men *he/she/it is getting big*
 3-117 mu-ḡolko-men *MU-class item is getting big*
 3-118 boṇi ḡu-bolo-men *now I'm getting to be old* (bolo old person)
 3-119 ϕ-gapurk-men *it's drying out* (gapurk dry, arid)

Certain predicate adjectives such as *marŋgi* *to be inexpert, unknowledgeable* do not ordinarily occur in inchoative form because of their lexical meaning; but any adjective which can sensibly have a present inchoative in a given context forms it as described.

The future 'will be, will become X' has first-position *gu-*:

3-120 *gu-mu-gapuŋk-mena* *it (mų-class) will be/become dry.*

The past punctual suffixal category *-me-ñ* is used to produce the punctual meaning 'became X':

3-121 *∅-milkanda-meñ* *she became a widow, she was widowed*

3-122 *∅-bolo-meñ* *he/she got old*

3-123 *ŋu-ŋolko-meñ* *I got big*

3-124 *mu-bilpo-meñ* *MU-class item became wide*

Past continuous meaning is produced with the past continuous suffixal category *-meniñ*:

3-125 *ŋayka? go?ye ŋu-miŋpara-meniñ*
 1SG ABS *here* 1SG-child-AUX PC
I was a child here.

3-126 *ŋu-ŋolko-meniñ, ŋu-ŋara?-meniñ*
 1SG-big-AUX PC 1SG-girl-AUX PC
I was big, I was a (big) girl.

The word *gača* *no, nothing* can serve as predicate nominal in either past category:

3-127 *ŋu-gača-meniñ*
 1SG-nothing-AUX PC
I was nothing, i.e. I was not born.

The distribution of negative suffixes over tense/aspect forms is somewhat different for predicate nominals than for other predicates. This is due to the fact that there are actually two distinct tense-aspect series that must be recognised in predicate nominals with zero copula and forms of *me-*; static (copula 'be'), and dynamic (inchoative or 'copulative resolution' 'become'), as follows (the future in *-mena* belongs to both):

static		dynamic	
<i>∅-ŋolko</i>	<i>he is big</i>	<i>∅-ŋolko-men</i>	<i>he is getting big</i>
<i>∅-ŋolko-meniñ</i>	<i>he was big</i>	<i>∅-ŋolko-meñ</i>	<i>he got big</i>

The distinction between punctual and continuous paradigmatic forms is neutralised for the majority of verbs in the past negative, which is built on the potential positive by the addition of *-?molk*:

3-128 *ŋu-ŋaboni-?molk*
 1SG-go POT-PNEG
I didn't go.

For most verbs, present negative is built on the potential plus *-koro*:

3-129 *ŋu-ŋaboni-koro*
 1SG-go POT PRNEG
I'm not going.

However, the suffix $-ʔmolk$ with zero-copula predicate nominals can express either present or past negative:

- 3-130 ϕ - $\eta olko$ - $ʔmolk$ *he isn't big, or he wasn't big*
 3-131 ϕ - $goyi$ - $ʔmolk$ *he doesn't know, or he didn't know*

The negative suffix $-koro$ negates the non-past dynamic form of predicate nominals, and also future meaning *will be, become*:

- 3-132 ϕ - $\eta olko$ - $meni$ - $koro$ *he's not getting big, will not be/become big.*

The negative suffix $-ʒiʔv$ - $jiʔ$ is ordinarily added to the evitative stem-form (generally identical to the present stem-form) of most verbs to create a 'future' negative (e.g. ηu - $\dot{r}abo$ - n - $jiʔ$ *I won't/can't go*, see 3.3.3.4 for description of the semantics of this category). This suffix is always used to negate past dynamic predicate nominal forms, but also can be used to create 'static' past negative forms overtly marked for tense. Thus:

- 3-133 ϕ - $\eta olko$ - $meñ$ - $jiʔ$ *he did not become big*
 3-134 ϕ - $\eta olko$ - $meniñ$ - $jiʔ$ *he wasn't big* (alternative to ϕ - $\eta olko$ - $ʔmolk$).

With ϕ - $\eta olko$ - $ʔmolk$, adverbs may be employed to disambiguate tense reference.

This 'displacement' of tense/aspect categories under negation shows that predicate nominals constitute a special class of predicators, descriptive of qualities and relations. The present/past tense distinction is not as essential as the marking of the aspect distinction which I have labelled static versus dynamic; and under negation, the static forms can show neutralisation of the tense contrast. These facts relating to tense/aspect/negative marking for predicate nominals are summarised in tabular form in 3.3.3, where the tense/aspect/mood categories are presented.

A handful of predicates have $me-$ as auxiliary in all tense/aspect forms:

- 3-135 gu - ϕ - $marawul$ - men *she/he is hungry, is getting hungry*
 3-136 gu - ϕ - $gewen$ - men *he/she is frightened, is getting frightened*

In these verbs, $me-$ functions as a normal auxiliary, as can be seen from the fact that it occurs in the simple present where predicate nominal constructions have zero copula; but the form is polysemous, and also can have present inchoative meaning. Although with these verbs, past punctual $-meñ$ still has an inceptive meaning *became hungry*, and $-meniñ$ a past continuous meaning *was hungry*, there is no displacement of negative categories in relation to tense/aspect forms. Rather, the expected negative categories can express both static and dynamic meanings:

- 3-137 gu - ϕ - $marawul$ - $meni$ - $koro$
 3-3SG-*hungry*-AUX POT-PRNEG
He/she is not hungry, is not getting hungry.
 3-138 ϕ - $marawul$ - $meni$ - $ʔmolk$
 3SG-*hungry*-AUX POT-PNEG
He/she wasn't hungry, didn't get hungry.

Another verb which takes $me-$ in the present is the pro-verb *do what* as in:

- 3-139 yi - $yanaʔ$ - men
 1IN DU-*what*-AUX PRES
What shall you and I do?

In other forms, however, this verb is thematic, i.e. forms its suffixal categories in the same way as thematic verbs (3.3.3.19).

Privative and proprietive constructions marked for person with intransitive pronominal prefixes can function as predicate nominals with zero copula:

- 3-140 buru-malk-ji boñi
 3NSG-skin-PRIV now
They have no subsections now (i.e. they have stopped observing restrictions on selection of marriage partners).
- 3-141 jajabaŋ? ɲu-baɕa-may-yi?
 yesterday 1SG-PROP-vegetable food
Yesterday I had food.

However, there is a syntactic restriction on nominals which can serve as intransitive subjects in privative and proprietive constructions with overt copula. The intransitive subject of which being or non-existence is predicated can only be an unpossessed noun, i.e. there can be no expression of a possessor in the construction's pronominal position. Thus, in the examples below, (a) is grammatical as unpossessed intransitive subject of a privative construction functioning as predicate nominal; (b) is ungrammatical because of the presence of first person singular possessor, but the intended meaning of (b) can be rendered correctly by (c) with copula verb -ɲa- of *being* or *existence* (ordinarily *sit*) serving as proprietive for the expression of the notional possessor.

- 3-142 (a) gu-we?-ji-meniñ
 GU-water-PRIV-COP PC
There was no water.
- (b) *ɲu-may-či-meniñ
 1SG-food-PRIV-COP PC
I was without food, I had no food.
- (c) mu-may-či ɲu-ɲaŋaniñ
 MU-food-PRIV 1SG-sit PC
I was without food.

The only contrast between long and short vowels was found between predicative versus attributive forms of the adjective 'good'. Compare the following predicative and attributive uses of 'good', with some examples illustrative of differences in topicalization. Note that the attributive adjective follows the modified noun, while the predicate adjective may precede or follow any occurring subject NP.

	Predicative	Attributive
3-143	ø-ma:? 3SG-good M-that <i>He is good, that man.</i>	bigur ma? ɲu-gun?biri man good M-that <i>That is a good man.</i>
	ɲu-gun?biri ɲu-bigur ø-ma:? M-that M-man 3SG-good <i>That man is good.</i>	ɣuŋmaŋ? bur-mare jeñ ma? maybe 3NSG/3SG-spear PP fish good <i>Maybe they speared good fish.</i>
	ɲu-gun?biri ɲu-bigur ɲu-ma:? M-that M-man M-good <i>That man is (a) good (one).</i>	ɣuŋmaŋ? mina? ma? maybe fat good <i>May be it's good fat.</i>
	ø-ma:?, ɲu-ñiŋaya-ma?-men, ø-maɭar 3SG-good 1SG-happy AUX PRES 3SG-sweet <i>It's good, I'm glad, it's sweet.</i>	

An adjective, which of course can also serve as noun in predicate nominal constructions, contains the morpheme *ma?* as attributive within the complex word. The form *jiri cheek, bellicosity* (also found in *jiri-ye- to be insolent/belligerent to* is found in construction with *ma?* in the adjective *jirima? cheeky, belligerent*. There is no long/short vowel contrast between predicative and attributive functions, viz. *jirima?* in predicative function:

- 3-144 ϕ -*jirima?* η u-go?je η ugu-geywar
 3SG-belligerent M-that M-young man
That young man is a good fighter.

(The nominal *jiri* contrasts with thematic verb *jiri?*, as in *gu- ϕ -jiri? he is bellicose*).

Predicate nominals may be extensively prefixed or suffixed with e.g. degree qualifiers (see 3.2.20), but this does not alter their characteristics as described:

- 3-145 mungu- η amulu- ϕ -*ma:?*-bindi mungu- η amuru
 MU-really-3SG-good-real MU-long nosed wild bee
That wild honey (from long-nosed bee) is really extraordinarily good.

A fixed noun phrase consisting of noun and modifier may serve as predicate. The phrase *gunđu gakeŋ* (literally *country far*) may be described as idiomatic (though its interpretation is closely related to its literal meaning because it is often used to mean *distant, far away* of any referent, not just a place. For example, it may be said of a person or language *gunđu gakeŋ* (Pidgin English *long way country*), i.e. foreign, distant. The entire phrase may function predicatively:

- 3-146 *gunđu-gakeŋ-?*molk gungu- η anga ba η a-giku-yi?
 country-far-PRNEG GU-billabong PROP-mussel
That billabong with mussels is not far.

Finally, it should be noted that pronouns and demonstrative pronouns can also function as identificational predicators. For example, in response to the question 'Who is/was it?' or 'Is it you?', the absolutive pronouns are used:

- 3-147 (Yo), η ayka?
 (Yes) 1SG
 (Yes), *it is I.*

To deny the assertion 'It was you' or in negative response to the question 'Was it you?', a predicator is used consisting overtly only of the negative suffix (ordinarily past, but here, as in predicate nominals generally, ranging over past and present) with pronominal prefix. A curiosity of this construction is that the suffix has the form *-molk*, lacking the usual glottal:

- 3-148 η ayka? η u-molk η u- η ani-?molk
 1SG ABS 1SG-NEG 1SG/3SG-take POT-NEG
It isn't/wasn't I, I didn't take it.

- 3-149 η iñ-molk
 2SG-NEG
It isn't/wasn't you.

To form such constructions of third person singular subjects, the negative suffix must be added to third person singular pronoun or demonstrative (e.g. *η u-gun?biri-?molk it isn't/wasn't that one*, see 4.11.).

3.2.16 Predication of possession

Predications of possession are predicate nominal constructions in which the predicate is a genitive/dative form of pronoun or demonstrative pronoun. The subject (i.e. the possessed item) may be specified by a nominal or demonstrative.

- 3-150 (ɲu-gunʔbiri bulugi) yirkəɲiʔ-(ʔ)gin
 M-that cow LEX-GEN
That cow is ours/It's ours.

Predications of possession can be negated with -ʔmolk ranging over present and past meanings:

- 3-151 ɲu-gunʔbiri-(ʔ)gin-ʔmolk
 M-that-GEN-NEG
It's not/it wasn't his.

(In this form the second glottal is scarcely detectable in the environment immediately following glottal-initial -ʔmolk).

3.2.17 Predication of existence/being in a place

Demonstrative adverbs and pronouns can be verbalised to produce forms predicating existence in a place, or location. First and second persons and all nonsingular persons prefix intransitive pronominals, as usual, and the negative suffix -ʔmolk ranges over present and past:

- 3-152 ɲu-goʔye
 1SG-here
I am here.
- 3-153 ɲu-goʔye-ʔmolk
 1SG-here-NEG
I'm not/I wasn't here.

It is interesting to note, in contrast to predicate nominal constructions, that present locational forms with third person singular subject require the first-position prefix gu-:

- 3-154 gu-mu-goʔje mungu-may
 3-MU-there MU-vegetable food
The food is there.
- 3-155 mu-may gu-mu-goʔye
 MU-vegetable food 3-MU-here
The food is here.

Past tense can be distinguished by the use of adverbs; the past lacks first-position gu-, and -ʔmolk ranges over past and present meanings. But the absence of gu- distinguishes past from present forms:

- 3-156 (mu-may) gu-mu-goʔye-ʔmolk
 MU-food 3-MU-here-NEG
The food is not here.
- 3-157 (mu-may) mu-goʔye-ʔmolk
 MU-food MU-here-NEG
The food wasn't here.

'To live' of animate referents, and 'to be in a place, be located' of inanimate referents, can be expressed either by *ŋa-*, ordinarily *to sit*, *ja-stand* or *yo-* *to lie*, depending on the stance adopted by animates or the inherent character of inanimate referents:

3-158 mu-waŋa-yoŋoniñ
 MU-CON-*lie* PC
It (MU-class) was (lying) there all along.

3-159 gu-ϕ-wi|i-gore?-ŋaŋaŋaŋa ŋu-bolo
 3-3SG-CMP-*alone-sit* RED PRES M-*old man*
The poor old man lives alone all the time.

See also 3.2.28.3 verbalisation of 'where'.

3.2.18 X like Y, X unlike Y: Predications of similarity and difference

Similarity between entities is commonly predicated in one of two ways. The adjective *ŋuñju same* may be used, with non-singular intransitive prefix encompassing person/number categories of the entities being compared:

3-160 buru-wač-ŋuñju mu-ŋal?-bore
 3NSG-*each-same* MU-*hair-theirs*
They're the same (in respect to) hair, They've got the same hair.

(Note that the relation of body part to possessor is a part-whole relation, and has the consequence that the possessors are cross-referenced as the entities being compared with respect to some particular item).

3-161 buru-ŋuñju-meniñ
 3NSG-*same-AUX* PC
They were the same.

Otherwise, a predicate nominal construction is used of the form 'X-NSG possessor (is) one'; that is, the numeral 'one' functions as predicate nominal:

3-162 yaŋ-bore waŋgiñ?
 language-*theirs one*
They speak the same language (literally Their language is one).

3-163 ŋu-gun?biri ŋu-buypu-bindi, yiri-mokol-waŋgiñ?
 M-*that* M-*brother-real* LEX-*father-one*
That's my real brother, we have one father (i.e. the same father).

3-164 ŋu-jamiñ-bore waŋgiñ?
 M-*spouse-theirs one*
They have one husband, (literally Their husband is one i.e. they are married to the same man).

3-165 jičan-yere waŋgiñ? mači ŋayka? ŋu-ŋapunun?
 dreaming-LEX one indeed 1SG ABS 1SG-(subsection)
We (EX) have the same dreaming, indeed (= because) I am Ngapunun?
 (subsection).

Complex constructions with *waŋgiñ?* are permitted, e.g. in which (as per other predicate nominal constructions) the intransitive subject is a noun and those characterised by sameness with respect to it are expressed by pronominal prefixes:

- 3-166 buru-wač-řere-waŋiñ?-meniñ
 3NSG-*each-camp-one*-COP PC
They lived in the same camp.

The fact that buru- can be cross-referenced (while the notional possessor in proprietive and privative constructions functioning as predicate nominals cannot be as described at 3.2.15) suggests that this should not be viewed as exhibiting possessed-possessor grammatical relations, but as an identificational predication, in which 'they' are identified in terms of the predicate 'one camp': 'they were one (with respect to) camp'.

The most common predicate of difference was found simply to be adjectives boŋo or boŋoyi? (*an*)*other, different*, used predicate-nominally:

- 3-167 ŋaŋa?bay ju-gun?biri ju-boŋoyi?, ju-ŋoŋ?ŋoŋ?
moreover F-that F-different F-small
Moreover that one (she) is different, (she is) a/the small one.

Two particles are used to express similarity between two NPs with respect to a predicate. An example of the first, wolo? *like*, is:

- 3-168 buru-řabon warmbaya wolo? munuŋa
 3NSG-go PRES *anywhere like white man*
They go anywhere/everywhere (i.e. marry, consort with anybody) like white people.

See 4.9 for use of wolo? as modal particle or verb prefix.

The particle baliñ? also expresses similarity of NPs with respect to a predication:

- 3-169 ŋu-řabona-gan ŋiñja? baliñ?
 1SG-go FUT-DI 2SG ABS *like*
I want to go like you.
- 3-170 baliñ? ŋu-jirkiñ? ŋu-đuguļa?-yi? gu-ø-ŋun ŋoro
like M-long tailed mouse M-possum-ERG 3-3SG-eat PRES flower
Like long-tailed mouse, the possum eats flowers.

However, baliñ? often has the force of a causal conjunction *since, because*; see 4.10.3.

The particle menika? *unlike* is used to express dissimilarity between two NPs with respect to a predicate, and like baliñ?, is frequently (but not invariably) postposed to its complement:

- 3-171 buru-warp-miñ ŋayka? menika?
 3NSG-like-PP 1SG ABS *unlike*
They lied, unlike me.

3.2.19 Factitives

Factitives, in the sense of verbs expressing 'to make X' with object and noun or adjectival complement, are verbalisations of nominals by means of the auxiliary wu-:

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| baŋdari | <i>young man, circumcised man</i> |
| -baŋdari-wu- | <i>to circumcise, make a young man</i> |

bewki?	<i>white</i> (<bewk+yi?)
-bewk-wu-	<i>to whiten</i>
boḍewk	<i>bad</i>
-boḍewk-wu-	<i>to ruin</i>
joṅgolo?	<i>straight</i>
-joṅgolo?-wu-	<i>to straighten</i>
gu-gayar?yar?	<i>plain, clear place</i>
-gayar?yar?-wu-	<i>to clear, make a clear place</i>

The auxiliary *wu-* is also used in the formation of some causatives; see 4.3.

In mythological texts 'reflexive factitives' are frequently encountered expressing the conversion of some mythological figure into an enduring physical form. These are reflexive forms of 'to make', *maṅiñ?-mi-či-* *to make oneself (into)* with a zero or short prefix-form of the noun expressing that which something becomes:

- 3-172 \emptyset -maṅiñ?-mi-či-ñ miṅgur
 3SG-make-AUX-RR-PP *star*
She made herself (into) a star.
- 3-173 gu-janda? \emptyset -maṅiñ?-mi-či-ñ
 GU-stick 3SG-make-AUX-RR-PP
He made himself into a stick.

3.2.20 Nominal and adverbial intensity ('comparison')

Approximately three degrees of nominal and adverbial intensity can be expressed in Ngalakan, with the possibility for additional emphasis by composition of degree morphemes. The following sets exemplify degree:

<i>gakeṅ</i>	<i>far, a long way</i>	<i>geṅgeṅ</i>	<i>long</i>
<i>mar-gakeṅ</i>	<i>a bit far, quite far</i>	<i>mar-geṅgeṅ</i>	<i>a bit long, quite long</i>
<i>gakeṅ-bindi</i>	<i>really far</i>	<i>geṅgeṅ-bindi</i>	<i>really long</i>

Nominals and adverbs thus affixed can function as predicates:

- 3-174 *geṅgeṅ-bindi-?molk*
long-really-NEG
It isn't/wasn't really long.

The suffix *-bindi* is also used to express the meaning *real, full* of relationships:

- 3-175 *ju-mana-bindi gu- \emptyset -mu-ṅuna,* *ṅayu ju-mana-golk-ṅowi-yi?*
 F-mother-real 3-3SG-MU-eat FUT *but* F-mother-'step'-his-ERG
- \emptyset -mu-ṅun-ji?
 3SG-MU-eat-FUT NEG
The real mother will eat it, but his 'step' (i.e. more distant, classificatory) mother will not eat it.

The adverb *ṅamulu really* can be used as prefix to give what might be called an augmented third degree of intensity:

- 3-176 *ṅamulu-gakeṅ-bindi*
really-far-real
It's really very far.

The order *namulu-X-bindí* is invariable when the two morphemes are used in combination to express intensity. Otherwise, *namulu* may be used by itself to mean *indeed, really, properly*:

- 3-177 Rembarŋa gungu-yaŋ ŋu-ñawk *namulu*
 (language) GU-language 1SG-talk *really*
I talk Rembarŋa well, properly.
- 3-178 \emptyset -wa|k-miñ *namulu*
 3SG-enter-PP *indeed*
He went right in.

3.2.21 Compassion prefixes

The alternants *-!i-~wi|i-* occur as nominal and verbal prefixes expressing compassion or pity. The alternant *-wi|i-* was found to be somewhat more frequent prenominally following short prefix forms, but both forms occurred prenominally and preverbally. Used prenominally, the prefix expresses an attitude of compassion on the part of the speaker towards the referent:

- 3-179 naman, *ngu-!i-mokol*
poor thing M-CMP-father
Poor thing my father!

In the predicate of an intransitive clause, the prefix expresses speaker's compassion towards the intransitive subject:

- 3-180 *ngu-wi|i-bolo* \emptyset -*wi|i-ñar?-miñ*
 M-CMP-old person 3SG-CMP-die PP
The poor old man died.

In the verb of a transitive clause, the prefix projects speaker's compassion onto the transitive object:

- 3-181 *ju-!i-manaŋ* *ngu-!i-banabanar*
 F-CMP-mother 1SG/3SG-CMP-hear RED
Poor mother, I'm thinking of her.

Note the common double occurrence of the prefix in the verb and associated argument. See Text 2 (24), and also the apparent use of *-!i-* in reference to the transitive subject in Text 11(1).

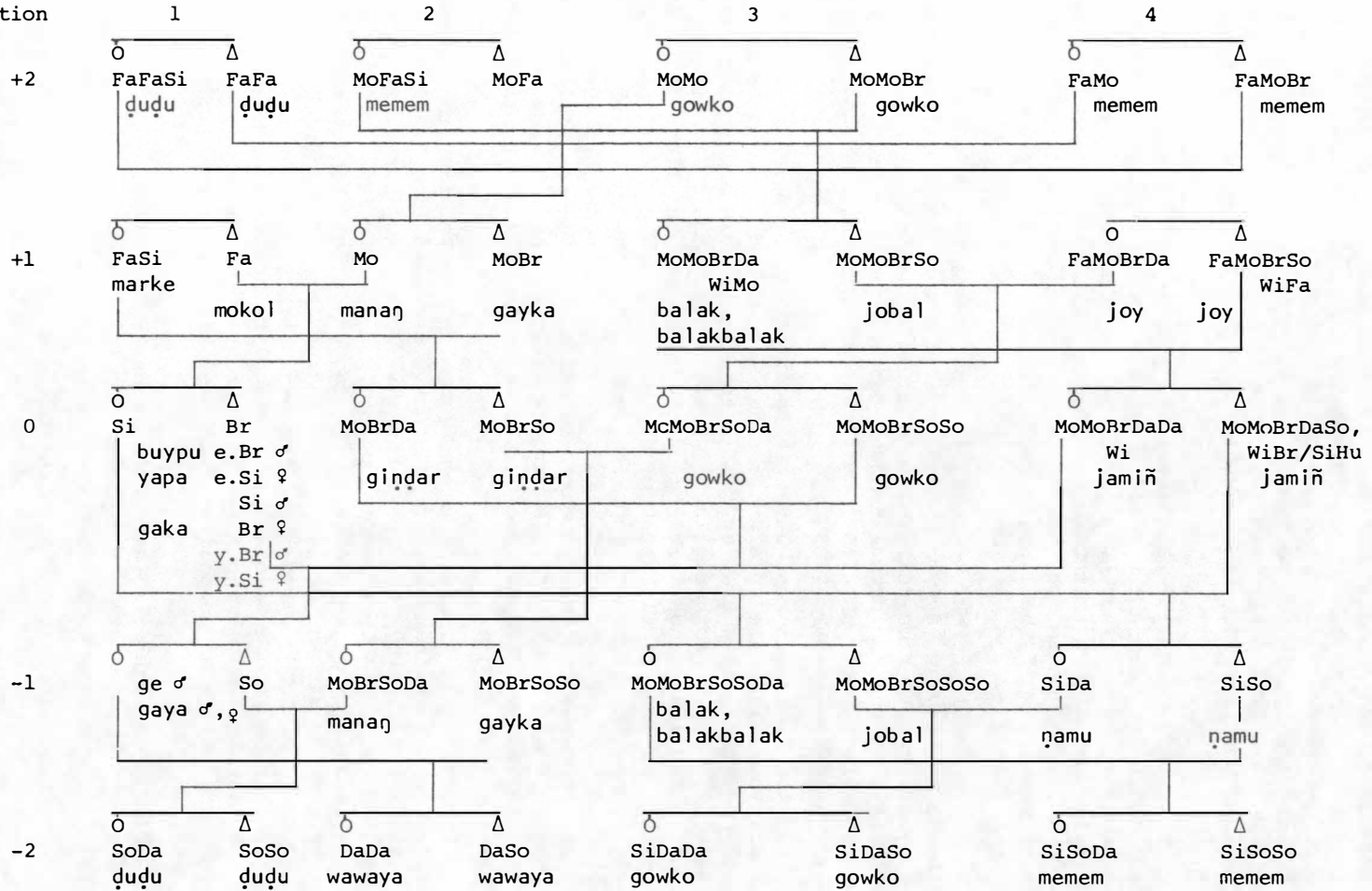
3.2.22 Kinship terms – morphology and system

The kinship terms are presented in the near-certainty that additional (especially subclass) terms will come to light when there is opportunity for more detailed study of the application of the terms to extended genealogies.

A schematic diagram of the terminology is presented in Table 3-2, with glosses (using ordinary abbreviations) intended to represent those kin types to which the terms are minimally applied. In the diagram, e = elder, y = younger, and the symbols δ and σ next to some terms indicate application of terms by sex of speaker where such distinctions are relevant (in the sibling and child terms). On the diagram, the kin types are labelled from a male Ego's point of view; differential usage from male and female Egos' points of view is explained below.

Table 3-2
Ngalakan kin terms (vocative form)

Generation



The terminology appears to pattern like an Aranda system. Four grandparent categories are distinguished in Generation +2 with gender disambiguated by prefixes. Ego is shown in column 1, MF in 2, MoMo/MoMoBr in 3 (along with avoidance category relations MoMoBrCh and MoMoBrSoSoCh, and FaMo/FaMoBr along with wife's father in 4. As usual, the diagram fails to show degree of expected collateral distance between Ego and spouse; it would appear that neither actual FaMoBrSoDa nor actual MoMoBrDaDa is a preferred spouse for male Ego.

Only three grandparental terms are distinguished, however: all cross-grandparents are terminologically identified (with sex of the referent distinguished by prefixes *nu-*, *ju-*). The grandparent and grandchild terms are reciprocal except that DaCh (= BrDaCh ϕ) is distinguished as *wawaya* from SiSoCh (= SoCh ϕ) memem, so that for any Ego, and differentially for male and female Egos, sex of the linking descendant in -1 is mapped onto terminological distinctions in -2.

In the child terms, *ge* is applied by man to own child and woman to brother's child; *namu* by woman to own child and by man to sister's child; and *gaya* by any Ego to same-sex sibling's child. This collateral distinction is neutralised in the reciprocal usages, 'mother' and 'father'. The following remarks clarify some other aspects first, of form, and second, of usage of additional relationship terms.

In the sibling terms, *buypu* is applied only by male speaker to elder brother; *yapa* by female speaker to elder sister and by male speaker to any sister; and *gaka* elsewhere (by female to all brothers and younger sister, and by male to younger brother). Thus for any speaker there is a distinction between elder and younger sibling of the same sex, but there is no distinction for either male or female speaker between elder and younger opposite-sex siblings. Female speaker has for her 'opposite sex sibling' term that which she otherwise applies to younger same-sex sibling, while male speaker has that which is otherwise only applied by female speaker to her elder same-sex siblings, revealing the systemic markedness of *yapa* compared to *gaka*, and the reason for employment of *yapa* in dyadic terms expressing the relation between opposite-sex siblings (see 2.1.1.1).

Propositus (i.e. person to whom referent's relation is expressed) is marked with the ordinary set of possessive suffixes (see 3.2.26). However, in Ngalakan as in many languages, there is a tendency for first person singular propositus to be the least-marked category. This is less strictly true of Ngalakan than of some neighbouring languages; in Ngalakan, the child terms are usually overtly marked for first person singular propositus, e.g. *nu-gaya-nini my brother's/sister's child*. But for other terms, first person singular propositus tends to be zero; thus, *nu-mokol* rather than *nu-mokol-nini my father*. Where a contrastive meaning is to be expressed, or emphasis otherwise given to first person singular propositus, the genitive/dative pronoun is often used as follows:

3-182 *naykani?*-(?)gin *nu-mokol* ϕ -*ñawk-min* *lqlis*
 1SG-GEN M-father 3SG-talk-PP English
My father spoke English.

There is scarcely any alternation in stem forms of kin terms (whereas in many languages locally there is extensive suppletion depending on person of the propositus). The only variation in stem forms is in the term 'mother' where zero-suffixed form may be either *manaŋ* or *mana*, vocative is *manaŋ! mother!*,

and all overtly suffixed forms have mana-, e.g. ju-mana-ṇowi *his mother*, except that ablative has been found with either stem form. The term ge is frequently fortis-initial, as noted in 2.3.

The following additional terms and usages may be noted. Pet or 'hyperchoristic' terms for Fa or FaBr include papa and gika, for Mo or MoSi bipi. The Ngalakan term for WiFa and WiFaSi is joy, but common over this area is Pidgin English lambara, used reciprocally by WiFa and DaHu. A special Ngalakan term exists for cross-cousin (ordinarily giṇḍar); this is ṇu-/ju-waṛe, connoting a mutual protective relation (cf. Mayali waṛe, Maṇarayi wuwaṛi); also common in Pidgin English over the area is baṅga for *cross-cousin*. The term for senior mother (= father's senior wife) is ju-gorʔyiʔ, for junior mother (= father's junior wife), ju-giriʔyiʔ. Terms for siblings-in-law are ṇu-/ju-ṇoy *female ego's brother's wife and brother's wife's siblings*, and ṇu-/ju-wulukurʔ *male ego's sister's husband and his siblings*. While the term jamiñ is generally used to refer to spouse of the appropriate category (actual or not), ṇu-/ju-gopo is a more general 'spouse' term which may be applied to any existing spouse relation. A term ṇu-ḍodoyʔ was found to apply only to males of a subclass of the MoBo type, specifically to an 'uncle' in -l who is a potential or actual DaHu (rather than actual MoBrSoSo). This is a clue to the probable existence of a number of other sub-class terms; usage for females in -l is not known. Further exemplification of jobal is desirable, since the Morphys (personal communication) found that balak could be applied to both sexes.

An actual kin relationship may be qualified as such by use of the suffix -bindi *real* (3.2.20), though such qualification does not necessarily entail that the relationship is an actual *biological* one. The suffix -golk-, on the other hand, suffixed to a kin term makes explicit that the relation is a classificatory one, and is glossed as *step* in English. Following this and other suffixes, first person singular propositus is usually overtly marked:

3-183 ju-mana-golk-ṇini
F-mother-'step'-mine
my (classificatory/distant) mother.

Documentation of the usage of -golk- would be desirable; see the usages in Text 5(24), and Text 6(16).

The suffix -yiñuṅ is added to the ordinary nouns mariñ *young woman*, and to geywar *young man* to give the following meanings:

ju-mariñ-(y)iñuṅ	<i>wife's younger sister</i>
ṇu-geywar-yiñuṅ	<i>husband's younger brother</i>

Kin stems, as discussed in 3.2.11, are the only nouns for which plurality can be marked with -pulu~ -bulu.

As noted in 3.2.1, clauses expressing the identity of persons in terms of their relation to others are constructed as transitive propositions in which the identifying relation functioning as predicate is followed by glottal increment, and the transitive prefix combination represents the person identified by the predicate term as object, the other person in the relation as transitive subject:

3-184 ṇiñjaʔ-yiʔ jun-jobalʔ
2SG-ERG 2SG/LSG-MoMoBrSo/MoMoBrSoSo
You call me jobal.

- 3-185 ηu -janbuyin- ηgin ηu -ge- ηowi -yi? ηun -mana?
 M-Janbuyin-GEN M-child-his-ERG 3SG/1SG-mother
Janbuyin's son calls me mother.

(Note the stem-form *mana-* mother is required in this construction).

Indications were that the degree of lexical replacement in Ngalakan avoidance style (a special register used of and to certain affines) is not great, but some replacement is characteristic. For example, the ordinary verb *to see* is ηa -, but of avoidance relatives (*balak*, *jobal*) one must use *gogon-bu*-:

- 3-186 ηu bu-gogon-bun-ji?
 1SG/3NSG-see-FUT NEG
I can't look at them.

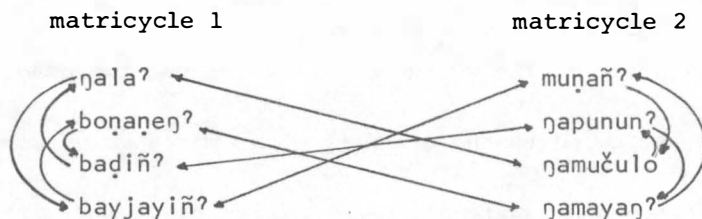
The most consistent marker of avoidance style was found to be interpolation of the morpheme *-bo η ?* in terms referring to avoidance category relations:

- 3-187 ju -balak-bo η ?- ηini
 M-MoMoBrDa-AV-mine
my mother-in-law/daughter-in-law
- 3-188 ηu -jobal-bo η ?- ηini
 M-MoMoBrSo-AV-mine
my mother-in-law's brother etc.

(An identical morpheme is used in Jawoñ as one of the markers of a fairly elaborate avoidance style).

3.2.23 Subsection terms

The subsection of 'eight-class' category terms which Ngalakan speakers consider to belong most appropriately to them are the following:



'Proper' marriages as per the subsection idiom are shown across, e.g. $\eta ala?$ marries $mu\eta a\eta?$. Straight lines show father-child links as they all within the subsection system if proper marriages are made in terms of it, curved lines show mother-child links.

Female referent for any category is marked by *ju-*, (e.g. *ju- $\eta ala?$*), male referent by *ηu -* (*ηu - $ba\eta i\eta?$*).

These terms are nearly identical to those used by some speakers of Jawoñ. There are other sets of terms in use in the area.

3.2.24 Numbers

Numbers are *wangiñ?* *one* and *yapan?* *two*; *many* can be expressed by *yar?*, *wajaman?* and a variety of other terms. Both numbers can function either as nouns or adjectives; in either function, the number 'one' is frequently prefixed for feminine or masculine class of the referent, and of course may be case-marked:

3-189 *ju-wangiñ?* (*ju-bolo?bolo*) *yuka* *gu-ø-jaṇan*
 F-one F-woman in front 3-3SG-stand Pres
One (woman) stands in front.

3-190 *wangiñ?-yi?* *ṇun-bayaniñ* *ṇun-me?me*
 one-ERG 3SG/1SG-come to see PC 3SG/1SG-get PP
One came to see me and got me.

3.2.25 Pronouns

The absolutive forms of the pronouns are

1SG	<i>ṇayka?</i>
2SG	<i>ṇiñja?</i>
3SG M	<i>ṇiñja?</i>
3SG F	<i>jiñja?</i>
1IN DU	<i>yika?</i>
1EX(DU)	<i>yirka?(-bira?)</i>
1IN PL	<i>ṇurka?</i>
2NSG(DU)	<i>ṇurka?(-bira?)</i>
3NSG(DU)	<i>burka?(-bira?)</i>

The base *-ñja?* can be segmented in second person singular and third person singular forms. Most forms show great similarity to corresponding intransitive prefix categories, e.g. 1IN DU *yika?* prefix *yi-*, 1IN PL *ṇurka?*, prefix *ṇuru-* etc. (see 3.2.30). Only 1SG *ṇayka?* fails to resemble the corresponding prefix *ṇu-* closely.

Note that there are no distinct MU- and GU- class pronouns; 'masculine' *ṇiñja?* may be used for all non-feminine referents.

The absolutive forms are most often employed to topicalise an intransitive subject:

3-191 *ṇiñja?* *ṇiñ-ṇambuṇambu ?*
 2SG ABS 2SG-*so and so*
Are you so-and-so? (insert name)

3-192 *ṇayka?* *wači* *ṇu-ṇaṇaniñ*
 1SG ABS *behind* 1SG-*sit* PC
I sat behind.

Two derivative pronominal sets are build on the absolutive forms. The first is a set of ergative pronouns (e.g. *ṇayka?-yi?*, *ṇiñja?-yi?* etc.) which are alternative to, but less frequently used than, the regular set of ergative pronouns (see below). The second is a set with genitive/dative suffix (e.g. *ṇayka?-(?)gan*, *ṇiñja?-(?)gan* etc., entirely regular for all categories) which are usually used topically (including contrastively, 'as for me'):

- 3-193 ɣiñjaʔ-(?)gan ɣiñ-molk
 2SG ABS-GEN 2SG-NEG
As for you, it wasn't you.
- 3-194 ɣu-ɾorʔ-a ɣaɣaʔbay ɣaykaʔ-(?)gan
 1SG-clean-FUT moreover 1SG ABS GEN
I'll clean (up), too, me.

See Text 2(18).

All other case forms are built on the ergative set, which for completeness' sake is listed in full but, as can be seen, is entirely regular, showing an increment -ɣiʔ to absolutive stems from which final glottal is dropped:

1SG	ɣaykaɣiʔ-yiʔ
2SG	ɣiñjaɣiʔ-yiʔ
3SG M	ɣiñjaɣiʔ-yiʔ
3SG F	jiñjaɣiʔ-yiʔ
1IN DU	yikaɣiʔ-yiʔ
LEX (DU)	yirkaɣiʔ-(-biraʔ)-yiʔ
1IN PL	ɣurkaɣiʔ-yiʔ
2NSG (DU)	ɣurkaɣiʔ(-biraʔ)-yiʔ
3NSG (DU)	burkaɣiʔ(-biraʔ)-yiʔ

The ergative forms are generally used to signal topicality or contrastiveness of the transitive subject:

- 3-195 alako ju-yolk-yolk-(k)a ɣiñjaʔ-yiʔ/ɣiñjaɣiʔ-yiʔ
later 2SG/3SG-tell-FUT 2SG ERG
Afterwards you'll tell it.

Other case forms built on the ergative are entirely regular, so it will suffice to list one form only for each category:

genitive/dative	ɣaykaɣiʔ-(?)gin
locative/allative	ɣaykaɣiʔ-gaʔ
ablative	ɣaykaɣiʔ-wala
purposive	ɣaykaɣiʔ-wi
genitive/purposive	ɣaykaɣiʔ-(?)gin-ʔwi

The genitive/dative is used as adjective meaning 'my, your' etc., or as nominal meaning 'mine, your' etc. in predications of possession (3.2.16):

- 3-196 ɣaykaɣiʔ-(?)gin ɣu-mu-baɾeñ mu-may-ɣini
 1SG-GEN 1SG-MU-hang up PP MU-vegetable food-mine
I hung up (i.e. off the ground) my food.

See the example in Text 2 (23). The locative/allative forms are used in the expected local senses 'at/to me, mine', and also are used to express accompaniment:

- 3-197 ɣu-ɾaboniñ ɣiñjaɣiʔ-gaʔ
 1SG-go PC 3SG M-LOC
I went along with him.

Ablative forms are used as adjectives or nouns meaning 'from mine, me':

- 3-198 ɣaykaɣiʔ-wala bur-wočwoč-maɣiñ
 1SG-ABL 3NSG/3SG-steal-AUX PC
They stole it from mine.

The purposive forms are used in the expected purposive sense, but even more frequently as emphatic pronouns with meanings such as '(for) myself', similar to the emphatic use of the reflexive pronouns in English 'I'll do it myself':

3-199 ḡaykaḡiʔ-wi ḡu-mu-baḡeḡiḡ mungu-may-ḡini
 1SG-PURP 1SG-MU-*hang up* PC MU-*food-mine*
I hung up my food myself.

The last, genitive/purposive form, has glottal-initial purposive allomorph -ʔwi suffixed to genitive form of the pronoun in meanings which can be glossed *for my own*:

3-200 ḡu-maḡa ḡaykaḡiʔ-(ʔ)ḡin-ʔwi
 1SG/3SG-*get* FUT 1SG-GEN-PURP
I'll get it for my own (i.e. not for anyone else).

See examples in Text 6(10,12).

3.2.26 Possessive suffixes

The possessive suffixes corresponding to the pronominal categories are:

1SG	-ḡini
2SG	-ḡi
3SG M	-ḡowi
3SG F	-ḡoji
1IN DU	-yiki
1EX NSG	-yere
1IN PL	-ḡgore
2NSG	-ḡuḡgore
3NSG	-bore

For discussion of the allomorphy of cluster-initial 2SG -ḡi and 1IN PL -ḡgore see 2.11. Note that 'masculine', as usual, expresses all non-feminine third person singular possessors. As noted at 3.2.7, in genitive NPs the possessor is usually cross-referenced by the appropriate possessive suffix, and may or may not be overtly expressed elsewhere in the clause:

3-201 ḡu-geywar-yiʔ ø-ḡani-ʔmolk ḡugu-goḡ ḡayu
 M-*young man*-ERG 3SG/3SG-*see* POT-PNEG M-*kangaroo* but
 boloʔbolo-ḡowi-yiʔ jalgaʔ ø-meʔme
 woman(wife)-his-ERG all right 3SG/3SG-*get* PP
The young man didn't see (any) kangaroo but his wife got (something) all right.

Restrictions on overt expression of first person singular propositus with kin terms were mentioned in 3.2.27.

3.2.27 Demonstratives: Pronouns and adverbs

Demonstratives include pronouns and adverbs which are selective for semantic categories of relative distance. There is considerable overlap between pronominal and adverbial demonstrative forms in that the major adverbial stems, prefixed for noun class, can function as demonstrative pronouns; and to a lesser extent, some basically pronominal forms can function

as adverbs. In this section are discussed only those demonstratives which form paradigmatic sets containing common stems; other important adverbial locators are summarised in 3.4. Demonstratives discussed here are used adverbially to refer to locations in space; the demonstrative pronouns serve to locate persons and objects on a two-valued scale of proximity. The Ngalakan demonstrative system is highly regular and transparent.

3.2.27.1 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns encode the following distinctions:

1. distance: 'proximate' versus 'distant'
2. number: singular versus nonsingular
3. nominal class: ju-, ŋu-, gu-, mu-; with ŋu- most frequent and unmarked
4. head of NP versus modifier in nominal group

The 'proximate' category establishes the location of a referent as relatively near speaker and/or hearer; the 'distant' category is textually far more frequent, partly because, besides establishing the location of a referent as relatively distant in a spatial sense, it also (and to a lesser extent than the adverbial goʔje used pronominally) is used as a reference-maintaining device with something of the force of the English definite article. These two distant forms – gunʔbiri and goʔje – convey that a referent has been established and is therefore presupposed or known in context. This discourse function is responsible for the high frequency of distant category pronouns in Ngalakan. It should be noted in this connection that the frequency of particularising and anaphoric guru- (see 3.4.6) is quite low.

The demonstrative pronouns are:

	'this'	'these'
M	ŋu-gaʔye/nu-gaʔyen	ŋu-gaykunʔ
F	ju-gaʔye/ju-gaʔyen	ju-gaykunʔ
GU	gun-gaʔye/gun-gaʔyen	gun-gaykunʔ
MU	mun-gaʔye/mun-gaʔyen	mun-gaykunʔ
	'that'	'those'
M	ŋu-gunʔbiri	ŋu-gunʔbiri-gunʔ
F	ju-gunʔbiri	ju-gunʔbiri-gunʔ
GU	gun-gunʔbiri	gun-gunʔbiri-gunʔ
MU	mun-gunʔbiri	mun-gunʔbiri-gunʔ

The singular stem of the proximate category is -gaʔye; the nonsingular shows a stem gay- followed by a number suffix -kunʔ. The stem of the distant category is -gunʔbiri; plural forms of this show number morpheme -gunʔ clearly relatable to -kunʔ. Note that the proximate, like some of the adverbial stems can be inflected with -piraʔ and plural -gapul (ŋu-gaʔye-gapul *these*) to produce countable nonsingular forms. The text frequency of nonsingulars in -kunʔ~gunʔ is very low (see example Text 7, sentence 31), and they appear to have a collective meaning *these, this group* rather than one of countable plurality. But the fact is that most often, the singular forms are used with plural meaning whether functioning as modifiers or heads of NPs, their plural reference made clear elsewhere in the clause (e.g. by pronominal prefixes in the verb). Although the demonstratives can be prefixed for all noun classes, the frequency

of mu- and gu- class forms is low compared to that of the unmarked 'masculine' which can range over all non-feminine referents. GU- and MU-class predominative prefixes have short prefix forms showing an -n- increment gun-, mun-, compared to pronominal short prefix forms. In addition, all demonstrative pronouns (including those built on adverbial stems, see below) can take long prefix forms: ɳugu-ga?ye, jugu-ga?ye, mungu-ga?ye etc.

The unprefixd distant stem gun?biri can be used adverbially to mean *there*.

Examples of usage of the demonstrative pronouns are:

3-202 jičan ɳu-ga?ye
dreaming M-this
Is this a dreaming?

3-203 ɳun-goʃ-gan ɳu-gun?biri-yi? may-yi?
 3SG/1SG-sick-CAUS PRES M-that-ERG food-ERG
The/that food makes me sick.

As described in 3.2.17, appropriately inflected demonstrative pronominal and adverbial stems can serve as predicates of location ('it is here/there'). In such locational clauses, the demonstrative stem is verbalised, as shown by the presence of first-position gu-. But in predications of identification like (3-202) above, the demonstrative which picks out the entity to be identified remains nominal in form, prefixed with the appropriate noun class markers. The form gu-(gu-)ga?ye can be used in the locational meaning *It is here*.

An example of gun?biri used as spatial locator is:

3-204 ju-gun?biri bolo?bolo-yi? ø-ler?-miñ ɳolko, ɳu-ɳabona
 F-that woman-ERG 3SG/3SG-make fire-PP big 1SG-go FUT
 gojegun?
there
That woman has made a big fire, I'll go there.

Use of gun?biri as adverb is illustrated by:

3-205 Yiri-ɳabo yir-me?me gun?biri bulugi-bore
 LEX-go PP LEX-take PP there cow-theirs
We went and took their cattle there (in that place).

3.2.27.2 Demonstrative adverbs

The demonstrative adverbs also show a basic division into proximate and distant categories, go?ye *here* and go?je *there*. These have the following forms:

	'here'	'there'
LOC	go?ye <i>here</i>	go?je <i>there</i>
ALL	goykun? <i>to here, this way</i>	gojegun? <i>there, to there, that way</i>
ALL	goye-ga?/goye-gaga? <i>to here</i>	goje-ga?/goje-gaga? <i>to there</i>
ABL	go?ye-wala <i>from here</i>	go?je-wala <i>from there</i>

The alternative allative forms with locative/allative suffixes show deletion of the medial glottal. Their meanings are the same as goykun? and gojegun? used in allative senses (see below). Demonstrative pronouns can be built on

stems of both categories: *nu-goʔye this one*, *jugu-goʔje that one F*, and so forth. Rarely in adverbial usage, more commonly in forms used pronominally with non-zero suffix, alternative incremented stems *-goʔyen* and *-goʔjen* are encountered. Thus one finds such alternatives as:

nu-goʔje-yiʔ *that one (ERG)*
nu-goʔjen-yiʔ
gun-goʔje-ʔgen *for that one (GEN/DAT)*
gun-goʔjen-ʔgen

Examples of adverbial usage of these stems are:

- 3-206 *buru-mi|arʔ-miñ goʔje nugu-miɾpara, buru-ñawk-miñ Maŋarayi,*
 3NSG-born-PP *there M-child* 3NSG-talk-PP (language)
buru-Maŋarayi-ʔmolk buru-ŋamulu-ŋalakan
 3NSG-Maŋarayi-NEG 3NSG-really-Ngalakan
The children were born there, they spoke Maŋarayi; (but) they
aren't Maŋarayi, they're really Ngalakan.
- 3-207 *goykunʔ yiri-yiniŋa gunmaŋʔ yir-ŋana gunʔbiri yaraman-bore*
this way LEX-do thus FUT maybe LEX-see FUT there horse-theirs
We'll go this way (this way, we'll do like that), may be we'll
see their horses.

Note from the last example that *goykunʔ* can mean *this way* (towards speaker) but also *this way* along a trajectory described taking the speaker's location as starting point. The same pragmatic variability is found in English 'this way', with intended meaning possibly clarified by gesture. The adverb *gojegunʔ* is found in both locative and allative uses, the latter more frequently:

- 3-208 *jaɖugal ø-ɖururʔ-miñ gojegunʔ*
plains kangaroo 3SG-cough-PP there
Plains kangaroo coughed there.
- 3-209 *ø-ɾabo gunmaŋʔ gojegunʔ*
 3SG-go PP *perhaps there*
Maybe he went there.

The particle *ŋan* sometimes follows (especially adverbial) demonstratives:

- 3-210 *bolʔ-ŋowi ø-ɾaboniñ goykunʔ ŋan*
track-its 3SG-go PC this way right
Its track was coming right this way.
- 3-211 *goʔje ŋan ø-ŋaŋaniñ*
there right 3SG-sit PC
It was sitting right there.

Like a particle of identical shape in Ngandi (Heath 1978:65), *ŋan* has a kind of particularising and emphatic force glossed above by *right this way*. See textual examples, Text 2(24, 27, 31).

The suffix *-gan* is added to demonstrative adverbs, but also to noun phrases expressing location, and seems to give added intensity to the meaning of the forms: *goʔye-wala-gan all the way from here*, *goʔje-wala-gan all the way from there*. An example of this in a noun phrase with particularising (also anaphoric) *guru-* is: *guru-juŋ-gaʔ-gan right there in the shade*, locative of *juŋ shade* (see 3.4.5).

3.2.28 Interrogative-indefinite forms

3.2.28.1 'who, nobody'

Forms meaning 'who' are built on the stem were by addition of masculine or feminine class prefix and appropriate case suffix:

3-212 η u-were gu- ϕ - η abon gojegun? yi-bay
 M-who 3-3SG-go-PRES *that way all-north*
Who's going north that way?

3-213 ju-were η u-bo?bo ?
 F-who 1SG/3SG-hit PP
Whom (F) did I hit?

3-214 η u-were-yi? buru η -bo?bo
 M-who-ERG 3SG/3NSG-hit PP
Who hit them?

3-215 ju-were ju-gun?biri
 F-who F-that
Who is that (F)?

First and second person interrogative forms can be constructed with intransitive prefixes: η i η -were *Who are you* (SG)?

There is a plural reduplicative form werewere?

3-216 η u-werewere?-yi? η unbu-bo?bo
 M-who RED-ERG 3NSG/2SG-hit PP
Who (PL) hit you (SG)?

Constructions containing an NP translatable as 'nobody' are formed by using were appropriately inflected for class, case and number, in combination with a negative verb form:

3-217 η u-were-yi? η un-wi|i-wuniwuni-koro η ugu-je η η ayka η i?-(?)gin
 M-who-ERG 3SG/1SG-CMP-give RED POT-PRNEG M-fish 1SG-GEN
Nobody will give poor me my fish.

3-218 go?je gu- ϕ -yo η on ji \check{c} an- η owi Go η jimbi, η u-were
there 3-3SG-lie PRES dreaming-its (toponym) M-who
 gu- ϕ - η a η ani-koro
 3-3SG-sit POT-PRNEG
The dreaming rests there at Go η jimbi, nobody is living there.

3.2.28.2 'what?' 'when?' 'why?' 'where to'

The interrogatives 'what', 'when', 'why', and an additional form meaning 'where to' are built on the *what*-stem yana?:

yana?	<i>what</i>
yana?mala	<i>when</i>
yana?gan	<i>why</i>
yana?way	<i>where to</i>

'Why' is a dative/purposive case-form of 'what' (as is typical of many languages in the area), while 'when' has a suffix -mala which is probably cognate with Ngandi prefix mala?- meaning *season, time* (Heath 1978:121).

A reduplicative form *yanayana?* is often used to mean *how many*:

- 3-219 *buru-yapan?-(?)molk yanayana? nugu-bigur*
 3NSG-two-NEG *how many* M-Aborigine, person
There weren't two, how many people (were there)? (i.e. there were quite a few, more than two).

Examples of usage of the other forms are:

- 3-220 *yana?gan ju-mu-war?-miñ*
why 2SG-MU-throw-PP
Why did you throw it (out)?
- 3-221 *nu-wač-ṇoṇ?ṇoṇ?-bira? alki? guru-yana?mala bur-baṇḍari-wuna*
 M-each-little-DU *yet* ADV-when 3NSG/3SG-young man AUX FUT
The two little ones (boys), exactly when (yet) will they make (them) young men?

Two kinds of WH- interrogative predicates can be formed with *yana?*. One is used to ask the question 'What kind of?', where the predicate *yana?* is followed by a noun specifying the kind of domain to which the question applies. Examples are:

- 3-222 *ṇiñ-yana?-bigur ?*
 2SG-what-Aborigine
What kind of Aborigine are you? (i.e. approximately What tribe/group/language are you?)
- 3-223 *ṇiñ-yana?-malk ?* or *ṇiñ-yana?-bigur gungu-malk*
 2SG-what-skin 2SG-what-Aborigine GU-skin
What subsection are you? What subsection are you? (literal What kind of Aborigine are you (with respect to) subsection?)

The other kind of interrogative is the predicate 'do what?'. In the present, this may have the auxiliary *me-*, but in this and other tense forms it may have the paradigm of a thematic verb.

- 3-224 *ṇuru-yana?-men* also simply *ṇiñ-yana?*
 1IN PL-what-AUX PRES 2SG-what
What'll we all do? What are you doing, what are you up to?
- 3-225 *yi-yana?-ṛa ?*
 1IN DU-what-FUT
What will you and I do?
- 3-226 *yi-yana?-miñ*
 1IN DU-what-PP
What did you and I do?

A related adverb *yana?miñ for nothing, in vain* is perhaps a specialised derivative of this WH- usage.

3.2.28.3 'Where?'

The interrogative 'where' has the following forms:

wereka	<i>where</i> (locative and allative uses)
werekun?	<i>where to?</i> (explicitly allative)
wereka-wala/wereka-ʔwala	<i>where from</i>

Examples are:

- 3-227 werekun? ɲiñ-ɾaboniñ
where all 2SG-go PC
Where did you (SG) go?

(See 2.10 for the rule /r/ → y following ɲiñ-).

- 3-228 wereka ɲiñ-jaŋaniñ
where 2SG-stand PC
Where were you standing?

- 3-229 wereka-wala ɲiñ-ɾaboniñ
where-ABL 2SG-go/come PC
Where were you coming from?

It is possible to verbalise wereka to form present interrogatives of location:

- 3-230 gu-ϕ-wereka guŋmaŋ?
3-3SG-where maybe
Where might he be?

In other tenses, verbs serving as copulae of location must be used:

- 3-231 wereka ϕ-ŋaŋaniñ
where 3SG-sit PC
Where was he (living)?, Where was he?

3.2.28.4 'Some'

The indefinite pronoun *malaboŋo* *some* can be used in reference to inanimate and non-count items (in both cases it is usually treated grammatically as singular), and in reference to count items including people (in which case it is usually treated grammatically as plural in verbal cross-reference). The pronoun can be case-marked but is never prefixed for noun class; it may serve either as head or modifier of the nominal group. Examples are:

- 3-232 ɲu-mu-ŋorʔ-miñ malaboŋo
1SG-MU-wash-PP some
I washed some (MU-class)

- 3-233 malaboŋo-yi? wurʔwuruŋu-yi? bur-julu-wan
some-ERG old person-ERG 3NSG/3SG-sing AUX PRES
Some old people are singing (songs).

3.2.28.5 'Nothing'

The form *gača* is used as equivalent to *no* and *nothing*:

- 3-234 *gača, ŋun-beŋi-ʔmolk*
no 3SG/1SG-bite POT-PNEG
No, he didn't bite me.
- 3-235 *gača maṛamaṛaʔ ŋu-wakeniñ*
nothing emptyhanded 1SG-return PC
I returned empty-handed (with) nothing.
- 3-236 *gača ŋu-goʔ-ŋani-koro*
nothing 1SG/3SG-have AUX POT-PR-NEG
I don't have anything.

3.2.28.6 Hesitation form

The form *yanipi whachamacallit* is used as a hesitation form to temporarily substitute for any verb, noun or adverbial phrase; it may be case-marked or tense-marking according to the clausal function of the forgotten item, but often is not.

- 3-237 *gaŋduyun-ʔwala ŋu-ŋaniñ yanipi ... mu-ŋambiʔŋambiʔ*
sand ridge-ABL 1SG/3SG-see PC whachacallit MU-plat potato
From the sand-ridge I saw whachacallit ... plat potato.

3.2.28.7 'anywhere, everywhere'

An example of the indefinite adverb *warmbaya anywhere, everywhere* is:

- 3-238 *yiŋgoʔgon warmbaya buru-ṛabon*
today RED anywhere 3NSG-go PRES
Today (i.e. in these modern times) they go anywhere.

3.2.29 Noun phrases

In this section a summary of types of NPs is given. NP structures are diagrammed in Table 3-3.

As shown in (1), an NP may consist of a single nominal (noun or adjective), a pronoun or demonstrative. Type (2) abbreviates head-attribute structures; an NP may consist, for example, of Noun + Adjective or Demonstrative + Adjective, or all three of these usually in the order DEM-N-ADJ:

- 3-239 *ŋu-goʔje ŋugu-miṛpara gañaʔ*
M-that M-child small
the/that small child

In an NP consisting of DEM+N, the demonstrative almost invariably precedes the noun. Occasional exceptions to this were found, e.g.:

- 3-240 *ŋu-mu-warʔ mungu-may mungu-gaʔye*
1SG-MU-throw MU-food MU-this
I'm going to throw out this food.

The demonstrative must be marked for noun class, and therefore the noun itself may or may not be marked for class:

- 3-241 mungu-miñgur ṅu-goʔje miṛpara
 MU-star M-that child
The child is a star.
- 3-242 jun-bak-me mungu-gunʔbiri mungu-may
 2SG/1SG-OP-get MU-that MU-food
Get me that food.

Although every constituent within an NP may have a complete set of affixes for noun class, case (and more rarely, number), often only the head of the NP will carry case-marking. This means that where there is a demonstrative, though it must be marked for noun class (the basic distinction being feminine versus non-feminine, the latter chiefly 'masculine') it need not be marked for case:

- 3-243 ø-gar-buniñ ju-goʔje ju-bolo-yiʔ
 3SG/3SG-pull-AUX PC F-that F-old woman-ERG
That old woman pulled him.

As noted at 3.2.2, masculine is the least marked category, and constructions like the following are found in which a MU-class object has a ṅu-class predemonstrative prefix:

- 3-244 ø-mu-warʔ-miñ ṅu-goʔje mungu-balku mu-geṅgeṅ
 3SG/3SG-MU-throw-PP M-that MU-rope MU-long
He threw that long rope.

The attributive adjective almost always follows the noun: *jikur gengen long tail*, *giyark gengen long teeth*, *jeñ ṅolko big fish*, *jolko jeliʔ wet ground* etc., but exceptions are found. On the other hand, the predicate adjective may precede or follow a subject noun:

- 3-245 gu-boḍewk gungu-jolko
 GU-bad GU-ground
The ground is bad (e.g. muddy).

The reverse order is also found.

Type (3) illustrates the coordinate NP. There are no non-emphatic NP conjunctions 'and' or 'or'. Conjunction can be effected by simple juxtaposition, the NPs so conjoined cumulatively cross-referenced in the verb if general conditions for plural cross-reference are met (see 3.2.30.3). Otherwise, emphatic conjunction can be expressed by *añji* (which also serves as clausal conjunction, see 4.10):

- 3-246 mungu-may gu-ø-mu-ye mana-bore-yiʔ ṅulʔ-gaʔ
 MU-food 3-3SG-MU-put mother-theirs-ERG coolamon-LOC
 gu-jeṅe añji mu-ḍaḍa
 GU-milk too MU-honey
Their mother puts food in the coolamon, milk (and) wild honey too.

(Note that the cross-referenced object is only mungu-may).

Another kind of coordinate expression must be mentioned which, following Hale (1966:321) may be called 'compound reduction'. In compound reduction, generally a pronoun and a possessed kin term (where pronoun and propositus of the kin term are coreferential), or two NPs (often pronoun and personal name, or two names) are cross-referenced in the verb by a pronominal prefix representing combined person and number of the compound expression. The NP constituents may be said to be in a kind of appositional relation, and often one of the NPs or the verb itself will be dual marked:

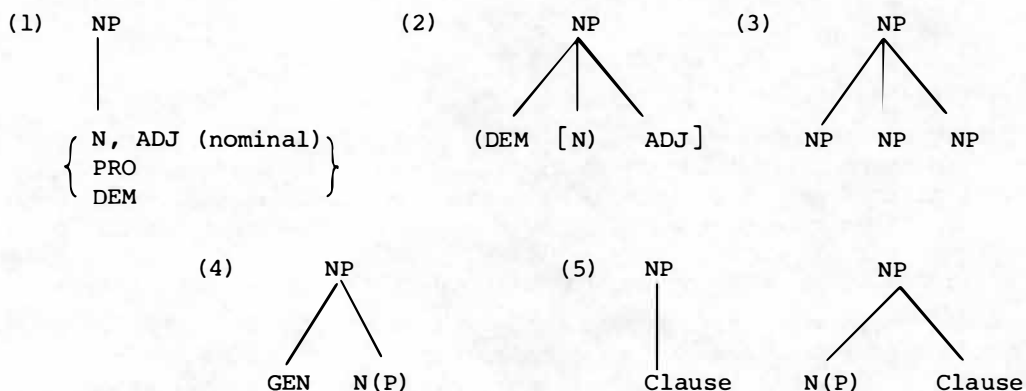
- 3-256 boñi ɣiñ-maṛamaṛa? maṛa-ŋgi
now 2SG-bare neck-yours SG
Now your neck is bare. (Text 5 (33)).

Type (5) represents structures in which one NP constituent is a clause; see 4.6.

In general, the Ngalakan NP exhibits a fairly loose sort of structure. It is possible for constituents of what could be considered the 'same' NP to be separated from each other by other clausal constituents, or for many NP constituents having the same referent to be strung together in a fairly loose sort of appositional structure:

- 3-257 jugu-Maygidi-yi? ju-gaja? ju-welene gungu-ŋey-ŋoji
F-mythical dog-ERG F-dog F-female GU-name-hers
 ø-ga?war-miñ.
3SG/3SG-chase-PP
Maygidi the dog, the female (one) – that's her name – chased it.

Table 3-3
 NP phrase structures



3.2.30 Pronominal prefixes

The verb of an intransitive clause obligatorily cross-references one NP by means of pronominal prefixes; the verb of the transitive clause cross-references transitive subject and object. In certain tense/aspect/mood forms of the verb, first position prefix *gu-* occurs before other pronominal prefixes; see 3.3.3.15. Tables 3-4 and 3-5 show the intransitive and transitive prefixes; sections 3.2.30.1-2 deal with their morphology.

3.2.30.1 Intransitive prefixes

The morphology of the intransitive prefixes is quite straightforward. First person singular *ɣu-* is similar to intransitive markers of this category in related languages (e.g. Jawoñ and Ngandi *ɣa-*); also second person singular

ɲiñ- is identical to the Jawoñ prefix for this category. Third person singular masculine and feminine nouns are cross-referenced by \emptyset -, while gu- and mu-class nouns in intransitive subject function tend to be cross-referenced by prefixes identical to the short pronominal prefix forms, but this varies; they may be zero. Examples are:

3-258 mungu-yimili? mu-ɲolko gu-mu-rabona
 MU-wet season MU-big 3-MU-go FUT
A big wet season will be coming on.

3-259 mu-we? gu-mu-wu! gu- \emptyset -bolk
 MU-rain 3-MU-come up 3-3SG-emerge
Rain is coming up, it's coming/on its way.

In the last example, the second verb has zero cross-reference of mu-we?, though this could have been gu-mu-bolk. Omission of the noun class prefix is fairly common.

LIN DU has the same base yi- as the LEX NSG category; but all non-singulars except LIN DU have a number morpheme -rV, the vowel i or u depending on that of the base (LEX NSG yi-, LIN PL ɲu-, 2NSG ɲu-, 3NSG bu-). Note there is no distinction in the pronominal prefixes between dual and plural categories for LEX, 2NSG and 3NSG persons, though dual may be marked by -pira?~bira? on noun and/or verb.

3.2.30.2 Transitive prefixes

Taking as basic the prefix forms which occur for each person/number category in intransitive subject function, we may analyse the transitive prefix combinations in terms of deviations from expected combinations of subject-object morphemes. Using this procedure, it becomes obvious that the transitive prefixes for certain categories (1 → 2, 2 → 1) are more profitably viewed as positively realising only one person category, the other a morphological zero.

We can begin with third person categories acting on all others. These combinations fall into four subsets: third person singular masculine or feminine, GU-, MU-, and third person non-singular acting on all categories. All combinations with third person singular agent of any class show the marking of the object category unless third person singular by means of an -n- or -ɲ- objective increment. The -n- is found in first person singular, second person singular and LIN DU, the -ɲ- in all non-singular categories which are not explicitly dual. Notice that while first person singular and LIN DU pronominal bases are ɲu- and yi- as we might expect, second person singular has ɲu- identical to the second person non-singular base; 3SG → 2SG and 3SG → 2NSG are distinguished by -n- versus -ɲ- object markers. 3SG M,F → 3SG M,F is cross-referenced by zero, but in combinations of 3SG M,F on other singular classes, the object may be cross-referenced by gu- or mu-, but is not invariably so cross-referenced. That is, the class of the object may fail to be marked, in which case the portmanteau prefix is \emptyset -. In combinations of GU- or MU-class on any singular, the class of the transitive subject may be cross-referenced but is not invariably. Thus, there is a possibility that any 3SG → 3SG combination may be zero; but it can also happen that the class of the *object* is overtly cross-referenced by gu- or mu- if the subject is masculine or feminine, or that the transitive subject is cross-referenced in mu- or gu-class acting on any third person singular. This does not seem remarkable when we consider that masculine and feminine singular categories are always zero.

All noun class distinctions are neutralised in third person singular subject and object, though explicit non-singular cross-reference is not equi-probable for NPs of all categories (see 3.2.30.3).

In third person singular GU- and MU-class acting on other categories besides third person singular, notice that the prefix representing the transitive subject follows the object marker. This object-subject order also characterises combinations of third person non-singular acting on any first or second, and any non-singular third, categories. However, in combinations of 3NSG → GU or MU the order of elements is subject-object; in 3NSG → M, F of course the order is indeterminate since the object is always zero. We find that in all other combinations where subject and object morphemes can be distinguished, the order is subject-object. We can formulate conditions for object-subject order:

- (a) In combinations of GU-, MU- or 3NSG on any object besides a third singular category, order of elements in the prefix is object-subject.

Note in all GU-, MU- and 3NSG → 3NSG combinations, 3NSG object may be represented either by *buruŋ-* (as for 3SG M,F → 3NSG), or by *bun-* (the former is more common).

In combinations of 3NSG → 3SG object of any class, expected 3NSG marker *buru-* occurs as *bur-*. We will find that there is a consistent difference between non-singular forms which end in *-rV* versus counterparts in *-r*, which signals the difference between intransitive subject versus the same categories as transitive subject acting on third singular object of any class. Note that the vowel of third person non-singular transitive subject marker harmonises with any preceding *i* in the prefix, thus e.g. 3NSG → 1IN DU *yinbi-* instead of **yinbu-*.

It must be noted that the combinations of third person singular MU- and GU-class subjects acting on any objects are the rarest. It happens often that a third person singular MU- or GU-class transitive subject may be present as external NP, or understood, but is not marked as transitive subject in the verb prefix. Thus, for example:

- 3-260 *ɲondo-yi? ɲun-jujujy?-miñ*
wind-ERG 3SG/1SG-push-PP
The wind pushed me.

This could also be *ɲunmu-jujujy?-miñ*, but in fact, overt marking of *mu-* and *gu-* class transitive subjects in the verb is less common than zero marking of them. In giving interlinear glosses for such combinations, if the *mu-* or *gu-* class NP is not represented in the verb prefix, it is simply written as third person singular. In these and all transitive combinations, interlinear glosses are given in subject-object order, regardless of the actual order of morphemes. Examples of *mu-* and *gu-* class transitive subjects overtly marked by verbal prefixes are:

- 3-261 *ɲu-ɲani-?molk go?je gungu-janda? ɲungu-gul?-miñ-gin*
1SG/3SG-see POT-PNEG there GU-stick GU/1SG-poke-PP-SUB
I didn't see the stick there that poked me.
- 3-262 *ɲungu-me?me gaɟagor-yi?*
GU/1SG-get PP fever/flu-ERG
Flu got me, i.e. I got a cold, fever.
- 3-263 *mu-waračara-yi? ɲunmu-war?-miñ*
MU-floodwater-ERG MU/1SG-throw-PP
Floodwater knocked me down.

Turning to combinations of any other category on 3SG of all classes and 3NSG, we find 3SG M, F object consistently represented by \emptyset -, gu-class object by gu- or gi-, mu-class by mu- or mi- (or both gu- and mu- by zero), and 3NSG object represented by -bu- or -bi-. All those categories which in intransitive subject function have number element -rV, as transitive subject acting on any third category have the form CVr-. All others are identical to intransitive subject forms for those categories. Note that IIN DU and IIN PL pattern as we would expect, with IIN DU transitive subject distinguished from LEX NSG as yi- versus yir-.

Combinations of 1→2 and 2→1 categories show the greatest deviation from expected morpheme combinations. In LSG → 2SG, only the morpheme $\eta i\tilde{n}$ - identical to 2SG intransitive prefix occurs. The LSG → 2NSG combination also shows overtly 2NSG morpheme ηu - followed by -gu-; so we may say that the object is overtly marked but the difference between this and some other combinations (e.g. 2NSG → 3SG ηu -) is made explicit by a morpheme -gu- completely unrelated to normal LSG ηu -. The combinations LEX NSG → 2SG and 2PL are identical, and show only the LEX NSG morpheme yiri-. By retention of the vowel in the number element, these combinations remain distinct from LEX NSG acting on third singular. In 1→2 combinations we may summarise 'realisation' in terms which assume that overt representation of a category may be equated with higher 'ranking' of that category in a particular combination (see Silverstein 1976 for this notion). In these terms:

- (b) In any combination of LSG on any second person category, object outranks subject and is overtly represented. The form of LSG → 2NSG, though it shows the operation of this principle, is also not fully identical to the regular 2NSG category.
- (c) In any combination of LEX NSG on any second category, the subject outranks the object and is overtly represented.

In combinations of 2SG acting on LSG and all third person objects, we find a 2SG transitive subject morpheme ju-. Note the curiosity in 2SG → LSG, however, that while only 2SG is overtly represented by a person marking morpheme, it has the form jun- with object marking -n-; while in LSG → 2SG as noted, we find $\eta i\tilde{n}$ - equivalent to 2SG intransitive subject form. By analogy with this, in 2SG → LSG we expect $\eta u n$ -, which however is the 3SG, M, F → LSG form. Some related languages, e.g. Jawoñ, in fact tolerate identity of 2SG → LSG and 3SG → LSG, combinations; but Ngalakan avoids this by having ju- as 2SG transitive subject marker in most combinations, and as overt person morpheme in an object-augmented form for the (frequently problematic) 2SG → LSG combination. In the combination of 2SG → LEX NSG, we find only the object overtly represented, with base yi- followed by what is probably object-marker -n- and -i, which has the effect of distinguishing 2SG → LEX NSG yini- from 3SG M,F → IIN DU yin-.

Again, in 2NSG on any first person combination, we find the same LEX NSG object morpheme yini-, with the difference between singular and non-singular object neutralised. The realisation of 2→1 categories may be summarised:

- (d) 2SG → LSG shows an object-augmented form jun- of otherwise 2SG transitive subject morpheme ju-. This unusual feature is evidence of (frequently encountered) 'hierarchical competition' in this and other combinations involving first and second person.

- (e) Every other 2 → 1 combination shows overt marking of the *object* only, with singular/non-singular object distinction neutralised. In terms of overt representation, object outranks subject.

In comparing (b), (c) with (d), (e), we find in general that first person non-singular transitive subject outranks any second person object, and likewise that any second person non-singular subject is outranked by any first non-singular object; any second person object outranks 1SG subject; and 2SG → 1SG may be considered the most highly marked relation in the system. Overall, as noted earlier, the 2 → 1 and 1 → 2 combinations show differential markedness of person/number categories depending on their (subject or object) functions in particular combinations.

Some examples of some less frequently attested combinations are:

3-264 Yirmi-ma mu-boy
 1EX NSG/MU-*get* MU-*grass*
We're getting grass.

3-265 dul? yirgi-gan
light 1EX NSG/GU-AUX PRES
We're lighting it (GU-class, e.g. gu-*noy fire*).

Note the 'extraction' in the last example of the initial element dul? from the verb, and its treatment as a preverbal particle; see 3.7.2.3.

3-266 *ɲugu-ler?-a gu-*ɲolko**
 2NSG/GU-*light-FUT* GU-*big*
You (NSG) will light a big (fire).

3-267 yini-wañ?-bun
 2SG/1EX NSG-NEG OBL-*hit* PRES
 2NSG/1
You shouldn't hit us/me.

Table 3-4

Intransitive prefixes			
1SG	<i>ɲu-</i>	1EX NSG	<i>yiri-</i>
1IN DU	<i>yi-</i>	1IN PL	<i>ɲuru-</i>
2SG	<i>ɲiñ-</i>	2NSG	<i>ɲuru-</i>
3SG M,F	<i>∅-</i>	3NSG	<i>buru-</i>
3SG-GU	<i>gu-~∅</i>		
3SG-MU	<i>mu-~∅</i>		

Table 3-5

Transitive prefixes					
3SG M,F →	1SG	ηun-	3SG-GU →	1SG	ηungu-
	1IN DU	yin-		1IN DU	yingu-
	2SG	ηun-		2SG	ηungu-
	3SG	∅-		3SG	gu-~∅-
	3SG-GU	gu-~∅-		3SG-GU	gu-~∅-
	3SG-MU	mu-~∅-		3SG-MU	mu-~∅-
	1EX NSG	yiriη-		1EX NSG	yiriηgu-
	1IN PL	ηuruη-		1IN PL	ηuruηgu-
	2NSG	ηuη-		2NSG	ηuηgu-
	3NSG	buruη-		3NSG	buruηgu-, bingu-
3SG-MU →	1SG	ηunmu-	3NSG →	1SG	ηunbu-
	1IN DU	yinmu-		1IN DU	yinbi-
	2SG	ηunmu-		2SG	ηunbu-
	3SG	mu-~∅		3SG	bur-
	3SG-GU	gu-~∅		3SG-GU	burgu-
	3SG-MU	mu-~∅		3SG-MU	burmu-
	1EX NSG	yiriηmu-		1EX NSG	yiriηbi-
	1IN PL	ηuruηmu-		1IN PL	ηuruηbu-
	2NSG	ηuηmu-		2NSG	ηuηbu-
	3NSG	buruηmu-, bunmu-		3NSG	buruηbu-, bunbu-
1IN DU →	3SG M,F	yi-	1IN PL →	3SG M,F	ηur-
	3SG-GU	yigi-		3SG-GU	ηurgu-
	3SG-MU	yimi-		3SG-MU	ηurmu-
	3NSG	yibi-		3NSG	ηurbu-
1SG →	2SG	ηiñ-	1EX NSG →	2SG	yiri-
	3SG M,F	ηu-		3SG M,F	yir-
	3SG-GU	ηugu-~ηu-		3SG-GU	yirgi-
	3SG-MU	ηumu-~ηu-		3SG-MU	yirmi-
	2NSG	ηugu-		2NSG	yiri-
	3NSG	ηubu-		3NSG	yirbi-
2SG →	1SG	jun-	2NSG →	1SG	yini-
	3SG M,F	ju-		3SG M,F	ηu-
	3SG-GU	jugu-		3SG-GU	ηugu-
	3SG-MU	jumu-		3SG-MU	ηumu-
	1EX NSG	yini-		1EX NSG	yini-
	3NSG	jubu-		3NSG	ηubu-

3.2.30.3 General conditions on number cross-reference

Overt cross-reference of NPs as non-singular is quite restrictive; basically, only human and some animate NPs are regularly so cross-referenced. The following exemplify the treatment of inanimate, and also lower-order *ŋu*-class nouns as singular in terms of cross-reference, in contexts in which reference was clearly non-singular:

3-268 guḷagaḷ giku woloʔ biṅ waḷamanʔ gu-ø-jap jap-jaṅan yerke;
big mussel like rock a lot 3-3SG-stand -AUX PRES bottom

añji ŋu-ḷuḷʔ-miñ ṅaṅaʔbay ŋu-muṅʔ-miñ ṅugu-giku
and 1SG-dip-PP moreover 1SG/3SG-grab M-mussel
Big mussels like stones were standing on the bottom (of a
billabong); and I dipped in and grabbed mussels.

3-269 ṅolkoṅañin gu-jandaʔ gu-gu-bolʔbolʔ boñi, gungu-gowk
big GU-stick 3-3SG/GU-carry RED now GU-humpy
 gu-jekaṅiñ
 3SG/GU-sweep away AUX PP
Now it is carrying along big logs, it has swept away the houses.

3-270 ṅu-warjaʔ-miñ gu-biṅ-ʔgin
 1SG-go for-PP GU-rock-DAT
I was looking for stones (to make a ground oven, which requires many).

That is, inanimates and also animate lower-order nouns are treated as singular unless explicitly marked as dual or plural in some particular context.

Nouns used generically as in English 'mankind', 'the porcupine' and so forth, are cross-referenced as singular:

3-271 gu-ø-waḷk ṅugu-gaṅawaraʔ boloʔ-gaʔ
 3-3SG-enter M-goanna sp. hollow log-ALL
The goanna (species) goes into hollow logs (as a general thing).

However, semantically non-singular human and animate nouns, even if not referentially specific, tend to be cross-referenced as non-singular; often there is no explicit marking on the noun for non-singularity:

3-272 bigur-yiʔ yiriṅbi-ṅan-jiʔ
 man-ERG 3NSG/LEX-see-FUT NEG
Man can't look at us.

(i.e. during women's ceremony, no man can look at us, men are excluded. This is referentially non-specific in that no particular set of men is referred to, and bigur is treated as non-singular for purposes of cross-reference).

Nouns explicitly marked as plural with -gapul are almost invariably cross-referenced as non-singular; the same is true of human and sometimes animate nouns even if modified by or expressed by indefinite 'some', or a form of multiple or collective meaning such as waḷamanʔ *many, all*:

3-273 malaboṅo buru-goyi-ʔmolk
 some 3NSG-know-NEG
Some didn't/don't know.

3-274 waḷamanʔ buru-goʔ-miñ
 many, all 3NSG-leave-PP
Many left.

between predicates which are normally used intransitively, and those normally used transitively. This is not absolute however. The thematic verb 'to rain' is normally used intransitively:

3-280 mu-we? ɲu-gun?biri yimili? gu-∅-jilkjilk gamiñjiko
 MU-rain M-that wet season 3-3SG-rain RED constantly
During the wet season, the rain comes down constantly/it rains constantly.

This may be used transitively, as in the following construction:

3-281 mu-yimili? ɲuruɲmu-jilk ɲolko
 MU-wet season MU/LIN PL-rain big
It rains on us a lot during the wet.

It is possible to see yimili? as transitive subject here; but the point remains that the un-derived predicate is capable of transitive usage. This possibility is less frequently realised in Ngalakan than in many languages.

A second apparent manifestation of variable transitive-marking is the fact that verbs which usually have transitive prefix forms (even where the object is not clearly differentiated), also occasionally show up with intransitive prefix forms. The intransitive prefix forms in fact seem to show up most often when the object NP is not overtly present within the clause, and is also not overtly cross-referenced within the verb, e.g.:

buru-ye *they put it* instead of bur-ye

However, some instances of usage of intransitive prefix forms were found e.g. in clearly transitivised clauses with -bak-: yiri-bak-marngi *we don't know him*. Therefore the correct formulation seems to be that intransitive prefix forms occasionally occur wherever the third person singular object is zero-marked, regardless of its clear individuation or otherwise within the discourse.

3.3 Verb morphology

3.3.1 Overview of the verb

The Ngalakan verb is morphologically the most complex part of speech. Besides containing suffixes marking some of the usual verbal categories – tense, aspect, mood – it also cross-references major clausal NPs; it may contain a variety of modifying and derivational prefixes including some, like -bak- and -baʒa-, which in conjunction with pronominal prefixes signal the clausal function of NP arguments; and it may incorporate nouns in intransitive subject, transitive object or sometimes other, more peripheral clause functions. In other words, the verb tends to express or at least index most major clausal constituent functions, and can often constitute a clause by itself. This tendency is also shown by other, presumably related languages, e.g. Ngandi, Rembarŋa, Jawoñ and Gunwiñgu.

There are some descriptive problems in laying out the order classes of the Ngalakan verb. First of all, following the pronominal prefixes described in 3.2.30, there may occur one, or sometimes two, of an approximate 20 known prefixes (which will simply be called 'preverbal'). These express a variety of meanings: some express number, some aspectual meanings, and some modal meanings. In general, the latter do not signal modality by themselves, but express a certain modal meaning in conjunction with a particular tense/aspect

Having mentioned these complexities, we can simplify the overview of verbal form/order classes by reducing them to a small number, complications within each of which can be dealt with in separate sections. In the diagram below, a ROOT is identified as the basic constituent of the verb stem. The root may be augmented in one of several ways to form a stem. First, it may be followed by an auxiliary. Auxiliaries include e.g. factitive-forming *wu-*, causativising *ga-*, copular *me-be*, *become* added to predicate nouns and adjectives in non-present forms, and functioning as auxiliary in a handful of stems; and others to which no unique lexico-grammatical function can be assigned except as auxiliaries. Some of these have fairly unitary transitivity value (e.g. *yo-* is usually auxiliary in verbs which function intransitively, while *ye-* is typically transitive, in keeping with the normal function of each as simple stem). As well, thematic verbs require a stem formant in certain paradigmatic forms which is functionally similar to an auxiliary. Second, the root may be compounded with another verb root or an incorporated noun stem; or it may be preceded by one of the 'stem-formants' (like *-gewen-* expressing fear, flight) already referred to. All these possibilities are summarily shown as 'compounding element/stem formant'. A further simplification is made by lumping together all the 'preverbal prefixes', to be dealt with below. The scheme is then reduced to:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
First position	Pronominal Prefix(es)	Preverbal Prefixes	Compounding element (nominal, verbal) Stem formant	ROOT	AUX: <i>ga</i> <i>wu</i> <i>me</i> <i>ye</i> <i>bu</i> etc.	RR	TNS/ ASP	NEG Mood	NUM	SUB

(RR = reflexive-reciprocal; TNS/ASP = tense-aspect; NEG = negation; NUM = number (optional); SUB = subordination).

We can briefly further summarise some special conditions on applicability of this scheme to the major types of verb complexes as per 3.1. There, 'simple' verb complexes were broken down into two types: thematic, and other. As mentioned, thematic verbs have stems which are equivalent to their root forms in present/evitative/imperative forms; that is, they have zero tense-aspect suffixes in these forms. In the past categories (punctual and continuous), and also in reflexive-reciprocal forms, thematic verbs show the addition of an auxiliary of the form *-mi-* to which tense-aspect and reflexive-reciprocal suffixes are added. Potential and future of thematic verbs involves a special reduplicative process whereby a suffixal segment is formed, in general by echoing the final root segment (see 3.3.3.19 for details) and followed by a suffix form potential *-e*, future *-a*. Thus the auxiliary order class only applies to certain forms of thematic verbs.

The other 'simple' verbs are 31 mono- and bisyllabic roots for which no paradigmatic form need be equivalent to the root. They are 'simple' in that they function without auxiliaries. They have fairly idiosyncratic suffixal paradigms, though some may be grouped into small subclasses on the basis of identity or similarity in parts of their paradigms. Many of these, though not all, can in turn function as auxiliaries in compound stems. Thus, verbs may be grouped into classes on the basis of having a common auxiliary (e.g. *bu-* as simple stem means *to hit*; compounds with auxiliary *bu-* include *gar-bu-* *to pull*, *mamiñ-bu-* *to roll up*, *řark-bu-* *to write, paint* and others). As simple verbs and auxiliaries, each of these roots has the same suffixal paradigm. Thus the auxiliary category does not apply to these roots as simple stems, but some of them are themselves auxiliaries in compound stems.

3.3.2 Preverbal prefixes

The preverbal prefixes can be grouped into 5 sets based on the kind of meaning each contributes to the clause. The first expresses concepts having to do with number and grouping; many of these are also capable of functioning as prenominal prefixes. These are:

(1) -wač- *each (of two), both*. This was described and illustrated in 3.2.11.

(2) -mala- *group*. Also described and illustrated in 3.2.11, this appears to express collectivity of intransitive subject, or inanimate transitive object: -mala-mu-pu- *to gather up things, belongings*, -mala-maŋi-či *to collect, gather together* (with potential form of -ma-, -maŋi-, and reflexive-reciprocal suffix -či-).

(3) -man- *a lot, a big group, all*. See the illustrations in 3.2.11.

(4) -gara- expresses collectivity or multiplicity *all*:

3-282 buru-gara-wakeniñ
3NSG-COLL-*return* PC
They all returned.

3-283 ŋubu-gara-yereŋ-gaŋiñ ŋu-gunʔbiri mirpara-gapul
1SG/3NSG-COLL-*grow*-CAUS PP M-*that* *child*-PL
I raised all those kids.

(5) -welen-: in most occurrences its meaning was explained as *together*, i.e. that those cross-referenced by a non-singular prefix performed the action jointly:

3-284 yiri-welen-ŋaboniñ
1EX NSG-*together-go* PC
We went together.

This was not found as verbal prefix with singular subject, making interpretation as 'together' plausible, but its semantics are not entirely clear. In particular, it is not certain whether, or how, it may be related to a suffix -welen meaning *boss of, in control of* the noun to which it is affixed (see 3.3.4.1.1). Cf. Jawoñ -welaŋ- *altogether, entirely* which functions as an expression of perfective aspect, and Rembarŋa walaŋ which may be prefix or free form, meaning usually *then, next*.

(6) -goreʔ- *alone, by (one)self*:

3-285 mači ŋiñ-goreʔ-ŋaŋaŋaŋan
indeed 2SG-*alone-sit* RED PRES
Really you're too much alone/by yourself.

This can also be used as free form in the same meaning:

3-286 aŋji bur-mu-ŋunuŋun goreʔ ŋugu-bigur
and 3NSG/MU-*eat* RED PRES *alone* M-*man*
And the men eat by themselves.

The second set includes three prefixes, two of which, (7) -bak- and (8) -baŋa-, were described in 3.2.8. There, they were labelled 'object promoting' because each may have the effect of either creating a derived transitive construction from transitive constructions, and -bak- also from intransitive ones. Though with transitives -bak- usually has a benefactive meaning, it was pointed out in 3.2.8 that its precise meaning in any particular clause is

largely conditioned by lexical meaning of the predicate, and that its semantics are not limited to benefactive meaning. No comments on *-bak-* need be added, but additional remarks on *-baṭa-* are required.

Although *-baṭa-* may create derived transitives of antibenefactive or adversative meaning (*-baṭa-ma-* to take from, *-baṭa-ge-pu-* to slip, get away from as in *ḡun-baṭa-ge-po* it slipped away from me, got out of my hands), and accompaniment, it can be used in the latter sense without resulting in derivation of a new transitive from an intransitive clause. In the following example, *jaṅjaṅ-ga-* is a transitively-used compound verb to carry; *-baṭa-* indicates that an NP which is recoverable from the discourse is being accompanied by the subject(s) of the verb; but the NP referred to by *-baṭa-* is not treated as transitive object:

- 3-287 bur-baṭa-jaṅjaṅ-ganiṅ ḡu-bolo
 3NSG/3SG-ACC-carry-AUX PC M-old person
They helped the boss carry it.

Here the accompanied NP is third person singular, and so would be cross-referenced by zero even if it were direct object. But that the accompanied NP is not treated as direct object can be shown by the fact that if non-singular, it is not cross-referenced in the verb, but can be expressed by absolutive NP (e.g. third person non-singular *burka?*), or a locative of accompaniment *burkaṅi?-ga?* (see 3.2.25), i.e. *they helped them carry it* or *they (all) carried it together*. Also intransitive verbs are prefixed with *-baṭa-* without being transitivised:

- 3-288 (a) buru-baṭa-wakeniṅ ḡugu-geywar
 3NSG-ACC-return PC M-young man
 (b) buru-baṭa-juruweniṅ ḡugu-geywar
 3NSG-ACC-run PC M-young man
They (a) returned/(b) ran away with the young men.

Thus, although *-baṭa-* can result in object promotion in transitive clauses, it need not do so in either transitive or intransitive clauses. In intransitive uses, it is glossed ACC = accompaniment.

The last prefix in this set (9) is *-re-* (cf. Ngandi *-ri-*, Rembarṅa *-re-*), here labelled TNSV = transitiviser. It derives transitives of accompaniment from intransitives. In the transitive derivatives, the accompanied NP is cross-referenced as direct object:

- ṅo? thematic intransitive to go away
-re-ṅo? thematic transitive to take away
 juruwe intransitive to rush, run
-re-ṅuruwe transitive to rush something/somebody away
 3-289 buruṅ-re-ṅuruweṅ ḡaykaṅi?-wala
 3SG/3NSG-TNSV-rush PP 1SG-ABL
He rushed them away from me.

See the examples in Text 2(11), (12).

The third subset consists of aspectual prefixes:

- (10) *-ja?-*, *-je?-*, *-ja-* now, expresses temporal immediacy with respect to the tense (i.e. narrative moment) of the verb:

- 3-290 yiri-ja-jaṅaniñ mu-jučuruweniñ goykun?
 LEX NSG-now-stand PC MU-rush RED *this way*
We were standing now, it (MU-class) was rushing this way (toward us).
- 3-291 yiriṅ-ja?-wo ɲugu-bolo-yi?
 3SG/LEX NSG-now-give PP M-boss-ERG
Now the boss gave it to us.
- 3-292 jeki gu-ϕ-je?-julu-wana alanga ju-gu-ɖuŋ?ṅa
first 3-3SG-now-sing-AUX FUT then 2SG/GU-turn FUT
First it will play now, then you'll turn it over (said of a tape).

Clear conditioning for the allomorphy could not be determined, except that the allomorphs with glottal appear to be disfavoured before stems containing a glottal; however, all allomorphs are found before stems without glottal.

(11) -waṅa- with a non-potential verb form means *continuously, for a long time* (cf. Rembarṅa -waṅa- of the same meaning, Jawoñ -waṅ- *still*):

- 3-293 yiri-waṅa-ṅaṅaniñ
 LEX NSG-CON-sit PC
We sat for a long time.
- 3-294 gamiñjiko ɲugu-wi|mur bur-waṅa-juy?-miñ geriñ-wala-gan
constantly M-wire 3NSG-CON-send-PP west-ABL-ADV
Constantly they kept on sending telegrams all the way from the west. (Text 2, 22).

An identical prefix, used with potential verb form, produces either obligative or desiderative meaning (see below).

- (12) -biḍič- *nearly*:
- 3-295 ɲu-biḍič-ñar?-miñ
 1SG-nearly-die-PP
I nearly died.
- 3-296 ɲun-biḍič-je
 3SG/1SG-nearly-chop PP
He nearly chopped me.

(13) -jubuk- *for a long time*, express continuous aspect of the verbal event, seems to have approximately the same meaning as -waṅa- above.

- 3-297 ɲu-jubuk-bak-wen?-miñ, ɲu-gajar?
 1SG/3SG-CON-OP-look-PP 1SG-tired
I waited for him a long time, I'm tired.

The fourth subset contains prefixes which in conjunction with particular tense-aspect suffixal forms of the verb express modal categories:

(14) -mele-, -mele?- evitative *lest, for fear (that)*, also premonitory *might* when a generally undesirable outcome is predicted (cf. Ngandi -mili?-, Rembarṅa -mə?- and other allomorphs). Used with evitative stem (generally identical to the present), examples are:

- 3-298 alki? bi|arak gu-ϕ-ja?-ruṅa ϕ-mele-gu?-men
yet long time 3-3SG-now-cook FUT 3SG-EVIT-raw-AUX PRES
It will/should still cook a long time yet, lest it be raw.

3-299 *guṃmaṇʔ bigur-yiʔ ɣuruṃbu-mele-ṇan*
may be man-ERG 3NSG/LIN PL-EVIT-see PRES
The men might see us.

3-300 *wañba rere-ṇini-kaʔ ø-ṛabon-jiʔ ɣu-meleʔ-bun*
NEG OBL camp-mine-ALL 3SG-come PRES-FUT NEG 1SG/3SG-EVIT-hit PRES
He'd better not come to my camp (or/lest) I strike him.

An implication of some uses of this prefix is that action should be taken to avoid the undesirable consequence; but this need not be expressed in order for the evitative to be used.

(15) *-wañʔ-* *ought not, should not* (= negative obligative, NEG OBL):

3-301 *ɣubu-wañʔ-wun*
1SG/3NSG-NEG OBL-give PRES
I shouldn't give it to them.

As verbal prefix, *-wañʔ-* is used with evitative verb form; but see the example above, and 3.3.3.8, for alternative expression of this meaning with free particle *wañba* and future negative.

(16) *-waṇa-* *wanted to, should have* with potential verb form, optionally also with free particle *wayaṇ*:

3-302 *ṇaykaʔ wayaṇ ɣunbu-wuni*
1SG-ABS OBL 3NSG/1SG-give POT
They should have given it to me.

See 3.3.3.7 for further discussion of this modal meaning and positing of a semantic link with the homophonous, continuous prefix *-waṇa-* ((11) above).

The final two prefixes (17), (18), are also modal in nature in that they express an attitude of the speaker towards what he is saying. The 'compassion' prefixes *-!i-~wi!i-* were illustrated in 3.2.21. The other, *-ṇamulu-* *really, thoroughly* was mentioned in 3.2.20 as a free form expressing intensity, but also occurs as verb prefix with the same meaning:

3-303 *ɣuru-mele-ṇamulu-yoṇon*
LIN PL-EVIT-really-sleep PRES
... lest we sleep (too) soundly.

Attested combinations are: *-mele-gara-*, *-mele-bak-*, *-mele-ṇamulu-*, *-mele-jubuk-*, *-wač-wi!i-*, *-wač-waṇa-*, *-welen-wi!i-*, *-bak-biḍič-*, *-bak-(g)ara-*, *-gara-baṭa-*, *-jubuk-bak-*, *-bak-ṛe-*. On the basis of these, and assuming transitivity of ordering (i.e. if *-mele-* precedes *-bak-* and *-bak-* precedes *-biḍič-*, then even if there are no attestations we may assume *-mele-* before *-biḍič-*), the following (incomplete) order classes seem minimally to be required:

<i>-mele-</i>	<i>-jubuk-</i> <i>-wač-</i> <i>-welen-</i>	<i>-bak-</i> <i>-wi!i-~!i-</i> <i>-waṇa-</i>	<i>-gara-</i> <i>-biḍič-</i> <i>-ṇamulu-</i>	<i>-ṛe-</i>	ROOT
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The transitiviser *-ṛe-* must immediately precede the root.

3.3.3. Tense/aspect/mood categories of the verb

The simplest way of presenting the tense/mood/aspect categories of the verb is by listing the maximal set of categories for which each verb can inflect, illustrating the functional range of each inflectional category by itself and in combination with other preverbal prefixes and/or suffixes, and thus arriving at a listing in 3.3.3.14 of the total number of meaningfully distinct tense/aspect/mood categories, greater than the number of inflectional categories. The inflectional categories are:

<i>positive</i>	<i>negative</i>
past punctual	} past negative
past continuous	
imperative	
evitative	
present	present
future	future
potential	

Not all verbs have distinct inflectional forms for all of these. The only roots for which present positive is distinct from evitative and imperative are bu-, wu-, ma-, ŋe-, and ye-, in which the present positive is obligatorily reduplicated, while evitative/imperative is not. This results in differences such as: -bunubun present positive, versus -bun evitative/imperative of bu-; -ma[?]ma present positive, versus -ma evitative/imperative of ma-, and so on. Other verbs have facultatively reduplicated present forms but the regular, unreduplicated present is identical to evitative/imperative (e.g. facultatively reduplicated present positive -ṛunuṛun of ṛu- *to cry*, but usually -ṛun present/evitative/imperative).

The imperative is thus usually equivalent to the present and/or evitative; but the future positive category can also serve as positive imperative.

The 'future' is not a purely temporal category; it expresses volition, intention and also expected or customary action.

Expression of negation by verbal suffixes is obligatory; optional particles (usually preverbal) also occur in certain forms. There are three negative suffixes, past, present and 'future'. The distinction between past punctual and past continuous is neutralised in the past negative. For most predicates, the distribution of negative suffixes over tense/aspect categories is as shown below, the suffixes added to the stems as follows:

potential+ [?] molk	past negative
potential+koro	present negative
evitative (usually, =PRES)+- [?] çi [?] ~ [?] ji [?]	future negative

Thematic verbs follow a different pattern: all negative suffixes are added directly to the root form, thus:

ṅal [?] -koro	<i>does not climb</i> , present negative
ṅal [?] -([?])molk	<i>did not climb</i> , past negative
ṅal [?] -ji [?]	<i>cannot, will not climb</i> , future negative

Predicate nominals have the following distribution of negative suffixes over tense/aspect categories:

zero copula+?molk potential -meni+koro	present or past negative, <i>is/was not</i> negative of present or future copula or inchoative <i>is not (becoming), will</i> <i>not be(come)</i>
past punctual -meñ-ji?	negative of past inchoative <i>did not</i> <i>become</i>
past continuous -meniñ+ji?	past negative <i>was not</i> , alternative to zero copula+?molk as expression of this meaning

The following subsections illustrate the uses of the inflectional categories.

3.3.3.1 Present positive

Present positive can be used in a wide range of functions, as can comparable tense forms in many languages. One of its main functions is to represent the verbal meaning as imperfect or in progress at the time of speaking:

- 3-304 ɲiñ-marawul-men ɲara
2SG-hungry-AUX PRES *maybe*
Are you hungry, maybe?
- 3-305 ɲu-ganam-gor
1SG-ear-ache
My ear aches.
- 3-306 guñmañ? ɲunbu-bak-yon
maybe 3NSG/1SG-OP-gossip
Maybe they're gossiping about me.
- 3-307 boñi gu-janda? gu-ø-japjapja
now GU-stick 3-3SG-stand up PRES
Now she is standing the stick up.

These are used as if they refer to specific events in time and space. Present is also used to talk about events which are time-free, i.e. without specific spatial or temporal event-referents. Thus present is used to describe customary activities and characteristics, and to give explanations of processes:

- 3-308 gu-mu-gol-yen wařačara-ga? alaŋga
3-3SG-MU-put in water AUX PRES *running-water-LOC then*
gu-janda? gu-japjap-ja alaŋga gu-ɲočo? burgu-ye
GU-stick 3-3SG/3SG-stand up AUX then GU-grass 3NSG/GU-put
gu-biŋ wałuk, burgu-ye ye?yere we?-ga?
GU-stone around 3NSG/GU-put down water-LOC
She puts it (MU-class) in running water, then she stands the
stick up, then they put grass and stones all around, they put
it down under water.
- 3-309 gayakjiñiweñ ju-go?je jugu-mariñ gu-ø-jučuruwen
cranky/insane/mad F-that F-girl 3-3SG-run RED PRES
gojegun? wałaman?-ga?
that way many-ALL
She's mad, that girl, she runs around all the time with everybody
(i.e. with any man).

3.3.3.2 Present negative

The present negative expresses the simple negation of a present positive:

3-310 yaŋ-bore ŋu-banar-koro, ŋayu Jawoň ŋu-banar
language-theirs 1SG/3SG-hear-PRNEG only (language) 1SG/3SG-hear
I don't understand their language, I only understand Jawoň.

3-311 ŋu-mu-ñiŋaya-payani-koro
 1SG-MU-like POT-PRNEG
I don't like it (MU-class).

3.3.3.3 Future positive

The future positive is not a strictly temporal category. Besides futurity, it also may express the desire or intention of the agent of the verb (who may be the speaker, or another) to carry out whatever is expressed by it, or frequently a customary nuance or nuance of permission/possibility 'will do X, customarily will X, may do X'.

3-312 ŋu-mu-gol-yeŋa we?-ga?
 1SG-MU-put in water FUT water-LOC
I'll put it in water.

3-313 burgu-maňiň?-ña wałaman?-yi? ɾere-bore golkol, mači buru-yar?
 3NSG/GU-make-FUT many-ERG camp-theirs new indeed 3NSG-many
Many want to build a new camp, because they're (too) many.

3-314 aňji buru-ɾabona-gan gu-ø-mu-ɖot-gana jamolk
 and 3NSG-go FUT-DI 3-3SG-MU-break-CAUS-FUT nothing
 gu-ø-ɾaborabona maɾamaɾa?
 3-3SG-go RED FUT bare
And when they want to go (away from a widow's camp), he (person singing funerary songs) will simply break it (mu-maňaňiňi, necklace worn by widow), and she will go around bare (-necked).

For further examples see Text 5(27, 28, 30, 31). See also discussion of the modal suffix -gan often used with future tense, 3.3.3.11.

3.3.3.4 Future negative

Future negative expresses present and future inability due to physical or any other incapacity, including social constraint ('cannot, will not be able to'), and also negation of the desiderative or intentional meaning that can be expressed by the future positive. Thus ŋu-ɾabon-ji? can mean *I cannot/do not want to/will not be able to go*. The sense of (socially imposed) constraint is illustrated by:

3-315 ŋubu-gogon-bun-ji? ju-balakbalak-boŋ?-ŋini
 1SG/3NSG-look at-AUX-FUT NEG F-MoMoBrDa/MoMoBrSoSoDa-AV-mine
I can't look at my avoidance category relatives.

The sense of future or unbounded impossibility, inability or incapacity is illustrated by:

3-316 boŋoyi? gu- ϕ -ñiŋaya-payan guŋmaŋ? ϕ -ñiŋaya-payan-ji?
another 3-3SG/3SG-like-AUX PRES maybe 3SG/3SG-like-AUX-FUT NEG

ŋu-go?je ŋugu-gopo-ŋoji
M-that M-husband-hers
She likes another, maybe she won't (be able to) like her husband.

3-317 ŋu-ŋan-ji? ŋu-ŋaŋju!a-buy
1SG-see-FUT NEG 1SG-eye-blurry
I can't see, I have blurry vision.

As can be seen, the future negative is most fundamentally a modal category, expressing the speaker's conventionalised attitude that the event cannot occur (is not possible), hence that it will not happen. Expression by a single category of speaker imputation of impossibility, and therefore a deducible inference of the impossibility of the event itself – in other words, the collapsing into a single category of speaker-attitude of impossibility ('can't') with event-oriented or phenomenal 'won't' – seems to be found in other languages in this area, and carries over into Pidgin English usage of 'can't' in both senses ('him can't rain' = (1) it's not possible that it rain; (2) it won't rain).

In Ngalakan, if one wishes to express a certainty that someone will not do something in the immediate future, or something will not happen, without the modal over tone of impossibility one uses the present negative:

3-318 gu- ϕ -wakeni-koro
3-3SG-return-PRNEG
He's not coming back/he isn't going to return.

3.3.3.5 Imperative, hortative

As mentioned in 3.3.3., there is no distinct imperative inflectional category. Positive imperative meaning is expressed by either the present or future positive:

3-319 ŋiñ-waken ʔere-ka?
2SG-return PRES camp-ALL
Go home!

3-320 ju-wulup-ga-na
2SG/3SG-bathe-CAUS-FUT
Bathe him! or Make him bathe!

3-321 ju-jaŋani-wu-na
2SG/3SG-stand-AUX-FUT
Make it stand up! (-jaŋani Potential of ja- intransitive to stand).

Negative imperative is usually expressed by the future negative, sometimes also by the evitative:

3-322 ŋiñ-gewen-men-ji?
2SG-be frightened-AUX-FUT NEG
Don't be frightened!

3-323 ŋiñ-juruwen may-?wala, ju-mele-ma
2SG-run PRES food-ABL 2SG/3SG-EVIT-pick up
Get away from the food, don't take it!

Hortative ('let's') is expressed by the present positive:

- 3-324 yi-waken ɾere-ka?
 1IN DU-return PRES camp-ALL
Let's go home!

3.3.3.6 Evitative

Evitative positive is expressed by a combination of the evitative prefix -mele-~mele?- and the evitative stem form, identical to the present except, as has been noted, for five CV- roots with reduplicative present. For these, the evitative/imperative is simply CV-n, or CV-∅ as per the corresponding present form.

Evitative is used in clauses expressing a potentially undesirable consequence which may result from some action or event, and therefore is usually preceded by a clause expressing what ought to be done to avoid those results: 'do X, lest Y (evitative)'. But the evitative is also used more broadly, that is, not preceded by a clause saying what ought to be done; so that, by itself, the evitative simply expresses some possible event which is deemed undesirable.

- 3-325 ju-ñal-bun gungu-yele mirpara-yi?
 2SG/3SG-shut-AUX PRES GU-hole (door) child -ERG
 yin-mele-monič-ñan
 1IN DU-EVIT-secretly-see PRES
Close the door lest the child secretly observe us.
- 3-326 garku buru-ye ∅-mele-ñun waŋŋ?waŋŋ?-yi?
 high 3NSG-put 3SG/3SG-EVIT-eat PRES crow-ERG
They put it high up lest the crows eat it.

(Note the treatment of 'crows' here as singular).

- 3-327 gu-wol-ñowi ∅-mele-bolk
 GU-smoke-its 3SG-EVIT-get out
The smoke might come out.

Evitative negative is expressed by future negative with the particle wañba:

- 3-328 yukaji? ju-ñawk-(k)a wañba yinbi-banar-či?
 forcefully 2SG/3SG-talk-FUT NEG POT 3NSG/1IN DU-hear-FUT NEG
Talk loud to him lest they not hear you and me!
- 3-329 molon? ju-bak-gaw? wañba ɲuruñ-ñan-ji?
 try 2SG/3SG-OP-shout NEG POT 3SG/1IN PL-see-FUT NEG
Try to shout to him lest he not see us.

3.3.3.7 Potential

Potential expresses the notions 'should, should have, want, wanted to, may, might'. It is a modal category, indifferent to the tense distinction between past and non-past as such (see below).

- 3-330 alanga ŋugu-jaŋdiya? ø-yeni mungu-ɾelk-(?)gen
 then M-pandanus mat 3SG/3SG-put POT MU-sliced vegetable food-DAT
 Then she should put down a pandanus mat for the sliced vegetable
 food.

See also Text 3(8).

The preverbal prefix -waŋa- (see 3.3.2, no.11) is used with potential verb form to mean *should, should have, wanted to*:

- 3-331 ŋu-waŋa-maŋi
 1SG/3SG-PFX-get POT
 I wanted to get it, should have gotten it.
- 3-332 ŋu-waŋa-ɾaboni ŋiŋjaŋi?-ga?, yiri-wač-ɾaboni ŋu-jamiñ-ga?
 1SG-PFX-go POT 3SG M-LOC LEX-each-go POT M-spouse-LOC
 I wanted to go with him, we should have both gone with my husband.

In 3.3.2 it was mentioned that prefix -waŋa- with non-potential verb form means *continuously, for a long time*, but an identical prefix with the potential is used (facultatively) to express obligative and desiderative notions. Continuous -waŋa- expresses a meaning relating to the narrated event itself (extent in time); while in the potential, -waŋa- can only apply to the obligative or desiderative modal features of the predicate's meaning, since no actual 'event' is portrayed as occurring. We may compare the future negative and potential in terms of certain features of meaning. Future negative expresses that something cannot, therefore also will not occur; potential, that something has not occurred but ought to, or is desired to occur, but remains uncommitted about whether it might or might have. In this way future negative and potential are comparable categories, distinguished from each other along an axis of possibility (future negative is impossible, potential is possible or unmarked for possibility), and along an axis of relative boundedness with respect to the time interval within which the speech event occurs: future negative is unbounded with respect to any distinction between present and future, potential is unbounded with respect to any distinction between past and present.

It may therefore be plausible to suggest that potential as an unbounded category illustrates a specialised use of otherwise event-continuous -waŋa-; and that the continuous and potential uses of -waŋa- may be regarded as different uses of the same morpheme.

In addition to just the potential, and -waŋa- plus potential, a construction of potential with free particle wayaŋ is used in an obligative sense *should, should have*:

- 3-333 wayaŋ ø-mu-ŋuni mungu-may
 OBL 3SG-MU-eat POT MU-food
 He should eat the food.
- 3-334 ŋayka? wayaŋ ŋunbu-beyem?-me ŋun-bu-wuni
 1SG ABS OBL 3NSG/1SG-pay(English)-POT 3NSG/1SG-give POT
 They should've paid me, they should've given to me (money).

Obligative and desiderative meanings are expressed by morphologically related forms in a number of languages in the area (e.g. in Maŋarayi, 'should, should have' is expressed by the past negative, and 'wanted to' is built on the past negative stem). The categories 'should, should have' and 'want, wanted to' share a feature of potentiality (perhaps better, are unmarked for

possibility of realisation), which contrasts with another major category in the mood system, the negative potential, or unrealisability, of the future negative category.

3.3.3.8 Negative obligative

Negative obligative meaning *should not* is expressed either by future negative with free particle *wañba*, or by evitative positive with preverbal prefix *-wañʔ-*:

3-335 *wañba* *ɲiñ-ɾabon-jiʔ*
 NEG POT 2SG-go-FUT NEG
You shouldn't go.

3-336 *ɲiñ-wañʔ-ɾabon*
 2SG-NEG POT-go PRES
You shouldn't go.

The first type of construction is also used to express evitative negative meaning 'lest you not go' (see 3.3.3.6). More rarely, the construction with *wañba* and future negative has been found in the meaning of impossibility simply:

3-337 *ɲur-ɲan-jiʔ* *wañba*
 1IN PL-see-FUT NEG NEG POT
We can't see it.

See also Text 3(31).

3.3.3.9 Past positive categories: punctual and continuous

The two past positive categories are best described together, since it is in terms of the contrast between them that their values can be defined. Both refer to past perfected events. The labels suggest a difference in meaning which is not rigorously exemplified in every usage, but appears to capture the contrast between them when the two are directly opposed. In narrative, the past continuous is used to represent the framework of events within which other events (continuous or punctual) occur. The following excerpt will serve to illustrate the difference (brief segments which contain no verb form are omitted):

3-338 *gunʔbiri jugu-bolo* *garku boñi* *ø-baɾaɲaniñ* *daɾʔ-gaʔ* *juɭuʔ-gaʔ*
there F-old person up top now 3SG-hang PC tree-LOC lancewood-LOC
burgu-ɖulʔ-ganiñ *mungu-juɭuʔ...* *jugu-Maygidi-yiʔ...*
 3NSG/GU-burn-AUX PC MU- lancewood F-(name)-ERG
ø-gaʔwar-miñ, *ø-juruweñ* *yukajiʔ* *ɲu-goʔje* *ɲugu-waɕuɲɖu.*
 3SG/3SG-chase-PP 3SG-run PP hard M-that M-goanna
ø-juruweñ *añji* *gu-ø-janaŋ* *yerke* *gu-jandaʔ* *ø-maɲiñʔ-mi-çiñ.*
 3SG-run PP and 3-3SG-stand PRES inside GU-stick 3SG-make-AUX-RR-PP

"Ngiñ-gar-buna mungu-balku-yi?". Ngalpor-ʔgon ø-runiñ;
 1SG/2SG-pull-AUX FUT MU-rope-INST Egg-DAT 3SG-cry PC
 ju-goʔje jugu-bolo ø-ŋalʔ-miyiñ juʔuʔ-gaʔ, boñi ju-goʔje
 F-that F-old person 3SG-climb-PC lancewood-LOC now F-that
 jugu-bolo ø-ŋalʔ-miyiñ, ŋu-goʔje ŋugu-mirpara ø-runiñ ...
 F-old person 3SG-climb-PC M-that M-boy 3SG-cry PC
 ø-yiniʔ-ganiñ ju-goʔje jugu-bolo-yiʔ ... ŋu-goʔje mirpara
 3SG/3SG-say-AUX PC F-that F-old person ERG M-that child
 ø-ŋalʔ-miñ balku ø-bak-warʔ-miñ
 3SG-climb-PP rope 3SG/3SG-OP-throw-PP

There the old woman was hanging (PC) in the lancewood tree; they burned (PC) it, that lancewood ... Maygidi (a dog) chased (PP) it, the goanna ran (PP) hard. He ran (PP) and is standing (PRES) inside (i.e. in the water), he made (PP) himself into a stick (i.e. which may still be seen). "I'll pull you (FUT) with a rope". He was crying (PC) for an egg; the old woman had climbed (PC) into the lancewood, now the old woman had climbed (PC) up, the little boy was crying (PC). She told (PC) him like that, the old lady ... the child climbed up (PP), she threw (PP) him a rope.

Here, the verbs forms which describe the background or the framework of events are largely past continuous: the old lady had *climbed* into a tree, and was *hanging* there, the little boy was *crying*, she told him (in fact, kept telling him) to try to climb up after her. Also past continuous is the verb form *burgu-ɖulʔ-ganiñ* *they burned it*, referring to the fact that the lancewood tree of the myth had existed up until the time that living people had burned it. Presumably this form is past continuous because it designates a past action of continuing relevance, and not one that is punctual within the framework of the narrative. Verbs referring to the chase of the goanna by the dog, the running of the goanna, and the eventual climbing of the tree by the little boy, are past punctual. (Another version of this story is given as Text IV).

Where the two past forms are not directly opposed in a narrative or other context, the past continuous appears to be the more frequent category for all except thematic verbs. Interestingly, for thematic verbs the past punctual is clearly the more frequently-occurring category. It is not clear what significance can be attributed to this fact.

3.3.3.10 Past negative

In the past negative, the distinction between punctual and continuous is neutralised. Past negative expresses simple negation of a past positive:

3-339 ŋu-mu-ŋani-ʔmolk mungu-ɖaɖa beñen
 1SG-MU-see-PNEG MU-sugarbag no matter
I didn't see (any) wild honey, no matter.

3.3.3.11 Desiderative-intentional with -gan

A suffix -gan is added to the future tense and contributes to meaning an added emphasis on intention or volition:

- 3-340 ɲu-mu-ɲuna-gan
1SG-MU-*eat* FUT-DI
I want to eat it.
- 3-341 boñi buru-ɭuk-(k)a-gan
now 3NSG-*dance*-FUT-DI
Now they want to dance.

This suffix is interesting because of its possible relation to the general subordinating suffix -gVn. The subordinating suffix may be added to verbs of any tense/aspect form, and its vowel assimilates to the final stem-vowel (see 4.6). The desiderative-intentional suffix always follows the future form of the verb, and therefore invariably has the form -gan.

Another suffix which -gan resembles in genitive-dative -ʔgVn, but formal identity of the two is made unlikely by the absence of glottal from the former.

There thus appears to be a link between the subordinate marker, and a form which expresses desiderative-intentional meaning explicitly. The subordinate marker – as is typical in some languages of this area which have a single generalised subordinate clause morpheme – signals that the clause in which it occurs is not to be interpreted in its own right, but with reference to some other constituent or larger unit. (It does not explicitly signal the nature of that in terms of which it is to be interpreted). The characteristic of being dependent for interpretation upon something else – more broadly stated, being 'non-asserted' – appears to be the common semantic feature upon which formal identity of the mark of subordination, and that of at least some of the non-indicative categories depends in e.g. Maṅarayi, and in the Ngalakan construction with -gan. The same suffix also frequently has a function in focussing constituents (4.6); sometimes the modal nuance is not easily distinguished from this, as in Text 5(11).

3.3.3.12 Alternative expression of obligative meaning with purposive

An alternative and rather infrequent means of expressing the obligative meanings *should*, *should have* is with verb forms suffixed with purposive -wi~ʔwi. Combined with the evitative, the purposive produces the meaning *should*:

- 3-342 ɲiñ-ɲaŋan-wi
2SG-*sit*-PURP
You should sit down.

Combined with the potential, purposive produces the meaning *should have*:

- 3-343 ɲin-ɲaŋani-ʔwi
2SG-*sit* POT-PURP
You should have sat down.

(No clear conditioning for the suffix allomorphy can be stated). This may be compared with use of the potential, which may as noted at 3.3.3.7, also express present and past desiderative meanings. The potential is more frequently used.

3.3.3.13 Particle *molon?*, *molo?*, *molon*

A particle meaning *attempt*, *try to* was found to occur in slightly varying shapes *molon?*, *molo?*, *molon*. It seems to express encouragement on the part of the speaker to himself when the verb is future or to addressee-agent of an imperative verb, to undertake something. The particle was found only with present used as imperative, and future verb forms, so as far as is known it should be considered a kind of hortative modal particle, not a lexical verb equivalent to our 'try to' which make take a complement of any tense/aspect. Examples are:

- 3-344 *molo?* *niñ-gober?* *yi-wači*, *wači-wala* *gunman?* *buru-ṛabon*
try 2SG-look back ALL-behind behind-ABL maybe 3NSG-go PRES
Try looking back, maybe they're coming from behind.
- 3-345 *yi-ṅal?* *molon?* *ḍar?-ga?*
 LINDU-climb try tree-LOC
Let's try to climb the tree.
- 3-346 *ṅu-bak-gaw?-a* *molon*
 1SG-OP-shout-FUT try
I'll try to shout to him.
- 3-347 *molon?* *ju-ja?-bayan*
try 2SG/3SG-now-see PRES
Try to see him now.

3.3.3.14 Summary of verb forms and functions

A summary of the inflectional, combinatory possibilities of the inflectional categories, and the functions of the forms produced, is as shown in Table 3-6.

A summary of the use of free particles is as follows: particle *wañba* (labelled 'negative potential'), with the future negative expresses evitative negative *lest* *not*. Particle *wayan* with the potential expresses *should* or *should have*. Particle *molon* etc. expresses that the outcome of action to be attempted is uncertain.

The inflectional forms given above are as for non-thematic, non-nominal predicates. See 3.3.3 for a summary of differences in thematic and nominal predicates.

3.3.3.15 First-position *gu-*

The first-position prefix *gu-* must be distinguished from noun-class prefix *gu-* and from the cross-referencing *-gu-* class pronominal. Both first-position *gu-* and the cross-referencing pronominal *-gu-* may occur in the same verb form:

- 3-348 *jiñjani?-yi?* *gu-ø-gu-maṅa*
 3SG F-ERG 3-3SG-GU-get FUT
She'll get it (GU-class) herself.

Restrictions on the occurrence of *gu-* must be stated in terms of person features of the intransitive and transitive subject, and in terms of tense/aspect forms of the predicate.

Table 3-6
Summary of inflectional categories and their functions

Inflectional category	Description of stem	Function
present	present	expresses that verbal event is imperfect or in progress at time of speaking
present negative	potential+koro	simple negation of present
evitative	prefix -mele-~mele?- plus evitative	(a) expresses undesirable consequence, usually following clause expressing action to be taken
	prefix -mele-~mele?- plus evitative	(b) negative imperative
	prefix -wañ?- plus evitative	(c) should not
	evitative stem	(d) positive imperative
	evitative stem plus purposive	(e) should
future	future	(a) desire, volition, customary or expected action
	future	(b) positive imperative
	future+gan	(c) desire, intention
future negative	evitative+-čiči?~ji?	(a) impossibility/unrealisability of narrated event in time interval which includes moment of speaking and extends into unbounded future
	evitative+-čiči?~ji?	(b) negative imperative
	wañba plus future negative	(c) <i>lest ... not</i> , evitative negative
potential	potential	(a) should, should have, want, wanted to, i.e. potentiality of narrated event in time interval preceding and including speech event
	prefix -waṅa- plus potential	(b) should, should have, wanted to
	wayaṅ plus potential	(c) should, should have
	potential plus purposive	(d) should have
past punctual	past punctual	(a) past perfected, non-continuous event
past continuous	past continuous	past perfected, continuous event
past negative	potential+--?molk	simple negation of past positive

First-position *gu-* may only occur in intransitive clauses with third person singular subject, and transitive forms with third person singular subject and object of any class. Occurrence by tense/aspect varies depending on the type of predicate. With thematic and non-nominal predicates, *gu-* occurs in present and future positive, and present negative; all other categories have zero in first position. Examples of its only possibilities of occurrence in a thematic verb are:

- 3-349 *gu-φ-ηal?* *he is climbing* (PRES POS)
 gu-φ-ηal?-la *he will climb* (FUT POS)
 gu-φ-ηal?-koro *he is not climbing, does not climb* (PRES NEG)

With predicate nominals, *gu-* does not occur in present positive (both static 'is X' and dynamic 'is becoming X', see 3.2.15), or in present/past negative with *-?molk*; but *gu-* does occur in the future positive. Thus:

- 3-350 *φ-ηηη?ηηη?* *it is small*
 φ-ηηη?ηηη?-men *it's becoming small*
 gu-φ-ηηη?ηηη?-mena *it will become small, it will be small*

It seemed somewhat odd that the present inchoative with *-men* should not occur with first-position *gu-* while future *will be, become X* has *gu-*. Nevertheless *gu-* was found to be absent from present inchoative not only in elicitation forms, but also from predicate nominals spontaneously produced in narrative and conversation.

However, there is a certain variability in the occurrence of *gu-* in present forms which must be mentioned. Occasionally, a present form of a seeming predicate nominal like *gajar?* *to be tired* was found with first-position *gu-*, as in *gu-φ-gajar?* *he/she is tired*. This led to an attempt to determine when *gu-* could occur in the present, and it was found that the prefix *gu-* was always rejected in such clearly predicate nominal constructions as **gu-φ-goyi he knows*, **gu-φ-bak-goyi he knows him/her*, **gu-mu-ηolko, it (MU-class) is big* and the like. But in time it was found that just those predicates which occurred with *gu-* in the present were capable of varying inflectional treatment as thematic verbs or predicate nominals, e.g.: *φ-gajar?-miñ he got tired*, also *he is tired* (with thematic past punctual suffix *-miñ*), or *φ-gajar?-meñ he became tired* (with past punctual of copula *me-*). Thus, it seems that there is some live variability in the treatment of descriptive predicates as predicate nominals or thematic verbs in the present and past, and that the ability to take first position *gu-* in the present is evidence of treatment as a regular thematic verb, while absence of *gu-* is characteristic of predicate nominals. Support for this is provided by the fact that there are some related forms known to function as predicate nominals and thematic verbs, respectively, which show the same absence versus presence of *gu-*, e.g.: *φ-jiri he/she is cheeky* versus *gu-φ-jiri? he/she is cheeky* (thematic).

Finally, in 3.2.17 it was mentioned that present predications of existence/location in a place take first-position *gu-*.

The first-position morpheme *gu-* is similar distributionally to first-position morphemes of similar shapes in other languages (e.g. Jawoñ *ga-*): it occurs only in some non-past tense/aspect forms, and is limited to intransitive forms with third person subjects, and to transitive forms with third person subjects and objects. There are some distributional differences in various languages, however; e.g. in Jawoñ, *ga-* also occurs with third person non-singular intransitive subjects, and third non-singular transitive subjects where the object is a third person category.

is incorporated in that meaning. Examples are *jele-bu to urinate* (gu-jele *urine*), *ney-bu- to name, call a name* (gu-ney *name*). There is some further indeterminacy between this type, and another which may be said to involve frequent but not invariable incorporation in certain initial-auxiliary pairings. For example, the meaning *to sleep in a line* may be expressed by *jebaŋ-yo-* (gu-jebaŋ *line*), but it is also possible to treat *jebaŋ* as an element external to the verb. All such verbs will be referred to as 'compounds', but it is recognised that the linkage between initial element and auxiliary is not the same in all cases.

The roots which serve as auxiliaries in the formation of compounds vary in the degree of determinable semantic contribution each makes to the compound. Some (such as *baya-*) have determinable meanings as auxiliaries which are comparable to their meanings as main verbs; others are much diluted semantically or simply not comparable to the meanings of the corresponding roots in simple verb complexes. The classes of compounds, distinguished by auxiliary, are the following (with examples of each):

1. *ma-* verbs: *bol-ma-* to rub, clean; *gali-ma-* to pick up; *giŋ[?]-ma-* to hook; *jopjop-ma-* to gather, collect; *mem[?]mem[?]-ma-* to burn well; *woč-ma-* to steal; *guļerŋ-ma-* to gather firewood. The last could be regarded as a productive incorporation (gu-guļerŋ *firewood*).
2. *baya-* verbs: *gewen-baya-* to frighten someone; *jira-paya-* to sneak up on someone; *men-jolk-baya-* to accuse someone (may have stem formant -men-); *ñiŋaya-paya-* to like; *ŋurŋgi-baya-* to be jealous of; *wet-baya-* to sneak up on; *gaw[?]-baya-* to sing out to, attract someone's attention by calling to. The last is a productive compounding of intransitive thematic *gaw[?]* to call out with *baya-*. Note this auxiliary retains much of its meaning to visit, go/come to see.
3. *ŋa-* verbs: *bur[?]-ŋa-* to know, *go[?]-ŋa-* to have, *wi-ŋa-* to lose, forget; *dič-ŋa-* to look hard at, *bop-ŋa-* to smell (something). This retains some of its semantic content; as main verb it means to see.
4. *ja-* verbs (generally intransitive class formed with *ja-* to stand, be standing, distinct from *ja-* to make stand, to erect of class five): *ber[?]-ja-* to be new moon, month; *buriñ[?]-ja-* to be buried (best regarded as productive compound with thematic *buriñ[?]* to bury, heap on); *deļe-ja-* to lean against (plus locative); *jumbu-ča-* to bend over; *-wuñji-ja-* to be hidden; *goŋ-ča-* to sit inside (hole, lair). Note this auxiliary retains much of the semantics of the auxiliary to stand.
5. *ja-* verbs (auxiliary to make stand, erect): *jap-ja-* to make stand, erect; *ḍuk-ja-* to tie up; *gum-ja-* to cover up; *buriñ[?]-ja-* to bury (see intransitive counterpart above); *wuñ-ja-* to hide. This is not found without initial compounding element.
6. *yo-* verbs (as simple verb means to sleep, lie): *boyoboyo-* to sit in line; *gol-yo-* to sleep soundly; *jebaŋ-yo-* to lie in line; *melegen-yo-* to sleep on one's side.
7. *ye-* verbs (as main verb, to put, place): *gol-ye-* to put in water, soak; *jiri-ye-* to give cheek, harass (cf. *jiri* cheeky); *ŋere-ye-* to lay someone to sleep (cf. *mu-ŋere* sleep); *ḍar[?]-ye-* to put to dry, productive compound with thematic *ḍar[?]* to dry out.
8. *wa-* verbs (to follow) *beļe-wa-* to track; *julu-wa-* to sing; *baṭa-wa-* to help (note initial -baṭa-); *mungu-wa-* to follow; *bo-wa-* to follow river (cf. *gu-bo* river).

9. war[?]- verbs (as simple thematic root means *to throw*): ɾark-war[?]- *to paint, write*; ɲa|war[?]-mi-çi- *to spit* (with reflexive-reciprocal complex -mi-çi-, cf. gu-ɲa| *saliva*); juŋgu-war[?]-mi-çi- *to throw one's shoulders back* (cf. gu-juŋgu *back*).
10. ɲu- verbs (*to eat, consume*): we[?]-ɲu- *to drink* (gu-we[?] *water*); wol-ɲu- *to have a feed, a meal*; mañ-ɲu- *to taste* (-mañ- widespread in Ngalakan and related languages as a stem-formant relating to tasting and trying).
11. ɲe- (*to burn, transitive*): one example, buypuy-ɲe- *to singe hair*.
12. be- (*to bite*): wol-be- *to smoke*.
13. bu- (*to strike, hit*): gar-bu- *to pull*, juŋuɾ[?]-bu- *to cough*; juŋ-bu- *to make a bough-shade* (cf. gu-juŋ *shade*); majirijiri-pu- *to quarrel with* (cf. jiri *bellicose*); mamiñ-bu- *to roll, wrap up*; bim-bu- *to paint, write* (cf. mu-bim *white ochre*); wa|at-bu- *to bank up ashes, shore up*; waɾ-bu- *to sing, practice sorcery against*; welɲ-bu- *to make a mistake, and others*.

Also included among the auxiliaries are me-, primarily copula *to be, become*, wu- which is primarily a factitive-forming auxiliary; and ga- the primary causativising auxiliary. The auxiliary me- is found in all tense-aspect forms of a few compound pairings, e.g. marawul-me- *to be hungry*, gewen-me- *to be frightened*. Thus, third person singular present gu- \emptyset -marawul-men *he is hungry* (as opposed to the usual predicate nominal construction with zero copula in the present and lacking first-position gu-). The element marawul can, however, function as an independent particle: marawul \emptyset -wakeñ *he returned* (PP) *hungry*. Though wu- generally occurs in analysable factitive verbs (such as boɟewk-wu- *to ruin* with adjective boɟewk *bad*, or joŋgolo[?]-wu- *to make straight* with joŋgolo[?] *straight*), it also occurs in a few other non-factitives, e.g. gaŋa[?]-wu- *to ask* (unanalysable initial), gewen-jaɾp-wu- *to chase away* (-gewen-stem-formant of fear, -jaɾp- unanalysable initial); juju-wu- *to drive (as cattle)*; wor-wu- *to make eat*, goy-wu- *to show*. Likewise, the usual causativising auxiliary ga- also occurs in a number of verbs which are regular (non-causativised) compounds: mal-ga- *to beget*; wo-ga- *to speak*; wa|ga- *to love*. See 3.2.19 and 4.4 for factitives, 4.3 for causative formation.

3.3.3.17 Allomorphy of the inflectional categories

It is difficult to establish a small number of conjugational classes of verbs based on complete or even partial similarity of paradigmatic forms. There are only from two to five allomorphs or alternative ways of forming particular suffixal categories (such as past punctual), but many roots which are similar or identical to each other with respect to one category are not necessarily so with respect to others. Before setting up conjugational classes, of verbs with similar or identical paradigms, I will first discuss allomorphy of the suffixal categories themselves, and in so doing point out regularities with regard to subclasses of verbs which conform to particular patterns. These are grouped into six subclasses in 3.3.3.18, most of which show some internal variation. One significant regularity which can be mentioned from the outset is that all compounding auxiliaries have identical or near-identical paradigms to the corresponding roots functioning in simple verb complexes. The only difference is in past punctual forms of a few roots; see 3.3.3.17.3. The following sections 3.3.3.17.1-.7 deal with the mono-, bi- and trisyllabic roots which may function as simple verbs or auxiliaries in compounds, or both. Thematic verbs are treated as a separate class in 3.3.3.19.

3.3.3.17.1 Allomorphy in the present

There are two suffixal allomorphs of the present, -n and - \emptyset , but five types of present formation can be identified if internal stem-changes are considered along with suffixal allomorphy.

(1) roots with suffix -n: the roots which add -n with no further change are η a- *see*, η u- *eat*, ga- *take* and the now-frozen compound with this auxiliary $\text{j}\text{a}\eta\text{g}\text{a}$ - *to hunt*, $\text{r}\text{a}\text{b}\text{o}$ - *to go/come*, $\text{j}\text{u}\text{r}\text{u}\text{w}\text{e}$ - *to rush, run*, $\text{b}\text{a}\text{y}\text{a}$ - *to visit*, $\text{w}\text{a}\text{k}\text{e}$ - *to return*, ru - *to cry*, wa - *to follow*, me - copula; and reflexive-reciprocal forms (see 3.3.3.17.6 for allomorphs of the reflexive-reciprocal suffix).

(2) roots with - \emptyset : roots with - \emptyset suffix and no further change are $\text{y}\text{i}\text{n}\text{i}$ - *to say, do thus*, $\text{b}\text{a}\text{r}\text{a}$ - *to hang up*, be - *to bite*, ru - *to burn* (intransitive), ηe - *to burn* (transitive), $\text{g}\text{a}\text{r}\text{b}\text{e}$ - *to crawl*.

A subclass with zero suffix shows changes in stem-vocalism so that minimally the past punctual will have a different (only, or final) stem-vowel from the present. These include ja - *to stand* (transitive), $\text{m}\text{a}\text{r}\text{e}$ - *to spear*, $\text{b}\text{a}\text{c}\text{i}$ - *to hit, kill* (suppletive stem-form of bu - often used with compounding elements), $\text{m}\text{a}\eta\text{e}$ - *to shout at, argue with*, $\text{g}\text{o}\check{\text{r}}\text{c}\text{i}$ - *to fill*, $\text{j}\text{a}\text{d}\text{i}$ - *to twirl firestick*, jo - *to chop*. Not all these roots show identical vocalic alternations.

(3) reduplicative present with -n: two verbs, bu - *hit* and wu - *give*, have reduplicative present forms with suffix -n: - $\text{b}\text{u}\text{n}\text{u}\text{b}\text{u}\text{n}$ and - $\text{w}\text{u}\text{n}\text{u}\text{w}\text{u}\text{n}$. These two are paradigmatically identical except in their reflexive-reciprocal allomorphs.

(4) reduplicative present with - \emptyset : three verbs, ma - *to get*, ye - *to put*, and ηe - *to burn* (transitive), have reduplicative present with zero suffix: - $\text{m}\text{a}^{\text{?}}\text{m}\text{a}$, - $\text{y}\text{e}^{\text{?}}\text{y}\text{e}$ and - $\eta\text{e}^{\text{?}}\eta\text{e}$.

(5) internal segment - ηV - with -n: four verbs have stem-forms (in the present and also all other paradigmatic forms except past punctual) which show an internal augment - ηV -, in the present followed by -n. All are stance verbs (yo - *to sleep, lie*, ja - *to stand*, $\text{b}\text{a}\text{r}\text{a}$ - *to be suspended*, and ηa - *to sit*), and they can be treated as a class. An example is the present form $\text{y}\text{o}\eta\text{o}$ -n of yo - *to sleep, lie*. The vowel of the augment is the same as that of the root.

3.3.3.17.2 Evitative/imperative stems

As mentioned in 3.3.3., the only roots with evitative/imperative stems different from the present are five CV- roots. All belong to subclasses (3) and (4) above, i.e. to those roots with obligatorily reduplicative present forms. Each has evitative form with -n or - \emptyset suffix as per the present form, but unreduplicated: - $\text{b}\text{u}\text{-n}$, - $\text{w}\text{u}\text{-n}$, - $\text{m}\text{a}\text{-}\emptyset$ - $\text{y}\text{e}\text{-}\emptyset$, - $\eta\text{e}\text{-}\emptyset$.

3.3.3.17.3 Past punctual

There are five ways of forming the past punctual.

(1) (vocalic alternation with) zero suffix: there are six roots which show vowel changes such that, minimally, the present stem (with zero suffix, see under (2) in 3.3.3.17.1) has a different vowel from the past punctual, and sometimes also from other categories. These show the following changes between present and past punctual:

	Present	Past punctual
ja- (transitive) <i>stand</i>	ja	je
mare- <i>spear</i>	mara	mare
jađi- <i>twirl firedrill</i>	jađa	jađe
gořči- <i>fill up</i>	gořčo	gořče
jo- <i>chop</i>	jo	je
bači- (suppletive for bu-)	bača	bači

Comparing these, we note the present forms all have non-front vowels, the past punctual, front vowels.

(There are two roots, maře- *to shout at, argue with* and baře- *to hang up* (transitive), which show changes in stem vocalism, but do not have zero past punctual suffix.)

The root řabo- *to go, come* has past punctual with -ø suffix (řabo-ø) but undergoes no change in stem vocalism.

(2) reduplicative past punctual forms: four verbs have reduplicative past punctual forms; bu- has -boʔbo, wu- has -woʔwo, ma- has -meʔme and ŋa- *to see* has -ŋaʔŋa. The sole difference between these roots in simple verb constructions and as compound auxiliaries is that in the latter function, their past punctual forms consist of a single segment equivalent to half of the reduplicative forms given above, e.g. ŋunbu-bak-woč-me *they stole it from me*, not *ŋunbu-bak-woč-meʔme.

(3) The roots ŋu- *eat, consume* and řu- *to cry* have past punctual forms -ŋowiñ and -řowiñ. Their paradigms are otherwise identical, and they form a subclass.

(4) The root ga- (and its compounds including jaŋga- *to hunt*) has past punctual suffix -ŋiñ (which is the same as a past continuous allomorph for some other roots); this is opposed to past continuous -niñ.

(5) suffix -ñ added to root: includes the four stance verbs ŋa- *to sit*, ja- *to stand*, yo- *to lie* and bařa- *to be hanging*; also baya-, wake-, yini-, be-, garbe-, řu-, ŋe-, ye-, and copula me-.

A subclass includes maře- *shout* and baře- *hang up* which show stem-vowel changes; the latter has a suppletive past punctual stem -bařaŋa-ñ for plural object.

3.3.3.17.4 Past continuous

There are three suffixal allomorphs of the past continuous, -ŋiñ, -niñ and -ñ.

(1) Roots which take -niñ include: bu-, wa-, ŋa- *to see*, ŋu-, řu- *to cry*, ga- and jaŋga-, řabo-, juruwe-, baya-, wake-, me- copula, and the four stance verbs ja-, yo-, ŋa- and bařa-; also reflexive-reciprocal verb forms.

(2) Roots which take -ŋiñ include: ma-, ja- (transitive), be-, řu- *burn*, jo-, ŋe-, ye-, yini-; and also baře- *hang up* (transitive) and maře- *to shout at*.

(3) Roots which take -ñ include: maře-, bači-, gořči-, jađi-.

3.3.3.17.5 Potential and future allomorphs

Potential and future can be treated together, since they co-vary for all roots but one. Roots generally have either the suffixes potential -ni, future -na; or potential -ŋi and future -ŋa. The one root of which this is not true is bači- which has potential bači-ŋi- and future bači-na.

3.3.3.17.6 Reflexive-reciprocal allomorphs

The reflexive-reciprocal marker directly follows the simple root, or the auxiliary in compounds. Reflexive-reciprocal is discussed in 4.2.; here it is sufficient to note that reflexive-reciprocal forms are identical to each other. Both correspond closely to usual notions of the reflexive as a construction definable over clauses with coreferential subject and object, and reciprocal as definable over clauses in which subject and object include sets of mutually-affecting referents.

There are three reflexive-reciprocal allomorphs. The allomorph -yji- is found only with bu-, bu-yji- *hit (self, each other)*; allomorph -yči- only in wu-yči- *give (self, each other)*; all other roots have -či-. Two roots be- *to bite* and ma- *to get* build the reflexive-reciprocal on the potential stem beŋi-či-, instead of expected *be-či-, and maŋi-či-. All reflexive-reciprocals have a common set of suffixal forms (3.3.3.18.6).

3.3.3.17.7 Single past positive category

No distinct past punctual form could be elicited for the verb wa- *to follow*. The single past positive category -wa-niñ is morphologically past continuous.

3.3.3.18 Conjugational classes

The non-thematic verbs can now be divided into six conjugational classes. Characteristics of each class are listed and full paradigms for all roots are given. Though suffixal allomorphs for each class are listed, no root-suffix morpheme divisions are shown within the paradigms.

3.3.3.18.1 Class 1

Class 1 has two members, bu- *to hit* and wu- *to give*, which have identical paradigms except for their reflexive-reciprocal forms. Suffixal categories for the class are:

		bu- <i>to hit, strike</i>	wu- <i>to give</i>
PP	reduplicative	-boʔbo	-woʔwo
PC	-niñ	-buniñ	-wuniñ
PRES	reduplicative with -n	-bunubun	-wunuwun
EVIT/IMP	CV-n	-bun	-wun
POT	-ni	-buni	-wuni
FUT	-na	-buna	-wuna
RR	-yji-, -yči-	-bu-yji-	-wu-yči-

3.3.3.18.2 Class 2

Class 2 includes the four stance verbs *yo-* to lie, sleep, *baṛa-* to be suspended, *ṇa-* to sit, and *ja-* to stand. Characteristics of the class include stem augmentation with *-ṇV-* in all but the past punctual, and the following suffixal allomorphs:

		<i>ṇa-</i> to sit	<i>ja-</i> to stand (intransitive)
PP	-ñ	-ṇañ	-jañ
PC	-niñ	-ṇaṇaniñ	-jaṇaniñ (-jaṇa-čaṇaniñ)
PRES	-n	-ṇaṇan (-ṇaṇaṇan RED)	-jaṇan (-jana-čaṇan)
EVIT/IMP			
POT	-ni	-ṇaṇani	-jaṇani
FUT	-na	-ṇaṇana	-jaṇana
		<i>yo-</i> to sleep, lie	<i>baṛa-</i> to be hanging, suspended
PP	-yoñ		-baṛañ
PC	-yoṇoniñ		-baṛaṇaniñ
PRES	-yoṇon (-yoṇo-yoṇon)		-baṛaṇan
EVIT/IMP			
POT	-yoṇoni		-baṛaṇani
FUT	-yoṇona		-baṛaṇana

3.3.3.18.3 Class 3

Class 3 consists of two verbs, *ṇu-* to eat and *ṛu-* to cry which have identical paradigms except that *ṛu-* has no reflexive-reciprocal form. Suffixal allomorphs are:

		<i>ṛu-</i> to cry	<i>ṇu-</i> to eat
PP	-Cowiñ	-ṛowiñ	-ṇowiñ
PC	-niñ	-ṛuniñ	-ṇuniñ
PRES	-n	-ṛun (-ṛunuṛun)	-ṇun (-ṇunuṇun)
EVIT/IMP			
POT	-ni	-ṛuni	-ṇuni
FUT	-na	-ṛuna	-ṇuna
RR	-CV-či-		-ṇu-či-

3.3.3.18.4 Class 4

Class 4 is a somewhat heterogeneous one, characterised by stem-vowel alternations in all members, but not always in the same forms. Two verbs of class 5 (*mare-* to shout at, argue with, and *bare-* to hang up) also show stem-vowel alternations, but otherwise have suffixal paradigms similar to those of several other verbs; thus they are placed in a separate class. Roots of Class 4 are *ja-* to stand up, make stand, *jaḍi-* to swirl firedrill, *goṛči-* to pour, *jo-* to chop, *mare-* to spear, and *bači-*, suppletive form of *bu-* found after compounding elements. It has been noted that *ja-* to make stand has never been found to occur as simple verb; it has been recorded only in compounds such as *jap-ja-* to make stand.

	<i>jap-ja to make stand</i>	<i>jađi- to twirl firedrill</i>
PP	-japje	-jađe
PC	-japjiniñ	-jađiñ
PRES/EVIT	-japja	-jađa
IMP		
POT	-japjini	-jađini
FUT	-japjina	-jađina
RR	-japji-či-	
	<i>gorči to pour, load</i>	<i>jo- to chop</i>
PP	-gorče	-je
PC	-gorčiñ (-gorji-gorjiñ)	-joniñ
PRES/EVIT	-gorčo	-jo
IMP		
POT	-gorčini	-joni
FUT	-gorčina	-jona
	<i>mare- to spear</i>	<i>bači- suppletive form of bu-</i>
PP	-mare	-bači
PC	-mareñ (-mare?-mareñ)	-baciñ
PRES/EVIT	-mara (-mara?-mara)	-bača
IMP		
POT	-mareni	-bačini
FUT	-marana	-bačina
RR	-mare-či-	-bači-či-

Characteristics of this class are

PP	zero suffix with stem-vowel minimally different from that of present
PC	-niñ or -ñ
PRES	zero
POT	-ni
FUT	-na, -na (bači-)
RR	-či-

3.3.3.18.5 Class 5

Class 5 has the following characteristics:

PP	-ñ
PC	-niñ
PRES/EVIT/IMP	-n or -ø, some reduplicative
POT	-ni
FUT	-na
RR	-či- (where applicable)

	<i>ru-</i> to burn (intrans.)	<i>ne-</i> to burn (trans.)	<i>ye-</i> to put down
PP	-ruñ	-neñ	-yeñ
PC	-ruñiñ	-neñiñ (-ne?-neñiñ)	-yeñiñ (-ye?yeñiñ)
PRES/ EVIT	-ru (-ru?ru)	-ne?ne	-ye?ye
IMP			
POT	-ruñi	-neñi	-yeñi
FUT	-ruña	-neña	-yeña
RR		-ne-çi-	-ye-çi-
	<i>maɾe-</i> to shout at	<i>baɾe-</i> to hang up (trans.)	
PP	-maɾeñ	-baɾeñ, -baɾaɾañ for plural object	
PC	-maɾeñiñ	-baɾaɾiñ (baɾe?-baɾeñiñ)	
PRES/ EVIT	-maɾa	-baɾa (-ba-baɾa, -baɾa-paɾa)	
IMP			
POT	-maɾeñi	-baɾeñi	
FUT	-maɾeña	-baɾeña	
RR	-maɾe-çi-	-baɾe-çi-	
	<i>yini-</i> to say, do (thus)	<i>be-</i> to bite	
PP	-yiniñ	-beñ	
PC	-yiniñiñ	-beñiñ	
PRES/ EVIT	-yini	-be (be?be)	
IMP			
POT	-yiniñi	-beñi	
FUT	-yiniña	-beña	
RR		-beñi-çi-	
	<i>ma-</i> to get, pick up		
PP	-me?me		
PC	-mañiñ (-ma?-mañiñ)		
PRES	-ma?ma		
EVIT/ IMP	-ma		
POT	-mañi		
FUT	-maña		
RR	-mañi-çi-		

3.3.3.18.6 Class 6

Class 6 in a sense is a residual category. By permitting variability in the present and past punctual, we can define it as having the following characteristics:

PP	-ñ, -ñiñ, -∅
PC	-niñ
PRES/EVIT/IMP	-n, -∅ (rare)
POT	-ni
FUT	-na
RR	-çi- (where applicable)

	ga- <i>to take, carry</i> (also compound jaŋga- <i>to hunt</i>)	juruwe- <i>to rush, run</i>
PP	-gaŋiñ	-juruweñ
PC	-ganiñ	-juruweniñ
PRES/EVIT	-gan	-juruwen
IMP		
POT	-gani	-juruweni
FUT	-gana	-juruwena
RR	-ga-či-	

	baya- <i>to visit, go/come to see</i>	ᵛabo- <i>to go/come</i>
PP	-bayañ	-ᵛabo
PC	-bayaniñ	-ᵛaboniñ
PRES/EVIT	-bayan (-baya-payan)	-ᵛabon (-ᵛabo-ᵛabon)
IMP		
POT	-bayani	-ᵛaboni
FUT	-bayana	-ᵛabona
RR	-baya-či-	

	wake- <i>to return</i>	garbe- <i>to crawl</i>
PP	-wakeñ	-garbeñ
PC	-wakeniñ	-garbeniñ
PRES/EVIT	-waken	-garbe
IMP		
POT	-wakeni	-garbeni
FUT	-wakena	-garbena

	me- <i>be, become (copula)</i>	ᵛa- <i>to see</i>
PP	-meñ	-ᵛa?ᵛa
PC	-meniñ	-ᵛaniñ
PRES/EVIT	-men	-ᵛan
IMP		
POT	-meni	-ᵛani
FUT	-mena	-ᵛana
RR		-ᵛa-či-

reflexive-reciprocal (example: bu-yji- *to hit oneself, each other*)

PP	-bu-yjiñ
PC	-bu-yjini
PRES/EVIT	-bu-yjin
IMP	
POT	-by-yjini
FUT	-bu-yjina

(One speaker alternatively produced a reflexive-reciprocal form bu-či-).

wa- *to follow* (single past positive category)

PP	-waniñ
PRES/EVIT/IMP	-wan
POT	-wani
FUT	-wana
RR	-wa-či

3.3.3.19 Thematic verb paradigms

For thematic verbs, present/evitative/imperative consist of the root form only, and all negative suffixes are added directly to the root (instead of to potential and evitative stems, as for non-thematic verbs). The past punctual suffix is -miñ; in the past continuous, variation was found between speakers who always used -miyiñ, and some who alternated between -miyiñ and -meṛiñ. Potential and future are formed on a pattern ROOT-Xe, and ROOT-Xa, respectively; specification of X is described below. The thematic paradigm is thus:

		Negative
PP	ROOT-miñ	ROOT-ʔmolk
PC	ROOT-miyiñ, -meṛiñ	
PRES/EVIT/IMP	ROOT	ROOT-koro
POT	ROOT-Xe	
FUT	ROOT-Xa	ROOT-çiʔ~jiʔ

The patterns illustrated in (a)-(e) are found in the specification of X in potential and future forms.

	ROOT		Future	Potential
(a)	wulup <i>bathe</i>		wulup-a	wulup-e
	banar <i>listen</i>		banar-a	banar-e
	ʔuk <i>dance</i>		ʔuk-a	ʔuk-e
	beṭ <i>roast</i>		beṭ-a	beṭ-e
	woy <i>finish</i>		woy-a	woy-e
(b)	ḡurumʔ <i>bury</i>		ḡurumʔ-ma	ḡurumʔ-me
	maṇiñʔ <i>make</i>		maṇiñʔ-ña	maṇiñʔ-ñe
	bawunʔ <i>leave</i>		bawunʔ-na	bawunʔ-ne
	ḡulʔ <i>light</i>		ḡulʔ-la	ḡulʔ-le
(c)	buʔ <i>drown</i>		buʔ-ʔa	buʔ-ʔe
	ḡeʔ <i>knock down</i>		ḡeʔ-ʔa	ḡeʔ-ʔe
(d)	ñaṛʔ <i>die</i>		ñaṛʔ-a	ñaṛʔ-e
	ʔerʔ <i>light</i>		ʔerʔ-a	ʔerʔ-e
	juyʔ <i>send</i>		juyʔ-a	juyʔ-e
	ʔeʔ <i>look for</i>		ʔeʔ-a	ʔeʔ-e
(e)	warjaʔ <i>to walk around</i>		warjaʔ-ṛa	warjaʔ-ṛe
	yanaʔ <i>do what</i>		yanaʔ-ṛa	yanaʔ-ṛe
	yukaʔ <i>be ahead</i>		yukaʔ-ṛa	yukaʔ-ṛe
	yalala <i>to get better</i>		yalala-ṛa	yalala-ṛe
	mungu <i>to follow</i>		mungu-ṛa	mungu-ṛe

As (a) shows, for all C-final roots (except liquid-final), we may assume that reduplication of the C and then degemination occur across the root-suffix boundaries (e.g. ʔuk-ka > ʔuk-a by a rule of cluster reduction which applies to all segments but liquids).

As (b) shows, when the root is -Cʔ final, provided that C is not a rhotic or semivowel, X is C (i.e. there is echoing of the final root C to make up the syllable margin of the suffix following glottal).

As (c) shows, roots with final liquid do not degeminate; thus X = liquid.

As (d) shows, when the root has final rhotic or semivowel followed by glottal, or is monosyllabic and ends in -Vʔ X = ∅.

But as examples in (e) show, where the root ends in -V[?] or -V and is bi- or trisyllabic, X = ʀ.

The reflexive-reciprocal of thematic verbs is formed by adding to the root the sequence -mi-či-. The paradigmatic suffixal forms of the derived reflexive-reciprocal are then as for any other verb, e.g.:

	Positive	Negative
PP	-mi-či-ñ	-mi-či-ni-ʔmolk
PC	-mi-či-ni	
PRES/EVIT/IMP	-mi-či-n	-mi-či-ni-koro
POT	-mi-či-ni	
FUT	-mi-či-na	-mi-či-n-jiʔ

3.3.3.19.1 Irregular verb

A verb root *miñji to remember* was found capable of inflecting either like a thematic verb (e.g. present -miñji, past punctual -miñji-miñ), or like a Class 6 verb with an augment *we-* and the same paradigmatic forms as *juruwe-to rush, run*, e.g. PP -miñji-weñ, PC -miñji-weniñ etc. This seems to provide some evidence for the segmentability of *we-*, but no other examples were found.

3.4 Adverbs

In 3.2.27.2, most of the common spatial adverbs were given since they pattern like the demonstrative pronouns in terms of distance categories which they encode, and some may be inflected nominally and function as demonstrative pronouns. This section presents remaining important adverbs of various kinds.

3.4.1 'this side, that side'

The adverbs meaning 'this side' and 'that side' have a prefix *gala-* which is not attested elsewhere. 'That side' is built with a glottal-less form of the distant demonstrative adverb *goʔje there*; the stem used to build 'this side' is very similar and probably related to the proximate demonstrative stem *-gaʔye-*. Both categories are locative-marked, and ablative forms are built on the locative. The sets are:

<i>gala-gayañ-gaʔ</i>	<i>this side</i>	<i>gala-goje-gaʔ</i>	<i>that side</i>
<i>gala-gayañ-gaʔ-wala</i>	<i>from this side</i>	<i>gala-goje-gaʔ-wala</i>	<i>from that side</i>

3.4.2 Spatial location

Important adverbs of spatial location include:

<i>yuka</i>	<i>ahead, in the lead</i>
<i>buluŋaʔ</i>	<i>in the middle</i>
<i>wači</i>	<i>behind</i>

The last commonly occurs in ablative form, *wači-wala from behind*.

An important centripetal adverb is *yunguwala* *this way, to here*, the only very common form of centripetal-centrifugal meaning sets which is not related to the distant and proximate demonstrative adverbs in 3.2.27.2. This seems to reflect a semantic 'from there to here' (ablative suffix *-wala*) but there is no adverb **yungu*.

Other important spatial adverbs are: *gakeŋ* *far* (and *gakeŋ-ʔ* *molk close, not far*), *waluk* (*all*) *around*, *mirakaʔ* *underneath* (related to *gu-mira* *head ?*), and *muŋgaʔ* *inside* (*gu-muŋ* *interior*).

3.4.3 Temporal adverbs

Important adverbs for designating times within a 24-hour span include:

<i>muŋumuŋuñju</i>	<i>at dawn, daylight</i> (see 'tomorrow' below)
<i>joḍowʔ</i>	<i>early dawn, before light</i>
<i>gaykuburʔ</i>	<i>noon, forenoon, full day</i>
<i>jajabaŋŋʔ-gaʔ</i>	<i>afternoon, early evening</i>
<i>guŋmuk</i>	<i>night, dark</i> (<i>guŋmuguŋmuk</i> RED.)

Shifters for designations of day-spans include:

<i>yiŋgon</i>	<i>today</i> (RED. <i>yingoyiŋgon</i> <i>right now, this moment, just now</i>)
<i>jajabaŋŋʔ</i>	<i>yesterday</i>
<i>muŋuñju</i>	<i>tomorrow, next day</i> (cf. 'dawn' above)
<i>muŋuñju boŋoyiʔ-gaʔ</i>	<i>day after tomorrow</i>

It is common in this area for terms meaning *late afternoon* and *yesterday* to be morphologically related (*jajabaŋŋʔ-gaʔ*, *jajabaŋŋʔ*). The perspective which this relatedness suggests is one in which afternoon and evening are treated as part of a previous day-span (and 'dawn, early daylight' as part of a following day-span); so that night is, familiarly enough, the border between two day-intervals. Nevertheless *jajabaŋŋʔ-gaʔ* may be used of *afternoon* from any point in the day, not only at night in relation to an earlier segment of the day.

Other important time and season locators are:

<i>gamiñjiko</i>	<i>all the time</i> (<i>gamiñjiʔjiko</i> RED).
<i>yipuñja</i>	<i>a long time ago</i>
<i>gayku</i>	<i>not long ago</i> (perhaps a few days or less)
<i>biŋarak</i>	<i>for a long time</i> (yet)
<i>alako</i>	<i>later on</i>
<i>jeki</i>	<i>first</i>
<i>alaŋga</i>	<i>right away</i>
<i>boñi</i>	<i>now, already</i>
<i>alkiʔ</i>	<i>still, yet</i>

The last few (*alako*, *jeki*, *alaŋga*, *boñi*, *alkiʔ*) can also function as clause-linking conjunctions (see 4.10).

<i>mu-yimiliʔ</i>	<i>wet season</i>
<i>mu-waŋir</i>	<i>hot weather</i> (November-December before the main wet) cf. <i>Ngandi ma-waŋir</i> <i>sun</i>
<i>mu-maŋuwuru</i>	<i>cold weather</i> (cf. <i>Ngandi maŋaworo-ŋi-</i> <i>to become cold, winter</i>)

3.4.4 Adverbs of manner and quality

A few important manner and quality adverbs include:

yukajiʔ	<i>thoroughly, forcefully, altogether, for good</i>
nuča	<i>quickly</i>
yaragaja	<i>quickly</i>
mapuyʔ	<i>slowly</i>
gamakun	<i>properly</i>
bulkič	<i>truly, fully, really</i>

3.4.5 Suffix -gan

As noted in 3.2.27.2, the suffix -gan is added mainly to demonstrative adverbs but also to locational NPs to add intensity to whatever meaning is expressed by the form. See textual examples, Text 2(21), (22), Text 3(29).

3.4.6 Precise (spatial, temporal) location prefix guru-

The prefix guru- is added to adverbs of spatial and temporal location to give the meaning *right, just, precisely*. Examples are:

guru-gunʔbiri	<i>right there</i>
guru-jajabaŋʔ	<i>precisely yesterday</i>
guru-yanaʔmala	<i>exactly when ?</i>
guru-goʔjen-ji	<i>precisely that time (when)</i> (see 4.6.3. for -ji).

This prefix also serves as the only explicit reference establishing and maintaining device (anaphor) besides the use of distant demonstrative pronouns in that capacity (3.2.27.1).

3.4.7 'once, twice'

Forms meaning 'once, twice' or 'for one day, two days' are built on the numbers (3.2.24) by addition of the dative/purposive suffix. The form meaning 'once' was found to be somewhat specialised in that the glottal of wangĩñʔ *one* is absent, and the vowel of the suffix does not show the usual assimilation to that of the root: wangĩñ-gun *once, for one day*.

3.4.8 Adverbial phrases

Adverbial phrases may be divided into those consisting of

- (1) simple adverbs (see examples this section);
- (2) preposition-like phrases consisting of particle or adverb followed by a noun case-marked to complement the combined meaning of adverb, and verb of the clause. These constitute a kind of modifier-nucleus construction:

- 3-351 gakeŋ gelk-(k)a?
far bank-LOC
long way away on the bank
- 3-352 wači juŋgu-yere-ka?
behind back-1EX-LOC
behind us
- 3-353 jaŋ? jolko-ga?
right ground-LOC
right to the ground, all the way in

Sometimes nucleus may precede modifier:

- 3-354 yi-yere? ɲaŋja (also ɲaŋja yi-yere?)
ALL-bottom all the way
right down to the bottom

In a few instances the nucleus is a thematic verb root:

- 3-355 yuŋ? ñiɾ? (thematic verb ñiɾ? to set (sun))
up to sunset
up till sunset

In a modification of this type, two adverbs may occur together, the first more general, the second a more specific locator within general dimensions established by the first:

- 3-356 alako muŋuŋju
later tomorrow
by-and-by tomorrow

3.5 Particles

Particles are dealt with in 4.9 as a syntactic phenomenon; some of the most important are clausal mode particles.

3.6 Interjections

Interjections may occur in isolation, without necessarily presupposing any other linguistic elements. Some of the more frequent include:

bap	<i>plunk!</i> (as in setting something down)
bará	<i>my word!</i> (astonishment, surprise)
beŋén	<i>no matter!</i>
biɖák	<i>yay! hurrah!</i>
duŋ	<i>yummy</i>
ɖaɭ?	<i>messed it!</i>
ɖárka?	<i>hard to get, can't get it!</i>
gaɭáy	<i>hey! look out!</i> (warning)
gen	<i>oops!</i> (as when one has mis-spoken)
guɖí(:)	<i>fright</i>
jáɭga?	<i>OK, all right</i>
já?boñ	<i>finished! that's enough!</i>
jópoŋo	<i>true!</i>
magogu?ju	<i>dunno</i>

múka	<i>yes indeed!</i>
muŋ	<i>that's all!</i>
naman	<i>poor thing, poor fellow!</i>
yaw	<i>good job! (with possessive suffixes, e.g. yaw-yiki good on you and me)</i>
yeké?	<i>how about it? what do you say?</i>

The usual expression for *no, nothing* is gača; that for *yes* is yo.

3.7 Word formation and compounding

Compounding is particularly productive in the verb, relatively unproductive in the nominal. Nevertheless there are some nominal-forming and modifying affixes which must be mentioned, as well as what appears to be the main nominal compounding pattern.

3.7.1 Nominal formation and compounding

3.7.1.1 -welen *boss of*

The suffix *-welen* added to nouns produces forms meaning *boss of X, in control of X*; such nominals are inflected to express gender of the person so referred to (not of the thing controlled). This is applied to names of game animals to give the specific meaning 'the one who speared/killed X':

3-357	ŋugu-goñ-welen	
	M-kangaroo-boss	
		<i>the one who speared the kangaroo</i>

Other examples involve addition of *-welen* to terms which have ceremonial and ritual implications (such as *daļñin*, which may be an indigenous Roper- rather than Arnhem-area term, used in Maŋarayi to mean semimoiety, property and relatives of MoMo/MoMoBr category): *ŋiñ-daļñin-welen* *you are boss of your daļñin*; cf. Jawoñ suffix *-welen* *right, appropriate, correct*.

3.7.1.2 Nominaliser -yi?

There is ample evidence of an old – and seemingly now unproductive – nominalising suffix *-yi?*. Alongside the thematic verb *warp to tell a lie* we find *warpwarp-yi?* *liar*; besides adjective *boŋo* *other, another* we find *boŋoyi?* of the same meaning. Other forms which suggest former productivity of the suffix include:

ju-giri-yi?	<i>little mother, i.e. father's junior wife</i>
ju-gor?-yi?	<i>big mother, i.e. father's senior wife</i>
malkmalk-yi?	<i>shiny, glossy</i>
maṭmaṭ-yi?	<i>shiny, like glass</i>
ŋu -yi?	<i>black</i>
bewk-i?	<i>white (cf. bewk-wu- to make white)</i>

Given the number of descriptive terms, it is possible that *-yi?* was largely an adjective-forming suffix.

3.7.1.3 -bugi? *only*

An example of the nominal suffix -bugi? *only* is:

- 3-358 malaboŋo ŋiñ-yini?-gan buru-goyi-?mol
some 1SG/2SG-*say-AUX* PRES 3NSG-*know-NEG*
 buru-ñawk-(k)oro yaŋ munəŋa-bugi? buru-ñawk
 3NSG-*talk-PRNEG* *language whiteman-only* 3NSG-*talk*
Some, I tell you, they don't know – they don't talk language,
they only talk English (whiteman-only).

The suffix follows any overt case endings.

3.7.1.4 Social status prefixes

Two prefixes marking social status are gel- and bañ-. Each was found in one form only:

- | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------|---------------|---|
| ju-mariñ | <i>girl, young woman</i> | ju-gel-mariñ | <i>young married woman</i> |
| ŋu-geywar | <i>young man</i> | ŋu-bañ-geywar | <i>middle aged,</i>
<i>(responsible) man</i> |

(Though its use in Ngalakan may be limited to this one form, gel- occurs in Jawoñ as a noun prefix meaning *married*, and also as a stem-forming verb prefix with the root 'to sleep' meaning 'to live as married, camp as married person'.)

3.7.1.5 Collective prefix and suffix

An apparent collective prefix gaŋ- was found in two forms: gaŋ-gal *the whole lot, all* and gaŋ-gapul (with plural number suffix) of approximately the same meaning. Both forms can function as third non-singular pronouns, or in opposition to non-singular cross-referencing pronominals:

- 3-359 yiri-ṛabon gaŋgal bo-ka?
 1EX-go PRES *all* *river-ALL*
The whole lot of us are going to the river.

The suffix -waywo can be glossed *and all*; it is added either to the last noun in a series to sum up, or to a single noun and includes that referent and other (not explicitly specified) things:

- 3-360 go?je ŋan ø-ŋaŋaniñ jaŋgu-waywo
there right 3SG-*sit* PC *meat-and all*
Right there was sitting meat and all.

(An identical suffix is found in Jawoñ).

3.7.1.6 bala- *side*

The prefix gala- discussed at 3.4.1 is used only to form adverbs meaning *this/that side* (e.g. of river). Prefix bala- is used to form words meaning *left* and *right*:

bala-maʔ-wala
side-good-ABL
right

bala-jaku
side-left

These may function as adverbs or as nominals meaning *right/left-handed*.
 (For an identical prefix in Ngandi, see Heath 1978:121).

3.7.1.7 malk- *time*

The prefix malk- (distinct from the noun gu-malk *skin, subsection*) means *time(s)*: malk-wangiñʔ *once*, malk-yapanʔ *twice*, malk-yarʔ *a lot of times*, malk-wači *last time*. Again, Ngandi has an identical prefix.

3.7.1.8 necronymic mulu-

The prefix mulu- is affixed to a toponym to create a form which can be used to refer to persons in terms of their place of death. For example, ɲu-mulu-yurpunji would be used to refer to a person who had died at the place Yurpunji. (An identical prefix serves this function in Jawoň).

3.7.1.9 Head-attribute compounds

As noted at 3.2.29, the attributive adjective usually (but not invariably) follows the modified noun. This head-attribute structure appears to be the most productive compounding pattern in a few forms which are not entirely predictable semantically from the sum of their parts. Examples include:

guŋɖu-gakeŋ *far, distant* (see 3.2.15)
 jiri-maʔ *dangerous, violent, good fighter*
 (jiri- *fight, bellicosity*)
 jiri-boɖewk *non-violent, docile* (boɖewk *bad*)
 gaŋɖa-buɖuk *(one with) feathered leg, gaŋɖa leg, buɖuk feather*

Each of these may function as a (predicate) nominal; guŋɖu-gakeŋ also may be used as an adverbial modifying phrase:

3-361 guŋɖu-gakeŋ buru-ŋaŋaŋaŋan
long way 3NSG-*live* RED PRES
'they live a long way away.

3.7.2 Verb compounding

In 3.3.1 it was mentioned that there are several types of verb stem compounding: the first involves addition of 'stem-formants' like -gewen- having to do with fear; the second, compounding of verb or other roots each of which can otherwise function independently; and the third, noun incorporation. In relation to the latter, it was noted that it is hard to demarcate absolute

boundaries along a continuum which has at one end productive incorporation, and at the other, frozen or semi-frozen pairings of noun stems and verb roots in particular meanings. Noun incorporation is discussed at 4.8.

3.7.2.1 Stem-formants

Stem-formants make a contribution to lexical meaning, not to the signalling of grammatical relations within the clause. Their relation to following verb roots is reminiscent of specific to generic terms (insofar as the stem is transparent): the formant signals a specific domain of meaning, in terms of which the following more general root is subcategorised. Usually, however, the meaning of the compound stem is not entirely predictable from the sum of its parts. Stem-formants which have been identified include:

Formant	General meaning	Example(s)
-mañ-	<i>taste</i>	mañ-ŋu- <i>to taste</i>
-gewen-	<i>fear</i>	gewen-jaɾp-wu <i>chase away</i> gewen-baya- <i>to frighten</i>
-gol-	<i>liquid, secretion ?</i>	gol-ŋer?- <i>to cough up, spew out</i> gol-ye- <i>to put in water, soak</i>
-men-	<i>mind, mental activity</i>	men-biɾ-ga- <i>to inform</i> men-muk- <i>to forget</i> men-maŋiñ? <i>to instruct</i>
-ñiŋaya-	<i>sentiments (like, dislike)</i>	ñiŋaya-paya- <i>to like</i> ñiŋaya-ma?-me- <i>to feel good</i>
-ŋurŋgi-	<i>jealousy (? only one ex.)</i>	ŋurŋgi-baya- <i>to be jealous</i>
-ɾark-	<i>writing, painting</i> <i>(incision on surface?)</i>	ɾark-war?- <i>to paint</i> ɾark-bu- <i>to paint</i>
-mungu-	<i>follow, track</i>	mungu-wa- <i>to follow</i> mungu-baya- <i>to follow</i>
-monič-	<i>stealthily (manner)</i>	monič-ŋa- <i>to peep at, look at</i> <i>secretly</i>
-ŋere-	<i>sleep</i>	ŋere-yo- <i>to sleep</i>

With the following exceptions, these are not attested as independent stems: monič can function as independent adverb, mungu by itself can serve as a thematic root *to follow*, and mu-ŋere is the independent noun *sleep* (hence ŋere-yo- might better be regarded as a noun-incorporating construction). The identification of -gol- *liquid, secretion* is tentative; there is at least a distinct initial compounding element of this shape found in gol-yo- *to sleep soundly*. Many of these formants (e.g. -mañ-, -men-, -gewen-) are extremely wide-spread in Arnhem languages of the Gunwiŋguan group. In all attested examples, stem-formants occur immediately before the root: ŋun-mele-gewen-bayan *lest he frighten you* (SG) etc.

It is important to note specially a pocket of verbs in which me- functions in the present as copula *to be* (also *to become*). At 3.3.3.16 it was observed that there are a few verbs – like marawul-me- *to be hungry*, also -gewen-me- *to be frightened* – which can have -me- as auxiliary in all tense forms, in the

present capable of expressing either the inchoative meaning *to become X*, or the meaning *to be X*. A number of additional predicates with certain of the stem formants also can have *-me-* as copular auxiliary in the present, and hence inflect as regular intransitives: *ñiṇaya-boḍewk-me-* *to not feel good, be down-cast*, *ñiṇaya-ma?-me-* *to feel glad, good*, also *ma?-me-* in the meaning *to be well, in good health/spirits*.

3.7.2.2 Stems formed by compounding of independent roots

Complex stem formation by verb root compounding was briefly exemplified in 3.3.1. In this type of compounding, each formant (with the exception of transitive *ja-* *to make stand*) is attested as an independent (nominal, verbal or adverbial) root. Examples are:

- (a) *buriñ?* (thematic) *to bury* + *-ja-* (transitive) *make stand* → *buriñ?-ja-* *to bury*
- (b) *buriñ?* + (intransitive) *-ja-* *to stand* → *buriñ?+ja-* *to be buried*
- (c) *maṇiñ?* (thematic) *make* + (intransitive) *-ja-* → *maṇiñ?-ja-* *to wear*
- (d) *gaw?* (thematic) *to call out* + *-baya-* *go to see, visit* → *gaw?-baya-* *to call out to, get attention by shouting at*.
- (e) *jar?jar?* (thematic) *to not want* + *bawun?* (thematic) *leave* → *jar?jar?-bawun?-* *to leave something in a hurry*
- (f) *-moṛe-* (adjective) *wounded* + *mare* *to spear* → *moṛe-mare-* *wound*
- (g) *-marawul-* (verb root, also particle) *to be hungry* + *ñar?* *to die*, → *marawul-ñar?-* *to be starving, really hungry*
- (h) *muḍuḍu?* *on one's knees* (ADV.) + *-ja-* (intransitive) → *muḍuḍu?-ja-* *to kneel*
- (i) *ḍar?-* (thematic) *to dry* + *-ye-* *to put* → *ḍar?-ye-* *to put to dry*

The semantic relation between roots is often that of specific term to generic, the first root a particularisation of the meaning expressed by the semantically more general or hyponymous second root.

There are some examples with noun stem as first element which might best be regarded as instances of such compounding, rather than as noun incorporation (e.g. *ganam-mup-* *to be deaf*, *ganam-* *ear*, *mup-* *to be obscured, blocked*).

3.7.2.3 'Extraction' of initial compounding element

Some languages in the area (e.g. Maṇarayi) have as the principal type of verb complex one composed of free and uninflecting particle, which contributes most of the verb's lexical meaning, and inflecting auxiliary, the semantic contribution of which is often negligible. Many particles can be variably paired with different roots to produce different meanings, and also to express important grammatical contrasts (e.g. in transitivity, between intransitive verbs and causativised counterparts). In Ngalakan, there are only a few free particles which, in their use with a small number of verb roots, approximate that kind of structure:

- 3-362 ϕ -rabo yele-ka?, go?je ϕ -wa|k-miñ miɾ?-ga? alako
 3SG-go PP hole-LOC there 3SG-enter-PP cave-ALL later
 ϕ -wakeñ mubugu
 3SG-return PP report message
He went to the hole, there he entered the cave (and) later came back with a report.

The particle mubugu means *to have, give, make, return with a report, news*, depending on the root with which it occurs.

- 3-363 maramba? buru-juruweñ
run away 3NSG-run PP
They eloped, ran off.

But occasionally in Ngalakan one finds that what normally occur as compounding element + auxiliary pairings undergo 'extraction' of the initial compounding element, yielding the following kinds of structures of the Maŋarayi type:

- 3-364 ϕ ul? yirgi-gan
light LEX/GU-AUX PRES
We're lighting it. (ordinarily yirgi- ϕ ul?-gan)
- 3-365 bol? yirmi-gan
drag LEX/MU-AUX PRES
We're dragging it. (ordinarily yirmi-bol?-gan)

This seems to be very infrequent in Ngalakan; there is, however, a similar kind of extraction in Jawoñ which functions as a means of chaining verbs in a sequence with arguments held constant over the chain. See the textual example, Text 1(19).

CHAPTER IV

SYNTAX

4.1 Constituency of simple clauses

See 3.2.29 for the constituency of noun phrases, and 3.4.8 for adverbial ones.

In discussion of case-marking and copula (including inchoative) predications of various kinds, the principal simple clause types have been illustrated. Briefly, these include:

1. Intransitive clauses with single cross-referenced NP. The NP may be represented by cross-referencing zero or overt (gu-, mu-) pronominal only; in addition, the external absolutive-marked NP may be present; or the NP may be represented by incorporated noun stem, sometimes also accompanied by cross-referencing pronominal of the appropriate class. The last possibility is illustrated by the following example in which -gu-biñi- (-biñi- the compounding form *water*) constitutes the intransitive subject complex:

3-366 gu-gu-biñi-bolk-(k)a
3-GU-*water-come out*-FUT
The water will come out.

Intransitive clauses may of course contain adverbial or nominal adjuncts. Subtypes of intransitive clauses include:

- a. predicate nominal construction of copular ('be') or inchoative ('become') meaning; see 3.2.15, 3.2.18.
 - b. predications of possession; 3.2.16.
 - c. predications of existence/location in a place; 3.2.17.
2. Transitive clauses include the following subtypes:
- a. those with (usually) ergative-marked agent and absolutive-marked object, both cross-referenced by pronominals in the verb (or the object may additionally be represented by incorporated noun stem).
 - b. ditransitive clauses (see 3.2.9) in which the agent and notional indirect object are cross-referenced in the verb, the notional direct object (if present) represented by external absolutive-marked NP.
 - c. derived transitives created from intransitive structures by -bak- (see 3.2.8) with notional indirect object indicated by the prefix and cross-referenced by object pronominal in the verb.
 - d. derived transitives with -bak- and -baṭa-, with cross-referenced agent and notional indirect object promoted to verbal cross-reference as direct object.

- e. the special transitive clause type described in 3.2.22 used to express identification of a person (treated as grammatical direct object) in terms of his kin relation to (i.e. what he is called by) another, who is cross-referenced as the transitive agent.

Any of the transitive clause-types may of course contain one or more (adverbial, nominal) adjunct phrases. There is no passive or antipassive transformation in Ngalakan.

The following sections (4.2-.5) describe other syntactic processes (besides 'object promotion') which affect the predicate-argument structure of the clause.

4.2 Reflexive-reciprocal

For formation of the reflexive-reciprocal by verb class, see 3.3.3.17.6. Reflexive-reciprocal forms are identical to each other for each inflecting verb.

Reflexive and reciprocal are considered derivational (rather than inflectional) categories, because their use always determines intransitive structuring of the clause. The cross-referencing pronominal prefix is intransitive, and any external NP is absolutive-marked. Reflexive usage can be attributed to verbs in clauses where the subject is represented as acting upon itself:

3-367 yiri-wač-bim-bu-či-na
LEX-*each-white ochre*-AUX-RR-FUT
We'll each ochre up.

3-368 ŋu-ñamaŋ-bači-či-ñ
1SG-*foot*-SUPP *hit*-RR-PP
I struck my foot.

Reciprocal usage can be attributed to verbs in clauses which express mutually-affecting actions in which (non-singular) subjects and objects are engaged. The cross-referencing non-singular intransitive pronominal prefix expresses combined number of the referents:

3-369 ŋuru-mele-mare-či-n
2NSG-EVIT-*argue*-RR-PRES
Don't argue (with each other).

3-370 ŋu-gaka-ŋini-bindi buru-mungu-wa-či-ñ
M-*brother-mine-real* 3NSG-*follow*-AUX-RR-PP
My full brothers followed one behind each other (i.e. were born one after the other).

3-371 yiri-yaŋ-wu-yči-niñ
LEX-*language-give*-RR-PC
We talked to each other (literally gave speech to each other).

Often the reflexive-reciprocal is used with a kind of 'middle' meaning, and represents a process as taking place only within and affecting the cross-referenced NP, not occurring through outside agency. An example is:

- 3-372 gu- ϕ -mele-jur-mi- \check{c} i-n η u-gun?biri we?
 3-3SG-EVIT-pour-AUX-RR-PRES M-that water
The water might spill.

The thematic verb *jur to pour* is used here in reflexive-reciprocal form, with the result that no external agent is expressed. Another example is:

- 3-373 buru-mala-ma η i- \check{c} i- \check{n}
 3NSG-COLL-get POT-RR-PP
They gathered together.

This evidently does not have the meaning *they gathered each other*, but a middle sense. Hence it should not be regarded as deriving from a transitive structure, but it formally parallels reflexive and reciprocal structures which may be viewed as deriving from transitive clauses.

4.3 Causatives

The derivation of transitive verb stems is fairly neatly divided into two semantic types, causatives and factitives. This division also corresponds, at least to a great extent, to a difference between transitivisation of underlying verb roots (causativisation) and nominal roots (formation of factitives). But factitive-forming auxiliary *wu-* is also used to create a few causatives and other derivatives from verb roots.

In causativisation, the underlying subject function of an intransitive clause is made the object of the derived transitive, e.g.:

- 3-374 (a) mirpara-gapul buru-yeret
child-PL 3NSG-grow
The children are growing (bigger).
- (b) η ubu-yeret-gani \check{n}
 1SG/3NSG-grow-CAUS PC
I raised them, grew them up.
- 3-375 (a) η u-gor
 1SG-sick
I'm sick.
- (b) η unmu-gor-ga η i \check{n} η u-gun?biri-yi? may-yi?
 MU/1SG-sick-CAUS PP M-that-ERG food-ERG
That food made me sick.

See the textual example 4(2), *jap-ga-* to make stand (distinct from *jap-ga-* below).

Other intransitive-causative pairs include:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| η u \check{t} | <i>to stop, desist</i> |
| η u \check{t} -ga- | <i>to make stop</i> |
| walk | <i>to go in, enter</i> |
| walk-(g)a- | <i>to put inside, insert</i> |
| wulup | <i>to wash, bathe</i> |
| wulup-ga- | <i>to make someone bathe (also = to bathe someone)</i> |
| yerk | <i>to come out</i> |
| yerk-(g)a- | <i>to take out, off; to remove</i> |

yer	to be ashamed
yer-ga-	to shame
bolk	to come out
bolk-(g)a-	to make come out
ḍurʔ	to sit down (not 'to be seated')
ḍurʔ-ga-	to make sit
bu	to drown
bu -ga-	to drown someone
ḍow	to break
ḍow-ga-	to break
jap	to dive, jump in
jap-ga-	to put into water
ñarʔ	to die
ñarʔ-ga-	to cause to die, kill off
ḡorʔ	to fall
ḡorʔ-ga-	to make fall

Notice that these all involve regular causativisation of thematic roots. There are some verbs formed with ga- which are not causatives of this regular kind. An important pair is

yini	to say, do (thus)
yiniʔ-ga-	to tell, say to

Note also ḍač to cut (thematic, transitively used)
 maḡa-ḍač-ga- to cut (someone's) throat e.g. buruḡ-maḡa-ḍač-gaḡiñ
 he cut their throats

In both pairs, there is no reason to identify the subject function of the intransitive with the object function of the transitive; the functional pairing is intransitive subject-transitive subject.

There are other ga- verbs that are basic compound + auxiliary constructions and do not seem to be causatives of simple roots, e.g., wo-ga- to speak, wa|-ga- to love, jaḡ-ga- to hunt, mal-ga- to beget. The verb worʔ-ga- to bear a child is composed of (gu-)worʔ belly plus ga-, where the auxiliary seems to retain much of the meaning it has as main verb to take, carry.

4.4 Factitives

Factitives (see also 3.2.19) are verbs with object and nominal complement, where the object is represented as being made to partake of the status, condition or quality expressed by the nominal. The nominal is the initial (or 'compounding') element, followed by verbaliser wu-:

3-376 buruḡbu-baḡdari-wo
 3NSG/3NSG-young man-FAC PP
 They made them young men (i.e. circumcised them).

3-377 bur-gayarʔyarʔ-wuniñ
 3NSG/3NSG-clearing-FAC PP
 They cleared (the ground), made a clear place (gu-gayarʔyarʔ).

There are verbs with auxiliary *wu-* which are not factitive. A few causatives of stance verbs are formed by adding *wu-* to the potential stem of the stance roots:

3-378 (a) *ŋunbu-jaŋani-wuniñ*
3NSG/1SG-*stand* POT-FAC PC

(b) *ŋunbu-ŋaŋani-wuniñ*
They made me stand/sit.

(*To put to sleep*, however, is expressed by *ŋere-ye-*).

A handful of other causatives are formed from thematic roots (e.g. *gaɭuk-wu-* *to make play* from *gaɭuk* *to play*). The pair *wak* *to laugh* (thematic), *wak-wu-* *to laugh at* shows identification of intransitive subject function with transitive agent function of the derivate (as do some intransitive *ga-* pairs, see 4.3). An important stem is *wakiŋi-wu-* *to bring back, to return*, not related by any regular morphological process to *wake-* *return* (intransitive). This undergoes lenition under reduplication (e.g. *ɸ-wagiwagiŋi-wo* *he returned it*, cf. 2.5). Finally, a few *wu-* verbs are compound auxiliary constructions of the regular (unanalysable) kind: *goy-wu-* *to show, teach* (ditransitive), *juju-wu-* *to drive* (as cattle), *gaŋa?-wu-* *to ask*.

4.5 Other intransitive-transitive pairs

Some other intransitive-transitive pairs are formed by alternative use of auxiliaries which normally define intransitive and transitive clauses, respectively: *jap-ja-* *to be standing* (with intransitive *ja-*) versus *jap-ja-* *to make stand*; *wuñji-ja-* *to be hidden* versus *wuñ-ja-* *to hide* (something). Stem-compounding with *ye-* results in some derivatives which function transitively, as does the root itself (see example in 3.7.2.4).

See also 3.3.2 for examples of the transitivising verbal prefix of accompaniment *-ŋe-*.

4.6 Subordination: general

Ngalakan has a single, widely-used subordinate clause type. Like the generalised subordinate clause-types of some other Australian languages, the Ngalakan one in some usages is comparable to 'NP-relatives' of other languages which have this as a distinct formal type, and in other usages to adverbial (adverbial) modifiers. (See e.g. Hale 1976 on Walpiri, McKay 1975 on Rembarŋa, Heath 1978 on Ngandi, Merlan 1982 on Maŋarayi, for a sample of Australian languages with generalised subordinate clause type).

The Ngalakan subordinate clause shows minimal alteration or 'deformation' away from the form of independent clauses: this loose, rather paratactic relation of subordinate to main clause is typical of all the languages mentioned above. (But notice that in some examples the subordinate clause occurs embedded in another). The principal formal mark of subordination in Ngalakan is the addition of a suffix *-gVn* to a verb form which could otherwise appear in an independent clause; that is, the form loses none of its verbal features. The vowel of the subordinating suffix takes on the quality of the vowel of the preceding syllable. In the environments in which initial segments of underlying fortis-initial suffixes are realised as fortis (see 2.3), the stop of *-gVn*

tends to have a somewhat more voiceless and perhaps tenser realisation; elsewhere it more closely approximates the lenis norm. But it clearly does not show the fortis/lenis alternation to the same degree or with the same consistency as those suffixes with underlying initial fortis, and hence is written everywhere with initial lenis.

Almost all researchers who have written about languages with generalised subordinate clauses are agreed that different functional clause-types can be distinguished, but that there is little evidence for formal distinctions between e.g. 'relative' versus other subordinate clause types. The striking fact about these languages is that types of cross-clause linkages which are effected by different formal means in some languages, here are covered by a single formal type. One interesting question then becomes: what is common to all functionally-distinguishable types of subordination in each language? Eventually, it will be possible to generalise cross-linguistically.

In Rembarŋa (McKay 1975), the subordinate clause is used in conditionals, and to form adnominal, temporal, and locational subordinate clauses; it also serves as the functional equivalent of clefting, in that subordinate marking can be used intraclausally to defocus all but a single constituent, which ipso facto is foregrounded. (Ngandi also puts the subordinate clause type to this kind of defocussing function, see Heath 1978:122-124). McKay finds the feature common to these various uses of the Rembarŋa subordinate clause to be 'presupposition': the subordinate clause contains 'presupposed' information, i.e. that which is structured by the speaker as 'given'. My analysis of the Ngalakan subordinate clause is in basic agreement with that of McKay for Rembarŋa, but I choose a slightly different phrasing. The common denominator of subordination in Ngalakan is signalling that the interpretation of the clause is to be made by recourse to something else — generally to a preceding constituent, but up to and including larger information units. My emphasis is on the need for additional interpretive information, McKay's on the presupposed nature of the subordinate constituent.

In Maŋarayi (see Merlan 1981, 1982), subordination is formally marked only by use of non-indicative first-position prefixes (two different forms occur, varying with person features of cross-referenced NPs). The striking feature in Maŋarayi is that the same prefixes which mark subordination are used to mark irrealis mood in independent clauses. By using the irrealis mood category, speaker presents the content of his utterance as subject to some uncertainty, not asserted. I argue that the general function of the prefixes as subordinate markers is to signal that the clause in which they occur is not to be interpreted in its own right, but is to be interpreted with reference to some other constituent (up to and including the clause-level, perhaps also larger information units). This feature of meaning — signalling that interpretation is to be carried out by recourse to something else — is evidently the hypotactic equivalent of 'not asserted' in independent (irrealis) clauses.

The Maŋarayi situation is relevant here because, as described in 3.4.5, in Ngalakan a suffix *-gan*, the same as the subordinate marker (but uniform following the future tense) is used to express mainly an explicit desiderative-intentional meaning *want to, will, intend to*. Thus, here too there appears to be a link between subordination and (loosely) an irrealis category of the verb. But many such futures with *-gan* also have the same 'defocussing' character as is found in Rembarŋa and Ngandi (see above). Often such desiderative-intentional constructions have a constituent (typically an NP or adverb) clause-initially, followed by verb form in *-gan*:

3-379 gamakun niñ-naw-(k)a-gan
properly 2SG-talk-FUT-FOC
You ought to talk properly (force: *Properly you ought to talk,*
try to talk properly).

3-380 nu-gun⁷biri bařamunu nur-řena-gan
M-that sand goanna 1IN PL/3SG-cook-FUT-FOC
We want to cook that sand goanna (not something else).

There are instances where there is no such 'focussed' constituent, and the clause is more strictly desiderative-intentional. But Ngalakan here shows a link between hypotaxis and intraclausal defocussing of the predicate, resembling a kind of cleft (as in Rembarņa and Ngandi), and also a link between hypotaxis and the irrealis categories of the verb (as in Mařarayi, but here restricted to a link between subordinate forms and desiderative-intentional). Note that Ngalakan otherwise does not have a distinction between realis and irrealis moods as such in independent clauses. See other examples of focus (typically contrastive) in Text 5 (4,11,12) and Text 6 (7,8).

To some extent in Ngalakan (but, note, to an even greater extent in Mařarayi, where independent irrealis forms are identical to subordinate forms of the verb), the first problem in encountering any verb form which is marked with -gVn is to determine whether any hypotactic relation can be imputed, or whether it is the verb of an independent (desiderative-intentional and/or cleft) clause. In Ngalakan and the other languages mentioned, what grammatical structure is present (adnominal, adsentential subordinate etc.) can only be determined as the thematic structure of the discourse or conversations unfolds. This view is antithetical to traditional analyses of such subordinate clause types as relatives, in which grammatical structures are typically labelled (e.g. by subindices or other devices designed to show NP 'conference') as if the reference relations were already known, and the only descriptive problem were that of formulating adequate rules to describe the derivation (= deformation from underlying 'kernel' sentences) of observed forms. In fact one aim of analysis must be to establish the conditions under which coreference may be attributed to NPs in clause sequences such that a main-subordinate relation can be defined over them. Wherever a subordinate marker is encountered, the larger analytic problem is that of determining what are the meaning relations between the subordinate-marked constituent and any other(s) in terms of which it is to be decoded. In these terms, coreference is only a particular form of 'co-interpretation' (Halliday and Hasan 1976:314, i.e. the meaning relations between some constituent and any others to be decoded at least partly in terms of it) — a particular form in which two items in fact have the same reference.

Viewed in terms of the more general problem, languages with a single subordinate clause type do not appear 'deficient' in their range of formal structures. They are capable of signalling — albeit perhaps less explicitly — the same range of co-interpretive relations as can be signalled in other languages. But they bring to the fore the main question: what are the kinds of conditions on co-interpretation that can exist between clauses such that a main-subordinate relation can be understood to hold between them? Below, functionally distinguishable kinds of cross-clause co-interpretive relations are described for Ngalakan. The kinds of cross-clause links to be found are very similar across the range of Australian languages mentioned.

4.6.1 Adnominal modifiers

A strong requirement on NP-relative interpretation of subordinate clauses is that the modified adnominal constituent precede (usually immediately) the subordinate clause:

- 3-381 mu-yałkič yimi-bareñ-gen daɾʔ-gaʔ ø-ŋoɾʔ-miñ weʔ-gaʔ
 MU-dilly bag 1IN DU/MU-hang up PP-SUB tree-LOC 3SG-fall-PP water-LOC
The dilly bag we hung on the tree fell into the water.

In adnominal clauses, the relativised NP must be in a major syntactic clause function (see 3.2.8). This means that the relativised NP is one which is cross-referenced on the subordinate verb, even if only by zero. Beyond this, an adnominal interpretation does not depend on the NPs in each clause being in a particular grammatical function, nor on the relations between them being of any particular kind. Examples of adnominal clauses with the relativised NP in various functions in each clause include:

- 3-382 ŋu-goʔje ŋu-bigur-ʔgun gu-yoŋoyoŋon-gon goreʔ
 GEN-IS M-that M-man-GEN 3-3SG-sleep RED. PRES-SUB by himself
That belongs to the man who lives alone.

- 3-383 ŋunbu-yiniʔ-ganiñ ju-goʔje-ʔgen ju-bolo-ʔgon meñeri
 DAT-IS 3NSG/1SG-tell AUX PC F-that-DAT F-old person-DAT Hodgson Downs
 ø-maŋiñʔ-miñ-gin mu-ju|uʔ
 3SG/3SG-make-PP-SUB MU-lancewood
They told me about that old woman who made the lancewood at Hodgson Downs.

- 3-384 ju-ŋoy-ŋini gaka-ŋini-yiʔ ø-goʔ-ŋaniñ-gin
 IS-TO F-sister in law-1SG brother-mine-ERG 3SG/3SG-have-AUX PC-SUB
 ø-milkanda-meñ
 3SG-widow-AUX PP
My sister-in-law that my brother had (as wife) became a widow.

- 3-385 ŋu-geywar-yiʔ ŋiñ-ñawk-miñ-gin ŋiñ-bak-yolk-yolk-miñ-gin
 TS-TS M-young man-ERG 3SG/2SG-talk-PP-SUB 3SG/2SG-OP-tell story-PP-SUB
 ŋun-baɬa-me ŋugu-dep-ŋini
 3SG/1SG-OP-take PP M-tape (Eng.)-mine
The young man who was talking to you, telling you a story, took my tape from me.

- 3-386 ŋu-gunʔbiri ø-maʔ-(?)molk gu-bunubun-gun goñ
 IS-TS M-that 3SG-good-NEG 3-3SG/3SG-kill-SUB kangaroo
 gu-ø-maraʔmara-gan, maladi
 3-3SG/3SG-spear-RED-SUB wedge-tailed eagle
That (one) is no good (i.e. is dangerous) which kills kangaroo and spears (game), the wedge-tailed eagle.

Notice in the last example another constituent (equivalent to a clause, ø-maʔ-(?)molk) intervenes between the head ('that one') and the subordinate clause, but unless this is taken as cross-referencing the same NP as the subordinate clause, the sequence is unintelligible.

There are examples of what appear to be adnominal modifiers without head noun. Of course, in all such cases there is a cross-referencing pronominal (even if zero) on the subordinate verb. The adnominal nature of these is largely to be understood from thematic content and/or the context of speech:

- 3-387 jajabaŋ? ɲu-ɾark-maŋiñ?-miñ-gin — guŋmaŋ? yana?
yesterday 1SG/3SG-*write-PP-SUB* *maybe* *what*
What I wrote yesterday — what does it mean?

(This could conceivably be given an adverbial interpretation *When I wrote yesterday what was it?* but the force of the original utterance was clearly as given).

4.6.2 Adsentential (adverbial) modifiers

An adsentential, adverbial interpretation can be attributed to subordinate clauses following constituents which express locations in time or space:

- 3-388 yipuñja buru-ŋaŋaniñ-gin guŋ?biri guyaŋgan ...
long ago 3NSG-*sit* PC-SUB *there* *Elsey*
A long time ago when they were living there at Elsey ...
- 3-389 go?je gu-mu-jeli?-mena-gan ju-mu-bawun?na
there 3-MU-*wet-AUX* FUT-SUB 2SG-MU-*leave* FUT
You leave it (MU-class) there where it will get wet.

In both examples, adnominal interpretation is impossible because there is no (overt or understood) modified nominal constituent. Further, an adsentential clause need not modify any overt adverbial constituent. Where it occurs alone, whether it is given temporal or other interpretation depends largely on the thematic content up to that point and the meaning of the main clause predicate. Temporal reading requires intelligibility of interpreting the subordinate verb as specifying more closely some circumstance within the time interval established by the main clause predicate (i.e. in the same tense):

- 3-390 biɖak ɲu-boŋo mu-juruweniñ mungu-ŋul? ɲu-banar-miñ
good job M-*another* MU-*run* PC MU-*coolamon/launch* 1SG/3SG-*hear-PP*
 ɲu-gayka? ø-gaw?-miñ yiri-mar?mar?-miñ-gin wapawapa-ji
 M-*uncle* 3SG-*sing out-PP* LEX-*tremble-PP-SUB* *clothes-PRIV*
 waɾaɕara-yi? yiriŋ-bak-ɾe-ño?-miñ
floodwater-ERG 3SG/1ES-OP-TNSV-*go away-PP*
Good job, another launch was running, I heard my uncle call out (while) we were trembling without clothes, the floodwater had carried ours away.

Subordinate clauses are used to express sequential temporal meanings such as 'after he goes' (i.e. 'when he goes'), and descriptive temporal meanings like ɲu-miɾpara-meniñ-gin *When I was a child*.

Many examples are found in which the meaning link between main and subordinate clauses is even weaker and more generalised than in the cases presented so far. In general, the subordinate marker minimally indicates that there is a link between two clauses. The link is subject to a wide range of interpretations, even sometimes verging on causal:

- 3-391 añji jikur gengen ɲu-biɖiɕ-me?me ɲiñ-goy-wuniñ-gin
and tail long 1SG/3SG-*nearly-get* PP 1SG/2SG-*show-AUX* PC-SUB
And I nearly caught (one with) long tail to show to you.

- 3-392 ɲu-rabo ɲu-mu-maŋi-gin mungu-may
 1SG-go PP 1SG-MU-get POT-SUB MU-food
I went when/because (I wanted) to get food.

(See 4.10.3 for other expressions of causal links). Such weak links are reminiscent of the ever-widening sphere of English relativisation as colloquially used e.g. in 'I got the other one I saw which I don't know if I told you about it'.

4.6.3 Temporal subordinator -ji

A suffix -ji was found to mark subordinate structures as subject only to specific temporal interpretation. This suffix may be cognate with Rembarŋa -tʃi *at the time of, when* (McKay 1975:88). The Rembarŋa suffix is used with a wide range of NPs, including clauses (ibid), but its use was found to be very restricted in the Ngalakan corpus. The suffix -ji differs from the regular marker of subordination in that it is attached to a non-verbal constituent. In fact, it is attested only in the form guru-goʔjen-ji *that time, the specific time* introducing a subordinate clause; guru- is the adverbial prefix which specifies exact *time/place when* (see 3.4.6); -goʔje(n)- is the distant demonstrative adverbial stem. The form occurs in examples like

- 3-393 guru-goʔjen-ji ɲiñ-yiniʔ-ganiñ-gin goʔje yiri-bu|miñ-gin
time when 1SG/2SG-tell AUX-PC-SUB there LEX-drown-PP-SUB
 ɲolko wurʔwuruŋu ø-yarʔ-(?)molk gača
big old people 3SG-many-NEG nothing
*That time I told you about when we got flooded out there (drowned),
 there weren't a lot of old people, not at all.*

The prefix guru- introducing a subordinate clause has the force of an *experiential anaphor*; it signals that the event to be referred to by the following subordinate verb is assumed to be already known or familiar. It may be known from preceding discourse or by some other means.

4.6.4 Adverbial suffix -gan

In 3.4.5 it was mentioned that there is an adverbial suffix -gan which is most often added to cardinal direction terms and demonstrative adverbs. It is however also added to other locational phrases:

- 3-394 bur-jaŋjaŋ-ganiñ gamajiʔ yerke-wala-gan
 3NSG/3SG-carry-AUX PC swag inside-ABL-ADV
They carried the swag from inside.
 3-395 gu-weʔ ø-bolk-miñ ɾere-kaʔ-gan
 GU-water 3SG-come out-PP camp-LOC-ADV
The water came out (right in) the camp.

It often seems to add a certain emphasis or intensity to the concrete meaning, as the glosses suggest.

There is a Rembarŋa time suffix *-kan* (McKay 1975:88) added to NPs to express *time during which*. The Ngalakan suffix *-gan* was not found in this function, but there may conceivably be an historical relation between the Rembarŋa and Ngalakan suffixes, and between its adverbial functions in both languages and its use as a subordinator in Ngalakan.

4.6.5 Other subordinate clause types

Several other rarely-attested subordinate clause types must be mentioned.

One type simply involves addition of a local case ending to a verb, marking the entire clause as the local complement of a main clause. Only locative/allative suffix was found in a handful of spontaneous occurrences; some examples with ablative were later elicited. An example is:

- 3-396 gu- \emptyset -gor- \check{c} aŋan ŋu-gun[?]biri manapuŋ gu-gu-biŋ-wor-ka[?]
 3-3SG-*hide*-AUX PRES M-*that* echidna 3-GU-*rock*-*protrude*-LOC
The porcupine is hiding where the rock is sticking out.

Another type, also rare, involves suffixation of Dative/Purposive *-[?]gVn* to an otherwise unaltered verb form, in a generally purposive sense. This was exemplified in only a couple of instances which appear elliptical, but are clearly not so in their original context:

- 3-397 gu- \emptyset -wi-ŋan-gan ŋu-go[?]je gopo-ŋoji boŋoyi[?] bolo[?]bolo
 3-3SG/3SG-*lose* AUX PRES-SUB M-*that* husband-*hers* another woman
 gu- \emptyset -bak-(g)an-[?]gan mu-may
 3-3SG/3SG-OP-*take*-DAT MU-*food*
When she loses her husband another woman will take food for her.

Also there were two examples like the following, involving a kind of purposive nominalisation:

- 3-398 bur-wa|k-(g)an mungu-jaka[?] ba \check{c} a-mere[?]-yi[?]
 3NSG/3SG-*enter*-CAUS PRES MU-*digging* stick PROP-*sharp* point
 ña[?]gani-[?]gin
die-CAUS POT-DAT
They are sticking in a digging stick with a sharp point in order to kill it.

The nominalised constituent is composed of causative ña[?]ga- *to make die* with potential form of the auxiliary ga- suffixed with dative/purposive *-[?]gin*. No similar examples were produced by elicitation. It is assumed that such nominalisations are rare, but further text collection in future will help decide this. It is interesting to note that Rembarŋa has an 'infinitive' form of the verb (McKay 1975:132) which figures in some purpose clauses from which pronominal prefixes are generally deleted (see loc. cit., page 318 ff. for discussion). That is, the verb is stripped of some of its usual features. Ngalakan has no infinitive form (except that the examples like ña[?]gani-[?]gin with potential stem form might be regarded as functionally equivalent). But the Ngalakan potential allomorphs (-ŋi or -ni for non-thematic verbs) are suspiciously similar to infinitive suffixes for the majority of Rembarŋa verb classes, particularly to -ŋə and -nə. Both on semantic and formal grounds, there is reason to suspect and investigate further a connection between the Rembarŋa infinitive and the Ngalakan potential category.

4.6.6 Conditionals

In Rembarŋa, the subordinate clause is used in the formation of conditionals (McKay 1975:331-333); also, in Ngandi the protasis of a conditional may be formally a simple subordinate clause. But in Ngalakan the functional equivalents of conditionals were found to be simply constructed with protasis-apodosis sequence of future-future for possible conditionals, and potential-potential for past conditionals, e.g.:

- 3-399 guŋmaŋ? ɲu-ɾabona ɲiñ-bak-maŋa
maybe 1SG-go FUT 1SG/2SG-OP-get FUT
If I go I'll get it for you (= maybe I'll go, I'll get it for you).
- 3-400 jajabaŋ? ɲu-ɾaboni ɲiñ-bak-maŋi
yesterday 1SG-go POT 1SG/2SG-OP-get POT
Yesterday I wanted to/should have gone, I would have/wanted to get it for you.

4.7 Cross-reference of mu- and gu-classes

As shown in the pronominal prefix paradigms in 3.2.30, mu- and gu-class nouns may be cross-referenced by pronominals -mu- and -gu- in all major syntactic functions. In the transitive prefix combinations, only one overt third singular category can be represented; therefore, in any 3SG → 3SG combinations in which mu- or gu-class noun as transitive agent is cross-referenced, only that category is overtly represented, the other category obligatorily represented by zero. When 3SG M or F is transitive agent, there is no problem since those categories are always zero; thus either gu- or mu- as object may be overtly represented (but is not always).

But in fact, as noted in 3.2.30.2, the frequency of overtly-marked gu- or mu-class transitive agent is very low. It is more common for the subject-object combination to be identical to that for 3SG M or F acting on the object, and for the gu- or mu-class transitive agent to be expressed by an external noun or NP.

Overt cross-reference of mu- and gu-class nouns is common only when they are either in intransitive subject or transitive object function. Examples are:

- 3-401 garku-bindi gungu-we? gu-gu-yini
high up-really GU-water 3-GU-do thus
Way high up the water does like this (illustrating with gesture).
- 3-402 burgu-gul? gungu-got
 3NSG/GU-strip GU-paperbark.
They strip the paperbark.
- 3-403 mungu-wači mu-ñir?-miñ
 MU-sun MU-set-PP
The sun set.

It seems logical to suppose that the availability of -gu- and -mu- as cross-referencing elements would enable a thematic noun to be deleted quite regularly after a first mention, because it could be kept track of by means of a pronominal. However, text material gathered so far indicates that the presence of a -gu- or -mu- pronominal in the verb is highly correlated with the presence of the cross-referenced noun in the same or an adjacent clause. The tracking of a single noun over a multi-clause sequence by means of a pronominal was definitely found

to be uncharacteristic of text material no matter what its character. Numerous examples were, however, found of verbs chains with subject and mu- or gu-class object held constant over two clauses, of the sort 'he will X it, he will Y it' (gu- ϕ -gu-ma η a, gu- ϕ -gu-ba η e η a *he will get it, hang it up*). Besides such examples, typical circumstances in which -mu- or -gu- was cross-referenced were like the following:

- 3-404 burgu-ye gu-jolko garku-wala mu-mele-ru mungu-jatam
 3NSG-GU-put GU-earth top-ABL MU-EVIT-burn MU-lily
 bo η i mu-wolo burmu-wiri?
 now MU-cooked 3NSG/MU-take out
*They put on dirt on top (from the top) lest the lily burn, now
 it's cooked, they take it out.*
- 3-405 mokol-go η -(?)gon η u-mu-waki η i-wo mungu-may
 father-DY-DAT 1SG/MU-bring back-AUX PP MU-food
I brought back food for father and child
- 3-406 gungu-we η gu-gu-juruwen gu-gu-jololo
 GU-water 3-GU-run PRES 3-GU-run down
The water is running, dripping down.

The texts (e.g. 3(12, 15, 33), 4(26)) illustrate the typical closeness in linear sequence of the cross-referenced noun to the pronominal. The tentative conclusion must be that, rather than having the effect of permitting noun deletion over multi-clause sequences, the combination of pronominal cross-reference with the external noun firmly links arguments to predicates, forming small information units which tend to be extended over not more than two to three clauses. Although this conclusion is strongly indicated by narrative styles of all informants, it was much more difficult to obtain stretches of connected conversational material in Ngalakan, so no conclusions are possible about the role of cross-reference in multiparticipant dialogue.

4.8 Noun incorporation

Like most languages of the putative Gunwi η guan language group, Ngalakan permits noun incorporation. As indicated in the discussion of verb compounding (3.7.2), it is not possible to sharply distinguish what I shall call 'lexical' noun incorporation from the free and facultative incorporation of noun stems to express certain kinds of meanings and nuances.

By 'lexical' noun incorporation is meant the compounding of a noun stem with a particular verb stem in a certain meaning. Especially if the compound is a common, or perhaps the most common, way of expressing that meaning, we may say that it has a certain fixity as a lexical unit. This is true of many Ngalakan compounds; side-by-side with this, we find that almost without exception, the noun stems which enter into such combinations are freely used elsewhere as independent nouns, and also, at least to some extent, are capable of freer incorporation with a variety of verb roots. Examples of such 'lexicalised' or semilexicalised combinations are : ju η -bu- *to build a bough-shade* (gu-ju η); η ey-bu- *to name, i.e. say the name of* (gu- η ey name); bo-wa- *to follow the river, go along following the river* (gu-bo river); wor η -ga- *to bear a child* (gu-wor η belly); ya η -wu- *to talk* (frequently reciprocal, gu-ya η language); we η - η u *to drink (water)* (gu-we η water); jeba η -yo- *to sleep lined up* (gu-jeba η line, row); mira-ye η - *to be ashamed* (gu-mira head also simply ye η -);

rere-wu- *to give in marriage* (gu-rere *camp*); ganam-muk- *to forget* (gu-ganam *ear*); waŋere-pu- *to singe, precook* (an animal, as preparation for further cooking) (not known if waŋere exists as independent nominal, but in Jawoñ at least it is an adjectival noun *half-cooked, part-cooked*); gu?-me- *to be raw* (see below); jele-bu- *to urinate* (gu-jele *urine*).

Notice that the logical relation of noun stem to verb root varies in the compound stems. In some, the internal syntactic relation of noun to verb roots may be described as that of direct object; in wor?-ga- and jebaŋ-yo- it is perhaps locative, in mira-yer- something like adverbial adjunctive. The form 'to be raw' occurs in present tenses with copula me- (\emptyset -mele-gu?-men *lest it be raw*), but in the negative one also finds \emptyset -gu?-(?)molk *it is not raw* as for a regular predicate nominal. Based on comparison with a probable Jawoñ cognate -guk- (*inanimate*) *body, raw* (functionally opposed to -yuk-, which among other things may serve as a verbal prefix expressing animacy of the direct object) it is fairly clear that historically at least Ngalakan gu? was a nominal (perhaps principally adjectival) root *body, raw*. There are a few other common compounds with adjectival initial elements, e.g. moŋe-mare- *to wound* (with final mare- *to spear*).

Often a good indication of historical time depth of noun incorporation is the presence of distinctive compounding stems, e.g. stems which are functionally specialised in that they occur *only* as bound forms, while generally there are semantically equivalent free forms. In Ngalakan there seem to be only two such specialisations. One is the compounding nominal stem -biñi- *water* which was found only incorporated into verb complexes, e.g.: \emptyset -biñi-bolk-(g)aŋiñ *he made water come out* (PP). Notice however that -biñi- is not invariably used in verb compounds, viz. we?-ŋu- *to drink*, not *-biñi-ŋu-. The other specialised form is the verb root bači-, which often suppletes bu- when there is an initial compounding element: ŋun-wa|mor-bači *he struck my elbow*. But like -biñi-, bači- is not invariably used in compounding environments; in fact, bu- is more common.

At the other end of the compounding continuum, there is the possibility of relatively facultative incorporation of certain noun stems within certain basic limits. As is generally the case in incorporating languages, possibilities of incorporation are largely limited to nouns in intransitive subject and transitive object functions (and possibly also instrumental, as in bim-bu- *to paint, to write* with incorporated mu-bim *white ochre*); nouns in transitive subject function cannot be incorporated. Incorporation is further restricted to only certain kinds of nouns in these functions, namely, to some designating natural substances and generally inanimate man-made or natural objects and phenomena (e.g. -biñi- or we? *water*, gu|erŋ *firewood*, guŋdu *country*, bol? *track, path, road*, bi|? *sharp point, spear point*, bi|in *dampener, lily cake*). In most incorporating languages including Ngalakan, body parts are among the most consistently incorporated semantic classes of nouns. It is worth considering incorporation of body parts in greater detail.

There are a few 'lexical' noun incorporative forms (cf. wor?-ga-, ganam-muk- cited above) in which a body part cannot be described as possessed. That is, these compounds are idiomatic units, and though 'to forget' is constructed with the noun stem 'ear', it would be absurd to represent the relation between 'ear' and the subject of the clause as that of possessed-possessor. But body part stems freely incorporate where there is a relation of possession. Sapir (1911: 279), in one of the earliest treatments of noun incorporation, observed that under incorporation of a body part noun, the possessor:

is expressed as the pronominal subject or object of the verb according to whether the noun when incorporated is the syntactical equivalent of a subject or object ...

However, for Ngalakan at least, we may more accurately turn Sapir's statement around. In Ngalakan (also Jawoń), unless in 'lexical' incorporative forms, body parts and certain other nouns are simply in apposition to their possessors. It is always the possessor which is cross-referenced in the pronominal prefix, the possessed body part (or other noun) simply functioning in apposition to it (whether incorporated or not; for example, this is true also of Maŋarayi where there is no noun incorporation). Ngalakan examples of this appositional relation are:

- 3-407 ɲun-maʔmaŋiñ gungu-yaŋ-ŋini
3SG/1SG-*get* RED. PC GU- *words-mine*
He got/wrote what I said (literal *he got me, my words* in reference to report taken by a policeman).
- 3-408 jun-wañjat-ɖow-gan
2SG/1SG-*arm-break-CAUS* PRES
You're breaking my arm.
- 3-409 ɲun-jiŋ-gor-gan
3SG/1SG-*stomach-sick-CAUS* PRES
It's making me sick to my stomach, stomach-sick.
- 3-410 buru-mira-ɾark-bu-çi-n
3NSG-*face-paint-AUX-RR-PRES*
They're painting their faces.
- 3-411 ɲun-guyu-boɖewk-wo
3SG/1SG-*diarrhoea-bad-FAC* PP
It's caused me to have diarrhoea (literal *made me diarrhoea-bad*)

Of all the nouns which can be treated as an appositional 'part' in such part-whole constructions, body parts are those which most frequently incorporate (though they may alternatively occur as independent nouns). Thus, instead of using Sapir's formulation — which suggests that the case function of the possessor accords with that of the body part — we may say that where there exists a semantic part-whole relation between body part (and a few other nouns) and the possessor as locus or source, the 'part' noun is syntactically in apposition to the whole. Of course, under certain circumstances body parts can be spoken of as distinct from the whole, as when edible sections of game animals are designated, and these may then function as major clause constituents on their own account. But in Ngalakan, incorporation seems to be favoured where there is a part-whole relation, and in lexical incorporations, but not otherwise. I suggest, however, that such part-whole relations perhaps should not be considered coterminous with 'inalienable possession', since that notion needs to be reserved (often, largely for body part nouns) for specialised treatment of some nouns in more than just incorporating environments; while the part-whole treatment of body part nouns seems to be quite common in most incorporating languages.

In 4.7, the frequent overt cross-reference of mu- and gu-class nouns in transitive object and intransitive subject functions was discussed. Sometimes both cross-referencing pronominal and incorporating noun stem are found in either function:

- 3-412 burgu-guṅḍu-ṅaniñ biṅ-ʔwala ṅu-goʔje marči-biraʔ-(ʔ)gan
 3NSG/GU-country-see PC hill-ABL M-that white man-DU-DAT
They looked at/surveyed the country from the hill for the two white men.
- 3-413 gu-gu-biñi-ṅe ṅolko-gaʔ mambaṭ-gaʔ
 3-3SG/GU-water-cook big-LOC billy-LOC
She's boiling water in the big billycan.
- 3-414 boñi mu-wolo yimi-biṭin-maṅiñʔ-miñ-gin
 now MU-cooked 1IN DU/MU-damper-make-PP-SUB
Now the damper you and I made is cooked.

4.9 Mode particles

Particles constitute a diverse class in Ngalakan: they include such forms as baliñʔ *like*, menikaʔ *unlike*, aṅiʔ used in allative sense with directions, and others. In fact, 'particle' is used as something of a residual category. However, there is a class of particles which can be grouped together as 'modal' in that they express the attitude of the speaker towards the content of his utterance. Other modal particles (wayaṅ, wañba, moloṅʔ) which occur with certain modal categories of the verb only have been discussed in 3.3.3.

The form mago is used either as an exclamation of disbelief (*no!?*) or as a particle expressing uncertainty:

- 3-415 mago ṅuru-ṛabon-jiʔ ø-guṅḍu-muṅunʔ-miñ
perhaps 1IN PL-go-FUT NEG 3SG-country-darken-PP
Perhaps we can't go, it's gotten dark.

One informant alternately used mago and a form bago in a very similar way, and it is believed they are variants. The particle mago also occurs in the interjection mago guʔju *I don't know, perhaps so.*

The particle ṅara is usually clause final and sometimes occurs in rather rhetorical interrogations; it means *perhaps*:

- 4-416 ṅiñ-ganam-mup ṅara
 2SG-ear-obscured *perhaps*
Perhaps you're deaf; Could it be that you're deaf? (since you don't seem to hear me).

The most frequent expression of possibility and/or uncertainty of clausal scope is guṅmaṅʔ *it might be that, maybe*:

- 3-417 yanaʔ guṅmaṅʔ
what might be
What might it be? What is it?
- 3-418 guṅmaṅʔ ṅu-yanaʔ-ṛa
maybe 1SG-do what-FUT
What shall I do?
- 3-419 guṅmaṅʔ yi-ṅana gojegunʔ boṅoyiʔ
maybe 1IN DU-see FUT over there another
It may be that you and I will see another over there.

The particle *warwar* expresses speaker's judgment of the probable correctness of the proposition, something equivalent to *I suppose, I think*:

- 3-420 *ju-ṅana ṅugu-goñ gojegun? warwar*
 2SG/3SG-see FUT M-kangaroo there I think
You'll see kangaroo over there I think.

The particle *yuw?we*, on the other hand, expresses speaker's attitude that the proposition he has uttered, though alleged to be true, is perhaps subject to some uncertainty:

- 3-421 *alanga ḷanga ø-maṇiñ?-miñ yuw?we*
then billabong 3SG/3SG-make-PP supposedly
Then he supposedly made the billabong.

The particle *wolo?* is used either in nominal comparison (see 3.2.18), or as particle or verb prefix expressing a reported opinion of how something is, in regard to which *wolo?* expresses uncertainty or scepticism on the speaker's part:

- 3-422 *wolo? guṅḍu ma?*
like country good
It's supposedly good country (possible nuance: I don't know, might or might not be)
- 3-423 *buru-wolo?-wurk*
 3NSG-like-work (English)
They supposedly work.

The particle *ṅapa* expresses speaker's opinion *it would be better that*:

- 3-424 *mu-maṅgaḷa-ka? ṅapa jeñ yiñji baṭa-ṅul?-yi? ye?yere*
 MU-fork-LOC better fish also PROP-coolamon low down
ṅu-yeṅa
 1SG/3SG-put FUT
Better I put the fish also low down in the tree fork in a coolamon.

The particle *jamolk^jamolka?^molka?* expresses *for nothing, for no particular reason, just like that*, or sometimes is best glossed *simply*:

- 3-425 *ṅu-jap-miñ ṅayka? gun-go?jen-ga? gungu-ḷaṅga-ka?, ṅu-jap-miñ*
 1SG-dive-PP 1SG ABS GU-that-LOC/ALL GU-billabong-ALL 1SG-dive-PP
jamolk
for nothing
I dived into the billabong, I just dived in like that.

(The meaning *in vain* is expressed by *yana?miñ*, also sometimes by *molka?*).

4.10 Conjunctions

The conjunctions specify the nature of meaning relations between clauses, and a few instances, lower-level constituents. They convey how a stretch of speech is to be viewed as connected to preceding or following speech uttered by the same person or by others. Following Halliday and Hasan (1976:238) several types of conjunctive relation are distinguished: additive, temporal, causal and adversative.

There are no unemphatic NP-phrasal conjunctions 'and' or 'or' in Ngalakan. The unemphatic phrasal conjunction 'and' has as its equivalent a rising-falling intonation pattern over each coordinate constituent and a brief pause between constituents. However, there are three forms that can express emphatic NP conjunction, two of which also are used as additive clausal conjunctions. One is *yiñji* *also*, which follows the noun:

- 3-426 mači ju-gun?biri ju-bolo bur-bol-mana-gan
indeed/for F-that F-old person 3NSG/3SG-rub-AUX FUT-SUB/FOC
 mayno?-yi? yukaji? mira yiñji
red ochre-INST thoroughly head also
They rub that old woman thoroughly with red ochre, (her) face too.
 (Text 5(17)).

Another is *añji* which as phrasal conjunction occurs between a first noun and any other(s) added to it:

- 3-427 manapuñ bur-ñe gu-jiwi añji gu-wočal bur-ñun
echidna 3NSG/3SG-cook GU-liver and GU-lung 3NSG/3SG-eat PRES
 jeki
first
They're cooking the porcupine, the liver and the lungs they eat first.

This is more common, however, as a clausal conjunction. The third is *ñaña?bay*, additive emphatic and usually best glossed *furthermore*, *in addition*, *besides*:

- 3-428 yiri-ja-wakeniñ nu-go?je-bira? ñaña?bay wur?wuruñu-bira?
LEX-now-return PC M-that-DU besides old people-DU
 yirbi-me?me
LEX/3NSG-get PP
Now we came back (and) we got those two and the two old people besides.

4.10.1 Additive clausal conjunctions

Additive clausal conjunctions include *añji*, *ñaña?bay*, and *yinimbala*. The conjunction *añji* is generally clause-initial and expresses that what follows is to be understood as a continuation of the preceding:

- 3-429 añji rere-ka? alki? yiri-waña-ñañaniñ
and camp-LOC still LEX-CON-sit PC
And we still sat (waited) a long time yet in camp.

See examples in Text 3 (18, 20, 22), among others.

The conjunction *ñaña?bay* *further*, *moreover*, *again* is illustrated by:

- 3-430 ñaña?bay nu-gu-gobol-gobol-waywo wařačara-yi?
furthermore M-turkey (Eng.) and all floodwater-ERG
 buruñ-jekañiñ
3SG/3NSG-sweep away AUX-PP
Furthermore the floodwater swept away the (domestic) turkeys and all.

See also the combination *añji ñaña?bay* *and furthermore*, Text 3(18), and 4(17).

The conjunction *yinimbala* is usually final in a clause, the content of which is being compared and found similar with that of another clause. It is 'comparative additive' and can usually be glossed *just the same*. The second clause may be quite elliptical if its understood content fully parallels that of the first:

3-431 wañba yiriñbi-ñan-ji? ñugu-bigur-yi? geywar-yi?
 POT NEG 3NSG/LEX-see-FUT NEG M-man-ERG young man-ERG

yinimbala

just the same

The men can't look at us and the young men just the same (= can't either).

The conjunction *aña* is less well understood; it seems to be sometimes additive, sometimes slightly adversative in meaning (similar to *but* or *well*). Probably the best clue to its use is that in narrative it often appears to introduce a clause which departs from the previous narrated matter, serving as a kind of 'switch-theme' conjunction. An example of this with previous linguistic context given is:

3-432 ñayu gaja? go?je ñan ø-barañaniñ miðark gaña?-ga? welenje
only dog there right 3SG-hang PC twig little-LOC bitch

baça-mirpara-yi? buru-barañaniñ wi|i-miðark-(g)a?. Aña
 PROP-children 3NSG-hang RED. PC CMP-twig-LOC and

ø-wakeñ ñu-bolo ñugu-balkiñ ñugu-Peter Haig
 3SG-return PP M-boss M-constable M- (name)

Only the dog was hanging up there in the little twigs (i.e. high up in the tree) with her pups, they were hanging in the poor little twigs. But/and the boss, the policemen Peter Haig came back.

(Text 2,24-25). See also Text 2 (23), and Text 3(22) where the meaning is perhaps best given as *even*.

4.10.2 Temporal conjunctions

Temporal conjunctions include *boñi now*, *jeki first*, *alaña then*, *next*, *directly*, *alako later* and *alki? still*, *yet*. All of these are capable of the double usage described by Halliday and Hasan (1976:241) as 'external' and 'internal'. 'External' uses express relations between phenomena talked about (thus these connections are 'external' to the speech situation, taken as the primary perspective), while 'internal' uses express relations between phenomena within the speech situation itself.

Boñi now is capable of expressing immediacy with respect to the speech situation (*boñi ñu-řabona I'll go now*), and also with respect to the narrative moment in a way very similar to that of the preverbal prefix *-ja-~ja?-~je-* (see 3.3.2):

3-433 boñi ø-gu-jekaniñ gungu-gowk
now 3SG-GU-sweep away AUX-PP GU-humpy
Now it swept away the houses.

Similarly, *jeki* may mean *first* with respect to the present speech situation (as in 'first I'll wash the clothes'), or with respect to narrated events:

- 3-434 mu-balku jeki bur-buju?
 MU-rope first 3NSG/3SG-twist
First they twist the rope.

The conjunction *alanga* may mean *then, next, directly* in either external or internal usage:

- 3-435 *alanga* ϕ -yeŋi η u-goʔje mirpara gaña
directly 3SG/3SG-put POT M-that child small
Directly she may have that small child (i.e. she might give birth any time).

Conjunction *alako* means *later, after* and is subject to both uses:

- 3-436 *alako* buru-wat-(t)a mungu-jeraða
later 3NSG-conclude-FUT MU-woman's ceremony
By and by they'll finish the women's ceremony.

For illustration of *alkiʔ* *still, yet* see the first example under 4.10.1.

4.10.3 Causal conjunctions

The causal conjunction *warŋgu* introduces a clause and means *that's why, that's the reason that*:

- 3-437 η un-yeŋ-gaŋiñ warŋgu η u-wakeñ η u-yeŋ-miñ
 3SG/1SG-shame-CAUS PP that's why 1SG-return PP 1SG-shame-PP
He shamed me, that's why I came back, I was ashamed.

The conjunctions *mači* or *mačiniñ* are of very high frequency in Ngalakan. Basically they seem to be emphatic, something like *indeed, truly*, but this emphatic meaning frequently allows them to be taken as having an explanatory or causal force, something like *because*. An example of the more strictly emphatic usage is:

- 3-438 bigur η u-goʔje Bill Harney mačiniñ
 Aborigine M-that (name) indeed
Truly that Bill Harney was an Aborigine.

(This was said of a former welfare worker who was in the area during the war; he was white, so the force of the utterance is to praise him as being truly like an Aborigine). An example of the causal nuance is:

- 3-439 η ur- η un-jiʔ mači mu-boðewk
 1IN PL/3SG-eat-FUT NEG indeed MU-bad
We can't eat it indeed (= because) it's bad.

This usage tends to involve *mači* primarily, in non-final position within an utterance.

The particle *baliñʔ*, which is often used to form similes *like X*, can also have a causal sense:

- 3-440 wayaŋ η unbu-bak-juyʔ-e baliñʔ η olko yir-wurk-miñ
 OBL 3NSG/1SG-OP-send-POT since a lot/big 1EX NSG-work (Eng.)-PP
They should have sent it for/to me since we worked hard/a lot.

See also the example Text 2(29).

4.10.4 Adversative conjunctions

The principal adversative conjunctions are *ŋayu* *but, only* and a second, less common one *ŋani* which also appears to mean approximately *only*. An example of *ŋayu* is:

3-441 ŋu-banar-koro gu-yaŋ-bore ŋayu Jawoñ
 1SG/3SG-*hear*-PRNEG GU-*language-theirs* *but, only* (language name)
 ŋu-banar
 1SG/3SG-*hear*
I don't understand their language but (I understand) Jawoñ/only
Jawoñ.

See also the last example under 4.10.1.

4.11 Negation

As described in 3.3.3. and other sections under 3.3, clauses are negated by suffixing the clausal verb with one of the three negative suffixes -koro, -ʔmolk or -čiʔ~jiʔ. Expression of 'nobody' is achieved by use of -were *who*, with negative verb form (3.2.28.1). The privative construction is described in 3.2.6, and the negation of an identifying interrogative with first or second person subject (*is/was it you?* etc.) by means of pronominally-prefixed -(ʔ)molk is described in 3.2.15.

Clearly of the three negative suffixes, -ʔmolk is that of the widest distribution and greatest semantic generality. Any isolated constituent besides first and second person pronouns can be negated by means of -ʔmolk e.g. *ŋu-bolo-bindi-ʔmolk* *he's not really old (an old man)*; *ø-gakeŋ-ʔmolk* *it's not far*; *ŋu-gunʔbiri-yiʔ-(ʔ)molk* *not that one (ergative or instrumental)*, and so forth.

4.12 Direct and indirect discourse

In Ngalakan, all reported speech is represented as if it were direct discourse by re-creation of the (alleged) original utterance. The lack of a distinction between direct and indirect discourse in reported speech has been noted for other Australian languages (Rumsey 1982:157 ff., Merlan 1982:1-4). In Ngalakan, as in these other languages, reported speech cannot be assumed to be a faithful representation of the original utterance since there is no other method of reporting speech besides the 'direct' one. The verb *to say, do, yini-*, is capable of intransitive use only; the transitive counterpart *yiniʔ-ga-* is formed with what is ordinarily causative *ga-*. Either intransitive or transitive form often is used as a framing verb, signalling that discourse is being reported:

3-442 ŋur-bun-jiʔ ŋur-bawunʔ yerke ø-wa|k-miñ
 1IN PL-*kill*-FUT NEG 1IN PL-*leave* *inside* 3SG-*enter*-PP

yukajiʔ buru-yiniʔ-ga-či-ñ
altogether 3NSG-*say*-AUX-RR-PP
"We can't kill it, let's leave it, it went inside for good",
they said to each other.

In the absence of the framing verb, reported discourse can be detected by pronominal shift demarcating it from surrounding descriptive passages in narrative:

3-443 wereka ɲu-(name) buru-yiniñ
where M-(name) 3NSG-say PP
"Where is X", they said.

Wangiñ? ɲun-bayaniñ ɲun-me?me ɲun-gaɲiñ
one-ERG 3SG/1SG-come to see PC 3SG/1SG-get PP 3SG/1SG-take PP
One came to see me, got me and took me.

ɲiñja? ɲiñ-(name) ?
2SG ABS 2SG-X
Are you X ?

Yo, ɲayka?
Yes 1SG ABS
Yes, it is I.

It is common in Australian languages for a single verb to be used to mean both 'to say' and 'to do'. This is true also of yini-, which furthermore serves as verbal index *to do thus, like that/this*, i.e. in the way you are being shown or told about. It may be accompanied by a gesture if it indexes something immediately present in the speech situation: buru-yini *they say/do like this*.

4.13 Anaphora

As described at 3.2.27, discourse reference in Ngalakan is maintained primarily by the use of distant demonstratives go?je- and gun?biri- (but especially the former) functioning as modifiers or heads of NPs. Thus 'that man' etc. often has approximately the force of the English definite article 'the man' (known, established in discourse). The strength of this reference-maintaining device is shown by the fact that there appears to be no other, widely-used explicit anaphoric device. There are two adjectival nominals – romo? and maɲi – which mean *experientially the same*, and signal that an entity is assumed to be known through previous discussion or other experience. Thus, maɲi-ka? *in the same place* (that you know about); also

3-444 gu-romo?-ga? gunmaɲ? ɲun-bak-wen?
GU-same-LOC maybe 3SG/1SG-OP-look
Maybe he's waiting for me in the same place.

The adverbial prefix guru- *right, just, precisely* has been mentioned in several places (3.4.6 and also in 4.6.3 as the prefix to the temporal subordinators guru-go?jen-ji *the time that/when*). To the extent that the location, time or event specified by guru- is known from previous speech, guru- may be anaphoric to previous discourse. This, however, is simply a specialisation of its primary function in expressing location, time or event as precisely specified.

CHAPTER V
SAMPLE TEXTS

5. Sample texts

1. Plains kangaroo dreaming
2. The Roper flood of 1940
3. Jeraḏa (woman's ceremony)
4. Grandmother and grandson (Gunabibi story)
5. Releasing widow from period of mourning
6. More on funeral rites and food distribution
7. On the coming of Europeans and others to Roper Valley
8. Using a firestick
9. Use of some kin terms
10. Not getting echidna
11. Getting echidna

Further text material is lodged in the library of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra. Although of grammatical interest, the material was given in confidence and cannot be made public. In special cases requests to see this will be considered.

Text 1. Plains kangaroo dreaming

The following story was told by Edna Ñuluk on August 26, 1977 at Roper Valley. It begins with a discussion of a big billabong (Ngarmiḡan or Red Lily) on Elsey Station which according to local mythology was created by plains kangaroo. Ngarmiḡan is located within the boundaries of what is recognised as traditional Maḡarayi territory. Plains kangaroo is said to have created a number of sickness dreamings by leaving disease at those localities. The story goes on to tell how Edna and her grandmother went to another locality created by plains kangaroo; when Edna dived into the billabong there and found the mussels on the bottom to be extraordinarily large, she and her grandmother came to the conclusion that these were mussels associated with the mythological figure and should not be touched. Later they were informed that the locality was indeed a kangaroo mythological site.

1. narmiŋgan ϕ -guŋdu-maŋiñ?-miñ nuŋu-jaɖugal aŋji ϕ -ɖoɖo?-miñ
Red Lily (TOP) 3SG-country-make-PP M-plains kangaroo and 3SG-descend-PP
 ϕ -gol-ŋeɾ?-miñ ϕ -bawun?-miñ gungu-ɡaɖaɡoɾ.
 3SG-secretion-breath/cough-PP 3SG/3SG-leave-PP GU-sickness
2. Boŋi ϕ -ɾaboniñ bay-ala, waŋgiñ?-(?)molk, yar?, ϕ -ɾaboniñ gun?biri
now 3SG-go PC north-ABL one-NEG many 3SG-go-PC there
 bay-ala nu-gun?biri nuŋu-goñ nuŋu-jaɖugal.
north-ABL M-that M-kangaroo M-plains kangaroo
3. ϕ -ɾabo gu- ϕ -bolk ϕ -gu-ŋa?ŋa ŋolkonañin baɭyura.
 3SG-go PP 3-3SG-emerge 3SG-GU-see PP *big (TOP)*
4. aŋji ϕ -ɖuɾuɾ?-miñ ϕ -gol-ŋeɾ?-miñ nuŋbu-goy-wuniñ wur?wuruŋu-yi?
and 3SG-cough-PP 3SG-secretion-cough-PP 3NSG/1SG-show-AUX PC old people-ERG
5. ϕ -yeñ gaɖaɡoɾ jolok gaɖaɡoɾ ϕ -yeñ
 3SG/3SG-put PP *sickness cold, phlegm sickness 3SG/3SG-put PP*
 ϕ -gol-ŋeɾ?-miñ-gin jaɖugal, gu- ϕ -ñar?-gan
 3SG-secretion-cough-PP-SUB *plains kangaroo 3-3SG-kill-CAUS PRES*
6. goykun? ϕ -ɾabo-gon bol?-ŋowi ϕ -ɾaboniñ goykun? nan
this way 3SG-go PP-SUB road-his 3SG-go PC this way right
 narmiŋgan-?wala ϕ -ɾabo goykun? yana?way ... waɾan gungu-ɭaŋga
Red Lily (TOP)-ABL 3SG-go PP this way where to (TOP) GU-billabong
 ŋolko baɭa-jatam-yi?
big PROP-lily
7. ŋaŋa?bay ϕ -garbeñ gu-ɭaŋga gu-ŋolkonañin ϕ -maŋiñ?-miñ
furthermore 3SG-crawl PP GU-billabong GU-big 3SG/3SG-make-PP
 go?je, ϕ -ɖuɾuɾ?-miñ garku gu-gu-yini gu-gu-biŋ-wor
there 3SG-cough-PP high up 3-GU-be thus 3-GU-rock/hill-protrude
 aŋji ϕ -ɖuɾuɾ?-miñ nu-go?je nuŋu-jaɖugal ŋaŋa?bay, jeki waɾan
and 3SG-cough-PP M-that M-plains kangaroo moreover first (TOP)
8. aŋji yi-ɾoro ϕ -ɾabo ϕ -garbeñ ϕ -ɾabo go?je yiri-yoŋoniñ
and ALL-east 3SG-go 3SG-crawl PP 3SG-go there 1EX-sleep PC
 go?je nan, jugu-ge-ŋini-yi? yiriŋ-gaŋiñ ŋiñja? ju-gowko-ŋgi
there right F-man's Ch-mine-ERG 3SG/1EX-take PP 2SG ABS F-MoMo-yours SG
 nu-gaka-?gan ŋaykaŋi?-gin ju-ge-yere
M-brother-GEN 1SG GEN F-man's Ch-ours EX
9. nu-welŋ-bo ŋiñ-yini?-gani-?molk gun-go?je-?gen
1SG-mistake-AUX PP 1SG/2SG-tell-AUX POT-PNEG GU-that-DAT
 gungu-ɭaŋga-?gan, guŋmaŋ? werekun?, nu-wi-ŋaŋ gungu-ŋey-ŋowi
GU-billabong-DAT perhaps where 1SG/3SG-lose-AUX PP GU-name-its
 jaɖugal-yi? ϕ -maŋiñ?-miñ-gin guŋɖu, guɭagaɭ giku wolo?
plains kangaroo-ERG 3SG/3SG-make-PP-SUB country big mussel like
 biŋ waɭaman? yerke gu- ϕ -japjap-janan jaɖugal-yi?
stone a lot inside/under 3-3SG-stand-AUX PRES plains kangaroo-ERG
 ϕ -guŋdu-maŋiñ?-miñ-gin go?je nan ϕ -ɖuɾuɾ?-miñ-gin, gu-we?
 3SG-country-make-PP-SUB *there right 3SG-cough-PP-SUB GU-water*

- ϕ - $\text{doro}^?$ - $\text{ji}^?$ mači jaḍugal ϕ - $\text{duḗur}^?$ -miñ waṛan
 3SG-dry-FUT NEG indeed plains kangaroo 3SG-cough-PP (TOP)
10. gu-jolko $\text{deṛ}^?$ $\text{deṛ}^?$ non[?]non[?] ϕ - $\text{ḡurum}^?$ -miñ ϕ -biñi-bolk-(g)añiñ
 GU-ground hard little bit 3SG/3SG-dig-PP 3SG-water-come out-CAUS PP
 gungu-we?
 GU-water
11. jaḍugal ϕ - $\text{ḡurum}^?$ -miñ ϕ -bolk-miyiñ boñi gungu-we?
 plains kangaroo 3SG/3SG-dig-PP 3SG-come-out-PC now GU-water
12. ϕ - $\text{ḡurum}^?$ -miyiñ ϕ -biñi-bolk-(g)añiñ ḡugu -jaḍugal-yi?
 3SG/3SG-dig-PC 3SG-water-come out-CAUS PP M-plains kangaroo-ERG
13. jeki ϕ - $\text{gu-we}^?$ - ji-meniñ alanga langa ϕ - $\text{mañiñ}^?$ -miñ
 at first 3SG-GU-water-PRIV-AUX PC then billabong 3SG/3SG-make-PP
 yuw[?]we yaraman bulugi go[?]je gu- ϕ -jap
 supposedly horse cattle there 3-3SG-stand
14. yi-ṛoro ϕ - $\text{go}^?$ -miyiñ ḡaṇa[?]bay, guḡḡu-ka[?] ϕ -ṛabo ϕ - $\text{gakeṇ}^?$ -molk
 ALL-east 3SG-go away-PC moreover country-ALL 3SG-go PP 3SG-far-NEG
 baliñ[?] gun[?]biri yerke, baliñ[?] $\text{ḡu-gun}^?$ biri ṛoro, go[?]je gungu-langa
 like there down like M-that east there GU-billabong
 ḡolkonañin, jaḍugal ϕ - $\text{duḗur}^?$ -miñ gojegun[?]
 big plains kangaroo 3SG-cough-PP there
15. giku ϕ -yeñ
 mussel 3SG-put PP
16. waṅgiñ[?] ju-bolo[?]bolo yiri-ṛabo yiri-marṅgi-[?]molk¹ gun-go[?]je gungu-guḡḡu-[?]gun
 one F-woman LEX-go PP LEX-not know-NEG GU-that GU-country-DAT
17. ḡu-jap-miñ ḡayka[?] gun-go[?]jen-ga[?] gungu-langa-ka[?], ḡu-jap-miñ jamolk
 1SG-dive-PP 1SG ABS GU-that-ALL GU-billabong-ALL 1SG-dive-PP for nothing
18. $\text{ḡu-gaṇa}^?$ -wo ju-gowko ju-muṇaṇ[?], ḡiñja[?] ḡiñ- $\text{ḡoḡo}^?$ we[?]-ga[?]
 1SG/3SG-ask-AUX PP F-MoMo F-(subsection) 2SG ABS 2SG-go down water-ALL
 ϕ -yiniñ
 3SG-say PP
19. $\text{ḡu-gu-!u!}^?$ -miñ baṭa-mambaṭ-yi[?] gungu-we[?], añji wulup ḡu-miñ^2 ḡaṇa[?]bay
 1SG-GU-dip-PP PROP-billycan GU-water and bathe 1SG-PP moreover
 ḡu-wulup-miñ $\text{ḡu-muṇ}^?$ -miñ ḡugu-giku wolo[?] biṅ, $\text{ḡu-muṇ}^?$ -miñ
 1SG-bathe-PP 1SG/3SG-grasp-PP M-mussel like stone 1SG/3SG-grasp-PP

¹The speaker has evidently substituted *marṅgi to be unknowledgeable* for *goyi to be knowledgeable*, a slip of the tongue perhaps due to the complexity of the negation.

²Note the 'extraction' here of the root of the thematic verb *wulup*, and inflection of the (past punctual) auxiliary as *ḡu-miñ*; speaker later gives the 'normal' form *ḡu-wulup-miñ*. A few comments have been edited out for purposes of this presentation, e.g. comments relating to the identity of the niece; most of the edited comments were in English.

- ̄u-goʔje ̄ugu-giku, ānji ̄u-gewen-juruweñ ̄u-goʔje-ʔgen jičan-ʔgan
 M-that M-mussel and 1SG-fright-run PP M-that-DAT 'dreaming'-DAT
20. ānji ̄u-gewen-juruweñ ̄u-yiniʔ-gāniñ ju-goʔje jugu-bolo ju-gowko:
 and 1SG-fright-run PP 1SG/3SG-tell-AUX PP F-that F-old woman F-MoMo
 bolo gūnmānʔ wirijiʔ ̄aykaʔ-yiʔ ̄u-yiniʔ-gāniñ
 old woman perhaps ceremony, totem 1SG-ERG 1SG/3SG-tell-AUX PP
 ju-bolo ju-gowko
 F-old person F-MoMo
21. ̄u-warjaʔ-miñ gu-biñ-ʔgin, yipuñja bur-beṭbeṭ-miñ-gin
 1SG-walk around PP GU-stone-DAT long ago 3NSG/3SG-roast RED PP-SUB
22. ̄u-warjaʔ-miñ gača: bolo gača ø-gu-beṭbeṭ-(?)molk
 1SG-walk around-PP nothing old woman nothing 3SG-GU-roast-PNEG
 yi-bawunʔ yeʔyere yerke mūn-gaʔ
 1IN DU-leave at bottom inside interior-LOC
23. yi-waken bolo ̄u-gaʔye jičan
 1IN DU-go back old woman M-this dreaming
24. mu-̄nōnʔ̄nōnʔ-(?)molk gungu-weʔ yiri-woykwoyk, buru-woyk jeñ-ʔgen
 MU-small-NEG GU-water 1EX-fish RED 3NSG-fish fish-DAT
25. ̄u-̄alʔ̄alʔ-miñ ju-bawunʔ, ̄u-goy-wo ̄ugu-giku ju-goʔje
 1SG-climb-PP 2SG/3SG-leave 1SG/3SG-show-AUX PP M-mussel F-that
 jugu-bolo ju-gowko
 F-old person F-MoMo
26. ̄olkonāin, ju-warʔ ̄un-yiniʔ-gāniñ ju-bolo-yiʔ, ju-warʔ
 big 2SG/3SG-throw 3SG/1SG-tell-AUX PP F-old person-ERG 2SG/3SG-throw
27. mu-̄ondo mu-wiṭ-miñ yin-mele-̄un, gogo yi-ṛaḃaḃon
 MU-wind MU-arise-PP 3SG/1IN DU-EVIT-eat PRES hey! 1IN DU go RED PRES
 jugu-bolo-yiʔ ̄un-ñawk-miñ mu-̄ondo mu-wiṭ-miñ-gin weʔ-wala
 F-old person-ERG 3SG/1SG-say-PP MU-wind MU-arise-PP-SUB water-ABL
28. yiri-goʔ-miñ bōni yi-ṛoro
 1EX-go away-PP now ALL-east
29. jaʔbōn, ̄iñ-waken ṛere-kaʔ yi-goʔ-̄ana ju-balakbalak-i
 enough 2SG-return PRES camp-ALL 1IN DU/3SG-have-AUX FUT F-MoMoBrDa-yours SG
 ̄u-yiniʔ-gāniñ ju-goʔje jugu-boloʔbolo jugu-bolo
 1SG/3SG-tell-AUX PP F-that F-woman F-old person
30. Yi-bak-(g)oʔ-̄an jugu-balakbalak-i ̄u-gaʔye gūnmānʔ jičan
 1IN DU/3SG-OP-have-AUX PRES F-MoMoBrDa-yours SG M-this perhaps dreaming
 mu-̄ondo ̄olko ø-wiṭ-miñ yiri-gewen-juruweñ
 MU-wind big 3SG-arise-PP 1EX-fright-run PP
31. ̄u-̄aʔ̄a ju-gaʔye jugu-baḃiñʔ ̄aykāniʔ-(?)gin ju-ge-̄ini:
 1SG/3SG-see PP F-this F-(subsection) 1SG-GEN F-man's Ch-mine
 jičan ̄ara ̄u-gaʔye ?
 dreaming perhaps M-this

32. Yo! ϕ -yiniñ, jičan nu-gun?biri goñ ϕ -ṇaṇaniñ gun?biri
 Yes 3SG-say PP *dreaming* M-that kangaroo 3SG-sit PC *there*
 ϕ -ḍuṛuṛ?-miñ, ϕ -yiniñ
 3SG-cough-PP 3SG-say PP

1. *Plains kangaroo made Red Lily, and he went down, spewed forth (secretion), he left sickness.*
2. *Now he was coming from the north, there was not one, there were many (kangaroos), he was coming from the north, that plains kangaroo.*
3. *He went, comes out, he saw that big Baḷyura [a big expanse of river on Elsey Station associated with an important secret-sacred ceremony].*
4. *And he coughed, spewed up, old people showed (taught) me.*
5. *He put sickness, cold, he put sickness, when plains kangaroo spewed, it causes death.*
6. *He went along this way, his road (path) was coming right along this way, from Red Lily he came this way to where ... Waṛan, a big billabong with lilies.*
7. *And he crawled and made the big billabong there, he coughed, high up it's like this, the rock sticks out, and moreover plains kangaroo coughed, first at Waṛan.*
8. *And he went east, he crawled, went there (where) we've camped right there, my niece (BrCh) took us, your mother's mother (to linguist), my brother's child.*
9. *I made a mistake (omission), I didn't tell you about that billabong, what's it ... [i.e. speaker is searching for its name], I've forgotten its name (of that place where) kangaroo made country, big mussels like stones, a whole lot under (water) stand up (at the place that) plains kangaroo made, right there where he coughed, the water can't go dry, because plains kangaroo coughed there at Waṛan.*
10. *The ground is hard, he dug a little, he made water come out.*
11. *Plains kangaroo dug, now water came out.*
12. *He dug, made water come out, plains kangaroo.*
13. *First there was no water, then supposedly he made the billabong; horses and cattle stand there.*
14. *And further, he went away to the east, he went 'bush', not too far, like that down there, like that to the east [indicating distance], that big billabong, plains kangaroo coughed there.*
15. *He put mussels.*
16. *One woman and I went, we didn't know about that country.*
17. *I dived into the billabong, I dived in for no special reason.*
18. *I asked my grandmother Muṇaṇ?. "You go down to the water", she said.*

19. *I dipped water (waded) with a billycan, and I bathed; I bathed, and grasped the mussels like rocks, I grabbed the mussels, and I ran away afraid of that 'dreaming' [mythological manifestation].*
20. *I ran away in fright, I told my old grandmother: "Old woman, maybe it's a dreaming", I said to the old woman my grandmother.*
21. *I looked around for stones, long ago they roasted [i.e. used to make pits in the ground to roast food in].*
22. *I looked around, nothing: 'old woman, nothing (here)', it wasn't roasting [that is, she had tried to find roasting stones and evidently was unable to]. "Let's leave it way down inside" [i.e. in water].*
23. *"Let's go back, old woman, this is a dreaming".*
24. *The water wasn't small, we (always) fish (there), they go there for fish.*
25. *I climbed up, "You leave it" [said the grandmother], I showed her the mussels.*
26. *"(Too) big, throw it away", the old lady said to me, "throw it away".*
27. *The wind came up, "It might devour us, hey! let's go", the old lady said to me, because the wind arose from the water.*
28. *We went away east then.*
29. *"Enough, you go back to camp, we'll keep [i.e. look after] your mother-in-law", I said to the woman, the old woman.*
30. *"We'll keep it [the mussels ?] for your mother-in-law, perhaps this is a dreaming".*
31. *I saw bađiñ?, my brother's daughter: "Is this perhaps a dreaming ?"*
32. *"Yes!" she said, "it's a dreaming, that kangaroo sat down there and coughed", she said.*

Text 2. The Roper flood of 1940

This version of the story of the Roper flood of 1940 was told on September 1, 1977 by Edna Ñuluk. On another occasion she told me a much longer version of the story, one which made clearer her part in helping to save two little girls, and working to assist in the aftermath of the flood. One of the themes of the story – and one of the reasons for telling it – is the speaker's feeling that she and other Aborigines were not compensated for all the work they did during this time.

1. Mu-wařačara-yi? yiriŋmi-bu|-gaŋiñ-gin ... ŋu-balkiñ gungu-ŋey-ŋowi
 MU-floodwater-ERG MU-LEX-drown-CAUS PP-SUB M-constable GU-name-his
 Constable Haig, Peter Haig.
 (name)
2. ŋunbu-bak-juj?- (?)molk money gamaji? gača gavmin-yi?
 3NSG/1SG-OP-send-PNEG (English) swag nothing government (English)-ERG
 ŋolko-yi? gu|aga|-yi?
 big-ERG big-ERG (important)

3. yiri-buļ-miñ-gin yapan? mu-ηere two weeks¹ malk-wači wapačara-bindi
 LEX-drown-PP-SUB two MU-sleep (English) time-last floodwater-real
 ηu-gun?biri gara-wala mu-ļow-miñ, maļuruļuru-?molk yere?-wala-?molk
 M-that high up-ABL MU-inundate-PP salt water-NEG low down-ABL-NEG
 mu-jow-miñ
 MU-flood-PP
4. Yiriη-yini?-gañiñ ηu-gun?biri ηu-balkiñ-yi?, gogo boñi mu-wapačara
 3SG/LEX-tell-AUX PP M-that M-constable-ERG hey now MU-floodwater
 yanipi ... wiļmur φ-me?me go?je-wala geriñ-wala
 whatsit wire 3SG/3SG-get PP there-ABL west -ABL
5. Buruη-yini?-gañiñ ηu-balkiñ-yi? ... ηugu-yini?-gana boñi
 3SG/3NSG-tell-AUX PP M-constable-ERG 1SG/2NSG-tell-AUX FUT now
 ηu-maņiñ?-ña gamaji? ηu-jañjañ-gana aņi? yi-walam
 2NSG/3SG-make-FUT swag 2NSG/3SG-carry-AUX FUT ALL ALL-south
 waņbaņgulyi-gaga? airstrip, ηu-me?me ηugu-wiļmur geriñ-wala
 (TOP)-ALL (English) 1SG/3SG-get PP M-wire west-ABL
 boņoyi? φ-buļ-miyiñ go?je buru-buļ-miyiñ go?je-wala ηu-wiļmur
 another 3SG-drown-PC there 3NSG-drown-PC there-ABL M-wire
 φ-ṛaboniñ buru-buļ-miñ yuw?we buruη-yini?-gañiñ boñi
 3SG-come PC 3NSG-drown-PP supposedly 3SG/3NSG-tell-AUX PP now
 ηugu-ga-maņiñ?-ña,² ηuru-ṛabona jeki yi-walam waļaman?
 1SG/GU-swag-make-FUT 2NSG-go FUT first ALL-south all
6. aņji wur?wuruηu gamaji? bur-gaņiñ go?je gu-ga?yen aņa airstrip
 and old people swag 3NSG-take PP there GU-this and (English)
 φ-wakeniñ
 3SG-return PC
7. nannygoat bur-gaņiñ bur-juju-wo bawun? go?je ṇan
 (English) 3NSG/3SG-take PP 3NSG/3SG-drive-AUX PP leave there right
8. bur-go?-ṇaniñ ηugu-bača-guñḍaṛoro-yi? yapan?-yi? bolo?bolo-yi?
 3NSG/3SG-have-AUX PC M-PROP-horn two-ERG woman-ERG
 weṛ?dak-(g)a?
 dry-LOC
9. buru-wakeñ go?je buruη-me?me ju-bolo-gapul ju-balakbalak-bira?
 3NSG-return PP there 3SG/3NSG-take PP F-old person PL F-MoMoBrDa-DU
 ηayka? wač-yapan?
 1SG ABS each-two

¹'Two weeks' was added in English to clarify the ambiguity of yapan? mu-ηere which could mean *two nights*, *two sleeps*.

²The prefix -ga- was exemplified twice in the corpus, and may be related morphologically to gamaji? *swag*. It seems to mean *things*, *belongings*, *swag*.

10. buruᅇ-gorčiᅇᅇ gamaji?-bore gaja?-bore buruᅇ-gorjigorji-ᅇ muᅇ
3SG/3NSG-load PP swag-theirs dog-theirs 3SG/3NSG-load RED-PP that's all
11. buruᅇ-re-ᅇuruweᅇ moticar-yi? aᅇi? yi-walam
3SG/3NSG-TNSV-rush PP (English)-INST ALL ALL-south
12. buruᅇ-re-ᅇuruweᅇ moticar-yi? ᅇu-balkiᅇ-yi? buruᅇ-gaᅇiᅇ
3SG/3NSG-TNSV-rush PP (English)-INST M-constable-ERG 3SG/3NSG-take PP
wur?wuruᅇu buruᅇ-yeᅇ
old people 3SG/3NSG-put PP
13. alki? yiri-waᅇa-bu!-?molk, \emptyset -me?me ᅇu-go?je wiᅇmur geᅇiᅇ-wala
still 1EX-CON-drown-PNEG 3SG/3SG-get PP M-that telegram west-ABL
bur-bak-juy?-miᅇ-gin
3NSG/3SG-OP-send-PP-SUB
14. boᅇi yaragaja mu-juruweᅇ, gamaji? yir-maᅇiᅇ?-miᅇ boᅇi waᅇaᅇara
now swiftly MU-run PP swag 1EX/3SG make-PP now floodwater
ᅇuᅇbiri-gaga?
there-ALL
15. yiri-mele-bu! waᅇaᅇara ᅇolko gu-mu-juruwen jopoᅇo
1EX-EVIT-drown floodwater big 3-MU-run PRES true
16. boᅇi bur-jaᅇjaᅇ-gaᅇiᅇ moticar-yi? nannygoat bur-juju-wuniᅇ
now 3NSG/3SG-carry-AUX PC (English)-INST (English) 3NSG/3SG-drive-AUX PC
yanipi bur-go?-ᅇaᅇiᅇ boᅇi
whatsit 3NSG/3SG-have-AUX PC now
17. wur?wuruᅇu-gapul buruᅇbu-me?me buruᅇbu-gorčiᅇᅇ bonoyi? balkiᅇ-yi?
old people-PL 3NSG/3NSG-take PP 3NSG/3NSG-load PP other police-ERG
buruᅇ-yeᅇ muᅇ
3SG/3NSG-put PP finish
18. ᅇayka?-(?)gan waᅇi, ᅇun-ja-me?me ᅇu-bak-wurk-miᅇ maᅇiniᅇ
1SG ABS-GEN after 3SG/1SG-now-take PP 1SG-OP-work (English)-PP indeed
ᅇugu-bolo-?gon
M-boss-DAT
19. yiri-ᅇabo boᅇi buruburu? buru-ᅇaboniᅇ yana?way ...
1EX-go PP now short way 3NSG-go PC where to ...
20. Yeke? Gaᅇa, waᅇaᅇara yiᅇᅇgoyiᅇᅇgon gu-mu-ᅇabon
How about it nothing floodwater today RED 3-MU-go PRES
21. mu-jilk-miᅇ mungu-we?, boᅇi buru-ᅇaᅇaᅇiᅇ aerodrome, waᅇaᅇara boᅇi
MU-rain-PP MU-water now 3NSG-sit PC (English) floodwater now
buruburu? mu-ᅇaboniᅇ gara-wala-gan
little way MU-come PC high-ABL-ADV
22. gaᅇiᅇjiko ᅇugu-wiᅇmur bur-waᅇa-juy?-miᅇ geᅇiᅇ-wala-gan, ᅇuᅇᅇgan-?wala
constantly M-wire 3NSG/3SG-CON-send-PP west-ABL-ADV Elsey-ABL
bur-bak-juy?-miᅇ
3NSG/3SG-OP-send-PP
23. aᅇa gaja? boᅇi \emptyset -bu!-miᅇ buru-bu!-miᅇ ᅇaykaᅇi?-?gin gaja?
and dog now 3SG-drown-PP 3NSG-drown-PP 1SG-GEN dog

guṇḍu-yarkyark
country-deserted

24. ṇayu gaja? go?je ṇan ø-baṛaṇaniñ miḍark gaña-ga?, welenē
only dog there right 3SG-hang PC twig little-LOC bitch
baṭa-miṛpara-yi? buru-baṛabaṛaṇaniñ wili-miḍark-(g)a?
PROP-pups 3NSG-hang RED PC CMP-twig-LOC
25. aṇa ø-wakeñ ṇugu-bolo ṇugu-balkiñ ṇugu-Peter Haig
and 3SG-return M-boss M-constable M-(name)
26. ø-wakeñ jugu-mičič boñi yir-go?-ṇaniñ ju-wañmiri
3SG-return PP F-Missus (English) now LEX/3SG-have-AUX PC F-white lady
go?je walam ṇugu-balkiñ-?gin jugu-bolo?bolo-ṇoji³ miṛpara-ṇoji
there south M-constable F-woman (wife)-hers child-hers
baṭa-miṛpara-yi?
PROP-child
27. yiri-ṇaṇaniñ go?je ṇan, yiri-ṇaṇaniñ guru-go?je, mu-waṛačara bōni
LEX-sit PC there right LEX-sit PC right-there MU-floodwater now
ṇolkoṇañin mu-ṛaboniñ
big MU-go PC
28. ṇugu-ḍak-waywo ṇugu-gobolbobol-waywo waṛačara-yi?
M-duck (English)-COLL M-turkey (English)-COLL floodwater-ERG
buruṇ-jekaṇiñ
3SG/3NSG-sweep away PP
29. boñi yi-yere? buruṇ-jekaṇiñ mu-waṛačara-yi? guinea fowl gojegun?
now ALL-low down 3SG/3NSG-sweep PP MU-floodwater-ERG (English) there
yirbi-go?-ṇaniñ-gin baliñ? yir-welen-jar?jar?-bawun?-miñ
LEX/3NSG-have-AUX PC-SUB like LEX/3SG-altogether?-not want-leave-PP
30. yaragaja mu-ṛaboniñ mungu-waṛačara yir-bawun?-miñ
swiftly MU-go PC MU-floodwater LEX/3SG-leave-PP
31. ṇayka? ṇu-go?-ṇani-?molk miṛpara go?je ṇan gača
LSG ABS LSG/3SG-have-AUX POT-PNEG child there right nothing
ṇu-wurk-miñ gamiñjiko, ṇu-bak-wurk-miñ ṇu-balkiñ
LSG-work (English)-PP all the time LSG/3SG-OP-work (English)-PP M-constable
32. yeke? ṇurka? ṇuru-gu?jel?, ø-yiniñ
what about it 2NSG 2NSG-cold 3SG-say PP

³All speakers with whom I worked frequently mis-spoke the third person singular possessive suffixes. Here, the form as given is *her wife*, the third singular feminine possessive used in agreement with the noun *bolo?bolo*, but obviously *his wife* (*bolo?bolo-ṇowi*) is meant. The same phenomenon was found in Maṅarayi perhaps to a slightly lesser extent.

33. Yo, yiri-gu?jel?
Yes 1EX-cold

34. mu-wapawapa? yini-wuna
MU-clothes 2SG/1EX-give FUT

yirin-wo?wo mu-wapawapa?, mu-may yiriŋ-wo?wo
3SG/1EX-give PP MU-clothes MU-food 3SG/1EX-give PP

1. *(The time when) floodwater inundated us ... the constable's name was Haig, Peter Haig.*
2. *The government, big important (people) didn't send me money, swag or anything [i.e. as recompense for all the hard work done during the flood].*
3. *We were inundated for two weeks, the last time real floodwater swept in from high up, it wasn't salt water from low down, it flooded in.*
4. *The constable told us, "hey! now floodwater" whatchacallim (speaker changes mind about what to say) he got a telegram from over in the west.*
5. *The constable told them [i.e. replied to the wire]... "I'll tell you now, you make up your swags and carry them south to Wanbangulyi airstrip, I got a wire from the west, another [place?] is inundated, they're submerged, the wire came from there, supposedly they've been submerged", he told them, "now I'll make up everything (swag), you all go south first".*
6. *And the old people took their swags there (this place?) and he returned to the airstrip.*
7. *They took the nannygoats, they drove them, left (them) right there.*
8. *The goats 'horned ones' were being kept in a dry place by two women.*
9. *They returned, he took all the old women, my two mothers-in-law.*
10. *He loaded them up, their swags, dogs, he loaded them up, finished.*
11. *He rushed them away by car to the south.*
12. *The constable rushed them away by car, he took the old people, located them [i.e. put them].*
13. *Still we weren't submerged, he got the wire from the west that they were sending.*
14. *Now it (water) was running swiftly, we made up our swags, now the flood-water (was running) that way.*
15. *"We might drown, big floodwater is running, true!"*
16. *Now they carried (the remaining things) by car, they drove the nannygoats, now they had whatsit*
17. *They took the old people, other policemen loaded them up, unloaded them, finished.*
18. *As for me, I was last, (after) now he took me, indeed I worked for the constable.*
19. *We went a little way, they went where to ... ?*

20. "What about it?" [evidently a question supposedly received by wire, i.e. how's it going?] *Nothing, the floodwater's running* [i.e. no change].
21. *It was raining, now they* [the Aborigines and others] *were camping at the aerodrome, now the floodwater was coming from higher up.*
22. *They kept on sending wires constantly from the west, they sent them from Elsey.*
23. *And the dog was submerged now, my dogs were being inundated, the camp* [i.e. the Aboriginal camp, where some dogs still were] *was deserted.*
24. *Only the dog was hanging up in the small branches (of a tree), a bitch with pups, they were hanging up in the small branches.*
25. *And the constable Peter Haig returned.*
26. *He came back, we had the Missus, a white lady* [Haig's wife] *to the south, the constable's wife and children.*
27. *We sat right there, we sat in the same place, the floodwater was running high now.*
28. *The floodwater swept away all the ducks, turkeys.*
29. *Now the floodwater swept downstream all the guinea fowls that we had had there, like (since) we had to leave them in a hurry.*
30. *The floodwater was running fast, we left it* [i.e. remaining stock and gear].
31. *I didn't have children there, none, I was working all the time, I was working for the constable.*
32. "What about it" [supposedly the constable talking] "are you cold?" he said.
33. "Yes, we're cold".
34. "Give us clothes".
35. *He gave us clothes, and food.*

Notes: the thematic verb *bu!* is glossed as *drown* in the English of the area, but in most uses in this story it means *to be inundated, submerged, flooded*.

Text 3. Jerada (women's ceremony)

Narrator: Edna Ñuluk

1. *buru-jebaŋ-yoŋon wa|aman? bolo?bolo*
3NSG-line-sleep PRES a lot woman
2. *ju-wangiñ? ju-bolo?bolo go?je yuka gu-ø-jaŋan*
F-one F-woman there in front 3-3SG-stand PRES
3. *añji jebaŋ-?wala buru-bolk-miñ ju-go?je bolo?bolo-gapul aŋi? yi-geriñ*
and line-ABL 3NSG-emerge-PP F-that woman-PL ALL ALL-west
buru-dolkdolk
3NSG-line up

4. jugu-gulukulu-bore yuka gu- ϕ -ja η an jeba η -?wala buru-dolk ϕ olk
 F-leader-theirs in front 3-3SG-stand PRES line-ABL 3NSG-line up
 a η i? yi-geri \tilde{n} ju-gulukulu-bore-ka? gu- ϕ -ja η an-gan wiriji?-(?)gin
 ALL ALL-west F-leader-theirs-LOC 3-3SG-stand PRES-SUB ceremony-DAT
5. mi \tilde{r} para-yi? yiri \tilde{n} bi- η an-ji? gamuyumuyu
 child-ERG 3NSG/LEX-see-FUT NEG prohibited
6. go?je yiri- η an η an yiri \tilde{n} bi- η an-ji? bigur-yi? η a ϕ a-yi? η a ϕ a? η a η a ϕ a-yi?
 there LEX-sit PRES 3NSG/LEX-see-FUT NEG man-ERG boy-ERG boy-RED-ERG
 geywar-yi? wur?wuru η u-yi?, gami \tilde{n} jiko gamuyumuyu
 young men-ERG old people-ERG always prohibited
7. alako buru-wat-(t)a mungu-je η a ϕ a
 later 3NSG-conclude-FUT MU-women's ceremony
8. yiri- η uk go?je gami \tilde{n} jiko ϕ -yo η oni mu- η ere gara-bolo?bolo
 LEX-dance there all the time 3SG-sleep POT MU-sleep coll-woman
9. a \tilde{n} ji η ugu-bigur be η en go \tilde{r} e?
 and M-man no matter by themselves
10. be η en gopogopo-bore
 no matter husband RED-theirs
11. bolo?bolo-bore race-ga? buru-yo η on buru-ga η uga η uk
 woman-theirs (racecourse, English)-LOC 3NSG-sleep PRES 3NSG-play RED
 je η a ϕ a
 women's ceremony
12. gami \tilde{n} jiko go?je buru- η an η an bur-mu- η e go?je mu-may,
 all the time there 3NSG-sit PRES 3NSG/MU-cook there MU-food
 burgu-ju η -bun
 3NSG/GU-shade-make PRES
13. go?je buru- η uk buru-balpar buru \tilde{n} bu- \tilde{r} ark-war?
 there 3NSG-dance 3NSG-dance 3NSG/3NSG-paint-AUX
14. malabo η o-yi? wur?wuru η u-yi? bur-julu-wan
 some-ERG old people-ERG 3NSG/3SG-sing-AUX
15. buru- η uk bi η arak a \tilde{n} ji mungu-wa ϕ i burmu- η an bo \tilde{n} i buru-ga η uk
 3NSG-dance long time and MU-sun 3NSG/MU-see PRES now 3NSG-play
 gu-mu- \tilde{n} i \tilde{r} ?-a-gan bur-woy-a
 3-MU-set-FUT-SUB 3NSG/3SG-finish-FUT
16. a η i? yi-geri \tilde{n} bo \tilde{n} i buru-waken \tilde{r} ere-ka? ba ϕ a-manambula-yi?
 ALL ALL-west now 3NSG-return camp-ALL PROP-ribbon
17. benuk-(g)an buwambuwa- η owi buru-ma \tilde{n} i \tilde{n} ?-ja η an bo \tilde{n} i, buwambuwa
 turkey-GEN down, small feathers-its 3NSG-wear-AUX PRES now down
 benuk-(g)an wel- η owi jugu-bolo?bolo ba ϕ a-manambula-yi? buru-ma \tilde{n} i \tilde{n} ?-ja η an
 turkey-GEN wing-its F-woman PROP-ribbon 3NSG-wear-AUX PRES
 a \tilde{n} ji buru-waken garku-wala
 and 3NSG-return high up-ABL

18. añji buru-mira-ṛark-bu-či-n goykun?-wala malama-wi
and 3NSG-*face-paint-AUX-RR-PRES* *to here-ABL forehead-LAT*
 buru-ṛark-bu-či-n mu-bim-yi? añji ḡaṇa?bay
 3NSG-*paint-AUX-RR-PRES* MU-*white ochre-INST* *and furthermore*
 mu-bim-yi? buru-ṛark-bu-či-n gu-je-wi añji ḡaṇa?bay
 MU-*white ochre-INST* 3NSG-*paint-AUX-RR-PRES* GU-*nose-LAT* *and furthermore*
 goykun? bere-wi wañjat-wi
this way chest-LAT arm-LAT
19. buru-bim-bu-či-n yiri-wakena ṛere-ka? waḷaman? bolo?bolo
 3NSG-*white ochre-AUX-RR-PRES* LEX-*return FUT* *camp-ALL a lot woman*
 waḷaman? baṭa-buwambuwa-yi? wapawapa-ji maṛamaṛa?
a lot PROP-down clothes-PRIV naked
20. añji munbič buru-mañiñ?-jaṇan?, buru-mañiñ?-jaṇan
and pubic covering/possum 3NSG-*wear-AUX PRES* 3NSG-*wear-AUX PRES*
 maṇalerek, añji garadada buru-mañiñ?-jaṇan
necklace (of grass) and chest brace 3NSG-*wear-AUX PRES*
21. buru-waken boñi ṛere-ka? waḷaman? buru-weṇ? buru-waken
 3NSG-*return now camp-ALL a lot* 3NSG-*look* 3NSG-*return PRES*
 buru-wak-(k)oro ḡaṇa?bay
 3NSG-*laugh-PRNEG* *moreover*
22. geywar wur?wuruṅu aṅa ḡaḍa añji miṛpara buru-wak-ji?
young man old people and/even boy and child 3NSG-*laugh-FUT NEG*
 gamuyumuyu
prohibited
23. jugujugi buru-mañiñ?-jaṇan
pompoms (on headdress) 3NSG-*wear-AUX PRES*
24. gu-mu-ñiṛ?-a mungu-wači buru-gober?
 3-MU-*set-FUT* MU-*sun* 3NSG-*look back*
25. buruṅbu-ṅan buru-man-yopyop ṛoro-wala
 3NSG/3NSG-*see PRES* 3NSG-COLL-*collect east-ABL*
26. ṛere-ka? boñi buru-waken
camp-ALL now 3NSG-*return PRES*
27. buru-wak-ji? buru-ñawk-ji? ṅu-go?je bigur-bore
 3NSG-*laugh-FUT NEG* 3NSG-*talk-FUT NEG* M-*that* *husband-theirs*
 buru-wak-ji?
 3NSG-*laugh-FUT NEG*
28. buru-ṛabon go?je ṛoro-wala bolo?bolo-gapul buru-man-yopyop
 3NSG-*go-PRES* *there east-ABL woman-PL* 3NSG-COLL-*collect*

29. *gunman?* *ø-goyi-?mol*k *gopo-ŋowi*¹ *bolo?bolo-?gon* *gu-ø-waken* *boñi*
maybe 3SG-know-NEG *husband-his* *woman-GEN* 3-3SG-return PRES *now*
řoro-wala-gan *bařa-řark-yi?*
east-ABL-ADV PROP-paint
30. *gu-ø-ŋan* *ŋu-go?je* *gopo-ŋowi-yi?*² *řark-ŋowi*
 3-3SG/3SG-see PRES M-that *spouse-his-ERG* *paint-his*
31. *gu-ø-řabon* *gu-gu-buy-pun* *ju-bolo?bolo-ŋowi-yi?* *ŋugu-gopo-ŋoji*
 3-3SG-go PRES 3-3SG/GU-sweat-AUX PRES F-wife-his-ERG M-husband-hers
ø-gor-či? *wañba*
 3SG-sick-FUT NEG NEG POT
32. *gu-we?* *gu-ø-we?-ŋuna* *gu-ø-bak-buybuy-puna*
 GU-water 3-3SG-water-drink FUT 3-3SG/3SG-OP-sweat-AUX FUT
33. *ŋu-go?je* *mambař* *gu-ø-buy-pun* *gu-we?* *gu-ø-gu-ma*
 M-that *billycan* 3-3SG-sweat-AUX PRES GU-water 3-3SG-GU-get
gu-ø-wun *gu-ø-buybuy-pun* *ju-go?je* *ju-bolo?bolo-yi?*
 3-3SG/3SG-give PRES 3-3SG/3SG-sweat RED-AUX PRES F-that F-wife-ERG
ŋugu-mambař *bařa-we?-yi?*
 M-billycan PROP-water
34. *gu-ø-we?-wun* *gu-ø-wun* *bařa-we?-yi?* *ŋu-gopo-ŋoji*
 3-3SG-water-give PRES 3-3SG/3SG-give PRES PROP-water M-husband-hers
35. *gu-ø-we?-ŋun* *gu-ø-biñi-war?* *alanga* *gu-ø-we?-ŋun*
 3-3SG-water-drink PRES 3-3SG-water-throw then 3-3SG-water-drink PRES
yukaji?
properly
36. *wačiwači-?gin* *ŋaŋa?bay* *gu-ø-wun* *boñi* *gu-gu-biñi-wurk*
last RED-DAT *more* 3-3SG/3SG-give PRES *now* 3-3SG/GU-water-swallow
37. *wañba* *ø-we?-ŋun-ji?* *ŋu-go?je* *ŋugu-bigur* *jamolk*
 POT NEG 3SG-water-drink-FUT NEG M-that M-man *at all*
bařa-gubuy-(y)i? *gu-ø-we?-ŋuna,* *yiri-yini*
 PROP-sweat 3-3SG-water-drink FUT LEX-do thus

1. *All the women lie in a line.*
2. *One woman stands in front there.*
3. *And they've come out from the line, the women line up towards the west.*
4. *Their leader stands in front, they line up from the row towards the west near where their leader is standing, for ceremony.*
5. *Children can't look at us, it's prohibited.*

Notes: Note here in ¹ and ² the confusion of -ŋowi with -ŋoji; in both cases the obvious intention is to say *her husband*, not *his wife*.

6. *There we sit, men, boys, all the boys, young men, old men can't look at us, it's always prohibited.*
7. *Later they'll finish the jerada.*
8. *We dance there all the time, all the women should sleep [i.e. at the ceremony ground].*
9. *And the men are by themselves (alone), no matter.*
10. *No matter about their husbands.*
11. *Their wives sleep at the racecourse and play/celebrate jerada.*
12. *They stay there all the time, cook food there, they build a shade.*
13. *They dance there, dance slapping their legs, they paint them [i.e. some paint others].*
14. *Some old women sing.*
15. *They dance for a long time, and they see the sun, now they play; when the sun sets they'll finish.*
16. *Now they return towards the west with ribbons.*
17. *They wear turkey down (small feathers), turkey down (from) its wing with ribbons the women wear, and they return from up top [i.e. from ceremony ground].*
18. *And they paint their faces from here to the forehead they paint with white ochre, and besides with white ochre they paint to the nose, and then this way along the chest and arms.*
19. *They paint each other, we return to camp, all the women, the whole lot with down, no clothes, naked.*
20. *And they wear possum hair pubic covering, they wear necklaces, and they wear chest braces.*
21. *They return to camp now, everybody looks, they go back.*
22. *Young men, old people and boys, children can't laugh, it's not allowed.*
23. *They wear 'pompoms' (the tassels of a headdress).*
24. *When the sun sets, they look back.*
25. *They see them, they're coming in from the east [i.e. the people in camp see the women coming in].*
26. *Now they return to camp.*
27. *They can't laugh or talk, their husbands can't laugh.*
28. *They come there from the east, all the women gather.*
29. *Maybe their husbands don't know about their wives, she's returning now from the east with paint on.*
30. *Her husband sees her paint.*
31. *His wife goes, rubs sweat on her husband; he can't become ill.*
32. *He drinks water, she rubs sweat on for him.*
33. *The billycan, she rubs sweat, she'll get water and give it to him, the wife rubs sweat on him.*

34. *She give him water, gives it (billycan?) with water to her husband.*
35. *He drinks it, spits it out, now he swallows the water down.*
36. *And for the last time she gives it him, now he swallows it.*
37. *The man shouldn't drink water at all with sweat, he'll drink water [i.e. after sweat has been gotten rid of], we do like that.*

Text 4. Grandmother and grandson

This (brief) version of a fairly widespread story was told on August 24, 1977 by Edna Ñuluk. This story is associated with the Gunabibi ceremony; during another telling (more complete in some respects, less so in others) it was made clear that the little boy in this story, as he ascended the rope after his grandmother, bit his grandmother's vagina. That detail is common to many versions (see e.g. Berndt 1951:186-187 for the Alawa version of this legend).

1. ju-Maygidi ju-go?je ju-gaja? ø-ga?war-miñ nu-go?je nu-gu-wacuñdu
 F-(name) F-that F-dog 3SG/3SG-chase-PP M-that M-goanna
 roro-wala ø-juruweniñ-gin; jičan-ñowi waçuñdu-?gun yerke-bindu
 east-ABL 3SG-run-SUB dreaming-its goanna-GEN inside-really
 gu-ø-jap-janan gu-janda?
 3-3SG-stand-AUX PRES GU-stick
2. ju-Maygidi-yi? ø-ga?war-miñ nu-gu-waçuñdu go?ye-wala ø-gidigidi-miñ-gin
 F-(name)-ERG 3SG/3SG-chase-PP M-goanna here-ABL 3SG-(sound)-PP-SUB
 ø-jap-ganiñ yerke go?ye yerke munga? jugu-Maygidi
 3SG/3SG-stand-CAUS PP inside here inside interior F-(name)
 ø-ga?war-miñ-gin nu-gu-waçuñdu
 3SG/3SG-chase-PP-SUB M-goanna
3. ju-go?je jugu-bolo-?gon gaja?-noji jeki ø-yiniñ
 F-that F-old person-GEN dog-hers first 3SG-do thus PP
4. nanjaldinambe gogođe nanjaldi ñambe gogođe bañala gogođe bulñuy
 (song sung by little boy to grandmother, in Alawa, meaning *What shall I do?*, i.e. he was unable to follow her up a rope. The last word bulñuy refers to the old lady of the Gunabibi's lighting of a fire. I am not certain whether each word in this song is meaningful).
5. Yi-yana?-men ?
 1IN DU-do what-AUX PRES
6. Mu-balku ø-go?-ñaniñ ju-go?je jugu-bolo
 MU-rope 3SG/3SG-have-AUX PC F-that F-old woman
7. ñiñ-bak-war?-a mungu-balku balku-ga? ñiñ-gar-buna
 1SG/2SG-OP-toss-FUT MU-rope rope-LOC 1SG/2SG-pull-AUX FUT
8. ø-mun?-miñ
 3SG-be unable-PP
9. ø-yiniñiñ: nu-yana?-ra gowko
 3SG-say PC 1SG-do what-FUT MoMo

10. Gunman? mu-may-či
perhaps MU-food-PRIV
11. Mirpara gaña? ø-ŋal?ŋal?ŋal?-miyiñ
child small 3SG-climb RED-PC
12. ø-jojop-miñ nu-go?je mirpara ø-ðoðo?-miñ ø-ŋoŋ?-miñ
3SG-slip-PP M-that child 3SG-go down-PP 3SG-fall-PP
13. nu-yana?-ra gowko jugu-gowko-ŋowi-ka? ø-bak-(g)aw?-miñ
1SG-do what-FUT MoMo F-MoMo-his-LOC 3SG/3SG-OP-call out-PP
14. mu-balku jun-bak-war?
MU-rope 2SG/1SG-OP-toss
15. ø-bak-war?-miñ garku-wala jugu-bolo garku, nugu-mirpara gaña
3SG/3SG-OP-toss-PP high up-ABL F-old person high up M-child small
yerke
beneath
16. nu-ŋal?-ji? gowko, nanjalɗinambe gogoðe, meñeri
1SG-climb-FUT NEG MoMo (song of boy) Hodgson Downs
ø-ŋal?ŋal?-miñ-gin
3SG-climb RED-PP-SUB
17. ŋaŋa?bay ø-jojop-miñ ø-ŋoŋ?-miñ
further/again 3SG-slip-PP 3SG-fall-PP
18. ŋalpoŋ ø-go?-ŋaniñ
egg 3SG/3SG-have PC
19. ø-maŋiñ?-mi-či-ñ yanipi yuw?we
3SG-make-AUX-RR-PP whachacallit supposedly
20. ø-!er-miñ garku-wala
3SG-fall-PP high up-ABL
21. buru-yini wur?wuruŋu
3NSG-say old people
22. ø-maŋiñ?-mi-či-ñ miñgur
3SG-make-AUX-RR-PP star
23. mungu-miñgur nu-go?je mirpara
MU-star M-that child
24. jugu-Maygidi ø-ga?war-miñ-gin nugu-waçuŋðu
F-(name) 3SG/3SG-chase-PP-SUB M-goanna
25. gu-ø-yoŋon jičan
3-3SG-sleep PRES dreaming
26. gu-ø-ðoro?-ji? gungu-we? gamiñjiko gu-gu-yini gungu-we?
3-3SG-dry up-FUT NEG GU- water all the time 3-GU-do thus GU-water
27. gowko-go? buru-wač-(j)an mungu-miñgur nu-wawaya-ŋoji,
MoMo/DaSo-DY 3NSG-each-stand PRES MU-star M-DaSo-hers
nu-gun?biri-bira? gowko-go?
M-that-DU MoMo/DaSo-DY

1. *Maygidi the dog chased the goanna [when] he was running from the east; the goanna's dreaming stands up (as) a stick right inside [i.e. in the water of a certain billabong near Hodgson Downs].*
2. *Maygidi chased the goanna from here as he was going 'gidigidi', she [the dog] made it [the goanna dreaming] stand up right here down inside, when Maygidi chased the goanna.*
3. *The old woman's dog did like that at first [i.e. Maygidi the dog belonged to the old lady of the Gunabibi legend, with whom this story is associated].*
4. See interlinear comments .
5. *"What shall you and I do?" [says the boy].*
6. *The old woman had a rope.*
7. *"I'll toss you the rope, I'll pull you up on the rope", [says the old lady to boy].*
8. *He couldn't [i.e. couldn't climb].*
9. *He was saying like this: "What'll I do, granny?"*
10. *Maybe he had no food.*
11. *The little child kept climbing up up up.*
12. *The child slipped, went down, fell.*
13. *"What'll I do, granny", he shouted to his grandmother.*
14. *"Toss me the rope" [boy says to grandmother].*
15. *The old woman tossed him the rope from above, the old lady high up, the little boy beneath.*
16. *"I can't climb up, granny, (song)", when he was climbing and climbing at Hodgson Downs.*
17. *Again he slipped, fell.*
18. *She had eggs [i.e. the old lady had goanna eggs, which the boy wanted].*
19. *He made himself into a whatchacallit, supposedly.*
20. *He fell from up high.*
21. *That's what old people say.*
22. *He made himself into a star.*
23. *He's a star, that child.*
24. *(The one) where Maygidi chased the goanna.*
25. *It's lying, a dreaming [i.e. the goanna dreaming in the billabong at Hodgson Downs].*
26. *The water [in the billabong] can't dry up, it's like this [i.e. present] all the time.*
27. *Grandmother and grandson are (stand in the sky) together as stars, her grandson, those two (related as) grandmother and grandson.*

Notes: Hodgson Downs is associated with a goanna dreaming, as the story tells, and was also formerly an important location for the performance of Yabuduruwa ceremony, in which goanna is a central figure.

Text 5 Releasing widow from period of mourning

Narrator: Edna Ñuluk

1. buru-ṛabon buruṅbu-gumja ju-go?je jugu-milkanda
3NSG-go PRES 3NSG/3NSG-cover PRES F-that F-widow
baṭa-wapawapa?-yi? baṭa-got-yi?
PROP-cloth PROP-paperbark
2. ju-giṅḍar-ṅoji-yi? bur-gumja
F-cross-cousin-hers-ERG 3NSG-cover PRES
3. ga?ye buru-ṅaṅan bigur-?molk
here 3NSG-sit PRES man-NEG
4. ṅolko waḷuk yi-ṛoro bur-gayar?yar?-wu-na-gan
big all around ALL-west 3NSG-plain-FAC-FUT-SUB/FOC
5. ṅugu-bigur buru-ṅaṅan gu-yele burgu-maṅiñ? ju-go?je
M-man 3NSG-sit PRES GU-hole 3NSG/GU-make PRES F-that
bolo?bolo-?gon jugu-milkanda-?gan
woman-DAT F-widow-DAT
6. burgu-ṛor? aṅji bur-jap-gan gungu-janda?
3NSG-GU-clean PRES and/then 3NSG/3SG-stand-CAUS-PRES GU-stick
waral-ṅowi
(funerary) pole-his
7. bur-jaṅani-wun gungu-janda? ḷorkon
3NSG/3SG-stand-CAUS PRES GU-stick funeral log
8. gu-ḷ-ṛabon ṅu-go?je gungu-ḷorkon
3-3SG-go PRES M-that GU-funeral log
9. bur-ṛark-war? ju-bolo?bolo-?gon ṅu-gopo-ṅowi¹
3NSG-paint-AUX PRES F-woman-DAT M-spouse-his
10. bur-ṛark-war? aṅji buḷuk bur-ye
3NSG-paint-AUX PRES and feather 3NSG-put PRES
11. burmu-ṅe mu-may miṅiriṅi-yi? wur?wuruṅu-yi? burmu-ṅun
3NSG/MU-cook PRES MU-food 'owner'/boss-ERG old person-ERG 3NSG/MU-eat PRES
burmu-ṅuna-gan mungu-may
3NSG/MU-eat FUT-SUB/FOC MU-food
12. ṅayu bolo?bolo-?gon mungu-wayan burmu-ṅuna-gan
only woman-DAT MU-not sacred food 3NSG/MU-eat FUT-SUB/FOC
13. mu-biṭin burmu-maṅiñ? ṅu-go?je got-ga? burmu-ṅe-gen
MU-damper 3NSG/MU-make PRES M-that paperbark-LOC 3NSG/MU-cook-SUB
jugu-milkanda-yi? ḷ-mu-yeniñ-gen
F-widow-REG 3SG-MU-put PC-SUB

¹Here as in Text 2, fn.³ *his husband* was mistakenly given for *her husband/spouse*, ṅu-gopo-ṅoji.

14. ju-milkanda-yi? miñiriñi-yi? ø-mu-yeniñ mungu-may, mun-go?je
 F-widow-ERG 'owner'/boss-ERG 3SG-MU-put PC MU-food MU-that
 mungu-japuru ðorkon-ñowi-?gin
 MU-sacred funeral log-his-DAT
15. burmu-ñe got-ga? mungu-jatam mungu-biñin niñjani?-(?)gin
 3NSG/MU-cook paperbark-LOC MU-lily MU-damper his-GEN
 ðorkon-ñowi-?gin
 funeral log-his-DAT
16. muñuñju ñuru-ñanan boñi
 morning LIN PL-sit PRES now
17. maçi ju-gun?biri ju-bolo bur-bol-mañagan ju-gun?biri
 indeed/for F-that F-old person 3NSG/3SG-rub-AUX FUT-SUB F-that
 jugu-bolo mayño?-yi? yukaji? mira yiñji
 F-old person red ochre-INST thoroughly forehead too
18. gungu-ðorkon-ñowi go?yen burgu-ror?-miyiñ ðorkon-ñowi-?gin
 GU-funeral log-his here 3NSG/GU-clean-AUX PC funeral (log)-his-DAT
19. bur-jañani-wun ju-bolo?bolo-ñowi bur-gan
 3NSG/3SG-stand-CAUS PRES F-woman-his 3NSG/3SG-take PRES
20. bur-gumja wapawapa?-yi?
 3NSG/3SG-cover PRES cloth-INST
21. bur-gan ø-ñan-ji? gungu-wañjat bur-ma
 3NSG/3SG-take PRES 3SG-see-FUT NEG GU-arm 3NSG-3SG-get PRES
22. gu-ø-jungu-dele-jaña-na ðorkon-ñowi-ka? ñu-gopo-ñoji-ka?
 3-3SG-back-lean-AUX-FUT funeral log-his-LOC M-spouse-hers-LOC
23. alanga bur-ñanani-wun bap ðorkon-ñowi-ka?
 then/directly 3NSG/3SG-sit-CAUS PRES plunk funeral log-his-LOC
24. gungu-mañaniñi boñi bur-ðot-gan ju-wawaya-ñoji-yi?
 GU-widow's beads now 3NSG/3SG-break-CAUS PRES F-BrDaSo-hers-ERG
 gu-ø-ðot-gan jugu-go?je-?gen ju-bolo-?gon, gunmañ?
 3-3SG-break-CAUS PRES F-that-DAT F-old person-DAT maybe
 ju-mañagan-ñoji ju-mañagan-golk-ñoji-yi? gu-ø-ðot-gan
 F-mother-hers F-mothers-distant-hers-ERG 3-3SG-break-CAUS PRES
25. gu-ø-go?-ñan ñu-go?je balku
 3-3SG-have-AUX PRES M-that string
26. boñi bur-war? gungu-got boñi bur-mañiñ? ja?boñ
 now 3NSG/3SG-throw GU-paperbark now 3NSG/3SG-make PRES that's all
27. ñiñ-warja?warja? boñi ñiñ-weñ?-ña ñiñ-warja?warja?-ra
 2SG-walk about RED PRES now 2SG-look-FUT 2SG-go about RED-FUT
 ñiñ-wulupwulup-a bur-yini?-ganiñ
 2SG-bathe RED-FUT 3NSG/3SG-say to-AUX PC
28. ñiñ-wulupwulup-a mu-may ju-ma?ma-ña boñi ñun-bol-mañiñ
 2SG-bathe-FUT MU-food 2SG/3SG-get RED-FUT now 3SG/2SG-clear/rub-AUX PC
 nugujamiñ-gi yiriñ-yini?-ganiñ bur-yini?-ganiñ ju-go?je jugu-bolo
 M-husband-yours SG 3SG/1EX-say to-PC 3NSG/3SG-say to-PC F-that F-old woman

29. jaʔboñ bur-yiniʔ-ganiñ
finished 3NSG/3SG-say to-PC
30. boñi ñiñ-ṛaborabo-na gojegunʔ ñiñ-warjaʔwarjaʔ-ṛa ñiñ-ñawkñawk-(g)an
now 2SG-go RED-FUT *there* 2SG-walk about RED-FUT 2SG-talk RED-SUB/DI
ñiñ-wakwak-a bur-yiniʔ-ganiñ bur-men-maṇiñʔ-miñ
2SG-laugh RED-FUT 3NSG/3SG-say to-PC 3NSG/3SG-mind-make-PP
31. ñiñ-warjaʔwarjaʔ-ṛa mu-may jumu-maʔma-ṇa ñiñ-wulupwulup-a
2SG-go about RED-FUT MU-food 2SG/MU-get RED-FUT 2SG-bathe RED-FUT
ñiñ-gewen-men-jiʔ ñiñ-mele-gewen-men
2SG-be frightened-AUX-FUT NEG 2SG-EVIT-be frightened-AUX PRES
32. maṇaṇiñi mači ø-mu-ḍot-miñ boñi
beads *indeed* 3SG-MU-break-PP *now*
33. boñi ñiñ-maṛamaṛaʔ maṇa-ṇgi
now 2SG-bare *neck-yours* SG

1. *They go, they cover (them, i.e. widows) with cloth and paperbark.*
2. *Her cross-cousin covers her.*
3. *Here they sit, there are no men [or perhaps, no people, but the former seems more likely].*
4. *They clear a big space all around towards the east.*
5. *The men sit, they make a hole [i.e. for the funeral log] for the widow woman.*
6. *They clean it (the ground) and they stand up the funeral pole.*
7. *They stand up the funeral log (ḷorkon).*
8. *That lorkon goes along.*
9. *They paint up her husband [i.e. the log] for the woman.*
10. *They paint it and put feathers (on it).*
11. *They cook food, the bosses and old people (old men) eat it.*
12. *But as for the women, they (will) eat non-sacred food.*
13. *They make damper (which) they cook in paperbark, where the widow put food.*
14. *The widow, the bosses, put [SG] food, the sacred food is for his [i.e. the husband's] funeral rites (ḷorkon).*
15. *They cook lily and damper in paperbark for his ḷorkon.*
16. *In the morning we sit now.*
17. *They really rub that (old) woman (i.e. the widow) with red ochre thoroughly, her forehead too.*
18. *They cleaned his funeral log here for his funeral.*
19. *They make his wife stand up, they take her.*
20. *They cover her with cloth.*

21. *They take her, she can't see, they get/take her arm.*
22. *She will lean with her back against his funeral log, (against) her husband.*
23. *Directly they make her sit down on the funeral log.*
24. *Now they break the widow's beads, her grandson breaks it for that (old) woman, (or) perhaps her mother, her classificatory mother breaks it.*
25. *She has/keeps that string (from the beads).*
26. *Now they throw out the paperbark, they make/do it, that's the end.*
27. *"You will/may go about now, you will look, you will go about, you will bathe", they said to her.*
28. *"You will bathe, you'll get food now, he rubbed you, your husband told us", they said to the (old) woman.*
29. *"It's finished", they said to her.*
30. *"Now you'll go there, you'll walk about, you'll talk, you'll laugh", they told her, they instructed/informed her.*
31. *"You'll walk around, you'll get food, you'll bathe, you won't be/needn't be frightened, you oughtn't to be frightened".*
32. *"He broke the beads now".*
33. *"Now your neck is bare".*

Notes: This text describes the lifting of restrictions placed on a widow following the death of her husband. With the final deposition of bones in a funeral log (lorkon), the widow's beads are broken by a relative in a public ceremony, and she is then allowed to talk freely and engage in other normal activities. Note the lorkon log is spoken of as if it directly represents the husband.

Text 6. More on funeral rites and food distribution

Narrator: Edna Nuluk

1. jeki bur-ɾark-war?-miyiñ lorkon-ɲowi ø-ñar?-miñ-gin mayno?-yi?
first 3NSG/3SG-paint-AUX-PC funeral log-his 3SG-die-PP-SUB red ochre-INST
 añji mayno?-yi?
also red ochre-INST
2. bur-japja
 3NSG/3SG-stand PRES
3. biɭarak gu-ø-ɲaɲan jugu-milkanda
a long time 3-3SG-sit PRES F-widow
4. bur-gan monič
 3NSG/3SG-take PRES *stealthily*
5. mungu-may burmu-baɾaɲañ mangaɭa-ka? mala-boɲo-yi?
 MU-food 3NSG/MU-hang up PP tree fork-LOC some (others)-ERG
6. mu-wayan-?molk
 MU-profane food-NEG

7. *nu-giṇdar-ṇowi-yi?* *ṇu-waṛe-ṇowi-yi?* *burmu-ṇuna-gan*
 M-*cross-cousin-his*-ERG M-*protector-his*-ERG 3NSG/MU-*eat* FUT-SUB/FOC
mu-japuru gore?
 MU-*sacred self*
8. *mu-wayan* *burmu-ṇuna-gan* *mala-boṇo-yi?* *waḷaman?-yi* *mirpara-yi?*
 MU-*profane* 3NSG/MU-*eat* FUT-SUB/FOC *some*-ERG *many*-ERG *child*-ERG
yiñji, mu-wayan
even MU-profane
9. *ju-yapa-ṇowi-yi?* *ṇayu* *ḥ-mu-ṇun-ji?* *mun-go?je* *mungu-ḷorkon-?gon*¹
 F-*Si-his*-ERG *but* 3SG-MU-*eat*-FUT NEG MU-*that* MU-*funeral*-DAT
10. *ṇayu mu-wayan* *gu-ḥ-mu-ṇun* *jiñjaṇi?-(?)gin-?wi*
only MU-*profane* 3-3SG-MU-*eat* PRES *hers*-DAT-PURP
11. *ju-yapa yirmi-ṇuniṇuni-koro* *ṇu-gaka-?gan* *ṇu-go?je* *gu-ḥ-ñar?-gan*
 F-*Si* LEX/MU-*eat* RED-PRES NEG M-*Br*-DAT M-*that* 3-3SG-*die*-SUB
12. *ṇayu mu-wayan yirmi-ṇun* *yirkaṇi?-(?)gin-?wi*
only MU-*profane* LEX/MU-*eat* PRES *ours* EX-DAT-PURP
13. *yirmi-ṇun-ji?* *gaka-?gan, ṇayu* *gowko wawaya ṇayu, mokol ṇayu*
 LEX/MU-*eat*-FUT NEG *Br*-DAT *only/but* *MoMo DaCh* *only Fa* *only*
ṇayu gaka-?gan yirmi-ṇun-ji?
but Br-DAT LEX/MU-*eat*-FUT NEG
14. *gaya-?gan*² *ṇaṇa?bay yirmi-ṇun-ji?* *ḷorkon-ṇowi-?gin*
SiCh-DAT *moreover* LEX/MU-*eat*-FUT NEG *funeral-his*-DAT
15. *ju-mana-bindi* *gu-ḥ-mu-ṇu-na*
 F-*Mo-real* 3-3SG-MU-*eat*-FUT
16. *ṇayu ju-mana-golk-ṇowi-yi?* *ju-mariñ-(y)iñṇuṇ* *ju-ga?ye* *ḥ-mu-ṇun-ji?*
but F-*Mo-step-his*-ERG F-*junior Mo/wife* F-*this* 3SG-MU-*eat*-FUT NEG
17. *mun-goje-?gen* *mungu-ḷorkon-ṇowi-?gin*²
 MU-*that*-DAT MU-*funeral-his*-DAT

1. *First when he died they painted his funeral log with red ochre, also with red ochre.*
2. *They stand it up.*
3. *His widow just 'sits' for a long time.*
4. *They take it (food?) stealthily.*

¹Notice that while *ḷorkon* is usually treated as GU-class (as in Text 5, sentence 8), here and at 17 this text it is treated as MU-class.

²*Gaya* refers to *same-sex sibling's child*; here, since the speaker is a woman reference is to *SiCh*, specifically *SiSo*, who is here compared to *Br* in respect of the fact that a woman is not allowed to eat sacred food at the funeral rites of these relatives.

5. *Some others hung up foods in a tree fork.*
6. *Not profane food [i.e. the sacred food].*
7. *His [i.e. the deceased's] cross-cousins, his protector/guardians will (be the ones to) eat the sacred food themselves.*
8. *The profane food will be eaten by a lot of others, even children, the profane [i.e. non-sacred] food.*
9. *But his sister can't eat it (the sacred food) for his funeral.*
10. *She only eats the profane for her part.*
11. *(We) sisters do not eat it (sacred food) for our brother when he dies.*
12. *We only eat the profane, for our part.*
13. *We can't eat it (that) of our brother, only (his) MoMo, DaCh, his Fa; but for our brother [i.e. a woman's brother] we can't eat it.*
14. *For our sister's son, moreover, we can't eat it for his funeral.*
15. *His real mother will eat it (customarily eats it).*
16. *But his 'step'-mother [i.e. his MoSi, or classificatory, more distant mother], his father's junior wife, she can't eat it (sacred food) for his funeral.*

Note the narrative technique of expansion, where referents are often not clear at first mention, but are subsequently elaborated upon. For example, in 4, at first mention 'They take it stealthily', it is not clear what 'it' may be, but this is subsequently clarified by the discussion of sacred food.

Text 7. On the coming of Europeans and others to Roper Valley

Narrator: Blutchter (Jaraṇajiñ)

1. Yipuñja munaṇa-či goʔye-gen.
long time ago white people-PRIV here-ADV
2. munaṇa-či gača yipuñja.
white people no long ago
3. buru-ñawk-molk English gača
3NSG-talk-PNEG (English) no
4. Yanipi maṛji-bugiʔ buru-yineṛiñ
whachacallit hand-only 3NSG-do thus PC
5. Maṛji-bugiʔ jambaku-ʔgun buru-yineṛiñ.
hand-only tobacco-PURP 3NSG-do thus PC
6. Queensland boy buru-ṇaṇaniñ weren-ʔwala McArthur, goʔye buru-ṛaboniñ
(English) 3NSG-sit/live PC TOP ?-ABL (place) here 3NSG-come PC
goʔye guṇḍu gaʔye-gaʔ baṭa-English-yiʔ buru-ṛaboniñ ṛoro-wala.
here country this-LOC PROP-English 3NSG-come PC east-ABL
7. munaṇa-yiʔ buruṇ-ganiñ ṛoro-wala Queensland boy.
white people-ERG 3SG/3NSG-bring PC east-ABL (English)

8. goʔye Ngalakan Alawa buru-ñawk-molk English, gača
here Ngalakan Alawa 3NSG-talk-PNEG (English) no
9. Ngalakan goʔje-wala ø-ṛaboniñ¹ bay-ala.
Ngalakan there-ABL 3SG-come PC north-ABL.
10. guṇḍu maṅṅu!uṅ ṅugu-ṅalakan-ʔgan goʔye, gungu-guṇḍu ṅalakan-ʔgan,
country (TOP) N-Ngalakan-GEN here GU-country Ngalakan-GEN
 maywak ḍalawuṅ?
 (TOP) (TOP)
11. Ngalakan buru-ñawk-meṛiñ gakeṅ-(?)molk, goʔye-bugi?
Ngalakan 3NSG-talk-AUX PC far-NEG here-only
12. Goʔye McFarlane gu-ø-ṅaṅaṅ-gan goʔye gara Moroak
here (European name) 3-3SG-live-PRES-SUB here upriver (pastoral station)
 ṅu-guṅʔbiri ṅalakan-ʔgan guṇḍu-bore.
 M-that Ngalakan-GEN country-theirs
13. Goʔje-wala-gan ø-wakeniñ yunguwala bo-wi yunguwala
there-ABL-ADV 3SG-come back PC to here river-PURP this way
 ø-wakeniñ goʔye-gaga?
 3SG-come back here-ALL
14. ṅu-goʔje gara-gan Maṅarayi boṅi, yi-gara-gan Maṅarayi.
 M-that high up-ADV (name of group) now ALL-upriver-ADV (name)
15. Ngalakan buru-wakeniñ goykun? ø-bo-waniñ goykun?
Ngalakan 3NSG-return PC towards here 3SG-river-follow PC to here
16. bo-wi buru-ṛaboniñ
river-PURP 3NSG-come PC
17. ø-wakeniñ bur-ṅaʔṅa goʔye munṅa Mr. Perth (?),
 3SG-return PC 3NSG/3SG-see PP here white man (name)
 ṅu-ṅey-bun munṅa.
 1SG/3SG-name-say PRES white man
18. Thomas Hale bur-ṅaʔṅa ṅu-gaʔye
 3NSG/3SG-see PP M-this
19. Bur-maṅiñʔ-miñ awuč-bore, garkara Queensland boy
 3NSG/3SG-make PP house (English)-theirs upriver
 ṅu-guṅʔbiri munṅa-yi? ø-goʔ-ṅaniñ goʔye-gen.
 M-that white man-ERG 3SG-have-AUX PC here-ADV
20. Yanipi awuč-molk gača, gu-got bur-maṅiñʔ-miñ
whachacallit house (English)-NEG no GU-paperbank 3NSG/3SG-make-PP
 bo-ka?
 river-LOC

¹Notice the use of singular cross-reference here, where the subject is 'the Ngalakan'.

21. Bur-mañiñ?-miñ ja?boñ ɲugu-Thomas Hale-pira? Mr. Perth.¹
3NSG/3SG-make-PP *finish* M-(name)-DU (name)
22. Ngalakan buru-ɾaboɾaboniñ jambaku-?gun go?ye-gaga?
Ngalakan 3NSG-come RED PC *tobacco* DAT *here*-ALL
23. ɲaykaɲi?-(?)gin ɲu-mokol ø-ñawk-miñ English, mačiniñ ɲugu-mokol
mine M-father 3SG-talk-PP *English* *indeed/for* M-father
yanipi-meriñ cuttingman-meniñ go?ye Roper Police Station.
whachacallit-AUX PC *cuttingman* (English)-AUX PC *here* (place)
24. ɲayka? go?ye ɲu-miɾpara-meniñ ɲu-mokol-yi? ɲun-ɲa?ɲa go?ye,
I *here* 1SG-child-AUX PC M-father-ERG 3SG/1SG-see PP *here*
ɲu-miɾpara-meniñ ɲu-yineɾiñ ɲu-ɲolko-meñ ɲu-yiniñ boñi.
1SG-child-AUX PC 1SG-do thus PC 1SG-big-AUX PP 1SG-do thus PP *now*
25. ɲu-jučuruweñ.
1SG-run about RED PP
26. ɲu-mokol ø-wurk-miñ go?ye cutting-ga? ɲugu-mala-boɲo
M-father 3SG-work (English)-PP *here* (English)-LOC M-some
Queensland boy-yi? bur-wurki?-meriñ.
(English)-ERG 3NSG-work-AUX PC
27. buru-ñawk-miñ gelegele English no matter.
3NSG-talk-PP *any old way* (English)
28. Alako buru-ñawk-miñ English.
later 3NSG-talk-PP *English*
29. bulugi bur-mujerim?-miñ go?ye ɲan bur-brandim?-miñ
cattle 3NSG/3SG-muster (English)-PP *here* *right* 3NSG/3SG-brand (English)-PP
guɲɖu ga?ye ɲan goykun? bo-wi bur-ga?war-miñ bulugi
place *here* *right* *this way* *river*-PURP 3NSG/3SG-chase-PP *cattle*
Ngalakan, Waɭiburu.
Ngalakan *Alawa*
30. gun?biri Hodgson Downs ø-yineɾiñ-bugi? Hank McCoy, George Stevens
there (place) 3SG-do thus-PC-just (European names)
Queensland boys gun?biri buru-ɲañaniñ.
there 3NSG-live PC
31. buru-mala-mañi-či-niñ ɲu-gaykun? Queensland boy go?ye-bugi?
3NSG-group-get POT-RR-PC M-these *here-only*
buru-ɲañaniñ-gin.
3NSG-live PC-SUB/FOC
32. jamolk buru-ɾaboɾaboniñ go?ye-gen ɲugu-Waɭiburu.
simply 3NSG-go/come PC *here*-ADV M-*Alawa*
33. boñi ɲalakan?-yi? ø-jam?-gaɲiñ gungu-guɲɖu ga?ye ɲan bay-ala
now *Ngalakan*-ERG 3SG-close in-AUX PP GU-country *this* *right* *north*-ABL

¹This kind of construction, NP-DU NP, is highly favoured; see 3.2.29

- gakeŋ-ʔmolk.
far-NEG
34. ɲiñ-goy-wuna gu-biŋ ɲolko, gunʔbiri ɲalakan-ʔgan
1SG/2SG-show-AUX FUT GU-stone big there Ngalakan-GEN
gungu-guŋdu-bore
GU-country-theirs
35. gu-biŋ ɲolko gele-gujiga¹ biŋiŋuŋ, ɲu-gunʔbiri ɲalakan-ʔgan
GU-stone big (TOP) M-that Ngalakan-GEN
36. Ngalakan buru-yereŋ-miñ, goʔye yarʔ, buru-ɲolko-meñ goʔye-gen.
Ngalakan 3NSG-grow-PP here many 3NSG-big-AUX PP here-ADV
37. ø-jamʔ-gaŋiñ goʔye Roper Valley ɲalakan-yiʔ, Waɭiburu ø-wakeñ
3SG-crowd in-AUX PP here (place) Ngalakan-ERG Alawa 3SG-return PP
Hodgson Downs, yukajiʔ guŋdu-bore-kaʔ.
(place) for good country-theirs-LOC
38. jamolk buru-ɾaboŋaboniñ goʔye-gen
simply 3NSG-go/come RED PC here-ADV
39. baliñʔ Chinaman gu-ø-ɾaboŋabon Australian-gaʔ, gu-ø-ɾaboŋabon
like Chinese (English) 3-3SG-go RED PRES (English)-LOC 3-3SG-go/come PRES
Englishman-gaʔ, ø-yineŋiñ ɲugu-bigur, buru-wa-çi-niñ.
(English)-LOC 3SG-do thus PC M-Aborigine 3NSG-follow-RR-PC
40. ju-mariñ mala-boŋo buru-juruweniñ marambaʔ, marambaʔ buru-juruweniñ
F-girl some 3NSG-ran away PC elope elope 3NSG-run away PC
jugu-mariñ, buru-juruweniñ goʔje yukajiʔ Hodgson Downs, Nutwood
F-girl 3NSG-run away PC there for good (place) (place)
buru-juruweniñ-gin
3NSG-run away-SUB
41. baliñʔ munaja gu-ø-woč-ma ju-mariñ, munaja-yiʔ gu-ø-ma
like white man 3-3SG-steal-AUX PRES F-girl European-ERG 3-3SG-get PRES
buru-juruwen.
3NSG-run away PRES
42. buru-yiniñ ɲugu-bigur.
3NSG-do thus PP M-Aborigine
43. ø-yineŋiñ-bugiʔ ɲugu-malayi, bur-maʔmaŋiñ jugu-mariñ
3SG-do thus PC-just M-Malayan 3NSG-get RED PP F-girl
buru-baŋa-juruweniñ gojegunʔ ɲugu-geywar.
3NSG-ACC-run away PC there M-young man

¹Gujiga are initiation songs; I am not sure how to analyse gele- here.

Notice also that this speaker uses alternative adverbial suffix (4.6.4) forms -gan and -gen, depending on the preceding vowel. He also uses the PC allomorph -meŋiñ for thematic verbs (see 4, 5, 11, 23, for example). Notice the use of Kriol transitive forms (with -imʔ) as thematic verbs at 29.

44. buru-miɭar?-miñ go?je ɳugu-miɾpara buru-ñawk-miñ Maɳarayi,
 3NSG-be born-PP there M-child 3NSG-talk-PP
 buru-Maɳarayi-?molk buru-ɳamulu-ɳalakan mana-bore, ø-yineɾiñ.
 3NSG-Maɳarayi-NEG 3NSG-really-Ngalakan mother-theirs 3SG-do thus PC
45. yiñgo?gon warmbaya gu-ø-ɾabon warmbaya boñi.
 today RED anywhere 3-3SG-go PRES anywhere now
46. go?ye Roper Valley, go?je Roper Mission, Urapunga, buru-ɾabon warmbaya.
 here (station) there (settlement) (station) 3NSG-go PRES anywhere
47. wolo? munana, wolo? munana boñi, malk-ji gača, buru-malk-ji
 like white man like white man now 'skin'-PRIV no 3NSG-'skin' PRIV
 boñi.
 now
48. yipuñja buru-malk-meniñ, yiñgo?gon gača boñi.
 long ago 3NSG-'skin'-AUX PC today RED nothing now
49. Church of England ɳurkaɳi?-(?)gin garku bur-go?-ɳani-koro
 (English) ours IN on top 3NSG/3SG-have-AUX-PRNEG
 ɳu-gun?biri Church.
 M-that (English)
50. Gača, ɳu-gun?biri Church of England bur-war?-miñ.
 no M-that (English) 3NSG/3SG-throw-PP
51. wur?wuruɳu-bugi? buru-ɾaboɾabon Church-ga?, wur?wuruɳu-bugi?
 old person-only 3NSG-go RED PRES (English)-LOC/ALL old person-only
 ju-wur?wuruɳu, wur?wuruɳu baliñ? ɳayka?
 F-old person old person like I
52. buru-ɾaboɾaboni-koro Church-ga? buru-ɾabon bo-wi gelmariñ,
 3NSG-go RED-PRNEG (English)-ALL 3NSG-go PRES river-PURP married girl
 yeke?
 how about that
53. buru-munana-meñ boñi, duɖu.
 3NSG-white person-AUX PP now Soɖa
54. Beɳen, yi-bawun? boñi, men-bore
 no matter IIN DU-leave PRES now mind-theirs

1. Long ago (there were) no white people around here.
2. No white people, nothing, long ago.
3. They [i.e. Aborigines] didn't talk English, no.
4. Whachacallit, they only made hand-signs (to talk to Europeans).
5. Only (with) hands for tobacco, they did like this.
6. Queensland boys [i.e. Aboriginal workers brought from Queensland] from (place ?) were living at McArthur (a station in the Borroloola district), they came here to this country with (able to speak) English, they came from the east.

7. *White men brought the Queensland boys from the east.*
8. *Here the Ngalakan and Alawa didn't speak English, no.*
9. *The Ngalakan came from there, from the north.*
10. *Their country, of the Ngalakan, is Manjuluḡ here, Ngalakan country (is) Maiwok and Flying Fox.*
11. *They spoke Ngalakan not far away, just here.*
12. *Here where McFarlane lives, here upriver at Moroak (a pastoral property) that's Ngalakan country.*
13. *From there they came (back) here to/for the river, they came back to here.*
14. *There higher up are the Manjarayi now, upriver (are) Manjarayi.*
15. *The Ngalakan came back here, they followed the river to here.*
16. *They came for [i.e. to be near] the river.*
17. *They came back and saw here a white man Mr. Perth (?), I'm telling the name of the white man.*
18. *Thomas Hale they saw here.*
19. *They made a house, higher up there white men/man had Queensland boys.*
20. *Whachacallit, it wasn't a house, no, they made (a structure of) paperbark on the river.*
21. *They made it, finish, Thomas Hale and Mr. Perth.*
22. *The Ngalakan came here for tobacco.*
23. *My own father spoke English, for my father did whachacallit, he worked as a cutter here at Roper Police Station.*
24. *I was a child here, my father 'found' me here [i.e. refers to recognition of pregnancy by father], I was a child, I was like that, I grew up, I'm like that now.*
25. *I ran about (as a child).*
26. *My father worked here cutting, some Queensland boys worked.*
27. *They spoke English any old way, no matter.*
28. *Later they spoke English (properly).*
29. *They mustered cattle, right here they branded, the Ngalakan and Alawa chased cattle right here this way along the river.*
30. *There at Hodgson Downs they just did/there were just Hank McCoy, George Stevens, Queensland boys were living there.*
31. *The grouped together, these Queensland boys where they were living here.*
32. *The Alawa simply came here (for nothing).*
33. *Now the Ngalakan crowded in, this country right here, from the north, not far.*
34. *I'll show you a big stone, there is Ngalakan country.*
35. *A big stone (at) Birijuy [place near Roper Valley], there is for the Ngalakan.*

36. *The Ngalakan grew, here there are a lot, they multiplied right here.*
37. *The Ngalakan crowded in here at Roper Valler, the Alawa returned to Hodgson Downs, (went back) for good to their country.*
38. *They came here for nothing.*
39. *Just the way the Chinese come to/move in on Australians, (or) move in on the English, that's how Aborigines did, they followed each other.*
40. *Some girls eloped, the girls eloped, they ran away there to Hodgson Downs (or) Nutwood for good when they ran away.*
41. *The way white men steal girls, white men get (them) and they run away.*
42. *That's how Aborigines did.*
43. *The Malayans did like that, they got girls and the young men ran away with them that way.*
44. *The children were born there and they speak Mayarayi, (but) they aren't Mayarayi, their mothers are really Ngalakan, it was/they did like that.*
45. *Today they go any which way, anywhere now.*
46. *Here at Roper Valley, there at Roper Mission, Urapunga, they go any which way.*
47. *Like white people, like white people now, they have no 'skins' [i.e. do not observe marriage prescriptions], no, they have no skins now.*
48. *Long ago they had skins [observed marriage prescriptions], today nothing now.*
49. *Our Church of England is on top, they don't have [i.e. don't hold with] that Church.*
50. *No, they 'threw away' (abandoned) that Church of England.*
51. *Only old people go to church, old people only, old ladies, old men like me.*
52. *They don't go to Church, the married girls go to the river, how about that?*
53. *They've become white people now.*
54. *No matter, let's you and I forget about/leave them now, it's their way ('mind').*

This text includes commentary on the fact that Aborigines, at first contact with Europeans, spoke no English; they learned English later. There are sections which refer to the bringing to the Roper area of 'Queensland boys', Queensland Aboriginal stock-workers. Still other sections describe Ngalakan country as to the north of Roper Valley towards Arnhem Land. The speaker (an old man, formerly married to a part-Mara woman) gives his opinion that the Ngalakan have moved in on the Alawa at Roper Valley; he compares this to the coming to Australia or England of the Chinese. He suggests as one reason for people's movements the fact that girls elope to other localities (and presumably are then followed by some of their relatives). He remarks that even though the children of Ngalakan women who elope may be born elsewhere, they are really, properly Ngalakan. He concludes with criticism of younger people who, he says, now marry anybody without proper attention to correctness of the marriage. He says everybody except old people has stopped going to Church.

Text 8. Using a firestick

Narrator: Edna Ñuluk

1. gu-ŋuŋi? yirgi-jaða-gan gu-ŋoy-ʔgon.
GU-*firestick* LEX/GU-*twirl* PRES-SUB/FOC GU-*fire*-DAT
2. Mu-boy yirmi-ma gungu-ŋuŋi? yirgi-jaða gungu-ŋoy
MU-*grass* LEX/MU-*get* PRES GU-*firestick* LEX/GU-*twirl* PRES GU-*fire*
gu-gu-ṛabon.
3-GU-*go* PRES
3. ŋu-gunʔbiri gungu-ŋoçoʔ yir-bujuʔ gungu-ŋoy yirgi-jaða
M-*that* GU-*grass* LEX/3SG-*soften* GU-*fire* LEX/3SG-*twirl* PRES
gungu-ŋuŋi?
GU-*firestick*
4. dulʔ yirgi-gan aŋji gungu-ŋoçoʔ yir-ma
light LEX/GU-AUX PRES *and* GU-*grass* LEX/3SG-*get* PRES
5. ŋu-gu-ḍulʔ-gun alaŋga ŋu-yeni.
1SG-GU-*light*-SUB *then* 1SG/3SG-*put* POT
6. gu-ŋuŋi-ʔwala yirgi-ma gungu-ŋoy, dulʔ yirgi-gan
GU-*firestick*-ABL LEX/GU-*get* PRES GU-*fire* *light* LEX/GU-AUX PRES
7. Gogo: ŋuru-ṛabon boŋi, ŋugu-gu!erŋ-maŋa ŋugu-!erʔ-a gu-ŋolko
goody 1IN-*go* PRES *now* 2NSG/GU-*wood*-*get* FUT 2NSG/GU-*light*-FUT GU-*big*
gu-gu!erŋ ŋugu-maŋa ŋugu-!erʔ-a-gan, ṛay-ʔgan, janay-ʔgan,
GU-*firewood* 2NSG/GU-*get* FUT 2NSG-*light*-FUT-SUB *meat*-DAT *goanna*-DAT
waçuŋḍu-ʔgun birim-ʔgin gurmuluʔ-(?)gun
goanna (V. *gouldii*)-DAT *spiny-tailed goanna*-DAT *blue-tongue*-DAT
ŋugu-!erʔ-a-gan aŋji gu-weʔ ŋugu-bayan
2NSG/GU-*light*-FUT-SUB *and* GU-*water* 2NSG/GU-*look*/*get* PRES

1. *We twirl firesticks for fire.*
2. *We get grass [species], we twirl the firestick, the fire starts.*
3. *We soften the grass, fire, we twirl the firestick.*
4. *We light it, and get grass.*
5. *As I light it, then I should put it (the extra grass).*
6. *From the firestick we get fire, we light it.*
7. *Oh good, let's go now, you get wood, light a big fire, get wood when/as you light it, for meat, goannas, spiny-tailed goanna, blue-tongue, you'll light it and get water.*

Text 9. Use of some kin terms

Narrator: Edna Nuluk

1. ḡaykaḡi?-yi? miḡpara-ḡoji yapa-wala ḡubu-gaya?
I-ERG child-hers Si-ABL 1SG/3NSG-SiCh
 2. jun-gaḡa?-wun ḡu-gaya-ḡini-yi? yana? ḡun-yini?-gan ?
2SG/1SG-ask-AUX PRES M-SiCh-mine-ERG what 3SG/1SG-say to-AUX PRES
 3. ḡun-mana?, gaya-ḡgi-yi? ḡun-mana?
3SG/1SG-mother SiCh-yours-ERG 3SG/2SG-mother
 4. ḡu-gaya-ḡgi ḡu-J. ḡugu-boḡaḡeḡ?
M-SiCh-yours SG M-(name deleted) M-(subsection)
 5. ḡu-ḡun?biri gaya, miḡpara-ḡoji ju-yapa-ḡgi-?wala.
M-that SiCh child-hers F-Si-yours SG-ABL
 6. bigur-?ḡun, ḡu-ḡun?biri gaya miḡpara-ḡowi buypu-wala aḡji ḡu-gaka-wala
man-DAT M-that BrCh child-his Br-ABL and M-younger Br-ABL
 7. bur-mokol?, miḡpara-gapul-yi? bur-mokol? ḡiḡ-yini?-gan-gan¹
3NSG/3SG-father child-PL-ERG 3NSG/3SG-father 2SG-say-AUX PRES-SUB
ge-ko?, ḡu-ḡun?biri bolo?bolo aḡji miḡpara gaka-ḡoji-?wala
man's child-DY M-that woman and child Br-hers-ABL.
 8. bigur-?ḡun, ḡiḡ-yini?-gan-gan ḡamu-ko?, ḡu-ḡun?biri bigur
man-DAT 2SG-say-AUX PRES-SUB woman's child-DY M-that man
aḡji miḡpara yapa-ḡowi-?wala
and child Si-his-ABL
 9. gaya-ko?, ḡunḡaḡ? bolo?bolo aḡji miḡpara
same-sex sibling and child-DY maybe woman and child
yapa-ḡoji-?wala, bigur-?ḡun miḡpara gaka-ḡowi-?wala
Si-hers-ABL man-DAT child Br-his-ABL
1. I call my sister's children gaya.
 2. You ask me, what does my gaya call me ?
 3. He/she calls me mother, your gaya calls you mother.
 4. Your gaya is J., of boḡaḡeḡ subsection.
 5. That gaya is your sister's child.
 6. For a man, that gaya is the child of his older or younger brother.
 7. They call him father, all the children call him father, where you say ge-ko?, that's a woman and her brother's child.
 8. For a man, where you say ḡamu-ko?, that's a man and the child of his sister.
 9. (As for) gaya-ko?, maybe (there is) a woman and her sister's child, (and) for a man, (himself and) his brother's child.

¹Note the intransitive use of yini?-ga- here, as shown by the prefix ḡiḡ- 2SG.

Comments

I asked Edna to explain the 'child' kin terms to me, and this was the first statement she came up with. Her answer shows she understood I was looking for a general explanation, following which she amplified with illustrations of how I would apply these terms to particular people at Roper Valley.

Text 10. Not getting echidna

Narrator: Edna Nuluk

1. goykun? gu- ϕ -walk η ugu-manapun yerke-ga?
this way 3-3SG-go in M-echidna inside-ALL
2. yi-ma- \check{c} i?, ga \check{c} a, ϕ -walk-mi \check{n} η amulu.
IIN DU/3SG-get-FUT NEG no 3SG-go in-PP properly
3. a \check{n} ji bur-ma gu-janda? ge η ge η η u-gun?biri- η gin
so/and 3NSG/3SG-get PRES GU-stick long M-that-DAT
 η ugu-manapun- η gun.
M-echidna-DAT
4. bur-ma ge η ge η janda? mu-ju η u? a \check{n} ji bur-ma η i \check{n} ?,
3NSG/3SG-get PRES long stick MU-lancewood and 3NSG/3SG-make PRES
bur-jet, bur-jetjet.
3NSG/3SG-singe PRES 3NSG/3SG-singe RED PRES
5. gajet-ji, bur-jetjet, mu η
knife-PRIV 3NSG/3SG-singe RED PRES finish
6. alanga bur-ma η i \check{n} ? bi η ? ... η u-go η je
then 3NSG/3SG-make PRES sharp point M-that
bur-bi η ?-ma η i \check{n} ?
3NSG/3SG-sharp point-make PRES
7. a \check{n} ji mu η u η u? buru-ja η an a \check{n} ji bur-walk-(g)an
and on knees 3NSG-stand PRES and 3NSG/3SG-go in-CAUS PRES
mun-go η je mungu-ju η u? ge η ge η
MU-that MU-lancewood long
8. bur-walk-(g)an yerke-bindi, ga \check{c} a.
3NSG/3SG-go in-CAUS PRES inside-really nothing
9. yerke-bindi ϕ -walk-mi \check{n}
inside-really 3SG-go in-PP
10. bur-walk-(g)ani \check{n} mungu-ju η u? ba η a-mere η -yi?, ga \check{c} a,
3NSG/3SG-go in-CAUS PC MU-lancewood PROP-tip/point nothing
bur- η ani- η molk
3NSG/3SG-see-PNEG
11. ju-bawun? η u-go η je η ugu-manapun.
2SG/3SG-leave M-that M-echidna
12. ma \check{c} ini \check{n} gake η -bindi η arka? ϕ -walk-mi \check{n}
indeed/for far-really hard to get 3SG/3SG-go in-PP

1. *The echidna goes inside (into the rock, or cave) this way.*
2. *You and I can't get it, no, he went right inside.*
3. *And so they get a long stick for that echidna.*
4. *They get a long lancewood stick and make it, they singe it, they singe and singe it.*
5. *No knife, they singe and singe it, finished.*
6. *Then they make a sharp point, they make a point.*
7. *And they go on their knees and make it go in/put it inside (the rock), that long lancewood.*
8. *They put it right inside, nothing.*
9. *He went right in.*
10. *They put the pointed lancewood inside, nothing, they didn't find/see it.*
11. *"Leave it, that echidna".*
12. *Because it's really gone in, it's hard to get.*

Text 11. Getting echidna

Narrator: Edna Ñuluk

1. ju-boʔbo yaw-yiki, ray-yiki
2SG/3SG-kill PP good-ours IN DU meat-ours IN DU
yi-|i-ηuna-gan.¹
1IN DU/3SG-CMP-eat FUT-SUB/FOC (?)
2. jajabaŋʔ-gaʔ bur-ŋe bur-jet mačiniñ bur-jet
evening-LOC 3NSG/3SG-cook PRES 3NSG/3SG-singe PRES indeed 3NSG/3SG-singe
bur-warʔ ηoy-kaʔ
3NSG/3SG-throw PRES fire-LOC
3. ηu-goʔje ηugu-manapuŋ mungu-rawʔ bur-jet
M-that M-echidna MU-fur 3NSG/3SG-singe
4. gajet-ji, murŋiñ-yiʔ, alaŋga ø-ŋeŋi, ŋoʔ ø-maŋi
knife-PRIV shovel spear-INST then 3SG/3SG-cook POT guts 3SG/3SG-get POT
bur-ŋe alaŋga ø-ηuniŋuni ... (section omitted)
3NSG/3SG-cook PRES then 3SG/3SG-get POT RED

¹Note that it is hard to know how to interpret the 'compassion' prefix -|i- here (3.2.21). When this prefix occurs in intransitive clauses it refers to the intransitive subject; when it occurs in transitive clauses, it generally expresses speaker's pity for the object. But here it seems to express compassion for the transitive subject: (when) we, poor things, (want to) eat our meat (possibly also it's our meat that we, poor things, will eat if ray-yiki is taken to be focussed).

5. gu- \emptyset -yilk-bun η ugu-manapu η , bur- η e
 3-3SG-cover up-AUX PRES M-echidna 3NSG/3SG-cook PRES
 bur-war? η oy-ka?, η olko mungu-jet
 3NSG/3SG-throw PRES fire-LOC big MU-cooking stones
6. burgu-ye ger η e- η owi-ka? η ugu-manapu η -ga?
 3NSG/GU-put PRES body-his-LOC M-echidna-LOC
7. a η ji gu- η o \check{c} o? burgu-ye we?-ga?
 and GU-grass 3NSG/GU-put PRES water-LOC
8. gungu- η o \check{c} o? burgu-waki η i-wun, bur-war? jeki
 GU-grass 3NSG/GU-bring back-AUX PRES 3NSG-3SG/throw PRES first
 gungu-we? \emptyset -mele-gu?-men
 GU-water 3SG-EVIT-raw-AUX PRES

1. *"You got it, good for you and me, (when) we (want to) eat our meat.*
2. *In the evening/late afternoon they cook it, they singe it, they really singe it and throw it on the fire.*
3. *They singe the echidna's hair.*
4. *No knife, with shovel spear, then he may/should cook it, he should take the guts out, they cook it, then he should eat it.*
5. *He covers the echidna (with coals), they cook it, throw it in the fire, big cooking stones.*
6. *They put (cooking stones) in the echidna's body.*
7. *And they put grass in the water.*
8. *They bring back grass, first they throw water lest it (the echidna) be raw. [Evidently referring to the practice of cracking the cooking stones by throwing water on them, to make cooking more efficient.]*

CHAPTER VI

NGALAKAN-ENGLISH VOCABULARY LIST

Alphabetical order: a, b, č, d, ɖ, e, g, i, j, k, l, ʎ, m, n, ŋ, ñ, ŋ, o, p, r, ɾ, t, ʈ, u, w, y, ʔ.

In entries with syllable-final glottal, the glottal counts as the last letter in the series before the listing goes on to another letter; thus is the last entry in the series ja- before jaʔboñ).

Each entry is followed by a word-class label. Abbreviations are: ADJ = adjective, ADV = adverb, CONJ = conjunction, DEM = demonstrative, INDEF = indefinite, INT = interrogative, INTERJ = interjection, N = noun, PFX = prefix, SF = stem-formant, TNSV = transitiviser, PRO = pronoun, SFX = suffix, V = verb, V TH = thematic verb.

Entries include lexical stems, lexical affixes, noun class prefixes, case suffixes. Verbal suffixes are not included. Noun class is indicated F = feminine, GU = gu-class, MU = mu-class, otherwise no indication signifies masculine. (A designation M = masculine is included in a few entries where noun classification is unexpected, e.g. jaŋɖiyaʔ M *pandanus mat*). Many human nouns with no designation can be variable gender (e.g. ɖuɖu FaFa, FaFaSi). A question mark indicates noun class is unknown.

A

alako *CONJ, ADV* by and by, later —
alako yiri-warjaʔɾa Later we'll
go walking about, foraging.

alaŋga *CONJ, ADV* directly,
straightaway, then, next —
Alaŋga ø-yeni ŋu-goʔje miɾpara
gañaʔ She may/should have the
baby straightaway. bur-jetjet,
muŋ! Alaŋga bur-maŋiñʔ bi!ʔ
They singe it enough! Directly
they make a sharp point.

alkiʔ *CONJ, ADV* still, yet — aŋji
ɾere-kaʔ alkiʔ yiri-waŋa-ŋaŋaniñ,
yiri-yoŋoniñ And we still stayed
in camp a long time, we slept.

aŋa *PART* approximately adversative
'but' in some uses (wurʔ-wuruŋu-
bindi-molk, aŋa bañ-geywar Not
really old men, (but) middle aged).
Elsewhere approximately 'well':
aŋa ŋu-maŋi guru-muŋumuŋuñju
Well I should've gotten it this
morning.

aŋi? *PART* used with allative form of cardinal directions, e.g. aŋi? yi-ɾoro to the east.

añji *CONJ* and, now directly, and now, next — burgu-ye gerŋe-ŋowi-ka? ɳugu-manapuŋ-ga?, añji gu-ŋočo? burgu-ye we?-ga? They put it on the echidna's (manapuŋ) body, and now they put the grass (ŋočo?) in water.

B

bači- *V* infrequent suppletive stem for bu-yji- following compounding element; for paradigm see 3.3.3. 18.4. See also bu-.

bađigulu? *N* GU, *E. Ferruginea* (?)

bađiñ? *N* subsection term

bak *N* MU, pond algae

bak- *V* *PFX* used to derive transitive constructions with cross-referenced notional indirect object (3.2.8).

bala- *N* *PFX* probably 'side'; see bala-jaku, bala-ma?-wala

bala-jaku *N*, *ADJ* left-handed

balak *N* MoMoBrCh, MoMoBrSoSoCh -balak-o? (dyadic), balabalak-o? (plural dyadic)

bala-ma?-wala *N*, *ADJ* right-handed — (<bala-, ma? good, -wala ABL)

balčuđa? *N* blanket lizard

baliñ? *PART* like; ɳiñja? baliñ? like you; baliñ? ɳu-jirkiñ? ɳu-dugu!a?-yi? gu-ø-ɳun ɳoro like the mouse, the possum eats flowers; sometimes serves as causal conjunction, as in wayaŋ ɳunbu-bak-juj?-e baliñ? ɳolko yir-wurk-miñ they should have sent (money) for us since we did a lot of work (Eng.)

balkiñ *N* constable

balko| *N* MU, water lily sp. root

balku *N* MU, rope, string

balmaŋa *N* MU, hat

balpar- *V* *TH* to dance in a group, dance slapping legs together

balpaɾa? *N* mate, companion

balpaɾa? *V* *TH* to have companion — ɳiñ-balpaɾa?-ɾa You'll have a companion.

-balukun *SFX* expresses material, source from which: ɳu-giŋdar ɳu-gayka-balukun my cross-cousin from my MoBr; waŋar-balukun ɾaw?-ŋowi bur-maŋiñ? munbič They make public coverings from possum fur.

ba| - *V* *TH* to make a bed, place to sleep (also redup. ba|?ba| -)

bambiliwar *ADJ* wide (as river)

banar- *V* *TH* to hear, listen, understand, think about yirkaŋi?- (?)gin gungu-yaŋ gu-ø-banar He/she understands our language. banar-mi-či- (RR).

baŋar? *N* MU, marble tree, *Owenia vernicosa*

baŋdari *N* circumcised, initiated youth, young man

baŋdari-wu- *V* *CAUS* to initiate, circumcise, make young man

baŋdič *N* GU, kidney

bañ- *PFX* in bañ-geywar *N* young man, not really old man yet (= middle aged) see geywar (young man).

bap *INTERJ* plunk! (noise of setting something down)

bapa *N* hypocoristic for 'father'

bapun- *V* *TH* to make someone stop, desist — jubu-bapuna buru-mele- -bu-yjin Stop them lest they fight.

bar- *V* *TH* to open — ø-jala-bar-miñ it opened its mouth (PP)

bará *INTERJ* my word!

- barabaradaku! *N* crested pigeon
- baraga!ʔ *N* GU, bamboo spear or tree species used for spear shafts.
- barajuʔ *INTERJ* hey! you all!
- barawu *N* MU, boat (probably borrowing from Macassarese)
- baɾa- *V* to be suspended, hanging up. For paradigm see 3.3.3.18.2
- ɾay ɲu-baɾaniñ I hung the meat up.
- baɾamunu *N* sand goanna
- baɾaŋari *N* Mitchell's water goanna
- baɾaŋu *N* big dog, mastiff
- baɾarač *N ADJ* thin, long bony one/person
- baɾaʔ- *V TH* to heap up, pile up (RED baɾaʔbaɾaʔ)
- baɾe- *V* to hang up, to suspend something. For paradigm see 3.3.3.18.5.
- baɾa- *AFX* used to create transitive constructions of generally adversative meaning (3.2.8), or intransitives of accompaniment (3.3.2); also the prefix in the discontinuous proprietive ('having') construction baɾa ... yiʔ (3.2.5). Occurs as quasi-stem formant in some verbs, e.g. baɾa-wa- to help (wa-follow).
- baɾɔbaɾa *N* butterfly
- baɾiʔ *N* mosquito, march fly
- bawunʔ- *V TH* to leave, abandon
- bawunʔ-mi-či- RR.
- baya- *V* to look at, come/go to see; see also RED bayapaya-;
Yirŋ ɲu-bayaniñ I went to see/fetch wax.
- baya *N* pelican
- bay *ADV* cardinal direction 'north'
ALL yi-bay, ABL bay-wala or bay-ala; bayʔbayʔ northward, to the north.
- bayir *N* F female euro, hill kangaroo (*Macropus robustus*).
- bayjayiñʔ *N* subsection term
- be- *V* to bite - beŋi-či RR; buru-beŋi-či-niñ They bit each other. (PP).
- be!ŋʔ *N* GU, leaves, foliage
- be!e-wa- *V* to track, follow - be!e-waniñ He tracked him. (PP)
- be!eŋʔ- *V TH* to lick - ɲun-be!eŋʔ He's licking me.
- benuk *N* wild turkey, bustard
- beŋbereñ *N* MU, ghost gum (*E. papuana*)
- beŋen *INTERJ* no matter!, leave it!
- beŋen, guŋmaŋʔ ɲur-bawunʔ No matter, maybe we'll leave it.
- bere *N* GU, brisket, chest
- berʔ-ja- *V* to come out, of new moon.
- beɾemelk *N* GU, shoulder blade
- betelerelereʔ *N* masked plover
- beɾ- *V TH* to roast (as e.g. in ground oven) - mago ɲur-beɾ-a jet-gaʔ Maybe we'll roast it in a ground oven.
- bewkiʔ *ADJ* white (< bewk+yiʔ, cf. ɲu!yiʔ black, ɲiriŋiriŋiʔ red etc.)
- bewk-wu- *V CAUS* to whiten, make white
- bičiri *N* file snake
- bičurk *N* GU, plat potato (*Microstemma*)
- biɖak *INTERJ* good job!
- biɖič- *V AFX* nearly - ɲu-biɖič-ñarʔmiñ marawul-ʔgun I nearly died of hunger.
- biɖipiɖi *N* GU, ti tree
- bigur *N* man, Aborigine
- bijuɖu *N* ? big wind
- bilat *N* MU, splinter

- bilpo *ADJ* wide
- bi|al *N* MU, waterlily leaf
- bi|arak *ADV* for long time, a long time (yet) — alki? bi|arak gu-φ-ruṅa It must/will cook a long time still.
- bi|? *N* GU sharp spear or stick point — bur-bi|?-maṅiñ? They make a sharp point.
- bim *N* MU, white ochre, paint
- bim-bu- *V* to write, paint
- bindi *SFX* very, really — gakeṅ-bindi very far; gaja? φ-baṅaṅaniñ ḍaṛ?-ga? garku-bindi The dog was suspended very high in the tree.
- biṅ *N* GU (1) rock, hill, stone, (2) money
- biṅḍay *N* GU cane grass
- biṅiñ *N* GU (finger-, toe-) nails
- biñbiñ *ADJ* skinny
- biñi- *N* GU water (bound) — biñi-bolk-(g)a- make water come out; gu-gu-biñi-wurk He swallows water.
- birim *N* Storr's monitor, spiny-tailed goanna
- (men-)biṛ-ga- *V* to inform someone to make someone aware (< men-mind)
- biṛmir *N* GU music sticks, clapstick
- biṭin *N* MU, lily damper — biṭin-maṅiñ? *V TH* to make damper; also with *PFX* mu-biṭin-maṅiñ?- — burmu-biṭin-maṅiñ?-miñ They made damper.
- bo *N* GU river
- boboy?- *V TH* to go to sleep (child register)
- boḍewk *ADJ* bad
- boḍewk-me- *V* to be downcast, sad; also mira-boḍewk-me- (<gu-mira head)
- boḍewk-wu- *V CAUS* to ruin something, destroy, make bad, do badly; gungu-yaṅ φ-boḍewk-wo He said it wrong.
- boḍop- *V TH* to cross over (as river road)
- bok- *V TH* to shoot
- bok *N* GU small creek
- bolk- *V TH* to come out, up — gu-jolko bur-ye garku-wala gu-wol-ṅowi φ-mele-bolk They put dirt (jolko) on top so the smoke (wol) doesn't come out.
- bolkoč *N* GU backbone
- bol-ma- *V* to rub, apply (paint, ointment, etc.) to skin
- boloṅ?- *V TH* to go through, pass through
- bolo?bolo *N* F woman
- bol?-ga?war- *V TH* to track (something) (<mu-bol? track)
- bol? *N* MU road, path (cf. bol?-ga?war to track)
- bo|o? *N* GU hollow log
- bo|or- *V TH* to sleep belly up
- bo|?- *V TH* to carry
- bo|?-ga- *V* to drag something (see bo|?-)
- boṅaṅeṅ? *N* subsection term
- boṅḍok *N* MU woomera
- boṅo, boṅoyi? *ADJ* different, another one; see also mala-boṅo some; — ṅu-mokol-boṅoyi?-wala from another/a different father; boṅo φ-ṅan-ji? He can't see/look for another.
- boṅi *ADV* now, already; also occurs as *V PFX*.
- boṅga *N* rock goanna (*Varanus glebopalma*)

- boŋʔ- used to signal avoidance style; e.g. ju-balak-boŋʔ-ŋini or ju-balak-ŋini-boŋʔ Occurs in nominals and verbs.
- bop- *V TH* to give off smell, odour; RDP bo-bop; Boḍewk gu-ø-bop It smells bad. See goŋʔ-bop-.
- bop-ŋa- *V* to smell something — ŋur-bop-ŋan minaʔ maʔ We smell good fat.
- bore *SFX* 3NSG possessive suffix
- boryi *N* boy, male (of any species)
- bot *N* ? bushfly, native bees
- boy *N* MU grass species
- boyo- to sit in a line. (AUX -yo-lie, sleep, may be boy-(y)o-). RED boyoboyo-.
- bu- *V* to hit, strike, kill. See 3.3.3.16 for compounds, 3.3.3.18.1 for paradigm; bu-yji- RR, buru-bu-yji-ñ they fought (PP). Also bu-či- recorded from one speaker.
- bucěʔ *N* reticulated perchlet
- buḍolgoʔ *N* brolga
- bugiʔ *SFX* only — buru-goyi-ʔmolk, buru-ñawk-(k)oro yaŋ, munəŋa-bugiʔ buru-ñawk Some do not know, they do not talk (Aboriginal) language, they talk English. (munəŋa 'white man')
- bujuʔ *V TH* to twist (as rope, string), to manufacture by rolling in hands or against thigh; soften — ŋu-gunʔbiri gungu-ŋočoʔ yir-bujuʔ We soften the grass.
- bul *N* GU pit, trench — Gu-gu-wol-koro guru-bul-ŋowi-ʔwala It is not smoking from the (ground oven) pit.
- bulačbulač *N* F female agile wallaby (apparent syn. jaruṭuʔ)
- bulgut *N* MU kurrajong (*Brachychiton diversifolium*)
- bulkič *ADV* truly, really, very
- bulpul *N* MU var. of *Melaleuca leucadendron*
- bulubuluŋa *N ADJ* second or middle child, cf. jaṭba firstborn
- bulugi *N* bullock, cattle (also buligi)
- buluŋaʔ *ADV* in the middle
- bulupulun *N* spoonbill
- bu| - *V TH* to drown, be submerged
- bu| -ga- *V CAUS* to drown someone, cause to drown or become submerged
- bu|kbu|k *V TH* to bubble up, boil; also biñi-bu|kbu|k-; ø-gu-biñibu|k-miñ jolko-wala Water boiled up from the ground.
- bu|ŋuʔ *N* GU ashes
- bu|uk *N* feather
- buŋ *N* GU kneecap
- buŋgiyi *ADV* on one's knees (<gu-buŋ knee)
- buriñʔ- *V TH* to bury, heap (something) upon; buriñʔ-mi-či- RR; buriñʔ-ja- to be buried — wukaŋa gu-ø-buriñʔ-jaŋan jolko-gaʔ A big frog is buried in the ground.
- burkaji *ADJ* full, real (as 'real father' etc), (cf. Maŋarayi burgaji of same meaning)
- burkaʔ *PRO* 3NSG pronoun. ERG burkaŋiʔ-yiʔ, also burkaʔ-yiʔ. Local case forms built on ERG.
- buruburuʔ *ADV* little way, short way
- burugulu *N* snake species (unidentified; found in trees; python?).
- burupuruyiʔ *ADJ* having scabies, skin-mite infection
- buruṭji *N* water python
- burʔ-ŋa- *V* to know, understand — ŋu-burʔŋani-koro ŋugunʔbiri bigur I don't know that man.

buṛkbuṛk *N* to dive in
 buṛpa *N* MU (1) rifle; (2) lily
 buṛyi *N* really old man or woman
 buwambuwa *N* ? turkey down
 buy- *V TH* to have blurry vision;
 also ɲaṅju!a-buy- (<ɲaṅju!a eye)
 buypu *N* elder brother (male Ego);
 buypu-go? two brothers (dyadic)
 – buypubuypu-go? brothers (plural
 dyadic)
 buy-pu- *V* to rub sweat on; also
 with noun class PFX gu-buy-pu-
 buypuy-ɲe- *V* to singe hair (off
 animal, in cooking); also with
 noun class PFX gu-buypuy-ɲe-

ǰ

-ǰiʷji *SFX* privative 'lacking';
 see 2.5 for the alternation.
 -ǰiʷ-ji? *SFX* Future negative;
 buru-waken-ji? They won't/can't
 come back.

D

duŋ *INTERJ* yummy!

ḍ

ḍač- *V TH* to cut something;
 ḍač-mi-čī- to cut oneself.
 ḍač-ga- *V CAUS* to cut; maṅa-
 ḍač-ga- to hang someone –
 (<gu-maṅa neck)
 ḍaḍa *N* MU wild honey.
 ḍaka! *N* big goanna (*V. gouldii*)
 ḍakbarara *N* green pandanus frog
 ḍal-bu- *V* to meet, encounter
 someone; ḍal-bu-čī- *RR*.
 ḍa!ṅin *N* ceremonial manager, one
 who tends to the ceremonial
 property of another (e.g. SiDaCh
 for a given man). Possibly a
 borrowing from Maṅarayi).

ḍa!ʔ, ḍa!ʔḍa!ʔ *INTERJ* missed it!
 ḍarabiya *N* black cockatoo
 ḍarka? *INTERJ* tough one, hard to
 get
 ḍar? *V TH* to dry out, become dry
 – gumu-ḍar?a alki? bi!arak It
 will/must dry a long time yet.
 ḍarʔ-ye- *V CAUS* to put to dry
 – mu-wapawapa? yimu-ḍarʔ-yeṅa
 wači-ka? We'll dry your clothes
 in the sun.
 ḍarʔ *N* GU tree, stick
 ḍawkḍawk *ADJ* clean
 ḍe!- *V TH* to knock over, upset
 ḍe!e-ja- *V* to lean against,
 standing leaning against; also
 juṅgu-ḍe!e-ja- (juṅgu back).
 Locative complement.
 ḍenek *N* GU lower ribs; denek-wi
 lative, up to lower ribs.
 ḍerene? *N* GU red apple (*Syzygium*
suborbiculare).
 ḍerk- *V TH* to slice, cut into
 pieces
 ḍerʔba-ga- *V* to tie something up
 ḍerp *V TH* to be sleepy. *RED*
 ḍerpḍerp. Useable also transi-
 tively, e.g. ɲun-gu-ḍerpḍerp
 ɲaṅju!a-ɲini I'm sleepy (ɲaṅju!a
 eye).
 ḍerʔḍer *ADJ* strong, tough,
 resistant; jolko ḍerʔḍer hard
 ground
 ḍič-ɲa- *V* to look at very hard,
 stare at
 ḍiḍibawaba *N* lotus bird
 ḍiḍiḍi *N* whistling kite
 ḍi!kḍi!k *N* peewee
 ḍiṅjalīn *N* ? red ochre
 ḍiṭa *N* GU nosepeg
 ḍiṭač- *V TH* to circumcise, (cf.
 baṅdari-wu-) – bur-ḍiṭač-miyiṅ,
 bur-baṅdari-wo They circumcised
 him, initiated him.

ɖiw? *V TH* to fly away, take off
 ɖiw?ɖiw? *N MU* aeroplane
 ɖodoy? *N MoBrSoCh*; subclass of MoBr class. Reciprocals are manəŋ Mo, gayka MoBr — Giŋɖar-ŋgi-ʔwala, miŋpara-ŋowi ŋu-ɖodoy? From your cross-cousin, his child (is your) ɖodoy?
 ɖodo!- *V TH* to be absent, away
 ɖodoʔ- *V TH* to go down, descend
 ɖolkɖolk- *V TH* to line up, stand in line
 ɖoroʔ- *V TH* to dry up — gu-ɖoroʔ-ji? gungu-weʔ The water will never dry up, evaporate.
 ɖororʔ- *V TH* to pull
 ɖorpoʔ- *V TH* to lie belly down
 ɖot-ga- *V CAUS* to break, tear off
 ɖow- *V* to break; ø-mele-ɖow it may break, lest it break; gungu-belŋ? burgu-ɖow They break the foliage.
 ɖow-ga- *V CAUS* to break something, cause to break — ŋiñ-waŋjat -ɖow-gan He's breaking your arm.
 ɖubal *N MU* Leichhardt tree (*Nauclea coadunata*)
 ɖuɖu *N FaFa, FaFaSi*; ɖuɖu-koʔ (dyadic); ɖuɖuɖuɖu-koʔ (plural dyadic)
 ɖugu!a? *N* ring-tailed possum
 ɖuk-ja- *V* to tie up something — nanny goat waŋgiñ? yir-ɖuk-je We tied up one nanny goat. (SG)
 ɖuk-ja- *V* to be tied up — ø-ɖuk-jaŋaniñ He was tied up. (PC)
 ɖul? *V TH* to come alight, light up, light itself.
 ɖulʔ-ga- *V CAUS* to light something, to burn (e.g. grass) — mu-boy-(y)i? burgu-ɖulʔ-gan They are lighting it (GU-class, fire) with grass.

ɖumuɖumur? *V TH* to crack, snap (as sticks and bushes) — jugu-ɖumuɖumur? gu-janda? baʔa-belŋ? -yi? You snap the twigs with foliage.
 ɖumulu? *N GU* bloodwood (*E. Polycarpa*)
 ɖun *N* ? string
 ɖuŋʔ- *V TH* to turn something over — jeki gu-ø-jeʔ-julu-wa-na muŋ alaŋga gu-gu-ɖuŋʔ-ŋa First it will sing, finish, then he will turn it over (said of a tape).
 ɖuŋiʃ *N* (grey) fantail
 ɖuŋʔ- *V TH* to sit down (event) — ø-ɖuŋʔ-miñ He sat down. (PP)
 ɖuŋʔ-ga- *V CAUS* to cause to sit down, make sit down
 ɖuwat *N* young euro (*Macropus robustus*)

G

ga- *V* to take, carry; (see 3.3.3.18.6 for paradigm, 3.3.3.16 for compounds) — yiriŋ-ganiñ aŋi? yi-geriñ Katherine-ga? He took us west to Katherine.
 ga- see ga-maŋiñ?
 gabi!ʔ *V TH* to wave about, (as animal's tail); gabi!ʔgabi!ʔ RED
 gabogabo? *N GU* plain, open place
 gaʃa *PART* none, nothing, no — Gaʃa ø-ñaŋʔ-(?)molk, ŋu-gunʔbiri gerŋe. No, he didn't die, he's alive.
 gaɖagoŋ *N GU* fever, flu
 gaja? *N* dog, also pig
 gajaŋʔ- *V TH* to be tired — buru-gajaŋʔ They are tired.
 gajet *N GU* knife
 gajuɖuʔjuɖuŋe *ADJ* hard to get, to achieve

- gaka *N* Br for female Ego; younger
Br for male Ego, younger Si for
female Ego
- gakeŋ *ADJ, ADV* distant (guŋdu
gakeŋ distant country), far away
- gala *N* GU mountain, high bank
- gala-gayaŋga? *DEM ADV* this side;
gala-gayaŋga?-wala from this
side
- gala- *AFX* occurs in gala-goje-ga?
other side, gala-gojega?-wala
from the other side, gala-gayaŋga?
this side, gala-gayaŋga?-wala
from this side. Related to gala
mountain, bank ?
- galal *N* GU ceremony ground
- galaŋaŋda? *N* GU plat potato
species
- gali-ma- *V* to pick up — ŋugu-bolo
yiriŋ-gali-me?me The boss
picked us up.
- gali?gali?- *V TH* to go away,
depart
- galk *N* M enemy, murderer,
treacherous (person)
- galŋoŋkŋoŋk *N* ? brains
- galay *INTERJ* hey! look out!
- galigali? *N* M/GU boomerang
- ga|uk- *V TH* to play (as children);
ga|uga|uk *RED*
- ga|uk-wu- *V CAUS* to make play,
give permission to play
- ga|urk *ADJ* deep — gu-ø-ga|urk-
bindi It's really deep.
gu-ø-ga|urk-molk It's not deep.
- gamaji? *N* MU bed-roll, belongings,
blankets, 'swag'
- gamakun *ADV* correctly, properly
- gamalabuy *N* GU smoky place
- ga-maŋiŋ?- *V TH* to fix up, repair,
(cf. maŋiŋ? to make; ga- attested
but rare as compounding prefix or
element meaning 'things, belong-
ings. See Text 2 , fn.2).
- gamiŋjiko *ADV* all the time;
gamiŋji?jiko (*RED*) — mu-we?
ŋu-gun?biri yimili? gu-ø-
jilkjilk *gamiŋjiko* In the wet
season it rains all the time.
- gamuyumuyu *ADJ* prohibited
- ganam *N* GU ear
- ganjari *N* bony bream
- ganju *ADV* directly, straight away
- gaŋ- *AFX* evidently has collective
sense; occurs in gaŋ-gapul all,
the whole lot (Paucal *SFX* -gapul);
gaŋgal of some meaning — gaŋgal
yiri-ŋabona yerke-ga? All of us
will go downriver.
- gaŋamuru *N* MU long-nosed honey bee
- gaŋawara? *N* tree-dwelling goanna
species (with long tail)
- gaŋda *N* GU lower leg
- gaŋdalpuru *N* F female plains
kangaroo (*Marcropus antelopinus*)
- gaŋdiŋa *N* GU walking-stick
- gaŋduyun *N* GU sand ridge
- gaña? *ADJ* little miŋpara gaña?
small child
- gaŋa?-wu- *V* to ask someone, make
request of
- gapaŋda? *N* MU white mud, like
white ochre
- gapuji *N* old man, woman
- gapul *SFX* paucal — mungu-ŋolko
\ ŋu-bolo-gapul-?gun A lot (of food)
for the old people.
- gapu|a *N* old blind person
- gapuŋk *ADJ* dry; gapuŋk-me- to dry
out, become dry — gumu-gapuŋk-
mena It (MU-class) will dry out.
- gara *ADV* high up; ALL yi-gara,
ABL gara-wala. See also garku,
garkara.

- gara- *V N PFX* collective, all, together — gara-bolo?bolo yir-
 ɲuna All we women will eat
 (together); jugun?biri bolo-
 gapul-gara all the old ladies;
 gara-gun?biri gungu-guᅇdu ø-gu-
 mañiñ?miñ jamben-yi? Snake
 created all that country.
 buru-gara-ɲuñju, buru-yariyariyi?
 They're all the same, they are
 lazy; in expression gara-ɲu!?-
 ga? a large amount, coolamon)
- garadada *N* ? chest brace, apparel
 with crossing straps on chest
- garakgarak *N* darter duck
- gara-ɲul?-ga? *N ADJ* a lot, a large
 amount (<gara-, ɲul? coolamon)
- garbe- *V* to crawl; garbegarbe- *RED*
- gar-bu- *V* to pull
- garkara *ADV* high up, above. See
 also gara, garku; garkara mira-
 ɲini-wi mu-war?-miñ He threw it
 over my head.
- garku *ADV* top, up; ALL garku-ga?,
 ABL garku-wala; Garku-wala
 gu-ø-ᅇᅇᅇ? He is coming down
 from the top.
- gaᅇgaᅇgaᅇni *N* big wallaby species
- gaᅇ- *V TH* to get stuck, bogged,
 lodge in; maᅇa-gaᅇ- to choke
 (maᅇa- throat) — ɲuᅇa ɲu-ɲuniñ,
 warᅇgu ɲu-maᅇa-gaᅇ-miñ I was
 eating fast, that's why/for that
 reason I choked.
- gawurwa *N* MU honeybee ground hive
- gaw?- *V TH* to call, sing out —
 ɲunbu-gaw?-miñ mu-may-?gan They
 called me for food.
- gaw?-baya- *V* to sing out to someone
- gaya *N* same-sex sibling's child;
 (man's BrCh, woman's SiCh);
 gaya-ko? (dyadic); gayagaya-ko?
 (plural dyadic)
- gayabam *N* GU wild orange (*Capparis*
umbonata)
- gayakjiᅇiweᅇ *N ADJ* cranky bugger,
 cranky person
- gayar?yar? *N* GU plain, open place
- gayar?yar?-wu- *V CAUS* to clear an
 area, make clear place
- gayka *N* mother's brother; gayka-go?
 MoBr and SiCh (dyadic); gayka-
 gayka-go? (plural dyadic)
- gayku *ADV* a few days ago, a short
 while ago
- gaykubur(?wi), gaykubur? *ADV* early
 in the day, full day (up to about
 noon)
- gaykun? *DEM PRO* demonstrative stem
 'these, this lot' (non-singular;
 see ga?ye-) — ɲu-gaykun?yi?
 bur-banar-miñ, bolo?bolo-yi?,
 miᅇpara-yi? These/this group
 listened, the women and children.
- ga?war *V TH* to chase, pursue;
 ga?war-mi-ᅇi- *RR*
- ga?ye- *DEM PRO* demonstrative stem
 'this (one)', singular (see
 gaykun?)
- ge *N* man's child, BrCh for female
 Ego. ge-ko? (dyadic), gegeko?
 (plural dyadic)
- gelk *N* GU river bank; gelka?
 (gelk-(g)a?), (LOC) on river bank;
 yi-war?a gelk-(g)a? ɲu-gun?biri
 ɲugu-giku We'll toss the mussels
 (giku) on the bank.
- gelmariñ *N* F married girl (<mariñ
 girl)
- ge!e!?- *V TH* to slip, slide down
- gen *INTERJ* Oops! (as when one has
 made a mistake speaking)
- gengeᅇ *ADJ* long
- ge-pu- *V* to elude, get away from,
 usually baᅇa-ge-pu: ɲun-baᅇa-ge-po
 It got away from me. (PP) (AUX bu-)
- ger *N* MU kurrajong (*Brachychiton*
paradoxum)

- geriñ *ADV* cardinal direction 'west'.
All yi-geriñ, *ABL* geriñ-wala
- gerne *ADJ* alive
- gerne *N M* body
- gewen- *SF* expresses fear; in
gewen-me- *V* to be, become
frightened, gewen-baya- *V* to
frighten someone
- geweṛe? *N* dingo (Cogn. Ngandi
a-gawir?)
- geywar *N* young man; geywar-yiñuṅ
husband's younger brother
- gibiṭguluč *N* tawny frogmouth
- giḍi *N F* young girl
- gika *N* hypocoristic for 'father'
- giku *N M* mussel
- giligili? *N* galah
- giṅalk *N* white/straw-necked ibis
- giṅdar *N* cross-cousin; giṅdar-ko?
(dyadic), giṅdagiṅdar-ko?
(plural dyadic)
- giṅma- *V* to hook (as fish);
ø-giṅ-maṅi-?molk He didn't
hook it.
- ju-giri?yi? *N F* little mother or
father's junior wife
- gir? *N MU* stone-tipped spear
- giyark (-ṅowi) *N GU* tooth; also
'fishhook'
- gober?- *V TH* to look back –
ṅiñ-weṅ? aṅi yi-wači, ṅiñ-gober?
You look back, you 'gober?'
- gobolgobol *N* turkey (onomatopoetic
from English 'gobble?')
- gogon-bu- *V* avoidance style word,
'see, look at'. Replaces
ordinary ṅa-
- golgoṛo? *N GU* coolamon for baby
- golk- expresses classificatory
relation, e.g. ju-mana-golk-ṅoji
her 'step' mother. Also -golk-
go?-ṅa- compound verb 'to have
as step relation'. Used where
relation is understood as other
than an actual biological one but
sociological content not well
understood.
- golkol *ADJ* new – mu-golkol mu-
wapawapa? ṅu-me'me I got a new
dress.
- gol-ṅeṛ?- *V TH* to cough up, spew
out
- golododok *N* peaceful dove
- golon *N* doctor, medicine man
- golonor? *N MU* yellow ochre
- gol-ye- *V* to put in water, soak
– ṅumu-gol-yeṅa I'll put it
(food, as yam) to soak.
- gol-yo- *V* to sleep soundly
- goliñ *N* big boy, girl (pre-
adolescent)
- gomboy? *N* black-headed monitor
- goṅdu *N MU* light sprinkling rain,
beginning of wet season
- goñ *N* kangaroo (generic)
- gopo *N* husband or wife, spouse
- gorboḷogorboḷo *N* butcher bird
- gore? *ADV. V PFX* alone, by oneself
– mači ṅin-gore?-ṅaṅaṅaṅan You
live too much alone, you're
always alone; burmu-ṅunṅun gore?
they are eating by themselves.
- gorič- *V TH* to grind – burmu-
gorič-miñ They ground it.
(vegetable food)
- gorpgorp *N* kookaburra
- goṛ- *V TH* to be sick, ache, hurt
ṅu-ganam-goṛ I have earache.
ṅu-ñamaṅ-goṛ My foot aches.;
goṛo?goṛ (RED), ṅaṅjuḷa-ṅini
ṅu-goṛo?goṛ My eye aches badly.
- goṛ-ča- *V* to sit in lair, hole
(< ja- stance verb)
- goṛči- *V* to fill up with, put in,
load. For paradigm see 3.3.3.-
18.4; ṅumu-gorji-gorjiñ mungu-
burpa ṅul?-ga? I loaded up the
coolamon with lily.

goṛ-ga- *V CAUS* to make sick —
 ṅun-goṛgan mu-may-yi? The food
 is making me sick.

goṛ? *ADJ* sour, smelly, rotten —
 goṛ?-me- to go bad, become
 smelly

goṛ?-bop *V TH* to smell bad (cf.
 bop- give off odour); -goṛ?-bop-
 miñ mungu-miṛ? The house stank.

goṛ?yi? *N F* senior mother, or
 father's senior wife

got *N GU* paperbark

goweleṅ?- *V TH* to beckon to;
 ṅun-goweleṅ?-miñ He beckoned
 me. (PP)

gowk *N GU* paperbark humpy

gowko *N* MoMo, MoMoBr, MoMoBrSoCh,
 SiDaCh (woman's DaCh); gowko-go?
 (dyadic), gowkogowko-go? (plural
 dyadic); jamiñ-ṅowi ṅu-giṅdar-
 ?gan, ju-gowko (Your) cross-
 cousin's spouse is (your) gowko
 MoMoBrSoCh.

goyi *ADJ* to be knowledgeable,
 expert, know — ṅu-bak-goyi I
 know him/it.

goykun? *DEM ADV* this way, to here
 (see also go?ye-)

goyo *N* small freshwater crocodile

goy-wu- *V* to show to someone,
 teach someone — jun-goy-wuniñ
 jajabaṅ? You showed/taught me
 yesterday.

go?- *V TH* to go away

go?-ṅa- *V* to have — golk-go?-ṅa-
 to have as classificatory
 relation

go?je- *DEM ADV* demonstrative stem
 'there'; pronouns can be built
 on this stem (ṅu-go?je that (one))
 — go?je-wala from there, goje-ga?
 or goje-gaga? that way, to there
 gojegun? that way, to there

go?ye- *DEM ADV* demonstrative stem
 'here'; pronouns can be built on
 this stem (ṅu-go?ye this (one)).
 Go?ye-wala from here, goye-ga?
 or goye-gaga? to here.

gu-, gungu- *N PFX* noun class
 prefix forms (see 3.2.3).

gubuy *N GU* sweat

guč- *V TH* to put, create

gučun *N MU* big lily root

guḍalbun *ADJ, ADV* together, mixed
 up

gudi: *INTERJ* expresses fright

gu-go?yen *ADV* here, here again,
 here in the place you know about.
 (Cf. go?ye *DEM ADV* here).

gulči *N GU* mortar (see gu-ma|
 grindstone)

gulin *N* spangled perch

gulukulu *N* countryman; also 'boss',
 someone who is responsible for
 something; alako gu-ϕ-wakena
 ṅaykaṅi?-ga? gulukulu-ṅoji-ka?
 Later she'll come back to her
 boss (said of dog).

gul?- *V TH* to poke, jab, strike,
 shoot; also strip (off) as
 paperbark — gu-ḍar?-yi? ṅun-
 ṅamaṅ-gul?-miñ A stick poked my
 foot.

gul?war- *V TH* to shoot

gu|aga| *ADJ* big, broad — Yirambaṅ
 buru-ṅaṅju|a-gu|aga| Barn owls
 have large eyes.

gu|a? *N GU* skin of body. See
 gu|a?-joṛ-pu-či- shed skin (of
 snake)

gulern *N GU* firewood

gulern-ma- *V* to get firewood
 (< gu-gulern firewood)

gu|u|- *V TH* to poke

gumbugumbuṅa *N* snail
 gum-ja- *V* to cover someone up;
 gum-ji-ṅi- *RR* — got ju-maṅa
 ju-gum-jiṅa Get paperbark (got)
 and cover it up.
 gundul *N ADJ* quiet, harmless; also
 with noun class prefix) one who
 attempts to settle a dispute,
 peacemaker.
 gunʔbiri *DEM PRO* demonstrative
 stem 'that'; non-singular form
 gunʔbiri-gunʔ
 guṅḍaroro *N* GU horn — bata-guṅḍa-
 roro-yiʔ cattle (proprietary
 bata ... yiʔ)
 guṅḍu *N* GU country
 guṅmaṅʔ *PART* maybe; gu-ϕ-juruwen
 guṅmaṅʔ ye-le-kaʔ Maybe he's
 running to (his) hole.
 guṅmuk *N* ? night, dark;
 guṅmugunmuk (RED)
 guṅuṅ *N* GU cloud
 guṅuḷu *N* GU big log (as in flood-
 water)
 gurač *N* MU blood
 guralʔgural *N* channel-billed cuckoo
 guṅaṅaṅaṅʔ *N* grey-crowned babbler
 gurijaṭbongo *N* olive python (Syn.
 guṅḍič)
 gurmuḷuʔ *N* blue-tongue
 gurṅa *N* M moon
 gurṅmuṅ *ADJ* greedy — ṅamulu
 gurṅmuṅ ṅu-gunʔbiri ṅu-bolo
 The old man is very greedy.
 gurujaḍu *N* big black rock snake,
 probably the same as gurijaṭbongo
 olive python
 gurupiḷ *N* tortoise species,
 yellow-striped head (*Elseya*
dentata)?
 guru- *ADV PFX* used with adverbs
 of time and place; gives a
 specificity of reference:
 guru-yanaʔmala bur-baṅdari-wuna

(Just) when will they circumcise
 them?; also guru-jajabaṅʔ
 yesterday, guru-goʔjen-ji that
 time when, etc. See 3.3.3.20.6.

guṅṅ *N* black-striped grunter
 guṅʔwar- *V TH* to boomerang someone
 gutabiḷʔ *N* yellow bittern ?
 guweḷuʔ *N* curlew
 guyiya *N* MU *Grewia retusifolia*
 guyu *N* ? diarrhoea
 guʔ *ADJ* raw; usually verbalised
 as guʔ-me- be raw, ϕ-guʔ-molk
 It is not raw.
 guʔjelʔ *ADJ* to be cold (of an
 object, also weather)
 guʔ-me- *V* to be raw; ϕ-mele-guʔ-
 me-n It might be raw, lest it
 be raw.

J

-ja- *V PFX* see -jaʔ-
 -ja- *V* to make stand. Always with
 preceding compounding element,
 e.g. jap-ja- to make stand. See
 3.3.3.18.4 for paradigm;
 gu-jandaʔ ṅugu-jap-je I stood a
 stick up. (PP)
 ja- *V* to stand, be in a place.
 For compounds see 3.3.3.16, for
 paradigm 3.3.3.18.2.
 jaḍi- *V* to twirl firedrill. For
 paradigm see 3.3.3.18.4; gu-ṅuṅiʔ
 yirgi-jaḍa We twirl the firedrill.
 jaḍugal *N* male plains kangaroo
 (*Macropus antelopinus*)
 jaganda *N* female plains kangaroo
 (*Macropus antelopinus*). (Cf.
 gaṅḍalpuru)
 jajabaṅʔ *ADV* yesterday;
 jajabaṅʔ-ga afternoon, in the
 afternoon

- jajak *N* GU prob. fan palm
(*Livistona loriphylla*)
- jaka? *N* MU yam stick, digging
stick — jaka?-yi? ø-ɲurum?-miñ
mungu-wiḷa, mači japuṭ-ga? mungu-
ḍaḍa ø-ɲaŋaniñ She dug the honey
with digging stick (because) the
honey was in an ant mound.
- jaku *N* left-handed; see bala-jaku
- jala *N* GU mouth
- jalabir *N* red ant (*Iridiomyrmex*)
- jalaŋgar *N* white cockatoo (Syn.
ɲerk)
- jalawarča *ADJ* right full,
brimming
- jalga? *PART* that's OK, all right
- jalŋ *N* MU spinifex
- jalŋ? *PART* right to; jalŋ?
jolko-ga? right to the ground
- jaḷa *N* GU crayfish
- jaḷaḷa- *V TH* to crawl
- jaḷap- *V TH* to pull; paddle canoe
- jaḷmayaḷ *N* king brown (snake sp.)
- jamaḷara *N* ? Pleiades
constellation group
- jambaka? *N* tin, cannister —
ɲugu-maṣamaṣa? ɲugu-jambaka?
The tin is empty.
- jambaku *N* GU tobacco
- jamben *N* snake
- jamboŋ *N* death adder
- jambuṭ *N* GU sand
- jamiñ *N* spouse (MoMoBrDaCh or
equivalent); jamiñ-go? (dyadic)
jamiñjamiñ-go? (plural dyadic)
- jamolk *PART* for nothing, simply,
just; also jamolka?, molka?
gu-ø-ɲaŋan jamolk He is simply
living/camping. (i.e. doing
nothing special).
- jam?-ga- *V* to crowd in on, cramp,
crowd; mu-yimili-yi? ɲuruŋ-jam?-
gaŋiñ The fog/wet shut us in
(obscured our view).
- jam? yiŋoro *ADV* shut tight
- janay? *N* goanna (generic)
- jandalayi *N* F young girl
- janda? *N* GU stick
- janga *N* long-necked turtle
- janjar- *V TH* to stretch one's legs
- jaŋaran *N* jabiru
- jaŋḍiya? *N* M pandanus mat
- jaŋjaŋ-ga- *V* to carry
- jaŋmur *N* GU junction of river or
creek
- jaŋani-wu- *V CAUS* to make some-
thing stand up (POT of stance
verb ja-) — ju-jaŋani-wuna
Make it stand up.
- jaŋ-ga- *V* to hunt; AUX -ga-
- jaŋgu *N* GU flesh food (including
beef)
- jap- *V TH* to dive, jump in
- jap-ga- *V CAUS* to put into water
- japuḍeñ?ḍeñ *N* (small) grasshopper
with long antennae
- japuru *ADJ* sacred, dear; cf.
Jawoñ japuru of same meaning
- japuṭ *N* GU ant bed, termite mound
- jarič *N* GU charcoal, coals —
jarič-ga? gumu-ŋe mungu-jatam
He's cooking the lily in the coals.
- jarpič *N* GU leg, thigh
- jaruṭu? *N* F female agile wallaby
(*Macropus agilis*)
- jar?jar?- *V TH* to not want some-
thing; also jar?jar?-bawun?-
to leave something in a hurry
(bawun?- *V TH* leave)

- jaɾp-wu- *V* to chase away; usually
gewen-jaɾp-wu- to chase away,
to frighten away
- jaɾuk *ADJ* (1) short; (2) not
distant; jikur jaɾuk short tail;
gu-ø-guŋdu-gakeŋ-ʔmolk ŋamulu
gu-ø-jaɾuk The place is not
distant, it's very close.
- jatam *N* MU waterlily species
- jaɾba *N ADJ* eldest (child)
- jawanda *N* GU whiskers
- jawelk *N* grass species
- jawoŋ *N* friend, sweetheart –
jawoŋ yarʔ gu-ø-goʔ-ŋan He/she
has a lot of sweethearts.
- jaworo *N* GU patriclan
- jawʔjawʔ *N* GU waterlily stem;
(apparent Syn. gu-ŋalkŋalk)
- jaʔ- *V PFX* now. Expresses
temporal immediacy in relation
to the tense of the narrated
event: yiri-jaʔ-ɾaboniñ We
went now. (PC) Also -ja-,
-jeʔ-.
- jaʔboñ *INTERJ* finish!, that's
enough!
- je *N* GU nose
- jebaŋ *N* GU line, row;- jebaŋ-yo-
V to lie in line
- jeka- *V CAUS* (< jek-(g)a-) to
make something come loose, come
away; mu-jek-(g)an-jiʔ ŋugu-
jaŋdiyaʔ baɾa-yawok-yiʔ It
(floodwater) can't carry away
the pandanus mat with the cheeky
yam.
- jeki *ADV* (at) first, first time;
mu-balku jeki bur-bujuʔ First
they roll (manufacture) the
string.
- jele *N* MU urine
- jele-bu- *V* to urinate
- jelejelʔ *N* whimbrel
- jeler *N* GU tomahawk, stone axe
- jeliʔ *ADJ* wet – gu-jolko-jeliʔ
The ground is wet.
- jeliʔ-me- *N* to be, become wet
- jelŋ *N* GU tongue – gu-jelŋ-bolk
(His) tongue is sticking out
(as dog).
- jeneneʔ *N* willy wagtail
- jeñ *N* GU or M fish
- jeŋe *N* GU teat, breast, milk
- jeraɾa- *N* MU women's curing and
related ceremonial singing
- jereŋgoʔ- *V TH* to sneeze
- jerk *N* bird
- jet- *V TH* singe, temper in fire
- jet- *V TH* to sharpen (apparent
homonym with above)
- jet *N* MU stone oven, also stones
to heat ground oven
- jeɾ-ja- *V* to listen to – jugu-
boloʔbolo gu-ø-jeɾ-jaŋana
ju-boŋoyiʔ jugu-jawoŋ-ŋoji
The woman will listen to the
other, her friend.
- jičan *N* GU dreaming, totem,
totemic manifestation or locality
- jičbu *N* MU stringybark
(*E. tetradonta*)
- jičiwk *N* wrens
- jijuk *N* large nail-tailed wallaby
(*Onychogalea fraenata*). Cf.
Ngandi cogn. jičuk spectacled
hare-wallaby
- jikur *N* MU tail
- jilara *N* unknown tree species
- ɲere-čiliŋʔ- *V TH* to be sleepy;
(mu-ɲere sleep, jiliŋʔ, verbal
root); ɲu-ɲere-čiliŋʔ, ɲu-yoŋona
jeki I'm sleepy, I'll sleep
first.
- jiliwiŋ *N* MU *Capparis umbonata* ?

- jilk- *V TH* to rain – gu-mu-jilk-a
It will rain.; mu-yimili?
nuruṅmu-jilk ḡolko In the wet
season it rains on us a lot.
- jimi? *N* leech
- jinma *N* whaler shark
- jiñja? *PRO* 3SGF pronoun. *ERG*
jiñjaṅi?-yi?. Local case forms
built on *ERG*.
- jiṅ *N* *GU* stomach
- jira-paya- *V* to sneak up on some-
one, (< baya-)
- jirbiyug *N* whistle duck
- jiri *ADJ* insolent, cheeky; jiri-ma?
bellicose; jiri-boḡewk quiet,
docile
- jiriḡidi *N* (boat-billed?) fly-
catcher ?
- jirima? *ADJ* belligerent, bellicose
(< jiri+ma?)
- jiri-ye- *V* to be aggressive
towards, give cheek to
- jirkiñ? *N* long-tailed mouse
- jitbiḡiri *N* old male agile wallaby
(*Macropus agilis*)
- jiwi *N* *GU* liver
- jo- *V* to chop (down). For para-
digm see 3.3.3.18.4 – ḡugu-jona
I'll chop it (tree) down.
- jobal *N* MoMoBrSo, MoMoBrSoSoSo
jobal-ko? (dyadic), jobajobal-ko?
(plural dyadic)
- joḡow? *ADV* early morning (still
dark)
- joḡow?- *V TH* to become daylight,
dawn
- joḡow? joḡow? *N* *GU* morning star
- jojop- *V TH* to slip
- jolko *N* *GU* ground, earth
- jolo *N* *MU* inside meaty part (e.g.
mussel); jumu-ḡun yerke may-ḡowi,
jolo-ḡowi ḡu-giku-ḡun He eats
its food, the flesh inside of
the mussel.
- jolok *N* *GU* bad cold, phlegm –
jolok-yi? ḡungu-me?me A bad
cold has got me. (PP)
- jololo- *V TH* to run down (as
sweat) – ḡungu-we? ḡarku-wala
gu-jololo Water runs down from
on top.
- joḡk- *V* to pass by; also joḡk-
bawun?- pass something, someone;
ḡu-joḡk-bawun?-miñ ḡu-ḡunḡbiri
janda? I passed by the stick.
- joḡgolo? *ADJ* straight
- joḡgolo?- *V TH* to straighten
something
- joḡgolo?-wu- *V CAUS* to make
straight
- joḡe *N* *MU* *Terminalia canescens*
(buḡ)-jopjopwoḡ- *V TH* to lie on
back with legs crossed (gu-buḡ
kneecap)
- jopjop-ma- *V* to collect, gather
– jopjop-maṅi-či- *RR* to gather
together, assemble
- jopoḡo *INTERJ* true
- jorḡ- *V TH* to stretch; jorḡ-mi-či-
stretch oneself; ḡiñ-jorḡ-mi-čin
gu-waḡjat-gi-pira? You stretch
your (two) arms.
- jorow? *N* *MU* quinine bush
(*Petalostigma pubescens*)
- jor?- *V TH* to defecate
- joḡča? *N* small bandicoot species
(guḡa?)-joḡ-pu-či- *V RR* to shed
skin (as snake), peel off
(gu-guḡa? skin)
- jow- *V TH* to flood heavily
- joy *N* FaMoBrCh; joy-ko? (dyadic)
joykojoy-ko? (plural dyadic)
- ju-, jugu- *PFX* feminine noun class
prefix forms (see 3.2.3)
- jubuk- *V PFX* for a long time,
continuously
- jugujugi *N* ? pompoms on markarala
headdress

juju-wu- *V TH* to drive (as cattle)
 jujujy?- *V TH* to push — ɲondo-yi?
 ɲun-jujujy?-miñ The wind pushed
 me. (see also juy?-)
 jukul *N MU* *Acacia holosericea*
 jul- *V TH* to splash; usually
 we?-jul- (< gu-we? water),
 splash down
 juljul *N GU* waterfall
 julu-wa- *V* to sing
 ju|u| - *V TH* to push, push down
 ju|u? *N MU* lancewood (*Acacia*
shirleyi)
 jumbu-ča- *V* (< -ja- stance verb)
 to bend over
 jumu *N GU* hip bone
 juṅḍubol? *N* small rock wallaby
 (*Petrogale* species) (male and
 female)
 juṅgu *N GU* back
 juṅgun *N F* single girl, unmarried
 young woman
 juṅuṛ?-bu- *V* to cough
 juṅ? *N* black-headed python
 juṅ *N GU* shade, bough shade
 juṅ-bu- *V* to build a bough shade
 jupi? *N MU* shrub (*Antidesma*
ghaesembilla)
 jur- *V TH* to pour; ɲu-gu-jur-miñ
 gungu-we? I poured the water.;
 jur-mi-či- to spill, tip over (RR);
 ø-mele-jur-mičin ɲu-gun?biri we?
 The water might spill.
 jurṅa *ADJ* crooked
 juruwe- *V* to run, rush, run about;
 jučuruwe- *RED* See 3.3.3.18.6
 for paradigm.
 juṛer? *N* bowerbird
 jutu *N* catfish species (freshwater
 tandan ?)
 juwálin *N GU* windbreak

juy?- *V TH* to replace, let go,
 send; (yaṅ-)juy?-mi-či- to send
 messages back and forth (RR),
 (gu-yaṅ language); ju-ḍun-juy?
 Let the string go.

K

-ka?~ -ga? *N SFX* locative;
 allative: we?-ga? to, in the water,
 ɽuwur-ka? to, at the ridge
 -koro *SFX PRES NEG*; gu-ø-ñawk-
 (k)oro gungu-Ngalakan He/she
 doesn't speak Ngalakan.
 -ko?~ -go? *SFX* dyadic suffix; see
 2.1.1.1.

L

lak-bu- *V* to split — ju-lak-bun
 mungu-lambak Split the shell/
 carapace.
 lambak *N M* or *GU* carapace, (turtle)
 shell
 langa *N GU* billabong — yi-ḍoḍo?-ra
 langa-ka? We'll go down to the
 billabong.
 langunaṅ *N* magpie goose
 larklarkan *N* rainbow fish, crimson
 spotted rainbow fish
 larpuñiñ *N* small rock wallaby
 (*Petrogale* species)
 laway *N MU* *Eleocharis dulcis*
 (sedge)
 le|e|eč- *V TH* to rattle, rustle,
 make noise in walking about
 lepəl *N* spotted bream
 ler- *V TH* to fall down — ɲiñ-
 mele-ler You might fall down.
 ler?ler- *V TH* to tap clapstick
 or boomerang (to make music)
 ler?- *V TH* to light fire; ɲu-bak-
 ler?-a I will light a fire for
 him/her. RR ler?-mi-či- to come
 alight, light up

- |et|et *N* varied lorikeet
 |e?- *V TH* to look for (with direct object complement, sometimes genitive) — ɲu-|e?a mu-ɖaɖa-ʔgan I'll look around for wild honey.
 -|i- *V N PFX* poor thing; expresses compassion. See also -wi|i- 3.2.21.
 |i|?|i|?- *V TH* to have headache; always has compounded nominal root mira-|i|?|i|!- (< gu-mira head)
 |iñman *N MU* *Triglochis procera*
 |ok|ok *N* jewelled skink and other dragon lizard spp.
 |ork|ork- *V TH* to break, pound — gu-ø-|ork|ork gungu-|ambak-ɲowi He breaks its shell.
 |uk- *V TH* to dance
 |um?- *V TH* to strip bark off tree
 |uɲurwa *N GU* *Vigna vexillata*
 |ur?- *V TH* to remove, peel, take off skin — boñi bur-ɾaw?-|ur? Now they take the hair off (skin it).
 |u|?- *V TH* to dip up

M

- ma- *V* to get, pick up — baɖa-ma- To take something from someone. as ɲun-baɖa-me He took it from me. (PP). See 3.3.3.16 for compounds, 3.3.3.18.5 for paradigm. Jun-bak-me mungu-may I got food for you.
 maçi, maçiniñ *PART* indeed, so, because — ɲur-ɲunun-ji?, maçi mu-boɖewk We can't eat it, indeed it's bad! (food); yiri-ɖoɖo?-ɾa-gan ɾere-ka? maçi We want/intend to go to camp, indeed.
 maɖaw? *N* friar bird? (also recorded maɖawk)
 maɖu *N* GU paperbark species
 mago *PART INTERJ* no! perhaps (with future) — mago gu?ju I dunno. mago ɲuru-ɾabon-ji?, mu-muɲun, guɲu ø-muɲun?-miñ Maybe we can't go, darkness (has come), it has gotten dark.
 majaburga? *N* GU *Securinega* species
 majirijiri-pu- *V* to quarrel with (direct object complement)
 makur *N* MU cold weather, middle of cold season
 mala- *N V PFX* group, mala-maɲi-çi- to gather, assemble (< maɲi POT of ma-); mala-mu-pu- To gather one's things, pick up everything (< -mu-class prefix, bu-)
 malaboɲo *ADJ* some; (< mala- group, boɲo other, another)
 malaɖi *N* wedge-tailed eagle
 malaɖimalaɖi *N* GU big bushfire (cf. malaɖi wedge-tailed eagle; bush fire, so called because birds soar over to catch prey ?)
 malaɖoɖo *N* baby turkey
 malba? *N* MU ironwood (*Erythrophleum chlorostachyum*)
 mal-ga- *V* to beget (of male genitor)
 malk *N* GU (1) skin, (2) subsection — yi-wač-malk-go? We're proper subsections for each other. (-go? dyadic suffix); ɲiñ-yana?-bigur gungu-malk-(g)i What's your subsection ?
 malk *PFX* time; malk-waɲiɲiñ? one time; ø-malk-yapan?-miñ He was away two days.
 malkmalk-yi? *ADJ* shiny, glossy
 malmo *N* ? clan country (specific ?)
 ma| *N* GU stone used for grinding, pestle
 ma|a *N* centipede
 ma|ama|apa *N* F young girl, 4 years or so

- ma|ar *ADJ* sweet — \emptyset -ma|ar-meñ
It became sweet, ripened.
- ma|un *N* gecko spp. (spiny-tailed
jewelled etc.)
- ma|uru|uru *N* GU salt water
- ma|uwuru *N* MU cold weather
- ma|u?ma|u? *ADJ* lame
- ma|u?ma|u?-me- *V* to be, become
lame
- mambaṭ *N* GU billy can
- mamiñ-bu- *V* to wrap up, roll up
(as swag or bed-roll); —
gu-got-yi? bur-mamiñ-bun mungu-
jatam They're wrapping the lily
in/with paperbark.
- man- *V N PFX* collective, whole
lot; man-wa|aman? everybody;
bur-man-yeñ they put all of it;
buru-man-yopyop ṛoro-wala They
are all returning from the east.
- manambula *N* MU tump string
- manaṅ *N* F mother; mana-ko? mother
and child (dyadic); manamana-ko?
(plural dyadic)
- manapuṅ *N* echidna
- mangaḍa? *N* GU woollybutt
(*E. miniata*)
- maṅi *ADJ* same; maṅika? in same
place (cf. Maṅarayi maṅej same)
- maṅiñ *V TH* to take care of someone;
maṅiñmaṅiñ RED
- maṅiñ?- *V TH* to make something;
cf. also men-maṅiñ?- to instruct,
teach, remind (< gu-men mind)
- maṅiñ?-ja- *V* to wear, be wearing
- maṅṅal *N* ? dew
- mañ- *V PFX* taste, test —
ju-mañ-ṅuni-?molK You didn't
taste it.
- maṅa *N* GU neck, throat
- maṅa|erek *N* MU beads, grass beads
for jeraḍa
- maṅaṅiñi *N* MU widow's string of
beads
- maṅaṅalṅ *N* MU hair belt
- maṅga|a *N* MU tree fork
- mapuy? *ADJ* slowly; — mapuy?
yi-ṛabon We'll go slowly.
- mar *N* young, big *V. gouldii* (goanna)
- mar- *PFX* comparative prefix
'slightly, somewhat, a bit' —
mar-gakeṅ A little bit far away.
- maramba? *N* wife stealer, one who
elopes, runs away from a proper
marriage; maramba? \emptyset -gaṅiñ He
stole her, eloped with her.
- maranṅa|pa *N* green tree snake
- marawul *ADJ* hungry, hungry person;
 \emptyset -wakeñ marawul He/she came back
hungry. (PP)
- marawul-me- *V* to be hungry
- marča- *V TH* to be starving, buru-
marča They're famished.
- marči *N* white man, Europeans (in
general)
- mare- *V* to spear; moṛe-mare- to
wound. See 3.3.3.18.4 for
paradigm. Mu-gurač gu-mu-juruwen
ḍaṛ?-yi? ṅungu-mare-gen (My)
blood is flowing (where, since)
a stick poked me.
- mariñ *N* F girl, young woman —
mariñ-(y)iñuṅ wife's younger
sister
- markarala *N* ? type of ceremonial
headdress
- marke *N* F father's sister —
marke-go? FaSi and BrCh (dyadic);
markemarke-go? (plural dyadic)
- marṅgi *ADJ* not knowledgeable,
inexpert. Usually genitive
complement, but also bak-marṅgi
with direct complement
- mar?mar?- *V TH* to shake, tremble
- maṛaka *N* GU bone

- maṛaka yuka? *ADJ* slow growing
- maṛamaṛa *N* GU maggot
- maṛamaṛa? *ADJ* naked; (2) empty-handed, empty; gača, maṛamaṛa? ḡu-wakeniñ (I got) nothing, I came back emptyhanded.
- mariñ *N* F girl; (cf. gel-mariñ married woman)
- maṛe- *V* to shout at, argue with. For paradigm see 3.3.3.18.5.; yiri-maṛa-činiñ We argued.
- maṛji *N* GU hand
- maṛkmaṛk *N* quail species
- maṛmaṛyi? *ADJ* shiny, like glass
- may *N* MU vegetable food
- maya|uḡgu? *N* GU hooked spear
- mayḡo? *N* M red ochre
- ma?, ma:? *ADJ* good; ma:? predicate *ADJ*, ma? attributive; ma? also *ADV* properly. In compounds, e.g. jiri-ma? belligerent (<jiri insolent)
- ma?-me- *V* to be, become well
- me- *V* to become, be. Occurs as verbalizer with predicate adjectives (ḡu-goyi-meniñ I was knowledgeable, I knew), also as AUX in certain compounds (ḡu-marawul-men I am hungry).
- mele-~mele?- *V* PFX evitative prefix 'lest', also 'it is possible that' where the outcome is undesirable - ϕ -mele-ñar? He/she might die, lest he/she die; also used as negative imperative, ju-mele-bun Don't hit him; ḡuru-mele-maṛi-čin Don't argue.
- melegen-yo- *V* to sleep on one's side
- me|epe? *N* GU shoulder blade
- memem *N* FaMo, FaMoBr, MoFa, MoFaSi, SiSoCh (woman's SoCh); memem-go? (dyadic), memememem-go? (plural dyadic)
- mem?mem?- *V* TH to light properly, burn well
- men *N* GU mind. See verbal compounds men-maṇiñ?-, (bak-)men-gol-, men-muk-.
- (bak)men-gol- *V* to think about someone, be concerned for someone; ḡiñ-bak-men-gol-miyiñ I was thinking about you. (PC)
- menika? *PART* unlike; menika? ḡayka? unlike me (see baliñ? like)
- menjolk-baya- *V* to accuse someone; (< baya-)
- men-maṇiñ?- *V* TH to instruct, teach, remind
- men-muk- *V* TH to forget (genitive or direct object complement)
- meḡ?meḡ? *N* GU tommyhawk
- mere? *N* GU sharp point; -- bur-walk-ganiñ mungu-ju|u? baṛa-mere?-yi? They made the sharp-pointed lancewood (ju|u?) go in.
- meṛk *N* tick
- mič *N* louse
- miḡark *N* GU woodchips
- miḡimiḡi *N* GU rib bones
- milibalkiñ *N* GU salt water
- miliḡaḡa *N* MU male bee species
- milkanda *N* widow, widower
- mi|imi| *N* MU grey hair
- mi|iwi|a *N* MU ground sugar bag (cf. wi|a)
- mi|ar?- *V* TH to be born
- mimbi? *N* small black ant
- mina? *N* MU fat
- miḡiča *N* GU thick scrub
- miḡgur *N* MU star
- miñir *N* small barramundi species

- miñji- *V TH* to think about,
remember, worry about; ɲu-miñji
ɲu-jamiñ I'm thinking about/
worrying about (my) husband;
ju-mele-miñji yaraman-yi?
ø-mele-war? Don't think about
(the fact that) the horse might
throw him.
- miñji-we- *V* to remember
- miñiriñi *N* those who 'own' a
ceremony or given ritual object
(as opposed to those delegated
to take care of it)
- mira *N* GU head
- miraka? *ADV* underneath (< mira
head), *LOC SFX* -ka? ?); miraka?
ɲu-yeñ I put it underneath.
- miramiñyi? *N* bull ant
- miriči *N* barramundi
- miřarpu? *N* crab
- miřpara *N* child
- miř? *N* MU cave, also sometimes used
used now for 'house'
- mitilil?- *V TH* to flood, overflow,
flood over
- miyari? *N* MU dream; miyari?
ɲu-ɲa?ɲa I had a dream.;
miyari?-yi? ɲun-ɲere-bayaniñ
I had a dream.
- mokol *N* father; mokol-go? father
and child (dyadic), mokomokol-go?
(plural dyadic)
- moloŋ?, molo, moloŋ *PART* attempt,
try to; hortative modal particle.
See 3.3.3.13; moloŋ? alki? We'll
see, wait a bit; moloŋ ju-ja?-
yaŋ-banar You (try) listen to
him now, go ahead and listen to
him.
- molo?- *V TH* to sneak away
- monič *ADV SF* sneaking, on the
sly; ɲu-wereyi? wañba yiriŋ-ɲan-
ji? monič Nobody can/ought to
look at us on the sly.
- moŋočbor *N* mud cod
- moŋo *N* GU animal lair
- moroŋin? *N* GU wild cassava
(*Cochlospermum fraseri*)
- moře *ADJ* wounded; see moře-mare-
to wound (< mare- to spear);
also moře-pawun?- *V TH* to leave
wounded (< pawun?- *V TH* to
leave)
- mořk *N* unidentified grub
- mořmoř *N* MU guts (cf. mu-ɲo?)
- moymoy *ADJ* little, small; also
used for emu chick
- mu-, mungu- *N PFX* Noun class
prefix forms (see 3.2.3)
- mubugu *PART* to give a message;
ɲu-geywar ø-řaboniñ mubugu
ɲu-go?je-gen boŋoyi?-gin geywar-
?gan The youth took a message
to/for the other young man;
alako ø-wakeñ mubugu Later he
came back bringing a message.
- muč *N* MU rainbow serpent — muč-
(y)i? yiriŋ-bop-ɲaniñ Rainbow
serpent smelled us.
- muču *N* GU coolibah (*E. microtheca*)
- muđuđu? *ADV* on one's knees
- muđuđu?-ja- *V* to kneel — gu-ø-
muđuđu?-jaŋan we?-ga? She is
kneeling in the water.
- muka *INTERJ* oh yes! indeed!
- mulu- *PFX* prefixed to toponym
expressing place of someone's
death, e.g. mulu-goñjimbi one
who died at Goñjimbi; provides
means of referring to the dead
in terms of place of death.
- mululuk *N* MU conkerberry
(*Carissa lanceolata*)
- muluř *N* whip snake
- munana *N* local Kriol (Pidgin
English) word for 'white man'
- munbič *N* MU woman's pubic
covering

mungu- *V TH* to follow; - ɣubu-
mungu-ɾa I will follow them.

muɳaɳʔ *N* subsection term

muɳjum *N* GU shoulder; also used
figuratively for 'father';
ɣalaʔ-wala gungu-muɳjum from
ɣalaʔ shoulder (i.e. father was
ɣalaʔ subsection)

muɳun *ADJ N* MU darkness, obscurity,
black and lustreless

muɳunʔ- *V TH* to get dark

muɳuɳju *ADV* tomorrow - muɳumuɳuɳju
tomorrow at daylight, early;
muɳuɳju boɳoyiʔ-gaʔ next tomorrow,
day after tomorrow

muɳʔ- *V TH* to grab, catch hold of,
grasp; ø-muɳʔ-miɳ mungu-balku
He grabbed the rope.

muɳ *INTERJ* that's all! finish! -
bur-jetjet muɳ They sharpen it,
that's all!

muɳ *N* GU inside, interior - gu-muɳ
ɳamulu inside of house

muɳgaʔ *ADV* inside (see muɳ
interior)

mup- *V TH* be obscure, blocked;
ganam-mup- be deaf (< gu-ganam
ear); ɳiɳ-ganam-mup-miɳ ɳara
Are you deaf or something?

mupul *N* single boy, bachelor,
unmarried man

murɳiɳ *N* shovel spear

murpunʔ *N* MU broad-leafed
Terminalia species

muwaɳa *N* MU canoe

N

naman *INTERJ* poor fella! naman,
buru-marawul-men Poor thing,
they're hungry.

ŋ

ŋa- *V* to see; see 3.3.3.16 for
compounds (e.g. goʔ-ŋa- to have);
see 3.3.3.18.6 for paradigm.

ŋa- *V* to sit, live, be in a place;
see 3.3.3.18.2 for paradigm

ŋaɳi *N* frog, generic

ŋamu *N* woman's child, man's SiCh;
ŋamu-koʔ (dyadic), ŋamuŋamu-koʔ
(plural dyadic)

ŋamulu *ADV PFX* rather, really,
very; ŋamulu-gakenɳ rather far -
ɳuru-mele-ŋamulu-yoɳon lest we
sleep too soundly; ɳiɳ-ɳawk
ŋamulu You're really talking.
ø-waɳk-miɳ ŋamulu He went right
in. See 3.2.20.

ŋan *ADV* there; goʔje ŋan right
there; adds a measure of
specificity.

ŋanguru *N* big salt-water crocodile

ŋapuɳiɳa *V* FUT form of 'grope, feel
about'; other forms unknown.
Yi-ŋapuɳiɳa ɳamaɳ-yiʔ We'll
feel about with our feet.

ŋarɳɳarɳ *N* Burdekin duck

ŋe- *V* to burn, cook. For paradigm
see 3.3.3.18.5. Waɳi-yiʔ ɳun-
ɳeʔɳe The sun burnt me. alkiʔ
ɳumu-ɳe mu-may I'm still cooking
food.

ŋimi *N* MU hind end, arse

ŋinʔɳinʔ *N* finches

ŋiɳjaʔ *PRO* 3SG non-feminine
pronoun. ERG ŋiɳjaɳiʔ-yiʔ, local
case forms built on ERG.

ŋiriget *ADJ* spotted, multi-
coloured, pretty

ŋoɳʔɳoɳʔ *ADJ* small, little; mu-
ɳoɳʔɳoɳʔ ɳumu-goʔ-ŋan I have a
little (food); ɳu-ɳoɳʔɳoɳʔ-meniɳ
I was small.

ŋoɳo *N* GU grass (generic)

ŋorkal *N* MU male, short-nosed
native bee

-ŋowi *SFX* 3SG Non-feminine
possessive suffix

ŋu-, ɳugu- *N PFX* Masculine noun
class prefix forms (see 3.2.3)

ḡul? *N* (1) GU coolamon, (2) car, truck. Cf. expression gara-ḡul?-ga? a lot, a great amount; -baṭa-ḡul?-yi? buru-warja?-ṛa They will travel about with/by means of a car.

-ḡuḡgore *SFX* 2NSG possessive suffix

ḡurka? *PRO* 2NSG pronoun. *ERG* ḡurkaḡi?-yi?, ḡurka?-yi? Local case forms built on *ERG*.

ḡa|-bu- *V* to shut; ju-ḡa|-bun ḡungu-yele Shut the door.

ḡamaḡ *N* GU foot

ḡañana *N ADJ* anything; ḡañana ḡuḡḡu anytime, any kind; (< ḡu-ḡuḡḡu country)

ḡar- *V TH* to look nice

ḡar?- *V TH* to die; ḡar?ḡar? *RED*; ϕ -mele-ḡar? He/she may die, lest he/she die; ḡu-we?-ḡar? I am perishing for water.

ḡar?-ga- *V CAUS* to kill off, make die (e.g. weeds, grass etc.)

ḡawk- *V TH* to talk, converse; know how to talk (a language); ḡu-ḡawk-miḡ ḡu-yaḡ-?wala I spoke (an) Aboriginal language, I talked using an Aboriginal language.

ḡil- *V TH* to be (very) cold (of weather); ḡiḡil- *RED*

ḡim?ḡim?- *V TH* to go out (of fire), extinguish itself

ḡiḡaya- *SF* expresses meanings relating to sentiments of happiness and unhappiness, like and dislike: ḡiḡaya-boḡewk-me to be sad, downcast; ḡiḡaya-ma?-me- to be glad; ḡiḡaya-paya- to like something (< baya-)

ḡiṛ?- *V TH* to set (of sun); also ḡin-ḡiṛ?- red, glowing sunset; ḡu-mu-ḡin-ḡiṛ? There is a red sunset. (-mu-class prefix for understood mu-wači sun)

ḡow-ga- *V CAUS* to make noise

ḡo?- *V TH* to go away

ḡuluk *N* native cat

ḡ

ḡabak *N* GU ? *Eucalyptus grandifolia*

ḡačal *N* GU spring

ḡaḡa *N* uncircumcised boy

ḡalaḡara *N* archer fish; also ḡatban

ḡala? *N* subsection term

ḡalkḡalk *N* GU lily species (Syn. jaw?jaw?)

ḡalpoṛ *N* GU egg

ḡal?- *N* to go up, climb up; ḡugu-bolo ϕ -ḡal?-miyiḡ juḡu?-ga? The old lady had climbed up into the lancewood.

ḡaḡ! *N* GU saliva

ḡaḡimun *N* GU collarbone

ḡamaḡama- *V TH* to look after someone, care for someone

ḡamayaḡ? *N* subsection term

ḡambarara *N* gecko spp.

ḡambiḡ?ḡambiḡ? *N* MU wild potato species

ḡambuḡambu *N* so and so, used as substitute for a name when the name itself is not important or is avoided for any reason.

ḡamiḡaḡaḡaḡa *N* lizard species

ḡamučulo *N* subsection term

ḡani *ADV PART* very, only

ḡaḡa?bay *PART* and, more, moreover, in addition; mu-may-či ḡu-ḡaḡaniḡ ḡaḡa?bay ḡu-jaḡgu-či I had no (vegetable) food, and (moreover) no meat.

- ʔaŋi? - *V TH* to carry; ʔaŋi? ʔaŋi? -
 RED; ʔun-bak-ʔaŋi? ʔaŋi? gamaji? -
 ʔini He's carrying my belongings
 for me
- ʔaŋja *PART* all the way; ʔaŋja
 yi-yere? all the way to bottom;
 gu-ø-juruwen ʔark-ŋowi yi-yere?
 ʔaŋja His (body) paint runs
 right down, goes all the way
 down.
- ʔaŋjaʔ *N* water dragon
- ʔaŋjuʔa *N* GU (1) eye, (2) seed
- ʔapa *PART* better, it is better
 that; mu-maŋgaʔa-ka? ʔapa jeŋ
 yiŋji baʔa-ŋul?-yi? ye?yere
 ʔu-yeŋa It's better I put the
 fish also low down in the tree-
 fork (maŋgaʔa) in the coolamon
 (ŋul?).
- ʔapunun? *N* subsection term
- ʔara *PART* might be, maybe; ʔolko
 ʔara gungu-biŋ ju-go?-ŋan?
 Maybe you've got a lot of money.
- ʔaraya! *N* saratoga (fish species)
- ʔarku? *N* agile river wallaby
 (*Macropus agilis*)
- ʔatban *N* archer fish; also ʔalaʔara
- ʔatum *N* GU stick devoid of foliage
- ʔawolŋ? *N* GU navel
- ʔayaŋ *N* devil, white man; ʔuruŋ-
 bayan ʔayaŋ-yi? A devil will
 come upon us.
- ʔayiwur *N* GU high hill, mountain
- ʔayu *PART* only, also adversative
 'but'; gu-ø-ŋawk-(k)oro gungu-
 yaŋ-yere ʔayu gu-ø-banar He/she
 doesn't speak our language but
 he understands/he only under-
 stands.
- ʔayka? *PRO* 1SG independent
 pronoun. ERG ʔaykaŋi?-yi?,
 ʔayka?-yi? Local case forms
 built on ERG.
- ʔel? *N* MU freshwater mangrove
 (*Barringtonia acutangula*)
- ʔen *N* GU neck, nape
- ʔere *N* MU sleep
- ʔerk *N* white cockatoo (Syn.
 jalangar)
- ʔer? *N* GU heart; (see (ʔer?)-wur-
 to be shortwinded)
- ʔer?- *V TH* to pant; ʔer?ʔer?- RED;
 jelŋ-ʔer?ʔer? to pant with tongue
 hanging out (of dog, < jelŋ
 tongue)
- ʔer?bar? - *V TH* to be frightened
- ʔer?bar?-ga- *V TH* to frighten
 someone
- ʔey *N* GU name; yi-ʔey-yeŋiŋ
 manapuŋ We (IN DU) put (down)
 the word (for) 'echidna'.
- ʔey-bu- *V* to call someone some-
 thing, to name, call the name of;
 ʔu-ʔey-buna ʔu-mokol I will say
 my father's name.
- ʔey?- *V TH* to stand up (event)
- ʔey?-ga- *V CAUS* to cause to stand
 up; to get someone up, to wake up
- ŋi~gi *SFX* 2SG possessive suffix.
 Allomorph -gi after nasals and
 stops including ? (waŋjat-gi
 your arm), reduced following
 velar stop (malk-(g)i your skin);
 -ŋi following sonorants other
 than nasals.
- ŋgore~gore *SFX* 1LN PL possessive
 suffix; -gore following nasals and
 stops including ?, -ŋgore follow-
 ing non-nasal sonorants (waŋjat-
 gore our arms, ʔu-giŋʔar-ŋgore
 our MoBrCh)
- ŋini *SFX* 1SG possessive suffix
- ʔiŋja? *PRO* 2SG pronoun. ERG
 ʔiŋjaŋi?-yi?, also ʔiŋja?-yi?.
 Local case forms built on ERG
- ʔiriŋi? *ADJ* red; ʔiriŋiriŋi? RED
- ʔoʔogoč *N* GU ankle
- ʔoji *SFX* 3SG feminine possessive
 suffix

ɲokɲok- *V TH* to bark
 ɲolko, ɲolkonañin *ADJ* big, large
 ɲolongo? *N GU* river red gum
 (*E. camaldulensis*)
 ɲo|omoro *N* nail-tailed wallaby
 (*Onychogalea fraenata*)
 ɲondo *N MU* wind
 ɲononɔ *ADJ* long way
 ɲoro *N MU* flower – mu-ɲoro gu-mu-
 ɲunuɲun-gun It eats flowers,
 will eat flowers/it's flowers
 that it eats.
 ɲor?- *V TH* to wash – ɲumu-ɲor?-
 miñ wapawapa?-ɲini I washed my
 clothes.
 ɲor?- *V TH* to fall; ø-mele-ɲor?-
 ø-biɲ-wala He might fall off
 the stone/hill.
 ɲor?-ga- *V CAUS* to make fall
 ɲoy *N GU* fire
 ɲoy *N* sibling-in-law; ɲoy-ko?
 woman + husband's brother/sister,
 man/woman and wife's sister
 (dyadic)
 ɲo? *N GU* excrement, also
 intestines
 ɲu- *V* to eat; mañ-ɲu- to taste
 (< mañ- taste); see 3.3.3.18.3
 for paradigm
 ɲuča *ADV* quickly
 ɲu|iri *N* black duck species
 ɲu|yi? *ADJ* black
 ɲuɲdič *N* olive python; Syn.
 gurijaɲbongo
 ɲuɲdu *N* black bream
 ɲuɲi? *N GU* firestick
 ɲuñju *ADJ* same; yiri-wač-ɲuñju
 gungu-yaɲ We have the same
 language; buru-gara-ɲuñju
 They are (all) the same.
 ɲurgu *N GU* womb, tummy

ɲurka? *PRO LIN PL* pronoun. *ERG*
 ɲurkaɲi?-yi?, ɲurka?-yi? Local
 case forms built on *ERG*.
 ɲurɲgi-baya- *V* to be jealous of
 (direct object complement;
 < baya-); ɲurɲgi-baya-či- to be
 jealous of each other; ɲun-ɲurɲgi-
 bayan bigur-ɲini-?gin She is
 jealous of me on account of/
 because of my husband.
 ɲuru *N* lesser salmon catfish ?/
 fork-tailed catfish
 ɲurum?- *V TH* to dig
 ɲuruɲduč *N* emu
 ɲuɲ- *V TH* to cease, finish (doing
 something), stop
 ɲuɲ-ga- *V CAUS* to make someone
 stop (doing something); to make
 someone be quiet
 ɲuyɲuy- *V TH* to swim

P

-pira?~bira? *SFX* dual, can be
 affixed to nominals and verbs
 -pulu~bulu *SFX* plural number
 suffix used with kin terms

R

ɲabo- *V* to go, go along. For
 paradigm see 3.3.3.18.6
 ɲal? *N MU* hair
 ɲara? *N F* older girl, not yet
 young woman
 ɲark- *N* paint, painting; gu-ø-ɲa-n
 ɲu-go?je gopo-ɲoji-yi? ɲark-ɲoji
 Her husband sees her body
 painting. Also stem-formant,
 in ɲark-war?-, ɲark-bu- and
 ɲark-maɲiñ?- paint, write
 ɲaw? *N MU* skin, fur

ɾay *N* GU animal, flesh food; —
 ɾu-gu-ɾay-(y)i? gu-ø-banara
 The animal will hear.

-ɾe- *PFX TNSV* derives transitives
 of accompaniment from verbs
 which otherwise function
 intransitively, e.g. -ɾe-ño?-
 to take away, from ño?- *V TH*
 to go away. See 3.3.2.

ɾelk *N* MU sliced vegetable food

ɾere *N* GU camp; — ɾere yirgi-
 mañiñ?ña boŋoyi?-ga? We will
 make camp in another place.;
 ɾere-wu- to give in marriage

ɾey?me *N* GU jaw

ɾirik- *V TH* to move, stir (as
 baby)

ɾiri?ɾiri *ADV* strongly, very
 strong (as current)

ɾoka *N* MU Pandanus spiralis

ɾomo? *ADJ N* GU same place,
 experientially the same place;
 ɾomo?-ga? (LOC) usual, same
 place; gu-ɾomo? guŋmaŋ? ɾun-bak-
 weŋ? Maybe he's waiting for me
 in the same place.

ɾoŋ *N* GU chin, face

ɾoro *ADV* cardinal direction 'east'
 ALL yi-ɾoro, ABL ɾoro-wala

ɾoroŋ?- *V TH* to peep at;
 ɾuruŋbu-mele-ɾoroŋ? bigur-yi?
 The men might peep at us.

ɾor?- *V TH* to clean something;
 bur-ɾor?a gungu-ɾere They will
 clean the camp (i.e. pull out
 the grass to make clear place).

ɾu- *V* to cry. For paradigm see
 3.3.3.18.3; ɾu-miɾpara gaña?
 ø-ɾuni-ɾuniñ A small child was
 crying and crying. (PC, RED).

ɾu- *V* to burn. For paradigm see
 3.3.3.18.5; mu-jaŋaniñ, mu-ɾuŋiñ
 boñi It used to stand, it has
 burnt now. (mu-class ju!u?
 lancewood tree)

ɾuŋgal *N* GU bait

ɾuwur *N* GU ridge

W

wa- *V* to follow. For compounds
 see 3.3.3.16, paradigm 3.3.3.18.6.

-wač- *V PFX* each of two, both.
 See 3.2.11.

wača!ŋ? *N* MU mud

wači *N* MU sun

wači *ADV* behind; aŋi yi-wači to
 the back, rear; malk wači last
 time (see malk- time); wači-wala
 from behind

wačuŋdu *N* old man *Varanus gouldii*

waɟiya *N* F multiparous woman

wak- *V TH* to laugh

wake- *V* to return, go back. See
 3.3.3.18.6 for paradigm; ø-waken-
 ji?, ø-ɾabo yukaji? He/she won't
 return, he went away for good.

wakiɾi-wu- *V CAUS* to bring back —
 mokol-go?-(?)gon ɾumu-wakiɾi-wo
 mungu-may I brought food back
 for father and child.

wak-wu- *V CAUS* to laugh at someone;
 guŋmaŋ? yika?-bira? yinbi-wak-wun-
 bira? Maybe they're laughing at
 you and me.

-wala~?wala *N SFX* ablative case
 ending.

walam *ADV* cardinal direction
 'south'. ALL yi-walam, ABL
 walam-bala (exceptional stop-
 initial form of ABL suffix)

walama *N* GU forehead, face

wa!aman? *N ADJ* a lot, many, man-
 wa!aman? many together (see
 man-); wa!aman? buru-ŋaŋan ɾere-
 ka? There's a big crowd in camp.

wa!an? *N* MU *E. tectifaca*

wa!at-bu- *V* to bank up ashes

wa!-ga- *V* to love, be very fond
 of; wa!-ga-či- (RR); buru-wa!-
 ga-čiñ aŋji buru-juruweñ maramba?
 They were enamoured of each
 other and eloped.

wa!ir *N* MU hot weather

- wa|k- *V TH* to go in, enter;
gu- \emptyset -wa|k *nugu-gaṇawara?* bo|o-ga?
The lizard goes into hollow logs.
- wa|k-(g)a- *V CAUS* to put inside,
cause to go in
- wa|kara *N* freshwater hardyhead ?
- wa|mor *N* GU elbow
- wa|uk *ADV* all around
- wanar *N* said to be like possum,
fur used for hairbelts; wallaby
species ?
- wanwan?- *V TH* to not understand
(with genitive complement);
ṇu-waṇa-wanwan?-miyiñ gu-yaṇ-ʔgan
I still didn't understand (the)
language.
- waṇa- *V PFX* with potential verb
form means 'wanted to, should,
should have'; see 3.3.3.7.
- waṇa- *V PFX* (with other than
potential verb form) for a long
time; yiri-waṇa-ṇaṇaniñ We sat
for a long time. (PC); see
3.3.2.
- waṇa *INTERJ* I reckon!, oh yes!
- waṇamañ *ADJ* striped, stripe;
añji goʔye gu- \emptyset -juruwen walama-
ʔwala gu- \emptyset -juruwen ṛark-ṇowi
yi-yereʔ ṇañja And here its
stripes go from its face right
down.
- waṇwaṇ *N* MU *Terminalia grandiflora*
- wañba *PART* negative obligative
'should not'; see also -wañ?-
(3.3.3.8)
- wañgol *N* GU armpit
- wañjat *N* GU arm
- wañmiryi *N* GU lady, white boss
lady
- wañ?- *V PFX* negative obligative
should not; see also wañba
3.3.3.8, ṇiñ-wañ?-jaṅgan You
shouldn't go hunting.
- waṇere-pu- *V* to singe, scorch,
cook partially
- wangiñ? *Numeral* one, same;
wangiñ-gun for one day; ṇuru-
yaṇ-wangiñ? We speak/have the
same language. (wangiñ-gun
recorded without glottal)
- wapawapa? *N* MU dress, clothes
- waral *N* shade, spirit
- warara *N* GU plain, level place
- war-ga- *V* to sing
- wariḍila *N* MU hooked boomerang
- warja?- *V TH* to forage, walk
about looking for (food);
wawarja?- RED; ṇoy-wi gu- \emptyset -
wawarja? He/she is looking
around for firewood.
- warmbaya *INDEF ADV* any which,
way; anywhere
- warṅgu *CONJ* for that reason, thus;
ṇun-yeṛ-ga-ṇiñ
3SG/1SG-*shame*-CAUS-PP
warṅgu ṇu-wake-ñ
for that reason 1SG-*return*-PP
*He made me ashamed, so I came
back.*
- warp- *V TH* to tell a lie (used
intransitively); bak-warp- to lie
to; ṇun-bak-warp-miñ He/she lied
to you.
- warpwarp-yi? *N* liar (cf. warp-
V TH to lie)
- war?- *V TH* to throw, toss; ṇa|
war?-mi-či- to spit (< gu-ṇa|
saliva) -ṇeṛʔ-ṇini ṇu-war? I
am breathing. (< gu-ṇeṛʔ heart);
juṅgu-war?-mi-či- to put one's
shoulders back (< gu-juṅgu back);
gu-jolok ṇu-gu-war?-miñ I blew
my nose. (PP); moloṇʔ ju-mu-war?
mungu-gaḷigaḷi? Try to throw
(the) boomerang.
- waṛačara *N* MU floodwater
- waṛ-bu- *V* to practise sorcery on
someone, 'sing' someone; ṇun-
mele-waṛbu-n He might 'sing' me.

- waṛe *N* connotes protective relation between cross-cousins; approximately 'guardian'
- waṛṇmele *N* GU hip
- waṛṇ?waṛṇ *N* crow
- waṛurku *N* MU nulla-nulla
- waṛwaṛ *PART* possibly, I reckon; gojegun? guṇmaṇ? ju-ṇana ṇugu-goṇ waṛwaṛ There maybe you'll see kangaroo, I reckon.
- wat- *V TH* to finish, conclude; buru-wata They will conclude, finish.
- wawaya *N* DaDa, DaSo, (woman's BrDaCh); wawaya-ko? (dyadic); wawayawaya-ko? (plural dyadic)
- way- *V TH* to have a rest, take a rest; usually ṇeṛ?-way- (< gu-ṇeṛ? heart; ṇu-ṇeṛ?-way-a I'll have a rest; also 'clear, purify' (as after death)
- wayaṇ *PART* should, should have, with potential verb form. See 3.3.3.7.
- wayaṇ *N* MU non-sacred vegetable food
- waywo *SFX* inclusive 'and all'; sums up series go?je ṇan ḡ-ṇaṇaniṇ ṇugu-yanipi gungu-jaṅgu, jaṅgu-waywo ṇolko Right there was sitting the whachacallit, a lot of meat and all.
- wel *N* GU wing
- weleč *N* red-collared lorikeet
- welen *N* boss, master, one who has the right to dispose of something; ṇugu-goṇ-welen the one who has the right to dispose of a kangaroo (i.e. the one who speared it < goṇ kangaroo); ju-manaṇ-gi-?gin ṇiṇ-ḡaḡiṇ-welen You are ceremonial manager (ḡaḡiṇ) for your mother's moiety
- welen- *V PFX* together — buru-welen-ṛaboniṇ They went together.
- welene *N* F young girl; also 'female' of any species
- welṇ-bu- *V* to make a mistake
- wen?- *V TH* to look (used intransitively); bak-wen?- to wait for (with direct object, sometimes genitive complement); ṇubu-jubuk-bak-wen?-miṇ bore-pira? I waited for them (DU) a long time.
- wenḡdu-ma- *V* to go to meet someone
- were *INDEF/INT* who; PL -werewere? ṇu-were-yi? Who? (M, ERG); ṇu-werewere? Who? (M, ABS, PL); ju-were-ka? To whom? (F, LOC/ALL). See 3.2.28.1.
- wereka *INT* where; werekun? to where; wereka?-wala from where; (also wereka-wala)
- weṛ?- *V TH* to vomit
- weṛ?dak *ADJ* dry
- wet-baya- *V* to sneak up on. AUX baya-.
- wew?wew-ga- *V CAUS* to make cry
- we? *N* GU water; MU rain
- we?-ṇu- *V* to lap, drink (< gu-we? water); gu-we? ṇu-we?-ṇuna I will drink water.
- wi *N SFX* purposive, pergressive and lative case suffix; buru-ṛaboniṇ bo-wi They went for the river (to be close to the water), janay?-wi for goanna; also lative and pergressive as in ḡenek-wi up to, along the ribs; also -?wi as verbal suffix with evitative and potential meaning 'should (have)'; see 3.3.3.12.
- wil?wil *N* march fly
- wiḡa *N* MU female honeybee, (also miḡiwiḡa), perhaps mu-wiḡi-wiḡa with *PFX* -wiḡi-
- wiḡ-bu- *V* to moisten, make wet

- wi|i- (see also -|i-) *V, N PFX*
 poor thing, expresses compassion;
 nu-wi|i-bolo wi|i-ñař?-miñ The
 poor old man died.; gu-ø-|i-we?-
 ɣuna He will drink (water),
 poor thing. (we? water); yiriŋ-
 wi|i-me?me boñi ɳugu-bolo-yi?
 The boss got us now, poor things.
- wi|mur *N* GU wire spear
- wi-ŋa- *V* to lose, forget (like
 ŋa- see); ɳu-wi-ŋañ gungu-ŋey-
 ɳowi I forgot his name.
- wiŋi *N* *Emydura* species, short-
 necked tortoise
- wiñgolkol *N ADJ* strangers; new,
 unknown people (cf. golkol new)
- wirč-(y)o- *V* to be on either side
- wiriji? *ADJ* long (also used to
 mean 'ceremony')
- wiri?- *V TH* to remove, take out
 (from under); jet-wala ju-wiri?
 boñi Take it out of the ground
 oven now.
- wir?- *V TH* to whistle
- wiṭ- *V TH* to arise, get up, wake
 up; mu-ɳondo ø-wiṭ-miñ The wind
 came up. (PP); ɳu-wiṭ-miñ
 yiñgoyiñgon ɳere-?wala I just
 now awoke from sleep.
- wočal *N* GU lungs
- woč-ma- *V* to steal (from); ɳunbu-
 bak-woč-me They stole it from
 you (PP).
- wočwoč *N* thief (cf. woč-ma- to
 steal)
- woga- *V* to speak, talk (like ga-)
- wojor *ADJ* round
- wol *N* GU smoke
- wol- *V TH* to smoke, give off smoke;
 gu-gu-wol It (GU-class, fire)
 is smoking.
- wol-be- *V* to smoke. For paradigm
 see 3.3.3.18.5.
- wolaway- *V TH* to cool off, cool
 down; mu-wolaway-miñ The food
 cooled down.
- wolo *N* MU cooked (vegetable) food
- wolo? *PART* like, as if;
 supposedly; wolo? guŋḍu ma?
 It's supposedly good country;
 buru-řabon warmbaya wolo? munana
 They go (marry) anywhere like
 white people.
- wol-ɳu- *V* to eat a big meal, have
 a fair amount to eat
- wom *N* MU black plum (*Vitex*
glabrata)
- womboroṭ *N* big rock wallaby
 (*Petrogale* species ?)
- woro|o| *N* ? blowfly
- woroŋomolo? *N* GU *Alloteropsis*
semialata
- worowk- *V TH* to jump, leap; ɳiñ-
 worowk-a gun?biri-wala, mači
 gu-ø-ga|urk You jump from there
 indeed it's deep.
- wor-wu- *V* to make someone eat,
 feed someone
- wor? *N* GU belly
- wor?-ga- *V* to bear a child, carry
 a child (< gu-wor? belly)
- wor- *ADJ* high, steep
- wor- *V TH* to protrude, stick out;
 gu-gu-biŋ-wor- The hill protrudes,
 is high. (< gu-biŋ stone, hill);
 mira-wor- to protrude (of head,
 as someone walks along, gu-mira
 head), gu-mira-wor- ɳočo-ga? His
 head is sticking up from the
 grass.
- worŋor? *N* GU sweat
- worŋor?- *V TH* to be hot, sweat
- woy- *V TH* to finish off someone,
 something, use up; woy-mi-či-
 do away with each other, kill
 each other (RR); ga|ay, ɳugu-řay
 yini-bak-woy-miñ Hey, you (NSG)
 finished up my meat!

woyk- *V TH* to fish
 wukaṛa *N* sand-burrowing frog
 wu- *V* to give. See 3.3.3.16 for
 compounds, 3.3.3.18.1 for
 paradigm.
 wulukur? *N* sibling-in-law, man and
 brother-in-law wulukur?-go?
 wulup- *V TH* to bathe
 wulup-ga- *V CAUS* to make wet, to
 bathe (as in sweat); ṅun-gu-
 wulup-ganiñ gu-woṛongor?-ṅini-yi?
 I was bathed in sweat, my sweat
 soaked me.
 wu!- *V TH* to come up, advance,
 come on; gu-mu-wu! mungu-we?
 The rain is coming on.
 wuñ-ja- *V* to hide something;
 ø-wuñ-je He hid it. (PP)
 (transitively used AUX -ja-)
 wuñji-ja- *V* to be hidden;
 gu-ø-wuñji-jaṅaṅ It is hidden.
 (ṅeṛ?-)wur- *V TH* to be shortwinded
 (< gu-ṅeṛ? heart)
 wuray *N* GU tall grass species
 wurk *N* GU unidentified grass
 species
 wurk- *V TH* to swallow; gu-gu-biñi-
 wurk He is swallowing water.
 (-biñi- bound form water,
 liquid)
 wurki!iñ *N* euro (*Macropus robustus*)
 wurpaṛ- *V TH* to be gathered,
 assembled; to all be there
 wur?wuruṅu *N* old people

Y

yalala- *V TH* to get better, be
 all right; ṅu-yalala-miñ boñi
 I am better now. (PP)
 yalbuyalbu *N* tortoise, big short-
 necked *Emydura*? species
 yalka *N* GU shin

ya! *N* MU bark, stringybark
 ya!kič *N* MU dilly bag; mu-ya!kič
 yimi-ye?ye-gen mungu-burpa
 The dilly bag (is where) we put
 (RED) the lily.
 yana? *INDEF/INT* what; yana?gan
 why; yana?mala when, how long;
 yana?miñ for nothing, in vain;
 yana?yana how many; yána?way
 where to
 yana?- *V TH* to do what; ṅu-yana?-
 ṛa What shall I do? Also
 yana?-me- to do what
 yanipi *INT* hesitation form,
 whachacallit; gu-ø-bolk yanipi-
 ?wala, miṛ?-wala It comes out
 of whachacallit, out of the cave.
 yaṅ *N* GU language, word
 yaṅ-wu-yči- *V RR* to talk with,
 converse with (gu-yaṅ word,
 language; wu-yči- RR of wu- give);
 also yaṅ-wu talk to, ṅalakan?-
 wala buruṅbu-yaṅ-wuniñ They
 talked to them in Ngalakan.
 yapa *N* F elder Si of female Ego,
 any Si of male Ego; yapa-go?
 Two sisters or brother and sister
 (dyadic); yapayapa-go? sisters or
 siblings (plural dyadic)
 yapan? *Numeral* two, also yapan?ja;
 ø-malk-yapan?-miñ He made two
 days of it, took a two-day trip
 (see malk time)
 yaragaja *ADV* quickly, promptly
 yaraman *N* horse (widespread in
 area; not native Ngalakan word)
 yariyariyi?- *V TH* also with me-
 to be lazy
 yarkyark *ADJ* deserted, empty;
 guṅḍu yarkyark empty country
 yarmaḍa *N* big bandicoot
 yar? *N ADJ* a lot, abundant; yar?
 ṅalpoṛ ṅu-maṅiñ I got a lot of
 eggs.; buru-ṅaṅaniñ ṅugu-yar?
 A lot (of people) were camping
 (there).

yaṛkyarḱ *ADJ* not sacred, worthless, 'rubbish'. With noun class prefix mu-yaṛkyarḱ worthless, everyday (non-sacred) food.

yaw *INTERJ* good job! good on us! (often with possessive suffix yaw-yiki good on us! LIN DU)

yawok *N* MU bitter, cheeky yam, cf. Jawoñ yawk, Ngalkbon yawok

ye- *V* to put down; ɲere-ye- to put, lay someone to sleep; ɖar?-ye- put to dry (< ɖar? *V TH* dry); jiri-ye- to be insolent to (< jiri insolent)

yeke? *INTERJ* How about it? What do you say?; yeke? mungu-may How about (some) food?

yele *N* GU hole, now also 'door'

-yere *SFX* LEX NSG possessive suffix

yere? *ADV* low down, downriver. ALL yi-yere?, ABL yere?wala. RED ye?yere; burgu-ye ye?yere we?-ga? They put it under water.

yeret- *V TH* to grow, get bigger; wañba ø-yeret-ji? It will not grow.

yeret-ga- *V CAUS* to raise (as child), to make grow

yerk- *V TH* to come out, come loose; jala-yerk- to come out of mouth (as fishhook); gu-ø-yerk- It's coming loose.

yerk-(g)a- *V CAUS* to take out (as from fire), open up, out (as door), take off (as clothes); yi-yerk-(g)an ɲoy-wala Let's take it out of the fire.; ju-maṇa-yerk-(g)an Take it off his neck.

yerke *ADV* bottom, inside, underneath. ALL yerke-ga?, ABL yerke-wala ø-bak-war?-miñ garku-wala, ɲugu-miṛpara gaña? yerke She tossed it to him from above, the little boy (was) below.

yeṛ- *V TH* to be shy, ashamed; ɲubu-bak-yeṛ I'm ashamed before them. Also mira-yeṛ- of same meaning (gu-mira head)

yeṛ-ga- *V CAUS* to shame, make ashamed; ɲun-yeṛ-gaɲiñ He shamed me. PP

yi- *PFX* Marks allative of cardinal directions: yi-ɾoro to the east, yi-gara to the top.

yika? *PRO* LIN DU pronoun. ERG yikaɲi?-yi?, also yika?-yi?. Local case forms built on ERG.

-yiki *SFX* LIN DU possessive suffix

yilk-bu- *V* to cover up, bury, heap coals over; alanga jumu-yilk-bun Cover it (food) with coals straight away.

yimili? *N* MU wet weather, fog

yimuymuy *ADV* long way

yini- *V* to do, say (thus). For paradigm see 3.3.3.18.5; gamiñjiko gu-gu-yini It (GU-class) is like that all the time.

yinimbala *CONJ* all the same, same again; wañba yirinbi-ɲan-ji? ɲugu-bigur-yi? geywar-yi? yinimbala Men cannot look at us, young men just the same (i.e. cannot look).

yini?-ga- *V* to tell someone (direct object complement); ɲiñ-yini?-gani?-molk I didn't tell you.

yíñgon *ADV* today, right now; yíñgoyíñgon RED just now, recently

yíñji *CONJ* also, even, too; bur-bol-maṇa-gan ju-gun?biri jugu-bolo mayɲo?-yi? yukaji?, mira yíñji They intend to paint up the woman thoroughly with red ochre, even/also (her) head.

-yiñuŋ *SFX* diminutive; occurrence specialised, with mariñ- in meaning 'wife's younger Si', with geywar in meaning 'husband's young Br'.

yinoro *ADV* all around; waɭuk
yinoro right round, all around
jam?yinoro shut up, enclosed

yipuñja *ADV* a long time ago

yirambaŋ *N* barn owl

yirka? *PRO* LEX NSG pronoun. ERG
yirkaŋi?-yi?, also yirka?-yi?.
Local case forms built on ERG.

yirkup *N* water rat

yirŋ *N* MU wax

yirkiði?-ga- *V CAUS* to make some-
one move, act (presumed yirkiði?-
V TH unattested)

yiwaɭara *N* long tom (fish species)

-yi? *N SFX* ergative, instrumental
with all NP types.

yo- *V* to sleep. For paradigm see
3.3.3.18.2; compounds 3.3.3.16;
ŋu-ŋere-yoŋoniñ yukaji? I was
sleeping soundly.

yočon *ADJ* not secret or sacred

yolkyolk- *V TH* to tell, narrate

yon *N* MU sinews, also blood vessels

yon- *V TH* to talk, gossip;
bak-yon- to talk about someone

(man)-yopyop *V TH* to all gather,
assemble (< *PPX* man-)

yuka *ADV* up ahead, in the lead

yukaji? *ADV* for a long time, for
good; altogether, completely;
Waɭiburu ø-wakeñ Hodgson Downs
yukaji? guŋdu-bore-ka? The
Alawa went back (PP) to Hodgson
Downs for good, to their country.

yuka?- *V TH* to go ahead, in the
lead; ŋu-yuka?-ra I'll go ahead.

yun *N* GU island

yunguwala *ADV* this way, to/towards
here

yun?ñir? *ADV* up till sunset
(cf. ñir? *V TH* to set, of sun)

yuw?we *PART* supposedly, I'm not
sure; ju-gowko-ŋowi yuw?we
(She was) supposedly his grand-
mother.

?

-?gVn *N SFX* genitive-dative case
ending; V assimilates to
preceding stem vowel, e.g.
ju-mana-?gan my mother's, for
my mother, ŋu-mokol-?gon my
father's, for my father.

-?molk *SFX* past NEG suffix; see
3.3.3.10.

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