

NYANGUMARDA CONJUGATIONS

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0. INTRODUCTION

In this paper I first give an account of the beginning of my career in linguistics, for which most of the credit goes to Dr. Capell. I then provide a general overview of the structure of the Nyangumarda verb as a prelude to the detailed presentation of its conjugation.¹

On May 25, 1949 I obtained employment at £3 per week and keep as a jackeroo on Wallal Downs, a 488,000-acre sheep station in the north-west of Western Australia. Within a week the manager, the late Harley M.P. Lacy, had arranged for me to join the team of aborigines mustering the back 'pindan' paddocks. During the ensuing eight weeks, I heard little English spoken and much of the local aboriginal language, Nyangumarda. It was under these auspicious circumstances that I began transcribing and learning lexical items and getting the 'feel' of sentence structures as opportunity offered. My system of notation was largely based on knowledge gained during primary and high school studies of Latin and German, extracurricular studies of Russian, and weekly visits to the Adelaide Public Library during the mid-1940's. Its embryonic stage is exemplified in

- (1) <ǎllǎ gwǎe> *Eat the meat!*² and
- (2) <gwǎe kǎmbǎllǎdjǎ ádjǔmǎllǎ> /kuyi kampalaca ŋacumillǎ/ *Cook my meat!*
in which the stems are /ŋa-/ *to eat*, /kuyǎ/ *meat, animal*, /kampa-/ *to burn it, cook it*, and /ŋacu/ *I*; the suffixes are /-ǎa/ 'imperative',

/-c-a/ (the surface representation of /-ci-a/ 'first person singular benefactive', and /-miii/ 'possessive'. Other entries include nouns in citation form such as

(3) <báírrh>; later, <baíř>; still later, /baíř/; finally, /pařır/ *hand*, where /r/ → [ř] / ___#, and

(4) <mířmř> /mimiml/ *brain*.

Also present in my early field notes are further positive imperative constructions, including

(5) <wönnáldř mřnbřllř> /wanayřřl mřnplll/ *Drink the water!* where /wanayřřl/ and /mřnpl-/ are stems meaning *water* and *drink*, and /-ll/ marks 'imperative',

(6) <gůlbí> /kulpiyl/ *Go back!* (with /-yl/, 'imperative'),

(7) <káwá> /kawa/ *Carry it!* (with /-wa/, 'imperative'), and

(8) <yárră> /yara/ *Go (away)!* (with /-ra/, 'imperative').

Among negative imperative constructions noted were

(9) <(můnů) yárrănbřllř> /(munu) yaranplll/ *Don't (you, singular) go!* and

(10) <(můnů) mřnjěřřnbřllř wřga> /(munu) mlńcillnplll wika/ *Don't light a fire!* in which /munu/, the negative particle, occurs optionally, /-ra-/ and /-ll-/ mark 'imperative', /-npl-/ (with epenthetic /-pl-/ conditioned by the following /l/) signals 'second person singular subject', and /-ll/ is a negative suffix.

The above examples and others like them reminded me of the Latin or Russian phenomenon of conjugations; in any case, the assembling of complete Nyangumarda verb paradigms was to take a considerable amount of time and effort. Meanwhile, recognizing that the articulation of vowels was in general rather lax, and that stress was predictable, I discontinued the use of the diacritics /~/ and /'/. In making mistakes in articulating forms and thus inviting correction by native speakers, I was able to refine my transcription; after a few weeks of residence at Wallal I realized, for example, that I had been missing occurrences of initial /ŋ/ and /ñ/, and began writing <ngala> in place of <ǎllă> (as in (1) above), and <nyundu> in place of <yůndů> *you, singular*. The revised spellings with initial /ŋ/ also jibed better with the emerging canonical shapes of words: most words consisted of sequences of CV-type syllables, as /wanayřřl/ *water* in (5) above; the remainder contained one or more syllables of the shape CVC, as /mlń-/ and /-lln-/ in (10).

I gradually learned to be more selective in taking note of grammatical structures, so that I was able to screen out those sentences which offered nothing new and concentrate on patterns and transformational possibilities of which I had not been aware before. Many such patterns crystallized in my mind as I listened, with their acquiescence, to the everyday conversations of Nyangumarda speakers. Particular incidents also occasionally afforded sudden insights. Thus I learned more about selectional possibilities between intransitive verbs and 'benefactive' suffix sequences after I lost my lunch from my saddle bag and was told

(11) *mayl puŋkiñlŋa* *Your food fell down*, where /*mayl*/ means *vegetable food* and /*puŋki-*/ *to fall*; /*-ñi-*/ is an alternant of the 'past' suffix, and /*-ŋ-a-*/ is the surface phonological representation of the underlying structure /*-ŋu-a-*/ and signals 'second person singular benefactive'.³

The verb in (11) contrasts minimally in its morphology with

(12) *puŋkiñŋaŋu* *It fell on you*, in which /*-ña-*/ is an alternant of the 'past' suffix and is derived from /*-ñi-*/ (as in (11)) by a rule of regressively conditioned vowel lowering, and /*-ŋu-*/ marks 'second person singular indirect object'.

During the years 1950 and 1951 I had frequent opportunity to extend my control of Nyangumarda. At the end of this time I had still not gained an ultimate understanding of the verb morphology, however. I was thus glad to learn through correspondence with T.G.H. Strehlow in South Australia and Wilfrid H. Douglas in Western Australia that these two scholars had been studying Australian aboriginal languages considerably longer than I had, and were in a position to offer guidance and advice. In addition, they put me in touch with Dr. Capell at the University of Sydney. In response to my enquiries, Dr. Capell mailed to me copies of his relevant publications, including 'The Classifications of Languages in North and North-west Australia' and 'Methods and Materials for Recording Australian Languages'. The former stimulated my interest in the wider Australian linguistic picture, and the latter provided me with guidelines for obtaining maximally comparable data in the languages spoken in the Wallal area.

Although I continued to devote most of my spare time to Nyangumarda, I now began to elicit systematically in Yurlbaridja and Warnman, speakers of which had moved in to the Eighty Mile Beach from the Great Sandy Desert in 1947. I sent batches of data in these languages to Dr. Capell in Sydney. His attention was particularly caught by what he later came to refer to as AT, i.e., the affix-transferring properties of these languages, whereby person-marking suffixes occur as part of

the first word of a clause. An example from Yurlbaridja is

(13) karicinpalura wiyariñin |ampuku *The lamp is out of kerosene*, where /karicin/ (with epenthetic /pa/ conditioned by the following /l/) and /|ampu/ are from English *kerosene* and *lamp*, /-lu-ra/ is 'third person singular benefactive', /wiya-ri-ñin/ is *nothing*-'INCHOATIVE-PRESENT', i.e., *becomes nothing*, and /-ku/ marks the 'dative case'. If a permutation rule which is operative in this language (and in many other Australian languages) is applied in such a way as to interchange the constituents /karicin/ and /|ampu-ku/, the resultant surface structure is

(14) |ampu-ku-lu-ra wiya-ri-ñin karicin

In Nyangumarda, the person marker corresponding in meaning to Yurlbaridja /-lu-ra/ is /-l-u/, as in

(15) wi'r-cari-ña-l-u karicin |ampu-mili, i.e., *completely*-'INCHOATIVE-PRESENT (plus zero third person singular subject, plus /-l-u/) *kerosene lamp*-POSSESSIVE', or

(16) |ampumili karicin wi'rcariñaiu and the remaining four possible arrangements of constituents, all of which are grammatical and have a meaning identical to that of (13) and (14) in Yurlbaridja. Person-marking suffixes in Nyangumarda thus occur obligatorily as verb endings.

Dr. Capell encouraged me to investigate the highly innovative Warnman pronouns. These are based on /para/ *I*, as for example /paraŋku/ *you* (singular), /paraŋkukucara/ *you* (dual) and /paraŋkuwaŋa/ *you* (plural).

At this time, Dr. Capell also pointed out at the end of one of his letters that a tape recorder would be a valuable aid in my work. No financial support was available for professional, let alone amateur, linguists in Australia at that time, but I decided in any case to purchase a portable 'Wirek' machine. This enabled me to record text material in Nyangumarda during a visit to Port Hedland in 1954. I also turned my attention to languages of the Ngayarda subgroup, especially Nyamal, Ngarla, Kariera, Ngarluma and Yindjibarndi. I continued my work on the Ngayarda languages in 1958 and again in 1960 and 1967.⁴ Kenneth Hale worked on Ngarluma in 1960 and has exchanged data with me since then. Beginning in 1964, C.G. von Brandenstein has also done research on languages of the Ngayarda and other subgroups in Western Australia.⁵

In January, 1956, I became Dr. Capell's research assistant at the University of Sydney. During the next four years I was able to form a clear picture of the enormous scope of the contribution which he has

made to Australian linguistics. When I began graduate studies at Indiana University, I was able to convince Dr. C.F. Voegelin, the chairman of my Ph.D. committee, that my control of Nyangumarda grammar was sufficient to permit me to make it the topic of my dissertation. This was made possible in large measure by the help which I had received in correspondence with Dr. Capell at a time when I still had many months of access to fluent speakers of the language ahead of me.

In this context it is fitting that this paper, which owes its ultimate origins to the stimulus provided by Dr. Capell, be dedicated to a Festschrift in his honour.

1. THE NYANGUMARDA VERB: ITS INTERNAL STRUCTURE

Nyangumarda verbs are morphologically either simple or complex. By dictionary count, simple, i.e., monomorphemic, verbs number barely one hundred, while complex verbs are many times more numerous; by text count, the scales are tipped the other way: simple verbs far outnumber complex.⁶ Examples of simple verbs are /ya-/ *to go*, /yiri-/ *to see*, /kalku-/ *to hold in the hand, possess, take care of*, and /wapaka-/ *to jump*. Complex verbs are exemplified by /caŋa-pi-/ *to spit* (/caŋa/ *saliva*, /-pi-/ 'verb formative'); /pa|-piŋa-/ *to slam it against the ground - as a snake, in order to kill it*, (/pa|/ *flat*, /piŋa-/ *to knock it down*); /ŋaŋa-ŋ-ŋaŋa-...-ŋiñi/ *to perform well, excel* (/ŋaŋa-/ *to break it*, /-ŋ-/ 'increment in Paradigm II' (see section 2.), /-ŋiñi/ 'reflexive'); /yaka-...-a/ ⁷*to leave it*; /purca.pi-...-a/ ⁷*to chase*; /piŋi-ŋi-ci-/ *to bury*, (/piŋi/ *hole in the ground*, /-ŋi-/ 'locative case', /-ci-/ 'causative'); /wariñ-kuŋu-ci-na-ku-cari-/ *to start to turn (them) - as a mob of sheep, to start to cause (them) to change course*, (/wariñ/ *other*, /-kuŋu-/ 'allative', /-ci-/ 'causative', /-na-/ 'infinitive', /-ku-/ 'complementizer', /-cari-/ 'inchoative').

Verbs are inflected with a minimum of one and a maximum of ten suffixes. Categories of tense-mood-aspect are marked by a suffix or complex of suffixes immediately following the stem, and in certain paradigms, by a closing suffix as well. Intervening suffixes mark person. Examples of verb words with minimal inflection include positive imperative singular forms such as /ŋa-la/ *eat it!* and /minpi-li/ *drink it!* which appeared in (1) and (5) respectively, and in sentences (6)-(8). Other forms consisting of a verb and a single suffix are infinitives such as

(17) yiri-ŋi *seeing*,

(18) curka-ŋa *treading, dancing, stamping the feet*, and

(19) *kaku-ŋu forgetting, overlooking, not noticing.*

Their use is exemplified in

(20) *curka-ŋa yaka-ŋa-k-a I wish he would quit stamping his feet,*
with the discontinuous stem /yaka-...-a/ *to leave it*, the 'present'
suffix (/ŋa-/ in this form), and /-k-/ 'optative'.

At the other end of the scale of inflectional complexity is the form

(21) *puntaŋama|palayiñumpulukaluŋuru If he and I had plucked it (as bird) for you both a long time ago,...* The verb root in this form is /punta-/ *to pluck (feathers), to remove it - as hair - by chafing.* This is followed by the tense-mood complex /-ŋa-ma-|pa-/ 'present-'past irrealis'-'remote (time)', i.e., 'hypothetical action/state in the remote past'. Then follows the person-marking complex /-|a.yi-ñum.pulu-k-a-|u/, i.e., 'first person dual exclusive subject' - 'second person dual' - 'indirect object' (in non singular forms) - 'purposive' - 'third person singular indirect object' - 'purposive', where the 'indirect object' and 'purposive' suffixes in combination have a 'benefactive' meaning. The dots in /-|a.yi-/ and /-ñum.pulu-/ are intended to point up the possibility of the further analysis of these constituents, which I choose not to pursue here.⁸ Finally, the suffix /-ŋuru/, in combination with /-ma-/ 'past irrealis', means 'counterfactual condition' (in the protasis of a conditional sentence), and occurs optionally in the apodosis.

Most of the several thousand possible forms of a Nyangumarda transitive verb such as /yiri-/ in (17) or /curka-/ in (18) are themselves full grammatical sentences. This is true, for example, of the verb words in sentences (1)-(2), (5), (9)-(12), (15)-(16) and (20)⁹ - the same holds true for Yurlbaridja /wiyariñin/ in (13) and (14). The infinitives in (17)-(20) are non-sentences, however, as is the example of maximal verb inflection in (21), which requires to be followed by an apodosis clause.

The above remarks apply to Nyangumarda surface structures which result from the application of pronominalization and deletion rules, among others. Thus an optional deletion rule generates (6) from

(22) *ñuntu kulpiyi*, an intransitive sentence with uninflected second person singular pronoun /ñuntu/. Likewise, (7) is generated from

(23) *ñuntulu kawa*, a transitive sentence with 'ergative' case suffix /-lu/ attached to the pronoun. Furthermore, a permutation rule operates optionally on (22) and (23) to generate stylistically somewhat less preferred structures, namely

(24) kulpiyi ñuntu and

(25) kawa ñuntulu

The surface forms in (6) and (7) represent, in turn, structures which are mildly preferred stylistically over (22) and (23).

2. VERB CONJUGATIONS

In the introduction to this paper, verbs were exemplified with several alternants of the 'imperative' suffix. While the choice between /-la/ in (2) and /-ll/ in (5) is phonologically motivated, no such predictability attaches to the choice between /-la ~ -li (v -lu)/ on the one hand, and /-yi-/ , /-wa/ or /-ra/ (in sentences (6)-(8)) on the other. This 'conjugation' phenomenon is all-pervasive in the tense-mood-aspect apparatus which is part of the morphology of the Nyangumarda verb. In addition, several derivational suffixes undergo alternations which are similarly conditioned.

The four Nyangumarda suffixes which alternate under conditions associated with conjugations are glossed as follows: (1) past, (2) present-infinitive, (3) immediate future and (4) imperative. In addition, suffixes (2) and (3) undergo partial or complete phonological reduction when one or more additional tense-mood-aspect suffixes immediately follow. As well as this, three of the four suffixes (i.e., all except the 'immediate future') are subject to a rule of progressive vocalic assimilation which operates not only in verb, but also in noun morphology.¹⁰ One of these suffixes, the 'present-infinitive', thus has a total of twenty-three alternants in the surface phonological representation; two others, the 'past' and the 'imperative', have eleven each; the 'future' has five alternants.

In the following table, the alternants are arranged in six columns, representing the six conjugations. The alternants of the suffixes which reflect conjugational differences are arranged horizontally, and are further separated into rows to indicate changes in shape which are conditioned by other tense-mood-aspect suffixes which immediately follow. The nature of these changes can be illustrated with the Paradigm I verb /puŋki-/ *to fall*. Row a of the 'past' alternants, i.e., /ñi^a ~ ñ/, is exemplified in the three forms /puŋki-ñi-n/ *you fell*; /ciŋku puŋki-ña-l-u/ *his spoon fell down*; and /pa-la-ku puŋki-ñ-a/ *it fell for that reason*. In Row b of the 'past', the symbolization /ñi^ξ ∅/ refers to the fact that in combination with the 'remote time' marker, the /ñi/ alternant of the past tense morpheme varies freely with zero. Thus, /puŋki-ñi-lpi-ŋi/ and /puŋki-lpi-ŋi/ both mean *I fell down a long time ago*.

In the section of the chart pertaining to the morpheme which marks 'present tense' in some contexts and 'infinitive' in others, Row a relates to forms in which a person marker or /a/ 'purposive' immediately follow (in Conjugations I, II and III, such forms are homophonous with 'past' forms); Row b lists the shapes which occur before /mV/ 'irrealis': /puŋki-mi-ŋi/ *I was about to fall* (Conjugation I), but /kampa-ŋa-ma-n/ *you were about to burn/cook it* (Conjugation II) and /yi-ŋa-m-a/ or /yi-ŋi-m-a/ *he was about to give it to him* (Conjugation IV). Shapes occurring before the '(past) continuous' morpheme /kiñi/ appear in Row c: /kulpi-kiñi-ŋi/ *I was returning* (Conjugation I); /ka-ŋi-kiñi-ŋi/ *I was carrying it* (Conjugation IV). Row d contains conjugational increments which appear in reduplicated verb forms (see, for example, sentence (49) *inŋa*).

In the 'immediate future' section, Row a displays alternants which are immediately followed by a person marker or the /a/ 'purposive' morpheme, as in /kampa-iku-yi/ *they'd better cook it* (Conjugation II) and /ya-nku-yi/ *they'd better go* (Conjugation VI). In Row b appear alternants which in combination with the morpheme /iVpV/ mark 'future' tense; examples which contrast minimally with the above are /kampa-lapi-yi/ *they'll cook it* and /ya-nku-lupi-yi/ *they'll go*.

Conjugations:		I	II	III	IV	V	VI
past	a	ñi ^a ~ ñ	ŋV ^a ~ ŋ	ni ^a ~ n	ñā ~ ñ	ŋa ~ ŋ (rarely ŋi)	na ~ n (rarely ni)
	b	ñi ʃ ∅					
present, infinitive	a	ñi ^a ~ ñ	ŋV ^a ~ ŋ	ni ^a ~ n	ŋiñi ^a ~ ŋiñ	ŋiñi ^a ~ ŋiñ	niñi ^a ~ niñ
	b	∅	ŋV	ni	ŋi ʃ ŋa	ŋi ʃ ŋa	ni ʃ na
	c	∅	ŋV ʃ ŋi	ni	ŋi	ŋi	ni
	d	∅	ŋ	n	ŋi	ŋi	ni
immediate future	a	u	iku	iku	ŋku	iku	nku
	b	u	∅	∅	ŋku	iku	nku
imperative		yi ^a ~ y	iV ^a ~ i	iV ^a ~ i	wa ~ w	la ~ l	ra ~ r

I use the verbs /kaŋi-/ *to dig*, /yurpa-/ *to rub*, /wiŋiŋi.pi-/ *to strike it - as a match*, /ka-/ *to carry*, /ŋa-/ *to eat* and /ya-/ *to go* in further exemplifying the paradigms. Where person marking is obligatory, I exemplify with /-ŋV/ 'first person singular subject', /-ŋa/

'first person singular purposive subject', /-n/ 'second person singular subject', and /-np-a/ 'second person singular purposive subject'. In instances such as /yaka-...-a/ (see note 7), the /-a/ ending has no meaning in modern Nyangumarda, and functions as a discontinuous part of the verb.

Paradigm I is exemplified in

- (26) ka|lñiñi I dug (non-remote past), I'm digging,
 (27) ka|uñu¹¹ I'd better dig, let me dig, and
 (28) ka|yi (You, singular) dig (a hole)!

The following twenty verbs occur with Paradigm I suffixes, are disyllabic, and have stem-final /i/: /canpi-/ to bathe; /cari-/ to flow; /cupi-/ to abate, go out - as fire, to stop - as rain; /ka|l-/ to dig; /kampi-/ to burn, cook (intransitive), be hot; /kañ|l-/ to climb, rise; /kulpi-/ to return; /kunti-/ to fail in an attempt; /kuñl-/ to choke (intransitive); /milpi-/ (also /tupl-/) to arrive, come, arise; /ñalpi-/ to enter, go down, set - of a heavenly body; /ñuki-/ to abduct; /pañ|l-/ to stink; /puñki-/ to fall; /purpi-/ to blow - of the wind; /rur|l-/ to move; /ruwi- ~ yuri-/ to hit with a missile, shoot; /wuñmi-/ to become broken, torn; /wani- ~ wanti-/ to stay, to be left behind. In the last verb in the list, an idiosyncratic epenthetic /t/ appears in positive and negative imperative forms and in the immediate future and future. Thus,

- (29) waniñiñi I stayed, I'm staying, but
 (30) wantuñu I'd better stay (immediate future), and
 (31) wanti! Stay!

Other verbs which occur with Paradigm I suffixes include reduplications of the foregoing, e.g., /cupi-cupl-/ to diminish gradually - as rain; /ka|i-ka|i-/ to scratch; and /puñki-puñki-/ to fall repeatedly. Two Paradigm I verbs appear with stem-final /u/ instead of /i/: /ruru-ruru-/ to move slightly, as in

- (32) rurururuñin You moved/are moving slightly, and the frozen reduplication /puñku.puñku-...-a/ (with discontinuous /a/) to come for him, to come to get him, as in
 (33) puñkupuñkuña |lciku He came for Lacy.

Note also /wani-wani-/ to keep on staying and /want-u-want-u-/ to be about to keep on staying, as in

(34) wantuwantulumuḡu *I'll continue to stay*, with the suffix complex /-u-lumu-/ marking 'future tense'.

Many additional Paradigm I verbs are formed with the productive suffixes /-cari-/ 'inchoative' and /-kari-/ 'stative'. Examples of the former are: /miā kaniñ-cari-...-a/ *to stoop - as to pick up an object lying on the ground*, as in

(35) miā kaniñcariya *Stoop down (and pick it up)!* in which /miā/ means *nose*, /kaniñ/ *down*, and /-y-/ 'imperative'; the synchronically unanalyzable form /ḡuḡ.cari-/ *to become commonplace to*, as in

(36) ḡuḡcariñḡu yawaḡalu *The horse has become/is becoming commonplace to you, You've become accustomed to the horse*, with /-ḡu/ 'second person indirect object' and /-lu/ 'ergative'; /warar-cari-/ *to stand up*; /kuli-cari-/ *to get angry*; /waraca-ḡa-cari-/ *to congregate, to get married* (with dual subject); and /yinma-ku kuḡḡa-ḡa-ku-cari-/ *to start to sing a song*.

Examples of Paradigm I verbs with /-kari-/ are: /cawa ripi-kari-/ *to have toothache* (/cawa/ *mouth*); /warar-kari-/ *to be standing*; /cirmiḡ-kari-/ *to sweat*; /maḡpar-kari-...-a/ *not to want, to dislike* (/maḡpar/ *not desirous of*). The structure Noun-dative-kari-...-a occurs freely with the meaning *to want such-and-such*, as for example in

(37) waḡkukukariñiḡa *I want money*, (/waḡku/ *stone, metal, mountain, money*). The verbs /pina.kari-/ *to hear, to perceive it - as cold air, to understand*, and /waru.ku.kari-/ *to stand by a fire (to get warm)*, are single constituents, synchronically speaking (*pina and *waru do not exist as roots in Nyangumarda; note, however, Proto Pama-Nyungan *pina *ear* and *waru *fire*).

Other Paradigm I verbs are compounds in which the second member is a Paradigm I verb, as /caḡcaḡ-kampi-/ *to burn splutteringly, as wet spinifex*; /cama-wanti-/ *to remain silent, say nothing*; /kuḡira-wanti-/ *to remain unused, idle*; /ra'-kaḡḡi-/ *to become bloated*; /wiña-ca-cari-/ *to overflow* (/wiña/ *full*, /-ca/ 'resultative'); /wu'.puḡki-/ *to glide down - as a bird*; /kama-pina.kari-/ *to hear him call out*; /ḡiḡiḡi.ruwi-/ *to twist it*.

The great majority of Paradigm I verbs - considerably more than 90%, in fact - are intransitive. The following, however, are transitive: /kaḡi-/ , /ḡuki-/ , /pina.kari-/ , /kama-pina.kari-/ , /ruwi- ~ yuri-/ and /ḡiḡiḡi.ruwi-/. Verbs such as /ḡuḡ.cari-/ , /kaḡḡi-/ and /puḡki-/ take nominative subjects in some constructions, ergative in others, as in the examples

- (38) *cuᅇka puᅇkiᅇiri* *The dirt fell (as into a well)* and
 (39) *cuᅇkalu puᅇkiᅇiᅇi* *The dirt fell on me.*

Paradigm II is exemplified in

- (40) *yurpaᅇaᅇa* *I rubbed it, I'm rubbing it,*
 (41) *yurpaᅇkuᅇu* *I'd better rub it, and*
 (42) *yurpaᅇa* *Rub it!*

Over fifty verbs occur with Paradigm II suffixes, are disyllabic, and have stem-final /a/ after the pattern of /yurpa-/ , above. Examples are /cupa-/ *to put it out, extinguish it*; /kama-/ *to call out*; /kampa-/ *to burn it, cook it*; /marpa-/ *to escape*; /ᅇᅇta-/ *to sit or lie on it, to put weight on it*; /wuᅇka-/ *to peep*; /yaca-/ *to follow*; and /yama-/ *to erase it.*

Twenty-five Paradigm II verbs have stem-final /i/. Note, for example,

- (43) *wiriᅇiᅇi* *I put it, I'm putting it,*
 (44) *wiriᅇikuᅇu* *I'd better put it, and*
 (45) *wiriᅇi* *Put it!*

In other respects, such verbs are comparable to /yurpa-/ , above. Examples are: /ciᅇi-/ *to wake him up, to flush (a bird from cover), to remove (cooked meat from ashes)*; /cumᅇi-/ *to squeeze*; /miᅇi-/ *to drink*; /ᅇaᅇi-/ *to void it - as excrement, or an egg*; /paᅇᅇi-/ *to smell it*; /paᅇᅇi-/ *to throw it (away).*

There are seven disyllabic Paradigm II verbs with stem-final /u/, as, for instance, /kaku-/:

- (46) *kakuᅇkuᅇu* *I took/am taking care of him,*
 (47) *kakuᅇkuᅇu* *I'd better take care of him, and*
 (48) *kakuᅇu* *Take care of him!*

The other six are /kaku-/ *to forget, overlook, not notice*; /kuᅇu-/ *to attach it, join it*; /maᅇu-/ *to make a hollow*; /ᅇaᅇcu-/ *to breathe*; /ᅇiᅇcu-/ *to become swollen - as the hand*; /ᅇiᅇku-/ *to come off - as an axe handle, to disintegrate.*

Reduplicated Paradigm II verbs, in which an /-ᅇ-/ increment appears, include /wiᅇa-ᅇ-wiᅇa-/ *to pat* (/wiᅇa-/ *to hit with the hand, kill*); /paᅇᅇi-ᅇ-paᅇᅇi-/ *to sniff around*, as in

- (49) *ᅇaniᅇu paᅇᅇiᅇpaᅇᅇiᅇiᅇiᅇpa* *Why are you sniffing around? (/ᅇaniᅇ/ what?; /paᅇᅇi-/ to smell it).* Note also /kama-ᅇ-kama-/ *to keep on calling out.*

The following morphologically simple Paradigm II verbs are tri-syllabic or longer: /caraŋka-/ *to pore over it, examine it closely, read*; /wapaka-/ *to jump*; /palupuca-/ *to cave in - as sand in a well*; /p|l|iq̃i-/ *to shout; to bray - of donkeys*; /|l|rupuŋi-/ *to dive under water*; /yiriŋi-/ *to examine it, run one's hands over it*; /katuku-/ *to get down, descend*.

All other Paradigm II verbs are either morphologically complex in modern Nyangumarda, or give evidence of having been composed of two or more morphemes at some time in the past.¹² The following eight verbs consist of two discontinuous parts; the first is disyllabic and can only occur in combination with the second shape, /-a/, already discussed in note 7: /cami-...-a/ *to withhold it from him*; /kañci-...-a/ *to look for it*; /karpi-...-a/ *to thrash - as with leaves*; /m|ra-...-a/ *to take it from him*; /ŋuncu-...-a/ *to be able to*; /waŋu-...-a/ *to hit with the hand - as in punishing a child*; /yaka-...-a/ *to leave it*; /yati-...-a/ *to open it - as a tin of tobacco*. Their conjugation is exemplified in

- (50) yatiŋiŋa *I opened/am opening it,*
 (51) yatiŋinpa *You opened/are opening it,*
 (52) yatiŋa *He opened/is opening it,*
 (53) yatiikuŋa *I'd better open it,*
 (54) yatiikunpa *You'd better open it,*
 (55) yatiikuwa *He'd better open it, and*
 (56) yatila *Open it!*

Note also /caku|i-...-a/ *to send him for something, to force him*; /ŋaŋku|i-...-a/ *to mourn for him*; /kuliŋi-...-a/ *to sharpen it with whetstone*; /culpari-...-a/ (perhaps a mistranscription of /culpari-...-a/) *to have sore eyes*.¹³

The verb /puyi-...-a/ takes only 'impersonal' third person singular subjects combined with direct object person markers:

- (57) puyiŋiŋa *I'm replete (with food), sated,*
 (58) puyiŋinta *You're replete,*
 (59) puyiŋa *He's replete, and*
 (60) puyiŋiŋaliŋa *You and I are replete, (/ -ñ-/ 'first person singular direct object', /-nt-/ 'second person singular direct object', /-ŋali-ñ-/ 'first person dual inclusive direct object').*

The Paradigm II verb /kurŋa-/ *to converse* occurs only with non-singular subjects. Thus,

(61) *kurŋaŋali* *You and I conversed/are conversing*, (/li/ 'first person dual inclusive subject'), but not

(62) **kurŋaŋaŋa* *I conversed*.

Two Paradigm II verbs occur with obligatory 'direct reflexive' suffix; these are /waʃu-...-ŋiŋi/ *to stretch - as upon awakening* and /kurpa-...-ŋiŋi/ *to lay oneself open to blame*, as in

(63) *waʃuŋuŋaŋiŋi* *I stretched/am stretching*,

(64) *waʃuŋunpaŋiŋi* *You stretched/are stretching*,

(65) *waʃuŋaŋiŋi* *He stretched/is stretching*,

(66) *waʃulkuŋaŋiŋi* *I'm about to stretch*, and

(67) *waʃulaŋiŋi* *Stretch!*¹⁴

Numerous additional Paradigm II verbs are based, at least historically, on the Proto-Pama-Nyungan formative *-ma-, which retains productivity in languages as far afield as Mabuag¹⁵ and Warburton Ranges.¹⁶ In Nyangumarda, verb stems closed with the modern reflex, /-mV-/, have membership in Paradigm II, and exist alongside the independent verb /ma-/ *to take, grasp*, which belongs in Paradigm VI. The numerous Nyangumarda verbs with final /-ma-/ are probably explainable as instances of object incorporation or as recent loans. In still others there is free variation between /-mV-/ and /-ma-/. Thus,

(68) *kuʃikuʃimiŋiŋi* *I mixed/am mixing, stirring it*,

(69) *miŋkamaŋaŋaŋu kulica* *I stopped/am stopping you from fighting*, and

(70) *yakurmuŋuŋa* (stem: /yakur.mu-...-a/) *I tempted/am tempting him, trying him out*, in which /kuʃikuʃi/, /miŋka/ and /yakur/ are nonce forms. On the other hand, we have

(71) *yinimaŋaŋa* *I uttered/am uttering his name*, and

(72) *wankañumaŋaŋa* *I cured/am curing, saving him*, (/yini/ *name*, /wankañu/ *alive*), in which the vowel of the formative is not assimilated to that of the previous syllable, as well as

(73) *kiyimiŋiŋi* ~ *kiyimaŋaŋa* *I choked/am choking him*, and

(74) *marumuŋuŋu* ~ *marumaŋaŋa* *I love (a person), I like it - as food*, in which /kiyi/ and /maru/ are also nonce forms.

In some Nyangumarda /-mV-/- (or /-ma/-) verbs, a thematic suffix /-kVrV-/ precedes the formative. Thus,

(75) *piʃpiʃkiriŋiŋiŋi* *My heart is beating*,

- (76) pani ʔa|karamaŋan *You opened your eyes wide, and*
 (77) !uʔurukurumuŋu I jumped - as from an ant bite, but
 (78) !i!i!i!karamaŋara *It yelped/is yelping, and*
 (79) kuŋkuŋkaramaŋara *He sighed/is sighing.*

The remaining Paradigm II verbs are compounds in which the second member is a Paradigm II verb. Thus,

- (80) kaʔiŋikalkuŋu I'm holding him in my lap, (/kaʔi-ŋi/ in the lap),
 and
 (81) camaramara wuraŋaŋala *I whispered to him, (/camaramara/ whispering, /wura-/ to tell, /-la/ 'third person singular indirect object').* In
 (82) pi!u|karapaŋpiŋi I threw it (into the water) and it went plop,
 and
 (83) ʔiyukuruŋaʔaŋa *I broke it (as a branch) and it went snap,* the verbs are derived from the ideophones /pi!u|/ and /ʔiyu/.

Idiom formation is exemplified by

- (84) waŋʔi kaniŋyakaŋa *I left/am leaving it 'up in the air', unfinished,*
 and
 (85) mi!apaciŋi I rubbed/am rubbing my nose.

In (84), /waŋʔi/ is a noun which in other contexts has the referent *tail*; in a number of other Australian languages, including Ngarluma, /waŋʔi/ includes *penis* in its referent range as well; /kaniŋ/ is *down* and /yaka-...-a/ *to leave it*. With (85) compare

- (86) mi!a paciŋi I bit/am biting him in the nose, with /mi!a/ *nose* and /paci-/ *to bite*.

Paradigm III is exemplified in

- (87) wirirpiniŋi *I struck it, I'm striking it - as a match,*
 (88) wirirpikuŋu *I'd better strike it,*
 (89) wirirpili *Strike it!* and
 (90) wirirpinwirirpiniri *He kept/keeps on trying to strike it.*

The numerous Paradigm III verbs are based on two formatives. These are /-pi-/ , a reflex of the putatively Proto-Australian form *pu *to hit with the hand*; and /-ci-/ , reconstructible to Proto-Nyungic *cu- *to put*. Examples of /-pi-/ are /muwar-pi-/ *to speak* (compare /muwar/ *talk, language*) and /calliŋ-calliŋ-pi-/ *to dart out the tongue - as a reptile* (/calliŋ/ *tongue*), which are both intransitive verbs; and /kaŋu-pi-/

to *skin it*, *peel it* (/kaŋu/ *skin*), a transitive verb. The formative /-ci-/ is exemplified in /wari-ci-/ *to make it cold* (/wari/ *cold in temperature*) and /wariñ-kaŋi-ci-/ *to turn it* (/wariñ/ *other*, /-kaŋi/ 'allative case'). Its combinability with nominals as in these two examples is rather productive, but occurrences of /-ci-/ with verbals are listable; note the Conjugation III verb /ŋaipa-ci-/ *to cause to enter*, based on /ŋaipi-/ , a Conjugation I verb meaning *to enter* and /-ci-/. All three verbs used above in exemplifying /-ci-/ are transitive.

Apart from derived forms, only five verbs in all belong in Paradigms IV, V and VI: two in Paradigm IV, viz. /ka-/ *to carry* and /yu-/ *to give*; one in Paradigm V - /ŋa-/ *to eat*; and two in Paradigm VI - /ya-/ *to go* and /ma-/ *to take, grasp*. These five verbs are unique in that their morphology displays a formal contrast between 'near past' and 'present' tense forms.

Paradigm IV is exemplified in,

- (91) kañaŋa *I carried it*,
 (92) kaŋiñiŋi *I'm carrying it*,
 (93) kaŋkuŋu *I'd better carry it*, and
 (94) kawa *Carry it!*

The other verb of this paradigm, /yu-/, undergoes a unique stem change to /yi-/ in forms based on other than the 'immediate future' and 'imperative' suffixes. Note:

- (95) yuŋkulumuŋuñumpulliña *I'll give it to you two*, and
 (96) yuwañañumpulliñalu *I'd better not give it to you two*, but
 (97) yiñalpaŋanta *I gave it to you a long time ago*, and
 (98) ŋacu maipar yiŋiñaku *I don't want to give it*.

Two derived Paradigm IV verbs which are respectively transitive and intransitive are /waŋa-ka-/ *to take it the wrong way, to take it off the road - as a car* (cf. /waŋa-ya-/ , a Paradigm VI verb meaning *to go the wrong way*); and /kaŋiŋ.ka-/ *to slip, slide*. A verb derived from /yu-/ is /mura.yu-/ *to cheat, to give worthless goods to*.

Paradigm V is exemplified in

- (99) ŋaŋaŋa *I ate it*,
 (100) ŋaŋiñiŋi *I'm eating it*,
 (101) ŋalkuŋu *I'd better eat it, let me eat it*, and
 (102) ŋala *Eat it!*

Paradigm VI is exemplified in

- (103) yanaḡa *I went,*
- (104) yaniñiḡi *I'm going,*
- (105) yankuḡu *I'd better go, and*
- (106) yara *Go!*

Note also

- (107) yankuḡa *I'd better go (for a particular purpose),*
- (108) yanan *You went,*
- (109) yanara *He/she/it went,*
- (110) yananpa *You went (for a purpose), and*
- (111) yana *He went (for a purpose).*

A form derived from /ya-/ was presented under the discussion of Paradigm IV verbs. A Paradigm VI verb which is derived from /ma-/ is /kanka-ma-/ *to raise, lift*, as exemplified in

- (112) kankamarĩñi *Raise me! - as by winching out of a deep well.*

The change in the imperative alternant from /ra/ to /ri/ is due to a phonological rule which changes non-front vowels to /i/ before palatal consonants. The discussion of this and other phonological rules is beyond the scope of this paper.

N O T E S

1. Part of the supporting data was gathered in 1967 under the auspices of National Science Foundation Grant GS-1624; this support is gratefully acknowledged, as is that of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
2. That is, /ŋala kuyi/ in the system of transcription which I now use. In subsequent examples, my early transcription will be in angle brackets, followed by my current transcription.
3. Note that although *puŋka-ŋa-ŋku-ra *yours fell down* is reconstructible for Proto-Marngu and is regularly reflected in Nyangumarda /puŋki-ŋi-ŋ-a/, no /ŋ/ can be motivated in this form within Nyangumarda itself.
4. For grammar sketches of some languages of the Ngayarda subgroup, see O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966), pp.80-103. See also my Proto-Ngayarda Phonology (1966).
5. See, for example, von Brandenstein (1967, 1968).
6. See my 'Statistical Investigations into an Australian Language' (1957), pp.306-8.
7. Viewed synchronically, each of these two verbs consists of a single discontinuous morpheme. At an earlier stage of the language, the final /-a/ (then */-ra/) was apparently a separate morpheme, as were /purca/ and /-pi-/, which are separated by the symbol *dot* in the above representation. In modern Nyangumarda, the two verbs in question are complex in the sense that they are discontinuous morphemes.
8. See my *Nyangumata Grammar* (1964), pp.82-5.

9. That is, /yakaṇaka/.

10. Vowels subject to this rule are represented by the symbol /V/ in the chart which follows. Vowels which are in turn subject to regressively conditioned lowering under the influence of a following suffix of the shape /-Cu/ are symbolized by a raised a - thus, for example, $\bar{n}i^a$, ηV^a . And alternants which consist of, or end with, a consonant, such as /-ṇ-/ and /-ṇĩñ-/, exhibit vowel elision which is conditioned by the occurrence immediately to the right of the suffix /-a/ 'purposive'. The only exceptions to this statement are the /-ṇ-/ and /-n-/ which occur with reduplicated verbs in Paradigms II and III respectively. In columns IV and V, row d, /ṇĩ/ and /ṇi/ are not actually attested, but I am highly confident of their correctness.

11. That is, the surface phonological representation of /ka|l-u-ṇu/.

12. Note also the two forms with final /-ṇṭi-/ in the previous paragraph. Douglas (1958) gives on p.26 examples of a causative suffix /-ṇṭa-/ in the Warburton Ranges dialect of the Western Desert language; note, for instance, /miri/ *dead*: /miri-ṇṭa-/ *to kill*.

13. The /-rɪ-/ and/or the /-ʃɪ-/ ending could well be cognate with Lardil /-rɪ-/, which is a productive 'causative' suffix, as in /kupa/ *good*: /kupa-rɪ-/ *to make it good* (Kenneth Hale, personal communication).

14. The /a/ preceding /-ṇĩñi/ is part of the penultimate suffix and is derived by the rule of regressively conditioned vowel lowering mentioned in the discussion of (12). It is thus unrelated to the /-a/ in (50-60).

15. See Ray (1907).

16. See Douglas (op.cit.).

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