

# THE RELATIONSHIP OF VERB AFFIXATION AND CLAUSE STRUCTURE IN MURINBATA

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## 0. ABBREVIATIONS

a-pal.	alveo-palatal
Appos.	Appositional
Ben.	Benefactive
Caus.	Causative
Co-ord.	Co-ordinate
Dem.	Demonstrative
du.	dual
excl.	exclusive
f.	female
gen.	generic
hab.	habitual
imp.	imperative
incl.	inclusive
Instr.	Instrument
interr.	interrogative
Interr.	Interrogative
Intrans.	Intransitive
IO	Indirect Object
IVP	Intransitive Verb Phrase
Lit.	Literally
Loc.	Locative
m.	male
Mod.	Modified
NC	Noun Class
NM	Number Marker

NP	Noun Phrase
O	Object
P.	Phrase
pc.	paucal
Per.	Periphery
pl.	plural
Poss.	Possessive
Pr.	Predicate
Pred.	Predicate
ref.	reflexive
sb.	sibling
sg.	singular
subjunc.	subjunctive
t.	tense
Trans.	Transitive
TVP	Transitive Verb Phrase
VP	Verb Phrase

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to give a detailed description of some Clause types in the Murinbata language, namely, the Transitive, Di-Transitive, Intransitive, Reflexive and Stative Clauses in the Declarative Indicative mode.

Murinbata belongs to the Garaman language family which is a member of the Australian Macro-phylum family (Voegelin and Voegelin, 1977:135). It is spoken by approximately 900 people, the majority of whom live at Port Keats, Northern Territory, 250 kilometres to the south-west of Darwin. A small number live on nearby cattle stations, with the largest groups at Auvergne Station N.T. and Kununurra W.A.

This paper has been written after approximately three years of study of this language. The analysis of this particular paper was done during a five week Linguistic Workshop at the Summer Institute of Linguistics (S.I.L.), Berrimah, N.T., from 12th July - 18th August, 1977, conducted by Alan Healey.

The author is very grateful for the willing and able help given at the Workshop by language helper Peter Kumyep Bunduck and for the consultant help given by Alan Healey and Mike Ray also of S.I.L. Thanks is also given to Harry Palada Kulampurut, who has given me a large quantity of language material during my stay at Port Keats, much of which was also used for the analysis of this paper.

The previous work done on this language by Michael Walsh has also greatly helped and encouraged me in the study of Murinbata.

The language spelling used throughout this paper is the literacy orthography, which is explained more fully in Tables 1 and 2 below.

TABLE 1  
VOWELS

	Front	Non-front
High	i	u
Non-high	e	a

TABLE 2  
CONSONANTS

	Labial	Apico- alveolar	Retro- flexed	Lamino- a-pal.	Velar
Voiceless Stops	p	t	rt	th	k
Voiced Obstruents *	b	d	rd	dh	g
Nasals	m	n	rn	nh	ng
Laterals		l	rl	ly	
Medians	w	rr	r	y	

\* dh is a fricative, b, d, rd and g are stops

The Lamino alveo-palatal voiceless stop, voiced obstruent and nasal each have two allophones as follows. The dental allophones [t, d, n] only precede the non-front vowels a and u. The Lamino alveo-palatal allophones [ʈ, ɖ, ɳ] only precede the vowels i and e.

Examples showing the allophones:

thapak	[ <u>t</u> apak]	'fog/dew'
thimu	[ <u>ʈ</u> imu]	'nose'
madhalnu	[ma <u>d</u> alnu]	'I'll open it.'
dhekdek	[ <u>ɖ</u> ek <u>ɖ</u> ek]	'to play'
punhu	[pu <u>n</u> u]	'liver'
kanhi	[ka <u>ɳ</u> i]	'this/here'

### 1.1. PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES

Peripheral tagmemes occur in all Bi-dimensional Arrays for the clause types of this paper, and many types are also given in the

accompanying examples. However, little information is given about peripheries in this paper, other than the fact there are five types of peripheral tagmemes which are:-

- i. Time
- ii. Instrument
- iii. Accompaniment
- iv. Reason
- v. Location

### 1.2. SUBJECT, OBJECT AND INDIRECT OBJECT TAGMEMES

At least a Subject, Object, or Indirect Object is shown in the Bi-dimensional Arrays for the clause types in this paper. The fillers of these slots have been merely shown as 'Various Noun Phrases', the reason being that Phrase Level as such has not been analysed to date. However, many of the Phrase types possible are shown in the examples.

### 1.3. PREDICATE

Each Clause type in this paper shows in the Bi-dimensional Array an obligatory Predicate. The Predicate slot can be filled by various types of Verb Phrases.

A Verb Phrase consists of an obligatory verb (which is the verb root plus affixes), plus optional auxiliary verbs which determine continuous, non-continuous and habitual aspects, and optional modal words of various types.

All Verb Phrases can be negated by the addition of the negative word *mere*, which precedes the Verb Phrase.

### 1.4. VERB AFFIXES

The verb can be affixed with the following:

1. Subject affixes - these are not listed in this paper (Refer Street 1978, Appendix 2)
2. Object A affixes - (see appendix)
3. Object B affixes - (see appendix)
4. Incorporated body part prefixes - (see appendix)
5. The Source prefix *ma-*

The function of these affixes and how they show agreement with the Clause structure, will be described in each Clause type.

Other affixation to the verb includes Tense (Street 1975:24-6). This is not dealt with in this paper, however the examples will give a good coverage of the possible tenses.

Verb affixation follows a set order, and the full potential of this affixation is shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3  
VERB AFFIXATION ORDER

Subject	Object A	ma-	verb root	Subject
	Object B	Incorporated body part (IBP)		Object A
				Object B

Table 13 in Section 11 shows (apart from tense) the affixation of the verbs for each Clause type. Note that in Table 13 no affixation is shown following the verb root, this has been omitted for clarity. Affixation will only follow the verb root when the subject is in the paucal number or when the object is in the dual or paucal number.

### 1.5. CLAUSE TYPES

Table 13 in Section 11 also shows the close relationship of the verb affixation with the clause structure. For this reason it has been necessary to posit four Transitive Clauses, a Di-Transitive, a Stative and three Intransitive Clauses.

Quite a number of the same verb roots can manifest themselves in all four Transitive Clauses. However, the majority of Di-Transitive and Stative Clauses uses a different set of verbs for each particular Clause type.

The Intransitive Clause verbs are manifested by only a small number of verbs, whereas the Intransitive Source and Intransitive Benefactive/Goal Clauses use a large variety of verbs which are mostly interchangeable.

### 1.6. REFLEXIVE CLAUSES

Clause types 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9 and 10 can all be reflexive in action. One reflexive example has been included at the end of the other examples given for each clause type.

A verb maybe transformed into a reflexive verb by one of the following rules:

a) Many verb classes have a corresponding reflexive verb class (Street 1978 - refer Appendix 2) which is used when a reflexive action is required. (See examples 27, 57, 84 and 86.)

b) Verb classes which do not have a corresponding reflexive verb class use the prefix  $\begin{Bmatrix} nu- \\ ni- \end{Bmatrix}$  positioned in the verb adjacent to, or in the place of the object prefix (see examples 17, 37, 45, 73 and 80).

This  $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{nu-} \\ \text{ni-} \end{Bmatrix}$  prefix can also be used with verb types mentioned in a) above, but is optional (see examples 27, 57 and 84), whereas it is an obligatory prefix for verbs belonging to verb classes without a corresponding reflexive verb class.

## 2. THE TRANSITIVE GOAL/INSTRUMENT CLAUSE

The Transitive Goal/Instrument Clause consists of an obligatory Predicate and optional Subject, Object and Goal or Instrument Tagmemes (both cannot occur in the same clause).

The verb of the Transitive Goal/Instrument Clause has obligatory subject and optional object, goal or instrument affixation. The subject affix shows agreement with the Subject Tagmeme, the object affix shows agreement with the Object Tagmeme and the goal/instrument affix shows agreement with the Goal or Instrument Tagmemes.

The object affixation is normally only manifested in the verb when the object is human, (although sometimes it is manifested for non-human objects) in which case the set of Object A affixes are used. (Examples 5, 6, 14, 15 and 16 show no object affixation for non-human objects within the verb.) Although the Object Tagmeme in the Clause and the object affixation in the verb are both optional, it is obligatory to have one of these manifested in the Clause structure.

The goal/instrument affixation can only be manifested in the verb if the goal or instrument of the action is a body part, in which case the Incorporated set of body parts are used. (Examples 4, 11, 12, 13 and 17.)

Note: See Appendix for full list of Incorporated body parts and Object A affixes.

Transitive Goal/Instrument verbs consist of such verbs as: to get, to leave, to cut, to lay, to follow, to kick, to replace, to make, to draw, to hit, to bite, to roll up, to eat, to bring, to put, to chase, to catch, etc.

TABLE 4  
BI-DIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR TRANSITIVE GOAL/INSTRUMENT CLAUSE

± Per.	± Subject	± Object	+Pred.	± Goal/ Instr.	± Per.
	Various NP	Various NP	Trans. VP	Goal P.  Poss. Goal P. Instr. P. Poss. Instr. P.	

## PERMUTATION RULES:

1. Object can also follow the Predicate.
2. Subject can also follow the Predicate.

## Examples:

- 1) O:NP Pr:TVP  
 kardu wakal ma-ngan- $\phi$ -bert  
 NC (human) small I(sg.)-t.-him-get  
 'I got the child.'
- 2) Pr:TVP  
 thi-ngi-pup-nu  
 you(sg.)-me-lay-t.  
 'You will lay me down.'
- 3) O:NP Pr:TVP Per:(Loc.)  
 Marru nga- $\phi$ -riwak-nu tharra ngipilinh wangu  
 Marru I(sg.)-him-follow-t. quickly river way  
 'I'll follow Marru to the river.'
- 4) S:NP Pr:TVP Goal:Poss. Goal P.  
 ngay ngunu-ngam-nhi-ngurru-rida ngurru nhinhi  
 I(sg.) I(sg.)-t.-you(sg.)-side-kick side your(poss.)  
 'I kicked you in the side.'
- 5) S:Appos. NP O:Mod. NP  
 ngankuneme nugarn-ka ku menti  
 we(excl.pc.m.) men-(focus) NC(animal etc.) turtle  
 Pr:TVP  
 teret ngarra-m-ka-warl-neme  
 many we(excl.)-t.-NM-spear-we(pc.m.)  
 'We men speared many turtles.'
- 6) O:NP Pr:TVP  
 mi dhepdhep ngula-m-ath werrngka  
 NC(food) food(gen.) I(sg.)-t.-eat quickly  
 'I ate the food quickly.'
- 7) S:Serial NP O:Appos. NP  
 yile ngay peneme-ka ku lawarnka  
 father my(poss.) they(pc.m.)-(focus) NC(animal etc.) wallaby  
 Pr:TVP O:Appos. NP  
 warda panthe- $\phi$ -dha-neme punna ku ngala  
 then they brought-it-t.- (pc.m.) (aspect) NC(animal etc.) large  
 'My father and the men were then bringing a wallaby, a big one.'

NOTE: In this example the Object is broken by the Predicate.

- 8) Pr:TVP O:NP Per:(Loc.)  
 i ba-n- $\phi$ -pak Land-Rover-yu ngamimarda wangu  
*and he-t.-it-put Land-Rover-(focus) otherside way*  
*'...and he put (parked) the Land-Rover on the otherside.'*
- 9) O:NP Pr:TVP Per:(Loc.)  
 nukunu ngudu- $\phi$ -ngkarl-nu ngarra kale nukunu  
*he I(sg.)-him-replace-t. to mother his(poss.)*  
*'I'll take him back to his mother.'*
- 10) O:NP Pr:TVP Per:(Loc.)  
 kardu ma-n-berti-nu Wadeye wangu  
 NC(human) I(sg.)-them(pl.)-take-t. Wadeye way  
*'I'll take the people to Wadeye.'*
- 11) Pr:TVP Goal:Poss. Goal P. Per:(Instr.)  
 nga-nhi-me-warl-nu ngarra me nhinhi thamul-re  
*I(sg.)-you(sg.)-foot-spear-t. at foot your spear-with*  
*'I'll spear your foot with the spear.'*
- 12) O:NP Pr:TVP Goal:Poss. Goal P.  
 nanthi du-ngi-ma-pak-nu ngarra mange ngay  
 NC(thing) you(sg.)-me-hand-put-t. in hand my(poss.)  
*'You will put the thing in my hand.'*
- 13) S:NP Pr:TVP O:NP  
 Deta-ka nu-ngam- $\phi$ -me-rtal mi  
 Deta-(focus) she-t.-it-foot-pick NC(food)  
 Instr:Poss. Instr. P.  
 yidi me nigunu-re  
*wild apple foot her(poss.)-with*  
*'Deta picked the wild apple with her foot.'*
- 14) Per:(Loc.) O:NP  
 i kanganu pana-wa ku kananganthan  
*and half way there-(emphasis) NC(animal etc.) emu*  
 Pr:TVP Per:(Instr.)  
 nguma-m-ka-tha-neme nanthi truck ngarra  
*we(excl.)-t.-NM-chase-we(pc.m.) NC(thing) truck with*  
 kaka ngay nukunu  
*uncle my(poss.) his(poss.)*  
*'...and half way there we chased some emus with my uncle's truck.'*



- 15) O:Appos. NP  
 ku ngurlmiri da mana  
 NC(*animals, fish* etc.) *fish*(gen.) NC(*time*) *while*  
 Pr:TVP O:Appos. NP S:NP  
 di-m-ku ku pangkithay Yerdi  
*he-t.-catch fish* NC(*animals, fish* etc.) *sword fish* Yerdi  
 'While there, Yerdi caught a fish, a sword fish.'
- 16) S:NP O:Mod. NP  
 ku ngalmungkirr-ka ku  
 NC(*animals, birds, etc.*) *pied goose-*(focus) NC(*animals, birds, etc.*)  
 Pr:TVP  
 dum dum teret parna-m-pawak  
 egg many they(pl.)-t.-lay eggs  
 'Pied geese lay many eggs.'
- 17) Pr:TVP  
 ngunu-ngam-nu-ngurru-rida  
 I(sg.)-t.-ref.-side-kick  
 'I kicked myself in the side.'

### 3. THE TRANSITIVE SOURCE CLAUSE

The Transitive Source Clause consists of an obligatory Predicate and Object and optional Subject and Source Tagmemes.

The verb of the Transitive Source Clause has obligatory subject and source affixation only. The subject affixation shows agreement with the Subject Tagmeme and the source affixation (which is formed by adding the prefix *ma-* directly following the Object A affixes) shows agreement with the Source Tagmeme.

NOTE: See Appendix for full list of Object A affixes.

#### 3.1. THE SOURCE TAGMEME

Normally, source is signalled by verbal affixation only and does not manifest itself as a separate tagmeme. If, however, the item or participant functioning as source is possessed, then there is likely to be a separate Source Tagmeme filled by a Possessive Source Phrase (example 22).

Transitive Source verbs consist of such verbs as: to leave, to replace, to smell, to lift, to get water, to kick, to lay, to collect, etc.

TABLE 5  
BI-DIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR TRANSITIVE SOURCE CLAUSE

± Per.	± Subject	+ Object	+ Pred.	± Source	± Per.
	Various NP	Various NP	Trans. VP	Source P.  Poss. Source P.	

## PERMUTATION RULES:

1. Object can also follow the Predicate.
2. Source can also precede the Predicate.
3. Source can also precede the Object.

## Examples:

- 18) O:Dem. NP                      Pr:TVP  
 nanthi        pana    thani-*ngi-ma-part-nu*  
 NC(*thing*)    that    you(sg.)-*me-source-leave-t.*  
 'You'll leave that thing with me.'  
 (NOTE: The source of 'that thing' in this case is 'me')
- 19) Per:(Time) O:NP                      Pr:TVP  
 kunginira    mi                lawam    wuda-*n-~~ngi~~-ma-ngkarl*  
 yesterday    NC(*food*)    damper    he-*t.-me-source-replace*  
 'Yesterday he took back the damper from me.'
- 20) O:NP                                      Pr:TVP  
 mi                thathangadhay        me-*nhi-ma-yingap-nu*  
 NC(*food*)    wollybutt flower    I(sg.)-*you(sg.)-source-smell-t.*  
 'I'll smell the flower that you are holding.'  
 (Lit: 'I'll smell the flower from you.')
- 21) O:NP                      Pr:TVP  
 nanthi        nga-*m-nintha-~~o~~-ma-wirnturt*  
 NC(*thing*)    we(excl.)-*t.-we(du.m.)-him-source-lift*  
 'We two men lifted it from him.'
- 22) O:NP                                      Pr:TVP  
 kura            patha    thi-*o-ma-marda-wurl-nu*  
 NC(*water*)    good    you(sg.)-*him-source-in-get water-t.*  
 Source:Poss. Source P.  
 ngarra    billy can    nukunu    kathu  
 at        billy can    his        from  
 'You'll get the fresh water from in his billy can.'

- 23) S:NP O:NP Pr:TVP  
 ngay nanthi football mere  
*I(sg.) NC(thing) football negative*  
 Source:Source P.  
 ngunu-nhi-ma-rida-nukun nhinhi-yu  
*I(sg.)-you(sg.)-source-kick-t. you(sg.)-(focus)*  
*'I won't kick the football from you.'*
- 24) O:NP Pr:TVP Source:Source P.  
 nanthi karlay ngana-m- $\phi$ -ma-part John  
*NC(thing) net I(sg.)-t.-him-source-leave John*  
*'I left the net with John.'*  
 (NOTE: The source of 'the net' in this case is 'John'.)
- 25) O:NP Per:(Time) Pr:TVP  
 wakal ngay nakurlnu ma-nanku-ma-bert-nu-ngintha  
*child I(sg.) after I(sg.)-you-source-get-t.-you(du.f.)*  
*'I'll get my child from you two women after.'*
- 26) O:NP Pr:TVP Source:Source P.  
 thamul waya puma-ngan- $\phi$ -ma-rt kaka nukunu nukun  
*spear wire they(pl.)-t.-him-source-get uncle his belong*  
*'They got the fish spear (wire spear) from his uncle.'*
- 27) O:NP Pr:TVP  
 mi thathangadhay me-nu-ma-yingap-nu  
*NC(food) woolybutt flower I(sg.)-ref.-source-smell-t.*  
*'I'll smell the flower that I'm holding.'*  
 (Lit: 'I'll smell the flower from myself.')

#### 4. THE TRANSITIVE BENEFACTIVE/GOAL CLAUSE

The Transitive Benefactive/Goal Clause consists of an obligatory Predicate and Object and optional Subject and Benefactive or Goal Tagmemes (both cannot occur in the same clause).

The verb of the Transitive Benefactive/Goal Clause has obligatory subject and benefactive/goal and optional object affixation. The subject affix shows agreement with the Subject Tagmeme and the benefactive/goal affix shows agreement with the Benefactive or Goal Tagmeme, and the object affix shows agreement with the Object Tagmeme.

The benefactive/goal affixation uses the Object B set of affixes, and the object affixation can only be manifested in the verb if the object is a body part, in which case the Incorporated set of body parts are used (example 31).

In many of these clauses where a benefactive or goal do not occur as

separate tagmemes it is difficult to know if the actual meaning is benefactive or goal - in such cases the context is needed to provide this information.

Note: See Appendix for full list of Object B affixes and Incorporated body parts.

Transitive Benefactive/Goal verbs consist of such verbs as: to take down, to replace, to lay, to hang, to turn around, to throw, to tell a story, to catch fish, etc.

TABLE 6  
BI-DIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR TRANSITIVE BENEFACTIVE/GOAL CLAUSE

± Per.	± Subject	+ Object	+ Pred.	± Ben./Goal	± Per.
	Various NP	Various NP	Trans. VP	Ben. P.  Poss. Ben. P. Goal P. Poss. Goal P.	

PERMUTATION RULES:

1. Object can also follow the Predicate.
2. Benefactive/Goal can also precede the Object.

Examples:

- 28) O:NP                      Pr:TVP  
marluk                      pa-ngarru-thut-nu-nintha  
*didgeridoo he-we(excl.)-take down-t.-we(du.m.)*  
*'He'll bring the didgeridoo down to/for us two men.'*
- 29) O:Poss. NP                      Pr:TVP  
nanthi                      yi                      ngay                      mere                      wudi-nga-ngkarl-dha  
NC(thing) dilly bag my                      negative he-me-replace-t.  
da                      ngatha  
yet  
*'He hasn't brought my dilly bag back to/for me yet.'*
- 30) Per:(Time) O:NP                      Pr:TVP  
nakurlnu                      nanthi                      yi                      ma-mpa-ngkale-nu  
*after                      NC(thing) dilly bag I(sg.)-you(sg.)-hang-t.*  
Per: (Loc.)  
ngarra                      thay                      pangu  
*at                      tree over there*  
*'After I'll hang the dilly bag on that tree over there for you.'*

- 31) O:NP Pr:TVP Goal:Goal P.  
 pelpith thudu-nga-we-rduy-nu ngarra ngay  
 head you(sg.)-me-head-turn around-t. to me  
 'You'll turn your head around to me.'
- 32) O:NP Pr:TVP Ben:Poss. Ben. P.  
 piru ma-m-na-watha ngem ngathan ngay nukun  
 bark I(sg.)-t.-him-make aspect brother my belong  
 'I'm making a bark (painting) for my brother.'
- 33) O:Mod. NP Pr:TVP  
 ku ngurimirl ngala nge-m-ge-ku  
 NC(animal etc.) fish(gen.) big I(sg.)-t.-her-catch fish  
 Ben:Poss. Ben. P.  
 kale ngay  
 mother my  
 'I caught a big fish for my mother.'
- 34) S:Poss. NP O:NP Pr:TVP Per:(Time)  
 kale ngay murrinh wuda-n-nga-yith da ngarra  
 mother my story she-t.-me-tell story time at  
 yile ngay-te ba-ngam- $\phi$ -lele ku kananturturt  
 father I-when he-t.-him-bite NC(animal etc.) crocodile  
 'My mother told me a story about the time when my father was  
 bitten by a crocodile.'
- 35) O:NP Pr:TVP Goal:Goal P.  
 thu palyerr nu-ngam-na-ku ngarra ku were  
 NC(weapon) stone he-t.-him-throw at NC(animal etc.) dog  
 'He threw the stone at the dog.'
- 36) PR:TVP O:Dem. NP Goal:Goal P.  
 punu-na-bat-nu thamul pana ngarra ku lawarnka  
 he-him-throw-t. spear that at NC(animal etc.) wallaby  
 'He'll throw that spear at the wallaby.'
- 37) O:NP Pr:TVP  
 thamul punu-nu-bat-nu  
 spear he-ref.-throw-t.  
 'He'll throw the spear at himself.'

## 5. THE TRANSITIVE BENEFACTIVE SOURCE CLAUSE

The Transitive Benefactive Source Clause consists of an obligatory Predicate and Object and optional Subject, Benefactive and Source Tagmemes.

The verb of the Transitive Benefactive Source Clause has obligatory subject, benefactive and source affixation. The subject affixation shows agreement with the Subject Tagmeme, the benefactive affixation shows agreement with the Benefactive Tagmeme and the source affixation shows agreement with the Source Tagmeme.

The benefactive affixation uses the Object B set of affixes, and the source affixation is derived in the same way as for the Transitive Source Clause (Section 3), except that with this clause type the source can only be in the third person singular (he/she) which is manifested by the  $\phi$  affix.

Note: See Appendix for full list of Object A and Object B affixes.

Transitive Benefactive Source verbs consist of such verbs as: to collect, to get, to replace, to get water, to listen, etc. (They are the same set of verbs that occur in the Transitive Source Clause.)

TABLE 7

BI-DIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR TRANSITIVE BENEFACTIVE SOURCE CLAUSE

± Per.	± Subject	+ Object	+Pred.	± Ben.	± Source	± Per.
	Various NP	Various NP	Trans. VP	Ben. P.  Poss. Ben. P.	Source P.  Poss. Source P.	

## PERMUTATION RULES:

1. Object can also follow the Predicate.
2. Source can also precede the Predicate.
3. Source can also precede the Object.
4. Source can also precede the Benefactive.

## Examples:

- 38) Per:(Time) O:Dem. NP Pr:TVP  
 nakurlnu nanthi pana ngani-mpa- $\phi$ -ma-kut-nu  
*after NC(thing) that I(sg.)-you(sg.)-him-source-collect-t.*  
*'After I'll collect those things from him for you.'*
- 39) Per:(Time) O:NP Pr:TVP  
 kunginira ku dumdum ngadi-nge- $\phi$ -ma-kut-tha  
*yesterday NC(animal etc.) egg I(sg.)-her-him-source-collect-t.*  
 Source:Source P. Ben:Ben. P.  
 ngarra nukunu kathu palngun ngay-nu  
*at him from wife my-for*  
*'Yesterday I collected eggs from him for my wife.'*

- 40) O:NP Pr:TVP  
 kardu wakal ma-mpa- $\phi$ -ma-bert-nu  
 NC(human) child I(sg.)-you(sg.)-him-source-get-t.  
 'I'll get the child for you from him.'
- 41) O:NP Pr:TVP  
 nanthi murnu thudu-nga- $\phi$ -ma-ngkarl-nu  
 NC(thing) bone you(sg.)-me-him-source-replace-t.  
 Source:Source P.  
 ku were  
 NC(animal etc.) dog  
 'You'll put the bone back from the dog for me.'
- 42) O:NP Pr:TVP  
 kura patha yi-ngam-ngarra- $\phi$ -ma-marda-wurl  
 NC(water) good he-t.-we(pl.)-him-source-in-get water  
 Source:Source P.  
 ngarra nukunu kathu  
 at him from  
 'He got the fresh water for us from him.'  
 (Lit: 'from in something - belonging to him'.)
- 43) O:NP Pr:TVP Source:Source P.  
 murrinh di-nga- $\phi$ -ma-yepup-nu ngarra John kathu  
 talk you(sg.)-me-him-source-listen-t. to John from  
 'You will listen to John for me.'  
 (Lit: 'the talk from John'.)
- 44) O:NP Pr:TVP  
 nanthi pana ngudu-na- $\phi$ -ma-ngkarl-nu  
 NC(thing) that I(sg.)-him-him-source-replace-t.  
 Source:Source P. Ben:Ben P.  
 ku were Ninit-nu  
 NC(animal etc.) dog Ninit-for  
 'I'll put back that thing from the dog for Ninit.'
- 45) O:NP Pr:TVP  
 kura patha ngi-ngam-nu- $\phi$ -ma-wurl  
 NC(water) good I(sg.)-t.-ref.-him-source-get water  
 'I got the fresh water from him for myself.'

## 6. THE VERBAL STATIVE CLAUSE

This type has been called a Verbal Stative Clause because the verbs which are manifested in the Predicate are mostly verbs of state, e.g. to be hot, to be cold, to be thirsty, etc. Other names given to this

type of clause are Psychological or Impersonal (Tryon:1974).

The Verbal Stative Clause consists of an obligatory Predicate and optional Object and Causative Tagmemes.

The verb of the Verbal Stative Clause has obligatory subject and object affixation. The subject prefix shows agreement with the Subject Tagmeme and the Object affix (which translates into English as Subject) shows agreement with the Object Tagmeme.

The only possible subject prefixation is the third person singular form. The object affixation uses the Object A set of affixes.

The incorporated body part prefixes can couple with the object to form a possessive type object (example 51).

Note: See Appendix for a complete list of Object A affixes and Incorporated body parts.

The Verbal Stative verbs consist of such verbs as: to long for, to have a headache, to be angry, to be hot, to be thirsty, to have a toothache, and to have various tired body parts, etc.

TABLE 8  
BI-DIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR VERBAL STATIVE CLAUSE

± Per.	± Object	+ Pred.	± Caus.	± Per.
	Various NP	Stative VP	Caus. P.  Poss. Caus. P.	

PERMUTATION RULE:

1. Object can also follow the Predicate.

Examples:

- 46) Pr:Stative VP      Caus:Caus. P.  
de-m-ngi-ralal      kura-nu  
it-t.-me-thirsty NC(water)-for  
'I'm thirsty for water.'
- 47) O:NP Pr:Stative VP      Caus:Caus. P.  
ngay da-m-ngi-mardathin kaka ngay-nu  
I it-t.-me-long for uncle my-for  
'I am longing for my uncle.'
- 48) Per:(Time) Pr:Stative VP  
kunginira me-ngi-ngkawurl-dha dini  
yesterday it-me-have headache-t. aspect  
'I had a headache yesterday.'



- 49) Per:(Loc.) Pr:Stative VP  
 ngarra murlun ba-ngi-burr-nu  
*in shade it-me-cool/shade-t.*  
*'I'll sit in the cool/shade.'*
- 50) Pr:Stative VP Per:(Loc.)  
 de-m-ngi-yede dim ngarra tina  
*it-t.-me-sit in the sun aspect in sun*  
*'I'm sitting in the sun.'*
- 51) Pr:Stative VP O:Poss. NP  
 pa-n-ngi-me-rderde me ngay  
*it-t.-me-foot-tire foot my*  
*'My foot is tired.'*
- 52) Caus:Caus. P. Pr:Stative VP  
 work kanhi-ka pa-n-ngi-mardabay  
*work this-(focus) it-t.-me-tire of*  
*'I'm tired of this work.'*

## 7. THE DI-TRANSITIVE CLAUSE

There are two types of Di-Transitive Clauses, both of which are few in number. They have been called here Di-Transitive A Clause and Di-Transitive B Clause. They consist of an obligatory Predicate and Object and optional Subject and Indirect Object.

The verbs of the Di-Transitive A and Di-Transitive B Clauses have obligatory subject and indirect object affixation. The subject affix shows agreement with the Subject Tagmeme and the indirect object affix shows agreement with the Indirect Object Tagmeme.

The indirect object affixation of the Di-Transitive A Clause uses the Object A set of affixes (example 56), and the indirect object affixation of the Di-Transitive B Clause uses the Object B set of affixes (examples 53, 54 and 55).

Note: See Appendix for complete list of Object A and Object B affixes.

Di-Transitive A verbs consist of such verbs as: to show.

Di-Transitive B verbs consist of such verbs as: to give, to say/tell, etc.

TABLE 9  
BI-DIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR DI-TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

± Per.	± Subject	+ Object	+ Pred.	± Indirect Object	± Per.
	Various NP	Various NP	Di-Trans. VP	Various NP	

## PERMUTATION RULES:

- Object can also follow the Predicate.
- Indirect Object can also precede the Predicate.

## Examples:

- 53) O:NP Pr:Di-Trans. VP  
 murrinh ma-m-nga- $\phi$   
 talk he-t.-me-say  
 'He said (talk) to me.'  
 (Note: The verb root of this verb is  $\phi$ .)
- 54) S:NP O:NP Pr:Di-Trans. VP  
 kardu nugarn ku ngen da-m-na-mut  
 NC(human) man NC(animal etc.) meat he-t.-him-give  
 IO:NP  
 kardu kigay  
 NC(human) teenage boy  
 'The man gave the meat to the teenage boy.'
- 55) IO:NP Pr:Di-Trans. VP O:Poss. NP  
 Lakan nga-m-na-mut marluk ngay  
 Lakan I(sg.)-t.-him-give didgeridoo my  
 'I gave my didgeridoo to Lakan.'
- 56) Pr:Di-Trans. VP O:Dem. NP  
 nga-nhi-ngkarr-nu ku pangkuy pana  
 I(sg.)-you(sg.)-show-t. NC(animal etc.) snake(gen.) that  
 'I'll show you that snake.'
- 57) O:NP Pr:Di-Trans. VP  
 ku thithay nge-m-nu-mut  
 NC(animal etc.) wild honey I(sg.)-t.-ref.-give  
 'I gave the wild honey to myself.'

## 8. THE INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE

The Intransitive Clause consists of an obligatory Predicate and optional Subject Tagmemes.

The verb of the Intransitive Clause has obligatory subject affixation only. The subject affix shows agreement with the Subject Tagmeme.

The subject affixes have not been listed in this paper as there are far too many of them varying with each verb class.

Intransitive verbs consist of such verbs as: to go, to walk, to sit, to lie, to be aloft, to be, etc.

TABLE 10  
BI-DIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE

± Per.	± Subject	+ Pred.	± Per.
	Various NP	Intrans. VP	

## PERMUTATION RULE:

1. Subject can also follow the Predicate.

## Examples:

- 58) S:Co-ord. Poss. Appos. NP

Bape i yile nukunu-ka penintha-ka  
*Bape & father his-(focus) they(du.m.)-(focus)*  
 Pr:IVP Per:(Loc.)  
 na-nintha-dha ngarra darrimun  
*they go-they(du.m.)-t. to beach*  
*'Bape and his father went to the beach.'*

- 59) S:NP Pr:IVP

nekingime thurrini-dha-ngime  
*we(incl.pc.f.) we go(incl.)-t.-we(pc.f.)*  
 Per:(Loc.)  
 ngarra Ngadinithi da  
*to Ngadinithi NC(place)*  
*'We women went to Ngadinithi.'*

- 60) S:Mod. NP Pr:IVP

i wirrirr ngala wurrini-dha  
*and wind big he go-t.*  
*'...and a big wind came.'*

- 61) Per:(Loc.) Pr:IVP  
 kanhi mere pirrangi-dha  
*here negative he stand-t.*  
*'He didn't stand here.'*
- 62) Pr:IVP Per:(Loc.)  
 bere nguna-dha ngini ngarra office ngarra  
*then I go(sg.)-t. aspect to office where*  
 ku pule thatpirr dim-ya  
 NC(*animal, European etc.*) *boss true he sit-(emphasis)*  
*'Then I went to the office where the big boss is.'*
- 63) Pr:IVP  
 mere ngurru- $\emptyset$  da ngatha  
*negative I go(sg.)-t. yet*  
*'I'm not going yet!'*
- 64) S:NP Pr:IVP  
 kardu muthingka yibi-m-pup  
 NC(*human*) *old woman she-t.-die*  
*'The old lady died.'*
- 65) Per:(Loc.) S:NP Pr:IVP  
 kunginira nukunu di-m-e  
*yesterday he he-t.-vomit*  
*'He vomited yesterday.'*
- 66) S:Mod.NP Pr:IVP  
 i ku bamam numi-ka wuda- $\emptyset$ -wal  
 and NC(*animal, European etc.*) *white one-(focus) he-t.-jump*  
 Per.(Instr.)  
 warda kathu tharra nanthi parachute-te  
*then towards fast NC(thing) parachute-with*  
*'...and then one white man jumped out with a parachute.'*
- 67) S:NP Pr:IVP Per:(Time)  
 kardu bere matha ngadi-birlbirl-dha da  
 NC(*human*) *always I(sg.)-wake up-t. NC(time)*  
 thipinhi nhini Friday night-yu  
*night that Friday night-(focus)*  
*'I kept on waking up that night, Friday night.'*
- 68) S:Mod. Appos. NP Pr:IVP  
 nganki kardu mamay da ngatha ngardi-dha  
 we(excl.pc.sb.) NC(*human*) *child yet we are(excl.pc.sb.)-t.*  
*'We were still children.'*

## 9. THE INTRANSITIVE SOURCE CLAUSE

The Intransitive Source Clause is very similar to the Transitive Source Clause (Section 3), but lacks an Object. It consists of an obligatory Predicate and optional Subject and Source Tagmemes.

The verb of the Intransitive Source Clause has obligatory subject and source affixation. The subject affix shows agreement with the Subject Tagmeme and the source affix shows agreement with the Source Tagmeme.

The source affixation is derived by adding the prefix *ma-* to the Object A affixes, as shown in the examples.

Note: See Appendix for a complete list of Object A affixes.

Intransitive Source verbs consist of such verbs as: to run, to jump, to get up, to fall, etc.

TABLE 11  
BI-DIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR INTRANSITIVE SOURCE CLAUSE

± Per.	± Subject	+Pred.	± Source	± Per.
	Various NP	Intrans. VP	Source P.  Poss. Source P.	

## PERMUTATION RULE:

1. Source can also precede the Predicate.

## Examples:

- 69) PR:IVP

ngunu-ngam-nhi-ma-winhat  
I(sg.)-t.-you(sg.)-source-run  
'I ran from you.'

- 70) Pr:IVP

ngudi-nhi-ma-wal-nu  
I(sg.)-you(sg.)-source-jump-t.  
'I'll jump down from you.'

- 71) Per:(Time) Pr:IVP

nakurlnu pe-nganku-ma-wirnturt-nu-nintha  
after he-we(excl.)-source-get up-t.-we(du.m.)  
'He'll get up from us two men later.'

72) Pr:IVP

buy- $\phi$ -ma-bat-nu

I(sg.)-him-source-fall-t.

'I'll fall from him.'

73) Pr:IVP

ngunu-ngam-nu-ma-winhat

I(sg.)-t.-ref.-source-run

'I ran from myself.'

(NOTE: Can also carry the meaning, 'I ran by myself.')

## 10. THE INTRANSITIVE BENEFACTIVE/GOAL CLAUSE

The Intransitive Benefactive/Goal Clause is similar to the Transitive Benefactive/Goal Clause (Section 4), but lacks an object. It consists of an obligatory Predicate and optional Subject and Benefactive or Goal Tagmemes (both cannot occur in the same clause).

The verb of the Intransitive Benefactive/Goal Clause has obligatory subject and optional benefactive/goal affixation. The subject affix shows agreement with the Subject Tagmeme and the benefactive/goal affix shows agreement with the Benefactive or Goal Tagmemes.

The benefactive/goal affixation is normally manifested in the verb when the object is human and is often absent for non-human objects (examples 75, 76 and 77). When it is used it is manifested by the Object B set of affixes.

Note: See Appendix for a complete list of Object B affixes.

Intransitive Benefactive/Goal verbs consist of such verbs as: to go, to descend, to turn around, to look for, to whistle, to call out, to wait for, etc.

TABLE 12

BI-DIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR INTRANSITIVE BENEFACTIVE/GOAL CLAUSE

± Per.	± Subject	+ Pred.	± Ben./Goal	± Per.
	Various NP	Intrans. VP	Ben. P.  Poss. Ben. P. Goal P. Poss. Goal P.	



## 11. SUMMARY

A close study of the clause types described in this paper will reveal a very close relationship between the verb with its affixations and the clause structure.

Table 13 summarises the verbs of this paper and shows clearly the inter-relationships of each clause type between the verb affixations and the clause structures.

## Notes related to Table 13

1. The Clause type numbers listed down the left hand column correspond to the Section numbering throughout the paper.
2. The term 'Oblique Affixes' refers to Object A and Object B affixation. The term 'Oblique Prefixes' refers to Incorporated body parts and the source prefix *ma-*.
3. The cross reference columns show the agreement or relationship between the verbal affixation and the clause structure.
4. The position of the verb root has not been shown within the verb affixation columns, because it is irrelevant to this Table.

## 12. CLAUSE MODES

Although this paper basically deals with the Declarative or Indicative Clauses, this section attempts to explain briefly, with examples, how these Declarative Clauses can be transformed into the following mode types.

1. Imperative
2. Subjunctive
3. WH- Interrogative
4. Yes/No Interrogative

## 12.1. THE IMPERATIVE CLAUSE

This clause only occurs in the future tense, second person. In transforming a Declarative Clause into an Imperative Clause only the Predicate is affected.

The positive future tense suffix *-nu* on the verb, and the negative future tense suffix *-nukun* are replaced by the imperative suffix *-ø*, which then forms an Imperative Clause.

Examples:

- 81) O:Dem. Np                      Pr:TVP  
       mi                      kanhi    thula-th-ø  
       NC(*food*)    this    you(sg.)-eat-imp.  
       '*You eat this food!*'



TABLE 13  
THE RELATIONSHIP OF VERB AFFIXATION AND CLAUSE STRUCTURE

CLAUSE TYPE	VERB AFFIXATION					CLAUSE STRUCTURE
	Subject Affixes	Oblique Affixes	Ob. Affixes cross reference	Oblique Prefixes	Ob. Prefix/Affix cross reference	
2	+ Subject	± Object A	Object	± IBP	Goal/Instrument	± S ± O + P ± Goal/Instrument
3	+ Subject	+ Object A	(+) →	ma-	Source	± S + O + P ± Source
4	+ Subject	+ Object B	Ben./Goal	± IBP	Object	± S + O + P ± Ben./Goal
5	+ Subject	+ Object B	Ben.	+ ø (+) ma-	Source	± S + O + P ± Ben. ± Source
6	+ Subject	+ Object A	(±) →	+ IBP	Object	± O + P ± Causative
7	+ Subject	+ Object A + Object B	Indirect Object			± S + O + P ± IO
8	+ Subject					± S + P
9	+ Subject	+ Object A	(+) →	ma-	Source	± S + P ± Source
10	+ Subject	± Object B	Ben./Goal			± S + P ± Ben./Goal

- 82) O:NP Pr:TVP  
 lithpurr na-nga-yit- $\phi$   
 axe you(sg.)-me-hold-imp.  
 'You hold the axe for me!'
- 83) Pr:IVP Per:(Loc.)  
 thungi-nintha-wuy- $\phi$  ngathparr wangu  
 you(du.m.)-go outside-imp. far way  
 'You two boys go outside and far away!'
- 84) Pr:TVP  
 ne-ni-ma-purl- $\phi$   
 you(sg.)-ref.-hand-wash-imp.  
 'You wash your hands!'

## 12.2. THE SUBJUNCTIVE CLAUSE

This type of clause describes a mode that is a potential fact, translating into English expressions like 'might be..', 'could be..' and 'nearly..'.  
 In transforming a Declarative Clause into a Subjunctive Clause only the Predicate is affected. The Subjunctive future tense uses the suffix -nukun following the verb root, and the past tense uses the suffix -dha.

Examples:

- 85) Per:(Time) Pr:IVP  
 nakurlnu ngurru-nukun  
 after I go(sg.)-subjunc.  
 'I might go later.'
- 86) Pr:IVP  
 ba-na-bat-tha  
 I(sg.)-ref.-fall-subjunc.  
 'I nearly fell.'
- 87) O:Mod. Np Pr:TVP  
 kardu ngala ku-nhi-bat-nukun  
 NC(human) big he-you(sg.)-hit-subjunc.  
 'The big man might hit you.'

## 12.3. WH- INTERROGATIVE CLAUSE

This type of clause asks the questions: who?, where?, when?, what?, what for?, (why?), how?, and how many? (There are two interrogative words for 'what?').

For the WH- Interrogative Clause the interrogative word is normally put at the beginning of the clause, and the suffix clitic -yu attaches itself to the last word of the clause.

- 88) Interr. Pr:IVP S:NP  
 minthire pa-ruy-nu nukunu-yu  
*when he-arrive-t. he-interr.*  
*'When will he arrive?'*
- 89) Interr. Pr:Di-Trans VP  
 ngarra puma-m-ngarru- $\emptyset$ -ngintha  
*what they(pl.)-t.-we(excl.)-say-we(du.f.)*  
 IO:NP  
 ngankungintha-yu  
*we(excl.du.f.)-interr.*  
*'What did they say about us?'*
- 90) Interr. Pr:IVP Per:(Loc.)  
 ngarra-re thurrini-dha kanhi-yu  
*what-means you go(sg.)-t. here-interr.*  
*'How did you come here?'*
- 91) Interr. O:NP Pr:TVP  
 thangukku numa piru ma-m-patha-yu  
*what number bark he-t.-make-interr.*  
*'How many bark (paintings) did he make?'*
- 92) Interr. Pr:IVP  
 ngarra wangu pumpa-n-yu  
*where way they go(pl.)-t.-interr.*  
*'Where are they going?'*
- 93) Interr. Pr:TVP O:NP  
 nangkai yi-nga-wurl kura patha-yu  
*who he-t.-get water NC(water) good-interr.*  
*'Who got the fresh water?'*
- 94) Interr. Pr:IVP Per:(Loc.)  
 thangukku-nu na-n-arri thim kanhi-yu  
*what-for you(sg.)-t.-hide aspect here-interr.*  
*'Why are you hiding here?'*
- 95) Interr. O:NP Pr:TVP  
 thangukku nanthi na-ngan-art-yu  
*what NC(thing) you(sg.)-t.-get-interr.*  
*'What thing did you get?'*

## 12.4. THE YES/NO INTERROGATIVE CLAUSE

This is also an interrogative clause, but one in which only the answer 'yes' or 'no' need be given.

The Yes/No Interrogative Clause also uses the suffix clitic *-yu* which attaches itself to the last word of the clause. Intonation also plays an important role in forming a Yes/No Interrogative Clause. The intonation pattern has a sharp rise and gradual fall.

Examples:

- 96) Per:(Time) Pr:IVP  
 marra tha-ngan-tuy-yu  
 now you(sg.)-t.-arrive-interr.  
*'Did you just arrive?'*
- 97) IO:NP Pr:Di-Trans. VP O:Poss. NP  
 Yunum tha-m-na-mut thamul ngay-yu  
 Yunum you(sg.)-t.-him-give spear my-interr.  
*'Did you give Yunum my spear?'*
- 98) O:NP Pr:TVP  
 ku menti-ka da-m-parl-yu  
 NC(animal etc.) turtle-(focus) he-t.-spear-interr.  
*'Did he spear the turtle?'*

APPENDIX  
INCORPORATED BODY PARTS

Independent Form	Incorporated Form	Meaning
kamarl	ngka	'face/eye'
wulumu	lu	'forehead'
kaddirrak	kardarri	'eyebrow'
the	ye	'ear'
thimu	yi	'nose'
thathpi	dhawi	'mouth/lips'
themen	thanme	'tongue'
dimu	di	'tooth/teeth'
thamurru	dhamurru	'side of face'
pelpith	we	'head'
pemarr	we	'hair'
thamamay	dhamurru	'beard'
thamarl	dhama	'neck'
lamala	mala	'shoulder'
nithi	be	'arm'
mange	ma	'hand'
marda	marda	'belly'
marda yidi	marda	'chest'
pangkin	darri	'back'
ngurru	ngurru	'side'
lumpu	ri	'buttocks'
lawali	bu	'leg'
pingkarl	wingka	'knee'
me	me	'foot/feet'
nginipunh	ø	'body'

	Freeform Pronoun	Meaning	Object A	Object B	
FIRST PERSON  exclusive  inclusive	ngay	sg.	ngi	nga	
	ngankunintha	du. m.	nganku-nintha	ngarru-nintha	
	ngankungintha	du. f.	nganku-ngintha	ngarru-ngintha	
	nganku	du. sb.	nganku	ngarru	
	ngankuneme	pc. m.	nganku-neme	ngarru-neme	
	ngankungime	pc. f.	nganku-ngime	ngarru-ngime	
	nganki	pc. sb. and pl.	ngan	ngarra	
	neki	du.	nhe	nhe	
	nekineme	pc. m.	nhe-neme	nhe-neme	
	nekingime	pc. f.	nhe-ngime	nhe-ngime	
	SECOND PERSON	nhinhi	sg.	nhi	mpa
		nankunintha	du. m.	nanku-nintha	narru-nintha
nankungintha		du. f.	nanku-ngintha	narru-ngintha	
nanku		du. sb.	nanku	narru	
nankuneme		pc. m.	nanku-neme	narru-neme	
nankungime		pc. f.	nanku-ngime	narru-ngime	
nanki		pc. sb. and pl.	nan	narra	
THIRD PERSON	nukunu	sg. m.	∅	na	
	nigunu	sg. f.	∅	nge	
	penintha	du. m.	nku-nintha	rru-nintha	
	peningintha	du. f.	nku-ngintha	rru-ngintha	
	piguna	du. sb.	nku	rru	
	peneme	pc. m.	nku-neme	rru-neme	
	peningime	pc. f.	nku-ngime	rru-ngime	
	pigunu	pc. sb. and pl.	n	rra	
THIRD PERSON	PERFECT TENSE ONLY				
	nukunu	sg. m.	∅	na	
	nigunu	sg. f.	∅	nge	
	penintha	du. m.	punku-nintha	pirru-nintha	
	peningintha	du. f.	punku-ngintha	pirru-ngintha	
	piguna	du. sb.	punku	pirru	
	peneme	pc. m.	punku-neme	pirru-neme	
	peningime	pc. f.	punku-ngime	pirru-ngime	
pigunu	pc. sb. and pl.	pun	pirra		

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