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TEXTS ON THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE AT^YN^YAMAṬAṆA PEOPLE
WITH GRAMMATICAL NOTES

by

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IN MEMORY OF ANDREW COULTHARD

The present volume, the first of a series of similar publications, contains the first publication on the language of the At'n'amaṭaṅa people. All that has been worked out in this and the following volumes, is due to the personal effort of one man, Andrew Coulthard, who was my main informant during my fieldwork in Leigh Creek coalfield from October 1966 to February 1967. The present volume should have become the first homage to A. Coulthard, without whose selfless and most efficient collaboration it never would have come into being. But Andrew Coulthard has passed away: on 12th July 1970 he suddenly died of a heart attack. Thus the publication has become a volume in memory of Andrew Coulthard.

With A. Coulthard not only a very valuable informant, but also a most remarkable Aboriginal personality has left us. I can say that he was the Aboriginal who most impressed me as a human being during a stay of more than two years in the Australian field. He was a man who was mastering, in a remarkable way, the new conditions that Australian Aboriginals face today throughout the continent. Working first as a station hand, later as a plumber at the Electricity Trust of South Australia in Leigh Creek, and, finally, as a gardener for the same enterprise, he had become acquainted with the White Australians' way of life, adjusting better to it than many white "New Australians" have managed to do. Yet he was able to do this without denying either his Aboriginal descent or his status as one of the last fully initiated men of his society. Having worked, at times, as a "black tracker", he most actively manifested his loyalty to white law, yet he was proud of being married "only" according to his tribal law. Able to have a "yarn" with anyone of his E.T.S.A. mates over a drink, he yet refused to accept a personal "drinking licence" while the "Blackfellow's Act" was still in force in South Australia. These things he did as a sound act of solidarity with his people, without ever manifesting an aggressive attitude, or any resentment against white people. Working at the E.T. S.A., he was collaborating in the exploitation of a part of his country which had a special mythological significance for his people, an "open cut" into the heart of the At'n'amaṭaṅa people; and this again he did in a way which was not an act of working for but with the White Man. Yet, on the other side, he succeeded in convincing authorities to remove sacred objects from open display in Museums, an act which showed not

only his keen attachment to his own culture, but also his feeling that collaboration with the White Master did not mean stepping back passively, even if the personal effort might have seemed, at first glance, hopeless. All of Andrew Coulthard's life was a chain of surprising demonstrations of the fact that adaptation to the new situation does not mean a throwing away of tribal culture and that "integration" into the new Australian society is not identical with a meaningless conformism.

I am convinced that Black and White respected Andy not least because of this remarkable capacity to find, by a simple intuition, a way out of the dilemma which seems to exist for so many Aboriginals today, even if some of them still cannot realise it. I have, indeed, not met one white man who did not respect, not to say like, Andy Coulthard. And this is true even for those white people who in general did not like Aboriginals; for them Andy at least was an exception. In this manner Andy has given a concrete meaning to the vague term of "pride", the lack of which amongst the present-day Aboriginals is so often complained about by many white sympathizers. Andy has shown to his people a way out of the difficult situation into which they have slipped. He has done this without any slogans or "agitation", but in the simple but still firm way of his lived example, and he has done it in a better manner than many authors of sympathetic apologies for the Aboriginals - good and less good ones - have managed to do. He has shown that acts are more convincing than words.

I consider it my duty to mention here that Andrew Coulthard, who was sacrificing much of his rare spare time for my investigations, collaborated in such a valuable manner to the realisation of my research project not least because he was guided by the idea that soon the day will come where the AtŋnVamaṭaṅa children can be taught their language at school, just as they are taught English. This conception of his own work, which once more demonstrates Andy's keen look in distinguishing the irreversible from that which can be transformed, is typical for Andy and absolutely in agreement with his well-adjusted life. But it is more than another brilliant manifestation of the remarkable way of thinking of this Aboriginal alphabete; it really was his testament. It is Andrew Coulthard, if anyone, who, through the example of his own life, could convince the authorities that this is a most positive idea which does not imply a cultural contradiction, but rather the possibility of going a step further in mastering the social problems which have grown out of the changed situation.

This series of publications on the Atʼnʼamaṭaṅa language, of which the present volume is the first, is based on the material offered by Andrew Coulthard. I wholeheartedly wish that it be taken as a contribution towards an insight into an aspect of the Atʼnʼamaṭaṅa culture, and that it may be useful to Andrew Coulthard's people in the way he conceived it. It is with this intention that I have consecrated the publication to the memory of Andrew Coulthard.

Paris, Autumn 1970.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The material published in the present volume was gathered during a field-trip to Leigh Creek Coalfield, South Australia from the end of October 1966 to the end of February 1967; this work was made possible by a grant from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies in Canberra. My thanks are due, especially, to Dr A. Capell, Sydney, and to Professor S.A. Wurm, Canberra, whose active support in my field projects has helped me to avoid many difficulties as a new-comer to the Australian field. I also wish to express my thanks to Dr G.C. Gregory at Leigh Creek who rendered me invaluable assistance in contacting Aboriginal informants and who gave many concrete suggestions as to the material to be collected. In countless personal discussions which he accorded me despite his formidable task as the sole doctor in a vast area of South Australia, he also gave me many insights into the culture which has survived in that area in spite of the contrary appearances to the careless observer. These frequent and sometimes quite long sessions would, however, have been materially impossible without Mrs Gregory's kindness. My thanks also go to Mr Clement, who at the time was the director of the Leigh Creek Branch of the Electricity Trust of South Australia; he offered me help whenever I needed it, whether it concerned material needs or A. Coulthard who, at the time, was working for the Trust. After all, without Mr Clement's efficient help I could not have done much work in Leigh Creek which, for eight months, had become my field base.

I finally wish to thank a whole army of Aboriginal and white friends who have made my stay in Leigh Creek and its surroundings so comfortable and pleasant, and who have allowed me to carry out the research project. The present paper represents some of the results which I was able to obtain, thanks to the goodwill and kind help of the whole population of the area around Leigh Creek.

FOREWORD

In the present paper is published some of the recorded material which helped to form the basis of my earlier paper on the Atv̄n̄v̄amaṭaṭa pronominal system. The material presented in the thirteen texts selected, certainly of interest to the anthropologists, has some importance for the linguists, as it is the first text material published in a language of the Yuṛa group.¹ The manner in which I have chosen to present the material has, however, been determined by still another idea: the lack of any information on the language of the Atv̄n̄v̄amaṭaṭa people in itself may justify the lengthy treatment of the text material in comments and the compilation of reference lists, but the main reason for this form of publication is that it also is intended for students of linguistics. This means that this paper is conceived as a collection of exercise texts which can be used in linguistic classes - Australian or not.

It was my aim to render this publication useful to the student mainly in the following respects:

1. The student can go back to the "second-hand raw material" which is the recorded text and not just the written interpretation offered by a linguist. This allows the student to come as close to the field reality as, say, the student of Assyriology can come when studying his texts from photographs of the original tablets and not simply from the transliterations offered in many publications. Thus the student who will work on the texts presented here can start with his own transcription of the recorded material and then compare it with the interpretation proposed in the written text; this allows him to check his own transcription as well as to verify mine. He also can find out the rules for the phonetic realizations of the phonemes: he can determine the allophonic variations of a given phoneme. Similarly he could establish grammatical rules, some of which are sketched out in the first chapter.
2. The content of the texts chosen for this publication is particularly suited to show that anthropological and linguistic information are equally necessary for the adequate treatment of first hand material.² The texts deal with specific subjects, revealing a cultural background very different from our own, and they illustrate the problem of evaluating the relationship between syntax and semantics - which plays an important role in linguistic theory as developed in more recent years.

3. Furthermore this paper offers to the student the possibility of becoming used to the handling of such working instruments as, for instance, a concordance, the compilation of which should rapidly become a common-place practice in linguistic publications.

4. Finally, I have tried to show clearly to the student how futile it would be to imagine that a language, even if described in "rigorous" terms in a grammar by a research worker who had the opportunity to work a few months on it, is as well known as the big literary languages which are documented by thousands of lengthy texts and treated by many specialists. One of the main reasons why "primitive" languages are still widely considered to be "poor" languages is certainly the unevenness of knowledge and documentation about them. I have, therefore, mainly tried to show to what degree we are ignorant of the properties of the structure of the language of our texts and to what degree we are just working by trial and error rather than by a real understanding of the syntactic mechanisms and the semantic relations of the linguistic system considered. This means that the questions which one has to ask in the particular contexts appearing in this paper automatically offer a certain practical introduction to some of the principles governing the so-called "discovery procedures" in the field. I can only hope that this aim has been fulfilled to a certain degree, but I know that many questions still remain to be asked, and that many further refinements could be introduced.

In view of this aim the following general plan has been adopted in the present publication:

1. The first chapter discusses the general features of the language of the texts; it will inform the reader about the main grammatical constants of the Atv̄n̄vamaṭṭaṇa language. At the end of that chapter there is added a reference list of all the examples given for illustrating the grammatical explanations. All these examples are drawn from the texts.
2. The second chapter gives a transcription of the texts with interlinear translations which are as literal as possible, in order to facilitate the understanding of the syntactic phenomena. The words in the first text have been maximally analysed³ in order to introduce the reader to the morphological structure of the language. The texts, presented in this manner, are followed by a free translation into English.
3. The third chapter contains a linguistic commentary on the texts. In this commentary interest is focused on syntactic problems and on their semantic relationships. It is here that ambiguities and constructional particularities are discussed. Particular occurrences of

single morphemes are sometimes discussed, but the reader needs to consult the glossary for more detail on lexical items, and the general grammatical notes for details on the morphology. This joint use of detailed commentary and glossary involves many "discovery" problems. The use of the grammatical notes should normally enable the reader to follow up my own interpretation, as given in the free translation. The use of the concordance, finally, allows him to verify my interpretation and might induce him to meditate on other possible solutions.

4. The fourth chapter offers a non-linguistic commentary, which incorporates field notes on the texts and makes reference where necessary to my earlier paper.⁴ Anthropologists interested in the chapter can take a "short cut" by consulting first this commentary together with the free translation at the end of the second chapter. For the linguist it illustrates the complex semantic problems posed by the texts.

5. In the fifth chapter the reader finds an alphabetical list of all the morphemes occurring in the texts. This section serves, at the same time, as a glossary and a concordance. Each morpheme is numbered, so that reference is facilitated. Finally, an index of grammatical terms is added, mainly with reference to chapters I and III. In that index no items of the language are listed, that is to say it is neither a repetition of a part of the glossary, nor an English-Atʼnʼyamaṭṭaṭa vocabulary.

The normal way of reading this work is, then, to pass from the text to the glossary, which gives details of the morphemes occurring in a given sentence. This allows the reader to check the interlinear translation. After having understood the syntax of the sentence with the help of the grammatical notes in chapter I and of the linguistic commentary in chapter III, one can then return to the glossary or to other parts and follow up my own own interpretation in the free English translation, which reflects my understanding of the text as explained in the non-linguistic commentary. The reader will, finally, be able to evaluate this interpretation by comparing other possible interpretations with the help of the concordance. This will help him to widen his knowledge by understanding the combinatorial possibilities of the various morphemes. Other approaches are possible, and I have mentioned that the anthropologist might prefer a short cut by relying in the first place on the translation and non-linguistic commentary.

NOTES ON TRANSCRIPTION

Transcription is phonemic. The use of square brackets and of slant-lines respectively for distinguishing between phonemic transcription and phonetic rendering is, therefore, not necessary. The main allophones of a given phoneme can be determined by comparing the recorded texts with the transcriptions.

p	bilabial stop	m	bilabial nasal
t̪	interdental stop	ŋ	interdental nasal
tʲ	alveopalatal stop	nʲ	alveopalatal nasal
t	alveolar stop	n	alveolar nasal
ʈ	retroflex stop	ŋ̠	retroflex nasal
k	velar stop	ŋ	velar nasal
ɖ	interdental voiced stop	l̪	interdental lateral
v	labiodental fricative	lʲ	alveopalatal lateral
ɖ	retroflex flap	l	alveolar lateral
ɽ	retroflex glide	l̪	retroflex lateral
r	alveolar flap	i	high front vowel (unrounded)
ʀ	alveolar trill	u	high back vowel (rounded)
w	bilabial glide	a	low short vowel
y	alveopalatal glide	ā	low long vowel

(It will be noted that this method of transcription differs slightly from that used in my earlier paper.)

Stops, represented by the symbols for voiceless stops, are more or less clearly voiced when they occur in contact with nasals and before laterals, but generally devoiced after laterals. The voiced interdental stop ɖ only occurs in the word iɖi *finch*. Diacritics in homorganic combinations are freely used, hence I write, Atʲnʲamaɽaŋa and not Atnʲamaɽaŋa.

Vowels (especially a) may be omitted in rapid speech, centralised or, in some positions, followed or replaced by a glottal stop. Such vowels are systematically restored, without the use of square brackets. The glottal stop is never written (except in əʔə *no*).

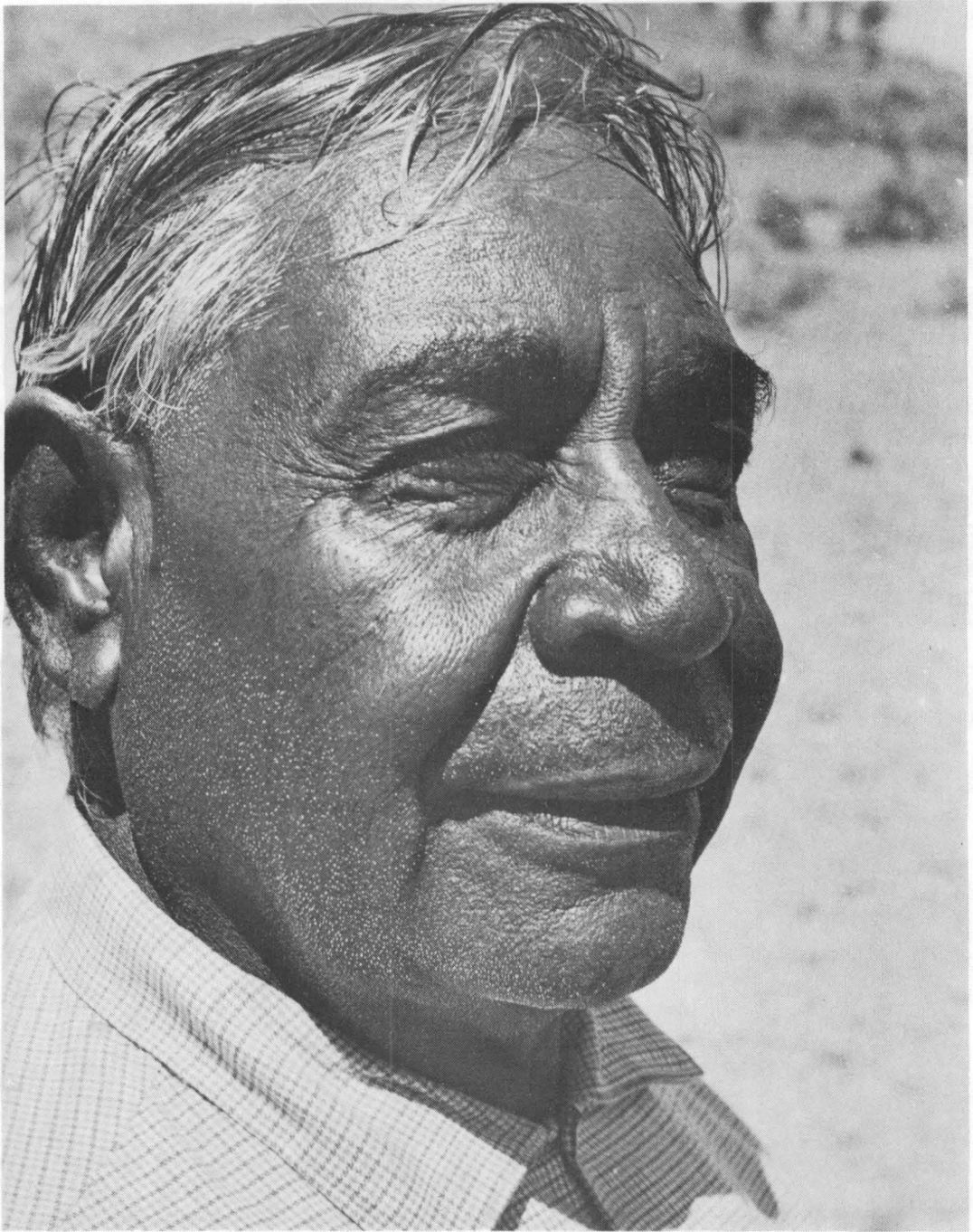
Stress usually falls on the first syllable of a group of morphemes joining together and forming what can conveniently be called a "word" in Atʲnʲamaɽaŋa. Stress is not marked, neither is secondary stress, which tends to fall on the penultimate syllable of a word.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED

- G refers to chapter I (grammatical notes); the letters and numbers used for the various sections of this chapter are indicated. (Thus, G:7a) iii) refers to the chapter I, section 7, part a), point III.) Normally the page number is added.
- I:1 a Roman number, followed by an Arabic number refers to the texts (chapter II) and the interlinear translation. The Roman number refers to the number of the text, the Arabic number to the sentence. The page number is normally not indicated.
- L refers to the linguistic commentary (chapter III), giving the reference in the same manner as is done for reference to the texts. (Thus, L. I:1 refers to the note in the linguistic commentary which deals with sentence 1 of text I (while I:1 refers to the text itself.) The page number is normally added.
- N refers to the non-linguistic commentary. Roman numbers refer to the text, and Arabic numbers refer to the paragraph, not to the sentence. (Thus, N. I:1 refers to paragraph 1 of text I in the non-linguistic commentary, which does not necessarily deal with sentence 1 of text I.)
- C refers to the glossary and concordance (chapter V). The number refers to the reference number of a given morpheme (thus, C:1 refers to the morpheme Ø).
- p. means "page".
- [] indicate restored⁵ forms or morphemes.
- () indicate the elimination of forms or morphemes.
- * indicates reconstructed⁵ forms of morphemes (i.e. the asterisk is used in the same manner as by the traditionalists).
- ° marks forms or morphemes which do not occur in the language and about whose existence at an older stage nothing can be assumed (that is, it corresponds to the transformationists' use of the asterisk).
- + marks a form which does occur in the language, but which does not occur in the texts published here.

Special symbols or abbreviations employed only in a given chapter are listed after the separate introduction to the chapter. These special uses are never at variance with the above list. Ambiguities

can hardly occur, e.g. C. in the interlinear translation obviously does not refer to the glossary, but means "comitative". The list of particular abbreviations at the beginning of chapter II is long, but in the first chapter, the abbreviations used in the interlinear translation are indicated in the discussion of the morphemes.



ANDREW COULTHARD

EDITORS' NOTE

The editors of *Pacific Linguistics* are greatly indebted to Mrs Luise A. Hercus, Reader in the Department of South Asian and Buddhist Studies in the School of General Studies of the Australian National University, for the invaluable help which she has rendered them in connection with the manuscripts on Adnjamathanha (Atv̄n̄v̄amaṭṭaṇa) submitted by B. Schebeck to *Pacific Linguistics* for publication. These manuscripts required very extensive editing involving a large amount of work, and Mrs Hercus whose expertise in Australian linguistics in general and in the field of studies involving Adnjamathanha in particular is of a very high order, very kindly consented to undertake the laborious task of casting B. Schebeck's manuscripts into publishable form. The editors hereby wish to express their gratitude to Mrs L. Hercus for her work which made the publication of these valuable manuscripts possible.

The Editors.

CHAPTER I

GRAMMATICAL NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE TEXTS

0. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter are enumerated the most important features of the language which can be regarded as the essential grammatical constants found in the texts. I have aimed here mainly at a systematic listing of the main grammatical morphemes and of their most important syntactic properties, without attempting a fuller description of the language and without going into any depth. This means that no theoretical framework is built on the basis of these comments and explanations, and in this sense I do not offer a grammar of the language. It is for this reason that the terminology employed here, rather than being clearly defined, draws in the first place on the common stock of terms which are usually called "traditional", and the same holds true for the subdivision of this chapter into its six parts. The aim of these pages is to familiarise the reader with the main characteristics of the language which are important for an appropriate understanding of what will follow. These grammatical notes refer only to the language of the texts and all examples given are drawn from the texts.⁶ As the full reference is given after each example, the reader can easily compare these examples with the interpretation that is given in context. Each example is preceded by a number for easy reference. The translation added after each example usually represents a compromise between the interlinear and the free translation.

At the end of this chapter there is a list of all examples used for illustration. The examples are listed according to text and sentence number, then follows the page and then the reference number given to the example.

1. THE NOUN

For convenience I describe under the heading "noun" what is called in the traditional terminology the "substantive", the "adjective" and the "pronoun". In spite of morphological peculiarities of the pronouns in particular, this traditional use of the term "noun" is partly justified: the behaviour as well as the morphology of these three classes of words is largely identical. Although it does not seem fully justified to assume a clear cut difference between substantive and adjective in Atʻnʻamaṭaṇa (pp.61-62), this "classical" subdivision is adopted here; under the heading "adjective" what is commonly called "comparison" is mainly dealt with. It would lead too far here to discuss in more detail the problems involved in this or any other decision on the matter.

A. THE SUBSTANTIVE

The following table lists the nominal suffixes found in the texts:

∅	-ḡari
-lu	-ḡuḡi
-ḡa	-ya
-ḡa	-li
-ru	

a) Although this is not necessary, I have provisionally set up a zero morpheme for the noun form which is identical with what can be called the "stem". The absence of noun suffix has never been indicated in the interlinear translation.

The main functions of the suffix ∅ are as follows:

1) Subject of an intransitive verb or in a nominal sentence:

(1) vapapa atni ikanʻtʻu-aḡu
[the] vapapa too would sit/be (I:17)

(2) vanʻtʻuḡu vapi, ḡatʻu ḡua!i
her vapi [is] my ḡua!i (I:44)

ii) The object of a transitive verb. There is no formal distinction between the "direct" and the "indirect" object of a verb in Atʻnʻamaṭaṇa:

(3) yuḡaṇa yakati mitʻamaḡkata
[the] Yuḡa[s] used to name [their] child[ren] (XIII:1)

(4) vapapa ḡatʻu nuḡku-aḡu
I will give [to] my vapapa (III:15)

iii) The nominal predicate:

- (5) van^yt^yu^ru vapi, nat^yu ŋua^li
her father [is] my ŋua^li (I:44)

b) The suffix -lu, which indicates the agent of a transitive verb, combines with proper nouns, but only with certain "common nouns" and pronouns, amongst the most frequent of which are the plural marker ma^ʒa mob (and the pronominal suffix -pila both). This suffix is marked by A.=2 (= agentive 2) in the interlinear translation:

- (6) ut^yu ma^ʒalu ŋapa^la ya^ly^tYakuwa
others call her ŋapa^la (I:12)
- (7) aⁿapilalu valka^ʃa maⁿun^yt^yu-aⁿu
those-two would wear [the] lime-cap (VIII:17)

c) The great majority of nouns take the suffix -ŋa to mark the agentive, and all nouns can take this suffix in its other main functions which are the following:

1) Agent of a transitive verb. This is marked by A. in the interlinear translation:

- (8) yu^raⁿa yakati mit^yamaⁿkata
[the] Yu^ra[s] used to name [their] child[ren] (XIII:1)

ii) Instrument of a transitive verb or of an intransitive verb. This is marked by I. in the interlinear translation:

- (9) valuku wi^ʃi-mut^yat^yaⁿa mat^yiri wapatla vaⁿaⁿa nuⁿkuku
but he [hit] (lit. gave) him [on the] head with [his] club (XI:25)
- (10) mukuⁿa atni nantaⁿu^rinta yaⁿṭu^ri-aⁿkatna
they were living, boning each other also with [the] bone (X:22)

iii) Locative with stative verbs as well as with verbs of movement. the choice between the suffixes -ŋa and -ṛu may sometimes appear difficult. This function is marked by L. in the interlinear translation:

- (11) yu^ra wipma^la yaⁿṭaⁿa ika-aⁿku waru
in the olden days [the] Yu^ra[s] sat on [the] court-ground (I:2)
- (12) ya^ʃa-aⁿkuwa apana at^yn^yaⁿa
he had perhaps fallen on [a] stone (IX:14)

iv) Comitative. This is rare. It is marked by C. in the inter-linear translation:

- (13) *ḡatʷu aṡunaḡa aṡu vapina ... ḡatʷu aṡuna ikanta*
[the] girls [who are] with my wife [are] my aṡuna[s] (I:55)

v) Temporal. This is also marked by L. in the interlinear translation:

- (14) *ḡatʷu ḡamaḡa ḡuka-aḡkata Ankuṡitʷiḡaṡu, waru, ḡai yakatiḡa*
my uncle went to Angoorichina, a long time ago, when I [was a]
child (XI:2)

vi) In one case I have suggested that the suffix can be rendered by *in what concerns* in English. This is also marked by L. in the inter-linear translation:

- (15) *muḡṡa atni ika-aḡkata yunʷtʷuru ḡukaḡṡaḡaḡa*
[he] was (sitting) also muḡṡa in what concerns [the] going in front
of [him] ('nose') (VII:11; cf. N: VII:11)

d) The functions of the suffix *-ḡa* are doubtlessly the most difficult to define. It can occur with nouns, but not with verbs; but it is found with particles. The various occurrences of this suffix make one hesitate whether there is in fact only one suffix *-ḡa*. Furthermore, it is not always established with certainty that the nasal is interdental. It is, therefore, possible, that one will have to differentiate, for instance, between a noun suffix *-ḡa* and a "stylistic" suffix *-na*. This seems more probable to me, than to expect that one would have to differentiate between two suffixes with the same nasal (both *-ḡa*). However, I do not believe that it is reasonable to go further and to suggest a tripartition into a noun suffix *-ḡa* on the one hand and, on the other, two "stylistic" suffixes, one being *-ḡa* and the other being *-na*. However, I have always marked an interdental nasal and I shall list the most important functions of *-ḡa-* as if it were only one single suffix. *-ḡa* is only repeated as such in the interlinear translation.

The main functions of this suffix are as follows:

1) It can be added to the subject of an intransitive verb as well as to the subject of a nominal sentence:

- (16) *maṡaṡi aṡaṡu miṡuḡa wayalinʷtʷu itla-aḡu*
[the] Maṡaṡi- and Aṡaṡu-men would turn around (X:10)

(17) witnāpaṅa maṅaṅa wantu
[for the] little [one]s [it is] alright (VII:15) cf. versus

(18) wantu itla ṅami
[it is] alright [for the] mother (VII:35)

ii) It can be added to the object of a transitive verb:

(19) ṅatʷu ṅamiṅa ṅanʷa-aṅkatna
they called my mother 'wife' (I:60) versus

(20) viḷali anʷtʷi-aṅkalu
he had younger sibling[s] (I:58)

iii) It can be added to a nominal predicate:

(21) aṭu vapina, yatna maṅaṅa watʷa
[the] women [are] yatna maṅaṅa of course (II:6) but -

(22) miṛu vapina itia, yatna maṅa watʷa
[the] men [are] yatna maṅa of course (II:6)

iv) This suffix seems to combine only rarely with the other "case" suffixes of the noun. There is one example which could be analysed as containing the agentive suffix followed by -ṅa:

(23) ṭa viḷali itla anʷtʷikatna, uʷuṅaṅa
and they had younger siblings, all [of them?] (I:28)

But it is possible to interpret this example in another manner, (see L., p.131).

There is also one example where the suffix -ṅa is added to the suffix -ṛu:

(24) ṅaḷa utʷnʷu uṅiṛaṅkatna atiṛuṅa
very bad they fought, for blood (IX:20)

Andrew Coulthard translated in this last example *atiṛuṅa* for *plenty of blood* as opposed to *atiṛu* (*just*) for *blood*. This use of the suffix -ṅa is reminiscent of the plural marker -*nna* in the Adelaide language.

v) -ṅa sometimes resembles an adjectivising suffix, and sometimes a substantivising suffix. These cases are not very well illustrated in the texts, cf. also p.12, but note the following example:

(25) aṛaṭuṅa apana uṛa-uṛa
perhaps after an Aṛaṭu [*sc.* one?] (X:15)

vi) The suffix *-ḡa* can combine with an adjective which determines a noun:

(26) ḡaḷa-akaḡa ḡawaḷa waḷuḡuḡi-aḡkatna
they spoke to each other big words (I:2) cf. versus

(27) ḡaḷa-aka ḡaḡu ḡulan^{vi}ḡa yuaku
a big crowd was standing in the ḡulan^{vi} (IX:2)

vii) The use of the suffix *-ḡa* is practically the rule with place names and proper names. The name *At^{vn}amaḡaḡa* itself can be taken as an example.

Note: The suffix *-ḡa* can appear several times in the same sentence, and there are even cases where it occurs twice in the same word, and *-ḡa* is added to *-ḡa*, e.g.,

(28) u^ḡuḡaḡa van^ty^uḡu v^ap^ap^a v^apⁱn^aḡa maḡaḡa
all [of them are] her v^ap^ap^as (I:21)

This example is discussed in more detail in L., p.131.

This suffix does not seem to occur equally often with all morphemes. Thus, the plural marker *maḡa* is frequently found with this suffix, while the form *v^apⁱn^aḡa* is found only once (see (28)). The same holds true, for instance, for the kinship terms: *aḡuna* is never found with this suffix, neither is *aḡu woman*. It is not clear if this can be ascribed to the tendency to avoid a confusion between *aḡuna wife* and ⁺*aḡuḡa woman*, but such an explanation seems implausible.

The only clearly definable grammatical function of the suffix *-ḡa* is with certain pronouns (see pp.10-1).

e) The suffix *-ḡu* corresponds to some extent to the Indo-European genitive-dative. It has been rendered by *of* or *to* respectively in the interlinear translation. Its main functions are the following:

1) It indicates possession. This is rendered by *of* in the interlinear translation:

(29) aḡa ḡat^{yu} ḡamaḡaḡu yakati v^apⁱn^a ḡat^{yu} aḡuna
(that) my uncle's children [are] my aḡuna[s] (I:47)

ii) The suffix also occurs with an "allative" value, and differs from the suffix *-ḡari* in that the aim is expected to be reached when *-ḡu* is employed:

- (30) *nat^{yu} namaṅa nuka-aṅkata Ankuḥit^{vi}ṅaṅaṅu*
my uncle went to Angoorichina (XI:2)

Notice that also the suffix *-ṅa* can be used with verbs of movement (see example (12)).

iii) In one text the suffix has a temporal value. The difference to the temporal value of the suffix *-ṅa* (see example (14)) seems to be that the temporal value of *-ṅu* implies duration (in the imperfective sense, hence *-ṅa* receives in our eyes a "past" connotation). This is also marked by *to* in the interlinear translation:

- (31) *upmaṅaka viṅaṅu atni an^{vt}vi-aṅkatatna*
also during one month [only] they kept [it] (VIII:23)

iv) In one text the suffix has been explained by Andrew Coulthard as having a causal value. This is also translated by *of* in the interlinear translation:

- (32) *ati wit^{vi}-wit^{vi}inikuwa minkaṅuṅa*
blood [was] run[ning] out [of] hi[m] because of [the] sore[s] (IX:15)

v) This suffix also indicates purpose, and has then been rendered by *for* in the interlinear translation:

- (33) *ṅaḷa ut^{vn}ṅu uṅiṅaṅkatna atiṅuṅa*
very bad they fought, for blood (IX:20)

Note: The possessive is not used with parts of the body:

- (34) *awi-uḥanali mat^{vi} wiḷḷiku vaṅa wapatlaṅa*
like thunder, I believe, [it] went off on [his] (lit. he) head
 (XI:26)

f) The suffix *-ḷari* indicates direction towards:

- (35) *vaṅa iḷiḷiḷari nukan^{vt}vatna-aṅu*
they would go towards (= facing) [his] (lit. he) back (VII:29)

g) The suffix *-ṅuṅi* is rendered by *from* in the interlinear translation. It has the following functions:

1) Local, indicating the provenance or origin:

- (36) *wagaṅuṅi yana-aṅku watnālanpi*
where do you-two come from? (I:96)

ii) It can also have temporal value (*after*):

- (37) *ṅaḷpuḷa aṅaṅuṅi nukaku*
after that we went [on] (I:69)

iii) -ḡuḡi can have a causal value. The difference from the causal value of the suffix -ḡu (see example (32)) is not very clear:

- (38) ḡaḡaḡi va|pakanta apana wayalinʸtʸu itla-aḡu vaḡa utʸu
being perhaps ashamed because of/over that, he would turn around
 (V:14)

h) The suffix -ya is rare in our texts. It has a vocative function. In the interlinear translation it has been marked by V.:

- (39) naku,... wantu waḡkaḡiḡa, vulkaya
yes, you speak alright, old man! (IV:14)

i) The suffix -li is not a noun suffix of the same kind as the others; it can combine with all the other suffixes. It means *like, as*, and is marked by *like* in the interlinear translation:

- (40) wilka yatliili witni-aḡkiḡa
like [a] dog-male you went around (V:12)
- (41) ikamananʸtʸuwa-aḡu ḡuḡaḡali
he would come over and sit down like over there (VII:13)

Note: Other relations can be expressed by means of particles, which are described below (pp.35-47).

The dual and plural numbers can be expressed in the noun by the following suffixes or words:

a) The dual can be expressed by adding the suffix -(l)pila. This is translated by *both* in the interlinear translation:

- (42) yanḡaripila ḡaḡtu ikanta watnāpa
you-two are two strong blokes! (V:19)

b) There are several plural markers; the exact difference between them is unknown.

1) maḡa(ḡa) is translated by *mob(-ḡa)* in the interlinear translation:

- (43) ḡamiḡa maḡa valanmunka
the ḡamis [are] 'valanmunka' (II:3)

ii) vapina is translated by *lot* in the interlinear translation:

- (44) aḡu vapina, yatna maḡaḡa watʸa
the women [are] 'yatna maḡaḡa', of course (II:6)

iii) munka(ḡa) is translated by *crowd(-ḡa)* in the interlinear translation:

(45) ḡurantalū vanʸtʸuḡu yakāḡa munkā
he throws at his elder sisters (V:16)

iv) ḡaḡu is translated by *set* in the interlinear translation:

(46) ḡaḡa-aka ḡaḡu ḡulanʸiḡa yuaku
a big crowd was standing in the ḡulanʸi (IX:2)

v) atīḡi only occurred together with vulka *old (man)*. It has been translated by *group* in the interlinear translation:

(47) waḡuḡunʸtʸuwa-aḡu vulka atīḡiḡa
[the] old people said to him (III:16)

vi) Some nouns have a special plural form, but the regular plural can also be formed. It is not known whether this implies difference in meaning. Such plurals are miāḡitʸi *men*, the plural of miḡu *man*; and aḡunʸi *women*, the plural of aḡu *woman*. For examples see the glossary.

Note: Singular nouns are sometimes construed collectively:

(48) yuḡa ika-aḡkata waru, nuḡkuḡuḡiḡkatna aḡuna
in the olden days [the] Yuḡa[s] exchanged wife[s] (I:1)

Atʸnʸamaḡaḡa does not have grammatical distinction of gender. With humans miḡu *man* and aḡu *woman* can be added when necessary. With animals yatli *male* and ḡami *female (mother)* are used:

(49) aḡuna yalʸtʸatʸatnawa-aḡu vanʸtʸuḡu viḡali vapinaḡa, miḡu vapinaḡa
his younger brothers would call her 'aḡuna' (I:11)

(50) ḡatʸu vapalu vapinaḡa, aḡu vapinaḡa, ḡalka naku-aḡku yuḡa apana
witniku
my daughter(s), for instance, might have loved [a] boy (I:114)

(51) wilka yatliḡi witni-aḡkiḡa
like [a] dog-male you went around (V:12)

In rare instances, however, there are feminine nouns which look like old derivatives from the corresponding masculine form. Such a form is vulkuḡa *old woman* which is derived from vulka *old man*.

B. THE ADJECTIVE

The nouns functioning as adjectives need special mention only with regard to comparison.

i) The comparative is marked by the suffix *-li* (see p.8), rendered by *like* in the interlinear translation:

(52) ama-amanʸili ... ɢaʃaɢuɢuntuwa
you should have hit him lighter! (XI:31)

ii) There is no superlative in the proper sense but, rather, what has been called the "elative". However, various gradations can be introduced. This is done by means of "adverbs", discussed in the chapter on the particles, (see pp.35-47):

(53) valanāpa uɢa-inʸtʸu, ɢaʃa utʸnʸu uɢa-inʸtʸu ... vani ɢaʃa utʸnʸu
 uɢa-inʸtʸu valānapa-aɢu
*they-two would fight, very bad they would fight..., very very bad
 they would fight* (V:22-3). (On the syntax see p.58-9.)

C. THE PRONOUNS

Three groups of pronouns are distinguished here.

a) The personal pronoun

Only the agentive and the possessive of the singular pronouns of the *yatna*-series need be described here. Other forms have been discussed in my earlier paper.⁴

	nominative	agentive	possessive
1.	ɢai	ɢaʃu	ɢatʸu
2.	niga	nuntu	nuɢku
3.	vaɢa	valu	vanʸtʸuɢu

All the other forms are regular, that is, they are formed by adding the noun suffixes (p.2) to the "nominative" or the "stem" form. This is true also for the other series of pronouns. The pronouns usually have the suffix *-ɢa* in the agentive, and not the suffix *-lu*. The dual and plural pronouns normally do not form an agentive - at least not those of the *yatna*-series, (see however *-pila*, example (7)). But if they function as object in a transitive sentence, they obligatorily add the suffix *-ɢa*. This is the only instance where a clearly definable grammatical function can be attributed to the suffix *-ɢa*.

(54) miɢu vapina ɢaʃpuʃaɢa waʃuɢuɢka-aɢkatna
they said to us boys (I:73)

The suffix *-na* is also added to a pronoun before certain other suffixes:

(55) *aṅa maṭaṅa nimpatʻiṅa itla anʻtʻiṅuṛinʻtʻu-aṅu ṅa|pu|aṅa||*
those had [it with] each other like us (I:126) cf. however

(56) *ṅa|pu|aṛu mura utʻu aṅaṅa*
that [is] our custom (XI:34)

For further comments on the personal pronouns and on my earlier paper, see below, chapter IV.

b) The demonstrative pronoun

The present-day Atʻnʻyamaṭaṅa language possesses three deixes, but remnants of a fourth deixis are found. The three deixes correspond to the three persons of the personal pronoun:

1. *i-*
2. *a-*
3. *ṅu-*

In some residual expressions such as *ṅutlaṅa-valaṅaṅa here and there, everywhere* (cf. VII:2) the old deixis *va-* (probably < **pa-* which I associated with the third person singular of the personal pronoun in my earlier paper, p.4) is still conserved.

The deixis never occurs on its own and it needs at least a "supporting" element, which normally is *-na*. The simplest forms of the demonstrative pronoun are, then, as follows:

1. *iṅa this*
2. *aṅa that*
3. *ṅuṅa that over there*

-na can be replaced by the morpheme *-tla*, which we already encountered above in the expression *ṅutlaṅa-valaṅaṅa here and there, everywhere*; with the deixis *a-* there occurs an allomorph *-la*, but the form ⁺*ala* is very rare. The suffix *-tla/la* is a member of a larger set which I propose to call "modifying" elements. Not all modifying elements replace the supporting *-na*. The morpheme *-tla* conveys the idea of lack of precision; it also can imply that the hearer is presumed to have some knowledge of the place referred to (e.g. ⁺*ṅutla over there somewhere, over there you know*). The form *itla* occurs very frequently and functions normally as a "stylistic" particle (see pp.38-9).

The nominal suffixes are added to the supporting or to the modifying element. In our texts there occurs one suffix which is peculiar to the demonstrative and a few other pronouns: this is the suffix *-nti* which indicates the "allative"; it corresponds to the "allative" value of *-ru* (see example (30)):

- (57) *iḡanti itla yana-aḡkulpila*
they-two came (to) here (VI:5)

The two forms *iḡari* and *aḡari*, translated by Andrew Coulthard as *here you are* and *there you are* respectively (rendered by "voici" and "voilà" respectively in the interlinear translation) are, perhaps, formed by adding the relativising morpheme *-ri* (p.36) to the demonstrative pronoun. It is not always clear why, in a given context, *iḡari/aḡari* is used rather than *iḡa(ḡa)/aḡa(ḡa)*:

- (58) *viḡḡatvi aḡaritvi*
that [is a] viḡḡa (III:23)
- (59) *aḡari wantu*
that [is] alright (XII:21)
- (60) *aḡa vayaḡa utvu*
that [is the] vayaḡa (II:22)

Finally we find in our texts the two forms *invtvi-* and *anvtvi* (I:39 and IV:9) which I provisionally interpret as *+iḡatvi-* and *+aḡatvi*; I interpret the form *aḡatvi* (X:16) as *+aḡaḡatvi*. That is to say, I analyse the forms as the pronominal *iḡa/aḡa(ḡa)* + the "emphatic" suffix *-tvi* (p.36). The exact meaning of *invtvi/anvtvi* is, however, not quite clear. More detailed study might reveal that a suffix *-nvtvi* has to be integrated into the set of modifying elements, mentioned above, and that the provisional explanation of the forms given here has, at best, historical value only.

Note: The suffix *-ḡa* (see pp.4-6) sometimes seems to confer the value of a substantive to a demonstrative pronoun:

- (61) *iḡaḡa watnanpiḡu atla-wiḡḡi*
this [sc. one? is] your-two firestick (III:5)

A demonstrative pronoun and, in particular, *aḡa* that very often occurs in contexts where the exact value is unclear. I have called this usage by the traditional term "expletive":

- (62) aḡa ḡatʷu ḡamaḡaḡu yakati vapina ḡatʷu aḡuna
(that) my uncle's children [are] my aḡuna[s] (I:47)

c) Other pronouns

A few further elements are listed, which are pronominal in meaning, but their exact function has not been sufficiently studied, as some of them are quite rare. It is therefore, not always clear whether such elements can be called "pronouns" in Atʷnʷamaḡaḡa.

a) ḡaḡata- *what?* always has the suffix -ḡa in the "nominative", and the form °ḡaḡata has never been encountered. -ḡa is dropped before some suffixes (e.g. ḡaḡataḡu *what for? why?*), but not before others (e.g. ḡaḡataḡaḡa *in something* (III:31)).

The characteristic element of this pronoun is probably ḡa-.

b) ḡaḡa- *who?* does not occur in our texts, but an element ḡaḡa- is found with a different value:

- (63) maḡaḡi ḡaḡa aḡaḡu ḡaḡa ḡaḡpuḡaḡu atʷnʷani vapina ika-aḡkata ḡaḡa
 maḡaḡa
there were Maḡaḡi- and Aḡaḡu-atʷnʷanis (I:27)

- (64) ḡa viḡali itla anʷtʷikatna, uḡu ḡaḡa
and, all [of them], they had younger siblings (I:28)

- (65) vatna ḡaḡalpila wilka ḡaḡalpila aḡa yuḡa mukuḡa
both, the goanna and the dog are Yuḡa-clans (VI:2)

As the interrogative pronouns can also function as "indefinite" pronouns, it seems quite natural to associate the interrogatives with the element ḡaḡa found in these examples and to consider this as an "interrogative" pronoun with a different value. These examples show that the pronoun has an "anaphorical" value. For a more detailed discussion, see L. I:27,28.

I tentatively propose to identify the interrogative-indefinite element ḡa- with the ḡa- of the first person personal pronoun; the second element -ḡa of the indefinite-interrogative pronoun I would identify with the supporting element of the demonstrative pronoun (p.11). This is a historical hypothesis.

c) waḡa *where?* consists of the interrogative wa- and the supporting element -ḡa. The "allative" is indicated by the same suffix as in the case of the demonstrative pronoun (p.12), namely -nti:

(66) waḡanti ḡukanʸuwatnanʸiwatnanʸi
where are you going? (I:87)

d) ḡami- *how many?* is always followed by the suffix -ḡa. It only occurs once in our texts:

(67) utʸu maḡalu ḡapaḷa yaḷʸtʸakuwa, ḡamiḡaḡa apana itla
others, I do not know how many, call her ḡapaḷa (I:12)

e) utʸu (*an*)other and utʸurapa- (*an*)other (*one*) seem to be adjectival and substantival respectively (cf. example (78)). The second form always suffixes -ḡa and °utʸurapa is not found:

(68) utʸu maḡalu ḡapaḷa yaḷʸtʸakuwa
(the) others call her ḡapaḷa (I:12)

(69) upmaḡaka uḡṭa-aḡkatna, utʸurapaḡa itla uḡṭakatna
after having killed one, they killed another one (X:15)

utʸurapaḡa does not occur in combination with a plural marker. utʸu followed by the suffix -ḡa, can also assume a substantival function. Perhaps it is more correct to consider such a usage elliptical:

(70) utʸuḡa itla
another [one]: (see. another story) (III:1)

f) uʸu *all* has pronominal characteristics, but wapu *all* does not:

(71) ṭa viḷali itla anʸtʸiḷkatna, uʸu ḡaḡa
and they, all of them, have younger siblings (I:28)

(72) valuḡṭaṭu wapu
I include all (VII:38)

g) utla *self* is found in our texts once in combination with a reflexive verb form, and once with a reciprocal verb form:

(73) utla itla ḡuṭaḡkariṭanʸtʸatna-aḡu
they did [it to?] themselves (VIII:35)

(74) yatna utla ḡaʸaḡuṛinʸtʸu-aḡu vapalu vapina
the sons [amongst] themselves would hit each other (IX:7)

h) wata- and aka-, both followed by the suffix -ḡa (pp.4-6), are often inserted between a pronoun or adjective and a substantive. They recall "classifiers": wata- is used when the noun refers to humans and aka- when it does not:

(75) ḡuri wataḡa ḡamaḡa utʸu uru ikaḡtʸu apana-aḡu
a close uncle might think [of him] (III:11)

- (76) nĩpatʸĩḡa utʸu akaḡa ḡaḡu aḡaḡa yuaku nakuḡḡa
*like this another group [sc. of people] was standing there and
 looking (V:24)*

I consider that akaḡa in the last example refers to ḡaḡu which is not a noun denoting human beings, but which refers to people who form a "group".

The two "classifiers" also appear after a pronoun or an adjective, when there is no noun following:

- (77) yana-aḡku iḡa wataḡa
this one has come/arrived (XI:8)
- (78) utʸurapaḡa ḡuḡu iḡa akaḡa
another story [is] this one (VI:1)

This recalls one of the uses of the suffix -ḡa (p.5) it is also parallel to the use of plural markers.

It is not certain whether wata- is related to ⁺wata *very big*, which does not occur in the texts. The morpheme aka- probably is related to ⁺aka *small piece, bit* which does not occur in our texts as an independent noun, but it is found in ḡaḡa-aka *big*.

2. THE VERB

The morphological properties of the verb enable us to define clearly this "part of speech" and to distinguish it from what has, collectively, been called the "noun" (p.2). The "root" of the verb in Atʸnʸamaḡaḡa can never occur on its own (see pp.16, 21-2 and 49-50), but it is always combined with some suffixes which cannot be added to any other grammatical category of the language. There is a minimum of obligatory verb suffixes in the language, but many other suffixes can appear and the order is strictly determined. It is not my aim to discuss here in any detail the "inner syntax" of the verbal complex, but the various suffixes will be described and classified according to the position they take in respect to one another. I only consider the classes of suffixes which are represented in the texts, and normally only the suffixes encountered in the texts are mentioned. This means that the material is incomplete in two respects: on the one hand there are further positional classes of verb suffixes apart from those mentioned here and, on the other hand, a given class can contain suffixes other

than those listed. The classes are enumerated in the order in which they would follow each other in a verb form which contains a member of each class; they are numbered starting from the root. Such a complex verb form is not found in our texts, but there is no reason why it should be considered impossible.

The ideal formula for such a "complete" verb form is the following:

R + I + II + III + IV + V + VI

R means "root", the Roman numbers refer to the suffix classes.

One would assume that the combination of two or more morphemes belonging to the same class is impossible; but special mention of a few odd cases found in our texts will show that this is not a strict rule. It is here that further empirical research is still needed. Unless it is specially mentioned, the presence of a given class is not obligatory.

a) The verb root, always placed before any other suffix, has either a transitive or an intransitive value. Any verb root can, however, be transformed into a verb having the opposite value of the simple root. This is achieved by a special suffix:

b) To class I belong those suffixes which are of great importance for the syntax of the language.

1) These are the intransitiviser $-(r)i$ and the transitiviser $-ŋ(k)u$ respectively. Every verb root can take one of these two suffixes, in function of its original value (transitive or intransitive).

So far no rules have been discovered which govern the presence of the allomorphs $-i$ and $-ri$ of the intransitiviser and of the allomorphs $-ŋu$ and $-ŋku$ of the transitiviser:

(79) $anŋa-in^{\vee}t^{\vee}yuwa-aŋu$

he would rise (VIII:32)

(80) $vin^{\vee}t^{\vee}arin^{\vee}t^{\vee}yu-aŋu \ ŋami-vapi$

[the] parents would ask (I:97)

(81) $ya\check{a}-aŋkuwa \ apana \ at^{\vee}n^{\vee}yaŋa$

he has perhaps fallen on [a] stone (IX:14)

(82) $\ ŋamaŋa \ ŋat^{\vee}yu \ mina-\ŋa|t\grave{i} \ ya\check{a}ŋunta \ mat^{\vee}iri$

making fall [down] my uncle['s] tear[s] I believe (XI:25)

The examples show that the types of differences are not felt to be the same in each case for an English speaking person. Thus $ya\check{a}-$ would be translated as *fall* (example (81)), but $ya\check{a}ŋu-$ (example (82)) as

knocking down or *knocking out*. Example (80), however, shows that an English speaking person does not make much difference between ⁺vin⁺vt⁺va- to ask and vin⁺vt⁺ari- to ask. These suffixes pose one of the most interesting problems of At⁺n⁺vama⁺ɣa⁺ syntax, this cannot be discussed here in any detail. I only remind the reader that the language does not make a difference between a "direct" and an "indirect" object. The suffix -*ŋu* therefore sometimes looks to us as if it called for an "indirect" object. This is seen, for instance, with the verbs of *saying*:

- (83) yapmin⁺vt⁺yalu itla-a⁺ŋu yan⁺ŋari
she would swear [at the] young man (V:10)
- (84) yapmi-ikatna atni itla ut⁺u ma⁺ɣa⁺na mat⁺vi
[the] others were swearing/scolding, I believe (XI:31)

This appears with even greater clarity in the case of the verb *to say*, *to speak*, which also shows a slight morphophonemic change:

- (85) ɣa vapapa nu⁺ŋku itla wa⁺ŋkat⁺yu-a⁺ŋu
and your vapapa would say/speak (I:98)
- (86) ŋat⁺yu vapapa vapina apana wa⁺ŋu⁺ŋa⁺ɣu-a⁺ŋu nimpat⁺vi⁺ŋa
to my vapapas, for instance, I would say/speak the following way (I:99)

The following allomorphic variation can be noted:

The form -i of the intransitiviser is represented by -ɣ(i) with certain verbs, when the suffix -a⁺ŋku (or a⁺ŋkata) is added:

- (87) wlpma⁺ɣa-ya⁺ŋɣa⁺na ya⁺ŋɣu-in⁺vt⁺atna-a⁺ŋu
they would sit (down?) on [the] court-ground (III:18)
- (88) ya⁺ŋɣu⁺ɣi-a⁺ŋkatna
they were (sitting) (X:39)

It is not clear how far this rule can be generalised.

The transitiviser -*ŋu/ŋku* has the allomorph -*ŋuŋka* (i.e., probably ⁺-*ŋuŋku* which is perhaps a reduplication combining the two allomorphs -*ŋu* and -*ŋku*). This allomorph regularly precedes the class V suffixes -a⁺ŋku and -a⁺ŋkata (pp.22-3 and 27-8).

- (89) ɣa yakati⁺ŋa itla ŋami-vapi wa⁺ɣu⁺ŋuku
and [the] child[ren] was/were saying [to the] parents (I:83)

- (90) miṛu vapina ḡa|pu|ḡa wa|uṇṇka-aṅkatna
they said [to] us boys (I:73)

Note: Some verbs are always found with one or the other suffix. This is the case of ḡawiri- *to turn round, to circle* (e.g. VII:12) and of yamakunḡu- *to sneak up* (V:13). The roots °ḡawi- and °yamaku- have not been found in the language.

It would seem - perhaps with the exception of roots of the type just mentioned - that the two suffixes belonging to this class cannot combine in one verb form. A few examples show, however, that this is not a strict rule:

- (91) aṭunʷiḡa mita mankuṭʷuwa-aṅu
[the] women would take him [as] 'mate' (X:24)

- (92) yaṭatʷi mankurinḡu-a|pu|a va|uṭupaga
let us seize them-two now! (VI:21)

The difference in meaning between manku- *seize* and mankurinḡu- *seize* is uncertain; it is, therefore, unknown if these cases are "critical" for the better understanding of the underlying syntactical mechanisms.

Note: Morphemes which have the appearance of "fossilised" suffixes may once have been part of this suffix class. It is also possible that the verbs in question were taken over unanalysed from another language. Such "old suffixes" are probably *-li and *-ku. *-li is found in wayali- *to turn around* (e.g. in V:10), and a root °waya- is not found in the language. *-ku is the most important of these "suffixes" as in yamakunḡu- *to sneak up*; a root °yama- is not found in the present-day language. It is not clear whether naku- *to see, to look* belongs here, nor is there any positive evidence that verbs such as manku- *to seize* or nuṅku- *to give* are part of such a class of verbs, though this is quite possible from the Common Australian point of view.

11) Another set of suffixes can be included as a sub-class in this class I of verb suffixes, which has been defined only in respect to the position of its members relative to the verb root and to other suffixes (pp.15-6). The suffixes of this sub-class are not obligatory, they can be used only with certain roots. They all mark the plural of intransitive verbs. The most common of these suffixes is -ḡi. This may be connected with the allomorph -ri of the intransitiviser, but a link with an old nominal plural marker *-ḡi seems even more probable.⁸ The suffix -a|ḡi has only been found with the verb root witni- *to go around*:

- (93) aʃu yuaku
[the] girl was standing (I:2)
- (94) aḡaḡa wira yuaʃinta
there gum-tree[s] are standing (VI:17)
- (95) yuḡa yanḡari witniku
an Aboriginal young man was (going) around (V:2)
- (96) atluku witni-aḡlku ḡaḡapaḡa
many grown-up girl[s] were (going) around (V:3)

Note: Just as a singular noun can be used collectively, a plural noun does not obligatorily have a plural verb:

- (97) aḡa ḡatʷu viḡali vapina utʷu ḡaḡa maḡaḡa atni, ika-aḡkata, miḡu
aʃu vapina
that [were] my viḡali[s] too, the others, men and women (they were) (I:62)
- (98) yuḡa ḡaḡapaḡa-aḡu yaḡḡu-iku
there were (sitting) many people (XI:4)

iii) The two suffixes -ḡkari and -ḡuḡi can be considered as forming a sub-class of class I of the verb suffixes: they have always been found after the root, and never combine in my material with any other suffix of class I. The suffix -ḡkari expresses the reflexive and -ḡuḡi the reciprocal. The two suffixes are mutually exclusive. Verb forms containing one of these suffixes behave as intransitive verbs:

- (99) nawi-nawinḡarinʷtʷuwa-aḡu
he would/will smear [it over] himself (VIII:32)
- (100) utʷnʷu... uḡḡaḡuḡi-ḡatna
they may kill each other (IX:28)

As we have already seen (examples (73) and (74)) the "reflexive pronoun" *utla self* can be added to verb forms containing one of the two suffixes.

It would appear that both suffixes can be added only to a transitive verb root. However, they can replace the transitivising suffix -ḡ(k)u and thus can be added to an intransitive verb root. This justifies our classing together of the two sub-classes of verb suffixes:

- (101) wata ḡai itla waḡuḡkarinta
but I [am] speaking [about] myself (I:40)

- (102) animpatyi waŋuŋuŋinʔtʔu-aŋu
like that [they] will/would speak [to] each other (I:85)

It is interesting to compare with the reflexive constructions the following example, which is a simple intransitive sentence in Atʔnʔamaŋaŋa, but rendered by what is formally a transitive sentence in English, and by a reflexive, in French or in German:

- (103) yakati apana wita-wita apana wakarl-aŋkuwa
[a] child, for instance, (he) might have broken [his] leg (IX:13)

c) I provisionally set up a special class II for the suffix -ii which expresses *compassion* or *pity*. It has been indicated by *pit.* in the interlinear translation:

- (104) ŋaŋʔu yapa-yapalimanakatnawa
they came over and shook hands [with] hi[m], the poor fellow (XI:20)

(For the suffix °-ia cf. L.XI:20, p.150).

d) The suffixes belonging to class III give local precisions in the verb. The following members of this class are found in the texts:

1) -na which indicates movement towards *ŋa-/ŋai here/me*. It is indicated by *d.* in the interlinear translation:

- (105) valanpila witʔa-aŋku aŋa vaŋiŋa
they-two went up (in) that creek (VI:8)

- (106) valanpila witʔana-aŋku
they-two came up (VI:9)

(Cf. also L.VI:8-9, p.141).

ii) -mana which indicates movement to a place and arrival. It is indicated by *d.=2* in the interlinear translation:

- (107) yuŋa wipma|a-yaŋŋaŋa ika-aŋku waru
[the] Yuŋa[s] sat [down] on [the] court-ground in the olden days (I:2)

- (108) ikamananʔtʔuwa-aŋu ŋuŋaŋali
he would come over and sit [down] like over there (VII:13)

iii) -naŋka indicates a movement *along*. It is indicated by "along" in the interlinear translation:

- (109) ŋa|pu|a aŋaŋuŋi ŋukaku
we went from there [on] (I:69)

(110) η ukanan η kat ν u-a η u
[it] would go along (I:68)

iv) -wa η a indicates that the event happens η u η a- *over there* without movement. It is indicated by loc. in the interlinear translation:

(111) witnin ν t ν uwa-a η u
she would go around (VIII:22)

(112) witnlwa η an ν t ν uwa-a η u
she would go around over there (VIII:9)

Also in this class we find examples where two suffixes combine in the same verb form, but their relative position cannot be stated as yet by clear rules:

(113) ikanawa η an ν t ν uwa-a η u
he will/would come over there and sit [down] (VII:34)

(114) η u η a- η u η awa η an η kat ν atna-a η u
they will/would do [it] along over there (VIII:11)

Note: Example (113) seems to contradict the definition given above for the element -na, which is, therefore, probably better defined as indicating movement *towards* (not necessarily *here*, although this is generally the case).

e) The large class IV comprises the important tense-aspect-mood suffixes which, according to the criterion of position, form a well defined class. The fact that it is not possible to combine these suffixes with each other⁹ shows that it is not justified in At ν n ν ama η a η a to introduce a dichotomy between tense-aspect and mood suffixes, although the semantic values seem to introduce such a dichotomy. I propose to set a zero morpheme in this class, mainly because we can attribute a more specific value to the absence of any of the morphemes of this class. This introduction of an element \emptyset also allows us to affirm that the presence of an element of this class is obligatory in a correct verb form.

The following list gives the suffixes found in the texts. In brackets are added the labels by which they are rendered in the interlinear translation:

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| i) \emptyset | (not indicated in the interlinear translation) |
| ii) -a η k(u) | (past) |
| iii) -n ν (a) | (int.) |

iv)	-(nʏ)tʏ(u)	(fut.)
v)	-(ŋ)ʃ(a)/(n)t(a)	(pres.)
vi)	-nant(a)	(p.=2)
vii)	-r(a)	(irr.)
viii)	-k(a)	(imp.)
ix)	-k(u)	(narr.)
x)	-ŋ(a)	(pot.)
xi)	-aŋkat(a)	(p.=3)
xii)	-taŋk(u)	(ta-past)
xiii)	-ʃanʏtʏ(u)	(ʃa-fut.)
xiv)	-tant(a)	(ta-pres.)

1) The morpheme \emptyset indicates what is traditionally called the "cohortative". To such a verb form the suffix of a first person pronoun is obligatorily added. This form therefore can never be identical with the simple verb root. The personal suffix can be in the "nominative" or in the agentive:

(115) viŋʃa apiŋkarai
I will shut up my viŋʃa (III:14)

(116) vapapa ŋatʏu nuŋku-aʃu
I will give [to] my vapapa (III:15)

Note: Several \emptyset forms in the texts have not been understood as cohortatives, but have been explained as haplogogies (especially in text I; cf. L.I:7,107,117). Sometimes the function of the zero morpheme resembles that of the suffix -(nʏ)tʏ(u), labelled for convenience fut. (pp.23-4; cf. L.I:117; II:1).

ii) The suffix -aŋk(u) expresses the completion of an action or an event, rather than the past tense. The basic idea is one of a perfective rather than a punctiliar action. Very often we can, in English, translate verb forms with this suffix as a past. In certain contexts the suffix can imply an "irrealis", just like the English past:

(117) aʃāpi nimpatʏiŋa waŋka-aŋku
this is what [the] aʃāpi said (I:108)

(118) yuʃa vitniʃaŋku apana
supposing [a] Yuʃa [had] died (VIII:1)

(119) aŋatʏi vani iʃa-aŋkatna itla
they held that much in reverence/handled that very severely (IV:5)

(120) niṅa apana vitniṅaṅku

[if], for instance, you [had] died (VIII:13)

Note: In example (117) it depends on context, whether the verb is to be regarded as "punctiliar". In the context of this example hesitation might persist, as the verb form refers to a single action (ṅuka-aṅkatlaka *we-two had gone* in I:103). On the other hand the whole passage reports a custom: how people used to speak to each other. This difference is seen in the two subsequent examples; the "punctiliar" meaning in example (118) is inherent in the verb *to die* rather than in the verb form (cf. Intaku *he was dying* in IX:1). Example (119) shows some duration of the event, and the "past" character of the suffix comes out most clearly in this example. It has to be pointed out that the infix -ṛ- in example (120) is not to be identified with the suffix -ṛ(a) mentioned below (p.26), but is the allomorph of the "intransitiviser" -i (p.17; see also pp.27-8), as example (118) shows.

iii) The suffix -nṽ(a) usually indicates a question, but in the light of the whole material collected it seems justified to regard it as a "dubitative":

(121) waṅantl apana ṅukanṽa watnālanpi

where (to) are you (perhaps) going? (I:95)

iv) The suffix -(nṽ)tṽ(u) may be defined, in general, as "hypothetical" rather than as a "potential", for this last value there is another suffix (namely -ṅ(a))(p.27). -(nṽ)tṽ(u) expresses a "realis", which itself depends on a hypothesis. If the hypothesis is explicitly stated, the suffix often denotes the "conclusion" or the "consequence" in a conditional clause. Even if the hypothesis is not explicitly stated it is normally implied. This often gives a future value to the suffix or, as frequently in text I, the suffix is employed to express a general statement which presupposes a set of rules. The "hypothetical" character of such a statement resides in the fact that not a ("real") historical case or event is narrated, but a hypothetical example which supposes that the actors will conform to the rules of the system, or to general practice. The definition of the suffix as "hypothetical" in the sense just explained also allows for other values in special contexts such as consecutive or final. It is also employed for what I have tried to explain as a "polite imperative" (see L.I:74).

There are two allomorphs, one with and one without (homorganic) nasal preceding the stop. According to a general rule, the allomorph

without a nasal occurs after a syllable which contains a consonant cluster composed of a nasal + stop, and probably also if the preceding syllable contains the stop tʷ. The nasal is, however, maintained when the preceding syllable contains a cluster composed of a stop + nasal (and not nasal + stop):

- (122) utana vapalu yalʷtʷakalu yatnaṅa, upmaḷili ikanʷtʷuwa-aṅu
 [if] he does not call them 'vapalu', he would be a sort of upmaḷi
 (I:32)
- (123) watni-inʷtʷai ṅatʷu yataṅu
 I will/shall go back to my country (II:1)
- (124) miṅuṅa utʷu ṅatʷu aṅuna yalʷtʷatʷu-aṅu aṅāpi
 [the] man would call my wife [in such a case] 'aṅāpi' (I:118)
- (125) vaṅa atni utʷu inka maṅu ikanʷtʷu-aṅu, vaṅa iḷiḷiḷari
 ṅukanʷtʷatna-aṅu
 he also would sit [there] facing [the] other side, [so that] they
 [could] pass [at] hi[s] back (VII:28-9)
- (126) ṅaḷapaṅa itla aka-akanaku, ṅaṅṅu yapa-yapanʷtʷatnawa
 many [people] were coming out [(in order) to] shake hand[s]
 [with] hi[m] (XI:37)
- (127) ṅukanʷtʷuwatnātapa vāḷuṅa apana
 would you (perhaps) go [for] (in) meat (I:74)

v) The suffix -(ṅ)ḷ(a)/(n)t(a) denotes a durative event which is not accomplished, hence a "present" value is usually implied. This can be an "actual" present as well as a "general" present of the sort found in the Turkish verb ending -ir (present II, as opposed to -iyor of the present I). It is not clear as yet what -ku is (pp.26-7).

A peculiarity of this suffix is that one can add to it personal suffixes as well as noun suffixes; this means that the suffix can stand in a "finite verb form" as well as confer a nominal function to the verb. In contexts where the verb ending in -(ṅ)ḷa/(n)ta assumes a nominal function, we are reminded of an Indo-European "participle" or sometimes of an "infinitive". But the suffix -(ṅ)ḷ(a)/(n)t(a) can also function as a tense-aspect suffix in the "finite verb", and this vitiates the Indo-European comparison. Forms with this suffix can often be translated in English by a participle and one might be tempted to compare the suffix -(n)ta with the English verb ending -ing.

There are four allomorphs. One set of allomorphs has interdentalals and one set has alveolars. According to Andrew Coulthard these two sets of allomorphs are strictly equivalent, and I have not discovered any rule which would make their respective use predictable. Each set of allomorphs comprises one with and one without homorganic nasal before the stop. The rules for the choice between the allomorph with or without a nasal are the same as the ones given for the suffix $-(n^y)t^y(u)$ (see pp.23-4):

- (128) $i\eta^a wa\eta katali ya\eta na\eta a$
 [here] (this) I am talking again (I:39)
- (129) $\eta ama-\eta ama atni a\eta u ut^y u mit^y amanta yu\eta a\eta a$
 [the] Yu\eta a call[s] [the] woman also 'ηama-ηama' (II:7)
- (130) $wa\eta ka\eta a ikan^y t^y uwa ut^y u inka ma\eta u$
 he would sit talking, [with the] face [to the] other side (VII:25)
- (131) $mu\eta \eta a atni ika-a\eta katali yun^y t^y u ru \eta ka\eta \eta a\eta a$
 [it] was also mu\eta \eta a (in [the]) [to] go[ing] (nose) [in front]
 (VII:11) (cf. also L.VII:11)

vi) The suffix $-nant(a)$ always occurs in a context where it can be defined as a "past". It is not clear in what way it differs from the suffix $-a\eta k(u)$ (pp.22-3) and from the suffix $-a\eta kat(a)$ (pp.27-8). It is also not clear what is the exact "aspectual" value of this suffix. The fact that it always occurs in a "past" context suggests that it can be considered as "perfective", although some occurrences might contradict this:

- (132) $\eta ami vapina itla a\eta a\eta a ati vu\eta anantawa$
 [the] ηamis shed blood [for] hi[m] there (IX:24)
- (133) $a\eta a\eta u ma\eta a\eta i a\eta a\eta a vani ut^y n^y u \eta u\eta a\eta u\eta inanta$
 A\eta a\eta u[s and] Ma\eta a\eta i[s] did [it] very bad[ly] [to] each other
 there (IX:23)

Note: A verb form containing this suffix can easily be confused with a verb form containing the directional suffix $-na$ (p.20) and the "present" suffix $-nta$ (pp.24-5), and I have often done this in the first period of my investigation. In our texts there is no example of such a possible confusion, but there is a form where the directional suffix $-mana$ (p.20) combines with the suffix $-nta$:

- (134) $mu\eta \eta a ikamananta$
 [a] stranger [has] come [over] sitting [down] (XI:9)

For various other possible interpretations of this example, see L.XI:9, p.150.

vii) The suffix *-r(a)* denotes an "irrealis". It only once occurs in our texts, where it has the value of the irrealis of the past:

(135) *ama-aman^vili ... ɲaʃaɲuɾuntuwa*
you should have hit him lighter (XI:31)

Note: This suffix must not be confused with the suffix *-r(l)* (p.17) which always combines with a tense-aspect suffix (examples (118) and (120)).

viii) The suffix *-k(a)* indicates a command. If there is no personal suffix added to the form, the command is addressed to the second person singular:

(136) *apika*
shut [it up]! (VIII:16)

(137) *anku ɲuʃaɲkarikatnanpi yan^vt^vana*
make yourself [a] separate home! (III:7)

Note: The last example shows that a confusion with the suffix *-k(u)* (see below) is possible. For this see also L.VII:30, p.143.

ix) The suffix *-k(u)* has the basic value of an "imperfective" aspect. Hence it can appear in past contexts as well as in non-past contexts. It is the most common tense-aspect suffix in narrations and this is the reason why I have chosen the label *narr.* (= "narrative") in the inter-linear translation. However, its function is not limited to something like an "imperfect", but rather recalls an "aorist". The fact that it also can take the value of a (only "general") "present" makes it difficult to define it exactly as against the suffix *-(ɲ)ɣ(a)/(n)t(a)* (pp.24-5; see examples (139) and (140)). Besides its frequency in "narrations" it is found very often in the protasis of a conditional clause, but its occurrence is not limited to such contexts:

(138) *atluku wɪtnɪ-aɪlku ɲaɪapaɲa*
many big girls were going around (V:3)

(139) *yata mit^vi itla ikaku Yaɲkavuɣuvuɣu*
[the] name [of the] place [is] (sitting) Yaɲkavuɣuvuɣu (VI:24)

cf. however:

(140) *Yaɲkavuɣuvuɣu itla mit^vi ikanta itla*
Yaɲkavuɣuvuɣu [is] (sitting) [the] name (VI:23; cf. L.VI:24)

- (141) utana vapalu yal^yt^yakalu yatna^{na}, upma[!]lli ikan^yt^yuwa-a^{nu}
 [if] he [does] not call them 'vapalu', he would [be] (sitting) a
 sort of upma[!] (I:32)

Note: It has already been mentioned that the suffixes -k(a) and -k(u) cannot, formally, be distinguished if they precede a personal ending (other than -wa). The following example shows this:

- (142) uta ^ugakakatna ^{na}i yun^yt^yuru^{na}
 they were not going [in front of] me (nose);
 [if] they were not going [in front of] me (nose);
 they should not go [in front of] me (nose), hence:
 do not go in front of me! (VII:10)

Hence it is impossible to tell whether the imperative suffix -k(a) can be used with a third person pronoun or not. Only the singular could give us an answer to this question; but such a form does not occur in our texts.

x) The suffix -^u(a) has the value of a potential or an "eventualis". It is found only once in our texts:

- (143) yu^{ra} ut^yn^yu ^{na}ga apana un^{ta}nu^{ri}natna
 [the] Yu^{ra}[s] could/might eventually kill each other (IX:28)

Note: A confusion of this suffix with the transitivising suffix -^u (pp.17-8) is hardly possible when context is taken into account and as long as one knows whether a given verb root is transitive or intransitive. Confusion is formally possible only in the cohortative (p.22):

- (144) ya^{ta} wil^yt^ya wa^{nu}na^{nu} walaluga ^{na}wa[!]a
 tonight I will speak [to] you (word) (I:81) (cf. also L.I:81,
 p.135).

xi) The suffix -a^{kat}(a) always seems to appear in "past" contexts. It is, therefore, difficult to discover its exact value, especially as opposed to the suffixes -a^{nk}(u) (pp.22-3) and -na^{nt}(a) (pp.25-6), and the problem is not fully resolved. The suffix -a^{kat}(a) frequently occurs in the first sentence of a narration, where a general statement is made, rather than a specific event reported. The verbs to which this suffix is added most frequently conform to this general impression:

- to be/sit (ika-; ya^{nt}u-i-)
 to keep/have (something/somebody) (an^yt^yi-)
 to name/call (something/somebody) (mit^yama-)

to call (somebody) by kinship term (yalʸtʸa-)

The suffix is found also with other verbs, such as:

to do/make (something) (ɲuʃa-)

to say/speak (waŋka-)

to ask for/mention (something) (ɲatʸi-)

One might therefore attribute to this suffix the value of an "habitual":

(145) yuʃa ika-aŋkata waru

[the] Yuʃa[s] *used to be (sitting) in the olden days* (I:1)

(146) ɲaŋataŋa atni ika-aŋkata, mitla

something else there used to be: [the] mitla (IV:1)

But the suffix -aŋk(u) is employed in many cases where, according to this definition, one would rather expect the suffix -aŋkat(a). Further occurrences of this last suffix do not conform to our provisional definition:

(147) ɲalri yaʃa waŋka-aŋkata

like what I have explained [just] now (I:126) ("immediate past")

(148) ɲamaŋa ɲatʸu vitniʃaŋkata

my uncle has/had passed away (IX:16) (unique event)

(149) not Nunʸa!ʃa unmānllu aŋka-aŋkatawa, utʸu maʃalu aŋka-aŋkatawa

[it was] not Nunʸa!ʃa [who] had taken hi[m down], [but some] other people (had taken him [down]) (XI:15-16) ("pluperfect" or "anterior past")

These different values are disconcerting, especially when one compares this suffix to the suffix -aŋk(u). Andrew Coulthard once called the verb forms which have the suffix -aŋkat(a) "a big way of saying it" and, another time, he said that it was "Walʸpi-talk". This transfer of the differences to the "dialectal" or the "stylistic" level might, however, only reflect the difficulties a native speaker has in defining the exact values of the two suffixes -aŋkat(a) and -aŋk(u) respectively as opposed to each other. Therefore, it seems better to assume that the exact value of the two suffixes is not yet determined, rather than to accept simply that the two suffixes are "stylistic" variants.

Note: It is not certain whether the suffix -aŋkat(a) has to be explained as a compound of the suffixes -aŋk(u) and -(ɲ)ʃ(a)/(n)t(a) (*-aŋkuta?).

xii) - xiv) The three suffixes -taŋk(u), -ʔanʔtʔ(u) and -tant(a) are to be regarded as compounds; the element -ʔa/ta is an allomorph of the suffix -(ŋ)ʔ(a)/(n)t(a) (pp.24-5); the second element being the suffix -aŋk(u) (pp.22-3), the suffix -(nʔ)tʔ(u) (pp.23-4), and again the same suffix -(ŋ)ʔ(a)/(n)t(a) respectively. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the first stops can be an interdental or alveolar (pp.24-5). The exact modification introduced by infixing -ʔa/ta in one of these verb forms is not quite clear, although in some particular contexts a specific value can be attributed to such a compound form. Often the difference introduced by inserting -ʔa/ta was rendered by Andrew Coulthard by the English word *just*, but this translation is ambiguous:

(150) uru ikatantai

I am just thinking (IV:22)

Here the -ta *just* rather implies an event in the immediate present.

(151) utla itla ŋuʔaŋkariʔanʔtʔatna-aŋu

they just would do [it to?] themselves (VIII:35)

Here the -ʔa *just* opposes the sentence to the other statements where the performing of the same action by somebody else is reported (VIII:19 and 28).

Other types of modification are introduced in these forms:

(152) yaʔu wali witni-aʔitaŋkatna

not caring, they went around [as] peace-maker[s] (IX:26)

Andrew Coulthard commented that this verb form is better than the shorter form witni-aʔi-aŋkatna by which it is followed in the next sentence, because witni-aʔi-aŋkatna would suggest that they *just went about, doing nothing*, whereas in fact, they tried to quieten down the fighting people and to prevent them from killing one another.

Sometimes the infixation of -ʔa/ta can be translated by *only*, which again may express various meanings:

(153) ŋaʔpuʔaʔuku itla witni-aʔitanta

only we are (going) around (X:36)

Here the idea of the restricting *only* is already expressed by the suffix -ʔu (see p.37).

(154) vulka maʔaŋa ŋapaʔa atni waʔiʔa-aŋku

[they] picked up with [an] old ŋapaʔa only (IV:22)

Here the restriction of -ʔa *only* seems to refer to the fact that the ŋapaʔas were old (see also L.VI:19, p.142).

Note: All these suffixes normally drop their final vowel when followed by a pronominal suffix beginning with a vowel, that is all pronominal suffixes other than the third person singular suffix *-wa* and those suffixes of the second person which begin with *wa-*. This can sometimes lead to confusion between certain forms. Example (154) shows that this loss of the final vowel before the initial vowel of another suffix is not obligatory.

f) Class V comprises the personal suffixes. These are the shortened forms of the personal pronouns which normally drop their initial consonant, sometimes the first syllable. Formal particularities need to be mentioned only for two suffixes:

i) The second person singular agentive, is found in the two allomorphs *-untu* and *-utu*. Their distribution seems determined by rules similar to those explained above for the suffix *-(nʏ)tʏ(u)* (pp.23-4).

ii) The suffix of the third person singular nominative, is *-wa*. It is always preceded by a syllable containing the secondary stress.

Two pronominal suffixes can combine in a transitive verb form. The relative position in such cases is strictly determined, but cannot be stated in simple terms. In general, first person suffixes precede second and third persons and second person suffixes - with exceptions - precede third person suffixes. When two third person suffixes combine, it is always the suffix *-wa* which takes the last position:

(155) *ama-amanʏili ... ɲaʃaɲuɾuntuwa*
you should have hit him lighter (XI:31)

(156) *nantatʏaluwa-aɲu*
he would bone him (X:29)

These combinations are frequent only when both suffixes are singular pronouns; a singular pronoun and a plural pronoun can combine, but two plural pronouns never combine:

(157) *ɲuaʎi mitʏamantaitna*
they call me ɲuaʎi (I:130)

(158) *ari ɲaʃaɲunʏtʏatnɪɲa-aɲu*
first they will/would hit you (XI:42)

(159) *ari ɲaɲʃu yapa-yapa-aʎpuʎawa*
later on we will shake hand[s with] him! (XI:36)

(160) *ɲanakatnawa utʏu maʃalu*
the others held him (XI:30)

- (161) miṛu vapina ḡa|pu|ḡa wa|uḡuḡka-aḡkatna
they said [to] us boys (I:73)
- (162) ḡa valanpiḡa utʷu ḡa mitʷama|pu|a-aḡu
(that) we [would] call (that) [the] valanpi[s] (I:117; cf.
 L.I:117)

For the agentive and the accusative the same holds true as for the independent pronoun (pp.10-1):

- (163) nuḡkutʷatna yuṛa miṛu
they would give [to a] Yuṛa-man (I:2)
- (164) valu itla māḡi ya|ʷtʷatʷatnaḡa-aḡu
she would call them 'māḡi' (I:12)

Suffixation is not obligatory and an independent pronoun - in a relatively free position with regard to the verb - can always replace a suffix:

- (165) ḡapa|a vulkuṛa atni anʷtʷi-aḡkata|pu|a
we also had old ḡapa|a[s] (I:72)
- (166) ṛa ḡa|pu|a nimpatʷiḡa anʷtʷiku atʷnʷani vulkuṛa apana
and, in the same manner, we had, for instance, old atʷnʷani[s]
 (I:71)

In some cases the free pronoun and the pronominal suffix are found in the same sentence. These are instances of redundancy:

- (167) yatna irana atla-wiṛṛi nuḡkutʷatna-aḡu
really they would give the fire-stick [sc. to them-two] (I:4)

Another instance of redundancy occurs when a nominal subject is accompanied by a verb with a subject suffix:

- (168) yaka|a vapinaḡa ati vuḡanʷtʷatna-aḡu
[the] Yaka|as (they) would shed blood (IX:10)

Compare this with:

- (169) utʷu maṛṛa yanaku...
[when the] others came... (IX:11)

It has, however, been mentioned above (see p.9, example (48)) that this is one of the devices by which the plural of a noun can be marked ("collective" construction of the noun).

The suffix of the third person singular can also be added to a noun or a pronoun. This construction has never been encountered with other pronominal suffixes:

- (170) wagaḡawa
where [is] he? (XI:18)

Note: As mentioned in my previous paper (APWK p.4 footnote 7), the pronouns of the other series can also be suffixed:

- (171) ḡuka- aḡkatlāka apana
we-both-ḡatlāka have gone, for instance (I:103)

g) The most frequent suffix of class VI is the "stylistic" or "emphatic" suffix -aḡu. For this class of suffix see below (section 3A).

Note: All that has been said in this section shows that the Atʸnʸamaḡaḡa verbal root never can appear on its own, although a few nouns may possibly be interpreted as such verbal roots (see p.49). A verb form minimally consists of the root and a suffix of class IV (tense-aspect-mood suffix, see pp.21-30):

- (172) yuḡa ika-aḡkata waru
a long time ago there was/were (sitting) [the] Yuḡa[s] (I:1)
- (173) aḡu yuaku
[the] woman was standing (I:2)

If, however, the verb has the suffix \emptyset , that is if it is in the "cohortative" (see p.22), a pronominal suffix is obligatorily added:

- (174) ḡatʸu yuḡa vapina naku-aḡu
let me see my people! (II:1)

This means that a verb is *always* formally marked as such and confusion with a noun is, therefore, never possible. Although (see p.31) at least one pronominal element (the suffix -wa) can be added to both verbs and nouns, the problem of differentiating between verbs and nouns never arises in Atʸnʸamaḡaḡa.¹⁰

In the following synoptic table I have tried to represent in the form of a tree the main values of the noun and the class IV verb suffixes. This is a very tentative representation: the breaking up of the oppositions into series of binary oppositions which this tree presupposes is not strictly accurate as it does not take into account all the data. This is evident in two respects:

Firstly, there are a few suffixes which are not incorporated into the tree. These are the two noun suffixes -li and -ya, and the following verbal suffixes: -nant(a), -aḡkat(a), -ḡ/tant(a), -ḡ/tanʸtʸ(u) and

-ṭ/taŋk(u). The noun suffix -li probably is better regarded as a "clitic" (see p.37). The last three verbal suffixes can be reduced to one, namely the infix -ṭ/ta-.

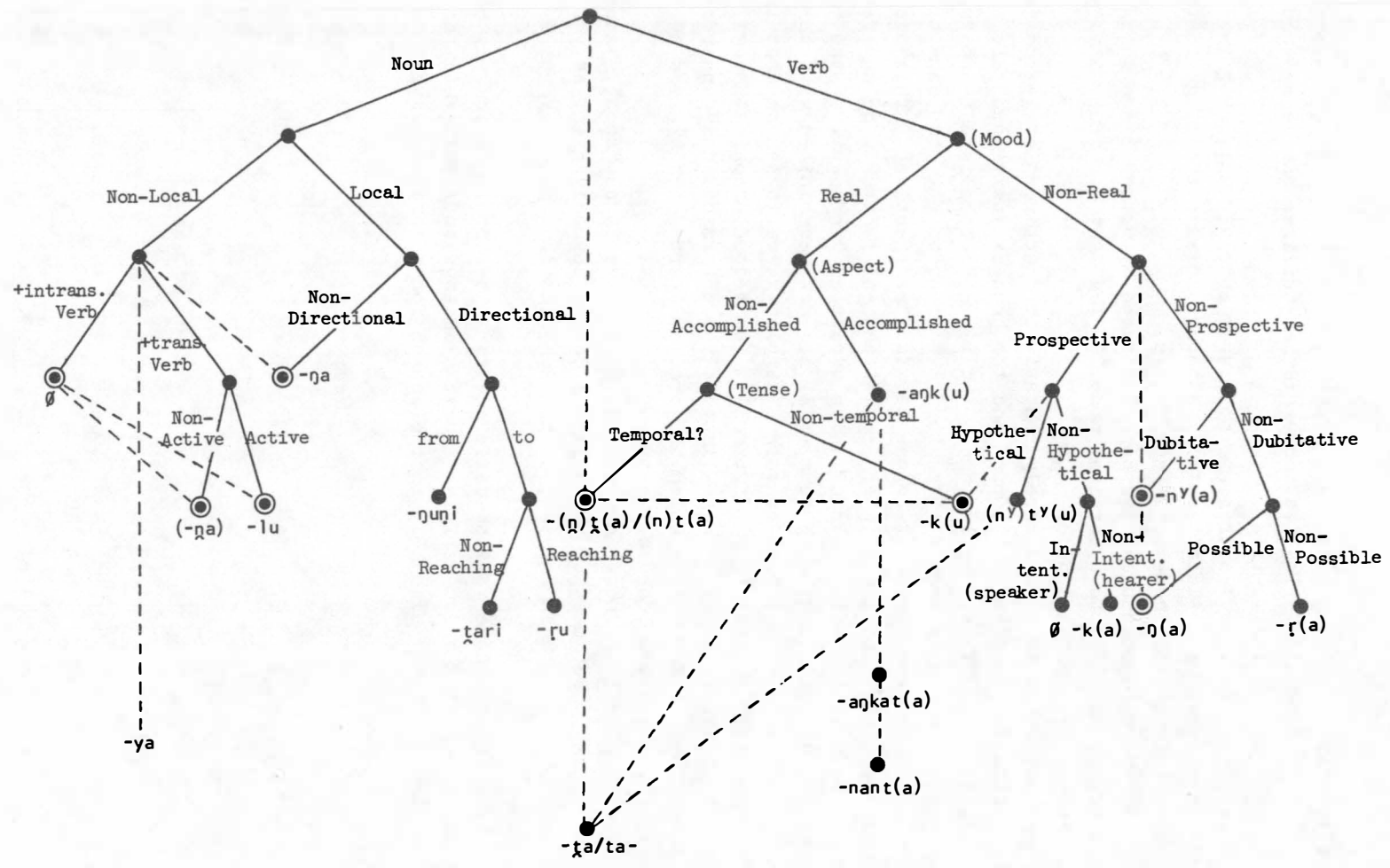
Secondly, various features are not taken into account. For instance, -ŋa is classed as a "local" suffix, although it also functions in the same manner as the "non-local" suffix -lu.

All these inadequacies have been indicated by dotted lines which may or may not lead to a terminal node.¹¹ The most doubtful terms are indicated by a circled node.

Moreover the terms are merely tentative and not completely consistent. In particular the "exclusive non" and the "non-exclusive non" are not distinguished. Thus, for instance, the terms "accomplished" and "non-accomplished" imply that a given term cannot be both at the same time, while a "non-prospective" term can be also "prospective". This has been indicated by dotted lines, where -nʷ(a) and -ŋ(a) have to be understood to be both joined with the node which separates "prospective" and "non-prospective" suffixes. The term -ṛ(a) has not been joined with this node, although my material contains examples where it can be used in a "prospective" context (e.g. "future"). The second graphical means used to indicate those problems is to place a terminal node under a higher level node up from which the problem starts. This gives a slightly distorted look to the tree.

The higher level nodes correspond to labels such as "mood", "aspect" and "tense". But most of those labels do not commonly exist as yet and no new ones have been created, as the denominations pose several problems.

In spite of these various deficiencies this representation may help in understanding and memorising the Atvŋvamaŋaŋa suffixal system and its values; it may also help in the search for a more adequate model.



3. CLITICS AND PARTICLES

The morphemes treated in this section are all those which are neither nouns nor verbs, nor noun or verb suffixes. These morphemes are subdivided into "clitics" and "particles". The term "clitic" denotes those morphemes which are suffixed to other morphemes, but unlike grammatical suffixes, the clitics may be suffixed to a noun as well as to a verb, in some instances also to particles, although one often observes a statistical preference for a given clitic to being affixed to the one particular category of words. Particles, on the contrary, are free forms. The criterion for considering an element a clitic or a particle respectively is stress: the clitics influence the position of the secondary stress of the word to which they are added - just as the other suffixes in the language do - while the particles do not.

Thus, for instance, *áḡaḡa there* has no noticeable secondary stress, while *+áḡaḡàku but there, there however* does have a secondary stress on the penultimate syllable. On the other hand in *+áḡaḡa utvu there + emphasis*, the first element *áḡaḡa there* does not show any change in the stress pattern, while the emphatic particle *utvu* (see p.38) is normally unstressed; this particle therefore behaves like an "enclitic". Other particles clearly behave as independent words do in that they have a primary stress; for example *nímpatvi like this* and *nímpatvìḡa like this + the suffix -ḡa*.

The investigation of the *Atvnyamaṭṭa* language has so far not reached the stage where all the shades of meanings expressed by the various clitics and particles can be defined satisfactorily. This is true especially for the clitics and particles which are commonly referred to as "stylistic" elements and, in particular, those which are said to denote "emphasis". Most of the other clitics and particles correspond semantically to English adverbs and prepositions. In spite of the fact that the semantic value of several clitics or particles is not well defined as yet, the following list has been arranged so as to correspond to semantical grouping, for instance into adverbs of place, adverbs of time, and so forth. A few of the morphemes listed as "particles" are really nouns; but they have been given here because semantically they may correspond to our adverbs or prepositions.

A. THE CLITICS

Clitics can be considered suffixes which can be usually added to verbs as well as to nouns. Some of them are also found with particles, when this is the case it has been explicitly stated.

i) The clitic *-aṅu* is very often (though not exclusively) joined to verb forms. Its value is not clearly defined, although in a few instances a more explicit translation can be associated with it. It has not been translated in the interlinear translation:

(175) *yatna irana atla-wiṅṅi nuṅkutʷatna-aṅu*
they would really give the fire-stick [sc. to them-two] (I:4)

(176) *aṅa ṅapaḷa-wiṅṅi lṭla ika-aṅkata atni, ṅapaḷa-aṅu*
that was (sitting) [about the?] ṅapaḷa-couple[s?]; [it's] only
[a] ṅapaḷa (IV:25)

ii) The clitic *-tʷi* is most frequently joined to nouns, but it also occurs with verb forms. It is another "emphatic" element and seems, roughly, of similar value as the preceding clitic, but with a preference for nouns. Its exact value remains to be determined:

(177) *ṅapaḷa utʷu valu utʷu mitʷamanʷtʷatnaṅa-aṅu, vapapatʷi*
she calls them 'ṅapaḷa' [but they are] vapapa[s] of course (I:22)

(178) *viṅṅa [tʷi] aṅarḷtʷi*
that [is a] viṅṅa (III:23)

(179) *ikakatnanplʷi*
sit [down], you-two! (III:6)

iii) The clitic *-naya* was usually translated by Andrew Coulthard as "first" and probably supposes a continuation of an action or continuity in a series of actions or events. The first syllable is always stressed (secondary stress) and the final vowel is usually dropped:

(180) *arḷtʷi nimpanay[a] ṅaṅu utʷu ṅaṅṅu yapa-yapanʷtʷuwa*
first [however] I will shake hand[s with] him this way (XI:23)

(181) *apikanay[a]*
shut [it up] first! (I:38)

iv) The clitic *-rḷ* is the relativising element and can also be joined to nouns and to verbs (see pp.65-6).

(182) *ṅaḷpuḷaṅali, ṅairi yaṅa waṅka-aṅkata*
like us, as I have just explained (I:126)

- (183) utYuḡa itla, yuḡa nuḡkuḡuḡi-aḡkatari
 [an]other [one], [about] how [the] Yuḡa[s] exchanged [sc. women/
 wives] (III:1) (doubtful: see p.139).

v) The clitic -ku has mainly adversative value. It is very often added to the first word of a sentence, but this is not obligatorily so. Sometimes the third person singular of the personal pronoun vaḡa, put at the beginning of the sentence, serves as "catalyst",¹² and vaḡaku then tends to be equivalent to *but*. The adversative value of the particle -ku is not always very clearly visible to us; it also is used to mark an unexpected event or statement, and there are yet further usages involving -ku:

- (184) ḡamiku ḡukanʸtʸu-aḡu
 [the] mother, however, [can] (will) go (VIII:9)
- (185) aḡatʸi vani iḡa-aḡkatna itla, iḡa-aḡkatna itlaku
 but they handled that very strictly/severely (IV:5)
- (186) aḡaḡuḡuku itla waḡkataiku
 [it is] only [up] to that [that] I [can] tell [it] (VI:25)
- (187) vaḡaku utʸu inka itla wantu yuḡa vapinaḡa ... naku-aḡku
 but, [on the] other side, [the] Yuḡa[s sometimes] considered [it]
 alright (IV:6)
- (188) aḡaḡaku yuḡa uḡa-inantaku vanʸtʸuḡu wiḡku-wataḡa
 there, at his Wiḡku-wata, [the] Yuḡa[s] had a fight (IX:17)

Note: Normally there is no danger of confusing this clitic, when occurring in a verb form, with the "narrative" suffix -ku (see pp.26-7), and one would have to encounter a verb form having the ending ⁺-ntawaku to discover a formal ambiguity (the suffix ⁺-(n)tawa does not occur in our texts).

vi) The clitic -ḡu has mainly a restrictive value (*only*) and, in our texts, it is only found in combination with the clitic -ku:

- (189) ḡaḡpuḡaḡuku itla wḡtni-aḡitanta
 only we are (walking) around (X:36)

Note: If it is correct to set up a "stylistic" morpheme -na, different from the noun suffix -ḡa (see p.4), this morpheme -na would belong to this group of "clitics".

The suffix -li discussed previously (see pp.8 and 10) may also be considered a clitic, occurring with nouns.

B. THE PARTICLES

It has been mentioned that, semantically, the various particles recall certain parts of speech of English such as the adverbs or the prepositions. The most important particles are, therefore, listed here in an order which facilitates the regrouping into semantic subdivisions. It is repeated, however, that neither the exact semantical field nor the distributional behaviour of most of these particles are as yet sufficiently studied.

1) The two particles *utʷu* and *watʷa*, perhaps to be considered as phonetical variants, have "emphatic" value. They mainly follow nouns or noun phrases, but they also are found elsewhere, for instance after verbs. So far it has not been possible to distinguish their semantic value from that of the clitic *-tʷi* (see p.36):

(190) *aṅa uṅa-uṅa maṅaṅa utʷu*
[those] (that) [are the] elder [one]s (I:65)

(191) *vapi utʷu yaɫʷtʷatʷatnawa-aṅu utʷu*
they would call him 'vapi', of course (I:36)

(192) *aṅuna yunʷtʷuru utʷu waɫunʷi-ikatna*
[in front of the] wife(['s] nose) they were talking [to] each other (I:3)

(193) *miṅu vapina itla, yatna maṅa watʷa*
[the] men [are called] 'yatnas' [too], of course (II:6)

(194) *aṅatʷi vani muṅṅa watʷa ika-aṅku*
oh, that was (sitting) very muṅṅa! (III:29)

Note: Sometimes there may be confusion with the pronoun *utʷu* *other* (see p.14):

(195) *aṅa ṅatʷu viɫali vapina utʷu ṅaṅa maṅaṅa atni*
[those] (that) [are] also my viɫalis or
[those] (that) [are] also my viɫalis, [the] other [one]s (I:62;
cf. also L.I:62)

Theoretically such a confusion should not be possible in the spoken language, as the pronoun is stressed and the particle always unstressed ("enclitic" in the traditional sense), but in practice, especially in rapid speech, I found it difficult to hear this distinction.

ii) The particle *itla*, derived from the deixis *i-* (see pp.11-2), also has some "emphatic" value, but with different connotations from

those of the two particles *utʷu* and *watʷa* just discussed. While it was difficult to distinguish these latter two particles from the clitic *-tʷi*, I personally feel that there is some link between the particle *itla* and the clitic *-aŋu* (see p.36). They both occur more frequently with verb forms. A particularity of *itla* is that after a verb form, the pronominal suffix *-wa* is often added to it. Andrew Coulthard usually rejected these forms in *itlawā*, but the frequency with which this occurred shows that there is a certain tendency, in the present-day language, to integrate *itla* into the verb complex. This process is, however, not completed and it is preferable to maintain for *itla* the status of a "particle". The more so, as no other pronominal morphemes occur as suffixes to it. The clitics *-tʷi* (see p.36) and *-aŋu* often follow the particle *itla* forming *itlawā*, *itla-aŋu*, *itlawā-aŋu* and *itlatʷi*:

- (196) *viʷali itla anʷtʷi-aŋkata uʷŋaŋa*
all [of them] had younger sibling[s] (I:29)
- (197) *ŋai itla nuŋa yaiʷtʷakatna*
they call me 'nuŋa' (I:67)
- (198) *ŋapaʷa itiatʷi yanʷtʷana*
'ŋapaʷa' [is a] different [way of calling them] (I:23)
- (199) *ŋa maʷaŋa nimpatʷiŋa itla anʷtʷiŋuʷinʷtʷu-aŋu*
those would have each other like this (I:126)
- (200) *ŋatʷi vani iʷa-aŋkatna itia*
they handled that very severely/strictly, indeed (IV:5)
- (201) *ikanʷtʷu valanpi itla-aŋu*
they-two would stay married (I:5)
- (202) *ikanʷtʷuwa itla-aŋu nimpatʷiŋa yuʷupa*
like this he would live a long time (III:9)
- (203) *ʷa vakukatna itlawā*
and when they made him [a man] (VII:4)
- (204) *muŋʷaninʷtʷu itlawā-aŋu*
he would become muŋʷa (VII:4)

iii) The particle *nimpa such* and its derivations *nimpatʷi(ŋa)*, *nimpalitʷi(ŋa)* and *nimpaʷaia(ŋa)* have all been translated by Andrew Coulthard as *like this, this way, that's how*. The basic form is *nimpa* to which I prefer to give the "lexical" meaning *such*; it only occurs once in our texts followed by the clitic *-naya* (see p.36):

- (205) aritʸi nimpanay[a] ɳaʃu utʸu ɳaɳʃu yapa-yapanʸtʸuwa
first I will shake hand[s with] him like this (XI:23)

nimpatʸi looks like an "emphatic" form of nimpa (see p.36); nimpalitʸi seems to show redundancy as it probably contains the suffix -li *like* (see p.8). The formation of nimpaʃala is not clear. The forms nimpalitʸi and nimpaʃala often have a plural connotation (translated by Andrew Coulthard as *this sort of things*). The exact difference between these forms is unknown:

- (206) Nunʸaʃta unmāni nimpatʸi waɳkaku
Oldman Nunʸaʃta was speaking like this (XI:24)
- (207) aɳa atni ika-aɳkata yuʃaʃu ɳuʃu, nimpalitʸi munkaɳa
there was also that Yuʃa's story, this sort of things (V:28)
- (208) ati upmaɳaka nimpaʃala ɳaʃa-aka apana naʃaku
*one [of them-two] might have been losing [too ?] much blood
 (this way)* (V:25)

There is also a form animpatʸi which looks as if it contained the mid-distant deixis a- (see p.11) as a prefix, *like that*. But the a- might simply be the result of an initial hesitation:

- (209) animpatʸi waɳuɳuʃinʸtʸu-aɳu
like that [they] would speak [to] each other (I:85)

iv) The particle irana(ɳa) *really* marks an affirmation after doubt, the carrying out of a command:

- (210) yatna irana atla-wiʃni nuɳkutʸatna-aɳu
they would really give [the] fire-stick [sc. to them-two] (I:4)

v) The particle apana, sometimes shortened to apa was translated by Andrew Coulthard as *might*. It marks a hypothesis rather than a doubt; and it is often equivalent to the English *suppose that...* It is translated by *might* in the interlinear translation.

It can also be followed by the clitic -aɳu (see p.36):

- (211) maʃaʃiɳa apana ima-aɳku aʃuna
let us suppose [it was a] Maʃaʃi[-man] [who] had taken [a] wife
 (III:2)
- (212) niɳa apa vitniʃaɳku
[if,] for instance, you had died (VIII:13)
- (213) akananʸtʸatna apana-aɳu waɳminʸtʸuwa-aɳu
[if,] for instance, they would come out, he would move [aside] (VII:31)

vi) The particle *matʷi* or *matʷiri* - both forms seem to appear in free variation - was translated by Andrew Coulthard as *I believe*. This does not normally express doubt, but in general it implies that the speaker himself has not witnessed the event which he is reporting. This particle therefore reminds, e.g. of the "second past" (ending in *-miş*) of Turkish grammars. The final *-ri* of the second variant need not necessarily be identified with the relativising element *-ri* (see p.36). The particle *matʷiri* - but not the variant *matʷi* - is sometimes followed by the third person singular suffix *-wa* though Andrew Coulthard rejected such compound forms: they may not be fully established in the language (see p.39). The two variants are rendered by *I=believe* and *I=believe-ri* respectively in the interlinear translation:

(214) *vaga matʷi ikaku, wiʷtʷaniku atni itla*
he was sitting [there], I believe, [and he] even had a black-out
 (XI:27)

(215) *nimpatʷi matʷiri Walʷpi maʷalu waʷu mankuʷiga-aʷu*
like this, I believe, [the] Walʷpi people would welcome you
 (XI:41)

(216) *ǎʷǎ waŋkakuwa matʷiriwa*
'no!' he was saying, I believe (XI:32-33)

vii) The interrogative particle *naŋka how?* can form a derivative verb with the suffix *-pa* (see p.48). Only the verb is found in our texts, not the particle itself:

(217) *naŋkapa|pu|a valanāpaŋa*
how shall we do/decide about them-two? (IV:10)

viii) The negations *uta*, *utana*, *nata* and *ǎʷǎ* (or *ŋʷŋ*) all occur in our texts.¹³ The exact difference between *uta* and *utana* on the one hand and between these two and *nata* on the other hand is not clear. The form *uta* occurs in our texts as a prohibitive. The particle *nata* probably is borrowed from English *not*. The form *ǎʷǎ* (or *ŋʷŋ*) means *no!* in direct speech:

(218) *uta ŋukakatna ŋai yunʷtʷuruŋa*
they should not go in [front of] me (nose) (VII:10)

(219) *utana vapalu yaʷtʷakalu yatnaŋa, upma|i|i ikaŋʷtʷuwa-aʷu*
[if] he does not call them 'vapalu', he would be a sort of
upma|i (I:32)

(220) ʃa vanʔtʔuʔu nata ɳuri-ɳuri maʃaɳa ɳankini utʔu
and his relation[s who are] not close [one]s... (III:11)

(221) ẽʔẽ waŋkakuwa matʔiriwa
'no!' he was saying, I believe (XI:32-33)

ix) The affirmative particle *naku* *yes* can sometimes also be translated in English by *well*:

(222) *naku, vapalu*
yes, [a] vapalu [he is] (II:18)

(223) *naku, iɳa waŋkatai yainaɳa*
well, (this) [now] I [am] talking again (I:39)

x) The particle *vani* *very* is in our conception an "adverb", and it is used to form the "relative" of an adjective (see example (53)). It can also refer to a verb:

(224) aɳatʔi *vani* iʃa-aŋkatna itla
they handled that very strictly/severely (IV:5)

xi) The particle *ɳaʃa* *very, much* which also occurs in example (53) was said to be stronger than *vani* *very*. It does not seem possible to combine it with a verb form; but it can follow the particle *vani*, as in example (53). The classification of *ɳaʃa* as a particle rather than a noun (adjective) remains uncertain. From it are derived the adjectives *ɳaʃa-aka* *big* and *ɳaʃapaɳa* *much, many*, the two "baby names" *ɳaʃa-ana* and *ɳaʃaka* *the 8th/9th born (male and female respectively)*, the kinship term *ɳaʃa-ami* *mother's elder sister* (< ⁺*ɳaʃa-ɳami* *big mother*) and the term *ɳaʃa-wata* *big, grown up boy*.

xii) The particle *atni* *also, too* can have other meanings such as *even*:

(225) *vapapa atni* *ikanʔtʔu-aɳu*
there would also [be] (sitting) vapapa[s] (I:17)

(226) *vaɳa matʔi* *ikaku, wilytʔaniku atni itla*
he was sitting [there], I believe, [and he] even had a black-out (XI:27)

(227) *ɳaɳataɳa atni* *ika-aŋkata, mitla*
something else there used to be: [the] mitla (IV:1)

Sometimes we would translate this particle simply by *and*:

- (228) yuṛa yangari witniku, aṭunʸi vapina atni
there were (going around) young (Yuṛa-) boy[s] and girls (V:2)

Note also the following translation:

- (229) upmaṛaka viṛaṛu atni anʸtʸi-aṅkatatna
or they only kept [it] during one month (VIII:23)

xiii) The particle *vutu also, too* is combined mainly with nouns. It is possible that this is a loanword from English (*too*), but the derivative *vutuku* militates against such a supposition. This particle has been translated by *too* in the interlinear translation:

- (230) ḡuaḷi vutu ikanʸtʸu-aṅu
ḡuaḷi[s] too [there] would be (sitting) (I:25)

- (231) aṭāpi vapina vutu
[the] aṭāpi[s] too (IX:24)

xiv) The particle *vutuku until, up to* seems to be derived from the preceding particle *vutu also, too* by the addition of the clitic *-ku* (see p.37). In our texts it is found only once, where it behaves like an Indo-European preposition (cf. the "case" *-ru*) which is rare in Australia. However, as the suffix *-ru* in itself can express movement *towards* (see pp.6-7), this parallelism is only apparent. Nevertheless, there remains the fact, rare in itself, that this particle is placed *before* the term to which it refers:

- (232) mantāwipana-aṅkatna vaḷuṭupaṅa vutuku Yaṅkavuṭuvuṭuṛu
they tracked them-two over until Yaṅkavuṭuvuṭu (VI:22)

xv) The particle *aṭa up (local)* is found only once in our texts. It is rendered by *up* in the interlinear translation:

- (233) Viḍaḷiṅa ḡaṅa aṭa
up [there] near Viḍaḷiṅa (VI:16)

xvi) The two adverbs *viḷi* and its reduplicated form *viḷi-viḷi in front of (everybody), first* and *yunʸtʸuru in front of* (without movement in the same direction; it means *nose*) are really nouns, but they replace locative particles. It will be noticed that the construction for body parts (see p.7) is used here. *Viḷi* has been rendered by *front* and *yunʸtʸuru* by *nose* in the interlinear translation:

- (234) no vaṅa viṅiṅa ṅukakatna
they should not go in front [of] hi[m] (VII:30)
- (235) ḡa Nunyaḷṭa unṁāniṅa matyiri akananaṅḡa viṅi-viṅi
and [the] oldman Nunyaḷṭa came out first, I believe (XI:17; for
 the verb form cf. L.XI:13-14, p.150).
- (236) aṭuna yunytʷuru utʷu waḷuṅuṅi-ikatna
they talked to each other in front of [the] wife (I:3)

xvii) The "postposition" uṅa *after, behind* is also a noun, and in usage resembles viṅi *in front of*. Like viṅi, it usually takes the locative suffix -ṅa (see p.3) when it functions as a "postposition"; it can also function as a noun, as the last example shows. It has been rendered by *behind* in the interlinear translation:

- (237) ṅawirinʷtʷatna-aṅu iḡiḡiḡari uṅaṅa
they would turn behind (towards) [the] back (VII:12)
- (238) ṅai uṅa maṅaṅa itla
[the one]s after me (I:66)
- (239) vanʷtʷuṅu ṅamaṅa waṅkatʷu-aṅu, uṅa maṅaṅa
his uncle[s] would say, [the] back [one]s (III:16)

(For example (237), cf. also L.VII:12, p.142).

xviii) The particle vitna *after* (mainly temporal) often follows the demonstrative pronoun aṅa, and the expression aṅa vitna *after that* seems roughly equivalent to aṅaṅuṅi *after that*:

- (240) aṅa vitna muka itla ikanʷtʷuwa-aṅu
after that he would keep quiet (X:17) compare:
- (241) ṅaḷpuḷa aṅaṅuṅi ṅukaku
[after] (from) that we were going [along] (I:69)
- (242) uṅa-ana vitna itla, ṅaḷa-ana
after Uṅa-ana [comes] ḡaḷa-ana (XIII:4)

Remarkable is the following example, where the particle is integrated into a whole phrase to which is added the noun suffix -ṅu (see pp.6-7):

- (243) ṅuṅa upmaḷi vapi vitnaṅu yakati utʷu aṅari
that [is the] after-tha(t over there)-upmaḷi-vapi's child (I:123;
 see also L., p.137).

Even though examples of this kind are rare, one nevertheless finds a very slight tendency towards incorporation in Atʼnʼyamaṭaṅa. This will briefly be discussed below (see pp.51-3).

xix) The two particles yaṭa(ṅa) *now* and wii *now* can also introduce a temporal clause (see pp.67-68). However, yaṭa but not wii also functions as a noun. These two particles have been rendered by *now* and *just* respectively in the interlinear translation:

- (244) yaṭa wiiʼtʼya waṅuṅaṭu walaluṅa ṅawaṭa
tonight I'll speak [to] you (word[s]) (I:81)
- (245) yaṭatʼyi mankurinṅku-aṭpuṭa vaṭuṭupaṅa
let us seize them-two now! (VI:21)
- (246) ṅaṭpuṭaʼyuku itla witni-aṭitanta...yaṭa-yaṭa maṭaṅa
only we are (walking) around, [the] present-day [one]s (X:36)
- (247) wii wantaṅuṅikatnāpa
you-two leave each other now! (V:26)
- (248) watnāpa wii muka itla witninʼtʼyu-aṅu
you-two should keep quiet [from] now [on]! (V:27)
- (249) yaṭaṅa imakatnawa
as soon as they get him... (XIII:2)
- (250) waṅuṅuṅikatna matʼyiri, wii yapirininta itla
as [they were] approaching, they said [to] each other... (VI:20)
- (251) wii uru ikakatna ati upmaṅaka nimpaṭala ṅaṭa-aka apana naṭaku
*as soon as they thought [that] one [of them-two] had lost [too?]
 much blood, ...* (V:25)

xx) The particle ari *later on* can introduce temporal clauses with the meaning *before*. The form ariṅa also means *still*. It has been rendered by *later* and *later-ṅa* in the interlinear translation:

- (252) ari ṅaṅṅu yapa-yapa-aṭpuṭawa
let us shake hand[s with] him later/later on! (XI:36)
- (253) ari ṅaṅaṅunʼtʼyatniṅa-aṅu ... ari itla akananʼtʼyatna
after hitting you ... then they would come out ... (XI:42-44)
- (254) ari yuntu akananʼtʼyu nawi-nawinṅkarinʼtʼyuwa-aṅu valkaṭaṅa
*before [the] sun (would) come[s] out he would smear (with) [the]
 lime [over] himself* (VIII:32)

- (255) arı̄na wīṭi vapina wanti-inta
[the] sticks [are] still lying [around] (IX:18)

xxi) The particle waru *a long time ago, once* is often found in the introductory sentence of a narration, where it can be translated by *in the olden days*. It refers only to past events. It has been rendered by *once* in the interlinear translation:

- (256) yuṛa ika-aṅkata waru
a long time ago there were [the] Yuṛa[s] (I:1)
- (257) waru - ut^yurapaṅa ṅuṣu iṅa akaṅa
[an]other story [of] the olden days [is the following] (this)
one (VI:1)

xxii) The particle yuḷupa (*for*) *a long time* refers to duration:

- (258) İkan^yt^yuwa itla-aṅu nimpat^yiṅa yuḷupa
like this he would live for a long time (III:9)

xxiii) The particle yainaṅa *again* is built on the basic form ⁺yai which does not occur in our texts; neither does ⁺yaina *again* (which seems in free variation with yainaṅa). It has been rendered by *again-ṅa* in the interlinear translation:

- (259) naku, iṅa waṅkatai yainaṅa
well, [now] (this) I [am] talking again! (I:39)

xxiv) The particle ṭaṭṅu *though* occurs only once in our texts, but its exact meaning is not clear. It has been rendered by *though* in the interlinear translation, because this is the lexical meaning Andrew Coulthard gave to it:

- (260) ṅaḷpuḷaṅa waru ṭaṭṅu vukaḷa ṅaḷpuḷaṅa waḷuṅka-aṅkalu
he told us [this] often, a long time ago, though (XI:39)

xxv) The particle vukaḷa *often, always* is only found once in our texts, in the example just given.

xxvi) The particle ṭa *and* reminds us of a conjunction. It joins clauses or sentences more frequently than simple constituents. It is, therefore, often found at the beginning of a sentence. It has been rendered by *and* in the interlinear translation:

(261) *ʒa viʒali itla anʔtʔikatna, uʒu ŋaŋa*
and they had younger sibling[s], all [of them] (I:28)

(262) *wiʒanāpa ʒa waʒa-ina ʒa uŋa-ana*
Wiʒanāpa, and Waʒa-ina and Uŋa-ana (XIII:3)

Note: Only the most important particles have been listed. Some others could be added such as *yaʒu for nothing*, which also functions as a noun. These are found in the dictionary. It has been mentioned above that *vutuku until, up to* is somehow exceptional in that it is placed before the word to which it refers (see p.43, example (232)). There are several other particles which can be placed before the term to which they refer. What gives the impression that *vutuku* is exceptional, is the fact that it looks like a preposition rather than an adverb, not only because of its meaning, but also because it combines with a noun having a "case" suffix (-*ʒu*).

No attempt has been made here to class the particles according to the position they take in relation to the term of reference, because this is not sufficiently studied as yet. As has already been mentioned, certain "particles" are really nouns. This shows that the problem of classing the *Atʔnʔamaʒaŋa* words into categories or "parts of speech" is not settled as yet and that it may turn out to be more complex than the threefold classification adopted here provisionally.

4. A NOTE ON WORD FORMATION

The *Atʔnʔamaʒaŋa* lexical elements (lexemes) tend to be disyllabic. This is true for nouns as well as for verb roots and also for most particles. Monosyllables hardly occur - with a few odd exceptions such as *ʒa and* (see p.46). Lexemes which consist of more than two syllables may be suspected of being older derivatives or compounds. I have mentioned the class of verbs which have a third syllable -*ku* (see p.18; note however that some hypothetical cases would result in a monosyllabic root). This -*ku* cannot be identified with any modern *Atʔnʔamaʒaŋa* morpheme. Other forms are visibly older compositions, such as *ŋaʒa-aka big - ŋaʒa much, many* (see p.42) + ⁺*aka piece, bit* (*aka-* classifier, see pp.14-5) or as *aʒāpi father's sister* which sometimes is still pronounced *aʒa-vapi (I:8)* from *aʒu woman + vapi father, father's brother*. Others are more hypothetical such as *vapapa mother's father* from *vapi father + vapa small, little*. Certain of these possible

compounds pertain to processes of word formation which are not productive in the modern language, but may have been so some time ago.

It is surprising how limited the processes of composition are in the present-day language (see pp.50-1). Place names and also proper names seem to indicate that this has been otherwise during an earlier period.

A. DERIVATION

There are a few "derivational" suffixes in the present-day language:

a) The most productive derivational suffixes are *-ma* and *-pa* which are used to form a transitive verb from a noun or a particle, and *-ni* which is used to form intransitive verbs from nouns or particles. The two suffixes *-ma* and *-pa* are "lexical allomorphs", that is, for a given morpheme it is not predictable which one will be used. The suffix *-ma* has been rendered by D.=t., the suffix *-pa* by D.=T. and the suffix *-ni* by D.=I. in the interlinear translation:

- (263) mit^ʷaman^ʷt^ʷalu-aŋu
he would name/call... (I:21) (cf. mit^ʷi name; the morphophonemic change from mit^ʷi to mit^ʷa- is irregular)
- (264) mantāwipana-aŋkatna
they tracked (towards here)... (VI:22) (cf. mantāwi foot)
- (265) naŋkapa|pu|a valanāpaŋa
how shall we do/decide [about] them-two? (IV:10) (cf. ⁺naŋka how?, p.41)
- (266) yapirininta
getting close (VI:20) (cf. ⁺yapiri close)
- (267) muŋŋanin^ʷt^ʷu itlaw-aŋu
he would become muŋŋa (VII:4) (cf. muŋŋa taboo)

A few intransitive verbs are derived from adjectives by means of the suffix *-i*, which has the allomorph *-ɾ(i)* if followed by the suffix *-aŋk(u)* or *-aŋkat(a)* (see p.17). Neither has been translated in the interlinear translation where they are marked by *i* and *ɾ* respectively:

- (268) aṭāpi vitni-iku
[if the] aṭāpi passes away... (VIII:12)
- (269) niŋa apa vitniṭaŋku
[if] you, for instance, had passed away (VIII:13) (cf. vitni bad)

b) It has been mentioned above (see p.24) that a verb with the suffix $-(\eta)\ddot{\iota}(a)/(\eta)t(a)$ can also function as a participle or, as a verbal noun. This suffix can, therefore, be regarded as a derivational suffix. Because of its ambivalent nature I have, however, preferred not to do so.

c) It has been suggested above (see pp.5 and 12) that one of the functions of the nominal suffix $-\eta a$ might be that of a "substantiviser" or of an "adjectiviser". If this is verified, and if one is right to subdivide the noun into "substantives" and "adjectives" (see p.2), this function of the suffix $-\eta a$ belongs here. Several morphemes (see pp.13-4) do not occur without the suffix $-\eta a$. There are also other examples, e.g. $\eta a\eta a\eta a$ *much, many*, ${}^o\eta a\eta a$ is not found in the present-day language.

d) When dealing with the verb it has been seen that some classes of verbal suffixes can be called "obligatory" (e.g. see p.21) and it has been stated that a verb form can never consist in a verb root on its own (see p.32). We find, however, in our texts two forms which can be regarded as verbal roots:

(270) *mai* $\eta a\eta u$ *ikamanantawa*

he came over, in want of food (VII:19)

(271) *ari* ηa *wi* $\ddot{\iota}$ *vapi* ηa *wanti-inta ... wakarakari*

[the] sticks [are] still laying around [there], all broken up
(IX:18)

The noun $\eta a\eta u$, translated by Andrew Coulthard as *in want of* doubtlessly is to be identified with the verbal root ${}^+\eta a\eta u-$ *to eat*, while *wakarakari all broken up* is best analysed as the reduplicated form of the verbal root *wakari-* *to break* (intransitive). This is one of the verbs which always add the intransitiviser $-ri$, see p.18, and the simple root ${}^o waka-$ is not found. The first noun functions like a postposition (cf. also $yun\eta t\eta u$, pp.43-4 and example (236)); the second noun functions as an "adjective". In the language which I have recorded such a derivational process has not been found as a normal device. Here still further research is necessary and if my provisional findings are confirmed, these "fossilised" cases might nevertheless be useful for historical studies.

e) Mention is finally made of the suffix $-n\eta t\eta a\eta a$ which appears to be composed of a suffix ${}^o-n\eta t\eta a$ followed by the suffix $-\eta a$ (see pp.4-6).

The exact nature of this suffix is unknown. In our texts it occurs in the following two expressions:

(272) muku-maṛa-maṛanʸtʸaḡa
bone-handler (X:23)

(273) muku-mayāṭanʸtʸaḡa
bone-master (X:23)

It is interesting to observe that both words are compounds and this is usually also true in other cases outside our texts. If one adds this suffix to a given place name it refers to a dead person who is connected with the place (died there, has the grave there, or perhaps also has been "found" there), and whose name it is forbidden to pronounce in the presence of certain relatives.

B. COMPOSITION

In the introduction to this chapter it has been mentioned that composition is like derivation, very poorly developed in Atʸnʸamaṭaḡa. This may seem unexpected, as the agglutinative nature of the language allows for complex morpheme combinations. This absence of an abundant composition, paired with the agglutination of suffixes is reminiscent of other languages such as Turkish and one wonders if there is a more general rule rather than a historical relationship to be discovered behind this phenomenon. This fact certainly has to be brought into connection with another phenomenon of the language, namely that only whole noun phrases take inflections or, in other terms, that there is no agreement between nouns belonging to the same noun phrase. This juxtaposition of two nouns (for this see pp.59-63) makes composition superfluous, and only phonetic changes give the impression of a compound word as the example of aṭāpi *father's sister* mentioned above shows. The two examples given in the previous paragraph (examples (272) and (273)) show that the compositional possibilities are not limited to the possessive relationship and that composition is not "generatively" absent. Apart from the unusual construction it is the stress pattern which makes me consider certain forms as compounds: the few examples which are considered such have only one main stress.¹⁴

It is, however, when looking at the verb that we see more clearly the absence of compositional devices in the language: if two verbal ideas are combined, the respective verb forms are juxtaposed - this can be considered a sort of "agreement" - or one of the two verbs is given in a participial form (see p.24):

(274) yuṛa wipmaḷa yaṅṅa ika-aṅku waru, ḡaḷa-akaṅa ḡawaḷa waḷuṅṛi-
aṅkatna
[the] Yuṛa[s] sat on [the] court-ground, they spoke [to] each
other big word[s] (I:2)

(275) waṅkaṅa ikanṽtṽuwa utṽu inka maṅu
he would sit [there] talking, [turning the] face [to the] other
side (VII:25)

Note: For an interesting but uncertain example see L.XI:44, p.151.

The only productive phenomenon which can be understood as a partic-
ular type of composition is the reduplication of root forms. Reduplic-
ation occurs with nouns as well as with verbs, and is possible also
with particles. When a root is trisyllabic, usually only the first two
syllables are reduplicated, but this is not obligatorily so, as the
last example below shows. Trisyllabic reduplication can lead to
partial fusion as in the case of wakarakeri *all broken up*, mentioned
above (p.49):

(276) ḷa vanṽtṽuṛu nata ḡuri-ḡuri maṅaṅa ḡankḷni utṽu, ... yaḍu-yaḍu
maṅaṅa ḡamaṅa vapina, itni-itni maṅaṅa, waṅkananṽtṽu-aṅu
and his not-close relative[s], ... [the] uncles 'just like that',
[the] distant [uncle]s would say to [him] (III:11; cf. L., p.139).

(277) nawi-nawinḡarḷnṽtṽuwa-aṅu
he would/will smear [it over and over] himself (VIII:32)

(278) yaṅka vuḷa-vuḷa nimpaḷala vinṽaṅa itla inḡi-inḡinḡunanta
vaḷuṭupaṅa
[the] pursuers tore the[ir]-two liver[s into] pieces (VI:24)

(279) ama-amanṽili ... ḡaṅaṅuṛuntuwa
you should have hit him lighter (XI:31)

(280) irana matṽiri aka-akanakatna utṽu maṅaṅa
really, I believe, the(y) others [were] coming out (XI:10)

(281) yaṅunṽi-yaṅunṽi might ḡaḷunṽtṽu itḷa-aṅu
the members of the opposite moiety would cry then (X:9)

C. INCORPORATION

In a language like the one described here, the phenomenon of
composition and derivation can be related to "incorporation". If one
states that Atṽnṽamaṅaṅa obviously does not incorporate, for example,
nouns into the verbal complex, this is not surprising after one has

seen that it does not form compound verbs. However, here again, the treatment of the noun phrase (see pp.61-3) allows for constructions which are difficult to understand in terms of an Indo-European language. Such an example has been given above (see p.44, example (243)), and this is repeated here:

- (282) ɲuɲa upma!i vapi vitnaɲu yakati utʷu aɲari
that [is the] that over there)-upma!i-vapi-after's child (I:123)

Still closer to what is traditionally called "incorporation" comes the following example:

- (283) nimpatʷi iɲa yata yuɲa-vari-munka-i-nta
thus this country [has become/]is without Yuɲas (X:34)

Here we cannot operate any more with terms such as "juxtaposition", as there is an embedding of a noun phrase (yuɲa munka "Yuɲas") and a verb form (vari-inta *be lacking*), and the whole complex is treated as a verb form. This is a unique example in our texts and certainly does not reflect a very common usage, yet it is more than a simple curiosity. Such rare sentences are, on the contrary, of great importance for defining the intrinsic (or the "generative") possibilities of a language and it is here where we are able to penetrate somewhat deeper into the structure of the language. Andrew Coulthard fully accepted these examples (contrary to more frequent forms as itlawa (see p.39), matʷiriwa (see p.41), which, for this sole statistical reason we provisionally accepted as marking at least a tendency in the present-day language). This acceptance shows that we have to take into account such constructions if we aim at a full description of the language. Perhaps those incorporating constructions were more frequently used some time ago. All this does not matter from the generative point of view, but the existence of such a mechanism is important, it can rapidly be extended by frequent implementation at any point in the history of the language.

From the historical point of view, one can ask the question whether we are here in the presence of a (third) independent development in Australia or, whether this has to be brought into connection with the incorporation found in the south coast of New South Wales.¹⁵ If this latter is the case, one might further ask whether Atʷnʷamaɲaɲa incorporation is an offshoot from the New South Wales area or a remnant of a more wide-spread usage. It could also have been overlooked in surrounding languages. There is, therefore, room for more research, although

it can hardly be hoped that today much can be gathered from the languages of the groups which were the immediate neighbours of the Atʻnʻamaṭaṇa people.

5. THE MAIN SYNTACTIC FEATURES¹⁶

In this section are enumerated the most important syntactical mechanisms encountered in the texts. The two terms "sentence" and "clause" are used here without any clear definition in their traditional sense. This intuitive use of the two terms is maintained for convenience, although the definition of the difference between "sentence" and "clause" poses several problems in Atʻnʻamaṭaṇa. It is particularly here where still much research is necessary.

A. THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

The term "simple sentence" is used here in a sense which corresponds to what is called "minimal sentence" by certain linguists (e.g. A. Martinet). In this outline three types of simple sentences are distinguished. Each sentence in the language can be reduced to one of these basic structures. More complex sentences can then be explained by means of the concept of "expansion" which operates on the simple sentences which, in turn, define the "basic" structures of the other sentences.

An Atʻnʻamaṭaṇa sentence always consists of a predicate and its obligatory complement(s). These complements are called "subject", "object" and "agent" respectively.

a) The nominal sentence

The predicate in an Atʻnʻamaṭaṇa sentence is not obligatorily a verb; it can also be a noun. In such a case I speak of a "nominal sentence". The subject normally is some type of noun. The relative order of subject and predicate is not relevant in Atʻnʻamaṭaṇa:

(284) ḡamiṇa maṭa valanmunka
[the] mothers [are] valanmunka (II:3)

(285) yatna maṭaṇa atni ḡapaḷa vapina
[the] ḡapaḷas [are] also yatna maṭaṇa (II:12)

(286) viṅṅatʻi aṅaritʻi
that [is a] viṅṅa (III:23)

(287) iḡaḡa watnanpiḡu atla-wiḡḡi
this (one ?) [is] your-two fire-stick (III:5)

(288) waḡaḡawa
where [is] he? (XI:18)

Note: "Existence" can be expressed by various verbs and the verbs assuming this function can also function in a similar way to what is called the "copula" in latin grammars. These sentences are considered here as normal intransitive sentences.

For cases of ellipsis, cf. L. (e.g. L.I:34, p.132).

b) The intransitive sentence

This type of sentence consists of a subject and a predicate, but the predicate is a verb. A sentence without subject is possible, in which case it is "impersonal". Sometimes the subject is also omitted when it has been mentioned in a preceding sentence. Strictly speaking, this seems to be incorrect in Atʸnʸamaḡaḡa, and I have considered such sentences as examples of ellipsis. Just to which degree such sentences can be considered "incorrect" is not yet determined, nor have I tried to determine to what degree they imply a ("statistical") tendency in the present-day language.

The verb tends to follow the subject, unless the subject is expressed by a pronominal suffix, but this is not obligatorily so:

(289) wilkamukuḡa ika-aḡkata
there were [the] Wilkamukuḡa[s] (XII:11)

(290) yana-aḡku iḡa wataḡa
this one has come/arrived (XI:8)

(291) va|pakatantai
I am ashamed (X:27)

(292) ḡukananḡkatʸu-aḡu
[it] would go along (I:70)

Very often the unexpanded intransitive sentences simply state existence. The "verbs of existence" used in such cases are mainly the following:

ika-	to sit	ḡuka-	to go, to walk
wanti-	to lie	witni-	to go around
yua-	to stand		

- (293) *yuṛa yanḡari witniku*
there were young Yuṛa[s] (going around) (V:2)

The use of those verbs of existence sometimes reminds of the Latin "copula":

- (294) *aḡa atni ika-aḡkata nitṽata*
that also was legal (III:25)
- (295) *yanḡaripila ḡaḷṭu ikanta watnāpa*
you-two are (sitting) two strong blokes! (V:19)

These cases can be discussed in connection with the fact that in *Atṽnyamaḡaḡa* it is not the absence of what "logically" (that is traditionally) is considered an "object", which defines an intransitive sentence. One could try to explain this by introducing the notion of an "indirect" object. But the transitive sentences will show that it does not seem justified to distinguish between an "indirect" and a "direct" object in the language. I have mentioned these facts here, because the behaviour of certain verbs as a "copula" is explained by them:

- (296) *iḡa waḡkatai yaḷnaḡa inṽtṽiḡa ḡawaḷatṽi*
now I am talking again these (same) word[s] (I:39)
- (297) *ḡaḷa-akaḡa ḡawaḷa waḷuḡuṛḷ-aḡkatna*
they spoke [to] each other big word[s] (I:2)
- (298) *nuḡkuḡuṛi-aḡkatna aḡuna*
they exchanged wife[s] (I:1)

Note: The reflexive and reciprocal verb forms are treated as intransitive verb forms (see p.19):

- (299) *utla itla ḡuḡaḡkariḡanṽtṽatna-aḡu*
they would just do [it] themselves (VIII:35)
- (300) *yatna utla ḡaḡaḡuṛinṽtṽu-aḡu vapalu vapina*
they themselves would hit each other, the vapalus (IX:7)

c) The transitive sentence

The transitive sentence consists of a predicate, an agent, and normally an object. The distinctive element in a transitive sentence is the agent, while the object can be lacking if it is indeterminate or if it refers to something (other than a person) mentioned before:

- (301) *vapalu vapinaḡa ḡuḡanṽtṽatnaḡa-aḡu*
[the] vapalus would throw [at] them (IX:5)

(302) ḡuḡanʸtʸatna-aḡu upmaḡi maḡalu
they would throw [at them], [the] upmaḡis (IX:4)

(303) ḡami vapina naku-aḡu
I'll see/look up [my] ḡamis (II:2)

Note: It is stressed that most dual personal pronouns and all the plural personal pronouns do not mark the agent, but the object (see p.10, example (54)), no matter whether they are "free" pronouns or suffixes (cf. example (301) as against example (302)):

(304) ḡaḡḡu yapa-yapalimanakatnawa
they came over shaking hand[s to] him (XI:20)

(305) yatna wantakḡa
they were leaving you (XI:43)

(306) naḡkapaḡpuḡa valanāpaḡa
how shall we do/decide [about] them-two? (IV:10)

The agent marker does not seem obligatory with a noun or a noun phrase which is juxtaposed to another noun (phrase) marked by the agent suffix, nor is it obligatory with a noun (phrase) which is the agent of a verb already marked by a pronominal suffix indicating the agent. Sometimes ambiguities can result from this, more so as two objects are possible:

(307) ḡatʸu vapalu vapinaḡa, aḡu vapina, ḡalka naku-aḡku yuḡa apana
 witniku
*my daughters might have fallen in love with [a] boy [who] was
 (going) around (I:114)*

(308) utʸu maḡaḡa itla ḡatʸu ḡamiḡa ḡanʸa-aḡkatna
*others call my mother 'wife' (but hardly: they call my other
 mothers 'wife') (I:60)*

(309) aḡuna vanʸtʸuḡu māḡi vanʸtʸuḡu ḡami=vapi yalʸtʸatʸalu-aḡu ḡamaḡa
 and aḡāpi
 1) *his wife would call her husband['s] parents 'ḡamaḡa' and 'aḡāpi'
 (respectively) or*
 2) *her husband would call his wife['s] parents 'ḡamaḡa' and 'aḡāpi'
 (respectively) (I:8; see L., pp.128-9).*

In rare instances an agent is lacking altogether, but I tend to consider such cases as errors:

- (310) *nimpatʸi mitʸamanta, valanmunkaḡa atni*
like this, calling [them] 'valan munkaḡa' too (II:15) (cf.
also L., p.138).

It has already been mentioned above that the object can be lacking (see example (302)). As there is no distinction between a "direct" and an "indirect" object, a transitive sentence may also have two objects:

- (311) *vanʸtʸuḡu viḡali vapina ... ḡuḡanʸtʸalu-aḡu*
[at] his viḡalis ... he would throw [something, the wiḡi ?] (V:14)
- (312) *wiḡi nuḡkutʸatna-aḡu valanāpaḡa*
they would give stick[s to] them-two (V:21)

Note: I have made the (obligatory) presence or absence of the agentive the main criterion for distinguishing between transitive and intransitive sentences in *Atʸnʸamaḡaḡa*. It might be difficult to accept the idea that an intransitive sentence can have an "object", although this has been done before even for Indo-European languages (as in Harris' "string-analysis"). One might, therefore, be tempted to reject my criterion for classing the elementary syntactic structures. However, it is pointed out that what I have called here "object" of an intransitive sentence is not an obligatory element in the same sense as the subject for an intransitive and the agent for a transitive sentence. The transitive sentence has shown that the problem can be related to the fact that the language, formally, does not distinguish between an "indirect" and a "direct" object. We can, on the other hand, try to explain intransitive verbs which have such an "object" as being really compound verbs (e.g. as *word-speaking* in example (297), p.55). But this is not a real solution: this is shown for instance by the example (298)(p.55). In this particular case one could still explain the personal ending *-atna* as an agentive, since the agentive and the nominative are identical in the plural of pronouns. As all examples having the suffix *-ḡuḡi* show that these verb forms behave as intransitive verbs, my interpretation stands, even if this might be quite disconcerting in terms of traditional conceptions taken over mainly from the Latin grammar. With reference to the same example, there remains the query whether it is ambiguous. The existence of an "object" of an intransitive verb, combined with the possibility of redundant constructions of the type noun + verb + personal suffix (see example (302), p.56) can render quite simple sentences ambiguous:

(313) unki ika-aṅkuwa

he [was] (sat) [a] unki (IX:22)

taken out of its context can also be translated as:

[the/a] unki (he) sat[/sat down]

Here a more general problem arises: In terms of a transformational conception this would mean that even this simple sentence can be "composed" (of two nuclei), so what the "elementary" syntactic structures exactly are in Atʸnʸamaṭaṇa? The answer has been partly anticipated above (p.55) where it is stated that the "object" of an intransitive sentence is not obligatory and that it really belongs to the "expansions".¹⁷

In view of those facts, it seems still less probable that the omission of a subject or of an agent is to be considered correct in Atʸnʸamaṭaṇa; but more research is needed in order to determine in greater detail the border lines of grammatical and ungrammatical sentences in the language.

B. THE EXPANSION OF THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

In this section only expansions are considered on the sub-clause level; the expansion by clauses is dealt with in the next section (see pp.65-71). Though it is not beyond criticism (a constituent of a simple sentence such as the subject, can be expanded also by a clause, e.g. a relative clause), this sub-division into simple and complex expansions has been adopted for convenience.

a) Other constituents

The main "other constituents" which can be added to these "minimal sentences" are the so-called "adverbial" complements of traditional grammars, they therefore do not correspond to the term "adjunct" in some modern grammars (such as 'string analysts'). Here belong the nouns that have added to them the various suffixes enumerated above (see pp.2-8) as well as, for instance, the particles (see pp.38-47).

The order of these constituents is not fixed in Atʸnʸamaṭaṇa, as may be expected in a language having a rich morphology. Although there is no strict rule, there are probably some (statistical) tendencies to be determined. Thus the predicate appears to have the tendency to be placed after the subject or the agent, provided that this is not expressed by a pronominal suffix. Only a few types of expansions are illustrated in the following examples:

(314) utʸu maṭalu ṇapaṭa yaṭʸtʸakuwa

[the] others would call her 'ṇapaṭa' (I:12)

- (315) aḡaḡa wira yuaḡinta
there gum-tree[s] are standing (VI:17)
- (316) valanpila Viḡaḡiḡaḡu yana-aḡku
they-two came to Viḡariḡa (VI:7)
- (317) valanpi aḡari ikanḡtḡu-aḡu
they-two would stay there (I:6)
- (318) ikanḡtḡu valanpi itla-aḡu
they-two would (sit) [stay/live there] (I:5)
- (319) yalḡtḡaḡuḡi-aḡkata nimpatḡi yuḡa
[the] Yuḡa[s] would call each other like this (I:52)
- (320) aḡuna yalḡtḡatḡatnawa-aḡu vanḡtḡuḡu viḡali vapinaḡa, mḡḡu vapinaḡa
his younger brothers would call her 'aḡuna' (I:11)

b) Phrases

1) If we distinguish between a "syntagm" - being roughly what can be defined as a "word" in Atḡnḡamaḡaḡa - and a "phrase" - being defined as a group of words forming a higher-level constituent - than we can say that verb phrases are usually simple in the language. A verb phrase then consists of a verb form to which is added one or more particles. Some particles always follow the verb, while others - mainly corresponding to our "adverbs" - usually precede it. Still others, such as *nimpatḡi like this* do not have a fixed position and sometimes are separated from the verb:

- (321) waḡuḡuḡikatna matḡiri, wii yapḡrininta itla
they said [to] each other, I believe, as soon as [they] approach[ed] (VI:20)
- (322) iḡa waḡkatai yalnḡa
now I [am] talking again (I:39)
- (323) aḡatḡi vani iḡa-aḡkatna itla
they handled that very strictly/severely (IV:5)
- (324) nimpatḡiḡa ikanḡtḡu itla-aḡu
like this [it] would [be] (sit) (I:10)
- (325) aḡu utḡu waḡkatḡu-aḡu nimpatḡi
[the] woman would say like this (I:78)
- (326) nimpatḡi vapi waḡkatḡu-aḡu
like this [the] father would say (I:82)

- (327) iranāṇa matʷiri ... ṇaḷapaṇa itla aka-akanaku
really, I believe, ... many [people] were coming out (XI:37)

Note: It is not usual to speak of "phrases" when the two elements are widely separated as, for instance, in the last example. But it is clear that from the point of view of "expansion" the phenomenon is identical with "compact" phrases.

In connection with the "object" of an intransitive verb and the "second object" of a transitive verb (see pp.54-8), and also in connection with the absence of compound verbs in Atʷnʷamaṭṭaṇa one can suggest that a verb phrase is sometimes composed of a noun and a verb. This means that we obviously imply the expansion-type which is traditionally interpreted in terms of the (immediate) constituents of a sentence. As just hinted, however, we are also brought to face with the problem of verb composition, as is particularly clearly seen in the following examples:

- (328) uru ikatantai ...
I just think [of it], ... (IV:22)
- (329) ṇalka nakuṇṇinta valanāpa
they-two love each other (IV:10)
- (330) mai ṇalku ikamanantawa
he [is] coming over ([to] sit down?) in want of food (VII:19)

The "phrases" uru ika- *to sit uru*, i.e. *to think*, ṇalka naku- *to see/look ṇalka*, i.e. *to love*, ṇalku ika- *to sit ṇalku*, i.e. *to be(/sit) in want of* would traditionally be called "idiomatic expressions". However, the fact that uru *thought*, ṇalka *look, fancy*, and ṇalku ? (see⁺ ṇalku- *to eat*) are hardly ever used outside these expressions probably stresses the tendency to a complete fusion. Because the first morphemes still have a certain independent existence we are not yet on etymological grounds. But as this independence is diminishing at present, one may ask whether one is justified in speaking of a "compound verb" in these instances. It is also suggested that these cases should be considered as "verb phrases" or, in other terms, that the nouns are considered "expansions" of the verb, even though the translation of uru ika- *to think* might suggest the contrary.¹⁸

ii) The noun phrase, just as in English, can be quite complex in Atʷnʷamaṭṭaṇa, and it is not my intention even to nearly exhaust the subject. The following remarks might suffice:

Juxtaposition is often employed in Atʸnʸamaʒaṅa (see pp. 63-5), and two or more noun phrases can also be combined in this manner:

- (331) aṅuna yaḷʸtʸatʸatnawa-aṅu vanʸtʸuṛu viḷali vapinaṅa, miṛu vapinaṅa
his viḷalis, [the] men/boys, would call her 'aṅuna' (I:11)

This means that only intonation and meaning can tell us in such cases whether we have to assume the presence of one or more noun phrases. As intonation does not always give us a clear indication in rapid speech, we have to rely on meaning.

As there is no agreement between a substantive and the qualifying adjective (see p.50), this type of determination is also expressed by simple juxtaposition:

- (332) ṅaḷa-akaṅa ṅawaḷa waḷuṅuṛi-aṅkatna
they spoke big word[s to] each other (I:2)
- (333) yanṅaripila ṅaḷtu ikanta watnāpa
you-two [are] (sitting) two strong blokes! (V:19)

Note: Most adjectives are regularly placed before the substantive. Some adjectives can also follow the substantive as the last examples show. However, as already mentioned (see p.2) in Atʸnʸamaʒaṅa a rigid distinction between substantives and adjectives does not seem justified as the following examples show:

- (334) ṅuaḷi vulka, ṅa vapapa vulka, atʸnʸani vulkuṅa
old(man) ṅuaḷi, and old(man) vapapa, [and] old(woman) atʸnʸani
(I:26)
- (335) ṅuaḷi vutu ikanʸtʸu-aṅu, vulka maṅaṅatʸi ṅuaḷi
[the] ṅuaḷi[s] would [be] (sit), [the] old(men) ṅuaḷi[s] (I:25)
- (336) naku, aṅa wantu waṅkaṅiṅa vulkaya
yes, that you say[d] well, old man! (IV:14)

This question is taken up again below.

The "genitive construction" deserves special mention. It is one of the functions of the suffix -ṛu to indicate this type of relation (see p.6). As the suffix can be added to a whole noun phrase (see p.44, (243) and p.52), the order of determining and determined noun phrases is strictly fixed: the genitive always precedes the determined noun phrase, unless the determining part is a singular pronoun of series I, in which case it may also follow the determined noun:

- (337) vapiṛu nuṅa apana anʸtʸi-aṅku
[the] father had, perhaps, [an] elder brother (I:30; cf. L., p.132).
- (338) aṅa atni ika-aṅkata yuṛaṛu ḡuṅu
that Yuṛa('s) custom also existed (V:28)
- (339) vanʸtʸuṛu vapi, ḡatʸu ḡuaḷi
her father [is] my ḡuaḷi (I:44)
- (340) aṅuna vanʸtʸuṛu apana vitniṛaṅku
his wife might have passed away (VIII:24)

In connection with the problem of a distinction between adjective and substantive in Atʸnʸamaṅaṅa, we can re-examine the question of compound nouns. Some examples suggest the adoption of the concept of "general genitive construction" of Turkish grammars:

- (341) wapatla vunʸtʸu akakaḷṅanʸtʸatnawa-aṅu
they would [cut] (break) [her] hair (VIII:19)

Here wapatla vunʸtʸu *head-hair* could be explained as *[the] hair [of] head*, while ⁺wapatlaṛu vunʸtʸu could be explained as *[the] hair [of the] head*. This interpretation can also be applied to the construction connected with other body parts (see p.7). In the following examples such an interpretation is more difficult:

- (342) yakati mulkalpu witni-ankata
[the] Mulkalpu-child went around (VII:1)
- (343) yuṛa yanṅari witniku
[a/the] Aboriginal boy[s] was/were (going) around (V:2)

Here an "adjectival" use of the nouns seems a more plausible explanation. But it is clear that Atʸnʸamaṅaṅa has one single method of rendering the two English constructions: 1) adjective + a substantive; 2) compound noun. These constructions could simply be cases of composition - this view which is reinforced by the fact that a whole noun phrase is "declined" (see p.50). The following example might furnish a test case:

- (344) ḡamaṅa ḡatʸu mina-ḡaḷṅi yaṅaṅunta matʸlrl
knocking out my uncle['s] tear[s] I believe (XI:25)

Is it possible to say ⁺ḡamaṅa mina-ḡaḷṅi ḡatʸu ? I have unfortunately not yet made such tests, which might bring a solution.¹⁹

Analogously to what we have seen in verb phrases (see pp.59-60), noun phrases can also consist of one (or several) nouns + one (or more)

particles. Some particles are placed before the noun, and others follow (this seems to be the more frequent case). In any case particles usually have a given place and are not separated from the noun:

- (345) vapapa atni ikanʔtʔu-aŋu
also [the/a] vapapa[s] [there] would [be] (sit) (I:17)
- (346) upma|i utʔu
[he is a] upma|i (I:35)
- (347) yatna utʔu maʔaʔu itla ŋamaŋa apana
[the(y)] others' uncle, for instance (IX:10)
- (348) ŋamiŋaŋa apana itla
say, how many, for instance / I do not know how many (I:12)
- (349) mantāwipana-aŋkatna va|uʔupaŋa vutuku Yaŋkavuʔuvuʔuʔu
they tracked them-two up till Yaŋkavuʔuvuʔu (VI:22)

C. COORDINATION

As coordination concerns the "simple expansion" as well as the "complex expansion", it is discussed separately. In Atʔnʔamaʔaŋa, indeed, both forms of expansion pose analogous problems. We have seen above (see p.46) that the particle ʔa *and* is employed to coordinate constituents as well as sentences (cf. examples (261) and (262)). But this particle is not very frequently used, and juxtaposition is by far more common. The difference between *and* and *or* is hereby left to be determined by the context; *or* can, however, also be expressed by *apana ... apana*:²⁰

- (350) nuŋa yaka ŋatʔu nimpatʔiŋa anʔtʔi-aŋkataʔu
the same way I had elder brother[s and] elder sister[s] (I:51)
- (351) ŋami vapina naku-aʔu vapi vapina naku-aʔu
[the] ŋamis [and the] vapis I will see/look up (II:2)
- (352) māŋi apana vitniʔaŋku aʔuna apana vitniʔaŋku, aŋapilalu valkaʔa
 maŋunʔtʔu-aŋu
[if the] husband had died, [or the] wife had died, [the other spouse] (those-two) would wear [the] lime[-cap] (VIII:17)

I have already discussed, on the constituent level, the tendency in Atʔnʔamaʔaŋa to express various types of dependency by juxtaposition (in particular see pp.60-2). On the clause level, dependency is traditionally called subordination. As the language usually indicates

coordination as well as subordination by mere juxtaposition of the respective sentences (or "clauses"), the splitting up of a text into a certain number of sentences - which may or may not consist of several clauses - poses many problems. This means that in many cases more than one separation is possible. This may result in ambiguities:

- (353) ... wantuniku itlawa ḡaḡapaḡa itla aka-akanaku ...
 ... *He became good [again]. Many [people] were coming out ... or*
 ... *He became good [again and] many [people] were coming out ... or*
 ... *[As] he became good [again,] many [people] were coming out ...*
 (XI:37)
- (354) ... ḡatʸi-aḡkatatna atni waruḡuḡi nuḡkutʸatnawa-aḡu
 ... *they mentioned [it] in the olden days, [and] they would give*
[/to] him or
 ... *[when,] in the olden days, they had mentioned [that], they*
would [have had to] give [/to] him or
 ... *in the olden days they would [have had to] give [/to] him,*
[because] they had mentioned [it] or
 ... *they had mentioned [it] in the olden days [in order to] give*
[(to)] him or
 ... *in the olden days they mentioned [it so that] they [could]*
give [(to)] him or
 ... *in the olden days they mentioned [that] they would give [it*
(to)] him etc. (III:30)
- (355) nimpatʸiḡa valu itla ḡapaḡa utʸu maḡaḡa anʸtʸiku nimpatʸi nimpatʸi
 ikaḡtʸu-aḡu upmaḡi vapina yaḡḡuḡi-aḡkatna ...
He had other ḡapaḡas just the same. Like this it would be. There
were upmaḡis ... or
[When/if] he had also ḡapaḡas/others [who were] ḡapaḡa[s], it would
be like this/the same way. There were upmaḡis ... or
He had ḡapaḡas/others [who were his] ḡapaḡa[s] like this/in the
same manner. It also would be the following way: He had upmaḡis ...
 etc. (I:14-16)

This illustrates the complex situation we often find in Atʸnʸamaḡaḡa texts. The lack of conjunctions may, therefore, be considered a particular instance of a more general tendency in the language, namely the tendency to leave the interpretation of various types of dependency to the context. It is, of course, possible that the language has other devices to distinguish at least between dependency and non-dependency

and that intonational and pause patterns play an important role. This has, so far, not been clearly ascertained, and the artificial speech situation we often find in taped texts might partly be responsible for that. (On the tapes, for instance, even constituents of the same phrase are often separated by a pause.) It is here that much more research is needed.

D. COMPLEX EXPANSION: THE CLAUSES

In the preceding section we have tried to show that in Atʻnʻamaṭṭa there are usually no conjunctions to mark different clause types. Formally speaking, there is therefore no point in distinguishing various clause types in Atʻnʻamaṭṭa. It seemed nevertheless useful to group together several types of examples classifying the various "clause" types, mainly on semantic grounds. Certain sequences of verb forms (the tense-mood-aspect suffixes) often give hints on an interpretation. This chapter of Atʻnʻamaṭṭa syntax is still very little explored and one of the tasks of future research is to determine whether more rigorous rules can be formulated. Nevertheless it seems unlikely that one will find an analogy to the "consecutio temporum" of Latin, although Atʻnʻamaṭṭa has some similar features. These will be indicated where possible.

a) The relative clause

There are two constructions which can be interpreted as relative clauses:

1) In the first construction the relative clause is joined to the "main clause" without any marker:

(356) yuṛa vapina yuaʻiku ḡulanʻiṇa no ḡaʻaṇuṛikatna
they did not fight [with the] Yuṛas [who] were standing in [the]
 ḡulanʻi (IX:6)

(357) nuṇa atni anʻtʻi-aṅkatatna, yalʻtʻa-aṭu-aṇu nuṇa
[the one whom] they had [as] nuṇa, I [also][would] call 'nuṇa'
 (I:63)

(358) ḡalka naku-aṅku yuṛa apana witniku māṇi yalʻtʻakaluwa
[she] loved perhaps [a] man ([who] was going around [and] whom)
she called 'māṇi' (I:114)

ii) The second construction consists of marking the relative clause by adding the clitic -ri (see p.36) to a constituent of the clause. It

is added to a noun as well as to a verb, to the first element as well as to the last. No rules have been determined as yet for adding -ri to a given element in a clause:

(359) ... ɲalpuɭaɲali, ɲairi yaɕa waŋka-aŋkata
... *like us, [as] what I have explained [just] now* (I:126)

(360) utʷuɲa itla, yuɕa nuŋkuɲuɕi-aŋkatari
[an]other [one/story], which [tells how the] Yuɕa[s] exchanged
[wives] (III:1) (doubtful; see p.139)

Note: No rules for sequences of verb forms are visible as is shown for instance by a comparison of example (358) with examples (356) and (357).

b) The conditional clause

The conditional clause is not marked by any clitic or particle. The hypothesis ("antecedent") very often has a verb form with the suffix -ku ("narrative" or "aorist", see pp.26-7), and the conclusion ("consequence") usually has the suffix -(nʷ)tʷ(u) ("hypothetical" - which looks like a misnomer in this context - or "future", see pp.23-4). This is reminiscent of a "time sequence"; but, the hypothesis often has other verb forms, less frequently the conclusion. The hypothesis is sometimes underlined by the particle *apana* *might* (see p.40). The distinction between a "realis", a "potentialis-eventualis" and an "irrealis" is usually not marked. This means that the "potentialis" or "eventualis" suffix -ɲ(a) (see p.27, example (143)) as well as the "irrealis" suffix -ɾ(a) (see p.26, example (135)) usually do not occur in conditional, but rather in "main" clauses, as can be verified by the texts. The relative order of the two clauses is irrelevant:

(361) utana vapalu yaɭʷtʷakalu yatnaɲa, upmaɭili ikanʷtʷuwa-aɲu
[if] he does not call them 'vapalu', he would [be] (sit) a sort
of upmaɭi (I:32)

(362) niɲa apa vitniɾaŋku, valu nimpatʷiɲa wayaranʷtʷu-aɲu aɲa yata,
nuŋku yata
[if,] for instance, you had passed away, she would in the same
manner dodge that place, your place (VIII:13)

(363) vapi utʷu yaɭʷtʷatʷatnawa-aɲu utʷu, (...) ɲami yaɭʷtʷakatna aɕuna
they would call him 'vapi', [if] he calls [their] ɲami 'aɕuna'
(I:36)

- (364) aṭuna vapina naku-aṭu, anʸtʸikaṭu
let me look up [my] aṭunas - provided I have got [some] (II:13)
- (365) vanʸtʸuṛu viḷali apana anʸtʸikaṭu, vayaṛa itla
*[if] I have, for instance, viḷali[s] of his, [they are my]
 vayaṛa[s] (II:20)*

c) The temporal clause

The borderline between what is to be interpreted as a conditional clause and a temporal clause respectively is not always clearly drawn. This is the case in many languages such as German dialects, which do not distinguish between *if* and *when*. But in Atʸnʸamaṭaṇa this is only a particular instance of a more general phenomenon: i.e. the absence of introductory particles or conjunctions, as we have already seen:

- (366) ṭa vakukatna itlawā, vaṭṇāpa itla ikakuwa, muṅṭaninʸtʸu itlawā-aṅu
*and [when] they [had] made him [sc. a man], [when] he [was] (sat)
 [a] vaṭṇāpa, he would [be/]become muṅṭa (VII:4)*
- (367) yuṛa vitniṛaṅku apana, aṭuna muṅṭa ikanʸtʸu-aṅu
*[when/if a/the] Yuṛa had passed away, [his] wife would [be] (sit)
 muṅṭa (VIII:1)*
- (368) utʸu maṭaṇa yuṛi ṇaṭlku, utʸuṇa waṅkatʸu-aṅu
*[the/an]other [one] would talk, [while the] others [would] listen
 (IV:12)*

One might discover in the Atʸnʸamaṭaṇa language - as compared for instance with English - a certain asymmetry in the capacity of giving local or temporal precisions respectively in a sentence. There are nevertheless a number of temporal particles which mark a temporal clause; sometimes these particles function in our conception as adverbs, sometimes they approach the functioning of our conjunctions:

- (369) aṅa vitna muka itla ikanʸtʸuwa-aṅu, aṭu nuṅkukatnawa
*after they [had] given him [a] woman, he would remain quiet
 (III:34)*
- (370) waṅuṅuṛlkatna matʸiri, wll yaplrlninta itla
*they were speaking [to] each other, I believe, as [they were]
 approaching (VI:20)*
- (371) wii uru ikakatna ati upmaṅaka nimpaṭala ṇaḷa-aka apana naḷaku,
 yalti-inʸtʸatna itla-aṅu
*when[/as soon as] they were thinking [that] one was bleeding
 [too[?]] much (this way) they would stop [them-two] (V:25)*

- (372) yuṛaṇa yakati mitʷamaṅkata, witnāpa, yaṣaṇa imakatnawa, ḡamiṇa
imakuwa
[the] Yuṛa[s] named [their] child, [a] baby, as soon as they were
getting it, [when the] mother got it (XIII:1-2)
- (373) ari yuntu akananʷtʷu, nawi-nawiṅkarinʷtʷuwa-aṅu valkaṣaṇa
before [the] sun would [rise] (come out) he would smear [over and
over] himself (with) [the] lime (VIII:32)

A frequent construction is the use of the "participle" (cf. the suffix $-(ḡ)ḡ(a)/(n)t(a)$, see p.24) to indicate simultaneity with another action or event:

- (374) waṅkaṣa ikanʷtʷuwa utʷu inka maṅu
he would sit talking, [having the] face [turned to the] other
side (VII:25)

The reader is finally reminded that some nominal suffixes can have a temporal value, although this does not always result in a temporal clause in the translation:

- (375) ḡatʷu ḡamaṇa ḡuka-aṅkata Ankuṣitʷiṅaṛu, waru, ḡai yakatiṅa
my uncle went to Angoorichina, a long time ago, [when] I [was still]
[a] child (XI:2)
- (376) ḡa|pu|a aṅaṅuṅi ḡukaku
after that we went [on] (I:69)
- (377) upmaṅaka viṛaṛu atni anʷtʷi-aṅkatatna
for/[during] one month [only] they also kept [it] (VIII:23)

d) The consecutive clause

Clear examples of "consecutive clauses" are rare but in a few cases this interpretation is possible:

- (378) anku ḡuṣaṅkarikatnanpi yanʷtʷana ikanʷtʷu watnanpi
make [your] camp, you-two, [so that] you-two [can/may] stay[/*live*]
[on your own] (*separate*) (III:7-8) (cf. also L., p.139).
- (379) vaṅa atni utʷu inka maṅu ikanʷtʷu-aṅu vaṅa iṭiṭiṭari ḡukanʷtʷatna-
aṅu
he [in turn] (also) would sit [there, having the] face [turned
to the] other side, [so that] they [could] pass (towards) [at]
hi[s] back (VII:28-29)

Note: It might seem logical that the suffix $-(nʷ)tʷ(u)$ especially should have a consecutive meaning, as in the two examples, but this cannot be proved with certainty.

e) The final clause

The final clause is marked by the suffix $-(n\gamma)t\gamma(u)$ (see pp.23-4).
Examples are rare in our texts:

- (380) $\eta a\lambda a\eta a$ itla aka-akanaku, $\eta a\eta \tau u$ yaya-yapan $\gamma t\gamma$ atnawa
many [people] were coming (out) [over in order to] shake hand[s]
[with] hi[m] (XI:37)

f) The causal clause

Several examples can be interpreted in this sense in our texts. It has not been possible as yet to define clearly a certain type of construction as having this value:

- (381) $\eta a\lambda a$ -akana $\eta a\omega a\lambda a$ wa $\lambda u\eta u\tau i$ -a ηk atna, nunkut γ atna yu τa mi τu
they [were] talk[ing](ed) [to] each other [in] big word[s, because]
they would/[intended to/wished to] give [a wife to a/the] Yu τa -man
(I:2; cf. also L., pp.126-7).
- (382) wata $\eta a i$ itla wa $\eta u\eta k$ arinta; ut γu inkat γi watna-watna itla
but I [am] talking [about] myself; [for, the] other [way round]
[side] [it is too] complicated (I:40-41)

As has already been mentioned above (see p.7, example (32) and p.8, example (38)) some noun suffixes can also have a causal meaning. The examples given above are repeated here for reference:

- (383) ati wit γi -wit γ inikuwa minka τa ηa
blood [was] run[ning] out [of] hi[m] because of [the] sore (IX:15)
- (384) a ηa $\eta u\tau i$ va λ pakanta apana wayalin $\gamma t\gamma u$ itla-a ηu va ηa ut γu
being perhaps ashamed because of/over that, he would turn around
(V:14)

g) The concessive clause

This type of clause is rare in my material, and normally the idea is expressed by an adversative $-ku$ but, however (see p.37):

- (385) a ηa t γi vani i τa -a ηk atna itla ...; va ηa ku ut γu inka itla wantu
yu τa vap λ na ηa ... naku-a ηk u
[although] they handled that very strictly/severely ... (; but
[on the] other side), [the] Yu τa [s sometimes] tolerated [it] ...
(IV:5-6)

Sometimes the particle $\tau a\tau u$ though (see p.46) is employed. In our texts we find one (somewhat uncertain) example which has been given

above (example (260)) and can also be rendered as follows:

- (386) ḡa|pu|ḡaḡa waru ṡaṡḡu vuka|a ḡa|pu|ḡaḡa wa|uḡuḡka-aḡkalu
 [a]l]though [this had happened] a long time ago, he often told [it
 to] us (XI:39)

h) Indirect speech

As is often the case in spoken languages, indirect speech is uncommon and direct speech is normally employed. If there is indirect speech it probably is not marked. In our texts there is one example which can be interpreted in terms of indirect speech, but this is not certain because of a morphological accident:

- (387) vanv̄tv̄uṡu yaka vapinaḡa waḡuḡunv̄tv̄u itla-aḡu witnāpaḡa maṡa ḡuḡa
 yuṡa vaṡḡāpa mai nuḡkukatna yau-yau
 his yakas would say [to the] little [girl]s they should hurry
 [up and] give [some] food [to] that Vaṡḡāpa-man over there
 (VII:17-18)

Final Note: Several constructions have not been discussed because they hardly pose any problem in Atv̄n̄vamaṡaḡa. Thus, for instance, the negation of a sentence is obtained by adding the particle uta(na) (or nata, see pp.41-2) to the positive sentence. This particle is in a "free" position, although one can emphasise the negation of a particular word or part of the sentence by placing the negative particle close to it.

Similarly questions do not pose any problem. Questions are marked by the verb suffix n̄v̄(a) (see p.23). The use of an interrogative pronoun or particle does not render this suffix unnecessary (cf. example (121)). The syntax of such a question is not different from that of other sentences. The suffix itself has been said to indicate a "dubitative", because it has some other uses. But these do not occur in our texts, nor do indirect questions.

Returning to the question of a "consecutio temporum" in Atv̄n̄vamaṡaḡa (see p.65), certain tendencies have been noted. But there are no strict rules; the sequence of the suffix -ku and the suffix -(n̄v̄)t̄v̄(u) (or the reverse order) has been found in sentences which can be given a conditional, a consecutive, or a final meaning. If one finds that for instance the "final clause" is normally marked by the suffix -(n̄v̄)t̄v̄(u) this is mainly because of the inherent value of the suffix. This is not only "hypothetical", but also "prospective".

For this reason the classing of Atʸnʸamaṭaṇa sequences into various clause types looks artificial. On the other hand, it has been seen that the same idea can be expressed in various ways (e.g. the "causal clause", see p.69). Linguists who do not believe that true synonymy exists in language would postulate unnoticed differences in the use of the one or the other construction for expressing what we consider the same idea. The question is difficult and a solution does not seem possible on a theoretical level (because it would be of an "inductive" nature). In practice, however, it certainly is preferable not to admit synonymy and to continue research into the differences which have not been noticed in the first approach. That is why the identity of the value of some suffixes (see p.25 and pp.27-9) has not been assumed, and a cautious approach to apparently synonymous constructions is advocated. Here is, therefore, a wide field for further study.

E. CONSTRUCTIONAL COMPLEXITIES

Investigation in the Atʸnʸamaṭaṇa language is not sufficiently advanced as yet as to allow for deeper insight into the subject of constructional ambiguities and of embedded constructions. A few additional examples may, therefore, suffice to show that these phenomena are not absent in the language.

a) Constructional ambiguity

The opposite to "synonymy" is "homonymy", or in general "ambiguity". It has been shown several times that constructional ambiguities are not rare in the language. This on the level of morpheme combinations (see p.25, example (134); p.27, examples (142) and (144); p.37, Note), on the level of homophony of single morphemes (see p.38, example (195)) and on the clause or sentence level (see p.2, example (4); pp.55-8; p.64). Here a few examples of constructional ambiguity are given again for reference:

(388) vapapa ɳatʸu nuṅku-aṭu

1. *let me give [to] my vapapa [something/somebody]*
2. *let me give my vapapa [to somebody] (III:15)*

(389) yuṛa vapina yuaṭiku ɳulanʸiṇa no ɳaṭaṇuṛikatna

1. *[the] Yuṛa[s who] were standing in [the] ɳulanʸi [did] not [fight amongst themselves] (hit each other)*
2. *they [did] not [fight] (hit each other) [with] [the] Yuṛa[s who] were standing in [the] ɳulanʸi (IX:6)*

- (390) unki ika-aṅkuwa
 1. *he [was] (sat) [a] unki*
 2. *[a/the] unki (he) sat[/sat down] (IX:22)*
- (391) utʸu maṣaṅa itla ḡatʸu ḡamiṅa ḡanʸa-aṅkatna
 1. *[the] others (they) called my ḡami 'aṣuna'*
 2. *they called my other(s) ḡami[s] 'aṣuna' (I:60)*
- (392) aṣuna vanʸtʸuṣu māṅi vanʸtʸuṣu ḡami-vapi yalʸtʸatʸalu-aṅu ḡamaṅa
 and aṣāpi
 1. *his wife would call her husband['s] parents 'ḡamaṅa' and 'aṣāpi' [respectively]*
 2. *her husband would call his wife['s] parents 'ḡamaṅa' and 'aṣāpi' [respectively]*
 3. *his wife would call her husband['s] parents 'ḡamaṅa' and 'aṣāpi' [respectively and, conversely, her husband would call his wife's parents 'ḡamaṅa' and 'aṣāpi' respectively] (I:8)*
- (393) ḡatʸi-aṅkatatna atni waruṅuṅi nuṅkutʸatnawa-aṅu
 1. *[when/if] they had also mentioned [it/that,] a long time ago they would [have had to] give [it to] hi[m]*
 2. *a long time ago they had mentioned [it/that] also [,so that/ in order that] they [could] give [it to] hi[m]*
 3. *they had also mentioned a long time ago [that] they would give [it to] hi[m] (III:30)*

These are genuine examples from the texts, not elicited for the sake of explaining a theoretical point of view. Most of these ambiguities disappear when the context is taken into account and, where context does not help, other factors explain the "right" interpretation. But, if the context is not explicit enough and our knowledge of the behavioural system is not sufficient, real problems of interpretation may arise.

The importance of such ambiguous examples, however, lies elsewhere: they may help in defining more clearly the border-line between grammatically correct (or "grammatical") and grammatically incorrect (or "ungrammatical") sequences. The examples just given illustrate mainly the following sources of ambiguities in the language:

1. The lack of distinction between "direct" and "indirect" object (examples (388) and (389)).
2. The redundancy in expressing the complement of a verb by a noun and by a pronoun (example (390)) and the fact that in this case the noun is not obligatorily marked (e.g. as agent) (examples (391) and (392)).

3. The lack of markers for the different types of dependency on the clause level (example (393)).

Facing these facts, the question to be asked is not "does (a) language allow for such ambiguities?", but rather "are these sequences really ambiguous in the language?" If the question is asked in this manner, we are automatically led to ask if these sequences are "grammatical" or not.

With regard to point 1., we may arrive at a clearer answer by replacing the "direct" object and then the "indirect" object by a plural pronoun. The test would provide an answer to the problem whether only the "direct" object, but not the "indirect" object, requires the addition of the suffix *-na* (see pp.10-1).

With regard to point 2., (especially example (391)), the problem is more difficult in that the examples already constitute such "test cases" (the example (392) is more complex; cf. L., p.128-9). Verification has therefore to be made by asking the informant more explicitly if these sentences are correct. Provisionally this has been assumed for the present, but the complete lack of an agentive with a transitive verb is considered to be an error (see p.57, example (310)).

With regard to point 3., there is so far no indication that these sentences might be ungrammatical, and a depth study will have to focus interest on this problem.

b) Embedded constructions

When reading the texts one gets the impression that *Atʸnʸamaṭaṭa* has a "linear" style in that a sentence is construed quite simply, and then additional explanations are added:

(394) *nimpatʸiṅa māṅi vanʸtʸuṛuṅa yaʸtʸatʸu-aṅu vanʸtʸuṛu viḷali*
vapina, aṭuna vanʸtʸuṛu viḷali vapina, aṭuna vapina yaʸtʸatʸalu-aṅu
in the same manner her husband would call her viḷalis, his wife's
viḷalis (he would call) 'aṭunas' (I:13)

In this example the noun phrases which constitute the object of the verb reach such a length that the verb itself is repeated, and the agent (first term) is taken up again by a pronominal suffix in the verb form. This "linear" style is apparently contradicted by the fact that the term '*aṭuna vapina*' *wives* has not been put before the first verb. This is, however, not a real "embedded" structure.

Simple embedding may sometimes be a result of the free word order:

- (395) vitni apana yuṛa waṅka-aṅku
[something] bad, for instance, said [a] Yuṛa (III:26)
- (396) yata naku-ankataṭu vanʔtʔuṛu
I have seen his ground (IX:32)

Such cases are, however, rare and phrases usually are kept together.

There are in our texts several examples of more complex embeddings, but these are not always correctly accomplished. A few examples may suffice to show that "nested" constructions are not unknown in the language:

- (397) wantiṭa witni-aṅkiṅa ḡaiṅa
you were (going) around sleeping with me (V:11)
- (398) ḡai utʔu ḡuka-aṅkatlāka waṅkai-aṅu
I in turn 'we-two-ḡatīāka went' I would say (I:107)
- (399) aṭu apana māṅi vanʔtʔuṛu vitniṛaṅku akakaṭṭanʔtʔatna-aṅu
[the] woman['s hair], for instance, [if] her husband had died, they would (break) [cut off] (VIII:20)
- (400) waṅaku utʔu inka itla wantu yuṛa vapinaṅa naku-aṅku ... wantu waṅuṅuṛinʔtʔatna-aṅu wantu ḡuṭa-aṅkatna
but, [on the] other side, [when/if the] Yuṛas considered [it] alright, 'o.k.' they would say to each other '[what] they have done [is] alright!' (IV:6-8)

Such constructions, although not completely absent, are rare in the present-day language and especially here the question of grammaticality arises, the more so, as this is a chapter of the Atʔnʔamaṭaṅa language which is practically still unexplored.

6. REFERENCE LIST OF THE EXAMPLES GIVEN IN CHAPTER I

The following list can be used as a complementary help to the linguistic commentary. It contains the references to all the examples given in the grammatical notes, in the order of their occurrence in the texts. The Roman number refers to the number of the text, and the Arabic numbers after that indicate the number of the sentence. Then follows, for a given sentence, the page where it is given as an example and the number of the example in brackets. Thus, e.g., I: 1: pp. 9 (48); 28 (145); ... means that sentence number 1 of text number I is given as example number (48) on page 9, as example number (145) on page

28, and so forth. All examples are listed, even if only a fraction of the sentence is used to illustrate a given feature.

- I:
- 1: pp. 9 (48); 28 (145); 32 (172); 46 (256); 55 (298).
 - 2: pp. 3 (11); 6 (26); 19 (93); 20 (107); 31 (163); 32 (173);
51 (274); 55 (297); 61 (332); 69 (381).
 - 3: pp. 38 (192); 44 (236).
 - 4: pp. 31 (167); 36 (175); 40 (210).
 - 5: pp. 39 (201); 59 (318).
 - 6: p. 59 (317).
 - 8: pp. 56 (309); 72 (392).
 - 10: p. 59 (324).
 - 11: pp. 9 (49); 59 (320); 61 (331).
 - 12: pp. 3 (6); 14 (67), (68); 31 (164); 58 (314); 63 (348).
 - 13: p. 73 (394).
 - 14-16: p. 64 (355).
 - 17: pp. 2 (1); 42 (225); 63 (345).
 - 21: pp. 6 (28); 48 (263).
 - 22: p. 36 (177).
 - 23: p. 39 (198).
 - 25: pp. 43 (230); 61 (335).
 - 26: p. 61 (334).
 - 27: p. 13 (63).
 - 28: pp. 5 (23); 13 (64); 14 (71); 47 (261).
 - 29: p. 39 (196).
 - 30: p. 62 (337).
 - 32: pp. 24 (122); 27 (141); 41 (219); 66 (361).
 - 35: p. 63 (346).
 - 36: pp. 38 (191); 66 (363).
 - 38: p. 36 (181).
 - 39: pp. 25 (128); 42 (223); 46 (259); 55 (296); 59 (322).
 - 40: p. 19 (101).
 - 40-41: p. 69 (382).
 - 44: pp. 2 (2); 3 (5); 62 (339).
 - 47: pp. 6 (29); 13 (62).
 - 51: p. 63 (350).
 - 52: p. 59 (319).
 - 55: p. 4 (13).
 - 58: p. 5 (20).
 - 60: pp. 5 (19); 56 (308); 72 (391).

- 62: pp. 19 (97); 38 (195).
 63: p. 65 (357).
 65: p. 38 (190).
 66: p. 44 (238).
 67: p. 39 (197).
 68: p. 21 (110).
 69: pp. 7 (37); 20 (109); 44 (241); 68 (376).
 70: p. 54 (292).
 71: p. 31 (166).
 72: p. 31 (165).
 73: pp. 10 (54); 18 (90); 31 (161).
 74: p. 24 (127).
 78: p. 59 (325).
 81: pp. 27 (144); 45 (244).
 82: p. 59 (326).
 83: p. 17 (89).
 85: pp. 20 (102); 40 (209).
 87: p. 14 (66).
 95: p. 23 (121).
 96: p. 7 (36).
 97: p. 16 (80).
 98: p. 17 (85).
 99: p. 17 (86).
 103: p. 32 (171).
 107: p. 74 (398).
 108: p. 22 (117).
 114: pp. 9 (50); 56 (307); 65 (358).
 117: p. 31 (162).
 118: p. 24 (124).
 123: pp. 44 (243); 52 (282).
 126: pp. 11 (55); 28 (147); 36 (182); 39 (199); 66 (359).
 130: p. 30 (157).
- II: 1: pp. 24 (123); 32 (174).
 2: pp. 56 (303); 63 (351).
 3: pp. 8 (43); 53 (284).
 6: pp. 5 (21), (22); 8 (44); 38 (193).
 7: p. 25 (129).
 12: p. 53 (285).
 13: p. 67 (364).

- 15: p. 57 (310).
18: p. 42 (222).
20: p. 67 (365).
22: p. 12 (60).
- III: 1: pp. 14 (70); 37 (183); 66 (360).
2: p. 40 (211).
5: pp. 12 (61); 54 (287).
6: p. 36 (179).
7: p. 26 (137).
7-8: p. 68 (378).
9: pp. 39 (202); 46 (258).
11: pp. 14 (75); 42 (220); 51 (276).
14: p. 22 (115).
15: pp. 2 (4); 22 (116); 71 (388).
16: pp. 9 (47); 44 (239).
18: p. 17 (87).
23: pp. 12 (58); 36 (178); 53 (286).
25: p. 55 (294).
26: p. 74 (395).
29: p. 38 (194).
30: pp. 64 (354); 72 (393).
34: p. 67 (369).
- IV: 1: pp. 28 (146); 42 (227).
5: pp. 22 (119); 37 (185); 39 (200); 42 (224); 59 (323).
5-6: p. 69 (385).
6: p. 37 (187).
6-8: p. 74 (400).
10: pp. 41 (217); 48 (265); 56 (306); 60 (329).
12: p. 67 (368).
14: pp. 8 (39); 61 (336).
22: pp. 29 (150), (154); 60 (328).
25: p. 36 (176).
- V: 2: pp. 19 (95); 43 (228); 55 (293); 62 (343).
3: pp. 19 (96); 26 (138).
10: p. 17 (83).
11: p. 74 (397).
12: pp. 8 (40); 9 (51).
14: pp. 8 (38); 57 (311); 69 (384).

- 16: p. 9 (45).
- 19: pp. 8 (42); 55 (295); 61 (333).
- 21: p. 57 (312).
- 22-23: p. 10 (53).
- 24: p. 15 (76).
- 25: pp. 40 (208); 45 (251); 67 (371).
- 26: p. 45 (247).
- 27: p. 45 (248).
- 28: pp. 40 (207); 62 (338).

- VI:
- 1: pp. 15 (78); 46 (257).
 - 2: p. 13 (65).
 - 5: p. 12 (57).
 - 7: p. 59 (316).
 - 8: p. 20 (105).
 - 9: p. 20 (106).
 - 16: p. 43 (233).
 - 17: pp. 19 (94); 59 (315).
 - 20: pp. 45 (250); 48 (266); 59 (321); 67 (370).
 - 21: pp. 18 (92); 45 (245).
 - 22: pp. 43 (232); 48 (264); 63 (249).
 - 23: p. 26 (140).
 - 24: pp. 26 (139); 51 (278).
 - 25: p. 37 (186).

- VII:
- 1: p. 62 (342).
 - 4: pp. 39 (203), (204); 48 (267); 67 (366).
 - 10: pp. 27 (142); 41 (218).
 - 11: pp. 4 (15); 25 (131).
 - 12: p. 44 (237).
 - 13: pp. 8 (41); 20 (108).
 - 15: p. 5 (17).
 - 17-18: p. 70 (387).
 - 19: pp. 49 (270); 60 (330).
 - 25: pp. 25 (130); 51 (275); 68 (374).
 - 28-29: pp. 24 (125); 68 (379).
 - 29: p. 7 (35).
 - 30: p. 44 (234).
 - 31: p. 40 (213).
 - 34: p. 21 (113).
 - 35: p. 5 (18).
 - 38: p. 14 (72).

- VIII:
- 1: pp. 22 (118); 67 (367).
 - 9: pp. 21 (112); 37 (184).
 - 11: p. 21 (114).
 - 12: p. 48 (268).
 - 13: pp. 23 (120); 40 (212); 48 (269); 66 (362).
 - 16: p. 26 (136).
 - 17: pp. 3 (7); 63 (352).
 - 19: p. 62 (341).
 - 20: p. 74 (399).
 - 22: p. 21 (111).
 - 23: pp. 7 (31); 43 (229); 68 (377).
 - 24: p. 62 (340).
 - 32: pp. 16 (79); 19 (99); 45 (254); 51 (277);
 - 35: pp. 14 (73); 29 (151); 55 (299).
- IX:
- 2: pp. 6 (27); 9 (46).
 - 4: p. 56 (302).
 - 5: p. 55 (301).
 - 6: pp. 65 (356); 71 (389).
 - 7: pp. 14 (74); 55 (300).
 - 10: pp. 31 (168); 63 (347).
 - 11: p. 31 (169).
 - 13: p. 20 (103).
 - 14: pp. 3 (12); 16 (81).
 - 15: pp. 7 (32); 69 (383).
 - 16: p. 28 (148).
 - 17: p. 37 (188).
 - 18: pp. 46 (255); 49 (271).
 - 20: pp. 5 (24); 7 (33).
 - 22: pp. 58 (313); 72 (390).
 - 23: p. 25 (133).
 - 24: pp. 25 (132); 43 (231).
 - 26: p. 29 (152).
 - 28: pp. 19 (100); 27 (143).
 - 32: p. 74 (396).
- X:
- 9: p. 51 (281).
 - 10: p. 4 (16).
 - 15: pp. 5 (25); 14 (69).
 - 17: p. 44 (240).
 - 22: p. 3 (10).

- 23: p. 50 (272), (273).
 24: p. 18 (91).
 27: p. 54 (291).
 29: p. 30 (156).
 34: p. 52 (283).
 36: pp. 29 (153); 37 (189); 45 (246).
 39: p. 17 (88).
- XI: 2: pp. 4 (14); 7 (30); 68 (375).
 4: p. 19 (98).
 8: pp. 15 (77); 54 (290).
 9: p. 25 (134).
 10: p. 51 (280).
 15-16: p. 28 (149).
 17: p. 44 (235).
 18: pp. 32 (170); 54 (288).
 20: pp. 20 (104); 56 (304).
 23: pp. 36 (180); 40 (205).
 24: p. 40 (206).
 25: pp. 3 (9); 16 (82); 62 (344).
 26: p. 7 (34).
 27: pp. 41 (214); 42 (226).
 30: p. 30 (160).
 31: pp. 10 (52); 17 (84); 26 (135); 30 (155); 51 (279).
 32-33: pp. 41 (216); 42 (221).
 34: p. 11 (56).
 36: pp. 30 (159); 45 (252).
 37: pp. 24 (126); 60 (327); 64 (353); 69 (380).
 39: pp. 46 (260); 70 (386).
 41: p. 41 (215).
 42: p. 30 (158).
 43: p. 56 (305).
 42-44: p. 45 (253).
- XII: 11: p. 54 (289).
 21: p. 12 (59).
- XIII: 1: pp. 2 (3); 3 (8).
 2: p. 45 (249).
 1-2: p. 68 (372).
 3: p. 47 (262).
 4: p. 44 (242).

CHAPTER II

TEXTS AND TRANSLATION

0. INTRODUCTION

This chapter contains the texts as transcribed from the recorded material. As the transcription is phonemic, it already is an interpretation. The material is moreover interpreted in that not clearly audible elements have been restored according to grammatical and/or semantic considerations, and the same is true for the correction or addition of morphemes as well as for their elimination. Those corrections have sometimes been called for by Andrew Coulthard, in some cases to the point that he refused to repeat a given recorded string when transcribing it. In other instances, however, I have restored elements myself after having worked on the material. All these different cases are not distinguished, and anything that has been added or corrected is put between square brackets ("[]"), all that is eliminated is put between parentheses ("()"). If it has not been possible to identify a recorded morpheme, three dots are put in square brackets or slant lines. Pauses in the recorded text are usually not indicated, but sometimes commas are used. It has been hinted above that complex problems are sometimes involved in dividing the text into sentences, and the fact that another choice is possible is indicated the following way: while sentences finish with a stop, the semi-colon indicates that another choice is possible; if it is at the end of a sentence, this shows that the following sentence could have been integrated into the sentence, if it is found in the middle of a sentence, it indicates that one could also break the sentence up into two (or more) sentences. In rare cases the colon is used with this meaning (however not in text I). The sentences are numbered throughout a given text, in order to facilitate reference.

Text I, which is also the longest one, is analysed into the smallest morphological units - sometimes even into hypothetical ones - so that the reader can more readily follow the make-up of Atʸnʸamaṭaṭa words, and then concentrate on the syntax. For this purpose this text contains a number of additional signs, which are explained in the list of the symbols used in this chapter (see pp.83-4).

All the texts are accompanied by an interlinear translation. An interlinear translation can only make sense if it is as literal as possible. This means that the text has to be analysed morpheme by morpheme. In this sense the interlinear rendering is a "transduction", to use a modern term, rather than a translation. Such a transduction poses the problem of how to render a given morpheme in the language in various contexts and of how to treat homonymy. The following principle has been adhered to: In general a given Atʸnʸamaṭaṭa morpheme is translated in *all* its occurrences by one and the same English word, even if a more adequate English translation would necessitate a class of words rather than a single word. However, in some cases the variations seemed important enough as to render them by various English words. Thus, for instance, the "genitive-dative" suffix -ṛu is rendered either by *of* or by *to* or *for* (see pp.6-7), the suffix -ṇa is rendered by A. (agentive), L. (locative), I. (instrumental) and C. (comitative)(see pp.3-4), but the suffix -lu is marked by A.=2 (agentive 2) and not by A. (see p.3). This means that the English words in the interlinear rendering stand in the same relationship to the Atʸnʸamaṭaṭa morphemes as metavariables do to the variables. An exception to these rules is constituted by non-lexical allomorphs (such as -pa and -ma, see p.48) conditioned by their environment (such as -ṇu and -ṇuṅka, see p.17); but there is some hesitation over this. Thus, the two allomorphs -ṇu and -ṇku are so far not predictable (see p.16) but are both marked by t., and the same is true for the plural suffixes of intransitive verbs -ʸi and -a|i (see pp.18-9) which have both been marked by pl. Such minor inconsistencies have been permitted in order not to complicate still more the interlinear rendering. The case of -(ṇ)ṭ(a)/(n)t(a) is different, as the forms having an interdental (nasal and) stop and an alveolar (nasal and) stop respectively are considered to be in free variation (see pp.24-5) and are both rendered by pres. In general the principle of rendering each item by one and the same word in English has, however, been adhered to, and the various plural marking morphemes are, for instance, rendered as follows: *vapina lot*, *maṭa(-ṇa) mob(-ṇa)*, *munka(-ṇa) crowd(-ṇa)*, *ṇaṛu set*, and *atiṛi group*.

In view of these principles it would be useless to try to improve this interlinear "transduction". In several cases the choice has been made between quasi-synonymous terms in English such as *hit* and *beat*. This choice is often made arbitrarily, as the exact differences between the At'n'yamaṭaṭa synonyms are not yet determined. On the other hand a shorter English word has sometimes been chosen instead of a longer expression, in order to keep the interlinear rendering as short as possible: the word *waru* which has been translated by Andrew Coulthard by *a long time ago, in the olden days*, has regularly been rendered by *once*. Again for the sake of shortening the interlinear rendering, several abbreviations listed below have been used (especially for the suffixes). On the other hand, several items have not been translated at all, either because no appropriate English word is found (e.g., *wiṅku-wata*, cf. dictionary and commentaries) or because the exact value is not yet sufficiently known (e.g., the suffix *-ṅa*, see pp.4-6). In particular the kinship terms and the personal pronouns other than those of the 'yatna-series' (cf. APWK p.4) - which are rendered by the English personal pronouns - are never translated (though *we-*, *you-two-* is normally added). In two instances I have chosen foreign words, namely the French "*voici*" and "*voilà*" instead of the clumsy English expressions *here you are* and *there you are* by which Andrew Coulthard usually rendered the two words *iṅari* and *aṅari* respectively.

After the texts the English translations are given, which are free to the point of being "adaptations" rather than translations. By using all the information contained here the reader should be able to make his own translation.

It has been pointed out several times that the division of the texts into sentences is often problematic. In general I have aimed at arriving at short sentences, in order to show better the "elementary syntax" of the language. In some cases this might have some bearing on the meaning, and here the reader is invited to intervene with his own judgement.

LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS CHAPTER

a) In the texts

- This is used in text I to indicate the concatenation of morphemes forming one "syntagm" or word. It is used in all texts where two vowels meet in the same word.

- = This is used in all texts to indicate compounds and reduplicated words.
- : This is used in text I to indicate hypothetical divisions of a word (either on etymological or on phonemic grounds).
- . Marks the end of a sentence in all texts.
- , Separates clauses or repeated morphemes (or phrases).
- ; If occurring within a sentence, indicates that the sentence could also be divided.
If occurring at the end of a sentence (instead of "."), indicates that it could have incorporated the following sentence.
- : Approaches the use of ";" and is sometimes used before a paragraph of explanations or before direct speech. Not used in text I.
- ... Stands for morphemes which have not been identified.
- ? Sometimes used to mark incertitude of the interpretation.

b) In the interlinear translation

- Sign of concatenation of the corresponding morphemes in one Atʸnʸamaṭaṇa word.
- = Indicates concatenation of two or more English words (or abbreviations) which correspond to a single morpheme in Atʸnʸamaṭaṇa.
- A. agentive (suffix -ṇa).
- A.=2 agentive II (suffix -lu).
- C. comitative (suffix -ṇa).
- Co. comparison (suffix -li).
- D. directive (suffix -ḡarl).
- D.=I. derivational suffix, intransitive (suffix -ni).
- D.=T. derivational suffix, transitive (suffix -pa).
- D.=t. derivational suffix II, transitive (suffix -ma).
- F. feminine ("fossilised morphemes").
- I. instrumental (suffix -ṇa).
- L. locative (suffix -ḡa).
- V. vocative (suffix -ya).

- d. directive in the verb (suffix -na).
- d.=2 directive II in the verb (suffix -mana).
- fut. future (suffix -(nʎ)tʎ(u)).
- i. intransitiviser (suffix -(r)i).
- imp. imperative (suffix -k(a)).
- int. interrogative (suffix -nʎ(a)).
- irr. irrealis (suffix -ɾ(a)).
- loc. locative suffix in the verb (suffix -waɾa).
- narr. narrative (suffix -k(u)).
- past past (suffix -(a)ŋk(u)).
- p.=2 past II (suffix -nant(a)).
- p.=3 past III (suffix -(a)ŋkat(a)).
- pit. suffix indicating *pity* in the verb (suffix -li).
- pl. plural suffixes in intransitive verbs (suffixes -ʎi and -aʎi).
- pot. "potentialis" (suffix -ŋ(a)).
- pres. present (suffix -(ŋ)ɿ(a)/(n)t(a)).
- rec. reciprocal (suffix -ŋuɾi).
- rfl. reflexive (suffix -ŋkari).
- t. transitiviser (suffix -ŋ(u)/ŋk(u)/ŋuŋka).

Note: The use of square brackets and parentheses has been indicated above (see p.81).

The symbols used (especially "=") do not have the same value in the texts and in the interlinear translation.

Punctuation, brackets and stops have the same meaning in the texts and in the interlinear translation.

For mnemotechnical reasons the abbreviations used in the interlinear translation have capital letters initially when referring to noun suffixes, and small initials when referring to verb suffixes.

The ∅ morphemes (see pp.2-3 and 21-2) are not marked in the texts and in the interlinear translation.

1. THE TEXTS WITH INTERLINEAR TRANSLATION

TEXT I

1. Yuṛa ika-aṅk=a:ta waru, nuṅ[k]u-ṅuṛi-aṅk-atna aṭu:na. 2. Yuṛa
 Yuṛa *sit-p.=3* *once, gi[v]e-rec.-past-they* aṭuna. Yuṛa
 wipma[:]a]=yaṅṭa-ṅa ika-aṅku waru, ṅa|a=aka-ṅa ṅawa|a wa|u-ṅuṛi-aṅk-
cou[rt]=ground-L. sit-past once, big-ṅa word talk-rec.-past-
 -atna, nuṅku-tʸ-atna yuṛa miṛu; aṭu yua-ku; 3. Aṭu:na
 -*they, give-fut.-they* Yuṛa *man; woman stand-narr.;* Aṭuna
 yunʸtʸu:ru utʸu wa|u-ṅuṛi-i-k-atna. 4. Yatna ira:na atla=wiṭṭi
nose utʸu talk-rec.-i-narr.-they. They really fire=stick
 nuṅku-tʸ-atna-aṅu; a:ṅa-pila va:la:n:pi apa:na nuṅku-tʸ-atna-aṅu;
give-fut.-they-aṅu; that-both valanpi might give-fut.-they-aṅu;
5. ika-nʸtʸu va:la:n:pi i:tla-aṅu; 6. va:la:n:pi a:ṅa=ri ika-nʸtʸu-
sit-fut. valanpi itla-aṅu; valanpi "voilà" sit-fut.-
 -aṅu: 7. ika-[ka-]wa:la:n:pi a:ṅa=ri. 8. Vapi maṭa:ṛi ika-nʸtʸu-
 -aṅu: *sit-[imp.-]walanpi "voilà". Vapi Maṭaṛi sit-fut.-*
 -aṅu, aṭu apa:na aṛaṭu ika-nʸtʸu-aṅu; aṭu:na va:nʸtʸu:ṛu; māṅi
 -aṅu, *woman might Aṛaṭu sit-fut.-aṅu; aṭuna his; māṅi*
 va:nʸtʸu:ṛu ṅami=vapi ya|ʸtʸa-tʸ-alu-aṅu ṅam:aṅa an[d] aṭ(a)=vapi (...)
his ṅami-vapi address-fut.-he=A.-aṅu ṅamaṅa --- aṭāpi (...)
 ya|ʸtʸa-tʸ-alu-aṅu (ṅami-ṅa ya|ʸtʸa-tʸu-aṅu miṛu-ṛu māṅi) ṅami=vapi.
address-fut.-he=A.-aṅu (ṅami-A. address-fut.-aṅu man-of māṅi) ṅami=vapi.
9. A:ṅa vitna i:tla ika-nʸtʸu-aṅu; 10. nimpa:tʸi-ṅa ika-nʸtʸu
That after itla sit-fut.-aṅu; like=this-ṅa sit-fut.
 i:tla-aṅu: 11. Yuṛa aṭu-ṛu māṅi[-ṅa] vi|ali apa[:na] anʸtʸi-aṅku,
 itla-aṅu: Yuṛa *woman-of māṅi[-A.] vi|ali mig[ht] keep-past,*
 aṭu:na ya|ʸtʸa-[tʸ-]atna-wa-aṅu va:nʸtʸu:ṛu vi|ali vapi:na-ṅa, miṛu
 aṭuna *address-[fut.-]they-he-aṅu his vi|ali lot-A., man*
 vapi:na-ṅa. 12. Utʸu maṭa-lu ṅapa|a ya|ʸtʸa-ku-wa, ṅa:mi=ṅa-ṅa
lot-A. Other mob-A.=2 ṅapa|a address-narr.-he, how=many-A.
 apa:na i:tla, va:lu i:tla māṅi ya|ʸtʸa-tʸ-atna-ṅa-aṅu.
might itla, he=A. itla māṅi address-fut.-they-ṅa-aṅu.

13. Nimpa:tYi-*na* māñi va:nYtYu:ru-*na* yaYtYa-tYu-a_{nu} va:nYtYu:ru
Like=this-_{na} māñi his-A. address-fut.-_{nu} his
- viḷali vapi:na, aṭu:na va:nYtYu:ru viḷali vapi:na, aṭu:na vapi:na
 viḷali *lot,* aṭuna *his* viḷali *lot,* aṭuna *lot*
- yaYtYa-tY-alu-a_{nu}. 14. Nimpa:tYi-*na* va:lu i:tla ḡapaḷa utYu
address-fut.-he=A.-_{nu}. Like=this-_{na} he=A. itla ḡapaḷa other
- maḡa-*na* anYtYi-ku. 15. Nimpa:tYi nimpa:tYi ika-nYtYu-a_{nu};
mob-_{na} keep-narr. Like=this like=this sit-fut.-_{nu};
16. Upma:ḷi vapl:na yaṅṭu-[ḡl-aṅk=]a:ta; yatna (...); a:ḡa vltna
Upmaḷi lot sit=pl.-[ḡi-p.] =3; they (...); that after
- ika-ku, mitYa-m[a-nY]tY-atna-a_{nu}. 17. Vap:apa atnl ika-nYtYu-a_{nu};
sit-narr., name-D.[=t.-f]ut.-they-_{nu}. Vapapa also sit-fut.-_{nu};
18. Yatna-ru vap:apa atnl, māñi va:nYtYu:ru, yaYtYa-tY(u)-[alu-]a_{nu}
They-of vapapa also, māñi his, address-fu(t)-[he=A.-]a_{nu}
- [ḡ]apa[ḷ]a; nImpa:tYi-*na* utYu inka, ḡapaḷa vapl:na, mḷru vapl:na,
 [ḡ]apa[ḷ]a; *like=this-_{na} other side, ḡapaḷa lot, man lot,*
- vap:apa. 19. (Mḷru-*na*, ā -) l:ḡa aṭu:na va:nYtYu:ru-*na*, mḷru vapl:na
 vapapa. (Man-A., ā -) *this aṭuna his-A., man lot*
- [yaYtYa-]aṅku; māñi va:nYtYu:ru-*na* mitYa-ma-nYtYu yat[n]a-*na*-a_{nu} vap:apa
 [address-]past; māñi *his-A. name-D.=t.-fut. th[e]y-_{na}-a_{nu} vapapa*
- vapl:na; 20. va:nYtYu:ru vap:apa vapi:na-tYi; vlnka vapl:na-tYi
lot; his vapapa lot-tYi; vlnka lot-tYi
- a:ḡa=ri; 21. vlnka vapi:na-tYi a:ḡa=rl mitYa-ma-nYtY-alu-a_{nu}
 "voilà"; *vlnka lot-tYi "voilà" name-D.=t.-fut.-he=A.-_{nu}*
- a:ḡa munka-*na* mḷru vapl:na utYu, aṭu:na va:nYtYu:ru viḷali vapl:na nuḡa
that crowd-_{na} man lot utYu, aṭuna his viḷali lot nuḡa
- vapl:na, uḡu-*na*=ḡa va:nYtYu:ru vap:apa vapl:na-*na* maḡa-*na*. 22. Pata
lot, all-_{na}=ḡa his vapapa lot-_{na} mob-_{na}. But
- māñi va:nYtYu:ru viḷali vapl:na, mḷru vapl:na[-ḡa[?]], ḡapaḷa utYu va:lu
 māñi *his viḷali lot, man lot[-ḡa[?]], ḡapaḷa utYu he=A.*
- utYu mitYa-ma-nYtY-atna-*na*-a_{nu}, vap:apa-tYi; 23. ḡapaḷa i:tla-tYi
utYu name-D.=t.-fut.-they-_{na}-a_{nu}, vapapa-tYi; ḡapaḷa itla-tYi
- yanYtYa:na. 24. [U]tY[u] [ḡ]a[ḷ]ka i:tla ḡuka-naṅka-tYu-a[ḡu[?]]
separate. [O]th[er] [ḡ]a[ḷ]ka itla go-along-fut.-a[ḡu[?]]

- nimpa:tʷi-ŋa; 25. ŋuaʎi vutu ika-nʷtʷu-aŋu, vulka maʒa-ŋa-tʷi ŋuaʎi:
like=this-ŋa; ŋuaʎi too sit-fut.-aŋu, old mob-ŋa-tʷi ŋuaʎi:
26. ŋuaʎi vulka, ʒa vap:apa vulka, atʷnʷani vulk:uʒa; 27. (Maʒa:ʒi
 ŋuaʎi *old, and vapapa old, atʷnʷani old=F.; (Maʒa:ʒi*
 aʒa...)) Maʒa:ʒi aʒaʒu-ŋa anʷtʷi-aŋk=a:ta atʷnʷani vulk:uʒa; maʒa:ʒi
 Aʒa[ʒu]...) Maʒa:ʒi Aʒaʒu-A. *keep-p.=3 atʷnʷani old=F.; Maʒa:ʒi*
 [ŋ]a:ŋa aʒaʒu ŋa:ŋa ŋaʎpu:ʎa-ʒu atʷnʷani vapi:na [ika-]aŋk=a:ta ŋa:ŋa
 [ŋ]aŋa Aʒaʒu ŋaŋa *we-of atʷnʷani lot [sit-]p.=3 ŋaŋa*
 maʒa-ŋa. 28. ʒa viʎali i:tla anʷtʷi-k-atna, uʒu ŋa:ŋa;
mob-ŋa. And viʎali itla keep-narr.-they, all ŋaŋa;
29. Viʎali i:tla anʷtʷi-aŋk=a:ta uʒu ŋa:ŋa. 30. Vapi-ʒu nuŋa apa:na
 Viʎali itla *keep-p.=3 all ŋaŋa. Vapi-of nuŋa might*
 anʷtʷi-aŋku, viʎali apa:na anʷtʷi-aŋku; 31. A:ŋa va:nʷtʷu:ʒu yaka:ti
keep-past, viʎali might keep-past; That his child
 vapi:na i:tla, vap:alu yaʎtʷa-tʷ-alu-aŋu a:ŋa munka-ŋa apa:na;
lot itla, vapalu address-fut.-he=A.-aŋu that crowd-ŋa might;
32. (Uta-na vap:alu yaʎtʷa-k-atna-wa ...) Uta-na vap:alu
 (No-na vapalu *address-narr.-they-he ...*) No-na vapalu
 yaʎtʷa-k-alu yat[n]a-ŋa, upma:ʎi-li ika-nʷtʷu-wa-aŋu.
address-narr.-he=A. th[e]y-ŋa, upmaʎi-like sit-fut.-he-aŋu.
33. A:ŋa maʒa-ŋa yaka:ti[-ŋa] ŋama:ŋa [i:]tʎ[a] yaʒu mitʷa-ma-nʷtʷ-
That mob-ŋa child[-A.] ŋamaŋa [i:]tʎ[a] nothing name-D.=t.-fut.-
 atna-wa-aŋu; 34. Upma:ʎi vapi-tʷi. 35. Yaʒu ŋama:ŋa utʷu
they-he-aŋu; Upmaʎi vapi-tʷi. Nothing ŋamaŋa utʷu
 a:ŋa=ri, upma:ʎi utʷu. 36. Vapi utʷu yaʎtʷ[a-tʷ-]atna-wa-aŋu utʷu,
 "voilà", upma:ʎi utʷu. Vapi utʷu *adres[s-fut.-]they-he-aŋu utʷu,*
 ŋami va:nʷtʷu:ʒu, ŋami yaʎtʷa-k-atna (...) aʒu:na. 37. ŋuka-
 ŋami *his, ŋami address-narr.-they (...)* aʒuna. Go-
 naŋka-tʷu-a[ŋu[?]] nimpa:tʷi; nimpa:tʷi-ŋa waŋka-naŋka-tʷ-atna-aŋu.
along-fut.-a[ŋu[?]] like=this; like=this-ŋa speak-along-fut.-they-aŋu.
38. Api-ka-nay[a]. 39. Naku, i:ŋa waŋka-t-ai yai:na-ŋa
Shut-imp.-firs[t]. Yes, this speak-pres.-I again-ŋa
 (again - again - ā - i:ŋa yanʷtʷa:na) i:nʷtʷi-ŋa ŋawa:ʎa-tʷi.
 (--- - --- - ā - *this separate*) inʷtʷi-ŋa *word-tʷi.*

40. Wata ɣai i:tla wagu-ɣkari-nta; 41. UtYu inka-tʸi watna=watna
But(?) I itla say-rfl.-pres.; Other side-tʸi bendy
- i:tla. 42. ɳa:tʸu aɕu:na ika-nta; 43. Va:nʸtʸu:ɕu vapi ɳami
 itla. *My aɕuna sit-pres.; His vapi ɳami*
- ika-aŋk=a:ta. 44. Va:nʸtʸu:ɕu vapi, ɳa:tʸu ɳuaɭi; 45. ɳa:tʸu
 sit-p.=3. *His vapi, my ɳuaɭi; My*
- ɳuaɭi atni, ɳa:tʸu ɳuaɭi (ɳa[:tʸu]) atni (ika-...) ika-aŋk=a:ta.
 ɳuaɭi *also, my ɳuaɭi (m[y]) also (sit-...) sit-p.=3.*
46. ɳa:tʸu ɳam:aŋa vapi:na too, ɳa:tʸu ɳam:aŋa atni ika-aŋk=a:ta.
My ɳamaŋa lot ---, my ɳamaŋa also sit-p.=3.
47. A:ɳa ɳa:tʸu (ɳa...) ɳam:aŋa-ɕu yaka:ti vapi:na ɳa:tʸu aɕu:na,
That my (ɳa...) ɳamaŋa-of child lot my aɕuna,
- ɳa:tʸu ɳapaɭa vapi:na; 48. ɭa miɕu vapi:na i:tla, ɳa:tʸu vap:apa
my ɳapaɭa lot; And man lot itla, my vapapa
- vapi:na. 49. A:ɳa maɕa-ɳa ɳa:tʸu aɕu:na-ɕu viɭali vapi:na;
lot. That mob-ɳa my aɕuna-of viɭali lot;
50. Nuŋa vapi:na atni anʸtʸi-aŋk=a:ta[-lu]. 51. Nuŋa, yaka ɳa:tʸu
Nuŋa lot also keep-p.=3[-he=A.]. Nuŋa, yaka my
- nimpa:tʸi-ɳa anʸtʸi-aŋk=a:ta[-ɕu]; ika-ɳaŋka-tʸu-aŋu. 52. Yalʸtʸa-
like=this-ɳa keep-p.=3[-I=A.]; sit-along-fut.-aŋu. Address-
- ɳuɕi-aŋk=a:ta nimp:tʸi yuɕa; 53. ɳa:tʸu viɭali vapi:na-ɳa, miɕu
rec.-p.=3 like=this Yuɕa; My viɭali lot-A., man
- vapi:na-ɳa, ɳa:tʸu aɕu:na aɕu:na yalʸtʸa-aŋk=a:ta; 54. UtYu maɕa-lu
lot-A., my aɕuna aɕuna address-p.=3; Other mob-A.=2
- i:tla ɳapaɭa yalʸtʸa-ku-wa; 55. nimp:tʸi-ɳa va:nʸtʸu:ɕu, ɳa:tʸu
Itla ɳapaɭa address-narr.-he; like=this-ɳa his, my
- aɕu:na-ɳa aɕu vapi:na, aɕu vapi:na ɳa:tʸu aɕu:na ika-nta, ɳa:tʸu
aɕuna-C. woman lot woman lot my aɕuna sit-pres., my
- ɳapaɭa ika-nta; 56. (ā -) Miɕu vapi:na i:tla, ɳa:tʸu vap:apa vapi:na.
ɳapaɭa sit-pres.; (ā -) Man lot itla, my vapapa lot.
57. ɳa:tʸu aɕ:āpi-ɕu yaka apa:na aɕ(a)=vapi-ɳa yalʸtʸa[-tʸ]-atu-aŋu.
My aɕāpi-of yaka might aɕāpi-ɳa address-I=A.[-fut.]-aŋu.
58. Viɭali anʸtʸi-aŋk-alu; miɕu vapi:na i:tla, ɳa:tʸu aɕ(a)=vapi-ɕu
Viɭali keep-past-he=A.; man lot itla, my aɕāpi-of

- nuna vapi:na, na:tYu upma:li ika-anka=a:ta; 59. Upma:li ika-anka=a:ta.
 nuna *lot*, *my* upma:li *sit-p.=3*; Upma:li *sit-p.=3*.
60. UtYu maḡa-na i:tla na:tYu nami-na nanYa-anka-atna, aḡu:na
Other mob-na itla my nami-na call=wife-past-they, aḡuna
 yalYtYa-anka-atna; 61. A:na na:tYu upma:li vapi utYu. 62. Ia a:na
address-past-they; *That my upma:li vapi utYu. And that*
 maḡa[-ḡu]yaka:ti i:tla, na:tYu upma:li-ḡu yaka:ti vapi:na i:tla, a:na
mob[-of] child itla, my upma:li-of child lot itla, that
 na:tYu viḡali vapi:na utYu na:na maḡa-na atni; ika-anka=a:ta, miḡu aḡu
my viḡali lot other naḡa mob-na also; sit-p.=3, man woman
 vapi:na. 63. Nuna atni anYtYi-anka=a:t-atna, yalYtYa-aḡu-aḡu nuna.
lot. Nuna also keep-p.=3-they, address-I=A.-aḡu nuna.
64. Yaka-na maḡa apa:na yalYtYa-aḡu-aḡu. 65. A:na uḡa=uḡa maḡa-na
Yaka-na mob might address-I=A.-aḡu. That elder-elder mob-na
 utYu; 66. (Viḡali ...) Na:i uḡa [maḡ]a-na i:tla (...); 67. viḡali
 utYu; (Viḡali ...) *I behind [mo]b-na itla (...); viḡali*
 yalYtYa-aḡ[u yatna-na]-aḡu; na:i i:tla nuna yalYtYa-k-atna.
address-I[=A. they-na]-aḡu; I itla nuna address-narr.-they.
68. Nuka-naḡka-tYu-aḡu. 69. Naḡpu:la a:na-ḡuḡi nuka-ku niḡpa:tYi-na;
Go-along-fut.-aḡu. We that-from go-narr.; like=this-na;
 na:tYu (na:tYu) nuna vapi:na-na na:tYu aḡu:na yalYtYa-ku aḡu:na.
my (my) nuna lot-A. my aḡuna address-narr. aḡuna.
70. A:na upma:li vapi i:tla na:tYu yaka:ti-na yalYtYa-ta-wa; vapi
That upma:li vapi itla my child-A. address-pres.-he; vapi
 (yalYtYa-tna-aḡu) yalYtYa-tY-atna-[wa]-aḡu; nuka-naḡka-tYu-aḡu.
(address-they-aḡu) address-fut.-they[-he]-aḡu; go-along-fut.-aḡu.
71. [I]a naḡpu:la niḡpa:tYi-na anYtYi-ku atYnYanl vulk:uḡa apa:na;
[A]nd we like=this-na keep-narr. atYnYanl old=F. might;
 maḡa:ḡi apa:na naḡpu:la-ḡu atYnYanl vapi:na utYu na:na maḡa-na.
Maḡa:ḡi might we-of atYnYanl lot other naḡa mob-na.
72. Naḡaḡa vulk:uḡa atni anYtYi-anka=a:t-aḡpu:la. 73. Vapi vapi:na
Naḡaḡa old=F. also keep-p.=3-we. Vapi lot
 i:tla waḡka-tYu-aḡu, miḡu vapi:na naḡpu:la-na waḡu-ḡuḡka-anka-atna;
itla speak-fut.-aḡu, man lot we-na talk-t.-past-they;

74. *Ńuka-nʸtʸu-wa:tnā:t:apa vā|u-ŋa apa[:na], vā|u-ŋa ŋuka-nʸtʸu-Go-fut.-watnātapa meat-L. mig[ht], meat-L. go-fut.-wa:tnā:t:apa.* 75. *A:ŋa vapi vapi:na utʸu waŋka-tʸu-aŋu; -watnātapa. That vapi lot utʸu speak-fut.-aŋu;*
- va:l[a:]nā:t:apa.* 76. *Aṭ(a)=vapi i:tla waŋka-tʸu-aŋu; valanātapa. Aṭāpi itla speak-fut.-aŋu;*
77. *Ńuka-nʸtʸu-wa:l[a:]lu, ŋuka-nʸtʸu-wa:l[a:]lu; 78. Aṭu utʸu Go-fut.-walalu, go-fut.-walalu; Woman utʸu waŋka-tʸu-aŋu nimpa:tʸi, aṭ(a)=vapi vapi:na. 79. Vapi-ŋa i:tla speak-fut.-aŋu like=this, aṭāpi lot. Vapi-A. itla waŋu-ŋu-ku mankaṣa vapi:na, waŋka-tʸu-aŋu vapi; ŋu:wa:[la:ʔ]lu; say-t.-narr. mankaṣa lot, speak-fut.-aŋu vapi; ŋuwa[laʔ]lu;*
80. *Ńu:wa:[la:ʔ]lu utʸu vapi(-ŋa mitʸa-ma-nʸtʸu-aŋu) waŋka-tʸu-aŋu; Ńuwa[laʔ]lu utʸu Vapi(-A. name-D.=t.-fut.-aŋu) speak-fut.-aŋu;*
81. *Yana-nʸtʸu-wa:l[aʔ:]lu, yaṭa wilʸtʸa waŋu-ŋ-aṣu (wa:tnāka) Come-fut.-wal[aʔ]lu, now night say-t.-I=A. (watnāka) wa:la:lu-ŋa ŋawa:|a; 82. Nimpa:tʸi vapi waŋka-tʸu-aŋu; a:nimpa:tʸi walalu-ŋa word; Like=this vapi speak-fut.-aŋu; like=that waŋka-tʸu-wa-aŋu. 83. Iṭa yaka:ti-ŋa i:tla ŋami=vapi wa|u-ŋu-ku; speak-fut.-he-aŋu. And child-A. itla ŋami-vapi talk-t.-narr.;*
- va:la:n:pi; 84. Va:la:n:pi i:tla waŋka-tʸ-atna-aŋu. valanpi; Valanpi itla speak-fut.-they-aŋu.*
85. *A:nimpa:tʸi waŋu-ŋuṣi-nʸtʸu-aŋu. 86. Vapi waŋka-tʸu-aŋu utʸu Like=that say-rec.-fut.-aŋu. Vapi speak-fut.-aŋu other munk-a-ŋa, vap:apa va:nʸtʸu:ṣu, waŋu-ŋu-nʸtʸu-alu-aŋu vap:apa va:nʸtʸu:ṣu; crowd-ŋa, vapapa his, say-t.-fut.-he=A.-aŋu vapapa his;*
87. *Wa:ŋa-nti ŋuka-nʸ-ua:t[n]a:nʸ[i=w]a:t[n]a:nʸi. 88. Nimpa:tʸi Where-nti go-int.-wat[n]anʸ[i-w]at[n]anʸi. Like=this*
- (waŋka-tʸ-a:i-aŋu) waŋka-tʸu-wa-aŋu; 89. Ńa:i apa:na waŋka-tʸu-aŋu, (speak-fut.-I-aŋu) speak-fut.-he-aŋu; I might speak-fut.-aŋu, i:ŋa, ŋa:tʸu vap:apa vapi:na, wa|u-ŋ-aṣu-aŋu; 90. Wa:ŋa-nti this, my vapapa lot, talk-t.-I=A.-aŋu; Where-nti ŋuka-nʸ-ua:t[n]a:nʸ[i=w]a:t[n]a:nʸi; 91. Ńa:i nimpa:tʸi-ŋa go-int.-wat[n]anʸ[i-w]at[n]anʸi; I like=this-ŋa*

- wa|u-ŋu-nYtY-atna-aŋu; 92. Wa:ŋa-nti ŋuka-nY-ua:t[n]a:nY[i=w]a:t[n]a:
talk-t.-fut.-they-aŋu; Where-nti go-int.-wat[n]anY[i-w]at[n]a=
 nYi. 93. A:ŋa vap:apa=wiŋi utYU (waŋu-ŋu-nYtYU-aŋu) waŋu-ŋuŋi-nYtYU-
 nYi. *That vapapa=wiŋi utYU (say-t.-fut.-aŋu) say-rec.-fut.-*
 aŋu. 94. Yatna ŋami=vapi vapi:na i:tla waŋka-tYU-aŋu
 aŋu. *They ŋami-vapi lot itla speak-fut.-aŋu*
 wa:tnā:l[a]:n:pi; 95. Wa:ŋa-nti apa[:na] ŋuka-nYa wa:tnā[:la]:n:pi;
 watnā:l[a]npi; *Where-nti miŋ[ht] go-int. watnā[la]npi;*
 96. Wa:ŋa-ŋuŋi yana-aŋku wa:tnā[:la]:n:pi; 97. VinYtYa-ri-nYtYU-aŋu
Where-from come-past watnā[la]npi; Ask-i.-fut.-aŋu
 (ŋami=vapi ŋ...) ŋami=vapi waŋka-tYU-aŋu. 98. ŋa vap:apa nu:ŋku
 (ŋami=vapi ...) ŋami=vapi *speak-fut.-aŋu. And vapapa your*
 i:tla waŋka-tYU-aŋu; 99. ŋa:tYU vap:apa vapi:na apa:na waŋu-ŋ-aŋu-aŋu
 itla *speak-fut.-aŋu; My vapapa lot might say-t.-I=A.-aŋu*
 nimpa:tYi-ŋa; 100. Wa:ŋa-nti ŋuka-nY-ua:t[n]a:nY[i=w]a:t[n]a:nYi.
like=this-ŋa; Where-nti go-int.-wat[n]anY[i-w]at[n]anYi.
 101. (Ā -) Upma:|i nimpa:tYi-ŋa valu-nYtY-atna-aŋu wa:tna:nY[i=
 (Ā -) Upma|i *like=this-ŋa include-fut.-they-aŋu watnanY[i-
 w]a:tna:nYi.* 102. Nu:ntu i:tla upma:|i-ŋa [i:tla] ya|YtYa-tYU-aŋu,
 w]atnanYi. *You itla upma|i-ŋa [itla] address-fut.-aŋu,*
 ŋam:aŋa ya|YtY[a-tY]-utu-wa-aŋu, ŋuka-aŋku wa:tn:aka apa:na;
 ŋamaŋa *adres[s-fut.]-you=A.-he-aŋu, go-past watnāka might;*
 103. ŋuka-aŋk-a:tl:aka apa:na, ŋa:tYU upma:|i ŋa:tl:aka apa:na;
Go-past-[ŋ]atlaka might, my upma|i ŋatlāka might;
 104. ŋa:tl:āka waŋka-tY-a:i-aŋu. 105. UtYU maŋa-ŋa waŋka-tYU-aŋu;
 ŋatlāka *speak-fut.-I-aŋu. Other mob-ŋa speak-fut.-aŋu;*
 106. Wa:ŋa ŋuka-aŋku wa:tna:nYi. 107. ŋa:i utYU ŋuka-aŋk-a:tl:aka
Where go-past watnanYi. I utYU go-past-[ŋ]atlaka
 waŋk[a]-a:i-aŋu. 108. Aŋ(a)=vapi nimpa:tYi-ŋa waŋka-aŋku ŋa:tl:aka-ŋa.
speak[k]-I-aŋu. Aŋāpi like=this-ŋa speak-past ŋatlaka-ŋa.
 109. Va:nYtYU:ŋu yaka:ti vapi:na-ŋa i:tla mitYa-ma-nYtYU ŋa:tl:aka-ŋa-
His child lot-A. itla name-D.=t.-fut.ŋatlaka-ŋa-
 aŋu(?) wa:tna:nYi; 110. ŋa:ŋata=ŋa waŋu-ŋuŋi-nYa (wa:tna:n:aka);
 aŋu(?) watnanYi; *What=ŋa say-rec.-int. [watnanYi];*

111. Yuṛa wanna-ḡṛa ika-nYa (wata-lu) wa:tna:nYi.
Yuṛa *talk=about-pres. sit-int.* (wata-A.=2) watnanYi.
112. Wa:tna:nYi waḡka-tY-atna-aḡu; 113. ḡa:tl:āka i:tla
WatnanYi *speak-fut.-they-aḡu;* ḡatlāka itla
- wa[ḡ]ka-tY-aḡu ḡa:tl:āka. 114. ḡa:tYu vap:alu vapi:na-ḡa, aṣu
sp[e]ak-fut.-aḡu ḡatlāka. My vapalu lot-A., woman
- vapi:na[-ḡa], ḡalka nak[u]-aḡku (maṣa:ṛi) yuṛa apa:na witni-ku; māḡi
lot[-A.], ḡalka se[e]-past [Aṛaṣu] Yuṛa might walk-narr.; māḡi
- yalYtYa-k-alu-wa; 115. Nuḡk[u]-aḡk-a|pu:|a-[wa] apa:na.
address-narr.-he=A.-he; Giv[e]-past-we-[he] might.
116. A:ḡa-pila va:la:n:pi apa[:na] ika-aḡku, atla=wiṭṇi nuḡk[u]-aḡk-
That-both valanpi mig[ht] sit-past, fire=stick giv[e]-past-
- a|pu:|a. 117. A:ḡa va:la:n:pi-ḡa utYu a:ḡa mitYa-m-a|pu:|a-aḡu.
-we. That valanpi-ḡa utYu that name-D.=t.-we-aḡu.
118. (ḡa:|pu:|a-ḡa i:tla) Miṛu-ḡa utYu ḡa:tYu aṣu:na yalYtYa-tY-aḡu
(We-ḡa itla) Man-A. utYu my aṣuna address-fut.-aḡu
- aṣ:āpi. 119. Iḡa aṣu-ḡa i:tla mitYa-ma-nYtY-a:i-aḡu ḡam:aḡa
aṣāpi. And woman-A. itla name-D.=t.-fut.-I-aḡu ḡamaḡa
- mitYa-ma-nYtY-a:i [...?]. 120. A:ḡa vitna i:tla (ya...) a:ḡa maṣa:ṛi
name-D.=t.-fut.-I [...?]. That after itla (...) that Maṣaṛi
- a:ḡa aṛaṣu ika-aḡk=a:ta nimpa:tYi; nimpa:tYi ika-nYtY-aḡu. 121. Iḡa
that Aṛaṣu sit-p.=3 like=this; like=this sit-fut.-aḡu. And
- ḡa:tYu yaka:|a vapi:na-ḡa, miṛu vapi:na-ḡa, ḡalka nak[u]-aḡku aṣu,
my yaka|a lot-A., man lot-A., ḡalka se[e]-past woman,
- a:ḡa ḡa:tYu yaka:|a. 122. Yaka:|a utYu mitYa-ma-nt-aṣu
that my yaka|a. Yaka|a utYu name-D.=t.-pres.-I=A.
- a:ḡa(-ḡa[?]), yaka:|a utYu. 123. ḡa:tYu vi|ali-ṛu, ḡa:tYu vi|ali-ṛu
that(-ḡa[?]), yaka|a utYu. My vi|ali-of, my vi|ali-of
- yaka:|a vapi:na, ḡa:tYu vi|ali-ṛu yaka:|a vapi:na, ḡu:ḡa upma:|i
yaka|a lot, my vi|ali-of yaka|a lot, over=that upma|i
- vapi vitna-ṛu yaka:ti utYu a:ḡa=ri, ḡa:tYu vi|ali vapi:na, ḡa:tYu
vapi after-of child utYu "voilà", my vi|ali lot, my
- upma:|i vapi-ṛu; 124. A:ḡa aḡka=aḡka:ru maṣa-ḡa vi|ali utYu. (*That's it.*)
upma|i vapi-of; That pass=passed mob-ḡa vi|ali utYu.

125. *ŋa:tʷu yaka:|a-ɾu (ya...), ŋa:tʷu yaka:|a, ŋa:tʷu yaka:|a,*
My yaka|a-of (...), my yaka|a, my yaka|a,
yaka:ti-ŋa ŋua|i mitʷa-ma-nt-a:i, ŋua|i mitʷa-ma-nt-a:i.
child-A. ŋua|i name-D.=t.-pres.-I, ŋua|i name-D.=t.-pres.-I.
126. *A:ŋa maʒa-ŋa nimpa:tʷi-ŋa i:tla anʷtʷi-ŋuɾi-nʷtʷu-aŋu,*
That mob-ŋa like=this-ŋa itla keep-rec.-fut.-aŋu,
ŋa:|pu:|a-ŋa-li, ŋa:i-ri yaʒa waŋka-aŋk=a:ta. 127. Nimpa:tʷi-ŋa yatna
we-ŋa-like, I-ri now speak-p.=3. Like=this-ŋa they
i:tla anʷtʷi-ŋuɾi-nʷtʷu-aŋu; nimpa:tʷi-ŋa. (That's right.)
itla keep-rec.-fut.-aŋu; like=this-ŋa.
128. *ŋa:tʷu vap:alu, ŋa:tʷu vap:alu[-ɾu] yaka:ti vapi:na-ŋa vap:apa*
My vapalu, my vapalu[-of] child lot-A. vapapa
mitʷa-ma-nt-a:i, utʷu maʒa-lu. 129. ʔa utʷu maʒa-lu i:tla,
name-D.=t.-pres.-I, other mob-A.=2. And other mob-A.=2 itla,
utʷu inka (itna) i:tla anʷtʷi-ŋuɾi-k-atna, ŋua|i atni ya|ʷtʷa-t-a:i
other side (...) itla keep-rec.-narr.-they, ŋua|i also address-pres.-I
yatna. 130. ŋa:tʷu yaka:|a, naku, ŋua|i utʷu, ŋa:tʷu yaka:|a-ɾu
they. My yaka|a, yes, ŋua|i utʷu, my yaka|a-of
yaka:|a vapi:na-ŋa (is ŋua|i-s,) ŋua|i mitʷa-ma-nt-a:i-tna.
yaka|a lot-A. (is ŋua|i-s,) ŋua|i name-D.=t.-pres.-I-they.
131. *ʔa ŋa:tʷu vap:alu-ɾu yaka:ti[-ŋa] mitʷa-ma-nt-a:i vap:apa.*
And my vapalu-of child[-A.] name-D.=t.-pres.-I vapapa.
132. (SB: *Aʒu:na vapi:na, aʒu vapi:na*) *Aʒu vapi:na-ŋa uʷu ŋa:ŋa*
Woman lot-A. all ŋaŋa
mitʷa-ma-nt-a:i vap:apa. 133. (Aʒu-ŋa) Aʒu-ŋa atni
name-D.=t.-pres.-I vapapa. (Woman-A.) Woman-A. also
(SB: aʒu-ŋa atni) aʒu-ŋa atni, aʒu-ŋa too call me vap[:apa].
woman-A. also, woman-A. -- --- -- vap[apa].

TEXT II

1. *Watni-inʷtʷai ŋatʷu yataɾu, ŋatʷu yuɾa vapina nak[u-]aʒu;*
Return-i-fut.-I my ground-to, my Yuɾa lot se[e]-I=A.;
2. *ŋami vapina nak[u-]aʒu; vapi vapina nak[u-]aʒu. 3. ŋamiŋa maʒa*
ŋami lot se[e]-I=A.; vapi lot se[e]-I=A. ŋami-ŋa mob

- valan=munka; (vapiṭa...) vapi, valananpiṅa; vapi vapina, upmaḷi vapina,
valan=munka; (...) vapi, valananpi-ṅa; vapi *lot*, upmaḷi *lot*,
- val[a]nātuna; aṭāpi vapina, valanātu; 4. Ṇamaṅa vapina ṅami vapina
val[a]nātu-ṅa; aṭāpi *lot*, valanātu; Ṇamaṅa *lot* ṅami *lot*
- aṅa valan=munkaṅatʸi; (upmaḷi ṅamaṅawa) upmaḷi (va..., upmaḷi),
that valan=munka-ṅa-tʸi; (upmaḷi ṅamaṅa-*he*) upmaḷi (... , upmaḷi),
upmaḷi vapi (and upmaḷi and vapi a -) valanātu. 5. (SB: Ḳa upmaḷi
upmaḷi vapi (--- upmaḷi --- vapi a -) valanātu.
- ṅamaṅa) Upmaḷi ṅamaṅa included ye, m, valanātu, valanātu. 6. Ṇatʸu
Upmaḷi ṅamaṅa --- ---,hm, valanātu, valanātu. *My*
- yakaṅa munka itla, viḷali vapina, aṭu vapina, yatna maṭaṅa watʸa;
yaka-ṅa *crowd* itla, viḷali *lot*, *woman lot*, *they mob-ṅa* watʸa;
- miṣu vapina itla, yatna maṭa watʸ[a]. 7. Ṇama=ṅama atni aṭu utʸu
man lot itla, *they mob* watʸ[a]. Ṇama-ṅama *also woman* utʸu
- mitʸamanta yuṣaṅa. 8. Aṅa atni=atninta utʸu
name-D.=t.-pres. Yuṣa-A. *That behave=behave-pres.* utʸu
- wan̄katawa. 9. Ṇuaḷi vapina, ṅuaḷi vulka vapina, yatna maṭa watʸa.
speak-pres.-he. Ṇuaḷi *lot*, ṅuaḷi *old lot*, *they mob* watʸa.
10. Vapapa vulka vapina, vapapa vapina, ṅatʸu vapapa. 11. (SB: Ṇapaḷa.)
Vapapa *old lot*, vapapa *lot*, *my* vapapa.
- Ṇapaḷa vapina, aṅa utʸu yatna maṭaṅa atni; 12. Yatna maṭaṅa atni
Ṇapaḷa *lot*, *that* utʸu *they mob-ṅa also*; *They mob-ṅa also*
- ṅapaḷa vapina. 13. Aṭuna vapina nak[u-]aṭu, anʸtʸikaṭu. (*That's*
ṅapaḷa *lot* Aṭuna *lot* *se[e]-I=A., keep-narr.-I=A.*
- alright.*) 14. (SB: Yakaḷa, yakaḷa vapina.) Yakaḷa vapina, ṅatʸu
Yakaḷa *lot*, *my*
- yakaḷa vapina itla, aṅa valan=munkaṅa atni, aṅa valan=munkaṅa.
yakaḷa *lot* itla, *that* valan=munka-ṅa *also*, *that* valan=munka-ṅa.
15. Nimpatʸi mitʸamanta valan=munkaṅa atni, ṅamaṅali
Like=this name-D.=t.-pres. valan=munka-ṅa *also* ṅamaṅa-*like*
- ṅamili valan=munkaṅa. 16. (SB: Ḳa - vapalu vapina.) Ṇapaḷa.
ṅami-*like* valan=munka-ṅa. Ṇapaḷa.
17. (SB: Vapalu) Vapalu vapina is vapalu nakunʸtʸ[aṭ]u-aṅu.
Vapalu *lot* --- vapalu *see-fut.-[I=A.]A.-aṅu.*

18. (SB: Vapalu.) M, naku, vapalu. 19. Vinka aña nat̃yu vapapa
Hm, yes, vapalu. Vinka that my vapapa
- ut̃yu: 20. Vañt̃yuru viḷali apana añt̃yikaḷu, vayaḷa itla;
 ut̃yu: *His viḷali might keep-narr.-I=A., vayaḷa itla;*
21. Aña nat̃yu ḡapaḷa vapinat̃yi, vayaḷa maḷaḡat̃yi; 22. Aña vayaḷa
That my ḡapaḷa lot-t̃yi, vayaḷa mob-ḡa-t̃yi; That vayaḷa
- ut̃yu. 23. Nimpat̃yi aḡaḷu maḷaḡi waḡkat̃yu-aḡu, wat̃ni-iku apana
 ut̃yu. *Like=this Aḡaḷu Maḷaḡi speak-fut.-aḡu, return-i-narr. might*
- vañt̃yuru yuḷa nakuwaḡan[̃]t̃[̃]alu.
his Yuḷa see-loc.-f[u]t.-he=A.

TEXT III

1. Ut̃yuna itla, yuḷa nuḡ[k]uḡuḷi-aḡkatari; aḷuna nuḡ[k]uḡuḷi-aḡkata:
Other-ḡa itla, Yuḷa gi[v]e-rec.-p.=3-ri; aḷuna gi[v]e-rec.-p.=3:
2. Maḷaḡiḡa apana ima-aḡku aḷuna; 3. Nuḡkut̃yat̃nawa-aḡu aḷuna;
 Maḷaḡi-A. *might take-past aḷuna; Give-fut.-they-he-aḡu aḷuna;*
4. Atla=wiḷḡi nuḡkut̃yat̃nawa-aḡu: 5. Iḡaḡa wat̃nanpiḷu atla=
Fire=stick give-fut.-they-he-aḡu; This-ḡa wat̃nanpi-of fire=
- wiḷḡi; 6. Ik[ak]at̃nanpl̃t̃yi; 7. Anku ḡuḷaḡ[k]arikat̃nanpi
stick; Si[t-imp.-w]at̃nanpi-t̃yi; Camp make-r[f]l.-imp.-wat̃nanpi
- yañt̃yana; 8. Ikañt̃yu wat̃nanpi. 9. Ikañt̃yuwa itla-aḡu
separate; Sit-fut. wat̃nanpi. Sit-fut.-he itla-aḡu
- nimpat̃yiḡa yuḷupa; 10. Waru [itla] wit̃niñt̃yuwa-aḡu. 11. Ĩa
like=this-ḡa long=time; Once [itla] walk-fut.-he-aḡu. And
- vañt̃yuru nata ḡuri=ḡuri maḷaḡa ḡank̃ni ut̃yu, ḡuri=ḡuri maḷaḡa
his not close-close mob-ḡa kin ut̃yu, close-close mob-ḡa
- ḡamaḡa at̃ni vañt̃yuru, vañt̃yuru ḡamaḡa ut̃yu, ḡuri wata[ḡ]a ḡamaḡa
ḡamaḡa also his, his ḡamaḡa ut̃yu, close wata[-ḡ]a ḡamaḡa
- ut̃yu ur[u] ikañt̃yu apana-aḡu, vani aḡkaru maḷaḡa, yaḷu=yaḷu
ut̃yu ur[u] sit-fut. might-aḡu, very passed mob-ḡa, nothing-nothing
- maḷaḡa ḡamaḡa vapina, it̃ni=l̃tni maḷaḡa, waḡkanañt̃yu-aḡu;
mob-ḡa ḡamaḡa lot, distant-distant mob-ḡa, speak-d.-fut.-aḡu;
12. (Vaḡa apana waḷuḡuñt̃yu vaḷa...) Valu apana waḡuḡuñt̃yu-aḡu aḡa
(He might talk-t.-fut. ...) He=A. might say-t.-fut.-aḡu that

- aŋkaru maṭaṅa: 13. Nuŋk[u]-aṣu ŋuṅa wataṅa; 14. Viṅṭa
passed mob-ṅa: Giv[e]-I=A. over=that wata-ṅa; Viṅṭa
- apiŋkarai; 15. Vapapa ṅatʷu nuŋk[u]-aṣu. 16. Naku; vanʷtʷu[ɾu]
shut-rfl.-I; Vapapa my giv[e]-I=A. Yes; hi[s]
- (...) ṅamaṅa waŋkatʷu-aṅu, uṛa maṭaṅa; wantu itla; waṅuṅunʷtʷuwa-aṅu
 (...) ṅamaṅa *speak-fut.-aṅu, behind mob-ṅa; good itla; say-t.-fut.-he-aṅu*
- vulka atiṛiṅa. 17. ʔa waṅuṅuṛi-ikatna nimpatʷiṅa yainaṅa
old group-A. And talk-rec.-i-narr.-they like=this-ṅa again-ṅa
- (ya...); 18. Wipmaṅa=yaṅṭaṅa yaṅṭu-inʷtʷatna-[a]ṅu waṅuṅuṛinta.
 (...); *Court=ground-L. sit=pl.-i-fut.-they-[a]ṅu say-rec.-pres.*
19. ʔa valu itla nuŋkuku, vapapa vanʷtʷuṛu; aṛaṣu itla
And he=A. itla give-narr., vapapa his; Aṛaṣu itla
- nuŋkuwaṛantalu; 20. Aṛa[ʃu] itla nuŋkotalu; vanʷtʷuṛu
give-loc.-pres.-he=A.; Aṛa[ʃu] itla give-pres.-he=A.; his
- viḷali vapina apana nuŋkotalu. 21. Aṅa valanāpaṛu viṅṭa itla
 viḷali *lot might give-pres.-he=A. That valanāpa-of viṅṭa itla*
- wantitʷu-aṅu; 22. Aṅa viṅṭa atni ṅuṭa-aŋkatatna nimpatʷi, maṭaṛiṅa
lie-fut.-aṅu; That viṅṭa also make-p.=3-they like=this, Maṭaṛi-A.
- aṛaṣuṅa; 23. Viṅṭa[tʷi] aṅaritʷi; 24. Viṅṭa apiṅuṛikatna.
 Aṛaṣu-A.; *Viṅṭa[-tʷi] "voilà"-tʷi; Viṅṭa shut-rec.-narr.-*
25. Aṅa atni ika-aŋkata nitʷata, ika-aŋkata: 26. Yuṛa
they. That also sit-p.=3 legal, sit-p.=3: Yuṛa
- waŋka-aŋku apana, ya[p]mi-aŋkatna apana; vitni apana yuṛa waŋka-aŋku;
speak-past might, sw[e]ar-past-they might; bad might Yuṛa speak-past;
27. Naṅataṅa itla [...?], waŋka-aŋku[wa] apana [...?]; 28. Yuṛa
What=ṅa itla [...?], speak-past[-he] might [...?]; Yuṛa
- vitniṛaŋku apana; aṣuna vanʷtʷuṛu apana vitniṛaŋku; ṅapaḷa vanʷtʷuṛu
bad-ɾ-past might; aṣuna his might bad-ɾ-past; ṅapaḷa his
- apana; aṅa apana waŋka-aŋku[wa]. 29. Aṅatʷi vani muṅṭa watʷa
might; that might speak-past[-he]. That-tʷi very muṅṭa watʷa
- ika-aŋku, aṣuna ṅatʷiku[wa] apana. 30. Aṅa atni
sit-past, aṣuna ask=for-narr.[-he] might. That also
- waŋka-aŋkata[t]na, ṅatʷi-aŋkatatna atni; waruṅuṅi nuŋkutʷatnawa-aṅu.
speak-p.=3-t[h]ey, ask=for-p.=3-they also; once-from give-fut.-they-he-aṅu.

31. Van^ytYu^u ḡamaṇa apana, ḡaṇataṇaṇa itla, muḷaṭaṭiṇa apana (...)
His ḡamaṇa might, what=ḡa-L. itla, Muḷaṭaṭi-L. might (...)
 uṇṭa-aṅkatna; 32. Iḷa vaṇa itla ḡat^yiku, nuṅkut^yatnawa-
strike-past-they; And he itla ask=for-narr., give-fut.-they-he-
 aṇu; 33. [V]aṇa yaya (api...) apin^yt^yatnawa, nuṅ[k]utatnawa;
aṇu; [H]e mouth (shut-...) shut-fut.-they-he, giv[e]-pres.-they-he;
 muka itla ikan^yt^yuwa [i]tla[-a]ṅ[u]. 34. Aṇa vitna, aṇa vitna
silent itla sit-fut.-he [i]tla[-a]ṅ[u]. That after, that after
 muka itla ikan^yt^yuwa-aṇu, aṭu nuṅkukatnawa.
silent itla sit-fut.-he-aṇu, woman give-narr.-they-he.

TEXT IV

1. ḡaṇataṇa atni ika-aṅkata, mitla. 2. Mitla atni waikuṇuṇi-
What=ḡa also sit-p.=3, mitla. Mitla also run=away-rec.-
 aṅkat[n]a waru. 3. ḡapaḷa waikuṇuṇi-aṅkatna; 4. ḡapaḷa=wiṇi
past-th[e]y once. ḡapaḷa run=away-rec.-past-they; ḡapaḷa=wiṇi
 mitla waikuṇuṇi-aṅku, waiku[ṇuṇi-]aṅkata. 5. Aṇat^yi vani
mitla run=away-rec.-past, run=away[-rec.]-p.=3. That-t^yi very
 iḷa-aṅkatna itla (...), iḷa-aṅkatna itlaku.
handle=severely-past-they itla (...), handle=severely-past-they itla-ku.
 6. Vaṇaku ut^yu inka itla wantu yuṇa vapinṇa nak[u]-aṅku vulka
He-ku other side itla good Yuṇa lot-A. se[e]-past old
 atiṇiṇa (a...) aṭun^yi vapinṇa nak[u]-aṅku; 7. Wantu waṇuṇuṇin^yt^yatna-aṇu:
group-A. (...) women se[e]-past; Good say-rec.-fut.-they-aṇu:
 8. Wantu ḡuṭa-aṅkatna; 9. Waṇuṇuṇin^yt^yatna-aṇu an^yt^yi:
Good make-past-they; Say-rec.-fut.-they-aṇu an^yt^yi:
 10. (ḡalka nakunṇuṇinta valu...) ḡalka nakunṇuṇinta valanāpa,
(ḡalka see-rec.-pres. ...) ḡalka see-rec.-pres. valanāpa,
 naṅkapaḷpuḷa valanāpaṇa. 11. (Ut^yuṇa apana waṅkat^yu-aṇu;)
how-D.=T.-we valanāpa-ḡa. (Other-ḡa might speak-fut.-aṇu;)
 Upmaṇaka waṅkat^yu-aṇu (...); 12. Ut^yu maṭaṇa yuṇi ḡaṭiku,
One speak-fut.-aṇu (...); Other mob-ḡa ear strain-narr.,
 ut^yuṇa waṅkat^yu-aṇu: 13. (Nuṅk[u]-aḷpuḷa val...) Nuṅk[u]-aḷpuḷa
other-ḡa speak-fut.-aṇu: (Giv[e]-we ...) Giv[e]-we

- valanāpaḡa itla, atla=wiṡṡi itla nuḡk[u]-a|pu|a valanāpaḡa.
 valanāpa-ḡa itla, *fire=stick* itla *giv[e]-we* valanāpa-ḡa.
14. Uṡu waḡkakatna: Naku, aḡa wantu waḡkaṡiḡa vulkaya,
All speak-narr.-they: Yes, that good speak-pres.-you old-V.,
 waḡkatʷatna apana[-aḡu]: 15. Wantu waḡkatḡiḡa;
speak-fut.-they might[-aḡu]: Good speak-pres.-you;
16. Nuḡk[u]-a|pu|a valanāpaḡa, atla=wiṡṡi nuḡk[u]-a|pu|a watnāpaḡa.
Giv[e]-we valanāpa-ḡa, fire=stick giv[e]-we watnāpa-ḡa.
17. (Well,) iḡaritʷi vutli itla wakariḡka|pu|a valanāpaḡa;
 (---,) "voici"-tʷi vutli itla *break=i.-t.-we* valanāpa-ḡa;
18. Aḡa (vutli matu..., ū vutli mal... mal...) vutli mankuḡuṡi-
That (vutli ..., ū vutli) vutli seize-rec.-
 aḡka|(uṡupa), valanāpatʷi. 19. Utʷuḡa waḡkatʷu-aḡu va|uṡupaḡa.
past-(va|uṡupa), valanāpa-tʷi. Other-ḡa speak-fut.-aḡu va|uṡupa-ḡa.
20. Wantu waḡkakatna, uṡu waḡkakatna, nimpatʷiḡa itla
Good speak-narr.-they, all speak-narr.-they, like=this-ḡa itla
 ikaḡatʷu itlawa-aḡu; 21. Waru ika-aḡkata [...?]. 22. Ur[u]
sit-fut. itla-he-aḡu; Once sit-p.=3 [...?]. Ur[u]
- ikatantai, vulka maṡaḡa ḡapa|a atni waḡiṡa-aḡka[al[?]]u;
sit-ta-pres.-I, old mob-ḡa ḡapa|a also pick=up-ṡa-past[-he=A.[?]].
23. Waḡinʷi apana ikaku; 24. Waḡinʷi apana ikaku; waḡinʷiḡa
Widow might sit-narr.; Widow might sit-narr.; widow-ḡa
- ḡalka nakuku apana yuṡa[ḡa], vanʷtʷuṡu vapapatʷi. 25. Aḡa
ḡalka see-narr. might yuṡa[-A.], his vapapa-tʷi. That
 ḡapa|a=wiṡi itla ika-aḡkata atni, ḡapa|a-aḡu.
 ḡapa|a=wiṡi itla *sit-p.=3 also, ḡapa|a-aḡu.*

TEXT V

1. Waru atni ika-aḡkata: 2. Yuṡa (ya...) yanḡari witniku,
Once also sit-p.=3: Yuṡa (...) young=man walk-narr.,
 aṡunʷi vapina atni; 3. Atluku witni-a|lku, ḡa|apaḡa;
women lot also; Atluku walk-pl.-narr., many-ḡa;
4. ḡapa|a vapina, aṡuna vapina witni-a|lku. 5. Yuṡa yanḡari
ḡapa|a lot aṡuna lot walk-pl.-narr. Yuṡa young=man

- witniku apana (you know), witnikuwa apana, napa!ana apana
walk-narr. might (---), walk-narr.-he might, napa!a-A. might
- nakuntawa; 6. Napa!ana apana nalka nakuntawa.
see-pres.-he; Napa!a-A. might nalka see-pres.-he.
7. Witnin^{YtYu}pila-aṅu; 8. Witnin^{YtYu} valanāpa-aṅu, valanāpa itla
Walk-fut.-both-aṅu; Walk-fut. valanāpa-aṅu, valanāpa itla
- maṅu naku=nakuṅurinta; 9. (Aṭun^{Yi} - aṭu -) Aṭuna yun^{YtYu}=yun^{YtYu}
face see=see-rec.-pres.; (Women - woman -) Aṭuna nose=nose
- viṭi=viṭi witnin^{YtYu}-aṅu, yuḷupa apana. 10. Ari itla aṭu
front=front walk-fut.-aṅu, long=time might. Later itla woman
- wayalin^{YtYu}-aṅu might, yapmin^{YtYalu} itla-aṅu [iṅa[?]] yanṅari,
turn-fut.-aṅu ---, swear-fut.-he=A. itla-aṅu [this[?]] young=man,
- yuṛa yanṅari: 11. Wantiṭa witni-aṅkiṅa ṅaiṅa; 12. Wilka
Yuṛa young=man: Lie-pres. walk-past-you I-C.; Dog
- yatlili witni-aṅkiṅa. 13. N^{atYu} anku yamakunḷuṭa wil^{YtYana}
male-like walk-past-you. My camp sneak-t.-pres. night-L.
- witni-aṅkiṅa. 14. Aṅaṅuṅi vaḷpakanta apana wayalin^{YtYu}
walk-past-you. That-from be=ashamed-pres. might turn-fut.
- itla-aṅu vaṅa ut^{Yu}; yanṅari ut^{Yu}; van^{YtYu}ṛu viḷali vapina, yakaṅa
itla-aṅu he ut^{Yu}; young=man ut^{Yu}; his viḷali lot, yaka-ṅa
- munka van^{YtYu}ṛu ṅaṅa munka ṅuṛan^{YtYalu}-aṅu, vaḷpakanta ut^{Yu}
crowd his ṅaṅa crowd throw-fut.-he=A.-aṅu, be=ashamed-pres. ut^{Yu}
- aṅari. 15. Vaḷpak[a]ku yanṅari (...) ṅuṛantalu
"voilà". Be=ashame[d]-narr. young=man (...) throw-pres.-he=A.
- yatnaṅa; 16. N^{uṛantalu} van^{YtYu}ṛu yakaṅa munka; 17. Miḷit^{Yi}
they-ṅa; Throw-pres.-he=A. his yaka-ṅa crowd; Men
- itla aṅ[a-]in^{YtYu}-aṅu, yan^{anYtYu}-aṅu, waḷuṅuṛi-in^{YtYu}-aṅu:
itla ri[s[e]-i-fut.-aṅu, come-fut.-aṅu, talk-rec.-i-fut.-aṅu:
18. Uṅ[a-]ikatnāpa; 19. Yanṅaripila ṅaḷṭu ikanta
Bea[t]-i-imp.-[w]atnāpa; Young=man-both apt sit-pres.
- watnāpa; 20. Iṅari wiṭi (...), wiṭi. 21. Wiṭi nuṅkut^{Yatna}-aṅu
watnāpa; "Voici" tree (...), tree. Tree give-fut.-they-aṅu
- valanāpaṅa; 22. Valanāpa uṅ[a-]in^{YtYu}; ṅaḷa ut^{YnYu} uṅ[a-]in^{YtYu}
valanāpa-ṅa; Valanāpa bea[t]-i-fut.; much very=bad bea[t]-i-fut.

- valanāpa-aṅu; 23. Vani ḡa|a utʸnʸu uḡ[a-]inʸtʸu valanāpa-aṅu.
valanāpa-aṅu; *Very much very=bad bea[t]-i-fut. valanāpa-aṅu.*
24. Nimpatʸiḡa utʸu akaḡa ḡaṛu [aḡaḡa[?]] yuaku nakuḡṡa.
Like=this-ḡa other bit-ḡa set [that-L.[?]] stand-narr. see-pres.
25. Wii ur[u] ikakatna, ati upmaḡaka nimpaḡala ḡa|a=aka
Just thou[ḡht] sit-narr.-they, blood one this=way big
- apana na|aku, yalti-inʸtʸatna itla-aṅu: 26. Wii wantaḡuṛi-
might run=out-narr., stop-i-fut.-they itla-aṅu: Just leave-rec.-
- (-i)katnāpa. 27. No more (aḡaḡuḡi) aḡa vitna waḡuḡuṛinʸtʸu
(-i)-imp.-[w]atnāpa. --- --- *(that-from) that after say-rec.-fut.*
- watnāpa-aṅu, aḡa ḡawa|a; (no) watnāpa wii muka itla witninʸtʸu-aṅu.
watnāpa-aṅu, *that word; (---) watnāpa just silent itla walk-fut.-aṅu.*
28. Aḡa atni ika-aḡkata yuṛaṛu ḡuṡu, nimpalitʸi munkaḡa. *(That'll do.)*
That also sit-p.=3 Yuṛa-of ḡuṡu, this=sort crowd-ḡa.

TEXT VI

1. Waru - utʸurapaḡa ḡuṡu iḡa akaḡa: 2. Vatna ḡaḡalpila, wilka
Once - another=ḡa ḡuṡu this bit-ḡa: Goanna ḡaḡa-l=both, dog
- ḡaḡalpila, aḡa yuṛa muku[ḡa[?]]. 3. Vatnamukuḡa
ḡaḡa-l=both, that Yuṛa bone[-ḡa[?]]. Goanna-bone-ḡa
- wilkamukuḡa yana-aḡkulpila; 4. Nʸtla yuntu-akanantaḡariḡuḡi
dog-bone-ḡa come-past-l=both; Over=tla sun-come=out-pres.-towards-
- yana-aḡkulpila. 5. Iḡanti itla yana-aḡkulpila;
-from come-past-l=both. This-nti itla come-past-l=both;
6. Yana-aḡkulpila; 7. Valanpila Viḡaḡiḡaṛu yana-aḡku;
Come-past-l=both; Valanpila Viḡaḡiḡa-to come-past;
8. Viḡaḡiḡa yata ikanta, valanpila witʸa-aḡku aḡa vaṛiḡa;
Viḡaḡiḡa ground sit-pres., valanpila go=up-past that creek-L.;
- Wanta-upaḡaḡa; 9. Valanpila witʸana-aḡku, witʸana-aḡku, vaṛiḡaḡa
Wanta-upaḡa-L.; *Valanpila go=up-d.-past, go=up-d.-past, creek-ḡa=ḡa*
- vaṛiḡaḡa. 10. Wilʸtʸavaṛi atni itla ikanta; 11. Aḡaḡa
creek-ḡa=ḡa. Wilʸtʸavaṛi also itla sit-pres.; That-L.
- yana-aḡkulpila Yankavuṡuvuṡuṛu; 12. Aḡaḡa ika-atlapila.
come-past-l=both Yankavuṡuvuṡu-to; That-L. sit-atla-both.

13. Anku nimpaxalana nuqa-aqkatapilana[a]. 14. (Anaru...) Anaruřuku
Camp this=way-na make-p.=3-both-[A.]. (That-...) That-to-řu-ku
- waŋkatai itla. 15. Uřana itla vinYa yanana-aŋku, vinYa,
speak-pres.-I itla. Behind-L. itla pursuer come-d.-past, pursuer,
 vaļuřupaņa yutlinta; 16. Viđařina ŋaņa ařa, aņaņa wira
vaļuřupa-ņa chase-pres.; Viđařina ŋaņa up, that-L. gum=tree
 vapina, wira yuařinta, wawa=wawaři, wa[va=]wa[va]ři.
lot, gum=tree stand-pl.-pres., long=long, lo[ng=]lo[ng].
17. Aņaņa wira yuařinta; 18. Aņa vinYa vapinatyi;
That-L. gum=tree stand-pl.-pres.; That pursuer lot-tyi;
19. Yuařintat[n[?]]a matYiri waļuřuřinta, ŋalka
Stand-pl.-pres.-t[h[?]]ey I=believe-ri talk-rec.-pres., ŋalka
 nakuŋuřinta. 20. Waŋuŋuřikatna matYiri, wii
see-rec.-pres. Say-rec.-narr.-they I=believe-ri, just
 yapirininta itla: 21. Yařatyi mankuřiŋku-aļuļa vaļuřupaņa.
near-D.=I.-pres. itla: Now-tyi seize-i.-t.-we vaļuřupa-ņa.
22. Iranana (yatna) vaļuřupaņa (manta=awiņa) manta=awipana-aŋkatna
Really-ņa (they) vaļuřupa-ņa (foot-I.) foot-D.=T.-d.-past-they
 vaļuřupaņa (vutuku) vutuku Yaŋkavuřuvuřu. 23. Aņaņa
vaļuřupa-ņa (until) until Yaŋkavuřuvuřu-to. That-L.
 nimpaxalatyi uŋřananta vaļuřupaņa itla yatnaŋu (?) vinYaņa,
this=way-tyi hit-p.=2 vaļuřupa-ņa itla they-[a]ŋu (?) pursuer-A.,
 Yaŋkavuřuvuřu itla mityi ikanta itla: 24. Yaŋka vuļa=vuļa
Yaŋkavuřuvuřu itla name sit-pres. itla: Liver piece-piece
 nimpaxala vinYaņa [itla[?]] iŋki=iŋkiŋunanta vaļuřupaņa, yata
this=way pursuer-A. [itla[?]] split-split-t.-p.=2 vaļuřupa-ņa, ground
 mityi itla ikaku Yaŋkavuřuvuřu. 25. Anaruřuku itla
name itla sit-narr. Yaŋkavuřuvuřu. That-to-řu-ku itla
 waŋkataiku. (26. Apika(wa[?]) wii Vernard ay.)
speak-pres.-I-ku. Shut-imp.(-he[?]) just Bernhard, he!

TEXT VII

1. Yakati mulkalpu witni-aṅ[k]ata, anku ita=italaṅa (...)
Child mulkalpu walk-p.=3, camp ho[le]=hole-L. (...)
2. Nutlaga=valagaṅa ikanta witnin^yt^yuwa-aṅu; 3. Wantu ut^yu.
Over=tla-ṅa-vala-ṅa-L. sit-pres. walk-fut.-he-aṅu; Good ut^yu.
4. Ia vakukatna itlawa, vaṭṅāpa itla ikakuwa,
And build-narr.-they itla-he, vaṭṅāpa itla sit-narr.-he,
 muṅṅanin^yt^yu itlawa-aṅu; 5. Muṅṅa itla ikan^yt^yuwa-aṅu.
 muṅṅa-D.=I.-fut. itla-he-aṅu; Muṅṅa itla sit-fut.-he-aṅu.
6. (Viḷali vapina,) Van^yt^yuṛu viḷali, yaka, aṭāpi, aṅa maṭaṅa ut^yu
 (Viḷali lot,) His viḷali, yaka, aṭāpi, that mob-ṅa ut^yu
 atnḷun^yt^yalu itla-aṅu. 7. Aṅa ut^yu waṅkata[pu]a ḡawa|a:
behave-t.-fut.-he=A. itla-aṅu. That ut^yu speak-pres.-we word:
8. (...) Atni=atni-in^yt^yuwa itla-aṅu. 9. Nura itla waṅkat^yuwa-
 (...) Behave-behave-i-fut.-he itla-aṅu. Nura itla speak-fut.-he-
 aṅu; 10. Nuṅ[k]unakaitna, mai nuṅk[uk]aitna; uta
 aṅu; Gi[v]e-d.-imp.-I-they, food giv[e-imp.]-I-they; no
 ḡukakatna ḡai yun^yt^yuruna. 11. Muṅṅa atni ika-aṅkata yun^yt^yuru
go-imp.-they I nose-L. Muṅṅa also sit-p.=3 nose
 ḡukaṅṅaṅaṅa: 12. ḡawirin^yt^yatna-aṅu (iṭiṭipanta yatna)
go-pres.-ṅa-L.: Turn=i-fut.-they-aṅu (back-D.=T.-pres. they)
 iṭiṭiṭari uṛaṅa. 13. Vaṭṅāpa, maṭa vaṭṅāpa apa,
back-towards behind-L. Vaṭṅāpa, fresh vaṭṅāpa mig[ht],
 ikamanan^yt^yuwa-aṅu ḡuṅaṅali (...) waṅkaṭa ikan^yt^yuwa-aṅu;
sit-d.=2-fut.-he-aṅu over=that-L.-like (...) speak-pres. sit-fut.-he-aṅu:
14. Viḷali vapinaṅa mai yuṅṅuṅun^yt^yuwa-aṅu; 15. Witnāpaṅa maṭaṅa
 Viḷali lot-A. food put-t.-fut.-he-aṅu; Little-ṅa mob-ṅa
 wantu; 16. ḡa|awataga maṭa itla atnḷn^yt^yuwa-aṅu. 17. Van^yt^yuṛu
good; ḡa|awata-ṅa mob itla behave-fut.-he-aṅu. His
 yaka vapinaṅa waṅuṅun^yt^yu itla-aṅu witnāpaṅa maṭa: 18. Nuna
 yaka lot-A. say-t.-fut. itla-aṅu little-ṅa mob: Over=that
 yuṛa vaṭṅāpa (...) mai nuṅku[k]atna, yau=yau; 19. Mai (iṅa)
 Yuṛa vaṭṅāpa (...) food give[-imp.]-they, quick-quick; Food (this)

- ḡalku ikama[na[?]]ntawa. 20. Naku, van^Yt^Yuṛu yakaḡa ut^Yu
 ḡalku *sit-d.*[=2[?]]-pres.-he. Yes, his yaka-ḡa ut^Yu
 atniḡun^Yt^Yyalu itla-aḡu. 21. Witnāpa viḡaliḡa itla
behave-t.-fut.-he=A. itla-aḡu. Little viḡali-A. itla
 nuḡkut^Yuwa-aḡu mai wantu, aḡu vapāpaḡaḡa.
give-fut.-he-aḡu food good, woman small=small-ḡa-A.
 22. Valanpilaḡuku wantu waḡuḡuṛin^Yt^Yu-aḡu. 23. Ḳa - ḡukakuwa
 Valanpila-Ḳu-ku *good talk-rec.-fut.-aḡu.* And - go-narr.-he
 apana aḡāpi ankuḡa apana, aḡāpi iḡiḡipan^Yt^Yyalu-aḡu; 24. Iḡiḡi
might aḡāpi camp-L. might, aḡāpi back-D.=T.-fut.-he=A.-aḡu; Back
 nuḡkut^Yalu-aḡu aḡāpi; 25. Waḡkaḡa ika^Yt^Yuwa ut^Yu inka
give-fut.-he=A.-aḡu aḡāpi; Speak-pres. sit-fut.-he other side
 maḡu. 26. Ḳapaḡa vapinaḡa nimpat^Yiḡa iḡiḡipan^Yt^Yuwa-aḡu;
face. Ḳapaḡa lot-A. like=this-ḡa back-D.=T.-fut.-he-aḡu;
 27. Ut^Yu inka maḡu (ika...) yaḡṫu-in^Yt^Yatna[-aḡu[?]]. 28. Vaḡa
Other side face (sit-...) sit=pl.-i-fut.-they[-aḡu[?]]. He
 atni ut^Yu inka maḡu ika^Yt^Yu-aḡu. 29. Vaḡa iḡiḡitari ḡukan^Yt^Yatna-
also other side face sit-fut.-aḡu. He back-towards go-fut.-they-
 aḡu. 30. No [v]aḡa viḡiḡa ḡukakatna vaḡa maḡuḡa.
 aḡu. --- [h]e front-L. go-narr.-they he face-L.
 31. Akanan^Yt^Yatna apana-aḡu waḡmin^Yt^Yuwa-aḡu and (?) yatnana[ya[?]]
Come=out-fut.-they might-aḡu move-fut.-he-aḡu --- (?) they-na[ya[?]]
 akanan^Yt^Yu; 32. Aḡa muḡḡa ika-aḡkata (yun^Yt^Yuru ḡuka=ḡukantaḡa)
come=out-fut.; That muḡḡa sit-p.=3 (nose go=go-pres.-ḡa)
 yun^Yt^Y[r]uḡari ḡukanta; aḡa muḡḡa ika-aḡkata. 33. Aḡāpi
nos[e]-towards go-pres.; that muḡḡa sit-p.=3. Aḡāpi
 waḡu=waḡu[ḡu]n^Yt^Yyalu-aḡu. 34. Yaḡu ika^Ynawaṛan^Yt^Yuwa-aḡu
say-say[-t.]-fut.-he=A.-aḡu. Nothing sit-d.-loc.-fut.-he-aḡu
 waḡkaḡa ḡami=vapiḡa. 35. Ḳa ḡami itla, wantu itla ḡami;
speak-pres. ḡami-vapi-ḡa. And ḡami itla, good itla ḡami;
 valanākat^Yi waḡuḡuṛin^Yt^Yu-aḡu, nakuḡuṛinta maḡu ut^Yu; yan^Yt^Yana
 valanāka-t^Yi *talk-rec.-fut.-aḡu, see-rec.-pres. face ut^Yu; separate*
 ut^Yu, wantu ut^Yu. 36. Aḡaḡuḡa nimpat^Yiḡa maḡari vapina
 ut^Yu, good ut^Yu. Aḡaḡu-ḡa *like=this-ḡa Maḡari lot*

nuḡa-(i)nʸtʸu-aṅu. 37. Aḡaḡu maḡaḡitʸi iṅa[ri[?]]tʸi waṅkatai;
make-(i-)fut.-aṅu. Aḡaḡu Maḡaḡi-tʸi "voi[ci"[?]]-tʸi speak-pres.-I;

38. Valuḡḡaḡu wapu.
Include-pres.-I=A. every.

TEXT VIII

1. Yuḡa vitniḡaṅku apana, aḡuna muḡḡa ikaṅtʸu-aṅu: 2. Vanʸtʸuḡu
 Yuḡa *bad-ḡ-past might*, aḡuna muḡḡa *sit-fut.-aṅu: His*
- walkiḡi ḡuḡaṅa ikaku, ḡutla utʸu inka ḡawirinʸtʸuwa-aṅu.
grave over=that-L. sit-narr., over-tla other side turn=i.-fut.-he-aṅu.
3. Vapalu vapina nimpatʸiṅa ḡawirinʸtʸu-aṅu utʸu inka.
 Vapalu *lot like=this-ḡa turn=i.-fut.-aṅu other side.*
4. Upmaḡi atni, upmaḡi vapi atni; 5. Iḡa upmaḡi, yatnaḡu upmaḡi
 Upmaḡi *also*, upmaḡi vapi *also; And upmaḡi, they-of upmaḡi*
- vapi atni ika-aṅku nimpatʸiṅa. 6. (Iḡa - yatna...) Yakati vapa
 vapi *also sit-past like=this-ḡa. (And - they-...) Child vapa*
- vitniḡaṅku, vapi nimpatʸiṅa ḡawirinʸtʸu-aṅu utʸu inka;
bad-ḡ-past, vapi like=this-ḡa turn=i.-fut.-aṅu other side;
7. Waya[=wa]yaranʸtʸalu-aṅu; aṅa yata; waya[-wa]yaranʸtʸalu-
Dodge[-dod]ge=ra-fut.-he=A.-aṅu; that ground; dodge[-dod]ge=ra-fut.-he=A.-
- aṅu. 8. Aḡunaṅa nimpatʸiṅa (...) waya[=wa]yaranʸtʸu-aṅu.
 aṅu. Aḡuna-A. *like=this-ḡa (...) dodge[-dod]ge=ra-fut.-aṅu.*
9. ḡamiku ḡukanʸtʸu-aṅu; muḡa aṅa yata naku=nakunta
 ḡami-ku *go-fut.-aṅu; straight that ground see=see-pres.*
- witniwaḡanʸtʸuwa-aṅu. 10. Viḡali ḡaṅa munka, vanʸtʸuḡu nuḡa vapina,
walk-loc.-fut.-he-aṅu. Viḡali ḡaṅa crowd, his nuḡa lot,
- vanʸtʸuḡu ḡamaṅa vapina wantu utʸu ḡukanta; 11. Yata
his ḡamaṅa lot good utʸu go-pres.; Ground
- nuḡa=nuḡawaḡanḡkatʸatna-aṅu, wantu=wantupanta apana.
make-make-loc.-along-fut.-they-aṅu, good-good-D.=T.-pres. might.
12. Aḡāpi vitni-iku nimpatʸiṅa wayaraṅunʸtʸutu-aṅu;
 Aḡāpi *bad-i-narr. like=this-ḡa dodge=ra-t.-fut.-you=A.-aṅu;*
- wayaraṅunʸtʸutu-aṅu vanʸtʸuḡu yata. 13. Niḡa ap[ana]
dodge=ra-t.-fut.-you=A.-aṅu his ground. You mi[ght]

- vitniṛaṅku, valu nimpatʸiṅa wayaranʸtʸu-aṅu aṅ[a]ṅa yata,
bad-ṛ-past, he=A. like=this-ṅa dodge=ra-fut.-aṅu tha[t-]ṅa ground,
 nuṅku yata. 14. Aṅuna vapina, utʸu maṅalu, aṅu, yaḍu=yaḍu
your ground. Aṅuna lot, other mob-A.=2, woman, nothing=nothing
 maṅalu aṅunaṅ[a] nimpatʸiṅa wayaranʸtʸu-aṅu. 15. Ṇapaḷa
mob-A.=2 aṅuna-[A.] like=this-ṅa dodge=ra-fut.-aṅu. Ṇapaḷa
 vapina wantu ṅukanʸtʸu-aṅu. 16. Apika. 17. Māṅi apana
lot good go-fut.-aṅu. Shut-imp. Māṅi might
 vitniṛaṅku, aṅuna apana vitniṛaṅku, aḡapilalu valkaṅa maṅunʸtʸu-aṅu,
bad-ṛ-past, aṅuna might bad-ṛ-past, that-both-A.=2 lime wear-fut.-aṅu,
 valkaṅa; 18. Aṅa maṅunʸtʸalu-aṅu: 19. Wapatla vunʸtʸu
lime; That wear-fut.-he=A.-aṅu: Head hair
 akaka[!]*ṅanʸtʸatnawa-aṅu, mutu=mutupanta, vanʸtʸuṛu ṅamaṅa*
bre[a]k-fut.-they-he-aṅu, short-short-D.=T.-pres., his ṅamaṅa
 vapinaṅa apana. 20. Aṅu apana (...) māṅi vanʸtʸuṛu vitniṛaṅku,
lot-A. might. Woman might (...) māṅi his bad-ṛ-past,
 akaka!*ṅanʸtʸatna-aṅu. 21. Aṅa valkaṅaṅa yatna nawiku.*
break-fut.-they-aṅu. That lime-I. they smear-narr.
 22. Aṅa valkaṅa maṅunta witninʸtʸuwa-aṅu, alpiliṅa (viṛaṅa)
That lime wear-pres. walk-fut.-he-aṅu, two-ṅa (moon-L.)
 viṛaṅu, alpiliṅa viṛaṅu; 23. Upmaṅaka viṛaṅu atni anʸtʸi-aṅkatatna.
moon-to, two-ṅa moon-to; One moon-to also keep-p.=3-they.
 24. Māṅiṅa nimpatʸiṅa, aṅuna vanʸtʸuṛu apana vitniṛaṅku;
Māṅi-A. like=this-ṅa, aṅuna his might bad-ṛ-past;
 25. Aṅa waḡinʸi utʸu utʸurapaṅatʸi; 26. Aṅuna vanʸtʸuṛu utʸu
That widow utʸu another=ṅa-tʸi; Aṅuna his utʸu
 waḡinʸi utʸu (mitʸamanāṅkuwa-aḷpuḷa) mitʸamanāṅkataḷpuḷa. 27. Iḷa
widow utʸu (name-D.=t.-d.-past-he-we) name-D.=t.-p.=3-we. And
 aṅuna itla (...) vanʸtʸuṛu vitni-iku, miṛu utʸu nampi[ṅ]a itla
aṅuna itla (...) his bad-i-narr., man utʸu widower[-ṅ]a itla
 mitʸamanʸtʸu-aṅ[u], nampiṅa vulka. 28. Aṅa nimpatʸiṅa
name-D.=t.-fut.-aṅ[u], widower-ṅa old. That like=this-ṅa
 ṅuḡanʸtʸatna-aṅu. 29. Vapapa vanʸtʸuṛu vapinaṅa ṅuḡamananʸtʸuwa-aṅu;
make-fut.-they-aṅu. Vapapa his lot-A. make-d.=2-fut.-he-aṅu;

30. Wapatla valkaŋa nawi=nawin^{Yt}Yatnawa-aŋu, ŋa|a-aka wat^Y[a].
Head lime smear-smear-fut.-they-he-aŋu, big wat^Y[a].
31. Vaŋa itla nawiŋkari[nta] ikatan^{Yt}Yu-aŋu uŋaŋa itla.
He itla smear-rfl.[-pres.] sit-ta-fut.-aŋu behind-L. itla.
32. Ut^{Yu} munkana wilyt^{Ya}ŋa vapinaŋa aŋa-in^{Yt}Yuwa-aŋu (yuntu -
Other crowd-ŋa night-L. lot-L. rise-i-fut.-he-aŋu (sun -
 early), ari yuntu akanan^{Yt}Yu nawi=nawiŋkarin^{Yt}Yuwa-aŋu valkaŋaŋa.
 ---), later sun come=out-fut. smear-smear-rfl.-fut.-he-aŋu lime-I.
33. Ikan^{Yt}Yuwa-aŋu nimpat^{Yi}ŋa. 34. Aŋu nimpat^{Yi}ŋa
Sit-fut.-he-aŋu like=this-ŋa. Woman like=this-ŋa
- ŋuŋaŋkariku, māŋi van^{Yt}Yuŋu apa[na] vi[tni]-iku. 35. Utla itla
make-rfl.-narr., māŋi his mig[ht] ba[d-]i-narr. Self itla
- ŋuŋaŋkarikaŋan^{Yt}Yatna-aŋu.
make-rfl.-ŋa-fut.-they-aŋu.

TEXT IX

1. Waru ika-aŋkata, waru ika-aŋkata yuŋa (ŋulan^{Yi}); ŋaŋataŋa, yuŋa
Once sit-p.=3, once sit-p.=3 Yuŋa (ŋulan^{Yi}); what=ŋa, Yuŋa
 intaku upmaŋaka, ŋulan^{Yi}ŋa waru yuaŋi-aŋkatna. 2. Ut^{Yu}
die-narr. one, ŋulan^{Yi}-L. once stand-pl.-past-they. Other
 maŋaŋa yuŋa akanaku, ŋulan^{Yi}ŋa ŋa|a-aka ŋaŋu ŋulan^{Yi}ŋa
mob-ŋa Yuŋa come=out-narr., ŋulan^{Yi}-L. big set ŋulan^{Yi}-L.
- yuaku. 3. Yatna ŋuŋa=ŋuŋan^{Yt}Yatna-aŋu, ŋuŋan^{Yt}Yatna-aŋu,
stand-narr. They throw-throw-fut.-they-aŋu, throw-fut.-they-aŋu,
 iŋa munku=wiŋi maŋaŋa; 4. ŋuŋan^{Yt}Yatna-aŋu upma|i maŋalu,
this club mob-ŋa; Throw-fut.-they-aŋu upma|i mob-A.=2,
 upma|i maŋalu apana, upma|i vulka vitniŋaŋku. 5. Vapi apana
upma|i mob-A.=2 might, upma|i old bad-ŋ-past. Vapi might
 vitniŋaŋku, vapalu vapinaŋa ŋuŋan^{Yt}Yatnaŋa-aŋu. 6. Yuŋa vapina
bad-ŋ-past, vapalu lot-A. throw-fut.-they-ŋa-aŋu. Yuŋa lot
- yuaŋiku ŋulan^{Yi}ŋa, no ŋaŋaŋuŋikatna. 7. Yatna
stand-pl.-narr. ŋulan^{Yi}-L., --- strike-rec.-narr.-they. They
 utla ŋaŋaŋuŋin^{Yt}Yu-aŋu vapalu vapina. 8. Yatnaŋa (yaŋukuwa,)
self strike-rec.-fut.-aŋu vapalu lot. They-ŋa (nothing-narr.-he,)

- yaḍuku ala-alpi yapa=yapan^yt^yatna-aṅu; ḡulan^yi maḡalu;
nothing-narr. finger open-open-fut.-they-aṅu; ḡulan^yi mob-A.=2;
9. Upmaḡi maḡalu, ḡaḡa-aka vulka maḡaḡa ati vuḍan^yt^yatna-aṅu.
 Upmaḡi mob-A.=2, *big old mob-ḡa blood shed-fut.-they-aṅu.*
10. Yatna ut^yu maḡaḡu itla ḡamaḡa apana (might), ḡamaḡa apana
They other mob-of itla ḡamaḡa might (---), ḡamaḡa might
 vitniḡaṅku, yakaḡa vapinaḡa ati vuḍan^yt^yatna-aṅu. 11. Ut^yu
bad-ḡ-past, yakaḡa lot-A. blood shed-fut.-they-aṅu. Other
 maḡaḡa yanaku, yakaḡa van^yt^yuḡu vapina, yakaḡa vapina ḡulan^yiḡa
mob-ḡa come-narr., yakaḡa his lot, yakaḡa lot ḡulan^yi-L.
 yuaḡiku; 12. Ut^yu maḡaḡat^yi yatna (...) munku=wiḡiḡa
stand-pl.-narr.; Other mob-ḡa-t^yi they (...) club-I.
 ḡaḡaṅuḡin^yt^yu-aṅu. 13. Yatna (...) ḡami vapina nimpat^yiḡa
strike-rec.-fut.-aṅu. They (...) ḡami lot like=this-ḡa
 yakati apana wita=wita apana wakari-aṅkuwa; 14. Yaḡa-aṅkuwa
child might leg might break=i.-past-he; Fall-past-he
 apana at^yn^yaḡa; 15. Ati wit^yi=wit^yiniku[wa[?]] minkaḡuḡa,
might stone-L.; Blood drip-drip-D.=I.-narr.[-he[?]] sore-of-ḡa,
 ḡamilpila nimpat^yiḡa (...) ḡaḡaṅuḡin^yt^yu-aṅu, yakati ati
ḡami-l=both like=this-ḡa (...) strike-rec.-fut.-aṅu, child blood
 vuḍanta. 16. ḡamaḡa ḡat^yu vitniḡaṅkata At^yi^yu-utuḡa waru.
shed-pres. ḡamaḡa my bad-ḡ-p.=3 At^yi^yu-utu-L. once.
17. Aḡaḡaku yuḡa uḡ[a-]inantaku van^yt^yuḡu wiḡkuwataḡa.
That-L.-ku Yuḡa bea[t]-i-p.=2-ku his wiḡkuwata-L.
18. Ariḡa wiḡi vapina wanti-inta, munku=wiḡi ḡaḡa munka,
Later-ḡa tree lot lie-i-pres., club ḡaḡa crowd,
 wakarakari. 19. Aḡaḡa yuḡ[a-]i(n)aḡkatna vani
break=[i.=b]reak=i. That-L. bea[t]-i-(d.)-past-they very
 ut^yn^yu wat^ya; 20. ḡaḡa ut^yn^yu uḡ[a-]iḡaḡkatna atiḡuḡa;
very=bad wat^ya; Much very=bad bea[t]-i-ḡ-past-they blood-for-ḡa;
21. Ati vuḍakatna ut^yu. 22. Unki ika-aṅkuwa.
Blood shed-narr.-they ut^yu. Unki sit-past-he.
23. Upmaḡi ḡaḡa munka, vapapa vapina itla, van^yt^yuḡu, aḡaḡu maḡaḡi
Upmaḡi ḡaḡa crowd, vapapa lot itla, his, Aḡaḡu Maḡaḡi

- aḡaḡa vani (...) utʸnʸu ḡuḡaḡuḡinanta. 24. ḡami vapina, ḡami
that-L. very (...) very=bad make-rec.-p.=2. ḡami lot, ḡami
 vapina itla aḡaḡa ati vuḡanantawa ḡaḡa utʸnʸu; aḡāpi vapina vutu.
lot itla that-L. blood shed-p.=2-he much very=bad; aḡāpi lot too.
25. Only yaka ḡaḡa munka, atʸnʸani ḡaḡa munka, vanʸtʸuḡu nuḡaḡa
 --- yaka ḡaḡa *crowd*, atʸnʸani ḡaḡa *crowd*, *his* nuḡa-ḡa
 munka, ḡuali vutu, utana utʸu aḡa maḡaḡa ḡaḡaḡuḡi-aḡku atni(?).
crowd, ḡuali too, no-na utʸu that mob-ḡa strike-rec.-past also(?).
26. Yaḡu wali witni-aḡitanḡatna; 27. Witni-aḡi-aḡkatna
Nothing peace=maker walk-pl.-ta-past-they; Walk-pl.-past-they
 wali matʸiri: 28. Yuḡa (...) utʸnʸu ḡaḡa apana
peace=maker I=believe-ri: Yuḡa (...) very=bad ḡaḡa might
 uḡḡaḡuḡiḡatna. 29. ḡutlaḡa=valaḡa[ḡa[?]] iriḡuḡi-
hit-rec.-pot.-they. Over=tla-ḡa-vala-ḡa[-L.[?]] shift-rec.-
 ikatna aḡavanana matʸiri ḡaḡa utʸnʸu ḡaḡapaḡa;
i-narr.-they that-vana-L. I=believe-ri much very=bad many=ḡa;
30. ḡamaḡa ḡatʸu, ḡatʸu ḡamaḡa ikantawa; 31. Aḡaḡa wantitawa.
ḡamaḡa my, my ḡamaḡa sit-pres.-he; That-L. lie-pres.-he.
32. Yata nak[u-]aḡkataḡu vanʸtʸuḡu.
Ground se[e]-p.=3-I=A. his.

TEXT X

1. Waru ika-aḡkata yuḡaḡu ḡuḡu nltʸata, nltʸata watʸa ḡuḡu:
Once sit-p.=3 Yuḡa-of ḡuḡu legal, legal watʸa ḡuḡu:
2. Uḡ[a-]inta yaḡḡuḡiḡkatna, ḡuḡu muḡaḡaḡi atni ḡuḡa-aḡkatna.
Bea[t]-i-pres. sit=pl.-ḡi-past-they, ḡuḡu muḡaḡaḡi also make-past-they
3. Muḡaḡaḡi ḡuḡa-aḡkatna: 4. Aḡaḡuḡa maḡaḡi atni apana uḡḡa-aḡku;
Muḡaḡaḡi make-past-they: Aḡaḡu-A. maḡaḡi also might hit-past;
5. (Inta...) Intatʸakuḡu[ḡk]a-aḡkalu apana-aḡu^(?), utʸnʸu apana.
(Die-...) Kill-t.-past-he=A. might-aḡu^(?), very=bad might.
6. Aḡa kapaḡa itla ḡuḡanʸtʸatna-aḡu; 7. Kapaḡa itla
That kapaḡa itla make-fut.-they-aḡu; Kapaḡa itla
 ḡuḡanʸtʸatna-aḡu; 8. Muḡaḡaḡitʸi aḡari 9. Yaḡunʸi=yaḡunʸi
make-fut.-they-aḡu; Muḡaḡaḡi-tʸi "voilà". Yaḡunʸi=yaḡunʸi

- might^(?) ḡaḡunʸtʸu itla-aḡu; 10. (Maḡariḡa) Maḡari aḡaʸu miḡuḡa
 --- cry-fut. itla-aḡu; (Maḡari-A.) Maḡari Aḡaʸu maḡ-ḡa
 wayalinʸtʸu itla-aḡu. 11. Yatna itla (...) uḡḡatʸu-aḡu yatnaḡu
 turn-fut. itla-aḡu. They itla (...) hit-fut.-aḡu they-of
 ḡankini itla, aḡa apinta. 12. Aḡa valanāpaḡu viḡḡa
 kin itla, that shut-pres. That valanāpa-of viḡḡa
 matʸiri; 13. Viḡḡa apinʸtʸyatna-aḡu matʸi aḡari;
 I=believe-ri; Viḡḡa shut-fut.-they-aḡu I=believe "voilà";
 14. Viḡḡa utʸu matʸi aḡa apintatna. 15. Upmaḡaka
 Viḡḡa utʸu I=believe that shut-pres.-they. One
 uḡḡa-aḡkatna, utʸurapaḡa itla uḡḡakatna, aḡaʸuḡa apana
 hit-past-they, another-ḡa itla hit-narr.-they, Aḡaʸu-ḡa might
 uḡa=uḡa or maḡari(-i)ḡa apana uḡa=uḡa. 16. (Aḡa)
 behind-behind --- Maḡari(-i)-ḡa might behind-behind. (That)
 Aḡa[ḡa[?]]tʸi viḡḡa api-inʸtʸya[tna] itla-aḡu. 17. Aḡa vitna
 That[-ḡa[?]]-tʸi viḡḡa shut-i-fut.-t[hey] itla-aḡu. That after
 (watanā[?] itla[?]) muka itla ikanʸtʸu[wa]-aḡu; 18. Yuḡa ḡawaḡa
 (...[?] itla[?]) silent itla sit-fut.[-he]-aḡu; Yuḡa word
 apinʸtʸyatna itla-aḡu, uʸuḡa, aḡunʸi miaḡitʸi, waḡkatʸaḡa maḡaḡa;
 shut-fut.-they itla-aḡu, all-ḡa, women men, speak-tʸaḡaḡa mob-ḡa;
 19. ḡukanāḡkatʸu-aḡu nimpatʸi. 20. Muku atni nimpatʸi
 Go-along-fut.-aḡu like=this. Bone also like=this
 ḡuḡa-aḡkatna; 21. Muku atni ḡuḡa-aḡkatna; 22. Mukuḡa atni
 make-past-they; Bone also make-past-they; Bone-I. also
 nantaḡuḡinta yaḡḡuḡi-aḡkatna. 23. Aḡunʸiḡa mita mankutʸu-aḡu
 bone-rec.-pres. sit=pl.-ḡi-past-they. Women-A. mate seize-fut.-aḡu
 (muku...) mukumaḡamaḡanʸtʸyaḡa; mukumayāḡanʸtʸyaḡa;
 (bone...) bone=hand=hand-nʸtʸya=ḡa; bone=master-nʸtʸya=ḡa;
 24. Aḡunʸiḡa mita mankutʸuwa-aḡu: 25. ḡatʸu nuḡ[a]ḡa (nantaka)
 Women-A. mate seize-fut.-he-aḡu: My nuḡ[a]-ḡa(bone-imp.)
 nantatʸutu; 26. Waḡkaḡa witn[it]antawa;
 bone-fut.-you=A.; Speak-pres. wal[k-t]a-pres.-he;
 27. Vaḡpakata[n]tai; 28. Vitni waḡkata witn[it]antawa.
 Be=ashamed-ta[-p]res.-I; Bad speak-pres. wal[k-t]a-pres.-he.

29. Iрана wayali(-i)n^ytYuwa-aṅu, nantat^yaluwa-aṅu aṛaʃu[ṅa]
Really turn-(i-)fut.-he-aṅu, bone-fut.-he=A.-he-aṅu Aṛaʃu[-ṅa]
 apana. 30. ʃaḷun^ytYatna itla-aṅu nimpat^yiṅa. 31. Waḍa=waḍa
might. Cry-fut.-they itla-aṅu like=this-ṅa. Waḍa-waḍa
 itla wayalin^ytYu itla-aṅu. 32. Yatna itla upmaṅaka uṅṅaku,
itla turn-fut. itla-aṅu. They itla one hit-narr.,
 nantat^yatna-aṅu; yainaṅa, nimpat^yiṅa valanāpaṛu valan... naku,
bone-fut.-they-aṅu; again-ṅa, like=this-ṅa valanāpa-of valan... yes,
 valanāpat^yi, viṅṅa nimpat^yiṅa apin^ytYatna-aṅu yainaṅa.
 valanāpa-t^yi, viṅṅa *like=this-ṅa shut-fut.-they-aṅu again-ṅa.*
33. Nimpat^yi nimpat^yiṅa ṅuṅa-aṅkatna; 34. Aṅa[ṅa]ṅat^yi
Like=this like=this-ṅa make-past-they; That[-ṅa]-I.-t^yi
 nimpat^yi iṅa yata yuṛavarimunka-inta. 35. Waru nimpat^yi
like=this this ground Yuṛa-lack-crowd-i-pres. Once like=this
 ṅuṅaṅuṛin[ta] yaṅṅuṛi-aṅkatna; 36. ʃaḷpuḷaʃuku itla
make-rec.-p[res.] sit=pl.-ṛl-past-they; We-ʃu-ku itla
 witni-aḷitanta, uṛa=uṛa maṅaṅa, yaṅṅa=yaṅṅa maṅaṅa. 37. Waru
walk-pl.-ta-pres., behind-behind mob-ṅa, now-now mob-ṅa. Once
 utYu nimpat^yi uṅṅaṅuṛin[ta] yaṅṅu-it(n)a-aṅkatna. 38. Aṅa
utYu like=this hit-rec.-p[res.] sit=pl.-i-t(n)a-past-they. That
 ṅuṅu i(1)kanta; 39. Yaṅṅuṛi-aṅkatna: 40. Muḷaṅaʃi ṅuṅanta
ṅuṅu sit-pres.; Sit=pl.-ṛi-past-they: Muḷaṅaʃi make-pres.
 witni-aṅkatna. 41. Vitni=vitni ṅuṅanta yaṅṅuṛi-aṅkatna,
walk-past-they. Bad-bad make-pres. sit=pl.-ṛi-past-they,
 uṅ[a-]iṅṅa, uṅ[a-]iṅṅa. (*That's all, I think.*)
bea[t]-i-pres., bea[t]-i-pres.

TEXT XI

1. Ut^yurapaṅa: 2. ʃat^yu (...) ṅamaṅa ṅuka-aṅkata Ankuʃit^yiṅaṛu,
Another=ṅa: My (...) ṅamaṅa go-p.=3 Angoorichina-to,
 waru, ṅai (...) yakatiṅa. 3. ʃuka-aṅku[wa] (...); Nun^yaḷṅa
once, I (...) child-L. Go-past[-he] (...); Nun^yaḷṅa
 unmānilu aṅka-aṅkatawa, Nun^yaḷṅa unmānilu. 4. Vaṅa mat^yi[ri]
oldman-A.=2 conduct-p.=3-he, Nun^yaḷṅa oldman-A.=2. He I=believe[-ri]

- aka=akanawaraku AnkuřitYiŋaŋa, yuřa ŋa!apaŋa-aŋu (...)
come-come=out-loc.-narr. Angoorichina-L., Yuřa many=ŋa-aŋu (...)
- yaŋtu-iku, Wa!ypi [itla[?]] mařaŋa. 5. Ńuka-aŋku[wa] van^ytYuřu
sit=pl.-i-narr., Wa!ypi [itla[?]] mob-ŋa. Go-past[-he] his
- ŋa!a-ami munkar[ru] ankuřu; 6. Ikawaraku[wa] matYi
ŋa!a-ami crowd[-of] camp-to; Sit-loc.-narr[-he] I=believe
- yuŋtu=yuŋturiwaraku[wa[?]], yata vulařu vitna. 7. Yatna
put-put-i.-loc.-narr.[-he[?]], ground vulařu after. They
- matYiri a!řařikatna matYiri: 8. Yana-aŋku iŋa
I=believe-ri call-pl.-narr.-they I=believe-ri: Come-past this
- wataŋa; 9. Mu!řa ikamananta. 10. Iřana matYi[ri]
wata-ŋa; Stranger sit-d.=2-pres. Really I=believe[-ri]
- aka=akanakatna [matYiri] utYu mařaŋa;
come-come=out-narr.-they [I=believe-ri] other mob-ŋa;
11. Manki=mankiřa matYi akanakatna, wiři=mutYatYa
Please-please-pres. I=believe come=out-narr.-they, big=waddy
- viri=virinta matYiri. 12. Upmaŋaka akanaku;
carry-carry-pres. I=believe-ri. One come=out-narr.;
13. (...) NunYa!řa unmāniŋa akana[na]nta, matYiri.
(...) NunYa!řa oldman-ŋa come=out[-p.]=2, I=believe-ri.
14. NunYa!řa unmāniŋa akana[na]nta; 15. Not NunYa!řa unmānilu
NunYa!řa oldman-ŋa come=out[-p.]=2; --- NunYa!řa oldman-A.=2
- (...) aŋka-aŋkatawa; 16. UtYu mařalu aŋka-aŋkatawa.
(...) conduct-p.=3-he; Other mob-A.=2 conduct-p.=3-he.
17. Ia NunYa!řa unmāniŋa matYi[ri] akana[na]ŋta viři=viři:
And NunYa!řa oldman-ŋa I=believe[-ri] come=out[-p.]=2 first-first:
18. (Iŋa(-a)ri) Waŋaŋawa, waŋaŋawa. 19. Iŋa(-a)ri ikantawa.
("Voici") Where-L.-he, where-L.-he. "Voici" sit-pres.-he.
20. Ńaŋtu yapa=yapalimana(la)katnawa; 21. Yuřa mu!řa
Arm open-open-pit.-d.=2(-la)-narr.-they-he; Yuřa stranger
- aka=akananaku. 22. Naku, ŋaŋtu yapa=yapa-ařu; 23. AritYi
come-come=out-past. Yes, arm open-open-I=A.; Later-tYi
- nimpanay[a] ŋařu utYu ŋaŋtu yapa=yapan^ytYuwa. 24. NunYa!řa unmāni
such-nay[a] I=A. utYu arm open-open-fut.-he. NunYa!řa oldman

- nimpatʸi waŋkaku. 25. Valuku wiʸi=mutʸatʸaŋa matʸiri
like=this speak-narr. He=A.-ku big=waddy-I. I=believe-ri
 wapatla vaŋaŋa nuŋkuku, ŋamaŋa ŋatʸu mina ŋaʃi yaŋaŋunta
head he-ŋa give-narr., ŋamaŋa my eye drop fall-t.-pres.
 matʸiri, minawata wayaliŋkuŋa. 26. Awi=uʸanali matʸi
I=believe-ri, eye-wata turn-t.-pres. Thunder-like I=believe
 wiʃtiku vaŋa wapatlaŋa. 27. Vaŋa matʸi ikaku,
go=off-narr. he head-L. He I=believe sit-narr.,
 wiʸtʸaniku atni itla. 28. Vaŋa matʸi ikaku, ŋaŋʃu
night-D.=I.-narr. also itla. He I=believe sit-narr., arm
 yapa=yapa-aŋkatna; 29. Vaŋaku ŋuya ikaku walʸtʸa wata.
open-open-past-they; He-ku dumb sit-narr. loose wata.
 30. ŋanakatnawa utʸu maʃalu; 31. Ya[p]mi-ikatna
Hold-narr.-they-he other mob-A.=2; Sw[e]ar-i-narr.-they
 atni [itla[?]] utʸu maʃaŋa matʸi, ama=amanʸili [itla[?]] (...)
also [itla[?]] other mob-ŋa I=believe, light-light-like [itla[?]] (...)
 ŋaŋaŋuʃ[u]ntuwa. 32. ǝʹǝ; 33. Waŋkakuwa
strike-t.-irr.-[y]ou=A.-he. No; Speak-narr.-he
 matʸiri(wa); 34. ŋaʃpuʃaŋu (...) mura utʸu aŋa[ŋa], walʸpi
I=believe-ri(-he); We-of (...) mura utʸu that[-na], walʸpi
 maʃaŋu, ŋaʃpuʃaŋu mura; 35. Nimpatʸi utʸu ŋaʃpuʃa [ŋaŋʃu]
mob-of, we-of mura; Like=this utʸu we [arm]
 yapa=yapaŋuʃi[nta]; 36. Ari ŋaŋʃu yapa=yapa-aʃpuʃawa;
open=open-rec.[-pres.]; Later arm open-open-we-he;
 37. Iŋanaŋa matʸi[ri], ǝ, ŋaʃapaŋa itla ari itla - [vaŋa[?]]
Really-ŋa I=be'lieve[-ri], oh, many=ŋa itla later itla - [he[?]]
 wantuniku itla(wa), wantuniku itlawa - ŋaʃapaŋa itla
good-D.=I.-narr. itla(-he), good-D.=I.-narr. itla-he - many=ŋa itla
 aka=akanaku, ŋaŋʃu yapa=yapa(-i)nʸtʸatnawa; 38. Wantu
come-come=out-narr., arm open-open(-i)-fut.-they-he; Good
 itla ika-aŋkatawa. 39. ŋaʃpuʃaŋa waru ʃaŋʃu, vuka[ʃ]a (...)
itla sit-p.=3-he. We-ŋa once though, alwa[y]s (...)
 ŋaʃpuʃa[ŋa] waʃuŋka-aŋkalu, ŋaʃpuʃaŋa itla;
we-[ŋa] talk-t.-past-he=A., we-ŋa itla;

40. Wa|uquta-aᅇkalu ᅇa|pu|aᅇa. 41. NimpatYi matYiri
Talk-t.-ta-past-he=A. we-ᅇa. Like=this I=believe-ri
- WalYpi maᅇalu waᅇu mankutYiᅇa-aᅇu: 42. Ari
 WalYpi mob-A.=2 waᅇu *seize-fut.-you-aᅇu: Later*
- ᅇaᅇaᅇunYtYatniᅇa-aᅇu; 43. Yatna wantakiᅇa;
strike-t.-fut.-they-you-aᅇu; They leave-narr.-you;
44. Wantunikiᅇa ikaku, ari itla akana[nY]tYatna,
Good-D.=I.-narr.-you sit-narr., later itla come=out[-f]ut.-they,
- ᅇawirimananYtYatna-aᅇu, ᅇaᅇᅇu yapa=yapanYtYatna (...)
turn=ri-d.=2-fut.-they-aᅇu, arm open-open-fut.-they (...) itla-aᅇu.

TEXT XII

1. Aᅇaᅇu ika-aᅇkata yalpumukuᅇa; 2. Not yalpu, witlawaraᅇaᅇu,
 untamukuᅇa, untamukuᅇa, vukaᅇami|aᅇatYi. 3. Aᅇa vukaᅇami|aᅇa utYu;
4. MilYaru itla waᅇkatai, vukaᅇami|aᅇa. 5. Vā|umukuᅇa itla
 untamukuᅇa; 6. Maᅇaᅇi itla ika-aᅇkata yalpumukuᅇa, vaᅇpami|aᅇa;
 vaᅇpa milYaru utYu maᅇaᅇa utYu. 7. Vukaᅇa maᅇaᅇi ika-aᅇkata atni;
8. Vukaᅇa maᅇaᅇi atni ika-aᅇkata. 9. Aᅇaᅇu vaᅇpa (ika-aᅇkata,
 ikanta) ikanta atni; 10. Aᅇa ᅇaᅇuntu|ami|aᅇa utYu; 11. Wilkamukuᅇa
 ika-aᅇkata; 12. Iᅇimukuᅇa ika-aᅇkata; 13. Wiltumukuᅇa ika-aᅇkata.
14. Iᅇa miᅇaramukuᅇa atni ika-aᅇkata. 15. Aᅇa untamukuᅇatYi,
 vukaᅇami|aᅇatYi. 16. Iᅇa utimukuᅇa itla maᅇaᅇi, vaᅇpami|aᅇa;
 17. Aᅇaᅇu utimukuᅇatYi, vukaᅇami|aᅇatYi; 18. Maᅇaᅇi, maᅇaᅇi
 ᅇanY[a]nYtYalu-aᅇu. 19. I[a] wantu; 20. Maᅇaᅇiᅇa nimpatYiᅇa
 miᅇaramukuᅇaᅇa, untamukuᅇaᅇa ᅇanYaku, vukaᅇami|aᅇaᅇa. 21. Aᅇari
 wantu.

TEXT XIII

1. Yuᅇaᅇa yakati mitYamaᅇkata; witnāpa; 2. Yaᅇaᅇa imakatnawa,
 ᅇamiᅇa imakuwa, miᅇu vapa: 3. Wiᅇanāpa, [ᅇ]a waᅇa-ina, [ᅇ]a uᅇa-ana;

4. Uṅa-ana vitna itla, ḡa|a-ana; 5. ḡa|a-ana vitna itla, muṅa-ana;
 6. Muṅa, yara, (maḡuka,) maḡu-ana. 7. O, waru utʸu waṅka-aṅka[i]
 maḡuna, ḡa|a-ana. (*That's the lot.*) 8. Aḡu itla: 9. Yaranta,
 waḡika, uṅaka, maḡuka, ḡa|aka, yaranta, mawana. (*That's last.*)

2. TRANSLATION

TEXT I

§1. (1-7)

In the olden days the Aborigines used to exchange wives: The men sat down on the court-ground and discussed the matter in 'big words', when they were going to give to a man a wife - provided there was one. They would discuss in front of the woman. Eventually they would give the fire-stick to them two, that is to the young couple who would start living as a married couple, that is as valanpi: 'Stay together!'

§2. (8)

Now, let us suppose that the father was Maḡaḡi and, therefore, the woman was Aḡaḡu. The parents of one spouse would be called 'ḡamaṅa' and 'aḡāpi' respectively by the other one.

§3. (9-24)

Further on, the woman's husband probably would have younger brothers, who would call her 'aḡuna', while some others - I do not know how many - would call her 'ḡapa|a'. She in turn would call them 'māḡi' and 'ḡapa|a' respectively. Analogously her husband would call some of her younger sisters 'aḡuna', while some others were his ḡapa|as.

(There were also upma|is ...). There were also vapapas, namely her husband's younger brothers, that is her male vapapas, whom she would also call the other way round, namely 'ḡapa|a'. And her husband would call his wife's brothers 'vapapa' and 'vinka' respectively. He would call the men 'vinka', all of his wife's brothers who^(?) are his vapapas. But she would call her husband's younger brothers 'ḡapa|a'; they were vapapas, of course. But 'ḡapa|a' is another expression for it.

§4. (24-29)

Another part went on like this: There were also ḡua|is, I mean the old ḡua|is; old ḡua|is, and old vapapas, and old atʸnʸanis. Our atʸnʸanis belonged to both moieties. And all of them had (younger) siblings.

§5. (30-38)

Suppose the father had brothers; he may call their children 'vapalu'. If, however, he does not call certain ones of them 'vapalu', he would be a sort of upmaḷi to them, and these children would call him 'ḡamaṇa' - just like that; he is their upmaḷi vapi, of course, but that is a 'ḡamaṇa' just like that - a upmaḷi (sc. ḡamaṇa), of course. They would call him 'vapi' only in case he calls their mother 'aṭuna'. That is how it would go along; like this they would speak along. - Shut it up first!

§6. (39-46)

Well, I am talking again now, about the same thing. But I will tell it about myself, for the other way it is too complicated: I have a wife, and she has parents. Her father is my ḡuaḷi; there were my ḡuaḷis as well as my ḡamaṇas.

§7. (47-56)

My ḡamaṇas' children are my aṭunas or my ḡapaḷas, and the men are my vapapas. These are my wife's siblings. In the same manner my younger brothers called my wife 'aṭuna' or 'ḡapaḷa' respectively. And, analogously, my wife's sisters were my aṭunas and my ḡapaḷas respectively; the men were my vapapas.

§8. (57-61)

I would call my aṭāpi's sisters also 'aṭāpi', and her brothers were my upmaḷis. Certain others, who called my mother 'aṭuna', are my upmaḷi vapis.

§9. (62-67)

And I would call these upmaḷis' children 'brothers' and 'sisters'. The elder brothers and the elder sisters are the ones before me, and the younger siblings are the ones after me; they call me 'elder brother'.

§10. (68-70)

And it would go on: The same way as explained above, my elder brother called my wife 'aṭuna'. My children call him, in this case, 'upmaḷi vapi' or simply 'vapi'.

§11. (71-72)

And like that we had, for instance, old atʸnʸanis, Maḡaṭi - atʸnʸanis, for instance. We also had old ḡapaḷas.

§12. (73-82)

The vapis would, for instance, say to us boys: 'Would you-watnātapa go hunting?'. That is how the vapis would say: 'valanātapa'. And the aṭāpi would say: 'You-walalu will go.' The women, the aṭāpis, would say that. The vapi would say to the big girls: 'ṅuwalalu!'; he would say: 'Would you-walalu come, tonight I will speak to you-walalu!'. That is how the vapi would speak.

§13. (83-85)

And the children would say to the parents 'valanpi'. That is how they would speak to each other.

§14. (86-93)

The father would say to certain others, namely to his vapapas: 'Where are you-watnan^{yi}=watnan^{yi} going?'. Or, I would say to my vapapas: 'Where are you-watnan^{yi}=watnan^{yi} going?'. The vapapa-relations would say that to each other.

§15. (94-97)

The parents would say 'watnālanpi': 'Where are you-watnālanpi going?'; 'where do you-watnālanpi come from?' the parents would ask.

§16. (98-101)

And your vapapa would say, or my vapapa would say to me: 'Where are you-watnan^{yi}=watnan^{yi} going?'. They would also include the upmaḷi when they say watnan^{yi}=watnan^{yi}.

§17. (102-113)

You would say to the upmaḷi whom you call 'ṅamaṅa', if for instance you-watnaka went - or if we-two-ṅatlaka, my upmaḷi and I went somewhere, I would say 'ṅatlaka'. And the others would say: 'Where did you-watnan^{yi} go?'; then I would answer: 'We-ṅatlaka went ...'. The aṭāpi, just the same, would say 'ṅatlaka(ṅa)'. Her children would say to the ṅatlakas 'watnan^{yi}': 'What are you-watnan^{yi} talking to each other? Are you-watnan^{yi} running down people?'

§18. (114-117)

If, for instance, [one of] my female vapalus loved a boy whom she called 'māṅi', we might give the fire-stick to those-two. Those-two lived together, after we had given the fire-stick to them, and we called them 'valanpi'.

§19. (118-120)

The man would call my wife 'aṭāpi', and the woman would call me 'ḡamaḡa'. Maṭṭaṭṭis and Aṭṭaṭṭus lived this way.

§20. (121-124)

And the man who loved the woman is my yakaḷa that is, my viḷalis' yakaḷa - namely the children of those who are my viḷalis after my upmaḷi vapi; these are the distant viḷalis.

§21. (125-127)

My yakaḷas' yakaḷas, my yakaḷas' children call me 'ḡuaḷi'. These had each other the same way, like us, like what I have just been telling; like this they had each other.

§22. (128-133)

My vavalus' children call me 'vavapa' - some of them. And others call me also 'ḡuaḷi'. Yes, my yakaḷas' yakaḷas call me 'ḡuaḷi'. And my vavalus' children call me 'vavapa'. All the girls call me 'vavapa'; the girls too call me 'vavapa'.

TEXT II

I will go back to my country to see my people - my ḡamis and my vavis: The ḡamis are 'valana munka', the ḡamis and vavis together are 'valananpi(ḡa)', the vavis and upmaḷi vavis are 'valanātu(ḡa)', and the aṭāpis as well are 'valanātu'. The ḡamaḡas and the ḡamis are 'valana munka', while the upmaḷis and the upmaḷi vavis are 'valanātu', the upmaḷi ḡamaḡas are 'valanātu' too. My yakas and my female viḷalis are 'yatna maṭṭaḡa', and the brothers as well are 'yatna maṭṭa'. A Yuṭa calls them also 'ḡama=ḡama'; when he speaks like this he speaks in manners. The ḡuaḷis, the old ḡuaḷis, are 'yatna', and the old vavapas are 'vavapa', 'my vavapas'. The ḡapaḷas are also 'yatna maṭṭaḡa', and the aṭṭunas: 'I will see my aṭṭunas' - provided that I have some there. The yakaḷas, my yakaḷas, are also 'valana munka'; they too are called 'valana munka', like the ḡamaḡas and the ḡamis. The vavalus: 'I will see the vavalus'. The vinkas, that is 'my vavapas'. If he has, for instance, viḷalis, they are 'my vavaṭṭas'; that is my ḡapaḷas are vavaṭṭas. A Maṭṭaṭṭi as well as an Aṭṭaṭṭu will speak like this when he goes back to see his people.

TEXT III

Another one, namely about the exchange of wives: Let us suppose it was a Maṣaṣi-man who took a wife. They would give him the wife - the fire-stick they would give him with the words: 'This is your-watnanpi's fire-stick: You-watnanpi can stay together now, making your own camp and living together!' Thus they would live together for ever. And if, for instance, the close relatives, that is his close ḡamaḡas did not think of him, then he might say to his distant, that is to say to his classificatory ḡamaḡas: 'I will give that one to my vapapa, to shut up my viṅṅa!'. 'Well', would say his distant ḡamaḡas then, and the old people would say: 'Alright!'. And they would discuss the matter again, on the court-ground they would gather to discuss. And when he gives, his viḷali for instance, he will give her to a vapapa, that is, of course, to an Aḡaḡu. This was their-valanāpa's viṅṅa. Maṣaṣis and Aḡaḡus exchanged women amongst themselves like this.

The following thing also was legal: If, for instance, someone had had a quarrel with someone else, and had said something bad; if, for instance, he had asked for a dead person, such as, for instance, for his deceased aṭuna or ḡapaḷa, this would be considered a serious matter; and if he had said something of this kind, they would give him a wife. Or, if someone had killed his ḡamaḡa in a revenge-killing and he brought that up, the other party would give him a wife, to close his mouth - so that he would keep quiet. And after they had given a wife to him, he would keep quiet.

TEXT IV

Something else also existed: The mitla. In the olden days they also ran away with each other in a mitla; a ḡapaḷa-couple ran away with each other. They did not tolerate that, but handled it very severely. However, on the other side, it happened that the people accepted it, and they would say to each other: 'What they have done is all right!'. Then they would discuss amongst themselves the following way: 'They-valanāpa love each other; what shall we do with them-valanāpa?' would say someone. And, while the others were listening, another one would speak: 'Let us give the fire-stick to them-valanāpa!'. If all agreed: 'Well, it is all right what you say, old fellow!', then they might say: 'It is all right what you say: Let us give the fire-stick to them-valanāpa! Well, let us break their-valanāpa's vutil!'. Thus they-

valanāpa took each other vutli. Some others would say 'valuṭupaṅa' to them. And if all agreed: 'All right!', then they would start living together. This happened in the olden days. I am just thinking: They also took an old ṅapa|a only, who, for instance, was a widow. And a man, her vapapa, might have fallen in love with that widow; under those circumstances a ṅapa|a-couple would also be allowed to stay together. But she was only a ṅapa|a.

TEXT V

In the olden days there could also happen the following thing: When there were young men and women about, many big girls - ṅapa|as and aṭunas - it could happen that such a young man's ṅapa|a started flirting with him. Eventually they would go together as if they were valanāpas, looking into each other's face - and this in front of the young man's aṭuna. This might go on for a long time. Then it might have happened that the girl turned around and started swearing at the young man: 'You have been sleeping with me! Like a (male) dog you went around, sneaking up to my camp!'. The young man, being ashamed over that, would then turn around and start throwing something at his sisters - out of shame: When a young man was ashamed, he would throw something at his elder sisters. The other men would, then, get up and come over and they would speak to one another: 'Go on, you watnāpa, and have a fight! You-watnāpa are two strong blokes! Here is a stick!'. And they would give sticks to them-valanāpa. Then they-valanāpa would start fighting; they would have a big fight, a very big fight they would have then, while the others would stand around watching them. As soon as they thought that, for instance, the one was bleeding too much, they would stop it: 'Leave each other now! From now do not mention this matter any more and keep quiet you-watnāpa!'. This custom also existed - this sort of thing.

TEXT VI

Another old story is the following one; it is about the goanna and the dog - these are two clan-names: The Vatnamukuṅa and the Wilkamukuṅa came over, from somewhere over there on the east-side, over here to Viḍaḥiṅa. There where Viḍaḥiṅa is, they-valanpila came up that creek,

at Wanta-upaṇa; creek after creek they came up. There where the Wilʔtʔavaṛi is, they-two arrived at Yaṅkavuṣuvuṣu, and there they-two made their camp and stayed. That is how far I can tell you. Behind came the pursuers who were chasing them-va|uṣupa. Up there, in the Viḍaṣiṇa-country there are high gum-trees. These gum-trees are the pursuers: They are standing there, I believe, talking to each other and looking into each others' face. For, as they approached, they said to each other, I believe: 'Let us round them up now!'. And, really, they tracked them-va|uṣupa straight up to Yaṅkavuṣuvuṣu. There where the pursuers killed them-va|uṣupa is Yaṅkavuṣuvuṣu: That place is called Yaṅkavuṣuvuṣu, because the pursuers have torn their-va|uṣupa's livers into pieces there. I can tell it only so far. Shut it up now, Bernhard, he!

TEXT VII

The Mulkalpu-child used to go around throughout the camp, staying at any place. And when they 'put him through' and he was a vaṭṇāpa, he would become muṅṅa; he would become muṅṅa then: Then he would have to behave towards his sisters and his aṭāpis. That is the term we use: 'He is showing manners.' He has to say 'ṅura' to them; 'Yatna, give me food!', 'Yatna, do not go in front of me!'. For, it was also forbidden to stay in front of him and they would have to turn around, behind his back. If the vaṭṇāpa, the 'fresh' vaṭṇāpa, comes over, he would sit down somewhere like over there and the little viḷalis would put the food down for him; it is all right for the little ones, whereas the bigger ones would have to show manners. The elder sisters would say to the little ones: 'Hurry up and give the food to the vaṭṇāpa-man, he is waiting for it!'. Yes, he would behave towards his elder sisters. The little sisters can give him the food, that is all right. Only they-valanpila can talk to each other freely. And if he went, for instance, to his aṭāpi's camp, he had to show his back to his aṭāpi; he would sit there talking and facing the other side. In the same manner the ṇapa|as would turn their back to him and sit down, facing the other side; and he himself also would turn his face away, so that they could pass behind him. For, they must not pass in front of him. When they would come over, for instance, he would move aside so that they could come out. For, it was forbidden to walk in front of him; but he could talk to his aṭāpi. He could go over and talk to his parents without any restrictions.

And for the mother it is all right, they-valanāka can talk to each other, looking into each other's face; this is different, it is all right. The Aṛaṭus and the Maṛaṛis would behave like this; I am talking about the Aṛaṭus and the Maṛaṛis, I include them all.

TEXT VIII

After a Yuṛa's death his wife would stay muṅṅa: When, for instance, his grave was over there, she had to turn around over there somewhere, at the other side. The vapalus, just the same, had to turn around the other side; the upmaḷis and the upmaḷi vapis too. And if a child had died, the father in turn would turn around the other side; he would have to dodge that place. The wife also had to dodge it. But the mother could go over straight to that place and see it. The viḷalis, the nuṅas and the ṅamaṅas are allowed to go there, arranging the ground for instance. If the aṭāpi had died, you would have to dodge her place. And if, for instance, you had died, she would have to avoid your ground, just the same. The aṭunas, even the classificatory ones, would also have to dodge it, while the ṅapaḷas would be allowed to go over. - Shut it up!

If, for instance, a woman's husband had died, or a man's wife, the surviving spouse would have to wear a lime-cap; that is the following thing: One would cut the hair off to make it short - the ṅamaṅas for instance would do it. After the death of, for instance, a woman's husband they would cut her hair and smear lime over the head, and she would go around during two months - or also during one month only - wearing this lime-cap. A man would do the same thing when, for instance, his wife had died. Other terms are 'widow' for a woman whose husband had died and 'widower' for a man whose wife had died; 'old widower' he would be called. They would do the same thing: His vapapas would come over and do it; they would smear a lot of lime over his head. The other times he would do it himself: The other nights he would get up before sunrise and smear the lime over himself and he would stay like this. And a woman, just the same, would do it herself after her husband's death. They would do it themselves.

TEXT IX

When, in the olden days of aboriginal life, somebody died, they would stand in the *ηulanʸi*. Thus, when another group of people came over, they found a big crowd standing in the *ηulanʸi*, and they would throw (sticks or clubs) at this club-lot. If, for instance, an old *upma|i* had died, the *upma|is* would throw (clubs) at them, or if a *vap|* had passed away, the *vapalus* would throw (clubs) at them. The ones who were standing in the *ηulanʸi* did not hit each other, but the *vapalus* hit each other amongst themselves. The *ηulanʸi*-people would shake hands with them, without caring, while the *upma|is*, many old ones, would shed blood. Suppose it was some other people's *ηamaηa* who had died, then the *yaka|as* would shed blood. When the others arrived, then his *yaka|as* were standing in the *ηulanʸi*, and they would fight with them with clubs. The same thing is true for the *ηamis* when, for instance, a child had broken its leg after having fallen on a stone: When he started bleeding because of the sore, two *ηamis* would hit one another, just the same, thus shedding the child's blood.

A long time ago my uncle has passed away at Mouny Waters. There the people had a fight at his *Wiqkuwata*, goodness me! Still now the sticks and clubs, all broken up, are lying around there. There they had a very bad fight - for blood; they were shedding blood there. For, he was a clever-man. His *upma|is* and his *vapapas*, *Aḡaḡus* and *Maḡaḡis* did it very bad to each other over there; and the *ηamis*, they shed very much blood over there; the *aḡāp|is* too. Only his *yakas* and his *atʸnʸan|is*, his *nūḡas* and his *ηua|is* did not hit each other. Without caring they went around as peace-makers, I believe; for they were afraid that the people might kill each other. For, indeed, they pushed each other into all directions, very seriously, I believe. He was my *ηamaηa*; over there he is lying. I have seen his place.

TEXT X

In the olden days there existed a legal custom amongst the *Yuḡas*: They used to practise the custom of *Mu|aḡaḡ|*-fights. Let us suppose that an *Aḡaḡu* had killed a *Maḡaḡ|*; by that they would start a *Kapaḡa*, and from there results a *Mu|aḡaḡ|*: The members of the opposite moiety would cry then. The *Maḡaḡ|* and/or *Aḡaḡu* men would turn around and they would also start to kill then, their relation(s), in order to square that. That was their-*valanāpa*'s *viḡḡa*, I believe; they would make it

square, I believe: After having killed someone, they killed another one; after an Aḡaḡu or after a Maḡaḡi. That is how they were supposed to square that back, so that they would keep quiet then, in order to silence the people's talking - of all of them, of men and of women, of the gossipers. Like that it would go on: Like this they also used to point the bone. They also used to bone each other: The women would meet a bone-handler, a bone-master: 'I want you to bone my nuḡa; because he is going about talking, and I am ashamed over myself.' And he would really turn around and bone him, an Aḡaḡu for instance; and they would start crying about it again then. Those of the opposite moiety would then turn around, (and they,) and they would kill someone, they would bone him. And thus, they squared that back again. That is what they used to do, and thus this country is without Yuḡas. When they were living in the olden days, they used to do that to one another, and thus only we are about now, the last lot, the present-day people. In the olden days they used to kill each other like this. There was this custom; they were going on practising the Muḡaḡaḡi. A very bad way they lived: Fighting on and on.

TEXT XI

Another one: My uncle went once to Angoorichina, a long time ago when I was a child. Old man Nunʻa|ṭa took him down. When he came out at Angoorichina, there were many people down there, I believe, Wa|ʻpis. He went over to his ḡa|āmis' camp and as he sat down, I believe, tired after a long travel, they called out, I believe: 'This one has arrived! A stranger has come over and is sitting down!'. And really, I believe, they started coming out, the others, being happy as they came out, carrying along their big waddys. One also came out, namely old man Nunʻa|ṭa, I believe. Old man Nunʻa|ṭa came out, it was not him who had brought him down, but other people. And old man Nunʻa|ṭa came out first: 'Well, where is he, where is he?'. 'Here he is sitting.' When a stranger had come out, they used to shake hands with the poor fellow. 'Well, I will shake hands with him. Wait a bit, I will first shake hands to him this way!', said old man Nunʻa|ṭa; and with his big waddy he hit my ḡamaḡa right on the head, knocking the tears out of him and making the white of his eyes turn up, I believe. Like a thunder it went off on his head, I believe, so that he even had a black-out. While he was sitting there like this, they shook hands with him, I

believe, but he was unconscious, and completely limp. The others were holding him and growled: 'You should have hit him more lightly!'. 'No!', he answered, I believe, 'this is our custom, our, the Waiypis' custom: That is how we use to shake hands! Later on we will shake hands with him!'. Really, I believe, oh, many people came out then, after he had become all right again, to shake hands with him. Although this had happened a long time ago, he used to tell us this often. That is, I believe, the way how the Waiypis used to meet you: First they hit you, and then they left you; after you had become good again, they would come around to you and shake hands with you.

TEXT XII

The Aṛaṛus were Yaipumukuṇa, not kangaroo-rat - I have spoiled it over there - Untamukuṇa, Vukaṛamiḷaṇa: I am talking about the wind. The Vāḷumukuṇas were Untamukuṇa, and the Maṛaṛis were Yaipumukuṇa, Vaṛpamiḷaṇa, that is the south-wind people. There were also Maṛaṛis who were north-wind, and there were also Aṛaṛus who were south-wind; these are the Ṇaṛuntuḷamiḷaṇa. There were Wilkamukuṇa, Iḍimukuṇa, Wiitumukuṇa. And there were also Minaṛamukuṇa; these are the Untamukuṇa, the Vukaṛamiḷaṇa. And the Utimukuṇa were Maṛaṛis, the Vaṛpamiḷaṇa; Aṛaṛus were Utimukuṇa, Vukaṛamiḷaṇa; they called the Maṛaṛis 'aṛuna'. And, well, the Maṛaṛis, in the same manner, called the Minaṛamukuṇa, the Untamukuṇa, the Vukaṛamiḷaṇa 'aṛuna'. That is all right.

TEXT XIII

The Yuṛas used to name the little children, when they were born, a boy for instance: Wiḍanāpa, and Waṛa=ina, and Uṇāna; after Unāna the Ṇaḷana, and after him the Muṇāna. Muṇa, Yara, Maṛu-ana. Oh, I have already said the Maṛuna - Ṇaḷāna. (That's the lot.)

And the girls: Yaranta, Waṛika, Uṇaka, Maṛuka, Ṇaḷaka, Yaranta, Mawana. (That's last.)

CHAPTER III

LINGUISTIC COMMENTARY

TEXT I

1. The expression *yuṛa ika-aṅkata waru a long time ago the Yuṛa[s] was/were (sitting)...* is a frequent introductory formula in narrations. In English it suffices to say something like *in the olden days the Yuṛa[s]...* and to join the second verb (in the present sentence *...gave to each other/exchanged...*). An expression such as ⁺*waru yuṛa nuṅkuṅuṛi-aṅkat(at)na aṅuna in the olden days the Yuṛa[s] gave to each other/exchanged wive[s]* is grammatically perfectly correct, but it probably is to be considered rhetorically less satisfactory, if not to say "incomplete". The expression *...waru ika-aṅkata...* therefore can be considered a formula consecrated by tradition, reminding somehow of the "es war einmal..." in German tales.

Yuṛa is construed "collectively" (see p.9): The noun is not accompanied by one of the plural markers, but taken up in the verb by the suffix *-atna they*.

2. The present sentence can be taken as an example which is apt to illustrate the type of difficulties we often find in *Atʸnʸamaṅaṅa* when interpreting a sequence of clauses. It has been pointed out above (see pp.71-3) that the semantic implications in syntactical interpretations on the clause-level appear to be important in a language which usually does not mark the various types of "subordination". The semantic prerequisites we need therefore for an adequate interpretation of these clauses can be grouped under two headings:

a) Context: As we are here on the semantic level, this concerns the realm of "discourse", and is not identical with the narrow meaning of "context" in the classical distributionalistic sense. In the present

example the verb form *nun̄kutʷatna* is given a temporal value (*WHEN they were going to give...*), but one could also translate this by a causal clause (*for/because they were going to give...*).

b) Meaning: This is the meaning of a single morpheme, and this aspect is, of course, complementary to the preceding one. Thus one could translate the verb *wa|u-* by *say* rather than by the chosen *speak*, in which case one automatically would translate the verb form *nun̄kutʷatna* in the frame of an "object clause" (*that they were going to give...*).

At the end of the sentence we find a similar problem: The verb *yua-* *to stand* is also one of the "verbs of existence" (see p.54), and the exact semantic value of this "ambiguous" morpheme has therefore to be specified by the context (in the sense given above). The context in the present sentence gives to the clause a conditional value as the verb *yua-* has the value of a verb of "existence". This interpretation has been chosen because it was adopted by Andrew Coulthard. If this were not so, the other possible interpretation would have seemed to fit better into the present context (cf. sentence 3). If, therefore, we had chosen the interpretation of *yua-* *to stand*, we automatically would also have chosen a temporal-adversative value for the whole clause, indicated in English by *while*: *while the woman was standing*, in contrast to the *ika-* *sitting* of the men.

Finally another syntactic interpretation of the clause is possible; this is indicated by the symbol ";". That is, one also could integrate the clause *aʷu yuaku* into sentence 3 and interpret *aʷuna yunʷtʷuru utʷu* *in front of the woman* as explaining this clause: *While the woman was/was standing there, that is in front of the woman, they discussed.*

The suffix *-tʷ-* can be given various other meanings here, such as an "optative" meaning (*they wished to give...*) or an intentional meaning (*they intended to give...*) and so forth.

The "direct object" in the clause *nun̄kutʷatna...* is not expressed; this is often the case with the verb *nun̄ku-* *to give*, especially when *aʷu(na)* *woman/wife* or *atla=wi|ŋi* *fire-stick* has to be understood as the object.

The morpheme *waru* *a long time ago* combines with the suffix *-aŋku* here, and not with the suffix *-aŋkata* as in sentence 1.

4. *Valanpi* is understood here as specifying *aʷapila* *those two* (cf. N., pp.154-5), although the context does not make clear if *aʷapila* refers to the young couple or, rather, to two fire-sticks. As nothing in my

information does suggest that there were two fire-sticks, the first interpretation is proposed here.

7. Formally *ikawalanpi sit-you=walanpi* is a "cohortative" (see p.22), but I have restored an imperative, considering the form *ikawalanpi* a "haplological syllable ellipsis" or haplology. This sentence is, therefore, considered to be direct speech.

8. The sentence is difficult not only because of the formulation which I have adjusted by eliminating several elements (in brackets), but also because of various ambiguities, especially the following three:

a) Knowledge of the kinship-system tells us that we can only consider that *vapi* is the *māṇi*'s *vapi* and, in that case *aṭu* being *vapi*'s *aṭuna*, that is, *māṇi*'s *ṇami*; or *vapi* is *māṇi*'s *aṭuna*'s *vapi*, and in that case *aṭu* can be *vapi*'s *aṭuna* (that is *māṇi*'s *aṭāpi*) as well as *māṇi*'s *aṭuna*. We have no means of deciding which case is spoken about here, the more so as this part is not directly connected with what follows.

b) It has been explained above (see pp.50 and 61), that the *Atʷnʷamaṭaṇa* noun phrase is not subject to a rule of agreement, and a given suffix is added to the whole noun phrase: (NP) + aff. If the last morpheme of a noun phrase is the pronominal form *vanʷtʷuṛu his/her*, the suffix *-ṛu* is regularly omitted: °(N + *vanʷtʷuṛu*) + *-ṛu* → N + *vanʷtʷuṛu*. This can be considered another case of haplology. In the present sentence we find a sequence of two such noun phrases, and we have no means of deciding whether the "correct" interpretation is °{*aṭuna vanʷtʷuṛu*}-*ṛu māṇi vanʷtʷuṛu* or, rather, °*aṭuna vanʷtʷuṛu*{*māṇi vanʷtʷuṛu*}-*ṛu*. This problem is not fictitious because we normally find a fairly "free" word order in the language.

c) The ambiguity of this sequence is due to the absence of the agentive suffix. It has been stated above (see pp.56-7) that this is provisionally considered correct, as long as the agent is expressed in the verb. This is exactly the case here, and we therefore have no means of deciding whether *aṭuna vanʷtʷuṛu his wife* or *māṇi vanʷtʷuṛu her husband* is the agent of the verb *yalʷtʷatʷalu-aṇu he would call...*

It is, however, suggested that at least in cases such as the present one, which is the cumulation of various "accidents" (morphological as well as semantic), word order becomes more important, and that *māṇi vanʷtʷuṛu ṇami=vapi her husband's parents* is one noun phrase which is at least unlikely to be separated. Word order is not well studied as yet and it is, therefore, unknown how far this rule can be generalised in the language.

In the present sentence it would, therefore, appear safe to consider *aḥuna vanʔtʔuḥu his wife* as being syntactically the agent. Moreover, it is suggested for the particular example that Andrew Coulthard intended to express in the second part of the sentence also the reverse relation (namely that also a man calls his wife's parents by the terms 'ḥamaḥa' and 'aḥāpi' respectively), but that he has completely failed to formulate this second part in an appropriate manner.

9.-10. These two sentences express an impersonal introductory formula, hence the subject is not expressed (see p.54). The phrase *aḥa vitna after that* in sentence 9 is understood as simply marking the passage to another topic, which begins in sentence 11. Thus, *aḥa vitna after that* is linked with what precedes, and *nimpatʔiḡa like this* with what follows.

11. The -wa in the verb form *yalʔtʔa[tʔa]tnawa-aḡu they will/would call her* refers, of course, to a *yuḥa aḥu Yuḥa woman* (and not to *māḡi husband*). Such confusing references of the "anaphorical" pronouns are quite frequent in spoken texts (and not peculiar to *Atʔnʔamaḥaḥa*), and one of the supplementary sources for contextual ambiguities - which are lifted only in "selective contexts", as is the case in the present sentence.

12. If the information given in this sentence is correct (see N., pp.155-7), the -ku in the first verb form has a "concessive" meaning.

Valu she refers to the woman who is called *ḡapaḥa* by the "others".

14. If the information given in sentence 12 is right, then *nimpatʔiḡa like this* refers to the man's *viḥalis* and not to his *aḥuna* or her *viḥalis*.

I hear *anʔtʔiku keep[s]/kept* or *ha[s]/had*, while Andrew Coulthard wished to transcribe *yalʔtʔaku call[s]/called*, which probably fits better into the construction (cf. N + N + *anʔtʔi-* may not be a correct construction).

15. The repetition of *nimpatʔi like this* probably expresses "plurality", that is the complexity of the relations explained.

16. This sentence fails to formulate quite simple a statement which we can nevertheless understand: The idea expressed is that there were also people who were called 'upmaḥi' - who, as we know, are *ḡapaḥas' yakaḥas*. But the formulation is not correct, as is partly indicated by the brackets in the text. I suggest that Andrew Coulthard wished to formulate a sentence similar to the following one: ⁺*utʔu maḥa(ḡa) yaḥḥuḥi-aḡkata, yatnaḡa upmaḥi mitʔamanʔtʔalu(-aḡu) there were others*

whom he would call 'upma|i'. However, in the middle of the sentence Andrew Coulthard seems to realise suddenly that he had made a false start as if saying ⁺upma|i vapina ... upma|i mitʷamanʷtʷalu (*the*) upma|is ... *he called* 'upma|i'; this does not appear to be a satisfactory statement (in spite of sentences such as II:10, which has not been corrected). In what follows, he wished to correct the sentence he had already started.

The pronoun yatna as well as -atna *they* in the verb probably mean that Andrew Coulthard also includes the man's brothers in the statement. The object, however, is lacking - provided that one does not wish to assume that -atna is wrongly used for -atnaḡa *them*: the first yatna *they* being the agent would not refer to the same persons as the -atna *they* in the verb. However, all this can hardly remedy the unfortunate formulation.

18. This sentence is not clear for various reasons: Firstly, an agentive is lacking. As in sentence 8 it probably would suffice to correct the verb to ya|ʷtʷatʷalu-aḡu *he/she will/would call* to obtain a well-formed sentence. But the ambiguity would not be lifted by this (just as in sentence 8). In this interpretation the noun phrase māḡi vanʷtʷuḡu *her husband* is considered to be the agent, and yatnaḡu *their* at the beginning of the sentence is, therefore, disconcerting. I, therefore, would suggest that it is meant to include the māḡi's vi|alis, although this does not make the formulation correct.

Another interpretation is possible, but this obliges us to invoke ellipsis: Yatnaḡu *their* could then refer to the women, and māḡi vanʷtʷuḡu *her husband* would be elliptical for ⁺māḡi vanʷtʷuḡu [sc. vi|ali vapina] *her husband's* [sc. *brothers*] would explain vapapa. The sentence would, then, mean something like this: *Their* vapapas too, *namely her (or their) sister's husband's brothers they call* ḡapa|a...

For a further discussion of these two interpretations cf. N., pp.155-7.

19. In contexts similar to the present one, miḡu *man* usually stands for vi|ali in the sense of (*younger*) *brother*, this is how it is understood here.

Just as in sentence 14, the text has anʷtʷi- *to keep, to have*, but Andrew Coulthard transcribed ya|ʷtʷa- *to call (by kinship term)* which in the context is more satisfactory.

21. This sentence contains an unusual repetition of the suffix -ḡa, and the rare form vap|naḡa is found here. It has been suggested above (see p.5) that sometimes the suffix -ḡa can be understood as a plural

marker. Andrew Coulthard translated here *uʃuḡaḡa* by *all them* (and not simply *all*). In this interpretation the suffixing of *-ḡa* to the plural marker *vapina* is less clear. However, in *uʃuḡaḡa all them* it is not clear why *-ḡa* is suffixed twice and one would think that **uʃuḡa* would suffice. This suggests that there is a combination of the "object" *-ḡa* with the "plural" *-ḡa*, the first one being also suffixed to the plural marker *vapina*. If this interpretation is correct, it remains to be determined why the "object" *-ḡa* appears here; it usually is not found with nouns. Is this a matter of word-order in that *uʃuḡaḡa...* being too far away from the predicate needs some marking? Even if this is so, we have to interpret the threefold repetition of the suffix as an agreement, which is very rare in *Atʸnʸamaḡaḡa* but, apparently, not ungrammatical (though redundant).

The form *aḡari here you are* is rare in this position, and its exact function uncertain.

22. The text has *vapinaḡ[aʔ]* which I have corrected into *vapina[ḡa]*. If this is not done, the whole sentence is hardly to be interpreted as well-formed. However, it is also possible to interpret *vapina-aḡ[u]*.

27. The three occurrences of *ḡaḡa* in this sentence are considered as "substitutes of reference" ("anaphorical" *ḡaḡa-*, see p.13), probably having stylistical value. *ḡaḡa* in *ḡaḡa maḡaḡa* marks the tie with the plural marker and the two other phrases in which *ḡaḡa* occurs, thus economising one plural marker. It is, therefore, suggested that this part may be analysed as follows:

**ḡa|pu|aḡu atʸnʸani vapina ika-aḡkata, maḡaḡi atʸnʸani maḡaḡa, aḡaʃu atʸnʸani maḡaḡa our atʸnʸanis were Maḡaḡi atʸnʸanis and(/or) Aḡaʃu atʸnʸanis.*

The morpheme *ḡaḡa* has a double value here:

a) A purely syntactical function, marking the elements which belong together, and

b) A stylistical value, abbreviating the sentence and avoiding repetitions (cf. *atʸnʸani* is not repeated, and the plural marker *maḡaḡa* is expressed only once).

28. The phrase *uʃu ḡaḡa* which has been translated by Andrew Coulthard as *all of them* can be interpreted in the terms proposed in the preceding note. Another interpretation might also be possible: In note 21 it has been suggested that the form *uʃuḡaḡa all them* is to be analysed into *uʃu all + -ḡa "object" + -ḡa "plural"*; one could similarly interpret *uʃuḡaḡa all of them* as *uʃu all + -ḡa "agentive" + -ḡa "plural"*. This interpretation fits into the construction of the sentence.

29. This sentence is a reformulation of the preceding sentence, whereby the verb suffix -k(u) is "corrected" to -aṅkata. If one does not assume that -aṅkata is elliptically pronounced for -aṅkat[ŋ]a, one needs an agentive suffix and the interpretation of uṣuṅaṅa *all of them* containing the agentive suffix (second interpretation in the preceding note) imposes itself.

30. The construction is best regarded as an anacoluthon; this explains the lack of an agentive suffix. It is an amalgamation of the two constructions which render the idea of "possession" in the language:

- a) vapiṣu nuṅa ... ika-aṅku/ika-aṅkata
there were (sitting) the vapi's nuṅa(s)
- b) vapiṅa nuṅa ... anʸtʸi-aṅku/anʸtʸi-aṅkata
the vapi had (kept) nuṅa(s)

31. Here, as in many other cases, the demonstrative pronoun aṅa *that* at the beginning of the sentence is an "expletive" morpheme, while aṅa munkaṅa *those* at the end of the sentence refers to yakati *children* at the beginning.

The pronoun vanʸtʸuṣu *his* refers to nuṅa in the preceding sentence, which is thus recognised as singular. But the following sentence suggests that semantically Andrew Coulthard is speaking about the general case, that is about nuṅa = plural.

32. As the last predicate (ikanʸtʸuwa-aṅu *he would be/sit*) has a singular subject, it is natural to interpret upma|i here as a "short" form for upma|i vapi/ṅamaṅa. (Cf. also N., p.157.)

34. This sentence is elliptical, and the correct form would be one of the following:

- a) ⁺vāṅa upma|i vapiṣu } + *he is a upma|i vapi, of course*
- b) ⁺upma|i vapiwatʸi

In this type of simple sentence the personal pronoun is often omitted. The form aṅari *there you are* can also be used in lieu of such a personal pronoun. (Cf. sentence 20).

36. Here is some confusion of the pronouns, and the correct formulation of what Andrew Coulthard wishes to express is as follows:

⁺vapi utʸu yaʸtʸatʸatnawa-aṅu utʸu, ṅami yatnaṣu yaʸtʸakaiu aṣuna.
They would call him vapi, if he calls their ṅami 'aṣuna'.

If we had no previous knowledge of the kinship system, we would thus come to quite an erroneous conclusion (the men call their aṣuna's children 'vapi').

37. The second part of the sentence is an explanatory statement of the first part, which is construed impersonally.

38. The imperative is addressed to myself and refers to the tape-recorder.

39. The deixis *i-* in the expletive *iṅa this* (which I have interpreted temporally, *now*) fits in with the verb form (present, first person), but in *inʷtʷiṅa this/these [same]* one would rather expect the deixis *a-* to mark the reference to what has preceded and to what will follow. The deixis *i-* is used and so at least formally, the hearer is completely excluded.

40. I am inclined to consider this sentence as being elliptical for (wata) *ḡai itla waṅṅkarintai (but) about myself I am speaking*. This sentence, just as the preceding one, employs the verb suffix *-nta*, although an "immediate future" (suffix *-nʷtʷ(u)*) or a "cohortative" (\emptyset) value is implied. Such occurrences of the suffix *-nta* are not necessarily to be attributed to an influence from English.

41. *Utʷu inka the other side* is used (as opposed to *ḡai ... -ḡkari-... about myself* in the preceding sentence), and it refers to the first part of the text.

46. The sentence is interrupted because the English word *too* had slipped in, and in the second attempt *ḡamaṅa* is not accompanied by a plural marker.

47. The demonstrative *aṅa that* is considered here as expletive rather than anaphorical.

50. The agent suffix *-alu she* is restored as referring to *ḡatʷu aṅuna my wife* in sentence 49 (and not as *-aṅu I*, as in sentence 51, where *nimpatʷiṅa like this* marks a reference to an analogous but not identical context).

51. The construction is parallel to the one explained above (sentence 30).

55.-56. The phrase *ḡatʷu aṅunaṅa my wife* explains *vanʷtʷuṛu her*, and *mīṛu vapina the men* refers to her brothers (cf. sentence 19).

57. *Apana might* is considered to express an elliptical statement, as it is not supposed that there is an alternative appellation for *aṅāpi's* sisters. The non-elliptical statement would therefore be:

⁺ηatʷu aʃāpiʃu yaka apana ikaku, aʃāpi(ηa) yaɪʋtʷatʷaʃu-aŋu yatnaŋa/
yaɪʋtʷatʷaʃuwa-aŋu *if my aʃāpi had sister(s) I called them/her aʃāpi(ηa).*

The sentence is ambiguous (because of the unresolved problem mentioned in APWK p.17-8).

60. The last verb form is "short" for ⁺yaɪʋtʷa-aŋkatnawa *they called HER.*

61. The demonstrative pronoun aŋa *that* refers here to utʷu maʃaŋa *the others*, that is to an animate (human) plural, from the preceding sentence.

62. The passage aŋa ηatʷu viʃali vapina utʷu ηaŋa maʃaŋa atni *these are my (other?) viʃalis* again contains aŋa *that* as a reference to an animate (human) plural.

The element utʷu can here be interpreted either as an emphatic particle: *they are my viʃalis, of course*, or as the "pronoun" *other: these are my other viʃalis.*

The morpheme ηaŋa is the "anaphorical" ηaŋa (see sentence 27). It is suggested by the adding of ηaŋa maʃaŋa "plural", that utʷu means *other* here.

⁺aŋa utʷu ηatʷu viʃali vapina atni *these are (also) my other viʃalis* is at least stylistically less satisfactory than the present formulation.

63.-64. In both verb forms of the root yaɪʋtʷa- *call (by kinship term)* a second pronoun is lacking (-wa *him/her* or yatnaŋa *them*), but the ellipsis in sentence 64 is more complex, as only upmaʃi vapis' sons (elder than ego) are mentioned, but not their daughters (i.e. the yakas of the viʃalis mentioned in sentence 62).

65. Aŋa *that* again refers to an animate (human) plural (cf. sentence 61).

68. Here one would expect nimpatʷi(ηa) *like this.*

69. The first part of this sentence is a "personal" reformulation of sentence 68.

70. Aŋa *that* is again an expletive here, if it is not a wrong transcription for an[d].

74. The suffix -nʋtʷ(u) indicates a polite command here and throughout the whole paragraph (see p.23); in the first part of the sentence this is further underlined by apa(na) *might.*

N + -ηa ηuka- *go for* is an idiomatic construction. It is unknown whether N + -ʃu ηuka- would be possible here and what differences those two constructions would imply.

78. The singular form *aṭu woman* is taken up by the plural *aṭāpi vapina*, 'aṭāpis'.

80. The verb *mitʼama- to name* is corrected here by Andrew Coulthard to *waṅka- say*. One might suggest that this is so because the pronominal forms are not considered to be nouns in the same sense as kinship terms or names. This is not verified by other examples (see sentence 109). At any rate, the verb *mitʼama- to name* is the reason why *vapi* has the agentive suffix *-ṅa*, but this was not corrected by Andrew Coulthard. The suffix *-ṅa* is, therefore, eliminated together with the first verb form.

81. The form *waṅuṅaṭu I'll speak (to)* is interpreted as a "cohortative" (see pp.21-2), although it would also be possible to interpret it as a haplogy of ⁺*waṅuṅaṭu I may speak (to)* (see p.27), this is semantically less satisfactory here.

83.-84. The sequence ... *waṅuṅuku ... waṅkatʼatna-aṅu* could also be interpreted as a temporal-conditional sequence: *And when the children speak to the parents, they would say 'valanpi'*. In this case *valanpi* at the end of sentence 83 would be a useless repetition of the first element in the sentence 84.

85. The subject is omitted here, hence the sentence is not to be considered well-formed. The simplest correction is to add *-atna they* to the verb form.

86. It has been stated above (see p.55) that intransitive verbs can appear with an object. It is however, observed fairly regularly that *waṅka- say* has no object and *waṅuṅu- speak* does. This is doubtlessly the reason for the redundant formulation here and elsewhere (e.g., sentences 73, 79, 89, etc.), and this might be a stylistic device.

89. The expletive pronoun here is *iṅa this* and not *aṅa that*, as is usually the case.

92. The plural of the personal pronoun in the verb form does not only refer to the preceding sentence, but already anticipates to the generalising statement made in sentence 93.

99. Contrary to the interpretation of the verb form in sentence 81, *waṅuṅaṭu I might say (to)* is here better interpreted as a haplogy for ^o*waṅuṅuṅaṭu*.

102. In the first occurrence of the verb *yalʼtʼya- to call* the suffix *-tʼ(u)* is not dropped (by haplogy). This probably is so because

°yalʔtʔa-aŋu is a "poor" and I suggest incorrect verb form. The co-existence of the two forms yalʔtʔatʔu-aŋu *will/would call* and yalʔtʔutu-aŋu *you will/would call* confirms the interpretation of forms of the second type as haplogogies.

103. The construction *we-two X for X and I, we-two* is typical for Atʔnʔamaʔaŋa, as it is for so many Australian languages.

106. *Waŋa where?* a shortened form for ʔwaŋantl *where to?* is perhaps an error.

107. The embedding of the verb form ŋuka-aŋkatlaka *wə-ŋatlaka went* is probably the reason for the repetition of the pronoun of the first person.

The verb form waŋkai-aŋu *let me say!* may be interpreted as a haplogogy for ʔwaŋka-aŋkai-aŋu or for ʔwaŋkakal-aŋu, the latter form seems more likely for phonetic reasons, while the former is more suited to the passage. It seems also possible that the form is short for ʔwaŋkatʔal-aŋu *I will/would say* (cf. sentences 104, 105) but cannot be explained by haplogogy. (Cf. sentence 117.)

109. Here the verb mitʔama- *to name* is accompanied by a pronominal object (cf. sentence 80).

113. The sentence, as it stands, conveys no real information and is semantically "empty". (Cf. sentence 16.)

116. Here English marks a time sequence in the verb form while Atʔnʔamaʔaŋa does not. This may suggest that the two clauses are to be joined by simple coordination (or one explaining the other) and they are temporally joined to the following sentence. (That is: *When they are..., that is when we had given/after we had given and they are..., we would call...*)

117. The first demonstrative pronoun aŋa *that* may be interpreted as an expletive morpheme, or as a redundant repetition of the second one, which refers to an animate (human) dual (namely aŋapila *those-two* in the preceding sentence) (cf. sentences 61 and 65).

The verb form mitʔama|pu|a-aŋu *let us name!* is cohortative in form. It cannot be explained by haplogogy (see sentence 107, cf. however, also sentence 102). This means that for the present we have to accept -∅ = -(nʔ)tʔ(u) in certain contexts, just as in certain contexts -(nʔ)tʔ(u) = -k(a) (cf. sentence 74). The exact conditions under which this is admissible are not known.

120. This sentence does not give much information and merely fills a gap. In Andrew Coulthard's narrative style it can be considered as marking a paragraph. The sequence *aga ... aga ...* (in *aga maṣaṣi aga aṣaṣu*) may be interpreted as rendering ... *as well as ...*, although other, but perhaps less "natural" interpretations are possible (e.g., the first *aga* being expletive and the second one a bad transcription for *and*).

121. The end of the sentence *aga ṅatṽu yakaḷa that [is/are] my yakaḷa(s)* cannot refer to the preceding *aṣu woman*, but to the *miṣu vapina- boys*. It is, therefore, redundant - if not misleading.

123. The whole sentence is disconnected and difficult to understand, but it is summed up in the clause *ṅuṅa upmaḷi vapi vitnaṣu yakati utṽu aṣari those are the children after my upmaḷi vapi*, which has been discussed above (see pp. 44 and 52, examples (243) and (282)). It is understood here that this refers to the *yakaḷas* who are the *children* (*yakati*) of the *ones* (*viḷali*) who are *viḷali* through/by (*vitna*) an *upmaḷi vapi*.

The clumsy and almost incoherent formulation of the whole sentence is partly due to the practical restrictions imposed in the theoretically "recursive" character of the genitive construction in *Atṽnṽamaṣaṣa*.

124. Here Andrew Coulthard has drifted away from the central statement (about the *viḷalis' yakaḷas*, and not about the *viḷalis*) and he finishes his explanations quite abruptly.

125. Here we have a choice between the "definite genitive construction" (i.e. *ṅatṽu yakaḷaṣu yakati- my yakaḷas' child(ren)*) and the "indefinite genitive construction" (i.e. *ṅatṽu yakaḷa yakati- my yakaḷa-children*; see pp.61-2). In the present context the former seems more appropriate.

129. In the form *yaḷṽtṽatal I (am) call(ing) (by kinship term)* we find the allomorph *-t-* in an environment which has not been taken into account by the rule given above on pp.23-4 and 25. (Only the suffix *-(uṽ)tṽ(u)* is supposed to drop the nasal after a palatal, but not the suffix *-(ṅ)ṽ(a)/ (n)t(a).*)

TEXT II

1. Here a verb form contains the suffix *-(nṽ)tṽ(u)* and one containing the suffix *-∅* combine. One would more readily expect the reverse order, namely, ⁺*let me go to my country, I will look up my people = let me go to my country in order to look up my people*, rather than *I will go to my country, let me see my people*. This again suggests that *-(nṽ)tṽ(u) = ∅* in certain contexts (cf. sentence I:117).

3. Here the suffix -ṅa is added to the subject of the first (ṅamiṅa) and to the predicate of the second nominal clause (valanapṅa), while the last nominal clause has no suffix. This means that all possible combinations are realised here, except the fourth, namely -ṅa added to the subject and to the predicate (cf. p.4).

4. The construction upmaḷi ṅamaṅawa *he is a/the upmaḷi ṅamaṅa* is syntactically perfectly correct (cf. p.31-2), but it is eliminated for semantic reasons.

6. The two phrases yatna maṅaṅa wat^{ya} and yatna maṅa wat^{ya} are employed in a strictly parallel manner (cf. p.4), this shows the typical distribution pattern of the suffix -ṅa.

15. The agent is lacking in this sentence and it is therefore not well-formed. It cannot represent a passive construction only because the verb form does not undergo any modification: the verb mit^{ya}ma- *to name* is a transitive verb, and a form such as ^omit^{ya}ni- (or ^omit^{ya}mari-) does not seem to exist. The present sentence is, therefore, not correctly formulated, but the problem of the grammaticality of sentences of this kind needs deeper investigation in At^{ya}n^{ya}maṅaṅa.

17. In the context the verb form could also be restored as nakun^{ya}t^{ya}[ut]u-aṅu *you will/would name*, because Andrew Coulthard is giving an answer to my question.

19. This sentence can be understood in two different ways:

a) *The vinka is [one of] my vapapa[s].*

b) *The vinka is [referred to as] my vapapa.*

For a further discussion of the implications of these two interpretations see p.163; cf. pp.156-7.

20. The elliptical expression van^{ya}t^{ya}uru viḷali apana an^{ya}t^{ya}ikaṅu *in case I have his viḷali(s)* (for: *if I have relatives who are my vinka's viḷalis*) creates no ambiguity in the present context.

23. The singular in the last verb form nakuwaṅan[^{ya}]t[^{ya}]alu *he is going over to see* suggests that the two terms aṅaṅu and maṅaḷi are to be joined by *or* rather than by *and*. The verb suffix -nt- has been corrected to -n^{ya}t^{ya}-.

TEXT III

1. Ut^uuḡa *another (one)* is elliptical for something like ⁺ut^u(ḡa) ḡuḡu *another story/custom...* Andrew Coulthard rejected the first verb form nuḡkuḡuḡi-aḡkatari, when transcribing; the second therefore represents a correction.
5. Atⁿvamaḡaḡa here employs iḡaḡa *this one*, while English prefers something like *here* (which would be ⁺iḡaḡa in Atⁿvamaḡaḡa).
8. The pronoun is in the second person and the suffix -n^vt^vu can, therefore, be interpreted as a polite command (cf. I:74). As, however, the preceding commands are marked by the suffix -ka, one could also interpret the present statement as a consecutive clause, to be joined to the preceding sentence. (For an interpretation as conditional sequence, see p.143, VII:30).
9. Here, just as in sentence 4, the suffix -wa *he* refers to the couple. I understand this in the sense that Andrew Coulthard tends to formulate his statements from the point of view of the man.
10. Waru *a long time ago* is not correct, and it should be yuḡupa *for a long time* (cf. preceding sentence).
11. The formulation of this sentence has not been very successful: It is true that nata ḡuri=ḡuri *not close* at the beginning = aḡkaru *passed, distant/yaḡu=yaḡu just like that/itni=itni far, distant* at the end of the sentence, but semantically the negation nata *not* concerns the verb uru ika- *to think*: the ḡuri=ḡuri ḡamaḡa *close ḡamaḡas* did not *think of* the young man, and therefore, he has to come to some agreement with his *distant ḡamaḡas*.
13. Here the lack of a distinction between a "direct goal" and an "indirect goal" creates an ambiguity, if the context is not taken into account.
16. Cf. I:86.
- 17.-18. The sequence of the verb form in -k(u) and in -(n^v)t^v(u) suggests that both sentences can also be joined together into a temporal or a conditional sequence.
- 19.-20. Here we find the same type of ambiguity as the one just mentioned in sentence 13. One is inclined to correct the suffix -(n)t- to -(n^v)t^v- here.
26. It is not clear whether vitni *bad* refers only to the prohibition of mentioning a deceased person or whether it implies also *bad language*,

as is also suggested by the verb yapmi- *to growl, to swear*. Vitni-i- *to pass away* is a euphemism for inta- *to die* and interference from this word gives a complex and subtle connotation to the word vitni bad in the present context which, therefore, possibly involves a triple reference to:

a) A prohibition (cf. muṅṅa *taboo*, as opposed to wantu *good* and opposed in turn to vitni *bad*).

b) *bad language* (cf. yapmi- *to growl, to swear*).

c) *death* (cf. vitni-i- *to pass away*).

33. I have restored the text here to vaṅa *yaya his mouth*, although an expletive aṅa *that* seems possible.

In the verb form nuṅkutatnawa *they are giving him* the suffix-(n)t(a)- can be understood as marking a general statement, but the suffix -k(u)- or, perhaps better, -aṅk(u)- would nevertheless seem preferable, (cf. following sentence).

34. In the last verb the suffix -aṅk(u)- would appear to be more adequate (cf. aṅa *vitna after that*, namely after they had given, and not when they were giving).

TEXT IV

3. ṅapaḷa here stands for the "fuller" ṅapaḷa=wiṛi ṅapaḷa-*couple, being ṅapaḷa to each other* (cf. sentence 4); the verb here is in the plural, which has therefore been restored in the preceding sentence.

8. This sentence, translated by *what they have done is all right*, could also be translated by *they have done well* and it is not presumed that this difference should correspond to a different construction in the language; this is less certain for the meaning *it is good that they have done it* (with reversed word-order?). Ambiguities in the present construction are made possible by the lack of a distinction between adverbs and adjectives and the fact that the language does not express the "impersonal" (English *it*) or relative pronouns.

25. Andrew Coulthard translated ṅapaḷa-aṅu by *it is only a ṅapaḷa*. (Cf. p.36, example (176).)

TEXT V

5.-6. The suffix *-nta* in the verb form *nakuntawa she is looking* is unexpected here. In sentence 5 one is tempted to see in it the "participial" *-nta* (p.25, example (130)). But the suffixing of a pronominal form (*-wa she*) is unusual in such a "participial" construction (in spite of the case mentioned on p.32, example (170), but where *-wa* is the subject).

9. The phrase *aṭuna yunʸtʸu=yunʸtʸuru viři=viři* has been translated by Andrew Coulthard as *in front of the wife's nose*. This translation does not seem quite correct, as *yunʸtʸuru nose* in itself means *in front of*, while *viři-* means *in front of* [sc. *everybody*], *first* (see pp.43-4). The morpheme *viři=viři* does, therefore, not seem justified in the present context.

The reduplication of the two "adverbs" may suggest a plural (*wives*).

10. The word *aṭu woman* refers here to his *ḡapaḷa*, and not to his *aṭuna*.

14. Andrew Coulthard's translation of *vaḷpakanta utʸu aḡari* by *shame(ness) that is* would suggest that this is a nominal sentence, where the "participle" functions as a "nominal" predicate.

17. Only the sentences which follow make clear that the reciprocal *-ḡuři-* in the last verb does not refer to the *miadıtiyi men* only, but that it also involves the *yanḡari young men*.

23. A change of the word order (e.g., to *ḡaḷa vani utʸnʸu*) is impossible.

25. For the last verb I hear *yaḷi-* to *sing out, to yell* (the verb certainly has nothing to do with the English word *yell!* cf. *yaḷi tongue*), but Andrew Coulthard claimed *yalti-* to *stop*.

TEXT VI

8.-9. The verb form *witʸana-aḡku they came up* is correct from the point of view taken by the narrator (cf. *yana-* come in the initial sentences, *mantāwipana-* track towards/here in sentence 22), and the form *witʸa-aḡku went up* is not correct in this respect.

10. This sentence can be interpreted as a relative clause (*there where...*) and joined to sentence 11.

12. The morpheme *-atla-* is hapax. The verb form has been translated by Andrew Coulthard by *they-two MUST have stayed*.

15. The rare verb form *yanana-aṅku* *came towards (here?)* has been accepted by Andrew Coulthard; its exact meaning is not clear (cf. *yana-aṅku* *came*). It is suggested that *yana-* *come* (as opposed to *ḡaka-go*) implies that they were moving towards the narrator's standpoint, and *-na* *towards/approaching to* refers to the standpoint of the *ḡapa|a-wiṛi*.

19. Andrew Coulthard accepted the first verb form as *yuaṣintata* *are standing*, where the suffix *-ta* indicates that they did not stay very long and were in a hurry. I have, however, indicated that a correction to *-at[n]a* *they* is possible; this is justified by the fact that otherwise there is no subject expressed in the sentence.

The word *mat'iri* *I believe* suggests that Andrew Coulthard has never seen the place.

23. The form *yatnaṅu* is interpreted as *yatna* *they* + the clitic *-aṅu*, and not as *yatna* + an agentive suffix *°-ṅu*.

24. The form *ikaku* *is/was (sitting)* is found here in a context where one normally finds *ikanta* *is (sitting)* (cf. sentences 8, 10, 23, and p.26).

26. The suffix *-wa* *him* in the verb form is doubtlessly erroneous (it would refer to the tape-recorder).

TEXT VII

10. The suffix *-na* in the verb form *nuṅkunakaitna* *yatna* *give to me!* probably implies that the *vaṣṅāpa* is sitting some distance away from the group to whom he is speaking. (Cf. the difference between "gib es mir!" and "gib es mir her!" in German dialects.)

11. The present construction poses a problem: Formally the literal translation is: *The nose was (sitting) muṅṅa* *too, in what concerns the going* (where *-ṅa* is translated by *in what concerns*; cf. p.4). But from the semantic point of view it would be more satisfactory if we had ⁺*he was also muṅṅa in what concerns (his) nose-going*. In this case, however, we lack a personal pronoun, and a verb form ⁺*ika-aṅkatawa* *he was (sitting)* would suffice. The sentence is not clear.

12. For the construction *iṭiṭitari* *uṅaṅa* *behind of*, see sentence 32. It is uncertain whether ⁺*iṭiṭi* *uṅaṅa* would be acceptable here and which differences it would express.

13. The demonstrative pronoun *ḡaḡa-* *over there* is employed in relation to the narrator and supposes a gesture (external reference).

18. The verb form is restored on the basis of similar verb forms in the text (cf. sentence 10 and also sentence 30).

19. I have tentatively restored the verb form, suggesting that it should contain the suffix *-mana* (see p.20). There is no reason to adopt the only other alternative and to assume that the suffix *-ma* could be the "short" form of the suffix ⁺*-tama* which expresses *compassion, pity* (cf. the sequence *-mananta* which could formally also be analysed into the suffix *-ma* + *-nanta*; see also p.150, XI:9).

30. It has already been mentioned above (pp.26-7) that we have no means of deciding whether verb forms such as *ḡukakatna* contain the suffix *-k(a)* "imperative" or the suffix *-k(u)* "narrative". An elliptical expression for a conditional sequence (suffix *-k(u)*) would necessitate a complex restoration of the text (for instance to: *if they go first, [they must] no[t go] in front of him*) and, doubtlessly, a different word order (cf. the position of the negation). But nothing excludes the possibility that the suffix *-k(u)* is another "polite" imperative (*if they would not go...*; cf. also the "polite imperative" with the suffix *-nʸtʸu*, pp.23 and 134, sentence I:74).

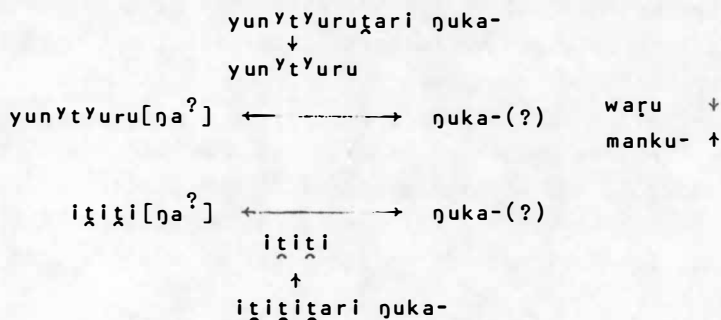
31. The verb form *akanakatna* *when they came/come out* (conditional-temporal) is a possible alternative for the first verb form.

I have restored *yatnanaya* *they first* (*yatna they* + *-naya first*) which makes sense here.

32. The expression *yunʸtʸuru ḡuka-* is reformulated here to *yunʸtʸuruḡari ḡuka-* *towards the nose* (cf. sentence 12). This probably means that they are going:

- a) towards the boy (cf. *waḡu* ?) and not, for instance, passing;
- b) facing him.

The following outline can therefore be suggested:



34. The verb form *ikanawaṛanʸtʸuwa-aṇu* *he would come over sitting down over there* has been mentioned above (example (113)). Andrew Coulthard interpreted this as *ikaṇawaṛanʸtʸuwa* *he goes, sits for a little while*, but nowhere have I met a suffix ⁺-ṇa indicating the short duration of an action; moreover the verb *goes* in this translation justifies my interpretation.

The "object" *ṇami=vapiṇa* *parents* can be linked syntactically with *ikanawaṛa-* *he would come over to the parents...* and not with *wanḵaṇa* *talking*, but semantically it belongs to both.

36. The syntax of this sentence is difficult: The verb *ṇuṭa-i-* is intransitivised (this is not infrequent in the language, but with the meaning *to grow*, e.g., of plants or fruit), and an agentive suffix is lacking. One might therefore be tempted to regard the present construction as passive. This, however, is rejected on the basis of my other information on the language. If we, therefore, consider this simply an intransitive sentence (*aṛaṣu* and *maṭaṛi* being coordinated by *nimpatʸiṇa*: *Aṛaṣus as well as Maṭaṛis*), the translation is not clear. In any case the suffix *-ṇa* in *aṛaṣuṇa* is certainly not the "object" *-ṇa*. The sentence has been translated as if it were ⁺*aṛaṣu(ṇa) nimpatʸiṇa maṭaṛi* *vapinaṇa ṇuṭanʸtʸu-aṇu* *Aṛaṣus as well as Maṭaṛis acted this way*, and the *-i-* after the root *ṇuṭa-* is interpreted as an epenthetical vowel and the lack of the agentive suffix as an error.

TEXT VIII

2. Only the context shows that *vanʸtʸuṛu* *his* refers to *yuṛa*, and the *-wa* of the verb form to *aṭuna* *wife* of sentence 1.

6. I have transcribed *yakati vapa* *little child*, but *yakati (v)apa* (for *yakati apana*) *a child, for instance* is perhaps a better alternative.

7. The noun phrase *aṇa yata* *that ground* can be taken as the object of any one of the two (identical) verbs, the other one having a "neutral" zero object. Another solution would be to interpret the sentence as a "(pseudo-)zeugmatic" construction.

The form *wayayara-* is regarded as a reduplicated form of the root *wayara-* *to dodge*. Andrew Coulthard stated that the root ⁺*waya-* *to dodge* "is good enough", and no hypothesis about the suffix *-ra* can be suggested (hapax). At any rate it is not connected with the intransitiviser *-ri*. This is confirmed by the fact that *wayara-* is used transitively.

10. The occurrence of the suffix *-nta* in the *veri* form seems inconsistent in this text which is narrated in the *-n'v't'yu*-style. Does it mark the more general statement (cf. *-nta* as "general present", pp.24-5), used in enumeration? It seems unlikely that the form *ḡukanta* *going* is to be interpreted as a nominal form (*the going of his ḡamaḡas is all right*). (Cf. V:14.)

12. If the verb form *wayaraḡu- to dodge* is recorded correctly, we find here a rare example of the transitiviser *-ḡu* being added to a transitive verb. This is exceptional in the language and poses a problem. Two interpretations are possible:

a) the two root forms *wayara-* and *wayaraḡu- to dodge* (both transitive) are equivalent.

b) The root form *wayaraḡu- to dodge* is a causative of the root form *wayara- to dodge* (transitive), in this case there should probably be a second agent, namely *the fact of aḡāpi's death (which* (first agentive, not expressed) *makes you* (second agentive, expressed) *dodge ...*).

In the translation I have adopted the first interpretation (a)), but the verb which has appeared under the three "root" forms ⁺*waya-* (see sentence 7), *wayara-* (passive), and *wayaraḡu- to dodge* needs further investigation.

14. There is no object expressed in this sentence (it would be something like ⁺*vatnaḡu māḡi (vapina) their māḡi(s)*). This construction is provisionally considered correct, although it is elliptical (cf. also pp.55-7).

The first part, *aḡuna vapina, ut'yu maḡalu, the aḡunas, the others*, i.e. *the other aḡunas* can be interpreted as a noun phrase where the noun (*aḡuna*) and the pronominal attribute (*ut'yu*) agree in number (*vapina* and *maḡa-*). But the whole sentence contains a chain of repetitions and precisions, of which only the last part, namely *yaḡu=yaḡu maḡalu aḡunaḡa the classificatory aḡunas* conforms to the regular type of noun phrase. In this noun phrase, however, there is an agreement in case (*maḡalu* and *aḡunaḡa*).

16. The command is addressed to myself and refers to the tape-recorder.

17. The pronominal form employed here is *aḡaplla those-two* and not *va:anpl*. It is suggested that this is so, because Andrew Coulthard speaks here about *māḡi* and *aḡuna* "respectively", that is separately and not as a "couple" (cf. the singular form of the pronoun in the following sentence).

20. Here *vunʸtʸu hair* is lacking. The clause *māṅi ... vitniṛaṅku* is embedded.
21. Here *aṅa that* is again either "expletive", or a bad transcription for English *and*.
24. The morpheme *nimpatʸiṅa like this* here replaces a transitive verb phrase (*+ṅuṭanʸtʸu would do* or *+maṅunʸtʸu would wear (it)* or the like). This omission is not regarded as grammatically correct.
25. The sentence is elliptical: *utʸurapaṅatʸi another one = another expression/term*.
27. The verb *mitʸama- to name, call* lacks an agent (*yurṅa the Yuṛa(s)*, or *-atna they, one* or *ṅa|pu|a we* as in the preceding sentence). This is not an acceptable sentence.
30. Contrary to sentences 21 and 32, *valkaṛa lime* does not have the suffix *-ṅa* and can, therefore, perhaps be interpreted as the object of the verb *nawi- to smear (over)*.
32. The phrase *utʸu munkṅa wilʸtʸaṅa vapṅaṅa the other nights* is unusual in that it contains a double agreement (in number: *utʸu + munk-* and *wilʸtʸa- + vapṅa-*; and in case: *wilʸtʸaṅa + vapṅaṅa*; cf. sentence 14).
- For the construction *valkaṛaṅa nawi- to smear (over) with lime* (instrumental), cf. preceding note.
34. The suffix *-ku* with *vitni-i- to pass away* does not easily fit with the meanings one can attribute to the suffix *-ku* (see pp.26-7).
35. The possibility of translating by two distinct English sentences shows an ambiguity of the reflexive suffix *-ṅkari* (as there is no distinction between a direct and an indirect object):
- a) *They do it themselves.*
 - b) *They do it to themselves.*

TEXT IX

1. The pronoun *ṅaṅatṅa what?* only fills in a gap, while Andrew Coulthard is seeking the formulation of what follows.

If we wish to interpret the sequence *intaku ... yuaṛi-aṅkatna* to the values attributed to the suffixes *-ku* and *-aṅku* respectively (see pp.26-7 and 22-3), we have to assume that *yua- stand* is here a verb of

movement: *They took their positions in the nulanʸi already while the Yuṛa was agonising.* This seems improbable, and *inta-aṅku (after he) had passed away* would seem semantically more satisfactory.

2.-3. The two clauses of sentence 2 are easily interpreted as a temporal sequence (*when ... when*). As the suffix *-ku* occurs in both verbs, and the verbs in sentence 3 have the suffix *-nʸtʸu*, one could join both sentences. In this case the two clauses of sentence 2 would be joined together by way of coordination (*when they came out and found many people standing...*), and sentence 3 would become the second term in a temporal sequence (*then they would throw...*). This interpretation has not been adopted because it seems semantically less satisfactory.

The first verb form in sentence 3 *ṅuṛa-ṅuṛanʸtʸatna-aṅu* *they would throw* (with reduplication to express plurality of action) may stand for *ṅuṛaṅuṛinʸtʸatna-aṅu* *they would throw at each other* (reciprocal); in this case the repetition of the verb *ṅuṛa-* represents a correction of this last form (as a reciprocal is apparently not appropriate).

4. The verb *ṅuṛa-* *throw* is a transitive verb, and has two agentives (in "coordination"). It would, therefore, seem more appropriate that the verbal suffix should be *+atnaṅa* *at them* instead of the *-atna* *they* which is redundant, as the agents are already expressed, and without *+atnaṅa* there would be no object reference.

8. The form *yaḍukuwa* is eliminated as wrong; *yaḍuku* *without caring* is not regarded as a verb form, but consists of the particle *yaḍu* *for nothing* (see p.47) plus the clitic *-ku* (see p.37). With regard to the position of this clitic we have to test whether it is possible to say *+yatnaṅaku yaḍu ...*, and if so, whether there is any difference in meaning.

8.-9. Provisionally I have proposed to interpret *nulanʸi maḅalu* *the nulanʸi-people* as the agent of the first verb, *yapa=yapa-* *open* in sentence 8; this agent is referred to by the personal suffix *-atna* *they* in this verb form. *Upmaḅi maḅalu* *the upmaḅis* is the agent of the second verb (*vuḍa-* *shed* at the end of sentence 9). It is not taken for granted that the two agents refer to the same persons. The phrase *ṅaḅa-aka vulka maḅaṅa* *a big group of old people*, that is, *many old people* (for *+vulka ṅaḅapaṅa* *many old ones*, see p.42) determines *ati blood* (cf. the construction of body parts, p.7). But it is not clear whether *vulka maḅa-* *the old ones* has to be identified with *upmaḅi maḅa-upmaḅis* or not. If this is so, the phrase *ṅaḅa-aka vulka maḅaṅa* belongs to the agent (*upmaḅi maḅalu*) and does not determine *ati blood*. The two sentences, therefore, pose semantic problems, which are discussed below in more detail (see pp.169-71).

10. The initial *yatna they* is redundant and is taken up by the following *utʷu maḡa- the others*. It can therefore be eliminated.

12.-13. Here also the pronoun *yatna they* seems to be redundant. But the reasons for the recurrence of this redundancy in this part of the text are unknown.

13. This sentence is elliptical and a verb is omitted: *nɪmpatʷiḡa* [sc. *ḡaḡaḡuḡinʷtʷu-aḡu*] *like this* [sc. *they would hit each other*]. This verb is specified in sentence 15, but the subject is in the dual (*ḡamilpila two mothers*). The initial *yatna ḡami vapina they, the ḡamis* is, therefore, understood as a general statement about *ḡami-pairs*.

15. The first verb form has been restored as *witʷl=witʷiniku[wa]* [*he*] *was dripping* [sc. *blood*] because of the construction of body parts (see p.7; cf. also sentence VIII:19, p.106).

It has been mentioned above (p.7, example (32)) that the suffix *-ḡu* has been given a causal value here by Andrew Coulthard. The function of the suffix *-ḡa* added to *-ḡu* is uncertain, as it does not seem obvious that it is the "plural" *-ḡa* (see p.5, example (24)).

The expression *yakati ati vuḡanta shedding the child's blood* is considered an elliptical expression (which probably has become idiomatic) for *+shedding blood FOR the child's blood* (cf. *ḡamilpila the two ḡamis* is still the agent). (See also the discussion p.147, sentence 8-9).

19. Andrew Coulthard did not accept the verb form *uḡ[a-]ɪnaḡkatna*, but corrected it to *uḡiḡaḡkatna they fought* or *uḡinantaḡkatna they fought*, where the "past" (*-aḡku*) and the "past-2" (*-nanta*) were given as variants.

28. The morpheme *ḡaḡa* is identified with the interrogative-indefinite pronoun (cf. p.13; where it has been explained as an "anaphorical" value, see sentences I:27-28, p.131). The pronoun is best taken in its indefinite sense here: *some* or *someone* (i.e. singular or plural). The syntax of this pronoun needs further investigation. The sentence as it stands, conveys that *some Yuḡa(s) might hit each other/fight to death*, this shows some ambiguities because of the lack of specification: A *Yuḡa* might fight with the others until he is dead, two *Yuḡas* might hit each other until one (or both) of them is/are dead, several *Yuḡas* might fight with one until they have killed him, etc.

30. The verb form *ikantawa he is (sitting)*, if not erroneous for *+ikanantawa he was (sitting)* is atemporal (simply defining a relationship) and perhaps it anticipates sentence 31 where the "present" naturally is required.

TEXT X

5. The correction of the verb form to *intatʷakuŋu[ŋk]a-aŋkaiu* *he was killed* was requested by Andrew Coulthard himself.
10. The construction requires that *Maḡaḡi* and *Aḡaʷu* are both considered part of the subject (of the intransitive verb), and therefore, have to be coordinated by *and* or *or* in English.
14. Unless this sentence is to be regarded as a restatement of the preceding sentence in general terms, one has to restore the verb form to *+apin[ʷ]t[ʷ]atna* *they would shut (up)*.
15. It is not clear why the second verb form is *uŋḡakatna* *they were hitting/killing* and not *+uŋḡatʷatna* *they would hit/kill*, the more so as this text abundantly uses *-(nʷ)tʷ(u)-* forms. One could, of course, build up a more complex sentence by taking into account sentences 15 and 16 together: *when, after having killed someone, they killed another one... , they would shut...* This interpretation, however, appears somewhat artificial and the idea would normally be expressed much more simply in the language by a construction of the type: *+...-aŋkatna, ... -nʷtʷatna, ... nimpatʷi ... apinta*. (*After having killed, they would kill ... thus shutting ...*).
17. The subject *-atna* *they* seems more appropriate in the context.
26. The verb form has been restored as *witn[it]antawa* by Andrew Coulthard himself. About the difficulties of interpreting the forms containing the suffix *-ta* see p.29.
32. The second verb lacks an object, and the simplest way of making this part grammatical is to add the suffix *-wa* *him* (referring to the preceding *upmaḡaka* [*some*]one).
34. The pronominal form has been corrected to *aḡa[ḡa]ḡatʷi* *through that* by Andrew Coulthard himself. No general rule for adding the suffix *-ḡa* (here before another case suffix, namely *-ḡa*) has yet been found (cf. *ḡaiḡa* *with me*, not *°ḡaiḡaḡa* in sentence V:11, p.100, but *ḡa|pu|aḡali* *like us*, not *°ḡa|pu|ali* in sentence I:126, p.94).
- The subsequent *nimpatʷi* *like this* seems redundant in this sentence, but this is perhaps a matter of style.
- The construction of *yuravarimunka-inta* *is/has become without* *Yurās* has been discussed above (p.52).

TEXT XI

1. The expression is elliptical for a longer expression of the kind ut^yurapaŋa [sc. nuŋu ikanta/waŋuŋaŋiŋa] *another (one)* [sc. *story there is (sitting)/I will tell you*].
6. Andrew Coulthard admitted that the order of the two verbs ika- *sit* and yuŋŋu=yuŋŋuri- (*start*) *sit(ting) down* has to be reversed.
9. The verb form ikamananta is ambiguous and three analyses are possible:
- ika- *sit* + -mana "directive" + -nta "present": *he has come over and is sitting here.*
 - ika- *sit* + -ma "pity" ("short" for ⁺tama; see sentence VII:19, p.143) + -nanta "past-2": *the poor fellow has sat down.*
 - ika- *sit* + -mana "directive" + -nanta "past-2", with haplology (⁺manananta > -mananta): *he came over and sat down.*
- The first interpretation has been chosen by Andrew Coulthard himself.
- 13.-14. The verb form akananta is best interpreted as being haplological for ⁺akanananta *came out*, as there is no obvious reason for suddenly employing the suffix -nta.
18. The form iqari *here you are* is tentatively eliminated from the sentence, and it is suggested that it has (erroneously) been pronounced in anticipation of the following answer.
19. It has been mentioned above (see p.12) that the syntax of iqari *here you are* (and of aŋari *there you are*) is as yet not known. One could, in the present example, explain it by the "underlying" construction ⁺iqari, iŋaŋa ikantawa *here you are, he is sitting here*, the syntax being similar to that of the French "voici".
20. The suffix -la in the verb form is unknown (it is not regarded as a repetition of the suffix -li which expresses pity), and it has been eliminated. This omission is justified also by the fact that this suffix has not been taken into account by Andrew Coulthard, who simply transcribed yapa=yapalimanakatnawa *they were coming over shaking [hands] with him, the poor fellow.*
25. The verb nuŋku- *give* has only one object here, as several times in our texts. Something like *a blow* is implied as object.
26. The sentence is "impersonal" and the subject can again be considered something like *the blow* (cf. preceding sentence).

33. The suffix *-wa* in the form *matʸiriwa I believe (he)* is eliminated here because of its redundancy (cf. the form normally not accepted by Andrew Coulthard, see p.41).

44. The sequence *wantunikiḡa ikaku* is a rare example of what may be considered as a sort of "agreement" in the verb, but the personal suffix is not repeated in the second verb. The idea is probably different from both *+wantu ikakiḡa when you are (sitting) good/well* and from *+wantuninta ikakiḡa when you are (sitting) becoming good/well*. It is suggested as a hypothesis that the underlying construction is: *+wantuni-aḡiḡa wantu ikakiḡa when, after (you) having become good/well, you are (sitting) good/well*. But these constructions need further investigation.

TEXT XII

2. The form *witlawarakaḡu*, which Andrew Coulthard simply translated by *I made a mess of it*, is not quite clear:

a) One would expect the suffix *-aḡk(u)* rather than the suffix *-k(u)*.

b) It is not clear why the suffix *-waḡa over there* is added: Does it refer to the totemic places of the various groups? Andrew Coulthard simply stated that this was "a big way of saying it", but this explains nothing.

21. It is suggested that *aḡarɪ wantu* is a translation from the English *that's all right*, which Andrew Coulthard often used to mark the end of a narration.

TEXT XIII

2. I have transcribed here *mɪḡu vapa a little boy*, but I had some hesitation about deciding whether it should be *mɪḡu apa a male/boy*, for instance, where *apa* is "short" for *apana* (see p.40).

CHAPTER IV NON-LINGUISTIC COMMENTARY

0. INTRODUCTION

The order in which the texts are published implies a classification into five groups according to topics:

The first group comprises texts I-III and deals with marriage and the various kinship and pronominal appellations.

The second group, comprising texts IV-VI, treats illicit relations, which turn more or less clearly around the *ŋapa|a*-concept.

The third group, comprising texts VII-IX, concerns avoidance and similar customs, the last text of this group forms a transition to the fourth group.

The fourth group comprises texts X and XI, and deals with "hitting", namely with the custom of fighting and "shedding blood" particularly in mourning.

The last two texts give incomplete lists of clan and "baby"-names which had been given more fully in APWK pp.25-7.

Text I, because of its length and complexity, is subdivided into paragraphs. This is not done for the other texts which are much shorter. At the end of the non-linguistic commentary I have given a conclusion in which I summarise those main points from the texts, which indicate further details or possible modifications of the kinship and the pronominal system explained in the previous paper (APWK).

For the sake of clarity I use here the term "converse" (appellation, term) for a kinship term by which another person or class of persons, A calls a person (or a class of persons) B who apply to him (them) the given term under discussion. Thus, for instance, A calls B *vapi* and B calls A *vapalu*; the term *vapi* is therefore the converse term to *vapalu* and the term *vapalu* is the converse term to *vapi*. If both terms are identical (such as the term *vapapa*) they are reciprocal terms.

1. THE KINSHIP AND PRONOMINAL APPELLATIONS

TEXT I

This text has two parts: In the first part Andrew Coulthard deals with the kinship system in general, and in the second part he gives a more personal account of it, gradually formulating the relationships in more general terms. In this second part he deals with the kinship terms and then with the personal pronouns, returning in the final section to the enumeration of kinship terms.

The text has been subdivided into 23 paragraphs, each paragraph dealing in principle with a single type of relationship. The whole account is well structured and in general Andrew Coulthard does not confuse generation levels: Normally he gives an account of a given type of relationship and indicates the corresponding appellations, he then deals with the converse appellations. He often adds a more general statement by giving the lateral extension - usually formulated in terms of *viḷali(s) younger sibling(s)*. This general plan is followed through and interrupted only in rare instances. My interpretations sometimes take into account this plan and, especially, the fact that Andrew Coulthard does not confuse different generation levels (cf. §11).

§1. (1-7)

The information given in this introductory paragraph suggests the idea of speaking of a real "marriage ceremony" in Atʸnʸamaḷaḷa society. This idea seems justified mainly by the three following points in the text:

a) The men meet at the *wipmaḷa=yaḷḷa court-ground* or, in the English jargon spoken by Aborigines and some anthropologists, *business ground*. It is not clear from the text if women participated in these discussions, as there is only a mention of *Yuḷa(s)*. At any rate, sentence 1 is formulated in a manner which recalls the expression *exchange of wives* which, according to certain anthropologists, is the business of men amongst themselves. This point needs clarification; at any rate it is quite conceivable that the "ritual" discussion reported here and the execution of the marriage is left to the men, while the mother-in-law had already agreed to the arrangement in previous and more informal discussions.

I would also suggest that further investigators should find out what topics were discussed at the *business ground* in general. According to my general experience I would suggest that collective discussions could take three different forms in Atʸnʸamaḷaḷa society (and, probably, in Australian societies more generally):

i) Accidental discussions, taking place spontaneously at a given occasion, as happens in any society.

ii) The "half-institutionalised" discussions in the late evenings, when the various groups have already retired around their fires and which, in Atv̄n̄vamaṭṭa country as elsewhere, seem to have followed the pattern of a series of speeches, occasionally interrupted by moments of freer discussion and which, theoretically, lead to (unanimous) agreement.

iii) The discussions of the more exclusive circle of the *old* (read *fully initiated*) men on the *business ground*. My early field notes mention a term ⁺wim̄lla *business ground*, to which only fully initiated men (⁺wil̄vaṛu) were admitted. The form suggests, however, that this notation is erroneous for wipmaḷa, and we must therefore verify whether there is a difference between a *business ground* ⁺wim̄lla and a *court-ground* wipmaḷa=yaṅṅa. I have also noted the two following terms: ⁺yaṅṅa wata Wil̄vaṛu *ground*, *secret ground* and ⁺yuḷḷaṭaṭa *business ground*. The problem of the possible synonymity of these expressions is directly related to the question mentioned above of whether women were present during discussions of the type dealt with here.

b) The people speak ṅaḷa=aka(ṅa) ṅawaḷa *big words*; this term has been mentioned in APWK p.24. There is no reason to take this expression here in its "linguistic" meaning (i.e. applied to the Wal̄pi-talk, or to apply it to long and "heavy" expressions in general, although the "big language" probably was also linguistically "bigger" than the normal talk). It is understood to mean *talking business*, to use another expression from Aboriginal-English jargon.

c) The giving of the atla=wit̄ṅi *fire-stick* seems to be a ritual act. I do not wish to venture here into any hypothesis about the atla=wit̄ṅi itself, although some suggestions might be drawn from other texts which are not published here. The important fact here is that the giving of the atla=wit̄ṅi apparently is the central moment, the marriage ceremony by definition: From that moment on the two young people are valanpi which Andrew Coulthard here simply translated by *married*. The atla=wit̄ṅi was given to the young couple by pronouncing what appears to be a traditional formula which is mentioned in text III:5 (cf. also APWK p.26, where the pronoun is in the third person). It is possible that sentence 7 of the present text also gives a traditional formula.

These three fundamental features are three sufficient features which allow us to speak of a ritual act, marking a *rite de passage*:

- symbolic act (atia=wiṭṭi nuṅku- *give the fire-stick*)
- traditional formula (cf. III:5 and, perhaps I:7)
- changing to another social status (cf. *valanpi married*)

§2. (8)

In a very brief statement Andrew Coulthard deals with the first ascending generation. Although the sentence is ambiguously formulated (see pp.128-9), there are no problems with regard to the kinship system, and it is fair to interpret the formulation as elliptical:

a) If a man is Maṭaṭi, his wife as well as his daughter (ambiguity of *aṭu woman* in the text) are Aṭaṭu.

b) A man calls his wife's parents 'ḡamaṅa' and 'aṭāpi' respectively and, in turn (ambiguity of the text), a woman calls her husband's parents 'ḡamaṅa' and 'aṭāpi' respectively.

The expression in parentheses is excluded from the text for purely semantic reasons (for the discussion of the grammatical problems, see pp.128-9).

§3. (9-23)

This paragraph is concerned with Ego's generation level in all its complexity: The terms it deals with are *viḷali younger sibling*, *nuṅa elder brother*, [*yaka elder sister*], *vapapa cousin*, *aṭuna wife*, *māṅi husband*, *ḡapaḷa not marriageable cousin*, *vinka cousin having married a sister*.

First it is to be noted that Andrew Coulthard defines all relationships in terms of *viḷali younger sibling*, and the term *nuṅa elder brother* only appears once in a comparatively irrelevant context (sentence 21), while the term *yaka elder sister* is not mentioned at all in the present paragraph. This signifies at least carelessness in the definitions given and the term *viḷali* is particularly inadequate in that one has to specify in critical contexts whether a male (*miṭu*) or a female (*aṭu*) *viḷali* is meant. This distinction is currently used to the point that *miṭu man* and *aṭu woman* may occur elliptically for *miṭu* [sc. *viḷali*] *younger brother* and *aṭu* [sc. *viḷali*] *younger sister* respectively (e.g., in sentence 19). The fact that the definitions are given in terms of *viḷali younger sibling* only, obscures the point which most interests us, namely to gather a maximum of information about *ḡapaḷa*.

Here we learn first that *some* of Ego's *viḷalis* call his *aṭuna* by the term '*aṭuna*', while *some others* apply the term '*ḡapaḷa*' to her; but no further precision is furnished on this point (sentences 11-12).

This does not contradict my general information which is explained in APWK pp.6-7, but which implies the rule that Ego's *viḷali* may apply the term '*aḷuna*' only if he is not younger in age than Ego's *aḷuna* (though younger than Ego). The end of sentence 12 gives the impression that a woman calls her husband's *viḷalis* by the term '*māṇi*' even if they call her '*ḡapaḷa*'. It is, however, suggested that this is due to vague formulation and that Andrew Coulthard only explains a part of the converse appellations, namely that a man's *viḷalis* may call his wife '*aḷuna*' (sentence 11) and that [in that case] the woman calls her husband's *viḷalis* by the term '*māṇi*' (end of sentence 12), while other *viḷalis* may call a man's wife by the term '*ḡapaḷa*' (sentence 12) [in that case the woman calls her husband's *viḷalis* by the term '*vapapa*' or also '*ḡapaḷa*'; (cf. sentences 18 and 22)]. This information is then generalised (sentences 13-15) but this passage is interrupted by a trivial statement, introducing the term *upmaḷi*, which does not belong here (sentence 16). The rest of this paragraph concerns the term *vapapa*: After having started in a somewhat vague manner (sentence 18), Andrew Coulthard explains that the term '*ḡapaḷa*' is also applied by the women to her male relatives, while a man calls his wife's brothers either '*vapapa*' or '*vinka*'. The formulation (sentences 20-21) would suggest that a man called all of his wife's brothers by the term '*vinka*', which does not quite correspond to my general information where *vinka* was always defined as *yaka*'s *māṇi*.

The present passage allows to understand that only a man's *own aḷuna*'s *own viḷalis* and *nuḡas* are Ego's *vinkas*, hence this extension of the term *vinka* may reasonably match with the hypotheses proposed in APWK (in particular APWK p.19). If this information is verified, the term *vinka* would turn out to be a reciprocal term; this has not been stated in APWK. Thus we have found, in this paragraph, that *ḡapaḷa* as well as *vinka* may provisionally be looked upon as reciprocal terms. On the other hand it is said that the *vinka is a vapapa*, just as *ḡapaḷa is* (see §7, p.158). This gives a very general meaning to the term *vapapa* which involves two levels:

- a) Individual of Ego's generation level, but belonging to the opposite moiety.
- b) Individual belonging to class a), but who is not *vinka* or *aḷuna*.

This means that *vapapa* is the unspecified or "unmarked" term. One therefore may assume that also *māṇi* and *aḷuna are vapapas*, although this is not stated anywhere.

§4. (24-29)

This paragraph simply lists the kinship terms of the second ascending generation. The ambiguity of the term at^yn^yanⁱ is stated but, unfortunately, no further precisions are added. The last part of the paragraph (sentences 28-29) proposes the principle of lateral extension which again is stated in terms of vⁱl^alⁱ(s) *younger sibling(s)*, while nu^ḡa *elder brother* and ya^ka *elder sister* are not mentioned.

§5. (30-38)

This paragraph deals with the first ascending generation and is therefore connected with §2 and, eventually with §3. The terms vapi, upma|i vapi and upma|i ḡamaḡa as well as their converse appellation[s] (namely v^ap^al^u [and upma|i]) are given. The definition of the three terms is given here in a slightly different manner from what has been explained in APWK (cf. pp.7-8): There are

a) Vapⁱs, who call my ḡami 'aḡuna'.

b) Those of the vapi's' brothers who do not call my ḡami 'aḡuna' (hence 'ḡapa|a') are my upma|i vapi's, whom I also call 'ḡamaḡa' *just like that* (yaḡu), namely upma|i [sc. ḡamaḡa] (sentence 35).

This means that upma|i ḡamaḡa also *is* upma|i vapi (similarly to the expression that the vinka *is* a v^ap^ap^a, see p.156). The explanation of these relationships will be taken up again below in §8 (p.158).

The term upma|i is employed in this paragraph (elliptically) for upma|i [sc. ḡamaḡa].

§6. (39-46)

Andrew Coulthard starts again, taking up the explanation from his personal point of view, in order to avoid confusions when dealing with more complex situations. He enumerates rapidly a few kinship terms, and the most important information is given in sentence 44, where we learn that either Andrew Coulthard married his aḡāpi, or that his wife's father had married his upma|i. I have not verified which was the case. It is interesting to see that the term ḡua|i is maintained and not changed to ḡamaḡa. It is therefore, not clear which pronominal form is used in such a case. It has been hinted in APWK (p.17) that the knowledge of the modalities of the "straightening out" of appellations is of importance for a full analysis of the system. The present paragraph suggests that this was possibly done in a manner which cannot necessarily be stated simply in terms of the "emic"-*"etic"* distinction.

§7. (47-56)

This paragraph is connected with §3 (see pp.155-6), which also deals with the members of the opposite moiety, on Ego's generation level. The information is less complete and neither the term *vinka* appears, nor are the male *ḡapa|as* mentioned.

§8. (57-61)

This paragraph deals with the first ascending generation, and is connected with §2 (p.155). Here Andrew Coulthard opposes *upma|i* - which I consider being again elliptical for *upma|i* [sc. *ḡamaḡa*] (see p.157) - to *upma|i vapi*. This confirms my general information as well as the suggestion (see p.157) that the term *upma|i vapi* is applied on two levels:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{upma|i vapi} < [\text{sc. upma|i}] \text{ vapi} \\ \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{upma|i} [\text{sc. ḡamaḡa}] \end{array}$$

§9. (62-68)

We return to Ego's generation level. Andrew Coulthard speaks about his *upma|i*'s children, and it is fair to understand the term *upma|i* here in the sense of *upma|i vapi* as well as in the sense of *upma|i ḡamaḡa*. The explanation of the classificatory principle is set out in this paragraph, and the criterion of relative age for distinguishing between the terms *vi|ali younger sibling* and *nuḡa elder brother* or *yaka elder sister* is given for the first time.

§10. (69-70)

This supplementary information on the first ascending generation (formulated here by reference to Ego's first descending generation) justifies the comment given in §5 (p.157): the *upma|i ḡamaḡa* is a *upma|i vapi* (sentences 33-34), and the *upma|i vapi* is [called] (a) *vapi* (sentence 70), hence the double meaning of the term *upma|i vapi* explained above, §8.

§11. (71-72)

Like §4, this paragraph gives a short list of kinship appellations referring to the relatives of the second ascending generation. The only additional information is given in the statement that there were also *old ḡapa|as* (cf. APWK p.7). Unfortunately no further precisions are given, although the formulation might suggest that the *atʻnʻyanis* belonged to the opposite moiety (Andrew Coulthard is *Aḡaʻu*) and the *ḡapa|as* to Ego's moiety, this would confirm the conclusions to be drawn from the point of view of pronouns. The information given here cannot be regarded as conclusive evidence (cf. also sentence 27): we cannot

be sure even that the *old* ṅapaḷas mentioned here belong to the same generation level in the system as the atʿnʿanīs (cf. text IV:22-25), and this possibility is suggested only by the fact that Andrew Coulthard usually does not mix generation levels in his narration (see p.153).

§12. (73-83)

With this paragraph begins the part of this text which offers a (partial) presentation of the complex pronominal system, which has been discussed in detail in APWK. In this paragraph is found the passage, mentioned in APWK pp.20-1, which introduces a sex-dichotomy on a level where it has not been recorded in the pronominal system: vapi refers to his female vapalus by the same pronoun by which aṭāpi refers to the male vapalus. If, by hypothesis, we extrapolate this statement to the other pronoun, which is indicated at the beginning of the paragraph (sentences 73-75), as being applied by vapi to his male vapalus, we arrive at the following diagram:

Ego speaking to/about the vapalu(s)

		of same sex		of opposite sex	
	dual	plural	dual	plural	
2.	?	watnātapa	?	(⁺ ṅu)wal[a]lu	
3.	?	valanātapa	?	?	

The form wal[a]lu has been discussed in APWK p.20, where I referred to the present paragraph in the text. Here I have set up the hypothesis that also aṭāpi speaks in this term to her nephews, but the questions which I had asked in APWK remain open. The other set, for which I have proposed here that it is applied to the vapalu(s) of Ego's sex, has also been mentioned in APWK p.20.

From the point of view of morphology it is tempting to link the two pronouns watnātapa and valanātapa of series 8 with the corresponding forms of series 4 (cf. APWK p.12), where the analysis would be ⁺(ṅu)watnātu + (v)apa = (⁺ṅu)watnātapa and valanātu + (v)apa = valanātapa. Although this etymology can be considered as having some degree of probability, there remains, even from the formal point of view, the problem of the dual forms (e.g., valatu of series 4 as against valanāpa of series 8) which at best may reinforce the hypothesis of a complex historical evolution of the modern system (which underwent changes in the course of evolution in its formal as well as semantic aspect).

§13. (83-85)

The form *valanpi*, the 2nd person dual of the series 7 (cf. APWK p.14), has been mentioned above (pp.154-5). In the present paragraph only one of the various definitions given in APWK is mentioned.

§14. (86-93)

This paragraph mentions the 2nd person plural of the pronoun called series 9 in APWK (pp.15-6). The definition given in the text (especially sentence 93) might indicate that this series is applied reciprocally by Ego to *vapapa*. This contradicts the definition given in APWK for this pronominal series, and the problem will be discussed below (§18).

§15. (94-97)

The formulation in this paragraph suggests that the parents apply, when speaking to their *children*, a pronoun of the series 7 (cf. APWK p.14). I provisionally propose the hypothesis that the analysis given in APWK p.14 is right as well as the definitions given here, and that here *yakati* - referring to the man's *vapalu(s)* and the woman's *yaka!a(s)* - means their *children* + the children's spouses (husband(s)/wife(s)). (See §19.)

§16. (98-101)

We encounter again the pronominal form mentioned in §14, and one more precision is given: If a *vapapa* applies this pronoun to Ego, he "includes" Ego's *upma!i*. This corresponds better to the definitions given in APWK pp.15-6, than to what appeared to be the definition in §14. We shall find this pronoun again below in §18.

§17. (102-108, 113)

The pronominal forms appearing here (*nat!āka* for the first person dual and *watnāka* for the second person dual) are identical with the forms given for series 5 in APWK (p.13), but the definitions are those given in APWK for the series 9 (p.16). Sentence 102 suggests that this pronoun is applied only to an *upma!i namaṇa* (but not to an *upma!i vapi*), which means that the pronominal reference is the same as if he were a *namaṇa*. But sentence 108 states that this pronoun also refers to *aṭāpi*. These difficulties have been mentioned in APWK p.20. In what concerns *aṭāpi* one may remember here that *aṭāpi* may call her nephew also *yaka!a* (cf. APWK p.22). Does this mean that those "puns" also extended to the pronominal appellations and references or, rather, that these alternative appellations are not puns? (Note that nothing has been mentioned about the type of *aṭāpi* involved: whether she is own wife's mother, own father's

sister, aṭāpi who is older than me and whom, therefore, I cannot marry etc). On the other hand one notes the following "symmetrical inversions" covered by the various kinship relations and terms occurring in the definitions of this pronoun:

- ḡamaṇa is yaka|a's *wife-giver* (vapalu)
- upma|i ḡamaṇa is upma|i's *wife-taker* (yaka)
- aṭāpi is yaka|a's *husband-giver* (vapalu)
- aṭāpi is upma|i's *husband-taker* (nuṇa)

The reformulation of the apparent contradiction in the definitions of this pronoun is suggestive, and I propose therefore the hypothesis that the text omits the precision that aṭāpi has to be younger than Ego, and that Ego has to be aṭāpi's upma|i, not her vapalu;²¹ on the other hand I provisionally assume that the statement is valid for upma|i ḡamaṇa only, but not for upma|i vapi.

It is now interesting to observe that, in the frame of this hypothesis, the intriguing problem of the pronominal classing of ḡapa|a does not appear any more as an isolated instance - hence an anomaly - but as a part of a whole sub-set of kinship terms which have in common that they can be referred to by pronouns normally denoting members of the moiety opposite to that to which they belong. For this, see below, pp.176 ff.

§18. (106, 109-112)

This section is connected with pronominal series 9 (cf. APWK pp.15-6), which has already been discussed above (§14 and §16). It is clear now, from all the information given, that this series of pronouns is used when one speaks or refers to a couple or a group of relatives who stand to each other in the relationship of at least upma|i ḡamaṇa - ⁺upma|i (cf. sentences 101-104) or aṭāpi - ⁺upma|i/vapalu (cf. sentence 108) or (⁺upma|i) vapi - ⁺vapalu (cf. sentence 86). But the term is applied by a third person, defined as vapapa in sentence 99 (and this must be the meaning of vapapa in §14) and as aṭāpi's *child* in sentence 109. Thus the general definition given in APWK p.16, namely *a man/woman + his/her vapi or vapi's brother/sister and a man/woman + his/her vapalu(/upma|i)* is very nearly verified.

Taking up the comments made in the preceding paragraph, one may ask whether the phrase [*the upma|i whom*] *you call (him)* [*a*] ḡamaṇa (sentence 102) is to be understood as a necessary condition also for the pronoun dealt with in this paragraph. If so, the marriageable versus non-marriageable distinction would interfere also with the present series. As the text is not clear on this point, we must abide by what has been said in APWK pp.16 ff.

§19. (114-117)

Here the general definition for *valanpi* as applied to *a man and his wife* (cf. APWK p.14) is verified for the *vapalu-yaka|a* couple. With this simple statement we leave the section of the text which treats some aspects of the pronominal system.

§20. (118-120)

We return to the table of kinship terms and this paragraph deals with a part of the first ascending generation. The relationships are expressed in an incomplete, even in a misleading manner: The man calls Ego's *aḡuna* by the term *aḡāpi*, and the woman calls Ego *ḡamaḡa*. The vague formulation (somewhat reminiscent of §2) is due to the fact that Andrew Coulthard hastily wishes to explain both possibilities:

- a) female *vapalu* married to male *yaka|a* (cf. sentence 114)
- b) male *vapalu* married to female *yaka|a*.

§§21-23. (121-124; 125-127; 128-133)

The rest of this text gives little supplementary information and mainly defines rapidly the terms applied to the members of the second descending generation.

§21 explains the classificatory principle for the term *yaka|a* in a somewhat confusing way. It is mentioned, in passing, that *upma|i vapi's* ⁺*vapalus* are Ego's *distant vi|alis* (without mentioning the *nuḡas* and *yakas*) (sentence 124).

The last two paragraphs define the two terms *vapapa* and *ḡua|i* in somewhat uncertain terms:

- a) *yakati child* means *yaka|a* in sentences 125, 128 and 131.
- b) *utʷu inka the other side, the other way round* in sentence 129 means *vapalu's vapalus* (as compared with sentence 125).

TEXT II

In this text Andrew Coulthard briefly sketches the four-fold classification of kin in terms of the personal pronoun, labelled series 1 - series 4 in APWK (cf. p.4). It is easily verified that the resulting table is roughly identical with the table given in APWK p.5. The differences result from three facts:

- 1) There are several omissions in the present text, the main ones being the following:
 - a) The second descending generation is not mentioned explicitly (sentence 9 speaks about the *ḡua|i vulka vapina the old ḡua|is*, and

sentence 10 speaks about the *vapapa vulka vapina the old vapapas*, hence only about the second ascending generation), although the formulation may be taken in the sense that both, the second ascending and the second descending generation are referred to (sentence 9 also has *ḡaḡi vapina ḡaḡis* and sentence 10 also has *vapapa vapina vapapas*, both expressions without adding *vulka old*). At any rate, this omission of *vulka* if really omission there be, does not cause any difficulties.

b) The text does not mention the brothers (*nuḡa* and male *viḡali*) when giving the members of the *yatna*-group and it also omits the *atʹnʹanis*. These omissions do not pose any problem. It is much more important that *ḡapaḡa* is also in this text classed together with those kin who are referred to by the pronouns of the *yatna*-series.

c) In the *valan munka(ḡa)* group only *ḡaḡa=amḡ* and *watnāmḡ* are omitted; but these terms are doubtlessly comprised here, in a simplified manner, within the term *ḡami*.

2) The term *vapalu* is mentioned as if it were not associated with a pronoun (sentences 17-18). This is doubtlessly due to carelessness in the formulation and it does not appear to be sufficient to revise the classification in this point.

3) There are two terms on which precisions are lacking, namely *vlnka* (sentence 19) and *vayaḡa* (sentences 20-21). In what concerns the *vlnka* he *is* a *vapapa* (cf. I: §3). But this statement does not make clear by which pronoun *vlnka* is referred to and one might infer that he is referred to as a '*vapapa*' (and not as '*vlnka*'). While this detail does not seem of great importance, it is important to note that *vayaḡa* is not classed together with *aḡāpḡ* (cf. APWK p.5), but she *is* a *ḡapaḡa* (sentence 21). It is noteworthy that also in this statement Andrew Coulthard does not employ the term *yaka*, but *vayaḡa* is defined as *vlnka's viḡali* (sentence 20). No clear statement is made about the pronominal reference to be used, and the text rather suggests that she is referred to simply as '*vayaḡa*', that is, classed together with the *vapapas*. Notwithstanding these points, it can be stated that this text verifies the table given in APWK p.5.

In sentence 3 the pronoun *valananpḡ(ḡa)* is mentioned. It is fair to assume that the statement is not well formulated and that it is meant to refer to the *ḡamḡ-vapḡ* couples in general (hence the plural, not the dual form).

In sentence 7 is mentioned the "polite" form *ḡama=ḡama* (cf. APWK p.22) which, of course, refers to the *yakaḡa munka* (and the female *viḡalis* ?) of the preceding sentence.

TEXT III

In this text we are given three possible ways of giving of a wife to a man:

- 1) The "normal" giving of a wife.
- 2) The sister exchange of classificatory vapapas.
- 3) The giving of a wife in recompense for a broken taboo.

1) Here Andrew Coulthard does not repeat the information contained in I:1 (see pp.153-5) on the discussion preceding the marriage. In APWK (p.19) reference had been made to the "promise-system". None of our texts mentions this custom, but the fact that there was a special term in the language to denote a "promise" (cf. APWK p.26) justifies this reference. The sentence 5 gives the traditional formula to which reference has been made above (see pp.154-5; cf. also APWK p.26). The married couple stayed together *yulupa for a long time* (sentence 9) which Andrew Coulthard here translated by *for ever*. I have never heard about divorce in Atʻnʻamaṭaṭa society.

2) Nothing is said here about the reason why a man's "close" ḡamaṇa(s) might *not think* [sc. of him] (sentence 11), but the man himself could only consult his "distant" ḡamaṇa(s). It is interesting to hear how this is done (sentences 13-15): The indirect approach which matches perfectly our own conception of "politeness" in social intercourse, seems typical for Aboriginal conversations; and it shows that the communication problem between us and the Aborigines of a given group is more than a purely linguistic problem. It is from this point of view that, to my mind we can most fruitfully approach the cogency and brevity of Aboriginal expression - which is to some extent contrary to our conception of "politeness" in social intercourse.²²

In APWK the problem of whether the Atʻnʻamaṭaṭa marriage rules allowed for "direct sister exchange" or not has been posed several times (pp.8,17,18). The only passage in our texts where the term *viṅṅa exchange* clearly refers to "direct sister exchange" (sentences 14, 21-24) concerns "distant" or "classificatory" vapapas. If this is more than a pure accident in the formulations collected, it would corroborate the suggestion that the exchange is regulated for the "close" (i.e. the "normal") cases by the functioning of the system, but directly arranged for "distant" exchanges (cf. APWK p.17). This might entail that there is the threefold distinction "own" - "close" - "distant" to be made when dealing with these problems.

3) In the last part two different cases are discussed. The first is the breaking of the taboo which forbids the pronouncing of a dead person's name in the presence of certain relatives. The text is not quite clear here (cf. sentence 30), but it is reasonable to understand that the person who had uttered the dead person's name had to arrange the giving of a wife to the "victim". On the other hand, somebody who would "bring up" the killing of an uncle or other relative, was given a wife. This possibly means that a *muḷaḷaḷi* (cf. text X, pp.171-2) may have been stopped by giving a woman to the group involved. Here is only stated the particular instance where a killing was "brought up"; but *yaya api-shut (the) mouth* implies more than just stopping the people from talking, it involves avoiding the old *muḷaḷaḷi* from being taken up again. But the present text does not justify the conclusion that a killing could be "paid" for by a woman and it is safe to surmise for the present only that the compensation for the killing of a wife-giver (*ḡamaḡa*) is the giving of a wife.

2. ILLICIT RELATIONS AND THE ḡAPAḶA

TEXT IV

The present text confirms the remark on the "psychological situation surrounding *ḡapaḶa*" in APWK (p.26): The whole text which discusses the illicit taking of a woman (*mitla*) is formulated in terms of a *ḡapaḶa - vapapa* couple (*ḡapaḶa=wiḡi*). Unfortunately we are not told what was meant by *iḡa- not tolerate, forbid strictly*, but probably it meant death (cf. text VI, pp.167-8). There are, however, some exceptions to this strict rule, one of these is explained in the present text (for another possibility cf. text V, pp.166-7).

It is not explained under what conditions people might tolerate a liaison with a *ḡapaḶa*, but Andrew Coulthard told me that a *ḡapaḶa*-marriage was permissible "if the man had no *aḡuna* and she had no *māḡi*". At any rate, unanimous agreement is required, (cf. *uḡu all*, sentence 14). There is some discussion, and the participation of women is mentioned (*aḡunḡi women*, sentence 6), but we do not know if this discussion took place at the *wipmaḶa yaḡḡa court-ground* (cf. pp.153-4). The exact meaning of the expression *vutli wakariḡku- break the vutli* is not clear (cf. APWK p.27); we also do not know whether some sort of "payment" was required. Although the giving of the *atla=wiḡḡi fire-stick* implies that they are now a married couple, Andrew Coulthard continues to speak about

them as *valanāpa* (cf. APWK pp.14-5), while "others" use the pronoun *valuṭupa(ṇa)* (sentence 19), mentioned in APWK p.21.

Only at the end of the text Andrew Coulthard mentions one condition under which a *ṇapa|a*-marriage was probably tolerated, namely when she was *old* (*ṇapa|a vulkuṣa*) and, moreover, a widow (she had no *māṇi*, according to a condition given above). In I:72 (see pp.158-9, §11) the term *old ṇapa|a* has already been mentioned and it was not clear to which generation level she belonged. Even if there were old *ṇapa|as* belonging to *atʻnʻyanl'*'s generation level, we have so far no good reason to assume that the *old ṇapa|a* spoken about here belongs to a generation level other than Ego's.

It is possible that this type of marriage can be explained from the point of view of the tendency (or rule?) that a widow went to her dead husband's brother, who would call her *ṇapa|a* if she is older than him. Nevertheless this man married *ṇapa|a-aṇu* *only a ṇapa|a*.

TEXT V

This text tells us about another type of settlement of illicit relations between a *vapapa* and a *ṇapa|a*. The women are divided into two groups, *aṇunas* (i.e. marriageable) and *ṇapa|as* (i.e. non-marriageable). It is noteworthy that no other kinship relations are ever mentioned when illicit relations are discussed (cf. APWK p.26).

We find here a custom which strikingly recalls what has been described as the "mirirri"-custom in northeastern Arnhem Land. The young man, "being ashamed" over the discovery of his illicit act, throws something at his sisters. (It is fair to understand *vi|ali* in sentence 14 only in the sense of *younger sisters*, but not as *younger brothers*). It has not been determined what *va|pakanta* *being ashamed* exactly means, but it seems probable that the throwing of objects at the sisters is an attitude which is automatically expected from the young man under the described circumstances.

The men decide that the young man should have a fight with a *vapapa* (cf. *valanāpa* and *watnāpa* in the sentences 18, 19, 21-23, 26, 27), and it seems likely to me that he was the *ṇapa|a*'s own brother. Even if *upmaṇaka one* (sentence 25) means *the one* and refers to the *ṇapa|a*-seducer (a question which cannot be decided in this text), the aim of the fight is not to "punish" the young man, but the shedding of blood in itself. After the men had stopped the fight, the episode is finished and there must be no further discussion on the subject (sentence 27).

This way of settling illicit relations with a ḡapaḡa seems, according to the present text, to be the "normal" way and we do not hear much about iḡa- *forbid strictly, handle severely* of IV:5. The fact that the (old?) men manipulate the fighting of the two young men probably has the very definite purpose of avoiding a more general fight with all its dangerous implications. The shedding of blood thus seems to be a symbolic act, substituted for more severe treatment. This does not look like a recent concession, but one would imagine that "playing up" with a (young) ḡapaḡa had been considered a less important infraction than "running away with a ḡapaḡa". At any rate, the two alternative issues explained here and in the preceding text justify the suggestion that one should avoid speaking of "incest" in this type of marriage prohibition.

It is interesting to observe that the girl is described as taking the active part in the flirtation as well as in the rupture. This certainly is due to the fact that a man is speaking, and possibly Andrew Coulthard had in mind a concrete situation, as is the case so often in narrations formulated in general terms. However, according to my own experience with aboriginal societies, I would make a further suggestion: girls often do take a very active part in flirtation. I think that this is due mainly to two causes: Firstly there is no metaphysical inhibition on sex (such as, for instance, in the European Christian system), with "mystical" connotations of concepts such as "virtue". There are only practical restrictions; and Aboriginal metaphysical systems in fact make a central point of sex and there is a very positive outlook to sexual life in the aboriginal educational systems. Secondly social control of sexual infractions is exercised against the men, by the men, while girls normally take much less important risks (a corollary to what has been said about the "exchange of wives"; see p.153) - although there is some sort of social control, mainly through the woman. (There is also some control through the husband, but he acts in first place against the man); only in rare instances the risks seem to be important for a girl (cf. the following text, where the girl also is killed).

TEXT VI

This text shows that Atʸnʸamaḡaḡa society claims to have punished very severely the illicit running away with a woman. Unfortunately there is no mention of the relationship in which the two lawless individuals stood to each other; because of the general subject the text is

nevertheless grouped together with the ḡapaḡa-texts. We can try to come to some conclusion through the pronominal references employed: The pronoun *valanpila* (sentences 7-9) points towards moiety-incest (cf. APWK p.12), although one might think of a *vapaḡu-aḡāpi* couple (? cf. pp.160-1). In the second part of the text (sentences 15, 21-24) we find again the pronoun *valuḡupa(ḡa)*, which we have already encountered as applied to a *vapapa-ḡapaḡa* couple (see pp.165-6). The relationship of the two law-breakers remains, therefore, unclear. It seems likely that this relationship can be determined in function of the relationship in which the two clans *Vatnamukuḡa* and *Wilkamukuḡa* stood to each other (see text XII, p.173), but unfortunately I have no information on this point.

The "classical" approach - probably referred to by *iḡa-handle severely* (cf. IV:5) - is reported here: The couple runs away from the camp and the *vinḡa revenge* - party tracks them down and kills them. Here the girl is also killed.

The text contains some historical information: The *Vatnamukuḡa* and the *Wilkamukuḡa* (goanna and dog) came from the "east", that is from the east-side of the Flinders Ranges. The place-name *Yaḡkavuḡuvuḡu* (Andrew Coultard translated *Dusty Liver*) is explained by the text: Andrew Coultard told me that there is (in the Gammon Ranges ?) a patch of red sand in otherwise stony country, which is the liver of the unfortunate couple.

3. AVOIDANCE RULES

TEXT VII

The text informs us about a few attitudes imposed upon a *new* (*maḡa*) *vaḡḡāpa* and upon some of his relations. The *fresh vaḡḡāpa* is a *man* (*yuḡa* sentence 18), and no longer a *child* (*yaḡatḡ*, sentence 1) as before. The avoidance restrictions are defined for some of the female kin only and in terms of (absolute) age. It is only the *witḡāpa viḡḡali little viḡḡali(s)* (sentence 21) who are not subject to the restrictions, as opposed to the *viḡḡalis* in general (cf. sentence 6 where *viḡḡali* is interpreted in the sense of *younger sister(s)*). Also the *ḡapaḡas* have to observe the restriction against passing in front of the young man (sentence 26), but unfortunately we do not know about the *aḡunas*. Although the young man has definitely been "cut off" from his mother, he does not have to observe an avoidance rule with her.

The text suggests that at least some of the complex pronominal references have to be applied by a man only from the time when he has

become a *vaṭṭāpa*. It is not clear whether this is true for all pronominal references. At any rate, so far we do not know when girls or women started applying certain pronominal references, particularly to other women. The text does not inform us about the duration of the *muṭṭa* taboo restrictions and, perhaps some of them (e.g. with *aṭṭāpi* ?) may have remained valid for life-time.

TEXT VIII

This text gives some information on attitudes in connection with death. Elkin²³ has reported the custom of shifting camp as well as the departure of certain relatives when somebody was dying, but he does not mention the avoidance of the grave which, according to my information, is imposed for life-time. The text gives sufficient kinship terms to show that only people of the same moiety as the deceased could see his grave; those belonging to the opposite moiety had to avoid it. The interesting point in this enumeration is the fact that *ṇapaḷa* is treated as if she belonged to the same moiety as the deceased (sentence 15). This raises the problem of what was the position of *atṭṇṇani* and one would also like some information about *vapapa* (and *vinka*). If the information about *ṇapaḷa* is correct, it shows that in certain respects she does not act as one would expect according to Elkin's hypothesis (cf. APWK pp.6-8).

The *widow's cap* is carried by the *aṭṭuna* or *māṇi* of the deceased, and the text does not mention anything about other relatives. The text is not quite clear here; it gives the impression that the hair was cut and the lime was put onto the woman's head by her *ṇamaṇa* (sentence 19), but in the case of a widower it was his *vapapa* (sentence 29). It is not certain whether this asymmetry results from incomplete information.

4. SHEDDING OF BLOOD, FIGHTING AND HITTING

TEXT IX

The custom explained in the present text has, to my knowledge, never been reported before. It has the aim of making people shed blood over a death. The last part of the text tells of general fighting, but it "all depends who has died", as Andrew Coulthard explained: It is important that no members of the *yatna*-section are mentioned as standing in the *ṇulanṇi* or throwing waddies at those standing there; on the

contrary, they try to avoid too violent a fight, going around as *peace-makers* (*wali*, sentences 26-28), when the fight appears to get out of control. Unfortunately *ḡapaḡa* is not mentioned and we do not know at all how she reacts.

There are two different ways of carrying out the required custom:

a) Some people stay in the *ḡulanʻi* - the place where someone had died - and they wait for others to come. These, if being in the appropriate relationship to the *munku=wiʻi maḡa(ḡa) club mob*, would throw (waddies) at them, and they in turn would just block the *wiʻi waddy*. It is not certain which relatives throw waddies at the *ḡulanʻi*-people and which relatives do not, but a provisional interpretation is proposed below.

b) Certain people actually hit each other. After the few sentences which are clearly formulated (cf. sentences 7, 15), it is the brothers and/or sisters who hit each other. According to Andrew Coulthard's explanations the *hitting each other* (*ḡaʻaḡuḡi-*) was done by hitting each other in turn. But gradually more general and unorganised fighting results, as the end of the text shows, so that the brothers, sisters and *ḡuaḡis* (of the deceased) have to intervene in order to prevent people from killing each other.

There are three variables for each person:

- 1) his/her relationship to the deceased;
- ii) his/her relationship to the persons standing in the *ḡulanʻi*;
- iii) his/her relationship to the other persons involved in the fight.

As these three points are not always clearly defined, one often does not know who is doing what. Thus, for instance, in sentence 5 it is stated that the *vapalus* throw (waddies) at the *ḡulanʻi*-people, but sentences 6-7 seem to contradict this. The difference between *ḡuḡa-throw at* and *ḡaʻaḡuḡi- hit each other* has to be made here, and the text suggests the following general interpretation:

1) The people who were arriving threw the waddy at the *ḡulanʻi*-people, who simply blocked it and then shook hands with them. This can be understood as a sort of "greeting" under the given circumstances.

ii) Only those who stood in the brother/sister relationship to each other would hit each other. This probably also involved those who were standing in the *ḡulanʻi* in the beginning.

iii) Those who stood in the brother/sister relationship to each other, but in the same or in the *ḡuaḡi*-relationship to the deceased would not

hit each other nor, probably, throw at the ḡulanʷi-people.

The custom of shedding blood by hitting each other was also practised in slighter cases (sentences 13-15), but the importance of the event and of the person involved certainly determined the degree of the fighting.

After a death people fight at the wiḡkuwata (sentence 17) which is perhaps identical with the ḡulanʷi, rather than the grave (wakiḡi!). Andrew Coulthard explained that in a place where somebody died, people piled up a heap of dirt, approximately six feet high, on which sticks are placed and, on the top, two stones. This is the wiḡkuwata. It is made immediately after the death has occurred: the hut (⁺witʷiʷa) of the deceased is pulled down and the wiḡkuwata is set up.

TEXT X

This text is closely connected with a paper written by Elkin on the "kopara".²⁴ However, the information is more complex than that obtained by Elkin. We have to distinguish three basic terms which are treated together as being three aspects of an important social mechanism, namely the maintaining of the demographic balance in various sections of the social life. In the present text we are mainly concerned with fighting and killings. The narration is not very clear on these three terms; thus, for instance, sentences 7-8 may make us believe that kapaḡa and muḡaḡaḡi are "synonymous" terms. But already Andrew Coulthard's translation of aḡari by *from that* shows that it is rather doubtful to conclude from the formulation that kapaḡa = muḡaḡaḡi.

Let us, therefore, consider the definitions of these three terms in Andrew Coulthard's own words:

- a) kapaḡa *when it starts;*
- b) viḡḡa *makes square;*
- c) muḡaḡaḡi *when it goes on.*

a) Elkin says about the kapaḡa that "In one sense, a kopara is a debt which must be settled in a definite standardized manner according to its nature" (p.191). Andrew Coulthard's definition, *mutatis mutandis*, verifies this definition. However, we cannot follow Elkin when he thinks that "The function of the custom is to maintain what may be termed the balance of exchange between various groups, ..." (p.191) or

"The function of the kopara is to prevent incessant quarrels and vendettas ..." (p.196) and "That the purpose of the kopara is positive and not negative ..." (p.197). This definitely is not true in Andrew Coulthard's conception: The kapaʻa is the initial act, in the particular instance the first killing, which automatically puts into action the whole social mechanism of "maintaining the balance of exchange between various groups", to the point that it automatically implies the danger of a muʻaʻaʻaʻi; the kapaʻa does not prevent but, on the contrary, it brings about the danger of "incessant quarrels or vendettas".

b) The only custom which is apt to prevent such a perpetual circle is the viŋŋa exchange or *squaring back*, which we have already encountered in other contexts (cf., for instance, p.164). Contrary to the kapaʻa which is the result of an illicit act - or perhaps the illicit act itself - the viŋŋa is an obligation and a most positive concept; it is the central concept of social well-being and balance.

c) If, for some reason, an arrangement through a viŋŋa *squaring back* fails, there results a muʻaʻaʻaʻi which is the concept of *incessant quarrels or vendettas*, and this also can only be stopped by a viŋŋa exchange. Just like the concept of kapaʻa, the concept of muʻaʻaʻaʻi is employed in my material only with reference to fights and killings. According to what Andrew Coulthard told me, and this which does not become clear from the text, such "revenge killings" followed definite patterns. The text says only that the people *turned around and killed their relation(s)* (sentences 10-11). Andrew Coulthard explained that people used to kill a member of their own moiety, thereby obliging the people of the other moiety to kill one of its members, and so forth. This could go on for a long time. This seems to me quite an extraordinary mode of retaliation and the information needs verification. In this context it is noteworthy that the woman incites the *bone-master* to kill her nuʻa (sentence 25); one also notes that the people of the opposite moiety (yaʻunʻi=yaʻunʻi in sentence 9) are crying.

Not clear is the statement that after the boning of a person by his own moiety (this is apparently a kapaʻa) the people of the opposite moiety (waʻa=waʻa, sentence 31) *turn around*. Andrew Coulthard speaks also in this case about a viŋŋa exchange which by definition it would seem, takes place amongst valanāpas (cf. sentence 32), that is amongst groups belonging to opposite moieties; but this is perhaps due to carelessness.

Andrew Coulthard closes this text with touching simplicity, making the vendettas the reasons for the shrinking of the aboriginal population in the area.

TEXT XI

This text clearly describes the Wal̄pi people as being different from the At̄n̄yamaṭṭa (cf. APWK pp.23-4): The custom is defined as a Wal̄pi-custom (sentence 34) and it obviously did not exist in At̄n̄yamaṭṭa-country. It is easy to explain this custom in superficial terms, but I leave it to the anthropologist to give a fuller interpretation integrating other facts known from local culture. It probably would have been unusual if a muḷṭa *stranger* (who is such although he has, for instance ḡaḷāmis in the group) had not been welcomed in this way. According to Andrew Coulthard this treatment was, however, required only at the first visit of an outsider. The aim of the custom obviously was not to test a visitor's physical strength, and the people "growl" at Nun̄yaḷṭa who was a man defending a hard conservative line, as we also know from another text which is not published here. The aim doubtlessly was not the shedding of blood, but it was a symbolic act, indicating submission to the local customary code.

5. CLAN AND BABY NAMES

TEXT XII

The text offers a very fragmentary list of the old "clan" system. A much fuller list has been given in APWK pp.24-6 and it has been mentioned there that the clan organisation is not well remembered today and that most of the clans have died out. This is perhaps the reason why it is said today that there were no marriage restrictions in function of that clan system (cf. APWK p.26). As a matter of fact the text states that one clan could call another one 'aṭuna' (sentences 18 and 20); as the statement involves the moiety division, it is not clear whether there were other relationships defined between clans belonging to different moieties.

TEXT XIII

This list of "baby" names is not given in the right order, and one should compare this text to the list given in APWK p.27.

6. SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION TO APWK FOUND IN THE TEXTS

The texts have adduced a few additional points to the problem of the kinship-analysis in At'nyamaṭaṅa, which have not been pointed out in APWK. These are resumed here:

1) The term vapapa has appeared as a term referring to several levels, which have not all been stated with equal clearness in APWK:

a) The term refers to three different generation levels: to the 2nd ascending, to Ego's, and to the 2nd descending generations (cf. APWK, p.5, table).

b) On Ego's generation level it has a more complex reference than has been pointed out in APWK:

1) It denotes the class of relations being of Ego's generation, but belonging to the opposite moiety ("generic" meaning of the term).

ii) It denotes Ego's male "cousin" who is not vinka or māṅi respectively.

The questions not raised in APWK for the last point are:

a) "Is" a man's aṭuna or ṅapaḷa also his vapapa?

b) How does a woman call her female "cousin" who is married to her viḷali; that is, what is the "female equivalent" to the term vinka?

c) It is assumed here that a woman's female "cousin" who is not married with her own brother is called vapapa.

The point not mentioned in APWK is the information that a woman calls her māṅi's viḷali(s) by the term ṅapaḷa; this term is, therefore, a reciprocal term. As such a ṅapaḷa "is" a vapapa; this suggests that also a man's female ṅapaḷa "is" a vapapa ("generic" meaning of the term; "is" also aṭuna a vapapa?).

2) It has appeared that there were also "old" ṅapaḷas. The fact that a man's marriage with such an "old" ṅapaḷa was sometimes tolerated may suggest that she belonged to the same generation level, but simply differed in age. If, however, such an older ṅapaḷa did belong to the man's 2nd ascending generation level, this would be the only point in Andrew Coulthard's version of the At'nyamaṭaṅa kinship-system, which joins up with Elkin's version, after which alternative marriage-rules allowed for a union between two individuals being separated by one generation.

We find in the texts the information that in certain situations the ṅapaḷa's behaviour conforms to the behaviour of the members of Ego's moiety or to that of the members of his "section"; this conflicts with her behaviour in other circumstances, but conforms to her classing in the yatna-"section".

3) The problem to know if the distinction between upma|i vapi and upma|i namaṇa can be defined in terms of the older-younger distinction, i.e. in the frame of the nuṇa-viḷali dichotomy, has not found a definite solution.

We learned that "short" expressions for the two appellations are vapi and namaṇa respectively; this keeps the two classes of individuals distinct. But the upma|i namaṇa "is" a upma|i vapi.

4) In APWK the problem of the modalities of the "straightening out" of kinship appellations in the case of an alternative or of a "wrong" (e.g. ṇapa|a-) marriage has been discussed briefly. The text IV has shown that apparently there is no obligatory straightening out. It is, however, unlikely that the system of alternative marriages can do without such a straightening out: at least the terms māṇi and aṭuna are doubtlessly always applied by the spouses, no matter after which rule they are married, just as the appellation vavalu to a man's child, after an aṭāpi-marriage can be understood as a terminological "straightening out". But it is unclear if any other individuals will change their "normal" appellations.

5) The series 7 has been defined in APWK, p.14, as the series which applies to marriageable "pairs". Text I however has raised the question to know if this definition has to be modified so that it applies only to the effectively married pairs (cf. the problem had been raised in APWK in similar terms for the upma|i-"pairs"). Even if this is correct in the regular cases ("normal" or alternative marriages), text IV shows, however, that in the case of "wrong" (i.e. ṇapa|a-) marriages, this does apparently not apply. But this "exception" doubtlessly is to be considered in the frame of the "straightening out".

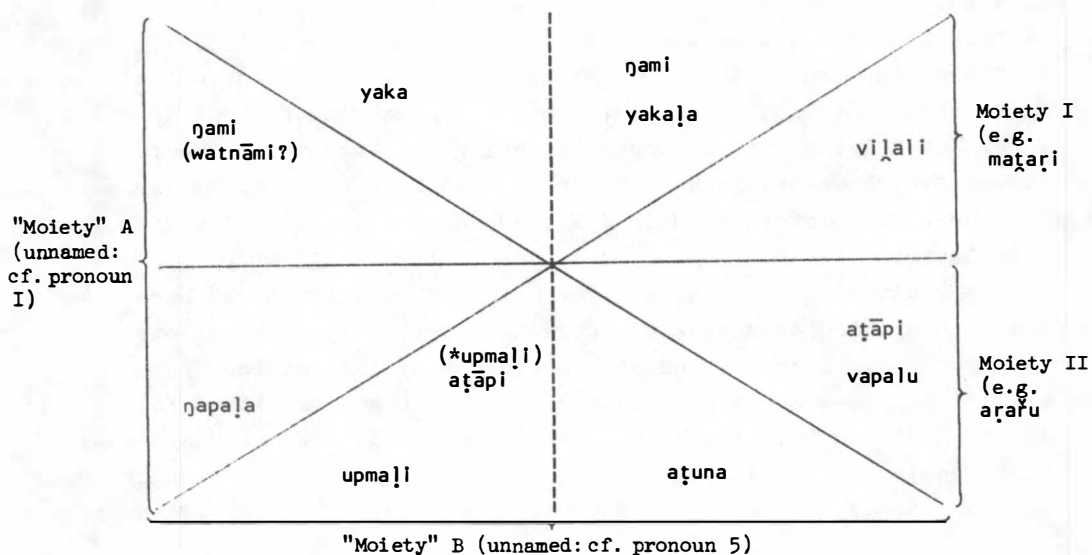
6) The discussion of the forms watnātapa, valanātapa and (ṇu)walalu has shown that it is not appropriate to fill in lacking forms of a given series by relying uniquely on a morphological argument. The first two forms have, however, raised the problem to know whether the series 4 had been correctly interpreted in APWK. No answer has been found so far in this matter.

7) The residual form va|uṭupa, for which no definition had been given in APWK, is applied to a ṇapa|a-couple, at least under special circumstances (?), but further precisions are lacking in my information.

8) The term vayaṇa has been classed in APWK together with aṭāpi. In text II it is stated that she "is" a ṇapa|a, while in APWK it has been said that ṇapa|a "is" a vayaṇa. I propose that the hypothesis set up for vayaṇa (namely that she is "own" wife's mother, no matter if she is aṭuna's

mother, hence aṭāpi, or if she is upma|i's mother, hence ḡapa|a) is not falsified by the text.

9) The most intriguing point in the whole kinship system turns around the ḡapa|a concept. It is here where perhaps the most interesting information is added by the texts. This involves the series 5 pronoun. It has been mentioned above (p.161) that ḡapa|a's pronominal classing can be shown as being part of a sub-system. When we retain from the table in APWK, p. 5, only the terms yaka ("section I"), aṭuna ("section II"), ḡami and yaka|a ("section III") and aṭāpi and vapalu ("section IV"), we can operate the following substitutions: II: aṭuna → ḡapa|a; IV: aṭāpi → (*upma|i) aṭāpi, vapalu → upma|i. This is done when the 1st series pronoun is applied to ḡapa|a, and when the 5th series pronoun involves the two kinship terms aṭāpi and upma|i, that which identifies "pronominally" the "sections" II and IV with the "sections" I and IV respectively. In other words, these applications correspond to a switching over of Ego to exactly vapapa's point of view: a vapapa's yaka is referred to as if she were Ego's yaka (or at'nʎani), and a vapapa's ḡami and yaka|a are referred to as if they were Ego's ḡami and yaka|a respectively. However, there is no identification with vapapa, in what concerns the marriage-rules, for it is precisely the upma|i and the (*upma|i) aṭāpi who fall into the class of Ego's potential wives. This throws us back to the setting up of eight classes, construed the following way:



It is difficult to give any clear meaning to one of the two "moieties" A and B: They obviously are not patrilinear moieties. By putting into A the terms *watnāmi* and *viḷali*, it is indicated that the "older" - "younger" distinction may come in (cf. the problem of defining the distinction between *upmaḷi vapi* and *upmaḷi ḡamaḡa* in the frame of the *nuḡa-viḷali* dichotomy); however, this is viciated by the fact that *vapalu* obviously is younger than Ego. Finally we can think of the distinction "own" - "classificatory". This obviously does not work, as the *ḡapaḷa - aḡuna* dichotomy involves relative age. We, therefore, must leave open the question of giving a clear interpretation to what the two "moieties" mean (a mixture of the two last criteria may seem reasonable, as is suggested below, but this mixture would have so far nothing systematic and would, therefore, remain an *ad hoc* interpretation).

Whatever the "meaning" of the two additional "moieties" A and B might be, it can be seen, that in this model only one of the 4 possible combinations A I, A II, B I, B II constitute a legitimate marriage-class for Ego (who, in our diagram is A I), namely B II:



In other words, one can look at this model as if we were in presence of a 6 "(sub-)section" system, but which "functions" as if it were a 4-section system. Note that in the present formulation the alternative marriage rules are implied in the model, and a reduction to a simple moiety-system is not possible any more (cf. APWK p. 8). The system implies, that Ego's *nuḡa* (B I) may marry not only *ḡapaḷa*, but also *aḡāpi* and/or *vapalu*. Here the "own" - "distant" dichotomy certainly has to be introduced, as has to be assumed for the whole system. As has been pointed out before, the exact modalities of how the distinctions "own" - "distant" and "older" - "younger" have to be defined, are not clear. In any case, it would seem that the superposition of these two dichotomies may operate a modification of the system as to define it as a 8 "sub-section" system. But it is impossible to me to suggest a clear model for this.

CHAPTER V

GLOSSARY AND CONCORDANCE

In this chapter I give a list of all the morphemes which occur in the texts, adding cross-references and also indicating all the occurrences in the texts. Each item is preceded by a number in order to facilitate cross-reference within the list. The following alphabetical order has been adopted (for convenience I add here the numbers in the glossary for each letter):

a (2) - (70)	ṅ (339) - (351)	ṣ (471) - (474)
ā	ḷ	ṭ (475)
i (71) - (99)	t ^v (352) - (355)	ḍ
u (100) - (124)	n ^v (356) - (361)	ṇ
p (127) - (129)	l ^v	ḷ
v (130) - (193)	y (362) - (409)	ṛ (476) - (479)
m (194) - (246)	t (410) - (422)	k (480) - (485)
w (247) - (327)	n (423) - (457)	ṅ (486) - (550)
ṭ (328) - (338)	l (458) - (465)	
ḍ	r (466) - (470)	

The zero-morpheme has been listed as item no. (1). The list number of each At^vn^vamaṭṭaṇa morpheme is given first, then follows the At^vn^vamaṭṭaṇa form, then the English meaning is indicated (in quotation-marks). After that I add in parenthesis a short explanation of the form, sometimes also in what concerns its morphological make-up. On the right hand side of the first line I have recorded in parenthesis the meaning which I have given when the form occurs in the interlinear translation.

The following references are then given when appropriate:

- references to the passages where the morpheme occurs in the general discussion in chapter I (G.);

- references to the linguistic commentary (L.);
- references to explanations and discussion in the non-linguistic commentary (N.);
- references to the occurrences in the texts (only text- and sentence-numbers);
- cross-references within the glossary;
- sometimes a note is added.

Although I sometimes give several glosses, the concordance does not distinguish between them, nor are all differences indicated here. These have to be gathered by the reader in using all the references indicated under a given item.

Allomorphs are listed and numbered, but the necessary information is furnished only under one number.

Not given in the concordance are the English words occurring in the texts nor uncompleted (and not restored) forms (in parenthesis in the texts) nor the few remarks where I intervene myself in the narration (given in parenthesis in the texts, preceded by "SB:").

Only the following abbreviations have been used to indicate, after a given morpheme, its grammatical category:

- (Nl.) = place name
- (iV) = intransitive verb
- (tV) = transitive verb
- (p.) = personal pronoun (free or bound form)
- (k.) = kinship term.

(l) Ø

(not indicated)

a) "Nominative" (indicating the subject of an intransitive verb and the object(s) of a transitive verb; with certain pronouns, indicating the subject of an intransitive verb and the agent of a transitive verb)

G: pp.2-3, cf. p.34.

(Occurrence in the texts not indicated here.)

b) "Cohortative" in intransitive and in transitive verbs.

G: pp.21-2; cf. pp.27, 32, 34.

L: p.133 (I:40), cf. p.135 (I:81, 99), p.136 (I:177), p.137 (II:1).
I:81, 89, 99, 117; II:1, 2, 13; III:13, 14, 15; IV:10, 13, 16, 17; VI:21; XI:22, 36.

c) "Morpheme reduced to zero by haplological syllable ellipsis."

L: pp.128 (I:7), 135-6 (I:81, 99, 102, 107), 150 (XI:9, 13-14).

I:8, 11, 21(?), 22(?), 33(?), 36, 57, 63, 64, 67, (70), 102, 107; V:(15?); VI:12(?); VII:10(?), 19(?), 33; XI:13, 14, 17; XII:18(?).

Note: When the subject or the agent of the verb is a first person pronoun-suffix, it is not always clear if b) or c) ("future"-morpheme $-(n\gamma)t\gamma(u)$ (361) reduced to zero) is the better interpretation.

A

- (2) a- "deixis of the mid-distant demonstrative pronoun"
 G: p.11; cf. p.40.
 L: cf. p.133 (I:39).
 Cf. \rightarrow i- "deixis of the near demonstrative pronoun" (71), va- "basic morpheme of 3rd person pronouns" (130), ηu - "deixis of the far-distant demonstrative pronoun" (527).
 For reference see the pronominal forms: cf. \rightarrow $\alpha\eta\alpha$ (11), $\alpha\eta\alpha\eta\eta\alpha$ (12), $\alpha\eta\alpha\nu\alpha\eta\alpha$ (13), $\alpha\eta\alpha$ $\nu\eta\tau\eta\alpha$ (14), $\alpha\eta\alpha\eta\alpha$ (15), $^+\alpha\eta\alpha\eta\alpha\tau\gamma\eta$ (16), $\alpha\eta\alpha\tau\gamma\eta$ (17), $\alpha\eta\alpha\eta\eta$ (18), $\alpha\eta\alpha\eta\eta\eta$ (19), $\alpha\eta\gamma\tau\gamma\eta$ (24), $\alpha\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\tau\gamma\eta$ (38), $^+\alpha\eta\alpha$ (42).
- (3) -ai (p.) *I, me* (suffix of the 1st person singular, (I)
 "nominative").
 G: cf. pp.30-1.
 I:39, (88), 104, 107, 119, 125, 128-32; II:1; III:14; IV:22;
 VI:14, 25; VII:10, 37; X:27; XII:4; XIII:7.
 Cf. \rightarrow - $\alpha\eta\eta$ (10); $\eta\alpha\eta$ (490).
- (4) *apa maybe, perhaps; for instance; suppose that* (mi[ght])
 ("short" form of $\alpha\eta\alpha\eta\alpha$ (5); sometimes restored in the texts to $\alpha\eta\alpha[\eta\alpha]$). (Also cf. \rightarrow $\nu\alpha\eta\alpha$ (131)(?).)
 G: p.40.
 L: pp.134 (I:74), 144 (VIII:6), 151 (XIII:2).
 N: p.159 (I:12).
 I: 11, 74, 95, 116; VII:13; VIII:1[3], 34; XIII:2(?).
- (5) *apana maybe, perhaps; for instance; suppose that* (might)
 G: p.40; cf. pp.63, 66.
 L: pp.133 (I:57), 134 (I:74), cf. pp.144 (VIII:6), 151 (XIII:2).
 I:4, 8, 12, 30, 31, 57, 64, 71, 89, 99, 102, 103, 114, 115;
 II:20, 23; III:2, 11, 12, 20, 26-29, 31; IV:(11), 14, 23, 24;
 V:5, 6, 9, 14, 25; VII:23, 31; VIII:1, 11, 17, 19, 20, 24; IX:4,
 5, 10, 13, 14, 28; X:4, 5, 15, 29.
 Cf. \rightarrow $\alpha\eta\alpha$ (4).

Note: a) apana ... apana may also be translated by *or* (cf. G: p.63).
 b) apana combines sometimes with the particle -aṅu (63) to apana-aṅu (cf. III:11; IV:1[4]; VII:31; X:5(?)).

- (6) aṅ- (tV) *to close, to shut (up)* (shut)
 N: p.165 (III).
 I:38; III:14, 24, 33; VI:(26); VIII:16; X:11, 13, 14, 16, 18, 32.
- (7) ama-amanʸi *light, not violent or hard* (light-light)
 (reduplicated form of ⁺amanʸi *light*)
 XI:30.
- (8) awi-uřana *thunder* (thunder)
 (composed from ⁺awi *water* + ^ouřana ?).
 XI:26.
- (9) -aṭ allomorph of the suffix -aṭu (10) (I=A.)
- (10) -aṭu (p.) *I* (suffix of the 1st person singular, agentive) (I=A.)
 G: cf. pp.30-1.
 L: cf. p.133 (I:50).
 I:[51?], 57, 63, 64, 6[7], 81, 89, 99, 122; II:1, 2, 13, [17],
 20; III:13, 15; VII:38; IX:32; XI:22; XII:2.
 Cf. → ṅaṭu *I* (500); -ai (3).
- (11) aṅa *that* (mid-distant demonstrative pronoun; cf. (that)
 deixis a- (2) + "supporting" element -ṅa (341)).
 G: pp.11, 12, (35), 44.
 L: pp.129 (I:9, 10), 132-7 (I:31, 47, 61, 62, 65, 70, 89, 117,
 120), 140 (III:33, 34), 146 (VIII:21), 149 (X:34).
 I:21, 31, 33, 47, 49, 61, 62, 65, 70, 75, 93, 117, 120-2, 124,
 126; II:4, 8, 11, 14, 19, 21, 22; III:12, 21, 22, 25, 28-30,
 (33), 34; IV:5, 14, 18, 25; V:24, 27, 28; VI:2, 8, 11, 12, 14,
 16-8, 23, 25; VII:6, 7, 32; VIII:7, 9, 13(?), 18, 21, 22, 25,
 28; IX:17, 19, 23-5, 31; X:6, 11, 12, 14, (16), 34, 38; XI:34(?);
 XII:3, 10, 15.
 Cf. → aṅapila (12), aṅavanaṅa (13), aṅa vitna (14), aṅaṅa (15),
⁺aṅaṅatʸi (16), aṅatʸi (17), aṅari (18), aṅaṅuṅi (19), anʸtʸi
 (24), ⁺ala (42). (References given under these entries have not
 been given here.)

- (12) *aṅpila* *those two* (cf. *aṅa that* (11) + *-pila* (*that-both*)
two, both (129)).
 L: pp.127 (I:4), 136 (I:117), 145 (VIII:17).
 I: 4, 116; VIII:17.
- (13) *aṅavanana* *right that* (always with locative: (*that-vana-*)
right there; cf. *aṅa that* (11) + °*vana centre* (?) + *ṅa*
 "locative" (488)).
 IX:29.
- (14) *aṅa vitna* *after that* (cf. *aṅa that* (11) + (*that after*)
vitna after (173)).
 I:9, 16, 120; III:34; V:27; X:17.
- (15) *aṅaṅa* *that* (cf. *aṅa that* (11) + *-ṅa* "noun (*that-ṅa*)
 suffix" (342)).
 G: cf. p.12.
 I:12[2](?); VIII:1[3](?); X:3[4](?); XI:3[4](?).
- (16) ⁺*aṅaṅatvi* *that* (cf. *aṅa that* (11) + *-ṅa* "noun suffix" (342) +
-tvi "emphatic suffix" (354)).
 Cf. → *aṅatvi*(?) (17).
- (17) *aṅatvi* *that* (emphatic form) (cf. *aṅa that* (11) (*that-tvi*)
 + *-ṅa* "noun suffix" (?) (342) + *-tvi* "emphatic suffix" (354),
 cf. → ⁺*aṅaṅatvi* (16)?).
 G: p.12.
 IV:5; X:16.
 Cf. → *anvtvi* (24).
- (18) *aṅari* *there you are* (cf. *aṅa that* (11) + *-ri* ("voilà")
 "relativising morpheme" (469)?).
 G: p.12; cf. p.83.
 L: pp.131 (I:21); 132 (I:34); 150 (XI:19); 151 (XII:21).
 N: p.171 (X).
 I:6, 7, 20, 21, 35, 123; III:23; V:14; X:8, 13; XII:21.
- (19) *aṅaṅuṅi* *from that/then on* (cf. *aṅa that* (11) (*that-from*)
 + *-ṅuṅi from* (541)).
 G: cf. p.44.
 I:69; V:14, (27).
- (20) *atvṅva* *stone* (*stone*)
 IX:10.

- (21) +Atʏnʏamaɬaŋa "the tribal group called 'Wailbi' in the anthropological literature" (cf. atʏnʏa *stone* (20) + maɬa *group, mob*; "plural marker" (199) + -ŋa "noun suffix" (342)).
G: cf. p.6.
N: cf. p.173 (XI).
Cf. + Waɪʏpi "name of the southern neighbours of the Atʏnʏamaɬaŋa people" (256).
- (22) atʏnʏani (k.) *father's father's sister,* (atʏnʏani)
wife's mother's mother, mother's father's sister
N: pp.157 (I:4), 158-9 (I:11), 163 (II), 166 (IV), 169 (VIII).
I:26, 27, 71; IX:21.
- (23) Atʏɪʏu-utu (N1.) "Mounty Waters" (Atʏɪʏu-utu)
(cf. +atʏɪʏu *myrtle tree* + +utu *hole*).
IX:16.
- (24) anʏtʏi *that* (emphatic form?) (anʏtʏi)
(cf. a- "deixis of the mid-distant demonstrative pronoun" (2) + -nʏtʏi "modifying element of demonstrative pronoun (360) or aŋa *that* (11) + -tʏi "emphatic suffix" (354)?; cf. +aŋatʏi *that* (emphatic form) (17)?).
G: p.12.
IV:9.
- (25) anʏtʏi- (tʏ) *to keep, to have, to possess* (keep)
G: cf. p.27.
L: cf. pp.129-30 (I:14, 19), 138 (II:20).
I:11, 14, (19), 27-30, 50, 51, 58, 63, 71, 72, 125, 126, 129;
II:13, 20; VIII:23.
- (26) ay *he!* (exclamation) (he!)
VI:26.
- (27) ati. *blood* (blood)
V:25; IX:9, 10, 15, 20, 21, 24.
- (28) atiŋi "plural marker" (group)
G: p.9; cf. p.82.
III:16; IV:6.
Cf. + vapina "plural marker for nouns" (137), maɬa(ŋa) *group, mob*; "plural marker for nouns" (199), munka(ŋa) "plural marker for nouns" (235), ŋaŋu (*a*) *crowd*; "plural marker for nouns" (526).

- Note: *atigi* has so far been found only with *vulka old (man)* (188).
- (29) -atn "allomorph of the suffix -atna" (30). (they)
- (30) -atna (p.) *they* (suffix of the 3rd person plural, 1st series personal pronoun, "nominative"). (they)
 G: pp.30-1, 57.
 L: pp.126-7 (I:1, 2), 130 (I:16), 132 (I:29), 135 (I:85), 142 (VI:19), 147 (IX:4, 8-9), 149 (X:17).
 I:1-4, 11, 12, 16, 22, 28, (32), 33, 36, 37, 60, 63, 67, 70, 73, 84, 91, 101, 112, 129, 130; III:3, 4, 17, 18, 22, 24, 26, 30-4; IV:[2], 3, 5, 7-9, 14, 20; V:21, 25; VI:(19(?)), 20, 22; VII:4, 10, 12, 18, 27, 29-31; VIII:11, 19, 20, 23, 28, 30, 35; IX:1, 3-6, 8-10, 19-21; X:2, 3, 6, 7, 13-1[6], 18, 20-2, 30, 32, 33, 35, 37, 39-41; XI:7, 10, 11, 20, 28, 30, 31, 37, 42, 44; XIII:2.
 Cf. + *yatna they* (377).
- (31) *atni also, too* (also)
 G: p.42.
 I:17, 18, 45, 46, 50, 62, 63, 72, 129, 133; II:7, 11, 12, 14, 15; III:11, 22, 25, 30; IV:1, 2, 22, 25; V:1, 2, 28; VI:10; VII:11, 28; VIII:4, 5, 23; IX:25(?); X:2, 4, 20-2; XI:27, 31; XII:7-9, 14.
 Cf. + *vutu also, too* (184).
- (32) *atni- (iv) to behave* (behave)
 VII:6, 16, 20.
- (33) *atni=atni- (iv) to behave* (reduplicated (behave-behave)
 form of *atni- to behave* (32)).
 II:8; VII:8.
- (34) -atla ? (verb suffix of unknown meaning; hapax). (-atla-)
 L: p.141 (VI:12).
 VI:12.
- (35) *atla=wiṭṭni firestick* (cf. ⁺*atla fire* + (fire=stick)
^o*wiṭṭni* ?).
 L: cf. p.127 (I:2).
 N: pp.154-5 (I:1), 165 (IV).
 I:4, 116; III:4, 5; IV:13, 16.

- (36) -atlāka (p.) *we-two* (suffix of the 1st person dual, 5th series personal pronoun, "nominative") ([ŋ]atlāka)
 G: cf. pp.30-1.
 I:103, 107.
 Cf. → ŋatlāka *we-two* (507); valanāka *they-two* (152), watnāka *you-two* (275).
- (37) atluku *big/grown up girl(s)* (atluku)
 V:3.
 Cf. → mankaša *big girl(s)* (207).
- (38) animpatyi *like that* (cf. a- "deixis of the mid-distant demonstrative pronoun" (2)(?) + nimpatyi *like this* (443)). (like=that)
 G: p.40.
 I:82, 85.
- (39) anku *camp, home* (camp)
 III:7; V:13; VII:1, 23; XI:5.
- (40) Ankuřitvina (Nl.) "Angoorichina" ("Angoorichina")
 (cf. anku *camp, home* (39) + °-ři ? + -ŋa "noun suffix" (342)).
 XI:2, 4.
- (41) +anŋa- (tV) *to lift*
 anŋa-i- (iV) *to rise, to get up* (intransitivised (rise)
 by the suffix -i "intransitiviser" (72)).
 V:17; VIII:32.
- (42) +ala *there somewhere* (cf. a- "deixis of the mid-distant demonstrative pronoun" (2) + -la "modifying element of demonstrative pronoun (allomorph)" (458)).
 G: p.11.
- (43) ala=alpi *finger* (also given as +a|l-walpu; (finger)
 cf. +a|l *fan + +walpu *bone* ?).
 In: ala=alpi yapa=yapa- *to shake hands* (cf. yapa=yapa- *to open*
 (365)).
 IX:7.
- (44) -alu (p.) *he, she* (suffix of the 3rd person singular, 1st series personal pronoun, agentive). (he=A.)
 G: cf. pp.30-1.
 L: pp.128 (I:8), 133 (I:50).

I:8, 13, 18, 21, 31, 32, 50, 58, 86, 114; II:23; III:19, 20;
IV:22(?); V:10, 14-6; VII:6, 20, 23, 24, 33; VIII:7, 18; X:5,
29; XI:39, 40; XII:18.

Cf. + *valu he, she* (156).

- (45) *alpili two* (or *alypili* ?) (two)
VIII:22.
Cf. + *upmaṅaka (some-, any-)one* (100); *-pila (they) two, both*
(129).
- (46) *ari later (on); before* (later)
G: pp.45-6.
V:10; VIII:32; XI:23, 36, 37, 42, 44.
- (47) *ariṅa still* (cf. *ari later (on); before* (46) + (later-ṅa)
-ṅa "noun suffix" (342)).
G: pp.45-6.
IX:18.
- (48) *aṅa up* (up)
G: p.43.
VI:16.
- (49) *aṅāpi (k.) father's sister, wife's mother* (aṅāpi)
(cf. *aṅu woman* (50) + *vapī father* (136)).
G: p.47; cf. p.50.
L: cf. pp.128-9 (I:8), 135 (I:78).
N: pp.155 (I:2), 157 (I:6), 159-63 (I:12, 17, 18, 20; II),
168-9 (VI, VII).
I:8, 57, 58, 76, 78, 108, 118; II:3; VII:6, 23, 24, 33; VIII:12;
IX:24.
Cf. + *vayaṅa mother-in-law* (141); *ṅapaḷa* (491).
- (50) *aṅu woman* (woman)
G: cf. pp.6, 9, 47.
L: pp.127-8 (I:2, 8), 135 (I:78), 141 (V:10).
N: cf. p.155 (I:2, 3).
I:2, 8, 11, 55, 62, 78, 114, 119, 121, 132, 133; II:6, 7; III:34;
V:(9), 10; VII:21; VIII:14, 20, 34; XIII:8.
- (51) *aṅunvi women* (irregular plural from *aṅu* (woman=pl.)
woman (50)).
G: p.9.
N: p.165 (IV).
IV:6; V:2, (9); X:18, 23, 24.

- (52) aṭuna (k.) *wife* (cf. aṭu *woman* (50) + (aṭuna)
 °-na ?).
 G: pp.6, 73.
 L: cf. pp.127-9 (I:3, 8).
 N: pp.155-7 (I:3-5), 165-6 (IV, V), 168-9 (VII, VIII); 173 (XII).
 I:1, 3, 8, 11, 13, 19, 21, 36, 42, 47, 49, 53, 55, 60, 69,
 118; II:13; III:1-3, 28, 29; V:4, 9; VIII:1, 8, 14, 17, 24, 26,
 27.
 Cf. → ṇapaḷa *unmarriageable cousin* (491).
- (53) -aḷi "plural marker with certain verbs" (-pl.-)
 G: p.18; cf. pp.82, 85.
 V:3, 4; IX:26, 27; X:36.
 Cf. → witni- *to go around, to go about, ...* (316).
- (54) -aḷuṭupa (p.) *they(-two?)* (suffix of the (vaḷuṭupa)
 3rd person dual(?) of a residual series personal pronoun,
 "nominative").
 IV:(18).
 Cf. → vaḷuṭupa *they(-two?)* (164).
- (55) -aḷpuḷa (p.) *we* (suffix of the 1st person plural, (-we)
 1st series personal pronoun, "nominative").
 G: cf. pp.30-1.
 I:72, 115-7; IV:10, 13, 16, 17; VI:21; VII:7; VIII:26; XI:36.
 Cf. → ṇaḷpuḷa *we* (523).
- (56) aḷṭa- (iV) *to call out* (call)
 XI:7.
 Note: the plural is formed by adding the suffix -ḷi (472).
- (57) Aṇaḷu "name of one moiety" (Aṇaḷu)
 N: pp.155 (I:2), 158 (I:11).
 I:8, 27, [114], 120; II:23; III:19, 20, 22; VII:36, 37; IX:23;
 X:4, 10, 15, 29; XII:1, 9, 17.
 Cf. → Maṭaṇḷi "name of one moiety" (200).
- (58) ⁺aka *small piece, bit*
 G: pp.15, 42, 47.
 Cf. → -atḷāka (36), akaṇa (61), aka=akana- (59), aka=akaḷṭa (60),
 upmaṇaka (100), uṇaka (121), valanāka (152), watnanaka (269),
 watnāka (275), ṇatḷāka (507), ṇaḷa=aka (519).

- (59) aka=akana- (iV) *to come out* (come-come=out)
 (Reduplicated form of + akana- *to come out* (62)).
 XI:4, 10, 21, 37.
- (60) aka=aka!ṭa- (tV) *to break* (break)
 (Reduplicated form of °aka!ṭa-; cf. +aka *small piece, bit* (58)?
 (*aka "indicating separation from one another"?)).
 VIII:19, 20.
- (61) akaṇa "classifier with nouns referring to non- (bit-ṇa)
 humans". (Cf. +aka *small piece, bit* (58) + -ṇa "noun suffix"
 (342)).
 G: pp.14-5; cf. p.47.
 V:24; VI:1.
 Cf. + wataṇa "classifier with nouns referring to humans" (264).
- (62) akana- (iV) *to come out* (cf. +aka *small* (come=out)
piece, bit (58) (*aka "indicating separation from one another"?
 + -na "directional suffix in the verb" (424)?).
 L: p.150 (XI:13-4).
 VII:31; VIII:32; IX:2; XI:11-4, 17, 44.
- (63) -aṇu "emphatic clitic" (-aṇu)
 G: pp.32, 36, 39, 40.
 L: pp.128 (I:8), 131 (I:22), 140 (IV:25), 142 (VI:23).
 N: p.166 (IV).
 I:4-6, 8-13, 15-9, 21, 22, [24], 25, 31-3, 36, 37, 51, 57, 63,
 64, 67, 68, 70, 73, 75, 76, 78-80, 82, 84-6, 88, 89, 91, 93, 94,
 97-9, 101, 102, 104, 105, 107, 109(?), 112, 113, 117-20, 126,
 127; II:17, 23; III:3, 4, 9-12, 16, 18, 21, 30, 32-4; IV:7, 9,
 11, 12, [14], 19, 20, 25; V:7-10, 14, 17, 21-3, 25, 27; VI:[2]3;
 VII:2, 4-6, 8, 9, 12-4, 16, 17, 20-4, 26, [27?], 28, 29, 31,
 33-6; VIII:1-3, 6-9, 11-5, 17-20, 22, 27-33, 35; IX:3-5, 7-10,
 12, 15; X:5(?), 6, 7, 9-11, 13, 16-9, 23, 24, 29-32; XI:4, 41,
 42, 44; XII:18.
 Cf. + itla-aṇu "stylistic morphemes" (87), itlaw-aṇu "stylistic
 morphemes" (89).
- (64) -aṅk "allomorph of the suffix -aṅku" (70) (past)
 G: p.30.
- (65) aṅka- (tV) *to take, to conduct* (conduct)
 XI:3, 15, 16.

- (66) *aᅇka=aᅇkaru passed, away, far, distant* (pass=passed)
 (Reduplicated form of + *aᅇkaru passed, away, far, distant* (69)).
 I:124.
- (67) -*aᅇkat* "allomorph of the suffix -*aᅇkata*" (68) (p.=3)
 G: p.30.
- (68) -*aᅇkata* "verb suffix, indicating a past or a perfective aspect" (cf. -*aᅇku* "verb suffix, indicating a past or a perfective aspect" (70) + -*ta* "allomorph of the suffix -*nta*" (455)?). (p.=3)
 G: pp.17, 22, 25, 27-8, 32, 34, 48; cf. p.85.
 L: pp.126-7 (I:1, 2), 132 (I:29).
 I:1, [1]6, 27, 29, 43, 45, 46, 50-3, 58, 59, 62, 63, 72, 120, 126; III:1, 22, 25, 30; IV:1, (2), 4, 21, 26; V:1, 28; VI:13; VII:1, 11, 32; VIII:23, 26; IX:1, 16, 32; X:1; XI:2, 3, 15, 16, 38, 39; XII:1, 6-8, (9), 11-4; XIII:1.
 Cf. + -*taᅇku* "morpheme combination, indicating an immediate past" (420).
- Note: it is unclear in what this suffix differs from -*aᅇku* "verb suffix, indicating a past or a perfective aspect" (70) and from -*nanta* "verb suffix, indicating a past or a perfective aspect (?)" (432).
- (69) *aᅇkaru passed, away, far, distant* (passed)
 III:11, 12.
 Cf. + *aᅇka=aᅇkaru passed, away, far, distant* (66).
- (70) -*aᅇku* "verb suffix, indicating a past or a perfective aspect" (past)
 G: pp.17, 21, 22-3, 25, 27-9, 34, 48.
 L: pp.127 (I:2), 132 (I:29), 136 (I:107), 140 (III:33-4), 146-9 (IX:1, 19; X:15), 151 (XI:44; XII:2).
 I:1, 2, 11, 19, 30, 58, 60, 73, 96, 102, 103, 106-8, 114-6, 121; III:2, 26-9, 31; IV:[2], 3-6, 8, 18; V:11-3; VI:3-9, 11, 15, 22; VIII:1, 5, 6, 13, 17, 20, 24, (26); IX:1, 4, 5, 10, 13, 14, 19, 20, 22, 24, 27; X:2-5, 15, 20-2, 33, 35, 39-41; XI:3, 5, 8, 21, 28, 39, 40; XIII:7.
 Cf. + -*taᅇku* "morpheme combination, indicating an immediate past" (420).

Note: it is unclear in what this suffix differs from -aṅkata "verb suffix, indicating a past or a perfective aspect" (68) and from -nanta "verb suffix, indicating a past or a perfective aspect" (432).

I

- (71) i- "deixis of the near demonstrative pronoun".
 G: pp.11; cf. p.38.
 L: cf. p.133 (I:39).
 Cf. + a- "deixis of the mid-distant demonstrative pronoun" (2),
 va- "basic morpheme of 3rd person pronouns" (130), ḡu- "deixis
 of the far-distant demonstrative pronoun" (527).
 For reference see the pronominal forms: cf. iṅa (79), iṅaṅa (80),
 +iṅatvi (81), iṅari (82), invtvi(ṅa) (83), itla (86).
- (72) -i "intransitiviser of a transitive verb stem" (i)
 G: pp.16-7, 23, 48, 52; cf. p.85.
 L: pp.144 (VII:36), 149 (X:34).
 I:3; II:1, 23; III:17, 18; V:17, 18, 22, 23, 25, (26); VII:8,
 27, (36); VIII:12, 27, 32, 34; IX:17-20, 29; X:2, 16, (29), 34,
 37, 41; XI:4, 31, (37).
 Cf. + -ri "intransitiviser of a transitive verb stem" (468), the
 major allomorph of -i, references to which are listed separately.
 Note: the vowel -i sometimes occurs after a verb stem, by epenthesis
 with a following palatal consonant, or following the vowel i- (e.g.
 following the suffix -ḡuṛi "verb suffix, indicating reciprocity of
 the action" (544)).
- (73) ima- (tV) to take (take)
 III:2; XIII:2.
- (74) iṅiṅi back (back)
 L: cf. p.143 (VII:32).
 VII:12, 24, 29.
- (75) iṅiṅipa- (tV) to back, to turn the back (back-d.=T.)
 (cf. iṅiṅi back (74) + -pa "suffix, deriving transitive verbs
 from nouns" (127)).
 VII:(12), 23, 26.
 (Cf. similar expressions found in text VII are: iṅiṅi nuṅku-
 lit. to give the back, iṅiṅiṅari ḡuka- lit. to go towards the
 back, iṅiṅiṅari uṅaṅa ḡawiri- lit. to turn behind towards the
 back.)

- (76) ⁺iḡi *finch*
See notes on transcription.
- (77) iḡimukuḡa "name of a clan" (cf. ⁺iḡi *finch* (76) + -mukuḡa
"morpheme group, added to clan names" (246)).
XII:12.
- (78) -iḡa (p.) *you* (suffix of the 2nd person (you)
singular, 1st series personal pronoun, "nominative").
G: pp.30-1.
L: p.135 (I:89).
IV:14, 15; V:11-3; XI:41-4.
Cf. + niḡa *you* (448).
- (79) iḡa *this* (near demonstrative pronoun; (this)
cf. deixis i- (71) + "supporting" element -ḡa (341)).
G: pp.11-2; cf. p.20.
L: pp.133 (I:39), 135 (I:89), 139 (III:5).
I:19, 39, 89; III:5; V:[10?]; VI:1, 5; VII:(19?); IX:3; X:34;
XI:8.
Cf. also + iḡaḡa (80), ⁺iḡatʷi (81), iḡari (82).
(References given under iḡari (82) have not been repeated here).
Note: direction *to(wards)* is indicated by the suffix -nti (457);
hence iḡanti (*towards*) *here* (VI:5).
- (80) iḡaḡa *this* (cf. iḡa *this* (79) + ḡa (this-ḡa)
"noun suffix" (342)).
III:5.
- (81) ⁺iḡatʷi *this* (emphatic form; cf. iḡa *this* (79) + -tʷi "emphatic
suffix" (354)).
G: p.12.
Cf. + inʷtʷi(ḡa) *this* (emphatic form?) (83).
- (82) iḡari *here you are* (cf. iḡa *this* (79) + ("voic1")
-ri "relativising morpheme" (469)?).
G: p.12; cf. p.83.
L: p.150 (XI:18, 19).
IV:17; V:20; VII:3[7]; XI:(18), 19.
Note: the form also combines with the suffix -tʷi (354) to form
iḡaritʷi (cf. III:17; VII:[3]7).

- (83) inʸtʸl(ḡa) *this* (emphatic form?) (inʸtʸl-ḡa)
 (cf. i- "deixis of the near demonstrative pronoun" (71) +
 -nʸtʸl "modifying element of demonstrative pronoun"(?) (360) or
 ḡa *this* (79) + -tʸl "emphatic suffix" (354)? + -ḡa "noun
 suffix" (342)); cf. +⁺ḡatʸl *this* (emphatic form) (81)?).
 G: p.12.
 I:39.
- (84) ita=italaḡa *throughout* (ho[le]=hole-L.)
 (Reduplicated form of +⁺itala *hole* (right through) + -ḡa
 "locative suffix for nouns" (488)).
 VII:1.
- (85) itni=itni *far away, distant* (distant-distant)
 (Reduplicated form of +⁺itni *far, distant*).
 III:11.
- (86) itla "stylistic particle" (itla)
 (cf. i- "deixis of near demonstrative pronoun" (71) + -tla
 "modifying element of demonstrative pronoun" (422)).
 G: pp.11, 38-9.
 I:9, 12, 14, 24, 28, 29, 31, 3[3], 40, 41, 48, 54, 56, 58, 60,
 62, 66, 67, 70, 73, 76, 79, 83, 84, 94, 98, 102, 109, 113, (118),
 119, 120, 126, 127, 129; II:6, 14, 20; III:1, [10], 16, 19-21,
 27, 31-4; IV:5, 6, 13, 17, 20, 25; V:8, 10, 17, 27; VI:5, 10,
 14, 15, 20, 23-5; VII:4, 5, 9, 16, 21, 35; VIII:27, 31, 35; IX:
 10, 23, 24; X:6, 7, 11, 15, 17, 31, 32, 36; XI:[4?], 27, [30?],
 37-9, 44; XII:4-6, 16; XIII:4, 5, 8.
 Cf. + itla-aḡu (87), itlawā (88), itlawā-aḡu (89), itlatʸl (90),
 itlaku (91).
 (References given under these headings are not given here).
- (87) itla-aḡu "stylistic morphemes" (itla-aḡu)
 (cf. itla "stylistic particle" (86) + -aḡu "emphatic clitic"
 (63)).
 G: cf. p.39.
 I:5, 10; III:9, 3[3]; V:10, 14, 25; VII:6, 8, 17, 20; X:9, 10,
 16, 18, 30, 31; XI:44.
- (88) itlawā "stylistic particle + *he*" (itla-he)
 (cf. itla "stylistic particle" (86) + -wa *he, she* (249)).
 G: cf. pp.39, 52.
 VII:4; XI:37.

- (89) itlaw-aṅu "stylistic morphemes + *he*" (itla-*he*-aṅu)
 (cf. itlaw "stylistic particle + *he*" (88) + -aṅu "emphatic
 clitic" (63)).
 G: cf. p.39.
 IV:20; VII:4.
- (90) itlatʷi "stylistic morphemes" (itla-tʷi)
 (cf. itla "stylistic particle" (86) + -tʷi "emphatic suffix"
 (354)).
 G: cf. p.39.
 I:23.
- (91) itlaku "stylistic morphemes" (itla-ku)
 (cf. itla "stylistic particle" (86) + -ku "clitic with
 adversative meaning" (484)).
 IV:5.
- (92) inta- (iV) *to die* (die)
 G: cf. p.23.
 L: pp.140 (III:26), 146-7 (IX:1).
 IX:1.
 Cf. + vltni-i- *to pass away* (175).
- (93) intatʷakuṅu- (tV) *to kill* (kill-t.)
 (cf. inta- *to die* (92) + ⁺-tʷaku "?" (hapax) + -ṅu "transitiviser
 of an intransitive verb stem" (528)).
 X:5.
- (94) inka *side* (side)
 L: p.133 (I:4).
 N: p.162 (I:21).
 I:18, 41, 129; IV:6; VII:25, 27, 28; VIII:2, 3, 6.
- (95) irana(ṅa) *really* (really)
 G: p.40.
 I:4; VI:22; X:29; XI:10, 37.
- (96) iri- (iV) *to move (away), to shift* (shift)
 IX:29.
 Cf. + waṅml- *to move (aside)* (294).
- (97) iḷa- (tV) *to venerate, to respect* (handle=severely)
 N: pp.165 (IV), 167 (V), 168 (VI).
 IV:5.

- (98) ika- (iv) *to sit (down); to exist* (sit)
 G: pp.27, 54; cf. p.60.
 L: pp.126-8 (I:1, 2, 7), 150 (XI:6, 9).
 I:1, 2, 5-10, 15-7, 25, [27], 32, 42, 43, 45, 46, 51, 55, 58,
 59, 62, 111, 116, 120; III:6, 8, 9, 11, 25, 29, 33, 34; IV:1,
 20-5; V:1, 19, 25, 28; VI:8, 10, 12, 23, 24; VII:2, 4, 5, 11,
 13, 19, 25, (27), 28, 32, 34; VIII:1, 2, 5, 31, 33; IX:1, 22,
 30; X:1, 17, 38; XI:6, 9, 19, 27-9, 38, 44; XII:1, 6-9, 11-4.
 Cf. + yaŋu-i- *to sit (down); to exist* (plural verb) (389);
 uru ika- *to sit thinking, to think* (116); ŋalku ika- *to sit in
 want of, to want, to desire* (512).
- (99) iŋki=iŋki- (iv) *to be split into pieces* (split-split)
 (reduplicated form of +iŋki- *to be split*).
 VI:24.

U

- (100) upmaŋaka (some-, any-) one (one)
 (cf. +upma one + -ŋa "noun suffix" (342) + +aka *small piece,
 bit* (58)).
 L: cf. p.149 (X:32).
 N: p.166 (V).
 IV:11; V:25; VIII:23; IX:1; X:15, 32; XI:12.
 Cf. + alpili *two* (45).
- (101) upma|i (k.) *son or daughter of a man's ŋapa|a* (upma|i)
 (cf. +upma one + °-(a)|i ?).
 L: p.132 (I:32).
 N: pp.156-8 (I:3, 5-6, 8, 9, cf. 10), 160-2 (I:16, cf. 17, 18,
 cf. 21).
 I:16, 32, 35, 58, 59, 62, 101-3; II:3, (4); VIII:4, 5; IX:4, 9,
 23.
 Cf. + ŋapa|a *male Ego's older mother's brother's daughter;
 female Ego's younger father's sister's son* (491).
- (102) upma|i vapi (k.) *vapi's (older?) brother* (upma|i vapi)
 (cf. upma|i *son or daughter of a man's ŋapa|a* (101) + vapi
father (136)).
 L: cf. p.132 (I:32).
 N: pp.157-8 (I:5, 8-10), 160-3 (I:17, 18, 20; II).
 I:34, 61, 70, 123; II:4; VIII:4, 5.

- (103) upmaḷi ḡamaḡa (k.) vapi's (*younger?*) brother (upmaḷi vapi)
 (cf. upmaḷi *son or daughter of a man's ḡapaḷa* (101) + ḡamaḡa
mother's brother (493)).
 L: cf. p.132 (I:32).
 N: pp.157-8 (I:5, 8-10), 160-1 (I:17, 18).
 II:(4), 5.
- (104) utʷu "stylistic particle" (utʷu)
 G: pp.35, 38, 39.
 L: pp.127 (I:3), 134 (I:62).
 I:3, 21, 22, 35, 36, 61, 62(?), 65, 71(?), 75, 78, 80, 93, 107,
 117, 118, 122-4, 130; II:7, 8, 11, 19, 22; III:11; V:14; VII:3,
 6, 7, 20, 35; VIII:10, 25-7; IX:21, 25; X:14, 37; XI:23, 34, 35;
 XII:3, 6, 10; XIII:7. Cf. → watʷa "emphatic particle" (255).
- (105) utʷu(ḡa) (*an*)other (*one*) (other(-ḡa))
 G: pp.14, 38.
 L: pp.133-4 (I:41, 62), 139 (III:1).
 N: p.162 (I:21).
 I:12, 14, 18, 2[4], 41, 54, 60, 62(?), 71(?), 86, 105, 128,
 129; III:1; IV:6, (11), 12, 19; V:24; VII:25, 27, 28; VIII:2, 3,
 6, 14, 32; IX:2, 10-2; XI:10, 16, 30, 31; XII:6.
- (106) utʷurapaḡa (*an*)other (*one*) (another=ḡa)
 (cf. utʷu (*an*)other (105) + °-(a)ra ? + °-apa (< vapa *little*,
small (131)) *small piece* (?) + -ḡa "noun suffix" (342)).
 G: p.14.
 L: pp.146 (VIII:25), 150 (XI:1).
 VI:1; VIII:25; X:15; XI:1.
- (107) utʷnʷu *very sick, dead; white man* (very=bad)
 V:22, 23; IX:19, 20, 23, 24, 28, 29; X:5.
- (108) uta(na) "negation" (no(-na))
 (cf. uta *not* + °-na ?).
 G: pp.41-2, 70.
 I:32; IX:25.
 Cf. → nata *not* (430), ǝʔǝ *no!* (126).
- (109) Utimukūḡa "name of a clan"
 (cf. [†]uti *wild orange tree* + -mukūḡa "morpheme group, added to
 clan names" (246)).
 XII:16, 17.

- (110) -utu "allomorph of the suffix -untu" (113). (you=A.)
G: pp.30-1.
- (111) utla (one)self (self)
G: pp.14, 19.
VIII:35; IX:7.
- (112) Untamukuṅa "name of a clan"
(cf. ⁺unta black wallaby + -mukuṅa "morpheme group, added to
clan names" (246)).
XII:2, 5, 15, 20.
- (113) -untu (p.) you (suffix of the 2nd person (you=A.)
singular, agentive)
G: pp.30-1.
L: cf. p.138 (II:17).
I:102; VIII:12; X:25; XI:31.
Cf. ⁺nuntu you (450).
- (114) unmān! old man (< English) (old man)
XI:3, 13-5, 17, 24.
- (115) unki native doctor, clever man (unki)
IX:22.
- (116) ⁺uru thought in:
uru ika- (iV) to sit thinking, to think (ur[u] sit-)
(cf. ika to sit (down); to exist (98)).
G: p.60.
III:11; IV:22; V:25.
- (117) uʃu everybody, all (all)
G: p.14.
L: pp.131-2 (I:21, 28, 29).
N: p.165 (IV).
I:21, 28, 29, 132; IV:14, 20; X:18.
Cf. ⁺wapu everybody, everything, all (252).
- (118) uṅa-i- (iV) to be hit, to fight (beat-i-)
(cf. uṅa- "allomorph of the verb stem uṅṅa-" (122) + -i "intrans-
itiviser of a transitive verb stem" (72)).
V:18, 22, 23; IX:17, 19, 20; X:2, 41.
- (119) uṅa-ana the third born boy (cf. *uṅa very late/old (?) + °-(a)na
?).
XIII:3, 4.
Cf. ⁺uṅaka the third born girl (121).

- (120) uṇa=uṇa *the elders* (Reduplicated form of *(elder-elder)*
**uṇa very late/old (?)*).
 I:65.
- (121) uṇaka *the third born girl* (cf. **uṇa very late/old (?) + ⁺aka*
small piece, bit (58)?).
 XIII:9.
 Cf. → uṇa-ana *the third born boy* (119).
- (122) uṇṭa- (tV) *to hit, to kill* *(strike)*
 III:31; VI:23; IX:28; X:4, 11, 15, 32, 37.
 Cf. → uṇa-i- *to be hit, to fight* (118), ṇaṭa- *to hit, to strike*
 (513).
- (123) uṛa *behind, after* *(behind)*
 G: p.44.
 I:66; III:16; VI:15; VII:12; VIII:31.
 Cf. → vitna *after* (173).
- (124) uṛa=uṛa *behind, after* (Reduplicated form *(behind-behind)*
 of uṛa *behind, after* (123)).
 X:15, 36.
- (125) ṃ *oh!* (Exclamation) *(oh)*
 XI:37; XIII:7.
- (126) ṁṁ *no!* *(no)*
 G: pp.41-2; Notes on transcription.
 XI:32.
 Cf. → uta(na) "negation" (108), nata *not* (430), ṁṁ *no!* (550).

P

- (127) -pa "suffix, deriving transitive verbs from nouns" (D.-T.)
 G: pp.41, 48; cf. pp.82, 84.
 IV:10; VI:22; VII:(12), 23, 26; VIII:11, 19.
 Cf. → iṭṭṭipa- *to back, to turn the back* (75), mantāwipa- *to*
track (206), mutu=mutupa- *to make short, to shorten* (234),
 wantu=wantupa- *to make good* (281), naṅkapa- *to make how, to*
make what? (439); -ma "suffix deriving transitive verbs from
 nouns" (196).
- (128) pata *but* (< English) *(but)*
 I:22.
 Cf. → vaṅaka *but* (139), wata *but* (262).

- (129) -pila (*they*) *two, both* (suffix of the 3rd personal dual, "nominative"; dual suffix with nouns). (*both*)
 G: pp.3, 8, 10, 30-1.
 V:7, 19; VI:3-6, 11-3; IX:15.
 Cf. → aṅapila *those two* (12), valanpila *they-two* (154),
 ṅaṅalpila *they-two* (502).

V

- (130) va- "basic morpheme of 3rd person pronouns"
 (cf. *pa- "deixis of distant demonstrative pronoun").
 G: p.11.
- (131) vapa *small, little* (*vapa*)
 G: cf. p.47.
 L: pp.144 (VIII:6), 151 (XIII:2).
 N: p.159 (I:12).
 VIII:6; XIII:2.
- (132) vapapa (k.) *mother's father; mother's brother's son; sister's son's son/daughter, a man's daughter's son/daughter* (*vapapa*)
 (cf. vapi *father* (136) + vapa *small, little* (131)?).
 G: cf. p.47.
 N: pp.152 (I:1), 155-7 (I:3, 5), 160-6 (I:14, 16, 18, 21; II, III, IV, V), 168-9 (VI, VIII).
 I:17-22, 26, 48, 56, 86, 89, 98, 99, 128, 131-[3]; II:10, 19; III:15, 19; IV:24; VIII:29; IX:23.
- (133) vapapa=wiṛi (k.) *couple of individuals standing in the vapapa-relationship to each other* (*vapapa-wiṛi*)
 (cf. vapapa *mother's father*; ... (132) + -wiṛi "indicates reciprocity of relationship" (326)).
 I:93.
 Cf. → ṅapa|a=wiṛi *a couple of individuals standing in the ṅapa|a-relationship to each other* (492).
- (134) vapalu (k.) *a male Ego's child (son or daughter), a female Ego's brother's child (son or daughter)* (*vapalu*)
 (cf. vapi *father* (136) + vā|u *meat, flesh* (167)?).
 N: pp.152 (I:1), 157 (I:5), 159-63 (I:12, 15, 17-21; II), 168 (VI), 170 (IX).
 I:31, 32, 114, 128, 131; II:17, 18; VIII:3; IX:5, 7.

- (135) *vapāpa* *little (ones)* (cf. reduplication of *vapa* *small, little* (131)). (*small*)
VII:21.
- (136) *vapi* (k.) *father* (*vapi*)
G: cf. p.47.
L: p.128 (I:8).
N: pp.152 (I:1), 157-63 (I:5, 8-10, 12, 17, 18, 21; II).
I:8, 30, 36, 43, 44, 70, 73, 75, 79, 80, 82, 86; II:2, 3, (4);
VIII:6; IX:5.
Cf. → *aṭāpi* (49), *upmaḷi vapi* (102), *upmaḷi ṇamaṇa* (103),
vapapa (132), *vapalu* (134), *ṇami=vapi* *parents* (496).
- (137) *vapina* "plural marker for nouns" (*lot*)
G: pp.6, 8; cf. p.73; cf. p.82.
L: pp.130-1 (I:21, 22), 135 (I:78), 145 (VIII:14), 146 (VIII:
32), 148 (X:10).
N: pp.162-3 (II).
I:11, 13, 16, 18-22, 27, 31, 46-50, 53, 55, 56, 58, 62, 69, 71,
73, 75, 78, 79, 89, 94, 99, 109, 114, 121, 123, 128, 130, 132;
II:1-4, 6, 9-14, 17, 21; III:11, 20; IV:6; V:2, 4, 14; VI:16,
18; VII:(6), 14, 17, 26, 36; VIII:3, 10, 14, 15, 19, 29, 32;
IX:5-7, 10, 11, 13, 18, 23, 24.
Cf. → *atiṛi* (28), *maḷa(ṇa)* (199), *munka(ṇa)* (235), *ṇaṛu* (526).
- (138) *vaṇa* (p.) *he, she; him, her* (3rd person singular, (*he*)
"nominative"; cf. *va-* "basic morpheme of 3rd person pronouns"
(130) + *-ṇa* "supporting element" (341)).
G: pp.10, 37.
L: cf. p.140 (III:33).
III:(12), 32, [3]3; V:14; VII:28-30; VIII:31; XI:4, 25-8, [37?].
Cf. → *vanṭyuru* *his, her* (140), *valu* *he, she* (156), *-wa* *he, she*
(249).
- (139) *vaṇaku* *but, however* (cf. *vaṇa* *he, she; him, her* (*he-ku*)
(138) + *-ku* "clitic with adversative meaning" (484)).
G: p.37.
IV:6; XI:29.
Cf. → *pata* *but* (128), *wata* *but* (262).
- (140) *vanṭyuru* (p.) *his, her* (cf. *va-* "basic (*his*)
morpheme of 3rd person pronouns" (130) + °(a)nṭyū "?" + *-ṛu*
"noun suffix, indicating a genitive-dative" (479)).

G: p.10.

L: pp.128-9 (I:8), 144 (VIII:2).

I:8, 11, 13, 18-22, 31, 36, 43, 44, 55, 86, 109; II:20, 23;
III:11, 1[6], 19, 20, 28, 31; IV:24; V:14, 16; VII:6, 17, 20;
VIII:2, 10, 12, 19, 20, 24, 26, 27, 29, 34; IX:11, 17, 23, 25,
32; XI:5.

Cf. → *vaṇa he, she; him, her* (138).

(141) *vayaṛa* (k.) *mother-in-law* (vayaṛa)

N: p.163 (II).

II:20-2.

Cf. → *aṭāpi father's sister, wife's mother* (49), *ṇapaḷa male Ego's older mother's brother's daughter, female Ego's younger father's sister's son* (491).

(142) *vatna goanna* (goanna)

VI:2.

(143) *Vatnamukṇa* "name of a clan" (cf. *vatna goanna* (142) + *-mukṇa* "morpheme group, added to clan names" (246)).

N: p.168 (VI).

VI:3.

(144) ⁺*vananvi* (k.)

N: p.161 (I:17) note (21).

(145) *vani very* (very)

G: p.42.

L: cf. p.141 (V:23).

III:11, 29; IV:5; V:23; IX:19, 23.

Cf. → *ṇaḷa big, much* (516).

(146) *vala- there somewhere* (cf. *va-* "basic morpheme of 3rd person pronouns" (130) + *-la* "modifying element of demonstrative pronoun (allomorph)" (458)).

Cf. → *ṇutlaṇa-vaiaṇaṇa here and there* (537); *valatu* (147), *valananpi* (148), *valanāpa* (149), *valanātapa* (150), *valanātu* (151), *valanāka* (152), *valanpi* (153), *valanpila* (154), *valan munka* (155).

(147) ⁺*valatu* (p.) *they-two* (3rd person dual, 4th series personal pronoun, "nominative". Cf. *vaia- there somewhere* (146) + °-(a)tu ?).

N: p.159 (I:12).

Cf. → *watnātu you-two* (273); *valanātu they* (151).

- (148) *valananpi* (p.) *they* (3rd person plural, (valananpi)
7th series personal pronoun, "nominative". Doubtlessly
**valananapi*: cf. *vala- there somewhere* (146) + °-*na* ? and/or
-*ṅa* "noun suffix" (342) + °-*pi* "short" form of *-pila* (*they*) *two, both* (129)?).
N: p.163 (II).
II:3.
Cf. + *valanpi they two* (153); *watnāi[a]npi you* (274).
- (149) *valanāpa* (p.) *they-two* (3rd personal dual, (valanāpa)
8th series personal pronoun, "nominative". Cf. *vala- there somewhere* (146) + °-*na* ? or -*ṅa* "noun suffix" (342)? + -*apa* "short" form of *vapa small, little* (131)?).
N: pp.159 (I:12), 166 (IV, V), 172 (X).
III:21; IV:10, 13, 16-8; V:8, 21-3; X:12, 32.
Cf. + *valanātapa they* (150); *watnāpa you-two* (271).
- (150) *valanātapa* (p.) *they* (3rd person plural, (valanātapa)
8th series personal pronoun, "nominative". Cf. *valanātu they* (151) + -*apa* "short" form of *vapa small, little* (131)?).
N: p.159 (I:12).
I:75.
Cf. + *valanāpa they-two* (149); *watnātapa you* (272).
- (151) *valanātu* (p.) *they* (3rd person plural, 4th (valanātu)
series personal pronoun, "nominative". Cf. *vala- there somewhere* (146) + °-*na* ? or -*ṅa* "noun suffix" (342)? + °-(*a*)*tu* ?).
N: p.159 (I:12), cf. pp.162-3 (II).
II:3-5.
Cf. + *valatu they-two* (147); *watnātu you-two* (273).
- (152) *valanāka* (p.) *they-two* (3rd person dual, (valanāka)
5th series personal pronoun, "nominative". Cf. *vala- there somewhere* (146) + °-*na* ? or -*ṅa* "noun suffix" (342)? + ⁺*aka* *small piece, bit* (58)?).
VII:35.
Cf. + *watnāka you-two* (275), *ṅatīāka we-two* (507).
- (153) *valanpi* (p.) *they-two* (3rd personal dual, (valanpi)
7th series personal pronoun, "nominative". Doubtlessly
**valanapi*: cf. *vala- there somewhere* (146) + °-*na* ? + °-*pi* "short" form of *-pila* (*they*) *two, both* (129)?).

L: cf. pp.127 (I:4), 145 (VIII:17).

N: pp.154-5 (I:1), 160 (I:13), 162 (I:19).

I:4-6, 83, 84, 116, 117.

Cf. → *valananpi they* (148); *watnanpi you-two (?)* (270).

- (154) *valanpila* (p.) *they-two* (3rd person dual, (valanpila)
3rd series personal pronoun, "nominative".
Doubtlessly **valanapila*: cf. *vala- there somewhere* (146) +
°-na ? or -*na* "noun suffix" (342)? + *-pila (they) two, both*
(129)).
N: p.168 (VI).
VI:7-9; VII:22.
- (155) *valan munka* (p.) *they* (3rd person plural, (valan=munka)
3rd series personal pronoun, "nominative".
Doubtlessly ⁺*valana munka*: cf. *vala- there somewhere* (146) +
°-na ? or -*na* "noun suffix" (342)? + *munka "plural marker"*
(235).
N: p.122 (II).
II:3, 4, 14, 15.
- (156) *valu* (p.) *he, she* (3rd person singular, (he=A.)
agentive; cf. *va-* "basic morpheme of 3rd person pronouns" (130)
+ *-lu* "agentive with certain nouns (allomorph)" (464)).
G: p.10.
I:12, 14, 22; III:12, 19; VIII:13; XI:25.
Cf. → *-alu he, she* (44); *va_{na} he, she* (138).
- (157) *valu-* (tV) *to include* (include)
I:101; VII:38.
- (158) *valkaša* *lime; widow's cap* (lime)
L: cf. p.146 (VIII:30, 32).
VIII:17, 21, 22, 30, 32.
- (159) *vari-i-* (iV) *to be absent, to lack* (lack)
(cf. °*vari-* ? + *-i* "intransitiviser of a transitive verb
stem" (72)).
G: cf. p.52.
L: cf. p.149 (X:34).
X:34.
- (160) *vašpa* *south(-wind)*
XII:6, 9.

- (161) Vařpamiļāṅa *the South-wind people*
 (cf. vařpa *south(-wind)* + -miļāṅa "morpheme group, added to clan names" (228)).
 XII:6, 16.
 Cf. + Vukařamiļāṅa *the North-wind people* (193).
- (162) vařṅāpa *circumcised man* (vařṅāpa)
 (or vatnāpa ? cf. vatna *goanna* (142) + -apa "short" form of vapa *small, little* (131)?).
 N: pp.168-9 (VII).
 VII:4, 13, 18.
- (163) vaļpaka- (iV) *to be ashamed* (be=ashamed)
 N: p.166 (V).
 V:14, 15; X:27.
- (164) vaļuřupa (p.) *they(-two?)* (3rd person dual(?), (vaļuřupa)
 "residual" series personal pronoun, "nominative". Or
 vaļuřupa ? cf. valu *he, she* (156)? + ?).
 N: pp.166 (IV), 168 (VI).
 IV:(18), 19; VI:15, 21-4.
- (165) vařl *creek* (creek)
 VI:8, 9.
- (166) vaku- (tV) *to construct, to build; to make* (build)
a man
 VII:4.
- (167) vāļu *meat, game* (meat)
 I:74.
- (168) Vāļumukuņa "clan" (cf. vāļu *meat, game* (167) + -mukuņa
 "morpheme group, added to clan names" (246)).
 XII:5.
- (169) viṅṅa *exchange* (viṅṅa)
 N: pp.164 (III), 171-2 (X).
 III:14, 21-4; X:12-4, 16, 32.
- (170) viļali (k.) *younger sibling* (viļali)
 L: cf. p.130 (I:19).
 N: pp.153 (I:1), 155-8 (I:3-4, 9), 162-3 (I:21; II), 166 (V),
 168 (VII).
 I:11, 13, 21, 22, 28-30, 49, 53, 58, 62, (66), 67, 123, 124;
 II:6, 20; III:20; V:14; VII:6, 14, 21; VIII:10.

- (171) *vinʷa pursuer* (pursuer)
 N: cf. p.168 (VI).
 VI:15, 18, 23, 24.
- (172) ⁺*vinʷtʷa-* (tV) *to ask (something to somebody) in:*
vinʷtʷa-ri- (iV) *to ask* (cf. *-ri* "intransitiviser (ask)
 of a transitive verb stem" (468)).
 G: p.17.
 I:97.
- (173) *vitna after* (after)
 G: pp.44-5.
 L: pp.129 (I:9, 10), 137 (I:123), 140 (III:34).
 I:9, 16, 120, 123; III:34; V:27; X:17; XI:6; XIII:4, 5.
 Cf. ⁺ *aga vitna after that* (14); *uṛa behind, after* (123).
- (174) *vitni bad* (bad)
 G: cf. p.48.
 L: cf. pp.139-40 (III:26).
 III:26; X:28, 41.
- (175) *vitni-i-* (iV) *to become bad, to pass away* (bad-i/bad-ṛ-)
 (cf. *vitni bad* (174) + *-i* "intransitiviser of a transitive verb
 stem (72)).
 G: cf. p.48.
 L: cf. pp.140 (III:26), 146 (VIII:34).
 III:28; VIII:1, 6, 12, 13, 17, 20, 24, 27, 3[4]; IX:4, 5, 10,
 16.
 Note: a) this derivative verb is frequently used as a euphemism
 for *inta-* *to die* (92).
 b) The intransitiviser *-i* has the allomorph *-ṛ-* (476) when it is
 followed by the suffix *-aṅkata* "verb suffix, indicating a past or
 a perfective aspect" (68) or by the suffix *-aṅku* "verb suffix,
 indicating a past or a perfective aspect" (70).
- (176) *vinka (k.) (older?) sister's husband* (vinka)
 N: pp.155-8 (I:3, 5, 7), 163 (II), 169 (VIII).
 I:20, 21; II:19.
 Cf. ⁺ *vapapa* (132), *ḡapaḷa* (491).
- (177) *virī=viri-* (tV) *to carry (in the hand)* (carry-carry)
 (Reduplicated form of ⁺*viri-* *to carry (in the hand)*).
 XI:11.

- (178) viři *in front (of everybody), first* (front)
 G: pp.43-4.
 L: p.141 (V:9).
 VII:30.
 Cf. + yunʔtʔuru *nose; in front of (somebody, something)* (404).
- (179) viři=viři *in front (of everybody), first* (front-front)
 (Reduplicated form of viři *in front (of everybody), first* (178)).
 G: pp.43-4.
 L: p.141 (V:9).
 V:9; XI:17.
 Cf. + yunʔtʔu=yunʔtʔuru *in front of (somebody, something)* (403).
- (180) Viđařina (Nl.) "Pararna" (Viđařina)
 (cf. ⁺viđa *to take the fur off (an animal)* + -ři "plural morpheme with intransitive verbs" (472)? + -na "noun suffix" (342)).
 VI:7, 8, 16.
- (181) viřa *moon; month* (moon)
 VIII:22, 23.
- (182) vuļa=vuļa *in pieces* (piece-piece)
 (Reduplicated form of ^ovuļa ?).
 VI:24.
- (183) vunʔtʔu *hair* (hair)
 G: cf. p.62.
 VIII:19.
- (184) vutu *also, too* (< English?) (too)
 G: p.43.
 I:25; IX:24, 25.
 Cf. + atni *also, too* (31).
- (185) vutuku *up to, until* (until)
 (cf. vutu *also, too* (184) + -ku "clitic with adversative meaning" (484)).
 G: p.43; cf. p.47.
 VI:22.
- (186) vutli ? (vutli)
 N: cf. p.165 (IV).
 IV:17, 18.

- (187) *vulaṛu tired (?)* (vulaṛu)
 XI:6.
- (188) *vulka old (man)* (old)
 G: cf. p.9.
 N: pp.162-3 (II).
 I:25, 26; II:9, 10; III:16; IV:6, 14, 22; VIII:27; IX:4, 9.
 Note: The plural is usually *vulka atiṛi old men*. Cf. *atiṛi* "plural marker" (28).
- (189) *vulkuṭa old (woman)* (old=F.)
 G: p.9.
 N: p.166 (IV).
 I:26, 27, 71, 72.
- (190) *vuḍa- (tV) to shed (blood?)* (shed)
 L: cf. p.147 (IX:8-9).
 IX:9, 10, 15, 21, 24.
- (191) *vukaḷa often; always* (always)
 G: p.46.
 XI:38.
- (192) *vukaṣa north(-wind)*
 XII:7, 8.
- (193) *Vukaṣamiḷaṇa the North-wind people* (cf. *vukaṣa north(-wind)*
 (192) + *-miḷaṇa* "morpheme group, added to clan names" (228)).
 XII:2-4, 15, 17, 20.
 Cf. → *Vaṣpamiḷaṇa the South-wind people* (161).

M

- (194) -m "allomorph of the suffix -ma" (196) (D.=t.)
- (195) -ma "verb suffix, expressing compassion or pity" (d.=2?)
 (allomorph of the suffix ⁺-tama (412)).
 L: pp.143 (VII:19), 150 (XI:9).
 VII:19(?); XI:9(?).
 Cf. → -mana "verb suffix, indicating movement to a place and arrival" (204).
- (196) -ma "suffix, deriving transitive verbs from nouns" (allomorph). (D.=t.)
 G: p.48; cf. pp.82, 84.

L: cf. p.138 (II:15).

I:1[6], 19-22, 33, (80), 109, 117, 119, 122, 125, 128, 130-2;
II:7, 15; VIII:26, 27; XIII:1.

Cf. → mitʏama- to name (218); -pa "suffix, deriving transitive verbs from nouns" (127).

- (197) mai (vegetable) food (food)
VII:10, 14, 18, 19, 21.
- (198) mawana the last born girl
XIII:8.
- (199) maṭa(ṅa) group, mob; "plural marker of nouns" (mob)
G: pp.3, 6, 8; cf. p.82.
L: pp. 131 (I:27), 145 (VIII:14).
N: p.170 (IX).
I:12, 14, 21, 25, 27, 33, 49, 54, 60, 62, 64, 65, 6[6], 71, 105,
124, 126, 128, 129; II:3, 6, 9, 11, 12, 21; III:11, 12, 16;
IV:12, 22; VII:6, 16, 17; VIII:14; IX:2-4, 8-12, 25; X:18, 36;
XI:4, 10, 16, 30, 31, 34, 41; XII:6.
Cf. → atiṛi (28), vapina (137), munka(ṅa) (235), ṅaṛu (526).
- (200) Maṭaṛi "name of one moiety" (Maṭaṛi)
N: p.155 (I:2).
I:8, 27, 71, (114), 120; II:23; III:2, 22; VII:36, 37; IX:23;
X:4, 10, 15; XII:6-8, 16, 18, 20.
Cf. → Aṛaṛu "name of one moiety" (57).
- (201) matʏi (so) I believe (I=believe)
G: p.41.
X:13, 14; XI:(4), 6, (10), 11, (17), 26-8, 31, (37).
Cf. → matʏiri (202), matʏiriwa (203). (The references given under these headings are not given here.)
- (202) matʏiri (so) I believe (cf. matʏi (so) (I=believe-ri)
I believe (201) + -ri "relativising morpheme" (469)?).
G: p.41.
L: p.142 (VI:19); cf. p.151 (XI:33).
VI:19, 20; IX:27, 29; X:12; XI:4, 7, 10, 11, 13, 17, 25, 32, 37,
41.
- (203) matʏiriwa (so) I believe he (did) (I=believe-ri-he)
(cf. matʏiri (so) I believe (202) + -wa he (249)).

G: p.41; cf. p.52.

L: p.151 (XI:33).

XI:33.

Note: This form has not been accepted as being correct by Andrew Coulthard.

- (204) -mana "verb suffix, indicating movement to and arrival at a place" (d.=2)

G: pp.20, 25; cf. p.85.

L: cf. pp.143 (VII:19), 150 (XI:9).

VII:13, 1[9]; VIII:(26), 29; XI:9(?), 20, 44.

Cf. + -na "verb suffix, indicating movement to(wards) the speaker or the person or place spoken about" (424).

- (205) mantāwi *foot* (*foot*)

G: cf. p.48.

VI:(22).

- (206) mantāwipa- (tV) *to track* (cf. mantāwi (*foot-D.=T.*)

foot (205) + -pa "suffix, deriving transitive verbs from nouns" (127)).

G: cf. p.48.

VI:22.

- (207) mankaša *big girl(s)* (*mankaša*)

I:79.

Cf. + atluku *big/grown up girl(s)* (37).

- (208) mankimankiṭa *happy* (Reduplicated (*please-please-pres.*)

form of °manki- *to please* (?) + -ṭa "allomorph of the suffix -nta" (455)).

G: p.35.

XI:11.

- (209) manku- (tV) *to seize, to apprehend* (*seize*)

(cf. *ma(nV?)- *to take, to apprehend* + *-ku "old derivational suffix"? (483)).

G: p.18.

L: cf. p.143 (VII:32).

IV:18; VI:21; X:23, 24; XI:41.

Cf. + mita manku- *to take as friend* (222), waṛu manku- *to meet* (297).

Note: It is unclear what the difference in meaning is to mankuṛiku- *to seize* (210).

- (210) *mankuriŋku-* (tV) *to seize* (cf. *manku-* (*seize-i.-t.-*)
to seize, to apprehend (209) + *-ri* "intransitiviser of a
transitive verb stem" (468) + *-ŋku* "allomorph of *ŋu*" (549)).
G: p.18.
VI:21.
- (211) *maša* *new, fresh* (*fresh*)
in: *maša vaṭṭāpa new(ly made) vaṭṭāpa* (cf. *vaṭṭāpa circumcised*
man (162)).
N: p.168 (VII).
VII:13.
- (212) *mašu=ana* *the 4th born boy*
XIII:6, 7.
- (213) *mašuka* *the 4th born girl*
XIII:(6), 9.
- (214) *maṇu-* (tV) *to wear* (*wear*)
VIII:17, 18, 22.
- (215) *maṇu* *face* (*face*)
V:8; VII:25, 27, 28, 30, 35.
- (216) *māṇi* (k.) *husband* (*māṇi*)
L: pp.128 (I:8).
N: pp.155-6 (I:3), 165-6 (IV), 169 (VIII).
I:8, 11-3, 18, 19, 22, 114; VIII:17, 20, 24, 34.
- (217) *mīaḍiṭyi* *men* (irregular plural of *miṛu* (*men*)
man (229)).
G: p.9.
V:17; X:18.
- (218) *mitvama-* (tV) *to name* (cf. *mitvi name* (220) + (*name-D.=t.-*)
-ma "suffix, deriving transitive verbs from nouns" (allomorph)
(196)).
G: pp.27, 48.
L: pp.135-6 (I:80, 109, 117); 138 (II:15), 146 (VIII:27).
I:16, 19, 21, 22, 33, (80), 109, 117, 119, 122, 125, 128, 130-2;
II:7, 15; VIII:26, 27; XIII:1.
- (219) *mitvani-* (cf. *mitvi name* (220) + *-ni* "suffix, deriving intransi-
tive verbs from nouns" (440)).
L: p.138 (II:15).

- (220) mitʏi *name* (name)
 G: cf. p.48.
 VI:23, 24.
 Cf. → mitʏama- *to name* (218).
- (221) milʏaʀu *wind*
 XII:4, 6.
 Cf. → vaʀpa *south(wind)* (160), vukaʀa *north(wind)* (192).
- (222) mita *companion, friend, mate* (< English?) (mate)
 in: mita manku- *take as friend* (cf. manku- *to seize, to apprehend* (209)).
 X:23, 24.
- (223) mitla *adultery* (mitla)
 N: p.165 (IV).
 IV:1, 2, 4.
- (224) minawata *the white of the eyes* (cf. ⁺mina *eye + wata ?* (cf. (263)?). (eye-wata)
 XI:25.
- (225) Minaʀamukuḡa *"name of a clan"* (cf. ⁺minaʀa *bullock bush + -mukuḡa "morpheme group, added to clan names"* (246)).
 XII:14, 20.
- (226) mina ḡaʀʃi *tear(s)* (cf. ⁺mina *eye + ḡaʀʃi* (524)). (eye drop)
 G: cf. p.62.
 XI:25.
- (227) minka *sore* (sore)
 IX:15.
- (228) -miḷaḡa *"morpheme group, added to clan names"* (cf. ^omiḷa ? + -ḡa *"noun suffix"* (342)).
 XII:2-4, 6, 19, 15, 16, 17, 20.
 Cf. → vaʀpamiḷaḡa (161), vukaʀamiḷaḡa (193), Naʀuntuḷamiḷaḡa (514); -mukuḡa *"morpheme group, added to clan names"* (246).
- (229) miʀu *man* (man)
 G: cf. p.9.
 L: cf. p.130 (I:19).
 N: 155 (I:3).
 I:2, (8), 11, 18, 19, 21, 22, 48, 53, 56, 58, 62, 73, 118, 121,

II:6; VIII:27; X:10; XIII:2.

Cf. + miaditvi men (217).

- (230) muṅṅa taboo (muṅṅa)
 G: cf. p.48.
 L: p.140 (III:26).
 N: p.169 (VII).
 III:29; VII:(4), 5, 11, 32; VIII:1.
- (231) muṅṅani- (iv) to be/become taboo (muṅṅa-D.=I.)
 (cf. muṅṅa taboo (230) + -ni "suffix, deriving intransitive verbs from nouns" (440)).
 G: cf. p.48.
 VII:4.
- (232) muḷaṅaḷi revenge killing(s), vendetta (muḷaṅaḷi)
 N: pp.165 (III), 171-2 (X).
 III:31; IX:2, 3, 8; X:40.
- (233) mutyatya ? cf. + wiḷi mutyatya big waddy (322).
- (234) mutumutupa- to make short, to shorten (short-short-D.=T.-)
 (cf. +mutu short + -pa "suffix, deriving transitive verbs from nouns" (127)).
 VIII:19.
- (235) munka(ṅa) "plural marker for nouns" (crowd)
 G: pp.9, 52; cf. p.82.
 L: pp.146 (VIII:32), 149 (X:34).
 I:21, 31, 86; II:6; V:14, 16, 28; VIII:10, 32; IX:18, 23, 25;
 X:34; XI:5.
 Cf. + atiḷi (28), vapina (137), maḷa(ṅa) (199), ṅaḷu (526).
- (236) munkuwiḷi a type of waddy (club)
 (cf. °munku ? + wiḷi waddy (322)).
 N: p.170 (IX).
 IX:3, 12, 18.
- (237) mulkalpu uncircumcised youth (mulkalpu)
 VII:1.
- (238) mura custom, law (mura)
 XI:34.
 Cf. + ṅuṅu custom, legend, story (533).

- (239) muřa *straight* (straight)
VIII:9.
- (240) muņa(-ana) *the 5th born boy*
XIII:5, 6.
- (241) muļta *foreigner, stranger* (stranger)
N: p.173 (XI).
XI:9, 21.
- (242) muka *quiet, silent* (silent)
III:33, 34; V:27; X:17.
- (243) muku *bone* (bone)
VI:2; X:20-2, (23).
- (244) mukumayāṣanʏtʏaṅa *bone-master* (bone-master-nʏtʏa-ṅa)
(cf. muku *bone* (243) + *mayāta *master, boss* (< English) +
-nʏtʏaṅa "morpheme group, suffixed to certain nouns, in
particular to place names to indicate that a person, named in
such a way, has died there" (359)).
G: p.36.
X:23.
- (245) mukumaṣamaṣanʏtʏaṅa *bone-handler* (bone-hand-hand-nʏtʏa-ṅa)
(cf. muku *bone* (243) + *maṣa *hand* + -nʏtʏaṅa "morpheme group,
suffixed to certain nouns, in particular to place names to
indicate that a person, named in such a way, has died there"
(359)).
G: p.36.
X:23.
- (246) -mukuna "morpheme group, added to clan names" (-bone-ṅa)
(cf. muku *bone* (243) + -ṅa "noun suffix" (342)).
VI:2?, 3; XII:1, 2, 5, 6, 11-7, 20.
Cf. → ɪḍɪmukuṅa (77), Utimukuṅa (109), Untamukuṅa (112),
Vatnamukuṅa (143), Minaṣamukuṅa (225), Wiltumukuṅa (318),
Wilkamukuṅa (320), Yalpumukuṅa (382), Vāḷumukuṅa (168); -miḷaṅa
"morpheme group added to clan names" (228).

W

- (247) wa- "basic morpheme of (short) 2nd person (dual and plural)
pronouns".
G: p.30.

- (248) wa- "basic morpheme of interrogative pronoun"
 G: p.13.
 Cf. → waḡa *where?* (254).
- (249) -wa (p.) *he, she; him, her* (suffix of the 3rd person singular, "nominative") (-he)
 G: pp.30-2, 39, 41, 52.
 L: pp.129 (I:11), 134 (I:60, 63-4), 138-9 (II:4; III:9), 142 (VI:26; VII:11), 144 (VIII:2), 147-9 (IX:8, 15; X:32), 151 (XI:33).
 I:11, 12, 32, 33, 36, 54, 70, 82, 88, 102, 114, [115]; II:(4), 8; III:3, 4, 9, 10, 16, [27-9], 30, 32-4; IV:20; V:5, 6; VI:(26?); VII:2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 13, 14, 16, 19, 21, 23, 25, 26, 31, 34; VIII:2, 9, 19, 22, (26), 29, 30, 32, 33; IX:(8), 13, 14, [15?], 22, 24, 30, 31; X:[17], 24, 26, 28, 29; XI:3, [5], [6], 15, 16, 18-20, 23, 30, 31, 33, 36-8; XIII:2.
 Cf. → vaḡa *he, she; him, her* (138); itlawā (88), itlawā-aḡu (89), matʼiriwa (203).
- (250) waiku- (iV) *to run away, to flee* (run=away)
 (cf. ⁺wai *fear, fright* + *-ku "old derivational suffix" (483)?).
 IV:2-4.
- (251) wapatla *head* (head)
 G: cf. p.62.
 VIII:19, 30; XI:25, 26.
- (252) wapu *everything, all* (every)
 G: p.14.
 VII:38.
- (253) wawa=wawaʼi *long (ones)* (Reduplicated form of ⁺wawaʼi *long*) (long=long)
 VI:16.
- (254) waḡa *where?* (interrogative-indefinite pronoun; (where)
 cf. wa- "basic morpheme of interrogative pronoun" (248) + -ḡa "supporting element" (341)).
 G: p.13.
 L: p.136 (I:106).
 I:87, 90, 92, 95, 96, 100, 106; XI:18.
 Note: Direction is indicated by the suffix -nti (457); hence waḡanti *where (to)?*

- (255) *watya* "emphatic particle" (watya)
 G: pp.38, 39.
 II:6, 9; III:29; VIII:30; IX:19; X:1.
 Note: It is uncertain whether this can be looked at as an
 "allomorph" of the emphatic particle *utvu* (104).
- (256) *Walypi* "name of the southern neighbours of (Walypi)
 the *AtynYamaṭaṅa* (21) people" (Wailpi, Wailbi).
 N: cf. p.154 (I:1), 173 (XI).
 XI:4, 34, 41.
- (257) *walɣtɣa* *loose* (loose)
 XI:29.
- (258) ⁺*waya-* (tV?) *to dodge*
 L: pp.144-5 (VIII:7, 12).
- (259) *wayali-* (iV) *to turn around* (cf. ⁺*waya-* *to* (turn-)
dodge (258) + *-li ? ?).
 G: p.18.
 V:10, 14; X:10, 29, 31; XI:25.
 Cf. → *ṅawiri-* *to turn (round), to circle* (498).
- (260) *wayara-* (tV) *to dodge* (cf. ⁺*waya-* *to dodge* (258) (dodge)
 + *-ra ? (467)).
 G: p.18.
 L: pp.144-5 (VIII:7, 12).
 VIII:12, 13, 14.
 Note: The form *wayaraṅu-* *to dodge* represents the unusual case of
 the transitiviser *-ṅu* (528) being added to a transitive verb stem.
- (261) *wayayara-* (tV) *to dodge* (Reduplicated form (dodge[-dod]ge)
 of *wayara-* *to dodge* (260)).
 L: p.144 (VIII:7).
 VIII:7, 8.
- (262) *wata* *but* (< English?) (but?)
 I:40.
 Cf. → *pata but* (128), *vaṅaku but, however* (139).
- (263) ⁺*wata* *very big* (?)
 G: p.15.
 Cf. → *minawata the white of the eyes* (224), *wiṅkuwata heap of*
dirt, on which are placed sticks and two stones, made at the

place where somebody has died (327), *ŋaŋawata (the) big (ones), (the) grown up (ones)* (521); *wataŋa* "classifier with nouns referring to humans" (264).

- (264) *wataŋa* "classifier with nouns referring to humans" (*wata-ŋa*)
 (cf. ⁺*wata* *very big* (?) (263) + *-ŋa* "noun suffix" (342)).
 G: pp.14-5.
 I:(111); III:11, 13; X:(17?); XI:8.
 Cf. → *akaŋa* "classifier with nouns referring to non-humans" (61).
- (265) *watna-* "morpheme (group?) forming 2nd person pronouns"
 (cf. *wa-* "basic morpheme of (short) 2nd person (dual and plural) pronouns" (247) + ^o-(a)*tna* ? ?).
 Cf. → *watnanʔi* (267), *watnanʔ[ɪ=w]atnanʔi* (268), *watnanaka* (269),
watnanpi (270), *watnāpa* (271), *watnātapa* (272), ⁺*watnātu* (273),
watnālanpi (274), *watnāka* (275).
- Note: The pronominal forms having this morpheme (group?) as their first part are usually "shortened", having dropped the initial suffix ⁺*ŋu-* "basic morpheme of 2nd person (dual and plural) pronouns" (345). These "shortened" forms can usually also function as suffixes to the verb form.
- (266) *watna=watna* *bendy* (Reduplicated form of (*bendy*)
⁺*watna* *curved type of waddy*).
 I:41.
- (267) *watnanʔi* (p.) *you-two* (2nd person dual, (*watnanʔi*)
 9th series personal pronoun, "short" form; cf. *watna-* "morpheme (group?) forming 2nd person pronouns" (265) + ^o-*nʔi* ?).
 G: cf. pp.30-1.
 I:106, 109, 110-2.
- (268) *watnanʔ[ɪ=w]atnanʔi* (p.) *you* (*watnanʔ[ɪ-w]atnanʔi*)
 (2nd person plural, 9th series personal pronoun, "short" form;
 reduplicated form of *watnanʔi you-two* (267)).
 G: cf. pp.30-1.
 I:87, 90, 92, 100, 101.
- (269) *watnanaka* (p.) ? (cf. *watna-* "morpheme (group?) forming 2nd person pronouns" (265) + ^o-*na* ? or *-ŋa* "noun suffix" (342)? + ⁺-*aka* *small piece, bit* (58)).
 I:(110).

Note: It is unknown whether this is identical to *watnāka you-two* (275) or not. (It could, formally, be the plural form corresponding to the dual *watnāka*).

- (270) *watnanpi* (p.) *you-two(?)* (2nd person dual(?), 7th series personal pronoun, "short" form; doubtlessly = **watnanapi*: cf. *watna-* "morpheme (group?) forming 2nd person pronouns" (265) + °-*na* ? or -*na* "noun suffix" (342)? + °-*pi* "short" form of -*pila* (*they*) *two, both* (129)?).

G: cf. pp.30-1.

III:5-8.

Cf. + *valanpi they-two* (153).

Note: In APWK, p.14, this form has been given as plural.

- (271) *watnāpa* (p.) *you-two* (2nd person dual, 8th series personal pronoun, "short" form; cf. *watna-* "morpheme (group?) forming 2nd person pronouns" (265) + -*apa* "short" form of *vapa small, little* (131)?).

G: cf. pp.30-1.

N: p.166 (V).

IV:16; V:18, 19, 26.

Cf. + *valanāpa they-two* (149).

Note: This form has not been given in APWK, p.14.

- (272) *watnatapa* (p.) *you* (2nd person plural(?), 8th series personal pronoun, "short" form; cf. *watna-* "morpheme (group?) forming 2nd person pronouns" (265) + °-(a)t(u) ? + -*apa* "short" form of *vapa small, little* (131)?).

N: p.159 (I;12).

I:74.

Cf. + *valanātapa* (150); *watnātu* (273); *ṅuwatnātapa* (346).

Note: This form has not been given in APWK, p.14.

- (273) [†]*watnātu* (p.) *you-two* (2nd person dual, 4th series personal pronoun, "short" form; cf. *watna-* "morpheme (group?) forming 2nd person pronouns" (265) + °-(a)tu ?).

N: p.159 (I;12).

Cf. + *valāntu* (151), *ṅuwatnātu* (347).

Note: This form has been given as *wadntu* in APWK, p.12.

- (274) *watnāi[a]npi* (p.) *you* (2nd person plural(?), 7th series personal pronoun, "short" form; doubtlessly = **watnalanapi*: cf. *watna-* "morpheme (group?) forming 2nd person pronouns" (265) + °-*la* ? + °-*na* ? or -*na* "noun suffix" (342) + °-*pi* "short" form of -*pila* (*they*) *two, both* (129)?).

G: cf. pp.30-1.

N: p.120 (I:15).

I:94-6.

Cf. → *valananpi they* (148), *watnanpi you-two(?)* (270).

Note: Comparing the other pronouns of this series, one would rather expect °*watnanan[a]pi* is the form *watnalan[a]pi* due to dissimilation? In APWK, p.14 *watalanbi* has been given as 2nd person dual.

- (275) *watnāka* (p.) *you-two* (2nd person dual, (watnāka)
5th series personal pronoun, "short" form; cf. *watna-* "morpheme (group) forming 2nd person pronouns (265) + ⁺-aka *small piece, bit* (58)).
G: cf. pp.30-1.
N: p.160 (I:17).
I:(81), 102.
Cf. → *valanāka they-two* (152), *watnanaka ?* (269), *ḡatlāka we-two* (507).
- (276) *watni-* (iV) *to go back, to return* (return)
II:1, 23.
- (277) *wanta-* (tV) *to leave, to abandon* (leave)
V:26; XI:43.
- (278) *Wanta=upaḡa* (Nl.) ? (Cf. °*wanta ?* + (Wanta-upaḡa)
⁺*upa white* + *-ḡa* "noun suffix" (342)).
VI:8.
- (279) *wanti-* (iV) *to lie (down); to exist, to be* (lie)
G: p.54.
III:21; V:11; IX:18, 31.
- (280) *wantu good, well* (good)
L: cf. pp.140 (III:26), 151 (XII:21).
III:16; IV:6-8, 14, 15, 20; VII:3, 15, 21, 22, 35; VIII:10, 15;
XI:38; XII:19, 21.
- (281) *wantu=wantupa-* (tV) *to make good, to make* (good-good-D.=T.)
well, to arrange, to prepare (cf. reduplication of *wantu good, well* (280) + *-pa* "suffix, deriving transitive verbs from nouns" (127)).
VIII:11.
- (282) *wantuni-* (iV) *to become good, to become well* (good-D.=I.)
(cf. *wantu good, well* (280) + *-ni* "suffix, deriving intransitive verbs from nouns" (440)).
XI:37, 44.

- (283) *wan̄a-* (TV) *to talk about (somebody), to gossip* (talk=about)
I:111.
- (284) *-walanpi* (p.) *you-two(?)* (2nd person(?) dual, (-walanpi)
7th series personal pronoun(?), "short" form?)
L: p.128 (I:7).
I:7.
Cf. → *valanpi they-two* (153), *watnanpi you-two(?)* (270),
watnāi[a]npi you (274).
Note: This form is perhaps not existing, as *watnanpi you-two* (270)
has been given as the 2nd person dual, 7th series personal
pronoun; does this simply mean that this is a bad transcription
for *valanpi they-two* (153)?
- (285) *walalu* (p.) *you* (2nd person plural(?), (-walalu)
"residual" series of the personal pronoun, "short" form; cf.
wa- "basic morpheme of (short) 2nd person (dual and plural)
pronouns" (247) (+ °-la ?) + °-lu ?).
G: cf. pp.30-1.
N: pp.159 (I:12).
I:77, 81.
Cf. → *ḡuwal[al?]u you* (348).
Note: The second vowel usually is dropped, and it is not certain
whether the form is *walalu* or *walulu*.
- (286) *wali* *peace-maker, arbiter* (peace=maker)
N: cf. p.170 (IX).
IX:26, 27.
- (287) *walkiri* *grave* (grave)
N: cf. p.171 (IX).
VIII:2.
- (288) *waru* *a long time ago, once, in the olden days* (once)
G: p.46.
L: cf. pp.126-7 (I:1, 2), 139 (III:10).
I:1, 2; III:10, 30; IV:2, 21; V:1; VI:1; IX:1, 16; X:1, 35, 37;
XI:2, 39; XIII:7.
Note: The word sometimes occurs with the noun suffix *-ḡuḡi* from
(541); *waruḡuḡi* from *the olden days (on), since a long time ago*
(cf. III:30).

- (289) waŋa-ina *the second born son*
XIII:3.
Note: In APWK, p.27 and p.42, the form wârianha has been given.
- (290) waŋika *the second born girl*
XIII:9.
- (291) waɖa=waɖa (*the members*) of the opposite moiety (waɖa-waɖa)
N: cf. p.172 (X).
X:31.
Cf. → yaɖunʸi=yaɖunʸi (*the members*) of the opposite moiety (392).
- (292) waɖi- (tV) *to pick up (with somebody)* (pick=up)
IV:22.
- (293) waɖinʸi *widow* (widow)
IV:23, 24; VIII:25, 26.
- (294) waŋmi- (iV) *to move (aside)* (move)
VII:31.
Cf. → iri- *to move (away), to shift* (96).
- (295) waɭu- (iV?) *to say, to speak, to talk* (talk)
L: pp.127 (I:2), 135 (I:83-4).
I:2, 3, 73, 83, 89, 91; III:(12), 17; V:17; VI:19; VII:22, 35;
XI:39, 40.
Cf. → waŋka- (iV) *to speak, to talk* (302).
Note: The root occurs in the texts only with the suffix -ŋu
"transitiviser of an intransitive verb stem" (528) and with the
suffix -ŋuɖi "verb suffix, indicating reciprocity of the action"
(544).
- (296) -waɖa "verb suffix, indicating that the action (loc.)
or the event takes place away, over there"
G: p.21; cf. p.85.
L: pp.144 (VII:34), 151 (XII:2).
II:23; III:19; VII:34; VIII:9, 11; XI:4, 6; XII:2.
- (297) waɖu *face to face, facing?* In:
waɖu manku- (tV) *to meet* (cf. manku- *to seize,* (waɖu seize)
to apprehend (209)).
L: p.143 (VII:32).
XI:41.
- (298) wakarakari *all broken up* (Redupli- (break[=i.-b]reak=i.)
cated form of wakari- to break (299)).
G: pp.35, 49, 51.
IX:18.

- (299) wakari- (iv) *to break* (cf. °waka- ? + -ri (break)
 "intransitiviser of a transitive verb stem (allomorph)" (468)).
 G: cf. p.49.
 N: p.165 (IV).
 IV:17; IX:13.
- (300) waṅu- (V) *to say, to tell, to talk* (say)
 (allomorph of waṅka- *to speak, to talk* (302), used when the
 root is followed by one of the three suffixes -ṅu "transitiviser
 of an intransitive verb stem" (528), -ṅuṛi "verb suffix,
 indicating reciprocity of the action" (544), -ṅkari "verb suffix,
 indicating reflexivity of the action" (548)).
 L: p.135 (I:81, 86, 99).
 I:40, 79, 81, 85, 86, 93, 99, 110; III:12, 16, 18; IV:7, 9;
 V:27; VI:20; VII:17.
 Cf. → waṅu- *to say, to speak, to talk* (295).
- (301) waṅuwaṅu- (V) *to say, to tell, to talk* (say-say)
 (Reduplicated form of waṅu- *to say, to tell, to talk* (300).
 VII:33.
- (302) waṅka- (iv) *to speak, to talk, to say* (speak)
 G: p.28.
 L: pp.135-6 (I:80, 83-4, 86, 99, 107), 144 (VII:34).
 I:37, 39, 73, 75, 76, 78-80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 89, 94, 97, 98,
 104, 105, 107, 108, 112, 113, 126; II:8, 23; III:11, 16, 26-8,
 30; IV:11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 20; VI:14, 25; VII:7, 9, 13, 25, 34,
 37; X:26, 28; XI:24, 33; XII:4; XIII:7.
 Cf. → waṅu- (V) *to say, to tell, to talk* (300).
- (303) waṅkatʼa|a *gossiping person, gossip* (speak-tʼa|a)
 (cf. waṅka- *to speak, to talk, to say* (302) + °-tʼa|a ?).
 X:18.
- (304) wii *now* (just)
 G: p.45.
 V:25-7; VI:20, 26.
 Cf. → yaṅa *now* (369).
- (305) wipma|a yaṅṅa *court-ground* (court=ground)
 (cf. ⁺wipma *a history thing, a big thing* + °-|a ? + yaṅṅa *hole
 antbed?*).
 N: pp.153-4 (I:1), 165 (IV).
 I:2; III:18.
 Cf. → ⁺yulṅara *business ground* (402).

- (306) °wimila doubtlessly a wrong notation of wipma₁a, cf. (305).
N: p.154 (I:1).
- (307) wit₁ya- (iV) to go up, to climb (go=up)
VI:8, 9.
- (308) wit₁wit₁ini- (iV) to drip (out), to run out (drip-drip-D.=I.)
(Reduplication of °wit₁l-? + -ni "suffix, deriving intransitive verbs from nouns" (440)).
IX:15.
Cf. + na₁ja- to run out (434).
- (309) +wit₁vi₁ya hut, humpy
N: cf. p.171 (X).
- (310) +wii₁ya₁ fully initiated man
N: p.154 (I:1).
- (311) wii₁vt₁ya night, darkness (night)
I:81; V:13; VIII:32.
- (312) wii₁vt₁yani- (iV) to become night, to become dark (night-D.=I.)
(cf. wii₁vt₁ya night, darkness (311) + -ni "suffix, deriving intransitive verbs from nouns" (440)).
XI:27.
- (313) wii₁vt₁yava₁ṛi (Nl.) Dark Creek (cf. wii₁vt₁ya (wii₁vt₁yava₁ṛi)
night, darkness (311) + va₁ṛi creek (165)).
- (314) wita=wita leg (reduplication of °wita?). (leg)
IX:10.
- (315) witnāpa little, small (cf. °witna small? + (little)
-apa "short" form of vapa small, little (131)?).
N: p.168 (VII).
VII:15, 17, 21; XIII:1.
- (316) witni- (iV) to go around, to go about, to stroll, (walk)
to be (around)
G: cf. pp.18, 54.
I:114; III:10; V:2-5, 7-9, 11-3, 27; VII:1, 2; VIII:9, 22; IX:
26, 27; X:26, 28, 36, 40.
Note: The plural is formed by adding the suffix -a₁i (53).
- (317) witia- (tV) to spoil (something), to make a mess (of something)
L: p.151 (XII:2).
XII:2.

- (318) *Wiltumukuṅa* "name of a clan"
 (cf. ⁺*wiltu eagle* + *-mukuṅa* "morpheme group, added to clan names" (246)).
 XII:13.
- (319) *wilka dog* (dog)
 V:12; VI:2.
- (320) *Wiikamukuṅa* "name of a clan" (dog-bone-ṅa)
 (cf. *wilka dog* (319) + *-mukuṅa* "morpheme group, added to clan names" (246)).
 N: p.168 (VI).
 VI:3; XII:11.
- (321) *wira gumtree* (gum=tree)
 VI:16, 17.
- (322) ⁺*wiḷi waddy* In:
wiḷi mutʷatʷa big waddy (big=waddy)
 N: p.170 (IX).
 XI:11, 25.
 Cf. + *munkuwiḷi a type of waddy* (236).
- (323) *wiḷi wood, stick, tree* (tree)
 V:20, 21; IX:18.
- (324) *wiḷanāpa the 1st born boy*
 XIII:3.
- (325) *wiḷḷi-* (iV) *to go off (as a blow)* (go=off)
 XI:25.
- (326) *-wiḷi* "indicates reciprocity of relationship" (-wiḷi)
 Cf. + *vapapa-wiḷi* "couple of individuals standing in the vapapa-relationship to each other" (133), *ṅapaḷa-wiḷi* "couple of individuals standing in the ṅapaḷa-relationship to each other" (491).
- (327) *wiṅkuwata heap of dirt, on which are placed* (wiṅku-wata)
sticks and two stones, made at the place where somebody has died (cf. ^o*wiṅku ?* + ⁺*wata very big?* (263)).
 G: cf. p.83.
 N: p.171 (IX).
 IX:17.

T

- (328) -ṭ "allomorph of the suffix -nta" (455) (pres.)
G: pp.25, 30; cf. p.82.
- (329) -ṭa "allomorph of the suffix -nta" (455) (pres.)
G: pp.25, 29; cf. p.82.
- (330) ṭa *and* (and)
G: pp.46-7, 63.
I:26, 28, 48, (56?), 62, [7]1, 83, 98, [102?], 119, 121, 129, 131; II:3(?); III:11, 17, 19, 32; VII:4, 23, 35; VIII:5, (6), 27; XI:17; XII:14, 16, [1]9; XIII:3.
- (331) +-ṭaŋḳ "allomorphs of the morpheme combination -tanta" (418)
G: p.30.
- (332) +-ṭaŋḳa "allomorphs of the morpheme combination -tanta" (418)
G: p.30.
- (333) +-ṭanʏtʏ "allomorph of the morpheme combination -tanʏtʏu" (415)
G: p.30.
- (334) +-ṭanʏtʏu "allomorph of the morpheme combination -tanʏtʏu" (415)
G: p.30.
- (335) -ṭari *towards* (noun suffix, indicating direction (towards)
towards a place, but without reaching it).
G: pp.2, 6, 7, 34; cf. p.84.
L: pp.142-3 (VII:12, 32).
VII:12, 29, 32.
Note: The compound word yuntuakanantaŋari *east* (407) always has this suffix.
- (336) +-ṭaŋk "allomorph of the morpheme combination -taŋku" (420)
G: p.30.
- (337) +-ṭaŋku "allomorph of the morpheme combination -taŋku" (420)
G: p.30.
- (338) -ṭu "allomorph of the suffix -aŋu I" ((10)
G: cf. pp.30-1.

N

- (339) n̄a- "basic morpheme of the interrogative pronoun n̄aŋataŋa *what?*" (344)
G: p.13.

(340) °-ḡa probably wrong for -na "verb suffix, indicating movement towards the speaker or the place spoken about" (424)
L: cf. p.144 (VII:34).

(341) -ḡa "supporting element of pronouns"

G: pp.11-3.

Cf. → aḡa *that* (11), iḡa *this* (79), vaḡa *he, she; him, her* (138), waḡa *where?* (254), ḡaḡa *who? someone* (501), ḡuḡa *that over there* (534).

Note: It is possible that this has to be identified with -ḡa "noun suffix" (342).

(342) -ḡa "noun suffix of unclear function" (-ḡa)

G: pp.2, 4-6, 8, 9, 10-1, 13-5, 34, 39, 40, 42, 44-6, 73;
cf. pp.82, 83.

L: pp.130-2 (I:16, 21, 27-9), 134 (I:63-4, 68), 138-9 (II:3, 6; III:1, 5), 144 (VII:36), 147-9 (IX:4, 15; X:34).

N: cf. pp.163 (II), 166 (IV), 168 (VI), 170 (IX).

I:2, 10, 12-4, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 31-3, 36, 37, 39, 49, 51, 55, 57, 60, 62, 64-6, [67], 69, 71, 73, 81, 86, 91, 99, 101, 102, 105, 108-10, 117, (118), 122(?), 124, 126, 127; II:3, 4, 6, 9, 11, 14, 15, 21; III:1, 5, 11-3, 16, 17, 27, 31; IV:1, 10, (11), 12, 13, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22-4; V:(3), 14-6, 21, 24, 28; VI:1, [2(?)], 3, 13-5, 21, 22, 24; VII:6, 11, 15-7, 20, 21, 26, (32), 34, 36; VIII:3, 5, 6, 8, 12-4, 22, 24, 25, 28, 32-4; IX:1-3, 5, 8, 9, 11-3, 15, 18, 20, 25; X:10, 15, [16(?)], (17?), 18, 23, 25, 29, 30, 32, 33, [34], 36; XI:1, 4, 8, 10, 13, 14, 17, 25, 31, [34], 37, 39, 40; XII:1-6, 10-7, 20; XIII:2.

Note: a) The suffix seems to have "stylistic" value in many cases. However, sometimes, some clearer value can be given: i) It is added to pronominal objects (dual and plural personal pronouns). ii) It is added to certain pronouns before they take another suffix. iii) It may have adjectivising or substantivising function in certain cases.

b) The term "noun suffix" is not correct in that the suffix can be added to what has been classed as particles, not as nouns.

c) Several words obligatorily carry this suffix, that which indicates that it may have to be identified with the suffix -ḡa "supporting element of pronouns" (341). The most important words carrying always this suffix (although dropping it when taking

certain other suffixes) are the following ones: ⁺Atʏnʏamaʒaŋa "the tribal group called 'Wailbi' in the anthropological literature" (21), Ankuʃitʏiŋa (Nl.) *Angoorichina* (40), akaŋa "classifier with nouns referring to non-humans" (61), upmaŋaka (*some-, any-*)one (100), utʏurapaŋa (*an)other (one)* (106), -miʒaŋa "morpheme group, added to clan names" (228), -mukuŋa "morpheme group, added to clan names" (246), wataŋa "classifier with nouns referring to humans" (264), Wanta=upaŋa (NL) ? (278), ŋamiŋa *how many?* (343), ŋaŋataŋa *what? something* (344), -nʏtʏaŋa "morpheme group, suffixed to certain nouns, in particular to place names, to indicate that a person, named in such a way has died there" (359), ɣainaŋa *again* (363)?, nampiŋa *widower* (425)?, ŋaʒapaŋa *big; much* (520), ŋutlaŋa=valaŋaŋa *here and there* (537).

(343) ŋamiŋa *how many?* (how=many)

G: p.13.

I:12.

(344) ŋaŋataŋa *what? something* (what)

G: p.13.

L: p.146 (IX:1).

I:110; III:27, 31; IV:1; IX:1.

Cf. → ŋaŋa *who? someone, anyone* (501).

Note: The suffix -ŋa (342) is obligatory in the "nominative", but is dropped before certain other suffixes, while it is maintained before others; cf. ŋaŋataŋu *what for, why?* (cf. -ŋu "noun suffix, indicating possession or movement to a place (genitive-dative)" (479), ŋaŋataŋaŋa *in what, by what, with what, through what?* (cf. -ŋa "noun suffix, indicating location in or at a place (locative) or the instrument by which something is done (instrumental)" (488)).

(345) ŋu- "basic morpheme of (full) 2nd person (dual and plural) pronouns"

Cf. → ⁺ŋuwatnātaŋa (346), ⁺ŋuwatnātu (347), ŋuwalalu (348).

(346) ⁺ŋuwatnātaŋa (p.) *you* (2nd person plural(?), 8th series(?) personal pronoun, "full" form; cf. ŋu- "basic morpheme of (full) 2nd person (dual and plural) pronouns" (345) + watnātaŋa *you* (272)).

N: cf. p.159 (I:12).

Note: This form has not been given in APWK, p.14.

- (347) ⁺ḡuwatnātu (p.) *you-two* (2nd person dual, 4th series personal pronoun, "full" form; cf. ḡu- "basic morpheme of (full) 2nd person (dual and plural) pronouns" (345) + ⁺watnātu *you-two* (273)).
N: cf. p.159 (I:12).
- (348) ḡuwal[al?]u (p.) *you* (2nd person plural(?), (ḡuwal[al?]u) "residual" series of the personal pronoun, "full" form; cf. ḡu- "basic morpheme of (full) 2nd person (dual and plural) pronouns" (345) + walalu *you* (285)).
N: cf. p.159 (I:12).
I:79, 80.
- (349) ḡura (p.) *you* (2nd person plural, 1st series (ḡura) personal pronoun; cf. ḡu- "basic morpheme of (full) 2nd person (dual and plural) pronouns" (345) + °-ra ?).
VII:9.
- (350) -ḡt̃ "allomorph of the suffix -nta" (455) (pres.)
G: cf. pp.25, 30.
- (351) -ḡta "allomorph of the suffix -nta" (455) (pres.)
G: cf. pp.25; cf. p.82.
- Tʷ
- (352) -tʷ "allomorph of the suffix -nʷtʷu" (361) (fut.)
G: cf. pp.23-4, 30.
- (353) -tʷaku ? (hapax)
Cf. → intatʷakuṅu- *to kill* (93).
- (354) -tʷi "emphatic noun suffix" (-tʷi)
G: pp.12, 36, 38-9.
L: cf. pp.146 (VIII:25), 149 (X:34).
I:20-3, 25, 34, 39, 41; II:4, 21; III:6, [23], 29; IV:5, 17, 18, 24; VI:18, 21, 23; VII:35, 37; VIII:25; IX:12; X:8, 16(?), 32, 34; XI:23; XII:2, 15, 17.
Cf. → anʷtʷi *that* (24), inʷtʷi(ḡa) *this* (83), nimpatʷi(ḡa) *like this* (443)/(444), nimpalitʷi(ḡa) *this sort (of things)* (446).
- (355) -tʷu "allomorph of the suffix -nʷtʷu" (361) (fut.)
G: pp.23-4.

N^Y

- (356) -n^Y "allomorph of the suffix -n^{Ya}" (357) (int.)
G: cf. p.30.
- (357) -n^{Ya} "verb suffix, indicating a doubt or a question" (dubitative, interrogative) (int.)
G: pp.21, 23, 33, 34, 70; cf. p.85.
I:87, 90, 92, 95, 100, 110, 111.
- (358) -n^{Yt^Y} "allomorph of the suffix -n^{Yt^{Yu}}" (361) (fut.)
- (359) -n^{Yt^{Ya}ḡa} "morpheme group, suffixed to certain nouns, in particular to place names to indicate that a person, named in such a way, has died there" (cf. °-n<sup>Yt^{Ya} ? + -ḡa "noun suffix" (342)). (int.)
G: pp.49-50.
X:23.
Cf. → mukumāyaḡan^{Yt^{Ya}ḡa} *bone-master* (244), mukumaḡamaḡan^{Yt^{Ya}ḡa} *bone-handler* (245).</sup>
- (360) -n^{Yt^{Yi}} "suffix, joined to the deixis" (cf. = "modifying element of demonstrative pronoun"?)
Cf. → an^{Yt^{Yi}} *that* (24), in^{Yt^{Yi}}(ḡa) *this* (83).
- (361) -n^{Yt^{Yu}} "verb suffix, having the meaning of a hypothetical or of a future" (fut.)
G: pp.22, 23-4, 25, 29, 30, 34, 66, 68-70; cf. p.85.
L: pp.133 (I:40), 134 (I:74), 136-9 (I:117; II:1, 23; III:8, 17-20), 143 (VII:30), 145 (VIII:10), 147 (IX:2-3), 149 (X:14, 15).
I:2, 4-6, 8-10, [11], 12, 13, 15, [1]6, 17-9, 21, 22, 24, 25, 31-3, [36], 37, 51, [57], 68, 70, 73-82, 84-6, 88, 89, 91, 93, 94, 97, 98, 101, 102, 104, 105, 109, 112, 113, 116-20, 126, 127; II:1, 17, 23; III:3, 4, 8-12, 16, 18, 21, 30, 32-4; IV:7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 19, 20; V:7-10, 14, 17, 21-3, 25, 27; VII:2, 4-6, 8, 9, 12-4, 16, 17, 20-9, 31, 33-6; VIII:1-3, 6-9, 11-5, 17-20, 22, 27-33, 35; IX:3-5, 7-10, 12, 15; X:6, 7, 9-11, 13, 16-9, 23-5, 29-32; XI:23, 37, 41, 42, 44; XII:18.
Note: This suffix has the three allomorphs -t^Y (352), -t^{Yu} (355) and -n^{Yt^Y} (358).

Y

- (362) -ya "noun suffix, indicating a vocative" (-ya)
 G: pp.2, 8, 32, 34; cf. p.84.
 IV:14.
- (363) yainaṅa *again* (cf. ⁺yai *again* + °-na ? + (again-ṅa)
 -ṅa "noun suffix" (342)).
 G: p.46.
 I:39; III:17; X:32.
- (364) yau=yau *quick, fast, in a hurry* (quick-quick)
 (reduplicated form of ⁺yau *quick, fast, in a hurry*)
 VII:18.
- (365) yapa=yapa- (tV) *to open* (reduplicated form (open-open)
 of ⁺yapa- *to open*)
 L: p.147 (IX:8-9).
 IX:7; XI:20, 22, 23, 35-7, 44.
 Note: ala=alpi y. lit. *open (the) finger(s)* (cf. ala=alpi *finger*
 (43)) and ṅaṅṅu y. lit. *open (the) arm* (cf. ṅaṅṅu *arm* (515)) mean
 to shake hands.
- (366) yapirini- (iV) *to get close, to approach* (close-D.=I.)
 (cf. ⁺yapiri *close* + -ni "suffix, deriving intransitive verbs
 from nouns" (440)).
 G: p.48.
 VI:20.
- (367) yapmi- (tV) *to growl at somebody, to swear at* (swear)
somebody
 L: cf. p.140 (III:26).
 III:2[6]; V:10; XI:3[0].
- (368) yamakunḡu- (tV) *to sneak up to somebody* (sneak-t.)
 (cf. °yama- ? + *-ku "old derivational suffix(?)" (483) + -ṅku
 "allomorph of the suffix -ṅu" (528)).
 G: cf. p.18.
 V:13.
- (369) yaḡa *now* (now)
 G: p.45.
 I:81, 126; VI:21.
 Cf. → wii *now* (304).

- (370) yaṭaṅa *as soon as* (cf. yaṭa *now* (369) + -ṅa "noun suffix" (342)).
G: p.45.
XIII:2.
- (371) yaṭa=yaṭa (*the*) *present(-day ones)* (*now-now*)
(reduplicated form of yaṭa *now* (369)).
X:36.
- (372) +yaṅṅa *hole, antbed*
N: cf. p.154 (I:1).
Cf. → wipmaḷa yaṅṅa *court-ground* (305).
- (373) yanṽtṽana *different, separate* (*separate*)
I:23, (39); III:7; VII:35.
- (374) yaḷṽtṽa- (tṽ) *to call by kinship term* (*address*)
G: cf. p.28.
L: pp.128-30 (I:8, 14, 19), 134-6 (I:63-4, 102).
I:8, 11-3, 18, [19], 31, 32, 36, 52-4, 57, 60, 63, 64, 67, 69,
70, 102, 114, 118, 129.
Cf. → ṅanṽa- *to call 'aṭuna'* (506).
- (375) yaya *mouth* (reduplicated form of *ṭa- *mouth?*) (*mouth*)
L: cf. p.140 (III:33).
N: cf. p.165 (III).
III:33.
- (376) yata *ground, place, country* (*ground*)
II:1, VI:8, 24; VIII:7, 9, 11-3; IX:32; X:34; XI:6.
- (377) yatna (p.) *they* (3rd person plural, 1st series) (*they*)
personal pronoun).
G: cf. p.10; cf. p.83.
L: cf. pp.130 (I:16), 134 (63-4), 142-3 (VI:23; VII:31), 148
(IX:10, 12-3).
I:4, 16, 18, 19, 32, [67?], 94, 127, 129; II:6, 9, 11, 12; V:15;
VI:(22), 23; VII:31; VIII:5, (6), 21; IX:3, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13;
X:11, 32; XI:7, 43.
Cf. → -atna *they* (30).
Note: Sometimes one uses also the expression yatna maṭa(ṅa) lit.
theys (cf. maṭa(ṅa) *group, mob*; "plural marker" (199)).
- (378) yatli *male* (*male*)
G: p.9.
V:12.

- (379) yana- (iV) *to come, to arrive* (come)
 L: cf. p.142 (VI:15).
 I:81, 96; V:17; VI:3-7, 11, 15; IX:11; XI:8.
 Note: Once (cf. VI:15) combining with the suffix -na (424) (*yanana-*
to come here?).
- (380) yanğari *young man* (young=man)
 V:2, 5, 10, 14, 15, 19.
 Note: The plural is yanğariği.
- (381) yalpu *kangaroo rat*
 XII:2.
- (382) Yalpemukğa "name of a clan" (cf. yalpu kangaroo rat + -mukğa
 "morpheme group, added to clan names" (246)).
 XII:1, 6.
- (383) yalti- (tV?) *to stop (something, somebody)* (stop)
 L: cf. p.141 (V:25).
 V:25.
- (384) yara *the 7th born boy*
 XIII:6.
- (385) yaranta *the 7th born girl*
 XIII:9.
- (386) yağa- (iV) *to fall (down)* (fall)
 G: cf. pp.16-7.
 IX:14; XI:25.
- (387) yađu (for) *nothing* (nothing)
 G: cf. p.47.
 L: p.147 (IX:8).
 N: cf. p.157 (I:5).
 I:33, 35; VII:34; IX:8, 26.
- (388) yađu=yađu (for) *nothing* (nothing-nothing)
 form of yađu (for) *nothing* (387)).
 III:11; VIII:14.
- (389) yaңu-i- (iV) *to sit (down), to live, to be* (plural) (sit=pl.)
 (cf. +yaңu- *to sit down* + -i "intransitiviser of a transitive
 verb stem" (72)).
 G: p.27.
 I:16; III:18; VII:27; X:2, 22, 35, 37, 39, 41; XI:4.
 Cf. + lka- *to sit (down); to exist* (98).

Note: When the suffix -i is followed by the suffix -aŋkata (68) or the suffix -aŋku (70), it is replaced by the allomorph -ŋi (478).

- (390) ⁺ya|i tongue (cf. *ŋa- mouth (cf. yaya mouth (375)) + -|i ?)
L: p.141 (V:25).
- (391) ⁺ya|i- (iV?) to sing out, to yell (cf. ⁺ya|i tongue (390)).
L: p.141 (V:25).
- (392) yaŋunʏi=yaŋunʏi "(the members) of the (yaŋunʏi-yaŋunʏi) opposite moiety" (cf. ⁺yaŋu father-in-law + °-nʏi ?).
N: cf. p.172 (X).
X:9.
Cf. → waŋa=waŋa "(the members) of the opposite moiety" (291).
- (393) yaka (k.) elder sister (yaka)
N: pp.155-8 (I:3, 4, 9), 161-3 (I:17, 21; II).
I:51, 57, 64; II:6; V:14, 16; VII:6, (12), 17, 20; IX:25.
- (394) yakati child (cf. yaka elder sister (393) + (child) ati blood (27)?).
G: cf. p.34.
N: pp.160 (I:15), 162 (I:21, 168 (VII)).
I:31, 33, 47, 62, 70, 83, 109, 123, 125, 128, 131; VII:1;
VIII:6; IX:13, 15; XI:2; XIII:1.
- (395) yaka|a (k.) sister's child (cf. yaka elder (yaka|a) sister (393) + ⁺wa|a stomach, belly ?).
N: pp.160-2 (I:15, 17, 19-21).
I:121-3, 125, 130; II:14; IX:10, 11.
- (396) yaŋka liver (liver)
VI:24.
- (397) Yaŋkavuŋuvuŋu (Nl.) a place in the Gammon (Yaŋkavuŋuvuŋu) Range (cf. yaŋka liver (396) + ⁺vuŋuvuŋu (also given as ⁺vuŋivuŋi dusty)
N: p.168 (VI).
VI:11, 22-4.
- (398) yua- (iV) to stand; to exist (stand)
G: cf. p.54.
L: pp.127 (I:2), 146-7 (IX:1).
I:2; V:24; VI:16, 17, 19; IX:1, 2, 6, 11.

Note: The plural is formed by adding the suffix -ři "plural suffix with intransitive verbs" (472).

- (399) yuŋtu- (tV?) *to pose, to put (down)* (put)
VII:14.
- (400) yuŋtu=yuŋtu-ri- (iV) *to sit down* (reduplicated (put-put-i.-)
form of yuŋtu- *to pose, to put (down)* (399) + -ri "intrans-
itiviser of a transitive verb stem" (468)).
L: cf. p.150 (XI:6).
XI:6.
- (401) yuɭupa *for a long time, for ever* (long=time)
G: p.46.
L: cf. p.139 (III:10).
III:9; V:9.
- (402) ⁺yuɭtara *business ground*
N: pp.154 (I:1), 164 (III).
Cf. → wipmaɭa yaŋta *court-ground* (305).
- (403) yunʏtʏu=yunʏtʏuru *in front of (somebody,* (nose=nose)
something) (reduplicated form of yunʏtʏuru *nose; in front of*
(somebody, something) (404)).
V:9.
Cf. → viři=viři *in front of (everybody), first* (179).
- (404) yunʏtʏuru *nose; in front of (somebody, something)* (nose)
G: pp.43-4, 49.
L: pp.127 (I:3), 141 (V:9), 143 (VII:32).
I:3; VII:10, 11, 32.
Cf. → viři *in front (of everybody), first* (178).
- (405) yutli- (tV) *to chase, to hunt* (chase)
VI:15.
- (406) yuntu *sun; day* (sun)
VIII:32.
- (407) yuntu=akanantařari *sunrise, east* (cf. yuntu (sun=rise)
sun, day (406) + akana- *to come out* (62) + -nta "verb suffix,
indicating a durative aspect or a present; also forming a
verbal noun (participle)" (455)).
VI:4.

- (408) *yuṛa* *human being, man; Aboriginal* (yuṛa)
 G: cf. p.52.
 L: pp.126 (I:1), 149 (X:34).
 N: pp.153 (I:1), 168 (VII).
 I:1, 2, 11, 52, 111, 114; II:1, 7, 23; III:1, 26, 28; IV:6, 24;
 V:2, 5, 10, 28; VI:2; VII:18; VIII:1; IX:1, 2, 6, 17, 28; X:1,
 18, 34; XI:4, 21; XIII:1.

- (409) *yuṛi ear* In:
yuṛi ṇaṭi- *to strain one's ear, to listen* (ear strain-)
carefully (cf. *ṇaṭi-* *to strain* (499)).
 IV:12.

T

- (410) *-t* "allomorph of the suffix *-nta*" (455) (-pres.-)
 G: pp.25, 30; cf. p.82.
 L: cf. p.137 (I:129).
 Cf. + *-taṅku* (420).
- (411) *-ta* "allomorph of the suffix *-nta*" (455) (-pres.)
 G: pp.25, 28, 29, 32-4.
 L: pp.142 (VI:19), 149 (X:26).
 Cf. + *aṅkata* (68), *-tanʷtʷu* (415), *-tata* (416), *-tanta* (418).
- (412) ⁺*-tama* "verb suffix, indicating compassion or pity"
 L: cf. pp.143 (VII:19), 150 (XI:9).
 Cf. + *-ma* "verb suffix, expressing compassion or pity" (195).
- (413) ⁺*-tawa* "allomorph of the suffix ⁺*-ntawa*" (456)
 G: cf. p.37.
- (414) *-tanʷtʷ* "allomorph of the morpheme combination (-ta-fut.-)
-tanʷtʷu" (415)
 G: cf. p.30.
- (415) *-tanʷtʷu* "immediate future" (cf. *-ta* "allomorph (-ta-fut.)
 of the suffix *-nta*" (455) which, in this combination seems to
 indicate mainly the "immediate" character of the future event
 (411) + *-nʷtʷu* "verb suffix, having the meaning of a hypothetical
 or of a future" (361)).
 G: pp.22, 29, 32, 34,
 VIII:31, 35.

- (416) -tata "allomorph of the morpheme combination (-ta-pres.)
-tanta" (418)?
L: p.142 (VI:19).
VI:19; X:27(?).
- (417) -tant "allomorph of the morpheme combination (-ta-pres.-)
-tanta" (418).
G: cf. p.30.
- (418) -tanta "morpheme combination, indicating (-ta-pres.)
rapidity of action or event" (cf. -ta "allomorph of the suffix
-nta" (455) (411) + -nta "verb suffix, indicating a durative
aspect or a present" (455)).
G: pp.22, 29, 32, 34.
L: p.104 (VI:19).
IV:23; X:26-8, 36.
- (419) -taŋk "allomorph of the morpheme combination (-ta-past-)
-taŋku" (420).
G: cf. p.30.
- (420) -taŋku "morpheme combination, indicating an (-ta-past)
immediate past" (cf. -ta "allomorph of the suffix -nta" (455)
which, in this combination, seems to indicate mainly the
"immediate" character of the past event (411) + -aŋku "verb
suffix, indicating a past or a perfective aspect" (70)).
G: pp.22, 29, 33, 34
IV:22; IX:26; X:37; XI:40.
- (421) -tna (p.) "allomorph of the suffix -atna *they*" (30) (*they*)
G: cf. pp.30-1.
- (422) -tla "modifying element of demonstrative pronoun"
G: p.11.
Cf. → itla (86), -la (458), nutla (536).

N

- (423) °-na "(stylistic) noun suffix"?
G: pp.4, 37, 41.
- (424) -na "verb suffix, indicating movement to(wards) (-d.-)
the speaker or the person or place spoken about"
G: pp.20, 21, 25; cf. p.85.
L: pp.141-2 (VI:8-9, 15; VII:10), 144 (VII:38).

III:11; VI:9, 15, 22; VII:10, 34; VIII:(26); IX:(19).

Cf. → -mana "noun suffix, indicating movement to and arrival at a place" (204).

- (425) *nampina* *widower* (widower)
VIII:27.
- (426) *nawi-* (tV) *to smear (something over something or somebody)* (smear)
L: cf. p.146 (VIII:30, 32).
VIII:21, 31.
- (427) *nawi=nawi-* (tV) *to smear (something over something or somebody)* (smear-smear) (reduplicated form of *nawi-* (426)).
VIII:30, 32.
- (428) *-nanta* "allomorph of the suffix *-nanta*" (432)? (-p.=2)
- (429) *-naya* *first* (suffix added to nouns or (-nay[a], -firs[t])
to particles or to verbs(?), probably indicating basically the
continuation of the event or the idea expressed in the
sentence).
G: pp.36, 39.
L: p.143 (VII:31).
I:38; VII:3[1]; XI:23.
- (430) *nata* *not* (< English?) (not)
G: pp.41-2, 70.
L: p.102 (III:11).
III:11.
Cf. → *uta(na)* "negation" (108), *õ?õ* *no!* (126).
- (431) *-nant* "allomorph of the suffix *-nanta*" (432) (-p.=2)
G: p.30.
- (432) *-nanta* "verb suffix, expressing a past(?)" (-p.=2)
G: pp.22, 25-6, 27, 32, 34; cf. p.85.
L: pp.143 (VII:19), 148 (IX:19, 30), 150 (XI:9, 13-4).
VI:23-4; IX:17, 23, 24; XI:9, [1]3, [1]4, [1]7.
Cf. → *-aṅkata* "verb suffix, indicating a past or a perfective
aspect" (68), *-aṅku* "verb suffix, indicating a past or a
perfective aspect" (70), *-taṅku* "morpheme combination,
indicating an immediate past" (420).
- (433) *nanta-* (tV) *to point the bone, to bone* (bone)
X:22, 25, 29, 32.

- (434) na|a- (iV) *to run out* (run=out)
 V:25.
 Cf. → wityiwityini- *to drip (out), to run out* (308).
- (435) naku *yes; well!* (yes)
 I:39, 130; II:18; III:16; IV:14; VII:20; X:32; XI:21.
- (436) naku- (tV) *to see, to look* (cf. *na- *to see* + (see)
 *-ku "old derivational suffix" (483)?).
 G: pp.18, 60.
 I:114, 121; II:1, 2, 13, 17, 23; IV:6, 10, 24; V:5, 6, 24;
 VI:19; VII:35; IX:32.
 Note: The expression nalka naku- lit. *to see nalka* (510) means
to flirt (with somebody).
- (437) naku=naku- (tV) *to see, to look* (reduplicated (see-see)
 form of naku- *to see, to look* (436)).
 V:8; VIII:9.
- (438) -naŋka "verb suffix, indicating movement 'along' (along)
 during the action or the event"
 G: p.20.
 I:24, 37, 51, 68, 70; VIII:11; X:19.
- (439) +naŋka *how?* In:
 naŋkapa- (tV) *to do how, to do what (about (how-D.=T.-)
 something)?* (cf. -pa "suffix, deriving transitive verbs from
 nouns" (127)).
 G: p.41.
 IV:10.
- (440) -ni "suffix, deriving intransitive verbs from nouns" (-D.=I.-)
 G: pp.48; cf. p.84.
 L: p.138 (II:15).
 VI:20; VII:4; IX:15; XI:27, 37, 44.
 Cf. → °mityani- (219), muŋtani- *to be/become taboo* (231),
 wantuni- *to become good, to become well* (282), wityiwityini-
to drip (out), to run out (308), wilytyani- *to become night,
 to become dark* (312), yapirini- *to get close, to approach* (366).
- (441) nimpa *such, thus(ly)* (such)
 G: pp.39-40.
 XI:22.

- (442) *nimpaṭala(ṅa)* *like this, this way* (*this=way*)
 (cf. *nimpa such, thus(ly)* (441) + °*tala* ? (+-ṅa "noun suffix" (342))).
 G: pp.39-40.
 V:25; VI:13, 23, 24.
- (443) *nimpatyi* *like this* (cf. *nimpa such, thus(ly)* (441) + -*tvi* "emphatic noun suffix" (354)?). (*like=this*)
 G: pp.35, 39-40, 59.
 L: pp.129 (I:15), 134 (I:68), 149 (X:14, 34).
 I:37, 52, 78, 82, 88, 120; II:15, 23; III:22; X:19, 20, 34, 35, 37; XI:24, 35, 41.
- (444) *nimpatyiṅa* *like this* (cf. *nimpatyi like this* (443) + -ṅa "noun suffix" (342)). (*like=this-ṅa*)
 G: pp.35, 39.
 L: pp.129 (I:9-10), 133-4 (I:50, 68), 144 (VII:36), 146 (VIII:24), 148 (IX:13).
 I:10, 13, 14, 18, 24, 37, 51, 55, 69, 71, 91, 99, 101, 108, 126, 127; III:9, 17; IV:20; V:24; VII:26, 36; VIII:3, 5, 6, 8, 12-4, 24, 28, 33, 34; IX:13, 15; X:30, 32; XII:20.
- (445) *nimpatyi nimpatyi(ṅa)* *like this* (*like=this like=this(-ṅa)*)
 (repetition of *nimpatyi(ṅa) like this* (443), (444)).
 I:15; X:33.
- (446) *nimpalityi(ṅa)* *this sort (of things)* (*this=sort*)
 (cf. *nimpa such, thus(ly)* (441) + -*li* as, *like* (461) + -*tvi* "emphatic noun suffix" (354)?).
 G: pp.39-40.
 V:28.
- (447) *nitvata* *legal, loyal* (*legal*)
 III:25; X:1.
- (448) *niṅa* (p.) *you* (2nd person singular, 1st series personal pronoun, "nominative"). (*you*)
 G: p.10.
 VIII:13.
 Cf. → -*iṅa you* (78), *nuntu you* (450), *nunṅu your* (452).
 Note: It is uncertain whether the nasals are interdental or alveolar.

- (449) Nunʔa|ʔa "personal proper name" (Nunʔa|ʔa)
 N: cf. p.173 (XI).
 XI:3, 13-5, 17, 24.
- (450) nuntu (p.) *you* (2nd person singular, 1st series (you=A.)
 personal pronoun, agentive).
 G: p.10.
 I:102.
 Cf. → -untu *you* (113), niŋa *you* (448).
- (451) nuŋa (k.) *elder brother* (nuŋa)
 N: pp.155-8 (I:3, 4, 9), 161-3 (I:17, 21; II); 172 (X).
 I:21, 30, 50, 51, 58, 63, 67, 69; VIII:10; IX:25; X:25.
 Note: It is uncertain whether the first nasal is alveolar or interdental.
- (452) nuŋku (p.) *your* (2nd person singular, 1st series (your)
 personal pronoun, genitive-dative).
 G: p.10.
 I:98; VIII:13.
- (453) nuŋku- (tV) *to give (something or somebody to (give)
 somebody)* (cf. *nu(ŋV?)- *to give* + *-ku "old derivational
 suffix" (483)?).
 G: cf. p.18.
 L: cf. pp.127 (I:2), 142 (VII:10), 150 (XI:25).
 N: cf. p.155 (I:1).
 I:1, 2, 4, 115, 116; III:1, 3, 4, 13, 15, 19, 20, 30, 32-4;
 IV:13, 16; V:21; VII:10, 18, 21, 24; XI:24.
 Note: Once (VII:10) combining with the suffix -na (424) (nuŋkuna-
give 'here'?).
- (454) -nt "allomorph of the verb suffix -nta" (455) (-pres.-)
 G: pp.25, 30.
 L: p.149 (X:14).
- (455) -nta 1. "verb suffix, indicating a durative (-pres.)
 aspect, hence usually a present"
 2. "suffix, forming a verbal noun (participle) from a transitive
 or an intransitive verb"
 G: pp.22, 24-5, 26, 28, 29, 34, 49, 52, 68; cf. pp.82, 85.
 L: pp.133 (I:40), 138-42 (II:23; III:19-20, 33; V:5-6, 14;
 VI:24); 145 (VIII:10), 148-50 (IX:30; X:15, 34; XI:9, 13-4).
 N: cf. p.166 (V).

I:39, 40, 42, 55, 70, 111, 122, 125, 128-30; II:7, 8, 15, (23); III:18-20, 33; IV:10, 14, 15; V:5, 6, 8, 11, 13-6, 19, 24; VI: 8, 10, 14-7, 19, 20, 23, 25; VII:2, 7, 11, (12), 13, 19, 25, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38; VIII:9-11, 19, 22, [31]; IX:15, 18, 30, 31; X:2, 11, 14, 22, 26, 28, 34, [3]5, 3[7], 38, 40, 41; XI:11, 19, 25, [34]; XII:4, 9.

Cf. → -anjkata "verb suffix, indicating a past or a perfective aspect" (68), -tanʷtʷu "immediate future" (415), -tanta "morpheme combination, indicating rapidity of action or event" (418), -tan̄ku "morpheme combination, indicating an immediate past" (420), -nanta "verb suffix, expressing a past(?)" (432), ⁺-ntawa "verb suffix, indicating the idea of 'here and there' or 'now and then', 'now and again'" (456).

Note: This suffix has the following allomorphs: -ɬ (328), -ɬa (329), -n̄ɬ (350), -n̄ɬa (351), -t (410), -ta (411), -nt (454), employed according to the rules given in G: pp.25, 30.

(456) ⁺-ntawa "verb suffix, indicating the idea of 'here and there', or 'now and then', 'now and again'".

G: p.37.

(457) -nti "suffix, indicating direction 'to(wards)' with (-nti) certain pronouns

G: pp.12-3.

L: cf. p.136 (I:106).

I:87, 90, 92, 95, 100; VI:5.

Cf. → ina *this* (79) and waŋa *where?* (254), note.

L

(458) -la "allomorph of the suffix -tla" (422)

G: pp.11, 30-1.

Cf. → ⁺a₁la *there somewhere* (42), va₁la- *there somewhere* (146).

Note: This is then the allomorph following the two deixes a- (2) and va- (130), hence it is always preceded by the vowel a, while the allomorph -tla (422) is never preceded by the vowel a. It is as yet unknown which significance this observation may have in respect to other rules, involving either a stop or a stop and a homorganic lateral.

- (459) °-la ? (hapax) ((-la))
 G: cf. p.20.
 L: p.150 (XI:20).
 XI:(20).
- (460) *-li "old derivational suffix?"
 G: p.18.
 Cf. → wayali- to turn around (259).
- (461) -li as, like (noun suffix, indicating comparison: (like)
 1. like with a substantive; 2. the comparative with an
 adjective).
 G: pp.2, 8, 10, 32, 33, 37, 40; cf. p.84.
 L: pp.149 (X:34), 150 (XI:20).
 I:32, 126; II:15; V:12; VII:13; XI:26, 31.
- (462) -li "verb suffix, indicating compassion or pity" (pit.)
 G: p.20; cf. p.85.
 XI:19.
- (463) -lu "allomorph of the suffix -alu" (44) (he=A.)
- (464) -lu "agentive suffix of certain nouns" (allomorph (A.=2)
 of the suffix -ŋa (488), used with proper nouns and a few
 other nouns and pronouns).
 G: pp.2, 3, 10, 33, 34; cf. pp.82, 84.
 L: p.145 (VIII:14).
 I:12, 54, (111), 128, 129; VIII:14, 17; IX:4, 8, 9; XI:3, 15,
 16, 30, 41.
- (465) -lpila "allomorph of the pronominal suffix (-l=both)
 -pila (they) two, both (129).
 L: cf. p.148 (IX:13).
 Note: No rule has been found as yet for the use of this allomorph.
 The suffix °-l- has not, so far, been identified with any other
 suffix in the language.

R

- (466) -r "allomorph of the suffix °-ra ? (467) and of the suffix
 -ri "intransitiviser of a transitive verb stem" (468).
 G: cf. p.30.

- (467) °-ra ? (hapax)
 L: cf. p.144 (VIII:6).
 Cf. → wayara- *to dodge* (260).
- (468) -ri "intransitiviser of a transitive verb stem" (-i.-)
 (allomorph).
 G: pp.16-7, 18, 49, 65-6; cf. p.85.
 L: p.138 (II:15), 144 (VIII:7), 150 (XI:6).
 I:97; VII:12; VIII:2, 3, 6; IX:13, (18); XI:6, 44.
 Cf. → vlnʏtʏa-ri- *to ask* (172), wakari- *to break* (299),
 yunṡu=yunṡu-ri- *to sit down* (400), ṡawiri- *to turn around, to*
circle (498); -r (466).
 Note: No rules have been found so far, indicating whether the
 allomorph -i (72) or the allomorph -ri has to be employed with a
 given verb stem.
- (469) -ri "relativising morpheme" (-ri)
 G: pp.12, 36-7, 41.
 L: cf. p.139 (III:1).
 I:126; III:1.
 Cf. → aṡari *there you are* (18), iṡari *here you are* (82),
 matʏiri (*so*) *I believe* (202)?
- (470) -riṡku "morpheme combination, transitivising (-i.-t.-)
 an intransitivised verb stem" (cf. -ri "intransitiviser of a
 transitive verb stem" (468) + -ṡku "allomorph of the suffix
 -ṡu (528)" (549)).
 G: p.18.
 N: cf. p.165 (IV).
 VI:21.
 Cf. → mankurinṡku- *to seize* (210).

ř

- (471) *-ři "old plural marker in the noun?"
 G: p.18.
 Note: This probably has to be identified with the suffix -ři
 "suffix, indicating plural in an intransitive verb" (472).
- (472) -ři "suffix, indicating plural in an intransitive (-pl.-)
 verb"
 G: p.18; cf. pp.82, 85.
 VI:16, 17, 19; IX:1, 6, 11; XI:7.

Cf. + -a|i "plural marker with certain verbs" (53); a|ta- to call out (56), yua- to stand; to exist (398).

(473) -řu "suffix, indicating a restriction"

G: pp.29, 37.

(474) -řuku *only* (combination of the suffix -řu "suffix, indicating a restriction" and -ku "clitic with an adversative meaning" (484)).

G: pp.29; 37.

VI:14, 25; VII:22; X:36.

T

(475) řařnu (*al*)*though*

(*though*)

G: pp.46, 69.

XI:38.

Note: The initial retroflex stop probably is due to the influence of the retroflex cluster in the middle of the word, and the word doubtlessly has to be phonemicized as /řařnu/.

R

(476) -ř "allomorph of the suffix -řa (477) and -ři" (-irr.-, -ř-)
(478)

G: p.30.

(477) -řa "verb suffix, indicating an irrealis" (-irr.-)

G: pp.22, 23, 26, 33, 34, 66; cf. p.85.

XI:30.

(478) -ři "allomorph of the suffix -l (72), when (-ři-, -ř-, -i-ř-) followed by the suffix -ařkata (68) or the suffix -ařku (70).

G: pp.17, 23, 26, 48.

I:[16]; III:28; VIII:1, 6, 13, 17, 20, 24; IX:4, 5, 10, 16, 20;

X:2, 22, 35, 39, 41.

Note: The rules for the allomorphic variations are as yet unknown. While a form like vitniřanku *passed away* (e.g. III:28) makes believe that this is an euphonic rule for avoiding the hiatus ⁺-i-a-, a form like yantu-ři-ařkatna *they sat* (e.g. X:2) contradicts this assumption. Notice also the form uř[a]-iřankatna *they hit* (IX:20), where the allomorph is -iř-, and where the hiatus ⁺-a-i- is avoided by elision of the vowel of the verb stem.

- (479) -ru "noun suffix, indicating possession or direction to a place" (*of, to, for*) (genitive-dative).
 G: pp.2, 3, 5, 6-7, 8, 12, 13, 34, 43-5, 47, 61, 62; cf. p.82.
 L: pp.128 (I:8), 134 (I:74), 137 (I:123), 148 (IX:15).
 I:(8), 11, 18, 27, 30, 47, 49, 57, 58, 62, 71, 123, 125, [128], 130, 131; II:1; III:5, 21; V:28; VI:7, 11, 14, 22, 25; VIII:5, 22, 23; IX:10, 15, 20; X:1, 11, 12, 32; XI:2, 5, 34.
 Cf. → vanʸtʸuʸu his, her (140).

K

- (480) -k "allomorph of the suffix -ka "imperative" (-imp.-, -narr.-) (481) and of the suffix -ku "narrative" (485)"
 G: pp.26-7, 30.
- (481) -ka "verb suffix, indicating a command" (-imp.) (imperative).
 G: pp.22, 26, 27, 34; cf. p.85.
 L: pp.136 (I:117), 139 (III:8), 143 (VII:30).
 I:[7], 38; III:[6(?)], 7(?); V:18, 26; VI:(26); VII:10, [18], 30(?); VIII:16; X:(25).
- (482) kapaʃa "the first step in a viŋta (169) or in a muḷaḷarɪ (232)" (kapaʃa)
 N: pp.171-2 (X).
 X:6.
- (483) *-ku "old derivational suffix?"
 G: pp.18, 47.
 Cf. → manku- to seize, to apprehend (209), waiku- to run away, to flee (250), yamakuŋku- to sneak up to somebody (368), naku- to see, to look (436), nuŋku- to give (453), ⁺ŋalku- to eat (511).
 (Cf. → intatʸakuŋu- to kill (93), vaku- to construct, to build (166)?).
- (484) -ku "clitic with an adversative meaning" (-ku)
 G: pp.35, 37, 43, 69.
 L: p.147 (IX:8).
 IV:5, 6; VI:14, 25; VII:22; VIII:9; IX:17; X:36; XI:25.
 Cf. → vaŋaku but, however (139), -ʃuku only (474).

- (485) -ku "verb suffix, indicating an imperfective aspect" (narrative) (-narr.)

G: pp.22-3, 26-7, 34, 66, 70; cf. p.85.

L: pp.127 (I:2), 129 (I:12), 132 (I:29), 135 (I:33-4), 136 (I:107), 139-40 (III:17-8, 33-4), 142-3 (VI:24; VII:30-1), 146-7 (VIII:34; IX:1-3), 149 (X:15), 151 (XI:44; XII:2).

I:2, 3, 12, 14, 16, 28, 32, 36, 54, 67, 69, 71, 79, 83, 114, 129; II:13, 20, 23; III:17, 19, 24, 29, 32, 34; IV:12, 14, 20, 23-4; V:2-5, 15, 24-5; VI:20, 24; VII:4, 23, 30(?); VIII:2, 12, 21, 27, 34; IX:1, 2, 6, 8, 11, 15, 21, 29; X:15, 32; XI:4, 6, 7, 10-2, 20, 24-31, 33, 37, 43, 44; XII:2, 20; XIII:2.

Note: When the allomorph -k (480) is employed, a confusion with the imperative suffix -ka (481) is sometimes possible.

N

- (486) -ŋ "allomorph of the suffix -ŋa "verb suffix, indicating a potentialis" (487) and of the suffix -ŋu "transitiviser of an intransitive verb stem" (528)" (pot.-, -t.-)

G: pp.27, 30.

L: p.135 (I:81, 99).

- (487) -ŋa "verb suffix, indicating a potentialis" (-pot.)

G: pp.22-3, 27, 33-4, 66; cf. p.85.

L: p.135 (I:81, 99).

IX:28.

- (488) -ŋa "noun suffix, indicating a locative, or an agentive, or an instrumental, or a comitative" (L., -A., -I., -C.)

G: pp.2, 3-4, 6, 7, 10, 13, 33-5, 44; cf. pp.82, 84.

L: pp.131-2 (I:22, 28-9), 134-5 (I:74, 80), 139 (III:5), 142 (VII:11), 143 (VII:32)?, 145-6 (VIII:14, 30, 32), 149 (X:34).

I:2, (8), 11-3, 19, 27, [33], 53, 55, 69, 70, 74, 79, (80), 83, 109, 114, 118, 119, 121, 125, 128, 130, [131], 132, 133; II:7; III:2, 16, 18, 22, 31; IV:6, [24?]; V:5, 6, 11, 13, [24?]; VI:8, 11, 12, 1[3](?), 15-7, (22), 23-4; VII:1, 2, 10-4, 17, 21, 23, 26, 30; VIII:2, 8, 1[4], 19, 21, (22), 29, 31-2; IX:1, 2, 5, 6, 10-2, 14, 16-7, 19, 23-4, 29, 31; X:4, (10), 22-4, 34; XI:2, 4, 18, 25-6; XII:20; XIII:1, 2.

- (489) ŋa- "basic morpheme of 1st person pronouns"

G: cf. p.13.

Cf. + *ḡai I* (490), *ḡaṣu I* (500), *ḡaḡa who?* (501), *ḡatʷu my* (505), *ḡatlāka we-two* (507), *ḡaḡpuḡa we* (523).

- (490) *ḡai* (p.) *I, me* (1st person singular, 1st series (I)
personal pronoun, "nominative").
G: pp.10, 20.
L: cf. p.149 (X:34).
I:40, 66, 67, 89, 91, 107, 126; V:11; VII:10; XI:2.
Cf. + *-ai I, me* (3); *ḡaṣu I* (500), *ḡatʷu my* (505).
- (491) *ḡapaḡa* (k.) *unmarriageable cousin; male Ego's* (ḡapaḡa)
aṣuna's older sister, female Ego's māḡi's younger brother
L: cf. p.140 (IV:3, 25).
N: pp.155-9 (I:3, 5, 7, 11), 161 (I:17), 163 (II), 165-70 (IV-IX).
I:12, 14, 18, 22-3, 47, 54-5, 72; II:11-2, 16, 21; III:28; IV:3,
22, 25; V:4-6; VII:26; VIII:15.
Cf. + *aṣuna wife* (52), *vapapa mother's brothers son;...* (132),
māḡi husband (216).
- (492) *ḡapaḡa=wiṣi* (k.) "a couple of individuals (ḡapaḡa-wiṣi)
standing in the *ḡapaḡa*-relationship to each other" (cf. *ḡapaḡa*
unmarriageable cousin;... (491) + *-wiṣi* "indicates reciprocity
of relationship" (326)).
L: cf. p.140 (IV:3).
N: p.165 (IV).
IV:4, 25.
Cf. + *vapapa=wiṣi* "couple of individuals standing in the *vapapa*-
relationship to each other" (133).
- (493) *ḡamaḡa* (k.) *mother's brother; wife's father* (ḡamaḡa)
G: cf. p.62.
L: cf. p.129 (I:8).
N: pp.155 (I:2), 157-8 (I:5-6, 8-10), 160-2 (I:17-8, 20), 164-5
(III), 169 (VIII).
I:8, 33, 35, 46-7, 102, 119; II:4, 15; III:11, 16, 31; VIII:10,
19; IX:10, 16, 30; XI:2, 25.
Cf. + *upmaḡi ḡamaḡa 'vapi's* (younger) *brother* (103).
- (494) *ḡama=ḡama* "polite reference to sisters" (ḡama-ḡama)
(cf. ⁺*ḡama breast, milk*).
N: p.163 (II).
II:7.

- (495) *ɲami* (k.) *mother* (ɲami)
 G: pp.9, 42.
 L: p.128 (I:8).
 N: pp.157 (I:5), 163 (II).
 I:(8), 36, 43, 60; II:2-4, 15; VII:35; VIII:9; IX:13, 15, 24;
 XIII:2.
 Cf. → *ɲami=vapi parents* (496), *ɲa|a=ami mother's elder sister*
 (517).
- (496) *ɲami=vapi* (k.) *parents* (cf. *ɲami mother* (495) + (ɲami-vapi)
vapi father (136)).
 L: cf. p.128 (I:8).
 N: p.163 (II).
 I:8, 83, 94, 97; VII:34.
- (497) *ɲawa|a* *word, speech, language* (word)
 N: p.154 (I:1).
 I:2, 39, 81; V:27; VII:7; X:18.
- (498) *ɲawiri-* (iV) *to turn (round), to circle* (turn-i.-)
 (cf. °*ɲawi-* ? + *-ri* "intransitiviser of a transitive verb
 stem" (468)).
 G: p.18.
 VII:12; VIII:2, 3, 6; XI:47.
 Cf. → *wayali-* *to turn around* (259).
- (499) *ɲaɕi-* (tV) *to strain in:* (strain)
yurɪ ɲaɕi- *to strain one's ear, to listen* (ear strain-)
 (cf. *yurɪ ear* (409)).
 IV:12.
- (500) *ɲaɕu* (p.) *I* (1st person singular, 1st series (I=A.)
 personal pronoun, agentive).
 G: p.10.
 XI:23.
 Cf. → *-aɕu I* (10); *ɲai I, me* (490), *ɲatʷu my* (505).
- (501) *ɲaɲa* *who? someone, anyone* (interrogative-indefinite (ɲaɲa)
 pronoun, often used as an anaphorical pronoun; cf. *ɲa-* "basic
 morpheme of 1st person pronouns" (489) ? + *-ɲa* "supporting
 element of pronouns" (341)).
 G: p.13.
 L: pp.131 (I:27-8), 134 (I:62), 148 (IX:28).

I:27-9, 62, 71, 132; V:14; VI:9, 16; VIII:10; IX:18, 23, 25, 28.

Cf. → *ṅaṅataṅa what? something* (344).

- (502) *ṅaṅalpila them-two* (dual of the interrogative-
indefinite pronoun, used in an anaphorical sense; cf. *ṅaṅa who? someone, anyone* (501) + *-lpila "allomorph of the pronominal suffix -pila (they) two, both* (129)" (465)).
(*ṅaṅa-l=both*)
VI:2.
- (503) *ṅaḷu- (iV) to cry* (cry)
X:9, 30.
- (504) *ṅatyi- (iV) to ask (for), to mention* (ask=for)
G: cf. p.28.
III:29, 30, 32.
- (505) *ṅatyu (p.) my* (1st person singular, 1st series) (my)
personal pronoun, genitive-dative).
G: pp.10, 62.
I:42, 44-9, 51, 53, 55-8, 60-2, 69, 70, 89, 99, 103, 114, 118, 121, 123, 125, 128, 130-1; II:1, 6, 10, 14, 19, 21; III:15;
V:13; IX:16, 30; X:25; XI:2, 25.
Cf. → *ṅai I, me* (490), *ṅaṭu I* (500).
- (506) *ṅanva- (tV) to call 'aṭuna'* (call=wife)
I:60; XII:18, 20.
Cf. → *yaḷvṭva- to call by kinship term* (374).
- (507) *ṅatlāka (p.) we-two* (1st person dual, 5th series personal pronoun; cf. *ṅa- "basic morpheme of 1st person pronouns"* (489) + *°-(a)tl(a)- ? + ⁺aka small piece, bit* (58)).
(*ṅatlāka*)
N: p.160 (I:17).
I:103-4, 108-9, 113.
Cf. → *-atlāka we-two* (36); *valanāka they-two* (152), *watnāka you-two* (275).
- (508) *ṅana- (tV) to hold* (hold)
XI:29.
- (509) *ṅankini relations, kin* (kin)
III:11; X:11.

- (510) *ɲalka form, shape (?)* (ɲalka)
 G: cf. p.60.
 I:2[4], 114, 121; IV:10, 24; V:6; VI:19.
 Note: *ɲalka naku-* to look *ɲalka* means to flirt (also translated by to love). (Cf. + *naku-* to see, to look (436)).
- (511) ⁺*ɲalku-* (tV) to eat (cf. ^o*ɲal(V?)*- ? + *-ku "old derivational suffix" (483)?).
 G: pp.49, 60.
- (512) *ɲalku in want of, desire(ing?)* (cf. ⁺*ɲalku-* to eat (511)). In: (ɲalku)
ɲalku ika- to want, to desire (cf. *ika-* to sit (down); to exist (98)). (ɲalku sit-)
 G: pp.49, 60.
 VII:19.
- (513) *ɲaʃa-* (tV) to hit, to strike (strike)
 N: p.170 (IX).
 IX:6, 7, 12, 15, 25; XI:31, 42.
 Cf. + *uŋʃa-* to hit, to kill (122).
- (514) *ɲaʃuntuɟamiɟaŋa* "name of a clan" (cf. ⁺*ɲaʃuntuɟa* bull(?) frog + -*miɟaŋa* "morpheme group, added to clan names" (228)).
 XII:10.
- (515) *ɲaŋʃu arm* In: (arm)
ɲaŋʃu yapa=yapa- to shake hands (arm open-open-)
 (cf. *yapa=yapa-* to open (365)).
 XI:20, 22-3, 28, [35], 36-7, 44.
- (516) *ɲaɟa big; much* (much)
 G: pp.42, 47.
 L: p.141 (V:23).
 V:22, 23; IX:20, 24, 29.
 Cf. + *vani very* (145); *ɲaɟa=ami mother's elder sister* (517), *ɲaɟa=ana the 8th/9th born boy* (518), *ɲaɟa=aka big* (519), *ɲaɟapaŋa big; many* (520), *ɲaɟa=wata (the) big (ones), (the) grown up (ones)* (521), *ɲaɟaka the 8th/9th born girl* (522).
- (517) *ɲaɟa=ami (k.) mother's elder sister* (ɲaɟa-ami)
 (cf. *ɲaɟa big; much* (516) + *ɲami mother* (495)).
 G: p.42.
 N: cf. p.173 (XI).
 XI:5.

- (518) *na|a=ana* *the 8th/9th born boy* (a "baby-name")(cf. *na|a big; much* (516) + °-(a)na ?).
 G: p.42.
 XIII:4, 5, 7.
- (519) *na|a=aka* *big* (cf. *na|a big; much* (516) + ⁺aka (*big*) *small piece, bit* (58)).
 G: pp.15, 42, 47.
 N: p.154 (I:1).
 I:2, V:25; VIII:30; IX:2, 9.
- (520) *na|apana* *big; many* (cf. *na|a big; much* (516) (*many-na*) + -(a)pa "short" form of *vapa small, little* (131)?).
 G: pp.42, 49.
 V:3; IX:29; XI:4, 37.
- (521) *na|a=wata* (*the*) *big (ones), (the) grown up* (*na|awata*) (*ones*) (cf. *na|a big; much* (516) + ⁺wata *very big* (?) (263)).
 G: p.42.
 VII:16.
- (522) *na|aka* *the 8th/9th born girl* (a "baby name") (cf. *na|a big; much* (516) + °-ka ?)
 G: p.42.
 XIII:9.
- (523) *na|pu|a* (p.) *we* (1st person plural, 1st series (*we*) *personal pronoun, "nominative"*).
 L: p.149 (X:34).
 I:27, 69, 71, 73, (118), 126; X:36; XI:34-5, 39, 40.
 Cf. → -a|pu|a *we* (55).
- (524) *na|ʔi* *drop in:* (*drop*)
m|na na|ʔi *tear(s)* (226)
 G: cf. p.62.
 XI:25.
- (525) *na|ʔu* *very good, (very) apt* (*apt*)
 V:19.
- (526) *na|u* (*a*) *crowd; "plural marker for nouns"* (*set*)
 G: pp.9, 15; cf. p.82.
 V:24; IX:2.
 Cf. → *at|ʔi* "plural marker" (28), *vap|na* "plural marker for nouns" (137), *ma|ʔa(na)* *group, mob; "plural marker for nouns"* (199), *munka(na)* "plural marker for nouns" (235).

- (527) *ɲu-* "deixis of the far-distant demonstrative pronoun"
 G: p.11.
 Cf. → *a-* "deixis of the mid-distant demonstrative pronoun" (2),
i- "deixis of the near demonstrative pronoun" (71), *va-* "basic
 morpheme of 3rd person pronouns" (130). For reference see the
 pronominal forms: cf. → *ɲuɲa* (534), *ɲutla* (536), *ɲutlaɲa=*
valaɲaɲa (537).
- (528) *-ɲu* "transitiviser of an intransitive verb stem" (-t.-)
 G: pp.16, 17-8, 19, 27; cf. pp.82, 85.
 L: pp.135 (I:81, 83-4, 86, 99); 145 (VIII:12).
 I:73, 79, 81, 83, 86, 89, 91, (93), 99; III:12, 16; IV:17; V:13;
 VI:24; VII:6, 14, 17, 20, [33]; VIII:12; X:5; XI:25, 31, 39, 40,
 42.
 Note: This suffix has the following allomorphs: *-ɲ* (486), *-ɲuɲka*
 (547), *-ɲku* (549).
- (529) *ɲua|i* (k.) *father's father* *ɲua|i*
 N: pp.157 (I:6), 162-3 (I:21-3; II), 170 (IX).
 I:25-6, 44-5, 125, 129, 130; II:9; IX:25.
- (530) *ɲuɲa-* (tV) *to make, to do* (make-)
 G: cf. p.28.
 L: cf. p.144 (VII:36).
 III:7, 22; IV:8; VI:13; VII:36; VIII:28-9, 34-5; IX:23; X:2, 3,
 6, 7, 20-1, 33, 35, 40-1.
- (531) ⁺*ɲuɲa-l-* *to grow* (cf. *ɲuɲa-* *to make, to do* + *-l* "intransitiviser
 of a transitive verb stem" (72)).
 L: cf. p.144 (VII:36).
- (532) *ɲuɲa=ɲuɲa-* (tV) *to make, to do* (reduplicated (make-make-)
 form of *ɲuɲa-* *to make, to do* (530)).
 VIII:11.
- (533) *ɲuɲu* *custom, legend, story* *ɲuɲu*
 V:28; VI:1; X:1, 2, 38.
 Cf. → *mura* *custom, law* (238).
- (534) *ɲuɲa* *over there* (far-distant demonstrative (over=that)
 pronoun; cf. *ɲu-* "deixis of the far-distant demonstrative
 pronoun" (527) + *-ɲa* "supporting element of pronouns" (341)).
 G: pp.11, 21.
 L: p.143 (VII:13).
 I:123; III:13; VII:13, 18; VIII:2.

- (535) *ɣuya dumb* (dumb)
 XI:28.
- (536) *ɣutla over there somewhere, over there you* (over=tla)
know (cf. *ɣu-* "deixis of the far-distant demonstrative pronoun"
 (527) + *-tla* "modifying element of demonstrative pronoun"
 (422)).
 G: p.11.
 VI:4; VIII:2.
- (537) *ɣutlaŋa=valaŋa here and there* (over=tla-ŋa-vala-ŋa-ŋa)
 (cf. *ɣutla over there somewhere, over there you know* (536) +
vala- *there somewhere* (146) + *-ŋa* "noun suffix" (342) + *-ŋa*
 "noun suffix, indicating a locative, ..." (488)).
 G: p.11.
 VII:2; IX:29.
- (538) *ɣulanʸi place where the men, welcoming the people* (ɣulanʸi)
arriving for a funeral, are standing
 N: pp.169-71 (IX).
 IX:1, 2, 6, 8, 11.
- (539) *ɣuri close* (close)
 III:11.
- (540) *ɣuri=ɣuri close* (reduplicated form of *ɣuri* (close-close)
close (539)).
 III:11.
- (541) *-ɣuŋi from* (noun suffix, indicating the origin or (from)
the provenance).
 G: pp.2, 7-8, 34, 44.
 I:69, 96; III:30; V:14, (27); VI:4.
 Cf. → *aŋaŋuŋi from that/then on* (19), *waruŋuŋi from the olden*
days (on), since a long time ago (cf. *waru a long time ago, once,*
in the olden days (288)).
- (542) *ɣuʃa- (tV) to throw (something)* (throw-)
 L: p.147 (IX:2-4).
 N: p.170 (IX).
 V:14-6; IX:3-5.
- (543) *ɣuʃa=ɣuʃa- (tV) to throw* (reduplicated form (throw-throw)
of ɣuʃa- to throw (542)).
 L: cf. p.147 (IX:2-3).
 IX:3.

- (544) -*ɲuɾi* "verb suffix, indicating reciprocity of (-rec.-) the action" (cf. -*ɲu* "transitiviser of an intransitive verb stem" (528) + -*ɾi* "allomorph of the suffix -*i* (72), ..." (478)?).
G: pp.19, 57; cf. p.85.
L: pp.141 (V:17), 147 (IX:2-3).
N: cf. p.170 (IX).
I:1-3, 52, 85, 93, 110, 126, 127, 129; III:1, 17, 18, 24; IV:2-4, 7, 9, 10, 18; V:8, 17, 26, 27; VI:19, 20; VII:22, 35; IX:6, 7, 12, 15, 23, 25, 28, 29; X:22, 35, 37; XI:35.
Note: A verb having this suffix is always construed intransitively.
- (545) *ɲuka-* (iV) *to go, to walk; to be, to exist* (*go*)
G: p.54.
L: pp.134 (74), 142 (VI:15), 143 (VII:32).
I:24, 37, 68-70, 74, 77, 87, 90, 92, 95, 100, 102-3, 106-7;
VII:10-1, 23, 29, 30, 32; VIII:9, 10, 15; X:19; XI:2, 3, 5.
- (546) *ɲuka=ɲuka-* (iV) *to go, to walk; to be, to exist* (*go-go-*)
(reduplicated form of *ɲuka-* (545)).
VII:(32).
- (547) -*ɲuŋka* "allomorph of the suffix -*ɲu* (528), when (-t.-) followed by the suffix -*aŋkata* (68) or the suffix -*aŋku* (70)"
G: p.17; cf. pp.82, 85.
L: p.149 (X:5).
- (548) -*ɲkari* "verb suffix, indicating reflexivity of (-refl.-) action" (cf. -*ri* "intransitiviser of a transitive verb stem" (468)?).
G: p.19; cf. p.85.
L: pp.133 (I:40-1), 146 (VIII:35).
I:10; III:7, 14; VIII:31-2, 34-5.
Note: A verb having this suffix is always construed intransitively.
- (549) -*ɲku* "allomorph of the suffix -*ɲu*" (528) (-t.-)
G: pp.16, 17-8, 19; cf. pp.82, 85.
- (550) ⁺*ɲ'ɲ* *no!* (cf. *ǎ'ǎ no!* (126)).
G: p.41.

N O T E S

1. For the term Yuṛa see G.N. O'Grady et al., p.40 ("Yura Subgroup").
2. Even though the analysis of the texts falls under the heading of "performance", the definition of the semantic component of the competency model implies a knowledge of the competency necessary for the handling of the social system, in our particular instance, of the kinship system.
3. These analyses often imply some historical hypothesis; see p.84.
4. See bibliography. I refer to this paper under "APWK". Unfortunately I had not the opportunity of seeing the manuscript of L. Hercus and I. White before finishing the manuscript of the present paper; this is why I have not taken into account here L. Hercus' and I. White's findings.
5. By "restored" forms I mean such forms which are completed in terms of phonemic or of syntactico-semantic well-formedness, while by "re-constructed" forms I mean such forms which are completed in view of some historical hypothesis.
6. It will be noted that, when illustrating a given point in the grammar, I do not bother about sentence borders as suggested in the texts.
7. For this see C.G. Teichelmann and C.W. Schürmann, p.6, where -nna is given as a "general termination for the plural" in the Adelaide language.
8. For this see C.W. Schürmann, p.4, where a suffix -rri is given as "the termination for the plural number" in Paṅkaḷa.

9. With the exception of the complex suffixes xii)-xiv) (see p.29). As for the two suffixes vi) (see p.25) and xi) (see pp.27-8), I would so far at best think of some historical hypothesis.
10. Perhaps it is possible that in certain contexts the suffix -nta (see pp.24-5) may be interpreted as a verbal suffix (durative aspect or "present tense") or as a nominalising suffix ("participle"). But in clear formulations even this problem does not seem to arise really. For a possible example see p.141 (L: V:14).
11. The crossing of those lines, not allowed for in tree diagrams, is a further hint for the difficulties of definition.
12. For the term "catalyst" (or "carrier") see A. Capell, p.11 and pp.68-70.
13. The symbol \tilde{e} renders a nasalised central vowel.
14. An instructive example is $v\acute{a}pi \eta\acute{a}mi$ *father and mother* (I:43) as against $\eta\acute{a}mi=v\grave{a}pi$ *parents* (e.g. I:8). It is because of the stress pattern that fusion starts operating in compounds; for this compare the word $\acute{a}\grave{\tau}\grave{a}pi$ *father's sister*, being $*\acute{a}\tau u=v\grave{a}pi$ lit. *woman=father* (i.e. *female father*), and which is still sometimes pronounced $\acute{a}\tau a=v\grave{a}pi$ (e.g. I:57). For another example see note 18.
15. A. Capell, p.3, states that "Incorporation is almost limited to these northern languages also, though it is found in an elementary form in some of the suffixing languages, e.g. in New South Wales". However, his treatment of this type of "incorporation" (pp.34-6) shows that he means by "an elementary form" of "incorporation" the suffixing of personal pronouns to the verb-complex. The remark made here might, therefore, prove to be pointless.
16. I shall be concerned mainly with surface structure here.
17. That is why traditional grammar, which defines transitivity by the (obligatory) presence of an object, does not speak of the object of an intransitive verb.

18. Especially in the last example the process of fusion has started, and the verb is usually pronounced as if °úri=ika- or even °úrika-.
19. Besides other facts (e.g. the agentive-construction), the constructions of body-parts (see p.7) would prevent ambiguities (e.g. *my tears...* would be +... mina-ŋa!ʔi ŋa!).
20. This means that the most common way of coordination in the language (i.e. not openly marked) corresponds to the logical operator of the "non-exclusive or", that which is not common in the Indo-European languages. The operations "and" (particle ʔa, see p.46) and "exclusive or" ("either ... or ...") are specifically marked.
21. The right term is vananʔi, not vapalu, as L. Hercus' and I. White's findings show.
22. For the concept of "brevity and economy of expression" in Aboriginal languages, see A.P. Elkin (4), pp.145-8 (pp.21-4).
23. See A.P. Elkin (1).
24. See A.P. Elkin (3).

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INDEX OF LINGUISTIC TERMS

In this index are listed the main terms used throughout the paper, and the main references to them. There may be some discussion about the references which have been taken up and the ones which have not been. These problems are not discussed here, as the whole terminology is not defined with precision (see p.1). Cross references are added, and it is for this sake that some entries are listed, such as "construction" or "case". The chapters considered in the index are chapter I (Grammatical Notes: G:) and chapter III (Linguistic Commentary: L:); in rare cases the main references to chapter IV (Non-Linguistic Commentary: N:) are given.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| ablative | G: p.6. |
| cf. → origin; case. | |
| accomplished (action or event) | G: pp.22, 33-4. |
| cf. → perfective aspect; aspect. | |
| accusative | G: pp.10-1, 31. |
| cf. → object; case. | |
| actual present | G: p.24. |
| cf. → present; tense. | |
| adjective | G: pp.2, 6, 10, 14-5, 42, 48, 49, 61, 62. |
| | L: p.140 (IV:8). |
| cf. → noun. | |
| adjectiviser | G: pp.5, 49. |
| adjunct | G: p.58. |

- adverb G: pp.10, 35, 38, 42, 43, 47, 59, 67.
L: pp.140 (IV:8), 141 (V:9).
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- adverbial complements G: pp.58-9.
cf. → complement; case.
- adversative G: pp.37, 69.
cf. → temporal-adversative clause.
- affirmation after doubt G: p.40.
- affirmative particle G: p.42.
- agent G: pp.3, 53, 55-8, 72-3.
L: pp.128-30 (I:8, 16).
- agent, absence of G: p.58.
L: pp.130 (I:18), 138 (II:15), 144 (VII:36), 146-8 (VIII:27; IX:8-9, 15).
- agentive G: pp.3, 5, 10, 22, 31, 56-7.
L: pp.131-2 (I:28-9), 135 (I:80).
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- agentive, absence of agentive G: p.73.
L: pp.132-3 (I:30, 50), 142 (VI:23), 145 (VIII:12), 147 (IX:4).
- agentive of pronominal suffix G: p.30.
- agglutination G: p.50.
- agreement G: pp.50, 61.
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- allative G: pp.6, 12-3.
cf. → case.
- allomorphic variation G: pp.3, 11, 16-8, 23-5, 29, 30, 48, 57-8.
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- ambiguity G: pp.37, 56, 64, 71-3.
L: pp.127-8 (I:2, 8), 130 (I:18), 134 (I:57), 138-40 (II:19, 20; III:

- 13, 19-20; IV:8), 146 (VIII:35), 148 (IX:28), 150 (XI:9).
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- anaphora G: p.13.
 L: pp.129 (I:11), 131 (I:27), 133-4 (I:47, 62), 148 (IX:28).
- cf. → interrogative-indefinite pronoun.
- antecedent of a conditional clause
 cf. → hypothesis of a conditional clause.
- aurist G: pp.26, 66.
 cf. → narrative.
- aspect G: pp.21-30.
 cf. → accomplished (action or event), durative, habitual aspect, imperfective, narrative, perfective, punctiliar (action or event), unaccomplished (action or event).
- asyndetic construction
 cf. → juxtaposition.
- atemporal meaning of verb suffix G: p.148 (IX:30).
 cf. → present.
- body parts (construction of--) G: pp.7, 43, 62.
 L: p.148 (IX:15).
- case G: pp.2-8, 10, 12, 47, 58.
 L: pp.145-6 (VIII:14, 32).
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 causal meaning of noun suffix.
- catalyst G: p.37.
- causal clause G: pp.69, 71.
 L: p.127 (I:2).
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- causal meaning of noun-suffix G: pp.7, 8, 69.
 L: p.148 (IX:15).

- causative L: p.145 (VIII:12).
 cf. → transitiviser
- characteristic element of pronoun G: p.13.
- classifier G: pp.14-5, 47.
- clause G: pp.46, 53, 58, 63-72.
 L: pp.126 (I:1, 2), 136 (I:116),
 138 (II:3).
 cf. → causal clause, concessive clause, conditional clause, consecutive clause, final clause, interrogative clause, object clause, relative clause, temporal clause, temporal-adversative clause; main clause; order of clauses; phrase, sentence, syntagm, word.
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 L: pp.142 (VI:23), 147 (IX:8).
 cf. → enclitics, particles, adverbs, prepositions, postpositions.
- cohortative G: pp.22, 27, 32.
 L: pp.128 (I:7), 133 (I:81), 135-7
 (I:81, 117; II:1).
 cf. → imperative.
- collective construction G: pp.9, 19, 31.
 L: p.126 (I:1).
 cf. → number.
- comitative G: p.4.
 cf. → case.
- command
 cf. → imperative.
- Common Australian G: p.18.
- common noun G: p.3.
 cf. → noun.
- comparative G: pp.2, 8, 10.
 cf. → case; clitics, particles; elative, superlative; gradation
 (degrees of -).
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 cf. → adverbial complements; object, subject.
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 cf. → accomplished (action or event).

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 cf. → ambiguity, embedded constructions; construction.
- complex expansion G: pp.58, 63, 65-71.
 cf. → expansion.
- composition G: pp.47-8, 50-1, 60, 62.
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- compound verbs G: pp.57, 60.
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- conditional clause G: pp.23, 26.
 L: pp.139 (III:8), 143 (VII:30).
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 L: p.137 (I:120).
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- conjunctive
 cf. → dubitative, potentialis-eventualis, hypothetical, irrealis.
- connotation G: pp.7, 40, 46.
 L: p.140 (III:26).
 cf. → meaning; stylistic connotations.
- consecutio temporum G: pp.65-6, 70.
 L: p.136 (I:116).
- consecutive clause G: pp.23, 68, 70.
 L: p.139 (III:8).
 cf. → clause.
- consequence (of a conditional clause)
 cf. → conclusion of a conditional clause.

- constituents G: pp.58-60, 63, 65.
 cf. → sentence, phrase; dependency of constituents, obligatory constituents, order of constituents, word-order.
- construction
 cf. → agreement, anacoluthon, body parts (construction of -), collective construction, complexities (constructional -), coordination, dependency (of constituents), ellipsis, embedded construction, expansion, genitive construction, grammaticality, idiomatic expressions, impersonal construction, juxtaposition, obligatory constituents, order, phrase, possessive construction, redundancy, sentence, subordination, well-formedness, word order, zeugma.
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 L: pp.126-7 (I:2, 4), 129 (I:11), 130 (I:19), 133 (I:50), 136 (I:117), 142 (VI:24), 144 (VIII:2), 149 (X:17).
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- coordination G: pp.46, 63-5.
 L: pp.136 (I:116), 147 (IX:2-4), 149 (X:10).
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- definite genitive construction G: p.62.
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cf. → number.
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- durative G: pp.24-5.
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- emphasis G: pp.12, 32, 35-6, 38, 40, 70.
L: p.134 (I:62).
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- embedded constructions G: pp.52, 71, 73-4.
L: pp.136 (I:107), 146 (VIII:20).
cf. → construction.

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cf. → clitics.
- epenthetical vowel L: p.144 (VII:36).
- eventualis
cf. → potentialis-eventualis.
- existence (verbs of -) G: pp.54-5.
L: p.127 (I:2).
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117, 120), 140 (III:33), 146 (VIII:
21).
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- final clause G: pp.23, 69-70.
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- finite verb G: p.24.
cf. → infinitive.
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cf. → feminine (of nouns), masculine (of nouns).
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- homophony G: p.71
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- immediate present G: p.29.
cf. → present.

- immediate future L: p.133 (I:40).
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- imperfect G: p.26.
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- imperfective aspect G: pp.7, 26.
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- impersonal construction G: p.54.
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- incorporation G: pp.45, 51-2.
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- indefinite genitive-construction L: p.137 (I:125).
 cf. → genitive-construction.
- indefinite pronoun
 cf. → interrogative-indefinite pronoun; anaphora.
- indeterminate object G: p.55.
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- indirect object G: pp.2, 17, 55, 57, 72-3.
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- indirect question G: p.70.
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- indirect speech G: p.70.
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- interrogative clause G: p.70.
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- interrogative particle G: pp.41, 70.
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- intransitive sentence G: pp.2, 20, 54-5, 57-8.
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- intransitive verb G: pp.2-4, 16, 18-9, 27, 48, 57, 60.
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- modifying element (of demonstrative pronoun) G: pp.11-2.
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- movement (verbs of -) G: pp.3, 7.
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- optative L: p.127 (I:2).
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58-9, 63, 66-7, 69, 70.
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interrogative particle, local particles, negation, noun as particle,
postposition, preposition, relativising morpheme, stylistic morphemes.
- particular genitive-construction
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- personal suffixes G: pp.22, 24, 30-2, 39, 56-7, 73.
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(XI:9).
- cf. → actual present, general present; imperfective, durative; tense.

- prohibitive G: p.41.
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- pronoun G: pp.2, 3, 6, 10-5, 72, 73.
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personal pronoun, reflexive pronoun, relative pronoun.
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interrogative particle; dubitative.
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cf. → existence (verbs of -), intransitive verb, movement (verbs of -), stative verbs, transitive verb, verbs of saying; verb-phrase, verb-root, verbal noun.
- verbs of saying G: p.17.
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zeugma

L: p.144 (VIII:7).

cf. → construction.

zero morpheme

G: pp.2, 21-2.

cf. → cohortative, nominative, accusative; object (absence of -),
subject (absence of -); haplology.