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INTRODUCTION

The language and its speakers

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

Abstract of language; genetic relationships

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

1. All exhibit a fortis-lenis (or geminate-simple) stop contrast.

2. All have a distributionally-restricted but nonetheless phonemic glottal stop.

3. All have a minimum of five short vowels (Ngandi has long-short vowel contrasts, and Rembarnda has a sixth, mid-central vowel).

4. All show considerable development of nominal case-marking by suffixes distributed according to ergative-absolutive patterning over major syntactic functions.

5. All have fairly complex verbal morphology of an agglutinative to mildly fusional sort, with factitives, causatives and other verbal derivations effected by suffixation.


All show a tendency for the verb to be a clause in miniature, with marking contained within the verb for most major clausal constituents, including pronominal prefixes marking person and number for a maximum of two noun phrases.

None shows especially elaborated morphological means of effecting clause linkages; on the contrary, each language has a highly generalised, multifunctional subordinate clause type as the most powerful and flexible device in its syntactic-discourse repertoire. The subordinate clause type functionally corresponds both to ad-sentential and NP-relative clause types of other languages which distinguish these.

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

1. Both Ngandi and Ngalakan have noun-class prefixation systems, while Rembarña lacks noun classification.

2. Though all three languages make a distinction in past positive tense-aspect forms between past punctual and past continuous and have some obviously comparable suffixal tense-aspect allomorphs for given categories, Rembarña (like Jawoñ) makes a basic morphologically-marked distinction between factual and counterfactual mood categories which is not marked in the same way by discretely segmentable morphs in Ngalakan and Ngandi.

3. Ngalakan and Ngandi obligatorily mark negation by addition of negative suffixes to certain tense-aspect forms which serve as negative stems, while Rembarña marks negation by means of a particle external to the verb. Again, in this feature Rembarña and Jawoñ are similar.

Traditional territory and anthropological literature

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

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

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

Like most people of the southern Arnhem area, the Ngalakan have a term (gu-jaworo) for the patrilineal land-holding group. Several speakers with whom I worked expressed the idea that (at least formerly, when Ngalakan was more widely spoken) dialect differences within Ngalakan could be discerned at the level of the individual patrilineal group. Edna Nuluk in particular observed that each jaworo spoke differently, making it clear that the
patrilineal land-holding group was an ideological locus of linguistic differentiation. However, I observed only minor differences in the speech of people I worked with, the greatest being the alternate use of past continuous suffixal allomorphs of thematic verbs (3.3.3.19) -miyin and -meriŋ by two speakers, while others (including Edna Nuluk, the principal informant) used -miyin almost exclusively. It may be that due to great reduction and dispersion of the active users of the language, the degree of intra-language variation has been significantly reduced. Awareness of linguistic difference corresponding to patri-clan level groups is in accordance with some other fairly elaborate ideologies which include this feature, better documented from especially the north-east Arnhem area (see e.g. Schebeck 1968).

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

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

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

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

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

Informants and field work

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

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

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The research on which this grammar is based was funded by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.
**ABBREVIATIONS**

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<td>purposive (also, same case form sometimes label PG = pergressive)</td>
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**Normal kin term abbreviations**

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<td>Wi</td>
<td>wife</td>
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</table>

**Special symbols**

+ 'act upon', transitive relation; e.g. 1SG + 2SG first person singular transitive subject acting upon second person singular transitive object.

\( \sim \) alternates with

x
Map showing relative locations of ethnolinguistic groups: Ngalakan, Magarayi, Alawa, Wanđaraŋ, Yugul, Mara
CHAPTER I
SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

1.1 Phonemes

The phonemes of Ngalakan are the following:

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<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ɾ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>γ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowels: High / i u /

Mid / e o /

Low / a (a:)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Spectrograms of Rembarrnga stops showed the 'geminates' to be characterised by a more abrupt closure ... and by a more prominent burst of noise at the point of release, with greater interval before voice onset after the release ... than the corresponding single stops. These characteristics of the geminate stops may be considered indicators of fortis or tense articulation (McKay 1980:346). Note that, according to this, 'single' stops may be followed by some period of voicelessness, even if brief. Spectrograms of Rembarrnga stops showed mean duration for various medial geminates ranging from 125.4-193.3 milliseconds and mean durations for single stops ranging from 21-66 milliseconds.

My results for Ngalakan were based on a smaller, preliminary sample of 25 spectrograms. I examined both slow, careful 'elicitation' pronunciation and ordinarily-paced speech. The careful speech revealed duration of fortis stops of maxima ranging between 230 ms to 150 ms. In ordinarily-paced speech this figure fell to maxima between 80-100 ms, while lenis stops in ordinary speech reached maxima of 80 ms but most were below 50 ms. Thus, the two series show a non-overlapping distribution. Some lenis segments medially had spectrographic characteristics of flaps rather than stops. Some of the Ngalakan fortis stops
(in both slow and ordinary speech) were followed by a period of voicelessness upon oral release with a perceptible degree of aspiration. Like McKay, I found that the fortis release was characterised by significantly greater energy than for lenis stops; this seemed to be the most constant feature of the fortis. Although fortis stops tended to involve significantly less voicing than lenes, nevertheless some lenis stops were characterised by a preceding period of relative voicelessness just as were some of the fortises.

I prefer to use the labels 'fortis' and 'lenis' throughout this description as the least prejudicial labels for the contrast. However, the provisional spectrographic results seem to indicate that there is little or no overlap in duration of occlusion for fortis and lenis consonants, making a long versus short analysis plausible. Duration is the most salient parameter of contrast in Jawoŋ also (see Jaeger M5). But due to the fact that my comparisons concentrated on good samples from which maxima could be determined but little attention was paid to minimal occlusion times, further analysis of naturally-paced speech in Ngalakan would be desirable.

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

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

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
gac &\quad \text{nothing} \\
gaja &\quad \text{dog} \\
wi &\quad \text{ceremony, totem} \\
bic &\quad \text{filesnake}
\end{align*}
\]

No non-redundicative Ngalaŋan root can contain more than one fortis stop. A few reduplicative roots (e.g. wapawapa? clothing) contain two, one in each segment. However, roots may contain more than one lenis stop, or one or more
lenis stops and one fortis stop. Using examples where the stops in question occur only intervocally, we can illustrate this situation:

Limitation to one fortis stop:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lenis stops</th>
<th>Fortis stop</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>guta autistic?</td>
<td>yellow bitter (no forms like *guta autistic?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gapuji?</td>
<td>old person (no forms like *gapuji?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>japuteen?deen?</td>
<td>grasshopper (no forms like *japuteen?teen?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More than one lenis stop:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lenis stops</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noodoq?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jardin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>midimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baqigulu?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lenis stops</th>
<th>Fortis stop</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jambaku</td>
<td>tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yipunja</td>
<td>a long time ago</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lenis Stops</th>
<th>Fortis Stop</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yukaji?</td>
<td>forcefully, hard, forever, completely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaykubur?</td>
<td>in the daytime</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops</th>
<th>Fortis</th>
<th>Lenis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fortis</th>
<th>Lenis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gu-marji</td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu-marci</td>
<td>white man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>golkol</td>
<td>new</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu-golgoro?</td>
<td>coolamon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu-nerpor</td>
<td>egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu-malba?</td>
<td>ironwood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu-nerku?</td>
<td>agile river wallaby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu-nurgu</td>
<td>womb, belly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In a sample of 68 nominal and adverbial roots, 57 of these had medial combinations of non-nasal sonorant plus fortis stop, while only ten had combinations of non-nasal sonorant plus lenis stop. In this position the occurrence of the fortis is overwhelmingly favoured, suggesting that this environment historically may have been moving towards becoming non-contrastive.

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

- gu-marangalpa `green tree snake`
- wer?dak `dry, arid`

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

These relationships may be summarised as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable closure type</th>
<th>Onset margin of following syllable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nasal stop</td>
<td>'strong' unmarked (lenis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-nasal sonorants</td>
<td>'weak' marked (fortis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vowels</td>
<td>'neutral' either</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

1.1.1.2 Relation of the stop contrast to other phonological processes

The occurrence of fortis versus lenis stops is linked to processes of suffix-initial stop alternation, particularly in nominal suffixes but also in one verbal one. These alternations are described fully in 2.3-2.4; here, the nature of the interaction of suffix-alternations with the fortis-lenis contrast is briefly described. The presence of fortis stops within noun roots conditions the lenition of certain suffix-initial, underlyingly fortis stops (e.g. locative-allative -ka?~ga?, privative -ci?~ji). The future negative verbal suffix -ci?~ji? also shows lenition of the underlying fortis-initial form following -n, ? or stops which, with great frequency, are the final segments in stem-forms to which the suffix is added. A general condition upon the lenition is that
the fortis consonant of the root be within two syllables to the left of the
suffix; that is, it can occur in the preceding syllable, or the one to the left
of that, but if it occurs further to the left it produces no effect upon the
suffix-initial stop:

nočo-ga?  in/to the grass
waračara-ga?  in/to the flood water
guluku-ga?  to the boss
but guluku-noji-ka?  to her boss

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

Of course, not all nominal and verbal suffixes show fortis-lenis alter-
nations. For example, the ergative-instrumental suffix -yi? does not alternate
but all nominal and verbal stop-initial suffixes except paucal -gapu1 and
negative suffix -korō, do so. However, some (not all) occurrences of glottal
stop appear to create word-internal syllable boundaries which functionally
approximate the conditions on occurrence of fortis stops observable in inflected
forms containing suffix-initial alternating stops. This leads to the next major
consideration in segmental phonology, the characteristics and distribution of
glottal stop.

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

1.1.2 Glottal stop

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

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

The Ngala glottal almost invariably occurs as the final segment of syllables at morpheme boundaries of certain kinds. It occurs root-finally mainly in nouns, verbs and adverbs following vowels and other sonorants, and is of especially high frequency following sonorant-final monosyllabic thematic verb roots (i.e. CVS? or CVSS?, where S=non-vocalic sonorant). As in most Arnhem-area languages, the glottal is very rare medially in roots except between partially or completely reduplicative segments (in Ngala, this is limited to frozen reduplicative ones like wur?wur?u old person, or jo?oj?oj? morning star, related to jo?oj? early morning). There are a few instances of intramorphemic glottal in non-reduplicative roots, but some of these look suspiciously as if they contain old (now unanalyzable) morpheme boundaries: giriyi? youngest mother (i.e. father's junior wife), gor?yi? senior mother; (also wer?dak dry, where segmentation is not obvious).
A number of suffixes are glottal-final (e.g. dual -pira?-bira?, ergative-instrumental -yɪ), while a few suffixes begin with a glottal (e.g. -?gVn genitive-dative-purposive, see also glottal initial ablative allomorph -?wala below). The fact that glottal can be suffix-initial, but not initial in roots or words, suggests that its placement within the word is not (and was not historically) determined by particular morpheme boundaries per se, but by the relation between root and suffix within the phonological word. Glottal stop can never follow a stop or another glottal, so that when glottal-initial suffixes are added to a stop- or glottal-final element, the (second) glottal is deleted (see 2.6). There are several circumstances under which a word may contain more than one glottal. First, since noun and other roots may end in a glottal, addition of a suffix containing a glottal results in words containing a maximum of two glottals: ṅu-ŋal?-ji? I can’t climb up (ŋal? to climb, -ji? future negative suffix); ṅu-?dodoy?-ŋini-pulu-?gon for my (pl) MoBrSoCh.

Following a root containing medial glottal, addition of a suffix containing a glottal also results in words with a maximum of two glottal stops: wer?dak-(k)a? into a dry place; bolo?bolo-bira? two women. Some sequences of glottal-final suffixes may occur within a single word: ju-bolo?bolo-bira?-yɪ? two women (ergative). Finally, many demonstrative pronouns and adverbs contain medial (and some also final) glottal at what are certainly morpheme boundaries, and these, combined with suffixes containing glottal, result in such forms as nu-go?ye-yi? this one (masculine ergative-instrumental).

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

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

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

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

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

It seems to me there is not too much to unequivocally recommend one solution over the other; nevertheless, certain considerations cause me to pick the second. It is important to point out that the distribution of retroflex and alveolar apicals is not fully comparable to that of fortis and lenis stops, so that there is no compelling reason that phonological distributions of fortis-lenis and retroflex-alveolar consonants need be handled in exactly the same way. Briefly, there is a live morpheme-initial fortis-lenis alternation in certain suffixes (see 2.5), while morpheme-initial apicals in prefixes and lexemes are retroflex (unless 'neutralised' after glottal or other stop); no suffixes can ever be phonetically retroflex-initial. Thus there is a live fortis-lenis alternation suffix-initially, while there is never live morphophonemic retroflex-alveolar alternation morpheme-initially. Having established that
there is no necessity to handle the two distributions in the same way, it seems simple to take prefixes and lexemes as underlyingly retroflex-initial, suffixes as underlyingly non-retroflex (=alveolar) initial. Orthographic practice can then be made consistent with the posited underlying level even where consonants are phonetically 'neutralised' and realised as apico-alveolar. Thus, in the example -bop-ŋa-, marking of retroflexion orthographically is consistent with the posited underlying form of the root /ŋa/ (and also with the distributional fact that no sequences of stop+(apical) nasal occur intramorphemically). This solution is maximally consistent with both phonological distributions within the word and actual pronunciation (except where retroflexion is neutralised). However, as noted, the other solution (taking all apicals as archiphonemes unspecified underlyingly for place, and specifying them as retroflex or alveolar by means of redundancy rules) is also quite plausible, given the clear-cut distribution of these segment types initially by order class within the word.

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

1.1.4 Rhotics: distribution and characteristics

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

1.1.5 Liquids

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

1.1.6 Lamino-palatals

In syllable-final position, the lamino-palatal stop ç tends to be characterised by a very weak release, making it somewhat difficult to perceive. The lamino-palatal ŋ is very easy to distinguish but is fairly rare initially in nominal roots (only four instances in the corpus). There were ten instances
verb root-initially, and one occurrence initially in a verbal prefix. The nasal ŋ is cluster-initial in one word-internal morpheme -ŋja?, the base in second person singular and third person singular pronouns.

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

1.1.7 Vowels

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

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

/i/ [i] The vowel /i/ tends to have its highest and tensest realisation in the environment of /ŋ/, and in open syllables, especially word-finally: [ŋu-balkin] policeman, [bılçiri] file snake, [ŋu-bigir] man.

[i] It has slightly lower, laxer and more centered realisation in syllables closed by consonants other than /ŋ/, e.g. [baṭiʔ] mosquito, [bayır] female euro, [bılpo] wide, [bılʔ] sharp point, [bindiʔ] real, proper.

When /i/ occurs before /r/, the two merge completely, yielding the syllabic vocoid [r]: [m̥para] child, [bəm̥̠r] clapstick, [məʔ] cave house.

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

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


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


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

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

The only vowel which can begin a word or morpheme is a. This occurs in a handful of forms only, most of them conjunctions and adverbs: alako by and by, alanga directly, straightforward; alkiʔ still, yet, anji emphatic NP conjunction too (also clausal conjunction); and anjiʔ, a prefix of allative meaning used with cardinal directions.
Neighbouring Mañarayi has a five-vowel system but /e/ and /o/ are restricted to lexical roots and do not occur in pronouns, demonstratives, or other grammatical morphemes. In Ngalakan, all five vowels can occur in some grammatical morphemes as well as lexical ones.

1.1.8 Consonant clusters

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

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

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

1.1.8.1 Intramorphemic clusters in non-verbal parts of speech

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

Stop-Stop

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

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<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>ḥbatb</td>
<td>archer fish</td>
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<tr>
<td>ḥbatb</td>
<td>firstborn</td>
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<tr>
<td>čb jčbu</td>
<td>stringybark</td>
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<td>kb ḥakbarara</td>
<td>green pandanus frog</td>
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Table 1-1: Intramorphemic double clusters in non-verbal parts of speech

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

Sonorant-stop

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

1b maľba? ironwood
rb gorbólgorbólo butcher bird
rj maľji hand
?j gu?jel? cold (temperature of object or atmosphere)
lg golgoro? coolamon
rg ńurgu belly
lp bilpo wide
lp marąnľpa green tree snake
rp murpun? Terminalia (tree species)
rp buľpa lily species; also rifle
yp buypu elder brother
łč gulči mortar
rč bururči brown tree snake
rč joćča? little bandicoot
lk balku rope
lk wąlkara freshwater hardyhead?
rk burkaji really, real, genuine
yk gayka MoBr, uncle
wk gówko MoMo

The absence of 1č is probably an accidental gap.

Of these, the following subset and one additional cluster (rk) were found finally: rp (gorpgorp kookaburra), lk jawelk grass species, rk giyark tooth, řk gapurk dry, wk gówk humpy. The cluster yük was found finally in verb roots.

Sonorant-nasal

nm jimma shark
ñm gunuňat? perhaps
ńm mańnal dew
ńm lińman Triglochin procer (plant species)
lm balmańa hat
lm jaľmayal King Brown (snake species)
rm yarmada big bandicoot
rm bińmir clapstick
ym yimuymuy long way
ńń galńorkńork brains
ńń bulńuno? ashes
ńń jurńa crooked
ńń mayńno? red ochre

Of these, the following plus řń were found finally: mańnal hairbelt, wačalń? mud, yirń wax, gurń black-striped grunter. (No examples were found of final ſń not followed by glottal, but such clusters probably exist).
Nasal-Stop

mb jamben snake
mb munbič woman's pubic covering
nb benberen ghost gum (E. papuana)
ńb wańba negative particle
ńb danbon (name of Arnhem sociolinguistic group)
nd ondo wind
ńd janidiya? pandanus mat
ńj ganju directly, straightaway
ńj munjum shoulder
ńj wańjat arm
ng mangada? woollybutt
ńg jongolo? straight
ńg yińgon today
ńg jangu meat, flesh

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

Sonorant-Non-nasal sonorant

ly wanbangulyi toponym
ğa ňůyli? black (but may be analysable, see 3.3.4.1.2)
ńy buryi very old person
ńw wanwan Terminalia grandiflora (tree species)
ńw ! urgencya Vigna vexillata (yam)
ńw geywar young man

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

1. S-?S in reduplicative forms, exemplified by:
   jōdō?jōdō? morning star
   jaw?jaw? lily species
   ňin?ńin? finches

2. S-?S in a handful of non-redunductive forms
   jrey?me jaw, face

3. Possible morpheme-final double cluster plus consonant in frozen
   reduplicative forms
   giłkdįjk peewee
   galoŋkŋorŋ brains
   ŋarŋarŋ Burdekin duck

4. Possible morpheme-final double cluster plus consonant in non-reduplicative
   forms
   warŋmele hip
   marńgi unknowledgeable, inexpert
   gurbyname greedy

5. Any possible morpheme-final cluster of S+S followed by glottal
   ŋawolŋ? navel
6. The cluster rmb, the only triple cluster in which the first two segments do not constitute a possible final cluster.

warmbaya anywhere, any which way

1.1.8.2 Intramorphemic clusters in verb roots

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

Stop-Stop

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

Non-nasal Sonorant-Stop

rb garbe to crawl
rj warja? to go walkabout
lp balpar to dance in a group
rp dorpo? to lie belly down
rč marča to be starving
rč gorži to pour (perhaps contains an old boundary r-č)
řk yiřkiđi? to move, be active

Some of the above, plus others, were found finally: lp mulp to chase, rp warp to tell a lie, rp dergerp to be sleepy, lk jilk to rain, dolkdolk to line up, lk jołk to pass by, rk ďerk to slice, rk burkburk to dive in, yk woyk to fish, wk worowk to jump in.

Sonorant-sonorant

lŋ welŋ-bu- to make mistake
rŋ jorn to stretch
ynŋ nyuyuy to swim
nw wanwan? to not understand

Nasal-Stop

ǹd weńdu+ma- to go to meet
nj menjolk-baya to accuse (AUX -baya; may be boundary men-jolk; see 3.3.4.3)
ǹj mińji remember
ng mungu follow
ŋg jorjolo? to straighten
ǹg jereŋgo? to sneeze
ŋg worongor? to sweat (cf. gu-woŋgor? sweat)

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

1. S-ʔ-S in reduplicative forms

mar?mar? to tie up
ńim?ńim? to go out, extinguish itself

2. S-ʔ-S in non-reduplicative forms

ďer?ba-ga- to tie up
ğer?bar? to be frightened
### Table 1-2: Intramorphemic clusters in verb roots

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</table>

**Notes:**
- Letters represent phonetic segments.
- Diagonal lines indicate allowable combinations within the constraints of the morphemic structure.
- The table may need further clarification on specific phonetic combinations or rules governing the formation of intramorphemic clusters.
3. Possible morpheme-final clusters plus consonant in non-reduplicative forms

ŋurŋi-baya- \( \rightarrow \) to be jealous of (AUX -baya)

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

1.1.9 Syllable types

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

| V   | a-laŋ-ga | directly (rare initially) |
| VC  | al-kiʔ  | still (rare) |
| CV  | gu-ba-ŋi-gu-luʔ E. Ferruginea (tree species) |
| CVC | (a) CVC mu-jet ground oven |
|     | (b) CVS gu-ŋoy fire |
| CVCC | (a) CVS mu-ralʔ hair |
|  | (b) CVSC gu-malk skin, subsection |
|  | (c) CVSS jorgŋ to stretch |
|  | (d) CVSS gu-belŋʔ leaves, foliage |

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

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

2.1 Reduplication

2.1.1 Nominal reduplication

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

2.1.1.1 Dyadic kin terms

In most languages in the area, stems can be formed (usually by reduplication plus suffixation) which designate the relationship between pairs or larger numbers of kinsmen, giving such meanings as 'father and child', 'father's father and son's son' and the like. Terms which designate a pair are 'dual dyadic', and those which designate larger numbers of persons in a relationship are 'plural dyadic'. In the creation of some dyadic terms, a choice is made between the simple stems designating the junior or the senior relative as the basis for the dyadic term (e.g. 'father' or 'child'), and those designating the male or the female in some relationships (e.g. 'brother' or 'sister' to express 'brother and sister'). In relation to the first case, Ngalakan dyadic terms permit both selection of the senior term, and selection of the junior term, as follows.

Terms meaning 'father and child', mother and child', 'father's sister and brother's child', and 'mother's brother and sister's child', are all built by addition of the dyadic suffix -ko?g- to the simple terms which ordinarily designate the senior relative, e.g. from moko l father, moko l-go? father and child.

But dyadic forms can also be built on the 'child' terms. The simple 'child' terms are: ge man's child, woman's brother's child; namu woman's child, man's sister's child; and gaya same sex sibling's child (i.e. woman's sister's child, man's brother's child). The collateral distinction made by the last term is neutralised in reciprocal usage ('mother' and 'father'). On these child terms are built the following dyadic forms: ge-ko? woman and brother's child or man and own child; namu-ko? man and sister child or woman and own child; gaya-ko? woman and sister's child, man and brother's child. In other words, these dyadic terms enable one to fully exhaust the terminological possibilities of the 'parent-child' pairs by use of both sets.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual Dyadic</th>
<th>Plural Dyadic</th>
<th>Denotata (simplified)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buypu-go?</td>
<td>buypubuypu-go?</td>
<td>Br+Br</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yapa-go?</td>
<td>yapayapa-go?</td>
<td>Br+Si, Si+Si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mana-ko?</td>
<td>manananka-ko?</td>
<td>Mo+Ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marke-go?</td>
<td>markemarke-go?</td>
<td>FaSi+BrCh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dudu-ko?</td>
<td>dudududu-ko?</td>
<td>FaFa+SoSo, FaFaSi+SoDa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gowko-go?</td>
<td>gowkogowko-go?</td>
<td>MoMo/MoMoBr+DaCh/BrDrCh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaya-ko?</td>
<td>gayagaya-ko?</td>
<td>person+same-sex sibling's ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ge-ko?</td>
<td>gege-ko?</td>
<td>woman+BrCh, man+own Ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namu-ko?</td>
<td>namumamu-ko?</td>
<td>man+SiCh, woman+own Ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wawaya-ko?</td>
<td>wawawyawawaya-ko?</td>
<td>MoMoBrSo/MoMoBrSoSoSo+FaSiDaCh/FaFaFaDaCh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wulukur?</td>
<td>wulukur?wulukur?-go?</td>
<td>brothers-in-law, or man+wife's brother/sister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| mokol-go?         | mokomokol-go?       | Fa+Ch                 |
| giŋdar-ko?        | giŋdagĩŋdar-ko?      | MoBrCh+FaSiCh (cross-cousins) |
| memem-go?         | memememem-go?       | FaMo/FaMoBr+SiSoSo/SiSoDa|
| balak-(g)o?       | balabalak-(g)o?      | MoMoBrDa+son/da-in-law |
| jamĩn-ko?         | jamijamĩn-ko?       | spouses               |
| jobal-ko?         | jobajobal-ko?       | MoMoBrSo+reciprocal   |

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

2.1.1.2 Frozen nominal reduplications

There are two high frequency, partially reduplicative nouns in which the reduplicative segments are separated by glottal stop. These are wur?wuruŋu old person, and bolo?bolo woman. There are many other complete and partial frozen reduplicative nominals, adverbs and particles. Examples of complete reduplicative forms are: gu-маramaŋa maggot, gu-men?men? tommyhawk, gu-mididi ribs, geneŋ long, wajukwajuk all over, all around, warwar supposedly, allegedly. Examples of partial reduplicative forms are: gu-gayar?yar? plain, open space, gajudu?judure hard to get, gamuyumyu prohibited, secret. A very minor productive reduplicative process was found with nominal prefix mala- (see 3.2.11) in the construction of forms meaning locale characterised by, as in mala-rokorokon place with pandanus, gu-roka pandanus, with apparent collective suffix).
From the phonological point of view, problematic frozen nominal forms are some in which each reduplicative segment begins with a stop; in some of these the second segment has fortis stop, in others lenis stop. Compare the following two columns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fortis</th>
<th>Lenis</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gułukulu</td>
<td>gumbugumbuña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>golkol</td>
<td>gobolgobol</td>
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<tr>
<td>burupuru</td>
<td>buruburu?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulupulun</td>
<td>bulubuluña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boss, owner</td>
<td>snail</td>
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<tr>
<td>new</td>
<td>turkey (introduced variety, English)</td>
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<tr>
<td>scabies</td>
<td>short way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spoonbill</td>
<td>second child</td>
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</table>

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

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

- gamiñjiko always
- jajajabarn? yesterday, afternoon
- munuñju tomorrow, daylight
- gamiñji?jiko all the time always
- jajajajabarn? afternoon, late afternoon
- munumuñju first thing tomorrow, first thing in the morning

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

Many verbs have basic, fully or partially reduplicative root forms. Examples are: ąokQok to bark, ąolkQolk to line up, gali?gali? to go away; ąumuqumur? to break foliage (ALL thematic).

Most verb stems can be reduplicated to express meanings of distributive, repetitive or continual action. Such reduplications, unlike those described above, are not 'grammaticalised' uses of the process, but express nuances of
meaning within particular categories. Many of these reduplications have no
effect on segmental phonology, and show no glottal between the reduplicative
segments. Examples are: reduplicative present of ḟabo- to go, ḟabo- ḟaron; reduplicative present of ḟu- to cry, ḟunuṇuṇu; reduplicative past continuous (PC) of ḟu- to cry, ḟuni- ḟunin; reduplicative PC of yo- to sleep, lie, yono-yonoṇiṇi. One feature of such reduplications lacking the glottal is illustrated by the last two examples; they must consist of two syllables.

Thus ḟu-niṇiṇ is the non-reduplicative PC form of to cry; the reduplicative ḟuni- ḟunin shows inclusion of the first CV of the suffix to make up a second reduplicative syllable. Other reduplications show placement of glottal between the two segments:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mare} & \text{ to spear} & \text{-mare?-mareṇ} & \text{PC} \\
\text{baře} & \text{ to hang up} & \text{-baře?-bařeṇiṇiṇ} & \text{PC}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

2.1.4 Suffixal reduplication

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

\[
\begin{align*}
yiri-ŋal?-miṇ & \text{ bin-gaga?} \\
1\text{EX}-\text{climb-PP} & \text{ stone-ALL} \\
\text{We climbed up towards the stone/hill}. \\
\nu-\text{raboniṇi} & \text{ gungu-laṅga-kaga?} \\
1\text{SG}-\text{go PC GU-billabong-ALL} & \text{I was going towards the billabong}. 
\end{align*}
\]

2.2 Morpheme-initial distribution of alveolar and retroflex apicals

With the exception of a few interjections and all verbal suffixes (see
1.1.3), all morphemes with initial apical consonant are considered underlyingly
retroflex. Thus it is easy to formulate a statement of the distribution of
alveolar and retroflex consonants in morpheme-initial position: in prefixes
and lexical roots, initial apicals can be specified as underlyingly retroflex,
apical-initial suffixes which follow the verb stem are underlyingly alveolar. No apical-initial nominal suffixes occur; all begin with glottal, semivowel, or non-apical stop.

2.3 Distribution of fortis and lenis stops

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

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

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

2.4 Fortition

2.4.1 Fortition in verb reduplication

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

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

barə-pe-ra- to hang up
baya-paya- to look at, go to see
jaši-čaši- to twirl firedrill
ju-ču-ruwe- to run, rush about, hurry

In addition, the root /ja/ to stand was commonly found with fortified reduplicative segment-initial stop in bi- or polysyllabic conjugational forms: PRES jaša-čašan, PC jaša-čašanəń. The transitive bare to hang up shows insertion of glottal in one reduplicative form (PC bareʔ-bareniń), but even where there is no glottal it does not show fortition in the alternative
reduplicative present -ba-ba. The stem gorči to pour may be prevented from undergoing fortition (*gorči-kořči) because this would result in three fortis stops within the reduplicative stem. In fact, this verb shows lenition in reduplicative forms (see 2.5). The simplest solution to the problem posed by fortition in the above verbs is to continue to regard all verb roots as under­lyingly lenis-initial, and to note the method by which verbs reduplicate as a (presently) unpredictable feature of individual roots.

2.4.2 Fortition in verb compounding

As mentioned in 2.3, following vowel-final pronominal prefixes, initial stops of verb stems are sometimes phonetically more similar to fortis than to lenis consonants. Examples are: gu-čaŋa-čaŋan it's standing (instead of -jaŋa-čaŋan); ju-ka'war get it! (instead of ju-ga'war).

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

Other examples of fortition in thematic verbs are ñere-čilîŋ? to be sleepy (mu-ñere sleep); and also gor to be sick/ache when preceded, as it often is, by an incorporated noun stem ending in a (non-nasal) sonorant: njîn-jungu-kor your SG. back aches (gu-jungu back). Note that gor and also non-thematic /ja/ stand show fortition following elements which end in non-nasal sonorants including rhotics and liquids, while /bu/ never is fortified following rhotics and liquids. Compare /bu/ verbs: ñal-Çu- to shut, war-Çu to sing (ensorecell) with /ja/ verbs jambu-ča- to bend over and gor-ča to sit, lurk inside (lair, cave) (not the same as gor to be sick, ache as above). Note however that /ja/ does not always undergo fortition in circumstances where it might be expected: ñele-ja to lean against (with locative complement), wunjî-ja- to be hidden.
Similarly, the root baya- to look at, see undergoes fortition when reduplicated (see 2.4.1), and following some but not all compounding initials. Compare jira-paya- to sneak up on and nīngaya-paya to like with nūrgi-baya- to be jealous of, as is the case with a nasal-final compounding element, gewen-baya- to frighten someone.

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

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

buruŋ-re-čuruwe-ŋ
3SG/3PL-TNSV-rush-PP
He rushed them away.

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

2.5 Lenition

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

The following nominal suffixes have underlying fortis stops:

dyadic kin suffix -ko?-u-go?
locative-allative suffix -ka?-u-ga?
dual suffix (with all nouns) -pira?-u-bira?
plural kin suffix -pul?u?-bulu
privative suffix -či?-ji

(Also as noted at 2.3, the present negative suffix -koro is taken to have underlying fortis-initial stop but this does not alternate). The dual suffix -pira?-u-bira? may also be used as a verbal inflection to disambiguate dual and plural pronominal categories. The sole, strictly verbal suffix with underlying initial fortis stop in future negative is -ci?-u-jie? This suffix is added to the evitative form of the verb (which differs from present positive only for a few verbs). Since the present positive-evitative ends in -n for many non-thematic verbs, and post-nasal position in an environment of neutralisation for the fortis-lenis contrast, the future negative suffix often shows up in lenited form -jie?: yi-ćan-jie? you and I can’t/won’t see it (ća- to see); ěuru-ća-bon-jie? we lnPl can’t/won’t go. Thematic verbs add this suffix to the root-form, which is often stop-or glottal-final; and in these environments, the suffix also is -jie?: ěuru bodop-jie? we can’t/won’t cross, đoro?ji? it won’t dry. However, following both thematic and other verbs which do not end in stop, nasal or ? (or contain medial fortis stop within two syllables to the left of the suffix see below), the form -či? occurs: yi-ma-či? you and I can’t get it (evitative stem ma-); buru-banar-či? they can’t/won’t listen (thematic banar listen).
For illustration of the fortis-lenis contrast in the dyadic suffix -ko?^-go? see 2.1.1; for the locative-allative suffix, see 1.1.1.2. Examples of the other alternating suffixes are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix Type</th>
<th>Fortis Form</th>
<th>Lenis Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Privative</td>
<td>jaŋgu-či no beef</td>
<td>mIRpara-ji no children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mu-may-či no vegetable food</td>
<td>gu-we?-ji no water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mu-ŋaŋ-či no wild honey</td>
<td>gu-biŋ-ji no money (stone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>nu-ŋiŋda-pira? two MoBrSo</td>
<td>marči-bira? two white men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>buru-ŋaŋo-pira? they DU will go</td>
<td>buru-ŋaŋan-bira? they DU are sitting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gu-waŋjat-gi-pira? your SG two arms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be mentioned that there is some variation in this last suffix, so that sometimes in post-vocalic environments where lenition would be expected, the suffix-initial stop remains fortis. Thus one sometimes hears: mIRpara-pira?.

An interesting example was found of this form functioning as a noun following a noun class prefix, in which the initial stop conformed to the morpheme-initial lenis norm of all prefixes and lexical roots (2.3): jugu-bira?-yi? they two (feminine ergative).

Plural kin suffix

- ŋu-jamiŋ-ŋini-pulu my spouses
- ŋu-memem-bulu?-gun for my MoFa/MoFaSi etc.
- yap-aŋoji-pulu all her siblings
- ŋu-ŋodoy?-bulu?-gun for my MoBrSoCh

The paucal/plural suffix -gapul several, some, many does not alternate.

As the preceding illustrates, all underlyingly fortis-initial suffixes (except -koro) undergo lenition under two circumstances. First, all lenite automatically in what are always positions of neutralisation for the fortis-lenis contrast: following nasal, and (heterorganic) stops including glottal. (Following homorganic stops, cluster reduction occurs, see 2.8). This process may be represented:

Lenition I Stop → [-fortis] \{ Stop, ? \} –

The second circumstance is when the underlyingly fortis-initial suffix occurs within two syllables of a fortis consonant. There are some additional considerations here. In 1.1.1, reference was made to 'syllable closure types'. Syllables closed by nasal and stops including glottal were termed 'strong' closures, always followed by lenis stop as margin of the next syllable. It is important to note that of these, syllable closure by nasals and stops does not result in lenition of suffix-initial fortes within words:

- waŋjat-gi-ka? on your SG. arm (cluster t-g has no effect)
- guŋdu-ka? in/to country (cluster ŋ has no effect)

However, as noted already in 1.1.1.2, the presence of glottal before the second syllable margin leftwards or within one syllable of the suffix, does cause lenition of the suffix-initial fortes:

- ŋer?ŋer-ga? to/in a strong (place)
- bolо?bolo-ga? to/towards/with the woman

The combination of glottal plus any syllable margin has the same effect as medial fortis stops. Conditions on lenition can be stated as a single rule provided ?C (where C = any syllable margin) is understood to be included within the possible descriptions of C:
Lenition II  \[ \text{Stop} \rightarrow [-\text{fortis}] / \ldots C_1CV_2V(C)-_v \]

(Either \(C_1\) or \(C_2\) is a fortis stop or \(\text{?:}C\); final \(C\) may be any consonant; \(=\) morpheme boundary).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Regular</th>
<th>Reduplicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>-wakeniñ</td>
<td>-wage?-wageniñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td>-waken</td>
<td>-wage?-wagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>-gorčiñ</td>
<td>-gorji-gorjiñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>-bačiñ</td>
<td>-bači?-bačiñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td>-bača</td>
<td>-bača?-bača</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.6 \(-\)-deletion

There are a few forms which show sporadic and unpredictable glottal deletion. An example is the adverb \(\text{buluña?} \text{in the middle}\) versus the related noun \(\text{bulubuluna second/middle child}.\)

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

\[
\begin{align*}
gu-got-gon & \quad \text{for paperbark} \\
bilərak-molk & \quad \text{is/was not a long time}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
? \rightarrow \emptyset \left\{ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{Stop} & \text{-} \\
\end{array} \right. 
\]

2.7 \(-\)-insertion

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

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

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

- walk-ga-enter-CAUS

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

/buwambuwa-ŋowi benuk-?gan/ down 3SG turkey down
turkey-GEN
benuk-gan ?-deletion after stop
benuk-an stop-cluster reduction

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

2.9 y-deletion

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

- bur-ɣini?-ga-ŋiŋ
  3DU/PL-3SG-say-CAUS-PP
  they told him, said to him
- wirč-yo- to be/lie on either side
  husband's brother
Following ŋ, root- or suffix-initial ɣ is always absorbed:

- mariŋ-ɣiŋŋu wife's sister

2.10 Glide assimilation

Following the pronominal prefix ŋiŋ-, the /ɣ/ of the verb ɣabo- to go is usually realised as the laminal semivowel:

- ŋiŋ-ɣabona
  2SG-go-FUT

This process, which shows assimilation of the glide ɣ to the place of articulation of nasal of the prefix, was not observed before other ɣ-initial verb stems.
2.11 Cluster reduction in possessive suffixes

Two possessive suffixes begin with nasal-stop cluster ŋg: 2Sg -ŋgi and 1InPl -ŋgore. Both of these have reduced allomorphs in the following environments:

1. Following stops p, t, ŋ, and glottal stop, these are reduced to -gi and -gore, i.e. they drop the ŋ.
   
   waŋjat-ŋgi your SG. arm  waŋjat-ŋgore our arms
   guŋa?-ŋgi your skin  guŋa?-ŋgore our skins

2. Following k, both drop the initial ŋg cluster:
   
   malk-ŋi your subsection  malk-ŋore our subsections

2.12 Other intermorphemic cluster simplifications

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

   gu-ŋejet-jí? he can't/won't pluck it out  [jẽčiʔ]
   gu-ŋuŋuŋt-jí? he can't/won't stop  [ŋuŋtčiʔ]

2.13 Remarks on basic stress patterns

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

There are many monosyllabic roots in Ngalakan; with monosyllabic suffixes, or bisyllabic ones which cannot bear stress, these take major word stress on the root (e.g. gu-ŋóy-kaʔ in the fire, gu-béʔ-t(ə) I will roast it, gu-béʔ-koro I am not roasting it). Most bisyllabic roots have penultimate stress: álkiʔ still, júpiʔ Antidesma ghaesembilla (shrub); láŋa billabong; though a handful of nouns (juréʔ friarbird), interjections (gájáy hey!, look out!) and other parts of speech (usually, the particle guñmánʔ perhaps) were found to have final root stress.

There are two major patterns in trisyllabic nominal and adverbial roots: 1 2 3 and 1 3 2. Examples of each are:

   1 2 3  1 3 2
   bálčuđaʔ blanket lizard  budólgoʔ  brolga
   báraŋaŋi? spear  biŋáraŋ  long time
   mĩniča scrub  burkáji genuine, real
   jáworo patriclan  báraŋač thin, skinny

Note also the conjunctions of 1 2 3 pattern álako later, álanga then, and demonstrative stem guń?biri. The trisyllabic vocative form is stressed barajúʔ you all!
There are at least three patterns in quadrisyllabic roots. One is 1 2 3 4; that is, a major stress falls on the first syllable, with sometimes a secondary stress on the alternate (third) syllable: ɓídípiɗí ɗi tree, báɗiguɗu? *E. ferruginea*, dákbaruɗa *green tree frog*, bùlùpùlùn *spoonbill*. The second appears to be a variant of the first, in which the major stress falls on the third syllable and the secondary stress if detectible on the first syllable: 1 2 3 4: mìlibáliɗí *salt water* (probably etymologically complex, báliɗí *salty*, sharp, *dangerous*, now also *police*), màràngàpa *green tree snake*. The third pattern is 1 2 3 4, with major stress on the second syllable and no other major stress on the root: gàndálpuɗu *female plain kangaroo*, gòlòdòdòk *peaceful dove*, buwàmbuwa *turkey down, small feathers*, gìbīguluɗ *tawny frogmouth*.

Five-syllable roots mostly showed the pattern 1 2 3 4 5, with major root stress on the third syllable: diɗibáwaba *lotus bird*, gamuyùmuyù prohibited; but some showed major penultimate stress (gùrìjìbòngò *olive python*, nàmìlànàndànà *blue tongue* species, màjàmàpà *young girl*), while a partly reduplicative form màjùrùłuru *briny, salt water* has stress on the first syllable of the reduplicative segment.

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

Monosyllabic case suffixes do not cause any shift of root stress to the new penultimate syllable. Thus, a bisyllable like bìgur *person*, Aborignè, mìn inflected for ergative case continues to show stress on the same syllable of the root: bìgur-yi?; likewise genitive-dative bìgur-?gun, ablative bìgur-?wàlà; rërë *camp* has inflected forms locative rërë-ka?, rërë-?wàlà and so forth. However, the bisyllabic nominal inflectional suffixes -kàgà?-gàgà? (allative), plural -gàpùl, kìn plural -pùlù, all can take at least secondary word stress.

When suffixed to a monosyllabic root, these can cause major word stress to be reassigned to the penultimate word syllable: bìŋ-gàgà?, nöy-kàgà?, though it appears that alternatively, major stress may remain on the root, bìŋ-gàgà?. With bisyllabic and longer roots, major word stress does not shift (e.g. làŋga-kàgà? *to the billabong*) though the suffix may bear a secondary stress. Nominal prefixes even if bisyllabic cannot be stressed and never affect word stress assignment, thus īŋgu-bìgur *person*, mìngu-bàrawu *canoe*.

The majority of bisyllabic thematic verbs when occurring in root form have the stress pattern 1 2; thus, īŋu-bàwun? I leave it, īŋu-bànìr I hear it, īŋu-ɗóɗo? I descend); but there are a few which may have a pattern 1 2 (yì-ŋùrùm? *you and I* dig, bùrù-mìlàr? they are being born).

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

- īŋu-bàyan I visit, go to see it
- īŋu-ràbòn I go
- īŋu-jùrùwùn I rush

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

- īŋu-bùnùbùn I hit it (obligatorily reduplicated)
- īŋu-gòrèngè I should want to pour/load it (potential suffix -nì)
- īŋu-yìnfìnì I was saying, doing (past continuous suffix -nìnì)
- ɗi-bàràñàn it is hanging up, suspended.
However, in some forms the major word stress can alternately fall on the penult: 
\( \nu\text{-wákena} \) or \( \nu\text{-wakéna} \) I will return. In most quadrisyllabic forms consisting 
of root+inflection, major word stress falls on the penult:

\[
\begin{align*}
\phi\text{-juruwéniň} & \quad \text{he was rushing (past continuous -niň)} \\
\phi\text{-baɾaŋániň} & \quad \text{he was suspended, hanging up (past continuous -niň)}
\end{align*}
\]

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pres</th>
<th>( \nu\text{-râbón} )</th>
<th>I go</th>
<th>( \nu\text{-juruwen} )</th>
<th>I rush</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PrNeg</td>
<td>( \nu\text{-raboní-koro} )</td>
<td>I do not go</td>
<td>( \nu\text{-juruwení-koro} )</td>
<td>I do not rush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut Neg</td>
<td>( \nu\text{-rabón-ji?} )</td>
<td>I can't, won't</td>
<td>( \nu\text{-juruwen-jí?} )</td>
<td>I can't/won't rush, go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNeg</td>
<td>( \nu\text{-rabóní-?molk} )</td>
<td>I didn't rush</td>
<td>( \nu\text{-juruwéni-?molk} )</td>
<td>I didn't run</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Thematic verbs add negative suffixes directly to the root. Some bisyllabic 
thematics show a tendency for major word stress to move to the syllable 
immediately preceding the negative suffix; e.g. \( \mathbf{gu\text{-dóro?}} \) it is drying up, 
\( \phi\text{-dóró?-ji?} \) it will not dry up, \( \phi\text{-dóró?-?(?)molk} \) it did not dry, but stress 
appears alternatively to remain on the first syllable of the root. Some 
bisyllabic thematic verbs show no tendency towards stress shift, e.g. 
\( \phi\text{-mániň?-?(?)molk} \) he did not make it, \( \phi\text{-mániň?-ji?} \) he will not/cannot make it.

Stress shift with the addition of past punctual suffix -miň is also apparently 
variable for some roots (\( \phi\text{-dóró?-miň} \) it dried up or \( \phi\text{-dóró?-miň} \), but does not 
occur with others (\( \phi\text{-mániň?-miň} \) he made it). But the past continuous thematic 
suffix -miyiň always bears at least a secondary stress: \( \phi\text{-dóró?-miyiň} \) it was 
drying up, \( \phi\text{-ŋal?-miyiň} \) he was climbing. This makes the past continuous more 
prominent and somewhat longer than the past punctual suffix, so that, even 
though there is some tendency for the medial semivowel to be much reduced, past 
continuous thematic verb forms can be quite easily distinguished from past 
punctual ones.
CHAPTER III
MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Parts of speech

The following parts of speech are recognised for Ngalakan:

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

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

Pronouns have the same possibilities for number/case inflection as nominals (consistent of course with person/number categories which they inherently express); but only third person forms show a two-way noun class opposition between feminine Ḗiŋja? and masculine and other Ḗiŋja?, the latter capable of serving as pronoun for any non-feminine referent, though most often for masculines. (This is not surprising in view of the general lack of semantic and distributional markedness of the 'masculine' class, see 3.2.2). In some languages of this area, it is desirable to count only first and second person forms as pronouns, and to treat all third person forms as part of the class of demonstrative pronouns. This is not the case in Ngalakan: third persons singular ji-ŋja? and ni-ŋja? are built on the same base -ŋja? as second person singular ŋi-ŋja?. This formal consideration, combined with the fact that these third person forms do not encode distance categories, shows that we may consider them part of the set of non-demonstrative pronouns.
Another word-class is comprised of demonstratives, which are semantically selective for distance categories. There is a great deal of overlap formally between demonstrative pronominal and adverbial bases; some of the adverbial bases, inflected for noun class and case, can function as demonstrative pronouns.

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

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

Ngalakan verbal constructions can be divided into two types according to constituency of the verb stem. In the first type, the stem is 'simple', equivalent either to an indivisible root form, or consisting of an indivisible paradigmatic stem-form of a root appropriate in a particular tense-aspect category. The largest class of 'simple stems' is comprised of thematic verbs, which have stems equivalent to their root forms in present/evitative/imperative forms, and take no tense-aspect suffixes in these forms. Examples are ŋu-banar *I listen, I hear it* in which the present stem banar is equivalent to the root; and ŋu-bojr *I sleep on my back* with root bojr. Another class of verbs with simple stems includes 31 mono- and bisyllabic roots, for which however no paradigmatic form need necessarily be equivalent to the root. Examples of this kind are ŋu-ᵅbaᵅ-na *I will go*, future, with stem ᵅaᵅ-; ŋuᵅuᵅ-ᵅaᵅᵅᵅaᵅ *I saw them*, past punctual stem form ᵅaᵅᵅᵅᵅᵅᵅ of ᵅaᵅ- *to see*.

In the second type, the stem is 'compound', consisting of at least one initial or 'compounding' element, and one of 16 auxiliaries. Together, initial element(s) and auxiliary comprise the inflecting unit to which person, number and noun class prefixes and tense, aspect, negation and other verbal suffixes are added. With the exception of the copulative root me- *to be, become*, all of these roots which can function as auxiliaries can also function as simple stems; but not all simple stems occur as auxiliaries. The copulative root me- chiefly occurs with predicate noun or adjective in the position of 'compounding' element. Included within the compound class of verbs are also stems with causativising and factitivising roots ga-, wu- (and in a few compounds, also ye- and ma-), as well as copulative me-. Examples of compound stems are bop-ᵅaᵅᵅ- *to smell* (transitive), with auxiliary ᵅaᵅ- which, as simple stem, means *to see*; melegen-yoᵅ- *to sleep on one's side* with auxiliary yoᵅ-, simple stem to sleep; ᵅᵅwᵅgᵅᵅᵅ- *to break something* with root ᵅᵅwᵅ- *to break* (intransitive) followed by causative gaᵅ-, gapurk-meᵅ- *to dry out, become dry*, inchoative of gapurk dry, arid. The number of initial elements is generally, but not necessarily, limited to one. The internal structure of most compound verb stems is remarkably clear (see the examples above), even though many initial elements do not occur outside of compound verb constructions, and thus cannot themselves be assigned any meaning independent of that expressed by the entire stem (e.g. ᵅᵅjeᵅ-jaᵅ *to lean on*, where ᵅᵅjeᵅ- occurs only in the compound verb and jaᵅ- as simple intransitive stem means *to stand*). If we define the structure of compound stems as that between modifier and nucleus, there is little difficulty in classing the many instances of verbs with incorporated noun stems as within the range of the modifier-nucleus type. However, compound stems with incorporated noun are not fully comparable to other compound stem-types in that the incorporated noun often represents one of the major arguments within the clause.
Adverbs modify verbs; most do not inflect, but a subset of demonstrative adverbs inflects quite productively (see 3.4).

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

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

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

### 3.2 Nominal morphology

#### 3.2.1 Nominals – nouns and adjectives

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

Both nouns and adjectives occur in predicate nominal constructions, differing slightly in their inflection for tense/aspect and negation from other intransitive predicate types. Both adjectives, and mainly human (non-kin) status nouns such as geywar young man, or mirpara child, can be inchoativised by means of the copulative root me-. The relation of tense-aspect forms of me- to other verbal paradigmatic categories is slightly 'displaced' compared to other auxiliaries. Since predicate nominals are zero-inflected in the
simple present, the morphologically simple present form of me- expresses becomes, is becoming rather than is. The suffix used to negate the meaning 'becomes' is the same as that which ordinarily negates a simple present form; the ordinarily past negative suffix -?molk is used as present or past negator of 'be'. These and other resulting displacements are fully described in 3.2.15.

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

3-1 ηun-mana? He calls me mother.
3Sg/1Sg-mother

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

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

3.2.2 Noun classes

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

However, sex gender is not distinguished for all nouns with referents which are 'animate' in the biological sense. Nouns to which the criterion of sex gender does not apply fall into one of three formal categories. First, they may belong to the formally 'masculine' class. For example, many animal nouns are conventionally of 'masculine' gender: ŋu-wačŋŋu goanna (V. gouldii), ŋu-goŋ kangaroo (generic), ŋu-giku mussel, ŋu-jirkiŋ long-tailed mouse, ŋu-jamben snake, ŋu-gweŋe dingo. Some of these can be recategorised as feminines in contexts which require that degree of specificity in regard to a particular referent; but at least for ŋu-goŋ, the degree of taxonomic generality of the noun itself guarantees that it will always be used as a 'masculine' noun. Within the classes of higher terrestrial and other animals, there is great consistency, so that subtypes of a more general category (e.g. snake species) belong to the same class as the more general term. Many nouns referring to lower-order animate beings, (and inanimate things), frequently occur without
noun class prefix, but all nouns belong to one of the four classes and/or can be recategorised as masculine of feminine depending on sex of the referent. A limited number of inanimate nouns (ŋu-ŋanjīya? pandanus mat, ŋu-mayño? red ochre) are 'masculine' class. A very few nouns were found capable of alternative masculine or gu-class categorisation (e.g. ŋu-, gu-amba (turtle) shell).

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

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

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

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

3.2.3 Noun class prefixation

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'masculine'</td>
<td>nu-</td>
<td>nugu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>ju-</td>
<td>jugu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GU</td>
<td>gu-</td>
<td>gungu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MU</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>mungu-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distribution of these forms over case functions is as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
3-2 & \text{ ŋu-mun?-miŋ } \quad \text{ŋu-go?je } \quad \text{ŋugu-giku} \\
& 1SG/3SG-grab-PP \quad M\text{-that} \quad M\text{-mussel} \\
& I \text{ grabbed the/that mussel.}
\end{align*}
\]

Here, ŋu-go?je indicates that mussel has been previously established in the discourse, and this instance of giku is to be interpreted in terms of those previous mentions. When functioning as heads of NPs, all demonstratives can occur with long prefix forms, e.g. ŋugu-go?je or ŋu-go?je that one. Although as modifiers within a nominal group the demonstratives must occur with a noun class prefix, it is almost invariably the case that this will be a short form, as in the example cited above; modifying demonstrative pronouns with long prefix forms, like ŋugu-go?je ŋugu-giku are rare, but do occur. See special gu- and mu-class pre-demonstrative 'short' forms in 3.2.27. A striking fact which illustrates the relative lack of markedness of the formal masculine class is that any non-feminine noun (including referents of mixed gender, and the inanimate classes) can be modified or referred to by a demonstrative with masculine prefix, so that demonstrative modifiers explicitly marked as gu- or mu-class are relatively rare. Feminine referents are always modified or referred to by feminine-marked demonstratives, e.g. ju-go?je jugo-bolo that old woman. (See 3.2.29 on agreement within the nominal group, where it is shown that although every constituent may be pleonastically marked for case function of the entire NP, often this does not happen, so it is possible that demonstrative modifier and noun, for example, not be identically case-marked).
There are no distinct dual/plural prefix forms; a distinct plural suffix exists only for kin terms, while dual -pira?/-bira? may occur with all nouns. Referentially specific plural (human or animate) nouns are cross-referenced in the verb by plural pronominals. Thus, ngu-bigur may demand interpretation as the men, the man, people (where the relevant opposition is to marçi white people), or a man, depending on verbal cross-reference and other factors relating to the establishment of discourse reference. In the verb, there is no distinction between dual and plural pronominals for second and third persons, so that explicit dual-marking on nouns (or alternatively, on the verb) is required if dual is to be clearly distinguished from plural number. The collective suffix -gapul also serves to make explicit the difference between dual versus more than two.

3.2.4 Verb agreement for noun class

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

3.2.5 Proprietary ('having') constructions

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

- 3-3 ba’ta-yaraman-ya? buru-ʁabo go?je gara
  PROP-horse 3NSG-go PP there high
  On horseback they went there high up.

- 3-4 Yiri-wakeŋ ba’ta-barawu-ya? gowk-ŋowi-ka?
  LEX NSG-return PP PROP-boat house-his-LOC
  We returned by boat to his house.

- 3-5 buru-ʁabor buruŋ-gum-ja ju-go?je jugu-milkanda
  3NSG-go PRES 3SG/3NSG-cover-AUX F-that F-widow
  ba’ta-wapawapa-ya? ba’ta-got-ya?
  PROP-dress/cloth PROP-paperbark
  They go and cover the widow with cloth, with paperbark.

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

- 3-6 aŋji bur-ŋa?ŋa ngu-ba’ta-gunđaŋoro-ya?
  and 3NSG/3SG-see PP M-PROP-horn
  And they saw a cow (literally having horns).
3-7 Yirbi-baran  
\[\text{da\textordmasculine}?-\text{ga}\] ba\textordmasculine}-mi\textordmasculine}ark-yi?-\text{ga}\]  
1EX NSG/3PL-hang PP tree-LOC PROP-small branches-LOC  
We hung it in the tree in the small branches.

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

3-8 \[\text{nu-ba\textordmasculine}-jolok-yi}\]  
1SG-PROP-cold  
I have a bad cold.

3-9 \[\text{buru-ba\textordmasculine}-gaka-yi}\]  
3NSG-PROP-brother  
They have brothers.

See 3.2.15 for further discussion of predicate nominal constructions.

3.2.6 Privative construction

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

3-10 \[\text{nuru-gowk-ji}\]  
1IN PL-house-PRIV  
We are without houses.

3-11 \[\text{gu-we}\textordmasculine}?-ji-men\textordmasculine}n\]  
GU-water-PRIV-be PC  
There was no water.

3-12 \[\text{nu-may-\textordmasculine}}\]  
1SG-vegetable food-PRIV  
I've no food.

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

3.2.7 Case-marking

The case suffixes are:

-\(\text{-\textordmasculine}}\) Absolutive (transitive object, intransitive subject)  
-\(\text{yi}\) Ergative/Instrumental  
-\(\text{-gVn}\) Genitive/dative  
-\(\text{ka\textordmasculine}?-\text{ga}\) Locative/allative, also -\(\text{kaga}\textordmasculine}?-\text{gaga}\) in allative sense  
-\(\text{wala\textordmasculine}}?-\text{wala}\) Ablative  
-\(\text{wi}\) Purposive, pergressive

In this section the functions of each suffixal category are described. All of the suffixes are multifunctional, capable of expressing more than one semantically and/or syntactically distinguishable type of case relation.
Absolutive -∅ marks nominals in transitive object and intransitive subject functions; the zero is not written in cited forms. Examples of transitive object function are:

3-13 ŋu-wi-na gungu-ney-nowi
1SG-forget PP GU-name-his
I forgot his name.

3-14 jeki gu-we?-ji-meniŋ, alaŋa ląŋa ⁷-maniniŋ?-miŋ
first GU-water-PRIV-be PC directly billabong 3SG/3SG-make PP
At first there was no water, then he (a mythical figure) made the billabong.

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

3-15 ⁷-doro?-ji? maŋi jaŋugal ⁷-duŋur?-miŋ
3SG-dry up-FUT NEG indeed male plains kangaroo 3SG-cough-PP
It can't dry up indeed (= because) plains kangaroo coughed.

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

3-16 ⁷-bolk-miŋiŋ boŋi gungu-we?
3SG-emerge-PC now GU-water
Now the water came out.

3-17 gun?biri buru-baraŋiŋ bıŋ-ga? yapan?
there 3NSG-hang PC stone-LOC two
There the two were hanging (= perching precariously) on the hill.

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

Absolutive also marks 'object-promoted' NPs in construction with verbal prefixes -bak- and -baŋa-. See 3.2.8 for these constructions.

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

3-18 mirpara-yi? yiriŋbi-na-n-ji?
child-ERG 3NSG/LEX-see-PRES-FUT NEG
Children can't see us (i.e. are not permitted to see us).

3-19 namlulu gu-⁷-mu-niŋa-paya-n ŋu-gun?biri ⁷-ŋu-biŋur-yi?
really 3-3SG-MU-like-PRES M-that M-man-ERG
That man really likes (his) food (i.e. is a bit greedy).

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

3-20 gu-mu-ŋunuŋu mu-ŋoro ŋu-wanar-yi?
3SG-MU-eat RED PRES MU-flower M-rock possum-ERG
Rock possums eat flowers.

3-21 ⁷-yiniŋiŋ gunnaŋ? ŋu-yana?-ra gowko, ⁷-yiniŋiŋ-ganiŋ
3SG-do thus PC maybe 1SG-do what-FUT MoMo 3SG/3SG-say AUX PC
mirpara-yi?
child-ERG
He did/said like this, "What'll I do, granny?", the child said to her.
All noun classes conform to an ergative-absolutive patterning over major clause functions (see 3.2.8); any noun which functions as transitive agent can be ergative-marked. That is, there is no restriction (in terms of inherent lexical properties) on nominals which may function as transitive subjects. Examples (3-23) and (3-24) show ergative-marked MU-class nouns:

3-23 mu-waɾačara-yi? ŋun-war?-miŋ
MU-floodwater-ERG 3SG/1SG-throw-PP
The floodwater knocked me over.

3-24 waŋi-yi? ŋun-ŋe?ŋe
sun-ERG 3SG-1SG-burn PP
The sun burned me.

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

3-25 jaŋugal-yi? ŋ-ŋurum?-miŋ
kangaroo-ERG 3SG/3SG-dig-PP
Plains kangaroo dug.

3-26 ŋunbu-goy-wuniŋ wur?wuruŋu-yi?
3NSG/1SG-show PC old people-ERG
Old people showed/taught me.

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

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

3-27 ŋu-gu-go?-ŋa-n ŋayka?
1SG-GU-have-AUX-PRES 1SG ABS
I have it (gu-class).

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

3-28 ŋ-ŋurum?-ŋurum?-miŋ ŋu-go?je ŋugu-wurkiŋiŋ
3SG/3SG-dig RED-PP M-that M-euro
The euro dug and dug.

Compare (3-28) with (3-25) involving the same verb. Omissions of the ergative suffix from agent nominals preceding the verb were found, but were less common.
If continued reference to the same argument over several clauses occurs in such a way that the nominal is first in an absolutive-marked function, and subsequent NP slots are understood to presuppose reference to the same entity in transitive subject function, normal cross-clause coreference of arguments in major syntactic functions by zero anaphore still holds. There is no repetition of the nominal simply because it is no longer in an absolutive-marked function, as the following example illustrates:

3-29 ṑuŋu-jadugal Ṽ-rabo-gon jičan-(userID) Ṽ-guč-miïĩg-gín
M-kangaroo 3SG/go PP-SUB dreaming his 3SG/3SG-create PC-SUB
gunđu Ṽ-maŋĩʔ-miïĩ-gín ... 
country 3SG/3SG-make-PP-SUB

When/where kangaroo went and created dreamings and made country ... .

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

3-30 ṁu-gaʔyen-yiʔ ṁu-nboʔbo Ṽ-garʔ-yiʔ ṁu-gunʔiri-yiʔ-(?)-molk
M-this-ERG 3SG/1SG-hit PP stick-INST M-that-ERG-NEG
This one hit me with a stick, not that one.

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

3-31 yiʔ-ɗodoʔ-jiʔ lănga-kaʔ yin-mele-be
1IN DÜ-go down-FUT NEG billabong-ALL 3SG/1IN DÜ-evit-bite PRES
jimiʔ-jiʔ leech-ERG
We can’t go down to the billabong, lest leeches bite us.

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

3-32 Ṽ-gar-bu-gar-buniŋ ju-bolo-yiʔ balku-riʔ
3SG/3SG-pull AUX RED PC F-old person-ERG rope-INST
The old woman pulled him with a rope.

3-33 bur-mara ṁu-goʔje ṁuŋu-manapun julu-yiʔ
3NSG/3SG-spear PP M-that M-echidna lancewood-INST
baŋa-merʔ-jiʔ mači mungu-julʔ
PROP-point indeed MU-lancewood
They speared the echidna with lancewood, indeed (= because, for) lancewood is pointed/has a sharp point.

3-34 marjɪʔ-ʔ-buat gu-weʔ-(?)-gen gu-ʔ-gaŋaʔ-wuʔ-n
hand-INST-only GU-water-DAT 3-3SG-ask AUX-PRES
Only with her hand does she ask for water (i.e. not verbally).

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

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

3-35 ñu-go?je šu-go?je-ìruvì ìruvì 3SG-cry RED-PC like M-that child
ju-ñañäri-?gin yinimbala F-Ñañäri-GEN just the same
That child cried and cried, just like that child of Ñañäri's.

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

3-36 ju-gowko-ñoji ëwë ju-ñu-go?je-ìruvì ìruvì 3SG-cry RED-PC like M-that child GEN
F-MoMo-hers supposedly F-that-GEN child-GEN
(She was) supposedly that girl's mother's mother.

3-37 go?je guru-Maynoru gu-gundu-bore ñalakan-ìgan, gungu-gundu There ANA-Mainoru GU-country-3NSG Ngalakan-GEN GU-country
Ngalakan-ìgan Maywak, Ðalawuñ?
Ngalakan-GEN (toponym) (toponym, Flying Fox).
There that (same) Mainor is Ngalakan country, country for the Ngalakan is Maiwok, Flying Fox.

3-38 ñu-go?je walaì ju-gu-mitii ìruvì-ìruvì ìruvì 3SG-return PP F-missus (English) 1EX/3SG-have AUX PC there south
ìruvì-kalini-ìruvì ìruvì-ìruvì ìruvì 3SG-cry-RED-PC like M-that child
M-constable-GEN F-woman (wife)-his PROP-child
He went back, we had/kept the Missus there in the south, the constable's wife with her/their child(ren).

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

There is no 'double' case marking: genitive nouns are not further suffixed to express case function of the entire NP:
3-39 ȵugu-gaja?-goji-yi? ju-ŋaŋari?-gin yin-mele-be
M-dog-hers-ERG F-ŋaŋari-GEN LIN DU-evit-bite
Nguŋari's dog might bite you and me.

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

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

3-40 ȵu-gun?biri ŋayka?-(?)-gin
M-that 1SG GEN/DAT
That is mine/for me.

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

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

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

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

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

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

3-42 aŋji ȵu-gwen-juruweŋ nu-go?je?-?gen ji?can-?gan
and 1SG-run away in fright PP M-that-DAT dreaming-DAT
And I ran away in fright because of that dreaming.

3-43 ȵu-banar buru-ṅ awk-(g)an jambuku?-?gun, may-?gan we?-(?)-gen
1SG-hear 3NSG-talk-sub tobacco-DAT food-DAT water-DAT
I hear/understand where they say (when they use words for) 'tobacco', 'food', 'water'.

3-44 jeŋ?-?gen bur-ma ȵugu-mi?arpun? rũŋal-ŋowi
fish-DAT 3NSG/3SG-get M-crab bait-his/its
They get crab-bait for fish (= in order to get fish).

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

The suffix -ka?o?-ga? is used to express both locative (stationary) and allative meanings for ordinary nouns and pronouns (but cardinal directions are not suffixed, see 3.2.10). Examples are:
boñoyi?-ga? ņu-giŋdaŋ-ŋi-ka? ő-bawun?-miñ
3-45 other-LOC M-MoB So-your SG-LOC 3SG/3SG-leave-PP
He left it at/with your other cross-cousin.
go?je ņu-gu-jamben bur-ñaŋ yele-ka?
3-46 there M-snake 3NSG/3SG-see PP cave/hole-LOC
They saw a snake there in a hole.
1SG-dive-PP 1SG ABS GU-that-ALL GU-billabong-ALL
I dived into that billabong.
Gogo, yi-waken rey-ka?, may-ka? bawun?
3-48 goody, 1LIN DU-return PRES camp-ALL food-ALL leave
Goody, let's go back to camp now for food, leave it!

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

Frequently a single nominal is marked with locative/allative suffix to express a sense very close to purposive:
gunmän? janay?-ga? ő-rabo
3-49 maybe goanna-ALL 3SG-go PP
Maybe she went for (to) goanna.

As noted in 2.1.4, reduplicative forms -kaga?ŋ-gaga? are used mainly in the allative sense 'towards':
buru-ńaŋa bur-janjan-ganiŋ gamají? anį? yi-walam
3NSG-go PP 3NSG/3SG-carry-AUX PC swag ALL ALL-south
yana?way-gaga? wańbangulyi-kaŋa?
where to-ALL (toponym)-ALL
They went and carried (their) swag(s) south towards where, towards Wańbangulyi.

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

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

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

Ablative -wala?ŋ-wala is suffixed to a nominal or other NP constituent expressing the point of departure for motion or transit:
ńaŋjuľa-ńini-?wala ņu-yerk-(g)anjiŋ
3-52 eye-mine-ABL 1SG/3SG-come out-CAUS PP
I removed it from my eye.

yi-yerk-(g)a-n ńoŋy-wala
1IN DU-take out-CAUS PRES fire-ABL
Let's take it out of the fire.

Gu-gu-wol-koro bul-ńowí-?wala
3SG-GU-smoke-PRNEG pit-its-ABL
Smoke is not coming out from the (its) pit (i.e. from a ground oven).
Ablative is also used to express the language in which something is said:

3-55 ϕ-raboniŋ ʔamaŋ-yi? Ɂalaŋuŋ?, bigur-ʔwala gungu-ŋey
3SG-go PC foot-INST toponym Aborigine-ABL GU-name
He went on foot to Flying Fox, (that's its) name in Aboriginal language

The suffix -wi expresses purpose:

3-56 ju-gowko guŋmaŋ? ϕ-ɾabo ɾay-wi
F-MoMo maybe 3SG-go PP meat-PURP
Maybe granny went for meat.

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

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

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

3-58 mu-juçuruwe-niŋ goykuŋ? ɗenek-wi
MU-race RED PC this way lower rib-PG
It (flood water) was rushing this way up to (the level of the) lower rib.

5-59 malama-wi buru-ɾark-bu-či-n aŋji ʔanaŋ?bay ... gu-je-wi
forehead-PG 3NSG-paint-AUX-RR-PRES and moreover GU-nose-PG
They paint themselves along their foreheads and further, along their noses (see Text 3(18)).

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

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

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

Indirect object relation to the predicate in transitive clauses of an animate, usually human NP is expressed by means of -bak- or -baťa-; the first usually expresses a benefactive meaning 'to, for (the benefit of)', the second, often an anti-benefactive sense 'away from, from'. There are some verbs, however, with inherent meaning such that the relation to any animate indirect
object can only be of the anti-benefactive kind. An example is jeka-, seemingly underlying jek-(g)a- to sweep, wrench away (as floodwater might sweep away an object). In a simple transitive configuration, the direct object is that which is swept away:

3-60 ȵugu-gaja? φ-jekaŋiŋ
M-dog 3SG/3SG-sweep away AUX PP MU-floodwater-ERG
Floodwater swept the dog away.

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

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

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

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

3-62 mu-may-bore buruŋ-bak-yeŋ  jugu-mana-bore-yi?
MU-food-3NSG 3SG/3NSG-OP-put PP F-mother-3NSG-ERG
Their mother set down their food for them.

3-63 Guyangan-ʔwala bur-bak-juy?-miŋ
Elsey-ABL 3NSG/3SG-OP-send-PP
They sent it for her from Elsey. (a local pastoral station)

3-64 wangiŋ? gummaŋ? ju-ŋamu-ŋoji gu-φ-bak-(g)an mu-may
one perhaps F-daughter-her 3-3SG/3SG-OP-take PRES MU-food
Maybe she's taking one (loaf) for/to her daughter.

3-65 ȵun-baŋa-me mu-wapawapa? mu-ŋondo-yi?
3SG/1SG-OP-get MU-clothes MU-wind-ERG
The wind took (picked up) the dress from me (i.e. tore it out of my hands).

The prefix -bak- is used to enable an additional predicate-argument relation to be signalled in intransitive clauses. The argument indicated by -bak- is cross-referenced in the verb as direct object. However, treatment of any external NP so cross-referenced is quite variable. The NP is treated in any one of the following ways:
First, an indicated NP may be understood but not present:

3-66 φ-bak-gaw?-miñ
3SG/3SG-OP-call-PP
He sang out (to/for him, someone).

3-67 Yiri-bak-łuk-miñ -gun?biri
1EX/3SG-OP-dance-PP there
We danced (for her/him) there.

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

3-68 φ-bak-gaw?-bayań
3SG/3SG-OP-call-AUX-PP
He sang out to him.

3-69 φ-gaw?-bayań
3SG/3SG-call-AUX PP
He called to him.

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

3-70 φ-bak-gaw?-miñ  jugu-gowko-ŋowi-ka?
3SG/3SG-OP-call-PP F-Momo-his-LOC
He sang out to his grandmother.

3-71 φ-bak-gaw?-gaw?-min  ju-gowko-ŋowi-?gin ŋalpor?-gon
3SG/3SG-OP-call RED-PP F-Momo-his-DAT egg-DAT
He sang out to his grandmother for an egg.

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

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

3-72 nu-bu-bak-wen?-na  nu-go?je?-gen
1SG/3NSG-OP-look-FUT M-that-DAT
I'll wait for them.

3-3SG/3SG-OP-look F-that F-woman
He's waiting for that woman.

3-74 nu-bak-wurk-miñ  nu-balkiñ // nu-balkiñ-?gin
SG-OP-work (English)-PP M-constable M-constable-DAT
I worked for the policeman.

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

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

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


3-76  baliŋ? munaŋa  gu-woč-ma  ju-mariŋ, munaŋa-yi?
like  white man 3SG/3SG-steal-AUX F-girl  white man-ERG
gu-ma ...  ɣ-yineriŋ-bu gì?  ŋugu-malaiyi, bur-ma?maŋi
3SG/3SG-take 3SG-do-just M-Malayan 3NSG/3SG-take RED PC
jugu-mariŋ, buru-baŋa-juruweniŋ gojejun?  ŋugu-geywar
F-girl 3NSG-ACC rush PC that way M-young man
Just the way the white man steals girls, the white man steals (them)
... the Malays did just that, they took girls, and the young men
rushed away with them that way. (Text 7 (41,43)).

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

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

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

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

3.2.9 Case frames

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

3-77  Gu-ɣ-we?-wu-n  ŋu-gopo-ŋoji
3-3SG/3SG-water-give-PRES M-spouse-her
She gives her husband water.

3-78  Anji ə-wor-wо  bolоʔbolо-ŋowi-yi?
and 3SG/3SG-feed AUX PP woman (wife)-his-ERG
And his wife fed him.
3-79 ɲiŋ-goy-wu-na  gu-biŋ ɲolko, gun?biri ɲalakan-?gan
1SG/2SG-show-AUX-FUT GU-rook big there Ngalakan-GEN

gungu-gündu-bore
GU-country-theirs
I'll show you the big stone, there is Ngalakan country. (i.e. where it begins). (Text 7 (34)).

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

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

3-80  Yiri-goyi-?molk gun-go?je gungu-daŋ?
1EX-know-PNEG GU-that GU-tree
We didn't know that tree.

3-81  Yiri-margaŋi gun-go?je-?gen gungu-laŋga-?gan
1EX-not know GU-that-DAT GU-billabong-DAT
We don't (didn't) know that billabong.

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

3-82  ɲu-go?je ɲugu-bigrur-yi?
M- that M-man-ERG

- bak-margaŋi
3SG/3SG-OP-not know
The man doesn't know that (girl).

ju-go?jen-ga?  ju-mariŋ-ga?
F-that-LOC  F-girl-LOC

ju-go?jen-?gen
F-that-DAT

ju-go?je  ju-mariŋ
F-that  F-girl

Note that as a predicate adjective, in present meaning -bak-margaŋi- cannot take first-position gu-: *gu-ɲ-bak-margaŋi (see 3.3.3.15)

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>locative</th>
<th>allative</th>
<th>ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>east</td>
<td>ɾoro</td>
<td>yi-ɾoro</td>
<td>ɾoro-wala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>west</td>
<td>geriŋ</td>
<td>yi-geriŋ</td>
<td>geriŋ-wala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>north</td>
<td>bay</td>
<td>yi-bay</td>
<td>bay-wala/bay-ala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>south</td>
<td>walam</td>
<td>yi-walam</td>
<td>walam-bala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>up, top</td>
<td>garku</td>
<td>yi-gara</td>
<td>garku-wala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gara</td>
<td>garka-ga?</td>
<td>gara-wala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>garkara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bottom, inside</td>
<td>yerke</td>
<td>yerke-ga?</td>
<td>yerke-wala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low down</td>
<td>yere?</td>
<td>yi-yere?</td>
<td>yere?-wala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3-83 Gu-ŋ-waken boňi ɾoro-wala-gan baţa-ɾark-yi? 3-3SG-return PRES now east-ABL-ADV PROP-paint
She's returning now from way over in the east, painted up (i.e. for dancing).

3-84 Ngalakan go?je-wala buru-ɾabonĩ bay-ala
Ngalakan there-ABL 3NSG-go PC north-ABL
The Ngalakan came from the north.

3-85 Bur-manĩŋ?-miŋ aɯut-bore, garkara Guwinjilen 3NSG/3SG-make-PP house(English)-their higher up Queensland
boy ɗu-gun?biri munaŋa-yi? ɗ-go?-nanĩŋ
boy(English) M-that white man-ERG 3SG/3SG-have-AUX PC
They built their house, higher up (i.e. upstream on the Roper) that white man had 'Queensland boys' (i.e. Aborigines brought from Queensland). (Text 7(19)).

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

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

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

3-86 yi-wač-malk-(go)?
LIN DU-each-skin-DY
We're correct (for each other).

3-87 Yi-wač-malk-ma?
LIN DU-each-skin-good
You and I are right skins (for each other).

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

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

3-88 ɲiɲ-jorn-mi-či-n gu-waŋjat-gi-pira?
2SG-stretch-AUX-RR-PRES GU-arm-yours SG-DU
You're stretching your (two) arms.

Maybe 3SG/3NSG-hit PP man-ERG woman-DU
Maybe the man hit the two women.

3-90 Yiiri-ŋuy-miŋ-bira?
LEX-swim-PP-DU
He and I swam.

As in other languages locally, dual can be suffixed to the numeral two (yapua?bira?), producing a somewhat pleonastic form evidently meaning dual set of two. The dual suffix is also commonly employed to distinguish dual pronominal number, in those categories in which no other formal differentiation exists (viz. yirka? LEX DU or PL, versus LEX DU yirka?-bira?), as well as in forms which cannot be confounded with any others (yika?-bira? LIN DU, also simply yika?).
The suffix -pulu marks plurality only for kin stems:

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

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

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

3-92 wur?wurunu-gapul buruŋbu-me’me  
old people-PL/COLL 3NSG/3NSG-get PP  
They picked up (all) the old people.

F-that woman-PL/COLL DIR ALL-west 3NSG-line up  
(All) the women are lining up to the west. (Text 3(3)).

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

3-94 Yiri-ɾabo-na-gapul yerke-ga?  
LEX NSG-go-FUT-COLL down-ALL  
We'll all go down river.

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

3-95 Yiri-wač-munaŋ?  
LEX-each-(subsection)  
We're both munaŋ? subsection.

3-96 Yiri-wač-wana-ɾabon?  
LEX-each-OBL-go POT  
We should've both gone.

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

3-97 buru-wač-wiļi-ŋaŋ?-miŋ-bira? ju-ɡiŋdaŋ-pira?  
3NSG-each-CMP-die-PP-DU F-cross cousin-DU  
Both of them died, (poor things) my cross-cousins.

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

The morpheme gara- may serve as verbal prefix, and nominal prefix or suffix expressing collectivity or united multiplicity ('all'), and in combination with -gapul-, multiple collectivity ('all of several units'). An example of gara- prenominally is:
An example expressing collectivity in reference to a non-count noun is:

3-99 gara-gun?biri gungu-gundu g-gu-manj?-miñ jamben-yi?
COLL-that GU-country 3SG-GU-make-PP snake-ERG
The snake (a mythical olive python) made all that country.

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

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

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

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

There is an idiom which means 'a lot, a big amount' (of some non-count item), gara-µul?-ga?7. This consist of prefix gara-, noun stem µul? meaning coolamon (also now extended to automobile), followed by locative suffix -ga?.

In conception this is similar to (American?) idiomatic 'buckets', as in response to 'How many/much did you buy?', i.e. it represents the amount in terms of container-units. It is used as a regular nominal (adjective or noun):

3-102 gu-µa-baŋa? gara-µul?-ga? µugu-¡ambak-ŋowi
3-3SG/3SG-heap lots N-shell-its
He's heaping up lots of shells.

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

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

3-104 buru-man-yeŋ
3NSG/3SG-all-put PP
They put it all down.

The prefix mala- also was found capable of occurrence within NP or verb.

A handful of examples show it can function to refer in terms of the collectivities which characterise the referent, e.g. locale in the example below:

3-105 mala-ŋokoŋokoŋ
COLL-pandanus RED (pandanus ŋoka)
(Place with) a lot of pandanus.

(The evident suffix here, which no doubt accounts for vowel quality, was not attested elsewhere). It can also be identified in the indefinite pronoun mala-µono some (of a count item), where -µono can be related to alternants µono and µono yi? (an)other, different (one). (The formation of indefinite 'some' on a stem meaning '(an)other' or 'different' is characteristic of other languages in this area, e.g. Maŋarayi).
Finally, most attestations of *ma la-* are as verbal prefix expressing collectivity or 'group': *-mala-maṇi-či*- to collect, gather; *-mala-mu-pu-* to gather up, collect (as into a pile):

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

This morpheme is undoubtedly relatable to *ma la group*, widespread in (northeastern) Arnhem Land (see Schebeck 1968 manuscript).

Another verbal prefix besides *-ga ra-* which expresses a meaning relating to sets is *-wele- together*; see 3.3.2.

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

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

3.2.12 Vocatives

Vocatives are formed by omitting noun class prefixes from kin terms (*du đu! PaPa!*) and human status nouns (*gapu l a! old man/woman!*).

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

3.2.13 Proper nouns

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

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

3.2.14 Originative -balukun

The lexical suffix *-balukun* is added to a noun expressing the source or material from which something is made. The noun may have zero prefix, or short prefix form; no examples occurred with long prefix.
3-107  wanar-balukun bur-maniŋ?-miyiŋ munbič
possum-ORIG 3NSG/3SG-make-PC pubic covering
They made pubic cloths from possum (hair).

3-108  mu-boy-balukun bur-maniŋ?-miyiŋ gungu-ŋuni?
MU-grass sp.-ORIG 3NSG/3SG-make-PC GU-firedrill
They used to make firedrills from grass (species).

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

3-109  nu-ginđar-ʃini nu-gayka-balukun
M-cross cousin-1SG M-MoBr-ORIG
My cross-cousin from my uncle ...

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

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

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

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

3-110  ʃ-ŋolko  he/she/it is big
3-111  mu-ŋolko  MU-class item is big
3-112  ʃ-gaŋar?  he/she/it is tired

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

3-113  nu-gaŋar?  I’m tired
3-114  buru-ŋolko  they are big
3-115  buru-buŋpu-go?  they are brothers (dyadic)

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

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

3-116  ʃ-ŋolko-men  he/she/it is getting big
3-117  mu-ŋolko-men  MU-class item is getting big
3-118  boŋi nu-bolo-men  now I’m getting to be old (bolo old person)
3-119  ʃ-gaŋpuŋk-men  it’s drying out (gaŋpuŋk dry, arid)
Certain predicate adjectives such as marngi to be inexpert, unknowledgeable do not ordinarily occur in inchoative form because of their lexical meaning; but any adjective which can sensibly have a present inchoative in a given context forms it as described.

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

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

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

3-121 ø-milkanda-meñ she became a widow, she was widowed
3-122 ø-bolo-meñ he/she got old
3-123 nu-ŋolko-meñ I got big
3-124 mu-bilpo-meñ MU-class item became wide

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

3-125 ḏayka? go?ye nu-mirpara-meniñ
1SG ABS here 1SG-child-AUX PC
I was a child here.
3-126 nu-ŋolko-meniñ, nu-ŋara?-meniñ
1SG-big-AUX PC 1SG-girl-AUX PC
I was big, I was a (big) girl.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>static</th>
<th>dynamic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ø-ŋolko</td>
<td>he is big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø-ŋolko-meniñ</td>
<td>he was big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø-ŋolko-meniñ</td>
<td>he is getting big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø-ŋolko-meniñ</td>
<td>he got big</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3-128 nu-raboni-?molk
1SG-go POT-PNEG
I didn't go.

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

3-129 nu-raboni-koro
1SG-go POT PRNEG
I'm not going.
However, the suffix -?molk with zero-copula predicate nominals can express either present or past negative:

3-130  φ-ŋolko-?molk  he isn't big, or he wasn't big
3-131  φ-goyi-?molk  he doesn't know, or he didn't know

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

3-132  φ-ŋolko-meni-koro  he's not getting big, will not be/become big.

The negative suffix -či?-ji? is ordinarily added to the evitative stem-form (generally identical to the present stem-form) of most verbs to create a 'future' negative (e.g. ŋu-ŋabo-n-ji? I won't/can't go, see 3.3.3.4 for description of the semantics of this category). This suffix is always used to negate past dynamic predicate nominal forms, but also can be used to create 'static' past negative forms overtly marked for tense. Thus:

3-133  φ-ŋolko-meņ-ji?  he did not become big
3-134  φ-ŋolko-meņiņ-ji?  he wasn't big (alternative to φ-ŋolko-?molk).

With φ-ŋolko-?molk, adverbs may be employed to disambiguate tense reference.

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

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

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

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

3-137  gu-φ-marawul-men-i-koro
3-3SG-hungry-AUX POT-PRNEG
He/she is not hungry, is not getting hungry.

3-138  φ-marawul-men-?molk
3SG-hungry-AUX POT-PNEG
He/she wasn't hungry, didn't get hungry.

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

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

In other forms, however, this verb is thematic, i.e. forms its suffixal categories in the same way as thematic verbs (3.3.3.19).
Privative and proprieteive constructions marked for person with intransitive pronominal prefixes can function as predicate nominals with zero copula:

3-140  
60  
Privative and proprieteive constructions marked for person with intransitive pronominal prefixes can function as predicate nominals with zero copula:

3-140  
60  

They have no subsections now (i.e. they have stopped observing restrictions on selection of marriage partners).

3-141  
60  

They have no subsections now (i.e. they have stopped observing restrictions on selection of marriage partners).

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

3-142  
60  

They have no subsections now (i.e. they have stopped observing restrictions on selection of marriage partners).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predicative</th>
<th>Attributive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3SG-good M-that</td>
<td>man good M-that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He is good, that man.</td>
<td>That is a good man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu-gun?biri nu-bigur 3SG-good M-man</td>
<td>gunman? bur-mare jeñ ma?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-man 3SG-good</td>
<td>Maybe 3NSG/3SG-spear PP fish good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That man is good.</td>
<td>Maybe they speared good fish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*nu-gun?biri nu-bigur 3SG-good M-man</td>
<td>gunman? mina? ma?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-man 3SG-good</td>
<td>maybe fat good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That man is (a) good (one).</td>
<td>May be it's good fat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-ma:?, nu-ñiñaya-ma?-men, *-majar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG-good 1SG-happy AUX PRES 3SG-sweet</td>
<td>It's good, I'm glad, it's sweet.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An adjective, which of course can also serve as noun in predicate nominal constructions, contains the morpheme ma? as attributive within the complex word. The form jiri cheek, bellicosity (also found in jiri-ye- to be insolent/belligerent to is found in construction with ma? in the adjective jirima? cheeky, belligerent. There is no long/short vowel contrast between predicative and attributive functions, viz. jirima? in predicative function:

3-144 φ-jirima?  nu-go?je ŋugu-geywar
 3SG-belligerent M-that M-young man
That young man is a good fighter.

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

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

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

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

3-146 guŋu-gakeŋ?-molk guŋu-ŋaŋa baŋa-giku-yi?
country-far-PRNEG GU-billabong PRoP-mussel
That billabong with mussels is not far.

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

3-147 (Yo), ḳayka?
(Yes) 1SG
(Yes), it is I.

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

3-148 ḳayka?  nu-molk ŋu-maŋi?-molk
1SG ABS 1SG-NEG 1SG/3SG-take POT-NEG
It isn't/wasn't I, I didn't take it.

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

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

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

3-150 (nu-gun?biri bulugi) yirka?-(?)gin
M-that cow 1EX-GEN
That cow is ours/It's ours.

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

3-151 nu-gun?biri-(?)gin-?molk
M-that-GEN-NEG
It's not/it wasn't his.

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

3.2.17 Predication of existence/being in a place

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

3-152 nu-go?ye
1SG-here
I am here.

3-153 nu-go?ye-?molk
1SG-here-NEG
I'm not/I wasn't here.

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

3-154 gu-mu-go?je mungu-may
3-MU-there MU-vegetable food
The food is there.

3-155 mu-may gu-mu-go?ye
MU-vegetable food 3-MU-here
The food is here.

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

3-156 (mu-may) gu-mu-go?ye-?molk
MU-food 3-MU-here-NEG
The food is not here.

3-157 (mu-may) mu-go?ye-?molk
MU-food MU-here-NEG
The food wasn't here.
'To live' of animate referents, and 'to be in a place, be located' of
inanimate referents, can be expressed either by ṣa-, ordinarily to sit, ja-
stand or yo- to lie, depending on the stance adopted by animates or the
inherent character of inanimate referents:

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

3-159 gu-SingleOrDefault-gore?-naŋaŋaŋ nʊ-bolo
3-3SG-CMP-alone-sit RED PRES M-old man
The poor old man lives alone all the time.

See also 3.2.28.3 verbalisation of 'where'.

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

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

3-160 buru-wač-ŋuŋju mu-ral?-bore
3NSG-each-same MU-hair-theirs
They're the same (in respect to) hair, They've got the same hair.
(Note that the relation of body part to possessor is a part-whole relation,
and has the consequence that the possessors are cross-referenced as the
entities being compared with respect to some particular item).

3-161 buru-ŋuŋju-meniŋ
3NSG-same-AUX PC
They were the same.

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

3-162 yan-bore wangiŋ?
language-theirs one
They speak the same language (literally Their language is one).

3-163 nʊ-gun?biri nʊ-buypu-bindi, yiri-mokol-wangiŋ?
M-that M-brother-real 1EX-father-one
That's my real brother, we have one father (i.e. the same father).

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

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

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

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

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

Moreover F-that F-different F-small
Moreover that one (she) is different, (she is) a/the small one.

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

They go anywhere/everywhere white people.

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

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

I want to go like you.

Like long-tailed mouse, the possum eats flowers.

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

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

They lied, unlike me.

3.2.19 Factitives

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

bandari young man, circumcised man
-baŋdari-wu- to circumcise, make a young man
bewki?  white (<bewk+yi?)
-bewk-wu-  to whiten
bogewk  bad
-bogewk-wu-  to ruin
jongolo?  straight
-jongolo?-wu-  to straighten
gu-gayar?yar?  plain, clear place
-gayar?yar?-wu-  to clear, make a clear place

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

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

3-172  φ-maniñ?-mi-çi-ñ  mingur
3SG-make-AUX-RR-PP star
She made herself (into) a star.

3-173  gu-janda?  φ-maniñ?-mi-çi-ñ
GU-stick 3SG-make-AUX-RR-PP
He made himself into a stick.

3.2.20 Nominal and adverbial intensity ('comparison')

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

gaken  far, a long way
gengen  long
mar-gaken  a bit far, quite far
mar-gengen  a bit long, quite long
gek-en-bindi  really far
gek-en-bindi  really long

Nominals and adverbs thus affixed can function as predicates:

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

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

3-175  ju-mana-bindi gu-φ-mu-ñuna,  yayu ju-mana-golk-nowi-yi?
F-mother-real 3-3SG-MU-eat FUT but F-mother-'step'-his-ERG
φ-mu-ñun-ji?
3SG-MU-eat-FUT NEG
The real mother will eat it, but his 'step' (i.e. more distant, classificatory) mother will not eat it.

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

3-176  namulu-gaken-bindi
really-far-real
It's really very far.
The order ẓamulu-X-bindi is invariable when the two morphemes are used in combination to express intensity. Otherwise, ẓamulu may be used by itself to mean indeed, really, properly:

3-177 Rembarŋa ganguard-suŋ ẓu-ŋawk ẓamulu
(language) GU-language 1SG-talk really
I talk Rembarŋa well, properly.

3-178 ẓu-walŋ-miŋ ẓamulu
3SG-enter-PP indeed
He went right in.

3.2.21 Compassion prefixes

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

3-179 ẓaniŋ, ẓungu-ʒi-mokol
poor thing M-CMP-father
Poor thing my father!

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

3-180 ẓu-wi-li-bolo ẓu-wi-li-ŋar?-miŋ
M-CMP-old person 3SG-CMP-die PP
The poor old man died.

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

3-181 ju-ʒi-manaŋ ẓu-ʒi-banabanar
F-CMP-mother 1SG/3SG-CMP-hear RED
Poor mother, I'm thinking of her.

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

3.2.22 Kinship terms — morphology and system

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>FaFaSi</td>
<td>FaFa</td>
<td>MoFaSi</td>
<td>MoFa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+1</td>
<td>FaSi</td>
<td>Fa</td>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>MoBr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+2</td>
<td>FaFaSi</td>
<td>FaFa</td>
<td>MoFaSi</td>
<td>MoFa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>So</td>
<td>MoBrSoDa</td>
<td>MoBrSoSo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2</td>
<td>SoDa</td>
<td>SoSo</td>
<td>DaDa</td>
<td>DaSo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ḏu</td>
<td>ḏu</td>
<td>memem</td>
<td>memem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The terminology appears to pattern like an Aranda system. Four grandparent categories are distinguished in Generation +2 with gender disambiguated by prefixes. Ego is shown in column 1, MF in 2, MoMo/MoMoBr in 3 (along with avoidance category relations MoMoBrCh and MoMoBrSoSoCh, and FaMo/FaMoBr along with wife's father in 4. As usual, the diagram fails to show degree of expected collateral distance between Ego and spouse; it would appear that neither actual FaMoBrSoDa nor actual MoMoBrDaDa is a preferred spouse for male Ego.

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

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

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

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

3-182 $\eta$aykani?(-?)gin $\nu$-mokol $\varphi$-ñawk-min $\eta$alis
1SG-GEN M-father 3SG-talk-PP English
My father spoke English.

There is scarcely any alternation in stem forms of kin terms (whereas in many languages locally there is extensive suppletion depending on person of the propositus). The only variation in stem forms is in the term 'mother' where zero-suffixed form may be either mana$\varphi$ or mana, vocative is mana$\varphi$! mother!,
and all overtly suffixed forms have mana-, e.g. ju-mana-ŋowi his mother, except that ablative has been found with either stem form. The term ge is frequently fortis-initial, as noted in 2.3.

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

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

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

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

The suffix -yiŋuŋ is added to the ordinary nouns mariṇ young woman, and to geywar young man to give the following meanings:

ju-mariṇ-(y)iŋuŋ wife's younger sister
nu-geywar-yiŋuŋ husband's younger brother

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

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

3-184 ŋijja?-yi? jun-jobal?
2SG-ERG 2SG/1SG-MoMoBrSo/MoMoBrSoSoSo
You call me jobal.
Indications were that the degree of lexical replacement in Ngalakan avoidance style (a special register used of and to certain affines) is not great, but some replacement is characteristic. For example, the ordinary verb to see is ᵐa-, but of avoidance relatives (balak, jobal) one must use gogon-bu-:

(GOBU-GOGON-BUN-JI?
1SG/3NSG-see-FUT NEG
I can't look at them.

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

(JU-BALAK-BOŊ?-TJNI
M-MOMOBrDa-AV-mine
my mother-in-law/daughter-in-law

(JU-JOBAL-BO老虎机-TJNI
M-MOMOBrSo-AV-mine
my mother-in-law's brother etc.

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

3.2.23 Subsection terms

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

Matricycle 1

Matricycle 2

'Mproper' marriages as per the subsection idiom are shown across, e.g. ᵐala? marries muñaŋ?. Straight lines show father-child links as they all within the subsection system if proper marriages are made in terms of it, curved lines show mother-child links.

Female referent for any category is marked by ju-, (e.g. ju-ᵲala?), male referent by ᵐu- (ᵲu-baŊi?).

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

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

3-189 ju-wangini (ju-bolo?bolo) yuka gu-σ-jaqan
F-one F-woman in front 3-3SG-stand Pres
One (woman) stands in front.

3-190 wangin?-yi? nun-bayaniŋ nun-me?me
one-ERG 3SG/1SG-come to see PC 3SG/1SG-get PP
One came to see me and got me.

3.2.25 Pronouns

The absolutive forms of the pronouns are

1SG ŋayka?
2SG ntitya?
3SG M ntitya?
3SG F jinya?
1IN DU yika?
1EX(DU) yirka?(-bira?)
1IN PL uryka?
2NSG(DU) uryka?(-bira?)
3NSG(DU) burka?(-bira?)

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

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

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

3-191 ntitya? ntitya-ŋambugambu?
2SG ABS 2SG-so and so
Are you so-and-so? (insert name)

3-192 ŋayka? wači ṇu-ŋananiŋ
1SG ABS behind 1SG-sit PC
I sat behind.

Two derivative pronominal sets are build on the absolutive forms. The first is a set of ergative pronouns (e.g. ŋayka?-yi?, ntitya?-yi? etc.) which are alternative to, but less frequently used than, the regular set of ergative pronouns (see below). The second is a set with genitive/dative suffix (e.g. ŋayka?-(?)(gan, ntitya?-(?)(gan etc., entirely regular for all categories) which are usually used topically (including contrastively, 'as for me').
As for you, it wasn’t you.

I’ll clean (up), too, me.

See Text 2(18).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Form</th>
<th>Gender/Sex/Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>naykan?i?-yi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>niñjañi?-yi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG M</td>
<td>niñjañi?-yi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG F</td>
<td>jiñjañi?-yi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IN DU</td>
<td>yikan?i?-yi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1EX(DU)</td>
<td>yirkan?i?-(biran?)?-yi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IN PL</td>
<td>nurkan?i?-yi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2NSG(DU)</td>
<td>nurkan?i?-(biran?)?-yi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3NSG(DU)</td>
<td>burkan?i?-(biran?)?-yi?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Afterwards you’ll tell it.

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

- genitive/dative: naykan?-g?in
- locative/allative: naykan?-ga?
- ablative: naykan?-wala
- purposive: naykan?-wi
- genitive/purposive: naykan?-g?in-wi

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

I hung up (i.e. off the ground) my food.

The locative/allative forms are used in the expected local senses 'at/to me, mine', and also are used to express accompaniment:

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

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

3-199 ḳaykani?-wi ᷾u-mu-baɾeŋiŋ mungu-may-ŋini
1SG-PURP 1SG-MU-hang up PC MU-food-mine
I hung up my food myself.

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

3-200 ṷu-maŋa ḳaykani?-(?)-gin-ʔwi
1SG/3SG-get FUT 1SG-GEN-PURP
I'll get it for my own (i.e. not for anyone else).

See examples in Text 6(10,12).

3.2.26 Possessive suffixes

The possessive suffixes corresponding to the pronominal categories are:

1SG  -ŋini
2SG  -ŋgi
3SG M -ŋowí
3SG F -ŋoŋji
1IN DU -yiki
1EX NSG -yere
1IN PL -ŋogore
2NSG -ŋungore
3NSG -bore

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

3-201 ṷu-geywar-yi? ṷe-ŋani?-molk ṷu-guŋ-goŋ ᷾ayu
M-young man-ERG 3SG/3SG-see POT-PNEG M-kangaroo but
bolo?bolo-ŋowí-yi? jalga? ṷe-me?me
woman(wife)-his-ERG all right 3SG/3SG-get PP
The young man didn't see (any) kangaroo but his wife got
(something) all right.

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

3.2.27 Demonstratives: Pronouns and adverbs

Demonstratives include pronouns and adverbs which are selective for semantic categories of relative distance. There is considerable overlap between pronominal and adverbial demonstrative forms in that the major adverbial stems, prefixed for noun class, can function as demonstrative pronouns; and to a lesser extent, some basically pronominal forms can function
as adverbs. In this section are discussed only those demonstratives which form paradigmatic sets containing common stems; other important adverbial locators are summarised in 3.4. Demonstratives discussed here are used adverbially to refer to locations in space; the demonstrative pronouns serve to locate persons and objects on a two-valued scale of proximity. The Ngalakan demonstrative system is highly regular and transparent.

3.2.27.1 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns encode the following distinctions:

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

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

The demonstrative pronouns are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'this'</th>
<th>'these'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>ṣu-ga?ye/nu-ga?yen</td>
<td>ṣu-gaykun?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>ju-ga?ye/ju-ga?yen</td>
<td>ju-gaykun?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GU</td>
<td>gun-ga?ye/gun-ga?yen</td>
<td>gun-gaykun?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MU</td>
<td>mun-ga?ye/mun-ga?yen</td>
<td>mun-gaykun?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'that'</td>
<td>'those'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>ṣu-gun?birį</td>
<td>ṣu-gun?birį-gun?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>ju-gun?birį</td>
<td>ju-gun?birį-gun?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GU</td>
<td>gun-gun?birį</td>
<td>gun-gun?birį-gun?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MU</td>
<td>mun-gun?birį</td>
<td>mun-gun?birį-gun?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The singular stem of the proximate category is -ga?ye; the nonsingular shows a stem gay- followed by a number suffix -kun?. The stem of the distant category is -gun?birį; plural forms of this show number morpheme -gun? clearly relatable to -kun?. Note that the proximate, like some of the adverbial stems can be inflected with -pira? and plural -gapul (ŋu-ga?ye-gapul these) to produce countable nonsingular forms. The text frequency of nonsingulars in -kun?-gun? is very low (see example Text 7, sentence 31), and they appear to have a collective meaning these, this group rather than one of countable plurality. But the fact is that most often, the singular forms are used with plural meaning whether functioning as modifiers or heads of NPs, their plural reference made clear elsewhere in the clause (e.g. by pronominal prefixes in the verb). Although the demonstratives can be prefixed for all noun classes, the frequency
of mu- and gu-class forms is low compared to that of the unmarked 'masculine' which can range over all non-feminine referents. GU- and MU-class prepositional stems have short prefix forms showing an -n- increment gun-, mun-, compared to prenominal short prefix forms. In addition, all demonstrative pronouns (including those built on adverbial stems, see below) can take long prefix forms: gugu-ga?ye, jugu-ga?ye, mungu-ga?ye etc.

The unprefix ed distant stem gun?biri can be used adverbially to mean there.

Examples of usage of the demonstrative pronouns are:

3-202 jičan ŋu-ga?ye  
Is this a dreaming?

3-203 nun-gor-gan ŋu-gun?biri-ya? may-ya?  
3SG/1SG-sick-CAUS PRES M-that-ERG food-ERG  
The/that food makes me sick.

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

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

3-204 ju-gun?biri bolo?bo-lo-ya? ŋer?-mi?ŋ ŋolko, ŋu-rabona  
F-that woman-ERG 3SG/3SG-make fire-PP big 1SG-go FUT  
goje-gun? there  
That woman has made a big fire, I'll go there.

Use of gun?biri as adverb is illustrated by:

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

3.2.27.2 Demonstrative adverbs

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

'here'  
LOC go?ye here  
ALL goy kun? to here, this way  
ALL goye-ga?/goye-gaga? to here  
ABL go?ye-wala from here

'there'

go?je there  
goje-gun? there, to there, that way  
goje-ga?/goje-gaga? to there  
goje-wala from there

The alternative allative forms with locative/allative suffixes show deletion of the medial glottal. Their meanings are the same as goy kun? and goje-gun? used in allative senses (see below). Demonstrative pronouns can be built on
stems of both categories: ŋu-go?ye this one, jugu-go?je that one F, and so forth. Rarely in adverbial usage, more commonly in forms used pronominally with non-zero suffix, alternative incremented stems -go?yen and -go?jen are encountered. Thus one finds such alternatives as:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋu-go?je-yi?} & : \text{that one (ERG)} \\
\text{ŋu-go?jen-yi?} & : \\
\text{gun-go?je?-gen} & : \text{for that one (GEN/DAT)} \\
\text{gun-go?jen?-gen} & :
\end{align*}
\]

Examples of adverbial usage of these stems are:

3-206  buru-miɿar?-miɿ go?je ɲugu-miɿpara, buru-ɲawk-miɿ Maɿarayi, 3NSG-born-PP there M-child 3NSG-talk-PP (language)

bvu-Maɿarayi-?molk buru-ɿamulu-ɿalakan 3NSG-Maɿarayi-NEG 3NSG-really-Ngalakan

The children were born there, they spoke Maɿarayi; (but) they aren't Maɿarayi, they're really Ngalakan.

3-207  goykuɿ yirɿ-yinɿa ɣunmaɿ yirɿ-naka ɣun?biri yaraman-bore this way 1EX-do thus FUT maybe 1EX-see FUT there horse-theirs

We'll go this way (this way, we'll do like that), may be we'll see their horses.

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

3-208  jaduɿal ɸ-ɿuɿur?-miɿ gojeguɿ plains kangaroo 3SG-cough-PP there

Plains kangaroo coughed there.

3-209  ɸ-ɿabo ɣunmaɿ gojeguɿ 3SG-go PP perhaps there

Maybe he went there.

The particle nɿan sometimes follows (especially adverbial) demonstratives:

3-210  bolɿ-ɿowi ɸ-ɿabonɿiɿ goykuɿ nɿan track-its 3SG-go PC this way right

Its track was coming right this way.

3-211  go?je nɿan ɸ-ɿanɿaniɿ there right 3SG-sit PC

It was sitting right there.

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

The suffix -ɿan is added to demonstrative adverbs, but also to noun phrases expressing location, and seems to give added intensity to the meaning of the forms: go?ye-wala-ɿan all the way from here, go?je-wala-ɿan all the way from there. An example of this in a noun phrase with particularising (also anaphoric) guru- is: guru-juɿ-gaɿ-ɿan right there in the shade, locative of juɿ shade (see 3.4.5).
3.2.28 Interrogative-indefinite forms
3.2.28.1 'who, nobody'

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

3-212 nu-were gu-∅-rabon gojegun? yi-bay
   M-who 3-3SG-go-PRES that way all-north
   Who's going north that way?

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

3-214 nu-were-yi? burun-bo?bo
   M-who-ERG 3SG/3NSG-hit PP
   Who hit them?

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

First and second person interrogative forms can be constructed with intransitive prefixes:

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

There is a plural reduplicative form werewere?

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

3-217 nu-were-yi? ɲun-wili-wuniwuni-koro ɲugu-jeŋ ɲaykanĩ?- (?) gin
   M-who-ERG 3SG/1SG-CMP-give RED POT-PRNEG M-fish 1SG-GEN
   Nobody will give poor me my fish.

3-218 go?je gu-∅-yonon jićan-nowi Goŋjimbi, nu-were
   there 3-3SG-lie PRES dreaming-its (toponym) M-who
   gu-∅-ṇanani-koro
   3-3SG-sit POT-PRNEG
   The dreaming rests there at Goŋjimbi, nobody is living there.

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

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

    yana?  what
    yana?mala  when
    yana?gan  why
    yana?way  where to

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

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

Examples of usage of the other forms are:

3-220 yana?gan ju-mu-war?-miň
  why 2SG-MU-throw-PP
Why did you throw it (out)?

  M-each-little-DU yet ADV-when 3NSG/3SG-young man AUX FUT
  The two little ones (boys), exactly when (yet) will they make (them)
young men?

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

3-222 ɲiň-yana?-bigur ?
  2SG-what-Aborigine
  What kind of Aborigine are you? (i.e. approximately What tribe/
group/language are you?)

3-223 ɲiň-yana?-malk ? or ɲiň-yana?-bigur gungu-malk
  2SG-what-skin 2SG-what-Aborigine GU-skin
  What subsection are you? What subsection are you? (literal
  What kind of Aborigine are you
  (with respect to) subsection?)

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

3-224 ɲuru-yana?*-men also simply ɲiň-yana?
  1IN PL-what-AUX PRES 2SG-what
  What’ll we all do? What are you doing, what are
  you up to?

3-225 yi-yana?-ra ?
  1IN DU-what-FUT
  What will you and I do?

3-226 yi-yana?-miň
  1IN DU-what-PP
  What did you and I do?

A related adverb yana?miň for nothing, in vain is perhaps a specialised
derivative of this WH- usage.
3.2.28.3 'Where?'

The interrogative 'where' has the following forms:

- weilka
- wereka
- where (locative and allative uses)
- werekun?
- wereka-wala/ wereka-?wala
- where to? (explicitly allative)
- where from

Examples are:

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

(See 2.10 for the rule /ɾ/ → y following ɲiŋ-).

3-228 wereka ɲiŋ-자 בגיל
where 2SG-stand PC
Where were you standing?

3-229 wereka-wala ɲiŋ-왜보니
where-ABL 2SG-go/some PC
Where were you coming from?

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

3-230 gu-ɾ-wereka 군마
3-3SG-where maybe
Where might he be?

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

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

3.2.28.4 'Some'

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

3-232 ɲu-mu-ɾor?-miɲ malaboño
1SG-MU-wash-PP some
I washed some (MU-class)

some-ERG old person-ERG 3NSG/3SG-sing AUX PRES
Some old people are singing (songs).
3.2.28.5 'Nothing'

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

3-234 gača, nun-beŋi?-molk
   no 3SG/1SG-bite POT-PNEG
   No, he didn't bite me.

3-235 gača maŋamaŋa? nú-wakeniŋ
   nothing empty-handed 1SG-return PC
   I returned empty-handed (with) nothing.

3-236 gača nú-go?-nani-koro
   nothing 1SG/3SG-have AUX POT-PR-NEG
   I don't have anything.

3.2.28.6 Hesitation form

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

3-237 gaŋuyun?-wala nú-naniŋ yanipi ... nú-ŋambĩ?ŋambĩ?
   sand ridge-ABL 1SG/3SG-see PC whachamacallit MU-plat potato
   From the sand-ridge I saw whachamacallit ... plat potato.

3.2.28.7 'anywhere, everywhere'

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

3-238 yiŋgo?gon warmbaya buru-ṟabon
   today RED anywhere 3NSG-go PRES
   Today (i.e in these modern times) they go anywhere.

3.2.29 Noun phrases

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

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

3-239 nú-go?je núgu-mirpara gaŋa?
   M-that M-child small
   the/that small child

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

3-240 nú-mu-war? mungu-may mungu-ga?ye
   1SG-MU-throw MU-food MU-this
   I'm going to throw out this food.

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

3-243 φ-gar-buniŋ ju-go?je ju-bolo-yi?
3SG/3SG-pull-AUX PC F-that F-old woman-ERG
That old woman pulled him.

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

3-244 φ-mu-war?-miŋ ñu-go?je mungu-balku mu-gengen
3SG/3SG-MU-throw-PP M-that MU-rope MU-long
He threw that long rope.

The attributive adjective almost always follows the noun: jikur gengen long tail, gilyark gengen long teeth, jeŋ ñolko big fish, jolko jeli? wet ground etc., but exceptions are found. On the other hand, the predicate adjective may precede or follow a subject noun:

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

The reverse order is also found.

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

3-246 mungu-may gu-φ-mu-ye mana-bore-yi? ñul?-ga?
MU-food 3-3SG-MU-put mother-theirs-ERG coolamon-LOC
gu-jeŋe aŋji mu-đada
GU-milk too MU-honey
Their mother puts food in the coolamon, milk (and) wild honey too.

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

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

3-248 Yir-wɔ̃wɔ-ɔ-man in bulugi ɲu-X-pira?, X ꙥayka?
1EX/3SG-steal-AUX PC cattle M-(name)-DU (name deleted) 1SG ABS
We stole cattle, X and myself.

3-249 ꙥu-bolo ꙥaŋa?bay yir-ŋuniŋ goŋ
M-old person moreover 1EX/3SG-eat PC kangaroo
And the boss and I ate kangaroo.

Type (4) is intended to abbreviate possessive phrases of several subtypes. First, it was mentioned in 3.2.7 that a possessor is usually cross-referenced by possessive suffix on the possessed noun, whether or not the genitive NP is present:

3-250 ꙥugu-jawoŋ-nowi ʃ-ʃabo ꙥunmaŋ yuŋkai?
M-friend-his 3SG-went PP maybe forever
Maybe his friend went away forever.

There are some possessive phrases, however, from which the possessive suffix can be omitted, but is not always. These are typically part-whole constructions (archetypally body part–possessor), in which only the 'whole' (possessor) is treated as a major syntactic constituent for purpose of verbal cross-reference; the 'part' stands in apposition to the whole. As noted, the 'part' may or may not be suffixed with possessive, but often is. A major distinguishing feature (again, not consistent) of the part-whole construction is that the genitive suffix may be omitted from the genitive noun. Phrasal and clausal examples are:

3-251 mirarpuru? rungal-nowi
crab bait-its
crab bait/crab meat.

3-252 benuk-(?g)an buwambuwa-nowi
turkey-GEN down-its
turkey down

3-253 Yir-woy-miŋ wurkiliŋ jaŋgu
1EX/3SG-finish-PP euro meat
We finish the euro meat.

GU-grass 3NSG-GU-put body-his-LOC M-echidna-LOC
They put grass on the porcupine's body.

If the possessor is only cross-referenced in the verb, and is not represented by an external constituent, only the 'part' can be marked with possessive suffix:

3-255 ꙥiŋ-ŋapunun? gungu-malk-i
2SG-(subsection) GU-subsection-yours SG
You are ꙥapunun? subsection.
In general, the Ngala kan NP exhibits a fairly loose sort of structure. It is possible for constituents of what could be considered the 'same' NP to be separated from each other by other clausal constituents, or for many NP constituents having the same referent to be strung together in a fairly loose sort of appositional structure:

Maygidi the dog, the female (one) — that's her name — chased it.

Table 3-3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP phrase structures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) NP (2) NP (3) NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{N, ADJ (nominal)}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) NP (5) NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN N(P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N(P) Clause</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.30 Pronominal prefixes

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

3.2.30.1 Intransitive prefixes

The morphology of the intransitive prefixes is quite straightforward. First person singular ŋu- is similar to intransitive markers of this category in related languages (e.g. Jaug and Ngandi ŋa-); also second person singular
ŋiĩ- is identical to the Jawoň prefix for this category. Third person singular masculine and feminine nouns are cross-referenced by ƞ-, while gu- and mu-class nouns in intransitive subject function tend to be cross-referenced by prefixes identical to the short pronominal prefix forms, but this varies; they may be zero. Examples are:

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

3-259 mu-weʔ gu-mu-wul gu-ƞ-bolκ
   MU-rain 3-MU-come up 3-3SG-emerge
   Rain is coming up, it's coming/on its way.

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

1IN DU has the same base yi- as the lEX NSG category; but all non-singulars except 1IN DU have a number morpheme -rV, the vowel i or u depending on that of the base (lEX NSG yi-, 1IN PL ƞu-, 2NSG ƞu-, 3NSG bu-). Note there is no distinction in the pronominal prefixes between dual and plural categories for lEX, 2NSG and 3NSG persons, though dual may be marked by -piʁaʔn- biraʔ on noun and/or verb.

3.2.30.2 Transitive prefixes

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

We can begin with third person categories acting on all others. These combinations fall into four subsets: third person singular masculine or feminine, GU-, MU-, and third person non-singular acting on all categories. All combinations with third person singular agent of any class show the marking of the object category unless third person singular by means of an -n- or -ƞ- objective increment. The -n- is found in first person singular, second person singular and 1IN DU, the -ƞ- in all non-singular categories which are not explicitly dual. Notice that while first person singular and 1IN DU pronominal bases are ƞu- and yi- as we might expect, second person singular has ƞu- identical to the second person non-singular base; 3SG + 2SG and 3SG + 2NSG are distinguished by -n- versus -ƞ- object markers. 3SG M,F + 3SG M,F is cross-referenced by zero, but in combinations of 3SG M,F on other singular classes, the object may be cross-referenced by gu- or mu-, but is not invariably so cross-referenced. That is, the class of the object may fail to be marked, in which case the portmanteau prefix is ƞ-. In combinations of GU- or MU-class on any singular, the class of the transitive subject may be cross-referenced but is not invariably. Thus, there is a possibility that any 3SG + 3SG combination may be zero; but it can also happen that the class of the object is overtly cross-referenced by gu- or mu- if the subject is masculine or feminine, or that the transitive subject is cross-referenced in mu- or gu-class acting on any third person singular. This does not seem remarkable when we consider that masculine and feminine singular categories are always zero.
All noun class distinctions are neutralised in third person singular subject and object, though explicit non-singular cross-reference is not equi-probable for NPs of all categories (see 3.2.30.3).

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

(a) In combinations of GU-, MU- or 3NSG on any object besides a third singular category, order of elements in the prefix is object-subject. Note in all GU-, MU- and 3NSG + 3NSG combinations, 3NSG object may be represented either by buruŋ- (as for 3SG M,F + 3NSG), or by bun- (the former is more common).

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

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

3-260 ᶜondo-yiʔ ɲun-jujuyʔ-miŋ
wind-ERG 3SG/1SG-push-PP

The wind pushed me.

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

3-261 ɲu-ɲaniʔ-mlk  go?je guŋgu-jandaʔ ɲungu-gulʔ-miŋ-gin
1SG/3SG-see POT-PNEG there GU-stick GU/1SG-poke-PP-SUB
I didn't see the stick there that poked me.

3-262 ɲungu-meʔme  gaʔdaʔgor-ʔiʔ?
GU/1SG-get PP fever/flu-ERG
Flu got me, i.e. I got a cold, fever.

3-263 mu-waraʔaraʔ-ʔiʔ? ɲunmu-warʔ-miŋ
MU-floodwater-ERG MU/1SG-throw-PP
Floodwater knocked me down.
Turning to combinations of any other category on 3SG of all classes and 3NSG, we find 3SG M, F object consistently represented by φ-, gu-class object by gu- or gi-, mu-class by mu- or mi- (or both gu- and mu- by zero), and 3NSG object represented by -bu- or -bi-. All those categories which in intransitive subject function have number element -rV, as transitive subject acting on any third category have the form CVr-. All others are identical to intransitive subject forms for those categories. Note that 1IN DU and 1IN PL pattern as we would expect, with 1IN DU transitive subject distinguished from 1EX NSG as yi- versus yir-.

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

(b) In any combination of 1SG on any second person category, object outranks subject and is overtly represented. The form of 1SG + 2NSG, though it shows the operation of this principle, is also not fully identical to the regular 2NSG category.

(c) In any combination of 1EX NSG on any second category, the subject outranks the object and is overtly represented.

In combinations of 2SG acting on 1SG and all third person objects, we find a 2SG transitive subject morpheme ju-. Note the curiosity in 2SG + 1SG, however, that while only 2SG is overtly represented by a person marking morpheme, it has the form jun- with object marking -n-; while in 1SG + 2SG as noted, we find ni- equivalent to 2SG intransitive subject form. By analogy with this, in 2SG + 1SG we expect ĕun-, which however is the 3SG, M, F + 1SG form. Some related languages, e.g. Jawoń, in fact tolerate identity of 2SG + 1SG and 3SG + 1SG, combinations; but Ngalaṅak avoids this by having ju-as 2SG transitive subject marker in most combinations, and as overt person morpheme in an object-augmented form for the (frequently problematic) 2SG + 1SG combination. In the combination of 2SG + 1EX NSG, we find only the object overtly represented, with base yi- followed by what is probably object-marker -n- and -i, which has the effect of distinguishing 2SG + 1EX NSG yini- from 3SG M, F + 1IN DU yin-.

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

(d) 2SG + 1SG shows an object-augmented form jun- of otherwise 2SG transitive subject morpheme ju-. This unusual feature is evidence of (frequently encountered) 'hierarchical competition' in this and other combinations involving first and second person.
(e) Every other 2+1 combination shows overt marking of the object only, with singular/non-singular object distinction neutralised. In terms of overt representation, object outranks subject.

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

Some examples of some less frequently attested combinations are:

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Intransitive prefixes</th>
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<tr>
<td>1SG  ηu-</td>
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<tr>
<td>1IN DU    yi-</td>
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<tr>
<td>2SG       ŋiŋ-</td>
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<td>3SG M,F    φ-</td>
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<td>3SG-GU     gu-ŋφ</td>
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<td>3SG-MU     mu-ŋφ</td>
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<td>Transitive prefixes</td>
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<td>3SG M,F → 1SG</td>
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<td>1IN DU</td>
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<td>1EX NSG</td>
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<td>3NSG</td>
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</table>
3.2.30.3 General conditions on number cross-reference

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

3-268 gu|aga| giku woI? bIw na|aman? gu-|ap ja|p ja|Ian ye|ke;
big mussels like rock a lot 3-3SG-stand -AUX PRES bottom
a|nji nu-|lu?|-miIn qa|na|bay nu-mun?|-miIn nugu-giku
and 1SG-dip-PP moreover 1SG/3SG-grab M-mussel
Big mussels like stones were standing on the bottom (of a billabong); and I dipped in and grabbed mussels.

3-269 no|ko|ani gu-janda? gu-gu-bol?boI? bo|nI, gungu-gowk
big GU-stick 3-3SG/GU-carry RED now GU-humpy
gu-jeka|ni
3SG/GU-sweep away AUX PP
Now it is carrying along big logs, it has swept away the houses.

3-270 nu-warja?-miIn gu-biIn?-gin
1SG-go for-PP GU-rock-DAT
I was looking for stones (to make a ground oven, which requires many).

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

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

3-271 gu-|ap-waI|k nugu-ga|na|wara? boI?-ga?
3-3SG-enter M-goanna sp. hollow log-ALL
The goanna (species) goes into hollow logs (as a general thing).

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

3-272 bi|gur-yi? yiriInbi-|nan-ji?
man-ERG 3NSG/LEX-see-FUT NEG
Man can't look at us.

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

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

3-273 ma|abono buru-goI?-molk
some 3NSG-know-NEG
Some didn't/don't know.

3-274 wa|aman? buru-goI?-miIn
many, all 3NSG-leave-PP
Many left.
On the other hand, animate and human NPs marked with collective gara- may be variably treated as singulars or non-singulars, e.g.:

3-275 go?je gamiŋjiko ɸ-yononi gara-bolo?bolo
there all the time 3SG-sleep POT COLL-woman
All the women should sleep there all the time.

More frequently than human nouns, referentially non-specific animate, non-human nouns are treated as singulars:

3-276 yaraman, bulugi go?je gu-ɸ-janɔ
horse cattle there 3-3SG-stand PRES
Horses and cattle are standing there.

Explicitly dual-marked nouns are fairly consistently cross-referenced as non-singular; on the other hand, dual-marking is usually restricted to animate and especially human nouns.

Thus, in Ngala kan explicit non-singular marking on the noun is limited; nouns not explicitly marked as non-singular can be cross-referenced as non-singular, but this possibility is limited almost entirely to human and sometimes animate nouns. Non-singular reference of inanimate NPs is generally not explicitly marked in the verb, and is largely to be understood from the larger context of discourse.

3.2.30.4 Transitivity

In Ngala kan, some predicates always or almost always occur in intransitive clauses unless explicitly transitivised, e.g. by -bak- (see 3.2.8). The fact that these are intransitives can be shown from the forms of prefixes, e.g.:

3-277 niŋ-goyi ?
2SG-know
Do you know (it)?

The above may be used in contexts where we might say 'do you know it?'

Cross-linguistically, certain meanings can be realised by predicates which are variably treated as transitives or intransitives, and very often the same predicate may occur in either transitive or intransitive constructions, with or without some modification of the verb form and/or its arguments: 'I've finished (it)', 'I've heard (it)' and so forth. In Ngalakan, there is a tendency for any predicate which (in non-derived form) can occur in transitive configurations to be treated as transitive even when there is no clearly individuated object. The fact of transitive treatment can be determined by the occurrence of transitive prefix forms, e.g. bur- as opposed to buru- in examples below:

3-278 bur-banar-miŋ malaboŋo
3NSG/3SG-listen-PP some
Some heard.

3-279 bur-woy-miŋ
3NSG/3SG-finish-PP
They finished.

The same forms would be used if there were a clearly individuated third singular object. Thus, there is a tendency towards a fairly strict differentiation
between predicates which are normally used intransitively, and those normally used transitively. This is not absolute however. The thematic verb 'to rain' is normally used intransitively:

\[ \text{3-280} \quad \text{mu-we? ŋu-gun?biri yimili? gu-ɲ-jilkjilk gamiɲjiko} \]
\[ \text{MU-rain M-that wet season 3-3SG-rain RED constantly} \]
\[ \text{During the wet season, the rain comes down constantly/it rains constantly.} \]

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

\[ \text{3-281} \quad \text{mu-yimili? ŋuruŋmu-jilk ɲolko} \]
\[ \text{MU-wet season MU/1IN PL-rain big} \]
\[ \text{It rains on us a lot during the wet.} \]

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

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

\[ \text{buru-ye} \quad \text{they put it instead of bur-ye} \]

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

3.3 Verb morphology

3.3.1 Overview of the verb

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

There are some descriptive problems in laying out the order classes of the Ngalakan verb. First of all, following the pronominal prefixes described in 3.2.30, there may occur one, or sometimes two, of an approximate 20 known prefixes (which will simply be called 'preverbal'). These express a variety of meanings: some express number, some aspectual meanings, and some modal meanings. In general, the latter do not signal modality by themselves, but express a certain modal meaning in conjunction with a particular tense/aspect
suffixal complex, and sometimes additionally in conjunction with a (generally preverbal) free mode particle. These preverbal prefixes also include several -bak-, -bața-, and -re- (see below) — which may signal altered transitivity of the clause. The problems in describing the ordering of these prefixes, as everyone who has worked with structurally-similar languages has experienced, is that in general, in natural speech no more than two of these occur together in any one verb form, and it is quite difficult to get what might be all possible combinations. Below, I describe each prefix, list attested combinations, and on the basis of these suggest a partial ordering.

Another problem lies in describing the constituency of the verb stem itself. The principal element in each Ngalakan verb is the root, which may be a predicate adjective or noun, or a true verbal predicator. A good number of the verbal roots can occur by themselves as stems in 'simple' verb complexes, or can serve as auxiliaries in 'compound' verb complexes (see 3.1 for the difference between 'simple' and 'compound'). An example is the root baya-, which as simple stem can occur by itself in the approximate meanings to visit, pay a visit to, come/go to see. This root serves as the auxiliary in such compound stems as gewen-baya- to fear, jira-pay-a to sneak up, wet-baya- also to sneak up on, niŋa-pay-a to like, nurgi-baya- to be jealous of, and others. By comparing forms like these, it becomes evident that a number of preverbal elements — among them -gewen- expressing fear or flight, -niŋa- relating to sentiments of happiness, sadness etc., -monič- expressing stealth, -mañ- relating to tasting, -gol- having to do with secretions and liquids, -rark- relating to painting and writing, -men- relating to mind and mental activity, and others — must be segmented as a special class of 'stem-formants'. A few can function independently as other parts of speech, e.g. monič as adverb meaning stealthily, and all can be recombined extensively with a variety of verb roots. These are treated under compounding, 3.7.2.1.

A related phenomenon is the fact that verb stems may be compounded of two roots, each of which may function independently as a predicate. As an example, consider the following sets of roots:

(a) gor? to smell, give off bad odour (thematic)
    bop to smell, give off odour
    gor?-bop to smell bad (intransitive thematic verb)
    bop-na- to smell something (auxiliary na-, transitive used)

(b) gaw? sing out, call (used intransitively unless transitivised with -bak-)
    gaw?-baya- to sing out to (used transitively)

The extensive compounding possibilities give the language much of its lexico-grammatical flexibility.

Another characteristic of the Ngalakan verb is fairly extensive noun incorporation. There is a specialised noun stem which occurs only as compounding form: the stem -biŋi- water, liquid is found only as bound form, while (gu-)we? water occurs both as free form and incorporated form. An example of compounding by noun incorporation in a transitively-used verb stem is -mañ-dač-ga- to cut (someone's object) throat, comprised of (gu-)mañ throat; dač thematic verb to cut, and (usually causativising) auxiliary ga-. Incorporation is dealt with in 4.8 as a syntactic phenomenon; but in point of fact, it belongs neither to morphology nor to syntax entirely, for there are varying degrees of freedom in possibilities of incorporation.
Having mentioned these complexities, we can simplify the overview of verbal form/order classes by reducing them to a small number, complications within each of which can be dealt with in separate sections. In the diagram below, a ROOT is identified as the basic constituent of the verb stem. The root may be augmented in one of several ways to form a stem. First, it may be followed by an auxiliary. Auxiliaries include e.g. factitive-forming wu-, causativising ga-, copular me- be, become added to predicate nouns and adjectives in non-present forms, and functioning as auxiliary in a handful of stems; and others to which no unique lexico-grammatical function can be assigned except as auxiliaries. Some of these have fairly unitary transitivity value (e.g. yo- is usually auxiliary in verbs which function intransitively, while ye- is typically transitive, in keeping with the normal function of each as simple stem). As well, thematic verbs require a stem formant in certain paradigmatic forms which is functionally similar to an auxiliary. Second, the root may be compounded with another verb root or an incorporated noun stem; or it may be preceded by one of the 'stem-formants' (like -gaben- expressing fear, flight) already referred to. All these possibilities are summarily shown as 'compounding element/stem formant'. A further simplification is made by lumping together all the 'preverbal prefixes', to be dealt with below. The scheme is then reduced to:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First position</th>
<th>Pronominal Prefix(es)</th>
<th>Preverbal Prefixes</th>
<th>Compounding element (nominal, verbal)</th>
<th>Stem formant</th>
<th>AUX: RR TNS/ ASP</th>
<th>NUM S= SUB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>gu-</td>
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<td>TNS/ASP</td>
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</table>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. **-gara** - expresses collectivity or multiplicity all:

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

3-283 ṣu-gara-yeret-ganjiň  ṣu-gun?biri mirpara-gapul
1SG/3NSG-COLL-grow-CAUS PP M-that child-PL
I raised all those kids.

5. **-welən**: in most occurrences its meaning was explained as together, i.e. that those cross-referenced by a non-singular prefix performed the action jointly:

3-284 yiri-welən-raboniň
1EX NSG-together-go PC
We went together.

This was not found as verbal prefix with singular subject, making interpretation as 'together' plausible, but its semantics are not entirely clear. In particular, it is not certain whether, or how, it may be related to a suffix -welən meaning boss of, in control of the noun to which it is affixed (see 3.3.4.1.1). Cf. Jawon -welən altogether, entirely which functions as an expression of perfective aspect, and Rembarña walaŋ which may be prefix or free form, meaning usually then, next.

6. **-gorə?** - alone, by (one)self:

3-285 mači qiň-gorə?-naŋanaŋ
indeed 2SG-alone-sit RED PRES
Really you're too much alone/by yourself.

This can also be used as free form in the same meaning:

3-286 aňji bur-mu-ŋunuŋun  gorə? ŋuŋu-bigur
and 3NSG/MU-eat RED PRES alone M-man
And the men eat by themselves.

The second set includes three prefixes, two of which, (7) **-bak** - and (8) **-baṭa** - , were described in 3.2.8. There, they were labelled 'object promoting' because each may have the effect of either creating a derived transitive construction from transitive constructions, and -bak- also from intransitive ones. Though with transitives -bak- usually has a benefactive meaning, it was pointed out in 3.2.8 that its precise meaning in any particular clause is
largely conditioned by lexical meaning of the predicate, and that its semantics are not limited to benefactive meaning. No comments on -bak- need be added, but additional remarks on -baṭa- are required.

Although -baṭa- may create derived transitives of antibenefactive or adversative meaning (-baṭa-ma- to take from, -baṭa-ge-pu- to slip, get away from as in ṇun-baṭa-ge-po it slipped away from me, got out of my hands), and accompaniment, it can be used in the latter sense without resulting in derivation of a new transitive from an intransitive clause. In the following example, jaṇjan-ga- is a transitively-used compound verb to carry; -baṭa- indicates that an NP which is recoverable from the discourse is being accompanied by the subject(s) of the verb; but the NP referred to by -baṭa- is not treated as transitive object:

\[ \begin{align*}
3-287 & \quad \text{bur-baṭa-jaṇjan-ganiṅ nu-bolo} \\
& \quad 3\text{NSG/3SG-ACC-carry-AUX PC M-old person} \\
& \quad \text{They helped the boss carry it.}
\end{align*} \]

Here the accompanied NP is third person singular, and so would be cross-referenced by zero even if it were direct object. But that the accompanied NP is not treated as direct object can be shown by the fact that if non-singular, it is not cross-referenced in the verb, but can be expressed by absolutive NP (e.g. third person non-singular burka?), or a locative of accompaniment burkaṇi?-ga? (see 3.2.25), i.e. they helped them carry it or they (all) carried it together. Also intransitive verbs are prefixed with -baṭa- without being transitivised:

\[ \begin{align*}
3-288 & \quad (a) \quad \text{buru-baṭa-wakeniṅ ṇugu-geywar} \\
& \quad 3\text{NSG-ACC-return PC M-young man} \\
(b) \quad \text{buru-baṭa-juruweniṅ ṇugu-geywar} \\
& \quad 3\text{NSG-ACC-run PC M-young man} \\
& \quad \text{They (a) returned/(b) ran away with the young men.}
\end{align*} \]

Thus, although -baṭa- can result in object promotion in transitive clauses, it need not do so in either transitive or intransitive clauses. In intransitive uses, it is glossed ACC = accompaniment.

The last prefix in this set (9) is -re- (cf. Ngandi -ri-, Rembarṇa -re-), here labelled TNSV = transitiviser. It derives transitives of accompaniment from intransitives. In the transitive derivatives, the accompanied NP is cross-referenced as direct object:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ño? thematic intransitive to go away} \\
\text{-re-ño? thematic transitive to take away} \\
\text{juruwé intransitive to rush, run} \\
\text{-re-čuruwé transitive to rush something/somebody away}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
3-289 & \quad \text{buruṇ-če-čuruwé ṇaykaṇi?-wala} \\
& \quad 3\text{SG/3NSG-TNSV-rush PP 1SG-ABL} \\
& \quad \text{He rushed them away from me.}
\end{align*} \]

See the examples in Text 2(11), (12).

The third subset consists of aspectual prefixes:

(10) -ja?- , -je?- , -ja- now, expresses temporal immediacy with respect to the tense (i.e. narrative moment) of the verb:
We were standing now; it (MU-class) was rushing this way (toward us).

Now the boss gave it to us.

First it will play now, then you'll turn it over (said of a tape).

Clear conditioning for the allomorphy could not be determined, except that the allomorphs with glottal appear to be disfavoured before stems containing a glottal; however, all allomorphs are found before stems without glottal.

An identical prefix, used with potential verb form, produces either obligative or desiderative meaning (see below).

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An identical prefix, used with potential verb form, produces either obligative or desiderative meaning (see below).
3-299 guñman? bigur-yi? ṇuruñbu-mele-nan
may be man-ERG 3NSG/1IN PL-EVIT-see PRES
The men might see us.

3-300 waña ṁere-ṇini-ka? ọ-robôn-ji? ṇu-mele?-bun
NEG OBL camp-mine-ALL 3SG-come PRES-FUT NEG 1SG/3SG-EVIT-hit PRES
He'd better not come to my camp (or/lest) I strike him.

An implication of some uses of this prefix is that action should be taken to
avoid the undesirable consequence; but this need not be expressed in order
for the evitative to be used.

(15) -wañ?- ought not, should not (= negative obligative, NEG OBL):

3-301 ṇubu-wañ?-wun
1SG/3NSG-NEG OBL-give PRES
I shouldn't give it to them.

As verbal prefix, -wañ?- is used with evitative verb form; but see the example
above, and 3.3.3.8, for alternative expression of this meaning with free
particle waña and future negative.

(16) -waña- wanted to, should have with potential verb form, optionally
also with free particle waya:

3-302 ṇayka? waya ṇunbu-wuni
1SG-ABS OBL 3NSG/1SG-give POT
They should have given it to me.

See 3.3.3.7 for further discussion of this modal meaning and positing of a
semantic link with the homophonous, continuous prefix -waña- (11) above).

The final two prefixes (17), (18), are also modal in nature in that they
express an attitude of the speaker towards what he is saying. The 'compassion'
prefixes -li-wnili- were illustrated in 3.2.21. The other, -namulu- really,
thoroughly was mentioned in 3.2.20 as a free form expressing intensity, but
also occurs as verb prefix with the same meaning:

3-303 ṇuru-mele- namulu-yoñon
1IN PL-EVIT-really-sleep PRES
... lest we sleep (too) soundly.

Attested combinations are: -mele-gara-, -mele-bak-, -mele-namulu-,
-mele-jubuk-, -wač-will-, -wač-waña-,-welen-wili-, -bak-bidič-, -bak-(g)ara-,
gara-baţa-, jubuk-bak-, bak-re-.. On the basis of these, and assuming
transitivity of ordering (i.e. if -mele- precedes -bak- and -bak- precedes
-bidič-, then even if there are no attestations we may assume -mele- before
-bidič-), the following (incomplete) order classes seem minimally to be
required:

| -mele- | -jubuk- | -bak- | -gara- | -re- | ROOT |
| -wač- | -will- | -li- | -bidič- | -namulu- |

The transitiviser -re- must immediately precede the root.
3.3.3. Tense/aspect/mood categories of the verb

The simplest way of presenting the tense/mood/aspect categories of the verb is by listing the maximal set of categories for which each verb can inflect, illustrating the functional range of each inflectional category by itself and in combination with other preverbal prefixes and/or suffixes, and thus arriving at a listing in 3.3.3.14 of the total number of meaningfully distinct tense/aspect/mood categories, greater than the number of inflectional categories. The inflectional categories are:

- positive
- past punctual
- past continuous
- imperative
- evitative
- present
- future
- potential
- negative
- past negative

Not all verbs have distinct inflectional forms for all of these. The only roots for which present positive is distinct from evitative and imperative are bu-, wu-, ma-, ne-, and ye-, in which the present positive is obligatorily reduplicated, while evitative/imperative is not. This results in differences such as: -bunubun present positive, versus -bun evitative/imperative of bu-; -ma?ma present positive, versus -ma evitative/imperative of ma-, and so on. Other verbs have facultatively reduplicated present forms but the regular, unreduced present is identical to evitative/imperative (e.g. facultatively reduplicated present positive -runurun of ru- to cry, but usually -run present/evitative/imperative).

The imperative is thus usually equivalent to the present and/or evitative; but the future positive category can also serve as positive imperative.

The 'future' is not a purely temporal category; it expresses volition, intention and also expected or customary action.

Expression of negation by verbal suffixes is obligatory; optional particles (usually preverbal) also occur in certain forms. There are three negative suffixes, past, present and 'future'. The distinction between past punctual and past continuous is neutralised in the past negative. For most predicates, the distribution of negative suffixes over tense/aspect categories is as shown below, the suffixes added to the stems as follows:

- potential+-?molk past negative
- potential+koro present negative
- evitative (usually, =PRES)+-?i?-nu?-ji? future negative

Thematic verbs follow a different pattern: all negative suffixes are added directly to the root form, thus:

- ηα?-koro does not climb, present negative
- ηα?-(-?)molk did not climb, past negative
- ηα?-ji? cannot, will not climb, future negative

Predicate nominals have the following distribution of negative suffixes over tense/aspect categories:
zero copula+?molk
potential -meni+koro
past punctual -meň-ji?
past continuous -meniň+ji?

present or past negative, is/was not
negative of present or future copula
or inchoative is not (becoming), will
not be(come)
negative of past inchoative did not
become
past negative was not, alternative to
zero copula+?molk as expression of
this meaning

The following subsections illustrate the uses of the inflectional categories.

3.3.3.1 Present positive

Present positive can be used in a wide range of functions, as can comparable tense forms in many languages. One of its main functions is to represent the verbal meaning as imperfect or in progress at the time of speaking:

3-304 ƞiň-marawul-men ƞara
2SG-hungry-AUX PRES maybe
Are you hungry, maybe?

3-305 ƞu-ganam-gor
1SG-ear-ache
My ear aches.

3-306 gunmaŋ? nunbu-bak-yoŋ
maybe 3NSG/1SG-OP-gossip
Maybe they're gossiping about me.

3-307 boňi gu-janda? gu-ŋ-japjapja
now GU-stick 3-3SG-stand up PRES
Now she is standing the stick up.

These are used as if they refer to specific events in time and space. Present is also used to talk about events which are time-free, i.e. without specific spatial or temporal event-referents. Thus present is used to describe customary activities and characteristics, and to give explanations of processes:

3-308 gu-mu-gol-yen waɾaçaɾa-ga? alaŋga
3-3SG-MU-put in water AUX PRES running-water-LOC then
gu-janda? gu-japjap-ja alaŋga gu-ŋoço? burgu-ye
GU-stick 3-3SG/3SG-stand up AUX then GU-grass 3NSG/GU-put
gu-biŋ waɾuluk, burgu-ye ye?yere we?-ga?
GU-stone around 3NSG/GU-put down water-LOC
She puts it (MU-class) in running water, then she stands the stick up, then they put grass and stones all around, they put it down under water.

3-309 gayakjniwen ju-go? je jugu mariň gu-ŋ-jučuruwen
cranky/insane/mad F-that F-girl 3-3SG-run RED PRES
gojojgun? walaʃan?-ga?
that way many-ALL
She's mad, that girl, she runs around all the time with everybody
(i.e. with any man).
3.3.3.2 Present negative

The present negative expresses the simple negation of a present positive:

3-310 yaŋ-bore Ɂu-banar-koro, Ɂayu Jawoŋ Ɂu-banar
language-theirs 1SG/3SG-hear-PRNEG only (language) 1SG/3SG-hear
I don't understand their language, I only understand Jawoŋ.

3-311 Ɂu-mu-Ɂiŋaya-payani-koro
1SG-MU-like POT-PRNEG
I don't like it (MU-class).

3.3.3.3 Future positive

The future positive is not a strictly temporal category. Besides futurity, it also may express the desire or intention of the agent of the verb (who may be the speaker, or another) to carry out whatever is expressed by it, or frequently a customary nuance or nuance of permission/possibility 'will do X, customarily will X, may do X'.

3-312 Ɂu-mu-gol-yeŋa  we?-ga?
1SG-MU-put in water FUT water-LOC
I'll put it in water.

3-313 burgu-манiʔ?-na waʃəman?-yiʔ Ɂere-bore golkol, Ɂaʔi buɾu-yaɾ?
3NSG/GU-make-FUT many-ERG camp-theirs new indeed 3NSG-many
Many want to build a new camp, because they're (too) many.

3-314 aŋji buɾu-Ɂaɾaɾaɾa-gan gu-ʔ-μu-Ɂot-gana jamolk
and 3NSG-go FUT-DI 3-3SG-MU-break-CAUS-FUT nothing
gu-ʔ-Ɂaɾaɾaɾa-gan maɾaɾaɾa?
3-3SG-go RED FUT bare
And when they want to go (away from a widow's camp), he (person singing funerary songs) will simply break it (mu-маŋənɪʔ, necklace worn by widow), and she will go around bare (-necked).

For further examples see Text 5(27, 28, 30, 31). See also discussion of the modal suffix -gan often used with future tense, 3.3.3.11.

3.3.3.4 Future negative

Future negative expresses present and future inability due to physical or any other incapacity, including social constraint ('cannot, will not be able to'), and also negation of the desiderative or intentional meaning that can be expressed by the future positive. Thus Ɂu-Ɂaɾoŋ-jiʔ can mean I cannot/do not want to/will not be able to go. The sense of (socially imposed) constraint is illustrated by:

3-315 Ɂuɓu-gogon-bun-jiʔ ju-balakbalak-boneʔ-Ɂini
1SG/3NSG-look at-AUX-FUT NEG F-MoMoBrDa/MoMoBrSoSoDa-AV-mine
I can't look at my avoidance category relatives.

The sense of future or unbounded impossibility, inability or incapacity is illustrated by:
3-316 bono yi? gu-ŋĩŋa-aya-payan gunmaŋ? ŋĩŋa-aya-payan-ji?
another 3-3SG/3SG-like-AUX PRES maybe 3SG/3SG-like-AUX-FUT NEG
ŋu-go?je ŋugu-gopo-ŋoji
M-that M-husband-hers
She likes another, maybe she won't (be able to) like her husband.

3-317 ŋu-ŋan-ji? ŋu-ŋanju-la-buy
1SG-see-FUT NEG 1SG-eye-blurry
I can't see, I have blurry vision.

As can be seen, the future negative is most fundamentally a modal category, expressing the speaker's conventionalised attitude that the event cannot occur (is not possible), hence that it will not happen. Expression by a single category of speaker imputation of impossibility, and therefore a deducible inference of the impossibility of the event itself — in other words, the collapsing into a single category of speaker-attitude of impossibility ('can't') with event-oriented or phenomenal 'won't' — seems to be found in other languages in this area, and carries over into Pidgin English usage of 'can't' in both senses ('him can't rain' = (1) it's not possible that it rain; (2) it won't rain).

In Ngalakan, if one wishes to express a certainty that someone will not do something in the immediate future, or something will not happen, without the modal over tone of impossibility one uses the present negative:

3-318 gu-ŋ-wakeni-koro
3-3SG-return-PRNEG
He's not coming back/he isn't going to return.

3.3.3.5 Imperative, hortative

As mentioned in 3.3.3., there is no distinct imperative inflectional category. Positive imperative meaning is expressed by either the present or future positive:

3-319 ŋĩŋ-waken rere-ka?
2SG-return PRES camp-ALL
Go home!

3-320 ju-wulup-ga-na
2SG/3SG-bathe-CAUS-FUT
Bathe him! or Make him bathe!

3-321 ju-jaŋani-wu-na
2SG/3SG-stand-AUX-FUT
Make it stand up! (-jaŋani Potential of ja- intransitive to stand).

Negative imperative is usually expressed by the future negative, sometimes also by the evitative:

3-322 ŋĩŋ-gewen-men-ji?
2SG-be frightened-AUX-FUT NEG
Don't be frightened!

3-323 ŋĩŋ-juruwen may-?wala, ju-mele-ma
2SG-run PRES food-ABL 2SG/3SG-EVIT-pick up
Get away from the food, don't take it!
Hortative ('let's') is expressed by the present positive:

3-324 yi-waken ḍere-ka?
1IN DU-return PRES comp-ALL
Let's go home!

3.3.3.6 Evitative

Evitative positive is expressed by a combination of the evitative prefix -mele-\(\sim\)mele?- and the evitative stem form, identical to the present except, as has been noted, for five CV- roots with reductive present. For these, the evitative/imperative is simply CV-\(\sim\), or CV-\(\phi\) as per the corresponding present form.

Evitative is used in clauses expressing a potentially undesirable consequence which may result from some action or event, and therefore is usually preceded by a clause expressing what ought to be done to avoid those results: 'do X, lest Y (evitative)'. But the evitative is also used more broadly, that is, not preceded by a clause saying what ought to be done; so that, by itself, the evitative simply expresses some possible event which is deemed undesirable.

3-325 ju-ŋal-bun gungu-yele mirpara-yi?
2SG/3SG-shut-AUX PRES GU-hole (door) child -ERG
yin-mele-monič-\(\sim\)nan
1IN DU-EVIT-secretly-see PRES
Close the door lest the child secretly observe us.

3-326 garku buru-ye \(\phi\)-mele-\(\sim\)nun \(\varpi\)\(\varpi\)-\(\varpi\)-yi?
high 3NSG-put 3SG/3SG-EVIT-eat PRES crow-ERG
They put it high up lest the crows eat it.
(Note the treatment of 'crows' here as singular).

3-327 gu-wol-owość \(\phi\)-mele-bolk
GU-smoke-its 3SG-EVIT-get out
The smoke might come out.

Evitative negative is expressed by future negative with the particle wańba:

3-328 yukaji? ju-ŋawk-(k)\(\sim\) wańba yinbi-banar-\(\xi\)?
forcefully 2SG/3SG-talk-FUT NEG POT 3NSG/1IN DU-hear-FUT NEG
Talk loud to him lest they not hear you and me!

3-329 molon? ju-bak-gaw? wańba \(\varpi\)\(\varpi\)-\(\varpi\)-\(\varpi\)-ji?
try 2SG/3SG-OP-shout NEG POT 3SG/1IN PL-see-FUT NEG
Try to shout to him lest he not see us.

3.3.3.7 Potential

Potential expresses the notions 'should, should have, want, wanted to, may, might'. It is a modal category, indifferent to the tense distinction between past and non-past as such (see below).
3-330 alanga  nga-jaŋdiya? φ-yeŋi mungu- relk-(?)gen
then M-pandanus mat 3SG/3SG-put POT MU-sliced vegetable food-DAT
Then she should put down a pandanus mat for the sliced vegetable food.

See also Text 3(8).

The preverbal prefix -waŋa- (see 3.3.2, no.11) is used with potential verb form to mean should, should have, wanted to:

3-331 ŋu-waŋa-manjí
1SG/3SG-PFX-get POT
I wanted to get it, should have gotten it.

3-332 ŋu-waŋa-ɾəboni ŋiŋjaŋiʔ-gaʔ, ɣiri-vaɾ-ɾəboni ŋu-jaŋmiŋ-gaʔ
1SG-PFX-go POT 3SG M-LOC 1EX-each-go POT M-spouse-LOC
I wanted to go with him, we should have both gone with my husband.

In 3.3.2 it was mentioned that prefix -waŋa- with non-potential verb form means continuously, for a long time, but an identical prefix with the potential is used (facultatively) to express obligative and desiderative notions. Continuous -waŋa- expresses a meaning relating to the narrated event itself (extent in time); while in the potential, -waŋa- can only apply to the obligative or desiderative modal features of the predicate's meaning, since no actual 'event' is portrayed as occurring. We may compare the future negative and potential in terms of certain features of meaning. Future negative expresses that something cannot, therefore also will not occur; potential, that something has not occurred but ought to, or is desired to occur, but remains uncommitted about whether it might or might have. In this way future negative and potential are comparable categories, distinguished from each other along an axis of possibility (future negative is impossible, potential is possible or unmarked for possibility), and along an axis of relative boundedness with respect to the time interval within which the speech event occurs: future negative is unbounded with respect to any distinction between present and future, potential is unbounded with respect to any distinction between past and present.

It may therefore be plausible to suggest that potential as an unbounded category illustrates a specialised use of otherwise event-continuous -waŋa-; and that the continuous and potential uses of -waŋa- may be regarded as different uses of the same morpheme.

In addition to just the potential, and -waŋa- plus potential, a construction of potential with free particle waŋaŋ is used in an obligatory sense should, should have:

3-333 waŋaŋ φ-mu-ŋuni mungu-may
OBL 3SG-MU-eat POT MU-food
He should eat the food.

3-334 ɣaykaʔ waŋaŋ ŋunbu-beyemʔ-mę́ ŋun-bu-wuni
1SG ABS OBL 3NSG/1SG-pay (English)-POT 3NSG/1SG-give POT
They should've paid me, they should've given to me (money).

Obligative and desiderative meanings are expressed by morphologically related forms in a number of languages in the area (e.g. in Manarayi, 'should, should have' is expressed by the past negative, and 'wanted to' is built on the past negative stem). The categories 'should, should have' and 'want, wanted to' share a feature of potentiality (perhaps better, are unmarked for
possibility of realisation), which contrasts with another major category in the mood system, the negative potential, or unrealisability, of the future negative category.

3.3.3.8 Negative obligatory

Negative obligatory meaning *should not* is expressed either by future negative with free particle wañba, or by evitative positive with preverbal prefix -wañ?-:

3-335 wañba ṅiñ-rabon-ji?
   NEG POT 2SG-go-FUT NEG
   You shouldn't go.

3-336 ṅiñ-wañ?-rabon
   2SG-NEG POT-go PRES
   You shouldn't go.

The first type of construction is also used to express evitative negative meaning 'lest you not go' (see 3.3.3.6). More rarely, the construction with wañba and future negative has been found in the meaning of impossibility simply:

3-337 ṅur-ñan-ji? wañba
   LIN PL-see-FUT NEG NEG POT
   We can't see it.

See also Text 3(31).

3.3.3.9 Past positive categories: punctual and continuous

The two past positive categories are best described together, since it is in terms of the contrast between them that their values can be defined. Both refer to past perfected events. The labels suggest a difference in meaning which is not rigorously exemplified in every usage, but appears to capture the contrast between them when the two are directly opposed. In narrative, the past continuous is used to represent the framework of events within which other events (continuous or punctual) occur. The following excerpt will serve to illustrate the difference (brief segments which contain no verb form are omitted):

3-338 gun?biri jugu-bolo garku boñi ṣ-barañaniŋ daŋ?-ga? juļu?-ga?
   there F-old person up top now 3SG-hang PC tree-LOC lancewood-LOC
   burgu-Ċul?-haniŋ mungu-juļu?... jugu-Maygidi-yi?...
   3NSG/GU-burn-AUX PC MU lancewood F-(name)-ERG
   3SG/3SG-chase-PP 3SG-run PP hard M-that M-goanna
   ṣ-juruweŋ aŋji gu-ṣ-jaŋan yerke gu-janda? ṣ-manĩŋ?-mi-çiň.
   3SG-run PP and 3-3SG-stand PRES inside GU-stick 3SG-make-AUX-RR-PP
The old woman was hanging (PC) in the lancewood tree; they burned (PC) it, that lancewood ... Maygidi (a dog) chased (PP) it, the goanna ran (PP) hard. He ran (PP) and is standing (PRES) inside (i.e. in the water), he made (PP) himself into a stick (i.e. which may still be seen). "I'll pull you (FUT) with a rope". He was crying (PC) for an egg; the old woman had climbed (PC) into the lancewood, now the old woman had climbed (PC) up, the little boy was crying (PC). She told (PC) him like that, the old lady ... the child climbed up (PP), she threw (PP) him a rope.

Here, the verbs forms which describe the background or the framework of events are largely past continuous: the old lady had climbed into a tree, and was hanging there, the little boy was crying, she told him (in fact, kept telling him) to try to climb up after her. Also past continuous is the verb form burgu-ďul?-ganiŋ they burned it, referring to the fact that the lancewood tree of the myth had existed up until the time that living people had burned it. Presumably this form is past continuous because it designates a past action of continuing relevance, and not one that is punctual within the framework of the narrative. Verbs referring to the chase of the goanna by the dog, the running of the goanna, and the eventual climbing of the tree by the little boy, are past punctual. (Another version of this story is given as Text IV).

Where the two past forms are not directly opposed in a narrative or other context, the past continuous appears to be the more frequent category for all except thematic verbs. Interestingly, for thematic verbs the past punctual is clearly the more frequently-occurring category. It is not clear what significance can be attributed to this fact.

3.3.3.10 Past negative

In the past negative, the distinction between punctual and continuous is neutralised. Past negative expresses simple negation of a past positive:

3-339 ŋu-mu-ŋani-ʔmolk mungu-ĎaĎa bengen
1SG-MU-see-PNEG MU-sugarbag no matter
I didn't see (any) wild honey, no matter.

3.3.3.11 Desiderative-intentional with -gan

A suffix -gan is added to the future tense and contributes to meaning an added emphasis on intention or volition:
This suffix is interesting because of its possible relation to the general subordinating suffix -gVn. The subordinating suffix may be added to verbs of any tense/aspect form, and its vowel assimilates to the final stem-vowel (see 4.6). The desiderative-intentional suffix always follows the future form of the verb, and therefore invariably has the form -gan.

Another suffix which -gan resembles in genitive-dative -?gVn, but formal identity of the two is made unlikely by the absence of glottal from the former.

There thus appears to be a link between the subordinate marker, and a form which expresses desiderative-intentional meaning explicitly. The subordinate marker - as is typical in some languages of this area which have a single generalised subordinate clause morpheme — signals that the clause in which it occurs is not to be interpreted in its own right, but with reference to some other constituent or larger unit. (It does not explicitly signal the nature of that in terms of which it is to be interpreted). The characteristic of being dependent for interpretation upon something else — more broadly stated, being 'non-asserted' — appears to be the common semantic feature upon which formal identity of the mark of subordination, and that of at least some of the non-indicative categories depends in e.g. Manarayi, and in the Ngala Kan construction with -gan. The same suffix also frequently has a function in focussing constituents (4.6); sometimes the modal nuance is not easily distinguished from this, as in Text 5(11).

3.3.3.12 Alternative expression of obligatory meaning with purposive

An alternative and rather infrequent means of expressing the obligative meanings should, should have is with verb forms suffixed with purposive -wi^-?wi. Combined with the evitative, the purposive produces the meaning should:

3-342 ƞiŋ-ƞaŋan-wi
2SG-sit-PURP
You should sit down.

Combined with the potential, purposive produces the meaning should have:

3-343 ƞiŋ-ƞaŋani^-?wi
2SG-sit POT-PURP
You should have sat down.

(No clear conditioning for the suffix allomorphy can be stated). This may be compared with use of the potential, which may as noted at 3.3.3.7, also express present and past desiderative meanings. The potential is more frequently used.
3.3.3.13 Particle molon?, molo?, molon

A particle meaning attempt, try to was found to occur in slightly varying shapes molon?, molo?, molon. It seems to express encouragement on the part of the speaker to himself when the verb is future or to addressee-agent of an imperative verb, to undertake something. The particle was found only with present used as imperative, and future verb forms, so as far as is known it should be considered a kind of hortative modal particle, not a lexical verb equivalent to our 'try to' which make take a complement of any tense/aspect. Examples are:

try 2SG-look back ALL-behind behind-ABL maybe 3NSG-go PRES
Try looking back, maybe they're coming from behind.

3-345 yi-ŋal? molon? dar?-ga?
1INDU-climb try tree-LOC
Let's try to climb the tree.

3-346 ḡu-bak-gaw?-a molon
1SG-OP-shout-FUT try
I'll try to shout to him.

3-347 molon? ju-ja?-bayan
try 2SG/3SG-now-see PRES
Try to see him now.

3.3.3.14 Summary of verb forms and functions

A summary of the inflectional, combinatorial possibilities of the inflectional categories, and the functions of the forms produced, is as shown in Table 3-6.

A summary of the use of free particles is as follows: particle wañba (labelled 'negative potential'), with the future negative expresses evitative negative last .... not. Particle wayaŋ with the potential expresses should or should have. Particle molon etc. expresses that the outcome of action to be attempted is uncertain.

The inflectional forms given above are as for non-thematic, non-nominal predicates. See 3.3.3 for a summary of differences in thematic and nominal predicates.

3.3.3.15 First-position gu-

The first-position prefix gu- must be distinguished from noun-class prefix gu- and from the cross-referencing -gu-class pronominal. Both first-position gu- and the cross-referencing pronominal -gu- may occur in the same verb form:

3-348 jiñjiñi?-yi? gu-ŋ-gu-man’a
3SG F-ERG 3-3SG-GU-get FUT
She’ll get it (GU-class) herself.

Restrictions on the occurrence of gu- must be stated in terms of person features of the intransitive and transitive subject, and in terms of tense/aspect forms of the predicate.
Table 3-6
Summary of inflectional categories and their functions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inflectional category</th>
<th>Description of stem</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>present</td>
<td>expresses that verbal event is imperfect or in progress at time of speaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present negative</td>
<td>potential+koro</td>
<td>simple negation of present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evititative</td>
<td>prefix -mele-?-mele?+ evitative (a)</td>
<td>expresses undesirable consequence, usually following clause expressing action to be taken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prefix -mele-?-mele?+ evitative (b)</td>
<td>negative imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prefix -wañ?- plus evitative (c)</td>
<td>should not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>evitative stem</td>
<td>positive imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>evitative stem plus purposive (d)</td>
<td>should</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>future</td>
<td>(a) desire, volition, customary or expected action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>future</td>
<td>(b) positive imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>future+gan</td>
<td>(c) desire, intention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future negative</td>
<td>evitative+?ji?</td>
<td>(a) impossibility/unrealisability of narrated event in time interval which includes moment of speaking and extends into unbounded future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>evitative+?ji?</td>
<td>(b) negative imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wañba plus future negative (c)</td>
<td>lest ... not, evitative negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potential</td>
<td>potential</td>
<td>(a) should, should have, want, wanted to, i.e. potentiality of narrated event in time interval preceding and including speech event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prefix -waña- plus potential (b)</td>
<td>should, should have, wanted to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wayañ plus potential (c)</td>
<td>should, should have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>potential plus purposive (d)</td>
<td>should have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past punctual</td>
<td>past punctual</td>
<td>(a) past perfected, non-continuous event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past continuous</td>
<td>past continuous</td>
<td>past perfected, continuous event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past negative</td>
<td>potential+-?molk</td>
<td>simple negation of past positive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
First-position gu- may only occur in intransitive clauses with third person singular subject, and transitive forms with third person singular subject and object of any class. Occurrence by tense/aspect varies depending on the type of predicate. With thematic and non-nominal predicates, gu- occurs in present and future positive, and present negative; all other categories have zero in first position. Examples of its only possibilities of occurrence in a thematic verb are:

3-349  gu-¢-ηal?  he is climbing (PRES POS)
gu-¢-ηal?-la  he will climb (FUT POS)
gu-¢-ηal?-koro  he is not climbing, does not climb (PRES NEG)

With predicate nominals, gu- does not occur in present positive (both static 'is X' and dynamic 'is becoming X', see 3.2.15), or in present/past negative with -ʔmolk; but gu- does occur in the future positive. Thus:

3-350  φ-ʔnoŋ?noŋ?  it is small
φ-ʔnoŋ?noŋ?-men  it's becoming small
gu-φ-ʔnoŋ?noŋ?-mena  it will become small, it will be small

It seemed somewhat odd that the present inchoative with -men should not occur with first-position gu- while future will be, become X has gu-. Nevertheless gu- was found to be absent from present inchoative not only in elicitation forms, but also from predicate nominals spontaneously produced in narrative and conversation.

However, there is a certain variability in the occurrence of gu- in present forms which must be mentioned. Occasionally, a present form of a seeming predicate nominal like gajar? to be tired was found with first-position gu-, as in gu-φ-gajar? he/she is tired. This led to an attempt to determine when gu- could occur in the present, and it was found that the prefix gu- was always rejected in such clearly predicate nominal constructions as *gu-φ-goyi he knows, *gu-φ-bak-goyi he knows him/her, *gu-mu-ŋolko, it (MU-class) is big and the like. But in time it was found that just those predicates which occurred with gu- in the present were capable of varying inflectional treatment as thematic verbs or predicate nominals, e.g.: φ-gajar?-miŋ he got tired, also he is tired (with thematic past punctual suffix -miŋ), or φ-gajar?-meŋ he became tired (with past punctual of copula me-). Thus, it seems that there is some live variability in the treatment of descriptive predicates as predicate nominals or thematic verbs in the present and past, and that the ability to take first position gu- in the present is evidence of treatment as a regular thematic verb, while absence of gu- is characteristic of predicate nominals. Support for this is provided by the fact that there are some related forms known to function as predicate nominals and thematic verbs, respectively, which show the same absence versus presence of gu-, e.g.: φ-jiri he/she is cheeky versus gu-φ-jiri? he/she is cheeky (thematic).

Finally, in 3.2.17 it was mentioned that present predications of existence/location in a place take first-position gu-.

The first-position morpheme gu- is similar distributionally to first-position morphemes of similar shapes in other languages (e.g. Jawoŋ ga-): it occurs only in some non-past tense/aspect forms, and is limited to intransitive forms with third person subjects, and to transitive forms with third person subjects and objects. There are some distributional differences in various languages, however; e.g. in Jawoŋ, ga- also occurs with third person non-singular intransitive subjects, and third non-singular transitive subjects where the object is a third person category.
3.3.3.16 Shapes of thematic and simple verb roots; compound verb classes

Almost all thematic verbs end in a non-vocalic segment. Shapes of 162 thematic verbs surveyed were distributed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shape</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV⁺</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVS</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVS⁺</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVSC</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC² v{S⁺ C}</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCVC{S⁺ C}</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCV</td>
<td>1/162</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Where S = any non-vocalic sonorant)

The sole form of CVCV shape was reduplicative Ꙣamagam to look after. The only other vowel-final roots were a few of CVCVCV shape (e.g. jala!a to crawl, yalala to get better, and a handful of others). There thus appears to be a strong phonological basis to membership within the class, though there are many compound verbs with initial elements of comparable shapes to those found among the thematic verb roots (e.g. gol-yo-, compound to sleep soundly), with CVS-initialement element).

In general, thematic roots cannot function as other parts of speech but there are some exceptions. For example, wongor? can function as thematic verb to sweat, and there is also a noun gu-wongor?. A few thematic verbs are identical to forms functioning as other parts of speech except that they show addition of a glottal (jiri insolent/cheeky versus thematic jiri? to be belligerent/cheeky; yuka, adverb ahead versus thematic yuka? to be in the lead), unless they already contain glottal (e.g. yana?, interrogative what serves as the basis either for thematic yana? to do what, or present yana?-me- to do what, with other forms treated as thematic).

There are 18 monosyllabic CV- roots, 12 bisyllabic roots, and one trisyllabic root, all of which can function as simple main verbs, except that ja- to make stand was never found without initial compounding element. Of these, 15 of the monosyllabic roots and one bisyllabic root can function as auxiliaries in compound verbs. In addition, the thematic root war?- can function as an auxiliary. Most of the bisyllabic roots have the shape CVCV (e.g. baya- to visit, go to see, rabo- to go, yini- to say, do thus, jaqe- to twirl firedrill, etc.) but two have the shape CVCCV (gorçi- to fill up, garbe- to crawl). The root garbe- to crawl has a paradigm which is almost identical to that of the monosyllabic root be-, but differs from it in potential and future forms, hence cannot be treated as a compound. The single simple trisyllabic root is juruwe- to rush, run. See 3.3.3.18 for verbal paradigms.

Most compound verbs consist of one of the auxiliaries mentioned above, preceded by a first element which does not, in general, occur elsewhere (e.g. does not occur as free nominal or adverbial root). There are, however, a few compound verbs which are intermediate between this type, and forms resulting from productive noun incorporation. These have as first element a form recognisable as a root which may occur independently, but its incorporation into the verb form may not be characterised as 'productive' because it always...
is incorporated in that meaning. Examples are jele-bu to urinate (gu-jele urine), ņey-bu to name, call a name (gu-ņey name). There is some further indeterminacy between this type, and another which may be said to involve frequent but not invariable incorporation in certain initial-auxiliary pairings. For example, the meaning to sleep in a line may be expressed by jeban-yo- (gu-jeban line), but it is also possible to treat jeban as an element external to the verb. All such verbs will be referred to as 'compounds', but it is recognised that the linkage between initial element and auxiliary is not the same in all cases.

The roots which serve as auxiliaries in the formation of compounds vary in the degree of determinable semantic contribution each makes to the compound. Some (such as baya-) have determinable meanings as auxiliaries which are comparable to their meanings as main verbs; others are much diluted semantically or simply not comparable to the meanings of the corresponding roots in simple verb complexes. The classes of compounds, distinguished by auxiliary, are the following (with examples of each):

1. ma- verbs: bol-ma- to rub, clean; gali-ma- to pick up; gin?-ma- to hook; jopjop-ma- to gather, collect; mem?mem?-ma- to burn well; woč-ma- to steal; gujërn-ma- to gather firewood. The last could be regarded as a productive incorporation (gu-gujërn firewood).

2. baya- verbs: gewen-baya- to frighten someone; jira-paya- to sneak up on someone; men-jolk-baya- to accuse someone (may have stem formant -men-); niŋaya-paya- to like; nurgi-baya- to be jealous of; wet-baya- to sneak up on; gaw?-baya- to sing out to, attract someone's attention by calling to. The last is a productive compounding of intransitive thematic gaw? to call out with baya-. Note this auxiliary retains much of its meaning to visit, go/come to see.

3. ńa- verbs: bur?-ńa- to know, go?-ńa- to have, wi-ńa- to lose, forget; dič-ńa- to look hard at, bop-ńa- to smell (something). This retains some of its semantic content; as main verb it means to see.

4. ja- verbs (generally intransitive class formed with ja- to stand, be standing, distinct from ja- to make stand, to erect of class five): ber?-ja- to be new moon, month; burin?-ja- to be buried (best regarded as productive compound with thematic burin? to bury, heap on); dele-ja- to lean against (plus locative); jumbu-ča- to bend over; -wuñji-ja- to be hidden; gor-ča- to sit inside (hole, lair). Note this auxiliary retains much of the semantics of the auxiliary to stand.

5. ja- verbs (auxiliary to make stand, erect): jap-ja- to make stand, erect; ḋuk-ja- to tie up; gum-ja- to cover up; burin?-ja- to bury (see intransitive counterpart above); wuñ-ja- to hide. This is not found without initial compounding element.

6. yo- verbs (as simple verb means to sleep, lie): boyoboyo- to sit in line; gol-yo- to sleep soundly; jeban-yo- to lie in line; melega-yo- to sleep on one's side.

7. ye- verbs (as main verb, to put, place): gol-ye- to put in water, soak; jiri-ye- to give cheek, harass (cf. jiri cheeky); ńere-ye- to lay someone to sleep (cf. mu-ńere sleep); dar?-ye- to put to dry, productive compound with thematic ńar? to dry out.

8. wa- verbs (to follow): bele-wa- to track; julu-wa- to sing; baṭa-wa- to help (note initial -baṭa-); mungu-wa- to follow; bo-wa- to follow river (cf. gu-bo river).
9. war?- verbs (as simple thematic root means to throw): ṛark-war?- to paint, write; ọgaj-war?-mi-či- to spit (with reflexive-reciprocal complex -mi-či-, cf. gu-ọgaj saliva); jũgu-war?-mi-či- to throw one's shoulders back (cf. gu-jũgu back).

10. ọnu- verbs (to eat, consume): we?-ọnu- to drink (gu-we? water); wol-ọnu- to have a feed, a meal; ọmaň-ọnu- to taste (-ọmaň widespread in Ngalaikan and related languages as a stem-formant relating to tasting and trying).

11. ẹne- (to burn, transitive): one example, buyypuy-ẹne- to singe hair.

12. be- (to bite): wol-be- to smoke.

13. bu- (to strike, hit): gar-bu- to pull, juŋur?-bu- to cough; juŋ-bu- to make a bough-shade (cf. gu-juŋ shade); majiriği-pu- to quarrel with (cf. jirī bellicose); mamĩ-bu- to roll, wrap up; bim-bu- to paint, write (cf. mu-bim white ochre); waŋat-bu- to bank up ashes, shore up); war-bu- to sing, practice sorcery against; weln-bu- to make a mistake, and others.

Also included among the auxiliaries are me-, primarily copula to be, become, wu- which is primarily a factitive-forming auxiliary; and ga- the primary causativising auxiliary. The auxiliary me- is found in all tense-aspect forms of a few compound pairings, e.g. marawule-me- to be hungry, gewen-me- to be frightened. Thus, third person singular present gu-ọ-marawule-men he is hungry (as opposed to the usual predicate nominal construction with zero copula in the present and lacking first-position gu-). The element marawule can, however, function as an independent particle: marawule ọ-wakeń he returned (PP) hungry. Though wu- generally occurs in analysable factitive verbs (such as boqewk-wu- to ruin with adjective boqewk bad, or jongolo?-wu- to make straight with jongolo? straight), it also occurs in a few other non-factitives, e.g. ganja?-wu- to ask (unanalysable initial), gewen-jarp-wu- to chase away (-gewen-stem-formant of fear, -jarp- unanalysable initial); juju-wu- to drive (as cattle); wor-wu- to make eat, goy-wu- to show. Likewise, the usual causativising auxiliary ga- also occurs in a number of verbs which are regular (non-causativised) compounds: mal-ga- to beget; wo-ga- to speak; wal-ga- to love. See 3.2.19 and 4.4 for factitives, 4.3 for causative formation.

3.3.3.17 Allomorphy of the inflectional categories

It is difficult to establish a small number of conjugational classes of verbs based on complete or even partial similarity of paradigmatic forms. There are only from two to five allomorphs or alternative ways of forming particular suffixal categories (such as past punctual), but many roots which are similar or identical to each other with respect to one category are not necessarily so with respect to others. Before setting up conjugational classes, of verbs with similar or identical paradigms, I will first discuss allomorphy of the suffixal categories themselves, and in so doing point out regularities with regard to subclasses of verbs which conform to particular patterns. These are grouped into six subclasses in 3.3.3.18, most of which show some internal variation. One significant regularity which can be mentioned from the outset is that all compounding auxiliaries have identical or near-identical paradigms to the corresponding roots functioning in simple verb complexes. The only difference is in past punctual forms of a few roots; see 3.3.3.17.3. The following sections 3.3.3.17.1-.7 deal with the mono-, bi- and trisyllabic roots which may function as simple verbs or auxiliaries in compounds, or both. Thematic verbs are treated as a separate class in 3.3.3.19.
3.3.3.17.1 Allomorphy in the present

There are two suffixal allomorphs of the present, -n and -¢, but five types of present formation can be identified if internal stem-changes are considered along with suffixal allomorphy.

(1) roots with suffix -n: the roots which add -n with no further change are ṇa- see, ṇu- eat, ga- take and the now-frozen compound with this auxiliary janga- to hunt, ṛabo- to go/come, jurwe- to rush, ṛun, baya- to visit, wake- to return, ṛu- to cry, wa- to follow, me- copula; and reflexive-reciprocal forms (see 3.3.3.17.6 for allomorphs of the reflexive-reciprocal suffix).

(2) roots with -¢: roots with -¢ suffix and no further change are yini- to say, do thus, bara- to hang up, be- to bite, ṛu- to burn (intransitive), ṇe- to burn (transitive), garbe- to crawl.

A subclass with zero suffix shows changes in stem-vocalism so that minimally the past punctual will have a different (only, or final) stem-vowel from the present. These include ja- to stand (transitive), mare- to spear, baçi- to hit, kill (suppletive stem-form of bu- often used with compounding elements), mare- to shout at, argue with, gorçi- to fill, jaçi- to twirl firestick, jo- to chop. Not all these roots show identical vocalic alternations.

(3) reduplicative present with -n: two verbs, bu- hit and wu- give, have reduplicative present forms with suffix -n: -bunubun and -wunuwun. These two are paradigmatically identical except in their reflexive-reciprocal allomorphs.

(4) reduplicative present with -¢: three verbs, ma- to get, ye- to put, and ṇe- to bum (transitive), have reduplicative present with zero suffix: -ma?ma, -ye?ye and -ṇe?ṇe.

(5) internal segment -ṇV- with -n: four verbs have stem-forms (in the present and also all other paradigmatic forms except past punctual) which show an internal augment -ṇV-, in the present followed by -n. All are stance verbs (yo- to sleep, lie, ja- to stand, bara- to be suspended, and ṇa- to sit), and they can be treated as a class. An example is the present form yoço-n of yo- to sleep, lie. The vowel of the augment is the same as that of the root.

3.3.3.17.2 Evitative/imperative stems

As mentioned in 3.3.3., the only roots with evitative/imperative stems different from the present are five CV- roots. All belong to subclasses (3) and (4) above, i.e. to those roots with obligatorily reduplicative present forms. Each has evitative form with -n or -¢ suffix as per the present form, but unreduplicated: -bu-n, -wu-n, -ma-¢ -ye-¢, -ṇe-¢.

3.3.3.17.3 Past punctual

There are five ways of forming the past punctual.

(1) (vocalic alternation with) zero suffix: there are six roots which show vowel changes such that, minimally, the present stem (with zero suffix, see under (2) in 3.3.3.17.1) has a different vowel from the past punctual, and sometimes also from other categories. These show the following changes between present and past punctual:
Comparing these, we note the present forms all have non-front vowels, the past punctual, front vowels.

(There are two roots, maře- to shout at, argue with and baře- to hang up (transitive), which show changes in stem vocalism, but do not have zero past punctual suffix.)

The root ṛabo- to go, come has past punctual with -∅ suffix (ṝabo-∅) but undergoes no change in stem vocalism.

(2) Reduplicative past punctual forms: four verbs have reduplicative past punctual forms; bu- has -boʔbo, wu- has -woʔwo, ma- has -meʔme and ṇa- to see has -ñaʔña. The sole difference between these roots in simple verb constructions and as compound auxiliaries is that in the latter function, their past punctual forms consist of a single segment equivalent to half of the reduplicative forms given above, e.g. ṃunbu-bak-woʔ- me they stole it from me, not *ṁunbu-bak-woʔ- meʔme.

(3) The roots ṇu- eat, consume and ṛu- to cry have past punctual forms -ǭwini and -ṝowini. Their paradigms are otherwise identical, and they form a subclass.

(4) The root ga- (and its compounds including jaŋga- to hunt) has past punctual suffix -ŋiʔ (which is the same as a past continuous allomorph for some other roots); this is opposed to past continuous -niʔ.

(5) Suffix -n added to root: includes the four stance verbs ṇa- to sit, ja- to stand, yo- to lie and baɾa- to be hanging; also baya-, wake-, yini-, be-, garbe-, ṛu-, ṇe-, ye-, and copula me-.

A subclass includes maře- shout and baře- hang up which show stem-vowel changes; the latter has a suppletive past punctual stem -baɾaŋa-ʔn for plural object.

### 3.3.3.17.4 Past continuous

There are three suffixal allomorphs of the past continuous, -ŋiʔ, -niʔ, and -n.

(1) Roots which take -niʔ include: bu-, wa-, ṃa- to see, ṇu-, ṛu- to cry, ga- and jaŋga-, ṛabo-, jurwe-, baya-, wake-, me- copula, and the four stance verbs ja-, yo-, ṃa- and baɾa-; also reflexive-reciprocal verb forms.

(2) Roots which take -ŋiʔ include: ma-, ja- (transitive), be-, ṛu- burn, jo-, ṇe-, ye-, yini-; and also baɾe- hang up (transitive) and maře- to shout at.

(3) Roots which take -n include: maɾe-, bači-, gorči-, ja-di-.
3.3.3.17.5 Potential and future allomorphs

Potential and future can be treated together, since they co-vary for all roots but one. Roots generally have either the suffixes potential -ni, future -na; or potential -ŋi and future -ŋa. The one root of which this is not true is baći- which has potential baći-ŋi- and future baći-na.

3.3.3.17.6 Reflexive-reciprocal allomorphs

The reflexive-reciprocal marker directly follows the simple root, or the auxiliary in compounds. Reflexive-reciprocal is discussed in 4.2.; here it is sufficient to note that reflexive-reciprocal forms are identical to each other. Both correspond closely to usual notions of the reflexive as a construction definable over clauses with coreferential subject and object, and reciprocal as definable over clauses in which subject and object include sets of mutually-affecting referents.

There are three reflexive-reciprocal allomorphs. The allomorph -yji- is found only with bu-, bu-yji- hit (self, each other); allomorph -yči- only in wu-yči- give (self, each other); all other roots have -či-. Two roots be- to bite and ma- to get build the reflexive-reciprocal on the potential stem beni-či-, instead of expected *be-či-, and manji-či-. All reflexive-reciprocals have a common set of suffixal forms (3.3.3.18.6).

3.3.3.17.7 Single past positive category

No distinct past punctual form could be elicited for the verb wa- to follow. The single past positive category -wa-niň is morphologically past continuous.

3.3.3.18 Conjugational classes

The non-thematic verbs can now be divided into six conjugational classes. Characteristics of each class are listed and full paradigms for all roots are given. Though suffixal allomorphs for each class are listed, no root-suffix morpheme divisions are shown within the paradigms.

3.3.3.18.1 Class 1

Class 1 has two members, bu- to hit and wu- to give, which have identical paradigms except for their reflexive-reciprocal forms. Suffixal categories for the class are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>bu- to hit, strike</th>
<th>wu- to give</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>reduplicative</td>
<td>-bo?bo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>-niň</td>
<td>-buniň</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td>reduplicative with -n</td>
<td>-bunubun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVIT/IMP</td>
<td>CV-n</td>
<td>-bun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POT</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-buni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-buna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RR</td>
<td>-yji-, -yči-</td>
<td>-bu-yji-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-wu-ŋi-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.3.18.2 Class 2

Class 2 includes the four stance verbs yo- to lie, sleep, ba ra- to be suspended, ɲa- to sit, and ja- to stand. Characteristics of the class include stem augmentation with -ɲv- in all but the past punctual, and the following suffixal allomorphs:

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}
\text{ŋa- to sit} & \text{ja- to stand (intransitive)} \\
\text{PP} & -\text{n} & -\text{ŋa} \\
\text{PC} & -\text{nǐ} & -\text{ŋa}n\text{nǐ} \\
\text{PRES} & -\text{n} & -\text{ŋa}n (-\text{ŋa}n\text{ŋa}n\text{n} \text{RED}) \\
\text{EVIT/IMP} & -\text{n} & -\text{ŋa}n (-\text{ŋa}n-\text{ŋa}n) \\
\text{POT} & -\text{n} & -\text{ŋa}n \\
\text{FUT} & -\text{n} & -\text{ŋa}n \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \text{yo- to sleep, lie} \quad \text{ba ra- to be hanging, suspended} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}
\text{PP} & -\text{yo}n & -\text{ba ra}n \\
\text{PC} & -\text{yo}n\text{oni}n & -\text{ba ra}n\text{oni}n \\
\text{PRES} & -\text{yo}n (\text{-yo}n-\text{yo}n) & -\text{ba ra}n \\
\text{EVIT/IMP} & -\text{yo}n & -\text{ba ra}n \\
\text{POT} & -\text{yo}n\text{oni} & -\text{ba ra}n\text{ani} \\
\text{FUT} & -\text{yo}n\text{ona} & -\text{ba ra}n\text{ana} \\
\end{array} \]

3.3.3.18.3 Class 3

Class 3 consists of two verbs, ɲu- to eat and ru- to cry which have identical paradigms except that ru- has no reflexive-reciprocal form. Suffixal allomorphs are:

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}
\text{ru- to cry} & \text{ɲu- to eat} \\
\text{PP} & -\text{Cowi}n & -\text{rowi}n & -\text{ɲowi}n \\
\text{PC} & -\text{n}i\text{n} & -\text{runi}n & -\text{ɲuni}n \\
\text{PRES} & -\text{n} & -\text{run} (-\text{run}u\text{run}) & -\text{ɲun} (-\text{ɲun}u\text{ɲun}) \\
\text{EVIT/IMP} & -\text{n} & -\text{run} & -\text{ɲun} \\
\text{POT} & -\text{n}i & -\text{runi} & -\text{ɲuni} \\
\text{FUT} & -\text{n}a & -\text{runa} & -\text{ɲuna} \\
\text{RR} & -\text{CV-či-} & -\text{ɲu-či-} \\
\end{array} \]

3.3.3.18.4 Class 4

Class 4 is a somewhat heterogeneous one, characterised by stem-vowel alternations in all members, but not always in the same forms. Two verbs of class 5 (ma re- to shout at, argue with, and bare- to hang up) also show stem-vowel alternations, but otherwise have suffixal paradigms similar to those of several other verbs; thus they are placed in a separate class. Roots of Class 4 are ja- to stand up, make stand, jaći- to twirl firedrill, gorći- to pour, jo- to chop, mare- to spear, and baći-, suppletive form of bu- found after compounding elements. It has been noted that ja- to make stand has never been found to occur as simple verb; it has been recorded only in compounds such as jap-ja- to make stand.
jap-ja to make stand    jađi- to twirl firedrill

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Present/Imp</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>-japje</td>
<td>-jađe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>-japjini</td>
<td>-jađiṇi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>-japja</td>
<td>-jađa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POT</td>
<td>-japjini</td>
<td>-jađiṇi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>-japjina</td>
<td>-jađiṇa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RR</td>
<td>-japji-či-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

gorči to pour, load  jo- to chop

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Present/Imp</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>-gorče</td>
<td>-je</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>-gorčiṇ (-gorji-gorjiṇ)</td>
<td>-joṇiṇ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>-gorčo</td>
<td>-jo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POT</td>
<td>-gorčiṇi</td>
<td>-joṇi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>-gorčiṇa</td>
<td>-joṇa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mare- to spear  bači- suppletive form of bu-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Present/Imp</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>-mare</td>
<td>-bači</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>-mareṇ (-mare?-mareṇ)</td>
<td>-bačiṇ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>-mara (-mara?-mara)</td>
<td>-bača</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POT</td>
<td>-mareṇi</td>
<td>-bačiṇi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>-maraṇa</td>
<td>-bačina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RR</td>
<td>-mare-či-</td>
<td>-bači-či-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Characteristics of this class are

- PP: zero suffix with stem-vowel minimally different from that of present
- PC: -niṇ or -n
- PRES: zero
- POT: -ni
- FUT: -na, -na (bači-)
- RR: -či-

3.3.3.18.5 Class 5

Class 5 has the following characteristics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Present/Imp</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>-niṇ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>-n or -φ, some reduplicative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POT</td>
<td>-nį</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>-ną</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RR</td>
<td>-či-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.3.18.6 Class 6

Class 6 in a sense is a residual category. By permitting variability in the present and past punctual, we can define it as having the following characteristics:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>PP</th>
<th>PC</th>
<th>PRES/EVIT</th>
<th>IMP</th>
<th>POT</th>
<th>FUT</th>
<th>RR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ga-</td>
<td>-ga-ni-n</td>
<td>-ga-ni-n</td>
<td>-gan</td>
<td>-gani</td>
<td>-gana</td>
<td>-ga---ci-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-to take, carry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(also compound janga- to hunt)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juruwe-</td>
<td>-juruwe-n</td>
<td>-juruwe-ni-n</td>
<td>-juruwe-n</td>
<td>-juruwe-ni</td>
<td>-juruwe-na</td>
<td>-juruwe---ci-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-to rush, run</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baya-</td>
<td>-baya-n</td>
<td>-baya-ni-n</td>
<td>-baya-n</td>
<td>-baya-ni</td>
<td>-baya-na</td>
<td>-baya---ci-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-to visit, go/come to see</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rabo-</td>
<td>-rabo</td>
<td>-rabo-ni-n</td>
<td>-rabo-n</td>
<td>-rabo-ni</td>
<td>-rabo-na</td>
<td>-rabo---ci-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-to go/come</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wake-</td>
<td>-waken</td>
<td>-wakeni-n</td>
<td>-waken</td>
<td>-wakeni</td>
<td>-wakena</td>
<td>-waken---ci-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-to return</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garbe-</td>
<td>-garbe-n</td>
<td>-garbe-ni-n</td>
<td>-garbe-n</td>
<td>-garbe-ni</td>
<td>-garbe-na</td>
<td>-garbe---ci-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-to crawl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me-</td>
<td>-me-n</td>
<td>-me-ni-n</td>
<td>-me-n</td>
<td>-me-ni</td>
<td>-me-na</td>
<td>-me---ci-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-be, become (copula)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na-na</td>
<td>-na-ni-n</td>
<td>-na-nan</td>
<td>-na-nana</td>
<td>-na---ci-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-to see</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reflexive-reciprocal (example: bu-yji- to hit oneself, each other)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>-bu-yji-n</td>
<td>-bu-yji-ni</td>
<td>-bu-yji-n</td>
<td>-bu-yji-ni</td>
<td>-bu-yji-na</td>
<td>-bu-yji---ci-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES/EVIT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POT</td>
<td>-by-yji-ni</td>
<td>-by-yji-n -</td>
<td>-by-yji-n</td>
<td>-by-yji-ni</td>
<td>-by-yji-na</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>-bu-yji-na</td>
<td>-bu-yji-n -</td>
<td>-bu-yji-n</td>
<td>-bu-yji-ni</td>
<td>-bu-yji-na</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(One speaker alternatively produced a reflexive-reciprocal form bu---ci-).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa-</td>
<td>-wani-n</td>
<td>-wani-ni</td>
<td>-wan</td>
<td>-wani</td>
<td>-wana</td>
<td>-wa---ci-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-to follow (single past positive category)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(One speaker alternatively produced a reflexive-reciprocal form bu-\-\-ci-).
3.3.3.19 Thematic verb paradigms

For thematic verbs, present/evitative/imperative consist of the root form only, and all negative suffixes are added directly to the root (instead of to potential and evitative stems, as for non-thematic verbs). The past punctual suffix is -miň; in the past continuous, variation was found between speakers who always used -miyiň, and some who alternated between -miyiň and -meriň. Potential and future are formed on a pattern ROOT-Xe, and ROOT-Xa, respectively; specification of X is described below. The thematic paradigm is thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PP</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRES/EVIT/IMP</td>
<td>ROOT-miň, -meriň</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POT</td>
<td>ROOT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>ROOT-Xa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Potential and future are formed on a pattern ROOT-Xe, and ROOT-Xa, respectively; specification of X is described below. The thematic paradigm is thus:

The patterns illustrated in (a)–(e) are found in the specification of X in potential and future forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Potential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) wulup</td>
<td>bathe</td>
<td>wulup-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banar</td>
<td>listen</td>
<td>banar-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>!uk</td>
<td>dance</td>
<td>!uk-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beظ</td>
<td>roast</td>
<td>beظ-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woy</td>
<td>finish</td>
<td>woy-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Ñurum?</td>
<td>bury</td>
<td>Ñurum?-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maniň?</td>
<td>make</td>
<td>maniň?-ña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bawun?</td>
<td>leave</td>
<td>bawun?-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ñul?</td>
<td>light</td>
<td>Ñul?-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) buļ</td>
<td>drown</td>
<td>buļ-ļa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ñeļ</td>
<td>knock down</td>
<td>Ñeļ-ļa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Ñař?</td>
<td>die</td>
<td>Ñař?-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lër?</td>
<td>light</td>
<td>lër?-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juy?</td>
<td>send</td>
<td>juy?-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ñe?</td>
<td>look for</td>
<td>Ñe?-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) warja?</td>
<td>to walk around</td>
<td>warja?-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yana?</td>
<td>do what</td>
<td>yana?-řa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuka?</td>
<td>be ahead</td>
<td>yuka?-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalala</td>
<td>to get better</td>
<td>yalala-ра</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mungu</td>
<td>to follow</td>
<td>mungu-ра</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As (a) shows, for all C-final roots (except liquid-final), we may assume that reduplication of the C and then degemination occur across the root-suffix boundaries (e.g. !uk-ka >!uk-a by a rule of cluster reduction which applies to all segments but liquids).

As (b) shows, when the root is -C? final, provided that C is not a rhotic or semivowel, X is C (i.e. there is echoing of the final root C to make up the syllable margin of the suffix following glottal).

As (c) shows, roots with final liquid do not degeminate; thus X = liquid.

As (d) shows, when the root has final rhotic or semivowel followed by glottal, or is monosyllabic and ends in -V? X = ∅.
But as examples in (e) show, where the root ends in -V? or -V and is bi- or trisyllabic, X = ŋ.

The reflexive-reciprocal of thematic verbs is formed by adding to the root the sequence -mi-či-. The paradigmatic suffixal forms of the derived reflexive-reciprocal are then as for any other verb, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>-mi-či-ŋ</td>
<td>-mi-či-ŋ?molk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>-mi-či-ni</td>
<td>-mi-či-ni-koro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES/EVIT/IMP</td>
<td>-mi-či-n</td>
<td>-mi-či-n-koro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POT</td>
<td>-mi-či-ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>-mi-či-na</td>
<td>-mi-či-n-ji?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.3.19.1 Irregular verb

A verb root miñji to remember was found capable of inflecting either like a thematic verb (e.g. present -miñji, past punctual -miñji-miñ), or like a Class 6 verb with an augment we- and the same paradigmatic forms as juruwe-to rush, run, e.g. PP -miñji-weñ, PC -miñji-weniñ etc. This seems to provide some evidence for the segmentability of we-, but no other examples were found.

3.4 Adverbs

In 3.2.27.2, most of the common spatial adverbs were given since they pattern like the demonstrative pronouns in terms of distance categories which they encode, and some may be inflected nominally and function as demonstrative pronouns. This section presents remaining important adverbs of various kinds.

3.4.1 'this side, that side'

The adverbs meaning 'this side' and 'that side' have a prefix gala- which is not attested elsewhere. 'That side' is built with a glottal-less form of the distant demonstrative adverb go?je there; the stem used to build 'this side' is very similar and probably related to the proximate demonstrative stem -ga?ye-. Both categories are locative-marked, and ablative forms are built on the locative. The sets are:

gala-gayañ-ga?  this side  gala-goje-ga?  that side

gala-gayañ-ga?-wala  from this side  gala-goje-ga?-wala  from that side

3.4.2 Spatial location

Important adverbs of spatial location include:

- yuka  ahead, in the lead
- buluña?  in the middle
- wači  behind

The last commonly occurs in ablative form, wači-wala from behind.
An important centripetal adverb is yunguwa this way, to here, the only very common form of centripetal-centrifugal meaning sets which is not related to the distant and proximate demonstrative adverbs in 3.2.7.2. This seems to reflect a semantic 'from there to here' (ablative suffix -wa) but there is no adverb yungu.

Other important spatial adverbs are: gaken far (and gaken-?molk close, not far), walak (all) around, miraka? underneath (related to gu-mira head?), and munga? inside (gu-mun interior).

3.4.3 Temporal adverbs

Important adverbs for designating times within a 24-hour span include:

- muntu muju at dawn, daylight (see 'tomorrow' below)
- jodow? early dawn, before light
- gaykubur? noon, forenoon, full day
- jajaba?ga? afternoon, early evening
- gunmuk night, dark (gunmugunmuk RED.)

Shifters for designations of day-spans include:

- yi?gon today (RED. yingoyi?gon right now, this moment, just now)
- jajaba?ga? yesterday
- muntu tomorrow, next day (cf. 'dawn' above)
- muntu bonoji?ga? day after tomorrow

It is common in this area for terms meaning late afternoon and yesterday to be morphologically related (jajaba?ga?, jajaba?). The perspective which this relatedness suggests is one in which afternoon and evening are treated as part of a previous day-span (and 'dawn, early daylight' as part of a following day-span); so that night is, familiarly enough, the border between two day-intervals. Nevertheless jajaba?ga? may be used of afternoon from any point in the day, not only at night in relation to an earlier segment of the day.

Other important time and season locators are:

- gami?jiko all the time (gami?jiko RED).
- yipunj? a long time ago
- gayku not long ago (perhaps a few days or less)
- bilarak for a long time (yet)
- alako later on
- jeki first
- alanga right away
- bo?ni now, already
- alki? still, yet

The last few (alako, jeki, alanga, bo?ni, alki?) can also function as clause-linking conjunctions (see 4.10).

- mu-yimili? wet season
- mu-wal?ir hot weather (November-December before the main wet)
- mu-maluwuru cold weather (cf. Ngandi ma-wal?ir sun
  cf. Ngandi ma?aworo-?i- to become cold, winter)
3.4.4 Adverbs of manner and quality

A few important manner and quality adverbs include:

- **yukaji?** thoroughly, forcefully, altogether, for good
- **nuča** quickly
- **yaragaja** quickly
- **mapuy?** slowly
- **gamakun** properly
- **bulkič** truly, fully, really

3.4.5 Suffix -gan

As noted in 3.2.27.2, the suffix -gan is added mainly to demonstrative adverbs but also to locational NPs to add intensity to whatever meaning is expressed by the form. See textual examples, Text 2(21), (22), Text 3(29).

3.4.6 Precise (spatial, temporal) location prefix guru-

The prefix guru- is added to adverbs of spatial and temporal location to give the meaning right, just, precisely. Examples are:

- **guru-gun?biri** right there
- **guru-jajabarŋ?** precisely yesterday
- **guru-yana?mala** exactly when?
- **guru-go?jen-ji** precisely that time (when) (see 4.6.3. for -ji).

This prefix also serves as the only explicit reference establishing and maintaining device (anaphor) besides the use of distant demonstrative pronouns in that capacity (3.2.27.1).

3.4.7 'once, twice'

Forms meaning 'once, twice' or 'for one day, two days' are built on the numbers (3.2.24) by addition of the dative/purposive suffix. The form meaning 'once' was found to be somewhat specialised in that the glottal of **wangiŋ?** one is absent, and the vowel of the suffix does not show the usual assimilation to that of the root: **wangiŋ-gun** once, for one day.

3.4.8 Adverbial phrases

Adverbial phrases may be divided into those consisting of

1. simple adverbs (see examples this section);
2. preposition-like phrases consisting of particle or adverb followed by a noun case-marked to complement the combined meaning of adverb, and verb of the clause. These constitute a kind of modifier-nucleus construction:
3-351 gaken gelk-(k)a?
far bank-LOC
long way away on the bank

3-352 wachi jungu-yere-ka?
behind back-1Ex-LOC
behind us

3-353 jal? jolko-ga?
right ground-LOC
right to the ground, all the way in

Sometimes nucleus may precede modifier:

3-354 y-i-yere? ṣaنجa (also ṣaنجa y-i-yere?)
ALL-bottom all the way
ground down to the bottom

In a few instances the nucleus is a thematic verb root:

3-355 yun? īr? (thematic verb īr? to set (sun))
up to sunset
up till sunset

In a modification of this type, two adverbs may occur together, the first more
general, the second a more specific locator within general dimensions established
by the first:

3-356 alako muŋjulu
later tomorrow
by-and-by tomorrow

3.5 Particles

Particles are dealt with in 4.9 as a syntactic phenomenon; some of the
most important are clausal mode particles.

3.6 Interjections

Interjections may occur in isolation, without necessarily presupposing any
other linguistic elements. Some of the more frequent include:

bap  plunk! (as in setting something down)
bará my word! (astonishment, surprise)
beŋen no matter!
biɗak yay! hurrah!
dun yummy
daŋ? missed it!
dáŋka? hard to get, can't get it!
ɡaláy hey! look out! (warning)
ɡen oops! (as when one has mis-spoken)
gudí(:) fright
jáŋa? OK, all right
jáŋboŋ finished! that's enough!
jópono true!
magogo?ju dunno
yes indeed!
that's all!
poor thing, poor fellow!
good job! (with possessive suffixes, e.g. yaw-yiki good on you and me)
how about it? what do you say?
The usual expression for no, nothing is gača; that for yes is yo.

3.7 Word formation and compounding

Compounding is particularly productive in the verb, relatively unproductive in the nominal. Nevertheless there are some nominal-forming and modifying affixes which must be mentioned, as well as what appears to be the main nominal compounding pattern.

3.7.1 Nominal formation and compounding

3.7.1.1 -welen boss of

The suffix -welen added to nouns produces forms meaning boss of X, in control of X; such nominals are inflected to express gender of the person so referred to (not of the thing controlled). This is applied to names of game animals to give the specific meaning 'the one who speared/killed X':

3-357 ŋugu-goň-welen
M-kangaroo-boss
the one who speared the kangaroo

Other examples involve addition of -welen to terms which have ceremonial and ritual implications (such as ɗalńin, which may be an indigenous Roper—rather than Arnhem-area term, used in Maňarayi to mean semimoiety, property and relatives of MoMo/MoMoBr category): ɲin-ɗalńin-welen you are boss of your ɗalńin; cf. Jawoň suffix -welen right, appropriate, correct.

3.7.1.2 Nominaliser -yi?

There is ample evidence of an old — and seemingly now unproductive — nominalising suffix -yi?. Alongside the thematic verb warp to tell a lie we find warpwarpyi? liar; besides adjective bono other, another we find bonoyi? of the same meaning. Other forms which suggest former productivity of the suffix include:

ju-giri-yi? little mother, i.e. father's junior wife
ju-gor?-yi? big mother, i.e. father's senior wife
malkmalk-yi? shiny, glossy
mańmań-yi? shiny, like glass
nuĵ-yi? black
bewk-i? white (cf. bewk-wu- to make white)

Given the number of descriptive terms, it is possible that -yi? was largely an adjective-forming suffix.
3.7.1.3 -bugi? only

An example of the nominal suffix -bugi? only is:

3-358 malaboŋo Ṉiŋ-yini?-gan buru-goyi?-molk
   some 15G/2SG-say-AUX PRES 3NSG-know-NEG
   buru-ŋawk-(k)oro Ḣan munaŋa-bugi? buru-ŋawk
   3NSG-talk-PRNEG language whiteman-only 3NSG-talk

Some, I tell you, they don't know—they don't talk language,
they only talk English (whiteman-only).

The suffix follows any overt case endings.

3.7.1.4 Social status prefixes

Two prefixes marking social status are gel- and baŋ-. Each was found in
one form only:

ju-mariŋ girl, young woman  ju-gel-mariŋ young married woman
ŋu-geywar young man  ŋu-baŋ-geywar middle aged,
   (responsible) man

(Though its use in Ngalakan may be limited to this one form, gel- occurs in
Jawoŋ as a noun prefix meaning married, and also as a stem-forming verb prefix
with the root 'to sleep' meaning 'to live as married, camp as married person'.)

3.7.1.5 Collective prefix and suffix

An apparent collective prefix gaŋ- was found in two forms: gaŋ-gal the
whole lot, all and gaŋ-gapul (with plural number suffix) of approximately the
same meaning. Both forms can function as third non-singular pronouns, or in
opposition to non-singular cross-referencing proninals:

3-359 yiri-rabon gangal bo-ka?
   1EX-go PRES all river-ALL
   The whole lot of us are going to the river.

The suffix -waywo can be glossed and all; it is added either to the last
noun in a series to sum up, or to a single noun and includes that referent and
other (not explicitly specified) things:

3-360 goʔje Ḣan ŋ-naŋaniŋ jangu-waywo
   there right 3SG-sit PC meat-and all
   Right there was sitting meat and all.

(An identical suffix is found in Jawoŋ).

3.7.1.6 bala- side

The prefix gala- discussed at 3.4.1 is used only to form adverbs meaning
this/that side (e.g. of river). Prefix bala- is used to form words meaning
left and right:
These may function as adverbs or as nominals meaning right/left-handed. (For an identical prefix in Ngandi, see Heath 1978:121).

3.7.1.7 malk- time

The prefix malk- (distinct from the noun gu-malk skin, subsection) means time(s): malk-wangin? once, malk-yapan? twice, malk-yar? a lot of times, malk-wači last time. Again, Ngandi has an identical prefix.

3.7.1.8 necronymic mulu-

The prefix mulu- is affixed to a toponym to create a form which can be used to refer to persons in terms of their place of death. For example, ĕnu-mulu-yurpunji would be used to refer to a person who had died at the place Yurpunji. (An identical prefix serves this function in Jawoń).

3.7.1.9 Head-attribute compounds

As noted at 3.2.29, the attributive adjective usually (but not invariably) follows the modified noun. This head-attribute structure appears to be the most productive compounding pattern in a few forms which are not entirely predictable semantically from the sum of their parts. Examples include:

- guŋdu-gaken  far, distant (see 3.2.15)
- jiri-ma?  dangerous, violent, good fighter
- jiri-ôdewk  non-violent, docile (ôdewk bad)
- ganda-buľuk  (one with) feathered leg, ganda leg, buľuk feather

Each of these may function as a (predicate) nominal; guŋdu-gaken also may be used as an adverbial modifying phrase:

3-361 guŋdu-gaken buru-naŋanaŋ
long way 3NSG-live RED PRES
They live a long way away.

3.7.2 Verb compounding

In 3.3.1 it was mentioned that there are several types of verb stem compounding: the first involves addition of 'stem-formants' like -gewen- having to do with fear; the second, compounding of verb or other roots each of which can otherwise function independently; and the third, noun incorporation. In relation to the latter, it was noted that it is hard to demarcate absolute
boundaries along a continuum which has at one end productive incorporation, and at the other, frozen or semi-frozen pairings of noun stems and verb roots in particular meanings. Noun incorporation is discussed at 4.8.

### 3.7.2.1 Stem-formants

Stem-formants make a contribution to lexical meaning, not to the signalling of grammatical relations within the clause. Their relation to following verb roots is reminiscent of specific to generic terms (insofar as the stem is transparent): the formant signals a specific domain of meaning, in terms of which the following more general root is subcategorised. Usually, however, the meaning of the compound stem is not entirely predictable from the sum of its parts. Stem-formants which have been identified include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formant</th>
<th>General meaning</th>
<th>Example(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-mañ-</td>
<td>taste</td>
<td>mañ-ŋu- to taste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gewen-</td>
<td>fear</td>
<td>gewen-jarp-wu chase away, gewen-baya- to frighten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gol-</td>
<td>liquid, secretion?</td>
<td>gol-ŋer?- to cough up, spew out, gol-ye- to put in water, soak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-men-</td>
<td>mind, mental activity</td>
<td>men-bir-ga- to inform, men-muk- to forget, men-ŋaŋ? to instruct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n̄iŋaya-</td>
<td>sentiments (like, dislike)</td>
<td>n̄iŋaya-paya- to like, n̄iŋaya-ŋa?-me- to feel good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ŋurŋi-</td>
<td>jealousy (? only one ex.)</td>
<td>ŋurŋi-baya- to be jealous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rark-</td>
<td>writing, painting (incision on surface?)</td>
<td>rark-war?- to paint, rark-bu- to paint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mungu-</td>
<td>follow, track</td>
<td>mungu-wa- to follow, mungu-baya- to follow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-moniç-</td>
<td>stealthily (manner)</td>
<td>moniç-ŋa- to peep at, look at secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ŋere-</td>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>ŋere-yo- to sleep</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the following exceptions, these are not attested as independent stems: moniç can function as independent adverb, mungu by itself can serve as a thematic root to follow, and mu-ŋere is the independent noun sleep (hence ŋere-yo- might better be regarded as a noun-incorporating construction). The identification of -gol- liquid, secretion is tentative; there is at least a distinct initial compounding element of this shape found in gol-ye- to sleep soundly. Many of these formants (e.g. -mañ-, -men-, -gewen-) are extremely wide-spread in Arnhem languages of the Gunwinyguan group. In all attested examples, stem-formants occur immediately before the root: ŋun-me-ŋe-gwen-bayan lest he frighten you (SG) etc.

It is important to note specially a pocket of verbs in which me- functions in the present as copula to be (also to become). At 3.3.3.16 it was observed that there are a few verbs — like marawul-me- to be hungry, also -gewen-me- to be frightened — which can have -me- as auxiliary in all tense forms, in the
present capable of expressing either the inchoative meaning to become \( X \), or the meaning to be \( X \). A number of additional predicates with certain of the stem formants also can have -me- as copular auxiliary in the present, and hence inflect as regular intransitives: \( \text{n̄īn̄a\-ḅuḍek\-me-} \) to not feel good, be down-cast, \( \text{n̄īn̄a\-ma\?-me-} \) to feel glad, good, also \( \text{ma\?-me-} \) in the meaning to be well, in good health/spirits.

3.7.2.2 Stems formed by compounding of independent roots

Complex stem formation by verb root compounding was briefly exemplified in 3.3.1. In this type of compounding, each formant (with the exception of transitive ja- to make stand) is attested as an independent (nominal, verbal or adverbial) root. Examples are:

(a) \( \text{buri\?} \) (thematic) to bury + -ja- (transitive) make stand + buri\?\-ja- to bury
(b) \( \text{buri\?} + \) (intransitive) -ja- to stand + buri\?\+ja- to be buried
(c) \( \text{ma\?i\?} \) (thematic) make + (intransitive) -ja- + ma\?i\?\-ja- to wear
(d) \( \text{gaw?} \) (thematic) to call out + -baya- go to see, visit + gaw?-baya- to call out to, get attention by shouting at.
(e) \( \text{jar?\,jar?} \) (thematic) to not want + bawun? (thematic) leave + jar?\,jar?-\,bawun?- to leave something in a hurry
(f) \( \text{-mo\?-} \) (adjective) wounded + mare to spear + mo\?-\,mare- wound
(g) \( \text{-marawul-} \) (verb root, also particle) to be hungry + ña\? to die, + marawul-\,ña\?- to be starving, really hungry
(h) \( \text{mu\?dudu?} \) on one's knees (ADV.) + -ja- (intransitive) + mu\?dudu?-ja- to kneel
(i) \( \text{dar?\,-} \) (thematic) to dry + -ye- to put + dar?-\,ye- to put to dry

The semantic relation between roots is often that of specific term to generic, the first root a particularisation of the meaning expressed by the semantically more general or hyponymous second root.

There are some examples with noun stem as first element which might best be regarded as instances of such compounding, rather than as noun incorporation (e.g. ganam-mup- to be deaf, ganam- ear, mup- to be obscured, blocked).

3.7.2.3 'Extraction' of initial compounding element

Some languages in the area (e.g. Ma\?narayi) have as the principal type of verb complex one composed of free and uninflecting particle, which contributes most of the verb's lexical meaning, and inflecting auxiliary, the semantic contribution of which is often negligible. Many particles can be variably paired with different roots to produce different meanings, and also to express important grammatical contrasts (e.g. in transitivity, between intransitive verbs and causativised counterparts). In Ngalakan, there are only a few free particles which, in their use with a small number of verb roots, approximate that kind of structure:
The particle mubugu means to have, give, make, return with a report, news, depending on the root with which it occurs.

But occasionally in Ngalakan one finds that what normally occur as compounding element + auxiliary pairings undergo 'extraction' of the initial compounding element, yielding the following kinds of structures of the Mañarayi type:

This seems to be very infrequent in Ngalakan; there is, however, a similar kind of extraction in Jawoñ which functions as a means of chaining verbs in a sequence with arguments held constant over the chain. See the textual example, Text 1(19).
4.1 Constituency of simple clauses

See 3.2.29 for the constituency of noun phrases, and 3.4.8 for adverbial ones.

In discussion of case-marking and copula (including inchoative) predications of various kinds, the principal simple clause types have been illustrated. Briefly, these include:

1. Intransitive clauses with single cross-referenced NP. The NP may be represented by cross-referencing zero or overt (gu-, mu-) pronominal only; in addition, the external absolutive-marked NP may be present; or the NP may be represented by incorporated noun stem, sometimes also accompanied by cross-referencing pronominal of the appropriate class. The last possibility is illustrated by the following example in which -gu-bi'i- (-bi'i- the compounding form water) constitutes the intransitive subject complex:

```
3-366 gu-gu-bi'i-bolk-(k)a
3-GU-water-come out-FUT
The water will come out.
```

Intransitive clauses may of course contain adverbial or nominal adjuncts. Subtypes of intransitive clauses include:

a. predicate nominal construction of copular ('be') or inchoative ('become') meaning; see 3.2.15, 3.2.18.
b. predications of possession; 3.2.16.
c. predications of existence/location in a place; 3.2.17.

2. Transitive clauses include the following subtypes:

a. those with (usually) ergative-marked agent and absolutive-marked object, both cross-referenced by pronominals in the verb (or the object may additionally be represented by incorporated noun stem).
b. ditransitive clauses (see 3.2.9) in which the agent and notional indirect object are cross-referenced in the verb, the notional direct object (if present) represented by external absolutive-marked NP.
c. derived transitives created from intransitive structures by -bak- (see 3.2.8) with notional indirect object indicated by the prefix and cross-referenced by object pronominal in the verb.
d. derived transitives with -bak- and -baṭa-, with cross-referenced agent and notional indirect object promoted to verbal cross-reference as direct object.
e. the special transitive clause type described in 3.2.22 used to express identification of a person (treated as grammatical direct object) in terms of his kin relation to (i.e. what he is called by) another, who is cross-referenced as the transitive agent.

Any of the transitive clause-types may of course contain one or more (adverbal, nominal) adjunct phrases. There is no passive or antipassive transformation in Ngalakan.

The following sections (4.2-.5) describe other syntactic processes (besides 'object promotion') which affect the predicate-argument structure of the clause.

4.2 Reflexive-reciprocal

For formation of the reflexive-reciprocal by verb class, see 3.3.3.17.6. Reflexive-reciprocal forms are identical to each other for each inflecting verb.

Reflexive and reciprocal are considered derivational (rather than inflectional) categories, because their use always determines intransitive structuring of the clause. The cross-referencing pronominal prefix is intransitive, and any external NP is absolutive-marked. Reflexive usage can be attributed to verbs in clauses where the subject is represented as acting upon itself:

3-367 yiři-wač-bim-bu-či-na
1EX-each-white ochre-AUX-RR-FUT
We'll each ochre up.

3-368 ŋu-ňamaŋ-bači-či-ŋ
1SG-foot-SUPP hit-RR-PP
I struck my foot.

Reciprocal usage can be attributed to verbs in clauses which express mutually-affecting actions in which (non-singular) subjects and objects are engaged. The cross-referencing non-singular intransitive pronominal prefix expresses combined number of the referents:

3-369 ŋu-ru-me-le-mare-či-n
2NSG-EVIT-argue-RR-PRES
Don't argue (with each other).

3-370 ŋu-gaka-绗ini-bindи buru-mungu-wa-či-ŋ
M-brother-mine-real 3NSG-follow-AUX-RR-PP
My full brothers followed one behind each other (i.e. were born one after the other).

3-371 yiři-yaŋ-wu-yči-niŋ
1EX-language-give-RR-PC
We talked to each other (literally gave speech to each other).

Often the reflexive-reciprocal is used with a kind of 'middle' meaning, and represents a process as taking place only within and affecting the cross-referenced NP, not occurring through outside agency. An example is:
3-372 gu-ga-mele-jur-mi-či-n  nu-gun?biri we?
3-3SG-EVIT-pour-AUX-RR-PRES M-that water
The water might spill.

The thematic verb jur to pour is used here in reflexive-reciprocal form, with the result that no external agent is expressed. Another example is:

3-373 buru-maľa-qi-či-ŋ
3NSG-COLL-get POT-RR-PP
They gathered together.

This evidently does not have the meaning they gathered each other, but a middle sense. Hence it should not be regarded as deriving from a transitive structure, but it formally parallels reflexive and reciprocal structures which may be viewed as deriving from transitive clauses.

4.3 Causatives

The derivation of transitive verb stems is fairly neatly divided into two semantic types, causatives and factitives. This division also corresponds, at least to a great extent, to a difference between transitivisation of underlying verb roots (causativisation) and nominal roots (formation of factitives). But factitive-forming auxiliary wu- is also used to create a few causatives and other derivates from verb roots.

In causativisation, the underlying subject function of an intransitive clause is made the object of the derived transitive, e.g.:

3-374 (a) mirpara-gapul buru-yereč
child-PL 3NSG-grow
The children are growing (bigger).
(b) ąabu-yereč-ganiŋ
1SG/3NSG-grow-CAUS PC
I raised them, grew them up.

3-375 (a) ąu-gor
1SG-sick
I'm sick.
(b) ąunmu-gor-gaŋiŋ ąu-gun?biri-yi? may-yi?
MU/1SG-sick-CAUS PP M-that-ERG food-ERG
That food made me sick.

See the textual example 4(2), jap-ga- to make stand (distinct from jap-ga-below).

Other intransitive-causative pairs include:

ąuť to stop, desist
ąuť-ga- to make stop
wałk to go in, enter
wałk-(g)a- to put inside, insert
wułup to wash, bathe
wułup-ga- to make someone bathe (also = to bathe someone)
yerk to come out
yerk-(g)a- to take out, off; to remove
yer  to be ashamed
yer-ga- to shame
bolk  to come out
bolk-(g)a- to make come out
dur to sit down (not 'to be seated')
dur-ga- to make sit
bul  to drown
bul-ga- to drown someone
dow  to break
dow-ga- to break
jap  to dive, jump in
jap-ga- to put into water
nar? to die
nar?-ga- to cause to die, kill off
gor? to fall
gor?-ga- to make fall

Notice that these all involve regular causativisation of thematic roots. There are some verbs formed with ga- which are not causatives of this regular kind. An important pair is

yini  to say, do (thus)
yini?-ga- to tell, say to

Note also đač  to cut (thematic, transitively used)
mana-đač-ga- to cut (someone's) throat e.g. buruŋ-manña-đač-ganiñ
he cut their throats

In both pairs, there is no reason to identify the subject function of the intransitive with the object function of the transitive; the functional pairing is intransitive subject-transitive subject.

There are other ga- verbs that are basic compound + auxiliary constructions and do not seem to be causatives of simple roots, e.g., wo-ga- to speak, wali-ga- to love, jaŋ-ga- to hunt, mal-ga- to beget. The verb wór?-ga- to bear a child is composed of (gu-)wór? belly plus ga-, where the auxiliary seems to retain much of the meaning it has as main verb to take, carry.

4.4 Factitives

Factitives (see also 3.2.19) are verbs with object and nominal complement, where the object is represented as being made to partake of the status, condition or quality expressed by the nominal. The nominal is the initial (or 'compounding') element, followed by verbaliser wu-:

3-376 buruŋbu-bändari-wo
3NSG/3NSG-young man-FAC PP
They made them young men (i.e. circumcised them).

3-377 bur-gayar?yar?-wuniñ
3NSG/3NSG-clearing-FAC PP
They cleared (the ground), made a clear place (gu-gayar?yar?).
There are verbs with auxiliary *wu*- which are not factitive. A few causatives of stance verbs are formed by adding *wu-* to the potential stem of the stance roots:

3-378  (a) نعنب-نانجاني-وين
   3NSG/1SG-stand POT-FAC PC
   (b) نعنب-نانجاني-وين
      They made me stand/sit.

(To put to sleep, however, is expressed by *ניי-י*).

A handful of other causatives are formed from thematic roots (e.g. *غالوك-وين* to make play from *غالوك* to play). The pair *ワ_REGISTRY* to laugh (thematic), *ワ_REGISTRY* to laugh at shows identification of intransitive subject function with transitive agent function of the derivate (as do some intransitive ga- pairs, see 4.3). An important stem is *ワ_REGISTRY* to bring back, to return, not related by any regular morphological process to *ワ_REGISTRY* (intransitive). This undergoes lenition under reduplication (e.g. *ワ_REGISTRY* he returned it, cf. 2.5). Finally, a few *wu-* verbs are compound auxiliary constructions of the regular (unanalysable) kind: *교우-وين* to show, teach (ditransitive), *جوُو-وين* to drive (as cattle), *ガン-وين* to ask.

4.5 Other intransitive-transitive pairs

Some other intransitive-transitive pairs are formed by alternative use of auxiliaries which normally define intransitive and transitive clauses, respectively: *ژاپ-ژا* to be standing (with intransitive *ژا*) versus *ژاپ-ژا* to make stand; *ووني-ژا* to be hidden versus *ووني-ژا* to hide (something). Stem-compounding with *ژا* results in some derivates which function transitively, as does the root itself (see example in 3.7.2.4).

See also 3.3.2 for examples of the transitivising verbal prefix of accomplishment *-ژا*.

4.6 Subordination: general

Ngalakan has a single, widely-used subordinate clause type. Like the generalised subordinate clause-types of some other Australian languages, the Ngalakan one in some usages is comparable to 'NP-relatives' of other languages which have this as a distinct formal type, and in other usages to adsentential (adverbial) modifiers. (See e.g. Hale 1976 on Walpi, McKay 1975 on Rembarŋa, Heath 1978 on Ngandi, Merlan 1982 on Manarayi, for a sample of Australian languages with generalised subordinate clause type).

The Ngalakan subordinate clause shows minimal alteration or 'deformation' away from the form of independent clauses: this loose, rather paratactic relation of subordinate to main clause is typical of all the languages mentioned above. (But notice that in some examples the subordinate clause occurs embedded in another). The principal formal mark of subordination in Ngalakan is the addition of a suffix -*ژَا* to a verb form which could otherwise appear in an independent clause; that is, the form loses none of its verbal features. The vowel of the subordinating suffix takes on the quality of the vowel of the preceding syllable. In the environments in which initial segments of underlying fortis-initial suffixes are realised as fortis (see 2.3), the stop of -*ژَا*
tends to have a somewhat more voiceless and perhaps tenser realisation; elsewhere it more closely approximates the lenis norm. But it clearly does not show the fortis/lenis alternation to the same degree or with the same consistency as those suffixes with underlying initial fortis, and hence is written everywhere with initial lenis.

Almost all researchers who have written about languages with generalised subordinate clauses are agreed that different functional clause-types can be distinguished, but that there is little evidence for formal distinctions between e.g. 'relative' versus other subordinate clause types. The striking fact about these languages is that types of cross-clause linkages which are effected by different formal means in some languages, here are covered by a single formal type. One interesting question then becomes: what is common to all functionally-distinguishable types of subordination in each language? Eventually, it will be possible to generalise cross-linguistically.

In Rembarṇa (McKay 1975), the subordinate clause is used in conditionals, and to form adnominal, temporal, and locational subordinate clauses; it also serves as the functional equivalent of clefting, in that subordinate marking can be used intracausally to defocus all but a single constituent, which ipso facto is foregrounded. (Ngandi also puts the subordinate clause type to this kind of defocussing function, see Heath 1978:122-124). McKay finds the feature common to these various uses of the Rembarṇa subordinate clause to be 'presupposition': the subordinate clause contains 'presupposed' information, i.e. that which is structured by the speaker as 'given'. My analysis of the Ngalakan subordinate clause is in basic agreement with that of McKay for Rembarṇa, but I choose a slightly different phrasing. The common denominator of subordination in Ngalakan is signalling that the interpretation of the clause is to be made by recourse to something else — generally to a preceding constituent, but up to and including larger information units. My emphasis is on the need for additional interpretive information, McKay's on the presupposed nature of the subordinate constituent.

In Maṇarayi (see Merlan 1981, 1982), subordination is formally marked only by use of non-indicative first-position prefixes (two different forms occur, varying with person features of cross-referenced NPs). The striking feature in Maṇarayi is that the same prefixes which mark subordination are used to mark irrealis mood in independent clauses. By using the irrealis mood category, speaker presents the content of his utterance as subject to some uncertainty, not asserted. I argue that the general function of the prefixes as subordinate markers is to signal that the clause in which they occur is not to be interpreted in its own right, but is to be interpreted with reference to some other constituent (up to and including the clause-level, perhaps also larger information units). This feature of meaning — signalling that interpretation is to be carried out by recourse to something else — is evidently the hypotactic equivalent of 'not asserted' in independent (irrealis) clauses.

The Maṇarayi situation is relevant here because, as described in 3.4.5, in Ngalakan a suffix -gan, the same as the subordinate marker (but uniform following the future tense) is used to express mainly an explicit desiderative-intentional meaning want to, will, intend to. Thus, here too there appears to be a link between subordination and (loosely) an irrealis category of the verb. But many such futures with -gan also have the same 'defocussing' character as is found in Rembarṇa and Ngandi (see above). Often such desiderative-intentional constructions have a constituent (typically an NP or adverb) clause-initially, followed by verb form in -gan:
3-379 gamakun ñiñ-nawk-(k)a-gan
properly 2SG-talk-FUT-FOC
You ought to talk properly (force: Properly you ought to talk,
try to talk properly).

3-380 þu-gun?biri baçamu  þur-çena-gan
M-that sand goanna LIN PL/3SG-cook-FUT-FOC
We want to cook that sand goanna (not something else).

There are instances where there is no such 'focussed' constituent, and the
clause is more strictly desiderative-intentional. But Ngalakan here shows a
link between hypotaxis and intraclausal defocusing of the predicate, resembling
a kind of cleft (as in Rembarra and Ngandi), and also a link between hypotaxis
and the irrealis categories of the verb (as in Majarayi, but here restricted to
a link between subordinate forms and desiderative-intentional). Note that
Ngalakan otherwise does not have a distinction between realis and irrealis
moods as such in independent clauses. See other examples of focus (typically
contrastive) in Text 5 (4,11,12) and Text 6 (7,8).

To some extent in Ngalakan (but, note, to an even greater extent in
Majarayi, where independent irrealis forms are identical to subordinate forms
of the verb), the first problem in encountering any verb form which is marked
with -gVn is to determine whether any hypotactic relation can be imputed, or
whether it is the verb of an independent (desiderative-intentional and/or cleft)
clause. In Ngalakan and the other languages mentioned, what grammatical
structure is present (adnominal, adsentential subordinate etc.) can only be
determined as the thematic structure of the discourse or conversations unfolds.
This view is antithetical to traditional analyses of such subordinate clause
types as relatives, in which grammatical structures are typically labelled
(e.g. by subindices or other devices designed to show NP 'conference') as if
the reference relations were already known, and the only descriptive problem
were that of formulating adequate rules to describe the derivation
(= deformation from underlying 'kernel' sentences) of observed forms. In fact
one aim of analysis must be to establish the conditions under which coreference
may be attributed to NPs in clause sequences such that a main-subordinate
relation can be defined over them. Wherever a subordinate marker is encountered,
the larger analytic problem is that of determining what are the meaning relations
between the subordinate-marked constituent and any other(s) in terms of which it
is to be decoded. In these terms, coreference is only a particular form of
'co-interpretation' (Halliday and Hasan 1976:314, i.e. the meaning relations
between some constituent and any others to be decoded at least partly in terms
of it) — a particular form in which two items in fact have the same reference.

Viewed in terms of the more general problem, languages with a single
subordinate clause type do not appear 'deficient' in their range of formal
structures. They are capable of signalling — albeit perhaps less explicitly—
the same range of co-interpretive relations as can be signalled in other
languages. But they bring to the fore the main question: what are the kinds
of conditions on co-interpretation that can exist between clauses such that a
main-subordinate relation can be understood to hold between them? Below,
functionally distinguishable kinds of cross-clause co-interpretive relations
are described for Ngalakan. The kinds of cross-clause links to be found are
very similar across the range of Australian languages mentioned.
4.6.1 Adnominal modifiers

A strong requirement on NP-relative interpretation of subordinate clauses is that the modified adnominal constituent precede (usually immediately) the subordinate clause:

3-381 mu-yalkič yimi-bařen-gen ţar?-ga? φ-ŋor?-miŋ we?-ga?
MU-dilly bag 1IN DU/MU-hang up PP-SUB tree-LOC 3SG-fall-PP water-LOC
The dilly bag we hung on the tree fell into the water.

In adnominal clauses, the relativised NP must be in a major syntactic clause function (see 3.2.8). This means that the relativised NP is one which is cross-referenced on the subordinate verb, even if only by zero. Beyond this, an adnominal interpretation does not depend on the NPs in each clause being in a particular grammatical function, nor on the relations between them being of any particular kind. Examples of adnominal clauses with the relativised NP in various functions in each clause include:

3-382 ŋu-go?je ŋu-bigur?-gun gu-yononyon-gon gore?
GEN-IS M-that M-man-GEN 3-3SG-sleep RED. PRES-SUB by himself
That belongs to the man who lives alone.

3-383 ŋunbu-yini?-ganiŋ ju-go?je-?gen ju-bolo?-gon meñeri
DAT-IS 3NSG/1SG-tell AUX PC F-that-DAT F-old person-DAT Hodgson Downs
φ-manindo?-miŋ-gin mu-julu?
3SG/3SG-make-PP-SUB MU-lancewood
They told me about that old woman who made the lancewood at Hodgson Downs.

3-384 ju-ŋoŋ-ŋini gaka-ŋini-yi? φ-go?-ŋaniŋ-gin
IS-TO F-sister in law-1SG brother-mine-ERG 3SG/3SG-have-AUX PC-SUB
φ-milkanda-meŋ
3SG-widow-AUX PP
My sister-in-law that my brother had (as wife) became a widow.

3-385 ŋu-geyar-yi? ŋiŋ-ŋawk-miŋ-gin ŋiŋ-bak-yolk-yolk-miŋ-gin
TS-TS M-young man-ERG 3SG/2SG-talk-PP-SUB 3SG/2SG-OP-tell story-PP-SUB
ŋun-bata-me ŋugu-dep-gini
3SG/1SG-OP-take PP M-tape (Eng.)-mine
The young man who was talking to you, telling you a story, took my tape from me.

3-386 ŋu-gun?biri φ-ma?- (?)molk gu-bunubun-gun goŋ
IS-TS M-that 3SG-good-NEG 3-3SG/3SG-kill-SUB kangaroo
gu-φ-mara?mara-gan, maladi
3-3SG/3SG-spear-RED-SUB wedge-tailed eagle
That (one) is no good (i.e. is dangerous) which kills kangaroo and spears (game), the wedge-tailed eagle.

Notice in the last example another constituent (equivalent to a clause, φ-ma?- (?)molk) intervenes between the head ('that one') and the subordinate clause, but unless this is taken as cross-referencing the same NP as the subordinate clause, the sequence is unintelligible.

There are examples of what appear to be adnominal modifiers without head noun. Of course, in all such cases there is a cross-referencing pronominal (even if zero) on the subordinate verb. The adnominal nature of these is largely to be understood from thematic content and/or the context of speech:
jaja bar? ra? ru- ma? in ?- mi n- gin -- gu ma? yana?
yesterday 1SG/3SG-write-PP-SUB maybe what
What I wrote yesterday — what does it mean?

(This could conceivably be given an adverbial interpretation When I wrote yesterday what was it? but the force of the original utterance was clearly as given).

4.6.2 Adsentential (adverbial) modifiers

An adsentential, adverbial interpretation can be attributed to subordinate clauses following constituents which express locations in time or space:

yipu?ja buru-na?anini- gin gun?biri guyangan ...
long ago 3NSG-sit PC-SUB there Elsey
A long time ago when they were living there at Elsey ...

go?je gu-mu-jeli?-mena-gan ju-mu-bawun?na
there 3-MU-wet-AUX FUT-SUB 2SG-MU-leave FUT
You leave it (MU-class) there where it will get wet.

In both examples, adnominal interpretation is impossible because there is no (overt or understood) modified nominal constituent. Further, an adsentential clause need not modify any overt adverbial constituent. Where it occurs alone, whether it is given temporal or other interpretation depends largely on the thematic content up to that point and the meaning of the main clause predicate. Temporal reading requires intelligibility of interpreting the subordinate verb as specifying more closely some circumstance within the time interval established by the main clause predicate (i.e. in the same tense):

bidak nu-bono mu-juruweni? mungu-?u? nu-banar-mi?n
good job M-another MU-run PC MU-coolamon/launch 1SG/3SG-hear-PP
nu-gayka? ?-gaw?-mi?n
M-uncle 3SG-sing out-PP 1EX-tremble-PP-SUB clothes-PRIV
war?cara-yi? yirin-bak-r?n?-mi?n
floodwater-ERG 3SG/1ES-OP-TNSV-go away-PP

Good job, another launch was running, I heard my uncle call out
(while) we were trembling without clothes, the floodwater had carried ours away.

Subordinate clauses are used to express sequential temporal meanings such as 'after he goes' (i.e. 'when he goes'), and descriptive temporal meanings like nu-mirpara-menini- gin  When I was a child.

Many examples are found in which the meaning link between main and subordinate clauses is even weaker and more generalised than in the cases presented so far. In general, the subordinate marker minimally indicates that there is a link between two clauses. The link is subject to a wide range of interpretations, even sometimes verging on causal:

and tail long 1SG/3SG-nearly-get PP 1SG/2SG-show-AUX PC-SUB
And I nearly caught (one with) long tail to show to you.
(See 4.10.3 for other expressions of causal links). Such weak links are reminiscent of the ever-widening sphere of English relativisation as colloquially used e.g. in 'I got the other one I saw which I don't know if I told you about it'.

4.6.3 Temporal subordinator -ji

A suffix -ji was found to mark subordinate structures as subject only to specific temporal interpretation. This suffix may be cognate with Rembarña -tţi at the time of, when (McKay 1975:88). The Rembarña suffix is used with a wide range of NPs, including clauses (ibid), but its use was found to be very restricted in the Ngalakan corpus. The suffix -ji differs from the regular marker of subordination in that it is attached to a non-verbal constituent.

In fact, it is attested only in the form guru-go?jen-ji that time, the specific time introducing a subordinate clause; guru- is the adverbial prefix which specifies exact time/place when (see 3.4.6); -go?je(n)- is the distant demonstrative adverbial stem. The form occurs in examples like

3-393 guru-go?jen-ji ŋiŋ-yini?-ganiŋ-gin go?je yiri-buí-miŋ-gin
time when 1SG/2SG-tell AUX-PC-SUB there 1EX-drown-PP-SUB
ŋolo wur?wurunu ŋ-yar?-(-?)molk gača
big old people 3SG-many-NEG nothing

That time I told you about when we got flooded out there (drowned), there weren't a lot of old people, not at all.

The prefix guru- introducing a subordinate clause has the force of an experiential anaphor; it signals that the event to be referred to by the following subordinate verb is assumed to be already known or familiar. It may be known from preceding discourse or by some other means.

4.6.4 Adverbial suffix -gan

In 3.4.5 it was mentioned that there is an adverbial suffix -gan which is most often added to cardinal direction terms and demonstrative adverbs. It is however also added to other locational phrases:

3-394 bur-jaŋjaŋ-ganiŋ gamaji? yerke-wala-gan
3NSG/3SG-carry-AUX PC swag inside-ABL-ADV
They carried the swag from inside.

3-395 gu-we? ŋ-bolk-miŋ ṛere-ka?-gan
GU-water 3SG-come out-PP camp-LOC-ADV
The water came out (right in) the camp.

It often seems to add a certain emphasis or intensity to the concrete meaning, as the glosses suggest.
There is a Rembarŋa time suffix -kan (McKay 1975:88) added to NPs to express time during which. The Ngalakan suffix -gan was not found in this function, but there may conceivably be an historical relation between the Rembarŋa and Ngalakan suffixes, and between its adverbial functions in both languages and its use as a subordinator in Ngalakan.

4.6.5 Other subordinate clause types

Several other rarely-attested subordinate clause types must be mentioned.

One type simply involves addition of a local case ending to a verb, marking the entire clause as the local complement of a main clause. Only locative/allative suffix was found in a handful of spontaneous occurrences; some examples with ablative were later elicited. An example is:

\[3-396 \text{gu-q-gor-čan} \quad \text{nu-gun?biri manapuŋ gu-gu-biŋ-wor-ka?}\]

3-3SG/3SG-hide AUX PRES M-that echidna 3-GU-rock-protrude-LOC

The porcupine is hiding where the rock is sticking out.

Another type, also rare, involves suffixation of Dative/Purposive -?gVn to an otherwise unaltered verb form, in a generally purposive sense. This was exemplified in only a couple of instances which appear elliptical, but are clearly not so in their original context:

\[3-397 \text{gu-q-wi-ŋan-gan} \quad \text{nu-go?je gopo-ŋoji bonoi? bolo?bolo} \]

3-3SG/3SG-lose AUX-SUB M-that husband-hers another woman

\[\text{gu-q-bak-(g)an-?gan mu-may} \quad \text{3-3SG/3SG-OP-take-DAT MU-food} \]

When she loses her husband another woman will take food for her.

Also there were two examples like the following, involving a kind of purposive nominalisation:

\[3-398 \text{bur-waŋ-(g)an} \quad \text{mungu-jaka? baṭa-mere?-yi?} \]

3NSG/3SG-enter-CAUS PRES MU-digging stick PROP-sharp point

\[\text{ŋaŋ?-gani-?gin} \quad \text{die-CAUS POT-DAT} \]

They are sticking in a digging stick with a sharp point in order to kill it.

The nominalised constituent is composed of causative ŋaŋ?-ga- to make die with potential form of the auxiliary ga- suffixed with dative/purposive -?gin. No similar examples were produced by elicitation. It is assumed that such nominalisations are rare, but further text collection in future will help decide this. It is interesting to note that Rembarŋa has a 'infinitive' form of the verb (McKay 1975:132) which figures in some purpose clauses from which pronominal prefixes are generally deleted (see loc. cit., page 318 ff. for discussion). That is, the verb is stripped of some of its usual features. Ngalakan has no infinitive form (except that the examples like ŋaŋ?-gani-?gin with potential stem form might be regarded as functionally equivalent). But the Ngalakan potential allomorphs -ŋi or -ni for non-thematic verbs) are suspiciously similar to infinitive suffixes for the majority of Rembarŋa verb classes, particularly to -ŋe and -nə. Both on semantic and formal grounds, there is reason to suspect and investigate further a connection between the Rembarŋa infinitive and the Ngalakan potential category.
4.6.6 Conditionals

In Rembarna, the subordinate clause is used in the formation of conditionals (McKay 1975:331-333); also, in Ngandi the protasis of a conditional may be formally a simple subordinate clause. But in Ngalakan the functional equivalents of conditionals were found to be simply constructed with protasis-apodosis sequence of future-future for possible conditionals, and potential-potential for past conditionals, e.g.:

3-399 gunmân? nu-ɾabona ɲiɲ-bak-maña
    maybe 1SG-go FUT 1SG/2SG-OP-get FUT
    If I go I'll get it for you (= maybe I'll go, I'll get it for you).

3-400 jajabaŋŋ? nu-ɾaboni ɲiɲ-bak-maŋi
    yesterday 1SG-go POT 1SG/2SG-OP-get POT
    Yesterday I wanted to/should have gone, I would have/wanted to get it for you.

4.7 Cross-reference of mu- and gu-classes

As shown in the pronominal prefix paradigms in 3.2.30, mu- and gu-class nouns may be cross-referenced by pronominals -mu- and -gu- in all major syntactic functions. In the transitive prefix combinations, only one overt third singular category can be represented; therefore, in any 3SG + 3SG combinations in which mu- or gu-class noun as transitive agent is cross-referenced, only that category is overtly represented, the other category obligatorily represented by zero. When 3SG M or F is transitive agent, there is no problem since those categories are always zero; thus either gu- or mu-as object may be overtly represented (but is not always).

But in fact, as noted in 3.2.30.2, the frequency of overtly-marked gu- or mu-class transitive agent is very low. It is more common for the subject-object combination to be identical to that for 3SG M or F acting on the object, and for the gu- or mu-class transitive agent to be expressed by an external noun or NP.

Overt cross-reference of mu- and gu-class nouns is common only when they are either in intransitive subject or transitive object function. Examples are:

3-401 garku-bindi gungu-we? gu-gu-yini
    high up-really GU-water 3-GU-do thus
    Way high up the water does like this (illustrating with gesture).

3-402 burgu-gul? gungu-got
    3NSG/GU-strip GU-paperbark.
    They strip the paperbark.

3-403 mungu-wači mu-ɲir?-miŋ
    MU-sun MU-set-PP
    The sun set.

It seems logical to suppose that the availability of -gu- and -mu- as cross-referencing elements would enable a thematic noun to be deleted quite regularly after a first mention, because it could be kept track of by means of a pronominal. However, text material gathered so far indicates that the presence of a -gu- or -mu- pronominal in the verb is highly correlated with the presence of the cross-referenced noun in the same or an adjacent clause. The tracking of a single noun over a multi-clause sequence by means of a pronominal was definitely found
to be uncharacteristic of text material no matter what its character. Numerous examples were, however, found of verbs chains with subject and mu- or gu-class object held constant over two clauses, of the sort 'he will X it, he will Y it' (gu-φ-gu-maŋa, gu-φ-gu-bareŋa he will get it, hang it up). Besides such examples, typical circumstances in which -mu- or -gu- was cross-referenced were like the following:

3-404 burgu-ye gu-jolko garku-wala mu-mele-ru mungu-jatam
3NSG-GU-put GU-earth top-ABL MU-EVIT-burn MU-lily
boñi mu-wolo burmu-wiri?
now MU-cooked 3NSG/MU-take out
They put on dirt on top (from the top) lest the lily burn, now it's cooked, they take it out.

3-405 mokol-go?- (?)gon ŋu-mu-wakiŋi-wo mungu-may
father-DY-DAT 1SG/MU-bring back-AUX PP MU-food
I brought back food for father and child

3-406 gungu-we? gu-gu-juruwen gu-gu-jololo
GU-water 3-GU-run PRES 3-GU-run down
The water is running, dripping down.

The texts (e.g. 3(12, 15, 33), 4(26)) illustrate the typical closeness in linear sequence of the cross-referenced noun to the pronominal. The tentative conclusion must be that, rather than having the effect of permitting noun deletion over multi-clause sequences, the combination of pronominal cross-reference with the external noun firmly links arguments to predicates, forming small information units which tend to be extended over not more than two to three clauses. Although this conclusion is strongly indicated by narrative styles of all informants, it was much more difficult to obtain stretches of connected conversational material in Ngalakan, so no conclusions are possible about the role of cross-reference in multiparticipant dialogue.

4.8 Noun incorporation

Like most languages of the putative Gunwinŋguan language group, Ngalakan permits noun incorporation. As indicated in the discussion of verb compounding (3.7.2), it is not possible to sharply distinguish what I shall call 'lexical' noun incorporation from the free and facultative incorporation of noun stems to express certain kinds of meanings and nuances.

By 'lexical' noun incorporation is meant the compounding of a noun stem with a particular verb stem in a certain meaning. Especially if the compound is a common, or perhaps the most common, way of expressing that meaning, we may say that it has a certain fixity as a lexical unit. This is true of many Ngalakan compounds; side-by-side with this, we find that almost without exception, the noun stems which enter into such combinations are freely used elsewhere as independent nouns, and also, at least to some extent, are capable of freer incorporation with a variety of verb roots. Examples of such 'lexicalised' or semilexicalised combinations are: juŋ-bu- to build a bough-shade (gu-juŋ); ŋey-bu- to name, i.e. say the name of (gu-ŋey name); bo-wa- to follow the river, go along following the river (gu-bo river); wor?-ŋa- to bear a child (gu-wor? belly); yaŋ-wu- to talk (frequently reciprocal, gu-yaŋ language); weʔ-ŋu to drink (water) (gu-weʔ water); jeban-yo- to sleep lined up (gu-jeban line, row); mira-yeŋ- to be ashamed (gu-mira head also simply yeŋ-);
gere-wu- to give in marriage (gu-gere camp); ganam-muk- to forget (gu-ganam ear); wanere-pu- to singe, precook (an animal, as preparation for further cooking) (not known if wanere exists as independent nominal, but in Jawon at least it is an adjectival noun half-cooked, part-cooked); gu?-me- to be raw (see below); jele-bu- to urinate (gu-jele urine).

Notice that the logical relation of noun stem to verb root varies in the compound stems. In some, the internal syntactic relation of noun to verb roots may be described as that of direct object; in wor?-ga- and jeban-wo- it is perhaps locative, in mira-yer- something like adverbial adjunctive. The form 'to be raw' occurs in present tenses with copula me- (¢-me- µ-men lest it be raw), but in the negative one also finds φ-gu?- (?)molk it is not raw as for a regular predicate nominal. Based on comparison with a probable Jawon cognate -guk- (inanimate) body, raw (functionally opposed to -yuk-, which among other things may serve as a verbal prefix expressing animacy of the direct object) it is fairly clear that historically at least Ngala kan gu? was a nominal (perhaps principally adjectival) root body, raw. There are a few other common compounds with adjectival initial elements, e.g. more-mare- to wound (with final mare- to spear).

Often a good indication of historical time depth of noun incorporation is the presence of distinctive compounding stems, e.g. stems which are functionally specialised in that they occur only as bound forms, while generally there are semantically equivalent free forms. In Ngala kan there seem to be only two such specialisations. One is the compounding nominal stem -biini- water which was found only incorporated into verb complexes, e.g.: φ-biini-bolk-(g)anich he made water come out (PP). Notice however that -biini- is not invariably used in verb compounds, viz. we?-ŋu- to drink, not *-biini-ŋu-. The other specialised form is the verb root bači-, which often suppletes bu- when there is an initial compounding element: nun-wojmor-bači he struck my elbow. But like -biini-, bači- is not invariably used in compounding environments; in fact, bu- is more common.

At the other end of the compounding continuum, there is the possibility of relatively facultative incorporation of certain noun stems within certain basic limits. As is generally the case in incorporating languages, possibilities of incorporation are largely limited to nouns in intransitive subject and transitive object functions (and possibly also instrumental, as in bim-bu- to paint, to write with incorporated mu-bim white ochre); nouns in transitive subject function cannot be incorporated. Incorporation is further restricted to only certain kinds of nouns in these functions, namely, to some designating natural substances and generally inanimate man-made or natural objects and phenomena (e.g. -biini- or we? water, gulern firewood, gündu country, bol? track, path, road, bi? sharp point, spear point, bitin damper, lily cake). In most incorporating languages including Ngala kan, body parts are among the most consistently incorporated semantic classes of nouns. It is worth considering incorporation of body parts in greater detail.

There are a few 'lexical' noun incorporative forms (cf. wor?-ga-, ganam-muk- cited above) in which a body part cannot be described as possessed. That is, these compounds are idiomatic units, and though 'to forget' is constructed with the noun stem 'ear', it would be absurd to represent the relation between 'ear' and the subject of the clause as that of possessed-possessor. But body part stems freely incorporate where there is a relation of possession. Sapir (1911: 279), in one of the earliest treatments of noun incorporation, observed that under incorporation of a body part noun, the possessor:
is expressed as the pronominal subject or object of the verb according to whether the noun when incorporated is the syntactical equivalent of a subject or object ...

However, for Ngalakan at least, we may more accurately turn Sapir's statement around. In Ngalakan (also Jawon), unless in 'lexical' incorporative forms, body parts and certain other nouns are simply in apposition to their possessors. It is always the possessor which is cross-referenced in the pronominal prefix, the possessed body part (or other noun) simply functioning in apposition to it (whether incorporated or not; for example, this is true also of Maŋarayi where there is no noun incorporation). Ngalakan examples of this appositional relation are:

3-407 ŋun-ma?manjĩŋ gungu-yaŋ-ŋĩni
3SG/1SG-get RED. PC GU- words-mine
He got/wrote what I said (literal he got me, my words in reference to report taken by a policeman).

3-408 jun-waŋjat-dow-gan
2SG/1SG-arm-break-CAUS PRES
You're breaking my arm.

3-409 ŋun-jiŋ-gor-gan
3SG/1SG-stomach-sick-CAUS PRES
It's making me sick to my stomach, stomach-sick.

3-410 buru-mira-сроч-bu-či-n
3NSG-face-paint-AUX-RR-PRES
They're painting their faces.

3-411 ŋun-guyu-bodewk-wo
3SG/1SG-diarrhoea-bad-FAC PP
It's caused me to have diarrhoea (literal made me diarrhoea-bad)

Of all the nouns which can be treated as an appositional 'part' in such part-whole constructions, body parts are those which most frequently incorporate (though they may alternatively occur as independent nouns). Thus, instead of using Sapir's formulation — which suggests that the case function of the possessor accords with that of the body part — we may say that where there exists a semantic part-whole relation between body part (and a few other nouns) and the possessor as locus or source, the 'part' noun is syntactically in apposition to the whole. Of course, under certain circumstances body parts can be spoken of as distinct from the whole, as when edible sections of game animals are designated, and these may then function as major clause constituents on their own account. But in Ngalakan, incorporation seems to be favoured where there is a part-whole relation, and in lexical incorporations, but not otherwise. I suggest, however, that such part-whole relations perhaps should not be considered coterminal with 'inalienable possession', since that notion needs to be reserved (often, largely for body part nouns) for specialised treatment of some nouns in more than just incorporating environments; while the part-whole treatment of body part nouns seems to be quite common in most incorporating languages.

In 4.7, the frequent overt cross-reference of mu- and gu-class nouns in transitive object and intransitive subject functions was discussed. Sometimes both cross-referencing pronominal and incorporating noun stem are found in either function:
3-412 burgu-gũgu- namini bĩn'-wala nu-go?je marći-bira?-(?)gan
3NSG/GU-country-see PC hill-ABL M-that white man-DU-DAT
They looked at/surveyed the country from the hill for the two white men.

3-413 gu-gu-biñi-ne ȝolko-ga? mambaṭ-ga?
3-3SG/GU-water-cook big-LOC billy-LOC
She's boiling water in the big billycan.

3-414 boñi mu-wolo yimi-bitin-manini?-miñ-gin
now MU-cooked 1IN DU/MU-damper-make-PP-SUB
Now the damper you and I made is cooked.

4.9 Mode particles

Particles constitute a diverse class in Ngalakan: they include such forms as baliñ? like, menika? unlike, ani? used in allative sense with directions, and others. In fact, 'particle' is used as something of a residual category. However, there is a class of particles which can be grouped together as 'modal' in that they express the attitude of the speaker towards the content of his utterance. Other modal particles (wayan, wañba, molon?) which occur with certain modal categories of the verb only have been discussed in 3.3.3.

The form mago is used either as an exclamation of disbelief (no!?) or as a particle expressing uncertainty:

3-415 mago ȝuru-喱bon-ji? ȝ-gũdu-muñun?-miñ
perhaps 1IN PL-go-FUT NEG 3SG-country-darken-PP
Perhaps we can't go, it's gotten dark.

One informant alternately used mago and a form bago in a very similar way, and it is believed they are variants. The particle mago also occurs in the interjection mago ȝu?ju I don't know, perhaps so.

The particle ȝara is usually clause final and sometimes occurs in rather rhetorical interrogations; it means perhaps:

4-416 ȝiñ-ganam-mup ȝara
2SG-ear-obscured perhaps
Perhaps you're deaf; Could it be that you're deaf? (since you don't seem to hear me).

The most frequent expression of possibility and/or uncertainty of clausal scope is gunman? it might be that, maybe:

3-417 yana? gunman?
what might be
What might it be? What is it?

3-418 gunman? ȝu-yana?-ra
maybe 1SG-do what-FUT
What shall I do?

3-419 gunman? yi-ña na gojegun? bonoyi?
maybe 1IN DU-see FUT over there another
It may be that you and I will see another over there.
The particle *warwar* expresses speaker's judgment of the probable correctness of the proposition, something equivalent to *I suppose, I think*:

3-420 ju-nana ᶜugu-goŋ gojegun? warwar
2SG/3SG-see FUT M-kangaroo there I think
You'll see kangaroo over there I think.

The particle *ywâwe*, on the other hand, expresses speaker's attitude that the proposition he has uttered, though alleged to be true, is perhaps subject to some uncertainty:

3-421 alanga langa ᶜ-mañîŋ?-miîn ywâwe
then billabong 3SG/3SG-make-PP supposedly
Then he supposedly made the billabong.

The particle *woło?* is used either in nominal comparison (see 3.2.18), or as particle or verb prefix expressing a reported opinion of how something is, in regard to which *woło?* expresses uncertainty or scepticism on the speaker's part:

3-422 woło? gundu ma?
like country good
It's supposedly good country (possible nuance: I don't know, might or might not be)

3-423 buru-woło?-wurk
3NSG-like-work (English)
They supposedly work.

The particle *ŋapa* expresses speaker's opinion *it would be better that*:

MU-fork-LOC better fish also PROP-coolamon low down
ŋu-yena
1SG/3SG-put FUT
Better I put the fish also low down in the tree fork in a coolamon.

The particle *jamolkja* expresses for nothing, for no particular reason, just like that, or sometimes is best glossed simply:

1SG-dive-PP 1SG ABS GU-that-LOC/ALL GU-billabong-ALL 1SG-dive-PP
jamolk
for nothing
I dived into the billabong, I just dived in like that.

(The meaning *in vain* is expressed by *yana?miîn*, also sometimes by molka?).

4.10 Conjunctions

The conjunctions specify the nature of meaning relations between clauses, and a few instances, lower-level constituents. They convey how a stretch of speech is to be viewed as connected to preceding or following speech uttered by the same person or by others. Following Halliday and Hasan (1976:238) several types of conjunctive relation are distinguished: additive, temporal, causal and adversative.
There are no unemphatic NP-phrasal conjunctions 'and' or 'or' in Ngalakan. The unemphatic phrasal conjunction 'and' has as its equivalent a rising-falling intonation pattern over each coordinate constituent and a brief pause between constituents. However, there are three forms that can express emphatic NP conjunction, two of which also are used as additive clausal conjunctions. One is yiñji also, which follows the noun:

3-426 maçi ju-gun?biri ju-bolo bur-bol-mana-gan
indeed/for F-that F-old person 3NSG/3SG-rub-AUX FUT-SUB/FOC
mayño?-yi? yukaji? mira yiñji
red ochre-INST thoroughly head also
They rub that old woman thoroughly with red ochre, (her) face too.
(Text 5(17)).

Another is anji which as phrasal conjunction occurs between a first noun and any other(s) added to it:

3-427 manapun bur-ñe gu-jiwi anji gu-woçal bur-ųn
echidnä 3NSG/3SG-cook GU-liver and GU-lung 3NSG/3SG-eat PRES
jeki
first
They're cooking the porcupine, the liver and the lungs they eat first.

This is more common, however, as a clausal conjunction. The third is nana?bay, additive emphatic and usually best glossed furthermore, in addition, besides:

LEX-now-return PC M-that-DU besides old people-DU
yirbi-me?me
LEX/3NSG-get PP
Now we came back (and) we got those two and the two old people besides.

4.10.1 Additive clausal conjunctions

Additive clausal conjunctions include anji, nana?bay, and yinimbala. The conjunction anji is generally clause-initial and expresses that what follows is to be understood as a continuation of the preceding:

3-429 anji ŗere-ka? alki? yiri-waŋa-waŋaniŋ
and camp-LOC still LEX-CON-sit PC
And we still sat (waited) a long time yet in camp.

See examples in Text 3 (18, 20, 22), among others.

The conjunction nana?bay furthermore, moreover, again is illustrated by:

3-430 nana?bay ŋugu-gobolgobol-waywo waʁačara-yi?
furthermore M-turkey (Eng.) and all floodwater-ERG
buruŋ-jekaŋiŋ
3SG/3NSG-sweep away AUX-PP
Furthermore the floodwater swept away the (domestic) turkeys and all.

See also the combination anji nana?bay and furthermore, Text 3(18), and 4(17).
The conjunction yinimbala is usually final in a clause, the content of which is being compared and found similar with that of another clause. It is 'comparative additive' and can usually be glossed just the same. The second clause may be quite elliptical if its understood content fully parallels that of the first:

3-431 wañba yiriñbi-ñañ-ji? əugu-bigur-yi? geywar-yi?
POT NEG 3NSG/1EX-see-FUT NEG M-man-ERG young man-ERG
yinimbala just the same
The men can't look at us and the young men just the same (= can't either).

The conjunction ana is less well understood; it seems to be sometimes additive, sometimes slightly adversative in meaning (similar to but or well). Probably the best clue to its use is that in narrative it often appears to introduced a clause which departs from the previous narrated matter, serving as a kind of 'switch-theme' conjunction. An example of this with previous linguistic context given is:

3-432 əayu gaja? go?je əan ə-barañaniñ midark əañ?-ga? weleñe
only dog there right 3SG-hang PC twig little-LOC bitch
bañta-mirpara-yi? buru-barabarañaniñ wili-midark-(g)a?. Ana
PROP-children 3NSG-hang RED. PC CMP-twig-LOC and
ə-wakeñ əu-bolo əugu-balkiñ əugu-Peter Haig
3SG-return PP M-boss M-constable M- (name)
Only the dog was hanging up there in the little twigs (i.e. high up in the tree) with her pups, they were hanging in the poor little twigs. But/and the boss, the policemen Peter Haig came back.

(Text 2,24-25). See also Text 2 (23), and Text 3(22) where the meaning is perhaps best given as even.

4.10.2 Temporal conjunctions

Temporal conjunctions include boñi now, jeki first, alanga then, next, directly, alako later and aλi? still, yet. All of these are capable of the double usage described by Halliday and Hasan (1976:241) as 'external' and 'internal'. 'External' uses express relations between phenomena talked about (thus these connections are 'external' to the speech situation, taken as the primary perspective), while 'internal' uses express relations between phenomena within the speech situation itself.

Boñi now is capable of expressing immediacy with respect to the speech situation (boñi nu-Φaφona I'll go now), and also with respect to the narrative moment in a way very similar to that of the preverbal prefix -ja- in -ja?-je- (see 3.3.2):

3-433 boñi ə-gu-jekaniñ gungu-gowk
now 3SG-GU-sweep away AUX-PP GU-humpy
Now it swept away the houses.

Similarly, jeki may mean first with respect to the present speech situation (as in 'first I'll wash the clothes'), or with respect to narrated events:
3-434 mu-balku jeki bur-buju?
MU-rope first 3NSG/3SG-twist
First they twist the rope.

The conjunction alanga may mean then, next, directly in either external or internal usage:

3-435 alanga φ-yeni  nu-go?je mirpara gaña
directly 3SG/3SG-put POT M-that child small
Directly she may have that small child (i.e. she might give birth any time).

Conjunction alako means later, after and is subject to both uses:

3-436 alako buru-wat-(t)a mungu-jerağa
later 3NSG-conclude-FUT MU-woman's ceremony
By and by they'll finish the women's ceremony.

For illustration of alki? still, yet see the first example under 4.10.1.

4.10.3 Causal conjunctions

The causal conjunction warngu introduces a clause and means that's why, that's the reason that:

3-437  nuν-νερ-gaŋiŋ warŋu nu ν-ekeŋ  nu ν-eer-miŋ
3SG/1SG-shame-CAUS PP that's why 1SG-return PP 1SG-shame-PP
He shamed me, that's why I came back, I was ashamed.

The conjunctions mači or mačiniŋ are of very high frequency in Ngalakan. Basically they seem to be emphatic, something like indeed, truly, but this emphatic meaning frequently allows them to be taken as having an explanatory or causal force, something like because. An example of the more strictly emphatic usage is:

3-438 bigur  nu ν-go?je Bill Harney mačiniŋ
Aborigine M-that (name) indeed
Truly that Bill Harney was an Aborigine.

(This was said of a former welfare worker who was in the area during the war; he was white, so the force of the utterance is to praise him as being truly like an Aborigine). An example of the causal nuance is:

3-439  nu ν-νν-jiŋ mači mu-bođewk
1IN PL/3SG-eat-FUT NEG indeed MU-bad
We can't eat it indeed (= because) it's bad.

This usage tends to involve mači primarily, in non-final position within an utterance.

The particle balin?, which is often used to form similes like X, can also have a causal sense:

3-440 wayaŋ nuνbu-bak-juy?-e balin? ŋolko yir-wurk-miŋ
OBL 3NSG/1SG-OP-send-POT since a lot/big 1EX NSG-work (Eng.)-PP
They should have sent it for/to me since we worked hard/a lot.

See also the example Text 2(29).
4.10.4 Adversative conjunctions

The principal adversative conjunctions are ɲayu but, only and a second, less common one ɲani which also appears to mean approximately only. An example of ɲayu is:

3-441 ɲu-banar-koro gu-yaŋ-bore ɲayu Jawoŋ
1SG/3SG-hear-PRNEG GU-language-theirs but, only (language name)
ɲu-banar
1SG/3SG-hear
I don't understand their language but (I understand) Jawoŋ/only Jawoŋ.

See also the last example under 4.10.1.

4.11 Negation

As described in 3.3.3. and other sections under 3.3, clauses are negated by suffixing the clausal verb with one of the three negative suffixes -koro, -ʔmolk or -čiŋ-jiŋ. Expression of 'nobody' is achieved by use of -were who, with negative verb form (3.2.28.1). The privative construction is described in 3.2.6, and the negation of an identifying interrogative with first or second person subject (is/was it you? etc.) by means of pronominally-prefixed -(ʔ)molk is described in 3.2.15.

Clearly of the three negative suffixes, -ʔmolk is that of the widest distribution and greatest semantic generality. Any isolated constituent besides first and second person pronouns can be negated by means of -ʔmolk e.g. ɲu-bolo-bindi-ʔmolk he's not really old (an old man); ə-gaken-ʔmolk it's not far; ɲu-gunbiri-yiʔ-ʔmolk not that one (ergative or instrumental), and so forth.

4.12 Direct and indirect discourse

In Ngalakan, all reported speech is represented as if it were direct discourse by re-creation of the (alleged) original utterance. The lack of a distinction between direct and indirect discourse in reported speech has been noted for other Australian languages (Rumsey 1982:157 ff., Merlan 1982:1-4). In Ngalakan, as in these other languages, reported speech cannot be assumed to be a faithful representation of the original utterance since there is no other method of reporting speech besides the 'direct' one. The verb to say, do, yini-, is capable of intransitive use only; the transitive counterpart yiniʔ-ga- is formed with what is ordinarily causative ga-. Either intransitive or transitive form often is used as a framing verb, signalling that discourse is being reported:

3-442 ɲur-bun-jiʔ ɲur-bawun? yerke ɟ-walk-miŋ
LINPL-kill-FUT NEG LINPL-leave inside 3SG-enter-PP

yukajiʔ buru-yiniʔ-ga-či-ŋ
altogether 3NSG-say-AUX-RR-PP
"We can't kill it, let's leave it, it went inside for good", they said to each other.
In the absence of the framing verb, reported discourse can be detected by pronominal shift demarcating it from surrounding descriptive passages in narrative:

\[\text{3-443} \quad \text{wereka } \eta u-\text{name} \text{ buru-yini} \nu \]
\[ \quad \text{where } M-\text{name} \text{ 3NSG-say PP} \]
\[ "\text{Where is X}, \text{ they said."} \]
\[ \text{Wangi} ? \eta un-bayani} \nu \quad \eta un-me?me \quad \eta un-ga} \nu i} \nu \]
\[ \text{one-ERG 3SG/1SG-come to see PC 3SG/1SG-get PP 3SG/1SG-take PP} \]
\[ \quad \text{One came to see me, got me and took me.} \]
\[ \text{ji} \nu ja? \quad \eta i} \nu -\text{name} ? \]
\[ \text{2SG ABS 2SG-X} \]
\[ \text{Are you X ?} \]
\[ \text{Yo, } \eta ayka? \]
\[ \text{Yes 1SG ABS} \]
\[ \text{Yes, it is I.} \]

It is common in Australian languages for a single verb to be used to mean both 'to say' and 'to do'. This is true also of yini-, which furthermore serves as verbal index to do thus, like that/this, i.e. in the way you are being shown or told about. It may be accompanied by a gesture if it indexes something immediately present in the speech situation: buru-yini they say/do like this.

4.13 Anaphora

As described at 3.2.27, discourse reference in Ngaklan is maintained primarily by the use of distant demonstratives go?je- and gun?biri- (but especially the former) functioning as modifiers or heads of NPs. Thus 'that man' etc. often has approximately the force of the English definite article 'the man' (known, established in discourse). The strength of this reference-maintaining device is shown by the fact that there appears to be no other, widely-used explicit anaphoric device. There are two adjectival nominals – romo? and mani – which mean experientially the same, and signal that an entity is assumed to be known through previous discussion or other experience. Thus, mani-ka? in the same place (that you know about); also

\[\text{3-444} \quad \text{gu-romo?-ga? gunman? nun-bak-wen?} \]
\[ \quad \text{GU-same-LOC maybe 3SG/1SG-OP-look} \]
\[ \text{Maybe he's waiting for me in the same place.} \]

The adverbial prefix guru- right, just, precisely has been mentioned in several places (3.4.6 and also in 4.6.3 as the prefix to the temporal subordinator guru-go?jen-ji the time that/when). To the extent that the location, time or event specified by guru- is known from previous speech, guru- may be anaphoric to previous discourse. This, however, is simply a specialisation of its primary function in expressing location, time or event as precisely specified.
 CHAPTER V
SAMPLE TEXTS

5. Sample texts

1. Plains kangaroo dreaming
2. The Roper flood of 1940
3. Jeraça (woman's ceremony)
4. Grandmother and grandson (Gunabibi story)
5. Releasing widow from period of mourning
6. More on funeral rites and food distribution
7. On the coming of Europeans and others to Roper Valley
8. Using a firestick
9. Use of some kin terms
10. Not getting echidna
11. Getting echidna

Further text material is lodged in the library of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra. Although of grammatical interest, the material was given in confidence and cannot be made public. In special cases requests to see this will be considered.

Text 1. Plains kangaroo dreaming

The following story was told by Edna Ŋuluk on August 26, 1977 at Roper Valley. It begins with a discussion of a big billabong (Ngarningan or Red Lily) on Elsey Station which according to local mythology was created by plains kangaroo. Ngarningan is located within the boundaries of what is recognised as traditional Manjarayi territory. Plains kangaroo is said to have created a number of sickness dreamings by leaving disease at those localities. The story goes on to tell how Edna and her grandmother went to another locality created by plains kangaroo; when Edna dived into the billabong there and found the mussels on the bottom to be extraordinarily large, she and her grandmother came to the conclusion that these were mussels associated with the mythological figure and should not be touched. Later they were informed that the locality was indeed a kangaroo mythological site.
1. ŋarningan ɗ-gundu-manini?-miŋ nugu-jaɗugal aŋji ɗ-doɗo?-miŋ
Red Lily (TOP) 3SG-country-make-PP M-plains kangaroo and 3SG-descend-PP
ŋ-gol-ner?-miŋ ɗ-bawun?-miŋ gundu-qaɗagor.
3SG-secretion-breath/cough-PP 3SG/3SG-leave-PP GU-sickness

2. Boŋi ɗ-raboniŋ bay-alu, wangini?-(-)?molk, yaŋ?, ɗ-raboniŋ gun?biri
now 3SG-go PC north-ABL one-NEG many 3SG-go-PC there
north-ABL M-that M-kangaroo M-plains kangaroo

3. ɗ-rabo gu-ɗ-bolk ɗ-gu-naŋaŋ nolkoŋaŋin balyura.
3SG-go PP 3-3SG-emerge 3SG-GU-see PP big (TOP)

4. aŋji ɗ-ɗurur?-miŋ ɗ-gol-ner?-miŋ ɗ-ŋunu-goy-wuniŋ wur?wurunu-yi?
and 3SG-cough-PP 3SG-secretion-cough-PP 3NSG/1SG-show-AUX PC old people-ERG

5. ɗ-yeŋ qaɗagor jolok qaɗagor ɗ-yeŋ
3SG/3SG-put PP sickness cold, phlegm sickness 3SG/3SG-put PP
ɗ-gol-ner?-miŋ-gin jaɗugal, gu-ɗ-naŋ-gan
3SG-secretion-cough-PP-SUB plains kangaroo 3-3SG-kill-CAUS PRES

6. goykuŋ? ɗ-rabo-gon bol?-nowi ɗ-raboniŋ goykuŋ? ɗ-ŋaŋ
this way 3SG-go-SUB road-his 3SG-go PC this way right
ŋarningan?-wala ɗ-rabo goykuŋ? yana?way ... waran gundu-lnŋa
Red Lily (TOP)-ABL 3SG-go PP this way where to (TOP) GU-billabong
nolko baŋa-jatam-yi?
big PROP-lily

7. ɗanŋaŋbay ɗ-garbeŋ gu-jaŋa gu-ŋolkoŋaŋin ɗ-manini?-miŋ
furthermore 3SG-crawl PP GU-billabong GU-big 3SG/3SG-make-PP
goiŋe, ɗ-ɗurur?-miŋ garku gu-gu-yaŋi gu-gu-bin-wor
there 3SG-cough-PP high up 3-GU-be thus 3-GU-rock/kill-protrude
aŋji ɗ-ɗurur?-miŋ nu-goŋje nugu-jaɗugal ɗanŋaŋbay, jeki waran
and 3SG-cough-PP M-that M-plains kangaroo moreover first (TOP)
aŋji yi-ŋoro ɗ-rabo ɗ-garbeŋ ɗ-rabo goiŋe yiŋoŋoŋiŋ
and ALL-east 3SG-go 3SG-crawl PP 3SG-go there 1EX-sleep PC
goiŋe ɗ-ab, jugu-ge-ŋini-yi? yiŋiŋ-ɡaŋiŋ niŋja? ju-gowko-ŋgi
there right F-man’s Ch-mine-ERG 3SG/1EX-take PP 2SG ABS F-MoMo-yours SG

9. nu-gaka?-ɡan ŋaŋyakiŋi?-gin ju-ge-yere
M-brother-GEN 1SG GEN F-man’s Ch-ours EX

8. furthermore 3SG-crawl PP GU-billabong GU-big 3SG/3SG-make-PP
goiŋe, ɗ-ɗurur?-miŋ garku gu-gu-yaŋi gu-gu-bin-wor
there 3SG-cough-PP high up 3-GU-be thus 3-GU-rock/kill-protrude
aŋji ɗ-ɗurur?-miŋ nu-goŋje nugu-jaɗugal ɗanŋaŋbay, jeki waran
and 3SG-cough-PP M-that M-plains kangaroo moreover first (TOP)
aŋji yi-ŋoro ɗ-rabo ɗ-garbeŋ ɗ-rabo goiŋe yiŋoŋoŋiŋ
and ALL-east 3SG-go 3SG-crawl PP 3SG-go there 1EX-sleep PC
goiŋe ɗ-ab, jugu-ge-ŋini-yi? yiŋiŋ-ɡaŋiŋ niŋja? ju-gowko-ŋgi
there right F-man’s Ch-mine-ERG 3SG/1EX-take PP 2SG ABS F-MoMo-yours SG
nu-gaka?-ɡan ŋaŋyakiŋi?-gin ju-ge-yere
M-brother-GEN 1SG GEN F-man’s Ch-ours EX

9. nu-welŋ-bo niŋ-yaŋi?-gani?-molk gun-goŋje-ŋen
1SG-mistake-AUX PP 1SG/2SG-tell-AUX POT-PNEG GU-that-DAT

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The speaker has evidently substituted marŋi to be unknowledgeable for goyi to be knowledgeable, a slip of the tongue perhaps due to the complexity of the negation.

Note the 'extraction' here of the root of the thematic verb wulup, and inflection of the (past punctual) auxiliary as nu-miŋ; speaker later gives the 'normal' form nu-wulup-miŋ. A few comments have been edited out for purposes of this presentation, e.g. comments relating to the identity of the niece; most of the edited comments were in English.
M-that  M-mussel  and  1SG-fright-run  PP  M-that-DAT  'dreaming'-DAT

20. aŋji  nu-gewen-juruweŋ  nu-yini?-ganjį,  ju-go?je  jugu-bolo  ju-gowko:
   and  1SG-fright-run  PP  1SG/3SG-tell-AUX  PP  F-that  F-old  woman  F-MoMo
bolo  gunman?  wiriji?  naįka?-yi?  nu-yini?-ganjį
   old  woman  perhaps  ceremony,  totem  1SG-ERG  1SG/3SG-tell-AUX  PP
   ju-bolo  ju-gowko
   F-old  person  F-MoMo

21. nu-warja?-miŋ  gu-biŋ?-gin,  yipuŋja  bur-bet-bet-miŋ-gin
   1SG-walk  around  PP  GU-stone-DAT  long  ago  3NSG/3SG-roast  RED  PP-SUB

22. nu-warja?-miŋ  gača;  bolo  gača  φ-gu-bet-bet-(?)molk
   1SG-walk  around-PP  nothing  old  woman  nothing
   yi-bawun?  ye?yere  yerke  muŋ-ga?
   lIN  DU-leave  at  bottom  inside  interior-LOC

23. yi-waken  bolo  nu-ga?ye  jihan
   lIN  DU-go  back  old  woman  M-this  dreaming

24. mu-ŋoŋ?oŋ?- (?)molk  gunu-we?  yiri-woykwoyk,  buru-woyk  jeŋ?-gen
   MU-small-NEG  GU-water  1EX-fish  RED  3NSG-fish  fish-DAT

   1SG-climb-PP  2SG/3SG-leave  1SG/3SG-show-AUX  PP  M-mussel  F-that
   jugu-bolo  ju-gowko
   F-old  person  F-MoMo

26. nolkoŋaŋin,  ju-war?  nyn-iini?-ganjį  ju-bolo-yi?,  ju-war?
   big  2SG/3SG-throw  3SG/1SG-tell-AUX  PP  F-old  person-ERG  2SG/3SG-throw

27. mu-ŋondo  mu-wiŋ-miŋ  yin-mele-ŋun,  gogo  yi-raborabon
   MU-wind  MU-arise-PP  3SG/1IN  DU-EVIT-eat  PRES  hey!  lIN  DU  go  RED  PRES
   jugu-bolo-yi?  nun-ŋawk-miŋ  mu-ŋondo  mu-wiŋ-miŋ-gin  we?-wala
   F-old  person-ERG  3SG/1SG-say-PP  MU-wind  MU-arise-PP-SUB  water-ABL

28. yiri-go?miŋ  boňi  yi-oro
   1EX-go  away-PP  now  ALL-east

   enough  2SG-return  PRES  camp-ALL  lIN  DU/3SG-have-AUX  FUT  F-MoMoBrDa-yours  SG
   nu-yini?-ganjį  ju-go?je  jugu-bolo?bolo  jugu-bolo
   1SG/3SG-tell-AUX  PP  F-that  F-woman  F-old  person

30. Yi-bak-(g)o?-nan  jugu-balakbalak-i  nu-ga?ye  gunman?  jihan
   1IN  DU/3SG-OP-have-AUX  PRES  F-MoMoBrDa-yours  SG  M-this  perhaps  dreaming
   mu-ŋondo  nolko  φ-wiŋ-miŋ  yiri-gewen-juruweŋ
   MU-wind  big  3SG-arise-PP  1EX-fright-run  PP

31. nu-na?na  ju-ga?ye  jugu-baŋį?  naįkaŋį?- (?)gin  ju-ge-ŋini:
   1SG/3SG-see  PP  F-this  F-(subsection)  1SG-GEN  F-man's  Ch-mine
   jihan  nara  nu-ga?ye?
   dreaming  perhaps  M-this
Plains kangaroo made Red Lily, and he went down, spewed forth (secretion), he left sickness.

Now he was coming from the north, there was not one, there were many (kangaroos), he was coming from the north, that plains kangaroo.

He went, comes out, he saw that big Balyura [a big expanse of river on Elsey Station associated with an important secret-sacred ceremony].

And he coughed, spewed up, old people showed (taught) me.

He put sickness, cold, he put sickness, when plains kangaroo spewed, it causes death.

He went along this way, his road (path) was coming right along this way, from Red Lily he came this way to where ... Waran, a big billabong with lilies.

And he crawled and made the big billabong there, he coughed, high up it's like this, the rock sticks out, and moreover plains kangaroo coughed, first at Waran.

And he went east, he crawled, went there (where) we've camped right there, my niece (BrCh) took us, your mother's mother (to linguist), my brother's child.

I made a mistake (omission), I didn't tell you about that billabong, what's it ... [i.e. speaker is searching for its name], I've forgotten its name (of that place where) kangaroo made country, big mussels like stones, a whole lot under (water) stand up (at the place that) plains kangaroo made, right there where he coughed, the water can't go dry, because plains kangaroo coughed there at Waran.

The ground is hard, he dug a little, he made water come out.

Plains kangaroo dug, now water came out.

He dug, made water come out, plains kangaroo.

First there was no water, then supposedly he made the billabong; horses and cattle stand there.

And further, he went away to the east, he went 'bush', not too far, like that down there, like that to the east [indicating distance], that big billabong, plains kangaroo coughed there.

He put mussels.

One woman and I went, we didn't know about that country.

I dived into the billabong, I dived in for no special reason.

I asked my grandmother Munan?, "You go down to the water", she said.
19. I dipped water (waded) with a billycan, and I bathed; I bathed, and grasped the mussels like rocks, I grabbed the mussels, and I ran away afraid of that 'dreaming' [mythological manifestation].

20. I ran away in fright, I told my old grandmother: "Old woman, maybe it's a dreaming", I said to the old woman my grandmother.

21. I looked around for stones, long ago they roasted [i.e. used to make pits in the ground to roast food in].

22. I looked around, nothing: 'old woman, nothing (here)', it wasn't roasting [that is, she had tried to find roasting stones and evidently was unable to]. "Let's leave it way down inside" [i.e. in water].

23. "Let's go back, old woman, this is a dreaming".

24. The water wasn't small, we (always) fish (there), they go there for fish.

25. I climbed up, "You leave it" [said the grandmother], I showed her the mussels.

26. "(Too) big, throw it away", the old lady said to me, "throw it away".

27. The wind came up, "It might devour us, hey! let's go", the old lady said to me, because the wind arose from the water.

28. We went away east then.

29. "Enough, you go back to camp, we'll keep [i.e. look after] your mother-in-law", I said to the woman, the old woman.

30. "We'll keep it [the mussels?] for your mother-in-law, perhaps this is a dreaming".

31. I saw bàättî, my brother's daughter: "Is this perhaps a dreaming?"

32. "Yes!" she said, "it's a dreaming, that kangaroo sat down there and coughed", she said.

Text 2. The Roper flood of 1940

This version of the story of the Roper flood of 1940 was told on September 1, 1977 by Edna Ñuluk. On another occasion she told me a much longer version of the story, one which made clearer her part in helping to save two little girls, and working to assist in the aftermath of the flood. One of the themes of the story — and one of the reasons for telling it — is the speaker's feeling that she and other Aborigines were not compensated for all the work they did during this time.

1. Mu-waɾaçaɾa-yi? yiriŋmi-bul-gaŋiŋ-gin ... nu-balkiŋ gungu-ŋey-ŋowi
   MU-floodwater-ERG MU-LEX-drown-CAUS PP-SUB M-constable GU-name-his
   Constable Haig, Peter Haig.
   (name)

2. ñunbu-bak-juy?- (?)molk money gamaji? gača gavmin-yi?
   3NSG/LSG-OP-send-PNEG (English) swag nothing government (English)-ERG
   ñolko-yi? gu jalagi- yi?
   big-ERG big-ERG (important)
3. yiri-buł-miñ-gin yapan? mu-ŋere two weeks¹ malk-wači waɾačara-bindi
LEX-drown-PP-SUB two MU-sleep (English) time-last floodwater-real
nu-gun?biri gara-wala mu- low-miñ, malurułuru?-molk yere?-wala?-molk
M-that high up-ABL MU-inundate-PP salt water-NEG low down-ABL-NEG
mu- jow-miñ
MU-flood-PP

4. Yiriŋ-yini?-gaŋiŋ  nu-gun?biri  nu-balkiŋ-yi?, gogo boŋi mu-waɾačara
3SG/1EX-tell-AUX PP M-that M-constable-ERG hey now MU-floodwater
yanipi ... wilmur φ-me?me go?je-wala geriŋ-wala
what'sit wire 3SG/3SG-get PP there-ABL west -ABL

5. Buruŋ-yini?-gaŋiŋ  nu-balkiŋ-yi? ... nugu-yini?-gana boŋi
3SG/3NSG-tell-AUX PP M-constable-ERG 1SG/2NSG-tell-AUX FUT now
nu-manîŋ?-na gamaji? nu-janjang-gana ani? yi-walam
2NSG/3SG-make-FUT swag 2NSG/3SG-carry-AUX FUT ALL ALL-south
wanbangulyi-gaga? airstrip, nu-me?me nugu-wilmur geriŋ-wala
(TOP)-ALL (English) 1SG/3SG-get PP M-wire west-ABL
another 3SG-drown-PC there 3NSG-drown-PC there-ABL M-wire
φ-raboniŋ buru-buł-miŋ yuw?we buruŋ-yini?-gaŋiŋ boŋi
3SG-come PC 3NSG-drown-PP supposedly 3SG/3NSG-tell-AUX PP now
ŋugu-ga-manîŋ?-ña,² nuru-rabona jeki yi-walamwalaman?
1SG/6U-swag-make-FUT 2NSG-go FUT first ALL-south all

and old people swag 3NSG-take PP there GU-this and (English)
φ-wakeniŋ
3SG-return PC

7. nannygoat bur-gaŋiŋ bur-juju-wo bawun? go?je nan
(English) 3NSG/3SG-take PP 3NSG/3SG-drive-AUX PP leave there right

8. bur-go?-naniŋ nugu-baŋa-gundaroro-yi? yapan?-yi? booloˈbolo-yi?
3NSG/3SG-have-AUX PC M-PROP-horn two-ERG woman-ERG
wer?dak-(g)a?
dry-LOC

9. buru-wakeŋ go?je buruŋ-me?me ju-bolo-gapul ju-balakbalak-bira?
3NSG-return PP there 3SG/3NSG-take PP F-old person PL F-MoMoBrDa-DU
ŋayka? wač-yapan?
1SG ABS each-two

¹ Two weeks' was added in English to clarify the ambiguity of yapan? mu-ŋere which could mean two nights, two sleeps.
² The prefix -ga- was exemplified twice in the corpus, and may be related morphologically to gamaji? swag. It seems to mean things, belongings, swag.
10. burun-gorčiň gamaji?-bore gaja?-bore burun-gorjigorji-ň mun 3SG/3NSG-load PP swamp-theirs dog-theirs 3SG/3NSG-load RED-PP that's all
11. burun-re-čuruweň moticar-yi? ani? yi-walam 3SG/3NSG-TNSV-rush PP (English) INST ALL ALL-south
12. burun-re-čuruweň moticar-yi? nű-balkiň-yi? burun-ganiň 3SG/3NSG-TNSV-rush PP (English) INST M-constable-ERG 3SG/3NSG-take PP
wur?wuruňu burun-yeň old people 3SG/3NSG-put PP
bur-bak-juy?-miň-gin 3NSG/3SG-OP-send-PP-SUB
14. boňi yaragaja mu-juruweň, gamaji? yir-mańiň?-miň boňi waračara now swiftly MU-run PP swamp 1EX/3SG make-PP now floodwater
gun?biri-gaga? there-ALL
15. yiri-mele-bul waračara nolko gu-mu-juruwen jopono 1EX-EVIT-drown floodwater big 3-MU-run PRES true
16. boňi bur-jańjan-gañiň moticar-yi? nannygoat bur-juju-wuniň now 3NSG/3SG-carry-AUX PC (English) INST (English) 3NSG/3SG-drive-AUX PC
yanipi bur-go?-naniň boňi whatsit 3NSG/3SG-have-AUX PC now
burun-yeň mun 3SG/3NSG-put PP finish
18. Ḑaŋka?-(?)gan wači, Ḑun-ja-me?me Ḑu-bak-wurk-miň mačińiň 1SG ABS-GEN after 3SG/1SG-now-take PP 1SG-OP-work (English)-PP indeed
ŋugu-bolo?-?gon M-boss-DAT
19. yiri-rabo boňi buruburu? buru-raboniň yana?way ... 1EX-go PP now short way 3NSG-go PC where to ...
20. Yeke? Gaça, waračara yiŋgoyiŋgon gu-mu-rabon How about it nothing floodwater today RED 3-MU-go PRES
21. mu-jilk-miň mungu-we?, boňi buru-nańaniň aerodrome, waračara boňi MU-rain-PP MU-water now 3NSG-sit PC (English) floodwater now
buruburu? mu-raboniň gara-wala-gan little way MU-come PC high-ABL-ADV
22. gamiņjiko ņugu-wilmur bur-wana-juy?-miň geriň-wala-gan, guyaŋan-?wala constantly M-wire 3NSG/3SG-CON-send-PP west-ABL-ADV Elsey-ABL
bur-bak-juy?-miň 3NSG/3SG-OP-send-PP
23. ana gaŋa? boňi Ḍ-bul-miň buru-bul-miň Ḑaykaŋi?-?gin gaja? and dog now 3SG-drown-PP 3NSG-drown-PP 1SG-GEN dog
guṇḍu-yarkyark  
country-deserted

only dog there right 3SG-hang PC twig little-LOC bitch  
baṭa-mirpara-yi? buru-baṛabaranaṇiṇ wili-miḍark-(g)a?  
PROP-pups 3NSG-hang RED PC CMP-twīg-LOC

25. ṇaṇa φ-wakeṇ ṇugu-bolo ṇugu-balkiṇ ṇugu-Peter Haig  
and 3SG-return M-boss M-constant M-(name)

26. φ-wakeṇ jugu-mićiĉ boṇi yir-go?-naniṇ ju-waṁmiri  
3SG-return PP F-Missus (English) now 1EX/3SG-have-AUX PC F-white lady  
go?je walam ṇugu-balkiṇ?-gin jugu-bolo?bolo-ŋoji³ mirpara-ŋoji  
there south M-constant F-woman (wife)-hers child-hers  
baṭa-mirpara-yi?  
PROP-child

27. yiri-naṇaniṇ go?je ṇan, yiri-naṇaniṇ guru-go?je, mu-waṛaṇa bōni  
1EX-sit PC there right 1EX-sit PC right-there MU-floodwater now  
ṇolkoṇaṇin mu-raboniṇ  
big MU-go PC

28. ṇugu-ḍak-waywo ṇugu-gobolgobol-waywo waṛaḥa-ya?  
M-duck (English)-COLL M-turkey (English)-COLL floodwater-ERG  
burun-jekanjiṇ  
3SG/3NSG-sweep away PP

29. boṇi yi-yere? buruṇ-jekanjiṇ mu-waṛaḥa-ya? guinea fowl gojegun?  
now ALL-low down 3SG/3NSG-sweep PP MU-floodwater-ERG (English) there  
yirbi-go?-naniṇ-gin baliṇ? yir-welena.jar?jar?-bawun?-miṇ  
1EX/3NSG-have-AUX PC-SUB like 1EX/3SG-altogether?-not want-leave-PP

30. yaragaja mu-ribboniṇ mungu-waṛaḥa yir-bawun?-miṇ  
swiftly MU-go PC MU-floodwater 1EX/3SG-leave-PP

31. ṇayka? ṇu-go?-nani?-molk mirpara go?je ṇan gaṇa  
1SG ABS 1SG/3SG-have-AUX POT-PNEG child there right nothing  
nu-wurk-miṇ ganiṇjiko, nu-bak-wurk-miṇ nu-balkiṇ  
1SG-work (English)-PP all the time 1SG/3SG-OP-work (English)-PP M-constant

what about it 2NSG 2NSG-cold 3SG-say PP

³All speakers with whom I worked frequently mis-spoke the third person singular possessive suffixes. Here, the form as given is her wife, the third singular feminine possessive used in agreement with the noun bolo?bolo, but obviously his wife (bolo?bolo-ŋowi) is meant. The same phenomenon was found in Maṇarayi perhaps to a slightly lesser extent.
33. Yo, yiri-gu?jel?
   Yes 1EX-cold

34. mu-wapawapa? yini-wuna
   MU-clothes 2SG/1EX-give PUT
   yirin-wo?wo mu-wapawapa?, mu-may yirin-wo?wo
   3SG/1EX-give PP MU-clothes MU-food 3SG/1EX-give PP

1. (The time when) floodwater inundated us ... the constable's name was
   Haig, Peter Haig.

2. The government, big important (people) didn't send me money, swag or
   anything [i.e. as recompense for all the hard work done during the flood].

3. We were inundated for two weeks, the last time real floodwater swept in
   from high up, it wasn't salt water from low down, it flooded in.

4. The constable told us, "hey! now floodwater" whatchacallim (speaker changes
   mind about what to say) he got a telegram from over in the west.

5. The constable told them [i.e. replied to the wire] ... "I'll tell you now,
   you make up your swags and carry them south to Wanbangulyi airstrip, I
   got a wire from the west, another [place?] is inundated, they're submerged,
   the wire came from there, supposedly they've been submerged", he told them,
   "now I'll make up everything (swag), you all go south first".

6. And the old people took their swags there (this place?) and he returned to
   the airstrip.

7. They took the nannygoats, they drove them, left (them) right there.

8. The goats 'horned ones' were being kept in a dry place by two women.

9. They returned, he took all the old women, my two mothers-in-law.

10. He loaded them up, their swags, dogs, he loaded them up, finished.

11. He rushed them away by car to the south.

12. The constable rushed them away by car, he took the old people, located
    them [i.e. put them].

13. Still we weren't submerged, he got the wire from the west that they were
    sending.

14. Now it (water) was running swiftly, we made up our swags, now the flood-
    water (was running) that way.

15. "We might drown, big floodwater is running, true!"

16. Now they carried (the remaining things) by car, they drove the nannygoats,
    now they had whatsis ... .

17. They took the old people, other policemen loaded them up, unloaded them,
    finished.

18. As for me, I was last, (after) now he took me, indeed I worked for the
    constable.

19. We went a little way, they went where to ... ?
20. "What about it?" [evidently a question supposedly received by wire, i.e. how's it going?] Nothing, the floodwater's running [i.e. no change].
21. It was raining, now they [the Aborigines and others] were camping at the aerodrome, now the floodwater was coming from higher up.
22. They kept on sending wires constantly from the west, they sent them from Elsey.
23. And the dog was submerged now, my dogs were being inundated, the camp [i.e. the Aboriginal camp, where some dogs still were] was deserted.
24. Only the dog was hanging up in the small branches (of a tree), a bitch with pups, they were hanging up in the small branches.
25. And the constable Peter Haig returned.
26. He came back, we had the Missus, a white lady [Haig's wife] to the south, the constable's wife and children.
27. We sat right there, we sat in the same place, the floodwater was running high now.
28. The floodwater swept away all the ducks, turkeys.
29. Now the floodwater swept downstream all the guinea fowls that we had had there, like (since) we had to leave them in a hurry.
30. The floodwater was running fast, we left it [i.e. remaining stock and gear].
31. I didn't have children there, none, I was working all the time, I was working for the constable.
32. "What about it" [supposedly the constable talking] "are you cold?" he said.
33. "Yes, we're cold".
34. "Give us clothes".
35. He gave us clothes, and food.

Notes: the thematic verb bu] is glossed as drown in the English of the area, but in most uses in this story it means to be inundated, submerged, flooded.

Text 3. Jerada (women's ceremony)

Narrator: Edna Ŋuluk
1. buru-jeban-yaon wa lamam? bolo?bolo 3NSG-line-sleep PRES a lot woman
2. ju-wangi? ju-bolo?bolo go?je yuka gu-ŋ-jaŋan F-one F-woman there in front 3-3SG-stand PRES
buro-dolk'dolk 3NSG-line up
F-leader-theirs in front 3-3SG-stand PRES line-ABL 3NSG-line up
ALL ALL-west F-leader-theirs-LOC 3-3SG-stand PRES-SUB ceremony-DAT

child-ERG 3NSG/1EX-see-FUT NEG prohibited

there 1EX-sit PRES 3NSG/1EX-see-FUT NEG man-ERG boy-ERG boy-RED-ERG
young men-ERG old people-ERG always prohibited

7. alako bu:ro-wat-(t)a mungu-je:ra:da
later 3NSG-conclude-FUT MU-women's ceremony

1EX-dance there all the time 3SG-sleep POT MU-sleep coll-woman

9. aŋji ŋugu-bigur be:ŋen gore?
and M-man no matter by themselves

10. be:ŋen go:go:go:go-bore
no matter husband RED-theirs

woman-theirs (racecourse, English)-LOC 3NSG-sleep PRES 3NSG-play RED
jera:da
women's ceremony

12. gaminji:ko go?je bu:ro-ŋanja bur-mu-ne go?je mu-may,
all the time there 3NSG-sit PRES 3NSG/MU-cook there MU-food
burgu-jun-bun
3NSG/GU-shade-make PRES

there 3NSG-dance 3NSG-dance 3NSG/3NSG-paint-AUX

some-ERG old people-ERG 3NSG/3SG-sing-AUX

3NSG-dance long time and MU-sun 3NSG/MU-see PRES now 3NSG-play

ALL ALL-west now 3NSG-return camp-ALL PROP-ribbon

turkey-GEN down, small feathers-its 3NSG-wear-AUX PRES now down
turkey-GEN wing-its F-woman PROP-ribbon 3NSG-wear-AUX PRES
aŋji bu:ro-waken garku-wala
and 3NSG-return high up-ABL
18. aŋji buru-mira-ark-bu-çi-n goy kun?-wala malama-wi
and 3NSG-face-paint-AUX-RR-PRES to here-ABL forehead-LAT
buru-ark-bu-çi-n mu-bim-yi? aŋji ŋana?bay
3NSG-paint-AUX-RR-PRES MU-white ochre-INST and furthermore
mu-bim-yi? buru-ark-bu-çi-n gu-je-wi aŋji ŋana?bay
MU-white ochre-INST 3NSG-paint-AUX-RR-PRES GU-nose-LAT and furthermore
goy kun? bere-wi waŋjat-wi
this way chest-LAT arm-LAT

3NSG-white ochre-AUX-RR-PRES 1EX-return FUT camp-ALL a lot woman
wałaman? baŋa-buwan buwa-ŋi? wapawapa-ji maŋamara?
a lot PROP-down clothes-PRIV naked

20. aŋji mubici bu r- maŋi?-janan? , buru-maŋi?-janan
and pubic covering/possum 3NSG-wear-AUX PRES 3NSG-wear-AUX PRES
maŋalerek, aŋji garada bu r-maŋi?-janan
necklace (of grass) and chest brace 3NSG-wear-AUX PRES

3NSG-return now camp-ALL a lot 3NSG-look 3NSG-return PRES
buru-wak-(k)oro ŋana?bay
3NSG-laugh-PNEG moreover

22. geywa r wur? wuruŋu ana ŋada aŋji mirpara buru-wak-jí?
young man old people and/even boy and child 3NSG-laugh-FUT NEG
gamu yumu yu
prohibited

23. jugujugi bu r-maŋi?-janan
pompoms (on headdress) 3NSG-wear-AUX PRES

24. gu-mu-ŋir?-a mungu-wači buru-gober?
3-MU-set-FUT MU-sun 3NSG-look back

25. bu ruŋbu-nan buru-man-yopyop roro wal a
3NSG/3NSG-see PRES 3NSG-COLL-collect east-ABL

26. řere-ka? boñi bu r-waken
camp-ALL now 3NSG-return PRES

3NSG-laugh-FUT NEG 3NSG-talk-FUT NEG M-that husband-theirs
buru-wak-jí?
3NSG-laugh-FUT NEG

3NSG-go-PRES there east-ABL woman-PL 3NSG-COLL-collect
29. guñman? φ-goyi-?molk gopo-ŋowi¹ bolo?bolo-?gon gu-φ-waken boñi maybe 3SG-know-NEG husband-his woman-GEN 3-3SG-return PRES now roro-wala-gan baṭa-ṛark-yi?
   east-ABL-ADV PROP-paint
30. gu-φ-ṇan nu-go?je gopo-ŋowi-yi?² ṛark-ŋowi 3-3SG/3SG-see PRES M-that spouse-his-ERG paint-his
   φ-gor-či?
   wañba 3SG-sick-FUT NEG NEG POT
32. gu-we? gu-φ-we?-ŋuna gu-φ-bak-buyster-puna GU-water 3-3SG-water-drink FUT 3-3SG/3SG-OP-sweat-AUX FUT
33. nu-go?je mambat gu-φ-buy-pun gu-φ gu-φ-ma M-that billycan 3-3SG-sweat-AUX PRES GU-water 3-3SG-GU-get
   ŋugu-mambat baṭa-we?-yi?
   M-billycan: water
34. gu-φ-we?-wun gu-φ-wun baṭa-we?-yi? ŋu-gopo-ŋoji 3-3SG-water-give PRES 3-3SG/3SG-give PRES PROP-water M-husband-hers
35. gu-φ-we?-nun gu-φ-biñi-war? alanga gu-φ-we?-nun 3-3SG-water-drink PRES 3-3SG-water-throw then 3-3SG-water-drink PRES
   yukaji?
   properly
36. wačiwači?-gin ŋana?bay gu-φ-wun boñi gu-gu-biñi-wurk last RED-DAT more 3-3SG/3SG-give PRES now 3-3SG/GU-water-swallow
37. wañba φ-we?-nun-ji? ŋu-go?je ŋugu-bigur jamolk POT NEG 3SG-water-drink-FUT NEG M-that M-man at all
daṭa-gubuy-(y)i? gu-φ-we?-ŋuna, yiri-yini PROP-sweat 3-3SG-water-drink FUT 1EX-do thus

1. All the women lie in a line.
2. One woman stands in front there.
3. And they've come out from the line, the women line up towards the west.
4. Their leader stands in front, they line up from the row towards the west near where their leader is standing, for ceremony.
5. Children can't look at us, it's prohibited.

Notes: Note here in ¹ and ² the confusion of -ŋowi with -ŋoji; in both cases the obvious intention is to say her husband, not his wife.
6. There we sit, men, boys, all the boys, young men, old men can't look at us, it's always prohibited.

7. Later they'll finish the jeraña.

8. We dance there all the time, all the women should sleep [i.e. at the ceremony ground].

9. And the men are by themselves (alone), no matter.

10. No matter about their husbands.

11. Their wives sleep at the racecourse and play/celebrate jeraña.

12. They stay there all the time, cook food there, they build a shade.

13. They dance there, dance slapping their legs, they paint them [i.e. some paint others].

14. Some old women sing.

15. They dance for a long time, and they see the sun, now they play; when the sun sets they'll finish.

16. Now they return towards the west with ribbons.

17. They wear turkey down (small feathers), turkey down (from) its wing with ribbons the women wear, and they return from up top [i.e. from ceremony ground].

18. And they paint their faces from here to the forehead they paint with white ochre, and besides with white ochre they paint to the nose, and then this way along the chest and arms.

19. They paint each other, we return to camp, all the women, the whole lot with down, no clothes, naked.

20. And they wear possum hair pubic covering, they wear necklaces, and they wear chest braces.

21. They return to camp now, everybody looks, they go back.

22. Young men, old people and boys, children can't laugh, it's not allowed.

23. They wear 'pompoms' (the tassels of a headdress).

24. When the sun sets, they look back.

25. They see them, they're coming in from the east [i.e. the people in camp see the women coming in].

26. Now they return to camp.

27. They can't laugh or talk, their husbands can't laugh.

28. They come there from the east, all the women gather.

29. Maybe their husbands don't know about their wives, she's returning now from the east with paint on.

30. Her husband sees her paint.

31. His wife goes, rubs sweat on her husband; he can't become ill.

32. He drinks water, she rubs sweat on for him.

33. The billycan, she rubs sweat, she'll get water and give it to him, the wife rubs sweat on him.
34. She give him water, gives it (billycan?) with water to her husband.
35. He drinks it, spits it out, now he swallows the water down.
36. And for the last time she gives it him, now he swallows it.
37. The man shouldn't drink water at all with sweat, he'll drink water
   [i.e. after sweat has been gotten rid of], we do like that.

Text 4. Grandmother and grandson

This (brief) version of a fairly widespread story was told on August 24,
1977 by Edna Nuluk. This story is associated with the Gunabibi ceremony;
during another telling (more complete in some respects, less so in others)
it was made clear that the little boy in this story, as he ascended the rope
after his grandmother, bit his grandmother's vagina. That detail is common
to many versions (see e.g. Berndt 1951:186-187 for the Alawa version of this
legend).

   F-(name) F-that F-dog 3SG/3SG-chase-PP M-that M-goanna
   roro-wala φ-juruweniŋ-gin; jičan-powi wačunku?gun yerke-bindi
   east-ABL 3SG-run-SUB dreaming-its goanna-GEN inside-really
   gu-φ-jap-jañan   gu-janda?
   3-3SG-stand-AUX PRES GU-stick
   F-(name)-ERG 3SG/3SG-chase-PP M-goanna here-ABL 3SG-(sound)-PP-SUB
   φ-jap-gañiŋ   yerke go?ye yerke munga? jugu-Maygidi
   3SG/3SG-stand-CAUS PP inside here inside interior F-(name)
   φ-ga?war-miñ-gin ŋugu-wacunku
   3SG/3SG-chase-PP-SUB M-goanna
3. ju-go?je jugu-bolo?-gon gaja?-ŋoji jeki φ-yiniŋ
   F-that F-old person-GEN dog-hers first 3SG-do thus PP
4. nanjaldiŋame gogode nanjaldı ıvame gogode banjåa gogoede bulňuy
   (song sung by little boy to grandmother, in Alawa, meaning What shall I
do?, i.e. he was unable to follow her up a rope. The last word bulňuy
   refers to the old lady of the Gunabibi's lighting of a fire. I am not
certain whether each word in this song is meaningful).
5. Yi-yan?achen?
   1IN DU-do what-AUX PRES
   MU-rope 3SG/3SG-have-AUX PC F-that F-old woman
7. ŋiŋ-bak-war?-a mungu-balku balku-ga? ŋiŋ-gar-buna
   1SG/2SG-OP-toss-FUT MU-rope rope-LOC 1SG/2SG-pull-AUX FUT
8. φ-mun?-miŋ
   3SG-be unable-PP
9. φ-yiniŋiŋ: ŋu-yan?-ra gowko
   3SG-say PC 1SG-do what-FUT MoMo
10. Guñman? mu-may-či  
   perhaps MU-food-PRLV

   child small 3SG-climb RED-PC

12. φ-jojop-miñ nu-go?je mirpara φ-doḍo?-miñ φ-ŋor?-miñ
   3SG-slip-PP M-that child 3SG-go down-PP 3SG-fall-PP

13. nu-yana?-ra gowko jugu-gowko-ŋowiy-ką? φ-bak-(g)aw?-miñ
   1SG-do what-FUT MoMo F-MoMo-his-LOC 3SG/3SG-OP-call out-PP

14. mu-balku jun-bak-war?
   MU-rope 2SG/1SG-OP-toss

15. φ-bak-war?-miñ garku-wala jugu-bolo garku, nugu-mirpara gaña
   3SG/3SG-OP-toss-PP high up-ABL F-old person high up M-child small
   yerke  
   beneath

16. nu-nał?-ji? gowko, nanjaldiŋambe gogoçe, meñeri
   1SG-climb-FUT NEG MoMo (song of boy) Hodgson Downs
   φ-nał?nal?miŋ-ğin
   3SG-climb RED-PP-SUB

17. ŋana?bay φ-jojop-miñ φ-ŋor?-miñ
to further/again 3SG-slip-PP 3SG-fall-PP

18. nalporφ-go?-naniñ
   egg 3SG/3SG-have PC

19. φ-mañiñ?-mi-či-ŋ yanipiy yuwe
   3SG-make-AUX-RR-PP whachacallit supposedly

20. φ-ler-miñ garku-wala
   3SG-fall-PP high up-ABL

21. buru-yini wur?wuruŋu
   3NSG-say old people

22. φ-mañiñ?-mi-či-ŋ miŋgur
   3SG-make-AUX-RR-PP star

23. mungu-miŋgur nu-go?je mirpara
   MU-star M-that child

24. jugu-Maygidi φ-ga?war-miŋ-ğin nugu-wačunų
   F-(name) 3SG/3SG-chase-PP-SUB M-goanna

25. gu-φ-yonoŋ jîcan
   3-3SG-sleep PRES dreaming

26. gu-φ-doro?-ji? guŋgu-we? gamiŋjiko gu-gu-yini guŋgu-we?
   3-3SG-dry up-FUT NEG GU-water all the time 3-GU-do thus GU-water

27. gowko-go? buru-wač-(j)aŋan mungu-miŋgur nu-wawaya-ŋoji,
   MoMo/DaSo-DY 3NSG-each-stand PRES MU-star M-DaSo-hers
   nu-gun?biri-bira? gowko-go?
   M-that-DU MoMo/DaSo-DY
1. Maygidi the dog chased the goanna [when] he was running from the east; the goanna's dreaming stands up (as) a stick right inside [i.e. in the water of a certain billabong near Hodgson Downs].

2. Maygidi chased the goanna from here as he was going 'gidigidi', she [the dog] made it [the goanna dreaming] stand up right here down inside, when Maygidi chased the goanna.

3. The old woman's dog did like that at first [i.e. Maygidi the dog belonged to the old lady of the Gunabibi legend, with whom this story is associated].

4. See interlinear comments.

5. "What shall you and I do?" [says the boy].

6. The old woman had a rope.

7. "I'll toss you the rope, I'll pull you up on the rope", [says the old lady to boy].

8. He couldn't [i.e. couldn't climb].

9. He was saying like this: "What'll I do, granny?"

10. Maybe he had no food.

11. The little child kept climbing up up up.

12. The child slipped, went down, fell.

13. "What'll I do, granny", he shouted to his grandmother.

14. "Toss me the rope" [boy says to grandmother].

15. The old woman tossed him the rope from above, the old lady high up, the little boy beneath.

16. "I can't climb up, granny, (song)", when he was climbing and climbing at Hodgson Downs.

17. Again he slipped, fell.

18. She had eggs [i.e. the old lady had goanna eggs, which the boy wanted].

19. He made himself into a whatchacallit, supposedly.

20. He fell from up high.


22. He made himself into a star.

23. He's a star, that child.

24. (The one) where Maygidi chased the goanna.

25. It's lying, a dreaming [i.e. the goanna dreaming in the billabong at Hodgson Downs].

26. The water [in the billabong] can't dry up, it's like this [i.e. present] all the time.

27. Grandmother and grandson are (stand in the sky) together as stars, her grandson, those two (related as) grandmother and grandson.

Notes: Hodgson Downs is associated with a goanna dreaming, as the story tells, and was also formerly an important location for the performance of Yabuduruwa ceremony, in which goanna is a central figure.
Text 5  Releasing widow from period of mourning

Narrator: Edna Nuluk

1. buru-rabon burunbu-gumja ju-go?je jugu-milkanda
   3NSG-go PRES 3NSG/3NSG-cover PRES F-that F-widow
   batà-wapawapa?-yi? batà-got-yi?.
   PROP-cloth PROP-paperbark

2. ju-giñdar-ñoji-yi? bur-gumja
   F-cross-cousin-hers-ERG 3NSG-cover PRES

3. ga?ye buru-ñañan bigur-?molk
   here 3NSG-sit PRES man-NEG

4. nolko waluk yì-¿oro bur-gayar?yar?-wu-na-gan
   big all around ALL-west 3NSG-plain-FAC-FUT-SUB/FOC

5. ngugu-bigur buru-ñañan gu-yele burgu-manin? ju-go?je
   M-sit 3NSG-sit PRES GU-hole 3NSG/GU-make PRES F-that
   bolo?bolo-?gon ju-milkanda-?gan
   woman-DAT F-widow-DAT

6. burgu-ror? añji bur-jap-gan gungu-janda?
   3NSG-GU-clean PRES and/then 3NSG/3SG-stand-CAUS-PRES GU-stick
   waral-ñowi
   (funerary) pole-his

7. bur-jañani-wun gungu-janda? lorkon
   3NSG/3SG-stand-CAUS PRES GU-stick funeral log

8. gu-¿-rabon nu-go?je gungu-lorkon
   3-3SG-go PRES M-that GU-funeral log

9. bur-rark-war? ju-bolo?bolo-?gon nu-gopo-ñowi\(^1\)
   3NSG-paint-AUX PRES F-woman-DAT M-spouse-his

10. bur-rark-war? añji buluk bur-ye
    3NSG-paint-AUX PRES and feather 3NSG-put PRES

    3NSG/MU-cook PRES MU-food 'owner'/boss-ERG old person-ERG 3NSG/MU-eat PRES
    burmu-ñuna-gan mungu-may
    3NSG/MU-eat FUT-SUB/FOC MU-food

12. nayu bolo?bolo-?gon mungu-wayan burmu-ñuna-gan
    only woman-DAT MU-not sacred food 3NSG/MU-eat FUT-SUB/FOC

    MU-damper 3NSG/MU-make PRES M-that paperbark-LOC 3NSG/MU-cook-SUB
    ju-milkanda-yi? φ-mu-yañin-gen
    F-widow-REG 3SG-MU-put PC-SUB

\(^1\)Here as in Text 2, fn.\(^3\) his husband was mistakenly given for her husband/spouse, nu-gopo-ñoji.
15. burmu-ne got-ga? mungu-jatam mungu-biṭin niŋjaŋi?-?(?)gin 3NSG/MU-cook paperbark-LOC MU-lily MU-dumper his-GEN lorkon-nowi-?gin funeral log-his-DAT
16. muŋuŋju Ṽuru-ñaŋan boŋi morning lIN PL-sit PRES now
18. guŋu-lorkon-nowi go?yen burgu-fort?-miŋiŋ lorkon-nowi-?gin GU-funeral log-his here 3NSG/GU-clean-AUX PC funeral (log)-his-DAT
20. bur-gumja wapawapa?-yi? 3NSG/3SG-cover PRES cloth-INST
21. bur-gan ə-ŋan-ji? guŋu-waŋjat bur-ma 3NSG/3SG-take PRES 3SG-see-FUT NEG GU-arm 3NSG/3SG-get PRES
23. alaŋa bur-ñaŋani-wun bap lorkon-nowi-ka? then/directly 3NSG/3SG-sit-CAUS PRES plank funeral log-his-LOC
25. gu-ə-go?-ŋan nu-go?je balku 3-3SG-have-AUX PRES M-that string
26. boŋi bur-war? guŋu-got boŋi bur-maŋiŋ? ja?boŋ now 3NSG/3SG-throw GU-paperbark now 3NSG/3SG-make PRES that's all
29. ja?boi bur-yini?-ganiŋ

finished 3NSG/3SG-say to-PC

30. boi niŋ-raborabo-na gojegun? niŋ-warja?warja?-ra niŋ-ṇawkṇawk-(g)an
now 2SG-go RED-FUT there 2SG-walk about RED-FUT 2SG-talk RED-SUB/DI
niŋ-wakwak-a bur-yini?-ganiŋ bur-men-maniŋ?-miŋ
2SG-laugh RED-FUT 3NSG/3SG-say to-PC 3NSG/3SG-mind-make-PP

31. niŋ-warja?warja?-ra mu-may jumu-ma?ma-ņa niŋ-wulupwulup-a
2SG-go about RED-FUT MU-food 2SG/MU-get RED-FUT 2SG-bathe RED-FUT
niŋ-gwenen-men-ji? niŋ-mele-gwenen-men
2SG-be frightened-AUX-FUT NEG 2SG-EVIT-be frightened-AUX PRES

32. maŋaŋi mači a-mu-dot-miŋ boi
beads indeed 3SG-MU-break-PP now

33. boi niŋ-maŋamaŋa? maŋa-ŋi
now 2SG-bare neck-yours SG

1. They go, they cover (them, i.e. widows) with cloth and paperbark.
2. Her cross-cousin covers her.
3. Here they sit, there are no men [or perhaps, no people, but the former seems more likely].
4. They clear a big space all around towards the east.
5. The men sit, they make a hole [i.e. for the funeral log] for the widow woman.
6. They clean it (the ground) and they stand up the funeral pole.
7. They stand up the funeral log (iorkon).
8. That lorkon goes along.
9. They paint up her husband [i.e. the log] for the woman.
10. They paint it and put feathers (on it).
11. They cook food, the bosses and old people (old men) eat it.
12. But as for the women, they (will) eat non-sacred food.
13. They make damper (which) they cook in paperbark, where the widow put food.
14. The widow, the bosses, put [SG] food, the sacred food is for his [i.e. the husband's] funeral rites (iorkon).
15. They cook lily and damper in paperbark for his iorkon.
16. In the morning we sit now.
17. They really rub that (old) woman (i.e. the widow) with red ochre thoroughly, her forehead too.
18. They cleaned his funeral log here for his funeral.
19. They make his wife stand up, they take her.
20. They cover her with cloth.
21. They take her, she can't see, they get/take her arm.
22. She will lean with her back against his funeral log, (against) her husband.
23. Directly they make her sit down on the funeral log.
24. Now they break the widow's beads, her grandson breaks it for that (old) woman, (or) perhaps her mother, her classificatory mother breaks it.
25. She has/keeps that string (from the beads).
26. Now they throw out the paperbark, they make/do it, that's the end.
27. "You will/may go about now, you will look, you will go about, you will bathe", they said to her.
28. "You will bathe, you'll get food now, he rubbed you, your husband told us", they said to the (old) woman.
29. "It's finished", they said to her.
30. "Now you'll go there, you'll walk about, you'll talk, you'll laugh", they told her, they instructed/informed her.
31. "You'll walk around, you'll get food, you'll bathe, you won't be/needn't be frightened, you oughtn't to be frightened".
32. "He broke the beads now".
33. "Now your neck is bare".

Notes: This text describes the lifting of restrictions placed on a widow following the death of her husband. With the final deposition of bones in a funeral log (lorkon), the widow's beads are broken by a relative in a public ceremony, and she is then allowed to talk freely and engage in other normal activities. Note the lorkon log is spoken of as if it directly represents the husband.

Text 6. More on funeral rites and food distribution

Narrator: Edna Nuluk

1. je ki bur-çek-war?-miyiñ lorkon-ŋow i ŋa-ŋa r?-miñ-gin mayŋo?-yi?
   first 3NSG/3SG-paint-AUX-PC funeral log-his 3SG-die-PP-SUB red ochre-INST
   aŋ ji mayŋo?-yi?
   also red ochre-INST
2. bur-japja
   3NSG/3SG-stand PRES
3. bi la rak  gu-ŋa rña n  jugu-milkanda
   a long time 3-3SG-sit PRES F-widow
4. bur-gan monič
   3NSG/3SG-take PRES stealthily
5. mungu-may burmu-baranjaŋ maŋga ḷa? ma-la-boŋo-yi?
   MU-food 3NSG/MU-hang up PP tree fork-LOC some (others)-ERG
6. mu-wayaŋ?-molk
   MU-profane food-NEG
M-cross-cousin-his-ERG M-protector-his-ERG 3NSG/MU-eat FUT-SUB/FOC
mu-japuru gore?
MU-sacred self

8. mu-wayaQ burmu-ñuna-gan mala-bono-yi? wałaman?-yi mirpara-yi?
MU-profane 3NSG/MU-eat FUT-SUB/FOC some-ERG many-ERG child-ERG
yiñji, mu-wayaQ
even MU-profane

9. ju-yapa-ñowi-yi? ñayu φ-mu-ñuñ-ji?
F-Si-his-ERG but 3SG-MU-eat FUT NEG MU-that MU-funeral-DAT
mun-go?je mungu-lorkon-?gon1

10. ñayu mu-wayaQ gu-φ-mu-ñuñ jiñjañi?-(?)gîn?-wi
only MU-profane 3-3SG-MU-eat PRES hers-DAT-PURP

11. ju-yapa yirmi-ñununici-koro nu-gaka?-gan nu-go?je gu-φ-ñar?-gan
F-Si 1EX/MU-eat RED-PRES NEG M-Br-DAT M-that 3-3SG-die-SUB

12. ñayu mu-wayaQ yirmi-ñun yirkançi?-(?)gîn?-wi
only MU-profane 1EX/MU-eat PRES ours EX-DAT-PURP

13. yirmi-ñun-ji?
gaka?-gan, ñayu
gowko wawaya ñayu, mokol ñayu
1EX/MU-eat-FUT NEG Br-DAT only/but MoMo DaCh only Fa only
ñayu
gaka?-gan yirmi-ñun-ji?
but Br-DAT 1EX/MU-eat-FUT NEG

SîC-DAT moreover 1EX/MU-eat-FUT NEG funeral-his-DAT

15. ju-mana-bindi gu-φ-mu-ñu-na
F-Mo-real 3-3SG-MU-eat-FUT

but F-Mo-step-his-ERG F-junior Mo/wife F-this 3SG-MU-eat-FUT NEG

17. mun-gôle?-gen mungu-lorkon-ñowi-?gin2
MU-that-DAT MU-funeral-his-DAT

1. First when he died they painted his funeral log with red ochre, also with red ochre.
2. They stand it up.
3. His widow just 'sits' for a long time.
4. They take it (food?) stealthily.

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1 Notice that while lorkon is usually treated as GU-class (as in Text 5, sentence 8), here and at 17 this text it is treated as MU-class.

2 Gaya refers to same-sex sibling's child; here, since the speaker is a woman reference is to SîC, specifically SîSo, who is here compared to Br in respect of the fact that a woman is not allowed to eat sacred food at the funeral rites of these relatives.
5. Some others hung up foods in a tree fork.
6. Not profane food [i.e. the sacred food].
7. His [i.e. the deceased's] cross-cousins, his protector/guardians will (be the ones to) eat the sacred food themselves.
8. The profane food will be eaten by a lot of others, even children, the profane [i.e. non-sacred] food.
9. But his sister can't eat it (the sacred food) for his funeral.
10. She only eats the profane for her part.
11. (We) sisters do not eat it (sacred food) for our brother when he dies.
12. We only eat the profane, for our part.
13. We can't eat it (that) of our brother, only (his) MoMo, DaCh, his Fa; but for our brother [i.e. a woman's brother] we can't eat it.
14. For our sister's son, moreover, we can't eat it for his funeral.
15. His real mother will eat it (customarily eats it).
16. But his 'step'-mother [i.e. his MoSi, or classificatory, more distant mother], his father's junior wife, she can't eat it (sacred food) for his funeral.

Note the narrative technique of expansion, where referents are often not clear at first mention, but are subsequently elaborated upon. For example, in 4, at first mention 'They take it stealthily', it is not clear what 'it' may be, but this is subsequently clarified by the discussion of sacred food.

Text 7. On the coming of Europeans and others to Roper Valley

Narrator: Blutcher (Jaranadjin)

1. Yipunja munanja-zi goye-gen.
   long time ago white people-PRIV here-ADV
2. munanja-zi gaça yipunja.
   white people no long ago
3. buru-ñawk-molk English gaça
   3NSG-talk-PNEG (English) no
4. Yanipi marji-bugi? buru-yineriñ
   whachacallit hand-only 3NSG-do thus PC
   hand-only tobacco-PURP 3NSG-do thus PC
6. Queensland boy buru-ñañaniñ weren-wala McArthur, goye buru-raboniñ
   (English) 3NSG-sit/live PC TOP ?-ABL (place) here 3NSG-come PC
   here country this-LOC PROP-English 3NSG-come PC east-ABL
7. munanja-yi? burun-ganiñ roro-wala Queensland boy.
   white people-ERG 3SG/3NSG-bring PC east-ABL (English)
8. go?ye Ngalakan Alawa buru-ŋawk-molk English,  gača
there Ngalakan Alawa 3NSG-talk-PNEG (English) no

Ngalakan there-ABL 3SG-come PC north-ABL.

10. gunđu manγulun ŋugu-ŋalakan-?gan go?ye, gungu-gunđu ŋalakan-?gan,
country (TOP) N-Ngalakan-GEN here GU-country Ngalakan-GEN
maywak ġalawuj? (TOP) (TOP)

11. Ngalakan buru-ŋawk-meriŋ gaken(?)-molk, go?ye-bugi?
Ngalakan 3NSG-talk-AUX PC far-NEG here-only

here (European name) 3-3SG-liv e-PRES-SUB here upriver (pastoral station)
nu-gun?biri ŋalakan-?gan gundu-bore.
M-that Ngalakan-GEN country-theirs

there-ABL-ADV 3SG-come back PC to here river-PURP this way
φ-wakeniŋ go?ye-gaga?
3SG-come back here-ALL

M-that high up-ADV (name of group) now ALL-upriver-ADV (name)

15. Ngalakan buru-wakeniŋ goykwun? φ-bo-waniŋ goykwun?
Ngalakan 3NSG-return PC towards here 3SG-river-follow PC to here

16. bo-wi buru-rgboniŋ
river-PURP 3NSG-come PC

17. φ-wakeniŋ bur-ŋaŋa go?ye munaŋa Mr. Perth (?),
3SG-return PC 3NSG/3SG-see PP here white man (name)
nu-ney-bun munaŋa.
1SG/3SG-name-say PRES white man

18. Thomas Hale bur-ŋaŋa nu-ga?ye
3NSG/3SG-see PP M-this

3NSG/3SG-make PP house (English)-theirs upriver
M-that white man-ERG 3SG-have-AUX PC here-ADV

20. Yanipi auwuć-molk gača, gu-got bur-maniŋ?-miŋ
whachacallit house (English)-NEG no GU-paperbark 3NSG/3SG-make-PP
bo-ka?
river-LOC

1Notice the use of singular cross-reference here, where the subject is 'the Ngalakan'.

3NSG/3SG-make-PP finish M-(name)-DU (name)

22. Ngalakan buru-raboraboni jambaku-?gun go?ye-gaga?  
Ngalakan 3NSG-come RED PC tobacco DAT here-ALL

23. ńaýaŋi?-(-?)gin ńu-mokol ǝ-ńawk-mi? English, mačiini ńugu-mokol mine  
M-father 3SG-talk-PP English indeed/for M-father  
yanipi-meriń cuttingman-menin  
go?ye Roper Police Station.  
whachacalit-AUX PC cuttingman (English)-AUX PC here (place)

I here 1SG-child-AUX PC M-father-ERG 3SG/1SG-see PP here  
ńu-mirpara-menin ńu-yineriń ńu-ńolko-meń ńu-yinii bońi.  
1SG-child-AUX PC 1SG-do thus PC 1SG-big-AUX PP 1SG-do thus PP now

25. ńu-jučuruweń.  
1SG-run about RED PP

Queensland boy-yi? bur-wurki?-meriń.  
(English)-ERG 3NSG-work-AUX PC

27. buru-ńawk-mi? gelegele English no matter.  
3NSG-talk-PP any old way (English)

later 3NSG-talk-PP English

29. bulugi bur-mujerim?-mi? go?ye nan bur-brandim?-mi? cattle 3NSG/3SG-muster (English)-PP here right 3NSG/3SG-brand (English)-PP  
place here right this way river-PURP 3NSG/3SG-chase-PP cattle  
Ngalakan, Wačiburu.  
Ngalakan Alawa

30. gun?biri Hodgson Downs ǝ-yineriń-bugi? Hank McCoy, George Stevens there (place) 3SG-do thus-PC-just (European names)  
Queensland boys gun?biri buru-ňananiņ.  
there 3NSG-live PC

3NSG-group-get POT-RR-PC M-these here-only  
buru-ňananiņ-gin.  
3NSG-live PC-SUB/FOC

simply 3NSG-go/come PC here-ADV M-Alawa

33. bońi ngalakan?-yi? ǝ-jam?-gańiń gungu-gunđu ga?ye nan bay-ala now Ngalakan-ERG 3SG-close in-AUX PP GU-country this right north-ABL

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¹This kind of construction, NP-DU NP, is highly favoured; see 3.2.29
34. ɲiɲ-goy-wuna gu-biɲ nolko, gun?biri ɲalakan-?gan
   1SG/2SG-show-AUX FUT GU-stone big there Ngalakan-GEN
   gungu-gùndu-bore
   GU-country-theirs
35. gu-biɲ ɲolko ge-guʒįga1 biɾiɲuŋ, gun?biri ɲalakan-?gan
   GU-stone big (TOP) M-that Ngalakan-GEN
   Ngalakan 3NSG-grow-PP here many 3NSG-big-AUX PP here-ADV
37. ø-jam?-ganiɲ go?ye Roper Valley ɲalakan-yi?, Walliburu ø-wakeɲ
   3SG-crowd in-AUX PP here (place) Ngalakan-ERG Alawa 3SG-return PP
   Hodgson Downs, yukaji? gùndu-bore-ka?,
   (place) for good country-theirs-LOC
38. jamolk buru-raboraboniɲ go?ye-gen
   simply 3NSG-go/come RED PC here-ADV
   like Chinese (English) 3-3SG-go RED PRES (English)-LOC 3-3SG-go/come PRES
   Englishman-ga?, ø-yineriɲ nugu-bigrur, buru-wa-çi-ɲiɲ.
   (English)-LOC 3SG-do thus PC M-Aborigine 3NSG-follow-RR-PC
40. ju-mariɲ mala-bono buru-juruweniɲ maramba, maramba? buru-juruweniɲ
   F-girl some 3NSG-ran away PC elope elope 3NSG-run away PC
   jugu-mariɲ, buru-juruweniɲ go?je yukaji? Hodgson Downs, Nutwood
   F-girl 3NSG-run away PC there for good (place)
   buru-juruweniɲ-gin
   3NSG-run away-SUB
41. baliɲ? munana gu-Ø-woɕ-ma ju-mariɲ, munana-yi? gu-Ø-ma
   like white man 3-3SG-steal-AUX PRES F-girl European-ERG 3-3SG-get PRES
   buru-juruwen.
   3NSG-run away PRES
42. buru-yiniɲ nugu-bigrur.
   3NSG-do thus PP M-Aborigine
43. ø-yineriɲ-bugir? nugu-malayi, buru-ma?maniɲ jugu-mariɲ
   3SG-do thus PC-just M-Malayan 3NSG-get RED PP F-girl
   buru-baɲa-juruweniɲ gojequn? nugu-geywar.
   3NSG-ACC-run away PC there M-young man

1Gujiga are initiation songs; I am not sure how to analyse ge-le- here.

Notice also that this speaker uses alternative adverbial suffix (4.6.4) forms
-gan and -gen, depending on the preceding vowel. He also uses the PC allomorph
-meriɲ for thematic verbs (see 4, 5, 11, 23, for example). Notice the use of
Kriol transitive forms (with -im?) as thematic verbs at 29.
1. Long ago (there were) no white people around here.
2. No white people, nothing, long ago.
3. They [i.e. Aborigines] didn't talk English, no.
4. Whachacallit, they only made hand-signs (to talk to Europeans).
5. Only (with) hands for tobacco, they did like this.
6. Queensland boys [i.e. Aboriginal workers brought from Queensland] from (place ?) were living at McArthur (a station in the Borroloola district), they came here to this country with (able to speak) English, they came from the east.
7. White men brought the Queensland boys from the east.
8. Here the Ngalakan and Alawa didn't speak English, no.
9. The Ngalakan came from there, from the north.
10. Their country, of the Ngalakan, is Manyuluy here, Ngalakan country (is) Maiwok and Flying Fox.
11. They spoke Ngalakan not far away, just here.
12. Here where McFarlane lives, here upriver at Moroak (a pastoral property) that's Ngalakan country.
13. From there they came (back) here to/for the river, they came back to here.
14. There higher up are the Maygarai now, upriver (are) Maygarai.
15. The Ngalakan came back here, they followed the river to here.
16. They came for [i.e. to be near] the river.
17. They came back and saw here a white man Mr. Perth (?), I'm telling the name of the white man.
18. Thomas Hale they saw here.
19. They made a house, higher up there white men/man had Queensland boys.
20. Whachacallit, it wasn't a house, no, they made (a structure of) paperbark on the river.
21. They made it, finish, Thomas Hale and Mr. Perth.
22. The Ngalakan came here for tobacco.
23. My own father spoke English, for my father did whachacallit, he worked as a cutter here at Roper Police Station.
24. I was a child here, my father 'found' me here [i.e. refers to recognition of pregnancy by father], I was a child, I was like that, I grew up, I'm like that now.
25. I ran about (as a child).
26. My father worked here cutting, some Queensland boys worked.
27. They spoke English any old way, no matter.
28. Later they spoke English (properly).
29. They mustered cattle, right here they branded, the Ngalakan and Alawa chased cattle right here this way along the river.
30. There at Hodgson Downs they just did/there were just Hank McCoy, George Stevens, Queensland boys were living there.
31. The grouped together, these Queensland boys where they were living here.
32. The Alawa simply came here (for nothing).
33. Now the Ngalakan crowded in, this country right here, from the north, not far.
34. I'll show you a big stone, there is Ngalakan country.
35. A big stone (at) Biriguy [place near Roper Valley], there is for the Ngalakan.
36. The Ngalakan grew, here there are a lot, they multiplied right here.
37. The Ngalakan crowded in here at Roper Valley, the Alawa returned to Hodgson Downs, (went back) for good to their country.
38. They came here for nothing.
39. Just the way the Chinese come to/move in on Australians, (or) move in on the English, that's how Aborigines did, they followed each other.
40. Some girls eloped, the girls eloped, they ran away there to Hodgson Downs (or) Nutwood for good when they ran away.
41. The way white men steal girls, white men get (them) and they run away.
42. That's how Aborigines did.
43. The Malayans did like that, they got girls and the young men ran away with them that way.
44. The children were born there and they speak Mavayari, (but) they aren't Mavayari, their mothers are really Ngalakan, it was/they did like that.
45. Today they go any which way, anywhere now.
46. Here at Roper Valley, there at Roper Mission, Urapunga, they go any which way.
47. Like white people, like white people now, they have no 'skins' [i.e. do not observe marriage prescriptions], no, they have no skins now.
48. Long ago they had skins [observed marriage prescriptions], today nothing now.
49. Our Church of England is on top, they don't have [i.e. don't hold with] that Church.
50. No, they 'threw away' (abandoned) that Church of England.
51. Only old people go to church, old people only, old ladies, old men like me.
52. They don't go to Church, the married girls go to the river, how about that?
53. They've become white people now.
54. No matter, let's you and I forget about/leave them now, it's their way ('mind').

This text includes commentary on the fact that Aborigines, at first contact with Europeans, spoke no English; they learned English later. There are sections which refer to the bringing to the Roper area of 'Queensland boys', Queensland Aboriginal stock-workers. Still other sections describe Ngalakan country as to the north of Roper Valley towards Arnhem Land. The speaker (an old man, formerly married to a part-Mara woman) gives his opinion that the Ngalakan have moved in on the Alawa at Roper Valley; he compares this to the coming to Australia or England of the Chinese. He suggests as one reason for people's movements the fact that girls elope to other localities (and presumably are then followed by some of their relatives). He remarks that even though the children of Ngalakan women who elope may be born elsewhere, they are really, properly Ngalakan. He concludes with criticism of younger people who, he says, now marry anybody without proper attention to correctness of the marriage. He says everybody except old people has stopped going to Church.
Text 8. Using a firestick

Narrator: Edna Ñuluk

1. We twirl firesticks for fire.
2. We get grass [species], we twirl the firestick, the fire starts.
3. We soften the grass, fire, we twirl the firestick.
4. We light it, and get grass.
5. As I light it, then I should put it (the extra grass).
6. From the firestick we get fire, we light it.
7. Oh good, let’s go now, you get wood, light a big fire, get wood when/as you light it, for meat, goannas, spiny-tailed goanna, blue-tongue, you’ll light it and get water.
Text 9. Use of some kin terms

Narrator: Edna Nuluk

1. ɲykanĩ-yi? mirpara-ŋoji yapa-wala ɲubu-gaya?
   I-ERG child-hers Si-ABL 1SG/3NSG-StCh

2. jun-gaŋaʔ-wun ɲu-gaya-ŋini-yi? yanaʔ ɲun-yniʔ-gan?
   2SG/1SG-ask-AUX PRES M-StCh-mine-ERG what 3SG/1SG-say to-AUX PRES

3. ɲun-manaʔ, gaya-ŋgi-yi? ɲun-manaʔ
   3SG/1SG-mother StCh-yours-ERG 3SG/2SG-mother

4. ɲu-gaya-ŋgi ɲu-J. nugu-bonanę?
   M-StCh-yours SG M-(name deleted) M-(subsection)

5. ɲu-gun?biri gaya, mirpara-ŋoji ju-yapa-ŋgiʔ-wala.
   M-that StCh child-hers F-Si-yours SG-ABL

6. bigurʔ-gun, ɲu-gun?biri gaya mirpara-nowi buyupu-wala aŋji ɲu-gaka-wala
   man-DAT M-that BrCh child-his Br-ABL and M-younger Br-ABL

7. bur-mokolʔ, mirpara-gapul-yi? bur-mokolʔ ɲiŋ-yiniʔ-gan-gan1
   3NSG/3SG-father child-PL-ERG 3NSG/3SG-father 2SG-say-AUX PRES-SUB
   ge-köʔ, ɲu-gun?biri boloʔbolo aŋji mirpara gaka-ŋojiʔ-wala
   man's child-DY M-that woman and child Br-hers-ABL.

8. bigurʔ-gun, ɲiŋ-yiniʔ-gan-gan ɲamu-koʔ, ɲu-gun?biri bigur
   man-DAT 2SG-say-AUX PRES-SUB woman's child-DY M-that man
   aŋji mirpara yapa-nowiʔ-wala
   and child Si-his-ABL

9. gaya-koʔ, gunmanʔ boloʔbolo aŋji mirpara
   same-sex sibling and child-DY maybe woman and child
   yapa-ŋojiʔ-wala, bigurʔ-gun mirpara gaka-nowiʔ-wala
   Si-hers-ABL man-DAT child Br-his-ABL

1. I call my sister's children gaya.
2. You ask me, what does my gaya call me?
3. He/she calls me mother, your gaya calls you mother.
4. Your gaya is J., of bonanę subsection.
5. That gaya is your sister's child.
6. For a man, that gaya is the child of his older or younger brother.
7. They call him father, all the children call him father, where you say
gę-koʔ, that's a woman and her brother's child.
8. For a man, where you say ɲamu-koʔ, that's a man and the child of his sister.
9. (As for) gaya-koʔ, maybe (there is) a woman and her sister's child, (and)
   for a man, (himself and) his brother's child.

Note the intransitive use of yiniʔ-ga- here, as shown by the prefix ɲiŋ- 2SG.

---

1Note the intransitive use of yiniʔ-ga- here, as shown by the prefix ɲiŋ- 2SG.
Comments

I asked Edna to explain the 'child' kin terms to me, and this was the first statement she came up with. Her answer shows she understood I was looking for a general explanation, following which she amplified with illustrations of how I would apply these terms to particular people at Roper Valley.

Text 10. Not getting echidna

Narrator: Edna Ñuluq

1. goykun? gu-ŋ-walk nugu-manapuŋ yerke-ga?.
   *this way 3-3SG-go in M-echidna inside-ALL*

2. yi-ma-či?, gača, ə-walk-miŋ ńamulu.
   1IN DU/3SG-get-FUT NEG no 3SG-go in-PP properly

3. anji bur-ma gu-janda? gengeŋ nu-gun?biri-ŋgin
   so/and 3NSG/3SG-get PRES GU-stick long M-that-DAT
   nugu-manapuŋ?gun.
   M-echidna-DAT

   3NSG/3SG-get PRES long stick MU-lancewood and 3NSG/3SG-make PRES
   bur-jet,
   3NSG/3SG-singe PRES 3NSG/3SG-singe RED PRES

5. gajet-ji, bur-jetjet,
   mun
   knife-PRIV 3NSG/3SG-singe RED PRES finish

6. alanga bur-maŋiŋ? bil? ... nu-go?je
   then 3NSG/3SG-make PRES sharp point M-that
   bur-bil?-maŋiŋ?
   3NSG/3SG-sharp point-make PRES

7. anji muɗuŋ? buru-jaŋan anji bur-walk-(g)an
   and on knees 3NSG/3SG-stand PRES and 3NSG/3SG-go in-CAUS PRES
   mun-go?je mungu-júlu? gengeŋ
   MU-that MU-lancewood long

8. bur-walk-(g)an yerke-bindi, gača.
   3NSG/3SG-go in-CAUS PRES inside-really nothing

9. yerke-bindi ə-walk-miŋ
   inside-really 3SG-go in-PP

10. bur-walk-(g)aniŋ mungu-júlu? baţa-mere?-yi?, gača,
    3NSG/3SG-go in-CAUS PC MU-lancewood PROP-tip/point nothing
    bur-ŋaniʔmolk
    3NSG/3SG-see-PNEG

    2SG/3SG-leave M-that M-echidna

12. mačiniŋ gakeŋ-bindi darka? ə-walk-miŋ
    indeed/for far-really hard to get 3SG/3SG-go in-PP
1. The echidna goes inside (into the rock, or cave) this way.
2. You and I can't get it, no, he went right inside.
3. And so they get a long stick for that echidna.
4. They get a long lancewood stick and make it, they singe it, they singe and singe it.
5. No knife, they singe and singe it, finished.
6. Then they make a sharp point, they make a point.
7. And they go on their knees and make it go in/put it inside (the rock), that long lancewood.
8. They put it right inside, nothing.
9. He went right in.
10. They put the pointed lancewood inside, nothing, they didn't find/see it.
11. "Leave it, that echidna".
12. Because it's really gone in, it's hard to get.

Text 11. Getting echidna

Narrator: Edna Nuluk

1. ju-bo?bo yaw-yiki, ray-yiki
   2SG/3SG-kill PP good-ours IN DU meat-ours IN DU
   yi-li-ŋuna-gan.¹
   LIN DU/3SG-CMP-eat FUT-SUB/FOC (?)

2. jajabarŋ?-ga? bur-ne bur-jet mačiniŋ bur-jet
   evening-LOC 3NSG/3SG-cook PRES 3NSG/3SG-singe PRES indeed 3NSG/3SG-singe
   bur-war? ŋoy-ka?
   3NSG/3SG-throw PRES fire-LOC

   M-that M-echidna MU-fur 3NSG/3SG-singe

4. gajet-ji, murniŋ-yi?, alanga ḡ-neŋi, ḡo? ḡ-maŋi
   knife-PRIV shovel spear-INST then 3SG/3SG-cook POT guts 3SG/3SG-get POT
   bur-ne alanga ḡ-ŋuniŋuni ...
   3NSG/3SG-cook PRES then 3SG/3SG-get POT RED

¹Note that it is hard to know how to interpret the 'compassion' prefix -li- here (3.2.21). When this prefix occurs in intransitive clauses it refers to the intransitive subject; when it occurs in transitive clauses, it generally expresses speaker's pity for the object. But here it seems to express compassion for the transitive subject: (when) we, poor things, (want to) eat our meat (possibly also it's our meat that we, poor things, will eat if ray-yiki is taken to be focussed).
1. "You got it, good for you and me, (when) we (want to) eat our meat.
2. In the evening/late afternoon they cook it, they singe it, they really singe it and throw it on the fire.
3. They singe the echidna's hair.
4. No knife, with shovel spear, then he may/should cook it, he should take the guts out, they cook it, then he should eat it.
5. He covers the echidna (with coals), they cook it, throw it in the fire, big cooking stones.
6. They put (cooking stones) in the echidna's body.
7. And they put grass in the water.
8. They bring back grass, first they throw water lest it (the echidna) be raw. [Evidently referring to the practice of cracking the cooking stones by throwing water on them, to make cooking more efficient.]
CHAPTER VI
NGALAKAN-ENGLISH VOCABULARY LIST

Alphabetical order: a, b, ċ, d, ɖ, e, g, i, j, k, l, m, n, ŋ, ŋ, o, p, r, ŋ, t, ŋ, u, w, y, ʔ.

In entries with syllable-final glottal, the glottal counts as the last letter in the series before the listing goes on to another letter; thus is the last entry in the series ja- before jaʔboŋ).

Each entry is followed by a word-class label. Abbreviations are:
ADJ = adjective, ADV = adverb, CONJ = conjunction, DEM = demonstrative, INDEF = indefinite, INT = interrogative, INTERJ = interjection, N = noun, PFX = prefix, SF = stem-formant, TNSV = transitiviser, PRO = pronoun, SFX = suffix, V = verb, V TH = thematic verb.

Entries include lexical stems, lexical affixes, noun class prefixes, case suffixes. Verbal suffixes are not included. Noun class is indicated
F = feminine, GU = gu-class, MU = mu-class, otherwise no indication signifies masculine. (A designation M = masculine is included in a few entries where noun classification is unexpected, e.g. jaŋdiya? M pandanus mat). Many human nouns with no designation can be variable gender (e.g. ɖuɖu FaFa, FaFaSi). A question mark indicates noun class is unknown.

A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Word Class</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alako</td>
<td>CONJ, ADV</td>
<td>by and by, later —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alako yiri-waŋaʔra</td>
<td>Later we'll go walking about, foraging.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alanga</td>
<td>CONJ, ADV</td>
<td>directly, straightaway, then, next —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alanga ɖ-yenj ŋu-goʔi mirpara gaŋa?</td>
<td>She may/should have the baby straightaway. bur-jetjet, munji Alanga bur-maŋiŋ? biʔ? They sings it enough! Directly they make a sharp point.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alki?</td>
<td>CONJ, ADV</td>
<td>still, yet — aŋji (QIcon:와서.png) alki? yiri-waŋa-ŋaŋaŋiŋ, yiri-yɔŋɔniŋ And we still stayed in camp a long time, we slept.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana</td>
<td>PART</td>
<td>approximately adversative 'but' in some uses wurʔ-wurũu-bindi-molk, ana bәŋ-geywar Not really old men, (but) middle aged. Elsewhere approximately 'well': ana ŋu-maŋi guru-muŋumuŋuŋju Well I should've gotten it this morning.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
año? PART used with allative form of cardinal directions, e.g. año? yi-roro to the east.

añojy CONJ and, now directly, and now, next — burgu-ye gerne-ñowi-ka? nugu-manapun-ga?, añojy gu-noço? burgu-ye we?-ga? They put it on the echidna’s (manapun) body, and now they put the grass (ñoço?) in water.

bači- V infrequent supplementary stem for bu-yji- following compounding element; for paradigm see 3.3.3. 18.4. See also bu-.

baţi-gulu? N GU, E. Ferruginea (?) baţi? N subsection term

bak N MU, pond algae

bak- V PFX used to derive transitive constructions with cross-referenced notional indirect object (3.2.8).

bala- N PFX probably 'side'; see bala-jaku, bala-ma?-wala

bala-jaku N, ADJ left-handed

balk N MoMoBrCh, MoMoBrSoSoCh -balk-o? (dyadic), balabalak-o? (plural dyadic)

bala-ma?-wala N, ADJ right-handed — (<bala-, ma? good, -wala ABL)

balčuda? N blanket lizard

baliŋ? PART like; ŋiŋja? baliŋ? like you; baliŋ? ŋu-jirkiŋ? ŋu-dugu?-yi? gu-ŋun noro like the mouse, the possum eats flowers; sometimes serves as causal conjunction, as in wayan ŋunu-bak-juy?-e baliŋ? ŋolko yir-wurk-miŋ they should have sent (money) for us since we did a lot of work (Eng.)

balkiŋ N constable

balkoj N MU, water lily sp. root

balku N MU, rope, string

balmana N MU, hat

balpar- V TH to dance in a group, dance slapping legs together

balparə? N mate, companion

balparə? V TH to have companion — ŋiŋ-balparə?-ra You’ll have a companion.

-balukun SFX expresses material, source from which: ŋu-ginđar ŋu-gayka-balukun my cross-cousin from my MoBr; waŋar-balukun ŋaw?-nowi bur-maŋiŋ? munbić They make pubic coverings from possum fur.

bal- V TH to make a bed, place to sleep (also redup. ba?ba?)

bambiliwar ADJ wide (as river)

banar- V TH to hear, listen, understand, think about yirkaŋi?- (?)gin guŋgu-yanaŋ gu-ʒ-banar He/ she understands our language.

banar-mi-či- (RR).

baŋar? N MU, marble tree, Owenia vernicosa

baŋar-kari N circumcised, initiated youth, young man

baŋar-wu- V CAUS to initiate, circumcise, make young man

baŋič N GU, kidney

baŋ- PFX in baŋ-geywar N young man, not really old man yet (= middle aged) see geywar young man).

bap INTERJ plunk! (noise of setting something down)

bapa N hypocoristic for 'father'

bapun- V TH to make someone stop, desist — jubu-bapun ba ru-mele- bu-yjin Stop them lest they fight.

bar- V TH to open — ʒ-jala-bar-miŋ it opened its mouth (PP)

bara INTERJ my word!
barabaradaku] N crested pigeon
baragaj? N GU, bamboo spear or
tree species used for spear
shafts.
bara] INTERJ hey! you all!
barawu N MU, boat (probably
borrowing from Macassarese)
bara- V to be suspended, hanging
up. For paradigm see 3.3.3.18.2
— ray nu-baɾaɲiɲ I hung the
meat up.
baraŋunu N sand goanna
baraŋari N Mitchell's water
goanna
baraŋu N big dog, mastiff
baraɾač N ADJ thin, long bony
one/person
bara? V TH to heap up, pile up
(RED bara?bara?)
bara- V to hang up, to suspend
something. For paradigm see
3.3.3.18.5.
bara PFX used to create transi-
tive constructions of generally
adversative meaning (3.2.8), or
intransitives of accompaniment
(3.3.2); also the prefix in the
discontinuous proprietive
('having') construction baɾa ... yì? (3.2.5). Occurs as quasi-
stem formant in some verbs, e.g.
bara-wa-to help (wa-follow).
babaŋa N butterfly
bati? N mosquito, march fly
bawun?- V TH to leave, abandon
— bawun?-mi-či- RR.
baya- V to look at, come/go to
see; see also RED bayapaya-;
Yirŋ nu-bayaninyaŋ I went to see/
fetch wax.
baya N pelican
bay ADV cardinal direction 'north'
ALL yi-bay, ABL bay-wala or
bay-ala; bay?bay? northward, to
the north.
bayir N F female euro, hill
kangaroo (Macropus robustus).
bayjayiŋ? N subsection term
be- V to bite — beŋi-či RR; buru-
beŋi-či-niŋ They bit each other.
(PP).
beŋiŋ? N GU, leaves, foliage
belewa- V to track, follow —
bele-waniŋ He tracked him. (PP)
beleŋ?- V TH to lick — ḡun-beleŋ?
He's licking me.
benuk N wild turkey, bustard
benbereŋ N MU, ghost gum
(E. papuana)
benen INTERJ no matter!, leave it!
— benen, gurmanŋ? ḡun-bawun? No
matter, maybe we'll leave it.
bere N GU, brisket, chest
ber?-ja- V to come out, of new
moon.
beɾemelk N GU, shoulder blade
betelerelere? N masked plover
beṭ- V TH to roast (as e.g. in
ground oven) — ḡur-beṭ-a
jet-ga? Maybe we'll roast it in
a ground oven.
bewki? ADJ white (< bewk+yi?, cf.
гибьи black, ḡiriɣiriɣiɣiɣ? red
etc.)
bewk-wu- V CAUS to whiten, make
white
bičiri N file snake
bičurk N GU, plat potato
(Microstemma)
bidak INTERJ good job!
-biɣić- V PFX nearly — ḡi-biɣić-
ɣar?miŋ marawul?gun I nearly
died of hunger.
bidiɣiɣi N GU, ti tree
bigur N man, Aborigine
bijuŋu N ? big wind
bilat N MU, splinter
bìlpo ADJ wide
bìlal N MU, waterlily leaf
bìlarak ADV for long time, a long time (yet) - alki? bìlarak
gu-ϕ-ɾuna It must/will cook a long time still.
bì? N GU sharp spear or stick point - bur-bìl?-manîn? They make a sharp point.
bìm N MU, white ochre, paint
bìm-bu- V to write, paint
bindi SFX very, really - gaken-bindi very far; gaja? ϕ-baɾənañiñ daɾ?-ga?garku-bindi! The dog was suspended very high in the tree.
bìn N GU (1) rock, hill, stone, (2) money
bìnday N GU cane grass
bìniñ N GU (finger-, toe-) nails
bìnîbîn ÐDJ skinny
-bîni- N GU water (bound) - bîni-bolκ-(g)a- make water come out; gu-gu-biñi-wurk He swallows water.
bìrim N Storr's monitor, spiny-tailed goanna
(men-)bìr-ga- V to inform someone to make someone aware (< men-mind)
bìrmir N GU music sticks, clapstick
bìtīn N MU, lily damper - bìtîn-mañîn? V TH to make damper; also with PFX mu-biñîn-mañîn?- - burmu-biñîn-mañîn?-miñ They made damper.
bo N GU river
boboy?- V TH to go to sleep (child register)
boðewk ADJ bad
boðewk-me- V to be downcast, sad; also mira-boðewk-me- (<gu-mira head)
boðekw-wu- V CAUS to ruin something, destroy, make bad, do badly; gungu-yañ ϕ-boðewk-wo He said it wrong.
boðop- V TH to cross over (as river road)
bok- V TH to shoot
bok N GU small creek
bolk- V TH to come out, up - gu-jolκo bur-ye garku-wala
gu-wol-ñîwî ϕ-mele-bolκ They put dirt (jolκo) on top so the smoke (wol) doesn't come out.
-bolkoč N GU backbone
bol-ma- V to rub, apply (paint, ointment, etc.) to skin
bolon?- V TH to go through, pass through
bolo?bolo N F woman
bol?-ga?war- V TH to track (something) (<mu-bol? track)
bol? N MU road, path (cf. bol?-ga?war to track)
bolo? N GU hollow log
bolor- V TH to sleep belly up
bol?- V TH to carry
bol?-ga- V to drag something (see bol? -)
boñañen? N subsection term
boñok N MU woomera
boño, boñoi? ADJ different, another one; see also mala-boño some; - nu-mokol-boñoi?-wala from another/a different father; boño ϕ-ñan-jí? He can't see/look for another.
boñi ADV now, already; also occurs as V PFX.
boña N rock goanna (Varanus glebopalma)
-boŋ?- used to signal avoidance style; e.g. ju-balak-boŋ?-ŋini or ju-balak-ŋini-boŋ? Occurs in nominals and verbs.

bop- V TH to give off smell, odour; RDP bo-bop; Bođewk gu-ŋ-bop It smells bad. See gor?-bop-.

bop-ŋa- V to smell something —ŋur-bop-ŋan ma? We smell good fat.

-bore SFX 3NSG possessive suffix

boŋyi N boy, male (of any species)

bot N ? bushfly, native bees

boy N MU grass species

boyo- to sit in a line. (AUX -yo- lie, sleep, may be boy-(y)o-). RED boyoboyo-.

bu- V to hit, strike, kill. See 3.3.3.16 for compounds, 3.3.3.18.1 for paradigm; bu-yi- RR, buru-bu-yi-ŋ they fought (PP). Also bu-či- recorded from one speaker.

bucē? N reticulated perchlet

budolgo? N brolga

-bugi? SFX only— buru-goyi-?molk, buru-ŋawk-(k)oro yan, munangubugi? buru-ŋawk Some do not know, they do not talk (Aboriginal) language, they talk English. (munanga 'white man')

buju? V TH to twist (as rope, string), to manufacture by rolling in hands or against thigh; soften — ñu-gunu?biri gungu-ŋo? yir-buju? We soften the grass.

bul N GU pit, trench — Gu-gu-wol-koro guru-bul-ŋowi-?wala It is not smoking from the (ground oven) pit.

bulažbulač N F female agile wallaby (apparent syn. jaruţu?)

bulgut N MU kurrajong (Brachychiton diversifolium)

bulkič ADV truly, really, very

bulpul N MU var. of Melaleuca leucadendron

bulubuluna N ADJ second or middle child, cf. jaţba firstborn

bulugi N bultha, cattle (also buligi)

buluna? ADV in the middle

bulupulun N spoonbill

bul- V TH to drown, be submerged

bul-ga- V CAUS to drown someone, cause to drown or become submerged

bulkbulk V TH to bubble up, boil; also biŋi-bulkulk; ŋ-gu-biŋibulk- miŋ jolko-wala Water boiled up from the ground.

buluŋu? N GU ashes

buluk N feather

buŋ N GU kneecap

bungiyi ADV on one's knees (<gu-buŋ knee)

buriŋ?- V TH to bury, heap (something) upon; buriŋ?-mi-či- RR; buriŋ?-ja- to be buried — wukara gu-ŋ-buriŋ?-jaŋan jolko-ga? A big frog is buried in the ground.

burkaji ADJ full, real (as 'real father' etc), (cf. Maŋarayi burgaji of same meaning)

burka? PRO 3NSG pronoun. ERG burkaŋi?-yi?, also burka?-yi?. Local case forms built on ERG.

buruburu? ADV little way, short way

burugulu N snake species (unidentified; found in trees; python?).

burupuruyi? ADJ having scabies, skin-mite infection

buruţji N water python

bur?-ŋa- V to know, understand —ŋu-bur-ŋani-koro ŋugun?biri bigur I don't know that man.
būrkburk N to dive in
būra N MU (1) rifle; (2) lily
būryi N really old man or woman
buwambuwa N? turkey down
buy- V TH to have blurry vision;
also ɲañju-la-buy-(<ɲañju)a eye
buypu N elder brother (male Ego);
buypu-go? two brothers (dyadic)
- buypubuypu-go? brothers (plural
dyadic)
buy-pu- V to rub sweat on; also
with noun class PFX gu-buy-pu-
buypuy-ڼe- V to singe hair (off
animal, in cooking); also with
noun class PFX gu-buypuy-ɲe-

-ʢi̖-ʢi̖ SFX privative 'lacking';
see 2.5 for the alternation.
-ʢi̖-ʢi̖-ʢi? SFX Future negative;
buru-waken-ʢi? They won't/can't
come back.

D
duŋ INTERJ yummy!

D
da- V TH to cut something;
da-ɲi- to cut oneself.
da-ɲa- CAUS to cut; man-ɲa-
da-ɲa- to hang someone—
(<gua-ɲa neck)
da-ɲa N MU wild honey.
da-ɲa! N big goanna (V. gouldii)
da-ɲaɾaara N green pandanus frog
da-ɲu- V to meet, encounter
someone; da-ɲu-ʢi- RR.
da-ɲin N ceremonial manager, one
who tends to the ceremonial
property of another (e.g. SiDaCh
for a given man). Possibly a
borrowing from Manjarayi).

dal?, dal?dal? INTERJ missed it!
dalariya N black cockatoo
darka? INTERJ tough one, hard to
get
da- V TH to dry out, become dry
- gumu-da? alki? biɭar lak It
will/must dry a long time yet.
da-?ye- CAUS to put to dry
- mu-wapawapa? yimu-da?yaŋa
wač-ka? We'll dry your clothes
in the sun.
da- N GU tree, stick
da-ɭawɗawk ADJ clean
da-ɗe- V TH to knock over, upset
da-ɖe-la-Ja- V to lean against,
standing leaning against; also
jana-ɖe-le-ja- (jana back).
Locative complement.
denek N GU lower ribs; denek-wi
lative, up to lower ribs.
derene? N GU red apple (Syzygium
suborbiculare).
der- V TH to slice, cut into
pieces
der?ba-ga- V to tie something up
derp V TH to be sleepy. RED
derpew. Useable also transi-
tively, e.g. ɲuŋ-e-gərdəp ɲañju-la-ŋini I'm sleepy (ɲañju-a
eye).
der?dərdər ADJ strong, tough,
resistant; joloŋ dərdər hard
ground
di-ɲa- V to look at very hard,
stare at
di-ɭidibawaba N lotus bird
di-ɭidi N whistling kite
di-ɭikdiɭ N peewee
di-ɲjalin N? red ochre
diɭa N GU nosepeg
diɭa- V TH to circumcise, (cf.
bənəɭari-wu-) — bur-diɭa-miɭiɲ, bur-bənəɭari-wo They circumcised
him, initiated him.
diw? V TH to fly away, take off
diwi? N MU aeroplane
dodoy? N MoBrSoCh; subclass of MoBr class. Reciprocals are manaŋ Mo, gayka MoBr — Giŋdar-ŋgi-wala, mirpara-ŋow ni-ŋu-dodoy?
From your cross-cousin, his child (is your) dodoy?.
dodol? V TH to be absent, away
dodo?- V TH to go down, descend
dolkdolk- V TH to line up, stand in line
doro?- V TH to dry up — gu-doro?-ji? gungu-we? The water will never dry up, evaporate.
doror?- V TH to pull
dorpo?- V TH to lie belly down
dxot-ga- V CAUS to break, tear off
dow- V to break; ø-mele-dow it may break, lest it break; gungu-belŋ? burgu-dow They break the foliage.
dow-ga- V CAUS to break something, cause to break — niŋ-wañjat -dow-gan He's breaking your arm.
dubaŋ N MU Leichhardt tree (Nauclea coadunata)
duŋu N FaFa, FaPaSi; duŋu-ko? (dyadic); duŋu-duŋu-ko? (plural dyadic)
duŋulaŋ N ring-tailed possum
duk-ja- V to tie up something — nanny goat wangiŋ? yir-duk-je We tied up one nanny goat. (SG)
duk-ja- V to be tied up — ø-duk-jaŋaniŋ He was tied up. (PC)
dul? V TH to come alight, light up, light itself.
dul?ga- V CAUS to light something, to burn (e.g. grass) — mu-boy-(ŋ)i? burgu-duŋ?-gan They are lighting it (GU-class, fire) with grass.
dumudumur? V TH to crack, snap
dumulu? N GU bloodwood (E. Polycarpa)
dun N ? string
dun?- V TH to turn something over — jeki gu-ŋ-je?-julu-wa-na muŋ alaŋga gu-gu-dun?-ŋa First it will sing, finish, then he will turn it over (said of a tape).
duŋič N (grey) fantail
duŋ?- V TH to sit down (event) — ø-duŋ?-miŋ He sat down. (PP)
duŋ?-ga- V CAUS to cause to sit down, make sit down
duwar N young euro (Macropus robustus)

G
ga- V to take, carry; (see 3.3.3.18.6 for paradigm, 3.3.3.16 for compounds) — yiriŋ-ganiŋ ani? yi-geriŋ Katherine-ga? He took us west to Katherine.
ga- see ga-maniŋ?
gabilaŋ? V TH to wave about, (as animal's tail); gabilaŋ?gabilaŋ? RED

gabogabo? N GU plain, open place
gaga PART none, nothing, no — Gaça ø-ŋaŋ?-(?molk, nu-ŋun?biri genje. No, he didn't die, he's alive.

gagaŋ N GU fever, flu
gaja? N dog, also pig
gajar?- V TH to be tired — buru-gajar? They are tired.
gajet N GU knife
gajuŋjuŋur ADJ hard to get, to achieve
gaka N Br for female Ego; younger Br for male Ego, younger Si for female Ego
gakeŋ ADJ, ADV distant (gunde
gakeŋ distant country), far away
gala N GU mountain, high bank
gala-gayaŋga? DEM ADV this side;
gala-gayaŋga?-wala from this side
gala- PFX occurs in gala-goje-ga?
other side, gala-gojeqa?-wala
from the other side, gala-gayaŋga?
this side, gala-gayaŋga?-wala
from this side. Related to gala
mountain, bank?
galal N GU ceremony ground
galananda? N GU plat potato
species
gali-ma- V to pick up - ñugu-bolo
yirin-gali-me?me The boss
picked us up.
gali?gali?- V TH to go away,
depart
galk N M enemy, murderer,
treachery (person)
galŋorkŋork N ? brains
galay INTERJ hey! look out!
galgoji? N M/GU boomerang
galuk- V TH to play (as children);
galugaluk RED
galuk-wu- V CAUS to make play,
give permission to play
galurk ADJ deep - gu-ŋ-galurk-
bindi It's really deep.
gu-ŋ-galurk-molk It's not deep.
gamaji? N MU bed-roll, belongings,
blankets, 'swag'
gamakun ADV correctly, properly
gamalabuy N GU smoky place
ga-manin?- V TH to fix up, repair,
(cf. min?- to make; ga- attested
but rare as compounding prefix or
element meaning 'things, belong-
ings. See Text 2, fn.2).

gamiŋjiko ADV all the time;
gamiŋji?jiko (RED) - mu-we?
ðu-gun?biri yimili? gu-ŋ-
jilkjilk gamiŋjiko In the wet
season it rains all the time.
gamuyumuyu ADV prohibited
ganam N GU ear
ganjari N bony bream
ganju ADV directly, straight away
gan- PFX evidently has collective
sense; occurs in gan-gapul all,
the whole lot (Paucal SFX -gapul);
gangal of some meaning — gangal
yir- trabona yerke-ga? All of us
will go downriver.
ganamuru N MU long-nosed honey bee
ganawara? N tree-dwelling goanna
species (with long tail)
ganja N GU lower leg
ganjalpuru N F female plains
kangaroo (Marcropus antelo pinus)
ganţiŋa N GU walking-stick
ganđuyun N GU sand ridge
ganja? ADV little mirpara gaña?
small child
ganja?-wu- V to ask someone, make
request of
gapanđa? N MU white mud, like
white ochre
gapuji N old man, woman
-gapul SFX paucal - mungu-ŋolko
\ñu-bolo-gapul?-ʔgun A lot (of food)
for the old people.
gapula N old blind person
gapurk ADJ dry; gapurk-me- to dry
out, become dry — guu-gapurk-
mena It (MU-class) will dry out.
gara ADV high up; ALL yi-gara,
ABL gara-wala. See also garku,
garkara.
-gara- V N PFX collective, all, together — gara-bolo?bolo yir-nuna All we women will eat (together); jugun?biri bolo-gapul-gara all the old ladies; gara-gun?biri gungu-gundu ọ-guma nthi?mi n jamben-yi? Snake created all that country. buru-gara-ŋuŋu, buru-yariyariyi? They're all the same, they are lazy; in expression gara-ŋuł-ga? a large amount, coolamon)
garadada N ? chest brace, apparel with crossing straps on chest
garakgarak N darter duck
gara-ŋuł-ga? N ADJ a lot, a large amount (<gara-, ŋuł? coolamon)
garbe- V to crawl; garbegarbe- RED
gar-bu- V to pull
garkara ADV high up, above. See also gara, garku; garkara mran ni wi mu-war?-mi n He threw it over my head.
garku ADV top, up; ALL garku-ga?, ABL garku-wala; Garku-wala gu-ŋa-do? He is coming down from the top.
garâŋganâŋini N big wallaby species
gat- V TH to get stuck, bogged, lodge in; manâ-gat- to choke (manâ- throat) — ŋuâ ŋu-uni n, wargu ŋu-manâ-gât-mi n I was eating fast, that's why/for that reason I choked.
gawurwa N MU honeybee ground hive
gaw?- V TH to call, sing out — ŋunbu-gaw?-mi n mu-may?-gan They called me for food.
gaw?-baya- V to sing out to someone
gaya N same-sex sibling's child; (man's BrCh, woman's SiCh); gaya-ko? (dyadic); gayagaya-ko? (plural dyadic)
gayabam N GU wild orange (Capparis umbonata)
gayakjiŋiwen N ADJ cranky bugger, cranky person
gayar?yar? N GU plain, open place
gayar?yar?-wu- V CAUS to clear an area, make clear place
gayka N mother's brother; gayka-go? MoBr and SiCh (dyadic); gayka- gayka-go? (plural dyadic)
gayku ADV a few days ago, a short while ago
gaykubur(?wi), gaykubur? ADV early in the day, full day (up to about noon)
gaykun? DEM PRO demonstrative stem 'these, this lot' (non-singular; see ga?ye-) — nù-gaykun?yi? bur-banar-mi n, bolo?bolo- yi?, mîrpara-yi? These/this group listened, the women and children.
ga?war V TH to chase, pursue; ga?war-mi-či- RR
ga?ye- DEM PRO demonstrative stem 'this (one)', singular (see gaykun?)
ge N man's child, BrCh for female Ego. ge-ko? (dyadic), gegeko? (plural dyadic)
gelk N GU river bank; gelka? (gelk-(g)a?), (LOC) on river bank; yi-war? a gelk-(g)a? nù-gun?biri ŋu-gi ku We'll toss the mussels (gi ku) on the bank.
gelmari n N F married girl (<mari n girl)
gelel?- V TH to slip, slide down
gen INTERJ Oops! (as when one has made a mistake speaking)
gegeŋ ADJ long
gepu- V to elude, get away from, usually baŋa-ge-pu: ŋun-baŋa-ge-po It got away from me. (PP) (AUX bu-)
ger N MU kurrajong (Brachychiton paradoxum)
geriñ ADV cardinal direction 'west'.
  All yi-geriñ, ABL geriñ-wala

gerne ADJ alive

gerne N M body
  -gewen- SF expresses fear; in
gewan-me- V to be, become
  frightened, gewen-baya- V to
  frighten someone

gewere? N dingo (Cogn. Ngandi
  a-gawir?)
geywar N young man; geywar-yiñuŋ
  husband's younger brother
gi⁹tgu³uc N tawny frogmouth
gidi N F young girl
gika N hypocoristic for 'father'
giku N M mussel
giligili? N galah

gin⁷l⁷k N white/straw-necked ibis

gin⁷dar N cross-cousin; gin⁷dar-ko?
  (dyadic), gin⁷dagin⁷dar-ko?
  (plural dyadic)
gin⁷ma- V to hook (as fish);
g⁷-gin⁷?-maŋi?-molk He didn't
  hook it.

gi⁷-giri⁷yi⁷? N F little mother or
  father's junior wife

grim? N MU stone-tipped spear

giyark (-ŋowi) N GU tooth; also
  'fishhook'
gober?- V TH to look back —
  niŋ-ween? anŋi yi-waŋi, niŋ-gober?
  You look back, you 'gober?'

go⁷b⁷lo⁷b⁷lo⁷ N turkey (onomatopoetic
  from English 'gobble')?
go⁷gon⁷-bu⁷- V avoidance style word,
  'see, look at'. Replaces
  ordinary ŋa-

go⁷lo⁷oro⁷ N GU coolamon for baby
  -golk- expresses classificatory
  relation, e.g. ju-mana-golk-ŋoŋi
  her 'step' mother. Also -golk-
  go?ŋa- compound verb 'to have
  as step relation'. Used where
  relation is understood as other
  than an actual biological one but
  sociological content not well
  understood.
golkol ADJ new — mu-golkol mu-
  wapawapa? ŋu-me?me I got a new
dress.
gol-ŋeŋ?- V TH to cough up, spew
  out

golododok N peaceful dove
golon N doctor, medicine man
golonoŋ? N MU yellow ochre
gol-ye- V to put in water, soak
  — ŋumu-gol-yeŋa I'll put it
  (food, as yam) to soak.
gol-yo- V to sleep soundly
goliŋ N big boy, girl (pre-
  adolescent)
gomboy? N black-headed monitor
gondu N MU light sprinkling rain, 
  beginning of wet season
goon N kangaroo (generic)
gopo N husband or wife, spouse
gorbolgorbo³lo N butcher bird

gore? ADV. V PFX alone, by oneself
  — maŋi ŋin-gore?-naŋanŋan You
  live too much alone, you're
  always alone; burmu-ŋunungun gore?
  they are eating by themselves.
gori⁷- V TH to grind — burmu-
  gori⁷-miŋ They ground it.
  (vegetable food)
gorpogr N kookaburra

gor- V TH to be sick, ache, hurt
  ŋu-ganam-gor I have earache.
  ŋu-ñanam-gor My foot aches.;
goŋoro′gor (RED), ŋaŋu³la-ŋini
  ŋu-goŋo′gor My eye aches badly.
gor-ça- V to sit in lair, hole
  (< ja- stance verb)
gorči- V to fill up with, put in, 
  load. For paradigm see 3.3.3.-
  18.4; ŋumu-gorji-gorjiŋ mungu-
  burpa ŋu?-ga? I loaded up the
  coolamon with lily.
gor-ga- V CAUS to make sick - nun-gorgan mu-may-yi? The food is making me sick.

gor? ADJ sour, smelly, rotten - gor?-me- to go bad, become smelly

gor?-bop V TH to smell bad (cf. bop- give off odour); -gor?-bop-mi-ni mungu-mir? The house stank.

gor?yi? N F senior mother, or father's senior wife

got N GU paperbark

gowele? V TH to beckon to; nun-gowele?-mi-ni He beckoned me. (PP)
gowk N GU paperbark humpy

gowko N MoMo, MoMoBr, MoMoBrSoCh, SiDaCh (woman's DaCh); gowko-go? (dyadic), gowkogowko-go? (plural dyadic); jami-n-owi nun-gi n-"gan, ju-gowko (Your) cross-cousin's spouse is (your) gowko MoMoBrSoCh.

goyi ADJ to be knowledgeable, expert, know - nu-bak-goyi I know him/it.

goykun? DEM ADV this way, to here (see also go?ye-)

goyo N small freshwater crocodile

goy-wu V to show to someone, teach someone - jun-goy-wuni- jajabor? You showed/taught me yesterday.

go?- V TH to go away

go?-na- V to have - golk-go?-na- to have as classificatory relation

go?je- DEM ADV demonstrative stem 'there'; pronouns can be built on this stem (nu-go?je that (one)) - go?je-wala from there, goje-ga? or goje-gaga? that way, to there gojegun? that way, to there

go?ye- DEM ADV demonstrative stem 'here'; pronouns can be built on this stem (nu-go?ye this (one)). Go?ye-wala from here, goye-ga? or goye-gaga? to here.

gu-, gungu- N PFX noun class prefix forms (see 3.2.3).
gubuy N GU sweat

guc- V TH to put, create

gučun N MU big lily root

gudalbun ADJ, ADV together, mixed up

gudi: INTERJ expresses fright

gu-go?yen ADV here, here again, here in the place you know about. (Cf. go?ye DEM ADV here).
guši i N GU mortar (see gu-ma] grindstone)
gulin N spangled perch

gulukuši N countryman; also 'boss', someone who is responsible for something; alako gu-š-wakena ṅaykan-? ga? gulukuši-ŋo-ji-ka? Later she'll come back to her boss (said of dog).

gul?- V TH to poke, jab, strike, shoot; also strip (off) as paperbark - gu-š-? yi? nun-šnam-šgu?-mi-ni A stick poked my foot.

gul?war- V TH to shoot

gulaga! ADJ big, broad - Yirambaŋ buru- naïjula-gulaga! Barn owls have large eyes.

gula? N GU skin of body. See guala?-joŋ-pu-či- shed skin (of snake)
gulerŋ N GU firewood

gulerŋ-ma- V to get firewood (< gu-gulerŋ firewood)
gulu?- V TH to poke
gumbugumbuŋa N snail

gum-ja- V to cover someone up;
gum-ji-či- RR - got ju-manja
ju-gum-jiŋa Get paperbark (got)
and cover it up.

gundul N ADJ quiet, harmless; also
with noun class prefix) one who
attempts to settle a dispute,
peacemaker.

gun?biri DEM PRO demonstrative
stem 'that'; non-singular form
gun?biri-gun?

gunçoŋoro N GU horn - bata-gundo-
oro-yi? cattle (proprietary
baŋa ... yi?)

gunǒ N GU country

gunman PART maybe; gu-φ-juruwen
gunman? yele-ka? Maybe he's
running to (his) hole.

gunmuk N ? night, dark;
gunmugunmuk (RED)

gunŋu N GU cloud

gunulu N GU big log (as in flood-
water)

gurač N MU blood

gural?gural N channel-billed cuckoo

gurâŋaŋaŋ N grey-crowned babbler

gurijaŋbongo N olive python (Syn.
ŋandiŋe)

gurumulu? N blue-tongue

gurů N M moon

gurůmuŋ ADJ greedy - ŋanulů

gurůmuŋ ŋu-gun?biri ŋu-bolo
The old man is very greedy.

guruŋadu N big black rock snake,
probably the same as gurijaŋbongo
olive python

gurupiŋ N tortoise species,
yellow-striped head (Elseya
dentata)?

guru- ADV PFX used with adverbs
of time and place; gives a
specificity of reference:
guru-yana?mala bur-baŋdari-wuna
(Just) when will they circumcise
them?; also guru-jajabaroŋ?
yesterday, guru-go?jen-ji that
time when, etc. See 3.3.3.20.6.

guro N black-striped grunter

guro?war- V TH to boomerang someone

gutabiŋ N yellow bittern?

guwełu N curlew

guyiya N MU Grewia retusifolia

guyu N ? diarrhoea

gu? ADJ raw; usually verbalised
as gu?-me- be raw, φ-gu?-molk
It is not raw.

gu?jeŋ? ADJ to be cold (of an
object, also weather)

gu?-me- V to be raw; φ-mele-gu?-me-n
It might be raw, lest it
be raw.

-ja- V PFX see -ja?-

-ja- V to make stand. Always with
preceding compounding element,
e.g. jap-ja- to make stand. See
3.3.3.18.4 for paradigm;
gu-jaŋdaŋaŋ ŋugu-jaŋ-je I stood a
stick up. (PP)

ja- V to stand, be in a place.
For compounds see 3.3.3.16, for
paradigm 3.3.3.18.2.

jaŋi- V to twirl firedrill. For
paradigm see 3.3.3.18.4; gu-ŋuniŋ?
yirgi-jaŋa We twirl the firedrill.

jaŋugal N male plains kangaroo
(Macropus antelopinus)

jaganda N female plains kangaroo
(Macropus antelopinus). (Cf.
ganâŋalpuru)

jajabaroŋ? ADV yesterday;
jajabaroŋ?-ga afternoon, in the
afternoon
jajak  N  GU  prob.  fan  palm
(Livistona  loriphylla)
jaka?  N  MU  yam  stick,  digging
stick  —  jaka?-yi?  ṣ-ŋurum?-miŋ
mungu-wila, ṣaŋi  japaŋ-ga?  mungu-
daga?  ṣ-naŋaniŋ  She  dug  the  honey
with  digging  stick  (because)  the
honey  was  in  an  ant  mound.
jaku  N  left-handed;  see  bala-jaku
jala  N  GU  mouth
jalabir  N  red  ant  (Iridomyrmex)
jalangar  N  white  cockatoo  (Syn.
oker)
jalawarça  ADJ  right  full,
brimming
jalga?  PART  that's  OK,  all  right
jaloŋ  N  MU  spinifex
jalŋ?  PART  right  to;  jalŋ?
jolko-ga?  right  to  the  ground
jala  N  GU  crayfish
jaŋala-  V  TH  to  crawl
jaŋap-  V  TH  to  pull;  paddle  canoe
jaŋmayaŋ?  N  king  brown  (snake  sp.)
jamaŋara  N  ?  Pleiades
constellation  group
jambaka?  N  tin,  cannister —
ŋugu-maramaŋa?  ŋugu-jambaka?
The  tin  is  empty.
jambaku  N  GU  tobacco
jamben  N  snake
jambonŋ  N  death  adder
jamburuŋ  N  GU  sand
jamiŋ  N  spouse  (MoMoBrDaCh  or
equivalent);  jamiŋ-gaŋ?  (dyadic)
jamijamiŋ-gaŋ?  (plural  dyadic)
jamolk  PART  for  nothing,  simply,
just;  also  jamolk’a?;  molka?;
gu-ŋ-naŋan  jamolk  He  is  simply
living/camping.  (i.e.  doing
nothing  special).
jamŋ?-gaŋ?  V  to  crowd  in  on,  cramp,
crowd;  mu-yimili-yi?  ŋurun-jamŋ?-   
 gaŋiŋ  The  fog/wet  shut  us  in
(obscured  our  view).
jamŋ  yiŋoro  ADV  shut  tight
janay?  N  goanna  (generic)
jandalayi  N  F  young  girl
janda?  N  GU  stick
janga  N  long-necked  turtle
janjar-  V  TH  to  stretch  one's  legs
jaŋaran  N  jabiru
jaŋdiyaŋ?  N  M  pandanus  mat
jaŋjan-gaŋ?  V  to  carry
jaŋmur  N  GU  junction  of  river  or
creek
jaŋani-wuŋ?  V  CAUS  to  make  some-
thing  stand  up  (POT  of  stance
verb  ja)-  —  ju-jaŋani-wuna
Make  it  stand  up.
jaŋ-gaŋ?  V  to  hunt;  AUX  -ga-
jaŋgu  N  GU  flesh  food  (including
beef)
jap-  V  TH  to  dive,  jump  in
jap-gaŋ?  V  CAUS  to  put  into  water
japuŋẹŋ?deŋ  N  (small)  grasshopper
with  long  antennae
japuru  ADJ  sacred,  dear;  cf.
Jawoŋ  japuru  of  same  meaning
japut  N  GU  ant  bed,  termite  mound
jarič  N  GU  charcoal,  coals —
jarič-gaŋ?  gumu-ŋe  mungu-jatam
He's  cooking  the  lily  in  the  coals.
jarpič  N  GU  leg,  thigh
jaruŋu?  N  F  female  agile  wallaby
(Macropus  agilis)
jarŋ-jarŋ?-  V  TH  to  not  want  some-
thing;  also  jarŋ-jarŋ?-baŋuŋ?-   
to  leave  something  in  a  hurry
(baŋuŋ?-  V  TH  leave)
jar-p-wu- V to chase away; usually gewen-jarp-wu- to chase away, to frighten away
jaruk ADJ (1) short; (2) not distant; jikur jamuk short tail; gu-ŋ-gundu-gakan-?mok ɴamulu gu-ŋ-jaruk The place is not distant, it's very close.
jatam N MU waterlily species
jatba N ADJ eldest (child)
jawanđa N GU whiskers
jawelk N grass species
jawiŋ N friend, sweetheart – jawiŋ ye? gu-ŋ-go?-nan He/she has a lot of sweethearts.
jaworo N GU patriclan
jawʔjawʔ N GU waterlily stem; (apparent Syn. gu-ŋalkŋalk)
-jaʔ- V PFX now. Expresses temporal immediacy in relation to the tense of the narrated event: yiri-jaʔ-rabon We went now. (PC) Also -ja-,
-jeʔ-.
jaʔboŋ INTERJ finish!, that's enough!
je N GU nose
jebanŋ N GU line, row; -jebanŋ-yeʔ-V to lie in line
jekaʔ V CAUS (< jek-(g)a-) to make something come loose, come away; mu-jek-(g)an-jiŋ ñugu-jangѢiŋ? baŋa-yawok-yiʔ It (floodwater) can't carry away the pandanus mat with the cheeky yam.
jeki ADV (at) first, first time; mu-balku jeki bur-bujuʔ First they roll (manufacture) the string.
jele N MU urine
jele-bu- V to urinate
jelejel N GU tomimbrel
jeler N GU tomahawk, stone axe
jeliʔ ADJ wet – gu-jolko-jeliʔ The ground is wet.
jeliʔ-meʔ N to be, become wet
jelŋ N GU tongue – gu-jelŋ-bolŋ (His) tongue is sticking out (as dog).
jeneneʔ N willy wagtail
jeŋ N GU or M fish
jeŋe N GU teat, breast, milk
jeraŋaŋ- N MU women's curing and related ceremonial singing
jereŋgoʔ V TH to sneeze
jerk N bird
jet- V TH singe, temper in fire
jet- V TH to sharpen (apparent homonym with above)
jet N MU stone oven, also stones to heat ground oven
jetʔ-jaʔ- V to listen to – jugu-boloŋ bolo gu-ŋ-jetʔ-jaŋaŋa ju-bonoŋiŋ? jugu-jawiŋŋ-noji The woman will listen to the other, her friend.
jičan N GU dreaming, totem, totemic manifestation or locality
jičbu N MU stringybark (E. tetradonta)
jičiŋk N wrens
jjik N large nail-tailed wallaby (Onychogalea fraenata). Cf. Ngandi cogn. jičuk spectacled hare-wallaby
jikur N MU tail
jilara N unknown tree species
njere-čiliŋʔ- V TH to be sleepy; (mu-njere sleep, jiliŋʔ, verbal root); ñu-njere-čiliŋʔ, ñu-yonoŋa jeki I'm sleepy, I'll sleep first.
jiliwikiŋ N MU Capparis umbonata?
jilk- \textit{V TH} to rain — gu-mu-jilk-a
It will rain; mu-yimili?

jilk=gu-mu-jilk ọlọko In the wet season it rains on us a lot.

jimị? \textit{N} leech

jinma? \textit{N} whaler shark

jiñja? \textit{PRO} 3SGF pronoun. ERG
jiñjani’yị? Local case forms built on ERG.

jị \textit{N} GU stomach

jira-paya- \textit{V} to sneak up on someone, (< baya-)

jiribi yug \textit{N} whistle duck

jiri \textit{ADJ} insolent, cheeky; jiri- \textit{ma}? bellicose; jiri-bodewk quiet, docile

jiridi \textit{N} (boat-billed?) fly-catcher?

jirima? \textit{ADJ} belligerent, bellicose (< jiri+ma?)

jiri-ye- \textit{V} to be aggressive towards, give cheek to

jirkịn? \textit{N} long-tailed mouse

jitibi!iri \textit{N} old male agile wallaby
(Macropus agilis)

jiwi \textit{N} GU liver

jo- \textit{V} to chop (down). For paradigm see 3.3.3.18.4 — jużu-jọnja
I’ll chop it (tree) down.

jobal \textit{N} MoMoBrSo, MoMoBrSoSoSo
jobal-ko? (dyadic), jobajobal-ko? (plural dyadic)

jodọw? \textit{ADV} early morning (still dark)

jodọw?- \textit{V TH} to become daylight, dawn

jodọw? jodọw? \textit{N} GU morning star

jop- \textit{V TH} to slip

jolko \textit{N} GU ground, earth

jolo \textit{MU} inside meaty part (e.g. mussel); jumu-ụn yerke may-ọnwi, jolo-ọnwi ụgiku?gun He eats its food, the flesh inside of the mussel.

jolọk \textit{N} GU bad cold, phlegm — jolọk-ụ? ụngu-ọme?me A bad cold has got me. (PP)

jololo- \textit{V TH} to run down (as sweat) — gungu-we? garku-walla gu-jololo Water runs down from on top.

jok- \textit{V} to pass by; also jok-bawun?-pass something, someone; ụ-joŋ-bawun?-mi ụ-gun?biri janda? I passed by the stick.

jongolo? \textit{ADJ} straight

jongolo?- \textit{V TH} to straighten something

jongolo?-wu- \textit{V CAUS} to make straight

jọne \textit{N} MU Terminalia canescens
(bun)-jopjopowo- \textit{V TH} to lie on back with legs crossed (gu-bun kneecap)

jopjop- \textit{V} to collect, gather — jopjop-manji- \textit{RR} to gather together, assemble

joponọ \textit{INTERJ} true

jorŋ- \textit{V TH} to stretch; jorŋ-mi- \textit{RR} stretch oneself; ụniŋ-jorŋ-mi- \textit{ụn} gu-waŋjat-gi-pira? You stretch your (two) arms.

jorọw? \textit{N} MU quinine bush (Petalostigma pubescens)

jor?- \textit{V TH} to defecate

jorča? \textit{N} small bandicoot species
(gu!a?)-jor-ụpu- \textit{V RR} to shed skin (as snake), peel off (gu-gu!a? skin)

jow- \textit{V TH} to flood heavily

jōy \textit{N} FaMoBrCh; joy- \textit{ko}? (dyadic) joykojoy- \textit{ko}? (plural dyadic)

ju-, jugu- \textit{PFX} feminine noun class prefix forms (see 3.2.3)

-jubuk- \textit{V PFX} for a long time, continuously

jugujugi \textit{N} ? pompoms on markarala headdress
juju-wu- V to drive (as cattle)
jujuy?- V TH to push - ɲondo-yi? ɲun-jujuy?-miŋ The wind pushed me. (see also juy?-

jukul N MU Acacia holosericea

jul- V TH to splash; usually we?-jul- (< gu-we? water), splash down

juljul N GU waterfall
julu-wa- V to sing
julu? V TH to push, push down

juju? N MU lancewood (Acacia shirleyi)
jumbu-ča- V (< -ja- stance verb) to bend over

jumu N GU hip bone

junďubol? N small rock wallaby (Petrogale species) (male and female)

junũ? N GU back
junũ? N F single girl, unmarried young woman

junũ?-bu- V to cough

jun N black-headed python
jun N GU shade, bough shade
jun-bu- V to build a bough shade

jupi? N MU shrub (Antidesma gaesembilla)

jur- V TH to pour; ɲu-gu-jur-miŋ gungu-we? I poured the water.; jur-mi-či- to spill, tip over (RR); ɲ-mele-jur-mičin ɲu-gun?birí we? The water might spill.

jurna ADJ crooked

jurwe- V to run, rush, run about; jujurwe- RED See 3.3.3.18.6 for paradigm.

juner? N bowerbird

jutu N catfish species (freshwater tandan ?)

juwálnin N GU windbreak

jujuy? V TH to replace, let go, send; (yaŋ-) juy?-mi-či- to send messages back and forth (RR), (gu-yaŋ language); ju-ɺun-jujuy? Let the string go.

K

-ka?~-ga? N SFX locative; allative: we?-ga? to, in the water, ɾuwur-ka? to, at the ridge

-koro SFX PRES NEG; gu-ɲ-ñawk- (k)oro gungu-Ngalakan He/she doesn’t speak Ngalakan.

-ko?~-go? SFX dyadic suffix; see 2.1.1.1.

L

!ak-bu- V to split – ju-!ak-bun mungu-!ambak Split the shell/carapace.

!ambak N M or GU carapace, (turtle) shell

!anga N GU billabong – ɣi-ɗoɗo?-ra [ɑŋga-ka? We’ll go down to the billabong.

!anguñaŋ N magpie goose

!ark|arkan N rainbow fish, crimson spotted rainbow fish

!arpuniŋ N small rock wallaby (Petrogale species)

!away N MU Eleocharis dulcis (sedge)

!eleleč- V TH to rattle, rustle, make noise in walking about

!epal N spotted bream

!er- V TH to fall down – (ɲiņ- mele-er You might fall down.

!er?|ler- V TH to tap clapstick or boomerang (to make music)

!ler?- V TH to light fire; ɲu-bak-ler?-a I will light a fire for him/her. RR ler?-mi-či- to come alight, light up
mađu N GU paperbark species
mago PART INTERJ no! perhaps (with future) — mago gu?ju I dunno. mago ɲuru-rabon-ji?, mu-muñun, guñdu ɲuñun-ti-miñ Maybe we can't go, darkness (has come), it has gotten dark.
majaburga? N GU Securinega species
majirijiri-pu- V to quarrel with (direct object complement)
makur N MU cold weather, middle of cold season
mala- N V PFX group, mala-ма-či- to gather, assemble (< ма- POT of ma-); mala-mu-pu- To gather one's things, pick up everything (< -mu-class prefix, bu-)
malabaño ADJ some; (< mala- group, boño other, another)
malađi N wedge-tailed eagle
malađimalađi N GU big bushfire (cf. malađi wedge-tailed eagle; bush fire, so called because birds soar over to catch prey ?)
malađojo N baby turkey
malba? N MU ironwood (Erythrophleum chlorostachyum)
mal-ga- V to beget (of male genitor)
malk N GU (1) skin, (2) subsection — yi-wač-malk-go? We're proper subsections for each other. (-go? dyadic suffix); ɲiñ-ya?i- bigur gungu-malk-(g)i What's your subsection?
malk PFX time; malk-wangiy? one time; ɲ-malk-yapan-miñ He was away two days.
malkmalk-ya? ADJ shiny, glossy
malmo N ? clan country (specific ?)
mał N GU stone used for grinding, pestle
malapela N centipede
malamalapa N F young girl, 4 years or so
maḷar ADJ sweet – ṣ-maḷar-men
It became sweet, ripened.

maḷun N gecko spp. (spiny-tailed jewelled etc.)

maļuruļuru N GU salt water

maļuwuru N MU cold weather

maļu?maļu? ADJ lame

maļu?maļu?-me- V to be, become lame

mambaṭ N GU billy can

mamiņ-bu- V to wrap up, roll up (as swag or bed-roll); – gu-got-yi? bur-mamiņ-bun mungu-jatam They're wrapping the lily in/with paperbark.

-man- V N PFX collective, whole lot; man-walaman? everybody; bur-man-yeŋ they put all of it; buru-man-yopyop roro-wala They are all returning form the east.

manambula N MU tump string

manāŋ N F mother; mana-ko? mother and child (dyadic); manamana-ko? (plural dyadic)

manapuŋ N echidna

mangađa? N GU woollybutt (E. miniata)

maŋi ADJ same; maŋika? in same place (cf. Maŋarayi maŋej same)

maŋiŋ V TH to take care of someone; maŋiŋmaŋiŋ RED

maŋiŋ?- V TH to make something; cf. also men-maŋiŋ?- to instruct, teach, remind (< gu-men mind)

maŋiŋ?-ja- V to wear, be wearing

maŋalal N ? dew

-maŋ- V PFX taste, test – ju-maŋ-guni?-molk You didn't taste it.

maŋa N GU neck, throat

maŋalerek N MU beads, grass beads for jeraŋa

maŋañiŋi N MU widow's string of beads

maŋaṛalŋ N MU hair belt

maŋaḷa N MU tree fork

maŋu? ADJ slowly; – maŋu? yi-ʁabon We'll go slowly.

mar N young, big V. gouldii (goanna)

mar- PFX comparative prefix 'slightly, somewhat, a bit' – mar-gaŋeŋ A little bit far away.

mamba? N wife stealer, one who elopes, runs away from a proper marriage; mamba? ṣ-gaŋiŋ He stole her, eloped with her.

marangaḷpa N green tree snake

marawul ADJ hungry, hungry person; ṣ-wakeŋ marawul He/she came back hungry. (PP)

marawul-me- V to be hungry

marca- V TH to be starving, buru-marca They're famished.

marci N white man, Europeans (in general)

mare- V to spear; more-mare- to wound. See 3.3.3.18.4 for paradigm. Mu-gurač gu-mu-juruwen daŋ?-yi? ŋungu-mare-gen (My) blood is flowing (where, since) a stick poked me.

mariŋ N F girl, young woman – mariŋ-(y)iʔuŋ wife's younger sister

markarala N ? type of ceremonial headdress

marke N F father's sister – marke-go? Fasi and BrCh (dyadic; markemarke-go? (plural dyadic)

marŋi ADJ not knowledgeable, inexpert. Usually genitive complement, but also bak-marŋi with direct complement

mar?mar?- V TH to shake, tremble

maraka N GU bone
maraka yuka?  ADJ slow growing
marama\'a  N GU maggot
marama\'a?  ADJ naked; (2) empty-handed, empty; ga\'a, marama\'a?
\'nu-waken\'n (I got) nothing, I came back empty-handed.
mari\'i  N F girl; (cf. gel-mari\'i married woman)
ma\'re-  V to shout at, argue with. For paradigm see 3.3.3.18.5;
yiri-ma\'ra-\'chini\'n  We argued.
ma\'ri  N GU hand
ma\'rkma\'rk  N quail species
ma\'tma\'tyi?  ADJ shiny, like glass
may  N MU vegetable food
maya\'lungu?  N GU hooked spear
may\'go?  N M red ochre
ma?, ma?:  ADJ good; ma?: predicate ADJ, ma? attributive; ma? also
ADV properly. In compounds, e.g. jiri-ma? belligerent (\'jiri insolent)
ma?-me-  V to be, become well
me-  V to become, be. Occurs as verbalizer with predicate adjectives (\'nu-goyi-men\'n I was knowledgeable, I knew), also as
AUX in certain compounds (\'nu-marawul-men I am hungry).
-mele-\'n mele?-  V PFX evitative prefix 'lest', also 'it is possible that' where the outcome
is undesirable — \phi-mele-\'n\'ar?  He/she might die, lest he/she
die; also used as negative imperative, ju-mele-bun Don't
hit him; \'nuru-mele-ma\'ri-\'chin  Don't argue.
melegen-yo-  V to sleep on one's side
me\'lepe?  N GU shoulder blade
memem  N FaMo, FaMoBr, MoFa, MoFaSi,
SiSoCh (woman's SoCh); memem-go? (dyadic), memememem-go? (plural
dyadic)
mem?mem?-  V TH to light properly,
burn well
men  N GU mind. See verbal compounds men-ma\'ni\'n?-, (bak-)men-
gol-, men-muk-.
(bak)men-gol-  V to think about
someone, be concerned for someone; \'n\'i\'n-bak-men-gol-mi\'yin I was
thinking about you. (PC)
menika?  PART unlike; menika?
\'nya\'ka?  unlike me (see bali\? like)
menjolk-baya-  V to accuse someone;
(< baya-)
men-ma\'ni\'n?-  V TH to instruct,
teach, remind
men-muk-  V TH to forget (genitive
or direct object complement)
men?men?  N GU tommyhawk
mere?  N GU sharp point; — bur-
wak-gani\'i\'n mungu-ju\'lu? ba\'ta-
mere?\'yi?  They made the sharp-
pointed lancewood (ju\'lu?) go in.
mer\'k  N tick
mi\'\'c  N louse
mi\'\'dark  N GU woodchips
mi\'\'dimi\'\'di  N GU rib bones
milibalki\'\'n  N GU salt water
mili\'\'da\'\'na  N MU male bee species
milkanda  N MU widow, widower
mi\'\'limi\'\'  N MU grey hair
mi\'\'iwi\'la  N MU ground sugar bag
(cf. wi\'la)
mi\'\'ar?-  V TH to be born
mimbi?  N small black ant
mina?  N MU fat
mi\'\'i\'\'\'\'i\'\'a  N GU thick scrub
mi\'\'\'gur  N MU star
mi\'\'\'nir  N small barramundi species
miñji- V TH to think about, remember, worry about; nu-miñji nu-jamiñ I'm thinking about/worrying about (my) husband; ju-mele-miñji yaraman-yi? φ-mele-war? Don't think about (the fact that) the horse might throw him.

miñji-we- V to remember

miñiriñi N those who 'own' a ceremony or given ritual object (as opposed to those delegated to take care of it)

mira N GU head


miramiliyi? N bull ant

mirīči N barramundi

miŋarpu? N crab

mirapa N child

mir? N MU cave, also sometimes used used now for 'house'

mitili?- V TH to flood, overflow, flood over

miyari? N MU dream; miyari? nu-na'na I had a dream.; miyari?-yi? ŋun-ŋere-bayaniñ I had a dream.

mokol N father; mokol-go? father and child (dyadic), mokomokol-go? (plural dyadic)

moloŋ?, molo, moloŋ PART attempt, try to; hortative modal particle. See 3.3.3.13; moloŋ? alki? We'll see, wait a bit; moloŋ ju-ja?-yan-banar You (try) listen to him now, go ahead and listen to him.

molo?- V TH to sneak away

moniç ADV SF sneaking, on the sly; nu-wereyi? wañba yiriŋ-nanjì? moniç Nobody can/ought to look at us on the sly.

moŋočbor N mud cod

moŋo N GU animal lair

morotìn? N GU wild cassava (Cochlospermum fraseri)

more ADJ wounded; see more-mare-to wound (< mare- to spear); also more-pawun?- V TH to leave wounded (< bawun?- V TH to leave)

morŋ N unidentified grub

morŋmorŋ N MU guts (cf. mu-ŋo?)

moŋmoŋy ADJ little, small; also used for emu chick

mu-, mungu- N PFX Noun class prefix forms (see 3.2.3)

mubugu PART to give a message; ŋu-geywar φ-roboniñ mubugu ŋu-go?je-gen boŋoyi?-gin geywar-?gan The youth took a message to/for the other young man; alako φ-wakeñ mubugu Later he came back bringing a message.

muč N MU rainbow serpent — muč-(y)i? yiriŋ-bop-ŋaniñ Rainbow serpent smelled us.

muču N GU coolibah (E. microtheca)

muđudu? ADV on one's knees

muđudu?-ja- V to kneel — gu-φ- muđudu?-jaŋan we?-ga? She is kneeling in the water.

muka INTERJ oh yes! indeed!

mulu- PFX prefixed to toponym expressing place of someone's death, e.g. mulu-goŋjimi one who died at Goŋjimi; provides means of referring to the dead in terms of place of death.

mululk N MU conkerberry (Carissa lanceolata)

muluŋ N whip snake

munanja N local Kriol (Pidgin English) word for 'white man'

munbič N MU woman's pubic covering
mungu- V TH to follow; -ŋubumungu-ŋa I will follow them.

muŋaŋ N subsection term

muŋjum N GU shoulder; also used
figuratively for 'father';
ŋalaʔ-wala gungu-muŋjum from
ŋalaʔ shoulder (i.e. father was
ŋalaʔ subsection)

muŋun ADJ N MU darkness, obscurity,
black and lustreless

muŋun?- V TH to get dark

muŋuŋju ADV tomorrow - muŋumuŋuŋju
tomorrow at daylight, early;
uŋuŋju boŋoyiʔ-ga? next tomorrow,
day after tomorrow

muŋ- V TH to grab, catch hold of,
grasp; ʃ-muŋʔ-miŋ mungu-balku
He grabbed the rope.

muŋ INTERJ that's all! finish! —
bur-jetjet muŋ They sharpen it,
that's all!

muŋ N GU inside, interior — gu-μuŋ
ŋamułu inside of house

munga? ADV inside (see muŋ
interior)

muŋ- V TH be obscure, blocked;
ganam-muŋ- be deaf (< gu-ganam
ear); ŋiŋ-ganam-muŋ-miŋ qara
Are you deaf or something?

mupul N single boy, bachelor,
unmarried man

murŋiŋ N shovel spear

mupun N MU broad-leaved
Terminalia species

muwaŋa N MU canoe

N

naman INTERJ poor fella! naman,
buru-marawul-men Poor thing,
they're hungry.

ŋa- V to see; see 3.3.3.16 for
compounds (e.g. goʔ-ŋa- to have);
see 3.3.3.18.6 for paradigm.

ŋa- V to sit, live, be in a place;
see 3.3.3.18.2 for paradigm

ŋaŋi N frog, generic

ŋamu N woman's child, man's SiCh;
ŋamu-koʔ (dyadic), ṣamuŋamu-koʔ
(plural dyadic)

ŋamulu ADV PFX rather, really,
very; ŋamulu-gakŋ rather far —
ŋuru-mele-ŋamulu-yoŋon lest we
sleep too soundly; ŋiŋ-ŋawk
ŋamulu You're really talking.
ʃ-waŋk-miŋ ṣamulu He went right
in. See 3.2.20.

ŋan ADV there; goʔje ŋan right
there; adds a measure of
specificity.

ŋaŋguru N big salt-water crocodile

ŋapuŋiŋa V FUT form of 'grope, feel
about'; other forms unknown.
Yi-ŋapuŋiŋa ŋaman-ŋiʔ? We'll
feel about with our feet.

ŋarnŋarning N Burdekin duck

ne- V to burn, cook. For paradigm
see 3.3.3.18.5. Wači-ŋiʔ ʃuŋ-
neŋe The sun burnt me. alki?
ŋumu-ŋe mu-ŋay I'm still cooking
food.

ŋimi N MU hind end, arse

ŋiŋʔiŋ N finches

ŋiŋja? PRO 3SG non-feminine
pronoun. ERG ŋiŋjaŋiʔ-ŋiʔ?, local
case forms built on ERG.

ŋiŋiriget ADJ spotted, multi-
coloured, pretty

ŋoŋʔoŋʔ? ADJ small, little; mu-
ñoŋʔoŋʔ? ҭumu-ŋoŋʔ-ŋan I have a
little (food); ҭu-ŋoŋʔoŋʔ-meniŋ
I was small.

ŋočo N GU grass (generic)

ŋorkal N MU male, short-nosed
native bee

-ŋowi SFX 3SG Non-feminine
possession suffix

ŋu-, ŋugu- N PFX Masculine noun
class prefix forms (see 3.2.3)
null? N (1) GU coolamon, (2) car, truck. Cf. expression garanull?-ga? a lot, a great amount; baṭa-null?-yi? buru-warja?-ra They will travel about with/by means of a car.

-ŋungore SFX 2NSG possessive suffix

nullka? PRO 2NSG pronoun. ERG nullkaŋi?-yi?, nullka?-yi? Local case forms built on ERG.

nal-bu- V to shut; ju-ŋal-bun gungu-yele Shut the door.

namax 2NSG possessive suffix

nañana N ADJ anything; nañana gungu anytime, any kind; (< gu-gundu country)

nar- V TH to look nice

nar?- V TH to die; nar?nar? RED; φ-mele-nar? He/she may die, lest he/she die; naruw?nar? I am perishing for water.

nar?-ga- V CAUS to kill off, make die (e.g. weeds, grass etc.)

ñawk- V TH to talk, converse; know how to talk (a language); ñu-ñawk- miñ gu-yan?-wala I spoke (an) Aboriginal language, I talked using an Aboriginal language.

nil- V TH to be (very) cold (of weather); nilil- RED

nim?nim?- V TH to go out (of fire), extinguish itself

 Nikkiya- SF expresses meanings relating to sentiments of happiness and unhappiness, like and dislike: Nikkiya-bodewk-me to be sad, downcast; Nikkiya-ma?-me- to be glad; Nikkiya-payatoto like something (< bayा-)

ñir?- V TH to set (of sun); also ñin-ñir?- red, glowing sunset; gu-mu-ñin-ñir? There is a red sunset. (-mu-class prefix for understood mu-wači sun)

ñow-ga- V CAUS to make noise

ño?- V TH to go away

nulluk N native cat

null N GU coolamon, (2) car, truck. Cf. expression garanull?-ga? a lot, a great amount; baṭa-null?-yi? buru-warja?-ra They will travel about with/by means of a car.

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ŋani?- V TH to carry; ŋani? ŋani?- RED; ŋun-bak-ŋani? ŋani? gamaj?-
ṇini He's carrying my belongings for me

ŋañja PART all the way; ŋañja yi-yere? all the way to bottom;
gu-ð-juruwen  ragazzo yi-yere? ŋañja His (body) paint runs right down, goes all the way down.

ŋañjaŋ N water dragon

ŋañjuŋa N GU (1) eye, (2) seed

ŋapa PART better, it is better that; mu-mangajá-ka? ŋapa jeŋ yiŋji baŋa-nul?-yi? ye?yere ñu-yeña It's better I put the fish also low down in the tree-fork (mangajá) in the coolamon (ńul?).

ŋapunun? N subsection term

ŋara PART might be, maybe; ńolko ńara gungu-bin ju-go?-ńan? Maybe you've got a lot of money.

ŋaraya! N saratoga (fish species)

ŋarku? N agile river wallaby (Macropus agilis)

ŋatban N archer fish; also ńalaŋda

ŋatum N GU stick devoid of foliage

ŋawolŋ N GU navel

ŋayaŋ N devil, white man; ſuruŋbayan ſayaŋ-yi? A devil will come upon us.

ŋayiwur N GU high hill, mountain

ŋayu PART only, also adversative 'but'; gu-ññawk-(k)oro gungu-yan-yere ńayu gu-ñ-banar He/she doesn't speak our language but he understands/he only understands.

ŋayka? PRO 1SG independent pronoun. ERG ńaykaŋi?-yi?, ńayka?-yi? Local case forms built on ERG.

ńel? N MU freshwater mangrove (Barringtonia acutangula)
ŋokŋok- V TH to bark
ŋolko, ŋolkonañin ADJ big, large
ŋolongo? GU river red gum (E. camaldulensis)
ŋolomoro N nail-tailed wallaby (Onychogalea fraenata)
ŋondo N MU wind
ŋonoŋ ADJ long way
ŋoro N MU flower — mu-ŋoro gu-mu- njunuŋun-gun It eats flowers, will eat flowers/it's flowers that it eats.
ŋor?- V TH to wash — ŋumu-ŋor?-miñ wapawapa-ŋini I washed my clothes.
ŋor?- V TH to fall; φ-mele-ŋor?-φ-bin-ŋwala He might fall off the stone/hill.
ŋor?-ga- V CAUS to make fall
ŋoy N GU fire
ŋoy N sibling-in-law; ŋoy-ko? woman + husband's brother/sister, man/woman and wife's sister (dyadic)
ŋo? N GU excrement, also intestines
ŋu- V to eat; mañ-ŋu- to taste (< mañ- taste); see 3.3.3.18.3 for paradigm
ŋuća ADV quickly
ŋuliri N black duck species
ŋulyi? ADJ black
ŋundič N olive python; Syn. gurijaḥbongo
ŋunaju N black bream
ŋuni? N GU firestick
ŋunju ADJ same; yiri-wač-ŋunju gungu-yaŋ We have the same language; buru-gara-ŋunju They are (all) the same.
ŋurgu N GU womb, tummy
ŋurka? PRO LIN PL pronoun. ERG ŋurkañ?-yi?, ŋurka?-yi? Local case forms built on ERG.
ŋurŋi-baya- V to be jealous of (direct object complement; < baya-); ŋurŋi-baya-či- to be jealous of each other; ŋun-ŋurŋi-bayan bigur-ŋini-?gin She is jealous of me on account of/ because of my husband.
ŋuru N lesser salmon catfish?/fork-tailed catfish
ŋurum?- V TH to dig
ŋurunduč N emu
ŋut?- V TH to cease, finish (doing something), stop
ŋut-ga- V CAUS to make someone stop (doing something); to make someone be quiet
ŋunyuy- V TH to swim

-pira?bira? SFX dual, can be affixed to nominals and verbs
-pulu~bulu SFX plural number suffix used with kin terms

ŋrab- V to go, go along. For paradigm see 3.3.3.18.6
ŋral? N MU hair
ŋara? N F older girl, not yet young woman
ŋark- N paint, painting; gu-φ-ŋa-n ŋu-go?je gopo-ŋoji-yi? řark-ŋoji Her husband sees her body painting. Also stem-formant, in řark-war?-, řark-bu- and řark-ŋaŋi? paint, write
ŋraw? N MU skin, fur
ray N GU animal, flesh food; 
ŋu-gu-ray-(y)i? gu-ŋ-balana
The animal will hear.

-ře- PFX TNSV derives transitives of accompaniment from verbs which otherwise function intransitively, e.g. -re-ŋo?- to take away, from řo-? V TH to go away. See 3.3.2.

řelk N MU sliced vegetable food

řere N GU camp; -řere řirgi-n? na řoŋo?-ga? We will make camp in another place.

řey?me N GU jaw

řiri- V TH to move, stir (as baby)

řiri?řiri ADV strongly, very strong (as current)

řoka N MU Pandanus spiralis

řomo? ADJ N GU same place, experientially the same place; řomo?-ga? (Loc) usual, same place; gu-řomo? guŋmaŋ? řun-bakwen? Maybe he's waiting for me in the same place.

řon N GU chin, face

řoro ADV cardinal direction 'east'
ALL yi-řoro, ABL řoro-wala

řoroŋ?- V TH to peep at; ŋuruŋbu-mele-řoroŋ? bigur-ŋi? The men might peep at us.

řor?- V TH to clean something; bur-ʁor? guŋgu-řere They will clean the camp (i.e. pull out the grass to make clear place).

ru- V to cry. For paradigm see 3.3.3.18.3; ŋu-miŋpara gaŋa? ŋ-řuniŋ-ruńiŋ A small child was crying and crying. (PC, RED).

ru- V to burn. For paradigm see 3.3.3.18.5; mu-jaŋaŋiŋ, mu-ʁuniŋ boŋi It used to stand, it has burnt now. (Mu-class julu? lancewood tree)

ruŋal N GU bait

ruwur N GU ridge

wa- V to follow. For compounds see 3.3.3.16, paradigm 3.3.3.18.6.

-wač- V PFX each of two, both. See 3.2.11.

wačaŋ? N MU mud

wači N MU sun

wači ADV behind; anį yi-wači to the back, rear; malk wači last time (see malk- time); wači-wala from behind

wačundu N old man Varanus gouldii

waṭiya N F multiparous woman

wak- V TH to laugh

wake- V to return, go back. See 3.3.3.18.6 for paradigm; ŋ-wakenji?, ŋ-ʁabo yuŋaŋi? He/she won't return, he went away for good.

waksi-wu- V CAUS to bring back —mokol-go?- (?)gon ēnu-waķi-wo mungu-may I brought food back for father and child.

wak-wu- V CAUS to laugh at someone; guŋmaŋ? yika?-bira? yinbi-waŋ-bira? Maybe they're laughing at you and me.

-walaŋ-wala N SFX ablative case ending.

walam ADV cardinal direction 'south'. ALL yi-walam, ABL walam-bala (exceptional stop-initial form of ABL suffix)

walamā N GU forehead, face

waļaman? N ADJ a lot, many, man-waļaman? many together (see man-); waļaman? buru-ŋaŋan řereka? There's a big crowd in camp.

waļan? N MU E. tectifica

waļat-bu- V to bank up ashes

waļ-ga- V to love, be very fond of; waļ-ga-či- (RR); buru-waļ-ga-čiŋ anįjí buru-juruweŋ maramba? They were enamoured of each other and eloped.

waļir N MU hot weather
walk - TH to go in, enter;
gu-ŋ-walk ŋugu-ŋapawara? bo-lo-ga?
The lizard goes into hollow logs.

walk-(g)a- CAUS to put inside, cause to go in

walkara N freshwater hardyhead?

waluk ADV all around

wan N said to be like possum, fur used for hairbelts; wallaby species?

wanwan? TH to not understand
(with genitive complement);
ŋu-waŋa-wanwan?-miyinya gu-yaŋ-ga? I still didn't understand (the) language.

-waŋa- PFX with potential verb form means 'wanted to, should, should have'; see 3.3.3.7.

-waŋa- PFX (with other than potential verb form) for a long time; yiri-waŋa-ŋaŋaŋi We sat for a long time. (PC); see 3.3.2.

waŋa INTERJ I reckon!, oh yes!

waŋamaŋ ADJ striped, stripe;
aŋji go?ye gu-ŋ-juruwen walama-
wala gu-ŋ-juruwen rark-powi
yi-yere? aŋja And here its stripes go from its face right down.

waŋwaŋ N MU Terminalia grandiflora

waŋba PART negative obligatory 'should not'; see also -waŋ?-(3.3.3.8)

waŋgol N GU armpit

waŋjat N GU arm

waŋmiryi N GU lady, white boss lady

-waŋ?- PFX negative obligatory should not; see also waŋba 3.3.3.8, ŋiŋ-waŋ?-jangga You shouldn't go hunting.

waŋere-pu- V to singe, scorch, cook partially

waŋgiŋ? Numeral one, same;
wangiŋ-gun for one day; ŋuru-
yan-wangiŋ? We speak/have the same language. (wangiŋ-gun recorded without glottal)

wapawapa? MU dress, clothes

waral N shade, spirit

warara N GU plain, level place

war-ga- V to sing

wariŋila N MU hooked boomerang

warja?- TH to forage, walk about looking for (food);
wawarja?- RED; ŋoy-wi gu-ŋ-
wawarja? He/she is looking around for firewood.

warmbaya INDEF ADV any which, way; anywhere

warŋu CONJ for that reason, thus;
ŋu-ŋeŋ-gaŋiŋ
3SG/1SG-shame-CAUS-PP
warŋu ŋu-waŋiŋ
for that reason 1SG-return-PP
He made me ashamed, so I came back.

warp- TH to tell a lie (used intransitively); bak-warp- to lie to; ŋun-bak-warp-miŋ He/she lied to you.

warwparp-yi? N liar (cf. warp-
V TH to lie)

war?- TH to throw, toss; ŋal-
war-mi-či- to spit (< gu-ŋa! saliva) – ŋer?-ŋini ŋu-war? I am breathing. (< gu-ŋer? heart);
jungu-war?-mi-či- to put one's shoulders back (< gu-jungu back);
gu-jolok ŋu-gu-war?-miŋ I blew my nose. (PP); molon? ju-mu-war?
mungu-galiga!i? Try to throw (the) boomerang.

waracha N MU floodwater

war-bu- V to practise sorcery on someone, 'sing' someone; ŋun-
mele-warbu-n He might 'sing' me.
warë N connotes protective relation between cross-cousins; approximately 'guardian'

warñmele N GU hip

warñ?warñ N crow

warñrku N MU nulla-nulla

warwar PART possibly, I reckon; gojegun? gunman? ju-ñana ṣengu-goñ warwar There maybe you'll see kangaroo, I reckon.

wat- V TH to finish, conclude; buru-wata They will conclude, finish.

wawaya N DaDa, DaSo, (woman's BrDaCh); wawaya-ko' (dyadic); wawayawawaya-ko' (plural dyadic)

way- V TH to have a rest, take a rest; usually ŋer?-way- (< gu-ŋer? heart; nu-ŋer?-way-a I'll have a rest; also 'clear, purify' (as after death)

wayañ PART should, should have, with potential verb form. See 3.3.3.7.

wayañ N MU non-sacred vegetable food

waywo SFX inclusive 'and all'; sums up series go?je ñan ɲ-ñañaniñ ṣengu-yanipí gungu-jangú, jangú-waywo ɲolko Right there was sitting the whachacallit, a lot of meat and all.

wel N GU wing

welen N red-collared lorikeet

weleñ N boss, master, one who has the right to dispose of something; ńengu-goñ-welen the one who has the right to dispose of a kangaroo (i.e. the one who speared it < goñ kangaroo); ju-manañ-gi-?gini ɲini-dañnin-welen You are ceremonial manager (dañnin) for your mother's moiety

-welen- V PFX together — buru-welen-ɾabonïñ They went together.

welenë N F young girl; also 'female' of any species

welñ-bu- V to make a mistake

weñ?- V TH to look (used intransitively); bak-weñ?- to wait for (with direct object, sometimes genitive complement); ṣu-ju-ju-buk-bak-weñ?-miñ bore-pira? I waited for them (DU) a long time.

weñdù-ma- V to go to meet someone

were INDEF/INT who; PL -werewere?; ṣu-were-yi? Who? (M, ERG); ṣu-werewe? Who? (M, ABS, PL); ju-were-ka? To whom? (F, LOC/ALL). See 3.2.28.1.

wereka INT where; werekun? to where; wereka-wala from where; (also wereka-wala)

were?- V TH to vomit

were-dak ADJ dry

wet-baya- V to sneak up on. AUX baya-.

wew?wew-ga- V CAUS to make cry

we? N GU water; MU rain

we?-ŋu- V to lap, drink (< gu-we? water); gu-we? ńu-we?-ŋuna I will drink water.

-wi N SFX purposive, pergressive and lative case suffix; buru-ɾabonïñ bo-wi They went for the river (to be close to the water), janay?-wi for goanna; also lative and pergressive as in đenek-wi up to, along the ribs; also -?wi as verbal suffix with evitative and potential meaning 'should (have)'; see 3.3.3.12.

-wi N M march fly

wiļa N MU female honeybee, (also mu-wiļa), perhaps mu-wiļi-wiļa with PFX -wiļi-

wiļ-bu- V to moisten, make wet
Poor thing expresses compassion; nü-wi-li-bolo wi-li-ñaŋ-miñ The old man died.; gu-ʃ-li-we-ñuna He will drink (water), poor thing. (we? water); yiriŋ-wi-li-me?me boñi ńugu-bolo-yi? The boss got us now, poor things.

wilmur N GU wire spear

wi-ña- V to lose, forget (like na- see); ńu-wi-ñaŋ gungu-ney-ńowi I forgot his name.

wiñi N Emydura species, short-necked tortoise

wiŋgolkol N ADJ strangers; new, unknown people (cf. golkol new)

wirč-(y)o- V to be on either side

wiriji? ADJ long (also used to mean 'ceremony')

wiri?- V TH to remove, take out (from under); jet-wala ju-wiri? boñi Take it out of the ground oven now.

wir?- V TH to whistle

wi-ŋ V TH to arise, get up, wake up; mu-ŋondo ʃ-wiŋ-miñ The wind came up. (PP); ńu-wiŋ-miñ yiŋgoyiŋgon ńere?wala I just now awoke from sleep.

wočal N GU lungs

woč-ma- V to steal (from); nụnụ-bak-woč-me They stole it from you (PP).

wočwoč N thief (cf. woč-ma- to steal)

woga- V to speak, talk (like ga-)

wojor ADJ round

wol N GU smoke

wol- V TH to smoke, give off smoke; gu-gu-wol It (GU-class, fire) is smoking.

wol-be- V to smoke. For paradigm see 3.3.3.18.5.

wolaway- V TH to cool off, cool down; mu-wolaway-miñ The food cooled down.

woło N MU cooked (vegetable) food

woło? PART like, as if; supposedly; woło? gũndu ma? It's supposedly good country; buru-rgbon warmbaya woło? munaqa They go (marry) anywhere like white people.

wol-ńu- V to eat a big meal, have a fair amount to eat

wom N MU black plum (Vitex glabrata)

womboroŋ N big rock wallaby (Petrogale species ?)

worololo N ? blowfly

woronmomo? N GU Alloterpopsis semialata

worowk- V TH to jump, leap; ńaŋ-worowk-a gun?biri-wala, ńaŋi gu-ʃ-galurk You jump from there indeed it's deep.

wor-wu- V to make someone eat, feed someone

wor? N GU belly

wor?-ga- V to bear a child, carry a child (< gu-wor? belly)

wor ADJ high, steep

wor- V TH to protrude, stick out; gu-gu-bin-wor The hill protrudes, is high. (< gu-bin stone, hill); mira-wor- to protrude (of head, as someone walks along, gu-mira head), gu-mira-wor ńočo-ga? His head is sticking up from the grass.

worongor? N GU sweat

worongor?- V TH to be hot, sweat

woy- V TH to finish off someone, something, use up; woy-mi-zi-do away with each other, kill each other (RR); gαiy, ńugu-ray yini-bak-woy-miñ Hey, you (NSG) finished up my meat!
woyk- $V$ $TH$ to fish
wukařa $N$ sand-burrowing frog
wu- $V$ to give. See 3.3.3.16 for compounds, 3.3.3.18.1 for paradigm.
wulukur? $N$ sibling-in-law, man and brother-in-law wulukur?-go?
wulup- $V$ $TH$ to bathe
wulup-ga- $V$ $CAUS$ to make wet, to bathe (as in sweat); ŋun-gu-
wulup-ganiŋ gu-worongor?-ŋini-yi? I was bathed in sweat, my sweat soaked me.
wul?- $V$ $TH$ to come up, advance, come on; gu-mu-wul mungu-we?
The rain is coming on.
wun-ja- $V$ to hide something; ŋ-wun-je He hid it. (PP)
(w transitively used AUX -ja-)
wunji-ja- $V$ to be hidden; gu-ŋ-wunji-jaŋan It is hidden.
(ŋer?-)wur- $V$ $TH$ to be shortwinded (< gu-ŋer? heart)
wuray $N$ GU tall grass species
wurk $N$ GU unidentified grass species
wurk- $V$ $TH$ to swallow; gu-gu-biŋį-
wurk He is swallowing water. (-biŋį- bound form water, liquid)
wurkiŋįŋ $N$ euro (Macropus robustus)
wurpar?- $V$ $TH$ to be gathered, assembled; to all be there
wur?wuruŋu $N$ old people

Y
yalala- $V$ $TH$ to get better, be all right; ŋu-yalala-miŋ boŋį
I am better now. (PP)
yalbuyaŋu $N$ tortoise, big short-necked Emydura? species
yalka $N$ GU shin

yaľ $N$ MU bark, stringybark
yaƙiŋ $N$ MU dilly bag; mgu-yaƙiŋ
yimi-yeyeŋ-gen mungu-burpa
The dilly bag (is where) we put (RED) the lily.
yana? $INDEF/INT$ what; yana?gana
why; yana?mala when, how long;
yana?miŋ for nothing, in vain;
yana?yana how many; yana?way where to
yana?- $V$ $TH$ to do what; ŋu-yana?-ra What shall I do? Also
yana?-me- to do what
yanipi $INT$ hesitation form, whachacallit; gu-ŋ-bolk yanipi-
wala, mir?wala It comes out of whachacallit, out of the cave.
yan $N$ GU language, word
yan-ŋu-ţči- $V$ $RR$ to talk with, converse with (gu-yan word, language; wu-ţči- RR of wu- give);
also yan-ŋu talk to, ŋalakan?-wala buruŋu-yan-wuniŋ They talked to them in Ngalakan.
yapa $N$ F elder Si of female Ego, any Si of male Ego; yapa-go?
Two sisters or brother and sister (dyadic); yapayapa-go? sisters or siblings (plural dyadic)
yap? $Numeral$ two, also yap?ja;
gu-ŋ-malkyanap?miŋ He made two days of it, took a two-day trip
(see malk time)
yaragaja $ADV$ quickly, promptly
yaraman $N$ horse (widespread in area; not native Ngalakan word)
yariyariyi?- $V$ $TH$ also with me-
to be lazy
yarkyark $ADJ$ deserted, empty;
guŋdu yarkyark empty country
yarmaga $N$ big bandicoot
yar? $N$ $ADJ$ a lot, abundant; yar?
ŋalpor ŋu-maŋiŋ I got a lot of eggs.; buru-ŋanamiŋ ŋugu-yar?
A lot (of people) were camping (there).
yaṛkyark ADJ not sacred, worthless, 'rubbish'. With noun class prefix mu-yaṛkyark worthless, everyday (non-sacred) food.

yaw INTERJ good job! good on us! (often with possessive suffix yaw-yiki good on us! 1IN DU)

yawok N MU bitter, cheeky yam, cf. Jawoŋ yawk, Ngalkbon yawok

ye- V to put down; gere-ye- to put, lay someone to sleep; ḏar?-ye- put to dry (< ḏar? V TH dry); jiri-ye- to be insolent to (< jiri insolent)

yeke? INTERJ How about it? What do you say?; yeke? mungu-may How about (some) food?

yele N GU hole, now also 'door'

-yere SFX LEX NSG possessive suffix


yereʔ- V TH to grow, get bigger; waŋba ̣-yereʔ-jji? It will not grow.

yereʔ-ga- V CAUS to raise (as child), to make grow

yerk- V TH to come out, come loose; jala-yerk- to come out of mouth (as fishhook); gu-̣-yerk- It's coming loose.

yerk-(g) a- V CAUS to take out (as from fire), open up, out (as door), take off (as clothes); yi-yerk-(g)an ̣yow-wala Let's take it out of the fire.; ju-maŋa-yerk-(g)an Take it off his neck.

yerve ADV bottom, inside, underneath. ALL yerce-ga?, ABL yerce-wala ̣-bak-war?-miŋ garkukwala, ̣nugu-mirpara gaŋa? yerce She tossed it to him from above, the little boy (was) below.

yerɛ- V TH to be shy, ashamed; ̣nubu-bak-yerɛ I'm ashamed before them. Also mira-yerɛ- of same meaning (gu-mira head)

yerɛ-ga- V CAUS to shame, make ashamed; ̣nun-yerɛ-gaŋiŋ He shamed me. PP

yi- PFX Marks allative of cardinal directions: yi-̀oro to the east, yi-gara to the top.

yika? PRO 1IN DU pronoun. ERG yikaŋi?-yi?, also yika?-yi?. Local case forms built on ERG.

-yiki SFX 1IN DU possessive suffix

yilk-but- V to cover up, bury, heap coals over; alanga jumu-yilk-bun Cover it (food) with coals straight away.

yimili? N MU wet weather, fog

yimuymuy ADV long way

yini- V to do, say (thus). For paradigm see 3.3.3.18.5; gamiŋjiko gu-gu-yini It (GU-class) is like that all the time.

yinimbala CONJ all the same, same again; waŋba yiriŋbi-ŋan-jji? ̣nugu-bigur-yi? geywar-yi? yinimbala Men cannot look at us, young men just the same (i.e. cannot look).

yiniʔ-ga- V to tell someone (direct object complement); ̣niŋ-yiniʔ-ganiʔ- ̣mol ̣k I didn't tell you.

yinjŋon ADV today, right now; yinjŋoyinjŋon RED just now, recently

yinjji CONJ also, even, too; bur-bol-maŋa-gan ju-gun?biri jugu-bolo mayŋo?-yi? yukaji?, mira yinjji They intend to paint up the woman thoroughly with red ochre, even/also (her) head.
-yiŋuŋ SFX diminutive; occurrence specialised, with mariŋ- in meaning 'wife's younger Si', with geywar in meaning 'husband's young Br'.

yiŋoro ADV all around; waluk yĩŋoro right round, all around jam?yĩŋoro shut up, enclosed

yipuŋja ADV a long time ago

yirambaŋ N barn owl

yirka? PRO LEX NSG pronoun. ERG yirkaŋi?-yi?, also yirka?-yi?. Local case forms built on ERG.

yirkup N water rat

yirŋ N MU wax

yirkiŋi?-gα- V CAUS to make someone move, act (presumed yirkiŋi?- V TH unattested)

yiwaŋara N long tom (fish species)

-yi? N SFX ergative, instrumental with all NP types.

yo- V to sleep. For paradigm see 3.3.3.18.2; compounds 3.3.3.16; nu-gere-yoŋoniŋ yukaji? I was sleeping soundly.

yočoŋ ADJ not secret or sacred

yolkyolk- V TH to tell, narrate

yon N MU sinews, also blood vessels

yon- V TH to talk, gossip; bak-yoŋ- to talk about someone

(man)-yopyop V TH to all gather, assemble (< PFX man-)

yuka ADV up ahead, in the lead

yukaji? ADV for a long time, for good; altogether, completely; Waŋiburu ḍ-wakeŋ Hodgson Downs yukaji? gundo-bore-ka? The Alawa went back (PP) to Hodgson Downs for good, to their country.

yuka?- V TH to go ahead, in the lead; ḡu-yuka?-ra I'll go ahead.

yun N GU island

yunguwala ADV this way, to/towards here

yuŋʔnir? ADV up till sunset (cf. nír? V TH to set, of sun)

ywuʔwe PART supposedly, I'm not sure; ju-gowko-ŋowi ywuʔwe (She was) supposedly his grandmother.

-ʔgVn N SFX genitive-dative case ending; V assimilates to preceding stem vowel, e.g. ju-manaʔ-gan my mother's, for my mother, ḡu-mokolʔ-gon my father's, for my father.

-ʔmolk SFX past NEG suffix; see 3.3.3.10.
BERN, J.

BERNDT, R.M.

CAPELL, A.

GLASGOW, D. and K. GLASGOW

HALE, K.

HALLIDAY, M.A.K. and R. HASAN

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