

THE BASIC MORPHOLOGY OF NANGIKURUNGURR

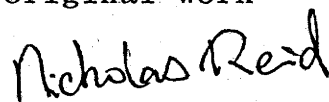
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Unless otherwise acknowledged in the text,
this thesis represents the original work
of the author.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Nicholas Reid". The script is cursive and fluid, with the first letters of "Nicholas" and "Reid" being capitalized and prominent.

Nicholas Reid

CONTENTS

Chapter 1	Introduction	1
1.1	Language and Speakers	1
1.2	Language Type	2
1.3	Previous Work	4
1.4	Phonemes and Orthography	4
Chapter 2	Noun Morphology	9
2.1	Case Inflections	9
2.1.1	Ergative Marker	9
2.1.2	Instrumental Marker	13
2.1.3	Purposive Marker	14
2.1.4	Ablative Marker	17
2.1.5	Locative Marker	19
2.1.6	Allative Markers	21
2.1.6.1	Allative 1 (away)	22
2.1.6.2	Allative 2 (towards)	23
2.2	Noun Classes	25
2.2.1	Male Class and Female Class	26
2.2.2	Animal Class and Plant Food Class	31
2.2.3	Tree Class and 'Thing' Class	37
2.2.4	Plural Human Class	39
2.2.5	Body-part Class	40
2.2.6	Dog Class	42
2.2.7	Weapon Class	43
2.2.8	Spear Class	43
Chapter 3	Free Form Pronouns	45
3.1	Paradigm	45
3.2	Usage	48
3.3	Possession	49
3.4	Reflexive Pronoun	55

Chapter 4	Verbal Morphology	55
4.1	Structure of the verb	55
4.2	Auxiliary Functions	56
4.2.1	Subject Marking	56
4.2.1.1	Subject Person	56
4.2.1.2	Subject Number	58
4.2.2	Tense	65
4.2.3	Object Marking	67
4.2.3.1	Direct Objects	69
4.2.3.2	Indirect Objects	70
4.2.4	Transitivity	77
4.2.5	Auxiliary Related Problems	81
4.2.5.1	The Post Auxiliary Verb Stem Slot	81
4.2.5.2	The Auxiliary Verb Stem Unit	84
4.2.6	Auxiliary Verb Stems	85
4.3	Body-part Incorporation	92
4.4	Main Verb Stems	98
4.5	Tense	106
APPENDIX 1	'Simple' Auxiliary Verb Paradigms	118
APPENDIX 2	'Pre-verb' Auxiliary Verb Paradigms	126
APPENDIX 3	Text	136
BIBLIOGRAPHY		146

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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

A	Animal
ABL	Ablative
All	Allative
Aux	Auxiliary
AVR	Auxiliary Verb Root
AVS	Auxiliary Verb Stem
BP	Body Part
CAUS	Causal
cl	Class Marker
COND	Conditional
Cont	Continuous
Dg	Dog
dl	Dual
DO	Direct Object
Erg	Ergative
ex	Exclusive
F	Feminine
Fut	Future
G	Goal
HA	Higher Animate
IMP	Imperative
inc	Inclusive
Inter	Interrogative
INSTR	Instrumental
IO	Indirect Object
IRR	Irrealis Auxiliary Inflection
LA	Lower Animate
LOC	Locative
M	Masculine
MVS	Main Verb Stem
n	Non
NF	Non-Future Auxiliary Inflection
No.	Number
ns	Non-Singular

Past	Past Auxiliary Inflection
PF	Plant Food
PH	Plural-Human
pl	Plural
Pres	Present
Pro	Free Form Pronoun
PURP	Purposive
rp	Restricted Plural
sp	Spear
sg	Singular
Su	Subject
tr	Trial
Tr	Trees and Things
Wp	Weapons

1	1st Person
2	2nd Person
3	3rd Person
[]	Phonetic Transcription
/ /	Phonemic Transcription
*X	X is ungrammatical
(*X)	Ungrammatical if X included
*(X)	Ungrammatical if X not included

INTRODUCTION1.1 The Language and Speakers

Nangikurungurr is a language of the Daly River area, situated approximately 150 kms SSW of Darwin. The majority of Nangikurungurr speakers live on or around the Daly River Mission and at Pepiminati, a cattle station near the Moyle River.

1/a Nangikurungurr was traditionally spoken on a comparatively large tract of land (compared to the other Daly Family languages) spreading from the headwaters of the Moyle River across to the Wingate mountains. The number of Nangikurungurr people living in this area in pre-mission days is unknown, although they are generally reputed to have been one of the larger groups in the Daly region. They are also said to be the first people, lured by the commencement of farming on the Daly, and the establishment of the mission, to leave their country and move to the banks of the Daly River.

The mission at Daly River has attracted people from about 10-12 language groups. Among these people, Nangikurungurr is considered to be the 'official' lingua franca. Virtually all adults over the age of about 30 years can and do speak Nangikurungurr in daily conversation, either as, or in addition to, their first language. Of people under the age of 25-30 years, most have some passive understanding of the language, although few use it spontaneously amongst themselves, or even in reply to questions addressed to them in Nangikurungurr by adults. Probably about 20-30 adults at Daly River Mission speak Nangikurungurr as their first language.

Pepiminati, on Tom Turners Creek near the Moyle River, is a community of about 200 people, the majority of whom speak Nangikurungurr as their first language. Young people at Pepiminati speak Nangikurungurr more readily than their Daly River counterparts. This is due, presumably, both to the unity of their parents' language background and also because Pepiminati is more isolated from the influences of Darwin where most Daly River Mission children spend a few years in their mid-teens as part of their schooling.

The language name is derived from /nangi/ - 'language, story, word' and /kurungurr/ - 'the deep middle part of a river'.

ie you know of
2 dialects
2

after

Nangikurungurr appears to have at least one dialect - Nangiwumiri. There are a number of Nangiwumiri speakers around the mission but little work has been done on this language apart from Tryon's 1974 study. The ways in which these two dialects differ has not been studied in any depth -- although Tryon has suggested that they share about 84% of lexical items, based on a cognate count of a 200 word list.

The fieldwork for this thesis was all done at Daly River Mission and various camps west of the Mission. My time there was spent solely on Nangikurungurr, but hopefully a future visit will allow time for some comparative work with Nangiwumiri.

1.2 Linguistic Type

The phonology of Nangikurungurr presents some unusual problems. Stops seem to display a partial voicing distinction, particularly in morpheme initial position. Some words show free variation with regard to voicing, yet for other pairs of words voicing seems to be the contrastive feature. It appears at this stage that distinctive voicing is only consistently realized phonetically, where a semantically contrastive word also exists. The phonology is also marked as unusual by Australian standards, by the existence of at least two phonemic fricatives.

Nangikurungurr also employs a system of noun classes. Clitic-like class markers prefix the nouns belonging to these ten classes: Male humans, Female humans, animals and flesh food, plant food (plants with edible parts), Trees and non-edible plants (this class is extended to include 'things' in general), Plural humans (not specified for gender), Body-parts, Dogs and Dingoes, Weapons, and Spears. In addition to the members of these classes, any nominal modifying them can also take the class prefix.

Nangikurungurr has no full system of case marking. Participant roles are however encoded by a series of case post positions that are suffixed to the final element of an NP. There are six post positions in all, marking the following functions: Ergative and Instrumental, Purposive, Ablative and Causal, Locative, Allative (away) and Allative (towards). There is no genitive post position. Possession is marked simply by juxtaposition.

Nangikurungurr free-form pronouns have unique forms for Singular, Dual, Trial and Plural. There is a gender distinction in the 3rd person singular only, and an inclusive/exclusive distinction in 1st person. As for other Daly Family languages, the 1st person inclusive fits awkwardly into the pronominal system. While 'Trial' and 'Plural' categories have distinct forms for 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons, they are undistinguished in the 1st person inclusive. Also in the 1st inclusive the 'Dual' is the unmarked form of the non-singular pronouns, whereas in the other persons it is the 'Plural' which is the unmarked form, the 'restricted plurals', 'Dual' and 'Trial', being derived from it by suffixes in other verbal slots. Re-analysis as a 'minimal/augmented' system, as has been useful in describing, e.g. Rembarrnga's pronouns, does not make for a neater description, as the 'Trial' must still be specified as a distinct category. The 1st inclusive pronouns and the non-1st inclusive pronouns must simply be described separately at this stage.

Like the other languages of the Daly River region, Nangikurungurr is a Non-Pama-Nyungan prefixing language. The verbal complex carries not only information about tense and aspect etc., but also cross-references various clause participants (subject, direct object, indirect object, purposive NP's, Goal NP's) with bound pronouns.

The Nangikurungurr verb consists of three major slots -- the Auxiliary, the Main Verb Stem and Tense marking. The Auxiliary is made up of the bound pronominal affixes, together with the Auxiliary Verb Root. There are 26 known Auxiliary Verb Roots in Nangikurungurr. They serve to classify the action denoted by the Main Verb Stem in regard to, e.g. the bodily position in which an action is performed (sitting/lying/standing), the plane of movement of the limbs in the performance of an action, actions performed with instruments as opposed to by hand, actions performed through the application of heat, etc. etc. At this stage of analysis, it is possible to state the semantic function of only about eight of these Auxiliary Verb Roots. For the remaining 18 it is difficult to determine even a very broad semantic category that will serve as a basis for all the verbs that select a particular Auxiliary Verb Root.

The Auxiliaries fall into two groups. Sixteen can only appear with a co-occurring Main Verb Stem. These are known as 'pre-verbs'. The other ten, known as 'simple verbs', can in addition, function as verbs on their own without a co-occurring Main Verb Stem.

1.3 Previous Work

Some previous work has been done on Nangikurungurr. Tryon included a chapter on Nangikurungurr in his 1974 study of the Daly Family Languages, and since then W.G. Hoddinott and F.M. Kofod and K. Courtenay and a few linguists from S.A.L. at Batchelor have done some work at various times. Also Sister Robyn Reynolds, formerly of Daly River Mission, has drawn up a word list and some school materials. Most of this previous work has consisted of word lists and some basic morphological description, and no substantial phonological analysis appears to have been published. There are some discrepancies between my work and previous work, particularly in regard to transcriptions. Where these occur, I feel that a more substantial time in the field and, consequently, a larger data base has allowed me to provide a more accurate description.

*Her
work
before
1974*

1.4 Phonemes and Orthography

A chapter on the phonology of Nangikurungurr was planned for inclusion in this thesis, however a number of problems requiring further fieldwork have prompted me to leave it out. I plan to distribute a description of Nangikurungurr phonology, as an appendum to this thesis, by mid-1983. In the meantime to facilitate the reading of this thesis, I have provided below a brief description of the phonemes and orthography. I am tentatively analysing 19 consonant phonemes. I.P.A. symbols are given in brackets where the orthography varies.

appendum

As can be seen from the chart below, Nangikurungurr has four voiceless stops and three voiced stops.

- /p/ is a voiceless aspirated bilabial stop
- /b/ is a voiced bilabial stop. It has a rather rare fricative allophone [β], which is in free variation especially when /b/ is both morpheme initial and intervocalic, e.g.

		Bilabial	Velar	Apical	Laminal
Stops	vcl	p	k	t	tʃ (c)
	vcd	b	g	d (ɖ)	
Frics		f (ɸ)		rs (ɹ)	s (ʃʒ)
Nasals		m	ŋ	n	ɲ
Liquids				l rr (ɾr) r (ɽ)	
Semivowels		w			y

/b/ cont.

- + e.g. a*bangirri ~ [aɓaŋgirri] - 'sand goanna'
 e*berri ~ [eɓerri] - 'blue tongue lizard'

/k/ is a voiceless velar stop. It is produced quite far back on the velum and tends toward uvular in the environment of back vowels.

/g/ is a voiced velar stop, tending towards uvular in the environment of back vowels. It often fails to be fully stopped when intervocalic or post-liquid.

/t/ is a voiceless alveolar stop, occasionally realized as post-alveolar in the environment of back vowels.

/d/ is a voiced retroflex stop. The tongue tip curls back and the tongue moves up making a sub-laminal post-alveolar/pre-palatal stop. Inter-vocalically in unstressed position, the tongue often flicks up making only a very brief 'flap' contact, or sometimes no contact at all. This produces a sound that is very easily confused with the flap /rr/. The degree of retroflexion of this stop is sensitive to the environment. I perceive intervocalic /d/ as being more retroflex than initial /d/, and /d/ between back vowels as being more retroflex than /d/ between front vowels.

/tj/ is a voiceless aspirated palatal stop with two allophones. [ɟ] a voiceless palatal fricative, is in free variation morpheme initially.

e.g. tjirre ~ [ɟirre] - behind
tjungun ~ [ɟungun] - grey hair

[t̪] a voiceless dental stop is in free variation intervocally and post nasally, especially where morpheme initial.

e.g. aŋanɁtjamu ~ aŋanɁt̪amu - bush turkey
aɁtjalmerɾ ~ aɁt̪almerɾ - barramundi
ŋirribemɁtjalak ~ ŋirribemɁt̪alak - I'm standing

The lack of a voiced palatal stop is somewhat unusual. My only recordings of voiced palatal stops are in borrowed skin-system terms.

Fricatives

/f/ is a voiceless bilabial fricative. It is produced without lip-rounding or any endo-labial 'pout', but with the lips very slightly spread. It sounds more labio-dental than a fully bi-labial [ɸ], although that may be partly due to the influence of English. For younger speakers this sound is labio-dental.

/s/ is a palatal fricative which varies freely from voiced to voiceless.

e.g. [murɨsɐ] ~ [murɨʃɐ] - 'pubic hair'
[wajɐn] ~ [wajɐʃ] - 'hair'

/rs/ is a voiced retroflex fricative. This fricative is not common, occurring most frequently when morpheme initial and preceded by the animal class marker /a/.

e.g. aɁrsiminmin - 'small bat'
aɁrsikarak - 'plover'

This was the environment in which the bilabial and laminal allophones [β] and [t̪] appear, so further data may show this fricative to be an allophone of /d/. At the present stage of analysis it remains one of the least certain phonemes.

Nasals

- /m/ a bilabial nasal has no allophonic variation.
- /ŋ/ is a dorso-velar nasal, which sometimes has palatal release before front vowels.
 e.g. ŋekin ~ [ŋ^yekin] - 'shit'
 ŋiŋiŋin ~ [ŋ^yiŋiŋin] - 'I saw it'
- /n/ an alveolar nasal, tends to be slightly retroflex between back vowels and more so when preceded by /a/ and pre-consonantal,
 e.g. panmi - [paŋmi] - 'fork of a tree'
- /ɲ/ is a palatal nasal produced with the blade of the tongue fronted against the post-alveolar region and the tongue tip close behind the upper teeth.

Liquids

- /l/ is an alveolar lateral with velarized articulation after back vowels and clear articulation elsewhere.
 /l/ occasionally sounds retroflex, most commonly, like the alveolar nasal, when preceded by /a/ and pre-consonantal.
 e.g. falmi - [faɭmi] - 'woman'
- /rr/ is an alveolar flap [ɾ] intervocalically and a trill [r] pre-consonantally and finally. As a trill it is often devoiced.
 e.g. yewirr - [yewirr̥] - 'tree'
 awa-purrrpurrrk - [awapurrr̥purrrk] - 'children'
- /r/ is a post alveolar approximant.

Vowels

Nangikurungurr has four vowels:

i u
 e a

There is no phonemic vowel length.

/i/ has two allophones

[i] - before semivowels and word finally;

[ɪ] - elsewhere

/e/ is usually realized as [ɛ], but sometimes fails to be fully raised and is realized as [æ], a low front vowel. This seems to happen most often in the environment of peripheral consonants.

e.g. [wɛwɛ] ~ [wæwæ] - 'vomit'

[ɛkɛ] ~ [ækæ] - 'uncle'

/u/ has two allophones;

[u] finally

[ɔ] elsewhere

Before the palatal semi-vowel /u/ becomes diphthongized

e.g. muy - [mɔi] - 'eye'

yenim-buy - [yenimɔi] - 'he's underwater'

/a/ is realized as:

[ʌ] word finally and where unstressed

[aɪ] before palatals, but not across morpheme boundaries.

Thus

adap - [adaɪp] - 'shark'

wasan - [waɪʃan] - 'hair'

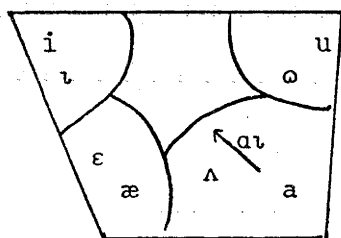
but,

aɪtjariwuse - [atjariwuse] - 'frill necked lizard'

awaɪtjitjipi - [awatjitjipi] - 'a big mob of people'

Otherwise /a/ is realized as [a], an open back unrounded vowel.

The domains of the four vowel phonemes are demonstrated by the chart below:



CHAPTER 2

NOUN MORPHOLOGY2.1 Case Inflections

Like other Daly Languages, Nangikurungurr has no full system of case marking. Participant roles are, however, usually encoded by a series of case post-positions (six in all), that are suffixed to the final element of an NP.

Direct and Indirect objects are never marked - nor is the subject of an Intransitive Verb. NP's functioning as subjects of a transitive sentence are marked only in certain environments and their use needs to be restricted. (Discussed below - see /ningi/.)

ningi	- Instrumental, Ergative
ɲini	- Purposive
nimbi	- Ablative
nide	- Locative/Allative
pepi	- Allative (away from speaker)
pagu	- Allative (towards speaker)

Before discussing further the functions and roles of the above post-positions, it is important to note that their use is somewhat sporadic and not too much significance should be attributed to their absence; Green (1981) notes similar phenomena in Marrithiyel case inflections.

2.1.1

/ningi/ - marks those arguments that have an Ergative or Instrumental function. As the Ergative marker /ningi/ can only suffix NP's that are the subject of transitive verbs. Even then the use of /ningi/ to mark Agency is not obligatory. It occurs most commonly in the following environments.

The normal Nangikurungurr word order of a transitive sentence is (S)OV or (S)VO. Sometimes, however, the subject is ordered after the object e.g. OVS or OSV and in such cases the displaced subject is invariably marked by /ningi/. Compare 1.a and b with c and d.

- 1.a Wa-yedi wur-falmi wu - pun - Ø - ta
 Mcl man Fcl woman 3sg Aux 3sg hit
 Su NF DO
 The man hit the woman.
- b Wa-yedi wu - pun - Ø - ta wur-falmi
 Mcl man 3sg Aux 3sg hit Fcl woman
 Su NF DO
 The man hit the woman.
- c Wur-falmi wu - pun - Ø - ta wa-yedi ningi
 Fcl woman 3sg Aux 3sg hit Mcl man Erg
 Su NF DO
 The man hit the woman.
- d Wur-falmi wa-yedi ningi wu - pun - Ø - ta
 Fcl woman Mcl man Erg 3sg Aux 3sg hit
 Su NF DO
 The man hit the woman.

It is difficult to determine precisely what factors motivate this subject shift, although it's my impression that this happens most frequently when the subject is tacked on as an after-thought because it is the patient that has the interest/sympathy of the speaker. e.g.

2. Wur-falmi wupun - ta ... nem wuni ningi
 Fcl woman 3sg Aux hit 3sgM there Erg
 Su NF Pro
 He hit the woman ... that man over there.

Where the ordering of the subject is not displaced, the use of /ningi/ is optional. It is used most frequently where the transitive subject role of a particular NP is stressed. e.g.

3. Wa - wuni nem ningi danin - ni - pawal
 Mcl that 3sg Erg 3sg Aux 1sg spear
 M Pro Su NF DO
 That man, it was him who speared me.

-particularly, in correction of misheard information. e.g.

4. Minmi, wur-falmi ningi bejin - Ø - da pigi-pigi
 Neg Fcl woman Erg 3sgAux 3sg shoot pig
 Su NF DO

No, it was the woman who shot the pig.

/ningi/ is used to mark Agency on an NP that, as the subject of a particular verb, would normally be considered an unlikely candidate for subjecthood. This may be due to the inanimacy of the subject. e.g.

5. Nayf ningi wu - pun - ni - ket
 knife Erg 3sg Aux 1sg cut
 Su NF DO

The knife cut me.

It could also be due to a lower animate subject performing an action normally attributed to higher animates only. e.g.

6. Amatji ningi bejin - Ø - da wa - yedi
 K'roo Erg 3sgAux 3sg shoot Mcl man
 Su NF DO

The roo shot the man. (An attested case at Daly.)

Likewise, when a 'dreaming animal' performs a transitive action, it is marked by /ningi/.

It's possible at this stage in my analysis to recognize two readings of example five (above).

i) The knife cut me.

ii) He cut me with a knife.

Green (1981), notes for Marrithiyel that instrumental NP's are either post-verbal and marked (by Inst./Erg. suffix) or pre-verbal and unmarked. He finds that a pre-verbal marked NP is semantically marked as Agent as opposed to Instrumental. In Nangikurungurr there seems to be no such 'semantic markedness' attributed to constituent ordering. Thus, example 7. a, b, c, and d, all read the same.

- 7.a Nem danij - ni - pawal yawul ningi
 3sg 3sgAux 1sg spear spear Erg
 MPro Su NF DO

He speared me with a spear.

where the verb in clause (B) is deleted on the grounds of redundancy. In the absence of further data this third explanation seems the most plausible, although further checking in the field is needed.

2.1.2 /ningi/ - Instrumental marker

As the Instrumental marker, /ningi/ is not subject to those restrictions which applied to /ningi/, the Ergative marker. It codes items employed by the subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs. e.g.

- 9.a Nangikurungurr ningi yi - wi - nindi - tjerrakul
 Inst 2sg Aux 1sg speak
 Su IRR IO

Tell me in Nangikurungurr!

- b Mudiga ningi waddi - tje tawun pepi
 car Inst 3pl Go Darwin All
 Su past past

They went to Darwin by car.

- c Kuni - guni yewirr ningi yedi - leli - tje mumba
 old woman stick Inst 3sg Go around past walk
 Su Past

The old woman walked around with a stick.

There are no restraints against /ningi/ appearing twice in the same clause, marking the Ergative NP and the Instrumental NP.

- 10.a Wa -wuni ningi dani - ni - ban tjulut ningi
 Mcl that Erg 3sgAux 1sg stab hook Inst
 Su NF DO

He stabbed me with a hook - spear.

- b Falmi nem ningi wu - pun - tjirri - tu wamangal
 woman 3sg Erg 3sg Aux belly cut wallaby
 M Pro Su NF
 nayf ningi
 knife Inst

His wife gutted the wallaby with a knife.

The /ningi/ marked Ergative and Instrumental NP's can both appear on the same side of the verbs or the Instrument NP preverbally and Ergative NP postverbally. Compare Da above with 11 a and b below.

11.a Wa -wuni ningi tjulut ningi danj - ni - ban
He stabbed me with a hook spear.

b Tjulut ningi danj - ni - ban wawuni ningi
He stabbed me with a hook spear.

2.1.3 /nini/ - Purposive marker

/nini/, the purposive marker, suffixes those NP's filling Purposive and Benefactive roles. It is homophonous with the future tense verbal suffix. e.g.

12.a Yerr - kipi nagatjin anemuni nayi nini
Tr Cl this lsg bring girlfriend lsg PURP
 Su NF Pro
I brought it here for my girlfriend (to give to her).
" " " " " " " " (she asked me to bring it).

b Kagu wamangal nini nani - nini
beef wallaby PURP lsg Go Fut
 Su IRR

I'm going hunting for wallaby.

/nini/ also marks those entities that are the goal of 'emotional' intransitive verbs. e.g.

13.a Depi yeyi kana yetji nem nini
head other now son-in-law 3sg PURP
 M Pro

She is worried about her son-in-law.

b Nayi nini - di - tje nini nini
lsg lsgAux cry past 2sg PURP
Pro Su past Pro

I was crying for you.

- 13.c Nayi minde nan - meretj yedi keme nini
 lsg NEG lsg be scared man wild PURP
 Pro Su

I'm not scared of 'wild black fellas'.

/nini/ also suffixes those nouns that are the object of the verb /derrigidi nerim/ - to desire, like.

- 14.a Derrigidi nerim nirr - nirr nini
 like lsg Aux sleep PURP
 Su NF

I want to sleep.

- b Derrigidi nerim tjutjurr nini
 like lsg Aux swim PURP
 Su NF

I want to swim.

This type of usage is not extensive. The above two Object NP's, /nirr - nirr/ and /tjutjurr/ also function as main verb stems. e.g.

15. Derrigidi nerim nani - tjutjurr - nini
 like lsg Aux lsg Go swim Fut
 Su NF Su IRR

I want to go swimming.

Only a handful of main verb stems are detachable from the verb in this way, and when they do they can be suffixed by /nini/ as in 14a and 14b above. However, not all NP's that appear as the object of the verb /derrigidi nerim/ take the /nini/ suffix. When the object is a higher animate, and cross-referenced in the verb as direct object, Purposive marking is never used. e.g.

- 16.a Derrigidi nerin - ni (*nini nini)
 like lsg Aux 2sg 2sg PURP
 Su NF DO Pro

I like you.

- b nimingin- ni - tjitjip (*nini nini)
 lsg Aux 2sg be jealous of 2sg PURP
 Su NF DO Pro

I'm jealous of you.

20. Anini narim - perpirk tjabatjalak nini
 flesh lsg Aux smash soft PURP
 Su NF

I hit the beef to make it soft.

/nini/ can also suffix temporal adverbs. e.g.

21. Abin kana minde fekiderrri nini kukuk
 raw now NEG long time PURP wait!

It's still raw - it won't be long - hang on!

/nini/ attaches to the interrogative /tjagani/ - 'what',
 to form the interrogative /tjaganiṇini/ - 'for what purpose', 'why'.

- 22.a Tjagani yin - ne
 what 2sg say - 3sg
 Su NF IO

What did you tell him?

- b Tjaganiṇini yin - ne
 why 2sg say 3sg M
 Su NF IO

Why did you tell him?

2.1.4 /nimbi/ - Ablative marker

/nimbi/ denotes the source of an action. This source can
 be a location, i.e. Ablative. e.g.

- 23.a Nirrse - ni - wirr - nini nitjirr abarri nimbi
 1pl Aux 2sg in Fut ground bog ABL
 Su IRR DO

We (ex) are going to pull you out of the bog.

- b Mamdetti yudi - bul fetjen mengetet kagu
 more 2sg Aux cook blood 3sg come out beef
 Su IRR
 anini nimbi
 flesh ABL

Cook it some more! Blood is still coming out of the meat.

The source can also be of a less concrete nature. e.g.

24. Tinitjirr nimbi mengetet
hibernation ABL 3sg come out
Su NF

He came out of hibernation.

/nimbi/ can also denote the cause of a particular state.

- 25.a Nayi tjusuk nim kagu nimbi
lsg sick lsgDo beef CAUS
Su NF

I'm sick from beef.

- b Tjutjurr nimbi dakarri anini meptjitjirr nimmingin - wa
swim CAUS leg flesh cramp lsg Aux pick up
Su NF

I have a cramp in my calf muscle from swimming.

In all previous examples /nimbi/ has suffixed NP's. However, it can also suffix verbs, and in doing so denotes the whole clause as the cause of the state. Compare 25 and 26.

- 26.a Wa - wuni wa - kerre kagu bakutj wusum - watj nimbi
Mcl that Mcl big beef many 3sg Aux eat CAUS
Su NF

The man is fat from eating beef.

- b Wa - yedi kagu dembirr - mitum nimbi nupun - ta
Mcl man beef 3sg Aux steal CAUS lsg Aux hit
Su NF Su NF

Because he stole the beef I hit him.

Note that the ordering of the two clauses in 26 a and 26b are freely interchangeable.

When /nimbi/ suffixes a verb it usually appears before the final tense marker, (where the tense is Past or Future, and the marker therefore has substantial form). e.g.

27. Kuri nini - kukuduk nimbi tje den - ni - mitit
beer lsg Aux drink CAUS past 3sg Aux lsg headache
Su past Su NF DO

I have a headache from drinking beer.

Note that /nimbi/ in example 27 could equally well appear suffixed to the NP 'beer'. e.g.

28. Kuri nimbi nini - kukuduk - tje den - ni - mitit
 beer CAUS lsg Aux drink past 3sg Aux lsg headache
 Su past Su NF DO

I have a headache from drinking beer.

Like the Purposive marker /nimbi/ also suffixes to the interrogative /tjagani/ to form the interrogative /tjagini + nimbi/ which is reduced to /tjaganimbi/ meaning 'what from', 'why'. (The reduction is a predictable Morpho-phonological Process.)

29. Tjaganimbi yini - wewe - tje
 what from 2sg Sit vomit past
 Su past

What made you throw-up?

/nimbi/ also attaches to temporal adverbs. e.g.

- 30.a Ninem - fuyfuy apirri nimbi
 lsg Aux blow before ABL
 Su NF

I had dried them out from before.

- b Kidin wukume apirri nimbi
 year one before ABL

From a year ago.

2.1.5 /nide/ Locative marker

/nide/ suffixes NPs denoting the location of a particular action, most commonly of a concrete location, e.g.

- 31.a Peke bafun ngerim - peleli perikut nide
 tobacco ash lsg Aux mix pannikin LOC
 Su NF

I mixed the tobacco and ash in the pannikin.

31.b Wamangal nudupun - wele yewirr nide
 wallaby lsg Aux hang tree LOC
 Su NF

I hung the wallaby in the tree.

c Nayi Tjilada nide nirim kana dede
 lsg LOC lsg sit now camp
 Pro Su NF

I'm camped at Tjilada now.

-or the location can be of a more abstract nature. e.g.

32. Nerin - ne - batj depi nayi nide
 lsg Aux 3sg F have head lsg LOC
 Su NF IO

I've got her on my mind.

The specific locational relationship with the NP that is achieved in English through the use of prepositions 'under', 'over' 'through', 'behind' etc. is normally deducible from the meaning of the verb.

33.a Nerin - derri yedi nide
 lsg Aux back man LOC
 Su NF

I hid behind the men.

b Wa - weti wuni yedi - madi - wirri - tje
 Mcl small that 3sg Go play past
 Su past

din - derri yederri nide
 3sg Sit back log LOC
 Su NF

The little boy was playing and jumped over the log.

Where further specification is desirable it can be achieved by supplementing /nide/ with a post-position, e.g. /apukek/ - 'under', /kangi/ - 'on top', etc. e.g.

34.a Wuwu wibem yeningisi nide apukek
 dog 3sg lie boat LOC under
 Su NF

The dog is lying under the boat.

- 34.b Piwulil nide kangi dede njine - tje njunine
vine LOC high camp lsg lie past evening

Su past

kultji - nimbi
yesterday

Last night I slept up in the vines. (to escape the mosquitoes)

/nide/ can also be suffixed by /pepi/ to form an Allative, 'towards', 'in the direction of'. /pepi/ on its own is the Allative form, and whether or not its co-occurrence with /nide/ produces a difference in meaning is not altogether clear. It seems though that /...nide pepi/ may imply arrival at the destination more implicitly than the strictly Allative /pepi/. e.g.

- 35.a Kide pepi yaganim
 where All 2sg G
 Su NF

Where are you going?

- | | | | |
|---|---------|------|------|
| b | Mitjin | nide | pepi |
| | mission | LOC | All |

To the mission. (and actually arriving)

- c mitjin pepi
mission All

To the mission. (and maybe arriving)

2.1.6

/pepi/ and /pagu/ are not strictly case inflections. They have been grouped here with Erg, PURP, ABL, LOC, etc. because their functions do include suffixing NP's to encode direction of a particular action. However they also share many other functions and can even show up in-fixed in a verbal complex. Basically /pepi/ indicates direction away, and /pagu/ direction towards the speaker. This is exemplified by the phrase:

36. Wuni pepikini pagu...
that All this All

This way and that.

2.1.6.1 /pepi/ - Allative marker

/pepi/ occurs commonly as the Allative marker 'to', 'towards'.

- 37.a Nendu ningi nagarri - tje Amunal pepi
 horse Inst lsg Go past Adelaide All
 Su past River

I went to Adelaide River by horse.

- b Kide pepi...?
 where All

Where are you going?

Alternatively /pepi/ can appear in the verb, after the main verb stem and before the tense marker. Obviously, this will only occur with verbs of motion and is the rarer form.

38. Nagarri - pepi - tje Tawun
 lsg Go All past Dawin
 Su past /

I went to Darwin.

Present data reveals one example of /pepi/ which is suffixed to a verb. The verb 'to die', taking the 'go' auxiliary, would normally have an option of three auxiliary tense distinctions. However, 'being dead', can only be represented as a present state in Nangikurungurr.

39. Nem misi - yenim - kana
 3sg dead 3sg Go now
 M Pro Su NF

He's dead now.

Present data reveals no examples of this verb used with its past auxiliary.

40. *Nem misi - yedi - tje
 3sg dead 3sg Go past
 M Pro Su past

He's dead now.

Where the state of 'being dead' is marked by present tense, and 'will die' is marked by future tense, Nangikurungurr has left to it no auxiliary form to denote the sense 'He is in the process of dying'. To derive this meaning the Allative suffix /pepi/ is suffixed to the verb. e.g.

41. Nem misi - yenim - pepi
 3sg dead 3sg Co All
 M Pro Su NF
 He's dying.

Here, the Allative notion of moving towards a point or state is maintained. How productive /pepi/ is in attaching to verbs in this fashion remains to be seen. So far, only this one example has been found.

2.1.6.2 /pagu/ - Allative marker

/pagu/ codes the direction of an action as being towards the speaker - 'here', 'this way', 'to me', 'to camp', etc. It often differentiates between the 'coming' and 'going' sense of verbs of motion (compare 42.a and b.) e.g.

- 42.a Etje yuda - wul - nini
 when 2sg Aux return Fut
 Su IRR

When are you going home?

- b Etje pagu yuda - wul - nini
 when All 2sg Aux return Fut
 Su IRR

When are you coming home?

Suffixed to NP's /pagu/ functions as an imperative meaning 'give it here!'. e.g.

- 43.a Peke nayi pagu
 tobacco 1sg All
 Pro

Pass my tobacco!

43.b Yengi pagu
 fire All

Give me a light!

/pagu/ also appears suffixed to a few NP's in a slightly different sense. It can denote the sense of 'via' in such examples as 44 a and b. e.g.

44.a Depi pagu neme - sarr - tje tjet
 head via lsg Aux take past shirt
 Su past off

I took my shirt off over my head.

b MENTjikanbi pagu nupun - genket nekin masapu
 windpipe via lsg Aux cut shit large
 Su NF

I cut its guts out via its windpipe.

/pagu/ is also used encoding action towards the speaker in 1st person reflexive constructions, and in verbs with a 1st person indirect object. e.g.

45. Yimi - nindi pagu mamdetti, minde
 2sg say lsg All again NEG
 Su IRR IO

 nibem - mbi - tjerribatj
 lsg lie 2sg understand
 Su NF IO

Tell me again, I can't understand you.

2.2 Noun Classes

Nangikurunggurr has a number of class markers for categorizing NP's. There are ten classes in all, marked by the prefixes shown below. e.g.

- 46.
- | | |
|----------|------------------|
| i) wa | - male |
| ii) wur | - female |
| iii) a | - animal |
| iv) mi | - plant food |
| v) yerr | - trees & things |
| vi) awa | - Human-Plural |
| vii) dV | - body part |
| viii) wu | - dogs |
| ix) yuri | - weapons |
| x) ali | - spears |

Of these, the first five are the major classes, with wide-spread use and many members recorded for each. Numbers vi) to x) are highly restricted, having only a few members each.

Generics exist for some of these classes, although the prefixes often appear not to have been derived from the appropriate generic, but presumably borrowed.

e.g. /falmi/ - /wur/ ?
 /yedi/ - /wa/ ?

Both the preposing of generics and the prefixing of class markers are employed in showing class membership. Where a noun belonging to any of the above classes, except body parts, is modified by a nominal, that nominal will normally also take class prefixing. The class of nominals that are available to these prefixes includes, deictics, nominal determiners, numerals, adjectives and pronouns. Where an NP is made up of a string of such modifiers, there exist various rules and or tendencies governing the number of modifiers involved, and which of those modifiers are to be prefixed. These questions are discussed in the context of the first two classes, 'male' and 'female'.

Those criteria mentioned there can be assumed to apply equally well to all the other classes, except where specific variations are mentioned.

All NP's that consist of a head noun plus (prefixed) modifiers behave no differently to any other NP in their ability to fill any syntactic role and take any case inflection.

For each of the classes discussed below examples are given of i) prefixed modifiers and ii) NP's consisting of (prefixed) head nouns and (prefixed) modifiers taking various case inflections.

Those nouns belonging to no class are unmarked. This includes such common nouns as 'river', 'rocks', 'sky', 'water', 'camp', etc.

2.2.1 /wa/ -male /wur/ -female

The generic forms for 'man' and 'woman' are /yedi/ and /falmi/ respectively. They are usually prefixed by their appropriate class marker. e.g.

47. /wa-yedi/ - man
 /wur-falmi/ - woman

/wa/ and /wur/ refer only to humans and are not used to denote the gender of lower animates. Both the generic and the class prefix are unmarked for number. The occurrence of the prefix is never obligatory, although its presence is usually favoured.

Both /wa/ and /wur/ strongly imply reference to men and woman who have reached puberty. The generic /yedi/ strongly suggests a circumcised male. However, the prefixes /wa/ and /wur/ can attach to the adjective /weti-/ 'small', to denote children. e.g.

48. /wa-weti (muy)/ - boy
 /wur-weti (muy)/ - girl

Where a noun belonging to the 'male' or 'female' class is modified by a nominal that nominal will also normally take

class prefixing. The class of nominals that are available to these prefixes includes deictics nominal determiners, numerals, adjectives and pronouns. e.g.

- 49.a wa - kerre - a big man
 Mcl big
- b wur - fagarri - two women
 Fcl two
- c wur - buymangarri - a white woman
 Fcl white
- d wa - kini - this man
 Mcl this
- e wur - nayi - my woman
 Fcl lsg Pro

The above examples can be preceded by their appropriate generic, which itself may also take a class prefix. e.g.

- 50.a ((wa)-yedi) wa - kerre - a big man
- b ((wur)-falmi) wur - fagarri - two woman
- c ((wur)-falmi) wur - buymangarri - a white woman
- d ((wa)-yedi) wa - kini - this man
- e ((wur)-falmi) wur - nayi - my woman

Preposing the (prefixed) generic in this fashion makes the prefix on the derived noun optional. Consequently, we have four possible realisations. e.g.

- 51.a wa - yedi wa - kerre - a big man
 Mcl man Mcl big
- b yedi wa - kerre - " " "
- c wa - yedi kerre - " " "
- d yedi kerre - " " "

While all these examples have been accepted by informants, it is types a + c that occur most naturally, there being a tendency to mark the initial element of an NP.

This tendency is also evident where one gets a head noun and a string of modifiers making up an NP. NP's normally consist of a noun and only one, or sometimes two, modifiers. More than two modifiers is not impossible, but it becomes hard for such a large NP to function naturally in regard to case inflection and general syntactic roles.

With an NP consisting of a head noun/generic and two modifiers, the prefixing of the various nominals is open to some variation. e.g.

- | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|------|------------|-----------|---|--------------|
| 52.a | wa | yedi | wa - kerre | wa - kini | - | this big man |
| | Mcl | man | Mcl big | Mcl this | | |
| b | wa | yedi | kerre | wa - kini | - | " " " |
| c | wa | yedi | wa - kerre | kini | - | " " " |
| d | wa | yedi | kerre | kini | - | " " " |

While none of the above examples are incorrect, preferences of usage do exist. The preference to have the generic class-marked was noted earlier. Where the generic is followed by two modifiers, as in example 52 above, it is usual for one of the two to be prefixed. Thus 52.b and c above are the most frequently occurring forms. The question of which of the two modifiers is to be marked seems to be decided in terms of topicalization. Where one of the modifiers represents a quality or state that, in reference to the discussion, is offered as new information, or is semantically marked, then that modifier will be class prefixed. Therefore, examples 52.b and c could be read as:

(52.b) The fat man, the one here, he ...

(52.c) This man, the fat one, he ...

The absence of members of the 'male' and 'female' classes can be denoted by a phrase combining the Negative and Generic forms, that is, /minde yedi/ and /minde falmi/, where the generic is not class prefixed. Where gender isn't specified masculine is the unmarked form.

57.a aa, minde yedi
oh NEG man

Oh!, there's no-one here.

b nu - Ø - ne - fifili - tje ep minde falmi
lsg Aux 3sgF search past but NEG woman
Su IRR IO

I searched for her but - she wasn't there.
- couldn't find her.
- there were no women.

/wa/ and /wur/ can prefix those nouns that refer to a stage or condition of life; e.g.

58.a wa - tjerrmusa - old man
b wur - kuniguni - old woman
c wa - nangu - youth (male)
d wur - delyek - woman who has borne a child

but not to those NP's that define kinship relationships. e.g.

59.a (*wa) gatta - father
b (*wur) kalla - mother
c (*wa) eke - uncle

Finally, /wa/ and /wur/ can prefix certain weapons and instruments, to form a noun referring to a person renowned for their skill with that weapon. e.g.

60. wa - yagama Mr Woomera
Mc1 woomera

2.2.2 /a/ Animal Class /mi/ Plant Food Class

The generic forms for 'animal-flesh' and 'plant food' are /kagu/ and /miyi/ respectively. They are never prefixed by their class markers.

61. *a-kagu
 *mi-miyi

Neither the generic nor the class prefixes inflect for number. /a/ and /mi/ differ from the 'male' and 'female' prefixes /wa/ and /wur/ in that they occur obligatorily rather than optionally. In most cases the 'prefix plus root' combination has become lexicalized to the extent that the root can never be found independent of its prefix. e.g.

62. amatji - kangaroo
 aṇanifipi - porcupine
 atjalmerr - Barramundi
 aṇanisi - King Brown snake
 aperrperr - Burdiken duck

/a/ obligatorily prefixes a large group of nouns consisting mostly of animal names and some edible body-parts. When the animal or body-part is further specified as being food-stuff, then it is preceded by the generic. (Preposing the generic doesn't make the prefix optional.) e.g.

- 63.a aṇanifipi Ø - mengetet weri nem nimbi
 Acl porcupine 3sg come out hole 3sgM ABL
 Su NF Pro

The porcupine came out of his hole.

- b kagu aṇanifipi gupun - wat weri nem nimbi
 flesh Acl porcupine lsg Aux hook out hole 3sgM ABL
 Su NF Pro

I hooked the porcupine out of his hole (to eat).

/a/ does not only prefix the names of those animals that are eaten by humans. Virtually every lower animate is obligatorily /a/ prefixed. The exceptions consist mostly of introduced animals, animals with names derived through onomatopoeia, and a handful of common animal names. Most of the common animal name exceptions are where the female and male of a species have distinct names. e.g.

64. Non /a/ prefixed animal names:

wilik wilik	-	galah
watku watku	-	frog
mak mak	-	white eagle
tjirretj	-	M. wallaby
wamangal	-	F. wallaby
malarrgu	-	long-necked turtle
nendu	-	horse
walfaga	-	buffalo

The generic /kagu/ is placed before these nouns to specify them as food stuffs. e.g.

65.	kagu wilik wilik	-	galah meat
	kagu walfaga	-	buffalo meat

A number of body part names also obligatorily take the /a/ prefix. These are body parts that are generally considered to be food. e.g.

66.	adarra	-	liver
	akumifi	-	ligament
	anini	-	muscle/flesh
	aliyi	-	fat/marrow
	akimi	-	tail

The /a/ prefix on these nouns, like the animal names, is obligatory. Thus /a/ + /darra/ is a lexicalized combination referring to 'liver', even though the liver of the animal in question may never be eaten.

(e.g. human liver, dog liver) Not all edible body parts are marked by the /a/ prefix. The body parts:

67. kekulkul - heart
 detjep - tongue
 yirringu - kidney

for instance, are all commonly eaten, but fail to take class-marking.

There exist a few examples of pairs of nouns where the presence or absence of the prefix is critical in determining the difference in their meaning. e.g.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|
| 68. | damuy | - eye | adamuy | - clitoris |
| | dawayirr | - forehead | adawayirr | - head band |
| | wuwu | - dog | awuwu | - cricket |
| | fiti | - heat/sunshine | afiti | - insect |

and where the nouns in the second column seem to have been derived through a 'productive' idiomatic usage of the 'animal class marker'.

There is further evidence of cases where class prefixing has, at one time, been productive in deriving one noun from another. For example, there are cases of the same root taking different prefixes. e.g.

- 69.a mi - werrmisa - red plum (The bark of this tree looks remarkably like fresh water crocodile skin.)
- b a - werrmisa - fresh water crocodile

Which of these words was derived from the other, is not, at this stage, clear. However the important point to note is that despite evidence of the diachronic productiveness of the /a/ and /mi/ prefixes, in present day Nangikurungurr they are non-productive. Nouns belonging to these two classes never appear unmarked, and there is no evidence of optional prefixing to imply, for instance, 'animal class' features.

However, any nominal modifying the generic, or an /a-/ prefixed noun, will normally also take the class marker. e.g.

- 70.a kagu a - yubu derrigidi nerim
flesh Acl good like lsg Aux
Su NF

I want some good beef.

- b amatji a - tjitjipi neben - da
Acl roo Acl many lsg Aux shoot
Su NF

I shot a big mob of roos.

- c atjalmerr a - nayi kide
Acl barramundi Acl lsg Pro where

Where's my barra?

- d amengip a - kerre a - kini danim - pawal
Acl goanna Acl big Acl this 3sg Aux spear
Su NF

He speared this big goanna.

Examples of prefixed NP's taking case inflections, e.g.

- 71.a afengu a - singumuy ningi benin - ni - katit
Acl snake Acl savage Erg 3sg Aux lsg bite
Su NF DO

The savage snake bit me.

- b nayi tjusuk nim kagu a - wulek nimbi
lsg Pro sick lsg DO flesh Acl bad CAUS
Su NF

I'm sick from that bad beef.

/mi/ prefixes nouns that are plant names, or plant parts, denoting them as food-stuffs. Plant names or parts that are not eaten do not take the /mi/ prefix but rather employ the 'tree' prefix /yerr/. There are a few edible plants which don't take /mi/. Compare 72a and b.

- 72.a mi - sawuni - bush potato
 mi - damuy - seed (generic)
 mi - tjikmuy - black plum
 mi - muy - yam
- b mundupan - little cucumber
 dirrinbuk - nut

As the /mi/ prefix implicitly denotes plant forms eaten by humans, it is unnecessary to prepose the generic /miyi/, to imply foodstuffs as was the case for the 'animal class'. 'Eggs', 'honey', and 'milk' do not take the /mi/ prefix. 'Tobacco', and 'bread' could be considered to be the produce of plants but neither of these belong to the /mi/ class either. However, 'honey' and 'bread' are not excluded from coverage by the generic /miyi/ 'tucker', so it can be seen that in this regard the respective domains of /mi-/ and /miyi/ diverge slightly. /mi/ marking is non-productive.

As for the other classes, any nominal modifying the generic or a /mi/ prefixed noun, will also take class marking. e.g.

- 73.a miyi mi - yubu na - Ø - ni - fime - nini
 plant food PFcl good 1sg Aux 2sg give Fut
 Su IRR DO
I'm going to give you some good tucker.

- b mimeli mi - tjitjipi mi - kipi nʉsum - watj
purple plum PFcl many PFcl this lsg Aux eat.
Su NF

- | | | | |
|---|------------|------------|----------------------|
| c | mipiyagan | mi - kerre | din - tada - dim |
| | cheeky yam | PFcl big | 3sg sit peel 3sg sit |
| | | | Su NF Su NF |

Examples of prefixed NP's taking case inflections, e.g.

- 74.a mitjikmuy mi - kerre nini narin - Ø - tjerr - pu
 black plum PFcl big PURP lsg Aux 3sg mouth ask
 Su NF DO
- I asked (him) about the big black plums.

2.2.3 /yerr/ Trees and 'Things'

The generic for this class, /yewirr/, means any non-edible trees, plants, grasses, sticks, etc. The corresponding derived class prefix is /yerr/, which marks the names of any species of the above. e.g.

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------|---|----------------|
| 77. | yerrsina | - | creek pandanus |
| | yerryeningisi | - | red kapok tree |
| | yerrwirrimbi | - | white gum |
| | | | etc |

/yerr/ also prefixes some tree parts, but not all. e.g.

- | | | | |
|------|----------------|---|------|
| 78.a | yerrnulfi | - | root |
| | yerrgarrfuri | - | bark |
| but | | | |
| b | (*yerr)miringi | - | leaf |
| | (*yerr)panmi | - | fork |

The stem /garrfuri/ may provide a clue here. /garrfuri/ means 'skin', a feature which can be applied to various classes. e.g.

a	-	garrfuri	-	skin
Acl		skin		

yerr	-	garrfuri	-	bark
Trcl		skin		

/yerr/ may be precluded from prefixing those stems that are inherently 'tree-features' only. Thus /garrfuri/ 'skin' selects the prefix but /miringi/ 'leaf' doesn't.

Any nominal modifying a /yerr/ prefixed noun, will also normally take the prefix. e.g.

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------|------|-------------|
| 79.a | yerrsina | | yerr - kipi |
| | Trcl creek pandanus | Trcl | this |
| | This creek pandanus. | | |

- 79.b yerr mawun yerrwarra^{ma} yerr - kipi
 Trcl ironwood Trcl three Trcl this
 These three ironwood trees.

'Honey' and 'tobacco', though both 'edible,' belong to the 'tree' class. /funguli/ - 'honey' and /peke/ - 'tobacco' do not take the /yerr/ prefix themselves. However, nominals that modify them do. e.g.

- 80.a peke yerr - nayi kide
 tobacco Trcl 1sg Pro where
 Where's my tobacco.

- b funguli yerr - kipi
 honey Trcl this
 This honey

The above NP's can take any sort of semantically appropriate case inflection.

An extended usage of /yewirr/ refers to 'things' in general. This usage extends to those nouns that normally belong to no class. This is not to say that any classless noun can take the /yerr/ prefix itself - not so. e.g.

81. (*yerr)fepi - rock
 (*yerr)yengi - fire

Rather, indirect or ignorative reference to such nouns may be made with /yewirr/. For example, with negative expressions. e.g.

- 82.a yengi minde - yewirr
 fire NEG tree
 I've got no fire.

- b(Q) peke yerr - weti pagu
 tobacco Trcl small give it!
 Give me some tobacco.

- (A) minde - yewirr
 NEG tree
 I've got none.

Likewise, any nominals modifying 'general' nouns are open to 'tree class' prefixing. e.g.

83. (Q) tjugani yerr - wuni
 what Trcl that
 What's that thing?

(A) mungun mungun yerr - kerre..
 willy-willy Trcl big
 A big willy-willy ...

2.2.4 /awa/ Plural Human class

/awa/ is a rare prefix denoting plural-humans. It is unmarked for gender. There appears to be no generic. In all, present texts reveal only a few examples. e.g.

84.a awa - tjitjipi - a big mob of people
 PHcl many

b awa - kipi - this mob
 PHcl this

c awa - purrpurrk - children
 PHcl collective/
 diminutive

d awa - tjerre ningi - the other mob
 PH cl

Compare

85.a a - tjitjipi - a big mob of animals
 Acl many

b a - purrpurrk - little animals/birds
 Acl collective/
 diminutive

/awa/ is also used, prefixing place names, to denote the people from that place. e.g.

awa - Daly River - the Daly Mission mob
 awa - Port Keats - the Port Keats mob

or place names + case marker, e.g.

awa - Woolianna - nimbi
ABL

The mob from Woolianna.

2.2.5 /dV/ Body parts

Except for the small group of edible body parts which take the animal class marker, most body-parts are obligatorily prefixed by /dV/. The form of the vowel /V/ being either /a/ or /e/, determined by regressive front/back vowel harmony with V_1 of the root, e.g.

86.	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>
	deɲini - body	damuy - eye
	depi - head	dawayirr - forehead
	detjerr - mouth	daba - arm
	deme - hand	dapurr - bum
	defirr - foot	damadi - chest

There is one exception to this rule. 'Back of the head' is always realized as /detjunmi/, as opposed to the expected /datjunmi/.

A small group of body parts do not take the /dV/ prefix. This consists of those body-parts which select the /a-/ prefix, and some which take no prefix at all.

87.	nitjiwuwu	- elbow
	minmipi	
	muywasan	- eyelash
	meɲari	- fingernail
	wuse	- hair
	nɪptjiyawuni	- kneecap

Unlike the prefixed body parts, all these words seem to be derived through compounding, a feature which itself may account for them being set aside as morphologically unmarked.

Body-part class marking differs from all the other classes in one important feature. Nominals modifying body-parts never take the /dV/ prefix. e.g.

88. damuy (*de) - kerre (*da) - fagarri
 eye BPcl big BPcl two
 Two big eyes.

Like the 'animal class' marker /a/ and 'plant food' class marker /mi/, the body-part marker is normally obligatorily prefixed on the free standing body-part noun, e.g.

89. afengu yeniŋ - ŋi - batjbatj *(da) ba ŋayi
 snake 3sg Go lsg coil BPcl arm lsg Pro
 Su NF DO

The snake coiled around my arm.

However, there are two environments in which body-parts appear without their class marker. The first of these is where, as previously mentioned, body-part nouns are formed through compounding, e.g.

90. depi - piri — pipiri
 BPcl head pus brain

In compounds of this sort the class prefix is never allowed, e.g.

91. *depipiri brain

Secondly, when body-part nouns are incorporated into the verbal complex (as is a common feature of prefixing languages) they never take the /dV/ prefix. e.g.

- 92.a nebem - (*de) - pi - ket wuse ŋayim
 lsg Aux BPcl head cut hair 3sg F Pro
 Su NF
 I cut her hair.

- 92.b nupun - (*de) - tjirri - tu nekin masapu
 lsg Aux BPcl navel cut shit big
 Su NF

I cut the guts out.

While the body-part marker is non-productive, applying only to a closed set of nouns, there is one example in my data of the /dV/ prefix used in an euphemistic expression. The word /panmi/ meaning 'the fork of a tree' is often employed in Nangikurungurr to mean 'crotch/fork of the legs'. When metaphorically employed in this way, /panmi/ takes the body-part class marker.

93. nanam - Ø - batj da - panmi
 lsg Aux 3sg kick BPcl 'crotch'
 Su NF DO

I kicked him in the crotch.

Of course, if the body-part is incorporated into the verb itself, the prefix will drop. e.g.

94. nanam - Ø - panmi batj
 lsg Aux 3sg crotch kick
 Su NF DO

I kicked him in the crotch.

2.2.6 /wu/ dogs

This is a very small class, having only two members, e.g.

- /wuwu/ - dog
 /wupidirri/ - dingo

The prefix is obligatory. Any nominals modifying these two nouns normally take the prefix as well. e.g.

- 95.a wuwu wu - wuni wu - singumuy
 dog Dcl there Dcl savage

That savage dog over there.

- b wupidirri wu - weti wu - nayi kide
 dingo Dcl small Dcl lsg Pro where

Where's my dingo pup?

Such NP's can be case inflected. e.g.

96. wuwu wu - kerre ningi beŋiŋ - Ø - katit
 dog Dcl big Erg 3sg Aux 3sg bite
 Su NF DO

A big dog bit him.

2.2.7 /yuri/ weapons

/yuri/ optionally prefixes most weapons, or items employed as weapons, (other than spears) and any nominals that modify them.

- 97.a yuri - karritjinmuy yuri - ŋayi
 wcl boomerang wcl 1sg Pro
 my boomerang

- b kuba yuri - kipi
 crowbar wcl this
 this crowbar

- c yuri -- yewirr yuri - kerre
 wcl stick wcl big
 a big waddy

2.2.8 /ali/ spears

/ali/ only occasionally prefixes the names of spear types, but frequently prefixes those nominals that modify them. The generic is /yawul/ e.g.

- 98.a (ali) - tjulut ali - ŋayi
 spcl hookspear spcl 1sg Pro
 my hookspear

- b (ali) - yawul ali - kipi
 spcl spear spcl this
 this spear

98.c (ali)- waya ali - fengu
 spcl wirespear spcl long
 a long wirespear

The weapon /yagama/ 'woomera' belongs to neither the /yuri/
 class, nor the /ali/ class, but is marked by /yerr/ 'trees'. e.g.

99. yagama kipi yerr - nayi
 woomera this Trcl lsg Pro

This woomera is mine.

CHAPTER 3

PRONOUNS

3.1 Paradigm

Nangikurungurr has free form pronouns for Singular, Dual, Trial and Plural number categories. The 1st person non-singular has an inclusive/exclusive distinction. And only the 3rd person singular has a gender distinction. The forms are listed in the table below.

Table 1

	Sing.	Dual.	Trial.	Plural.
1inc		nayin	nayin-nime	
1ex	nayi	nagarri	naga-nime	nagurr
2	nipi	nagarri	naga-nime	nagurr
3	Masc nem	wirrike	wirrike-nime	wirrim
	Fem nayim			

The singular pronouns obviously bear no inflection, having instead unique forms for person and number. Whether or not we can divide the non-singular pronouns into 'root' plus 'number suffix' is more problematic. Possibly for 1st person exclusive and 2nd person we could argue that the pronoun root forms are /naga/ and /naga/ respectively, and that the free forms are derived by suffixing number morphemes to them, as shown in the table below.

Table 2

		Dual.	Trial.	Plural.
1ex	naga	-rri	-nime	-urr
2	naga	-rri	-nime	-urr

This analysis is partially supported by some evidence from the bound subject pronouns. In Table 2 above we can see that the trill /rr/ suffixed to the pronoun root is instrumental in forming the Dual and Plural pronouns, i.e. /nagarri/ 'We dl' and /nagurr/ 'We pl'. A correlation could be seen here with the trill /rr/ that is the non-singular bound subject morpheme (Discussed in detail in

4.2.1.2).

1. η ayi η eben - da I shot it.
 lsgPro lsg Aux shoot
 Su NF
2. η agurr η errben - da We (ex) shot it.
 lplPro lns ex Aux shoot
 Su NF

However in addition to this possible correlation there is little other evidence to warrant the formation of rules whereby the free form pronouns can be derived from an underlying root.

Also, proposing that the free form pronouns are derived productively from these roots, fails to make sense of the 3rd person non-singular pronouns.

Table 3

		Dual.	Trial.	Plural.
3rd	wirri	-ke	-ke-nime	-m

where neither /ke/ nor /m/ show up elsewhere in Nangikurungurr morphology as number affixes.

Given that the 'root + number suffix' analysis copes, at this stage, with less than half of the paradigm, it seems sensible to make note of the recurrent partial identities of form, but to consider the Nangikurungurr free form pronoun paradigm to consist of 15 'unique' forms.

It can be seen from Table 1 above, that the 1st person inclusive fits awkwardly into an otherwise normal Singular, Dual, Trial and Plural number system, in that it doesn't distinguish between Trial and Plural.

Also the normally restricted non-singular category 'Dual' is the unmarked non-singular pronoun for the 1st inclusive.

3. η ayin - $\emptyset$ η ambani - $\emptyset$ - η ini
 lincPro dl lns inc Go dl Fut
 Su IRR

Let's (us 2) go!

Whereas to form the Plural the 'Trial' marker /nime/ is postposed to the root. This post position is also copied onto the verb in the post MVS slot. Compare example 3 above with 4 below.

4. nayin - nime nambani - nime - nini
 lincPro Tr/Pl lns inc Go Tr/Pl Fut
 Su IRR

Let's (us 3 or more) go!

For some Arnhem Land languages in which the 1st person inclusive presents problems, e.g. Rembarrnga (McKay 1975), re-organization of the pronominal number system in Minimal, Unit Augmented and Augmented categories, has made for a neater analysis. (see Dixon 1980; Chapter 11) However re-organization in this fashion has little application to Nangikurungurr pronouns.

	<u>Min</u>	<u>Unit Aug</u>	<u>Double Aug</u>	<u>Aug</u>
linc	nayin	nayin-nime		
lex	nayi	nagarri	naga-nime	nagurr
2	nini	nagarri	naga-nime	nagurr
3 Masc	nem	wirriike	wirriike-nime	wirrim
Fem	nayim			

As can be seen from this chart, the form /nayin-nime/, (marked with the postposition that indicates 'Trial' in lex, 2 and 3 persons) now marks all the non-minimal number categories for the 1st person inclusive. The /nime/ post position, now appearing in the Unit Augmented column, is quite anomalous to that column and breaks up the pattern between linc and 3rd persons;

	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Trial</u>
5. nayin		nayin nime
wirriike		wirriike nime

that was provided by the Sg, Dl, Tr and Pl system.

In conclusion then, it seems that the main body of the pronoun paradigm (i.e. the non1st-inclusive) is best organized under the traditional Singular, Dual, Trial and Plural categories, with the 1st inclusive separately specified as having only two forms 'two' and 'three or more'.

3.2 Usage

Free form pronouns normally only refer to human entities, although reference is extended to lower animates when the pronouns are in reflexive or possessive functions.

Syntactically free form pronouns behave no differently to nouns. The same devices that marked nominal case e.g. word order, cross-referencing core NP's in the verb with bound pronouns, and the use of case post positions (all described in Chapter 2) apply equally well to the free form pronouns.

- 6.a nagarri yirrigu - wap - Ø
 2dl Pro 2ns Sit dl sit IMP
 Su IRR Su

you two, sit down!

- b wirrim wuni wirrin - tjuk
 3pl Pro there 3ns Sit fight
 Su NF

Those mob over there are fighting.

- 7.a nayi narim - birrki - pawal
 lsgPro lsg Aux 3dl spear
 Su NF DO

I speared those two (men).

- b nayi derrigidi - den - ni
 lsg Pro like 3sg Aux lsg
 Su NF DO

She likes me.

Example 7 above demonstrates that, as was true for nouns, either the subject or object pronoun can appear as a free form before the verb. The presence of neither free form pronoun is essential, because the person and number of the subject and object are unambiguously encoded in the verbal complex by obligatory bound pronouns. However, a typical Nangikurungurr clause will include at least one. e.g.

- 8.a nayi narip - pi - pek durrmu
 lsg Pro lsg Aux 2sg drip paint
 Su NF DO

I painted you.

8.b nipi narip - pi - pek durrmu
 2sg Pro

I painted you.

Whether or not any semantic change, or focus in topicalization is achieved by the choice of e.g. object over subject, remains unclear at this stage. What is clear is that a pronoun in a major syntactic role likes to appear in free form, despite its unambiguous verbal coding. Of course, in the case of a 3rd person singular subject, use of the free form pronoun does serve to disambiguate its gender.

The marking of free-form pronouns with case post positions differs in no way to the marking of nouns, so the discussion of them won't be repeated here (see 2.1). Examples of free form pronouns taking various post positions are given below:

9.a pupumuy wirrin - nindi wirrim ningi
 humbug 3ns Sit 1sg 3pl Pro ERG
 Su NF IO

They were humbugging me.

b nupun - ne - fifili payim nini
 1sg Aux 3sg F search 3sgF Pro PURP
 Su NF IO

I searched for her.

c wuni pepi nagarri - tje nem wuni nide
 there ALL 1sg Go Past 3sgM there Loc
 Su Past Pro

I went over there to him.

3.3 Possession

There is no morphological marking of possession for nouns or pronouns in Nangikurungurr. Genitive roles are marked simply by juxtaposition. For nominal whole-part possession, the noun denoting the whole precedes the noun denoting the part.

10.a nurrapun - wele amatji dakarri
 1sg Aux hang k'roo leg
 Su NF

I hung up the kangaroo's leg.

- 10.b amengin nekin masapu nupun - genket
 goanna shit big 1sg Aux cut
 Su NF

I cut out the goanna's guts.

- c mudiga deyedirr wirribem pilkitj pilkitj
 motor-car hip 3sg stand rotate redup
 Su NF

The car's wheel is spinning round.

For nominal possession other than whole-part, the ordering of constituents is unchanged, the noun denoting the possessor precedes the noun denoting the possessed. However this phrase is followed by a free form pronoun cross-referencing the possessor.

- 11.a wa - wuni falmi nem menj - njindi
 Mcl that woman 3sgM 3sg Say 1sg
 Pro Su NF IO

That man's wife told me.

- b falmi kipi membirr nayim tjusuk mem
 woman this baby 3sg F sick 3sg Do
 Pro Su NF

This woman's baby is sick.

- c Masita bi nem wulek
 axe 3sgM bad
 Pro

Masita's axe is blunt.

As the 3rd person singular free form pronouns are specified for gender, when a lower animate is marked as possessor, a decision regarding its gender must be made. In this regard, masculine is unmarked form and the feminine is only selected where a specific reference to a female lower animate is desired. Compare a and b below.

- 12.a ananfifi bude nem benim - batj
 kite hawk nest 3sgM 3sg Aux fall
 Pro Su NF

The kitehawk's nest fell down.

Use of the free form reflexive pronoun is not obligatory, nor is it restricted to only those actions that are performed by hand. e.g.

18.a neben .- nindi - katit deme nayi
 1sg Aux 1sg bite hand 1sg Pro
 Su NF IO

I bit my tongue.

b wa - wuni benin - ne - da deme nem
 Mcl that 3sg Aux 3sgM shoot hand 3sgM
 Su NF IO

That man shot himself.

These free forms are employed most commonly where non-singular bound object pronouns fail to distinguish between Direct and Indirect objects. The example below for instance has two possible readings:

19. wirrim wurrupum - birr - ta
 3pl Pro 3ns Aux 3pl hit
 Su NF DO/IO

i. They hit them.

ii. They hit themselves.

If reflexive the free-form reflexive pronoun would be used to provide clarity. e.g.

20. wirrim wurrupum - birr - ta deme wirrim
 They hit themselves.

In Nangikurungurr lower animates filling major roles do not normally qualify for cross-referencing in the verb by bound pronouns, or for reference by free form pronouns, unless they are in possessive or reflexive functions.

To denote reflexive actions, lower animates take indirect object marking in the object slot, as was true for higher animates, and they also employ the free-form reflexive pronouns. For 3rd person singular pronouns, as for the possessive function, masculine is the unmarked form, and feminine only chosen to specifically denote female gender.

21.a afengu wupun - ne garrarr deme nem
 Acl long 3sg Aux 3sgM uncoil hand 3sgM
 Su NF IO

The snake uncoiled itself.

b wuwu akimi benin - ne - katit deme nayim
 dog Acl tail 3sg Aux 3sgF bite
 Su NF IO

The bitch bit her own tail.

CHAPTER 4

VERBAL MORPHOLOGY4.1 Structure of the verb

The Nangikurungurr verb consists of 3 major components and 2 minor ones.

Auxiliary + (Body Part +) MVS + (Temporal Adverb)
 (Conditional +) Tense Suffix
 (Markers, etc)

The Auxiliary consists of 3 parts.

Subject + Auxiliary Verb Root + Object

The combination of 'bound subject' + 'Auxiliary Verb Root' is, in some cases, fused to such a degree that it is impractical to propose a morpheme boundary between them. This will be discussed in more detail in 4.2.5.2. It is convenient to view this combination as a single unit, and the term 'Auxiliary Verb Stem' is used to describe it.

A typical transitive Nangikurungurr verb will look like this.

garin - ni - barj - Ø I stabbed you.
 1sg Aux 2sg stab Pres
Su NF DO
AVS Obj
 Auxiliary MVS Tense

There are 2 types of AVS's that we can distinguish. Of the 26 AVS's that my present data reveals 10 can function as verbs without a co-occurring MVS. e.g.

1.a nirim I'm sitting
 1sg Sit
 Su NF

or

b nirim - fifi I'm (sitting) smoking
 1sg Sit
 Su NF smoke

The other 17 AVS's can only co-occur with a MVS. e.g.

2.a ɲerim - Ø - batj I own/hold it.
 1sg Aux 3sg hold
 Su NF DO

b *ɲerim - Ø

I follow Green's terminology (Marrihiyel 1981) in calling the former type 'simple verbs', and the latter 'pre-verbs'.

The major functions of the Auxiliary are discussed below.

4.2 Auxiliary Functions

4.2.1 Subject Marking

4.2.1.1 Subject Person

The subjects of all Nangikurungurr verbs are obligatorily cross-referenced by bound pronouns as the initial morpheme of the verb. The form of the pronoun is CV, where C is the consonant shown below, and V is a vowel determined by the AVR.

1 (inc & ex)	-	ɲV		
2	-	yV		
3	-	dV	wV	kV

This can perhaps be best demonstrated by listing the full paradigm for the 'sit' AVS /ɲi - rim/.

The vertical columns in the table below represent the three 'tense' inflections of the Auxiliary, 'Past', 'Non-Future' and 'Irrealis'. The three horizontal columns are the number categories 'Singular', 'Dual (+ Trial)' and 'Plural'. The 'Trial' subject number is derived from the 'Dual' form, by inclusion of the bracketed /nime/ suffix. The forms listed below are Auxiliary Verb Stems i.e. bound subject pronouns plus Auxiliary Verb Roots. The paradigms for the other Auxiliary Verb Stems are listed in appendices 1 and 2.

3.		<u>PAST</u>		<u>NF</u>		<u>IRR</u>
	1	ɲini		ɲirim		ɲiwi
	Sg 2	yini		yirim		yiwi
	3	dini		dim/kirim		wiri
	Dl	line ɲindini (nime)		ɲindim (nime)		ɲimbi (nime)
	(Tr) lex	ɲinne "		ɲirringu "		ɲirrigu "
	2	yinne "		yirringu "		yirrigu "
	3	winne "		wirringu "		wirrigu "
		line ɲindini nime		ɲindim nime		ɲimbi nime
	Pl lex	ɲini		ɲirim		ɲirri
	2	yinni		yirim		yirri
	3	winni		wirim		wirri

Looking at the bound subject pronouns, we can see that, except for past and NF 3rd singular pronouns, the paradigm is quite regular. The seemingly irregular 1st person inclusive forms, are in fact regularly derived and are explained in 4.2.1.2.

If we examine the 3rd person singular bound subject pronouns of all the AVS's (see Appendices 1 and 2) we find that 'IRR' forms are regularly realized as /wV/. The 'Past' forms are almost always realized as /dV/. However, in the 'NF' inflections, of the 26 AVS paradigms, only 7 are realized as /wV/, half of the remaining take /dV/ and the rest are irregular, suppletive forms. The suppletive forms are listed below.

<u>1sg</u>		<u>3sg</u>
ɲaganim	-	yenim
ɲemengen	-	mengen
ɲim	-	mem
ɲanan	-	nagan
ɲeben	-	benim
ɲarim	-	ɲanim
ɲimingin	-	mengin
ɲem	-	ɲinim

The apparently suppletive forms,

nirim - dim
nerim - dem

are predictable contractions through regular Morpho-phonological processes.

4.2.1.2 Subject Number

The AVS inflects for Singular/Non-Singular Subject. Non-Singular is marked by suffixing a morpheme to the bound subject pronoun. The form of this morpheme is,

- /rr/ - for 1st person exclusive and 2nd and 3rd person
- /mbV/ - for 1st person inclusive (or occasionally /ndV/ where the initial consonant of the AVR is an apical. This is discussed in full below.)

It was demonstrated in Chapter 3 that the 1st person inclusive fits awkwardly into the Nangikurungurr free form pronominal system. It also takes separate marking in the forming of the Non-Singular Subject pronoun as can be seen from the example above. I will describe the 1st inclusive forms after the non 1st-inclusive.

To form the non 1st-inclusive non-singular subject /rr/ is suffixed to the bound subject pronoun in this fashion. e.g.

- 4.a neben - da wamangal
 lsg Aux shoot wallaby
 Su NF
 I shot a wallaby.

- b nerrben - da wamangal
 1ns Aux shoot wallaby
 Su NF
 We (ex) shot a wallaby.

- 5.a yisen - ge - wirr nekin masapu
 2sg Aux belly pull shit big
 Su NF
 You (sg) pulled its guts out.

- b yirrsen - ge - wirr nekin masapu
 2ns Aux belly pull shit big
 Su NF
 You (pl) pulled its guts out.

The cluster formed by /rr/ and the initial consonant of the AVR is subject to assimilation of manner where that consonant is also apical.

6. i ɲanam - Ø - batj I kicked it.
 lsg Aux 3sg kick
 Su NF DO

/rr/ insertion gives - /ɲarrnam-Ø-batj/ and assimilation of manner between the 2 apicals gives

- ii ɲannam - Ø - batj We (ex) kicked it.
 lns Aux 3sg kick
 Su NF DO

Likewise

- ɲudem - fel I jumped
 lsg Aux jump
 Su NF
- ɲurrdem - fel
- ↓
- ɲuddem - fel We (ex) jumped.
 lns Aux jump
 Su NF

Where the initial consonant of the AVR is the continuant /r/, the cluster /rr/ + /r/ → /rr/ e.g.

7. ɲirim I'm sitting.
 lsg Sit
 Su NF
- ɲirr + rim
- ↓
- ɲirrim We (ex) are sitting.
 lns Aux
 Su NF

Where the initial consonant of the AVR is the flap/trill /rr/, the cluster /rr/ + /rr/ → /rrrs/, a trill /rr/ followed by a voiced retroflex fricative /rs/. e.g.

8. *nirribem* *tjalak* I'm standing up.
 lsg stand upright
 Su NF
 nirr + *rribem* *tjalak*

nirrrsibem *tjalak* We (ex) are standing up.
 lns stand upright
 Su NF

This cluster only occurs in this one word 'to stand', and represents the only kink in an otherwise workable orthography.

While the AVS encodes the Singular/Non-singular number of the subject, Nangikurungurr also has other suffixes, filling various slots in the verbal complex, whereby the restricted plurals, 'Dual' and 'Trial' can be encoded as Subject Number.

Dual subject marking is achieved through supplementing the non-singular form of the AVS with the restricted plural marker /gV/ in the post AVR slot. And Trial Subject Marking is achieved through the use of 3 suffixes:

- i) the AVS is marked for non-singular
- ii) the post AVR slot is filled by /gV/
- iii) the post MVS slot is filled by trial marker /nime/ e.g.

9. *nirim* - *fifi* I'm smoking
 nirrim - *fifi* We (Pl) are smoking
 nirringi - *fifi* We (dl) are smoking
 nirringi - *fifi nime* We (tr) are smoking

The form of the vowel in the restricted plural morpheme /gV/ is determined by the first vowel of the following MVS. Where the first vowel is /a, e or i/ the marker is /gi/. Where the first vowel is /u/ or if the restricted plural marker is word final (i.e. a 'simple verb') then the marker is /gu/. e.g.

- 10.a *nirringi* - *fifi* We (dl) are smoking
 lns Sit rp smoke
 Su NF Su

10.b yirringi - dada You (dl) are singing
 2ns Sit rp sing
 Su NF Su

c wirringi - wewe - nime They (Tr) are vomiting.
 3ns Sit rp vomit tr
 Su NF Su Su

but

d gerringu - bubu - nime We (Tr) are fetching (water).
 1ns Aux rp fetch tr
 Su NF Su Su

e nirringu We (dl) are sitting.
 1ns Sit rp
 Su NF Su

It can be seen from the paradigm of the 'sit' AVS given above that for those Auxiliary verbs which have 3 tense inflections, the Past tense inflection marks 'restricted plural' number in a different manner to the 'non-future' and 'irrealis' inflections. While 'restricted plural' number is marked on the NF and IRR inflected auxiliary verbs by the suffixing of the morpheme /gV/, on the 'Past' inflections it is indicated by a change in quality of the AVR-final vowel. With one exception, the 'Past' AVS inflections end in the vowel /i/. This becomes /e/ to mark restricted plural. (For example, see 'sit' paradigm above.)

11. gini - tje I was sitting
 ginne - tje We (dl) were sitting
 ginni - tje We (pl) were sitting

The one exception is the 'stand' auxiliary - /girribem/ of which the past form ends in /e/. e.g.

12. nirrine - tje I was standing
 nirrsine - tje We (pl) were standing

Here the 'restricted plural' number of the subject is marked by the anomalous form /rrki/. e.g.

13. nirrrsingerrki - tje We (dl) were standing up

The subject number of 1st person inclusive forms are coded somewhat differently. It has been demonstrated in the case of 1st (ex), 2nd and 3rd persons, that the plural is the unmarked non-singular form, from which further morphological processes derive the restricted plurals 'Dual' and 'Trial'. However, for the 1st person inclusive, the 'Dual' is the unmarked form and the 'Tr/Pl' (the 2 are not distinguished) are derived from it through the suffixation of /nime/. This is true of both free form and bound pronouns.

e.g.

Free Form	nayin 1(inc)Pro	nayin - nime 1(inc)Pro Tr/Pl
Bound	nindim - fifi Ins inc Sit smoke Su NF	nindim - fifi - nime Ins inc Sit smoke Tr/Pl SU NF Su
	We(dl inc) are smoking.	We(Tr/Pl inc) are smoking.

Here it can be seen that the Tr/Pl form is derived through the use of /nime/ in the post-MVS slot, and that the form of the bound subject pronoun is unchanged.

For 1st (ex), 2nd and 3rd persons, the non-singular number of the subject was encoded by suffixing the bound subject pronoun with /rr/. In the 1st person inclusive it is achieved by suffixing the bound subject pronoun with /mbV/ or /ndV/. e.g.

- 14.a nupun - Ø - ta I hit him
 lsg Aux 3sg hit
 Su NF DO
- b numbupun - Ø - ta We (dl inc) hit him
 lns inc Aux 3sg hit
 Su NF DO
- c numbupun - Ø - ta - nime We (Tr/Pl inc) hit him
 lns inc Aux 3sg hit Tr/Pl
 Su NF DO Su
- 15.a nipingin - Ø I saw her
 lsg see 3sg
 Su NF DO

15.b *nimbiningin* - Ø We (dl inc) saw her
 ins inc see 3sg
 Su NF DO

c *nimbiningin* - Ø - nime We (Tr/Pl inc) saw her
 ins inc see 3sg Tr/Pl
 Su NF DO Su

It should be noted that the vowel /V/ of /mbV/, is copied from the vowel of the bound subject pronoun, not from the vowel of the AVR. Thus,

16. *nibem* I'm lying down
 lsg lie
 Su NF

/mbV/ insertion gives:

nimbibem We (dl ex) are lying down
 ins lie
 Su NF

not **nimbebem*

I gave the 1st person inclusive non-singular subject marker as /mbV/ or /ndV/. There is some basis upon which the choice between them can be made. The bilabial nasal/stop cluster occurs most commonly and appears to be the underlying form. The apical cluster almost always appears in conditioned environments - usually when the initial consonant of the AVR is /r/. e.g.

17. *pirim* I'm sitting
 lsg sit
 Su NF

nindirim We (dl inc) are sitting
 ins sit
 Su NF

This form is subject to further contraction as the apical stop /d/ and the continuant /r/ don't appear in consecutive syllables in *Nangikurungurr*. When they are thrown together by some morphological

process, usually the syllable containing /r/ is deleted (e.g. di + rim $\rightarrow$ dim - 'he is sitting'. The examples below show the 1st 2nd and 3rd person singular non-future forms of the 'sit' auxiliary and the 'action performed with hands' auxiliary.

18.	<u>sit</u>		<u>hands</u>
	1 nirim		nerim
	2 yirim		yerim
	3 di(ri)m $\rightarrow$ dim		de(ri)m $\rightarrow$ dem

Here the results of that process can be seen. Likewise, in the 1st person inclusive of example 17 above /ɲindi(ri)m/ $\rightarrow$ /ɲindim/.

The other example my data reveals of the 1st inclusive non-singular subject number marker being the apical form /ndV/ is one where the initial consonant of the AVR is /n/. The auxiliary of 'actions performed through the application of heat' is /ɲinem/. The 1st inclusive form is /ɲindem/. The precise motivation of this contraction from the expected /ɲimbinem/ is unclear at this stage. The initial apical nasal of the AVR may, like the continuant, have attracted the apical cluster form of the non-singular subject marker, i.e. /ɲindinem/. And then this form may have been contracted through similar forces to those which motivated /r/ to go to $\emptyset$. However, another auxiliary with an apical nasal initial AVR - /nanam/ 'action performed with the feet', fails to undergo this process. e.g.

19.	nanam - $\emptyset$ - batj	I kicked him
	1sg Aux 3sg kick	
	Su NF DO	

ɲambanam	- $\emptyset$ - batj	We (dl inc) kicked him.
1ns inc Aux	3sg kick	
Su NF DO		

Despite the evidence of some as yet unknown factors at work here, it can be said that 90% of the 1st person inclusive forms are fully predictable from the 1st singular form. In fact most AVS paradigms in ɲangikurungurr are fully predictable given the 1st singular Past, NF and IRR (and perhaps the 3rd singular if irregular).

Let me briefly describe the 'tense' of these three inflections of the 'sit' AVR.

- i) /ɲiwi/ which I label 'IRREALIS' (IRR) is concerned solely with the modal sense 'irrealis'. Consequently it is used in Future, Negative Past, and all other 'unreal' constructions.
- ii) /ɲini/ which I label 'Past' always implies Past tense and Imperative aspect.
- iii) /ɲirim/ which I label 'Non-Future' (NF) basically covers the rest, usually Present or Past Perfective.

The full range of expressions derivable through the combination of these AVR's with the verb final tense suffixes, and various temporal adverbs, is discussed in greater detail in 4.5.

At this stage of analysis it is possible to determine 26 AVR's and there is good evidence to suggest the existence of 3 or 4 more. The full paradigms of these 26 known AVS's are given in Appendices 1 and 2. Of these 26 Auxiliaries, 8 have been found to inflect 3 ways for 'tense' (IRR/NF/Past), and the other 18 for only 2 (IRR/NF). That no 'Past Imperfective' inflection has been found for these 18 AVR's may be due simply to inadequate fieldwork. However no examples of them have appeared in any texts, and they have defied rigorous attempts to elicit them. While further work in this area is essential before a truly thorough description of ɲangikurungurr's Auxiliary inflection system can be given, it does appear at this stage that the two systems of inflection co-occur. Whether or not this is an indication of a process of change is the obvious question. Possibly ɲangikurungurr is in the process of dropping a tense inflection of the AVR - relying simply on the verb final tense suffixes to distinguish between the 'Present/Past Perfective' and the 'Past Imperfective'. For instance, for the auxiliary verb stem /ɲanam/ - deriving verbs "performed with the feet", I have only found two tense inflections: IRR and NF.

- | | | |
|-----|--|----------------------------------|
| 22. | ɲana - batj - ɲini
1sg Aux kick Fut
Su IRR | I'm going to kick it. |
| | ɲanam - batj - Ø
1sg Aux kick Pres
Su NF | I kicked it.
I am kicking it. |

To derive Past Imperfective the auxiliary remains unchanged, but the Past (Imperfective) tense suffix /tje/ is employed, e.g.

23. η anam - batj - tje I was kicking it.
 1sg Aux kick Past
 Su NF DO

4.2.3 Object Marking

The third major function of the Auxiliary is to cross-reference the non-subject participants of the clause. This is done by suffixing bound object pronouns, unique for person and number, to the AVS. That is, they fill the third slot of the auxiliary, e.g.

24. η arin - η i - tipek I followed you.
 1sg Aux 2sg follow
 Su NF DO

There are two types of object marking in Nangikurungurr. I call them Direct and Indirect Objects. Their forms are set out in the chart below.

<u>DO</u>		<u>IO</u>	
1	- η i		- η indi
Sg 2	- η i		-mbi
3	Ø	Masc	-ne
		Fem	- η e
line	nin (-nime)		
Dl lex	η irrki "		
(Tr)2	dirrki "		
3	birrki "		
line	nin-nime		
Pl lex	η irr		
2	dirr		
3	birr		

It can be seen that the distinction between these forms is only maintained in the singular. This does not usually lead to ambiguity as a given verb will either cross-reference its non-subject participant as DO or IO depending on its transitivity. Where non-singular object marking could be either Direct Object or Indirect Object (perhaps Reflexive), free form pronouns would normally be used to provide clarity. (This is discussed in Reflexives 4.2.3.2).

Bound pronominal marking normally only cross-references those NP's that are higher animates. This usually means humans, although there are 4 conditions under which lower animates can qualify for cross-referencing within the verb:

- i) Lower animates that are dreaming animals and are referred to as such.
- ii) Lower animates addressed as 2nd person (rare).
- iii) Lower animates performing reflexive actions.
- iv) A lower animate which in the context of the narrative is highly referential.

By way of illustration of iv) above, a text about a hunting expedition reveals this example.

25. aganifini nupun - ne - pitum
 porcupine 1sg Aux 3sg M shove /bury in
 Su NF IO

I shoved (the stick) into the porcupine.

In the story from which this example is taken, the porcupine is tracked, it's hole dug out, and a stick poked in to fish it out. So by the time the porcupine is cross-referenced in the verb as a Loc/goal its identity is well established and it is highly referential.

Lower animates not qualifying for any of the above exceptions are not cross-referenced in the verb:

26 wamanggal neben - da I shot wallaby(s).
 wallaby 1sg Aux shoot
 Su NF

and are ambiguous with regard to number. Where necessary further specification is provided through the use of numerals or adjectives.

27. wamangal atjitjipi neben - da
 wallaby Acl many lsg Aux shoot
 Su NF

I shot a lot of wallabies.

4.2.3.1 Direct Objects

The direct object bound pronouns cross-reference the core undergoers of transitive verbs, e.g.

- 28.a nupun - ni - ta I hit you (sg).
 lsg Aux 2sg hit
 Su NF DO
- b nupun - dirrki - ta I hit you 2.
 2rp
 DO
- c nupun - dirrki - ta - nime I hit you 3.
 2rp tr
 DO DO
- d nupun - dirr - ta I hit you (Pl).
 2ns
 DO
- 29.a durrmu danj - ni - pek He painted me.
 paint 3sg Aux lsg paint
 Su NF DO
- b durrmu danj - nirrki - pek He painted us. (2ex)
 lrp
 DO
- c durrmu danj - nirrki - pek - nime He painted us (3ex).
 lrp Tr/Pl
 DO DO
- d durrmu danj - nirr - pek He painted us (Pl ex).

It is probably apparent by now that the restricted plural marker /nime/ in the post-MVS slot can encode the 'Trial' number of either subject

or object. As appreciation of the factors involved will be easier after the reading of this section on object marking, this problem will be taken up and discussed in detail in 4.2.5.1.

4.2.3.2 Indirect Objects.

The indirect object markers cross-reference the 'Goal' and 'Locative' participants of intransitive verbs and the peripheral non-subject clause participants, reflexives, and other 'goal' participants of transitive verbs.

Intransitives.

Indirect object bound pronouns appear in two participant intransitive constructions marking:

i) Locatives, e.g.

30.a werr mengen - nindi
 3ns arrive lsg
 Su NF IO

They came (to see) me.

b yani - kana - Ø, minde yuda - nindi - wul
 2sg Go now IMP NEG 2sg Aux lsg return
 Su IRR Su IRR IO

Go away, and don't come back to me.

c membirr beⁿin - ne - batj
 child 3sg Aux 3sg F fall
 Su NF IO

A child fell (was born) to her.

ii) The 'goals' of perceptual cognitive verbs, e.g.

31.a nem wuni detjerri - werri - naganin - ne
 3sg M that ear having lsg Go 3sg M
 Pro Su NF IO

I know that man.

b niben - ne - t,jerri - batj
 lsg lie 3sg F ear hear
 Su NF IO

I hear her.

31.c *nirim - mbi - wetjerri - nirim*
 lsg sit 2sg listen lsg sit
 Su NF IO Su NF

I'm listening to you.

d *yiwi - nindi - tjerrakul - Ø*
 2sg sit lsg talk IMP
 Su IRR IO

Talk to me!

Transitives.

Where a transitive verb has a non-core object NP - usually some kind of 'goal' or locative, it is cross-referenced by indirect object marking.

i) Goal

32.a *nupun - ne - fifili*
 lsg Aux 3sg M search
 Su NF IO

I searched for him.

b *yin - nindi - fayam*
 2sg Aux lsg buy
 Su IRR IO

Buy it for me!

c *wamangal narin - ne - pawal*
 wallaby lsg Aux 3sg F spear
 Su NF IO

I speared a wallaby for her.

d *nangi madewettimbi na - Ø - mbi - yilil - nini*
 story long ago lsg Aux 2sg tell story Fut
 Su IRR IO

I'll tell you a story from long ago.

ii) Locative, e.g.

33.a *yana - nindi - kuli - Ø*
 2sg Aux lsg throw IMP
 Su IRR IO

Throw it to me!

- 33.b *ɲawan - ne - ɲini*
 lsg Aux 3sg M Fut
 Su IRR IO

I'm gonna take it to him.

- c *yewirr ɲupun - ne - pitum*
 stick lsg Aux 3sg M shove
 Su NF IO

I shoved a stick through him.

The above examples all have direct objects, although they are only given in substantial form for example 32.c and d and Example 33.c. Example 32.a above could conceivably be intransitive. Incomplete knowledge of the conditions under which a Direct Object is recoverable prevent me from stating this with certainty at the moment. Where a transitive verb has two non-subject participants their free forms usually appear in this order: Direct objects appear pre-verbally and Indirect Objects post-verbally. e.g.

34. *wamangal ɲarin - ɲe - pawal (ɲayim ɲini)*
 wallaby lsg Aux 3sg F spear 3sg F PURP
 Su NF IO Pro

I speared the wallaby for her.

Where the peripheral undergoer is cross-referenced in the verb (as IO) and it's reference understood, it is not usually also given as a free form - hence the brackets in the above example.

In all the above examples, the direct objects of the verb have been non higher-animates and therefore not cross-referenced in the verb. Where the direct object is higher animate, the two types of object marking cannot co-occur. Consider the following example:

35. *ɲarin - pi - pawal*
 lsg Aux 2sg spear
 Su NF DO

I speared you.

If we want to say 'I speared you for him', there are two possible ways of doing this. Firstly, we could prepose the direct object free form before the verb and cross-reference the indirect object inside it.

36. *ni*ni *ni*arin - *ne* - *pawal*
 2sgPro 1sg Aux 3sg M
 Su NF IO

I speared you for him.

Alternatively, we could cross-reference the direct object in the verb and give the indirect object in free form after it.

37. *ni*arin - *ni* - *pawal* *nem* *ni*ni
 1sg Aux 2sg spear 3sg M PURP
 Su NF DO Pro

I speared you for him.

Of these two alternatives, the first is the most common form, there being a tendency where both non-subject participants have substantial bound pronoun forms to mark the Indirect Object in the verb. Given that indirect objects are more likely to be higher on the animacy hierarchy than direct objects, and that those NP's highest on the hierarchy are more likely to be cross-referenced in the verb, this tendency is not unexpected (see Rumsey quoted in Dixon (1979, p95)).

It is interesting to note that the verbs 'give' and 'show' are not treated morphologically as ditransitive verbs in Nangikurungurr. Although they both entail two non-subject participants, which can both appear as free standing nouns, the entity which is the recipient of these two verbs is cross-referenced as direct object, and there exists no facility to cross-reference the object 'given' or 'shown' within the verb.

38. *ni*arin - *ni* - *fime*
 1sg Aux 2sg give
 Su NF DO

I gave it to you.

Not the expected,

39. **ni*arim - *mbi* - *fime*
 2sg
 IO

The object 'given' or 'shown' is usually placed before the verb (in the normal Direct Object position). e.g.

- 40.a magulfi ɲerɪn - ɲi - mɪfala
 fighting stick 1sg Aux 2sg show
 Su NF DO

I showed you a fighting stick.

- b kagu warrɪŋ - ɲi - fɪme
 beef 3ns Aux 1sg give
 Su NF DO

They gave me some beef.

The precise status of these NP's is difficult to determine at this stage, although they seem to be still treated as unmarked direct objects.

One might expect a higher animate who is 'given' or 'shown' to qualify for cross-referencing in bound pronominal form, but not so. The example given below demonstrates such a construction, again with the given entity preposed before the verb but not cross-referenced in it. e.g.

- 41.a membirr ɲɪni yarɪŋ - ɲi - fɪme
 baby 2sgPro 2sg Aux 1sg give
 Su NF DO

You gave me your baby.

- b wayiki ɲɪni yerɪŋ - ɲi - mɪfala
 son 2sgPro 2sg Aux 1sg show
 Su NF DO

You showed me your son.

Indirect object pronouns are also employed in reflexive constructions. e.g.

- 42.a ɲu - Ø - ɲɪndi - ta - ɲɪni
 1sg Aux 1sg kill Fut
 Su IRR IO

I'm going to kill myself.

42.b den - ne - du daba
 3sg Aux 3sg F touch arm
 Su NF IO

She touched herself on the arm.

c neben - nindi - katit detyen
 lsg Aux lsg bite tongue
 Su NF IO

I bit my tongue.

No ambiguity is possible with the above examples. For instance, b) could not mean 'he touched her on the arm', because if it were a non-reflexive transitive, then the object would be cross-referenced by a direct object pronoun.

43. den - Ø - du daba
 3sg Aux 3sg touch arm
 Su NF DO

He touched (her) on the arm.

The Indirect Object pronoun in example 42.b above, could conceivably cross-reference a peripheral 'Purposive' NP. i.e. 'he touched it for her'. Where contextual information fails to disambiguate those two alternative readings free form reflexive pronouns are normally used. These reflexive pronouns are formed by the phrase 'hand + pronoun',

44. deme payi (by) my own hand
 hand lsg Pro

deme nagarri (by) your (dl) own hand
 2dl Pro

deme wirrim (by) their (pl) own hand
 3pl Pro

so if the reflexive nature of example 42.b above needed to be specifically stated, it would appear as

45. den - ne - du daba deme payim
 3sg Aux 3sg F touch arm hand 3sg F
 Su NF IO Pro

She touched herself on the arm.

Ambiguity is more likely to arise where the object marking is non-singular, and no morphological distinction is made between Direct and Indirect Object functions. The example below, for instance, has two possible meanings:

46. wurrupum - birr - ta
 3ns Aux 3pl hit
 Su NF DO/IO
- i) They hit them.
- ii) They hit themselves.

Potential problems of this sort are generally resolved in the following manner. If the bound pronoun is Direct Object then the free form will be placed before the verb. e.g.

47. wirrim wuni wurrupum - birra - ta
 3pl Pro there 3pl DO
 They hit 'them over there'.

If the action is reflexive the free form reflexive pronoun will appear after the verb. e.g.

48. wurrupum - birra - ta deme wirrim
 hand 3pl Pro
 They hit themselves.

While these indirect object bound pronouns normally only refer to higher animates, as reflexives their usage is extended to cover lower animates as well.

- 49.a wuwu begin - ne - katit akimi
 dog 3sg Aux 3sg M bite tail
 Su NF IO
- The dog bit itself on the tail.

- b afengu daran - ne - fidudu
 snake 3sg Aux 3sg M curl up
 Su NF IO
- The snake coiled itself up.

As these Indirect object pronouns differ for gender in the 3rd person singular, for lower animates cross-referenced in reflexive constructions, gender must be specified. In this regard masculine is the unmarked form, and the feminine bound pronoun is only selected where specific reference to an animate of female gender is required.

4.2.4 Transitivity

The question of the transitivity of Nangikurungurr verbs needs a lot of further work. Present data presents this problem.

The most obvious analysis of verbal transitivity is to describe each Auxiliary as being either Transitive or Intransitive. Among the intransitive auxiliaries we find for example, the 'simple verbs,'

50.	<u>nirim</u>	sit
	<u>nibem</u>	lie
	<u>nirribem</u>	stand
	<u>naganim</u>	go
	<u>nemengen</u>	arrive

And examples of transitive auxiliaries are:

51.a	<u>nerin</u>	-	Ø	-	tidi	I pushed him/her.
	lsg Aux		3sg		push	
	Su NF		DO			
b	<u>nebem</u>	-	birr	-	da	I shot them.
	lsg Aux		3pl		shoot	
	Su NF		DO			
c	<u>nanan</u>	-	ni	-	batj	I kicked you.
	lsg Aux		2sg		kick	
	Su NF		DO			

where the AVS's /neben/, /nanan/ and /nerim/ co-occur with many MVS's to form various transitive verbs.

We can define the transitivity of an auxiliary by whether or not it requires direct object marking. An intransitive auxiliary will never take direct object marking and may optionally take indirect object marking. e.g.

52.a. *nirim* - *fifi* I'm smoking
 lsg Sit *smoke*
 Su NF

 b *nemengem* - *mbi* I came to you.
 lsg arrive *2sg*
 Su NF *IO*

A transitive auxiliary will obligatorily take direct object marking. And may also take indirect object marking, in which case it is usually the indirect object which is selected to be cross-referenced in the verb.

53.a *narin* - *ni* - *pawal* I speared you.
 lsg Aux *2sg* *spear*
 Su NF *DO*

 b *nipi narin* - *ne* - *pawal* I speared you for him.
 2sgPro lsg Aux *3sg M* *spear*
 Su NF *IO*

The problem that arises through assigning a formal transitivity value to each auxiliary is that there are a number of examples which contravene the above definition.

Firstly, there are verbs formed with 'intransitive' auxiliaries, for which object-like NP's also exist. e.g.

54.a *nirim* - ($\emptyset$) - *lalirr* *kagu*
 lsg Sit *3sg* *eat* *beef*
 Su NF *DO*
 I'm eating beef.

 b *nirrim* - ($\emptyset$) - *purrpurrk* *wanga*
 lns Sit *3sg* *dance* *dance*
 Su NF *DO*
 We (ex) are dancing a dance.

The bound objects in the above examples are bracketed because, although their existence is assumed, it cannot be proved at this stage.

Secondly, there exist a few examples of verbs that are formed with 'transitive' auxiliaries, yet appear to be intransitive in that they have no recoverable object NP. e.g.

55. η ebem - batj I fell down (was born).
 lsg Aux fall
 Su NF

The AVS in the above example, / η ebem/, normally denotes 'very transitive' actions involving movement 'up and down', or 'to and away from' the body. e.g.

56. η eben - $\emptyset$ - da I punched / shot him.
 η eben - $\emptyset$ - wul I pulled (my pants) up.
 η eben - $\emptyset$ - mitum I closed (the window).

In example 54 above, the bracketed bound pronouns would not in fact be present because as non-higher animates they don't qualify for cross-referencing. What I am trying to determine, however, is whether a bound direct object pronoun (of substantial form or not) can suffix an 'intransitive' AVS. As most verbs formed by 'sit'-type auxiliaries don't take animate complements, this is difficult to determine. Present data does however reveal one example:

57. η irip - ni - η anwantjirr
 lsg Sit 2sg Loc armpit
 Su NF DO
 I'm sitting alongside you.

Here is unquestionably an example of a verb with an 'intransitive' auxiliary - yet with a non-subject participant who is perceived to be a core undergoer and consequently cross-referenced as direct object. This seems to me to throw the concept of 'formal auxiliary transitivity' into some doubt.

Alternatively, we could suggest that the AVS itself has no real transitivity value - that being a property of the whole verb,

i.e. of the Auxiliary + MVS combination. Thus we could say that, e.g.

58. nirim + fifi

I'm smoking.

Intransitive

nebem + batj

I fell down.

And nirip + pi + wantjirr

I'm sitting alongside you.

Transitive

neben + Ø + da

I shot it.

i.e. Transitivity is a lexicalized feature of the AVS + MVS, not a formal property of the AVS only. A parallel can be drawn here with the English verbs 'sit/sit on X', 'come/come by X', etc. The fact that the 'apparent transitivity' of the AVS is the same as the transitivity of the resultant verb in the majority of cases is incidental, if not expected. Rigorous checking of AVS + MVS combinations is needed before a truly systematic account of transitivity and consequent auxiliary choice can be given. In the meantime, it is simplest to say that a verb is transitive if it cross-references a non-subject participant with direct object suffixes. Consider the following examples:

59.	<u>DO</u>	<u>IO</u>
	give you	talk to you
	hit you	search for you
	like you	listen to you
	see you	forget you
	find you	hear you

It is not always easy to determine the semantic criteria on which the undergoers of these verbs are marked as 'core' or 'peripheral'. Or indeed if those NP's cross-referenced by Indirect Object marking should be considered 'peripheral' at all. It is possible perhaps to

say that 'finding X' is more transitive than 'searching for X' - but can we say the same of 'see X' and 'hear X'. Until further study reveals some culturally specific basis upon which the status of the undergoer can be determined, it seems wisest to say that the morphological system of object marking has become frozen in some places and consequently some verbs seem to display lexicalized transitivity.

4.2.5 Auxiliary related problems

There are two problems that have arisen during discussion of the functions of the auxiliary that I shall deal with here.

4.2.5.1 The post AVS slot

In 4.2.1.2 the 'restricted plural' subject number marker /gu/ was discussed, and its position given as the post-AVS slot. e.g.

60. nirringi - fifi We (dl ex) are smoking.
 1ns Sit rp smoke
 Su NF Su

In 4.2.3 bound object pronouns were discussed and it was noted that they also occupy this same post-AVS slot. The 'restricted plural' marker /gu/ can only appear in this slot when it is empty of object marking - an environment which can occur under two conditions:

- i) when the verb is intransitive and has no IO marking;
- ii) when the verb is transitive, but the object is either 3rd singular (therefore $\emptyset$) or non-higher animate (therefore $\emptyset$). e.g.

- 61.a werrmengengu They (dl) arrived.
 3ns arrive rp
 Su NF Su

- b narringi - fime We (dl ex) gave it to her/him.
 1ns Aux rp give
 Su NF Su

- c yerrbengi - da You (dl) shot (the wallabies).
 2ns Aux rp shoot
 Su NF Su

Where both i) the subject of the verb is a restricted plural (Dual or Trial) and ii) the bound object pronoun has substantial form, both affixes cannot fill the same slot. To handle this situation, there exists an alternative set of object pronouns, - portmanteau morphemes coding both the 'restricted plural' number of the subject and the person and number of the object. These portmanteau morphemes exist only where the object is singular. Their forms, set out below, are derived through suffixing /rr/ to the normal IO pronouns and accompanied by some vowel change.

	<u>DO</u>	<u>IO</u>
1	-ŋerr	-ŋindirr
2	-nerr	-mberr
3	(-gu)	Masc -nerr
		Fem -ŋerr

Below are some examples of Dual subject forms, contrasted with plural subject forms. Note that the form of the object marker changes, but not the person and number of its reference. e.g.

62.a ɲarrɪp - ɲi --fime We (pl ex) gave it to you.
 1ns Aux 2sg give
 Su NF DO

b ɲarrɪp - nerr - fime We (dl ex) gave it to you.
 1ns Aux 2sg/rp give
 Su NF DO/Su

63.a wirriɲ - ɲindi - tjerrakul They (pl) spoke to me.
 3ns Sit 1sg talk
 Su NF IO

b wirriɲ - ɲindirr - tjerrakul They (dl) spoke to me.
 3ns Sit 1sg/rp talk
 Su NF IO/Su

Where the object number is non-singular, the 'restricted plural' number of the subject cannot be encoded in the verbal complex, but is usually resolved by the use of free form pronouns. e.g.

64.a *nagarri* *narrim* - *birr* - *fime*
 ldl Pro *lms* Aux *3pl* *give*
 Su NF *DO*

We (*dl ex*) gave it to them (*pl*).

b *nagurr* *narrim* - *birr* - *fime*
 lpl Pro *lms* Aux *3pl* *give*
 Su NF *DO*

We (*pl ex*) gave it to them (*pl*).

In addition a problem arises with the Trial number marker */nime/*.
/nime/ can mark the 'restricted plural' of a Trial Subject. e.g.

65. *yarrin* - *nerr* - *fime* - *nime*
 2ns Aux *lsg/rp* *give* *Tr*
 Su NF *DO/Su* *Su*

You 3 gave it to me.

/nime/ can also mark the 'restricted plural' of a Trial Object. e.g.

66. *yarin* - *nirrki* - *fime* - *nime*
 2sg Aux *lrp ex* *give* *Tr*
 Su NF *DO* *DO*

You gave it to us (*3 ex*).

However, as the restricted plural number of the subject can't be marked if the object is non-singular, where the subject is either Plural or Restricted Plural, and the Object is Restricted Plural, verbal coding fails to distinguish participant number. It is unusual in *Nangikurungurr* to find clauses with both Subject and Object as restricted plurals. Where reference needs to be that specific free form pronouns are used.

It can be seen that of the non-singular number categories Trial is the most semantically and morphologically marked. Slightly less marked is Dual. Morphologically, Dual marking is obligatory, whereas Trial is only employed where there exists a precise need to specify 3 persons.

4.2.5.2 The AVS unit

At the beginning of this chapter it was mentioned that the combination of bound subject pronoun and Auxiliary Verb Root is "in some cases fused to such a degree that it is impractical to propose a morpheme boundary between them" (see 4.1). I described the bound subject pronoun as being a CV syllable, and the AVR as CVC (in the Non-Future of most AVR's). e.g.

67. ŋe # men
 ŋi # sem
 ŋu # dem

However, if we look at the three AVS's,

- ŋi # rim 'sit'
 ŋe # rim 'hands'
 ŋa # rim 'instruments'

we find that their AVR's are identical in form - the difference between the AVS's being in the vowel of the bound subject pronoun. Here it would seem more practical to posit the morpheme boundary as being immediately after the initial consonant.

68. ŋ # irim
 ŋ # erim
 ŋ # arim

However, there is some evidence to support my original claim.

Firstly, we have seen that the 1st inclusive non-singular subject marker /mbV/ and the non-1st inclusive non-singular subject marker /rr/ both appear after a bound subject of form CV. e.g.

- 69.a ŋe - rr - ben - Ø - da We (pl ex) shot it.
 b ŋe - mbe - ben - Ø - da We (dl inc) shot it.

In addition, there are a few irregular 3rd singular Non-Future auxiliary forms in which the bound subject is reduced to Ø. e.g.

70.	nimingin	- Ø - wa	I picked it up.
	yimingin	- Ø - wa	You picked it up.
	mengin	- Ø - wa	He picked it up.

Here the deleted subject pronoun is of form CV.

So I intend (until further data leads me to conclude otherwise) to maintain that the bound subject is of form CV. And to explain the AVS's, /ɲirim/, /ɲerim/, and /ɲarim/ simply as fused forms that are di-morphemic, but best viewed as a single morphological unit.

4.2.6 Auxiliary Verb Stems

The fourth major function of the auxiliary verb stems is their semantic contribution to the whole verb. In most cases this means that the auxiliary serves to further specify the action denoted by the MVS by classifying it in terms of e.g. the bodily orientation of the subject / the limbs employed by the subject in performance of the action / the direction of movement of those limbs in relation to the body / actions involving the use of instruments / actions performed through the application of heat / etc. etc.

As mentioned in 5.1 above, not all auxiliaries obligatorily co-occur with MVS's. Of the 26 auxiliary verbs that I'm certain about, 10 can function as full verbs on their own. These 'simple verbs' are listed below, in the 1st person singular non-future form.

71.	1	ɲirim	-	sit
	2	ɲibem	-	lie
	3	ɲirribem	-	stand
	4	ɲaganim (ɲanmerr)-		go/come (go along)
	5	ɲim	-	do/say/think
	6	ɲiningin	-	see
	7	ɲemengem	-	arrive
	8	ɲagatjin	-	bring/take
	9	ɲitjibem	-	hang
	10	ɲiperem	-	see oneself

When functioning as auxiliaries with a co-occurring MVS, the three stative verbs ('sit', 'lie' and 'stand') denote the bodily orientation of the subject. MVS's denoting actions that are performable in any of these orientations may select any of these three auxiliaries.

- 72.a *nirin* - *lalirr* I'm (sitting) eating.
 b *niben* - *lalirr* I'm (lying) eating.
 c *nirriben* - *lalirr* I'm (standing) eating.

Of these /*nirim*/ - 'sit' can be said to be the unmarked form, in that it is generally used unless specific reference to the 'lying' or 'standing' orientation of the body is described.

The 'go/come' auxiliary /*naganim*/ usually appears in verbs of motion. e.g.

- 73.a *naganim* - *karrbu* *yeningisi*
 1sg Go alight canoe
 Su NF
 I'm getting out of the canoe.

- b *yenim* - *fili*
 3sg Go away
 Su NF
 He (got up and) went away.

/*naganim*/ is also used to denote actions that are habitual. e.g.

- 74.a. *nayi* *nirim* - *fifi* *peke*
 1sgPro 1sg Sit smoke tobacco
 Su NF
 I'm smoking tobacco.

- b. *nayi* *naganim* - *fifi* *peke*
 I smoke tobacco.

- 75.a *nem* *din* - *derri* - *wappup* *nendu*
 3sg M 3sg Sit back sit up horse
 Pro Su NF
 He's riding on the horse.

75.b nem minde yenim - derri - wappup nendu
 3sg M NEG 3sg Go back sit up horse
 Pro Su NF

He can't ride a horse.

The 'go' auxiliary is also employed in stative verbs. e.g.

76.a yaganim - menmin were pipi kimi
 2sg Go resemble brother 2sgPro like
 Su NF

You look like your brother.

b wur - wuni yenim - wusumuy
 Fcl that 3sg Go be shy
 Su NF

That woman is shy.

And in deriving stative verbs from transitive active verbs.

Compare example 77.a) and b) below:

77.a nayi yewirr nerim - pal
 lsgPro stick lsg Aux break
 Su NF

I broke the stick.

b yewirr yenim - pal
 stick 3sg Go break
 Su NF

The stick is broken.

/ɲanmerr/ - 'go/come along' is distinguished from /ɲaganim/
 - 'go/come' in the singular only, and has an irregular 3rd singular
 form. e.g.

78. 1 ɲanmerr - I'm going along.
 2 yanmerr - You're coming along.
 3 yirripin - He/she/its going along.

/ɲanmerr/ differs from the general 'go/come' /ɲaganim/ by
 implying motivated, directed and usually prolonged motion. (i.e.
 travel). Whether /ɲanmerr/ - 'go along' has no non-singular form,

or whether /ɲanmerr/ and /ɲaganim/ fall together in the non-singular
-- can only be speculated on at this stage.

/ɲim/ - 'say, do, think'

79.a tɲagani yim
 what 2sg Do
 Su NF

What are you doing!

b tɲagani yin - ne
 what 2sg Say 3sg M
 Su NF IO

What did you say to him.

As an auxiliary verb, /ɲim/ usually prefixes MVS's to form verbs of
mental processes + perceptions and corporeal verbs. e.g.

80.a minde tɲip yimi - ɲindi - tɲerri
 NEG forget 2sg Do 1sg ear
 Su IRR IO

Don't forget me.

b tɲitɲi ɲim - mbi
 shock 1sg Do 2sg
 Su NF IO

I'm surprised at you.

c tɲusuk ɲim
 sick 1sg
 Su NF

I'm sick.

/ɲipɲingɲin/ - 'see'

81. ɲipɲingɲin - ɲi
 1sg See 2sg
 Su NF DO

I see you.

As an auxiliary /ɲipɲingɲin/ prefixes other verbs of 'sight'. e.g.

82. *dipingingin* - *ni* - *kerretj*
 3sg See 1sg watch
 Su NF DO

He's watching me.

The other 'simple verbs' are not very common as auxiliaries.

/niperem/ - 'see oneself' is unusual in that it is inherently reflexive - a feature that is normally derived through the use of the indirect object bound pronouns (see 4.2.3.2).

The sixteen 'pre-verbs' that my present data reveals are listed below:

- | | | | | |
|-----|---|----------------|----|----------------------|
| 83. | 1 | <i>nerim</i> - | 9 | <i>nemen</i> - |
| | 2 | <i>narim</i> - | 10 | <i>nudupun</i> - |
| | 3 | <i>nebem</i> - | 11 | <i>nudem</i> - |
| | 4 | <i>nanam</i> - | 12 | <i>naram</i> - |
| | 5 | <i>nupun</i> - | 13 | <i>nusum</i> - |
| | 6 | <i>nirem</i> - | 14 | <i>nimingingin</i> - |
| | 7 | <i>ninem</i> - | 15 | <i>nem</i> - |
| | 8 | <i>nisem</i> - | 16 | <i>nin</i> - |

At this stage in my analysis of *Nangikurungurr* it isn't possible to state the precise semantic domain of these auxiliary verbs. In fact, for only about the first eight or so of the above sixteen forms is it possible to determine even a very broad semantic category that serves as a basis for all those verbs which select that particular AVS. Although I shall give a brief description of these auxiliaries and list a few examples, it must be stressed that, until further work is done in this area, this remains a very tentative sketch.

(1) */nerim/* is found in verbs of actions performed with the hands, e.g.

84. *nerim* - *batj* - I hold/own it.
 nerim - *kerretj* - I hold onto it.
 nerim - *pul* - I wash it.
 nerim - *bubu* - I fetch it.
 nerim - *pal* - I break it (with my hands)
 nerim - *pulket* - I finish it off.

(5) /ɲupun/ derives many verbs involving actions where the plane of movement is of a swinging, sideswiping type. It also involves cutting verbs where lateral movements are performed with the cutting edge of the knife, etc. e.g.

89	ɲupun - madi - fuy	I swept (the ground).
	ɲupun - misarr	I bailed out the boat.
	ɲupun - ket	I cut it.
	ɲupun - ta	I hit him.
	ɲupun - wuritj	I put it in (the bag).
	ɲupun - pupuritj	I put it away.
	ɲupun - tjamu - batj	I slapped (him).
	ɲupun - fuyfuy	I fanned (her).
	ɲupun - wat	I withdraw it / take it off.

(6) /ɲirem/ is not a common auxiliary verb. It derives verbs of 'shouting', 'arguing'. e.g.

90.	ɲirrengi - bulbul	We (dl ex) are arguing.
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(7) /ɲinem/ is employed in verbs where the action is performed through the application of heat. e.g.

91.	ɲinem - fuy fuy	I dried out (the clothes).
	ɲinem - ban	I burnt a hole in it.
	ɲinem - tjerr - ket	I lit (a cigarette).

(8) /ɲisem/ involves pulling actions. e.g.

92.	ɲisen - wirr	I pulled it out.
	ɲisen - ge - wirr	I pulled its guts out.

These descriptions are rather vague, and in addition it must be said that there are many verbs for which the choice of auxiliary remains inexplicable. There are many MVS's which can co-occur with a number of different auxiliary verbs. As these provide good examples of the semantic function of these auxiliaries I have listed 2 examples below.

The MVS /kurr kurr/ - means to 'miss' an attempted contact, e.g. a stroke/slap, etc. The way in which that contact was attempted is denoted by the auxiliary verb. e.g.

- 93.a ɲarin - kurrkurr
 (I threw a spear at him but) I missed him.
- b ɲupun - kurrkurr
 (I struck at him but) I missed him.
- c ɲanan - kurrkurr
 (I kicked at him but) I missed him.
- d ɲeben - kurrkurr
 (I punched/shot at him but) I missed him.

The MVS /baŋ/ means 'to poke or stab a hole in something', e.g.

- 94.a ɲerim - baŋ
 I poked a hole in it (with my finger).
- b ɲarim - baŋ
 I poked a hole in it (with a knife).
- c ɲinem - baŋ
 I burnt a hole through it (with a poker).
- d ɲeben - baŋ
 I smashed a hole through it (with a rock).

4.3 Body-Part Incorporation

The slot after the auxiliary and before the MVS can be filled by body-parts. The incorporation of body-parts into the verbal complex is an extensively employed device in Nangikurungurr, and it can be done on various levels. Although the description here amounts to little more than a tentative sketch, hopefully the following examples will provide some clues about their use.

Firstly, body-parts can be incorporated on a literal level

as:

[1] Objects of the verb e.g.

95.a η anam - purr - batj I kicked (his) bum.
 lsg Aux bum kick
 Su NF

b η erim - meptji - batj I choked (him).
 lsg Aux throat hold
 Su NF

c η erip - tji - du I felt her tit.
 lsg Aux tit touch
 Su NF

[2] Or the body-part may not be the direct object of the verb, but merely the part of the object entity's body that was the location of the action. e.g.

96.a η arim - mbi - pi - dada
 lsg Aux 2sg head crack
 Su NF IO

I cracked (nits) on your head.

b η upun - $\emptyset$ - tjirri - tu I cut its guts out.
 lsg Aux 3sg belly cut
 Su NF DO

c $\emptyset$ mengin - η i - ba - wa She picked me up by the arm.
 3sg Aux lsg arm pick up
 Su NF DO

d yenip - pi - muri - pap nana
 3sg Go 2sg pubic climb lest
 Su NF DO region

Lest (lice) climb up to your pubic region

[3] The incorporated body-part may refer to the part of the body employed by the subject in performing the action. e.g.

- 97.a η iben - si - batj I smelt it.
 lsg lie nose smell
 Su NF
- b η emen - derri - pal I bend down.
 lsg Aux back bend
 Su NF
- c η emen - η intji - pal I kneel down.
 knee
- d yarim - $\emptyset$ - tjerr - pu You asked him.
 2sg Aux 3sg mouth ask
 Su NF DO

[4] I have one example,

98. η erim - $\emptyset$ - mi - fala I showed it to him.
 lsg Aux 3sg eye show
 Su NF DO

where 'eye' seems to refer to the body-part used by the object entity in response to 'being shown something'. In some verbs the body-part is obligatorily incorporated because the semantic contribution it makes to the meaning of the derived verb is a 'core' one. For instance in example 97.a above, the AVS / η iben/ - 'lie' and the MVS /batj/ - 'do' do not between them carry enough semantic information to derive the meaning 'smell'. Thus 'nose' is an obligatory constituent of the verb and is not merely providing optional 'locative' information. Consequently, the incorporated 'nose' in 97.a above could not refer to the object of the verb, e.g. 'I smelt the nose'. In 97.b and c, however, the verb / η emen - pal/ - means 'I bent over'. Incorporating 'back' or 'knees' merely provides additional optional information regarding the 'place of the bend'. The verbal complex has only one slot for incorporated body parts. Thus it is not possible for the verb 'smell' to also carry an incorporated 'object' body-part. e.g.

99. * η iben - si - karri - batj I smelt its leg.
 lsg lie nose leg smell
 Su NF

Secondly, body-parts can be incorporated on a Metaphoric level. This type of incorporation is used extensively in Nangikurungurr, although for only some examples can the metaphoric extension be said to be obvious. e.g.

- 100.a *nerim* - *ba* - *ket* I picked (the plum)
 lsg Aux *arm* *pick* off the branch.
 Su *NF*
- b *nerim* - *firr* - *tit* I plucked up (the grass)
 lsg Aux *foot* *pluck* by the taproot.
 Su *NF*
- c *wudem* - *tjerr* - *witjit* (The toilet) is over-
 3sg Aux *mouth* *spill over* flowing.
 Su *NF*
- d *nanan* - *niptji* - *fakurr* I folded (the blanket).
 lsg Aux *knee* *fold*
 Su *NF*

My data also reveals many examples of incorporated body-parts for which only a very vague association can be made. Below, are four of the more commonly incorporated body-parts, with a tentative list of their 'associations' and a few examples of each.

/madi/ - chest

/madi/ is perhaps the most commonly incorporated body-part.

It's associations include:

- belly (as opposed to 'back')
- inside " " " outside
- underside " " " topside
- front " " " back
- low to ground
- flat surfaces, ground etc.

- 101.a *muk* *wudupun* - *madi* - *susu*
 sore *3sg Aux* *chest* *heal*
 Su *NF*

The sore healed over.

101.b yani - madi - witj panikin
 2sg Go chest pour
 Su IRR

Pour it into the pannikin.

c n̄arim - madi - yerrp yewirr
 1sg Aux chest scoop tree
 Su NF

I scooped out the inside of the tree (for a canoe).

d yenim - madi - wap mudiga
 3sg Go chest sit
 Su NF

He sat in the car.

e n̄upun - madi - fuy n̄itjirr
 1sg Aux chest sweep ground
 Su NF

I swept the ground.

/derri/ - back

Associations include:

- back
- outside
- topside

102.a minde n̄aganim - derri - wap
 NEG 1sg Go back sit
 Su NF

I can't ride (horses, etc).

b n̄eben - Ø - derri - du
 1sg Aux 3sg back touch
 Su NF DO

I found him.

c den - derri - ban
 3sg Aux back poke/stab
 Su NF

He poked a hole in it (from the outside).

/tjerr/ - mouth

Associations include:

- mouth/lips
- rim
- tip

103.a yawul neben - tjerr - kum
spear lsg Aux mouth join
 Su NF

I rejoined the (broken) spear (end to end).

b mudiga dip - tjerr - ket
 3sg Sit mouth stuck
 Su NF

The car is bogged.

c wudem - tjerr - witjit
 3sg Aux mouth spill over
 Su NF

(The toilet) is spilling over.

/mi/ - eye

/mi/ is the only body-part which undergoes a change of form when it is incorporated into the verb. The free form is (da)muy.

Its associations include:

- eye
- orifice
- hole, spot (anything to do with keyholes, etc.)
- centre

104.a damuy yerim - mi - tatil
eyes lsg Aux eye be unable to open
 Su NF

I can't open my eye.

b yerim - mi - di mudiga
 2sg Aux eye start up
 Su NF

You started up the car.

104.c nebem - mi - tum
 lsg Aux eye bury/cover
 Su NF

I closed up /did up the lock, buttons.

d nupun - mi - sarr bilikan ningi
 lsg Aux eye bail INSTR
 Su NF

I bailed out (the boat) with a (round) billycan.

Not all body-parts which occur in free form can be incorporated into the verb. Present data shows 13 body-parts that regularly appear in the verbal complex. The way in which the body is divided up for the purposes of incorporation is somewhat different to the free form divisions. By this I mean that the domain of each body-part is extended to include parts beyond its free-form scope. This is demonstrated by the chart below.

	Body-Part		Free Form Meaning		Incorporated Meaning
1	muy/mi	..	eye	..	eye, face
2	madi		chest		chest, belly, whole front of body
3	derri	..	back	..	back, shoulders, whole back of body
4	wantjirr	..	armpit	..	armpit, side of whole body
			side of chest		
5	pi	..	head	..	head
6	tjerr		mouth		mouth, lips, tongue, jaw
7	karri	..	lower leg	..	whole leg
8	ba		upper arm		whole arm
9	firr	..	foot, toe	..	foot, toe
10	si		nose		nose
11	niptji	..	knee	..	knee
12	me		hand, finger		hand, finger
13	tjerri	..	ear	..	ear, side of head

4.4 Main Verb Stems

The main verb stem occurs normally after the auxiliary. There are a few verbs however for which the MVS prefixes the auxiliary.

e.g. Auxiliary + MVS + Tense → MVS + Auxiliary + Tense

Tryon mentions this phenomena briefly in his 1974 study of Nangikurungurr, and mentions that, although the rarer form, it is an alternative ordering of verbal constituents for most verbs. He gives the examples:

105.a η ini - lalirr - tje I was eating/ate.
 lsg Sit eat Past
 Su Past

 b lalirr - η ini - tje I was eating/ate.

My data reveals no evidence of alternative ordering, although there are about fifteen examples so far of verbs for which the ordering of Auxiliary and MVS is always reversed. The existence of this small group of verbs may be indicative of lexicalization of what was once an optional ordering variation. It could also be possible that Tryon confused some free standing nouns with prefixed MVS's. There are a number of nouns which can also function as MVS's. The noun /tjutjurr/ for instance means 'swimming'. e.g.

106. η tjutjurr (η ini) η ani - η ini
 swimming PURP lsg Go Fut
 Su IRR
 I'm going to go for a swim.

/tjutjurr/ can also function as a MVS. e.g.

107. η ani - tjutjurr - η ini
 lsg Go swim Fut
 Su IRR
 I'm going swimming.

However, not all nouns have this extra function. e.g.

108.a waga (η ini) η ani - η ini
 piss PURP lsg Go Fut
 Su IRR
 I'm going to go for a piss.

but

108.b *nani - waga - nini
 lsg Go piss Fut
 Su IRR

I'm going to piss.

In example 106 above, the purposive marker /nini/ is bracketed because it is optional. When it is deleted we are left with:

109. tjutjurr nani - nini

and likewise,

110.a waga nani - nini

b nirrnrirr nige - tje
 sleep lsg lie Past
 Su Past

I was sleeping

These underlined forms then, are not prefixed MVS's but free standing nouns, because they can take the Purposive case post-position.

In all the examples my data reveals of reversed Auxiliary + MVS ordering, that ordering has become lexicalized and normal constituent ordering is no longer an alternative. The MVS /derrigidi/ is one such example. It takes the /nerim/ Auxiliary (hand performed actions) to mean 'like/want'. e.g.

111. derrigidi - nerim peke
 like lsg Aux tobacco
 Su NF

I want some tobacco.

Any cross-referenced bound objects will now be the final constituent of the verb, e.g.

112. derrigidi - nerin - ni
 like lsg Aux 2sg
 Su NF DO

I like you.

unless followed by a substantial tense marker, e.g.

113. minde derrigidi nemi - ni - tje
 NEG like lsg Aux 2sg Past
 Su IRR DO

I didn't used to like you.

The verb /derrigidi - nirim/ can also take a clause as its complement (as can other verbs). e.g.

- 114.a derrigidi- nirim nani - nini Tjilak pepi
 like lsg Aux lsg Go Fut ALL
 Su NF Su IRR

I want to go to Tjilak.

- b derrigidi- werrim wirrpirri - ni - nini
 like 3ns Aux 3ns see 2sg Fut
 Su NF Su IRR DO

They want to see you.

The subject of the complement clause need not be co-referential with the subject of the main clause. e.g.

115. derrigidi - nirim yani - nini Tawun
 like lsg Aux 2sg Go Fut
 Su NF Su IRR

I want you to go to Darwin.

Below are some examples of the other verbs which have their MVS's in verb initial position. Note that in example 116.a) below the incorporated nominal /tjerri/ - 'ear' remains in the post-auxiliary slot. If there was substantial tense marking (deleted in imperative constructions) it too would remain in its normal position. The MVS is simply moved to the verb initial slot and takes nothing else with it.

- 116.a minde tjip - yiwi - nindi - tjerri - Ø
 NEG forget 2sg Aux lsg ear IMP
 Su IRR IO

Don't forget me!

116.b minde pupumuy - yirim yerr - nayi
 NEG humbug 2sg Sit Trcl 1sg Pro
 Su NF

Don't mess with my things.

c tjitji - nim - mbi
 shock 1sg Aux 2sg
 Su NF IO

I'm surprised at you.

It was noted above that while most MVS's have an exclusively verbal function a number of free standing nouns can appear as MVS's without any particular verbalizing affixes. I also have examples of body-parts and adjectives appearing as MVS's without this verbal function being marked in any way. e.g.

117.a derri - back
 nerin - derri I hid
 1sg Aux back
 Su NF

b melpe - flat
 nagatjin - melpe I squashed it flat.
 1sg Aux flat
 Su NF

There is also extensive compounding of verb stems in Nangikurungurr. It is difficult at this stage to provide an adequate analysis of this compounding because it is difficult to assign a basic semantic value to even a mono-morphemic MVS. For example, there are some MVS's which do seem to have a basic value. The MVS /baŋ/ recurs with various different auxiliary verbs -- all deriving verbs of 'stabbing, piercing, poking holes'. e.g.

118. nerim - baŋ I jabbed with my finger.
 narim - baŋ I stabbed (with a spear).
 ninem - baŋ I burned a hole in it (with a poker).

However, for many MVS's there is no 'apparent' common feature between the verbs employing that MVS, by which we can assign it a basic value.

The precise semantic contributions that both the Auxiliary and the MVS make to the meaning of a given word must remain the topic of further study. Here, by way of demonstration, I merely wish to give two examples of simple compounds, and discuss verb stem reduplication.

Firstly, a locative prefix /*nan-*/ prefixes some body-parts to form MVS's. e.g.

- 119.a *ɲirip* - *ni* - *nanwantjirr*
 lsg Sit 2sg Loc armpit
 Au NF DO
 I'm sitting alongside you.

- b *ɲiriŋ* - *ɲanderri*
 lsg Sit Loc back
 Su NF
 I'm sitting on its back.

And secondly, the word /*leli*/ 'around' can either function on its own as a MVS, e.g.

- 120.a *nanan* - *leli*
 lsg Aux around
 Su NF
 I walk around.

- b *yedi* - *leli* - *tje*
 3sg Go around Past
 Su Past
 He went all around.

or suffix other MVS's to add the meaning of 'around', e.g.

- 121.a *ɲarim* - *birr* - *fime*
 lsg Aux 3pl give
 Su NF DO
 I gave it to them.

ɲarim - *birr* - *fimeleli*
 I shared it around to them.

- b *ɲerim* - *peleli*
 lsg Aux stir around
 Su NF
 I stirred it around.

MVS Reduplication

Reduplication of the MVS is a productive process used quite extensively in Nangikurungurr verbs. Its basic function is to imply repetition of the action. Usually only the first syllable is reduplicated, although where the MVS is monosyllabic there is some variation in form. Thus,

	tum	→	tuntum	(There is assimilation of place in all intermorphemic nasal/stop clusters in Nangikurungurr.)
but	wirr	→	wiwirr	
	batj	→	batjbitj	

The examples below demonstrate some of the effects of verb stem reduplication.

With intransitive verbs reduplication usually implies repeated actions, e.g.

- 122.a n̩ibem - madi - fili I rolled over.
 lsg lie chest roll over
 Su NF
- n̩ibem - madi - fifili I rolled over and over.
- b n̩agarri - tu - tje I camped.
 lsg Go camp Past
 Su Past
- n̩agarri - tutu-tje I camped all along the way.

or prolonged duration of the action:

123. n̩aganim - pap I'm climbing up.
 lsg Go climb up
 Su NF
- n̩aganim-pappup I'm climbing up and up.

With transitive verbs also, reduplication can imply repetition of the action:

124. n̩agan̩ - n̩i - batj He kicked me
 3sg Aux lsg kick
 Su NF DO
- n̩agan̩ - n̩i - batjbitj He kicked me again and again.

and, by extension of that, to imply plurality of the object, e.g.

125.a wamangal nisen - ge - wirr I gutted the wallaby.
 wallaby lsg Aux belly pull out
 Su NF

wamangal nisen - ge - wiwirr I gutted the wallabies.

b mi - damuy nerin - tum I planted a seed.
 PFcl eye lsg Aux bury
 Su NF

mi - damuy nerin - tuntum I planted lots of seeds.

As MVS reduplication implies that an action is repeated or of prolonged duration, it is common to find them where the AVR is inflected for 'Past/Imperfective'.

126. mi - damuy nerin - tum I planted a seed.
 Aux
 NF

mi-damuy neme - tuntum-tje I was planting seeds.
 Aux
 Past

With some verbs reduplication of the MVS seems to imply 'intensification' of the action. The examples below demonstrate this.

127.a narim - Ø - tjerr - pu I asked him.
 lsg Aux 3sg mouth ask
 Su NF DO

narim - Ø - tjerr - pupu I interrogated him.

b nerip - pi - mi - fala I showed it to you.
 lsg Aux 2sg eye show
 Su NF DO

nerip - pi - mi - fafala I waved it in front of
 your eyes.

- 129.c wuni dini - tje dede
 there 3sg Sit Past camp
 Su Past

He was camped over there.

[2] /ɲemi - wuritj/

This inflection of the auxiliary verb stem is concerned solely with the modal sense 'IRREALIS'. It is marked in the gloss by 'IRR'.

All 'future' verbs take this inflection and the verb-final future tense suffix /ɲini/. e.g.

- 130.a ɲani - ɲini Tawun
 lsg Go Fut
 Su IRR

I'm going to go to Darwin.

- b yiba ɲipirriɲi - ɲini
 later lsg see 2sg Fut
 Su IRR DO

I'll see you later.

- c wa - Ø - ɲi - fime - ɲini
 3sg Aux lsg give Fut
 Su IRR DO

He's going to give it to me.

Negative expressions in Nangikurungurr are formed by placing the negative /minde/ before the verb.

Future negative constructions select the irrealis inflection of the AVS and the future tense suffix.

- 131.a minde ɲani - ɲini Tawun
 NEG lsg Go Fut
 Su IRR

I'm not going to go to Darwin.

- b minde ɲipirriɲi - ɲini
 NEG lsg See 2sg Fut
 Su IRR DO

I won't be seeing you.

'Past' tense negative constructions, being unreal, also select the irrealis inflection of the AVS, and they take the past tense suffix. e.g.

- 132.a minde ɲani - tje Tawun
 NEG lsg Go Past
 Su IRR

I didn't go to Darwin.

- b minde ɲipirriɲi - tje
 NEG lsg see 2sg Past
 Su IRR

I didn't see you.

In 'Past' negative constructions the past tense marker /tje/ often appears suffixed in clitic-like fashion to the preposed negative /minde/, rather than to the verb itself. e.g.

- 133.a minde - tje wa - Ø - ɲi - fime
 NEG Past 3sg Aux lsg give
 Su IRR DO

He didn't give it to me.

- b minde - tje yemi - wuritj yawul
 NEG Past 2sg Aux make spear
 Su IRR

You didn't make a spear.

Present data reveals no examples of the future tense marker /ɲini/ suffixing the negative form in this fashion. Thus example 131.a above, for instance, is not acceptable as;

134. *minde - ɲini ɲani Tawun.

It is important to note here that Present negative expressions, unlike the future and past ones, don't select the irrealis inflection of the AVS, but the Non-Future form instead. In support of this it could perhaps be argued that 'present negative' is less unreal than 'past' or 'future negative'.

- 135.a minde ɲerim - wuritj yawul
 NEG lsg Aux make spear
 Su NF

I'm not making a spear.

- b minde derrigidi ɲerim - Ø
 NEG like lsg Aux 3sg
 Su NF DO

I don't like her/him/it.

- c minde ɲirrin - di
 NEG lns Sit cry
 Su NF

We (pl ex) aren't crying.

Although the Non-Future inflection of the AVS normally denotes Present tense or Past-Perfective tense, in the above negative expressions it can only be Present tense. A Past negative expression becomes too 'unreal' and requires the 'irrealis' inflection.

The irrealis AVS inflection is also employed in other modal forms. A verb with an irrealis AVS inflection and the past tense suffix /tje/, implies that the action 'should have been done', or 'was going to be done, but...'.

- 136.a ɲani - tje Tawun
 lsg Go Past
 Su IRR

I should have gone to Darwin.

- b ɲani - tje Tawun, ep tjikpela ɲebem - batj
 lsg Go Past but sickfella lsg Aux fall down
 Su IRR Su NF

I was going to go to Darwin, but I fell sick.

- c ɲemenge - mbi - tje ep tjip - ɲip - tjerri
 lsg arrive 2sg Past but forget lsg DO ear
 Su IRR IO Su IRR

I was going to come and see you, but I forgot.

- d werrmi - wuritj - tje yawul
 3ns Aux make Past spears
 Su IRR

They should have made some spears.

Conditional clauses are another construction which employ the irrealis inflection of the auxiliary verb stem. They are formed by supplementing the irrealis inflection of the AVS with /nimbi/ (homophonous with the ABL/CAUS case inflection) in the post-MVS position.

137. Future Conditional

a mani ya - Ø - ŋi - fime - nimbi - ŋini
 money 2sg Aux lsg give COND Fut
 Su IRR DO

If you give me some money

ŋim - mbi - fayam - ŋini lawa
 lsg lie 2sg buy Fut flour
 Su IRR IO

I'll buy you some flour.

b ŋani - nimbi - ŋini Tawun
 lsg Go COND Fut
 Su IRR

If I go to Darwin

ŋim - mbi - fayam - ŋini debiwerri
 lsg lie 2sg buy Fut trousers
 Su IRR IO

I'll buy you some trousers.

138. Past Conditional

a mani ya - Ø - ŋi - fime - nimbi - tje

If you'd given me some money

ŋim - mbi - fayam - tje lawa

I'd have bought some flour for you.

b ŋani - nimbi - tje Tawun

If I'd gone to Darwin

ŋim - mbi - fayam - tje debiwerri

I'd have bought you some trousers.

[3] /*ɲerim - wuritj*/

Of the three auxiliary inflections, listed in example 128, we have seen how the 1st is 'Past-Imperfective/durative' and the 2nd is 'Irrealis'. The 3rd inflection of the AVS basically covers everything else, generally 'Present' or 'past Perfective'. I have labelled it 'Non-Future' (NF). Unless contextual information or additional marking indicates otherwise, the unmarked Non-Future auxiliary form is 'Past Perfective'. A slight problem arises here in that the Non-Future auxiliary inflection, which we have called 'basically past perfective', co-occurs with the verb-final tense suffix ($\emptyset$) which we have labelled 'Present'. This throws the adequacy of the gloss of the $\emptyset$ tense marker into some doubt. Perhaps it too should be glossed 'Non-Future'. Alternatively, one could argue against the existence of a Present tense marker at all.

139.a *ɲerim - wuritj - $\emptyset$ yawul*
 1sg Aux make Pres spear
 Su NF
 I made a spear.

b *yerim - palak - $\emptyset$ peke*
 2sg Aux drop Pres tobacco
 Su NF
 You dropped your tobacco.

c *wudam - wul - $\emptyset$ dede*
 3sg Aux return Pres camp
 Su NF
 He went home.

Where specific marking is required to indicate 'Present' tense, there are two devices commonly employed. They are discussed below.

Note that the difference between the 'Past Perfective' examples above and the 'Past Imperfective' examples given in 129 is purely aspectual. Comparing the two sentences below, we find they vary only in terms of focus on the 'time of ownership' as being durative or non-durative, e.g.

- 140.a nayi mudiga neme - batj - tje apirri, minde yewirr kana
 lsgPro car lsg Aux hold Past before NEG tree now
 Su Past

I owned a car for a period, but not any longer.

- b nayi mudiga nerim batj apirri, minde yewirr kana
 I had a car once, but not now.

a distinction only partially brought out by the translation.

A further distinction must be made at this point between dynamic verbs and stative verbs. It was described above how the Non-Future auxiliary verb inflection, is, in its unmarked form, 'Past Perfective'. And its 'Present' tense is derived through contextual information or additional marking. This description applies to dynamic verbs. For stative verbs on the other hand, given their unlikelihood to be perfective in aspect, their unmarked Non-Future form is 'present' tense. Compare 141.a) and b) below:

- 141.a naram - fitit
 lsg Aux stand up (dyn)
 Su NF

I stood up.

- b nirribem - tjalak
 lsg stand upright
 Su NF

I am standing up (stat)

The charts below demonstrate the distribution of the three inflections discussed above. Note in the 'Positive' forms, that the 'Past Dynamic' verbs maintain an aspectual distinction, while for the 'Past Stative' verbs the distinction is only one of tense. As an example of a dynamic verb I have employed the AVS /nerim/ - 'to do things with your hands', and for a stative verb, the AVS /nirim/ - 'sit'.

Dynamic

	<u>Pos.</u>		<u>Neg.</u>	
	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
Fut	ŋemi	ŋemi	ŋemi	ŋemi
Pres	ŋerim	ŋerim	ŋerim	ŋerim
Past	ŋerim*	ŋeme	ŋemi	ŋemi

Stative

	<u>Pos.</u>		<u>Neg.</u>	
	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
Fut	ŋiwi	ŋiwi	ŋiwi	ŋiwi
Pres	ŋirim*	ŋirim	ŋirim	ŋirim
Past	ŋini	ŋini	ŋiwi	ŋiwi

* Unmarked form of Non-Future inflection

For those auxiliary verbs which have 3 tense inflections (Past, NR, IRR) we can demonstrate the correspondence between those inflections and the verb-final suffixes like this.

	<u>AVS</u>	<u>Tense suffix</u>
i	Past	Past (tje) - Past Imperfective
ii	NF	Pres (Ø) - Past Perfective/Present
iii	NEG + NF	Pres (Ø) - Pres Negative
iv	IRR	Fut (ŋini) - Future
v	NEG + IRR	Fut (ŋini) - Future Negative
vi	IRR	Past (tje) - 'should have been'/Condit.
vii	NEG + IRR	Past (tje) - Past Negative

For those auxiliary verbs which have only 2 tense inflections the correspondences between the AVS inflections and verb-final tense suffixes are the same as for the chart above except i) which would then be

NF Past (tje) - Past Imperfective

Where the Non-Future inflection of dynamic verbs needs to be specified for 'present' tense the following two devices are commonly used:

Firstly, the temporal adverb /kana/ - 'now', can be incorporated into the verbal complex, appearing between the MVS and the final tense suffix.

142.a *nerim - wuritj - kana - Ø yawul*
 1sg Aux make now Pres spear
 Su NF

I'm making a spear now.

b *nayim yenin - tu - kana - Ø*
 3sgF Pro 3sg Go sleep now Pres
 Su NF

She's sleeping now.

/kana/, however is not exclusively a 'Present' tense marker. It can also denote 'immediate Past or Fut'. Consequently example 142.a above could conceivably retain its Past Perfective tense/aspect, referring to an action that has 'only just been done now'.

143.a *nerim - wuritj - kana yawul kini*
 1sg Aux make now spear this
 Su NF

I've just made this spear right now.

b *wudam - wul - kana*
 3sg Aux return now
 Su NF

He's just come home.

Immediate future forms (with the IRR verb inflection), indicate an action to be done 'right away'. e.g.

- 144.a η a - $\emptyset$ - kana - η ini (The 'pre-verb / η arim/ is now employed as
 lsg Aux now Fut a 'simple' verb to mean 'write'.)
 Su IRR

I'm going to write it down straight away.

- b yawul η emi - wuritj - kana - η ini
 spear lsg Aux make now Fut
 Su IRR

I'm going to make a spear right now.

Thus we can see that while /kana/ can be employed to denote the 'present' tense of Non-Future dynamic verbs the domain of its usage does extend to immediate past and future as well.

The second device that can be employed to imply specifically present tense, is a progressive aspect form - derived by suffixing one of the four stative 'simple verbs' ('sit', 'lie', 'stand', and 'go') to the whole verbal complex. The function of this form is to indicate that the action is/was/or will be in progress at the time of the speech act or in reference to another clause.

- 145.a η erim - wuritj - η irim yawul
 lsg Aux make lsg Sit spear
 Su NF Su NF

I am (in the process of) making a spear.

- b η irim - fifi - η irim
 lsg Sit smoke lsg Sit
 Su NF Su NF

I'm (sitting here) smoking.

While all four stative verbs are used in this fashion, it is 'Sit' which occurs most commonly and appears to be the unmarked form. i.e. It is not specifically marked for the bodily orientation of 'sitting', but can be used with verbs such as 'sleeping' and even 'walking'. The examples below demonstrate this progressive aspect suffix in the Past and Future tense, e.g.

- 146.a yagama deme - wuritj - tje - dini
 woomera 3sg Aux make Past 3sg Sit
 Su Past Su Past

He was (in the process of) making a woomera.

146.b yawul werrmi - wuritj - ɲini - wirri
 spear 3ns Aux make Fut 3ns Sit
 Su IRR Su IRR

They (pl) are going to be making spears.

Note that the main verb and the suffixed stative verb must be fully co-referential in regard to both subject number and person and tense. Consequently in example 145 above, the Non-Future form of the auxiliary can only be interpreted as 'present' tense, not 'Past Perfective', because of the 'present' tense of the stative verb which is suffixed to it. i.e. The progressive stative verb suffix /ɲirim/, only occurs with non-perfective verb inflections.

The possible combinations of the

- i) Auxiliary verb stem inflections (Past, NF, IRR)
 - ii) Verb final tense markers (tje, Ø, ɲini)
 - iii) Temporal adverb (kana)
 - iv) Post verb complex, progressive aspect (ɲirim)
- are set out below. Again I have chosen the verb /ɲerim - wuritj/ 'to make something', as an example.

147.a ɲeme - wuritj - tje I was making spears.
 1sg Aux make Past
 Su Past

b ɲeme - wuritj - tje - ɲini I was (in the process of)
 1sg Sit making spears.
 Su Past

c ɲerim - wuritj I made a spear.
 1sg Aux I'm making a spear.
 Su NF

d ɲerim - wuritj - kana I just made a spear.
 I'm making a spear now.

e ɲerim - wuritj - ɲirim I am (in the process of)
 1sg Sit making spears.
 Su NF

f ɲerim - wuritj - kana - ɲirim I'm (in the process of)
 making spears now.

147.g ɲemi - wuritj - ɲini
 lsg Aux
 Su IRR Fut

I'm going to make a spear.

h ɲemi - wuritj - kana - ɲini

I'm going to make a
 spear right away.

i ɲemi - wuritj - ɲini - ɲiwi
 lsg Sit
 Su IRR

I'm going to be making
 a spear.

j ɲemi - wuritj - kana - ɲini - ɲiwi

I'm going to be making
 a spear in a moment.

k ɲemi - wuritj - tje
 Past

I should have made a spear.
 I was going to make a spear.

APPENDIX 1

'Simple' Auxiliary Verb Paradigms

<u>AVS</u>	<u>Page</u>
*Nirim	119
*Nibem	120
*Nirribem	121
*Naganim	122
Nim	123
Nemengen	123
Nitjibem	124
Nagatjin	124
Nipinggin	125

For those AVS's that are starred* , I have listed the forms for the three inflections; Past/NF/IRR. For the remaining AVS's I have listed only; NF/IRR, although I suspect some of these may have Past inflections as well. Further work in the field is needed before I can be sure.

NON-FUTURE

IRREALIS

Sng	1	qirim		qiwi	qini
	2	yirim		yiwi	"
	3	dim/kirim		wiri	"
	1inc	qindim (nime)		qimbi (nime)	"
Dl (Tr)	1ex	qirrigu "		qirrigu "	"
	2	yirrigu "		yirrigu "	"
	3	wirrigu "		wirrigu "	"
	1inc	qindim nime		qimbi nime	"
Pl	1ex	qirrim		qirri	"
	2	yirrim		yirri	"
	3	wirrim		wirri	"

PAST

Sng	1	qini	tje
	2	yini	"
	3	dini	"
	1inc	qindini (nime)	"
Dl (Tr)	1ex	qinne	" "
	2	yinne	" "
	3	winne	" "
	1inc	qindini nime	"
Pl	1ex	qinni	"
	2	yinni	"
	3	winni	"

Li
AVS- NIBEM (3 tense inflections)

NON-FUTUREIRREALIS

Sng	1	gibem		gim	gini
	2	yibem		yim	"
	3	wibem		wim	"

Dl (Tr)	1inc	gimbibem (nime)		gimbim (nime)	"
	1ex	gerrtjengu	"	gerrtjegu	"
	2	yerrtjengu	"	yerrtjegu	"
	3	werrtjengu	"	werrtjegu	"

Pl	1inc	gimbibem nime		nimbim nime	"
	1ex	gerrtjen		nerrtje	"
	2	yerrtjen		yerrtje	"
	3	werrtjen		werrtje	"

PAST

Sng	1	gige	tje
	2	yige	"
	3	wige	"

Dl (Tr)	1inc	gimbine(nime)	"
	1ex	gerrtjine	"
	2	yerrtjine	"
	3	werrtjine	"

Pl	1inc	gimbine nime	"
	1ex	gerrtjini	"
	2	yerrtjini	"
	3	werrtjini	"

AVS- NIRIBEM (3 tense inflections)

NON-FUTURE

IRREALIS

Sng	1	ɲirribem		ɲirrin	ɲini
	2	yirribem		yirrin	"
	3	wirribem		wirrin	"

Dl (Tr)	1inc	ɲimbirribem (nime)		ɲimbirrin (nime)	"
	1ex	ɲirrrsibɛŋgi	"	ɲirrrsingi	" "
	2	yirrrsibɛŋgi	"	yirrrsingi	" "
	3	wirrrsibɛŋgi	"	wirrrsingi	" "

Pl	1inc	ɲimbirribem nime		ɲimbirrin nime	"
	1ex	ɲirrrsibem		ɲirrrsin	"
	2	yirrrsibem		yirrrsin	"
	3	wirrrsibem		wirrrsin	"

PAST

Sng	1	ɲirriŋe	tje
	2	yirriŋe	"
	3	wirriŋe	"

Dl (Tr)	1inc	ɲimbirriŋe(nime)"	
	1ex	ɲirrrsiŋerrki	" "
	2	yirrrsiŋerrki	" "
	3	wirrrsiŋerrki	" "

Pl	1inc	ɲimbirriŋe nime	"
	1ex	ɲirrrsiŋe	"
	2	yirrrsiŋe	"
	3	wirrrsiŋe	"

(98)
AVS- NAGANIM (3 tense inflections)

NON-FUTUREIRREALIS

Sng	1	ɲaganim		ɲani	ɲini
	2	yaganim		yani	"
	3	yenim		wani	"

Dl (Tr)	1inc	ɲanginim (nime)		ɲambani (nime)	"
	1ex	ɲanningu	"	ɲarrene	"
	2	yanningu	"	yarrene	"
	3	wanningu	"	warrene	"

Pl	1inc	ɲanginim nime		ɲambani nime	"
	1ex	ɲannim		ɲarrini	"
	2	yannim		yarrini	"
	3	wannim		warrini	"

PAST

Sng	1	ɲagadi	tje
	2	yagadi	"
	3	yedi	"

Dl (Tr)	1inc	ɲangidi (nime)	"
	1ex	ɲadde	"
	2	yadde	"
	3	wadde	"

Pl	1inc	ɲangidi nime	"
	1ex	ɲaddi	"
	2	yaddi	"
	3	waddi	"

NON-FUTUREIRREALISAVS- NIM

Sng	1	ɲim		ɲimi	ɲini
	2	yim		yimi	"
	3	mem		wimi	"
Dl (Tr)	1inc	ɲindim (nime)		ɲimbimi (nime)	"
	1ex	ɲirriŋgu "		ɲirrmigu "	"
	2	yirriŋgu "		yirrmigu "	"
	3	wirriŋgu "		wirrmigu "	"
Pl	1inc	ɲindim nime		ɲimbimi nime	"
	1ex	ɲirrim		ɲirrimi	"
	2	yirrim		yiirmi	"
	3	wirrim		wirrimi	"

AVS- NEMENGEN

Sng	1	ɲemenɣen		ɲemenɣe	ɲini
	2	yemenɣen		yemenɣe	"
	3	wemenɣen		wemenɣe	"
Dl (Tr)	1inc	ɲembemenɣen (nime)		ɲembemenɣe (nime)"	
	1ex	ɲerrmenɣeŋgu "		ɲerrmenɣege "	"
	2	yerrmenɣeŋgu "		yerrmenɣege "	"
	3	werrmenɣeŋgu "		werrmenɣege "	"
Pl	1inc	ɲembemenɣen nime		ɲembemenɣe nime	"
	1ex	ɲerrmenɣen		ɲerrmenɣe	"
	2	yerrmenɣen		yerrmenɣe	"
	3	werrmenɣen		werrmenɣe	"

NON-FUTUREIRREALISAVS- NITJIBEM

Sng	1	nitjibem		nitjim	gini
	2	yitjibem		yitjim	"
	3	witjibem		witjim	"
Dl (Tr)	1inc	gimbitjibem (nime)		gimbitjim (nime)	"
	1ex	girrtjibengu "		girrtjingu "	"
	2	yirrtjibengu "		yirrtjingu "	"
	3	wirrtjibengu "		wirrtjingu "	"
Pl	1inc	gimbitjibem nime		gimbitjim nime	"
	1ex	girrtjibem		girrtjim	"
	2	yirrtjibem		yirrtjim	"
	3	wirrtjibem		wirrtjim	"

AVS- NAGATJIN

Sng	1	nagatjin		nawam	gini
	2	yagatjin		yawam	"
	3	yetjin		wawam	"
Dl (Tr)	1inc	gambawam (nime)		gambawam (nime)	"
	1ex	garratjingu "		garrangu "	"
	2	yarratjingu "		yarrangu "	"
	3	warratjingu "		warrangu "	"
Pl	1inc	gambawam nime		gambawam nime	"
	1ex	garratjin		garram	"
	2	yarratjin		yarram	"
	3	warratjin		warram	"

NON-FUTUREIRREALIS

\ ee \

AVS- NININGIN

Sng	1	ɲiriŋgin		ɲiriŋri	ɲini
	2	yiriŋgin		yiriŋri	"
	3	diriŋgin		wiriŋri	"
Dl (Tr) 1ex	1inc	ɲimbiriŋgin (nime)		ɲimbiriŋri (nime)"	
	2	yiriŋgin	"	yiriŋri	" "
	2	yiriŋgin	"	yiriŋri	" "
	3	wiriŋgin	"	wiriŋri	" "
Pl	1inc	ɲimbiriŋgin nime		ɲimbiriŋri nime	"
	1ex	ɲiriŋgin		ɲiriŋri	"
	2	yiriŋgin		yiriŋri	"
	3	wiriŋgin		wiriŋri	"

APPENDIX 2

'Pre-verb' Auxiliary Verb Paradigms

<u>AVS</u>	<u>Page</u>
*Nerim-	127
*Narim-	128
*Nudupun-	129
Ninem-	130
Nemen-	130
Nebem-	131
Nimingin-	131
Nanam-	132
Nisen-	132
Nudem-	133
Naram-	133
Nem-	134
Nim-	134
Nupun-	135

7/ven- ?
7usum-

* Three Auxiliary Inflections

AVS- NERIM (3 tense inflections)

NON-FUTURE

IRREALIS

	1	gerim-		gemi-	gini
Sng	2	yerim-		yemi-	"
	3	dem-		wemi-	"
	1inc	gendim-(nime)		gembimi-(nime)	"
Dl					
(Tr)	1ex	gerriggi- "		gerrmigi- "	"
	2	yerriggi- "		yerrmigi- "	"
	3	werriggi- "		werrmigi- "	"
	1inc	gendim- nime		gembimi- nime	"
Pl					
	1ex	gerrim-		gerrmi-	"
	2	yerrim-		yerrmi-	"
	3	werrim-		werrmi-	"

PAST

	1	geme-	tje
Sng	2	yeme-	tje
	3	weme-	tje
	1inc	gembeme-(nime)"	
Dl			
(Tr)	1ex	gerrmegi- "	"
	2	yerrmegi- "	"
	3	werrmegi- "	"
	1inc	gembeme- nime "	
Pl			
	1ex	gerrme-	"
	2	yerrme-	"
	3	werrme-	"

NON-FUTURE

IRREALIS

	1	garim-	ga-	gini
Sng	2	yarim-	ya-	"
	3	danim/wayim	wa-	"
	1inc	gandim-(nime)	gambi-(nime)	"
Dl				
(Tr)	1ex	garrigi- "	garrigi- "	"
	2	yarrigi- "	yarrigi- "	"
	3	warrigi- "	warrigi- "	"
	1inc	gandim- nime	gambi- nime	"
P1				
	1ex	garrim-	garri-	"
	2	yarrim-	yarri-	"
	3	warrim-	warri-	"

PAST

	1	gani-	tje
Sng	2	yani-	"
	3	dani-	"
	1inc	gandini-(nime)	"
Dl			
(Tr)	1ex	ganne- "	"
	2	yanne- "	"
	3	wanne- "	"
	1inc	gandini- nime	"
P1			
	1ex	ganni-	"
	2	yanni-	"
	3	wanni-	"

AVS- NUDUPUN (3 tense inflections)NON-FUTUREIRREALIS

Sng	1	ɲudupun-	ɲudi-	ɲini
	2	yudupun-	yudi-	"
	3	wudupun-	wudi-	"

Dl (Tr)	1inc	ɲumbudupun- (nime)	ɲumbudi- (nime)	"
	1ex	ɲuddupunggi- "	ɲuddigi- "	"
	2	yuddupunggi- "	yuddigi- "	"
	3	wuddupunggi- "	wuddigi- "	"

Pl	1inc	ɲumbudupun- nime	ɲumbudi- nime	"
	1ex	ɲuddupun-	ɲuddi-	"
	2	yuddupun-	yuddi-	"
	3	wuddupun-	wuddi-	"

PAST

Sng	1	ɲudini-	tje
	2	yudini-	"
	3	wudini-	"

Dl (Tr)	1inc	ɲumbudini- (nime)	"
	1ex	ɲuddinigi- "	"
	2	yuddinigi- "	"
	3	wuddinigi- "	"

Pl	1inc	ɲumbudini- nime	"
	1ex	ɲuddini-	"
	2	yuddini-	"
	3	wuddini-	"

NON-FUTUREIRREALISAVS- NINEM

Sng	1	ɲinem-	ɲine-	ɲini
	2	yinem-	yine-	"
	3	dinem-	wine-	"
Dl (Tr)	1inc	ɲindem- (nime)	ɲimbine- (nime)	"
	1ex	ɲinnengi- "	ɲinnegi- "	"
	2	yinnengi- "	yinnegi- "	"
	3	winnengi- "	winnegi- "	"
Pl	1inc	ɲindem- nime	ɲimbine- nime	"
	1ex	ɲinnem-	ɲinne-	"
	2	yinnem-	yinne-	"
	3	winnem-	winne-	"

AVS- NEMEN

Sng	1	ɲemen-	ɲeme-	ɲini
	2	yemen-	yeme-	"
	3	demen-	weme-	"
Dl (Tr)	1inc	ɲembemen- (nime)	ɲembeme- (nime)	"
	1ex	ɲerrmeggi- "	ɲerrmegi- "	"
	2	yerrmeggi-	yerrmegi- "	"
	3	werrmeggi-	werrmegi- "	"
Pl	1inc	ɲembemen- nime	ɲembeme- nime	"
	1ex	ɲerrmen-	ɲerrme-	"
	2	yerrmen-	yerrme-	"
	3	werrmen-	werrme-	"

NON-FUTUREIRREALISAVS- NEBEM

Sng	1	gebem-	gebi-	gini
	2	yebem-	yebi-	"
	3	benim-	webi-	"
Dl (Tr)	1inc	gembebem- (nime)	gembibi-(nime)	"
	1ex	gerrbengi- "	gerrbigi- "	"
	2	yerrbengi- "	yerrbigi- "	"
	3	werrbengi- "	werrbigi- "	"
	1inc	gembebem- nime	gembibi- nime	"
	1ex	gerrbem-	gerrbi-	"
	2	yerrbem-	yerrbi-	"
	3	werrbem-	werrbi-	"

AVS- NIMINGIN

Sng	1	gimingin-	gimi-	gini
	2	yimingin-	yimi-	"
	3	mingin-	wimi-	"
Dl (Tr)	1inc	gimbimingin-(nime)	gimbimi-(nime)	"
	1ex	girrmiggingi- "	girrmigi- "	"
	2	yirrmiggingi- "	yirrmigi- "	"
	3	wirrmiggingi- "	wirrmigi- "	"
	1inc	gimbimingin- nime	gimbimi- nime	"
Pl	1ex	girrmiggin-	girrmi-	"
	2	yirrmiggin-	yirrmi-	"
	3	wirrmiggin-	wirrmi-	"

NON-FUTUREIRREALISAVS- NANAM

	1	ɲanam-		ɲana-	ɲini
Sng	2	yānam-		yana-	"
	3	nagam-		wana-	"
	1inc	ɲambanam-(nime)		ɲambana-(nime)	"
Dl (Tr)	1ex	ɲannaggi-	"	ɲannagi-	" "
	2	yannaggi-	"	yannagi-	" "
	3	wannaggi-	"	wannagi-	" "
	1inc	ɲambanam- nime		ɲambana- nime	"
Pl	1ex	ɲannam-		ɲanna-	"
	2	yannam-		yanna-	"
	3	wannam-		wanna-	"

AVS- NISEN

	1	ɲisen-		ɲise-	"
Sng	2	yisen-		yise-	"
	3	disen-		wise-	"
	1inc	ɲimbisen-(nime)		ɲimbise-(nime)	"
Dl (Tr)	1ex	ɲirrseɲgi-	"	ɲirrsegi-	" "
	2	yirrseɲgi-	"	yirrsegi-	" "
	3	wirrseɲgi-	"	wirrsegi-	" "
	1inc	ɲimbisen- nime		ɲimbise- nime	"
Pl	1ex	ɲirrsen-		ɲirrse-	"
	2	yirrsen-		yirrse-	"
	3	wirrsen-		wirrse-	"

NON-FUTUREIRREALISAVS- NUDEM

	1	ɲudem-		ɲude-	ɲini
Sng	2	yudem-		yude-	"
	3	wudem-		wude-	"
	1inc	ɲumbudem-(nime)		ɲumbude-(nime)	"
Dl	(Tr) 1ex	ɲuddenɲgi-	"	ɲuddegi-	"
	2	yuddenɲgi-	"	yuddegi-	"
	3	wuddenɲgi-	"	wuddegi-	"
	1inc	ɲumbudem- nime		ɲumbude- nime	"
Pl	1ex	ɲuddem-		ɲudde-	"
	2	yuddem-		yudde-	"
	3	wuddem-		wudde-	"

AVS- NARAM

	1	ɲaram-		ɲara-	ɲini
Sng	2	yaram-		yara-	"
	3	daram-		wara-	"
	1inc	ɲambarram-(nime)		ɲambarra-(nime)	"
Dl	(Tr) 1ex	ɲarranɲgi-	"	ɲarragi-	"
	2	yarranɲgi-	"	yarragi-	"
	3	warranɲgi-	"	warragi-	"
	1inc	ɲambarram- nime		ɲambarra- nime	"
Pl	1ex	ɲarram-		ɲarra-	"
	2	yarram-		yarra-	"
	3	warram-		warra-	"

NON-FUTUREIRREALISAVS- NEM

Sng	1	gem-	gi-	gini
	2	yem-	yi-	"
	3	dinim-/kem-	wi-	"
Dl (Tr)	1inc	gendem- (nime)	gimbi- (nime)	"
	1ex	gerreggi- "	girrigi- "	"
	2	yerreggi- "	yirrigi- "	"
	3	werreggi- "	wirrigi- "	"
Pl	1inc	gendem- nime	gimbi- nime	"
	1ex	gerrem-	girri-	"
	2	yerrem-	yirri-	"
	3	werrem-	wirri-	"

AVS- NIM

Sng	1	gin-	gi-	gini
	2	yin-	yi-	"
	3	win-	wi-	"
Dl (Tr)	1inc	gimbin- (nime)	gimbi- (nime)	"
	1ex	girriggi- "	girrigi- "	"
	2	yirriggi- "	yirrigi- "	"
	3	wirriggi- "	wirrigi- "	"
Pl	1inc	gimbin- nime	gimbi- nime	"
	1ex	girrin-	girri-	"
	2	yirrin-	yirri-	"
	3	wirrin-	wirri-	"

NON-FUTUREIRREALISAVS- NUPUN

Sng	1	ɲupun-	ɲu-	ɲini
	2	yupun-	yu-	"
	3	wupun-	wu-	"
Dl (Tr)	1inc	ɲumbupun- (nime)	ɲumbu- (nime)	"
	1ex	ɲurɲupunggi- "	ɲurɲigi- "	"
	2	yurɲupunggi- "	yurɲigi- "	"
	3	wurɲupunggi- "	wurɲigi- "	"
Pl	1inc	ɲumbupun- nime	ɲumbu- nime	"
	1ex	ɲurɲupun-	ɲurri-	"
	2	yurɲupun-	yurri-	"
	3	wurɲupun-	wurri-	"

APPENDIX 3TEXT

In early February 1982 a call came to the women of Daly River Mission to attend a Pitjiwakatj ceremony (to mark the onset of menses) at Pepiminati. They collected some more women from Woollianna and a group of about fifteen of them flew off to Pepiminati by plane (in two shifts). They were stranded there for a week after the ceremony had finished by heavy rain. After their return, Bill Parry told me this story of the events of their trip.

Kuniguni wa-tjerrmusa wuddupun - tjuk gangi mitjin Daly River
 old woman Mcl old man 3ns Aux send word mission
 Su NF

The old women and old men(of Pepiminati) sent a message to the mission.

Nirrmingin - wa gangi pinnin
 1(ex)ns Aux pick word that one
 Su NF up
 We received that message.

Wur-mitjitj meŋ - girr wa- tjerrmusa wirrmi - dirr -gini
 Fcl missus 3sg Say 1pl Mcl old man 3ns Say 2pl Fut
 Su NF IO Su IRR IO

That white woman said to us 'The old men are going to talk to you.'

Naddi -tje office nide girrmingin - wa yerr - pinnin
 1(ex)nsGo Past Loc 1(ex)ns Aux pick Tr cl that one
 Su Past Su NF up
 We went to the office and picked up that thing(radio mouthpiece)

'Tjagani' gim - birr pitjiwakatj gini
 what 1sgSay 3pl ceremony to mark Fut
 Su NF IO onset of menses
 'What's up' I asked them. It was about 'pitjiwakatj'.

Falmi yaga pagu wu - Ø - Ø - bi - gini
 woman emph All 3sg Aux 3sg drive Fut
 Su NF DO

She's gonna drive that woman along.

e kipi 'yu' gim - birr
 and this yes 1sg Say 3pl
 Su NF IO
 So I told them 'sure'.

Wa - kipi wa - gangikurunggurr Meli wirrin - ne gin - ne
 Mcl this Mcl 3ns Say 3sg 1sg Say 3sg
 Su NF IO Su NF IO

And this Nangikurunggurr man, 'Meli' they call him, I said to him,

pitjiwakatj gini kipi
 PURP this
 'It's about pitjiwakatj'

Nayi da - muy wa - mirisarra minde nana mudiga kipi
 1sg BPcl eye Mcl blind Neg car this
 Pro

I said to him, 'I'm blind as a bat and I can't take the car

gemi - batj wuni pepi Woolianna gin - ne
 1sgAux hold there All 1sgSay 3sg
 Su IRR take Su NF IO
 down to Woolianna.

'yu' meg - gindi 'gemi - ni - ba - batj gini'meg -gindi
 yes 3sgSay 1sg 1sgAux 2sg arm take Fut 3sgSay 1sg
 Su NF IO Su IRR DO Su NF IO
 'Alright' he said , 'I'll take you'.

Dem - mi - di mudiga yenim - madi - wap
 3sgAux eye start car 3sgGo chest sit
 Su NF up Su NF
 He started the car up and got in.

Nayi gaganim - madi - wap mudiga nide
 1sg 1sg Go chest sit car Loc
 Pro Su NF
 And I got in the car.

Puleli yenim - madi - wap falmi nayi Puleli
 3sg Go chest sit woman 1sg
 Su NF Pro
 And Puleli got in, my wife Puleli.

Amukun yenim - madi - wap
 3sg Go chest sit
 Su NF
 And Amukun got in too.

Dem - mi - di mudiga gaddi - tje Woolianna 'Sand-bar Store'
 3sgAux eye start car 1ns Go Past
 Su NF up Su Past
 And he started up the car and we went to Woolianna, Sand-bar Store

wirrim gan- Tura dim dede
 3nsSay All 3sgSit camp
 Su NF Su NF
 they call it, to Dora's camp.

ginde gerrmengen kuri daqin - qirrki - fime - nime kuri lemonade
 then 1ns arrive water 3sgAux 1dl(ex) give Tr water
 Su NF Su NF DO
 And she gave us some lemonade.

Ninne - kukuduk - nime - tje gerrim - pul tjammirri.
 1rpSit drink Tr Past 1nsAux finish finished
 Su Past Su NF
 And we (3) drank it and finished it off.

Nangi meeting winni - tje nagarri Alfie nide ginde ginne - tje
 word 3nsSit Past 1dl Pro Loc then 1dlSit Past
 Su Past Su Past

They(the women) had a meeting, and we(went) to Alfie and sat down.

Tea dagin - girrki - fime girrin - kukuduk gadde -tje nan-falmi
 3sgAux 1dl give 1nsSit drink 1rpGo Past All woman
 Su NF DO Su NF Su Past

He gave us tea and we drank it then went back to the women.

'Yu wakay kana' falmi fagarri warrene nini Woolianna pepi
 yes finish now women two 3rp Go Fut All
 Su IRR

'Yes we're finished now'(they said). Two of the women were going to

awa - tjerreningi kay wirrmi - wirr nini
 PHcl other mob shout 3nsSay 3pl Fut
 Su IRR IO
 go to Woolianna to sing out to that other mob.

Amukun Tura wanningi -madi -wap yeninggisi waddi - tje Woolianna
 3ns Go dl chest sit boat 3nsGo Past
 Su NF Su Past

Amukun and Dora got in the boat, and they went to Woolianna.

Wirrim - birr 'pitjiwakatj nini nambani- nime - nini Pepiminati'
 3nsSay 3pl PURP 1ns Go Tr/Pl Fut
 Su NF IO Su IRR

And they said to them, 'Let's go to pepiminati for pitjiwakatj.

'Yu' wirrim 'Ba kalla nayin - nime wurru pinnin pitjiwakatj'
 yes 3ns Say Exh mother 1(inc)Pro Pl that one
 Su NF

'Ok' they said 'Let's go, that's our mother that one pitjiwakatj.'

Wirrike werringi - mi - di yerr - pinnin yeninggisi wadde - tje
 3 dl Pro 3ns Aux dl eye start Trcl that one boat 3dl Go Past
 Su NF up Su Past

Then those two(Amukun & Dora)started up the boat and came back,

Alfie nide werrmengengu
 Loc 3ns arrive dl
 Su NF

and arrived at Alfie's.

Awa - pinnin apuderri Woolianna nimbi werrbenj - girrki - ket-nime
 PHcl that one young woman ABL 3nsAux 1rp pass Tr
 Su NF DO DO

And that mob of young women from Woolianna over-took us(3).

Yeninggisi werri kinappirr kana werrmeggen mitjin
 boat having this before now 3ns arrive mission
 Su NF

They had a boat and got to the mission before us.

Nagurr gerrim - mi - di mudiga pagu gaddi - tje
 1pl Pro 1ns Aux eye start car All 1ns Go Past
 Su NF Su Past

We started up the car and came back,

guddam - wul mitjin nerrmeggen
 1nsAux return mission 1ns arrive
 Su NF Su NF
 we came home to the mission.

Falmi winni - tje airplane gini yerr-kangi ka airplane wirrim
 woman 3nsSit Past PURPTrc1 high 3nsSay
 Su NF Su NF
 The women were all sitting there(waiting) for the plane, that thing
 that goes up high, 'airplane' they call it.

Yenip - tjerr airplane wannim - madi - wap airplane
 3sgGo land 3ns Go chest sit
 Su NF Su NF
 Then the plane landed and they got in.

Tjerreningi appirri waddi - tje pepiminati wannip - tjerr
 other mob before 3ns Go Past 3ns Go land
 Su Past Su Past
 The other mob went first, to Pepiminati and they landed,

wannig - karrbu waddi - tje wannim - wap wine -tje wur-pinnin
 3ns Go alight 3nsGo Past 3ns Go sit 3sgLie Past Fcl that one
 Su NF Su Past Su NF Su Past
 and they alighted and they went and sat down where that girl was lying

Ninnimbi dem - pat yirrini - tje falmi tjerreningi Port Keats
 from there 3sgAux fly 3sg Go Past woman other mob
 Su NF Su Past
 From there(the plane)flew off and those other women from Port Keats

nimbi wannim - madi - wap wuddam - wul Pepiminati wannig - karrbu
 ABL 3ns Go chest sit 3nsAux return 3ns Go alight
 Su NF Su NF Su NF
 got in and came back to Pepiminati and got off the plane.

Waddi - tje pitjiwakatj nide wembem tjammirri.
 3nsGo Past Loc shelter finished
 Su Past

And they went over to the pitjiwakatj shelter too, alright.

Airplane pinnin yerr-kangi dem - pat yedi - tje dirrpederr
 that one Trcl high 3sgAux fly 3sg Go Past riverbank
 Su NF Su Past

And the airplane, that high(flyer), flew back to the riverbank(Daly).

Falmi gayi Puleli awa - tjerreningi wannim - madi - wap
 woman 1sgPro PHcl other mob 3ns Go chest sit
 Su NF

And my wife Puleli and the other mob got in,

mamak wirrig - nirrki waddi - tje wuni
 goodbye 3nsSay 1dl 3ns Go Past there
 Su NF IO Su Past

and they said goodbye to us and then left.

Durrmu kana wirrrsige - tje falmi wuddupun - du madiwirri
 paint now 3ns stand Past woman 3ns Aux try play
 Su Past Su NF out

(In the morning) the women are all painted up now, trying it out,

waddi - tje yerr- pinnin pitjiwakatj
 3ns Go Past Trcl that one
 Su Past

and then they go over to that pitjiwakatj place.

Ninnimbi dagim - fisul 'ma ma' wirrim
 from 3sgAux rise 3ns Say
 there Su NF Su NF
 (=dawn)

Then at dawn they say 'OK lets go'.

Falmi napa wurrupun - bi falmi minde yedi
 woman emph 3ns Aux drive woman Neg Man
 Su NF

And the women drove her up, just women, no men,

yedi wunappirr kana winni - tje miyi winni - bulbul - tje
 man there before now 3ns Sit Past food 3ns Sit cook Past
 Su Past Su Past

the men have been sitting down from earlier on cooking food,

miyi mi - mununuk* mi - pitjiwakatj gini wurrsugu - watj
 food PFcl PFcl PURP 3ns Aux dl eat
 Su NF

food for the waiting man and the girl to eat.

*/mununuk/-promised husband or reception committee of men.

Waddi - tje wembem pitjiwakatj nide ninde wurr werrim - pi -dudu
 3ns Go Past shelter Loc then grass 3nsAux head heap
 Su Past Su NF
 And then they(the women)went to the pitjiwakatj shelter and heaped

wuddupun - pup yeggi ningi tjammirri.
 3ns Aux light fire INSTR finished
 Su NF
 up the grass and lit it, alright.

Wige - fifi - tje yeggitawan digim - pul tjammirri
 3sgLie smoke Past smoke 3sgAux finish finished
 Su Past Su NF
 And she(the young girl)breathed in the smoke and finished it up.

Ninnimbi gambani-nime-nini gan-kuri waddi - man -tje gan-kuri
 from 1ns Go Tr/Pl Fut All water 3ns Go march Past All water
 there Su IRR Su Past
 From there(they said) 'Let's go down to the river',so they marched

gitjiirr kana wannangu - tum falmi minde falmi wukume,falmi mabuk
 dirt now 3nsAux dl bury woman Neg woman one women many
 Su NF
 down to the river and the girls were covered in mud. There wasn't

Port Keats nimbi Nadirri nimbi Palumba nimbi dirrpederr nimbi
 ABL ABL ABL ABL
 just one women , there were dozens, from Port Keats, Nadirri,
 Palumba and Daly River mission.

Ninde wirrige - tje falmi nagan - tum gitjiirr
 then 3sgStand Past woman 3sgAux bury dirt
 Su Past Su NF
 And then the girl stood up , covered in mud.

Ninnimbi waddi - man - karri - tje waddi - man - pepi - tje
 from 3nsGo march leg Past 3nsGo march All Past
 there Su Past Su Past
 From there they marched along , marched back to

gan-mununuk waddi - man - tje wurrrsum - watj
 All 3nsGo march Past 3ns Aux eat
 Su Past Su NF
 to the men who were waiting and they all ate.

Miyi kana winni - lalirr - tje miyi tea winni -lalirr-pepi-tje
 food now 3nsSit eat Past food 3nsSit eat All Past
 Su Past Su Past
 They ate food and they drank tea.

Tretj wuddupun - wirr wur-pitjiwakatj kalla gayim peyi dini -tje
 dress 3ns Aux put in Fcl mother 3sg F too 3sgSit Past
 Su NF Pro Su Past
 They put her in a dress, and her mother who was there too

meggin - ba - wa wurrupun-muwul dedaggurr gan-dede gayim
 3sg Aux arm pick 3sg Aux return camp All camp 3sg F
 Su NF up Su NF Pro
 picked her up by the arm and took her back to her camp.

Awa - kipi-pepi winni- tje tjammirri kuri yenip - tjerr
 PHcl here All 3nsSit Past finished water 3sg Go land
 Su Past Su NF fall
 And the mob who went from here were sitting there and the rain
 started

Nitjirr wuni pupuritj-madi airstrip wige - tje
 dirt there slippery 3sgLie Past
 Su Past
 And the ground was slippery on the air strip.

Airplane minde nana kani - tjerr yerr-yaga kanggi ka yenip-tjatjirr
 Neg lest 3sgGo land Trcl emph kigh 3sgGo stop
 Su IRR Su NF redup
 And the airplane couldn't land, that thing that always stops here.

Yirrini-pepi-tje wannin- tu winni -tje winni -tje wannin-tu
 3sg Go All Past 3ns Go sleep 3nsSit Past 3nsSit Past 3ns Go sleep
 Su Past Su NF Su Past Su Past Su NF
 (The plane) went away, and they (the women) slept and sat around
 (waiting)

Falmi gayi yerr-kipt 'asthma' wirrim ka dem - me - tip
 woman 1sg Trcl this 3ns Say 3sgAux hand grab
 Pro Su NF Su NF
 And my wife had an attack of... 'asthma' they call it,

kenarapa nide tjikpela begim - batj wige - tje lenggirr
 lung Loc sickfella 3sgAux fall 3sgLie Past bad
 Su NF Su Past
 in her lungs, and she fell down ill.

Wige - pepi - tje yubu yenim deme - tip deti e yubu yenim
 3sgLie All Past good 3sgGo 3sgAux grab again and good 3sg Go
 Su Past Su NF Su Past Su NF
 She was lying there, then she came good, then she had another
 attack, and then she was alright again.

Airplane pinnin yenin - tjerr wannim - madi - wap
 that one 3sg Go land 3ns Go chest sit
 Su NF Su NF

Then the plane landed and they(the women) all got in,

wuddam - wul kana dirrpederr
 3nsAux return now riverbank
 Su NF
 and came home to Daly River.

Nayi Meli gerrbengi - madi - kat falmi nayi 'tjagannimbi'
 1sg 1ns Aux dl chest meet woman 1sg what CAUS
 Pro Su NF Pro
 And me and Meli went to meet my wife, 'What's up' (I asked her)

'Tjikpela gebem - batj'
 1sgAux fall
 Su NF
 'I'm sick' (she said)

'Yu pipi wurru medicine minde-tje yemi - batj, kipi-pepi nimbi
 yes 2sg Neg Past 2sgAux hold here All ABL
 Pro Su IRR
 'Yes and it's your fault, you didn't take your medicine with you.'

Yu gerrme - Ø - batj -tje appil nem - madi -pup wine - tje
 yes 1nsAux 3sg take Past hospital 1sgAux put 3sgLie Past
 Su Past DO Su NF chest Su Past
 Anyway we took her up to the hospital and I put her to bed.

Wa- mumu wuni pepi yedi - tje yetji nayim den - Ø - tip
 policeman there All 3sgGo Past son-in 3sg F 3sgAux 3sg grab
 Su Past law Pro Su NF DO
 And the policeman came and arrested her son-in-law,

wannim - madi - kuli wuni pepi kana deme - ba - batj - tje
 3ns Go chest throw there All now 3sgAux arm take Past
 Su NF Su Past
 and they threw him (in the wagon) and he took him away,

Tawun jail nide dagim - Ø - fitjat lock-im-up men - ne
 Loc 3sgAux 3sg stand 3sgAux 3sgM
 Su NF DO Su NF IO
 and locked him up in Darwin jail.

Degini nayim ka leggirr kana mengin - wa worry-mem
 body 3sg F bad now 3sg Aux pick 3sg Aux
 Pro Su NF up Su NF
 My wife's condition was worse, she'd had another attack and was
 worried

de- pi yeyi kana yetji gayim gini de- pi yeyi yedi - tje
 BPcl head other now son-in 3sg F PURP BPclhead other 3sgGo Past
 Su Past
 she was distraught about her son-in-law, she wasn't herself at all.

Yu wige - tje sister meq - ge 'Kakana gudam - wul dedanggurr
 yes 3sgLie Past 3sgSay 3sgF going 1sgAux return camp
 Su Past Su NF IO Su NF
 Anyway she was lying there and she said to the sister 'I'm going

wa - membirr gayi gan- yedi gayi'
 Mcl children 1sg All man 1sg
 Pro Pro
 back home to my children and to my husband.'

Sister meq - ge 'Minde kide yani-nini, yani - tu gini'
 3sgSay 3sgF Neg where 2sgGo Fut 2sgGo sleep Fut
 Su NF IO SU IRR Su IRR
 And the sister said to her 'Don't you go anywhere, go to sleep!'

Awa - tjerreningi awa - Woolianna nimbi wuddam - wul
 PHcl other mob PHcl ABL 3ns Aux return
 Su NF
 And those other mob, (the women) from Woolianna, came back here,

e dede wirrim pepi kana wuddam - wul wannim - madi - wap
 and camp 3pl All now 3ns Aux return 3ns Go chest sit
 Pro Su NF Su NF
 and then went back to their camp, they got in the boat and

yeninggisi wuddam - wul Woolianna wannin - tu tjammirri
 boat 3ns Aux return 3ns Go sleep finished
 Su NF Su NF
 went back to Woolianna and went to sleep. OK finished!

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