A KALKATUNGU GRAMMAR

by

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*TO THE GENERATIONS OF KALKATUNGU, AND TO
MICK AND LARDIE MOONLIGHT WHO TAUGHT ME
THE OUTLINES OF THEIR LANGUAGE THAT I MIGHT
RECORD IT HERE FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.*

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ABBREVIATIONS

A	AGENT	Intr	Intransitiviser
Abl	Ablative	Lig	Ligative
Adv	Adverb	LM	Lardie Moonlight
All	Allative	Loc	Locative
A/p	Anti-passive	MM	Mick Moonlight
C	Consonant	N	Nasal
C.A.	Common Australian	Nom	Nominative
Cau	Causative	Nom	Nominaliser
Caus	Causal	P	PATIENT
CC	Charlie Caldwell	Part	Participle
Comp	Complementiser	Perf	Perfect
Con	Concomitant	Pl	Plural
Conj	Conjunction	Poss	Possibility
Contin	Continuing	Purp	Purposive
Dat	Dative	Re	Reciprocal/reflexive
Du	Dual	Rel	Relative particle
Erg	Ergative	S	Stop
Habit	Habitual	S_i	INTRANSITIVE SUBJECT
Imp	Imperative	Seq	Sequential
Imperf	Imperfect	Sing	Singular
Instr	Instrumental	Tr	Transitiviser
Int	Intensifier	V	Vowel

#	word boundary
Ø	Indicates (in glosses) a morpheme without referential content e.g. -ka. See §5.9.1.
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
>	(a) acting on, e.g. 1>3 first person acting on third. (b) is realised or pronounced as

Note on glosses

Where a morpheme has no apparent meaning it is glossed as zero.

A transitive verb in an independent clause is normally marked by -ji. This element appears to have no function with independent verbs. It is left unglossed and is not separated off from the stem in order to simplify the glossing. In subordinate clauses -ji is significant, being an anti-passive marker.

INTRODUCTION

1.1.   THE PEOPLE

The Kalkatungu[1] (or Kalkadoons as they are generally called)
inhabited an area of what is now western Queensland, an area that
embraces the present day towns of Mt. Isa and Cloncurry. It is rocky,
hilly country on the watershed between the rivers that flow north to
the Gulf of Carpentaria, and those that flow south through the 'Channel
Country' to the inland lakes of South Australia.

The first Europeans to enter Kalkatungu territory must have been
members of the Burke and Wills expedition who passed through their
territory in 1861. However, no contact was made. The first European
settlement began in the eighteen sixties and with it the first conflict.

The first notable incident occurred in 1878 when a new settler,
Malvo, and three companions were killed at the Woonamoo waterhole on
Sulieman Creek. This led to the mounting of a punitive expedition of
native police under Inspector Ernest Eglinton. Eglinton's main claim
to fame, ironically enough, lies in the fact that he supplied our sole
source for the extinct Yanda language with the vocabulary he contributed
to Curr (1886:II,360-3). He also contributed a vocabulary of Pitta-Pitta
(id.:364-5) and one of Yalarnnga (id.:346-9). The expedition resulted
in the killing of a number of Kalkatungu. The killing of Malvo and
his party was considered to be murder and some years later when the
Kalkatungu had been 'tamed' and were living on cattle stations and in
towns, a tribesman who was said to be one of those responsible for the
killing of Malvo's party was made to wear a breastplate around his
neck inscribed 'Woonamoo murderer'.

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[1]The name has been recorded as [kalkɐduŋ(u),] [kalkəduŋ(u)] and [kalkuduŋ(u)], the
last version suggesting the name is really Kalkutungu and that [ɐ] and [ə] represent
the neutralisation of unstressed ɐ and unstressed u. However, since I have heard
slow versions with [ɐ], I believe Kalkatungu is a legitimate variant along with
Kalkutungu and I will use the former.

Over the next few years there were further 'incidents' and native police were stationed at Cloncurry under the command of Inspector Beresford. However, he and four of his men were killed in 1883 while on patrol and he was succeeded by F.C. Urquhart. Urquhart later became Commissioner of Police in Queensland and later again was appointed Administrator of the Northern Territory. Urquhart contributed a 'Kulkadoon' vocabulary to Curr (1886:II,326-9) and some 'legends' to the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. He also wrote poems of dubious value, one of which is recorded in Fysh (1950:145-7). He led a number of punitive expeditions culminating in one involving a pitched battle near the head of Prospector Creek at a site that subsequently came to be known as Battle Mountain. It seems that a comparatively large number of Kalkatungu were killed and it seems that this incident marked the end of Kalkatungu resistance. Thereafter they were no longer able to maintain their own way of life. The survivors found their country entirely occupied and they were forced to live on the fringes of European settlements, accepting handouts or providing labour and receiving some payment in kind.

The detailed history of the early contact period is not available and what accounts are available tell only one side of the story. Fysh (1950) contains a colourful account and although his treatment will irk readers sympathetic to the Aboriginal point of view, he provides a clear insight into the settlers' attitude.

Popular writers seem to have written the Kalkatungu off rather prematurely. Fysh (op.cit. 209) states that, "About the only members of the Kalkadoon tribe living fifteen years ago [c.1918] were eight blacks on Yelvertoft station, one of these being Prince Micky, son of the late King and Queen, Jimmy and Nelly." And Holthouse (1974:121) claims that, "Today it is doubtful if there is one full-blooded Kalkadoon left alive." However, there are scores of full-blood Aborigines who identify themselves as Kalkatungu, on the basis of their father having been Kalkatungu.

What has almost died is the language. When Gavan Breen and I began working in Queensland in the mid-sixties there were no more than a dozen people who could speak Kalkatungu, probably no more than six who were fluent. At the time of writing only one fluent speaker remains, Lardie Moonlight.

The fluent speakers were all very old when they were first contacted (in their sixties at least) with the exception of Lardie Moonlight who was a little younger (in her fifties) and none of them was born 'in the bush' i.e. none of them was born before the time the Kalkatungu were living in or around European settlements.

Mick Moonlight, who was the principal source for the material on which my earlier description was based (Blake 1969), was the proud possessor of a brass breastplate inscribed, "Moonlight, King of the Burke", which he inherited from his father. However, I understand from Tim Howard of Boulia that he was not the "Prince Micky" referred to by Fysh in the quotation cited above. Mick 'inherited' the Burke which was Yalarnnga territory not Kalkatungu country. Today his portrait hangs in the Boulia library and Boulia is in Pitta-Pitta territory. So he seems to have been a 'prophet without honour in his own country'.

The elderly speakers we consulted were all very willing to be recorded. They were all familiar with recording inasmuch as some of their friends and family owned recorders and they seemed to see some value in having their language recorded knowing that they were the last speakers.

A few Kalkatungu in their forties and fifties understand some of the language, but the younger people have no knowledge of it.

1.2. THE LANGUAGE

Kalkatungu is a Pama-Nyungan language classified by O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin as the sole member of the 'Kalkatungic group' (O'Grady et al. 1966:42, Wurm 1972:131). Yalarnnga, the language spoken immediately to the south of Kalkatungu shares some lexical and morphosyntactic material with Kalkatungu but the two languages are certainly not closely related. Details of the relationship between Kalkatungu and other Australian languages is given in chapter 7.

Kalkatungu employs suffixes for word derivation and for noun and verb inflection. Nouns and free pronouns operate in an ergative paradigm. There are also bound pronouns which may cross-reference within a clause or co-reference between clauses or between sentences. These operate in an accusative system. Syntactically the language exhibits an ergative/accusative mixture but is predominantly ergative. There is an anti-passive construction.

1.3. PREVIOUS WORK ON THE LANGUAGE

I first began recording Kalkatungu in 1966 during which time I was a research fellow in the Linguistics Department of Monash University supported by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. The only language data available on Kalkatungu at the time consisted of two vocabularies. One was collected by F. Urquhart and J. O'Reilly and appeared in Curr, volume II:328-9. The second was collected by W.E. Roth and appeared in Roth 1897. The latter source also contains a list of kinship terms and has a number of Kalkatungu words scattered through

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the text. All in all these sources yield about a hundred and fifty words glossed fairly accurately but in a phonetically inaccurate form. Shortly before I began work, C. Osborne and Ken Hale made brief recordings of Polly Wilson.

My own writings on Kalkatungu are listed in the bibliography. The principal one (Blake 1969) consists of a brief description mostly of the morphological system. The present work is intended to supersede this earlier description. Everything in the earlier work has been retained, but the morpho-syntactic material has been greatly expanded and a number of errors, mostly in the notation of particular words, have been corrected.

1.4. THE PRESENT DESCRIPTION

The present description of Kalkatungu is based on a corpus of over eighty hours of taped material plus a small amount of material taken down in notes. Most of the material was recorded by the author, but about twelve hours was recorded by Gavan Breen. The main speakers consulted were the late Mick Moonlight and Lardie Moonlight but substantial quantities of valuable information were also recorded from Polly Wilson and Charlie Caldwell. Small amounts of material were provided by Lulu Lucas, Mrs. Louie Hunter, Mrs. Noby Clay, Willy Malcolm and Topsy Harry (the last three being recorded only by Gavan Breen) and Dolly Douglas (recorded by Peter Sutton).

The corpus consists largely of words, phrases and sentences elicited as translations of English. Some material was given by way of description of the environment or of pictures. There is some dialogue, a fair amount of monologue, mostly reminiscence, a solitary traditional story given in three versions, and a good deal of non-elicited material of various kinds consisting of isolated sentences or groups of sentences usually interspersed with English.

Elicitation was carried out in English. All the informants spoke English in most situations, some of them using a fair admixture of Pidgin features.

1.5. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to record my appreciation of the patience of the speakers I consulted, particularly Mick and Lardie Moonlight and also Polly Wilson and Charlie Caldwell. I would like to thank Gavan Breen for making several recordings for me, for discussion of various points, for listening to tapes to give a second opinion on points of difficulty, for checking the present manuscript, and for making available extensive data in numerous other Australian languages.

1.6. DESCRIPTIVE FRAMEWORK

The present description recognises the following case relations or functions: INTRANSITIVE SUBJECT (S_1), AGENT (A), PATIENT (P), RECIPIENT (R) (the traditional indirect object), DATIVE (the complement of certain intransitive verbs, beneficiary/possessor), ALLATIVE, LOCATIVE, ABLATIVE, CAUSAL and INSTRUMENTAL. My description must remain incomplete through lack of data and some areas of the grammar are shadowy and little understood. A complete description would perhaps have to recognise other relations such as TIME.

These case relations are expressed via a set of case forms that includes nominative, ergative, dative and so on (see §3.2.1.).

Each syntactically determined case relation expresses one or more semantic roles. Thus A expresses the agent of a verb like ica *'to bite'*, the perceiver of ŋaɲi *'to see'*, and also the agent of this same verb since it covers the sense of *'look at'*. Similarly P expresses the affected of ica *'to bite'*, the effected of kiakati *'to make'* and the neutral of ŋaɲi *'to see, look at'*. In some instances a semantic role may be expressed by more than one case form. Thus the role of indirect cause or reason as in *'They fought over a woman'* may be expressed by the causal or the locative. It is probable that this role is expressed by two separate case relations, CAUSAL, the relation typically expressed by the causal form, and LOCATIVE, the relation typically expressed by the locative form.

The need to differentiate syntactically determined case relations from morphologically distinct case forms is fairly clear. In Kalkatungu, as in many Australian languages, the
express two distinct case relations, A and INSTRUMENTAL. This can be established on two grounds. Firstly, an actant in A function can be cross-referenced by a bound pronoun but not one in INSTRUMENTAL function. Secondly, an actant in INSTRUMENTAL function may receive alternative expression by marking the verb with nti (for details see §5.3.6.), an option not available for A.

The framework must also allow for situations such as the following. (1.1)and (1.2) both have the same meaning,

(1.1) cipa-ji iti-ji ḻaji maṟapai-ṯuŋu
      this-erg *man*-erg *hit* *woman*-causal
      'This man hit him because of a woman'.

(1.2) ḻaji-mantiji   maṟapai cipa-ji iti-ji
      hit-because:of *woman* *this*-erg *man*-erg
      'This man hit him because of a woman'.

There is a syntactic relationship between the two sentences inasmuch as
for every sentence of the pattern exemplified in (1.1) there is a corres-
ponding sentence like (1.2). In (1.1) the CAUSAL case form on maṟapai
marks the CAUSAL case relation. In (1.2) the case relation is marked
on the verb by manti. maṟapai now appears in the nominative (the case
form used for S_1 and P) and some would describe maṟapai as still
bearing the CAUSAL relation though appearing in a morphologically
different case form. I believe this view is incorrect and that maṟapai
in (1.2) is syntactically P. One piece of evidence for claiming this is
the fact that a bound pronoun could be used in sentences like (1.2) to
cross-reference the putative P. Another piece of evidence can be found
in cases where the construction with -manti is used in complements like
the following.

(1.3) ɲini panticamati-ṉa a-kin   ḻaji-manti
      you   *tell:on*-past *comp-you* *hit-because:of*
      'You 'dobbed' so that he would hit (him) over you'.

This rather obscure sentence refers to a situation where a woman tells
her husband of the advances of a would-be lover so that the husband will
hit the lover. In complements of the type found in (1.3) normally only
one bound pronoun appears suffixed to the complementiser a-. The
choice of which actant is to be encoded as a bound pronoun is not det-
ermined by syntactic function but by the relative person of the A and
P actants, first person taking precedence over second and third, and
second taking precedence over third. In (1.3) it is the second person
which completes successfully with the third for the bound pronoun slot.
Note however that this second person is not the semantic P but our
putative syntactic P. And note that the rule determining which actant
is to be encoded by a bound pronoun operates in pure syntactic terms.
The case form can only be determined after a comparison of a syntacti-
cally determined A and a syntactically determined P.

    One way to handle this situation is to recognise different strata
as in Relational Grammar. In (1.2) maṟapai would be allotted a CAUSAL
case relation in an initial stratum and a DIRECT OBJECT relation (my
P) in the final stratum. Similarly in (1.3) the second person actant
would appear as a CAUSAL in the initial stratum and be advanced to

DIRECT OBJECT in the final stratum.

Kalkatungu under this view would be held to sanction the advancement of LOCATIVE, INSTRUMENTAL and CAUSAL to P with the change of relation registered in the verb by the suffix -nti ∿ -manti. It also sanctions the advancement of the DATIVE relation to P with the addition of -ɲcama to the verb. The indirect object behaves as in English. It may appear in the allative or as a direct object. One could describe the RECIPIENT (in my terms) being advanced to P, but it is not clear in this case that one pattern is basic and the other derived.

In the present description statements referring to the case marking of P are to be taken to include those instances where P encodes an underlying LOCATIVE, INSTRUMENTAL, CAUSAL and DATIVE.

In constructions corresponding to English *'John gave Mary a book'*, I shall refer to the actant corresponding to Mary as RECIPIENT. It is probably true that this actant is P just as Mary is syntactically P in the sentence just cited (witness the passive: *'Mary was given a book by John'*). However, this cannot be established for certain[1] and even if it could I feel it would be confusing to refer to it as P, especially since the actant corresponding to 'book' will take the same case marking. I will refer to the actant corresponding to 'book' as P.

There is another construction that presents a problem for accurate description. Compare 1.4 and 1.5,

(1.4) maṭu-ju   maa   ṯuji
       mother-erg *food* *cook*
       'Mother cooks the food'

(1.5) maṭu   maa-ci   ṯuji
       mother food-dat *cook*
       'Mother cooks food'

Both sentences can mean the same though the construction in 1.5 is usual for an indefinite object (see also §3.1). 1.4 represents the normal ergative construction, 1.5 is an example of what has come to be called the anti-passive. I believe that 1.5 is intransitive. This means that maṭu is S_1 and maa-ci is DATIVE, or perhaps in Relational Grammar terms, a 'direct object chômeur'. However, it has proved convenient to refer simply to A being marked by the nominative and to P being marked by the dative. See the text following 4.70 for further discussion.

Where the term 'subject' is used, it refers to S_1 and A. Where the term 'absolutive' occurs, it refers to S_1 and P.

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[1] One problem in English is the fact that the RECIPIENT advanced to P cannot be relativised. Most speakers cannot say *'I saw the girl you gave the book'*.

PHONOLOGY

2.1. PHONEMES

Consonants:

	Bi-Labial	Apico-Alveolar	Apico-Domal (Retroflex)	Lamino-Dental	Lamino-Palatal	Dorso-Velar
Stops	p	t	ṭ	t̪	c	k
Nasal	m	n	ṇ	n̪	ɲ	ŋ
Laterals		l	ḷ	⊥	λ	
Rhotics		r	ɽ			
Glides					j	w

Vowels:

	Front	Back
High	i	u
Low	a	

2.2. PHONEMOTACTICS

A word consists of at least two vowels (according to the interpretation offered here - see §2.16). There may be no consonant, a single consonant or a nasal plus homorganic stop word initially. Between vowels there may be one or two consonants as specified below. In word final position n, l, r, ṇ, ṭ and ɲ may occur.

Word shapes may be summarised by the following formula,

$$((C)C) \quad \overline{V(C)C}^{\,o} \quad V(C)$$
$$1\ 2 \qquad\quad 3\ 4 \qquad\quad 5$$

The sequence under the bar may recur (^{o}).

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Note that the bar could have just as easily been placed over C_3, C_4 and the following vowel. I have not found any phonological reason to place syllable boundaries. There are phonetic syllable boundaries of course, though not always easily determined. One cannot determine phonological syllable boundaries from phonetic ones. For example, initial nasal stop clusters are phonologically tautosyllabic but in speech the nasal may become phonetically the final consonant of a preceding vowel-final word: #paa#ɳʈia# 'that rock' could be pronounced [pą̃:ɳɖiɐ] with the vowel a: being nasalised and retroflexed as in a word like aŋpaji 'collect' [ą̃ŋbai].

C_2 may be any consonant except the alveolars (t, n, l and r).

C_1 may be filled only if C_2 is filled by a stop. C_1 is a nasal homorganic with C_2 (mp, ɳʈ, n̪t̪, nc, ŋk).

C_4 may be any consonant.

C_3 may be filled only if C_4 is filled. If C_4 is a stop, C_3 may be a homorganic nasal or lateral. If C_4 is a labial or velar (p, k, m, ŋ), C_3 may be any apical nasal or lateral or r (n, ɳ, l, ɭ, r). If C_4 is filled by any other consonant (e.g. ɽ), C_3 may not be filled (but see below).

C_5 may be n, l, r, ɳ, ɭ or ɲ. ɲ occurs as a final consonant in only a few words. ʎ has not been recorded in word-final position. Given the low frequency of ɲ in word-final position, ʎ would have had a low frequency in this position. I think that the absence of ʎ in word-final position is likely to be accidental not systematic.

Table 1 lists the intervocalic consonant clusters covered by the generalisations given above.

Some further clusters occur intermorphemically when the rare final consonants are followed by consonant initial suffixes, but the appropriate generalisation here seems to be that except for the ergative (and a restricted allomorph of the locative viz. -ta~ -ʈa) the other consonant initial suffixes and clitics can occur freely with stem-final consonants without morphophonemic change. Thus we have clusters such as ɲp : mulpiɲ + pia (on the parrot) and rŋ : ajarŋa 'only' ajar 'one' + ŋa (adverbial). As my description stands it allows for a lot of intermorphemic clusters that do not occur intramorphemically. However, it is clear that the vocabulary I have collected is too small to permit accurate phonemotactic statements about a language which seems to have permitted a fairly large number of possibilities.

Sharpe 1972:21 questions my decision to treat initial sequences such as mp, ŋk, etc. as sequences of phonemes rather than units even though these nasal-stop sequences occur intervocalically. However, heterorganic nasal-stop sequences occur intervocalically and if the homorganic

sequences are taken as units the question would arise whether all intervocalic homorganic sequences were units or whether some were sequences analogous to the heterorganic sequences. The distribution does not give clear evidence for taking nasal-stop sequences as units, nor does the behaviour of speakers who syllabify kunka *'branch'* as ku unka and piɲcamu *'sun'* as pi iɲcamu. In any case arguments based on how speakers break up words are dubious since the break-up may reflect phonetic syllables which need not accord with distributionally deter- mined phonological syllables. Note that my description does not involve assigning intervocalic consonants either to a preceding syllable or to a following one.

	p	t	ṭ	ṯ	c	k	m	n	ṇ	ṉ	ɲ	ŋ
m	+											
n	+	+				+	+					+
ṇ	+		+			+	+					+
ṉ				+								
ɲ					+							
ŋ						+						
l	+	+				+	+					+
ḷ	+		+			+	+					+
ḻ				+								
ʎ					+							
r	+					+	+					+

TABLE 1
Intervocalic Consonant Clusters

Examples Illustrating the Phonemotactics

p	paa	*'there'*	kupu	*'spider'*	-		
t	-		ati	*'meat'*			
ʈ	ʈuu-ʈuu	*'markings'*	maʈu	*'mother'*			
ȴ	ȴina	*'they'*	iȴi	*'ant'*	-		
c	cuʈu	*'coolaman'*	iciɲci	*'nose'*	-		
k	kua	*'river'*	juku	*'spear'*	-		
m	maa	*'food'*	ŋamun	*'lump'*	-		
n	-		ini	*'be'*	maŋaŋaan	*'doctor'*	
ŋ	ŋaipu	*'knife'*	waŋa	*'mound'*	mucuɳ	*'chicken hawk'*	
ɳ	ɳiȴa-	*'steal'*	iŋkaɳa	*'went'*	-		
ɲ	ɲini	*'you'*	aɲa	*'gave'*	mulpiɲ	*'parrot'*	
ŋ	ŋata	*'we'*	aŋi	*'will give'*	-		
l	-		kilian	*'torn'*	piɲcil	*'corpse'*	
ȴ	ȴuŋa	*'cry'*	kuȴu-kuȴu	*'again'*	wantaȴ	*'shell'*	
ȴ	ȴaja	*'hit!'*	uȴi	*'die'*	-		
ʌ	ʌuwati	*'two'*	iʌa	*'now'*	-		
r	-		juru	*'man'*	utiŋar	*'emu'*	
ɽ	ɽumpi	*'fear'*	maɽapai	*'woman'*			
w	wampa	*'girl'*	awa	*'give!'*	-		
j	jaɲi	*'ghost'*	mpaja	*'you two'*	-		
mp	mpuu	*'rotten'*	ɽumpi	*'fear'*	-		
nt	-		wanta	*'don't'*	-		
ɳʈ	ɳʈia	*'stone'*	waɳʈu	*'heel'*	-		
ɳȴ	ɳȴii	*'rouse on'*	aɳȴa	*'mouth'*	-		
ɲc	ɲca-	*'sniff'*	ŋuɲca	*'nothing'*	-		
ŋk	ŋkaa	*'yam'*	iŋka	*'go'*	-		
lʈ	?						
ȴʈ	waȴʈur-waȴʈur	*'swag'*					
ȴȴ	piȴȴi	*'soft'*					
ʌc	uʌci	*'blood'*					
np	ȴunpun	*'log'*	ŋp	aŋpai	*'to collect'*		
nk	kunka	*'branch'*	ŋk	aŋka	*'to ail'*		
lp	jalpi	*'emu net'*	ȴp	iȴpu	*'melon'*		
lk	jalka-paɽi	*'boomerang'*	ȴk	paȴku	*'a little'*		
rp	kurpai	*'three'*					
rk	jarka	*'far'*					

nm	munma	*'take'*	ŋm			
nŋ	-minŋu (see §5.4.3)		ŋ̊ŋ	muaṇ̊ŋu	*'cousin'*	
ḷm	aḷmi	*'squeeze'*	ḷ̊m	aaḷmi	*'will put down'*	
ḷŋ	miḷŋa	*'blowfly'*	ḷ̊ŋ̊			
rm	warma	*'song'*				
rŋ	ṯurŋun	*'ashes'*				

2.3. PHONEME FREQUENCIES

The following frequencies are based on 333 words evenly spaced through the lexicon. They are expressed as percentages to the nearest half per cent.

Frequencies of each phoneme as initial.

p	t	ṭ	ṯ	c	k	
15	–	1	7	6	14.5	43.5
m	n	ṇ	ṉ	ɲ	ŋ	
14.5	–	1	3	1.3	5	25
	ḷ	ḻ	ʎ			
	–	0.5	1.5	*		2
	r	ṛ				
	–	1				1
				j	w	
				6	7	13
29.5	–	3.5	11.5	13.5	26.5	84.5

ɨ	a	u	
5	4.5	6	15.5

*initial ʎ has been observed only in ʎuwati *'two'* which did not happen to appear in the 333 words.

Frequencies Intervocalically

p	t	ṭ	ṱ	c	k	
9	6	6	5	6	11	43
m	n	ṇ	ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	
5	5.5	1.5	3	1	4	20
	l	ḷ	ɭ	ʎ		
	5	4.5	1.5	1		12
	r	ṛ				
	14	7				21
				j	w	
				3	1	4
14	30.5	19	9.5	11	16	100

Final Frequencies

Consonants	10
i	37
a	26.5
u	26.5

   The raw figures for some of the consonants are so small that it is
not very revealing to convert them to percentages to the nearest half
per cent. The raw figures are

r	15				
n	13	ṇ	2	ɲ	2
l	6	ḷ	1		

Overall Frequencies

p	t	ṭ	ṱ	c	k	
5.5	2.5	1.5	3.5	3	6.5	22.5
m	n	ṇ	ṉ	ɲ	ŋ	
4.5	3	1.5	2	1.5	3	15.5
	l	ḷ	ḻ	ʎ		
	1.5	1	1	0.5		4
	r	ṛ				
	3.5	1.5				5
				j	w	
				1.5	1.5	3
10	10.5	5.5	6.5	6.5	11	50

i	a	u	
14.5	21	14.5	50

Average length of words is 2.5 syllables (based on head words in the lexicon) or 2.75 syllables per word (based on text).

2.4. PRONUNCIATION

The stops, p, t, ṭ, ṱ, c and k are basically voiceless lenis stops, but voicing through co-articulation is normal. Voicing is strongest in intervocalic stops and in stops preceded by a homorganic nasal. It is not so strong initially, finally nor in clusters with the flapped r or with the laterals.

p is a bilabial stop. t is an apico-alveolar stop like English t and d. ṭ is an apico-domal or apico-post-alveolar stop, i.e. it is like English t or d but with the tongue making contact back behind the gum ridge. The apico-domal phonemes, or retroflexes as they are generally called, have an 'r' colouring to them, most noticeable in the onset. ṱ is made either with the tongue tip protruding between the teeth (an interdental stop) or with the tongue tip behind the lower teeth. In either case the occlusion is formed by pressing the blade of the tongue

against the back of the teeth and gum ridge. This lamino-dental stop
is distinguishable from t largely by its rather fricative character.
c is a palatal stop similar to ţ except that the occlusion is formed
with the blade or middle of the tongue against the hard palate. Like
ţ, c is somewhat affricated. k is a dorso-velar stop with quite
advanced allophones before i.

The nasals have the same points of articulation as the corresponding
stops, and similarly the laterals.

r is a flap in slow pronunciation and in very clear, emphatic pro-
nunciation a lingual trill. However, most typically it is a weak
flap or a glide which makes it difficult to distinguish it from ŗ, which
is a glide produced with greater retroflection and/or bunching of the
tongue. In word-final position r may be pronounced as a stop [t].

Note that there is no contrast between the two series of apicals in
word-initial position. I have written them all with the subscript dot
to indicate retroflection and my phonemotactic statements refer to
retroflexes but not alveolars occurring in initial position. It is
true that initial apical t often sounds retroflex as does l. n, however,
usually sounds alveolar as does nt. There are retroflex tokens of n
and nt like the one quoted in §2.2 (ρaa ɳţia [pã:ɳḍiɐ]), but typical
tokens are alveolar.

j is a glide produced with the same tongue position as for c. w is
a labio-velar glide. Words phonemicised with initial i and u, may have
initial glides j and w respectively. This is discussed in §2.15.

i is a high front vowel, u a high back vowel with moderate lip
rounding and a a low central vowel. All vowels have slightly less
peripheral realisations in closed syllables. a has advanced allophones
when stressed and preceded or followed by a lamino-palatal or to a
lesser extent a lamino-dental. This is particularly noticeable between
laminals: ɭaja 'hit!' [ɭæjɐ], jaɲi 'white man' [jæɲi]. Unstressed sylla-
bles exhibit vowel reduction. In rapid speech any vowel may be pronoun-
ced [ə], but generally the vowels remain distinguishable.

2.5   PHONEMIC OVERLAP

Intervocalic t may be pronounced as a flapped rhotic [ř] or with some
friction. Phonetically then some of these realisations fall into the
range of r and in a phonemic transcription of particular realisations
we would have to write r if we stuck to the phonetic data alone. Some
words then would occur with two spellings e.g. iti or iri ('to return').
I have regularised all such cases and spelled them consistently with t
since they contrast with r inasmuch as t may be realised by a flapped

rhotic but intervocalic r may not be realised as a stop -

$$t = [t \sim d \sim \mathfrak{t} \sim \mathfrak{l}]/V\_\_V$$
$$r = [\mathfrak{t} \sim \mathfrak{l}]/V\_\_V$$

In word-final position r is sometimes pronounced clearly as [t]. It would be possible to say that t and r were in free variation in this position. I have preferred to say that r has a realisation [t] that overlaps with a common realisation of t.

2.6. VARIANT FORMS

The following morphemes have been recorded with and without the final vowel. In each case the form with the final vowel is less common.

puʈur, puʈura	*'good', 'well'*
-waɲcir, waɲciri	*'a pair'* (see §5.2.7.3.)
ŋucir, ŋucira	*'father's sister'*
aʎcir, aʎcira	*'sweat'*

2.7. CONSONANT ASSIMILATION

The ergative/instrumental case suffix is represented by -ŋku with disyllabic vowel stems and -ʈu with longer vowel stems. With consonant stems, a homorganic stop appears in the suffix. Where the stem ends in r, ʈ appears in lieu of r and t :

utiŋar	utiŋaʈu	*'emu'*
ŋarkun	ŋarkuntu	*'wallaroo'*
ʈail	ʈailtu	*'firm', 'hard'*
mucuɳ	mucuɳʈu	*'chicken hawk'*
wantaḷ	wantaḷʈu	*'shell'*
pirmaɲ	pirmaɲcu	*'vein'*

The same assimilation appears in the irregular locative allomorph that occurs with the following:

ucan	ucanta	*'fire'*
ulaaɳ	ulaaɳʈa	*'high'* (of sun)

-ta also occurs following the participle -ɲin and -ʈa occurs following the ligative -wa- (see §3.2.2.).

2.8. VOWEL ASSIMILATION

The ergative allomorph occurring with vowel stem kinship nouns and with non-singular personal pronouns displays vowel harmony with high vowels. Following a- it is -ji:

mpaja	mpajaji	*'you two'*
kùḻa	kuḻaji	*'father'*
ŋaḻi	ŋaḻiji	*'we two'*
pupi	pupiji	*'mother's brother'*
puju	pujuju	*'they two'*
maṭu	maṭuju	*'mother'*

The dative of vowel stem nominals is -a with stems in a, -i with stems in i and -u with stems in u:

macumpa	macumpaa	*'kangaroo'*
iṯi	iṯii	*'ant'*
kupu	kupuu	*'spider'*

Longer forms of the dative also occur with -ja following the 'dative vowel' e.g. kupuuja.

The same harmony occurs with the suffix that marks a third person possessor with a kinship noun (see §3.2.3.),

kuḻaaɲci	*'his/her father'*
pupiiɲci	*'his/her mother's brother'*
maṭuuɲci	*'his/her mother'*

maa *'food'* and ati *'me*

ely: maaci, maaciwa, maacuwa and atiɲci, atiɲciwa, atiɲcuwa. The forms maacuwa and atiɲcuwa apparently exhibit assimilation of the vowel i to the glide w producing u.

The clitic sequence for third dual acting on first singular has been recorded as -ŋiju and -ŋuju, the later exhibiting assimilation.

2.9.   NASAL-PLUS-STOP DISSIMILATION

There is a rule that deletes the nasal from a nasal plus stop sequence in a suffix when that suffix is added to a stem already containing a nasal plus stop sequence. The rule is not a general phonetic one but is particular to certain suffixes.

The rule operates in

-ŋku	the ergative allomorph used with disyllabic vowel stems
-ɲcaŋu	habitual
-ɲcaani	continuing
-ɲcaaja	purposive
-ṉṯiti	verb pluraliser

It also operates in

-ɲin	participle

which dissimilates to -cin.

It does not operate in

-nti (~manti)	transitiviser etc.
-mpa	perfect
-manṯi	imperfect

examples:

jaɲi + ŋku	=	jaɲiŋku	*'white man'* (+ erg)
wampa+ ŋku	=	wampaku	*'girl'* (+ erg)
kunka+ ŋku	=	kuṇkaku	*'stick'* (+ erg)
ṯuna + ɲcaŋu	=	ṯuniɲcaŋu*	*'run'* (+ habitual)
iŋka + ɲcaŋu	=	iŋkacaɲu	*'go'* (+ habitual)
aṇka + ɲcaŋu	=	aṇkacaɲu	*'ail'* (+ habitual)
ṯuna + ɲcaani	=	ṯunaɲcaani	*'run'* (+ continuing)
iŋka + ɲcaani	=	iŋkacaani	*'go'* (+ continuing)
ṯuna + ɲcaaja	=	tunaɲcaaja	*'run'* (+ purposive)
iŋka + ɲcaaja	=	iɲkacaaja	*'go'* (+ purposive)
ṯuna + ɲin	=	ṯunaɲin	*'run'* (+ participle)
iŋka + ɲin	=	iŋkacin	*'go'* (+ participle)

* The appearance of i rather than a in ṯuniɲcaŋu is idiosyncratic. It also appears in the past tense of this verb - ṯuniṇa.

2.10. THE VARIANTS OF -jan (CONCOMITANT) AND -ṯati (INTRANSITIVISER)

With both these stem-forming suffixes there is an alternation as follows

-jan	following	vowels
-aan	"	consonants
-ṯati	"	vowels
-ati	"	consonants

The loss of the initial consonant of the suffix after a consonant is peculiar to these two suffixes. The appearance of the double vowel in the case of -jan ~ -aan is quite idiosyncratic.

kuŋi	*'wife'*	kuŋijan	*'married'* (of a man)
maḻṯa	*'mob', 'a lot'*	maḻṯajan	*'having a lot'*
juku	*'spear'*	jukujan	*'having a spear'*
jaṇpar	*'beard'*	jaṇparaan	*'bearded'*
arkun	*'battle','fight'*	arkunaan	*'belligerent'*
miḻṯi	*'eyes'*	miḻṯiṯati	*'to be born'*
piriṇa	*'up', 'high up'*	piriṇaṯati	*'to grow up'*

kupaŋuru	*'old man'*	kupaŋuruṯaṯi	*'to become an old man'*
pupujur	*'very hot'*	pupujuraṯi	*'to become very hot'*
ṯail	*'firm'*	ṯailaṯi	*'to become firm'*

2.11. AUGMENTATION

Since Kalkatungu does not allow monosyllabic words (at least in the interpretation offered here; see §2.16.) monosyllabic stems that occur without affixation or without themselves being cliticised are augmented by repetition of the vowel. Thus while a disyllabic stem such as ica (*'to bite'*) may occur as ica or icaji, icajiṉa, etc., the monosyllabic stem ḷa- (*'to hit'*), when not suffixed by -ji or -ji+ṉa etc. is augmented to ḷaa.

The relative particle [ŋuu ~ ŋu:] seems to be ŋu plus augment, since ŋu + wa is pronounced [ŋu(w)a] not [*ŋuu(w)a].

In the case of the demonstrative stems caa, ṉaa and paa, it is uncertain whether the second vowel is an augment or part of the stem. See the paradigms in 3.2.4.

The stem for the word for *'man'* is jur-. It is the only example of a monosyllabic consonant stem.[1] Note that in the nominative it is augmented to juru. Compare the locative jur-ŋu. See §3.2.2.

2.12. CLITICISATION

When the sequence complementiser plus bound pronoun followed by a monosyllabic verb occurs, either the monosyllabic verb is cliticised to the complementiser plus bound pronoun or the monosyllabic verb is augmented and pronounced as a separate word. The former is typical of rapid speech, the latter of slow:

a-ŋi ḷa 'complementiser- *me hit* ' is pronounced either as [áŋiḷa] or [àŋi ḷá:]. See §3.4. and §4.3. for further information.

There are some other cases of cliticisation. See example (4.68), for instance, where the clitic pronoun kina *'them'* attracts the verb awa *'give'* to produce [kínawa].

2.13. ELISION AND DELETION

Consonants between like vowels tend to be weakened or lost entirely. caawatikaja *'these two'* regularly becomes [ca:wɐdigajɐ], [caɐdigajɐ], [ca:digajɐ]. Note the forms caa-atikaja and ca-atikaja in the text.

julpaṯa-jana *'father:son+and'* > [julpaṯa:nɐ]
kaḷaṛa *'neck'* > [kaḷa:], ṯitiri *'centipede'* > [ṯitii]
macumpa-jan *'kangaroo+con'* > [maʒʊmbaɛn], [maʒʊmba:n]

---

[1]But note also the locative of paḻṯa etc. §3.2.2.

A word-final vowel may be deleted before the initial a- of a
following word.

       a-ni   awa   'comp-*you+give*'   >   anawa

       ṇṭia   aṇa   '*money+gave*'   >   ṇṭiaṇa

       a-ŋi   awa   'comp-*me+give*'   >   aŋawa

A similar elision seems to occur sporadically with -u stems before
the suffix -iti '*lacking*':

       jaŋaalu-iti > jaŋaaliṭi   '*silent*' *(without talk)*

       juru '*man*' plus -iti '*lacking*' occurs as juriti or juruiti.

Since the locative of juru is jurŋu and the dative jurku, I take it that
the stem is jur and the second vowel of the nominative an augment (cf.
§2.11.). Apparently juru is sometimes taken to be the stem, witness
juruiti and case forms such as juruŋiiṇa '*towards the man*'.

There is a tendency to delete final vowels following -m and sometimes
following -ŋ:

       itimi   '*will return*'   itimi ᷉ itim
       kalkatuŋu   '*Kalkatungu*'   kalkatuŋu ᷉ kalkatuŋ

With -ti stem verbs the final i is often deleted:

       iṭiti   '*throw*'   iṭiti ᷉ itir (see §2.5)

The suffixes -ɲin 'participle', -mi 'future' and -mia 'possibility'
occur with the long and short forms of these stems.

The final vowel of aŋi '*will give*' and ṇaŋi '*will see*' is regularly
deleted before a following initial ku- sequence:

       aŋi   kuɲupa >   aŋkuɲupa   '*will give a necklace*'
       ṇaŋi   kuŋi   >   ṇaŋkuŋi   '*lest he see me*'

2.14.   IDIOSYNCRATIC ALTERNATIONS

The sequence a + kin (complementiser + second person (P)) occurs in
the weakened form ajin in rapid speech. The form julpajapaṭa (see
§5.2.7.3. for meaning) involves reduplication of the formative paṭa in
the weakened form paja.

The imperative of regular verbs is formed by adding the suffix -ja.
There is an optional variant -ji with intransitive verbs in -a:

       iŋka   ja =   iŋkaja, iŋkaji   '*go*'
       ṇu-   ja =   ṇuja   '*lie*'
       ini   ja =   inija   '*remain*'
       ḻa-   ja =   ḻaja   '*hit*'
       pati   ja =   patija   '*tell*'

Note that if the variant -ji occurred with transitive verbs in a-, the resulting form would be homophonous with the present indicative.

The imperative of the minor verb classes is given in §4.1.

ṭuna- *'run'* is ṭuni- before the suffix -ɲcaŋu: ṭuniɲcaŋu *'runs regularly'* and before the past tense -n̪a: ṭunin̪a *'ran'*.

Irregular nouns are listed in §3.2.2.

See also §4.3. for some other irregular verb forms.

2.15. THE PROBLEM OF THE GLIDES

Phonetically the following sequences occur:

I	II	III
iu	iju	
ia	ija	
ii	iji	i:
ai	aji	
au	awu	
aa		a:
ui	uwi	
ua	uwa	
uu	uwu	u:
#i	#ji	
#u	#wu	

However, no set of these sequences that is listed on the same row may contrast i.e. a set such as [uu], [uwu] and [u:] does not involve a contrast. For instance, the word for *'water'* which I write /kuu/ may be pronounced [kuu], [kuwu] or [ku:] where [kuu] represents two distant vowels that are perceptually distinct because of a weak coda-onset or hiatus between them.

Leaving aside the problem of the long vowels, let us consider the relationship between sequences such as [ui] and [uwi] and analogous pairs (as in columns I and II above). As the phonemotactic rules stand (see §2.2.), they allow for sequences of vowels with no intervening consonant, any one intervening consonant or certain pairs of intervening consonants. Thus the rules allow for sequences such as /ui/ and /uwi/ and other sequences such as /uji/. The rules also allow for no word-initial consonant and for initial j and w, so the sequences /#i/, /#ji/ and [#u], [#wu] are permitted.

However, since sequences such as [ui] and [uwi] do not contrast, it is misleading to allow /ui/ and /uwi/ as separate possibilities. I would suggest that we introduce an **equivalence rule** to the effect that the sequences in I and II above are equivalent. The problem of the

glides is common to many languages including English and is to be found
in most if not all Australian languages, though it is not commonly
recognised as constituting a problem. Most writers on Australian lan-
guages avoid sequences of vowels and would thus write /iju/ rather than
/iu/ and /iji/ rather than /ii/. Since the phonetic facts and the
morphophonemic facts vary from language to language it is possible that
this is an acceptable treatment in at least some instances, but I doubt
if it is so widely acceptable as its common adoption suggests. In my
earlier work on Kalkatungu (Blake 1969), I chose to omit all glides from
sequences such as [uwi], [iji] etc. on the grounds that they were pre-
dictable. Thus I wrote /ui/, /ii/, etc. This solution received a
unanimous judgement - nobody liked it; see, for instance, Alpher 1970.

   In particular, Alpher considered that omitting the glides from
sequences such as [iju] resulted in "a number of apparent phonological
alternations". For example, I wrote the causative (called **causal** in
the present work) of ŋali *('we two')*, mpaja *('you two')* and puju *('they
two')* as ŋaliwa, mpajawa and pujua respectively implying a morphopho-
nemic alternation between -wa and -a. Alpher is correct of course.
The decision to omit phonetically predictable glides does lead to
"apparent phonological alternations". However, the solution Alpher
suggests is equally misleading. He would write glides in positions
where they are contrastive and where they are not.

   What is involved in these competing treatments becomes clear from a
comparison of the ergative and dative (called **genitive** in Blake 1969)
of -i, -a and -u stem pronouns or kinship nouns.

	-i	-a	-u
	ŋali*('we two')*	mpaja *('you two')*	puju *('they two')*
ergative	[ŋali: ~ ŋali(j)i]	[mpajai ~ mpajaji]	[pujuju]
dative	[ŋali: ~ ŋali(j)i]	[mpaja:]	[puju: ~ puju(w)u]

   The ergative clearly contains the glide j. In a process model of
phonology, one would take the underlying form of the ergative to be
/-ji/. The dative clearly does not contain a glide, but consists of
lengthening or geminating the final vowel of the stem. Leaving aside
the possibility of considering the dative to be marked by vowel length-
ening, a question taken up below, and considering the dative to be
formed by gemination, we can see that the underlying form in a process
model would be **a**. A rule specifying that the vowel of a suffix must
match the final vowel of the stem if **high**, would then account for the
vowel alternations of both the ergative and dative.

If we decide to omit all phonetically predictable glides from our phonemic level, then, as Alpher points out, we will need to have a morphophonemic rule deleting the j of the ergative from forms like /ŋaḻii/ and /mpajai/. No problem however arises with the dative. If on the other hand we decide to include glides wherever possible, we will have to insert glides in the dative, either by having allomorphs -ji, -a and -wu or via a rule of epenthesis that inserts j before i and w before u. The idea of setting up allomorphs -ji, -a and -wu is clearly contrary to the spirit of what Alpher is suggesting. But given the equivalence rule that states

(a) a sequence of high vowel plus a vowel is equivalent to a sequence of high vowel plus homorganic glide plus vowel

(b) a sequence of low vowel plus high vowel is equivalent to a sequence of low vowel plus glide plus homorganic high vowel

(c) a sequence of glide plus homorganic high vowel at the beginning of a word is equivalent to a high vowel alone

then we have no need to adopt either the 'no glide' or the 'all glide' solution. Under this rule one can freely interchange forms such as /ŋaḻii/ and /ŋaḻiji/. In theory one could write one now and the other another time. To avoid confusion I will use a morphophonemic spelling. This means that the ergative of /ŋaḻi/ will be /ŋaḻiji/ since /j/ appears distinctively with '-u stems' (/puju-ju/), and the dative will be /ŋaḻii/. However, it must be emphasized that this is purely a con- venient convention and not an argument for morphophonemically based phonemicisation.

The anti-passive will be represented as -ji since it appears as -ji following ṯu- 'to cook'.

I will consistently avoid writing initial glides that are homorganic with the first vowel; thus I will write unu 'faeces' not wunu. I choose this example since the question of an initial glide arises again in §7.4. where the relationship of this word to its putative earlier form kuna is dealt with.

There was some phonetic difficulty in phonemicising some sequences involving high vowels. The j of the sequence uji is often weakened or deleted so that uji becomes homophonous with ui. The word kujiri for 'boy' was regularly heard as [kuiri] and it is only on the basis of a very small number of ultra-slow tokens that it has been phonemicised as kujiri.

2.16.   LONG VOWELS OR DOUBLE VOWELS

In the preceding section I discussed the question of whether to
interpret a sequence that was phonetically [ii] or [iji] or [i:] as
/iji/ or /ii/ without discussing the possibility of writing /i:/.

The number of syllables in the stem determines some of the allomorphs
that occur for the ergative/instrumental and the locative. For example,
-ʈu occurs as the ergative of vowel stems of three syllables or more
and -ŋku as the ergative of shorter stems, while -ʈi occurs as the
locative of vowel stems of three syllables or more and -pia with shorter
stems.

macumpa	macumpaʈu	macumpaʈi	*'kangaroo'*
kupu	kupuŋku	kupupia	*'spider'*

Now the allomorphs -ʈu and -ʈi occur with stems containing one short
vowel and one of the vowels or sequences under discussion. Thus we
find

caampa	caampaʈu	caampaʈi	*'kingfisher'*
kaaci	kaaciʈu	kaaciʈi	*'friend'*
ʈitii	ʈitiiʈu	ʈitiiʈi	*'centipede'*

This suggests that the sequences that could be long vowels or double
vowels are in fact treated like double vowels. If we adopt the double
vowel solution then words of the above type fit in with the rule that
distinguishes trisyllabic and longer stems from others. If we adopt
the long vowel solution, then we would have to amend the rule that
determines the ergative/instrumental and locative allomorphs to refer
to stems of three syllables or more plus disyllabic stems containing
one long vowel. Obviously it is simpler to adopt the double vowel
solution though the fact that it is simpler does not mean that it is
correct. There is no guarantee that Kalkatungu speakers prefer simpler
solutions. However, in the absence of any contrary data I will adopt
the double vowel solution. Phonetically the double vowel solution makes
sense as the sequences in question can be pronounced as separate vowels
at least if they are high. It is not normal however for [a:] to be pro-
nounced as separate vowels.

2.17.   STRESS

Stress is realised primarily in terms of loudness as in English.

2.17.1.   *WORD STRESS*

Each word is marked by primary stress on the first syllable. I'm
not sure that there are any other rules for stress within words. I

previously reported (Blake 1969:16-17) that the first syllable of every polysyllabic morpheme received stress and that sequences of more than two unstressed syllables did not occur. I now believe that there is only one phonological rule and that this rule places primary stress on the first syllable of the word. Other secondary stresses may occur but their appearance seems to be sporadic, being determined by tempo and by hesitations and the like. It would be unusual for a secondary stress to fall on a syllable other than the first syllable of a non-word-initial polysyllabic morpheme where such a morpheme occurs, thus t̪úar-kùn̪a would be normal, and a secondary stress on the second or fourth syllable would occur only under contrastive stress. In general secondary stresses occur spaced by one or two unstressed syllables but in fluent speech they hardly occur at all and I'm inclined to think that their occurrence is determined by some natural iambic tendency towards alternating stressed and unstressed syllables rather than as the result of the application of a rule.

Where phonetically long vowels occur in non-word-initial position, they appear to take a strong secondary or even primary stress. However, this impression of stress seems to me to be entirely a side-effect of the length. Thus I would notate jan̪aalu *('language')* as [ján̪a:lu].

2.17.2. *SENTENCE STRESS*

Sentence stress appears to be organised on the same basis as it is in English. The first syllable of the final word in a phonological phrase normally receives the tonic or main stress. If there are more than two words in the phrase, the first (syllable of the first) word receives stronger stress than the other non-final words.

2.18.   PHRASE-FINAL INTONATION

Polar interrogative sentences are marked by rising intonation on the phrase-final word. Non-sentence-final phrases are marked by suspended intonation on the phrase-final word. Other phrases are marked by falling intonation on the phrase-final word.

CHAPTER 3

NOUNS AND PRONOUNS

3.1. THE SYNTACTIC CASES

The basic syntactic system is an ergative one in which nominals in
AGENT (A) function are marked by a suffix (-ṯu or -ŋku) in contradis-
tinction to nominals in PATIENT (P) function and nominals in INTRANSI-
TIVE SUBJECT (S_1) function:

(3.1)   maṟapai   caa   icamaji
        woman   here   laugh

        'The woman laughs'.

(3.2)   maṟapai-ṯu   caa   kunka   ṯumaji-n̲a
        woman -erg *here   stick   break* -past

        'The woman broke the stick'.

However, there are also bound pronouns which may cross-reference
noun phrases and which, in compound and complex sentences and in dis-
course, may co-reference actants in a preceding clause or sentence.
These bound pronouns operate in an accusative system, with one form for
S_1 and A functions and another for P:

(3.3)   maṟapai   caa   icamaji-n̲a-ju
        woman   here   laugh -past-3rd dual

        'The two women laughed'.

(3.4)   maṟapai-ṯu   caa   kunka   ṯumaji-n̲a-ju
        woman -erg *here   stick   break* -past-dual

        'The two women broke the stick'.

There is another method of marking the syntactic relations in a
transitive clause and that is by putting A in the nominative and P in
the dative e.g.:

(3.5)   maṯu   maa-ci   ṯuji
        mother food-dat cook

        'Mother is cooking (food)'

This is used to express indulgence in an activity rather than to express what happened to the PATIENT. In the example above, P is virtually redundant (and hence bracketed in the translation). One is not express-ing what is being done to any particular food, but rather that mother is 'food-cooking'. This example could be contrasted with

(3.6) maṯu-ju   ṯuji   wakaṟi   ŋa-ci-wa-ṯaŋu
       mother-erg *cook* *fish*   *me*-dat-lig-abl
       '*Mother is cooking the fish from my* [sc. *wife*]'.

where the reference is to what is being done with the specific fish that was given to the speaker's wife.

This intransitive-like system of marking is common with ṯu- ('*to cook*') and aṟi ('*to eat*', '*to drink*') and is commonly used where the reference is to an indefinite P or to indulgence in rather than com-pletion of an activity. It is always used when the verb is suffixed by -miṉa (imperfect) and almost always with -ɲcaŋu (habitual). There is a small residue of instances where informants use this construction without any apparent motivation. If questioned about its use, they say that it is the same as the ergative construction and they tend to repeat the queried sentence with the ergative construction.

The intransitive-like system of marking is also found in subordinate clauses, for example in -ɲin clauses (see §4.2.10.), where A in the subordinate clause co-references an actant in the governing clause.

(3.7) ŋa-ṯu   ɲaɲa   maṟapai   iŋka-cin   piḻa-piḻa-a   waṯinti-ji-cin
       I-erg *saw*   *woman*   *go*-part *baby*-dat   *carry*-a/p-part
       '*I saw the woman carrying the baby*'.

Where this intransitive-like marking occurs in a subordinate clause, the verb is marked by the suffix -ji.

The use of intransitive-like case marking parallels similar mechan-isms in a number of other Pama-Nyungan languages. The best known example occurs in Dyirbal and I will follow the precedent set in Dixon ed. 1976 of calling this construction the anti-passive (a/p).

Note that although there is alternation between '-ji' and non-'ji' forms of the verb in subordinate clauses, there is practically no such alternation with independent verbs. In general the -ji form of the verb represents the stem to which past tense, present tense, etc. are affixed. For instance, consider examples (3.5) and (3.6). -ji occurs both in (3.5) (anti-passive construction) and in (3.6) (ergative con-struction). To simplify the glossing, I have treated the base plus -ji as an unanalysed stem.

There are a few examples where this -ji is omitted for no apparent reason.

In the future tense there is alternation between a stem without -ji and one with -ji. Thus *'will hit'* is ḻa-mi but ḻaji-mi in the anti-passive.

In some instances verb forms that are normally dependent are used as independent verbs. In these circumstances there is alternation i.e. the non-'ji' form is used unless there is an anti-passive construction. For example, -ɲcaaja normally marks dependent verbs in purposive/infin-itive-like complement clauses, but it may be used marking an independent verb indicating simple future tense. In this case we find -ɲcaaja suff-ixed to the non-'ji' form e.g. ḻa-ɲcaaja *'to be going to hit'*, unless the anti-passive is used (see example (4.22)).

The imperative and the suffix -mia, indicating 'possibility' (see §4.2.11.) are added to the 'non-ji' form of the verb.

3.2. CASE PARADIGMS

NOUNS

3.2.1. *REGULAR NOUNS*

	Vowel Stems			Consonant Stems
	Stems of 2 Syllables		Stems of more than two syllables	
	- nasal stop cluster	+ nasal stop cluster		
Nominative	kupu *(spider)*	kunka *(stick)*	macumpa *(kangaroo)*	kalpin *(young man)*
Ergative/ Instr	kupu-ŋku	·kunka-ku	macumpa-ʈu	kalpin-tu
Locative I	kupu-pia	kunka-pia	macumpa-ʈi	kalpin-pia
Dative	kupu-u(ja)	kunka-a(ja)	macumpa-a(ja)	kalpin-ku
Locative II	-ŋii			
Causal	As for ergative plus -ŋu			
Ablative	" " locative I " -ŋu			
Allative I	" " dative " -n̪a			
Allative II	" " locative II" -n̪a			
Prolocative	-n̪un (see §3.5.10 for allomorphs)			

The locative -pia and the dative -ku are used with all consonant stems. The ergative also has allomorphs -ʈu with r, n̪ and ḻ stems and -cu with palatal stems as listed in §2.7.

Kinship vowel stem nouns decline in the same way as non-singular pronouns (see §3.2.3.). Thus pupi *'mother's brother'* declines like ŋali *'we two'*, kuḷa *'father'* like mpaja *'you two'* and maṭu *'mother'* like puju *'they two'*.

Note that there is no morphologically distinct class of adjectives. The equivalents of English adjectives are mostly nouns or, in some cases, verbs.

3.2.2. IRREGULAR NOUNS

Nominative	Ergative	Locative	Dative	English
maa	maaṭu	maaṭa	maaci ~ maacuwa	*'food'*
ati	atinṭu	atinṭa	atinci ~ atinçuwa	*'meat'*
mpuu	mpuuku	mpuuka	mpuṛuu(ja)	*'rotten'*
ṇṭuu	ṇṭuuku	ṇṭuuka	ṇṭuṛuu(ja)	*'hole'*
ŋkaa	ŋkaaku	ŋkaaka	ŋkaṛaa(ja)	*'yam'*
muu	muḷu	muḷu	muṛuu	*'camp'*
kuu	kuuŋku	kuuŋka	kuuja	*'water'*
ucan	ucantu	ucanta ~ ucanpia	ucanku	*'fire'*
ulaaṇ	ulaaṇṭu	ulaaṇṭa		*'high(of sun)'*
-ɲin	-ɲintu	-ɲinta	-ɲinku	participle
-wa	-waṭu	-waṭa	-waku	ligative*
-ja	-jaṭu	-jaṭa	-jaku	ligative*
juru	itiji	jurŋu	jurku	*'man'*
ṭuku	ṭukuju	ṭukuŋu	ṭukuu	*'dog'*
jaun	jauntu	jaunŋu	jaunku	*'big'*
maḷṭa	maḷṭaji	maḷṭapia	maḷṭaa	*'mob'*
paḷṭa	paḷṭaŋku	paḷṭiija	paḷṭaa(ja)	*'fork(of tree)'*
kanṭa	kanṭaa	kanṭiija	kanṭaa(ja)	*'head'*
junṭu	junṭaa	junṭiija	junṭuu(ja)	*'arms'*
ŋuḷṭu	ŋuḷṭuŋku	ŋuḷṭiija	ŋuḷṭuu(ja)	*'thighs'*
anṭa	anṭaku	anṭiija	anṭaa(ja)	*'mouth, lips'*

* See §3.5.4., §3.5.11., §5.8.

(cont.)

Nominative	Ergative	Locative	Dative	English
munʈu	munʈuku	munʈiija	munʈuu(ja)	*'face'*
kunkuju	kunkujuḷu	kunkujuɳu	kunkujuu	*'child'*

The locative allomorph -ɳu appears sporadically with regular nouns in place of -ʈi or -pia e.g. ʈuaɳu or ʈuarpia *'snake'*, maṛapaiɳu or maṛapaiʈi *'woman'*.

The locative II is -ɳii for all nouns. The prolocative is of infrequent occurrence, and the range of variants not known (see §3.5.10). The 'compound cases', causal, ablative, allative I and allative II are all formed regularly by the addition of -ɳu or n̪a, except that the ablative of muu is muḷaɳu.

3.2.3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Singular	*'I'*	*'you'*	*'he, she, it'*
Nom	ŋai	ɲini	ḻaa, pakai (see notes below)
Erg	ŋaʈu	ɲinti	ḻiji (see notes below)
Loc I	ŋaiɳu	ɲiniɳu	aḻaɳu
Dat	ŋaci	ɲunku	aḻaa, pakaja
Causal	ŋaciwa	ɲunkuwa	aḻawa
Abl	ŋaiɳuwaɳu	ɲiniɳuwaɳu	aḻaɳuwaɳu
All I	ŋacin̪a	ɲunkun̪a	aḻaan̪a
All II	ŋaiɳiin̪a	ɲiniɳiin̪a	aḻaɳiin̪a

Dual	*'we two'*	*'you two'*	*'they two'*
Nom	ŋaḻi	mpaja	puju
Erg	ŋaḻiji	mpajaji	pujuju
Loc I	ŋaḻiɳu	mpajaɳu	pujuɳu
Dat	ŋaḻii	mpajaa	pujuu
Causal	ŋaḻiwa	mpajawa	pujuwa
Abl	ŋaḻiɳuwaɳu	mpajaɳuwaɳu	pujuɳuwaɳu
All I	ŋaḻiin̪a	mpajaan̪a	pujuun̪a
All II	ŋaḻiɳiin̪a	mpajaɳiin̪a	pujuɳiin̪a

Plural	'we'	'you'	'they'
Nom	ŋata	n̠utu	t̠ina
Erg	ŋataji	n̠utuju	t̠inaji
Loc I	ŋataŋu	n̠utuŋu	t̠inaŋu
Dat	ŋataa	n̠utuu	t̠inaa
Causal	ŋatawa	n̠utuwa	t̠inawa
Abl	ŋataŋuwaŋu	n̠utuŋuwaŋu	t̠inaŋuwaŋu
All I	ŋataan̠a	n̠utuun̠a	t̠inaan̠a
All II	ŋataŋiin̠a	n̠utuŋiin̠a	t̠inaŋiin̠a

There are no occurrences of -ŋii with pronouns and -n̠un occurs with some but not all pronouns, but presumably it can occur with all of them without morphophonemic change.

NOTES ON THIRD PERSON FORMS

Some difficulty was experienced in establishing the third person singular paradigm. The third person singular is normally expressed by zero, at least when it is in S_1, A or P function. The stem aɻa- appears to function as a means of facilitating the expression of third person singular in an oblique function. It does not occur very often and the forms were obtained by paradigmatic elicitation. ɻiji consistently refers to third person singular in A function. I take it to belong to the same paradigm as aɻa-, but since there is a formal discrepancy and since the appearance of ɻiji is redundant from the point of view of information, I have been rather cautious about including it here. Given that third person singular is normally expressed by zero when it is in S_1, A or P function, one would expect the overt form ɻiji to be used only for emphasis. It is true that ɻiji is used for emphasis (see example (3.10) below) but in some instances I can find no apparent motivation for its use. In some cases it is used alongside a noun in A function (examples (3.8) and (3.9)).

(3.8) ɻi-ji   kuu-ŋku   ŋai ŋan̠t̠amaji t̠iinta
       3s-erg rain-erg me   find   in:the:middle
       'The rain caught me in the open'.

(3.9) ɻi-ji   iti-ji-ka   caa   t̠uku ŋa-ci   ɻaji ŋampu-pia
       3s-erg man-erg-Ø   here dog   me-dat hit   behind-loc
       'The man hit my dog from behind'.

In the following example, I assume ɻi-ji is introduced so that the third person can be stressed.

(3.10) ŋa-ṭu patu-ma   pua , ŋai uŋkuḷu   paṭu-ma ḻi-ji-ka
        I-erg call-pres o:sis me young:sib call-pres 3s-erg-Ø
        'I call her pua; she calls me uŋkuḷu'.
        (pua *'older sister'*, uŋkuḷu *'younger sibling'*)

The form ḻaa given as the nominative for this paradigm is particularly
dubious. There is a particle ḻaa which corresponds to the 'meaningless'
English *'now'* or *'well'* as in *'Now we can do one of two things.'* However,
there are a number of instances where ḻaa seems to parallel ḻiji, ḻaa
appearing with nouns in S$_i$ (but not P) function, whereas ḻiji appears
with nouns in A function. Given that the third person is normally ex-
pressed by zero in S$_i$ function, a third person nominative is in a sense
'meaningless' and there is obviously room for confusion with the meaning-
less ḻaa used for *'well'* or *'now'*. Eliciting contrastive examples does
not help, since the informants use the demonstratives in situations
where there is a contrast (or they use nouns). Discussion with the in-
formants does not lead anywhere. It is difficult to obtain direct
explanations of non-lexical forms. The following is a typical example.

(3.11) ḻaa piḷapiḷa waṉti-waṉti ŋai-ŋu
        he child   follow-follow me-loc
        'The kid keeps following me'.

A further complication lies in the fact that pakai also appears to
function as a third singular form. Its form invites comparison with
paawatikaja *'those two'* and paamiakaja *'those'*, however, there is no
evidence that it has any deictic function. It has been recorded only
in the nominative and the dative (pakaja).

-aɲci (also -iɲci and -uɲci)

-aɲci indicates a third person (singular, dual or plural) possessor,
e.g., kuḷa-aɲci means *'his or her father'*. The third person possessor
need not be overtly expressed. -aɲci follows any derivational suffixes
and precedes any case suffix. It seems to occur only with kin terms.

(3.12) wampa   paa   ŋaṭaṯati maṭu-uɲci-ŋu
        girl   there sit   mother-locative
        'The girl is sitting over there with her mother'.

muṉti

The free form muṉti expresses the third person possessor especially
in those instances where there is no overt nominal expressing the
'possessed', i.e. it is usually used like the English possessive pronoun.

(3.13) kuntu   caa ɲun-ku-ka , muṉti caa ŋaaḻakia
        not   here you-dat-Ø *his here back*
        'It's not yours. It belongs to him over here at the back'.

muṉṯi may be inflected. muṉṯiwaṯa *'in his'* and muṉṯiwaṯaŋu *'from his'* has been recorded, but I have not succeeded in eliciting any other cases (see example (3.76)).

3.2.4. *DEMONSTRATIVES*

There are three demonstrative roots: caa, ṉaa, and paa. caa refers to something relatively close to the speaker, paa to something relatively far from the speaker, and ṉaa to something that is neither. There is also a root cipa- which seems to be an alternative to caa in the non-singular. In the singular there is an apparent merger of a caa paradigm and a cipa paradigm.

The dual and plural forms are clearly demonstrative pronouns (corresponding to the demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives of English). The singular forms seem to be partly pronominal/adjectival and partly adverbial. It is difficult to know how to analyse some of the forms e.g. caa seems to be ambivalent between pronominal/adjectival and adverbial. Some of the irregularities in the singular are probably related to this. caŋkaaṯi and caŋkajaŋu, for example, function in an adverbial-like way.

There are some instances of the demonstrative root and the number marker being separately inflected in the non-singular e.g. paŋu watikajaŋu *'from those two'*.

There are a few instances of the regular ergative allomorph -ṯu and the regular causal -ṯuŋu being used instead of -ḷu and -ḷuŋu.

The forms caawatikaja and the alternative cipawatikaja are usually reduced to caatikaja and cipaatikaja.

See also §6.1. and §5.10.2.

Singular	*'this'*	*'this'*	*'that'*
Nom	caa	ṉaa	paa
Erg	cipaji	ṉaji	paji
Loc I	caŋkaaṯi	ṉaŋu	paṉiṯi
Dat	cipaa	ṉau	pau
Causal	cipaja	ṉaja	paja
Abl	caŋkajaŋu	ṉaŋuwaŋu	paŋu
All I	cipaaṉa	ṉauṉa	pauṉa
All II	cipaŋiiṉa	ṉaaŋiiṉa	paaŋiiṉa

(cont.)

Dual	*'these two'*	*'those two'*	*'those two'*
Nom	caawatikaja	ṉaawatikaja	paawatikaja
Erg	caawatikajaḻu	(As for	(As for
Loc I	caawatikajaŋu	caa)	caa)
Dat	caawatikajaa		
Causal	caawatikajaḻuŋu		
Abl	caawatikajaŋuwaŋu		
All I	caawatikajaaṉa		
All II	caawatikajaŋiiṉa		

Plural	*'these'*	*'these'*	*'those'*
Nom	caamiakaja	ṉaamiakaja	paamiakaja
Erg	caamiakajaḻu	(As for	(As for
Loc I	caamiakajaŋu	caa)	caa)
Dat	caamiakajaa		
Causal	caamiakajaḻuŋu		
Abl	caamiakajaŋuwaŋu		
All I	caamiakajaaṉa		
All II	caamiakajaŋiiṉa		

3.2.5. *INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS*

	'who?'	*'what?'*
Nom	ṉani	ṉaka
Erg	ṉantu	ṉakaṯu
Loc I	ṉaniŋu	ṉakaṯi
Dat	ṉanku	ṉakaa
Causal	ṉantuŋu	ṉakaṯuŋu
Abl	ṉaniŋuwaŋu	ṉakaṯiŋu
All I	ṉankuṉa	ṉakaaṉa
All II	ṉaniŋiiṉa	ṉakaŋiiṉa

3.3.   CROSS-REFERENCING BOUND PRONOUNS

Kalkatungu employs bound pronouns in independent clauses and in some
types of dependent clause. The bound pronouns in independent clauses
may simply encode an actant, or co-reference an actant from an earlier

clause or they may occur cross-referencing nouns or free pronouns in
the same clause. I will refer to the bound pronouns in independent
clauses as cross-referencing bound pronouns.

   In general there is a free choice at the information level between
using a bound pronoun, a free pronoun, or a bound pronoun in cross-
reference with a free one. In elicited sentences particularly in ones
given slowly or haltingly, free pronouns are used almost exclusively,
but in more fluent, spontaneous material, bound pronouns, with or without
free ones, are common. If a pronoun is in focus (see §6.7.) or repre-
sents a topic that is contrasted with another topic ('*I* did so-and-so,
but *he* did something else'), then the free forms are used. As might be
expected, the bound forms are not able to be stressed.

   With the verb suffixes -miṇa (imperfect) and -mpa (perfect), the
bound forms for S_1 and A are apparently obligatory and the free forms
optional.

   A full set of S_1/A forms is available. It is clear from the use of
-miṇa and -mpa with first person singular that the first person singular
is represented by zero as is the third person singular, the latter fact
is to be expected of course. With the P forms, only -ŋi and -kin occur
with any frequency. -la and -ta have been elicited paradigmatically
only and no bound P forms have been found for the second and third person
dual and plural, at least not in the indicative. When I made up inde-
pendent indicative sentences with bound forms that represent P in the
imperative and in subordinate clauses, they were rejected.

		S_1/A	P
Sing.	1	-∅	-ŋi
	2	-n	-kin
	3	-∅	
Dual	1	-l	-la
	2	-ṉu	
	3	-(mu)ju	
Pl.	1	-r	-ta
	2	-ṇur	
	3	-na	

-muju (third dual S_1 or A) is used in the present tense and -ju else-
where.

   The free forms mpaja '*you two*', puju '*they two*', ṇutu '*you mob*' and
ṯina '*they*' may be cliticised to the verb, but given the freedom of word
order that is found their appearance in this position is not of the same
significance say of nous and vous appearing before the verb to mark P in

French (i.e. in the special clitic position).

EXAMPLES

(3.14) ṇaka-a   ṇini aṛi-li-miṇa-n?   aṛi-li-miṇa-∅   maa-ci
      what-dat *you* *eat*-a/p-*imperf*-*you*   *eat*-a/p-*imperf*-*I* *food*-dat

      'What are you eating?'   *'I'm eating tucker'.*

With -miṇa 'imperfect' A is marked by the nominative and P by the dative,
i.e. the anti-passive construction is used.

(3.15) ica-ṇin-kin   ṇini muṇtun-tu   ṇini ṇarkumaji-mia
      bite-part-*you* *you*   *bullant*-erg *you*   *vomit*-possibility

      'If you get bitten by a bullant, you might vomit'.

Note that with three-place verbs the P bound forms represent the
RECIPIENT not the PATIENT:

(3.16) ṇini   pa-ji   aṇa-kin
      you   *that*-erg *gave*-*you*

      'That man gave it to you (not *'you to it'*)

With the imperative of intransitive verbs the following forms are
used to mark S_1 (-ja or -ji represents the imperative cf. §2.14).

        singular   iŋka-ji-n   *'Go!'*
        dual   iŋka-ja-mpi   *'You two go!'*
        plural   iŋka-ja-tu   *'You mob go!'*

With the imperative of transitive verbs the following forms represent A.
They are also used to mark S_1 with a few two-place intransitive verbs
such as ŋkuma *'to look for'*.

        singular   ḻa-ja-∅   *'Hit (him, her it)!'*
        dual   ḻa-ja ku-mpi   *'You two hit (him,her,it)!'*
        plural   ḻa-ja ku-tu   *'You mob hit (him,her,it)!'*

Where A is non-singular, P is represented normally by a noun or free
pronoun. Where A is singular (and in this case there is no bound pro-
noun form), then P is represented by a bound pronoun suffixed to ku-:

        1s   ku-ŋi
        1du   ku-la
        3du   ku-ju
        1pl   ku-ta
        3pl   kina
        ḻa-ja kina   *'You (singular) hit them!'*

Note that there may be only one occurrence of ku in an imperative clause.
If A is non-singular the A pronoun is suffixed to ku. If A is singular,
then any overt P pronoun will be suffixed to ku.

With the verb aɲi *'to give'*, the imperative of which is awa, the P
series of bound pronouns refers to the RECIPIENT. In the first person
I have recorded forms with ku and without it:

awaŋi or awa kuŋi	*'You* (singular) *give it to me!'*
awaḻa or awa kuḻa	*'You* (singular) *give it to us two!'*
awata or awa kuta	*'You* (singular) *give it to us mob!'*

The forms kuju and kina are generally confusing since they may refer
to S_1/A in some constructions and to P (or RECIPIENT) in others. For
example, they mark S_1 with intransitive verbs when the imperfect marker
-manṯi is used:

(3.17) kulawaṯara   ŋaṯaṯati-manṯi-kuju
        twin   *sit*-imperfect-dual

        'The twins are sitting together'.

(3.18) juru   ḻa-ti-manṯi-kuju
        man   *hit*-re-imperf-dual

        'The two men are hitting one another'.

kina appears in the favourite construction (§3.4., §4.3.) marking P and
both kuju and kina appear in the 'lest' construction (§3.4., §4.4.)
marking both S_1/A and P. Some light is thrown on the mysterious be-
haviour of kuju and kina in chapter 7 (see §7.5.)

It seems in general only one bound pronoun may occur in an independent
clause. With -miṉa and -mpa the S_1/A series is obligatory. In other
instances, the bound pronouns are used too sparingly for there to be
enough examples to make it clear how it is determined which actant is
to appear as a bound pronoun. The only instances of two bound pronouns
in one independent clause are the sequences -ŋiju or ŋuju for 3du > 1s
and ŋina for 3pl > 1s.

3.4.   CO-REFERENCING BOUND PRONOUNS

Co-referencing bound pronouns occur in two types of subordinate clause,
the "favourite" construction and the "lest" construction.

The favourite construction, which is described in detail in §4.3.,
earns its name from its high functional load and high frequency of
occurrence. It consists of a verb, a particle a- (glossed as comp(le-
mentiser)) to which co-referencing bound pronouns can be suffixed and
noun phrases.

A typical example would be,

(3.19) iŋka-ṉa ŋata   ŋarkun-ku   a-ti   ḻa-ji
        go-past *we*   *wall*-dat   comp-*we* *kill*-a/p

        'We went to kill wallaroos'.

The following pronouns are used in this construction. In the table,
the complementiser a- is shown as well as the pronouns themselves. The
first form on the table appears to be suppletive. Basically it is
probably ḻa, the second a being supplied by the augmentation rule
(§2.11.). In rapid speech it may be prefixed to the verb as ḻa.

		S₁/A	P
Sing	1	ḻaa	aŋi
	2	ani	akin
	3	ai	-
Dual	1	aḻi	akila
	2	aṉu	akumpaja
	3	ailu	(akuju)
Plur	1	ati	akita
	2	aṉur	akutu
	3	aina	(akina)

Normally only one bound pronoun occurs in the favourite construction.
In the transitive instance the choice between representing A or P by a
bound pronoun is determined by a person hierarchy rule (see §4.3.).
Bound pronouns for both A and P in the one clause occur only if one
actant is first singular and the other third non-singular. In these
cases the forms are

1s	>	3 pl	ḻaa kina		1s	>	3 du	ḻaa kuju
3 pl	>	1s	aŋina		3 du	>	1s	?

The forms akuju and akina are bracketed on the table. They are the
expected forms but are constrained from appearing by certain syntactic
rules (see §4.3.). kina does occur, as noted above, but not directly
suffixed to a-.

The "lest" construction is described in detail in §4.4. It occurs
quite often as a complement to the verb *'to fear'* and it will be con-
venient to illustrate it in this function. In one variant, it appears
with a bound pronoun for S₁ suffixed to an auxiliary particle uṉu, or
in another variant it appears with a bound pronoun for A suffixed to
kuṉu (ku + uṉu, uṉu has an apparent free alternant uṉa in the non-sing-
ular).

(3.20) ṛumpi ŋai ŋuji uṉu-n
        fear I   fall lest-you

        'I'm afraid you'll fall'.

(3.21) ṛumpi ṉutu ṭuma kuṉu-r
        fear you break lest-we

        'You're afraid we might break it'.

Note that these bound pronouns do not always have a co-referencing function (see examples above). In another variant of the construction, pronouns representing P are suffixed to ku (without any auxiliary particle uṉu).

(3.22) ṟumpi ŋai ṯuku-juŋu ica ku-ŋi
        fear I   dog-caus *bite me*
        'I'm afraid the dog'll bite me'.

The choice between these variant constructions is determined by a person hierarchy rule and details are given in §4.4. Another variant occurs where the S_1 of the lest clause is third person or where both A and P are third person. In this case an auxiliary particle ana is used and the forms kuju and kina are used to mark a dual or plural S_1 or A:

        ṟumpi ŋai ana ica   'I'm afraid he might bite'.
          "   "   ana kuju ica ' "   "   *they two might bite'*.
          "   "   and kina ica ' "   "   *they (pl.) might bite'*.

In the following table, the forms are shown with (k)unu and ku as well,

		S_1/A	P
Sing	1	(k)uṉu	kuŋi
	2	(k)uṉun	kukin
	3		
Dual	1	(k)uṉul	kula
	2	(k)uṉaṉu	kumpaja
	3	kuju*	kuju*
Pl	1	(k)uṉur	kuta
	2	(k)uṉaṉur	kutu
	3	kina*	kina*

* The explanation of how kuju and kina are to be interpreted appears in §4.4.

There is not a full set of forms for instances where both A and P are to appear as pronouns. There is however, kuṉajin for 1s > 2s (first singular acting on second singular, kuṉajinpaja (1s > 2du) and kuṉajinitu (1s > 2pl). Other "combinations" recorded are

        kunu kina   1s > 3pl
        kunun kina   2s > 3pl
        kunun kuju   2s > 3du
        kuŋiju   3du> 1s
        kuŋina   3pl> 1s

Some remarks by Lardie Moonlight (*'There's some more twists but I forget'*) lead me to believe that there may have been other portmanteau forms like kuṇajin. See also the table in §4.4.

The form kuṇajin is interesting. I refer to it as a portmanteau as I cannot find good synchronic, language-internal reasons for analysing it. However, the clitic for second person singular in P function is -kin and this sometimes appears in a weakened form -jin in combination with the complementiser a-. Thus a-kin may be pronounced [agin] or [ajin]. If we identify the -jin of kuṇajin with the -jin variant of -kin, we are left with -ṇa- as first person singular. -ṇa is the first person singular subject clitic in most of the western Pama-Nyungan languages. It seems that Kalkatungu contains the easternmost example of this form.

3.5. SENTENCES ILLUSTRATING CASE MARKING

3.5.1. *NOMINATIVE - ∅*

The nominative marks citation forms, S_1 and P. It also marks A in the anti-passive construction.

(3.23) kupu   caa   ṯuna
        spider here   run

        'The spider runs'.

(3.24) maṛapai-ṯu kupu   ḻaji-ṇa
        woman-erg spider kill-past

        'The woman killed the spider'.

(3.25) maṛapai ucan-ku   iɲciji-maṉṯi
        woman   wood-dat   chop-imperfect

        'The woman is chopping wood'.

Note that reflexive and reciprocal are marked on the verb by a suffix -ti and verbs so marked are intransitive.

(3.26) aɲi-ti-muju   ca-atikaja
        give-re-they:2 this-dual

        'These two gave one another things'.

The verb aɲi *'to give'* occurs with two constructions. In one, P is in the nominative and the RECIPIENT in the allative. In the other both P and R are in the nominative. As noted in §1.6. R in the latter construction is probably the syntactic P. It is this underlying R that is cross-referenced, not the *'gift'*.

(3.27a) maṛapai-ṯu ati   aɲa   ɲun-kuṇa?
         woman-erg meat   gave   you-allative

         'Did the woman give meat to you?'

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(3.27b) maṟapai-ṯu ɲini ati aɲa-kin?
         woman-erg you meat gave-you

         'Did the woman give you meat?'

3.5.2. ERGATIVE/INSTRUMENTAL -ṯu, -ŋku

The ergative/instrumental (abbreviated erg(ative) for convenience)
marks nominals in A function or INSTRUMENTAL function.

(3.28) wampaḻaṉa ɲini ŋa-ṯu ḻaji-ṉa
        accidentally you I-erg hit-past

        'I hit you accidentally'.

(3.29) juku cipa-ji maiji kuṉṯali-ṯu
        spear this-erg grease fat-erg

        'This (man) greased the spear with fat'.

(3.30) ŋaimi-ja kutu walkaaṯu ṯuku-ju
        chase-imp you lizard dog-erg

        'Chase the lizard with a dog, you mob!'

(3.31) kuṉṯuŋu caaka kupaŋuru-ka canpara-ṯu iŋka
        lame here old man-ø stick-erg go

        'The old man is lame and walks with a stick'.

(3.32) makaṯi ŋai piɲci-ti-ṉa kankaṟi-ṯu
        hand I cut-re-past knife-erg

        'I cut my hand with a knife'.

(3.33) ṉṯia-ku ŋai ŋuji-ṉa
        stone-erg I fall-past

        'I fell over a stone'.

(3.34) wanta ḻa-ja kina ṉaur-ka; ḻi-ja kutu; ŋurkuṉa
        don't hit-imp them child-ø leave-imp you merely

        'Don't hit the kids. Leave them alone. Just

        jaŋaalu-ṯu pati-ja
        language-erg talk-imp

        rouse on them'.

Regarding the last example, note also pati-ɲcaŋu kalkatuŋu-ṯu *'to
call something/someone by such-and-such a word in Kalkatungu'.*

3.5.3. LOCATIVE I -ṯi, -pia

The locative I (referred to simply as the locative for convenience)
marks nominals in LOCATIVE function. In most cases it expresses lo-
cation in place or time, but the complements of certain verbs regularly
appear marked by the locative (e.g. arkunaanati *'to be wild at'*) and
there are a number of metaphorical and idiomatic usages.

(3.35) miḻt̪it̪ati-na ŋai paimara-t̪i
be born-past I Cloncurry-loc

'I was born in Cloncurry'.

(3.36) warampaṭa ɲini-ŋu caa ŋuu pikaja
axe   you-loc here lie near

'The axe is lying near you'.

(3.37) ŋai iŋka-mi t̪aun-kuṉa ŋa-ci mat̪u-ŋu
I go-fut town-all me-dat mother-loc

'I'm going into town with my mother'.

(3.38) ŋai iti-mi   t̪uṉt̪al-ŋara-t̪i
I return-fut month-other-loc

'I'll come back in a month'.

(3.39) at̪i caa ŋa-t̪u aɲa jalkapaṛi-t̪i
meat here I-erg gave boomerang-loc

'I gave him meat in exchange for a boomerang'.

(3.40) maa-t̪a   ŋa-t̪u ut̪imaji
food-loc I-erg consume

'I used it [sc. money] up on food'.

(3.41) wamiḻa-t̪i ɲini ŋa-t̪u at̪iji
sleep-loc you I-erg produce

'I dreamed of you'.

(3.42) ṉaaka jaun-pia-ka wacaḻii-ŋu
this   big-loc-ø   first-adj

'This one is the biggest'(lit. 'first in big(ness)')

(3.43) ḻa-t̪i-muju   caa maṛapai-t̪i
hit-re-they 2   here woman-loc

'They are fighting over a woman'.

To express 'A fought with B over C', the causal is used to express C and the locative to express B.

(3.44) ɲini ḻa-t̪i-ṉa   piḻa-piḻa-ŋara-t̪i
you hit-re-past child-other-loc

'You have been fighting with another kid'.

(3.45) ṉaka-t̪i caa arkunaan-at̪i
what-loc here angry-instransitiviser

'What is he wild at?'

A locative phrase refers to a whole predication ('outer locatives') or to actants in S_1 or P function ('inner locatives'). Where the location of an actant in the A function is to be expressed, a participal phrase qualifying the ergative must be used, the locative referring to the S_1 of the embedded phrase.

(3.46)   wakaṛi   ŋa-ṯu   paa   ṇaṇa   ku-ŋka   ini-ṇin-tu
            fish   I-erg *there* *saw* *water*-loc *be*:present-part-erg
            'I saw a fish when I was at the water'.

Note also that aṛa *('enter')*, juu *('climb on')*, waṉṯi *('follow')* all take locative complements. ṇantii *('bark at')* takes the locative or dative.

Examples of the locative suffixed following the participle -ṇin are given in §4.2.10. and examples of the locative suffixed to tense-marked verbs are given in §5.11.

3.5.4. *DATIVE* -ku *etc.*

The dative case form expresses the DATIVE case relation and it also expresses P in the anti-passive construction.

The form of the dative is -ku with consonant stems, and with vowel stems a vowel that is the same as the final vowel of the stem. However, in slow speech the dative of vowel stems consists of a syllable-ja as well:

	fluent	slow, deliberate
spider	kupu-u	kupu-u-ja
kangaroo	macumpa-a	macumpa-a-ja
breast	mimi-i	mimi-i-ja

-ja is always used if another case suffix is to be added (see §3.5.11.), except in the formation of the allative.

As mentioned in §3.1., Kalkatungu has an anti-passive construction which is used with transitive verbs to indicate indulgence in an activity rather than a specific act of impingement on a PATIENT. In this construction, A is marked by the nominative and P by the dative. It is always used with the imperfect aspect marker -miṇa and almost always with the habitual aspect marker -ṇcaŋu. It is often used with the verbs ṯu- *(to cook)* and aṛị *(to eat, to drink)* in sentences corresponding to English, *'She is cooking'* or *'She is cooking the tea'* where the PATIENT is not the focus and is of low information value.

(3.47)   ŋa-ci   maṯu   maa-ci   ṯuji
            me-dat *mother* *food*-dat *cook*
            'My mother is cooking (food)'.

The verb jakapi when used in the anti-passive construction corresponds to English *'to understand'* or *'to be able to hear'* but when used in the normal ergative construction corresponds to English *'hear, listen to'*. The verb ŋaṉṯama when used in the anti-passive construction corresponds to English *'look for'* and in the ergative construction to *'find'*.

In all recorded instances where a noun in A function is qualified by a clause the verb of which is marked by -maṉṯi 'imperfect', the anti-

passive is used. If A is dual or plural, -maṉṯi is followed by -kuju or kina respectively.

    (3.48)   caa-atikaja ṉaṯaṯati-maṉṯi-kuju ṯuar-ku   ḻaji-ṉa
               this-dual   *sit*-imperf-*they:2*   *snake*-dat *kill*-past
               'These two sitting together killed the snake'.

This use of the anti-passive is in accordance with the general principle of using it in a transitive clause where A co-references an absolutive actant in another clause of the same sentence (see §3.1.). Here ca-atikaja is the S_1 of ṉaṯaṯati and the A of ḻa-.

The dative marks the complement of verbs like waira ṉu- *'to like'* (literally: *heart lie*) and uṯara *'to wait for'*. It is also used to mark the complement of punpati *'to speak'* when reference is made to the name of the language used:

    (3.49)   ṉata punpati kalkatuṉu-u
               we   *speak*   *Kalkatungu*-dat
               'We speak Kalkatungu'.

The complement of punpati may alternatively be expressed in the locative II form: kalkatuṉu-ṉii.

The dative is used to mark the optional complement of a great range of intransitive verbs, usually with the role of purpose:

    (3.50)   wampa iṇka upun-ku
               girl   *go*   *frog*-dat
               'The girl is going for frogs'.

With transitive verbs there do not seem to be any dative complements (in addition to P). All datives occurring with transitive verbs are adnominal. The following sentence can be translated as *'I cooked your fish'* or *'I cooked the fish for you'.*

    (3.51)   ṉa-ṯu ṯuji-ṉa   ṉun-ku wakaṟi
               I-erg *cook*-past *you*-dat *fish*
               'I cooked your fish'.

The dative in a sentence like (3.51) can be separated from its head which is part of a general tendency in Kalkatungu in which modifiers are nominalised and separated from their heads:

    (3.52)   wakaṟi ṉa-ṯu ṉun-ku ṯuji-ṉa
               fish   *I*-erg *you*-dat *cook*-past
               'I cooked your fish'.

As far as I can see the dative case marks only one case relation, viz. DATIVE and covers the roles of possessor, beneficiary and purpose.

The dative complement of an intransitive verb and a dative adnominal to P can be expressed as P by adding the derivational suffix -ɲcama to the stem. See examples in §5.3.7.

(3.53) cuṭu   caa   ɲun-ku
        coolaman here   you-dat

        'The coolaman is yours'.

(3.54) ŋai muṛu-u   n̪a-u
        I   camp-dat *this*-dat

        'I belong to this camp'.

(3.55) ŋata ajar-ku jaŋaalu-u
        we   one-dat *language*-dat

        'We belong to one language'.

3.5.5. *LOCATIVE II*   -ŋii

The suffix -ŋii is rather restricted in semantic scope. It covers the sense of *'on'* as in *'fall on one's back'*, *'lie on one's side'* and it is suffixed to the names of languages in expressions for *'to speak language so-and-so'*. The dative is an alternative for this latter sense.

(3.56) iŋka-cin ŋai mun̪ṭu-ŋii   ŋuji-n̪a
        go-part *I   face*-loc:II *fall*-past

        'Walking along I fell on my face'.

(3.57) ŋata punpati jalaɲɲa-ŋii
        we   speak   Yalarnnga-loc:II

        'We speak Yalarnnga'.

Note also unuŋkaṭi-ŋii *'downwind'*.

-ŋii occurs too infrequently for me to be able to discuss the case relation it expresses. It may express the LOCATIVE, the difference between -ŋii and -ṭi/-pia being semantic.

3.5.6. *CAUSAL* -ṯuŋu, -ŋkuŋu

The causal case covers the sense of indirect cause or reason and most instances could be translated into English by *'because'*. It expresses the CAUSAL relation.

(3.58)   piciri-ṯuŋu ŋai miḻṯi wakini
         pituri-caus *I   eyes   spin*
         'I'm high on pituri'.

(3.59)   ŋai ṟumpi ṉaa iti-jiŋu miḻṯiwakini-ṉin-tuŋu
         I   fear here man-causal*intoxicated*-part-causal
         'I'm afraid of drunken men'.

(3.60)   ati-ṉṯuŋu ŋai maanti-ṉa wakaṟi-ṯuŋu aṟi-li-ṉin
         meat-caus *I   sate*-past *fish*-caus   *eat*-a/p-part
         'I'm full because I ate the fish'.

3.5.7. *ABLATIVE* -ṯiŋu, piaŋu

The ablative covers the sense of "motion away from". It expresses the ABLATIVE relation.

(3.61)   maḻṯa jaṉi waṯara kacapi-ṯiŋu
         many   white emerge plane-ablative
         'A lot of white people got off the plane'.

(3.62)   kunka caa maniji cipa-ji ṯuku-ju caa-miakaja-ŋuwaŋu
         stick here get   this-erg *dog*-erg *this*-plur-abl
         'The dog got the stick from these (people)'.

The ablative phrase refers to actants in S_i or P function in all attested examples.

3.5.8. *ALLATIVE I* -kuṉa, *etc.*

The allative I form, which can conveniently be referred to simply as the allative, covers the RECIPIENT function and the ALLATIVE function. The RECIPIENT can be distinguished on the grounds that it may be alternatively expressed by the nominative (i.e. as P). The RECIPIENT occurs with aṉi *'to give'*, ŋunaŋunaaṉi *'to teach'*, punpati *'to talk to'* and ḻumaṉti *'to explain'*. punpati seems to be unusual in being intransitive but taking a RECIPIENT.

(3.63)   iŋka-ṉa ŋai taun-kuṉa
         go-past *I   town*-allative
         'I went to town'.

(3.64a) maṟapai punpati-ṉa ŋa-ciṉa
         woman   speak-past *me*-all
         'A woman spoke to me'.

(3.64b) maṛapai punpati-ṉa-ŋi
         woman   *speak-past-me*

         'A woman spoke to me'.

(3.65)   ḻumantiji jaŋaaḻu   ŋa-ciṉa cipa-ji
         explain   *language* *me-all* *this-erg*

         'He explains the language to me'.

(3.66)   puṯur caa-ka kanimaiɲcir-ka ṉutu-uṉa ini
         good   *here*   *policemen-ø*   *you-all* *be*

         'The policeman is good to you people'.

(3.67)   ṉṯia ŋa-ṯu iṯiti-ṉa ṯuku-uṉa
         stone *I-erg* *throw-past* *dog-all*

         'I threw a stone at the dog'.

         (If the target is hit, one uses iɲci- *'to hit with a*
          missile' with the missile in ergative and target in
          nominative).

3.5.9. *ALLATIVE II* -ŋiiṉa

The allative II case covers the sense of "towards".

(3.68)   iŋka-ṉa-ju   ṯaun-ŋiiṉa
         go-past-they:2 *town-allative:II*

         'They went towards town'.

(3.69)   waṯaci-ŋiiṉa caaka naɲiji cipa-a   maa-ci   maḻimputi
         fruit-all:II here *look* *this-dat* *food-dat* *drool*

         'He looked towards the fruit licking his lips for the food'.

It may be possible to regard the allative II case form as marking
the ALLATIVE function or case relation. The difference between the
forms may be analogous to the difference between the English prepos-
itions *'to'* and *'towards'* which I would describe as marking the
ALLATIVE relation (*'to'* has other functions as well) but differing in
semantic features.

3.5.10. *PROLOCATIVE* -ṉun

This suffix has a rather restricted function and has been found only
in examples of the following type.

(3.70)   cipa-ji ŋai jakapiji maṯu-iɲci-ṉun
         this-erg *me* *think*   *mother-his-for*

         'He took me for his mother'.

(3.71)   ŋaḻi-ŋaḻi ŋa-ṯu maniji macumpa-ṉun
         wallaby   *I-erg* *take* *roo-for*

         'I mistook the wallaby for a kangaroo'.

(3.72) ŋa-ṭu ɲini jakapiji uḷi-ɲin-an
        I-erg *you* *think* *die*-part-*for*

        'I thought you had died'.

-ṉun has not been observed with any other consonant stems except for
kaipin *'man'* and mulpiɲ *'parrot'* where we find the form kalpinin and
mulpiɲin.

I do not have sufficient data to be able to discuss the case relation
involved.

3.5.11. *DOUBLE CASE MARKING*

Since case marking is applied to all words in the noun phrase and
since the dative has adnominal usages, it is possible that case marking
will need to be added to the constituents of a noun phrase where one is
already marked by the dative (e.g. ŋa-ci maṭu *me*-dat *mother* i.e. *'my
mother')*. The case marking is not added directly to the dative; a
ligative suffix is used. With vowel stems the ligative is -ja, the
form which is sometimes added to the dative even when there is no fur-
ther affixation (see §3.5.4.). With noun consonant stems and with
singular pronouns the ligative is -wa. See also §5.2.3., §5.8.

(3.73) ŋai ŋa-ci-wa-ṭu kunkuju-ḷu aɲa kuu
        me me-dat-lig-erg *daughter*-erg *gave water*

        'My daughter gave me water'.

(3.74) kupaŋuru-u-ja-ṭu   ŋai icaji
        old:man-dat-lig-erg   *me* *bite*

        'The old man's (dog) bit me'.

(3.75) ŋa-ṭu caa ŋaɲa maṛapai maṭu-iɲci-i-ja-ku   ṭu-ji-ɲin
        I-erg *here* *saw* *woman*   *mother-her*-dat-lig-dat *cook*-a/p-part

        maa-ci
        food-dat

        'I saw the woman cooking food for her mother'.

(3.76) muṉṯi-wa-ṭaŋu caŋkajaŋu iṉka maa-ci   ati-ɲci
        his-lig-abl *this:*abl *go* *food*-dat *meat*-dat

        'He is going from his own (camp) for food and meat'.

In some cases where the syntax of the clause requires that a dative
marked phrase be further marked, this further marking is simply omitted.
This is fairly common with the ergative case but not with other cases,

(3.77) ŋa-ci maṭu-ju ṭuku ḻaji-ṉa
        me-dat *mo*-erg *dog* *hit*-past

        'My mother hit the dog'.

However, in some of these instances the modifier (if pronominal) and the head of the phrase are pronounced as one word with the primary stress on the first syllable of the dative constituent. In general it seems to be possible to pronounce the sequence 'pronoun + dative noun' as one word.

There are some instances of the ligative -wa being used when no further suffix follows,

(3.78) maṛapai-ṯu ŋa-ci-wa   ṯuku ḻaji-ṉa
        woman-erg   *me*-dat-lig *dog*   *hit*-past
        'The woman hit my dog'.

This is not quite the same as the optional use of -ja with vowel stems when no further suffix follows.   -ja seems to be characteristic of careful speech, but the use of -wa seems sporadic.

CHAPTER 4

THE VERB

4.1.   VERB CLASSES

Almost all verbs are strictly transitive or strictly intransitive.
However, the verb manii *'to burn'* occurs as an intransitive - ucan
manii *'The wood burns'*, and a transitive - maṛapaiṯu ucan manii *'The
woman burns the wood'*.   Similarly, aṯii occurs as an intransitive -
kuu aṯii *'Rain falls'*, and as a transitive - kacapi-ṯu kuṯu aṯii *'The
hawk lays an egg'*.

Verbs fall into two open classes, one intransitive and the other
transitive, plus a few irregular closed classes.

(a) intransitive (open class)

iŋka	*'go'*	uḻi	*'die'*	ŋu-	*'lie down'*
ṯuna	*'run'*	ṛumpi	*'fear'*	juu	*'go up'*
waṯara	*'emerge'*	ini	*'remain'*	cuŋpa	*'jump'*
aṛa	*'enter'*	iti	*'go back'*		

(b) transitive (open class)

ica	*'bite'*	ṛukupi	*'swallow'*
ḻa-	*'hit,kill'*	iɲci	*'chop'*
ŋka-	*'send'*	piɲci	*'scratch'*
unpi	*'take'*	itinti	*'bring/send back'*

(c) transitive (-ti stems)

iṯiti	*'throw'*	kiakati	*'make'*
waṯukati	*'dig'*	pati	*'tell'*

These verbs are irregular in that the final -i may be omitted before
the suffixes -ɲin, -mi and -mia and also when no suffix follows.   Thus
we find iṯir or iṯiti, itirɲin or iṯitiɲin, etc.   The anti-passive -ji
is suffixed to the stem with i : iṯitiji, iṯitijiɲin, etc.

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These verbs are irregular also in that the imperative forms are
iṯita, waṯukata, kiakata, etc. See also §4.3.

The verb pati is irregular in that it has an imperative pata but it
does not normally drop its final vowel since this would result in a
monosyllabic stem.

(d) transitive and intransitive (-ma stems)

ṯuma	*'break'*
ŋulurma	*'catch hold of, grab'*
ŋkuma	*'look for, find'*
ŋaṉṯama	*'look for'*
icama	*'laugh (at)'*

This seems to be a closed class though there are more members than
are listed here (see glossary). They are irregular only in that the
imperative stem and the 'non-ji' form used in the favourite construct-
ion ends in -mi. Thus ṯumi, ŋulurmi, etc. in the favourite construct-
ion when no anti-passive is used (see §4.3.) and ṯumija, ŋulurmija, etc.
in the imperative.

ṯuma is transitive (the intransitive verb *'to break'* is ṯuti, -ti
probably representing the reflexive/reciprocal marker) as is ŋulurma.
ŋaṉṯama is transitive but frequently occurs in the anti-passive when
it corresponds to *'look for'* as opposed to *'find'*. ŋkuma is intransi-
tive but it is almost always used with an overt complement in the dative.
icama is intransitive and may take a locative complement. All verbs of
this class show alternation between forms with -ji and forms without -ji
irrespective of transitivity. Thus one finds forms like ŋkumaji where
one would find icaji *'to bite'* and ŋkuma where one would find ica. A
verb like ŋkuma takes the distinctly transitive forms in the imperative
for non-singular actor e.g. ŋkumija kuṯu *'You mob look for it'*.

(e) transitive (-wa stems)

present	past	future	imperative	
aɲi	aɲa, aŋa	aɲi	awa	*'give'*
ṉaɲi	ṉaɲa	ṉaɲi	ṉuwa	*'see, look'*

(f) transitive (-la stems)

These verbs take an imperative in -la and an anti-passive in -ḻi.
aṟi *'eat'* and ŋkaa *'spear, stab'* also have some other irregular inflec-
tions as shown below. See also section (g). For each entry in the
following table the anti-passive forms are given immediately below the
basic forms.

present	past	future	imperative	
aṛi, aṛima	aṛimu	aṛimi	aḷa (sic)	*'eat'*
aṛili	aṛiliṉa	aṛilimi		
ciaji	ciajiṉa	ciami	ciiḷa	*'take out, take off'*
ciaḷi	ciaḷiṉa	ciaḷmi(sic)		
ŋkaaja, ŋkaama	ŋkaajiṉa	ŋkaami	ŋkaaiḷa	*'spear'*
ŋkaaḷi	ŋkaaḷiṉa	ŋkaaḷimi		
maiji	maijiṉa	maimi	maiḷa	*'rub'*
maiḷi	maiḷiṉa	maiḷmi(sic)		
ṉṯiaji	ṉṯiaṉa	ṉṯiami	ṉṯiiḷa	*'sharpen'*
ṉṯiaaḷi	ṉṯiaaḷiṉa	ṉṯiaaḷimi		

The verb aaḷ *'to leave'*, *'to put down'* has been recorded in the forms aaḷ (present), aaḷmi (future) and aaḷa (imperative).

The imperfect aspect marker -miṉa takes the same anti-passive stem forms as -mi. Thus we find aṛilimiṉa but maiḷmiṉa.

The forms for *'eat'* presented considerable phonetic difficulty. Earlier I notated them as ai and aiḷi. Gavan Breen pointed out to me that I had misheard aṛili as aiḷi, transferring the retroflection to the following l. On checking the non-anti-passive form, we found it was aṛi, the ṛ being difficult to pick up on the few tokens available. By analogy with the other verbs in this group the anti-passive of aṛi should be aṛiḷi. Perhaps it is, but we find it difficult to hear ḷ as well as ṛ. Perhaps *ḷ has dissimilated to l.

See also §4.3. for the '-ji' and 'non-ji' forms of these verbs used in the favourite construction.

(g) (miscellaneous)

The verbs ḻi- (*'to relinquish'*), juu (*'to go up'*), aṛi (*'to eat'*) and ŋkaa (*'to spear'*) take an optional present tense -ma, and aṛi occurs with a past tense -mu. It is worth noting that the present tense and past tense in Yalarnnga are -ma and -mu respectively. There is a verb form patuma (*'to tell, to call someone something'*) for which no paradigm can be constructed (cf. pati *'to tell'*). There is also a defective verb mitaa, the imperative being the only form that occurs. It means *'give!'*. Perhaps it could be considered a particle rather than a verb.

The verb ḻua- (*'to leave behind, to relinquish'*) occurs with past tense ḻuajina, future ḻuajimi. The imperative is supplied by ḻija the imperative of ḻi-.

ṯu- (*'cook, burn'*) has a has a non anti-passive stem ṯi-.

4.2. TENSE AND ASPECT SUFFIXES

4.2.1. - Ø PRESENT

The present tense form covers much the same semantic range as the present tense in English i.e. it covers the sense of action in the present and habitual action. In some cases it is used to refer to past time.

(4.1)   ṭuar   caa   nṭuu-ka   aṛa
        snake   here   hole-loc *enter*
        'The snake is going into the hole'.

(4.2)   ṭitiri   caa   waṭara maḷṭa kuu   aṭii-ɲin-ta
        centipede here emerge many water   fall-participle-loc
        'Centipedes appear in great numbers when it rains'.

4.2.2.   -ṉa PAST

The past tense form corresponds to the past tense of English, except that the present tense form may also refer to the past.

(4.3)   ŋkaṛa-a ŋkumaji-ṉa-na
        yam-dat *seek*-past-*they*
        'They looked for yams'.

4.2.3.   -mi FUTURE

The future tense covers the range of English *'will/shall'* and *'to be going to'*. The simple future is formed by adding -mi to the 'non-ji' form of the verb. When the anti-passive construction is used, the suffix -mi is added to the '-ji' form of the verb and the reference is to continuing present activity into the future:

(4.4)   kuntu ŋa-ṭu   ḻa-mi
        not   I-erg   *hit*-fut
        'I'm not going to hit him'.

(4.5)   kuntu ŋai ḻa-ji-mi   kuḷukuḷu
        not   I   hit-a:p-fut   *again*
        'I'm not going to hit him again'.

(4.6)   kuntu ŋai ŋkaṛa-a   ŋanṭama-ji-mi
        not   I   yam-dat   *look:for*-a:p-fut
        'I'm not going to keep on looking for yams'.

In Blake 1969:53 it is reported that "object markers" suffixed to ku occur with -mi. However, this seems to be true only if some apprehension is being expressed e.g. *'I'm frightened they'll hit me'*. In other words the use of an object marker suffixed to -ku with the future is a variant of the 'lest' construction described in §4.4. In particular see example (4.107).

4.2.4. -miṉa IMPERFECT I

The S_1/A bound pronouns are always used with miṉa and A always appears in the nominative and P in the dative.

(4.7) ŋarpa-ṯi ɲini ini-miṉa-n
        other-loc *you* *remain-imperf-you*
        'You're living with someone else'.

(4.8) ɲini ḻaiʌmiṉa-n   jur-ku a-i   uʌcinṯa
        you *hit-imperf-you* *man-dat* *comp-he bleed*
        'You are hitting him and making him bleed/so that he's
        bleeding'.

4.2.5. maṉṯi IMPERFECT II

-maṉṯi is used to indicate an ongoing state or activity. It is used in independent clauses and it is used to mark intransitive verbs of subordinate clauses which qualify nominals (see example (4.10)).

If the S_1 of a subordinate clause marked by -maṉṯi is dual or plural, it is marked by kuju or kina respectively (see examples (4.13) and (4.14)). If the nominal qualified by a -maṉṯi clause is in A function and is non-singular, it is marked by the nominative and P appears in the dative (see example (4.13)); i.e. the anti-passive construction is used.

Note that case suffixes may be added to -maṉṯi (example (4.11)). Compare -ɲin (§4.2.10.).

(4.9) kua-ḻaŋu caa kuu muṉṯu-waṯintiji-maṉṯi
        creek-abl *here water face-carry-imperfect*
        'She is bringing water from the creek'.
        (muṉṯu indicates direction towards the speaker)

(4.10) ŋa-ci kuḻa-ji aŋka-maṉṯi-ṯu ḻaji caa ṯuŋumpiri
        me-dat *fa-erg* *ail-imperf-erg* *hit here bad*
        'My sick father hit the bad man'.

(4.11) ŋai iŋka piɲcamu-waṯara-maṉṯi-ŋiiṉa
        I   go   sun-emerge-imperf-allative II
        'I am going towards the rising sun'.

(4.12) paa ŋai piḻa-piḻa-ja ŋaɲiji iŋka-maṉṯi-i
        there I   child-dat   see   go-imperf-dat
        'I'm watching that kid walking'.

(4.13) caa-(w)atikaja ŋaṯaṯati-maṉṯi-kuju ṯuar-ku   ḻaji-ṉa
        this-dual   sit-imperf-dual   snake-dat kill-past
        'These two sitting together killed a snake'.

(4.14) ɲin-ti caa ṯumaji-mpa-n kunka raɲci-maṉṯi-kina-ka
        you-erg here break-perf-you stick   lie-imperf-plur-ø
        'You've broken the sticks that were lying about everywhere'.

4.2.6. -ɲcaŋu HABITUAL

The semantic range of -ɲcaŋu can be determined from the following examples. Note that in transitive clauses the anti-passive construction is used (cf. §3.1.).

(4.15) wii   ɲini   wani-ɲcaŋu   warma-a
    query you   play-habit *dance*-dat
    'Do you dance?'

    kuntu ŋai wani-ɲcaŋu   *'No, I don't'.*

(4.16) ɲini ʈuji-ɲcaŋu maa-ci, kuntu ŋai ʈuji-mia
    you cook-habit *food*-dat *not   I   cook*-poss
    'You (can) cook, but I can't'.

(4.17) caa-(w)atikaja ŋuḷi   ʈapantu-ʈu ḻa-ti-ɲcaŋu-ju
    this-dual   *always foot*-erg   *hit-re*-habit-*they:2*
    'These two are always kicking one another'.

(4.18) maḻʈa-ŋujan maṛapai-ka iŋka-caŋu-na ŋkaṛa-a
    much-times   woman-ø   *go*-habit-*they yam*-dat
    'Often the women used to go for yams'.

(4.19) ŋai ciʈaanmaji-ɲcaŋu ŋa-ci-wa-ku   ŋaur-ku-wa,
    I   look-after-habit *me*-dat-lig-dat*kid*-dat-ø

    putaɲiti-ɲcaŋu
    feed:up-habit
    'I look after my kid and feed him up'.

4.2.7. -ɲcaaja PURPOSIVE

Note that all of the examples can be parallelled by the favourite construction (see §4.3.). -ɲcaaja is almost certainly analysable as -ɲca (as in -ɲcaani and -ɲcaŋu) and the dative -aja, but I doubt if it is worth making this analysis from the point of view of explaining how the grammar functions. There are some examples of -ɲcaaja as a main verb indicating purposive or simply future time.

(4.20) ŋata iŋka maa-ci aṛi-ḷi-ɲcaaja
    we   go   food-dat *eat-a/p*-purposive
    'We are going to eat (food)'.

(4.21) ucan caa aɳpa-ja   maa-ci   ʈuji-manti-caaja   (For manti
    wood here gather-imp *food*-dat *cook-with*-purposive see
    'Gather some wood to cook (food) with'.   §5.3.6.)

(4.22) muɳʈuŋara ŋa-ʈu aɲi-ɲcaaja ʈuku
    other   I-erg *give*-purp *dog*
    'I'm going to give it to the other dog'.

(4.23) kanimajiɲciʈu   ŋaḻi muɳʈunati ḻa-ti-ɲcaaja
    policeman:erg *us:2 prevent   hit-re*-purp
    'The policeman stopped us from fighting'.
    (Compare example (4.88)).

(4.24) ɲini iŋka-n̪a n̪aun̪a ḻa-ɲcaaja
        you   go-past *hither hit*-purp
        'You came to get belted'.

Note the operation of the anti-passive in these examples. The anti-passive is used in subordinate clauses when A of the subordinate clause co-references an actant in an absolutive relation in the governing clause. It is used in (4.20) since A co-references S_1. It is not used in (4.21) since A co-references A. Note that if the anti-passive marker had been used in (4.21) it would have occurred between -man̪ti and -caaja. The -ji of ṯuji is not significant. For some strange reason the -ji form is always used before -manti (the function of which is described in 5.3.6.).

In (4.22) the verb marked by -ɲcaaja is independent. In these circumstances no -ji is used.

In (4.24) P co-references S_1 so no anti-passive is required.

Although my examples indicate that the anti-passive is used when A co-references S_1 or P as opposed to A, I do not have examples to indicate what happens when A co-references an actant in an oblique case.

4.2.8. -ja *IMPERATIVE*

The forms of the imperative have been dealt with in §3.3. The following sentences illustrate the singular, dual and plural with both intransitive and transitive verbs.

(4.25) paɲca-ja   ŋulurmi-ja ana ŋuji
        intensive-imp *hold*-imp   *lest fall*
        'Hold him tight or he might fall'.
        (the verb paɲca- has no direct equivalent in English. It corresponds roughly to the intensive adverb *'very'* in semantic range)

(4.26) iŋka-ji-n!   iŋka-ja-u   n̪a-cin̪a
        go-imp-*you*   *go*-imp-*hither* *me*-allative
        'Come! Come here to me!'

(4.27) iŋka-ji-n̪ṯu-mpi   jaɲkan̪a
        go-imp-*away-you:2* *alone*
        'Go away on your own you two!'

(4.28) ṯuna-ji-n̪ṯu-tu   pan̪aan̪ṯun!
        run-imp-*away-you* *far:over*
        'You mob run away over there!'

(4.29) wan̪ta ḻa-ja   kin̪a
        don't hit-imp *them*
        'Don't hit them'.

(4.30) ŋuwa   kumpi-ka! l̪aa kumpaja!
        look-imp *you:two-ø* *kill you:two*

        'Look out you two! It might kill you'.

        (See §4.4. for the construction of the second clause.)

(4.31) maa caa ṉutu-ju aḻa   kutu
        food here you-erg *eat:*imp *you:*plural

        'You mob eat up this food'.

(4.32) cit̪aanmi-ja   kina ṉaur
        look after-imp *them kid*

        'Look after them kids'.

(4.33) punpati-ja-ŋi
        talk-imp-*me*

        'Talk to me'.

kuju and kina refer to the RECIPIENT of three place verbs.

(4.34) paa-(w)atikaja ʌuwati awa   kuju
        they-dual   *two   give:*imp *them:*dual

        'Give it to them two'.

(4.35) mal̪t̪a juru paa-miakaja ini,   awa   kina
        mob   man   they-plur   *be:*present *give:*imp *them*

        'They're a big mob. Give it to them'.

4.2.9. -mpa (a) PERFECT (b) SEQUENTIAL

   -mpa has been glossed as 'perfect' on the basis of its usage in
single sentences where it indicates the completion of an activity or
state. In successive sentences of narrative, it simply refers to actions
performed in sequence and has been glossed as seq(uential).

(4.36) ɲini ucan-tu maniji-ṉa   ɲini japacara-t̪ati-ṉa-mpa-n?
        you fire-erg *burn*-past. *you well*-intr-past-perf-*you*

        'You got burnt in the fire. Are you well again?'

(4.37) wili ɲin-ti   waku ciaji-mpa-n?
        query you-erg *skin take:out*-perf-*you*

        'Have you cleaned [sic] the skin?'

(4.38) caa ŋa-t̪u maniji t̪uar-ka jaṟari maniji-mpa l̪aa
        here I-erg *get   snake-ø tail   get*-seq   *then*

        'I got the snake, got the tail and then I whizzed

        wakini l̪aji-mantiji-mpa mu-l̪u
        spin   hit-with-seq   *ground*-loc

        it around and cracked it on the ground'.

(4.39) caa ŋa-t̪u ununtuji macumpa-ka, unuṟicuṟuna it̪it̪i-mpa
        here I-erg *gut   kangaroo-ø   guts   throw*-seq

        'I gutted the kangaroo and then I threw the guts away'.

(4.40)   ɲini   iŋka-n̪a   ŋain̪i   iti-n̪a-mpa-n
          you   *go*-past   *later*   *return*-past-perf-*you*

          '*You went and then you came back later*'.

4.2.10. -ɲin PARTICIPLE

-ɲin (with a variant -cin after stems with a nasal-plus-stop cluster) occurs both in subordinate clauses and independent clauses. The label "participle" is suggested on the basis of typical examples such as:

(4.41)   ŋa-t̪u   ŋaɲa macumpa aṛi-li-ɲin   kat̪ir-ku
          I-erg   *saw* *roo*   *eat* a/p-part *grass*-dat

          '*I saw the kangaroo eating grass*'.

Here it corresponds to the English present participle. It also exhibits another participle-like property in that it facilitates the addition of case forms to verb stems:

(4.42)   jaṛikajan-ati-ɲin-tu   caa   ŋa-t̪u   ḻaji
          hungry-intr-part-erg   *here* *I*-erg   *kill*

          '*Being hungry I killed it*'.

However, -ɲin may be used as a finite verb form in independent clauses:

(4.43)   kupaŋuru-t̪u   ŋaima-ɲin
          old man-erg *chase*-part

          '*The old man is giving chase*'.

When used to form a finite verb, -ɲin appears to be non-specific as to tense and aspect. Examples occur in which the reference is to present or past time and to imperfect, perfect or punctiliar aspect. The translation of the immediately preceding example is on the basis of the situation and the speaker's translation. For similar examples see the texts.

When A of a -ɲin clause co-references an actant the anti-passive is used in the -ɲin clause. See examples (4.45) and (4.48).

The only examples in which a -ɲin clause qualifies the A of the governing clause involve -ɲin suffixed to an intransitive verb as in (4.42) above.

-ɲin commonly occurs with both transitive and intransitive verbs in clauses qualifying the P of the governing clause:

(4.44)   t̪uat̪u   pa-ji   maṛapai icaji iŋka-ʌ-iŋka-cin
          snake:erg *that*-erg *woman*   *bite* *go*-lig-*go*-part

          '*The snake bit the woman as she was walking along*'.

(4.45)   ŋa-t̪u   ḻaji   juru   n̪it̪a-ji-ɲin   ŋa-ci-wa-ku   jalkapaṛi-i
          I-erg *hit*   *man* *steal*-a/p-part *me*-dat-lig-dat *boo*-dat

          '*I hit the man for stealing/ as he was stealing/ who stole*

          my boomerang'.

(4.46)   kuni-ja caa ŋarpa a-i   ŋaɲi-ji piɲci-cin-ku macumpa-a
         call-imp *here other* comp-*he* see-a/p *cut*-part-dat *roo*-dat

         '*Call the other one to see the kangaroo when it is cut up*'.

It also occurs qualifying a DATIVE complement:

(4.47)   ŋkumaji ŋai-ka ṯumpaki-i pa-ji   kupaŋuru-ṯu uṯijakapi-
         seek   *I*   *tobacco*-det *that*-erg *old:man*-erg *lose-part-*

         ɲin-ku
         dat

         '*I'm looking for the tobacco the old man lost*'.

-ɲin occurs with both transitive and intransitive verbs qualifying
the S_i of the governing clause:

(4.48)   ŋai unuani ɲun-ku ŋaɲi-ji-ɲin
         I   *rejoice you*-dat *see*-a/p-part

         '*I'm happy to see you (happy at seeing you)*'.

(4.49)   kuntu caa ḻuŋa-ṉa   ŋa-ṯu ḻa-ɲin-ka
         not   *here cry*-past *I*-erg *hit*-part-ø

         '*He didn't cry when I hit him*'.

(4.50)   iŋka-ʌ-iŋka wampa ḻuŋa-ɲin
         go-lig-*go*   *girl cry*-part

         '*The girl is walking along crying*'.

A -ɲin clause may modify another clause without there being an actant
common to the -ɲin clause and the main clause. In such instances the
anti-passive naturally enough will not occur with the -ɲin verb:

(4.51)   unuani-ṉa   ŋai-ka ɲin-ti   ḻa-ɲin   caa   ṯuar-ka
         rejoice-past *I*-ø   *you*-erg *kill*-part *here* *snake*-ø

         '*I was glad you killed the snake*'.

-ɲin is commonly supported by the addition of -ta, which I take to be a
locative allomorph – see §3.2.2. when the participial clause has this
adverbial function:

(4.52)   kuntu aṯii-ɲin-ta,   caa-ka uḻi-mi
         not   *fall*-part-loc   *here*-ø *die*-future

         '*If it doesn't rain, it will die*'.

(4.53)   maa-ci ŋai aṛi-ḻi-ɲin-ta   ununkaṯi-ka jaun ṯuna
         food-dat *I* *eat*-a/p-part-loc   *wind*-ø   *big*   *blow*

         '*While I was eating, a strong wind was blowing*'.

The use of the anti-passive in the first clause of (4.53) is seman-
tically not syntactically motivated.

4.2.11. -mia *POSSIBILITY*

-mia will be glossed as poss(ibility). It means '*might*' or '*can*'.
The combination of the negative and -mia means '*cannot*'. In complex

sentences combined with an indication of past time, it is used to express the irrealis *'would have'*.

(4.54)   ŋai makaṯi-jan kari-ti-mia
            I   hand-con   wipe-re-poss

            'I've got a hand to wash myself (I don't want you touching me)'.

(4.55)   kuntu puju ŋai kapani-ɲin-ka, ŋai jaṟikajan-ati-mia
            not if   I hunt-part-∅   I   hungry-intr-poss

            'If I don't go hunting, I might get hungry'.

(4.56)   maṉu-ṯati ŋai makaṯi watiṉa, kuntu ŋulurmaji-mia
            weak-intr I   hand   both   not   hold-poss

            paɲcaji-mia
            very-poss

            'My hands have become weak; I can't hold it tight'.

(4.57)   ŋa-ṯu ɲini cajaṉa ̣ḷa-mia, kuntu iŋka-cin-ta kanimaiɲcir-ka
            I-erg you formerly hit-poss not go-part-loc policeman-∅

            'I would've hit you if the policeman had not come'.

(4.58)   kuntu puju ɲini iti-ṉa   caa-miakaja-ḷu a-ɲi-na
            not if you return-past this-pl-erg   comp-me-they

            ḷa-mia
            hit-poss

            'If you hadn't come back, they would've hit me'.

            (See §4.3. for the construction illustrated in the second clause.)

4.2.12. -ma

    The following verbs appear with a present tense suffix -ma. It coincides in form and function with Yalarnnga -ma, but what its exact status in Kalkatungu is I'm not sure.

        patu-ma   *'to instruct, to tell someone to do something'*

        juu or juu-ma   *'to climb'* (-∅ and -ma both occur)

        aṟi or aṟi-ma   *'to eat'*

        ḷii-ma   *'to leave'* (transitive), *'to relinquish'*
                        (see note at end of §4.1.)

4.2.13. -mu

    The following verb appears with a past tense -mu, which coincides in form and function with Yalarnnga -mu.

        aṟimu   *'ate'*

4.3. THE FAVOURITE CONSTRUCTION

Kalkatungu employs a construction in which there is a particle a-, glossed as comp(lementiser), to which bound pronouns are suffixed. This construction occurs as a complement to verbs and to nouns and is used to express purpose, result and indirect commands. The following is a typical example:

(4.59)   maṟapai iŋka-ṉa   ŋkaṟa-a   a-i   waṯukati-ji
         woman   *go*-past *yam*-dat comp-*she* *dig*-a/p
         'The woman went to dig yams'.

This construction carries a high functional load and occurs with very high frequency so for convenience of reference I have labelled it "the favourite construction". Besides occurring as a dependent clause, it may also be used independently. This usage is dealt with at the end of the section.

The verb of the favourite construction is probably finite but in the nature of things there is little requirement for tense and aspect to appear. -mia (possibility) is the only suffix to appear in the favourite construction except for one isolated case with -ṉa (past) and one with -miṉa (imperfect).

The bound pronoun or pronouns that occur in the favourite construction typically co-reference an actant in the governing clause, but they may represent a new actant (one not present even covertly in the main clause) or they may cross-reference an actant of the dependent clause.

In general only one actant may be encoded by a bound pronoun in the dependent clause and the choice as to which actant is to be encoded is made according to a person hierarchy rule. First person is given precedence over second and third, and second over third. If, however, one actant is first singular and the other third non-singular, then both may be encoded by bound pronouns:

(4.60)   iŋka-ṉa   a-ŋi   ḻaa
         go-past   comp-*me* *hit*
         'He came to hit me'.

(4.61)   kuntu   ŋai   iŋka-ṉa   ɲun-ku   ḻaa   ḻa-ji
         not   *I*   *go*-past   *you*-dat comp:*I* *hit*-a/p
         'I didn't come to hit you'.

(4.62)   iŋka-ṉa ɲini ṯina-a   a-ni   ḻa-ji?
         go-past *you* *they*-dat comp-*you* *hit*-a/p
         'Did you go to hit them?'

(4.63)   waira ŋai ɲuu a-ŋi-na   ŋuwa
         heart *me* *lie* comp-*me-they* *see*
         'I want them to see me'.

(4.64) ŋai waira ŋuu paa-miakaja-a ḻaa   kina ḻaa
        me   heart lie that-plural-dat comp:*I them hit*

        'I want to hit them'.

In the last example kina is a clitic form for third person plural
in P function distinct from the free form ṭina. The sequence ḻaa kina
ḻaa is usually pronounced ḻakínaḻa in rapid tempo. The second a in
ḻaa (complementiser plus first person subject) and in ḻaa (*'hit'*) is
an augment required when these forms are pronounced as separate words.

Where there are three actants involved in the dependent clause the
P forms refer to the RECIPIENT not the PATIENT. Normally it will be
the case that the PATIENT of a three-place verb will be third person
and the RECIPIENT will often as not be first or second person. I have
no examples of a first or second person PATIENT with a third person
RECIPIENT.

(4.65) iŋka-ṉa a-ŋ-awa   (ᵹa-ŋi-awa)
        go-past   comp-*me-give*

        'He came to give it to me'.

(4.66) waira ŋai ŋuu ḻaa   kin-awa (ᵹḻaa kina awa)
        heart I   lie comp:*I them-give*

        'I want to give it to them'.

If both A and P (or the RECIPIENT in the case of a three-place verb)
are third person, then A must be represented by a bound pronoun never
P,

(4.67) iŋka-ṉa a-ina   ṇuwa
        go-past   comp-*they see*

        'He came for them to have a look at him'.

If there is only one bound pronoun in the dependent clause and if it
represents A, then the anti-passive construction is used whenever A co-
references S_i or P.

As mentioned in §3.1., the anti-passive construction is one in which
A appears in the nominative and P in the dative and in which the verb
is marked by -ji. However, some verbs are irregular in their non-ji
forms, exhibiting in most cases a form homophonous with the imperative:

        -ji form   non -ji form

        ṇaṉiji   ṇuwa   *'see'* (see examples (4.67),(4.71))
        aṉiji   awa   *'give'*(see examples (4.65),(4.66))
(but ṇaṉi and aṉi are used in constructions other than the favourite
one)

        ŋulurmaji   ŋulurmi   *'catch'*

(similarly all other verbs in -ma)

aṛili	ala	'eat'
ṇṭiaḷi	ṇṭiila	'sharpen'
ciaḷi	ciil(a)	'take out of'
ŋkaaḷi	ŋkaaila, ŋkaa	'spear'
maiḷi	mai, maiḷ(a)	'rub, paint'
aaḷi	aaḷ(a)	'put down, place'
ṭuji	ṭi-	'cook, burn'

(but ṭu- in other constructions e.g. ṭu-ɲcaja)

iṭitiji	iṭita	'throw'

(similarly with other -ti stems)

The following examples illustrate some of the co-referencing possibilities.

A co-references S_1 (anti-passive required).

See example (4.61).

S_1 co-references A (anti-passive in governing clause).

On the basis of a small number of examples it seems that where S_1 co-references A in the governing clause, the anti-passive is used in the governing clause:

(4.68) caa juru cipa-a sædəl-ku maniji a-i iŋka
this man *this*-dat *saddle*-dat *get* comp-*he go*

puiliṭi-ija a-i ŋukupuni-ji
bullock-dat comp-*he muster*-a/p

'This man got the saddle to go to muster the cattle'.

A co-references P (anti-passive required).

(4.69) ŋa-ṭu ɲini pati-ṇa ṭaṇṭu-u a-ni waṭukati-ji
I-erg *you* *tell*-past *hole*-dat comp-*you dig*-a/p

'I told you to dig a hole'.

A co-references A (no anti-passive).

(4.70) ŋa-ṭu ŋaɲa paa kanimajiɲcir ŋulurma-ji-ɲin juṇṭu-u
I-erg *saw* *there policeman* *grab*-a/p-part *arm*-dat

a-i itinti a-i aṇṭakami
comp-*he bring:back* comp-*he lock:up*

'I saw the policeman grab him by the arm and/to take him back and/to lock him up'.

Note that in (4.70) A in the second clause appears in the nominative because the anti-passive is used. A in the second clause co-references P in the first clause so this is to be expected. Actually A does not appear in the second clause, but its case form can be deduced from the presence of the dative for juṇṭu and -ji- on the verb. Note that A in the third clause co-references an A that is in the nominative and that no anti-passive A is used in the third clause. Normally no anti-

passive is used where A co-references A but one might have thought that if the anti-passive construction was intransitive then A in the third clause would be co-referencing S_1 in the second.

Unfortunately one cannot argue conclusively that the anti-passive involves a change of case marking but not a change in case relations (transitive to intransitive construction), since the rule for the use of the anti-passive could be framed on the basis of underlying or semantic case relations. In the fourth clause no anti-passive is used because A co-references A. Note in this instance A in the third clause is nominative because it is represented by a bound pronoun but if a noun had been used then the form would have been ergative.
A co-references ALLATIVE (no anti-passive)

(4.71) ŋa-ṯu ɲun-kuṉa piipa itintiji a-ni   ṉuwa
        I-erg *you*-all *book* *bring*   comp-*you* *see*
        'I brought you a book for you to have a look at'.

Where A co-references the RECIPIENT of the verb aɲi (*'to give'*), examples can be found with and without the anti-passive.
A co-references RECIPIENT (anti-passive in some instances)

(4.72) ŋai ŋa-ci-wa-ṯu   kunkuju-ḻu aŋa kuu ḻaa   aia
        me   *me*-dat-lig-erg *daughter*-erg *gave* *water* comp:*I drink*
        'My daughter gave me water to drink'.

See also example (4.81). The verb in (4.81) ŋunaŋunaaɲi, is a compound of ŋunaŋuna and aɲi.

In all the available examples R is in the nominative (and probably syntactically the PATIENT), not in the allative.

In some instances the presence or absence of the anti-passive is critical from the information point of view. Compare the following for example:

(4.73) ṉa-uṉa   iŋka-ṉa a-i   ṉuwa
        here-all *go*-past comp-*he* *see*
This could be translated as *'He came here for someone to see','He came here to be seen'*, *'He came here so that he could see him'*, but in the last case the second *'he'* could not be co-referential with the first.

(4.74) ṉa-uṉa   iŋka-ṉa a-i   ɲaɲi-ji
        here-all *go*-past comp-*he* *see*-a/p
        'He came here to see (him, her, it)'.
In this instance, the A of the dependent verb must be interpreted as being co-referential with S_1 because of the presence of the anti-passive.

The particle a- with bound pronouns suffixed to it also occurs in independent clauses as a means of expressing the future. The verb form is always in the "non-ji" form (i.e. without the anti-passive marker)

in these independent clauses. Since a- is not a complementiser in such cases, I have glossed it as part(icle). Note that the bound pronouns suffixed to it become cross-referencing rather than co-referencing.

(4.75) kuntu ŋai paṉṯiji ɲini aŋka-cin, ŋai-ka ḻaa
     not   I   know   you   ail-part I-∅   part:I
iti-mia
return-poss
'*I didn't know you were sick or I would've come back*'.

(4.76) ati ɲin-ti a-ni   ciil   puŋkuari-ṯiŋu?
     meat you-erg part-you take bag-abl
'*Are you going to take the meat out of the bag?*'

(4.77) ŋa-ṯu   a-jin-awa   (<a-kin awa)
     I-erg   part-you-give
'*I'll give it to you*'.

In the first of this group of sentences, it looks as if there is a complement to a verb that is 'understood', but this is untenable in (4.76) and (4.77) where the ergative is used.

I do not have enough transitive examples of this construction to be certain how it is determined which actant will appear as a bound pronoun. The person hierarchy seems to operate in most cases but note in (4.77) the second person P was encoded as a bound pronoun rather than a first person A.

There are some examples of this construction used with the negative and the sense is normally something like '*must not*' rather than simple futurity.

(4.78) kuntu maṟapai-ṯu a-i   ŋuwa
     not   woman-erg part-she see
'*A woman is not (allowed) to see it*'.

The rest of this section consists of a list of examples classified according to syntactic and semantic function.

(a) **expressing an indirect command**

(4.79) pati-ja a-i   iŋka ŋa-ciṉa
     tell-imp comp-he go   me-allative
'*Tell him to come to me*'.

The negative indirect command is formed with kuntu preceding the complementiser.

(4.80) cipa-ji kupaŋuru-ṯu caa patu-ma   kujiri kuntu a-i
     this-erg old man-erg here tell-pres boy   not   comp-he
panti-ji
tell-a/p
'*The old man told the boy not to tell anyone*'.

(b) expressing the complement of ŋunaŋunaaɲi ('to teach')

(4.81) ŋa-ci kuḻa-ji ŋai ŋunaŋunaaɲa juku-u ḻaa iṯiti-ji
     me-dat *fa*-erg *me* *taught* *spear*-dat comp:*I* *throw*-a/p

     '*My father taught me to throw a spear*'.

(c) expressing an indirect statement

(4.82) ɲiŋa-ŋku ŋai pati-ɲa a-ŋi iɲci-cami
     girl-erg *me* *tell*-past comp-*me* *chop*-tr

     '*The girl told me that she would chop (wood) for me*'.

     Compare example (6.18).

cami is the "non-ji" form of ɲcama, a derivational affix used to
promote a DATIVE participant to the absolutive relation. The appro-
priate synchronic analysis is to treat ɲcama as an affix, but it has a
verbal characteristic in that it exhibits anti-passive versus normal
forms. Historically it must be -ɲca plus ma, the second element of -ma
class verbs. Doubtless ma was a verb historically.

(d) expressing the complement of waira ŋu- ('to like', 'to desire'):

(4.83) kuntu ŋai waira-ka ŋuu ḻaa iŋka
     not *I* *heart*-∅ *lie* comp:*I* *go*

     '*I don't want to go*'.

(4.84) ŋai kuntu waira ŋuu ɲin-ti-ka a-ŋi kari-ka
     I *not* *heart* *lie* *you*-erg-∅ comp-*me* *wash*-∅

     '*I don't want you to wash me*'.

(e) adjunct expressing result

(4.85) ɲan-tu caa piḻa-piḻa ḻaji a-i ḻuŋa-ka
     who-erg *here* *child* *hit* comp-*he* *cry*-∅

     '*Who hit the child so that he cried?*'

(4.86) ṯuku caa ɲin-ti ḻaji a-i uḻi
     dog *here* *you*-erg *hit* comp-*he* *die*

     '*You hit the dog and he died (as a result)*'.

(f) adjunct expressing purpose

(4.87) jarka iŋka-ja-tu a-ɲur wani-ka
     far *go*-imp-*you* comp-*you* *play*-∅

     '*Go a long way away and play*'.

(g) expressing the complement of muṉṯunati ('to prevent') (compare
   (4.23))

(4.88) ŋa-ṯu caa-miakaja muṉṯunati kuntu a-ina ḻa-ti
     I-erg *this*-plural *prevent* *not* comp-*they* *hit*-recip

     '*I prevented these (people) from fighting*'.

(h) expressing the complement of the phrase NP puṯura (NP *'had better'*)

(4.89)   ŋaḻi   puṯura   a-ḻi   ini   kuntu   a-ḻi   ṟumpi
         we   *good*   *comp-we* *remain* *not*   *comp-we* *fear*

'*We had better stop (here) and not be afraid*'.

(i) expressing an adjunct to a nominal

(4.90)   mutuna   caa-ka   a-i   iŋka-ka
         shy   *here-∅*   *comp-he* *go-∅*

'*He's (too) shy to go*'.

4.4. THE "LEST" CONSTRUCTION

The "lest" construction appears in a number of variants according to the person of the actants. I have called it the "lest" construction, since all examples could be translated into English by "lest", though not necessarily felicitously. The following examples illustrating the forms are all complements to the verb ṟumpi *'to fear'*; other functions are listed at the end of the chapter.

The simplest case to illustrate is an intransitive "lest" clause. The following are the forms that occur in the first and second person,

(4.91)   ṟumpi   ŋai   ŋuji   uṉu-∅
         fear   *I*   *fall*   *lest-I*

'*I'm frightened I'll fall*'.

(4.92)   a   ṟumpi   ŋai   ŋuji   uṉun   '*you'll fall*'
         b   "   "   ŋuji   uṉul   '*we two'll fall*'
         c   "   "   ŋuji   uṉuṉu   '*you two'll fall*'
         d   "   "   ŋuji   uṉur   '*we'll fall*'
         e   "   "   ŋuji   uṉuṉur   '*you mob'll fall*'

In a transitive "lest" clause, in which first or second person acts on third (1>3,2>3), an auxiliary particle kuṉu (=ku+uṉu) is used and AGENT pronouns are suffixed to this,

(4.93)   ṟumpi   kupaŋuru   ṯuma   kuṉu-∅
         fear   *old man*   *break* *lest-I*

'*The old man's frightened I'll break it*'.

(4.94)   a   ṟumpi   kupaŋuru   ṯuma   kuṉun   '*you'll break it*'
         b   "   "   ṯuma   kuṉul   '*we two'll break it*'
         c   "   "   ṯuma   kuṉuṉu   '*you two'll break it*'
         d   "   "   ṯuma   kuṉur   '*we'll break it*'
         e   "   "   ṯuma   kuṉuṉur '*you mob'll break it*'

If however third person acts on first or second (3>1,3>2), a pronoun representing P is suffixed to ku and no uṉu appears,

(4.95) ṟumpi ŋai ica kuṇi
        fear   I   bite me
        'I'm frightened it'll bite me'.

(4.96) a ṟumpi ŋai ica kukin   'it'll bite you'
        b   "   "   ica kula   'it'll bite us two'
        c   "   "   ica kumpaja   'it'll bite you two'
        d   "   "   ica kuta   'it'll bite us'
        e   "   "   ica kutu   'it'll bite you'

For the combination, first singular acting on second singular (1>2), there is a portmanteau form,

(4.97) ṟumpi ɲini ica kuṇajin?
        fear   you   bite 1>2
        'Are you frightened I'll bite you?'

and the following forms are used for 1>2 Du and 1>2 Pl,

(4.98) ṟumpi mpaja ica kuṇajinpaja
        fear   you 2 bite 1>2 Du
        'Are you two afraid I'll bite you?'

(4.99) ṟumpi ṇutu ica kuṇajinitu
        fear   you   bite 1>2 Pl
        'Are you mob afraid I'll bite you?'

For the combinations 3 Du > 1 and 3 Pl > 1, the following are used,

(4.100) ṟumpi ŋai ḻaa kuŋi-ju
         fear   I   hit me-they:2
         'I'm afraid they'll hit me'.

(4.101) ṟumpi ŋai ḻaa kuŋi-na
         fear   I   hit me-they
         'I'm afraid they'll hit me'.

The third person intransitive forms are as follows,

(4.102) a ṟumpi ŋai ana ŋuji
            fear   I   lest fall
            'I'm afraid he'll fall'.

         b ṟumpi ŋai ana kuju ŋuji   'they two will fall'
         c   "   "   "   kina   "   'they (plural) will fall'

And 3 > 3, 3du > 3 and 3pl > 3 are expressed thus,

(4.103) a ṟumpi ŋai ana ica
            fear   I   lest bite
            'I'm afraid it'll bite (him, her, it)'.

         b ṟumpi ŋai ana kuju ica   'they two will bite (him, her, it)'.

         c   "   "   "   kina   "   'they'll bite (him, her, it)'.

Where both actants are third person, and P is dual or plural, the non-singular number of P must be represented by a free form pronoun (or noun):

(4.104)   piḻapiḻa ṟumpi-muju cipa-watikaja-ḻuŋu ana kuju
          child   fear-dual this-dual-caus   lest they:2(A)
          puju-ḻa
          they:2(P)-hit
          'The two children are frightened that these two men
          will hit them'.

(Note in passing that the monosyllabic verb ḻa- is cliticised to the preceding pronoun.)

The interesting thing about these constructions is that kuju and kina represent S_1 and A. However, if used in conjunction with kuŋu or kuŋun, they represent P (compare remarks in §3.3 and see discussion in chapter 7).

(4.105)   ṟumpi kupaŋuru kuŋu-∅ kina ḻaa
          fear old man   lest-I them hit
          'The old man's afraid I'll hit them'.

(4.106)   ṟumpi kupaŋuru kuŋu-n   kuju   ḻaa
          fear old man   lest-you them:two hit
          'The old man's afraid you'll hit them two'.

The informant from whom the bulk of these paradigms were taken, Lardie Moonlight, was hesitant about translating other combinations involving first and second person actants (e.g. 1 Du > 2 Pl) and gave the following construction consistently,

(4.107)   ṟumpi ŋaḻi mpaja-ji ḻa-mi   ku-ḻa
          fear we:2 you:2 -erg hit-future us:two
          'We're afraid you two'll hit us'.

However, she would say things like, *That's not really right. There's another twist in that again',* suggesting that she has forgotten some of the less common morphological complications.

If a bound pronoun representing the AGENT in a "lest" clause co-references an actant S_1 or P function, the anti-passive construction must be used. Compare the following,

(4.108)   ṭapaṇṭu paa-miakaja ṟumpi ana kina ṭua-ji
          foot   that-plural fear lest they cut-a/p
          kampuŋu-ṭu   (S_1 = A)
          sharp:stone-erg
          'Those ones are frightened they might cut their feet on
          a sharp stone'.

(4.109) ṛumpi juru cipa-ji juru-ŋara-ṯu ana ŋkaa
         fear man this-erg man-other-erg lest spear

         juku-ŋku   (Ø = A)
         spear-erg

         'The man is frightened this other man might spear him'.

(4.110) cuḻuṯati caa-ka ana ṇuwa   (Ø = A)
         hide   here-ø lest see

         'He's hiding in case he's seen/somebody sees him'.

(4.111) caa ṇaur ṛumpi ana ṯuma-ji   ana kina ḻaa
         here child fear lest break-a/p lest they hit

         ṯuma-ji-ɲin   (S_1 = A, Ø = A, P = A)
         break-a/p-part

         'The child is frightened he might break it and they'll
         hit him for breaking it'.

(4.112) ṛumpi ɲini kuṉu-n ṯuma-ji?   (S_1 = A)
         fear   you lest-you break-a/p

         'Are you frightened you'll break it?'

(4.113) ḻa-ja caa ṯuar ana ica-ji (P = A)
         kill-imp here snake lest bite

         'Kill the snake in case it bites him'.

(4.114) wakaḻa-ṯuŋu   caa   ṛumpi ana ica   (CAUSAL = A)
         crow -causal here fear   lest bite

         'He's frightened of the crow; it might bite him'.

If the AGENT of a transitive "lest" clause appears as a noun phrase,
it may be marked by the ergative in the normal way, unless the anti-
passive is used:

(4.115) ṛumpi ŋai ṯuku-ju ica ku-ŋi
         fear   I   dog-erg bite me

         'I'm afraid the dog'll bite me'.

However, if the word for *'fear'* is involved as in the above example,
it is much more common to use a causal noun phrase thus,

(4.116) ṛumpi ŋai ṯuku-juŋu ica kuŋi

Sentences (4.115) and (4.116) probably represent two conceptualisations
of the same situation, but they mean the same thing for practical pur-
poses. I think (4.116) means *'I'm afraid of the dog (that he might
bite me)'*. Grammatically ṯukujuŋu is in the governing clause.

The following table summarises the auxiliary particles and bound
pronouns that have been recorded for the various combinations of
actants of different person and number in the lest construction.

P A T I E N T

		SINGULAR			DUAL			PLURAL		
		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
SINGULAR	1	-	kuṇajin	kuṉu		kuṇajinpaja	kuṉu kuju		kuṇajiniṯu	kuṉu kina
	2	kuṇi		kuṉun			kuṉun kuju			kuṉun kina
	3	kuṇi	kukin	ana	kula	kumpaja		kuta	kutu	
DUAL	1			kuṉul kuṇal						
	2			kuṇaṉu kuṉuṉu						
	3	kuṇiju		ana kuju						
PLURAL	1			kuṉur kuṇar						
	2			kuṇaṉur kuṉuṉur						
	3	kuṇina		ana kina						

A G E N T

The meaning of the "lest" construction can be more easily illustrated than explained and the following informal list of examples is designed to do just that. Note that the "lest" construction is not always formally subordinated and sometimes occurs as the only clause in the sentence. With the favourite construction it is possible to distinguish sentences in which what appears to be the favourite construction is clearly independent (see (4.75), (4.76), (4.77)). With the "lest" construction the difficulty is to demonstrate that it is ever subordinate. I think that the use of the "-ji" form of the verb alternating with the unmarked form is clear evidence of subordination. The anti-passive principle is regularly employed with subordinate clauses and not with co-ordinated clauses. However, in many instances there can be no such evidence. For example, if the lest clause is intransitive or if it is transitive with a first or second person patient, there is no possibility of a syntactically determined alternation between the "-ji" and unmarked forms.

(4.117) uṯima kuṉu-n   kuṛuku-ṯi
use up lest-you grog-locative
'You might spend it all on grog'.

(4.118) ica   ku-ŋi   cipa-ji   , uḻi uṉu
bite me   this-erg   *die lest:I*
'He might bite me. I might die'.

(4.119) ṉutu-ju wanṯa wani-nti-ja   , ṯuma kuṉu-r
you-erg *don't play-with*-imp   *break lest-you*
'Don't you mob play with it. You might break it
jaṉi   ana iŋga a-i   ṉṯi-ji
w:man lest go   comp-he scold-a/p
and the white man might come and rouse (on you)'.

(4.120) aŋka   uṉu-n
ail   lest-you
'You might fall ill' (following sentences that mean,
*'Don't eat that fruit. It's been on the ground a long
time.')*

(4.121) kaḻaa ṯu-ti   uṉu-n
neck   break   lest-you
'You might drown' (following sentences that mean,
'Don't swim there. The current is too fast'. kaḻaa ṯuti
is literally *'to break one's neck'* but it is the regular
idiom for *'to drown'*).

(4.122) macumpa-ṯuŋu caa ṟumpi ana ḻaa ṯapantu-ṯu
roo-causal   here fear   lest hit foot-erg
'He's frightened of the kangaroo in case it kicks him'.
'He's frightened the kangaroo might kick him'.

(4.123) muṉṯaṇi caa-ka ana ṇuwa
crouch   here-∅ lest see
'He crouched over so he wouldn't be seen'.

(cf. (4.73) Note that the use of ṇuwa as opposed to ṇaṇiji indicates
the A of the lest clause cannot be co-referential with S_1 in the main
clause.)

(4.124) ṟumpi caa piḻa-piḻa cipa-ja   mucuṇ-ṯuŋu ana ica
fear   here child   this-caus hawk-caus lest bite

piku-ŋku ana piṇci   miḻṯi
claw-erg lest scratch eyes
'The child is frightened the chicken hawk'll bite him
and claw his eyes (out?)'.

(4.125) ṯuku-ju ica ku-ṇi
dog-erg bite lest-me
'The dog might bite me'.

(The use of this construction implies a sense of 'I hope he won't'.
The free form ḻamu is used where one is merely speculating about what
might happen.)

(4.126) iti-ji puju ŋaṉṯama ku-kin,   iti-ja   maḻampira
man-erg if   find   lest-you return-imp quickly
'If someone comes across you, come back quickly'.

(4.127) maḻampira ŋai-ka aṇpaji, juru ana kina iti-na
quickly   I-∅   collect man lest they return-they
'I am hurrying gathering (the yams) in case the men
come back'.

(The use of -na as well as kina in this construction is not otherwise
attested.)

(4.128) ṯuŋumpiri caa-ka arkun-aan, ḻa-ji-ṇcir, ṇin-ti ḻa-ja
bad   here   fight-con hit-a/p-nom you-erg hit-imp

wacaḻi-ṇa
first-adv
'The bad one is belligerent. He's a "hitter". You hit
him first before he hits you'.

(4.129) ṟumpi caa juru-ka cipa-ji juru-ŋara-ṯu ana ŋkaa
fear   here man-∅ this-erg man-other-erg lest spear

juku-ŋku
spear-erg
'The man is afraid the other man will spear him'.

(4.130)   ʈuna-ji kaʈa-kaʈa-ʈi a-n-aṟa   ŋaŋ-ku-kin ʈina-ji
             *run-*imp *rubbish-*loc   *comp-you-enter see-you   *they-*erg

             'Run and get in the rubbish so they won't see you'.

             (a-n-aṟa = a-ni aṟa, ŋaŋ < ŋaŋi)

(4.131)   ḻi-ja   cuʈu ʈuma kuṉu-n
             *leave-*imp *coo*   *break lest-you*

             'Leave the coolaman alone. You might break it'.

OTHER FUNCTION MORPHEMES

5.1.   INTRODUCTION

This chapter consists of a list of function morphemes including
bound forms and free forms. It does not include case inflection,
which is dealt with in chapter three, nor tense, aspect, mood and
voice marking, which is dealt with in chapter four.

Very broadly three word classes can be determined : nominals, verbs
and adverbs. The function morphemes are listed under the headings
nominal, verbal and adverb morphology respectively. The morphological
processes of reduplication and compounding follow the nominal, verbal
and adverb sections and are in turn followed by those function mor-
phemes that are not clearly nominal, verbal or adverbial. The final
section of the chapter consists of a rather miscellaneous list of
free function morphemes.

5.2.   NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

5.2.1. -jan *CONCOMITANT*

-jan means having something concrete, having a characteristic, a
property or a condition. It may be added to any nominal with the
possible exception of the personal pronouns (but see last example).
However, although it may be added to any (?) nominal by a general
syntactic rule, some instances of nominal plus -jan have idiomatic
meanings and must be listed in the lexicon.

> (5.1)   juku-jan ŋai iŋka-mi macumpa-a
>   *spear*-con *I   go*-fut *roo*-dative
>
>   *'I will go for the kangaroo with a spear'.*

> (5.2)   ŋai ḻaa puṯur-aan cuṯu-jan
>   *I   now good*-con *car*-con
>
>   *'I have a good car'.*

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(5.3) ŋai-ka ŋunkur-aan
       I-∅   cold-con
       'I've got a cold'.

(5.4) ŋawa-jan ŋai punpati jaŋaalu-u
       heavy-con *I speak   language*-dat
       'I'm talking heavy'. (i.e. not in a simplified way)

Note also ʈuar *('snake')*, ʈuaraan *('doctor')*; putu *('stomach')*, putujan *('pregnant')*; wamiḻa *('temple', 'sleep')*; wamiḻajan *('asleep')*; arkun *('fight', 'battle')*, arkunaan *('belligerent')*.

There is one example of -jan being used with a personal pronoun,

(5.5) ŋai-jan, ŋai miḻʈiʈati-ɳa ...
       me-con   *me be born*-part
       '(She) had me; I was born...'

5.2.2. -iti *PRIVATIVE*

(5.6) maḻi-iti   ŋai kuntu punpati,   walpaḻaji ŋa-ʈu
       tongue-less I   not   speak   lose   I erg
       'I have no tongue; I (can) not speak. I lost it'.

(5.7) paɲca-ja ala   maa, jalaura-ʈati maa-iti
       very-imp *eat*:imp *food sick*-intr   *food-less*
       'Eat up your food,[you will] get sick if you don't eat'.

5.2.3. -ŋu *(with dative stems)*

There are a small number of instances of -ŋu being added to the dative of nouns to derive a new nominal stem. For convenience I have glossed it as adj(ective).

kuḻa	*'father'*	kuḻa-a-ja-ŋu	*'male'*
piɲcamu	*'sun'*	piɲcamu-u-ja-ŋu	*'clock','watch'*
ʈuu-ʈuu	*'writing'*	ʈuu-ʈuu-u-ja-ŋu	*'pen','pencil'*

In these examples, -ja is a ligative between the dative and -ŋu (see §3.5.11., §5.8.). In ʈuu-ʈuu-u-ja-ŋu the dative allomorph -u has no audible reflex as a sequence of three identical vowels is impossible. The same applies to the next example.

(5.8) araka pakai cuʈu   kuu-u-ja-ŋu-ka
       where it   coolaman water-dat-lig-adj-∅
       'Where's the water coolaman?'

There are a few examples where ŋarpa is suffixed by the dative plus -ŋu plus -ʈi (presumably the locative) to express *'because of an interest in'*.

(5.9) ɲin-ti   ŋarpa-a-ja-ŋu-ṯi   ŋai ḻi-ma
       you-erg *other*-dat-lig-adj-loc *me* *leave*-pres
       'You are leaving me because of another one'.

5.2.4. -ŋu *(with adverb stems)*

There are a small number of examples of -ŋu suffixed to adverbs
to produce a nominal stem.

iʎa	*'now', 'today'*	iʎa-ŋu	*'new'*
ṯiinta	*'in the middle'*	ṯiinta-ŋu	*'middle'*
caja-	*'old'*	caja-ŋu	*'old'*

caja- does not occur in isolation. There is an adverb caja-ṉa
'earlier', *'formerly'*.

(5.10) uḻi ŋa-ci-ka wacaḻi-ṉa-ŋu-ka maṟapai
        die *me*-dat-∅ *first*-adv-adj-∅ *woman*
        'My first wife died'.

wacaḻi does not occur in isolation as a nominal.

5.2.5. -ŋujan

One could compare -ŋu and -jan. Synchronically the form is probably
unanalysable.

ʎuwati	*'two'*	ʎuwati-ŋujan	*'twice'*
kurpai	*'three'*	kurpai-ŋujan	*'three times'*
maḻṯa	*'many'*	maḻṯa-ŋujan	*'many times'*

(5.11) ŋa-ṯu ɲini pati-ṉa ʎuwati-ŋujan a-ni   ini-ka
        I-erg *you* *tell*-past *two*-times   comp-*you* *remain*-∅
        'I told you twice to stop (there)'.

5.2.6. -ɲcir *NOMINALISER*

-ɲcir is used to form nouns from verbs. It is fully productive
but there are some ready made derivations that need to be recorded in
the lexicon.

kanima	*'to tie'*	kanimajiɲcir	*'policeman'*
ica	*'to bite'*	icajiɲcir	*'a "biter"'*

(usu.applied to insects or insect-like creatures that bite)

(5.12) ṯuŋumpiri caa-ka   arkunaan ḻa-ji-ɲcir
        bad   *here*-∅   *savage*   *kill*-a/p-nom
        'He's bad, a savage killer'.

```
(5.13)   kuu-ja      pujur-puni-nti-ji-cir
         water-dat  hot-tr-with-a/p-nom
```

   'A copper (boiler)(thing with which one makes water hot)'.

In all the available examples, the anti-passive is used. In princi-
ple one would expect the possibility of using -ɲcir to form 'patient
nouns' as opposed to agent nouns cf. ḷa-ɲin 'one who is hit' and ḷa-ji-
ɲin 'one who hits'. On the nature of things 'patient nouns' would be
unusual.

5.2.7. NUMBER MARKING WITH NOMINALS

There is no singular marker other than the free form ajar but ŋara
'another' is used like a stem-forming suffix:

> piḷapiḷa-ŋara-t̠i 'with the other child', piḷapiḷa-ŋara-t̠i...
> piḷapiḷa-ŋara-t̠i 'with one child... with the other child'.

5.2.7.1. -wati Dual

-wati marks the dual of nominals. It is common with kinship nouns
and it is part of the system for forming the dual of the demonstratives;
with other nominals it is rarely used.

juru	'man'	juruwati	'two men'
pupi	'mother's brother'	pupiwati	'two brothers of mother'
caa	'this'	caa-wati-kaja	'these two'
n̠aa	'this'	n̠aa-wati-kaja	'these two'
paa	'that'	paa-wati-kaja	'those two'

The root wati also occurs in watin̠a 'together, both', and possibly
in ʌu(w)ati 'two'.

Note that when wati is used with kinship nouns, it cannot refer to
two members of a reciprocal pair. For instance, ego calls his mother's
mother mucu and she calls him mucu, but the pair made up of ego and his
mother's mother is mucuwaaɲcir. wati can refer to two sisters, two
brothers, two of mother's brothers, two of father's brothers, etc. See
also under kinship, §5.2.7.3.

5.2.7.2. -mia Plural

-mia, like -wati is common with kinship nouns, is part of the system
for forming the plural of demonstratives, and is used only rarely with
other nominals.

juru	'man'	jurumia	'men'
pupi	'mother's brother'	pupimia	'mother's brothers'
caa		caa-mia-kaja	'these'
n̠aa		n̠aa-mia-kaja	'these'

paa   paa-mia-kaja *'those'*
kuḷa   *'father'*   kuḷamia   *'those ego calls father'*

With kinship nouns -mia refers to a number of brothers, sisters, mother's brothers, etc. or to a number of people that one calls by a particular term e.g. kuḷamia *'fathers'* refers to one's own father and father's brothers. However, like waṭi it cannot refer to reciprocally related groups like ego and his mother's brothers even though they may call one another by a common name, pupi. See also under kinship, §5.2.7.3.

5.2.7.3. Kinship Terminology and Related Morphology

'older sister'	pua	*'father's mother'*	papi(pi)
'older brother'	ṭapu	*'father's father'*	ŋaca(ci)
'younger sibling'	uŋkulu	*'man's children'*	kunkuju
'mother'	maṭu	*'woman's children'*	ŋaḻu
'mother's sister'	maṭu, upaci	*'mother-in-law'*	wapuṭu
'mother's brother'	pupi	*'cross-cousin'*	muaṇŋu
'father'	kuḷa	*'wife'*	kuŋi
'father's brother'	kuḷa, piṭaṭa	*'husband'*	jukuṭa
'father's sister'	ŋucir	*'spouse'*	markuṭu
'mother's mother'	mucu(cu)	*'great grandparent or 'great grandchild'*	macara
'mother's father'	caci(ci)		

Notes

An older *'older sister'* is distinguished from a younger *'older sister'* by using jaun *'big'* and kaṭakuḷu or kacakuḷu *'little'*. Similarly with other distinctions of relative age.

One calls one's mother's sister maṭu i.e. *'mother'*, and one calls one's father's brother, kuḷa i.e. *'father'*. However, upaci and piṭaṭa also occur for mother's sister and father's brother respectively. I am not sure of exactly how and when they are used, but they are used in the following context. If one's mother wants to refer to one's mother's sister, she uses upaci, and similarly one's father referring to one's father's brother uses piṭaṭa, e.g. ṭuntija piṭaṭaaṉa *'Take it to your father's brother'*.

The bracketed syllables of mucu(cu) etc. appear only in the nominative. They are deleted before all suffixes.

Moieties and Sections

The Kalkatungu were divided into two moieties. Roth (1897:56) gives the names of the moieties as uṭaru and maʎara. I recorded uṭaru and

parkaṯa, which are the names Roth records for Pitta-Pitta, Mayi-
Thakurti, Mayi-Yapi, Wunumara and Guwa, i.e. for practically every
other tribe in the area. Each moiety was divided into two sections as
shown in the following diagram.

uṯaru	maⱱara (parkaṯa?)
paṯiŋu kaŋkilaŋu*	marinaŋu ṯunpuyuŋu

(*Roth gives this form. I have recorded kaɲilaŋu)

This system of moieties and sections ('skins') operated with respect to
the marriage system as follows. One had to choose a marriage partner
from the opposite moiety but from the same generation, i.e. from the
section of the same row in the diagram. A child belonged to the same
moiety as his mother but to the section of the other generation. If a
paṯiŋu man married a marinaŋu woman, their children were ṯunpuyuŋu. If
a ṯunpuyuŋu boy married a kaɲilaŋu girl, the children would be paṯiŋu,
but if a ṯunpuyuŋu girl married a kaɲilaŋu boy, their children would be
marinaŋu.

This sytem operates not only in terms of a division into moieties
but also in terms of a division into alternate generations. One is in
the opposite generation to one's parents and to one's children but in
the same generation as one's grandparents and grandchildren. The terms
mucucu, cacici, papipi and ŋacaci all reflect this split into alternate
generations. They are reciprocal terms by which ego refers to and
addresses his grandparents and is referred to and addressed by his
grandparents, and they are also used by ego to refer to and address his
grandchildren who in turn use the same terms to refer to and address ego.
Thus the meaning of each of these four terms might be specified as
follows:

mucucu   *'mother's mother'*
          'a woman's daughter's child'

cacici   *'mother's father'*
          'a man's daughter's child'

papipi   *'father's mother'*
          'a woman's son's child'

ŋacaci   *'father's father'*
          'a man's son's child'

The split into alternate generations is also reflected in the use of
the suffix -waɲcir which can be added to any of the four terms given
above to indicate a pair of persons who are mucucu to one another, etc.

These four terms with the suffix -waɲcir appear in the following forms,

> mucuwaɲcir
> cacuwaɲcir
> papuwaɲcir
> ŋacuwaɲcir

mucuwaɲcir would refer to ego and his or her mother's mother or a female ego and her daughter's child and so on with the other three terms.

The suffix -wati is used for two persons holding the same relationship. Thus puawati is *'two older sisters'* and pupiwati means *'two of mother's brothers'* and maʈuwati means *'two mothers'*. The kinship system is classificatory and the term maʈu can refer not only to one's *'blood mother'* but also to *'one's mother's sister'*, etc.

The suffix -mia is used for more than two persons holding the same relationship. Thus ŋucirmia is *'all my auntie'* i.e. more than two of my father's sisters.

There is a special term for two persons who are related by a male descent line and another term for those not so related. Thus the term julpaʈa can refer to *'father and child'*, *'father's father and grand-child'*, *'brother and sister'*, *'father and father's brother or sister'* and so on. The term kuniŋkala is used for two persons who are not so related i.e. *'mother and child'*, *'mother's father and child'*, *'mother's mother and child'*, and so on. These terms have reduplicated forms to indicate more than two people so related. kunikuniŋkala can be used to refer to *'a mother and two children'*, or to *'mother's brother plus mother's sister plus ego'*, etc. The reduplicated form of julpaʈa is julpajapaʈa and it could refer to *'ego and his or her father and father's brother or sister'*, or to *'ego and father and father's father'*, or to *'ego and two or more of his children'*, etc.

The suffix -aɲci (see §2.8. for the morphophonemics) is used with kinship terms to indicate that the referent is possessed by a third person.

> pupiiɲci   *'his or her mother's brother'*
> kuɭaaɲci   *'his or her father'*
> maʈuuɲci   *'his or her mother'*

Inflection

Kinship nouns ending in vowels decline like non-singular pronouns. Kinship terms ending in consonants like consonant-stem nouns. kunkuju

'man's child' takes an ergative in -ḻu. kuniŋkala and julpaṯa
decline regularly.

Examples in Sentences

(5.14) caa ṯina iŋka julpajapaṯa kunkuju-uɲci-jana
       here they go   *child -his -too*

        'There they go, that man and his kids too'.

(5.15) ŋata-ji ṯuku ḻaji-ṉa kunikuniŋkala-ṯu
       we-erg dog hit-past   *-erg*

        'We hit the dog, my daughters and I' (woman speaking)

However, there are also cases like the following with no agreement,

(5.16) ŋaḻi-ji caa kuniŋkala(j)ana ḻaji caa ṯuku
       we-erg here   *-and hit here dog*

        'We two, my mother and I, hit the dog'.

(5.17) ŋa-ci papi-wati   wani-muju
       me-dat son's:kids-dual *play*-dual

        'My (woman speaking) son's kids are playing'.

(5.18) ŋaḻu-uŋci maṯu-uɲci-ŋu ini
       dau -her   mother-her-loc *be*

        'The daughter is with her mother'.

5.3. VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

5.3.1. -puni *TRANSITIVISER*

-puni is used to form transitive verbs from nouns and adverbs. It
seems to be fully productive and can be used with any noun. The
following examples recur and perhaps should be listed in the lexicon,
particularly those where the meaning is not exactly derivable.

I have glossed puni as "tr" for transitiviser.

piḻṯi	*'soft'*	piḻṯipuni	*'to mash, to squash, to smash, to cut into small pieces'*
jarka	*'far'*	jarkapuni	*'to put at a distance'*
kaki-jan	*'wounded, sore'*	kakijanpuni	*'to wound, to make sore'*

(5.20)   maṟapai-ṯu ŋai ḻaji kaki-jan-puniji-ŋi
         woman-erg me hit sore-con-tr-me
         'The woman hit me and made me sore (or 'wounded me').'

5.3.2.   -ma VERBALISER

-ma is used to form verbs mostly transitive verbs. It is not a
productive suffix and it is not possible to describe the classes of
stems with which it could be used because some of the stems do not
occur in isolation, but it seems to occur with nominal and verbal
stems (see below):

ṟumpi	'to fear'	ṟumpima	'to frighten'
kani	'knot'	kanima	'to tie'
		ŋaima	'to follow, to chase'
		ŋanṯama	'to look for, to find'
		ŋulurma	'to catch hold of'
anṯa	'mouth'	anṯama	'to put a hole in'
ṯu-ti	'to break'(intrans)	ṯu-ma	'to break' (intrans)
miṉaŋara	'whatchamacallit'	miṉaŋarama	'to "whatchamacallit"' (trans)

It also seems to appear in the formation of some intransitive verbs
e.g. icama 'to laugh'(< ica 'to bite') pakapakama 'to hurry'.

5.3.3.   -ṯati INTRANSITIVISER

(-ati with consonant stems)

-ṯati is used to form intransitive verbs from nouns and adverbs.
It seems to be fully productive and can be used with any noun. It
often has an inchoative sense.

maḻṯa	'many, mob'	maḻṯaṯati	'to become numerous'
mimi-jan	'having breasts'	mimijanati	'to develop breasts'
kupaŋuru	'old man'	kupaŋuruṯati	'to become an old man'
jarka	'far'	jarkaṯati	'to be at a distance'
piriṉa	'up, above'	piriṉaṯati	'to grow up'
pujur	'hot'	pujurati	'become hot'
ṯail	'hard'	ṯailati	'become hard'
jaun	'big'	jaunati	'become big, grow big'

Note also miḻṯi-ṯati (lit. 'become eyes') meaning 'to be born',
maḻi piḻṯi-ṯati (lit. 'tongue become soft') meaning 'to be dumb'.

(5.21)   ŋa-ṯu kaṉir piḻṯi-puniji a-i   piḻṯi-ṯati
         I-erg grass soft-tr   comp-it soft-intr
         'I crushed the grass (seeds) and it became soft'.

5.3.4.   -nta   *INTRANSITIVISER*

-nta is of infrequent occurrence and seems to be restricted. It
has been found only with the following stems where it forms verbs from
nouns.

uʌci	*'blood'*	uʌcinta	*'to bleed'*
anṯa	*'mouth'*	anṯanta	*'to open the mouth'*
unu	*'faeces'*	ununta	*'to defecate'*
kila	*'crack, split'*	kilanta	*'to crack, to split'*

(5.22)   paṯa kila-nta-ntiji (re‑nti see §5.3.6.)
         mud   crack-intr-

         'The mud cracked'.

(5.23)   piḷa-piḷa maṟapai-ṯu ḷaji-ṉa a-i   uʌci-nta
         child   woman-erg hit-past comp-he blood-intr

         'The woman hit the child and he bled'.

(5.24)   uʌci-nta   caa   uʌci caa kaanta
         uʌcinta   here blood here flow

         '"Ulcinta" means blood flow'.

5.3.5.   -ti   *REFLEXIVE AND RECIPROCAL*

-ti indicates both the reflexive and reciprocal. Normally the
presence of a singular actor indicates the reflexive and a plural
actor the reciprocal. A word muṉṯupir may be added to specify recip-
rocity if necessary. The reflexive/reciprocal verbs are intransitive.
They can be derived only from transitive verbs and in those cases where
one requires a reflexive or reciprocal form of an intransitive verb
(e.g. ŋkuma *'to look for'*) the verb must first be transitivised (see
§5.3.7.) before ti can be added.

(5.25)   makaṯi ŋai ṯua-ti-na
         hand   I   cut-re-past

         'I cut my hand'.

(5.26)   pa-atikaja macumpa-ka ḷa-ti ṯapaṉṯu-ṯu
         that-dual kangaroo-ø hit-re foot-erg

         'Those two kangaroos are kicking one another'.

(5.27)   aɲi-ti-muju   ca-atikaja
         give-re-they:2 this-dual

         'These two gave one another things'.

(5.28)   piɲci-ti-muju   muṉṯupir
         scratch-re-they:2   one another

         'They're scratching one another'.

The intransitive verb for *'break'* is ʈu-ʈi and the transitive *'break'* is ʈuma (where ma is a non-productive causative or transitiviser).

(5.29)   ʈu-ʈi-ɳa   ɳaa ɳa-ci kaunu
         break-re-past *here me*-dat *dress*

         'My dress tore'.

The normal productive means of transitivising intransitive verbs for the purposes of the reflexive/reciprocal is to use -ɲcama (see §5.3.7.).

5.3.6.   -nti   *TRANSITIVISER*

Some transitive verbs take an allomorph -manti suffixed to the -ji form of the stem e.g. ḷajimanti *'hit'*, ʈujimanti *'cook, burn'*. I have not been able to discover the reason for this.

-nti is used to perform a number of related functions. First of all, it is used to form transitive verbs from intransitive ones:

intransitive

aṛa	*'enter'*	aṛanti	*'insert'*
ŋuji	*'fall'*	ŋujinti	*'to knock down, to push over'*
pia	*'go down'*	pianti	*'to take something down (from a high place)'*
waṭara	*'come out of, emerge'*	waṭaranti	*'to wake someone up'*
juu	*'climb on'*	juunti	*'to climb, to mount (a horse)'*
wani	*'to play'*	waninti	*'to play with something, to play (a part in a) corroboree'*

(5.30)   piḷa-piḷa caa ḷuɳa-ɳa. waṭara-ntiji ɳai wamiḷa-jan
         child   here cry-past *wake:up*-tr   *me sleep*-con

         'The child cried. He woke me up'.

In the case of waṭaranti the P of the derived transitive corresponds to the S_1 of the intransitive stem. This is the usual case. Note, however, that with a verb like juu, the effect of adding -nti is to derive a transitive verb in which A corresponds to S_1.

-nti may also be used to indicate that an INSTRUMENTAL, LOCATIVE or CAUSAL actant is being expressed as P (i.e. nominative, or, if the anti-passive is being used, the dative). -nti commonly occurs in this function in the favourite construction where the INSTRUMENTAL, LOCATIVE or CAUSAL actant is anaphorically deleted.

Examples of INSTRUMENTAL

It is rare to find -nti used for INSTRUMENTAL in independent clauses, but it is common in describing the action of killing a snake by cracking it against something.

(5.31a) maṟapai-ṯu   ṯuar   ḻaji-manti   kunka-pia
         woman-erg   snake   hit-with   tree-loc

         *'The woman cracked the snake against the tree (hit with
         the snake).'*

It has also been observed in the following (compare (5.33) below),

(5.31b) ṉṯia   ŋa-ṯu   maa   mani-ntiji
         money   I-erg   food   get-with

         'I got food with the money'.

         'I spent the money on food'.

However, it is common to find it in subordinate clauses as in (5.32) and (5.33).

(5.32)   kankaṟi   caa   awa-ŋi   ati-ɲci   ḻaa   piɲci-nti-ji
         knife   *here   give-me   meat-dat   comp:I   cut-with-a/p*

         'Give me the knife to cut the meat with'.

(5.33)   maa-ci   a-ŋi-awa   ḻaa   mani-nti-ji
         food-dat   comp-me-give   comp:I   get-with-a/p

         '(I want you to) give it (sc. money) to me to get food with'.

         (a-ŋi-awa becomes aŋawa at normal tempo).

         -nti is also common in descriptions of tools.

(5.34)   kampuŋu   caa   ṉaipu   ṯua-nti-ji-caja
         kampungu   here   knife   cut-with-a/p-purposive

         'A "kampungu" is a knife for cutting things with'.

LOCATIVE

Almost all the examples available occur in subordinate clauses. (5.36) is included to illustrate that the locative is used for *'to sleep with someone'*.

(5.35a) ṯuku   ṉuu   kulapuṟu-ti
         dog   lie   blanket-loc

         'The dog lay on the blanket'.

(5.35b) ṯuku   ṉu-ntiji   kulapuṟu
         dog-erg   lie-on   blanket

         'The dog lay on the blanket'.

(5.36a) maṟapai   iŋka   jaɲi-pia   a-i   ṉuu
         woman   go   w:man-loc   comp-she   lie

         'The woman is going to sleep with the white man'.

(5.36b) iṛa-iṛaci ŋka-ja   kutu   cipa-aṉa jaṉi-iṉa a-ina
         girls   *send-imp* *you (pl)* *this-all* *white-all* *comp-they*

         ṉu-nti-ji
         lie-with-a/p

         'Send the girls to the white man to lie with him'.

(5.37)   caa kaṭir ŋa-ṭu itintiji a-i   ṉu-nti ṭuku-ju
         here grass *I-erg* *bring*   *comp-he* *lie-on* *dog-erg*

         'I brought the grass for the dog to lie on'.

(5.38)   ŋa-ṭu caa ṉaṉa ṉṭia ŋuu ṉa-nti
         I-erg *here saw* *stone* *rel* *stand-on*

         'I saw the stone he stood on'.

CAUSAL

(5.39)   laji-manti   caa maṛapai cipa-ji   iti-ji
         hit-because:of here woman   *this-erg* *man-erg*

         'The man hit (him) because of the woman'.

(5.40)   ṉini panticamati-ṉa a-kin   laji-manti
         you *tell:on-past*   *comp-you* *hit-because:of*

         'You "told on" (i.e. informed) so he would hit him over you'.

A few examples similar to (5.40) occur. The reference is to a woman telling her husband that another man has made amorous advances so that the husband then hits the other man 'because of' (CAUSAL) the woman, 'on account of' the woman. Note that the CAUSAL actant in (5.40) is expressed by the P form of the bound pronoun. See discussion in §1.6.

The third function of -nti is to mark verbs which have an inanimate AGENT or in one or two examples an inanimate INTRANSITIVE SUBJECT.

(5.41)   ṉṭia-ku ṭuar   ntati-ntiji
         stone-erg snake *crush-*

         'The stone crushed the snake'.

(5.42)   kuntu paḻku ṭuna-nti
         not   *slow*   *run-*

         'It (sc. car) goes real fast'.

-nti is not used for every instance of an inanimate AGENT but there are a number of examples similar to (5.41).

5.3.7. -ṉcama *TRANSITIVISER*

-ṉcama (-cama with stems containing a nasal-stop cluster) is suffixed to the verb to indicate that an underlying DATIVE is being expressed as P.

-ṉcama can be analysed (as -ṉca as in -ṉcaaja, -ṉcaani and -ṉcaŋu) plus ma. The identification of this ma with the ma that occurs as a causative in ṛumpima *'to frighten'* is supported by the fact that in both

instances ma takes an irregular imperative stem and anti-passive form
-mi. However, this identification seems to be of little if any signi-
ficance in the grammar and I will treat -ɲcama as an unanalysable
element, glossing it as '-tr' for transitiviser.

In the first examples to be considered, -ɲcama in effect transiti-
vises an intransitive verb so that it can be marked for reflexive/
reciprocal, a marking which detransitivises the verb. Consider first
of all the following,

(5.43)   ṉaa-ka ṯuku ṉanti-cama-ti
             here-∅ *dog*   *bark-tr-reciprocal*

             'The dogs are barking at one another'.

Here we have an intransitive verb that takes the dative or the
locative. -(ɲ)cama is used to advance this complement to P. This
intermediate structure then contains a P coreferential with A. This
reflexive/reciprocal situation is expressed by deleting P and marking
the verb with -ti. The resulting sentence is intransitive.

In the next example, -(ɲ)cama is used to transitivise a verb that
takes its complement in the dative (ḷuŋa ŋarpaaja *'cry for someone'*).

(5.44)   ḷuŋa-ṉṯiti-cama-ti maḻṯaṉa
             cry-plur-tr-re   *in great numbers*

             'They are all crying for one another'.

Similarly in the next example.

(5.45)   kuntu   paḷku ṯuni-ɲcaŋu, api-ɲcama-ti-caŋu
             not   *slow*   *run-habit* , *sing-tr-re-habit*

             'He runs fast (because) he sings himself'.

In the following examples -ɲcama is used to express what would other-
wise be expressed in the dative as a P in the nominative. Each example
is paired with a corresponding sentence without -ɲcama.

(5.46a)   cipa-ji   ṉauṯu   ṉitaji ŋa-ci   maa   ṉuŋu
             this-erg *kid:erg*   *steal*   *me-dat* *food* *hence*

             'This kid stole my tucker from here'.

(5.46b)   cipa-ji   ŋai ṉauṯu   ṉiṯa-ɲcamaji maa   ṉuŋu
             this-erg *me* *child-erg* *steal-tr*   *food* *hence*

             'This kid stole my tucker from here'.

```
(5.47a)  ŋa-ci     ŋalu-ju   kunti  kari    ŋa-ci
         me-dat    dau-erg   house  clean   me-dat
         'My daughter cleaned the house for me'.
```

```
(5.47b)  ŋa-ci     ŋalu-ju   ŋai   kari-ɲcamaji  kunti
         me-dat    dau-erg   me    clean-tr      house
         'My daughter cleaned the house for me'.
```

In the next example the -ɲcama construction is used within the favourite construction. Note that the P bound pronoun for first person refers to the underlying DATIVE.

```
(5.48)   ŋa-ṯu    pati-ṇa     ŋa-ci    ḻapu  ucan-ku    a-ŋi      iɲci-cami
         I-erg    tell-past   me-dat   bro   wood-dat   comp-me   chop-tr
         'I told my older brother to chop me some wood'.
         (-(ɲ)cami is the normal non-anti-passive of -(ɲ)cama)
```

The following example of -ɲcama is fairly typical, in fact -ɲcama is particularly common with ṇiṯa 'to steal'. The function of ɲcama seems to be to allow what would normally be a DATIVE to be expressed as a P. This P can then play its part in the co-reference rules. In (5.49) the person stolen from comes to be expressed potentially as P and can then be omitted from the second clause under co-reference with juru in the first clause. -ɲcama allows recovery of the underlying syntactic case relation and hence semantic role of the deleted actant. Note that English has a verb 'rob' as well as 'steal'. 'Rob' allows the victim to be expressed as P. 'Rob', of course, is a lexical form that allows different syntactic arrangements in the expression of 'theft sentences'. -ɲcama is a morpho-syntactic device not confined to 'theft sentences'.

```
(5.49)   caa-ka    juru   arkunaan-ati   ŋa-ṯu    ṇiṯa-ɲcama-cin
         this-ø    man    angry-intr     I-erg    steal-tr-participle
         'This man got wild because I robbed him'.
```

The final example illustrates the use of -ɲcama with the three-place verb aŋi 'to give'. Note that it enables the possessor/beneficiary to be expressed as P. Unfortunately I do not have an example with an overt RECIPIENT.

```
(5.50)   maṛapai-ṯu   ṯuku   aɲi-ɲcamaji   ati
         woman-erg    dog    give-tr       meat
         'The woman gave him meat for the dog'.
```

5.3.8. -n̪t̪iti VERB PLURALISER

-n̪t̪iti is quite rare. I have glossed it as plural, but that may
not be accurate; it may indicate mutual activity or co-operation or
the like.

(5.51) l̪uŋa-n̪t̪iti-caŋu mal̪t̪an̪a
      cry-plur-*habit* *mob*-adv

      'They all cry together'.

(5.52) it̪i caa t̪una, mal̪t̪a iŋka-t̪iti-man̪t̪i, at̪i-ɲci ŋkumaji
      ant here run *mob* *go*-plur-*imperf* *meat*-dat *seek*

      *'There are ants running around here, a lot of them, going
      looking for meat'*.

5.3.9. -ɲcaani CONTINUING

-ɲcaani is of very low frequency except with the stem ŋu- *'to lie'*.
It seems to indicate imperfect aspect, ongoing activity or the like.

(5.53) ŋat̪u ŋaɲa macumpa ul̪i-ɲcaani-cin
      I-erg *saw*   *kangaroo die*-contin-*participle*

      *'I saw the kangaroo dying (but I didn't have a weapon to
      put it out of its misery)'*.

(5.54) kuntu kupaŋuru ini ,   paa ŋul̪i iŋka-caani
      not   old man   *be:present that still come*-contin

      'The old man is not here, he (is there) still coming'.

5.3.10.1. -n̪t̪u Motion away from the speaker

This has been observed in the imperative only.

(5.55) t̪una-ji-n̪t̪u-tu
      run-imp-*away-you* plural

      'You mob run away!'

5.3.10.2. -u Motion towards the speaker

This has been observed in the imperative only.

(5.56) iŋka-ja-u   ŋa-ciɲa
      go-imp-*hither* *me*-allative

      'Come here to me!'

5.4. ADVERB MORPHOLOGY

5.4.1. ADVERB INFLECTION

Adverbs are uninflected except that the stem araka- appears with
-n̪i (*'to'*), -t̪i (*'at'*) and -ŋu (*'from'*),

arakaṉi	*'where to'*
arakaṯi	*'where at'*
arakaŋu	*'where from'*

-ŋu (*'from'*) also occurs in

jarka	*'far'*	jarkaŋu	*'from afar*
piriṉa	*'on top, aloft'*	piriṉaŋu	*'from above'*

A number of adverbs can be observed to carry inflections e.g. waṯaŋka *'at night'* (cf.waṯamakal *'dark'*, waṯaŋaṉa *'tomorrow'*), but I doubt if this is of any synchronic significance. They cannot be considered defective nouns as they cannot be qualified. arkuntu *'savagely, belligerently'* appears to bear the ergative/instrumental -ṯu but contrasts with the nominal arkunaantu *'belligerent'* in the ergative/ instrumental (for -aan, see §5.2.1.).

5.4.2. -ṉa ADVERB FORMING

-ṉa is used to form adverbs.

ajar	*'one'*	ajarṉa	*'only, singly'*
-		watiṉa	*'both'*
-		cajaṉa	*'once, before, formerly'*
maḻṯa	*'mob'*	maḻṯaṉa	*'in great numbers'*
iʎaŋu	*'new'*	iʎaŋuṉa	*'soon'*

wati does not occur alone but occurs in caawatikaja (*'these two'*) etc. caja appears in cajaŋu (*'old, former'*).

There are numerous examples of -ṉa scattered through the present work, but where the stem does not occur as a word I have not separated -ṉa off by a hyphen nor have I glossed it.

5.4.3. -minŋu

I have taken -minŋu to be adverb-forming in light of examples such as (5.57) below. Note, however, that the adverb-forming ṉa may occur with -minŋu. -minŋu is glossed by the English *'as'*.

wampa	*'girl'*	wampa-minŋu	*'as a girl, when she was a girl'*
kalpin	*'young man'*	kalpin-minŋu	*'as a young man, when he was a young man'*

(5.57) kalpin-minŋu ŋa-ṯu ṯuar ḻaji-ɲcaŋu maḻṯa
  young man-as I-erg snake kill-habit mob

  'As a young man, I used to kill a lot of snakes'.

(5.58)   juru-minŋu-ṉa maḻṯa juru ini-ṉin   ŋiṯi iŋka-cin
        man-as-adv   mob   man   remain-part here go-part

        kiti-kiti ucan-ku-wa-ka   a-ina   aṉpa-ji
        crowd   firewood-dat-lig-ø comp-they collect-a/p

        'When there were Aborigines, a lot of Aborigines, living
        here they would go, crowds of them, gathering firewood'.

(5.59)   katakuḻu-minŋu-ṉa, ŋa-ṯu caa   ŋaṉa cajaṉa
        small-as-adv   I-erg here   saw   formerly

        'I saw it once, when I was little'.

5.5.   REDUPLICATION

Stems exhibiting a reduplicated base are fairly common. In some cases the unreduplicated base does not occur.

Where it does occur, it is possible to see in the reduplication the sense of plurality (more than one of), intensity (more than the normal degree of) or a sense of repetition (more than one occurrence of).

I have written a hyphen between the reduplicated elements. This is to facilitate reading.

A few cases of partial reduplication have been noted, but there are not enough examples to allow any generalisations.

Note also the use of a ligative ʌ between vowels in the last two examples.

ṯuna	*'run'*	ṯuna-ṯuna	*'to run around'*
jakapi	*'to listen'*	jakapi-jakapi	*'to listen intently'*
pujur	*'hot'*	pujur-pujur (or pupujur)	*'very hot'*
ʌuati	*'two*	ʌuati-ʌuati	*'four'*
-		piḻa-piḻa	*'baby'*
kujiri	*'boy'*	kuji-kujiri	*'boys'*
wampaḻaṉa	*'incorrectly'*	wampa-wampaḻaṉa	*'quite incorrectly'*
ŋaṉi	*'see'*	ŋaṉilaṉi	*'stare'*
iŋka	*'go'*	iŋka-ʌ-iŋka	*'go repeatedly, go back and forth, walk around'*
iṉci	*'chop'*	iṉci-ʌ-iṉci	*'chop repeatedly'*

5.6.   COMPOUNDING

There are a number of examples of compounds of the type noun-plus-noun and noun-plus-verb. The apparent order 'modifier-head' in the first example is exceptional.

piḻṯi-maḻi	*'soft' + 'tongue'*	*'soft'*(of speech),	*'dumb'*
ṯuṉṯal-puṯu	*'moon' + 'stomach'*	*'crescent moon'*	
kuṯu-waṯara	*'brains' + 'come out'*	*'to be angry'*	

```
        milti-puṯur-ati      'eyes' + 'good' +    'to open one's eyes'
                             intransitiviser
        milti-wakini        'eyes' + 'spin'       'to be intoxicated'
     (also heard as miltawakini)
```

5.7.   -jana   *'and'*, *'too'* CO-ORDINATING CONJUNCTION

(5.60)   ŋata aṛi-li-ɲin   maa-ci-ka   ati-ɲci-jana-ka
       we   eat-a/p-*part food*-dat-ø *meat*-dat-conj-ø

       'We are eating food and meat'.

(5.61)   malṯana caa   aṛi-li   cipa-a   ŋarkun-ku, aṉṯamuru-ṯati
       in mobs here eat-a/p *this*-dat *wall*-dat   *flock*-intr

       wakaḷa-jana kacapi-jana
       crow-conj   *hawk*-conj

       'In great numbers they eat the wallaroo, they flock
       together, both crows and hawks'.

(5.62)   ɲini aṛi-li-mi   ati-ɲci?
M.M.   *you eat*-a/p-fut   *meat*-dat

       'Are you going to eat meat?'

B.B.   maa-ci   (maa = *'vegetable food'* as opposed to ati *'meat'*)
       food-dat

       'Food'.

M.M.   ŋai-jana ɲiṯi maa-ci   aṛi-li ati-ɲci-jana
       me-conj   *here food*-dat *eat*-a/p *meat*-dat-conj

       'And I down here will eat food and meat too'.

5.8.   -wa, -ja LIGATIVES

-wa and -ja were described in 3.5.11. in relation to case marking
and in 5.2.3. with reference to -ŋu.

-wa is also used between the dative allomorph -ku and the prosodic
suffix -ka e.g. ucan-ku-wa-ka *'fire*-dative-ligative-ø'. It may also
occur following the dative allomorph -ku where nothing else follows,
e.g. ucan-ku-wa. As far as I can see it is not of any syntactic signi-
ficance. This final -wa could be a lenited allomorph of -pa (see
§5.9.2.) but if it is, we would have to posit free variation between
-pa and -wa.

5.9.   PROSODIC SUFFIXES

5.9.1.   -ka

-ka appears to have no function at the information level. It is
difficult to say much about the principles determining when it is used.
It is extremely common. It may be cliticised to any word. It is

common after disyllabic words, much more common than after longer words. Numerous examples are scattered through this book. They have been glossed as ∅ as explained in the introductory note.

5.9.2. -pa

-pa appears to have no function at the information level. It occurs mainly in the speech of Lardie Moonlight, cliticised to a variety of words.

5.10.   FREE FORM FUNCTION MORPHEMES

5.10.1.   ḻuu *INTENSIVE PARTICLE*

(5.63)   caa-ka ḻuu ŋanṯamaji caa curujan-ka kuntu ŋarpa-ṯu-ka
         here-∅ int *find*   *here* *echidna-∅*   *not*   *other-erg-∅*

         caa ḻuu cipa-ji
         here int *this-erg*

         '*He found the echidna, no one else did. He found it himself*'.

(5.64)   ḻiji-ka   ḻuu-ka ŋai ḻaji-ŋi
         3s:erg-∅ int-∅   *me*   *hit-me*

         '*He hit me*'.

         (also occurs as ḻiji ŋai ḻuuka ḻajiŋi)

5.10.2.   pa- *DEFINITISER*

The demonstrative pa- functions as a 'definitiser' particularly in correlation with a restrictive qualifying nominal or restrictive qualifying clause:

(5.65)   maṟapai-ṯu caa pa-ji   uḷkuuri-ṯu ḻaji ṯuar-ka
         woman-erg   *here* *that-erg*   *tall-erg*   *kill*   *snake*

         '*The tall woman killed the snake*'.

(5.66)   ŋai ŋkumaji pa-u   jur-ku   ŋuu ṉiṯa-ji-ṉa
         I   *seek*   *that-dat* *man-dat* *rel* *steal-a/p-past*

         ŋa-ci-wa-ku   maa-ci
         me-dat-lig-dat   *food-dat*

         '*I'm looking for the man who stole my tucker*'.

5.10.3.   ini *AUXILIARY VERB*

The verb ini ('*to be present, to remain*') is used as a means of using tense, aspect and mood markers with nominals in equational clauses, the tense or aspect marker being suffixed to ini.

(5.67)   macumpa   miḻṯi mucupari ini-ṉa
         kangaroo   *eyes*   *blind*   *be-past*

         '*The kangaroo was blind*'.

(5.68) ŋai ini-mi ati-iti,   jarika-jan-ati-mi
        I   be-fut meat-less   hungry-con-intr-fut

        'I will be without any meat. I'll be hungry'.

(5.69) wii ɲini puṯura ini-ka ŋai kia ini-manṯi
        query you good   be-ø   me   like be-imperf

        puṯura-kaʔ   puṯura ini-ja ŋai kia
        good-ø   good   be-imp me   like

        'Are you being good? Being good like me? Be good like me'.

5.10.4. paɲca *INTENSIVE VERB*

paɲca corresponds to English *'very'* in meaning. It is a verb but seems to occur only in parallel with a lexical verb with which it agrees in tense, aspect, mood, reflexiveness/reciprocalness and person/number marking.

(5.70) maṉu-ṯati ŋai makaṯi watiṉa, kuntu ŋulurmaji-mia
        weak-intr I   hand   both   not   hold-poss

        paɲcaji-mia
        intens-poss

        'My hands are weak, I can't hold it (sc. microphone) *tight*'.

5.10.5. ŋuɲca, ŋuɲcapuni *'to miss'*, *'to fail'*

ŋuɲca appears as an intransitive verb meaning *'to have failed to do'* or *'nearly to have done'* the activity described by another verb of the same phrase or a verb that is understood from the context, linguistic or extra-linguistic. ŋuɲcapuni is the transitive equivalent.

(5.71) ŋai caŋkaaṯi ŋuɲca-ṉa   ŋuji-ṉa
        I   here   fail-past fall-past

        'I nearly fell'(or 'I escaped (from) falling')

(5.72) ŋa-ṯu   caa ŋuɲcapuniji pukucur
        I-erg   here fail   mouse

        'I nearly caught the mouse'(or 'I missed the mouse')

5.10.6. ŋampu *'completely'*

ŋampu means something like *'completely'*.

(5.73) juku   iŋka-ṉa   ŋampu uṯaaŋara-ṯi
        spear go-past   right   other:side-loc

        'The spear went right through to the other side'.

(5.74) kuntu ŋai kuḻu-kuḻu iti-mi   ṉauṉa   ŋampu   ŋai kaanta
        not   I   again   return-fut   hither for:good I   go

        'I'll never come here again. I'm going for good'.

(5.75) ŋampu caa ŋa-ṯu ati-ka piɲciji piḻṯipuniji
        all   *here* *I-erg* *meat-ø* *cut*   *break/smash*

        'I cut the meat all up into pieces'.

(5.76) kaṯir-ka ḻaa ŋampu maniji-na
        grass-ø *now* *all* *burn-past*

        'The grass all got burned'.

        (also given as ŋampu caa ḻaa kaṯirka manijina)

Note also ŋampu-ṯati ('*to disappear*'), ŋampu kaṉṯa-kaṉṯa (*'back of head'*).

(5.77) kuntu caa-ka ŋampu-wa ɲuu caa ŋurku ɲu-ɲcaani miḻṯi
        not   *this-ø* *wholly-ø* *lie* *here* *only* *lie-contin* *eyes*

        'He's not really asleep. He's just pretending to be asleep'.

5.10.7.   uca '*just*'

(5.78) caa ɲin-ti atika ŋujintiji mu-ḻu-ka   uca arkun-ku-wa
        here *you-erg* *meat-ø* *drop*   *ground-loc-ø* *just* *fight-dat-ø*

        'You dropped the meat on the ground just to cause trouble'.

(5.79) ŋai-ka uca iŋka-ṉa ɲun-ku ḻaa   ŋaɲi-ji
        I-ø   *just* *go- past* *you-dat* *comp:I* *see-a/p*

        'I just came to see you'.

See also example (5.92).

5.10.8.   ḻamu '*might*'

(5.80) aṯii-mi ḻamu
        fall-fut *might*

        'It might rain'.

(5.81) ṯuŋumpiri ṉaa-ka maa-ka waṯaci-ka, ɲin-ti   ḻamu aɾi-mi
        bad   *here-ø* *food-ø* *fruit-ø*   *you-erg* *might* *eat-fut*

        'This fruit's not too good; you might eat it'.

(5.82) iʌa-ŋu-ṉa   caa-ka ciriku-ṯu ḻaji, japacara-ṯati-mi ḻamu
        now-adj-adv *here-ø* *bone-erg* *kill* *well-intrans-fut*   *might*

        'Blackfella bin catch 'im along bone. He might get all right'.

        (iʌaŋuṉa means '*recently*')

(5.83) ṯuku ḻamu   caa-ka waṯara-mi   macumpa ḻamu
        dog *might* *here-ø* *emerge-fut* *roo*   *might*

        'He might come out [reincarnated as] a dog or perhaps a kangaroo'.

5.10.9.   kuntu NEGATIVE

(5.84) kuntu ŋa-ṯu ŋaṉa caja-ṉa-ka
        not *I-erg* *saw* *former-adv-ø*

        'I've never seen him before'.

(5.85) cipa-ji kupaŋuru-ṯu caa patu-ma kujiri kuntu a-i
this-erg old man-erg here tell-pres boy not comp-he

panti-ji
tell-a/p

'The old man told the boy not to tell (anybody)'.

5.10.10. wanta NEGATIVE WITH IMPERATIVES ('*don't*')

(5.86) wanta ḻa-ja
don't hit-imp

'Don't hit it'.

5.10.11. miar '*very*'

miar can be used to indicate emphasis as in the first example below or it can be used following a nominal to indicate the sense of '*very*'.

(5.87) ṯupu-ŋku kari-ja-ŋi miar
soap-erg wipe-imp-me emph

'Wash me well with soap'.

(5.88.) ŋai kuntu aṛi-li-ɲcaŋu, ati-ka ṯail miar-ka
I not eat-a/p-habit meat-∅ hard emph-∅

'I don't eat (sc. *galah*), the meat's too tough'.

(5.89) jaun miar iŋka-mia
big emph go-poss

'The "biggest" (sc. *plane*) might come'.

5.10.12. kia '*like*'

kia is a particle meaning '*that way*' or '*this way*'. Used after a noun phrase it corresponds to English '*like*' in the sense of '*resemble*', and it may be cliticised to a preceding nominal.

(5.90) ŋai kia ŋaa ŋaur-ka
me like here child-∅

'The child looks like me'.

(5.91) caa-ka muṉṯu-ka kuḻa-aɲci kia
here-∅ face-∅ father-his like

'He looks like his father'.

(5.92) ɲini-ka uca punpa-punpati kia-ka arkun-ku
you-∅ just talk that:way-∅ fight-dative

'You're just talking like that to cause a fight'.

(5.93) kia ŋai iŋka (accompanied by pointing)
that way I go

'I'm going that way'.

5.10.13.   kiaŋu   *this way*

kiaŋu (kia + ŋu) means *'this way'*, *'like this'*, *'thus'* and *'equals'*:

(5.94)   ŋata-ji   kuntu   uṯantiji   kiaŋu-ka   ucan   kiakar
         we-erg   *not*   *possess*   *such*-∅   *fire*   *make*
         'We didn't have that kind of thing that makes fire'.
         (Sentence refers to *'matches'*.)

(5.95)   kiaŋu,   ḻi-ja   ŋai........
         like this   *leave*-imp   *me*
         (Offering an example to explain a point) *'Like this, leave me'.*

(5.96)   kuḻṯuur   kiaŋu   makaṯi-   ajar-ku   aṯii-ɲcaŋu
         brolga   *hand*   *one*-dat   *lay*-habitual
         'The brolga lays as many as five eggs'.
         (This sentence was given among descriptions of the habits
         of various birds. kiaŋu corresponds to a pause that follows
         a topic as in *'as for X, he......'* constructions.

5.10.14.   puju   *'if'*

puju (*'if'*) usually occurs as second word in a -ɲin clause,

(5.97)   kanimajiɲcir   puju   iŋka-cin,   ŋai   unuani-mia
         policeman   *if*   *come*-part   *I*   *rejoice*-poss
         'If the policeman comes, I might be happy'.

(5.98)   kuntu   puju   ḻa-ɲin   caa   ŋa-ṯu   ɲini   cipa-ji   ica-mia
         not   *if*   *kill*-part   *here*   *I*-erg   *you*   *this*-erg   *bite*-poss
         'If I hadn't killed it, it would have bitten you'.

5.10.15.   muṭu   *'together'*

muṭu (*'a heap, pile'*) occurs in contexts suggesting that besides its
lexical meaning it has the function of meaning *'collectively, together'*:

(5.99)   caa-ka   juku   ŋaḻi-i   muṭu-u
         here-∅   *spear*   *we*-dat   *together*-dat
         'The spear belongs to both of us'.

5.11.   ŋu   RELATIVE PARTICLE

ŋu is a relative particle. It is of infrequent occurrence and it is
difficult to produce examples of it by direct elicitation. The range
of examples available is unsatisfactory and it is not possible to dis-
cuss the syntax of ŋu constructions fully.

There are some relatively straightforward examples in which ŋu
appears to be a relative pronoun,

(5.100) ŋaṯaṯaṯi ŋuu ṯu-ji-ṉa   (ŋuu = ŋu augmented)
       sit   rel   *burn*-a/p-past

       'The one who burned him is sitting down'.

(5.101) ŋa-ṯu caa juru ŋaṉṯamaji ŋa-ci-wa-ku ṯuku-u
       I-erg   *here man*   *find*   *me*-dat-lig-dat *dog*-dat

       ŋuu   la-ji-ṉa
       rel   *hit*-a/p-past

       'I found the man who hit my dog'.

Where A of the ŋu clause is co-referential with an actant in the
governing clause, the anti-passive is used in the ŋu clause. There are
no examples available in which A of a ŋu clause is co-referential with
an A.

There are some examples in which the actant marked by the relative
is the P of the relative clause and the relative appears as ŋuṉa.

(5.102) kaanta-ṉa pakai-ka kalpuru-ṯiŋu ṉin-ti ŋuṉa ŋaṉa
       leave-past *that*-∅   *Boulia*-abl   *you*-erg rel-acc *saw*

       'The one whom you saw left Boulia'.

(5.103) ŋai uṯantiji-ṉa   pa-u   ṉaur-ku ṉin-ti ŋuṉa   ḻaji
       I   *look after*-past *that*-dat *child*-dat *you*-erg rel-acc *hit*

       'I've been looking after that kid you belted'.

I have glossed ŋu-ṉa as relative + accusative. If this interpretation
is correct then this would be the only appearance of the accusative
marker anywhere in the language. -ṉa is an accusative marker in many
Australian languages and so its appearance as an accusative in Kalka-
tungu is not too surprising.

Attempts to elicit examples of the relative in other case relations
have failed. For example, the sentence *'I saw the rock he jumped from'*
was translated as,

(5.104) ŋa-ṯu caa ŋaṉa ṉṯia ŋuu cuṉpa-ṉa pa-ŋu ṉṯia-piaŋu
       I-erg *here saw*   *rock which jump*-past *that*-abl *rock*-abl

       (lit.: *'I saw the rock which he jumped from that rock'.*)

and the sentence *'I didn't see what he was frightened of'* was trans-
lated as,

(5.105) kuntu ŋa-ṯu ŋaṉa ŋuu ṟumpi-ka
       not   *I*-erg *saw*   rel   *fear*-∅

       'I didn't see what he was frightened of'.

Since the complement of the verb ṟumpi is always marked by the causal
case, one would have expected some marking on ŋu. These examples may
be correct, but I suspect them, as they are contrary to the genius of
the language, which normally makes case relations explicit.

Attempts to elicit examples of ŋu representing an actant in a LOCATIVE relation produced.

(5.106) ŋa-ṯu   ṇaṇa   ṇṯia   ŋuu   ṇa-nṯi
      I-erg *saw*   *rock* *rel* *stand-on*

      '*I saw the rock he stood on*'.

This appears to be partly genuine in that -nṯi is used to express the LOCATIVE via the verb, but this should produce a transitive verb ṇanṯi '*to stand on*' and I would have expected -ṇa suffixed to ŋu-.

There are also examples where ŋu is used with a verb suffixed by -mi (future) or -ṇa(past) plus -ṯi (locative). For example,

(5.107) ŋa-ṯu waterbag kuu-ŋku puṯamaanṯi ŋu-wa iŋka-mi-ṯi
      I-erg *waterbag* *water-erg* *fill*   *rel-ø* *go-fut-loc*

      '*I filled the waterbag when I was leaving*'.

(5.108) caa ŋa-ṯu inṯakaipuniji kankaṛi-ka ŋai ŋuu
      here *I-erg* *forget*   *knife-ø* *I* *rel*

      aṛi-li-ṇa-ṯi
      eat-a/p-past-loc

      '*I forgot the knife when I ate*'.

(5.109) jarka-puni-ja aṯi ŋuu aaḷ-mi-ṯi
      far-tr-imp   *meat* *rel* *put-fut-loc*

      '*Move the meat away so that I can put it down*'.

(5.110) ŋulurmi-ja caa piḷapiḷa ṇaa minaŋara ŋuu
      grab-imp   *here* *child*   *here* *thing*   *rel*

      aaḷ-mi-ṯi bandage waŋka-pia
      put-fut-loc   *shin-loc*

      '*Grab the kid so I can put that thing, that bandage,on his leg*'.

There are also examples where an adverb is added to express the notion of '*before*' or '*after*'.

(5.111) kuu caa ŋa-ṯu aṇa ŋampuŋuṯuṇa ŋu-wa ḷa-mi-ṯi
      water *here* *I-erg* *gave* *before*   *rel-ø* *kill-fut-loc*

      '*I gave him water before killing him*'.

(5.112) caa ucan caa anṯaṯu-ja caŋkaaṯi maŋkaṇa ŋuu ini-mi-ṯi
      here fire here *light-imp* *here-loc* *later*   *rel stop-fut-loc*

      '*Light a fire here after we stop*'.

This then leaves a residue of cases where we have ŋuṇa and the verb suffixed by -mi + ṯi. I present these below with glosses and the infor- mants' translations.

(5.113) ŋai iŋka ŋuṇa ŋu-mi-ṯi
      I   *go*   *rel*   *lie-future-locative*

      '*I go so you can lie down*'.

(5.114) ŋaika iŋka maṟa ŋuṉa ŋu-ɲcaani-mi-ṯi
I go now *lie*-contin-future-locative
'I'm going till he laying down'.

(5.115) kari-ti-ja muṉṯu-u ŋuṉa iŋka-mi-ṯi
wash-re-imp *face*-dat *go*-future-locative
'Wash your face before you go'.

(5.116) ṉaka ɲin-ti caa piḷa-piḷa uṯantiji maa-ci ŋuṉa ṯuji-mi-ṯi
why *you*-erg *here* *child* *keep* *food*-dat *cook*-fut-loc
'Why do you have your kid with you while you are cooking the
tucker?'

(5.117) ɲini ŋuṉa iti-mi-ṯi taun-kuṉa paplikaur-kuṉa kuḷu-kuḷu
you *return*-fut-loc *town*-all *hotel*-all *again*
ṯuu-ṯuu anaṯii (ˤa-ni aṯii)
writing comp:*you*:*put down*
'When you go back to town, to the pub, you will write it down'.

The sense of the ŋuṉa clause in (5.113) clearly refers to *before*,
in (5.116) to *while*, and in (5.117) to *after*. As far as I can see
ŋuṉa in the 'time' clauses is not significantly different from ŋu.
Whether ŋu or ŋuṉa is used, the subordinate clause seems to refer to
time *before*, *when* or *after*. It looks as if the notion of relative
time is left to the context, but can be made explicit by the use of an
adverb if necessary. Apparently the sense of *in order to* is also
within the ambit of ŋu clauses (see (5.113)).

5.12. INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES

Most interrogative sentences contain an interrogative pronoun or
adverb or verb. The interrogative word is almost always the first word
in the sentence. The only interrogative sentences without an interro-
gative word are polar questions marked by rising intonation (see example
(5.132)).

Note that ṉaka may mean *what?* or *why?* or it may mark a polar
question. ṉakaja, ṉakajakuwa ~ ṉakaakuwa (ṉaka + ja + ku + wa)
ṉakajan (ṉaka + jan) seem to be synonymous all meaning *why*.
ṉakaṯuŋu may also express *why?*

ṉakaṯi, the locative case of ṉaka expresses *how?*, not ṉakaṯu as one
would expect.

(5.118) ṉani ipal? kali
who *name* *not know*
'What's his name? I don't know'.

(5.119) ṉani ṯuna-mi ati-ɲci a-i mani-ji-ka?
who *run*-fut *meat*-dat comp-*he* get-a/p-∅
'Who will run and get the meat?'

(5.120) ṉan-ku   ṉaa ṱuku?
        who-dat here dog

'Whose dog is that?'

(5.121) ṉaka ɲini jaŋaalu? jalaŋŋa,   kalkatuŋu?
        what you language Yalarnnga Kalkatungu

'What's your language? Yalarnnga or Kalkatungu?'

(5.122) caa macumpa ṉaka-ṱi ɲin-ti   ḻaji? jalpi-pia ṉaa
        here roo   what-loc you-erg kill net-loc   here

        ŋa-ṱu ḻaji
        I-erg kill

'How did you kill the kangaroo? I killed it in a net'.

(5.123) ṉakajakuwa ɲin-ti   ḻaji caa juruŋara-ka? ḻi-ja!
        why   you-erg hit here man-other-ø leave-imp

'Why are you hitting this other man? Let him alone'.

(5.124) ṉaka ṉaa ɲin-ti   itintiji   paṉṱa-paṉṱa ŋa-ciṉa
        what here you-erg bring:back wood:adder me-all

'Why did you bring that wood adder back to me?'

(5.125) ṉaka-jan ɲin-ti   caa juru-ka ḻaji? puṱura ŋaṱaṱati-ɲin
        what-con you-erg   here man-ø hit   good   sit-part

'Why did you hit this man?' 'He bin good.'

(5.126) ṉaka-ṱuŋu ɲin-ti   maiḻ-mi?
        what-caus you-erg rub-fut

'Why are you going to massage him?'

(5.127) ṉaka-jan-ati-miṉa-n   ɲini?
        what-con-intr-imperf-you you

'What are you doing?'

(5.128) ṉaka-ja ɲin-ti   ṱuntiji-ka ŋa-ci maṛapai-ka?
        what-dat you-erg take-ø   me-dat woman-ø

'Why did you take my wife?'

(5.129) ṉaka-jan-ati caa? ṱuku ḻamu caa-ka waṱara-mi
        what-con-intr here dog might here   emerge-fut

'What will he become? He might come out a dog (when he dies)'.

(5.130) ṉaka-jan-puniji?
        what-con-tr

'What is he doing?'

(5.131) ṉamiŋu   ɲini aṉa? ʌuati
        how many you gave two

'How many did he give you? Two'.

(5.132) ṉiaŋu ɲini iti-mi?   waṱaŋaṉa
        when you return-fut tomorrow

'When will you come back? Tomorrow'.

'Where (at)' is expressed by arakaṱi, 'where to' by arakaṉi and 'where from' by arakaŋu.

(5.133) araka   pakai   cuṭu-ka   kuu-u-ja-ŋu-ka
         where   that   coolaman-∅ water-dat-lig-adj-∅

         *'Where's the coolaman to put the water in?' ('coolaman
         belong water')*

(5.134) arakaṭi   ɲini?   ŋiṭi
         where   you   here

         'Where are you? Here'.

(5.135) arakaṉi   ɲini?   kia-ka
         where:to you   this:way-∅

         'Where are you going? This way'.

(5.136) kia   ɲini   (iŋka)?   kia-ka
         which:way you   go   this:way-∅

         'Which way are you going? This way'.

(5.137) ṉakaṭicajan ɲin-ti   ḻaji-ka macumpa-ka? iɲciji   ṉaa
         how   you-erg kill-∅ kangaroo   hit   there

         ŋa-ṭu   ṉṭia-ku   (iɲci = *'to hit with a missile'*)
         I-erg   stone-erg

         'How did you kill the kangaroo? I hit him with a stone'.

Polar interrogatives are expressed, (a) by using interrogative in-
tonation, (b) with **wii** or **wili**, or (c) **ṉaka**.

(5.138) ɲin-ti   a-ŋi-ḻa?   ṉakaakuwa ɲin-ti   ŋai   ḻa-mi-ka?
         you-erg comp-me-hit   why   you-erg me   hit-future-∅

         'Are you going to hit me? Why are you going to hit me?'

(5.139) wii   ɲini   puṭura   ini?
         query you   good   be

         'Are you being good?'

(5.140) wili   ɲin-ti   waku-ka   ciaji-mpa-n?
         query you-erg   skin-∅   take out/off-perf-you

         'Have you taken the skin off?'

No significance appears to attach to the distinction between **wii** and
wili; both occur with intransitive and transitive verbs for instance.
wii may simply be **wili** with l deleted in accordance with the tendency
to delete consonants between like vowels (see §2.13.).

5.13.   INDEFINITES

The interrogatives are not used as indefinites as in some languages.
ŋarpa is the indefinite *'some creature'*.   **ŋarpa .... ŋarpaŋara** may be
used for *'(the)one .....(the)other'*.   **miṉaŋara** is *'something'*.   **miṉaŋara**
is also used in a way that corresponds to our use of terms like
'whatchamacallit' and there is a verb form **miṉaŋarama** *'to whatchamacallit'*.
ŋarpa and **miṉaŋara** decline like regular nouns.

CHAPTER 6

WORD ORDER AND THEMATIC STRUCTURE

6.1.   WORD ORDER IN THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

There is a good deal of variation in word order, but it seems that
the most frequent patterns for intransitive and transitive sentences
are:

(a)   intransitive : S_i V

(6.1)   wampa caa iŋka
         girl   here go
         'The girl goes'.

(b)   transitive : A P V

(6.2)   macumpa caa ŋai ṇaŋa
         kangaroo here me   saw
         'The kangaroo saw me'.

However, the pattern A V P is fairly common too. Verbless sentences
occur too of course:

(6.3)   ɲini caa   jaɲi
         you   here   white man
         'You are a white man'.

Often the topic is set off from the comment by caa or ṇaa as in the
examples above. paa may also be used but only if there is reference to
a location relatively distant from the speaker, whereas caa and ṇaa need
not have any deictic function (see §3.2.4.).

(6.4)   ŋarkun paa   ṯuna ŋampuṯati
         wall   there run   disappear
         'The wallaroo is running away'.

caa and ṇaa seem to be used also as 'hesitation fillers'. For example,
an informant in translating a difficult English sentence will often use
caa or ṇaa in front of each group of words translated. They are also

used for prosodic effect. In the following example, for instance, the
function of caa is to balance kuntu and more importantly to set off the
second phonological phrase from the first.

 (6.5) ṉan-ku ṇṯia?
    who-dat *money*

   'Whose money is it?'

   kuntu ŋa-ci-ka, caa jaṇi-i
   not *me*-dat-∅ *here white man*-dat

   'It's not mine, it's the white man's'.

  Adverbs and adverb-like noun phrases (e.g. locatives) tend to follow
the S$_1$ V, A P V, A V P patterns listed above. Negatives and interro-
gatives, however, are virtually always in sentence-initial position.

 (6.6) kuntu ɲin-ti aɲa puṯur-ka, ɲinti aɲa ṯuŋumpiri
    not *you*-erg *gave* *good*-∅ *you*-erg *gave bad*

   'You didn't give him good (food). You gave him bad (food)'.

  Locative phrases are often accompanied (preceding or following) by
an adverb expressing a specific orientation:

 (6.7) ṯuar ṇṯia-pia piriṉa
    snake *rock*-loc *on top*

   'The snake is on the rock'.

6.2. NOUN PHRASE

  Within the noun phrase the modifier (determined semantically) normally
follows the head:

 (6.8) ɲini iŋka ṇṯia-aṉa jaun-kuṉa
    you *go* *mt*-all *big*-all

   'You're going to the big mountain'.

However, demonstratives and adnominal datives normally precede the head:

 (6.9) ŋa-ṯu ɲini cipa-ji ati-ṉṯu iɲci-mi
    I-erg *you* *this*-erg *meat*-erg *hit*-fut

   'I'll hit you with this meat'.

 (6.10) ŋa-ci papipi miṉaŋaramaji-ɲcaŋu kariji-ɲcaŋu muṟu-u
    me-dat *f's m* *whatchamacallit*-habit *clean*-habit *camp*-dat

   'My granny whatchamacallits...eh...cleans the camp'.

  It is common, particularly with ergative noun phrases, to split the
constituents, often by putting one (or more) in sentence initial position
and the other (or others) in sentence final position:

 (6.11) ŋa-ci-ka kuḻa-ji ḻaji ṯuar maḻṯa japacara-ṯu
    me-dat-∅ *fa*-erg *kill* *snake mob* *clever*-erg

   'My clever father killed the snakes'.

Note that all constituents of a noun phrase, whether they are
separated or not, receive the case marking appropriate to the syntactic
function of the phrase as a whole. The only exceptions are dative
adjuncts which are sometimes not marked, particularly in A function, as
in the preceding and the following examples:

(6.12) ŋa-ci[1] kuḻa-ji aṇka-maṉṯi-ṯu ḻaji caa ṯuŋumpiri
      me-dat *fa*-erg *ail*-imperf-erg *kill here bad*

'*My sick father killed the bad man*'.

Besides noun phrases consisting of demonstrative and/or nominal head
and/or nominal modifier there is a type consisting of a non-singular
personal pronoun followed by a nominal further specifying the reference
of the pronoun. Thus ŋaḻi kuŋi, literally '*me:two wife*' means '*my wife
and I*', kuŋi specifying the non first-person referent of ŋaḻi.

ŋaḻi ɲini	'*you and I*'
ŋaḻi jaɲi	'*the white man and I*'
ŋaḻi muaŋŋu-waɲcir	'*my cousin and I*' (muaŋŋu
	'*cousin*' - waɲcir (see §5.2.7.3.)
ṯina julpajapaṯa	'*they, a father and his sons*'
	(see §5.2.7.3.)

6.3. VERB PHRASE

The verb phrase consists of a verb or of two (or more?) verbs struc-
turally in parallel, i.e. sharing the same tense/aspect, voice, mood and
transitivity (e.g. -ti, -ɲcama-) marking. In most instances the verbs
are semantically equipollent, i.e. there is no head and no modifier.

(6.13) ŋampu   caa ŋa-ṯu ati-ka piɲciji piḻṯipuniji
      completely here I-erg *meat*-ø *cut   chop*

'*I chopped up all the meat*'.

(6.14) kupaŋuru caa ŋa-ṯu ɲaɲa ɲu-ɲcaani-cin aṇka-cin
      old man   here I-erg *saw   lie*-contin-part *ail*-part

'*I saw the old man lying down ill*'.

(6.15) piḻa-piḻa maṯu-uɲci-ja-ku ŋaṉṯamaji-ṉa paɲcaji-ṉa
      child   mo-his-lig-dat *look for*-past *very*-past

'*The child searched hard for his mother*'.

It is possible that the parallel verbs represent separate constituents
of the sentence or of a predicate phrase rather than of a verb phrase.
However, I can find no instance where one of the verbs but not the other
is modified by an adverb.

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[1]See (3.77).

6.4. CO-ORDINATION OF NOUN PHRASES

Two or more noun phrases may be joined by -jana (and) suffixed to the non-initial phrase or phrases, or to all the phrases.

(6.16)   iti-ji   maṟapai-ṯu-jana piḷa-piḷa ḻaji-ṉa
       man-erg woman-erg-and child   hit-past
       'The man and the woman hit the child'.

Noun phrases may also be coordinated without any conjunction. Where reference is made to the part of a whole, it is normal to use nominals in apposition for the whole and the part respectively. Previously I reported these whole-plus-part sequences (e.g. ŋarkun ṯapantu *'wallaroo foot'* i.e. *'wallaroo's foot'*) as constituting a noun phrase. However, Tsunoda has pointed out that each nominal probably represents a separate phrase and can be modified independently of the other. The appositive nominals are not necessarily juxtaposed, but it is normal in Kalkatungu for constituents of a noun phrase to be separated with the modifier being nominalised. See (6.11).

6.5. COMPLEX SENTENCES

Complex sentences have been described in chapters four and five. Here is a check list of types of subordinate clause:

(a) favourite construction
(b) 'lest' construction
(c) participial clauses (i)   -ɲin
                      (ii) -maṉṯi
(d) temporal/relative clauses
(e) -ɲcaaja clauses
(f) time clauses in -ɲin, -ɲinta

This leaves the following construction undescribed since there is no morphological peg to hang it on.

6.5.1. *INDEPENDENT CLAUSE AS P*

The verbs punpaji (*'to ask'*), pantiji (*'to inform'*), pati (*'to order, to inform'*) occur with independent clauses functioning as their PATIENT.

(6.17) punpa-ja caa maṟapai ṯuntiji pa-ji   ŋa-ci cuṯu
       ask-imp here woman   take   that-erg me-dat coolaman
       'Ask that woman if she took my coolaman'.

(6.18) ŋa-ṯu ɲini pati-ṉa ŋa-ci maṯu iŋka-mi ŋa-ciṉa
       I-erg you   tell-past me-dat mo   go-fut   me-all
       'I told you my mother was coming to (see) me'.

However, if the P of the governing verb represents the negative of a command, the negative is expressed by kuntu not wanta.

(6.19) ŋa-ṯu ɲini pati-ṉa kuntu ŋai-ka ŋuwa-ŋi
I-erg *you* *tell*-past *not* *me*-∅ *see:*imp-*me*

'I told you not to look at me'.

(but note that *'don't'* is normally expressed by wanta)

A few examples occur in which the verb of the P clause is marked by -ɲin.

(6.20) ɲin-ti ŋai kuntu pati-ṉa caa cuṯu ɲin-ti mani-ɲin
you-erg *me* *not* *tell*-past *here coolaman you*-erg *take*-part

'You didn't tell me you had taken the coolaman'.

6.5.2. *WORD ORDER IN COMPLEX SENTENCES*

The favourite construction, the 'lest' construction and the -ɲcaaja constructions regularly follow the main clause of the sentences in which they occur. -ɲin and -maṉṯi clauses follow the main clause if they qualify P in the main clause but they may be embedded following the S_1 or A of a main clause; similarly, 'relative' clauses in ŋu.......ṯi almost always follow the main clause.

Whereas the word order of independent clauses exhibits a good deal of variation, there tends to be a fairly rigid word order in subordinate clauses. In the favourite construction, for instance, the word order is:

        AGENT   complementiser + bound pronouns verb
        PATIENT   "   "   "   "

With the 'lest' construction the verb is almost always sentence final. There are insufficient examples of 'lest' constructions with P represented by a noun phrase to make it clear whether P always precedes ana or kuṉu (see §4.4.) as one would expect by analogy with the favourite construction. A seems to come first in the 'lest' construction.

The verb is always sentence final in ŋu.....ṯi constructions, but there are too few examples of noun phrases in this construction to indicate how fixed their position might be.

Where ŋu or ŋuṉa occur functioning as relative pronouns they seem to occur as the second constituent in the ŋu clause, the order being NP ŋu verb:

(6.21) araka pakai ɲin-ti ŋu-ṉa ŋaṉṯamaji-ka utupa
where it you-erg rel-acc *find*-∅ *frog*

'Where's the frog you found?'

The word order within -ɲin clauses seems to exhibit some variation and since most of the -maṉṯi clauses are intransitive not much can be said about their word order.

Two dominant tendencies that can be found in subordinate clauses are:

(a) the verb is almost always clause-final whereas in independent clauses the patterns VS_1 and AVP are not too uncommon.

(b) a grammatical particle or particle-plus-bound pronoun appears regularly as the second constituent of a subordinate clause if there is a non-verb constituent present:

1		2		3
adverb		a-		verb
oblique NP		ana	+ bound pronoun	
A		kuṉu		
P		uṉu		
		ŋu		

6.6. COMPOUND SENTENCES

Simple sentences may be coordinated simply by using the non-rising non-falling final intonation contour (/→/) on the non-initial sentences of the sequence.

(6.22) ɲini-ka ṯuna , ŋa-ci kuḷa-ka maṉu
        *you-ø   run   me-*dat *fa-ø   slow*
        'You are faster than my father'.

(6.23) ɲini ŋai-ŋu piḷa-piḷa , ŋai kupaŋuru
        *you   me-*loc *child   I   old man*
        'I'm older than you'.

(6.24) caa-ka jaun ulujan-ka , ŋarpaŋara katakuḷu
        here-ø big   eagle-ø   other   small
        'The eagle is the biggest bird of all'.

Overt co-ordinators are not common. -jana ('and') may be used to co-ordinate sentences (see §5.7.), in which case it is suffixed to the first word of the co-ordinated clause.

A compound sentence may be formed by omitting S_1 or A from the non-initial clause.

(6.25) paa-miakaja iŋka-ṉa , ḷaji-ṉa
        *that-*plural *go-*past *hit*
        'Those went , hit ....'

In such a construction or indeed in any co-ordinate construction, there does not seem to be any evidence of the ergative principle we

find operating in subordinate clauses. We do not have a choice between using -ji or omitting it. We cannot co-ordinate on the basis of P being referential with S_1 or with A. In (6.25) there is no possibility of omitting -ji from ḷaji to give the meaning *'were hit'*. To express *'went and got hit'* one would have to introduce ŋarpa as an indefinite agent.

(6.26) ṇaa-miakaja iŋka-ṉa , ŋarpa-ṯu ḷaji-ṉa
        that-plural *go*-past   indef-erg *hit*-past
        'They went and someone hit them'.

Co-ordination is most commonly effected by a combination of intonation and bound pronouns. Essentially we have independent sentences co-ordinated only inasmuch as the non-final clauses of the sentence are marked by /→/. Where clauses are so coordinated, it is normal to represent S_1 and A by the S_1/A set of bound pronouns (§3.3.) in the non-initial clauses. These bound pronouns may be used in a sentence-initial clause or indeed in any independent clause. P may also be represented by a bound pronoun but the series of P pronouns appears to be defective. The first person and third person singular in S_1 or A function is represented by zero.

(6.27) mpaja kuntu ŋaṉṯamai-ṉa ŋurkuṉa iti-ṉa-mpa-ṉu
        you:2 not find-past *empty-h return*-past-perf-*you:2*
        'You two didn't find any and you came back empty-handed'.

(6.28) maṟapai-ṯu ṉaṉa that caa , iŋka-ṉa-ju   ṯumparara-a,
        woman-erg saw that here go-past-*they:2 lizard*-dat

        iti-ntiji-ṉa-ju   , ḷaji-ju   ṯumparara
        return-tr-past-they:2 kill-they:2 lizard
        'The women saw that. They went for the lizard, brought it back and killed it'.

(6.29) maṟapai-ṯu ŋai ḷaji kaki-jan-puniji-ŋi
        woman-erg me hit wound-con-tr-*me*
        'The woman hit me and wounded me'.

The verb of non-initial clauses describing a sequence of actions may be suffixed by -mpa.

(6.30) caa ŋa-ṯu maniji ṯuar-ka jaṟari maniji-mpa ḷaa wakini
        here I-erg get snake-ø tail get-seq   *now spin*

        ḷaji-mantiji-mpa mu-ḷu
        hit-with   seq ground-loc
        'I get the snake by the tail, get it and kill it by whipping it on the ground'.

6.7.   THEMATIC STRUCTURE

The preceding generalisations about word order were made without reference to thematic structure. A consideration of the thematic structure brings out two clear principles:

(a)   the topic precedes the comment

(b)   the sentence-initial position is one that can be used for focus.

Consider for example sentences such as the following where the specific precedes the generic, the specific obviously representing the topic.

(6.31)   ɲirili   caa kupaŋuru
         Nyirili here old man

         'Nyirili is an old man'.

(6.32)   kunka   paa   piɲpiɾi
         tree   there coolibah

         'That tree is a coolibah'.

All other things being equal, A precedes P. However, most of the well-known topicalisation tendencies override this underlying order. If A is inanimate or indefinite it tends to follow P, particularly if P is human, most especially if it is first person.

(6.33)   ŋai-ka uṉṯaji   kuu-ŋku
         I-Ø   soak   rain-erg

         'I got caught in the rain'.

(6.34)   caa juṉṯu ŋa-ci ṯuku piḻṯipuniji cipa-ji   ṉṯia-ku
         here arm   me-dat dog   crush   this-erg rock-erg

         ŋuji-ɲin-tu
         fall-past-erg

         'The falling rock crushed my dog's paw'.

(6.35)   caa pussycat ŋa-ci ŋarpa-ṯu   laji
         here cat   me-dat someone-erg kill

         'Someone killed my cat'. 'My cat got killed'.

The use of ŋaci following its head is unusual.

Regarding point (b), that the sentence-initial position may be used for focus, the following examples are offered. The focus will often be in its 'normal' position within the comment, but almost as often it is moved to the front of the sentence.

In the first example, iɲciji is in focus. Note that ḻa-, the verb used in the question, means *'hit by contact'* or *'kill'* and it is used where the details of hitting or killing are not known. iɲci on the other hand means *'to hit with a missile'* or *'to chop'*:

(6.36) n̪akat̪icajan ɲin-ti l̪aji-ka macumpa-ka?
      how   *you-erg kill-ø kangaroo-ø*

'*How did you kill the kangaroo?*

       iɲciji   n̪aa   ŋa-t̪u n̪t̪ia-ku
       hit   *here I-erg stone-erg*

'*I hit him with a stone*'.

(6.37) pipani caa juru
       clever here man

'*He's clever that bloke*'.

(6.38) ca-ŋkajaŋu mar̪a ŋai iŋka-n̪a kua-l̪aŋu
       this-abl   *now I*   *go-past creek-abl*

'*This is the creek I came from (this morning)*'.

       cipa-ji ŋa-t̪u kunka-ku l̪ai caa t̪uar, caŋkaat̪i
       this-erg I-erg stick-erg hit here snake here

       n̪u-ɲcaani-cin an̪t̪iija
       lie-contin-part mouth:loc

'*This is the stick I used to hit the snake who was lying

in the doorway*'. ('*With this stick I hit...*')

(6.39) L.M. ŋa-t̪u n̪ulurmaji wakar̪i
           I-erg catch   *fish*

           '*I caught [some] fish*'.

      M.M. wakar̪i maniji ŋa-ci-wa-t̪u mar̪apai-t̪u ; malt̪a
           fish get me-dat-lig-erg woman-erg mob

           wakar̪i maniji ŋa-ci-wa-t̪u mar̪apai-t̪u
           fish get me-dat-lig-erg woman-erg

           '*My wife got [some] fish; my wife got a lot of fish*'

(6.40) B.B. n̪ami   pil̪a-pil̪a at̪iji
           how many child   *produce*

           '*How many children does she have?*'

      M.M. kurpai cˈpa-ji at̪iji
           three this-erg produce

           '*She has three*'.

(6.41) B.B. '*How would you catch* utiŋar?'

      M.M. jalpi-ŋku , jalpi-ŋku ŋa-t̪u l̪aji utiŋar-ka
           net-erg   *net-erg I-erg kill emu-ø*

           '*With a net, I kill emus with a net*'.

           (l̪aji is not to be taken literally)

(6.42) M.M. n̪ani ɲin-ti pat̪i-n̪a?
           who you-erg tell-past

           '*Who did you tell?*'

      L.M. iki   ŋa-t̪u pat̪i-na ....
           Hickey I-erg tell-past

           '*I told Hickey.....*'

(6.43)   B.B.   *'Where were you born?'*

M.M.   jamiḷi- jamiḷi-ṯi   ŋai   ŋa-ci   maṯu-ju   aṯiji
       Old Hammerly-loc   *me*   *me*-dat *mo*-erg   *bear*

'At Old Hammerly my mother had me'.

(6.44)   macumpa   ,   ṉakaṯi   ɲin-ti   ḷaji ?
         kangaroo   *how*   *you*-erg *kill*

'The kangaroo. How did you kill it?'

jalpi-pia   ṉaa   ŋa-ṯu   ḷaji
net-loc   *here* *I*-erg *kill*

'I caught in a net'.

Note in (6.44) that macumpa appears outside the sentence as a preposed topic. This familiar device is not uncommon in Kalkatungu.

6.8.   DELETING A AND P

Since third person singular is represented normally by zero, there will be many examples of independent clauses with no overt A or P even apart from elliptical sentences. However, apart from this, it seems that one can omit an indefinite A. Thus one finds sentences such as,

(6.45)   ŋa-ci   kuḷa   ṉaa   katiji-ṉa   ŋiṯi
         me-dat *father* *here* *bury*-past *here*

'My father was buried here'.

However, ŋaci kuḷa in (6.45) is P not S_1 (it would be represented in the accusative if realised as a bound pronoun). I think we must consider that there is a third person A present, realised by zero. Apparently this zero third person form can be used for an indefinite A. This choice of an indefinite A and the related fact that ŋaci kuḷa in (6.45) is topic give the impression that this is an intransitive passive-like sentence. However, structurally it is transitive.

Any examples of the omission of an indefinite P involve the antipassive, e.g. maṯu ṯuji *'mother cooks'*.

KALKATUNGU IN COMPARATIVE/HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

7.1. CLASSIFICATION BY LEXICOSTATISTICS

In 1966 O'Grady, Wurm and Hale published a lexicostatistical classi-
fication of Australian languages based on the 'percentage of cognate
lexical items' (O'Grady and Klokeid 1968:298) that languages had in
common. The classification appeared in the form of a map (see referen-
ces), but a list of Australian languages classified as on the map
appeared in Anthropological Linguistics 8:2. The methods used to arrive
at the classification are described in O'Grady and Klokeid 1968. A
revised version of the classification appeared in Wurm 1972.

The classification has been strongly criticised by Dixon (1972:337)
on the grounds that it takes too little account of borrowing, but never-
theless the classification provides a useful orientation.

O'Grady and co. classify two communalects sharing over 70 per cent of
vocabulary in common as dialects of the same language. Communalects
sharing between 51 per cent and 70 per cent are classified as languages
of the same subgroup; those sharing between 15 per cent and 25 per cent
are classified as members of the same family, and those sharing less
than 15 per cent are classified as members of separate families.

The classification recognises 29 families (27 in Wurm's revision)
with one family, the Pama-Nyungan, covering over two-thirds of the
continent and the other 28 (26 in Wurm) being concentrated in a contin-
uous bloc running from Dampier Land in Western Australia to the western
coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria in north-west Queensland. As can be
observed from the map, the Pama-Nyungan family has an enclave in north-
east Arnhem Land.

Kalkatungu is classified by O'Grady and co. as the sole member of
the Kalkatungic Group within the Pama-Nyungan family.

Since Kalkatungu is on the northern periphery of the Pama-Nyungan
area and since from casual observation it appears to lack many of the

well-known widespread Pama-Nyungan words such as ţina *'foot'* and maṟa *'hand'*,it is interesting to check to see if Kalkatungu really is Pama-Nyungan.

The following figures indicate the proportion of words Kalkatungu shares with its neighbours and near neighbours. The first figure in each entry, the vulgar fraction, indicates the actual number of items that were common to the lists being compared and the actual number of items compared. The second figure expresses this ratio as a percentage. The figures were obtained by comparing as many items as possible from a variety of sources.

The entry listed as 'Curr 97' is the vocabulary numbered 97 in Curr and presented as a vocabulary of 'Mykoolan' (/mayikulan/). However, neither the location nor the actual words given tally with what we know from other sources for mayikulan. The location is given as 'between the Gregory and Leichardt [sic] Rivers'. Providing they were well up along these rivers (i.e. well to the south), the speakers of vocabulary 97 would have been neighbours or near neighbours of the Kalkatungu. The language of 97 is clearly of the Mayiyapi type, i.e. related to Mayikutuna, Mayiyapi, Ngawun, Mayikulan, Mayithakurti and Wunamara. It also contains the highest percentage of what are fairly obviously loan words from Kalkatungu of any of the Mayiyapi-type sources. This suggests that the name Mayikulan is incorrect as Mayikulan was certainly not contiguous with Kalkatungu. The location given in Curr suggests that it belongs in the southern part of Mayikutuna territory and indeed it contains a few distinctively Mayikutuna terms such as muţa *'bad'*, yirman *'man'* and muni *'tongue'*. I will leave it as simply Curr 97 but the pattern of shared vocabulary items, not only items shared with Kalkatungu but also with other Mayiyapi-type communalects, suggests that it is probably 'southern Mayikutuna'.

Kalkatungu and Wanyi	5/150	3%
" " Mayiyapi	32/200	16%
" " 'Curr 97'	24/109	26%
" " Mayithakurti	38/150	25%
" " Wunamara	22/100	22%
" " Guwa	30/200	15%
" " Yanda	15/102	15%
" " Yalarnnga	71½/167	43%
" " Warluwara	22/900	2%
" " Bularnu	9/200	5%
" " Yaruwinga	3/150	2%

These are raw figures with no allowance for probable borrowings.
Each comparison involves two non-lexical items, namely the roots for
'I' and *'you'*. In those cases where these two words could not be
found, they were assumed to be cognate with Kalkatungu. The roots,
ŋa- *'I'* and NⁱuᷢNⁱi *'you'*, are found in practically every Pama-Nyungan
language and can be found in languages or dialects closely related to
those sources in which we find they are not recorded.

The following lists give the words that are common to Kalkatungu and
each of the neighbouring languages I compared Kalkatungu with. The
items marked by a cross (X) to the left of Kalkatungu entry are those
which I consider to be loan words as opposed to genuine cognates or old
borrowings.

There are doubtless phonetic inaccuracies in these lists but this
should not affect the figures based on a comparison of these lists.

Wanyi

English	Wanyi		Kalkatungu
I	ŋaka		ŋaji
you	niɲci		ɲinti
crow	waakula	X	wakaḷa, waakaḷa
corroboree	cuɲpa	?	cuɲpa *('jump')*
rock wallaby	ŋaḷiŋaḷi	X	ŋaḷiŋaḷi

Mayiyapi

English	Mayiyapi		Kalkatungu
young man	japijiri	X	japariri
father's mother	papi	X	papi(pi)
hair	warumpu		waṟupu
eye	mili		miḻṯi
beard	janpar		jaṉpar
stomach	wajir		waira *('heart')*
	ŋəpura		putu *('stomach')*
navel	cuŋku		ciiŋku
excrement	waṉṯu, wana		unu
sores	kaki		kaki
kangaroo	macumpa, kuru X		macumpa
wallaroo	ŋarkunu	X	ŋarkun
kangaroo rat	cikal	X	cikal *('bandicoot')*
bandicoot	pikura, wuni X		pikura
flying fox	muɲur		muɲi *('bat')*
fish	palpi, wakaji		wakaṟi

eaglehawk	kuriṯala	X	kuriṯala
wild turkey	parkamu, ṯuruŋa	X	parkamu
kookaburra/jackass	caruŋkul	X	caruŋkul('jackass')
crow	ṯuŋupari, waja		wakaḻa, waakaḻa
black duck	karapa, pinṯura	X	karapa ('duck')
fly	milŋa, ɲimul	X	milŋa
feather	kuṯi	X	kuṯi
sun	kukuṟu, piɲcamu	?	wanaka, piɲcamu
thunder	janpari, pari		janpiri('lightning')
stone	miṇṯi		ŋṯia
tree	kuŋka, puku		kunka
grass	kaṯir/kacira jalkuɲ	X	kaṯir
boomerang	jalkapaṟi	X	jalkapaṟi
woomera	jilman	X	julman
shield	jampuru	X	jampuru
meat	kaṯi		aṯi
big	jakun		jawun
dark	waraŋka etc.		waṯaŋka
black	marcin	X	macin, marcin
sit, stay	jini		ini
see	ɳama		ɳa-
three	kurpara, kurpaji		kurpai
I	ŋajiku		ŋai
you	junṯu		ɲini, ɲinti

Curr 97

English	Curr 97		Kalkatungu
wallaroo	ŋarkun	X	ŋarkun
pelican	walkiripari	X	walkiripari
white cockatoo	jawurawari	X	jauira
crow	wukan	X	ukan,wakan,wakaḻa
mosquito	mika	X	mikaṟa, mikaa
fly	milŋa	X	milŋa
three	kurpaji		kurpai
younger siblings	kacakura		kacakuḻu ('small')
young man	upariɲci	X	upariɲci
baby	piḻapiḻa	X	piḻapiḻa
head	kanṯar		kanṯa
eye	mili		milṯi
ear	pina		inṯa [normal], pina [rare]
hair	warumpu		waṟupu

beard	janpar		jaṇpar
grass	kaʈir	X	kaʈir
excrement	kuna		unu
reed spear	kunkun		kunka
woomera	julman	X	julman
shield	miʈir	?	miʈar
tomahawk	mari	X	maria
star	cirka	X	cirka
dark	waraŋka		waʈaŋka
day	nila/ṇiḻa		iʎa
I	ŋajiku		ŋai (nominative)
you	juwantu		ɲinti (ergative)
sit	jini-		ini ('remain')

Mayithakurti

English	Mayithakurti		Kalkatungu
young man	japariri	X	japariri
father's mother	papin	X	papi(pi)
mother-in-law	wapuʈu	X	wapuʈu
hair	warumpu		waɾupu
eyebrow	miʎcirin		miḻʈi ('eyes')
beard	janpar		jaṇpar
elbow	jurumuku		juɾumuku
breasts	ŋamakura,ʈampu		ŋamaṇa ('chest')
stomach	ŋapura		puʈu
big toe	cana maʈu		piku('nail') maʈu
excrement	wunʈu		wunu
kangaroo	macumpa	X	macumpa
	maŋuruŋu		
wallaroo	ŋarkun	X	ŋarkunu
kangaroo rat	ŋaḻiŋaḻi	X	ŋaḻiŋaḻi ('rock wallaby')
echidna('porcupine')	wacinan	X	wacinaan, cuɾujan
plain goanna	mampurupari	X	mampu(ru)pari ('prentie')
lizard	walkaaʈu	X	walkaaʈu
eaglehawk	kuriʈala	X	kuriʈala
type of hawk	kacapari	X	kacapi
wild turkey	parkam	X	parkamu
pelican	walkiripari	X	walkiripari
corella	kulura	X	kuluʈa
black duck	karapa	X	karapa ('duck')
spider	kupu	X	kupu
fly	milŋa	X	milŋa

mosquito	mikaja, l̪iwiɲ	X	mikaṟa
flock pigeon	ciruwali	X	curuwali
thunder	janpari		janpiri ('lightning')
water	japu, kunu		kuu
grass	kat̪ir	X	kat̪ir, etc.
boomerang	jalkapaṟi	X	jalkapaṟi
woomera	julman	X	julman
nulla	t̪alimpiri	X	t̪alimpiri
shield	mit̪a	X	mit̪ar
stone knife	kaŋkaṟi, kampu	X	kankaṟi
axe	marija	X	maria
little	kacakuru, etc.		kacaku̪lu
sit, stay	jini		ini
see	n̪aŋ(k)ama		n̪a-
three	kurpaia		kurpai
I	?		ŋai
you	?		ɲini

Wunamara

English	Wunamara		Kalkatungu
father's sister	kuŋi	X	kuŋi ('wife')
father's mother	papin	X	papi(pi)
head	kan̪t̪a		kan̪t̪a
hair	warumpu		waṟupu
eye	mili		mil̪t̪i
beard	janpar		jan̪par
breasts	ŋamakura		ŋaman̪a ('chest')
stomach	ŋapura		put̪u
vulva	jurila	X	irila
excrement	wunt̪u		unu
wallaroo	ŋarkun	X	ŋarkun
bandicoot	pikura	X	pikura
plain goanna	mampurupari	X	mampu(ru)pari ('prentie')
lizard	walkaat̪u	X	walkaat̪u
eaglehawk	kurit̪ala	X	kurit̪ala
crow	warkaran	X	waka̪la, wakan
galah	kilawuru	X	kilawuru
fly	milŋa	X	milŋa
mosquito	mikaja	X	mikaṟa
flock pigeon	ciruwali	X	curuwali
woomera	julman	X	julman

nulla	ţalimpiri	X	ţalimpiri
I			ŋai
you			ɲini

Guwa

English	Guwa		Kalkatungu
father	kupa		kupa,kupakupa, kupaŋuru ('old man')
head	kaţa		kaɳţa
elbow	juricimu		juɽumuku
breast	ţampu, ŋamana		ŋamaɳa ('chest')
stomach	ma(ji)ca, puru		putu
testes	ŋuţu		ŋuţu
anus	miri, miţi		miţinţi
faeces	kuna		unu
body hair	puɲcu		puɲcu
lightning	ɽuŋka		ɽuŋka ('thunder')
thunder	waɳţi, janpiri		janpiri ('lightning')
kangaroo	macumpa maŋkuruŋu	X	macumpa
wallaroo	ŋarkuna	X	ŋarkun
fish	wakani, palpi		wakaɽi
sand goanna	paripara	X	paripari ('carpet snake')
brolga	kuɭţuru	X	kuɭţuur
pelican	walkiripari etc	X	walkiripari
eaglehawk	kuriţala etc.	X	kuriţala
kite-hawk	kacapari	X	kacapi
crow	wakaɳa	X	wakaḷa, waakaḷa
galah	kilawuru kilaɲci	X	kilawuru
wild turkey	parkamu	X	parkamu
egg	kuţu		kuţu
coolibah	makaru	X	makaru
gidyea	pacara	X	pacara
shield	kunpara,jampuru	X	jampuru
stone knife	kankaɽi	X	kankaɽi
dilly bag	puŋku		puŋkuwari
fishing net	mukuwari	X	mukuwari
tomahawk	parampara	X	warampaţa
three	kurpara		kurpai
go away	kanta		kaanta
see	ɳaka		ɳa-

I	ŋaja	ŋai
you	intu	ɲini

Yanda

English	Yanda		Kalkatungu
kangaroo	maʈumpa	X	macumpa
brolga	puralka	X	puralku, etc.
crow	wakaḷa	X	wakaḷa, waakaḷa
egg	kuʈu		kuʈu
fish	wakari	?	wakaṛi
crayfish	ʈumpan	X	ʈumpan
eye	miʝil		miḻʈi
hair	puɲcu		puɲcu (*'body hair'*)
stomach	puru		putu
excrement	kuna		unu
tomahawk	warampaʈa		warampaʈa
I	ŋaɲca		ŋai
you	inpa		ɲini
meat	kati		ati
sit (and *'remain'*?)	ɲina		ini (*'remain'*)
eaglehawk	kuritili	X	kuriʈala

Yalarnnga

English	Yalarnnga		Kalkatungu
push	aŋka	X	aŋka
this	cala		caa
navel	cijiŋku	X	ciiŋku
spear	cilka	X	cilka
star	cirka, puturuŋu	XX	cirka, puturuŋu
nose	jici(jici)		iciɲci
now, today	jiḻali		iʎa
man	jiri		juru ~ iti
berry	jalpuŋu	X	jalpuŋu
big	janu		jaun
yam	jaŋkata		ŋkaa
far	jarka	X	jarka
creek	juka		kuwa
fly	jumunturu	X	jumunturu
	jumuntiri	X	jumuntiri, milŋa
arm	juṉʈu	X	juṉʈu
ant	juʈuʈu		iʈi

father	kaḻu		kuḻa
witchetty grub	kapaṛa	X	kapaṛa
wash	kari		kari
boy	kujiri	X	kujiri
type of pigeon	kulupaci	X	kulupaci
excrement	kuna		unu
no, not	kuntu	?	kuntu
water	kunu		kuu
old man	kupa(kupa)		kupa(kupa),kupaŋuru
spider	kupu	X	kupu
flame	kuṛaḻi	X	kuṛaḻi
magpie	kuraṭapu	X	kuraṭapu
grindstone (lower)	macamila	X	macamila
tired	macuri	X	macuri
coolibah	makaru	X	makaru
food	manṯa		maa
unmarried (of men)	manṯawiṯa	X	manṯawiṯa('single men's camp')
get	mani	X	mani
seeds of nut grass	maŋaru	X	maŋaru
mosquito	mikaṛa	X	mikaṛa
eye	mili		miḻṯi
blowfly	milŋa	X	milŋa
breasts	mimi		mimi
camp	mutu		muu
when	ṉalaŋu		ṉiaŋu
who	ṉanku		ṉani
sit, remain	ṉina		ini
see	ṉaɲi		ṉa-, ṉaɲi
rock wallaby	ŋaḻiŋaḻi	X	ŋaḻiŋaḻi
eat	ŋari		aṛi
wallaroo	ŋarkunu	X	ŋarkun
give	ŋuɲi		aɲi etc.
wild turkey	parkamu	X	parkamu
very	paɲcara		paɲca
yellow	paru	X	paru
if	pula		puju
they two	pula		puju
body hair	puɲcu		puɲcu
urinate	pura		pural('pubic hair')
stomach	putu		putu
thunder	ṛuŋula	X	ṛuŋula

bite	ṯaca		ica
where to	ṯarimpala		arakani
emu feather	ṯilijara	X	ṯiliara
chop	ṯiŋka		iɲci
die	wulaŋa		uḻi
fire	wacani		ucan
heart	wajira		waira
that	waja		paa
crow	wakaḻa	X	wakaḻa
skin, pelt	waku	X	waku
hit	wala		ḻa-
tomorrow	waṯaŋampa		waṯaŋka ('dark,night')
sing	wawi		api
shade	waḻuwa	X	waḻuwa
tomahawk	waṟampaṯa	X	warampaṯa
meat	wari		ati
hair	warpuṉṯuru		waṟupu
dark	waṯa	?	waṯa

Warluwara

English	Warluwara		Kalkatungu
old man	puḻya		uḻkuwuri ('big')
girl	wamba	?	wampa
stone chisel	kumpaḻṯa	?	kumpaṯa
coolaman/corkwood	pili		piḻi (cradle for 'cooking' pituri in)
bag	puŋguwaḻi	?	puŋkuwari
fishing line	kaṯapi		waṯuku
forehead	miṯi		(kaṉṯa) mirimiri
armpit	kiʎikiʎi		kiʎakiʎama ('tickle')
breast	ŋama		ŋamaṉa ('chest')
vagina	ṯiṉṯini	?	ṯinti
excrement	kuna		unu
be slow	maṉuri		maṉu
wallaroo	ŋarkuṉu	X	ŋarkun
duck	cipiʎa	X	kipuʎu/cipuʎu ('duck/ whistler duck')
duck/wood duck	ṯipiḻi	?	
	ṯipiʎi		
crow	wakuḻa	X	wakaḻa
willy wagtail	cinticinti	?	cintipir
snake	ṯuwana		ṯuar

frog	caralku	X	caralku
tree, stick	juɣu		juku (*'spear'*)
coolibah	kaḷaca	X	kaḷaca
gidyea	kijalpari	X	kialpari (*'west,chestnut'* (*of horses*))
yellow ochre	paru	X	paru
shade	waḷpaci		waḷuwa
sit, stay	ɲina		ini
where	ṯaṛa		ara
when	ṉaŋaṉḍa		ɲianta
I	ŋaṉa		ŋai
you	jipa		ɲini

Bularnu

English	Bularnu		Kalkatungu
snake	ṯuwati	?	ṯuar
I	ŋaṉa		ŋai
you	jipa		ɲini
forehead	miṯi		(kaṉṯa) mirimiri
eyebrow	mililiri		miḻṯi (*'eyes'*)
faeces	kuna		unu
crow	wakula	X	wakaḷa
galah	kilakila	X	kilauru, kilakila
wild orange	waṯaci	X	waṯaci
small	ṯapukutu		ṯapikula, kaṯakuḷu
who	ŋani		ṉani
dig	paṯi		waṯukati

Yaruwinga

English	Yaruwinga	Kalkatungu
teeth	aṯiyiṉṯa	aṯiṉṯa
I	?	ŋai
you	?	ɲini

The following figures indicate the percentages of vocabulary Kalka-
tungu shares with its neighbours after probable borrowings have been
excluded.

The preceding lists contain some pairs of similar forms that differ
somewhat in meaning between Kalkatungu and the other language involved
in the comparison. These were not counted as plus in arriving at the
original figures and hence have not been subtracted if thought to
reflect borrowing. Thus kuŋi *'father's sister'* in Wunamara is probably

a borrowing shared with Kalkatungu kuŋi *'wife'*, kinship terms commonly
being borrowed. However, the discrepancy in the glosses rules them out
as examples of related forms for a common content item. In some cases
discrepancies in glosses were dismissed as inaccuracies in the sources.

Kalkatungu and	Wanyi	2/150	1%
"	" Mayiyapi	19/200	10%
"	" Curr 97	11½/109	11%
"	" Mayithakurti	13½/150	9%
"	" Wunamara	9/100	9%
"	" Guwa	17½/200	9%
"	" Yanda	8/102	8%
"	" Yalarnnga	38½/167	23%
"	" Warluwara	15/900	2%
"	" Bularnu	6/200	3%
"	" Yaruwinga	3/150	2%

Kalkatungu shares a much higher percentage of its vocabulary with
Yalarnnga than with any other language. Indeed it is only this figure
that enables Kalkatungu to gain membership in the Pama-Nyungan family
according to the criteria of O'Grady and co. Remember that two communa-
lects must share at least 15 per cent of their vocabulary to be members
of the same family. Since Kalkatungu shares 23 per cent with Yalarnnga,
Kalkatungu and Yalarnnga represent separate groups within the same
family and Yalarnnga is Pama-Nyungan having 27 per cent in common with
Yanda which in turn has 31 per cent in common with Guwa and so on.

The Pama-Nyungan family is determined by chaining languages together.
The vast mass of communalects covering the southern three-quarters of
Australia can be chained together as a family where every member shares
at least 15 per cent in common with at least one other member. Kalka-
tungu scrapes into the family by virtue of its relationship with Yalarnnga
and Yalarnnga by virtue of its relationship with Yanda. Yanda has a
strong lexical relationship with Guwa (37%) and Kunggari (35%) (Breen
1971:82). Guwa and Kunggari have strong lexical links with a number of
other languages of the Pama-Maric Group (Breen 1971).

The relationship of Kalkatungu to other Pama-Nyungan languages can
be shown diagrammatically to be of the following kind:

```
                          Kalkatungu
                              |
                             23
                              |
                          Yalarnnga
                              |
                             27
                              |
                           Yanda
                         /        \
                       37          35
                      /              \
                   Guwa            Kunggari
                  / | \            / | \
                 /  |  \          /  |  \
```
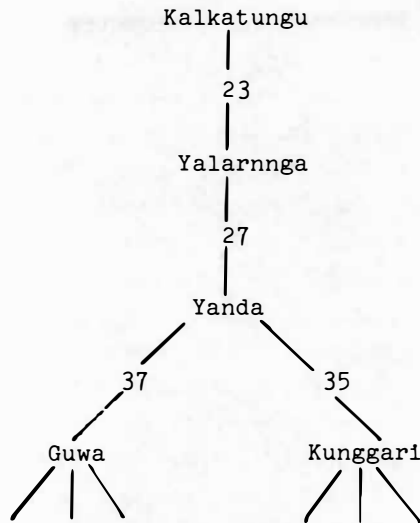
The O'Grady and co. method depends rather too much on the presence
of certain links to establish the classification. As can be seen from
this diagram, Yalarnnga, and therefore Kalkatungu, would not have been
admitted to the Pama-Nyungan family if we did not have some Yanda
material. In fact we have only one source, Curr list No.103. Yet
Yalarnnga is a very typical Pama-Nyungan language, having a fair number
of lexical roots that are widespread in Australia and particularly common
in the Pama-Nyungan area, and more importantly, it has a morpho-syntactic
system that is typically Pama-Nyungan both in structure and in the form
of some of its function morphemes.

7.2. THE PATTERN OF BORROWINGS

A comparison of the lists given above reveals that Kalkatungu was
involved in borrowing with its northern, eastern and southern neighbours
but hardly at all with its western neighbours. It is often possible to
pick borrowed items because of their geographical distribution, phono-
logical identity and their semantic scope. Lexical items for fauna,
flora, artefacts and kin are commonly found distributed over an area
irrespective of the boundaries between sub-groups, groups and families,
irrespective of the relative similarity between the languages in the
area. Phonological identity, making allowances for some changes that
are consequent on the phonemotactic constraints of particular languages,
is a likely marker of borrowing. In a favourable case phonological
identity is a strong marker of borrowing. In the case of Yalarnnga and
Kalkatungu, we find that Kalkatungu has undergone a number of phono-
logical changes not shared by Yalarnnga. This means that words found
in Yalarnnga and Kalkatungu that reflect the phonological changes in

Kalkatungu can be ascribed to an older period, being part of the common genetic inheritance of the two languages or ancient borrowings. Words that are identical are likely to be more recent borrowings.

Some of the putative borrowings marked by a cross in the tables above are examples of items that are widespread in the area and in these cases it is difficult to determine the direction of borrowing e.g. parkamu *'wild turkey'*. In other cases a word is widespread in the area and appears to be a borrowing but we find that it is scattered around Australia. Such an item is wakaṟi *'fish'*. It is found in Kalkatungu, Mayawarli (related to Pitta-Pitta), Yanda and Guwa. It is found in Mayikutuna and Mayiyapi as wakayi, presumably with lenition of inter-vocalic ṟ, a change attested elsewhere. It seems as if it may be a borrowing, but when one finds wakari *'meat'* in Thargari in Western Australia (Klokeid 1969) and scattered here and there over the continent, one realises that we are probably dealing with the reflexes of a word that goes back to an ancient proto-language but which appears in similar form because of the phonological similarity of most Australian languages.

In the case of putative borrowings between Kalkatungu and communa-lects of the Mayiyapic group (see map), it appears that the main direction of borrowing was from Kalkatungu into the adjacent Mayiyapic communalects. In a number of instances the shared items are found only in those Mayiyapic communalects which bordered on Kalkatungu e.g. ŋaḷiŋaḷi *'rock wallaby'* is shared with Mayithakurti, walkiripari *'pelican'* is shared with Mayithakurti and Curr 97, kupu *'spider'* with Mayithakurti and milŋa *'fly'* with Mayithakurtu, Wunamara, Curr 97 and Mayiyapi. Mayiyapi was not contiguous with Kalkatungu and significantly the word ŋimuḷ is also recorded for *'fly'* in this communalect, a word also recorded in Ngawun, Mayikulan and Mayikutuna. If these are examples of borrowing from Kalkatungu into Mayiyapic the distribution is accounted for. If they are borrowings from Mayiyapic, we would have the difficulty of explaining why the items tend to be found almost exclusively in the communalects contiguous with Kalkatungu.

In the case of items shared by Kalkatungu with Guwa, Yanda and Yalarnnga I am unable to determine the main direction of borrowing with any confidence.

In the case of Yaruwinga, Bularnu, Warluwara and Wanyi the only sig-nificant feature is the virtual lack of evidence for borrowing. It is not perfectly clear just which languages bordered on Kalkatungu terri-tory in the west. The map represents an amalgam of sources and mainly follows Breen (1971 and p.c.). Breen's version of the tribal territories differs somewhat from that given in Tindale 1974. Tindale shows

Yaruwinga (Jaroiŋa) as having a border with Kalkatungu, but Breen
places Bularnu between Yaruwinga and Kalkatungu. Breen's version
makes good linguistic sense. It places three obviously related lan-
guages Wakaya, Bularnu (not shown on Tindale's map) and Warluwara in
a continuous bloc. Tindale does not show Wanyi (or Waanyi) as having
any border with Kalkatungu, but places 'Wa:kabuŋa' between the two. I
have no reason to dispute this. I included Wanyi in the lists given
above only because the O'Grady and co. map shows Wanyi territory
touching Kalkatungu territory at one point. Unfortunately we have no
information on Waakabunga.

In sum then Kalkatungu exhibits borrowing with the contiguous comm-
unalects of the Mayiyapic group,with Guwa (with which it may or may not
have had a common border), with Yanda (with which it may or may not have
had a common border) and Yalarnnga (with which it certainly had a common
border). Kalkatungu exhibits very little shared vocabulary with Bularnu
and Warluwara. Note in passing that the number of Kalkatungu and
Warluwara items compared was quite large - 900.

7.3.   KALKATUNGU AND COMMON AUSTRALIAN

Capell (1956, 1962) pointed out that a number of roots are found in
every area (but not in every language) of Australia. He called this
common stock 'Common Australian'. Capell (1962:13) produced a map
showing the relative concentration of this common stock in various areas.
The map demonstrates a number of interesting features such as the fact
that the highest concentration of CA vocabulary lies in the desert
regions of Western Australia.

The distribution of CA and its significance is outside the scope of
this study, but since Capell's map does not show particular languages,
it is not possible to ascertain the percentage of CA material Capell
claims to have found in Kalkatungu, and I therefore include below my
estimate. On Capell's map Kalkatungu lies on an isogloss dividing a
less than '40%' area (to the north and west) from a '40-49%' area (to
the south and east). According to my calculation, Kalkatungu contains
50 per cent of the items on his list.

7.4.   SOME PHONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE HISTORY OF KALKATUNGU

The phonological systems of Australian languages can usually be
classified as normal or aberrant. The "aberrations" are mostly phono-
tactic and consist of loss of original initial consonants, which
disturbs the normal CVCV shape of roots. Other aberrations include
loss of an initial syllable to expose consonant clusters in initial
position, and metathesis of vowels of initial syllables into the second

syllable as the corresponding glides, changes which result in some languages in some striking initial clusters. For example in Mbara (southern Cape York, Sutton 1976), an earlier puɻi *('fire')* appears as ɻwi (with loss of the initial consonant and metathesis of u into the second syllable where it appears as a glide).

As is well known to Australianists, the aberrant languages are concentrated in northern Cape York, southern Cape York (Sutton ed. 1976) and central Australia (Hale 1962) with a notable pocket in New England (Crowley 1976). A few languages outside these areas exhibit some aberrations, one of these being Kalkatungu. Kalkatungu has suffered some loss of initial consonants and some loss of initial syllables, but the changes have not been so radical nor so extensive in the lexicon to have produced the very aberrant effect one gets in Arandic or some of the Cape York languages.

In general the phonological aberrations seem to represent a move to a more marked state and one's first impulse is to look for an historical connection between the various widely separated languages exhibiting what appears to be scant regard for recent theories about phonological universals. However, it seems that these deviations from CVCV-type structures were probably triggered in most cases by a shift of stress from the first to the second syllable. Given this stress, the deviations from CVCV are not really so unnatural as can be readily observed in the speech of English speaking children. In any case it quickly becomes obvious that there can be no historical connection between these phonological developments in different parts of the continent. The distances involved are great; by and large there are no aberrant languages between these centres of innovation, and more conclusively, the aberrations can be shown to have taken place <u>in situ</u> since they often affect locally distributed words which show intact reflexes outside the affected area and deviant forms within. Some of these forms could be borrowings from an intact neighbour into an aberrant language with modification to adapt the borrowing to the aberrant phonemotactics but this will not account for all cases.

Kalkatungu of course is not too far removed from the Arandic group, but it does share much more vocabulary with the phonologically intact language, Yalarnnga, than with any other language. This suggests that it has been contiguous with Yalarnnga for some time. It does not discount the possibility that Kalkatungu was in contact with Arandic at some past time.

The following notes exemplify some of the changes that have taken place in the history of Kalkatungu.

Loss of Initial Consonant

'a fight'	ʈarkun	(Mayiyapic Q.)	arkun
'faeces'	kuna	(Yalarnnga Q.,etc.)	(w)unu
'meat'	wari	(Yalarnnga Q.)	ati
'sit'	ṉina	(")	(j)ini
'eat'	ŋari(li)	(")	aɾi(ḷi)
'where'	ʈarV	(")	ara
'cheek'	ŋuku	(Pitjantjatjara W.A.)	(w)uku
'big'	puḷka	(")	(w)uḷku-uri(*'long'*)
'ant'	ʈiʈa	(Pitta-Pitta Q.)	(j)iʈi
'louse'	*kulu	(proto-Ngayarda W.A.)	(w)ulu
'be ill'	yaṉka	(Yalarnnga Q.)	aṉka
'enter'	*ŋaɾa	(proto-Paman,Q.)	aɾa
'ceremonial knife'	kuji,kujana	(Pitta-Pitta Q.)	(w)ujin
'teeth'	yaʈiʈa	(Mayikulan, Q.) (Wunamara, Q.)	aʈiṉʈa

The bracketing of initial j and w in the above examples is to draw attention to the fact that the initial dropping is phonological but not entirely phonetic. The phonetic facts are that w is optionally pronounced before u at the beginning of words and similarly j before i. Since initial a occurs, I phonemicise words like [unu] or [wunu] and [ini] or [jini] as /unu/ and /ini/ respectively and consider that the glides are derivable from the phonemic form. There is no contrast between forms with the glide and forms without.

Loss of Initial Syllable

'yam'	jaŋkata	(Yalarnnga Q.)	ŋkaa (see §3.2.2.)
'hole'	ʈaṉʈu	(")	ṉʈuu (" ")
'you two'	ṉumpala	(")	mpaja
'stomach'	ŋapura	(Mayithakurti Q.)	putu
'stone'	miṉʈi	(Mayiyapi Q.)	ṉʈia
'hit, kill'	wala-	(Yalarnnga Q.)	ḻa-

Assimilation

A low vowel in the second syllable has assimilated to the high vowel of the first.

'faeces'	kuna	(many other)	(w)unu
'sit'	Nʸina	(proto C.A.)	(j)ini
'big'	puḷka	(Pitjantjatjara W.A.)	uḷku-uri(*'long'*)
'ant'	ʈiʈa	(Pitta-Pitta Q.)	(j)iʈi
'they two'	pula	(Yalarnnga Q.)	ᵽuju
'if'	pula	(")	ᵽuju
'stomach'	ŋapura	(Mayithakurti Q.)	putu

Loss of Medial Consonants

There are some cases of an intervocalic consonant having been lost between identical vowels.

'water'	kunu	(Yalarnnga Q.)	kuu
'camp'	mutu	(")	muu
'food'	manṯa	(" etc.)	maa
'this'	cala	(")	caa
'yam'	yaŋkata	(")	ŋkaa

Independently of this there is a synchronic tendency in Kalkatungu to delete a consonant between like vowels (see §2.13.).

ḷ

There are some instances of ḷ in the sequence Vḷa becoming j:

'if'	puḷa	(Yalarnnga)	puju
'they two'	puḷa	(")	puju
'you two'	ṉumpaḷa	(")	mpaja
anti-passive	-ḷi	(")	-ji (ḷ before i)

The direction of the change is apparent from the fact that puḷa *'two'* or *'they two'* is a widespread form, similarly forms like ṉumpaḷa with ḷ are common among Pama-Nyungan languages. Moreover Kalkatungu j corresponds to j in a number of other Pama-Nyungan languages.

Kalkatungu and Yalarnnga both reflect the common Australian form for *'we two'* as ŋaḷi rather than ŋali as expected. The common Australian ergative/instrumental allomorph for vowel stems occurs as -ḷu rather than the expected -lu, a feature also found in Walbiri (-ḷu), Wagaya (-ḷ < *ḷu) and Walmadjari (-ḷu). See §3.2.2. and §3.2.4. Note also the retention of the liquid in the anti-passive of -la class verbs. See §4.1.

The following correspondence has also been noted:

VrV <——> Kalkatungu VtV

'meat'	wari	(Yalarnnga Q.)	ati
'stomach'	ŋapura	(Mayithakurti Q.)	putu
'man'	iri	(Yalarnnga Q.)	iti- (ergative stem)
			juru (nominative)

The number of words affected by initial dropping appears to be only a small proportion of the present day vocabulary. In making this

assessment I am thinking of the small number of words that can be shown to have lost an initial consonant or syllable, and the small number of words that begin with a or with a nasal stop cluster. However, if initial consonant dropping operated to expose an initial high vowel, its effect would not be noticeable.

It is not possible to determine whether initial dropping was conditioned or whether it operated generally. It may have operated generally, but its effect on the lexicon may have been subsequently obscured by massive borrowing from intact languages. It is possible that it was conditioned _and_ that borrowing from intact languages occurred.

It is not possible to set up a series of ordered rules to convert proto-forms into occuring forms, at least not a set of rules that can operate without exceptions. Some ordering is clear however. Assimilation must follow the rule deleting intervocalic consonants between like vowels.

Final dropping

Some years ago (Blake 1971b) I suggested that Kalkatungu had lost some final vowels. I made use of this assumption in attempting to explain the curious alternations involved in the case of -jan and -ṯati (see §2.10.). As far as I know Kalkatungu did lose some final vowels and my attempt at explaining the alternation of -jan with -aan and -ṯati with -ati is still viable. However, the amount of evidence I have is small. Consider the following cognates:

'fire'	ucan	Yalarnnga	wacani
noun-forming suffix	-ɲcir	"	-ɲciri
'wallaroo'	ŋarkun	"	ŋarkunu
		Mayiyapi	"
'brolga'	kuḻṯuur	Guwa	kuḻṯuru
'snake'	ṯuar	Warluwara	ṯuwana
		Bularnu	ṯuwati
'fruit' (sp. unknown)	pipiɲ	Yalarnnga	pipiɲu
participle	-ɲin	"	-ɲana

-ɲciri, ŋarkunu and kuḻṯuru are not of much help in establishing vowel loss in Kalkatungu since they could exemplify an extra vowel that has been added to avoid a word-final consonant. Yalarnnga and Guwa do not allow final consonants, but Mayiyapi does. wacani, ṯuwati and pipiɲu do provide evidence for vowel loss in Kalkatungu but unfortunately they are the only examples I can find. One feature of Kalkaungu that suggests vowel loss is the fact that a small number of words

occur with and without a final vowel e.g. puʈur or puʈura *'good'* (see §2.6.) and a large number of words lose their final vowel in fluent speech e.g. -ti stem verbs (see §4.1. and §2.13.).

As noted in §2.10. the 'having' suffix appears as -jan with vowel stems and aan with consonant stems while the intransitiviser appears as -ʈati with vowel stems and -ati with consonant stems. If these consonant stems once had an extra a, the alternations could be explained by reference to the rule that deletes consonants between like vowels:

    * arkuna + jan >   arkunajan >   arkunaan
    * ʈaila + ʈati >   ʈailaʈati >   ʈailaati

However, we are left with the difficulty of explaining why the vowel a should be involved. a is the most frequent vowel. The pattern could have been established with a stems and extended by analogy. Another difficulty is the fact that the suggested rules yield a variant aati not ati.

7.5.   PRONOUNS

It is possible to make some assumptions about earlier forms of Kalkatungu pronouns from internal reconstruction based on a comparison of the free and bound forms and from comparative reconstruction embracing Yalarnnga and to a lesser extent other Pama-Nyungan languages.

First of all let us have a look at the free pronouns in Kalkatungu and Yalarnnga.

		K	Y
Sing.	1	ŋai	ŋia
	2	ɲini	ɳawa, ɳu-
	3	aḻa	ḻaja
Dual	1	ŋaḻi	ŋaḻi
	2	mpaja	ɳumpala
	3	puju	pula
Plur.	1	ŋata	ŋawa
	2	ɳutu	ɳaḻa
	3	ʈina	ʈana

K ŋai and Y ŋia can both be derived from *ŋaja. An unstressed sequence -aja easily becomes ia, -aj or ai and there are examples of this in K, Y and other Australian languages.

In the second person singular K has ɲini, ergative ɲinti and dative ɲunku. Y has nominative ɳawa and oblique stem ɳu-. The second person singular root in Pama-Nyungan is commonly ɲin-, ŋun, ɲin, ɳun, ɳin or ɳun. The second syllable of the second person singular is most often

a syllable that appears to have been originally an ergative so that
we find nominative forms like ɲuntu. Dixon (1977) argues that most
Australian languages at some stage of their development augmented
any monosyllabic roots they had and augmented monosyllabic singular
pronouns by adding the ergative or a phonological filler -pa. Yalarnnga
seems to reflect -pa in the lenited form -wa. The stem n̪a, which also
appears in the plural, is unusual. In any case the development here
is peculiar to Y. K has a more normal second person form, ɲini. The
second syllable appears to have resulted from the addition of -n̪a or
ɲa with subsequent assimilation (ɲin + n̪a > ɲina > ɲini) or simply
from the repetition of the stem vowel. The suggestion that -n̪a or -ɲa
may have been added requires some justification. Blake (1979:347)
elaborates Dixon's thesis that monosyllabic pronouns were augmented
by claiming that -n̪a or -ɲa, the common Australian accusative, was
also used as an augment. This certainly seems to have been the case
in Nyunga (s-w W.A. O'Grady et.al. 1966:131) and Kunggari (Blackall Q.
Breen field notes) where first and second singular pronouns are as
follows:

Nyunga

	first singular	second singular
S_1	ŋaɲa	ɲini
A	ŋacu	ɲuntu
P	ŋaɲa	ɲini

Kunggari

	first singular	second singular
S_1	ŋan̪a	ina
A	ŋaʈu	inti
P	ŋan̪a	ina

As can be seen by comparing the S_1/P first and second person forms in
Nyunga, it looks as if ɲini could arise from *ɲin + Nˠa > *ɲina > ɲini
(where Nˠa represents a laminal nasal that is reflected as ɲ or n̪ as
outlined in Dixon 1970). The K ergative of the second singular is
ɲinti which seems to reflect assimilation from *-ʈu to -ti as posited
for ɲini. The dative ɲunku obviously contains the common Australian
dative marker -ku, so it looks as if we have regressive assimilation
in this instance.

    I am uncertain how the third person singular forms are related. K
has al̪a as an oblique stem with an ergative l̪ii. Y has l̪aja. Although
these forms look similar they may not be related. K al̪a must derive
from Cal̪a by initial dropping as in Nhanda a Western Australian language
which has ala (probably from a demonstrative root *pala) (O'Grady et al.

1966:122)[1]. The common Queensland third person singular pronoun roots
are Nᵛu (masculine) and Nᵛan (feminine).

The first person dual in Australia is commonly ŋali. K and Y are
distinctive in having a dental lateral - ŋaḻi. Note in passing that
K has an ergative allomorph -ḷu presumably from *lu (see Hale 1976).
It is possible that an earlier l split into ḻ (before i), l (before a)
and ḷ (before u). The form -ḷu also occurs in some other Pama-Nyungan
languages e.g. Walbiri (N.T.).

The second dual forms probably reflect a proto-K-Y *ṉumpala. Y seems
to have retained the proto-form, while K has lost the initial syllable
and changed l (before a) into j. Forms similar to ṉumpala are common
among the Pama-Nyungan languages.

The third dual forms seem to reflect proto-K-Y pula with Y retaining
the proto-form and K reflecting the l to j change and progressive assim-
ilation. pula is a common Pama-Nyungan form for 'they two'. In
eastern Australia it also occurs as a numeral or number marker for
'two'.

In the first person plural the Y form, ŋawa, seems to contain the
augment -wa. K has ŋata, but since the corresponding bound form is
-ti, it makes sense to posit proto-K *ŋati and allow for progressive
assimilation. Australian languages vary greatly in the way they develop
a first person plural from the root ŋa-. K and Y exhibit forms that
are not found among other languages in the area.

In the second plural K ṉutu is similar to the likely Pama-Nyungan
proto-form *Nᵛura (reflected as ṉuru, ɲura, jura etc.) exhibiting
independently attested progressive assimilation and an unexplained
hardening of r to t. The Y form ṉala is unexpected and is presumably
an innovation.

In the third plural, Y contains the expected Pama-Nyungan form
ṯana. K ṯina could plausibly be explained as containing a reinterpre-
tation of unstressed variants of a following a lamino-dental (which
produces fronted allophones).

$$*\underline{t}ana \longrightarrow *[\underline{t}\varepsilon na]$$
$$*[\underline{t}\varepsilon na] \longrightarrow \underline{t}ina$$

In sum, the following proto-K forms seem likely:

---

[1]If the form ḻaa which I have given tentatively as third singular nominative is
genuine, it could derive from *ḻaja by the independently attested rule of deleting
consonants between like vowels.

Sing.	1	*ŋaja
	2	*ɲina
	3	(*Caḻa oblique stem)
Dual	1	*ŋaḻi
	2	*n̪umpala
	3	*pula
Plural	1	*ŋati
	2	*n̪ura
	3	*t̪ana

7.6. BOUND PRONOUNS

K has bound pronouns while Y has virtually none. Y has only one
bound pronoun form viz. -n̪u used to mark the plural S_i or A of impera-
tives. It presumably reflects the proto-Pama-Nyungan form *Nʸura.
It is noteworthy that it is the only example of an accusative system
of marking anywhere in the language. Since -n̪u is the only bound pro-
noun in Y and since it is transparently derivable from *Nʸura, we do
not have much that looks like vestigial evidence of a once elaborate
set of bound pronouns. Rather it seems that -n̪u is an isolated inno-
vation and we suggest that K developed bound pronouns while Y did not.

If we look at the distribution of bound pronouns in Australia (see
Blake 1979), we find that Y is on the edge of a swath of languages in
which there are no bound pronouns while K is on the edge of a bloc that
have bound pronouns. The continuous nature of the 'bound' and 'bound-
less' areas suggests that the growth or loss of bound pronouns is
diffusible. In Blake 1979, it is suggested that since for the most
part the 'boundless' languages lack vestigial evidence of bound pronouns,
they never ever had them. It is noteworthy too that the languages in
which the bound pronouns are most transparently derives from the free
ones tend to be found along the edges of the 'bound' areas. In general
then, we see evidence of a development from (a) languages with no
bound pronouns, (b) languages with transparently derived pronouns,
(c) languages with bound pronouns that are quite different from the
corresponding free ones, to (d) languages with bound pronouns that
exhibit fusion with one another and with other particles (typically
non-Pama-Nyungan).

It is interesting then to look at the bound pronouns in K against
this suggested line of development.

K employs the following bound pronouns in independent indicative
and interrogative clauses:

		S_1/A	P
Sing.	1	-∅	-ŋi
	2	-n	-kin
	3	-∅	
Dual	1	-l	-la
	2	-n̪u	
	3	-(mu)ju	
Plural	1	-t	-ta
	2	-n̪ut	
	3	-na	

With the third dual, -muju is used in the present tense and -ju elsewhere. -∅ in the first and third singular of the S_1/A column indicates the absence of an overt form in those paradigms where the use of a bound pronoun is obligatory viz. with -min̪a (imperfect) and -mpa 'perfect'. The blanks in the P column, simply mean that no form has been observed. There are no paradigms where the use of a bound pronoun for P is obligatory in an independent clause.

If we compare the bound S_1/A with the free forms, we can see some lines of derivation:

Sing.	1	ŋai	
	2	ɲini	
	3	-∅	
Dual	1	ŋal̪i	
	2	mpaja	<*n̪umpala
	3	puju	<*pula
Plural	1	ŋata	<*ŋat̪i
	2	n̪utu	
	3	t̪ina	

Leaving aside the second dual and plural, the bound forms can be derived from the free by deleting the first syllable (a process else-where attested in Australia) and deleting the last vowel if it is -i. The change from l̪ to l in the first dual is simply a consequence of the phonotactics. K does not allow word-final dentals. Why the second person non-singular forms make use of the first syllable of the free form or proto-form is not clear.

Let us now look at the S_1/A bound pronouns that occur with the complementiser a- :

Sing.	1	ḻaa
	2	ani
	3	ai
Dual	1	aḻi
	2	aṉu
	3	ailu
Plural	1	ati
	2	aṉur
	3	aina

ḻaa for the first singular is clearly suppletive. -ni and -ḻi are derived from the corresponding free forms by dropping the first syllable. -ti presumably derives from a proto-form *ŋati by the same process. As I suggested above, the current free form for first person plural can be derived from *ŋati by an independently attested rule of progressive assimilation. In the case of the bound S_1/A pronouns used in independent clauses, we needed to posit a rule to the effect that a final -i was deleted. Such a rule would be inhibited here as a- plus a bound pronoun constitutes a separate phonological word and the minimum number of syllables required for a word is two.

The forms -lu (third dual) and -na (third plural), also reflect the second syllable of the source pronouns. Note however that they appear to be suffixed to ai rather than a-, ai being the third singular form. I cannot guess the provenience of the -i. Note that the change l > j is not attested in this paradigm. It may have been inhibited by the preceding -i. There are too few examples of the change for the necessary environment to be ascertained. Note that the second dual and plural forms are the same as those found in independent clauses.

There are some other S_1/A bound pronouns. Let us consider the imperatives:

V_i	sing.	iŋka-ja-n	'go!'
	dual	iŋka-ja-mpi	'You two go!'
	plural	iŋka-ja-tu	'You mob go!'
V_t	sing.	ḻa-ja-∅	'Kill!'
	dual	ḻa-ja ku-mpi	'You two kill!'
	plural	ḻa-ja ku-tu	'You mob kill!'

We find in this paradigm two interesting features. First of all we find the 'expected forms' for second dual and plural, -tu representing the second syllable of ṉutu and -mpi representing the second and third syllables of *ṉumpaḻa (> ṉumpaja > mpaja > mpija > mpi). Secondly we find a mysterious element ku- in the transitive imperatives. Note that

singular imperatives with a non-singular P are as follows:

l̲a-ja ku-ju   'You (sing.) *kill them two!*'

l̲a-ja kina   'You (sing.) *kill them!*'

It seems that ku is an element connected with transitive clauses and
that it attracts the first pronoun irrespective of whether it is A or
P. Let us assume earlier sequences with A preceding P such as:

(7.1)   *l̲a-ja   ku   ∅   pula
          kill-imp   *you*   *them*

         'You (sing.) *kill them*'.

(7.2)   *l̲a-ja   ku n̲utu pula
          kill-imp   *you*:pl *them*

         'You (plur.) *kill them*'.

If ku attracts the first overt pronoun, then we will have *kupula
yielding kula > kulu > kuju and *kun̲utu yielding kutu. This accounts
for the fact that ku appears with forms representing S_1/A and with forms
representing P, at least with the imperative paradigm.

At this point we could examine the P bound pronouns, since most of
them involve ku.

		Forms used with independent verbs	Forms used with a-	Forms used with the 'lest' construction
Sing.	1	-n̲i	an̲i	kun̲i
	2	-kin	akin	kukin
	3			
Dual	1	-la	akila	kula
	2		akumpaja	kumpaja
	3			ku.. kuju
Plur.	1	-ta	akita	kuta
	2		akutu	kutu
	3		a.. kina	ku.. kina

Of the forms in the first column, -n̲i is explicable as a reduced form
of *n̲aya and -ta as the second syllable of n̲ata. Note that we posited
*n̲ati as a proto-form for the first plural to account for -ti in the
second column. -ta could conceivably be a later derivative from the
free form. -la is a mystery. Some Pama-Nyungan languages in Western
Australia have -la as the first plural bound form. It is probably that
-la reflects a free form no longer found in Kalkatungu. It may be an
old plural, possibly attracted to the dual by the presence of -l for the
S_1/A form. It could have then been replaced in the plural by a 'new'
form -ta. This would explain why we get -ta rather than -ti. However,

all this is rather speculative and I would not want to press it too
far. The remaining form in this paradigm, kin, is somewhat mysterious.
It also appears with the complementiser a- and a glance at this paradigm
reveals a possible ku in every form but the first singular.

Since akumpaja and akutu seem so clearly to contain ku, it is of some
interest to see if we can determine whether the other forms contain ku.
If we take the proto-form of the first plural to be ŋati as suggested
earlier, we can account for ki rather than ku in the second singular,
first dual and first plural along the following lines:

        *ku-ɲini   >   kuni   >   kini   >   kin
        *ku-ŋali   >   kuḻi   >   kiḻi   >   kil
        *ku-ṉumpaja >   kumpaja >   kumpaja >   kumpaja
        *ku-ŋati   >   kuti   >   kiti   >   kit
        *ku-ṉutu   >   kutu   >   kutu   >   kutu

The three steps here are: (a) delete first syllable of pronoun,
(b) u > i / __C$_o$i, (c) i > ø / __#. Steps (a) and (c) are independently
attested. Step (b) occurs in ɲin-ku > ɲunku. I am unable to account
for the fact that assimilation is sometimes progressive and sometimes
regressive, but in general the syllable that was stressed was affected
by the assimilation, at least with bound pronouns. Of course the rules
given above do not give the correct forms for first dual and first
plural. We need to add the forms used with independent verbs:

        kil-la > kila
        kit-ta > kita

This may seem rather ad hoc, but we did find some independent reason
above for positing -la as a form that had shifted to first dual and -ta
as a new form for first plural. The suggested lines of development work
fairly well in accounting for ki. The exception is kina. The rules
given above will not produce the correct form. A plausible derivation
would be ku-ṯina > kitina > kina, but there is no obvious reason for
the retention of the first syllable of the pronoun.

The forms used for P in the 'lest' construction are probably the same
forms as are used with independent verbs but suffixed to ku. This is
not perfectly clear since we do not have any second dual or plural forms
available in the independent verb paradigm. The fact that we have kula
and kuta in the first dual and plural rather than kila and kita certainly
suggests a transference of -la and -ta from the independent verb para-
digm.

The 'lest' construction remains somewhat mysterious. Remember
(§4.4.) that there is a complementiser uṉu used where S$_1$ is first or
second person, kuṉu where A is first or second person and ana where S$_1$

or both A and P are third person. kuṉu doubtless represents ku plus
uṉu, but the relationship between uṉu and ana remains unexplained.
Nor is it clear why no complementiser appears when P is first or second
person and A third person (see examples in §4.4.). It is also note-
worthy that two examples of ku may appear in one clause,

(7.3)   rumpi ŋai ṭuma   kuṉu-n   kina
        fear   I   break   lest-you them
        'I'm afraid you might break them'.

Altogether we have the following schemas:

$$V_1 \qquad u\underline{n}u \qquad S_1(1,2)$$

$$V_t \qquad ku\ u\underline{n}u \qquad A(1,2) \qquad ku\ P(3)$$

$$V_1, V_t \qquad ana\ ku \qquad S_1/A(3) \qquad P(3)$$

$$V_t \qquad ku \qquad P(1,2)$$

$$V_t \qquad ku \qquad A(1) > P(2)$$

Note that uṉu appears only where S_1 is first or second person or where
A is first or second and P third. ana appears only where S_1 or both A
and P are third. In other instances no ana or uṉu or any corresponding
element is used. In the imperative we found that ku was used in tran-
sitive as opposed to intransitive clauses. This is true with the 'lest'
construction except that kuju and kina represent S_1 in the third person:

(7.4)   rumpi ŋai ana   kuju   ŋuji
        fear   I   lest they:2   fall
        'I'm afraid they'll fall'.

However, kuju and kina are also exceptional in that they indicate P in
clauses with kuṉu giving two instances of ku in the one clause:

(7.5)   rumpi ŋai ḷaa   kuṉu-n   kuju
        fear   I   kill lest-you they:2
        'I'm afraid you'll kill them'.

A synchronic analysis would have to recognise the ku of kuṉu as a
separable element associated with certain transitive clauses. On the
other hand, kuju and kina seem to have become unanalysable pronouns
functioning as S_1/A or P. Diachronically they contain ku and they must
have started out as A or P forms or both. The explanation for this
would be along the same lines indicates for the imperative (see above).
*ṭana/ṭina and *pula/puju would have been attracted to ku whenever they
were next to it. In a clause with a third singular A, which would
normally be represented by zero, they would come to represent P. In a
clause with third singular P, they would come to represent A:

```
              A     P
     ku       ∅     puju    >         kupuju  >  kuju
     ku       puju  ∅       >         kupuju  >  kuju
```

It seems that kuju and kina, since they must have represented both A
and P at one stage, were then generalised to S_i in 'ana' constructions
(and also in -ma<u>nt</u>i constructions - see §4.2.5.). The appearance of
kuju and kina in clauses with ku<u>n</u>u (see example above) also suggests
they have become simple pronoun forms rather than combinations of ku
and a pronoun.

7.7. THE CASE SYSTEMS

To appreciate some features of the development of the Kalkatungu
case system, it is useful to consider the Yalarnnga system at the same
time. The case systems of Kalkatungu and Yalarnnga exhibit a number of
close similarities. With nouns, each language distinguishes disyllabic
tems, longer stems and kinship stems. Kalkatungu, unlike Yalarnnga,
has word-final consonants and therefore has consonant stems. The
following table lists the case forms:

	Disyllabic Vowel Stems		Longer Vowel Stems		Kin		Consonant Stems (Kalkatungu only)
	K	Y	K	Y	K	Y	K
Nom.	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅
Erg.	-ŋku	-ŋku	-ṯu	-ju	-ji	-ḻu	-Tu
Loc I	-pia	-ŋka	-ṯi	-ja	-ŋu	-ŋuṯa	-pia
Dat.	-V(ja)	-u	-V(ja)	-u	-V(ja)	-u	-ku
Purp.	-	-ṯa	-	-ṯa	-	-ṯa	-
Loc II	-ŋii	-ŋila	-ŋii	-ŋila	-ŋii	-ŋila	-ŋii
Caus.	ergative plus -ŋu in both languages						
Abl.	locative I plus -ŋu in both languages						
All I	dative plus -<u>n</u>a in K, -wampa (disyllabic), -mpa (longer) in Y						
All II	locative II plus -<u>n</u>a in K, locative II plus -mpa in Y						

Nominative

No comment required.

Ergative/instrumental

In both languages a nasal-stop dissimilation rule operates to produce
an allomorph -ku for disyllabic vowel stems when a nasal-stop sequence
occurs in the stem. Dissimilation rules are fairly uncommon (see Blake,
typescript), but nasal-stop dissimilation rules are found in a number of
Pama-Nyungan languages e.g. Dyaru (W.A. Tsunoda, p.c.). I take them to
be a feature of a remote proto-language retained through Proto K-Y and

into contemporary K and Y. The rule does not occur with every nasal-
stop sequence, thus -nti the causative in both K and Y never dissimi-
lates. This morphological conditioning of the dissimilation is further
evidence of its relic status.

The allomorph -Tu in Kalkatungu has sub-allomorphs -tu, -ʈu and -cu
with apico-alveolar, retroflex and palatal stems respectively.

The allomorph -ju for long stems in Y may reflect a lenited stop.
Pama-Nyungan languages tend to exhibit -Tu with consonant stems, and
-lu or -ŋku with vowel stems. Where both -lu and -ŋku occur in a
language, they are often distributed according to the long versus short
stem principle as here.   However, while -lu is the expected allomorph
with long vowel stems, -ʈu or -cu does occur in a number of languages
e.g.: Yulbaridja (W.A. O'Grady et al. 1966), Yuulngu dialects (n.e.
Arnhem Land, N.T. - Schebeck 1976). Following Dixon 1970, I take -ʈu
and -cu to reflect a laminal -Tʸu, but I have no explanation for -ʈu
instead of -lu in Kalkatungu. As I suggested above, Yalarnnga -ju
probably represents a lenited -Tʸu since intervocalic lenition of -Tʸ-
to -j- is widely attested.

Since K j reflects both *l and *j, the allomorph -ji in K used with
kinship nouns may reflect *-ji or *-li. As can be seen from the table
above, Y has -lu. That -ji is the basic underlying allomorph in K can
be seen from a comparison of the ergative and dative of kinship nouns
(and non-singular pronouns):

	i stems	a stems	u stems
	'mother's brother'	*'father'*	*'mother'*
erg.	pupi(j)i	kuḷa(j)i	maʈuju
dat.	pupii	kuḷaa	maʈuu

The distribution of these allomorphs can be accounted for by positing
-ji as the basic allomorph for the ergative and -a as the basic allo-
morph for the dative. A rule of assimilation with high vowels will
then account for all allomorphs. The noun ʈuku *'dog'* has an ergative
ʈukuju, maḷʈa *'mob'* has maḷʈaji and jur- *'man'* has iti-ji. This suggests
that -ji may once have covered a wider range of stems than is now the
case.

Locative

Just as -lu, -ŋku and -Tu are common allomorphs of the ergative in
Pama-Nyungan, -la, -ŋka and -Ta are common allomorphs of the locative.
Yalarnnga exhibits -ŋka with disyllabic vowel stems while Kalkatungu
has -pia. However, Kalkatungu has -ŋka with kuu *'water'* (kuuŋka) and
with ṇʈuu *'hole'* and mpuu *'rotten'* (ṇʈuuka and mpuuka with nasal-stop

dissimilation). This is pretty clear evidence that proto K-Y had
*-ŋka and that K has innovated with -pia, retaining -ŋka on a few common
words.

The allomorph -ṭi for longer vowel stems in K is an innovation. The
allomorph that we would expect, given that the ergative for long vowel
stems is -ṭu, is -ṭa and this does occur with the ligatives -wa and
-ja (see §5.8.). -ta occurs with ucaṇ *fire* and the participle -ɲin,
and -ṭa occurs with ulaaṇ *high (of sun)*, giving further vestigial
evidence of an earlier -ṭa (< *taʔ).

Y has -ja with long vowel stems, which is expected, given -ju as the
ergative.

Both K and Y have -ŋu as the locative for kinship nouns (and with
pronouns) but Y has an additional element -ṭa. -ṭa occurs as a marker
of the purposive in Y and the two functions may be related. -ta is of
course an expected locative allomorph and in some Pama-Nyungan languages
forms such as -ta, -la and -ŋka frequently have purposive type functions.

In K the locative allomorph -ŋu appears with jur- *man* (jur-ŋu) and
ṭuku *dog* (ṭukuŋu) and occasionally with other animate nouns.

The allomorph -ḷa occurs with kua *creek* and -ḷu with muu *camp*
(presumably the vowel of the suffix has assimilated to the stem vowels).
-la is an expected locative allomorph for long vowel stems in Pama-
Nyungan languages.

Dative

The basic allomorph for vowel stems seems to be -a (see above under
ergative). The allomorph with consonant stems is -ku, the common
Australian dative marker. ku often lenites to -wu following vowel stems
and indeed this appears to have happened in Y where the dative is
-(w)u. Y also has a benefactive -ṭa which may derive from a locative
form. As noted above K retains -ta as a relic form of the locative.

The vowel stem allomorph in K (-a or perhaps -V by internal recon-
struction) is unexpected. Since -ku appears with consonant stems, we
would expect to find -wu or possibly -wu ~ -wi. In Warramunga (N.T.,
Hale 1973) complete vowel harmony (but without lenition of the conson-
ant) developed to yield -ku ~ -ka ~ -ki. This could have happened in
K with subsequent loss of K between identical vowels (see §7.4.). Or
perhaps we once had forms such as:

spouse	*kuŋi-ku	leniting to	kuŋiwu
kangaroo	*macumpa-ku	"	"	macumpawu
spider	*kupu-ku	"	"	kupuwu

The w in macumpawu and kupuwu would not have been significant (given
the present-day phonemotactic system) and they could have been

reinterpreted to macumpau and kupuu. As a further step we could posit
loss of w in kuŋiwu by analogy. iwu is a very unusual sequence in K.
I'm not certain that I have any examples of it, though I would think it
could occur. The only problem with this argument is that we have to
posit complete vowel harmony for the dative but not for the '-ji erga-
tives'.

Note on maa, ati.

maa *'vegetable food'* and ati *'meat'* have distinctive paradigms:

	maa		ati
ergative	maaṯu		atinṯu
locative	maaṯa		atinṯa
dative	maaci		atinci
	or maaciwa	or	atinciwa
	maacuwa		atincuwa

It is not possible to explain why just these two nouns have related
paradigms. Certainly it seems that we have yet another example of
common nouns retaining relics of an earlier system. However, we can see
why one paradigm has a nasal and the other hasn't. The Y form for food
is manṯa. Presumably it was also the proto-K form and this caused dis-
similation of the nasal-stop cluster in the suffix. manṯa would have
become maa by the rule that deletes consonants between like vowels.

The locative II in K is -ŋii and in Y, -ŋila. -ŋii is not a common
Pama-Nyungan form but was probably a feature of proto-K-Y or an early
borrowing from one to the other. It is fairly well integrated into the
case system of both languages, as it forms the basis for the allative
II forms. The element -la in Y may be a reflex of the common Pama-
Nyungan locative allomorph -la.

One of the striking parallels between the K and Y case systems is
the way the causal, ablative, and allative II case forms are derived.
In both languages the causal and ablative are derived from the ergative
and locative respectively by the addition of -ŋu, and in both the
allative II is derived from the locative II by the addition of augments.
The -ŋu that is used to derive the causal and ablative forms can plaus-
ibly be related to the relative pronoun ŋu in K. For example, something
that is from X can be considered something that was at X. The causal
function is often expressed in Pama-Nyungan languages by the instrumental,
so it is not surprising to see a causal form derived from an ergative/
instrumental. One would assume that the same -ŋu is used here in
deriving the ablative. The method of deriving the ablative and causal
from the locative and ergative/instrumental respectively, while not

being too peculiar in itself, is a feature peculiar to K and Y. It could be a feature of the proto-language, but the exact parallelism looks suspiciously like the result of influence from K to Y or vice versa.

It is interesting to note that the allative I in K is formed by the addition of -ṇa to the dative. This -ṇa may be a reflex of the common Australian accusative marker -Nʸa which shows up in K as -ṇa suffixed to -ŋu in certain relative clauses (see §5.11.). A few Pama-Nyungan languages form allatives by augmenting the dative but I am unable to generalise about the source of the augments. The augment used in Y (-mpa) may be of locative origin; a few Pama-Nyungan languages have locative allomorphs of this form.

The parallelism between the formation of the allative II from the locative II is striking and since the formation is peculiar to K and Y and since different augments are used in each language, it seems that the principle has diffused from one language to the other.

7.8. OTHER MORPHOLOGY

Except in case marking, K morphology consists largely of idiosyncratic forms and comparison with Y is of limited use.

The tenses in Y are -ma present, -mu past and -mi future. K has -∅, -ṇa and mi respectively. -ṇa is attested elsewhere as a past tense form and -mu is more likely to be an innovation. The series -ma, -mu and -mi appears to have been built up in Y with a common element m. K -mi may be a borrowing from Y. -ma marks the present tense in the Arandic languages (Strehlow 1943:312, Yallop 1977:49).

K has a number of verb morphemes containing the sequence ɲc, a sequence found in parallel functions in Pitjantjatjara, Walbiri, etc. Some of these are parallelled in Y:

purposive	K	ɲcaaja	Y	ɲcaṭa
continuing		ɲcaani		-
habitual		-ɲcaŋu		ɲaŋu
participial		-ɲin		-ɲana
noun forming		-ɲcir		-ɲciri

Y ɲcaṭa is built up from -ɲca plus the purposive -ṭa. Y appears to have simplified the ɲc cluster in ɲcaŋu, since it exhibits ɲaŋu. In K the nasal-stop dissimilation rule operates with the ɲc series, but in the case of the participle we find -ɲin as the basic allomorph and -cin with nasal-stop stems. Presumably -ɲin derives from a form with a homorganic nasal-stop cluster as does the corresponding Y form. The discrepancy in the vowels of -ɲin and -ɲana is parallelled by the forms

for *'they'*: K - ʈina, Y - ʈana. The widespread Pama-Nyungan form is
ʈana (or cana). The appearance of -i- in K can be explained as a
reinterpretation of the fronted allophone of a (i.e. [ɛ]) we would
expect following the laminal. Taking this as a model, we can suggest
the original vowel of ɲin: ɲana was a. If the final vowel was lost in
K as suggested in §7.4., then the proto participle was probably *ɲcana.

It is interesting to note that the form -(ɲ)cama- in K, which is
used to indicate a dative relationship in the verb, parallels the Y
reflexive/reciprocal in form if not in function - ɲama.

'MY WIVES AND CHILDREN'

MICK MOONLIGHT

ŋai uṯantiji-ṉa maṟapai-i malṯa-a, ŋa-ṯu ṉaur maniji makaṯi-
I   have-past   woman-dat mob-dat I-erg kid   get   hand

'I had a number of women.   I got ten children

ŋaraṉa makaṯi-ŋaraṉa. puṯur ṉaur ŋa-ci, ŋa-ci kuŋi   puṯur.
other hand   other   good kid me-dat me-dat spouse good.

         '(They're) good, my kids (and) my wife is good'.

ŋai ini   kalpuru-ṯi jalaŋṉa-a-ja-ṯa   mu-ḻu   uḻi ŋa-ci-ka
I   live Boulia-loc Yalarnnga-dat-lig-loc country-loc die me-dat-ø

I live in Boulia in Yalarnnga country.   *My first*

wacaḻi-ṉa-ŋu-ka maṟapai ŋa-ci uḻi wacaḻiṉa   ŋu-wa[1] uṯantiji-ka
first-adv-adj-ø woman   me-dat die first-adv   rel-ø   have-ø

woman died. She died, the one I had first.

ṉaa ŋa-ṯu maṟapai uṯantiji ṯiinta-ŋu, ṯiinta maṟapai ŋa-ṯu uṯantiji.
here I-erg woman   have   middle-adj middle woman   I-erg have

Then I got a second woman, I got a second woman.

kurpai ŋa-ṯu piḻapiḻa ŋa-ci-wa-ṯuŋu   maṟapai-ṯuŋu ṉa-ja
three I-erg baby   me-dat-lig-caus woman-caus   this-caus

I (had) three children by this woman of mine.'

[What was she like?] minaŋara arkunaan   paḻkumpiri arkunaan.
                     whatsit belligerent somewhat belligerent

        'She was,whatchamacallit, savage, a little bit savage.'

---

[1] Compare this use of ŋu and the use of ŋu in **wacaḻiṉaŋuka**. The former is a free form, the latter bound. Note the difficulty in distinguishing the relative marker from the 'adjective-forming' suffix. As things stand, I am taking the free form to be a relative and the bound form to be 'adjective-forming'.

[What did you do with her?] ŋa-ṯu   ḻuaji.
                             I-erg   relinquish

                             'I let her go'.

[Did you have to give her a hiding?] ŋa-ṯu   ḻaji, malṯa-ŋujan ŋa-ṯu ḻaji
                                     I-erg   hit   many-times   I-erg hit

                                     'I hit her. I hit her a lot.

iŋka-ṉa, kaanta-ṉa ŋa-ṯu   ḻa-ṉin-ka. ŋarpa-ṯa ini-ka,
go-past leave-past I-erg   hit-part-∅ other-loc remain-∅

She went, she left with me hitting her. She's living with

ŋarpa-ṯi ini-ka.   ŋarpa-ṯu uṯantiji-ka.
other-loc remain-∅   other-erg have-∅

someone else, with someone else. Someone else has got her'.

[You got a third one?] uṯiŋka-ŋu ŋa-ci   maṟapai ŋa-ṯu uṯiŋka-ŋu
                        behind-adj me-dat   woman   I-erg behind-adj

                        'My last woman, the last woman I got,

maṟapai uṯantiji puṯur caa maṟapai-ka, kuntu ṉṯiji-caŋu ŋa-ci.
woman   have   good here woman-∅   not   scold-habit me-dat

she's a good woman, she doesn't rouse at me'.

'MY RACEHORSES'

MICK MOONLIGHT

[Have you ever been to Bedourie?] ŋai paŋiṯi iŋka-ṉa mara,
                                   I   there   go-past indeed

                                   'I went there all right.

malṯa-ŋujan ŋai iŋka-ṉa pa-uṉa   wanaṉa ŋai unpi-cin   jaramana,[1]
many-times I   go-past there-all horse   I   take-part horse

I went there lots of times.   I used to take a horse [to]

reIsikɔ:t unpi-cin a-i   ṯuna. ŋa-ci jaramana, kuntu
racecourse take-part comp-he run   me-dat horse   not

the racecourse to run.   My horse, not a

jaṉi-i-ka.   ŋa-ci   jaramana aṯaŋara ŋa-ṯu unpi-cin
white:man-dat-∅   me-dat horse   self   I-erg take-part

white man's.   I took my *own* horse to

biduri-iṉa a-i   ṯuna. [ṉani-ka ipal?] ipal-ka ṉani-ŋu
Bedourie-all comp-he run   who-∅   name   name-∅ who-loc(?)

Bedourie to run.   What was his name? His name was

_____
[1]Apparently an error. wanaṉa and jaramana should be dative.

ṟæ:npæn miṋaṋara kuri-kuri ṟæ:npæn-ka.
Ranpan   whatsit   red-red   Ṟanpan-∅

Ranpan (= Frying Pan?) and he was, whatsit, a chestnut'.

jaramana-ṋara ṋa-ṯu unpiji ṋa-ci   ʌuati ṋa-ṯu unpi jaramana
horse-other   I-erg take   me-dat two   I-erg take horse

I took another horse.   I took two horses of mine

ṋa-ci   watina   ṟæ:npæn and ṋani-ṋu   ipal-ka   ṋarpaṋara-ka klipəlæd.
me-dat together Ṟanpan   who-loc(?) name-∅   other-∅   Clipper Lad

together, Ranpan and another whose name was Clipper Lad.

[ipal puṯur]   ṋa-ṯu aṯii   ipal ataṋara.   unpiji ṋa-ṯu
name good   I-erg produce name self   take   I-erg

A good name.   I made up the name myself.   I had

pauna anṯaji   ṋa-ṯu kurpai   ṋa-ṯu ṟæ:npæn aṯii mile race-kuṋa.
there win(verb) I-erg three   I-erg Ṟanpan   put   mile race-all

three wins.   I put Ranpan in a mile race.

kuntu anṯa-ti-ṋa.   They bin ṋtui   jaramana ṋa-ci
not   win-re-past   pull   horse   me-dat

He didn't win.   (The jockey) pulled him'.

[The jockey was a jaɲi(= white man)?]   'Yeah,

ṋa-ṯu ṋarpaṋara maniji jaɲi-ka,   ṋani-ṋu   klipəlæd-ka   juu-ntiji.
I-erg other   get   white:man-∅   who-loc(?) Clipper:Lad-∅   climb-tr

I got another white fella who rode Clipper Lad.

juu-ntiji ṋa-ci   jaramana klipəlæd.   dʒɒki-ṋara-ṯu   anṯa-ṋa
climb-tr me-dat horse   Clipper:Lad   jockey-other-erg   win-past

He rode my horse, Clipper Lad.   The other jockey won

ʌuati-ṋujan.   ṋa-ṯu malṯa ṋṯia   anṯaji. [Did you train the horse?]
two-times   I-erg much   money   win

twice.   I won a lot of money.

ṋa-ṯu ataṋara ṯunti-cin jaramana. wakihi-maɲci[1] ṋa-ṯu ṟudu-ṯunti-cin,
I-erg self   run:tr-part horse   turn-tr   I-erg ? -run:tr-part

I trained the horse myself.   I used to run him around,

unpi-cin   ṋa-ṯu ṋaiṋi-ṋaiṋi ḻaa   curka-ṯunti curka-ṯunti-cin
take-part I-erg late-late   comp:I   ? -run:tr   ? -run:tr-part

I'd take him out of an evening to trot him.   I'd trot him,

ṋa-ṯu kuntu ṋa-ṯu paɲcai-cin ṯunti-cin, ṋa-ṯu paḻku curka-ṯunti-cin
I-erg not   I-erg hard-part   run:tr-part I-erg little ? -run:tr-part

I didn't gallop him hard, I'd just trot him a bit'.

---

[1]-maɲci seems to be a causative reflexive *'make him turn himself'*, the -ɲci being
the same as the one noted in note 2, p.154.

[Was Clipper Lad a chestnut?] miṉaŋara paḻkumpiri braʊn. ŋa-ṯu maḻṯa
                          whatsit little   brown   I-erg many
                          'He was, whatsit, bit brown. I had a lot

jaramana ŋa-ci-ka uṯantiji maḻṯa uḻi waṉaka-ṯu kaṯir-iti.
horse   me-dat-ø own   many die sun-erg   grass-priv
of horses but they died with the sun and lack of grass'.

'MAGPIE'

LARDIE MOONLIGHT

    This text exists in three versions, one given by Mick Moonlight, the other two by Lardie Moonlight. The version transcribed here is the one given by Lardie Moonlight to Gavan Breen.

ṉaa-ka kuraṯapu juu-ṉa ṯuni-ṉa kaṯunkara-ṯuŋu ṉṯia-aṉa a-i
the-ø magpie rise-past fly-past dust-causal   hill-all comp-he
'The magpie flew up from/because of the dust to a hill to turn

ŋampuwakini.   kuṟicicin ini-ṉa piriṉa ṉṯia-pia.   mpati-ṉa
turn:around   peewee be-past on   hill-loc   call-past
his back.   The magpie-lark was on the hill.   He (the magpie)

piriṉa waṯara-ntiji macumpa katii-ɲin.
up   come:out-tr roo   cover-part
called out and made the kangaroo, who was buried, come up out (of the dust).

kuraṯapu ṯuni-ṉa ṉṯia-aṉa waṯara-ṉṯi-ji-caaja.   uṟumpa-ṉa
magpie   fly-past hill-all come:out-tr-a/p-purp loud:call-past
The magpie flew to the hill to make him come out. He called out,

ŋampuwakini-ṉa (ṉṯia-kuŋu)[1], ṉṯia-pia kaṯunkara-ṯuŋu.
turn:around-past hill-caus   hill-loc dust-caus
having turned around on the hill from/because of the dust.

waṯara-ɲci-ji-tu,   piṉṯa-cama-ti-tu   maḻṯa-ṉa
come-out-?[2]-imp-you:pl spread-tr-re-you:pl many-adv
Get up, you mob!   Spread out in great numbers.

---

[1] I presume ṉṯia-kuŋu is given in error for ṉṯiapia, the causal probably anticipating the causal of kaṯunkaraṯuŋu.

[2] The function of -ɲci is clear from the passage. It is a reflexive and gives to waṯara *'come out, emerge'* the sense of *'get up'*. Thus waṯaraɲci would be like the Italian verb alzarsi *'to get up'* where -si is reflexive. However, waṯara is not transitive like Italian alzare *'to raise'* and in theory requires transitivising with -ɲcama before it can be made reflexive or reciprocal by -ti. -ɲci then is in lieu of the expected -ɲcama-ti-, which does occur in the next word.

```
waṯara-ɲci-ji-ṯu-ka        kaṯir-ku a-ni    aṟi-li  a-ni    pukuai
come-out-?-imp-you:pl-ø   grass-dat comp-you eat-a/p comp-you crawl
```

Come out and eat the grass, and crawl to various

```
muu-ŋara muu-ŋara  a-ni    iŋka  pirki-ŋara    pirki-ŋara,
camp-one  camp-other comp-you go   bloodwood-one bloodwood-other
```

places, and go to various trees, and to various rivers,

```
kua-ŋara    kua-ŋara    a-ni    iŋka a-ni    uṉṯa-ji      kaṯir-ku.
river-other river-other comp-you go   comp-you graze:on-a/p grass-dat
```

and go and eat (or graze on) the grass.

```
ŋaḷiŋaḷi, ŋarkun-ka,   macumpa,  utiŋar, maṟari,  curujan-ka, ṯuar
roo:rat   wallaroo-ø   kangaroo  emu     goanna   echidna-ø   snake
```

Kangaroo rat, wallaroo, kangaroo, emu, goanna, porcupine, snake,

```
waṯara-ji-ṯu.
come:out-imp-you:pl
```

come out'.

('He made all them animals get up. That's the world'.)

'HOW I WAS BORN'

LARDIE MOONLIGHT

```
ŋa-ci  maṯu iti[1]-ṉa  ṯarki-ṯarki-ṯiŋu
me-dat mo   go-past   Tarrki-Tarrki-abl
```

'My mother went from Tarrki-Tarrki to

```
klonkari-iṉa a-i    iŋka hospital-kuṉa.   ŋai-jan[2]
Cloncurry-all comp-she go   hospital-all    me-con
```

Cloncurry to go to the hospital.   She had

```
ŋai miḻṯiṯati-ṉa[3]  too quick before he iŋka-ṉa
me  be born-past                        go-past
```

me; I was born   went

```
longa hospital.     ŋai miḻṯiṯatiṉa longa
```

crossing. Then they took her in ambulance.

```
ŋai-jana unpiji.     ṉaa cuṯu jaun iŋka-ṉa ŋa-ci
me - and take        here car  big  go-past me-dat
```

And they took me too. The big car went and

---

[1] iti normally means 'return, go back'.

[2] The only instance of -jan with a pronoun.

[3] lit. 'become eyes'.

maṯu-u   a-i   itintiji[1]   maŋaṇaan-kuṇa   unpiji
mother-dat   comp-*it take*   *doctor*-all   *take*

took my mother to the doctor, took her to the

maŋaṇaan-kuṇa   hospital-kuṇa   itintiji   a-i   ini
doctor-all   *hospital*-all   *take*   comp-*she stay*

doctor, took her to the hospital so she could stay

mankaṇa   a-i   ṯail-ati   get settled down, get better.
later   comp-*she firm-become*

(there) a while till she got strong.'

'PLANTING'

MICK AND LARDIE MOONLIGHT

LM   ṇaa-ka[2]   waṯukatiji   ŋa-ci-ka   ṯaṇṯu-ka
      here-∅   *dig*   *me*-dat-∅   *hole*-∅

      'This one here dug a hole for me'.

MM   ṯaṇṯu   ɲin-ti   waṯukatiji?
      hole   *you*-erg   *dig*

      'Did you dig a hole?'

LM   cipa-a-wa   kunka-a-ja-ka
      this-dat-∅   *tree*-dat-∅-∅

      'For this tree'.

MM   kunka-a-ja,   a-ni   ŋkaajimanti?
      tree-dat-∅   comp-*you*   *plant*

      'The tree, are you going to plant it?'

LM   ŋaa,   ŋa-ṯu   pati-na   ikii   a-i   waṯukati-ji
      yes   *I*-erg   *tell*-past   *Hickey*   comp-*he*   *dig*-a/p

      'Yes, I told Hickey to dig'.

MM   ṇani   ɲin-ti   pati-ṇa?
      who   *you*-erg   *tell*-past

      'Who did you tell?'

---

[1]itintiji is iti *'return'* + nti- but it means *'bring'* or *'take'* not necessarily *'bring back'*.

[2]Since ṯaṇṯu is nominative and waṯukatiji is transitive, there must be an A in the clause. I take it that the third person A is represented by zero and that ṇaa is adverbial. However, it is difficult to be certain that ṇaa is not pronominal with neutralisation of the ergative and nominative.

LM ikii   ŋa-ṯu pati-ṉa   ṯaṉṯu-u   a-i   waṯukati-ji
Hickey *I*-erg *tell*-past *hole*-dat comp-*he* *dig*-a/p

'*I told Hickey to dig a hole*'.

MM ṉaur?
kid

'*The kid?*'

LM ŋa-ṯu pati-ṉa   ṉaur-ka a-i   waṯukati-ji ṯaṉṯu-u
I-erg *tell*-past *kid*-ø comp-*he* *dig*-a/p   *hole*-dat

'*I told the kid to dig a hole*'.

MM ṯaṉṯu-u   a-i   waṯukati-ji
hole-dat comp-*he* *dig*-a/p

'*To dig a hole*'.

LM He bin waṯukatiji miṉaŋara-ṯa
         dig   *whatsit*-erg

'*He dug it with that whatsitsname*'.

MM puḻuwara-ṯu
white-erg

'*The white one*'.

LM Yeah, caa   ŋa-ṯu kunka-ka aṟa-nti, caralmaji-mpa ku-ŋku-ka
      here   *I*-erg *tree*-ø   *enter*-tr *bathe*-seq   *water*-erg-ø

'*Yeah, I planted it and watered it*'.

MM caralmaji?
bathe

'*Watered it?*'

LM Yeah, waṯara-ɲcii[1] caa-miakaja ciipu waṯara ṉaa   then kunka-ka
      emerge-re   *this*-plur *shoot* *emerge* *here*   *tree*-ø

'*Yeah, these shoots come out and then the tree*

jaun-aan-ati ṉaa ḻaa kaṉṯa-piriṉa-ṯati
big-con-intr *here* *then* *head-up*-intr

grows and gets tall'.

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[1] See note 2, p.154.

'COOKING BY THE CREEK'

MICK AND LARDIE MOONLIGHT

LM ŋaḻi ɲini iŋka-ṉa ŋkaṟa-a a-ḻi   waṯukati-ji.
    we:2 you   go-past *yam*-dat *comp-we:2 dig*-a/p

    'We went to dig yams'.

    ɲin-ṯi ḻaji macumpa.
    you-erg *kill kangaroo*

    'You killed kangaroos'.

MM ati   ŋa-ṯu ḻaji macumpa.
    meat   I-erg *kill kangaroo*

    'I killed kangaroos'.

LM ŋaḻi ṯuji.
    we:2 cook

    'We cooked'.

MM ṯuji ŋaḻi.
    cook we:2

    'We cooked'.

LM kua-ḻa.
    creek-loc

    'By the creek'.

MM kua-ḻa   ŋaḻi ṯuji.   kapani ŋaḻi ɲini kua-ḻa   maṟari-i.
    creek-loc *we:2 cook*   *hunt*   *we:2 you*   *creek*-loc *goanna*-dat

    'We cooked by the creek. We hunted for goannas down by the creek'.

    maṟari-i   ŋaḻi iŋka a-ḻi   ḻa-ji.
    goanna-dat *we:2 go*   *comp-we:2 kill*-a/p

    'We went out killing goannas'.

LM ajar-ṉa ŋaḻi-ji ḻaji maṟari.
    one-adv *we:2*-erg *kill goanna*

    'We killed a goanna once'.

BB Lardie iŋka-ṉa ŋkaṟa-a?
    Lardie go-past *yam*-dat

    'Lardie went for yams?'

MM Lardie iŋka-ṉa ŋkaṟa-a.
    Lardie go-past *yam*-dat

    'Lardie went for yams'.

BB ɲini iŋka-ṉa macumpa-a-ja?
    you *go*-past *kangaroo*-dat-ø

    'You went for kangaroos?'

MM ŋai iŋka-ṉa macumpa-a ati-ɲci ḻaa ḻa-ji.
   I   go-past *kangaroo*-dat *meat*-dat comp:*I kill*-a/p

   '*I went to kill kangaroos*'.

BB ḻamara iti-ṉa muṛu-uṇa.
   then   return-past *camp*-all

   '*Then (you would) go back to camp*'.

MM iti-ṉa ŋaḻi muṛu-uṇa.
   return-past *we:2 camp*-all

   '*We would go back to camp*'.

LM iti-nti ati-ɲci, ṯuji kua-ḻa.
   return-tr *meat*-dat *cook creek*-loc

   '*We would bring the kangaroo back and cook it by the creek*'.

MM kua-ḻa ŋaḻi ṯuji. ṯuaji ŋa-ṯu malṯa-puniji waku
   creek-loc *we:2 cook   cut   I*-erg *many*-tr   *skin*

   '*We would cook by the creek. I would cut the (kangaroo) up into*

   iṯiti-mpa, ṯuku aɲa-mpa waku-ka.
   throw-seq *dog gave*-seq *skin*-ø

   pieces and throw the skin, give the skin to the dogs'.

'THEN AND NOW'

MICK MOONLIGHT

1. ŋa-ci maṯu-ju ŋai aṯiji jamiḻijamiḻi-ṯi.
   me-dat *mother*-erg *me produce Old:Hammerly*-loc

   '*My mother had me at Old Hammerly.*

ḻuŋa-ɲin ŋai mimi-i ŋa-ci maṯu-u. ŋa-ci maṯu-ju ŋai
cry-past *I   breast*-dat *me*-dat *mother*-dat   *me*-dat *mother*-erg *me*

I used to cry for my mother's breast.   *My mother used to*

aɲi-ɲin mimi. ŋai jarka iŋka-cin ḻaa wani, walipiri-i
give-past *breast   I far   go*-past comp:*I play humpy*-dat

give me milk.   *I used to go out a long way to play and*

ḻaa kiakati-ji. ucan ŋa-ṯu aṉpa-cin puʎcuru-ka, aṯi-ɲin
comp:*I make*-a/p   *firewood I*-erg *gather*-past *pultjuru*-ø *make*-past

build humpies.   *I would gather firewood, pultjurus, (and) I*

ŋa-ṯu ŋa-ci-wa-ṯa ucan ŋa-ṯu kiakati-ɲin. ucan aṉpa-cin
I-erg *me*-dat-lig-loc *fire I*-erg *make*-past   *fire gather*-past

would make a fire at my (camp).   *(I) used to gather*

aṯi-ɲin walipiri-ṯi aṉṯii a-i manii, ŋuu-ɲin ucan-ta
make-past *humpy*-loc *mouth:*loc comp-*it burn   lie*-past *fire*-loc

firewood and make a fire to burn at the entrance of the humpy

ilir-pia-ka.
cold-loc-∅

and lie by the fire in the cold'.

    2. kupaŋuru-ṯati-ɲin ŋai.   mu-ḻu   ŋai ini   ḻaa.
       old:man-intr-past *I*   *camp*-loc *I*   *remain now*

       'I'm an old man.   *I stop at home now.*

bulja-aṉa   ŋai iŋka-ṉa.   ŋa-ci-ka ṉṯia-ka ŋaa bulja-pia ŋuu.
Boulia-all *I*   *go*-past   *me*-dat-∅ *money*-∅ *here Boulia*-loc *lie*

I went to Boulia.   *My money is here in Boulia.*

ṉṯia-aṉa ŋai iŋka-ṉa kalpuru-uṉa. ŋa-ṯu ṉṯia ŋiṯi malṯa
money-all *I* *go*-past *Boulia*-all   *I*-erg *money here mob*

I went to (get my) money, to Boulia.   *I had a lot of money*

uṯantiji caja-ṉa-ka. ŋa-ṯu maa-cua   mani-nti ṉṯia-ka
have   *old*-adv-∅   *I*-erg *food*-dat:∅ *get-with money*-∅

there once.   *I spent it on food (and) used it*

uṯimaji-mpa.[1] ŋai uṯimaji-ṉa ṉṯia-a   ŋa-ci-wa-ku.
consume-perf[1] *I*   *consume*-past *money*-dat *me*-dat-lig-dat

all up.   *I have spent all my money'.*

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[1] -mpa could be sequential or perfect.

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KALKATUNGU – ENGLISH

HUMANS

'new born baby'	pirkipirki(jan) (=bloodwood),uṛuma
'baby/young child'	piḷapiḷa
'child'	ṇaur
'boy'	kaṇku, kujiri
'girl'	wampa, wampaampala (CC), ɲiṇa
'boy nearing puberty'	kujiri
'girl nearing puberty'	wampa
'boy after first degree initiation'	japariri
' " " second " " '	upariɲci
' " " third " " '	kaṉṯapiaŋu
'young man'	kalpin, kalpinŋuru
'man'	juru (ergative stem -iti-)
'old man'	kupa, kupakupa, kupaŋuru
'girl after first degree initiation'	iṛaci
' " " second " " '	walumara
' " " third " " '	muṉṯamuṉṯa (see *'old woman'*)
'woman'	maṛapai
'old woman'	muṉṯamuṉṯa (see above), mucumucu
'widow'	kaṛajau, miṉṯara
'doctor'	maŋaṇaan
'man of prowess'	pipani
'unmarried man'	maṉṯawiṯa
'unmarried woman'	juruiti, juriti
'stranger'	ṛaŋkin, mawar, maawar
'friend'	kaaci, ṯimaṯa
'ghost, white man'	jaɲi
'white woman'	miṯiṯi

'policeman'	kanimajiɲcir
'dead person'	piɲcil
'man' (as object of a woman's affection)	miṭamiṭa

KIN (See also §5.2.7.3.)

'mother'	maṭu	'mother's father'	caci(ci)
'father'	kuḻa	'father's mother'	papi(pi)
'older brother'	ṭapu	'father's father'	ŋaca(ci)
'older sister'	pua	'man's children'	kunkuju
'younger sibling'	uŋkuḻu	'woman's children'	ŋaḻu
'mother's sister'	upaci	'husband'	jukuṭa
'mother's brother'	pupi	'wife'	kuŋi
'father's sister'	ŋucir	'spouse'	markuṭu
'father's brother'	piṭaṭa	'mother-in-law'	wapuṭu
'mother's mother'	mucu(cu)	'cross-cousin'	muaŋŋu
'great grandparent or grandchild'		macara	

Rare forms: maṇu ('mother'), ŋaṇi ('elder brother'), jalaca ('mother's brother'), ŋaṇṭar ('mother's sister').

BODY PARTS

'head'	kaṉṭa, mapa
'hair'	warpaṉṭuru, waṟupu
'grey hair'	katuḷ
'brains'	kuṭu
'forehead'	muṉṭu mirimiri
'face'	muṉṭu (muṉṭu makari 'pretty face')
'temple'	pikaṉṭa, wamiḻa
'eye'	miḻṭi
'eyelid'	milpuɲun
'eyebrow'	miŋankaṟi, milinu
'eyelashes'	miŋankaṟi, milinu
'nose'	iciɲci, ŋuɲiri
'flat nose'	ŋuɲiri ṭalaṭala, iciɲci ṭalaṭala
'mouth'	aṉṭa
'lips'	aṉṭa piŋkur
'tongue'	mali
'teeth'	aṭiṉṭa
'cheek'	uku
'jaw'	aṉṭaŋalṭa, uku
'chin'	aḻinuku, aṉṭaŋalṭa

'beard'	jənpar
'ear'	inṯa, cukucuku (animal not human), pina (rare)
'neck'	kaḻaa, kaḻara
'neck' (front)	ṯakar panṯurpanṯur
'neck' (back)	ŋampu kanṯakanṯa
'shoulder'	warku, ŋaḻi, ŋaṇi
'shoulder blade'	waṯu
'armpit'	kicipuḻu
'arm'	junṯu
'upper arm'	kuɲcal
'elbow'	juṟumuku, waɲi
'wrist'	muṟu
'hand'	makaṯi
'left hand'	kaḻuruŋu
'hair under arms'	kicipakua
'breast'	mimi, kanṯaŋamaŋama *('nipple'?)*
'chest'	manṯar, wakita, ŋamaṇa, ŋaḻiɲiri, ŋaṯili*('breast bone')*, ṯapuḻakankan *('breast bone')*
'rib'	ṯalpu, pipali, pipalpipal
'rib bone'	jampi
'stomach'	putu
'navel'	unakali, unaaru, ciku, unukuru
'back'	miɲci
'small of the back'	ŋampu panṯu
'buttocks'	muju, ṯunpuḻṯu
'hip'	ṇianṯa
'anus'	miṯinṯi
'pubic hair'	ciṯi
'penis'	kaanṯu, kapua pural *('erection')*
'testicles'	ŋuṯu, maḻiŋuṯu
'vulva'	irila, ṯinṯi, panṯi, kucira karapulu, kirapu
'groin'	jaḻki
'thigh'	ŋuḻṯu
'knee'	ipuru, puru, purupuru *('knees')*
'leg'	waŋka
'calf'	maḻa
'shin'	waŋka
'ankle'	ṇuku
'heel'	wanṯu
'foot'	ṯapanṯu
'toes'	piku malaŋŋu, piku maṯu(aŋŋu)

'nails'	piku
'bone'	kuŋka, waŋka (see *'shin'*)
'blood'	uʎci
'skin'	waku
'fat'	kuṉtali
'body hair'	puɲcu
'hairy'	puɲculpuɲcul
'muscle'	miar
'tendons'	ṯarka-ṯarka, wanika
'vein'	pirmaɲ
'heart'	waḻkariŋu, januanti, waira
'lungs'	muri
'liver'	utuṉṯu
'kidneys'	miṟuŋujan
'bowels/intestines'	unu, uluṯapikuḻu, unu ṟicuru
'milk'	mimi
'faeces'	unu
'urine'	kurkai
'sweat'	aʎcir, aʎcira
'saliva/phlegm'	campar
'nasal mucus, a cold'	ŋuŋkur
'pimple'	ŋuɲi
'lump'	ŋamun
'boil'	ḻuŋa
'pox'	kacara
'menstruation'	kururumira
'copulation'	mpujumpuju
'sore'	kaki
'scar'	wapaṟu, maṟili, ŋaliṟi
'wound'	kaki
'pain'	ŋkiki
'cramp'	ciṯamanman
'corpse'	piɲcil
'ghost'	jaɲi
'name'	ipal

ANIMALS

'meat'	ati
'male'	kuḻaajaŋu
'female'	kiɲca
	karau

'tail'	kaanṯu, jaṟari
'fur'	puɲcu
'egg'	kuṯu, ɲuu
'yolk'	japaḻa (also gives as *'red ochre'*)
'eggshell'	ṟimpil
'kangaroo'	macumpa
'female kangaroo'	paraɲca
'kangaroo teeth'	iraŋkal
'kangaroo's pouch'	jaṟa
'kangaroo rat'	ɲaḻiɲaḻi, wacin waṯala
'wallaroo'	ŋarkun
'possum'	mirampa, utuman, ṯakamunṯa
'water rat'	kiṇṯi, pikura (see next entry)
'bandicoot'	kalkatu, pikura (Roth),cikal, cikali
'bush rat'	kaḻu
'bush mouse'	cirima, pukucur, jatici,cuṟukuɲu
'echidna'	cuṟujan, wacinaan
'bat'	muɲu, pipaḻi
'flying fox'	muŋar
'dog'	ṯuku (<u>not</u> English borrowing - it declines irregularly)
'dingo'	munuṯaŋu
'pup'	waḻamaan
'sheep'	maŋkimaŋki
'horse'	jaraman, jaramana, wanaṉa
'bullock'	pulaka, puliṯi, ṉaɲcarajan, muḻi
'goat'	ṉanikuṯu
'cat'	puṯikar, ɲarapuŋa
'chook'	kiṇṯi watuwatura, cukucuku

REPTILES, FISH, ETC.

'goanna'	maṟari, kunakaaca, juruṯu, julara, (informants unable to distinguish species consistently)
'prentie'	manpu(ṟu)pari, ṟaɲiraan
'Johnson crocodile'	juṯujuṯu
'lizard'	iḻipari
'bearded dragon'	walkaaṯu
'blue tongue'	paŋkaṟa, ṯumpaṟara
'lizard similar to blue tongue'	miḻuɲaḻana, japuŋkuliri, waŋkata
'unidentified types of lizard'	milumanu, utaṯa, waŋaṯu, miḻati

'frilled lizard'	waraṯaŋujan
'gecko'	paṇṯapaṇṯa (often given as *'wood adder'* a species of gecko)
'snake'	ṯuar, kuntara, piṛu
'types of snake' (attempts at identification inconsistent)	ṯakujan, milkira, japiṇṯici, maŋaṇ, cuḷka
'death adder'	muku̱ṯu
'carpet snake'	pari-pari, aṇṯakuḷaajaŋu
'black-headed python'	mapamacin
'water snake'	ŋuḷu-ŋuḷu, juṯur (also given as *'python'*, cf. *'crocodile'*)
'crab'	maṛakaṯu, kaṇṯar (also given for *'scorpion'*)
'crayfish'	ṯumpan, cuiɲci, muḷu
'mussel'	ku̱curu, ṛakacu, wantaḷ, jarkalaan
'shell'	cikara, ciki(li)ri, wantaḷ (see preceding entry)
'tadpole'	unu̱ṯutu
'frog'	pakuku, u̱ṯupa (*'green tree frog'*), caraaḷku, cawan (*'big brown frog'*), ṯaraŋana (*'little,green frog'*), upun (*'big,brown frog'*)
'fish'	wakaṛi
'fin'	ḻirin
'scales'	pirkipirki(jan) (=*'bloodwood'*)
'yellow belly'	miaraan
'black bream'	maŋkaḷa, kalkaaŋ[sic], kalkaŋu
'boney bream'	mirikan
'type of small fish'	u̱ṯu
'perch'	ṯakuru

BIRDS

'bird'	ṯuruuṇ
'beak'	aṇṯa
'wing'	juṇṯu
'claw'	ṯapantu, piku
'feather'	ku̱ṯi, puḻun, purŋu
'emu'	utiŋar
'emu feather'	ṯiliara
'eaglehawk'	uḻujaan, uḻujaun
'kitehawk'	picu̱ṯu, kacapi
'white hawk'	kulŋupari
'chickenhawk'	mucuṇ
'eagle'	kumalntuicir

'crow - black'	wakan, ukan, wakaḻa, waakaḻa
'pelican'	walkiripari, tuḻkiripari (Roth)
'spoonbill'	piḻa-piḻa
'diver bird'	ɲiḻi
'jack diver'	kaḻa-kaḻa
'waxbill'	piiṭu-piiṭu
'brolga'	kuḻṭuur, mirikunpaɲa, waŋkaŋuḻṭa, puraaṇṭa, puraḻku
'crane'	ṭankin
'waterhen'	kicicipapa
'dotterel'	piṇṭil-piṇṭil
'kingfisher'	malaṛa, caampa
'kookaburra'	markula (Urquhart - O'Reilly) calunkur, caruŋkul
'duck'	ṛantaɳi, karapa (unspecified types rather than generic term)
'wood duck'	maṛamiṭaaka, kuṉampa, ṭurpupari, ŋalawal
'black duck'	maŋawira
'whistler duck'	kipuʌu, cipuʌu
'owl'	miḻṭijaun
'mopoke'	kurkurku, jaṭiḻara, mukaṇka
'dove'	uluukuṛu
'plumed pigeon'	urimpiṭu
'night pigeon'	kulumari
'flock pigeon'	curuali, kuraku
'brown pigeon'	uṛiŋa, ṛapaci
'type of pigeon'	kulupaci
'plains turkey'	parkamu, calalu
'corella' ·	muṛumaṛi, kuluta (Urquhart - O'Reilly) maṛapuŋu
'white sulphur-crested cockatoo'	jauira, pirimpalaan
'galah'	kilauru, kila-kila
'peewee'	kuṛicicin
'magpie'	kuraṭapu
'budgerigar'	cinpaṛu
'parrot'	mulpiɲ(*'green with beads around neck'*), palpaacu (*'green parrot with red wing'*), pulunpulun
'willie wagtail'	cintipir
'finch'	cikuṛu
'chook'	kinti waṭuwaṭura, cukucuku

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INSECTS, ETC.

'insect-like creature'	icajiɲcir (*'biter'*), ulu
'spider'	kupu
'redback spider'	miɲci kurikuri, miţiɳţi kurikuri, ţunpulţu kurikuri
'fly'	jumunţiri, jumuɳţuru
'blowfly'	milŋa, unuŋu (also given as *'bee'*)
'maggot'	ciku-ciku, waŋka
'bee'	maţu
'beeswax'	umu
'honey'	ikan
'wasp'	waɲimaţu
'mosquito'	mikaɽa, mikaa
'butterfly'	kuʌaţapu
'hairy caterpillar'	ciapaḷa
'centipede'	ţitiri, ţitii
'ant'	iţi
'meat ant'	iţi
'black ant'	waţi
'white ant'	iɽa
'bull ant'	munţun
'antbed'	micampu
'swarm'	kiti-kiti
'louse'	ţuţu
'flea'	ţuɽunpu
'locust'	ţiri-ţiri
'witchetty grub'	kapaɽa, kapaa
'unidentified types of grub'	maŋkuţi, maŋkuţatipula, puŋpaţiŋu
'worm'	ţalu
'beetle'	ţiran, juŋkuŋuţu
'scorpion'	kanţar (also given as *'crab'*)
'grasshopper'	piɳţiciri

FLORA

'tree'	kunka
'root'	ţuri-ţuri
'stump'	kaɳţanmaaţu
'log'	ţunpun
'bark'	ţaka, ţakal
'limb'	maḷaŋaʌcaŋaʌca
'leaf'	puḷiɳţi
'tea leaf'	ŋulţan

'stick'   kuṇka

'rotten wood'   ṛaputu

'needle bush'   ṯanpuru, ṯuŋkuru

'firewood'   ucan

'fork'   ṛaɲca, paḻṯa, ḻali (possibly ḻaḻi)

'flower'   wariɲca, piɲṯikali, wiṛiri, ukara,
                                 kuṯi (see 'feather')

'type of fruit'   kaɳṯu

'wild fig'   waliɲcaŋu

'seed'   miḻṯi (compare 'eyes')

'nut'   kucanpaṛu (unidentified type of
                                 edible nut)

'foliage'   kuŋala

'new growth'   muŋkumuṇku, ciipu

'gidyea tree'   pacara, ṯilimari

'gidyea flowers'   muki

'unidentified species of
   Eucalyptus'   ŋantiŋu

'coolibah'   piɳpiri, makaṛu

'bean tree'   cikaḻaan, cuṯa, wacu

'mountain gum'   puṯa-puṯa

'bloodwood'   pirki-pirki

'supplejack'   alkar

'silverleaf box'   karkaɳi

'mulga'   uriṛa, miawali

'beefwood'   wacara, malaṯampi, ṯintipaṛi

'tea-tree' (Melaleuca)   ṉuṛuŋu (also tea-tree bark and
                                 certain things made from this),
                                 miṛaɲci, munalkara

'loose bark of tea-tree'   pucunpucun

'corkwood'   cuṯu

'prune tree'   ciŋkaŋu

'wild orange'   inpukuṯu, waṯaci

'river wattle'   kaḻaca

'myrtle'   purkulu

'lancewood'   kialpari (= 'east', = 'chestnut'
                                 (of horses))

'ironwood'   iṉṯa pulumapuluma (also given as
                                 'coolibah')

'carbeen'   ucaawa, uti, pikaṉi

'whitewood resin'   kunaɲcar

'roly-poly'   ŋumpuḻu

'prickly bush'   makar

'lignum bush'   ṛicaawa, ṯanita

'split-eye'	ŋuḻu
'bush tomato'	muḻuku
'vegetable food'	maa
'yam'	ŋkaa
'type of yam'	makura, ŋaṭa 'kind of makura'
'plain yam'	kaɲkuji
'blackberry'	jalpuŋu
'turpentine bush'	maṇṭujuŋu
'saltbush'	alampa
'grass'	kaɲir, kaṯir, cilkurujan, cilkari, punuṟu
'mitchell grass'	piṯa
'grass seeds'	iṯir
'spinifex'	wacin (also 'spine, bristle')
'burr'	curu
'reed'	cimpala
'paddy melon'	iḻpu, pulura
'gooseberry'	miɲcaṟuma
'kanguberry'	ɲuanɲu
'pigweed'	ṯaḻu
'poison'	kaŋa
'drug'	palpir (a substance used to drug fish)
'unidentified types of tree'	ukaṇṯaicaŋu
'unidentified type of plant'	ciɲpun, pipiɲ, paṯulaɲci, ṯatunu, kaṇṯaṯaku, iŋkaʎiŋkajaŋu, campuʎca, kuricipalka
'unidentified types of bush'	piṟi-piṟi, pupuci, pirimpiri

SKY, TIME, WEATHER, WATER, EARTH

'sun' (also 'day')	piɲcamu, waṉaka
'moon' (also 'month')	ṯuṇṯal
'crescent moon'	ṯuṇṯal putu
'star'	cirka, miḻṯi ('eyes'), puṯuṟuŋu
'Morning Star'	marapuṯaŋkaaḻi
'Southern Cross'	kanamaralakia, kuḻaŋkuḻaajaŋu
'Seven Sisters'	markaŋuru
'Milky Way'	waṟu-waṟu
'dark'	waṯa, waṯamakal
'to grow dark'	miwaḻuṯati
'sunrise'	mpampaiɲci piɲcamu
'shade'	waḻua
'breeze'	kuiaŋu
'wind'	unuŋkaṯi
'willy-willy/dust storm'	wamɲati, markamarka, waripirian

'storm'	juṟaɲiri
'hailstones'	kaṟakucuŋu
'thunder'	maṟapanka, ṟuŋka, ṟuŋuḻa
'lightning'	maṟapanka, janpiri, janpirian, ṟuŋka
'sky'	mana-mana
'mirage'	juma
'heat haze'	paṉṯu
'cloud'	jaḻpaaca, juruma, curkuḻu (once only in a song), pupula
'red cloud'	ŋuṟuṟulu (once only in a song)
'storm cloud'	iran-iran
'rain'	kuu, ṯapi-ṯapikuḻa (*'light rain'*), piḻi (*'light rain'*) miḻṯi (*'rain-drops'*)
'hail'	karakucuŋu
'water'	kuu
'dew'	kaca, wiḻṯa
'mist'	ṯiraṯira
'rainbow'	jaṟuala
'river, creek'	kua
'tributary'	juṉṯu
'flood'	ṯuura
'swamp'	ṯanpaṯanpa
'ripples'	jamparjampar
'soak'	ipuraan
'spring'	kalaati
'dirty' (of water)	cuṉṯa
'upstream'	maṉṯiaṉa
'downstream'	piciŋaṉa
'rock ledge, large flat stone'	ṯumpuŋ̣ŋu
'bank of river'	miɲci, jampi
'sand (river)'	kua, kikawaṟa
'mud'	paṯa
'muddy'	paṯanaŋuṟu
'stone'	ṉṯia
'gravel'	ṟuculu
'hill'	ṉṯia, warapantia, jaliṟa
'antbed'	micampu
'cliff'	micaḻaru
'dust'	kaṯunkara
'ground'	muu
'camp'	muu
'claypan'	kukaṯiri

'track'	waṟuwaṟu
'mound'	waṇa
'heap'	muṭu
'ridge'	purku
'top of a hill or big rock'	kaṉṯamaṉṯu
'hole'	ṉṯuu, ṯaṉṯuu, ḻapuḻapu
'cave'	ṉaṇa, kurkiṟa
'red ochre'	japaḻa, kuri, mila, miḻṯi
'yellow ochre'	paru
'kopi'	piṟakaṟa
'white shell'	cikiliri, cikara
'paint'	kapuru
'salt'	miʎu
'black paint'	umaaka

CAMP

'camp'	muu
'humpy'	walipiri
'house'	kunti
'windbreak'	waḻu-waḻu, waḻuwaḻua, uŋkuṟicu
'single men's camp'	maṉṯawiṯa
'single girl's camp'	maṉṯakaḻu, jampara
'bed'	iṯapi, calku
'rug, blanket'	kulapuru
'area away from the camp'	waluŋkar *'right outside'*
'ceremonial humpy'	jaṉṯu ḻamira-mira
'initiation area'	ŋalṯuṉu (possibly not a Kalkatungu word)
'corroboree ground'	macuru

FIRE

'fire'	ucan
'firewood'	ucan
'sticks for making fire'	jaṉṯaca, ṯurku
'blaze, flame'	kuṟaḻi, aṉṯaṉulu
'smoke'	puḻu, juŋarka
'coals'	kapu, wamu
'ashes'	ṯurŋun, pumpa
'to burn, cook'	ṯu-
'hole for cooking in'	waṯi
'to burn' (V_i and V_t)	manii

FOOD

'vegetable food'	maa
'meat'	aṯi
'beef'	miṉa
'wad of chewing tobacco or pituri'	kuka

WEAPONS, TOOLS, ETC.

'swag'	waḻṯurwaḻṯur
'spear'	juku, cilka
'shaft of spear'	ṉirimu
'head of spear'	ṯampira
'barb of spear'	ḻali, anṯaumujan
'spear thrower'	julman, wamira, ulmun
'hook on spear thrower'	ḻali, karimiŋu
'nulla'	ṯalimpiri, ucauca (also heard as wicawica)
'boomerang'	jalkapaṟi
'fluted boomerang'	ṯaruru
'hook boomerang'	cukucuku, inṯajan, inṯamari, cimpala (stick thick at one end and pointed at the other, thrown as a weapon)
'shield'	miṯar, jampuru
'tomahawk'	warampaṯa, maria, muaŋŋu
'knife'	kankaṟi, puʌcini, wirinṯa, kampuŋu
'ceremonial knife'	ujin, wiin, punṯun
'chisel'	kumpaṯa
'stick'	kunka, ṯular, wapu, warawara, canpara
'yam stick'	kulaŋara
'pump' (decoy device for attracting birds)	kuḻumpu
'emu net'	jaḻpi
'noose on stick' (for catching birds)	cinṯalura
'posts of emu net'	pujulu
'net'	mukuari, kanṯamaṟa (also *'hairnet'*), ucuḻa
'fish trap'	pinṯapuru
'fish hook'	waṯuku
'rope'	ṯuriṯuri, wanika
'knot'	kani
'grindstone'	kuila, piḻa, ṯaku, rumpa, macamila (*'lower stone'*)
'coolaman'	cuṯu
'coolaman for carrying baby'	ṉaŋkur

'dilly bag'	puŋkuari, ṯajaṯa, iŋkiiŋki, paiki (English?), ɲiṯi
'water bag'	upaṇuŋu
'message stick'	juṉṯuaṯi
'roarer, whirler'	piri-piri
'toy'	wanintijicir
'spin ball toy'	pucu-pucu
'ball'	cuṯu
'throwing stick toy'	pumpu, pumpuku
'walking stick'	canpara
'hoop'	kuṯakuṯaali
'corroboree'	warma, kiʎa, ḻamintamira
'song'	warma
'song sung for dead person'	juturu
' " " to get a woman'	kurimpi
'type of song (to get a woman)'	ḻamaɲari
'blanket'	kulapuru
'string for binding hair'	piṯapiṯa
'cross stick headcap'	puṯucur
'netted headcap'	kaṉṯamaṟa (also given as *'net'* in general)
'headband'	miri-miri, puʎurka, karuwali
'nosepin'	pukurpukur, iciŋaṯa
'necklace'	kuɲupa (*'grass'*), miṯamiku (*'possum or wallaby fur necklace or armlet'*)
'chest ornament'	puliɲiri
'feather ornament worn on arm'	wintalaʎa, uɲcaja
'wrist band'	maʎiri, puɲcupu
'belt'	juṟutu, juṉṯuru
'phallocrypt'	puɲcini (*'shell'*), jamara
'lap-lap'	munaru, watiḷu (*'possum skin'*), ulaka, ṯunka wiṟaka (*'grass'*)
'body painting'	maṟaɲca, ṯuuṯuu (markings in general)
'cricket pads'	pujumuci
'double broom' object	wanpa
'kangaroo teeth ornament'	iraŋkal
'death bone'	kaṯipiṇa, ciriku
'string on death bone'	ukur (Roth)
'receptacle for blood'	upir
'totem'	ṯamu
'deity'	curi (proper name), ṉaṉṯikuju (proper name)
'bogey man'	mukajarŋu

EUROPEAN ARTEFACTS, ETC.

'town'	ṯaun
'house'	kunṯi
'doorway'	aṉṯa
'hotel'	paplikaatu
'car'	cuṯu
'money'	ṉṯia
'hat'	cika-cika, cirka-cirka
'dress'	kaun
'shirt'	caṯa, cuari, caar
'trousers'	ṯaraaṯu, ṯaraaṯir
'boots'	panti-panti
'saddle'	iṯapi, uṯantijicir (also *'chair'*)
'stirrup'	miṯan-miṯan, juuntijicir
'billycan'	pilikan
'axe'	warampaṯa
'knife'	ṉaipu
'aeroplane'	kacapi
'tobacco'	ṯumpaki
'rifle'	ṉṯuumajiɲcir, makini
'tea'	juṯuṯu, ṯii
'grog'	kaḻia
'cake'	kiki
'blanket'	pulankati, pulankiti
'wheel'	kuṯa-kuṯaali
'bread'	maaṉu
'pillow'	maṉṯapa
'fence'	paṛikiri
'clock, watch'	piɲcamuujaŋu
'paper'	ṉuṛuŋu, piipa
'white man'	jaɲi
'white woman'	miṯiṯi, wacikani
'butcher'	atiɲci ḻajiɲcir
'policeman'	kanimajiɲcir
'pannikin'	panikin
'handkerchief'	aŋkica
'glasses (spectacles)'	kilata
'bed'	iṯapi
'swag'	ṉuṛuŋu (tea-tree bark)
'gun'	puli-puli ḻajimantijicir
'stew'	puṯu

'road'	ṛutu
'soap'	ṭupu
'writing'	ṭuu-ṭuu
'pen, pencil'	ṭuu-ṭuujaŋu
'a chair'	uṭantijicir

PLACE NAMES

'Buckingham (station)'	walaḷa
'Bushy Park'	muu unuŋuina-ŋuina
'Chatsworth (station)'	cacuri
'Cloncurry River'	paimara
'Devoncourt'	mpulamaṛa
'Eulola (station)'	jaluḻa
'Fort William'	iwinti ṭaurala, ṭaurala
'Granada (station)'	uḷumpuḷu
'Hamilton'	puḷu-puḷu
'Kajabbi'	karkalaan
'Kamilaroi (station)'	ɲiraṉu
'mountain near Dajarra'	urupu
'Leichhardt River'	ṭaṛapaṭa
'Lorraine (station)'	waŋkunaṛi
'Old Hammerly (station)'	jamiḷi-jamiḷi
'Quamby (station)'	umpu-umpu
'Stanbroke (station)'	puṭuru, wanṭaaḷpi

DESCRIPTIVE

'happy'	unuani (V_i)
'jovial'	piʌcan
'clever'	japacara
'mischievous'	makaṭi piɲcara
'careful'	ciṭaanma (V_t)(= 'take care of, watch out for'), ciṭaanmati (V_i, reflexive) (= 'be careful')
'insane'	ɲaɲiɲaɲi, ŋujuraŋujuraṭati, munṭuiti
'tired, weak'	maṉu, macuri
'noisy'	ciiŋkujan, ṭarkanṭa
'quiet'	ṉukur, puru, wakaṉiri
'shy'	wakunṭi, mutuna
'sulky'	puaaṛi, nṭuupira
'belligerent'	arkunaan
'drunk'	kuujan, miḻṭi wakini (V_i)
'greedy'	ɲuujan

'untruthful'	maiṭi
'naked'	majal
'ready'	ḷaana
'alone, of one's own accord'	ḷaŋkaṉa
'bald'	ciranciran, kaṉṭa maḷapala
'grey-haired'	muupari, katuḷaan
'blind'	mucupari
'blind in one eye'	miḷṭajar
'deaf'	iṉṭakajarati (V₁)
'ignorant of'	ŋunkaŋu
'satiated'	maanti
'dumb'	maḷi piḷṭiṭati
'hungry'	jaṛikajan, jaṛikajanati (V₁), pai
'thirsty'	mani, pujuja
'pregnant'	putujan
'lame'	kuṉṭuŋu, kaṉṭaaŋka, puraŋka
'old'	cajaŋu (= 'former', = 'old' (of persons, animals, objects))
'middle-aged'	ṭuntukaja
'young'	kacakuḷu, katakuḷu
'fat'	miaraan, kuṉṭalijan
'lean, thin'	mani, wiraruŋkali, jalaura ('poor in condition, sickly')
'tall'	ṭalpaŋu
'short'	muraŋkula
'ill'	jalaura, aŋka (V₁), ṭarajan ('ill as a result of having been "sung"')
'weak'	maṇu
'drowsy'	waṛarujan
'strong'	ŋawa, ŋawajan
'well, lively'	japacara
'alive'	iṭi
'dead'	uḷi ('to die'), wairatiṭati (< waira-iti-ṭaṭi)
'itchy'	kiapi, ciapi
'frightened'	iḷṭinaan
'wounded'	kakiaṉ
'sore, chafed'	piripiri
'good'	puṭur
'correct'	unaṛuur
'bad'	ṭuŋumpiri, ṭikinṭikin
'hot'	pujur
'cold'	ilir, munṭumunṭu
'big'	jaun, jaṉmaŋu (rare)

'little'	kaca, kacakuḷu, kaṭakuḷu,ṭapi,ṭapikuḷa
'heavy'	ŋawa, ŋawajan
'light'	maɽumaɽu
'deep'	ṭanṭu
'shallow'	munkun
'long, tall'	uḷkuuri
'short'	muɽaŋkula
'wide'	pinta
'narrow'	cumpun, kali, calka, calkani, calkiḷi
'straight'	ṭuṭuku
'crooked, winding'	kuṭukuṭu, kuṭikuṭi
'round'	uriciri
'steep'	panṭuu, cuku, micaḻaru (*'steep hill- side'*)
'flat'	ṭala, ṭura
'smooth'	cuɽuur, maɽumaɽu, maɽuɽu
'rough'	pirkipirkian
'sharp'	macarka
'blunt'	muaṇu, munṭu, iŋkia
'soft (to touch)'	piḻṭi
'hard (to touch), firm'	ṭail
'wet'	kuujan, ṭilṇi, ṭinuṭati
'dry'	mujuta
'fast'	puuṇaan, puunṭu, punta, ŋuajan (of current)
'slow'	ɽaaɲcu, ɽaɲcu
'hard'	ŋawa, ŋawajan
'soft'	piḻṭimaḻi
'open'	pinṭa (cf. *'wide'*)
'shut'	cumpunati (V_1)
'tight, stuck'	punṭi (V_1)
'clear, bright'	mpampaiɲci
'clear (of water)'	pulilŋu
'dirty'	muujan, paṭajan, paṭaṉaŋuru
'full'	ŋamicuṇpar
'empty'	puḷuma
'new'	iʎaŋu
'old'	cajaŋu
'high'	jumujan, mica (of hill) (cf: micaḻaru *'steep'*)
'low'	piir
'torn, leaking'	kilian

'sour'	kulpurujan
'bitter, salty'	kaḻia
'poisoned'	mpuuṇajan
'sweet'	ŋuurujan, ṛiilku
'rotten'	mpuu
'to smell' (V₁)	mpuṭi
'ripe (of fruit)'	mpuuŋu
'tough (of meat)'	wiṛaru
'fresh (of food)'	iɲalŋu
'bare, cleared'	maḻapala, manu
'scrubby'	cuṛujan
'bushy'	ŋuṛulu
'shiny'	miɲca, miiɲca
'rotten (of wood)'	ṯukarpajan
'right'	unaṛuur (also = *'correct'*) ṯuṯuku
'left'	kaḻuṛuŋu
'in small pieces'	ṯapikuḻa
'black'	macin, marcin, umaɲca, umaɲcamaɲca, umaaka
'white'	puḻupuḻu, puḻuwara
'red'	kurikuri (kuri *'red ochre'*)
'green'	jalapujalapu
'yellow'	paruparu (paru *'yellow ochre'*)
'chestnut (of horses)'	kialpari (*'east'*)
'piebald'	wamaṯiṯiraan

VERBS

Position

'remain'	ini
'be present'	ini
'be absent'	uti
'sit'	ŋaṯaṯaṯi
'stand'	ŋa, ŋaŋaŋpi, ŋaŋpiŋaŋpi (poss ŋaŋpi)
'lie'	ŋu
'sleep'	ŋu wamiḻajan *'lie asleep'*
'stretch oneself'	kula, cuʌcanticama
'curl up, coil up'	ṯumati
'bend' (V₁)	kuṯukuṯuṯati
'sit with legs crossed'	ini niḻṯana
'squat'	ini piɲcaŋapiɲcaŋa
'stoop, crouch, bend over'	uṛu

'hang down'	kaɲcali
'lean against'	muṉṯaɲi
'to hide oneself'	curuṯati, cuḷuṯati
'take up a distant position'	jarkaṯati
'wait for'	miḻṯiṉaɲi
'lie around, be scattered'	ṛaɲci, piṯaɲci

Motion

'go walk'	iŋka
'go away, depart'	kaanṯa, paca (*'take leave of someone'* (locative))
'come'	muṉṯiŋka, iŋka ṉauṉa (*'walk hither'*)
'return'	iti, ŋaɲcumuṯiṯati
'hurry'	pakapakama, ṯulaṯula
'run'	ṯuna
'fly'	ṯuna
'blow (of wind)'	ṯuna
'flow'	ṯuna, kaanṯa
'go up, climb'	juu, juunti (also *'ride a horse'*)
'rise (of flood)'	aṉṯaju
'go down'	pia
'go in'	aṛa (also *'set (of sun)'*)
'come out'	waṯara (also *'rise, get up'*)
'emerge from a hole'	ṉṯuucama
'crawl'	uluru, pukai, pukuai, uṛu
'swim'	kaaṉṯa
'dive'	kaṉṯaari, kaṉṯara
'fall'	ŋuji
'fall headlong'	kanṯa ititi
'disappear'	ŋampuṯati
'creep up to'	pikari
'sneak along'	aṉṯauṛu
'slip'	palaṯati, palai
'go across'	wamaṯuma, wamaṉkaaḷi
'turn around' (V_i)	wakini
'jump'	cuṉpa
'hop away'	cuṉpa
'play'	wani
'play with'	waninti
'to alight'	aṯii
'to crowd together'	aṉṯamuṯúṯati
'to cluster'	ŋukuṯati

Hunting and Gathering

'collect, gather'	aṉpa, uṉṯa (also *'graze'*)
'dig'	waṯukati
'to follow'	waṉṯinti (V$_t$), waṉṯii (V$_i$)
'to sneak along'	wakaṯani
'follow, chase'	ŋaima, ŋai
'creep up on'	ṟapama
'hunt'	kapani, ima
'to take hunting'	kapaninti
'flush'	mai
'look for'	ŋkuma, cinti, ŋaṉṯama
'find, meet'	ŋaṉṯama
'catch, grab'	ŋulurma

Induce position

'put down, place'	aaḷ, aṯii, makaṯaṯii
'knock down'	kaṉṯa iṯiti, kaṉṯapuni, ṉiinkai
'drop'	ŋujinti
'put into, insert'	aranti
'take out of'	cia, ṉṯui
'hide something'	cuṟupuni, cuḷupuni
'to put at a distance'	jarkapuni

Induce motion

'take'	mani, ṯunti, muma
'take with one'	unpi
'steal'	ṉiṯa
'send, release, let go'	ŋka, ŋkaimpaki
'send back'	ŋaɲcumuṯipuni
'bring'	itinti, waṯinti
'bring back'	itinti
'get'	mani, munma, muma
'carry on the shoulders'	ŋaḷima
'carry on the back'	karinti
'carry in a coolaman'	ṯatinti
'push'	aŋka muṉṯupukaaṉti
'drag'	pukaaṉti
'throw'	iṯiti, ṯikiiti
'gallop (a horse)'	ṯunti
'trot (a horse)'	curkaṯunti
'to shake' (V$_t$)	muṛimanti

Affect

'make, do'	kiakati
'fail to do, miss'	ŋuɲcapuni
'build, erect'	ŋka
'own, possess'	uʈanti
'take care of'	ciʈaanma, matiɲaɲi
'allow'	ŋka
'quieten'	aɲʈatuma
'win'	aɲʈa
'to leave relinquish'	ḻua
'hit, kill'	ḻa
'fight'	ḻati
'hit with a missile'	iɲci (also *'chop'*)
'kick'	ḻa ʈapantuʈu
'consume entirely, massacre'	uʈima
'strangle'	miri wakima
'tread on'	ntati
'hug'	ŋuʌcakama
'throw'	iʈiti
'spear, stab'	ŋka, ŋkama
'break'	ʈuti (V_i), ʈuma (V_t)
'chop'	iɲci (also *'hit with missile'*)
'cut through'	ʈua
'cut the surface'	piɲci
'butt'	kanʈa uṛu
'grasp'	ŋulurma
'to paint (oneself)'	mai, iɲciti
'crush up, pound, cut up into small pieces'	piḻʈipuni
'to flatten'	ʈalaʈalapuni
'grind'	ṛumpa
'clean seeds'	caʈi
'squeeze'	almi
'sharpen'	ɳʈiali
'rub, clean, wipe, whet'	kari, waʈi
'to stroke (e.g. cat's fur), to smooth'	maṛukari, ŋaṛupuni
'to straighten'	cuʌca
'to stretch'	cuʌca
'cover'	kata, kati
'bury'	aɲʈakatl
'dig up'	ulʈa
'dig'	waʈukati

'shut, block'	cumpuɳpuni
'pour'	aṉṯaŋka
'fill'	aṉṯaṉaiɲci
'pile up, gather up'	ŋukupuni, muṭupuni
'shut'	aṉṯakama
'to put a hole in'	aṉṯama, ṉṯuuma
'widen'	piṉṯapuni
'light a fire'	aṉṯaṯu, jantaṯu, makaṯaaṭi
'to burn' (V_1 and V_t)	manii
'put a fire out'	wiima
'to warm'	jumupuṇi, pujurpuni
'to cool'	ilirpuni
'to wet (of rain), to rain (on)'	uṉṯa
'to wet'	ciru
'to wash'	caralma
'to wash oneself'	kariti
'to shut in'	aṉṯakama
'ward off'	ṉanti
'restrain someone'	muṉṯuntati, kami
'to tickle'	kiʎakiʎama
'to hurry someone up'	ṯurkananti
'to skin'	waku ḻa, patinti
'to gut'	ṉṭui, ununtui
'to cook, to burn' (V^t)	ṯu, paṭupuni
'tie'	kanima
'sew'	ŋkaa
'to give'	aɲi
'to exchange'	aɲiti (also *'to give accidentally'* as in *'x gave y a cold'*)
'to pay'	muɲci
'to pay back'	jurunti
'to divide up'	maḻṯapuni
'to lose'	uṯijakapi, walpaḻa
'to feed up'	puṭaɲiti

Conditions and activities of the body

'be ill'	aɲka
'feel' (V_1)	jakapiti
'be ashamed'	kulpurujan
'to sweat'	aʎciṯu iɲci
'to be wounded'	kakian
'to bleed'	uʎcinta

'pain'	ŋkiki
'to shiver'	maḷaaɲcanti
'to have a cold'	maŋujan, ŋunkuraan
'to get a cramp'	ciṯamanmanati
'to be well'	japacara
'to cure'	japacarapuni
'to convalesce	japacaraṯati, maŋanti
'to die'	uḻi
'to drown'	kaḷara ṯuti (lit. 'break one's neck')
'to be born'	miḻṯiṯati
'to have a baby'	piḷapiḷa aṯii
'to wear'	naṉti
'to be intoxicated, faint'	miḻṯi wakini, miḻṯawakini, miḻṯi ṯuti
'have a headache'	aŋka kaṉṯaa, kaṉṯaŋkiki (noun)
'see'	naɲi
'wink'	miḻṯimuti
'sniff'	ɲika, ɲca
'pant'	waira cuṉpa
'cough'	ŋaka, ŋarka, ŋaaka
'sneeze'	ciŋkur ḻa
'open the mouth'	aṉṯanta
'blow on'	pupuḻa
'suck'	piṯimpi, puputi
'bite, chew'	ica
'eat, drink'	aṟi
'kiss'	aka (V$_t$), akati (V$_i$)
'lick one's lips'	maḷimputi
'poke out one's tongue'	maḷi munṯunpanti
'have the tongue hanging out (of dog)'	maḷikaɲcali
'swallow'	ṟukupi
'vomit'	ŋarkuma, ulmu
'spit'	campar iṯḻti
'to pick up in the mouth'	aṉṯampuṯi
'to fill oneself with food'	putu aɲiti
'to be full of food'	puṯumaanti
'scratch oneself'	piɲciṯi
'shake hands'	ŋulurmaṯi
'urinate'	kurkai ŋka
'defecate'	kunaṉṯa
'copulate'	mpu (V$_t$), mputi (V$_i$)

Vocalising and thought

'language'	jaŋaalu
'tell'	punpa, paṭi, panti
'talk, tell, ask'	punpa
'converse'	punpaṭi
'scold'	paṭa, ṉṯii, ŋaṟamai
'reprimand'	ṉiḻṯaŋka
'argue'	paṭaṭi
'swear'	macani ṯuma
'call out'	kuṉi, mpaa, mpaaṯi
'cry'	ḻuŋa
'bark (of dog)'	ṉanti
'growl (of dog)'	ṉṯuumpa
'moan'	kuli
'laugh'	icama
'whistle'	upi, upimpa
'sing'	apii
'talk about someone'	ciṉṯi
'boast'	ciṉṯicamati
'know'	ikani
'learn'	paṟiriṯati
'teach'	paṟiripuni
'see'	ṉaṉi
'show'	miḻṯipati
'understand'	jakapi
'hear, listen'	jakapi, iṉṯa ṉu
'think about'	iṉṯaŋuma
'dream of'	aṯii wamiḻaṯi
'forget'	iṉṯakaJarati, intakajarpuni
'sulk'	ṉṯuupira
'tell lies, pretend'	ŋurkiṯiŋuma
'to like'	waira ṉu
'to fear'	ṟumpi
'to frighten'	ṟumpima
'to be angry'	kuṯu waṯara
'take care of/with' (V_t)	ciṯaanma
'take care' (V_1)	ciṯaanmati

Sounds

'to rustle (of leaves etc.)'	uunpa
'to make a noise'	ŋawapili, wakampaka, wakampawakampa
'to make a fuss'	cicima

'to go bang (of thunder, gun)'	ḻuma
'to go crack, to crackle'	cilarinpa

Change of state

'grow warm'	pujuṯati, jumuṯati
'grow cold'	iliṯati
'grow dry'	mujutaṯáti
'grow hard'	ṯailati
'grow up'	jumuṯati, kaṉṯapirinaṯati
'swell'	puʌcuṯati
'abate (of rain)'	ṟaaɲcuṯati
'get lost'	wampaḻaṯati
'grow late'	ŋaiŋiṯati
'grow dark'	miwaḷuṯati

QUANTITY

'one'	ajar
'two'	ʌuati
'three'	kurpai
'four'	ʌuatiʌuati
'mob'	maḻṯa
'few'	muṯu (*'a group, heap, pile'*)
'many'	ulari(*'crowd'*), maḻṯa
'much, in great numbers/ quantity'	maḻṯaṉa
'a little'	paḷku, paḷkumpiri
'none'	ŋuɲca, ŋurku

INTERROGATIVES AND INDEFINITES

'where'	arakaṯi
'where to'	arakaṉi
'where from'	arakaŋu
'which way, some way or other'	kia
'when'	ɲiaŋu
'what, something'	ṉaka
'why'	ṉakaja, ṉakajan, ṉakaa, ṉakakua
'how many, some'	ṉamiŋu
'who, someone'	ṉani
polar interrogative marker	wii
'which'	ṉakaḻi

TIME

'now, today'	iʌa
'yesterday'	ŋaiṉi
'the day before yesterday'	ŋaiṉiŋara
'the other day'	piɲcamuŋara
'formerly'	cajaṉa
'recently'	iʌaŋuṉa
'long ago'	cajaṉa puṭur
'last night'	iʌa waṭaŋka
'in the night'	waṭaŋka
'tomorrow'	waṭaŋaṉa
'day after tomorrow'	waṭaŋaṉaŋara
'early in the morning'	waraṭiṉa
'later'	ŋaiṉiŋaiṉi
'middle of the night'	ṭalṭuŋara
'when the sun is high'	ulaaṇṭa
'in the daytime'	piɲcamuṭi
'every day'	piɲcamupiɲcamuŋaraṭi
'always'	ŋuḷi, ɲimu, muṉṭumuni
'again'	kuḷukuḷu
'still'	ŋuḷi
'beforehand'	ŋampuŋuṭuṉa
'later on'	maṇkaṉa, maṇii
'first'	wacaḷiiṉa

POSITION

'upside down'	ṉiinkai
'close, near'	pikaja
'here'	ŋiṭi
'at home'	muḷi
'far'	jarka
'above'	piriṉa
'below'	pia
'behind'	uṭiŋka
'in front, in first place'	wacaḷiṉa, wacaḷiiṉa
'the other side'	uṭarŋara, paṇaja, paṇampaja paṇaaṉṭun, paṇiṭi ŋaantun (*'opposite'*)
'at the side'	ḷakia (also *'left over, remaining'*)
'in the middle'	ṭiinta
'inside'	uŋkanta, uŋkankuṉa (allative form)
'hither'	ṉauṉa
'thither'	pauṉa
'hence'	ḷuŋu

'upstream'	maṉṯḻaṉa
'downstream'	pᴉciŋaṉa
'elsewhere'	muuŋara (*'other camp'*)
'out of sight'	ŋampupḻa
'in the opposite direction'	aṉṯiaŋaraṯi
'north'	ṯapuŋku
'south'	ṯiriwa, karwaḷi
'east'	kiaḻpari
'west'	ɽuŋkari

RESIDUE

'very'	paɲca
'accidentally, carelessly, inaccurately'	wampaḷaṉa
'still, always'	ŋuḷi
'quickly, early'	maḻampira
'loudly'	uɽuwa
'ready'	paḷana
'yes'	ŋaa
'not'	kuɳtu
'no'	kuɳa, kunajan, kunaan
'don't'	waɳta
'if'	puju
'well, now'	ḻaa, ḻamara, mara
'a slice'	waḻkar
'secret'	uŋana
'in return' (as in *'pay back'*)	paḻkir
'on one's own'	jaaɳkaṉa

KALKATUNGU VOCABULARY AND EUROPEAN CONTENT

To express new referents introduced by Europeans the Kalkatungu used the three standard means of extending the expression system. They extended the meaning of existing words; they used their morpho-syntactic resources to form new words and expressions, and they assimilated words from English or Pidgin English.

Examples

Extension of Meaning

Kalkatungu	Earlier Meaning	Additional Meaning
jaɲi	*'ghost'*	*'white man'*
ikan	*'wild honey, "sugar-bag"*	*'sugar'*
kacapi	*'kite hawk'*	*'aeroplane'*
ṇṭia	*'stone, pebble'*	*'money'*
ṭuu-ṭuu	*'pattern, markings'*	*'writing'*
kinti	*'water rat'*	*'chook'*
cuṭu	*'coolaman'*	*'car'*

Examples of words assimilated from English

Kalkatungu	Original	Meaning
cuku-cuku	*'chook'*	*'domestic fowl, chook'*
jalapala	*'yella fella'*	*'part Aboriginal person'*
miṭiṭi	*'missus'*	*'white woman'*
puṭikar	*'pussy cat'*	*'domestic cat'*
putu	*'pot'*	*'stew'*
ṛutu	*'road'*	*'road'*
ṭupu	*'soap'*	*'soap'*
ṭina	*'dinner'*	*'meal (other than break-fast)'*

piḻikan	*'billy can'*	*'billy'*
ṭaun	*'town'*	*'town'*
ṟupu	*'rope'*	*'rope'*
kiki	*'cake'*	*'cake'*
kaun	*'gown'*	*'dress, frock, gown'*
pulaŋkiti	*'blanket'*	*'blanket'*
pulaka	*'bullock'*	*'bullock'*
puliṯi	*'bullock'*	*'bullock'*

New formations

atiɲci ḻajiɲcir	*('killer of meat')*	*'butcher'*
kuuja pujur punintijicir	*('heater for water')*	*'copper' ('boiler')*
kanimajiɲcir	*('who ties one up')*	*'policeman'*
kanimantijicir	*('with which one ties up')*	*'leash'*

Before European contact the Kalkatungu numeral system extended only to three or perhaps four. It has been extended by the common method of using *'hand'* as a base of five.

1	ajar
2	ʎuati
3	kurpai
4	ʎuati-ʎuati
5	makaṯi-ajarṉa (makaṯi = *'hand'*)
6	" ŋaraṉa ajarṉa (ŋara = *'other'*, -ṉa = adverb forming)
7	" " ʎuati
8	" " kurpai
9	" " ʎuati ʎuati
10	" " makaṯi ŋaraṉa

SUBJECT INDEX