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WORK PAPERS OF SIL - A AB

Series A Volume 2

**PAPERS ON IWAI DJA PHONOLOGY  
AND GRAMMAR**

**Noreen Pym (with Bonnie Larrimore)**

Summer Institute of Linguistics  
Australian Aborigines Branch  
Darwin

April 1979

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS  
SERIALS ACQUISITION  
300 N. ZEEB RD.  
ANN ARBOR, MI 48106  
U.S.A.  
N.Y. 5703 AUSTRALIA



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ISBN 0 86892 195 5

## PREFACE

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The publication of this book was facilitated by a grant from the Australian Aborigines Branch Research Fund of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

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INTRODUCTION TO  
SERIES A VOLUME 2

The papers in this volume are descriptions of aspects of the Iwaidja language. Part I contains papers on the phonology and Part II papers on the grammar.

The language is classified by Wurm (1972:113), following O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966:29) as constituting the Wargbi Subgroup of the Iwaidjic Group of the Iwaidjan Family. Iwaidja is spoken by about 120 people on Croker Island and by about a further 50 at Coombe Point and Merganella on the adjacent mainland, and at Snake Bay on Melville Island, all in the Northern Territory.

Language data used in these papers was collected under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics during 1973-75 and 1977. Various Iwaidja people served as teachers in providing this data. Grateful acknowledgment is given to Elsie Indibu, Ada Magurulu, Rae Girribug, Hazel Mamiya, Joy Malwagga and Illyjilly.

Thanks are also due to Kenneth L. Pike, Marvin M. Mayers, Robert E. Longacre and George L. Huttar for their consultant help.

Noreen Pym

Bonnie M. Larrimore



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## ABBREVIATIONS

accomp	accompaniment
adj	adjective
adv	adverb
b.	brother
Ben	Benefactive
C	any Consonant
Cl	Clause
C1, C2, ...	Clause 1, Clause 2, ...
comp	completed action
con	continuity
du	dual
emph / (emph)	emphasis
exc/ex	exclusive
fem	female
fut	future
H	Head
(IF)	Indefinite Future
imper	imperative
inc/in	inclusive
interrog	interrogative
(io) / (IO) / Ind Obj	Indirect Object
IV	Intransitive Verb
lit	literally
M	Modifier
m.	mother
N	any Nasal
n / (n)	noun
neg	negative

(NIF)	Negated Indefinite Future
NP	Noun Phrase
num	numeral
p	past tense
p=cont/p cont	continuous or habitual past tense
p=habit	habitual past tense
pl	plural
Poss	Possessor
poss	possessive
PP	Possessive Phrase
quest	question
RAP	Relator Axis Phrase
R#	break between rhythmic groups when not at word break
recip	reciprocal
rep	repetitive
S1, S2, ...	Sentence 1, Sentence 2, ...
s/sing	singular
(SP) / Seq of part	Sequence of Participant
subj	subject
TV	Transitive Verb
V	any Vowel
veg	vegetable
1s	1st person singular
1p	1st person plural
2s	2nd person singular
2p	2nd person plural
3s	3rd person singular
3p	3rd person plural
3=pers	3rd person, singular or plural
/	or
//	intonational pause
-	break between morphemes in Iwaidja

=	break between word in English but one morpheme in Iwaidja
:	which is (i.e. H:Cl the head which is a clause)
¶	paragraph
	phonological phrase, rhythmic group
	phonological word
/, //, ///, ////	pauses (shortest to longest)
o	heaviest stress
"	next heaviest stress
'	third degree of stress
.	syllable break
/b/	the phoneme <u>b</u>
[b]	the phone <u>b</u>
→	is interpreted as / is realised as
//#	end of text





# THE IWAIDJA VERB SYSTEM: A DESCRIPTION

## 0. INTRODUCTION

In Iwaidja, verbs consist of stems taking both suffixes and prefixes. Suffixes indicate tense-aspect, or mood, or reciprocity. Prefixes indicate person and number, and tense or mood. The person-number prefixes also indicate the type of verb: ang-, mam-, transitive, or intransitive.

Thus, there are three main parts to the verb: the stem, the suffixation, and the prefixation. Each will be discussed in turn.

## 1. THE STEM

Verb stems begin with the consonants ld-, m-, ng-, w-, or y-, or with the vowels a-, i-, or u-.

When prefixes are added to consonant initial stems morphophonemic changes occur in the initial consonant of the stem. (See Section 8.)

(Note that when an example is given in which the verb stem begins with a consonant other than ld-, m-, ng-, w- or y- a morphophonemic change has taken place.)

Verb stems end in n, ng, or a vowel. A verb stem cannot occur alone, but must be prefixed for person-number.

Suffixation is optional. An unsuffixed verb is in the present tense.

## 2. SUFFIXATION

Stems may be suffixed for tense-aspect, mood, or reciprocity. Only one suffix may occur.

There are two moods expressed by the suffixes: optative and frustrative.

The differing forms of the tense-aspect and mood suffixes require the classification of verb stems into classes.

The reciprocal suffix has only one form.

### 2.1 TENSE-ASPECT

The verb stem without suffixation is used to express the present tense. There is no suffixation for aspect in the present tense and

therefore no differentiation between present continuous and present habitual aspect.

a-rigi	gujali
l=3s-carry=on=shoulder	firewood

means either 'I carry firewood on my shoulder (i.e. that is my customary way of doing it)' or 'I am (at present) carrying firewood on my shoulder.'

Most verb stems take only one past tense suffix which does not distinguish aspect. A few verb stems, however, have up to three forms of the past tense suffix. These distinguish completed past, continuous past, and habitual past aspect.

### 2.1.1 THE PAST TENSE

Omitting irregular forms, verb stems can be divided into four classes on the basis of which past tense suffix they take. The classes are:

1. Stems which take -ny for past tense.
2. Stems which take -ng for past tense.
3. Stems which take -n for past tense.
4. Stems which do not change for past tense.

(Note that stems ending in a nasal lose that final nasal when the past tense suffix is added. See Section 8, Rule 8.)

#### 2.1.1.1 CLASS 1: STEMS THAT TAKE -ny FOR PAST TENSE

Most stems in this class form the past tense by losing the stem final nasal and adding the past tense suffix -ny.

Stems ending in -n lose the stem final -n and add the past tense suffix -ny.

ri-lɔalɔan	'he's asking him'
he=3s-ask	

ri-lɔalɔa-ny	'he asked him'
he=3s-ask-p	



ri-ldari-ny 'he put it inside'  
he=3s-put=in-p

ri-wunya 'he's cooking it'  
he=3s-cook

ri-wunya-ny 'he cooked it'  
he=3s-cook-p

ng-angiru 'I'm getting in (car)'  
I-get=in

ng-angiru-ny 'I got in (car)'  
I-get=in-p

Some stems in this class form the past tense by a change in the end of the stem, then lose the stem final nasal if applicable and add the past tense suffix -ny. In the following examples the stem change is underlined.

One verb stem ending in -n adds i to the stem before adding -ny for past or completed action.

ng-artan 'I swim'  
I-swim

ng-artani-ny 'I swam'  
I-swim-p

A group of stems ending in either -a or -ang change the final stem vowel a to i, lose the stem final nasal and add -ny for past tense.

r'i-ngulda 'he's making it'  
he=3s-make

ri-nguldi-ny                    'he made it'  
he=3s-make-p

ri-walgarrang                    'he's hanging it up'  
he=3s-hang=up

ri-walgarri-ny                    'he hung it up'  
he=3s-hang=up-p

A group of stems ending in -ga or -gi change the g to j and the final stem vowel to i and then add -ny for past tense.

nga-ldagbalwarrgi                    'I'm shopping'  
I-buy

nga-ldagbalwarrji-ny                    'I bought it'  
I-buy-p

aj-lrrga                    'I spear it'  
I=3s-spear

aj-lrrji-ny                    'I speared it'  
I=3s-spear-p

#### 2.1.1.2 CLASS 2: STEMS THAT TAKE -ng FOR PAST TENSE

Most stems in Class 2 form the past tense by losing the stem final nasal and adding the past tense suffix -ng.

Stems ending in -n lose the stem final -n and add the past tense suffix -ng.

ard-ayan                    'I see him'  
I=3s-see

ard-aya-ng l=3s-see-p	'I saw him'
aw-ugun l=3s-give	'I'm giving it to him'
aw-ugu-ng l=3s-give-p	'I gave it to him'
ng-urtiyin l-get=wet	'I'm taking a bath'
ng-urtiyi-ng l-get=wet-p	'I had a bath'
Stems ending in a vowel add the past tense suffix <u>-ng</u> .	
nga-wani l-stay	'I'm staying'
nga-wani-ng l-stay-p	'I stayed'
a-buni l=3s-hit	'I'm hitting him'
a-buni-ng l=3s-hit-p	'I hit him'
ng-artganyu l-carry=in=arms	'I'm carrying him in my arms'

ng-artganyu-ng

'I carried him in my arms'

l=carry=in=arms-p

Some stems in Class 2 form the past tense by changing the final stem vowel to u, losing the stem final nasal if applicable and adding the past tense suffix -ng.

A group of stems ending in i change the i to u and add -ng for past tense.

a-birradbi

'I'm kneading it'

l=3s-knead

a-birradu-ng

'I kneaded it'

l=3s-knead-p

a-rigi

'I'm carrying it on my head'

l=3s-carry=on=head

a-rigu-ng

'I carried it on my head'

l=3s-carry=on=head-p

There are two verb stems ending in an where the past tense is formed by changing the a to u, losing the stem final nasal and adding -ng.

a-winggan

'they arrive'

3p-arrive

a-wingu-ng

'they arrived'

3p-arrive-p

aw-arjangan

'I soak it'

l=3s-soak

aw-arjangu-ng                    'I soaked it'  
l=3s-soak-p

#### 2.1.1.3 CLASS 3: STEMS THAT TAKE -n FOR PAST TENSE

Vowel final stems only add the past tense suffix -n.

nga-ldimbarni                    'I sit down'  
l-sit=down

nga-ldimbarni-n                    'I sat down'  
l-sit=down-p

aw-udba                            'I'm putting it down'  
l=3s-put=down

aw-udba-n                            'I put it down'  
l=3s-put=down-p

#### 2.1.1.4 CLASS 4: STEMS WHICH DO NOT CHANGE FOR PAST TENSE

There is a group of verb stems which are not suffixed for tense-aspect. Their form resembles the past tense form of other verbs, but context determines whether it is present or past.

aw-arldung                            'I'm shooing him away' or  
l=3s-shoo=away                    'I shooed him away'

a-bularrung                            'I've finished it'  
l=3s-finish

aw-artunyman                            'I missed it'  
l=3s-miss



## 2.1.2 ASPECT DISTINGUISHED IN THE PAST TENSE

A few verbs distinguish between completed aspect and continuous or habitual aspect with differing forms of the suffix. Completed aspect is shown by the normal past tense suffix. The continuous or habitual aspect suffix is:

-dung for stems ending in -n,

-ngun or -ngu for stems ending in -a, and

-ngun for stems ending in -i or -u.

aw-ardban 'I boil it'

I=3s-boil

aw-ardban-dung 'I used to boil it' or 'I was boiling it'

I=3s-boil-p=cont

a-gulda 'I make it'

I=3s-make

a-gulda-ngun 'I used to make it' or 'I was making it'

I=3s-make-p=cont

anggu-marrajba 'they walk'

3=pers-walk

anggu-marrajba-nggu 'they were walking' or 'they used to walk'

3=pers-walk-p=cont

a-wani 'they stay'

3p-stay

a-wani-ngan 'they were staying' or 'they used to stay'

3p-stay-p=cont



aw-ugu l=3s-give(opt)	'I want to give it to him'
g-an-ugu 2s=3s-imper-give(opt)	'Give it to him!'
nga-wani l-stay	'I am staying' 'I want to stay' (identical in form with present tense)
ang-ana-wani 2s-imper-stay	'Stay!'
Examples of class b:	
ard-aya-ng l=3s-see-p	'I saw it'
ard-ayan-jing l=3s-see-opt	'I want to see it'
g-an-ayan-jing 2s=3s-imper-see-opt	'Look at it!'
aw-ugi l=3s-show	'I am showing it'
aw-uji-ny l=3s-show-p	'I showed it'
aw-ugi-ny l=3s-show-opt	'I want to show it'



maju an-ugun-i 'I was going to give it to him  
intent l=3s=imper-give-frust (but I didn't)'

For vowel final stems, the final vowel is lost and -a (frust) is added. (See Morphophonemic Rule 7.)

aw-ugi 'I'm showing it to him'  
l=3s-show

maju an-ug-a 'I was going to show him (but I  
intent l=3s=imper-show-frust didn't)'

Examples of class li:

ng-angiru-ny 'I got in the car'  
l-get=in=car-p

maju ng-an-angiru-nyi 'I was going to get in (but I  
intent l=imper-get=in=car-frust didn't)'

a-jurrGbā-ng 'I planted it'  
l=3s-plant-p

maju ana-yurrGbān-di 'I was going to plant it (but I  
intent l=3s=imper-plant-frust didn't)'

The very common verb man 'take, carry' may take either -nyi or -di.

maju ana-ma-nyi  
intent l=3s=imper-take-frust

or 'I was going to take it (but I  
didn't)'

maju ana-man-di  
intent l=3s=imper-take-frust

### 2.3 RECIPROCAL

The reciprocal suffix -jildin is non-productive. Only seven instances have been found. Six of these are verb stems that normally take transitive person and number prefixation. When -jildin is added to these stems they then take the intransitive person and number prefixation.

bu-ldalgan they=3s-ask <i>becomes</i>	'they ask him'
a-ldalgan-jildin they=ask- recip	'they have a meeting' (lit. 'ask each other')
b-ugun they=3s-give <i>becomes</i>	'they give it to him'
a-gun-jildin they=give- recip	'they share'
b-ardban they=3s-boil <i>becomes</i>	'they boil it'
a-rdban-jildin they=boil- recip	'they meet' (lit. 'boil together')
bu-ldalgun they=3s-cut <i>becomes</i>	'they cut it'
a-ldalgun-jildin they=cut- recip	'they fight with spears' (lit. 'cut each other')

b-ajugun 'they wait for him'  
they=3s-wait=for

*becomes*

a-jugun-jildin 'they join up together'  
they-wait=for- recip (lit. 'they wait for each other')

b-ayan 'they see him'  
they=3s-see

*becomes*

a-yan-jildin 'sweethearts'  
they-see- recip (lit. 'they see each other')

(Verb forms are used frequently as nouns without change in form. Context indicates whether it is a noun or a verb.)

There is one verb stem with -jildin and intransitive prefixation that has no corresponding form of the verb stem with transitive prefixation.

a-ldagbulagbanjildin 'they discuss'  
they-discuss

## 2.4 SUMMARY OF VERB STEM CLASSIFICATION BY SUFFIXATION

Each verb stem must be given a threefold classification on the basis of which form it takes of each of the three suffixes: tense/aspect, optative, and frustrative. The classes are here restated.

Tense/aspect classes:

1. Stems which take -ny (past).
2. Stems which take -ng (past).
3. Stems which take -n (past).
4. Stems which do not change for past.

(Note that nasal final stems do not occur in class 3; and vowel final stems do not occur in class 4.)

Optative classes:

- a. Nasal final stems which lose the nasal for optative; and vowel final stems which do not change for optative.
- b. Stems which take a stem change plus -ny (past) and no stem change plus -ny (optative); and stems which take -ng (past) and -jing (optative).

Frustrative classes:

- i. Stems which take -a (frustrative).
- ii. Stems which take -ny (past) and -nyi (frustrative); and stems which take -ng (past) and -di (frustrative).

(Note that all vowel final stems are i.)

The largest class of verb stems is i.a.i., i.e. verbs which take -ny (past), end in a vowel for optative, and take -a (frustrative).

### 3. PREFIXATION

#### 3.0.1 KINDS OF PREFIXATION

There are two orders of prefixes in Iwaidja:

2nd order-	1st order-	stem.
------------	------------	-------

First order prefixes are optional. There are three kinds: future tense, imperative, and wun- (dual). Future tense and imperative will be considered in this section. (See Section 5.2, page 102 for dual prefix.)

The second order prefix, person-number, is obligatory. In intransitive verbs the prefix shows person and number of the subject, in transitive verbs person and number of both subject and object. This can be divided into two sub-categories: non-directional person-number prefixes and directional person-number prefixes. The directional person-number prefixes can again be divided into two sub-categories: direction toward speaker and direction away from speaker. Since the second order prefix is obligatory it will be considered before the first order prefixes in the following discussion.

#### 3.0.2 TABLES

The tables used in the remainder of this paper require some explanation.



1. The numbers shown in the tables refer to the morphophonemic rule of the same number in Section 8, MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGES.
2. The symbol K is added to some prefixes to show that:
  - a. If there is a consonant initial stem, morphophonemic changes take place in that consonant. (See Section 8.)
  - b. If there is a vowel initial stem, an extra consonant determined by the initial vowel of the stem is added to the end of the prefix. (See Section 3.0.3.)

### 3.0.3 CONSONANT ADDITION TO PREFIX WITH VOWEL INITIAL STEMS

The consonant added to a prefix with vowel initial stems occurs in the following forms:

Transitive verbs: 1s subject with 3s object  
 1p subject with 3s object  
 2s subject with 3s object  
 2p subject with 3s object

Intransitive verbs: 3s subject

(In the intransitive 3s form there is no overt form of the prefix, but the consonant is still added.)

In the following examples the consonant is underlined.

When the initial vowel of the stem is a- the added consonant is always w.

TV

a-bun  
 l=3s-hit  
 'I hit him'

IV

burrudarrigun  
 3s=be=tired  
 'he/she is tired'

aw-udba  
 l=3s-put=down  
 'I put it down'

w-urraga  
 3s-go=home  
 'he/she goes home'

When the initial vowel is a-, the consonant is either w or rd. (Which one actually occurs is not predictable. It must be known for each verb.)

TV

a-ban  
l=3s-take  
'I take it'

ard-ayan  
l=3s-see  
'I see it'

IV

bani  
3s=sit  
'he/she is sitting'

w-ara  
3s-go  
'he/she goes, is going'

When rd occurs word initially it becomes d. (Retroflexed stops, nasals and laterals do not occur word initial.)

d-arrayu  
it=open  
'it's open'

Some verbs take either w or rd.

ard-ajugun  
l=3s-wait=for  
'I wait for him'

or

aw-ajugun  
l=3s-wait=for  
'I wait for him'

When the stem initial vowel is i-, the added consonant may be w, j, or rd. (Which one actually occurs is not predictable. It must be known for each verb.)

TV

a-bilmanbun  
l=3s-smoke  
'I smoke it'

aj-irrga  
l=3s-spear=fish  
'I spear a fish'

ard-irrgbun  
l=3s-sew=up  
'I sew it up'

IV

binggan  
3s=arrive  
'he/she arrives'

j-igbin  
3s-get=up  
'he/she gets up'

a-rd-irta  
to-3s-return  
'he/she comes back'

TV

aw-ilbang  
l=3s-split  
'I split it'

### 3.1 PERSON-NUMBER PREFIXATION

There are two complete systems of person-number prefixation and two other groups of verbs which take different sets of person-number prefixes. The complete systems are the transitive and intransitive systems. The other two groups of verbs, ang- and mam- verbs, take the same prefixes regardless of whether the verb is transitive or intransitive.

#### 3.1.1 THE INTRANSITIVE SYSTEM

This system is used by adjectives, inalienably possessed body parts, some nouns and intransitive verbs.

The complete set of prefixes is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

#### Intransitive Verb Prefixes

I	nga-
we inc	arruK- <sup>2,3,@</sup>
we exc	ngarruK- <sup>2,3,@</sup>
you s	ang- <sup>1</sup>
you pl	gurruK- <sup>2,3,@</sup>
he/she/it	K- <sup>2,@@</sup>
they	a- <sup>7</sup>

@In these forms morphophonemic rule 2 applies only to consonant initial stems. There is no change for vowel initial stems.

ad-bani  
we-sit  
'we are sitting'

*BUT*

arr-alidba  
we-listen  
'we are listening'

@@ Single syllable stems take a before K-.

bani	<i>BUT</i>	abin
3s=sit		3s=say
'he/she sits'		'he/she says'

Following are examples of different types of words using this system.

adjective:	ng-aliwi	'I am bad'
	i-bad	

body parts:	nga-lduli	'my foot'
	l-foot	

	ang-guli	'your foot'
	2s-foot	

	ruli	'his, her, its foot'
	3s=foot	

noun:	ang-gijumartan	'you, the baby'
	2s-baby	

verbs:	nga-wani	'I sit, I am sitting'
	l-sit	

	nga-lidba nuwung	'I hear you, I am hearing you'
	l-hear 2s=(10)	

A few verbs which are semantically transitive take this system with free form indirect object pronouns, e.g.

w-arrganyu	nuwung	'she's carrying you in her arms'
3s-carry=in=arms	2s=(10)	

For more examples of intransitive verbs, see Section 11.1, Paradigms of Intransitive Verbs.

### 3.1.2 THE TRANSITIVE SYSTEM

This system is used by transitive verbs and a few kinship nouns. The prefixes show both subject and object of the verb. It is not easy to separate subject prefixes from object prefixes and they are here considered as portmanteau prefixes. (An alternate analysis showing them as separate prefixes is offered in Section 9 of this paper.)

The portmanteau prefixes are shown in Table 2.

Note that for Table 2 the symbol N is used to denote a nasal which is subject to morphophonemic changes. (See Section 8.)

Following are some examples of words using this system. For a complete set of examples of transitive verbs, see Section 11.2, Paradigms of Transitive Verbs.

kinship nouns:	a-bulang	'my child'
	l=3s-mother	
	ngandu-wulang	'my mother', 'my mother's brother'
	3s=me-mother	
	ga-wulang	'his/her mother'
	she=3s-mother	
	ri-wulang	'his/her mother's brother'
	he=3s-mother	
transitive verbs:	a-bun	'I hit him/her'
	l=3s-hit	
	ayun-bun	'I hit them'
	l=3p-hit	
	ngandu-wun	'he/she/they hit me'
	3=pers=me-hit	

TABLE 2  
Transitive Prefixes  
OBJECT

	me	us	you s	you pl	him/her	them
I	—	—	gun- <sup>1</sup>	gurrūN- <sup>1,3,6</sup>	ak- <sup>2</sup>	ayun- <sup>1</sup>
we inc	—	—			arruk- <sup>2,3</sup>	adbun- <sup>1,3</sup>
we exc	—	—			ngarruk- <sup>2,3</sup>	ngadbun- <sup>1,3</sup>
you s	yan- <sup>1</sup>	yarrūN- <sup>1,3,6</sup>	—	—	gak- <sup>2</sup>	angmun- <sup>1</sup>
you pl	—		—		gurruk- <sup>2,3</sup>	gudbun- <sup>1,3</sup>
he	nganbu- <sup>4</sup>	arrūNbu- <sup>3,4,6</sup>	gunbu- <sup>4</sup>	gurrūNbu- <sup>3,4,6</sup>	ri-	ani-
she					ga-	annga-
they					bu-	anbu- <sup>4</sup>

S U B J E C T

A few transitive verbs have only a third person singular non-feminine subject with an object which may vary in person and number. This object in Iwaidja is the subject in English.

ri-ngardbanbun                      'he/she has a headache'  
he=3s-headache

nganmu-ngardbanbun                'I have a headache'  
3pers=me-headache

ri-marrugun                         'he/she is sweating'  
he=3s-sweat

ngandu-marrugun                    'I am sweating'  
3pers=me-sweat

### 3.1.2.1 GENDER

The only place where person-number prefixes show gender is in the third person singular subject of transitive verbs:

ri-wun                                 'he hits him/her'  
he=3s-hit

ani-wun                                'he hits them'  
he=3p-hit

ga-wun                                 'she hits him/her'  
she=3s-hit

angga-wun                            'she hits them'  
she=3p-hit







### 3.1.3.2 mam- VERBS

Only six verbs taking mam- prefixation have been found. Three have stems beginning with a vowel:

<u>amarrun</u>	'to eat meat'
<u>awungmiri</u>	'to keep away'
<u>awurrurdban</u>	'to lead on a rope'

Three have stems beginning with m:

<u>madbalang</u>	'to open'
<u>madbunggu</u>	'to open'
<u>mirrguran</u>	'to close'

The prefixes are shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4

Person-Number Prefixes for mam- Verbs

	i	any-
	we	arruny-
	you s	guny-
	you pl	gurruny-
	he/she/they	mambu- <sup>4,7</sup>
any-amarrun		'I eat meat'
1-eat=meat		
mambu-marrun		'he/she/they eat meat'
3pers-eat=meat		

any-mirrguran                    'I close it'  
I-close

mamb-irrguran                    'he closes it'  
3=pers-close

No instance of a transitive mam- with other than a third person singular object has yet been found.

For more examples see Section 11.3, Paradigms of mam- Verbs.

### 3.1.4 STEMS TAKING MORE THAN ONE PERSON-NUMBER PREFIXING SYSTEM

A number of verb stems are used with different prefixing systems, sometimes with changes in meaning, other times with related meanings.

Example of change in meaning caused by changing the prefixing system:

intransitive prefix:

ng-unma                    'I try'  
I-try

transitive prefix:

aw-unma                    'I count'  
I=3s-count

ang- prefix:

ang-unma                    'I tell a story'  
I-tell=story

Example of related meanings: (When the prefixation is intransitive the meaning is reflexive and the free form reflexive pronoun may optionally be used.)



TABLE 5

## Intransitive Direction-Subject Prefixes

	<u>no direction prefix</u>	<u>'towards'</u>	<u>'away'</u>
I	nga-	nya-	ja-
we inc	arruK-	arruK-	yarruK- <sup>2,3,@</sup>
we exc	ngarruK-	nyarruK-	jarruK- <sup>2,3,@</sup>
you s	ang- <sup>1</sup>	yuwu-	yang- <sup>1</sup>
you pl	gurruK-	yuwurruK-	yunggurruK- <sup>2,3,@</sup>
he/she	K- <sup>2,@@</sup>	a-	ya-
they	a- <sup>7</sup>	ayuwu-	ijb-/ijuwu- <sup>+</sup>

<sup>+</sup>ijb- before a vowel initial stem, ijuwu- elsewhere.

## Examples:

a-ra	'they go, are going'
3p-go	
ijb-ara	'they go, are going away'
away=3p-go	
ayuw-ara	'they come, are coming'
to=3p-go	
a-malgban	'they move outside'
3p-go=out	
ijuwu-malgban	'they go, are going outside'
away=3p-go=out	

ayuwu-maigban 'they come, are coming outside'  
to=3p-go=out

The 'away' prefix is also used to show that the action is happening at a previously specified place away from the speaker.

ijb-ara-n                      warruwi                      ijuwu-wani  
3p=away-go-p                  Goulburn=Is                  3p=away-stay

'they went to Goulburn Island (and) they're staying there'

With transitive verbs the directional-person-number prefix is also a portmanteau prefix replacing the normal person-number prefix. According to the present data a complete set of directional-person-number prefixes is not in use with the transitive verb. Only those with third person objects are in common use.

Table 6 and Table 7 show the directional-person-number prefixes used with transitive verbs.

Examples of directional-person-number prefixes with transitive verbs:

nyard-irta-n                      'I brought it back'  
to=1=3s-return-p

yuwundu-ma-ny                      'he/she/they brought you'  
to=3p=2s-take-p

yari-ma-ny                      'he took it away'  
away=he=3s-take-p

## 3.2 FIRST ORDER PREFIXES

### 3.2.1 THE FUTURE TENSE MORPHEME mana-

Future tense is marked by the prefix mana-. The initial m changes according to the same rules as the verb stem initial m. (See Section 8, Morphophonemic Changes.) Other changes which occur are listed under Rule 5 of Section 8.

TABLE 6

'towards' Person-Number Prefixes on Transitive Verbs

	me	us	you s	you pl	him/her	them
I	—	—	yuwun- <sup>1</sup>		nyak- <sup>2</sup>	nyayun- <sup>1</sup>
we inc	—	—	yuwurruN- <sup>1,3,6</sup>		nyarruk- <sup>2,3</sup>	nyadbun- <sup>1,3</sup>
we ex	—	—				
you s	—	—	—	—	yuwuk- <sup>2</sup>	yuwubun- <sup>1</sup>
you pl	—	—	—	—	yuwurruk- <sup>2,3</sup>	yuwudbun- <sup>1,3</sup>
he	nyanbu- <sup>4</sup>	nyarruNbu- <sup>3,4,6</sup>	yuwunbu- <sup>4</sup>	yuwurruNbu- <sup>3,4,6</sup>	ari-	ayuwuni-
she					aga-	ayuwunga-
they					abu-	ayuwunbu- <sup>4</sup>

TABLE 7  
 'away' Person-Number Prefixes on Transitive Verbs

	me	us	you s	you pl	him/her	them
I	—	—			jak- <sup>2</sup>	jayun- <sup>1</sup>
we inc	—	—			jarruk- <sup>2,3</sup>	jadbun- <sup>1,3</sup>
we ex	—	—				
you s			—	—	yagak- <sup>2</sup>	yangbun- <sup>1</sup>
you pl			—	—	yunggurruk- <sup>2,3</sup>	
he					yari-	ijuwuni-
she					yaga-	
they					yabu-	ijuwunbu- <sup>4</sup>





TABLE 9

Transitive Prefixes with mana- (future)<sup>5</sup>

## OBJECT

	me	us	you s	you pl	him/her	them
S	—	—	gunmana-		abana- <sup>2</sup>	ayunmana-
U	—	—		gurrumana-	arrubana- <sup>2</sup>	adbunbana-
B	—	—			ngarrubana- <sup>2</sup>	ngadbunbana-
J	yanmana-		—	—	gabana- <sup>2</sup>	angmunmana-
E		yarrumana-	—	—	gurrubana- <sup>2</sup>	gudbunbana-
C					bani-	anbani-
T	ngandana-	adnana-	gundana-	gudhana-	bananga-	anbananga-
					bana-	andana-

gun-mana-wun

'I'll hit you s'

1=2s-fut-hit

ngand-ana-wun

'he/she/they'll hit me'

3=pers=me-fut-hit

But where the subject is third person singular and the object is third person plural, mana- (future) splits the person-number prefix. This split breaks the prefix into separate subject and object prefixes.

It is this discrepancy which has led to the alternate analysis offered in Section 9.

ani-wun

*BUT*

an-ban-i-wun

he=3p-hit

3p-fut-he-hit

'he hits them'

'he will hit them'

annga-wun

*BUT*

an-bana-nga-wun

she=3p-hit

3p-fut-she-hit

'she hits them'

'she will hit them'

For further examples of the future tense, see Section 11, Appendices.

### 3.2.2 THE IMPERATIVE PREFIX ana-

The imperative prefix is used with intransitive verbs and with transitive verbs when the object is third person. For other objects there is no imperative form but the future is used as an imperative.

Tables 10 and 11 show the person-number prefixes with the imperative prefix.

Note that in both tables the third person singular form differs from the normal form. The transitive forms are discussed in Section 9.2, Order of Prefixes.

For examples showing the use of these prefixes, see Section 2.2.2, Frustrative, and Section 4.1, The Imperative Mood.

## 4. COMBINATIONS OF PREFIXES AND SUFFIXES

To obtain the full range of meanings possible in the Iwaidja verb system, it is necessary to combine both suffixes and prefixes and add

TABLE 10

## Intransitive Prefixes with Imperative Prefix

	<u>non- directional</u>	<u>'towards'</u>	<u>'away'</u>
I	ng-ana-	ny-ana-	j-ana-
we	ad-na-	nyad-na-	jad-na-
you s	ang-ana-	yuw-ana-	yang-ana-
you pl	gud-na-	yuwud-na-	yunggud-na-
he, she	n-ana-	ana-	yan-ana-
they	a-na-	ay-ana	ijb-ana-

TABLE 11

Transitive Prefixes with Imperative Prefix  
(Third singular object only)

	<u>non- directional</u>	<u>'towards'</u>	<u>'away'</u>
I	ana-	ny-ana-	j-ana-
we	arr-ana-	nyarr-ana-	jarr-ana-
you s	g-ana-	yuw-ana-	yag-ana-
you pl	gurr-ana-	yuwurr-ana-	yunggurr-ana-
he	nani-	ani-	yani-
she	gananga-	ananga-	yananga-
they	b-ana-	ab-ana-	yab-ana-



*ad-ban-jildin 1p-take- recip	'we take each other' 'we go together'
imalda arru-ba-ny already 1p=3s-take-p	'we've already taken it' 'we've finished taking it'
arru-bana-man 1p=3s-fut-take	'we will take it'
mana arru-bana-man prob 1p=3s-fut-take	'we'll probably take it'
birda arru-bana-man poss 1p=3s-fut-take	'we'll possibly take it'
maju arru-bana-man intent 1p=3s-fut-take	'we intend to take it'
arru-bana-ma-ny 1p=3s-fut-take-p	'we will have taken it'
arru-man-jing 1p=3s-take-opt	'we want to take it'
anggad arru-man-jing expect 1p=3s-take-opt	'we expect to take it'
arr-ana-man-jing 1p=3s-imper-take-opt	'let's take it' (2nd person= imperative)

maju	(or wurrwany)	arr-ana-man-di	'we were going to take it
intent	intent	1p=3s-imper-take-frust	(but didn't)'

Note that the form marked \* does not occur with this stem but is included here to show the complete pattern.

#### 4.1 THE IMPERATIVE MOOD

##### 4.1.1 POSITIVE IMPERATIVES

Positive imperatives are formed by (a) the imperative prefix and the optative suffix or (b) using the normal future tense form as a polite-imperative.

(a)	g-ana-widara	'stop him'
	2s=3s-imper-stop=opt	

	yuw-ana-ma	'bring it'
	to=2s-imper-take=opt	

	g-an-ayan-jing	'look at it'
	2s=3s-imper-see=opt	

	gudbun-na-wu	'hit them' (pl)
	2p=3p-imper-hit	

The same form is used in first and third persons also.

	nana-marrga	'let him make a fire'
	imper-make=fire=opt	

	arr-ana-ngulda-nyi	'let's make it'
	we=inc-imper-make=opt	

(b)	angmun-mana-man	'please take them'
	2s=3p-fut-take	

yan-man-aju		'please wait for me'
you=me-fut-wait		

#### 4.1.2 NEGATIVE IMPERATIVES

Negative imperatives are formed by the negative yinang (found only here), followed by the second person present tense form of the verb.

yinang	ga-bidarang	'don't stop him'
neg	2s=3s-stop	

yinang	gard-ayan	'don't look at it' (sing)
neg	2s=3s-see	

yinang	gudbun-bun	'don't hit them' (pl)
neg	2p=3p-hit	

The first and third person forms are the same as a negative future tense.

garlu	bana-marrgan	'he won't make a fire'
neg	3s=fut-make=fire	<u>or</u> 'don't let him make a fire'

garlu	arru-bana-ngulda	'we won't make it'
neg	1p-fut-make	<u>or</u> 'let's not make it'

## 5. OTHER AFFIXATION

### 5.1 REPETITION

A repeated or continuous action is shown by added (g)(b)V before the final nasal, if any, of the stem. The V is the same as the final vowel of the stem.

If the stem ends in a stop followed by bV, or a nasal followed by V, with or without a final nasal, then gbV is added.

aw-ardban	'I cook it'
l=it-cook	



aw-ardba-gba-n  
I=it-cook-rep

'I keep on cooking it'

balgban  
3s=rise

'it rises'

balgba-gba-n  
3s=rise-rep

'it keeps on rising'

r-unma  
he=it-count

'he counts it'

r-unma-bga  
he=it-count-rep

'he keeps on counting'

If the stem ends in a nasal followed by bV, with or without a final nasal, then bV is added.

ga-winybun  
she=it-wash

'she washes it'

ga-winybu-bu-n  
she=it-wash-rep

'she repeatedly washes it'

In all other cases, gV is added.

aw-ajun  
I=3s-wait

'I wait for him'

aw-aju-gu-n  
I=3s-wait-rep

'I keep on waiting for him'

ri-ldalgun he=3s-cut	'he cuts it'
ri-ldalgu-gu-n he=3s-cut-rep	'he cuts it into small pieces'
r-aga he=3s-throw	'he throws it'
r-aga-ga he=3s-throw-rep	'he scatters it'
arru-rari we=3s-put=inside	'we put it inside'
arru-rari-gi we=3s-put=inside-rep	'we load it in'

## 5.2 DUALS

Few verbs have dual forms and there seems to be no predictable pattern. Three different forms of dual have been noted.

### 1. reduplication of the whole stem

a-min they-say	'they say'
a-min-min they-say-say	'they (2) say'
ad-bajun we=inc-sick	'we are sick'

arr-bajun-majun                    'we (2) are sick'  
we=inc-sick-sick

2. prefix wun-

This has only been found with two verbs:

a-wani                                'they are staying'  
they-stay

a-wun-bani                            'they (2) are staying'  
they-dual-stay

arrurd-ayan                          'we see it'  
we=it-see

arr-bun-ayan                         'we (2) see it'  
we=it-dual-see

3. gV - before the final nasal of the verb stem (See also 5.1, Repetition.)

a-winggan                             'they arrive'  
they-arrive

a-wingga-ga-n                        'they (2) arrive'  
they-arrive-dual

a-wingg-ung                          'they have arrived'  
they-arrive-p

a-winggu-gu-ng                       'they (2) have arrived'  
they-arrive-dual-p

*BUT*

a-wulagu-gu-n  
they-go=down-dual  
rep

may mean either  
'they (2) are going down'  
or 'they keep on going down'

The very common verbs: ara 'go', ldi 'stand' and yaldi 'lie down' have irregular dual forms.

ara 'go'

a-ra 'they go'  
they-go

a-n-a-g-a 'they (2) go'  
they-dual-go-dual-go

arr-ara 'we go'  
we-go

arr-n-a-g-a 'we (2) go'  
we-dual-go-dual-go

ldi 'stand'

a-ldi 'they stand'  
they-stand

a-ldi-ndi 'they (2) stand'  
they-stand-dual

arru-ri 'we stand'  
we-stand

arr-gi-ndi	'we (2) stand'
we-stand-dual	

yaldi 'lie'

a-yaldi	'they lie'
they-lie	

a-wid-baldi	'they (2) lie'
they-dual-lie	

ad-jaldi	'we lie'
we-lie	

arr-wid-baldi	'we (2) lie'
we-dual-lie	

In each case the second person dual form matches the first person dual form.

## 6. COMPOUNDING

Compound verbs cannot be formed in Iwaidja. Every verb is finite and conforms to one of the systems described above. Compound ideas are expressed by two juxtaposed verbs.

abanara	abaniman	'he'll bring it'
to-3S-fut-go	to-fut-3S-take	

## 7. VERBALIZATION OF ADJECTIVES

Adjectives in Iwaidja take intransitive person-number prefixes and can be translated as stative verbs.

ng-aliwi	can mean either 'I, the bad one'
l-bad	or 'I am bad'

Some adjectives may also take the suffixes -min 'become' or -man 'causative'. These suffixes appear only on a few common adjectives. When -man 'causative' is used, the adjective takes transitive person-number prefixation.

burruli 3s=good	'good', 'he/she/it is good'
burrulany-min 3s=good-become	'he/she/it is getting better'
burrang 3s=big	'big'
burrany-min 3s=big-become	'he/she's growing up'
ri-murrany-man he=3s-big-caus	'he's rearing him, bringing him up'
gunji 3s=dirty	'dirty'
gunjany-min 3s=dirty-become	'it's become dirty'
ga-ngunjany-man she=3s-dirty-caus	'she's dirtied it'

## 8. MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGES

Extensive morphophonemic changes take place when prefixes are added to stems. Both the initial consonant or vowel of the stem and the prefix itself may be affected.

These changes are described below. The numbers are used to refer to particular prefixes in the charts and do not imply that the changes are ordered. However, one ordering is required. Rule 6 must follow rules 1-5.

1. Changes occur in the initial consonant of a consonant-initial stem when it follows a nasal:

w becomes b

nga-wani	<i>BUT</i>	ang-bani
1-sit		2s-sit
'I am sitting'		'you are sitting'

y becomes j

nga-yamang	<i>BUT</i>	an-jamang
1-work		2s-work
'I am working'		'you are working'

ld becomes g after ng,  
d after n,

and in ang- verbs, ng + ld becomes nd

nga-ldi	<i>BUT</i>	ang-gi
1-stand		2s-stand
'I'm standing'		'you're standing'

nganbu-ldangan	<i>BUT</i>	yan-dangan
me=3=pers-send		2s=me-send
'he's sending me'		'you're sending me'

angbu-ldalgun	<i>BUT</i>	an-dalgun
3=pers-sweep		1-sweep
'he's sweeping'		'I'm sweeping'

2. Changes occur in the initial consonant of a consonant initial stem and in the m of mana- (future) in the following forms:

Intransitive verbs: 3s subject  
1p or 2p subject

Transitive verbs: 1 or 2 subject with 3s object

Except for the intransitive 1p or 2p subject, these are the same forms in which an extra consonant is added to the prefix before a vowel initial stem (See Section 1, The Stem.).

The above changes are marked by K in the tables.

In the above forms,

nga-maju l-be=ill 'I am ill'	<i>BUT</i>	ad-baju we-be=ill 'we are ill'	<i>AND</i>	ad-bana-maju we-fut-be=ill 'we will be ill'
ri-man he=3s-carry 'he carries it'	<i>BUT</i>	a-ban l=3s-carry 'I carry it'	<i>AND</i>	a-bana-man l=3s-fut-carry 'I will carry it'
nga-wani l-sit 'I am sitting	<i>BUT</i>	ad-bani we-sit 'we're sitting'		
ri-wun he=3s-hit 'he hits him'	<i>BUT</i>	a-bun l=3s-hit 'I hit him'		
		<u>ng</u> becomes <u>g</u>		
nga-ngijarr l-in=pain 'I am in pain'	<i>BUT</i>	ad-gijarr we-in=pain 'we're in pain'		
ri-ngulda he=3s-make 'he makes it'	<i>BUT</i>	a-gulda l=3s-make 'I make it'		
		<u>y</u> becomes <u>j</u>		
nga-yamang l-work 'I'm working'	<i>BUT</i>	ad-jamang we-work 'we're working'		



ri-yalman	<i>BUT</i>	a-jalman
he=3s-hunt		l=3s-hunt
'he hunts for it'		'l hunt if it'

ld becomes r

nga-l <b>ld</b> imbarni	<i>BUT</i>	rimbarni	<i>AND</i>	arru-rimbarni
l-sit=down		3s-sit=down		we-sit=down
'l sit down'		'he sits down'		'we sit down'

ri-l <b>ld</b> angan	<i>BUT</i>	a-rangan
he=3s-send		l=3s-send
'he sends it'		'l send it'

3. In the following forms involving first and second person plurals:

Intransitive subjects: (ng)arruK-, gurruK-;

Transitive first or second person subject with third singular object: (ng)arruK-, gurruK-;

Transitive first or second person subject with first or second person object: yarruN-, gurruN-; and

Transitive third person subject with first or second person object: arruNbu-, gurruNbu-;

changes occur to rru as follows:

(a) in the transitive system,

(i) rru varies with rr (not common) before K, and before N when N is followed by a verb stem initial m, ng, w or y.

arru-ban	~	arr-ban	'we're carrying it'
we=3s-carry		we=3s-carry	

yarrum-bun	~	yarrm-bun	'you're hitting us'
you=us-hit		you=us-hit	

(ii) rru becomes d

(A) before N where N is followed by a stem initial ld, a, i or u.





ang-ngurjiying  
I-make=noise

'I'm making a noise'

Table 13 shows the forms of bu.

5. When the future tense prefix mana- occurs, then:

(a) in intransitive verbs, in the first person singular and the third person plural forms, the initial m of mana- is lost.

ng-ana-wani  
I-fut-sit

'I will sit'

a-na-wani  
3p-fut-sit

'they will sit'

*BUT*

ang-mana-wani  
2s-fut-sit

'you s will sit'

(b) in transitive verbs, with

(i) third person subjects and first or second person objects, or third person plural subject and object,

bu plus mana- becomes dana-

ngandana-man  
me=3=pers=fut-take

'he/she/they'll take me'

adndana-man  
us=3=pers=fut-take

'he/she/they'll take us'

The plural object form has a variant adnana-man.

(ii) first or second person plural subjects and third person plural objects, or third person singular subjects with third person objects,

mana- becomes bana

adbun-bana-wun  
we=3p-fut-hit

'we'll hit them'

TABLE 13

Forms of the bu Ending on the Third Person Subject Prefix of Transitive Verbs

Verb Stem Initial	<u>ang-</u> Verbs	Ordinary Transitive Verbs with 3 sing object		<u>mam-</u> Verbs
		1 or 2 object	3 pl object	
m	gu	du		b <sup>1</sup> u <sup>2</sup>
w				— <sup>2</sup>
ng		mu		—
y			bu	—
ld				—
a				
i				
u				

<sup>1</sup>Vowel elision. See Rule 7.

<sup>2</sup>No mam- verbs beginning with w, ng, y or ld have yet been found.

anbani-wun                    'he'll hit them'  
3p=fut=he-hit

(c) in ang- verbs,

bu (third person) plus mana- becomes gana-  
anggana-wurrwun                'he/she/they'll think'  
3=pers=fut-think

(d) in mam- verbs

(i) with stems beginning with m, the initial m of the stem is lost and the stem then acts like a vowel initial stem in that the final a of mana- disappears.

any-mirrguran                'I close it'  
I-close

any-man-irrguran            'I will close it'  
I-fut-close

(ii) with vowel initial stems the initial m of mana- is lost in first and second person.

any-amarrun                'I eat meat'  
I-eat=meat

any-an-amarrun            'I will eat meat'  
I-fut-eat=meat

(iii) in third person

mana- becomes bana-

mamban-irrguran            'he/she/they'll close it'  
3=pers=fut-close

mamban-amarrun            'he/she/they'll eat meat'  
3=pers=fut-eat=meat

(e) with ld initial verb stems,

mana- becomes ba-

*except*

- (i) in the intransitive verb in the first person singular and third person plural forms (See 5 (a) above.) and in the third person singular where it becomes bana-

ng-ana-ldimbarni            'I'll sit down'  
1-fut-sit=down

ang-ba-ldimbarni            'you'll sit down'  
2s-fut-sit=down

bana-ldimbarni            'he/she'll sit down'  
3s=fut-sit=down

- (ii) in the transitive verb with third person subjects.

with 1 or 2 person objects it is da-

nganda-ldangan            'he/she/they'll send me'  
me=3=pers=fut-send

with third person singular subjects and third person objects it is bana-

bananga-ldangan            'she will send it'  
fut=she=3s-send

anbani-ldangan            'he'll send them'  
3p=fut=he-send

- (iii) with ang- verbs it is ga-

ang-ga-ldijbun            'he/she/they'll collect water'  
3=pers-fut-get=water

The verbs 'to eat' and 'to drink' are exceptions to the above rule. They retain the full form of mana- throughout.





TABLE 14

Forms When mana- (future) Is Added to the bu Ending on the Third Person Subject Prefix of Transitive Verbs

Verb Stem Initial	ang-Verbs	Ordinary Transitive Verbs with 3 sing object		mam-Verbs
		1 or 2 object	3 pl object	
m				bandam-
w	gana-		bana-	_____ <sup>2</sup>
ng				_____
y				_____
ld	ga- <sup>3</sup>	da- <sup>3</sup>	bana-/ba- <sup>3</sup>	_____
a				
i	gan- <sup>1</sup>	dan- <sup>1</sup>	ban- <sup>1</sup>	
u				

<sup>1,2</sup>See Table 13.

<sup>3</sup>See Rule 5(f).



TABLE 15  
Subject Prefixes  
WHEN THE OBJECT IS

	2s	2p	1p	1s	3sm	3sf	3p
S	2s	---	∅	---	ga-		ang-
U	2p				gurru-		
B	1p	∅	---	---	(ng)arru-		
J	1s				a-		
E	3sm	bu-			i-		
C	3sf				nga-		
T	3p						

TABLE 16  
Object Prefixes  
WHEN THE SUBJECT IS

	2s	2p	1p	1s	3sm	3sf	3p
O	2s	---		gun-	gun-		
B	2p			gurruN-		guṛruN-	
J	1p	yarruN-		---	(ng)arruN-		
E	1s	yan-			ngan-		
C	3sm	K-					
T	3sf						
	3p	mun-	bun-	yun-	an-		

For an explanation of the numerals, K, and N, see Section 3.0.2, Tables.





The fourth order, where the subject is third person singular and the object is third person is

+ object ± mana- + subject + stem

r-i-man 'he takes it'

3s-he-take

an-i-man 'he takes them'

3p-he-take

an-ban-i-man 'he will take them'

3p-fut-he-take

A change of order also occurs in the imperative mood when the subject is third person singular. The subject prefix occurs twice, and the order is

object, subject, imperative, subject, stem

g-ana-nga-wunya 'let her cook it'

3s-she-imper-she-cook

(Here K (3s object) changes the initial nga- 'she' to ga-, and morphophonemic rule 7 applies.)

When the third person singular subject is non-feminine the order is the same but the initial object-subject prefix is replaced by the special form of the intransitive subject prefix used with imperatives.

n-an-i-wu 'let him hit it'

3s(int)-imper-he-hit

### 9.3 MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGES

This analysis requires the addition of two extra parts to the existing morphophonemic rules.

To rule 2 must be added:

'Following K,

nga- 'she' becomes ga-

and i- 'he, it' becomes ri-

K-nga-wunya	becomes	ga-wunya	'she cooks it'
3s-she-cook		she-cook	

K-i-ngulda	becomes	r-i-ngulda	'he makes it'
3s-he-make		3s-he-make	

To rule 3 (a) (ii) must be added:

rru becomes d  
(c) before bun (3p obj)

ad-bun-ayan	'we see them'
we-3p-see	

#### 9.4 COMPARISON OF PREFIXES

Table 17 on the following page shows a comparison of transitive object prefixes with third person subjects and intransitive person-number prefixes. There is a marked correlation, with the second person singular being the only exception. If the nasal was cut off the object prefixes the forms would be identical.

It is tempting to cut the nasal off the object prefixes in Table 16 and gloss it N (object) and to cut rru off the first and second plural forms in all tables and gloss it rru (plural first and second person). However, the result does not lead to a simpler analysis and the temptation is resisted.





Extensive morphophonemic changes occur when affixes are added to stems making it difficult to discover the base form of the affix.

Only the finite form of the verb marked for subject and/or object exists but a large range of meanings is possible by making combinations of affixes.

## 11. APPENDICES

The number on the tables refers to the rules listed in Section 8, Morphophonemic Changes.

### 11.1 PARADIGMS OF INTRANSITIVE VERBS

#### 11.1.1 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH A VOWEL

Verbs taking w:

	<u>ur</u> lhan	'go inside'
I go inside		ngur <sup>l</sup> han
we inc go inside		arrur <sup>l</sup> han
we exc go inside		ngarrur <sup>l</sup> han
you s go inside		angur <sup>l</sup> han
you pl go inside		gurrur <sup>l</sup> han
he/she goes inside		wur <sup>l</sup> han
they go inside		ar <sup>l</sup> han <sup>7</sup>

I will go inside	nganurIhan <sup>5</sup>
we inc will go inside	adbanurIhan
we exc will go inside	ngadbanurIhan
you s will go inside	angmanurIhan
you pl will go inside	gudbanurIhan
he/she will go inside	banurIhan
they will go inside	anurIhan

Verbs taking j:

	<u>igbin</u>	'wake up'
I wake up		ngigbin
we inc wake up		arrigbin
we exc wake up		ngarrigbin
you s wake up		angigbin
you pl wake up		gurrigbin
he/she wakes up		jigbin
they wake up		agbin <sup>7</sup>
I will wake up		nganigbin <sup>5</sup>
we inc will wake up		adbanigbin
we exc will wake up		ngadbanigbin
you s will wake up		angmanigbin
you pl will wake up		gudbanigbin
he/she will wake up		banigbin
they will wake up		anigbin

11.1.2 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH Id

	<u>Idadurran</u>	'vomit'
I vomit		ngaldadurran
we inc vomit		arruradurran <sup>3</sup>
we exc vomit		ngarruradurran <sup>3</sup>
you s vomit		anggadurran <sup>1</sup>
you pl vomit		gurruradurran <sup>3</sup>
he/she vomits		radurran <sup>2</sup>
they vomit		aldadurran
I will vomit		nganaldadurran <sup>5</sup>
we inc will vomit		adbaldadurran
we exc will vomit		ngadbaldadurran
you s will vomit		angbaldadurran
you pl will vomit		gudbaldadurran
he/she will vomit		banaldadurran
they will vomit		analdadurran

11.1.3 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH m

	<u>mirtan</u>	'sing'
I sing		ngamirtan
we inc sing		adbirtan <sup>2,3</sup>
we exc sing		ngadbirtan <sup>2,3</sup>
you s sing		angmirtan
you pl sing		gudbirtan <sup>2,3</sup>
he/she sings		birtan <sup>2</sup>
they sing		amirtan

11.1.4 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH ng

	<u>ngardbuni</u>	'fall'
I fall		ngangardbuni
we inc fall		adgardbuni <sup>2,3</sup>
we exc fall		ngadgardbuni <sup>2,3</sup>
you s fall		angngardbuni
you pl fall		gudgardbuni <sup>2,3</sup>
he/she falls		gardbuni <sup>2</sup>
they fall		angardbuni

### 11.1.5 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH w

	<u>wani</u>	'sit'
I sit		ngawani
we inc sit		adbani <sup>2,3</sup>
we exc sit		ngadbani <sup>2,3</sup>
you s sit		angbani <sup>1</sup>
you pl sit		gudbani <sup>2,3</sup>
he/she sits		bani <sup>2</sup>
they sit		awani

### 11.1.6 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH y

	<u>yamang</u>	'work'
I work		ngayamang
we inc work		adjamang <sup>2,3</sup>
we exc work		ngadjamang <sup>2,3</sup>
you s work		anjamang <sup>1,6</sup>
you pl work		gudjamang <sup>2,3</sup>
he/she works		jamang <sup>2</sup>
they work		ayamang

11.1.7 FUTURE TENSE OF VERBS WITH STEMS BEGINNING WITH m, ng, w, or y

mirtan 'sing'

I will sing	nganamirtan <sup>5</sup>
we inc will sing	adbanamirtan
we exc will sing	ngadbanamirtan
you s will sing	angmanamirtan
you pl will sing	gudbanamirtan
he/she will sing	banamirtan
they will sing	anamirtan

## 11.2 PARADIGMS OF TRANSITIVE VERBS

### 11.2.1 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH A VOWEL

Verbs taking w      adbi 'find'

#### OBJECT

	me	us	you s	you pl	him/her	them
S	—	—	gunadbi	gudnadbi <sup>3,6</sup>	awadbi	ayunadbi
U	—	—			arruwadbi	adbunadbi <sup>3</sup>
B	—	—			ngarruwadbi	ngadbunadbi <sup>3</sup>
J	yanadbi	yadnadbi <sup>3,6</sup>	—	—	gawadbi	angmunadbi
E				—	—	gurruwadbi
C	nganbadbi	arrumbadbi <sup>6</sup>	—	—	radbi	anadbi
T			gunbadbi	gurrumbadbi <sup>6</sup>	gadbi	anngadbi
					badbi	anbadbi

Verbs taking rd      an      'stab'

OBJECT

	me	us	you s	you pl	him/her	them
I	—	—	gunan	gudnan <sup>3,6</sup>	ardan	ayunan
we inc	—	—			arrurdan	adbunan <sup>3</sup>
we exc	—	—			ngarrurdan	ngadbunan <sup>3</sup>
you s	yanan	yadnan <sup>3,6</sup>	—	—	gardan	angmunan
you pl				—	gurrurdan	gudbunan <sup>3</sup>
he	nganban	arrumban <sup>6</sup>	gunban	gurrumban <sup>6</sup>	ran	anan
she					gan	anngan
they					ban	anban

S U B J E C T



11.2.2 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH Id Idangan 'send'

OBJECT

	me	us	you s	you pl	him/her	them
S	I	—	gundangan <sup>1</sup>	gundangan <sup>1,3,6</sup>	arangan <sup>2</sup>	ayundangan <sup>1</sup>
U	we inc	—	—		arrurangan <sup>2,3</sup>	adbundangan <sup>1,3</sup>
B	we exc	—	—		ngarrurangan <sup>2,3</sup>	ngadbundangan <sup>1,3</sup>
J	you s	yandangan <sup>1</sup>	—	—	garangan <sup>2</sup>	angmundangan <sup>1</sup>
E	you pl	yadandangan <sup>1,3,6</sup>	—	—	gurrurangan <sup>2,3</sup>	gubundangan <sup>1,3</sup>
C	he	—	—	—	rilangan	anilangan
T	she	nganbuldangan	gunbuldangan	gurrumbuldangan <sup>6</sup>	galangan	aningaldangan
	they	—	—		buldangan	anbuldangan

11.2.3 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH m      man      'take, carry'

OBJECT

	me	us	you s	you pl	him/her	them
I	—	—	gunman	gurruman <sup>3,6</sup>	aban	ayunman
we inc	—	—			arruban <sup>2</sup>	abunman <sup>3</sup>
we exc	—	—			ngarruban <sup>2</sup>	ngadbunman <sup>3</sup>
you s	yanman	yarruman <sup>3,6</sup>	—	—	gaben <sup>2</sup>	angmunman
you pl				—	gurruban <sup>2</sup>	gudbunman <sup>3</sup>
he	nganduman <sup>4</sup>	adnduman <sup>3,4</sup>	gunduman <sup>4</sup>	gudnduman <sup>3,4</sup>	riman	animan
she					gaman	angaman
they					buman	anduman <sup>4</sup>

S      U      B      J      E      C      T

11.2.4 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH ng      ngalgbun      'hit on head'

OBJECT

	me	us	you s	you pl	him/her	them	
S	—	—	gunngalgbun	gurrungalgbun <sup>6</sup>	agalgbun <sup>2</sup>	ayungalgbun	
U	—	—	—		arrungalgbun <sup>2,3</sup>	abungalgbun <sup>3</sup>	
B	—	—	—		ngarrungalgbun <sup>2,3</sup>	ngabungalgbun <sup>3</sup>	
J	yanggalgbun	yarrungalgbun <sup>6</sup>	—	—	gagalgbun <sup>2</sup>	angmunagalgbun	
E	—		—	—	gurrungalgbun <sup>2,3</sup>	gudbungalgbun <sup>3</sup>	
C	he	nganmungalgbun <sup>4</sup>	gunmungalgbun <sup>4</sup>	gurrumungalgbun <sup>4,5</sup>	ringalgbun	aningalgbun	
T	she				arrumungalgbun <sup>4,5</sup>	ganggalgbun	angungalgbun
	they				—	bungalgbun	anbungalgbun

11.2.5 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH w wun 'hit'

OBJECT

	me	us	you s	you pl	him/her	them
I	_____	_____	gunbun <sup>1</sup>	gurrumbun <sup>1,3,6</sup>	abun <sup>2</sup>	ayunbun <sup>1</sup>
we inc	_____	_____			arrubun <sup>2</sup>	adbunbun <sup>1,3</sup>
we exc	_____	_____			ngarrubun <sup>2,3</sup>	ngadbunbun <sup>1,3</sup>
you s	yanbun <sup>1</sup>	yarrumbun <sup>1,3,6</sup>	_____	_____	gabun <sup>2</sup>	angmumbun <sup>1</sup>
you pl				_____	_____	gurrubun <sup>2,3</sup>
he	nganduwn <sup>4</sup>	adnduwn <sup>3,4,6</sup>	gunduwn <sup>4</sup>	gudnduwn <sup>3,4,6</sup>	riwun	aniwun
she					gawun	anngawun
they					buwun	anduwn <sup>4</sup>

S U B J E C T

11.2.6 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH y      yajman      'hunt, look for'

OBJECT

	me	us	you s	you pl	him/her	them
S	I	_____	gunjajman <sup>1</sup>	gurrunjajman <sup>1,3</sup>	ajajman <sup>2</sup>	ayunjajman <sup>1</sup>
U	we inc	_____			arrujajman <sup>2,3</sup>	adbunjajman <sup>1,3</sup>
B	we exc	_____			ngarrujajman <sup>2,3</sup>	ngadbunjajman <sup>1,3</sup>
J	you s	yanjajman <sup>1</sup>	_____	_____	gujajman <sup>2</sup>	angmunjajman <sup>1</sup>
E	you pl	yarrunjajman <sup>3</sup>	_____	_____	gurrujajman <sup>2,3</sup>	gubbunjajman <sup>1,3</sup>
C	he	_____	gunbuyajman	gurrumbuyajman <sup>3,6</sup>	riyajajman	anijajman
	she	arrumbuyajman <sup>3,6</sup>			gajajman	anggayajman
T	they	_____			buyajman	anbuyajman

11.2.7 FUTURE TENSE OF VERBS WITH STEMS BEGINNING WITH m, ng, w, y or a vowel      wun      'hit'

OBJECT

5

	me	us	you s	you pl	him/her	them
S	_____	_____	gunmanawun	gurrumanawun	abanawun <sup>2</sup>	ayunmanawun
U	_____	_____			arrubanawun <sup>2</sup>	adbunbanawun
B	_____	_____			ngarrubanawun <sup>2</sup>	ngadbunbanawun
J	yanmanawun	yarrumanawun	_____	_____	gabawan <sup>2</sup>	angmunmanawun
E	_____		_____	_____	gurrubanawun <sup>2</sup>	gubbunbanawun
C	ngandanawun	adnanawun	gundanawun	gudnanawun	baniwun	arbanawun
T					banangawun	arbanangawun
					banawun	andanawun

11.2.8 FUTURE TENSE OF VERBS WITH STEMS BEGINNING WITH id ldangan 'send'

OBJECT

	me	us	you s	you pl	him/her	them
S	I	_____	gunbal dangan	gurrumbal dangan	abal dangan	ayunbal dangan
U	we inc	_____			arrubal dangan	adbunbal dangan
B	we exc	_____			ngarrubal dangan	ngadbunbal dangan
J	you s	yanbal dangan	_____	_____	gabal dangan	angmunbal dangan
E	you pl	yarrumbal dangan	_____	_____	gurrubal dangan	gudbunbal dangan
C	he			gudnal dangan	banil dangan	anbanil dangan
	she	adnal dangan	gundal dangan		banangal dangan	anbanangal dangan
T	they				bal dangan	anbal dangan

### 11.3 PARADIGMS OF mam- VERBS

#### 11.3.1 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH A VOWEL

<u>amarrun</u>	'eat·meat'
I eat meat	anyamarrun
we eat meat	arrunyamarrun
you s eat meat	gunyamarrun
you pl eat meat	gurrunyamarrun
he/she/they eat meat	mambumarrun <sup>7</sup>
I will eat meat	anyanamarrun
we will eat meat	arrunyanamarrun
you s will eat meat	gunyanamarrun
you pl will eat meat	gurrunyanamarrun
he/she/they will eat meat	mambanamarrun

#### 11.3.2 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH m

<u>madbalang</u>	'open'
I open it	anymadbalang
we open it	arrunymadbalang
you s open it	gunymadbalang
you pl open it	gurrunymadbalang
he/she/they open it	mambadbalang <sup>4</sup>
I will open it	anymanadbalang <sup>4,5</sup>
we will open it	arrunymanadbalang



you s will open it	gunymanadbalang
you pl will open it	gurrunymanadbalang
he/she/they will open it	mambanadbalang

#### 11.4 PARADIGMS OF ang- VERBS

##### 11.4.1 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH A VOWEL

<u>agan</u>	'breathe'
I breathe	angagan
we breathe	arrungagan
you s breathe	gungagan
you pl breathe	gurrungagan
he/she/they breathe	angbagan
I will breathe	angmanagan <sup>5</sup>
we will breathe	arrungmanagan
you s will breathe	gungmanagan
you pl will breathe	gurrungmanagan
he/she/they will breathe	angganagan

##### 11.4.2 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH Id

<u>Idigbun</u>	'collect water'
I collect water	andijbun <sup>1</sup>
we collect water	arrundijbun <sup>1</sup>
you s collect water	gundijbun <sup>1</sup>
you pl collect water	gurrundijbun <sup>1</sup>
he/she/they collect water	angbuldijbun

I will collect water	angbaldijbun <sup>5</sup>
we will collect water	arrungbaldijbun
you s will collect water	gungbaldijbun
you pl will collect water	gurrungbaldijbun
he/she/they will collect water	anggaldijbun

11.4.3 THE VERB Idarnagan 'prod, stab'

This verb is an ang- verb for third person singular objects, but is a transitive verb with a vowel initial stem: arnagan with other objects.

OBJECT

	me	us	you s	you pl	him/her	them
S	_____	_____	gunarnagan		andarnagan <sup>1</sup>	ayunarnagan
U	_____	_____		gudarnagan <sup>3,6</sup>	arrundarnagan <sup>1</sup>	adbunarnagan <sup>3</sup>
B	_____	_____			ngarrundarnagan <sup>1</sup>	ngedbunarnagan <sup>3</sup>
J	yanarnagan		_____	_____	gundarnagan <sup>1</sup>	angmunarnagan
E	_____	yadarnagan <sup>3,6</sup>	_____	_____	gurrundarnagan <sup>1</sup>	gudbunarnagan <sup>3</sup>
C	nganbarnagan	arrumbarnagan <sup>6</sup>	gunbarnagan	gurrumbarnagan <sup>6</sup>	angbuldarnagan	anbarnagan
T	they					

11.4.4 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH m

	<u>marrajbang</u>	'walk'
I walk		angmarrajbang
we walk		arrungmarrajbang
you s walk		gungmarrajbang
you pl walk		gurrungmarrajbang
he/she/they walk		anggumarrajbang <sup>4</sup>
I will walk		angmanamarrajbang <sup>5</sup>
we will walk		arrungmanamarrajbang
you s will walk		gungmanamarrajbang
you pl will walk		gurrungmanamarrajbang
he/she/they will walk		angganamarrajbang

11.4.5 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH ng

	<u>ngurjiying</u>	'make a noise'
I make a noise		angngurjiying
we make a noise		arrungngurjiying
you s make a noise		gungngurjiying
you pl make a noise		gungngurjiying
he/she/they make a noise		angmungurjiying <sup>4</sup>
I will make a noise		angmanangurjiying <sup>5</sup>
we will make a noise		arrungmanangurjiying
you s will make a noise		gungmanangurjiying

you pl will make a noise  
he/she/they will make a  
noise

gurrungmanangurjiying  
angganangurjiying

#### 11.4.6 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH w

wurrwun

'think'

I think

angburrwun<sup>1</sup>

we think

arrungburrwun<sup>1</sup>

you s think

gungburrwun<sup>1</sup>

you pl think

gurrungburrwun<sup>1</sup>

he/she/they think

angguwurrwun<sup>4</sup>

I will think

angmanawurrwun<sup>5</sup>

we will think

arrungmanawurrwun

you s will think

gungmanawurrwun

you pl will think

gurrungmanawurrwun

he/she/they will think

angganawurrwun

#### 11.4.7 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH y

yawun

'dig'

I dig

anjawun<sup>1,6</sup>

we dig

arrunjawun<sup>1,6</sup>

you s dig

gunjawun<sup>1,6</sup>

you pl dig

gurrunjawun<sup>1,6</sup>

he/she/they dig

angbuyawun

I will dig	angmanayawun <sup>5</sup>
we will dig	arrungmanayawun
you s will dig	gungmanayawun
you pl will dig	gurrungmanayawun
he/she/they will dig	angganayawun

### 11.5 THE IRREGULAR VERB nigi 'carry (object) on head'

This verb resembles an Id stem initial verb, except that it has n instead of l.

I carry it	arigi
we inc carry it	arrurigi
we exc carry it	ngarrurigi
you s carry it	garigi
you pl carry it	gurrurigi
he carries it	rinigi
she carries it	ganigi
they carry it	bunigi
I will carry it	abanigi
we inc will carry it	arrubanigi
we exc will carry it	ngarrubanigi
you s will carry it	gabanigi
you pl will carry it	gurrubanigi
he will carry it	baninigi
she will carry it	bananganigi
they will carry it	bananigi

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