### IWAIDJA WORDS

#### O. INTRODUCTION

There is no difficulty in finding word breaks in Iwaidja. Native speakers readily break utterances into individual words and such breaks are consistently made by all speakers.

These words can be grouped in different ways. An obvious grouping is that of those which do not change against those which take affixes. This division puts into one group the pronouns, the small group of conjunctions, the adverbs, some adjectives and most nouns. In the other group, those taking affixes, are all the verbs, some adjectives, one preposition and some nouns.

For purposes of description it is probably easier to divide the words into the traditional groupings and this is what is done here.

#### I. PRONOUNS

There are three sets of free-form pronouns: subject/possessive, indirect object/benefactive and sequence of participant. The forms appear in Table 1.

|          | Subj/Poss            | Ind Obj/Ben       | Seq of part |
|----------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| lst sing | ngab i               | ngardung          | ngamung     |
| du in    | nuyingabi            |                   |             |
| du ex    | ngabilijanad         |                   |             |
| plin     | ngarri               | ngarrurrung       | ngarrimung  |
| pl ex    | ngarrurri            |                   |             |
| 2nd sing | nuyi                 | nuwung            | nuyimung    |
| dual     | nuyilijanad          |                   |             |
| рI       | nuwurri              | nuwurrurrung      | nuwurrimung |
| 3rd sing | janad                | jumung            | jamin       |
| pl ·     | wanad/<br>wanadjanad | wimung/<br>wamung | wamin       |

Table I

## Examples:

| ngabi janara<br>I I-fut-go   | 'I'm going'  |
|--|--|
| ngabi<br>I   | '!t's mine'  |
| ngabi nagi<br>I dog  | 'my dog'   |
| ngaminy nuwung<br>l-say-p to=you   | ہ ہے<br>'I told you'   |
| abilimany jumung<br>l=him-bring-p for=him  | 'l brought it for him'   |
| nuyimung<br>you=s=(SP)   | 'lt's your turn'   |
| ngabi jaran ajbud Ida jamin<br>I I-go-p beach and he=(SP)<br>'I went to the beach and he went ho | he=go=home   |
| jamin abiny,""<br>he=(SP) he-say-p   | 'he said, ""<br>(change of speaker or<br>participant in dis-<br>course)' |

Future analysis may lead to a breakdown of these pronouns into morphemes.

NOTE: The pronoun <u>yirrag</u>, 'oneself, by oneself, to oneself', is not included in this list as it takes the same affixation as possessed body parts. It is considered to be an adjunct of the body.

| ngabi | ngayirrag | janara   | 'l'm going by myself' |
|-------|-----------|----------|-----------------------|
| 1 V I | l-self    | l-fut-go |                       |

janad jirrag raharraman he he-self he-talk

'he's talking to himself'

CONJUNCTIONS

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Those so far found are listed here.

<u>barduwa</u> (completed action): This is used at the end or at the beginning of a sentence or paragraph. In both cases it denotes that the action immediately preceding it has been completed.

gawirradbung barduwa 'she kneaded it' she=it-knead-p compl

barduwa barta - an emphasised form of barduwa

garlu ardirtan ardbung barduwa barta yardanggayiny not he-return-p more compl he-go=permanently-p 'he didn't come back any more - he'd gone for good'

mana (indefinite future) 'perhaps'

| mana | banarryu    | gartugartug | 'maybe it'll be open |
|------|-------------|-------------|----------------------|
| (IF) | fut-it-open | afternoon   | this afternoon'      |

mana barta (negated indefinite future) qajarrq barta 'perhaps he'll come mana abanara mana today, perhaps he (N|F)(IF) to-he-fut-go day won't' barta This conjunction appears to have a variety of meanings. Its most common use is at the beginning of a clause to mean 'and then'. barta abiny ba uqan jumunq 'and then the boss said to him' him-to and=then he-say-p that boss barta awarlbarraganud algariny girrg and=then pl-old=person-pl they-leave-p all 'and then all the old people went away' 'they were staying awaningan barta ijbaran (there) and then they they-stay-p=cont and=then away=they-go-p went away' When barta follows another word it is closely tied to it phonologically and usually brings that word into focus. The meaning in such cases is not always clear. So far two different uses have been isolated. The more common is that of emphasis: aarlu balaji barag barta baraga gayirrg barta, balaji not that (emph) there bag now (emph) bag 'There were no bags ngarrarrari then, but now we have we=ex-put=in bags to put things in jumung gunbugung gabanawilwun barta vou=s-they-give-p you=s-fut-marry (emph) when 'when they've given her to you you'll marry her'

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The other meaning is cortinuity:

Ida ijanawani barta jumung 'and they will conand away=they-fut-stay cont it-to tinue to live there'

jarrarrininy barta away=we=œx-wade-p (<sub>cont</sub>) 'we kept on wading'

The exact meaning of the following example is not clear:

barta awurajbuny awurajbuny barta

and=then I-cook-p I-cook-p

It is difficult to decide whether the second 'I cooked it' is a stylistic variation of the first, emphasising the fact of the cooking, or meaning that the cooking continued.

jumung has a variety of meanings, of which the following have been isolated:

(a) 'when'

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ayunagan jumung adjamang inyman ayunagan they-2-come-p when we-work language they-2-come-p 'they 2 came when we were working on the language'

jumung janad yawaran 'This is about when when he away-he-go-p ducer)

Noah rimandung 600 junggarra jumung ba Noah he=it-have-p=cont 600 year when that

awarangajurig'Noah was 600 yearsto-it-go-pfloodold when the floodcame'

(b) 'the fact that'

angmanawurrwun jumung ngaminy wimung I-fut-remember the=fact=that I-say-p them=to 'I'll remember the fact that I told them'

(c) 'the indirect object pronoun'

abiny jumung rimagan 'he said to his wife' he-say-p her=to he=her-husband

angbanugan jumung nagi 'you're watching the you-fut-watch it=to dog dog'

(d) 'which' (in combination with, and following ba 'that one')

ardayang ba jumung jamangung 1-it-see-p that=one which it-work-p=cont 'I saw the one which was working'

janad iarraran barag barta ba jumuna bani we-qo-p there emph that=one which he he-stav 'we went to where he was living' · 1 ę,

In the following extract, the meaning of <u>jumung</u> is not clear in each case:

gunugung barta nuyi barag barta murrgud ba l=you-give-p emph you there emph altogether that

garldurri ba jumung ayirrngun jumung gurrubanalda animal the=one=that they-move you=pl-fut-eat

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jumung wurragan gunugung ba walij jumung before l=you-give-p that veg=food

gunag banamalgban jumung gurrubanalda ground <sup>k</sup>it-fut-come=up you=pl-fut-eat

'I have given you all the animals that move for you to eat, just as before I gave you the plants that come out of the ground for your food'

1. Here the meaning appears to be purpose.

2. Here the meaning appears to be 'in the same way that'.

3. Here the meaning appears to be source.

(e) <u>baga</u>, the emphatic demonstrative, may in certain situations have a conditional meaning:

baga walmad ngadbanawani 'lf there's rain, if rain we=ex-fut-stay we'll stay (home)'

baga warrbi banamin waliwi radbiyi garlu nganamin if man he-fut-do bad thing not l-fut-do 'even if the man does bad things, I won't'

The above comments on Conjunctions are tentative. More work needs still to be done to determine the ways in which they are used in sentences, paragraphs and discourses.

3. DEMONSTRATIVES

The two demonstratives so far found are:

<u>ruga</u> 'this, this one' (emphatic form <u>rugaruga</u>) and <u>ba</u> 'that, that one' (emphatic form <u>baga</u>). These occur preceding the noun or phrase they qualify.

gurrurdalg 'they collected those banuqbun ba crabs! that crab they-hit ngalidban nuwung ba 'I heard you coming' vuwara l-hear-p you=to that to-vou-ao maladimburr 'he sent the dove out' rildangan ba yawaran he-send-p that away-it-go-p dove rugaruga jumung yiwarruj janad Noah ba ba ran this that when it-begin that story his Noah 'This is the story of Noah' 1.1 4. TEMPORAL'S AND LOCATIONALS Temporals are normally first in a clause, but may occasionally be last. Locationals occur last in a clause. guburruburr ngarrigbigbin 'we 2 got up in the morning' morning we=ex-arise-2-p gayirrg yubanirta 'you're coming back now 1 to-you-fut-return now gardayan Idungun 'you can see that yam ba baraga over there' you=it-see that yam there · 1 ." 'he went over there' yawaran wuga away-he-go-p to=there

|     | nanguj<br>yesterday | nyandumany<br>to=me-he-bring-p  | gani<br>here                        | 'he brought me here<br>yesterday'              |
|-----|---------------------|---|-------------------------------------|--|
| 5.  | ADVERBS             |   |                                     |  |
| BUT | some occurr         | sed as nouns and a<br>e usually follow th<br>ences of adverbs a<br>erb <u>yimalda</u> 'alread | he verb in the s<br>nd nouns preced | same way as adverbs.<br>ing the verb have been |
|     |                     | urr   |                                     | 'he's working hard'                            |
|     | he-work h           | ard   |                                     |  |
| · • |                     |   |                                     |  |
|     | ara a               | lba   |                                     | 'they're playing'                              |
|     | they-go p           | lay(n)  |                                     |  |
|     |                     |   |                                     |  |
|     | wara wur            | rhal OR wurrhai   | wara                                | 'he's dreaming'                                |

yimalda riwany

he-go dream(n)

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' 'he's already eaten'

already he-eat-p

6. PRE- AND POST- POSITIONS

These have adverbial function as well as pre- or post- positional. wuga 'in the direction of', 'in that direction', and <u>wanji</u> 'near', 'nearby', 'nearly time' follow verbs but precede nouns.

| yawaran      | wuga              | 'he went over there' |
|--------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| away-he-go-p | in=that=direction |                      |
|              |                   |                      |

| wanji | gujali | 'it's near the fire' |
|-------|--------|----------------------|
| near  | fire   |                      |

burran 'from' always precedes the noun.

galadarrburranwarrin'the flowers are from'flowerfrombushthe bushcountry'

yurrngud 'the top', 'up high', 'on top', <u>wuwud</u> 'the underneath', 'below aj 'the inside', 'inside' and <u>murrhalal</u> 'the outside' 'outside', may be nouns or follow nouns and verbs as post-positions.

gurrambalg aj house inside 'inside the house'

ubaj burran wuwud riwilbung yawaran yurrngud water from below he-split=off it-go-p up=high 'he split off the waters below (and) they went up into the sky'

The one preposition which takes affixation, <u>arndi</u> 'on', takes the same affixes as the affixing adjectives and the intransitive verbs. It could readily be translated 'be on it'.

| angbani | angarndi. | balabala | 'you're sitting on the | i |
|---------|-----------|----------|------------------------|---|
| you=sit | you=on    | chair    | chair'                 |   |

#### 7. INTERROGATIVES

These may be used alone, or in a phrase or sentence. <u>nga</u> 'is that' so?' is usually final, the others initial, but the position of nganduga 'where?' varies.

malany bartarrgan 'why is he crying?' why he-cry

nganduga yangmanara 'where are you going?' where away-you-fut-go binggung burran nganduga 'where did he come he-come-p from where from?' bani ajbud nga 'he's down at the he-sit beach is=that=so 'he's did he come from?'

guldingga (interrogative) makes the statement following it into a question.

guldingga gaguldiny 'did you make it?' guest you=it-make-p

8. EXCLAMATIONS

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The following exclamations have been heard.

| ma              | 'excuse me', 'may l?', 'pardon'    |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| ngarri          | 'okay' (also the pronoun 'we')     |
| ngardung        | 'oh, my' (also pronoun 'to me')    |
| arra ·          | (exclamation of surprise or anger) |
| guwi            | 'come'                             |
| juwu            | 'let's go'                         |
| arralba         | 'hurry up'                         |
| ja              | 'shoo'                             |
| guwa            | 'true'                             |
| barduwa         | 'okay', 'that's all'               |
| artagiyu or iyu | 'goodness knows'                   |
|                 |                                    |

9. NOUNS

9.1 NOUN TYPES

Nouns, the names of persons, places and things, are of five types.

1. Invariant. These are non-personal names of animals, objects, etc., that is, all non-human nouns. They are the largest group.

| warrgarrg | 'goanna' |
|-----------|----------|
| angag     | 'life'   |
| arlirr    | 'tree'   |

2. Nouns which are affixed for plural number. These are words used for people, and occasionally for dogs or other animals (when thought of as individuals). There are three plural affixes. The one with the widest usage is the prefix <u>warra-</u> (sometimes before consonants <u>wad-</u>). The other two are restricted almost completely to kinship terms. There seems to be some form of respect involved in their use, that is, the senior or more respected term takes <u>larr</u> and the junior term <u>-nyun</u> although such a division is not clear cut. <u>bunyi</u> 'father' takes <u>warra-</u>, <u>wiwi</u> (reciprocal term for maternal grandmother-grandchild relation) takes <u>-larr</u>, and gumbala 'father's mother' takes <u>-nyun</u>.

-larr has allomorphs as follows:

(a) when the noun ends in a consonant, it takes -bularr

babambularr

'father's mother and her sisters'

aldujudbularr

'the young of a species' (sing: rujud - so this is a double plural, as it has the prefix plural for adjectives as well as the plural for nouns).

(b) when the noun ends in a vowel, it takes -<u>larr</u>, and if the final vowel of the noun stem is <u>i</u>, this <u>i</u> becomes a.

gamularr

'mothers' (sing: gamu)

-nyun has allomorphs as follows:

- (a) following the lamino-dental stop, j, the ny is lost.

warramundujun

#### 'females' (sing: warramunduj)

(b) when the noun ends in a vowel or a nasal it takes -<u>nyun</u> and the final nasal of the noun is lost.

wulgunyun

ngayanyun

'older siblings' (sing: wulgu)

'children' (sing: <u>ngayang</u>)

Examples of nouns which take warra- are:

warruldungguldu

'older women' (sing: uldungguldu)

warrabunyi

'fathers' (sing: <u>bunyi</u>)

wadnagi

'dogs' (sing: nagi)

3. Nouns prefixed for possession. These are things which belong intrinsically to a person, such as body parts, footprints and shadows. The prefix shows the person and number of the possessor. These prefixes are identical in form with those used on adjectives and in the intransitive verb system, and are discussed in full in the paper: THE IWAIDJA VERB SYSTEM: A DESCRIPTION.

'my foot/feet' ngalduli I-foot 'their heads' awaharl they-head 4. The following words, all showing direct blood relationship, take the same affixes as the transitive verb system (discussed in full in the paper: THE IWAIDJA VERB SYSTEM. 'her husband' (lit: rimagan 'he husbands her') 'my wife' (lit: 'l abagan husband her') 'my mother' (lit: " nganduwulang 'she mothers me') 'my child' (lit: 'l mother him') abulang 'his father' rimartyarrwun 'their father' animartyarrwun 'my younger sibling' aburagbun 'my older sibling' nganduwuragbun 5. Words which are verb forms but are used as nouns with their own meaning. Five words can definitely be assigned to this group but there are many nouns which on appearance could be verbal in form but for which as yet no corresponding verb has been found.

| rimuni          | 'thunder' (lit: 'he<br>hits it'               |
|-----------------|---|
| wugan<br>*      | 'boss' (lit: 'he<br>watches')                 |
| ayanjildin      | 'sweethearts' (lit:<br>'they see each other') |
| abalgban manyij | 'sunrise' (lit: 'the<br>sun comes outside')   |

wurtiyin manyij

'sunset' (lit: 'the sun dives into water')

#### 9.2 'To be' or not 'to be'?

Two occurrences of nouns taking tense affixes have been found. This raises the question of whether such occurrences should be considered as stative clauses, and further, whether all nouns which are verbal in form are really stative clauses. The two occurrences with tense forms are:

rimagandung 'he used to be her husband' (said of the he=her-husband-p=cont husband of a dead woman)

banildadbarnangajbun

fut-rainbow

'there will be a rainbow!

#### 9.3 REDUPLICATED FORMS

Reduplicated forms are common. Some have a single form to which the reduplicated form is related:

'beach' ajbud 'sandy ground! a ibuda ibud 'honey' (generic) gagurl 'vine with sweet gagurlgagurl berries' Some have a single form which is an adjective and a reduplicated form which is a related adjective: maningul 'blood' maningulmaningul 'red' raman 'mouth' 'sweet' (regular morph ramandaman phonemic change here. See THE IWAIDJA VERB SYSTEM.) 'anger' Idirri 'angry' (regular morph rirrindirri phonemic change here. See THE IWAIDJA VERB SYSTEM.) Some have a single form and a reduplicated form which appear to have no semantic relation:

garldag

'devil'

|                                       | garldagarldag                                | 'tree grasshopper' |
|---------------------------------------|--|--------------------|
|                                       | nagi   | 'dog'              |
|                                       | naginagi                                     | 'vine type'        |
|                                       | There are many reduplicated forms which have | e no single form:  |
|                                       | gartugartug                                  | 'afternoon'        |
|                                       | magamaga                                     | 'father's sister'  |
| · · · · · ·                           | nulinuli                                     | 'right hand'       |
| <u>a</u> rr                           | wurrwurr                                     | 'new'              |
| 9.4                                   | NOUNS WITH IRREGULAR PLURALS                 |                    |
|                                       | Nouns which may be said to have an irregular | r plural are:      |
| · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · | warrbi                                       | 'man'              |
|                                       | arrarrbi                                     | 'men'              |
| y ist                                 |  |                    |
|                                       | barryun -                                    | 'young man'        |
|                                       | marryun                                      | 'young men'        |
| 7                                     | arijumartan                                  | 'child'            |
|                                       | warrulany                                    | 'children'         |
|                                       |  |                    |

10. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives may precede or follow the nouns they modify, or be used instead of a noun as the head of a noun phrase.

10.1 ADJECTIVE TYPES

Like the nouns, the adjectives can be divided into groups. These are:

1. Invariants. There are a number of adjectives in this group, including the numerals one to five.

| gabala | martan | 'a little boat' |
|--------|--------|-----------------|
| boat   | small  |                 |

wartad ngunjul one turtle

2. Those which take the intransitive prefixes (see THE IWAIDJA VERB SYSTEM) and also the suffix -ud (plural).

ngawidbarran 'l'm white'OR 'l th I-white white one'

awidbarraganud'they 2 are white' 0they-white-2-pl'they 2 white ones'

| arrarrbi | awunyagud  | urruwajba | 'married men' |
|----------|------------|-----------|---------------|
| pl-man   | pl-have-pl | woman     |               |

The suffix -ud has an allomorph -ad when the adjective ends in in and the i is lost.

waliwi 'he's bad' OR 'the bad one'

> 'they're bad' OR 'the bad ones'

'one turtle!

aliwad

angburruli 'you're good' OR 'you, the good one! gudburrulad 'you(pl) are good' OR 'you good ones' ÷ . 3. Those which take the intransitive prefixes but do not take -ud in the plural. 11 rirrindirri 'he's angry' OR 'the angry ones' 1 aldirrindirri 'they're angry' OR P. 'the angry ones' 9 4. Those which take -ud with the meaning of intensity. rurdbuj 'short' 1.33 158 rurdbujud 'broken in pieces' bartgbartg 'soft' bartgbartgud 'very soft' 10.2 ADJECTIVES WITH IRREGULAR PLURALS An adjective which may be said to have an irregular plural is: gurrwiny 'ashamed' (sing) いたち、「愛信 wurrwiny 'ashamed' (pl) 11. NEGATIVES With commands the negative is yinang (yini before vowels or  $\underline{y}$ ),

otherwise it is garlu.

2.1.

| yinang<br>don't | gudbin<br>you=pl-say         |               |                | 'don't say bad                   | thing  |
|-----------------|------------------------------|---------------|----------------|----------------------------------|--------|
| 0               | burruli<br>well              |               |                | 'no, he's well'                  |        |
| - ·             | ambij warrga<br>snake goanna | •             |                | 'it's not a sna<br>a goanna'     | ake, i |
| •               | yawaran<br>away-he-go-p      | galmu<br>much | marldu<br>wind | 'he didn't go,<br>was much wind' | there  |

12. VERBS

For a discussion of the verbs see the paper: THE <code>IWAIDJA VERB SYSTEM: A DESCRIPTION.</code>

#### 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 personnumber prefixes also indicate the type of verb: <u>ang-</u>, <u>mam-</u>, 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 <u>Id-, m-, ng-, w-</u>, or <u>y-</u>, or with the vowels <u>a-, i-</u>, or <u>u-</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 <u>ld-</u>, <u>m-</u>, <u>ng-</u>, <u>w-</u> or <u>y-</u> a morphophonemic change has taken place.)

Verb stems end in  $\underline{n}$ ,  $\underline{ng}$ , 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

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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

I=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 dis tinguish 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 -<u>n</u> lose the stem final -<u>n</u> and add the past tense suffix -<u>ny</u>.

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

ri-Idalga-ny 'he asked him' he=3s-ask-p ri-Idalgun he=3s-cut

ri-Idalgu-ny he=3s-cut-p

'he cut it'

ng-ulgarin I-leave

'l leave'

'l left'

ng-ulgari-ny I-leave-p

Stems ending in -<u>ng</u> lose the stem final -<u>ng</u> and add the past tense suffix -<u>ny</u>.

ang-marrajbang

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ang-marrajba-ny
|-walk-p
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ng-urldung l-be=bogged

ng-urldu-ny l-be=bogged-p

'I walked'

'l'm walking'

'l'm bogged'

'l was bogged'

Stems ending in a vowel add the past tense suffix -<u>ny</u>. ri-Idari 'he's putting it inside' he=3s-put=in ri-Idari-ny he=3s-put=in-p

ri-wunya he=3s-cook 'he put it inside'

'he's cooking it'

ri-wunya-ny

he=3s-cook-p

ng-angiru

l-get=in

'he cooked it'

'l got in (car)'

'l'm getting in (car)'

ng-angiru-ny l-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  $\underline{i}$  to the stem before adding -ny for past or completed action.

| ng-artan | 11 | swim' |
|----------|----|-------|
| l-swim   |    |       |

ng-artan<u>i</u>-ny 'I swam' I-swim-p

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

ri-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-mang=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-Idagbalwarrgi 'I'm shopping' I-buy nga-ldagbalwarrji-ny 'l bought it' I-buy-p aj-irrga 'l spear it' I=3s-spear aj-irrji-ny 'l 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  $-\underline{n}$  lose the stem final  $-\underline{n}$  and add the past tense suffix -ng. ard-ayan 'l see him' 1=3s-see

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ard-aya-ng 'l saw him' l=3s-see-p 'l'm giving it to him' aw-ugun I=3s-give aw-ugu-ng 'I gave it to him' I=3s-give-D ng-urtiyin 'l'm taking a bath' I-get=wet ng-urtiyi-ng 'I had a bath' I-get=wet-p Stems ending in a vowel add the past tense suffix -ng. nga-wani 'l'm staying' I-stay nga-wani-ng 'l stayed' I-stay-p . 1 a-buni 'I'm hitting him' 1=3s-hit a-buni-ng 'l hit him' 1=3s-hit-p ng-artganyu 'l'm carrying him in my arms'

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I-carry=in=arms

'l carried him in my arms' ng-artganyu-ng I-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  $\underline{i}$  change the  $\underline{i}$  to  $\underline{u}$  and add  $-\underline{ng}$  for past tense. 'l'm kneading it' a-birradbi 1=3s-knead ۲. '| kneaded it' a-birradbu-ng 1=3s-knead-p 'I'm carrying it on my head' a-rigi 1=3s-carry=on=head 'I carried it on my head' a-rigu-ng 1=3s-carry=on=head-p ·~ . ^ `

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

| a-winggan    | 'they arrive'  |
|--------------|----------------|
| 3p-arrive    |                |
|              |                |
| a-winggu-ng  | 'they arrived' |
| 3p-arrive-p  |                |
|              |                |
| aw-arjanggan | 'l soak it'    |
| l=3s-soak    |                |

aw-arjanggu-ng 'I soaked it' I=3s-soak-p 2.1.1.3 CLASS 3: STEMS THAT TAKE -<u>n</u> FOR PAST TENSE Vowel final stems only add the past tense suffix -<u>n</u>. nga-ldimbarni 'I sit down' I-sit=down

nga-ldimbarni-n l-sit=down-p

'l sat down'

i sii-down-p

'l'm putting it down'

1=3s-put=down

aw-udba

aw-udba-n 'l put it down' 1=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 tenseaspect. Their form resembles the past tense form of other verbs, but context determines whether it is present or past.

| aw-arldung<br>l=3s-shoo=away | 'l'm shooing him away' or<br>'l shooed him away' |
|------------------------------|--|
| a-bularrung<br>I=3s-finish   | 'l've finished it'                               |
| aw-artunyman<br>I=3s-miss    | 'l missed it'                                    |

#### 2.1.2 ASPECT DISTINGUISHED IN THE PAST TENSE

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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 -nggu for stems ending in -a, and -ngan for stems ending in -i or -u. aw-ardban 'l boil it' 1=3s-boil 'l used to boil it' or 'l was aw-ardban-dung boiling it' 1=3s-boil-p=cont a-quida 'I make it' 1=3s-make a-gulda-ngun 'I used to make it' or 'i was making it' 1=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

One verb has been found which distinguishes three aspects in the past tense - completed, continuous, and habitual.

bu-man'they get it'3p=3s-get'they got it'bu-ma-ny'they got it'3p=3s-get-p'they were getting it'bu-man-ngun'they were getting it'bu-man-dung'they used to get it'

3p=3s-get-p=habit

2.2 MOOD

The two moods expressed by suffixes are optative and frustrative.-

#### 2.2.1 OPTATIVE

The optative suffix is used alone to express a desire. It is als used in conjunction with the imperative prefix to form the imperative mood. (See Section 4.1.1.)

Verb stems can be grouped into two classes on the basis of the optative suffix:

- a. Stems ending in a nasal which lose the nasal; and stems endin in a vowel which do not change.
- b. Stems which take a stem change plus -ny for past and no stem change plus -ny for optative; and stems which take -ng for pag and -jing for optative.

The most common form of the optative is class a.

Examples of class 1: aw-ugun 'l give it to him' I=3s-give

aw-ugu 'I want to give it to him' 1=3s-give(opt) q-an-ugu 'Give it to him!' 2s=3s-imper-give(opt) n**qa-**∦ani 'l am staying' 'l want to stay' (identical in I-stay form with present tense) ang-ana-wani 'Stav!' 2s-imper-stay ff Examples of class b: ard-aya-ng 'l saw it' I=3s-see-p ard-ayan-jing 'I want to see it' 1=3s-see-opt g-an-ayan-jing 'Look at it!' 2s=3s-imper-see-opt aw-uqi 'l am showing it' 1=3s-show aw-uji-ny 'I showed it' 1=3s-show-p aw-ugi-ny '! want to show it' 1=3s-show-opt

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g-an-ugi-ny 2s=3s-imper-show-opt

#### 'Show it!'

One verb stem, <u>marrgbunggun</u> 'run', is irregular. It loses the stem final syllable gun before -jing (opt).

nga-marrgbunggun 'l am running' I-run

nga-marrgbun-jing 'I want to run'

I-run-opt

2.2.2 FRUSTRATIVE

The frustrative suffix is used only with the free form adverb  $\underline{\tilde{maju}}$  (intention) and the imperative prefix to express an unfulfilled intention.

Verb stems can be grouped into two classes on the basis of the frustrative suffix:

i. Stems which take -a (frustrative).

ii. Stems which take -ny for past and -nyi for frustrative; and stems which take -ng for past and -di for frustrative.

All vowel final stems are class i.

Examples of class i:

ng-ambijan 'l laugh'

l-laugh

maju ng-an-ambijan-a 'I was going to laugh (but 1 didn)

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When a stem ends in <u>un</u>, the <u>-a</u> (frust) becomes <u>-i</u>.
aw-ugun 'I give it to him'
I=3s-give
```

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'I was going to give it to him
             an-ugun-i
     maju
                                      (but | didn't)'
            l=3s=imper-give-frust
     inten†
     For vowel final stems, the final vowel is lost and -a (frust) is
      (See Morphophonemic Rule 7.)
added.
                                      'I'm showing it to him'
     aw-uqi
     1=3s-show
         Ľ
                                      'I was going to show him (but I
     maju
             an-uq-a
                                      didn'+)!
             1=3s=imper-show-frust
     intent
    Examples of class ii:
     ng-angiru-ny
                                      'I got in the car'
     I-get=in=car-p
    maju
             ng-an-angiru-nyi
                                      'I was going to get in (but I
                                       didn't)'
             l-imper-get=in=car-frust
     intent
    a-jurrqba-ng
                                      'l planted it'
     1=3s-plant-p
    maju
             ana-yurrgban-di
                                      'I was going to plant it (but I
                                      didn't)'
    intent
             l=3s=imper-plant-frust
    The very common verb man 'take, carry' may take either -nyi or -di.
  • maju
             ana-ma-nyi
    intent
             1=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<br>they=3s-ask                | 'they ask him'                                   |
|--|--|
| be come s                                |  |
| a-Idalgan-jildin<br>they-ask-recip       | 'they have a meeting'<br>(lit. 'ask each other') |
| b-ugun<br>they=3s-give<br><i>becomes</i> | 'they give it to him'                            |

a-gun-jildin 'they share' they-give-recip

b-ardban they=3s-boil

becomes

a-rdban-jildin 'they meet' they=boil-recip (lit. 'boil together")

bu-Idalgun they=3s-cut

becomes

a-ldalgun-jildin they-cut-recip 'they cut it'

'they boil it'

'they fight with spears' (lit. 'cut each other')

| b-ajugun<br>they=3s-wait=for          | 'they wait for him'  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| becomes                               |  |
| a-jugun-jildin<br>they-wait=for-recip | 'they join up together'<br>(lit. 'they wait for each other') |
| b-ayan<br>they=3s-see                 | 'they see him'   |
| 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 -<u>jildin</u> and intransitive prefixation that has no corresponding form of the verb stem with transitive pre-fixation.

a-Idagbulagbanjildin '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 -<u>ny</u> (past) and no stem change plus -<u>ny</u> (optative); and stems which take -<u>ng</u> (past) -jing (optative).

Frustrative classes:

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

(Note that all vowel final stems are i.)

The largest class of verb stems is 1.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: futur tense, imperative, and <u>wun-</u> (dual). Future tense and imperative will considered in this section. (See Section 5.2, page 102 for dual prefi

The second order prefix, person-number, is obligatory. In intrantive verbs the prefix shows person and number of the subject, in transtive verbs person and number of both subject and object. This can be divided into two sub-categories: non-directional person-number prefix and directional person-number prefixes. The directional person-number prefixes can again be divided into two sub-categories: direction towa 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.

# WORK PAPERS OF SIL - AAB

# Series A Volume 2

# PAPERS ON IWAIDJA PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

Noreen Pym (with Bonnie Larrimore)

Summer Institute of Linguistics Australian Aborigines Branch Darwin April 1979