0. INTRODUCTION

There is no difficulty in finding word breaks in lwaidja. 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 gpoup, 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.

## 1. PRONOUNS

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

Table I

|  | Subj/Poss | Ind Obj/Ben | Seq of part |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ist sing | ngabi | ngardung | ngamung |
| du in | nuyingabi | ngarrurrung | ngarrimung |
| du ex | ngabilijanad |  |  |
| pl in | ngarri |  |  |
| pl ex | ngarrurri |  |  |
| 2nd sing | nuyi | nuwung | nuy imung |
| dual | nuyilijanad |  |  |
| pl | nuwurri | nuwurrurrung | nuwurrimung |
| 3rd sing | janad | jumung | jamin |
| pl | wanad/ wanadjanad | wimung/ wamung | wamin |

## Examples:

| ngabi | janara | '/'m going' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | l-fut-go |  |
| ngabi |  | '1t's mine' |
| 1 |  |  |
| ngab i | nagi | 'my dog' |
| 1 | dog |  |

ngaminy nuwung
'I told you'
$1-$ say-p to=you

| abilimany | jumung |
| :--- | :--- |
| I=him-bring-p | for=him |$\quad$ 'I brought it for him

nuyimung
'1t's your turn'
you $=s=(S P)$
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { ngabi jaran ajbud Ida jamin } & \text { yawurraga } \\ 1 & l-g o-p ~ b e a c h ~ a n d ~ h e=(S P) ~ h e=g o=h o m e ~\end{array}$
'I went to the beach and he went home'

| jamin abiny, "....." | 'he said, "......" <br> he=(SP) he-say-p |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | (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 yirrag, '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'

| janad jirrag raharraman | 'he's talking to |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| he he-self he-talk | himself' |

2. CONJUNCTIONS

Those so far found are listed here.
barduwa (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=it-knead-p | compl |$\quad$ 'she kneaded it'

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)

| mana abanara gajarrg mana barta | 'perhaps he'll come <br> (IF) to-he-fut-go day <br> today, perhaps he |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (Non'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 ba biny ugan jumung 'and then the boss
and=then he-say-p that boss him-to said to him'
barta awarlbarraganud algariny girrg̣
and=then $p l-o l d=p e r s o n-p l$ they-leave-p all
'and then all the old people went away'

| awaningan | barta | ijbaran |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | | 'they 'were staying |
| :--- |
| they-stay-p=cont and=then away=they-go-p | | (there) and then they |
| :--- |
| 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:
garlu balaji barag barta baraga gayirrg bartar balaji
not bag that (emph) there now (emph) bag
ngarrarrari
we $=e x-p u t=i n$
jumung gunbugung gabanawilwun barta
when you=s-they-give-p you=s-fut-marry (emph)
'when they've given her to you you'll marry her'

The other meaning is cortinuity:

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


| jarrarrininy | barta |
| :--- | :--- |
| away=we $=$-wade-p | (cont) |$\quad$ 'we kept on wading'

The exact meaning of the following example is not clear:

| barta | awurajbuny | awurajbuny barta |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| and=then | $1-c o o k-p$ | $1-c o o k-p$ |

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'
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
when he away-he-go-p
'This is about when he went' (story introducer)

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


| awaran | gajurlg |
| :--- | :--- |
| to-it-go-p | flood |

[^0](b) 'the fact that'
angmanawurrwun jumung ngaminy wimung
l-fut-remember the=fact=that $1-$ say-p them=to
'/'।l 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-fut-watch it=to dog
'you're watching thre dog'
(d) 'which' (in combination with, and following ba 'that one')

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ardayang ba jumung jamangung } \\
& \text { l-it-see-p that=one which it-work-p=cont } \\
& \text { 'I saw the one which was working' }
\end{aligned}
$$

jarraran barag barta ba jumung janad bani
we-go-p there emph that=one which he he-stay 'we went to where he was living'

In the following extract, the meaning of jumung 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 | gne=that they-move | you=pl-fut-eat |


'I have given you all the animals that move for you to eat, just as before 1 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) baga, the emphatic demonstrative, may in certain situations have a conditional meaning:

| baga walmad ngadbanawani | 'If 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, 1 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:
ruga 'this, this one' (emphatic form rugaruga) and ba 'that, that one' (emphatic form baga). These occur preceding the noun or phrase they qualify.
ba gurrurdalg banugbun
that crab they-hit
'they collected those crabs'
ngalidban nuwung ba yuwara
'I heard you coming'
I-hear-p you=to that to-you-go
rildangan ba yawaran maladimburr 'he sent the dove out' he-send-p that away-it-go-p dove
rugaruga ba jumung ran ba yiwarruj janad Noah
this that when it-begin that story his Noah
'This is the story of Noah'

## 4. TEMPORALS 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 | we=ex-arise-2-p | morning' |


| gayirrg yubanirta | 'you're coming back |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| now | to-you-fut-return | now' |


| gardayan ba Idungun baraga | 'you can see that yam <br> over there' |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| you=it-see that yam there | 'he went over there' |  |
| yawaran | wuga |  |

## 5. ADVERBS

Words classed as nouns and adjectives may also have adverbial function. These usually follow the verb in the same way as adverbs. But some occurrences of adverbs and nouns preceding the verb have been noted. The adverb yimalda 'already' always precedes the verb.
jamang durr
he-work hard

| ara | alba |
| :--- | :--- |
| they-go | play $(n)$ |

they-go play(n)
wará wurrhal OR wurrhal wara 'he's dreaming'
he-go $\operatorname{dream}(n)$

```
yimalda riwany
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 wanji '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.

| galadarr burran warrin | 'the flowers are from' |
| :--- | :--- |
| flower from bush | the bush country' |

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

```
gurrambalg aj
'inside the house'
house inside
```

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, arndi '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,
you=sit you=on chair
chair'

## 7. INTERROGATIVES

These may be used alone, or in a phrase or sentence. nga 'is that so ${ }^{\prime}$ ' is usually final, the others initial, but the position of nganduga 'where?' varies.
malany bartarrgan
why he-cry
nganduga yangmanara
'where are you going?'
where away-you-fut-go
binggung burran nganduga
he-come-p from where
'where did he come from?'

| bani ajbud | nga |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| he-sit beach | is=that=so |

'he's down at the beach, isn't he?'
guldingga (interrogative) makes the statement following it into a question.

```
guldingga gaguldiny
    'did you make it?'
quest you=it-make-p
```


## 8. EXCLAMATIONS

The following exclamations have been heard.
ma
ngarri
ngardung
arra.
guw i
juwu
arralba
ja
guwa
barduwa
artagiyu or iyu
'excuse me', 'may $1 ? ', ~ ' p a r d o n ' ~$
'okay' (also the pronoun 'we')
'oh, my' (also pronoun 'to me')
(exclamation of surprise or anger)
'come'
'let's go'
'hurry up'
'shoo'
'true'
'okay', 'that's all'
'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 warra- (sometimes before consonants wad-). 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 -larr and the junior term -nyun although such a division is not clear cut. bunyi 'father' takes warra-, wiwi (reciprocal term for maternal grandmother-grandchild relation) takes -larr, and gumbala 'father's mother' takes -nyun.

- larr has allomorphs as follows:
(a) when the noun ends in a consonant, it takes -bularr
babambularr
aldujudbularr
'father's mother and her sisters'
(b) when the noun ends in a vowel, it takes -larr, and if the final vowel of the noun stem is $\underset{i}{ }$, this $\underline{i}$ becomes a.
gamularr
'mothers' (sing: gamu)
-nyun has allomorphs as follows:
(a) following the lamino-dental stop, $\dot{\mathcal{L}}$, the ny is lost. ngunbujun
'younger siblings' (sing: ngunbuj)
warramundujun
'females' (sing:
warramunduj)
(b) when the noun ends in a vowel or a nasal it takes -nyun and the final nasal of the noun is lost.
wul gunyun
'older siblings' (sing: wulgu)
ngayanyun
'children' (sing: ngayang)

Examples of nouns which take warra- are:
warruldungguldu
warrabunyi
wadnagi
'fathers' (sing: bunyi)
'dogs' (sing: nagi)
'older women' (sing:
uldungguldu)
'
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.
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.

| rimagan | 'her husband' (lit: <br> 'he husbands her') |
| :---: | :---: |
| abagan | 'my wife' (lit: '/ husband her') |
| nganduwulang | 'my mother' (1it:" <br> 'she mothers me') |
| abulang | 'my child' (lit: mother him') |
| rimartyarrwun | 'his father' |
| animartyarrwun | 'their father' |
| aburagbun | ''my younger sibling |
| nganduwuragbun | 'my óder sibling' |

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
wugan
$r$
ayanjildin
'sweethearts' (lit:
'they see each other')
abalgban manyij
'sunrise' (lit: 'the
wurtiyin manyij
'thunder' (lit: 'he
hits it'
'boss' (lit: 'he watches')
'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=her-husband-p=con $\dagger$
'he used to be her husband' (said of the husband of a dead woman)
'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:
ajbud
'beach'
ajbudajbud
'sandy ground.'
gagur 1
'honey' (generic)
gagurlgaguri
'vine with sweet 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' |
| ramandaman | 'sweet' (regular morpli <br> phonemic change here. <br> See THE IWAIDJA VERB <br> SYSTEM.) |
| Idiri | 'anger' |
| rirrindirri | 'angry' (regular morph' <br> Phonemic change here. <br> See THE IWAIDJA VERB <br> SYSTEM.) |

Some have a single form and a reduplicated form which appear to have no semantic relation:
garldag
'devil'

There are many reduplicated forms which have no single form: gartugartug
magamaga
nulinuli
wurrwurr
'right hand'
'father's sister'
'new'

### 9.4 NOUNS WITH IRREGULAR PLURALS

Nouns which may be said to have an irregular plural are:
warribi
arrarrbi
'man'
'men'
barryun.
marryun
arijumartan
warrulany
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. Thes 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:
one turtle
2. Those which take the intransitive prefixes (see THE IWAIDJA VERB SYSTEM) and also the suffix -ud (plural).
ngawidbarran
I-white
awidbarraganud
they-white-2-pl
'l'm white' OR 'l the white one'
'they 2 are white' 0
'they 2 white ones'
arrarrbi awunyagud urruwajba 'married men'
pl-man pl-have-pl woman

The suffix - $4 d$ has an allomorph -ad when the adjective ends in in and the $i$ is lost.
waliwi
'he's bad' OR 'the bad one'
aliwad
'they're bad' OR 'the bad ones'
3. Those which take the intransitive prefixes but do not take -ud in the plural.

```
rirrindirri
aldirrindirri
```

'he's angry' OR 'the angry ones'
'they're angry' OR 'the angry ones'
4. Those which take -ud with the meaning of intensity.
> rurdbuj

rurdbujud
bartgbartg
bartgbartgud
'short'
'broken in pieces'
'soft'
'very soft'
10.2 ADJECTIVES WITH. I RREGULAR PLURALS

An adjective which may be said to have an irregular plural is:
gurrwiny
'ashamed' (sing)
wurrwiny
'ashamed' (pl)
11. NEGATIVES

With commands the negative is yinang (yini before vowels or $y$ ), otherwise it is garlu.

| yinang gudbin | waliwi |
| :--- | :--- |
| don't you=pl-say bad |  |

garlu burruli
no well
garlu ambij warrgarrg
no snake goanna
'no, he's well'
'it's not a snake,
a goanna'
garlu yawaran galmu marldu
no away-he-go-p much wind
'he didn't go, there was. much wind'
12. VERBS

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

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: ang-, mam-, transitive, or intransitiye:

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
 with the vowels $\underline{a}^{-}, \underline{i-}$, or $\underline{u}$-.

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 1d-, $\underline{m}$-, ng-, $\underline{w-}$ or $\underline{y}$ - a morphophonemic change has taken place.)

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

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { a-rigi } & \text { gujali } \\
\text { l=3s-carry=on=shoulder } & \text { firewood }
\end{array}
$$

means either 'l carry firewood on my shoulder (i.e. that is my customar way of doing it)' or 'l 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 $-\underline{n}$ 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 $-\underline{n}$ lose the stem final $-\underline{n}$ and add the past tense suffix -ny.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ri-ldalgan } \\
& \text { he=3s-ask }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { ri-Idalga-ny } & \text { 'he asked him' } \\
\text { he=3s-ask-p } &
\end{array}
$$

'he's asking him'
ri-Idalgun
'he's cutting it'
he=3s-cut

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ri-ldalgu-ny } \\
& \text { he=3s-cut-p }
\end{aligned}
$$

ng-ulgarin
1-leave
ng-uigari-ny
1-l eave-p
'l left'
'। leave'
left'
'he cut it'
'he cut it'

Stems ending in -ing lose the stem final -nd and add the past tense
ix -ny. suffix -ny.

## ang-marrajbang

'I'm walking'
l-walk

> ang-marrajba-ny
'l walked'
l-walk-p
ng-urldung
'/'m bogged'
1-be=bogged
ng-urldu-ny
'I was bogged'
1 -be=bogged-p

Stems ending in a vowel add the past tense suffix -ny.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { ri-ldari } \\
\text { he=3s-put=in } & \text { 'he's putting it inside' }
\end{array}
$$

ri-ldari-ny
he=3s-put=in-p
ri-wunya
he=3s-cook
ri-wunya-ny
he=3s-cook-p
ng-angiru
l-get=in
'he put it inside'
'he's cooking it'
'he cooked it'
'l'm getting in (car)'
' 1 got in (car)'
ng-angiru-ny
$1-\mathrm{get}=\mathrm{in}-\mathrm{p}$

Some stems in this class form the past tense by a change in the ent 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 $-\underline{n}$ adds $\underline{i}$ to the stem before adding -ny fo past or completed action.
ng-artan
l-swim $\quad$ 'l swim'
ng-artani-ny
'l swam'
1-swim-p

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

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { ri-ngulda } \\
\text { he=3s-make } & \text { 'he's making it' }
\end{array}
$$

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

ri-walgarrang
he=3s-hang=up
'he's hanging it up'
ri-walgarri-ny
'he hung it up'
he $=3 \mathrm{~s}$ - thang $=u p-p$

A group of stems ending in -ga or -gi change the $g$ to $\mathcal{j}$ and the final stem vowel to $i$ and then add -ny for past tense.
nga-ldagbalwarrgi
'I'm shopping'
I-buy
ri-walgarrang
he $=3 \mathrm{~s}$-hang=up
ri-walgarri-ny 'he hung it up'
he $=3 \mathrm{~s}$-thang=up-p
ard-aya-ng
'। saw him'
I=3s-see-p
aw-ugun
'/'m giving it to him'
$1=3 \mathrm{~s}-\mathrm{give}$
aw-ugu-ng
$1=3 s-g$ ive-p
ng-urtiyin
'l gave it to him'
l-get=wet
'l'm taking a bath'
'I had a bath'
ng-urtiyi-rig
l-get=wet-p

Stems ending in a vowel add the past tense suffix -ng.
nga-wani
'/'m staying'
I-stay
nga-wani-ng
1-stay-p
a-buni
$1=3 s-h i+$
a-buni-ng
'। hit him'
$1=3 s-h i t-p$
ng-artganyu
'/'m carrying him in my arms'
l-carry=in=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 $\underline{u}$, 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 $-\underline{n g}$ for past tense.

```
a-birradbi
'/'m kneading it'
\(1=3 s-k n e a d\)
        F
```

a-birradbu-ng
'1 kneaded it'
$1=3 s-k n e a d-p$
a-rigi
'/'m carrying it on my head'
$1=3 s$-carry=on=head
$a-r i g u-n g$
$1=3 s-$ carry=on=head $-p$
'I carried it on my head'

There are two verb stems ending in an where the past tense is formed by changing the $a$ to $\underline{u}$, losing the stem final nasal and adding -ng.
a-winggan
$3 p$-arrive
a-winggu-ng
$3 p-a r r i v e-p$
aw-arjanggan
'I soak it'
$1=3 \mathrm{~s}-$ soak
'they arrive'
'they arrived'
$3 p-a r r i v e-p$
aw-arjanggan
'I soak it'

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { aw-arjanggu-ng } \\
1=3 \text { s-soak-p } & \text { 'l soaked it' }
\end{array}
$$

2.1.1.3 CLASS 3: STEMS THAT TAKE -

Vowel final stems only add the past tense suffix -n.
nga-Idimbarni
$1-s i \dagger=$ down
nga-ldimbarni-n
I-sit=down-p
aw-udba

$$
1=3 s-p u t=\text { down }
$$

aw-udba-n
'I put it down'
$1=3 \mathrm{~s}-$ 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
$1=3 s-s h o o=$ away
a-bularrung
$1=3 s-f i n i s h$
aw-artunyman
$1=3 \mathrm{~s}-\mathrm{miss}$
'I'm shooing him away' or
'I shooed him gway':
'/'ve finished it'
'1 missed i+'

### 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 $-\underline{n}$,
-ngun or -nggu for stems ending in -a, and
-ngan for stems ending in -i or -u.
aw-ardban
1/ boil it'
l=3s-boil
aw-ardban-dung
l=3s-boil-p=cont
a-gulda
1=3s-make
a-gulda-ngun
$1=3 s-$ make $-p=$ con $t$
anggu-marrajba
$3=$ pers-walk
anggu-marrajba-nggu
$3=$ pers-walk-p=cont
a-wan i
3p-stay
a-wani-ngan
$3 p-$ stay- $p=$ cont $\dagger$
'they walk'
'they stay'
'I used to boil it' or 'l was boiling it'
'I make it'
'I used to make it' or 'i was making it'
'they were walking' or 'they used to walk'
'they were staying' or 'they used to stay'

One verb has been found which distinguishes three aspects in the past tense - completed, continuous, and habitual.
bu-man
'they get it'
$3 p=3 s-g e t$
bu-ma-ny
'they got it'
$3 p=3 s-g e t-p$
bu-ma-ngun
$3 p=3 \mathrm{~s}-\mathrm{get} \mathrm{t}$ - $=$ con $\dagger$
bu-man-dung
'they used to get it'
$3 p=3 s-g e t-p=h a b i t$

### 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 pas and -jing for optative.

The most common form of the optative is class a.
Examples of class 1:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { aw-ugun } \\
i=3 s \text {-give } & \text { 'l give it to him' }
\end{array}
$$

aw-ugu
I=3s-give(opt)
'I want to give it to him'
$g$-an-ugu
$2 s=3 s$-imper-give(opt)
nga-ani
1-stay
ang-ana-wan i
$2 s$-imper-stay

Examples of class b:
ard-aya-ng
$1=3 s-$ see $-p$
ard-ayan-jing
$1=3 s-$ see-opt
g-an-ayan-jing
$2 s=3 s-$ imper-see-op $\dagger$
aw-ugi
I=3s-show
aw-uji-ny
$1=3 \mathrm{~s}-$ show - p
aw-ugi-ny
$1=3$ s-show-opt
'Stay!'
'Give it to him!'
'I am staying'
'I want to stay' (identical in form with present tense)
'I saw it'
'I want to see it'
'Look at it!'
'I am showing it'
'। showed it'
'I want to show it'
g-an-ugi-ny
$2 s=3 s-i m p e r-s h o w-o p t$

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

> nga-marrgbunggun 'I am running'
> I-run
nga-marrgbun-jing
'I want to run'
1-run-opt

### 2.2.2 FRUSTRATIVE

The frustrative suffix is used only with the free form adverb (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 $-\underline{n g}$ for past and -di for frustrative.

All vowe 1 final stems are class i.
Examples of class $i$ :
ng-ambijan
I-laugh
maju ng-an-ambijan-a 'I was going to laugh (but I didny
intent l-imper-laugh-frust

When a stem ends in un, the -a (frust) becomes -i.
aw-ugun
'l give it to him'
$1=3 s-g i v e$
maju an-ugun-i
intent $1=3 s=$ imper-give-frust
'I was going to give it to him (but l 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'

$$
1=3 \mathrm{~s}-\text { show }
$$

$$
v
$$

```
maju an-ug-a
'। was going to show him (but I
intent \(1=3\) s=imper-show-frust didn't)'
```

Examples of class ii:

```
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 । intent l-imper-get=in=car-frust didn't)'
a-jurrgba-ng

1) planted it'
$l=3 s-p \operatorname{lant}-p$
maju ana-yurrgban-di
intent $1=3 s=i m p e r-p l a n t-f r u s t$
' 1 was going to plant it (but 1 didn't)'

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

- maju ana-ma-nyi
intent $1=3 s=$ imper-take-frust
or
maju ana-man-di
intent $1=3 s=i m p e r-t a k e-f r u s t$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 'I was going to take it (but I } \\
& \text { didn't)' }
\end{aligned}
$$

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-Idalgan
they $=3$ s-ask
becomes

$$
a-\mid d a l g a n-j i l d i n
$$

they-ask-recip
b-ugun 'they give it to him'
they=3s-give
becomes
a-gun-jildin
they-give-recip
b -ardban
they=3s-boil
becomes
a-rdban-jildin
they=boil-recip
bu-Idalgun
they=3s-cut
becomes
a-Idalgun-jildin
they-cut-recip
'they ask him'
'they have a meeting' (lit. 'ask each other')
'they share'
'they boil it'
'they meet'
(lit. 'boil tog'ther')
'they cut it'
'they fight with spears'
(lit. 'cut each other')
b-ajugun
they=3s-wait=for
becomes
a-jugun-jildin
they-wait=for-recip
b-ayan
they $=35-$ see
becomes
a-yan-jildin
they-see-recip
'they join up together'
(lit. 'they wait for each other')
'they see him'
'sweethearts'
(1it. '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 $-\underline{n}$ (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) -jing (optative).

Frustrative classes:
i. Stems which take -a (frustrative).
ii. Stems which take -ny (past) and -nyi (frustrative); and steril 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 wun- (dual). Future tense and imperative will considered in this section. (See Section 5.2, page 102 for dual prefil

The second order prefix, person-number, is obligatory. In intrant tive verbs the prefix shows person and number of the subject, in trans tive verbs person and number of both subject and object. This can be divided into two sub-categories: non-directional petson-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 prefiz is obligatory itwill 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 explan ation.

# 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


[^0]:    'Noah was 600 years old when the flood came'

