WORK PAPERS OF SIL - AAB

Series A Volume 2

PAPERS ON IWAIĐJA PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

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Summer Institute of Linguistics
Australian Aborigines Branch
Darwin
April 1979
PREFACE

These Work Papers are being produced in two series by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines Branch, Inc. in order to make results of SIL research in Australia more widely available. Series A includes technical papers on linguistic or anthropological analysis and description, or on literacy research. Series B contains material suitable for a broader audience, including the lay audience for which it is often designed, such as language learning lessons and dictionaries.

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Australia

G. L. Hutter
Series Editor
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 Marganella 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. Hutter for their consultant help.

Noreen Pym
Bonnie M. Larrimore
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to Series A Volume 2</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## PART I: PHONOLOGY

### THE PHONEMES OF IWAILDA

1. The Phoneme
   1.1 Consonants
      - Stops and Fricative
      - Nasals
      - Laterals
      - Rhotics and Semi-Consonants
   1.2 Vowels

2. Distribution
   2.1 The Syllable
   2.2 The Phoneme
      - In the Word
      - In the Syllable
      - Across Syllable Boundaries

### AN ANALYSIS OF DISCOURSE PHONOLOGY

0. Introduction
1. Purpose
2. Detailed Analysis
   2.1 Discussion of Levels
2.1.1 Level 1 - The Discourse 11
2.1.2 Level 2 - The Phonological Paragraph 12
2.1.3 Level 3 - The Phonological Sentence 13
2.1.4 Level 4 - The Phonological Clause 13
2.1.5 Level 5 - The Phonological Phrase 16
2.1.6 Level 6 - The Phonological Word 18
2.1.7 Level 7 - The Syllable 19
2.1.8 Lengthened Vowels 20

2.2 Summary of Levels 20

3. Corpus of Data 22

PART II: GRAMMAR

Orthographic Symbols Used 43

IWAIDJA WORDS 45

0. Introduction 45
1. Pronouns 45
2. Conjunctions 47
3. Demonstratives 51
4. Temporals and Locationals 52
5. Adverbs \ 53
6. Pre- and Post- Positions 53
7. Interrogatives 54
8. Exclamations 55
9. Nouns 56
   9.1 Noun Types 56
   9.2 'to be' or not 'to be'? 59
   9.3 Reduplicated Forms 60
   9.4 Nouns With Irregular Plurals 61
10. Adjectives 61
    10.1 Adjective Types 62
    10.2 Adjectives With irregular Plurals 63
11. Negatives 63
12. Verbs 64
THE IWAILDA VERB SYSTEM: A DESCRIPTION
(Co-authored with Bonnie M. Larrimore)

List of Tables
0. Introduction 65
1. The Stem 65
2. Suffixation 65
2.1 Tense-Aspect 65
2.1.1 The Past Tense 66
2.1.1.1 Class 1: Stems That Take -ny 66
For Past Tense
2.1.1.2 Class 2: Stems That Take -ng 69
For Past Tense
2.1.1.3 Class 3: Stems That Take -n 72
For Past Tense
2.1.1.4 Class 4: Stems Which Do Not
Change for Past Tense 72
2.1.2 Aspect Distinguished in the Past Tense 73
2.2 Mood 74
2.2.1 Optative 74
2.2.2 Frustrative 76
2.3 Reciprocal 78
2.4 Summary of Verb Stem Classification by Suffixation 79
3. Prefixation 80
3.0.1 Kinds of Prefixation 80
3.0.2 Tables 80
3.0.3 Consonant Addition to Prefix With Vowel Initial Stems 81
3.1 Person-Number Prefixation 83
3.1.1 The Intransitive System 83
3.1.2 The Transitive System 85
3.1.2.1 Gender 87
3.1.2.2 Ditransitive Verbs 88
3.1.3 The ang- and mam- Systems 88
3.1.3.1 ang- Verbs 89
3.1.3.2 mam- Verbs 90
3.1.4 Stems Taking More Than One Person-Number
Prefixing System 91
3.1.5 Direction Prefixes 92
3.2 First Order Prefixes
   3.2.1 The Future Tense Morpheme mana-
   3.2.2 The Imperative Prefix ana-
4. Combinations of Prefixes and Suffixes
   4.1 The Imperative Mood
      4.1.1 Positive Imperatives
      4.1.2 Negative Imperatives
5. Other Affixation
   5.1 Repetition
   5.2 Duals
6. Compounding
7. Verbalization of Adjectives
8. Morphophonemic Changes
9. An Alternative Analysis of Transitive Person-Number Prefixation
   9.1 Transitive Subject and Object Prefixes
   9.2 Order of Prefixes
   9.3 Morphophonemic Changes
   9.4 Comparison Prefixes
   9.5 Transitive Direction Prefixes
10. Conclusion
11. Appendices
   11.1 Paradigms of Intransitive Verbs
      11.1.1 Verb Stems Beginning With a Vowel
      11.1.2 Verb Stems Beginning With lD
      11.1.3 Verb Stems Beginning With m
      11.1.4 Verb Stems Beginning With ng
      11.1.5 Verb Stems Beginning With w
      11.1.6 Verb Stems Beginning With y
      11.1.7 Future Tense of Verbs With Stems Beginning
            With m, ng, w or y
   11.2 Paradigms of Transitive Verbs
      11.2.1 Verb Stems Beginning With a Vowel
      11.2.2 Verb Stems Beginning With lD
      11.2.3 Verb Stems Beginning With m
      11.2.4 Verb Stems Beginning With ng
      11.2.5 Verb Stems Beginning With w
      11.2.6 Verb Stems Beginning With y
      11.2.7 Future Tense of Verbs With Stems Beginning
            With m, ng, w, y or a Vowel
      11.2.8 Future Tense of Verbs With Stems Beginning
            With lD
11.3 Paradigms of mam- Verbs
   11.3.1 Verb Stems Beginning With a Vowel
   11.3.2 Verb Stems Beginning With m
11.4 Paradigms of ang- Verbs
   11.4.1 Verb Stems Beginning With a Vowel
   11.4.2 Verb Stems Beginning With ld
   11.4.3 The Verb Idarnagam 'prod, stab'
   11.4.4 Verb Stems Beginning With m
   11.4.5 Verb StemsBeginning With ng
   11.4.6 Verb Stems Beginning With w
   11.4.7 Verb Stems Beginning With y
   11.5 The Irregular Verb ngl 'carry on head'

IWAIDJA PHRASES

Preface
0. Introduction
1. Noun Phrases
   1.1 Head-Modifier Phrases
   1.2 Possessive Phrases
   1.3 Semantically Determined Phrases
   1.4 Phrases Requiring Context Clues
2. Verb Phrases
3. Relator-Axis Phrases
4. Series of Phrases
   4.1 Lists
   4.2 Phrases Joined by lda 'and'
   4.3 Juxtaposed Phrases
   4.4 Series Containing Both Co-ordination
          and Apposition
5. Discontinuous Phrases
6. Conclusion

AN IWAIDJA NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

0. Introduction
1. Method
2. Description of Narrative Structure
2.1 Participants 
2.2 Sequence of Events 
2.3 Grammatical Markers 
2.4 Other Features Noted 
2.5 Intonational Features 
2.6 Simultaneous Events 
2.7 Outline of Narrative 
2.8 Changes in Word Order 

3. Conclusions 

4. Text of Narrative 
   4.1 Text With Morpheme by Morpheme Gloss 
   4.2 Text With Hypothesised Sentence and Paragraph Breaks 

PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE IN IWAIDJA 

0. Introduction 

1. Procedural Discourse 
   1.1 Aboriginal Procedural Discourse 
   1.2 IwaIdja Procedural Discourse 

2. Outline of Texts 
   2.0 Introduction 
   2.1 Text Outlines 
   2.2 Discussion of Outlines 

3. Paragraphs and Sentences 

4. Particles 

5. Conclusions 

6. Corpus of Texts 
   Text no. 1. 
   Text no. 2. 
   Text no. 3. 
   Text no. 4. 
   Text no. 5. 
   Text no. 6. 
   Text no. 7. 
   Text no. 8. 
   Text no. 9. 
   Text no. 10. 

Bibliography
ABBREVIATIONS

accomp
adj
adv
b.
Ben
C
Cl
C1, C2, ...
comp
con
du
emph/(emph)
exc/ex
fem
fut
H
(IF)
imper
inc/in
interrog
(io) / (IO) / Ind Obj
IV
lit
M
m.
N
n / (n)
neg

accompaniment
adjective
adverb
brother
Benefactive
any Consonant
Clause
Clause 1, Clause 2, ...
completed action
continuity
dual
emphasis
exclusive
female
future
Head
Indefinite Future
Imperative
inclusive
interrogative
Indirect Object
Intransitive Verb
literally
Modifier
mother
any Nasal
noun
negative
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(NIF)</td>
<td>Negated Indefinite Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>num</td>
<td>numeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p=cont/p cont</td>
<td>continuous or habitual past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p=habit</td>
<td>habitual past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poss</td>
<td>Possessor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>Possessive Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quest</td>
<td>question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAP</td>
<td>Relator Axis Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R#</td>
<td>break between rhythmic groups when not at word break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recip</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rep</td>
<td>repetitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1, S2, ...</td>
<td>Sentence 1, Sentence 2, ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s/sing</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(SP) / Seq of part</td>
<td>Sequence of Participant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subj</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>Transitive Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>any Vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veg</td>
<td>vegetable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>1st person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>1st person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>2nd person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>2nd person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>3rd person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>3rd person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3=pers</td>
<td>3rd person, singular or plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/</td>
<td>or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>//</td>
<td>intonational pause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>break between morphemes in Iwaidja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

xiv
break between word in English but one morpheme in Iwaidja
which is (i.e. H:C1 the head which is a clause)
paragraph
phonological phrase, rhythmic group
phonological word
pauses (shortest to longest)
heaviest stress
next heaviest stress
third degree of stress
syllable break
the phoneme b
the phone b
is interpreted as / is realised as
end of text
PART I: PHONOLOGY

THE PHONEMES OF IWAILDA

AN ANALYSIS OF DISCOURSE PHONOLOGY
THE PHONEMES OF IWADJA

1. THE PHONEME

Iwaidja has 20 consonants and 3 vowels.

The consonants consist of 5 stops, 1 fricative, 5 nasals, 4 laterals, 3 rhotics (r-sounds), and two semi-consonants. The active articulators are the tongue tip for the apico-alveolar and retroflexed series, and the tongue blade for the lamino-palatal series.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Apico-Alveolar</th>
<th>Lamino-Palatal</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Flap</td>
<td>Flap</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhotic</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>ř</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-Consonant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowels contrast as to front, central and back tongue positions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1 CONSONANTS

Stops and Fricative.

Stops tend to vary from voiced to voiceless in all positions but the voiced form is more common. Aspiration can occur on the voiceless variants in word initial and final positions. Stops are often voiceless and unreleased before another stop. The fricative is usually lenis.

The retroflexed stop is found medially and finally. All other stops are found initially, medially and finally. The fricative is found only medially.
Contrasts can be seen in the following sets of examples:

Word initial: /buʁaŋ/  'big'
    /duwa/  'just'
    /guʁa/  'paper'
    /guwa/  'true'

Word medial: /babam/  'father\'s mother'
    /galadaŋ/  'flower'
    /galaŋeŋ/  'ear'
    /maŋan/  'edible grub'
    /galagarag/  'fish spear'
    /mulaga/  'hermit crab'

Word final: /glmugbab/  'place name'
    /menqulunbad/  'sawdust'
    /ubag/  'fresh water'
    /ylıʁwaŋbaŋ/  'taliŋan'
    /maŋjawag/  'knife'

Nasals.

The retroflexed nasal is found medially and finally. All other nasals are found initially, medially and finally.

Contrasts can be seen in the following sets of examples:

Word initial: /magamaga/  'father\'s sister'
    /naŋl/  'dog'
    /ńa/  'here, take it'
    /ńaŋl/  'I'

Word medial: /gulumagan/  'hip'
    /gunag/  'arm'
    /wuñaŋ/  'bad cold'
    /guŋag/  'name'
    /guŋaŋ/  'smoke'

Word final: /wilam/  'bark canoe'
    /buʁan/ 'from'
/malaŋ/ ‘why?’
/yiŋŋ/ ‘mangrove’
/buŋŋ/ ‘big’

Laterals.

The alveolar lateral and the alveolar lateral flap are found word initially. All laterals are found medially, but only the alveolar lateral and the retroflexed lateral are found finally.

Contrasts can be seen in the following sets of examples:

Word initial: /läma/ ‘shovel nose spear’
/lä/ ‘and’

Word medial: /galugu/ ‘coconut’
/ga̠lugaŋin/ ‘she recompenses’
/ga̠lu/ ‘no’
/ga̠luŋ/ ‘meat’
/guŋambaŋ/ ‘house’
/guŋambaŋ/ ‘your(pl) armpits’

Word final: /aqbal/ ‘hair’
/mayubaŋ/ ‘yam type’

Rhotics and Semi-Consonants.

Only the retroflexed rhotic, /r/, occurs word initially, all rhotics occur medially and only the apico-alveolar rhotic occurs finally. The semi-consonants occur only syllable initial.

Contrasts can be seen in the following sets of examples:

Rhotics.

Word initial: /aŋ/ ‘his cheek’

Word medial: /maŋŋ/ ‘cabbage palm’
/mar̩u/ ‘who?’
/mär̩uŋ/ ‘bandicoot’

Word final: /galgbiŋ/ ‘shell’
Semi-Consonants.

Word initial: /wilga/  
   /yilgi/ 'tree type' 
   /u/ 'place name' 

Word medial: /guwa/ 
   /guyag/ 'true' 
   /sick' 

1.2 VOWELS

The three vowels contrast as shown in the following sets of examples:

Word initial: /iʃall/ 
   /aʃabajj/ 'star fish' 
   /uəgag/ 'tick killer' 
   /u/ 'place name' 

Word medial: /gindi/ 'how?' 
   /gandagiŋ/ 'kangaroo' 
   /gundaman/ 'frill neck lizard'

Word final: /gani/ 
   /gama/ 'here' 
   /gamu/ 'big toe' 
   /gama/ 'mother'

The allophones of each vowel, together with a phonetic description, are as follows:

/i/ [ɨː] Lengthened voiced high close front unrounded vowel. Occurs before lamino-palatals. /wagiŋ/ [wagiŋ] 'finger nail'

[i] Voiced high close front unrounded vowel. Occurs in all other vowel positions. /giŋi/ [gigi] 'tooth'

[e] Voiced mid close front unrounded vowel. Occurs only word initial and is rare. /iːː [eː] [eː] 'yes' 

/a/ [a] Voiced vowel gliding from low close central to high front position. Occurs before lamino-palatals. /maŋiŋ/ [maŋiŋ] 'sun'

[a] Voiced low close front unrounded vowel. Occurs following lamino-palatals except utterance final, in fluctuation with [a]. /maŋan/ [maŋan] 'I came'

[a] Voiced vowel gliding from low close central to high back position. Occurs preceding /w/ in fluctuation with [a]. /maŋan/ [maŋan] 'water lily'

/a VC.

//
Voiced low close central unrounded vowel. Occurs in all other vowel positions. /abanaman/ [abanaman] 'they'll bring it'

/u/ [u] Voiced vowel gliding from high back to high front position. Occurs preceding lamino-palatals. /guŋguŋ/ [guŋguŋ] 'white ochre'

[o] Voiced mid close back rounded vowel. Occurs following velars in fluctuation with [u]. /ŋuguŋ/ [ŋuguŋ] 'owl type'

[u] Voiced high open back rounded vowel. Occurs in all other vowel positions. /ulubulu/ [ulubulu] 'mother's brother'

2. DISTRIBUTION

2.1 THE SYLLABLE:

There are five syllable types in Ilwalda which are distributed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word Initial</th>
<th>Word Medial</th>
<th>Word Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>CV</td>
<td>CV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>CV</td>
<td>CV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>CVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>CVCC</td>
<td>CVCC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except in reduplicated words, two CVCC syllables cannot occur in any one word. There is no restriction on CV or CVC syllables.

Two and three syllable words are the most common. Four and five syllable words are quite common. The few one syllable words are all in common everyday use. The longest word found is eight syllables.

/gad.ba.ºag.ºu.ºlag.ºba.ºn.ºém.ºín/ 'we'll discuss it'

Examples of syllable types are shown below:

V /e.ºli.ºq/ 'spear'
VC /ºal.ºba/ 'play'
CV
/ba/  'that'
/na.yi/  'dog'
/gu.ga.li/  'fire'
/ma.ga.mu.li.ka/  'tree type'
CVC
/gai/  'kurrajong tree'
/ban.bai/  'flat'
/gan.bug.bin/  'sunset'
/mam.bad.bun.gun/  'he opened it'
CVCC
/muiq/  'fly(insect)'
/malq.ga/  'quail'
/gu.γam.balq/  'house'
/qal.maŋg.ban/  'I'm happy'

2.2 THE PHONEME

(i) In the word.

All vowels may occur in any position in the word.

In word initial position the following consonants do not occur:
/b/, /g/, /ŋ/, /l/, /l/, /ʃ/, /ʃ/.

In word final position the following consonants do not occur:
/b/, /l/, /l/, /r/, /ʃ/, /w/, /y/.

(ii) In the syllable.

Excepting as stated above, all consonants may occur as the initial C of a CV or CVC syllable, and all except /l/, /l/, /w/, /y/ and /g/ as the final C of a CVC syllable.

In the CVCC syllable, the initial C may be any consonant, but the fillers of the cluster are very restricted. Only /l/, /l/, /ʃ/ and /ʃ/ occur in the first position and only /g/ and /ŋ/ in the second. Thus the CVCC patterns are restricted to CV1g, CV1g, CV1ŋ, CV1ŋ and CV1ŋ. The patterns, CV1ŋ, CV1ŋ and CV1ŋ have not yet been found.
(iii) Across syllable boundaries.

The CC clusters found to occur across syllable boundaries are shown in the table below. The CCC clusters are /lgb/, /ggb/, /rgb/, /rgb/ and /rng/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>b</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>q</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>ŋ</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>ŋ</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>ŋ</th>
<th>ŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>db</td>
<td>dm</td>
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