WORK PAPERS OF SIL–AAB

Series A Volume 2

PAPERS ON IWAILDA PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

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Summer Institute of Linguistics
Australian Aborigines Branch
Darwin
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PREFACE

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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. Hutter for their consultant help.

Noreen Pym
Bonnie M. Larrimore
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\item paragraph
\item phonological phrase, rhythmic group
\item phonological word
\item pauses (shortest to longest)
\item heaviest stress
\item next heaviest stress
\item third degree of stress
\item syllable break
\item the phoneme $b$
\item the phone $b$
\item is interpreted as / is realised as
\end{itemize}

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THE IWAIĐJA 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: anq-, 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 id-, 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 id-, 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.

\[
a\text{-rig}l \quad \text{guj}a\text{i} \\
1=3\text{s-carry}=\text{on}=\text{shoulder} \quad \text{firewood}
\]

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 \(-ny\).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ri-ladal} & \text{gan} & '\text{he's asking him'} \\
\text{he}=3\text{s-ask} & \\
\text{ri-lalga-ny} & '\text{he asked him'} \\
\text{he}=3\text{s-ask-p} & 
\end{align*}
\]
ri-ldalgun
he=3s-cut

'he's cutting it'

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

'he cut it'

ng-ulgarin
l-leave

'I leave'

ng-ulgar-ny
l-leave-p

'I left'

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

ang-marrajbang
l-walk

'I'm walking'

ang-marrajba-ny
l-walk-p

'I walked'

ng-urldu
l-be=bogged

'I'm bogged'

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

'I was bogged'

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

ri-ldari
he=3s-put=in

'he's putting it inside'

67
ri-ldari-ny
he=3s-put=in-p

're put it inside'

ri-wunya
he=3s-cook

'he's cooking it'

ri-wunya-ny
he=3s-cook-p

'he cooked it'

ng-anglrů
l-get=in

'I'm getting in (car)'

ng-anglrů-ny
l-get=in-p

'I got in (car)'

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
l-swim

'I swim'

ng-artani-ny
l-swim-p

'I swam'

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.

ri-ngulda
he=3s-make

'he's making it'
ri-ngüldi-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 -gl change the g to j and the final stem vowel to i and then add -ny for past tense.
 nga-ldagbalwarrji
l-buy

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

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

aj-lrrjii-ny  'I speared it'
l=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'
l=3s-see
ard-aya-ng  'I saw him'
1=3s-see-p

aw-ugun  'I'm giving it to him'
1=3s-give

aw-ugu-ng  'I gave it to him'
1=3s-give-p

ng-urtiyin  'I'm taking a bath'
1=get=wet

ng-urtiyi-ng  'I had a bath'
1=get=wet-p

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

nga-wani  'I'm staying'
1=stay

nga-wani-ng  'I stayed'
1=stay-p

a-buni  'I'm hitting him'
1=3s-hit

a-buni-ng  'I hit him'
1=3s-hit-p

ng-artganyu  'I'm carrying him in my arms'
1=carry=in=arms
ng-artganyu-ng     'I carried him in my arms'
1-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'
1=3s-knead

a-birradbu-ng     'I kneaded it'
1=3s-knead-p

a-rigi     'I'm carrying it on my head'
1=3s-carry=on=head

a-rigu-ng     'I carried it on my head'
1=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-winggu-ng     'they arrived'
3p-arrive-p

aw-ar,janggan     'I soak it'
1=3s-soak
2.1.1.3 CLASS 3: STEMS THAT TAKE -n FOR PAST TENSE

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

nga-lidimbarni
1-sit=down

nga-lidimbarni-n
1-sit=down-p

aw-udba
1=3s-put=down

aw-udba-n
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 tense-aspect. Their form resembles the past tense form of other verbs, but context determines whether it is present or past.

aw-arldung
1=3s-shoo=away

'1'm shooing him away' or
'1 shooed him away'

a-bularrung
1=3s-finish

'I've finished it'

aw-artunyman
1=3s-miss

'I missed it'
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 -a,
- **-ngun** or **-nggu** for stems ending in -a, and
- **-ngan** for stems ending in -i or -u.

**aw-ardban**
1=3s-boil

'**I boil it**'

**aw-ardban-dung**
1=3s-boil-p=cont

'**I used to boil it**' or 'I was boiling it''

**a-gulda**
1=3s-make

'**I make it**'

**a-gulda-ngun**
1=3s-make-p=cont

'**I used to make it**' or 'I was making it''

**anggu-marrajba**
3=pers-walk

'**they walk**'

**anggu-marrajba-nggu**
3=pers-walk-p=cont

'**they were walking**' or 'they used to walk''

**a-wani**
3p-stay

'**they stay**'

**a-wani-ngan**
3p-stay-p=cont

'**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  
3p=3s-get

'get it'

bu-ma-ny  
3p=3s-get-p

'get it'

bu-ma-ngun  
3p=3s-get-p=cont

'getting it'

bu-man-dung  
3p=3s-get-p=habit

'used to get it'

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 also 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 ending 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 past and -jing for optative.

The most common form of the optative is class a.

Examples of class 1:

aw-ugun  
1=3s-give

'give it to him'
aw-u
1=3s-give(opt)
'I want to give it to him'

g-an-u
2s=3s-imper-give(opt)
'Give it to him!'

ng-a-wa
1-stay
'I am staying'
'I want to stay' (identical in form with present tense)

ang-an-a-wa
2s-imper-stay
'Stay!'

Examples of class b:

ard-a-ya-ang
1=3s-see-p
'I saw it'

ard-a-yan-jing
1=3s-see-opt
'I want to see it'

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

aw-u
1=3s-show
'I am showing it'

aw-uji-ny
1=3s-show-p
'I showed it'

aw-ugi-ny
1=3s-show-opt
'I want to show it'
g-an-ugi-ny     'Show it!
2s=3s-imper-show-opt

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

ng-a-marrgbunggun  'I am running'
l-run

ng-a-marrgbun-jing  'I want to run'
l-run-opt

2.2.2 FRUSTRATIVE

The frustrative suffix is used only with the free form adverb mahu
(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-ambiljan  'I laugh'
l-laugh

mahu  ng-an-ambiljan-a  'I was going to laugh (but I didn't)'
intent  l-imper-laugh-frust

When a stem ends in un, the -a (frust) becomes -i.

aw-ugun  'I give it to him'
l=3s-give
maju  an-ugun-i  'I was going to give it to him (but I didn't)'
intent 1=3s=imper-give-frust

e stem

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=3s-show

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

Examples of class ii:

ng-angiru-ny
l-get=in=car-p

maju  ng-an-angiru-nyi  'I was going to get in (but I didn't)'
intent 1=imper-get=in=car-frust

a-jurrgba-ng  'I planted it'
1=3s-plant-p

maju  ana-yurrban-di  'I was going to plant it (but I didn't)'
intent 1=3s=imper-plant-frust

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

maju  ana-ma-nyi  'I was going to take it (but I didn't)'
intent 1=3s=imper-take-frust

or

maju  ana-man-di  'I was going to take it (but I didn't)'
intent 1=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

'b-ldalgan
'they ask him'

a-ldalgan-jildin
they-ask-recip

' they have a meeting'
(lit. 'ask each other')

b-ugun
they=3s-give

'b-ugun
'they give it to him'

a-gun-jildin
they-give-recip

'they share'

b-ardban
they=3s-boil

'b-ardban
'they boil it'

a-ardban-jildin
they-boil-recip

'they meet'
(lit. 'boil together')

bu-ldalgun
they=3s-cut

'b-ldalgun
'they cut it'

a-ldalgun-jildin
they-cut-recip

'they fight with spears'
(lit. 'cut each other')
b-ajugun
they=3s-wait=for
'he waits for him'

becomes

a-ajugun-jildin
they-wait=for-recip
'he joins up together'
(lit. 'they wait for each other')

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

becomes

a-ayan-jildin
they-see-recip
'sweethearts'
(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
'he discusses'

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 -na (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 -jina (optative).

Frustrative classes:

i. Stems which take -a (frustrative).

ii. Stems which take -ny (past) and -nya (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 u- the added consonant is always w.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-bun</td>
<td>burreddrigun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l=3s-hit</td>
<td>3s=be=tired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I hit him'</td>
<td>'he/she is tired'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aw-udba</th>
<th>w-urraga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l=3s-put=down</td>
<td>3s=go=home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I put it down'</td>
<td>'he/she goes home'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

d-arr-yu
it-open
'it's open'

Some verbs take either \( w \) or \( r_d \).

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

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 \( r_d \). (Which one actually occurs is not predictable. It must be known for each verb.)

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

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

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

IV
binggan
3s=arrive
'he/she arrives'

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

a-\( r_d \)-irta
to-3s-return
'he/she comes back'
TV
aw-1bang
l=3s-split
't 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 nam- verbs, take the
same prefixes regardless of whether the verb is transitive or intransi-
tive.

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Verb Prefixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we inc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we exc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she/it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

ad-bani BUT arr-alidba
we-sit    we-listen
't we are sitting'    'we are listening'
Single syllable stems take a before K-. 

bani  \hspace{1cm} BUT \hspace{1cm} obin
3s=sit \hspace{1cm} 'he/she sits' \hspace{1cm} 3s=say \hspace{1cm} 'he/she says'

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

adjective: ng-allii  
\hspace{1cm} 'I am bad'
i-bad

body parts: ng-eduli 
\hspace{1cm} 'my foot'
l-foot

ang-guli  
\hspace{1cm} 'your foot'
2s-foot

ruli  
\hspace{1cm} 'his, her, its foot'
3s=foot

noun: ang-gijumartan 
\hspace{1cm} 'you, the baby'
2s-baby

verbs: nga-wani 
\hspace{1cm} 'I sit, I am sitting'
l-sit

nga-lliba nuwung  
\hspace{1cm} 'I hear you, I am hearing you'
l-hear \hspace{1cm} 2s=(10)

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

w-arrganyu nuwung  
\hspace{1cm} 'she's carrying you in her arms'
3s-carry=\text{in}=arms \hspace{1cm} 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>me</th>
<th>us</th>
<th>you s</th>
<th>you pl</th>
<th>him/her</th>
<th>them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gun-1</td>
<td></td>
<td>ak-2</td>
<td>ayun-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we inc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>arruK-2,3</td>
<td>abun-1,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we exc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngarruK-2,3</td>
<td>ngadun-1,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s</td>
<td>yan-1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gak-2</td>
<td>angmun-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl</td>
<td>yarruN-1,3,6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>guerruK-2,3</td>
<td>gudun-1,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ri-</td>
<td>ani-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td>nganbu-4</td>
<td>arruNbu-3,4,6</td>
<td>gunbu-4</td>
<td>guerruNbu-3,4,6</td>
<td>ga-</td>
<td>anngu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bu-</td>
<td>anbu-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Lwaidja 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

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

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

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

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3.1.2.2 DITRANSITIVE VERBS

An ordinary transitive verb marks the direct object in the prefix and has a free form pronoun for the indirect object.

\begin{align*}
\text{gun-dangan} & \quad \text{'I'm sending you'} \\
1=2s-\text{send} & \\
\text{a-rangan nuwung} & \quad \text{'I'm sending it to you'} \\
1=3s-\text{send} & \quad 2s=(10)
\end{align*}

Ditransitive verbs follow this system of person-number prefixation, but the object marked in the prefix is the indirect, not the direct object.

\begin{align*}
\text{gun-ugun} & \quad \text{'I'm giving it to you'} \\
1=2s-\text{give} & \\
\text{ang-ngugl} & \quad \text{'she's showing it to them'} \\
\text{she}=3p-\text{show}
\end{align*}

3.1.3 THE ang- AND mam- SYSTEMS

Here, in the lwaidja ang- and mam- verbs, are to be found the only resemblances to the noun classifying system of the related language, Maung. There is a resemblance in form between lwaidja ang- verbs and Maung verbs with a class 4 object. In Maung, class 4 nouns are 'ground', objects connected with 'ground', and abstract ideas. There is a marked correlation between the general meaning of this class and lwaidja ang- verbs.

There is also a resemblance in form between lwaidja mam- verbs and Maung verbs with a class 5 object.

Class 5 nouns in Maung are trees and objects connected with wood, but there does not seem to be any semantic correlation with lwaidja mam- verbs. (See Capell, A. and H. E. Hinch. 1970:50,51.)

ang- verbs are more common than mam- verbs.
3.1.3.1 ang- VERBS

There appears to be a relationship between the ang- prefix and 'earth' or 'ground'. Some of the verbs which take ang- have meanings directly associated with the ground: 'take a short cut', 'collect water', 'swipe', 'live on land', 'dig', 'make cement', 'walk', 'go hunting'; while others have no such association: 'make a noise', 'think', 'tell a story', 'stir', 'want', 'eat', 'drink', 'breathe'.

The prefixes are shown in Table 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person-Number Prefixes for ang- Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she/they</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A transitive ang- verb with an object which is not third person singular takes the normal transitive person-number prefixation.

Examples:

an-jawun  'I dig'
1-dig

angbu-yawun  'he/she/they dig'
3-pers-dig

One instance has been noted of ang- being attached to the verb -ayan 'to see' (a regular transitive) when it was used of looking at the ground. Men in a circling plane were described as

ang-b-ayan  'they're looking at the ground'
ground-3p-see

For more examples see Section 11.4, Paradigms of ang- Verbs.
3.1.3.2 **mam-** VERBS

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

- **amarrun** 'to eat meat'
- **awungmiri** 'to keep away'
- **awurrurdan** 'to lead on a rope'

Three have stems beginning with **m**:

- **madbalang** 'to open'
- **madbunggu** 'to open'
- **mirrguran** 'to close'

The prefixes are shown in Table 4.

**TABLE 4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person-Number Prefixes for <strong>mam-</strong> Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she/they</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **any-amarrun** 'I eat meat'
- **l-eat=meat**
- **mambu-marrun** 'he/she/they eat meat'
- **3pers-eat=meat**

90
any-mirrguran   'I close it'
1-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'
    1-try

transitive prefix:
    aw-unma          'I count'
    1=3s=count

ang- prefix:
    ang-unma        'I tell a story'
    1-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.)
transitive prefix:

a-buni
l=3s-hit

'in hit him'

intransitive prefix:

nga-muni (ngayirrag)
l-hit (myself)

'in hit myself'

transitive prefix:

arru-balgba-ny
we=3s-take=out-p

'we brought it outside'

intransitive prefix:

ad-balgba-ny
wo-take=out-p

'we came outside' (lit. 'we took ourselves outside')

3.1.5 DIRECTION PREFIXES

Some verbs, mostly verbs of motion, may take a prefix indicating motion to or away from the speaker.

In intransitive verbs this is a portmanteau prefix showing both direction of motion and subject and replaces the subject prefix.

Table 5 on the following page shows the direction-subject prefixes for intransitive verbs.
### TABLE 5
Intransitive Direction-Subject Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no direction prefix</th>
<th>'towards'</th>
<th>'away'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>nga-</td>
<td>nya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we inc</td>
<td>arruK-</td>
<td>arruK-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we exc</td>
<td>ngarruK-</td>
<td>nyarruK-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s</td>
<td>ang-1</td>
<td>yuwu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl</td>
<td>gurruruk-</td>
<td>yuwurruruk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she</td>
<td>k-2,88</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>a-7</td>
<td>ayuwu-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ijb- before a vowel initial stem, ijuwu- elsewhere.

Examples:

- a-ra
- 3p-go
- ijb-ara
- away=3p-go
- ayuw-ara
- to=3p-go
- a-malgban
- 3p-go=out
- ijuwu-malgban
- away=3p-go=out

'they go, are going'
'they go, are going away'
'they come, are coming'
'they move outside'
'they go, are going outside'
ayuwu-malgban  '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=ls  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=i=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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>me</th>
<th>us</th>
<th>you s</th>
<th>you pl</th>
<th>him/her</th>
<th>them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yuwun-1</td>
<td></td>
<td>nyak-2</td>
<td>nyayun-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we inc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yuwurrun-1,3,6</td>
<td>nyarruk-2,3</td>
<td>nyadbun-1,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we ex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yuwuk-2</td>
<td>yuwubun-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yuwurruk-2,3</td>
<td>yuwudbun-1,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ari-</td>
<td>ayuwuni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td>nyonbu-4</td>
<td>nyarrunb-3,4,6</td>
<td>yuwunbu-4</td>
<td>yuwurrub-3,4,6</td>
<td>aga-</td>
<td>ayuwunng-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>abu-</td>
<td>ayuwunbu-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>me</td>
<td>us</td>
<td>you s</td>
<td>you pl</td>
<td>him/her</td>
<td>them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jak-2</td>
<td>jayun-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we inc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jarruk-2,3</td>
<td>jadbu-1,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we ex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yaga-2</td>
<td>yangbu-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yunggurrk-2,3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yari-</td>
<td>ijuwuni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yaga-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yabu-</td>
<td>ijuwunbu-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8 shows the intransitive person-number prefixes with future tense.

TABLE 8
Intransitive Verb Prefixes with mana- (future)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-directional</th>
<th>'towards'</th>
<th>'away'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>ng-ana-</td>
<td>ny-ana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>ad-bana-</td>
<td>nyad-bana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we exc</td>
<td>ngad-bana-</td>
<td>yuwa-bana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s</td>
<td>ang-mana-</td>
<td>yuwar-bana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl</td>
<td>guj-bana-</td>
<td>yuwa-bana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>bana-</td>
<td>a-bana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td>bana-</td>
<td>a-bana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>ana-</td>
<td>ayu-na-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 shows the non-directional transitive prefixes with future tense.

Examples:
ang-mana-wani  'you (s) will stay'
2s-fut-stay

a-bana-yalman  'I'll look for it'
1=3s-fut-hunt

When mana- (future) is used (See Tables 8 and 9.) the order of prefixation can be seen, and it is here that the particular difficulty with this analysis arises. Where either the subject or object (or both) are first or second person the order of prefixes is the same as for the intransitive verb:

person-number prefix + mana- + stem

ayun-mana-wun  'I'll hit them'
1=3p-fut-hit
## TABLE 9

Transitive Prefixes with *mana-* (future)\(^5\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>me</th>
<th>us</th>
<th>you s</th>
<th>you pl</th>
<th>him/her</th>
<th>them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gunmana-</td>
<td></td>
<td>abana-(^2)</td>
<td>ayunmana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we inc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gurrumana-</td>
<td></td>
<td>arrubana-(^2)</td>
<td>adbunbana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we exc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngarrubana-(^2)</td>
<td>ngadunbana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s</td>
<td>yanmana-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gabana-(^2)</td>
<td>angmunmana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl</td>
<td></td>
<td>yarrumana-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gurrubana-(^2)</td>
<td>gudunbana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bani-</td>
<td>anbani-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td>ngandana-</td>
<td></td>
<td>gundana-</td>
<td></td>
<td>bananga-</td>
<td>anbananga-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>adnana-</td>
<td></td>
<td>gudnana-</td>
<td></td>
<td>bana-</td>
<td>andana-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-directional</th>
<th>'Towards'</th>
<th>'Away'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>ng-ana-</td>
<td>ny-ana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We</td>
<td>ad-na-</td>
<td>nyad-na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You s</td>
<td>ang-ana-</td>
<td>yu-ana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You pl</td>
<td>gud-na-</td>
<td>yuwd-na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He, She</td>
<td>n-ana-</td>
<td>ana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They</td>
<td>a-na-</td>
<td>ay-ana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 11

Transitive Prefixes with Imperative Prefix (Third singular object only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-directional</th>
<th>'Towards'</th>
<th>'Away'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>ana-</td>
<td>ny-ana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We</td>
<td>arr-ana-</td>
<td>nyarr-ana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You s</td>
<td>g-ana-</td>
<td>yu-ana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You pl</td>
<td>gurr-ana-</td>
<td>yuwr-ana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>nani-</td>
<td>ani-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She</td>
<td>gananga-</td>
<td>ananga-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They</td>
<td>b-ana-</td>
<td>ab-ana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
some free-form adverbs. The particular adverbs involved, with one exception, maju (intention), each occur with only one particular verb form. Maju (intention) occurs with two.

Table 12 shows the free-form adverbs, the prefixes and the suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FREE-FORM ADVERB</th>
<th>PREFIX</th>
<th>SUFFIX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imaida 'already'</td>
<td>mana- (future)</td>
<td>&lt;-ny&gt; (past)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mana (probability)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ndung (past habit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birda (possibility)</td>
<td>ana- (imperative)</td>
<td>-ngan (past cont)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anggad (expectation)</td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;-iInq&gt; (optative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maju (intention)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-jiildin (reciprocal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wurrgany (intention)</td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;-g&gt; (frustrative)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following verbs show the range of meanings possible. The person-number prefix and the stem are constant.

arru-ban
1p=3s-take 'we are taking it'

arru-ba-ny
1p=3s-take-p 'we took it'

arru-ba-ndung
1p=3s-take-past=habit 'we used to take it'

arru-ba-ngan
1p=3s-take-past=cont 'we were taking it', 'we kept on taking it'

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*ad-ban-jildin
lp-take-recip

imalda arru-ba-ny
already lp=3s-take-p

arru-bana-man
lp=3s-fut-take

mana arru-bana-man
prob lp=3s-fut-take

birda arru-bana-man
poss lp=3s-fut-take

maju arru-bana-man
intent lp=3s-fut-take

arru-bana-ma-ny
lp=3s-fut-take-p

arru-man-jing
lp=3s-take-opt

anggad arru-man-jing
expect lp=3s-take-opt

arr-ana-man-jing
lp=3s-imper-take-opt

'we take each other'
'we go together'

'we've already taken it'
'we've finished taking it'

'we will take it'

'we'll probably take it'

'we'll possibly take it'

'we intend to take it'

'we will have taken it'

'we want to take it'

'we expect to take it'

'let's take it' (2nd person= imperative)
maju (or wurrany) 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
    2s=3s-imper-stop=opt

    yuw-ana-ma
    to=2s-imper-take=opt

    g-an-ayan-jing
    2s=3s-imper-see-opt

    gudbun-na-wu
    2p=3p-imper-hit

    'hit them' (pl)

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

    nana-marrga
    imper-make=fire=opt

    arr-ana-ngulda-nyi
    we=inc-imper-make-opt

    'let's make it'

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

    'please take them'
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        'don't let him make a fire'

  garlu arru-bana-ngulda       'we won't make it'
  neg  1p=fut-make             'let's not make it'
  or

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 (g)BV is added.

aw-ar-ardban                  'I cook it'
  1=it-cook
aw-arnda-gba-n  'I keep on cooking it'
1=it-cook-rep

balgban  'it rises'
3s=rise

balgga-gba-n  'it keeps on rising'
3s=rise-rep

r-unma  'he counts it'
he=it-count

r-unma-bga  'he keeps on counting'
he=it-count-rep

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

ga-winybun  'she washes it'
she=it-wash

ga-winybu-bu-n  'she repeatedly washes it'
she=it-wash-rep

In all other cases, gV is added.

aw-ajun  'I wait for him'
1=3s-wait

aw-aju-gu-n  'I keep on waiting for him'
1=3s-wait-rep

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ri-lalgun
he=3s-cut

'he cuts it'

ri-lalgun-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

a-min-min
they-say-say

ad-bajun
we=inc-sick

'they say'

'they (2) say'

'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. gy - 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**

\[ a\text{-}wulagu\text{-}gu\text{-}n \]
\[ \text{they-go-down-dual} \]
\[ \text{rep} \]
\[ \text{or} \]
\[ '\text{they keep on going down}!' \]

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

**ara** 'go'

\[ a\text{-}ra \]
\[ \text{they-go} \]
\[ '\text{they go}!' \]

\[ a\text{-}n\text{-}a\text{-}g\text{-}a \]
\[ \text{they-dual-go-dual-go} \]
\[ '\text{they (2) go}!' \]

\[ arr\text{-}ara \]
\[ \text{we-go} \]
\[ '\text{we go}!' \]

\[ arr\text{-}n\text{-}a\text{-}g\text{-}a \]
\[ \text{we-dual-go-dual-go} \]
\[ '\text{we (2) go}!' \]

**ldi** 'stand'

\[ a\text{-}ldi \]
\[ \text{they-stand} \]
\[ '\text{they stand}!' \]

\[ a\text{-}ldi\text{-}ndi \]
\[ \text{they-stand-dual} \]
\[ '\text{they (2) stand}!' \]

\[ arru\text{-}ri \]
\[ \text{we-stand} \]
\[ '\text{we stand}!' \]
arr-gi-ndi  'we (2) stand'
we-stand-dual

yaldî  'lie'
 a-yaldî  'they lie'
  they-lie

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

ad-jaldî  'we lie'
  we-lie

arr-wid-baldî  '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-aliwl  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

'burrulany-min
3s=good-become

'burrang
3s=big

'burrany-min
3s=big-become

'ri-murrany-man
he=3s=big-caus

'gunji
3s=dirty

gunjany-min
3s=dirty-become

'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 \hspace{1cm} \text{BUT} \hspace{1cm} ang-bani
   'I am sitting' \hspace{1cm} 'you are sitting'

   \( y \) becomes \( j \)

   nga-yamang \hspace{1cm} \text{BUT} \hspace{1cm} an-jamang
   'I am working' \hspace{1cm} 'you are working'

   \( ld \) becomes \( q \) after \( ng \),
   \( d \) after \( n \),

   and in ang- verbs, \( ng + ld \) becomes \( nd \)

   nga-ldi \hspace{1cm} \text{BUT} \hspace{1cm} ang-gi
   'I'm standing' \hspace{1cm} 'you're standing'

   nganbu-ldangan \hspace{1cm} \text{BUT} \hspace{1cm} yan-dangan
   me=3-pers-send \hspace{1cm} 2s-me-send
   'he's sending me' \hspace{1cm} 'you're sending me'

   angbu-ldalgun \hspace{1cm} \text{BUT} \hspace{1cm} an-dalgun
   3=pers-sweep \hspace{1cm} l-sweep
   'he's sweeping' \hspace{1cm} '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,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nga-maju</th>
<th>BUT</th>
<th>ad-baju</th>
<th>AND</th>
<th>ad-bana-maju</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l-be=1l</td>
<td>we-be=1l</td>
<td>'we are 1l'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I am 1l'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ri-man</th>
<th>BUT</th>
<th>a-ban</th>
<th>AND</th>
<th>a-bana-man</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he=3s-carry</td>
<td>l=3s-carry</td>
<td>'I carry it'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'I will carry it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he carries it'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nga-wani</th>
<th>BUT</th>
<th>ad-bani</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l-sit</td>
<td>we-sit</td>
<td>'we're sitting'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I am sitting'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ri-wun</th>
<th>BUT</th>
<th>a-bun</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he=3s-hit</td>
<td>l=3s-hit</td>
<td>'I hit him'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he hits him'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ng becomes q

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nga-ngijarr</th>
<th>BUT</th>
<th>ad-gijarr</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l-in=pain</td>
<td>we-in=pain</td>
<td>'we're in pain'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I am in pain'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ng becomes y

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ri-ngulda</th>
<th>BUT</th>
<th>a-gulda</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he=3s-make</td>
<td>l=3s-make</td>
<td>'I make it'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he makes it'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

y becomes 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nga-yamang</th>
<th>BUT</th>
<th>ad-jamang</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l-work</td>
<td>we-work</td>
<td>'we're working'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I'm working'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ri-yalman BUT a-jalman
he=3s-hunt l=3s-hunt
'he hunts for it' 'I hunt if it'

Id becomes r

nga-ldimbarni BUT rimbarni AND arru-rimbarni
l-sit=down 3s-sit=down we-sit=down
'"I sit down' 'he sits down' 'we sit down'

ri-ldangan BUT a-rangan
he=3s-send l=3s-send
'he sends it' 'I send it'

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

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

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

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

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

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=3s-carry we=3s-carry
'y're carrying it'

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

(ii) rru becomes d

(A) before N where N is followed by a stem initial Id,
    a, l or u.
yadn-ayan 'you see us'
2s=1p-see

gudn-dangan 'we're sending you'
1p=2s-send

(B) before Nbu- (3rd person subject) where Nbu- is followed by a stem initial m or w (occasionally the variant rrundu- is heard).

adndu-wun ~ arrundu-wun 'he/she/they are hitting us'
3p=us-hit 3p=us-hit

(b) In the intransitive system rru becomes d before K when K is followed by stem initial m, ng, w, y, mana- (future tense), or ana- (imperative).

nga-wani BUT ad-bani
1-sit we-sit
'I am sitting' 'we are sitting'

ng-ana-wani BUT ad-bana-wani
1-fut-sit we-fut-sit
'I will sit' 'we will sit'

Note that verbs which have bun- as a dual form (very few) have rr for the dual and d for more than two.

ad-bani
we-sit

arr-bun-bani
we-dual-sit

'we (2) are sitting'

'we see them'

'we (2) see it/them'

The form arrbun-bun-ayan 'we (2) see them' does not occur.
we=3p-dual-see
4. *bu* occurs on the end of all the transitive person-number prefixes which show:

- third person subjects and first or second person objects,
- third person plural subjects and third person objects,
- and on the end of the third person subject prefixes for *ang*- and *mam*- verbs.

In the non-future tenses, *bu* changes as follows:

(a) where the object is first or second person singular or plural, or third person plural *bu* becomes *du* before stem initial *m* or *w*, and *mu* before stem initial *ng*.

- ngandu-man, me=3=pers-take
  'he, she, they are taking me'

- nganmu-ngalgbun, me=3=pers-hit=on=head
  'he, she, they are hitting me on the head'

(b) with *mam*- verbs, *mambu*- plus a verb stem initial *m* becomes *mamb*- (both *u* and *m* are lost).

- mamb-irrguran, 3=pers-close
  'he/she/they close it'

- any-mirrguran, 1-close
  'I close it'

(c) with *ang*- verbs,

- *bu* becomes (i) *gu* before verb stem initial *m* or *w*
  
- anggu-marrajba, 3=pers-walk
  'he/she/they are walking'

- ang-marrajba, 1-walk
  'I am walking'

(ii) *mu*- before verb stem initial *ng*

- angmu-ngurjiying, 3=pers-make=noise
  'he/she/they are making a noise'

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ang-ngurjiying 'I'm making a noise'
1-make=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-anana-wani 'I will sit'
1-fut-sit

a-na-wani 'they will sit'
3p-fut-sit

BUT

ang-mana-wani 'you s will sit'
2s-fut-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 'he/she/they'll take me'
me=3=pers=fut-take

adndana-man 'he/she/they'll take us'
us=3=pers=fut-take

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'll hit them'
we=3p-fut-hit
TABLE 13

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem Initial</th>
<th>ang-Verbs</th>
<th>Ordinary Transitive Verbs with 1 or 2 object</th>
<th>3 pl object</th>
<th>3 sing object</th>
<th>mam-Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>gu</td>
<td>du</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>būm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Vowel elision. See Rule 7.

2 No mam- verbs beginning with w, ng, y or lñ have yet been found.
anbanî-wun  
3=p+fut=he-hit  
'h'll hit them'

(c) in ang- verbs,

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

(d) in manâ- verbs

(1) 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 manâ- disappears.
any-mirrguran  
l-close  
'I close it'

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

(11) with vowel initial stems the initial m of manâ- is lost in first and second person.
any-amarrun  
l-eat=meat  
'I eat meat'

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

(111) in third person

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

mamban-amarrun  
3=pers=fut-eat=meat  
'he/she/they'll eat meat'
(e) with *ld* initial verb stems,

\[ \text{mana- becomes ba-} \]

*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-*

\[ \text{ng-ana-ldimbarni} \quad \text{1-fut-sit=down} \]

\[ \text{ang-ba-ldimbarni} \quad \text{you'll sit down} \]

\[ \text{bana-ldimbarni} \quad \text{he/she'll sit down} \]

(ii) In the transitive verb with third person subjects.

With 1 or 2 person objects it is *da-*

\[ \text{nganda-ldangan} \quad \text{he/she/they'll send me} \]

\[ \text{me=3=pers=fut-send} \]

With third person singular subjects and third person objects it is *bana-*

\[ \text{bananga-ldangan} \quad \text{she will send it} \]

\[ \text{fut=sh=3s-send} \]

\[ \text{anbani-ldangan} \quad \text{he'll send them} \]

\[ \text{3p=fut=he-send} \]

(iii) With *ang- verbs it is *ga-*

\[ \text{ang-ga-lbijun} \quad \text{he/she/they'll collect water} \]

\[ \text{3=pers=fut-get=water} \]

The verbs 'to eat' and 'to drink' are exceptions to the above rule. They retain the full form of *mana-* throughout.
a-ra
l=3s-eat
'I eat it!

a-bana-lđa
l=3s-fut-eat
'I will eat it'

an-da
l-drink
'I drink'

ang-mana-lđa
l-fut-drink
'I will drink'

(In both verbs the stem is -lđa, but 'eat' is a transitive verb and 'drink' is an ang- verb.)

6. (i) Any nasal becomes n (phonetically ŋ) before j.

ang + yamang → an-jamang  'you are working'
2s work 2s-work

(ii) The nasal N is n before b or w, disappears before m or ng, and is n elsewhere.

yarruŋ + wun → yarrum-bun  'you're hitting us'
you=us hit you=us-hit

yarruŋ + man → yarru-man  'you're taking us'
you=us take you=us-take

yarruŋ + abdi → yadn-abdi  'you're finding us'
you=us find you=us-find

7. When two vowels occur together the first is normally lost.

ang-man-ugan  'you s will watch'
2s-fut-watch

g-an-ayan-jing  'look at it!'
2s-imper-see-opt
TABLE 14
Forms When mana- (future) Is Added to the by Ending on the Third Person Subject Prefix of Transitive Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem Initial</th>
<th>ang-Verbs</th>
<th>Ordinary Transitive Verbs with 1 or 2 object</th>
<th>3 pl object</th>
<th>3 sing object</th>
<th>mam-Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>gana-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>banâmb-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>dana-</td>
<td></td>
<td>bana-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lâd</td>
<td>ga-(^3)</td>
<td>da-(^3)</td>
<td>bana-/ba-(^3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>gan-(^1)</td>
<td>dan-(^1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ban-(^1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) See Table 13.
\(^2\) See Rule 5(f).
\(^3\) See Rule 5(f).
But when the first vowel is either a- (third person plural intransitive), or the final vowel of mambu- (third person of mam- verbs), then the second vowel, i.e. the stem initial vowel, is lost.

a-gan
3p-watch

'a-gan
3p-fut-watch

'm-ungun
3-pers-eat-meat

any-amarrun
1-eat=meat

8. When a suffix beginning with a nasal is added to a stem ending in a nasal, the nasal on the stem is lost.

a-ban
1=3s-take

'a-ban
1=3s-take-p

9. When an intransitive verb in the first or second person plural is in the imperative mood the initial a of ana- (imperative) is lost.

gud-na-wani
2p-lmp-sit

'sit (pl)'

9. AN ALTERNATIVE ANALYSIS OF TRANSITIVE PERSON-NUMBER PREFIXATION

In Section 3.1 the person-number prefixes of the transitive verb were considered as portmanteau prefixes. In this analysis they are considered to be separate subject and object prefixes. The object prefixes are compared with the intransitive verb subject person-number prefixes, and the transitive direction prefixes are also considered as separate subject and object prefixes. Conclusions drawn from this breakdown are discussed.
TABLE 15
Subject Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WHEN THE OBJECT IS</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>3sm</th>
<th>3sf</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ga-</td>
<td></td>
<td>ang-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gurr-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>1p</td>
<td></td>
<td>1p</td>
<td>3s</td>
<td>(ng)arr-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>1s</td>
<td>2s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>3sm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>3sf</td>
<td>3p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>3p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 16
Object Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WHEN THE SUBJECT IS</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>3sm</th>
<th>3sf</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gun-</td>
<td></td>
<td>gun-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
<td>2s</td>
<td></td>
<td>1p</td>
<td>gurrN-</td>
<td></td>
<td>gurrN-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>1p</td>
<td></td>
<td>1s</td>
<td></td>
<td>yarruN-</td>
<td></td>
<td>(ng)arruN-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>1s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yann-</td>
<td></td>
<td>an-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>3sm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>3sf</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3p</td>
<td></td>
<td>3p</td>
<td></td>
<td>mun-</td>
<td></td>
<td>an-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For an explanation of the numerals, K, and N, see Section 3.0.2, Tables.
9.1 TRANSITIVE SUBJECT AND OBJECT PREFIXES

Table 15 shows the subject prefixes and Table 16 the object prefixes of the transitive verb.

9.2 ORDER OF PREFIXES

The prefixes are attached to the stem of the verb in differing orders depending on the particular combinations chosen.

Where both subject and object are first or second person, the order is simply

\[ + \text{object} \pm \text{mana- (fut)} + \text{stem} \]

as there is no overt subject marker. Note that there is one form if both subject and object are singular, and another form if either subject or object, or both, are plural.

- yan-man
  - me-take
  - 'you s take me'

- yarru-man
  - me/us-take
  - 'you pl take me', 'you pl take us'
  - or 'you s take us'

- gun-mana-man
  - 2s-fut-take
  - 'I'll take you'

Where the subject is first or second person, and the object is third person, the order is

\[ + \text{subject} + \text{object} \pm \text{mana- (fut)} + \text{stem} \]

\[ [\text{or} \text{ana- (imper)}] \]

- ang-mun-mana-man
  - 2s-3p-fut-take
  - 'you s will take them'

- gurruban
  - 2p-3s-take
  - 'you pl are taking it'
(Here K- (3s object) has changed the stem man to ban.)

a-na-man-dl 'let me take it'
1=3s-imper-take-opt

Where the subject is third person, and the object first or second person, or where the subject is third person plural and the object is third person, the order is

+ object + subject \( \pm \) mana- (fut) \( \pm \) stem
[ana- (imper)]

ngan-du-man 'he/she/they take me'
me-3=pers-take

an-d-ana-man 'they'll take them'
3p-3p-fut-take

The above order reflects the ranking of pronouns found in the free-form dual pronouns: first or second person precedes third person

ngabi-li-janad 'he and I'
l-and-3s

nuy-li-janad 'you and he'
2s-and-3s

The other rankings, first person preceding second as in

nuy1-ngabi 'you and I'
2s-1

and plural preceding singular in third person as in

wanad-janad 'they two'
3p-3s

are not reflected in the verb.
The fourth order, where the subject is third person singular and the object is third person is

+ object \( \downarrow \) mana- + subject + stem

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{r-i-man} & \quad \text{'he takes it'} \\
3s\text{-he-take} & \\
\text{an-l-i-man} & \quad \text{'he takes them'} \\
3p\text{-he-take} & \\
\text{an-ban-i-man} & \quad \text{'he will take them'} \\
3p\text{-fut-he-take} & \\
\end{align*} \]

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

\[ \begin{align*}
g\text{-ana-ng-a-wunya} & \quad \text{'let her cook it'} \\
3s\text{-she-imper-she-cook} & \\
\end{align*} \]

(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.

\[ \begin{align*}
n\text{-an-i-wu} & \quad \text{'let him hit it'} \\
3s\text{(int)-imper-he-hit} & \\
\end{align*} \]

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,

nqa- 'she' becomes ga-
and j- 'he, it' becomes ri-

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

K-ı-ngulda becomes r-ı-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.
TABLE 17
Comparison of Object Prefixes with Third Person Subjects and Intransitive Person-Number Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object Prefixes</th>
<th>Intransitive Prefixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s ngan-</td>
<td>nga-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p (ng)arruN-</td>
<td>(ng)arru-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s gun-</td>
<td>ang-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p gurruN-</td>
<td>gurru-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s K-</td>
<td>K-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p an-</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.5 TRANSITIVE DIRECTION PREFIXES

When the transitive direction prefixes are split as the transitive prefixes were, an interesting fact emerges. The direction prefix used agrees in person and number with the first prefix on the verb regardless of whether it is subject or object.

jad-bun-dangan 'we're sending them away'
away=we-3p-send

ayuwun-i-man 'he's bringing them'
to=3p-he-take

10. CONCLUSION

In the Iwaidja verb system prefixes show direction from the speaker and subjects and objects of the verb. Tense, aspect and mood are shown either by prefixes or suffixes which may be used in combination with each other.
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*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>urlihan</td>
<td>'go inside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngurlihan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrurlihan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngarrurlihan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angurlihan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurrurlihan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wurlihan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arlihan7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I will go inside
we inc will go inside
we exc will go inside
you s will go inside
you pl will go inside
he/she will go inside
they will go inside

Verbs taking j:

I wake up
we inc wake up
we exc wake up
you s wake up
you pl wake up
he/she wakes up
they wake up

I will wake up
we inc will wake up
we exc will wake up
you s will wake up
you pl will wake up
he/she will wake up
they will wake up

nganurIhan
adbanurIhan
ngadbanurIhan
angmanurIhan
gudbanurIhan
banurIhan
anurIhan

'wake up'

ngigbin
arrigbin
ngarrigbin
angigbin
gurrigbin
jigbin
agbin

nganigbin
adbanigbin
ngadbanigbin
angmanigbin
gudbanigbin
banigbin
anigbin
### 11.1.2 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH *ld*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ldadurran</em></td>
<td>'vomit'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I vomit</td>
<td>ngaldadurran</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we inc vomit</td>
<td>arruradurran&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we exc vomit</td>
<td>ngarruradurran&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s vomit</td>
<td>anggadurran&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl vomit</td>
<td>gurruradurran&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she vomits</td>
<td>radurran&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they vomit</td>
<td>aldadurran</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| I will vomit | nganaldadurran<sup>5</sup> |
| we inc will vomit | adbaldadurran |
| we exc will vomit | ngadbaldadurran |
| you s will vomit | anghbaldadurran |
| you pl will vomit | gubaldadurran |
| he/she will vomit | banaldadurran |
| they will vomit | analdadurran |
11.1.3 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH m

mirtan  'sing'

l sing
we inc sing
we exc sing
you s sing
you pl sing
he/she sings
they sing

ngamirtan
adbirtan\(^2,3\)
ngadbirtan\(^2,3\)
angmirtan
gudbirtan\(^2,3\)
birtan\(^2\)
amirtan

11.1.4 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH ng

ngardbunl  'fall'

l fall
we inc fall
we exc fall
you s fall
you pl fall
he/she falls
they fall

ngangardbunl
adgardbunl\(^2,3\)
ngadgardbunl\(^2,3\)
angngardbunl
gudgardbunl\(^2,3\)
gardbunl\(^2\)
angardbunl
### 11.1.5 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH w

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I sit</td>
<td>wani</td>
<td>ngawani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we inc sit</td>
<td>adbani2,3</td>
<td>adban2,3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we exc sit</td>
<td>ngadbani2,3</td>
<td>angban1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s sit</td>
<td>gudban12,3</td>
<td>gudban2,3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl sit</td>
<td>bani2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she sits</td>
<td>awani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they sit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 11.1.6 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH y

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I work</td>
<td>yamang</td>
<td>ngayamang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we inc work</td>
<td>adjamang2,3</td>
<td>adjam2,3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we exc work</td>
<td>ngadjamang2,3</td>
<td>ngadjam2,3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s work</td>
<td>anjamang1,6</td>
<td>anjam1,6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl work</td>
<td>gudjamang2,3</td>
<td>gudjam2,3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she works</td>
<td>jamang2</td>
<td>jamang2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

133
11.1.7 FUTURE TENSE OF VERBS WITH STEMS BEGINNING WITH m, ng, w, or y

**mirtan** 'sing'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Future Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>I will sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we inc</td>
<td>we inc will sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we exc</td>
<td>we exc will sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s</td>
<td>you s will sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl</td>
<td>you pl will sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she</td>
<td>he/she will sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>they will sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nganamirtan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adbanamirtan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngadbanamirtan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>angmanamirtan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gudbanamirtan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>banamirtan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anamirtan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11.2 PARADIGMS OF TRANSITIVE VERBS

11.2.1 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH A VOWEL

Verbs taking **adbi** 'find'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>me</th>
<th>us</th>
<th>you s</th>
<th>you pl</th>
<th>him/her</th>
<th>them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gunadbi</td>
<td></td>
<td>awadbi</td>
<td>ayunadbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we inc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gudnadbi(^3,6)</td>
<td>arruwadbi</td>
<td>adbunadbi(^3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we exc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngarruwadbi</td>
<td>ngadbunadbi(^3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s</td>
<td>yandadbi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gawadbi</td>
<td>angmunadbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl</td>
<td>yandadbi(^3,6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gurruwadbi</td>
<td>gudbunadbi(^3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>radbi</td>
<td>anadbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td>nganbadbi</td>
<td>arrumbadbi(^6)</td>
<td>gunbadbi</td>
<td></td>
<td>gadbi</td>
<td>angadbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gurumbadbi(^6)</td>
<td>badbi</td>
<td>anbadbi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbs taking **rd an** 'stab'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S U B J E C T</th>
<th>me</th>
<th>us</th>
<th>you s</th>
<th>you pl</th>
<th>him/her</th>
<th>them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gunan</td>
<td></td>
<td>ardan</td>
<td>ayunan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we inc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gudnan</td>
<td>arrurdan</td>
<td>abdunan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we exc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gudnan</td>
<td>ngarrudan</td>
<td>ngadbu nan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s</td>
<td>yanan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gardan</td>
<td>angmunan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl</td>
<td>yadnan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gurrudan</td>
<td>gudbu nan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ran</td>
<td>anan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td>nganban</td>
<td>arrum ban</td>
<td></td>
<td>gurrum ban</td>
<td>gan</td>
<td>ange nan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gunban</td>
<td>gurrum ban</td>
<td>ban</td>
<td>anban</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11.2.2 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH \( \text{id} \)  \( \text{idengan} \) 'send'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>us</th>
<th>you s</th>
<th>you pl</th>
<th>him/her</th>
<th>them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gundengan(^1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we inc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we exc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s</td>
<td>yandengan(^1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl</td>
<td>yandengan(^1,3,6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>arengan(^2)</td>
<td>ayundengan(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>errurangan(^2,3)</td>
<td>adbundangan(^1,3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngarrurangan(^2,3)</td>
<td>ngadbungangan(^1,3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>garengan(^2)</td>
<td>angmundangan(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gururrurangan(^2,3)</td>
<td>gudbungangan(^1,3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rildengan</td>
<td>ariilidengan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>galdengan</td>
<td>anggasidengan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>buldangan</td>
<td>anbulidangan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 11.2.3 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH m

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>me</th>
<th>us</th>
<th>you sg</th>
<th>you pl</th>
<th>him/her</th>
<th>them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>gunman</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we inc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we exc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you sg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>yanaman</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| you pl  |    |    | **yarruman** | **gurruman**
|         |    |    |         | **4, 6** |         |      |
| he      |    |    |        |         |         |      |
| she     |    |    |        |         |         |      |
| they    |    |    |        |         |         |      |

*Note: The table shows verb stems and their corresponding objects.*
### 11.2.4 Verb Stems Beginning with ng

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Me</th>
<th>Us</th>
<th>You s</th>
<th>You pl</th>
<th>Him/her</th>
<th>Them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we inc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we exc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s</td>
<td>yanggalbun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl</td>
<td>yarrungalgbun</td>
<td>yarrungalgbun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>yanggalbun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td>yanggalbun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>yanggalbun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NGALGBUN: 'hit on head'
11.2.5 VERB STEMBS BEGINNING WITH *w*  

wun 'hit'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>me</th>
<th>us</th>
<th>you s</th>
<th>you pl</th>
<th>him/her</th>
<th>them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>S</strong></td>
<td><strong>U</strong></td>
<td>B</td>
<td><strong>E</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>gunbun</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>abun</strong></td>
<td><strong>ayunbun</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we inc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>gurrumbun</strong></td>
<td><strong>arrubun</strong></td>
<td><strong>adbunbun</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we exc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ngarrubun</strong></td>
<td><strong>ngadunbun</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s</td>
<td><strong>yanbun</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>yarrumbun</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td><strong>nganduwun</strong></td>
<td><strong>adnduwun</strong></td>
<td><strong>ganduwun</strong></td>
<td><strong>gudnduwun</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>riwun</strong></td>
<td><strong>aniwun</strong></td>
<td><strong>gwun</strong></td>
<td><strong>anggawun</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11.2.6 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH y

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Me</th>
<th>Us</th>
<th>You s</th>
<th>You pl</th>
<th>Him/her</th>
<th>Them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gunjalman(^1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ajalman(^2)</td>
<td>eyunjalman(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we inc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>arrjalman(^2,3)</td>
<td>adbunjalman(^1,3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we exc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngarrjalman(^2,3)</td>
<td>ngadunjalman(^1,3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s</td>
<td>yenjalman(^1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gujalman(^2)</td>
<td>angmunjalman(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yarrjalman(^3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>gurrjalman(^2,3)</td>
<td>gubunjalman(^1,3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>riyalman</td>
<td>aniyalman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gayalman</td>
<td>anggayalman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>buyalman</td>
<td>anbuyalman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb stem for hunting or looking for is **yailman**.
11.2.7 FUTURE TENSE OF VERBS WITH STEMS BEGINNING WITH m, mg, n, r or a vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>me</th>
<th>us</th>
<th>you s</th>
<th>you pl</th>
<th>him/her</th>
<th>them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gunmanawun</td>
<td></td>
<td>abanawun²</td>
<td>ayumanawun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we inc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gurrumanawun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we exc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>arrubanawun²</td>
<td>adburbanawun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s</td>
<td>yamanawun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ngarrubanawun²</td>
<td>ngadburbanawun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl</td>
<td></td>
<td>yarrumanawun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gabanawun²</td>
<td>anummanawun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gurrubanawun²</td>
<td>gudburbanawun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td>ngandanawun</td>
<td>adnanawun</td>
<td>gudanawun</td>
<td>gudnanawun</td>
<td>banawun</td>
<td>banawun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 11.2.8 Future Tense of Verbs with Stems Beginning with *Idan* (send)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>me</th>
<th>us</th>
<th>you s</th>
<th>you pl</th>
<th>him/her</th>
<th>them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gunbadgangan</td>
<td></td>
<td>abadgangan</td>
<td>ayunbadgangan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we inc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gurunbadgangan</td>
<td></td>
<td>arrubadgangan</td>
<td>adunbadgangan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we exo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gurunbadgangan</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngarrubadgangan</td>
<td>ngadunbadgangan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s</td>
<td>yunbadgangan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gabadgangan</td>
<td>angunbadgangan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl</td>
<td>yarrunbadgangan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gurubadgangan</td>
<td>gubunbadgangan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>banildgangan</td>
<td>anbanildgangan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td>ngandlgangan</td>
<td>adnlgangan</td>
<td>gundlgangan</td>
<td>gundlgangan</td>
<td>banangdlgangan</td>
<td>anbanangdlgangan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>balgangan</td>
<td>anbalgangan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 11.3 Paradigms of *mam-* Verbs

#### 11.3.1 Verb Stems Beginning with a Vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>1st Person singular</th>
<th>2nd Person singular (you)</th>
<th>2nd Person plural (you)</th>
<th>3rd Person singular (he/she/they)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amarrun</td>
<td>'eat meat'</td>
<td>anyamarrun</td>
<td>arrunyamarrun</td>
<td>gunyaamarrun</td>
<td>gurrunyamarrun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mambumarrun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I eat meat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we eat meat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s eat meat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl eat meat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she/they eat meat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will eat meat</td>
<td></td>
<td>anyanamarrun</td>
<td>arrunyanamarrun</td>
<td>gunyaanamarrun</td>
<td>gurrunyanamarrun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we will eat meat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s will eat meat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl will eat meat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she/they will eat meat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 11.3.2 Verb Stems Beginning with *m*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>1st Person singular</th>
<th>2nd Person singular (you)</th>
<th>2nd Person plural (you)</th>
<th>3rd Person singular (he/she/they)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>madbalang</td>
<td>'open'</td>
<td>anymadbalang</td>
<td>arrunymadbalang</td>
<td>gunymadbalang</td>
<td>gurrunymadbalang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mambadbalang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I open it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we open it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s open it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl open it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she/they open it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will open it</td>
<td></td>
<td>anymanadbalang $^4$</td>
<td>arrunyanadbalang $^4, 5$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we will open it</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

$^4$ father

$^5$ mother
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

agan   'breathe'

I breathe  angagan
we breathe  arrungagan
you s breathe  gungagan
you pl breathe  gurrungagan
he/she/they breathe  angbagan

I will breathe  angmanagan
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

idigbun  'collect water'

I collect water  andidjbun
we collect water  arrundidjbun
you s collect water  gundidjbun
you pl collect water  gurrundidjbun
he/she/they collect water  angbulidjbun
I will collect water
we will collect water
you s will collect water
you pl will collect water
he/she/they will collect water

angbaldijbun
arrungbaldijbun
gungbaldijbun
gurrungbaldijbun
anggaldijbun
11.4.3 THE VERB *darnagan* 'prod, stab'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>me</th>
<th>us</th>
<th>you s</th>
<th>you pl</th>
<th>him/her</th>
<th>them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gunarnagan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we inc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gudarnagan^{3,6}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we exc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you s</td>
<td></td>
<td>yadarnagan^{3,6}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you pl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11.4.4 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH m

marrajbang 'walk'

I walk                  angmarrajabang
we walk                arrungmarrajbang
you s walk             gungmarrajbang
you pl walk            gurrungmarrajbang
he/she/they walk       anggumarrajbang

I will walk            angmanamarrajbang
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

ngurjiying '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

I will make a noise    angmanangurjiying
we will make a noise   arrungmanangurjiying
you s will make a noise gungmanangurjiying
you pl will make a noise  
gurrungmanangurjiying

he/she/they will make a noise  
angganangurjiying

11.4.6 VERB STEMS BEGINNING WITH w

wurrwun  'think'

I think  
angburrwun

we think  
arrungburrwun

you s think  
gungburrwun

you pl think  
gurrungburrwun

he/she/they think  
angguwurrwun

I will think  
angmanawurrwun

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

we dig  
arrunjawun

you s dig  
gunjawun

you pl dig  
gurrunjawun

he/she/they dig  
angbuyawun
I will dig
we will dig
you s will dig
you pl will dig
he/she/they will dig

angmanayawun
arrungmanayawun
gungmanayawun
gurrungmanayawun
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 Id.

I carry it
we inc carry it
we exc carry it
you s carry it
you pl carry it
he carries it
she carries it
they carry it

arigil
arrurigil
ngarrurigil
garigil
gurrurigil
rinigil
ganigil
bunigil

I will carry it
we inc will carry it
we exc will carry it
you s will carry it
you pl will carry it
he will carry it
she will carry it
they will carry it

abanigil
arrurbanigil
ngarrurbanigil
gabanigil
gurrurbanigil
baninigil
bananganigil
bananigil

Tab
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15.
16.
17.

150
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Intransitive Verb Prefixes</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Transitive Prefixes</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Person-Number Prefixes for ang- Verbs</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Person-Number Prefixes for mam- Verbs</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Intransitive Direction-Subject Prefixes</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 'towards' Person-Number Prefixes on Transitive Verbs</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. 'away' Person-Number Prefixes on Transitive Verbs</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Intransitive Verb Prefixes with mana- (future)</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Transitive Prefixes with mana- (future)</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Intransitive Prefixes with Imperative Prefix</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Transitive Prefixes with Imperative Prefix (Third singular object only)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Free Form Adverbs, Prefixes and Suffixes</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Forms of the bu Ending on the Third Person Subject Prefix of Transitive Verbs</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Forms When mana- (future) Is Added to the bu Ending on the Third Person Subject Prefix of Transitive Verbs</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Subject Prefixes</td>
<td>123</td>
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<tr>
<td>16. Object Prefixes</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Comparison of Object Prefixes with Third Person Subjects and Intransitive Person-Number Prefixes</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>