WORK PAPERS OF SIL-AAB

Series A Volume 6

PAPERS IN WARLPIRI GRAMMAR:
IN MEMORY OF LOTHAR JAGST

Editor: S. Swartz
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Series Editor

iii
INTRODUCTION TO SERIES A VOLUME 6

By all accounts and recollections, Lothar Jagst (1934 - 1976) was an independent and determined individual. Working under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines Branch, he, along with his wife Else and four children, commenced work with the Warlpiri people at Hooker Creek (now Lajamanu) in 1969. Already multilingual, he plunged into the acquisition of Warlpiri with the same perfectionist zeal which apparently characterized his previous language experience. It is said by his colleagues that his speech bore no trace of foreign accent, but that he strove to adapt his speech entirely to the local idiom. And even today, those Warlpiris who can be encouraged to speak of this lost friend readily acknowledge that he spoke Warlpiri pirnfirdi manu jingarni ngayirmi, 'hard and really true'.

Lothar Jagst died unexpectedly while hunting wallaby near Darwin with Kenny Walker Jupurrula, a Warlpiri mate and kinship father. He died as he was just beginning to realize his true ambition, that of translating the Bible into the Warlpiri tongue. But he was more than a Bible translator to the people of Hooker Creek. He was a friend. He gave himself selflessly to a variety of community services: carting firewood and beef to those without, keeping accounts for the local store, repairing automobiles, taking men on hunting trips and to sacred sites, teaching a few to read their own language, and probably much, much more of which I am unaware.

Lothar Jagst left behind, among other things, an incomparable measure of good will. Since 1978 when my wife and I moved to Lajamanu to take up Lothar's work of Bible translation and language study, we have been continually aware that our acceptance has depended in large part upon his legacy and that of his family. I recall that on our first evening in Lajamanu, I was driven several miles out of town to the men's 'sacred business' camp. I was introduced as being like Jakamarra, doing what he had done, learning the language, translating the Bible. As one by one the old men shook hands with me I felt they were shaking hands with a friend from long ago.

This volume has been compiled in memory of Lothar Jagst. The first paper is a previously unpublished work by Lothar, written sometime around 1972 but never completed. It was only recently discovered in a collection of his files. The orthography has been changed to conform to current use, but apart from this and a few minor editorial changes, the paper is presented as he wrote it. The other papers have been graciously submitted in his memory by Drs. Nash,
Hale, and Laughren, who each have spent considerable time and energy studying the Warlpiri language. I, who have benefited greatly from previous work by all the others, also submit my paper in his memory.

One final tribute to Lothar Jagst is included, written by Maurice Luther Jupurrula, a Warlpiri man who knew him and on occasion assisted him in his language study. It is reproduced here as it was written in Warlpiri with the English translation following.


Thinking about him I am telling this about Jakamarra, the one buried at Jilpirli. We buried him at Jilpirli, our sacred place. I called him friend and father. He took care of my old people. He would take them hunting and camping. Because of that I think of him in my mind. My Warlpiri language he started to speak and to put on paper. He would have put God’s word on paper in my language. I will always remember how really good Jakamarra was. My Warlpiri people remember him in their minds and hearts. He showed us Father God and his son Jesus. We will always remember him and talk about the one buried at Jilpirli.

Stephen M. Swartz
Volume Editor
TABLE OF CONTENTS

A TENTATIVE DESCRIPTION OF NGARDILPA (WARLPIRI) VERBS by
Lothar H. Jagst

0. Introduction 1
1. Verb Transitive 3
   1.1 Transitive Declarative Without Locative 3
   1.2 Transitive Declarative With Locative 20
2. Verb Transitive 27
   2.1 Intransitive Declarative Without Locative 28
   2.2 Intransitive Declarative With Locative 37
3. Verb Middle 46
4. Verb Stative 46
5. Query 50
   5.1 Query With Verb Transitive 51
   5.2 Query With Verb Intransitive 59
   5.3 Query With Verb Transitive or Intransitive and
       Locative 66
   5.4 Query With Verb Stative 66

SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE OF WARLPIRI CLAUSES by Stephen M. Swartz 69

0. Introduction 69
1. Semantic Features of Verbs 72
2. Syntactic Verb Classes 74
   2.1 Definition of Key Terms 74
   2.2 Intransitive Verbs 77
   2.3 Bi-Intransitive Verbs 80
   2.4 Middle Verbs 81
   2.5 Transitive Verbs 82
   2.6 Bi-Transitive Verbs 85
3. Ranking in the Selection of Pronominal Clitics

4. Comparison With the Analysis of Warlpiri by K. Hale

Footnotes

Appendix 1 - Warlpiri Orthography

Appendix 2

Text 1 - 'The Firesaw'

Text 2 - 'Christian Dances'

Text 3 - 'The Crow and the Boy'

Vocabulary

References

A PRELIMINARY DESCRIPTION OF PROPOSITIONAL PARTICLES IN WARLPIRI
by Mary Laughren

1. Particle: Phonological, Morphological and Syntactic Status
   1.1 Phonological Status
   1.2 Morphological Characteristics
   1.3 Syntactic Behaviour

2. Propositional Particles
   2.1 Defining Characteristics
   2.2 Nganta
   2.3 Kari
   2.4 Karinganta
   2.5 Kulanganta
   2.6 Marda
   2.7 Ngari ~ Ngayi
   2.8 Ngarra
   2.9 Wayi
   2.10 Kapi/Kapu
   2.11 Murra

3. Conclusion

Footnotes

Abbreviations

References
SOME ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF WARLPIRI VERBAL CLAUSES by
Kenneth Hale

0. Introductory Remarks
1. The Ergative-Absolutive Case System and the Principal Verbal Subcategories
   1.1 Subjectless Sentences
   1.2 Verbs With a Single (Subject) Argument
   1.3 Problems of Transitivity
   1.4 Verbs With Two Arguments
   1.5 Another Two Argument-Pattern
   1.6 Three-Argument Verbs
   1.7 The Adjunct Dative
2. The Semantic Cases and the Complementizers
   2.1 The Spatial Cases
   2.2 Instrumental Adverbs and Adverbs of Manner and Time
   2.3 Purposive and Jussive Expressions
   2.4 Tense-Relative Complementizers: Temporal Coincidence
   2.5 Temporal Succession
   2.6 Negative Purposive and Admonitive Expressions
3. Concluding Remarks
A TENTATIVE DESCRIPTION OF NGARDILPA (WARLPIRI) VERBS

Lothar H. Jagst

[Editor's note: This paper, found posthumously, had not been completed by the author.]

0. INTRODUCTION

Ngardilpa is spoken by members of the Warnayska tribe, a sub-tribe of the Warlpiri desert tribe.

The data for this paper was taken from texts collected during late 1970 and early 1971 at Hooker Creek, a settlement in the Northern Territory of Australia.

Jerry and Paddy Jangala along with Tony Japaljarri and Tommy Granite assisted in the collection and transcription of the texts. During various stages of the analysis Victor Jupurrula and Paddy Japangardi helped in the checking of some of the language examples cited in this paper.

Much use was also made of the computer concordance of texts that had been submitted to and processed by the Merrick Computing Center, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma under a joint project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute. This project was partially supported by the National Science Foundation.
Thanks is due to Dr Kenneth Hale of M.I.T. for freely supplying what he had collected and written up on Warlpiri. Material presented in those papers proved valuable for comparisons and ideas.

This tentative description of Ngardilpa verbs is the result of analysis carried out during a ten week workshop conducted by Dr Charles Peck at the SIL-AAB centre in Darwin, between March 2 and May 11 1972.

As the title of this paper states, this is by no means a definite description of Ngardilpa verbs. Exactly how the various notions of transitive, intransitive and middle function, and are manifested in the many possible combinations is not yet fully understood. Nor is there any mention of nominalization for the same reason. Passivization in Ngardilpa is manifested in more ways than shown in this paper, but they require constructions that go beyond those possible with verbs alone.

Abbreviations used in the paper are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ben</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>con</td>
<td>connective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dir</td>
<td>directional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dsf</td>
<td>dative short form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ints</td>
<td>intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locn</td>
<td>locative noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locnl</td>
<td>locational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locv</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obn</td>
<td>objective noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obst</td>
<td>object short form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qm</td>
<td>query marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rec</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refl</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssf</td>
<td>subject short form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>tense conjugation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>tense aspect marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vcom</td>
<td>verb compounder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td>intransitive verb stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vs</td>
<td>verb stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vt</td>
<td>transitive verb stem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. VERB TRANSITIVE

In Ngardilpa there are five conjugations of verbs, each inflecting with a distinct set of suffixes. Some of these suffixes are homophonous, but no one set matches another completely, not even when free variation occurs with some suffixes between different sets.

The majority of verbs comprising conjugations II, III, and IV are transitive; just a very limited number from each of the three 'transitive conjugations' may also be intransitive, and fewer still are neither, but middle instead.

The verb stems of conjugation II all polysyllabic, that is, disyllabic or longer, and may combine with compounds to form complex or compound verbs, all of which are transitive. There are only a few conjugation II non-complex verb stems that are exclusively intransitive, and there is one that is middle, while another one is both transitive and intransitive.

Verb stems belonging to conjugation III are monosyllabic and typically transitive, and a few become intransitive only after compounding. These originally transitive stems of such compound intransitive verbs have either lost or significantly altered their meaning, thus permitting them to become intransitive.

Conjugation IV comprises only one verb stem; it is monosyllabic but combines with various compounds to form complex verbs all of which, with the exception of one, are transitive. In the single complex verb that is intransitive, the original monosyllabic stem has altogether lost its meaning.

1.1 TRANSITIVE DECLARATIVE WITHOUT LOCATIVE

The transitive verb in Ngardilpa can combine in several ordered ways with various affixes to form a complete idea or thought which in English would be a phrase, clause, or even sentence. Ngardilpa speakers also have the choice of not affixing the given affixes to the verb but onto other components that happen to be needed to convey a given thought. A marked tendency to communicate by making only the bare minimum of information explicit has been observed. This could be due to the prevalent practice of using much gesturing, 'fingertalk', and pantomime while talking. Another factor could be that much of the implicit information is usually already general knowledge or can be inferred from the surrounding circumstances. Wannayakas also firmly believe that when someone doesn't understand something that has been said, then let him use his mouth and ask, and implicit information is then usually made explicit to him.
Bidimensional arrays, explanations, rules, examples and illustrations are given next in an effort to convey some of the range of choice Ngardilpa speakers have in the use of the transitive verb.

**CHART 1**

**BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY OF VERB TRANSITIVE DECLARATIVE (VERSION 1)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ con</th>
<th>+ vcom</th>
<th>+ vt</th>
<th>matching suffixes from the five conjugations</th>
<th>+ man</th>
<th>+ ta</th>
<th>+ ssf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngula</td>
<td>reduplicated or single compounds</td>
<td>transitive verb stems mainly from conjugations I, II, III &amp; IV but some from I &amp; IV as well (see list of + verbs)</td>
<td>-rra</td>
<td>See 'hither' Matrix 2</td>
<td>-rn/-rnu</td>
<td>-lk/-lki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'then'</td>
<td>modifiers</td>
<td>See Matrix 1 'thither'</td>
<td>-kiri</td>
<td>'still' 'motionless' 'only one' 'unique'</td>
<td>-waru</td>
<td>'through, over, across'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manu</td>
<td>(reduplicated compounds) at times mean repeated action</td>
<td>See Matrix 2 'now'</td>
<td>-kirri</td>
<td>(If need be, 2 of the above may co-occur but the order, if any, is not established)</td>
<td>-waru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ ssf</td>
<td>+ reflex</td>
<td>+ obsep</td>
<td>▷ ben</td>
<td>▷ man 2</td>
<td>▷ ints</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See</td>
<td>See</td>
<td>See</td>
<td>See</td>
<td>-ki/-ku</td>
<td>-marda</td>
<td>-wu/-yaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matrix 3</td>
<td>Matrix 4</td>
<td>Matrix 5</td>
<td></td>
<td>this marker is usually omitted or attached to the noun or pronoun denoting the beneficiary and this noun or pronoun stands alone within the sentence or clause</td>
<td>-wiyi</td>
<td>(when affixed to syllable ending with /a/, then -wu; when syllable ends with /i/, then -yawa; when syllable ends with /u/, then -wu but /u/ of syllable to which affixed then changes to /a/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yarda</td>
<td>(again, but more than 3 times)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>uijala</td>
<td>(again, but just 2 or 3 times)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pina</td>
<td>'back, return'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(If need be 2 of the above may co-occur but it isn't yet established in which order, if any)
REPRESENTATIVE LIST OF TRANSITIVE VERB STEMS
(including some exceptions from 'intransitive' conjugations)

Conjugation 1

purra-
karla-
yilya-
tiripi-
nyurla-
tulka-
janka-

'cook, burn'
dig up'
'send'
'flake by percussion'
'knead'
'pinch'
'burn' (with inanimate subject)

Conjugation II

paka-
paji-
kiji-
janti-
yurrap-
nganti-
warrka-
luwa-
panti-
yirra-
mapa-
kati-
marda-

'hit'
cut'
'throw'
'scrape'
'grind'
'build'
'ride'
'hit with missile, shoot'
'spear'
'put'
'rub'
'press or weigh down, step on'
'hold, have'
Conjugation III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>'carry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nya-</td>
<td>'see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mapa-</td>
<td>'rub'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu-</td>
<td>'hit, bite, damage, kill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yu-</td>
<td>'give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yulparra-</td>
<td>'send'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conjugation IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nga-</td>
<td>'eat, drink'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conjugation V

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>'get, take, fetch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>'cause to become' (this root must always be preceded by a compounder)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### MATRIX 1

**Tense Suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Conjugation I</th>
<th>Conjugation II</th>
<th>Conjugation III</th>
<th>Conjugation IV</th>
<th>Conjugation V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Past</td>
<td>-mi/zero*</td>
<td>-rni</td>
<td>-nyi</td>
<td>-rni</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>-ja</td>
<td>-rnu</td>
<td>-ngu</td>
<td>-rnu</td>
<td>-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Continuous</td>
<td>-nya</td>
<td>-rningiya</td>
<td>-nanya</td>
<td>-rningiya</td>
<td>-nanya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>-ju</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>-ngku</td>
<td>-iku</td>
<td>-nku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrealis or Conditional</td>
<td>-yarla</td>
<td>-karla</td>
<td>-ngkarla</td>
<td>-njarla</td>
<td>-ntarla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* may be zero only in string final position
MATRIX 2
Tense Aspect Suffixes and Forms

(Monosyllabic tense aspects are labelled suffixes because they cannot stand alone or occur verb-initial, whereas polysyllabic tense aspects may stand alone or occur verb-initial, and are thus labelled forms.)

The tense aspect suffixes and forms can only co-occur with certain tense suffixes as indicated in the matrix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning of Tense Aspect Suffixes and Forms</th>
<th>Tense of Co-occurring Tense Suffix or Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>indefinite pres. or fut.</td>
<td>Zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not affect meaning of Tense Suffix</td>
<td>Zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definite Past</td>
<td>Zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Progressive</td>
<td>-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Imperfective</td>
<td>-lpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate future</td>
<td>kapi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distant Future</td>
<td>kapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Future</td>
<td>kula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definite Negative Past</td>
<td>kula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Present</td>
<td>kulaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Past</td>
<td>kulalpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative Past</td>
<td>kuja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative Present</td>
<td>kujaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel. Past Corrective</td>
<td>kujalipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel. Future, or 'il', 'when'</td>
<td>kaji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>kajika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>kajilpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(is not yet even)?</td>
<td>kukuka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### MATRIX 3

**Subject Short Forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual (incl)</th>
<th>Dual (excl)</th>
<th>Plural (incl)</th>
<th>Plural (excl)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>-zna</td>
<td>-rli</td>
<td>-rlijarra</td>
<td>-rliipa</td>
<td>-rnalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>-npa</td>
<td>-npala</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nkulu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>-zero</td>
<td>-pala</td>
<td></td>
<td>-lu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### MATRIX 4

**Reflexive Forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual (incl)</th>
<th>Dual (excl)</th>
<th>Plural (incl)</th>
<th>Plural (excl)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>-ju</td>
<td>-nyanu</td>
<td>-nyanu</td>
<td>-nyanu</td>
<td>-nyanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>-nyanu</td>
<td>-nyanu</td>
<td>-nyanu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>-nyanu</td>
<td>-nyanu</td>
<td>-nyanu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** The Reciprocal Form is -nyanu and supplies only when the subject is plural.

### MATRIX 5

**Object Short Forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual (incl)</th>
<th>Dual (excl)</th>
<th>Plural (incl)</th>
<th>Plural (excl)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>-ju</td>
<td>-ngali</td>
<td>-ngalpa</td>
<td>-ngalpa</td>
<td>-ngalpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-jarrangku</td>
<td>-nganpa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>-ngku</td>
<td>-ngkupala</td>
<td>-nyarra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>-Zero</td>
<td>-palangu</td>
<td>-juna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MATRIX 6
Dative Short Forms

(Same as object short forms except third person singular is -z2a.)

Examples of Verb Transitive Declarative
Conforming to Bidimensional Array Chart 1

1. vcom muku- thoroughly
   vt panti
   t -rni
   manl -warnu
   ta -ka
   spear
   conjugation 11 non-past through
   pres progress.

ssf obsf man2 ints
rmalu -jana -wigi -yawu
1st pl 3rd pl first intensifier
excl obj
subj

Hukupantirniwarnukarnalujanawiyiawu
We (but not you) most certainly are first thoroughly spearing them
through.

2. vcom turnu- gather
   vt ma
   t -nu -lpa zero
   ta
   ssf
   past
   past 3rd sing subj
   pick up
   conjugation 5
   imperf

obsf man2
-wanja man2
warru - yijala
3rd pl around again for
obj the 2nd or 3rd time

Tunumanulpajanawurruijala.
He was gathering them around again for the second or third time.

3. vcom wilypu pull
   vt ma
   t -nu -rra -lpa
   manl
   ta
   -pala zero
   conjugation 5 past away past imperf
   obsf get, take, fetch
   man2 ints
   yarda -wu
   3rd dual 3rd sing again, intensifier
   subj obj more than
   3 times

Wilypimanurrulpapalayardawu.
Of course the two of them were pulling it away again for the
umpteenth time.
4. vcom vcom vt† † ta
   juka- juka- girra -rnu zero
   poke poke conjugation 11 past def past
   put

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ssf</th>
<th>refx</th>
<th>obsf</th>
<th>ben/dsf</th>
<th>man2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zero</td>
<td>-nganu</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td>-rja</td>
<td>-wiyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd sing</td>
<td>3rd sing</td>
<td>3rd sing</td>
<td>first</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subj</td>
<td>rexf</td>
<td>obj</td>
<td>dat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Jukajukayirrankungarnurlawiyi**
Repeatedly he poked it to himself first.

(Note: Some transitive verbs such as put, give, send, throw, carry, and fetch seem to prefer the inclusion of the benefactive, whereas with the other transitive verbs this has not been observed to occur.)

5. vcom vcom vt† † man1 ta
   pin- pin- ma -ni -lki -ka
   thin thin conjugation V non now pres progressive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ssf</th>
<th>obsf</th>
<th>-rna</th>
<th>zero</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st sing</td>
<td>3rd sing</td>
<td>1st sing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subj</td>
<td>obj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Pinpinmanilkikarna**
I am now making it thinner and thinner.

6. con vcom vcom vt†
   ngaka pirdi- pirdi- pu
   later indiscriminate indiscriminate conjugation 111 kill

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>†</th>
<th>man1</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>ssf</th>
<th>obsf</th>
<th>man2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ngu</td>
<td>-rja</td>
<td>kula</td>
<td>-rnalu</td>
<td>-jana</td>
<td>yijala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>away</td>
<td>def neg</td>
<td>1st pl</td>
<td>3rd pl</td>
<td>again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>past excl</td>
<td>obj</td>
<td></td>
<td>2nd or 3rd time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ngakapirdipirdipungurrakularnulajanayijalawu.**
Later we (without you) did most certainly not go away and kill them indiscriminately over and over and over again for the second or third time.
7. vt  +  ta  ssf  obsf
    nya-    -ngkarla  kapi  -rna  -ngku
    conjugation 11  irrealis  immed  1st sing  2nd sing
    fut  subj  obj

man2  man2
-marda  yijala
perhaps  again,
        2nd or 3rd
time

Nyangkarlakapirninangkumardayijala.
I should soon see you perhaps again for the second or third time.

8. vt  +  ta  ssf
    yi-    -nyi  kapu  -rna
    conjugation 11  non-past  dist fut  1st sing
    give
    obsf  ben/dsf  man2
    zero  -ngku  pina
    3rd sing  2nd sing  back,
dat  return

Yingikapurnangkupina.
I will give it back to you after a long time.

9. con  vt  +  ta  ssf
    ngaka  purra-  -ja  zero  -rinalu
    later  conjugation 1  past  defin past  1st pl
    cook
    obsf
    zero
    3rd sing
    obj

Ngakapurrajarnalu.
Later we (but not you nor they) cooked it.

10. vt  +  man1  ta  ssf
    ngarri-  -rni  -lki  kulaka  -rna
    conjugation 11  non-past  now  neg pres  1st sing
    tell
    relox  obsf  ben/dsf  ints.
    -ju  zero  -ju  -wu
    1st sing  3rd sing  1st sing  intensifier
    reflexive  obj  1st sing  dat

Ngarrinilkikulakarnajuwu.
I am most certainly not telling it now to myself.
Ngarnulkulparnalujanawiyi.
We (but not you nor they) were now eating them first.

Yirrarntirra.
He puts (or will put) it to him some time or other.

Maninyanurlapina.
He gets (or will get) it back for himself some time or other.
14. vt  

garuki-  
conjugation 11  
bite  

rec  

-nyaru  
3rd dual  
reciprocal  

Yarlkiri.kakapalanyanuyardawu.  
The two of them are now most certainly biting one another again  
for the umpteenth time.

15. vt  

luwa-  
conjugation 11  
shoot  

Luwarnu.  
He shot him.

Tense forms comprising two or more syllables are not often found in  
the constructions conforming to Bidimensional Array Chart 1; however  
they do occur in such constructions, and examples 6,7,8 and 10 are  
listed for that reason. Disyllabic or longer tense aspect forms occur  
more frequently in constructions conforming to Bidimensional Array  
Chart 2.

Further, it may be noted that in Bidimensional Array Chart 1, only 5  
out of 16 possible tagmemes are obligatory and that out of these 5,  
as many as 3 may have no phonological representation in certain  
constructions. These constructions are the ones most commonly used  
in every day communications; this, coupled with the tendency of the  
Wارنیاکا to not to say more than absolutely necessary, causes a marked  
scarcity of longer constructions in any given text.
CHART 2

BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY OF VERB TRANSITIVE DECLARATIVE (VERSION 2)

To derive Version 2 from Version 1 of the bidimensional array for verb transitive declarative, the following permutations, deletions and additions must be performed:

a. \(+vcom\) \(+vt\) \(+t\) are permuted to ultimate string position
b. \(+\text{man}2\) is permuted to position preceding \(+\text{man}1\)
c. \(+\text{ta}\) is permuted to position preceding \(+\text{man}2\)
d. \(+\text{obsf}\) is deleted
e. \(+\text{obn}\) is added to position following \(+\text{con}\)

This then results in the following string, Version 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(+\text{con})</th>
<th>(+\text{obn})</th>
<th>(+\text{ta})</th>
<th>(+\text{man}2)</th>
<th>(+\text{man}1)</th>
<th>(+\text{ssf})</th>
<th>(+\text{refx})</th>
<th>(+\text{ben})</th>
<th>(+vcom)</th>
<th>(+vt)</th>
<th>(+t)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See Chart 1 for exponents of each tagmeme.

Notes and Restrictions:

a. Position \(+\text{obn}\) is expounded with nouns or pronouns representing the object of the transitive verb. In constructions with reciprocals, this noun is object noun as well as subject noun. Object nouns may be accompanied by modifiers or quantifiers.

b. When a \(\text{ta}\) exponent is monosyllabic or zero, then a \(+\text{con}\) or \(+\text{obn}\) exponent must precede it; but when \(\text{ta}\) exponent is zero and \(+\text{man}2\) exponent follows, then this \(+\text{man}2\) exponent may be phonologically string-initial. Also, when both \(+\text{ta}\) and \(+\text{ssf}\) exponents happen to be zero and no \(+\text{con}\), \(+\text{obn}\), \(+\text{man}2\), \(+\text{man}1\), \(+\text{refx}\), \(+\text{rec}\), or \(+\text{ben}\) exponents are used, then \(+vcom\) or \(+vt\) exponents may be phonologically string-initial.

Examples of Verb Transitive Declarative
Conforming to Bidimensional Array Chart 2

The following examples are the same as those given to illustrate Bidimensional Array Chart 2, except that they have undergone the required permutations, deletions and additions to make them conformable to Bidimensional Array Chart 2.
1. obn ta man1 man1 ssf
   yapaka -ka -wilyi warnu -rnalu
   people pres first through 1st pl
   progressive exc, subj

  vcom vt t ints
  muku- panti -rni -yawu
  thoroughly conjugation 11 non-past intensifier
  spear

  Yapakawi yiwarnurnalumukupantirni yawu.
  We (but not you or they) are most certainly thoroughly spearing
  the people through first.

2. obn ta man2 man2 ssf
   ngarrka -ipa warru yijala zero
   man past around again, subj.
   imperfect for the 2nd
   or 3rd time

  vcom vt t
  turnu ma -nu
  gather conjugation V past
  pick up

  Ngarrkai pawarru yijalaturnunanu.
  He was gathering the men around again for the second or third time.

3. obn ta man2 man1 ssf
   yama -ipa yarda -rra -pala
   shade past imperfect again away 3rd dual
   more than subj
   3 times

  vcom bt t ints
  wilypi- ma -nu -wu
  pull conjugation V past intensifier
  get, take, fetch

  Yamalpayardarrapalawilypimanu nu.
  Of course the two of them were pulling the shade away again for
  the umpteenth time.

4. obn ta man2 ssf refx
   kurlarda zero -wilyi zero -nyamu
   spear def past first 3rd sing 3rd sing
   subj refx
Kurlardawiyinyanurlajukajukayirrarnu.
Repeatedly he poked the spear to himself first.

5. obn\hspace{1em}ta\hspace{1em}man1\hspace{1em}ssf\hspace{1em}vcom\hspace{1em}karli\hspace{1em}-ka\hspace{1em}-liku\hspace{1em}-rna\hspace{1em}pin-\hspace{1em}boomerang\hspace{1em}pres\hspace{1em}now\hspace{1em}1st sing\hspace{1em}thin\hspace{1em}progressive\hspace{1em}subj\hspace{1em}vcom\hspace{1em}vt\hspace{1em}t\hspace{1em}pin-\hspace{1em}ma\hspace{1em}-ni\hspace{1em}thin\hspace{1em}conjugation V\hspace{1em}non\hspace{1em}cause to\hspace{1em}past\hspace{1em}become

Karlikalkunapinpinnani.
I am now making the boomerang thinner and thinner.

6. con\hspace{1em}obn\hspace{1em}ta\hspace{1em}man2\hspace{1em}man1\hspace{1em}ngaka\hspace{1em}Kurrinji\hspace{1em}kula\hspace{1em}yijala\hspace{1em}-rra\hspace{1em}later\hspace{1em}Kurrinji\hspace{1em}def neg\hspace{1em}again,\hspace{1em}away\hspace{1em}past\hspace{1em}2nd or\hspace{1em}3rd time\hspace{1em}ssf\hspace{1em}vcom\hspace{1em}vt\hspace{1em}-rralu\hspace{1em}pirdi-\hspace{1em}pirdi-\hspace{1em}pu\hspace{1em}1st pl\hspace{1em}indiscrim\hspace{1em}indiscrim\hspace{1em}conjugation III\hspace{1em}excl\hspace{1em}†\hspace{1em}ints\hspace{1em}-ngu\hspace{1em}-wu\hspace{1em}past\hspace{1em}intensifier

NgakakurrinjikulayijalarraRNAlpirdipirdipungunu.
Later we (without you nor them) did most certainly not go away and kill the Kurrinjis indiscriminately over and over again for the second or third time.

7. obn\hspace{1em}ta\hspace{1em}man2\hspace{1em}man2\hspace{1em}ssf\hspace{1em}nyuntu\hspace{1em}kapi\hspace{1em}-marda\hspace{1em}yijala\hspace{1em}-rna\hspace{1em}2nd pers\hspace{1em}immed\hspace{1em}perhaps\hspace{1em}again\hspace{1em}1st sing\hspace{1em}sing\hspace{1em}future\hspace{1em}2nd or\hspace{1em}subj\hspace{1em}pronoun you\hspace{1em}3rd time

17
Nyuntukapimardayijalarnanyangkarla.
I should soon see you perhaps again for the second or third time.

8. ta man2 ssf ben/dsf vt
capu pina -rna -ngku yi
dist fut back, 1st sing. 2nd sing conjugation III
return subj dative

†
-nyi
non-past

Kapupinarnangkuyinyi.
I will give it back to you after a long time.

9. con obn ta ssf vt
ngaka kuyu zero -rnalu purra
later meat, defin past 1st pl conjugation 1
excl subj cook

†
-ja
past

Ngakakuyurnalupurraja
Later we (but not you nor they) cooked the meat.

10. ta man1 ssf refx ben/dsf
kulaka -lku -rna -ju conjugation III
neg pres now 1st sing 1st sing 1st sing
subj reflexive dative

vt † ints.
ngari -rni -yawu
conjugation 11 non-past intensifier
tell

Kulakalkurnajujungarrirniyawu.
I am most certainly not telling it now to myself.

11. obn ta man2 man1 ssf
yakajirri -lpa -wiyi -lki -rnalu
bush tomato past first now 1st pl
imperfective excl subj
Yakajirripawiylkirmalungarnu.
We (but not you nor they) were now eating bush tomatoes first.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>12.</th>
<th>obn</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>ssf</th>
<th>ben/dsf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mukarti</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td>-rla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hat</td>
<td>indef pres</td>
<td>3rd sing</td>
<td>3rd sing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or fut</td>
<td></td>
<td>subj</td>
<td>dative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

yirra-

Mukartirlayirrarni.
He puts (or will put) it on the hat sometime or other.

Note: Since the 3rd sing dative short form -rla is homophonous to the locative suffix -rla and the particular construction above does not absolutely require a phonological representation of the benefactive, and also since the -rla in the above and similar constructions (i.e. where -rla immediately follows a noun) is invariably taken to the the locative, it is imperative to delete -rla to retain the meaning of the original example 12. If this is not done, then the above now means: 'He puts (or will put) it in (or on) the hat some time or other', whereas it should mean: 'He puts (or will put) the hat to him some time or other'. And so 'mukartijiyrarrnhi' (with -rla deleted) is now no longer ambiguous and still carries the meaning of the benefactive by virtue of the verb stem 'yirra', which along with a few others has this requirement or accompanying sense of benefactive 'built in'.

Mukartiyrarrnri.
He puts (or will put) the hat to him some time or other.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>13.</th>
<th>obn</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>man2</th>
<th>ssf</th>
<th>rexf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yuripa</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td>pina</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td>-nyanu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red ochre</td>
<td>indef pres</td>
<td>back,</td>
<td>3rd sing</td>
<td>3rd sing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or fut</td>
<td></td>
<td>return</td>
<td>subj</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14. obn | quan | ta | man2 | man1
maliki | -jarra | -ka | yarda | -lk
Dog | two | pres | again, | now
progressive | more than | 3 times
ssf | rec | vt | t | ints
-pala | -nyanu | yarli | -rni | -yau
3rd dual | 3rd dual | conjugation II | non-past | intensifier
subject | reciprocal | bite
Malikijarrakayardakupalanyanyarlkirnyawu.
The two dogs are now most certainly biting one another again for
the umpteenth time.

15. obn | ta | ssf | vt | t
nantuwu | zero | zero | luwa | -rnu
horse | def past | 3rd sing | conjugation II | past
subj | shoot
Nantuwuluwau
He shot the horse.

1.2 TRANSITIVE DECLARATIVE WITH LOCATIVE

In the preceding sections two versions of bidimensional arrays for the
transitive declarative verb less locative were presented. However,
with the locative only one version has been found to occur. Alternate
ways of incorporating the locative have been observed, but they occur
on levels higher than the level under discussion here. The single
version with the locative is essentially the same as Bidimensional
Array Chart 1, with the locational and locative put in position
following + con as shown in Chart 3.
### CHART 3

**BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY OF VERB TRANSITIVE DECLARATIVE WITH LOCATIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>con</th>
<th>dir</th>
<th>loc</th>
<th>locv</th>
<th>vcon+ut</th>
<th>+t</th>
<th>man1</th>
<th>+ta</th>
<th>+ssf</th>
<th>rec</th>
<th>+obst</th>
<th>+ben</th>
<th>+man2</th>
<th>+ins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngulu</td>
<td>kanunj 'under'</td>
<td>prouns or nouns with or without pronouns</td>
<td>-rta/-ngka</td>
<td>'on, on, in, by'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kala</td>
<td>kanunjumazze 'underneath'</td>
<td>nyampu 'here'</td>
<td>-kura/-kirea 'toward'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manu</td>
<td>kankaluni 'on top of, up'</td>
<td>yalumpu 'over there'</td>
<td>-nguluz/-ngjili 'from'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaka</td>
<td>wurnturu 'far'</td>
<td>yali 'yonder, farther than over there'</td>
<td>-woru 'through, across'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaninjani</td>
<td>'inside'</td>
<td>yinya 'that way, out of sight, way out there'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gitiri</td>
<td>'outside'</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yatijerra</td>
<td>'north'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurjerra</td>
<td>'south'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokorrera</td>
<td>'east'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karjerra</td>
<td>'west'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kampjerra</td>
<td>'in front'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kajkkurr</td>
<td>'in the middle, half-way'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exponents same as for Chart 1
Notes to Chart 3:

a. The exponent -warnu happens to occur in the locative as well as in the manner slot, but only one -warnu may be manifested in any given string.

b. The locative is obligatory and must be preceded by at least one locational and may not occur string-initially.

c. The locative -zla is affixed to all direction forms and to ngampu, yali and yinya as well as to all location nouns comprising three or more syllables, or location nouns or names borrowed from a language other than Ngardilpa. The allomorph -ngka is affixed to all the forms and location nouns not included in the preceding statement.

The remaining locative suffixes and their allomorphs except -warnu are governed by vowel harmony.

d. The suffix -lumpayi 'far' may be affixed to any of the four direction exponents yatijarra 'north', kulirra 'south', kakarrara 'east', and kurlarra 'west', but before affixation the last syllable is dropped and regressive vowel harmonization occurs where applicable as in kulirra + -lumpayi = kurlulumpayi 'far (to the) south'.

e. It may be argued that there should be a word break between locative and verb compounder, and indeed short pauses for breath or thinking have been found to occasionally occur there. But identical pauses have also been found to occur along other places in the utterance and usually when such pauses, hesitation or stuttering occurs inadvertently, the speaker promptly repeats the whole utterance in one breath as if to correct himself. As mentioned earlier, alternate ways of incorporating the locative have been observed, but these occurred on levels higher than the level represented by Chart 3, and in these higher levels pauses or word breaks play an important role. (Also see note d. under Chart 6.)

Examples of Verb Transitive Declarative with Locative Conforming to Bidimensional Array Chart 3

Again, the following examples correspond to those given to illustrate Bidimensional Array Chart 1. Here and there some of the optional exponents will be omitted for sake of variation and brevity.
1. locnI | locn | locv | vt | t
dir | yirring | walya | -ngka | _pantani_ | -rni
outside | ground | on | conjugation IV | non-past
| | | | spear

ta | ssf | obsf
-ka | -nlau | -nyanu
pres | 1st pl | 3rd pl | obj
progressive | excl subj

_yirring walyangkapantinikarnalunyaru._
Outside on the ground we (but not you nor they) are spearing them.

2. locnI | locv | vcom | vt | t | ta
locn | nyampa | -rla | turnu | ma | -nu | -lpa
here | at | gather | conjugation V | past | past
pick up

ssf | obsf | man2
zero | -jana | -warru
3rd sing | 3rd pl | around
subj | obj

_Nyampa turnurlumuljulwarru._
Here (at) he was gathering them around.

3. locnI | locv | vcom | vt | t | man1
locn | ngurra | -kurra | wilypi | ma | -nu | -rra
camp | towards | pull | conjugation V | past | away
get, take, fetch

ssf | obsf
-pala | zero
past | 3rd dual | 3rd sing
imperfect | subj | obj

_Ngurra gutura wilypinurralpapala._
Toward the camp the two of them were pulling it away.

4. locnI | locn | locv | vcom | vcom | vt
dir | kaninjarni | yuwarli | -rla | juka- | juka-
yirra-
inside | house | in | poke | poke | conjugation IV
put
Kaninjarniyuwarlirja
ajukayirrarnyunanurla.
Inside in the house he repeatedly poked it to himself.

5. lounl  locv  vcom  vcom  vt  t
loc
nyamnu  -ngurlu  pin-  pin-  ma  -ni
here  from  thin  thin  conjugation V  non-past
cause to become

ta  ssf  obsf
-ka  -rna  zero
pres  1st sing  3rd sing
progressive  subj  obj

Nyampungurlupinpinmanikarna
From here (at) I am making it thinner and thinner.

6. lounl  locv  vt  t  ta
loc
kankarlnmi  pirlu  -ngka  pu  -ngu  kula
on top of,  hill  on  conjugation III  past  def neg
up  kill  past

ssf  obsf
-ralu  -jana
1st pl  3rd pl
excl  obj

Kankarlnmiplurlingkakungukulmanalujana.
We (without you nor them) did not kill them up on top of the hill.

7. lounl  locv  vt  t  ta
locn
ngurra  -ngka  nyla  -ngkarla  kapi
camp  in  conjugation III  irrealsis  immed fut
see

ssf  obsf
-rna  -ngku
1st sing subj  2nd sing obj

Ngurrangkanyangkarlakapirnangku.
I should soon see you in the camp.
8. locn1 locv vt t ta
   locn
   sing
   veh
   -pasta

   yinga -ria yi -nyi kapu
   that way at conjugation 111 non-past dist
give
   way out there fut

   ssf obsf ben man2
dsf
   -rna zero -ngku pina
   1st sing 3rd sing 2nd sing back, return
   subj obj dat

Yinyarlayinyikapurraangkupina.
After a long time I will give it back to you way out there (at).

9. con locn1 locv vt t ta
   locn
   neg
   -pasta

   ngaka warlu -ngka purra -ja zero
   later fire in conjugation 1 past def past
   cook

   ssf obsf
dsf
   -rinalu zero
   1st pl 1st sing
   excl subj obj

Ngakawarlungkapurrajaralnu.
Later we (but not you nor they) cooked it in the fire.

10. locn1 locv vt t ta
    locn
    nyampu -ria ngarri- -rni kulaka
    here at conjugation 11 non-past neg pres
tell

    ssf refx obsf ben
dsf
    -rna -ju
    1st sing 1st sing 3rd sing 1st sing
    subj refx obj dat

Nyampurlangarrainnikulakarajulu.
I am not telling it to myself here (at).
Yamangkangarnulparnalujana.
We (but not you nor they) were eating them in the shade.

Yatijarrayalirlayirrariniria.
Over yonder in the north he puts (or will put) it to him sometime or other.

Wurnturuyinyarlamani.
Far that way out of sight he vets (or will get) it at some time or other.
14. locnl locn vt t ta
ekarru locn -ngka yarlki -rni -ka
    creek by conjugation 11 non-past pres progress
    bite

    ssf rec
    -pala -nyanu
    3rd dual 3rd dual
    subj reciprocal

*Karrungkayarlkiirkapalanyanu.*
By the creek the two of them are biting one another.

15. locnl locv vt t ta
    locn nyampu -rla luwa -rnu zero
    here at conjugation 11 past def past
    shoot

    ssf obsf
    zero zero
    3rd sing 3rd sing
    subj obj

*Nyampurlaluwarnu.*
Here (at) he shot him.

2. VERB TRANSITIVE

Among the five conjugations of Ngardilpa verbs, conjugations I and V comprise the bulk of intransitive verb stems. The few transitive verb stems belonging to these two 'intransitive' conjugations have already been elaborated on in section 1.1.

Conjugation I comprises more verb stems than any of the other conjugations and these stems are all polysyllabic, that is, disyllabic or longer, and combine with many compounders to form complex or compound verbs, which are all intransitive.

Conjugation V has very few verb stems and they are all monosyllabic, but they may combine with different compounders to form many complex or compound verbs, which again are intransitive except for those enumerated in section 1.1.
2.1 INTRANSITIVE DECLARATIVE WITHOUT LOCATIVE

CHART 4

BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY OF VERB INTRANSITIVE DECLARATIVE (VERSION 1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+con</th>
<th>+vcom</th>
<th>+vi</th>
<th>+t</th>
<th>+man1</th>
<th>+ta</th>
<th>+ssf</th>
<th>+man2</th>
<th>+ints</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Exponents same as for Chart 1

Note that to derive the above string from that given in Chart 1, only +refx or rec, +obsf and +ben have been deleted, and +vt changed to +vi.

Representative List of Intransitive Verb Stems
(including some exceptions from transitive conjugations)

Conjugation 1  wangka      'speak, talk'
               purla      'shout'
               yula       'cry'
               ngarlarri  'laugh'
               wirnpirli  'whistle'
               nyina      'sit'
               nguna      'lie (down)'
               karri      'stand'
               yuka       'enter'
               jarri      'become'
               pali       'die'
               wanti      'fall'
               parnka     'run'
               karli-     'flow'
               parli-     'arise, emerge'
               karrika    'proceed, go'
               wapa       'walk'
               yarinka    'commence to go'
               parntarri  'crouch'
               janka      'burn'

Among the above verb stems jarri 'become' must always be preceded by either a verb compounder, subject short form, or interrogative marker.
Conjugation I

mati  'go one behind the other'
warrka  'climb'

Conjugation II

pirrmarnpu  'bounce, rebound'
juwuylpu  'jump'

Conjugation IV

karalyarrnga  'slide, slip'

Conjugation V

ya  'go'
wurulya  'hide'
murnturra  'roar'
walykurra  'bark'
kilywirra  'make squeaking sound'
taalma  'make clicking sound'

Examples of Verb Intransitive Declarative
Conforming to Bidimensional Array Chart 4

1. con  vcom  vcom  vi  yani  ya  go  past -nu
   ngula  jingi-  jingi-  smartly  progress  through
   then  smartly  progress  through
   manl  ta  ssf  man2
   -rnu  zero  zero  pina
   hither  def past  3rd sing  back
   subj  return

Ngulajingi jingiyanurnupina.
Then he quickly and smartly came through on his way back.

2. con  vi  t
   ngaka  parnka  -ja  -rni  zero
   later  conjugation I  past  hither  def past
   run
   ssf  man2
   zero  yijala
   3rd sing  again,
   subj  2nd or 3rd
   time

Ngakaparnka jarniyijala.
Later he came running again for the second or third time.
3. **con** vcom vi $\uparrow$ ta  
   **kala** muku-jarda wanti -ja zero  
   and total sleep conjugation 1 past def past  

ssf ints.  
-lu -wu  
3rd pl intensifier  
subj  

*Kalamukujardawantijaluwu.*  
And they definitely fell totally asleep. (Died instantly without knowing what happened)

4. **vcom** vi $\uparrow$ ta ssf  
   **yakarra** pardi -ja zero -ralu  
   awake conjugation 1 past def past 1st pl excl subj  
   rise  

*Yakarrapardijarnalu.*  
We (but not you nor they) awoke and got up.

5. **con** vcom vi $\uparrow$ man1  
   **ngula** girkinyapa ya -nu -lkulu  
   then, together, conjugation V past now  
   afterwards, in a group go  
   next  

   ta ssf man2  
   kula -nkulu pina  
   def neg 2nd pl back  
   past subj return  

*Ngulayirkinyapayanulkukulankulupina.*  
Afterwards you all did not now go back together (in a group).

6. **con** vcom vi $\uparrow$ ta  
   **kala** kurnta- jarri zero kukuka  
   and ashamed conjugation 1 non-past not yet  
   become even  

ssf zero  
3rd sing subj  

*Kalakurntajarrikukuka.*  
And she is not even becoming ashamed yet.
7. vcom vi \(\uparrow\) manl ta
jupu karri -ja -kirli zero
stop conjugation 1 past motionless def past stand

ssf man2
-rii yijala -wu
1st dual again, intensifier
incl 2nd or 3rd time

Jupukarrijakirriyiyiyiyijalawu.
You and I most certainly came to a stop (and stood motionless)
again for the second or third time.

8. vi \(\uparrow\) manl ta
wangka -mi -rni -ka
conjugation 1 non-past hither pres progress
speak

ssf man2
-pala -wiyi
3rd dual subj first

Wangkamirnikapatlawi. The two of them are speaking this way (hither) first.

9. con vcom vi \(\uparrow\) manl
kala pingka karli -mi -rra
and slowly conjugation 1 non-past thither flow

SSF
kula zero
neg fut 3rd sing subj

Kalapingkakarliirimirakula.
And it will not slowly flow away (thither).

10. con vcom vi \(\uparrow\) manl ta
ngaka murturr ma -nu warnu zero
later roar conjugation V past across def past make, cause

SSF
-lu yarda
3rd pl subj again,
more than 3 times

Ngakamurturrmanuwarnuluyarda.
Later they roared past (across) again for the umpteenth time.
11. con vcom vi t manl
ngula karalyarr nga -1ku -1ku
then slip, slide semantically
empty

manl ta ssf manl2
-rra zero zero -marda
thither no meaning 3rd sing subj maybe

Ngulakaralyarrngalkulkurramarda.
Then it will perhaps now slide away (thither).

12. vi t ta ssf
mati -rni zero -li
conjugation II non-past indef pres 3rd pl subj
or fut.
go one behind the other, in single file

Matirnili.
They go (or will go) in single file some time or other.

13. vcom vi t ta ssf
juwuly- pu -ngku zero zero
jump hit, but no meaning 3rd sing subj

Juwulypungku.
He will jump.

14. vcom vi t ta ssf
walykurr- ma -nu zero zero
bark conjugation V past def past 3rd sing subj
make, cause

Walykurrmanu.
It barked.

15. vcom vi t ta ssf
kulu jarri zero zero/-mi zero
fight conjugation I non-past indef pres 3rd sing or fut sugj
become

Kulujarri.
He becomes (or will become) angry some time or other.

The comment regarding tense aspect forms following the examples for
Chart 1 also applies to this section.
CHART 5

BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY OF VERB INTRANSITIVE DECLARATIVE (VERSION 2)

| +con | +ta | -man2 | +man1 | +ssf | +vcom | +vi | ++ | +int s |

Note that to derive the above string from Chart 4, certain permutations have been applied:

a. +vcom +vi ++ were permuted to position preceding +int s.
b. +man 2 was permuted to position preceding +man1.
c. +ta was permuted to position following +con.

Or it can also be said that Chart 5 was derived from Chart 2, via the following deletions and changes:

a. delete +obn, +refx and +ben.
   or rec
b. change +vt to +vi.

Restrictions: When ta exponent is monosyllabic or zero, then a con exponent must precede it; but when ta exponent is zero and a man2 exponent follows, then this man2 exponent may be phonologically string-initial. Also, when both ta and ssf exponents happen to be zero and no con, man2, nor man1 exponents are used, then vcom or vi exponents may be phonologically string-initial.

Examples of Verb Intransitive Declarative
Conforming to Bidimensional Array Chart 5

The following examples are the same as those listed for Chart 4, with corresponding numbering, except that the permutations, deletions, changes and restrictions have been applied to make them compatible with Chart 5.
1. ta zero def past man2 pina back, return man1 ssf -rni zero hither 3rd sing subj vcom jingi-sm art vcom

vi t
ya -nu
conjugation V past go
dita

Pinarnijingiyunu.
He quickly and smartly came through on his way back.

2. ta zero def past man2 yijala again, man1 ssf -rni zero hither 3rd sing subj vcom run parnka conj 1

-ja
past

Vijalarniparkaja.
He came running again for the second or third time.

3. con kala and ta zero def past ssf -lu 3rd pl subj vcom muku-jarda wanti conj 1

vi

+t
-ints
-ja -wu
past intensifier

Kalalumukujardawantijawu.
And they definitely fell totally asleep. (Died instantly without knowing what happened)

4. con ngaka later ta zero def past ssf -rnalu 1st pl excl subj vcom yakarra awake conj 1

vi

pardi

+t
-ja
past

Ngakarnaluakarrapardijja.
Later we (but not you nor they) awoke and got up.

34
5. ta man2 man1 ssf vcom  
kula pinakula -lkulunkuluyirrkinyapa  
def neg back now 2nd pl together  
past return subj in a group  
vi t  
nya -nu  
conjugation V past  
go  

Kulapinalkunkuluuyirrkinyapayunu.  
You all did not now go back together (in a group).

6. ta ssf vcom vi t  
kukuka zero kurnta jarri zero  
not yet 3rd sing ashamed conjugation 1 non-past  
even subj become  

Kukukakurntajarri.  
She is not even becoming ashamed yet.

7. ta man2 man1 ssf vcom  
zero yijala -kirri -rli jupu  
def past again, motionless 1st dual stop  
2nd or incl 3rd time  
vi t ints  
karri -ja -wu  
conjugation 1 past intensifier stand  

Yijalakirrilirilijupukarrijawu.  
You and I most certainly came to a stop (and stood motionless)  
again for the second or third time.

8. con ta man2 man1 ssf  
kala -ka -wiyi -rni -pala  
and press progress first hither 3rd dual subj  
vi t  
wangka zero/-mi  
conjugation 1 non-past  
speak  

Kalakawiyirnipalawangka.  
And the two of them are speaking this way (hither) first.
9. ta
  kula
  neg gut

man1
-zero
  thither
  3rd sing subj

ssf
vcom
vi

karri
pingka
slowly
conjugation I flow

†
zero/-mi
non-past

Kularrapingkakarlimi.
It will not slowly flow away (thither).

10. ta
  zero
  def past

man2
-yarda
  again, across
  more than 3 times

man1
-warnu
  3rd pl subj

ssf
vcom
-lu
murnturr

vi
†

ma
-nu

conjugation V past
make, cause

Yardawarnulumurnturturmanu.
They roared past (across) again for the umpteenth time.

11. ta
  zero
  no

man2
-marda
  maybe

man1
-rra
-lku
  now

man1
-zero
  3rd sing subj

ssf
vcom

karalyarr

vi
†

nga
-lku

conjugation IV fut
semantically empty

Mardarralkukaralyarrngaalku.
It will perhaps now slide away (thither).

12. con
  kala
  and

ta
-zero
  indef pres 3rd pl subj

ssf
-vi
†

-lu

mati

-rni

gono behind the other, in single file

Kalalumatirni.
And they go (or will go) in single file some time or other.
13. ta zero vcom juwuly pu +ngku
zero no jump conjugation III fut
meaning subj hit, but no meaning here
Juwulypungku.
He will jump.

14. ta zero vcom walykurrma ma -nu
zero def past bark conjugation V past
past
Walykurrmanu.
It barked.

15. ta zero vcom kulu jarri zero/-mi
zero indef pres fight conjugation 1 indef pres
or fut subj become or fut
Kulujarri.
He becomes (or will become) angry some time or other.

2.2 INTRANSITIVE DECLARATIVE WITH LOCATIVE

The locative has been found to occur only with intransitive verb string version 2 but not with intransitive verb string version 1. Yet the locative occurs with transitive verb string version 1 but not with transitive verb string version 2. This could mean that perhaps the locative does also occur with the intransitive version 1 and the transitive version 2 but did not happen to occur in this way in the collected texts; or it could mean that this is precisely how the locative must join with the intransitive and transitive verbs respectively.

Although there is only one basic version of locative with intransitive verb, certain permutations within this version do occur and these are explained following Chart 6.
CHART 6

BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY OF LOCATIVE WITH VERB INTRANSITIVE

\[ +\text{con} \quad +\text{locnl} \quad +\text{locv} \quad +\text{ta} \quad +\text{man2} \quad +\text{man1} \quad +\text{ssf} \quad +\text{vcom} \quad +\text{vi} \quad +\text{++intS} \]

dir locn

---

Same exponents as in Chart 4
Same exponents as in chart 3

Notes:

a. Only a connective or locational may occur string-initially.
b. At least one locational must occur in each string.
c. See note c. following Chart 3 concerning the distribution of the location -ria and its allomorph -ngka.
d. It may be argued that in the above string a work-break should occur between locv and ta. Neither monosyllabic ta nor any ssf exponents may occur word-initially and con must remain utterance-initial, that is, following a pause. Also, ssf is obligatory within a verb string and if there were a break between locv and ta, and ssf had permuted to position preceding locv, then the verb would have lost its obligatory ssf. Therefore the above string as presented in Chart 6 is considered to be one word. (Also see note e. under Chart 3.)

Examples of Verb Intransitive with Locative
Conforming to Bidimensional Array Chart 6 and its possible variations

The following examples have been taken from those following Chart 5, and their numerical sequence has been preserved; only a locative has been added to each.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>con</th>
<th>locnl</th>
<th>locv</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>man2</th>
<th>man1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaka kamparru</td>
<td>-rla</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td>pina</td>
<td>-rni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>later in front</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>def</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>back, hither</td>
<td>return</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ngingiya

Later at the front he quickly and smartly came through on his way back.

or with permutation 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>con</th>
<th>locnl</th>
<th>manl</th>
<th>man2</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>locv</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaka kamparru</td>
<td>-rni</td>
<td>pina</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td>-rla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>later in front</td>
<td>hither</td>
<td>back, def</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>return</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

jingiya

Later at the front he quickly and smartly came through on his way back.

or with permutation 2, option 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>con</th>
<th>locnl</th>
<th>locv</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>man2</th>
<th>man1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaka kamparru</td>
<td>-rla</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td>pina</td>
<td>-rni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>later in front</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>def</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>back, hither</td>
<td>return</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

jingiya

Later at the front he quickly and smartly came through on his way back.
or option 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>con</th>
<th>locnl</th>
<th>locv</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>man2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaka</td>
<td>kamparru</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td>-rla</td>
<td>zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>later</td>
<td>in front</td>
<td>3rd sing</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>def past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| man1 | vcom | vi | † |
| -rni | jingi | ya | -nu |
| hither | smartly | conjugation V | past |
| progress | go |      |      |
| through |      |      |      |

Ngakakamparrurlapinarnijingigayu.
Later at the front he quickly and smartly came through on his way back.

Notice that 3 or the above 4 versions of example 1 are phonologically identical because ssf happens to be zero.

2. con | locnl | locv | ta   | man2 | man1
| locn | locn |      |      |      |      |
| kala | nyampu | -kurra | zero | yijala | -rni |
| and | here | towards | def past | again, | hither |
|      |      | 2nd or |      |      | 3rd time |

ssf | vi | † |
zero | parnka | -ja |
3rd sing subj | conjugation 1 | past | run |

Kalanyampukurrayijalarniparnkaja.
And towards here he came running again for the second or third time.

3. con | locnl | locv | ta   | ssf
| dir |      |      |      |      |
| kala | Kaninjarni | -rla | zero | -lu |
| and | inside | at | def past | 3rd pl |
|      |      | subj |      |      |

vcom | vi | † |
-jarda | wanti | -ja | -wu |
total sleep | conjugation 1 | past | intensifier | fall |

Kalakaninjarnirulalumukujardawantijawu.
And inside (at) they definitely fell totally asleep. (Died instantly without knowing what happened)
Ngakayinyarlarnaluyakarrapardiya.
Later way out there (at) we (but not you nor they) awoke and got up.

or with permutation 2, option 1:

Ngakayinyarlayakarrapardijarnalu.
Later way out there (at) we (but not you nor they) awoke and got up.

or option 2:
5. locn1 locv ta man2 man1
   locn yali -ngirli kula pina -1ku
   over there from def neg back, return now
   past

   ssf vcom vi †
-nkulu yirrkinya ya -nu
2nd pl subj together, conjugation V past
in a group go

Yalingirlilikulapinalkunkulyirrkinya yawanu.
You all did not now go back together (in a group) from over there.

or with permutation 1:

locn1 man1 man2 ta locv
locn yali -lki pina kula -ngurlu
over there now back, return from
past

ssf vcom vi †
-nkulu yirrkinya ya -nu
2nd pl subj together, in a group conjugation V past
go

Yalilkpinakulanurlyunkulyirrkinya yawanu.
You all did not now go back together (in a group) from over there.

6. locn1 locv ta ssf vcom
locn nyampa -rla kukuka zero kurnta
here at not yet even 3rd sing ashamed subj

vi †
jarri zero
conjugation 1 non-past
become

Nyampurlakukakurntajarri.
She is not even becoming ashamed yet here (at).
7. locnl | locv | ta | man2 | manl

locnl
pirli | -ngka | zero | yijala | kirli
hill | at | def past | again, | motionless
2nd or 3rd | time

ssf | vcom | vi | † | ints
-rlī | jupu | karrī | -ja | wu
1st dual | stop | conjugation | past | intensifier
incl | stand

Pirlingkayijalakirrilirlijupukarrijawu.
You and I most certainly came to a stop (and stood motionless)
at the hill again for the second or third time.

8. con | locnl | locv | ta | man2 | manl

locnl
kala | yalumpu | -ngurlu | -ka | -wigi | -rnī
and | over there | from | pres | first | hither

ssf | vi | † | zero/-mi
-pala | wakngka | 3rd dual | conjugation | non-past
subj | speak

Kalayalumpurlungulkawigirnirpalawangka.
And from over there the two of them are speaking this way (hither)
first.

9. locnl | locv | ta | man1 | ssf
dir
kurirlra | -kurra | kula | -rra | zero
south | towards | neg fut | thither | 3rd sing subj

vcom | vi | † | zero
pingka | karli |/-mi
slowly | conjugation | non-past
flow

Kurirlarakurralarrapingkakarli.
It will not slowly flow away (thither) towards the south.

10. locnl | locv | ta | man2

locnl
kirri | -kari | -kirra | yarda
village | other | towards | def past | again,
more than 3 times
Kirrikarikirrayardawarnulumurnturrmanu.
They roared past (across) again towards the other village for the umpteenth time.

or with permutation 1:

Kirrikariwarnuyardakurralamurnturrmanu.
They roared past (across) again towards the other village for the umpteenth time.

11. locnv
    dir
    kanumjumparra -kurra zero -marda -rra
    underneath towards no maybe thither
    meaning

    manl
    -iku zero karalyarr nga -iku
    now 3rd sing slip, slide conjugation 1V fut
    subj empty

Kanumjumparrakurramardarralkukaralyarrngalku.
It will perhaps now slide away (thither) towards underneath (there).

12. locnv
    dir
    yatijarra -kurra zero -lu mati
    north towards indef pres 3rd pl
    subj or fut subj

    conjugation 1V
    go one behind
    the other,
    in single file
Yatijarrakurrulamatirri.
The go (or will go) in single file towards the north some time
or other.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>13.</th>
<th>locn1</th>
<th>locv</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>ssf</th>
<th>vcom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>locn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karru</td>
<td>-ngka</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td>jump</td>
<td>jump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creek</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>no meaning</td>
<td>3rd sing</td>
<td>subj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

vi  
pu  
conjugation ill  
hit, but no  
meaning here

Karrungkajuwulypungku.
He will jump into the creek.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>14.</th>
<th>locn1</th>
<th>locv</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>ssf</th>
<th>vcom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wurnturu</td>
<td>yinya</td>
<td>-r1a</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far</td>
<td>way out there</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>def past</td>
<td>3rd sing</td>
<td>subj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vcom</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walykurr</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>-nu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bark</td>
<td>conjugation V</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>make, cause</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wurnturuyingarlawalykurrmanu.
Far away out there (at) it barked.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>15.</th>
<th>locn1</th>
<th>locv</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>ssf</th>
<th>vcom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamparru</td>
<td>-r1a</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td>kulu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in front</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>indef pres</td>
<td>3rd sing</td>
<td>flight</td>
<td>subj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jarri</td>
<td>zero/-mi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conjugation 1</td>
<td>indef pres</td>
<td></td>
<td>become</td>
<td>or fut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kamparrurlakulujarri.
Up in front (at) he becomes (or will become) angry some time
or other.
3. VERB MIDDLE

Some verbs in Ngardilpa are neither transitive or intransitive and so for lack of a better term they are here called 'middle verbs'. As demonstrated in the preceding sections, the transitive verb requires an object represented either by a noun or the object short form, and the intransitive verb requires no object. This is one of the features that distinguishes transitive verbs from intransitive ones. The feature that distinguishes the middle verb from either of the other verbs is that middle verbs require an object but this object is exclusively represented by the dative short form. Some intransitive verbs function also as middle verbs, but then they always require the dative short form.

In the collected texts, these middle verbs are not too numerous and further specific eliciting was not possible due to the time limitations imposed on the workshop; therefore no bidimensional arrays for middle verbs will be charted. Also it has been observed that some constructions denoting the jussive mood are homophonous to some middle verb constructions and so the jussives will not be elaborated on either.

The few middle verbs that have been found among the various conjugations to date are listed below:

Conjugation I

wangka  'speak to, talk to, tell to'
pura     'follow someone or something'

Conjugation II

parda-   'wait for someone or something'
ngarri-  'tell to'

Conjugation III

purdanya 'listen to, think about, remember'
wurruka  'sneak up to'

Conjugation V

walkurrji 'bark at'
warungkama 'forget'

4. VERB STATIVE

Stative verbs play an important role in Ngardilpa and are used frequently in everyday speech.
In general, English adjectives coupled with the verb 'to be' translate into stative verbs in Ngardilpa. Some statives translate into English nouns coupled with the verb 'to be'. These nouns are predominantly kinship terms.

Stative verbs in Ngardilpa are not inflected for tense, not tense-aspect, but they do take at least one manner exponent.

Some of the modifiers or adjectives used in Ngardilpa to form stative verbs:

- **lawa** 'no, nothing, not'
- **mata** 'tired'
- **palka** 'present, bodily form'
- **wiri** 'big'
- **ngurrpa** 'uninformed, ignorant'
- **wuukayi** 'exhausted'
- **nyurnu** 'sick, not well'
- **walyka** 'cold'
- **pampa** 'blind'
- **jilki** 'deaf'
- **marrumarru** 'sick, in pain, hurting'
- **ngurrju** 'good'
- **yarnma** 'thin'
- **rampaku** 'weak'
- **wangamarra** 'crazy'
- **maju** 'bad'
- **jama** 'generous'
- **yakiri** 'wet'
- **wanka** 'alive, raw'
- **lani** 'frightened'
- **kari** 'other'
- **pina** 'back, return'
### CHART 7

**BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY OF VERB STATIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+vs</th>
<th>-man</th>
<th>+ssf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>modifiers,</td>
<td>-lk/u/-lk/u</td>
<td>see Matrix 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinship terms,</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>in Section</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limited number</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of certain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>applicable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nouns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Examples of Verb Stative

1. **vs** ssf
   - **lawa** -rna
   - **not** 1st sing
   - **subj**

   *Lawarna.*
   I am not here or present. (or 'I am not or did not do it', depending on the situation or context)

2. **vs** man ssf
   - **wiri** -lki
   - **big** now
   - **3rd sing**
   - **subj**

   *Wirilki.*
   He is big now. (He is an adult or man now.)

3. **vs** man ssf
   - **ngarrka** -lk/u
   - **-na**
   - **man** now
   - **1st sing**
   - **subj**

   *Ngarrkalkurna.*
   I am a man now. (I am grown-up now, because I have been initiated or circumcised.)
4. vs ssf
   wuukayi -nra
   exhausted 2nd sing subj

   Wuukayinpa.
   You are exhausted.

5. vs ssf
   kalinyanu -rnalu
   wife 1st pl excl

   Kalinyanurnalu.
   We (but not you nor they) are wives.

6. vs ssf
   Japangardi -rna
   name of males belonging 1st sing subj
to that particular skin group

   Japangardirna.
   I am (a) Japangardi.

7. vs man ssf
   palka -lku -rna
   present now 1st sing subj

   Palkalkurna.
   I am present (here) now.

   Note: The above intransitive example preceded or followed by an appropriate object noun becomes then transitive with a corresponding shift in the meaning of the stative verb:

8. obn vs man ssf
   ngapa palka -lku -rna
   water find now 1st sing subj

   Ngapa palkalkurna.
   I am finding (or found) water now.

9. vs ssf
   kari -pala
   other 3rd dual subj

   Karipala.
   The two of them are the other ones.
Although these stative verbs are not actually inflected for tense, an attempt at specifying when the action is occurring is evident by the use of the lone manner exponent -lk/-lk 'now'. There is another way of indicating when the action took place, that is, by placing a time adverb either before or after the stative verb:

10. adv vs ssf
    *Nyurruyi* lani -rlajarra
    long time ago frightened 1st dual excl.

    *Nyurruyi*lanirlajarra.
    Long time ago we two (but not you nor they) were frightened.

11. vs ssf adv
    murrumurrum -rna purrarni
    sick 1st sing subj yesterday

    *Murrumurrum purrarni.*
    I was sick yesterday.

12. adv vs ssf
    jukurrarapardukari pina -nkulu
    day after tomorrow return 2nd pl subj

    *Jukurrarapardukari pinankulu.*
    You all will return the day after tomorrow.
    (This is ambiguous because it does not specify whether they will come back or go back, but the situation or context, or perhaps other implicit information accompanying the above utterance, usually removed such ambiguity.)

5. QUERY

In Ngardilpa there exists a clear distinction between queries and interrogatives. An overt marker divides the queries from the interrogatives and although both have the easily recognizable rising intonation, the queries demand or expect either a 'yes' or 'no' answer.

This overt query marker is obligatory, yet on a few rare occasions it was found to have been omitted. On those occasions intonation seemed to be even more pronounced and noticeable.

The query marker combines in a predictable way with the various verbs, and an obvious feature of the query is the marked lack of optional tagmemes in any given string. This might mirror the urgency and impatience which usually accompanies queries; in other words, the inquirer wants to hear an answer as soon as possible and he therefore has no time to think about and insert into his query all kinds
of morpheme bits representing exponents of optional tagmemes.

5.1 QUERY WITH VERB TRANSLATIVE

Charts 1 and 2 comprise the two versions of verb transitive declarative, and the query with verb transitive also conforms to these two versions. The only difference is the addition of the query marker and the omission of most of the optional tagmemes, and the choice of either one of only two optional manl exponents in position following +t.

CHART 8

BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY OF QUERY WITH VERB TRANSLATIVE (Version 1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+vcom</th>
<th>+vt</th>
<th>+t</th>
<th>+manl</th>
<th>+qm</th>
<th>+ta</th>
<th>+ssf</th>
<th>+refx</th>
<th>+obsf</th>
<th>+ben</th>
<th>+bsf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exponents same as for Chart 1
-ra
-thither'
-ni/-nu
-thither'

Exponents same as for Chart 1
-nya

Examples of Query with Verb Transitive
Conforming to Bidimensional Array Chart 8

The following examples are basically the same as those listed following Chart 2, but here they conform to Chart 8.

1. vt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>panti</th>
<th>-rni</th>
<th>-nya</th>
<th>-ka</th>
<th>-ralu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>conjugation</td>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>query</td>
<td>pres</td>
<td>1st pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marker</td>
<td>progress</td>
<td>excl subj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

obsf
-jana
3rd pl
obj

Panitirinyakarnalujana?
Are we (but not you nor they) spearing them?
2. vcom
  turnu-
  gather
  conjugation V
  pick up

  vt
  ma
  past
  ssf
  zero
  3rd sing
  subj

  t
  -nu
  query
  marker

  qm
  -nya

  ta
  -lpa

Turnumanunyalpajana?
Was he gathering them?

3. vcom
  wilypi-
  pull
  conjugation V
  get, take, fetch

  vt
  ma
  past
  imperfect

  t
  -nu
  thither, query
  away

  man1
  -rra
  marker

  qm
  -nya

  ssf:
  obsf

  -lpa
  -pala
  zero

  past
  3rd dual
  subj

Wilypimanurranyalpapala?
Were the two of them pulling it away?

4. vcom
  juka-
  poke

  vcom
  juka-
  poke

  vt
  yirra
  conjugation II
  reflex
  3rd sing
  subj

  t
  -rnu
  past
  reflex
  3rd sing

  qm
  -nya

  ta
  ssf
  subject

  zero
  zero
  dat

jukajukayarranunyanunuri?
Did he repeatedly poke it to himself?

5. vcom
  pin-
  thin

  vcom
  pin-
  conjugation V

  vt
  ma
  non-past
  progressive

  t
  -ni
  query
  1st sing

  qm
  -nya

  ta
  ssf
  marker

  -ka
  -rna
  zero

  pres
  3rd sing
  subj

Pinpinmaningakarn?
Am I making it thinner and thinner?

52
6. vt pu
   conjugation III past query def neg 1st pl
   kill marker past excl

obsf
jana
3rd pl obj

Pungunyakularnalujana?
Did we (but not you nor they) not not kill them?

(Note: a negative in the declarative becomes a double
negative in a query in English in order to retain
its meaning)

7. vt nya
   conjugation III irreals query immed 1st sing
   ngkarla marker fut subj

obsf
-ngku
2nd sing
obj

Nyangkarlanyakapirnangku?
Would I soon see you?

8. vt yi
   conjugation III non-past query dist fut 1st sing
   give marker subj

obsf
ben
dsf
zero
-ngku
3rd sing
2nd sing
obj
dative

Yinginyakapurnangku?
Will I give it to you after a long time?

9. vt purra
   conjugation I past query defn 1st pl
   cook marker past excl subj

obsf
zero

Purrajanyarnalu?
Did we (but not you nor they) cook it?
10. **vt**

**ngarri**

conjugation 11

tell

rerx

-ju

1st sing

reflexive

**query**

neg pres

marker

subj

Am I not not telling it to myself?

11. **vt**

**nga**

conjugation IV

eat, drink

obsf

-jana

3rd pl

obj

Ngarrirningakulakarnajuju?

Were we (but not you nor they) eating them?

12. **vt**

**yirra**

conjugation 11

put

ssf

zero

3rd sing

subj

Yirrarningarla?

Does (or will) he put it to him some time or other?

13. **vt**

**ma**

conjugation V

get, take, fetch

ssf

zero

3rd sing

subj
Maninyanyanurla?
Does (or will) he get it for himself some time or other?

14. vt
yariki
conjugation 11
bite

qm
query
pres

+ta
marker
progressive

ssf
rec

-pala
-nyanu
3rd dual
3rd dual
subj
reciprocal

Yarlkirninyakapalanyanu?
Are the two of them biting one another?

15. vt
luwa
conjugation 11
shoot

qm
query
defin
3rd sing

+ta
marker
past
subj

ssf
zero
3rd sing
obj

Luwarnunya?
Did he shoot him?

CHART 9
BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY OF QUERY WITH VERB TRANSITIVE (VERSION 2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+obn</th>
<th>+qm</th>
<th>+ta</th>
<th>+ssf</th>
<th>+refx or rec</th>
<th>+ben d5f</th>
<th>+vcom</th>
<th>+vt</th>
<th>+t</th>
<th>+man1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nouns with or without modifiers, demonstratives, pronouns</td>
<td>-nya</td>
<td>-rni</td>
<td>-nyanu</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td>3rd sing</td>
<td>-rra</td>
<td>'hither'</td>
<td>-rni/-rnu</td>
<td>'hither'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes: a. obn in the above Chart 9 is obligatory whereas in Chart 2 it was optional; this is so because the con of Chart 2 has been omitted here, thus shifting obn into string-initial position' and if obn were still optional here as in Chart 2, then qm would at times occur string-initially, and that is not permissible. Also see note a. following Chart 2.

b. The above Chart 9 is patterned after Chart 2 except that three optional tagmemes occurring in Chart 2 do not occur in Chart 9, i.e. obn has become obligatory, and qm has been added to the position preceding tta as in Chart 8. Also tmanl with only two exponents is still in position following tta as in Chart 8.

Examples of Query with Verb Transitive
Conforming to Bidimensional Array Chart 9

The following examples are basically those illustrating Chart 2 but altered to conform to Chart 9.

1. obn  qm  ta  ssf  vt  t
   yapa -nya -ka -rnalu panti -rni
   people query pres 1st pl conjugation II non
   marker progress excl spear past subj

   Yapanyakarnalupantirni?
   Are we (but not you nor they) spearing the people?

2. obn  qm  ta  ssf  vcom  vt  t
   ngarrka -nya -lpa turnu- ma -nu
   men query past 3rd sing gather conjugation V past
   marker imperfect subj

   Ngarrkanyalpaturnumanu?
   Was he gathering men?

3. obn  qm  ta  ssf  vcom  vt
   yama -nya -lpa -pala wilypi- ma
   query past 3rd dual pull conjugation V
   marker imperfect subj

   T manl
   -nu -rra
   past thither

   Yamanyalpapalawilypimanurra?
   Were the two of them pulling the shade away?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4. obn</th>
<th>qm</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>ssf</th>
<th>refx</th>
<th>ben</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kurlarda -nya</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td>-nyanu</td>
<td>-rta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spear</td>
<td>query</td>
<td>def past</td>
<td>3rd sing</td>
<td>3rd sing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marker</td>
<td></td>
<td>subj</td>
<td>refx</td>
<td>dative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vcom</td>
<td>vcom</td>
<td>vt</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juka-</td>
<td>juka-</td>
<td>yirra</td>
<td>-rnu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poke</td>
<td>poke</td>
<td>conjugation 11</td>
<td>past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kurlardanyanganurlajukajayirrarnu?
Did he repeatedly poke the spear to himself?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5. obn</th>
<th>qm</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>ssf</th>
<th>vcom</th>
<th>vcom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>karli -nya</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-rna</td>
<td>pin- pin-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boomerang</td>
<td>query</td>
<td>pres</td>
<td>1st sing</td>
<td>thin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marker</td>
<td>progress</td>
<td>subj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vt</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conjugation V</td>
<td>non-past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cause to become</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Karlingakarnapinpinmani?
Am I making the boomerang thinner and thinner?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6. obn</th>
<th>qm</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>ssf</th>
<th>vt</th>
<th>+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kurrinji -nya</td>
<td>kula</td>
<td>-rnu</td>
<td>pu</td>
<td>-ngu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurrinji</td>
<td>query</td>
<td>def neg</td>
<td>1st pl</td>
<td>conjugation 11</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marker</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>excl</td>
<td>kill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kurrinjinyakularnalupungu?
Did we (but not your nor they) not not kill the Kurrinjis?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7. obn</th>
<th>qm</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>ssf</th>
<th>vt</th>
<th>+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nyuntu -nya</td>
<td>kapi</td>
<td>-rna</td>
<td>nya</td>
<td>-ngkarla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers</td>
<td>query</td>
<td>immed</td>
<td>1st sing</td>
<td>conjunction 11</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sing</td>
<td>marker</td>
<td>fut</td>
<td>subj</td>
<td>see</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nyuntunyakapirnanyangkarla?
Would I soon see you?
8. obn  qm  ta  ssf  ben  vt
dsf
makiti  -nya  kapu  -rna  -ngku  yi
gun  query  dist  1st sing  2nd sing  conjugation III
t marker  fut  subj  dative  give

†
-ngyi
non-past

Makitinyakapurnangkuinyi?
Will I give the gun to you after a long time?

9. obn  qm  ta  ssf  vt  †
kuyu  -nya  zero  -rnalv  purra  -ja
meat  query  defin  1st pl  conjugation I  past
marker  past  excl  cook
subj

Kuyunyarnalupurrja?
Did we (but not you nor they) cook the meat?

10. obn  qm  ta  ssf  refx  ben
dsf
yimi  -nya  kulaka  -rna  -ju  -ju
story  query  neg  pres  1st sing  1st
marker  subj  sing  sing
reflexive dative

Yiminyakulakarnajungarrirni?
Am I not not telling the story to myself?

11. obn  qm  ta  ssf  vt  †
yakajirri  -nya  -lpa  -rnalv  nga  -rnu
bush  query  past  1st pl  conjugation IV  past
tomato  marker  imperfective  excl  eat
subj

Yakajirringalparnalungarnu.
Were we (but not your nor they) eating bush tomatoes?

12. obn  qm  ta  ssf  vt  †
mukarti  -nya  zero  zero  yirra  -rni
hat  query  indef  pres  3rd sing  conjugation II  non-past
marker  or  fut  subj  put

Mukartinyagirrarni?
Does (or will) he put the hat (to him) some time or other?
13. obn     qm     ta     ssf     refx     ben
yurlpa     -nya     zero     zero     -nyanu     -ria
red ochre query indef 3rd sig 3rd sing -ria
marker pres or subj reflexive 3rd sing dat

vt   \(\text{\textdagger}\)
ma   -ni

conjugation V non-past

Yurlipanyanganurlamani?
Does he (or will he) get the red ochre for himself some time or other?

14. obn     qm     ta     ssf     rec
maliki     -jarra -nya  -ka     -pala     -nyanu
dog two query pres 3rd dual 3rd dual
marker progress subject reciprocal

vt   \(\text{\textdagger}\)
yarliki -nri

conjugation II non-past
bite

Malikijarranyakalpanyanganuyarikirni?
Are the two dogs biting one another?

15. obn     qm     ta     ssf     vt     \(\text{\textdagger}\)
nantuwu -nya     zero     zero     luwa     -rnu
horse query def past 3rd sig conjugation II past
marker subj shoot

Nantuwanuyaluwarnu?
Did he shoot the horse?

5.2 Query with verb intransitive

In the preceding section the query with verb transitive was presented in two versions, and in this section the query with verb intransitive will conform to the two versions as presented in Charts 4 and 5, except that they query marker position will have been added and some optional tagmemes deleted or modified.
CHART 10

BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY OF QUERY WITH VERB INTRANSITIVE (VERSION 1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(^{-}vcom)</th>
<th>(^{+}vi)</th>
<th>(^{+})</th>
<th>(^{-})man(l)</th>
<th>(^{+})qm</th>
<th>(^{+})ta</th>
<th>(^{+})ssf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\Rightarrow) EXPONENTS SAME (\Leftrightarrow) AS FOR CHART 4</td>
<td>(-)ya</td>
<td>(-)nya</td>
<td>(\Rightarrow) EXPONENTS SAME (\Leftrightarrow) AS FOR CHART 4</td>
<td>'thither'</td>
<td>'hither'</td>
<td>(\leftrightarrow)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of Query with Verb Intransitive
Conforming to Bidimensional Array Chart 10

The following examples are taken from those following Chart 4, but modified to conform to Chart 10.

1. \(vcom\) \(vcom\) \(vi\) \(^{+}\) \(man\(l\)\) \(qm\)
   \(jingi-\) \(jingi\) \(ya\) \(-nu\) \(-rnu\) \(-nya\)
   smartly\hfil conjugation \(V\) past hither query
   progress through
ta \(ssf\)
zero zero
def past 3rd sing subj

_Jingijingiyanurnunya?_ Did he come through quickly and smartly?

2. \(vi\) \(^{+}\) \(man\(l\)\) \(qm\) \(ta\) \(ssf\)
   \(parnka\) \(-ja\) \(-rni\) \(-nya\) zero zero
   conjugation \(1\) past hither query def past 3rd sing
   run marker subj

_Parnkajarninya?_ Did he come running?

3. \(vcom\) \(vi\) \(^{+}\) \(qm\) \(ta\) \(ssf\)
   \(muku-jarda\) \(wanti\) \(-ja\) \(-nya\) zero \(-lu\)
   total sleep conjugation \(1\) past query def past 3rd pl
   fall marker subj

_Mukuwardawantijanyalu?_ Did they fall totally asleep? (Did they die?)
4. vcom vi t qm ta ssf
   yakarra pardi -ja -nya zero -rnalu
awake conjugation 1 past query def past 1st pl
   rise marker excl subj

Yakarrapardijanyarnalu?
Did we (but not you or they) awake and get up?

5. vcom vi t qm ta ssf
   yirrinyinpa- ya -nu -nya kula -nkulu
together, conjugation V past query def neg 2nd pl
   in a group go marker past sugj

Yirrinyinpayanunyakulankulu?
Did not you all not go together (in a group)?

6. vcom vi t qm ta ssf
   kurnta- jarrri zero -nya kukuka zero
ashamed conjugation 1 non-past query not yet 3rd sing
   become marker even subj

Kurntajarrinyakukuka?
Is she not even yet not becoming ashamed?

7. vcom vi t qm ta ssf
   jupu- karri -ja -nya zero -rri
stop conjugation 1 past query def past lst dual
   stand marker incl

Jupukarrijanyarli?
Did you and I stop?

8. vi t man! qm ta ssf
   wangka -mi -rni -nya -ka -pala
conjugation 1 non- hither query pres 3rd dual
   speak past marker progress subj

Wangkmirrinyakapala?
Are the two of them speaking this way (hither)?

9. vcom vi t man! qm ta ssf
   pingka karli -mi -rra -nya kula zero
slowly conjugation 1 non thither query neg fut 3rd sing
   flow past marker subj

Pingkakarlimirrinyakula?
Will it not slowly flow away?
10. vcom vi t qm ta ssf
    murnturr ma -nu -nya zero -lu
    roar conjugation past query def past 3rd pl
    make, cause marker subj

Murnturru?nunuyalu?
Did they roar?

11. vcom vi t manl qm
    karalyarr nga -lkur -rra -nya
    slip conjugation IV fut thither query
    slide semantically empty
    ta ssf
    zero zero
    no 3rd sing
    meaning subj

Karalyarr?ngalkurr?nuy?
Will it slide away (thither)?

12. vi t qm ta ssf
    mati -rni -nya zero -lu
    conjugation II non-past query indef pres 3rd pl
    go one behind the marker or fut subj
    other, in single file

Matirningalu?
Do (or will) they go in single file some time or other?

13. vcom vi t qm ta ssf
    juwuly- pu -ngkuri -nya zero zero
    jump conjugation III fut query no 3rd sing
    hit, but no meaning meaning subject

Juwulypungkunyu?
Will he jump?

14. vcom vi t qm ta ssf
    walkurrji- ma -nu -nya zero zero
    bark conjugation past query def past 3rd sing
    make, cause marker subj

Walkurrjimanuy?
Did it bark
Kujujarriminjya?
Does (or will) he become angry some time or other?

**CHART 11**

**BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY OF QUERY WITH VERB INTRANSITIVE (VERSION 2)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+vcom</th>
<th>+qmq</th>
<th>+ta</th>
<th>+ssf</th>
<th>+vi</th>
<th>+t</th>
<th>+manl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Same exponents as for Chart 10

Note that this version may not be used without a vcom because qm may not occur string-initial.

The above string can be derived from Chart 10 via the following changes and permutations:

a. change +vcom to +vcom

b. permute +vi and +t and +manl to position following +ssf

Examples of Query with Verb Intransitive conforming to Bidimensional Array Chart 11

The following examples are taken from those following Chart 10 but are modified to conform to Chart 11. Those that had no vcom are omitted and thus there are gaps in the numerical sequence, since the numbering of the examples has been retained for ease of cross-reference.

1. vcom
   jingi-
   smartly
   vi
   ya
   conjugation V
   go

jingijinginyayanurnu?
Did he come through quickly and smartly?

---

63
3. vcom qm ta ssf vi t
   muku-jarda -nya zero -lu wanti -ja
   total sleep query def past 3rd pl conjugation l past
   marker subj fall

Mukujardanyaluwantija?
Did they fall totally asleep (Did they die?)

4. vcom qm ta ssf vi t
   yakarra -nya -rnu lalu pardi ja
   awake query def past 1st pl conjugation l past
   marker excl subj rise

Yakarranyarnalupardija?
Did we (but not you nor they) awake and get up?

5. vcom qm ta ssf vi t
   yirrkinyupa -nya kula -nkulu ya -nu
   together in query def neg 2nd pl conjugation V past
   a group marker past subj go

Yirrkinyupanyakulankaluyanu?
Did not you all not go together (in a group)?

6. vcom qm ta ssf vi
   kurnta- -nya kukaka zero jarrri
   ashamed query not yet 3rd sing conjugation l
   marker even subj become

Kurntanyakukukajarrri?
Is she not even yet not becoming ashamed?

7. vcom qm ta ssf vi t
   jupu- -nya zero -rla karri -ja
   stop query def past 1st dual conjugation l past
   marker incl stand

Jupunyarlukarrija?
Did you and I stop?

9. vcom ta ssf vi t
   pingka kula zero karli -mi -rra
   slowly neg fut 3rd sing conjugation l non-past thither
   subj flow

Pingkakulakarlimirra?
Will it not slowly flow away?

10. vcom qm ta ssf vi t
    murnurr -nya zero -lu ma -nu
    roar query def past 3rd pl conjugation V past
    marker subj make, cause

Murnurrrnyalumanu?
Did they roar? 64
Karalyarrnyangalkurra?
Will it slide away (thither)?

Juwulgnaypunungku?
Will he jump?

Walkurrnyamanu?
Did it bark?

Kulunyajarrimi?
Does (or will) he become angry some time or other?
5.3 QUERY WITH VERB TRANSITIVE OR INTRANSITIVE AND LOCATIVE

In the collected texts, only a few examples of queries with transitive or intransitive verbs and the locative have been found to occur. Therefore it has not been possible to arrive at reliable results that could have been summarized in bidimensional arrays; and so nothing more will be said in this paper about queries with transitive or intransitive verbs coupled with the locative.

5.4 QUERY WITH VERB STATIVE

Queries with stative verbs are quite common in Ngārdilpa and are manifested in simple constructions, as the following will demonstrate.

CHART 12

BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY OF QUERY WITH VERB STATIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+vs</th>
<th>+man</th>
<th>+qm</th>
<th>+ssf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-nya</td>
<td>See Matrix 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See Chart 7

The only difference between this Chart 12 and Chart 7 is the addition of +qm to the position preceding +ssf.

Examples of Query with Verb Stative

The following examples are taken from those illustrating Chart 7; only the query marker has been added to each example to make it conform to Chart 12.

1. vs qm ssf
   pirişirdi -nya -rha
   strong query 1st sing
   marker subj

   Pirişirdinyarna?
   Am I strong?

2. vs man qm ssf
   wiri -lk -nya zero
   big now query 3rd sing
   marker subj

   Wiriliknya?
   Is he big now? (Is he an adult or man now?)

66
3. vs man qm ssf
   ngarrka -lku -nya -rna
   man now query 1st sing
   marker subj

   Ngarrkalkunyarna?
   Am I (a) man now?

4. vs qm ssf
   wuukayi -nya -npa
   exhausted query 2nd sing
   marker subj

   Wuukayinyanpa?
   Are you exhausted?

5. vs qm ssf
   kalinyanu -nya -rnalu
   wife query 1st pl excl
   marker

   Kalinyanungarlanu?
   Are we (but not you nor they) wives?

6. vs qm ssf
   japangardi -nya -rna
   name of males query 1st sing
   belonging to marker subj
   that particular
   skin group

   Japangardinyarna?
   Am I (a) Japangardi?

7. vs man qm ssf
   palka -lku -nya -rna
   present now query 1st sing
   marker subj

   Palkalkunyarna?
   Am I present (here) now?

8. obn vs man qm ssf
   ngapa palka -lku -nya -rna
   water find now query 1st sing
   marker subj

   Ngapa palkalkunyarna.
   Am I finding (or did I find) water now?
9. vs qm ssf
   kari -nya -pala
   other query 3rd dual
   marker subj

Karin yapala?
Are the two of them the other ones?

10. adv vs qm ssf
     ngurrwiyi lani -nya -riljarra
     long time ago frightened query 1st dual
     marker excl

Ngurrwiyi laninyarlijarra?
Were we two (but not you nor they) frightened long time ago?

11. vs qm ssf adv
     murrumuru -nya -rna purrarni
     sick query 1st sing yesterday
     marker subj

Murrumurrungarna purrarni?
Was I sick yesterday?

12. adv vs qm ssf
     jukurrapardukari pina -nya -nkulu
     day after return query 2nd pl
     tomorrow marker subj

Jukurrapardukari pinanyankulu?
Will you all return the day after tomorrow?