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## **CLAUSES IN KALA LAGAW YA**

Rod Kennedy

### **0. INTRODUCTION**

Data for the following paper was recorded in the islands of the Western Torres Strait between September, 1976 and May, 1983, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

The Kala Lagaw Ya (or Kala Lagaw Language) has also been called Kalaw Kawaw Ya, a dialectical variant. Both names mean Back Island Language, 'back' meaning Western. Two other names that have been used in the

literature are Yagar-Yagar and Mabuiag, although this last name has always been reserved by speakers of the language for the dialect spoken on Mabuiag Island. Speakers of other dialects object to its use for the language they speak.

Kala Lagaw Ya is described by Vogelin and Vogelin (1977:279) as belonging to the Pama Maric subgroup of the Pama Nyungan language family of Australia.

Most of the research for this paper has been carried out on Saibai Island. Shorter periods have been spent on the Islands of Dauan and Boigu where dialects similar to Saibai Dialect are used. Two months were also spent on Mabuiag Island. The total population of Kala Lagaw Ya speakers probably numbers between three and five thousand, with thousands more having some knowledge of the language. Centres of language use include the islands already mentioned as well as Badu, Moa, and Thursday Islands, and also Bamaga on Cape York.

In preparing this paper I am greatly indebted to our many friends on Saibai and other islands who have been such painstaking teachers of their language. Two native speakers of the language who have also shared many of their valuable theoretical insights with me are linguist Ephraim Bani and linguistics student Dan Ober. I have also benefited from papers written on the Mabuiag Dialect by Bani and Klokied. I would like to express my special appreciation to my S.I.L. colleague, Carol Morris, who worked closely with me in the writing of this article. I have also received guidance in research and editorial assistance from my S.I.L. colleagues, Noreen Pym and George Huttar who have helped me greatly.

This paper deals with Independent Clauses. Dependent Clauses are formed by adding a conjunction to Independent Clauses. These will be dealt with at sentence level.

Sections 2 and 3 describe Transitive and Intransitive Clauses respectively. The vast majority of verbal clauses found in language text material fall into these two categories. Section 4 deals with two non-verbal clause types (1) Equative Clauses, and (2) Non-verbal Motion Clauses which clearly indicate motion through the noun case suffix system. Unlike verbal motion clauses, they do not indicate the manner of motion.

Section 5 describes less common clause types which have the same verb stems carrying the same kinds of meanings as transitive clauses, but in all other respects show a strong shift towards intransitive clause morphology.

## 1. PERIPHERAL ITEMS

Peripheral items behave in the same way in all the clause types discussed in this paper. The peripheral slots are filled by the following items: Mood is filled by a mood word and Time by a time word or a time phrase. Location, Route, Goal, Source, and Instrument slots are respectively filled by phrases of these types. Any one of the above phrase types is formed by adding appropriate suffixes to certain words in any phrase. The same suffix occurs on as many of these words as are present in a phrase: relator word, noun, and on one class of post position words.

- (1) *Nuy se-pa laga-pa muy-pa*  
he there-GOA house-GOA inside-GOA

'He is going inside the house.'

- (2) *Nuy se-zi laga-ngu muy-nguz*  
he there-SOU house-SOU inside-SOU

'He is coming out of the house.'

- (3) *Nuy sey-ki maza-ya adh-ia*  
he there-ROU reef-ROU outside-ROU

'He is going outside the reef.'

The minimum form for any phrase is one word filling the head slot. For the following types more than one phrase of one type may occur in the same clause: Time, Location, Goal, and Route Phrases.

There is a considerable degree of freedom in word order for all clause types, but the variations are used to produce special effects of focus and emphasis. Among peripheral items location has not been found to occur with source or goal, and neither time nor mood has been found after the sequence of predicate followed by any other peripheral item. Some further comments on word order accompany the descriptions of peripheral and nuclear items for different clause types.

## 2. TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

A transitive clause in Kala Lagaw Ya consists of three core items: subject, accusative object and predicate, and up to two optional peripheral items from among the following: mood, time, location, route, goal, source, and instrument. Up to two core items may be omitted where no ambiguity results. The common word order for nuclear items is subject, object, verb. The subject consists of a noun phrase or

pronoun. If the head of the noun phrase is a non-plural common noun it will be marked with the ergative suffix *-n*. Singular pronoun subjects of transitive clauses are marked with the suffix *-dh* for ergative. The object consists of a noun phrase with an unmarked noun head or by an accusative pronoun. The predicate slot consists of a transitive verb phrase or by the pro-verb *kedha*. The head of a transitive verb is recognizable because it takes an object number suffix. (See Kalaw Kawaw Verbs, p , this publication). The suffixes denoting number and those denoting tense-aspect vary in form at several points in the conjunction from those used for intransitive verbs.

Transitive clauses where the predicate is filled by *kedha* meaning 'thus' frequently occur as an echo of the previous clause, with *kedha* standing for the previous predicate. This is an emphatic device.

- (4) *Wa nuy kedha*  
yes he thus

'Yes, that is what he did.'

- (5) (The minimal form used where the listener knows the identity of the actor and the potential undergoer.)

*Gasama-n*  
catch-COM

'(The actor) caught (it).'

- (6) (Using two phrases of the same type.)

*Nuy-dh Saybayl-ga-w maza-pa thardha-n waru-pa*  
he-ERG Saibai-people-GEN reef-GOA pilot-COM turtle-GOA

'He piloted (a dingy) to the reef of the Saibai people for turtle.'

- (7) (A maximum example. It appears that not only is the number of peripheral items limited to two but that the maximum number of items filling the slots in any one clause is four. In other words two peripherals may occur but only where one of the nuclear items may be left understood.)

*Nuy-dh Surum-pa thardha-n adh-ia*  
he-ERG Surum-GOA pilot-COM outer-ROU

'He piloted (a dingy) to Surum by the outer route.'

In the above example the dingy, the Accusative Object, is omitted. The limitation appears to be on the number of clause level items appearing,

not the number of phrase level items. In the following example which has the maximum number of clause level items, the object is filled by an Appositional Noun Phrase which also includes a diectic word.

- (8) *Thana na-n kuyk sena tri dola-pa youdha-n*  
they+PL she-ACC head there 3 dollar-GOA sell-COM

'They sold it, that head, for three dollars for the church.'

- (9) *Nga-th mina koeyma aga thurika-n patha-n*  
I-ERG very many axe gardening-INS cut-COM

'I have cut many of them with an axe.'

Though Ergative Subject and Instrument both take the same suffixes (-n for a common noun and -dh for a singular pronoun) the distinction between them is clearly established. Ergative Subjects are usually living creatures. It appears that the criterion for distinction is whether the subject acts independently. In the opinion of language speaker Imasu Waigana of Saibai, the sun and the grass are included among ergative subjects, not instruments. In the following two examples, Imasu reasons that they are not instruments because they act independently.

- (10) *Bupa-n bisi mathama-n*  
grass-ERG cassava strike-COM

'The grass choked the cassava.'

- (11) *Ngoena goeygi-n gasama-n*  
me+ACC sun-ERG catch-COM

'The sun had made me ill.'

Contrast the following reflexive construction where 'axe' is the instrument.

- (12) *Ngay ngaw-ngu aga thurika-n lab-iz*  
I me-SOU axe gardening-INS cut-COM

'I cut myself with an axe.'

Instrument occurs in Intransitive Clauses as well as Reflexive Clauses whereas Ergative Subjects occur in neither of these clause types. The verb used in Example 12 is intransitive.

### 3. INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

An Intransitive Clause in Kala Lagaw Ya consists of two core items, subject and predicate, and up to two optional peripheral items. One of the core items will often be omitted where no ambiguity results. The common word order is subject before predicate. The subject consists of a noun phrase or pronoun, neither of these fillers being marked for case. The predicate consists of an Intransitive Verb Phrase or the pro-verb *kedha*.

An intransitive verb differs in several respects from a transitive verb.

1. Following the stem is a suffix marking subject number if the subject is dual or plural. This contrasts with transitive verbs where the corresponding suffix marks object number. The suffixes used are listed in Table 5.1.

2. Where the verb is not marked for dual or plural subject, special forms of the tense aspect suffixes are used for the today past, the completive, and the future forms of the verb. These special forms contrast with the alternative forms used for intransitive verbs marked for non-singular subject and for all transitive verbs.

(13) *Nuy ngaya-pa nagi-z*  
he me-GOA look-COM

'He looked at me.'

(14) *Palay ngaya-pa nage-ma-n*  
they+DU me-GOA look-DU-n

'They both looked at me.'

(15) *Thana ngaya-pa nage-ma-n*  
They+PL me-GOA look-PL-COM

'They all looked at me.'

*Kedha*, 'thus', can stand in place of a predicate. Clauses with this word are used commonly as a quote formula.

(16) *Palay na-bepa kedha*  
they+DU she-GOA thus

'Those two said to her.'

In all four examples above, the predicates would not be altered in any way if the goal were made dual or plural. Intransitive predicates are

cross referenced only to the subject. The distinctive form of the completive aspect marker *-iz* is used where the predicate is not marked for dual or for plural subject.

Verb suffixes normally used only with intransitive verbs with singular subjects are on rare occasions used with such transitive verbs as *im* 'to see' and *gasam*, 'to grasp'. Dana Ober (personal communication) says that this device emphasises the unity or close bunching of the items referred to in the object. (See Kalaw Kawaw Verbs (p ) for a fuller description.)

- (17) *Nga-th koewsa im-iz*  
I-ERG fruit see-COM

'I see fruit (in a bunch or grouping)'

A minimal form is acceptable where a question has been asked establishing the identity of the subject is understood. E.g., a child may be crying.

- (18) *Pud-iz*  
Fall-COM

'(He/she/it) fell.'

- (19) (Maximum occurrence)

*Kulay kay pay-pa Sathana-n pawa-nu mabayg*  
first then before-GOA Satan-GEN custom-LOC person

*ni-paruy si*  
reside-HAB there

'Long age in the time of heathen customs a person lived there.'

The above example has an imbedded clause fulfilling the function of a time phrase.

- (20) *Ngay kay ngi-bia uthu-y*  
I then thou-ROU sleep-COM

'May I sleep at your place?'

- (21) *Na ngara-n uzara-ydhin*  
she leg-INS go-HP

'She went by foot.'

#### 4. NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

Two non-verbal clause types occurring in Kala Lagaw Ya are Equative and Non-verbal Motion.

##### 4.1 EQUATIVE CLAUSE.

An Equative Clause consists of an obligatory Topic consisting of a diectic word or an unmarked pronoun or noun phrase, followed by an obligatory Comment. The Comment carries clause stress distinguishable from phrase stress by greater loudness, length, and higher pitch. It is common for the Comment to be a noun phrase of several words whereas the Topic is normally much briefer.

An Equative Clause is distinguishable from an Appositional Noun Phrase of almost identical internal structure. The Equative Clause had a decrescendo, pitch drop, and post pause. The Appositional Phrase will be separated from the verbal predication or from a non-verbal Comment by a shorter phrase level pause. Also the phrase final drop in pitch and decrescendo is slightly less marked. The Comment of a Equative Clause always carries clause level stress greater in intensity than phrase level stress.

(22) *Thana kawayga-l //*  
they+PL aborigine-PL PAUSE

'They are Aborigines.'

(23) *Thana kawayga-l / wara para-lgal //*  
they+PL aborigine-PL PAUSE other custom-having+PL PAUSE

'Those Aborigines have different customs.'

The two clauses above may be compared with the Intransitive Clause which has an Appositional Phrase subject.

(24) *Thana kawayga-l pathe-mi-n*  
they+PL aborigine-PL embark-PL-COM

'These Aborigines have departed (by boat or other vehicle).'

An example of a Stative Clause with a diectic word as Topic.

(25) *Ina misin laga-w tham lawnga*  
this+SG church house-GEN branch no

'This branch (of firewood) does not belong to the manse.'

## 4.2 NON-VERBAL MOTION CLAUSES

A Non-verbal Motion Clause has the same range of possible constituents as an Equative Clause except that the Comment never includes an Equative item (one having the same referent as the Topic). It also differs from an Equative Clause in two other respects. Firstly, at least one non-verbal motion item must be included (location, goal, route or source). Secondly, the Non-verbal Motion Clauses bear a close structural and semantic similarity to Intransitive Clauses indicating motion. Non-verbal Motion Clauses differ from Intransitive Clauses in that they never have a predicate but the non-verbal motion item is obligatory. Intransitive Clauses always have a predicate unless this is clearly understood as in an echo of a preceding clause. The non-verbal motion item is optional. Semantically the Non-verbal Motion Clause is distinctive as it specifies motion but does not specify the manner of motion. Compare the examples of Non-verbal Motion, Examples 26-29, below with the intransitive clauses 30-31.

- (26) *Nuy Bruma-ngu sey-zi Pot Dawini-pa*  
he Broome-SOU there-SOU Port Darwin-GOA

'He travelled from Broome to Darwin.'

- (27) *Nuy Bruma-ngu*  
he Broome-SOU

'He has come from Broome.'

- (28) *Nuy Bruma-ngu playn-ia*  
he Broome-SOU plane-ROU

'He has come from Broome by plane.'

- (29) *Nuy Pot Dawini-nu*  
he Port Darwin-LOC

'He is in Darwin.'

- (30) *Nuy Bruma-ngu zilam-iz*  
he Broome-SOU travel:fast-COM

'He came quickly from Broome.'

- (31) *Nuy zilam-iz*  
he travel:fast-COM

'He is travelling quickly/travelled quickly.'

## 5. TWO OTHER CLAUSES

These two clause types are treated together because both employ verb stems usually found in Transitive Clauses. In all other respects of their morphology, they resemble Intransitive Clauses.

### 5.1 REFLEXIVE CLAUSE

Reflexive Clauses are clearly distinguishable from Transitive Clauses, differing in each of the following respects:

1. They have nominative, not ergative, subjects.
2. They do not have accusative objects.
3. The verb suffixes which show subject number are of the form used for intransitive verbs.
4. If the verb is in the form used for a singular subject, the tense-aspect suffixes for recent past, completive, and future are of the type used for intransitive, not transitive verbs.
5. Many verbs in singular form take 'e' or 'i' after the root when used in a Reflexive Clause (as in Intransitive Clauses).

Reflexive Clauses differ from Intransitive Clauses in two respects.

1. Following the nominative subject, a pronoun with the same referent but marked for source with the suffix *-ngu* occurs. The pronoun may be omitted if the reflexive meaning is otherwise obvious, but if the pronoun occurs it must be marked *-ngu*.
2. The verb in a Reflexive Clause may possess a root such as normally occurs in a Transitive Clause.

(32) *Na na-nungu lab-iz*  
she she-SOU cut-COM

'She cut herself.'

(33) *Na-dh nuy-n laba-n*  
she-ERG he-ACC cut:shallow-COM

'She cut him shallowly.'

Compare these examples with a normal intransitive construction.

(34) *Na nu-bepa kurusapag-iz*  
she he-GOA listen-COM

'She listened to him.'

## 5.2 SUB-ERGATIVE CLAUSES

Sub-ergative Clauses are distinguishable from all the types outlined above for the following reasons.

1. They take nominative, not ergative, subjects. (Two doubtful exceptions have been noted where ergative subjects occur.)
2. Objects are nearly always group plurals marked with suffix *-n*. (See 5.3 below Two Sub-types.)
3. The verb sometimes takes 'e' or 'i' after the root where the verb is not inflected for dual or plural subject. (i.e. the intransitive pattern is followed.)
4. Occasionally a non-singular object will be cross-referenced to the verb but when this occurs for a plural object the suffix used is *-mu*, which is used elsewhere to indicate that an intransitive verb has a plural subject. At other times however the suffix *-moeŋ* is used. This suffix is used elsewhere to indicate that a transitive verb has a plural object.
5. The special forms of tense-aspect suffix used where an intransitive has not been inflected for dual or plural subject have not been found in Sub-ergative Clauses.

There are two sub-types of the sub-ergative clauses.

### 5.2.1 SUB-TYPE ONE

If the speaker wishes to emphasise that the plural object of the verb is a complete set (e.g., all the men of a hamlet, or all the poles to build a hunting shelter, or all the food for a feast), the plural noun object will take the collective plural, or plural set suffix *-n*. Other features of Sub-ergative Clauses will then occur as set out above.

### 5.2.2 SUB-TYPE TWO

When the past habitual tense-aspect, shown by the verb suffix *-pu*, is used, sub-ergative properties frequently co-occur. There would be good grounds for separating these as different clause types except that plural sets frequently occur with past habitual tense. Apparently there is a strong tendency to view the total result or output of a person's habitual activity as a complete set. The Sub-ergative Clauses arising from the use of plural sets and from the use of past habitual tense-aspect could perhaps be described as overlapping subtypes.

In elicited material of this type the object number cross referencing is dropped from the verb in almost every case. In text material, however, this cross referencing is retained in a significant minority of cases. Because the same suffix *-n* is used on common nouns to show ergative case, instrument case and group plural and is used on masculine proper names to indicate genitive case and accusative case, a learner of the language may readily become confused. For example:

(35) *Na-dh wapi-n woeydha-n*  
she-ERG fish-INS stew-COM

'She made fish stew.'

(I made the error of assuming that fish was the object of the verb 'stew' but it later emerged in discussion with Dan Ober that 'fish' is the instrument and that the object or the undergoer is the saucepan. This is true even when the saucepan is not mentioned. It is apparently not possible for the language to construct a sentence using this verb where 'fish' is the object. Dan's judgement has been vindicated by the intuitions of other speakers of the language and by data analysis. Hence in this language one does not gather mangoes but one gathers heaps, using mangoes and one loads canoes using coconuts.)

The following are examples of Sub-ergative Clauses contrasted with other types.

(36) *Aytha-nu kulay mabayga-n nuy matha-moey-dhin*  
Aith-LOC first person-GP he strike-PL-HP

'First he destroyed all the people of Aith (village).'

The above clause may be converted to a Transitive Clause thus: *nuy* has the ergative suffix *-dh* added and the plural set suffix *-n* is changed to the normal plural suffix *-l*. The overall meaning will then become: 'He struck down the men from Aith'. It is no longer indicated that some complete set of men (in this case fighting men) were involved. Another

speaker gave (in text) a sentence of very similar meaning concerning the same individual.

(37) *Nuy mabayga-n uma matha-mi-pu*  
he person-PL death hit-PL-PHAB

'By degrees he struck down dead all those people.'

In the following example the last word of the noun phrase *dhangal waruya* is inflected for route. In a similar Transitive Clause this would be uninflected and be an accusative object noun phrase. However, accusative case is not permissible in Sub-ergative Clauses.

(38) *Nuy dhangal waru-ya lume-pu*  
he dugong turtle-ROU search-HAB

'He used to search about for dugong and turtle.'

(39) *Ngi-nu mabayga-n ngi-n ugay-pa*  
thou-GEN person-GP thou-ACC await-INC

'All your people are waiting for you.'

Normally *nginu mabaygan* would be inflected for plural with an *-l* on *mabayg* but here it carries the group plural suffix. If suffix *-n* as an indicator of group plurality were found only on nominals falling in the normal object slot, it could be argued that 'Switched Ergative' is as legitimate a name for the morphemes *-n* as is the name 'Group Plural'. However there are numbers of examples like No. 30 casting some doubt on the notion that any such switching is the fundamental process taking place.

Table 5.1 CONTRASTIVE FEATURES FOR DIFFERENT CLAUSE TYPES

| Contrastive Feature                | Transitive Clause  | Intransitive Clause  |
|------------------------------------|--|--|
| Subject Suffix                     | The subject is marked for ergative with the suffix <i>-n</i> for non-plural nouns and <i>-dh</i> for singular pronouns | No case suffix on the subject (nominative subject)   |
| Object Feature                     | Accusative noun objects take no case suffix. Singular pronouns in accusative case take suffix <i>-n</i> .              | No accusative object, but Goal, Source, Route, Location, or Instrument Phrases may occur                     |
| 'e' or 'i' following the verb root | Very rare  | Occurs commonly when the verb is in singular form  |
| Verb Cross Referencing             | If the object is non-singular this is shown by a verb suffix<br><i>-m</i> for dual<br><i>-moey</i> for plural          | If the subject is non-singular this is shown by a verb suffix<br><i>-m</i> for dual<br><i>-mi</i> for plural |

Table 5.1 presents a summary of the information so far presented.

## 6. WORD ORDER

A considerable degree of word order variation occurs for all clause types. There are a few observable patterns. For Stative Clauses, the topic commonly occurs first. The common orders for nuclear items in verbal clauses are:

1. Transitive Clauses have subject, object, predicate.
2. Intransitive Clauses have subject then predicate.

It appears that variation to the above order may occur where the speaker wishes to focus on different words or phrases with particular emphasis. For example, a nominal will often occur at the end of a clause if it is further dealt with in the following clause.

| Contrastive Feature                | Reflexive Clause   | Sub-ergative Clause  |
|------------------------------------|--|--|
| Subject Suffix                     | Nominative subject as for intransitive   | Nominative subject as for intransitive   |
| Object Feature                     | No accusative object but the equivalent nominal, the self who undergoes the action, is inflected <i>-ngu</i> as for source | The object is inflected <i>-n</i> for collective plural  |
| 'e' or 'i' following the verb root | As for intransitive  | As for intransitive  |
| Verb Cross Referencing             | As for intransitive  | The verb is optionally cross referenced for plural object. When a suffix does occur it may be of the form <i>-moey</i> as for Transitive Clauses or <i>-mi</i> as found on intransitive plural subjects. |

## 7. WHY NOT HAVE A DATIVE CASE?

The suffix *-pa* sometimes indicates physical motion by the actor towards the item carrying that suffix. At other times the same suffix indicates a purpose or beneficiary. On this basis one could choose to declare that *-pa* indicates destination in some contexts and dative case in others. I have chosen not to adopt such a division for two reasons:

1. Many instances would be difficult to assign to one category or the other.
2. The case suffixes, source, route, and location, all have analogous extensions of meaning beyond movement in space to concepts which in other languages could be said to fall within one dative case. In other words there appears not to be a dative case but rather the corresponding function is dealt with as an extension of several

different cases which also refer to simple motion. A brief summary of the range of meanings associated with each suffix is given in Table 7.1 below. For a fuller discussion see 'Semantic Roles: The Language Speaker's Categories' (Kennedy 1984.)

Table 7.1 RANGES OF MEANING ASSOCIATED WITH CASE SUFFIXES

| Range of Application | Suffix and Meaning |                             |                                |                           |
|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
|                      | <i>-pa</i>         | <i>-nu</i>                  | <i>-ia</i>                     | <i>-ngu</i>               |
| Space                | moving towards     | stationary at               | route of actor's motion        | starting place of origin  |
| Time                 | approaching a time | at a time                   | throughout a time span         | time of starting          |
| Benefit              | recipient          |                             |                                | source or looser          |
| Relationship         | with respect to    | in a person's head or heart | agreement with another opinion | fear avoidance or dislike |

## 8. FURTHER OBSERVATIONS

### 8.1 ERGATIVE CONSTRUCTION

It is interesting to speculate on the significance of ergative constructions by comparing the situations where they occur with situations that give rise to sub-ergative constructions. Plainly the occurrence of ergative correlates highly with the occurrence of transitive action, but the Sub-ergative Clauses also signify actions of the same type. It is significant that the subject drops its ergative marker optionally in the case of habitual action and almost invariably where the object is a plural set. Further, there is a tendency to use sub-ergative forms where a clause is used in a figurative rather than a literal sense.

- (40) *Nuy Wakimab mabayga-n purati-pa*  
 He Wakimab person-GP eat-INC

'Wakimab killed every one of them.'

It appears that anything which suggests that a transitive action was not a single physical event completed at one time tends to promote a swing away from ergative morphology.

## 8.2 UNINFLECTED NOUNS

A limited range of uninflected nouns occur as part of Intransitive Verb Phrases.

- (41) *Nuy ngaya-pa dhang toeyd-iz*  
 he me-GOA tooth bite-COM

'He attempted to bite me (not a severe bite).'

Other nouns which can be used with such verb phrases are set out in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1 UNINFLECTED NOUNS COMMONLY FOUND IN NON-TRANSITIVE VERB PHRASES

| Noun  |   | Verb |   | Action Denoted by the Verb Phrase           |
|-------|---|------|---|---|
| tooth | + | bite | = | nip   |
| work  | + | go   | = | work  |
| walk  | + | go   | = | walk  |
| beard | + | cut  | = | shave (applies to a reflexive construction) |

## 8.3 TENSE-ASPECT SUFFIXES

In Table 8.2 below are set out different forms of tense-aspect suffixes. In the left hand column are shown the forms which occur for intransitive verbs and verbs used reflexively where the verb is not cross-referenced for a dual or plural subject. In the right hand column are the general forms used for non-singular intransitive and reflexive constructions and for all transitive verbs

Table 8.2 SINGULAR NON-TRANSITIVE FORMS OF TENSE-ASPECT SUFFIXES

| Tense-aspect | Singular Form | General Form |
|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| Today Past   | <i>-ma</i>    | <i>-nu</i>   |
| Completive   | <i>-iz</i>    | <i>-n</i>    |
| Future       | <i>-de</i>    | <i>-ne</i>   |

For other tense-aspects such as distant past, past habitual, yesterday past, and inceptive, this kind of dichotomy of morphemes does not occur. There is only one form of suffix for each tense-aspect but for many verbs where the same root is used in transitive and intransitive verbs, 'e' or 'i' will replace 'a' or 'ay' stem finally. For many verbs the same thing happens when the verb is used reflexively. However because of the complex interplay of morphology and phonology more research is required before a morpheme *-e* can be identified and defined. It may be found that *-e* is a morpheme denoting non-transitive action.

## ABBREVIATIONS

|      |  |
|------|--|
| ACC  | accusative case  |
| COM  | completive case  |
| DU   | dual   |
| ERG  | ergative case  |
| GEN  | genitive case  |
| GOA  | goal   |
| GP   | group plural   |
| HAB  | habitual aspect  |
| HP   | historic past tense  |
| INC  | incompletive aspect  |
| INS  | instrument   |
| LOC  | location   |
| P    | past tense   |
| PHAB | past action that took place by degrees   |
| PL   | plural   |
| ROU  | route  |
| SG   | singular   |
| SOU  | source   |
| :    | indicates that more than one English word is required to translate one vernacular morpheme |
| +    | indicates morpheme cannot be broken from word.   |
| 0    | zero morpheme  |

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