WORK PAPERS OF SIL-AAB

Series A Volume 9

Aboriginal and Islander Grammars: Collected Papers

Editor: S. Ray

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES BRANCH
DARWIN
NOVEMBER 1985
Aboriginal and Islander grammars.

Bibliography.
ISBN 0 86892 322 2.


499'.15
PREFACE

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

Both series include both reports on current research and on past research projects. Some papers by other than SIL members are included, although most are by SIL field workers. The majority of material concerns linguistic matters, although related fields such as anthropology and education are also included.

Because of the preliminary nature of most of the material to appear in the Work Papers, these volumes are circulated on a limited basis. It is hoped that their contents will prove of interest to those concerned with linguistics in Australia, and that comment on their contents will be forthcoming from the readers. Papers should not be reproduced without the authors' consent, nor cited without due reference to their preliminary status.

Views expressed by the authors are not necessarily those of SIL.

To order individual volumes of the Work Papers, or to place a standing order for either series, write:

Bookseller
SIL
PO Berrimah
Darwin NT 5788
Australia

S.K. Ray
Series Editor
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

REPETITION OF TIWI AT CLAUSE LEVEL  
by Marie P. Godfrey  

0. Introduction  

1. Types of Repetition in Oral Style  
    1.1 Confirmation  
    1.2 Linkage  
    1.3 Plain Reiteration  
    1.4 Amplification  
    1.5 Generic-Specific  
    1.6 Negated-Antonym  
    1.7 Cyclic  
    1.8 Passage-of-Time  

2. Combination of Types  

3. Notes on Repetition in Written Style  

4. Summary  

Notes  

Abbreviations  

Bibliography  

IWAI'DJA VERBAL CLAUSES  
by Noreen Pym  

1. Defining the Verbal Clause  

2. Clause Types  

3. Conclusion  

Abbreviations  

MURINBATA NOUN CLASSES  
by Chester S. Street  

1. Description of Noun Classes  

Notes  

References
KALAW KAWAW VERBS

Rod Kennedy

0. INTRODUCTION

Research for this paper has been done primarily on Saibai, Dauan, and Bolgu Islands of the Western Torres Strait, where the Kalaw Kawaw dialect of Kala Lagaw Ya is spoken. The language name will hereafter be shortened to KLY and the dialect name to KKY.

KLY is basically a SOV (Subject, Object, Verb) word order language. Variations of this common order occur to produce special effects of
focus and emphasis. The language has only two basic regular verb conjugations, transitive and intransitive. There are also a few irregular verbs as well as many slight variations to the basic conjugations which may either be described in terms of numerous conjugation subtypes or by morphophonemic processes.

1. THE TWO BASIC VERB CONJUGATIONS

1.1 TRANSITIVE VERBS

Transitive verbs in KLY take number suffixes which agree with the number of their object. Transitive verb occurrence is also indicated by ergative and accusative suffixes occurring on subjects and objects respectively. The transitive verb takes a number suffix for dual and plural objects. Ergative and accusative suffixes attach to singular pronouns only. Common nouns, if singular or dual, take ergative suffixes. There is no suffix for accusative case on common nouns. Plural nouns take pluralizing suffixes but not ergative or accusative suffixes. Examples below illustrate object number concordance for Transitive Clauses.

(1)

\[\text{Na-dh nuy-n patha-o-nu} \]
\[\text{she-ERG he-ACC cut-SG-TP} \]

'She cut him (earlier today).'</n

(2)

\[\text{Na-dh palay patha-moe-nu} \]
\[\text{she-ERG they+DU cut-DU-TP} \]

'She cut the two of them (earlier today).'</n

(3)

\[\text{Na-dh thana patha-moey-nu} \]
\[\text{she-ERG they+PL cut-PL-TP} \]

'She cut them (earlier today).'</n

(4)

\[\text{Palay nuy-n patha-o-nu} \]
\[\text{they+DU he-ACC cut-SG-TP} \]

'Those two cut him (earlier today).'</n

82
1.2 INTRANSITIVE VERBS

Intransitive verbs take a number suffix which agrees with the number of the subject. These nominative subjects do not take any suffix to indicate noun case.

(5) 
Na pathe-o-ma
she embark-SG-TP

'She left by vehicle (earlier today)'.

(6) 
Palay pathe-moe-nu
they+DU embark-DU-TP

'Those two left by vehicle (earlier today)'.

(7) 
Thana pathe-mi-nu
they+PL embark-PL-TP

'They left by vehicle (earlier today)'.

There is no discrete verb suffix to indicate singular subject or object, as there is to indicate dual and plural. The form of the Today Past tense suffix for intransitive verbs with singular subjects is different from the common form used in all the others shown. There is one other tense and one aspect for which a distinctive form of suffix occurs for intransitive verbs with singular subjects. (See Table 1.1)

Table 1.1 INTRANSITIVE VERB SUFFIXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TENSE OR ASPECT</th>
<th>SINGULAR SUBJECT FORM OF VERB</th>
<th>DUAL SUBJECT FORM OF VERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>pathe-dhe</td>
<td>pathe-moe-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Today Past</td>
<td>pathe-ma</td>
<td>pathe-moe-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completer</td>
<td>path-iz</td>
<td>pathe-ma-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pathe-moemoe-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

83
With intransitive verbs, the tenses and aspects shown take distinctive suffixes where the subject is singular. The verb *pathe*, 'to depart by vehicle', is a typical case.

2. **KKY TENSES AND ASPECTS**

KKY has two aspect categories which are used more commonly than any other tense or aspect. The two aspects between them cover events past, present and future whenever the time of the action does not need to be indicated with great precision. They are Incompleteive and Completeive aspects, occurring as follows.

2.1 **INCOMPLETEIVE ASPECT (-pa)**

Incompleteive aspect is indicated by the suffix -pa in the KKY dialect and by -ka in the dialect of KLY used on Mabuiag and Badu.

(8) *Nuy-dh wapi lumay-pa*
   he-ERG fish search-INC

   'He is searching/will search/searched for the fish.' (depending on context)

This refers to the past only in the context where the speaker wishes to emphasise an uncertain outcome or if the activity or its outcome depended on some preparatory activity or condition.

The addition of suitable time words will move the action into the more distant future, as in the next example.

(9) *Nuy-dh wagel bangal wapi lumay-pa*
   he-ERG after later fish search-INC

   'At some future date he will search for fish.'

(10) *Nungu mina mayth-ag-gi-asi-dhin,*
    his very stomach-food-NEG-become-HP

   'He became extremely hungry, so.'

   *nuy-dh wapi lumay-pa, .... lumay-pa*
   he-ERG fish search-INC      search-INC

   'He searched and searched for fish.'
(11) Nuy koesa-pa uzaray-dhin wapi-pa lumay-pa
he river-GOA went-HP fish-GOA search-INC

'He went to the river to search for fish.'

Examples like 10 and 11 are far less common than those like 8 and 9.

2.2 COMPLETIVE ASPECT (-n, -iz)

Incompletive aspect generally refers to future acts or to present acts where completion is not in focus. It refers rarely to past acts of conditional or uncertain occurrence or success. Completive aspect has a set of applications which are almost opposite to the above. Normally it refers to acts in the past and to present acts where completion or success are in focus. Occasionally it is used to refer to future acts where strong certainty is expressed.

(12) Ngi-dh wapi gasama-n
thou-ERG fish catch-COM

This may mean 'You caught a fish' or 'You are catching a fish and I predict that you will succeed' or 'You will definitely catch a fish (given certain conditions).'. Such a context might be:-

(13) Ngi senaw-bi koesa-pa nanga ngi-dh wapi gasama-n
thou that-CR river-GOA FLI thou-ERG fish catch-COM

'If you go to that river then you will certainly catch fish.'

2.3 MORE SPECIALIZED TENSES AND ASPECTS

2.3.1 HABITUAL AND CONTINUOUS ASPECTS

KKY has a specialized set of aspects to indicate non-punctiliar actions (activity over a period of time). The verb suffix -pu indicates intermittent action.

(14) Nuy-dh koey garsar lag-al moeydha-moey-pu
he-ERG great many house-PL build-PL-HAB

'He has been a great builder of houses.'

Uninterrupted continuous action is indicated by the verb aspect suffix -r.
(15) Na-dh nanu kazi luma-r 
    she-ERG her child search-CON

'She keeps on/kept on searching for her child.'

The search in Example 15 is viewed as uninterrupted. The incomplete aspect suffix, -pa, is also used to indicate continuous action since this was an action which did not readily come to completion. Use of the continuous aspect suffix -r places much stronger stress on continuity and perseverance.

Terminated continuous aspect also occurs. This is indicated by the suffix -rangu, referring to actions which have been continuous until approximately the present time. This may embrace times of termination of action as long ago as a week. In a narrative, the time of termination may be the narrative present, that is the time of occurrence of the main activities being narrated.

(16) Nga-th ngi-n koey kuykuthalnga luma-rangu 
    I-ERG thou-ACC very long (time) search-TCON

'I have been searching for you for a long time.' (but just now I stopped)

2.3.2 IMMEDIATE STRIVING ASPECT

The suffix -dha is used to indicate immediate striving aspect. Many verbs may take this suffix to indicate that the actor is striving or acting purposively. Actions so referred to generally have a measure of urgency and occur in the immediate past, present, or future. All examples I have encountered refer to the present day and generally to the present few minutes. A scout bringing back urgent word of enemy actions could use this aspect to refer to actions that had taken place several hours ago, but this would be an extreme case allowable because of the urgent intensity of the information.

(17) Nga-th thana ime-dha 
    I-ERG they+PL see-ISA

'I saw the group of them.'

To achieve the corresponding stylistic effect with respect to distant past action the speaker will generally employ one of the continuous aspect, -r or -rangu and for future action the incomplete aspect -pa may be employed. Since the range of signification of these other aspects is much more general than the particular function of the
immediate striving aspect, other contextual clues will need to be employed alongside these other aspects to supplement the meaning. A phrase such as 'very much' or 'all the time' is likely to be added.

3. **KEY VERB TENSES**

Clearly the different verb aspects have implications for verb tense or time of action as well as its aspect. The following suffixes are described as verb tense suffixes since the time of action appears to be in clearer focus than its manner of occurrence.

3.1 **FUTURE TENSE**

The suffix -ne (-dhe on singular subject intransitive verbs) indicates future tense. The use of future tense rather than incomplete aspect gives a clear indication that, at the present time, the participants are not ready to begin. Future tense followed by the time word kay indicates that action is expected later in the present day. The use of bangel or wagel bangel in place of kay indicates that action is expected on a future day.

(18) Thana pathe-mi-pa
     they embark-PL-INC

'They will leave (by vehicle, any time from now on).'

(19) Thana pathe-mi-ne
     they embark-PL-FUT

'They will leave later today/beyond today.'

3.2 **TODAY PAST TENSE**

Today Past Tense refers to actions that have been concluded today. This is indicated by the verb suffix -nu (-m where an intransitive verb takes a singular subject). See Examples 1 to 7.

3.3 **YESTERDAY PAST TENSE**

Yesterday Past Tense usually applies only to events which were concluded yesterday. Occasionally it may refer to events of two or three days ago. Where a unit of time other than a day is clearly in focus (e.g. a month) this tense may refer to an event concluded during the second latest such unit. The Yesterday Past Tense verb suffix is -ngu.
3.4 HISTORIC PAST TENSE PUNCTILIAIR ASPECT

Most past actions which fall beyond the range of Today Past or Yesterday Past will be referred to by the use of Completive Aspect unless the speaker wishes to underline the idea that he is referring to a significant event. Significant events tend to be referred to in the Historic Past Tense, indicated by the verb suffix -dhin. In ordinary conversation the question, 'Did you receive the payment?' may be asked with a different slant according to the verb suffix used.

(20) Ngi-dh modhab gasama-n a
thou-ERG payment get-COM QUE

'Have you been paid?'

No stress is laid on whether payment took place ten seconds ago or a year ago.

(21) Ngi-dh modhab gasamaw-dhin a
thou-ERG payment get-HP QUE

'Did you get paid?' (at some time earlier than yesterday)

The asker of this last question implies that receiving payment at or by a certain time may be a critical factor in the recipient's well-being.

In narrative most events in the distant past will be referred to using Completive Aspect, while those with most historic significance for the story will occur in Historic Past Tense. Changes of scene, references to people and items which are very important to the story, and key actions, all fall into this latter Historic Past category. While this usage dichotomy is most clearly observable between Completive Aspect and Historic Past Tense, an analogous phenomenon is observable between other tenses and aspects. Completive Aspect constitutes the basic reference to the past. All other tenses and aspects are used to produce special contrast where the time or manner of action was important. Likewise Incompletive Aspect is used as the common form of reference to present and future acts while other tenses and aspects are used to produce special contrast.

4. IMPERATIVE VERB FORMS

Intransitive Verbs in the Imperative Mood take the following suffixes.

Singular subject: -i
Dual subject: -mariw
Plural subject: -miw
(22) *Ngapa nag-i*
  this+way look-IMP

'Look this way.'

(23) *Ngapa nage-mariw*
  this+way look-DU

'(You two) look this way.'

(24) *Ngapa nage-miw*
  this+way look-PL

'(You many) look this way.'

The rules for transitive verbs are similar but more complex as the suffixes vary according to number of both subject and object. These forms are set out in an overall chart of verb forms. (See Table 9.1). As with specialized forms of verbs in indicative mood, those in the imperative mood are used only sparingly to introduce a set of instructions. To continue to use imperative mood constitutes a form of verbal attack on the hearers. The negative imperative suffix is -ayg or -mayg.

5. **DORMANT VERBS**

KKY possesses an elaborate set of forms that are derived from verbs and have such quasi-verb functions as participle (hybrid of adjective and verb, or adverb and verb), and verbal noun. None of these forms take number suffixes like normal verbs. It is significant that negative verb forms and the tension/avoidance/fear verb forms also lack number suffixes. For this reason I have chosen to treat these along with participle type structures as dormant verbs. There is also a strong trend away from clear indication of agent and patient roles. Dormant verbs, except for negated verbs, have no close equivalent of ergative and accusative case suffixes which occur on subjects and objects of transitive verbs. Compare the examples below. Further study is needed to see where immediate striving aspect -dha fits in.

The compound verb *niyapa yoelpane* meaning 'will marry' is a useful example which may be used to show some of the different dormant verb forms. The literal meaning of the component words is, 'will lead to a residing place'. To aid comparison, normal verb forms as well as dormant verbs are shown.
(25) Transitive Verb

*Nuy-dh na-n niay-pa yoelpa-dhin*
he-ERG she-ACC reside-GOA lead-HP

'He took her as his wife.'

(26) Intransitive Verb

*Palay niay-pa yoelpa-moe-dhin*
they+DU reside-GOA lead-DU-HP

'They married.'

(27) Adjectival Continuous Characteristic

*Itha mura niay-pa yoelpa-y ayde-l*
these all reside-GOA lead-DV food-PL

'Here are all the wedding refreshments.'

(28) Adjectival Temporary Characteristic

*Niay-pa yoelpa-y-zi yoepkaz ina*
reside-GOA lead-DV-TCH woman here

'Here is the bride.'

(29) Abstract Noun

*Ina palamun niay-pa yoelpa-y*
here their+DU reside-GOA lead-DV

'This is their (dual) wedding.'

In KLY, dormant verbs acting as verbal nouns or participles are used as readily to refer to potential patient as to potential agent. The form of the dormant verb itself gives no clue as to whether the one referred to is agent or patient. In English, 'the searching child' must refer to the agent, the active searcher, and not to the object of the search. In KKY *lumayzi kazi* may just as readily mean 'the searching child' or else 'the child being searched for'. The listener depends upon the broader context of the utterance to make this distinction.

The *-zi* suffix indicates a temporary characteristic. In Example 28 it indicates that the bride is a bride just for her wedding. A woman who is to be married in the medium future might be referred to as *niaypa*
yoelpay yoepkaz because she will have this status over some extended time period. The -zi forms could be referred to as punctiliar participles.

6. NEGATIVE VERBS

Verbs are negated by the addition of -yginga, the negative indicative and -yg, the negative imperative.

(30) Thana luma-yginga
    they+PL search-NEG

'They did/are/will not make a search.'

Negated verbs, along with other dormant verbs, do not take subject or object number. The same holds for avoidance verb forms.

7. TENSION OR AVOIDANCE VERB FORMS

Tension or avoidance verb forms indicate avoidance of an action, fear of an action, or, occasionally, to the overcoming of barriers to the performing of an action. This form is indicated by the verb suffixes -yle and -yle.

(31) Kedha maygi baydham-oengu ngi-nungu gasamoe-yle
    thus taboo shark-TA thou-TA grasp-TA

'Don't do that lest a shark catch you.'

In this example, there is no clear morphological indication that it is the shark and not the addressee who is the potential agent. If baydham were replaced with the word buli meaning 'fly', then potential agent-patient roles would be reversed simply because KKY speakers know that sharks tend to catch people in certain situations whereas flies tend to be caught by people, especially if people sit around yawning.

(32) Wa ngay ngu-layg kedha zageth-oengu ayma-yle
    yes I knowledge-HAV thus work-TA do-TA

'I certainly have the skill to perform such tasks,'

In a less controversial mood the speaker would probably say,

(33) Wa ngay ngu-layg kedha zageth-oepa ayma-ypa
    yes I knowledge-HAV thus work-GOA do-INC

'I know how to do those tasks.'
8. THE 'HAVING' SUFFIXES

As is common in Australian languages, KKY speakers take a word indicative of a characteristic (a noun, adjective, or a dormant verb) and add the 'having' suffix. This indicates an individual (animate or inanimate) possessing the given characteristic. As KKY possesses a variety of such suffixes with subtly different significances, these will be described more fully with nouns in a later paper. Only the -zig suffix will be dealt with here. It is of special interest as it occurs only on dormant verbs. It clearly has a derivational relationship to -zi, the temporary characteristic indicator. -zig indicates an individual who possesses a temporary characteristic.

(34) Kunuma-yzi mabayg senaw  
bound-TCH person there+MASC  
'There is the arrested man.'

(35) Kunuma-ygiz senaw  
bound-TCH+HAV there+MASC  
'There is the arrested male one.'

These two expressions are closely synonymous and interchangeable.

9. SUMMARY OF CONJUGATIONS

The foregoing is an exhaustive listing of verb number, tense, mood, and aspect for KKY. Below are the typical conjugation charts for transitive and for intransitive verbs. Because there are quite a number of morphophonemic changes operating, choosing the basic verb stems is a little arbitrary. I have chosen to use as 'standard' those forms which occur for the widest range of different tenses, moods, aspects, and subject/object numbers. This decision excludes the singular forms of the two most common aspects (completive and incompletive). On the other hand, I believe that the arbitrary choice I have made yields the simplest basis for transformation rules capable of indicating all the different regular verb forms that occur. In the vast majority of cases, transitive verbs in KKY have stem final -a. (-u, -i, and -e occur rarely). Intransitive verbs tend to have stem-final -e or -i-. -oe is often manifest as the stem-final vowel with various suffixes but this has been interpreted as morphophonemic variation.

92
TABLE 9.1 CONJUGATION OF THE INTRANSITIVE VERB PATHE, 'TO DEPART'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense, Aspect or Mood</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASPECTS</td>
<td></td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incompletive</td>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>pathe-pa</td>
<td>pathe-m-pa</td>
<td>pathe-mi-pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive</td>
<td>-n/-iz</td>
<td>path-iz</td>
<td>pathe-ma-n</td>
<td>pathe-mi-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual*</td>
<td>-pu</td>
<td>pathe-pu</td>
<td>pathe-moema-n</td>
<td>pathe-mi-pu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>-r</td>
<td>Do not occur with pathe, used with nage, 'look'</td>
<td>nage-ma-r</td>
<td>nage-mi-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminating Continuous</td>
<td>-ngu</td>
<td>nagi-ngu</td>
<td>nage-ma-ngu</td>
<td>nage-mi-ngu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate Striving</td>
<td>-dha</td>
<td>pathe-dha</td>
<td>pathe-dha</td>
<td>pathe-dha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TENSES</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>-dhe/-ne</td>
<td>pathe-dhe</td>
<td>pathe-moe-ne</td>
<td>pathe-mi-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Today Past</td>
<td>-nu/-ma</td>
<td>pathe-ma</td>
<td>pathe-moe-nu</td>
<td>pathe-mi-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yesterday Past</td>
<td>-ngu/-yngu</td>
<td>patha-yngu</td>
<td>pathe-moe-ngu</td>
<td>pathe-mi-yngu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic Past</td>
<td>-dhin/-ydhin</td>
<td>patha-ydhin</td>
<td>pathe-moe-dhin</td>
<td>pathe-mi-dhin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOOD</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>-i/-riw/-w</td>
<td>path-i</td>
<td>pathe-ma-riw</td>
<td>pathe-mi-w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Note: With habitual aspect, group plurals occur very commonly and it is rare to have non-singular forms of the verb.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense, Mood, or Aspect</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Singular Subject</th>
<th>Dual Subject</th>
<th>Plural Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ASPECTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incompletive</td>
<td>-(p)</td>
<td>dudupi-(p)</td>
<td>dudupoe-moem-(p)</td>
<td>dudupoe-moey-(p)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compleitive</td>
<td>-iz/-n</td>
<td>dudup-i(z)</td>
<td>dudupoi-moema-(n)</td>
<td>dudupoe-moey-(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>-(p)u</td>
<td>dudupi-(p)u</td>
<td>dudupi-(p)u</td>
<td>dudupi-(p)u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>-ay/-r</td>
<td>As dudupi is not used in these forms, thanuri, 'to sit' is substituted.</td>
<td>thanur-ay</td>
<td>thanur-ma-rngu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminating Continuous</td>
<td>-(y)ngu/</td>
<td>thanura-(y)ngu</td>
<td>thanur-ma-rngu</td>
<td>thanur-m(i)-rngu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-(r)ngu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate Striving</td>
<td>-(d)ha</td>
<td>dudupi-(d)ha</td>
<td>dudupi-(d)ha</td>
<td>dudupi-(d)ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TENSES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>-dhe/</td>
<td>dudupi-dhe</td>
<td>dudupoe-moe-(n)</td>
<td>dudupoe-moey-(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-(n)e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Today Past</td>
<td>-ma/-nu</td>
<td>dudupi-(m)a</td>
<td>dudupoe-moe-(n)</td>
<td>dudupoe-moey-(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yesterday Past</td>
<td>-(y)ngu/</td>
<td>dudup-a-(y)ngu</td>
<td>dudupoe-moe-(n)</td>
<td>dudupoe-moey-(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-(n)gu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic Past</td>
<td>-(d)hin</td>
<td>dudupoe-d(h)in</td>
<td>dudupoe-moe-d(h)in</td>
<td>dudupoe-moey-d(h)in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>-(i)/</td>
<td>dudup-(i)</td>
<td>dudupoe-ma-(ri)w</td>
<td>dudupoe-moey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-(r)iw/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-(o)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note: '-i' often becomes '-oe' or '-a' before 'm' and 'y'.
'-i' is often deleted when it follows 'r' and a morpheme containing 'm' followed by a vowel is added.

It follows that all the dormant verbs contain the '-i' to '-oe' to '-a' transformation.

It is of interest that the plural subject suffix used with this verb is of the form -moey which is much more common as an indicator of plural object with a transitive verb. There are quite a number of such verbs and many of them relate to motion or actions which change the state of the body, though not all motion verbs take the plural subject suffix -moey in place of -mi. Here are some intransitive verbs pluralized with -moey.

- yaka-moey-pa  'reveal themselves'
- yathar-moey-pa  'become entangled'
- sizar-moey-pa  'descend'
- uba-moey-pa  'dress'
- wardha-moey-pa  'steal away'
- alal-moey-pa  'become darkened with cloud shadow/become obscured'
- ay-moey-pa  'become/be transformed to'
- asi-moey-pa  'take on the likeness of'
- adha-moey-pa  'emerge from'
- dhub yoera-moey-pa  'swell up'
- guigupoe-moey-pa  'spin/travel in circles'
- di-moey-pa  'break up'
- idhu-moey-pa  'come loose/come undone'
- koesi-moey-pa  'grow'
- bar woeri-moey-pa  'bump'
- garwalga-moey-pa  'wash'
- lupa-moey-pa  'shake'
- marsi-moey-pa  'stand in plain view'
- palgi-moey-pa  'fly'

Some verbs which relate to motion or other change of bodily state but are pluralized with -mi not -moey include:

- ame-mi-pa  'crawl'
- zilme-mi-pa  'travel fast'
- abe-mi-pa  'cover up'
- nure-mi-pa  'become entwined in'

Examples of transitive verbs with plural object indicated with -mi rather than the much more common -moey include:

- gethtide-mi-pa  'read'
- karnge-mi-pa  'hear'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense, Aspect, Mood</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Singular Object</th>
<th>Dual Object</th>
<th>Plural Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ASPECTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incompletive</td>
<td>-pa/-ypa</td>
<td>patha-ypa</td>
<td>patha-m-pa</td>
<td>patha-moey-pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>patha-n</td>
<td>patha-ma-n</td>
<td>patha-moey-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>-pu/-ypu</td>
<td>patha-ypu</td>
<td>patha-mam-pu</td>
<td>patha-moey-pu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>-r</td>
<td>patha-r</td>
<td>patha-ma-r</td>
<td>patha-moey-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminating</td>
<td>-rnga</td>
<td>patha-rnga</td>
<td>patha-ma-rnga</td>
<td>patha-moey-rnga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous Striving</td>
<td>-dha</td>
<td>patha-dha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TENSES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>patha-ne</td>
<td>patha-moe-ne</td>
<td>patha-moey-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Today Past</td>
<td>-nu</td>
<td>patha-nu</td>
<td>patha-moe-nu</td>
<td>patha-moey-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yesterday Past</td>
<td>-ngu</td>
<td>patha-ngu</td>
<td>patha-moe-ngu</td>
<td>patha-moey-ngu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic Past</td>
<td>-dhin</td>
<td>patha-dhin</td>
<td>patha-moe-dhin</td>
<td>patha-moey-dhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MOODS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (singular actor)</td>
<td>-r</td>
<td>patha-r</td>
<td>patha-ma-r</td>
<td>patha-moey-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (non-singular actor)</td>
<td>-w/-riw/-o</td>
<td>patha-w</td>
<td>patha-ma-riw</td>
<td>patha-moey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few transitive verbs have a stem final u, and the conjugation of these is very closely analogous to that for a final verb stems. One
difference that is not surprising is that for imperatives with non-singular subject and singular object the mood suffix -w is absorbed into the stem final u. No sequence 'uw' occurs word finally in the language. Also the habitual aspect suffix may occur in the form -moeypu instead of the normal -pu. This may be analysed as an alternate form of the suffix occurring after u. However, since the only examples I have relate to planting seeds and plucking fruit, it may be that these acts are viewed distributively rather than collectively by the language speakers even where habitual aspect is employed.

**TABLE 9.4 CONJUGATION OF THE TRANSITIVE VERB THIDHU, 'TO PLUCK' (AS OF FRUIT FROM A TREE.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense, Mood, Aspect</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Singular Object</th>
<th>Dual Object</th>
<th>Plural Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ASPECTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incomplete</td>
<td>-pa/-ypa</td>
<td>thidhu-ypa</td>
<td>thidhu-ma-pa</td>
<td>thidhu-moeypa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>thidhu-n</td>
<td>thidhu-ma-n</td>
<td>thidhu-moeypu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>-ypu/-pu</td>
<td>thidhu-ypu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>thidhu-moeypu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>-r</td>
<td>thidhu-r</td>
<td>thidhu-ma-r</td>
<td>thidhu-moeyr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminating</td>
<td>-rnu</td>
<td>thidhu-rnu</td>
<td>thidhu-ma-rnu</td>
<td>thidhu-moeyrnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuous Striving</td>
<td>-dha</td>
<td>thidhu-dha</td>
<td>thidhu-dha</td>
<td>thidhu-dha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TENSES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>thidhu-ne</td>
<td>thidhu-ma-ne</td>
<td>thidhu-moeyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Today Past</td>
<td>-nu</td>
<td>thidhu-nu</td>
<td>thidhu-ma-nu</td>
<td>thidhu-moynu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yesterday Past</td>
<td>-ngu</td>
<td>thidhu-ngu</td>
<td>thidhu-ma-ngu</td>
<td>thidhu-moynu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic Past</td>
<td>-dhin</td>
<td>thidhu-dhin</td>
<td>thidhu-ma-dhin</td>
<td>thidhu-moyn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

97
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense, Mood, Aspect</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Singular Object</th>
<th>Dual Object</th>
<th>Plural Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MOODS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (singular actor)</td>
<td>-r</td>
<td>thidhu-r</td>
<td>thidhu-ma-r</td>
<td>thidhu-moey-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (non-singular actor)</td>
<td>-riw/</td>
<td>thidhu</td>
<td>thidhu-ma-riw</td>
<td>thidhu-moey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 9.5  DORMANT VERBS; CONJUGATION OF THE VERB \textit{PATH} MEANING 'TO CUT' OR 'TO DEPART BY VEHICLE'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participle/Verbal Noun</td>
<td>-yg</td>
<td>patha-yg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Imperative</td>
<td>-y</td>
<td>patha-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary Characteristic Participle</td>
<td>-yzi</td>
<td>patha-yzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Participle</td>
<td>-yggi</td>
<td>patha-yggi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Indicative</td>
<td>-yginga</td>
<td>patha-yginga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tension Avoidance</td>
<td>-yle</td>
<td>patha-yle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no transitive-intransitive distinction for dormant verb forms. None of them take distinct forms for different object number and all contain \(-y\) in the suffix and may be said to be based on the participle or verbal noun form. Various of these dormant verb forms take 'having' suffixes but this will be dealt with in the paper on nominals.

10. SOME MORPHOPHONEMIC PATTERNS

1. The potential sequence, 'a' followed by 'p' across a morpheme boundary within a word, or 'oe' followed by 'p', will always lead to some adjustment to avoid this sequence. This adjustment may be

a) Vowel deletion.

'Will have two items' \, \textit{patha} + \text{-moe} + \text{-pa} becomes \textit{patha-m-pa}
b) Interposition of 'y'.

'Will cut one item' \( \text{patha} + -\text{pa} \) becomes \( \text{patha}-\text{ypa} \)

c) Reduplicating an 'm'.

' Habitually cuts two items' \( \text{patha} + -\text{moe} + -\text{pu} \) becomes
\( \text{patha-mam-pu} \)

Likewise we find \( \text{patha-mam-pa} \) occurring occasionally as an alternative to \( \text{patha-m-pa} \). This restriction appears to be peculiar to verbs. With nominals, 'a' and 'oe' occur frequently as enpenthetic vowels between a consonant final nominal and the goal suffix -\( \text{pa} \).

\text{e.g. lag is 'house' while } lag-\text{oe} \text{pa means 'to the house'}\)

2. The dual suffix -moe which occurs on verbs to indicate that the subject (for intransitive verbs) or the object (for transitive verbs) is dual, becomes -\( \text{ma} \) when followed by 'm', 'n', or 'r'. This is a very clear general trend but one should not be dogmatic about variation between 'oe' and 'a' as there is a great deal of ideolect variation between these two sounds. There is a clear tendency for older speakers, especially those who have been relatively isolated from language speaking groups for some years to use 'a' in many places where younger speakers and those who have been recently in the Torres Strait use 'oe' or schwa.

3. The vowel 'e' is deleted before the vowel 'i'. Before 'r' it changes to 'i'. Before 'y' it changes to 'a'.

For the imperative singular of pathe, 'to depart', \( \text{pathe} + 'i' \) becomes \( \text{path-i} \).

With nage, 'to look', the continuous aspect is made up of nage + 'r' and this becomes nagi-\( r \).

The historic past tense of pathe, 'to depart', is made up of pathe + -\( \text{ydhin} \), and becomes \( \text{patha-ydhin} \).

4. There are many verbs for which dual forms sometimes or always take a reduplicated version of the -moe suffix. One interesting feature of this reduplication is the way that it interacts with the basic language pattern of syllable stress. In KKY primary stress normally falls on the first syllable with alternate syllables thereafter bearing secondary stress. This kind of morpheme reduplication frequently occurs where the verb stem has only one syllable plus a following vowel. Thus with a verb such a idha, 'to maul', for example, a single -moe syllable would
become the third syllable, carrying secondary stress, relegating the
tense or aspect suffix to the unstressed fourth syllable position. No
reduplication occurs with the plural suffix but rather a tendency toward
deletion. Where the third and final syllable of the stem contains an
'm', this will be deleted leaving the plural suffix in the stressed
position. Showing syllable breaks and stress, we find,

$idha + -moe + -ne$ becomes $idha.a.moe.moe.ne$ 'will maul both'

Pluralizing the verb $gasamoe$ 'to grasp /take hold of',

$gasamoe + -moey + -ne$ becomes $gas.a.moey.ne$ 'will grasp several'

More study is needed to detail the relationship of stress, word rhythm,
and morphology but from my speaking knowledge of the language I have a
strong intuition that word rhythm serves as an important purpose in
disambiguating singualrs, duals, and plurals. Duas tend more often to
have secondary stress on the final morpheme, the tense/aspect morpheme.
Also reduplication tends to disambiguate dual suffix verbs from singular
verbs with $-moe$ occurring in the stem. It may be possible to better
understand many of the irregularities found, especially in verbs with
short stems, in the light of stress and rhythm. For example, the
singular, dual, and plural forms of the verb, $ma$ meaning 'to hand over'
are for future tense respectively,

$ma.ne$, $ma.moe.moe.ne$, and $ma.moey.i.ne$

Second reduplicated syllables are not normally stressed. In this case
this trend predominates over the alternate syllable rule.
ABBREVIATIONS

rd

ACC accusative case
COM completive aspect
DU dual
ERG ergative
FUT future tense
GP group plural
HAV 'having' suffix
HP historic past tense
INC incompletion aspect
KKY Kalaw Kawaw
KLY Kala Lagaw Ya
LOC location
PL plural
ROU route
TP today past tense
; more than one English word needed to express meaning
+ morpheme not able to be separated from word
BIBLIOGRAPHY


102


