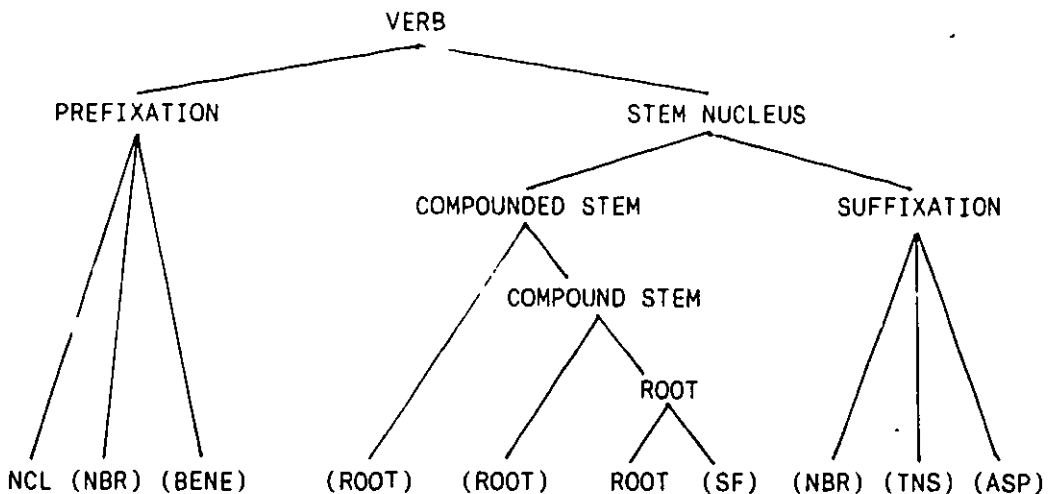


Anindilyakwa verbs have a distinctive set of verb roots, stem formatives and number morphemes. The verb prefixes for subject and object are similar in shape to those in the Nominal Prefix Nucleus. The additional Number morphemes in the prefixation resemble those for nominals (see Section 3.3.1.3) but, in the suffixation, is similar to that for the demonstratives (see Section 5.1.1). The verb prefixation also marks mood in the verb; the derivational suffixation marks tense and aspect. Inflectional case clitics are also attached to a verb.

Table 14 diagrams the verb structure. Verb roots occur only in the second position in the compound stem; noun or adjective roots can occur in the first position of a compound or compounded stem. The morphemes in brackets are optional.

TABLE 14: VERB STRUCTURE



6.1 VERB ROOTS

The minimal realisation of a verb root is the single or reduplicated root. A verb root can only occur in the first position in a compound stem. The following examples illustrate the single root which has from one to three syllables.

nimwapina		'he sang'
/ni + m{w}api + ni/		
3:3	sing	TNS
nalyilyanga		'he took the dead
/n{i} + alyily{i} + anga/		person's spirit away'
3:3	remove spirit	TNS
ngarrartanga		'we called out'
/ngarr{a} + art{a} + anga/		
1IncNsg	call out	TNS
yingimwarringkina		'she saw it'
/yinga + mwa + rringka + ni/		
3:2	3:5	see TNS
mwilyana		'carry it on the hip!'
/∅ + ∅ + mwily{a} + ani/		
2Sg	3:4	carry on hip TNS
nalyipwana		'he ate it'
/n{i} + ∅ + alyi{k}pw{i} + arni/		
3:3	3:4	eat TNS

Reduplication of a verb root indicates continuation or repetition of the action (see Section 2.8 for Reduplication Rules).

ngarrirrakirrakayanga		
/ngarra + rraka + rrakay{a} + anga/		
1IncNsg	REDUP	sit down TNS
'We keep on sitting down.'		
niwarriwarrinamwa		
/ni + warra + warra + n{i} + amwi/		
3:3	REDUP	wriggle TNS NPIP
'He is keeping on wriggling.'		
nilharrmwilharrmwanamwirra		
/ni + ∅ + lharrmw{i} + lharrmw{i} + an{i} + amwirra/		
3:3	3:4	REDUP chase TNS NPIP
'He is keeping on chasing it.'		

kingalyalyipwarna
 /king{a} + ∅ + aly{i} + alyipw{i} + arni/
 3:2 3:4 REDUP eat TNS
 'She will eat and eat it.'

arngkapwapwirnilhangwa nakina nimwirrkwimwirrkwilhimwirra
 3:4 often-ABL 3:3(i) that 3:3 was keeping on lying

awarrwalya
 3:4 shade
 'He was often lying down in the shade.'

6.2 VERB STEM COMPLEX

In the compound stems, a noun or adjective root is compounded with a verb root to yield a more specific lexical meaning. Some transitive verb roots are obligatorily bound. Compound verb stems make up the major portion of the verb inventory (see Dixon 1980:411 for similar complexity in Guurindji and Walmatjarri).

6.2.1 Compound stems

Compound stems consist of a nominal root in the first position and a verb root in the second position. The root can be further compounded by a nominal root preceding the compound stem.

6.2.1.1 In transitive verbs

The incorporated Bodypart noun root in a transitive verb can refer to the noun in the direct object. The object prefixation sometimes co-occurs with the noun root but it is by no means obligatory. This omission may be due to the fact that the object prefix is often the same shape as the initial syllable of the incorporated Bodypart root and is subject to deletion by Haplology. The possessor of the body part is different from the subject referent unless the verb stem is reflexive or reciprocal (see Section 6.2.2.4). (Note: The shortened forms of the Bodypart noun roots are often used

in the lengthy verbs.)

wilhakpwakirithana /∅ + wi + lhakpwaka + rith{a} + ani/ 2Sg 3:4 leg chop TNS	'chop its leg off!'
ngari(pwirr)kwirringka /∅ + nga + ripwirrkwi + rringka/ 2Sg 3:2 back see	'look at her back!'
nilha(ngar)ngkithakina /ni + lhangarngka + thaka + ni/ 3:3 head cook TNS	'he cooked its head'
niwarrkirntirrka /ni + warrka + rntirrka/ 3:4 teeth take	'he took its teeth'
nimwarngkirringkina /ni + mwarngka + rringka + ni/ 3:3 spirit see TNS	'he saw [the dead man's] spirit'

A Shape adjective root can also precede the verb root in the same position as the Bodypart noun root in the transitive (and intransitive) verb. It has the same role of identifying the goal of the action. The Shape adjective and the Bodypart noun roots are both used in reference to the body part.

niyalhkirringkina /ni + yalhki + rringk{a} + ni/ 3:3 long-necked see TNS	'He looked at its neck.'
niwarrkilhalhika /ni + warrki + lhalhika/ 3:3 chest-shaped leave behind	'He left the chest behind.'
nganilhirkpwirrana /nga{rra} + ni + lhirrk{i} + pwirr{a} + ani/ 1IncNsg 3:3 short-bodied split TNS	yipwiratha 3:3(ii) wallaby 'We split the wallaby's carcass [lengthwise].'

Compare:

mwarampwarrkirringkina /∅ + mwa + ramp{w}arrki + rringka + ni/ 2Sg 3:5 flat see TNS	'Look at its back!'
---	---------------------

mwaripwirrkwiringka
 /Ø + mwa + ripwirrkwi + rringka/
 2Sg 3:5 back see
 'Look at its back!'

With verbs of impact and transfer, the participants are cross-referenced in the verb as the subject and object and the free form body part in the noun phrase (and sometimes the recipient) is marked for Locative case. It is not obligatory to incorporate the Bodypart noun root in the verb.

ninginingatjamwa anilhangwimwantja aringka
 /ninga + ni + ngatj{a} + amwi/ 3:3(i)-POSS-LOC 3:4 head
 1ExcSg 3:3 hit NPIP
 'I am hitting him on his head.'

yirikwitjilhangwa nanirntarrka nakina
 3:3(ii) bandicoot 3:3+3:3 grabbed 3:3(i) that

akpwilhangwa
 3:4 buttocks-POSS
 'Bandicoot grabbed him [Wallaby] on his buttocks.'

yingatja ninganimwamwalyimwantja niyamwa
 1IncSg hit 1ExcSg my flesh-LOC 3:3 said
 '"You hit me on my body!" he said.'

akinimwa niringanthangimwa anilhangwa amwinta
 3:4 that-COM 3:3 head:was cutting 3:4-POSS 3:4 nose
 'He cut his nose with that [spearhead].'

naningatjamwa nakina aningwiwilyarrimwantja
 3:3+3:3 hit 3:3(i) that 3:4 its middle-LOC

nikpwimwantja nipwina kampwa
 3:3(i) pheasant-LOC 3:3(i) that unseen therefore

niritjamwiyamwa yimwa mwiwilyapwa
 3:3(i) small-backed 3:3(ii) backside 3:5 one

nimwantjitjalhana
 3:3 hair:carry
 'He [Seagull] hit him [Pheasant] in the middle of the back and therefore he [Pheasant] has a small backside that carries one [long] tail feather.'

The Bodypart noun and the Shape adjective roots are used for objects which are considered to have the same type of physical

features. This extends the usage but does not change the primary meaning of the root.

ningakpwirrkwatjina

/ni + ngak{a} + pwirrkwi + tja + ni/
3:3 thigh crush TSR TNS

'He flattened the mound.' (Lit: crushed its thigh)

napwalhpwatjana

/n{i} + apwalh{ka} + pwatj{a} + ani/
3:3 abdomen hit TNS

'He hit the ground.'

narntirrkpwatjana

/n{i} + arntirrk{a} + pwatj{a} + ani/
3:3 ?elbow hit TNS

'He hit the Wild Plum tree.'

nirrakpwarrana

/ni + rrak{a} + pwirr{a} + ani/
3:3 forehead split TNS

'He split the firewood.'

niringkiwirrana

/ni + ringka + wirr{a} + ?ni/
3:3 head throw TNS

'He threw the anchor in.'

ngarrimwingkwilharritjina

/ngarra + mwing{kwirr}kwi + iharra + tja + ni/
1IncNsg cheek fall TSR TNS

'We shook the fruit off.' (Lit: dropped the [fatty] cheeks)

ningilyipwirrkwiripwikwina

/ninga + lyipwirrkwi + ripwikwi + ni/
1Sg lips fold TNS

'I hemmed it.'

ningalhkithakina

/ning{a} + alhka + thaka + ni/
1Sg wing cook TNS

'I singed its feathers.'

nirrakirntangmwatjina

/ni + rraki + rntangmwi + tja + ni/
3:3 elongated clap TSR TNS

'He strummed the guitar.'

wirriyakiyiwirna

/wirra + yaka + yiwi + rni/
2Nsg chest follow TNS

'Follow the river!'

ana athalyimwa
3:4 this 3:4 river

Many Anindilyakwa verb roots are bound. In the above examples,

lexical roots fill the first position in the compound stem. If the identification of the object is not known because of such situations as distance or darkness, the Nominaliser (ng)kwi- or the Adjectiviser (ng)ki- is substituted for the actual body part or its shape.

ngarrikwirrithana 'We made a scratching
 /ngarra + kwi + rri{a} + ani/
 1IncNsg NSR scratch TNS noise.'

ngarrikwiwirrana 'We threw it down.'
 /ngarra + kwi + wirr{a} + ani/
 1IncNsg NSR throw TNS

wirrikilhirrwana 'Drag it along!'
 /wirra + ki + lhirr{a} + arni/
 2Nsg ASR drag TNS

ningkarrngina 'He chopped it.'
 /ni + ngk{i} + arrnga + ni/
 3:3 ASR chop TNS

The stem nucleus can consist of three different roots but this only occurs when a noun or adjective root is added to a compound stem.

nimwakwirikpwitjangatjina
 /ni + mwa{pwirr}kwi + rikpwitjanga + tja + ni/
 3:3 short-legged (=treeless) body:jump TSR TNS
 'He shifted camp.'

Very few compound transitive verb stems appear to be idiomatic but the following have been found. The compounded stem appears to be a frozen collocation. The lack of idiomatic transitive verb stems is in direct contrast with the very large number of idiomatic intransitive stems.

nilyalyiwangina
 /ni + ∅ + lyalyi{kawi} + wanga + ni/
 3:3 3:4 tongue bite TNS
 'He chewed it.'

nalhingkwiwarra
/na + lhingkwi + warra/
3:4 hair move
'It grew taller.' (Lit: Its foliage (=hair) moved.)

napwalhmwirthina
/n{a} + apwalh{ka} + mwirthi + ni/
3:4 abdomen be brown TNS
'It [the sky] got darker.' (Lit: Its abdomen became brown.)

narratjalhanga
/na + rra{ka} + tjalh{a} + anga/
3:4 forehead emerge TNS
'It [the cliff] jutted out.' (Lit: Its forehead emerged.)

nayangkilhawirrathina
/na + yangka + lhawirratha + ni/
3:4 speech (=speech) return TNS
'It echoed.' (Lit: Its speech returned.)

The Shape adjective root also occurs in the first position of a compound stem with an intransitive verb. The relationship with the subject is still usually one of inalienable possession. The last example, however, may indicate that an appositional relationship may also be possible.

narrakirntangmwina
/na + rraki + rntang^m{w}i + ni/
3:4 elongated click TNS
'It [the wire] twanged.' (Lit: Its strand clicked.)

napwingkartjina
/n{i} + ap{w}ing{ki} + artja + ni/
3:3 humped stand TNS
'He was humpbacked.' (Lit: His body stood up.)

ningangkiwanginimwa
/ni + ngangki + wanga + ni + mwa/
3:3 concave bite TNS PIP
'He was breathing.' (Lit: His concave part was biting.)

narningpwitjanga
/n{a} + arning{ki} + pwitj{i} + anga/
3:4 pointed jump TNS
'It [the spear] sprang up.' (Lit: It, the pointed thing, jumped.)

In the intransitive verbs, the compound stem is often idiomatic. It is difficult to know where to break the continuum

between literal within the Aboriginal culture and metaphorical. The following examples illustrate the type of metaphor that is very frequent in Anindilyakwa.

ngarriyangkilhapwana
/ngarra + yangka + lhapw{i} + ani/
1IncNsg head test TNS
'We asked.' (Lit: We tested [the other person's] head.)

ngarrilyalyingpwikwayina
/ngarra + lyalying{ka} + pwikw{i} + aya + ni/
1IncNsg REDUP:tongue ?blow on SNSg TNS
'We conversed.'

nilyangmwirithina
/ni + lyang{ka} + mwirithini/
3:3 head be hollow
'He was incompetent.' (Lit: His head was hollow. / He was hollow-headed.)

ningwirrkwanyarra
/ni + ngwirrkw{i} + anyarri/
3:3 mouth hard
'He swore.' (Lit: His mouth [was] hard. / He [was] hard-mouthed.)

ninyakampwilya
/ni + nyak{a} + ampwilyimwi/
3:3 chest stay
'He trusted in the old ways.' (Lit: His chest stayed.)

napwirrpwitjanga
/n{i} + apwirr{kwi} + pwitjanga/
3:3 buttocks jump
'He was startled.' (Lit: His buttocks jumped.)

niyakiwitjanga
/ni + yaka + pwitjanga/
3:3 chest jump
'His chest jumped.' (Lit: His chest jumped.)

yingiwarrwirthana
/yinga + warr{ki} + wirth{a} + ani/
3:2 chest-shaped sing TNS
'She chose to work well.' (Lit: Her chest-shaped [part] sang.)

yingiyangkartirtarrithana
/yinga + yangk{a} + artirtarra + th{a} + ani/
3:2 head(=speech) hot INCH TNS
'She squealed.' (Lit: Her speech became hot.)

nirikwitharrpwikwina
/ni + rikwi + tharrpwi + kwa + ni/
3:3 body short CAUS TNS
'He sat with his legs tucked under.' (Lit: He caused his body to shorten.)

The stem nucleus of the intransitive verb can consist of three different roots but this is a single initial root added to a compound stem. Such constructions are few in number. Compare the following set of words:

niwarrpwikwina
 /ni + warr {ki} + pwikwi + ni/
 3:3 chest-shaped winnow TNS
 'He thought.'

niyakiwarrpwikwina
 /ni + yaka + warrpwikwi + ni/
 3:3 chest think TNS
 'He remembered.'

nilyangkiwarrpwikwatjingwina
 /ni + lyangka + warrpwikwi + tjingwi + ni/
 3:3 head think REFL TNS
 'He thought to himself.' / 'He pondered.'

6.2.2 Derived verbs

Five stem formatives which follow the root or stem divide into three position classes, viz., (i) Causative/Inchoative, (ii) Transitive, and (iii) Reflexive/Reciprocal. The Causative and Transitive morphemes create transitive verbs; the Inchoative, Reflexive and Reciprocal create intransitive verbs. The Causative and Inchoative both derive verbs mainly from adjective roots or stems; the Transitive and Reflexive/Reciprocal morphemes are applied to verb roots.

6.2.2.1 Causative

The causative marker ka is usually suffixed to an adjective root or stem but can also occur with a noun, adverb or verb stem. The verb itself is then transitive. The causative marker can be preceded by either a high or a low vowel. In 95% of a 226 word corpus, the stem-final high vowel is retained if the penultimate vowel in the stem is /a/ but this vowel is changed to the low vowel /a/ if the penultimate vowel in the stem is /i/. These statistics are based on

the Aborigines' preferred or first choices but, as this dissimilation rule is not obligatory, the two possibilities both occur with some regularity. In the remaining data, Aborigines have not accepted the variation and, while it may simply be fixed irregularity, the following has been observed: (a) when two high vowels occur the second vowel is very short and unstressed, and frequently between two laminals); and (b) in the eight examples where two low vowels co-occur the intervening consonant is always a rounded labial peripheral.

mwakwilyathathikina

/∅ + mwa + kwilyathatha + ka + ni/
 2Sg 3:5 NSR:be shining CAUS TNS
 'Polish the floor!' / 'Make the floor shine!'

yingingpwatjikinimwa

/yinga + ∅ + ngpwatja + ka + ni + mwi/
 3:2 3:4 smell CAUS TNS PIP
 'She was making it smell.' / 'She was making it smelly.'

ngarrimwayarrarikina

/ngarra + mw(a) + ayarrarri + ka + ni/
 1IncNsg 3:5 forked CAUS TNS
 'We made it [the tree] tremble.'

ningingwirrkwiwarrwalyikinamwa

/ninga + ∅ + ngwirrkwiwarrwalya + ka + n{i} + amwi/
 1ExcSg 3:4 mouth:shade CAUS TNS NPIP
 'I am making the food bland.'

Compare the following pair of words:

ngarripwikwiritjangimwa

/ngarripwikwi + ∅ + ritj{a} + anga + mwi/
 1IncTri 3:4 scrape TNS PIP
 'The three of us were scraping the wood smooth.'

aka
 3:4 wood

ngarripwikwiritjikinimwa

/ngarripwikwi + ∅ + ritja + ka + ni + mwi/
 1IncTri 3:4 scrape CAUS TNS PIP
 'The three of us were clearing the ground.'

angalya
 3:4 place

The Causative morpheme has another allomorph kwa which has been recorded in two environments. When an adjective root or stem has a final rounded peripheral consonant, the phonologically-conditioned

allomorph kwa occurs in free variation with ka. This progressive assimilation only occurs when the intervening vowel is high (see also Section 2.7.2).

wirrinarrngwika ~ wirrinarrngwikwa
 /wirra + Ø + nyarrngwi + kwa/
 2Nsg 3:4 tame CAUS
 'Domesticate the bird!'

yingingatharrpwik(w)ina ~ yingingatharrpwikwa
 /yinga + nga + tharrpwi + k(w)a + ni/
 3:2 3:2 short CAUS TNS
 'She shortened the dress.'

nimwiramwaka ~ nimwiramwika ~ nimwiramwikwa
 /ni + Ø + mwiramwi + k(w)a/
 3:3 3:4 muted CAUS
 'He quietened it [the noise].'

In the second environment, some roots and stems are obligatorily adjoined by the allomorph kwa to form a causative verb. The meaning of these verbs is often idiomatic. (Note that, in the first example, the plural prefix is used as the verb root. This corresponds with its use in derived nouns.)

yirrimwirntikwinimwa
 /yirra + mwirnta{ka} + kwa + ni + mwi/
 1ExcNsg PL (=many) CAUS TNS PIP
 'We were all coming together.' (Lit: we were causing pluralisation)

kimwangwinyik(w)inamwa
 /ka + mwa + ngwinyi + kwa + n{i} + amwi/
 1ExcSg 3:5 soft CAUS TNS NPIP
 'I will be grinding the Zamia nuts.'

napwalhkayikwina
 /Ø + n{i} + apwalh{ka} + kaya + kwa + ni/
 2Sg 3:3 abdomen lift up CAUS TNS
 'Make him stand up!'

In two or three words, the causative marker ka ~ kwa follows what appears to be the stem formative rra (see Section 3.1.2).

nara arimwakwimwa ~ arimwikwimwa ~ arimwirrikwimwa
 /nara {a} + arimwi + (rra) + kwa + mwi/
 not NEV big SF CAUS PIP
 'Don't be making it louder!' / 'Don't put it up higher!'

nimwangpwithirrika

/ni + mwa + ngpwitha + rra + ka/
3:3 3:5 strong SF CAUS
'He made the rope strong.'

6.2.2.2 Inchoative

The Inchoative suffix, like the Causative morpheme, changes nominals and adverbials into verbs. It primarily follows the final root of an adjective and, to a far lesser extent, a noun or an adverb. The verb itself is intransitive.

The vowel preceding the inchoative stem formative tha can be either a low or high vowel. The phonological conditioning is the same as for the Causative morpheme but is much more common. In 91% of a 227 word corpus, the stem-final high vowel is retained if the penultimate vowel in the stem is /a/ but this vowel is changed to the low vowel /a/ if the penultimate vowel in the stem is /i/. High Vowel Lowering Rule 3 (Section 2.3.2.4) can also be said to have created the low vowel in some of the data. The English translation often utilises the passive voice but the Anindilyakwa concept is one of "becoming". The stem formative, together with the verb aspect suffixation, indicates that the process of "becoming" is either complete or incomplete, e.g. 'became, is becoming, will be getting, got, was, is'.

niyakirrarrithina ~ niyakirrarrathina

/ni + yakirrari + tha + ni/
3:3 happy INCH TNS
'He was happy.' / 'He became happy.'

warnikwiyalhilhithina ~ warnikwiyalhilhathina

/warni + kwi + yalhilha + tha + ni/
3:1 NSR shy INCH TNS
'...to have become shy.'

ningkwilyingatjirrarrathina

/ningkwi + lyingatjirrarra + tha + ni/
2Sg torso:long INCH TNS
'You have grown taller.' (Lit: became long)

nalyarrngwalyilyathina
/n{a} + alyarrngwalyilyi + tha + ni/
3:4 night INCH TNS
'It got dark.'

naritjithina
/n{i} + aritja + tha + ni/
3:3(ii) last INCH TNS
'He ended up last.'

There is considerable variation in presence or absence of the nominal classifier. The full form of the adjective, the stem or just the root can be suffixed for inchoative. The alternative forms generally have a fixed idiomatic meaning. Compare the following pairs:

nakpwiringkathina
/na + kpwiringka + tha + ni/
3:4 dry INCH TNS
'It got dry.'

niringkathina
/ni + ringka + tha + ni/
3:3 blow on INCH TNS
'It stopped raining.' (Lit: it became blown on.)

nawirrariyathinimwa
/n{a} + awirrariyi + tha + ni + mwi/
3:4 bad INCH TNS PIP
'It was going bad.'

yingarriyathinimwa
/ying{a} + arriy{i} + tha + ni + mwi/
3:2 bad INCH TNS PIP
'She was getting sicker.' (Lit: was becoming bad)

In some verbs, the inchoative marker is obligatorily suffixed to a verb root which does not otherwise appear as a separate entity. The Anindilyakwa concept is closer to the passive voice than some of the above.

niritjawithimwa
/ni + ri{kwi}tjawi + tha + mwi/
3:3 body:carry INCH PIP
'He was riding.' (Lit: became carried)

yirripwikwimwingkimwingkathayini:::wa
 /yirripwikwi + mwingkimwingka + th{a} + aya + ni + wa/
 1ExcTri REDUP:dig INCH SNsg TNS cont.act
 'We three kept on digging.' (Lit: dig = become a mouth)

nitjarrithina
 /ni + tjarri + tha + ni/
 3:3 ?forked INCH TNS
 'He was finished.'

The following pairs of examples illustrate the interchangeability of the obligatory inchoative and causative markers. Every verb root that can be marked for causative can be marked for inchoative (but not vice versa).

kilhawirrathinamwa
 /ka + lhawirra + tha + n{i} + amwi/
 1ExcSg return INCH TNS NPIP
 'I will be returning.'

kilhawirrakinamwa
 /ka + ni + lhawirra + ka + n{i} + amwi/
 1ExcSg 3:3 return CAUS TNS NPIP
 'I can bring back a goanna.' (Lit: will be causing its return)

ngarrilharrngkwilharrngkwithaka
 /ngarra + lharrngkwilharrngkwi + tha + ka/
 1IncNsg REDUP:things burn CAUS
 'We kept on cooking the things.'

yingithatha
 /yinga + tha + tha/
 3:2 burn INCH
 'The dress was burnt.'

nara akwitjarrikwa
 nara /a + kwi + tjarri + kwa/
 not NEV NSR forked CAUS
 'Don't finish it!' (Lit: do not cause it to be forked)

natjarrithinamwa
 /na + tjarri + tha + n{i} + amwi/
 3:4 forked INCH TNS NPIP
 'It is being finished.' (e.g., ice melting, fat dissolving)

6 2.2.3 Transitiviser

The Transitive stem formative tja follows the verb root and

immediately precedes the tense or aspect marker. An agent or actor (not an experiencer) must be the subject of the verb. The low vowel preceding this stem formative is phonologically-conditioned in the same way as the Inchoative but it also occurs when the Causative morpheme or the last consonant in the root/stem is a velar.

There is very little semantic difference between a Causative and a Transitive verb. A choice is usually made as to which stem formative is used with each verb root but there is some overlap, e.g., in the verbs "I shortened it" and "I made it shorter". The Transitive can follow the Causative morpheme without any semantic difference known to the author.

The occurrence of the Transitive is illustrated in the following sets of examples in contrast with its absence in the intransitive counterpart. The Agent is the subject in the transitive verb and the Experiencer is the subject in the intransitive. This is a common feature of Anindilyakwa.

ningirakayanamwa

/ninga + rakay{a} + an{i} + amwi/
 1ExcSg lie on one's back TNS NPIP
 'I am lying down on my back.'

ningirakayitjinamwa

/ninga + ∅ + rakaya + tja + n{i} + amwi/
 1ExcSg 3:4 lie on one's back TSR TNS NPIP
 'I am laying the stone down.'

niwarrina

/ni + warra + ni/
 3:3 move TNS
 'He wriggled.'

nimwawarritjina

/ni + mwa + warra + tja + ni/
 3:3(i) 3:5 move TSR TNS
 'I started the car.'

naniwarrikwatjina

/n{i} + ani + warra + kwa + tja + ni/
 3:3 3:3 move CAUS TSR TNS
 'He turned the eggs over.'

yinimwamwiwa

3:3(ii) egg

third example below.

akwa yingakpwiwarrkatjingwinamwa
and /ying[a] + akpwiwarrka + tjingwi + n{1} + amwi/
3:2 hide REFL TNS NPIP

atjiringkimwantja
3:4 ground-LOC

'She is hiding herself in the ground.'

naningwirthirrwatjingwinimwa akwingwimwantja
/nani + ngwirthirwi + tjingwi + ni + mwi/ 3:4 water-LOC
3:1MascDu dive REFL TNS PIP

'The two men were diving themselves in the water.'

yingiwilyakinamwa namwakimwakitjingwinamwa
3:2+3:4 is showing /na + mwakimwaka + tjingwi + n{1} + amwi/
3:4 REDUP:mark REFL TNS NPIP

yinipa wipwirra ngalhilhangwimwantja aringka
3:3 red ochre like 3:2(ii)-POSS-LOC 3:4 head

'Broga is carrying the red mark, that keeps marking itself, on her head.'

thipwina thingira anilhangwimwantja nanimwathangkwa
3:2(ii) that 3:2(ii) clay 3:3(i)-POSS-LOC 3:3(i) his body

yingiwirritjingwa arakpwa
/yinga + wirra + tjingwi/ comp.act
3:2 throw away REFL

'The clay disappeared from his body.' (Lit: threw itself away)

nalhingkwapwitjatjingwina
/na + lhingkwapwitja + tjingwi + ni/
3:4 hair:jump REFL TNS
'The grass grew.' (Lit: jumped its foliage up.)

The Reflexive morpheme can follow the Causative or the Transitivity suffix but the verb remains intransitive. This means that the reflexive suffix can de-transitive a verb, thus indicating that reflexiveness outranks transitivity. The following examples show the use of the causative marker in the reflexive verb.

nimwamarrkiwarrikwatjingwa
/nimwa + m{w}arrkiwarra + kwa + tjingwi/
3:5 circular:move CAUS REFL
'It [the sun] moved itself [to the afternoon position].' (Lit: made its circular shape move.)

niwalhkiwayitjatjingwina
 /niw{a} + alhkiwaya + tja + tjingwi + ni/
 3:4 wing:brush off TSR REFL TNS
 'The seed peeled its own skin off.' [Lit: brushed its wing off]

yirriwarpwarritjatjingwina
 /yirra + warpwarra + tja + tjingwi + ni/
 1ExcNsg ?head:split TSR REFL TNS
 'We all rolled ourselves over.'

nakina anilhangwa nanikwiwanikpa
 3:3(i) that 3:3(i)-POSS 3:3(i) son-KPOSS

niwarrikwatjingwimwa wipwirra
 /ni + warra + kwa + tjingwi + mwi/ like
 3:3 move CAUS REFL PIP

thiwathirra
 3:2(ii) cockatoo
 'His son was causing himself to turn into a cockatoo.'

niyangkithirrpwirakatjingwina
 /ni + yangkithirrpwira + ka + tjingwi + ni/
 3:3 head:level CAUS REFL TNS
 'He made himself straighten up.' (Lit: caused his head to be level)

There is an alternative way to express reflexivity when there is more than one person or thing involved. The non-singular suffix -aya follows the verb root or stem. It could be argued that the semantic concept is simply one of plurality in contrast to reflexivity expressed by -tjingwi. The following examples in which the action is done separately by each actor or agent are given to show the contrast with those above.

nawirrakingswiringkathayinimwirra
 /na + wirraka + ngpwiringka + th{a} + aya + ni + mwirra/
 3:1 SNSg dry INCH SNsg TNS PIP
 'They were all drying themselves off.' (Note: Each person dried himself/herself)

yirringirikwirikwayina
 /yirringa + rikwirik{i} + aya + ni/
 1ExclFemDu REDUP:sit face to face SNsg TNS
 'We sat ourselves face to face.'

ngawa niwarrkpwitjangayinamwa
 cont.act /niw{a} + arrkpwitjang{a} + aya + n{i} + amwi/
 3:4 jump up SNsg TNS NPIP
 'The sores keep coming up.'

The Reciprocal verb is not marked differently in the morphological structure from the Reflexive verb with a non-singular subject. The action of the verb involves a mutual relationship between a number of people, e.g., meet together, follow, or share.

naiwayinimwirra

/na + yiw{i} + aya + ni + mwirra/

3:1 follow SNsg TNS PIP

'They were all keeping on following each other.'

ngarrirringkayina

/ngarra + rringk{a} + aya + ni/

1IncNsg see SNsg TNS

'We can all see each other.'

naniwartiyinamwirra

/nani + warti + ya + n{i} + amwirra/

3:1MascDu fight SNsg TNS NPIP

'The two men are fighting each other.' / 'The two men are fighting.'

6.2.2.5 Interrogative verb

The only interrogative verb in Anindilyakwa, yamwarrka 'do how?' or 'do what?', is intransitive, as indicated by the verb prefixation. Its two morphemes are yamwi 'do, say' and an irregular Causative stem formative, arrka. The interrogative verb cannot be negated.

kwitja yingiyamwarrkinamwa

hey /yinga + yamwarrka + n{i} + amwi/

3:2 do what? TNS NPIP

thakina

3:2(i) that

'Hey there! What is she doing?'

ningkiyamwarrkamwa

/ningkwi + yamwarrk{a} + amwi/

2Sg do how? NPIP

'How are you making [your] dress?'

ningkwingangakpwirakamwa

2Sg+3:2 are making

tiritja

3:2 dress

akiyamwarrkinamwa

/aka + yamwarrka + n{i} + amwi/

1IncNsg do what? TNS NPIP

'What are we going to do?'

ngarna

1IncPl this

arakpwa

comp.act

pwiya niyamwa mwitjikipitja

then 3:3 said (name)

ngarriyamwarrkina

/ngarra + yamwarrka + ni/

1IncNsg do what? TNS

'And then Mr Gibbs said, 'What are we to do?'

yingamwiringkinimwa		mwangwiyiwanga
/yinga + mwa ==> mwi + rringka + ni + mwi/		3:5 shark
3:2 3:5 see TNS PIP		
'The shark was looking at her.'		

The distinction between human NI and non-human masculine YI Noun Classes is neutralised in the verb prefixes to the NI Class. There is, however, one situation in which the two can contrast, i.e., the human masculine NI as both subject and object is realised as the masculine dual subject whereas the co-occurrence of human masculine NI and non-human masculine YI is treated as two separate entities. In the transitive Actual, Potential and Hortatory verbs, the distinction between the two Non-personified Noun Classes A and MWA is neutralised to the A class.

The prefix order for subject and object prefixes in the transitive verbs is determined by their rank within a nominal hierarchy. The one with the higher rank is placed first irrespective of whether it is subject or object; when the subject and object prefixes are of equal rank the subject prefix precedes the object prefix. The hierarchical ranking in a descending scale is: first person; second person; third person non-singular Personified Noun Class 3:1; the equal status singular Personified Noun Classes 3:2 and 3:3; the singular Non-personified Noun Classes 3:4; and the singular Non-personified Noun Class 3:5 (see double lines in the tables later in this section). Thus, in the third person, non-singularity ranks higher than singularity, and Personified ranks higher than Non-personified. The ranking between first versus second person and Noun Class 3:4 versus 3:5 is not as clearly defined as the others (as explained below).

The hierarchical ranking places the participants in the speech act (1st and 2nd person) on the highest level. The first and second

instances, the same hierarchical system operates in a different way, viz., only the nominal with the highest rank is cross-referenced in the verb. There are, however, some other differences which pertain specifically to the classification for person. These are:

(a) If the aggregate of humans in the co-ordinated noun phrase is three or more the verb is marked for human non-singular Noun Class 3:1.

apwlyakarpwiya amwingwirra akwa yilyanga yiwilyapwa
3:4 three 3:4 crayfish and 3:3 ray 3:3 one

nanarthirra
/na{ni} + n{i} + arthirr{a} + anga/
3:1MascDu 3:3 stab TNS

'The two of them speared three crayfish and one Shovel-nosed Ray.'

yirramwirntakimwilyangimwirra
/yi{rra} + rra + mwirntaka + mwilyanga + mwirra/
1ExcNsg 3:1 OPL carry in arms PIP

alyikwira akwa wirriyikwayiwa
3:4 bark and 3:1 children

'We carried the paperbark and the children in our arms.'

nakina akwa thathingwiyankpwa akwa wirrimwangpwalha
3:3 that and 3:2 wife-KPOSS and 3:1 five

wirriwilyapwa wirriyikwayiwa niwampwilkimwa
3:1 one 3:1 children /niw{a} + ampwilya + mwi/
3:1 live PIP

angalyimwantja
3:1 place-LOC

The man, his wife and six children were living in that place.'

nakina naniyiwangkwa naniwilyakamwa
3:3 that 3:3 old man /na{rra} + ni + wilyak{a} + amwi/
3:1 3:3 take NPIP

winampwilyimwa nanikwanikpwakwiya akwa thampwirimwa
3:1MascDu two 3:1MascDu son-DU and 3:2 one

thathiyawanikpwa amwathirra akwingwawa
3:2 daughter-KPOSS 3:4 hole 3:4 water-ALL

'He is taking two of his sons and his daughter to the waterhole.'

(b) If the multiple referents are from different non-human noun classes the verb prefix appears to agree with a related generic

warnamwamwalya akwa ngayiwa angwirrkwa
 3:1 Aborigines and 1ExcSg Angurugu

yirrilhikanimwa
 /yirri + lhik{a} + ani + mwi/
 1ExcNsg go TNS PIP
 'The Aborigines and I were going to Angurugu.'

ningkwiwa yilhirrakirringka thalhapwiyantja
 2Sg /ya + lhirra + rringka/ (personal name)
 1IncSg ODU see

akwa ngayiwa
 and 1ExcSg
 'You saw Dalabianja and me.'

thapwinkanga akwa mwariya akwa ningkwana
 (name) and (name) and 2Sg this

ngamwirntak irringka
 /nga{rra} + mwirntaka + rringka/
 1IncNsg OPL see
 'I saw you, Dabinkanga and Mariya.'

6.3.1 Modality

There are six separate sets of verb prefixes in Anindilyakwa. They distinguish four 'positive' moods (Actual, Potential, Imperative and Hortatory) and two negative moods (Negated Actual and Negated Potential). The negated moods are always preceded by the negative nara. The Potential and Negated Potential share the same set of prefixes. The sixth prefixation set involves the Infinitive verb and could be called Purposive mood because of the meaning and its frequent co-occurrence with the Purposive suffix -yatha. The Interrogative mood is not specifically marked but uses Actual or Potential prefixation with a change in intonation.

6.3.1.1 Actual and Potential moods

The terms, Actual and Potential, have been chosen because a time or tense perspective is not involved. The contrast is between an action which has already begun or is starting right now versus one which has not yet begun. The concept could be stated as past or

immediate action versus projected action. In the English future tense, the intention of the speaker is implied; in Anindilyakwa there is no intention implied. The Aboriginal addressee knows that the statement provides no guarantee that the action will take place but, when a non-Aboriginal tries to press the point and get that guarantee, the answer is always "maybe" (whether in English or the vernacular). The contrast is on whether the task has happened or is happening (and thus is expected to be finished) or whether it has only a potential for being enacted. The Negated Actual mood indicates that such an action or event is not happening, will not be happening or is forbidden. (Note: Tense is marked by suffixation.)

The Actual and Potential verb prefixes have a greater degree of similarity with the Nominal Classifiers than the Personal Pronoun Nucleus. The verb prefixes are entirely different from the nominal prefixes in the third person plural Noun Class 3:1 and singular Noun Class 3:2. In the latter class, the verb prefix yinga- is similar to the pronominal ngalha-. The nominal masculine singular ni- and nani- are both used in the verb prefixation. The surface forms are the same as for nominals and pronominals, as described in Sections 3.3.1 and 4.1.1).

An important distinction between the nominal, pronominal and verbal prefixation is in the first person inclusive singular. The nominal prefixation has the deep structure form ya- and the pronominal has yakwi-. In the verbal prefixation both ya- and yarra- are used. The latter form incorporates the non-singular number morpheme rra-. For consistency, first inclusive singular is used for all three forms.

6.3.1.1A Transitive

The verb prefixation for transitive verbs is divided into two

groups which are structured differently depending on: (a) interaction between speaker and addressee (first and second person) and (b) interaction of first, second and third persons. The second group will be discussed first because the morphemes are more clearly segmentable.

The transitive verb prefixation indicates the person, number and gender of the subject and object. Plural, trial, dual and singular number are differentiated but the plural is frequently used to refer to three items as well. Tables 16 and 17 list the surface forms of the Actual transitive and Potential transitive, respectively.

The deep structure morphemes for Actual transitive prefixation is listed on Tables 18. Note that, in the surface structure shown in Table 16, the low vowel is retained in the object but neutralised to a high vowel in the subject. The prefix order of the subject or object determines its shape, i.e., a first order prefix consists of two syllables but a second order prefix consists of only one syllable, having dropped the initial syllable of the first order prefix.

TABLE 18: DEEP STRUCTURE ACTUAL TRANSITIVE PREFIXES

			SUBJECT		OBJECT	
			First Order	Second Order	First Order	Second Order
1ST	INCL	NON-SG	ngarra		ngarra	
1ST	EXCL	NON-SG	yirra		yirra	
2ND		NON-SG	kwirra		kwirra	
3RD	3:1	NON-SG	narra	pwi	narra	rra
1ST	INCL	SG	ya(rra)		yarra	
1ST	EXCL	SG	ninga		nga	
2ND		SG	ningkwi		nga	
3RD	3:2	SG	yinga	nga	yinga	nga
3RD	3:3	SG	(na)ni	ni	nani	ni
3RD	3:4	SG	niwa	kwi	-----	∅
3RD	3:5	SG	nimwa	mwa	-----	mwa

TABLE 16: TRANSITIVE ACTUAL VERB PREFIXES (SURFACE STRUCTURE)

SUBJECT /// OBJECT			1ST INCL NON-SG	1ST EXCL NON-SG	2ND NON-SG	1ST INCL SG	1ST EXC/2ND SG
1ST	INCL	PL					
1ST	INCL	TRI					
1ST	INCL	SG					
1ST	EXCL	PL					
1ST	EXCL	TRI					
1ST	EXCL	FEM DU					
1ST	EXCL	MASC DU					
1ST	EXCL	SG					
2ND		PL					
2ND		TRI					
2ND	FEM	DU					
2ND	MASC	DU					
2ND		SG					
3RD	3:1	PL	# ngarra pui	# yirra pui	# kuirra pui	# yarra pui	# (ngi) pui
3RD	3:1	TRI	# ngarra pui	# yirra pui	# kuirra pui	# yarra pui	# (ngi) pui
3RD	3:1	FEM DU	# ngarra pui	# yirra pui	# kuirra pui	# yarra pui	# (ngi) pui
3RD	3:1	MASC DU	# ngarra pui	# yirra pui	# kuirra pui	# yarra pui	# (ngi) pui
3RD	3:2	SG	# ngarra ngi	# yirra ngi	# kuirra ngi	# yarra ngi	# (ngi) ngi
3RD	3:3	SG	# ngarra ni	# yirra ni	# kuirra ni	# yarra ni	# ngi ni
3RD	3:4	SG	# ngarra kui	# yirra kui	# kuirra kui	# yarra kui	# (ngi) kui
3RD	3:5	SG	# ngarra mui	# yirra mui	# kuirra mui	# yarra mui	# ngi mui

	3RD 3:1 NON-SG	3RD 3:2 SG	3RD 3:3 SG	3RD 3:4 SG	3RD 3:5 SG
	nga(rri) rra nga(rri) rra ya(rri) rra	ngarra nga ngarripuikwi nga ya(rri) nga	ngarra ni ngarripuikwi ni ya(rri) ni	ngarra Ø ngarripuikwi Ø yi Ø	ngarra əwa ngarripuikwi əwa yi əwa
	yi(rri) rra yi(rri) rra yi(rri) rra yi(rri) rra ninga rra	yirri nga yirripuikwi nga yi(rri)ni nga yi(rri)ni nga (ni)ngi nga	yi(rri) ni yirripuikwi ni yirringi ni yi(rri)ni ni (ni)ngi ni	yirri Ø yirripuikwi Ø yirringi Ø yi(rri)ni Ø (ni)ngi Ø	yirri əwa yirripuikwi əwa yirringi əwa yi(rri)ni əwa (ni)ngi əwa
	k(u)u k(u)i(i) rra k(u)i(i) rra k(u)i(i) rra k(u)i(i)ni rra ningk(u)a rra	k(u)irri nga k(u)irripuikwi nga k(u)irri(ngi) nga k(u)i(rri)ni nga ningk(u)i nga	k(u)i(rri) ni k(u)irripuikwi ni k(u)irringi ni k(u)i(rri)(ni) ni ningk(u)ini ni	k(u)irri Ø k(u)irripuikwi Ø k(u)irringi Ø k(u)i(rri)ni Ø ningk(u)i Ø	k(u)irri əwa k(u)irripuikwi əwa k(u)irringi əwa k(u)i(rri)ni əwa ningk(u)i əwa
	na(rri) rra na(rri) rra na(rri) rra na(rri) rra	narri nga narripuikwi nga na(rri)ni nga na(rri)ni nga	na(rri) ni narripuikwi ni na(rringi) ni na(rri)(ni) ni	narri Ø narripuikwi Ø narringi Ø na(rri)ni Ø	narri əwa narripuikwi əwa narringi əwa na(rri)ni əwa
	ni nga ni(rra) ni narra kui narra əwi	na(ni) nga na(ni) nga yinga kui yinga əwi	yingi ni na(ni) ni nana kui nana əwi	yingi Ø ni Ø n(iu)a Ø n(iu)a Ø	yingi əwa ni əwa n(iu)a əwa n(iu)a əwa

TABLE 17: TRANSITIVE POTENTIAL VERB PREFIXES (SURFACE STRUCTURE)

SUBJECT /// OBJECT			1ST INCL NON-SG		1ST EXCL NON-SG		2ND NON-SG		1ST INCL SG		1ST EXCL/2ND :	
1ST	INCL	PL										
1ST	INCL	TRI										
1ST	INCL	SG										
1ST	EXCL	PL										
1ST	EXCL	TRI										
1ST	EXCL	FEM DU										
1ST	EXCL	MASC DU										
1ST	EXCL	SG										
2ND		PL										
2ND		TRI										
2ND		FEM DU										
2ND		MASC DU										
2ND		SG										
3RD	3:1	PL	■ aka	pui	■ yika	pui	■ yika	pui	■ yaka	pui	■ ka	pui
3RD	3:1	TRI	■ aka	pui	■ yika	pui	■ yika	pui	■ yaka	pui	■ ka	pui
3RD	3:1	FEM DU	■ aka	pui	■ yika	pui	■ yika	pui	■ yaka	pui	■ ka	pui
3RD	3:1	MASC DU	■ aka	pui	■ yika	pui	■ yika	pui	■ yaka	pui	■ ka	pui
3RD	3:2	SG	■ aka	ngi	■ yika	ngi	■ yika	ngi	■ yaka	ngi	■ ka	ngi
3RD	3:3	SG	■ aka	ni	■ yika	ni	■ yika	ni	■ yaka	ni	■ ka	ni
3RD	3:4	SG	■ aka	kui	■ yika	kui	■ yika	kui	■ yaka	kui	■ ka	kui
3RD	3:5	SG	■ aka	œui	■ yika	œui	■ yika	œui	■ yaka	œui	■ ka	œui

1 ST SG	3 RD 3:1 NON-SG	3 RD 3:2 SG	3 RD 3:3 SG	3 RD 3:4 SG	3 RD 3:5 SG
	a(ɔi) ■ ka a(ɔi) ■ ka ya(ɔi) ■ ka	aki ■ nga akipuikui ■ nga yaki ■ nga	aki ■ ni akipuikui ■ ni yaki ■ ni	aki ■ Ø akipuikui ■ Ø yaki ■ Ø	aki ■ əwa akipuikui ■ əwa yaki ■ əwa
	yi(ɔi) ■ ka yi(ɔi) ■ ka yi(ɔi) ■ ka yi(ɔi) ■ ka ɔ(ɔi) ■ ka	yiki ■ nga yikipuikui ■ nga yikini ■ nga yikini ■ nga ki ■ nga	yiki ■ ni yikipuikui ■ ni yikingi ■ ni yiki(ni) ■ ni ki ■ ni	yiki ■ Ø yikipuikui ■ Ø yikingi ■ Ø yikini ■ Ø ki ■ Ø	yiki ■ əwa yikipuikui ■ əwa yikingi ■ əwa yikini ■ əwa ki ■ əwa
	yi(ɔi) ■ ka yi(ɔi) ■ ka yi(ɔi) ■ ka yi(ɔi) ■ ka ɔ(ɔi) ■ ka	yiki ■ nga yikipuikui ■ nga yikini ■ nga yikini ■ nga ki ■ nga	yiki ■ ni yikipuikui ■ ni yikingi ■ ni yiki(ni) ■ ni ki ■ ni	yiki ■ Ø yikipuikui ■ Ø yikingi ■ Ø yikini ■ Ø ki ■ Ø	yiki ■ əwa yikipuikui ■ əwa yikingi ■ əwa yikini ■ əwa ki ■ əwa
pui	ka(rri) ■ rra	karri ■ nga	ka(rri) ■ ni	karri ■ Ø	karri ■ əwa
pui	ka(rri) ■ rra	karripuikui ■ nga	karripuikui ■ ni	karripuikui ■ Ø	karripuikui ■ əwa
pui	ka(rri) ■ rra	ka(rri)ni ■ nga	ka(rri)ni ■ ni	karringi ■ Ø	karringi ■ əwa
pui	ka(rri) ■ rra	ka(rri)ni ■ nga	ka(rri)(ni) ■ ni	ka(rri)ni ■ Ø	ka(rri)ni ■ əwa
ngi	■ karri nga	kini ■ nga	kingi ■ ni	kingi ■ Ø	kingi ■ əwa
ni	■ ka(rra) ni	kini ■ nga	ki(ni) ■ ni	kini ■ Ø	kini ■ əwa
kui	■ karra kui	■ kinga kui	■ kana kui	k(iu)a ■ Ø	k(iu)a ■ əwa
əui	■ karra əui	■ kinga əui	■ kana əui	k(iəu)a ■ Ø	k(iəu)a ■ əwa

The contrast between the Actual and Potential morphemes lies in the substitution of /k/ for other consonants. The changes are: (a) in the first order third person subject, the velar consistently replaces the initial consonant of the subject morphemes; (b) in the the first or second person subject or object and the 3:1 object, the non-singular number morpheme rra- is replaced by ka- (except when 3:1 is both subject and object); and (c) in the first exclusive and second person singular subject, the initial syllable is dropped and the initial consonant of the second syllable replaced by /k/. The initial /ng/ of the first person inclusive non-singular /ngaka/ is dropped--not an unusual feature in that the initial velar nasal is often only approximated (see Section 2.2.6). The person morphemes are listed in a different order in Table 19 to highlight the consistency in the change to a velar.

TABLE 19: DEEP STRUCTURE POTENTIAL TRANSITIVE PREFIXES

			SUBJECT		OBJECT	
			First Order	Second Order	First Order	Second Order
1ST	INCL	NON-SG	aka		aka	
1ST	EXCL	NON-SG	yika		yika	
2ND		NON-SG	yika		yika	
1ST	INCL	SG	yaka		yaka	
1ST	EXCL	SG	ka		ka	
2ND		SG	ka		ka	
3RD	3:1	NON-SG	karra	pwi	karra	ka / rra
3RD	3:2	SG	kinga	nga	kinga	nga
3RD	3:3	SG	kini	ni	kani	ni
3RD	3:4	SG	kiwa	ka	-----	∅
3RD	3:5	SG	kimwa	mwa	-----	mwa

The following examples illustrate the Potential prefixation for transitive verbs. Various free translations in English have been given to show the range of meaning of this Potential morpheme.

athinipwilhangwa yirringalhakana
soon-ABL 1ExcFemDu this

yikingawartanamwa
/yiki{ngi} + nga + warta + an{i} + amwi/
1ExcFemDu 3:2 fight TNS NPIP
'We two women will be fighting her soon.'

niyamwa yikwingpwa yakapwiwartanimwa
3:3 said 3:3 possum /yaka + pwi + wart{i} + ani + mwi/
1IncSg 3:1 fight TNS PIP
yalhakana
1IncSg this
'The possum said, "They will be killing you and me."'

ningkwirriwa karningkwarpwa malhamwikwamwirriya
2Pl 2MascDu men 3:5 canoe-ETC

yikawilyakatjinamwilhangwa
/yi{ka} + ka + wilyakatja + n{i} + amwi + lhangwi/
2Nsg 3:1 teach TNS NPIP ABL
'You men should be teaching the boys about canoes and other things.'

nakina kiningalyilyakimwantja yakina
3:3(i) that /ki{ni} + ni + ngalyilyaka + mwantja/ 3:3(ii) that
3:3 3:3 tread on LOC

yingarna kinartharranamwa
3:3(ii) snake /ki{ni} + n{i} + artharr{a} + an{i} + amwi/
3:3 3:3 pierce TNS NPIP
'If he stands on that snake it will bite him.'

kingilyangparrkinamwa angalya kampwa
/kinga + Ø + lyangparrka + n{i} + amwi/ 3:4 place therefore
3:2 3:4 sweep TNS NPIP

karralyipwarnamwa anhinga
/karr{i} + Ø + alyipw{i} + arn{i} + amwi/ 3:4 food
3:1 3:4 eat TNS NPIP

aritjilhangwa
later
'She will be sweeping the floor so that later they can be eating.'

The subject and object Actual and Potential transitive prefixes are generally systematic but there are some irregularities when specific subject and object prefixes co-occur. For example, the presence or absence of the vowel /a/ is sometimes unpredictable. Reasons cannot be given for all but many of the irregularities can be explained by the operation of phonological rules or adjustments to

avoid ambiguity. The irregularities are as follows:

(i) phonological

(a) Deep structure contrasts can be neutralised in the surface structure by the operation of the Haplology Rule. This creates ambiguity only when it is not clarified in context or by the presence of the free subject or object. The surface neutralisation is found when the singular or dual masculine prefix is the subject or object and is illustrated below using the Actual prefixes underlying the surface structure nani-.

Deep Structure			Surface Structure
Subj: nani 3:3	+ Obj: ni 3:3	==>	na{ni}ni
Subj: narrini 3:1MascDu	+ Obj: ni 3:3	==>	na{rrini}ni
Subj: narri 3:1	+ Obj: ni 3:3	==>	na{rri}ni
Subj: narrini 3:1MascDu	+ Obj: ∅ 3:4	==>	na{rri}ni

(b) Variant prefixes (not listed in the tables) substitute the low vowel for the high at the morpheme boundary between the subject and object. This occurs when the subject is first or second person and the object is third person singular. The addition of the vowel /a/ serves to prevent the operation of the Haplology Rule.

Subj: ningka 2Sg	+ Obj: ni 3:3	==>	ningkini ~ ningkani
Subj: ninga 1ExcSg	+ Obj: ni 3:3	==>	ningini ~ ningani
Subj: kini 2MascDu	+ Obj: ni 3:3	==>	ki(ni)ni ~ kinani

The same phenomenon occurs when the first or second singular subject co-occurs with a third person plural object, e.g., ningi- + rra- ==> ningarra-.

(c) When a dual or trial subject co-occurs with a Noun Class 3:1 object rra-, the surface structure forms only have the person morphemes in the subject prefix. The plural Number morpheme has been entered as a deletion on Tables 16 and 17 because it could be said to be reduced by the Haplology Rule. No phonological rule, however, can account for the absence of the Gender morphemes, nga- (feminine dual) or ni- (masculine dual). It would seem that, with the interaction of non-singular in both subject and object, the focus has changed to the combined plurality, rather than the specific number and gender of the subject.

(d) The first exclusive or second singular subject and object (ki- and ka-) is regular throughout the Potential mood but irregular in the Actual mood. The first order subject is ningi- but the first syllable is dropped in the first order object ngi-. It is irregular, however, in that the object prefix does not have a final /a/ and because it only occurs in the surface structure when the object is 3:3 or 3:5. The deletion can only partly be justified in terms of the Haplology Rule.

(e) The first inclusive singular subject and object prefix (yaki- and yaka-) is consistent throughout the Potential prefixation but is not consistent in the Actual prefixation.

Two different forms occur in the surface forms for the Actual mood, viz., ya- first inclusive subject and yarra- first inclusive object. The deep structure rra- is posited as a deleted syllable in the subject prefix for two reasons--the occurrence of the final /a/ suggests a deleted syllable because otherwise the vowel would neutralise to /i/, and because the Potential prefixation has a corresponding syllable in the surface structure. This does not explain the irregular occurrence of the subject prefix yj- with Noun Classes 3:4 and 3:5 in object. This form is the one used throughout the nominals and pronominals. The term, 1st inclusive singular, is retained for the subject prefix, ya- or yj-, to maintain consistency throughout the different word classes for the same unit. Examples in the Actual mood are:

Obj:	yarra	+	Subj:	pwi
	1IncSg			3:1
Subj:	ya{rra}	+	Obj:	rra
	1IncSg			3:1
Subj:	ya{rra}	+	Obj:	mwa
	1IncSg			3:5

(f) Metathesis is probably the reason for the irregular surface forms, narringa- and karringa-, for a Noun Class 3:2 subject with a Noun Class 3:1 object. For example, the morpheme-final vowels narra- and ngi- metathesise.

(ii) ambiguity

(a) the Noun Class 3:3 object prefixes, nana- and kana-, occur in the surface structure preceding a second order 3:4 or 3:5 subject. These differ from all other forms of the

deep structure morphemes, nani- [neni] and kani- [keni]. Furthermore, to posit a deep structure nana- and kana- would violate Vowel Fronting Rule 1.⁷ The change to the final vowel /a/ would therefore appear to be just a surface phenomenon to avoid ambiguity with nanimwa- (3:3 subject and 3:5 object). The morpheme-final /a/ also makes them more symmetrical with other first order object prefixes.

(b) The allomorphs for Noun Class 3:3 subject or object are first order nani- and second order ni-. When the object is Noun Class 3:4 or 3:5, the 3:3 allomorph ni- occurs in the first position. These combinations, ni- and nimwa-, avoid ambiguity with the co-occurrence of a Noun Class 3:1 masculine dual subject and 3:4 or 3:5 object, i.e., nani- or nanimwa-.

(c) Ambiguity can be caused by the lack of contrast when two noun classes are of equal status. It seems to be just an idiosyncrasy of Anindilyakwa rather than pertaining to the action of a phonological rule. Only the shortened form na- occurs when Noun Classes 3:4 (niwa-) and 3:5 (nimwa-) interact as subject and object; the prefixation for Noun Class 3:3 (masculine) subject and Noun Class 3:2 (feminine) object is also used for the co-occurrence of Noun Class 3:2 (feminine) as subject and object. The former prefix combination in each pair conforms to the overall prefix system. The ambiguity is exemplified by the masculine and feminine, as follows:

Footnote 7: If the final /a/ vowel were assigned to the second order prefix greater irregularities would occur elsewhere, e.g., with a first or second singular object prefix and the 3:1 subject. The above analysis is the simplest and most logical solution.

kinangalhawirrakatjinimwa
 /kini + nga + lhawirra + ka + tja + ni + mwi/
 3:2 3:3 return CAUS TSR TNS PIP

anilhangwa thathingwiyankpwa
 3:3(i)-POSS 3:2 wife-KPOSS
 'He would be bringing back his wife.'

nangimwangimwa thakina
 /na{ni} + nga + mw{i} + anga + mwi/ 3:2 that
 3:2 3:2 pick up TNS PIP

thathikwiwarrkiwarrka
 3:2 spider
 'She [Velma] was picking up that spider.'

Table 20 lists the morphemes for all the subject/object combinations which are semantically possible when first and second person interact as subject and object. (Note: The same person in the subject and object results in a reflexive verb prefixed for the intransitive; the interaction of first inclusive and second persons also results in reflexivity.)

The verb prefixation for first and second person subject and object combinations does not divide into separate morphemes and does not consist of a fused or portmanteau morpheme. All three Actual and two Potential deep structure morphemes are the regular forms for either first inclusive or first exclusive prefixes. The morpheme-final /i/ occurs when second person is the subject; the morpheme-final /a/ occurs when second person is the object. Thus first person is in focus in the shape of the morphemes but second person in the cross-referencing as subject or object. The most marked combinations involve a first exclusive singular subject or object in which there is apparently a special relationship between speaker and addressee(s), viz., the first inclusive singular morpheme yi- is used for a second singular subject and first exclusive singular object; the first inclusive non-singular morphemes, ngarra- and ka-, are used for a

TABLE 20: 1ST & 2ND PERSON TRANSITIVE ACTUAL VERB PREFIXES (SURFACE STRUCTURE)

SUBJECT // OBJECT	1ST EXCL NON-SG	1ST EXCL SG	2ND NON-SG	2ND SG
1ST EXCL NON-SG	----	----	yirra	yirra
2ND NON-SG	yirri	yirri	----	----
1ST EXCL SG	----	----	ngarra	yirra
2ND SG	yirri	yɪ	----	----

TABLE 20: 1ST & 2ND PERSON TRANSITIVE POTENTIAL VERB PREFIXES (SURFACE STRUCTURE)

SUBJECT // OBJECT	1ST EXCL NON-SG	1ST EXCL SG	2ND NON-SG	2ND SG
1ST EXCL NON-SG	----	----	yika ~ yipa	yika ~ yipa
2ND NON-SG	yiki	yiki	----	----
1ST EXCL SG	----	----	ka	yika ~ yipa
2ND SG	yiki	yiki	----	----

ambiguity with the combination of first inclusive plural subject and Noun Class 3:1 object. In the transitive Actual mood prefixation, the first inclusive singular morpheme yi- is used for the co-occurrence of second singular subject and first exclusive singular object, whereas the morpheme yirri- is the counterpart of the Potential yiki-.

6.3.1.1B Intransitive

The subject prefixes in the Actual and Potential intransitive verbs are similar to their counterparts in the transitive prefixation. Table 21 lists the deep structure prefixes for the intransitive (subject) prefixes.

TABLE 21: DEEP STRUCTURE INTRANSITIVE SUBJECT PREFIXES

	Actual	Potential
1ST INCL NON-SG	ngarra	aka
1ST EXCL NON-SG	yirra	yika
2ND NON-SG	kwirra	yika
3RD 3:1 NON-SG	narra	karra
1ST INCL SG	ya	yaka
1ST EXCL SG	ninga	ka
2ND SG	ningkwi	ka
3RD 3:2 SG	yinga	kinga
3RD 3:3 SG	ni	kini ~ kani
3RD 3:4 SG	niwa	kiwa
3RD 3:5 SG	nimwa	kimwa

The deep structure transitive and intransitive subject and object prefixes can be compared in Table 18, 19 and 21. Only one deep structure form occurs for all non-singular prefixation irrespective of whether the verb is transitive or intransitive or whether the prefix occurs as subject or object; the first person exclusive singular second person singular and Noun Class 3:2 singular

for intransitive are the same as the first order transitive subject or object prefixes. Minor irregularities between other intransitive singular prefixes and their transitive counterparts, as follows:

- (i) In the Potential mood, the first person inclusive singular intransitive yaka- is identical with that for a transitive subject or object. In the Actual mood, only the intransitive prefix ya- which is similar to the transitive subject but not the transitive object form, yarra-, which is marked for the non-singular.

yilhikanimwa	angwirrkwiwa	yarringkwa
/ya + lhik{a} + ani + mwi/	(name)-LOC	yesterday
1IncSg go TNS PIP		

'You and I went to Angurugu yesterday.'

- (ii) In the Actual mood, the third person Noun Class 3:3 singular morpheme ni- is the shortened second order transitive subject or object form. In the Potential mood, the prefix allomorphs, kini- and kani-, are the same as for the transitive subject or object but are in free variation.

amwarrimwantja	nirrakartjaya
in front of-LOC	/ni + rrakartjaya/
	3:3 sit

'He sat in front of me.'

nimwalyangkana	lhikwakwa
/ni + mwalyangk{a} + ani/	en route
3:3 play TNS	

'He played along the way.'

kinilhikatjamwa	~	kanilhikatjamwa
/kini ~ kani + lhik{a} + atj{a} + amwi/		
3:3 go TNS NPIP		

'He will be going.'

- (iii) In both the Actual and Potential moods, the deep structure forms of the intransitive Noun Classes 3:4 and 3:5 are the same as the first order transitive subject prefixation. In the

TABLE 22: INTRANSITIVE ACTUAL AND POTENTIAL VERB PREFIXES (SURFACE STRUCTURE)

SUBJECT		ACTUAL	POTENTIAL
1ST	INCL PL	ngarri	aki
1ST	INCL PL	ngarrripwiku	akipwiku
1ST	INCL SG	yi	yaki
1ST	EXCL PL	yirri	yiki
1ST	EXCL TRI	yirripwiku	yikipwiku
1ST	EXCL FEM DU	yirringi	yiangi
1ST	EXCL MASC DU	yirriŋi	yikini
1ST	EXCL SG	ningi	ki
2ND	PL	k(w)irri	yiki
2ND	TRI	k(w)irripwiku	yikipwiku
2ND	FEM DU	k(w)irringi	yikingi
2ND	MASC DU	k(w)irriŋi	yikini
2ND	SG	ningk(w)	ki
3RD	3:1 PL	na(rri)	ka(rri)
3RD	3:1 TRI	na(rri)pwiku	ka(rri)pwiku
3RD	3:1 FEM DU	na(rri)ngi	ka(rri)ngi
3RD	3:1 MASC DU	na(rri)ŋi	ka(rri)ŋi
3RD	3:2 SG	yingi	kingi
3RD	3:3 SG	ni	kini ~ kani
3RD	3:4 SG	na / niwi /	ka / kiwi /
			CONS) VOWEL)
3RD	3:5 SG	nimwi	kimwi

nimwilharrmparrimwa nganyangwa mwilhkwa
 /niwi + lharrmpwarra + mwi/ 1ExcSg-POSS 3:5 stomach
 3:5 be upset TNS
 'I was feeling frightened' (Lit: my stomach was being upset)

kampwirra akina kiwakpwirraŋga
 therefore 3:4 that 2Sg+3:4 will find

 niwararikatjingwinamwa akimwantja
 /niw{a} + ararika + tjingwi + n{i} + amwi/ 3:4 tree-LOC
 3:4 tie REFL TNS NPIP
 'You will find the canoe tied to a tree.' (Lit: it is tying itself
 to a tree)

The following examples illustrate the intransitive Potential mood prefixations.

kimwankarrinamwa ampwakilhangwa tiraka
 /kiw{a} + angkarra + n{i} + amwi/ slowly 3:5 truck
 3:5 run TNS NPIP
 'The truck will be going slowly.'

ngarningka kalhalhikatja ningkwakina
 again /k{a} + alhalhik{a} + atja/ 2Sg that
 2Sg REDUP: go TNS

 kinakpwirangina yinimwalhikiyatja
 2Sg+3:3 find 3:3 tracks-PURP
 'You should keep going so that you can find more [goanna] tracks.'
 (Lit: should go and go)

nampipirrarinimwa ngawa wirrapwapwirnilhangwa
 3:3 was keeping on waiting cont.act 3:1 many-ABL

 kamwingkwimwingkwilhitjayinamwirriwa
 /ka{rra} + mwingkwimwingwilha + tjaya + n{i} + amwirra + wa/
 3:1 REDUP: sleep RECP TNS NPIP ALL
 'He kept on waiting [until] everyone would be keeping on sleeping.'

The third person Noun Class 3:1 prefix is irregular in the surface structure. The deep structure narra- can be reduced by the deletion of the non-singular number morpheme rra-. This deletion is optional in the dual and trial prefixes which retain the marking of number in the following gender or number prefixes. The deletion almost always occurs in the plural prefix and this is probably due to the fact that it is frequently followed by the plural number

allomorphs, mwirntaka- ~ wirraka-. Thus there is a reduction in the co-occurrence of number morphemes.

mwarliwiya akwa ngalhilhangwa waritjira
3:2 emu and 3:2-POSS 3:1 children

nalhawirrathina wirrakina
/na{rra} + lhawirra + tha + ni/ 3:1 those
3:1 return INCH TNS

pwiya narrarrangpwamwa anhinga
then /narra + Ø + arrangpw{i} + amwi/ 3:4 food
3:1 3:4 collect NPIP

'Emu and her children returned and are collecting food.'

na(rri)pwikwilhawirrathina
/na(rri)pwikwi + lhawirra + tha + ni/
3:1Tri return INCH TNS
'We three stayed for a long time but the three of them returned home.'

The above reduction in the intransitive Noun Class 3:1 non-singular morpheme can cause ambiguity with the Noun Class 3:4 prefixation. This is usually resolved by adding the non-singular number prefix or suffix to the verb. Compare the following:

nakwiwartjina 'It stood.'
/na + kwiwartja + ni/
3:4 stand TNS

nakwiatjayina 'They stood.'
/na{rra} + kwiwartj{a} + aya + ni/
3:1 stand SNsg TNS

namwirntakilhikana 'They went.'
/na{rra} + mwirntaka + lhik{a} + ani/
3:1 SPL go TNS

The Actual or Potential verb prefixation is used for the Interrogative mood. The clause or sentence is structurally the same but the interrogative is differentiated by a change in intonation pattern. (Also see Section 7.5 for Interrogative Adverbs.)

kwirrilharrngkwitjarrkwa ningkwirriwa
/kwirra + Ø + lharrngkwi + tjarrk{i} + wi/ 2Pl
2Nsg 3:4 things finish SF
'Have you all finished [unloading] the luggage?'

nara arringkangimwa mwitjiyanga
nara /a + rringk{a} + anga + mwi/ 3:5 boat
 not NEV see TNS PIP
 'I cannot see the boat.' (Lit: am not seeing)

nara ningana angwirrkwangimwa tampwa
nara 1ExcSg this /a + ngwirrkw{1} + anga + mwi/ 3:4 damper
 not NEV hunt TNS PIP
 'I cannot make a [good] damper.' (Lit: am not hunting)

mwanipwirra wirrikwalha nara alhikangimwa
 CSL 3:1Pl some nara /a + lhik{a} + anga + mwi/
 not NEV go TNS PIP

kwiliwa angwiyampilhangwa nawirranamwa
 3:4 school-ALL 3:4 anger-ABL 3:1 are throwing
 'The reason some [children] are not going to school is that they
 are being teased.'

nara ngayiwa angkangimwa arningkwaya
nara I /{a} + angk{a} + anga + mwi/ tomorrow
 not NEV fetch TNS PIP
 'I will not be picking it up tomorrow.'

The Negated Actual can also be used in the interrogative mood and one which is usually translated as an Imperative in English. The latter is not so much a command forbidding the addressee to do something as a definitive statement indicating that the event is not to take place.

nara ningkana arntaka(ngi)mwa athiwapwa
nara 1ExcSg /{a} + arntak{a} + anga + mwi/ today
 not NEV spear-fish TNS PIP
 'Aren't you going fishing today?'

nara ararikangimwa wirrakina wirriwarta
nara /{a} + ararik{a} + anga + mwi/ 3:1 that 3:1 dog
 not NEV tie TNS PIP
 'You are not to be tying the dogs up.' / 'Don't tie the dogs up!'

nanimwakamwa katjingwa nara
 3:1+3:3 is telling so that nara
 not

alhikangimwiyatha akiniwa akwingwa
 /a + lhik{a} + anga + mwi + yatha/ 3:4 that 3:4 water
 NEV go TNS PIP PURP
 'He was telling them so that they would not be going to the
 water.' / 'He was telling them, "Don't be planning to go to
 the water!"'

nara alhikangimwiyatha ayakiwarriwa
nara /a + lhik{a} + anga + mwi + yatha/ 3:4 other bank-ALL
 not NEV go TNS PIP PURP
 'You are not to be going to the other [river] bank.' / 'Don't go to
 the other side [of the river]!'

The transitive or intransitive Negated Potential mood
 prefixation is the same as for the Potential mood.

nara nakina kanilhkana kiningawilyaka
nara 3:3 that /kani + lhik{a} + ani/ /kini + nga + wilyaka/
 not 3:3 go TNS 3:3 3:2 take

thirntanikpwa mwana yingiwartangimwa
 3:2 mother-KPOSS CSL 3:2 was working
 'He did not take his mother because she was working.'

nara yikinanthaya yirratja
nara /yika + n{i} + anthaya/ 1ExcPl-CofR
 not 1ExcNsg 3:3 see
 'We could not see him.' / 'We did not see him.'

thirntathikpwa nara kiningangatjingatjina
 3:2 mother-KPOSS nara /kini + nga + ngatjingatja + ni/
 not 3:3 3:2 REDUP:hit VCL
 'Her mother has never hit her.'

akana nara ngawa kinangkarrina yakinitha
 however nara cont.act /kin{i} + angkarra + ni/ 3:3 that-TRM
 not 3:3 run TNS
 'However, he [Snake] still could not run away.'

nara kingampwampwilya yalhakwa
nara /king{a} + ampwampwilya/ here
 3:2 REDUP:stay
 'She did not stay on and on here.' / 'She did not reside here.'

nara ampwaka yikingingatjayina yirringalhakana
nara later /yikinga + ngatj{a} + aya + ni/ 1ExcFemDu this
 1ExcFemDu hit SNsg TNS
 'We two women have not fought as yet.' / 'We two women will not fight
 until later.'

Attempts to find a Negated Hortatory failed--the sentence
 structure changed to include the Negated Actual. For example, the
 sentence, 'don't let your dog bite him', was translated as nara
alharrkamwa nakina ningkwilhangwa niwarta mwana kanangiyamwapwapwa
 'Don't release your dog because it might bite him'.

6.3.1.3 Imperative mood

The verb prefixation for the Imperative mood is similar to the nominal and pronominal prefixation for second person. The initial rounded velar stop consonant /kw/ is, however, lenited to the continuant /w/.

The surface structure for the transitive and intransitive Imperative prefixation is listed on Table 23. The dual and trial morphemes are consistent with those for nominals, pronominals and the Actual mood in verbs.

6.3.1.3A Transitive

The deep structure transitive Imperative prefixation is shown on Table 24. The object prefixes are the same as for Actual mood.

TABLE 24: DEEP STRUCTURE TRANSITIVE IMPERATIVE PREFIXES

		SUBJECT First Order	OBJECT Second Order
2ND	NON-SG	wirra	rra
3RD 3:1	NON-SG		
2ND	SG	∅ / wi	nga ni ∅ ~ wi mwa
3RD 3:2	SG		
3RD 3:3	SG		
3RD 3:4	SG		
3RD 3:5	SG		

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of the transitive Imperative prefixes when the object is third person.

wirringarrinkina	thaka
/wirra + nga + rringka + ni/	3:2 this
2Nsg 3:2 see TNS	
thathikwiwarrkiwarrka	thapwarta
3:2 spider	3:2 dangerous
'Look at this dangerous spider!'	

TABLE 23: INTRANSITIVE IMPERATIVE VERB PREFIXES (SURFACE STRUCTURE)

SUBJECT	
2ND	
2ND	PL
2ND	TRI
2ND	FEM DU
2ND	MASC DU
2ND	SG

	wi(rri)
	wi(rri)puikui
	wi(rri)ngi
	wi(rri)ni
	∅

TABLE 23: TRANSITIVE IMPERATIVE VERB PREFIXES (SURFACE STRUCTURE)

SUBJECT // OBJECT	3RD 3:1 NON-SG	3RD 3:2 SG	3RD 3:3 SG	3RD 3:4 SG	3RD 3:5 SG
2ND					
2ND	PL				
2ND	TRI				
2ND	FEM DU				
2ND	MASC DU				
2ND	SG				

	wi(rri)	∅	wi(rri)	wi(rri)	wi(rri)
	wi(rri)	wi(rri)puikui	wi(rri)puikui	wi(rri)puikui	wi(rri)puikui
	wi(rri)	wi(rri)ngi	wi(rri)ngi	wi(rri)ngi	wi(rri)ngi
	wi(rri)	wi(rri)ni	wi(rri)(ni)	wi(rri)ni	wi(rri)ni
	wi	∅	∅	∅	∅

	∅ rra	∅ nga	∅ ni	∅	∅
	∅ rra	∅ nga	∅ ni	∅	∅
	∅ rra	∅ nga	∅ ni	∅	∅
	∅ rra	∅ nga	∅ ni	∅	∅
	∅ rra	∅ nga	∅ ni	∅	∅

wirringka angapwa apwirtha
 /wirra + \emptyset + rringka/ 3:4 that there 3:4 whale
 2Nsg 3:4 see
 'Look at the whale over there!'

mwangakpwatjiya ningkwiwa
 / \emptyset + mwa + ngakpwatji + yi/ 2Sg
 2Sg 3:5 thigh:hit TNS
 'Hit [his] thigh!'

ngamwinakarrngina ngalhilhangwa akwingwa
 / \emptyset + nga + mwin{i} + akarrnga + ni/ 3:2-POSS 3:4 water
 2Sg 3:2 BENE get water TNS
 'Get the water for her!'

Two of the singular verb prefixes have two allomorphs, wi- and \emptyset -. One is morphologically-conditioned and the other is phonologically-conditioned.

- (i) When a second singular subject co-occurs with a non-singular 3:1 object the verb prefix is wirra-. The prefix rra- is consistently used for 3:1 object. This leaves an irregular prefix wi- (and not \emptyset -) for the second person singular subject. The reason for additional of the initial prefix may be to avoid a word-initial /rr/ which is very unusual in Anindilyakwa. It does, however, result in ambiguity between a singular and a non-singular second person subject with a 3:1 non-singular object.

wirramwingkwirratjina
 /wi{rrri} + rra + mwingkwirra + tja + ni/
 2Nsg 3:1 care for TSR TNS
 '[You three women] mind them [the children]!'

wirralharrmwana
 /wi + rra + lharrmw{i} + ani/
 2Sg 3:1 chase TNS
 '[You sg] chase them [the children]!'

- (ii) When the second person singular subject occurs with a singular 3:4 object the verb prefix has two allomorphs wi- and \emptyset - which

vary freely. The expected co-occurrence of these subject and object prefixes would result in zero plus zero. The allomorph wi- is harder to explain but it seems most likely to be the singular 3:4 object prefix because of its similarity to the Actual mood equivalents, niwi- and kwi-. The following examples illustrate the variation between wi- and Ø- in the 3:4 noun class object.

ningkana alyipwarnimwa
 2Sg this /Ø + Ø + alyipw{a} + arni + mwi/
 2Sg 3:4 eat TNS PIP

apwapwirna akwalya arngkapwapwirnilhangwa niyamwa
 3:4 many 3:4 fish often-ABL 3:3 said
 "You must be eating lots of fish all the time!" he said.'

yamwina athiwapwa
 /Ø + Ø + yam{w}a + ni/ today
 2Sg 3:4 do TNS
 'Do it today!'

wingkarrngina aringka
 /Ø + wi + ngkarrnga + ni/ 3:4 head
 2Sg 3:4 cut TNS
 'Cut its head off!'

wiyakwiyiwirna ana
 /Ø + wi + yakwi + yiwi + rni/ 3:4 this
 2Sg 3:4 river follow TNS

athalyimwa yantjarra niyamwa yingwa
 3:4 river that way 3:3 said 3:3 crow
 "You go that way and follow this river!" the crow said.'

wimwiya pwangkwilya akwa
 /Ø + wi + m{w}i + yi/ 3:4 axe and
 2Sg 3:4 pick up TNS

rithiya ana aka
 /Ø + Ø + ritha + yi/ 3:4 this 3:4-tree
 2Sg 3:4 chop TNS
 'Pick up the axe and chop down the tree!'

The prefixation for a second person subject and a first person object, yi- and yirri-, are the same as for the corresponding Actual mood prefixes. It seems, therefore, questionable to consider them as

separate grammatical categories.⁹ The most likely explanation is that these prefixes do not imply a command but a polite request to a fellow-participant in the speech event. They are, therefore, NOT entered in Table 23 or 24. In this respect, the Imperative and Hortatory prefixes are alike.

yikwina	ngantja	awilyapwa	pwatjikala
1IncSg give	1ExcSg-CofR	3:4 one	3:4 billycan
'Give me the billycan!'			

ningkwathitjarrka	kikwiyarripina	ningkakina
2Sg cousin-KPOSS	2Sg+3:4 will miss	2Sg that

amwarninthangwa	yikwa	ngayiwawa	yingiyamwa
3:4 stingray	/ya + kwi/ 1IncSg give	1ExcSg-ALL	3:2 said
'"You, my cousin, will miss the stingray. [So] you give [the spear] to me!" she said.'			

yirrilharrmwanga	ningkwiwa
1ExcNsg chased	2Sg
'Chase all of us!'	

6.3.1.3B Intransitive

The intransitive Imperative subject prefixes are the same as transitive counterparts. The number prefix rra- is optional and, in its shortened form, is ambiguous with the transitive prefix wi- for second singular subject and 3:4 object.

awiyapana	athikwina	parrikilhangwiya
/ø + awiyap{i} + ani/ 2Sg enter TNS	there	3:4 gate-LPRG
'Go in through the gate!'		

wirrilhikatja	warnimwirra
/wirra + lhik{a} + atja/ 2Nsg go TNS	3:1 these-COM
'Go along with them.'	

Footnote 9: There are no examples of a first person inclusive object in the Imperative Mood in the texts. Any attempts to elicit such constructions did not achieve the desired results. Sentence structure was changed so that the object was marked for a peripheral not the accusative case.

ampirrarina ampwaka thathingwiyaniwa
 /Ø + ampirrarara + ni/ later 3:2 wife-KPOSS-ALL
 2Sg wait TNS

kingiwilyakinamwirriwa anhinga
 /kinga + wilyaka + n{i} + amwirra + wa/ 3:4 food
 3:2 carry TNS NPIP ALL

naniyamwa
 3:3MascDu said
 "Wait until later when your wife will be bringing back some food!"
 the two of them said.'

tjayi winilhikatja yimanthiwa
 go away /wi{rrj}ni + lhik{a} + atja/ 3:3 turtle-ALL
 2MascDu go TNS

ningkwirna niyamwa winampwilyimwawa
 2MascDu 3:3 said 2MascDu two-ALL
 "Go away, you two men, and look for turtles!" he said to the two
 men.'

wipwikwampwilya
 /wi{rra}pwik{wi} + ampwilya/
 2Tri stay
 'You three stay here!'

tjayi wilhikatja
 go away /wi{rra} + lhik{a} + atja/
 3:1 go TNS
 'Go away, all of you!'

6.3.1.4 Hortatory mood

The Hortatory mood is only distinguished from other moods in the third person.¹⁰ This prefixation agrees with that for the subject and object of the main verb.

The third person Hortatory prefixation for both subject and object is based on the Personal Pronoun Nucleus (see Section 4.1.1). The first order person prefixes for non-singular and human.masculine singular are identical but the non-human.masculine is modified from the pronominal ngalha- to the verbal anga-.

Footnote 10: First person utilises the Actual prefixation, e.g., 'let me do that for you' ==> ngayiwa ngiyar 'I will do that for you'. Second person semantic possibility in this type of construction.

Table 25 lists the surface prefixation for both the transitive and intransitive Hortatory. (See Section 4.1.1 for deletion rules for the Personal Pronoun Nucleus.)

6.3.1.4A Transitive

The deep structure transitive Hortatory person morphemes for subject and object in both first and second positions are shown in Table 26.

In the third person singular, each morpheme has two allomorphs: the allomorph with an initial /a/ occurs in first order and the allomorph with no initial vowel in second order. The third person

TABLE 26: DEEP STRUCTURE TRANSITIVE HORTATORY PREFIXES

	SUBJECT		OBJECT	
	First Order	Second Order	First Order	Second Order
1ST INCL NON-SG 1ST EXCL NON-SG 3RD 3:1 NON-SG	apwirra	pwi	aka	
			yika	
			apwirra	rra
1ST INCL SG 1ST EXCL SG 3RD 3:2 SG	anga	nga	yaka	
	ani	ni	ka	
3RD 3:3 SG	-----	kwi	anga	nga
3RD 3:4 SG	-----	mwa	ani	ni
3RD 3:5 SG			anga	∅
			-----	mwa

plural has three allomorphs: apwirra- is used in the first order for both subject and object; pwi- without an initial /a/ is used for the second order subject; and the plural morpheme rra- for the second order object. The plural morphemes can be modified for dual and trial as shown in Table 26 above.

TABLE 25: INTRANSITIVE HORTATORY VERB PREFIXES (SURFACE STRUCTURE)

SUBJECT				
3RD	3:1	PL		apwi(rri)
3RD	3:1	TRI		a(puirri)puikwi
3RD	3:1	FEM DU		apuirringi
3RD	3:1	MASC DU		apuir(ri)ni / ap(w)i(rri)ni
3RD	3:2	SG		angi
3RD	3:3	SG		ani
3rd	3:4	SG		akwi
3RD	3:5	SG		amwi

TABLE 25: TRANSITIVE HORTATORY VERB PREFIXES (SURFACE STRUCTURE)

SUBJECT /// OBJECT			1ST INCL NON-SG		1ST EXCL NON-SG		1ST INCL SG		1ST EXCL SG		3RD 3:1
3RD	3:1	PL	* aka	pwi	* yika	pwi	* yaka	pwi	* ka	pwi	apwi(rri)
3RD	3:1	TRI	* aka	pwi	* yika	pwi	* yaka	pwi	* ka	pwi	apwi(rri)
3RD	3:1	FEM DU	* aka	pwi	* yika	pwi	* yaka	pwi	* ka	pwi	apwi(rri)
3RD	3:1	MASC DU	* aka	pwi	* yika	pwi	* yaka	pwi	* ka	pwi	apwi(rri)
3RD	3:2	SG	* aka	ngi	* yika	ngi	* yaka	ngi	* ka	ngi	* apuirri
3RD	3:3	SG	* aka	ni	* yika	ni	* yaka	ni	* ka	ni	* ap(w)i(rri)
3RD	3:4	SG	* aka	kwi	* yika	kwi	* yaka	kwi	* ka	kwi	* apuirra
3RD	3:5	SG	* aka	mwi	* yika	mwi	* yaka	mwi	* ka	mwi	* apuirra

3RD 3:1 NON-SG	3RD 3:2 SG	3RD 3:3 SG	3RD 3:4 SG	3RD 3:5 SG
apui(rri) # rra apui(rri) # rra apui(rri) # rra apui(rri) # rra	apuirri # nga apuirripwikui # nga ap(w)i(rri)ni # nga ap(w)i(rri)ni # nga	ap(w)i(rri) # ni apuirripwikui # ni apuirringi # ni ap(w)i(rri)ni # ni	apuirri # β apuirripwikui # β apuirringi # β ap(w)i(rri)ni # β	apuirri # a apuirripwikui # a apuirringi # a ap(w)i(rri)ni # a
# apuirri ngi # ap(w)i(rra) ni	ani # nga ani # nga	angi # ni a(ni) # ni	angi # β ani # β	angi # x ani # x
# apuirra kui # apuirra mui	# anga kui # anga mui	# ana kui # ana mui	# anga kui # anga kui	# anga k # anga k

kwa	anilhikatja	katjingwa	yilyakwa
here	/ani + lhik{a} + atja/ 3:2 go TNS	so that	3:3 honey

kinirringkinyatha
3:3+3:3 will see-PURP
'Let him come to see the honey.'

mwamwa	angilhikatja	tawiniwa
okay	/anga + lhik{a} + atja/ 3:2 move TNS	3:4 Darwin-ALL

'It's okay, let her go to Darwin.'

apwiniyakayina	~	apwirriyakayina	anatja
/apwirriini ==>	ap{w}i{rri}ni + yakaya	+ ni/	3:3(i)-CofR
3:1MascDu	stay together	TNS	

'Let the two of them marry.' / 'Let him marry her.'

6.3.1.5 Infinitive

The prefixation for the Infinitive differs from all others in that there is no morphological distinction between intransitive and transitive. The infinitive is best described as a nominalised verb because the prefixation is identical with that for nominals (see Section 3.2.3.1). For example:

thathikwatjarra	tiritja
/th{a} + atha + k{wi} + atjarra/ 3:2 hfem NSR wash	3:2(ii) dress

'clean dress'

kingilhikatjamwa	thathikwatjarra
3:2 is going	/th{a} + atha + k{wi} + atjarra/ 3:2 hfem NSR wash

'She is going to wash it.'

The Infinitive prefixation is cross-referenced in agreement with the person, number and gender of the subject of the intransitive verb or the object/indirect object of the transitive verb in the preceding clause to which it is subordinated. Table 28 lists the surface forms of the infinitive prefixation. The infinitive mood is used to express purpose and the dependent clause is usually marked by the clitic -yatha (purposive).

TABLE 28: INFINITIVE VERB PREFIXES (SURFACE STRUCTURE)

1ST	INCL		PL	ngarni	+ kwi
1ST	INCL		TRI	ngarripwuk(w)ani	+ kwi
1ST	INCL	FEM	SG	yathi	+ kwi
1ST	INCL	MASC	SG	yani	+ kwi
1ST	EXCL		PL	yarni	+ kwi
1ST	EXCL		TRI	yirripwuk(w)ani	+ kwi
1ST	EXCL	FEM	DU	yirringathi	+ kwi
1ST	EXCL	MASC	DU	yinani	+ kwi
1ST	EXCL		SG	ningani	+ kwi
2ND			PL	k(w)ani	+ kwi
2ND			TRI	kwirripwuk(w)ani	+ kwi
2ND		FEM	DU	kwirringathi	+ kwi
2ND		MASC	DU	k(w)inani	+ kwi
2ND			SG	ningk(w)ani	+ kwi
3RD	3:1		PL	warni	+ kwi
3RD	3:1		TRI	wirripwuk(w)ani	+ kwi
3RD	3:1	FEM	DU	wi(rri)ngathi	+ kwi
3RD	3:1	MASC	DU	winani	+ kwi
3RD	3:2(1)		SG	thathi	+ kwi
3RD	3:2(11)		SG	thani	+ kwi
3RD	3:3(1)		SG	nani	+ kwi
3RD	3:3(11)		SG	yini	+ kwi
3RD	3:4		SG	a	+ kwi
3RD	3:5		SG	mwamwi	+ kwi

the object of the transitive verb in the first clause is inanimate
the infinitive prefix agrees with the subject and not the object.

narrarrangpwamwaka	anhinga	apwapwirna	wirrakina
3:1+3:4 collected	3:4 food	3:4 many	3:1 those

warnikwalyipwariyatha
/warnik{wi} + alyipwara + yatha/
3:1 eat PURP

'They collected lots of food so that they could eat it.'

naningimwapwalhpwa	ningayinthangimwaka	aningapwa
3:3 bat	3:3+3:4 was wanting-INTENS	3:4 good

aningkwa	nanikwiwartiyatha	nakina
3:4 spear	/nanikwi + warti + yatha/ 3:3 kill PURP	3:3 that

'Bat was wanting a good spear to kill him [Rainbow].'

6.3.2 Number

Number is optionally marked by a third order prefix. The allomorphs of the Number morpheme are lhirraka- for dual and wirraka- ~ mwirntaka- for trial or plural. They agree with the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb. The prefix maintains the third order position irrespective of whether the subject or object prefix is in first or second position.

6.3.2.1 Dual

The third order dual number prefix lhirraka- can co-occur with either a singular or non-singular subject or object prefix. When the mood prefix is already non-singular the number prefix marks non-singularity a second time; when the mood prefix is singular the dual number prefix indicates that the cross-referent consists of two individual items. In the following examples, the third order dual number prefix is shown in agreement with and contiguous to the intransitive subject and the transitive object.

nilhirrakampwilyimwa
 /ni + lhirrak{a} + ampwilya + mwi/
 3:3(ii)Sg SDU stay PIP
 'The two reptiles are staying here.'

nalhirrakampwilyamwa
 /na + lhirrak{a} + ampwily{a} + amwi/
 3:4 SDU stay NPIP
 'The two fish are staying here.'

nimwilhirrakwilhikatjama
 /nimwa + lhirraka + lhika + atj{a} + amwi/
 3:5 SDU go TNS NPIP
 'The two sharks are going.'

narrimwalhirrakirringkimwa tiraka
 /narra + mwa + lhirraka + rringka + mwi/ 3:5 truck
 3:1 3:5 ODU see PIP
 'The dogs saw the two trucks.'

kinimwalhirrakingatjina mwanwiyiwanga
 /kini + mwa + lhirraka + ngatja + ni/ 3:5 shark
 3:3 3:5 ODU kill TNS
 'He will kill the two sharks.'

yarralhirrakingatjina
 /ya{kwi} + rra + lhirraka + ngatja + ni/
 1IncSg 3:1 ODU hit TNS
 'We two hit the two of them.'

wirralhirrakakwiratjina
 /wi{rra} + rra + lhirraka + akwira + tja + ni/
 2Nsg 3:1 ODU look after TSR TNS

wirringampwilyimwakwiya wirringiyikwitjiya
 3:1 two 3:1 small
 'Look after the two children!'

In the following examples, the dual number prefix specifies the number of the object even though it is separated from the object prefix.

nanilhirrakapwirrimwirra
 /na{rra} + ni + lhirrak{a} + apwirra + mwirra/
 3:1 3:3 ODU leave behind PIP
 'He were leaving the two of them behind.'

karringalhirrakwirringkina
 /karra + nga + lhirraka + rringka + ni/
 3:1 3:2 ODU see TNS
 'She will look at the two women.'

yikapwilhrrakingatjina
 /yik{a} + apwi + lhrraka + ngatja + ni/
 1ExcDu 3:1 ODU hit TNS
 'They will hit us two.'

The number prefix for duality does not occur when the subject is marked for masculine and feminine dual by ni- and nga-, respectively. However, an object marked by lhrraka- can co-occur with the dual subject marker.

yikingilhrrakingatjinamwa
 /yikinga + Ø + lhrraka + ngatja + n{i} + amwi/
 2FemDu 3:4 ODU kill TNS NPIP
 'You two [women] can kill the two fish.'

ka(ni)nilhrrakingatjinamwa
 /ka{rri}(ni) + ni + lhrraka + ngatja + n{i} + amwi/
 3:1MascDu 3:3 ODU kill TNS NPIP
 'The two men will be killing the two reptiles.'

Dual and trial number prefixes can co-occur as either subject or object but rarely are both marked in the same transitive verb. When only one is marked any ambiguity can be resolved by adding the free form noun or pronoun.

yirripwikwimwalhrratjawithiyiniwa
 /yirripwikwi + mwa + lhrra{ka} + tjawitha + ya + ni + wa/
 1ExcTri 3:4 ODU get onto ONsg TNS ALL
 'The three of us hopped into the two canoes.'

yikilhrrakingatjina ~ yikipwikwingatjina
 /yiki(pwikwi) + Ø + lhrraka + ngatja + ni/
 2Tri 3:4 ODU hit TNS
 'You three hit the two fish.'

yikilhrrakingatjinamwa
 /yika + Ø + lhrraka + ngatja + n{i} + amwi/
 2Nsg 3:4 ODU kill TNS NPIP

ningkwirripwikwirriwa
 2Tri
 'The three of you could kill the two fish.'

6.3.2.2 Plural

The third order plural number prefix wirra- or mwirntaka- can co-occur with either a singular or non-singular prefix. The value of singular or trial is changed to plural. The plural number prefix is in agreement with the subject of an intransitive and the object of a transitive verb. The reduplication of the plural morpheme intensifies or increases the number.

In the intransitive verbs, the plural number prefix is always contiguous to the subject prefix that it modifies. The following examples illustrate the occurrence of the subject plural, variation between the two plural allomorphs and reduplication.

yirriwirrakirikpwitjangayina
 /yirra + wirra + rikpwitjang{a} + aya + ni/
 1ExcNsg SPL jump SNsg TNS
 'We all jumped.'

yirripwikwiwirrakilyiwakatjina
 /yirripwikwi + wirra + ∅ + lyiwaka + tja + ni/
 1ExcTri SPL 3:4 go around TSR TNS
 'We all went around the cape.'

karramwiwirrakingatjina
 /karr{a} + amwi + wirra + ngatja + ni/
 3:1 3:5 SPL kill TNS
 'The sharks will kill them.'

nawirrakapwathangamwirra ~ namwirntakapwathangamwirra
 /na{irra} + (wirra{a} ~ mwirntak{a}) + apwath{a} + ang{a} + amwirra/
 3:1 SPL be scared TNS NPIP
 'They are being frightened.'

yirrimwirntamwirntakalhalhikaniwa
 /yirra + mwirnta{ka} + mwirntak{a} + alhalhik{a} + ani + wa/
 1ExcNsg REDUP SPL REDUP:go TNS ALL
 'A very large number of us kept on going.'

In the transitive verbs, the plural morpheme always occurs in third order. The plural number prefix and the object prefix it modifies are not always contiguous because a second order subject prefix may intervene.

kawirrakangatjina

/[ka] + ka + wirraka + ngatja + ni/
1ExcSg 3:1 OPL kill TNS
'I will kill them all.'

karripwikwimwawirrakirringkamwa

/karripwikwi + mwa + wirraka + rringk(a) + amwi/
3:1Tri 3:5 OPL see NPIP
'The three of them might be seeing the large number of canoes.'

namwirntakilyangpwirrkwa

/na[rra] + Ø + mwirntaka + lyangpwirrkwa/
3:1 3:4 OPL fill
'They filled many places [with water].'

yikakiwirrakingatjina

/yik[a] + aka + wirraka + ngatja + ni/
2Nsg 3:4 OPL kill TNS
'The fish will kill you all.'

nanimwirntakirringka

/na[rra] + ni + mwirntaka + rringka/
3:1 3:3 OPL see
'He saw the large group of them.'

In transitive verbs where one prefix is used for the combination of first and second person in the subject or object, the few available examples show the dual or plural number morpheme cross-referenced to the object.

yilhirrakirringka

/ya + lhirraka + rringka/ ngayiwa akwa yilitjipwitja
1IncSg ODU see 1ExcSg and (name)
'You saw Elizabeth and me.'

ngamwirntakirringka

/nga[rra] + mwirntaka + rringka/
1IncNsg OPL see
'I saw all of you.'

The number of items is usually identifiable from context. Any ambiguity, however, can be clarified by cross-reference to a nominal, pronominal or noun phrase. This is most likely to refer to agreement with the object because the subject prefixation is much more concise in its marking of number. Note that, in the last example, there is a

nawirrakampwilyimwa
 /na{rra} + wirrak{a} + ampwilya + mwi/
 3:1 SPL stay PIP
 'All the dogs were staying [home].'

apwiwirrakilhikatja
 /apwi{rra} + wirrak{a} + lhik{a} + atja/
 3:1 SPL go TNS
 'Let them all go.'

6.3.3 Benefactive

The Benefactive prefix mwin- follows the second order indirect object prefix but it can be separated from a first order indirect object prefix by the subject prefix. The meaning is 'on behalf of' but this often is only clarified by context. For a discussion of the peripheral case clitics which occur on the indirect object noun phrase when the verb incorporates the Benefactive prefix see Section 6.3.3.

wirripwina warnimwamwalya
 3:1 those unseen 3:1 Aborigines

nanimwinangkirrayinimwa
 /na{rra} + ni + mwin{i} + angkirr{a} + aya + ni + mwi/
 3:1 3:3 BENE run SNsg TNS PIP
 'Those [other] Aborigines were chasing it [the snake] away for him.'

kilhikatjamwa ningana alyangkwihiwa akwa
 1ExcSg will be going 1ExcSg this (name)-ALL and

yipwamwinipwayanthanamwa
 /yipwa + m{w}ini + pwayanth{a} + an{i} + amwi/
 1ExcNsg BENE buy TNS NPPI
 'I will be going to Alyangkula and will be buying an axe for you.'

nara kanimwiningayinthanga anilhangwa
 nara /ka{rra} + ni + mwin{i} + ngayinth{a} / 3:3-POSS
 not 3:1 3:3 BENE want

alhikwantja
 3:4 dance
 'He did not want [to do] the dance for them.'

kapwimwiningakpwirakinamwa katana
 /k{a} + apwi + m{w}ini + ngakpwiraka + n{i} + amwi/ 3:4 garden
 1ExcSg 3:1 BENE make TNS NPPI

kapwimwinilhingkwapwitjinama
 /k{a} + apwi + m(w)ini + lhingkwapwi + tja + n{i} + amwi/
 1ExcSg 3:1 BENE grow TSR TNS NPIP
 'They will make a garden for me.'

The Benefactive morpheme mwini- can also occur in an intransitive reflexive or reciprocal verb. In the verb prefixation, the Benefactive implies a covert indirect object which is identical with the subject. A free form indirect object does not co-occur.

nimwiningatjatjingwinimwa yipwiratha
 /nimwa + m(w)ini + ngatja + tjingwi + ni + mwi/ 3:3 wallaby
 3:3 BENE hit REFL TNS PIP
 'The wallaby was hitting itself.'

ngarripwikwimwinakarrngatjingwina
 /ngarripwikwi + m(w)in{i} + akarrnga + tjingwi + ni/
 1IncTri BENE get water REFL TNS
 'We three got water for ourselves.'

6.4 VERB SUFFIXATION

The Anindilyakwa verbs are suffixed by three different sets of morphemes. The first order suffix class is Number and these morphemes are in agreement with the subject or object prefixes; the second order suffix class indicates both verb class and tense; and the third order suffix class denotes both aspect and tense. Verbs can also be suffixed by the case clitics and this is discussed in Section 3.4.3.

6.4.1 Verb classes

Verb roots in Anindilyakwa are assigned to different classes corresponding with contrasts in the shape of the paired Past and Non-past tense allomorphs. There is neutralisation of the tense contrast for some verb classes but clarification is always available through the addition of the imperfective aspect suffixation which also incorporates tense.

Two classification systems are operating in the assignment of a verb root or stem to a specific verb class. In both systems, the

classification is arbitrary, i.e., no phonological or semantic criteria have been found for assigning a root to a specific class.

The first system places a verb root in one of several different classes. There are very few verb roots for which the meaning is distinguishable only by the verb classifier. The following pairs of examples show the change in the verb class corresponding with a change in tense. Aspect suffixation has been added to identify otherwise neutralised tense suffixation.

ningithithangimwa 'I was shutting it.'
 /ninga + ∅ + thith{a} + anga + mwi/
 1ExcSg 3:4 shut 2B(i) PIP

ningithithinimwa 'I was scratching it.'
 /ninga + ∅ + thitha + ni + mwi/
 1ExcSg 3:4 scratch 1A PIP

ninganilyangpwatjanga 'I hit his head.'
 /ning{a} + ani + lyangpwatj{a} + anga/
 1ExcSg 3:3 head:hit 2B(i)

ningingpwatjingimwa 'I was smelling it.'
 /ninga + ∅ + ng{ki} + pwatja + ni + mwi/
 1ExcSg 3:4 unspec smell 1A PIP

ngarrimwingkwilhinga 'We all slept.'
 /ngarra + mwingkwilha + nga/
 1IncNsg cheeks:lie down 1B

ngarriringkwilhanga 'We ground it.'
 /ngarra + ∅ + ringkwilh{a} + anga/
 1IncNsg 3:4 grind 2B(i)

angkarrinamwa 'Be running!'
 /∅ + angkarra + ni + amwi/
 2Sg run 1A NPIP

angkirratjamwa 'Be listening!'
 /∅ + angkirr{i} + atj{a} + amwi/
 2Sg listen 2C NPIP

The second system places all verb stems which incorporate a stem formative or marked by the number suffix into Verb Class 1A. This supersedes the assignment of the root itself to another class. The following examples contrast this verb stem classification with the verb root classification.

wintjalhitjina
/wi + Ø + ntjalha + tja + ni/
2Nsg 3:4 jut out TSR 1A
'Poke your tongue out!'

nantjalhana
/na + ntjalh{a} + ani/
3:4 jut out 1B(ii)
'It jutted out.'

ngarriwirrakiywayina
/ngarra + wirraka + yiw{a} + aya + ni/
1IncNsg SPL follow RECP 1A
'We all followed each other.'

ngarrawirrakiywarna
/nga{rra} + rra + wirraka + yiw{a} + arni/
1IncNsg 3:1 OPL follow 2A(i)
'We all followed them.'

wakpwarthiwakinamwa
/w{i} + Ø + akpwartha + wi + ka + ni + amwi/
2Sg 3:4 frighten ?SF CAUS 1A NPIP
'Be frightening it!' (Lit: cause it to be being frightened!)

nakpwarthangimwa
/n{i} + akpwarth{a} + anga + mwi/
3:3 frighten 2B(i) PIP
'He was being frightened.'

The verb roots and stems divide into two major classes based on the presence or absence of the morpheme-initial vowel /a/. These two classes can be further grouped into a maximum of three separate sub-classes distinguishable by contrasting pairs of allomorphs for past and non-past tenses. There are also some other minor differences in morpheme shapes, usually accounted for by phonological criteria.

Table 29 presents the five possible verb classes and sub-classes. The tense morphemes are neutralised in Sub-class A but are identifiable as being used for both past and non-past by the addition of a past or non-past aspect suffix. Verb Class 1 does not have a sub-class C. (Note: The high vowel following /n/ and /rn/ in A sub-classes is based on symmetry with B. The allophones preceding the nasals are predictable, i.e., [a] precedes /rn/ and [e] precedes /n/.)

TABLE 29: VERB CLASSIFIERS

	SUB-CLASS A	SUB-CLASS B	SUB-CLASS C
CLASS 1	Non-past: -ni Past: -ni	Non-past: -ni Past: -nga	-----
CLASS 2	Non-past: -a(r)ni Past: -a(r)ni	Non-past: -ani Past: -anga	Non-past: -atja Past: -a(r)ni

The number of verb roots or stems which occur in each verb class differs greatly. The percentages are based on a dictionary corpus of 442 verbs which have 251 different verb roots. The statistical count has only been done for roots or stems which do not include a stem formative because their inclusion would skew the results towards an abnormally large number in Class 1A.

Table 30 lists the number of verbs and examples in each sub-class of verb roots. The percentage for each verb class is calculated on the number of verb roots (not examples). The roots are fairly evenly spread with 55% in Class 1 and 45% in Class 2 but the two largest sub-classes (Classes 1A and 2B) account for 82% of the data.

TABLE 30: VERB CLASS STATISTICS

	No. of Examples	No. of Verb Roots	Percentage of Roots
CLASS 1A	224	129	51%
1B	25	10	4%
CLASS 2A	38	24	10%
2B	143	78	31%
2C	12	10	4%
	-----	-----	-----
	442	251	100%
	=====	=====	=====

The fact that neutralisation occurs in 61% of the data (Classes 1A and 2A) indicates that verb classification and its corresponding tense contrast has a low functional load in Anindilyakwa. Verb class suffixation is also neutralised in the Actual Negative. Furthermore, the verb classification for all verbs can be replaced by the suffix *-ya*. Although it is recorded occasionally in texts from the older generation this replacement is probably a language acquisition technique (as supported by some Aborigines who mentioned it was used when speaking to children and the young children's replacement of all prefixation by *-a*). When checking the data, some Aborigines have preferred the information: "when talking to a child".

6.4.1.1 Verb Class 1

Verb Class 1A is the largest class and has no irregular verbs. Excluding verbs with the stem formatives, there are seventy-three intransitive and fifty-six transitive verbs in the class. The past and non-past forms of the class-marking suffix are *-ni*.

yingingwinakilharrinimwa /yinga + ngwinakilharra + <u>ni</u> + mwi/ 3:2 knee:fall 1A PIP	'She was kneeling.'
ningwathinamwa ngwatha + <u>n{i}</u> + amwi/ 3:3 cry 1A NPIP	'He is wailing.'/ni +
wirrarrikpinamwa /wirr{a} + ∅ + arrikpi + <u>n{i}</u> + amwi/ 2Nsg 3:4 throw 1A NPIP	'Be throwing it!'
ningiripwikwina /ninga + ri{kwi} + pwikwi + <u>ni</u> / 1ExcSg body fold 1A	'I folded it.'

Verb Class 1A includes all the verb stems with a stem formative for Inchoative, Causative or Transitive, or that are suffixed by a Reflexive, Reciprocal, or Number morpheme. One of example of each is

given.

nangkalyithinamwa

/na + ngkalya + tha + n{i} + amwi/
3:4 wet INCH 1A NPIP
'It is getting wet.'

wingkalyikina

/wi + ∅ + ngkalya + ka + ni/
2Sg 3:4 wet CAUS 1A
'Make it wet!'

ningakartjiyatjina

/ni + ∅ + ngakartjiya + tja + ni/
3:3 3:4 thigh:stand up TSR 1A
'He piled the soil up.'

ningirikwiwarrikwatjingwinimwa

/ninga + rikwiwarra + kwa + tjingwi + ni + mwi/
1ExcSg body:move CAUS REFL 1A PIP
'I was making myself turn around.'

kamwirntikwayinamwirra

/ka{rra} + ∅ + mwirntikw{1} + aya + n{i} + amwirra/
3:1 3:4 divide RECP 1A NPIP
'They will all be sharing [the food] with each other.'

nawirrakiwirrilhiyinamwa

/na + wirraka + wirrilha + {a}ya + n{i} + amwi/
3:1 SPL sink SNsg 1A NPIP
'They are all sinking.'

Verb Class 1B is a small class of ten intransitive verbs for which -ni is non-past tense and -nga past tense. The final consonant in all of these roots is a lamino-palatal or lamino-dental but there is very little other evidence of phonological criteria for separating the verb classes. The past tense form has also been given as -ni, thus removing the contrast between Class 1A and 1B. It is not known whether this variation is acceptable within the whole community or is under-differentiation of the sub-classes leading to possible language change. The statistically frequent forms are:

ningirikwilhalhingimwa

/ninga + rikwilhalha + ng{a} + amwi/
1ExcSg body:sit (=shallow) 1B NPIP
'I was squatting down.'

nampwilyingimwa
 /ni + ampwilyi + nga + mwi/
 3:3 stay 1B PIP
 'He was staying.'

mwingkwilhinamwa
 /∅ + mwingkwilha + ni + amwi/
 2Sg cheeks:lie down 1B NPIP
 'Be sleeping!' / 'Go to sleep!'

6.4.1.1 Verb Class 2

Verb Class 2A contrasts with other verb classes but there is usually no tense distinction for past versus non-past tenses. It divides into three sub-sets because of metathesis and the loss of retroflexion (see Sections 2.9 and 2.11).

Verb Class 2A(i) consists of seven verb roots (two intransitive and five transitive) which use the allomorph -arni for both past and non-past tenses. It is the sub-set of Class 2A in which the retroflexion has not been lost. The common phonological feature in these roots is the rounded peripheral /w/ as the final consonant. This may have influenced the retention of the retroflexion but it has not done so in other data.

ningiyinthirwarnimwa 'I was burying it.'
 /ninga + ∅ + yinthirw{a} + arni + mwi/
 1ExcSg 3:4 upper back:bury 2A(i) PIP

nimwarrwarnamwa 'He is wandering around.'
 /ni + mwarrw{a} + arn{i} + amwi/
 3:3 wander 2A(i) NPIP

yingimwirntiwarna 'She counted them.'
 /yinga + ∅ + mwirntiwa + arni/
 3:2 3:4 divide 2A(i)

Verb Class 2A(ii) consists of four transitive verb roots classified by the use of -arni (past tense) and -rni (non-past tense). The retroflexed consonant alternates with its alveolar counterpart in two of these verbs. The most likely explanation for

the absence of an initial /a/ in the non-past tense is the metathesizing of the two vowels.

ningangkarnimwa

/ninga + ∅ + angk{a} + arni + mwi/
1ExcSg 3:4 fetch 2A(ii) NPIP
'I was fetching it.'

kakwimwirnamwa

/k{a} + ∅ + akimwa + arni ==> irn{a} + amwi/
1ExcSg 3:4 put 2A(ii) NPIP
'I will be putting it there.'

ngayakirnamwa ~ ngayakinamwa

/∅ + nga + yaka + arni ==> irn{a} + amwi/
2Sg 3:2 take away 2A(ii) NPIP
'Be abducting her!'

Verb Class 2A(iii) differs from the two sub-sets above in its total absence of any retroflexion. The neutralised tense distinction is marked by -ani. Nine intransitive and four transitive verbs occur in the sub-set.

nalharrkiwilyakana

/na + lharrkiwilyak{a} + ani/
3:4 bone:go around 2A(iii)

'It rolled over.'

kilyingkwanamwa

/ka + ∅ + lyingkw{i} + an{i} + amwi/
1ExcSg 3:4 spread 2A(iii) NPIP

'I will be spreading it.'

walhthathanamwa

/w{i} + alhthath{a} + an{i} + amwi/
2Sg wing:pierce 2A(iii) NPIP

'Be piercing it!'

Verb 2B consists of seventy-eight verb roots marked by -anga for the past tense and -ani for the non-past tense. There are thirty-six intransitive and forty-two transitive roots.

ningimwarntirrangimwa

/ninga + mw{a} + arntirr{a} + anga + mwi/
1ExcSg 3:5 dislike 2B PIP
'I was wakeful all night.'

yingilharrmwanamwa
 /yinga + Ø + lharrmw{a} + an{i} + amwi/
 3:2 3:4 chase 2B PIP
 'She is chasing it.'

niwanpwirrathangimwa
 /ni + wanpwirrath{a} + anga + mwi/
 3:3 head:be split 2B PIP
 'He was trembling with fear.'

Verb Class 2C consists of ten verb roots marked by -ani for the past tense and by -atja for the non-past tense. The past tense -ani freely varies with -arni in some words. Six of the verbs are intransitive and four are transitive.

kilhikatjamwa 'I will be going.'
 /ka + lhik{a} + atj{a} + amwi/
 1ExcSg go 2C NPIP

narntakanimwa ~ narntakarnimwa 'He was spear-fishing.'
 /n{i} + arntak{a} + a(r)ni + mwi/
 3:3 fish with a spear 2C PIP

wilyapwatjamwa 'Be tasting it!'
 /wi + lyapw{a} + atj{a} + amwi/
 2Sg test 2C NPIP

6.4.2 Tense and Aspect

The verbs are optionally suffixed by a tense morpheme and an aspect morpheme which also incorporates tense. The tense suffix precedes the aspect suffix. Both these suffixes interact with the mood prefixation for Actual, Potential, Imperative, Hortatory, Negated Actual and Negated Potential prefixation but the Infinitive does not take either suffix. (Note: The habitual is not marked by aspect but by reduplication of the verb root.)

6.4.2.1 Tense

The two allomorphs of the tense morpheme distinguish between past and non-past tense. The shape of the tense allomorphs differs

according to the Verb Class. This tense distinction is neutralised in some instances (see below). The following pairs of examples contrast past and non-past tenses.

yingithithanga 'She shut it.'
 /yinga + Ø + thith{a} + anga/
 3:2 3:4 shut PTNS

kingithithana 'She will shut it.'
 /kinga + Ø + thith{a} + ani/
 3:2 3:4 shut NPTNS

ngarrimwakwimwarna 'We held [the boat].'
 /ngarra + mw{a} + akwimw{1} + arni/
 1IncNsg 3:5 hold PTNS

ngarrimwakwimwirna 'We hold [the boat].'
 /ngarra + mw{a} + akwimwi + rni/
 1IncNsg 3:5 hold NPTNS

There are restrictions in the inter-relationship of the mood prefixes and the tense suffixes. Both past and non-past tense co-occurs with the Actual prefixes; only the non-past tense co-occurs with the Potential and Imperative prefixes; and only the past tense co-occurs with the Negated Potential prefixes.

Actual + Past

ningarntakana ningana akwalyiwa
 /ning{a} + Ø + arntak{a} + ani + Ø/ 1ExcSg this 3:4 fish-ALL
 1ExcSg 3:4 spearfish PTNS PRF

yarringkwa
 yesterday
 'I went spear-fishing yesterday.'

Actual + Non-past

ningarntakatjamwa ningana ananiwiya
 /ning{a} + Ø + arntak{a} + atj{a} + amwi/ 1ExcSg this now
 1ExcSg 3:4 spear-fish NPTNS NPIP
 'I am going spear-fishing right now.'

Potential + Non-past

kilhikatja		karntakatja
/ka + lhik{a} + atja/		/k{a} + ø + arntak{a} + atja/
1ExcSg go NPTNS		1ExcSg 3:4 spear-fish NPTNS

akwalyiwa
3:4 fish-ALL
'I will spear-fish tomorrow.'

Imperative + Non-past

arntakatja		akwalya	athiwapwa
/ø + ø + arntak{a} + atja/		3:4 fish	today
2Sg 3:4 spear-fish NPTNS			

'Spear-fish today!' / 'Go spear-fishing today!'

Negated Potential + Past

nara	kilhikana		akwalyiwa
not	/ka + lhik{a} + ani/		3:4 fish-ALL
	1ExcSg go PTNS		

karntakana | yarringkwa || /k{a} + ø + arntak{a} + ani/ | | yesterday |
| 1ExcSg 3:4 spear-fish PTNS | | |

'I did not go and spear-fish yesterday.'

The tense distinction in the suffixation is neutralised with the Negated Actual prefixes. The morpheme -anga occurs in this position for all verb classes and, while no tense distinction is made, this allomorph occurs only as past tense elsewhere. Furthermore, only the past imperfective aspect allomorph co-occurs with -anga. In the second person, the Negated Actual is often translated as a Negated Imperative but it functions more as a polite rebuke than an order not to do something.

Negated Actual + Past + Past Imperfective

nara	arntakangimwa		ningana
not	/{a} + arntak{a} + anga + mwi/		1ExcSg this
	NEV spear-fish PTNS PIP		

akwalyiwa arningkwaya || 3:4 fish-ALL | tomorrow |

'I am not fishing here tomorrow.'

The definitions of perfective and imperfective aspects provided by Comrie (1976:16,24) describe very succinctly the semantic concepts for these aspects in Anindilyakwa.

"perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation (p.16). The general characterisation of imperfectivity ..., namely explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within". (p.24)

A variety of English translations are possible for the one Anindilyakwa structure and this will be illustrated in the glosses throughout this sub-section. The following set of examples illustrate the six basic (positive) contrasts for tense, mood and aspect.

nilhikatja /ni + lhik{a} + atja + ø/ 3:3 go NPTNS PRF	'He goes.'
nilhikana /ni + lhik{a} + ani + ø/ 3:3 go PTNS PRF	'He went.'
kinilhikatja /kini + lhik{a} + atja + ø/ 3:3 go NPTNS PRF	'He will go.'
nilhikatjamwa /ni + lhik{a} + atj{a} + amwi/ 3:3 go NPTNS NPIP	'He is going.'
nilhikanimwa /ni + lhik{a} + ani + mwi/ 3:3 go PTNS PIP	'He was going.'
kinilhikatjamwa /kini + lhik{a} + atj{a} + amwi/ 3:3 go NPTNS NPIP	'He will be going.'

alyipwarnamwa		apwapwirna	akwalya
/∅ + ∅ + alyipw{i} + arn{i} + amwi/		3:4 many	3:4 fish
2Sg 3:4 eat	NPTNS	NPIP	

arngkapwapwirnilhangwa
 3:4 many times-ABL
 'Be eating lots of fish all the time!' / 'You must be eating
 lots of fish all the time.'

The following example illustrate the co-occurrence of the perfective aspect suffixes with the Potential mood prefixation.

Negated Potential + Past + Perfective

nara	ningana	karntakana	
not	1ExcSg this	/k{a} + ∅ + arntak{a} + ani + ∅/	
		1ExcSg 3:4 spear-fish	PTNS PRF

akwalyiwa athiwapwa
 3:4 fish-ALL today
 'I did not spear-fish today.'

mwanipwapwa	nara	kilhikana		kwiliwa
CSL	not	/ka + lhik{a} + ani + ∅/		3:4 school
		1ExcSg go	PTNS PRF	

'Why didn't you go to school?'

Negated Potential + Non-past + Perfective

nara	ningana	kalhalhikatja	
not	1ExcSg this	/k{a} + alhalhik{a} + atja + ∅/	
		1ExcSg REDUP. go	NPTNS PRF

'I never go.'

The following examples illustrate the co-occurrence of the imperfective aspect allomorphs with the Negated Actual prefixation.

Negated Actual + Past + Past Imperfective

nara	arntakangimwa		ningana
not	/[a] + ∅ + arntak{a} + anga + mwi/		1ExcSg this
	NEV 3:4 spear-fish	PTNS PIP	

akwalya arakpwa ningitjingwinamwipwapwa
 3:4 fish comp.act 1ExcSg am tiring-CSL
 'I was not spear-fishing because I am [feeling] tired.'

ningimwitjikayinamwa ~ ningimwitjikatjinamwa
 /ninga + Ø + mwitjik{a} + aya ~ atja + n{i} + amwi/
 1ExcSg 3:4 pick up ONsg TNS NPIP
 'I am picking up the little bits and pieces.'

ningimwithayinimwa ~ ningimwithatjimwa
 /ninga + {mwa} + mwith{a} + aya ~ atja + mwi/
 1ExcSg 3:5 hold in the lap ONsg PIP
 'I was paddling [the boat].'

Non-singularity can be marked twice, i.e., in the prefixation and the suffixation.

nawirrakingpwiringkathayina
 /na + wirraka + ngpwiringka + th{a} + aya + ni/
 3:4 SPL dry INCH SNsg TNS
 'Everything got dry.'

ngarriwirrakitharrpwikwatjina
 /ngarra + Ø + wirraka + tharrpwikw{a} + atja + ni/
 1IncNsg 3:4 OPL shorten ONsg TNS
 'We all put the things together.'