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Development of a Learner’s Grammar for Paakantyi

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

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Abstract

Paakantyi is an Indigenous language group from western New South Wales. Although classified as critically endangered, Paakantyi is undergoing an active process of renewal, with a number of initiatives underway. There is, however, an acknowledged need for more accessible resources to support teachers and learners in their language renewal efforts. Community demand, combined with the substantial language documentation and grammatical analysis that has already been done, makes Paakantyi an ideal target for a learner’s grammar, the creation of which is the focus of this project.

The first section of this thesis is a dissertation providing background information relating to the Paakantyi people and their language; a summary of Paakantyi language documentation and renewal activities; and a description of the processes undergone in creating the learner’s grammar.

The second and most substantial component of this thesis is the learner’s grammar itself, which is based on Luise Hercus’ 1982 book *The Bagandji Language*. The framework of the learner’s grammar was created by summarising grammatical descriptions in *The Bagandji Language* and supplementing these with examples and additional information taken from more recent resources. Summaries of key concepts have been added to the end of each section so that the reader can easily refer to these without re-reading the longer text. The terminology used has been simplified so that the grammar can be read and understood by non-specialists. In some cases, detailed explanations have been added to Hercus’ examples so that complex grammatical processes can be more readily understood by learners. In addition, the orthography of all Paakantyi lexical items used in grammatical descriptions and example sentences has been updated to conform to that currently used by the Paakantyi community.
Preface

Part 1 of the thesis consists of a dissertation, which is entirely the author’s own work.

Part 2 of the thesis consists of the Paakantyi Learner’s Grammar. The framework of this grammar uses rephrased grammatical descriptions and example sentences taken from *The Bągandji Language* (Hercus 1982). The work undertaken by the author can be summarised as follows, with relevant sections from Part 1 of the thesis shown in parentheses: summarising and simplifying the grammar (4.1); updating the orthography (4.2); selecting and clarifying examples (4.3); and attempting to establish rules and patterns (4.4).

Human ethics approval for this research has been sought and granted (project number 2013/450).
Part 1: Dissertation
### TABLE OF CONTENTS

**CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND**

1.1 Introduction .................................................................................................................. 2
1.2 Indigenous Languages in Australia .................................................................................. 2
1.3 Paakantyi Language/Wiimpatya Parlku ......................................................................... 4
1.4 History .......................................................................................................................... 11
1.5 Recent Linguistic and Cultural Documentation ............................................................... 22

**CHAPTER 2: LANGUAGE RENEWAL**

2.1 Recent and Current Work ............................................................................................... 29
2.2 Language Revival Issues ............................................................................................... 30

**CHAPTER 3: PLANNING THE PAAKANTYI LEARNER’S GRAMMAR**

3.1 Community Consultation .............................................................................................. 36
3.2 Reviewing Learner’s Guides ......................................................................................... 36
3.3 Deciding on the Model ................................................................................................. 41

**CHAPTER 4: CREATING THE PAAKANTYI LEARNER’S GRAMMAR**

4.1 Summarising and Simplifying the Grammar .................................................................. 43
4.2 Updating the Orthography ............................................................................................ 51
4.3 Selecting and clarifying examples .................................................................................. 55
4.4 Attempting to Establish Rules and Patterns .................................................................... 56

**CHAPTER 5: CONCLUDING REMARKS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS**

58

**APPENDIX A** ................................................................................................................. 59

**REFERENCE LIST** ........................................................................................................... 60
CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

The Darling River language (often referred to as ‘Paakantyi’) is an Indigenous language group from western New South Wales. Although classified as critically endangered, Paakantyi is undergoing an active process of renewal, with a number of initiatives underway. There is, however, an acknowledged need for more accessible resources to support teachers and learners in their language renewal efforts, the available language materials at the time that this project was undertaken being either too technical or not adequately comprehensive to be used for teaching and learning purposes (Butcher, M & Lindsay, R 2011, pers. comm., 14 June). In addition, the orthographical conventions used for Paakantyi have been revised since the publication of Luise Hercus’ 1982 grammar The Bągandji language and a text using the new system of orthography is therefore required.

Community demand, combined with the substantial language documentation and grammatical analysis that has been done, makes Paakantyi an ideal target for a learner’s grammar, the creation of which is the focus of this project.

This essay will give an overview of the linguistic situation in Australia and more specifically, of the historical and current situation for Paakantyi. Following this, the planning stages and creation process of the Paakantyi learner’s grammar will be discussed and finally, concluding remarks made.

Note that all the examples in this essay taken from Hercus’ 1982 grammar and the 2002 CD-ROM (Wiimpatya Palku = Paakantyi language) have been adapted to the orthography used in the learner’s grammar.

1.2 Indigenous Languages in Australia

The colonisation of Australia has had a devastating impact on Indigenous languages. Of the estimated 250 languages spoken in Australia at the time of colonisation, many are deemed to be either entirely lost or critically endangered (Lo Bianco 2008, p. 11; Dixon 2002, p. 2; Marmion, Obata & Troy 2014, p. xii; Walsh 2008, p. 41; Yallop 1982, p. 29).

Approximately 120 Indigenous languages are still spoken in Australia and only 13 of these are classified as being strong, meaning that they are spoken by all generations of a particular language group (Marmion, Obata & Troy 2014, p. xii). Five languages that were previously considered ‘strong’ have moved into the ‘moderately endangered’ category since 2005 (Australian Institute of Aboriginal
and Torres Strait Islander Studies [AIATSIS]/ Federation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages [FATSIL] 2005, p. 24; Marmion, Obata & Troy 2014, p. xii). An international study has found that languages are in fact disappearing more quickly in Australia than anywhere else in the world (Nettle & Romain 2000, p. 9; UNESCO 2009 cited in Australian Human Rights Commission 2009, p. 58).

There are, however, some positive developments underway. In 2001, Amery (p. 141) observed that there was ‘a worldwide linguistic and cultural renaissance among the world’s Indigenous people’. This renaissance continues today and is clearly evidenced in Australia, where over the last four decades there has been a growing movement to revive, revitalise and maintain Indigenous languages (Bell 2013, p. 399; Hobson, Lowe, Poetsch & Walsh (eds) 2010, p. xxv; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs [HORSCATSIA] 2012, p. 24). A recent survey confirmed that ‘among Indigenous people of all ages, there is an overwhelming desire to strengthen traditional languages’ (Marmion, Obata & Troy 2014, p. xi). Furthermore, although the number of ‘strong’ Australian languages has decreased over the past decade, around 30 languages have seen an increase in speaker numbers during the same period, owing at least in part to revitalisation activities (Marmion, Obata & Troy 2014).

The strengthening and preservation of languages is more than just a matter of academic interest; importantly, language revival has demonstrable community benefits. Language is intrinsic to culture and is the most significant way by which culture can be expressed and transmitted to the next generation (Australian Human Rights Commission 2009, p. 61; McConvell & Thieberger 2001, p. 27). Culture in turn is important partly owing to the central role that it plays in an individual’s wellbeing (Biddle & Swee 2012; De Souza and Rymarz 2007, p. 282; Halloran 2004; HORSCATSIA 2011; Zuckermann & Walsh 2011).

There is evidence that Indigenous peoples’ sense of identity, connection to country and self-esteem are enhanced by learning their ancestral tongues (HORSCATSIA 2012, p. 24; Marmion, Obata & Troy 2014, pp. 28–31; Schmidt 1990, pp. 27–28, 34). Zuckermann & Walsh (2011) describe the way in which an improved sense of wellbeing resulting from language revitalisation can provide personal and economic empowerment, instil a sense of pride and increased self-esteem (p. 119) and improve physical and spiritual health (p. 121).

The way in which language knowledge can promote spiritual and mental health is exemplified by a study of Indigenous peoples in British Columbia, Canada. This study found that the youth suicide rate in communities in which more than half of the Indigenous youth population had a conversational knowledge of their heritage language was six times lower than the rate for communities in which less than half of the youth reported having such knowledge (Hallett, Chandler & Lalonde 2007).
Dockery (2009, pp. 329–330) found that the positive association between cultural attachment and wellbeing also extends to socioeconomic outcomes such as employment and educational attainment. The connection between culture and positive educational outcomes is supported by Australian studies. These studies have found that Indigenous language and culture programs provide the potential for schools to increase Indigenous student engagement and boost attendance rates, which are often low in rural communities (Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs [FaHCSIA] 2010, p. 29; HORSCATSIA 2012, p. 83; Purdie & Buckley 2010, p. 3). Internationally, it has also been shown that language and culture programs in early childhood lead to improved attendance rates, as well as heightened academic achievement and a reduction in drop-out rates (HORSCATSIA 2012, p. 99).

1.3 Paakantyi Language/Wiimpatya Parlku


The Paakantyi language group comprises the northern and southern branches, with each branch consisting of different lects. Although Paakantyi is in fact the name of one particular lect, Hercus (1994, p. 41) noted the increasing prevalence of the unified name ‘Paakantyi’ to refer to the entire language group. Since most resources to date use the term ‘Paakantyi’ in this way, the same convention is also followed in the learner’s grammar for the sake of consistency.

The term ‘Southern Paakantyi’ was introduced by Hercus to refer to the Paakantyi lect, in order to avoid confusion and distinguish it from the language group as a whole. Nowadays, however, the term is sometimes considered to be a misnomer that may cause offence to some elders (Thompson, W 2013, pers. comm., 15 November). For this reason, the term ‘Paakantyi’ rather than ‘Southern Paakantyi’ has been used in this essay and the learner’s grammar.

Some Indigenous people use the term Wiimpatya Parlku (‘Aboriginal language’) rather than ‘Paakantyi’ to refer to their language group (Thompson, W 2013, pers. comm., 15 November). This is reflected in the Mutawintji Lands Plan of Management (Mutawintji Board of Management and NSW National Parks & Wildlife Service 2010, p. iv):

¹ As it is not always clear which form of speech deserves the term ‘language’ rather than ‘dialect’, the more neutral term ‘lect’ has been adopted.
Today, with [...] several generations of living [sic] in the river towns and with nearly everyone having at least one ancestor from the river, many people usually call the language Paakantji because Paaka is the Darling River. A more inclusive name is Wiimpatja Parlku, meaning Aboriginal language.  

**Paakantyi lects**

The lects of the Paakantyi language group have been documented to varying extents. The most extensive documentation has been done on the Paakantyi lect, and for this reason, it is on this lect that the main language renewal effort is being focused. A reasonable amount of Pantyikali and Kurnu have also been documented. For some lects, the only existing knowledge of the language is old vocabularies (Hercus 1980, p. 159). A summary of the material available on different lects is given by Hercus (1982, pp. 2–12). Despite the paucity of information available on some lects, Hercus (1980, p. 160) has established that ‘the correspondences between the extremes of the “dialect chain” are [...] very close, and between intermediate dialects they are even closer’. Paakantyi lects have been spelt³ and classified in many different ways across various sources. The list of language varieties shown in Table 1 (to follow) is that given by Lissarague & Wafer (2008)⁴ with two exceptions. Firstly, Wanyuparlku is shown in this essay as the language spoken by the Pantyikali people rather than as a separate lect. Further explanation of this will be given in the discussion of classifications. Secondly, the term ‘Paakantyi’ has been used rather than ‘Southern Paakantyi’ for the reasons discussed previously.

The Darling River group is divided into two branches: the northern branch and the southern branch. The northern branch consists of Paaruntyi, Kurnu and Nhaawuparlku (Nhaawarlku). Milpulo is also shown here as a northern lect, though its geographical location (and indeed its very existence) is uncertain. The southern lects are Wilyaali (Wilyakali), Pulaali (Pulakali), Wanyuparlku (Wanyiwalku), Thangkaali (Thangkakali), Paakantyi (Southern Paakantyi), Marrawarra and Parrintyi.

Paaruntyi means ‘the people belonging to the Paroo River (paaru)’. This lect was spoken from around the Paroo River to just north of Hungerford (Beckett, Hercus & Martin 2008, p. 35). It does not share the tense formation system of Paakantyi and in terms of vocabulary it is closest to Wanyiwalku, spoken by the Pantyikali (Beckett, Hercus & Martin 2008, p. 35). It has some

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² Language programs in Wilcannia use the letter ‘j’ rather than ‘y’ for the palatal glide, thus the spelling Paakantji and Wiimpatja shown here. Also note that parlku is spelt palku in some sources (cf. Hercus & Nathan 2002). Hercus (2014, pers. comm., 8 September) indicated that she does not believe there to be any phonemic distinction between ‘l’ and ‘rl’ in pre-consonantal position.

³ Common variants are shown in parentheses in the discussion and table that follows.

⁴ See Lissarague & Wafer 2008, pp. 264–266 for a detailed discussion of their rationale for the grouping of Paakantyi lects.
grammatical features in common with Kurnu and was apparently very similar to this lect overall, as discussed below.

Kurnu, spoken in the river area down from Bourke, was the subject of more early language documentation than any other Paakantyi lect (Beckett, Hercus & Martin 2008, p. 35; Hercus 1993, p. 11). The etymology of this name is unknown. It is said to have been almost identical to Paaruntyi; both lects are estimated to share about 90% of their vocabulary with Paakantyi (although there are some morphological differences) and their speakers are said to ‘talk heavy’, which Hercus says ‘generally refers to slower, more deliberate speech-habits and a stronger stress accent’ (Hercus 1982, pp. 7–8).

Nhaawuparlku (Nhaawarlku) (also Naualko, Ngunnhalku) means ‘the people who say nhaawu for “yes”’. This lect was spoken in the area around Wilcannia and was lost very early on. The only known vocabulary of this lect shows that it was closer to Kurnu than Paakantyi (Beckett, Hercus & Martin 2008, p. 36).

Milpulo is a lect of which the geographical and etymological origins are unknown and the existence is uncertain. This will be elaborated on in the discussion that follows.

Wilyaali (Wilyakali) is a lect for which the full meaning of the name is unknown, though it is known that ‘(k)ali’ is an archaic word meaning ‘people’ (Hercus & Austin 2004, p. 208). This lect was spoken in the Broken Hill area and west to the Olary district (Beckett, Hercus & Martin 2008, p. 36).

The Pulaali (Pulakali) were a sub-group of the Wilyakali. This lect was spoken in the Barrier Range (Hercus 1993, p. 10).

Wanyuparlku (Wanyiwalku) was the lect spoken by the Pantyikali (‘the creek people’). The word parlku means ‘language’, ‘speech’, ‘word’, so ‘Wanyuparlku’ is ‘the people who say wanyu for (a word of unknown meaning). This lect shares grammatical features with Paakantyi, Paaruntyi and Kurnu (Beckett, Hercus & Martin 2008, p. 35).

Thangkaali (Thangkakali) means ‘the people who say thangka for “bread”’. This lect was spoken in the area west of the Darling River (Hercus 1993, p. 7).

Paakantyi (sometimes referred to as ‘Southern’ Paakantyi) means ‘the people belonging to the (Darling) River (paaka)’. The rough area in which this lect was originally spoken is the section of the Darling River extending from Wilcannia downstream to Avoca (Hercus 1982, p. 276; 1993, p. 3; Tindale 1974, p. 192).

Marrawarra is another lect name with unknown roots. It was spoken around Wentworth and along the river to Avoca (Hercus 1989, p. 47).
Parrintyi means ‘people belonging to the scrub country (*parri*’). This lect was spoken to the east of the Darling River in the dry country between the river and the Willandra (Hercus 1993, p. 9).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lect</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Area spoken</th>
<th>Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PAARUNTYI</td>
<td>The people belonging to the Paroo River (paaru)</td>
<td>From around the Paroo River to just north of Hungerford; on the Darling River from about Tilpa up the river to Bourke; and also up the Warrego River as far as Ford’s Bridge</td>
<td>Beckett, Hercus &amp; Martin 2008, p. 35; Mathews 1902, p. 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KURNU</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>In the river area down from Bourke</td>
<td>Beckett, Hercus &amp; Martin 2008, p. 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MILPULO</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Thought to have been spoken on the Darling frontage, from Wilcannia downwards</td>
<td>Howitt, 1904, p. 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WILYAALI (WILYAKALI)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>In the Broken Hill area and west to the Olary district</td>
<td>Beckett, Hercus &amp; Martin 2008, p. 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PULAALI (PULAKALI)</td>
<td>The uplands people (a sub-group of the Wilyakali)</td>
<td>In the Barrier Ranges</td>
<td>Hercus 1993, p. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WANYUPARLKU (WANYIWALKU)</td>
<td>The people who say wanyu for (unknown), spoken by the Pantyikali (‘the creek people’)</td>
<td>In the Mutawintji area, Yancannia and White Cliffs</td>
<td>Beckett, Hercus &amp; Martin 2008, p. 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAAKANTYI</td>
<td>The people belonging to the Darling River (paaka)</td>
<td>(Roughly) in the section of the Darling River extending from Wilcannia downstream to Avoca</td>
<td>Hercus 1982, p. 276 ; 1993, p. 3; Tindale 1974, p. 192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARRAWARRA</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Around Wentworth and along the river to Avoca</td>
<td>Hercus 1989, p. 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARRINTYI</td>
<td>People belonging to the scrub country (parri)</td>
<td>East of the Darling River in the dry country between the river and the Willandra</td>
<td>Hercus 1993, p. 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
(Sub-)lects are shown in italics under the lect to which they are thought to relate.

-ntyi is the belonging suffix, so Paakantyi, for example, is constructed from the word paaka, ‘(the Darling) river’ and the belonging suffix, -ntyi.

(K)ali is an archaic word meaning ‘people’ (Hercus & Austin 2004, p. 208), so Thangkaali (or Thangkakali), for example, means people who say thangka for ‘bread’.

8
Notes:
The exact borders of different lects are unknown and were not necessarily clearly defined. Borders of some of the lects are said to have extended beyond New South Wales, westward from the Darling River into South Australia and along the Warrego and Paroo Rivers into Queensland (Beckett, Hercus & Martin 2008, p. 23).

The location (and indeed very existence) of the lect Milpulo is uncertain.

The lect shown on this map ‘Southern Paakantyi’ is referred to as ‘Paakantyi’ throughout the learner’s grammar and essay, as discussed in section 1.3 Paakantyi Language/Wiimpatya Parlku.
Discussion of classifications

As mentioned previously, Lissarague and Wafer (2008, p. 265) classify Wanyuparlku (Wanyiwalu) as a different lect to Pantyikali, though they do note that it may be the name of the lect spoken by the Pantyikali people. In Table 1 (Lects of Paakantyi/Wimpatya Parlku), Wanyiwalku has been listed as the language spoken by the Pantyikali. Although Hercus does refer to the two as different lects in her earlier works (1982, 1993), her classifications were later revised (cf. Beckett, Hercus & Martin 2008, p. 34; Hercus and Austin 2004, p. 228). Clearly, there is some ambiguity surrounding the original meaning of the two terms. Regardless of whether these terms are indeed synonymous or one term refers to the people and the other to their language, it is unlikely that they were traditionally used to describe two separate lects.

The northern lect Milpulo is not shown on any of Hercus’ maps, though she does mention that the Milpulo group was ‘apparently associated with the same area [as the Pantyikali] and further to the south’ (Hercus 1993, p. 11). Lissarague and Wafer (2008, p. 265) list Milpulo as being a sub-lect of Nhaawuparlku (Nhaawarklu/Naualko/Ngunnhalku), noting, however, that this classification is uncertain and that such a connection may be hard to substantiate. The orthography given in different sources for this language variety differs, with the spelling ‘Milpulko’ being used by Howitt (1904, pp. 50, 98) and ‘Milpulo’ by Tindale (1974, p. 211). Teulon (1886, p. 223) also lists ‘Mi-pulko’ under ‘tribes (incidentally mentioned)’ of ‘words either not confirmed or having something suspicious about them’. Lissarague and Wafer (2008, p. 265) note that:

> The situation is further complicated by the possibility that the term ‘Milpulo’ is the same as Cameron’s ‘Milparo’ (1885: 346), who were a sub-group of the ‘Beri-aits’. Hercus (1989: 48-9) has identified the Beri-aits as the Parrintyi.

Indeed it seems highly probable that ‘Milpulo’ and ‘Milparo’ are one and the same. Hercus (1989) compares a number of vocabulary items listed by Cameron (1885, pp. 366–367) as ‘Beri-aits’ (i.e. Parrintyi) with those that she has recorded for Paakantyi, establishing that despite some mishearings, misspellings and slight mistranslations, the words are in fact the same as those that she has recorded for (‘Southern’) Paakantyi. A direct comparison of various ‘Beri-ait’ words listed by Cameron with their Paakantyi counterparts as recorded by Hercus shows that Cameron had a tendency to either confuse vowel sounds or to use inconsistent orthographical conventions in his vowel transcriptions. In some cases, the vowels used by Cameron are almost identical to those used by Hercus, for example wüungu for nhungku, ‘wife’ and muttu for muthu, ‘grass’. In other cases, Cameron used a ‘u’ rather than an ‘a’, for example kümbuka for kumpaka, ‘wife’, moatpu for muurpa, ‘small child’ and kulthy for kulta, ‘ground vegetation’. Sometimes he used an ‘a’ or ‘oo’ rather than a ‘u’, for example, katchaluka for katyiuku, ‘little’ and tartoo for tharty, ‘brain’. On this basis, it is a distinct possibility that Cameron could have rendered the ‘u’ sound in Milpulo as an ‘a’.
Similarly, a flapped rhotic can easily be confused with a lateral, so an ‘r’ and an ‘l’ could have been interchanged. It is also worth noting that there is no ‘o’ in Paakantyi’s phonemic inventory, so this language variety should probably be spelt with a word-final ‘u’.

It should be noted that ‘Menindee Talk’ and ‘Pooncarie Talk’, listed by Hercus as sub-lects of Southern Paakantyi, have not been included in the table of Paakantyi lects, since it seems likely that ‘Menindee Talk’ and ‘Pooncarie Talk’ were ways of speaking particular to certain regions rather than separate sub-lects. Lissarague and Wafer did not include ‘Menindee Talk’ and ‘Pooncarie Talk’ in their list of Darling River language varieties since they do not appear elsewhere in the literature and are said by Hercus (1982, pp. 11, 13; 1994, p. 42) to be only slightly different from Parrintyi. Hercus (1982, p. 11) comments that ‘the linguistic distinctions appear to have been minimal’ and one of her informants indicated that the differences were mainly in the intonation used.

In addition Marie Reay, in the transcript of her 1945 interview with Hero Black, refers to ‘Wumbandya talk’ and ‘Margan talk’ as Paakantyi varieties. It is possible that these are related to Kurnu, since Reay’s work was conducted around Bourke, where Kurnu was spoken. As no mention of ‘Wumbandya talk’ or ‘Margan talk’ have been found elsewhere, these have not been included in the list of Paakantyi lects.

1.4 History

Prehistory
As has been discussed, the people who inhabited the area surrounding the Darling River and beyond in New South Wales belonged to a number of groups that spoke different lects, referred to in this essay collectively as ‘Paakantyi’. The exact borders of these groups are unknown (Hardy 1976, introduction), though various historical sources provide a good general idea of the areas that they inhabited.

Paakantyi is one of the three language groups of far north-western New South Wales, the other two groups being Karnic and Yarli. All these groups belong to the Pama-Nyungan language family of central and southern Australia (Beckett, Hercus & Martin 2008, p. 33). Hercus (1982, pp. 4–7) lists the neighbouring languages of the Paakantyi group as follows. The languages immediately to the west belong to the Yalji (Yarli) group (Wurm 1972 cited in Hercus 1982, p. 4) and are comprised of Maljangapa (Malyangapa), Wadigali (Wadikali) and Yarliyawara (Yardliyawara); to the north are the Wanggumara (Wankumara), Bundhumara (Punthamara) and the Gungadidji; to the east, the

5 Commonly used alternative orthography is given in parentheses after each lect name where applicable.
Wangaaybuwan-Ngiyambaa (Wangaaybuwan-Ngiyampaa) and Wiradjuri; and to the south, speakers of ‘Murray River’ and ‘Kulin’ languages.

Like other Indigenous Australian peoples, the Paakantyi were deeply connected to their land. Hardy (1976, p. 1) writes:

Inexorable laws of conservation guarded the life lying dormant in the loamy soil, and of these the Barkindji people had a profound understanding. They were not mere sojourners in the land; they were initiated into its mysteries, and were themselves part of the overall harmony within which they were nurtured. They were spiritually akin to every natural feature and to every growing thing that clothed the hillsides or roamed the plains or drank deeply from the waterholes. They and the land were one, and it was a wholeness designed to endure in the natural order of things.

All of the Paakantyi people (Cameron 1885, pp. 347–352; Mathews 1898, p. 242), as well as the groups along the Murray River from Wentworth to Euston (Hercus 2013, p. 121), shared a bipartite matrilineal moiety system consisting of the moieties Kilparra and Makwarra. These moieties were then divided into totemic clans, often called ‘meats’ (Martin 2001, pp. 12–14).

The male initiation rites of most of the Paakantyi did not include circumcision (Hardy 1976, p. 2) but could include the extraction of front teeth (Bonney 1884, p. 127; Cameron 1885, pp. 357–360; Hardy 1969, pp. 15–16; Mathews 1898, p. 248; Scrivener 1886, p. 183; Teulon 1886, pp. 202–203), hair depilation (Beckett 1958, p. 91; Mathews 1898, pp. 244–245) or being tied up and covered with red ochre (Beckett, Hercus & Martin 2008, p. 25).

Despite linguistic and cultural connections between the Paakantyi people, it is thought that some of the peripheral Paakantyi groups were most strongly affiliated with neighbours from other language groups (Hardy 1976, p. 2).

Numerous myths and song cycles are shared by groups across the Yarli language area and beyond, including into Paakantyi country (Hercus and Austin 2004, p. 211). The Yarli and Paakantyi groups were closely linked both socially and for trade purposes (Hercus 1982, p. 4). The Pantyikali had cultural associations, including intermarriage, with the Malyangapa to the west (Hercus and Austin 2004, p. 213; Hope & Lindsay 2010, p. 5). The Paakantyi also had many customs and traditions in common with neighbours from the lakes area of South Australia (Hercus 1982, p. 4).

In addition, some linguistic features are shared by the Paakantyi and neighbouring groups. For example, lengthening of single consonants following the initial stressed syllable of a word is a feature of all the Paakantyi and Karnic lects, as well as the Yarli lects Malyangapa and Wadikali. The Yarli lects and Adnyamathanha (a South Australian lect from the Flinders Ranges) also feature the same system as Paakantyi of using bound subject and object pronouns suffixed to the verb (Hercus
& Austin 2004, p. 212), although the overall grammatical systems of the languages are quite separate (Hercus & Austin 2004, pp. 219–220).

Contact history
In the early 1820s, Europeans in eastern New South Wales began their westward expansion along the rivers (Hope & Lindsay 2010, p. 7). Charles Sturt passed the headwaters around Bourke in 1829 and was the first explorer to reach the paaka, which he named the Darling River (Hardy 1969, p. 23). He turned back, however, before travelling the river’s full length. In 1835, Major Thomas Mitchell began his journey down the Darling from near Bourke and reached the Menindee Lakes (Hardy 1969, pp. 24–27; Martin 2001, p. 31). Edward John Eyre then travelled the previously unexplored section of the river between the Murray junction and the Menindee Lakes in 1844 (Hardy 1969, p. 37; Martin 2001, pp. 32–33). A few months later, Sturt resumed his exploration, covering the same section of the Darling as Eyre and then continuing north into the outback as far as Pinaroo Lake in the Corner Country (Hardy 1969, pp. 40–53; 1976, pp. 59–73; Sturt 1849).

Accounts of contact between European colonisers and the Paakantyi tell similar stories to those from other parts of Australia, describing both cooperation and violent conflict between the two groups, including murder, retribution killings and the mistreatment and rape of Aboriginal women (Hardy 1976, pp. 43–45, 49–56). Hercus (1982, p. 1) asserts that the Paakantyi people ‘were among the very few Aboriginal groups who attempted any kind of united defence of their lands against the white intruders’. In addition to the open conflict between those dispossessed of their lands and the Europeans, introduced diseases also took a heavy toll on Paakantyi populations (Hardy 1969, p. 15; 1976, pp. 37, 60, 75). Major Thomas Mitchell noted from his 1835 journey that most Paakantyi people bore smallpox scars (Mitchell 1839, vol. 1, p. 261). Bonney (1884, p. 123) estimated that in approximately 1850, about one third of the Pantyikali and Paakantyi groups died as the result of an epidemic.

The European settlers did not sufficiently understand or respect the Indigenous inhabitants’ laws and customs and at times seemed mystified by fact that they laid claim to the land and its resources and required permission for their use. For example, Mitchell (1839, vol. 1, p. 304) recalled:

The spitting tribe desired our men to pour out the water from their buckets, as if it had belonged to them [...] so strongly were they possessed with the notion that the water was their own.

The pastoral period closely followed the early years of European exploration. In 1848, squatters had started to settle the lower Darling region but had not yet reached Menindee and by 1851, sheep and cattle runs had been established right up to Wilcannia (FaHCSIA 2010, p. 21; Hardy 1969, pp. 63–65).
Until 1859 it was solely the Paakantyi lands near the river, mainly only as far north as Mount Murchison (near Wilcannia), that were under European control; remote areas had thus far escaped full settlement. As steamers began running up the Darling, however, more isolated areas became accessible to the settlers and pastoralism advanced (Hardy 1976, p. 101). By 1865, only a few of these areas remained that were not taken over or under threat (Hardy 1976, p. 76).

With their lands seized and traditional food sources depleted, many Aboriginal people had taken up work on the pastoral stations. The majority of the Paakantyi eventually found themselves entirely dependent on the goodwill of the squatters (Hardy 1976, p. 114).

By the 1870s, the more abundant supply of European labour, coupled with the erection of fences that lessened the need for shepherds, meant that the squatters were less dependent upon Indigenous labour and fewer jobs were available to the Paakantyi (Hardy 1976, p. 134). At the end of the early pastoral period in the 1880s, even more jobs were lost owing to a rabbit invasion, drought and worldwide financial recession (Hardy 1976, pp. 146–147).

By the end of the later pastoral period in the 1930s, the Aboriginal population in western New South Wales had declined significantly as a result of European invasion. Many of those that remained had been forced first from their lands and then from the stations, and were soon to be relocated again by the settlers. In 1933, Paakantyi people were moved to the Menindee mission (Hercus 2005, p. 30). The following year they were forced to live there alongside the Ngiyampaa/Waradjiri/Wayilwan people (‘the Carowra Tank Mob’) when the Carowra Tank water supply was depleted (Beckett 1965, cited in Hercus 1982, p. 1; Long 1970, p. 82; Martin 2001, pp. 70, 91–97). In 1948 the entire group was again moved, this time to Murrin Bridge, far away from the Darling River, and finally in 1952 they were moved to Wilcannia (Hercus 1982, p. 1; Martin 2001, pp. 70, 91–97).

Rather than learning each other’s language, the groups would converse in English (Martin 2001, p. 89). Hercus (1982, p. 1) asserts that the forced association between the different language groups influenced the status of Paakantyi language and found from her fieldwork that even very elderly people were ashamed to admit that they knew a single Paakantyi word.

Although opportunities for pastoral work had declined, at this time there were still some employment opportunities in other industries including the railways, gardening and fruit picking along the Murray River. By the late 1960s, however, drought had caused people to move to larger regional towns and unemployment was high (NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service & Peter Freeman 2002, p. 39).
Early Paakantyi documentation

A handful of Europeans documented vocabulary and grammar of some of the Paakantyi lects between the mid nineteenth and early twentieth century, producing works of varying quality. As was the case with much of the language documentation in Australia around this time, those who undertook the task generally had no specific linguistic training and were often unable to hear important distinctions between speech sounds found in Indigenous Australian languages (Dixon & Blake (eds) 1991, p.4; Lindsay n.d. c, p. 1; Richards 1903a, p. 120). Moreover, as Hercus (1984, p. 56) points out, people compiling wordlists of Indigenous languages before the development of electronic recording equipment experienced difficulty that nowadays is hard to appreciate.

This section provides an overview of some of the early material available on various Paakantyi lects. It does not purport to be an exhaustive list, which would be beyond the scope of this thesis. A more extensive list of Paakantyi resources can be found in A handbook of Aboriginal languages of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory (Lissarague & Wafer 2008).

1. Edward John Eyre (1815–1901), an explorer and later, colonial administrator, provided the first written Paakantyi wordlist (Hercus 1982, p. 2).


This work consists of tables of Paakantyi words, as well as words from 11 other Australian lects. 24 Paakantyi entries are shown.

2. Frederic Bonney (1842–1921) lived amongst the local Aboriginal people on Momba Station beside the Paroo River between 1865 and 1880. During this time, Bonney employed a number of these people to work as shepherds and in other occupations on the sheep and cattle run (Bonney 1884, p. 123). As well as publishing a journal article on the customs of the local people, Bonney compiled a considerable collection of photographs of these people and the landscape during his time in Australia. These were published in 1983 by Robert Lindsay in The Bonney Photographs and again in 2010 by Robert Lindsay and Jeanette Hope, along with a previously unknown set of photographs, in The people of the Paroo River.

6 The material is ordered according to the date of the oldest work, with works by the same author grouped together.

7 Lindsay has also compiled some of the information Bonney recorded in his notebooks on Paakantyi language and culture. See Section 1.5 Recent Linguistic and Cultural Documentation for further details.

This article describes the territory and appearance of the Paantyikali and Paakantyi as well as some of their customs including initiation ceremonies, the class system, marriage, sickness, medicine, burial and mourning. Approximately 25 vocabulary items are also referred to throughout the text.

3. **ALP Cameron** (dates of birth and death unknown) published a number of articles on various Australian groups in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, particularly in the *Science of Man* journal. He was also one of Alfred William Howitt’s informants.


This paper describes the customs, beliefs, ceremonies and marriage and descent of a few NSW language groups, including the Paakantyi (‘Barkinji’) and Parrintyi (‘Beri-aît’). This work also includes wordlists containing 90 Paakantyi and 90 Parrintyi words.


This article discusses both the Paakantyi (‘Barkingi’) and the Wiradjuri (‘Warradgerry’) peoples. It roughly describes the boundaries of Paakantyi territory and lists neighbouring groups to the south (the ‘Ta-tathi’, ‘Muttu Muttu’, ‘Wattu Wattu’ and ‘Ertha Ertha’) and east (the ‘Wonghibon’). It also gives a brief description of the class systems.


This paper discusses the marriage laws of the Gamilaraay (‘Kamilaroi’), Wongaibon (‘Wonghibon’) and Paakantyi (‘Barkingi’) peoples.
4. Edward Micklethwaite Curr (1820–1889), a sheep farmer in Victoria in the late nineteenth century, sent questionnaires to various settlers across the country, which he then used to compile hundreds of vocabularies of Indigenous languages, published in a four-volume work between 1886 and 1887 (Walsh 1991, p. 31). For some Australian languages, a vocabulary published in one of Curr’s volumes remains its only written source (Dixon & Blake (eds) 1991, p. 4). Many of the wordlists produced in this era are inaccurate and the orthography used is difficult to decipher. Nonetheless, Wurm (1972, p. 13) has asserted that ‘Curr’s work is of great importance in giving at least some documentation of many languages and lects which have since become extinct’.


Details of the submissions to Curr’s volumes relating to Paakantyi lects are given below.10 Note that the number of vocabulary items shown for each submission is approximate. Where two or more words have been given as synonyms, they have been counted as separate items only if they are reasonably dissimilar in form. Where a phrase has been given, this has been counted as one item.

Anon. ‘Country north-west of the Barrier Range’ (p. 173).

This submission consists of 38 vocabulary items from the Wilyakali lect.

Haines, W ‘Country about 60 miles North-west from a point on the Darling midway between Menindie and Wilcannia’ (pp. 174–175).

This submission consists of 42 vocabulary items. From the location given, the vocabulary here is most probably from the Paakantyi lect.

Dix, WJ Lake ‘Boolcoomatta’ (pp. 176–177).

This submission consists of 61 vocabulary items from the Wilyakali lect. Boolcoomatta Reserve is in South Australia, 100 km west of Broken Hill.


This submission consists of 112 vocabulary items. Although Reid asserts that the language belongs to the ‘Milya-uppa’ (Malyangapa), Hercus (2013, p. 121) confirms that the vocabulary given is entirely from the Paakantyi language group.

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10 Curr’s vocabularies are available in electronic format through the AIATSIS library.
Scrivener, G ‘Lower portion of the Paroo and Warrego Rivers’ (pp. 182–185).

This submission consists of 122 vocabulary items from the Paaruntyi (Parooinge) lect. Scrivener estimates that this group of Aboriginal people numbered about 500 at the time of European arrival and says that their numbers had fallen considerably since. He also noted that definite signs of smallpox were evident in the group about 30 years earlier. Brief descriptions are given of tools, the class system, marriage, adornment, rainmaking, burial, message sticks and other customs.

Teulon, GN ‘Bourke, Darling River’ (pp. 186–223).

This submission consists of 942 vocabulary items from the Kurnu (Koornoo) lect. It is undoubtedly the most thorough submission on any Paakantyi lect to Curr’s volume. Information on a variety of topics is provided, including dress, utensils, weapons, food, marriage, initiation, spirituality, hunting, corroborees, burial, disputes, neighbouring groups and medicine.

Wilson, S & Henderson, W ‘Fifty miles below Bourke on the Darling River’ (pp. 224–225).

This submission consists of 121 vocabulary items from the Nhaawuparliku lect.

Rogers, M ‘Wilcanna’ (pp. 226–229).

This submission consists of 161 vocabulary items from the Paakantyi lect.

Curr, EM ‘Tintinaligi’ (pp. 230–231).

This submission consists of 104 vocabulary items from the Paakantyi lect. Note that ‘Tintinaligi’ is now spelt ‘Tintinalogy’.

McLennan, A ‘Weinteriga’ (pp. 232–233).

This submission consists of 110 vocabulary items from the Paakantyi lect.

Mair [sic, no initial] ‘Menindie, Darling River’ (pp. 234–235).

This submission consists of 109 vocabulary items from the Paakantyi lect.

Shaw, CW ‘Tolarno Station’ (pp. 236–237).

This submission consists of 111 vocabulary items from the Paakantyi lect.

Bulmer, J ‘Junction of the Darling and Murray Rivers’ (pp. 238–242).

This submission consists of 127 vocabulary items from the Marrawarra (Marowera) lect. Information is also given on mourning caps (kopi).
5. Simpson Newland (1835–1925) was a pastoralist, author and politician.


This paper includes information on the customs of the Paakantyi people, in particular, the ‘Upper River Darling Tribe’ that Newland called the ‘Wampangees’ (whilst he refers to the ‘River Blacks generally’ as the ‘Parkengees’). The article discusses marriage, food, hunting (in considerable detail), initiation rites, rainmaking, medicine, the character of Paakantyi people Newland encountered, infanticide, death, corroborees, myths and legends. 116 vocabulary items of ‘Aboriginals of the Upper Darling’ are included. Numbers 1–10 and 20 are given (see Appendix A for details).

6. Robert Hamilton Mathews (1841–1918), a surveyor and anthropologist, spent time with Paakantyi people and published a number of papers on customs and language of Darling River groups in the Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales in the late 1800s and early 1900s.


This paper describes the social organisation (including marriage, moieties and totems) and initiation ceremonies of the Paakantyi people.


This article contains grammatical descriptions and wordlists from nine Australian languages from New South Wales, Queensland and Victoria, one of which is the Paakantyi lect Kurnu. The Kurnu section includes a vocabulary list comprising approximately 220 words as well as an additional list including 27 words from Kurnu’s ‘mystic language’ (used by men at initiation ceremonies).
This article was originally written in English and then translated into French for publication. It was then translated back into English for a book on Mathews by Martin Thomas (ed.) (2007, pp. 179–185). It contains more detailed grammatical information on Kurnu than Mathews’ 1902 work ‘Languages of some native tribes of Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria’ as well as corrections. The grammar described in this work relates to articles, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs and prepositions. Notably Mathews, though not a trained linguist, was able to perceive distinctive features of the Kurnu lect, such as the uncommon system of tense marking on pronouns.


This article was originally written in English and then translated into German for publication. It was then translated back into English for a book on Mathews by Martin Thomas (ed.) (2007, pp. 199–205). The article describes the Mültynra initiation ceremony of the Kurnu people. This ceremony consisted of tooth extraction and other rituals and is said to have taken place over a period of two to three weeks.

7. Charles Richards (dates of birth and death unknown) was an ethnologist and travelling dentist. In 1892, Richards constructed maps locating 208 Indigenous linguistic groups in south-eastern Australia; these maps were rediscovered in the Museum Victoria archives in 2009 (Knapman 2011).


This article includes a vocabulary list with 416 words from the Paakantyi lect as well as detailed notes on pronunciation and the orthography that Richards employed. Unfortunately the vocabulary only consists of words beginning with ‘p’ (which would be ‘b’ using current orthographical conventions) and was never completed.12 Hercus (1982, p.3) commented that this work ‘shows true insight and understanding.’

12 Robert Lindsay has compiled these words in a table and reconstructed them using the current orthographical system for Paakantyi. See Section 1.5 Recent Linguistic and Cultural Documentation for further details.
Richards, C 1903, ‘The Marra’ Warree’ tribes or nation and their language, with an account of how a new tribe was formed amongst them’, *Science of Man and Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society of Australasia*, vol. 6, no. 8, pp. 119–126.

This article discusses what Richards terms the Marra’ Warree’ nation, which he says extended from Overland Corner, South Australia, along the Murray to near Euston in the south, then up the Paroo River to its source, totalling 500 miles in length and extending on average 50 miles to the east and 100 miles to the west. Richards divides this ‘nation’ into three sections: the Paakantyi (‘Bpaa’gkon-jee’) from the Darling River, those living near the Paroo (‘Bpaa’roo’) River or creeks and the Thangkali (‘Dthang’gkaa-lee’) from the uplands. Interactions between Paakantyi people and the earliest European explorers to cross their country are described and an account is given of the story of Nganya (‘Ngan’ya’), a man who broke away from the group with another man’s wife, took a second wife and started a ‘tribe’ of his own out in the mallee scrub country. Richards also describes the two intermarrying classes, Kilparra (‘Gkeel’ B-parra’) and Makwarra (‘Mog’kawarree’), explaining that the former means ‘hard or rough speech’ and the latter ‘soft or slow speech’.

8. Alfred William Howitt (1830–1908) was an explorer and anthropologist. Much of the work for his 1904 book was done in collaboration with Dr Lorimer Fison. Prior to the publication of this book, he published 15 journal articles on various aspects of the organisation, customs and beliefs of various Australian groups in anthropological journals.


The material for this book was collected over the preceding 40 years. It includes cultural information about a number of Aboriginal groups, including the Paakantyi, and is divided into the following chapters: tribal organisation; social organisation; relationship terms; marriage rules; tribal government; medicine men and magic; beliefs and burial practices; initiation ceremonies, eastern type; initiation ceremonies, western type; messengers and message sticks—barter and trade centres—gesture language; and various customs.
9. Norman B Tindale (1900–1993) was an anthropologist, archaeologist, entomologist and ethnologist.


This work on Marrawarra mythology was the first text to be published in any Paakantyi lect. In Hercus’ esteem, Tindale’s hearing of the language was brilliant (Hercus 1982, p. 3).

### 1.5 Recent Linguistic and Cultural Documentation

This section provides an overview of some of the more recent material available on various Paakantyi lects.¹³ Note that the lists given are not exhaustive; not every author who has published work on Paakantyi language and culture is listed and not all the works by each author are necessarily described here.

**Linguistic analyses and learning materials**

1. **Luise Hercus** (1926–),¹⁴ a linguist who began work on Paakantyi in 1967, has conducted the most thorough linguistic analysis of Paakantyi to date. Her 1982 book, *The Bāgandji language*, gives as comprehensive a description of Paakantyi as was possible at the time, given the paucity of fluent speakers remaining when Hercus commenced her work. Since then, she has produced an additional two substantial language resources: the *Paakantyi dictionary* (1993) and, along with David Nathan, a CD-ROM, *Wiimpatya Palku = Paakantyi language* (2002). She has also worked and advised on reports including *Mutawintji: Aboriginal cultural association with Mutawintji National Park* (Beckett, Hercus & Martin 2008) and *Aboriginal cultural heritage of the Menindee Lakes area part 1: Aboriginal ties to the land: a report to the Menindee Lakes Ecologically Sustainable Development Project Steering Committee* (Martin 2001). In 2009, along with Jeremy Beckett, she published *The two rainbow serpents travelling: mura track narratives from the Corne Country*, which includes three different versions of a creation story involving the two *ngatyi* (rainbow serpents) as told to Beckett in 1957, as well as information about the storytellers and their country. In addition, Hercus has published a number of journal articles on linguistic features of Paakantyi, as well as contributing chapters to books. Hercus continues her work on various Australian languages to this day.

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¹³ See Lissarague & Wafer (2008, pp. 281–284) for a more extensive list of Paakantyi resources.

¹⁴ Owing to the extensive nature of the work on Paakantyi undertaken by Luise Hercus, an overview of each individual resource has not been given here, as has been done for the other authors.
2. Elsie Rose Jones (1917–1996) was a Paakantyi woman born to Lena Cabbage on Albermarle station, near Menindee (Lindsay 2010). As well as having published Paakantyi books for children, Jones was an important informant of Hercus', who described Jones’ knowledge of vocabulary as ‘brilliant’ (Hercus 1993, p. 2).


This book tells the story of the galah and the frill-neck lizard. It was transcribed by Peter Thompson and illustrated by Cecil Whyman. The pages are divided into two columns, with the Paakantyi story on one side and an English translation on the other. An accompanying (unpublished) word-by-word analysis and wordlist have been compiled by Robert Lindsay.


This alphabet book of Paakantyi words is illustrated by Mark Quale and Tim Whyman.


This book on body parts is illustrated by Tim Whyman.


This book, illustrated by Doug Jones and Karin Donaldson, recounts an old Paakantyi story of a star that fell in a Paakantyi camp and killed or injured a number of people. The people had been warned by a *miikika* (man with special powers) called Malkarra but they did not believe him until it was too late, because Malkarra was known to be a cunning rogue whom they could not trust. The book is illustrated with both drawings and photos of Elsie Jones and the group of children to whom she relates the tale as they travel around Paakantyi country to the different places that feature in the story. A reasonable quantity of Paakantyi vocabulary is included in speech bubbles accompanying the illustrations. One page describes the sounds and orthography of Paakantyi and another gives the meanings of Paakantyi vocabulary used throughout the story.
3. Robert Lindsay (1950–) teaches Paakantyi at Menindee Central School and has created a number of unpublished language resources as well as several published works.

**Published works:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R (ed.)</td>
<td><em>Bush tucker vol. 1: meat wanku</em>, Western Region Country Area Program, Western Readers, Dubbo.</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td></td>
<td>This children’s reader contains a map as well as animals listed by English name, Paakantyi name and scientific name. It is illustrated by Tim Whyman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
<td><em>The Bonney photographs</em>, Western Region Country Area Program, Western Readers, Dubbo.</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td></td>
<td>This book contains photographs taken by Frederic Bonney of the Paakantyi residents at Momba Station. It also contains cultural material and notes on Bonney.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hope, J &amp; Lindsay, R</td>
<td><em>The people of the Paroo River: Frederic Bonney’s photographs</em>, Department of Environment, Climate Change and Water, NSW.</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td></td>
<td>This book, developed together with Jeanette Hope, a consultant anthropologist, gives an account of the life and work of Frederic Bonney, who lived on Momba Station between 1865 and 1881. It contains photographs taken by Bonney as well as cultural and linguistic information on the Paakantyi people.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Unpublished works:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
<td>‘Index Cards’.</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>This 41-page document contains vocabulary that Lindsay elicited from Elsie Jones on Wilcannia Mission in 1981 and recorded on index cards. For many years these cards were missing and Lindsay mistakenly believed that they had been destroyed in a fire at Wilcannia Central School. He was overjoyed when they were one day rediscovered sitting in a storeroom. The vocabulary from the index cards has been compiled by Lindsay in a table alongside equivalents from Hercus (1993) and occasionally also words from Teulon (1886), Bonney’s unpublished manuscripts and Peter Thompson’s transcription of Elsie Jones’ story, <em>Kilampa wura Kaani’ = The galah and the frill-neck lizard</em> (1978).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lindsay, R 1981, notes from weekly discussions with Elsie Jones.

This document consists of 200 pages of handwritten notes made by Lindsay in 1981 following his weekly meetings with a Paakantyi woman, Elsie Jones. Lindsay’s weekly entries include descriptions of what they had spoken about that day, covering vocabulary as well as topics such as Paakantyi country, traditions, games, food, beliefs and mythology. It also includes some sketches, for example, of tools and weapons.

Lindsay, R 2010, ‘Learning Paakantyi’.

This is a 30-page learner’s guide with thirteen lessons: who are the Paakantyi?; saying hello; who are you? I am...; I’m hungry; where do you sit down?; saying ng-; it’s my foot!; my family; teach your dog Paakantyi; going; more going (and not going); the past tense; and a conversation. The appendices consist of vocabulary; Paakantyi sounds; how to convert kids’ names into Paakantyi sound rules; and answers to questions.

Lindsay, R n.d. a, ‘Bonney’s notebook’.

This document is 43 pages in length. Some of the material in the notebook is included in Frederic Bonney’s 1884 article ‘On some customs of the Aborigines of the River Darling, New South Wales’. Information on additional topics is also contained therein, including spiritual beliefs (‘the future’), habitations, domestic furniture (tools), weapons, dress, cooking and food, amusements, rainmaking, snakes and snakebite, myths and traditions.

Lindsay, R n.d. b, ‘Bonney’s small notebooks and letters’.

This document is 23 pages in length. The document has been compiled from letters, notebooks and scraps of paper. It consists of letters sent to Bonney regarding the local Aboriginal people and their customs, Bonney’s own notes on customs and traditions of these people and the meanings of their names, anecdotes of interactions between Bonney and the locals, vocabulary lists, lecture notes and newspaper clippings.

Lindsay, R n.d. c, ‘Paakantyi words in Bonney’s MSS’.

This 13-page document consists of a table of vocabulary from Frederic Bonney’s manuscripts alongside Bonney’s definitions and, where available, their Paakantyi equivalents from Hercus (1993) or Beckett, Hercus & Martin (2008), or their Kurnu equivalents from Teulon (1886).
Lindsay, R n.d. d, ‘The single vocabulary of C. Richards’.

This 20-page document lists vocabulary given by Richards (1903b). It consists of a table compiled by Lindsay of Richards’ Marrawarra vocabulary with a standardised orthographical system, with the equivalents from Hercus’ 1993 dictionary alongside them. The letters ‘bp’, ‘gk’ and ‘dth’ have been changed to ‘p’, ‘k’ and ‘th’. Instead of ‘ddth’, ‘dth’ has been used (although Hercus uses ‘th’) and ‘ngk’ remains unaltered. Doubled consonants have been changed to single consonants, except for ‘rr’.

Lindsay, R n.d. e, ‘Some “new” Paakantyi words’.

This 41-page document contains Paakantyi words, mainly from nineteenth and early twentieth century resources, that are not shown in Hercus’ 1993 dictionary. The sources used are Bonney’s unpublished material (before 1881), Teulon (1886), Mathews (1902, 1904b), Richards (1903b), and language elicited from Elsie Jones in 1981. Lindsay notes the difficulty in reconstructing words from nineteenth century sources, given the trouble the authors had hearing and representing rhotics, retroflex consonants, velar and dental alveolar nasals and dentals. They also used different representations of vowel sounds. In this document, Lindsay has included both the original orthography used in the sources and his approximated reconstruction.


Reay, M 1945, transcript of interview with Hero Black.

This is a transcript of an interview with a Kurnu man, Hero Black, from Mahra Station. It includes a brief discussion of the marriage system, moieties and totems. Five Kilparra (‘Gilpara’) totems (sand goanna, emu, padimelon, possum and carpet snake) and five Makwarra (‘Makwara’) totems (bandicoot, kangaroo, dingo, eaglehawk and bilby) are listed. Very brief descriptions are given of the treatment of a deceased person’s body and belongings. ‘Wumbandya talk’ and ‘Margan talk’ are mentioned as being Paakantyi varieties. It is noted that George Dutton spoke either Kurnu (‘Gurnu’) or Margan. The totems of a few other Paakantyi people are mentioned and the story of ‘the two snakes’ is included.

Reay, M 1966, report of visit to north-western New South Wales.

This is a 26-page report on languages from north-western NSW, including Paakantyi (‘Bakundji’). A wordlist of approximately 310 Kurnu words is included. Reay’s informants were Mrs Sheritt and Mrs Hudson (May Johnson).
5. Stephen A Wurm (1922–2001), a linguist who conducted fieldwork on many Australian languages, especially in New South Wales and southern Queensland (Hercus, Koch & Walsh 2001, p. 276), began work in the Darling River region in the late 1950s. He took notes on the Paaruntyi lect (Hercus 1982, p. 3.) as well as recordings of various lects including Paaruntyi, Wilyakali and Pantyikali. These unpublished notes and recordings were later made available to Luise Hercus for her work on the Paakantyi language group (Hercus, Koch & Walsh 2001, p. 277).

Government/Land Claim Reports


This study, written 10 years after the return of Mutawintji lands to their traditional owners, aims to explain ‘the history of the people whose continuing cultural association with the Mutawintji lands has enabled significant practical steps for reconciliation and cultural recognition to be achieved’ (p. i). It provides a brief history of the Pantyikali people from the Mutawintyi region; ethnographical information about different Paakantyi groups (including language and country, kinship, men’s initiation rites and murras (i.e. creators) and murra tracks); details of different Paakantyi lects, surrounding languages and modern Paakantyi; myths related by George Dutton (a speaker of eight languages and the last speaker of Wanyiwalku); explanations of Paakantyi place names; and a considerable amount of information on the families and ancestors from the Mutawintji region.

Martin, S 2001, Aboriginal cultural heritage of the Menindee Lakes area part 1: Aboriginal ties to the land, Menindee Lakes Ecologically Sustainable Development Project Steering Committee, Broken Hill.

This report includes information on a variety of matters relating to the culture and heritage of the Paakantyi people, particularly those from the area in and around Menindee. The report’s chapters include Aboriginal post-contact history of the Menindee Lakes area; existing rights and interests in the Menindee Lakes area; and Paakantyi traditional culture of the Menindee Lakes area. The latter chapter consists of maps; information about the different Paakantyi lects; descriptions of the kinship system; moieties and totemic clans (‘meats’); the land tenure system; hunting, fishing and food gathering; burial practices; and the Paakantyi landscape and mythology. Various diagrams and sketches are included as part of the report, as well as photographs of Paakantyi people from the late nineteenth century to recent times.
This plan was written primarily in order to provide strategic direction for the preservation of historic sites associated with the former Kinchega pastoral station in the broader context of the Aboriginal, historic and natural values of Kinchega National Park. It includes an historical overview of the area from prehistory through the pastoral era and up to the late twentieth century; an inventory of archaeological sites of the area; and a history of the landscape, flora and fauna of Kinchega National Park.
2.1 Recent and Current Work

Although Paakantyi is considered to be at a critical level of endangerment (Alliance for Linguistic Diversity, n.d.; Lewis, Simons, & Fennig (eds) 2013), a community-driven renewal process is now underway, with Paakantyi being taught at schools in Bourke, Broken Hill, Menindee and Wilcannia. Hercus had previously considered Paakantyi language to be in an irreversible state of decline, writing that ‘in 1963 this language was on the verge of extinction’ and that (in 1982) the language had ‘now reached the point of no return’ (1982, p. ix). Fortunately, however, community efforts, boosted by government funding and made possible by the linguistic resources created by Hercus, have meant that the Paakantyi community has been able to reverse the process of language loss.

Paakantyi language programs are presently being strengthened by additional funding from the New South Wales State Government as part of OCHRE (Opportunity, Choice, Healing, Responsibility)—a scheme designed to empower Indigenous people and ‘support Aboriginal students to stay at school, make the transition to meaningful work and learn traditional languages to bolster their cultural identity’ (NSW Department of Education and Communities [DEC], 2013a). One of the key initiatives of this scheme is the Connected Communities Strategy, which advocates the teaching of Aboriginal language and culture in order to promote a positive sense of culture and identity, increase children’s engagement and improve learning outcomes (DEC, 2011). The strategy was initially rolled out in 2012 across 15 schools in rural New South Wales with high proportions of Indigenous students, including two schools at which Paakannty is taught: Menindee Central School and Wilcannia Central School.

Paakantyi has also been selected by DEC as one of the initial five languages\(^\text{15}\) for which an Aboriginal Language and Culture Nest will be established, with the aims of improving knowledge of and competency in local Aboriginal languages; strengthening Aboriginal identity, pride and community resilience; increasing the number of language learners; increasing the number of language teachers; and contributing to increased school attendance and retention (DEC, 2013b).

\(^\text{15}\) The other four languages are Gamilaraay, Gumbaynggirr, Bandjalung and Wiradjuri.
2.2 Language Revival Issues

Obstacles
Any language revival effort will inevitably encounter obstacles. Schmidt (1990, pp. 107–109) summarises these as follows: shortage of speakers; lack of language records and documentation; shortage of language learning materials; lack of institutional support for language revival efforts; lack of skills and knowledge for language revival; the limited amount of exposure that community members have to their ancestral languages in everyday settings; and the complexity of Aboriginal languages (which have radically different grammatical systems to English). Most of the obstacles defined by Schmidt are relevant in the Paakantyi context to varying extents.

The shortage of Paakantyi speakers presents a clear challenge. There are currently a handful of semi-fluent speakers and no L1 speakers. This means that community members will generally not be exposed to Paakantyi in normal, everyday settings and that no children will be able to acquire Paakantyi from an L1 speaker.

The amount of Paakantyi language documentation achieved is considerable, particularly in comparison with some Australian languages, for which only a few words remain. Unfortunately, however, a detailed study of Paakantyi did not commence until Hercus began her work on the language in 1967 and her main informant, George Dutton, died the following year (Hercus 1982, p. ix). Much knowledge of the different lects has been lost and the bulk of the available material relates to ‘Southern’ Paakantyi. Oral recordings only exist of the few people that Hercus referred to as the ‘last’ Paakantyi speakers (Hercus 1982, p. 2).

A number of language learning materials are available but, though valuable, they do have limitations. Of all the resources, Hercus’ 1982 book *The Bāgandji language* provides by far the most comprehensive description of Paakantyi grammar. The terminology employed in this work is highly technical and as such the work is best suited to those with some level of linguistic training. Hercus’ 1993 *Paakantyi dictionary* and the 2002 CD-ROM *Wiimpatya Palku = Paakantyi language* (developed by Hercus and David Nathan) are aimed at non-specialists and are thus more accessible to Paakantyi communities, but these resources have a stronger focus on vocabulary than grammar. Without a learner’s grammar, gaining a thorough understanding of Paakantyi grammar is rendered difficult for teachers and students alike.

Lack of institutional support is not as much of an issue for the Paakantyi community as it is for some other communities endeavouring to revitalise their languages. As discussed in section 2.1 Recent and Current Work, New South Wales State Government initiatives have targeted Paakantyi as one of the language groups on which to focus newly developed language support strategies. Local schools
are also largely supportive of Paakantyi language and culture classes and the Board of Studies NSW has assisted the community with program development (Board of Studies NSW 2010). The Board also helped with the establishment of the Paakantyi Language Circle (PLC) in 2010. This is an open group that represents the Paakantyi Community in language-related matters, aiming to develop and share language resources. Despite having benefited from a certain degree of institutional support, however, there has been considerable frustration experienced by the PLC owing to their difficulty in successfully negotiating TAFE certification of a Paakantyi language course (PLC 2013, pers. comm., 20 March & 15 November).

The Paakantyi community is keen to train teachers and, if successful, the establishment of the Aboriginal Language and Culture Nest and a TAFE course for Paakantyi will also assist in this regard. As the language becomes stronger and more children have the opportunity to learn the language starting from kindergarten, as well as adults being able to take language courses at TAFE, greater opportunities for language exposure in everyday settings will arise.

The complexity of Aboriginal languages is an obstacle that will always be present for L2 speakers, but provided that adequate resources and skilled teachers are available, this certainly does not pose an insurmountable problem.

**Modernising the lexicon**

Another issue faced by the Paakantyi community (and indeed any Indigenous community undertaking to revitalise their language) is that of modernising the lexicon so that speakers are equipped to discuss new objects and concepts (cf. Amery 2014, pp. 411–412; Giacon 2014, pp. 442–443; Zuckermann & Walsh 2011). Walsh (1991 p. 47) declares that if Australian ‘languages are to survive, they will have to respond to the introduced culture of the Europeans’.

Indigenous communities outside Australia have also had to address the matter of talking about modern concepts using a traditional language. In Hawaii, for example, a huge number of new words have been created, resulting in the publication of a new words dictionary with over 6,500 entries (Kimura 2009, pp. 121–122).

There are a number of ways in which new vocabulary can be created to this end. Blake (1991, p. 29) summarises these as borrowing words from another language, making up new words, and extending the meaning of existing words. An example of an Australian language for which speakers have endeavoured to modernise the lexicon is the South Australian language Kaurna. New terms have been developed to deal with a variety of topics, including conversations in the home, football and fishing (Amery 2014, pp. 411–412).

Numerous words have also been devised for Gamilaraay, a language from central northern New South Wales. New words include badha gali, ‘beer’ (from badha, ‘bitter’ and gali, ‘water’) gabi,
‘coffee’ (from the English word) and wiyayl, ‘pen’, ‘pencil’ (with the meaning extended from the traditional word for ‘echidna quill’) (Ash, Giacon, & Lissarague (eds) 2003, p. 160).

The way in which the meaning of existing terms can be extended to include modern concepts is further exemplified by the Northern Territory language Murrinh-Patha, in which the word for ‘teeth’ is used to refer to the propeller of a boat and the word for ‘dragonfly’ is used to mean ‘helicopter’ (Walsh 1991, pp. 43–44).

The Gumbaynggirr community from north-eastern New South Wales has also devised a multitude of new words for introduced items and terms including everyday objects, occupations, days of the week, months of the year and numbers. Morelli (2008, pp. 137–150, 373) explains some of the ways in which this has been done:16

1. **Extending meanings (semantic extension):** using existing words to convey new meanings (e.g. using the existing word jiibiny, ‘bird’ to mean ‘aeroplane’).
2. **Adaptation:** adapting English words to conform to Gumbaynggirr phonology (e.g. the word ‘maize’ was used to form a new Gumbaynggirr word majay).
3. **Adding suffixes (derivation):** adding suffixes to words (e.g. guumimba maara, ‘comb your hair’ is formed from the adaptation guum, ‘comb’ plus the transitivising suffix -imba; ngarawigundi, ‘butter’ (literally ‘spread of’) is formed from the word ngarawi (‘spread’).
4. **Coinage:** simply coining a word (e.g. the word gaarr has been coined to mean ‘horse’).
5. **Compounding:** joining existing words together (e.g. muya-bannggiing, literally ‘breath is flying’ to mean telephone).
6. **Borrowing:** borrowing words from a neighbouring Indigenous language. Morelli points out that this has always been done in Aboriginal languages and is still done today.

Hobson (2013) outlines some additional ways in which new words can be created to fill gaps in a language. These are, in summary:

7. **Repetition:** repeating a word to create a new word that is related to the original word (e.g. the Kaurna word murdumurdu, ‘flour, bread’ has been created through repetition of the word murdu, ‘dust, ashes’).
8. **Back-formation:** a process of abbreviation that creates a new word that has a different meaning or is a different part of speech (e.g. the Yuwaalaraay word gayrra, ‘electricity’ has been created by revivalists from the word dhan.gayrra, ‘lightening’; wanda, ‘whitefella’ was formed from the word wandabaa, ‘ghost’ by Yuwaalaraay people when they saw Europeans).

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16 The examples given here are all summarised/paraphrased. Examples 1–6 are taken from Morelli. The terms, however, (‘semantic extension’, ‘adaption’ etc.) are those used by Hobson (2013), with the exception of ‘adaptation’.
9. **Blending (portmanteau):** This process is relatively uncommon in Australian languages and involves combining sounds and meaning from two or more words to create a new word (e.g. the Pitjantjatjara word *nganantarra*, ‘our side’ has been created by blending *nganana*, ‘we’ and *tarrka*, ‘bone’).

10. **Conversion:** Using an existing word to form a new word of a different class—often in Australian languages a suffix must also be added (e.g. the Pitjatjantjara words *nintini*, ‘knows, knowing’ and *nintinu*, ‘knew’ have been formed from the word *ninti*, ‘aware’ with the addition of suffixes).

11. **Loan translation (calquing):** Creating a new word or phrase that is a word-by-word translation from another language (e.g. in Gumbaynggirr, names for the days of the week are all calques: Sunday (meaning ‘Sun’s day’) has been translated to form the calque *Ngayan ga*, ‘sun one’; Monday (meaning ‘moon’s day’) has led to *Giidanyga*, ‘moon one’ and so on).

12. **Copying sounds (onomatopoeia):** Mimicking sounds to form words is common in Australian languages (e.g. the Yankunytjatjara word *kuurrkuurr*, means ‘boobook owl’; the new Yolngu Matha word *bumbum* has been created to mean ‘car’).

13. **Abbreviation:** Creating new words from abbreviations is common in some languages including English (e.g. ‘don’t’ is a contraction of ‘do not’; ‘fax’ is a clipped form of ‘facsimile’; ‘cammo’ is a clipped form of ‘camouflage’ with the addition of a suffix.) Hobson suggests that although some of these processes have not yet been observed in Australian languages, revivalists may wish to consider them as options. Hobson notes that in Pitjantjatjara, people sometimes drop syllables in verbal communication, for example saying Pitjantjara rather than Pitjantjatjara.

The Paakantyi vocabulary recorded by Hercus shows that by the time she undertook her fieldwork in the 1960s and 1970s, the language had already adapted to deal with modern life under the colonisers. A number of the strategies discussed above can be seen in the Paakantyi lexicon (Hercus 1982 & 1993). For example, the word *thaaninya*, ‘gum’, ‘resin’ has been extended to mean ‘methylated spirits’. The verb *muni-*, ‘to tie up’, has been reduplicated to form a new noun, *muni-muni*, ‘police’. The verb, *wanti-ma*, ‘to wish’ or ‘to want’ has been formed through adaptation and derivation by combining the English word ‘want’ with the verbalising suffix -*ma*. Other Paakantyi adaptations of English words include *warka-*, ‘to work’; *wirlupi*, ‘wool’; *maninga*, ‘money’; *marrkara*, ‘gun, rifle’ (from the English word ‘musket’); and *maatha*, ‘boss, master’. In addition, Lindsay (1981a) lists 44 Paakantyi words borrowed from languages and Paakantyi lects on the index cards he compiled when eliciting language from Elsie Jones. Examples include *yantiyantinya*, ‘wagtail’ (bird) from Parrintyi; *malyapa*, ‘camp’ from Malyangapa; *yarraman*, ‘horse’ from Ngiyampaa; and *Maarti*, ‘Aboriginal’ from an unidentified Queensland language. There is also evidence of abbreviations in Paakantyi. Richards (1903b, pp. 164–165) noted that one section of the Marrawarra group was prone to abbreviating words by dropping verbal suffixes as well as by dropping the initial consonant
of words and sometimes even a whole syllable. Hercus (1982, pp. 24–26) also points out the occasional loss of initial consonants in Paakantyi.

**Authenticity in revived languages**

When addressing the matter of language modernisation, revivalists are faced with the question of authenticity. This is limited not only to lexicon but extends into other areas such as phonology and syntax. Although communities may wish to see their language revived in its purest form, Zuckermann & Walsh (2011, p. 121) predict that linguistic constraints mean that any language revival efforts in Australia will result in a hybrid language. They describe the way in which this has occurred with Hebrew, which is considered to be the most successful known instance of language reclamation, and urge language revivalists to ‘embrace the hybridity of the emergent language’ (p. 117), warning that ‘purism creates unrealistic expectations that may discourage learners from acquiring the emerging language’ (p. 119). The South Australian language Kaurna is given as an example of a hybrid language resulting from a reclamation program (p. 120). Owing to the influence of English, modern Kaurna contains many calques; stress and pronunciation have altered; English word order is preferred by some speakers; English idioms and turns of phrase are translated; and English semantics are transferred to Kaurna.

Reclaimed languages from New South Wales are also showing the effects of English influence. Reid (2010, pp. 296–297) describes pronunciation changes that are taking place, for example, the neutralisation of rhotic contrasts, loss of variation in stops and neutralisation of unstressed vowels. Reid (p. 294) argues that:

> Whenever a generation of learners revitalises a language in the absence of first language speakers, the learners’ first language will have a major impact on the sound system of the target language.

Evidence of recent changes undergone by Paakantyi’s sound system supports this claim. Discussions with semi-fluent Paakantyi speakers (Butcher, M 2013, pers. comm., 20 March; Thompson, W 2013, pers. comm., 15 November) as well as recordings of semi-fluent speakers made for the Paakantyi CD-ROM (Hercus & Nathan 2002) indicate that the ‘o’ sounds described by Hercus (1982, pp. 34–37) have become limited in usage or lost entirely. This is normal in a language renewal context, where words are often read rather than heard (cf. Boynton 2014, pp. 66–80).

In the learner’s grammar, some of the differences pointed out by Hercus between traditional and reclaimed Paakantyi have been highlighted. For example, the way in which possession is marked in English has influenced Paakantyi speakers so that modern speakers use possessive markers when talking about names and totemic identity where traditional speakers would not have done so. This is exemplified by the following sentences.
Traditional construction:

**Example 1.** *Minha nhiiki ngimpa?*

(Hercus 2005 p. 34) ‘What’s your name’?

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{minha} & \text{nhiiki} \text{ ngimpa} \\
\text{what} & \text{name} \ 2 \text{sg subj} \\
\end{array} \]

Modern construction:

**Example 2.** *Minha nhiikima?*

(Hercus 2005 p. 35) ‘What’s your name’?

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{minha} & \text{nhiiki} \ -\text{ma} \\
\text{what} & \text{name} \ -2 \text{sg POS} \\
\end{array} \]

Hercus also observed that verbs containing the continuous verbal suffix -*ana* have become the verb forms most frequently used by modern speakers (Hercus & Nathan 2002, 5.6.1). These developments, which bring Paakantyi syntactically closer to English, are not surprising given that all Paakantyi speakers are L2 speakers for whom English is a first language. When discussing changes in the language throughout the learner’s grammar, care has been taken to point out that language change is both natural and inevitable and that ‘modern’ Paakantyi is not inferior to ‘traditional’ Paakantyi.
CHAPTER 3: PLANNING THE PAAKANTYI LEARNER’S GRAMMAR

3.1 Community Consultation

When undertaking research involving Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, it is important to ensure that proper consultation processes are undertaken and that the people involved give free, prior and informed consent (AIATSIS 2011; FATSIL 2004; Oxfam Australia 2007). Linguists should take a collaborative approach to their work and ensure that the linguistic rights of the community with whom they are working are acknowledged and respected (Amery 2014; Austin & Sallabank (eds) 2011; Australian Linguistic Society n.d.).

Prior to commencing the grammar, it was ensured that the Paakantyi community was consulted and that approval was granted. Initially, a statement prepared by the author was read aloud and distributed by a Board of Studies NSW employee at a meeting of the Paakantyi Language Circle (PLC). The PLC indicated at this time that they were interested in the project and would like a face-to-face meeting to discuss the matter further. The author attended a subsequent meeting and explained the proposed project; the PLC then unanimously voted to allow the author to proceed.

As recommended in the FATSIL Guide to Community Protocols for Indigenous Language Projects (2004, p.17), an agreement was made with the PLC that their organisation would have intellectual property rights over the learner’s guide.

3.2 Reviewing Learner’s Guides

In order to decide on the form the Paakantyi learner’s grammar would take, a number of learner’s guides that have been written for other Indigenous languages were reviewed. It was decided that the review would be limited to Australian languages rather than including guides for other world languages. The works to be reviewed were selected primarily based on availability rather than to fulfil any specific criteria. In reviewing the guides, particular attention was paid to the layout of the book (for example the way in which topics had been divided into chapters); whether the author(s) had employed technical linguistic terminology; and the target audience. The works reviewed are

17 ‘Linguists and other researchers and consultants must give serious consideration to transferring copyright in their existing works to the local or regional language centre (if established) or alternatively, the most relevant local community organisation or AIATSIS.’
shown below. For ease of reference, they have been ordered alphabetically within the state/territory. It should be noted that the guides were randomly selected and not every state/territory is represented here. Comment has been made on the target audience only if the guide specifically states that it is intended for those other than general learners of the language.

**New South Wales languages:**

  
  This 81-page book is a combined dictionary and learner’s guide. It is divided into six chapters: getting started; suffixes; pronouns; verbs; questions; negatives; time and sentences; and particles. Grammatical terminology is used and an explanation of the relevant terminology is given at the beginning of each chapter. This guide is intended only as an introduction and as such, more complex grammatical rules are not entered into.

  
  This book is divided into two main sections: a dictionary and a learner’s grammar. The grammar is 145 pages long and starts with an introduction to the language, the history of its people and a pronunciation guide. Following are chapters on different lexical categories (verbs; adverbs; particles/exclamations/clitics); a chapter on making sentences; advanced notes on the language (e.g. differences between lects); and a chapter on Aboriginal families (including the kinship system, naming etc.). Linguistic terminology is used throughout.

  
  As the title of this 42-page grammar indicates, this work uses plain English rather than technical grammatical terms. This is exemplified by the chapter headings, e.g. understanding action; understanding naming things; and how to construct questions.
South Australian languages:


This 228-page guide has been designed for both learners and teachers. It differs from other guides in that not all the example phrases are glossed morpheme by morpheme; some just show the English translation with no interlinear gloss given. The sections are not divided by lexical category; rather, the 27 chapters are divided into topics such as talking with friends, talking with children, and fishing; or broader ideas such as writing the Kaurna language, complex sentences, and forming new words. Some chapters contain practice exercises and conversations.


This 48-page guide is divided into four parts: the simple sentence; the multi-verb sentence; the sounds system; and some Yankunytjatjara words. An introductory page explains that the guide aims to assist people working within the Yankunytjatjara area and that the wordlist contains only very common words. The brevity of this guide means that it is really only suitable as an introduction to the language.

Western Australian languages:


This 144-page grammar ‘presupposes that the reader will be familiar with basic grammatical terms such as parts of speech, the inclusive/exclusive dichotomy, grammatical person, tenses and so on’ (p. vii). The author, however, hopes that the grammar will be accessible to non-linguists. In certain sections, reasonably technical linguistic terminology is used, for example, the chapter on phonological rules describes morphophonological processes such as nasal assimilation, velar glide hardening and degemination. The majority of chapters are separated according to part of speech (e.g. intransitive verbs, preverbs).


This 20-page book was written for teachers and staff new to communities in which Bardi is spoken. It gives a very brief overview of simple sentence construction as well as a few wordlists. No grammatical terminology is employed.
**Northern Territory languages:**


This 77-page guide was developed for people working with Warumungu speakers (e.g. teachers and nurses). The book aims to complement language lessons from a Warumungu speaker by providing a writing system and grammatical explanations; it does not purport to be sufficient as a stand-alone language course. Nonetheless, it is considerably more substantial than the other guides reviewed which were written for a similar target audience. Grammatical terminology is employed, though the chapters are divided by topic rather than lexical category (e.g. who does what to whom; and when did it happen? [tense and mood]).


This 168-page guide is accompanied by a CD containing recordings of all the example sentences given throughout. Chapters are divided either according to lexical category (e.g. verbs — words for doings and happenings; noun endings — who’s doing what to whom) or topic (e.g. simple sentences, which includes information on a number of different lexical categories). Only very basic grammatical terminology is employed (e.g. ‘noun’, ‘verb’, ‘transitive’). Each chapter ends with a ‘test your skills’ section.


This 97-page book is divided into seven chapters: introduction—some features of the language; the simple sentence; pronouns and kinship; more complicated sentences; making new words, borrowing words and other matters; wordlists; and a song and some simple conversations. Each chapter contains information about a number of different lexical categories and topics. For example, discussion in the second chapter includes demonstrative pronouns, verbs and verbs endings, nouns and nominal endings, possession, negation and postpositions. Generally, not much grammatical terminology is used in the guide, apart from basic terms such as ‘noun’, ‘verb’, ‘reflexive’, ‘transitive’ and ‘intransitive’.

This 184-page guide starts with an introductory chapter on the language (Luritja/Pintupi-Luritya), including information about where it is spoken, how it has been influenced by other languages and language learning strategies. It is followed by a chapter on pronunciation; chapters based on parts of speech (e.g. pronouns, verbs); a chapter describing complex sentences and clauses; example texts; and finally, a separate chapter on kinship. Each chapter includes a summary of the main points covered. Technical grammatical terms are used throughout the guide (e.g. ergative case, imperative continuous).


This 197-page learner’s guide includes a substantial section on pronunciation of Warumungu words (16 pages), an overview of the spelling system and contextual information including where the language is spoken and the kinship system. The chapters on grammar are not strictly divided according to lexical categories. Chapters include: the simple sentence (e.g. simple yes-no questions; ordering descriptive words); doing things with sentences (e.g. how to tell someone not to do something; asking questions); and describing, comparing and pointing (e.g. describing things; describing actions). Some chapters do focus on a single lexical category (e.g. verbs: words for doings and happenings; pronouns: words that stand instead of names; and nouns and their endings). Each chapter ends with a conversation and some chapters also contain practice exercises. Grammatical terms are used throughout the guide but they are clearly explained in very plain English.


This 184-page learner’s guide is accompanied by two CDs. Part One of the guide consists of an introduction to the language (Kaytetye), including, for example, words from other languages and names. Part Two is a pronunciation guide. Part Three is divided into 12 different dialogues, which are illustrated in the guide and can be heard on the CDs. Each dialogue contains information about a variety of different grammatical concepts; for example, the first dialogue explores noun endings; ‘through’ and ‘around’; verbs and verb endings; present tense; and the focus marker. Each dialogue starts with a vocabulary list and ends with a ‘test your skill’ section.
3.3 Deciding on the Model

Firstly, it should be noted that The Paakantyi learner’s grammar does not purport to be a stand-alone language-teaching guide but rather to function as a reference book and an introduction to Paakantyi. As such, the author decided to keep the order of chapters close to that of Hercus’ 1982 grammar, with only relatively minor changes being made. This decision was also based on a desire to maintain a reasonable level of similarity between the learner’s grammar and Hercus’ book in order to facilitate easier reference between the two (for instance, when readers wish to refer to Hercus’ work for more in-depth grammatical discussion of a particular concept).

The principal intended audience for the Paakantyi learner’s grammar is language assistants and teachers (though it is hoped that this grammar will be useful not only for teachers but also for adult learners). Current Paakantyi teachers and language assistants hold varying levels of qualifications, ranging from high school to tertiary education. These include teaching degrees as well as programs comprising instruction in linguistics and language education that are specifically targeted at Indigenous language educators.¹⁸

Bearing in mind the grammar’s purpose and audience, it was decided that some of the linguistic terminology used in Hercus’ 1982 work would be retained. This decision was made for several reasons. Firstly, most of the Paakantyi teachers have some knowledge of grammar or linguistics. Secondly, having a basic understanding of grammatical concepts is a valuable foundation for any language learner. Thirdly, from the review of learner’s guides, it was decided that those guides that used a certain level of technical language would not be much harder to follow for a learner without prior knowledge of grammar or linguistics than those guides that avoided such terms. For example, regardless of whether the term ‘ergative’ or ‘actor’ was used, the learner would still need to grasp the concept of ergativity.

The author acknowledges that gaining proficiency in a language requires a communicative approach (lest the learner’s acquisition be limited to grammatical rules and vocabulary lists) but nonetheless, grammatical knowledge is important. As Brown (2007, p. 105) explains, the more developed abstract thinking ability of adults enables them to understand segments of language removed from a broader context (for example a longer text or conversation). Moreover, there is evidence that L2 acquisition in adult learners is facilitated by explicit grammatical instruction rather than just implicit learning through a task-based approach, owing to the general problem-solving mechanism that adults possess (Scheffler 2008).

¹⁸ One such program is the Master of indigenous Languages Education (MILE) program offered at the University of Sydney; see http://sydney.edu.au/courses/Master-of-Indigenous-Languages-Education, viewed 2 December 2013.
Despite having used a certain amount of technical terminology in the grammar, the author has endeavoured to present the information in such a way that non-specialists can understand it. For example, linguistic terms such as ‘gemination’, ‘homorganic’, ‘hiatus’, ‘crasis’, ‘elision’ and ‘morphophonemic process’ have been replaced with plain English descriptions. The explanations given in Hercus’ grammar have been broken down into simpler fragments and, where possible, numerous examples have been provided to demonstrate grammatical concepts. Summaries of key points have also been added at the end of each chapter to serve as an overview and an easy reference source.
CHAPTER 4: CREATING THE PAAKANTYI LEARNER’S GRAMMAR

The primary steps involved in the writing of the Paakantyi learner’s grammar were: summarising the grammatical concepts described in existing resources and simplifying terminology used; applying current orthographical conventions; selecting and clarifying examples through annotations and footnotes; and attempting to establish rules and patterns. These steps will be explained in further detail in the following sections.

4.1 Summarising and Simplifying the Grammar

The framework of the learner’s grammar was created by summarising grammatical descriptions in *The Bągandji language* (Hercus, 1982) and supplementing these with examples and additional information taken from more recent resources. Only examples from the Paakantyi lect have been included, since this is the most extensively documented lect and the lect upon which language renewal efforts are being focused. The organisation of the grammar broadly follows that of Hercus’ grammar. Summaries of key concepts have been added to the end of each section so that the reader can easily refer to these without re-reading the longer text.

It is intended that the learner’s grammar remain true to Hercus’ 1982 grammar, retaining as much detail as possible so that it can serve as a ‘plain English’ reference guide for non-specialists unable to follow the 1982 grammar. Nonetheless, a few points in the 1982 work are probably either superfluous or too subtle or technical for a learner’s grammar and have thus been omitted (and a footnote to this effect added to the grammar). For example, all mentions of the absolutive case and the ‘double absolutive’ have been removed (Hercus 1982, pp. 57–58). Since the absolutive case (which is used in Paakantyi’s nominal system for objects and intransitive subjects) is marked by a zero suffix, description of this case is somewhat unnecessary for a teacher or learner’s purposes.

Additionally, some of the terminology used in the 1982 grammar has been altered for the learner’s grammar in order to facilitate clearer grammatical explanations and remove ambiguities. For example:

1. **Emphatic clitics**

The term ‘emphatic clitic’ is used throughout the 1982 grammar whereas the term ‘emphatic particle’ is used in the list of abbreviations in the same source, although particles (pp. 228–229) are
said to constitute a different category from clitics (pp. 219–224). In this learner’s grammar, the term emphatic clitic has been used throughout.

2. The verbal word

The description of the verbal word given by Hercus (1982, p. 175) has been altered by adding ‘topicaliser’ and ‘mode’ as additional components. In Hercus’ grammar, the topicaliser -la and the modal suffix -nta have been categorised as part of ‘aspect’. Topicalisation, however, is not closely related to the aspectual suffixes. Moreover, separating the topicaliser and keeping it as a distinct element of the verbal word provides a clearly recognisable order in which the topicaliser -la and aspectual suffixes are found. Hercus’ examples 520 and 523 (pp. 195–196) use both the topicaliser and an aspectual suffix. From these examples, it is clear that the topicaliser precedes aspectual suffixes in a verbal word.

The following example shows the topicaliser -la used together with the aspectual suffix -nya (used for continuity or habitual actions):

Example 1.  
(Kaantinya wiityalanya)  
(E.g. 520 in Hercus)  
‘[They’ve been] drinking for too long’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kaantinya} & \quad \text{wiitya} \quad -la \quad -nya \\
\text{long time} & \quad \text{drink} \quad -\text{TOP} \quad -\text{ASP}
\end{align*}
\]

The following example shows the topicaliser -la used together with the aspectual suffix -pani (meaning ‘on and on’):

Example 2.  
(Ngatyingulu thayilpaningkuathulu)  
(E.g. 523 in Hercus)  
‘The two rainbow serpents went on and on devouring [everything]’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngatyi} & \quad \text{-ngulu} \quad \text{thayi} \quad -l' \quad -\text{pani} \quad -\text{ngku} \quad -\text{athulu} \\
\text{serpent} & \quad -\text{dl} \quad \text{eat} \quad -\text{TOP} \quad -\text{ASP} \quad -\text{PERF} \quad -3 \text{dl subj}
\end{align*}
\]

Similarly, the modal suffix -nta has been grouped together with the aspectual suffixes in the 1982 grammar, since Hercus (p. 197) writes that it occupies the same position within the verbal word as these suffixes. If the aspectual suffixes and the modal suffix -nta were to occupy the exact same position, however, it would not be possible to use both aspect and mode together, for example, in a sentence such as ‘she might have been running’. Hercus (2014, pers. comm., 23 November) confirmed that the aspectual suffixes are very closely tied to the stem of the word and would always precede the modal suffix -nta if an aspectual suffix and a modal suffix were to be attached to the same verb stem. As such, -nta has been shown in the learner’s grammar as being part of a separate verbal element (mode).
Changes have also been made to the verbal element ‘voice’, which Hercus (1982, pp. 182–184) breaks down into the categories reciprocals, reflexives and transitivity. In the learner’s grammar, the terms ‘reciprocals’ and ‘reflexives’ have been listed separately (without reference to voice) in order to provide more specific and accurate representations. In addition, transitivity has been removed from this category, since transitivity does not strictly constitute ‘voice’.19

3. The third person plural subject

The third person plural subject bound personal pronoun is listed as -ika (Hercus 1982, p. 128); Hercus (1982, pp. 132–133) then describes a morphophonemic process whereby a -y- glide can be inserted before this pronoun. Throughout the examples, however, -yika is often glossed as ‘3 pl sub’ rather than ‘-Gl’ + ‘3 pl sub’. For clarity and consistency, all the glosses have been changed to ‘-Gl’ + ‘3 pl subj’. This is exemplified by the following sentence:

Original example:

**Example 1.** *Yurripayika ngathu kulpəana*

*(E.g. 577 in Hercus)* ‘They understand (me when) I am speaking’

*Yurripa* -yika *ngathu* *kulpə* -ana

understand -3 pl subj 1 sg Tran subj speak -CONT

Modified example:

**Example 2.** *Yurripayika ngathu kulpəana*

*(E.g. 577 in Hercus)* ‘They understand (me when) I am speaking’

*Yurripa* -y- *ika* *ngathu* *kulpə* -ana

understand -Gl -3 pl subj 1 sg Tran subj speak -CONT

19 Since Paakantyi does not have a widely used transitivising suffix as some Australian languages do, it is not necessary to include transitivity in the section describing elements of the verbal word. Paakantyi does have a causative suffix, -i, through which transitive verbs are derived from intransitive verbs, but this suffix can only be used with approximately 20 verbs (Hercus 1982, p. 185).
4. Rewording the gloss

For some examples, the gloss has been altered so that the English translation bears more grammatical similarity to the Paakantyi construction, thus rendering comparison easier for the reader.

For example, the following gloss is shown in the 1982 grammar:

Example 1.  
\textit{Ngintuwarta karnmatyayi inhu parntu}  
\textit{(E.g. 613 in Hercus)}  
‘But it was you that stole this fish from me’

\begin{verbatim}
ngintu -wa -rta karnma -ty -ayi inhu parntu
2 sg Tran subj -EMPH -but steal -PAST -1 sg obj this fish
\end{verbatim}

The gloss for the learner’s grammar has been revised so that the first person singular object pronoun is expressed as an object directly following the verb rather than as part of a prepositional phrase:

Example 2.  
\textit{Ngintuwarta karnmatyayi inhu parntu}  
\textit{(E.g. 613 in Hercus)}  
‘But it was you that robbed me of this fish’

\begin{verbatim}
ngintu -wa -rta karnma -ty -ayi inhu parntu
2 sg Tran subj -EMPH -but rob -PAST -1 sg obj this fish
\end{verbatim}

The following example contained an interlinear gloss but no English translation, which has subsequently been added:

Example 3.  
\textit{Thaltiyathungka}  
\textit{(E.g. 265 in Hercus)}  
‘I’m listening to them’

\begin{verbatim}
thalti -y -athu -ngka
hear -Gl -1 sg Tran subj -3 pl obj
\end{verbatim}
The following example showed *kangarra* glossed as ‘there’ in the 1982 grammar, whereas the dictionary (Hercus 1993, pp. 28, 117) and other examples in the grammar show it as ‘here’. This has been amended to the following:

**Example 4.**

*Kangarra iingkaapa*

(E.g. 5 in Hercus) ‘I’ll sit here’

```
kangarra iingka-apa
here sit -1 sg Intr subj
```

**5. Amending orthography**

Several orthographical issues were also identified.

Example 449 showed ‘foot’ as *thitna* rather than *thina*. This has been amended:

**Example 5.**

*Thinamalatyika*

(E.g. 449 in Hercus) ‘(These things) have grown feet (i.e. have disappeared)’

```
thina -ma -la -ty -ika
foot -Vb -TOP -PAST -3 pl subj
```

Example 461 showed ‘cooked’ as *nguungi* rather than *nguungki*. This has been amended:

**Example 6.**

*Nguungkiwartaana wanka*

(E.g. 461 in Hercus) ‘The meat is getting a burnt smell’

```
nguungki -warta -ana wanka
cooked -Vb (smell) -CONT meat
```
Example 654 showed the emphatic particle as \textit{thina} (meaning ‘foot’) rather than \textit{thinga}. This has been amended as follows:

\textbf{Example 7.} \quad \textit{Inhurruthinga nguukatayi}  
\textit{(E.g. 654 in Hercus)}  
‘He was the one who gave it to me’  
\begin{align*}
\text{inhu} & \quad \text{-rru} & \quad \text{-thinga} & \quad \text{ngu} & \quad \text{ty} & \quad \text{-ayi} \\
\text{that} & \quad \text{-ERG} & \quad \text{-EMPH} & \quad \text{give} & \quad \text{-PAST} & \quad \text{-1 sg obj}
\end{align*}

In a few instances, examples have been altered so as to conform to described rules. Where this has been done, a footnote explaining this has been added. For example, in the 1982 grammar, there is no -\textit{r}- glide inserted before -\textit{ana} in the example below:

\textbf{Example 8.} \quad \textit{Muni-muni watunaama}  
\textit{(E.g. 567 in Hercus)}  
‘The police are going to get hold of you’  
\begin{align*}
\text{muni-muni} & \quad \text{watu} & \quad \text{-ana} & \quad \text{-ama} \\
\text{police} & \quad \text{take} & \quad \text{-CONT} & \quad \text{-2 sg obj}
\end{align*}

This has been added to the example in the learner’s grammar in order to conform to the rule described by Hercus (1982, p. 210) that a glide is inserted between a stem-final ‘\textit{i}’ or ‘\textit{u}’ and the verbal suffix -\textit{ana}:

\textbf{Example 9.} \quad \textit{Muni-muni waturanama}  
\textit{(E.g. 567 in Hercus)}  
‘The police are going to get hold of you’  
\begin{align*}
\text{muni-muni} & \quad \text{watu} & \quad \text{-r} & \quad \text{-ana} & \quad \text{-ama} \\
\text{police} & \quad \text{take} & \quad \text{-Gl} & \quad \text{-CONT} & \quad \text{-2 sg obj} \\
\text{‘you’}
\end{align*}

The purposive form of the demonstrative pronoun \textit{yuna}, ‘that’ (far away) is shown on the CD-ROM (Hercus & Nathan 2002) as \textit{yunuu-na-manti}. In following with the pattern of the other demonstrative and personal pronouns, the purposive form should be constructed by adding the purposive case suffix -\textit{manti} to the accusative form of the pronoun, which would give the form \textit{yunuu-nha-manti} (with a dental ‘\textit{n}’). As such, the orthography has been amended to the latter form.

The locative-instrumental form of the demonstrative pronoun \textit{kiyika} is shown in Hercus’ 1982 grammar (p. 119) as having the same form, \textit{kingka} for both the accusative-genitive and the locative-instrumental form. The locative/instrumental case form, however, takes the ending -\textit{na}. Hercus (2014, pers. comm., 16 October) confirmed that this is an error and the correct
locative/instrumental form is indeed *kingkana*. This form has thus been used in the learner’s grammar.

6. Altering grammatical descriptions

i. In order to provide clarity for non-specialists, an English equivalent of pronouns has been added as an additional line under the gloss in all example sentences, such as the following:

**Example 1.** *Nguukatyurtaayi*  
(E.g. 275 in Hercus) ‘You people gave [it] to me’

```
nguuka -ty -urta -ayi
give -PAST -2 pl subj -1 sg obj
‘you’ (all) ‘me’
```

ii. For simplicity and consistency, the terms ‘participle’ and ‘participial suffix’, which have been used interchangeably by Hercus (1982, pp. 209–217), have been replaced with the term ‘other verbal suffixes’.

iii. In example 175 from the 1982 grammar (Hercus 1982, p. 88), an emphatic marker -nu is used:

**Example 1.** *Kikiilinu yaparaayi*  
(E.g. 175 in Hercus) ‘This is my camp right here now’

```
kiki -ili -nu yapara -ayi
this -now -EMPH camp -1 sg POS
‘my’
```

This emphatic marker is not described elsewhere; the only emphatic markers described are -thinga and -wa. Hercus (2014, pers. comm., 15 June) advised that -nu was only used by an informant in this one example and it was therefore not listed as an emphatic marker in the grammar. As such, -nu has not been listed as an emphatic marker in the learner’s grammar. The example using -nu has, however, been included and an explanatory footnote added.

---

20 The example shown here has been truncated.
iv. Hercus does not say that the future tense can be implied without the future tense marker -t- but examples such as the following indicate that this is the case and as such, this information has been added to the grammar.

**Example 2.**  
*Waka-wakathuuma*  
*(E.g. 260 in Hercus)*  
‘I’ll strike you with a weapon’

\[
\text{waka-waka} \quad \text{-’thu} \quad \text{-uma}
\]

strike 1 sg Tran subj 2 sg obj

**Example 3.**  
*Kangarra iingkaapa*  
*(E.g. 5 in Hercus)*  
‘I’ll sit here’

\[
\text{kangarra} \quad \text{iingka} \quad \text{-apa}
\]

there sit 1 sg Intr subj

**Example 4.**  
*Ngantanyana palkathuama*  
*(E.g. 120 in Hercus)*  
‘I’ll hit you with a branch’

\[
\text{ngantanya} \quad \text{-na} \quad \text{palk’-athu} \quad \text{-ama}
\]

branch -INST hit 1 sg Tran subj 2 sg obj

**Example 5.**  
*Marrana wakawakathuama*  
*(E.g. 121 in Hercus)*  
‘I’ll smack you with my hand’

\[
\text{marra} \quad \text{-na} \quad \text{waka-wak’-athu} \quad \text{-ama}
\]

hand -INST smack 1 sg Tran subj 2 sg obj
4.2 Updating the Orthography

Orthographical differences between *The Bāgandji language* (Hercus, 1982), the *Paakantyi dictionary* (Hercus, 1993) and the orthography currently used in the Paakantyi community are summarised in the following table. Differences between the latter two are shown in boxes for emphasis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2: Orthographical differences</th>
<th>The Bāgandji Language</th>
<th>Dictionary</th>
<th>This Grammar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>long a</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>aa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long i</td>
<td>ĭ</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long u</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilabial stop</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental stop</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveolar stop</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retroflex stop</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>rt</td>
<td>rt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental nasal</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>nh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retroflex nasal</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>rn</td>
<td>rn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar nasal</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>lh</td>
<td>lh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retroflex lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>rl</td>
<td>rl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palatal glide</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flap</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>rrr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td>rr</td>
<td>rrr</td>
<td>rrr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retroflex approximant</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveolar nasal + velar stop</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>n.g</td>
<td>nk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the time that the learner’s grammar was commenced, the orthography generally accepted by the Paakantyi Language Circle was that used in Hercus’ 1993 *Paakantyi dictionary* (with the exception that ‘nk’ was used rather than ‘n.g’ to represent an alveolar nasal followed by a strongly voiced velar plosive).

For this grammar, the orthography of all Paakantyi lexical items used in grammatical descriptions and example sentences has been updated to conform to that currently used by the Paakantyi community. The orthography used in the grammar is primarily that adopted by Hercus for the 1993 *Paakantyi dictionary*. Orthographical differences between the dictionary and the 1982 grammar include the replacement of voiced plosives with voiceless plosives and the removal of diacritics and

---

21 In Wilcannia, ‘j’ is used rather than ‘y’ to represent a palatal glide; aside from that, the table shown here represents the orthographical conventions agreed upon by the Paakantyi Language Circle.
non-standard symbols that are used in the International Phonetic Alphabet (for example the dental nasal symbol ‘ŋ’ was replaced with ‘nh’ and ‘η’ was replaced with ‘ng’).

The orthography of rhotics has been altered from both Hercus’ 1982 and 1993 works for the learner’s grammar. Since at least 2010 there had been deliberation in the PLC over the orthography of rhotic phonemes (2010, Broken Hill, PLC meeting minutes, 26 & 27 October), which has varied throughout different sources.

The orthography of rhotics in the primary language resources for Paakantyi is summarised in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3: Orthography of rhotic phonemes in different resources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOURCE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resources with a three-way orthographical distinction for rhotics</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hercus, LA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hercus, LA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hercus, LA &amp; Nathan, D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Resources with a two-way orthographical distinction for rhotics</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thieberger, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hercus, LA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menindee Central School</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In her 1982 grammar, Hercus (p. 29) writes that Paakantyi:

has only two r-phonemes: one retroflex and one alveolar. The retroflex r is usually a glide, sometimes pronounced with some friction, while the alveolar r is usually a flap and only very rarely a trilled variant form has been heard.

In his introduction to Paakantyi written the same year, Thieberger (1982, p. 2) uses ‘r’ for the retroflex and ‘rr’ instead of Hercus’ ‘r’ (where ‘rr’ presumably represents both the flap and the trill, though this is not specified).

For the 1993 dictionary and 2002 CD-ROM, Hercus revises her theory and changes to a 3-way contrast, using ‘r’ for a light tap, ‘r’ for a retroflex glide and ‘rr’ for a trill (which in earlier work was thought of as a variant of the tap [p. 13]).
Lindsay (2013, pers. comm., 27 February) asserted that he believes the trill to be a variant of the flap:

From teaching the language I would say the flapped r is the most common, and that the trill (which Luise says is very rare) is just a lengthening of the flap [...] I recommend teaching 2 r’s, the alveolar and the flap, with the trill being optional if the kid has difficulty with the flap. Hence I would abandon her non-standard symbol for the alveolar, and spell that simply ‘r’; and spell the flap ‘rr’.

**Orthographical variances between towns**

Through discussions at a PLC meeting in Broken Hill on 15 November 2013, it came to light that the orthography being used in Wilcannia differed from that being used in Menindee. In Wilcannia, educators had switched over to a two-way orthographical distinction for rhotics, using ‘rr’ for the trill/flap and ‘r’ for the retroflex glide, as per the convention for Australian languages (Walsh & Yallop (eds) 1993, p. viii; Yallop 1982, pp. 22–23). This is also the orthography used by Hercus (1994, p. xxvii) in the chapter on Paakantyi in *Macquarie Aboriginal Words*. The PLC thus agreed at this meeting to make this the standard convention for Paakantyi orthography in all language programs. Since there appear to be no minimal pairs distinguished by a flap or a trill and moreover, it is thought to be probable that the trill is a variant of the flap, it was agreed that using the same representation for both the trill and flap would not be problematic.

Another difference in orthographical conventions used in Menindee and Wilcannia is in the representation of the palatal glide. In Menindee the palatal glide is represented by ‘j’ rather than ‘y’ owing to concern that language learners may pronounce the ‘y’ as it is pronounced in English, for example in the word ‘slowly’. It was generally agreed at the November 2013 PLC meeting, however, that ‘y’ should be used in the learner’s grammar.

**Harmonising orthographical variances**

The orthography of certain words has been updated not just to conform to the revised system but also to reflect orthographical revisions made by Hercus since the publication of the 1993 dictionary. These are as follows:

1. The 1982 grammar and 1993 dictionary show the bound form of the third person singular personal pronoun in the accusative-genitive form as -na (with no dental nasal), whereas this is shown on the CD-ROM (Hercus & Nathan 2002) as -nha (with a dental nasal).

The 1982 grammar (p. 118) also shows the accusative, genitive, locative and instrumental forms of singular demonstrative pronouns as being identical (with a -na suffix), whereas the CD-ROM shows different forms for the accusative with a -na suffix and the locative with a -nha suffix (and does not show any forms for the genitive and instrumental.)
The accusative-genitive suffix, as well as the endings of pronominal forms in these cases, is shown in both the dictionary and the 1982 grammar as -na but in the grammar section of the CD-ROM, it is shown with a dental nasal as -nha. Due to the poor quality of some of the archived recordings of deceased Paakantyi speakers, it is difficult to check aurally whether the accusative pronoun forms are dental.

Hercus (2013 pers. comm., 18 April) advised that the dentals were difficult to detect when speaking with her informants and her later decision to show accusative and possessive forms as dentals was guided by the definitely dental nasal in the first person accusative pronoun nganha. This revision has also been incorporated into all descriptions and examples in the learner’s grammar.

One issue brought about by the change was determining whether it is the instrumental/locative case marker -na or the pronominal possessive ending -nha that can be lost due to haplology when the two endings combine (as described by Hercus [1982, p. 77]). This is not clear in Hercus’ 1982 grammar owing to the fact that the possessive endings are not shown as dentals, therefore whether it was the possessive ending or the case marker that was lost was of no concern. With Hercus’ revisions, this distinction has implications for both orthography and pronunciation. Hercus (2014, pers. comm., 17 December) confirmed that the possessive endings would take priority over the case-marking suffixes. As such, it has been noted in the learner’s grammar that it is the case-marking suffix that is sometimes lost when -na and -nha occur together.

2. The demonstrative pronoun meaning ‘this right here’ in the ablative case is shown on the CD-ROM as (k)ithayuntu, whereas the 1982 grammar (p. 118) shows it as (k)ithayintu. Hercus (2014, pers. comm., 15 June) confirmed that she believes the two different forms to be variants of the same word, so both forms are correct.

Table 4: Orthographical Variances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical Element</th>
<th>Orthography in Original Source(s)</th>
<th>Orthography used in learner’s grammar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bound third person singular accusative-genitive pronoun (3 sg obj)</td>
<td>-na (1982 &amp; 1993) -nha (2002)</td>
<td>-nha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demonstrative pronoun meaning ‘this right here’</td>
<td>(k)ithayuntu (2002) (k)ithayintu (1982)</td>
<td>(k)ithayuntu &amp; (k)ithayintu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3 Selecting and clarifying examples

When selecting the example sentences used to demonstrate each point, consideration was given to whether that point could be further illustrated using examples found elsewhere in Hercus’ grammar or on the Paakantyi CD-ROM and as such, supplementary examples have in some cases been provided.

In addition, the appropriateness of some of the examples for a learner’s grammar was assessed and potentially controversial examples were either altered or omitted. Some of the example sentences in *The Bāgandji language*, although actual utterances of Paakantyi people, could be deemed unsuitable and distracting in a classroom context. Moreover, they could be seen as reinforcing negative stereotypes of Indigenous peoples in Australia. Such examples include number 538, (‘his brain is no good because he has been drinking metho’) and number 189 (‘he was drunk because he had got a lot of money [from the social welfare] for his many children’).

In some cases, it was possible to keep the Paakantyi example in its original form but alter the gloss slightly. In the following example, the translation given by Hercus is ‘[those drunken women] don’t cook for their children’. Since the word ‘drunken’ is merely included for contextualisation purposes, omitting it does not significantly detract from or alter the meaning of the sentence and as such, this example was glossed as ‘[Those women] don’t cook for their children’:

**Example 1.**

*Kila nguualayika muurrpanaarrikungkari*  
(Example E. 83 in Hercus)  
‘[Those women] don’t cook for their children’

```
kila  nguua  -la  -y  -ika  muurrpa  -naarri  -ku  -ngka  -ri
not  cook  -TOP  -Gl  -3 pl subj  child  -Sp PI  -PI  -3 pl POS  -DAT
```

In the following example, Hercus’ gloss is ‘this place here [the Broken Hill gaol] is no good’. In the grammar, ‘[the Broken Hill gaol]’ has been omitted from the gloss.

**Example 2.**

*Kila paliira kiiki kiira*  
(Example 233 in Hercus)  
‘This place here is no good’

```
kila  paliira  kiiki  kiira
not  good  this  place
```

So that complex grammatical processes can be more readily understood by learners, detailed explanations have been added to some of the examples from Hercus’ grammar. For instance, in the ‘kinship pairs’ section of the 1982 grammar (p. 84), Hercus states that kinship terms end in -ka and
-tja and that before the pair-suffix -linya, final -tya and -ka are deleted. This is true for all the examples given in the accompanying list, excepting the term kantyalinya (‘maternal grandmother and grandchild’, formed from kantya, ‘maternal grandmother’ and the suffix -linya). By referring to table II.5.6, ‘Intramorphemic Medial Consonant Clusters’ (Hercus, 1982, p. 48), it can be seen that ‘nl’ is not a possible medial consonant cluster in Paakantyi. As such, it can be reasonably surmised that deletion of the -tya ending from kantya does not occur owing to the fact that this would result in the formation of an impossible word,* kanlinya. Moreover, all the kinship pairs contain four syllables; the word *kanlinya, if formed, would deviate from this pattern. An explanation to this effect has been included as a footnote in the learner’s grammar.

Footnotes have been added throughout the grammar where an example shows evidence of a morphophonemic process that has been described elsewhere. This has been done so as to prevent confusion for the reader about why a word or morpheme takes a particular form without having to frequently refer to different sections of the grammar. For example, in sentences where the topicaliser has taken the form -rra rather than -la, a footnote has been added stating: ‘the topicaliser takes the form -rra rather than -la here since the stem to which it attaches contains an ‘I’. Refer to section 6.3.1 the topicaliser -la’. Where the ergative marker has taken the form -rruu rather than -rru, the following footnote has been included: ‘note that the ergative marker in this example has a long ‘u’ (i.e. is -rruu rather than -rru) as it is followed by the emphatic clitic -thinga. Refer to section 7.1.1 The Emphatic Clitic -thinga for further information’.

4.4 Attempting to Establish Rules and Patterns

Where it seemed that certain morphophonological or syntactic elements of Paakantyi may be the result of underlying rules, the author attempted to identify these rules.

1. The author endeavoured to ascertain whether there is a general pattern for elision and epenthesis that can be applied to all word classes. There are many cases in which vowel elision or glide insertion occurs when two morphemes are joined, resulting in two adjacent vowels. In an attempt to establish general rules, a table of all the instances of elision and epenthesis from the first three chapters of the learner’s grammar (‘sounds of Paakantyi’, ‘grammatical case’ and ‘personal pronouns’) was compiled. Two tendencies were observed. Firstly, when a word-initial vowel (V₁) is joined to a stem-final vowel (V₂), it is more likely that V₁ will be deleted than V₂. Secondly, when V₁ is ‘a’, it is more prone to deletion than when it is ‘i’ or ‘u’. From my observations, it was determined that there does not seem to be a strong enough pattern (for example V₁ + V₂ -> V₄) to justify the creation of general
rules for vowel loss and glide insertion. As such, the process of collating and analysing examples from the remainder of the grammar was not continued.

2. In an attempt to determine whether there is a rule for vowel changes in reduplicated verb stems, the following potential rule was tested: V [+ high] Ca -> V [+ high] Cu (with ‘u’ and ‘i’ being the possible high vowels). It was observed, however, that there were two obvious exceptions to the posited rule: thirila-thirila, ‘to shake’, and kulpa-kulpa, ‘to chatter’. With two exceptions in such a small data pool, it was not possible to propose a rule.

3. The guide for adjectival placement described by Hercus (1982, p. 99) was also examined. Hercus says that when there are two adjectives, usually one precedes the noun and the other follows the noun. The following example is the only one given to demonstrate this:

**Example 1.**

*Ngapa ngitya wiimpatya, kukirrka*

(E.g. 190 in Hercus) ‘I am the only Aboriginal left, a full-blood’

*ngapa ngitya wiimpatya, kukirrka*

1 sg Intr subj one Aboriginal, black

The author endeavoured to find another example with a non-numerical adjective to see whether the same pattern occurred. The only other example found of a clause containing two adjectives describing the same thing in fact showed both adjectives before the noun (Hercus 1982, p. 249, paragraph (6) of ‘The evil crow’ story):

*Kumpatya yalthi yarrathu ngiingkatyu*  
‘It became a big, tall tree’

*kumpatya yalthi yarra -thu ngiingka -ty -u*  
big long tree -EMPH sit -PAST -3 sg subj

Since there is no strong documented evidence of adjectival placement rules for multiple adjectives within the same noun phrase, guidelines for this scenario have not been included in the learner’s grammar.
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUDING REMARKS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Although the learner’s grammar has been completed, there remains further work to be done. The grammar could be expanded on, with additional examples and practice exercises added. The Paakantyi dictionary (Hercus 1993) needs to be updated to reflect current orthography and to include additional words, for example the list compiled by Robert Lindsay (n.d. e), as well as words that are found in The Bāgandji language (Hercus 1982) but not the dictionary. The Paakantyi community may also wish to decide upon the orthography and pronunciation of certain words containing rhotics; several words are shown in the 1982 grammar with a flap, trill or retroflex rhotic and then in the 1993 dictionary with a different rhotic phoneme.

Accreditation of a Paakantyi TAFE program, once achieved, will also assist in the training of new Paakantyi speakers and teachers, as will the establishment of the Paakantyi language nest.

Modernisation of the lexicon is another matter for future consideration. At their meeting on 20 March 2013, the Paakantyi Language Circle indicated a reluctance to create new, unauthentic vocabulary for Paakantyi. This is an issue that may well be broached again by revivalists as Paakantyi programs expand and students look for ways in which they can talk about everyday matters in Paakantyi.

It is hoped that the Paakantyi learner’s grammar will prove of value to the community, providing a useful resource in the absence of fluent speakers from whom the language can be passed down organically. From this work, esoteric grammatical descriptions will become more accessible to revivalists of the Paakantyi language, bridging the gap between academia and the community.
In his article ‘The Parkengees, or Aboriginal tribes on the Darling River’, Newland includes numerical adjectives that he recorded for the lect of the upper Darling River group that he referred to as the ‘Wampangees’. Most of the numbers are similar to those given by Hercus, although a few are completely different. In addition, Newland gives words for eight, nine, 10 and 20, which were not recorded by Hercus.

Table 5: Numbers given by Newland (1888) and Hercus (1982)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Newland</th>
<th>Hercus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>necha</td>
<td>ngitya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>barcoola</td>
<td>parrkulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>barcoola necha</td>
<td>parrkulu ngitya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>barcoola barcoola</td>
<td>parrkulu-parrkulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>yenlamurra</td>
<td>yantha marra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>barcoola barcoola barcoola</td>
<td>kaaru marra ngitya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>barcoola barcoola barcoola necha</td>
<td>kaaru marra parrkulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>barcoola barcoola barcoola barcoola</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>barcoola barcoola barcoola barcoola necha</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>muraola</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>muraola tenabla</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Part 2: Paakantyi Learner’s Grammar
# Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION ................................................................. 5
  1.1 Acknowledgments ..................................................................... 5
  1.2 The Project ............................................................................. 5
  1.3 Paakantyi Language/Wiimpatya Parlkcu ................................. 5
  1.4 Resources ............................................................................... 9
  1.5 Abbreviations and Conventions .............................................. 16

CHAPTER 2: SOUNDS OF PAAKANTYI ................................................. 18
  2.1 Spelling .................................................................................. 18
    2.1.1 Spelling Differences ....................................................... 18
    2.1.2 General Rules ............................................................... 20
  2.2 Stress ................................................................................. 21
  2.3 Vowels .................................................................................. 22
    2.3.1 Pronunciation of Vowels .................................................. 22
    2.3.2 The ‘o’ Sounds .............................................................. 22
    2.3.3 The ‘e’ sounds .............................................................. 26
    2.3.4 Weakening of Vowels ...................................................... 27
    2.3.5 Rounding and Unrounding of Vowels .............................. 28
    2.3.6 The ‘e’ sounds .............................................................. 29
    2.3.7 Loss of Final Vowels ...................................................... 30
  2.4 Consonants ........................................................................... 35
    2.4.1 Voicing of Word-Initial Stops ........................................... 38
    2.4.2 Medial Stops (p, k, th, ty, t, rt) ........................................ 39
    2.4.3 Lengthening/Doubling of Consonants .............................. 41
    2.4.4 Palatalisation of Consonants ........................................... 42
    2.4.5 Consonant Clusters Containing Palatals (ly, ny, ty) .......... 43
    2.4.6 Loss of Initial Consonants ................................................. 43

CHAPTER 3: NOUNS, ADJECTIVES AND NUMBER .................................. 46
  3.1 Special Suffixes Used with Nouns .............................................. 46
    3.1.1 The ‘Having’ Suffixes (-malkatya, -ty(a), -minhitya, -mirritya) 46
    3.1.2 The ‘Belonging To’ Suffix (-ntyi) ....................................... 50
    3.1.3 The ‘Colour and Appearance’ Suffix (-rrka) ....................... 50
    3.1.4 The Durative Suffix (-nya) .............................................. 51
    3.1.5 The ‘Place’ Suffix (-ka) .................................................. 51
    3.1.6 The Kinship Suffix (-linya) .............................................. 52
  3.2 Adjectives .............................................................................. 53
  3.3 Numbers ............................................................................... 55
  3.4 Number-Marking Suffixes (Singular, Dual, Plural) .................... 56
    3.4.1 Singular (-ulu) ............................................................. 56
    3.4.2 Dual (-ngulu) .............................................................. 57
    3.4.3 Plural (-fjuku, -rruku, -uku, -ku) .................................. 58
    3.4.4 Special Plural (-naarra) ................................................ 59

CHAPTER 4: GRAMMATICAL CASE ..................................................... 61
  4.1 Nuclear (Main) Cases ............................................................... 63
    4.1.1 Nominative Case ........................................................... 63
    4.1.2 Ergative Case ............................................................... 64
    4.1.3 Accusative Case ........................................................... 66
4.1.4 Dative Case (Indirect Object): -ri .................................................. 68
4.1.5 Summary of Forms and Functions of the Nuclear (Main) Cases ....... 73

4.2 (Peripheral (Local) Cases) ................................................................. 73
  4.2.1 Ablative Case (Direction Away From, Showing Cause): -(u)ntu .......... 74
  4.2.2 Allative (Goal/Direction Towards): -ri ....................................... 76
  4.2.3 Comitative Case (in Company with): -ampola/-umpula ................... 78
  4.2.4 Genitive Case (Possession): -nha ............................................. 79
  4.2.5 Instrumental Case (Object Performing an Action): -na ................. 82
  4.2.6 Locative Case (Location): -na .................................................. 83
  4.2.7 Purposive/Benefactive (Gain from an Action): -manti .................... 86
  4.2.8 Examples of Nouns in the Different Case Forms ......................... 88

CHAPTER 5: PRONOUNS ........................................................................ 89

5.1 Uses of Free and Bound Personal Pronouns ..................................... 97

5.2 Free Personal Pronouns .................................................................. 97
  5.2.1 Positioning of Free Personal Pronouns ....................................... 97
  5.2.2 Free Pronouns Used for Emphasis ............................................. 97
  5.2.3 Free Pronouns in the Peripheral Case Forms ............................... 99
  5.2.4 Free Pronouns as the Object of a Verb Expressing a Wish or Desire 100

5.3 Bound Personal Pronouns ............................................................... 101
  5.3.1 Positioning of Bound Pronouns ............................................... 101
  5.3.2 Different Forms of Bound Pronouns ...................................... 106
  5.3.3 Changes of Form in the Present Tense ..................................... 112
  5.3.4 Changes of Form in the Perfect Tense ..................................... 120
  5.3.5 Use of Third Person Bound Pronouns for Emphasis ................. 122

5.4 Complex Personal Pronouns ........................................................... 122

5.5 Possession ....................................................................................... 127
  5.5.1 Possession Shown by Bound Possessive Markers ....................... 128
  5.5.2 Possession Shown by Free Possessive Markers ......................... 130
  5.5.3 Possession Shown by Free and Bound Possessive Markers ......... 130
  5.5.4 Changes of Form Associated with the Possessive .................... 130
  5.5.5 Situations in Which a Possessive Suffix is Not Used .................. 134
  5.5.6 Traditional and Modern Usage of Possessive Markers .............. 135

5.6 Demonstrative Pronouns ................................................................ 138

5.7 Interrogative Pronouns (who, what etc.) ........................................ 144
  5.7.1 Wintyika (‘Who’) ................................................................. 144
  5.7.2 Minha (‘What’) ................................................................. 146
  5.7.3 Winta (‘Which/What’) & Wintyarr (‘Where’) ............................ 147
  5.7.4 Nhantharra/Nhatharra (‘How Many’) ...................................... 148
  5.7.5 Nhangan/Nhanguu (How?) .................................................... 149
  5.7.6 Interrogative Pronouns Used to Convey Indefinite Meaning ...... 150

CHAPTER 6: VERBS .............................................................................. 151

6.1 Verbal Element 1: Verb Stem ......................................................... 152

6.2 Verbal Element 2: Verbalising Suffixes ......................................... 153
  6.2.1 The Verbaliser -ma ............................................................... 153
  6.2.2 The Verbaliser -warta (‘To Smell Like’) ................................... 157

6.3 Verbal Element 3: Topicaliser ......................................................... 158
  6.3.1 The Topicaliser -la ............................................................... 158

6.4 Verbal Element 4: Reciprocal/Reflexive Markers ............................ 162
  6.4.1 Reciprocals (‘Each Other’, ‘One Another’) ............................... 162
  6.4.2 Reflexives (Doing Something to Oneself) ............................... 164

6.5 Verbal Element 5: Aspect ............................................................... 166
  6.5.1 The Suffix -ngka (Implying Thoroughness) .............................. 167
6.5.2 The Suffix -ka (Adding Emphasis) 167
6.5.3 The Suffix -pa (Thoroughness & Intensity) 168
6.5.4 The Durative Suffix -nya (Continuity, Habitual Action) 168
6.5.5 The Suffix -panti (On and On) 169
6.5.6 The Suffix -angki (Inceptive, ‘Beginning’) 170
6.5.7 The Suffix -ninta (Continuous Inceptive, ‘Beginning and Continuing’) 170

6.6 Verbal Element 6: Mode 171
6.6.1 The Modal Suffix -nta (Possibility) 171

6.7 Summary of Verb Suffixes and Functions 172

6.8 Verbal Element 7: Tense 173
6.8.1 The Present Tense 174
6.8.2 The Future Tense 176
6.8.3 The Past Tense 178
6.8.4 The Perfect Tense 179
6.8.5 The Abstract Past and Perfect Tense 181
6.8.6 The Non-Past 182
6.8.7 The Non-Past 183

6.9 Transitivity 186
6.9.1 Verbs That Are Always Transitive 186
6.9.2 Verbs That Are Sometimes Transitive 187
6.9.3 Verbs That Are Usually Intransitive 188
6.9.4 Verbs That Are Always Intransitive 189
6.9.5 Causatives: Transitive Verbs Derived from Intransitive Verbs 189

6.10 Commands and Requests 190

6.11 Other Verbal Suffixes 194
6.11.1 TheContinuous Verbal Suffix -ana 194
6.11.2 The Optative Verbal Suffix -la (Wish or Purpose) 199
6.11.3 The Dative Case Marker -ri As a Verbal Suffix 200
6.11.4 The Purposive Case Marker -manti As a Verbal Suffix 201
6.11.5 The ‘Habitual’ Verbal Suffix -ni 202
6.11.6 The ‘Obligatory’ Suffix -ngku 202

6.12 Reduplicated Verb Stems 203

CHAPTER 7: OTHER SUFFIXES: CLITICS AND POSTPOSITIONS 205

7.1 Primary Clitics 205
7.1.1 The Emphatic Clitic -thinga 205
7.1.2 The Emphatic Clitic -wa 208
7.1.3 The Clitic -purra (‘At Last’, ‘With Difficulty’) 210

7.2 Secondary Clitics 210
7.2.1 The Contrastive Clitic -rta (‘But’) 210
7.2.2 The Emphatic Clitic -thi 211

7.3 Postpositions 212
7.3.1 The Intensifying Postposition -marri (‘Very’, ‘Truly’) 212
7.3.2 The Immediacy Postposition -illi (‘Now’) 213
7.3.3 The ‘Like’ Postposition -alpi (‘Like’, ‘As It Were’) 214
7.3.4 The Exclusivity Postposition -wanki (‘Only’) 215

CHAPTER 8: ADVERBS 217

8.1 Locational (Place) Adverbs 217
8.2 Temporal (Time) Adverbs 218
8.3 Adverbs of Manner 219
8.4 Pronominal Adverbs 220
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Acknowledgments
A sincere thank you is owed to the Paakantyi community for allowing me to compile this learner’s grammar, which I hope will be a useful resource for both Paakantyi learners and teachers. I would also like to express my gratitude to Luise Hercus, who has been invaluable in answering my many questions and whose work provided the basis for this learner’s grammar. Without Luise’s efforts, much of the Paakantyi language may never have been documented.

1.2 The Project
This grammar focuses solely on the Paakantyi language variety, which is sometimes referred to as ‘Southern Paakantyi’. It should be noted that in this grammar we will use the term ‘lect’ to describe different language varieties, since it is not always clear whether a particular variety should be called a ‘language’ or a ‘dialect’.

Since most word lists and grammatical descriptions have been recorded for Paakantyi, most language renewal efforts are being focused on this lect. The grammar has been compiled to assist teachers and learners of Paakantyi by serving as a reference document, making grammatical material more widely accessible to members of the community and thus, hopefully serving as a useful contribution to language renewal programs. It is important for the reader to note that this book is not designed to be used alone for the purpose of language learning but rather, to supplement other materials that have been specifically designed for this purpose.

This grammar has primarily been based on the work of Luise Hercus, who wrote a comprehensive description of Paakantyi in her 1982 book The Bāgandji language, published the Paakantyi dictionary in 1993 and then produced a CD-ROM Wiimpatya Palku = Paakantyi language along with David Nathan in 2002. The organisation of this grammar broadly follows that of The Bāgandji language and unless otherwise stated, all the examples given are from this work.

1.3 Paakantyi Language/Wiimpatya Parlku
The languages spoken along the Darling River and in surrounding country are all part of a language group which may be referred to as either the ‘Darling River languages’ or ‘Paakantyi’. Paakantyi (sometimes called ‘Southern Paakantyi’) is in fact the name of one lect. Many people now prefer the more inclusive term Wiimpatya Parlku meaning ‘Aboriginal language’ to refer to the whole Darling River language group. Note, however, that most resources to date use the term ‘Paakantyi’ for this purpose. The same convention is also followed in this grammar for the sake of consistency.

Paakantyi is one of the three language groups of far north-western New South Wales, the other two groups being Karnic and Yarli. These groups are all part of the Pama-Nyungan language family which occupied four fifths of the continent. The Paakantyi language group covers a large area, extending into South Australia and Queensland.

The word ‘Paakantyi’ means ‘people belonging to the Darling River’ and is constructed from the word paaka meaning ‘river’ (the Darling River in particular) and the ‘belonging’ suffix -ntyi. Paakantyi is generally broken into two main branches for the purpose of classification: the northern branch

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1 Note that parlku is spelt palku in some sources (e.g. Hercus & Nathan’s 2002 CD-ROM).
and the southern branch. Each branch consists of different lects, which are shown in the table below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lect</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Area spoken</th>
<th>Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PAARUNTYI</strong></td>
<td>The people belonging to the Paroo River (paaru)</td>
<td>From around the Paroo River to just north of Hungerford; on the Darling River from about Tilpa up the river to Bourke and also up the Warrego River as far as Ford's Bridge</td>
<td>Beckett, Hercus &amp; Martin 2008, p. 35; Mathews 1902, p. 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KURNU</strong></td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>In the river area down from Bourke</td>
<td>Beckett, Hercus &amp; Martin 2008, p. 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MILPULO</strong></td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Thought to have been spoken on the Darling frontage, from Wilcannia downwards</td>
<td>Howitt, 1904, p. 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WILYAALI</strong> (WILYAKALI)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>In the Broken Hill area and west to the Olary district</td>
<td>Beckett, Hercus &amp; Martin 2008, p. 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PULAALI</strong> (PULAKALI)</td>
<td>The uplands people (a sub-group of the Wilyakali)</td>
<td>In the Barrier Ranges</td>
<td>Hercus 1993, p. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WANYUPARLKU</strong> (WANYIWALKU)</td>
<td>The people who say wanyu for (unknown), spoken by the Pantyikali (‘the creek people’)</td>
<td>In the Mutawintji area, Yancannia and White Cliffs</td>
<td>Beckett, Hercus &amp; Martin 2008, p. 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PAAKANTYI</strong></td>
<td>The people belonging to the Darling River (paaka)</td>
<td>(Roughly) in the section of the Darling River extending from Wilcannia downstream to Avoca</td>
<td>Hercus 1982, p. 276; 1993, p. 3; Tindale 1974, p. 192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MARRAWARRA</strong></td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Around Wentworth and along the river to Avoca</td>
<td>Hercus 1989, p. 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PARRINTYI</strong></td>
<td>People belonging to the scrub country (parri)</td>
<td>East of the Darling River in the dry country between the river and the Willandra</td>
<td>Hercus 1993, p. 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
(Sub-)lects are shown in italics under the lect to which they are thought to relate.
-ntyi is the belonging suffix, so Paakantyi, for example, is constructed from the word paaka, ‘(the Darling) river’ and the belonging suffix, -ntyi.
(K)ali is an archaic word meaning ‘people’ (Hercus & Austin 2004, p. 208), so Thangkaali (or Thangkakali), for example, means people who say thangka for ‘bread’.
**Notes:**
The exact borders of different lects are unknown and were not necessarily clearly defined. Borders of some of the lects are said to have extended beyond New South Wales, westward from the Darling River into South Australia and along the Warrego and Paroo Rivers into Queensland (Beckett, Hercus & Martin 2008, p. 23).
The location (and indeed very existence) of the lect Milpulo is uncertain.
The lect shown on this map as ‘Southern Paakantyi’ is referred to as ‘Paakantyi’ throughout the learner’s grammar.
### 1.4 Resources

Some of the resources available on Paakantyi language and culture are shown here in reverse chronological order.

**Table 2: Resources**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hope, J &amp; Lindsay, R</td>
<td><em>The people of the Paroo River: Frederic Bonney’s photographs</em></td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Book giving an account of the life and work of Frederic Bonney, who lived on Momba Station between 1865 and 1881; photographs taken by Bonney; cultural and linguistic information on the Paakantyi people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
<td>‘Learning Paakantyi’</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Unpublished 30-page learner’s guide with 13 lessons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
<td>‘Bonney’s notebook’</td>
<td>n.d. a</td>
<td>Unpublished 43-page reproduction of Frederic Bonney’s notebook (from which some of the material is included in Bonney’s published article ‘On some customs of the Aborigines of the River Darling, New South Wales’). Information on additional topics is also contained herein, including spiritual beliefs (‘the future’), habitations, domestic furniture (tools), weapons, dress, cooking and food, amusements, rainmaking, snakes and snakebite, myths and traditions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
<td>‘Bonney’s small notebooks and letters’</td>
<td>n.d. b</td>
<td>23-page document compiled from letters, notebooks and scraps of paper, consisting of letters sent to Bonney regarding the local Aboriginal people and their customs; Bonney’s own notes on customs and traditions of these people and the meanings of their names; anecdotes of interactions between Bonney and the locals; vocabulary lists; lecture notes; and newspaper clippings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
<td>‘Paakantyi words in Bonney’s MSS’</td>
<td>n.d. c</td>
<td>Unpublished wordlist of Paakantyi vocabulary recorded by Frederic Bonney alongside words recorded by Newenham Teulon (1886), words from Hercus’ <em>Paakantyi dictionary</em> (1993) and words elicited from Elsie Jones by Robert Lindsay (1981).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
<td>‘The single vocabulary of C. Richards’</td>
<td>n.d. d</td>
<td>Unpublished 20-page document consisting of a table with a list of Marrawarra words beginning with ‘p’ from C Richards’ 1903 article ‘The Marra’ Waree Tribes or Nation and their language’. Lindsay has included Richard’s original spelling alongside a standardised version, as well as the equivalents from Hercus’ 1993 dictionary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
<td>‘Some “new” Paakantyi words’</td>
<td>n.d. e</td>
<td>41-page document containing Paakantyi words, mainly from nineteenth and early twentieth century resources, that are not shown in Hercus’ 1993 dictionary. The sources used are Frederic Bonney (before 1881), Greville Newenham Teulon (1886), Robert Hamilton Mathews (1902, 1904), Charles Richards (1903), and Elsie Jones (1981). Lindsay includes both the original orthography used in the sources and his approximated reconstruction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beckett, J &amp; Hercus, LA</td>
<td>The two rainbow serpents travelling: mura track narratives from the Corner Country</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Three different versions of a mura story about the two ngatyi (‘rainbow serpents’) as well as cultural and geographical information.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lissarague, A &amp; Wafer, J</td>
<td>A handbook of Aboriginal languages of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Tables for each Paakantyi lect showing different spellings and alternative names, as well as information about the groupings of the different lects, a map of where they were spoken and a bibliography of resources relating to all Paakantyi lects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilcannia Central School</td>
<td>Learning Paakantji</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>CD-ROM including word lists and practice exercises.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hercus, LA &amp; Nathan, D</td>
<td>Wiimpatya Palku = Paakantyi language</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>CD-ROM containing a talking dictionary; Paakantyi-English and English-Paakantyi dictionaries; grammar; stories; songs; maps; photographs; and games.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service &amp; Peter Freeman</td>
<td>Former Kinchega Station sites: Kinchega National Park conservation management &amp; cultural tourism plan</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Report including, amongst other things, an historical overview of the Kinchega National Park area from prehistory through the pastoral era and up to the late twentieth century; an inventory of archaeological sites of the area; and a history of the landscape, flora and fauna of the site.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin, S</td>
<td>Aboriginal cultural heritage of the Menindee Lakes area part 1: Aboriginal ties to the land: a report to the Menindee Lakes Ecologically Sustainable Development Project Steering Committee</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Report containing information on a variety of matters relating to the culture and heritage of the Paakantyi people, particularly those from the area in and around Menindee. Includes maps; information about the different Paakantyi lects; descriptions of the kinship system; moieties and totemic clans (“meats”); the land tenure system; hunting, fishing and food gathering; burial practices; and the Paakantyi landscape and mythology.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hercus, LA</td>
<td>Paakantyi dictionary</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Paakantyi-English and English-Paakantyi dictionaries (some words with audio); grammar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, E</td>
<td>The story of the falling star</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Book telling an old Paakantyi story of a star that fell in a Paakantyi camp and killed or injured a number of people. The book is illustrated with both drawings and photos of Elsie Jones and the group of children to whom she relates the tale as they travel around Paakantyi country to the different places that feature in the story. A reasonable amount of Paakantyi vocabulary is included.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thieberger, N</td>
<td>‘An introduction to Paakantji’</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Sketch grammar, lessons, lesson summaries, list of suffixes’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hercus, LA</td>
<td>The Bāgandji language</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Comprehensive description of the Darling River languages, primarily Paakantyi, with some information on other lects such as Kurnu, Pantyikali and Paaruntyi; Paakantyi-English and English-Paakantyi dictionaries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
<td><em>Bush Tucker Vol. 1: Meat Wanku</em></td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Children’s reader containing animals listed by English name, Paakantyi name and scientific name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, E</td>
<td><em>My Body: Yunpurru Parnti</em></td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Book containing Paakantyi words for parts of the body.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
<td>'Index Cards'</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Unpublished 41-page document containing vocabulary that Lindsay elicited from Elsie Jones on Wilcannia Mission in 1981. The vocabulary has been compiled in a table alongside equivalents from Hercus (1993), and occasionally also words from Teulon (1886), Bonney’s unpublished manuscripts and Peter Thompson’s transcription of Elsie Jones’ story, <em>Kilampa Wura Kaani</em> = <em>The Galah and the Frill-neck Lizard</em> (1978).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
<td>Notes from Weekly Discussions with Elsie Jones</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Document consisting of 200 pages of handwritten notes made by Lindsay in 1981 following his weekly meetings with Elsie Jones. Includes descriptions of what they had spoken about that day, covering vocabulary as well as topics such as Paakantyi country, traditions, games, food, beliefs and mythology. Also includes some sketches, for example of tools and weapons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, E</td>
<td><em>Kilampa Wura Kaani</em> = <em>The Galah and the Frill-neck Lizard</em></td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Story told by Elsie Jones in 1978 and transcribed by Peter Thompson; word list.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reay, M</td>
<td>'Transcript of Interview with Hero Black'</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Transcript from an interview with a Kurnu man, Hero Black, from Mahra Station. Includes a brief discussion of the marriage system, moieties and totems. Very brief descriptions are given of treatment of a deceased person’s body and belongings. ‘Wumbandya Talk’ and ‘Margan Talk’ are mentioned as being Paakantyi lects. It is noted that George Dutton spoke either</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tindale, NB</td>
<td><em>Eagle and crow myths of the Maraura tribe, lower Darling River, New South Wales</em></td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>This work on Marrawarra mythology was the first text to be published in any Paakantyi lect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howitt, AW</td>
<td><em>The native tribes of South-East Australia</em></td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Book containing cultural information about a number of Aboriginal groups, including the Paakantyi, divided into the following chapters: Tribal organisation; Social organisation; Relationship terms; Marriage rules; Tribal government; Medicine men and magic; Beliefs and burial practices; Initiation ceremonies, eastern type; Initiation ceremonies, western type; Messengers and message sticks—barter and trade centres—gesture language; and Various customs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathews, RH</td>
<td><em>Langage des Kūrnū’, tribu d’Indigènes de la Nouvelle Galles du Sud’ (Language of the Kūrnū’ tribe, New South Wales)</em></td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Article containing more detailed grammatical information on Kurnu than Mathews’ 1902 work, as well as corrections. The grammar described in this work relates to articles, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs and prepositions. Notably Mathews, though not a trained linguist, was able to perceive distinctive features of the Kurnu lect, such as the uncommon system of tense marking on pronouns. The article was originally written in English and translated into French for publication, then translated back into English for a book on Mathews by M Thomas [ed.].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathews, RH</td>
<td><em>Die Mũlyterra-initiationszeremonie (The Mũlyterra initiation ceremony)</em></td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Article describing the Mũlyterra initiation ceremony of the Kurnu people (originally written in English and translated into German for publication, then translated back into English for a book on Mathews by M Thomas [ed.]).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richards, C</td>
<td><em>The Marraa’ Warree’ tribes or nation and their language, with an account of how a new tribe was formed amongst them</em></td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Article discussing what Richards terms the Marra’ Warree’ nation, which he divides into three sections: the Paakantyi from the Darling River, those living near the Paroo River or creeks and the Thangkali from the uplands. Interactions between this nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richards, C</td>
<td><em>Marra’ warree or Marrao’ Arree’</em></td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Article including a 416-word Paakantyi wordlist, as well as detailed notes on pronunciation and the orthographical conventions used. Unfortunately the vocabulary only consisted of words beginning with ‘p’ (which would be ‘b’ using current orthographical conventions) and was never completed. Hercus (1982, p.3) commented that this work ‘shows true insight and understanding.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathews, RH</td>
<td><em>Languages of some native tribes of Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria</em></td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Article containing a Kurnu grammatical description and wordlist of approximately 220 words, as well as an additional list including 27 words from Kurnu’s ‘mystic language’ (used by men at initiation ceremonies).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathews, RH</td>
<td><em>The group divisions and initiation ceremonies of the Barkunjee tribes</em></td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>Paper describing the social organisation (including marriage, moieties and totems) and initiation ceremonies of the Paakantyi people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newland, S</td>
<td><em>The Parkengees, or Aboriginal tribes on the Darling River</em></td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Paper including information on the customs of the Paakantyi people, in particular, the ‘Upper River Darling Tribe’ that Newland called the ‘Wampangees’ (whilst he refers to the ‘River Blacks generally’ as the ‘Parkengees’). The article discusses marriage, food, hunting, initiation rites, rainmaking, medicine, the character of Paakantyi people Newland encountered, death, corroborees, myths and legends. 116 vocabulary items of ‘Aboriginals of the Upper Darling’ are included. Numbers 1–10 and 20 are given. Most of these are similar to those given by Hercus, although a few are completely different. In addition, Newland gives number words for eight, nine, ten and twenty, which were not recorded by Hercus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameron, ALP</td>
<td><em>Notes on some tribes of New South Wales</em></td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Paper describing the customs, beliefs, ceremonies and marriage and descent of a few NSW groups, including the Paakantyi (‘Barkinji’) and Parrintyi (‘Beri-ait’). Includes wordlists containing 90 Paakantyi and 90 Parrintyi words.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyre, EJ</td>
<td><em>Yak Kumban or Darling</em></td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Work including a 24-word Paakantyi wordlist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonney, F</td>
<td><em>On some customs of the Aborigines of the River Darling, New South Wales</em></td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Article describing the territory and appearance of the Paantyikali and Paakantyi people as well as some of their customs including initiation ceremonies, the class system, marriage, sickness, medicine, burial and mourning. Approximately 25 vocabulary items are also referred to throughout the text.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.5 Abbreviations and Conventions

For easier reference between the learner’s grammar and Luise Hercus’ grammar, Hercus’ glossing conventions have been used here rather than the Leipzig glossing conventions. There are, however, a few minor differences. In order to be more specific, ‘CONT’ has been used here for the continuous verbal suffix -ana, whereas Hercus glosses -ana as PTC (participle). The learner’s grammar uses ‘subj’ rather than ‘sub’ for a bound pronoun subject and ‘Tran’ rather than ‘Tr’ for transitive pronouns.

- **ABL** Ablative case
- **ACC** Accusative case
- **ALL** Allative case
- **ASP** Aspectual suffix
- **CAUS** Causative suffix
- **COM** Comitative case
- **CONT** Continuous verbal suffix
- **DAT** Dative case
- **dl** Dual (of pronoun)
- **DI** Dual (of noun)
- **EMPH** Emphatic clitic
- **ERG** Ergative case
- **FUT** Future tense marker
- **GEN** Genitive case
- **GI** Glide consonant/semi-vowel
- **HAB** Habitual particle
- **IMP** Imperative
- **Intr** Intransitive
- **INST** Instrumental case
- **LOC** Locative case
- **NF** Non-future
- **NOM** Nominative case
- **obj** Pronominal object
- **OBL** Obligatory verbal suffix
- **OPT** Optative verbal suffix
- **PAST** Past tense
- **PERF** Perfect tense
- **pl** Plural (of pronoun)
- **PI** Plural (of noun)
- **POS** Possessive
- **POT** Potential aspect
- **PRES** Present tense
- **PURP** Purposive case
- **REC** Reciprocal
- **REFL** Reflexive
- **sg** Singular (of pronoun)
- **Sg** Singular (of noun)
- **subj** Bound pronoun subject
- **TOP** Topicalising suffix
- **Tran** Transitive
- **Vb** Verbalising suffix
- ***Hypothetical form
- **' Indicates that a letter has been dropped
Hyphens (-) are used in this grammar at the beginning or end of words to show that those words (usually) do not stand alone but must be attached to at least one other word. For example, muni-, ‘to tie up’ is written with a hyphen on the end to show that other words such as subjects and objects attach to the end of it. The word -ngulu, ‘two’, is written with a hyphen at the beginning to show that it attaches to the end of another word (e.g. karlingulu, ‘two dogs’). Note that in these contexts, hyphens would not necessarily normally be written; they have just been included here for learning purposes. Hyphens are also used in reduplicated (doubled) words, e.g. muni-muni, ‘police’.

Paakantyi words are shown in italics.

Brackets are used to show the pronunciation of a word, e.g. parti, ‘egg’ is pronounced [barti].

English translations are shown in inverted commas.

Examples of abbreviations used for personal pronouns are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg Tran subj</td>
<td>First person singular personal pronoun, transitive subject form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg Intr subj</td>
<td>First person singular personal pronoun, intransitive subject form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg obj</td>
<td>First person singular personal pronoun, object form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 dl subj</td>
<td>First person dual personal pronoun, subject form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl obj</td>
<td>Third person plural personal pronoun, object form</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Convention dictates that the pronunciation of a word be written using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) when enclosed in square brackets. This convention has not been strictly followed in this learner’s grammar since IPA symbols may not be familiar to some language learners. For example, the symbol for a voiceless retroflex stop is ‘ʈ’, so instead of [barti] we would have to write [baʈi] using IPA.
CHAPTER 2: SOUNDS OF PAAKANTYI

2.1 Spelling

When writing a language that was traditionally an oral language (such as an Australian Aboriginal language) a spelling system needs to be decided upon. Many languages do not have phonemic spelling systems; that is, each letter does not reliably correspond to a distinctive sound (phoneme). English is an example of a language that is not written phonemically. For example, the letters ‘ough’ are pronounced differently in the words ‘thought’, ‘though’, ‘cough’, ‘enough’ and ‘bough’. This can be very confusing for language learners. For this reason, the spelling systems generally adopted these days for Australian Aboriginal languages are more or less phonemic. Nevertheless, The spelling of a word does not always tell you exactly how that word is pronounced. For example, in Paakantyi the letters ‘u’ and ‘a’ together sometimes make an ‘o’ sound. More about this, as well as other aspects of Paakantyi pronunciation, will be explained in the following sections.

At times, the rules for ways in which letters are pronounced in different situations can be quite complicated. This chapter contains some detailed information about pronunciation but don’t get discouraged; you don’t need to remember all the rules in order to start learning or teaching Paakantyi. When possible, the best way to learn the pronunciation of Paakantyi words is to listen to a Paakantyi speaker (either in person or through recordings).

2.1.1 Spelling Differences

The spelling systems used for Paakantyi words differ throughout the various resources. In Paakantyi language materials from the mid nineteenth to early twentieth century, the spelling systems used are not always clear and may not even have been applied consistently throughout the same work. This is a common characteristic of Australian language documentation from this period, when people who undertook such work generally had no specific linguistic training and were often unable to hear important distinctions between speech sounds (such as nasals and dentals) found in Aboriginal languages.

Linguists documenting Paakantyi words and grammar from the mid twentieth century onwards have sought to use more standardised spelling. The spelling conventions followed by Luise Hercus in the two most thorough currently available Paakantyi resources (the 1982 grammar The Bāgandji language and the 1993 Paakantyi dictionary) differ slightly. The use of diacritic symbols was abandoned for the dictionary, thus making Paakanyi easier to write (especially when typing). For example, the representation of a long ‘a’ vowel was changed from ‘ā’ to ‘aa’ and a retroflex nasal was changed from ‘ṅ’ to ‘rn’. Rather than the voiced stops stops ‘b’, ‘d’ and ‘g’, the voiceless stops ‘p’, ‘t’ and ‘k’ were used in the later work.³

For this learner’s grammar, the spelling used has been updated to conform to that currently used by the Paakantyi community. The spelling is essentially the same as that used in the Paakantyi dictionary but with two differences:

³ Since in Paakantyi there is not the same distinction between voiced and voiceless stops that there is in some languages (such as English) the pairs ‘b’/‘p’, ‘d’/‘t’ and ‘g’/‘k’ are sometimes used interchangeably depending on the speaker. Whether you use voiced or voiceless stops in writing does not make any great difference, since the use of a voiced or voiceless stop does not change the meaning of a word in Paakantyi. The pronunciation of the stops in certain environments is discussed in the consonants section of this chapter.
1. The alveolar nasal + velar stop
The alveolar nasal + velar stop was spelled ‘n.g’ in the Paakantyi dictionary but is spelled ‘nk’ in this grammar, since this is the spelling now used in Paakantyi language programs. 4

2. The ‘r’ sounds (rhotics)
The spelling of ‘r’ sounds in the learner’s grammar has been altered from both Hercus’ 1982 and 1993 works, both of which used three different written representations for the ‘r’ sounds (retroflex, flap and trill). Since at least 2010 there had been deliberation in the Paakantyi Language Circle over the spelling of the ‘r’ sounds (2010, Broken Hill, PLC meeting minutes, 26 & 27 October), which has varied throughout different sources. The Paakantyi community agreed at a meeting of the Paakantyi Language Circle (2013, Broken Hill, 15 November) that moving forward, the standard convention would be to use ‘r’ for the retroflex sound and ‘rr’ for the flap or trill. 5 This is the convention followed in the learner’s grammar.

The spelling of ‘r’ sounds in the primary language resources for Paakantyi is summarised in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>‘r’ Sound</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Trill</th>
<th>Flap</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resources with a three-way orthographical distinction for rhotics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hercus, LA</td>
<td>The Bāgardji language</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>rr</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hercus, LA</td>
<td>Paakantyi dictionary</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>rr</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hercus, LA &amp; Nathan, D</td>
<td>Wiimpatya Palku = Paakantyi language (CD-ROM)</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>rr</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
<td>‘Learning Paakantyi’</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>rr</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resources with a two-way orthographical distinction for rhotics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thieberger, N</td>
<td>‘An introduction to Paakantji’</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>rr</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hercus, LA</td>
<td>Paakantyi Macquarie Aboriginal words</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>rr</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menindee Central School</td>
<td>Learning Paakantji (teacher’s guide &amp; CD-ROM)</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>rr</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 As shown in the 2005 CD-ROM and teacher’s guide produced by Wilcannia Central School in 2005.

5 Since there appear to be no minimal pairs distinguished by a flap or a trill and moreover, it is thought to be probable that the trill is a variant of the flap, it was agreed that using the same representation for both the trill and flap would not be problematic.
Spelling differences between *The Bāgandji language* (Hercus, 1982), the *Paakantyi dictionary* (Hercus, 1993) and this grammar are as follows.

### Table 3: Spelling differences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme Category</th>
<th>The Bāgandji Language</th>
<th>Dictionary</th>
<th>This Grammar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>long a</td>
<td>á</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>aa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long i</td>
<td>ī</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long u</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilabial stop</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental stop</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveolar stop</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retroflex stop</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>rt</td>
<td>rt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar stop</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental nasal</td>
<td>ṇ</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>nh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retroflex nasal</td>
<td>ṇ</td>
<td>rn</td>
<td>rn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar nasal</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental lateral</td>
<td>ḷ</td>
<td>lh</td>
<td>lh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retroflex lateral</td>
<td>ḷ</td>
<td>rl</td>
<td>rl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palatal glide</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flap</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>rr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td>rr</td>
<td>rr</td>
<td>rr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retroflex approximant</td>
<td>ṟ</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveolar nasal + velar stop</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>n.g</td>
<td>nk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Spelling differences between towns**

The spelling used in schools sometimes differs slightly between towns. For example whilst this grammar was being written in 2013, there were differences between the way the palatal glide was being represented in Mendindee and Wilcannia. In Wilcannia the palatal glide was being represented by ‘j’ rather than ‘y’ owing to concern that language learners may pronounce the ‘y’ as it is pronounced in English, for example in the word ‘slowly’. It was generally agreed at the November 2013 Paakantyi Language Circle meeting, however, that ‘y’ should be used in the learner’s grammar.

### 2.1.2 General Rules

Almost all free (i.e. non-bound) words in Paakantyi start with a consonant. Note that there is a small group of Paakantyi words that begin with the vowel ‘i’. It is extremely likely, however, that these words used to start with an initial consonant, which has since been dropped. There are some other Paakantyi words that start with vowels but these words are all bound (i.e. they must be joined to the end of other words; they are not free words.)
2.2 Stress

When learning another language, an important part of correct pronunciation is knowing where the stress (i.e. emphasis) should be placed on each word. For example, in English, the word ‘river’ has two syllables (ri-ver) and the stress is on the first syllable (ri-ver). If you were to stress the second syllable (ri-ver), it would sound very strange to a native English speaker.

In Paakantyi, words with more than one syllable always have the main (primary) stress on the first syllable. In words with three or more syllables, there is also a weak (secondary) stress on the third syllable. For example, the word ‘Paakantyi’ has primary stress on the first syllable and secondary stress on the third syllable.

Hercus (2013, p. 124–125) notes that:

>If a word is pronounced with strong emphasis, as when calling someone, the stress shifts to the last syllable. When the emphasis is meant to be even greater or if someone is trying to communicate with a deaf person and ‘spelling out’ a word of three syllables the second (usually unaccented) syllable is also accented, and in Paakantyi is accompanied by a rise in pitch. The first syllable is unstressed and the vowel is reduced to a weak neutral vowel, a shwa.
2.3 Vowels

Vowels are sounds made whilst allowing air to flow freely through the vocal tract.

2.3.1 Pronunciation of Vowels

Paakantyi has three short vowels and three long vowels:

- **a** Like in fun, cut, dust, cup.
- **aa** Like in carp.
- **u** Like in put, good, pull, cook.
- **uu** Like in fool.
- **i** Like in hit, lid, tin, kick.
- **ii** Like in machine.

Whether a long vowel or a short vowel is used in a word can be very important, as using the incorrect one can mean that you are saying a completely different word, for example:

- *paaka* ‘river’ vs. *paka-‘to sing*
- *kaanta-‘to gossip’ vs. *kanta- ‘to bring’*
- *nhiiki ‘name’ vs. *nhiki ‘charcoal’*
- *pitha- ‘to spread out’ vs. *pitha-‘to pinch’*
- *kuunpu ‘hairy caterpillar’ vs. *kunpu ‘youth’*

The distinction between long and short vowels is most important for ‘a’ and ‘aa’. There are some cases in which the difference between long and short ‘u’ is not very important, and either one is sometimes used. This is particularly the case before ‘l’ and ‘ng’.

2.3.2 The ‘o’ Sounds

Though the letter ‘o’ is not used in Paakantyi writing, the sound is present in the language. In certain situations, older Paakantyi speakers may pronounce certain vowels as ‘o’ sounds. Modern speakers, however, may not use the ‘o’ sounds as much. The possible ‘o’ sounds in Paakantyi are as follows:

1. [o] or [ō]: Long ‘uu’ can be pronounced as [ō] (like in some pronunciations of ‘pool’), or sometimes as [ō].
2. [ɔ]: The short vowel ‘a’ can be pronounced as [ɔ] (like in ‘bought’).
3. [o]: The short vowel ‘a’ can be pronounced as [o] (like in ‘cot’).
4. [ɔ] or [ɔ]: The vowels ‘u’ and ‘a’ can combine to form a [ɔ] (like in ‘bought’ but longer), or sometimes as [ɔ].
5. [ɔi] or [ɔyi]: A stem-final ‘u’ + -ɔyi (1 sg obj/1 sg POS) can be pronounced as [ɔi] (like in ‘boy’), or sometimes as [ɔyi].

The different ‘o’ sounds are described in more detail below.
1. The long vowel ‘uu’ can be pronounced as the long ‘o’ sound [ō] (or sometimes [ō̂]) (like the vowel sound in ‘pool’); Hercus (1982, p. 34) describes this as ‘a very close [ō], sometimes slightly diphthongal [ō̂]’

   i. when followed by a lateral (lh, ly, l, rl) OR
   ii. when preceded and followed by a nasal (m, ng, ny, n, rn) (EXCEPT when both the nasals are ‘m’, such as in muuma-, ‘to pick up’)

Examples in which a long ‘uu’ is pronounced [ō] are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuurlrrku</td>
<td>‘mirage’</td>
<td>[kōrlurrku] or [kō̂rlurrku]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muulrrru</td>
<td>‘water rat’</td>
<td>[mōlurrru] or [mō̂furru]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhuumu</td>
<td>‘hornet’</td>
<td>[nōomu] or [nō̂mu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhuungku</td>
<td>‘woman’</td>
<td>[nhōngku] or [nhō̂ngku]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. The short vowel ‘a’ can be pronounced as the ‘o’ sound [ə] (like the vowel sound in ‘war’, ‘water’, ‘wall’, ‘caught’ and ‘bought’; Hercus (1982, p. 35) describes this as an ‘a’ that is ‘raised and slightly rounded [...] an open [ə]’)

   i. when in an open syllable\(^7\) AND
   ii. when preceded by a word-initial ‘w’\(^8\) BUT
   iii. NOT if the ‘a’ is followed by a laminal consonant sound (th, ty, nh, ny, lh, ly, y)

Examples in which ‘a’ is pronounced [ə] are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wapilka</td>
<td>‘hot’</td>
<td>[woppirika](^9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waka-</td>
<td>‘to hit’</td>
<td>[wokka](^10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waku-</td>
<td>‘to look for’</td>
<td>[woku]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^6\) A diphthong is a single syllable in which the vowel starts as one sound and gradually changes to another vowel sound, as in the English ‘loud’ or ‘doubt’. The diphthong [ō̂] sounds like an ‘ō’ followed by a ‘u’.

\(^7\) An open syllable ends in a vowel. For example, in the word wapilka, ‘hot’, there are three syllables: wa-pil-ka. The first and third syllables are open syllables as they end in a vowel.

\(^8\) It is common for ‘w’ to cause rounding of an immediately following vowel even in other languages including English.

\(^9\) Note that the consonant following the initial vowel in this word is lengthened in its pronunciation. Refer to section 2.4.3 Lengthening/Doubling of Consonants for a detailed explanation.

\(^10\) As above.
3. The short vowel ‘a’ can be pronounced as the ‘o’ sound [ɔ]
   (like the vowel sound in ‘wander’, ‘watch’, ‘wasp’, ‘cat’, and ‘stomp’; Hercus (1982, p. 35) describes this as an ‘a’ that is ‘not raised but only slightly rounded’)

   i. when in a closed syllable\(^\text{11}\) AND
   ii. when preceded by a word-initial ‘w’ BUT
   iii. NOT if the ‘a’ is followed by a laminal consonant sound (th, ty, nh, ny, lh, ly, y)

Examples in which ‘a’ is pronounced [ɔ] are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wampi-</td>
<td>‘to fly’</td>
<td>[wɔmbi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanganya</td>
<td>‘nest’</td>
<td>[wɔŋŋanyा](^\text{12})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waku-</td>
<td>‘to look for’</td>
<td>[wɔkku](^\text{13})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that a long ‘aa’ is not rounded by a preceding ‘w’ (only a short ‘a’ is), nor do non-word-initial w’s cause rounding.

4. The short vowels ‘u’ + ‘a’ (or ‘a’ + ‘u’) can combine to form the long ‘o’ sound [ɔ] or [ɔ]\(^\text{14}\) (like the vowel sound in ‘war’, ‘water’, ‘wall’, ‘caught’ and ‘bought’ but longer).

   Example 1. \((\text{p. 36 in Hercus})\)
   *Parlkuanha* \([\text{parlk}ɛnha]\) ‘His language’
   *parlu* -anha \(-3\text{ sg POS}
   ‘his’

   Example 2. \((\text{p. 36 in Hercus})\)
   *Pikuanha* \([\text{bikk}ɛnha]\)^\text{15}\) ‘His face’
   *piku* -anha \(-3\text{ sg POS}
   ‘his’

   Example 3. \((\text{E.g. 11 in Hercus})\)
   *Thaltintuanha* \([\text{tha}lɛntdɛnha]\) ‘You hear him’
   *thalti* -ntu -anha \(-2\text{ sg Tran subj} -3\text{ sg obj}
   ‘you’ ‘him’

---
\(^{11}\) A closed syllable ends in a consonant. For example, in the word wampi-, ‘to fly’, there are two syllables: wam-pi. The first syllable, wam, is closed as it ends in a consonant.

\(^{12}\) Note that the consonant following the initial vowel in this word is lengthened in its pronunciation. Refer to section 2.4.3 Lengthening/Doubling of Consonants for a detailed explanation.

\(^{13}\) As above.

\(^{14}\) This is a diphthong, i.e. a single syllable in which the vowel starts as one sound and gradually changes to another vowel sound.

\(^{15}\) Note that the consonant following the initial vowel in this word is lengthened in its pronunciation. Refer to section 2.4.3 Lengthening/Doubling of Consonants for a detailed explanation.
Example 4. Wiityangkuathu [wityangg̡īthu] (E.g. 12 in Hercus) ‘He used to drink’
wiitya -ngku -athu drink -PERF -3 sg subj ‘he’

Example 5. Ngityaulu [ngity̱lu] (p. 36 in Hercus) ‘The one and only’
ngitya -ulu one -Sg

Note
There cannot be long ‘o’ sounds in two syllables that are next to one another in the same word. As such, ‘a’ and ‘u’ do not combine to form a long ‘o’ sound if this would cause two long ‘o’ sounds in a row. Instead, the vowels are pronounced separately.


nhuungku -anha wife -3 sg POS ‘his’

Let’s look at this example in detail. In the first part of the word, nguu, there is a long ‘oo’ sound (remember we said previously in point 1. that the vowel sound ‘uu’ is pronounced ‘oo’ in certain situations). As per the rule in point 4., you would usually expect the ‘u’ of ‘ku’ and the ‘a’ of ‘anha’ to form a long ‘o’ sound. This, however, does NOT happen in the above example, as there is already a long ‘o’ sound in the preceding syllable and we cannot have two long ‘o’ sounds in a row. As such, the word is pronounced [nhôngguanha].

When, however, there would be two ‘o’ sounds in adjacent syllables, one of these being from a final ‘u’ combined with the ‘a’ from -ayi, the ‘u’ before -ayi is usually lost:

Example 7. Wankaualyi [wongaulai] (p. 37 in Hercus) ‘My one bit of meat’
wanka -ul’ -ayi meat -Sg -1 sg POS ‘my’

In the above example, the final ‘u’ in -ulu is lost.
5. A stem-final ‘u’ + -ayi (1 sg obj/1 sg POS) can combine to form the ‘o’ sound [oi] or [ɔyi] (like the vowel sound in ‘boy’; Hercus (1982, p. 36) says that ‘pronunciation varies between [oi] and [ɔyi], depending mainly on the speed of the utterance.’)

Example 8. Pamithuyi
(p. 36 in Hercus)
‘He sees me’

pami - ‘thu -ayi
see -3 sg subj -1 sg obj
‘he’ ‘me’

Example 9. Parluayi
(p. 36 in Hercus)
‘My child’

parlu - ayi
child -1 sg POS
‘my’

When another suffix follows, the pronunciation [ɔyi] is obligatory:

Example 10. Parluayiri
(p. 36 in Hercus)
‘To my child’

parlu - ayi - ri
child -1 sg obj - ALL
‘my’

2.3.3 The ‘e’ sounds
Although the vowel ‘e’ is not written in Paakantyi, ‘e’ sounds do occur. They are not as common as ‘o’ sounds. Instances in which ‘e’ sounds occur are as follows.

1. The long vowel ‘ii’ is pronounced as the ‘e’ sound [ē]
(like the vowel sound in ‘let’ but longer; Hercus (1982, p. 37) says that ‘ii’ is ‘lowered to approximately a mid-close position’)

   i. when it is followed by ‘rr’ or ‘r’

Examples in which ‘ii’ is pronounced [ē] are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kiirra</td>
<td>‘country’</td>
<td>[gēra]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palirra</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>[palēra]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pamiila</td>
<td>‘for seeing’</td>
<td>[pammēla]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thaltiila</td>
<td>‘for hearing’</td>
<td>[thaltēla]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

16 Note that the consonant following the initial vowel in this word is lengthened in its pronunciation. Refer to section 2.4.3 Lengthening/Doubling of Consonants for a detailed explanation.

17 As above.

18 As above.

19 As above.
2. The short vowel ‘a’ is pronounced as the ‘e’ sound [æ]
(like the vowel sound in ‘bet’ when pronounced with a broad Australian accent; Hercus (1982, p. 37) describes this as an ‘a’ that is ‘fronted and raised to a low mid-open position’)

i. when it is preceded by ‘y’ AND

ii. it is followed by ‘rr’ and another vowel OR

iii. it is followed by a laminal consonant (th, ty, nh, ny, lh, ly)

Examples in which ‘a’ is pronounced [æ] are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yarra</td>
<td>‘tree’</td>
<td>[yæra]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalthi</td>
<td>‘long’</td>
<td>[yæthi]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. The short vowel ‘a’ is pronounced as the ‘e’ sound [æ]
(like the vowel sound in ‘cat’; Hercus (1982, p. 37) describes this as an ‘a’ that is ‘fronted very slightly and raised’)

i. when it is preceded by ‘y’ AND

ii. it is in an open syllable

iii. EXCEPT when it is followed by ‘w’

Examples in which ‘a’ is pronounced [æ] are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yapa</td>
<td>‘track’</td>
<td>[yæpa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yartu</td>
<td>‘wind’</td>
<td>[yærtu]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB In Paakantyi, whenever ‘a’ is preceded by ‘y’, it is always more fronted than it is after another consonant, regardless of the rest of the environment in which it is found (i.e. even if it is followed by ‘w’ or is in a closed syllable).

2.3.4 Weakening of Vowels
Paakantyi rarely shows the vowel weakening that is common in English (in which vowels that are not in a stressed syllable are often weakened). For example, in the English word ‘problem’ there are two syllables. In this word only the first syllable is stressed and as such, the vowel ‘e’ in the second syllable is not stressed. Instead, the vowel sounds more like ‘uh’ and the word is pronounced ‘prob-luhm’. Other examples are the underlined vowels in postman, celebrate, Adelaide and support.

In Paakantyi, the only environment in which vowel sounds are weakened is in the middle syllable of verbs or nouns containing three syllables. In this situation the vowel may be weakened slightly, but not as much as in English.

---

20 An open syllable ends in a vowel. For example, in the word yapa, ‘track’, there are two syllables: ya-pa. Both syllables are open syllables as they end in a vowel.
2.3.5 Rounding and Unrounding of Vowels

Roundness of vowels refers to how round the lips are when the vowel is being articulated.

1. The sound [ü]
Rounded front vowels are rare in Paakantyi; the only one found is the high front rounded vowel [ü].\(^{21}\) The vowel ‘i’ is pronounced [ü]:

i. When it is preceded by a ‘w’ and followed by a retroflex consonant.

Examples in which ‘i’ is pronounced [ü] are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wirtuka</td>
<td>‘elder sister’</td>
<td>[würtuka]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wirtu</td>
<td>‘old man’</td>
<td>[würtu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wirnta</td>
<td>‘lignum’</td>
<td>[würnta]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. The sound [ɯ]
The vowel ‘u’ is unrounded and pronounced more like [ɯ] (especially in quick speech):

i. When it is preceded by ‘y’ AND ESPECIALLY
ii. When it is also followed by a laminal (th, nh, lh, ty, ny, ly, y) or retroflex (rt, rn, rl, r) consonant BUT LESS SO
iii. When it is also followed by a labial (p, m, w) or velar (k, ng) consonant.

Examples in which ‘u’ is pronounced [ɯ] are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yurti</td>
<td>‘tripe’</td>
<td>[yɯrti]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuthuru</td>
<td>‘path’</td>
<td>[yɯthuru]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in which ‘u’ may slightly unrounded are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yuku</td>
<td>‘sun’</td>
<td>[yuku]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yunga</td>
<td>‘root’</td>
<td>[yungnga](^{22})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{21}\) The IPA symbol used to represent a high front rounded vowel is [y]. Hercus (1982, p. 38) uses the symbol ‘ü’ to represent this phoneme. The same convention as that used by Hercus is followed here, since ‘y’ has been used to represent a palatal glide.

\(^{22}\) Note that the consonant following the initial vowel in this word is lengthened in its pronunciation. Refer to section 2.4.3 Lengthening/Doubling of Consonants for a detailed explanation.
2.3.6 Medial Semi-vowels

Semi-vowels are articulated with the airflow in the vocal tract more restricted than when articulating vowels, but less restricted than when articulating consonants.

1. Medial y

The semi-vowel ‘y’ is only found in free morphemes (i.e. words that do not need to be attached to other words) in certain environments. Examples of words containing a medial ‘y’ (i.e. a ‘y’ in between two other letters) are *muuya*-, ‘to quarrel’, *wayu*-, ‘to feel sorry’ and *kuyuru*., ‘plant species’.

Generally, ‘y’ is not found medially if either of the surrounding letters is an ‘i’. Exceptions to this restriction are *thayi*-, ‘to eat’, the Paaruntji word *paarayi*-, ‘to hear’ and *Thuuyika*, ‘the fiend with the bag’ (a mythical being which carried away and devoured many captured human beings—note that this word may be borrowed from the neighbouring language Ngiyampaa).

The restriction does not apply to junctures with bound morphemes (i.e. where a bound morpheme attaches to a free morpheme), such as in the following examples:

**Example 11.** *Parriyapa kumpakari*
(E.g. 117 in Hercus) ‘I’m going over to that old woman’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>parriyapa</td>
<td>go -y -apa kumpaka -ri</td>
<td>mguuwa la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Example 12.** *Thaltiyathungka*
(E.g. 265 in Hercus) ‘I’m listening to them’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thalti</td>
<td>hear -y -athu -ngka</td>
<td>mguwala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Medial ‘y’ is also found next to ‘i’ in the bound morphemes, -*ayi* (1 sg obj/POS) and -*yika* (glide + 3 pl subj).

2. Medial w

In free morphemes, the semi-vowel ‘w’ is subject to the same restrictions as ‘y’ in medial positions.

In junctures with bound morphemes, it is only found next to ‘i’ or ‘a’, as in the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nguuwala</td>
<td>‘to cook’</td>
<td>mguuwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puuwarru</td>
<td>‘leaf’</td>
<td>puuwuru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yawa</td>
<td>‘snake species’</td>
<td>yawa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29
2.3.7 Loss of Final Vowels

All Paakantyi words must end in a vowel. In quick speech, however, a final vowel can be lost. In particular, there is a general tendency in Paakantyi to reduce three-syllable words to two syllables in rapid speech. In this grammar, we mark that a vowel has been lost by using an apostrophe, e.g. *wiimpatyanh*.

The circumstances in which a final vowel may be lost are as follows:

1. **When the final syllable of a word is a suffix (e.g. a case-marking suffix) or a clitic or unstressed:**

   i. in quick speech, a final vowel may be dropped (whereas in slow or careful speech, it would be pronounced).

   **Slow or careful speech:**

   **Example 13.** *Kila wiimpatyanh kaantarraathu tharltanh kaantarraathu*
   (E.g. 16 in Hercus) ‘It’s not human blood, it’s kangaroo blood’

   *Kila wiimpatyah kaantarra athu tharltah kaantarra athu*
   not Aboriginal -GEN blood -3 sg subj kangaroo -GEN blood -3 sg subj
   ‘it’ ‘it’

   **Quick speech:**

   **Example 14.** *Kila wiimpatyanh kaantarraathu tharltanh kaantarraathu*
   (E.g. 16 in Hercus) ‘It’s not human blood, it’s kangaroo blood’

   *Kila wiimpatyah -nh kaantarra -athu tharltah -nh kaantarra -athu*
   not Aboriginal -GEN blood -3 sg subj kangaroo -GEN blood -3 sg subj
   ‘it’ ‘it’

   **Slow or careful speech:**

   **Example 15.** *Pungka ngaingkaathu muurpaayi*
   (E.g. 17 in Hercus) ‘My child’s at home’

   *Pungka na ngaingka athu muurpa ayi*
   camp -LOC sit -3 sg subj child -1 sg POS
   ‘he/she’ ‘my’

   **Quick speech:**

   **Example 16.** *Pungkan ngaingkaathu muurpaayi*
   (E.g. 17 in Hercus) ‘My child’s at home’

   *Pungka n ngaingka -athu muurpa’ -ayi*
   camp -LOC sit -3 sg subj child -1 sg POS
   ‘he/she’ ‘my’

In the above examples, the genitive and locative suffixes have lost their ‘a’.

When a final ‘a’ is dropped in this situation, the consonant before the ‘a’ may undergo a change in very quick speech. The change is as follows: if the first letter of the following word is a labial
consonant, the last letter of the preceding word may also be pronounced as if it were a labial
c consonant. The following examples explain such changes in detail.

Example 17.  
(Kikamarithim parrityu)  
(E.g. 18 in Hercus)  
‘Surely he went this way’

kikamari -thim’ parri -ty -u  
this way -EMPH go -PAST -3 sg subj  
‘he’

In the above example, the emphatic clitic -thinga has become -thim’. This is because:

1. The first letter of the following word, parri, is a labial consonant (if you refer to the consonant
   table in section 2.4, you will see that ‘p’ is in the ‘labial’ column for ‘place of articulation’).
2. When the final ‘a’ of -thinga is lost, the remaining final consonant sound is ‘ng’.
3. The consonant sound ‘ng’ is in the ‘nasal’ row under ‘manner of articulation’ in the consonant
   table.
4. The consonant sound that is a nasal labial is ‘m’. For this reason, the ‘ng’ in -thinga has become
   ‘m’.

Example 18.  
(Yukum paliirra)  
(P. 41 in Hercus)  
‘In the fine sunshine’

yuku -m’ paliirra  
sun -LOC good

In the above example, the locative case suffix -na has become m. This is because:

1. The first letter of the following word, paliirra, is a labial consonant.
2. When the final ‘a’ of -na is lost, the remaining final consonant is ‘n’.
3. The consonant sound ‘n’ is in the ‘nasal’ row under ‘manner of articulation’ in the consonant
   table.
4. The consonant sound that is a nasal labial is ‘m’. For this reason, the ‘n’ in -na has become ‘m’.

Example 19.  
(Il impa paarrapa kinhum parlu)  
(E.g. 225 in Hercus)  
‘Don’t you listen to this conversation’

il’ impa paarrapa kinhum parlu  
not 2 sg Intr subj listen this ACC word  
‘you’

In the above example, the demonstrative pronoun kinhunha has become kinhum’. This is because:

1. The first letter of the following word, parlu, is a labial consonant.
2. When the final ‘a’ of kinhunha is lost, the remaining final consonant sound is ‘nh’.
3. The consonant sound ‘nh’ is in the ‘nasal’ row under ‘manner of articulation’ in the consonant
   table.
4. The consonant sound that is a nasal labial is ‘m’. For this reason, the ‘nh’ in kinhunha has
   become ‘m’.

Refer to the table in section 2.4 Consonants. The consonant’s manner of articulation (e.g. stop, nasal) will
remain the same but the place of articulation will change to ‘labial’.
2. The final ‘a’ of nouns and adverbs may also be lost if:

i. the word contains three syllables AND

ii. the word is followed by the dual marker -ngulu or the plural marker -(u)ku OR

iii. the word is followed by a closely associated word (or morpheme) (NB it is difficult to define a ‘closely-associated word’ but you can refer to the examples below to gain a better understanding of what is meant by this)

Examples of vowel loss in nouns:

**Example 20.**   *Ngamakngulalinha*

*p. 41 in Hercus*

‘The two mothers of us two’

*ngamak’ -ngul’ -alinha

mother -DI -1 dl POS

‘our’ (two)

(*ngamaka → ngamak’*)

In the above example, the final ‘a’ of *ngamaka* is lost as the word contains three syllables (*nga-ma-ka*) and is followed by the dual marker, -*ngulu*.

**Example 21.**   *Wimparra*

*p. 41 in Hercus*

‘Daughters’

*wimparr’ -ku

daughter -PI

(*wimparra → wimparr’*)

In the above example, the final ‘a’ of *wimparra* is lost as the word contains three syllables (*wim-pa-rra*) and is followed by the plural marker, -(u)ku.

**Example 22.**   *Thurlak ngantitya*

*p. 41 in Hercus*

‘A person with bad teeth’

*thurlak’ nganti -tya

bad teeth -having

(*thurlaka → thurlak’*)

In the above example, the final ‘a’ of *thurlaka* is lost as the word contains three syllables (*thur-la-ka*) and is followed by a closely-associated word.

**Example 23.**   *Thurlakwarta*

*p. 42 in Hercus*

‘Stinking’

*thurlak’ -warta

bad -smelling

(*thurlaka → thurlak’*)

In the above example, the final ‘a’ of *thurlaka* is lost as the word contains three syllables (*thur-la-ka*) and is followed by a closely-associated word.
Examples of vowel loss in adverbs:

**Example 24.**  
*(E.g. 20 in Hercus)*  

*Kaantiny marri ngiingkatyuulungarraya*  
‘The two of them stayed together for a very long time’

*kaantiny’ marri ngiingka -ty -uulu -ngarraya*  
long very sit -PAST -3 dl subj -together  
‘they’ (two)

*(kaantinya → kaantiny’)*

In the above example, the final ‘a’ of *kaantinya* is lost as the word contains three syllables (*kaan-tin-ya*) and is followed by a closely-associated word.

**Example 25.**  
*(E.g. 21 in Hercus)*  

*Nhantarr thungkumalangkuathu*  
‘Again he went twisting himself along’ [the watersnake]

*nhantarr’ thungku -ma -la -ngku -athu*  
again twisted -Vb -TOP -PERF -3 sg subj  
‘he’

*(nhantarra → nhantarr’)*

In the above example, the final ‘a’ of *nhantarra* is lost as the word contains three syllables (*nhan-ta-r-rra*) and is followed by a closely-associated word.

3. **Loss of final ‘a’ before the verbaliser -ma**  
The suffix *-ma* can be used to create verbs from adjectives, nouns and other verbs. When the stem (i.e. word) to which *-ma* is added ends in ‘a’, the ‘a’ is lost. Note that this happens not only in quick speech (as with some of the other cases of vowel loss) but also in careful speech and writing. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb with -ma</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paninya</td>
<td>‘jealous’</td>
<td>paniny’-ma’la-24</td>
<td>‘to be jealous’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thurlaka</td>
<td>‘bad’</td>
<td>thurlak’-ma-</td>
<td>‘to make bad’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. **Loss of final ‘a’ before word-initial vowels**  
Where there is a word starting with a vowel, if the preceding word ends in ‘a’, that ‘a’ may be dropped in quick speech. This is quite rare as there are not many Paakantyi words that start with vowels.

**Example 26.**  
*(E.g. 22 in Hercus)*  

*Manthal iingkana*  
‘They are sitting waiting’

*mantha -l’ iingka -na*  
wait -OPT sit -CONT  
*(la → l’)*

---

24 Refer to ‘The verbaliser -ma with -la’ for an explanation of the use of these two suffixes together.
Example 27.  
*Ngartalaap inha kikala kiirrana*  
‘I’m staying in my own country’

\[ ngart\text{-}a \text{-}la \text{-}ap\text{' } inha \text{ } kikala \text{ } kiirra \text{ } -na \]

stay -TOP -1 sg Intr subj this NOM here country -LOC

‘I’

\[ (ap\text{’}a \rightarrow ap\text{’}) \]

In careful speech, this loss of ‘a’ does not occur:

Example 28.  
*Muni ntuanha ithanha karli ma*  
‘Tie up this dog of yours’

\[ muni \text{ } -\text{’}ntu \text{ } -\text{anha} \text{ } ithanha \text{ } karli \text{ } -ma \]

tie -2 sg Tran subj -3 sg obj this ACC dog -2 sg POS

‘I’ ‘it’ ‘your’

\[ (-\text{anha does not lose its final ‘a’}) \]
2.4 Consonants

Consonants are sounds made whilst either partially or completely blocking the flow of air through the vocal tract. The table below shows all the consonants used in Paakantyi, organised in columns according to their place of articulation (i.e. where in the mouth they are pronounced) and in rows according to their manner of articulation (i.e. the way in which they are pronounced).

### Table 4: Consonants of Paakantyi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MANNER OF ARTICULATION</th>
<th>PLACE OF ARTICULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>labial (lips)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>laminal (blade of tongue)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>apical (tip of tongue)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>velar (back of mouth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palatal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retroflex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>lh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘r’ sound: tap/trill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retroflex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost all Paakantyi words begin with a consonant. Only the consonants within the boxes can begin words.

Note that only words borrowed from other languages start with ‘ty’, e.g. *tyampuka*, ‘sheep’, and *tyuka*, ‘sugar’. Words that start with ‘ly’ and ‘ny’ are usually also borrowed, e.g. *nyipa*, ‘clothes’.

Only one word starts with an ‘r’ sound (*rraltha-rraltha*, ‘spurwing plover’).

### Place of articulation

Consonants used in Paakantyi can be divided into the following categories according to place of articulation (i.e. where in the mouth the consonant is pronounced):

**Labial sounds: p, m, w**

Labial sounds are made using the lips.

- **p** Can sound like the English ‘p’ or ‘b’, as in ‘spin’ OR ‘bin’ (or something in between) but NOT like *gen* (with a burst of air).
- **m** Sounds like the English ‘m’.
- **w** Sounds like the English ‘w’.
Dental sounds: th, nh, lh
Dental sounds are made with the tongue between the teeth.

th  Sounds like the English ‘t’ or ‘d’ like in ‘stamp’ or ‘damp’ (or something in between) pronounced with the tongue between the teeth. (It is NOT pronounced like the sound in ‘this’.)

nh  Sounds like the English ‘n’ pronounced with the tongue between the teeth.

lh  Sounds like the English ‘l’ pronounced with the tongue between the teeth.

Palatal sounds: ty, ny, ly, y
Palatal sounds are made with the tip of the tongue against the bottom of the lower teeth and the blade (flat part) against the roof of the mouth (i.e. against the hard palate). These sounds are similar to (though not the same as) sounds we have in some English words, such as ‘ly’ as in the sound in ‘million’, and ‘ny’ as in the sound in ‘canyon’. Note that in Paakantyi, the sounds are pronounced as a single consonant.

ty  Similar to (but not the same as) the sound in ‘mention’.

ny  Similar to (but not the same as) the sound in ‘canyon’.

ly  Similar to (but not the same as) the sound in ‘million’.

y  Sounds like the English ‘y’ like in ‘yellow’ or ‘young’. (It is NOT pronounced like the ‘y’ in ‘slowly’.

Alveolar sounds: t, n, l, rr
Alveolar sounds are made with the tip of the tongue behind the teeth.

t  Can sound like the English ‘t’ or ‘d’, like in ‘stamp’ or ‘damp’ (or something in between) but NOT like ‘ten’ (with a burst of air).

l  Sounds like the English ‘l’.

rr  The symbol ‘rr’ is used in this grammar to represent two different sounds. Most commonly, it represents a lightly tapped/flapped ‘r’, made by a single brief tap of the tongue behind the ridge at the top of the mouth, behind the front teeth (used for example in Japanese and Spanish).

It can also represent a rolled/trilled ‘r’ sound (used for example in Scottish English). This sound is quite rare in Paakantyi. One common Paakantyi word in which the trill is used is -marri, meaning ‘very, very much so’.

NB The same symbol is used here for both ‘r’ sounds since the trill may be considered to be a rare variation of the flap.
Retroflex sounds: rt, rn, rl, r
Retroflex sounds are made with the tip of the tongue curled back to touch the roof of the mouth.

rt Like ‘rt’ in the American pronunciation of ‘carton’.

rn Like ‘rn’ in the American pronunciation of ‘barn’.

rl Like ‘rl’ in the American pronunciation of ‘curl’.

r The retroflex glide ‘r’ is articulated with the tip of the tongue curled back towards the roof of the mouth and sounds like the American ‘r’.

Velar sounds: k, ng
Velar sounds are made in the back of the mouth.

k Can sound like the English ‘k’ or ‘g’, as in ‘skin’ OR ‘good’ (or something in between) but NOT like kick (with a burst of air).

ng Sounds like the ‘ng’ in ‘singer’ (NOT like the ‘ng’ in ‘finger’, which would be written ‘ngk’ in Paakantyi).

Manner of articulation
The consonants used in Paakantyi can be divided into the following categories for manner of articulation (i.e. the way in which the consonant is pronounced):

Stops: p, th, ty, t, rt, k
When articulating stops, the airflow is completely stopped by part of the mouth and then suddenly released.

Nasals: m, nh, ny, n, rn, ng
Nasal sounds are made with the airflows through the nose.

Laterals: lh, ly, l, rl
Lateral sounds are made with the airflow passing along on either side of the tongue.

Glides: w, y
Glides are somewhere between consonants and vowels.

‘R’ sounds:
The ‘r’ sounds are described above under ‘place of articulation’.

A note on spelling:
In dental, palatal and retroflex consonant clusters, the ‘h’, ‘y’ and ‘r’ respectively are only written once for the sake of simplicity. For example, in the dental cluster ‘nhth’, both the ‘n’ and the ‘t’ are dental sounds but the ‘h’ is only written once and the cluster is spelled ‘nth’. Similarly, the palatal cluster ‘lyty’ is spelled ‘lty’ and the retroflex cluster ‘rrnt’ is spelled ‘rnt’.
2.4.1 Voicing of Word-Initial Stops

Word-initial stops (p, th, k)

The stops that can occur at the beginning of a word are ‘p’, ‘th’ and ‘k’. There is a large degree of variation in the way individual people pronounce these stops. Sometimes they will be pronounced like ‘p’, ‘th’ and ‘k’. These are ‘voiceless’ stops. Sometimes, they will be pronounced more like their voiced counterparts, ‘b’, ‘dh’ and ‘g’.  

Though sometimes it just depends on the individual speaker, there are also some rules for when voiced or voiceless stops are used:

1. Stops are voiced and sound like ‘b’, ‘dh’ and ‘g’ when the following syllable begins with ‘rt’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>parti</td>
<td>‘egg’</td>
<td>[barti]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thartu</td>
<td>‘head’</td>
<td>[dhartu]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Voiceless ‘th’ rather than voiced ‘dh’ is used in any environment other than that above.

3. The voiced stops ‘b’ and ‘g’ are used at the beginning of a word before the vowel ‘u’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kumpaka</td>
<td>‘wife’</td>
<td>[gumbaka]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puka</td>
<td>‘dead’</td>
<td>[bukka]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. The voiced stop ‘b’ is always used before the vowel ‘i’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pilta</td>
<td>‘possum’</td>
<td>[bilta]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piku</td>
<td>‘forehead’</td>
<td>[bikku]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. The voiced stops ‘b’ and ‘g’ are always used at the beginning of a word when followed by long vowels (EXCEPT if followed by ‘a’ + ‘rr’):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kiira</td>
<td>‘country’</td>
<td>[giirra]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paaha</td>
<td>‘river’</td>
<td>[baaka]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the following exception:

Paarrunyi (a lect) [paarruynyti]

---

The stops ‘p’, ‘th’ and ‘k’ are referred to as ‘voiceless’ stops as there is no vibration of the vocal cords when they are articulated. The stops ‘b’, ‘d’ and ‘g’ are the ‘voiced’ stops. If you place your hand on the outside of your throat whilst articulating these consonants, you will be able to feel the vibration of your vocal cords and the air passing through.
6. Word-initial ‘b’ and ‘g’ are voiceless in any environment other than those noted above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>karli</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
<td>[karli]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pami-</td>
<td>‘to see’</td>
<td>[pammi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parri-</td>
<td>‘to go’</td>
<td>[parri]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following table summarises the voicing of the stops ‘p’, ‘k’ and ‘th’ at the beginning of words.

### Table 5: Voicing of word-initial stops

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stop Followed by</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>th</th>
<th>k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aarr</td>
<td></td>
<td>th</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aa, ii, uu</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vowel + rt</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u + consonant (other than rt)</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i + consonant (other than rt)</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a + consonant (other than rt)</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.2 Medial Stops (p, k, th, ty, t, rt)

The stops that can occur between other letters are p, k, th, ty, t and rt.

1. Between vowels, stops are always voiceless, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngitya</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
<td>[ngitya]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguku</td>
<td>‘water’</td>
<td>[ngukku]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paaka</td>
<td>‘river’</td>
<td>[baaka]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parti</td>
<td>‘egg’</td>
<td>[barti]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Stop are usually voiceless in consonant clusters containing a nasal if the nasal is of the same place of articulation as the stop. The consonant clusters this affects are as follows:

Velars: the stop ‘k’ with the nasal ‘ng’.
Laminals: the stop ‘th’ with the nasal ‘nh’; the stop ‘ty’ with the nasal ‘ny’.

Examples of voiceless stops:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mantha-</td>
<td>‘to wait’</td>
<td>[mantha]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mingka</td>
<td>‘hole’</td>
<td>[mingka]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wantya-</td>
<td>‘to cook’</td>
<td>[wantya]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of voiced stops:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>marni</td>
<td>‘ground’</td>
<td>[marndi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinti</td>
<td>‘lightning’</td>
<td>[bindi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiimpatya</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
<td>[wiimbadya]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Stops are voiced in consonant clusters in which the nasal consonant is not of the same place of articulation as the stop:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kunka-</td>
<td>‘to swallow’</td>
<td>[gunga]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parnpa</td>
<td>‘neck’</td>
<td>[parnba]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Stops are voiceless when they are in consonant clusters containing ‘r’ sounds or ‘l’ sounds:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>malka</td>
<td>‘net’</td>
<td>[malka]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parrkulu</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
<td>[parrkulu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parlku</td>
<td>‘speech’</td>
<td>[parlku]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following table summarises the voicing of stops that are not at the beginning of words.

**Table 6: Voicing of medial stops**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position of Stop</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>th</th>
<th>ty</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>rt</th>
<th>k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>between vowels</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ty</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>rt</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with nasals (same place of articulation)</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ty</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>rd</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with nasals (different place of articulation)</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>dy</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>rd</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with r’s and l’s</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ty</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>rt</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, non-word-initial stops are:

- Never voiced between vowels or alongside r’s and l’s.
- Always voiced alongside nasals of a different place of articulation if they are laminal or velar stops (i.e. ‘th’ is voiceless with ‘nh’, ‘ty’ is voiceless with ‘ny’ and ‘k’ is voiceless with ‘ng’).
- Sometimes voiced alongside nasals of the same place of articulation.
2.4.3 Lengthening/Doubling of Consonants

A consonant immediately following a short vowel in the first syllable of a Paakantyi word is usually lengthened in its pronunciation. Lengthening is most marked with nasal consonants (‘m’, ‘nh’, ‘ny’, ‘n’, ‘rn’, ‘ng’) and lateral consonants (‘lh’, ‘ly’, ‘l’, ‘rl’).

There is no lengthening of the consonants ‘t’, ‘rr’, ‘r’, or the semivowels ‘y’ or ‘w’.

There is no lengthening of a consonant following a long stressed vowel (only following a short stressed vowel).

Environments in which consonants may be lengthened are as follows:

1. If there is a nasal or lateral consonant following a short vowel in the first syllable of a word and preceding another vowel, that consonant is truly doubled, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>milinya</td>
<td>‘fingernail’</td>
<td>[millinya]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pami-</td>
<td>‘to see’</td>
<td>[pammi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purli</td>
<td>‘star’</td>
<td>[purlli]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wana</td>
<td>‘boomerang’</td>
<td>[wanna]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note—exception

A nasal consonant in the aforementioned environment is not truly doubled if the word also begins with a nasal consonant (though lengthening of this consonant could optionally occur). For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>minha</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
<td>[minha] OR [minnha]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munhi</td>
<td>‘green ant’</td>
<td>[munhi] OR [munnhi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muni-</td>
<td>‘to tie up’</td>
<td>[muni] OR [munn]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. When nasal and lateral consonants occur after the vowel in the first syllable and before another consonant (i.e. when they are part of a consonant cluster), they are not necessarily lengthened. Lengthening is optional and even then, it only occurs in a certain environment, namely, if the consonant following the nasal or lateral consonant is of a different place of articulation to that nasal/lateral. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kunka</td>
<td>‘to swallow’</td>
<td>[kunika] OR [kunika]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palka-</td>
<td>‘to hit’</td>
<td>[palka] OR [palka]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the consonant following the nasal or lateral consonant is of the same place of articulation as the nasal/lateral, there is no lengthening. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pungka</td>
<td>‘hut’</td>
<td>[pungka]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above example, both the ‘ng’ and the ‘k’ are of the same place of articulation (velar), therefore there is no lengthening of the nasal ‘ng’.

---

26 This is called ‘gemination’.
3. The stops ‘p’ and ‘k’ are lengthened when they follow a stressed short vowel.\(^{27}\) For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nhapa-</td>
<td>‘to lock up’</td>
<td>[nhappa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhiki</td>
<td>‘charcoal’</td>
<td>[nhikki]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yapa</td>
<td>‘track’</td>
<td>[yappa]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that there is no lengthening after a long stressed vowel, for example:

\[ miiki \quad \text{‘eye’} \quad [miiki] \]

4. The consonants ‘t’ and ‘ty’ are only slightly lengthened when they follow a short stressed vowel.

### 2.4.4 Palatalisation of Consonants

Before the vowel ‘i’, the velar consonants ‘k’ and ‘ng’ may be pronounced differently. Rather than being pronounced ‘k’ and ‘ng’, they may sound like [ty] and [ny].\(^{28}\)

Palatalisation in Paakantyi is most noticeable at the beginning of words. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K*ilparra</td>
<td>name of a moiety</td>
<td>[tyilparra]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is also a strong tendency towards palatalisation of ‘k’ and ‘ng’ when they follow ‘ii’ and precede ‘i’. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nhiiki</td>
<td>‘name’</td>
<td>[nihikyi]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is very slight palatalisation when the consonant is between ‘i’ and ‘i’, ‘a’ and ‘i’ and ‘u’ and ‘i’.\(^{29}\)

---

\(^{27}\) Refer to section 2.2 Stress for information on which syllables are stressed. Note that there is always stress on the first syllable of a Paakantyi word.

\(^{28}\) This is called palatalisation, since [ty] and [ny] are palatal sounds (as per the chart at the beginning of this section). Palatalisation occurs in many languages, including English to a certain extent. For example, the word ‘nature’ may be pronounced ‘nachure’.

\(^{29}\) Some additional information on palatalisation has been omitted from this learner’s grammar, since it is very subtle and difficult to explain in non-technical terms. For a more detailed explanation, refer to Hercus 1982, p. 23.
2.4.5 Consonant Clusters Containing Palatals (ly, ny, ty)
The palatal sounds ‘ly’ and ‘ny’ can occur in front of the palatal sound ‘ty’. The resulting groups of consonants are referred to as ‘consonant clusters’. Although the pronunciation of these clusters is really ‘lyty’ and ‘nty’, they are spelled ‘lty’ and ‘nty’ in order to simplify the spelling.

When these consonant clusters occur, a weak palatal glide (-y-) may be inserted (in pronunciation) before the cluster. This particularly occurs after the vowel ‘u’. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuntyi</td>
<td>‘hut’</td>
<td>[kuynytyi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paarruntyi</td>
<td>(a lect of Paakantyi)</td>
<td>[paarruynytyi]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The palatals ‘ly’ and ‘ny’ also form consonant clusters with ‘p’. The -y- glide is always inserted before such clusters. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kalypu</td>
<td>‘soon, directly’</td>
<td>[kaylypu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulyparra</td>
<td>‘shade’</td>
<td>[kuulyparra]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punypa</td>
<td>‘mushroom’</td>
<td>[puynyypa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thanypa-</td>
<td>‘to shine’</td>
<td>[thaynypa]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.6 Loss of Initial Consonants
Although it is probable that the underlying forms of all Paakantyi words begin with consonants, ‘k’ or ‘ng’ may be lost at the beginning of a word when followed by ‘i’. This only happens in certain words and is optional.

1. Word-initial ‘k’ may be lost when followed by ‘i’ in demonstrative pronouns, as well as in third person pronouns and their derivatives. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Variant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kinharra</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
<td>inharra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kithanha</td>
<td>3 sg POS</td>
<td>ithanha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiki</td>
<td>‘this here’</td>
<td>iki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is also sometimes loss of the initial consonant in the negative particle *kila* ‘not’, which may take the form *ila*.

2. Word-initial ‘ng’ is often lost when followed by ‘i’. This often occurs in second person singular pronouns. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Variant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngimpa</td>
<td>2 sg Intr subj, ‘you’</td>
<td>impa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngintu</td>
<td>2 sg Tran subj, ‘you’</td>
<td>intu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variants can be used even as free rather than bound pronoun forms, for example:

**Example 29.** *(E.g. 3 in Hercus)*

*Impa ngiingka*
You are sitting down

*impa ngiingka*
2 sg Intr subj sit
‘you’

There is also a small group of verbs beginning with ‘ng’ from which the ‘ng’ may be dropped. These verbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Variant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngima-</td>
<td>‘to lie down, to sleep’</td>
<td>ima-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngipa-</td>
<td>‘to put down’</td>
<td>ipa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngiingka-</td>
<td>‘to sit’</td>
<td>iingka-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Example 30.** *(E.g. 4 in Hercus)*

*Kila imatyapa*
I didn’t sleep

*kila ima -ty -aapa*
not sleep -PAST -1 sg Intr subj
‘I’

**Example 31.** *(E.g. 5 in Hercus)* *(modified)*

*Kangarra iingkaapa*
‘I’ll sit here’

*kangarra iingka -apa*
here sit -1 sg Intr subj
‘I’

3. There is a small group of Paakantyi words beginning with ‘i’. It is extremely likely that these words once started with a consonant which has since been lost. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Probable Underlying Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iika-</td>
<td>‘to float’</td>
<td>(unknown)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilaaku</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
<td><em>kilaaku</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* hypothetical form

---

30 In the gloss given by Hercus (1982, p. 25), the demonstrative *kangarra* is translated as ‘there’. Since it is shown elsewhere in the grammar as meaning ‘here’, the translation and gloss in this example have been altered for the learner’s grammar.
4. The consonant ‘p’ may be changed to a glide or lost when it is followed by ‘u’ and is at the beginning of the second part of a compound noun (i.e. a hyphenated noun). For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thartu-pulki</td>
<td>‘head hair’</td>
<td>[thartu-wulki]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiimpatya-puungka</td>
<td>‘Aboriginal hut’</td>
<td>[wiimpatya-wuungka]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 3: NOUNS, ADJECTIVES AND NUMBER

Nouns are generally words such as proper nouns (i.e. names of people and places such as ‘Jack’ or ‘Menindee’) and ordinary nouns denoting animate and inanimate objects (e.g. ‘dog’, ‘hut’).

Adjectives are words that describe nouns (e.g. Jack is strong, Menindee Lakes are beautiful, a large, black dog).

This chapter will discuss some of the suffixes that are used with nouns, as well as words that are used to describe nouns (i.e. numbers and other adjectives). The case-marking suffixes that can attach to nouns are not covered in this chapter; they will be examined in Chapter 4: Grammatical Case. Note that some languages use other types of affixes such as prefixes (attached to the beginning of a word), infixes (inserted into the middle of a word) or circumfixes (added around the word). Paakantyi, however, only ever uses suffixes.

3.1 Special Suffixes Used with Nouns

A suffix is something that can be added to the end of another word. A suffix cannot be used as a word on its own. Examples of some suffixes used with nouns in English are ‘-ness’ (relating to the state of something, as in ‘happiness’ or ‘sadness’), ‘-ist’ (relating to someone who does something, such as a ‘chemist’ or ‘therapist’) and ‘-acy’ (relating to a state or quality, for example ‘privacy’ or ‘lunacy’).

3.1.1 The ‘Having’ Suffixes (-malkatya, -ty(a), -minhitya, -mirritya)

There are four ‘having’ suffixes in Paakantyi. These suffixes are joined to the end of nouns and are as follows:

- **malkatya** means ‘having’.
- **ty(a)** also means ‘having’ and is most commonly used to denote certain physical or mental characteristics.
- **minhitya** means ‘having what has been mentioned and other similar things’.
- **mirritya** means ‘lousy with’ or ‘full of’.

---

31 Note that the order of this chapter is rather different to that in Hercus’ 1982 grammar. The section it commences with (3.1 Suffixes Used with Nouns) corresponds to sections III.6 (The ‘having’ affixes) and III.7 (Other nominal stem-forming affixes) in Hercus’ grammar. Included in this section is also section 3.1.6 The Kinship Suffix (-linya), which corresponds to Hercus’ section III.4.3 (Kinship pairs). The latter has been included in this section since it is also a nominal suffix.

Since the case-marking system in Paakantyi is very similar for nouns and pronouns, both are dealt with in the same chapter of the learner’s grammar (Chapter 4: Grammatical Case), whereas Hercus discusses case marking of nouns in sections III.1.4–III.3.8 and of pronouns in Chapter IV (p. 105).

Hercus’ section III.4.2 (Morphemes showing number in nouns) is covered in section 3.4 Number-Marking Suffixes (Singular, Dual, Plural). Hercus’ section III.4.4 Numerical Adjectives is covered in section 3.3 Numbers. Hercus’ section III.5 Stem-forming affixes: possession is included in Chapter 5: Pronouns, since the possessive suffixes take their form from personal pronouns.

32 NB Once this suffix is added to a word, the word is classed as an adjective.
The ‘having’ suffixes can be used for:

1. Physical characteristics.
2. Mental characteristics.
3. Describing a place or an object.
4. Possession.\(^\text{33}\)

1. Physical characteristics

**Example 32.**  
(E.g. 176 in Hercus)  
(modified)\(^\text{35}\)

\textit{Thurlakngantitya}  
‘One that has bad teeth’

\textit{thurlak’ nganti -tya}  
bad tooth -having

**Example 33.**  
(E.g. 177 in Hercus)  
(modified)\(^\text{35}\)

\textit{Ngaathangantitya}  
‘One that has no teeth’

\textit{ngaatha -nganti -tya}  
nothing -tooth -having

2. Mental characteristics

**Example 34.**  
(p. 93 in Hercus)

\textit{Parrkatya}  
‘A liar’

\textit{parrka -tya}  
lie -having

3. Describing a place or an object

**Example 35.**  
(E.g. 180 in Hercus)

\textit{Kaaru ngalpatya ithu}  
‘This place looks different’

\textit{kaaru ngalpa -tya ithu}  
other appearance -having this

\(^{33}\) Hercus (1982) lists two other situations in which the ‘having suffixes can be used: describing the subject of a verb of rest or motion (example 185 in Hercus) and (rarely) describing the object of a transitive verb (example 183 in Hercus). These examples seem to fit better into the category of ‘possession’ and have thus been categorised as such in the learner’s grammar.

\(^{34}\) The example in The Bágandji language is \textit{Thurlakngantityathu} (‘He has bad teeth’).

\(^{35}\) The example in The Bágandji language is \textit{Ngaathangantityapa} (‘I have no teeth’).
Example 36.  
(*p. 94 in Hercus*)  

*Kultaminhitya*  
‘A place full of grass and other herbage’

*kulta* -*minhitya*  
grass -etc. having

Example 37.  
(*p. 94 in Hercus*)  

*Pithikamalkatya*  
‘Containing poison’

*pithika* -*malkatya*  
poison -having

4. Possession (usually for alienable possession, i.e. possessions that can be separated from the owner, but also for inalienable possession, which includes things such as body parts)

Example 38.  
(*E.g. 181 in Hercus*)  
(modified)36

*Wanganyamalkatya*  
‘Nest having’

*wanganya* -*malkatya*  
nest -having

Example 39.  
(*E.g. 182 in Hercus*)

*Nhuungkutyangiingimpa*  
‘You have got a wife’

*nhuungku* -*tya*  
woman -having sit -2 sg Intr subj  
‘you’

Example 40.  
(*E.g. 185 in Hercus*)

*Nhuungkumalkatya yantha ngiingkimpa*  
‘You’re the only one that has a wife’

*nhuungku* -*malkatya*  
woman -having only sit -2 sg Intr subj  
‘you’

Example 41.  
(*p. 94 in Hercus*)

*Kunamirtitya*  
‘Covered in filth’

*kuna* -*mirtitya*  
faeces -lousy with

36 The example in *The Bāgandji language* is *Wanganyamalkatyaathu* (‘It has got a nest’).
49

Example 42. *Nguktyaathu*  
(E.g. 184 in Hercus)  
‘It has [only] got water in it’  

nguku -tya -athu  
water -having -3 sg subj  
‘it’

Example 43. *Pantalaayi pirramalkatya*  
(E.g. 186 in Hercus)  
‘He had a waddy and struck me’  

panta -la -ayi pirra -malkatya  
hit -TOP -1 sg obj waddy -having  
‘me’

Example 44. *Yarntyaathu*  
(E.g. 30 in Hercus 2005)  
‘He has money’  

yarnta -tya -athu  
money -having -3 sg subj  
‘he’

Example 45. *Kaaru marli watutyi yarntamalkatya*  
(E.g. 183 in Hercus)  
‘She took another husband, one who had some money’  

kaaru marli watu -tyi yarnta -malkatya  
other man take -PAST money -having

Example 46. *Nguktyaathi karku*  
(E.g. 31 in Hercus 2005)  
‘This flagon has [only] got water in it’  

nguku -tya ithi karku  
water -having this flagon

Example 47. *Thartumikatyaapa*  
(E.g. 31 in Hercus 2005)  
‘I have a headache’  

thartu mika -tya -apa  
head pain -having -1 sg Intr subj  
‘I’

---

37 Hercus (1982, p. 94) notes that using a ‘having’ suffix referring to the object of a transitive verb, as in this example, is quite rare.
Example 48.  

*Thurlaka ngantityapa*

(E.g. 31 in Hercus 2005) ‘I have bad teeth’

\[
\text{thurlaka ngant-tya -apa} \\
\text{bad teeth -having -1 sg Intr subj} \\
\text{‘I’}
\]

**Note**

There are a number of nouns that end with the suffix -ty*aa*; this, however, is not the ‘having’ suffix. The majority of these nouns are kinship terms; there are also a few other nouns denoting people or animals:

- *kirrp*aya: ‘black kangaroo’
- *makut*aya: ‘evil mythical being’
- *ngart*atya: ‘cormorant’
- *nhart*atya: ‘friend’
- *wiimpat*aya: ‘Aboriginal man’
- *yamat*aya: ‘catfish’

### 3.1.2 The ‘Belonging To’ Suffix (-ntyi)

The suffix -ntyi means ‘belonging to’ or ‘originating from’. This suffix can only occur with certain words and cannot be freely added to any noun. Its main use is in the names of Paakantyi groups:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nhanturrantyi</td>
<td>a sub-group of the Paakantyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paakantyi</td>
<td>‘belonging to the Darling River’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paarruntyi</td>
<td>‘belonging to the Paroo River’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parrintyi</td>
<td>‘belonging to the scrub country’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wampantyi</td>
<td>a Paakantyi group adjoining the Kurnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yapantyi</td>
<td>a Paakantyi group (yapa means ‘mark/imprint’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is also one common noun ending in -ntyi:

- *yarrantyi*: ‘possum’ (literally ‘belonging to the tree’)

### 3.1.3 The ‘Colour and Appearance’ Suffix (-rrka)

There is a group of words expressing colour and appearance that share the ending -rrka. This ending can only occur with certain words; since it cannot be freely added to any noun, it does not function as a straightforward suffix, although it is possible that it once did. The words that share this ending/suffix are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kukirrka</em></td>
<td>‘black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngalkirrka</em></td>
<td>‘red’ (<em>ngalkina-athu</em> means ‘it’s red’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nhumparrka</em></td>
<td>‘green’ (<em>nhumpa-nhumpa</em> means ‘green’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>paatyirrka</em></td>
<td>‘white’ (<em>paatya-</em> means ‘to shine’, ‘to give off light’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>palirrka</em></td>
<td>‘good’ (this is a rare variant of <em>palirra</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>thanyparrka</em></td>
<td>‘shiny’ (<em>thanypa-</em> means ‘to glisten’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.4 The Durative Suffix (-nya)
The durative suffix -nya is an adjectival suffix indicating a continuous state (as opposed to a state occurring only at a particular moment in time). It is also a suffix that can be added to a verb stem to make the verb durative (i.e. continuous). Although used more freely than the other suffixes described in this section, its usage is still limited. Like the ‘colour and appearance’ suffix, it is possible that the durative suffix was once used more widely. Examples of words with the durative suffix are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kutanya</td>
<td>‘all the rest who remain’ (from kuta, ‘the rest’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhurrinya</td>
<td>‘hard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pukanya</td>
<td>‘completely dead’ (from puka, ‘dead’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purrinya</td>
<td>‘alive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarlanya</td>
<td>‘one’s very own’ (from yarla, ‘own’) (Kurnu word)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.5 The ‘Place’ Suffix (-ka)
The suffix -ka can be added to a few nouns to indicate place. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kiirraka</td>
<td>‘local’ (from kiirra, ‘country’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tharnaka</td>
<td>‘backing onto something’ (from tharna, ‘back’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warraka</td>
<td>‘at the side’ (from warra, ‘side’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

38 Refer to section 6.5.4 The Durative Suffix -nya (Continuity, Habitual Action).

39 Hercus (1982, p. 98) shows -ku alongside -ka as an additional (rare) suffix, with yungkaaku ‘one’s very own’ (from yungka, ‘own’) as the only example given. Since there are no other examples to further explain the usage of this suffix, it has not been included here.
3.1.6 The Kinship Suffix (\textit{-linya})

Paakantyi has special terms for pairs of kin. The suffix used to create a kinship pair is \textit{-linya}.

Most kinship terms in Paakantyi end in \textit{-ka} and \textit{-tya}. These endings are dropped before \textit{-linya} is added, except with the word \textit{kantyalinya}, 'maternal grandmother and grandchild'. Note that the endings are not dropped before any suffix other than the kinship suffix.

Each kinship term is based on the noun representing the more senior person of the pair, for example:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{ngamaka} \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{ngamalinnya} \quad \text{‘mother’}
\item \textit{kampitya} \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{kampilinya} \quad \text{‘father’}
\item \textit{wirrduka} \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{wirr dulinya} \quad \text{‘elder sister’}
\item \textit{kaakutya} \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{kaakulinya} \quad \text{‘elder brother’}
\item \textit{mungkatya} \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{mungkalinya} \quad \text{‘father’s sister’}
\item \textit{marli} \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{marlilinya} \quad \text{‘husband’}
\item \textit{kantya} \quad \rightarrow \quad \textit{kantyalinya} \quad \text{‘maternal grandmother’}
\end{itemize}

\footnote{In \textit{kantyalinya}, the ‘-tya’ ending from \textit{kantya} is not deleted before the addition of \textit{-linya}. Deletion of \textit{-tya} would result in the word *\textit{kanlinya} being formed. Hercus’ table ‘Intramorphemic Medial Consonant Clusters’ (see Hercus 1982, p. 48, table II.5.6) indicates that ‘nl’ is not a possible consonant cluster to have in the middle of a Paakantyi word, therefore *\textit{kanlinya} is not a possible word in Paakantyi. The author assumes that this is why -\textit{tya} is not deleted in this kinship pair. The author also notes that all the kinship pairs contain four syllables; the word *\textit{kanlinya}, if formed, would deviate from this pattern.}
SUMMARY—special suffixes used with nouns

The ‘having’ suffixes:
- **-malkaty**a ‘having’
- **-ty(a)** ‘having’ (usually used for physical or mental characteristics)
- **-minhtiya** ‘having what has been mentioned and other similar things’
- **-miritya** ‘lousy with, full of’

The ‘having’ suffixes can be used for:
- Physical characteristics.
- Mental characteristics.
- Describing a place or an object.
- Possession.

Other suffixes
- **-ntyi** the ‘belonging to’ suffix
- **-rrka** the ‘colour and appearance’ suffix
- **-nya** the durative suffix
- **-ka/-ku** the ‘place’ suffix
- **-linya** the kinship suffix

3.2 Adjectives

Adjectives are words that describe nouns (e.g. Jack is **strong**, Menindee Lakes are **beautiful**, a **large, black** dog.) In Paakantyi, adjectives precede the noun that they are describing, just like in English.\(^{41}\) Adjectives may have bound personal pronouns attached to the end of them, as in the last four examples below.

**Example 49.**
(E.g. 188 in Hercus)

*Thurlaka nhuungku ithu*
‘She is a **bad** woman’

*thurlaka* **nhuungku** *ithu*
**bad** woman **this**

**Example 50.**
(p. 99 in Hercus)

*Karlipi nguku*
‘**Fresh** water’

*karpipi* **nguku**
**fresh** water

---

\(^{41}\) Hercus (1982, p. 99) says that when there are two adjectives, one usually follows the noun. There is only one example given in the book to demonstrate this (example 190: *Ngapa ngitya wiimpatya, kukirrka*, ‘I am the only Aboriginal, black’). In this example one of the adjectives is a number (*ngitya*, ‘one’), and numbers sometimes behave differently to other adjectives. The only other example that could be found with two adjectives shows a different pattern, with both adjectives occurring in front of the noun (Hercus 1982, p. 249, paragraph (6) of ‘The evil crow’ story: *kumpatya yalhti yarrathu ngiingkatyu*, ‘it became a big, tall tree’, literally ‘big long tree-EMPH sit-PAST-3 sg subj’). Since there is no strong evidence to show what happens when there is more than one adjective describing the same noun, guidelines for positioning of multiple adjectives have not been included here.
Example 51. (p. 99 in Hercus)  
Ngalkirka tharita  
‘Red kangaroo’

ngalkirka tharita  
red kangaroo

Example 52. (p. 99 in Hercus)  
Kumpatya karrki  
‘A big flagon’

kumpatya karrki  
big flagon

Example 53. (E.g. 53 in Hercus)  
Kumpatya marlinhurruuthinga wakatyi inha yarra  
‘This big man cut down the tree’

kumpatya marli -nhurruu 42 -thinga waka -tyi inha yarra  
big man -that ERG -EMPH cut -PAST this NOM tree

Example 54. (E.g. 39 in Hercus)  
Thurlakaathu  
‘He is bad’

thurlaka -athu  
bad -3 sg subj  
‘he’

Example 55. (E.g. 40 in Hercus)  
Paliirraapa  
‘I am good’

paliirra -apa  
good -1 sg Intr subj  
‘I’

Example 56. (E.g. 406 in Hercus)  
Nguungkithu  
‘It’s ripe’

nguungki -‘thu  
ripe -3 sg subj  
‘it’

Example 57. (E.g. 407 in Hercus)  
Thurlakathika  
‘They are bad’

thurlaka -thika  
bad -3 pl subj  
‘they’ (all)

42 Note that the ergative marker in this example has a long ‘u’ (i.e. is -rruu rather than -rru) as it is followed by the emphatic clitic -thinga. Refer to section 7.1.1 The Emphatic Clitic -thinga for further information.
3.3 Numbers

Numbers always precede the noun that they qualify, just like in English (i.e. you would say ‘two birds’, not ‘birds two’). The Paakantyi numbers are as follows:

1  ngitya       ‘one’
2  parrkulu     ‘two’
3  parrkulu ngitya  ‘two one’
4  parrkulu-parrkulu  ‘two two’
5  yantha mara  ‘alone hand’ (can be used to mean ‘five dollars’)
6  kaaru mara ngitya  ‘other hand one’
7  kaaru mara parrkulu  ‘other hand two’

Historically, the numbers six and seven were rarely used. These numbers and any higher numbers were usually referred to as dhulurru, ‘many’.

Example 59.  Ngapa ngitya wiimpaty, kuki rrk a  
(E.g. 190 in Hercus)  ‘I am the only Aboriginal left, a full-blood’

ngapa     ngitya    wiimpaty,    kuki rrk a
1 sg Intr subj one   Aboriginal,   black
‘I’

Example 60.  Ngitya muurra-pa lu parrangkatyi muni-muninha puungkari  
(E.g. 116 in Hercus)  Just one little child went to the police station

ngitya    muurra-ulu    parra      -ngka      -tyi    muni-muni    -nha    puungka    -ri
one  child      -Sg      hurry      -ASP      -PAST      police      -GEN      house      -ALL

There is also a compound form for one, ngithi-ngitya, ‘one by one’:

Example 61.  Ngithi-ngitya ngantinha nguningunaathi  
(E.g. 169 in Hercus)  ‘He [the dentist] pulls his teeth out one by one’

ngithi-ngitya ngantinha    nguningunaathi
one by one  teeth    -3 sg POS pull    -pull    -3 sg subj  ‘his’    ‘pull’    ‘he’
3.4 Number-Marking Suffixes (Singular, Dual, Plural)

Different suffixes can be attached to Paakantyi nouns to mark singularity, duality and plurality.

Most commonly, the bare form of a noun (i.e. with no suffix) is used to denote both singularity and plurality (although a plural marker can also be used in the latter case). The dual, however, is marked using the dual suffix.

3.4.1 Singular (-ulu)

Usually, both singular and plural noun forms are unmarked (i.e. they do not have a particular suffix attached).

Sometimes, the singular suffix -ulu is used. This suffix can also be used to denote familiarity, affection or smallness.

Example 62.  
(p. 81 in Hercus)  
Wirtulu
‘Good old fellow’

wirtu  -ulu
old man  -Sg

Example 63.  
(p. 81 in Hercus)  
Warakaayi
‘My one [and only] friend’

waraka  -ul’  -ayi
friend  -Sg  -1 sg POS
‘my’

Example 64.  
(E.g. 163 in Hercus)  
Karnmatyu wankauluayi
‘He stole my one bit of meat’

karnma  -ty  -u  wanka  -ulu  -ayi
steal  -PAST  -3 sg subj  meat  -Sg  -1 sg POS
‘he’  ‘my’

Example 65.  
(E.g. 164 in Hercus)  
Karliulu nhirkaana
‘Only one dog is barking’

ekarli  -ulu  nhirka  -ana
dog  -Sg  bark  -CONT

Example 66.  
(E.g. 165 in Hercus)  
Ngityulu muurrpaulu
‘One single small child’

ngitya  -ulu  muurrpa  -ulu
one  -Sg  child  -Sg
The singular marker -ulu can also be used with pronouns:

**Example 67.**  
*Ngapalu thayitaapa*  
(E.g. 166 in Hercus)  
‘I'll eat it on my little own’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngapa} & \quad \text{-ulu} & \text{thayi} & \quad \text{-l’} & \quad \text{-t} & \quad \text{-aapa} \\
1 \text{ sg Intr subj} & \quad \text{-Sg} & \text{eat} & \quad \text{-TOP} & \quad \text{-FUT} & \quad 1 \text{ sg Intr subj} \\
\text{‘I’} & \quad \text{‘I’}
\end{align*}
\]

### 3.4.2 Dual (-ngulu)

The dual is marked on nouns by the suffix -ngulu.

**Examples 68.**  
(Wiimpatyangulu)  
(p. 82 in Hercus)  
‘Two men’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wiimpaty} & \quad \text{-ngulu} \\
\text{man} & \quad \text{-Dl}
\end{align*}
\]

**Example 69.**  
(Karlingulu)  
(p. 82 in Hercus)  
‘Two dogs’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{karli} & \quad \text{-ngulu} \\
\text{dog} & \quad \text{-Dl}
\end{align*}
\]

**Example 70.**  
(Yarrangulu)  
(p. 82 in Hercus)  
‘Two trees’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yarra} & \quad \text{-ngulu} \\
\text{tree} & \quad \text{-Dl}
\end{align*}
\]

The word parrkulu, ‘two’, can be used along with the dual marker for emphasis:

**Example 71.**  
(Parrkulu muurrpangulu)  
(p. 82 in Hercus)  
‘Two children’

\[
\begin{align*}
parrkulu & \quad \text{muurrpa} & \quad \text{-ngulu} \\
two & \quad \text{child} & \quad \text{-Dl}
\end{align*}
\]
When nouns containing three syllables end in ‘a’, the ‘a’ may be lost when -ngulu is attached:

**Example 72.** *Ngamakngulalinha*  
(p. 41 in Hercus)  
‘The two mothers of us two’

- ngamak’ -ngul’ -alinha  
mother -DI -1 dl POS  
‘our’ (two)

(ngamaka → ngamak’)

### 3.4.3 Plural (-l)uku, -rruku, -uku, -ku)

The plural suffix is used to convey the meaning ‘a group of’. This suffix can take the following different forms: -(l)uku, -rruku, -uku and -ku.

Nouns containing two syllables usually take the suffix -luku.

**Example 73.** *Tharitaluku*  
(p. 82 in Hercus)  
‘A mob of kangaroos’

- tharita -luku  
kangaroo -Pl

When the word to which the plural suffix attaches contains an ‘r’ sound (either a retroflex ‘r’ or the flap/trill, ‘rr’), -luku may become -rruku.

**Example 74.** *Karrkirruku*  
(p. 83 in Hercus)  
‘A lot of flagons’

- karrki -rruku  
flagon -Pl

Polysyllabic nouns (i.e. nouns with more than two syllables) usually take the plural suffix -uku. When nouns end in ‘a’, the ‘a’ may be lost when -uku is attached.

**Example 75.** *Wapanyukayi*  
(p. 82 in Hercus)  
‘My mob of grandchildren’

- wapany’ -uk’ -ayi  
grandchild -Pl -1 sg POS  
‘my’

(wapanya → wapany’)

When nouns end in ‘i’ or ‘u’, the plural suffix is shortened to -ku.

**Example 76.** *Nhuungkuku*  
(p. 83 in Hercus)  
‘A lot of women’

- nhuungk’ -ku  
woman -Pl
Example 77. *Thulrrru partikunhari*  
(p. 83 in Hercus)  
‘For [laying] her many eggs’

\[
\begin{align*}
thulrrru & \quad \text{parti} \quad -'\text{ku} \quad -'\text{nha} \quad -\text{ri} \\ 
\text{many} & \quad \text{egg} \quad -\text{Pl} \quad -3 \text{ sg POS} \quad -\text{DAT} \\ 
& \quad \text{‘her’}
\end{align*}
\]

Though reduplication (repetition of words) is not usually used to mark number, reduplication may be used along with the plural marker:

Example 78. *Karlikarliku*  
(p. 83 in Hercus)  
‘A huge mob of dogs’

\[
\begin{align*}
karli & \quad -karli \quad -'\text{ku} \\ 
dog & \quad -\text{dog} \quad -\text{Pl}
\end{align*}
\]

**Note**  
Occasionally, the singular and plural markers may be used together:

Example 79. *Warraakaulukayi*  
(p. 83 in Hercus)  
‘My only friends’

\[
\begin{align*}
warraka & \quad -u' \quad -uk' \quad -\text{ayi} \\ 
\text{friend} & \quad -\text{Sg} \quad -\text{Pl} \quad -1 \text{ sg POS} \\ 
& \quad \text{‘my’}
\end{align*}
\]

Example 80. *Yarraarraulukayi*  
(p. 83 in Hercus)  
‘The whole of my possessions’

\[
\begin{align*}
yarra-yarra & \quad -u' \quad -uk' \quad -\text{ayi} \\ 
\text{thing-thing} & \quad -\text{Sg} \quad -\text{Pl} \quad -1 \text{ sg POS} \\ 
& \quad \text{‘my’}
\end{align*}
\]

### 3.4.4 Special Plural (-*naarra*)

Paakantyi has a special plural suffix -*naarra* that can only be used with the word *muurrpa*, ‘child’.

Example 81. *Muurrpanaarra*  
(p. 83 in Hercus)  
‘A lot of children’

\[
\begin{align*}
muurrpa & \quad -\text{naarra} \\ 
\text{child} & \quad -\text{Sp PI}
\end{align*}
\]
Note
The special plural suffix -naarra can also be followed by another special plural suffix, -iku, which is an irregular form of the plural suffix -(l)uku.

**Example 82.**

*Muurpaanurrrik*  
(p. 83 in Hercus)  
‘A big crowd of children’

*muurpa*  
naar  
-iku

child  
-Sp Pl  -Pl

**SUMMARY—adjectives and number-marking suffixes**

**Adjectives**
- Precede the noun they are describing.

**Singular:**
- *-ulu*
  - Also denotes familiarity, affection or smallness.
  - Can also be used with pronouns.

**Dual**
- *-ngulu*
  - Can be used together with the word *parrkulu*, ‘two’, for emphasis.

**Plural**
- *-luku*: nouns with two syllables (may become -rruku if the stem contains an ‘r’).
- *-uku*: polysyllabic nouns (stem-final ‘a’ is lost before -uku; after stem-final ‘i’ or ‘u’, -uku becomes -ku).

**Special Plural**
- *-naarraa*: only used with the word *muurpa*, ‘child’.
- *-iku*: may follow the special plural suffix -naarraa.
CHAPTER 4: GRAMMATICAL CASE

Case refers to the grammatical relationships between words (e.g. subject, object, possessor) and is present in both nouns and pronouns.

Subjects, objects and transitivity
Before learning about Paakantyi’s case system, it is important to understand what a ‘subject’ and ‘object’ (both ‘direct’ and ‘indirect’) is, as well as the idea of ‘transitivity’ and ‘intransitivity’. To explain these concepts, we will look at some basic sentences in English.

Example 1. The dog chased the cat.

A subject is a person or thing doing something. In this sentence, the subject is ‘the dog’ (as it is the dog that is doing the chasing). An object is a person or thing having something done to it. In this sentence, the object is ‘the cat’ (as it is the cat that is being chased).

The verb ‘chase’ is a transitive verb; that is, a verb that must be used with one or more objects. You could not say ‘the dog chased’, as the sentence would not make sense; we need to know what it is that the dog chased (e.g. the cat, the stick, the man). Intransitive sentences, on the other hand, do not require an object; they only require a subject.

Example 2. The dog slept.

In this sentence, ‘the dog’ is the subject and there is no object. Because ‘sleep’ is an intransitive verb, it cannot be used with an object. For example, you could not say ‘the dog slept the cat’ or ‘the dog slept the stick’.

Direct objects
There are two different types of object: direct and indirect. A direct object accompanies a transitive verb. Direct objects tell you what or whom the verb is acting upon.

Example 3. The man chased the kangaroo.

To find the direct object in the above example you could ask the question ‘what did the man chase?’ and the answer would be ‘the kangaroo’.

Example 4. A woman sees a man.

To find the direct object in the above example you could ask the question ‘whom does a woman see?’ and the answer would be ‘a man’.

Example 5. He spears emus.

To find the direct object in the above example you could ask the question ‘what does he spear?’ and the answer would be ‘emus’.

Indirect objects
An indirect object usually only occurs in a sentence that already contains a direct object. Indirect objects tell you ‘to what’, ‘from what’, ‘for whom’, ‘to whom’ etc. the verb is acting upon. In English a preposition (e.g. ‘to’, ‘from’) often, but not always, precedes an indirect object.
Example 6. I gave flowers to my mother.
\[ S \ V \quad O_1 \quad O_2 \]
To find the indirect object in the above example you could ask the question ‘to whom did I give flowers?’ and the answer would be ‘my mother’.

Example 7. George got fleas from his dog.
\[ S \ V \quad O_1 \quad O_2 \]
To find the indirect object in the above example you could ask the question ‘from what did George get fleas?’ and the answer would be ‘his dog’.

Example 8. They gave him water.
\[ S \ V \quad O_2 \quad O_1 \]
To find the indirect object in the above example you could ask the question ‘to whom did they give water?’ and the answer would be ‘him’. It may seem confusing that the indirect object (\(O_2\)) is before the direct object (\(O_1\)) in this sentence. The sentence could, however, be rephrased as ‘they gave water to him’ (with the indirect object preceded by a preposition) and it would still have exactly the same meaning. Similarly, Example 6 could be rephrased as ‘I gave my mother flowers’, in which case the indirect object would precede the direct object.

Case marking
English has three cases: nominative, accusative and genitive (possessive). Paakantyi, on the other hand, has many more cases: nominative, ergative, absolutive, accusative, dative, ablative, allative, comitative, genitive, instrumental, locative and purposive/benefactive. Cases are often marked in Paakantyi through the addition of suffixes. The case-marking system is slightly different between Paakantyi nouns and pronouns. The differences will be explained in detail in the sections below.

Nouns
As discussed in Chapter 3, nouns are generally names of people and places or animate and inanimate objects (e.g. ‘kangaroo’, ‘campfire’). With English nouns, only the genitive case is spelled differently to the other cases: it is shown using an apostrophe or apostrophe + s, for example ‘Luise Hercus’ book’ or ‘Luise Hercus’ s book’. The nominative and accusative case forms are both spelled the same. For example, in the sentence ‘the echidna hid’, echidna is the subject and it is in the nominative case. In the sentence ‘the man killed the echidna’, echidna is the object and it is in the accusative case. The word ‘echidna’ is spelled exactly the same in both these sentences, regardless of whether it is functioning as a subject or object.

In Paakantyi, case-marking suffixes are affixed to nouns after any number or possessive marker that may be attached to the noun stem. A Paakantyi noun can look as follows (where the items in parentheses are optional):

NOUN STEM (NUMBER MARKER) (POSSESSIVE MARKER) (CASE MARKER).

43 The absolutive is a nuclear case that is not described in this learner’s grammar. The absolutive case form is unmarked in Paakantyi (i.e. it does not take any ending) and therefore, a description of the absolutive case is not necessarily useful for learners. A brief overview is as follows. Paakantyi’s nominal system is ergative-absolutive, which means that transitive subjects are in the ergative case and intransitive subjects and transitive objects are in the absolutive case. (NB Hercus (1982, p. 57), using the terminology most widely used in Australia at the time, writes that the nominal system is basically nominative-ergative. These days, the term ‘absolutive’ is used and the more common terminology for a case-marking system such as that used by Paakantyi nouns is ergative-absolutive.) Hercus (1982, p. 58) also refers to the ‘double absolutive’ but that is not discussed in this grammar.
**Pronouns**

Pronouns are words such as ‘I’, ‘me’, ‘you’, ‘him’, ‘they’, ‘this’, ‘that’ etc. Examples of English pronouns in different case forms are ‘I’ (used for a subject) ‘me’ (used for an object) and ‘my’ (to indicate possession).

Examples of Paakantyi phrases with pronouns in different case forms are shown in this chapter so that you can see them alongside examples with nouns in different case forms. For a more detailed explanation of the forms and functions of pronouns, refer to Chapter 5: Personal Pronouns and Chapter 6: Demonstrative pronouns.

### 4.1 Nuclear (Main) Cases

The nuclear (main) cases are used for the functions of transitive and intransitive subject and object in a sentence. The nuclear cases are:

1. Nominative
2. Ergative
3. Accusative
4. Dative

#### 4.1.1 Nominative Case

The nominative case is found in Paakantyi pronouns but not nouns.⁴⁴

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paakantyi nouns:</th>
<th>The nominative case is not found.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paakantyi pronouns:</td>
<td>With singular pronouns, used for intransitive subjects. With dual and plural pronouns, used for both transitive and intransitive subjects.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nominative case with pronouns

**Example 83.** *(E.g. 38 in Hercus)*

*Paakantyi nhuungkuapa*

‘I am a Paakantyi woman’

*Paakantyi nhuungku* -apa

Paakantyi woman -1 sg Intr subj

‘I’

**Example 84.** *(E.g. 386 in Hercus)*

*Nhantharrimpa parrityi*

‘How often did you go?’

*nhantharr* -impapari -tyi

how often -2 sg Intr subj go -PAST

‘you’

---

⁴⁴ Nouns in Paakantyi follow an ergative-absolutive case system – refer to the previous footnote.
Example 85.  
(Ex. 583 in Hercus)  
\textit{Thuna ngiingkaali paarrala}  
\textquote[10pt]{‘Then we two sit [here] to listen’}  

\begin{tabular}{llll}  
\textit{thuna} & ngiingka & -ali & paarr\textsubscript{a} \\
then & sit & -1 dl subj & \textit{listen} \\
\end{tabular}  
\textit{OPT}  
\textquote{we’ (two)}

Example 86.  
(Ex. 558 in Hercus)  
\textit{Wiityaturta kinha karr\textsubscript{ki}}  
\textquote[10pt]{‘You will please drink up this bottle’}  

\begin{tabular}{llll}  
\textit{wiitya} & -t & -urt\textsubscript{a} & kinha & karr\textsubscript{ki} \\
\textit{drink} & -FUT & -2 pl subj & \textit{this NOM} & \textit{bottle} \\
\end{tabular}  
\textquote{‘you’ (all)}

4.1.2 Ergative Case  
In some languages, an ergative case marker is used to show who or what is the subject of a transitive sentence (i.e. who or what is the actor). In Paakantyi, ergative case markers are not essential for knowing the subject of a sentence. This is because when the subject and object are both nouns, the subject always come before the object in a sentence.\textsuperscript{45} When the subject and/or object is a pronoun, you can tell whether it is the subject or object by the case form it is in.

The ergative case with nouns  
The ergative case is used for the actor (i.e. transitive subject) of a sentence. Although the ergative case is generally unmarked on nouns, it can be expressed by attaching bound forms of certain demonstrative pronouns to the end of nominal (noun) subjects. The demonstrative pronouns that can be used for this purpose are:

- \textit{-nhurr\textsubscript{u}} (from (k)\textit{inhurr\textsubscript{u}}, ‘that’/’those’) used for something or someone far away.
- \textit{-thurru} (from (k)\textit{ithurr\textsubscript{u}}, ‘this’/’this here’/’these’) used for something or someone close by.

Ergative case (unmarked):

Example 87.  
(Ex. 70 in Hercus)  
\textit{Wiimpatyawa waaku partatyi}  
\textquote[10pt]{‘A man killed a crow [by stabbing]’}  

\begin{tabular}{llll}  
\textit{wiimpatya} & -wa & waaku & parta & -tyi \\
\textit{man} & -EMPH\textsubscript{2} & \textit{crow} & \textit{kill} & -PAST \\
\end{tabular}  

\textsuperscript{45} Refer to section 10.2 Sentences with a Nominal Subject and Object.
Ergative case marked using a demonstrative pronoun:

Example 88.  
\textit{Kumpatya marlinhurruuthinga wakatyi inha yarra}  
(E.g. 53 in Hercus)  
‘This big man cut down the tree’

\textit{kumpatya marli -nhurr\textsuperscript{46}u -thinga waka -tyi inha yarra}  
big man -that ERG -EMPH\textsubscript{1} cut -PAST this NOM tree

Example 89.  
\textit{Kaaru nhuungkunhurru watutyinha}  
(E.g. 79 in Hercus)  
‘Another woman took it’

\textit{kaaru nhuungku -nhurru watu -tyi -‘nha}  
other woman -that ERG take -PAST -3 sg obj ‘it’

Example 90.  
\textit{Yartuthurru kaantiturrayanha}  
(E.g. 80 in Hercus)  
‘The wind will carry it along’

\textit{yartu -thurru kaanti -t -urr\textsuperscript{u} -anha}  
wind -this ERG carry -FUT -3 sg subj -3 sg obj ‘it’ ‘it’

Example 91.  
\textit{Waakunhurru karnmatyi wankaualayi}  
(E.g. 51 in Hercus)  
‘That crow took my own bit of meat’

\textit{waaku -nhurr\textsuperscript{u} karnma -tyi wanka -ul’ -ayi}  
crow -that ERG steal -PAST meat -Sg -1 sg POS ‘my’

Example 92.  
\textit{Munimunithurru withunya nhapatyi}  
(E.g. 52 in Hercus)  
‘The police locked them all up’

\textit{muni-muni -thurr\textsuperscript{u} withunya nhapa -tyi}  
police -these ERG all lock up -PAST

\textbf{The ergative case with pronouns}

Example 93.  
\textit{Ngathuwanki yurripathu}  
(E.g. 634 in Hercus)  
‘I’m the only one that understands’

\textit{ngathu -wanki yurri -pa -thu}  
1 sg Tran subj only know -ASP -1 sg Tran subj ‘I’ ‘I’

\textsuperscript{46}Note that the ergative marker in this example has a long ‘u’ (i.e. is \textit{-rruu} rather than \textit{-rru}) as it is followed by the emphatic clitic \textit{-thinga}. Refer to section 7.1.1 The Emphatic Clitic \textit{-thinga} for further information.
Example 94.
(E.g. 665 in Hercus)  
*Kinha wirtumanti panama*athu* kiltu*  
‘I’m making stew for this old man’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kinha</th>
<th>wirtu</th>
<th>-manti</th>
<th>pana</th>
<th>-ma</th>
<th>-athu</th>
<th>kiltu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this NOM</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>-PURP</td>
<td>make</td>
<td>-Vb</td>
<td>-1 sg Tran subj</td>
<td>stew</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 95.
(E.g. 613 in Hercus)  
(modified)  
*Ngintuwarta karnmatyayi inhu parntu*  
‘But it was you that robbed me of this fish’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ngintu</th>
<th>-wa</th>
<th>-rta</th>
<th>karnma</th>
<th>-ty</th>
<th>-ayi</th>
<th>inhu</th>
<th>parntu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 sg Tran subj</td>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>-but</td>
<td>steal</td>
<td>-PAST</td>
<td>-1 sg obj</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 96.
(E.g. 526 in Hercus)  
Wantanintintu pariku  
‘You’re forgetting the language’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wanta</th>
<th>-nint’</th>
<th>-intu</th>
<th>pariku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>forget</td>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>-2 sg Tran subj</td>
<td>language</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.3 Accusative Case

The accusative case-marking suffix *-nha* is only rarely used with nouns. Pronouns acting as a direct object (i.e. the object of a transitive verb) take accusative case forms, although these do not always have the suffix *-nha*.

Paakantyi nouns:  
Generally, the accusative case is not marked with nouns.

Paakantyi pronouns:  
Used for direct objects. Also used instead of the dative case with bound pronouns.

The accusative case with nouns (rare)

Usually the accusative case marker *-nha* is not used with nouns. There are, however, a few isolated instances in which nouns take an accusative case-marking suffix. In these instances, the object is first referred to by a cross-referencing pronoun.

---

47 The translation of this example has been altered so that the English translation bears more grammatical similarity to the Paakantyi construction. The original translation given by Hercus is ‘but it was you that stole this fish from me’.

48 Note that Hercus originally believed the accusative case marker to be *-na* (Hercus, 1982), but this was later revised to *-nha* (Hercus & Nathan, 2002).
Unmarked (no accusative case-marking suffix):

**Example 97.** (*Nhuukataapa milinyaayi*)  
(E.g. 488 in Hercus)  
‘I’ll cut my fingernails’

\[ nhuuka \ -t \ -aapa \ milinya \ -ayi \]
\[ cut \ -FUT \ -1 \ sg \ Intr \ subj \ nail \ -1 \ sg \ POS \]
\[ ‘i’ \ ‘my’ \]

Marked (an accusative case-marking suffix is used):

**Example 98.** (*Kurrali kapirru*K)*anha, kapirru thiirrinha)  
(E.g. 58 in Hercus)  
‘The Jay-bird followed him, it followed the Peewee’

\[ kurrali \ kapi \ -rru \ -anha, \ kapi \ -rru \ thiirri \ -nha \]
\[ Jay-bird \ follow \ -NF \ 3 \ sg \ subj \ -3 \ sg \ obj, \ follow \ -NF \ 3 \ sg \ subj \ Peewee \ -ACC \]
\[ ‘it’ \ ‘him’ \ ‘it’ \]

In the example above, -anha (‘him’) is the cross-referencing pronoun and thiirri (‘peewee’) is the object to which it refers.

**Example 99.** (*Inhurruuthinga palkatynha, muurrpanhurru katyilukunha palkirru*)  
(E.g. 60 in Hercus)  
‘He hit him, that [big] kid hit the little one’

\[ inhurruu^{49} \ -thinga \ palka \ -tyi \ -‘nha, \ muurrpa \ -nhurru \]
\[ that \ ERG \ -EMPH \ 1 \ hit \ -PAST \ -3 \ sg \ obj, \ child \ -that \ ERG \]
\[ ‘him’ \]

\[ katyiluku \ -nha \ palki \ -rru \]
\[ little \ one \ -ACC \ hit \ -NF \ 3 \ sg \ subj \]
\[ ‘he’ \]

In the example above, -nha (‘him’) is the cross-referencing pronoun and katyiluku (‘little one’) is the object to which it refers.

**The accusative case with pronouns**

**Example 100.** (*Kila ngayimanti watutynha*)  
(E.g. 637 in Hercus)  
‘He didn’t get it for me’

\[ kila \ ngayi \ -manti \ watu \ -tyi \ -‘nha \]
\[ not \ 1 \ sg \ obj \ -PURP \ get \ -PAST \ -3 \ sg \ obj \]
\[ ‘me’ \ ‘it’ \]

---

^{49} Hercus (1982, p. 59) glosses inhu as ‘this’ in example 59 but it has been changed to ‘that’ here to conform to the translation given elsewhere. Note that the ergative marker in this example has a long ‘u’ (i.e. is -rru u rather than -rru) as it is followed by the emphatic clitic -thinga. Refer to section 7.1.1 The Emphatic Clitic -thinga for further information.
**4.1.4 Dative Case (Indirect Object): -ri**

The dative case-marking suffix -ri is used with a noun or personal pronoun acting as an indirect object. Note that the form of the dative case-marking suffix is identical to that of the allative case-marking suffix. Instances in which the dative case marker can be used include:

1. After verbs meaning ‘to give’ or ‘to get’.
2. When talking about something occurring for someone’s benefit.
3. With intransitive verbs of emotion and the verb mantha-la-, ‘to wait for’.
4. When talking about the purpose, hope or aim of an action.
5. Extended use.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paakantyi nouns:</th>
<th>Used for indirect objects. (NB Usually when a noun is in the dative case, a transitive subject pronoun is used.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paakantyi pronouns:</td>
<td>Used for indirect objects with free pronouns. (NB With bound pronouns, the accusative case is used instead for indirect objects.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

50 The translation of this example has been altered so that the English translation bears more grammatical similarity to the Paakantyi construction. The original translation given by Hercus is ‘but it was you that stole this fish from me’.
The dative case with both nouns and pronouns

1. The dative case can be used for indirect objects after verbs meaning ‘to give’ (nguuka-) or ‘to get’ (watu-)

Example 104.  
(M. 82 in Hercus)  
Mukurli manhu ithu, watu nganhari  
‘This is the fruit of a wild orange, get [it] for me’

\[ \text{mukurli manhu ithu, watu nganha} \text{-ri} \]
\[ \text{orange food this get 1 sg obj -DAT} \]
\[ \text{‘me’} \]

2. The dative case used when talking about something occurring for someone’s benefit

Example 105.  
(M. 83 in Hercus)  
Kila nguuwalayika muurppanaarrikungkari  
‘[Those women] don’t cook for their children’

\[ \text{kila nguwa} \text{-la} \text{-y ika muurrpa naarri ku ngka -ri} \]
\[ \text{not cook -TOP -Gl -3 pl subj child -Sp PI -Pl -3 pl POS -DAT} \]
\[ \text{‘they’ (all)} \]
\[ \text{‘their’ (all)} \]

Example 106.  
(M. 84 in Hercus)  
Maatha rri wa rrla ana yarntamanti  
‘Working for a boss for money’

\[ \text{maatha -ri warrka -la -ana yarnta -manti} \]
\[ \text{boss -DAT work -TOP -CONT money -PURP} \]

3. The dative case used with intransitive verbs expressing emotions and with the verb matha-la-, ‘to wait for’:

Example 107.  
(M. 85 in Hercus)  
Nguuyalaapa karliiri  
‘I’m scared of the dog’

\[ \text{nguuya -la -apa karli -ri} \]
\[ \text{fear -TOP -1 sg Intr subj dog -DAT} \]
\[ \text{‘I’} \]

Example 108.  
(M. 87 in Hercus)  
Kila yantaltaapa ngumari  
‘I won’t weep for you’

\[ \text{kila yanta -l’ -t -aapa nguma -ri} \]
\[ \text{not weep -TOP -FUT -1 sg Intr subj 2 sg obj -DAT} \]
\[ \text{‘l’ ‘you’} \]

---

\[ \text{Note that nganha is not the usual form used in Paakantyi (i.e. the lect that Hercus calls ‘Southern Paakantyi’). The usual southern form is ngayi.} \]
Example 109.  
(E.g. 88 in Hercus)  
*Nhiirramaana ngamakari*  
‘Crying for mother’

*nhiira* -ma -ana ngamaka -ri  
cry -Vb -CONT mother -DAT

---

Example 110.  
(E.g. 90 in Hercus)  
(modified)  
*Yurriila ngiingkaapa wirtukaayiri*  
‘I’m sitting thinking of my elder sister’

*yurrii* -la ngiingka -apa wirtuka -ayi -ri  
think -OPT sit -1 sg Intr subj sister -1 sg POS -DAT  
‘i’ ‘my’

---

Example 111.  
(E.g. 86 in Hercus)  
*Manthalaana marliri*  
‘Waiting for her husband’

*mantha* -la -ana marli -ri  
wait -TOP -CONT man -DAT

---

4. The dative case used when talking about the purpose, hope or aim of an action:

Example 112.  
(E.g. 91 in Hercus)  
*Ngiingkayika parnturi kalala*  
‘They sit [by the bank] to look for fish’

*ngiingka* -y -ika parntu -ri kala -la  
sit -Gl -3 pl subj cod -DAT seek -OPT  
‘they’ (all)

---

Example 113.  
(E.g. 93 in Hercus)  
*Parnkalathu nhuungkuparluri*  
‘He Sneaks after girls’

*parnka* -la ‘thu nhuungku -parlu -ri  
sneak -TOP -3 sg subj woman -young -DAT  
‘he’

---

Example 114.  
(E.g. 94 in Hercus)  
*Kila kunikari watulathu*  
‘He doesn’t get any firewood’

*kila kunika* -ri watu -la ‘thu  
not firewood -DAT get -TOP -3 sg subj  
‘he’

---

52 In Hercus’ grammar (1982, p. 65) *ngiingkaapa* is broken down as *ngiingk’-apa*. This has been changed to *ngiingka-apa* here for the sake of consistency.
Example 115. *Thampalathu dhunkari*  
(E.g. 95 in Hercus)  
‘He is digging a grave’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{thampa} & \quad \text{-la} \quad \text{-’thu} \quad \text{dhunka} \quad \text{-ri} \\
\text{dig} & \quad \text{-TOP} \quad -3 \text{ sg subj} \quad \text{grave} \quad \text{-DAT} \\
& \quad \text{‘he’}
\end{align*}
\]

5. Extended use of the dative ‘where there is no clear idea of purpose and where there is quite definite impingement on the object’ (Hercus 1982, p. 66):

The dative can also be used even when there is no clear idea of aim or purpose:

**Example 116.**  
*Wityaturta kinha karrikiри*  
(E.g. 96 in Hercus)  
‘You lot will drink up this whole flagon’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{witya} & \quad -t \quad -urta \quad \text{kinha} \quad \text{karriki} \quad \text{-ri} \\
\text{drink} & \quad \text{-FUT} \quad -2 \text{ pl subj} \quad \text{this NOM} \quad \text{flagon} \quad \text{-DAT} \\
& \quad \text{‘you’ (all)}
\end{align*}
\]

**Example 117.**  
*Karnmamaalaana yarrayarinhanhiri*  
(E.g. 97 in Hercus)  
‘Stealing our things’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{karnma} & \quad -\text{ma} \quad -\text{la} \quad -\text{ana} \quad \text{yarra-yarr}’ \quad -\text{inanha} \quad \text{-ri} \\
\text{steal} & \quad \text{-Vb} \quad \text{-TOP} \quad \text{-CONT} \quad \text{things} \quad -1 \text{ pl POS} \quad \text{-DAT} \\
& \quad \text{‘our’ (all)}
\end{align*}
\]

This use of the dative is particularly common when there is involvement of body parts:

**Example 118.**  
*Wingurru pathonanha miikiri*  
(E.g. 98 in Hercus)  
‘Flies are biting his eye’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wingurru} & \quad \text{patha} \quad -\text{na} \quad -’\text{na} \quad \text{miik} \quad \text{-ri} \\
\text{fly} & \quad \text{bite} \quad \text{-CONT} \quad -3 \text{ sg obj} \quad \text{eye} \quad \text{-DAT} \\
& \quad \text{‘him’}
\end{align*}
\]

**Example 119.**  
*Wananhurru palkatyinha tharturi*  
(E.g. 99 in Hercus)  
‘That boomerang hit him on the head’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wana} & \quad -\text{nhurru} \quad \text{palka} \quad -\text{ty} \quad -’\text{na} \quad \text{thartu} \quad \text{-ri} \\
\text{boomerang} & \quad -\text{that ERG} \quad \text{hit} \quad \text{-PAST} \quad -3 \text{ sg obj} \quad \text{head} \quad \text{-DAT} \\
& \quad \text{‘him’}
\end{align*}
\]

**Example 120.**  
*Yalkuri yaakatyu*  
(E.g. 101 in Hercus)  
‘He broke his leg’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yalku} & \quad \text{-ri} \quad \text{yaaka} \quad -\text{ty} \quad -u \\
\text{leg} & \quad \text{-DAT} \quad \text{break} \quad \text{-PAST} \quad -3 \text{ sg subj} \\
& \quad \text{‘he’}
\end{align*}
\]
Example 121. Marrnkuri yaakatyu
(E.g. 172 in Hercus) ‘He broke his arm’

marrnku -ri yaaka -ty -u
arm -DAT break -PAST -3 sg subj ‘he’
### 4.1.5 Summary of Forms and Functions of the Nuclear (Main) Cases

#### Table 7: The nuclear (main) cases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Free Pronouns</th>
<th>Bound Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Dual &amp; Plural</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ergative form</strong></td>
<td>Only marked for a transitive subject along with demonstrative pronouns (-thurr ‘this’ and -nhurr ‘that’)</td>
<td>Transitive subject</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominative form</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Intransitive subject</td>
<td>Transitive &amp; intransitive subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accusative form</strong></td>
<td>Only marked in isolated instances along with a cross-referencing pronoun</td>
<td>Direct object</td>
<td>Direct object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative form</strong></td>
<td>Indirect object</td>
<td>Indirect object</td>
<td>Indirect object</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.2 Peripheral (Local) Cases

The peripheral (local) cases are used for functions other than those covered by the nuclear (main) cases (i.e. transitive & intransitive subject, direct & indirect object). The peripheral cases are:

1. **Ablative**  
   direction away from, showing cause
2. **Allative**  
   goal/direction towards
3. **Comitative**  
   in company with
4. **Genitive**  
   possession
5. **Instrumental**  
   object performing an action
6. **Locative**  
   location in time or space
7. **Purposive/Benefactive**  
   gain from an action, person who benefits
4.2.1 Ablative Case (Direction Away From, Showing Cause): -(u)ntu

The ablative case-marking suffix -untu is used used with both transitive and intransitive verbs to:

1. Indicate direction away from something/somewhere.
2. Show cause.

It is usually shortened to -ntu in words longer than two syllables. Occasionally, when speaking very quickly, it is also shortened in two-syllable words. When the full form -untu is used, its initial ‘u’ and the word-final vowel to which it attaches are always pronounced separately.

Hercus (1982, p. 77) states that generally the ablative case is used with nouns representing inanimate (non-living) objects and only very rarely with those representing animate (living) objects. Only two examples of pronouns used in the ablative case have been found in Hercus’ grammar by the author so it seems likely that the ablative case is rarely used with animates in general (whether they are nouns or pronouns).

| Paakantyi nouns: | The suffix -(u)ntu is attached to nouns to form the ablative case. |
| Paakantyi pronouns: | The suffix -(u)ntu is added to the accusative/genitive form of the pronoun to form the ablative case. |

The ablative case with nouns

1. The ablative case used to indicate direction away from

Example 122.  
(E.g. 148 in Hercus)  
Watuwanta murrarta kunikantu  
‘Pull it quickly out of the fire’

\[ \text{watuwanta murrarta kunika -ntu} \]
\[ \text{pull out quickly fire -ABL} \]

Example 123.  
(E.g. 149 in Hercus)  
Wampilatyu walpirrintu kaaru walpiriri  
‘It flew from one bank to the other’

\[ \text{wampi -la -ty -u walpirri -ntu kaaru walpirri -ri} \]
\[ \text{fly -TOP -PAST -3 sg subj bank -ABL other bank -ALL ‘it’} \]

Example 124.  
(E.g. 150 in Hercus)  
Wapurratyu partuntu  
‘It came out of an egg’

\[ \text{wapurra -ty -u parti -untu} \]
\[ \text{come out -PAST -3 sg subj egg -ABL ‘it’} \]
2. The ablative case used to show cause

Example 125.  
\( \text{Yuku-par\l u} \text{ntu \ w\am branna} \)  
‘They are cranky on account of that rainbow’  
yuku-par\l lu \(-\text{ntu} \ \text{wanmurr}a \ -\text{na} \)  
\begin{align*} \text{rainbow} & \ -\text{ABL} \ \text{being cranky} \ -\text{CONT} \end{align*}

Example 126.  
\( \text{Nguyylatt} \text{thu ng\am tintu, yalthimarr}i} \)  
‘He will get scared of those long teeth’  
nguyya \(-l’ \ -t \ -\text{at\u{u}ng} \ -\text{ntu, yalthi} \ -\text{marri} \)  
fear \ -\text{TOP} \ -\text{FUT} \ -3 \text{ sg subj} \ \text{teeth} \ -\text{ABL} \ \text{long} \ -\text{very} \ ‘\text{he’} \)

Example 127.  
\( \text{Yurriyurir} \text{tyali wiimpa\y t} \text{y} \text{ntu} \)  
‘We two were worrying about the Aboriginal people’  
yurri \(-yurri \ -\text{ty} \ -\text{ali} \ \text{wiimpatya} \ -\text{ntu} \)  
think \ -\text{think} \ -\text{PAST} \ -1 \text{ dl subj} \ \text{Aboriginal} \ -\text{ABL} \ ‘\text{we’} \ \text{(two)} \)

The ablative case with pronouns

Example 128.  
\( \text{Nginan} \text{hantu} \ \text{watu} \text{tyinha} \)  
‘He took it away from us’  
nginanha \(-\text{ntu} \ \text{watu} \ -\text{tyi} \ -\text{’nha} \)  
1 \text{ pl obj} \ -\text{ABL} \ \text{take} \ -\text{PAST} \ -3 \text{ sg subj} \ ‘\text{us’} \ ‘\text{he’} \)

Example 129.  
\( \text{Maangataapa ngum\am ntu} \)  
‘I’ll hide from you’  
maanga \(-t \ -\text{aapa} \ \text{nguma} \ -\text{ntu} \)  
\begin{align*} \text{hide} & \ -\text{FUT} \ -1 \text{ sg Intr subj} \ 2 \text{ sg obj} \ -\text{ABL} \ ‘l’ \ ‘you’ \end{align*}

4.2.2 Allative (Goal/Direction Towards): -ri

The allative case-marking suffix -ri is used to indicate direction towards or the goal of an action. Note that the form of the allative case-marking suffix is identical to that of the dative case-marking suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paakantyi nouns:</th>
<th>The suffix -ri is attached to nouns to form the allative case.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paakantyi pronouns:</td>
<td>The allative case is only used with demonstrative pronouns.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The allative case with nouns

Example 130.  
(E.g. 114 in Hercus)  
Yukuyukungkathungka pulkari  
‘I chase them down right into the floodplains’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yuku-yuku} & \quad -\text{ngk} \quad -\text{athu} \quad -\text{ngka} \quad \text{pulka} \quad -\text{ri} \\
\text{chase} & \quad -\text{ASP} \quad -1 \text{ sg Tran subj} \quad -3 \text{ pl obj} \quad \text{plain} \quad -\text{ALL} \\
& \quad \text{‘I’} \quad \text{‘them’ (all)}
\end{align*}
\]

Example 131.  
(E.g. 115 in Hercus)  
Kapayikanha wanganyari  
‘They follow it to its nest’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kapa} & \quad -\text{y} \quad -\text{ika} \quad -'\text{na} \quad \text{wanganya} \quad -\text{ri} \\
\text{follow} & \quad -\text{Gl} \quad -3 \text{ pl subj} \quad -3 \text{ sg obj} \quad \text{nest} \quad -\text{ALL} \\
& \quad \text{‘they’ (all)} \quad \text{‘it’}
\end{align*}
\]

Example 132.  
(E.g. 116 in Hercus)  
Ngitya muurrpaulu parrangkatyi muni-muninha puungkari  
Just one little child went to the police station

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngitya} & \quad \text{muurpa} \quad -\text{ulu} \quad \text{parra} \quad -\text{ngka} \quad -\text{tyi} \quad \text{muni-muni} \quad -\text{nha} \quad \text{puungka} \quad -\text{ri} \\
\text{one} \quad \text{child} & \quad -\text{Sg} \quad \text{hurry} \quad -\text{ASP} \quad -\text{PAST} \quad \text{police} \quad -\text{GEN} \quad \text{house} \quad -\text{ALL}
\end{align*}
\]

The allative case with demonstrative pronouns

Example 133.  
(E.g. 236 in Hercus)  
Kangari kiirrari parri tyi  
‘He went to this place around here’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kangari} & \quad \text{kiirra} \quad -\text{ri} \quad \text{parri} \quad -\text{tyi} \\
\text{this ALL place} & \quad -\text{ALL} \quad \text{go} \quad -\text{PAST}
\end{align*}
\]
The allative case marker (like the ablative case marker, -(u)ntu) seems to mainly occur when referring to a location rather than to a person. Recorded cases of the allative being used with people are with the verbs parri- ‘to go’ and thika- ‘to return’.

Example 134.  
Parriyapa kumpakari  
(E.g. 117 in Hercus)  
‘I’m going over to that old woman’

\[
\begin{array}{c}
parri -y -apa \\
go -Gl -1 sg Intr subj \\
\text{woman} -\text{ALL} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I’

With other verbs of motion such as barnga- ‘to crawl’, ‘to sneak after’, the dative (not the allative) form would be used when talking about direction involving a person.

Example 135.  
Parnkalathu nhuungkuparluri  
(E.g. 93 in Hercus)  
‘He sneaks after girls’

\[
\begin{array}{c}
parnka -la -‘thu \\
sneak -TOP -3 sg subj \\
\text{woman} -\text{young} -\text{DAT} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘he’

The third person singular possessive always takes the form -ntu rather than -nha when it precedes the allative case marker -ri.

Example 136.  
Yaparranturri  
(p. 89 in Hercus)  
‘To his camp’

\[
\begin{array}{c}
yaparra -ntu \\
camp -3 sg POS \\
\end{array}
\]

‘his’
4.2.3 Comitative Case (in Company with): -ampala/-umpula

The comitative case-marking suffix -ampala/-umpula\(^{54}\) indicates that an action is carried out together with or in association with a person or thing.\(^{55}\)

The initial ‘a’ or ‘u’ of the comitative suffix and the word-final vowel to which it attaches are always pronounced separately.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paakantyi nouns:</th>
<th>The usual comitative case marker is -ampala (-umpula is a variation used for nouns ending in ‘u’.) When speaking quickly, the comitative case marker may be pronounced -mpala.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paakantyi pronouns:</td>
<td>The comitative case is not used.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The comitative case with nouns

**Example 137.**  
(\textit{E.g. 159 in Hercus})  
\textit{Wakakaampala ngiingkoyika manthala}  
‘They sit waiting with a tomahawk’

\begin{verbatim}
wakaka   -ampala    ngiingkoyika -y     -ika   manthala -la
\end{verbatim}

tomahawk -COM sit -Gl -3 pl subj wait -PURP  
‘they’ (all)

**Example 138.**  
(\textit{E.g. 160 in Hercus})  
\textit{Kila ngukuumpula wiityangkurruanha}  
‘Because he didn’t drink it mixed with water [he got sick]’

\begin{verbatim}
kila nguku   -umpula    wiitya -ngku   -rru   -anha
not water -COM drink -PERF -NF 3 sg subj -3 sg obj
\end{verbatim}

‘he’ ‘it’

**Example 139.**  
(p. 85 in Hercus)  
\textit{Karliampala}  
‘With his dog’

\begin{verbatim}
karli   -ampala
\end{verbatim}

dog -COM

\(^{54}\) One speaker was recorded by Hercus (1982, pp. 72, 80) as using -amata as the comitative case-marking suffix.

\(^{55}\) The comitative case-marking suffix was recorded by Hercus (1982, p. 216) as having been heard a few times with verbs. Hercus believes that its usage with verbs was most likely not traditionally part of Paakantyi but rather, a result of English influence.
Note
In some cases, the use of the comitative may appear similar to that of the ‘having’ suffix -tya but the meaning conveyed is actually different.

For example, the following sentence uses the comitative case ending:

Example 140. Nhuungku ngaatha wankaampala thikalatyi
(E.g. 161 in Hercus) ‘The woman came back without bringing the meat with her’

\[ \text{nhuungku ngaatha wanka -ampala thika -la -tyi} \]
woman not meat -COM return -TOP -PAST

In the above example, the focus is on the fact that the action of returning did not take place in company with the meat. Compare this with the following sentence using the ‘having’ suffix, -tya:

Example 141. Nhuungku ngaatha wanka-tya thikalatyi
(E.g. 162 in Hercus) ‘The woman came back without having any meat’

\[ \text{nhuungku ngaatha wanka -tya thika -la -tyi} \]
woman not meat -having return -TOP -PAST

In this example, the focus is the fact that the woman did not have any meat rather than the fact that she returned without meat.

4.2.4 Genitive Case (Possession): -nha
The genitive case-marking suffix -nha is used to show possession. Sometimes Australian languages distinguish between ‘alienable’ and ‘inalienable’ possession. Alienable items are things that can be separated (alienated) from the owner, e.g. dogs or items of clothing. Inalienable possessions, on the other hand, cannot be separated from the owner, e.g. body parts. In Paakantyi, the genitive case marker can be used for both alienable and inalienable possession.56

Paakantyi nouns: The suffix -nha attaches to a noun (either a person or a personified animal) to show that they are the possessor of something.

Paakantyi pronouns: The genitive form, which is identical to the accusative form, is used to mark possession.57

---

56 Note that traditionally, possessive markers were not used when talking about a person’s name or totemic identity, although in modern Paakantyi they may be used. See section 5.5.6 Traditional and modern Usage of Possessive markers.

57 A more in-depth discussion of possession is given in section 5.5 Possession.
The genitive case with nouns

Example 142.  
(E.g. 139 in Hercus)  
\textit{Wiimpatyanha pirrnha-pirrnha pamityi}  
‘He saw a lot of human bones’  
\textit{wiimpatya -nha pirrnha-pirrnha}\textsuperscript{58} \textit{pami -tyi}  
Aboriginal -\textit{GEN} bone-bone\textsuperscript{58} \textit{see -PAST}

Example 143.  
(E.g. 140 in Hercus)  
\textit{Karnmatyu kutakutanha partiri}  
‘[That little bird] stole the eggs of all the rest [of the birds]’  
\textit{karnma -ty -u kuta -kuta -nha parti -ri}  
steal -\textit{PAST} -3 sg subj rest -rest -\textit{GEN} egg -\textit{DAT}  
‘it’

Example 144.  
(E.g. 141 in Hercus)  
\textit{Wiimpatyanha manhu thayilathu}  
‘He eats black-fellow tucker’  
\textit{wiimpatya -nha manhu thayi -la -‘thu}  
Aboriginal -\textit{GEN} food eat -\textit{TOP} -3 sg subj  
‘he’

Example 145.  
(E.g. 142 in Hercus)  
\textit{Muni-muninha kiirrana}  
‘At the police station’  
\textit{muni-muni -nha kiirra -na}  
police -\textit{GEN} place -\textit{LOC}  

The genitive suffix can also be added to names:

Example 146.  
(E.g. 143 in Hercus)  
\textit{Yaparrana Jimmynha}  
‘In Jimmy’s hut’  
\textit{yaparra -na Jimmy -nha}  
camp -\textit{LOC} Jimmy -\textit{GEN}  

\textsuperscript{58} NB The word for ‘bone’ is shown with a retroflex ‘r’ sound in previous resources. Luise Hercus has since revised this (Hercus 2014, pers. comm., 28 April), and the word is therefore shown here as \textit{pirrnha}, with a flapped/trilled ‘r’ sound.
Note—restrictions on the use of the genitive:

1. The genitive suffix is only used in the definite sense (e.g. the hut), not in the indefinite sense (e.g. a hut):

   **Example 147.**  
   *(E.g. 144 in Hercus)*  
   Wiimpatyanha pungka  
   ‘[The] hut of an Aboriginal’

   wiimpatya -nha pungka  
   Aboriginal -GEN hut

   **Example 148.**  
   *(E.g. 145 in Hercus)*  
   Wiimpatya pungka  
   ‘[An] Aboriginal hut’

   wiimpatya pungka  
   Aboriginal hut

2. The genitive suffix is used with people or personified animals only. Usually when the ‘owner’ is an animal, the genitive suffix is not used, as in the following examples:

   **Example 149.**  
   *(p. 76 in Hercus)*  
   Tharlta paltha  
   ‘Kangaroo skin’

   tharlta paltha  
   kangaroo skin

   **Example 150.**  
   *(p. 76 in Hercus)*  
   Parntupirnha  
   ‘The bones of a fish’

   parntu -pirnha  
   fish -bone

The same applies when the owner is inanimate (non-living):

   **Example 151.**  
   *(p. 76 in Hercus)*  
   Paakawalpirri  
   ‘The bank of the Darling River’

   Paaka -walpirri  
   the Darling River -bank
4.2.5 Instrumental Case (Object Performing an Action): -na

The instrumental case-marking suffix -na:

1. Marks an object (i.e. an instrument) with which an action is performed.
2. Is used when talking about the substance out of which something is made.

The instrumental is never used with people and animals. When expressing meaning such as ‘in company with’ and ‘with the help of’, the comitative case marker is used.

NB When used with a possessive pronoun form ending in ‘nha’, the instrumental case marker -na is usually dropped, in order to avoid the sequence ‘nhana’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paakantyi nouns:</th>
<th>The suffix -na attaches to a noun representing an object with which an action is performed (i.e. an instrument such as a spear).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paakantyi pronouns:</td>
<td>The instrumental case is not used.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The instrumental case with nouns

1. The instrumental case marking an instrument used to perform an action:

   **Example 152.**  
   *(E.g. 119 in Hercus)*  
   *Kalkurruna pantatikayi*  
   ‘They’ll strike me with a spear’

   \[ kalkurr -na panta -t -ik’ -ayi \]
   \[ spear -INST strike -FUT -3 pl subj -1 sg obj ‘they’ ‘me’ \]

   **Example 153.**  
   *(E.g. 120 in Hercus)*  
   *Ngantanya palkathuama*  
   ‘I’ll hit you with a branch’

   \[ ngantanya -na palk’ -athu -ama \]
   \[ branch -INST hit -1 sg Tran subj -2 sg obj ‘I’ ‘you’ \]

   **Example 154.**  
   *(E.g. 121 in Hercus)*  
   *Marana wakawakathuama*  
   ‘I’ll smack you with my hand’

   \[ mara -na waka-wak’ -athu -ama \]
   \[ hand -INST smack -1 sg Tran subj -2 sg obj ‘I’ ‘you’ \]
Example 155.  
\( Ngantina \ thakmirru \)  
‘He opened it with his teeth’

\[ nganti \ -na \ thak \ -mi \ -rru \]
tooth -INST open -Vb -NF 3 sg subj  
‘he’

2. The instrumental case used when talking about the substance out of which something is made:

Example 156.  
\( Kali \ palthana \ ponomirru \)  
‘He made it entirely out of bark’

\[ kali \ paltha \ -na \ pana \ -mi \ -rru \]
only bark -INST make -Vb -NF 3 sg subj  
‘he’

4.2.6 Locative Case (Location): -na
The locative case-marking suffix -na is used to mark:

1. Location in space.
2. Location in time.
3. (A rarer use) location in a wider sense; that is, the location in the circumstances under which an action takes place.

NB When used with a possessive pronoun form ending in ‘nha’, the locative case marker -na is usually dropped, in order to avoid the sequence ‘nhana’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paakantyi nouns:</th>
<th>The suffix -na attaches to a noun to mark location in time or space (e.g. ‘in the creekbed’.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paakantyi pronouns:</td>
<td>The suffix -na is added to the accusative/genitive form of the free pronoun to form the locative case.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The locative case with nouns

1. The locative suffix used for location in space

Example 157.  
\( Pityana \ ngiingkaapa \ putyina \)  
‘I’m sitting outside in the warmth’

\[ pitya \ -na \ ngiingka \ -apa \ putyi \ -na \]
outside -LOC sit -1 sg Intr subj heat -LOC  
‘I’
Example 158. Yalkina kapatali
(E.g. 128 in Hercus)
‘We’ll follow in the creekbed’
yalki -na kapa -t -ali
creek -LOC follow -FUT -1 dl subj
‘we two’

Example 159. Kumpatya thumpina
(E.g. 132 in Hercus)
‘In a big waterhole’
kumpatya thumpi -na
big waterhole -LOC

Example 160. Kila thumpina ngiingkataapa
(E.g. 133 in Hercus)
‘I won’t sit by the waterhole’
kila thumpi -na ngiingka -t -aapa
not waterhole -LOC sit -FUT -1 sg intr
‘I’

Example 161. Pinhathu yarrana
(E.g. 134 in Hercus)
‘He’s climbing up [on] a tree’
pinha -‘thu yarra -na
climb -3 sg subj tree -LOC
‘he’

Example 162. Kaaru kumpakana ngiingkaathu
(E.g. 135 in Hercus)
‘He’s living with another woman’
kaaru kumpaka -na ngiingka -athu
other woman -LOC sit -3 sg subj
‘he’

Example 163. Yaparraanhana
(E.g. 146 in Hercus)
‘In his camp’
yaparra -anha -na
59 camp -3 sg POS -LOC
‘his’

59 Note that the locative marker -na could be dropped in this sentence in order to avoid the sequence ‘nhana’.
Example 164.  
(E.g. 129 in Hercus)  
\textit{Ngiiungkathu yaparraanhanha}  
‘He’s sitting in his camp’  
\[ \text{ngiiungka} \quad \text{-} \quad \text{’thu} \quad \text{yaparra} \quad \text{-} \quad \text{anha} \quad \text{-} \quad \text{na}^{60} \]  
\text{sit} \quad \text{-} \quad \text{3 sg subj} \quad \text{camp} \quad \text{-} \quad \text{3 sg POS} \quad \text{-LOC} \quad \text{‘he’} \quad \text{‘his’}  

Example 165.  
(E.g. 147 in Hercus)  
\textit{Kumpakaanhanha ngimangkuathu}  
‘He was living with his [i.e. somebody else’s] wife’  
\[ \text{kumpaka} \quad \text{-} \quad \text{anha} \quad \text{-} \quad \text{na}^{61} \quad \text{ngima} \quad \text{-} \quad \text{ngku} \quad \text{-} \quad \text{athu} \]  
\text{wife} \quad \text{-} \quad \text{3 sg POS} \quad \text{-LOC} \quad \text{lie} \quad \text{-PERF} \quad \text{-} \quad \text{3 sg subj} \quad \text{‘his’} \quad \text{‘he’}  

In the following examples, the locative marker -\textit{na} has been dropped in order to avoid the sequence ‘nhana’.

Example 166.  
(p. 77 in Hercus)  
\textit{Thumpaalinhanha} \rightarrow \textit{Thumpaalinha}  
‘In the lair belonging to us two’  
\[ \text{thumpa} \quad \text{-} \quad \text{alinha} \quad \text{-} \quad \text{na}^{62} \]  
\text{hole} \quad \text{-} \quad \text{1 dl POS} \quad \text{-LOC} \quad \text{‘our’ (two)}  

Example 167.  
(p. 77 in Hercus)  
\textit{Yaparrauulunhanha} \rightarrow \textit{Yaparrauulunha}  
‘In the camp belonging to these two’  
\[ \text{yaparra} \quad \text{-} \quad \text{uulunha} \quad \text{-} \quad \text{na}^{63} \]  
\text{camp} \quad \text{-} \quad \text{3 dl POS} \quad \text{-LOC} \quad \text{‘their’ (two)}  

2. The locative suffix used for location in time

Example 168.  
(E.g. 130 in Hercus)  
\textit{Yukuna nga thungkana}  
‘By day and by night’  
\[ \text{yuku} \quad \text{-} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{nga} \quad \text{thungka} \quad \text{-} \quad \text{na} \]  
\text{day} \quad \text{-LOC} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{night} \quad \text{-LOC}  

\[ ^{60} \text{Note that the locative marker -na could be dropped in this sentence in order to avoid the sequence ‘nhana’}. \]

\[ ^{61} \text{As above}. \]

\[ ^{62} \text{As above}. \]

\[ ^{63} \text{As above}. \]
3. Rarer use of the locative suffix (location in a wider sense)

Example 170.  
(E.g. 136 in Hercus)  
*Nganha parkuna pakingkaathu*  
‘I’m singing in my own language’

nganha°⁶⁴ parku -na paki -ngka -athu  
1 sg POS  language -LOC  sing -ASP  -1 sg Tran subj  
‘my’  ‘I’

Example 171.  
(E.g. 137 in Hercus)  
*Kuurripayika muni-muni*  
‘They hid from the policeman’

kuurripa -y -ika muni-muni -na  
hide -Gl -3 pl subj  police -LOC  
‘they’

The locative case with pronouns

Example 172.  
(E.g. 215 in Hercus)  
*Ngayina ngiingimpa*  
‘You stay with me!’

ngayi -na ngiing’ -impa  
1 sg obj -LOC  sit -2 sg Intr subj  
‘me’  ‘you’

4.2.7 Purposive/Benefactive (Gain from an Action): *-manti*

This is the only case-marking suffix that has its own stress (i.e. emphasis). The function of the purposive (or benefactive) case marker *-manti* is similar to that of the dative but the purposive focuses on what it is to be gained from the activity being described. The purposive can be used with both transitive and intransitive verbs for:

1. Purposive function (to mark the purpose of an action).
2. Benefactive function (to mark the person for whose benefit an action is carried out).

---

°⁶⁴ The form of the 1 sg POS marker shown here, *nganha*, is a rare variant traditionally used by people from Menindee. The more common form is *ngayi*.

°⁶⁵ The exact translation given by Hercus (1982, p. 75) is ‘they planted on (i.e. hid from) the policeman’.
Paakantyi nouns: The suffix -manti attaches to nouns representing the purpose of an action or the person benefiting from an action.

Paakantyi pronouns: The suffix -manti is added to the accusative/genitive form of the pronoun to form the purposive case.

The purposive/benefactive case with nouns

1. Purposive function

Example 173.  
*Manhumanti parrityimpa*  
(E.g. 155 in Hercus)  
‘You went to get food’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{manhu} & \quad \text{-manti} \quad \text{par} \quad \text{-ty} \quad \text{-impa} \\
\text{food} & \quad \text{-PURP} \quad \text{get} \quad \text{-PAST} \quad \text{-2 sg Intr subj} \quad \text{‘you’}
\end{align*}
\]

Example 174.  
*Ngathamanti palkatyuanha*  
(E.g. 156 in Hercus)  
‘He killed her for nothing’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngatha} & \quad \text{-manti} \quad \text{palka} \quad \text{-ty} \quad \text{-u} \quad \text{-anha} \\
\text{nothing} & \quad \text{-PURP} \quad \text{hit} \quad \text{-PAST} \quad \text{-3 sg subj} \quad \text{-3 sg obj} \quad \text{‘he’} \quad \text{‘her’}
\end{align*}
\]

Example 175.  
*Nhiirramaana ngamamanti*  
(E.g. 89 in Hercus)  
‘Crying for [the sake of] milk’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ nhiirra} & \quad \text{-ma} \quad \text{-ana} \quad \text{ ngama} \quad \text{-manti} \\
\text{cry} & \quad \text{-Vb} \quad \text{-CONT} \quad \text{ milk} \quad \text{-PURP}
\end{align*}
\]

2. Benefactive function

Example 176.  
*Kaaru wana panamathu wirtaulumanti*  
(E.g. 158 in Hercus)  
‘He’s making another boomerang for the old man’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kaaru} & \quad \text{wana} \quad \text{ pana} \quad \text{-ma} \quad \text{-‘thu} \quad \text{ wirta} \quad \text{-ulu} \quad \text{-manti} \\
\text{other} & \quad \text{boomerang} \quad \text{ make} \quad \text{-Vb} \quad \text{-3 sg subj} \quad \text{ old man} \quad \text{-Sg} \quad \text{-PURP} \quad \text{‘he’}
\end{align*}
\]

The purposive/benefactive case with pronouns

Example 177.  
*Ngumanti panamalayika*  
(E.g. 218 in Hercus)  
‘They are making it for you’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngumanti} & \quad \text{ pana} \quad \text{-ma} \quad \text{-la} \quad \text{-y} \quad \text{-ika} \\
\text{2 sg obj PURP} & \quad \text{ make} \quad \text{-Vb} \quad \text{-TOP} \quad \text{-Gl} \quad \text{-3 pl subj} \quad \text{‘for you’} \quad \text{‘they’ (all)}
\end{align*}
\]
### 4.2.8 Examples of Nouns in the Different Case Forms

**Table 8: Nouns in different case forms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Type</th>
<th>parna</th>
<th>yarrantyi</th>
<th>thumpi</th>
<th>yaparra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ergative case</strong> (transitive subject)</td>
<td>parna</td>
<td>yarrantyi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>parna-thurru</td>
<td>yarrantyi-thurru</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>parna-nhurru</td>
<td>yarrantyi-nhurru</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative case</strong> (indirect object)</td>
<td>parna-ri</td>
<td>yarrantyi-ri</td>
<td>thumpi-ri</td>
<td>yaparra-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Allative case</strong> (direction towards)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>thumpi-ri</td>
<td>yaparra-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Instrumental/Locative case</strong> (instrument/location)</td>
<td>parna-na</td>
<td>yarrantyi-na</td>
<td>thumpi-na</td>
<td>yaparra-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ablative case</strong> (direction away from)</td>
<td>parna-untu</td>
<td>yarrantyi-untu</td>
<td>thumpi-untu</td>
<td>yaparra-untu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purposive/Benefactive case</strong> (purpose/for someone’s benefit)</td>
<td>parna-manti</td>
<td>yarrantyi-manti</td>
<td>thumpi-manti</td>
<td>yaparra-manti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Comitative</strong> (in company with)</td>
<td>parna-ampala</td>
<td>yarrantyi-ampala</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 5: PRONOUNS

We will look at different sorts of pronouns in this chapter: personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and interrogative pronouns. (NB Sometimes in this grammar we will just say ‘pronouns’ instead of writing ‘personal pronouns’. If we are referring to other sorts of pronouns, we will specify the sort of pronoun we are referring to.)

Personal pronouns are words such as ‘I’, ‘me’, ‘he’, ‘him’, ‘they’, ‘them’ etc. They are used as substitutes for names (e.g. ‘Peter’) or noun phrases (e.g. ‘my black dog’). In the following examples, the noun or noun phrase is underlined and the pronoun that refers to it is in bold:

Peter is going fishing. He loves fishing.
I like that dress on Joan. It really suits her.
That old man is very friendly. He talks to everyone.
She is always gossiping, that woman.
See that boy? It was him I saw yesterday.
My black dog can’t run very fast; he is very old.

Personal pronouns are characterised by:

1. PERSON: first, second or third person.
2. NUMBER: singular, dual or plural.
3. SUBJECT OR OBJECT.

1. Person (first, second or third person)

First person pronouns refer to the speaker.
First person pronouns in English are ‘I’, ‘me’, ‘we’ and ‘us’.

Second person pronouns refer to the hearer.
All second person pronouns in English are ‘you’.

Third person pronouns refer to people other than the speaker or hearer.
Third person pronouns in English are ‘he’, ‘him’, ‘she’, ‘her’, ‘it’, ‘they’ and ‘them’.

In English, we distinguish between masculine and feminine for singular third person pronouns (‘he/him’ and ‘she/her’). We also have the non-gender-specific pronoun ‘it’. In Paakantyi, there is no gender distinction made for any of the pronouns. As the gender is not shown by the pronoun, it must instead be determined by the context of the sentence.

2. Number (singular, dual or plural)

Singular pronouns are used for one person.
Singular pronouns in English are ‘I’, ‘me’, ‘you’, ‘he’, ‘him’, ‘she’, ‘her’ and ‘it’.

Dual and plural pronouns: dual pronouns are used for two people and plural pronouns are used for three or more people.

Dual/plural pronouns in English are ‘you’, ‘we’, ‘us’, ‘they’ and ‘them’. English does not distinguish between dual and plural, as Paakantyi does. Where in English we would just say ‘you’ and not specify

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66 For an explanation of noun phrases, refer to section 10.1 Nominals and Noun Phrases.
whether we were talking to two people or more than two people, Paakantyi has specific pronouns. In English, we sometimes try to compensate for the lack of precision in this aspect of the language by saying things like ‘you two’ or ‘youse’. Paakantyi also has different words for ‘we’ and ‘they’ depending on whether the speaker is referring to two people or three or more people.

3. Subject/object

Pronouns have different forms depending on whether they refer to the subject or object of a sentence. The following list shows the subject and object forms of English pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td>her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it</td>
<td>it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The subject is the actor in a sentence and the object is the person/thing that is acted upon. For example, in the sentence ‘I hit him’, ‘I’ is the actor (i.e. the one doing the hitting) and the pronoun is in the subject form. ‘Him’ is the one being acted upon (i.e. the one being hit) and the pronoun is in the object form.

Notation used for personal pronouns in this grammar

In the sample sentences shown in this grammar, we will use shorthand notation when showing the translation of different pronouns.

For example, when we write ‘1 sg obj’, we mean ‘first person singular object’. This would refer to the pronoun meaning ‘me’ (it is ‘first person’ as it refers to the speaker, ‘singular’ as it refers to one person and ‘object’ as is in the object (i.e. ‘person acted upon’) form.) Since this might be confusing, the English translation of the pronoun will also be shown underneath the sample sentence.

Free and bound personal pronouns

Personal pronouns in Paakantyi have two forms: free and bound. Free pronouns can be used on their own as freestanding words. Bound pronouns are suffixes that attach to the end of other words. The bound pronouns start with vowels and are basically just the free pronouns with the initial consonants (usually ‘ng’) removed.

Case forms

Pronouns take different forms depending on how they are used. These are referred to as different ‘cases’. For example, a subject form can be in the ‘nominative’ or ‘ergative’ case and the object form is in the ‘accusative’ case. In English, the pronoun ‘I’ is in the nominative case and ‘me’ is in the accusative case.

67 We looked at examples with pronouns in these different forms in Chapter 4: Grammatical Case. This chapter provides a summary of the cases used with pronouns, as well as showing complete tables of the pronouns in all the possible case forms.
Paakantyi pronouns have several different case forms. Where in English we might use a preposition such as ‘to’, ‘from’, ‘for’ etc., in Paakantyi, the pronoun will take a different case form instead.

The different cases used with Paakantyi pronouns are as follows:

- **Nominative**
  - Singular pronouns: intransitive subject
  - Dual and plural pronouns: intransitive and transitive subject

- **Ergative**
  - Transitive subject (used with singular pronouns only)

- **Accusative**
  - Object of transitive verb

- **Genitive**
  - Possessive

- **Dative**
  - Indirect object i.e. ‘to’ or ‘for’ someone

- **Locative**
  - Location e.g. ‘with me’

- **Ablative**
  - Direction away from

- **Purposive/Benefactive**
  - Purpose, ‘for the sake of’

The different pronouns forms are shown in the following tables. Hyphens have been used so that you can clearly see the case endings (though usually in writing, you would not use these hyphens).
### Table 9: Singular Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>First Person</th>
<th>Second Person</th>
<th>Third Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominative</strong></td>
<td>ngapa/ngaapa</td>
<td>ngimpa</td>
<td>ngathu (rare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(intransitive subject)</td>
<td>-(a)apa</td>
<td>-impa</td>
<td>wathu (rare, implies some distance in place)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-apa</td>
<td>-impa</td>
<td>-(a)thu (future tense, no bound object follows)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-u (past tense)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-rru (non-future tenses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ergative</strong></td>
<td>ngathu/ngaathu</td>
<td>ngintu</td>
<td>ngathu(rru) (rare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(transitive subject)</td>
<td>-(a)thu</td>
<td>-(i)ntu</td>
<td>wathu(rru) (rare, implies some distance in place)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-u</td>
<td></td>
<td>-(a)thu(rru)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accusative/Genitive</strong></td>
<td>ngayi</td>
<td>nguma</td>
<td>nganha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(object of transitive verb/possessive)</td>
<td>-ayi</td>
<td>-(u)ma</td>
<td>(rare, usually a demonstrative pronoun ithunha or ithana is used instead)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ama</td>
<td>-a(n)ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative</strong></td>
<td>ngayi-ri</td>
<td>nguma-ri</td>
<td>ngayi-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(indirect object i.e. ‘to’ or ‘for’ someone)</td>
<td>(accusative used for bound form)</td>
<td>(accusative used for bound form)</td>
<td>(accusative used for bound form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘to/for me’</td>
<td>‘to/for you’</td>
<td>‘to/for him/her/it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 sg DAT)</td>
<td>(2 sg DAT)</td>
<td>(3 sg DAT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative</strong></td>
<td>ngayi-na</td>
<td>nguma-na</td>
<td>ngayi-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(location)</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘with me’</td>
<td>‘with you’</td>
<td>‘with me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 sg LOC)</td>
<td>(2 sg LOC)</td>
<td>(1 sg LOC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ablative</strong></td>
<td>ngayi-ntu</td>
<td>nguma-ntu</td>
<td>ngayi-ntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(direction away from)</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘from me’</td>
<td>‘from you’</td>
<td>‘from me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 sg ABL)</td>
<td>(2 sg ABL)</td>
<td>(1 sg ABL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purposive</strong></td>
<td>ngayi-manti</td>
<td>nguma-manti</td>
<td>ngayi-manti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(purpose, ‘for the sake of’)</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘for me’</td>
<td>‘for you’</td>
<td>‘for me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 sg PURP)</td>
<td>(2 sg PURP)</td>
<td>(1 sg PURP)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10: Dual Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First Person</th>
<th>Second Person</th>
<th>Third Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominative</strong></td>
<td><strong>ngali</strong></td>
<td><strong>ngupu</strong></td>
<td><strong>wathulu</strong> (rare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(intransitive &amp; transitive subject)</td>
<td><strong>-ali</strong></td>
<td><strong>ngupa</strong></td>
<td><strong>-uulu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ngupu</strong></td>
<td><strong>ngupa</strong></td>
<td><strong>-athulu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>-upa</strong></td>
<td><strong>-upa</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accusative/Genitive</strong></td>
<td><strong>ngali-nha</strong></td>
<td><strong>ngupu-nha</strong></td>
<td>(free form supplied by demonstratives)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(object of transitive verb/possessive)</td>
<td><strong>-ali-nha</strong></td>
<td><strong>ngupa-nha</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>-upa-nha</strong></td>
<td><strong>-upa-nha</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>-upu-nha</strong></td>
<td><strong>-upu-nha</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>-upu</strong></td>
<td><strong>-upu</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative</strong></td>
<td><strong>ngali-nha-ri</strong></td>
<td><strong>ngupa-nha-ri</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(indirect object i.e. ‘to’ or ‘for’ someone)</td>
<td><strong>’to/to for us’ (two)</strong> (1 dl DAT)</td>
<td><strong>’to/to for you’ (two)</strong> (2 dl DAT)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative</strong></td>
<td><strong>ngali-nha(-na)</strong></td>
<td><strong>ngupu-nha(-na)</strong></td>
<td>(supplied by demonstratives)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(location)</td>
<td>( -na is often dropped in order to avoid the sequence -nha-na)</td>
<td>( -na is often dropped in order to avoid the sequence -nha-na)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ablative</strong></td>
<td><strong>ngali-ntu</strong></td>
<td>No forms recorded by Hercus. Hypothetical forms would be:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(direction away from)</td>
<td><strong>ngali-nha-ntu</strong></td>
<td><strong>ngupu-nha-ntu</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td><strong>ngupa-nha-ntu</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ngupu-ntu</strong>*</td>
<td><strong>ngupa-ntu</strong>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ngupu-nha-ntu</strong>*</td>
<td><strong>ngupa-nha-ntu</strong>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘from us’ (two) (1 dl ABL)</td>
<td><strong>’from you’ (two)</strong> (2 dl ABL)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>purposive</strong></td>
<td><strong>ngali-nha-manti</strong></td>
<td><strong>ngupu-manti</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(purpose, ‘for the sake of’)</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td><strong>ngupa-nha-manti</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘for us’ (two) (1 dl PURP)</td>
<td><strong>’for you’ (two)</strong> (2 dl PURP)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:
Occasionally **ngali-ngulu** is used as a dual pronoun with special emphasis.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 11: Plural Personal Pronouns</th>
<th>First Person</th>
<th>Second Person</th>
<th>Third Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominative</strong></td>
<td>ngina</td>
<td>ngurta</td>
<td><em>(free form supplied by demonstratives)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(intransitive &amp; transitive subject)</td>
<td>-ina</td>
<td>-urta</td>
<td><em>(y)ika</em> (where ‘y’ is a glide which is sometimes inserted before this pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’we’ (3 or more people)</td>
<td>’you’ (3 or more people)</td>
<td>’they’ (3 or more people)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(1 pl subj)</em></td>
<td><em>(2 pl subj)</em></td>
<td><em>(3 pl subj)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accusative/Genitive</strong></td>
<td>ngina-ha</td>
<td>ngurta-ha</td>
<td><em>(free form supplied by demonstratives)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(object of transitive verb/possessive)</em></td>
<td>-ina-ha</td>
<td>-urta-ha</td>
<td><em>(ngka)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’us’ (3 or more people)</td>
<td>’you’ (3 or more people)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(1 pl obj)</em></td>
<td><em>(2 pl obj)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative</strong></td>
<td>ngina-ha-ri</td>
<td>ngurta-ha-ri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(indirect object i.e. ‘to’ or ‘for’ someone)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’to/for us’</td>
<td>’to/for you’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(1 pl DAT)</em></td>
<td><em>(2 pl DAT)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative</strong></td>
<td>ngina-ha(-na)</td>
<td>ngurta-ha(-na)</td>
<td><em>(supplied by demonstratives)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(location)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’with us’ (3 or more people)</td>
<td>’with you (3 or more people)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(1 pl LOC)</em></td>
<td><em>(2 pl LOC)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ablative</strong></td>
<td>ngina-ha-ntu</td>
<td>No forms recorded by Hercus. A Hypothetical form would be: ngurta-ha-ntu*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(direction away from)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’from us’ (3 or more people)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(1 pl LOC)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purposive</strong></td>
<td>ngina-ha-manti</td>
<td>ngurta-ha-manti</td>
<td>ngurta-manti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(purpose, ‘for the sake of’)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’for us’ (3 or more people)</td>
<td>’for you’ (3 or more people)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(1 pl PURP)</em></td>
<td><em>(2 pl PURP)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Remarks on personal pronouns

- Only the singular pronouns have different forms for intransitive and transitive subjects (nominative and ergative forms). With dual and plural pronouns, the same form (nominative) is used for both intransitive and transitive subjects.\(^\text{68}\)

- Free forms of third person pronouns are rarely used; demonstrative pronouns (e.g. ‘this one’ and ‘that one’) are usually used instead.\(^\text{69}\)

- The stem of personal pronouns in the various cases is based on the accusative/genitive case form of those pronouns. (NB Exceptions to this rule are the pronouns *ngali-ntu* (1 dl ABL), *ngupu-manti* (2 dl PURP) and *ngurta-manti* (2 pl PURP), which are based on the nominative case forms.)

- In many Australian languages, there is a distinction between inclusive and exclusive personal pronouns (i.e. pronouns including or excluding the speaker). In Paakantyi, this distinction is not made.\(^\text{70}\)

- Usually, the locative marker -*na* is dropped from pronoun forms ending in ‘nha’ (in order to avoid the sequence ‘nhana’).

- There is one difference between the free and bound personal pronouns with regards to case markers: the dative case is not used with bound personal pronouns. Instead, the accusative case is used. The difference is shown in the following examples:

Free pronoun (dative case):

**Example 178.** *Ngiiingkatapa manthala ngumari*
*(E.g. 202 in Hercus)*

‘I’ll sit [here] in order to wait for you’

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{ngiiingka} & \text{-t} & \text{-apa} & \text{mantha} & \text{-la} & \text{nguma} & \text{-ri} \\
\text{sit} & \text{-FUT} & \text{-1 sg Intr subj} & \text{wait} & \text{-OPT} & \text{2 sg obj} & \text{-DAT} \\
\text{‘I’} & \text{‘you’} & \text{‘you’} & \text{‘me’} \\
\end{array}
\]

**Example 179.** *Karnmatyintu ngayiri*
*(E.g. 106 in Hercus)*

‘You stole from me’

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{karnma} & \text{-ty} & \text{-intu} & \text{ngayi} & \text{-ri} \\
\text{steal} & \text{-PAST} & \text{-2 sg Tran subj} & \text{1 sg obj} & \text{-DAT} \\
\text{‘you’} & \text{‘you’} & \text{‘me’} & \text{‘me’} \\
\end{array}
\]

---

\(^{68}\) For an explanation of transitivity and transitive/intransitive verbs, refer to Chapter 4: Grammatical Case.

\(^{69}\) Refer to section 5.6: Demonstrative Pronouns.

\(^{70}\) An inclusive/exclusive pronoun distinction was sometimes made in the Kurnu lect for emphasis.
Bound pronoun (accusative case):

Example 180.  
*Manthantuayi*  
(E.g. 104 in Hercus)  
‘Wait for me!’

*mantha -ntu -ayi*  
wait -2 sg Tran subj -1 sg obj (ACC)  
‘you’ ‘me’

Example 181.  
*Ngaantyaturruayi yarnta*  
(E.g. 107 in Hercus)  
‘She might ask me for money’

*ngaantya -t -rru -ayi yarnta*  
ask -FUT -3 sg subj -1 sg obj (ACC) money  
‘she’ ‘me’

Example 182.  
*Kaantintuayi*  
(E.g. 109 in Hercus)  
‘You’re bringing [it] for me’

*kaanti -ntu -ayi*  
bring -2 sg Tran subj -1 sg obj (ACC)  
‘you’ ‘me’

Example 183.  
*Kila nguukayikaama*  
(E.g. 110 in Hercus)  
‘They’re not giving [it] to you’

*kila nguuka -y -ika -ama*  
not give -Gl -3 pl subj -2 sg obj (ACC)  
‘they’ (all) ‘you’

Note
A single sentence may contain both a free personal pronoun in the dative case and a bound personal pronoun in the accusative case:

Example 184.  
*Ngayiri kaparruayi*  
(E.g. 203 in Hercus)  
‘He’s following me [not anybody else]’

*ngayi -ri kapa -rru -ayi*  
1 sg obj -DAT follow -NF 3 sg subj -1 sg obj (ACC)  
‘me’ ‘he’ ‘me’

In the above example, the free pronoun *ngayi* is in the dative case and the bound pronoun *-ayi* is in the accusative case.
5.1 Uses of Free and Bound Personal Pronouns

OVERVIEW—uses of free and bound pronouns

The free pronoun forms are used as subjects and objects:
1. For emphasis (or as an emphatic afterthought).
2. In the peripheral case forms (ablative, allative, genitive, locative, purposive/benefactive).
3. As the object of a verb expressing a wish/desire.

The bound pronoun forms are used:
1. As subjects or objects attached to verbs.
2. As possessive markers.

5.2 Free Personal Pronouns

5.2.1 Positioning of Free Personal Pronouns

Generally, the ordering in sentences with free pronominal subjects/objects is SVO (subject, verb, object). In sentences with pronominal (i.e. pronoun) subjects and/or objects, however, ordering is flexible to a certain degree. Sometimes, free object pronouns are placed in the unusual position at the beginning of a sentence in order to give them special emphasis.

Free pronouns are used:
1. For emphasising the subject or object of a sentence.
2. In the peripheral case forms.
3. As the object of a dependent verb expressing a wish or desire.

5.2.2 Free Pronouns Used for Emphasis

A free pronominal subject or object can be used rather than a bound form in order to emphasise that subject or object, making it the topic of the sentence.

Example 185. (E.g. 391 in Hercus)  
\textit{Ngathu} palkatyinha  
‘I hit him’

\textit{ngathu} \quad \textit{palka} \quad \text{tyi} \quad \text{‘nha}  
1 sg Tran subj  \quad \text{hit} \quad \text{-PAST} \quad \text{-3 sg obj}  
‘I’ \quad \text{‘him’}

\footnote{This is discussed further in section 10.4 Sentences with a Free Pronominal Subject and/or Object.}

\footnote{NB There are no comitative or instrumental pronominal case forms for pronouns (as there are for nouns). The peripheral case forms used for pronouns are ablative, allative, genitive, locative and purposive/benefactive.}
Example 186.  
Ngintu kulpayayi  
‘You told me’

ngintu  kulp -ty -ayi  
2 sg Tran subj  tell  -PAST -1 sg obj  
‘you’  ‘me’

Example 187.  
Ngayi pamintu  
‘Look at me!’

ngayi  pam -ntu  
1 sg obj  see  -2 sg Tran subj  
‘me’  ‘you’

Example 188.  
Ngayi yungkaku winpayika  
‘They blame only me’

ngayi  yungkaku  winpa  -y  -ika  
1 sg obj  only  blame  -Gl  -3 pl subj  
‘me’  ‘they’ (all)

To place extra emphasis on the subject of a sentence, an emphatic marker can be added to the free subject pronoun. Note that this cannot be done to add emphasis to objects:

Example 189.  
Ngathuwa yungkaaku yakatyinха  
‘I broke it all on my own’

ngathu  -wa  yungkaaku  yaka  -tyi  -’nha  
1 sg Tran subj  -EMPH2  alone  break  -PAST  -3 sg obj  
‘I’  ‘it’

Example 190.  
Ngintuwarta karnmatyayi  
‘You stole [it] from me’

ngintu  -wa  -rta  karnma  -ty  -ayi  
2 sg Tran subj  -EMPH2  -but  steal  -PAST  -1 sg obj  
‘you’  ‘me’

To place even greater emphasis on a subject or object, both a free and bound pronoun can be used together:

Example 191.  
Ngupuwa thayiltupu  
‘You two are the ones that are going to eat (it)’

ngupu  -wa  thayi  -’l’ -t -upu  
2 dl subj  -EMPH2  eat  -TOP -FUT  -2 dl subj  
‘you’ (two)  ‘you’ (two)
Example 192.  
(E.g. 396 in Hercus)  
*Ngali thampatali*  
‘We two are the ones that are going to dig’  

ngali  thampa  -t  -ali  
1 dl subj  dig  -FUT  -1 dl subj  
‘we’ (two)  ‘we’ (two)

Example 193.  
(E.g. 400 in Hercus)  
*Ngayi nhapatyikaayi*  
‘It was me they locked up’  

ngayi  nh apa  -ty  -ika  -ayi  
1 sg obj  lock up  -PAST  -3 pl subj  -1 sg obj  
‘me’  ‘they’  ‘me’

Sometimes, a free pronoun is added as an emphatic afterthought:

Example 194.  
(E.g. 402 in Hercus)  
*Yarlatalingka ngaliwa*  
‘We two will beat them, we will’  

y arla  -t  -ali  -ng ka  ngali  -wa  
defeat  -FUT  -1 dl subj  -3 pl subj  1 dl subj  -EMPH₂  
‘we’ (two)  ‘them’ (all)  ‘we’ (two)

Example 195.  
(E.g. 403 in Hercus)  
*Warkangkuupa ngupawa*  
‘You were [actually] working, you two!’  

warka  -ng ku  -upa  ngupa  -wa  
work  -PERF  -2 dl subj  2 dl subj  -EMPH₂  
‘you’ (two)  ‘you’ (two)

5.2.3 Free Pronouns in the Peripheral Case Forms

Only the free pronoun forms are used in the peripheral cases. The bound forms of personal pronouns cannot be used in the peripheral cases.

Locative case:

Example 196.  
(E.g. 215 in Hercus)  
*Ngayina ngiiringimpa*  
‘You stay with me!’  

ngayi  -na  ngiiring’  -impa  
1 sg obj  -LOC  sit  -2 sg Intr subj  
‘me’  ‘you’
Ablative case:

**Example 197.**
(E.g. 216 in Hercus)

Nginanantu watutyinha

‘He took it away from us’

nginanha -ntu watu -tyi -‘nha
1 pl obj -ABL take -PAST -3 sg subj
‘us’ ‘he’

Genitive (possessive) case:

**Example 198.**
(E.g. 217 in Hercus)

Nguma yaparrana ngiingkatali

‘We’ll sit in your camp’

nguma yaparra -na ngiingka -t -ali
2 sg POS camp -LOC sit -FUT -1 dl subj
‘your’ ‘we’ (two)

Purposive case:

**Example 199.**
(E.g. 218 in Hercus)

Ngumamanti panamalayika

‘They are making it for you’

nguma -manti pana -ma -la -y -ika
2 sg obj -PURP make -Vb -TOP -Gl -3 pl subj
‘you’ ‘they’ (all)

5.2.4 Free Pronouns as the Object of a Verb Expressing a Wish or Desire

The dative case can be used to express wishes/desires. When acting as the object of a wish/desire, free pronoun forms are used.

**Example 200.**
(E.g. 219 in Hercus)

Parrimalayika pamiila ngalinhari

‘They are walking past to get a good look at us two’

parri -ma -la -y -ika pami -la ngalinha -ri
walk -Vb -TOP -Gl -3 pl subj see -OPT 1 dl obj -DAT
‘they’ (all) ‘us’ (two)
Example 201.  
(Example 201 in Hercus) 
*Kila thalpataapa thaltiila ngurtahari* 
‘I won’t stand around to listen to you people’

```plaintext
kila   thalp -t   -aapa   thaltii  -la   ngurtanha   -ri
not   stand   -FUT   -1 sg Intr   hear   -OPT   2 pl obj   -DAT
```

5.3 Bound Personal Pronouns

Bound personal pronouns are used much more frequently than free personal pronouns in Paakantyi.

**Bound pronouns are used:**
1. As subjects or objects attached to verbs.
2. As possessive markers.

5.3.1 Positioning of Bound Pronouns

A bound pronoun subject will always come before a bound pronoun object. This is due to the order in which the different elements that make up a Paakantyi verb are placed:

```
1                   2                             3                          4
5           6           7                          8                          9                          10
verb stem (verbaliser) (reciprocal/reflexive) (topicaliser) (aspect) (mode) (tense) (subject) (object) (dative)
```

Although bound pronouns usually attach to the verb (as per the above structure), there are two exceptions to this rule:

2. Verbless sentences (equative/identifying, attributive, locational).
3. (Usually) sentences beginning with an interrogative (‘how’, ‘what’ etc.).

**Exception 1. (where the bound pronoun is not attached to the verb): verbless sentences**

These are sentences in which there is no linking verb (copula) between the subject and its complement. For example, in English, in the sentence ‘he is a child’, the linking verb is ‘is’. In Paakantyi, this sentence does not have a verb and therefore, the bound pronoun -*althu*, ‘he’ attaches directly to the noun *parlu*, ‘child’. Verbless sentences in Paakantyi can be of three varieties:

i. equative/identifying
ii. attributive
iii. locational

---

73 There is a long vowel at the end of the verb here since stem-final ‘i’ and ‘u’ are lengthened before the optative verbal suffix -la. Refer to section 6.11.2 The Optative Verbal Suffix -la (Wish or Purpose).

74 Refer to section 5.5: Possession for further information about this usage of bound pronouns.

75 Note that not every possible one of the ten elements will be present in a verb.
i. Equative/identifying verbless sentences

These are sentences that equate two things with each other, e.g. ‘I am a teacher’ or ‘he is a father’.

Example 202.

*Parluathu*

(Example 37 in Hercus)

‘He is a child’

parlu - *athu*  
child -3 sg subj  
‘he’

Example 203.

*Paakantyi nhuungku apa*

(Example 38 in Hercus)

‘I am a Paakantyi woman’

Paakantyi - *apa*  
Paakantyi woman -1 sg Intr subj  
‘I’

Example 204.

*Kila wiimpatyahn kaantarra athu tharlthankaantarra athu*

(Example 405 in Hercus)

‘It’s not human blood, it’s kangaroo blood’

kila wiimpatya-nh’ kaantarra - *athu* tharlta -nh’ kaantarra - *athu*  
not Aboriginal -GEN blood -3 sg subj  
kangaroo -GEN blood -3 sg subj  
‘it’  
‘it’

NB In equative/identifying sentences that are marked for tense, the verb *ngiingka-* ‘to sit’ is used as a dummy verb to which the tense marker can attach, as in the following example:

Example 205.

*Pana ngiingkati ihu wakatyaayi*

(Example 404 in Hercus)

‘My uncle was a witch doctor’

pana ngiingka - *tyi* ihu wakatya - *ayi*  
doctor sit -PAST this uncle -1 sg POS  
‘my’

ii. Attributive verbless sentences

These attribute a quality to something, e.g. an adjective such as ‘bad’, ‘happy’, ‘ugly’ etc.

Example 206.

*Thurlaka athu*

(Example 39 in Hercus)

‘He is bad’

thurlaka - *athu*  
bad -3 sg subj  
‘he’
Example 207. \( Paliirraapa \)
(E.g. 40 in Hercus)

`I am good`

\( paliirra -apa \)
good \(-1 \) sg Intr subj

\`I\`

Example 208. \( Nguungkithu \)
(E.g. 406 in Hercus)

`It's ripe`

\( nguungki -'thu \)
ripe \(-3 \) sg subj

\`it\`

Example 209. \( Thurlakathika \)
(E.g. 407 in Hercus)

`They are bad`

\( thurlaka -thika \)
bad \(-3 \) pl subj

\`they\' (all)

In phrases formed with the having suffix \(-tya\), the bound pronoun attaches to this suffix:

Example 210. \( Ngaatha thartu-partityathu \)
(E.g. 409 in Hercus)

`He has no brains`

\( ngaatha \ thartu-partyi -tya -'thu \)
nothing brain -having \(-3 \) sg subj

\`he\`

Bound pronouns can also attach to some ablative forms:

Example 211. \( Kaantinyantuathu \)
(E.g. 410 in Hercus)

`She's ancient`

\( kaantinya -ntu -athu \)
old \(-A B L \) \(-3 \) sg subj

\`she\`

### iii. Locational verbless sentences

These describe the location or position of the subject, e.g. `here`, `standing`, `sitting`.

Example 212. \( Thalpaathu \)
(E.g. 41 in Hercus)

`He is standing`

\( thalpa -athu \)
stand \(-3 \) sg subj

\`he\'
Example 213.  
(Ex. 42 in Hercus)  
*Thalpaapa*  
*I am standing*  
thalpa -*apa*  
stand -1 sg Intr subj  
‘I’

Example 214.  
(Ex. 43 in Hercus)  
*Itharraathu*  
*‘It’s here’*  
itharra -*athu*  
here -3 sg subj  
‘it’

Example 215.  
(Ex. 411 in Hercus)  
*Inharraapa*  
*I’m here*  
inha -rra -apa  
here -1 sg Intr subj  
‘I’

**Exception 2 (where the bound pronoun is not attached to the verb): sentences beginning with an interrogative (‘how’, ‘what’ etc.)**

In such sentences, the bound personal pronoun usually attaches directly to the interrogative.

Example 216.  
(Ex. 412 in Hercus)  
*Wintyarrimpa*  
*‘Where are you?’*  
wintyarr’ -*impa*  
where -2 sg Intr subj  
‘you’

Example 217.  
(Ex. 385 in Hercus)  
*Thinamithina parrayika thaltii* *minha-minhaali* *kulpiraana*  
*‘They come on tiptoe to listen to whatever we two are talking about’*  
thina -mithi -na parra -y -ika thaltii76 -*la* minha-minha  
foot -tip -LOC hurry -Gl -3 pl subj hear -OPT what-what  
‘they’ (all)  
-ali  
kulpi -rra77 -*ana*  
1 dl subj talk -TOP -CONT  
‘we’ (two)

---

76 There is a long vowel at the end of the verb here since stem-final ‘i’ and ‘u’ are lengthened before the optative verbal suffix -*la*. Refer to section 6.11.2 The Optative Verbal Suffix -*la* (Wish or Purpose).

77 The topicaliser takes the form -rra rather than -*la* here since the stem to which it attaches contains an ‘i’. Refer to section 6.3.1 The Topicaliser -*la*. 
**Example 218.**  
*Nhantharrimpa parrityi*  
‘How often did you go?’

\[ \text{nhantharr} \quad \text{-impa} \quad \text{parri} \quad \text{-tyi} \]

how often \quad -2 sg Intr subj \quad go \quad -PAST \quad ‘you’

---

**Note**

Occasionally the bound pronoun attaches to the verb rather than the interrogative:

**Example 219.**  
*Wintyarra ngiingkimpa*  
‘Where are you staying?’

\[ \text{wintyarra} \quad \text{-ngiingk} \quad \text{-impa} \]

where \quad -sit \quad -2 sg Intr subj \quad ‘you’

---

**Example 220.**  
*Nhangunya watutyintu*  
‘How did you get it?’

\[ \text{nhangunya} \quad \text{watu} \quad \text{-tyi} \quad \text{-ntu} \]

how \quad get \quad -PAST \quad -2 sg Tran subj \quad ‘you’

---

If the sentence contains both a bound subject and a bound object, the subject attaches to the interrogative and the object attaches to the verb:

**Example 221.**  
*Nhangunyintu watutyinha*  
‘How did you get it?’

\[ \text{nhanguny} \quad \text{-intu} \quad \text{watu} \quad \text{-tyi} \quad \text{-nha} \]

how \quad -2 sg Tran subj \quad get \quad -PAST \quad -3 sg obj \quad ‘you’ \quad ‘it’

---

In rare cases, the bound pronoun will attach to both a demonstrative adverb (e.g. ‘here’, ‘there’) AND a verb, but this only occurs if the demonstrative adverb is the main topic of the sentence.

**Example 222.**  
*Inhanartaapa ngiingkaapa*  
‘I’m staying right here!’

\[ \text{inhana} \quad \text{-rta} \quad \text{-opa} \quad \text{ngiingka} \quad \text{-opa} \]

dere \quad -but \quad -1 sg Intr subj \quad sit \quad -1 sg Intr subj \quad ‘I’ \quad ‘I’
SUMMARY—bound personal pronouns

Usage
- Subjects or objects attached to verbs.
- Possessive markers.

Attach to the verb except:
- In verbless sentences (which can be equative/identifying, attributive or locational).
- (Usually) in sentences beginning with an interrogative (e.g. ‘how’, ‘what’).

5.3.2 Different Forms of Bound Pronouns
Certain bound pronouns are subject to special variations. These pronouns are as follows:

1. 1 sg Tran subj: -u, -athu
2. 3 sg subj:  -i, -athu, -u, -rru, -urr
3. 3 dl subj:  -ulu, -athulu

1. The first person singular transitive subject: -u, -athu

Past tense 1 sg Tran subj: -u
In the past tense, 1 sg Tran subj takes the form -u (NB This form is identical to that of 3 sg subj).

Example 223. Pamityuana
(E.g. 374 in Hercus) ‘I saw him’
pami -ty -u -anha
see -PAST 1 sg Tran subj 3 sg obj ‘I’ ‘him’

Example 224. Pamityuupana
(E.g. 375 in Hercus) ‘I saw you two’
pami -ty -u -upana
see -PAST 1 sg Tran subj 2 dl obj ‘I’ ‘you’ (two)

1 sg Tran subj (all other tenses): -athu
In all other tenses, 1 sg Tran subj takes the form -athu.

Example 225. Kuurripaathu inhu wanka layi
(E.g. 229 in Hercus) ‘I’m hiding my meat’
kuurripa -athu inhu wanka -ul’ -ayi
hide -1 sg Tran subj this meat -Sg -1 sg POS ‘I’ ‘my’
Occasionally (though rarely), -athu is also used in the past tense:

Example 226.  
(E.g. 376 in Hercus)  
\textit{Pamityathuupanha}  
‘I saw you two’

\begin{verbatim}
  pam\text{-}i  -\text{ty}   -\text{athu}   -\text{upanha}  
  see    -\text{PAST}   -\text{1 sg Tran subj}  -\text{2 dl obj}  
        ‘1’                        ‘you’ (two)
\end{verbatim}

2. The third person singular subject: -i, -u, -rru, -urr\textit{u}, -ath\textit{u}

Unmarked past tense 3 sg subj: -i

Strictly speaking, -i is not a pronoun. It is the unmarked form of the past and is added to the past tense marker, -ty-, to imply the third person singular subject. The third person is the default pronominal form, which is why it does not need to be marked using a separate pronominal marker.\footnote{Hercus 2014, pers. comm., 24 April.}

Example 227.  
(E.g. 353 in Hercus)  
\textit{Wintyika pukamalatiy\textit{i}}  
‘Who died?’

\begin{verbatim}
  win\text{tyika}  p\text{uka}  -\text{ma}  -\text{la}  -\text{tyi}  
  who     dead      -\text{Vb}     -\text{TOP}     -\text{PAST}
\end{verbatim}

Example 228.  
(E.g. 232 in Hercus)  
\textit{Watuty \textit{i} inhanha marliparlu}  
‘He picked up the little boy’

\begin{verbatim}
  w\text{atu}  -\text{tyi}  inhanha  marli  -\text{parlu}  
  take     -\text{PAST}  this  ACC  male  -\text{child}
\end{verbatim}

Example 229.  
(E.g. 1 in Hercus)  
\textit{Pamity\textit{i}}  
‘He saw’

\begin{verbatim}
  pam\text{i}  -\text{tiy\textit{i}}  
  see       -\text{PAST}
\end{verbatim}

Example 230.  
(E.g. 2 in Hercus)  
\textit{Parriy\textit{i}}  
‘He went’

\begin{verbatim}
  parri  -\text{tyi}  
  go      -\text{PAST}
\end{verbatim}
Past tense 3 sg subj: -u
The only true 3 sg subj pronoun in the past tense is -u.

Example 231.  
Pukamalatyu
(E.g. 354 in Hercus)
‘He died’

puka -ma -la -ty -u  
dead -Vb -TOP -PAST -3 sg subj  
‘he’

Example 232.  
Ngilingkatyu
(E.g. 355 in Hercus)
‘He sat’

ngilingka -ty -u  
sit -PAST -3 sg subj  
‘he’

Example 233.  
Karnmatyuanha yaparrantu
(E.g. 170 in Hercus)
‘He stole it from a camp’

karnma -ty -u -anha yaparra -ntu  
steal -PAST -3 sg subj -3 sg obj camp -ABL  
‘he’ ‘it’

Non-future tense 3 sg Tran subj: -rru
The non-future 3 sg Tran subj pronoun is -rru. It expresses the present or past tense, and is thus described as being ‘non-future’.

Example 234.  
Ngantyirruanha
(E.g. 359 in Hercus)
‘He’s left her now’ [he might have just done so]

ngantyi -rru -anha  
leave -NF 3 sg subj -3 sg obj  
‘he’ ‘her’

Example 235.  
Kaparrunha
(E.g. 361 in Hercus)
‘He’s been following him’ [he might have stopped doing so now]

kapa -rru -‘nha  
follow -NF 3 sg subj -3 sg obj  
‘he’ ‘him’
When used with verbs ending in ‘a’, the stem-final ‘a’ is usually changed to ‘i’ before -rru (UNLESS -rru is followed by another bound pronoun).

Example 236.  
\[\text{Kaparru} \rightarrow \text{Kapirru}\]  
(E.g. 357 in Hercus)

\[\text{kapa} -rru \rightarrow \text{kapi} -rru\]  
follow -NF 3 sg subj  
\[‘he’\]

NB In the above example, \textit{kaparru} would also be acceptable, though this is used much less often.

The change from ‘a’ to ‘i’ also occurs with the verbaliser -ma:\textsuperscript{79}

Example 237.  
\[\text{Panamirruanha}\]  
(E.g. 451 in Hercus)

\[\text{pana} -mi -rru -anha}\]  
make -Vb -NF 3 sg subj -3 sg obj  
\[‘he’ ‘it’\]

Future tense 3 sg subj (bound object following): -urr\textsubscript{u}

The 3 sg Tran subj pronoun used in the future tense when followed by a bound object (or rarely, when preceded by a free object) is -urr\textsubscript{u}. This means that -urr\textsubscript{u} is usually only found in complex pronoun forms.

Example 238.  
\[\text{Ngaantyaturraruayi yarnta}\]  
(E.g. 369 in Hercus)

\[\text{ngaantya} -t -urr\textsubscript{u} -ayi yarnta}\]  
ask -FUT -3 sg subj -1 sg obj money  
\[‘she’ ‘me’\]

Example 239.  
\[\text{Pamiturrumu}\]  
(E.g. 370 in Hercus)

\[\text{pami} -t -urr\textsubscript{u} -uma}\]  
see -FUT -3 sg subj -2 sg obj  
\[‘he’ ‘you’\]

Example 240.  
\[\text{Nhapaturrinanha}\]  
(E.g. 371 in Hercus)

\[\text{nhapa} -t -urr\textsuperscript{’} -inanha}\]  
shut -FUT -3 sg subj -1 pl obj  
\[‘he’ ‘us’ (all)\]

\textsuperscript{79} This is also discussed in section 9.2.1 The Verbaliser -\textit{ma}, Changes of form undergone by the verbaliser -\textit{ma}.
**Example 241.**  
*Kunkaturrungka*  
(£g. 372 in Hercus)  
‘He’ll swallow them’

\[ \text{kunka} \quad \text{-t} \quad \text{-urru} \quad \text{-ngka} \]

swallow -FUT -3 sg subj -3 pl obj  
‘he’  ‘them’ (all)

---

**Future tense 3 sg subj (no bound object following): -athu**

This is the third person subject marker usually used when it is not followed by a bound object.\(^80\) It can be used with both transitive and intransitive verbs.

**Example 242.**  
*Nguuyaltathu*  
(£g. 366 in Hercus)  
‘He’ll be frightened’

\[ \text{nguuya} \quad \text{-l’} \quad \text{-t} \quad \text{-athu} \]

fear -TOP -FUT -3 sg subj  
‘he’

---

**Example 243.**  
*Parritathu yaamari*  
(£g. 367 in Hercus)  
‘He’ll go this way’

\[ \text{parri} \quad \text{-t} \quad \text{-athu} \quad \text{yaamari} \]

go -FUT -3 sg subj this way  
‘he’

---

**Example 244.**  
*Pamitathu*  
(£g. 368 in Hercus)  
‘He’ll see’

\[ \text{pami} \quad \text{-t} \quad \text{-athu} \]

see -FUT -3 sg subj  
‘he’

---

**Example 245.**  
*Ngantyi-thuanha*  
(£g. 358 in Hercus)  
‘He’s leaving her’ [right now]

\[ \text{ngantyi} \quad \text{-‘thu} \quad \text{-anha} \]

leave -3 sg subj -3 sg obj  
‘he’  ‘her’

---

\(^80\) Hercus (1982, p. 151) writes that ‘-uru [urru] is used to mark the third person subject in the future tense, but only when a bound object follows (and on very rare occasions when a free object precedes it as in VIII.2 line 1.), otherwise, in both transitive and intransitive verbs the ordinary third person subject marker -adu [-athu] is used.’ Hercus’ examples 558 and 360, however, show that -athu can also be used when a bound object follows.
Example 246.  
*Kapaathunha*  
(E.g. 360 in Hercus)  
‘He’s following him’ [right now or in the future]

\[ \text{kapa} \quad -\text{athu} \quad -\text{‘nha} \]

follow -3 sg subj -3 sg obj  
‘he’ ‘him’

3. The third person dual subject: *-uulu, -athulu*

**Past tense 3 dl subj: -uulu**

The 3 dl subj pronoun used in the past tense is *-uulu*.

Example 247.  
*Parriyulu*  
(p. 148 in Hercus)  
‘The two of them went’

\[ \text{parri} \quad -\text{y} \quad -\text{uulu} \]

go -Gl -3 dl subj  
‘they’ (two)

**Present, future & perfect tense 3 dl subj: -athulu**

The 3 dl subject pronoun used in the present, future and perfect tenses is *-athulu*. This pronoun form is not used in the past tense.

Example 248.  
*Parriyathulu*  
(p. 148 in Hercus)  
‘The two of them are going’

\[ \text{parri} \quad -\text{y} \quad -\text{athulu} \]

go -Gl -3 dl subj  
‘they’ (two)

Example 249.  
*Muuyamalangkuathulu*  
(E.g. 445 in Hercus)  
‘They two used to quarrel with one another’

\[ \text{muuyu} \quad -\text{ma} \quad -\text{la} \quad -\text{ngku} \quad -\text{athulu} \]

row -Vb -TOP -PERF -3 dl subj  
‘they’ (two)
SUMMARY

First person singular transitive subject pronouns
- -u     past tense
- -athu   all other tenses

Third person singular bound subject pronouns
- ty + i   implies the 3 sg pronoun in the past tense
- -u     past tense
- -rru    transitive subject non-future tenses (stem-final ‘a’ becomes ‘i’ before -rru)
- -urru   transitive subject future tense when a bound object follows
- -athu   (usually) used when no bound object follows

Third person dual bound subject pronouns
- -uulu  past tense
- -athulu present, future and perfect tenses

5.3.3 Changes of Form in the Present Tense
When bound pronouns are joined to stems, they can alter the way in which the word sounds and is spelled (e.g. letters may be dropped or added). These changes occur in the present and perfect tenses but not in the past or future tenses. The changes are as follows:

1. Insertion of an -r- glide.
2. Insertion of a -y- glide.
3. Loss of stem-final vowels of verb stems.
4. Loss of initial vowels of bound personal pronouns.
5. Loss of vowels in complex personal pronouns.

These changes can be generalised as follows (where ‘V’ stands for ‘vowel!’):

V1 + V2 -> V1rV2
V1 + V2 -> V1yV2
V1 + V2 -> V2 (common)
V1 + V2 -> V1 (rare)

Note that the possessive markers, which look identical to the bound pronouns, also cause such changes. These changes, however, are not the same as those caused by the bound pronouns.  

81 Refer to section 5.5.4 Changes of Form Associated with the Possessive.
1. **Insertion of an -r- glide**

If a bound pronoun is added to a stem ending in ‘i’ or ‘u’, the glide -r- is inserted between the stem and the pronoun (subject to certain exceptions, described after the following examples).

**Example 250.**
*(E.g. 282 in Hercus)*

Pamirathu

'I see'

pami -r -athu

see -Gl -1 sg Intr subj

'1'

**Example 251.**
*(E.g. 283 in Hercus)*

Thingkiraapa

'I get up'

thingki -r -aapa

rise -Gl -1 sg Intr subj

'1'

**Example 3.**
*(E.g. 284 in Hercus)*

Waturika

'They take'

watu -r -ika

take -Gl -3 pl subj

‘they’ (all)

**Example 252.**
*(E.g. 285 in Hercus)*

Thaltirika

'They hear'

thalti -r -ika

hear -Gl -3 pl subj

‘they’ (all)

**Example 253.**
*(E.g. 286 in Hercus)*

Ithurru pamirupanha

‘He sees you two’

ithurru pami -r -upanha

this ERG see -Gl -2 dl obj

‘you’ (two)

**Example 254.**
*(E.g. 287 in Hercus)*

Paarlikurimpa

‘You are making a noise’

paarliku -r -impa

sound -Gl -2 sg Intr subj

‘you’
Note—exceptions (situations in which an -r- glide is not inserted)

1. After ‘i’, a -y- glide may occur instead of an -r- glide but this is rare.
   E.g. pami-y-athu, ‘I see’ (e.g. 288 in Hercus)

2. If the verb stem already contains an ‘r’ sound, a -y- glide occurs instead of an -r- glide.
   E.g. parri-y-aapa, ‘I am going’ (e.g. 289 in Hercus)

3. For verb stems ending in ‘i’:
   - There is no glide before 2 sg Intr subj -impa or 2 sg Tran subj -intu.
   - A glide is optional before 1 pl subj -ina.
   - Where no glide is inserted in the above situations, the two ‘i’ sounds join together.
     E.g. kanti-intu, ‘you carry’ becomes kantintu

4. For three verbs, the final ‘i’ of the verb stem changes to an ‘a’ before 3 pl subj -ika. A -y- glide is then used rather than an -r- glide (-r- glides are used after a stem-final ‘a’, as discussed in the next section). These verbs are:
   - pami-, ‘to see’ (pamayika, ‘they see’ NOT pamirika) (e.g. 290 in Hercus)
   - parri-, ‘to go’ (parrayika, ‘they go’ NOT parriyika) (e.g. 291 in Hercus)
   - thayi-, ‘to eat’ (thayayika, ‘they eat’ NOT thayirika) (e.g. 292 in Hercus)

Further use of the -r- glide

In rare instances, an -r- glide may be optionally inserted between a stem-final ‘a’ and 1 pl subj -ina. More commonly, however, the ‘a’ is deleted in such cases, e.g. ngiingka- ‘to sit’, becomes ngiingkina ‘we sit’ (e.g. 295 in Hercus). Examples of sentences with the -r- glide inserted are as follows:

**Example 255.**

**Ngiingkarina**

(E.g. 293 in Hercus)

Ngiingka -r -ina

sit -Gl -1 pl subj

‘we’ (all)

**Example 256.**

**Nguukarinanha**

(E.g. 294 in Hercus)

Nguuka -r -ina -nha

give -Gl -1 pl subj -3 sg obj

‘we’ (all) ‘him’
2. Insertion of a -y- glide
As noted above (under ‘further use of the -r- glide’) in rare situations, after ‘i’, a -y- glide may occur instead of an -r- glide.

Example 257.  
(E.g. 288 in Hercus)  
Pamiyathu
‘I see’

pami  -y  -athu
see  -Gl  -1 sg Tran subj
‘I’

More commonly, a -y- glide is used between the final ‘a’ of a verb stem and the bound 3 pl subj pronoun -ika, e.g. ngiingka-rika ‘they sit down’, nguuka-rika ‘they give’ (e.g. 296 & 297 in Hercus).

Example 258.  
(E.g. 278 in Hercus)  
Ngipayikaayi
‘They put me down’

ngipa  -y  -ika  -ayi
lay  -Gl  -3 pl subj  -1 sg obj
‘they’ (all)  ‘me’

3. Loss of stem-final vowels of verb stems
All the bound pronouns beginning with ‘i’ (except 3 pl subj -ika) may cause an ‘a’ to drop from the end of the verb stem to which they attach. This usually occurs with:

i.  -ina (1 pl subj) and -inanha (1 pl obj)
ii.  -impa (2 sg Intr subj)
iii.  -intu (2 sg Tran subj) if a complex verb stem\(^\text{82}\) is involved

i. Loss of stem-final ‘a’ before -ina (1 pl subj) and -inanha (1 pl obj)

Example 259.  
(E.g. 298 in Hercus)  
Thayilaina  \(\rightarrow\)  Thayilina
‘We eat’

thayi  -la  -ina  \(\rightarrow\)  thayi  -l’  -ina
eat  -TOP  -1 pl subj
‘we’ (all)

Example 260.  
(E.g. 299 in Hercus)  
Paminainanha  \(\rightarrow\)  Pamininanha
‘Looking at us’

pami  -na  -inanha  \(\rightarrow\)  pami  -n’  -inanha
see  -CONT  -1 pl obj
‘us’ (all)

\(^{82}\) A complex verb stem is a simple verb stem with additional suffixes, e.g. the topicaliser -la or aspectual suffixes such as the aspectual suffix -pa.
Example 261.  
*(E.g. 300 in Hercus)*

*Kapaina*  \(\rightarrow\)  *Kapina*

‘We follow’

*kapa* -*ina*  \(\rightarrow\)  *kap’* -*ina*

follow -1 pl subj  

‘we’ (all)

ii. Loss of stem-final ‘a’ before -*impa* (2 sg Intr subj)

Example 262.  
*(E.g. 301 in Hercus)*

*Ngiingka* -*impa*  \(\rightarrow\)  *Ngiingkimpa*

‘You sit’

*Ngiingka* -*impa*  \(\rightarrow\)  *ngiingk’*-impa

sit -2 sg Intr subj  

‘you’

Example 263.  
*(E.g. 303 in Hercus)*

*Iika* -*impa*  \(\rightarrow\)  *ilik* -*impa*

‘You are swimming’

*Iika* -*impa*  \(\rightarrow\)  *ilik’*-impa

‘you’

Example 264.  
*(E.g. 302 in Hercus)*

*Muuyala* -*impa*  \(\rightarrow\)  *Muuyalimpa*

‘You are angry’

*Muuyala* -*impa*  \(\rightarrow\)  *muuya* -l -*impa*

angry -TOP -2 sg Intr subj  

‘you’

NB Rarely, the initial ‘i’ of the bound pronoun will be dropped rather than the stem-final ‘a’ of the verb. In the above example, this would be *muuyalampa*.

iii. Loss of stem-final ‘a’ before -*intu* (2 sg Tran subj) if a complex verb stem is involved

Example 265.  
*(E.g. 304 in Hercus)*

*Kuurrripaintu*  \(\rightarrow\)  *Kuurrripintu*

‘You hide [it]’

*Kuurrri* -*pa*- *intu*  \(\rightarrow\)  *kuurrri* -p’ -*intu*

hide -ASP -2 sg Tran subj  

‘you’

Example 266.  
*(E.g. 305 in Hercus)*

*Yurripaintu*  \(\rightarrow\)  *Yurripintu*

‘You understand’

*Yurri* -*pa*- *intu*  \(\rightarrow\)  *yurri* -p’ -*intu*

‘you’
Example 267.  
(P.E. 306 in Hercus)  
Pamilaintu → Pamilintu  
‘You watch’

pami -la -intu → pami -l’ -intu  
see -TOP -2 sg Tran subj  
‘you’

Note that with -intu, ‘a’ is not dropped with a simple verb stem (i.e. a bare stem with no suffixes attached). It is not dropped with the verbaliser -ma either. Instead, the initial ‘i’ of the bound pronoun is dropped:

Example 268.  
(P.E. 307 in Hercus)  
Wiityaintu → Wiityantu  
‘You drink’

wiitya -intu → wiitya -’ntu  
drink -2 sg Tran subj  
‘you’

Example 269.  
(P.E. 308 in Hercus)  
Palkaintu → Palkantu  
‘You hit’

palka -intu → palka -’ntu  
hit -2 sg Tran subj  
‘you’

Example 270.  
(P.E. 309 in Hercus)  
Panamaintu → Panamantu  
‘You make’

pana -ma -intu → pana -ma -’ntu  
make -Vb -2 sg Tran subj  
‘you’

4. Loss of initial vowels of bound personal pronouns
When -anha (3 sg obj) attaches to a verb stem, the initial ‘a’ of the pronoun is always dropped:

i. after ‘i’
ii. if there is a long vowel in the preceding syllable

Example 271.  
(P.E. 595 in Hercus)  
Inhurru wathutyinha  
(wathutyaanha → wathutyainha)  
‘That one took it’

inhurru  wathu  -tyi  -’nha  
that ERG  take  -PAST -3 sg obj  
‘it’

When the -athu (1 sg Tran subj/3 sg subj) and -athulu (3 dl subj) attach to a present tense verb stem ending in ‘i’, the initial ‘a’ of the pronoun may be dropped. Usually, this occurs when there is a bound object pronoun following the bound subject pronoun.
**Example 272.**

(E.g. 310 in Hercus)

\[ Muniathuana \rightarrow Munithuanha \]

\[ muni -athu -anha \rightarrow muni -'thu -anha \]

\[ tie \rightarrow 1 \text{ sg Tran subj} \]

\[ -'thu \rightarrow 3 \text{ sg obj} \]

\[ 'I' \rightarrow 'him' \]

**Example 273.**

(E.g. 312 in Hercus)

\[ Pamiathuluayi \rightarrow Pamithulayi \]

\[ pami -athulu -ayi \rightarrow pami -'thul' -ayi \]

\[ see \rightarrow 3 \text{ dl subj} \]

\[ -'thul' \rightarrow 1 \text{ sg obj} \]

\[ 'they' \rightarrow 'two' \]

\[ 'me' \]

**Example 274.**

(E.g. 314 in Hercus)

\[ Parriathu \rightarrow Parrihu \]

\[ parri -athu \rightarrow parri -'thu \]

\[ go \rightarrow 3 \text{ sg subj} \]

\[ 'he' \]

More commonly, however, an -r- or -y- glide would be inserted in this situation:

**Example 275.**

(E.g. 311 in Hercus)

\[ Muniathuana \rightarrow Munirathuanha \]

\[ muni -athu -anha \rightarrow muni -'r' -athu -anha \]

\[ tie \rightarrow 1 \text{ sg Tran subj} \]

\[ -'r' \rightarrow -1 \text{ sg Tran subj} \]

\[ -'thu \rightarrow 3 \text{ sg obj} \]

\[ -anha \rightarrow 'i' \]

\[ -anha \rightarrow 'him' \]

**Example 276.**

(E.g. 313 in Hercus)

\[ Pamiathuluayi \rightarrow Pamiathuluayi \]

\[ Pamiathuluayi \rightarrow Pamirathulayi \]

\[ Pami -athulu -ayi \rightarrow pami -'r' -athulu -ayi \]

\[ see \rightarrow 3 \text{ dl subj} \]

\[ -'thul' \rightarrow 1 \text{ sg obj} \]

\[ -'r' \rightarrow 'they' \]

\[ -ayi \rightarrow 'two' \]

\[ 'me' \]

**Example 277.**

(E.g. 315 in Hercus)

\[ Parriathu \rightarrow Parriyahu \]

\[ Parriathu \rightarrow Parriyahu \]

\[ parri -athu \rightarrow parri -'y' -athu \]

\[ go \rightarrow 3 \text{ sg subj} \]

\[ -'r' \rightarrow 'he' \]
5. Loss of vowels in complex pronouns
When a bound subject pronoun ends in ‘u’ or ‘a’ and is followed by -inanha (1 pl obj), the final ‘u’ or ‘a’ of the subject pronoun is dropped.

Example 278.  
*Kanthatuulųinanha* → *Kanthatuulinanha*  
‘The two of them will run us people down’

*kantha -t -uulu -inanha* → *kantha -t -uul’ -inanha*  
gossip -FUT -3 dl subj -1 pl obj
‘they’ (two) ‘us’ (all)

Example 279.  
*Kanthaupainanha* → *Kanthaupinanha*  
‘You two run us people down’

*kantha -upa -inanha* → *kantha -up’ -inanha*  
gossip -2 dl subj -1 pl obj
‘you’ (two) ‘us’ (all)

Example 280.  
*Kiintaturtainanha* → *Kiintaturtinanha*  
‘You people will laugh at us’

*kiinta -t -urta -inanha* → *kiinta -t -urt’ -inanha*  
laugh -FUT -2 pl subj -1 pl obj
‘you’ (all) ‘us’ (all)

When a bound subject pronoun ends in ‘u’ and is followed by -anha (3 sg obj) or -alinha (1 dl obj), the ‘u’ is dropped:

Example 281.  
*Witaintualinha* → *Witantalinha*  
‘You’re staring at us two’

*wita -intu -alinha* → *wita -’nt’ -alinha*  
stare -2 sg Tran subj -1 dl obj
‘you’ ‘us’ (two)

Example 282.  
*Partatuulųayi* → *Partatuulayi*  
‘They two will bite me’

*parta -t -uulu -ayi* → *parta -t -uul’ -ayi*  
bite -FUT -3 dl subj -1 sg obj
‘they’ (two) ‘me’
SUMMARY—changes of form undergone by bound personal pronouns in the present tense

- An -r- glide is inserted after a stem-final ‘i’ or ‘u’ (subject to certain exceptions).
- A -y- glide is inserted after a stem-final ‘a’.
- Bound pronouns beginning with ‘i’ (except -ika) may cause a stem-final ‘a’ to be dropped.
- The initial ‘a’ of -anha, -athu & -athulu can be lost in certain environments (e.g. after ‘i’).
- When certain bound object pronouns attach to a bound subject pronoun ending in ‘u’ or ‘a’, the ‘u’ or ‘a’ can be dropped.

5.3.4 Changes of Form in the Perfect Tense

The perfect marker -ngku is used to describe events that have already taken place and are now complete. Use of the perfect marker causes notable changes to the initial vowels of all bound pronouns. Changes are as follows:

1. The final ‘u’ of the perfect tense marker -ngku combined with the initial ‘a’ of a bound personal pronoun forms a long ‘o’ sound vowel [5]. The sound is like the vowel sound in ‘war’, ‘water’, ‘wall’, ‘caught’ and ‘bought’ but a bit longer.
2. The initial ‘u’ and ‘i’ of bound personal pronouns are lost after the perfect tense marker -ngku.

1. Examples of situations in which -ngku plus ‘a’ forms a long ‘o’ sound vowel:

Example 283.  Warrkangkuapa
(E.g. 323 in Hercus)

‘I used to work’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>warra</th>
<th>-ngku</th>
<th>-aapa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>work</td>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>-1 sg Intr subj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 284.  Warrkangkuuli
(E.g. 324 in Hercus)

‘We two used to work’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>warra</th>
<th>-ngku</th>
<th>-ali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>work</td>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>-1 dl subj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘we’ (two)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 285.  Ngimangkuapa
(E.g. 325 in Hercus)

‘I was lying down’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ngima</th>
<th>-ngku</th>
<th>-apa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lie down</td>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>-1 sg Intr subj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

83 For further information about the perfect marker, refer to section 6.8.4 The Perfect Tense.
2. Examples of loss of initial ‘i’ and ‘u’ of bound personal pronouns after -ngku:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example 286.</th>
<th>Panalangku i</th>
<th>→</th>
<th>Panalangkuntu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(E.g. 327 in Hercus)</td>
<td>pana -la -ngku -i</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>pana -la -ngku -u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘You used to make’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘you’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example 287.</th>
<th>Parringkuika</th>
<th>→</th>
<th>Parringkuka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(E.g. 328 in Hercus)</td>
<td>parri -ngku -ika</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>parri -ngku -ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘They were walking about’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘they’ (all)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example 288.</th>
<th>Wiityangku</th>
<th>→</th>
<th>Wiityangkurtas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(E.g. 329 in Hercus)</td>
<td>wiitya -ngku -urta</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>wiitya -ngku -rta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘You were drinking’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘you’ (two)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of verb inflections with -ngku

To show the inflections when the perfect tense marker -ngku is joined with a verb, we will look at the transitive verb thayi-la-, ‘to eat’. Where the verb’s forms differ for intransitive verbs, examples are also given for the intransitive verb pumpa-, ‘to sleep’. The bound pronouns are shown in bold.

Note that where the initial ‘a’ of the bound pronoun follows -ngku, the vowels will join to form a long ‘o’ sound (as discussed above).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Transitive forms</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Intransitive forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person (ERG):</td>
<td>Thayilangku athu</td>
<td>1st person (NOM):</td>
<td>pumpangku apa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person (ERG):</td>
<td>Thayilangku athu</td>
<td>2nd person (NOM):</td>
<td>pumpangku mpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person (ERG):</td>
<td>Thayilangku athu</td>
<td>3rd person (NOM):</td>
<td>pumpangku athu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>Thayilangku ali</td>
<td>Thayilangku pa</td>
<td>Thayilangku athulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Thayilangku a</td>
<td>Thayilangku ta</td>
<td>Thayilangku athulu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

84 The bound third person singular subject pronoun has five different forms. The 3 sg Tran subj marker used in non-future tenses is -rru. Refer to section 5.3.2 Different Forms of Bound Pronouns, The third person singular subject: -i, -athu, -y, -rru, -urr.
All verbs, both simple and compound, follow the structure shown above. Some further examples of sentences in the perfect tense are follows:

**Example 289.**  
(Wantangkuka)  
(Eg. 330 in Hercus)  
‘They have never noticed’

\[
\text{wanta} \quad \text{-ngku} \quad \text{-ka}
\]
‘to be ignorant’  
-PERF  
-3 pl subj  
‘they’ (all)

**Example 290.**  
(Thingkingkuathu)  
(Eg. 331 in Hercus)  
‘He has got up’

\[
\text{thingki} \quad \text{-ngku} \quad \text{-athu}
\]
rise  
-PERF  
-3 sg subj  
‘he’

**Example 291.**  
(Muuyamalangkuathulu)  
(Eg. 332 in Hercus)  
‘They two had been having rows’

\[
\text{muuya} \quad \text{-ma} \quad \text{-la} \quad \text{-ngku} \quad \text{-athulu}
\]
row  
-Vb  
-TOP  
-PERF  
-3 dl subj  
‘they’ (two)

5.3.5 Use of Third Person Bound Pronouns for Emphasis

Third person bound pronouns are sometimes added for emphasis in situations where they are not strictly required (i.e. they may be used even when the noun to which they refer already appears in the sentence).

**Example 292.**  
(Wintyika watutyinha parntu kumpatya)  
(Eg. 401 in Hercus)  
‘Who took it, that big cod?’

\[
\text{wintyika} \quad \text{watu} \quad \text{-tyi} \quad \text{-’nha} \quad \text{parntu} \quad \text{kumpatya}
\]
who  
take  
-PAST  
-3 sg obj  
‘it’  
cod  
big

5.4 Complex Personal Pronouns

When a bound pronoun subject is directly followed by a bound object pronoun, the two pronouns together are known as a complex pronoun.

**A note on spelling and pronunciation:**

When the two pronouns join together, changes in pronunciation and spelling may occur. For example, a vowel may be dropped (e.g. ika-inanha becomes ik’inanha). In complex pronoun forms where a final ‘u’ joins with an initial ‘a’, the two vowels form an ‘o’ sound, e.g. thaltintuayi, ‘listen to me’, is pronounced [thaltintoi] (like the sound in ‘boy’). For more detailed information about this sound, refer to section 2.3.2 The ‘o’ Sounds.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Third Person Object</th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-athunha</td>
<td>-athunhaka</td>
<td>-athunhakaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-alinha</td>
<td>-alinha</td>
<td>-alinha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-inana</td>
<td>-inana</td>
<td>-inana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second Person Object</th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-athumia</td>
<td>-athumia</td>
<td>-athumia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aima</td>
<td>-aima</td>
<td>-aima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-inana</td>
<td>-inana</td>
<td>-inana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Person Object</th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-intuyi</td>
<td>-intuyika</td>
<td>-intuyikaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-upuyi</td>
<td>-upuyika</td>
<td>-upuyikaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-urtuyi</td>
<td>-urtuyika</td>
<td>-urtuyikaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Person Subject</th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-intuyi</td>
<td>-intuyika</td>
<td>-intuyikaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-upuyi</td>
<td>-upuyika</td>
<td>-upuyikaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-urtuyi</td>
<td>-urtuyika</td>
<td>-urtuyikaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second Person Subject</th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-INTUYX</td>
<td>-INTUYXKAA</td>
<td>-INTUYXKAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-upuyi</td>
<td>-upuyika</td>
<td>-upuyikaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-urtuyi</td>
<td>-urtuyika</td>
<td>-urtuyikaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Third Person Subject</th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-INTUYI</td>
<td>-INTUYIKAA</td>
<td>-INTUYIKAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-upuyi</td>
<td>-upuyika</td>
<td>-upuyikaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-urtuyi</td>
<td>-urtuyika</td>
<td>-urtuyikaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of sentences using complex pronouns are as follows:

**Example 293.**  
*(E.g. 260 in Hercus)*  
*Waka-wakathuuma*  
‘I’ll strike you with a weapon’  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{waka-waka} & \text{-thu} \quad \text{-uma} \\
\text{strike} & \text{-1 sg Tran subj} \quad \text{-2 sg obj} \\
& \text{‘I’} \quad \text{‘you’}
\end{array}
\]

**Example 294.**  
*(E.g. 261 in Hercus)*  
*Kapaathunha*  
‘I follow him’  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
kapa & \text{-athu} \quad \text{-’nha} \\
\text{follow} & \text{-1 sg Tran subj} \quad \text{-3 sg obj} \\
& \text{‘I’} \quad \text{‘him’}
\end{array}
\]

**Example 295.**  
*(E.g. 262 in Hercus)*  
*Pamityathuupanha*  
‘I saw you two’  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
pami & \text{-ty} \quad \text{-athu} \quad \text{-upanha} \\
\text{see} & \text{-PAST} \quad \text{-1 sg Tran subj} \quad \text{-2 dl obj} \\
& \text{‘I’} \quad \text{‘you’ (two)}
\end{array}
\]

**Example 296.**  
*(E.g. 263 in Hercus)*  
*Thatarramalathuulunha*  
‘I lay them both out flat’  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
thatarra & \text{-ma} \quad \text{-la} \quad \text{-’thu} \quad \text{-uulunha} \\
\text{flat} & \text{-Vb} \quad \text{-TOP} \quad \text{-1 sg Tran subj} \quad \text{-3 dl obj} \\
& \text{‘I’} \quad \text{‘them’ (two)}
\end{array}
\]

**Example 297.**  
*(E.g. 264 in Hercus)*  
*Kila kulpathuurtanha*  
‘I’m not talking to you people’  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
kila & \text{-’thu} \quad \text{-urtanha} \\
\text{not speak} & \text{-1 sg Tran subj} \quad \text{-2 pl obj} \\
& \text{‘I’} \quad \text{‘you’ (all)}
\end{array}
\]

**Example 298.**  
*(E.g. 265 in Hercus)*  
*Thaltiyathungka*  
‘I’m listening to them’  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
thalti & \text{-y} \quad \text{-athu} \quad \text{-ngka} \\
\text{hear} & \text{-Gl} \quad \text{-1 sg Tran subj} \quad \text{-3 pl obj} \\
& \text{‘I’} \quad \text{‘them’ (all)}
\end{array}
\]
Example 299.  
\textit{Thaltintuayi}  
\textbf{(E.g. 266 in Hercus)}  
‘You listen to me!’  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{thalti} & \textit{-ntu} \\
\textit{hear} & \textit{-2 sg Tran subj} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{ayi} & \textit{-1 sg obj} \\
\textit{‘you’} & \textit{‘me’} \\
\end{tabular}

Example 300.  
\textit{Kila witu-witantalinha}  
\textbf{(E.g. 268 in Hercus)}  
‘Don’t stare at us two!’  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{kila} & \textit{witu-wita} \\
\textit{not} & \textit{-nt’}  \\
\textit{stare} & \textit{-2 sg Tran subj}  \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{alinha} & \textit{-1 dl obj} \\
\textit{‘you’} & \textit{‘us’ (two)}  \\
\end{tabular}

Example 301.  
\textit{Kila wantimaalima}  
\textbf{(E.g. 269 in Hercus)}  
‘We two don’t want you’  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{kila} & \textit{wanti} \\
\textit{not} & \textit{-ma}  \\
\textit{want} & \textit{-ali}  \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{ma} & \textit{-ma} \\
\textit{‘we’ (two)} & \textit{‘you’}  \\
\end{tabular}

Example 302.  
\textit{Yarlatalingka}  
\textbf{(E.g. 270 in Hercus)}  
‘We two will defeat them’  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{yarla} & \textit{-t} \\
\textit{beat} & \textit{-ali}  \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{-ngka} & \textit{-FUT}  \\
\textit{‘we’ (two)} & \textit{‘them’ (all)}  \\
\end{tabular}

Example 303.  
\textit{Kila nguukatyupaayi}  
\textbf{(E.g. 271 in Hercus)}  
‘You two didn’t give me anything’  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{kila} & \textit{nguuka} \\
\textit{not} & \textit{-ty}  \\
\textit{give} & \textit{-upa}  \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{ayi} & \textit{-1 sg obj}  \\
\textit{‘you’ (two)} & \textit{‘me’}  \\
\end{tabular}

Example 304.  
\textit{Kanthatuul’alinha}  
\textbf{(E.g. 273 in Hercus)}  
‘The two of them will run us two down’\textsuperscript{85}  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{kantha} & \textit{-t} \\
\textit{gossip} & \textit{-FUT}  \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{-uu’} & \textit{-3 dl subj}  \\
\textit{‘they’ (two)} & \textit{‘us’ (two)}  \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{-alinha} & \textit{-1 dl obj}  \\
\textit{‘us’ (two)} & \textit{‘us’ (two)}  \\
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{85}To ‘run somebody down’ is an older expression meaning ‘to put somebody down’, ‘to criticise somebody’ (probably behind their back).
Example 305.  
**Kapatyinanha**  
(E.g. 274 in Hercus)  
‘We followed him’

\[
\text{kap} \quad \text{-ty} \quad \text{-ina} \quad \text{-nha} \\
\text{follow} \quad \text{-PAST} \quad \text{-1 pl subj} \quad \text{-3 sg obj} \\
\text{‘we’ (all)} \quad \text{‘him’}
\]

Example 306.  
**Nguukatyurtaayi**  
(E.g. 275 in Hercus)  
‘You people gave [it] to me’

\[
\text{nguuk} \quad \text{-ty} \quad \text{-urta} \quad \text{-ayi} \\
\text{give} \quad \text{-PAST} \quad \text{-2 pl subj} \quad \text{-1 sg obj} \\
\text{‘you’ (all)} \quad \text{‘me’}
\]

Example 307.  
**Muumaturtangka**  
(E.g. 277 in Hercus)  
‘You people will pick them up’

\[
\text{muuma} \quad \text{-t} \quad \text{-urta} \quad \text{-ngka} \\
\text{pick up} \quad \text{-FUT} \quad \text{-2 pl subj} \quad \text{-3 pl obj} \\
\text{‘you’ (two)} \quad \text{‘them’ (all)}
\]

Example 308.  
**Kila nhapatikinanha**  
(E.g. 279 in Hercus)  
‘They won’t lock us up’

\[
\text{kila} \quad \text{nhapa} \quad \text{-t} \quad \text{-ik’} \quad \text{-inanha} \\
\text{not} \quad \text{lock up} \quad \text{-FUT} \quad \text{-3 pl subj} \quad \text{-1 pl obj} \\
\text{‘they’ (all)} \quad \text{‘us’ (all)}
\]
5.5 Possession

The pronouns used to show possession are the bound forms of the personal pronouns used for objects. The free pronoun forms are also shown in the table below for reference purposes.

Table 13: Possessive markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Possessive markers</th>
<th>Free forms (from which the possessive has been derived)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>‘my’</td>
<td>-ayi⁸⁶</td>
<td>ngayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>‘your’</td>
<td>-uma -ama -ma</td>
<td>nguma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg</td>
<td>‘his/hers/its’</td>
<td>-(a)nha -ntu (used after the allative case marker -ri)</td>
<td>nganha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 dl</td>
<td>‘our’ (2 people)</td>
<td>-alinha</td>
<td>ngalinha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 dl</td>
<td>‘your’ (2 people)</td>
<td>-upanha -upunha -apana (2⁰ &amp; 3⁰ form used after the dual suffix -ngulu)</td>
<td>ngupanha -ngupunha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 dl</td>
<td>‘their’ (2 people)</td>
<td>-ulunha -utunha -utana (2⁰ &amp; 3⁰ form used after the dual suffix -ngulu)</td>
<td>(k)ithulunha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>‘our’ (all: 3+ people)</td>
<td>-inanha</td>
<td>nginanha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>‘your’ (all: 3+ people)</td>
<td>-urtanha</td>
<td>ngurtanha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>‘their’ (all: 3+ people)</td>
<td>-ngka (k)ingka (this is a demonstrative pronoun)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁸⁶ The form -(a)nha was also recorded by Hercus (1982, p. 88) as being a rare variant of the 1 sg POS suffix, used by people from Menindee.
5.5.1 Possession Shown by Bound Possessive Markers

The most common way of showing possession is by attaching a suffix to the thing that is possessed. This suffix is identical to the object form (i.e. the bound accusative/genitive form) of the relevant personal pronoun.

Example 309. (E.g. 175(a) in Hercus) 
*Kiikiinu yaparraayi*

‘This is my camp right here now’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kiiki</th>
<th>-illi</th>
<th>-nu87</th>
<th>yaparra</th>
<th>-ayi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this NOM</td>
<td>-now</td>
<td>-EMPH</td>
<td>camp</td>
<td>-1 sg POS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 310. (E.g. 175(b) in Hercus) 
*Kila palkarra ngayi kangana yaparraayina*

‘It [the lightening] will not strike me here in my camp’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kila</th>
<th>-rra88</th>
<th>ngayi</th>
<th>kangana</th>
<th>yaparra</th>
<th>-ayi</th>
<th>-na</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not</td>
<td>strike</td>
<td>1 sg obj</td>
<td>this LOC</td>
<td>camp</td>
<td>-1 sg POS</td>
<td>-LOC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 311. (p. 90 in Hercus) 
*Karrkiinanha*

‘Our flagon’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>karrki</th>
<th>-inanha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>flagon</td>
<td>-1 pl POS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 312. (p. 90 in Hercus) 
*Karrkingka*

‘Their flagons’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>karrki</th>
<th>-ngka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>flagon</td>
<td>-3 pl POS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

87 The emphatic marker *-nu* is not seen elsewhere in Hercus’ 1982 work. Hercus (2014, pers. comm., 15 June) confirmed that she only heard it once. The emphatic markers described in Hercus’ grammar (and also described in this work) are *-thinga* and *-wa*.

88 The optative verbal suffix takes the form *-rra* rather than *-la* here since the stem to which it attaches contains an ‘l’ (note that this change is optional). Refer to section 6.11.2 The Optative Verbal Suffix *-la* (Wish or Purpose).
Example 313.  
(p. 90 in Hercus)

Parlku**inanha**

‘Our language’

*parlku*  
language  
-**inanha**  
1 pl POS  
‘our’ (all)

---

Example 314.  
(p. 90 in Hercus)

Parlkungka

‘Their language’

*parlku*  
language  
-**ngka**  
3 pl POS  
‘their’ (all)

---

Example 315.  
(p. 90 in Hercus)

Yarrayarrinhanha

‘Our things’

*yarra*  
thing  
-**inanha**  
1 pl POS  
‘our’ (all)

---

Example 316.  
(p. 90 in Hercus)

Yaparrangka

‘Their camp’

*yaparra*  
camp  
-**ngka**  
3 pl POS  
‘their’ (all)

---

NB Possessive markers precede case markers, as shown by the following example:

Example 317.  
(p. 89 in Hercus)

Yaparranturi

‘To his camp’

*yaparra*  
camp  
-**ntu**\(^{89}\)  
3 sg POS  
-ALL  
‘his’

---

\(^{89}\) The third person singular possessive always takes the form -*ntu* rather than -*nha* when it precedes the allative case marker -*ri*.
5.5.2 Possession Shown by Free Possessive Markers
On rare occasions, if strong emphasis is required, the free form of the pronoun may be used:

Example 318.  
(p. 85 in Hercus)  
Ngayi yaparra  
‘My camp’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngai} & \quad \text{yaparra} \\
1 \text{ sg POS} & \quad \text{camp} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘my’

Example 319.  
(p. 86 in Hercus)  
Ngayi wimparrangulu, nhuungkuparlungulayi  
‘My own two daughters, my two girls’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngai} & \quad \text{wimparr} -\text{ngulu,} \\
1 \text{ sg POS} & \quad \text{daughter}, \text{ woman} \\
\text{-Dl} & \quad \text{-Dl} \\
\text{-1 sg POS} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘my’

5.5.3 Possession Shown by Free and Bound Possessive Markers
Though also rare, for even stronger emphasis, both the free and the bound pronoun forms can be used together:

Example 320.  
(E.g. 173 in Hercus)  
Yurriapa ngayi kiirrikaayiimanti  
‘I am fretting for my own country’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yurri} & \quad \text{-la} \quad \text{-apa} \quad \text{ngai} \quad \text{kiirra-kiirra} \quad \text{-ayi} \quad \text{-manti} \\
\text{think} & \quad \text{-TOP} \quad \text{-1 sg Intr subj} \quad \text{1 sg POS} \quad \text{country-country} \quad \text{-1 sg POS} \quad \text{-PURP} \\
\text{-} & \quad \text{-} \quad \text{‘i’} \quad \text{‘my’} \quad \text{‘my’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

5.5.4 Changes of Form Associated with the Possessive
In certain environments, the possessive markers can change form, or change the form of words to which they attach. These changes are described below.

Changes of form when number-marking suffixes are used
Usually, if the number marking suffixes -ulu (singular), -ngulu (dual) and -uku (plural) occur before a possessive marker starting with a vowel, the number marking suffix loses its final ‘u’.

Example 321.  
(p. 90 in Hercus)  
Yaparrualayina  
‘In my only camp’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yaparra} & \quad \text{-ul’} \quad \text{-ayi} \quad \text{-na} \\
\text{camp} & \quad \text{-Sg} \quad \text{-1 sg POS} \quad \text{-LOC} \\
\text{‘my’} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[90\text{ NB All the possessive markers start with vowels except the third person plural marker -ngka ‘their’ (all: 3+ people).}\]
Occasionally, the final ‘u’ of the plural marker -uku is kept and a glide ‘r’ sound is put between the final vowel of the plural and the initial vowel of the possessive. This is similar to the way an ‘r’ sound can be inserted between vowels in Australian English. For example, ‘pizza and salad’ may be pronounced ‘pizza-r-and salad’.

**Example 323.**  
*Muu rrp anaa rr* (p. 90 in Hercus)  
‘My big lot of children’

*muurrpa -naarr* -iku -r -ayi
*child* -Sp Pl -Pl -Gl -1 sg POS

‘my’

**Strength of possessive suffixes**

The possessive suffixes can be divided into the three categories ‘strong’, ‘middle’ and ‘weak’ according to how much their initial vowel blends with a word-final vowel preceding them. The suffixes in the ‘strong’ class don’t change a great deal, those in the ‘middle’ class are susceptible to some change and those in the ‘weak’ class undergo a lot of change. The different classes are:

**Strong:**  
* -alinha  (1 dl POS) ‘our’ (two)  
* -inanha  (1 pl POS) ‘our’ (all)

**Middle:**  
* -ayi  (1 sg POS) ‘my’  
* -uulunha  (3 dl POS) ‘their’ (two)  
* -urtanha  (2 pl POS) ‘your’ (all)

**Weak:**  
* -uma  (2 sg POS) ‘your’  
* -(a)nhha  (3 sg POS) ‘his/her/its’  
* -upanha  (2 dl POS) ‘your’ (two)

Note that the third person plural possessive suffix -ngka, ‘their’ (all) is different to the above suffixes as it does not start with a vowel. As such, it is added to stems without involving any changes.

The table below shows which form of each possessive suffix is used depending on the vowel preceding it (i.e. the stem-final vowel of the word to which the suffix attaches).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Final Vowel of Preceding Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>STRONG</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-alinha</td>
<td>-alinha</td>
<td>-alinha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 dl POS</td>
<td>2 a’s form a long ‘aa’</td>
<td>‘i’ &amp; ‘a’ pronounced separately OR with a ‘y’ sound in between</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-inanha</td>
<td>-inanha</td>
<td>-inanha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl POS</td>
<td>preceding ‘a’ is lost</td>
<td>2 i’s pronounced separately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ayi</td>
<td>-ayi</td>
<td>-ayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg POS</td>
<td>2 a’s form a long ‘aa’</td>
<td>‘i’ &amp; ‘a’ pronounced separately OR with a ‘y’ sound in between</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MIDDLE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-uulunha</td>
<td>-uulunha</td>
<td>-uulunha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 dl POS</td>
<td>‘a’ + ‘uu’ are pronounced as an ‘o’ sound</td>
<td>‘i’ &amp; ‘uu’ pronounced separately OR with a ‘y’ sound in between</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-urtanha</td>
<td>-urtanha</td>
<td>-urtanha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl POS</td>
<td>‘a’ + ‘u’ are pronounced as an ‘o’ sound</td>
<td>‘i’ &amp; ‘u’ pronounced separately OR with a ‘y’ sound in between</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WEAK</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-uma -ama -ma</td>
<td>-uma</td>
<td>-uma or -ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg POS</td>
<td>2 a’s form a long ‘aa’</td>
<td>with -uma, the ‘i’ &amp; ‘u’ are pronounced separately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-anha -na -ntu</td>
<td>-anha</td>
<td>-nha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg POS</td>
<td>2 a’s form a long ‘aa’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-upanha -upunha -apanha</td>
<td>-apanha</td>
<td>-upanha or -upunha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 dl POS</td>
<td>2 a’s form a long ‘aa’</td>
<td>‘i’ &amp; ‘u’ pronounced separately</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It may help to make some generalisations about what happens to the stem-final vowels and initial vowels of the possessive suffixes when a possessive suffix is used.

**When both vowels are the same**

**a + a**

A long ‘aa’ is formed

- a + alinha (1 dl POS)  \textit{alinha}
- a + ayi (1 sg POS)  \textit{ayi}
- a + ama (2 sg POS)  \textit{ama}
- a + apanha (2 dl POS)  \textit{apanhha}
- a + anha (3 sg POS)  \textit{anha}

**u + u**

The vowels are pronounced separately (u.u) OR as a long ‘uu’ (if one vowel is long, shorten it)

- u + uulunha (3 dl POS)  \textit{uulunha} OR \textit{uulnha}
- u + urtanha (2 pl POS)  \textit{uurtanha} OR \textit{urtanha}

**i + i**

The vowels are pronounced separately (i.i)

- i + inantha (1 pl POS)  \textit{inanha}

**When both vowels are different**

**u + a/a + u**

The vowels combine to form an ‘o’ sound [3] or [3o]\(^1\)

- a + uulunha (3 dl POS)  [3]ninha
- a + urtanha (2 pl POS)  [3]rtanha
- u + ayi (1 sg POS)  [3]yi
- u + ama (2 sg POS)  [3]ma
- u + apanha (2 dl POS)  [3]panha
- u + anha (3 sg POS)  [3]nha

**Special**

- u + alinha  \textit{unalinha} (no ‘o’ sound)

---

\(^1\) [3] is similar to the sound in ‘war’ or ‘water’ but longer. The sound formed by combining an ‘a’ and ‘u’ may sometimes be pronounced more like the diphthong [3o]. A diphthong is a single syllable in which the vowel starts as one sound and gradually changes to another vowel sound. Refer to section 2.3.2 The ‘o’ Sounds for further information on the ‘o’ sounds in Paakantyi.
5.5.5 Situations in Which a Possessive Suffix is Not Used

Personal possession is only marked in certain situations. It is not marked if:

1. Ownership is irrelevant or indefinite.
2. Ownership is obvious.
3. The comitative suffix or a ‘having’ suffix\(^\text{92}\) is used (since ownership is then assumed).

1. Ownership is irrelevant or indefinite

The following example shows indefinite ownership (i.e. a camp that could belong to anybody):

Example 324. \(\text{Karnmatyuanha yaparrantu}\)  
(E.g. 170 in Hercus)  
‘He stole it from a camp’

\[\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{karnma} & \text{-ty} & \text{-u} & \text{-anh} & \text{yaparra} & \text{-ntu} \\
\text{steal} & \text{-PAST} & -3 \text{ sg subj} & -3 \text{ sg obj} & \text{camp} & \text{-ABL} \\
\text{‘he’} & \text{‘it’}
\end{array}\]

2. Ownership is obvious

Example 325. \(\text{Kampitya malmatyu}\)  
(E.g. 171 in Hercus)  
‘His [i.e. the person we are speaking about] father died’

\[\begin{array}{llll}
\text{kampitya} & \text{malma} & \text{-ty} & \text{-u} \\
\text{father} & \text{die} & \text{-PAST} & -3 \text{ sg subj} \\
\text{‘he’}
\end{array}\]

\(^{92}\) See section 3.1.1 The ‘having’ Suffixes \((-malkatya, -ty(a), -minhitya, -mirritya)\).
Example 326. 
(Marrnku yaakatu. 172 in Hercus) 
Marrnku -ri yaaka -ty -u 
arm -DAT break -PAST -3 sg subj 
‘he’ 

Example 327. 
(Ngantina thakmirru 122 in Hercus) 
Ngantina -na thak -mi -ruu 
tooth -INST open -Vb -NF 3 sg subj 
‘he’ 

3. The comitative case-marking suffix or a ‘having’ suffix is used 

Example 328. 
(Karliampala 85 in Hercus) 
Karliampala 
‘With his dog’ 
karli -ampala 
dog -COM 

Example 329. 
(Wanganyamalkata steals 181 in Hercus) 
Wanganyamalkata steals 
‘It has got a nest’ 
wangany -malkata -athu 
nest -having -3 sg subj 
‘it’ 

5.5.6 Traditional and Modern Usage of Possessive Markers 
Paakantyi has changed and evolved over time, as all languages do. Hercus (2005) describes the way in which modern Paakantyi speakers use possessive markers where traditional Paakantyi speakers did not. Either structure is fine to use; it is normal for languages to change and neither form is incorrect. 

Traditionally, possessive markers were not used when talking about a person’s name or totemic identity. For instance, you would say ‘what name you’ rather than ‘what name your’. Hercus (2005, p. 34) explains this by saying that ‘the name or the totemic identity was the person, not just part of him or her’.

This change has resulted from the the influence of the English possessive system. Similar changes have been seen in other Aboriginal languages such as Arabana and Pitjantjatjara.
Example 330.  
(Hercus 2005 p. 35)  
Minha wanka ngimpa?  
‘What’s your meat?’ (i.e. your matrilineal totemic identity)  

minha  wanka  ngimpa  
what  meat  2 sg subj  
‘you’

Example 331.  
(Hercus 2005 p. 34)  
Minha nhiiki ngimpa?  
‘What’s your name?’  

minha  nhiiki  ngimpa  
what  name  2 sg subj  
‘you’

In modern Paakantyi, it is more common to use a possessive marker:

Example 332.  
(Hercus 2005 p. 35)  
Minha nhiikina?  
‘What’s your name?’  

minha  nhiiki  -ma?  
what  name  -2 sg POS  
‘your’

Possessive suffixes are also used much more frequently in modern Paakantyi than they were in traditional Paakantyi when talking about body parts.

In traditional Paakantyi, a possessive suffix was usually not used:

Example 333.  
(Hercus 2005 p. 35)  
Miiki paatyirkaathu  
‘His eye is white’  

miiki  paatyirka  -athu  
eye  white  -3 sg subj  
‘he’

Occasionally, however, a possessive suffix was used. In modern Paakantyi, this structure is most common:

Example 334.  
(Hercus 2005 p. 35)  
Miikinha paatyirka  
‘His eye is white’  

miiki  -’nha  paatyirka  
eye  -3 sg POS  white  
‘his’

---

94 NB A different structure again was recorded by Hercus (1982, p. 169) as shown in example 429, where both a possessive marker and a subject pronoun are used together: Winthathu nhiikinha (literally ‘what he name his?’). Hercus (2013, pers. comm., 23 May) confirmed that this is possibly a combination of a traditional and modern Paakantyi construction.
SUMMARY—possession

Possession is shown by:
- Usually, the bound object form of the personal pronoun.
- Rarely (for emphasis), the free object form of the personal pronoun.
- Rarely (for strong emphasis), both the free and bound object forms of the personal pronoun.

Changes of form
- A number-marking suffix usually loses its final ‘u’ when it precedes a possessive marker starting with a vowel (occasionally an -r- glide is inserted after the plural marker -uku).
- The possessive markers can be divided into ‘strong’, ‘middle’ and ‘weak’ categories, depending on how much their initial consonant blends with a preceding vowel.

Possessive markers are not used if:
- Ownership is irrelevant or indefinite.
- Ownership is obvious.
- The comitative suffix or a ‘having’ suffix is used.

Differences in traditional and modern contexts
- Traditional speakers did not use possessive markers for names or totemic identity; modern speakers usually do.
- Possessive suffixes are used more frequently by modern speakers when talking about body parts.
## 5.6 Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are words such as ‘this’, ‘that’, ‘these’ and ‘those’. The forms documented by Luise Hercus are as follows (though there may have been additional forms.)

**Table 15: Singular demonstrative pronouns (‘this’, ‘that’)***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘THIS’</th>
<th>‘this’ (right here)</th>
<th>‘this’ (right here)</th>
<th>‘this’ (round about here)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>(ki)iki</td>
<td>(k)ithu</td>
<td>kanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(k)ithu-rru</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative/Genitive</td>
<td>(k)iki-nha (k)iku-nha</td>
<td>(k)ithu-nha (k)itha-nha</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative/Allative</td>
<td>(k)iki-nha-ri (k)ithu-nha-ri</td>
<td>kanga-ri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative/Instrumental</td>
<td>(k)iki-na</td>
<td>(k)itha-na</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>(k)ika-ntu</td>
<td>(k)itha-ntu (k)itha-y-intu (k)itha-y-intu</td>
<td>kanga-ntu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘THAT’</th>
<th>this/‘that (there)’ (quite close)</th>
<th>‘that’ (far away)</th>
<th>‘that’ (far away)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>(k)inha (k)inha (k)inhu</td>
<td>yuna</td>
<td>nhuna (rare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>kinha-rru (rare)</td>
<td>(k)inha-rru</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative/Genitive</td>
<td>(k)inha-nha (k)inhu-nha</td>
<td>yunuu-nha</td>
<td>nhunuu-nha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative/Allative</td>
<td>(k)inha-nha-ri</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative/Instrumental</td>
<td>(k)inha-na</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>(k)inha-ntu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>(k)inha-nha-manti (k)inha-nha-manti</td>
<td>yunuu-nha-manti</td>
<td>nhunuu-nha-manti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

95 An ablative form of (k)ithu is shown on the 2002 CD-ROM as (k)ithayuntu, whereas The Bāgandji language (Hercus 1982, p. 118) shows it as (k)ithayuntu. Hercus (2014, pers. comm., 15 June) confirmed that the two different forms are variants of the same word and that both forms are correct.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘these two’</th>
<th>‘these two’ (right here)</th>
<th>‘those two’ (some distance away)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominative</strong></td>
<td>(k)ikulu</td>
<td>(k)ithulu</td>
<td>(k)inhulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k)ikuulu</td>
<td>(k)ithuulu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k)iyuulu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accusative/Genitive</strong></td>
<td>(k)ikulu-nha</td>
<td>(k)ithulu-nha</td>
<td>(k)inhulu-nha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k)ikuulu-nha</td>
<td>(k)ithuulu-nha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k)iyuulu-nha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative/Allative</strong></td>
<td>(k)ikulu-nha-ri</td>
<td>(k)ithulu-nha-ri</td>
<td>(k)inhulu-nha-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(rare)</td>
<td>(k)ikuulu-nha-ri</td>
<td>(k)ithuulu-nha-ri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k)iyuulu-nha-ri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative/Instrumental</strong></td>
<td>(k)ikulu-na</td>
<td>(k)ithulu-na</td>
<td>(k)inhulu-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k)ikuulu-na</td>
<td>(k)ithuulu-na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k)iyuulu-na</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ablative</strong></td>
<td>(k)ikulu-nha-ntu</td>
<td>(k)ithulu-nha-ntu</td>
<td>(k)inhulu-nha-ntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(rare)</td>
<td>(k)ikuulu-nha-ntu</td>
<td>(k)ithuulu-nha-ntu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k)iyuulu-nha-ntu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purposive</strong></td>
<td>(k)ikulu-nha-manti</td>
<td>(k)ithulu-nha-manti</td>
<td>(k)inhulu-nha-manti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(rare)</td>
<td>(k)ikuulu-nha-manti</td>
<td>(k)ithuulu-nha-manti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k)iyuulu-nha-manti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 17: Plural Demonstrative Pronouns (‘these’ (all), ‘those’ (all))

‘THESE’/‘THOSE’ (ALL)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>(k)iyyika</th>
<th>(k)ithika</th>
<th>(k)inhingka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative/Genitive</td>
<td>(k)ingka</td>
<td>(k)ithingka</td>
<td>(k)inhingka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative/Allative</td>
<td>(k)ingka-ri</td>
<td>(k)ithingka-ri</td>
<td>(k)inhingka-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative/Instrumental</td>
<td>(k)ingka-na</td>
<td>(k)ithingka-na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>(k)ingka-ntu</td>
<td>(k)ithingka-ntu</td>
<td>(k)inhinka-ntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>(k)ingka-manti</td>
<td>(k)ithingka-manti</td>
<td>(k)inhinka-manti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes on the demonstrative pronouns
Usually the ‘k’ is not pronounced in the demonstrative pronouns that start with ‘ki’.

The nominative-ergative-accusative case distinction found in the singular personal pronouns is also found in the singular demonstrative pronouns. That is, intransitive subjects are in the nominative case form, transitive subjects are in the ergative case form and direct objects are in the accusative case form.

The dual and plural demonstrative pronouns do not have an ergative case form. With these pronouns, the nominative case form is used for both intransitive and transitive subjects (just like with the personal pronouns).

Examples of sentences using the demonstrative pronouns are as follows:

Example 335.  
(Kihanha yurraali)  
(E.g. 227 in Hercus)  
‘We two will think about this’

(kihanha yurri) -la -ali
This ACC think -TOP -1 dl subj
‘we’ (two)
Example 336.  
(E.g. 228 in Hercus)  
*Thuna ngiingkaoli paarrala kithingka*  
‘Then we two will stay to listen to them’

\[ 
\begin{align*} 
thuna & \text{-ali paarra -la kithingka} 
\end{align*} 
\]

then sit -1 dl subj hear -OPT (all) these ACC  
‘we’ (two)

Example 337.  
(E.g. 232 in Hercus)  
*Watutyi inhanha marliparlu*  
‘He picked up the little boy’

\[ 
\begin{align*} 
watu & \text{-tyi inhanha marli -parlu} 
\end{align*} 
\]

take -PAST this ACC man -child

Example 338.  
(E.g. 233 in Hercus)  
*Kila paliirra kiiki kiirra*  
‘This place here is no good’

\[ 
\begin{align*} 
kila & \text{paliirra kiiki kiirra} 
\end{align*} 
\]

not good this NOM place

Example 339.  
(E.g. 234 in Hercus)  
*Kiyika muni-muni thurlaka*  
‘These policemen here are bad’

\[ 
\begin{align*} 
kiyika & \text{muni-muni thurlaka} 
\end{align*} 
\]

these NOM policemen bad

Example 340.  
(E.g. 235 in Hercus)  
*Kithuulu ngatyingulu thayilpaninguathulu*  
‘These two watersnakes went on and on devouring everything’

\[ 
\begin{align*} 
kithuulu & \text{ngatyi-ngulu thayi -l’ -pani -ngu -athulu} 
\end{align*} 
\]

these (two) NOM serpent -Dl eat -TOP -ASP -PERF -3 dl subj  
‘they’ (two)

Example 341.  
(E.g. 236 in Hercus)  
*Kangari kiirrari parrityi*  
‘He went to this place around here’

\[ 
\begin{align*} 
kangari & \text{kiirra -ri parri -tyi} 
\end{align*} 
\]

this ALL place -ALL go -PAST

Example 342.  
(E.g. 237 in Hercus)  
*Yunuunhamanti palkatyinha*  
‘That’s what he killed him for’

\[ 
\begin{align*} 
yunuunhamanti & \text{palka -tyi -nha} 
\end{align*} 
\]

that PURP hit -PAST -3 sg obj  
‘him’
Example 343.  
(E.g. 238 in Hercus)  
*Nhunuunhamanti palkatyinha*

‘That’s what he killed him for’

*nhunuunhamanti palka -tyi -’nha*

that PURP hit -PAST -3 sg obj

‘him’

Note that bound forms of two of the demonstrative pronouns can be used as ergative case markers on nouns.\(^{96}\) These are:

- *-nhuru* (from *(k)inhuru, ‘that’/’those’) used for something or someone far away.
- *-thuru* (from *(k)ithuru, ‘this’/’this here’/’these’) used for something or someone close by.

Example 344.  
(E.g. 597 in Hercus)  
*Wiimpatyanhuru wantityi inha yarra*

‘This man burnt down the tree’

*wiimpatya -nhuru wanti -tyi inha yarra*

man -that ERG burn -PAST this NOM tree

Example 345.  
(E.g. 598 in Hercus)  
*Marliparylhurruuthinga palkatyinha*

‘That boy killed it!’

*marli -parlu -nhuru\(^{97}\) -thinga palka -tyi -’nha*

male -child -that ERG -EMPH\(_2\) hit -PAST -3 sg obj

‘it’

---

\(^{96}\) Refer to section 4.1.2 Ergative Case for a more detailed explanation and further examples.

\(^{97}\) Note that the ergative marker in this example has a long ‘u’ (i.e. is -rruu rather than -rru) as it is followed by the emphatic clitic -thinga. Refer to section 7.1.1 The Emphatic Clitic -thinga for further information.
Note—exception
An exception to the usual case distinction is that when used as an adjective describing an inanimate (non-living) object, the pronoun \((k)\text{in}h\a/(k)\text{in}h\i/(k)\text{in}hu\), ‘this/that there’ (quite close), is not marked for the accusative case. Instead, the nominative case form is used:

**Example 346.**  
*(E.g. 229 in Hercus)*  
*Kuurripaathu \text{in}hu wankaulayi*  
‘I’m hiding my meat’

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{kuurripa} & \text{-athu} & \text{\text{in}hu} & \text{wanka} & \text{\text{-ul’ \text{-ayi}}}
\end{array}
\]

hide  -1 sg Tran subj  this NOM  meat  -1 sg POS  ‘I’

**Example 347.**  
*(E.g. 230 in Hercus)*  
*Wantatyi \text{kin}ha \text{yarra}*  
‘He burnt this tree’

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{wanta} & \text{-tyi} & \text{\text{kin}ha} & \text{\text{yarra}}
\end{array}
\]

burn  -PAST  this NOM  tree
5.7 Interrogative Pronouns (who, what etc.)

Interrogative pronouns are words used to ask a question. In Paakantyi, the interrogative pronouns mean ‘who’, ‘what’, ‘which’, ‘where’ and ‘how many’. Some of the interrogative pronouns have different case forms, though they do not have an ergative case form. Those that do have different case forms follow the same case-marking system as the dual and plural personal pronouns: both intransitive and transitive subjects are in the nominative form and direct objects are in the accusative form. All the interrogative pronouns are positioned at the beginning of the clause.

5.7.1 Wintyika (‘Who’)

Wintyika, ‘who’, has the following case forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Case Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wintyika</td>
<td>nominative</td>
<td>(subject)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wintyika-nha</td>
<td>accusative &amp; genitive</td>
<td>(object/possessive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wintyika-manti</td>
<td>purposive</td>
<td>(‘for whom’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wintyika-umpula</td>
<td>comitative</td>
<td>(‘in company with whom’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nominative case (subject): *wintyika*

The nominative case form, *wintyika*, is used for the subject of a sentence. The same form is used to convey transitive and intransitive subjects of any number (singular, dual or plural).

**Example 348.** (E.g. 418 in Hercus)

Wintyikawarta ngiingkaana

‘Who is sitting there?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wintyika</th>
<th>rta</th>
<th>ngiingka</th>
<th>ana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who</td>
<td>but</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>CONT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Example 349.** (E.g. 419 in Hercus)

Wintyikawatutyinha

‘Who took it?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wintyika</th>
<th>tyi</th>
<th>‘nha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who</td>
<td>take</td>
<td>PAST</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Refer to Chapter 4: Grammatical Case for further information about different case forms.

Refer to section 6.11 Other Verbal Suffixes for a more detailed explanation of clauses.
In verbless sentences, the shortened form wintyi can be used:

**Example 350.**

*Wintyika (k)ithu*

‘Who is this?’

wintyika (k)ithu who this

OR: **Wintyi (k)ithu**

‘Who is this?’

wintyi (k)ithu who this

**Accusative case (object): wintyikanha**

**Example 351.**

*Wintyikanha nguukantu*

‘To whom are you giving it?’

wintyika -nha nguuka -ntu who -ACC give -2 sg Tran subj ‘you’

**Genitive case (possessive): wintyikanha**

**Example 352.**

*Wintyikanha muurrpa ngimpa*

‘Whose child are you?’

wintyika -nha muurrpa ngimpa who -GEN child 2 sg subj ‘you’

**Example 353.**

*Wintyikanha karli*

‘Whose dog is this?’

wintyika -nha karli who -GEN dog

**Purposive case (for whom): wintyikamanti**

**Example 354.**

*Wintyikamanti panamirru*

‘For whom did he make it?’

wintyika -manti pana -mi -rru who -PURP make -Vb -NF 3 sg subj ‘he’
5.7.2 Minha (‘What’)
The interrogative pronoun meaning ‘what’ is minha. Minha has the same form for the nominative, accusative and genitive cases and different forms for the instrumental and purposive cases:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nominative</td>
<td>minha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accusative</td>
<td>minha-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>minha-manti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 355.  
(E.g. 432 in Hercus)  
Minha iki  
‘What is this here?’  
minha iki  
what this NOM

Example 356.  
(E.g. 433 in Hercus)  
Minhintu kantaana  
‘What are you carrying?’  
minh’ -intu kanta -ana  
what -2 sg Tran subj carry -CONT  
‘you’

Example 357.  
(E.g. 434 in Hercus)  
Minhana panamirru  
‘What did he make it with?’  
minha -na pana -mi -rru  
what -INST make -Vb -NF 3 sg subj  
‘he’

Example 358.  
(E.g. 435 in Hercus)  
Minhamanti ngimpa parripu  
‘What did you come for?’  
minha -manti ngimpa parri -p’ -u  
what -PURP 2 sg Intr subj go -ASP -PERF  
‘you’

Example 359.  
(Hercus 2005 p. 34)  
Minha nhiiki ngimpa?  
‘What’s your name?’  
minha nhiiki ngimpa  
what name 2 sg subj  
‘you’
Example 360.  
(Hercus 2005 p. 35)  
\textbf{Minha} n\textit{hiikima}?  
‘What’s your name’?

\textit{minha} n\textit{hik} -\textit{ma}?  
\textit{what} name -2 sg POS  
‘your’

Note that in the last two examples above, the same question (‘what’s your name?’) is asked in two different ways. The first way (literally ‘what name you?’) is the way this question would have been asked in traditional Paakantyi. The second way (literally ‘what name your?’) is the way this question is often asked in modern Paakantyi. Either structure is fine to use; it is normal for languages to change over time.

5.7.3 \textit{Wintya} (‘Which/What’) & \textit{Wintyarra} (‘Where’)  
The interrogative pronoun meaning ‘which’ (or sometimes, ‘what’) is \textit{wintya}. The interrogative pronoun meaning ‘where’ is \textit{wintyarra}. The following case forms are used:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{wintya} nominative (subject, ‘which/what’)
  \item \textit{wintyarra} nominative (subject, ‘where’)
  \item \textit{wintya-marri} allative (‘to what place/where’ (‘whither’))
  \item \textit{wintya-ntu} ablative (‘from what place/where’ (‘whence’))
\end{itemize}

Example 361.  
(E.g. 429 in Hercus)  
\textbf{Wintyathu} n\textit{hiikinha}  
‘What’s his name?’

\textit{wintya} -’\textit{thu} n\textit{hiiki} -’\textit{nha}  
\textit{what} -3 sg subj name -3 sg POS  
‘he’ ‘his’

Example 362.  
(E.g. 430 in Hercus)  
\textbf{Wintyantu} k\textit{irrantu} p\textit{arr링katyi}  
‘Which country did he come from?’

\textit{wintya} -\textit{ntu} k\textit{irra} -\textit{ntu parri} -\textit{ngka} -\textit{tyi}  
\textit{which} -\textit{ABL} country -\textit{ABL} come -\textit{ASP} -\textit{PAST}

Example 363.  
(E.g. 592 in Hercus)  
\textbf{Wintyarrar} n\textit{gιingkani} m\textit{arliparlu}  
‘Where [are] the boys staying?’

\textit{wintyarrar} n\textit{gιingka} -\textit{ni} m\textit{arli} -\textit{parlu}  
\textit{where} sit -\textit{HAB} male -\textit{child}
Example 364.  
(E.g. 607 in Hercus)  
\textit{Wintyarrra ngurtawa parl-parlu}  
‘Where are you, children?’

\textit{wintyarrra} ngurta -wa parl-parlu  
where 2 pl subj -EMPH, children  
‘you’ (all)

Example 365.  
(E.g. 413 in Hercus)  
\textit{Wintyarrra ngamaka}  
‘Where is [my] mother?’

\textit{wintyarrra} ngamaka  
where  mother

5.7.4 Nhantharra/Nhatharra (‘How Many’)
The interrogative pronoun meaning ‘how many’ is \textit{nhantharra}. Hercus (1993, p. 118) also lists \textit{nhatharra} as a variant form. This interrogative pronoun does not have different case forms. It is always the topic of the sentence in which it is used.

Example 366.  
(E.g. 436 in Hercus)  
\textit{Nhantharra wimparrkuama}  
‘How many children do you have?’

\textit{nhantharra} wimparrku -ama  
how many children -2 sg POS  
‘your’

Example 367.  
(E.g. 437 in Hercus)  
\textit{Nhantharra kaantintu}  
‘How many have you got in your hand?’

\textit{nhantharra} kaanti -'ntu  
how many hold -2 sg Tran subj  
‘you’

Example 368.  
(E.g. 438 in Hercus)  
\textit{Nhatharr'intu wiityatyi}  
‘How many [bottles] did you drink?’

\textit{nhatharr'} -'ntu wiitya -tyi  
how many -2 sg Tran subj drink -PAST  
‘you’
Sometimes *nhantharra* is translated as ‘how often’ (i.e. how many times):

**Example 369.** *(E.g. 386 in Hercus)*

*Nhantharrimpa parrityi*

‘How often did you go?’

*nhantharr*`-imp a` *parri*-`tyi`

how often -2 sg Inr subj go -PAST

‘you’

---

### 5.7.5 Nhangu*nya/Nhangunya (How?)

The interrogative pronoun meaning ‘how’ is *nhangunya* or *nhangunya*.100

**Example 370.** *(E.g. 384 in Hercus)*

*Nhangunya ngupa pilkatiyi*

‘How did you two get down’?

*nhangunya* `ngupa` *pilka*-`tyi`

how 2 dl subj descend -PAST

‘you’(two)

**Example 371.** *(E.g. 389 in Hercus)*

*Nhangunya watutyintu*

‘How did you get it?’

*nhangunya* `watu` -`tyi` -`ntu`

how get -PAST -2 sg Tran subj

‘you’

**Example 372.** *(E.g. 390 in Hercus)*

*Nhanguny intu watutyinha*

‘How did you get it?’

*nhangunya* `intu` *watu` -`tyi` -`nha`

how -2 sg Tran subj get -PAST -3 sg obj

‘you’ ‘it’

---

100 The two variants for the interrogative pronoun meaning ‘how’ are shown as *nhangunya* and *nhangunya* in Hercus’ 1982 grammar (p. 312). The Paakantyi dictionary, however, lists *nhananya* as an interrogative pronoun meaning ‘how, which’ (Hercus 1993, p. 118).


5.7.6 Interrogative Pronouns Used to Convey Indefinite Meaning

Interrogative pronouns can convey indefinite meaning in two ways:

1. By being used as relative pronouns at the beginning of relative clauses.
2. Through reduplication.

1. Interrogatives as relative pronouns

Interrogatives can be used as relative pronouns at the beginning of relative clauses. Relative pronouns are used to connect a main clause to another clause (a relative clause), which describes or adds detail to the main clause. It is easiest to see what is meant by this by looking at some examples.

Example 373.  
Kila pamityathu *wintyika* wakatyi kinha yarra  
(E.g. 439 in Hercus)  
‘I did not see who chopped down this tree’

Example 374.  
Kila thaltilyaapa wintjantu pukalatyi  
(E.g. 431 in Hercus)  
‘I never heard what he died from’

2. Reduplication of interrogative pronouns

When reduplicated, an interrogative pronoun is used to convey an indefinite meaning. *Minha-minha* (literally ‘what-what’) is especially common and means ‘something or other’.

Example 375.  
Kila yurripayikaayi, *minhaminha* yawarra ngathu kulparranaama  
(E.g. 440 in Hercus)  
‘They don’t understand me whatever words I may be saying to you’

---

101 The topicaliser takes the form *-rra* rather than *-la* here since the stem to which it attaches contains an ‘i’. Refer to section 6.3.1 The Topicaliser *-la*.

CHAPTER 6: VERBS

A verbal word in Paakantyi can consist of a number of morphemes (elements) in the following order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verb stem (verbaliser)</td>
<td>(topicaliser)</td>
<td>(reciprocal/reflexive)</td>
<td>(aspect)</td>
<td>(mode)</td>
<td>(tense)</td>
<td>(subject)</td>
<td>(object)</td>
<td>(dative)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Usually only four or five of these elements will be used in any one verbal word; no verbal word using all ten elements has been recorded. The elements shown in parentheses are optional. Note that ‘subject’ and ‘object’ refer to bound personal pronouns and ‘dative’ refers to the dative case marker -ri.102

A verbal word must contain at least a verb stem (i.e. a bare verbal root with no other elements attached). A bare verb stem can be used to convey an abrupt command.103

Some examples of verbs consisting of various elements are as follows:

**Example 376.**  
*Kiintalathuayiri*  
*(E.g. 442 in Hercus)*  
‘So that he should laugh at me’

kiinta  -la  -‘thu  -ayi  -ri  
laugh  -TOP  -3 sg subj  -1 sg obj  -DAT  
‘he’  ‘me’

**Example 377.**  
*Pamithirritaapa*  
*(E.g. 444 in Hercus)*  
‘I’ll take a look at myself’

pami  -thirri  -t  -aapa  
see  -REFL  -FUT  -1 sg Intr subj  
‘I’

**Example 378.**  
*Muuyamalangkuathulu*  
*(E.g. 445 in Hercus)*  
‘They two used to quarrel with one another’

muuya  -ma  -la  -ngku  -athulu  
row  -Vb  -TOP  -PERF  -3 dl subj  
‘they’ (two)

---

102 Refer to section 6.11.3 The Dative Case Marker -ri as a Verbal Suffix.

103 The command form is called the ‘imperative mood.’ No suffix is added to form the imperative mood.
In the following sections we will look at verbal elements 1 through 7 in turn.

## 6.1 Verbal Element 1: Verb Stem

Simple verb stems always consist of two syllables. About three quarters of verb stems end in ‘a’ whilst about one fifth end in ‘i’ and just 3% end in ‘u’.

The simplest verbal word consists of a verb stem in the command form:

**Example 382.** *Kila thalti*  
(E.g. 560 in Hercus)  
‘Don’t listen!’

\[
\text{kila } \text{thalti}
\]

\[
\text{not } \text{hear}
\]

Examples of other simple verb stems are:

- *ngantyi-*  ‘to leave’
- *palka-*  ‘to hit’
- *parri-*  ‘to go’
6.2 Verbal Element 2: Verbalising Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verb stem (verbaliser)</td>
<td>(topicaliser)</td>
<td>(reciprocal/reflexive)</td>
<td>(aspect)</td>
<td>(mode)</td>
<td>(tense)</td>
<td>(subject)</td>
<td>(object)</td>
<td>(dative)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.1 The Verbaliser -ma

The verbaliser -ma can be added to adjectives, nouns and simple verbs to form verbs.

Creation of verbs from adjectives

The verbaliser -ma can be added to adjectives to form both transitive and intransitive verbs.\(^{104}\) The sort of verb it forms is dependent upon whether it is used with or without the topicalising suffix -la.\(^{105}\)

1. When used without the topicaliser -la, the verbaliser -ma forms a transitive verb that means ‘to cause something to assume the characteristics described by the adjective, e.g. ‘to bend or twist something’. Hercus refers to these as ‘state-inductive verbs’.\(^ {106}\) Examples of such verbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>piyarra</td>
<td>‘open’</td>
<td>piyarrama-</td>
<td>‘to open up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poliirra</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>poliirrama-</td>
<td>‘to make good, to cure’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puka</td>
<td>‘dead’</td>
<td>pukama-</td>
<td>‘to kill’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. When used with the topicaliser -la, the verbaliser -ma forms an intransitive inceptive verb. This is a verb that means ‘to assume the characteristics described by the adjective’, e.g. ‘to become bent’.\(^ {107}\) Examples of intransitive inceptive verbs formed with the topicaliser -la are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb with -ma-la</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>poliirra</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>poliirrana-</td>
<td>‘to get well’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thurlaka</td>
<td>‘bad’</td>
<td>thurlakamala-</td>
<td>‘to deteriorate (to get worse)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaki</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
<td>yakimana-</td>
<td>‘to feel cold, to get chilled’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tharla</td>
<td>‘dry’</td>
<td>tharlamala-</td>
<td>‘to run dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thungku-thungku</td>
<td>‘crooked’</td>
<td>thungkumala-</td>
<td>‘to twist along [of river]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puka</td>
<td>‘dead’</td>
<td>pukamala-</td>
<td>‘to die’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^{104}\) For an explanation of transitivity and transitive/intransitive verbs, refer to Chapter 4: Grammatical Case.

\(^{105}\) Refer to section 6.3.1 The Topicaliser -la.


\(^{107}\) Forming intransitive verbs using -ma + -la is approximately three times more common than forming transitive verbs just using -ma.
Creation of verbs from nouns
Forming verbs from nouns using the verbaliser -ma is very rare. The only recorded forms are intransitive verbs formed with both the verbaliser -ma and the topicaliser -la:

Example 383. Yaparramalayika
(E.g. 448 in Hercus) ‘They are camping overnight’

yaparra -ma -la -y -ika
camp -Vb -TOP -Gl -3 pl subj
‘they’ (all)

Example 384. Thinamalatyika
(E.g. 449 in Hercus) ‘[These things] have grown feet [i.e. have disappeared]’

thina -ma -la -ty -ika
foot -Vb -TOP -PAST -3 pl subj
‘they’ (all)

Creation of verbs from other verbs
The verbaliser -ma sometimes appears on certain Paakantyi verbs (both transitive and intransitive). Though these verbs may convey a slight notion of repetition/continuance, the meaning of the verb with -ma is usually identical to the meaning of the verb to which -ma has been added.

The verbaliser -ma is also sometimes added to English verbs to form Paakantyi verbs. For example, wanti-ma has been formed by adding the verbaliser -ma to a stem formed from the English loan word ‘want’. Other examples are as follows:

Example 385. Parrimalathu
(E.g. 452 in Hercus) ‘He is walking about’

parri -ma -la -‘thu
go -Vb -TOP -3 sg subj
‘he’

Example 386. Kapamalatyulu thumpiri
(E.g. 453 in Hercus) ‘They two followed along as far as the waterhole’

kapa -ma -la -ty -ulu thumpi -ri
follow -Vb -TOP -PAST -3 dl subj hole -ALL
‘they’ (two)
Example 387.  
\(Thakmirru\)  
(E.g. 454 in Hercus)  
‘He pushed [it] open’  
\(\text{thak’-mi}^{108} -rru\)  
\(\text{hit -Vb} -\text{NF 3 sg subj}\)  
‘he’

On rare occasions, the final consonant and vowel of the verb are dropped before \(-ma\).

Example 388.  
(\text{p. 179 in Hercus})  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>New verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(yanta)-</td>
<td>‘to cry’</td>
<td>(yanmala)-</td>
<td>‘to lament’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 389.  
(E.g. 455 in Hercus)  
\(Kila\ \text{yanmaltaapa ngumari}\)  
‘I won’t lament for you’  
\(\text{kila} \ \text{yanmal’-t -aapa nguma -ri}\)  
\(\text{not} \ \text{lament -FUT -1 sg Intr subj} \ 2 \text{ sg obj -DAT}\)  
\(\text{‘I’ ‘you’}\)

The verb \(\text{paringmala- ‘to travel about’}\) is common. This is formed from \(\text{parri- ‘to go’}\), the aspectual suffix \(-ngka\), the verbaliser \(-ma\) and the topicaliser \(-la\). In the following example, there is loss of the final ‘k’ and ‘a’ of \(-ngka\). Note that it is unusual to find the verbaliser \(-ma\) after an aspectual suffix.

Example 390.  
(E.g. 456 in Hercus)  
\(\text{Parringmalatyuulu}\)  
‘They two travelled about’  
\(\text{parri -ng’ -ma -la -ty -uulu}\)  
\(\text{go -ASP -Vb -TOP -PAST -3 dl subj}\)  
\(\text{‘they’ (two)}\)

Creation of verbs from other stems

Verbs formed using the verbaliser \(-ma\) (and sometimes also the topicaliser \(-la\)) are often created from stems that are not seen elsewhere, such as in:

\(\text{nhinh-ninhmala- ‘to shiver’}\)  
\(\text{parlapmala- ‘to flash’ (lightning)}\)  
\(\text{pulitymala- ‘to dive into water’}\)  
\(\text{wilupma- ‘to lift up’}\)

\(^{108}\) The verbaliser \(-ma\) has changed to \(-mi\) as it is being used in the non-future tense. This is explained later on in this section under ‘Changes of Form Involving the Verbaliser \(-ma\)’. 
A verb can also be created from an exclamation or onomatopoeia.\footnote{Onomatopoeia means a word that sound like the thing to which it is referring, for example ‘whoosh’, ‘buzz’ and ‘cuckoo’.
}

**Example 391.** *(E.g. 458 in Hercus)*

\textit{Thalthal\textit{malatyi inhu pinti}}

‘This lightning flashed’

\begin{verbatim}
thal-thal   -\textit{ma}   -\textit{la}   -\textit{tyi}   inhu pinti
flash       -Vb       -TOP       -PAST     this     lightning
\end{verbatim}

**Changes of form involving the verbaliser -\textit{ma}**

1. When -\textit{ma} is joined to a stem ending in ‘a’, the ‘a’ on the end of the stem is often lost.

**Example 392.** *(P. 283 in Hercus)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{thurlaka}</td>
<td>‘bad’</td>
<td>\textit{thurlakma-}</td>
<td>‘to spoil’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Example 393.** *(E.g. 454 in Hercus)*

\textit{Thakmirru}

‘He pushed [it] open’

\begin{verbatim}
thak’   -\textit{mi}   -\textit{rru}
hit      -Vb       -NF 3 sg subj
        ‘he’
\end{verbatim}

2. When used with the non-future tense 3 sg subj pronoun -\textit{rru}, -\textit{ma} changes to -\textit{mi}.

**Example 394.** *(E.g. 447 in Hercus)*

\textit{Pukamirru}

‘He killed [him]’

\begin{verbatim}
puka   -\textit{mi}   -\textit{rru}
kill    -Vb       -NF 3 sg subj
        ‘he’
\end{verbatim}

**Example 395.** *(E.g. 451 in Hercus)*

\textit{Panamirruanha}

‘He made it’

\begin{verbatim}
pana   -\textit{mi}   -\textit{rru}   -\textit{anha}
make    -Vb       -NF 3 sg subj   -3 sg obj
        ‘he’        ‘it’
\end{verbatim}
6.2.2 The Verbaliser \textit{-warta} (‘To Smell Like’)

The verbaliser \textit{-warta} is added to adjectives and nouns to form verbs meaning ‘to smell like...’.

Example 396. \textit{Waluwartatyu} \\
\textit{(E.g. 459 in Hercus)} \\
‘It smelt mouldy’

\textit{walu -warta -ty -u} \\
\textit{mould -Vb (smell) -PAST -3 sg subj} \\
\textit{‘it’}

Example 397. \textit{Pukawartatyu wanka} \\
\textit{(E.g. 460 in Hercus)} \\
‘The meat stank’

\textit{puka -warta -ty -u wanka} \\
\textit{rotten -Vb (smell) -PAST -3 sg subj meat} \\
\textit{‘it’}

Example 398. \textit{Nguungkiwartana wanka} \\
\textit{(E.g. 461 in Hercus)} \\
‘The meat is getting a burnt smell’

\textit{nguungki -warta -ana wanka} \\
\textit{cooked -Vb (smell) -CONT meat}

Example 399. \textit{Paliirrawartathu} \\
\textit{(E.g. 462 in Hercus)} \\
‘It smells nice’

\textit{paliirra -warta -athu} \\
\textit{good -Vb (smell) -3 sg subj} \\
\textit{‘it’}

\begin{table}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|}
\hline
\textbf{SUMMARY–verbalising suffixes} \\
\hline
\textbf{The verbaliser \textit{-ma}} \\
\begin{itemize}
  \item Adjective + \textit{-ma} \rightarrow transitive ‘state-inducive’ verb.
  \item Adjective + \textit{-ma} + \textit{-la} \rightarrow intransitive verb.
  \item Noun \textit{-ma} + \textit{-la} \rightarrow intransitive verb.
  \item Verb + \textit{-ma} \rightarrow verb.
  \item Exclamation, onomatopoeia or unknown stem + \textit{-ma} \rightarrow verb.
  \item Stem-final ‘a’ is often deleted before \textit{-ma}.
  \item In the non-future tense, \textit{-ma} often \rightarrow \textit{-mi}.
\end{itemize}
\textbf{The verbaliser \textit{-warta}, ‘to smell like’} \\
\begin{itemize}
  \item Adjective or noun + \textit{-warta} \rightarrow verb.
\end{itemize}
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}
6.3 Verbal Element 3: Topicaliser

### 6.3.1 The Topicaliser -la

The suffix -la is referred to as a ‘topicaliser’ because it makes an action more definite and emphasises its aim. The best way in which to summarise its usual meaning is ‘with intent’.

The topicaliser can only be used with verbs that can be made more definite and intentional; it cannot be used with verbs such as *ningka-* ‘to sit’ and *parri-* ‘to go’. Examples of verbs to which the topicaliser can attach are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>parrika-</em></td>
<td>‘to deceive’</td>
<td><em>parkala-</em></td>
<td>‘to tell lies’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>thayi-</em></td>
<td>‘to eat’</td>
<td><em>thayila-</em></td>
<td>‘to have a meal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wiitya-</em></td>
<td>‘to drink’</td>
<td><em>wiityala-</em></td>
<td>‘to go on a drinking spree’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With some of the verbs that are sometimes transitive (usually the ‘ingestive’ verbs and other verbs that are transitive when used with an object), -la may make intransitive verbs transitive, such as with:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Tran. verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>pami-</em></td>
<td>‘to see’</td>
<td><em>pamila-</em></td>
<td>‘to look at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>thalti-</em></td>
<td>‘to hear’</td>
<td><em>thaltila-</em></td>
<td>‘to listen’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More often than not, however, adding the topicaliser -la does not affect transitivity.

Usually, the topicaliser is not used together with any other aspectual suffix, nor is it used with the optative verbal suffix -la.

Note that whilst the topicaliser -la has the same form as the optative verbal suffix -la, the meanings and positions of these two suffixes are different:

1. The topicaliser is never final in a verbal word whereas the optative suffix is always final.
2. The optative verbal suffix is used to convey a wish or purpose (the topicaliser is not).
3. The topicaliser is linked in various ways with transitivity (the optative verbal suffix is not).

---

110 Hercus includes the topicaliser -la as with the aspectual suffixes (1982, pp. 191–193). It has been categorised separately in this grammar for clarity, since it is occasionally used alongside (other) aspectual suffixes, which then follow the topicaliser -la.

111 Aspectual suffixes will be explained in section 9.5 Verbal Element 5: Aspect.

112 The optative verbal suffix -la indicates a wish or purpose occurring at the same time as or in the future with respect to the main verb. Refer to section 6.11.2 The Optative Verbal Suffix -la (Wish or Purpose).
The verbaliser -ma combined with the topicaliser -la
When the topicaliser -la is added to a verb containing the verbaliser -ma, it does not have the usual meaning of ‘with intent’; rather, it means ‘with intent towards oneself’. In this sense, it resembles the reflexive. Note that it also has the effect of making transitive verbs intransitive. Examples are as follows.113

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paliirra</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>paliirra-ma-la-</td>
<td>‘to get well’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thurlaka</td>
<td>‘bad’</td>
<td>thurlaka-ma-la-</td>
<td>‘to deteriorate’ (to get worse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaki</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
<td>yaki-ma-la-</td>
<td>‘to feel cold, to get chilled’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tharla</td>
<td>‘dry’</td>
<td>tharla-ma-la-</td>
<td>‘to run dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thungku-thungku</td>
<td>‘crooked’</td>
<td>thungku-thungku-ma-la-</td>
<td>‘to twist along’ (e.g. a river)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puka</td>
<td>‘dead’</td>
<td>puka-ma-la</td>
<td>‘to die’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Changes of form undergone by the topicaliser -la
In certain situations, the topicaliser undergoes the following changes of form:

1. Loss of ‘a’.
2. Change to -rra.

1. Loss of ‘a’
Before the past and future tense markers (-ty(i) and -t), the ‘a’ of the topicaliser -la is lost (unless it is also used with the verbaliser -ma):

Example 400. Thulurrumarri waputyika pamiltyika
(E.g. 505 in Hercus) ‘A crowd of people arrived and had a look’

```
thulurru  -marri  wapu  -ty  -ika  pam  -l'  -ty  -ika
many   -very  arrive  -PAST  -3 pl subj  see  -TOP  -PAST  -3 pl subj
     ‘they’ (all)  ‘they’ (all)
```

Example 401. Kila muuyaaltyali
(E.g. 506 in Hercus) ‘We two didn’t have a row’

```
kila  muuya  -l'  -ty  -ali
not  angry  -TOP  -PAST  -1 dl subj
     ‘we’ (two)
```

Example 402. Wathurru thayaltyi
(E.g. 221 in Hercus) ‘He ate it’

```
wathurru  thayi  -l'  -tyi
3 sg  Tran subj  eat  -TOP  -PAST
     ‘he’
```

113 These examples are also shown in section 6.2.1 The Verbaliser -ma.
Example 403.  
(E.g. 9 in Hercus)  

Nguuyaltyaapa  
‘I was frightened’

nguuya -l -ty -aapa  
fear -TOP -PAST -1 sg Intr subj  
‘I’

Example 404.  
(E.g. 35 in Hercus)  

Thayitaapa  
‘I shall eat’

thayi -l -t -aapa  
eat -TOP -FUT -1 sg Intr subj  
‘I’

Example 405.  
(E.g. 36 in Hercus)  

Partaltathu  
‘He will bite’

parta -l -t -athu  
bite -TOP -FUT -3 sg subj  
‘he’

Example 406.  
(E.g. 507 in Hercus)  

Piipurruthayitaapa  
‘I shall feed on ants’ [the ancestral echidna speaking]

piipurruthayi -l’ -t -aapa  
ant eat -TOP -FUT -1 sg Intr subj  
‘I’

Example 407.  
(E.g. 508 in Hercus)  

Yakaltikaayi  
‘They’ll give me a call’

yaka -l’ -t -ika -ayi  
call -TOP -FUT -3 pl subj -1 sg obj  
‘they’ (all) ‘me’
When the verbaliser -ma is used alongside the topicaliser -la, the topicaliser does not lose its ‘a’:

Example 408. *Parnkomalatyika*  
(Example 408. *Parnkomalatyika*)  
‘They crawled about’

parnka\textsuperscript{114} -ma -la -ty -ika  
crawl -Vb -TOP -PAST -3 pl subj  
‘they’ (all)

2. Change to -rra
If the verb stem contains an ‘i’, -la may change to -rra. This always occurs if the verbs stem ends with ‘a’ and optionally occurs if the verb stem ends with ‘i’. Examples are:

**Obligatory change to -rra** (verbs ending in ‘a’):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb stem</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>change to -rra</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>marlpa-</td>
<td>‘to be ignored’</td>
<td>marlpa-rra</td>
<td>‘to act stupidly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palka-</td>
<td>‘to hit’</td>
<td>palka-rra-</td>
<td>‘to give a beating’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Exception:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb stem</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kala-</td>
<td>‘to seek’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kala-la-</td>
<td>‘to hunt for’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Optional change to -rra** (verbs ending in ‘i’):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb stem</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kulpi-</td>
<td>‘to engage someone in conversation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulpi-rra</td>
<td>‘to talk with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurli-</td>
<td>‘to play’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurli-rra</td>
<td>‘to gamble’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SUMMARY—the topicaliser -la**

**The topicaliser -la**

- Makes an action more definite, emphasises its aim, ‘with intent’.
- When used with the verbaliser -ma means ‘with intent towards oneself’.
- Sometimes makes intransitive verbs transitive.
- Usually isn’t used with other aspectual suffixes and never with the optative verbal suffix -la.

**Changes of form undergone by the topicaliser -la**

- The ‘a’ is lost before past and future tense markers (unless used with the verbaliser -ma).
- The topicaliser -la becomes -rra when attached to a verb stem containing ‘i’:
  1. always with stems ending with ‘a’
  2. optionally with stems ending with ‘i’

\textsuperscript{114} In Hercus’ 1982 grammar, the word for ‘crawl’ is spelled with a retroflex ‘r’, *banga* (parnka-) but in Hercus’ 1993 dictionary, it is spelled without a retroflex ‘r’ (*pan.ga*).
6.4 Verbal Element 4: Reciprocal/Reflexive Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verb stem (verbaliser)</td>
<td>(topicaliser)</td>
<td>(reciprocal/reflexive)</td>
<td>(aspect)</td>
<td>(mode)</td>
<td>(tense)</td>
<td>(subject)</td>
<td>(object)</td>
<td>(dative)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reciprocity means that there is some sort of mutual relationship or action taking place and is conveyed in English using words like ‘each other’ and ‘one another’ (e.g. ‘they love each other’). Reflexivity conveys the notion of doing something to oneself. In English, reflexivity is shown using words like ‘myself’, ‘himself’, ‘herself’, ‘themselves’ and ‘itself’ (e.g. ‘I wash myself’).

6.4.1 Reciprocals (‘Each Other’, ‘One Another’)
There are different ways in which reciprocity can be expressed in Paakantyi. Reciprocity can be:

1. Inherent in a verb’s meaning.
2. Expressed by adding -mila to a transitive verb stem.
3. Expressed by adding the topicaliser -la to an intransitive verb stem.

1. Some verbs have a reciprocal implication in their very meaning, e.g. kulpi, ‘to engage in conversation’, which conveys the idea of people talking to one another:

Example 409.  
(E.g. 476 in Hercus)  
*Kulpilathulu*  
‘They two are talking to one another’  
*kulp* -i -la -athulu  
speak -CAUS -TOP -3 dl subj  
‘they’ (two)

Example 410.  
(E.g. 477 in Hercus)  
*Partilathulu*  
‘They two are fighting with one another’  
*part’ -i -la -athulu  
bite -CAUS -TOP -3 dl subj  
‘they’ (two)

---

115 Hercus includes transitivity, reciprocals and reflexives under the category ‘voice’ (1982, pp. 182–190). In this grammar, ‘reciprocal/reflexive’ have been categorised as ‘verbal element 4’. Transitivity is dealt with in section 6.9.)

116 This verb is formed by combining kulpa-, ‘to speak, talk’ with the causative suffix -i. See section 6.9.5 Causatives: Transitive Verbs Derived from Intransitive Verbs.
2. The suffix -\textit{mila} can be added to a transitive verb stem to create a reciprocal stem:

\textbf{Example 411.} \textit{Ngantyimilatali}  
\textit{(E.g. 446 in Hercus)}  
‘We two will leave one another’

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
ngantyi & -mila & -t -ali \\
leave & -REC & -FUT -1 dl subj \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

‘we’ (two)

\textbf{Example 412.} \textit{Nguukamilathulu}  
\textit{(E.g. 479 in Hercus)}  
‘These two give one another presents’

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
nguuka & -mila & -athulu \\
give & -REC & -3 dl subj \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

‘they’ (two)

\textbf{Example 413.} \textit{Karnmalamilayika}  
\textit{(E.g. 480 in Hercus)}  
‘They steal one another’s things’

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
karnma & -la & -mila -y -ika \\
steal & -TOP & -REC -Gl -3 pl subj \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

‘they’ (all)

3. Verbs of emotion, expectation and the verb \textit{mantha-}, ‘to wait for’ are generally intransitive and therefore cannot be used with the reciprocal stem -\textit{mila}. These verbs can express reciprocity just using the topicaliser suffix -\textit{la}:

\textbf{Example 414.} \textit{Muuyalatyulu}  
\textit{(E.g. 478 in Hercus)}  
‘They two got angry with one another’

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
muuya & -la & -ty -uulu \\
angry & -TOP & -PAST -3 dl subj \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

‘they’ (two)
6.4.2 Reflexives (Doing Something to Oneself)
Reflexive verbs are verbs that take an object that is the same as or somehow linked to the subject. An example of a reflexive construction in English is ‘I wash myself’ (where ‘myself’ and ‘I’ both refer to the same person).

Reflexive verbs can be formed in Paakantyi either with or without the reflexive suffix -thirri.

The reflexive with -thirri
Reflexive verbs can be formed by adding the suffix -thirri:
1. Directly to a transitive verb stem or
2. To a verb stem followed by the topicaliser -la.117

Once -thirri has been joined to a transitive verb, the verb becomes intransitive and as such, subject pronouns used with -thirri are always intransitive (i.e. nominative) forms.

1. Examples with the reflexive suffix -thirri joined directly to the verb stem:

Example 415.  
(E.g. 482 in Hercus)  
*Nhuukathirrityimpa*  
‘You cut yourself’

\[ \text{nhuuka } -\text{thirri } -ty \quad -\text{imp}a \]
\[ \text{cut} \quad -\text{REFL} \quad -\text{PAST} \quad -\text{2 sg Intr subj} \]
\[ \text{‘you’} \]

Example 416.  
(E.g. 483 in Hercus)  
Palkathirrityaapa  
‘I bumped myself’

\[ \text{palka } -\text{thirri } -ty \quad -\text{aapa} \]
\[ \text{hit} \quad -\text{REFL} \quad -\text{PAST} \quad -\text{1 sg Intr subj} \]
\[ \text{‘I’} \]

Example 417.  
(E.g. 484 in Hercus)  
*Marru-marrathirritaapa*  
‘I’ll scratch myself’

\[ \text{marru-marra } -\text{thirri } -t \quad -\text{aapa} \]
\[ \text{scratch} \quad -\text{REFL} \quad -\text{FUT} \quad -\text{1 sg Intr subj} \]
\[ \text{‘I’} \]

Example 418.  
(E.g. 489 in Hercus)  
*Nhuukathirritaapa milinyaayi*  
‘I’ll cut my fingernails’

\[ \text{nhuuka } -\text{thirri } -t \quad -\text{aapa} \quad \text{milinya} \quad -\text{ayi} \]
\[ \text{cut} \quad -\text{REFL} \quad -\text{FUT} \quad -\text{1 sg Intr subj} \quad \text{nail} \quad -\text{1 sg POS} \]
\[ \text{‘I’} \quad \text{‘my’} \]

117 The topicaliser -la is an aspectual suffix. Refer to section 6.3.1 The Topicaliser -la for further information.
Example 419.  
(Pamithirritaapa)  
(E.g. 444 in Hercus)  
‘I’ll take a look at myself’  
pami -thirri -t -aapa  
see -REFL -FUT -1 sg Intr subj  
‘I’

2. Examples with the reflexive suffix -thirri joined to the topicaliser -la:

Example 420.  
(Nhuukalthirritaapa)  
(E.g. 485 in Hercus)  
‘I’ll cut myself’  
nhuuka -l’ -thirri -t -aapa  
cut -TOP -REFL -FUT -1 sg Intr subj  
‘I’

Example 421.  
(Nhapaithirriyika)  
(E.g. 486 in Hercus)  
‘They lock themselves up’  
nhapa -l’ -thirri -y -ika  
shut -TOP -REFL -GI -3 pl subj  
‘they’ (all)

The reflexive without -thirri

In some situations, the reflexive can be formed without use of the suffix -thirri, by using a transitive verb with an intransitive pronoun.¹¹⁸

Most often, this is done with the first and second person singular pronouns. Occasionally, it is also done with other pronouns. The topicaliser -la may or may not also be used in these sentences.

Example 422.  
(Nhuukataapa milinyaayi)  
(E.g. 488 in Hercus)  
‘I’ll cut my fingernails’  
nhuuka -t -aapa milinya -ayi  
cut -FUT -1 sg Intr subj nail -1 sg POS  
‘I’ ‘my’

Example 423.  
(Nhuurrumataapa marnina)  
(E.g. 490 in Hercus)  
‘I’ll rub myself with fat’  
nhuurru -ma -t -aapa marni -na  
rub -Vb -FUT -1 sg Intr subj fat -INST  
‘I’

¹¹⁸ NB It is not certain whether the verbs in the ‘sometimes transitive category’ (i.e. the ‘ingestive verbs’ and others, discussed in section 6.9.2 Verbs That Are Sometimes Transitive) can be used reflexively without the suffix -thirri.
Example 424.  
*Kila marru-marraltimp*  
(E.g. 491 in Hercus)  
‘Don’t scratch yourself’

\[\text{kila marru-mar} \quad \text{-t} \quad \text{-impa}\]

*not scratch* -TOP -FUT -2 sg Intr subj  
‘you’

In Paakantyi, there are situations where the object of a reflexive verb is not exactly the same as the subject. Instead of referring to the same thing, the object that the reflexive verb takes may just be a part of the subject or something that is connected. For example:

Example 425.  
*Pamithirritaapa kulyparrangukuayi*  
(E.g. 487 in Hercus)  
‘I’ll look at my reflection’

\[\text{pami} \quad \text{-thirri} \quad \text{-t} \quad \text{-aapa} \quad \text{kulyparra} \quad \text{-nguku} \quad \text{-ayi}\]

*see -REFL -FUT -1 sg Intr subj shadow -water -1 sg POS*  
‘I’  
‘my’

In the above example, the subject is -aapa, ‘I’, and the object is *kulyparrangukuayi*, ‘my reflection’ (which is linked to but not the same as the subject).

**SUMMARY—reciprocals/reflexives**

**Reciprocity can be:**
- Inherent in a verb’s meaning.
- Expressed by adding -*mila* to a transitive verb stem.
- Expressed by adding -*la* to an intransitive verb stem.

**Reflexive verbs can be formed:**
- With the suffix -*thirri* joined directly to transitive verb stem.
- With the suffix -*thirri* joined to the stem followed by the topicaliser -*la*.
- (Sometimes) without -*thirri* by using a transitive verb with an intransitive pronoun.

---

**6.5 Verbal Element 5: Aspect**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verb stem (verbaliser) (topicaliser) (reciprocal/reflexive) (aspect) (mode) (tense) (subject) (object) (dative)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paakantyi has a number of aspectual suffixes. Some of them can be categorised as being ‘perfective’ (expressing thoroughness or intensity of an action) or ‘imperfective’ (expressing continuity of an action).
6.5.1 The Suffix -ngka (Implying Thoroughness)
The perfective suffix -ngka is not used very often. It is joined to a verb stem to imply some sort of thoroughness. For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
paki- & \quad \text{‘to sing’} & \quad paki\text{-ngka-} & \quad \text{‘to sing someone (kill by magic)’} \\
parri- & \quad \text{‘to go’} & \quad parri\text{-ngka-} & \quad \text{‘to go away for good’} \\
yurri & \quad \text{‘to hear’} & \quad yurri\text{-ngka-} & \quad \text{‘to understand’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Example 426.  
(E.g. 54 in Hercus)  
Parringgaartha  
i kik runningk
‘This woman is going away for good’

\[
parri \text{-ngka} \text{-athu iki} \text{ nuingk}
go \text{-ASP} \text{-3 sg subj this NOM woman}
\]
\‘she’

Example 427.  
(E.g. 456 in Hercus)  
Parringmalatyuulu
‘They two travelled about’

\[
parri \text{-ng} \text{-ma} \text{-la} \text{-ty} \text{-ulu}
go \text{-ASP} \text{-Vb} \text{-TOP} \text{-PAST} \text{-3 dl subj}
\]
\‘they’ (two)

6.5.2 The Suffix -ka (Adding Emphasis)
The perfective suffix -ka adds emphasis to the meaning of the verb stem. Its approximate translation is ‘really well’ or ‘with speed and enthusiasm’, for example:

Example 428.  
(E.g. 510 in Hercus)  
Kiintakaatyikinanha
‘They had a good laugh at us’

\[
kiinta \text{-ka} \text{-ty} \text{-ik} \text{-inanha}
laugh \text{-ASP} \text{-PAST} \text{-3 pl subj} \text{-1 pl obj}
\‘they’ (all) ‘us’ (all)
\]

Example 429.  
(E.g. 511 in Hercus)  
Thikalkataapa
‘I’ll be right back’

\[
thika \text{-l} \text{-ka} \text{-t} \text{-aapa}
return \text{-TOP} \text{-ASP} \text{-FUT} \text{-1 sg Intr subj}
\‘I’
### 6.5.3 The Suffix -\textit{pa} (Thoroughness & Intensity)

The perfective suffix -\textit{pa} expresses thoroughness and intensity. Sometimes, it implies that a goal has been reached. It is a very commonly used suffix. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{kila}-</td>
<td>'to grow'</td>
<td>\textit{kila}-\textit{pa}-</td>
<td>'to grow up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{parri}-</td>
<td>'to go'</td>
<td>\textit{parri}-\textit{pa}-</td>
<td>'to come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{thayi}-</td>
<td>'to eat'</td>
<td>\textit{thayi}-\textit{pa}-</td>
<td>'to eat up a meal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{yurri}-</td>
<td>'to hear'</td>
<td>\textit{yurri}-\textit{pa}-</td>
<td>'to know, to think'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Example 430.**

*Kalaparru muurppangulu*\textit{ha}nha

'He was looking [everywhere] for his two children'

\begin{verbatim}
  kala -pa -rru muurrpa -ngulu -anha
  seek -ASP -NF 3 sg subj child -DI -3 sg POS
  'he' 'his'
\end{verbatim}

**Example 431.**

*Thungkumalapaturru*

'It will be completely crooked'

\begin{verbatim}
  thungku -ma -la -pa -t -uru
  crooked -Vb -TOP -ASP -FUT -3 sg subj
  'it'
\end{verbatim}

**Example 432.**

*Ngathuwanki yurripathu*

'I’m the only one that understands'

\begin{verbatim}
  ngathu -wanki yurri -pa -thu
  1 sg Tran subj -only know -ASP -1 sg Tran subj
  'I' 'I'
\end{verbatim}

### 6.5.4 The Durative Suffix -\textit{nya} (Continuity, Habitual Action)

The imperfective suffix -\textit{nya} marks continuity (i.e. the equivalent of the English ‘-ing’ in for example ‘speaking’, ‘running’, ‘eating’). It can also be used to mark habitual action.

**Example 433.**

*Kaantinya wiityalanya*

'[They’ve been] drinking for too long'

\begin{verbatim}
  kaantinya wiitya -la -nya
  long time drink -TOP -ASP
\end{verbatim}
Example 434. Pakinyaathu kinha yarnku
(E.g. 521 in Hercus)
‘I can sing this song’

\textit{paki -nya -athu kinha yarnku}
sing -ASP -1 sg Tran subj this NOM song
‘I’

Example 435. Katyiluku parnarra. Pakinyarruuthinga parnarra kilangkuathu,
(E.g. 524 in Hercus)
kilapanningkuathu.

‘It was a little river red gum tree. He [the crow] was ‘singing’ it and it grew. It went on and on growing.’

\textit{Katyiluku parnarra. Paki -nya -rru -thinga parnarra kila}
Little gum. Sing -ASP -NF 3 sg subj -EMPH gum grow
‘he’

-\textit{ngku -athu, kila -pani -ngku -athu.}
-PERF -3 sg subj, grow -ASP -PERF -3 sg subj
‘it’

NB Some verbs, such as \textit{kanti-nya-}, ‘to have’, are rarely found as simple stems and usually occur with the suffix \textit{-nya}.

6.5.5 The Suffix \textit{-pani} (On and On)
The imperfective suffix \textit{-pani} is used as a prolonged past continuative indicating ‘they went on and on and on…’. It is only found in the perfect tense (i.e. with the perfect marker \textit{-ngku}).

Example 436. Ngatyingulu thayilpaningkuathulu
(E.g. 523 in Hercus)
‘The two rainbow serpents went on and on devouring [everything]’

\textit{ngatyi -ngulu thayi -I’ -pani -ngku -athulu}
serpent -DL eat -TOP -ASP -PERF -3 dl subj
‘they’ (two)

\textsuperscript{119} This is the translation given by Hercus (1982, p. 195). The suffix \textit{-nya} is most likely used here indicate habitual action, therefore a more accurate translation might be ‘I sing this song’ (i.e. regularly).

\textsuperscript{120} Note that Luise Hercus only found this suffix used in mythological recitation (Hercus 1982, p. 196).
Example 437.  
(E.g. 524 in Hercus)  
*Katyiluku parnarra. Pakinyarruuthinga parnarra kilangkuathu, kilapanningkuathu.*

‘It was a little river red gum tree. He [the crow] was ‘singing’ it and it grew. It went on and on growing.’

Katyiluku parnarra. Pakinya-nya -rru -thinga parnarra kilangku
Little        sing -ASP -NF 3 sg subj -EMPH1 gum    grow
‘he’

-ngku -athu, kila -pani -ngku -athu.
-PERF -3 sg subj, grow -ASP -PERF -3 sg subj
‘it’  ‘it’

6.5.6 The Suffix -angki (Inceptive, ‘Beginning’)
The suffix -angki is a rare Pantyikali inceptive suffix, used for something that is beginning.

Example 438.  
(E.g. 525 in Hercus)  
*Kilaangkithu*

‘It begins to grow’

kila -angki -’thu
grow -ASP -3 sg subj
‘it’

6.5.7 The Suffix -ninta (Continuous Inceptive, ‘Beginning and Continuing’)
The suffix -ninta is a rare Pantyikali inceptive continuous suffix, used for something that is beginning and continuing.

Example 439.  
(E.g. 526 in Hercus)  
*Wantanintintu parlku*

‘You’re forgetting the language’

wanta -nint’ -intu parlku
forget -ASP -2 sg Tran subj language
‘you’

Example 440.  
(E.g. 527 in Hercus)  
*Panypanintaaapa*

‘I’m sunbathing’

panypa -ninta -aapa
sunbathe -ASP -1 sg Intr subj
‘I’
6.6 Verbal Element 6: Mode

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>verb stem (verbaliser)</td>
<td>topicaliser</td>
<td>reciprocal/reflexive</td>
<td>aspect</td>
<td>(mode)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.6.1 The Modal Suffix -nta (Possibility)

The suffix -nta implies potential, uncertain possibility. It can be roughly translated as ‘might’.\(^{121}\)

**Example 441.** Partantaturruanha
(E.g. 528 in Hercus)  
‘It might bite him’

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{parta} & -nta & -t & -urru & -anha \\
\text{bite} & -POT & -FUT & -3 \text{ sg subj} & -3 \text{ sg obj} \\
\text{‘it’} & & & & \text{‘him’}
\end{array}
\]

Occasionally, -nta is used in the past tense.\(^{122}\) When followed by the past tense marker -ty, the ‘ta’ of -nta is lost, leaving just -n:

**Example 442.** Purrinya ngiingkantyu
(E.g. 530 in Hercus)  
‘He would have been alive’

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{purrinya} & \text{ngiingka} & -n’ & -ty & -u \\
\text{alive} & \text{sit} & -POT & -PAST & -3 \text{ sg subj} \\
\text{‘he’}
\end{array}
\]

\(^{121}\) Note that -nta is shown by Hercus (1982, p. 197) along with the aspectual suffixes, since it can take (almost) the same position in a verbal word as the aspectual suffixes. Hercus (2014, pers. comm., 23 November) confirmed, however, that the aspectual suffixes are very closely tied to the stem of the word and would always precede the modal suffix -nta (if an aspectual suffix and a modal suffix were attached to the same verb stem). For clarity, -nta is shown here as being part of a separate verbal element (mode).

\(^{122}\) When -nta is used in the past tense, Hercus (1982, p. 197) points out that it is ‘functionally [...] then equivalent to an irrealis’. ‘Irrealis’ is a mood that indicates that a situation or action is not known to have happened (as opposed to ‘realis mood’, which indicates that something has happened or is known to be the case).
## 6.7 Summary of Verb Suffixes and Functions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verbalising suffixes</td>
<td>Adjective + verbaliser -ma</td>
<td>Transitive ‘state-inducive’ verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adjective + verbaliser -ma + topicaliser -la</td>
<td>Intransitive inceptive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Noun + verbaliser -ma + topicaliser -la</td>
<td>Intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Simple verb + verbaliser -ma + topicaliser -la</td>
<td>Intransitive or transitive verb with same meaning as simple verb (or possibly with a notion of repetition/continuance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adjective or noun + verbaliser -warta</td>
<td>Verb ‘to smell like...’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topicaliser</td>
<td>Verb + topicaliser -la</td>
<td>Verb ‘with intent’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intransitive verb + topicaliser -la</td>
<td>Transitive or intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reciprocity/ Reflexivity</td>
<td>Transitive verb + the suffix -mila</td>
<td>Reciprocal verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intransitive verb + topicaliser -la</td>
<td>Transitive or intransitive verb (possibly reciprocal verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verb of emotion/expectation or mantha-, ‘to wait for’ + topicaliser -la</td>
<td>Reciprocal verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transitive verb + -thirri</td>
<td>Intransitive reflexive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transitive verb + topicaliser -la + -thirri</td>
<td>Intransitive reflexive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transitive verb + intransitive pronoun</td>
<td>Reflexive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspect</td>
<td>Verb + -ngka</td>
<td>Verb ‘with thoroughness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verb + -ka</td>
<td>Verb (emphasised)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verb + -pa</td>
<td>Verb ‘with intensity’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verb + -nya</td>
<td>Verb (continually or habitually)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verb + -parri (only used in the perfect tense)</td>
<td>Verb (on and on)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verb + -angki (rare)</td>
<td>Verb (beginning)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verb + -ninta (rare)</td>
<td>Verb (beginning and continuing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mode</td>
<td>Verb + -nta</td>
<td>‘Might’ verb (possibility)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.8 Verbal Element 7: Tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verb stem</td>
<td>(verbaliser)</td>
<td>(reciprocal/reflexive)</td>
<td>(topicaliser)</td>
<td>(aspect)</td>
<td>(mode)</td>
<td>(tense)</td>
<td>(subject)</td>
<td>(object)</td>
<td>(dative)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are four main tense categories used in Paakantyi: present, future, past and perfect. Basic uses of the tenses are as follows:

**Table 19: Verb tense markers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Verb Marker</th>
<th>Use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>(no marker)</td>
<td>Describing events taking place right now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e.g. ngiingkaapa, 'I sit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>-t</td>
<td>Describing events that will or should happen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e.g. ngiingkataapa, 'I’ll sit', or ‘I’d sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>-ty</td>
<td>Describing events that have taken place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e.g. ngiingkatyaapa, 'I sat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>-ngku</td>
<td>Describing events that have taken place and are now complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e.g. ngiingkangkuapa, 'I sat (in that place but I never sit there now)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Present tense:

Example 443. *(E.g. 531 in Hercus)*

*Ngiiingkaapa*

‘I sit’

*ngiiingka -apa*

sit -1 sg Intr subj

‘I’

---

123 Note that some linguists consider the perfect to be a form of aspect rather than tense. Since Paakantyi has other aspectual markers, which take a different position in the verbal word to the perfect marker, the perfect has been included in this grammar (and in Hercus’ grammar) as part of the ‘tense’ category.
Future tense:

Example 444.  
(E.g. 532 in Hercus)  
_Ngiingkataapa_  
‘I will sit’ or ‘I would sit’

ngiiŋka -t -aapa  
sit -FUT -1 sg Intr subj  
‘I’

Past tense:

Example 445.  
(E.g. 533 in Hercus)  
_Ngiingkatyaapa_  
‘I sat’

ngiiŋka -ty -aapa  
sit -PAST -1 sg Intr subj  
‘I’

Perfect tense:

Example 446.  
(E.g. 534 in Hercus)  
_Ngiingkangkuapa_  
‘I sat’ [in that place but I never sit there now]

ngiiŋka -ngku -apa  
sit -PERF -1 sg Intr subj  
‘I’

Paakanntyi’s tense system, however, is not quite as simple as this. There are a number of situations other than those outlined above where the different tenses may be used. These are described in the following sections.

6.8.1 The Present Tense

There is no suffix used to mark the present tense; verbs in the present tense are unmarked. The present tense may be used not only to describe events taking place right now but also habitual actions and events extending over a period of time and into the future or past. Note that in storytelling, the present tense is often used rather than the past tense.

Example 447.  
(E.g. 14 in Hercus)  
_Nhapsayikai_  
‘They lock me up’

nhapsa -y -lk’ -ayi  
lock up -Gl -3 pl subj -1 sg obj  
‘they’ ‘me’
Example 448.  
(Wirtuwa ngulyarru kampinha)  
(E.g. 65 in Hercus)  
‘The old man is washing his clothes’

wirtu -wa  ngulya -rru  kampi -’nha  
old man -EMPH₂ wash -NF 3 sg subj clothes -3 sg POS  
‘he’  ‘his’

Example 449.  
(Kapaathuanha)  
(E.g. 28 in Hercus)  
‘I follow him’

kapa -athu -anha  
follow -1 sg Tran subj -3 sg obj  
‘I’  ‘him’

Example 450.  
(Kuuripaathuanha)  
(E.g. 29 in Hercus)  
‘I hide it’

kiiripa -athu -anha  
hide -1 sg Tran subj -3 sg obj  
‘I’  ‘it’

Example 451.  
(Muumaathungka)  
(E.g. 30 in Hercus)  
‘I pick them up’

muuma -athu -ngka  
pick up -1 sg Tran subj -3 pl obj  
‘I’  ‘them’

Examples using the present tense for events extending into the future:

Example 452.  
(Yurripathuanha)  
(E.g. 535 in Hercus)  
‘I remember him’ [and will go on doing so]  

yurri -pa -‘thu -anha  
hear -ASP -1 sg Tran subj -3 sg obj  
‘I’  ‘him’

Example 453.  
(Kila wiityalaapa)  
(E.g. 536 in Hercus)  
‘I don’t drink’ [and don’t intend to]  

kila wiitya -la -apa  
not drink -TOP -1 sg Intr subj  
‘I’
Examples using the present tense for events extending into the past:

Example 454. \(N\)hapayikaalinha
(E.g. 537 in Hercus) ‘They [regularly] lock us two up’ (and have been doing so for some time)

\(nhapa\) -\(y\) -\(ika\) -\(alinha\)
shut -Gl -3 pl subj -1 dl obj
‘they’ (all) ‘us’ (two)

6.8.2 The Future Tense
Usually, the future tense is marked using the suffix -\(t\).

Example 455. \(N\)gali thampatali
(E.g. 396 in Hercus) ‘We two are the ones that are going to dig’

\(ngali\) thampa -\(t\) -\(ali\)
1 dl subj dig -FUT -1 dl subj
‘we’ (two) ‘we’ (two)

Example 456. \(N\)huukataapa milinyaayi
(E.g. 488 in Hercus) ‘I’ll cut my fingernails’

\(nhuuka\) -\(t\) -\(aapa\) milinya -\(ayi\)
cut -FUT -1 sg Intr subj nail -1 sg POS
‘I’ ‘my’

Example 457. Kunkaturringka
(E.g. 372 in Hercus) ‘He’ll swallow them’

kunka -\(t\) -\(urr\)u -\(ngka\)
swallow -FUT -3 sg subj -3 pl obj
‘he’ ‘them’ (all)

Example 458. \(N\)giingkatapa manthala ngumari
(E.g. 202 in Hercus) ‘I’ll sit [here] in order to wait for you’

\(ngiingka\) -\(t\) -\(apa\) mantha -\(la\) nguma -\(ri\)
sit -FUT -1 sg Intr subj wait -OPT 2 sg obj -DAT
‘I’ ‘you’
Example 459.  
(E.g. 32 in Hercus)  
Puupaturrinanha  
‘He will shoot us’

puupa -t -urr’ -inanha
shoot -FUT -3 sg subj -1 pl obj  
‘he’ ‘us’ (all)

Example 460. 
(E.g. 34 in Hercus)  
Nhapatikinanha  
‘They’ll lock us up’

nhapa -t -ik’ -inanha
lock up -FUT -3 pl subj -1 pl obj  
‘they’ ‘us’

Sometimes, the future tense is implied without use of the future tense marker:

Example 461. 
(E.g. 260 in Hercus)  
Waka-wakathuuma  
‘I’ll strike you with a weapon’

waka-waka -‘thu -uma
strike -1 sg Tran subj -2 sg obj  
‘I’ ‘you’

Example 462. 
(E.g. 5 in Hercus)  
Kangarra iingkaapa  
‘I’ll sleep here’

kangarra iingka -apa
here sit -1 sg Intr subj  
‘I’

Example 463. 
(E.g. 120 in Hercus)  
Ngantanyana palkathuama  
‘I’ll hit you with a branch’

ngantanya -na palk’ -athu -ama
branch -INST hit -1 sg Tran subj -2 sg obj  
‘I’ ‘you’

Example 464. 
(E.g. 121 in Hercus)  
Marana wakawakathuama  
‘I’ll smack you with my hand’

mara -na waka-wak’ -athu -ama
hand -INST smack -1 sg Tran subj -2 sg obj  
‘I’ ‘you’
Example 465.  
(E.g. 10 in Hercus)  
*Kuuripaathu*  
‘I’ll hide [it]’

*kuuripa* -athu  
hide -1 sg Tran subj  
‘I’

Example 466.  
(E.g. 227 in Hercus)  
*Kinhanha yurrialaali*  
‘We two will think about this’

*kinhanha yurri* -la -ali  
This ACC think -TOP -1 dl subj  
‘we’ (two)

### 6.8.3 The Past Tense

The past tense is marked using the suffix -ty.

Example 467.  
(E.g. 464 in Hercus)  
*Palkatyintu*  
‘You hit [him]’

*palka* -ty -intu  
hit -PAST -2 sg Tran subj  
‘you’

Example 468.  
(E.g. 470 in Hercus)  
*Kila thayiltyimpa*  
‘You haven’t eaten’

*kila thayi* -l’ -ty -impa  
not eat -TOP -PAST -2 sg Intr subj  
‘you’

Example 469.  
(E.g. 466 in Hercus)  
*Parrityimpa*  
‘You went’

*parri* -ty -impa  
go -PAST -2 sg Intr subj  
‘you’
6.8.4 The Perfect Tense

The perfect tense is marked using the suffix -ngku. It is used to describe actions or events that have already taken place and are now complete but still have some relevance to the present. For example, in the first example below, the action (cutting my hand) is complete but it affects the present (my hand is probably still sore and bleeding).

Example 470.  
(Maraayi nhuukalatyi, marta kunika wakangkuathu)  
‘I cut my hand [because] I chopped a hard piece of wood’

\[ \text{mara} \ -\text{ayi} \ \text{nhuuka} \ -\text{la} \ \text{-tyi}, \ \text{marta} \ \text{kunika} \ \text{waka} \ \text{ngku} \ \text{-athu} \]

\[ \text{hand} \ \text{-1 sg POS cut} \ \text{-TOP -PAST hard wood} \ \text{chop} \ \text{-PERF -1 sg Tran subj} \]

\[ \text{‘my’} \ \text{‘I’} \]

Example 471.  
(Manthangkuathuuma)  
‘I have been waiting for you’

\[ \text{mantha} \ \text{ngku} \ \text{-athu} \ \text{uma} \]

\[ \text{wait} \ \text{-PERF -1 sg Tran subj -2 sg obj} \]

\[ \text{‘I’} \ \text{‘you’} \]

Example 472.  
(Warkanngkuupa ngupawa)  
‘You were [actually] working, you two!’

\[ \text{warka} \ \text{ngku} \ \text{-upa} \ \text{ngupa} \ \text{-wa} \]

\[ \text{work} \ \text{-PERF -2 dl subj -2 dl subj -EMPH}\_2 \]

\[ \text{‘you’ (two)} \ \text{‘you’ (two)} \]

The perfect tense in the third person

In the third person, the perfect tense has two different forms, based on the third person singular subject pronouns -athu and -rru.

- ngku-athu: Indicates that an action is complete.

- ngku-rru: Indicates that an action has been completed but has led to further developments/consequences.

Examples with -ngku-athu used for a completed action:

Example 473.  
(Wiimpatya manhu thayilangkuathu)  
‘He used to eat Aboriginal food’

\[ \text{wiimpatya} \ \text{manhu} \ \text{thayi} \ \text{-la} \ \text{ngku} \ \text{-athu} \]

\[ \text{Aboriginal food eat -TOP -PERF -3 sg subj} \]

\[ \text{‘he’} \]
**Example 474.**  
(Elg. 364 in Hercus)  
*Thaltingkuthuayi*  
‘He used to listen to me [but doesn’t anymore]’

```
thalti  -ngku  -'thu  -ayi  
hear  -PERF  -3 sg subj  -1 sg obj  
‘he’  ‘me’
```

**Example 475.**  
(Elg. 21 in Hercus)  
*Nhantarr thungkumalongkuathu*  
‘Again he went twisting himself along’ [the watersnake]

```
nhantarr’  thungku  -ma  -la  -ngku  -athu  
again  twisted  -Vb  -TOP  -PERF  -3 sg subj  ‘he’
```

Examples with -ngku-rru used for a completed action with subsequent developments/consequences:

**Example 476.**  
(Elg. 363 in Hercus)  
*Puka-puka thayilangkurru pukamalatu*  
‘He died from eating rotten food’

```
puka-puka  thayi  -la  -ngku  -rru  puka  -ma  -la  -ty  -u  
rotten  eat  -TOP  -PERF  -NF 3 sg subj  dead  -Vb  -TOP  -PAST  -3 sg subj  ‘he’  ‘he’
```

**Example 477.**  
(Elg. 539 in Hercus)  
*Puka-puka thayingkurru pukalatu*  
‘He died because he had eaten something rotten’

```
puka-puka  thayi  -ngku  -rru  puka  -la  -ty  -u  
rotten  eat  -PERF  -NF 3 sg subj  die  -TOP  -PAST  -3 sg subj  ‘he’  ‘he’
```

In the above two examples, the completed action is eating rotten food and the consequence is that he died.

---

124 Hercus (1982, p. 151) says that ‘it is the third person agent, marked by -ru [-rru] that brings about the ‘subsequent developments’. This situation is of major syntactic significance as it involves subordination of the verb-phrase marked by -ru [-rru]. The author notes that the example sentences given here containing -ngku-rru may in fact be what Kenneth Hale in 1976 referred to as ‘adjoined relative clauses’, which share the same participant and have no subordination (Dixon 2002, p. 88).
Example 478.  
(K.E. 365 in Hercus)

Kila thalti ngku rru ayi ngathu kulpangkuanna thunta pukamalatyu

‘He wouldn’t listen to me when I was telling him and so he died’

In the above example, the completed action is that he wouldn’t listen to me when I was telling him and the consequence is that he died.

6.8.5 The Abstract Past and Perfect Tense

Usually, a bound pronoun is used along with a tense marker in order to mark tense. For example:

Example 479.  
(K.E. 468 in Hercus)

Thurlaka parli kulpatyintu

‘You uttered obscenities!’

The past and perfect tenses, however, have special forms that can denote the tense without use of a bound pronoun marker (for example when the subject is a free pronoun or a noun). These are referred to as ‘abstract’ forms.

The abstract form in the past is -tyi (made up of the past tense marker -ty + ‘i’):

Example 480.  
(K.E. 541 in Hercus)

Kaarunhurru wirtutyi

‘Another man pushed [him]’

Example 481.  
(K.E. 595 in Hercus)

Inhurru watutyinha

‘That one took it’
In the perfect tense, no marker other than the standard perfect marker -ngku is required for the abstract form:

**Example 482.** *Parntuayi kangaarrangimangku*
*(E.g. 542 in Hercus)*  
‘My cod was lying here’

```
parntu -ayi kangarra ngimangku
```
```
cod -1 sg POS, here lie -PERF
```
‘my’

### 6.8.6 The Non-Past

There are no abstract forms of the present and future tenses (as there are of the past and perfect). Where no bound subject pronoun is used, the continuous verbal suffix -ana\(^{125}\) can be added to the verb stem to express either present time or future time.

The following example could be used for either present time or future time:

**Example 483.** *Ngapa ngiingkaana manthalangumari*
*(E.g. 543 in Hercus)*  
‘I will sit waiting for you’/‘I am sitting waiting for you’

```
ngapa ngiingka -ana mantha -la -nguma -ri
```
```
1 sg Intr subj sit -CONT wait -TOP -2 sg obj -DAT
```
‘I’ ‘you’

The same sentence could be expressed in the future tense using the future tense marker -t and a bound rather than free first person pronoun:

**Example 484.** *Ngilingkataapa manthalangumari*
*(E.g. 544 in Hercus)*  
‘I’ll sit waiting for you’

```
ngilingka -t -aapa mantha -la -nguma -ri
```
```
sit -FUT -1 sg Intr subj wait -TOP -2 sg obj -DAT
```
‘i’ ‘you’

The following example uses the suffix -ana to denote present time:

**Example 485.** *Panamintu, ngintu panamaana*
*(E.g. 545 in Hercus)*  
‘You’re making it, you are actually making it’

```
pana -m '-intu, ngintu pana -ma -ana
```
```
make -Vb -2 sg Tran subj, 2 sg Tran subj make -Vb -CONT
```
‘you’ ‘you’

---

\(^{125}\) Refer to section 6.11.1 The Continuous Verbal Suffix -ana.
The following examples use the suffix -ana to denote future time:

Example 486.  
(E.g. 653 in Hercus)  
*Nhathu wakawakanaama*  
‘I’ll smack you!’

```
nhathu  waka  -waka  -na  -ama  
1 sg Tran subj hit  -hit  -CONT  -2 sg obj  
‘I’  ‘you’
```

Example 487.  
(E.g. 593 in Hercus)  
*Ngathu nguukanaama wiityangku katyiluku*  
‘I’ll give you a drink, just a little one’

```
ngathu  nguuka  -na  -ama  wiitya  -ngku  katyiluku  
1 sg Tran subj  give  -CONT  -2 sg obj  drink  -OBL  little  
‘I’  ‘you’
```

### 6.8.7 The Non-Future

Only the third person singular pronoun has a non-future subject form. This form is *-rru*. It is used with transitive verbs only.\(^\text{126}\) The non-future tense can be used to indicate an indefinite time in the past or present, but never the future.\(^\text{127}\)

Example 488.  
(E.g. 540 in Hercus)  
*Yarlarrungka*  
‘She beat [them] (or ‘she beats [them]’)

```
yarla  -rru  -ngka  
beat  -NF 3 sg subj  -3 pl obj  
‘she’  ‘them’ (all)
```

Example 489.  
(E.g. 513 in Hercus)  
*Kalapparru muurpaangulu anha*  
‘He was looking [everywhere] for his two children’

```
kala  -pa  -rru  muurpa  -ngulu  -anha  
seek  -ASP  -NF 3 sg subj  child  -DI  -3 sg POS  
‘he’  ‘his’
```

\(^{126}\) Hercus (1982, p. 151) notes that *-rru* originally had an ergative function (i.e. it was used along with transitive verbs to mark the actor of a sentence).

\(^{127}\) For additional examples with *-rru*, refer to section 5.3.2 Different Forms of Bound Pronouns, The Third Person Singular Subject. For examples of *-rru* in the perfect tense, see section 6.8.4 The Perfect Tense, The perfect tense in the third person.
Example 490.  
(E.g. 65 in Hercus)  
*Wirtuwa ngulyarru kampinha*  
‘The old man is washing his clothes’  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wirtu} & \quad -\text{wa} \quad \text{ngulya} \quad -\text{rru} \quad \text{kampi} \quad -\text{’nha} \\
\text{old man} & \quad -\text{EMPH}_2 \quad \text{wash} \quad -\text{NF 3 sg subj} \quad \text{clothes} \quad -3 \text{ sg POS} \\
\text{‘he’} & \quad \text{‘his’}
\end{align*}
\]

Example 491.  
(E.g. 58 in Hercus)  
*Kurrali kapirruanha, kapirru thiirrinha*  
‘The Jay-bird followed him, it followed the Peewee’  

\[
\begin{align*}
kurrali & \quad \text{kapi} \quad -\text{rru} \quad -\text{anha, kapi} \quad -\text{rru} \quad \text{thiirri} \quad -\text{nha} \\
\text{Jay-bird follow} & \quad -\text{NF 3 sg subj} \quad -3 \text{ sg obj, follow} \quad -\text{NF 3 sg subj} \quad \text{Peewee} \quad -\text{ACC} \\
\text{‘it’} & \quad \text{‘him’} \quad \text{‘it’}
\end{align*}
\]
### SUMMARY—tenses

#### Present tense
- No suffix is needed to mark the present tense.
- Events taking place right now.
- Events taking place over a period of time and extending into the past or future.
- Habitual actions.
- Storytelling.

#### Future tense
- Usually marked using the suffix -t.
- Sometimes implied without the use of a suffix.
- Events taking place in the future.

#### Past tense
- Marked using the suffix -ty.
- Events that have already taken place.
- When the abstract past tense marker -tyi is used, no bound pronoun is required.

#### Perfect tense
- Marked using the suffix -ngku.
- Events that have already taken place and are now complete.
- Events that have a causal or anticipatory effect on the past or present.
- In the third person, ngku-athu is used for completed actions.
- In the third person, ngku-rru is used for completed actions that have consequences.

#### Abstract past and perfect tenses
- The abstract past tense can be marked using -tyi (with no bound pronoun following).
- The abstract perfect tense can be marked using -ngku (with no bound pronoun following).

#### Non-past tense
- When a bound pronoun is not used, the continuous verbal suffix -ana can be added to the verb stem for events occurring in either the present or future.

#### Non-future tense
- The form -rru can be used for 3 sg Tran subjects to indicate an indefinite time in either the past or present.
6.9 Transitivity

Transitive verbs are linked to a direct object whereas intransitive verbs are not. In Paakantyi, first and second person singular pronouns take different forms depending on whether the verb with which they are used is transitive or intransitive.\(^{128}\)

Paakantyi verbs can be grouped into four different categories according to transitivity:

1. **Always transitive:** verbs that have a direct effect upon an object, e.g. *palka-*, ‘to hit’.
2. **Sometimes transitive:** the ‘ingestive’ verbs and others.
3. **Usually intransitive:** mostly verbs of emotion that are only transitive when the associated object is in the bound form.
4. **Always intransitive:** these verbs are never associated with an object, e.g. *parri-*, ‘to go’.

### 6.9.1 Verbs That Are Always Transitive

You can tell that a verb is always transitive if it uses a subject that is:

i. a first or second person singular pronoun in the ergative form OR
ii. a demonstrative pronoun

The verb *palka-* , ‘to hit’, is transitive, since it is used with first and second person singular pronouns in the ergative form:

**Example 492.** *(E.g. 463 in Hercus)*

\begin{align*}
\text{Ngintu palkatyi} & \\
\text{ngintu} & \text{palka} -\text{tyi} \\
2 \text{ sg Tran subj} & \text{hit} \ -\text{PAST} \\
\text{‘you’} & \\
\end{align*}

**Example 493.** *(E.g. 464 in Hercus)*

\begin{align*}
\text{Palkatyintu} & \\
palka & -\text{ty} -\text{intu} \\
\text{hit} \ -\text{PAST} & -2 \text{ sg Tran subj} \\
\text{‘you’} & \\
\end{align*}

The verb *parri-*, ‘to go’, is intransitive, since it is used with first and second person singular pronouns in the nominative form:

**Example 494.** *(E.g. 465 in Hercus)*

\begin{align*}
\text{Ngimpa paricity} & \\
\text{ngimpa} & \text{parri} -\text{tyi} \\
2 \text{ sg Intr subj} & \text{go} \ -\text{PAST} \\
\text{‘you’} & \\
\end{align*}

\(^{128}\) For an explanation of transitivity and transitive/intransitive verbs refer to Chapter 4: Grammatical Case. Refer to Chapter 5: Personal Pronouns for a complete list of pronominal forms.
Example 495. *Parrityimpa*  
(E.g. 466 in Hercus)  
‘You went’

\[parri\] -ty  
\[go\] -PAST  
-2 sg Intr subj  
‘you’

### 6.9.2 Verbs That Are Sometimes Transitive

Verbs that can be either transitive or intransitive are the ‘ingestive verbs’\(^\text{129}\) (including words relating to speech). Examples of such verbs are *thayi*- ‘to eat’, *wiitya*- ‘to drink’ and *kulpa*- ‘to speak’.

When these verbs are used with an object in the bound form, they are always used transitively:

Example 496. *Ngintu thayiltyinha*  
(E.g. 467 in Hercus)  
‘You ate it’

\[2 \text{ sg Tran subj}\]  
\[eat\] -TOP  
\[-3 \text{ sg obj}\]  
‘you’  
‘it’

When these verbs are used with an object that is a free form, they are usually used transitively, as in the following example (though they may be used intransitively):

Example 497. *Thurlaka parlk kulpatyintu*  
(E.g. 468 in Hercus)  
‘You uttered obscenities!’

\[bad\]  
\[word\]  
\[speak\] -PAST  
\[-2 \text{ sg Tran subj}\]  
‘you’

This is the case even if the direct object is only implied and is not explicitly stated, such as the ‘it’ in the following example (note that in this example, *-ayi*, ‘me’ is an indirect object, not a direct object).

Example 498. *Kulpantuayi*  
(E.g. 469 in Hercus)  
‘Tell [it] to me’

\[speak\] -PAST  
\[-1 \text{ sg obj}\]  
‘you’  
‘me’

---

When, however, the same verbs are used in a general sense, without reference to a particular object, they are usually intransitive:

Example 499. \( \text{Kila thayiltyimpa} \)
(E.g. 470 in Hercus) ‘You haven’t eaten’

\( \text{kila} \quad \text{thayi} \quad \text{-l’} \quad \text{-ty} \quad \text{impa} \)
not eat -TOP -PAST -2 sg Intr subj ‘you’

Example 500. \( \text{Kulpampa} \)
(E.g. 471 in Hercus) ‘You’re talking’

\( \text{kulpa} \quad \text{-’mpa} \)
speak -2 sg Intr subj ‘you’

### 6.9.3 Verbs That Are Usually Intransitive

There are a few verbs that are usually intransitive and for which the object (if any) is an indirect object in the dative case form. These are emotive verbs and the verb \( \text{mantha-, } \text{‘to wait for’} \):

Example 501. \( \text{Manthalaapa ngumari} \)
(E.g. 472 in Hercus) ‘I’m waiting for you’

\( \text{mantha} \quad \text{-la} \quad \text{-apa} \quad \text{nguma} \quad \text{-ri} \)
wait -TOP -1 sg Intr subj 2 sg obj -DAT ‘I’ ‘you’

Example 502. \( \text{Muuyalaapa} \)
(E.g. 473 in Hercus) ‘I’m angry’

\( \text{muuya} \quad \text{-la} \quad \text{-apa} \)
angry -TOP -1 sg Intr subj ‘I’

When these verbs are used with a bound indirect object, however, a transitive subject pronoun is used: \(^{130}\)

Example 503. \( \text{Manthangkuathuuma} \)
(E.g. 474 in Hercus) ‘I have been waiting for you’

\( \text{mantha} \quad \text{-ngku} \quad \text{-athu} \quad \text{uma} \)
wait -PERF -1 sg Tran subj -2 sg obj ‘I’ ‘you’

---

\(^{130}\) This does not mean that the verb is not essentially still an intransitive verb. With first and second person singular pronouns, only a transitive subject can precede a bound object pronoun.
Example 504. Muuyalintinanha
(E.g. 475 in Hercus) ‘You are angry with all of us’

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
muuya & -l’ & -inanha \\
\text{angry} & -\text{TOP} & -1 \text{ pl obj}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
you’ & ‘\text{us’ (all)}
\end{array}
\]

6.9.4 Verbs That Are Always Intransitive
Some verbs such as parri-, ‘to go’, are always intransitive and therefore, take an intransitive subject pronoun:

Example 505. Palyartili parritaapa
(E.g. 624 in Hercus) ‘In a little while now I’ll go’

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
palyart’ & -ili & parri & -t & -apa \\
\text{soon} & -now & \text{go} & -\text{FUT} & -1 \text{ sg Intr subj}
\end{array}
\]

6.9.5 Causatives: Transitive Verbs Derived from Intransitive Verbs
A small number of transitive verbs in Paakantyi are derived from intransitive verbs.\(^{131}\) This is done by addition of the causative suffix -i to the verb stem. Sometimes, the addition of the causative suffix will cause the word-final ‘a’ of the verb stem to which it attaches to be dropped. Such verbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive V.</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Transitive V.</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ipa-</td>
<td>‘to lie down’</td>
<td>ipi-</td>
<td>‘to put down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiinta-</td>
<td>‘to laugh’</td>
<td>kiinti-</td>
<td>‘to make someone laugh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulpa-</td>
<td>‘to speak’</td>
<td>kulpi-</td>
<td>‘to engage someone in conversation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhapa-</td>
<td>‘to lock up’</td>
<td>nhapi-</td>
<td>‘to cause someone to be imprisoned’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purra-</td>
<td>‘to hang down’</td>
<td>purri-</td>
<td>‘to hang something up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanta-</td>
<td>‘to burn’</td>
<td>wanti-</td>
<td>‘to burn something’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of sentences containing the causative suffix are as follows:

Example 506. Kulpilaathulu
(E.g. 476 in Hercus) ‘They two are talking to one another’

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
kulp & -i & -la & -athulu \\
\text{speak} & -\text{CAUS} & -\text{TOP} & -3 \text{ dl subj}
\end{array}
\]

‘they’ (two)

\(^{131}\) Hercus (1982, p. 185) states that the causative suffix is only used in Paakantyi with approximately 20 verbs and is not a ‘living formative process’.
Example 507. \textit{Partilaathulu} (E.g. 477 in Hercus)  

‘They two are fighting with one another’

\begin{verbatim}
part’  -i   -la  -athulu
bite  -CAUS  -TOP  -3 dl subj
\end{verbatim}

‘they’ (two)

---

SUMMARY—transitivity of verbs

Always transitive

- Direct effect upon an object.
- Subject can be a first or second person singular pronoun in the ergative form OR a demonstrative pronoun.

Sometimes transitive:

- Ingestive verbs (when used with an object: always transitive with a bound object, usually transitive with a free object; usually intransitive when used without an object).

Usually intransitive:

- Emotive verbs.
- \textit{Mantha-}, ‘to wait for’.
- The object with these verbs is in the dative case.
- Transitive subject pronoun used when used with a bound indirect object.

Always intransitive

- Verbs such as \textit{parri-}, ‘to go’.

Causatives

- A small number of intransitive verbs can be turned into transitive verbs through addition of the suffix \textit{-i}.

---

6.10 Commands and Requests

There are three ways in which commands and requests can be expressed in Paakantyi.\(^{132}\)

1. Polite requests or commands in the present or future tense are expressed by attaching a second person subject pronoun (‘you’).
2. Abrupt commands are expressed using a bare verbal stem.
3. Urgent commands are expressed by addition of the imperative suffix \textit{-ku} to the verb.

\(^{132}\) Note that when spoken, there is rising intonation on the final syllable of sentences expressing a command or request.
1. Polite requests/commands using a second person subject pronoun

Commands or polite requests can be expressed by verbs in the present or future tense with second person subject pronouns ('you') attached.

Example 508.  
_Nguukantu_yi yarntaulu_  
(E.g. 553 in Hercus)  
‘[Please] give me one bit of money’

-nguuka -ntu -ayi yarnta -ulu  
give -2 sg Tran subj -1 sg obj money -Sg  
‘you’ ‘me’

Example 509.  
_Thikalampa yungka yaparraamari_  
(E.g. 554 in Hercus)  
‘Do go back to your own place’

-thika -la -mpa yungka yaparra -ama -ri  
return -TOP -2 sg Intr subj own camp -2 sg POS -ALL  
‘you’ ‘your’

Example 510.  
_Kila wiitya_ntu_  
(E.g. 555 in Hercus)  
‘Don’t drink’

-kila wiitya -ntu  
not drink -2 sg Tran subj  
‘you’

Example 511.  
_Kinaurt_a_  
(E.g. 556 in Hercus)  
‘Stop!’ [speaking to three or more people]

-kina -urt’a  
stop -2 pl subj  
‘you’ (all)

Example 512.  
_Kinaurtili_  
(p. 207 in Hercus)  
‘Stop!’ [speaking to three or more people]

-kina -urt’ ilili  
stop -2 pl subj -now  
‘you’ (all)

Example 513.  
_Ngiingkimpa_  
(E.g. 557 in Hercus)  
‘Sit down [please]’

-ngiingk’ -mpa  
sit -2 sg Intr subj  
‘you’
Exampl 514. Puurrynnyantuanha kila watuturruanha thayiturruanha pulkuthurru
‘Hang it up so that a mouse can’t get it and eat it’
puurri  -nya  -ntu  -anha  kila  watu  -t  -urru
hang  -ASP  -2 sg Tran subj  -3 sg obj  not  take  -FUT  -3 sg subj
‘you’  ‘it’  ‘it’

-anha  thayi  -t  -urru  -anha  pulku  -thurru
-3 sg obj  eat  -FUT  -3 sg subj  -3 sg obj  mouse  -this ERG
‘it’  ‘it’  ‘it’

Use of the future tense for requests implies that the request is not immediate:

Example 515. Wiityaturta kinha karrki
‘You will please drink up this bottle’
wiitya  -t  -urta  kinha  karrki
drink  -FUT  -2 pl subj  this NOM  bottle
‘you’ (all)

Example 516. Parritupu karringki
‘You two, please go tomorrow’
parri  -t  -upu  karringki
go  -FUT  -2 dl subj  tomorrow
‘you’ (two)

2. Abrupt commands using the bare verbal stem form
In order to convey a more abrupt command, a bare verb stem (i.e. a verb with no tense or subject markers etc.) can be used.\(^{133}\)

Example 517. Kila thalti
‘Don’t listen!’
kila  thalti
not  hear

Example 518. Maawulu parri
‘Walk slowly’
maawulu  parri
slowly  walk

\(^{133}\) Note that this is the only time that a verb stem can be used without any suffixes.
3. Urgent commands formed with the imperative suffix -ku

The suffix -ku is added to a verb stem to emphasise a command or express urgency.

Example 520.  
(Ex. 563 in Hercus)  
Ngayi kapaku  
‘Follow me!’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngayi} & \quad \text{kapu} & \quad -\text{ku} \\
1 \text{ sg obj ACC} & \quad \text{follow} & \quad \text{-IMP} \\
\text{me}' & & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Example 521.  
(Ex. 564 in Hercus)  
Muniku ithanha  
‘Tie it [the dog] up!’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{muni} & \quad \text{ithanu} -\text{ku} \\
\text{tie} & \quad \text{-IMP} & \quad 3 \text{ sg obj} \\
\text{‘it’} & & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Example 522.  
(Ex. 565 in Hercus)  
Thurru pamiku  
‘Look out for snakes!’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{thurru} & \quad \text{pami} -\text{ku} \\
\text{snake} & \quad \text{look} & \quad \text{-IMP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

SUMMARY—commands and requests

Polite
• A bound second person pronoun is attached to the verb.

Abrupt
• The bare verb stem is used.

Urgent
• The imperative suffix -ku is attached to the verb stem.
6.11 Other Verbal Suffixes

Before reading about Paakantyi’s other verbal suffixes, it may be useful to first have a basic understanding of clauses. A clause is the smallest grammatical unit that can express a complete idea. It usually consists of a subject and a predicate. A subject is a word or phrase that is the topic of the sentence. A predicate is what is said about the subject. It is made up of a verb and all the words governed by or modifying the verb.

For example, in the sentence ‘the man was over there’, the subject is ‘the man’ and the predicate is ‘was over there’. As another example, in the sentence ‘a big tree was struck by lightning’, the subject is ‘a big tree’ and the predicate is ‘was struck by lightning’.

There are different types of clause. A sentence can contain just a single clause or it may consist of multiple clauses.

An independent clause can stand alone; it makes sense by itself. An independent clause could be a complete sentence, for example ‘I am a Paakantyi woman’. A sentence may consist of more than one independent clause. For example, in the sentence ‘I play soccer and my sister plays tennis’ there are two independent clauses joined by the word ‘and’: ‘I play soccer’ and ‘my sister plays tennis’.

A dependent clause, on the other hand, cannot stand alone. It adds information to an independent clause. For example, in the sentence ‘that is the man who used to live next door to me’, the dependent clause is ‘who used to live next door to me’. In the sentence ‘when I grow up, I want to be a teacher’ the dependent clause is ‘when I grow up’.

6.11.1 The Continuous Verbal Suffix -ana

The continuous verbal suffix -ana can either be attached directly to a bare verb stem or to a verb stem followed by an aspectual suffix. Its meaning is similar to the English -ing, as in ‘I will be eating lunch early tomorrow’ or ‘I can hear him laughing’. It was traditionally used in the present or future tense. Note that this verbal suffix cannot be used with a bound subject pronoun; it can only be used alongside free forms of subject pronouns (e.g. it can be used with ngapa but not -apa.)

When -ana is used with a main verb it acts as an abstract form for present or future time. In a dependent clause it is used for an action taking place at the same time as the action in the main clause; it conveys a sense of an action being continuous or prolonged and provides the background for the action of the main verb.

Example 523. (E.g. 74 in Hercus)

Ngathu ngurta-ngurtaama, ngathu Paakantyi

‘I’m teaching you, I, a Paakantyi’

Ngathu ngurta-ngurta -na -ama, ngathu Paakantyi

1 sg Tran subj teach -CONT -2 sg obj 1 sg Tran subj Paakantyi

‘I’ ‘you’ ‘I’

134 Relative clauses, which describe or add detail to another clause, are described in section 5.7.6 Interrogative Pronouns Used to Convey Indefinite Meaning.

135 This suffix was also discussed when we looked at verbal tense. Refer to section 6.8.6 The Non-Past.

136 For a description of aspectual suffixes, refer to section 6.5 Verbal Element 5: Aspect.
Example 524.  
MINHAMANTUTA KILA THALTILAANA  
‘Why are you people not listening?’

MINHA -MANT’ -URTA KILA THALTI -LA -ANA
what -PURP -2 pl subj not hear -TOP -CONT
‘you’ (all)

Example 525.  
Nhiiromaana ngamakari  
‘Crying for mother’

Nhiiro -MA -ANA NGAMAKA -RI
cry -Vb -CONT mother -DAT

Example 526.  
Pamityintuna pakaana?  
‘Did you see him dancing?’

PAMI -TY -INTU -’NHA PAKA -ANA
see -PAST -2 sg Tran subj -3 sg obj dance -CONT
‘you’ ‘him’

Example 527.  
Thaltiyathungka kulpaana  
‘I can hear them talking’

THALTI -Y -ATHU -NGKA KULPA -ANA
hear -GL -1 sg Tran subj -3 pl obj talk -CONT
‘I’ ‘them’ (all)

Example 528.  
Muurrpapaarriku pamiyathu kurli-kurlirana  
‘I can see the crowd of children playing’

MUURRPA -NAARR’ -IKU PAMI -Y -ATHU KURLI-KURLI -R -ANA
child -SP PL -PL see -GL -1 sg Tran subj play -GL -CONT
‘I’

Example 529.  
Yurripayika ngathu kulpaana  
‘They understand [me when] I am speaking’

YURRIPA -Y -IKA NGATHU KULPA -ANA
understand -GL -3 pl subj 1 sg Tran subj speak -CONT
‘they’ (all) ‘I’
Example 530.  
(Wirrkaana) kunkaturruuma  
(Example 578 in Hercus)  
‘He [the rainbow serpent] will swallow you while you are swimming’  

\[ \text{wirrka -} \text{ana -} \text{kunka -} \text{t -} \text{urr} \text{u -} \text{uma} \]  
swim -CONT -swallow -FUT -3 sg subj -2 sg obj  
‘he’ ‘you’

Example 531.  
(Ngapa ngiingkaana) manthalangumari  
(Example 543 in Hercus)  
‘I [will] sit waiting for you’  

\[ \text{ngapa -} \text{ngiingka -} \text{ana -} \text{mantha -} \text{la -} \text{nguma -} \text{ri} \]  
1 sg Intr subj sit -CONT wait -TOP -2 sg obj -DAT  
‘I’ ‘you’

Example 532.  
(Panamintu, ngintu panamaana)  
(Example 545 in Hercus)  
‘You’re making it, you are actually making it’  

\[ \text{pana -m’ -} \text{intu, -} \text{ngintu -} \text{pana -} \text{ma -} \text{ana} \]  
make -Vb -2 sg Tran subj, 2 sg Tran subj make -Vb -CONT  
‘you’ ‘you’

Example 533.  
(Minhamanti karli muuyalaana)  
(Example 566 in Hercus)  
‘Why are the dogs growling?’  

\[ \text{minha -} \text{manti -} \text{karli -} \text{muuya -} \text{la -} \text{ana} \]  
what -PURP dog growl -TOP -CONT

Example 534.  
(Muni-muni waturanaama)  
(Example 567 in Hercus)  
‘The police are going to get hold of you’  

\[ \text{muni-muni -} \text{watu -} \text{r}^{137} -\text{ana -} \text{ama} \]  
police take -Gl -CONT -2 sg obj  
‘you’

Example 535.  
(Ngapa ngiingkaana) pamiiila  
(Example 568 in Hercus)  
‘I’m sitting [here] to have a look’  

\[ \text{ngapa -} \text{ngiingka -} \text{ana -} \text{pamii -} \text{la} \]  
1 sg Intr subj sit -CONT look -OPT  
‘I’

\[^{137}\text{Note that in Hercus’ grammar, there is no glide -r- inserted before -ana. This has been done here in order to conform to the rule described by Hercus (1982, p. 210) that a glide is inserted between a stem-final ‘i’ or ‘u’ and the continuous verbal suffix -ana.}\]
Example 536.  
**Nginta wankalaana kumpatya marri pinti**  
(E.g. 569 in Hercus)  
‘Clouds are coming up [there will be] a big storm’

\[ \text{nginta} \quad \text{wanka} \quad -la \quad -\text{ana} \quad \text{kumpatya} \quad \text{marri} \quad \text{pinti} \]

Cloud rise -TOP -CONT big very storm

**Note**

In the above examples, it would be possible to say almost the same thing without using the continuous verbal suffix *-ana* by adding a subject pronoun. The meaning of these sentences, however, would be slightly different. This is exemplified by the sentences below, which do not use *-ana*. Rather than referring to an abstract time in the present or future, the sentences without *-ana* refer more to a particular point in time.

Example 537.  
**Minhamantni karli muuyalayika**  
(E.g. 570 in Hercus)  
‘Why do the dogs growl?’

\[ \text{minha} \quad -\text{manti} \quad \text{karli} \quad \text{muuy} \quad -\text{la} \quad -\text{y} \quad -\text{ika} \]

what -PURP dog growl -TOP -Gl -3 pl subj ‘they’ (all)

Example 538.  
**Muni-muni watutikaama**  
(E.g. 571 in Hercus)  
‘The police will grab you’

\[ \text{muni-muni} \quad \text{watu} \quad -\text{t} \quad -\text{ika} \quad -\text{ama} \]

police take -FUT -3 pl subj -2 sg obj ‘they’ (all) ‘you’

Some circumstantial clauses using *-ana* have become fixed expressions, for example:

Example 539.  
**Yuku pilka**  
(E.g. 579 in Hercus)  
‘At sunset’

\[ \text{yuku} \quad \text{pilka} \quad -\text{ana} \]

sun go down -CONT

For modern Paakantyi speakers, verbs formed with the continuous verbal suffix *-ana* are the most common verb forms. Usually, these forms are preceded by the topicaliser *-la/-rra*.  

Example 540.  
**Ngati-ngati kulparraana**  
(5.6.1. on CD-ROM)  
‘Saying wrong things’

\[ \text{ngati-ngati} \quad \text{kulpa} \quad -\text{rra}^{139} \quad -\text{ana} \]

wrong-wrong say -TOP -CONT

---

Changes of forms undergone by the continuous verbal suffix -ana
In certain environments, the continuous verbal suffix -ana takes different forms. The following changes take place:

1. Shortening to -na.
3. Insertion of an -r glide.

1. Shortening to -na
When followed by a bound object pronoun, -ana is shortened to -na.

Example 542.
Kila thaltintuayi minha yawarra ngathu kulparraama
‘You don’t hear me, whatever word I say to you’

Example 543.
ngiingka -ana → ngiingkaana
sit -CONT ‘sitting’

2. Formation of a long ‘aa’ vowel
When it is not followed by a bound object, the initial ‘a’ of -ana combines with a final ‘a’ of a verb stem to form a long ‘aa’.

Example 543.
(p. 210 in Hercus) ngiingka -ana → ngiingkaana
sit -CONT ‘sitting’

NB There is one exceptional lengthening of an ‘i’ in pami-, ‘to see’; with the verbal suffix, this becomes pamiina.

3. Insertion of an -r glide
Between a stem-final ‘i’ or ‘u’ and -ana, an -r glide is inserted.

139 The topicaliser takes the form -rra rather than -la here since the stem to which it attaches contains an ‘i’. Refer to section 6.3.1 The Topicaliser -la.

140 The topicaliser takes the form -rra rather than -la here since the stem to which it attaches contains an ‘i’. Refer to section 6.3.1 The Topicaliser -la.
Example 544.  
\(kaanti \text{-}ana \rightarrow \text{kaantirana}\)  
(carry -CONT)  
‘carrying’

Example 545.  
\(wapu \text{-}ana \rightarrow \text{wapurana}\)  
(emerge -CONT)  
‘coming out’

6.11.2 The Optative Verbal Suffix -la (Wish or Purpose)

The optative verbal suffix -la indicates a wish or purpose occurring after or at the same time as the main verb.

It is only used with a verb in a dependent clause, never with a main verb. It always attaches to the verb stem or to the verb stem with an aspectual suffix attached. The subject of the dependent verb to which the optative verbal suffix attaches is always the same as the subject of the main verb.

Example 546.  
\(Kila ngiingkayika \text{ wimparrkuayi muurrrpanaarrrikungkari nguuvwala, paakana ngiingkayika, parntu kala}\)  
‘My crowd of daughters do not stay [home] to cook for their many children, they sit by the river to look for fish’

\(kila\ ngiingka\ y-ika\ wimparr’-’ku\ ayi\ muurrrpa\ naarr’\)  
not sit -GI -3 pl subj daughter -PI -1 sg POS child -Sp Pl  
‘they’ (all)  
‘my’

\(iku\ ngka\ -ri\ nguuvwa\ -la, paaka\ na\ ngiingka\)  
-iku -ngka -ri nguuvwa -la, paaka -na ngiingka  
-Pl -3 pl POS -DAT cook -OPT river -LOC sit  
‘their’ (all)

\(-y\ -ika,\ parntu\ kala\ -la\)  
-GL -3 pl subj cod seek -OPT  
‘they’ (all)

Example 547.  
\(Thampa-thampatali pamiila ngarnti\)  
‘The two of us will dig to find yams’

\(thampa-thampa\ t\ -ali\ pamiila\ -la\ ngarnti\)  
dig -FUT -1 dl subj see -OPT tuber  
‘we’ (two)

Example 548.  
\(Thuna ngiingkaali paarrala\)  
‘Then we two sit [here] to listen’

\(thuna\ ngiingka\ ali\ paarrala\ -la\)  
then sit -1 dl subj listen -OPT  
‘we’ (two)
Example 549. Kangarra ngiingkamalaana, withulu wiityala mangkamalaana [‘We] are sitting here to have a drink, we’re hiding’

kangarra ngiingka -ma -la -ana, withulu wiitya -la mangka
here sit -Vb -TOP -CONT all drink -OPT hide

Changes of form undergone by the optative verbal suffix -la
The optative verbal suffix -la undergoes the following changes of form in certain environments:

1. Lengthening of stem-final ‘i’ and ‘u’.
2. Change from -la to -rra.

1. Lengthening of stem-final ‘i’ and ‘u’
Stem-final ‘i’ and ‘u’ are lengthened before the optative verbal suffix -la.

Example 550. pami -la → pamilila
(p. 213 in Hercus) see -OPT

Example 551. watu -la → watuula
(p. 213 in Hercus) get -OPT

2. Change from -la to -rra
If there is an ‘l’ in the verb stem to which the optative verbal suffix -la attaches, the ‘l’ in the suffix may be changed to ‘r’. This change is optional.141

Example 552. Kila palkarra ngayi kangana yaparraayina
(E.g. 175(b) in Hercus) ‘It [the lightening] will not strike me here in my camp’

kila palka -rra ngayi kangana yaparra -ayi -na
not strike -OPT 1 sg obj this LOC camp -1 sg POS -LOC
‘me’ ‘my’

6.11.3 The Dative Case Marker -ri As a Verbal Suffix
Usually, case-marking suffixes are attached to nouns or pronouns. There are, however, some situations in which they can attach to verbs.

In a dependent clause, the dative case marker -ri can be attached to a verb (which may have a bound pronoun subject and object attached) to create a complex form expressing a wish or purpose (with the action occurring after/as a result of the action of the main verb).

141 The same change occurs with the topicaliser -la. Note that the optative verbal suffix -la never occurs together with the topicaliser -la.
There are two conditions that must be met to allow \textit{-ri} to be used as a verbal suffix:

1. The subject and object must both be pronouns (not nouns) and
2. The subject of the main verb must be different to the subject of the dependent verb.

\textbf{Example 553.} \textit{Manthalaapa watuturtaayiri} \\
\textbf{(E.g. 584 in Hercus)} \textit{‘I’m waiting for you all to pick me up’} \\
mantha -la -apa watu -t -urta -ayi -ri \\
wait -TOP -1 sg Intr subj take -FUT -2 pl subj -1 sg obj -DAT \\
‘I’ ‘you’ (all)

\textbf{Example 554.} \textit{Yaamari nguukaayi, nhantama kirrkaathuumaayi} \\
\textbf{(E.g. 585 in Hercus)} \textit{‘Give it to me over here, so that I can show you again’} \\
yaamari nguuka -ayi, nhantama kirrka -athu -uma -ri \\
this way give -1 sg obj again show -1 sg Tran subj -2 sg obj -DAT \\
‘me’ ‘I’ ‘you’

\textbf{6.11.4 The Purposive Case Marker -mandi As a Verbal Suffix}

The purposive case marker \textit{-mandi} can be added to a dependent verb to express a purpose (with the action occurring after/as a result of the action of the main verb). It can only be used when the subject of the main verb is different to the subject of the dependent verb. The usage of \textit{-mandi} as a verbal suffix is very rare.

\textbf{Example 555.} \textit{Ipityathunha mingkana kilatathumanti} \\
\textbf{(E.g. 588 in Hercus)} \textit{‘I put it [the cod] into a [water]hole, for it to grow’} \\
ipi ty -athu -’nha mingka -na kila \\
put -PAST -1 sg Tran subj -3 sg obj hole -LOC grow \\
‘I’ ‘it’

\textit{-t -athu -mandi} \\
\textit{-FUT -3 sg subj -PURP} \\
‘it’

In the above example, the subject of the main verb \textit{ipi}, ‘put’ is \textit{-athu}, ‘I’, whereas the subject of the dependent verb \textit{kila}, ‘grow’ is \textit{-athu}, ‘it’. Since the two subjects are different, the purposive case marker \textit{-mandi} can be used as a verbal suffix.
Example 556.  
(E.g. 589 in Hercus)  
*Kila nguukayikangka manhu palipaliarra thayayikamanti*  
‘They don’t give them delicious food, for them to eat’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kila} & \quad \text{nguuka} \quad \text{-y} \quad \text{-ika} \quad \text{-ngka} \\
\text{not} & \quad \text{give} \quad \text{-Gl} \quad \text{-3 pl subj} \\
\text{manhu} & \quad \text{pali-paliarra} \quad \text{thaya} \\
\text{‘they’} & \quad \text{(all)} \quad \text{‘them’} \quad \text{(all)} \\
\text{-y} & \quad \text{-ika} \quad \text{-manti} \\
\text{-Gl} & \quad \text{-3 pl subj} \quad \text{-PURP} \\
\text{‘they’} & \quad \text{(all)}
\end{align*}
\]

In the above example, the subject of the main verb *nguuka*, ‘give’ is -ika, ‘they’ (all) and the subject of the dependent verb *thaya*, ‘eat’ is -ika, ‘they’ (all). The subjects here are both different (even though they look the same, the ‘they’ in each clause refers to different people). As such, the purposive case marker -manti can be used as a verbal suffix.

The usage of -manti shown in the two examples above is quite rare; it is more common to simply have the two main verbs placed next to one another in order to convey purpose:

Example 557.  
(E.g. 590 in Hercus)  
*Kulpampa, yurripaana ngina wa*  
‘Tell [us], [so] we’ll know’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kulpa} & \quad \text{-mpa}, \quad \text{yurri} \quad \text{-pa} \quad \text{-ana} \quad \text{ngina} \quad \text{-wa} \\
\text{speak} & \quad \text{-2 sg Tran subj} \quad \text{hear} \quad \text{-ASP} \quad \text{-CONT} \\
\text{‘you’} & \quad \text{-EMPH} \quad \text{1 pl subj} \quad \text{‘we’} \quad \text{(all)}
\end{align*}
\]

6.11.5 The ‘Habitual’ Verbal Suffix -ni

Not a lot is known about this verbal suffix; its usage is not common. The verbal suffix -ni is used to indicate that something is habitual.

Example 558.  
(E.g. 592 in Hercus)  
*Wintyarra ngiingkani marliparlu*  
‘Where [are] the boys staying?’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wintyarra} & \quad \text{ngiingka} \quad \text{-ni} \quad \text{marli} \quad \text{-parlu} \\
\text{where} & \quad \text{sit} \quad \text{-HAB} \quad \text{male} \quad \text{-child}
\end{align*}
\]

6.11.6 The ‘Obligatory’ Suffix -ngku

The obligatory verbal suffix -ngku is very rare. It is identical in form to the perfect marker and is used in the word *wiityangku*, ‘something that has to be drunk’:

Example 559.  
(E.g. 593 in Hercus)  
*Ngathu nguukanama wiityangku katyiluku*  
‘I’ll give you a drink, just a little one’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngathu} & \quad \text{nguuka} \quad \text{-na} \quad \text{-ama} \quad \text{wiitya} \quad \text{-ngku} \quad \text{katyiluku} \\
\text{1 sg Tran subj} & \quad \text{give} \quad \text{-CONT} \quad \text{-2 sg obj} \quad \text{drink} \quad \text{-OBL} \quad \text{little} \\
\text{‘I’} & \quad \text{‘you’}
\end{align*}
\]
## 6.12 Reduplicated Verb Stems

In Paakantyi, many simple verb stems are reduplicated, usually to indicate an increased intensity or frequency. Some of these verbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kulpa-</td>
<td>‘to speak’</td>
<td>kulpa-kulpa-</td>
<td>‘to chatter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pami-la-</td>
<td>‘to look’</td>
<td>pami-pami-la-</td>
<td>‘to look around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waka-</td>
<td>‘to hit’</td>
<td>waka-waka-</td>
<td>‘to give someone a beating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wampi-la-</td>
<td>‘to fly’</td>
<td>wampi-wampi-la-</td>
<td>‘to fly around’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are a few examples of verbs that are only found in reduplicated forms, never as simple verbs. Usually, these verbs represent a repetitive action, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thampa-thampa-</td>
<td>‘to run around’ (NB This is unrelated to thampa-, ‘to dig’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thirla-thirla-</td>
<td>‘to shake’ (transitive verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata-mata-</td>
<td>‘to scrape’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngarlpa-ngarlpa-</td>
<td>‘to swing’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For some simple verbs ending in ‘a’, the reduplicated stem ends in ‘u’. There is no obvious rule for when this occurs. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nguuka-</td>
<td>‘to cut’</td>
<td>nguuku-nguuka-</td>
<td>‘to cut to pieces’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngurta-</td>
<td>‘to teach’</td>
<td>ngurtu-ngurta-</td>
<td>‘to criticise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiitya-</td>
<td>‘to drink’</td>
<td>wiityu-wiitya-</td>
<td>‘to be a drunkard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wita-</td>
<td>‘to look at’</td>
<td>witu-wita-</td>
<td>‘to spy on somebody’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SUMMARY—other verbal suffixes and reduplicated verb stems

The continuous verbal suffix -**ana**
- Is similar in meaning to the English verb ending ‘ing’.
- With a main verb, acts as an abstract form for present or future time.
- With a dependent verb, used for an action taking place at the same time as the action of the main verb.
- Attaches to a verb stem (either with or without an aspectual suffix following the verb stem).
- Cannot be used with bound subject pronouns.
- Undergoes changes of form:
  1. Shortening to -**na** before a bound object pronoun.
  2. Long ‘aa’ is formed from a final ‘a’ + -**ana** when no bound object pronoun follows.

The optative verbal suffix -**la**
- Expresses a wish or purpose occurring after or at the same time as the main verb.
- Attaches to a verb stem (either with or without an aspectual suffix following the verb stem).
- Is only used with a dependent verb.
- The subject of the main verb must be the same as the subject of the dependent verb.
- Undergoes changes of form:
  1. i/u become -**ii/-uu** before -**la**.
  2. When a verb stem containing ‘l’ is before -**la**, -**la** may be changed to -**rra**.

The dative case marker -**ri**
- Attaches to a dependent verb to express a wish or purpose (with the action occurring after/as a result of the action of the main verb).
- The subject and object of the sentence must both be pronouns.
- The subject of the dependent verb must be different to the subject of the main verb.

The purposive case marker -**manti**
- Attaches to a dependent verb to express a purpose (with the action occurring after/as a result of the action of the main verb).
- The subject of the dependent verb must be different to the subject of the main verb.
- This usage of -**manti** is very rare.

The habitual suffix -**ni**
- A rare suffix used to indicate that something is habitual.

The ‘obligatory’ suffix -**ngku**
- A rare suffix used to indicate that something is obligatory.

Reduplicated verb stems
- Many Paakantyi verb stems can be reduplicated, usually to indicate increased intensity or frequency.
CHAPTER 7: OTHER SUFFIXES: CLITICS AND POSTPOSITIONS

Clitics are different from other bound words in that they can generally be used with a wider variety of word types. Clitics have no accentuation (stress) placed on them.

7.1 Primary Clitics

Primary clitics can only attach to an independent word. Moreover, they affect the stress pattern of sentences in Paakantyi (even though they themselves are not stressed). These clitics are as follows:

- **-thinga** an emphatic clitic
- **-wa** an emphatic clitic
- **-purra** a rare clitic meaning ‘at last’, ‘with difficulty’

7.1.1 The Emphatic Clitic **-thinga**

The clitic **-thinga** is the main emphatic clitic. It causes the whole sentence to revolve around the word to which it is attached and is often linked to the subject of a sentence. It is most commonly used with the ergative (i.e. transitive subject) form of the demonstrative pronoun (k)inha, ‘that’. It can attach to either the free or the bound form of the demonstrative pronoun.

There are no recorded instances of the clitic **-thinga** ever occurring with any peripheral case form (i.e. the ablative, allative, comitative, genitive, instrumental, locative or purposive-benefactive cases.)

When **-thinga** is attached to a word, it causes the syllable to which it attaches to be stressed and, in some cases, to become the dominant syllable of the whole sentence (i.e. the syllable with the greatest stress).

- A syllable before **-thinga** which would otherwise have been unstressed becomes stressed and is lengthened.
- If the syllable before **-thinga** contains the letter ‘a’, that syllable becomes the dominant syllable of the whole sentence.
- If the syllable before **-thinga** contains a letter ‘u’ which is part of a personal pronoun in the ergative case, that syllable becomes the dominant syllable of the whole sentence.
- In circumstances other than those listed above, the syllable before **-thinga** optionally becomes the dominant syllable of the whole sentence.

---

142 Refer to Chapter 4: Grammatical Case for more information on the nuclear (main) and peripheral (local) cases.
Examples of sentences using the emphatic clitic -thinga are as follows.

The emphatic clitic -thinga with a free demonstrative pronoun:

Example 560.  
(E.g. 594 in Hercus)  
\[inhurruthinga \text{ watutyi}\]  
‘That is the one who took [it]’

\[inhurr \ -thinga \ watu \ -tyi\]  
that ERG -EMPH₁ take -PAST

Example 561.  
(E.g. 596 in Hercus)  
\[Kinhurruthinga \ wantiyi \ inha \ yarra\]  
‘That is the one who burnt down the tree’

\[kinhurru \ -thinga \ wanti \ -tyi \ inha \ yarra\]  
that ERG -EMPH₁ burn -PAST that NOM tree

Compare these with similar sentences without the emphatic clitic:

Example 562.  
(E.g. 595 in Hercus)  
\[Inhurru \ watutyinha\]  
‘That one took it’

\[inhurru \ watu \ -tyi \ -’nya\]  
that ERG take -PAST -3 sg obj

‘it’

Example 563.  
(E.g. 597 in Hercus)  
\[Wiimpatyanhurru \ wantiyi \ inha \ yarra\]  
‘That man burnt down the tree’

\[wiimpatya \ -nhurru \ wanti \ -tyi \ inha \ yarra\]  
man -that ERG burn -PAST this NOM tree

The emphatic clitic -thinga with a bound demonstrative pronoun:

Example 564.  
(E.g. 598 in Hercus)  
\[Marliparluinhurruthinga \ palkatyinha\]  
‘That boy killed it!’

\[marli \ -parlu \ -nhurr\ -thinga \ palka \ -tyi \ -’nya\]  
male -child -that ERG -EMPH₁ hit -PAST -3 sg obj

‘it’
The emphatic clitic -thinga with a nominal subject:

**Example 565.**  
*Kaaruuthinga watutu*  
‘Somebody else [will] take it’

*kaaruu -thinga watu -thu*  
other -EMPH₁ take -3 sg subj  
‘it’

**Example 566.**  
*Karlithinga partanaayi*  
‘The dog will bite me’

*karli -thinga parta -na -ayi*  
dog -EMPH₁ bite -CONT -1 sg obj  
‘me’

**Example 567.**  
*Katyiluku marliparu inhuruuthinga watutyinha*  
‘It was that little boy who took it’

*katyiluku marli -parlu inhuruu -thinga watu -tyi -’nha*  
small male -child that ERG -EMPH₁ take -PAST -3 sg obj  
‘it’

The emphatic clitic -thinga with an interrogative subject:

**Example 568.**  
*Wintyikaathinga waputyi*  
‘Who was it that came out?’

*wintyikaa -thinga wapu -tyi*  
who -EMPH₁ emerge -PAST

Occasionally, -thinga is used with a direct object¹⁴³ in order to place dramatic emphasis upon it:

**Example 569.**  
*Ngayithinga kalaathu*  
‘[The lightening] is coming after me’

*ngayi -thinga kala -athu*  
1 sg obj -EMPH₁ seek -3 sg subj  
‘me’  
‘it’

---

¹⁴³ Refer to Chapter 4: Grammatical Case for an explanation of direct and indirect objects.
The emphatic clitic -thinga is often used with an adverb:

**Example 570.**  
*Kantinyaathinga*  
(E.g. 603 in Hercus)  
‘A long, long time ago’

\[-thinga\]  
long ago -EMP\(_1\)

**Example 571.**  
*Mal-maltyu kitaathinga thayilangkurru*  
(E.g. 604 in Hercus)  
‘He died because he [drank too much and] had not eaten anything’

\[-thinga\]  
die -PAST -3 sg subj not -EMP\(_1\) eat -TOP -PERF -NF 3 sg subj  
‘he’  
‘he’

Rarely, the emphatic clitic is used with a verb:

**Example 572.**  
*Pamirruthinga*  
(E.g. 605 in Hercus)  
‘He saw’

\[-thinga\]  
see -NF 3 sg subj -EMP\(_1\)  
‘he’

### 7.1.2 The Emphatic Clitic -wa

The emphatic clitic -wa is more limited in its usage that the emphatic clitic -thinga. It can only be used with the subject of a sentence (either a noun or a pronoun, transitive or intransitive). It also has less influence on the stress pattern of the sentence.

**Example 573.**  
*Wintyarra ngurtawa parl-parlu*  
(E.g. 607 in Hercus)  
‘Where are you, children’

\[-wa\]  
where 2 pl subj -EMP\(_2\) children  
‘you’ (all)

**Example 574.**  
*Kila ngathuwa yungkaaku panmatyuanha*  
(E.g. 608 in Hercus)  
‘I didn’t do it on my own’

\[-wa\]  
not 1 sg Tran subj -EMP\(_2\) alone make -PAST -1 sg Tran subj -3 sg obj  
‘I’  
‘it’
Example 575.  
(E.g. 65 in Hercus)  
**Wirtuwa ngulyarru kampin** 
‘The old man is washing his clothes’  
\[wirtu\ -wa\ ngulya\ -rru\ kampi\ -\textit{\textasciitilde}nha\]  
old man -EMPH\textsubscript{2} wash -NF 3 sg subj clothes -3 sg POS  
‘he’  
‘his’

Example 576.  
(E.g. 66 in Hercus)  
**Ngaliwa kulpilaana**  
‘We two are talking’  
\[ngali\ -wa\ kulpi\ -la\ -ana\]  
1 dl subj -EMPH\textsubscript{2} speak -TOP -CONT  
‘we two’

Example 577.  
(E.g. 67 in Hercus)  
**Paakantyi nhuungku ngupuwa**  
‘You two are Paakantyi women’  
\[Paakantyi\ nhuungku\ ngupu\ -wa\]  
Paakantyi woman 2 dl subj -EMPH\textsubscript{2}  
‘you’ (two)

Example 578.  
(E.g. 68 in Hercus)  
**Thurlaka ngurtawa**  
‘You are bad people’  
\[thurlaka\ ngurta\ -wa\]  
bad 2 pl subj -EMPH\textsubscript{2}  
‘you’ (all)

Example 579.  
(E.g. 69 in Hercus)  
**Ngurta watutyinha, ngurtawa**  
‘You took it away, you lot’  
\[ngurta\ watu\ -tyi\ -\textit{\textasciitilde}nha,\ ngurta\ -wa\]  
2 pl subj take -PAST -3 sg obj 2 pl subj -EMPH\textsubscript{2}  
‘you’ (all)  
‘it’  
‘you’ (all)

Example 580.  
(E.g. 70 in Hercus)  
**Wiimpatyawa waaku partatyi**  
‘A man killed a crow [by stabbing]’  
\[wiimpaty\ -wa\ waaku\ parta\ -tyi\]  
man -EMPH\textsubscript{2} crow kill -PAST
Example 581.  
(E.g. 71 in Hercus)  
*Nhuungkuwa wiimpatya palkatyi karnkana*  
‘A man hit a woman with a yamstick’

\[nhuungku \quad -wa \quad wiimpatya \quad palka \quad -tyi \quad karnka \quad -na\]
woman \quad -EMPH\textsubscript{2} \quad man \quad hit \quad -PAST \quad yamstick \quad -INST

When the emphatic clitic *-wa* is added to a nominal subject ending in ‘a’, the ‘a’ may be lengthened and stress placed on that syllable. Note that this does not occur with pronominal subjects.

Example 582.  
(E.g. 606 in Hercus)  
*Wiimpatyaawa thurlaka*  
‘Bad people’

\[wiimpatya \quad -wa \quad thurlaka\]
people \quad -EMPH\textsubscript{2} \quad bad

### 7.1.3 The Clitic *-purra* (‘At Last’, ‘With Difficulty’)

The clitic *-purra* is a rare clitic meaning ‘at last’, ‘with difficulty’.

Example 583.  
(E.g. 610 in Hercus)  
*Pilkaapa purra*  
‘I’ve managed to get down [from the tree]’

\[pilka \quad -apa \quad -purra\]
descend \quad -1 sg Intr subj \quad -at last
‘I’

### 7.2 Secondary Clitics

Secondary clitics can be used after an independent word or after a primary clitic. They do not have any effect on syllable stress. The secondary clitics are as follows:

- **-rta**  
  the contrastive clitic (‘but’)

- **-thi**  
  the emphatic clitic

### 7.2.1 The Contrastive Clitic *-rta* (‘But’)

The clitic *-rta* is a contrastive clitic which can be roughly translated as ‘but’. It is most commonly used with pronominal subjects, though it can also be used with pronominal objects and occasionally with nouns.

Example 584.  
(E.g. 612 in Hercus)  
*Ngimparta kaaru, kila ngali nguukanaama*  
‘But you’re a stranger, we two won’t be giving you anything’

\[ngimpa \quad -rta \quad kaaru, \quad kila \quad ngali \quad nguuka \quad -’na \quad -ama\]
2 sg Intr subj \quad -but \quad stranger \quad not \quad 1 dl subj \quad give \quad -cont \quad -2 sg obj
‘you’ \quad ‘stranger’ \quad ‘not’ \quad ‘you’ \quad ‘we’ (two) \quad ‘you’
Example 585.  
(E.g. 613 in Hercus)  
(modified)  

Ngintuwarta karntmatyayi inhu parntu  
‘But it was you that robbed me of this fish’

ngintu -wa rta karntma -ty -ayi inhu parntu  
2 sg Tran subj -EMPH  -but rob -PAST -1 sg obj this fish  
‘you’  
‘me’

Example 586.  
(E.g. 614 in Hercus)  

Ngalinharta pamilyu  
‘But he saw us two!’

ngalinha rta pami -ty -u  
2 dl obj -but see -PAST -3 sg subj  
‘us’ (two)  
‘he’

Example 587.  
(E.g. 611 in Hercus)  

Thungkarta  
‘But night-time as well’

thungka rta  
night -but

7.2.2 The Emphatic Clitic -thi

The emphatic clitic -thi can be used to emphasise a variety of words: nouns (in different case forms), verbs and adverbs.

Example 588.  
(E.g. 615 in Hercus)  

Maathathi parriyathu  
‘The boss himself is coming’

maatha -thi parri -y -athu  
boss -EMPH  go -Gl -3 sg subj  
‘he’

Example 589.  
(E.g. 616 in Hercus)  

Minhamanti? Yarntamantithi!  
‘What for? For money, of course!’

minha -manti? yarnta -manti -thi  
what -PURP money -PURP -EMPH  

---

144 The translation of this example has been altered so that the English translation bears more grammatical similarity to the Paakantyi construction. The original translation given by Hercus is ‘but it was you that stole this fish from me’.
7.3 Postpositions

Postpositions are different to clitics in that they have some accentuation placed upon them when used in a sentence. They are:

- **-marri**  the intensifying postposition (‘very’, ‘truly’)
- **-ili**  the immediacy postposition (‘now’)
- **-alpi**  the ‘like’ postposition (‘like’, ‘as it were’)
- **-wanki**  the exclusivity postposition (‘only’)

7.3.1 The Intensifying Postposition **-marri** (‘Very’, ‘Truly’)

The postposition **-marri** can be attached to adjectives or adverbs to add intensity to a word. It can often be roughly translated as ‘very’ or, sometimes, ‘truly’. Note that once the postposition has been attached to an adjective, the complex (adjective + **-marri**) still behaves in the same way as an adjective.

**Example 591.**
(E.g. 619 in Hercus)

*Thurlakmarrimpa*  
‘You are very bad’

*thurlak’ **-marri**  ‘-mpa* 
*bad  -very  -2 sg Intr subj* 
*you’

**Example 592.**
(E.g. 620 in Hercus)

*Paliirramarriyaapa*  
‘I’m very good’

*paliira  -marri  -y  -aapa* 
*good  -very  -Gl  -1 sg Intr subj* 
*I’

**Example 593.**
(E.g. 621 in Hercus)

*Murrartamarri parrityu*  
‘He went very quickly’

*murrarta  -marri  parri  -ty  -u* 
*quickly  -very  go  -PAST  -3 sg subj* 
*he’
On rare occasions, marri can act as an independent word rather than a postposition:

Example 594. Yarrinhapaty ithu marri
(E.g. 622 in Hercus) ‘He’s absolutely deaf’

Example 595. Kinaurtili
(E.g. 623 in Hercus) ‘Stop now [that’s enough]!’

Example 596. Palyartili parritaapa
(E.g. 624 in Hercus) ‘In a little while now I’ll go’

Example 597. Kiikili wampilaapili
(E.g. 625 in Hercus) ‘Now this is it, I [can] fly now’

Example 598. Kiikili thalypanili
(E.g. 626 in Hercus) ‘Now this is it, it’s close now’

7.3.2 The Immediacy Postposition -ili (‘Now’)  
The postposition -ili denotes immediacy and can best be translated as ‘now’. It is most often attached to verbs, especially verbs in the imperative mood (i.e. the command form). It is also often attached to adverbs.

Example 595. Kinaurtili
(E.g. 623 in Hercus) ‘Stop now [that’s enough]!’

Example 596. Palyartili parritaapa
(E.g. 624 in Hercus) ‘In a little while now I’ll go’

Example 597. Kiikili wampilaapili
(E.g. 625 in Hercus) ‘Now this is it, I [can] fly now’

Example 598. Kiikili thalypanili
(E.g. 626 in Hercus) ‘Now this is it, it’s close now’
Occasionally, *ili* is used as an independent adverb and has full stress (i.e. accentuation):

**Example 599.**
(E.g. 627 in Hercus)

*Ngintu ili thampa*

‘You dig now!’

*ngintu ili thampa*

2 sg Tran subj *now* dig

‘you’

### 7.3.3 The ‘Like’ Postposition -*alpi* (‘Like’, ‘As It Were’)

The postposition -*alpi*\(^{145}\) means ‘like’, ‘as it were’. It attaches to objects in comparative sentences (i.e. sentences comparing one thing to another, e.g. ‘He talks like an Aboriginal man’.) It can attach to nouns, pronouns, verbs and adverbs.

**Example 600.**
(E.g. 628 in Hercus)

*Wiimpatyaalpi kulpilaathu*

‘He talks like an Aboriginal man’

*wiimpatya -alpi kulpi -la -athu*

man -like talk -TOP -3 sg subj

‘he’

**Example 601.**
(E.g. 629 in Hercus)

*Marta ithu martamarri ila ngumaalpi*

‘He’s older than you’

*marta ithu marta -marri ila nguma -alpi*

old this old -very not 2 sg subj -like

‘you’

**Example 602.**
(E.g. 630 in Hercus)

*Ngayi karli nguma karli yunuunaalpi karli*

‘My dog and your dog are of the same kind’

*ngayi karli nguma karli yunuuna -alpi karli*

1 sg POS dog 2 sg POS dog thus -like dog

‘my’ ‘your’

In quick speech, the initial ‘a’ of -*alpi* may be dropped (as in the following two examples).

The following example is a very common phrase:

**Example 603.**
(E.g. 631 in Hercus)

*Nhangunyalpi*

‘What’s it like?’

*nhangunya -lpi*

how -like

\(^{145}\) NB On the Paakantyi CD-ROM (Hercus & Nathan 2002, section 6.2.c.), this postposition is spelt -*alypi*. 
When attached to verbs, as in the following example, the meaning of -\textit{alpi} can be roughly translated as ‘it was like that’:

\textbf{Example 604.}\hspace{1cm} Thartu palkatik\textit{alpi}

\textit{(E.g. 632 in Hercus)} ‘Maybe they hit him on the head’

\begin{verbatim}
 thartu palka -ty -\textit{ika} -\textit{alpi}
 head hit -PAST -3 pl subj -like
 ‘they’ (all)
\end{verbatim}

\section*{7.3.4 The Exclusivity Postposition -\textit{wanki} (‘Only’)}
The postposition -\textit{wanki} (sometimes shortened to -\textit{nki}) implies that something is exclusive. In some situations it can be translated as ‘only’. It can attach to pronominal subjects only.

\textbf{Example 605.}\hspace{1cm} Thuna katyiluku karrki, thuna ngali\textit{wanki}

\textit{(E.g. 633 in Hercus)} ‘It’s only a small bottle, just we two [will have it]’

\begin{verbatim}
 thuna katyiluku karrki, thuna ngali -\textit{wanki}
 then little bottle then 1 dl subj -only
 ‘we’ (two)
\end{verbatim}

\textbf{Example 606.}\hspace{1cm} Ngathu\textit{wanki} yurri\textit{pathu}

\textit{(E.g. 634 in Hercus)} ‘I’m the only one that understands’

\begin{verbatim}
 ngathu -\textit{wanki} yurri -pa -\textit{thu}
 1 sg Tran subj -only know -ASP -1 sg Tran subj
 ‘I’ ‘I’
\end{verbatim}

\textbf{Example 607.}\hspace{1cm} Ngapanki ngitya Parr\textit{yaapa}

\textit{(E.g. 635 in Hercus)} ‘I went all on my own’

\begin{verbatim}
 ngapa -\textit{nki} ngitya parri -ty -\textit{aapa}
 1 sg Intr subj -only one go -PAST -1 sg Intr subj
 ‘I’ ‘I’
\end{verbatim}
SUMMARY—clitics and postpositions

PRIMARY CLITICS
- Can only be used after an independent word.
- Affect the stress pattern of a sentence.

The emphatic clitic -thinga
- Makes the word to which it attaches the main topic of the sentence.
- Is often linked to the subject of a sentence.
- Causes the last syllable of the word to which it attaches to be stressed/lengthened or to become the dominant syllable of the sentence.
- Is not used with the peripheral case forms.

The emphatic clitic -wa
- Is only used with the subject of a sentence.
- Has little influence on the stress pattern of a sentence.
- May cause lengthening of a stem-final ‘a’ of a noun to which it attaches.

The clitic -pura, ‘at last’, ‘with difficulty’
- This is a rare clitic.

SECONDARY CLITICS
- Can be used after an independent word or a primary clitic.
- Do not affect the stress pattern of a sentence.

The contrastive clitic -rta, ‘but’
- Is most commonly used with pronominal subjects.
- Can be used with pronominal objects or nouns.

The emphatic clitic -thi
- Can be used to emphasise nouns, verbs and adverbs.

POSTPOSITIONS
- Have some accentuation (stress) placed upon them.

The postposition -marri, ‘very’, ‘truly’
- Attaches to adjectives and adverbs.
- Is occasionally used as an independent word.

The postposition -illi, ‘now’
- Usually attaches to verbs (especially in the command form).
- Often attaches to adverbs.

The postposition -alpi, ‘like’, ‘as it were’
- Attaches to nouns, pronouns, verbs and adverbs.
- Is used with the object in a comparative sentence.

The postposition -wanki
- Implies that something is exclusive.
- Can sometimes be translated as ‘only’.
CHAPTER 8: ADVERBS

Adverbs are words that modify verbs. For example, in the sentence ‘I ran quickly’, ‘ran’ is the verb and ‘quickly’ is the adverb that describes the verb. Most often, Paakantyi adverbs precede the verb that they modify. They can be divided into the following categories: locational (place), temporal (time), manner, and pronominal (derived from pronouns).

Note that some of the words described in this chapter may not be true adverbs but rather, nouns used adverbially. For simplicity, we will refer to them all here as adverbs.

8.1 Locational (Place) Adverbs

Some adverbs can take different case-marking suffixes to create different case forms; other adverbs cannot. Some examples of adverbs that cannot take case-marking suffixes are:

- **karrkanya** ‘high up’ (NB This is identical in form to the noun *karrkanya* meaning ‘sky’)
- **marnu-marnu** ‘in all directions’
- **warra-warra** ‘side by side’

Some adverbs cannot take the locative or allative case-marking suffixes; the bare stem is used to imply these forms. They can, however, take the ablative case-marking suffix -(u)ntu. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem form</th>
<th>Ablative form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaarukaya</td>
<td>kaarukaya-ntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘yonder’</td>
<td>‘from yonder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karrapirra</td>
<td>karrapirra-ntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘far away’</td>
<td>‘from afar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parrityirri</td>
<td>parrityirri-ntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘very far away’</td>
<td>‘from very far away’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some adverbs cannot take the allative case form; the bare stem is used to imply this form. They can, however, take the locative and ablative case forms. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem form</th>
<th>Locative form</th>
<th>Ablative form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thalypa</td>
<td>thalypa-na</td>
<td>thalypa-untu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘(towards) close by’</td>
<td>‘close by’</td>
<td>‘from nearby’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thangka</td>
<td>thangka-na</td>
<td>thangka-untu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘towards the middle’</td>
<td>‘in the middle’</td>
<td>‘out of the middle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malaaka</td>
<td>malaaka-na</td>
<td>malaaka-ntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘(to) the other side’</td>
<td>‘on the other side’</td>
<td>‘from the other side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirrika</td>
<td>mirrika-na</td>
<td>mirrika-ntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘forwards’</td>
<td>‘in front’</td>
<td>‘from in front’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

146 Refer to Chapter 4: Grammatical Case for an explanation of case and case-marking suffixes.
Note
Some locational words that are adverbs in English are actually nouns in Paakantyi. Unlike some of the adverbs listed above, they never imply any particular case; they can be used with all the case markers. Examples of these locational nouns are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Stem + suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nganta</td>
<td>‘back’</td>
<td>nganta-na</td>
<td>‘behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tharna</td>
<td>‘back’</td>
<td>tharna-untu</td>
<td>‘from behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warra</td>
<td>‘side’</td>
<td>warra-na</td>
<td>‘beside’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The locational nouns often take a possessive suffix, for example:

Example 608.  
(p. 231 in Hercus)  
tharnaamantu  
‘from behind you’  
tharna -ama -ntu  
back -2 sg POS -ABL  
‘your’

8.2 Temporal (Time) Adverbs

A few of the locational (place) adverbs can also be used as temporal (time) adverbs. For example, the adverb mirrika-na means ‘in front’ as a locational adverb and ‘first’ as a temporal adverb:

Example 609.  
(E.g. 643 in Hercus)  
Mirrikana thayiltali  
‘We two will eat first’  
mirrika -na thayi -l’ -t -ali  
front -LOC eat -TOP -FUT -1 dl subj  
‘we’ (two)

Examples of temporal adverbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ilaaku</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalypu</td>
<td>‘soon’, ‘recently’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karringki</td>
<td>‘tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhantama</td>
<td>‘again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palyarta</td>
<td>‘in a moment’, ‘directly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thuna/thunta</td>
<td>‘then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thungkarrtaka</td>
<td>‘all night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wara</td>
<td>‘and then’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example 610.  
(E.g. 645 in Hercus)  
Kaantirruulunha thuna watirruulunha thuna mukirruulunha yaparrana
He carried them both, then he took them both and then hid them both away in his camp

\[
\begin{align*}
kaanti & \text{ -rru} & -uulunha & \text{ thuna } \text{ watu' -rru} \\
& \text{ carry} & -\text{NF 3 sg subj} & -\text{3 dl obj} & \text{ then} & \text{ take} & -\text{NF 3 sg subj} \\
& & & & 'he' & 'them' (two) & 'he' \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
-uulunha, & \text{ thuna } \text{ muki } \text{ -rru} & -uulunha & \text{ yaparra } \text{ -na} \\
& \text{ -3 dl obj} & \text{ then} & \text{ hide} & -\text{NF 3 sg subj} & -\text{3 dl obj} & \text{ camp} & \text{ -LOC} \\
& & & & 'them' (two) & 'he' & 'them' (two) \\
\end{align*}
\]

Example 611.  
(E.g. 646 in Hercus)  
Thampili mingka kiingkutaamamanti wara ipalaali
‘Now dig a hole for your sister’s son, and then we two put [him] in’

\[
\begin{align*}
thamp & \text{'-ili } \text{ mingka } \text{ kiingkuta } \text{ -ama } \text{ -manti} \\
& \text{ dig} & \text{ -now } \text{ hole} & \text{ nephew} & -\text{2 sg POS} & \text{ -PURP} \\
& & & & 'your' \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wara } & \text{ ipa } \text{ -la } \text{ -ali} \\
& \text{ and then} & \text{ put down} & \text{ -TOP} & -\text{1 dl subj} \\
& & & & 'we' (two) \\
\end{align*}
\]

8.3 Adverbs of Manner

Some of the adverbs of manner are formed by adding the suffix -mala to adjectives. (NB -mala is derived from the verbaliser -ma plus the topicaliser -la). Examples of such adverbs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paliirramala</td>
<td>‘well’  (from paliira, ‘good’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thulumala</td>
<td>‘in a heap’ (from thulu, ‘close together’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thurlakmala</td>
<td>‘badly’  (from thurlaka, ‘bad’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of a few other adverbs of manner are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maawulu</td>
<td>‘slowly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mipurta</td>
<td>‘completely’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muku-muka</td>
<td>‘quietly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murrarta</td>
<td>‘quickly’ (also murr- murrarta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngarratya</td>
<td>‘in company, together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarlinya</td>
<td>‘too much’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example 612.  
*Kila parriyathu paliirramala*  
(E.g. 647 in Hercus)  
‘He can’t walk properly’

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
\text{ki} & \text{la} & \text{par} & \text{ri} & \text{yathu} & \text{pali} & \text{ir} & \text{ra} & \text{mala} \\
\text{not} & \text{go} & -\text{Gl} & -3\text{ sg subj} & \text{good} & -\text{Vb} & -\text{TOP} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘he’

Another common adverb of manner derived from an adjective (though not using the suffix -*mala*) is *yungkaaku*, ‘on one’s own, separately’ (from *yungkaaku*, ‘one’s very own’ and *yungka*, ‘own’).

Example 613.  
*Yungkaaku thayiltyi yungka yaparra*  
(E.g. 648 in Hercus)  
‘He ate it on his own, in his own camp’

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
\text{yungkaaku} & \text{thayi} & -\text{l’} & -\text{tyi} & \text{yungka} & \text{yaparra} & -\text{na} \\
\text{separately} & \text{eat} & -\text{TOP} & -\text{PAST} & \text{own} & \text{camp} & -\text{LOC} \\
\end{array}
\]

### 8.4 Pronominal Adverbs

Pronominal adverbs in Paakantyi can be either locational or directional. They are formed by attaching the following suffixes to the nominative forms of pronouns: 147

- *-rra*  
  position at rest

- *-mari*  
  direction towards

- *-ka*  
  direction/location

- *-ntu*  
  out of/away from

---

147 Hercus (1982, p. 172) states that there are two pronominal adverbs that do not correspond to any pronoun. These are *yaamaka*, ‘here’ and *yaamari*, ‘this way’.
Table 20: Locative and directional pronominal adverbs and the pronouns from which they are derived

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Locative Adverb</th>
<th>Directional Adverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Towards</td>
<td>Away From</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k)iiki</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(k)iika-mari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘this right here’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k)ithu</td>
<td>(k)itha-rra</td>
<td>(k)itha-mari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘this right here’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanga</td>
<td>kanga-rra</td>
<td>kanga-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘this around here’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k)inha</td>
<td>(k)inha-rra</td>
<td>(k)inha-mari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘that (there)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wathu</td>
<td>watha-rra</td>
<td>watha-mari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg subj: ‘he, that one’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wintya</td>
<td>wintya</td>
<td>wintya-mari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘which’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuna</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>yura-mari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘that’ (far away)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that before the addition of suffixes, a stem-final ‘i’ or ‘u’ changes to ‘a’ in the above adverbs. For example, (k)ithu becomes (k)itha-rra.

NB Hyphens have been included in the above forms so that you can easily see the suffixes that have been added. Usually, you would not write the hyphens.
SUMMARY—adverbs
• Usually precede the verb.

LOCATIONAL ADVERBS
• Some adverbs can take different case-marking suffixes.
• Some adverbs cannot take the locative or allative case-marking suffixes; the bare stem is used to imply these forms.
• Some adverbs cannot take the allative case form; the bare stem is used to imply this form.

TEMPORAL ADVERBS
• Indicate time.
• A few locational adverbs can also be used as temporal adverbs.

ADVERBS OF MANNER
• Some of these are derived from adjectives through addition of the suffix -mala.

PRONOMINAL ADVERBS
• Are formed through the addition of suffixes to the nominative forms of pronouns.

Locative pronominal adverbs
• Indicate position at rest.
• Are formed using the suffix -rra.

Directional pronominal adverbs
• Indicate direction
  -mari  direction ‘towards’
  -ka    direction (e.g. ‘in this direction’)
  -ka    location (e.g. ‘around here’)
  -(u)ntu direction ‘out of’ or ‘away from’
CHAPTER 9: NEGATIVES, INTERJECTIONS & EXCLAMATIONS

9.1 Negatives (‘Not’, ‘Nothing’, ‘Not At All’, ‘Don’t’)

9.1.1 Kila (‘Not’)  
The word *kila*, ‘not’, is always at the beginning of the sentence or phrase, unless it is used in a sentence that forms a question. Note that it is sometimes pronounced without the initial consonant as *ila*.

After *kila*, the rest of the sentence can either remain in the same order or it may be changed so that the word following *kila* is the word to which the negation is most relevant.

**Example 614.**  
*Kila ngayimanti watutynha*  
‘He didn’t get it for me’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kila} & \quad \text{ngayi} \quad \text{-manti} \quad \text{watu} \quad \text{-tyi} \quad \text{-’nha} \\
\text{not} & \quad 1 \text{ sg obj} \quad \text{-PURP} \quad \text{get} \quad \text{-PAST} \quad 3 \text{ sg obj} \\
\text{‘me’} & \quad \text{‘it’}
\end{align*}
\]

*Kila* can be used directly before an imperative\(^{148}\) verb form in order to issue a prohibitive command:

**Example 615.**  
*Kila pamilaku*  
‘Don’t look’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kila} & \quad \text{pami} \quad \text{-la} \quad \text{-ku} \\
\text{not} & \quad \text{see} \quad \text{-TOP} \quad \text{-IMP}
\end{align*}
\]

*Kila* can also be used in verbless sentences:

**Example 616.**  
*Kila kumpatyaaathu*  
‘It’s not big’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kila} & \quad \text{kumpaty} \quad \text{-athu} \\
\text{not} & \quad \text{big} \quad \text{-3 sg subj} \\
\text{‘it’}
\end{align*}
\]

---

\(^{148}\) The imperative is used when giving commands. Its form is the bare verbal stem.
When used with an interrogative, *kila* is not placed at the beginning of the sentence. The use of *kila* in interrogative sentences is rare. An example is as follows:

**Example 617.**  
_Minhamanturta kila thaltilaana_  
‘Why are you people not listening?’

[minha -mant’ -urta kila thalti -la -ana]  
what -PURP -2 pl subj not hear -TOP -CONT  
‘you’ (all)

### 9.1.2 Ngaatha (‘Nothing’, ‘Not At All’)  
The word *ngaatha* is often used to mean ‘nothing’. It can also mean ‘not at all’ or ‘not’.

**Example 618.**  
_Ngaathamanti palkatynha_  
‘He killed him for nothing’

[ngaatha -manti palka -tyi -’nha]  
nothing -PURP hit -PAST -3 sg obj  
‘him’

**Example 619.**  
_Ngaatha palthatya_  
‘Shameless’

[ngaatha paltha -tya]  
nothing shame -having

**Example 620.**  
_Ngaatha thartu-partityathu_  
‘He has no brains’

[ngaatha thartu-parti -tya -’thu]  
nothing brain -having -3 sg subj  
‘he’

**Example 621.**  
_Ngaathangantityaapa_  
‘I have no teeth’

[ngaatha -nganti -tya -apa]  
nothing -tooth -having -1 sg Intr subj  
‘I’

**Example 622.**  
_Ngaatha makarrayi, tharla, tharla_  
‘It didn’t rain at all, it was dry, dry!’

[ngaatha makarra -tyi, tharla, tharla]  
not at all rain -PAST dry dry
Example 623.  
(E.g. 162 in Hercus)  
\textit{Nhuungku ngaatha wanklya thikalatyi}  
‘The woman came back without having any meat’  
\textit{nhuungku} \textit{ngaatha} \textit{wanka -tya thika -la -tyi}  
woman not meat -having return -TOP -PAST

9.1.3 Walya (‘Don’t’)

\textit{Walya} is a rarely used word meaning ‘don’t’.

Example 624.  
(E.g. 642 in Hercus)  
\textit{Walya wiityantu}  
‘Don’t drink’  
\textit{walya} \textit{wiitya -ntu}  
don’t drink -2 sg Tran subj  
\textit{‘you’}

9.2 Negative and Affirmative Interjections (‘Yes’ and ‘No’)

The affirmative interjection, ‘yes’ is \textit{ngi}. Sometimes, the variant \textit{ngim} is used. The affirmative interjection is usually used on its own.

The negative interjection, ‘no’ is \textit{ngaatha} (which, as described above, also means ‘nothing’ or ‘not at all’). It is rarely used on its own; it is usually followed by a further explanation of what is being negated, for example:

Example 625.  
(E.g. 649 in Hercus)  
\textit{Ngaatha, kila nguukaltathunha}  
‘No, I won’t give it’  
\textit{ngaatha, kila nguuka -l’ -t -athu -‘nha}  
no not give -TOP -FUT -1 sg Tran subj -3 sg obj  
\textit{‘I’ ‘it’}
9.3 Exclamations

Exclamations in Paakantyi do not follow the usual word stress patterns. The final syllable of an exclamation is stressed (whereas usually, it is the first syllable of Paakantyi words that have the most pronounced stress). The final syllable of an exclamation also has a strong rising pitch.

Hercus was not able to document an extensive list of Paakantyi exclamations. Those she documented are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ilaakuyayi</td>
<td>‘by jove!’ (literally ‘my yesterday!’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapa</td>
<td>‘come on! hurry up!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngayi</td>
<td>‘hey! hallo there!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wulu</td>
<td>‘hey! look out!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaka palthayi</td>
<td>‘oh dear!’ (literally ‘alas my skin!’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakayi</td>
<td>‘oh! oh dear!’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SUMMARY—negatives, interjections and exclamations**

*Kila* (‘not’)
- Is always placed at the beginning of a sentence/phrase (except in interrogative sentences).
- May affect word order so that the word to which the negation is most relevant is placed directly after *kila*.
- Can be used before imperative verb forms.

*Ngaatha* (‘nothing’, ‘nothing at all’)
- Is often used to mean ‘nothing’.
- Can also mean ‘not’ or ‘not at all’.

*Walya* (‘don’t’)
- This is a rarely used word.

---

149 Refer to section 2.2 Stress for more information about accentuation of different syllables in Paakantyi words.

150 Note that the 1 sg POS marker -ayi is usually pronounced as a single syllable [aːi], therefore the stress of exclamations ending in -ayi falls on the entire syllable, not just on the final ‘i’.
CHAPTER 10: ORDERING

10.1 Nominals and Noun Phrases

A noun phrase is a phrase with a noun as its head word (i.e. it is a noun and the words governed by or modifying the noun.) A noun phrase can be identified by its ability to be replaced by a pronoun. For example, in the sentence ‘The woman put her sleepy children to bed’ the noun phrase is ‘her sleepy children’. You can check that this is a noun phrase by replacing it with a pronoun: ‘the woman put them to bed’.

10.1.1 Nominal Word Structures

The basic structure of a nominal word (i.e. a noun) can include the following (though not all of these categories will be present in every nominal word):

1 2 3 4
stem (number) (POS) (case)

An example of a noun that does include all four elements is as follows:

Example 626. Muurrpapaarrikungkari ‘To their children’
(E.g. 49 in Hercus)

muurra  -naari  -ku  -ngka  -ri
child   -sp PI   -PI   -3 pl POS   -DAT
stemplnumberPOScase

10.1.2 Noun Phrase Structures

The following orderings are possible in a noun phrase:

TYPE A: adj + stem (number) (POS) (case)

nominal word

TYPE B: pronoun + case + stem (number) (POS) (case)

nominal word

TYPE C: stem (number) (POS) + pronoun + case

nominal word
In noun phrases in which emphasis is placed on number, the number can be placed first.

\[
\text{number} + \text{stem (other number) (POS) (case)} \quad / \quad \text{nominal word}
\]

In noun phrases in which emphasis is placed on possession, the following structure can be used.

\[
\text{POS} + \text{stem (number) (case)} \quad / \quad \text{nominal word}
\]

### 10.1.3 Position of Adjectives

An adjective usually precedes the noun that it describes. Any case-marking suffix will then be attached to the noun.

**Example 627.** *Yalthi kultantu thupurratyi ngitya thinaputuna*
*(E.g. 191 in Hercus)*

‘It hopped out of the long grass with one shoe’

\[
yalthi \quad kulta \quad -ntu \quad thupurra \quad -tyi \quad ngitya \quad thina \quad -putu \quad -na
\]

\[
\text{long grass} \quad -\text{ABL} \quad \text{hop} \quad -\text{PAST} \quad \text{one foot} \quad -\text{boot} \quad -\text{INST/LOC}
\]

Occasionally, however, an adjective will follow a noun. In such cases, the case-marking suffix will remain attached to the noun and the adjective will follow.

### 10.1.4 Free Pronouns

There are three possible structures found in noun phrases containing pronouns.

1. The case marker is found on both the noun and the pronoun.
2. The case marker is found only on the demonstrative pronoun.
3. Pronouns in the nominative or accusative case forms precede the noun.

#### 1. The case marker is found on both the noun and the pronoun.

**Example 628.** *Wintya ntu kiirrantu parrityimpa*
*(E.g. 192(a) in Hercus)*

‘Which country do you come from?’

\[
wintya \quad -ntu \quad kiirra \quad -ntu \quad parri \quad -tyi \quad -impna
\]

\[
\text{which} \quad -\text{ABL} \quad \text{country} \quad -\text{ABL} \quad \text{come} \quad -\text{PAST} \quad -2 \text{ sg Intr subj}
\]

\[
\text{you}
\]

noun phrase
Example 629. *Kangantu kiirrantu*  
(E.g. 192(b) in Hercus)  
(modified)\(^{151}\)  
‘From this country’ [the speaker points out the direction]  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{kanga -}ntu \text{ kiirra -}ntu \\
\text{this NOM -ABL country -ABL}
\end{array}
\]

noun phrase

Example 630. *Inhana kiirrana*  
(E.g. 192(c) in Hercus)  
‘In that country’  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
inha -na \text{ kiirra -}na \\
\text{that NOM -LOC country -LOC}
\end{array}
\]

noun phrase

2. The case marker is found only on the demonstrative pronoun (which must then be placed at the end of the noun phrase).

Example 631. *Wayurapa tharlta ithunhari*  
(E.g. 193 in Hercus)  
‘I feel sorry for that kangaroo’  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{wayu -}r \text{ -}apa \text{ tharlta ithunha -}ri \\
sorry -Gl -1 sg Intr subj kangaroo that -DAT \\
\text{‘I’}
\end{array}
\]

noun phrase

Example 632. *Kaakutyayi inhurrur watuna kinha tharlta*  
(E.g. 195 in Hercus)  
‘That brother of mine is getting the kangaroo’  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{kaakuty’ -ayi \text{ inhurrur watu -}na \text{ kinha tharlta} \\
\text{brother -1 sg POS that ERG get -CONT this NOM kangaroo}
\end{array}
\]

noun phrase

---

\(^{151}\) In the gloss given by Hercus (1982, p. 100), the demonstrative *kanga* is translated as ‘that’. Since it is shown elsewhere in the grammar as meaning ‘this’, the translation and gloss in this example have been altered for the learner’s grammar.
3. Pronouns in the nominative or accusative case precede the noun (whereas usually, case markers are placed at the end of the noun phrase.)

Example 633. *karnmatyayi ikinha kampi-kampi*  
(E.g. 196 in Hercus)  
‘They stole a shirt from me’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>karnma</td>
<td>-ty</td>
<td>-ayi</td>
<td>iki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>steal</td>
<td>-PAST</td>
<td>-1 sg obj</td>
<td>this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘me’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>shirt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

noun phrase

Example 634. *Muni-munintu ithanha karlima*  
(E.g. 197 in Hercus)  
‘Tie up this dog of yours’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>muni-muni</td>
<td>-ntu</td>
<td>itha</td>
<td>-nha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tie up</td>
<td>-2 sg Tran subj</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘you’</td>
<td></td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>-2 sg POS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘your’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

noun phrase

Example 635. *Panamaana kingka wana*  
(E.g. 198 in Hercus)  
‘[They are] making these boomerangs’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pana</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-ana</td>
<td>kingka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make</td>
<td>-Vb</td>
<td>-CONT</td>
<td>these (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ACC boomerang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

noun phrase
10.2 Sentences with a Nominal Subject and Object

It is not common for sentences in Paakantyi to have nominals (nouns) both for their subject and object; usually, either the subject or object will be a pronoun. In sentences with a nominal subject and object, the subject must always precede the object. The order in such sentences is usually SVO (subject, verb, object). It is important that the subject comes before the object, as this tells you which noun is the subject and which is the object of the sentence.

Sometimes a demonstrative pronoun such as -nhuru (‘that’/’those’ ERG) is attached to the noun acting as the transitive subject of a sentence, functioning as an ergative case marker. In these situations, you can tell what the subject of the sentence is by the fact that it has an ergative marker attached, as well as by the fact that it comes before the object in the sentence.

Example 636.  
(E.g. 650 in Hercus)  
*Muni-muninhuru nhapaty inhu nhuungku*

‘The police locked this woman up’

\[\text{muni-muni} -\text{nhuru} \quad \text{nhapa} -\text{ty} \quad \text{inhu} \quad \text{nhuungku}\]

\[\text{police} \quad \text{-those ERG} \quad \text{shut} \quad \text{-PAST} \quad \text{this} \quad \text{woman}\]

\[S \quad V \quad O\]

Example 637.  
(E.g. 51 in Hercus)  
*Waakunhuru karnmatyi wankaualyi*

‘That crow took my own bit of meat’

\[\text{waaku} \quad -\text{nhuru} \quad \text{karnma} -\text{tyi} \quad \text{wanka} \quad -\text{ul}’ -\text{ayi}\]

\[\text{crow} \quad \text{-that ERG} \quad \text{steal} \quad \text{-PAST} \quad \text{meat} \quad \text{-Sg} \quad \text{-1 sg POS}\]

\[\text{‘my’}\]

\[S \quad V \quad O\]

Example 638.  
(E.g. 56 in Hercus)  
*Piipu thatyatuma yalkuama*

‘Ants will bite your leg’

\[\text{piipu} \quad \text{thata} -\text{tya} \quad -\text{uma} \quad \text{yalku} -\text{ama}\]

\[\text{ant} \quad \text{bite} \quad \text{-FUT} \quad \text{-2 sg obj} \quad \text{leg} \quad \text{-2 sg POS}\]

\[\text{‘you’} \quad \text{‘your’}\]

\[S \quad V \quad O\]

---

152 Refer to section 5.6: Demonstrative Pronouns.
Note, however, that when an adjective functions as a nominal (noun) object, the object may precede the verb, thus giving the sentence order SOV. In the following example, the adjective *withunya*, ‘all’, is used as a nominal object; it thus precedes the verb *karnma*, ‘steal’.

**Example 639.** *(E.g. 651 in Hercus)*

*Muurrpangulinhurru withunya karnmatyayi*

‘Those two children stole everything from me’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>muurra</em></th>
<th><em>-ngulu</em></th>
<th><em>-nhurru</em></th>
<th><em>withunya</em></th>
<th><em>karnma</em></th>
<th><em>-ty</em></th>
<th><em>-ayi</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>-DI</td>
<td>-those ERG</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>steal</td>
<td>-PAST</td>
<td>-1 sg obj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both SVO and SOV order are demonstrated in the following example, in which the adjective *katyiluku*, ‘little’, functions as a nominal object, ‘little one’, and precedes the verb *palki*, ‘hit’:

**Example 640.** *(E.g. 60 in Hercus)*

*Inhurruuthinga palkatyinhha, muurrpanhurru katyilukunha palkirru*

‘He hit him, that [big] kid hit the little one’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>inhurru</em></th>
<th><em>-thinga</em></th>
<th><em>palka</em></th>
<th><em>-tyi</em></th>
<th><em>-’nha,</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>that ERG</td>
<td>-EMPH₁</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>-PAST</td>
<td>-3 sg obj, ‘him’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>muurra</em></th>
<th><em>-nhurru</em></th>
<th><em>katyiluku</em></th>
<th><em>-’nha</em></th>
<th><em>palki</em></th>
<th><em>-rru</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>-that ERG</td>
<td>little [one]</td>
<td>-ACC</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>-NF 3 sg subj ‘he’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

153 Note that in this example, *-ayi* (‘me’) is the indirect object. Regardless of the fact that there is an indirect object here, the sentence order is still SOV. Refer to Chapter 4: Grammatical Case for an explanation of what constitutes an indirect object.

154 Hercus (1982, p. 59) glosses *inh* as ‘this’ in example 59 but it has been changed to ‘that’ here to conform to the translation given elsewhere. The ergative marker in this example has a long ‘u’ (i.e. it is -*rruu* rather than -*rru*) as it is followed by the emphatic clitic *-thinga*. Refer to section 7.1.1 The Emphatic Clitic *-thinga* for further information.

155 The NF third person subject marker *-rru* is used here as a cross-referencing pronoun. Refer to section 4.1.2 Ergative Case.
10.3 Sentences with a Bound Pronominal Subject and/or Object

When a bound subject pronoun is used, the order is VSO (verb, subject, object), as the subject attaches to the verb. When a free subject pronoun is used, the subject is placed before the verb, giving the order SVO (subject, verb, object).

The order VSO is demonstrated by the following examples, which have bound subject pronouns.

**Example 641.**  
*(E.g. 260 in Hercus)*  
*Waka-wakathuuma*  
‘I’ll strike you with a weapon’

```
waka-waka  -'thu  -uma  
strike  -1 sg Tran subj  -2 sg obj  
    ‘I’  ‘you’  
   V  S  O
```

**Example 642.**  
*(E.g. 261 in Hercus)*  
*Kapaathunha*  
‘I follow him’

```
kapa  -athu  -'nha  
follow  -1 sg Tran subj  -3 sg obj  
    ‘I’  ‘him’  
   V  S  O
```

**Example 643.**  
*(E.g. 106 in Hercus)*  
*Karnmatyintu ngayiri*  
‘You stole from me’

```
karma  -ty  -intu  ngayi  -ri  
steal  -PAST  -2 sg Tran subj  1 sg obj  -DAT  
    ‘you’  ‘me’  
   V  S  O
```

**Example 644.**  
*(E.g. 370 in Hercus)*  
*Pamiturrumuuma*  
‘He’ll see you’

```
pami  -t  -urru  -uma  
see  -FUT  -3 sg subj  -2 sg obj  
    ‘he’  ‘you’  
   V  S  O
```
The sentence order SVO is demonstrated by the following examples, which have free subject pronouns.

**Example 645.** *Ngintu kulpatayi*  
(E.g. 392 in Hercus)  
‘You told me’  

\[ \text{ngintu} \quad \text{kulpa} \quad -\text{ty} \quad -\text{ayi} \]  
\[ \begin{array}{c} \text{2 sg Tran subj} \\ \text{tell-PAST} \\ \text{1 sg obj} \\ \text{‘me’} \end{array} \]  
\[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{V} \\ \text{O} \end{array} \]

**Example 646.** *Ngintuwarta karnmatayi*  
(E.g. 394 in Hercus)  
‘You stole [it] from me’  

\[ \text{ngintu} \quad -\text{wa} \quad -\text{rta} \quad \text{karnma} \quad -\text{ty} \quad -\text{ayi} \]  
\[ \begin{array}{c} \text{2 sg Tran subj} \\ \text{-EMPH} \_2 \text{but} \\ \text{steal-PAST} \\ \text{1 sg obj} \\ \text{‘you’} \\ \text{‘me’} \end{array} \]  
\[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{V} \\ \text{O} \end{array} \]

### 10.4 Sentences with a Free Pronominal Subject and/or Object

Ordering in sentences with free pronominal (pronoun) subjects and/or objects is flexible to a certain degree. This is due to the fact that the different case endings used with free pronouns make it easy to tell whether that pronoun is the subject or object of the sentence.

Free pronouns can be used instead of bound pronouns to emphasise the subject or object of a sentence. Generally, the order in sentences with free pronominal subjects/objects is SVO.

**Example 647.** *Nhathu wakawakanaama*  
(E.g. 653 in Hercus)  
‘I’ll smack you!’  

\[ \text{nhathu} \quad \text{waka} \quad -\text{waka} \quad -\text{na} \quad -\text{ama} \]  
\[ \begin{array}{c} \text{1 sg Tran subj} \\ \text{hit} \quad \text{-hit} \quad \text{-CONT} \\ \text{2 sg obj} \\ \text{‘I’} \\ \text{‘you’} \end{array} \]  
\[ \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \text{V} \\ \text{O} \end{array} \]

---

156 For a more detailed explanation, refer to section 5.1 Uses of Free and Bound Personal Pronouns.
When the subject is a demonstrative pronoun the SVO order is obligatory.

**Example 648.** *Inhurruthinga nguukatayi*
*(E.g. 654 in Hercus)*

‘He was the one who gave it to me’

\[\text{inhurruru}^{157} -\text{thinga} \quad \text{ngu} \quad \text{ty} \quad \text{ayi}\]
that ERG EMPH1 give PAST 1 sg obj

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & V & O \\
\hline \\
\end{array}
\]

The order OVS is sometimes used in order to place emphasis on the object.

The following example shows two different orders (SVO and OVS) used in the same sentence. The OVS order is used to emphasise the object *ngayi*, ‘me’:

**Example 649.** *Kaaru nhuungkunhurru inhika watutyinha, thuna ngayi winpayika*
*(E.g. 652 in Hercus)*

‘Another woman here took it, and now they blame me’

\[\text{kaaru} \quad \text{nuhun} \quad \text{ku} \quad -\text{nhurr}u \quad \text{inhika} \quad \text{watu} \quad -\text{ty} \quad -\text{'nha},\]
other woman -that ERG here take PAST -3 sg obj

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
S & V & O \\
\hline \\
\end{array}
\]

\[\text{thuna} \quad \text{ngayi} \quad \text{winpa} \quad -\text{y} \quad -\text{ika}\]
then 1 sg obj blame -Gl -3 pl subj

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
O & V & S \\
\hline \\
\end{array}
\]

---

157 Note that the ergative marker in this example has a long ‘u’ (i.e. is -rruu rather than -rru) as it is followed by the emphatic clitic -thinga. Refer to section 7.1.1 The Emphatic Clitic -thinga for further information.
10.5 Sentences with a Bound Pronominal Subject

10.5.1 Independent Clauses
Independent clauses are clauses that can stand alone. Independent clauses with a bound pronominal subject and a nominal or free pronominal object are relatively unrestricted in terms of order. The order can either be VSO or OVS.

Example 650.  
(E.g. 658 in Hercus)  
Nguukatyintukatyiluku  
‘You [only] gave a little bit’

\[  
guuka \quad \text{-ty} \quad \text{-intu} \quad \text{katyiluku}  
give \quad \text{-PAST} \quad \text{-2 sg Tran subj} \quad \text{little (bit)}  
\]

\[  
\text{V} \quad \text{S} \quad \text{O}  
\]

Example 651.  
(E.g. 657 in Hercus)  
Katyiluku kaantaathu  
‘I’ve [only] got a little bit’

\[  
katyiluku \quad \text{kaanta} \quad \text{-athu}  
little [bit] \quad \text{carry} \quad \text{-1 sg Tran subj} \quad \text{‘I’}  
\]

\[  
\text{O} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{S}  
\]

10.5.2 Dependent Clauses
Dependent clauses supplement independent clauses. They cannot stand alone. In dependent clauses with a bound pronominal subject and a nominal or free pronominal object, the order is always OVS.

Example 652.  
(E.g. 659 in Hercus)  
Maraayi nhuukalatyi, marta kunika wakangkuathu  
‘I cut my hand [because] I chopped a hard piece of wood’

\[  
mara \quad \text{-ayi} \quad \text{nhuuka} \quad \text{-la} \quad \text{-tyi,} \quad \text{marta kunika waka} \quad \text{-ngku} \quad \text{-athu}  
hand \quad \text{-1 sg POS cut} \quad \text{-TOP} \quad \text{-PAST hard} \quad \text{wood} \quad \text{chop} \quad \text{-PERF} \quad \text{-1 sg Tran subj} \quad \text{‘I’}  
\]

\[  
\text{O} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{S}  
\]

dependent clause
10.5.3 Dependent Verb Phrases

A verb phrase consists of a verb and all the words governed by or modifying the verb. A dependent verb phrase cannot stand alone but needs to be joined to an independent verb phrase in order to make sense. In dependent verb phrases, the order is almost always OV:

**Example 653.** 
*Parritaapa karrkimari watuula*

(E.g. 660 in Hercus)  
‘I’ll go and get your flagon’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>parri</th>
<th>-t</th>
<th>-aapa</th>
<th>karrki</th>
<th>-ma</th>
<th>-ri</th>
<th>watuu</th>
<th>-la</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>-FUT</td>
<td>-1 sg Intr subj</td>
<td>flagon</td>
<td>-2 sg POS</td>
<td>get</td>
<td>-OPT</td>
<td>‘i’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

 dependent verb phrase

**Example 654.** 
*Nhantama wapataapa piipurru thayila*

(E.g. 661 in Hercus)  
‘I [the echidna] will come out again to eat ants’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nhantama</th>
<th>wapa</th>
<th>-t</th>
<th>-aapa</th>
<th>piipurru</th>
<th>thayii</th>
<th>-la</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>again</td>
<td>come out</td>
<td>-FUT</td>
<td>-1 sg Intr subj</td>
<td>ant</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>-OPT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

 dependent verb phrase

The OV order only changes on rare occasions, so as to emphasise the object:

**Example 655.** 
*Ngapa ngiingkaana manthala ngumari*

(E.g. 662 in Hercus)  
‘I’m sitting [here] waiting for you’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ngapa</th>
<th>ngiingka</th>
<th>-ana</th>
<th>mantha</th>
<th>-la</th>
<th>nguma</th>
<th>-ri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg Intr subj</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>-CONT</td>
<td>wait</td>
<td>-OPT</td>
<td>2 sg obj</td>
<td>-DAT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

 dependent verb phrase

---

158 There is a long vowel at the end of the verb here since stem-final ‘i’ and ‘u’ are lengthened before the optative verbal suffix -la. Refer to section 6.11.2 The Optative Verbal Suffix -la (Wish or Purpose).

159 There is a long vowel at the end of the verb here since stem-final ‘i’ and ‘u’ are lengthened before the optative verbal suffix -la. Refer to section 6.11.2 The Optative Verbal Suffix -la (Wish or Purpose).
10.6 Intransitive Sentences

In intransitive sentences, order is fairly flexible.

With nominal subjects, the preferred order is SV, for example:

Example 656. \( Nhuungku \ parrityi \)
(E.g. 663 in Hercus) ‘The woman went away’

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{nhuungku} & \text{par} & \text{tyi} \\
\text{woman} & \text{go} & -\text{PAST} \\
\hline
S & V
\end{array}
\]

If the subject is a noun + adjective or demonstrative pronoun + noun, the order VS is preferred.

Example 657. \( Parrityi \ iki \ nhuungku \)
(E.g. 664 in Hercus) ‘This woman went away’

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{par} & \text{tyi} & \text{iki} & \text{nhuungku} \\
\text{go} & -\text{PAST} & \text{this} & \text{NOM} & \text{woman} \\
\hline
V & S
\end{array}
\]

10.7 Circumstantial Phrases

Circumstantial phrases are noun phrases\(^{160}\) expressing general circumstances and marked by peripheral case markers.\(^{161}\) In such phrases ordering is quite variable. Circumstantial phrases in Paakantyi have the most freedom in terms of ordering.

Example 658. \( Pana\text{maathu kiltu kinha wirtumanti} \)
(E.g. 665 in Hercus) ‘I’m making stew for this old man’

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{pana} & \text{ma} & \text{athu} & \text{kiltu} & \text{kinha} & \text{wirtu} & \text{-manti} \\
\text{make} & -\text{Vb} & -1 \text{ sg Tran subj} & \text{stew} & \text{this} & \text{NOM} & \text{old man} & -\text{PURP} \\
\hline
V & S & O & O_2
\end{array}
\]

\(^{160}\) For an explanation of noun phrases, refer to section 10.1 Nominals and Noun Phrases.

\(^{161}\) For a discussion about the peripheral cases, refer to section 4.2 Peripheral (Local) Cases.
Example 659. *Ngingleaathu puungkana*  
(E.g. 668 in Hercus)  
‘He’s sitting in [his] humpy’

\[
nghi \text{-} a \text{-} athu \quad puun \text{-} k \text{-} \text{na} \\
\text{sit} \quad -3 \text{ sg subj} \quad \text{humpy} \quad -\text{LOC}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c)c}
V & S & O
\end{array}
\]

The same meaning can also be given by the following sentences, which use OVS rather than VSO word order:

Example 660. *Kinha wirtumanti panamaathu kiltu*  
(E.g. 666 in Hercus)  
‘I’m making stew for this old man’

\[
kinha \quad \text{wirtu} \quad \text{-} \text{manti} \quad \text{p} \text{a}-\text{ma} \quad \text{-} \text{athu} \quad \text{kiltu} \\
\text{this} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{old man} \quad -\text{PURP} \quad \text{make} \quad -\text{Vb} \quad -1 \text{ sg Tran subj} \quad \text{stew}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c)c}
O & | & V & S & O_2
\end{array}
\]

Example 661. *Puungkana ngingleaathu*  
(E.g. 667 in Hercus)  
‘He’s sitting in [his] humpy’

\[
puun \text{-} k \text{-} \text{na} \quad nghi \text{-} a \text{-} \text{athu} \\
\text{humpy} \quad -\text{LOC} \quad \text{sit} \quad -3 \text{ sg subj}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c)c}
O & | & V & S
\end{array}
\]

### 10.8 Verbless Sentences

Usually, verbless sentences contain personal pronouns. These sentence types can be classified as ‘equative/identifying’, ‘attributive’ or ‘locational’. Examples of such sentences as as follows: 162

Example 662. *Parluathu*  
(E.g. 37 in Hercus)  
‘He is a child’

\[
par\text{-}au \text{-} \text{athu} \\
\text{child} \quad -3 \text{ sg subj}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c)c}
O & | & V & S
\end{array}
\]

---

162 Refer to section 5.3.1 Positioning of Bound Pronouns for more examples of verbless sentences with bound pronouns.
Example 663.  
(E.g. 406 in Hercus)  
Nguungkithu  
‘It’s ripe’  

nguungki  ‘thu  
ripe  -3 sg subj  
‘it’

Example 664.  
(E.g. 411 in Hercus)  
Inharraapa  
‘I’m here’

inharra  apa  
here  -1 sg Intr subj  
‘I’

There are, however, certain possible verbless sentences that do not contain a personal pronoun. These are of the following type:

1. Pronominal adverb + noun.
2. Personal or demonstrative pronoun + noun.
3. Noun + noun phrase (or just noun phrase).

1. Pronominal adverb + noun

Example 665.  
(E.g. 413 in Hercus)  
Wintyarra ngamaka  
‘Where is [my] mother?’

wintyarra  ngamaka  
where  mother  
\____/  \____/  
adverb  noun

2. Demonstrative pronoun + noun

Example 666.  
(E.g. 414 in Hercus)  
Iki thurru  
‘There’s a snake here’

iki  thurru  
this NOM  snake  
\______/  \____/  
dem. pron.  noun
3. Noun + noun phrase (or just noun phrase)

Example 667.  
(E.g. 415 in Hercus)  
*Ngatyi yalthi parnpa*  
‘The water-snake has a long neck’

*Ngatyi yalthi parnpa*  
*parnpa*  
*serpent*  
*parnpa*  
*long neck*  
’nha*  
‘its’

noun  
noun phrase

Example 668.  
(E.g. 416 in Hercus)  
*Nhuungku puka marli*  
‘The woman is a widow’

*Nhuungku puka marli*  
*puka*  
*woman*  
*marli*  
*dead husband*  
’nha*  
‘her’

noun  
noun phrase

Example 669.  
(E.g. 417 in Hercus)  
*Puka marlinha*  
‘She’s a widow’

*Puka marlinha*  
*puka*  
*dead husband*  
*marlinha*  
*3 sg POS*  
’nha*  
‘her’

noun phrase
SUMMARY—order

Noun phrases
- Structure of a noun phrase: noun: stem (number) (possessive marker) (case).
- An adjective usually precedes the noun it describes.
- Free pronouns in noun phrases:
  1. The case marker is found on both the noun and the pronoun.
  2. The case marker is found only on the demonstrative pronoun.
  3. Pronouns in the nominative or accusative case forms precede the noun.

Nominal subject and object
- Nominal subject & object: SVO.
- Nominal subject & adjective functioning as a nominal object: SOV (optional).

Free pronominal subject or object
- Somewhat flexible order.
- Usually: SVO.
- To emphasise object: OVS.
- Free pronominal subject & nominal or free pronominal object: almost always SVO.

Bound pronominal subject
- Independent clause with bound pronominal subject & nominal or free pronominal object: VSO or OVS.
- Dependent clause with bound pronominal subject & nominal or free pronominal object: OVS.
- Dependent verb phrase: OV (or, rarely, VO to emphasise the object).

Intransitive sentences
- Fairly flexible order.
- Nominal subject: SV (preferred).
- If the subject is either noun + adjective or demonstrative pronoun + noun: VS (preferred).

Circumstantial phrases
- Quite free order.

Verbless sentences
- Must contain a personal pronoun, unless they are of the type:
  1. Pronominal adverb + noun.
  2. Personal or demonstrative pronoun + noun.
  3. Noun + noun phrase (or just noun phrase).
### APPENDIX: TABLES

#### Table 1: Lects of Paakantyi/Wiimpatya Parlku

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lect</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Area spoken</th>
<th>Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PAARUNTYI</strong></td>
<td>The people belonging to the Paroo River <em>(paaru)</em></td>
<td>From around the Paroo River to just north of Hungerford; on the Darling River from about Tilpa up the river to Bourke and also up the Warrego River as far as Ford’s Bridge</td>
<td>Beckett, Hercus &amp; Martin 2008, p. 35; Mathews 1902, p. 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KURNU</strong></td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>In the river area down from Bourke</td>
<td>Beckett, Hercus &amp; Martin 2008, p. 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MILPULO</strong></td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Thought to have been spoken on the Darling frontage, from Wilcannia downwards</td>
<td>Howitt, 1904, p. 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WILYAAHI</strong> (WILYAKALI)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>In the Broken Hill area and west to the Olary district</td>
<td>Beckett, Hercus &amp; Martin 2008, p. 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PULAALI</strong> (PULAKALI)</td>
<td>The uplands people (a sub-group of the Wilyakali)</td>
<td>In the Barrier Ranges</td>
<td>Hercus 1993, p. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WANYUPARLKU</strong> (WANYIYALKU)</td>
<td>The people who say <em>wanyu</em> for (unknown), spoken by the Pantyikali <em>(the creek people)</em></td>
<td>In the Mutawintji area, Yancannia and White Cliffs</td>
<td>Beckett, Hercus &amp; Martin 2008, p. 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>THANGKAALI</strong> (THANGKAKALI)</td>
<td>The people who say <em>thangka</em> for ‘bread’</td>
<td>West of the Darling River</td>
<td>Hercus 1993, p. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PAAKANTYI</strong></td>
<td>The people belonging to the Darling River <em>(paaka)</em></td>
<td>*(Roughly) in the section of the Darling River extending from Wilcannia downstream to Avoca</td>
<td>Hercus 1982, p. 276 ; 1993, p. 3; Tindale 1974, p. 192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MARRAWARRA</strong></td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Around Wentworth and along the river to Avoca</td>
<td>Hercus 1989, p. 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PARRINTYI</strong></td>
<td>People belonging to the scrub country <em>(parri)</em></td>
<td>East of the Darling River in the dry country between the river and the Willandra</td>
<td>Hercus 1993, p. 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**

(Sub-)lects are shown in italics under the lect to which they are thought to relate.

- *ntyi* is the belonging suffix, so *Paakantyi*, for example, is constructed from the word *paaka*, *(the Darling) river* and the belonging suffix, *-ntyi*.

(K)ali is an archaic word meaning ‘people’ (Hercus & Austin 2004, p. 208), so *Thangkaali* (or *Thangkakali*), for example, means people who say *thangka* for ‘bread’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hope, J &amp;</td>
<td><em>The people of the Paroo River: Frederic Bonney’s photographs</em></td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Book giving an account of the life and work of Frederic Bonney, who lived on Momba Station between 1865 and 1881; photographs taken by Bonney; cultural and linguistic information on the Paakantyi people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
<td>‘Learning Paakantyi’</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Unpublished 30-page learner’s guide with 13 lessons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
<td>‘Bonney’s notebook’</td>
<td>n.d. a</td>
<td>Unpublished 43-page reproduction of Frederic Bonney’s notebook (from which some of the material is included in Bonney’s published article ‘On some customs of the Aborigines of the River Darling, New South Wales’). Information on additional topics is also contained herein, including spiritual beliefs (‘the future’), habitations, domestic furniture (tools), weapons, dress, cooking and food, amusements, rainmaking, snakes and snakebite, myths and traditions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
<td>‘Bonney’s small notebooks and letters’</td>
<td>n.d. b</td>
<td>23-page document compiled from letters, notebooks and scraps of paper, consisting of letters sent to Bonney regarding the local Aboriginal people and their customs; Bonney’s own notes on customs and traditions of these people and the meanings of their names; anecdotes of interactions between Bonney and the locals; vocabulary lists; lecture notes; and newspaper clippings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
<td>‘Paakantyi words in Bonney’s MSS’</td>
<td>n.d. c</td>
<td>Unpublished wordlist of Paakantyi vocabulary recorded by Frederic Bonney alongside words recorded by Newenham Teulon (1886), words from Hercus’ <em>Paakantyi dictionary</em> (1993) and words elicited from Elsie Jones by Robert Lindsay (1981).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
<td>‘The single vocabulary of C. Richards’</td>
<td>n.d. d</td>
<td>Unpublished 20-page document consisting of a table with a list of Marrawarra words beginning with ‘p’ from C Richards’ 1903 article ‘The Marra’ Warree tribes or nation and their language’. Lindsay has included Richards’ original spelling alongside a standardised version, as well as the equivalents from Hercus’ 1993 dictionary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
<td>‘Some “new” Paakantyi words’</td>
<td>n.d. e</td>
<td>41-page document containing Paakantyi words, mainly from nineteenth and early twentieth century resources, that are not shown in Hercus’ 1993 dictionary. The sources used are Frederic Bonney (before 1881), Greville Newenham Teulon (1886), Robert Hamilton Mathews (1902, 1904), Charles Richards (1903), and Elsie Jones (1981). Lindsay includes both the original orthography used in the sources and his approximated reconstruction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beckett, J &amp; Hercus, LA</td>
<td>The two rainbow serpents travelling: mura track narratives from the Corner Country</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Three different versions of a mura story about the two ngatyi (‘rainbow serpents’) as well as cultural and geographical information.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lissarague, A &amp; Wafer, J</td>
<td>A handbook of Aboriginal languages of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Tables for each Paakantyi lect showing different spellings and alternative names, as well as information about the groupings of the different lects, a map of where they were spoken and a bibliography of resources relating to all Paakantyi lects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilcannia Central School</td>
<td>Learning Paakantji</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>CD-ROM including word lists and practice exercises.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hercus, LA &amp; Nathan, D</td>
<td>Wiimpatya Palku = Paakantyi language</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>CD-ROM containing a talking dictionary; Paakantyi-English and English-Paakantyi dictionaries; grammar; stories; songs; maps; photographs; and games.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service &amp; Peter Freeman</td>
<td>Former Kinchega Station sites: Kinchega National Park conservation management &amp; cultural tourism plan</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Report including, amongst other things, an historical overview of the Kinchega National Park area from prehistory through the pastoral era and up to the late twentieth century; an inventory of archaeological sites of the area; and a history of the landscape, flora and fauna of the site.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin, S</td>
<td>Aboriginal cultural heritage of the Menindee Lakes area part 1: Aboriginal ties to the land: a report to the Menindee Lakes Ecologically Sustainable Development Project Steering Committee</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Report containing information on a variety of matters relating to the culture and heritage of the Paakantyi people, particularly those from the area in and around Menindee. Includes maps; information about the different Paakantyi lects; descriptions of the kinship system; moieties and totemic clans (“meats”); the land tenure system; hunting, fishing and food gathering; burial practices; and the Paakantyi landscape and mythology.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hercus, LA</td>
<td>Paakantyi dictionary</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Paakantyi-English and English-Paakantyi dictionaries (some words with audio); grammar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, E</td>
<td>The story of the falling star</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Book telling an old Paakantyi story of a star that fell in a Paakantyi camp and killed or injured a number of people. The book is illustrated with both drawings and photos of Elsie Jones and the group of children to whom she relates the tale as they travel around Paakantyi country to the different places that feature in the story. A reasonable amount of Paakantyi vocabulary is included.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thieberger, N</td>
<td>‘An introduction to Paakantji’</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Sketch grammar, lessons, lesson summaries, list of suffixes’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hercus, LA</td>
<td><em>The Bāgandji language</em></td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Comprehensive description of the Darling River languages, primarily Paakantyi, with some information on other lects such as Kurnu, Pantyikali and Paaruntyi; Paakantyi-English and English-Paakantyi dictionaries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
<td><em>Bush tucker vol. 1: meat wanku</em></td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Children’s reader containing animals listed by English name, Paakantyi name and scientific name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[1976]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, E</td>
<td><em>My body: yunpurru parnti</em></td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Book containing Paakantyi words for parts of the body.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
<td>‘Index cards’</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Unpublished 41-page document containing vocabulary that Lindsay elicited from Elsie Jones on Wilcannia Mission in 1981. The vocabulary has been compiled in a table alongside equivalents from Hercus (1993), and occasionally also words from Teulon (1886), Bonney’s unpublished manuscripts and Peter Thompson’s transcription of Elsie Jones’ story, <em>Kilampa wura kaani’ = The galah and the frill-neck lizard</em> (1978).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsay, R</td>
<td>Notes from weekly discussions with Elsie Jones</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Document consisting of 200 pages of handwritten notes made by Lindsay in 1981 following his weekly meetings with Elsie Jones. Includes descriptions of what they had spoken about that day, covering vocabulary as well as topics such as Paakantyi country, traditions, games, food, beliefs and mythology. Also includes some sketches, for example of tools and weapons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, E</td>
<td><em>Kilampa wura Kaani’ = The galah and the frill-neck lizard</em></td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Story told by Elsie Jones in 1978 and transcribed by Peter Thompson; word list.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reay, M</td>
<td>‘Transcript of interview with Hero Black’</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Transcript from an interview with a Kurnu man, Hero Black, from Mahra Station. Includes a brief discussion of the marriage system, moieties and totems. Very brief descriptions are given of treatment of a deceased person’s body and belongings. ‘Wumbandya talk’ and ‘Margan talk’ are mentioned as being Paakantyi lects. It is noted that George Dutton spoke either Kurnu (‘Gurnu’) or Margan. The story of ‘the two snakes’ is included.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tindale, NB</td>
<td><em>Eagle and crow myths of the Maraura tribe, lower Darling River, New South Wales</em></td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>This work on Marrawarra mythology was the first text to be published in any Paakantyi lect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howitt, AW</td>
<td><em>The native tribes of South-East Australia</em></td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Book containing cultural information about a number of Aboriginal groups, including the Paakantyi, divided into the following chapters: Tribal organisation; Social organisation; Relationship terms; Marriage rules; Tribal government; Medicine men and magic; Beliefs and burial practices; Initiation ceremonies, eastern type; Initiation ceremonies, western type; Messengers and message sticks—barter and trade centres—gesture language; and Various customs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathews, RH</td>
<td><em>Langage des Kūrnū’, tribu d’Indigènes de la Nouvelle Galles du Sud</em> (Language of the Kūrnū’ tribe, New South Wales)</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Article containing more detailed grammatical information on Kurnu than Mathews’ 1902 work, as well as corrections. The grammar described in this work relates to articles, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs and prepositions. Notably Mathews, though not a trained linguist, was able to perceive distinctive features of the Kurnu lect, such as the uncommon system of tense marking on pronouns. The article was originally written in English and translated into French for publication, then translated back into English for a book on Mathews by M Thomas (ed.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathews, RH</td>
<td>Die Mülyerra-initiationszeremonie (The Mülyerra initiation ceremony)</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Article describing the Mülyerra initiation ceremony of the Kurnu people (originally written in English and translated into German for publication, then translated back into English for a book on Mathews by M Thomas [ed.]).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richards, C</td>
<td>The Marra’ Warree’ tribes or nation and their language, with an account of how a new tribe was formed amongst them</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Article discussing what Richards terms the Marra’ Warree’ nation, which he divides into three sections: the Paakantyi from the Darling River, those living near the Paroo River or creeks and the Thangkali from the uplands. Interactions between this nation and explorers are described and an account is given of the story of Nganya (Ngan’ya), a man who broke away from the group with another man’s wife, took a second wife and started a ‘tribe’ of his own out in the mallee scrub country. The two intermarrying classes, Kilparra and Makwarra are also described.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richards, C</td>
<td>Marra’ Warree or Marrao’ Arree’</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Article including a 416-word Paakantyi wordlist, as well as detailed notes on pronunciation and the orthographical conventions used. Unfortunately the vocabulary only consisted of words beginning with ‘p’ (which would be ‘b’ using current orthographical conventions) and was never completed. Hercus (1982, p.3) commented that this work ‘shows true insight and understanding.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathews, RH</td>
<td>Languages of some native tribes of Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Article containing a Kurnu grammatical description and wordlist of approximately 220 words, as well as an additional list including 27 words from Kurnu’s ‘mystic language’ (used by men at initiation ceremonies).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathews, RH</td>
<td>The group divisions and initiation ceremonies of the Barkunjee tribes</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>Paper describing the social organisation (including marriage, moieties and totems) and initiation ceremonies of the Paakantyi people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newland, S</td>
<td>The Parkengees, or Aboriginal tribes on the Darling River</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Paper including information on the customs of the Paakantyi people, in particular, the ‘Upper River Darling Tribe’ that Newland called the ‘Wampangees’ (whilst he refers to the ‘River Blacks generally’ as the ‘Parkengees’). The article discusses marriage, food, hunting, initiation rites, rainmaking, medicine, the character of Paakantyi people Newland encountered, death, corroborees, myths and legends. 116 vocabulary items of ‘Aboriginals of the Upper Darling’ are included. Numbers 1–10 and 20 are given. Most of these are similar to those given by Hercus, although a few are completely different. In addition, Newland gives number words for eight, nine, ten and twenty, which were not recorded by Hercus.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Curr, EM   | The Australian Race: Its Origins, Languages, Customs, Place of Landing in Australia and the Routes by which it spread itself over that Continent | 1886 | Curr compiled four volumes containing hundreds of vocabularies of Australian languages. The entries belonging to Paakantyi lects are as follows, with the approximate number of words included shown in parentheses:  
Anon.: Wilyakali (38)  
Haines, W: probably Paakantyi (42)  
Dix, WJ Lake: Wilyakali (61)  
Reid, JA: Paakantyi (112)  
Scrivener, G: Paaruntyi (122)  
Teulon, GN: Kurnu (942)  
Wilson, S & Henderson, W: Nhaawuparliku (121)  
Rogers, M: Paakantyi (161)  
Curr, EM: Paakantyi (104)  
Mair: Paakantyi 109  
Shaw, CW: Paakantyi (111)  
Bulmer, J: Marrawarra (127) |
<p>| Cameron, ALP | Notes on some tribes of New South Wales                               | 1885 | Paper describing the customs, beliefs, ceremonies and marriage and descent of a few NSW groups, including the Paakantyi (‘Barkinji’) and Parrintyi (‘Beri-ait’). Includes wordlists containing 90 Paakantyi and 90 Parrintyi words. |
| Eyre, EJ   | Yak Kumban or Darling                                                 | 1845 | Work including a 24-word Paakantyi wordlist. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bonney, F</td>
<td><em>On some customs of the Aborigines of the River Darling, New South Wales</em></td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Article describing the territory and appearance of the Paantyikali and Paakantyi people as well as some of their customs including initiation ceremonies, the class system, marriage, sickness, medicine, burial and mourning. Approximately 25 vocabulary items are also referred to throughout the text.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3: Spelling differences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme Category</th>
<th>The Bāgandji Language</th>
<th>Dictionary</th>
<th>This Grammar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>long a</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>aa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long i</td>
<td>ī</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long u</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilabial stop</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental stop</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveolar stop</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retroflex stop</td>
<td>ḍ</td>
<td>rt</td>
<td>rt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar stop</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental nasal</td>
<td>ṇ</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>nh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retroflex nasal</td>
<td>ṇ</td>
<td>rn</td>
<td>rn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar nasal</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental lateral</td>
<td>ḋ</td>
<td>lh</td>
<td>lh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retroflex lateral</td>
<td>ḍ</td>
<td>rl</td>
<td>rl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palatal glide</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flap</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>rr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td>rr</td>
<td>rr</td>
<td>rr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retroflex approximant</td>
<td>ṟ</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveolar nasal + velar stop</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>n.g</td>
<td>nk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Consonants of Paakantyi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MANNER OF ARTICULATION</th>
<th>PLACE OF ARTICULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>labial (lips)</td>
<td>laminal (blade of tongue)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental (tongue between teeth)</td>
<td>palatal (tongue on roof of mouth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘r’ sound: tap/trill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retroflex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5: Voicing of word-initial stops

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stop Followed by</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>th</th>
<th>k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aarr</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aa, ii, uu</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vowel + rt</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u + consonant (other than rt)</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i + consonant (other than rt)</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a + consonant (other than rt)</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Voicing of medial stops

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position of Stop</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>th</th>
<th>ty</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>rt</th>
<th>k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>between vowels</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ty</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>rt</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with nasals (same place of articulation)</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ty</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>rd</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with nasals (different place of articulation)</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>dy</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>rd</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with r’s and l’s</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ty</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>rt</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nouns</td>
<td>Free Pronouns</td>
<td>Bound Pronouns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ergative form</strong></td>
<td>Only marked for a transitive subject along with demonstrative pronouns (<em>-thurru</em> ‘this’ and <em>-nhurru</em> ‘that’)</td>
<td>Transitive subject (some exceptions in third person)</td>
<td>Transitive subject (many exceptions in third person)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominative form</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Intransitive subject</td>
<td>Intransitive subject</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accusative form</strong></td>
<td>Only marked in isolated instances along with a cross-referencing pronoun</td>
<td>Direct object</td>
<td>Direct &amp; indirect object</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative form</strong></td>
<td>Indirect object</td>
<td>Indirect object</td>
<td>Indirect object</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case Form</td>
<td>parna</td>
<td>warrantyi</td>
<td>thumpi</td>
<td>yaparra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative case (transitive subject)</td>
<td>parna</td>
<td>warrantyi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>parna-thurru</td>
<td>warrantyi-thurru</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>parna-nhurru</td>
<td>warrantyi-nhurru</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative case (indirect object)</td>
<td>parna-ri</td>
<td>warrantyi-ri</td>
<td>thumpi-ri</td>
<td>yaparra-ri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative case (direction towards)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>thumpi-ri</td>
<td>yaparra-ri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental/Locative case</td>
<td>parna-na</td>
<td>warrantyi-na</td>
<td>thumpi-na</td>
<td>yaparra-na</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(instrument/location)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative case (direction away from)</td>
<td>parna-untu</td>
<td>warrantyi-ntu</td>
<td>thumpi-untu</td>
<td>yaparra-ntu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive/Benefactive case</td>
<td>parna-manti</td>
<td>warrantyi-manti</td>
<td>thumpi-manti</td>
<td>yaparra-manti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(purpose/for someone’s benefit)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative (in company with)</td>
<td>parna-ampala</td>
<td>warrantyi-ampala</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 9: Singular Personal Pronouns</td>
<td>First Person</td>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>Third Person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominative</strong> (intransitive subject)</td>
<td>ngapa/ngaapa</td>
<td>ngimpa</td>
<td>ngathu (rare)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a(a)apa</td>
<td>-a(mpa</td>
<td>wathu (rare, implies some distance in place)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a(thu)</td>
<td>-a(thu) (future tense, no bound object follows)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-u (used in past tense)</td>
<td>-a(thu) (future tense, bound object follows)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ru (future tense, no bound object follows)</td>
<td>-u (past tense)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ru (non-future tenses)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I’ (1 sg Intr subj)</td>
<td>‘you’ (1 person) (2 sg Intr subj)</td>
<td>‘he/she/it’ (3 sg Intr subj)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I’ (1 sg Tran subj)</td>
<td>‘you’ (1 person) (2 sg Tran subj)</td>
<td>‘he/she/it’ (3 sg Tran subj)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ergative</strong> (transitive subject)</td>
<td>ngathu/ngaathu</td>
<td>nguntu</td>
<td>ngathu(rru) (rare)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a(thu)</td>
<td>-a(thu) (rare)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-u (used in past tense)</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I’ (1 sg Tran subj)</td>
<td>‘you’ (1 person) (2 sg Tran subj)</td>
<td>‘he/she/it’ (3 sg Tran subj)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I’ (1 sg Tran subj)</td>
<td>‘you’ (1 person) (2 sg Tran subj)</td>
<td>‘he/she/it’ (3 sg Tran subj)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accusative/Genitive</strong> (object of transitive verb/possessive)</td>
<td>ngaii</td>
<td>nguma</td>
<td>nganha (rare, usually a demonstrative pronoun (ithunha or ithana) is used instead)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a(yi)</td>
<td>-a(ma)</td>
<td>-ntu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a(yi)</td>
<td>-a(ma)</td>
<td>-ntu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘me’ (&amp; ‘my’) (1 sg obj)</td>
<td>‘you’ (&amp; ‘your’) (2 sg obj)</td>
<td>‘him/her/it’ (3 sg obj)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘me’ (&amp; ‘my’) (1 sg obj)</td>
<td>‘you’ (&amp; ‘your’) (2 sg obj)</td>
<td>‘him/her/it’ (3 sg obj)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative</strong> (indirect object i.e. ‘to’ or ‘for’ someone)</td>
<td>ngaii-ri</td>
<td>nguma-ri</td>
<td>(accusative used for bound form)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(accusative used for bound form)</td>
<td>(accusative used for bound form)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to/for me’ (1 sg DAT)</td>
<td>‘to/for you’ (2 sg DAT)</td>
<td>‘to/for him/her/it’ (3 sg DAT)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to/for me’ (1 sg DAT)</td>
<td>‘to/for you’ (2 sg DAT)</td>
<td>‘to/for him/her/it’ (3 sg DAT)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative</strong> (location)</td>
<td>ngaii-na</td>
<td>nguma-na</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘with me’ (1 sg LOC)</td>
<td>‘with you’ (2 sg LOC)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘with me’ (1 sg LOC)</td>
<td>‘with you’ (2 sg LOC)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ablative</strong> (direction away from)</td>
<td>ngaii-ntu</td>
<td>nguma-ntu</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘from me’ (1 sg ABL)</td>
<td>‘from you’ (2 sg ABL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘from me’ (1 sg ABL)</td>
<td>‘from you’ (2 sg ABL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purposive</strong> (purpose, ‘for the sake of’)</td>
<td>ngaii-manti</td>
<td>nguma-manti</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘for me’ (1 sg PURP)</td>
<td>‘for you’ (2 sg PURP)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10: Dual Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>First Person</th>
<th>Second Person</th>
<th>Third Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominative</strong></td>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>ngupu</td>
<td>wathulu (rare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(intransitive &amp; transitive subject)</td>
<td>-ali</td>
<td>ngupa</td>
<td>-uulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-upu</td>
<td>ngupu</td>
<td>-athulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accusative/Genitive</strong></td>
<td>ngali-nha</td>
<td>ngupu-nha</td>
<td>(free form supplied by demonstratives)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(object of transitive verb/possessive)</td>
<td>-ali-nha</td>
<td>ngupa-nha</td>
<td>-uulu-nha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-upa-nha</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-upu-nha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-apa-nha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative</strong></td>
<td>ngali-nha-ri</td>
<td>ngupa-nha-ri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(indirect object i.e. ‘to’ or ‘for’ someone)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘to/for us’ (two)</td>
<td>‘to/for you’ (two)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 dl DAT)</td>
<td>(2 dl DAT)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative</strong></td>
<td>ngali-nha(-na)</td>
<td>ngupu-nha(-na)</td>
<td>(supplied by demonstratives)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(location)</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘with us two’ (two)</td>
<td>‘with you’ (two)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 dl LOC)</td>
<td>(2 dl LOC)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ablative</strong></td>
<td>ngali-ntu</td>
<td>No forms recorded by Hercus. Hypothetical forms would be:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(direction away from)</td>
<td>ngali-nha-ntu</td>
<td>ngupu-ntu*</td>
<td>ngupu-nha-ntu*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td>ngupu-ntu*</td>
<td>ngupu-nha-ntu*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘from us’ (two)</td>
<td>‘from you’ (two)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1 dl ABL)</td>
<td>(2 dl ABL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purposive</strong></td>
<td>ngali-nha-manti</td>
<td>ngupu-manti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(purpose, ‘for the sake of’)</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
<td>ngupa-nha-manti</td>
<td>(no bound form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘for us’ (two)</td>
<td>‘for you’ (two)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1 dl PURP)</td>
<td>(2 dl PURP)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Occasionally ngali-ngulu is used as a dual pronoun with special emphasis.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First Person</th>
<th>Second Person</th>
<th>Third Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominative</strong></td>
<td><em>ngina</em></td>
<td><em>ngurta</em></td>
<td><em>(free form supplied by demonstratives)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(intransitive &amp;</td>
<td><em>-ina</em></td>
<td><em>-urta</em></td>
<td><em>(y)ika</em> (where ‘y’ is a glide which is sometimes inserted before this pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive subject)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we’ (3 or more</td>
<td><em>ngina</em></td>
<td><em>ngurta</em></td>
<td><em>(free form supplied by demonstratives)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people) (1 pl subj)</td>
<td><em>-nha</em></td>
<td><em>-urta</em></td>
<td><em>(y)ika</em> (where ‘y’ is a glide which is sometimes inserted before this pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you’ (3 or more</td>
<td><em>ngurta</em></td>
<td><em>ngurta</em></td>
<td><em>(free form supplied by demonstratives)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people) (2 pl subj)</td>
<td><em>-nha</em></td>
<td><em>-urta</em></td>
<td><em>(y)ika</em> (where ‘y’ is a glide which is sometimes inserted before this pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'they’ (3 or more</td>
<td><em>ngurta</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people) (3 pl subj)</td>
<td><em>(y)ika</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accusative/Genitive</strong></td>
<td><em>ngina-nha</em></td>
<td><em>ngurta-nha</em></td>
<td><em>(free form supplied by demonstratives)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(object of transitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb/possessive)</td>
<td><em>ngurta-nha</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'us’ (3 or more</td>
<td><em>ngurta-nha</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people) (1 pl subj)</td>
<td><em>-nha</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you’ (3 or more</td>
<td><em>ngurta-nha</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people) (2 pl subj)</td>
<td><em>-nha</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we’ (3 or more</td>
<td><em>ngurta-nha</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people) (3 pl subj)</td>
<td><em>-nha</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative</strong></td>
<td><em>ngina-nha-ri</em></td>
<td><em>ngurta-nha-ri</em></td>
<td><em>(free form supplied by demonstratives)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(indirect object i.e.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to’ or</td>
<td><em>ngurta-nha-ri</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'for' someone)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to/for us’ (1 pl</td>
<td><em>ngurta-nha-ri</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to/for you’ (2 pl</td>
<td><em>ngurta-nha-ri</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative</strong></td>
<td><em>ngina-nha(-na)</em></td>
<td><em>ngurta-nha(-na)</em></td>
<td><em>(free form supplied by demonstratives)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(location)</td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*(na is often dropped in order to avoid the sequence <em>-nha-na)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'with us’ (3 or more</td>
<td><em>ngurta-nha(-na)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people) (1 pl LOC)</td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'with you’ (3 or more</td>
<td><em>ngurta-nha(-na)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people) (2 pl LOC)</td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No forms recorded</td>
<td><em>ngurta-nha-ntu</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Hercus. A</td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothetical form</td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>would be:</td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngurta-nha-ntu*</td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ablative</strong></td>
<td><em>ngurta-nha-ntu</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(direction away from)</td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'from us’ (3 or more</td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people) (1 pl LOC)</td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purposive</strong></td>
<td><em>ngurta-nha-manti</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(purpose, ‘for the sake of’)</td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'for us’ (3 or more</td>
<td><em>ngurta-nha-manti</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people) (1 pl PURP)</td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'for you’ (3 or more</td>
<td><em>(ngurta-manti)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people) (2 pl PURP)</td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td><em>(no bound form)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 12: Complex personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Person Subject</th>
<th>First Person Object</th>
<th>Second Person Object</th>
<th>Third Person Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>reflexives used instead</td>
<td>-athuuma</td>
<td>-athunha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl</td>
<td>-alima</td>
<td>-athupanha</td>
<td>-athulanha (-athu → -ath')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>-inama</td>
<td>-inanha</td>
<td>-alingha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second Person Subject</th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>-intuayi</th>
<th>-intlinha (-intu → -int')</th>
<th>-intinanha (-intu → -int')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dl</td>
<td>-upuayi</td>
<td>-upaalinha</td>
<td>-upinanha (-upu → -up')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>-urtayi (-urt → -urt')</td>
<td>-urtaalinha</td>
<td>-urtinanha (-urta → -urt')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Third Person Subject</th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>-urrayi</th>
<th>-urralinha (-urr → -urr')</th>
<th>-urrinanha (-urr → -urr')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dl</td>
<td>-athulayi (-athul → -athul')</td>
<td>-athulalinha (-athul → -athul')</td>
<td>-athulinanha (-athul → -athul')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>-ikayi (-ika → ik')</td>
<td>-ikalinha (-ika → ik')</td>
<td>-ikinanha (-ika → ik')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ex: reflexives used instead
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Possessive markers</th>
<th>Free forms (from which the possessive has been derived)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>‘my’</td>
<td>-ayi(^{163})</td>
<td>ngayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>‘your’</td>
<td>-uma -ama -ma</td>
<td>nguma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg</td>
<td>‘his/hers/its’</td>
<td>-(a)nha -ntu (used after the allative case marker -ri)</td>
<td>nganha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 dl</td>
<td>‘our’ (2 people)</td>
<td>-alinha</td>
<td>ngolinha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 dl</td>
<td>‘your’ (2 people)</td>
<td>-upanha -upunha -apanha (2(^{nd}) &amp; 3(^{rd}) form used after the dual suffix -ngulu)</td>
<td>ngupanha ngupunha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 dl</td>
<td>‘their’ (2 people)</td>
<td>-ulunha -utunha -utanha (2(^{nd}) &amp; 3(^{rd}) form used after the dual suffix -ngulu)</td>
<td>(k)ithulunha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>‘our’ (all: 3+ people)</td>
<td>-inanha</td>
<td>nginanha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>‘your’ (all: 3+ people)</td>
<td>-urtanha</td>
<td>ngurtanha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>‘their’ (all: 3+ people)</td>
<td>-ngka (k)ingka (this is a demonstrative pronoun)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{163}\) The form -(a)nha was also recorded by Hercus (1982, p. 88) as being a rare variant of the 1 sg POS suffix, used by people from Menindee.
## Table 14: Forms of Strong, Middle and Weak Possessive Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Final Vowel of Preceding Word</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>STRONG</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 dl POS</td>
<td>-alinha</td>
<td></td>
<td>-alinha</td>
<td>-alinha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 a’s form a long ‘aa’</td>
<td>‘i’ &amp; ‘a’ pronounced separately OR with a ‘y’ sound in between</td>
<td>‘u’ &amp; ‘a’ pronounced separately</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl POS</td>
<td>-inanha</td>
<td></td>
<td>-inanha</td>
<td>-inanha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>preceding ‘a’ is lost</td>
<td>2 i’s pronounced separately</td>
<td>‘u’ &amp; ‘i’ pronounced separately</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg POS</td>
<td>-ayi</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ayi</td>
<td>-ayi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 a’s form a long ‘aa’</td>
<td>‘i’ &amp; ‘a’ pronounced separately OR with a ‘y’ sound in between</td>
<td>‘u’ + ‘a’ pronounced as an ‘o’ sound</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MIDDLE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 dl POS</td>
<td>-uulunha</td>
<td></td>
<td>-uulunha</td>
<td>-uulunha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘a’ + ‘uu’ are pronounced as an ‘o’ sound</td>
<td>‘i’ &amp; ‘uu’ pronounced separately OR with a ‘y’ sound in between</td>
<td>usually pronounced with 2 separate ‘u’ sounds (OR sometimes with a long ‘uu’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl POS</td>
<td>-urtanha</td>
<td></td>
<td>-urtanha</td>
<td>-urtanha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘a’ + ‘u’ are pronounced as an ‘o’ sound</td>
<td>‘i’ &amp; ‘u’ pronounced separately OR with a ‘y’ sound in between</td>
<td>usually pronounced with 2 separate ‘u’ sounds (OR sometimes with a long ‘uu’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WEAK</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg POS</td>
<td>-ama</td>
<td></td>
<td>-uma or -ma</td>
<td>-ama or -ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ama</td>
<td>2 a’s form a long ‘aa’</td>
<td>with -uma, the ‘i’ &amp; ‘u’ are pronounced separately</td>
<td>with -ama, ‘u’ + ‘a’ pronounced as an ‘o’ sound</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg POS</td>
<td>-anha</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nha</td>
<td>-anha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>2 a’s form a long ‘aa’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ntu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 dl POS</td>
<td>-apanha</td>
<td></td>
<td>-apanha or -upunha</td>
<td>-apanha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-uponha</td>
<td>2 a’s form a long ‘aa’</td>
<td>‘i’ &amp; ‘u’ pronounced separately</td>
<td>‘u’ + ‘a’ pronounced as an ‘o’ sound</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-upunha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-apanha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 15: Singular demonstrative pronouns (‘this’, ‘that’)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘this’ (right here)</th>
<th>‘this’ (right here)</th>
<th>‘this’ (round about here)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘THIS’</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>(k)iiki</td>
<td>(k)ithu</td>
<td>kanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative/Genitive</td>
<td>(k)iki-nha</td>
<td>(k)ithu-nha</td>
<td>(k)itha-nha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative/Allative</td>
<td>(k)iki-nha-ri</td>
<td>(k)ithu-nha-ri</td>
<td>kanga-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative/Instrumental</td>
<td>(k)iki-na</td>
<td>(k)itha-na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>(k)ika-ntu</td>
<td>(k)itha-ntu</td>
<td>kanga-ntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>(k)iki-nha-manti</td>
<td>(k)ithu-nha-manti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>‘THAT’</strong></th>
<th>‘this’/‘that (there)’</th>
<th>‘that’</th>
<th>‘that’ (far away)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td></td>
<td>(k)inha</td>
<td>yuna</td>
<td>nhuna (rare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td></td>
<td>kinha-rru (rare)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative/Genitive</td>
<td>(k)inha-nha</td>
<td>yunu-nha</td>
<td>nhunuu-nha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative/Allative</td>
<td>(k)inha-nha-ri</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative/Instrumental</td>
<td>(k)inha-na</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>(k)inha-ntu</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>(k)inha-nha-manti</td>
<td>yunu-nha-manti</td>
<td>nhunuu-nha-manti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

164 An ablative form of (k)ithu is shown on the 2002 CD-ROM as (k)ithayuntu, whereas *The Bágandji language* (Hercus 1982, p. 118) shows it as (k)ithayiuntu. Hercus (2014, pers. comm., 15 June) confirmed that the two different forms are variants of the same word and that both forms are correct.
### Table 16: Dual Demonstrative Pronouns (‘these two’, ‘those two’)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘THESE’/‘THOSE’ (TWO)</th>
<th>‘these two’ (right here)</th>
<th>‘these two’ (some distance away)</th>
<th>‘those two’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominative</strong></td>
<td>(k)ikulu</td>
<td>(k)ithulu</td>
<td>(k)inhulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k)ikuulu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k)iyuulu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accusative/Genitive</strong></td>
<td>(k)ikulu-nha</td>
<td>(k)ithulu-nha</td>
<td>(k)inhulu-ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k)ikuulu-nha</td>
<td>(k)ithulu-nha</td>
<td>(k)inhulu-ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k)iyuulu-nha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative/Allative</strong></td>
<td>(k)ikulu-nha-ri</td>
<td>(k)ithulu-nha-ri</td>
<td>(k)inhulu-ha-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(rare)</td>
<td>(k)ikuulu-nha-ri</td>
<td>(k)ithulu-nha-ri</td>
<td>(k)inhulu-ha-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k)iyuulu-nha-ri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative/Instrumental</strong></td>
<td>(k)ikulu-na</td>
<td>(k)ithulu-na</td>
<td>(k)inhulu-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k)ikuulu-na</td>
<td>(k)ithulu-na</td>
<td>(k)inhulu-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k)iyuulu-na</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ablative</strong></td>
<td>(k)ikulu-nha-ntu</td>
<td>(k)ithulu-nha-ntu</td>
<td>(k)inhulu-ha-ntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(rare)</td>
<td>(k)ikuulu-nha-ntu</td>
<td>(k)ithulu-nha-ntu</td>
<td>(k)inhulu-ha-ntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k)iyuulu-nha-ntu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purposive</strong></td>
<td>(k)ikulu-nha-manti</td>
<td>(k)ithulu-nha-manti</td>
<td>(k)inhulu-ha-manti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(rare)</td>
<td>(k)ikuulu-nha-manti</td>
<td>(k)ithulu-nha-manti</td>
<td>(k)inhulu-ha-manti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(k)iyuulu-nha-manti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 17: Plural Demonstrative Pronouns (‘these’ (all), ‘those’ (all))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘THESE’/‘THOSE’ (ALL)</th>
<th>‘these’ (all)</th>
<th>‘those’ (all)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominative</strong></td>
<td>(k)iyika</td>
<td>(k)ithika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accusative/Genitive</strong></td>
<td>(k)ingka</td>
<td>(k)ithingka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative/Allative</strong></td>
<td>(k)ingka-ri</td>
<td>(k)ithingka-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative/Instrumental</strong></td>
<td>(k)ingka-na</td>
<td>(k)ithingka-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ablative</strong></td>
<td>(k)ingka-ntu</td>
<td>(k)ithingka-ntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purposive</strong></td>
<td>(k)ingka-manti</td>
<td>(k)ithingka-manti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Form</td>
<td>Function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verbalising suffixes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective + verbaliser -ma</td>
<td>Transitive ‘state-inducive’ verb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective + verbaliser -ma + topicaliser -la</td>
<td>Intransitive inceptive verb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun + verbaliser -ma + topicaliser -la</td>
<td>Intransitive verb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple verb + verbaliser -ma (possibly + topicaliser -la)</td>
<td>Intransitive or transitive verb with same meaning as simple verb (or possibly with a notion of repetition/continuance)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective or noun + verbaliser -warta</td>
<td>Verb ‘to smell like…’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Topicaliser</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb + topicaliser -la</td>
<td>Verb ‘with intent’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive verb + topicaliser -la</td>
<td>Transitive or intransitive verb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reciprocity/ Reflexivity</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive verb + the suffix -mila</td>
<td>Reciprocal verb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive verb + topicaliser -la</td>
<td>Transitive or intransitive verb (possibly reciprocal verb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb of emotion/ expectation or mantha-, ‘to wait for’ + topicaliser -la</td>
<td>Reciprocal verb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive verb + -thirri</td>
<td>Intransitive reflexive verb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive verb + topicaliser -la + -thirri</td>
<td>Intransitive reflexive verb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive verb + intransitive pronoun</td>
<td>Reflexive verb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aspect</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb + -ngka</td>
<td>Verb ‘with thoroughness’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb + -ka</td>
<td>Verb (emphasised)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb + -pa</td>
<td>Verb ‘with intensity’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb + -nya</td>
<td>Verb (continually or habitually)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb + -parri (only used in the perfect tense)</td>
<td>Verb (on and on)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb + -angki (rare)</td>
<td>Verb (beginning)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb + -ninta (rare)</td>
<td>Verb (beginning and continuing)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mode</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb + -nta</td>
<td>‘Might’ verb (possibility)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>Verb Marker</td>
<td>Use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Present | (no marker) | Describing events taking place right now  
ed.g. ngiingkaapa, ‘I sit’ |
| Future | -t | Describing events that will or should happen  
ed.g. ngiingkataapa, ‘I’ll sit’, or ‘I’d sit’ |
| Past | -ty | Describing events that have taken place  
ed.g. ngiingkatyaapa, ‘I sat’ |
| Perfect | -ngku | Describing events that have taken place and are now complete  
ed.g. ngiingkangkuapa, ‘I sat (in that place but I never sit there now)’ |
Table 20: Locative and directional pronominal adverbs and the pronouns from which they are derived

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Locative Adverb</th>
<th>Directional Adverb</th>
<th>Towards</th>
<th>Away From</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ki)iki</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(ki)ika-mari</td>
<td>(ki)ika-ntu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘this right here’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k)ithu</td>
<td>(k)itha-rра</td>
<td>(k)itha-mаri</td>
<td>(k)itha-ntu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘this right here’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanga</td>
<td>kanga-rра</td>
<td>kanga-mа</td>
<td>kanga-ntu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘this around here’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k)inha</td>
<td>(k)inha-rра</td>
<td>(k)inha-mа</td>
<td>(k)inha-ntu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘that (there)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wathu</td>
<td>watha-rра</td>
<td>watha-mа</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg subj: ‘he, that one’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wintya</td>
<td>wintya-rра</td>
<td>wintya-mа</td>
<td>wintya-ntu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘which’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuna</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>yura-mа</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘that’ (far away)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that before the addition of suffixes, a stem-final ‘i’ or ‘u’ changes to ‘a’ in the above adverbs. For example, (k)ithu becomes (k)itha-rра.

NB Hyphens have been included in the above forms so that you can easily see the suffixes that have been added. Usually, you would not write the hyphens.
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