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

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

**TABLE 14: VERB STRUCTURE**

```
VERB
  \---/                   \---/
  /  \                   /  \                        
STEM NUCLEUS  SUFFIXATION
                \---/     \---/                        
                /  \     /  \                        
COMPONDED STEM  COMPOUND STEM
                \---/     \---/                        
                /  \     /  \                        
ROOT (SF) (NBR) (TNS) (ASP)
                \---/     \---/                        
                /  \     /  \                        
ROOT (ROOT) (ROOT)
                \---/     \---/                        
                /  \     /  \                        
NCL (NBR) (BENE)
```

357
6.1 VERB ROOTS

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

nimwapina
/ni /  + m[w]api + ni/  
3:3  sing  TNS

nalyilyanga
/n(i) /  + alyi[li] + anga/  
3:3  remove spirit  TNS

ngarrartanga
/ngarr(a) + art(a) + anga/  
1IncNsg  call out  TNS

yingimwarringkina
/yinja /  + mwa + rringka + ni/  
3:2  3:5  see  TNS

mwilyana
/ø /  + ø + mwily[a] /  + ani/  
2Sg  3:4  carry on hip  TNS

nalyipwarna
/n(i) /  + ø /  + alyi[k]pw{i} /  + arni/  
3:3  3:4  eat  TNS

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

ngarrirrirakirrirakayanga
/ngarra + rraka + rrakay[a] /  + anga/  
1IncNsg  REDUP  sit down  TNS
'We keep on sitting down.'

niwarriwarrinamwa
/ni /  + warra + warra + n(i) + amwi/  
3:3  REDUP  wriggle  TNS  NPIP
'He is keeping on wriggling.'

nilharrmwlarrmwanamwirra
/ni /  + ø /  + 1harrmiw + 1harrmw[i] /  + an(i) /  + amwilra/  
3:3  3:4  REDUP  chase  TNS  NPIP
'He is keeping on chasing it.'
kingalyalyipwarna
/king[a] + ø + aly[i] + alyipw[i] + arni/
3:2   3:4 REDUP eat   TNS
'She will eat and eat it.'

arngkapwapwirninhangwa   nakina   nimwirrkrimwirrkwilhimwirra
3:4 often-ABL 3:3(i) that 3:3 was keeping on lying

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

6.2 VERB STEM COMPLEX

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

6.2.1 Compound stems

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

6.2.1.1 In transitive verbs

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

wihakwpakirithana
/Ø + w1 + lhakpwaka + rith[a] + ani/
2Sg 3:4 leg chop TNS
"chop its leg off!"

ngari(pwirr)kwirringka
/Ø + nga + ripwirrkwi + rringka/
2Sg 3:2 back see
"look at her back!"

nilha(ngar)ngkithakina
/ni + lhangarnka + thaka + ni/
3:3 head cook TNS
"he cooked its head"

niwarrkirntirrka
/ni + warrka + rntirrka/
3:4 teeth take
"he took its teeth"

nimwargkiringkina
/ni + mwargkga + rringka + ni/
3:3 spirit see TNS
"he saw [the dead man's] spirit"

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

niyalhkiringkina
/ni + yalhki + rringk[a] + ni/
3:3 long-necked see TNS
'He looked at its neck.'

niwarrkilhalhika
/ni + warrk + lhalhika/
3:3 chest-shaped leave behind
'He left the chest behind.'

nganilhirrkpwirrana
/nga[r]a + ni + lhirrk[i] + pwirr[a] + ani/
1incNsg 3:3(ii) wallaby
'we split the wallaby's carcase [lengthwise].'

Compare:

mwarlampwarrkirringkina
/Ø + mwa + ramp[w]arrk1 + rringka + ni/
2Sg 3:5 flat see TNS
'Look at its back!'
mwaripwirrkwirringka
/Ø + mwa + ripwirrki + rringka/
2Sg 3:5 back see
'Look at its back!'

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

ninginingatjamwa                anilhangimwantja    aringka
/ninga + ni + ngatj[a] + amwi/   3:3(i)-POSS-LOC    3:4 head
1ExcSg hit 1ExcSg my flesh-LOC    3:3 said
'I am hitting him on his head.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Bodypart noun and the Shape adjective roots are used for objects which are considered to have the same type of physical
features. This extends the usage but does not change the primary meaning of the root.

ningakpwirrkwatjina
/ni + ngak[a] + pwirrkwi + tja + ni/
3:3 thigh crush TSR TNS
'He flattened the mound.' (Lit: crushed its thigh)

napwalhpwatjana
/n[i] + apwalh[ka] + pwatj[a] + ani/
3:3 abdomen hit TNS
'He hit the ground.'

narntirrkpwatjana
/n[i] + arntirrk[a] + pwatj[a] + ani/
3:3 elbow hit TNS
'He hit the Wild Plum tree.'

nirrakpwarrana
/ni + rrak[a] + pwirr[a] + ani/
3:3 forehead split TNS
'He split the firewood.'

niringkiwirrana
/ni + ringka + wirr[a] + 2ni/
3:3 head throw TNS
'He threw the anchor in.'

ngarrirmwingkilharritjina
/ngarra + mwing(kwir)rkw [i] + sharra + tja + ni/
1IncNsg cheek fall TSR TNS
'We shook the fruit off.' (Lit: dropped the [fatty] cheeks)

ningilyipwirrkwiwikwina
/ninga + lyipwirrkwi + ripwikwi + ni/
1Sg lips fold TNS
'I hemmed it.'

ningalthakina
/ning[a] + alhkha + thaka + ni,
1Sg wing cook TNS
'I singed its feathers.'

nirrikirrtangmwatjina
/ni + rraki + rntangmwi + tja + ni/
3:3 elongated clap TSR TNS
'He strummed the guitar.'

wirriyakiyirrana
/wirra + yaka + yiwi + rni/
2Nsg chest follow TNS
'Follow the river!'

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

ngarrikwirrithana
/ŋgarra + kwi + rrith[a] + an1/
1IncNsg NSR scratch TNS 'We made a scratching noise.'

ngarrikwiwirrana
/ŋgarra + kwi + wirr[a] + an1/
1IncNsg NSR throw TNS 'We threw it down.'

wirrikilhirrwarna
/wirra + ki + lhirr[w]i + arn1/
2Nsg ASR drag TNS 'Drag it along!'

ningkarrngina
/n1 + ngk[i] + arrnga + ni/
3:3 ASR chop TNS 'He chopped it.'

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

nimwakwirikpwitjangatjina
/n1 + mwa[pwirr]kwi + rikwpwitjanga + tja + ni/
3:3 short-legged (=treeless) body:jump TSR TNS 'He shifted camp.'

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

nilyaliwangina
/n1 + ŋ + lyaŋyi[kpwi] + wanga + ni/
3:3 3:4 tongue bite TNS 'He chewed it.'
kilyangpawrkwinamwa angalya
/ka + lyang[ka] + pawrkwi + ni[i] + amwi/
1ExcSg head go a little way TNS NPIP
'I will be sweeping the floor.'

6.2.1.2 In intransitive verbs

In the intransitive verb, the incorporated noun or adjective root can be cross-referenced to the subject. The relationship between the subject and the incorporated root is one of inalienable possession.

narntiwarrkina
/n[i] + arnta[ka] + warrka + ni/
3:3 elbow weave in and out TNS
'He limped.' (Lit: His elbow wove in and out.)

nirikwilhalhina
/ni[i] + rikwi + lhalha + ni/
3:3 body shallow TNS
'He squatted.' (Lit: His body [was] shallow.)

ngarringwinakilharrina
/ngarra + ngwinaka + lharra + ni/
1IncNsg knee fall TNS
'We knelt down.' (Lit: Our knees fell.)

ngarririkwilharrina
/ngarra + rikwi + lharra + ni/
1IncNsg body fall TNS
'We were born.' (Lit: Our bodies fell.)

namwilhirrkwilharrina
/na + mwilhirrkwi + lharra + ni/
3:4 breast fall TNS
'It was born prematurely.' (Lit: Its breast fell.)

yingiyangkilyikpwina
/yings + yangka + lyikpw + ni/
3:2 head (=speech) float TNS
'She spoke but was not heard.' (Lit: Her speech floated.)

yingimwirarrngalhana
/ynga + mwir[aka] + arrngalh[a] + ani/
3:2 chin curve scratch TNS
'She was husky.' (Lit: Her throat area scratched.)

nampwakiwirtana
/ni[i] + ampaka + wirt[a] + ani/
3:3 pair climb TNS
'He climbed with hands and feet.' (Lit: His hands and feet climbed.)
nalhingkwirarra
/na + lhingwi + warra/
3:4 hair move
'It grew taller.' (Lit: Its foliage (=hair) moved.)

napwalmwirthina
/n[a] + apwalm[k]a + mwirthi + ni/
3:4 abdomen be brown TNS
'It [the sky] got darker.' (Lit: Its abdomen became brown.)

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

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

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

narrakirntangmwina
/na + rrak1 + rntangw[i] + ni/
3:4 elongated click TNS
'It [the wire] twanged.' (Lit: Its strand clicked.)

napwingkartjina
/n[i] + ap[w]ingk[i] + artja + ni/
3:3 humped stand TNS
'He was humpbacked.' (Lit: His body stood up.)

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

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

In the intransitive verbs, the compound stem is often idiomactic. It is difficult to know where to break the continuum.
between literal within the Aboriginal culture and metaphorical. The following examples illustrate the type of metaphor that is very frequent in Anindilyakwa.

ngarriyangkilhapwana
/ŋɡarra + yangka + lhapw(i) + an1/
1INCNSg head test TNS
'We asked.' (Lit: We tested [the other person's] head.)

ngarrilyalingpunkwayina
/ŋɡarra + lyaling[ka] + pw1kw(i) + aya + ni/
1INCNSg REDUP:tongue ?blow on SNNSg TNS
'We conversed.'

nilyangmwiirthina
/n1 + lyang[ka] + mwirthini/
3:3 head be hollow
'He was incompetent.' (Lit: His head was hollow. / He was hollow-headed.)

ningwirrkwanyarra
/n1 + ngwirrw[i] + anyarr1/
3:3 mouth hard
'He swore.' (Lit: His mouth [was] hard. / He [was] hard-mouthed.)

ninjakampwilya
/n1 + nyak1a + ampwilyimwi/
3:3 chest stay
'He trusted in the old ways.' (Lit: His chest stayed.)

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

ninjakipwitjanga
/n1 + yaka + pwitjanga/
3:3 chest jump
'His chest jumped.' (Lit: His chest jumped.)

yingiwarrrwirthana
/ynga + warr[ki] + wirth(a) + an1/
3:2 chest-shaped sing TNS
'She chose to work well.' (Lit: Her chest-shaped [part] sang.)

yingiyangkartirtarrithana
/ynga + yangk[ka] + artirtarra + th[a] + an1/
3:2 head=speech hot INCH TNS
'She squealed.' (Lit: Her speech became hot.)

nirikwitharrpwikwina
/n1 + rikwi + tharrpwi + kwa + ni/
3:3 body short CAUS TNS
'He sat with his legs tucked under.' (Lit: He caused his body to shorten.)
The stem nucleus of the intransitive verb can consist of three different roots but this is a single initial root added to a compound stem. Such constructions are few in number. Compare the following set of words:

niwarrpwikwina
/n1 + warr [k1] + pwikwi + n1/  
3:3 chest-shaped winnow TNS  
'He thought.'

niyakiwarrpwikwina
/n1 + yaka + warrpwikwi + n1/  
3:3 chest think TNS  
'He remembered.'

nilyangkiwarrpwikwatjingwina
/n1 + ylangka + warrpwikwi + tjingwi + n1/  
3:3 head think REFL TNS  
'He thought to himself.' / 'He pondered.'

6.2.2 Derived verbs

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

6.2.2.1 Causative

The causative marker ka is usually suffixed to an adjective root or stem but can also occur with a noun, adverb or verb stem. The verb itself is then transitive. The causative marker can be preceded by either a high or a low vowel. In 95% of a 226 word corpus, the stem-final high vowel is retained if the penultimate vowel in the stem is /a/ but this vowel is changed to the low vowel /a/ if the penultimate vowel in the stem is /i/. These statistics are based on
the Aborigines' preferred or first choices but, as this dissimilation rule is not obligatory, the two possibilities both occur with some regularity. In the remaining data, Aborigines have not accepted the variation and, while it may simply be fixed irregularity, the following has been observed: (a) when two high vowels occur the second vowel is very short and unstressed, and frequently between two laminels); and (b) in the eight examples where two low vowels co-occur the intervening consonant is always a rounded labial peripheral.

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

yingingpwatjikininimwa
/ynga + Ø + npwpatja + ka + ni + mwi/
3:2 3:4 smell CAUS TNS PIP
'She was making it smell.' / 'She was making it smelly.'

ngarririmwayarrarrikina
/ngarra + mwa{a} + ayarrarri + ka + ni/
1InclNsg 3:5 forked CAUS TNS
'We made it [the tree] tremble.'

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

Compare the following pair of words:

ngarrtipwikiritjiligimwa aka
/ngarrtipwik + Ø + ritj{a} + anga + mwi/
1InclTri 3:4 wood scrape TNS PIP
'The three of us were scraping the wood smooth.'

ngarrtipwikiritjilinimwa angalya
/ngarrtipwik + Ø + ritja + ka + ni + mwi/
1InclTri 3:4 place scrape CAUS TNS PIP
'The three of us were clearing the ground.'

The Causative morpheme has another allomorph kwa which has been recorded in two environments. When an adjective root or stem has a final rounded peripheral consonant, the phonologically-conditioned
allomorph \texttt{kwa} occurs in free variation with \texttt{ke}. This progressive assimilation only occurs when the intervening vowel is high (see also Section 2.7.2).

\texttt{wirrinyarrngwika \~ wirrinyarrngwikwa}
/\texttt{wirra} + \emptyset + nyarrngwi + kwa/
2Nsg 3:4 tame CAUS
'Domesticate the bird!'

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

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

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

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

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

\texttt{napwalhkayikwina}
/\emptyset + n[i] + apwalh(ka) + kaya + kwa + ni/
2Sg 3:3 abdomen lift up CAUS TNS
'Make him stand up!'

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

\texttt{nara}
\texttt{arimwakimwma \~ arimwikimwma \~ arimwirrikimwma}
/nara \{a\} + arimwi + irra\} + kwa + mwii/
not NEV big SF CAUS PIP
'Don't be making it louder!' / 'Don't put it up higher!'

369
nimwangwirirrika
/nI + mwa + ngwitha + rra + ka/
3:3 3:5 strong SF CAUS
'He made the rope strong.'

6.2.2.2 Inchoative

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

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

The stem formative, together with the verb aspect suffixation, indicates that the process of "b-oming" is either complete or incomplete, e.g. 'became, is becoming, will be getting, got, was, is'.

niyakirrrarrithina ~ niyakirrraruthina
/nI + yakirrarri + tha + ni/
3:3 happy INCH TNS
'He was happy.' / 'He became happy.'

warnikwiyalhilhithinah ~ warnik-iyalhilhithinah
/warni + kwi + yalhilha + tha + ni/
3:1 NSR shy INCH TNS
'...to have become shy.'

ningkwiyliringatjirrirruthina
/ningkwi + liyatingatjirrrra + tha + ni/
2Sg torso:long INCH TNS
'You have grown taller.' (Lit: became long)
nalyarrngwałyiyathina
/n[a] + alyarrngwałyiyi + tha + ni/
3:4 night INCH TNS
'It got dark.'

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

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

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

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

nawirrarliyathinimwa
/n[a] + awirrarliy + tha + ni + mwi/
3:4 bad INCH TNS PIP
'It was going bad.'

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

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

niritjawithinimwa
/n[i] + ri[kwi]tjawi + tha + mwi/
3:3 body:carry INCH PIP
'He was riding.' (Lit: became carried)
The following pairs of examples illustrate the interchangeability of the obligatory inchoative and causative markers. Every verb root that can be marked for causative can be marked for inchoative (but not vice versa).

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

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

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

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

nara akwitjarrikwa
nara /a + kw1 + tjarrri + kwa/
not NEV NSR forked CAUS
'Don't finish it!' (Lit: do not cause it to be forked)

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

6 2.2.3 Transitiviser

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

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

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

ningirakayanamwa
/ninga + rakay[ə] + an[i] + amwi/
1ExsG lie on one's back TNS NPIP
'I am lying down on my back.'

ningirakayitjinamwa
/ninga + ə + rakaya + tja + n[i] + amwi/
1ExsG 3:4 lie on one's back TSR TNS NPIP
'I am laying the stone down.'

niwarrina
/n1 + warra + ni/
3:3 move TNS
'He wriggled.'

nimwawarritjina
/n1 + mwa + warra + tja + ni/
3:3(i) 3:5 move TSR TNS
'I started the car.'

naniwarrikwatjina
/n[i] + ani + warra + kwa + tja + ni/
3:3 3:3 move CAUS TSR TNS
3:3(i) egg
'He turned the eggs over.'
yingilharrina
/yingga + 1harra + ni/ 3:2 fall TNS
'She fell.'

yingilharriritjina
/yingga + Ø + 1harra + tja + ni/ 3:4 that
3:2 3:4 fall TSR TNS
'She dropped it.'

wirtana
/Ø + wirt[a] + ani/ 2Sg climb TNS
'Climb up!'

wiwiritjina
/wi + Ø + wirta + tja + ni/ 3:4 little things
2Sg 3:4 climb TSR TNS
'Put the little things up!'

narntangmwinimwa
/na + rntangmwi + ni + mwi/ 3:4 clap TNS PIP
'The bell was ringing.'

wrntangmwatjinja
/wi + Ø + rntangmwi + tja + ni/ 2Sg-POSS 3:4 finger
2Sg 3:4 clap TSR TNS
'Snap your fingers!'

nara ningkwana alyangkiwamwangimwa
not 2Sg this /a + lyangkiwamwi[i] + anga + mwi/ NEV head:nod TNS PIP
'Don't nod your head!'

nara ningkwana awalyangkiwamwatjangimwa
not 2Sg this /a + mwa + lyangkiwamwi + t[aj]a + anga + mwi/
3:4 3:5 head:nod TSR TNS PIP
'Don't wink/blink your eyes!'
third example below.

akwa yingakpwiwarrkatjingwinamwa
and /ying(a) + akpwiwarrka + tjingwi + n{i} + amwi/
3:2 hide REFL TNS NPIP
atjiringkimwantja
3:4 ground-LOC
'She is hiding herself in the ground.'

naningwirthirrwatjingwinimwa akwingwimwantja
/nani + ngwirthirrwri + tjingwi + ni + mwi/
3:1MascDu dive REFL TNS PIP
'The two men were diving themselves in the water.'

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

yinipa wipwirra ngailhilhangwimwantja aringka
3:3 red ochre like 3:2(ii)-POSS-LOC 3:4 head
'Brolga is carrying the red mark, that keeps marking itself, on her
head.'

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

yingiwriritjingwa arakpwa
/yingga + wirra + tjingwi/ comp.act
3:2 throw away REFL
'The clay disappeared from his body.' (Lit: threw itself away)

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

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

nimwamarrkiwarrikwatjingwina
/nimwa + n{w}arrkiwarra + kwa + tjingwi/
3:5 circular:move CAUS REFL
'it [the sun] moved itself [to the afternoon position].' (Lit: made
its circular shape move.)
niwalhkiwayitjatjingwina
/niw(a) + alhkiwaya + tja + tjingwi + n1/
3:4 wing:brush off TSR REFL TNS
'The seed peeled its own skin off.' [Lit: brushed its wing off]

yirriwarparritjatjingwina
/yirra + warpparra + tja + tjingwi + n1/
1ExcNsg ?head:split TSR REFL TNS
'We all rolled ourselves over.'

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

niwarrikwatjingwimwa wipwirra
/ni1 + warra + kwa + tjingwi + mwi/
like
3:3 move CAUS REFL PIP

thiwathirra
3:2(ii) cockatoo

'His son was causing himself to turn into a cockatoo.'

niyangkithirppwirakatjingwina
/ni1 + yangkithirppwira + ka + tjingwi + n1/
3:3 head:level CAUS REFL TNS
'He made himself straighten up.' (Lit: caused his head to be level)

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

nawirrakingpwriringkathayanimwirra
/na + wirraka + ngpwriringka + th(a) + aya + n1 + mwrira/
3:1 SNSt dry INCH SNSt TNS PIP
'They were all drying themselves off.' (Note: Each person dried himself/herself)

yirringrikwirikwayina
/yirringa + rikwirikw(1) + aya + n1/
1ExcFemDu REDUP: sit face to face SNSt TNS
'We sat ourselves face to face.'

ngawa niwarrkpwitjangayinamwaw
cont.act /niw(a) + arrkpwitjang(a) + aya + n(i) + amwii/
3:4 jump up SNSt TNS NPPIP
'The sores keep coming up.'
The Reciprocal verb is not marked differently in the morphological structure from the Reflexive verb with a non-singular subject. The action of the verb involves a mutual relationship between a number of people, e.g., meet together, follow, or share.

nayiwayinimwirra
/na + yiw[i] + aya + ni + mwirra/
3:1 follow SNsg TNS PIP
'They were all keeping on following each other.'

ngarrirringkayina
/ngarra + rrink[a] + aya + ni/
1IncNsg see SNsg TNS
'We can all see each other.'

naniwartyinamwirra
/nani + warti + ye + n[i] + amwirra/
3:1MascDu fight SNsg TNS NPIP
'The two men are fighting each other.' / 'The two men are fighting.'

6.2.2.5 Interrogative verb

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

kwitja yingiyamwarrkinamwa thakina
hey /yinga + yamwarrka + n[i] + amw/
3:2 do what? TNS NPIP
'Hey there! What is she doing?'

ningkwiyamwarrkamwa ningkwangangakpwirakamwa tiritja
/ningkwi + yamwarrk[a] + amw/
25g+3:2 are making dress
25g do how? NPIP
'How are you making [your] dress?'

akiyamwarrkinamwa ngarna arakpwa
/aka + yamwarrka + n[i] + amw/
1IncNsg this comp.act
'do what? TNS NPIP
'What are we going to do?'

pwiya niyamwa mwitjikpitja ngarriyamwarrkina
then 3:3 said (name) /ngarra + yamwarrka + ni/
1IncNsg do what? TNS
'And then Mr Gibbs said, 'What are we to do?''
nayamwa akina kiyamwarrkinamwa
3:4 said 3:4 that /ka + yamwarrka + n{i} + amwi/
1ExcSg do what? TNS NPIP

ngantja ningana karimwithiniyatha
1ExcSg-CofR 1ExcSg this /k[a] + arimwi + tha + ni + yatha/
1ExcSg big INCH TNS PURP

'It [Whale] said, "What could I be doing to get fat?"' / 'How can I be getting fat?'

6.3 VERB PREFIXATION

The verb prefixation cross-references and identifies the nuclear case relationships of the free form subject and object nominals which are themselves unmarked for nuclear cases. The case relationships are Nominative (subject), Accusative (object) and Dative (indirect object). The verb prefixes also indicate mood (but not tense or aspect).

The transitive verb is distinguished from the intransitive by the addition of a prefix cross-referencing the object nominal. The subject and object prefixes indicate person, number and gender but can be followed by other Number morphemes which further distinguish dual and plural in the subject or object.

The subject and object morphemes often have the same deep structure morpheme-final low vowel. In the surface structure there is a contrast that distinguishes the subject prefix from the object prefix. The subject prefix ends in the high vowel which is generated by the application of the Word-medial Neutralisation Rule (see Section 2.1). The object prefix is irregular because the rule is not applied and the deep structure low vowel is retained in the surface structure. This system is obviously used to avoid ambiguity but it also permits the deep structure form to be reflected in the surface structure.

yingimwarringkinimwa mwangwiyiwanga
/yinja => yingi + mwa + rringka + ni + mwi/ 3:5 shark
3:2 3:5 see TNS PIP

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

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

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

wirrimwirntiwarna   alHINGATJIRRIWIYA akwa
/wirra + Ø + mwIRNTIW(a) + arni/  3:4 long-PL and
2Nsg  3:4 divide  TNS

ariKWITHARRPWA yingiyamwina thakina
3:4 short  3:2 said  3:2 that
'"Sort them into long ones and short ones!" she said.'

nara ngalhiwa yakangingatja
not  3:2(i)  /yaKA + nga + ngatJa/
1IncSg  3:2 hit
'She did not hit both of us.'

kampwirra yirramwangkarnimwa mwalhamwikwa
therefore  /yirra + mw(a) + angK(a) + arni + mwi/  3:5 canoe
1ExcNsg  3:5 fetch  TNS  PIP
'And so the canoe was picking us up.'

The co-occurrence of first and second persons as subject and object results in indivisible (but not fused) prefixation. Each prefix is in the first person inclusive or exclusive, regardless of whether first or second person is subject or object. This seems to indicate that first person is ranked higher than second person.

(Note: The indivisible forms are discussed in Section 6.3.1.1 re Tables 20 and 21.)

yirrirringka   ngayiwa
/yirra + rrINGka/ 1ExcSg
1ExcNsg see
'You all saw me.'

ngarrarriringka   ningkwirriwa
/ngarra + rrINGka/ 2Pl
1IncNsg see
'I saw all of you.'

yirringka   ngayiwa
/ya + rrINGka/ 1ExcSg
1IncSg see
'You saw me.'

yipwayiwarna   ningkwiwa
/yipwa + yiw(a) + arni/ 2Sg
2Nsg follow TNS
'I will follow you.'
In the intermediate levels of the subject/object hierarchy, the third person non-singular (personified human plural) Noun Class 3:1 ranks higher than the corresponding singular (feminine and masculine) Noun Classes 3:2 and 3:3 but lower than first or second person. That is, a non-singular subject or object always precedes a third person singular subject or object but always follows the first or second person subject or object. When a plural subject and plural object is involved the prefixes occur in that order.

aniwa awilyapwimwantja angalya
3:3(i) 3:4 one-LOC 3:4 place

nanirringkamwa
/na[rra] + ni + rringk[a] + amwi/
3:1 3:3 see NPIP
'He can see them in another room.' (Lit: is seeing)

apwirringamwamwirakatjina ngalhatja
/apwrrra + nga + mwamwira + ka + tja + ni/
3:2(i)-CofR 3:1 3:2 help CAUS TSR TNS
'Let them all help her.'

wirriyikwayiwa aningapwawiya
3:1 children-ALL 3:4 good-PL

ngarrawilyakatjinamwa
/nga[rra] + rra + wilyaka + tja + ni{i} + amwi/
1IncNsg 3:1 show TSR TNS NPIP
'We are teaching good things to our children.'

The masculine Noun Class 3:3 and the feminine Noun Class 3:2 are of equal status, i.e., whichever one occurs in the subject is placed in the first prefix order. The first or second person subject or object always precedes third person singular.

nara aniwa kiningangatjina thirntanikpwa
not 3:3(i) /kini + nga + ngatja + ni/ 3:2 mother-KPOSS
3:2 3:3 hit TNS
'He did not hit his mother.'

nara thirntanikpwa kinginingatjingatjina
not 3:2 mother-KPOSS /kinga + ni + ngatjingatja + ni/
3:3 3:2 REDUP:hit TNS
'His mother never hits him.'
ningkwingangakpwiraka thaka tiritja
/ningk[w]i + nga + ngakpwiraka/ 3:2 this 3:2 dress
2Sg 3:2 make
'You made this dress.'

ningatingatimwapwapwa ningiwhatimwa
/nga + n1 + ngatja + mwi + pwapwa/ 1ExcSg was crying
1ExcSg 3:3 hit PIP CSL
'I was crying because he was hitting me.'

winimwinampirrarina
/wi[rra] + nj + m[w]in[i] + ampirrara + nj/
2Nsg 3:3 BENE wait TNS

naningwiyarrka niyamwina nakina
3:3(1) bro-in-law-KPOSS 3:3 said 3:3(1) that
"[You three females] wait for my brother-in-law!" he said.'

kwirranimwinakarrnginamwa akwingwa
/kwirra + n1 + m[w]in[i] + akarrnga + n[i] + amwi/
2Nsg 3:3 BENE get water TNS NPIP
'He will be getting the water for you two.'

There is, however, an honorific system in which the feminine
can take precedence over the masculine and vice versa. It occurs when
the speaker refers to himself/herself and a person of the opposite
sex. The resultant dual prefixation is in agreement with the gender
of the "opposite person". In recorded traditional stories, any
narrator uses the masculine dual when referring to the combined
actions of a man and a woman.

warana akwa ngayiwa yinapwirrathathimwa
(name) and 1ExcSg /yin[i] + Ø + apwirratha + mwi/
1ExcMascDu 3:4 start PIP

akina
3:4 that
'Warren and I [Sue] were starting the [leprosy clinic].'

wimpwa nalyarrngwalyilyathinamwantja
but 3:4 is becoming dark-LOC

nanitjathanamwirra anhingawa
/nani + thath[a] + an[i] + amwirra/ 3:4 food-ALL
3:1MascDu emerge TNS NPIP
'When it [the sky] is getting dark they [possum (3:3) and rock
wallaby 3.2)] are coming out for food.'
yirringimwathakamwirra
/yirringa + mwa + thak[a] + amwirra/ 3:5 yem-ALL
1ExcFemDu 3:5 cook NPIP
'My wife and I are cooking the yams.'

naniwarrkawarriyathinimwa
/nani + warrkawarriyatha + ni + mwirra/ not-CSI
3:1MascDu be upset TNS PIP
3:1 those 3:1 young
'He and his wife were being upset because they had no children.'
(Lit: because of not visible babies)

The third person non-personified Noun Classes 3:4 and 3:5 are placed at the lowest level of the hierarchy. When the two classes interact as either subject or object only the 3:4 subject/object prefixation occurs. This seems to indicate that Noun Class 3:4 is of higher rank than 3:5.

nirringkinimwa
/[naj]ni + g + rringka + ni + mwi/ 3:4 fish
3:3 3:4 see TNS PIP
'He was looking at the fish.'

narrakwirringkinimwa
/narra + kwi + rringka + ni + mwi/ 3:1 men
3:1 3:4 see TNS PIP
'The fish was looking at the men.'

kangatjinamwa
/[ka] + ngatja + n(i) + amwi/ 3:4 kill TNS NPIP
'The fish will be killing the shark.' / 'The shark will be killing the fish.'

mwangwiyiwanga
/mwipwikwaya nimwilhikana akwa 3:5 shark 3:5 coming
3:5 going /nimwa + lhik[a] + ani/ and
3:5 go TNS

narringka
/na + rringka/ 3:4 whale-ALL
3:4 see
'The approaching shark saw the whale.'

The subject or object can consist of two or more items which do not have the same person, number or gender classifications. In such
instances, the same hierarchical system operates in a different way, viz., only the nominal with the highest rank is cross-referenced in the verb. There are, however, some other differences which pertain specifically to the classification for person. These are:

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

\[
\text{apwiyakarpwiya amwingmirra akwa yilyanga yiwilyapwa} \\
3:4 \text{ three 3:4 crayfish and 3:3 ray 3:3 one}
\]

\[
\text{naranthirranga} \\
/\text{n\{n\}} + n\{i\} + \text{arthirr\{a\} + anga/} \\
3:1\text{MascDu 3:3 stab TNS}
\]

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

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

\[
\text{alyikwira akwa wirriyikwayiwa} \\
3:4 \text{ bark and 3:1 children}
\]

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

\[
\text{nakina akwa thathingwiyanikpwa akwa wirrimwangpwalha} \\
3:3 \text{ that and 3:2 wife-KPOSS and 3:1 five}
\]

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

\[
\text{angalyimwantja} \\
3:1 \text{ place-LOC}
\]

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

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

\[
\text{winampwilyimwa nanikwanikpwakwiyiwa akwa thampwirimwa} \\
3:1\text{MascDu two 3:1MascDu son-DU and 3:2 one}
\]

\[
\text{thathiyanikpwpa amwathirra akwingwawa} \\
3:2 \text{ daughter-KPOSS 3:4 hole 3:4 water-ALL}
\]

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

(b) If the multiple referents are from different non-human noun classes the verb prefix appears to agree with a related generic
classification rather than any individual class. The most common
generic classifications are akwalya 'edible white flesh' with an
extended meaning of 'fish'; amwathangka 'its flesh' with an
extended meaning of 'edible meat'; and anhinga 'vegetable food';
and yiningwängwangpwa 'four-footed land mammals (Lit: having hands)'.

nalhikanimwa angalhipwa akina akwalya
/na + lhik[a] + ani + mwi/ from there 3:4 that 3:4 fish
3:4 go TNS PIP
'They [the stingray (3:2), the shark (3:5), and the swordfish (3:3)]
were going from there.'

mwipwina mwangwiyiwanga akwa akwalha akwalya
3:5 that 3:5 shark and 3:4 some 3:4 fish

namwarngkatjiwamwirritethingwa
/na + ə + mwarngka + tja + w[i] + amwirra + thingwa/
3:4 3:4 laugh TSR SF PIP ???
'The shark and some fish are laughing at it [the whale].'

ngalhatja yingaliypwarnimwa anhinga
3:2(ii)-CofR /ying[i] + ə + alyipw[i] + arni + mwi/
3:2 3:4 eat TNS PIP 3:4 food

thilhantha
3:2 rock wallaby
'She was eating vegetable food and rock wallaby.'

(c) If a first or second person singular pronoun co-occurs with a
third person nominal or nominals the cross-referencing in the verb
prefixation is for first or second person non-singular. (Note: In
the following examples, the appropriate prefixation for the
interaction of first or second person subject and object is used (see
Section 6.3.1.1A, Table 20).)

ngayiwa akwa tjanita akwa yilayina yinimwamwiiwa-wa
1ExcSg and (name) and (name) 3:3 egg-ALL

yirrapwirrangkeyinimwa/
yirr[i] + apwirrangk[a] + aya + ni + mwi/
1ExcNsg look for SNsg TNS PIP
'Janet, Elaine and I [Sue] were looking for turtle eggs.'
warnamwamwalya akwa ngayiwa angwirrkwa
3:1 Aborigines and iExcSg Angurugu

yirrilhikanimwa
/yiri + lhi(a) + ani + mwI/
1ExcNsg go TNS PIP
'The Aborigines and I were going to Angurugu.'

ningkwIwa yilhirrkakirringka thalhapwiyangja
2Sg /ya + lhirraka + rringka/ (personal name)
1IncSg ODU see

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

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

ngamwirntak irringka
/nga[rра] + mwirntaka + rringka/
1IncNsg OPL see
'I saw you, Dabinkanga and Mariya.'

6.3.1 Modality

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

6.3.1.1 Actual and Potential moods

The terms, Actual and Potential, have been chosen because a time or tense perspective is not involved. The contrast is between an action which has already begun or is starting right now versus one which has not yet begun. The concept could be stated as past or
immediate action versus projected action. In the English future tense, the intention of the speaker is implied; in Anindilyakwa there is no intention implied. The Aboriginal addressee knows that the statement provides no guarantee that the action will take place but, when a non-Aboriginal tries to press the point and get that guarantee, the answer is always "maybe" (whether in English or the vernacular). The contrast is on whether the task has happened or is happening (and thus is expected to be finished) or whether it has only a potential for being enacted. The Negated Actual mood indicates that such an action or event is not happening, will not be happening or is forbidden. (Note: Tense is marked by suffixation.)

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

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

6.3.1.1A Transitive

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

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

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

**TABLE 18: DEEP STRUCTURE ACTUAL TRANSITIVE PREFIXES**

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<tr>
<td>2ND SG</td>
<td># aka ngi</td>
<td># yika ngi</td>
<td># yika ni</td>
<td># yaka ngi</td>
<td># ka ngi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 17: TRANSITIVE POTENTIAL VERB PREFIXES (SURFACE STRUCTURE)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>3RD 3:1 NON-SG</th>
<th>3RD 3:2 SG</th>
<th>3RD 3:3 SG</th>
<th>3RD 3:4 SG</th>
<th>3RD 3:5 SG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aki</td>
<td># k</td>
<td>aki</td>
<td># nga</td>
<td>aki</td>
<td># ni</td>
<td>aki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aki</td>
<td># k</td>
<td>akipuik</td>
<td># nga</td>
<td>akipuik</td>
<td># ni</td>
<td>akipuik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaki</td>
<td># k</td>
<td>yaki</td>
<td># nga</td>
<td>yaki</td>
<td># ni</td>
<td>yaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiki</td>
<td># k</td>
<td>yiki</td>
<td># nga</td>
<td>yiki</td>
<td># ni</td>
<td>yiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiki</td>
<td># k</td>
<td>yikipuik</td>
<td># nga</td>
<td>yikipuik</td>
<td># ni</td>
<td>yikipuik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiki</td>
<td># k</td>
<td>yikini</td>
<td># nga</td>
<td>yikini</td>
<td># ni</td>
<td>yikini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiki</td>
<td># k</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td># nga</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td># ni</td>
<td>ki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Pui**

| pui | ka(rri) | # r | karri | # nga | karri | # ni | karri | # j | karri | # a | karri | # a |
| pui | ka(rri) | # r | karripuik | # nga | karripuik | # ni | karripuik | # j | karripuik | # a | karripuik | # a |
| pui | ka(rri) | # r | karripuik | # nga | karripuik | # ni | karripuik | # j | karripuik | # a | karripuik | # a |
| pui | ka(rri) | # r | karripuik | # nga | karripuik | # ni | karripuik | # j | karripuik | # a | karripuik | # a |

**Ngir**

| ngir | # karri | nga | kingi | # nga | kingi | # ni | kingi | # j | kingi | # a | kingi | # a |

**Kui**

| kui | karra | kui | kinga | kui | kana | kui | k(u) | # a | k(u) | # a |

**Mui**

| mui | karra | mui | kinga | mul | kana | mul | k(u)m | # a | k(u)m | # a |
The following examples illustrate the subject and object prefixation for the Actual mood.

**mwapwapwirna yirrimwapwirrangarna**
3:5 many /yirra + mw[a] + apwirrang[a] + arni/ 1ExcNsg 3:5 find TNS
'We found a lot of yams.'

**yawi nginirringkamwa ngantja**
yes /nga + ni + rringk[a] + amwi/ 1ExcSg-CofR
1ExcSg 3:3 see NPIP
'Yes, he can see me.' (Lit: is seeing)

**kwiniwirrariyikwiya kwinimwalhpwilhalhikiya**
2MascDu bad-DU /k[w]ini + mw[a] + alhpwilhalhika + y1/ 2MascDu 3:5 wing:remain TNS

**mwiyatja yingiyamwa**
3:5 shoulder blade 3:2 said
'You two bad men have [skinny] shoulder blades,' she said [as an insult].'

**narrarrangpwa arakpwa wirrakina**
/na[rра] + rra + arrangpwa/ comp.act 3:1 those 3:1 collect

**wirrayangkwirra**
3:1 waterlily
'They collected the waterlily roots.'

**winalhakina nikipwa akwa nitjarra**
3:1MascDu those 3:3 pheasant and 3:3 seagull

**naningwirrkwanimwana**
'Pheasant and Seagull were hunting for fish.'

**pwiya arakpwa mwipwikwaya tirakita**
then comp.act 3:5 this coming 3:5 tractor

**yirramwangkarna**
/yirra + mw[a] + angk[a] + arni/ 1ExcNsg 3:5 put TNS
'And then the approaching tractor picked us up.'

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

TABLE 19: DEEP STRUCTURE POTENTIAL TRANSITIVE PREFIXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>OBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST INCL NON-SG</td>
<td>aka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST EXCL NON-SG</td>
<td>yika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND NON-SG</td>
<td>yika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST INCL SG</td>
<td>yaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST EXCL SG</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND SG</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD 3:1 NON-SG</td>
<td>karra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD 3:2 SG</td>
<td>kinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD 3:3 SG</td>
<td>kini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD 3:4 SG</td>
<td>kiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD 3:5 SG</td>
<td>kimwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples illustrate the Potential prefixation for transitive verbs. Various free translations in English have been given to show the range of meaning of this Potential morpheme.
The subject and object Actual and Potential transitive prefixes are generally systematic but there are some irregularities when specific subject and object prefixes co-occur. For example, the presence or absence of the vowel /a/ is sometimes unpredictable. Reasons cannot be given for all but many of the irregularities can be explained by the operation of phonological rules or adjustments to

393
avoid ambiguity. The irregularities are as follows:

(i) phonological

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deep Structure</th>
<th>Surface Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subj: nani + Obj: ni 3:3</td>
<td>na(ni)ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subj: narrini + Obj: ni 3:1MascDu</td>
<td>na(rrini)ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subj: narri + Obj: ni 3:1</td>
<td>na(rri)ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subj: iarrini + Obj: ∅ 3:1MascDu</td>
<td>na(rri)ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subj: ningka + Obj: ni 2Sg</th>
<th>ningkini ~ ningkani</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subj: ninda + Obj: ni 1ExcSg</td>
<td>ningini ~ ningani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subj: kini + Obj: ni 2MascDu</td>
<td>ki(ni)ni ~ kinani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The same phenomenon occurs when the first or second singular subject co-occurs with a third person plural object, e.g., ningi- + rra- => ningarra-.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obj: yarra + Subj: pwi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1IncSg 3:1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subj: ya{rra} + Obj: rra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1IncSg 3:1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subj: ya{rra} + Obj: mwa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1IncSg 3:5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(ii) \textbf{ambiguity}

(a) the Noun Class 3:3 object prefixes, \textit{nana-} and \textit{kana-}, occur in the surface structure preceding a second order 3:4 or 3:5 subject. These differ from all other forms of the
deep structure morphemes, nani- [neni] and kani- [keni]. Furthermore, to posit a deep structure nana- and kana- would violate Vowel Fronting Rule 1.7 The change to the final vowel /a/ would therefore appear to be just a surface phenomenon to avoid ambiguity with nanimwa- (3:3 subject and 3:5 object). The morpheme-final /a/ also makes them more symmetrical with other first order object prefixes.

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

(c) Ambiguity can be caused by the lack of contrast when two noun classes are of equal status. It seems to be just an idiosyncrasy of Anindilyakwa rather than pertaining to the action of a phonological rule. Only the shortened form na- occurs when Noun Classes 3:4 (n1wa-) and 3:5 (nimwa-) interact as subject and object; the prefixation for Noun Class 3:3 (masculine) subject and Noun Class 3:2 (feminine) object is also used for the co-occurrence of Noun Class 3:2 (feminine) as subject and object. The former prefix combination in each pair conforms to the overall prefix system. The ambiguity is exemplified by the masculine and feminine, as follows:

Footnote 7: If the final /a/ vowel were assigned to the second order prefix greater irregularities would occur elsewhere, e.g., with a first or second singular object prefix and the 3:1 subject. The above analysis is the simplest and most logical solution.
Table 20 lists the morphemes for all the subject/object combinations which are semantically possible when first and second person interact as subject and object. (Note: The same person in the subject and object results in a reflexive verb prefixed for the intransitive; the interaction of first inclusive and second persons also results in reflexivity.)

The verb prefixation for first and second person subject and object combinations does not divide into separate morphemes and does not consist of a fused or portmanteau morpheme. All three Actual and two Potential deep structure morphemes are the regular forms for either first inclusive or first exclusive prefixes. The morpheme-final /i/ occurs when second person is the subject; the morpheme-final /a/ occurs when second person is the object. Thus first person is in focus in the shape of the morphemes but second person in the cross-referencing as subject or object. The most marked combinations involve a first exclusive singular subject or object in which there is apparently a special relationship between speaker and addressee(s), viz., the first inclusive singular morpheme yi- is used for a second singular subject and first exclusive singular object; the first inclusive non-singular morphemes, ngarra- and ka-, are used for a
### TABLE 20: 1ST & 2ND PERSON TRANSITIVE ACTUAL VERB PREFIXES (SURFACE STRUCTURE)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT /// OBJECT</th>
<th>1ST EXCL NON-SG</th>
<th>1ST EXCL SG</th>
<th>2ND NON-SG</th>
<th>2ND SG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1ST EXCL NON-SG</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>yirra</td>
<td>yirra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND NON-SG</td>
<td>yirri</td>
<td>yirri</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST EXCL SG</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>ngarra</td>
<td>yirra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND SG</td>
<td>yirri</td>
<td>y1</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT /// OBJECT</th>
<th>1ST EXCL NON-SG</th>
<th>1ST EXCL SG</th>
<th>2ND NON-SG</th>
<th>2ND SG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1ST EXCL NON-SG</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>yika ~ yipa</td>
<td>yika ~ yipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND NON-SG</td>
<td>yiki</td>
<td>yiki</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST EXCL SG</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>yika ~ yipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND SG</td>
<td>yiki</td>
<td>yiki</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
second non-singular object and first exclusive singular subject. In all other combinations, the first exclusive non-singular morphemes, \textit{yirra-} and \textit{yika - yipwa-}, occur.

\textit{ningkwiza yingatjamwa ngayiwamwantja}
\textit{2Sg /ya + ngatj[a] + amwi/ 1ExcSg-LOC}
\textit{1IncSg hit NPIP}

'You are hitting me.'

\textit{kithakinanwantja kakwinamwirra ampwaka}
\textit{1ExcSg+3:4 will be cooking-LOC /ka + kwi + n[i] + amwi/ later 1ExcSg give TNS NPIP}

'After I will have been cooking it I will be giving it to all of you.'

\textit{ngayiwa ngarramwamwirikwatjinamwa}
\textit{1ExcSg /ngarr[a] + mwaamwirikw[i] + tja + n[i] + amwi/}
\textit{1IncNSG help TSR TNS NPIP}

\textit{ningkwirriwamwantja}
\textit{2Pl-LOC}

'I am going to help all of you.'

\textit{ngayiwa yirrangatjamwa ningkwiamwantja}
\textit{1ExcSg /yirra + ngatj[a] + amwi/ 2Sg-LOC}
\textit{1ExcNSG hit NPIP}

'I am hitting you.'

\textit{kikwiranimwantja ngarningka akwalya}
\textit{2Sg+3:4 will catch-LOC again 3:4 fish}

\textit{yikikwirna ngantja}
\textit{/yik1 + kwi + rni/ 1ExcSg-CoF R}
\textit{1ExcNSG give TNS}

'When you catch fish again you can give me some.'

\textit{kikwirangimwantja akwalya kampwirra}
\textit{2Sg+3:4 hook-LOC 3:4 fish therefore}

\textit{yipwamwinithakamwa ngayiwa}
\textit{/yipwa + mwini + thak[a] + amwi/ 1ExcSg}
\textit{1ExcNSG BENE cook NPIP}

'If you had caught a fish then I would be cooking it for you.'

There are two surface structure morphemes which are irregular. In the transitive Potential prefixation, the co-occurrence of a first exclusive singular subject with a second non-singular object would suggest the form \textit{aka-} to correspond with \textit{ngarr[a-} in the Actual mood prefixation. The absence of the morpheme-initial \textit{/a/} prevents
ambiguity with the combination of first inclusive plural subject and Noun Class 3:1 object. In the transitive Actual mood prefixation, the first inclusive singular morpheme yî- is used for the co-occurrence of second singular subject and first exclusive singular object, whereas the morpheme yirri- is the counterpart of the Potential yîki-.

6.3.1.18 Intransitive

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Actual</th>
<th></th>
<th>Potential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1ST INCL NON-SG</td>
<td>ngarra</td>
<td></td>
<td>aka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST EXCL NON-SG</td>
<td>yirra</td>
<td></td>
<td>yika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND NON-SG</td>
<td>kwirra</td>
<td></td>
<td>yika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD 3:1 NON-SG</td>
<td>narra</td>
<td></td>
<td>karra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST INCL SG</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td></td>
<td>yaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST EXCL SG</td>
<td>ninga</td>
<td></td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND SG</td>
<td>ningki</td>
<td></td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD 3:2 SG</td>
<td>yinga</td>
<td></td>
<td>kinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD 3:3 SG</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td></td>
<td>kini, kani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD 3:4 SG</td>
<td>niwa</td>
<td></td>
<td>kiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD 3:5 SG</td>
<td>nimwa</td>
<td></td>
<td>kimwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

```
yilhikanimwa                     angwirrkwiwa yarringkwa
/yā + lhik[a] + an1 + mwi/       (name)-LOC yesterday
1IncSg go                        TNS PIP
'You and I went to Angurugu yesterday.'
```

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

```
amwarrimwantja                   nirrakartjaya
in front of-LOC                  /ni/ + rrrakartjaya/
  3:3 sit
'He sat in front of me.'
```

```
imwalyangkana                   lhikwakwa
/ni/ + mwalyangk(a) + an1/       en route
  3:3 play                        TNS
'He played along the way.'
```

```
kini lhikatjamwa ~ kani lhikatjamwa
/kini ~ kani + lhik[a] + atj[a] + amwi/
  3:3 go                           TNS    NPIP
'He will be going.'
```

(iii) In both the Actual and Potential moods, the deep structure forms of the intransitive Noun Classes 3:4 and 3:5 are the same as the first order transitive subject prefixation. In the
surface + the intransitive verb the Noun Class 3:4 prefix has
two phonologically-conditioned allomorphs, viz., na- and ka-
preceding a consonant and niwa- or kiwa- preceding a vowel.
In the subject a transitive verb, only the latter allomorph
occurs in the surface structure of Noun Classes 3:4 and 3:5 for
both the Actual and Potential moods.

naringwitjanginamwa alyalyikpwa
/na + ringwitjanga + n{i} + amwi/ 3:4 tongue
3:4 jump TNS NPIP
'The tongue is flicking out.'

niwawiyampathaka arakpwa
/niw[a] + awiyampi + th{a} + aki/ comp.act
3:1 angry INCH INTENS
akina pwiya apwirtha nahlhikan
3:4 that then 3:4 whale /na + lhik{a} + ani/
3:4 go TNS
'The whale got very angry and then he went away.'

Table 22 lists the surface structure forms of the intransitive
Actual and Potential prefixation. The following examples illustrate
the intransitive Actual mood prefixation.

pwiya mwiringwanimwantja yirringwantja
then 3:5 jungle-LOC /yirra + ngwantja/
1ExcNsg stop
'And then we stopped in the monsoonal thicket.'

arngkapwapwirnilhangwa nakina
often-ABL 3:3 that

nimwirrkwimwirkwilhimwirra awarrwalya
/ni + mwirrkwimwirkwilha + mwirra/ 3:4 shade
3:3 REDUP: lie down
'He was often lying down in the shade.'

thirntaniikpwa akwa thathiyyara
3:2 mother-KPOSS and 3:2 girl

narringilhikanan anhingawa
/narringa + lhik{a} + ani/ 3:4 food-ALL
3:1FemDu go TNS
'His mother and sister went for vegetable food.'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>ACTUAL</th>
<th>POTENTIAL</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1ST INCL PL</td>
<td>ngarrri</td>
<td>aki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST INCL PL</td>
<td>ngarrripikui</td>
<td>akipikui</td>
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<td>yiki</td>
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<td>1ST EXCL TRI</td>
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<td>yikipikui</td>
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<td>yirringi</td>
<td>yiangi</td>
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<tr>
<td>1ST EXCL MASC OU</td>
<td>yir(rrri)i</td>
<td>yikini</td>
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<tr>
<td>1ST EXCL SG</td>
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<td>k1</td>
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<td>yaki</td>
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<tr>
<td>2ND TRI</td>
<td>k(w)irripikui</td>
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<tr>
<td>2ND FEM OU</td>
<td>k(w)irringi</td>
<td>yikini</td>
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<tr>
<td>2ND MASC OU</td>
<td>k(w)ir(rrri)i</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ninkw(i)</td>
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<td>3RD 3:1 PL</td>
<td>na(rrri)</td>
<td>ka(rrri)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD 3:1 TRI</td>
<td>na(rrri)pikui</td>
<td>ka(rrri)pikui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD 3:1 FEM OU</td>
<td>na(rrri)ngi</td>
<td>ka(rrri)ngi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD 3:1 MASC OU</td>
<td>na(rrri)i</td>
<td>ka(rrri)i</td>
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<td>3RD 3:2 SG</td>
<td>yingi</td>
<td>kingi</td>
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<td>3RD 3:3 SG</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>kini ~ kani</td>
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<tr>
<td>3RD 3:4 SG</td>
<td>na / ----- CONS</td>
<td>ka / ----- CONS</td>
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<tr>
<td>3RD 3:5 SG</td>
<td>nimi / ----- VOWEL</td>
<td>kiw1 / ----- VOWEL</td>
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</table>
I was feeling frightened' (Lit: my stomach was being upset)

You will find the canoe tied to a tree.' (Lit: it is tying itself to a tree)

The following examples illustrate the intransitive Potential mood prefixes.

The truck will be going slowly.'

You should keep going so that you can find more [goanna] tracks.' (Lit: should go and go)

He kept on waiting [until] everyone would be keeping on sleeping.'
allomorphs, mwirrntaka- ~ wirraka-. Thus there is a reduction in the co-occurrence of number morphemes.

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

nalhwirratrina wirrakina
/na[rra] + lhawrira + tha + ni/ 3:1 those
3:1 return INCH TNS

pwiya narrarrangpwamwa anhings
then /narra + Ø + arrangpw(i) + amwi/ 3:4 food
3:1 3:4 collect NPIS

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

na(rri)pwikwilhawirratrina
/na[rri]pwikwilhawirratrina
3:1Tri return INCH TNS

'we three stayed for a long time but the three of them returned home.'

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

nakwiwartjina
/na + kwilwartja + ni/
3:4 stand TNS

nakwiwatjayina
/na[rra] + kwilwartja[a] + aya + ni/ 3:1 stand SNsg TNS

namwirrntakilhikana
/na[rra] + mwirrntaka + lhik[a] + ani/
3:1 SPL go TNS

'It stood.'

'They stood.'

'They went.'

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

kwirrilharrngkwitjarrkwa
/kwirra + Ø + lharrngkw1i + tjarrk(i) + wi/ 2Pl
2Nsg 3:4 things finish SF

'Have you all finished [unloading] the luggage?'
napwakayingamwa
/nə + p[wa]k(1) + aya + n(1) + amwi/
3:1 drink SNsg TNS NPIP
'Are they all drinking?'

kartharriyamwa
/kɑː/ + ɓ + arthirra ==> artharri: + y(1) + amwi/ 1ExcSg this
1ExcSg 3:4 spear TNS NPIP
'Which fish will I spear?'

kilhikatjamwipwina
/ka + lhik(a) + atj(a) + amwi + p[w]ini/ 1ExcSg this today
1ExcSg go TNS NPIP QM
'Will I go today?'

6.3.1.2 Negated Actual and Negated Potential, moods

A verb is negated by the use of the particle narg which always precedes the verb but can be separated from it by other words. The verb is prefixed in two different ways: (a) the parallel to the (positive) Actual mood is prefixed only by ɓ-; (b) the parallel to the (positive) Potential mood retains its full set of prefixes. The semantic concept for the Negated Actual involves a factual statement about a non-event, i.e., an activity that is non-existent now or in the future; the semantic concept for the Negated Potential involves an event that was potentially possible or probable but did not eventuate. For these reasons, the Negated Actual is used for non-past events and the Negated Potential for past activities.

The Negated Actual prefix ɓ- does not indicate either subject or object. The verbs do not have a pair of contrastive morphemes to distinguish tense. The suffix angimwi resembles one of the past tense and aspect combinations (see Section 6.4.2.1).

Footnote 8: It may be of interest to some to note that it is the Negated Actual prefix ɓ- that the very young children use on all verbs in the earliest stage of language acquisition.
nara arringkangimwaw mwiitjiyanga
nara /a + rrngk[a] + anga + mwi/ 3:5 boat
not NEV see TNS PIP
'I cannot see the boat.' (Lit: am not seeing)

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

mwanipwira wirrikwalha nara alhikangimwaw
CSL 3:1Pl some nara /a + lhik[a] + anga + mwi/
not NEV go TNS PIP
kwiliwa angwiyamphangwa nawirranamwa
3:4 school-ALL 3:4 anger-ABL 3:1 are throwing
'The reason some [children] are not going to school is that they are being teased.'

nara ngayiwa angkangimwaw arningkwaya
nara I /a + angk[a] + anga + mwi/ tomorrow
not NEV fetch TNS PIP
'I will not be picking it up tomorrow.'

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

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

nara ararikangimwaw wirrakina wirriwartwa
nara /a + ararik[a] + anga + mwi/ 3:1 that 3:1 dog
not NEV tie TNS PIP
'You are not to be tying the dogs up.' / 'Don't tie the dogs up!'

nanimwakamwa katjingwa nara
3:1+3:3 is telling so that nara
not alhikangimwiyatha akiniwa akwingwa
/a + lhik[a] + anga + mwi + yatha/ 3:4 that 3:4 water
NEV go TNS PIP PURP
'He was telling them so that they would not be going to the water.' / 'He was telling them, "Don't be planning to go to the water!".'
The transitive or intransitive Negated Potential mood prefixation is the same as for the Potential mood.

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

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

'nara yikinanthaya yirratja
nara /y[i]ka + n[i] + anthaya/ 1ExcP1-CofR
not 1ExcNsg 3:3 see
'We could not see him.' / 'We did not see him.'

'thirntathikpwa nara kiningangatjingatjina
3:2 mother-KPOSS nara /k[i]n[1] + nga + ngatjingatja + ni/
not 3:3 3:2 REDUP:hit VCL
'Her mother has never hit her.'

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

'nara kingampwampwiyisa yalahakwa
nara /king[a] + ampwampwiyisa/ here
3:2 REDUP:stay
'She did not stay on and on here.' / 'She did not reside here.'

'nara ampwaka yikiningatjajayina yirringalalahakana
nara later /y[i]kina + ngatj[a] + aya + ni/ 1ExcFemDu this
1ExcFemDu hit SNsg TNS
'We two women have not fought as yet.' / 'We two women will not fight until later.'

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

409
6.3.1.3 Imperative mood

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

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

6.3.1.3A Transitive

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

TABLE 24: DEEP STRUCTURE TRANSLATIVE IMPERATIVE PREFIXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>OBJECT</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First Order</td>
<td>Second Order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND NON-SG</td>
<td>wirra</td>
<td>rra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD 3:1 NON-SG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND SG</td>
<td>Ø / wi</td>
<td>nga</td>
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<tr>
<td>3RD 3:2 SG</td>
<td></td>
<td>ni</td>
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<tr>
<td>3RD 3:3 SG</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø ~ wi</td>
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<tr>
<td>3RD 3:4 SG</td>
<td></td>
<td>mwa</td>
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<tr>
<td>3RD 3:5 SG</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

wirringarringkina thaka
/wirra + nga + rrängka + ni/ 3:2 this
2Nsg 3:2 see TNS

thathikwikiarrkikarrkka thapwarta
3:2 spider 3:2 dangerous

'Look at this dangerous spider!'
### Table 23: Intransitive Imperative Verb Prefixes (Surface Structure)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th>TRI</th>
<th>1st Du</th>
<th>Masc Du</th>
<th>SG</th>
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</table>

### Table 23: Transitive Imperative Verb Prefixes (Surface Structure)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject // Object</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>3•1 Non-SG</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>3•2 SG</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>3•3 SG</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>3•4 SG</th>
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*Note: The tables provide the imperative verb prefixes for both transitive and intransitive verbs in a language. The prefixes are organized by subject and object, with different suffixes for different grammatical cases.*
wirrirringka angapwa apwirtha
/wirra + ŏ + rringlyka/ 3:4 that there 3:4 whale
2Nsg 3:4 see
'Look at the whale over there!'

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

ngarwinakarrnga ngalhilhangwa akwingwa
/ō + nga + mwin(i) + akarrnga + ni/ 3:2-POSS 3:4 water
2Sg 3:2 BENE get water TNS
'Get the water for her!'

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

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

wirramwingkwirratjina
/wi{rr1} + rra + mwingkwirra + tja + ni/
2Nsg 3:1 care for TSR TNS
'[You three women] mind them [the children]!!'

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

(ii) When the second person singular subject occurs with a singular 3:4 object the verb prefix has two allomorphs wi- and ŏ- which
vary freely. The expected co-occurrence of these subject and object prefixes would result in zero plus zero. The allomorph wi- is harder to explain but it seems most likely to be the singular 3:4 object prefix because of its similarity to the actual mood equivalents, niwi- and kwii-. The following examples illustrate the variation between wi- and gi- in the 3:4 noun class object.

ningkana alyipwarnimwa
2Sg this /g + gi + alyipw(a) + arni + mwi/
2Sg 3:4 eat TNS PIP

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

yamwina athiswapwa
/g + gi + yam(w)a + ni/ today
2Sg 3:4 do TNS
'Do it today!'

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

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

althalymwa yantjarra niyamwa wingwa
3:4 river that way 3:3 said 3:3 crow
"You go that way and follow this river!" the crow said.

witmiya pwangkwilya akwa
/g + wi + m(w)i + yi/ 3:4 axe and
2Sg 3:4 pick up TNS

rithiya ana aka
/g + gi + ritha + yi/ 3:4 this 3:4-tree
2Sg 3:4 chop TNS
'Pick up the axe and chop down the tree!'
separate grammatical categories. The most likely explanation is that these prefixes do not imply a command but a polite request to a fellow-participant in the speech event. They are, therefore, NOT entered in Table 23 or 24. In this respect, the Imperative and Hortatory prefixes are alike.

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

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

amwarninjhangwa yikwa ngayiwawa yinglyamwa
3:4 stingray /ya + kwi/ 1ExcSg-ALL 3:2 said

'"You, my cousin, will miss the stingray. [So] you give [the spear] to me!" she said.'

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

6.3.1.38 Intransitive

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

awilyapana athikwina parrikilhangwiya
/Ø + awilyap(i) + ani/ there 3:4 gate-LPRG
2Sg enter TNS
'Go in through the gate!'

wirrilhikatja warnimwirra
/wirrre + nhik(a) + atja/ 3:1 these-COM
2Nsg go TNS
'Go along with them.'

Footnote 9: There are no examples of a first person inclusive object in the Imperative Mood in the texts. Any attempts to elicit such constructions did not achieve the desired results. Sentence structure was changed so that the object was marked for a peripheral not the accusative case.
ampirrarina /ŋ + ampirra + ni/ 2Sg wait TNS
ampwaka later 3:2 wife-KPOSS-ALL
thathingwiyanriwa

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

anhinga

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

tjayi winilhikatja yimantshiwa
go away /wi[rrli]̣ṇi + lhik[a] + atja/ 3:3 turtle-ALL
2MascDu go TNS

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

wipwikwampwilya
/wi[rra]pwik[wi] + ampwilya/
2Tri stay
'You three stay here!'

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

6.3.1.4 Hortatory mood

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

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

Footnote 10: First person utilises the Actual prefixation, e.g., 'let me do that for you' —> ngayiwa ngiyam. "kinga ningkwilhangwa 'I will do that for you'. Second person is semantic possibility in this type of construction.
Table 25 lists the surface prefixation for both the transitive and intransitive Hortatory. (See Section 4.1.1 for deletion rules for the Personal Pronoun Nucleus.)

6.3.1.4A Transitive

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

In the third person singular, each morpheme has two allomorphs: the allomorph with an initial /a/ occurs in first order and the allomorph with no initial vowel in second order. The third person plural has three allomorphs: apwirra- is used in the first order for both subject and object; påwi- without an initial /a/ is used for the second order subject; and the plural morpheme rra- for the second order object. The plural morphemes can be modified for dual and trial as shown in Table 26 above.
### Table 25: Intransitive Hortatory Verb Prefixes (Surface Structure)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd 3:1 PL</td>
<td>apui(rri)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd 3:1 TRI</td>
<td>apuvirrii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd 3:1 FEM DU</td>
<td>apuvirrii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd 3:1 MASC DU</td>
<td>apuvirrii / apuvirrii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd 3:2 SG</td>
<td>angi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd 3:3 SG</td>
<td>ani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd 3:4 SG</td>
<td>akui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd 3:5 SG</td>
<td>anwi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 25: Transitive HortatoryVerb Prefixes (Surface Structure)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT // OBJECT</th>
<th>1ST INCL NON-SG</th>
<th>1ST EXCL NON-SG</th>
<th>1ST INCL SG</th>
<th>1ST EXCL SG</th>
<th>3rd 3:1 PL</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd 3:1 PL</td>
<td>aka pui</td>
<td>yika pui</td>
<td>aka pui</td>
<td>yaka pui</td>
<td>ka pui</td>
<td>apuvirrii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd 3:1 TRI</td>
<td>aka pui</td>
<td>yika pui</td>
<td>aka pui</td>
<td>yaka pui</td>
<td>ka pui</td>
<td>apuvirrii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd 3:1 FEM DU</td>
<td>aka pui</td>
<td>yika pui</td>
<td>aka pui</td>
<td>yaka pui</td>
<td>ka pui</td>
<td>apuvirrii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd 3:1 MASC DU</td>
<td>aka pui</td>
<td>yika pui</td>
<td>aka pui</td>
<td>yaka pui</td>
<td>ka pui</td>
<td>apuvirrii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd 3:2 SG</td>
<td>aka ngi</td>
<td>yika ngi</td>
<td>aka ni</td>
<td>yaka ngi</td>
<td>ka ngi</td>
<td>apuvirrii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd 3:3 SG</td>
<td>aka ni</td>
<td>yika ni</td>
<td>aka ni</td>
<td>yaka ni</td>
<td>ka ni</td>
<td>apuvirrii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd 3:4 SG</td>
<td>aka kui</td>
<td>yika kui</td>
<td>aka kui</td>
<td>yaka kui</td>
<td>ka kui</td>
<td>apuvirra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd 3:5 SG</td>
<td>aka mui</td>
<td>yika mui</td>
<td>aka mui</td>
<td>yaka mui</td>
<td>ka mui</td>
<td>apuvira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD 3:1 NON-SG</td>
<td>3RD 3:2 SG</td>
<td>3RD 3:3 SG</td>
<td>3RD 3:4 SG</td>
<td>3RD 3:5 SG</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apuiriri</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>apuirri</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>ap(w)i(rr)i</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apuiriri</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>apuirripuiki</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>apuirripuiki</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apuiriri</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>ap(w)i(rr)i</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>apuirringi</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>rra</td>
<td>ap(w)i(rr)i</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>ap(w)i(rr)i</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3RD 3:1 NON-SG</th>
<th>3RD 3:2 SG</th>
<th>3RD 3:3 SG</th>
<th>3RD 3:4 SG</th>
<th>3RD 3:5 SG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apuiriri</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>apuirri</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>ap(w)i(rr)i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apuiriri</td>
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<td>apuirripuiki</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>apuirripuiki</td>
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<tr>
<td>apuiriri</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>ap(w)i(rr)i</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>apuirringi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apuiriri</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>ap(w)i(rr)i</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>ap(w)i(rr)i</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3RD 3:1 NON-SG</th>
<th>3RD 3:2 SG</th>
<th>3RD 3:3 SG</th>
<th>3RD 3:4 SG</th>
<th>3RD 3:5 SG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apuiriri</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>apuirri</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>ap(w)i(rr)i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apuiriri</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>apuirripuiki</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>apuirripuiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apuiriri</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>ap(w)i(rr)i</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>apuirringi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apuiriri</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>ap(w)i(rr)i</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>ap(w)i(rr)i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3RD 3:1 NON-SG</th>
<th>3RD 3:2 SG</th>
<th>3RD 3:3 SG</th>
<th>3RD 3:4 SG</th>
<th>3RD 3:5 SG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apuiriri</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>apuirri</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>ap(w)i(rr)i</td>
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<tr>
<td>apuiriri</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>apuirripuiki</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>apuirripuiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apuiriri</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>ap(w)i(rr)i</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>apuirringi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apuiriri</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>ap(w)i(rr)i</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>ap(w)i(rr)i</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3RD 3:1 NON-SG</th>
<th>3RD 3:2 SG</th>
<th>3RD 3:3 SG</th>
<th>3RD 3:4 SG</th>
<th>3RD 3:5 SG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apuiriri</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>apuirri</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>ap(w)i(rr)i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apuiriri</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>apuirripuiki</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>apuirripuiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apuiriri</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>ap(w)i(rr)i</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>apuirringi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apuiriri</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>ap(w)i(rr)i</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>ap(w)i(rr)i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The verb prefixation for the interaction of the Noun Class 3:4 and 3:5 as subject or object is angaka-. It is the same as for Noun Class 3:2 subject and 3:4 object. Such usage parallels the pronominal system in which the distinction between the non-human, masculine Noun Classes 3:2, 3:4 and 3:5 is being lost. (see Section 4.1.1.1).

6.3.1.4B Intransitive

The deep structure person morphemes for the intransitive Hortatory subject are shown below in Table 27. The intransitive subject prefixes are the same as those for the transitive verb.

TABLE 27: DEEP STRUCTURE INTRANSITIVE HORTATORY PREFIXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3RD</th>
<th>3:1 NON-SG</th>
<th>3RD</th>
<th>3:2 SG</th>
<th>3RD</th>
<th>3:3 SG</th>
<th>3RD</th>
<th>3:4 SG</th>
<th>3RD</th>
<th>3:5 SG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>apwi(rра)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>angа</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anи</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>аказа</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>амва</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

418
kwa anilhikatja katjingwa yilyakwa
here /ani + lhik{a} + atja/ so that 3:3 honey
3:2 go TNS
kinirringkinyatha
3:3+3:3 will see-PURP
'Let him come to see the honey.'
mwamwa angihikatja tawiniwa
okay /enga + lhik{a} + atja/ 3:4 Darwin-ALL
3:2 move TNS
'It's okay, let her go to Darwin.'
apwiniyakayina ~ apwirniyakayina anatja
/apwirринi == ap(w)i{rri}ni + yakaya + ni/ 3:3(i)-CofR
3:1MascDu stay together TNS
'Let the two of them marry.' / 'Let him marry her.'

6.3.1.5 Infinitive

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

thathikwatjarra tiritja
/th[a] + atha + k{wi} + atjarra/ 3:2(dii) dress
3:2 hfac NSR wash
'clean dress'

kingilhikatjamwa thathikwatjarra
3:2 is going /th[a] + atha + k{wi} + atjarra/
3:2 hfac NSR wash
'She is going to wash it.'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1ST</th>
<th>INCL PL</th>
<th>ngarni + kw1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1ST</td>
<td>INCL TRI</td>
<td>ngarripwik(w)ani + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST</td>
<td>INCL FEM SG</td>
<td>yathi + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST</td>
<td>INCL MASC SG</td>
<td>yan + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST</td>
<td>EXCL PL</td>
<td>yarni + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST</td>
<td>EXCL TRI</td>
<td>yirripwik(w)ani + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST</td>
<td>EXCL FEM DU</td>
<td>yirringathi + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST</td>
<td>EXCL MASC DU</td>
<td>yianani + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ST</td>
<td>EXCL SG</td>
<td>ningani + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>k(w)ani + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND</td>
<td>TRI</td>
<td>kuirripwik(w)ani + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND</td>
<td>FEM DU</td>
<td>kuirringathi + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND</td>
<td>MASC DU</td>
<td>k(w)inani + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>ningk(w)ani + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD</td>
<td>3:1 PL</td>
<td>warni + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD</td>
<td>3:1 TRI</td>
<td>wirripwik(w)ani + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD</td>
<td>3:1 FEM DU</td>
<td>wi(ri)ngathi + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD</td>
<td>3:1 MASC DU</td>
<td>winani + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD</td>
<td>3:2(1) SG</td>
<td>thathi + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD</td>
<td>3:2(2) SG</td>
<td>thani + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD</td>
<td>3:3(1) SG</td>
<td>nani + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD</td>
<td>3:3(2) SG</td>
<td>yini + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD</td>
<td>3:4 SG</td>
<td>a + kw1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD</td>
<td>3:5 SG</td>
<td>mwamu + kw1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1ExcSg+3:3 was wanting /naŋk̪i + 1hika/ comp.act 3:3 go
'I was wanting him to go.'

ŋürüŋk̪iŋiŋliŋhuŋa naŋk̪iŋk̪iŋiamumuŋa 3:3 bandicoot 3:3 is thinking

naŋk̪iŋk̪iŋwilŋhilŋapiyatha ɲipwirahimwantiŋa
3:3 ask PURP

katjinguŋa naŋk̪iŋk̪iŋk̪iŋiyatha wirrampwiliŋyiŋa
also /naŋk̪iŋk̪iŋ + kw̱i + yatha/ 3:1 two 3:3 give PURP

wirrayangariŋa
3:1 young
'Bandicoot was thinking about asking Wallaby to give him two of his children.'

ningitjinggaŋiŋyiŋa naŋk̪iŋk̪iŋk̪iŋk̪iŋkatjiŋa
1ExcSg was tiring /naŋk̪iŋk̪iŋ + 1hika(a) + atja + wa/
1ExcSg go TNS cont.act

'I was getting too tired to walk any further.'

naŋk̪iŋk̪iŋk̪iŋŋirrimiŋra naŋk̪iŋk̪iŋwariŋliŋhuŋa
3:2 was knowing 3:3 that /naŋk̪iŋk̪iŋ + warti + lhungwi/ 3:3 kill ABL

niŋwirrawiliŋa
3:3 rainbow
'He knew [he had] to kill Rainbow.'

ninginggaŋamwakamwa ɲaŋk̪iŋk̪iŋwiringantanyiŋyaŋa arakpwa
1ExcSg+3:2 am telling /ɲaŋk̪iŋk̪iŋ + ringanta + yatha/ comp.act

yipwiratha
3:2 Wallaby
'I am telling her to cut the wallaby up.'

ŋaspringka ɲasramwakimwam ɲaŋk̪iŋk̪iŋwilŋhawirratiŋyaŋa
again 1IncNsg are telling /ɲaŋk̪iŋk̪iŋ + lhwirratha + yatha/ 2Pl return PURP

'We are telling all of you again that you should return.'

wirrikwalanha warningkwarpwa naŋk̪iŋk̪iŋamwiriŋa akwingwa
3:1 some 3:1 men 3:1+3:3 are taking 3:4 water

katjinguŋa naŋk̪iŋk̪iŋpakiŋyaŋa
so that /naŋk̪iŋ[wa] + paki + yatha/ 3:3 drink PURP

'Some [of the other] men are taking water for him to drink.'

In the above examples, the infinitive prefixation agrees with a subject or object consisting of a human or non-human animate. When
the object of the transitive verb in the first clause is inanimate
the infinitive prefix agrees with the subject and not the object.

narrarrangpamwakana anhinga apwawirna wirrakina
3:1+3:4 collected 3:4 food 3:4 many 3:1 those

warnikwalyipwariyathana
/warnik[w] + alyipwara + yatha/
3:1 eat PURP
'They collected lots of food so that they could eat it.'

naningimwawalhpwana ningayinthangimwakana aningiapwa
3:3 bat 3:3+3:4 was wanting-INTENS 3:4 good

aningkwa nanikwiwartiyathana nakina
3:4 spear /nanikwi + warti + yatha/ 3:3 that
3:3 kill PURP
'Bat was wanting a good spear to kill him [Rainbow].'

6.3.2 Number

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

6.3.2.1 Dual

The third order dual number prefix lhirraka- can co-occur with
either a singular or non-singular subject or object prefix. When the
mood prefix is already non-singular the number prefix marks non-
singularity a second time; when the mood prefix is singular the dual
number prefix indicates that the cross-referent consists of two
individual items. In the following examples, the third order dual
number prefix is shown in agreement with and contiguous to the
intransitive subject and the transitive object.
nilhirrakampwilyimwa
/n1 + lhirrak[a] + ampwilya + mwi/
3:3(1i)Sg SDU stay PIP
'The two reptiles are staying here.'

nalhirrakampwilyamwa
/na + lhirrak[a] + ampwily(a) + amwi/
3:4 SDU stay NPIP
'The two fish are staying here.'

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

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

kinimwalhirrakingatjina
/mwangwiyiwa nga
/kini + mwa + lhirraka + ngatja + n1/ 3:5 shark
3:3 SDU kill TNS
'He will kill the two sharks.'

yarralhirrakingatjina
/yakwi + rra + lhirraka + ngatja + n1/
1InSG 3:1 ODU hit TNS
'We two hit the two of them.'

wirralhirrakakwiratjina
/wirralhirrakakwiratjina
/wi{rra} + rra + lhirraka + akwira + tja + n1/
2Nsg 3:1 ODU look after TSR TNS

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

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

nanilhirrakapwirrimwira
/nanilhirrakapwirrimwira
/na{rra} + n1 + lhirrak[a] + apwirra + mhirra/
3:1 3:3 ODU leave behind PIP
'He were leaving the two of them behind.'

karrangalhirrakwirringkina
/karrangalhirrakwirringkina
/karr + nga + lhirraka + rringka + n1/
3:1 3:2 ODU see TNS
'She will look at the two women.'
yikapwilhirrakingatjina
/yik{a} + apwi + lhirraka + ngatja + ni/
1ExcDu 3:1 ODU hit TNS
'They will hit us two.'

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

yikingilhirrakingatjinamwa
/yikinga + n + lhirraka + ngatja + n{1} + amwi/
2FemDu 3:4 ODU kill TNS NPIP
'You two [woman] can kill the two fish.'

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

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

yirripwikimwahirratjawihiyiniwa
/yirripwikwi + mwa + lhirra[ka] + tjawitha + ya + ni + wa/
1ExcTri 3:4 ODU get onto ONsg TNS ALL
'The three of us hopped into the two canoes.'

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

yikilhirrakingatjinamwa
/yika + n + lhirraka + ngatja + n{1} + amwi/
2Nsg 3:4 ODU kill TNS NPIP

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

424
6.3.2.2 Plural

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

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

yirriwirrakirikwpwitjangayina
/yirra + wirraka + rikwpwitjang[a] + aya + ni/
1ExcNsg SPL jump SNsg TNS
'Ve all jumped.'

yirripwikwiwirrakilyiwakatjina
/yirripwikwi + wirraka + Ø + liyiwaka + tja + ni/
1ExcTri SPL 3:4 go around TSR TNS
'We all went around the cape.'

karramwiwirrakingatjina
/karr[a] + amwi + wirraka + ngatja + ni/
3:1 3:5 SPL kill TNS
'The sharks will kill them.'

nawirrakapwathangamwirra ~ namwirntakapwathangamwirra
/na[rpa] + (wirrak[a] ~ mwirntak[a]) + apwath(a) + ang(a) + amwirra/
3:1 SPL be scared TNS NPIP
'They are being frightened.'

yirimwirntamwirntakaihalhikaniwa
/yirra + mwirnta[ka] + mwirntak[a] + alhalhik(a) + ani + wa/
1ExcNsg REDUP SPL REDUP:go TNS ALL
'A very large number of us kept on going.'

In the transitive verbs, the plural morpheme always occurs in third order. The plural number prefix and the object prefix it modifies are not always contiguous because a second order subject prefix may intervene.
kawirrakangetjina
/(ka)  + ka + wirraka + ngatja + ni/
1ExcSg 3:1 OPL kill TNS
'I will kill them all.'

karripwikimwawirrakirringkamwa
/karripwikw1 + mwa + wirraka + rringk(a) + amw1/
3:1Tri 3:5 OPL see NPIP
'The three of them might be seeing the large number of canoes.'

namwirrntakilyangpwirrkwa
/na[ra] + og + mwrntaka + lyangpwirrkwa/
3:1 3:4 OPL fill
'They filled many places [with water].'

yikakwirrakirringatjina
/yik(a) + aka + wirraka + ngatja + ni/
2Nsng 3:4 OPL kill TNS
'The fish will kill you all.'

nan1mwrntakirringka
/na[ra] + ni + mwrntaka + rringka/
3:1 3:3 OPL see
'He saw the large group of them.'

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

yilhirrakirringka  ngayiwa  akwa  yiliitjipwitja
/ya + lhirraka + rringka/
1IncSg  ODU see
You saw Elizabeth and me.'

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

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

yikipwikwingatjinamwa akwalyakwiyimwantja
/yikipwikwi + ngatja + n[i] + amwi/ 3:4 fish-DU-LOC
2Tri 3:4 kill TNS NPIP
'You three can kill the two fish.'

narringimwirntakiwilyakamwirra
/narringa + wilyak(a) + amwirra/
3:1FemDu 3:4 OPL bring NPIP

apwapwirna anhinga
3:4 many 3:4 food
'The two of them are bringing lots of food.'

narringimwirntakilyakwirhamwa
/narringa + mwyakwikw[i] + amwirra/
3:1FemDu 3:5 OPL soak NPIP

mwarntakirriyarrawiya
3:5 yam-PL
'Two of the women are soaking many Long Yams.'

nimwirntakitharrypikamwa
/n1 + wilyak(a) + tharrypwi + k[a] + amwi/
3:3 3:4 OPL short CAUS NPIP

ahhika akwa yina.
3:4 foot and 3:3 knee joint
'The bandicoot is folding his legs.' (Lit: shortening foot and knee)

The non-singular rrg- morpheme in the subject prefixation is almost always deleted preceding the non-singular number prefixes. As this is not consistent with syllable deletion by the Haplogly Rule, the third order plural number prefix is best considered to be a replacement of the non-singular number morpheme rra-.

nalhirratjawithiyina
/nalrra + lhirracki + tjawi + tha + ya + ni/
3:1 SDU ride INCH ONsg TNS
'They both went in the canoe.'

nalhiritmawirntakimwirrayangaka
/nalrra + mwirntak + mwyakwikw[i] + ang[a] + aki/
3:1 REDUP SPL hunger TNS INTENS
'They were all very hungry.'

427
6.3.3 Benefactive

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

*nawirrakampwilyimwa*

*/na{rra} + wirrak[a] + ampwilya + mwi/ 3:1 SPL stay PIP*

'All the dogs were staying [home].'

*apwiwirrakilhikatja*

*/apwi{rra} + wirrak[a] + lhi{k}[a] + atja/ 3:1 SPL go TNS*

'Let them all go.'

**wirripwina warnimwamwalya**

*3:1 these unseen 3:1 Aborigines*

*nanimwinangkirrayinimwa*

*/na{rra} + ni + mwin[i] + angkirr[a] + aya + ni + mwi/ 2:1 3:3 BENE run SNsg TNS PIP*

'Those [other] Aborigines were chasing it`[the snake] away for him.'

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

*yipwamwinipwayanthanamwa*

*/yipwa + m[w]ini + pwayanth[a] + an[i] + amwi/ 1ExcSg BENE buy TNS NPIP*

'I will be going to Alyangkula and will be buying an axe for you.'

*nara kanimwiningayinthanga anilhangwa*

*nara /ka{rra} + ni + muwini + ngayinth[a]/ not 3:1 3:3 BENE want*

*alhikwantja 3:4 dance*

'He did not want [to do] the dance for them.'

*kapwimwiningakpwirakinamwa katana*

*/k[a] + apwi + m[w]ini + ngakpwiraka + n[i] + amwi/ 3:1 3:4 garden*

1ExcSg 3:1 BENE make TNS NPIP
The Benefactive morpheme $mwi$ can also occur in an intransitive reflexive or reciprocal verb. In the verb prefixation, the Benefactive implies a covert indirect object which is identical with the subject. A free form indirect object does not co-occur.

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

ngarrirripwikiminakarrngatjingwina
/ngarrirripi + m(w)ini[i] + akarrnga + tjingwi + ni/
1IncTri BENE get water REFL TNS
'We three got water for ourselves.'

6.4 VERB SUFFIXATION

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

6.4.1 Verb classes

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

Two classification systems are operating in the assignment of a verb root or stem to a specific verb class. In both systems, the
classification is arbitrary, i.e., no phonological or semantic criteria have been found for assigning a root to a specific class.

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

ningithithangimwa
/ningga + õ + thitha + anga + mwi/
1ExcSg 3:4 shut 2B(i) PIP

ningithitinimwa
/ningga + õ + thitha + ni + mwi/
1ExcSg 3:4 scratch 1A PIP

ninganilyangpwatjanga
/ningga + ani + lyangpwatja + anga/
1ExcSg 3:3 head:hit 2B(i)

ningingpwatjingimwa
/ningga + õ + ng{ki} + pwatja + ni + mwi/
1ExcSg 3:4 unspec smell 1A PIP

ngarrimwingwilhinga
/ntag / + mwingwilha + nga/
1IncNsg cheeks:lie down 1B

ngarriringwilhanga
/ntag / + ringwilh[a] + anga/
1IncNsg 3:4 grind 2B(i)

angkarrinamwa
/õ + angkarra + ni[1] + amwi/
2Sg run 1A NPIP

angkirratjamwa
/õ + angkirr[i] + atj[a] + amwi/
2Sg listen 2C NPIP

'I was shutting it.'
'I was scratching it.'
'I hit his head.'
'I was smelling it.'
'We all slept.'
'We ground it.'
'Be running!'
'Be listening!'

The second system places all verb stems which incorporate a stem formative or marked by the number suffix into Verb Class 1A. This supersedes the assignment of the root itself to another class. The following examples contrast this verb stem classification with the verb root classification.
The verb roots and stems divide into two major classes based on the presence or absence of the morpheme-initial vowel /a/. These two classes can be further grouped into a maximum of three separate subclasses distinguishable by contrasting pairs of allomorphs for past and non-past tenses. There are also some other minor differences in morpheme shapes, usually accounted for by phonological criteria.

Table 29 presents the five possible verb classes and subclasses. The tense morphemes are neutralised in Sub-class A but are identifiable as being used for both past and non-past by the addition of a past or non-past aspect suffix. Verb Class I does not have a sub-class C. (Note: The high vowel following /n/ and /rn/ in A subclasses is based on symmetry with B. The allophones preceding the nasals are predictable, i.e., [a] precedes /rn/ and [e] precedes /n/.)
The number of verb roots or stems which occur in each verb class differs greatly. The percentages are based on a dictionary corpus of 442 verbs which have 251 different verb roots. The statistical count has only been done for roots or stems which do not include a stem formative because their inclusion would skew the results towards an abnormally large number in Class 1A.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>No. of Examples</th>
<th>No. of Verb Roots</th>
<th>Percentage of Roots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1A</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1B</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2A</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2B</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2C</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>442</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

432
The fact that neutralisation occurs in 61% of the data (Classes 1A and 2A) indicates that verb classification and its corresponding tense contrast has a low functional load in Anindilyakwa. Verb class suffixation is also neutralised in the Actual Negative. Furthermore, the verb classification for all verbs can be replaced by the suffix -ya. Although it is recorded occasionally in texts from the older generation this replacement is probably a language acquisition technique (as supported by some Aborigines who mentioned it was used when speaking to children and the young children's replacement of all prefixation by -a). When checking the data, some Aborigines have preferred the information: "when talking to a child".

6.4.1.1 Verb Class 1A

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

yingingwinakilharrinimwa 'She was kneeling.'
/yinga + ngwinakilharr + ni + mwi/
3:2 knee:fall 1A PIP

ningwathinamwa 'He is wailing.'/ni +
/ngwatha + n[i] + amwi/
3:3 cry 1A NPIP

wirrarrikpinamwa 'Be throwing it!'
/wirr[a] + ø + arrikpi + n[i] + amwi/
2Msg 3:4 throw 1A NPIP

ningiripwikwin 'I folded it.'
/ninga + ri[kwi] + pwikwi + ni/
1ExcSg body fold 1A

Verb Class 1A includes all the verb stems with a stem formative for Inchoative, Causative or Transitive, or that are suffixed by a Reflexive, Reciprocal, or Number morpheme. One of example of each is
nangkalyithinamwa
/na + ngkalya +atha + n[i] + amwi/
3:4 wet INCH 1A NPIP
'It is getting wet.'

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

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

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

kamwirntikwaynamwirra
/ka(rra) + Ø + mwarntikw[i] + aya + n[i] + amwirra/
3:1 3:4 divide RECP 1A NPIP
'They will all be sharing [the food] with each other.'

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

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

ningirikwilhalhingimwa
/ninga + rikwilhalha + ng[a] + amwi/
1ExcSg body:sit (=shallow) 1B NPIP
'I was squatting down.'
nampwilyingimwa
/ni + ampwilyi + nga + mwi/
3:3 stay 1B PIP
'He was staying.'

mwingwilhinamwa
/ŋ + mwingwilha + ni + amwi/
2Sg cheeks: lie down 1B NPIP
'Be sleeping!' / 'Go to sleep!'

6.4.1.1 Verb Class 2

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

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

ningiyinthirrwarnimwa
/ninga + ŋ + yinthirrw[a] + arni + mwi/
1Exc3G 3:4 upper back: bury 2A(i) PIP

nimwarrwarnamwa
/n + mwarw[a] + arni + mwi/
3:3 wander 2A(i) NPIP

yingimwirntiwarna
/ynga + ŋ + mwirntw[a] + arni/
3:2 3:4 divide 2A(i)

'He is wandering around.'

'I was burying it.'

'She counted them.'

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

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

kakwimwirnamwamw
/k[α] + ø + akimwa + arni => irn[a] + amwi/
1ExcSg 3:4 put 2A(ii) NPIP
'I will be putting it there.'

ngayakirnamwamw ~ ngayakirnamwamw
/ø + nga + yaka + arni => irn[a] + amwi/
2Sg 3:2 take away 2A(ii) NPIP
'Be abducting her!'

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

nalharrkiwilyakana
/na + lharrkiwilyak(a) + anî/
3:4 bone:go around 2A(iii)
'It rolled over.'

kilyingkwanamwamw
/ka + ø + lyingkw[i] + an[i] + amwi/
1ExcSg 3:4 spread 2A(iii) NPIP
'I will be spreading it.'

walhthathanamwamw
/w[i] + alhthath(a) + an[i] + amwi/
2Sg wing:pierce 2A(iii) NPIP
'Be piercing it!'

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

ningimwarntirrangimwamw
/ninga + mw[a] + arntirr(a) + anga + mwi/
1ExcSg 3:5 dislike 2B PIP
'I was wakeful all night.'
Verb Class 2C consists of ten verb roots marked by -ani for the past tense and by -atja for the non-past tense. The past tense -ani freely varies with -arni in some words. Six of the verbs are intransitive and four are transitive.

kilhikatjamwa
/ka + lhik[a] + atj[a] + amwi/  
1ExcSg  go  2C  NPIP

narnatakanimwa ~ narntakarnimwa
/n[i] + arntak[a] + a(r)ni + mwi/  
3:3  fish with a spear  2C  PIP

wilyapwatjamwa
/wi + lyapw[a] + atj[a] + amwi/  
2Sg  test  2C  NPIP

6.4.2 Tense and Aspect

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

6.4.2.1 Tense

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

yingithithanga
/ynga + ø + thith[a] + anga/
3:2 3:4 shut PTNS
'She shut it.'

kingithithana
/kgng + ø + thith[a] + anj/
3:2 3:4 shut NPTNS
'She will shut it.'

ngarrimwakimwarna
/ngarra + mw[a] + akwimw[ñ] + anj/
1IncNsg 3:5 hold PTNS
'We held [the boat].'

ngarrimwakimwira
/ngarra + mw[a] + akwimwi + rñj/
1IncNsg 3:5 hold NPTNS
'We hold [the boat].'

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

Actual + Past

ningarntakana
/ning[a] + ø + arntak[a] + anj + ø/ 1ExcSg this 3:4 fish-ALL
1ExcSg 3:4 spearfish PTNS PRF

yarringkwa
yesterday
'I went spear-fishing yesterday.'

Actual + Non-past

ningarntakatjamwa
/ning[a] + ø + arntak[a] + atj[a] + amwi/ 1ExcSg this now
1ExcSg 3:4 spear-fish NPTNS NPIP
'I am going spear-fishing right now.'
Potential + Non-past

kilhikatja karntakatja
/k[a] + lhik[a] + atja/ /k[a] + Ø + arntak[a] + atja/
1ExcSg go NPTNS 1ExcSg 3:4 spear-fish NPTNS

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

Imperative + Non-past

arntakatja akwalya athwapwa
/Ø + Ø + arntak[a] + atja/ 3:4 fish today
2Sg 3:4 spear-fish NPTNS
'Spear-fish today!' / 'Go spear-fishing today!'

Negated Potential + Past

nara kilhikana akwalyiwa
not /ka + lhik[a] + an1/ 3:4 fish-ALL
1ExcSg go PTNS

karntakana yarringkwa
/k[a] + Ø + arntak[a] + an1/ yesterday
1ExcSg 3:4 spear-fish PTNS
'I did not go and spear-fish yesterday.'

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

Negated Actual + Past + Past Imperfective

nara arntakangimwa
not /(a) + arntak[a] + anga + mwi/ 1ExcSg this
NEV spear-fish PTNS PIP

akwalyiwa arningkwaya
3:4 fish-ALL tomorrow
'I am not fishing here tomorrow.'
The tense morpheme is optional but its omission does not create ambiguity. Its absence preceding the imperfective aspect morpheme reduces the redundancy caused by the marking of tense in both suffixes. Only the past tense allomorph can occur with a Negated Potential mood prefix and a perfective aspect suffix. (Note: The Potential prefix unmarked by the tense allomorph has not been found.)

**Actual + [no past tense] + Perfective**

```
yathikina napwikwiyartha
from there /napwikwi + yartha + Ø/
3:1Tri arrive PRF
'The three of them arrived [back] from there.'
```

**Negated Actual + [no non-past tense] + Non-past Imperfective**

```
wirrikwalha nara alhikamwa kwiliwa
3:1 some not /a + lhik[a] + amwa/ 3:4 school-ALL
NEV go NPIP

angwinyampwilhangwa nwaranamwa
3:4 teasing-ABL 3:1 are not wanting
'Some are not going to school [because] they are not wanting to be teased.' / 'Some do not go to school...'
```

**Negated Actual + [no past tense] + Past Imperfective**

```
nara ningana awarthimwa warka
not 1ExcSg this /a + Ø + warthi + mwi/ 3:4 work
NEV 3:4 work PIP
'I was not working [at the hospital].'
```
Negated Potential + [no past tense] + Perfective

nara kithaka mwana ningiwarthangimwa
not /ka + thaka + Ø/ CSL 1ExcSg was working
1ExcSg cook PRF

katanimwantja
3:4 garden-LOC
'I did not cook it because I was working in the garden.' / 'I could not cook it because I was gardening.'

The verb root can occur occasionally without any suffixation when the verb prefixation is Actual or Potential (not, to date, in Imperative). The absence of the tense/verb class morpheme involves a perfective aspect but the difference in this usage is not really known. It seems to occur in discourses in the same position as the Terminative clitic -tha (see Section 8.2.2.3). If this is correct the absence indicates termination of an event.

natjarritha
/na + tjarr + Ø + tha/
3:1 finish PRF TRM
'It [the story] is finished.'

yakwitjina arra napwikwimwingwilha
there (name) /napwikwi + mwingwilha + Ø/
3:1Tri sleep PRF
'The three of them slept at Erra.'

pwiya athirra l-pwiranga
then 3:4 hole /k[a] + ek(wi) + pwiranga + Ø/ 3:4 that
2Sg NSR find PRF

yaratjilangwa
3:3(ii) goanna-POSSE
'And then you will find a goanna's hole.'

6.4.2.2 Aspect

The allomorphs of the aspect suffix contrast perfective versus imperfective aspects. The perfective aspect is unmarked; the imperfective has a tense contrast between -amwi ~ amwirra (non-past) and -mwi ~ mwirra (past). The most marked is the imperfective.
The definitions of perfective and imperfective aspects provided by Comrie (1976:16,24) describe very succinctly the semantic concepts for these aspects in Anindilyakwa.

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

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

nilhikatja
/ni + lhik(a) + atja + ¯/  
3:3 go    NPTNS    PRF

'He goes.'

nilhikana
/ni + lhik(a) + ani + ¯/  
3:3 go    PTNS    PRF

'He went.'

kinilhikatja
/kini + lhik(a) + atja + ¯/  
3:3 go    NPTNS    PRF

'He will go.'

nilhikatjamwa
/ni + lhik(a) + atj(a) + amwi/  
3:3 go    NPTNS    NPIP

'He is going.'

nilhikanimwa
/ni + lhik(a) + ani + mwi/  
3:3 go    PTNS    PIP

'He was going.'

kinilhikatjamwa
/kini + lhik(a) + atj(a) + amwi/  
3:3 go    NPTNS    NPIP

'He will be going.'
The tense and aspect suffixes interact with the verb mood prefixes but there are co-occurrence restrictions. The tense in both the tense morpheme and the aspect morpheme must be in agreement. Hortatory has only been recorded with the non-past perfective aspect (see Section 6.4.2.2 for examples). Table 31 shows the mood prefixation (in the boxes) which can occur with tense or aspect suffixation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Past Imperfective</th>
<th>Non-past Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-past</td>
<td>Actual</td>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>Hortatory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>Actual</td>
<td>Actual</td>
<td>Potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neg.Potential</td>
<td>Neg.Actual</td>
<td>Hortatory</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples illustrate the co-occurrence of the perfective aspect with the Actual, Potential and Imperative moods.

**Actual + Past + Perfective**

arakpwa ningitjarr1kwina
comp.act /ninga + tjarrikwa + ni + ø/
1ExCSg finish PTNS PRF
'I have already finished.' / 'I am finished.'

wirripwina wirratjitja nahnarrina akwa
3:1 those 3:1 birds /na + lharra + ni + ø/ and
3:1 fall PTNS PRF

niwanthirrarina aki1hangwa
/niw(a) + anthirrar1 + ni + ø/ 3:4 tree-ABL
3:1 peep PTNS PRF
'Those birds came down and peeped from the tree.'
Actual + Non-past + Perfective

ningkwartakatja yahakwa
/naking{wi} + Ø + arnt,entak{a} + atja + Ø/ here
2Sg 3:4 REDUP:spearfish NPTNS PRF
'Do you always spear-fish here?'

ngaiwa ngilhikatja mwana
1ExcSg /ninga + lhik{a} + atja + Ø/ CSL
1ExcSg go NPTNS PRF

atjingkwipwapwa ngalhatja
3:4 tired-CSL 3:2(i)-CofR
'I go because she is sick.'

Potential + Non-past + Perfective

karntakatja akwalyiwa lharrwira
/k{a} + Ø + arntak{a} + atja + Ø/ 3:4 fish-ALL afternoon
2Sg 3:4 spear-fish NPTNS PRF
'Will you spear-fish [this] afternoon?'

tjayi lhikatja anana nganyangwa angalya (go) away 2Sg go 3:4 this 1ExcSg-POSS 3:4 place

karntakatjiyatha akwalya
/k{a} + arntak{a} + atja + Ø + yatha/ 3:4 fish
1ExcSg spear-fish NPTNS PRF PURP
'Go away! This is my place for fishing.' / 'Go away! This is my place so that I can fish.'

Imperative + Non-past + Perfective

tjaya ngangkwirna thangapwa
away /Ø + nga + angkwir + rni + Ø/ 3:2(i) that there
2Sg 3:2 get NPTNS PRF

thirntana
3:2(i) mother-KPOSS
'Go away! Get your mother!'

wirringarringkina thaka
/wirra + nga + rringkwir + ni + Ø/ 3:2(ii) this
2Nsg 3:2(ii) see NPTNS PRF

thakikwiwarrkiwarrka
3:2(ii) spider
'Look at this spider!'

The following examples illustrate the co-occurrence of the imperfective aspect suffixes with the Actual, Potential and Imperative prefixation.
Actual + Past + Past Imperfective

ningkwartananimwa yahakwa yarringkwa
/ningk(wi) + Ø + arntak(a) + ani + mwi/ here yesterday
2Sg 3:4 spearfish PTNS PIP
'We were spear-fishing here yesterday.'

arakpawinya wirrarimwirimwa natjittjangimwa
long ago 3:1 very big /na + Ø + tjittj(i) + anga + mwi/
1:3 3:4 REDUP:eat PTSN PIP
'A long time ago the giants kept on eating [the fruit].'

Actual + Non-past + Non-past Imperfective

angarripiwa ningwilhikatjamwa angalyiwa
that way /ningkwi + lhik(a) + atj(a) + amwi/ 3:4 place-ALL
2Sg go NPTNS NPIP
'Which way are you going home?'

ngayiwa ntingalhikatjamwa
1ExcSg /ning[a] + alhik(a) + atj(a) + amwi/
1ExcSg REDUP:go NPTNS NPIP

ningingarringarranamwa nganyangwa
/ninga + ngingarrarr(a) + an(i) + amwi/ 1ExcSg-POSS
1ExcSg REDUP:visit NPTNS NPIP

thirntirrka pwiritjipaniwa athiwayiwiya
3:2(i) mother-KPOSS (name)-ALL for a while-TPRG
'I always keep going to Brisbane to see my mother for a few days.'

Potential + Non-past + Non-past Imperfective

karntakatjamwa akwalya arningkwaya
/k(a) + Ø + arntak(a) + atj(a) + amwi/ 3:4 fish tomorrow
1ExcSg 3:4 spear-fish NPTNS NPIP

ningana
1ExcSg this
'I will be going spear-fishing tomorrow.'

ampwarrngarna kalyangpwikwatjinamwa
3:4 now many? /ka + Ø + lyangpwikwatja + n(i) + amwi/
2Sg 3:4 fold TNS NPIP

pwatjikala
3:4 billycan
'How much [water] can you be fitting into the billycan?' / 'How much [water] will fit in the billycan?'

Imperative + Non-past + Non-past Imperfective

nimwinakarranginamwa akwingwa anilhangwa
/n1 + mwini + akarrnga + n(i) + amwa/ 3:4 water 3:3(1)-POSS
3:3 BENE get water TNS NPIP
'Be getting the water for him!'
Negated Potential + Past + Perfective

nara ningana karntakana /k[a] + Ø + arntak[a] + ani + Ø/
not 1ExcSG this 1ExcSG 3:4 spear-fish PTNS PRF

NPTNS

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

mwaniwapwa nara kilhikana kwiliwa CSL not /ka + lh1k[a] + ani + Ø/
not 1ExcSG go 1ExcSG 3:4 school PTNS PRF

'Why didn't you go to school?'

Negated Potential + Non-past + Perfective

nara ningana kalhalhikatja
not 1ExcSG this /k[a] + alhalhik[a] + atja + Ø/
'I never go.'

Negated Actual + Past + Past Imperfective

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

akwalya arakpwa ningitjingwinamwipwapwa 3:4 fish comp.act 1ExcSG am tiring-CSL
'I was not spear-fishing because I am [feeling] tired.'
nara yalhakwa arntakangimwa ningkana
not here /a + arntak[a] + ange + mwi/ 2Sg this
NEV spear-fish PTNS PIP

'You should not to be spear-fishing here.' / 'Don't be spear-fishing here!' 

There appear to be two variants of the non-past tense and aspect sequence -angimwi for the Negated Actual. The medial syllable elides in the variant -amwi and the two forms occur frequently in free variation. The other variant -ingamwi is quite rare, occurring in only about five words. As the final surface vowel in the root is always /a/, there is a possibility that this alternative is caused by metathesis of the vowels.

nara alharrka(ngi)mwa nakina ningkwilhangwa
not /a + lharrk[a] + a(nga) + mwi/ 3:3(i) that 2Sg-POSS
NEV release PTNS NPIP

niwarta
3:3(i) dog

'You are not to be releasing your male dog.' / 'Don't be releasing your male dog!'

nara arringka(ngi)mwa ngakwirrilhangwa
not /a + rringk[a] + a(nga) + mwi/ 1IncPl-POSS
NEV see PTNS NPIP

mwanpwa
3:5 eye

'Our eyes cannot be seeing [the scabies mite].'

nara yalhakwa angariwikangamwa ningkana
not here /a + ngariwik + ange mwi =⇒ ingamwa/ 2Sg this
NEV line-fish PTNS PIP

'You are not to be line-fishing here.' / 'Don't line-fish here!'

6.4.3 Number

The verb can optionally be marked by the non-singular suffix, -eya ~ -atje, which precedes the tense or aspect suffixation. It refers to the subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive verb. (See also Section 6.2.2.4)
ngalhilhangwa  mwanpakwiya  nimmwingwathayina
3:2(1)-POSS  3:5 eye-DU  /nimwa + ngwath[a] + aya + ni/
3:5  cry  SNsg  TNS
'She cried.' (Lit: her two eyes cried)
akwa  nanirringka  wirrampwilyimwa  wirratjitja
and  3:1+3:3 saw  3:1 two  3:1 bird

niwangkirrayinimwa
/niw[a] + angkarra  => angkirra + aya + ni + mwi/
3:1  run  SNsg  TNS  PIP
'He saw the two birds flying away.'
yirririkwpwitjangayina
/yirra + rikwpwitjang[a] + aya + ni/
3:4 jetty-LOC  SNsg  TNS
1ExcNsg  body:jump
'they got off at the wharf.'
yingakpwirangkayina
/ying[a] + Ø + akpwirangk[a] + aya + ni/  again  3:4 food
3:2  3:4 search for  ONsg  TNS
'She searched again for [various types of] vegetable foods.'
yirrrakina
/yirrirwmirntikwayinimwa
1ExcPl those  /yirra + Ø + mwrntikw[i] + aya + ni + mwi/
1ExcNsg  put together  ONsg  TNS  PIP
yirritharrngkaga
/akiniwa  ayakwa
3:4 that-ALL  3:4 word
'We women were discussing matters.' (Lit: put words together)

The non-singular suffix appears to have a hardened counterpart,
-aya ~ -atja, which occurs in free variation but only (as far as is
known) in certain verbs. For some verb roots (as in the last
example), the non-singular suffix appears to form an idiomatic verb
root. (Note: As tense suffixation follows this number morpheme it
cannot be part of the verb classification system.)

rikwitharrwpikwayina ~ rikwitharrwpikwatjina
Ø + rikwitharrwpikw[i] + aya ~ atja + ni/
2Sg  body:make short  ONsg  TNS
'Sit with your legs tucked under!' (Lit: make your bodies short)

ngarriyiwayinimwa ~ ngarriy:watjimwa
/ngarra + yl[a] + aya ~ atja + mwi/
1IncNsg  follow  SNsg  PIP
'We were all following in single file.'

448
ningimwitjikayinamwa ~ ningimwitjikatjnamwa
/ninga + Ø + mwitjik(a) + aya ~ ojja + n[i] + amwi/
1ExcSg 3:4 pick up ONsg TNS NIP
'I am picking up the little bits and pieces.'

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

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

nawirrakingp wiringkathayina
/na + wirraka + ngp wiringka + th(a) + aya + ni/
3:4 SPL dry INCH SNsg TNS
'Everything got dry.'

ngarri wirrakitharrpwikwatjina
/ngarra + Ø + wirraka + tharrpwikw(a) + atja + ni/
1IncNsg 3:4 OPL shorten ONsg TNS
'We all put the things together.'