

The Mpakwithi dialect of Anguthimri *by Terry Crowley*

1. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

1.1 LINGUISTIC TYPE

The Mpakwithi people (phonetically [mbakwiɬi], phonemically, /bakwiɬi/), who speak a dialect of Anguthimri, have a language with one of the most unusual phonological systems to be found in Australia. This language allows words to be of one syllable, and words can begin with a wide range of double consonants, or clusters of even three or four consonants (though the number and complexity of these clusters is reduced by treating certain phonetic sequences as phonological units). It is also unusual in that there is a phonologically distinctive fricative series, and a glottal stop. The vowel system is very rich - in fact the richest in Australia as far as the present writer knows - and rather unsymmetrical. There are several nasal vowels and also several front rounded vowels.

Despite its aberrant appearance, however, the language of the Mpakwithi is clearly derived from a proto-language which was very similar to the more 'Australian-looking' languages of other parts of Cape York Peninsula, particularly those to the east and the south. This language is in fact quite closely related to the languages clustered around the mouths of the Hey, Mission and Embley Rivers in Albatross Bay, and also to the languages between Port Musgrave and Albatross Bay. It is also related, though slightly less closely, to the hinterland languages. See 2.5 for a discussion of the phonological changes we can deduce to have taken place in the language spoken by the Mpakwithi.

In its grammatical structure, this language is, however, far from aberrant. Like all of the languages of Cape York Peninsula (and indeed, the rest of Queensland), it is a wholly suffixing language. Verbs are divided into four basic conjugational classes, which correspond in some degree to transitivity classes (conjugations 1 and 2 being predominantly transitive and conjugations 3 and 4 being predomi-

antly intransitive). There is also a fair number of irregular verbs. There is no pronominal incorporation in the verb.

Nouns mark the following cases: absolutive, ergative/instrumental, dative/purposive, genitive/benefactive, ablative/causal, locative/allative and desiderative. Nouns with human reference also optionally take a suffix when they are used as the object of a transitive verb. Nouns are divided into declension groups which determine the form of the ergative/instrumental and genitive/benefactive suffixes. There is no obvious semantic or phonological basis for these declension classes.

The pronoun system marks the same case functions as the noun system except that while nouns mark an ergative-absolutive contrast, pronouns mark nominative-accusative contrast and there is only a single pronominal 'oblique' form for locative/allative/dative/purposive. The pronominal number and person distinctions made are the same as for a great many other languages of Australia, i.e. three numbers with an inclusive-exclusive distinction in the first person non-singular.

The basic word order pattern is S-O-V.

1.2 TRIBAL AND LANGUAGE NAMES

The people whose language is being studied are called the *bakwiṯi* and they called their language *aṅuṯimṯi* (spelt here as Anguthimri), which is derived from the first person singular pronoun *aṅu* by adding the proprietive suffix *-ṯimṯi*. Thus, the language name means '(the people) who use *aṅu*', in contrast to other people who have different forms for the first person singular pronoun.

There are several other known Anguthimri speaking groups apart from the Mpakwithi (their geographical distribution is shown in map 3):

- bwinitanikwiṯi* - around Batavia landing
- bakwiṯi* - around Tent Pole Creek
- ba:ṯana* - Wenlock River as far as Gibson Waterhole
- bawṯaṯi* - Mission River to Pine River
- adumakwiṯi* - Pine River to Pennefather River
- lwipanaḡini* - Ward Point
- wimaraga* - Duyfken Point to Pennefather River

Thomson (1934) also mentions the *kalikwiṯi* and the *deṅakwiṯi*; the location of these groups was not known by my consultant. Consultants from groups other than the Mpakwithi are apparently no longer available, so it is not possible to check to what degree dialectal differences did exist among the various Anguthimri-speaking groups.

1.3 TERRITORY AND NEIGHBOURS

Map 3 shows that the Anguthimri-speaking groups occupied an area from the mouth of the Mission River, west to Duyfken Point, north to the Pennefather River, and as far

as the southern and western banks of the Wenlock River between about Batavia Landing and Gibson Waterhole.

The area surrounding the Anguthimri speaking groups was one of some linguistic complexity, and there seems to be some contradiction among the sources. However, from my consultant, I have been able to verify the locations of the following groups:

(i) To the north of Port Musgrave, along a narrow coastal strip, we find the gamuṭi (calling themselves aṅkamuṭi), who speak a language very different to Anguthimri. (A separate study of Angkamuthi is being prepared for publication - in a later volume of the *Handbook*.)

(ii) To the east and north of the Wenlock River were the t̄apaḏiyi and along the southern bank of the lower Ducie River were the closely related t̄aṅanakwaṭa. Their language was probably also closely related to Anguthimri. (About a dozen or so words were remembered by a Thaenganakwatha consultant, suggesting that her speech could not really be considered to be a dialect of Anguthimri.)

(iii) Between Cullen Point and Janie Creek was the ṭuṅugi group, who spoke the yaṅaṭimri language (yaṅa 'I', -ṭimri 'proprietary'). This is also closely related to Anguthimri, though still a distinct language. (The Mpakwithi consultant was able to remember over one hundred Yangathimri lexical items.) The Tjunguntji are fairly well known in the ethnographic literature, mainly from Thomson.

(iv) Between Janie Creek and the Pennefather River were the yupuṅaṭi (called 'Nggerikudi' - presumably gerikwiṭi - by Hey; the Linngithigh called these people the yupṅayṭ), whose language was called yupuṭimri (from yupu 'I').

(v) East of the Anguthimri, on the northern side of the Mission River, were the various awṅṭim-speaking groups (from awṅ 'I' and -ṭim 'proprietary'). The known Awngthim groups are:

- ṭanikwiṭi (called ṭyanṅayṭ by the Linngithigh) - the mangrove area north of the Mission River
- dṛwaṅaṅaṭi (called dṛwaṅayṭ by the Linngithigh) - also in the Mission River area
- mamaṅaṅaṭi (called mamṅayṭ by the Linngithigh) - Urquhart Point

(vi) Another language which my consultant could not accurately place was in the area between the Mission and Hey Rivers: ṭiniṅaṅaṭi (i.e. ṭiniṅiṭiy as they called themselves).

Data for most of the surrounding languages is scarce, but lexical comparisons with some of these languages can be made. The following lexicostatistical figures are presented as a rough means of comparison to Anguthimri:

Yangathimri	- 67.5%
Yuputhimri	- 60.0%
Angamuthi	- 21.4%

1.4 PLACE NAMES

My consultant was able to remember the following place names:

purala	upper Ducie River	tidini	Pennefather River
tilini	Ducie River mouth	paynarama	Pine River
mamaliṭi	Port Musgrave	dʷepi	Duifken Point
rūmu	Janie Creek	yunukumwanama	Ward Point
tuʔuṅu	lower Wenlock River	ywaja	Mission River Point
ṭibirinama	upper Wenlock River	nubunu	Norman River

1.5 SOCIAL BACKGROUND

There has been no anthropological study of the Anguthimri speaking groups, though Sharp includes all of these local groups within what he calls the 'Tjunguntji type', which extends from just north of Port Musgrave to just south of Albatross Bay, the constituent groups of this general type having the same descent and marriage systems. The Anguthimri and the Tjunguntji also share the ṣiṣiri cult, which was described by Thomson (1934) for Tjunguntji.

Since the marriage system of the Anguthimri has not been investigated, the apparently identical system of the Tjunguntji will be presented here from data contained in Thomson (1934) and Sharp (1939). The moiety/section/sub-section system of most of Australia is absent in what Sharp calls the Tjunguntji type. The group is divided up geographically into nine exogamous clans. The clans are grouped geographically into four as follows (using the terms used by the Mpakwithi rather than the Tjunguntji):

ma-aṃara	eastern group
ma-gwaṭa	northern group
ma-ṣata	southern group
ma-ṭuru	western group

and these groups are exogamous. Thus, one can marry from a clan that is not within the same clan-group as one's own.

Roth and Mathews, from data provided by Hey, a former missionary at Mapoon, present a very different picture, with moieties and sections. The names used for the sections (though not for the moieties) are all found to be misinterpretations of other terms. Thus, the section terms used are given below, with their correct form and reference:

<i>Roth</i>	<i>Mathews</i>	<i>mistaken for</i>	
nama-kurgi	namegoree	namakwiṃi	Tjunguntji clan name
bakurgi	packwickee	bakwiṃi	Anguthimri clan name
lanṃanama	lankenamee	lanṃanama	Tjunguntji clan name
ba-marango	pamalang	pamalun	Taepadhighi 'son'

The origin of Mathews' moiety names jamakunda and kamanutta are not known, however.

Thus, extending the Tjunguntji system to Anguthimri, we can assume that the local groups listed in 1.2 were exogamous and were grouped further into exogamous clan-groups.

1.6 PRESENT SITUATION

The present study of the Mpakwithi dialect of Anguthimri is a salvage study only. The German missionaries who began their mission at Mapoon in 1891 were very much responsible for the virtual extinction of most of the languages of the area. Although Rev. Hey (his colleague Rev. Ward died in 1895) did attempt to learn one of the languages, that of the Pennefather River (i.e. yupuṭimri), its use among the various Aboriginal groups who settled at Mapoon as a refuge was actively discouraged. Children were separated from their parents at an early age and placed in dormitories where only the use of English was permitted. The only known speaker of the Mpakwithi dialect today, Mr. Don Fletcher of New Mapoon (near Bamaga), was also isolated from his language as a youth, and it was only by rebelling and going back to the old people after his schooling had finished that he is now able to speak the language at all. The writer owes his gratitude to Mr. Fletcher for allowing his speech to be used as a basis for this description.

Most of the descendants of the Mpakwithi speak a Creolized variety of English (see Crowley and Rigsby, 1979). Presumably, as numerous groups with mutually unintelligible languages came into contact at the various mission stations, and the use of these languages was also actively discouraged by the missionaries, an English-based pidgin developed as a secondary means of communication. Since then, this pidgin has become the first language of many people of the entire Cape York and Torres Strait area, and is the first language of almost all the descendants of the Cape York, Port Mudge and Albatross Bay Aborigines.

1.7 PAST INVESTIGATIONS

The terms 'Anguthimri' and 'Mpakwithi', as has already been mentioned, have been used in the literature on the area, though there was no linguistic material recorded in earlier sources. The earliest reference to the Anguthimri language and the Mpakwithi clan (apart from Roth's and Mathews' misinterpreted usage of the terms) is in Thomson (1934). Sharp (1939) refers to the 'Mbakudi' and McConnel to the 'Angutimi'. The other Anguthimri local groups mentioned above have been mentioned by Roth (ṭanikwiṭi), Meston (kalikwiṭi, lwipanaḡini, adumakwiṭi), McConnel (ba:ṭana) and Thompson (bwinitanikwiṭi).

For the surrounding tribes, there is a fair amount of data, and the 1920's and the 1930's saw a flurry of anthropological activity among the Tjunguntji and other groups by Thomson, McConnel and Sharp. See Craig (1967).

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMES AND THEIR REALISATIONS

2.1.1 CONSONANTS. The consonant inventory for Anguthimri is shown in Table 2.1. There is a considerable range of phonetic variation in the realisations of some of these consonants.

All stops have aspirated and non-aspirated alternants in free variation, e.g.

/t̪iti/	'fishhawk'	[t̪ ^h it̪i, t̪iti]
/kili/	'king parrot'	[k ^h ili, kili]
/tʀokanwi/	'lagoon'	[tʀ ^h ok ^h anwi, tʀokanwi]

The labial stop is generally realised as a fricative when it is followed by a continuant consonant such as w or ɟ. This is clearly an assimilation rule, with the stop taking on continuant (i.e. fricative) articulation when followed by a continuant, e.g.

/pwe:ke/	'groper'	[fwe:ke ɸwe:ke]
/pwi/	'seed'	[fwi:, ɸwi:]
/pɟuʔu/	'worm'	[fɟuʔu, ɸɟuʔu]
/pɟulu/	'monsoon season'	[fɟulu, ɸɟulu]
/dupɟiyi/	'old lady'	[ndufɟiyi, nduɸɟiyi]

This assimilation rule also occasionally applies with the palatal stop, e.g.

/t̪wama/	'hill'	[t̪wama, ɟwama]
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The post-alveolar stop is pronounced with the tip of the tongue placed slightly behind the alveolar ridge. This is not the same sound as the retroflex stop symbolised as ʈ in other Australian languages. In Anguthimri, the post-alveolar stop is always followed by a sharp trill and auditorily in no way resembles a retroflex. The justification for treating the post-alveolar consonants as single units rather than as sequences of stop followed by r is given in 2.2.

The prenasalised stops are pronounced as voiced stops preceded by non-syllabic homorganic nasals, i.e. as [mb, nd, ndʀ, nd̪, nɟ, nɟ]; this applies even in word initial position. See 2.2 for justification of the treatment of such sequences as single phonemes.

The fricatives β, ð, ʒ, ɣ and r, when in word initial position, are optionally preceded by a prothetic schwa. Thus, we find alternants such as:

/βaði/	'intestines'	[βaði, əβaði]
/ðay/	'mother'	[ðay, əðay]
/ʒoɣa/	'fly'	[ʒoɣa, əʒoɣa]
/ɣama/	'child'	[ɣama, əɣama]
/ra/	'stomach'	[ra:, əra:]

The phoneme r is generally articulated as a single post-alveolar flap, though occasionally it is a genuine trill. It is treated as a fricative in Anguthimri because it patterns with β, ð, ɣ and ʒ in that it optionally participates

TABLE 2.1 - Consonant phonemes

		post-					
		labial	alveolar	alveolar	dental	palatal	dorsal glottal
stop	p	t	t ^r	ṭ	t̡	k	ʔ
nasal	m	n		ṇ	n̡	ŋ	
prenasalised							
stop	b	d	d ^r	ɔ̣id	ɔ̡	g	
fricative	β		r	ɔ̣	ʒ(ʃ?,s?)	ʁ	
lateral		l					
retroflex							
continuant		ɕ					
semi-vowel					y	w	

in the schwa prothesis discussed above.

The retroflex continuant ɕ generally causes the vowel of the preceding syllable to be ɕ-coloured. This colouring is clearly noticeable even when the vowel and ɕ are separated by a consonant, e.g.

/gwapɕa/	'is eating'	[ŋgwaɕfɕa]
/ruɕit̡imɕi/	'pregnant'	[əruɕit̡iɕmɕi]

The Anguthimri consonant inventory also contains the possible phonemes s and ʃ. These sounds have been found only in a very small number of words, so no minimal pairs are available. In fact, the corpus contains only the following words with s and ʃ:

/səla/	'milkwood'
/ʃiʔi/	'green snake'
/ʃiβiri/	'culture hero'

It would appear that in neighbouring Yangathimri, ʃ is a genuine phoneme, so these words could have entered Anguthimri through borrowing. (It is also possible that s and ʃ are conditioned variants but the corpus is insufficiently broad to allow final judgement.)

Minimal and subminimal pairs are presented below to show that various suspicious pairs contrast phonologically:

β-p	/βaɕaka/	'long time ago'	/paɕupaɕaʔi/	'cottonwood tree'
ð-t	/ðutu-/	'follow'	/tuɕi/	'trochus shell'
ð-ṭ	/ðu-/	'sew'	/ṭu/	'west'
ṭ-t̡	/ṭama/	'thumb'	/t̡ama-/	'jump'
t-t ^r	/tuɕi/	'trochus shell'	/t ^r u/	'urine'
ʒ-t̡	/ʒi-/	'blow'	/t̡i-/	'see'
ɣ-k	/ɣama/	'child'	/kama/	'gum species'
k-ʔ	/t ^r oka/	'head'	/d ^r uʔa/	'this'
r-ɕ	/rama/	'empty'	/ɕama/	'recently'
ṭ-t	/ṭi:ni/	'thigh'	/ti:ni/	'swamp'
n-n	/nana/	'you-ACC'	/nana/	'we-ACC'
ʔ-φ	/ʔwa/	'dog'	/wa/	'grey hair'

2.1.2 VOWELS. The vowel inventory is shown in Table 2.2. This system with sixteen (possibly even seventeen) members is probably the most complex vowel system in Australia.

TABLE 2.2 - *Vowel phonemes*

	front			back
	unrounded		rounded	
	oral	nasal		
high	i(:)	ĩ	ü	u(:)
high-mid	e(:)	ẽ	(ö?)	o
low-mid	æ(:)	æ̃		
low	a(:)	ã		

The only really doubtful vowel is ö, which is found only in *köyyi* 'left-hand side'. The fact that there are words such as *goy* 'wallaby', suggests that the following *y* is not conditioning non-distinctive fronting of *o* to ö. It seems likely that this ö may well be a seventeenth vowel which is of very low functional load.

In various structural positions of the word in Anguthimri, the number of vowel oppositions is reduced by neutralisation. In word-initial position, there is only a contrast between *i*, *a* and *u* and, in word-final position, there is only a four-way contrast between *i*, *e*, *a* and *u* (with distinctive nasalisation, however). (However, see 3.6.2 where there is discussion of rules in the verbal paradigm which derive surface *ü* and *æ* word-finally from underlying *u* and *a*. This *ü* always varies freely with *i* and the *æ* with *e*.) If the vowel of the penultimate syllable is *æ*, the opposition between *i*, *e*, *æ* and *a* (i.e. the front unrounded vowels) is lost in the following syllable. The phonetic realisation of this archiphoneme (which will be written in this description, arbitrarily, as *a*), varies anywhere through the front unrounded vowel range, e.g.

/pæʔa/ 'elbow' [pæʔæ, pæʔa, pæʔe, pæʔi]

In monosyllables, the length contrast is lost, and all vowels in monosyllabic words are phonetically long. However, if a monosyllabic word is made polysyllabic by the addition of a suffix, the vowel is short, e.g.

/ra/ 'stomach' [əra:]
/raŋa/ 'stomach-LOC' [əraŋa]

In polysyllabic words after a non-prenasalised stop (i.e. *p*, *t*, *tʳ*, *t̪*, *ʃ*, *k*, *ʔ*), a final vowel is generally devoiced. In all other positions, vowels are fully voiced, e.g.

/bakwiṭi/ 'clan name' [mbakwiṭi̥]
/yibaṭi/ 'plains turkey' [yimbaṭi̥]
/ba:ʔana/ 'clan name' [mba:ʔana]
/kwini:yi/ 'cassowary' [kwini:yi]

As justification for the complex set of vowel distinctions presented above, the following minimal and subminimal pairs are presented:

V-V: /pana/ 'friend' /pa:na/ 'level'

i-e	/tʃiʃi/	'oak'	/tʃeʃi/	'crow'
e-æ	/geʔekeka-/	'tickle'	/gæʔama-/	'laugh'
æ-a	/lædi/	'grass tree'	/ladi/	'girl'
u-ü	/bumʃu/	'we-GEN'	/pũmʃu/	'you two-GEN'
V-Ũ	/rumu/	'fish-net'	/rũmu/	'Janie Creek'
	/pwi/	'bone'	/muwĩ/	'fig tree'
	/tʃe:ye/	'you-NOM'	/rẽye/	'whitefish'
	/laya/	'lizard'	/rãya/	'shade'
u-o	/zuʔu/	'lily species'	/zoya/	'fly'

2.2 PHONOTACTICS

Word initially in Anguthimri, we can have:

- (a) Any consonant;
- (b) One of i, a, or u (in short form only);
- (c) Any of the clusters below:
 - (i) tʃ following any labial (i.e. pʃ-, mʃ-, βʃ-, bʃ-);
 - (ii) w following any consonant;
 - (iii) y following any dorsal, glottal, labial or post-alveolar consonant, (i.e. my-, tʃy-, ʔy-, gy-, ky-, ʔy-, dʃy-, but no recorded occurrences of βy-, py-, by-, ry- and ŋy-).

This is quite a simple statement of the word-initial phonotactic possibilities for Anguthimri. The simplicity derives from the treatment of phonetic clusters such as the following:

[tr, ndr, mb, nd, n̄d, n̄g, n̄ŋ]

as unitary phonemes. Thus, it will be observed that Anguthimri treats t, tʃ and dʃ similarly as far as the phonotactic patterns are concerned. If we were to analyse these phonetically complex units as being phonemically complex, our statement of the phonotactics would have to account for initial clusters such as, for example, [ndrwamʃa] 'woman'. With the phonology as it is, this has a simple two member Cw- cluster: /dʃwamʃa/.

Intervocally, we can have any single consonant (except sibilants) and also the following consonant clusters:

	p	β	k	m	b
w	pw	βw	kw	mw	bw
tʃ	pʃ	-	-	mʃ	bʃ

i.e. a labial followed by w or tʃ and also kw (but note that the corpus lacks βʃ). There are also intervocalic semi-vowel + consonant clusters, e.g. -yy-, -wʃ-, -ym- and -w̄n-.

Word finally, Anguthimri allows only the vowels -i, -e, -a, and -u (which may be nasalised) and the two semi-vowels -y and -w (though there is rare final æ and ü; see 3.6.2).

2.3 STRESS

The Anguthimri stress pattern is as follows:

(C)ṽ(C)CV(C)Cṽ(C)CV...

i.e. the first syllable and every alternate syllable receives stress. The long-short distinction with vowels is only ever made in stressable syllables, and then only rarely in any syllable but the first. Thus, we find:

/ðú?u/	'yamstick'
/pá:na/	'level'
/kálipwa/	'gully'
/árana/	'toenail, fingernail'
/dʀé:gwati/	'trevally'
/bwá?a/	'meat'
/?únuwána/	'blister'
/máyu?i:ni/	'mullet'

Note however that if an otherwise stressable syllable is the last of a word, it is not stressed.

2.4 MORPHOPHONEMICS

In this section, we discuss the phonological rules that are frequently found to apply in the morphology, but which are best treated as general phonological rules. There are several phenomena that are worthy of mention in this section.

2.4.1 SANDHI. Anguthimri has a series of optional sandhi rules which are used only in quick speech. Normal elicitation does not provide many examples of sandhi, though the consultant clearly recognised the distinction between 'fast' and 'slow' speech, the difference being (except for speed of utterance) the application of sandhi rules in the former style and their non-application in the latter. The rules that apply are:

- (i) With monosyllables ending in a high vowel, the corresponding glide is inserted before another vowel over a word boundary, e.g.

	<i>slow form</i>	<i>fast form</i>
'Come here!'	/dʀu wi aŋi?i/	/dʀu wiy aŋi?i/

- (ii) With words of more than one syllable ending in a high vowel, the vowel itself becomes a glide before another vowel over a word boundary, e.g.

	<i>slow form</i>	<i>fast form</i>
'Go away!'	/dʀu garu aŋi?i/	/dʀu garw aŋi?i/

- (iii) With words of more than one syllable with a nasal preceding the final vowel, the final vowel is deleted before a vowel over a word boundary, e.g.

	<i>slow form</i>	<i>fast form</i>
'Go to the beach'	/dʀu bʀepiŋi aŋi?i/	/dʀu bʀepiŋ aŋi?i/

2.4.2 VOWEL HARMONY. Many of the noun and verb suffixes of Anguthimri vary according to the nature of the final vowel of the root. Basically the vowel of a suffix becomes a repetition of the final vowel of the stem (but see 2.4.3). Harmonising suffixes known from the corpus include:

ergative/instrumental: -gV, -rV, - <u>i</u> V	privative: -(kV) <u>ɔ</u> ana
locative/allative: - <u>ŋ</u> V	present tense: -nV
ablative: -mV	past tense: -yV, -nV
dative/purposive: -kV	future tense: -yV, - <u>i</u> V
accusative: - <u>ŋ</u> V	imperative: -?V
desiderative: -kVga:	purposive: - <u>ŋ</u> Vkumu

This synchronic alternation is the result of a historical change whereby the final vowel of the proto-language was lost (as evidenced by the present Linngithigh situation) and a later change, whereby the vowel-final character of Anguthimri was restored by this echo-vowel rule (see 2.5).

2.4.3 SEMI-VOWEL DELETION. Where a word-final semi-vowel is followed by a suffix beginning with a prenasalised stop, the semi-vowel is deleted, e.g.

gaw 'that', ergative gagu
 baw 'tooth', instrumental bagu

Note that this deletion rule must apply after the vowel harmony rule, as the vowel of the suffix will take its quality from the semi-vowel if there is one in this position, rather than the preceding vowel. Where the suffix begins with a consonant other than a prenasalised stop, the semi-vowel is retained:

pay 'forehead', locative payŋi
 goy 'wallaby', ergative goyri

2.5 HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

It is not possible to set out in full detail the phonological changes that have taken place in the history of Anguthimri as adequate data on closely related languages and dialects has not yet been assembled, nor has sufficient work been done in the reconstruction of the proto-language. Hale (1976) has gone some of the way towards reconstructing this proto-language, however. His reconstructions are used as a basis for the study of Anguthimri historical phonology. In this section, the major changes are outlined, with examples.

There are cognate sets which indicate that the initial consonant of a word in some cases had an effect on the consonant or consonant cluster of the following syllable. What happened was that if a word originally had an initial labial consonant (either m-, p- or w-), then an alveolar segment in the following syllable became post-alveolar. This change was involved in the derivation of the following forms from proto-Northern Paman (PNP). (The proto-forms are taken from Hale (1976) or reconstructed according to his statements.)

*pinta	d ^r ya	'arm'
*wanta	d ^r a-	'leave'
*wantuŋu	d ^r aŋu	'where-LOC'

Intuitively, it seems somehow that this change was assimilatory, though one would be hard pushed to express the change in terms of phonological features. What probably happened was that the alveolars were retracting towards the periphery, to match the peripheral feature for labials. An argument against this, however, is the fact that initial velars do not seem to trigger this kind of alveolar retraction.

After alveolar retraction took place, the language then simply lost all initial consonants. This is a change which Anguthimri has in common with a very great number of Northern Paman languages (except for some of the languages of the extreme tip of Cape York peninsula, which have mysteriously retained some of these consonants).

At some early stage in its history, Anguthimri unconditionally merged the proto-phonemes ζ and t , into the new phoneme $?$. This merger is the origin for all glottal stops in modern Anguthimri. It would seem probable that there was first of all a shift of the form:

$$\zeta > t$$

and subsequently a shift of the form

$$t > ?$$

A one-stage shift of ζ to $?$ is implausible enough, and for this change to have been paralleled exactly by a shift of t to $?$ is even more implausible. This suggestion that the shift took place in two stages is backed up by the fact that there are related languages which have undergone the first shift, but have maintained the t and have not shifted this to $?$. Thus *ma ζ a 'hand' in Atampaya (from the MacDonald River) became mata. This sequence of changes in Anguthimri is involved in the derivation of the following forms (C indicates an original consonant, whose value has not been reconstructed with certainty):

*ma ζ a	?a	'hand'
*kuta	?wa	'dog'
*kalmpa ζ	bwa?a	'meat'
*Ci ζ a	?ya	'hair'
*Cu ζ a	?wa	'cut'

Note that the shift of ζ to t must be ordered after the retraction of alveolars following an initial labial. If the $\zeta > t$ rule applied first, the t would then become either t or t^r , which does not happen; $?$ is the regular reflex.

Following the shift of ζ to $?$, there was a shift:

$$y > \zeta$$

This change is involved in the derivation of:

*pakay	ka ζ a	'down'
*kampiy	ba ζ i	'up'
*Ci:puy	βü ζ u	'smoke'

This change must follow the change $\zeta > ?$. If the ordering were reversed the ζ derived from * y and the original

*ɕ would have the same fate and *ɕ and *ɣ would end up as ʔ; this does not happen.

After the shift of ɣ to ɕ took place in Anguthimri, the language then underwent the change:

- l > w before a consonant
- > y elsewhere (i.e. between vowels or at the end of a word).

This change was involved in the derivation of:

*Cipal	pe:pe	'close'
*kalmpaɕ	bwaʔa	'meat'
*kalka	kweʔe	'spear' (final syllable unpredictable)
*ɲukal	kwe	'foot' (ay then became e)
*paŋkul	goy	'wallaby'

Note that in some cases the original glide derived from the lateral has subsequently undergone coalition with the vowel or undergone other changes. The shifts that have occurred will be discussed below. This change must have followed the shift of ɣ to ɕ since the ɣ which have evolved from *l have not changed to ɕ.

The next phonological change to take place depended on whether the vowel of the first syllable was long or short. If this vowel was long, then a following stop or nasal-stop cluster was lenited and became a fricative of the same or a nearby place of articulation. By this change, k and ŋk became ɣ; t, ʃ, nʃ and nt became ɖ; and p and mp became β. This change explains the origin of the fricatives in the words below:

*ka:ʃa	ɖay	'mother'
*Cu:ŋkun	ɣunu	'distant'
*Ca:nʃim	ɖaymɕi	'hungry'
*Ni:mpi	βüyi	'ashes'
*ya:tʃi	ɖadi	'burn'
*Cu:mpi	βwi	'die'

Following the lenition of the intervocalic stops and nasal-stop clusters, the long vowel generally reduced to a schwa (central vowel [ə]). This stage is attested in some of the languages closely related to Anguthimri, and although there is now no underlying schwa in Anguthimri, it still does exist as an optional phonetic variant before word initial fricatives (2.1).

If the initial vowel was short, and sometimes also (unpredictably) when long, then metathesis of the vowel and the following consonant applied. This change can be stated as:

VC > CV

This is an extremely frequent and regular change, and it is attested in quite a number of other Northern Paman languages. The usual claim that metathesis is a sporadic and unpredictable change cannot be upheld for these languages.

Actually, the statement of change above should contain the symbol (C)C rather than just C, because the vowel exchanged places not only with the following consonant, but also the following consonant cluster. This brought nasal-stop clusters to the beginning of the word. It was stated in 2.2 that these phonetic clusters should be analysed as

unitary phonemes. It was at this stage of the history of Anguthimri that this reanalysis would have taken place.

Following the original consonant of the second syllable there was of course invariably a vowel, and the metathesis rule brought the initial vowel and the original post-consonantal vowel together. The language could not tolerate adjacent vowels and so applied a number of changes to avoid the situation:

(i) If the two vowels were identical, one was deleted, e.g.

*pama	ma	'man'
*puŋku	gu	'knee'
*ŋipima	pimi	'one'

(ii) If the two vowels were not identical and if one was a high vowel and one was a low vowel, then the high vowel shifted to the corresponding semi-vowel. This change applied whether the original high vowel preceded or followed the original low vowel, e.g.

*muŋka	gwa	'eat'
*tuma	mwa	'fire'
*ŋaŋku	gaw	'that'
*pinta	dɾya	'arm'
*yapi	pay	'forehead'
*ŋampu	baw	'tooth'

(iii) There were some cases however, where high vowels did not simply become semi-vowels. Rather, they coalesced with the low vowel and formed a new vowel. This process was apparently the origin of many of the 'unusual' vowels of Anguthimri. It is not possible at this stage to state the conditions under which these changes took place, nor is it possible to specify precisely what the forms of the changes were. The following kinds of reduction have been observed:

au, ua > o	e.g.	*CutakV > t ^ɾ oka	'head'
		*paŋkul > goy	'wallabv'
ai > æ	e.g.	*kali > læ	'go walkabout'
		*ŋali > lægi	'we'
ui, iu > ü	e.g.	*Ci:puy > βücu	'smoke'
ia > e	e.g.	*ŋiɾa > ɾe:ye	'you'

Anguthimri at some stage in its history also underwent a change by which all word final vowels were deleted. However, this only occurred in polysyllables; all monosyllables have retained their vowels. Because monosyllables were treated differently, it seems that this rule must have applied after monosyllables were created, i.e. after the metathesis of VC and the accompanying vowel changes. Linngithigh shares with Anguthimri this loss of final vowels. Thus, in modern Linngithigh, there is a great range of word-final consonants and consonant clusters. However, Anguthimri has innovated further and added a vowel at the end of each word, which repeats the vowel preceding the final consonant or final consonant cluster. The fact that the echo-vowels are only ever -i, -e, -a and -u, even when the preceding syllable contains vowels such as æ or ü, suggests

TABLE 2.3 - Historical changes in Anguthimri phonology

	Alveolar retraction (alveolar becomes post-alveolar if word began with a labial)
	Loss of initial consonant
	ç > t
	t > ?
	y > ç
	l > glide (>w before a consonant, >y elsewhere)
	Lenition of stop or nasal-stop cluster to a fricative, after long vowel
	Long vowel > schwa
	Schwa deletion
	Metathesis of (C)C and short vowel
	Nasal-stop clusters reanalysed as unit phonemes
	Identical vowel deletion
	High vowel > semi-vowel
	Final vowel deletion
	Echo-vowel added to end of word
	Vowel coalescence
	Glide deletion
	ç insertion (sporadic)
	r > γ or ʈ (sporadic)

that the application of this rule took place before these vowels had developed in the language. If words such as büyu 'scorpion', pæʔa 'elbow' and püñu 'you-ACC' already had ü and æ when the vowel was added, we would expect to find büyü, pæʔæ and püñü.

Two other changes must have applied after the echo vowel rule. The first involved the deletion of any glide which immediately preceded a consonant. This change is involved in the derivation of Anguthimri forms such as maγu 'armpit' and kaγu 'skin'. A historically prior stage of these two forms is attested in Linngithigh, where they are mawγ and kawγ respectively. The echo-vowel rule operating on these forms would presumably have yielded a final -u, and then the glide must have been deleted. The second change involved ç insertion. In Anguthimri, the last m of a word was sporadically affected by a change which inserted a ç after it. This change was frequent, but not universal in application. Its conditioning is not understood. It was involved in the derivation of the following forms:

*Ca:ntim	ðaymçi	'hungry'
*-t̥ima	-t̥imçi	'propriative'
*-namu	-namça	'genitive'

Finally, there was a change whereby *r* shifted sporadically to either *ɣ* or *ɿ*. The conditioning factors are not known. There is no way of knowing how this change was ordered with respect to the remaining changes. This change is involved in the derivation of:

* <i>ŋa:mur</i>	<i>maɣu</i>	'armpit'
* <i>Cakur</i>	<i>kaɣu</i>	'skin'
* <i>kuŋkar</i>	<i>gwaɿa</i>	'north'
* <i>yi:par</i>	<i>βaɿa</i>	'south'

The main phonological changes that have taken place in the history of Anguthimri are summarised in Table 2.3, with the necessary chronological ordering shown at the left.

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1 PARTS OF SPEECH

The parts of speech we can set up for Anguthimri are listed below, with justification for each lexical class recognised. Words generally belong to only one underlying part of speech though, by various derivational processes, membership can be changed. Membership of the parts of speech is assigned on the basis of shared syntactic and morphological behaviour and also on the basis of shared semantic content. The parts of speech in Anguthimri are:

(i) *Nouns*. These inflect for case according to an ergative-absolutive system, though nouns with human reference optionally take the suffix *-ŋV* when acting as the object of a transitive verb. Nouns on the whole refer to concrete objects - people and animals, parts of the body of humans and animals, trees and plants, environmental phenomena (e.g. 'ground', 'river', 'sea', 'fire', 'forest', 'lightning' etc), particular places and people and various cultural artifacts. Non-observable objects such as spirits are also expressed as nouns. Abstract concepts such as kinship relationships are nouns. Other abstract nouns are rare, though there is a noun for 'sickness'.

(ii) *Adjectives*. These potentially take the same case suffixes as nouns, though they do not inflect for case unless the head noun is absent. Adjectives generally also occur in sentences with the inchoative verbaliser *-geni*, though they can also appear without it. There is a very great semantic difference between adjectives and nouns. Adjectives refer only to qualities that characterise the referents of nouns. Syntactically, we can make the generalisation that adjectives follow nouns within noun phrases. Adjectives can express speed ('fast'), dimension ('tall', 'short', 'deep', 'small'), physical property ('heavy', 'cold', 'blunt'), colour ('black', 'red', 'blue'), human propensity ('greedy', 'worried', 'knowledgeable'), value ('good', 'bad'), and number ('one', 'many').

(iii) *Verbs*. These inflect for tense. It is also on the verb that sentence subordination is marked. Semantically, verbs express motion, state and change of state, vocalisation, thought, noise-making, body functions ('laugh', 'cry', 'defecate', 'ache'), impact and violence, and holding, possessing and transfer.

(iv) *Pronouns*. These constitute a closed set of items. The members of this part of speech can be described semantically using the features of person, number and inclusiveness-exclusiveness. Pronouns inflect for case, as do nouns and adjectives, but make a smaller number of formal case distinctions.

(v) *Particles*. These are all uninflectable items. There are three semantic groups of particles: (a) *Time particles*, expressing 'for a long time', 'now', 'yesterday' etc; (b) *Place particles*, expressing 'up', 'down', 'near', 'far', 'this direction' etc; (c) *Miscellaneous particles*, expressing for example 'too much', 'again', 'asleep', 'by mistake' and so on. There are no apparent morphological or syntactic properties that could distinguish between the three types of particle on formal grounds.

(vi) *Interjections*. These are forms that can exist alone without being considered in any way ungrammatical or elliptical.

3.2 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

3.2.1 CASE INFLECTIONS. The case functions of all nouns in Anguthimri are expressed through suffixes to the noun. In this section, the various inflectional suffixes of the language are presented, with a discussion of the roles each suffix expresses. Examples of each of the cases are given.

(i) *Intransitive subject (S)*: \emptyset (zero suffix), e.g.

- (1) t^rya- \emptyset lanu-ŋu geɟa
 shark-S sea-LOC live-PRES
 Sharks live in the sea.

Patient nouns in non-verbal sentences are also marked by $-\emptyset$, as in:

- (2) ma- \emptyset ŋu-ɟana
 man-S clothes-PRIV
 The man is naked.

Note that in elicitation, nouns are always cited with no suffix.

(ii) *Transitive object (O)*. This is also ordinarily marked by \emptyset , e.g.

- (3) d^rwamɟa-ɟa papaɟi-ri riŋi-ni d^rwe- \emptyset bwa-ɟa
 woman-A stone-INST hit-PAST shell-O break-PAST
 The woman hit the shell with a stone (and) broke it.

However, any noun which has human reference, when it is in object position, can optionally carry the suffix $-\eta V$, e.g.

- (4) lu ma-ra yama(-na) riŋi-ni ʔaŋaʔi-ŋikumu
 he-A man-A child-O hit-PAST run-CONSEC
 The man hit the child and it ran away.

There is one noun which is known to have a slightly irregular -ŋV form. This is ɔ̄ay 'mother', which becomes ɔ̄aŋa (rather than the expected *ɔ̄ayŋi).

(iii) *Transitive subject (A)*. Marked by ergative case suffix: -rV~-gV~-ʔV. There is no apparent phonological or semantic conditioning factor involved in the choice of allomorph for any particular noun and the only solution seems to be to divide nouns into three distinct declensions. A few examples of members of each group are listed:

DECLENSION I

kyabara-ga	'crocodile'	ku-gu	'stick'
tʔya-ga	'shark'	ɔ̄urupu-gu	'small'
βüyi-gi	'ashes'		

DECLENSION II

ma-ra	'man'	dʔaʔi-ri	'current'
kweʔe-re	'spear'	ʔwa-ra	'tame dog'
lwaga-ra	'fever'		

DECLENSION III

buʔu-ʔu	'ghost'	yeg-i-ʔi	'wind'
waʔa-ʔa	'ear'	ŋaba-ʔa	'paddle'
pʔuʔu-ʔu	'ghost'		

It might be thought that the apparently random distribution of ergative allomorphy may have as its origin an early situation in the language with some kind of final segments that have since been deleted. This is known not to be the case however (see 2.5). In fact, at an earlier stage of Anguthimri, the final vowel was absent and there can be no question of this vowel having an earlier following consonant. Actually, data from many Cape York languages suggests that the proto-language itself had a slightly unpredictable ergative allomorphy after vowels. Many languages show reflexes of *-lu, *-mpu, *-ntu, *-nʔu and *-ŋku postvocally. The system in Anguthimri may therefore have developed out of an earlier system that was itself only partially regular.

In addition to the allomorphy discussed above, there are some nouns that do not fit into any of the three declensions presented. The irregularities fall into two groups:

- (a) Nouns ending with -yi change the yi to ʔi; e.g.

ni:yi 'boy', ergative ni:ʔi
 dupʔiyi 'old lady', ergative dupʔiʔi 'old lady'

- (b) Some nouns with stem final -i/-e change this to -a before adding -rV. E.g.

kwe 'foot', ergative kwara
 aḍiki 'moon', ergative aḍikara
 mʔiʔiki 'many', ergative mʔiʔikara
 puʔiki 'many', ergative puʔikara 'many'

A couple of sentences are given below illustrating the use of nouns in ergative case:

- (5) gaʔaga-ra kunu ʔeʔi gwa-na
kookaburra-A now snake-O eat-PAST
The kookaburra ate a snake then.
- (6) pɕuʔu-tu naŋa kunu ʔa-na
leech-A you-O now bite-NON-FUT
The leech is biting you now.

Coinciding in form with the ergative suffix is the instrumental suffix. This expresses the inanimate instrument by which an action is carried out, e.g.

- (7) na dʀuʔa kunu rwagaʔi-ri dʔa-na
fish-O this now fishing-line-INST catch-NON-FUT
[I] am catching fish with a line now.
- (8) ʔa-ga lu dʀuʔa naŋi layu riŋi-ni
hand-INST he-A this I-O cheek-O hit-PAST
He slapped me with his hand.

Although the ergative and the instrumental suffixes coincide in form, there is evidence that we should recognise two cases. The evidence is:

(a) The fact that instrumentals can appear in non-transitive sentences such as (9), whereas ergative nouns can only appear in transitive sentences.

- (9) lu ku-gu aŋi-ni
he-S stick-INST walk-PAST
He walked with a stick.

(b) The fact that transitive subjects can be affected by reflexivisation whereas instrumental noun phrases are not involved in this transformation. Thus:

- (10) ʔama-ʔa dʀuʔa βüyi-gi ʔa-y
baby-A this ashes-INST cover-PRES
The baby is covering [it] with ashes.

can be related structurally to:

- (11) ʔama dʀuʔa βüyi-gi ʔa-ʔi-ni
baby-S this ashes-INST cover-REFL-NON-FUT
The baby is covering himself with ashes.

where ʔamaʔa becomes ʔama but βüyigi does not change.

(iv) *Genitive*. The possessor noun in an alienable possession situation (and also, optionally, that in an inalienable possession situation) is marked by one of the following suffixes: -mɕa, -namɕa or -ʔamɕa. The -mɕa allomorph is used with monosyllabic nouns, e.g.

- ma 'man', genitive mamɕa
ʔwa 'dog', genitive ʔwamɕa

Polysyllabic nouns form the genitive by adding either -namɕa or -ʔamɕa to the stem. The choice of allomorph is lexically determined; there is no apparent phonological or semantic factor involved in the choice. Thus, we must once again set up declension classes, as illustrated by:

DECLENSION A

gaʔaga-ɣamɕa	'kookaburra'	pɕuʔu-ɣamɕa	'leech'
ɖwaladi-ɣamɕa	'dingo'	ladɪ-ɣamɕa	'girl'
goy-ɣamɕa	'wallaby'		

DECLENSION B

dɾwana-namɕa	'wife'	naɕi-namɕa	'father'
buʔu-namɕa	'ghost'	ɔwiɕi-namɕa	'two'
ɣama-namɕa	'child'		

The membership of the ergative and the genitive declensions is quite unrelated; the form of the ergative cannot be predicted from the form of the genitive and vice versa.

Sentences illustrating genitive constructions in Anguthimri are:

(12) puʔa pana-ɣamɕa
water-S friend-GEN
The water belongs to [my] friend.

(13) ɣɣana naɕi-namɕa
axe-S father-GEN
The axe belongs to [my] father.

The genitive suffixes in Anguthimri also express the benefactive relation, e.g.

(14) bwaʔa gaw dɾa-na ɖwaladi-ɣamɕa
meat-O that-O leave-NON-FUT dingo-GEN
[I] left some meat out for the dingos.

(v) *Dative*. Anguthimri has a case-marking suffix of the form -kV (which is cognate with the Common Australian suffix -ku). This suffix expresses a wide range of case relations. The basic function of this suffix is to express the purpose of an action, as in:

(15) lu ruɕi gaw aɲi-ni waɕayi-ɲi gæ-y ɕaɲina-ka
he-S child-S that-S go-NON-FUT old man-O ask-FUT honey-DAT
The child is going [and] will ask the old man for some honey.

(16) aɲu bwaʔa-ka ɕi
I-A meat-DAT look-PRES
I'm looking for some meat.

The -kV suffix also expresses the causal relationship, as in:

(17) ʔwa gægi ɣama-ka
dog-S bark-PRES child-DAT
The dog is barking because of the child.

and with various predicates of emotion, including fear. e.g.

(18) dɾu geʔe ɔitama-ʔa mɕaɕadi-ki
you-S don't fear-IMP goanna-DAT
Don't be frightened of the goanna.

(19) lu ma ge-ɲeni-ni ʔwa-ka
he-S man-S good-INCH-PAST dog-DAT
The man is happy with [his] dog.

(20) lu ma dɾwana-ka pay ɔuwi-ɔuwi
he-S man-S wife-DAT ashamed
The man is ashamed of his wife.

TABLE 3.1 - Nominal case suffixes

S	- \emptyset
O	- \emptyset , - η V
A/INSTRUMENTAL	-gV, -rV, -tV
GENITIVE/BENEFACTIVE	-m ζ a, -nam ζ a, - γ am ζ a
DATIVE (/CAUSAL)	-kV
ABLATIVE (/CAUSAL)	-mV
LOCAL	- η V
DESIDERATIVE	-kVga:

(vi) *Ablative*. Anguthimri has a suffix of the form -mV which expresses 'motion away from', as in:

- (21) \int igiri baya-ma pæ-ni
joey-S pouch-ABL come out-NON-FUT
The joey came out of the pouch.

The -mV suffix also expresses the causal function (which can also be expressed by -kV; see (17) above), e.g.

- (22) lu d^ru ζ a lanu-mu lwaga-tim ζ i-geni-ni
he-S this salt-water-ABL fever-PROP-INCH-NON-FUT
He got sick because of the salt-water.

(vii) *Unmarked local case*. There is a suffix of the form - η V in Anguthimri which expresses the locative, allative and indirect object functions. This is therefore a general local case. Examples of this suffix in use are:

- (23) lu ζ wa γ yüdi- η i \int a ζ a ζ e ζ a
he-S dog-S scrub-LOC run-PRES
The dog is running to the scrub.
- (24) pa η a ba- η a d^rada ζ a
we-S island-LOC live-PRES
We live on the island.
- (25) a η u η yunu wa ζ ayi- η i kayi mwa γ a-yi
I-A he-LOC old man-LOC later on matches-0 give-FUT
Later on I will give the man some matches.

(viii) *Desiderative*. Anguthimri also has a well-attested suffix of the form -kVga: (i.e. the dative followed by -ga:). This suffix is the only source for words in the language containing long vowels in a syllable other than the first. The suffix expresses a 'liking' or 'wanting' relationship, e.g.

- (26) lu γ ama ζ u ζ u-ku ζ a:
he-S child-S milk-DESID
The baby wants some milk.

Table 3.1 summarises the case-marking possibilities for Anguthimri nouns.

3.2.2 DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES. In this section, the processes by which a nominal stem is derived from a noun root are discussed.

(i) *Propriative*. Anguthimri has a suffix $-t̥imɕi$, corresponding in form to the suffix $-t̥im$ in Awngthim and $-ti(ma)$ in the Northern Peninsula group (i.e. Atampaya, Angkamuthi and Yadhaykenu). It has a fairly wide range of functions, including:

(a) To have something, not necessarily to be in possession of it, e.g.

- (27) lu ma d^ruʔa n̄arama kweʔe- $t̥imɕi$
 he-S man-S this stand-NON-FUT spear-PROP
 The man is standing with a spear.

(b) To be in the company of someone, e.g.

- (28) ʔwa ruɕi- $t̥imɕi$ geɕa
 dog-S child-PROP sit-PRES
 The dog is sitting with the child.

(c) To indicate a means of transport, e.g.

- (29) lu ma maruku- $t̥imɕi$ aŋi-ni
 he-S man-S horse-PROP go-PAST
 The man went by horse.

- (30) lu waɕayi pat^ra- $t̥imɕi$ wi βama aŋi-ni
 he-S old man-S canoe-PROP this way back go-PAST
 The old man came back by canoe.

(d) To express an abstract state, e.g.

lwaga 'fever'	lwaga $t̥imɕi$ 'sick'
waʔa 'ear'	waʔa $t̥imɕi$ 'knowledgeable'
t ^r oka 'head'	t ^r oka $t̥imɕi$ 'worried'
ruɕi 'child'	ruɕi $t̥imɕi$ 'pregnant'
ŋu 'clothes'	ŋu $t̥imɕi$ 'clothed'

A noun with the propriative suffix can qualify a noun with non-zero case inflection but does not itself inflect. Thus:

- (31) aŋu d^ruʔa ma-ŋa geɕa ŋa- $t̥imɕi$
 I-S this man-LOC sit-PRES beard-PROP
 I am sitting down with the man with a beard.

(ii) *Privative*. There is a suffix $-(kV)ʔana$ meaning 'without' or 'not having' e.g.

- (32) aŋu baw-kuʔana
 I-S tooth-PRIV
 I have got no teeth.

This suffix also does not seem to inflect for case, though it does function as a qualifier to non-zero marked nouns, e.g.

- (33) d^ru ku-mu wi aŋi-ni tuɖu-kuʔana
 you-S tree-ABL this way go-PAST leaf-PRIV
 You came away from the tree without leaves.

(iii) *Diminutive*. Added to a noun, the suffix $-pwa$ creates a new noun with a diminutive meaning. Thus, we find pairs such as:

ma 'man'	mapwa 'small man'
ba 'island'	bapwa 'small island'
raŋa 'river'	raŋapwa 'creek'

ku	'tree'	kupwa	'shrub'
?wa	'dog'	?wapwa	'pup'

This suffix can also be added to adjectives which have some kind of diminutive reference, but does not change the meaning, e.g.

puði(pwa)	'small'
bi:ni(pwa)	'short'

Nouns with the diminutive suffix with further case-inflection were accepted by my consultant, e.g.

- (34) ma-pwa-ra kwa-ra pu-yu
 man-DIMIN-A foot-INST kick-PAST
 The small man kicked [it] with [his] foot

(iv) *Plural*. Count nouns in Anguthimri probably have a plural form, which is marked with either -rV or -tV. This is an aspect of the grammar about which my consultant was very unsure, and elicitation produced little consistency. There is one known irregular plural:

d ^r wamɕa	'woman'	d ^r wabiɕi	'women'
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(v) *Reduplication*. This is a very peripheral process in the nominal morphology of Anguthimri, and no real generalisations can be made about its effect on the meaning of noun roots. Note the following examples:

t ^r oka	'head'	t ^r oka-t ^r oka	'end'
bɕuyi	'night'	bɕuyi-bɕuyi	'afternoon'

(vi) *Compounding*. This is a fairly common process in Anguthimri. Nominal compounds are of type N+ADJ or of the type N+N. The N+ADJ type is exemplified by:

kayu-ge	'palm of the hand'	kayu	'skin', ge	'good'
kayu-we:ye	'muscle'	kayu	'skin', we:ye	'fat'
bu?u-ge	'clever man'	bu?u	'ghost', ge	'good'
ɕi-yu?ukwi:yi	'jabiru, broлга'	ɕi	'nose' yu?ukwi:yi	'long'

The N+N type is exemplified by:

dwa-pay	'eyebrow'	dwa	'eye', pay	'forehead'
ywa-pay	'sandhill'	ywa	'sand', pay	'forehead'
pay-ga	'hillside'	pay	'forehead' ga	'ground'
pat ^r a-d ^r e:mɕi	'outrigger canoe'	pat ^r a	'canoe', d ^r e:mɕi	'outrigger'

3.3 PRONOUN MORPHOLOGY

Anguthimri pronouns have forms for the first, second and third persons; singular, dual and plural; and, for the first person non-singular, there is an inclusive-exclusive distinction. Note that the third person forms are not demonstratives (as in many Australian languages), but are genuine pronouns. All pronouns exist only as free forms, i.e. there are no pronominal forms bound to the verb.

Pronouns inflect according to the nominative-accusative pattern throughout, in contrast to the nouns, which generally inflect according to an ergative-absolutive system. The distinction made in the noun paradigm between the dative and

TABLE 3.2 - *Pronoun paradigm*

	Nom.	Acc.	Gen.	Dat.*	Ablative	Desiderative
1sg	aŋu	ŋaŋi	ʔamɕu	ʔanu	tamɕumu	taguɖa:
1du inc	lægi	læŋi	læmɕi	læni	læmɕimi	lægiɖa:
1pl inc	bwi	bun̄u	bumɕu	buna	bumɕumu	buguɖa:
1du exc	nini	} nana	namɕa	nana	namɕama	nagaɖa:
1pl exc	naŋa					
2sg	d ^r u	ŋaŋa	gyumɕu	gyunu	gyumɕumu	gyuguɖa:
2du	pi	pūŋu	pūmɕu	pūnu	pūmɕumu	pūguɖa:
2pl	ɕe:ɣe	ɕwana	ɕwamɕa	ɕwana	ɕwamɕama	ɕwagaɖa:
3sg	lu	ŋyūŋu	ŋyūmɕu	ŋyūnu	ŋyūmɕumu	ŋyūguɖa:
3du	lwepi	} lwana	lwamɕa	lwana	lwamɕama	lwagaɖa:
3pl	amɕa					

* This form covers dative, allative and locative functions.

allative/locative is not made for pronouns. The full paradigm is in Table 3.2.

These forms are only partly analysable synchronically. For the most part, the paradigms seem to be very irregular, and also very different from the pronouns of many other Australian languages. However, these forms can all be derived from an already reconstructed proto-system (see Hale 1976), in which there is a good deal of morphological transparency.

The reconstructed nominative forms are:

	<i>singular</i>		<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
<i>1st person</i>	ŋayu	<i>inclusive</i>	ŋali	ŋampul
		<i>exclusive</i>	ŋana	ŋana
<i>2nd person</i>	puntu		ŋipul	ŋira
<i>3rd person</i>	nulu		pula	?

The rules discussed in 2.5 can be applied to this proto-system to derive the Anguthimri nominative paradigm, e.g.

*pulu > lu 'he/she/it' *ŋipul > pi 'you two'
 *ŋali > læ(+gi) 'we two' *ŋira > ɕe:(+ɣe) 'you all'
 *ŋampul > bwi 'we all'

Some of the forms are slightly irregular in that there are accretive syllables (e.g. the -gi of lægi). Others go back to an earlier form that is slightly different to that reconstructed for proto-Northern Paman. For example, aŋu appears to be derived from *ayun̄ (i.e. *ayun̄ > yaun̄ > aun̄ > awn̄ > aŋu). This is a rather peculiar proto-form; a possible explanation is that it is derived from *ŋayu by a kind of sporadic metathesis. d^ru 'you' may be derived from *puntu by some (as yet not understood) type of change.

The oblique forms are for the most part derived from pronominal stems which Hale (1976) has reconstructed as:

	<i>singular</i>		<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
1st person	ŋaʃu-	<i>inclusive</i>	ŋali-	ŋampul-
		<i>exclusive</i>	ŋana-	ŋana-
2nd person	niŋku-		niɸul-	nura-
3rd person	niŋu-		pula-	pula-

These have developed into the Anguthimri stems:

	<i>singular</i>		<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
1st person	ʃa-	<i>inclusive</i>	læ-	bu-
		<i>exclusive</i>	na-	na-
2nd person	gyu-		pü-	ʃwa-
3rd person	ŋyu-		lwa-	lwa-

which can in almost all cases be derived directly by the rules discussed in 2.5. The suffixes by which the various oblique cases are derived from the oblique roots are:

-ŋV	accusative
-mʃV	genitive
-nV	dative/allative/locative
GEN+mV	ablative
-gVɟa:	desiderative

The V segment takes its quality not from the final vowel of the oblique root as it does in the modern language; rather, this V was added at a time in the language when the oblique roots were:

	<i>singular</i>		<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
1st person	ʃaw-	<i>inclusive</i>	lay-	bu-
		<i>exclusive</i>	na-	na-
2nd person	gyu-		pyu-	ʃwa-
3rd person	ŋyu-		lwa-	lwa-

Synchronically, we cannot really recognise roots as abstract as these, though they can be justified on diachronic grounds.

The only irregular forms, which do not fit into the historical pattern presented above, are the modern first and second person singular accusative forms *ŋaŋi* and *ŋana* respectively.

3.4 DEMONSTRATIVES

There are evidently only two demonstratives in Anguthimri. These are:

d ^ɾ uʔa	'proximate' i.e. 'this', 'here'
gaw	'distant' i.e. 'that', 'there'.

Their inflectional paradigm is in Table 3.3. This is for the most part regular, with the following exceptions:

- (i) The allative/locative of d^ɾuʔa is d^ɾuʔana rather than *d^ɾuʔaŋa.
- (ii) The genitive of gaw is gawrama rather than *gawmʃu.

TABLE 3.3 - *Inflection of demonstratives*

	Proximate	Distant
Absolutive	dʁuʔa	gaw
Ergative/Instrumental	dʁuʔaʔa	gagu
Genitive	dʁuʔaʔamʔa	gawrama
Dative	dʁuʔaka	gawku
Allative/Locative	dʁuʔana	gawŋu
Ablative	dʁuʔama	gawmu
Desiderative	dʁuʔakaʔa:	gawkuʔa:

3.5 INTERROGATIVES

The interrogative pronouns are:

ʔani	'who'
rãyi	'what'
dʁamanama	'when'
dʁa	'where'

All of these, except dʁamanama 'when', inflect for case, as shown in Table 3.4. These paradigms are only partly regular. The root ʔa- is used in association with the pronominal markers of oblique cases as set out in 3.3, but with irregular S and ergative-instrumental forms. The root of 'what' seems to be rã-, with somewhat idiosyncratic inflectional behaviour. The interrogative of place has the root dʁa-, but the locative suffix is -ŋu (presumably to distinguish it from the allative -ŋa).

Note that the interrogative forms can also be used indefinitely, e.g.

- (35) aŋu gyunu rãyi ʔwa-ʔa
 I-A you-DAT something-O tell-FUT
 I will tell you something.

3.6 VERB MORPHOLOGY

3.6.1 TRANSITIVITY. Verbs in Anguthimri are always clearly either transitive or intransitive, though there are derivational means of changing transitivity. An intransitive verb has a nominal subject in the absolutive case or a pronominal subject in the nominative case, while a transitive verb has a nominal subject in the ergative case or a pronominal subject in the nominative case and an object which, if nominal, is usually marked as being absolutive, but which, if pronominal, is marked for accusativity.

A breakdown of the lexicon for verbal transitivity (out of a total verb corpus of 97 items) is:

Transitive	56 = 58%
Intransitive	41 = 42%

TABLE 3.4 - *Inflections of interrogatives*

	'who'	'what'	'where'
S	ʔani	} ræyi	-
O	ʔæŋi		-
Ergative/Instrumental	ʔayi	ræ̃ri	-
Genitive	ʔæmŋi	-	-
Allative	ʔæŋi	-	dʳaŋa
Locative	ʔæŋi	-	dʳaŋu
Ablative	ʔæmi	-	dʳama
Desiderative	ʔægiga:	ræ̃yiga:	-

3.6.2 CONJUGATION. Anguthimri verbs are all assigned membership in one of four conjugational classes, each of which has two sub-classes. There is a significant number of irregular and partly irregular verbs which lie outside the four regular conjugations. A brief summary of the regular conjugation system is given in Table 3.5.

There are some obvious similarities to Hale's Linngithigh verbal paradigms (Hale 1966). Anguthimri paradigm I obviously corresponds to 4 in Linngithigh and Anguthimri IV to Linngithigh 1. The Anguthimri suffixes have obviously undergone final vowel deletion as have the Linngithigh suffixes, but the Anguthimri forms have subsequently added an echo-vowel (see 2.5).

A more detailed discussion of each of the conjugations follows.

(a) *Conjugation I*. It can be seen from Table 3.5 that there are two sub-conjugations, differentiated only by the form of the vowel of the suffix. In the (a) subclass, the suffixal vowel is V (i.e. takes its quality from the preceding stem vowel; see 2.4.2), while in the (b) subclass, the vowel is u/ü.

There are some morphophonemic changes that are brought about by the y segment in the future tense of this conjugation (and in fact by any y of any suffix in Anguthimri). These changes are:

(i) a stem final a or u, when followed by y, is optionally assimilated towards the y in place of articulation. Thus, a optionally becomes æ and u optionally becomes ü, giving rise to the following kinds of variation in the future forms: ya~yæ 'will give', ʔa~ʔæ 'will split', ʔyu~ʔyü 'will spear', ru~rü 'will kick'.

(ii) a suffixal a or u obligatorily shifts to æ or ü, and optionally then shifts further to e or i respectively, following the y. This rule is the only source in Anguthimri for word final æ and ü.

(iii) in the future tense forms, phonetic sequences of æyæ (from underlying a+ya) optionally reduce to become æy~æ~e (in free variation). Thus, from a future form dʳa-ya 'leave-FUT', we can derive the possible surface forms: dʳayæ~dʳaye~dʳayæ~dʳæye~dʳæy~dʳæ~dʳæ~dʳe. The result in some of these phonetic forms is that future tense is distinguished from the stem

TABLE 3.5 - *Verbal inflections by conjugation*

	Ia	Ib	IIa	IIb	IIIa	IIIb	IVa	IVb
pres.	-nV	-nu	-nV	-nV	(-y)	(-y)	-∅	-∅
past	-yV	-yu			-ni	-ni	-nV	-nV
fut.	-yV	-yü	(-yV)	(-yV)	-yi	-yi	-tV	-tV
imper.	-?V	-?u	-?V	-?V	-?i	-?i	-?V	-?V
consec.	-nVkumu	-nukumu	-nVkumu	-nama	-nikumu	-nama	-nVkumu	-nama

TABLE 3.6 - *Sample Paradigms of conjugation I verbs.*

	present	past	future	imperative	consecutive
1a 'blow'(tr)	zini	ziyi	ziyi	zi?i	ziniukumu
'kick'	nunu	nyu	nyü~nyüi~ nyü~nyüi	nu?u	nyukumu
1b 'poke'	ganu	gayu	gayü~gayi~ gæyü~gæyi	ga?u	ganukumu
'rub'	ranu	rayu	rayü~rayi~ ræyü~ræyi	ra?u	ranukumu

by vowel ablaut.

A couple of sample paradigms are given in Table 3.6 to illustrate the behaviour of these morphophonemic alternations.

The known membership of conjugation I from the corpus is listed.

There are 15 verb roots in the corpus belonging to conjugation Ia: zi 'blow', bwa 'break', ya 'give, bring', ?i: 'wake', yyu 'spear', ?i: 'see, look at', pu 'do', pu 'throw', kwi: 'have, keep, look after', nu 'kick', a 'pull', ðu 'sew', napu 'swallow', ge?ekeka 'tickle', ?a 'split', ga 'make'. Note that all these are transitive. Just two are known for conjugation Ib (both are transitive): ga 'poke', ra 'wash, rub'.

(b) *Conjugation II*. The forms of the suffixes are identical for the two sub-classes, except in the form of the consecutive suffix - see Table 3.5. Note that in conjugation II there is no distinction between the past and present tenses. Note also that the future tense can be marked by either -yV or -∅. Sample paradigms of conjugation II verbs are given in Table 3.7.

The transitivity breakdown for conjugation II is:

	IIa	IIb	II	Total
transitive	23	3	0	26
intransitive	12	5	1	18

Thus, the membership is predominantly transitive. The third column covers ðitama 'be afraid', whose sub-class is not known.

TABLE 3.7 - Sample paradigms of conjugation II verbs

		non-future	future	imperative	consecutive
IIa	'come out'	pəni	pəya	pəʔa	pənikumu
	'dig'	ŋana	ŋayæ~ŋəyæ~ ŋəy~ŋə~ŋə	ŋaʔa	ŋaŋakumu
IIb	'follow'	ðutunu	ðutuyü	ðutuʔu	ðutunama
	'bend'	rumunu	rumuyü	rumuʔu	rumunama

TABLE 3.8 - Sample paradigms of conjugation III verbs

		past	present	future	imperative	consecutive
IIIa	'kill'	bwi:ni	bwi	bwi:yi	bwi:ʔi	bwi:nikumu
	'cover'	ʔani	ʔay	ʔayi	ʔaʔi	ʔanikumu
IIIb	'hit'	riŋini	riŋi	riŋiyi	riŋiʔi	riŋinama
	'reciprocal'	-pɕini	-pɕi	-pɕiyi	-pɕiʔi	-pɕinama

The known membership of class IIa is: ŋa 'dig', kaŋaŋa 'find', -geŋa 'causative', pə 'come out', karagwa 'crawl', ʔama 'jump', gəʔama 'laugh', dʔa 'leave, put down', ʔwaðaga 'wash', ʔə 'push, send, move', pɕa 'rub, wash', winiga 'scratch', riyiga 'smash', gə 'ask', twiniŋa 'bash', bwəni 'break(intr)', ʔa 'stand'; 'bite'; 'burn/cook'; 'tie', ðə:na 'bury', dwa 'catch', bɕiŋi 'dirty', ŋwiʔa 'pour out, empty', paʔa 'fix, make', ʔwarama 'float', ðwata 'flow down', ʔwaka 'heap up', ʔiyiga 'smash', aɕima 'suffer', luluma 'swell up', lay 'carry', aɕu 'bark', ʔabə 'chase', gawri 'look for'. Known members of IIb are: maʔaʔaŋa 'lift up', -ʔi 'reflexive', ðwimi 'tell lies', dʔaʔi 'lie down', rumu 'bend down', ðutu 'follow', ʔi:ni 'go down', yumu 'cook in ashes'.

(c) *Conjugation III*. The only difference between the two sub-classes is once again the form of the consecutive suffix. Note that as word-final sequences of iy are prohibited in Anguthimri, i final stems do not change in the present tense. Sample paradigms are given in Table 3.8.

The transitivity breakdown for conjugation III is:

	IIIa	IIIb	III	Total
transitive	6	1	0	7
intransitive	2	4	2	8

The third column covers ðadi 'burn' and dʔadaʔa 'live, lie down', whose sub-class is not known.

The attested membership of IIIa is: ɕi: 'fall', bwi: 'kill', ɕi 'suck', ɕi: 'light fire', ʔa 'cover', mə 'get up, wake up', ma 'hear, listen to', ʔi: 'see, look at'. Members of IIIb are riŋi 'hit, punch', waʔi 'dive', pwe: 'go in', -pɕi 'reciprocal', bɕiŋi-bɕiŋi 'be noisy'.

(d) *Conjugation IV*. The only difference between the two sub-classes is again in the form of the consecutive suffix. This conjugation is illustrated by paradigms in Table 3.9.

TABLE 3.9 - *Sample paradigms of conjugation IV verbs*

	past	pres.	future	imper.	consecutive
IVa 'stand'	ṅaramana	ṅarama	ṅaramaṭa	ṅaramaʔa	ṅaramaṅakumu
'go walkabout'	lani	læ	læṭi	læʔi	læṅikumu
IVb 'bend over'	rumunu	rumu	rumuṭu	rumuʔu	rumuṅama

TABLE 3.10 - *Fully irregular verbs*

	past	present	future	imperative	consecutive
'say'	ṭiṭi~ṭwi:ni	ṭæṭa~ṭwi	ṭoye	ṭwi	ṭwaṅakumu
'sit'	rāna	geṭa	gya	rē	rāṅakumu
'cry'	wimṭirāna	wimṭigeṭa	wimṭigya	wimṭirē	wimṭirāṅakumu

The transitivity breakdown for conjugation IV is:

	IVa	IVb	Total
transitive	2	0	2
intransitive	4	1	5

Although attested membership is small, this is a predominantly intransitive conjugation. The known membership of IVa is ṅarama 'stand', ṅwagaṭa 'swim', læ 'go walkabout', ga 'peel', bṭeʔeṅa 'play', ṭwa 'tell'. The only root attested for IVb is rumu 'bend over'.

3.6.3 VERBAL IRREGULARITIES. The Anguthimri corpus contains just over a dozen verbs with partly or completely irregular conjugations. There are three completely irregular verbs, set out in Table 3.10. The remaining eleven irregular verbs can be related to the already established conjugations. There is one set of four verbs, set out in Table 3.11, which are identical to conjugation I verbs except for the form of the present, which is not formed by suffixing -nV. There is a further irregular set of verbs containing seven members, which take conjugation IV suffixes, but show irregularity in the forms of the roots. They are given in Table 3.12.

3.6.4. INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES. Anguthimri has three basic tense distinctions. The *present* refers to events occurring now (though not continuously) and also expresses the existential:

- (36) t^rya lanu-ṅu geṭa
 shark-S sea-LOC sit-PRES
 Sharks live in the sea.
- (37) ṅay d^ruʔa ḍwata-na
 rain-S this flow down-NON-FUT
 It is raining (now)

The *past* tense suffix refers to events that have already

TABLE 3.11 - Irregular verbs relating to Conjugation I

	past	present	future	imperative	consecutive
'pick up'	pɔana	pɔeɔe	pɔaya	pɔaʔa	pɔaɔakumu
'eat, drink'	gwana	gwapɔa	gwaya	gwaʔa	gwaɔakumu
'cut, chop'	ʔwana	ʔweʔe	ʔwaya	ʔwaʔa	ʔwaɔakumu
'shout'	gæni	gægi	gæya	gæʔa	gæɔikumu

TABLE 3.12 - Irregular verbs relating to Conjugation IV

	past	present	future	imperative	consecutive
'run'	ʔaʔaʔi:ni	ʔaʔaʔeɔa	ʔaʔaʔaʔa	ʔaʔaʔiʔi	ʔaʔaʔiɔikumu
'inchoative'	-genini	-geni	-ganaʔa	-genaʔa	-gaɔakumu
'vomit'	zenini	zeni	zænaʔa	zeniʔi	zæɔikumu
'dance'	mwimi	mwi	mwamaʔa	mwamaʔa	mwamaɔama
'climb'	banini	bana	baɔaʔa	baniʔi	baɔaɔama
'go come'	aɔini	aɔa	aɔaʔa	aɔiʔi	aɔaɔama
'die'	βwi:ni	βwi	βwaʔa	βwiʔi	βwaɔakumu

happened and which are now completed, or events which began in the past and are finishing in the present. Thus, the inchoative verbaliser with a past suffix often refers to a present state since the change of state began in the past but is now completed, e.g.

(38) lu d^ruʔa yegi d^re:ni-geni-ni
 he-S this wind-S different-INCH-PAST
 The wind has changed (= is now different).

(39) lu d^ruʔa t^ralawati-geni-ni
 he-S this red-INCH-PAST
 He has turned red (= is now red).

Note that with conjugation II verbs, the distinction between present and past is merged into a general non-future.

The *future* suffix refers to an unbegun or uncompleted event, i.e. a state can have begun changing, but not yet be changed, e.g.

(40) d^ru t^ralawati-gana-ʔa
 you-S red-INCH-FUT
 You will be red (but are not yet red, though you have begun to change).

Imperative inflection is discussed in 4.6 and consecutive in 4.5.

3.6.5 VERBAL DERIVATION. Anguthimri has the following suffixes that derive verbs from other verbs or other parts of speech:

- geɔa causative (Adjective→Transitive verb)
- geni inchoative (Adjective→Intransitive verb)
- ʔi reflexive (Transitive→Intransitive verb)

-pɕi reciprocal/anti-passive (Transitive→Intransitive verb)

Further discussion of these derivational suffixes and their syntactic function is in 4.2 and 4.3.

Verbal reduplication also plays a role in the derivational morphology of Anguthimri. The semantic effect of reduplication can be:

(i) Lack of intensity (and possibly also, repeated action),

riŋi 'hit', riŋi-riŋi 'pat (e.g. dog)'

(ii) Continuity, e.g.

gwa 'eat', gwa-gwa 'keep eating'

Note that when verbs are reduplicated in Anguthimri, either just the root or else the entire root + suffix can be repeated.

4. SYNTAX

4.1 CONSTITUENTS AND CONSTITUENT ORDER

The main constituents in any Anguthimri sentence are:

NP (noun phrase)
VP (verb phrase)
COMP (complement)

There are also minor constituents such as TIME, PLACE, etc, which occur only occasionally.

A noun phrase will always have either a noun or a pronoun as its head; this is marked for case according to its function in the sentence. Either of these can be optionally followed by a demonstrative, either d^ruʔa 'proximate' ('this') or gaw 'distant' ('that'), and in the case of nouns, but not of pronouns, also an adjective. The following adjective or demonstrative never inflects for case unless the noun or pronoun is deleted by ellipsis; if this has happened the full responsibility for marking case must then fall on this secondary NP constituent. Thus, we might get:

(41) lu ɲaŋi ku-gu d^ruʔa riŋi-ni
he-A I-O stick-INST this hit-PAST
He hit me with this stick.

but

(42) lu ɲaŋi d^ruʔa-ʔa riŋi-ni
he-A I-O this-INST hit-PAST
He hit me with this [stick].

A noun in subject position (i.e. in A or S function) can be preceded by a pronoun, apparently functioning as some kind of deictic, e.g.

(43) d^ru ruɕi wi aŋi
you-S child-S this way go-IMP
Come here child!

- (44) lu ma-ra ?wa kwa-ra ɲu-ɣu
 he-A man-ERG dog-O foot-INST kick-PAST
 The man kicked the dog with his foot.

A verb phrase has only ever been found to consist of a single lexical verb and nothing more. The complement constituent can consist of an NP (as already described) or of an S (i.e. an embedded sentence, see 4.5).

As far as ordering of constituents is concerned, Anguthimri is basically an S-O-V language, i.e. the first constituent of a sentence will normally be the subject (the S or A noun phrase) and if there is an object, it comes second, with the verb last. This kind of ordering is exemplified by:

- (45) ?wa-ra ɣama-na ɬa-na
 dog-A child-O bite-PAST
 The dog bit the child.

- (46) lu aɲi-ni
 3sg-NOM go-PAST
 He went.

Also, a complement constituent, if it is an NP, generally immediately precedes the verb (though an S complement will follow it; see 4.5). Thus, we might find:

- (47) ?wa-ra bwa?a ba-gu ɬa-na
 dog-A meat-O teeth-INST bite-PAST
 The dog bit the meat with his teeth.

- (48) d^ru ku-mu wi aɲi-?i
 2sg-NOM tree-ABL this way come-IMP
 Come away from the tree.

In any transitive sentence where discourse provides details of the participants, either the ergative NP or the absolutive NP can be deleted (though not both). Thus, the corpus contains sentences such as:

- (49) aɲu kayi ɣyu-ɣü
 2sg-NOM later on spear-FUT
 I will spear [e.g. a wallaby] later on.

- (50) bwa?a gaw d^ra-na
 meat-O that leave-PAST
 [He] left the meat there.

It should be noted however, that the S-O-Complement-V order is not rigidly fixed in Anguthimri and deviations do occur, albeit rather infrequently. Generally, however, it is the verb and the object that change position. The subject tends to stay at the beginning of the sentence. Also, a complement NP might go after the verb or between the subject and object of the sentence.

4.2 WORD LEVEL DERIVATIONS

In 3.6.5 mention was made of the existence of mechanisms in Anguthimri for creating verbs out of other parts of speech. The two verbalisers are:

- geŋa *transitive verbaliser*
 -geŋi *intransitive verbaliser*

These can be added to adjectives, nouns, place constituents and even inflected nouns. The transitive verbaliser -geŋa has a causative meaning 'to cause X to become Y' if the kernel sentence is of the form 'X is Y'. Thus, we can have an underlying adjective in:

- (51) aŋu t^ralawati
 I-S red
 I am red.

which becomes a transitive verb in:

- (52) ŋwa-ga ŋaŋi t^ralawati-geŋa-na
 sun-ERG I-O red-CAUS-PAST
 The sun has made me turn red.

An example of a causative sentence in which the -geŋa suffix is found on a constituent other than an adjective is:

- (53) lu ma-ra t^roka kaɕa-ŋa-geŋa-na
 he-A man-ERG head-O down-LOC-CAUS-PAST
 The man lowered his head.

which comes from an underlying:

- (54) t^roka kaɕa-ŋa
 head-S down-LOC
 [His] head is lowered (=down).

The intransitive verbaliser -geŋi can be added to the same kinds of constituents as the transitive verbaliser and the meaning is simply inchoative 'to be/become X', e.g.

- (55) aŋu kayu t^ralawati-geŋi-ni
 I-S skin-S red-INCH-PAST
 My skin has become red (=is red).

which comes from:

- (56) aŋu kayu t^ralawati
 I-S skin-S red
 My skin is red.

and also:

- (57) lu ma yunu-geŋi-ni
 he-S man-S there-INCH-PAST
 The man went a long way away.
 (58) lu ma kaɕa-ŋa-geŋi-ni
 he-S man-S down-LOC-INCH-PAST
 The man went down.

4.3 SENTENCE TRANSITIVITY

Mention was also made in 3.6.5 of two derivational affixes that can change the transitivity of a verb. Normally, every lexical verb must be described as being either transitive or intransitive, and to change transitivity one must use a derivational affix, except for the single verb:

bwa 'break transitive'
 bwani 'break intransitive'

which has two clearly related root forms differing in transitivity.

There are two derivational means of changing the transitivity of a sentence in Anguthimri.

(a) The *reflexive* suffix to a verb in Anguthimri is -ɬi (and all reflexive verbs belong to conjugation IIa). From an underlying sentence of the form:

NP_A NP_O V

where NP_A and NP_O are marked in some way as being coreferential, the reflexive transformation applies to derive a sentence of the form:

NP_S V-ɬi

Thus, we might find the verb ʔa 'cover' in a transitive sentence of the form:

- (59) aŋu pwi ʔa-ni
 I-A bone-O cover-PAST
 I covered over the bones.

Undergoing the reflexive transformation, ʔa can also occur intransitively in a sentence such as:

- (60) aŋu ʔa-ɬi-ni
 I-S cover-REFL-PAST
 I covered myself over.

(b) *Reciprocal*. Transitive sentences with a plural subject and a coreferential object, and a verb indicating that the participants acted on each other, undergo the reciprocal transformation, in which the verb takes the suffix -pɕi (which puts the verb into conjugation IIIb). Thus, to a transitive sentence of similar structure to (15) we can relate a sentence such as:

- (61) amɕa ʔwa bwi:-pɕi-ni
 they-S dog-S kill-RECIP-PAST
 The dogs killed one another.

(c) *False reciprocal*. The corpus contains sentences such as:

- (62) kweʔe bwa-pɕi-ni
 spear-S break-RECIP-PAST
 The spear broke.
- (63) ku ɬa-pɕi-ni
 log-S split-RECIP-PAST
 The log split.

Here the reciprocal suffix -pɕi causes the sentence to change its transitivity, with the ergative NP becoming absolutive, yet the verb does not carry the reciprocal meaning. It is clearly impossible to interpret these sentences as 'the spears broke each other' and 'the logs split each other'.

This is a type of antipassive construction, but it does not parallel the antipassive in a number of other Australian

languages (e.g. Dyirbal, Bandjalang) where a verb with a false reciprocal (or false reflexive) suffix can have a patient, usually in some oblique case (say, dative or locative). The corpus contains no occurrences of sentences similar to (62) or (63) with an underlying accusative that has become some oblique case.

4.4 POSSESSION.

The morphology of alienable possession was outlined in 3.2.1. It was pointed out that the possessor noun is marked by a suffix, either *-m̩ca*, *-nam̩ca* or *-yam̩ca*. This process is generally reserved for situations of alienable possession. Where the possessor NP is in a non-zero case inflection, the genitive NP can agree with it. The morphology of non-zero case-marking on genitive NPs is quite regular. Thus:

- (64) lu waɬayi-yam̩ca-ma pat^ɾa-ma pæ-ni
 he-S old man-GEN-ABL canoe-ABL come out-PAST
 He got out of the old man's canoe.

Inalienable possession can be indicated in the same way, but it seems to be generally indicated by apposition without suffixation. Things that are regarded as inalienably possessed in Anguthimri are:

- (i) Parts of the body: aŋu kayu 'my skin'
 I skin
- (ii) Kin: aŋu ruɟi 'my grandson'
 I grandson
 lu naɬi 'his father'
 he father
- (iii) Parts of some kind or whole: ɬuʔu ʔya 'leg hair'
 leg hair
 d^ɾya mwini 'sore on an arm'
 arm sore
 gaʔu ŋa 'beard'
 chin beard

When inalienably possessed NP's occur in non-zero case-frames, the case suffixes follow the last item.

4.5 COMPLEX SENTENCES

In 3.6, the paradigms listed include a 'consecutive' suffix of the form *-nama*, *-n̩vkumu*, *-n̩ukumu* or *-nikumu*, according to conjugation and sub-conjugation membership. In form, most of these variants (i.e. the *-n̩vkumu*, *-nikumu* or *-n̩ukumu*) are probably originally purposives. The *-nu* is the nominaliser found in other Northern Paman languages such as Linngithigh and the Northern Peninsula group, and the *-ku* is clearly the common Australian dative. Only the *-mu* syllable cannot be explained at this stage. However, although his-

torically only a purposive, this suffix now carries a much wider range of functions; it generally indicates simply sentence subordination and sentence coordination of various types. It also occurs in simple sentences such as the following, but with a desiderative reading:

- (65) aŋu gwa-ŋakumu
I-A eat-CONSEC
I want to eat (something).

In complex sentences, this suffix expresses the following ideas:

(i) *Purposive*. The presumed historically original meaning of the suffix is maintained in Anguthimri. The verb of the sentence acting as a purpose complement is marked by the consecutive suffix. If there is a common NP, it may be deletable under some identity conditions; however, there is no need for there to be a common NP, e.g.

- (66) lu ku ʔwa-na ʔa-ŋakumu
he-A wood-O cut-PAST burn-CONSEC
He cut the wood for burning.

- (67) lu ma gægi amʕa ruʕi garu aŋi-ŋama
he-S man-S shout-PRES they-S child-S there go-CONSEC
The old man is shouting for the children to go away.

(ii) *Symmetric conjunction*. The suffixes above have also developed another function in Anguthimri, that of expressing 'and then' constructions. Symmetric conjunction is a possible structure for (67) where two readings would be possible, i.e. the one given, and also 'The old man is shouting, and the children ran away [after that]'. The sentence below is an example where a purposive reading is unlikely, and a conjunctive reading is to be preferred:

- (68) lu ʔwe læ-ni aɟima-ŋakumu
he-S too much walkabout-PAST suffer-CONSEC
He walked about too much and is now suffering.

4.6 IMPERATIVES

To express a positive imperative, the second person pronouns (i.e. dʀu 'sg'; pi 'dl'; ʕe:ye 'pl') are used with the verb following with the imperative inflection (as presented in 3.6.2), e.g.

- (69) dʀu ɲa yumu-ʔu
you-A fish-O cook in ashes-IMP
Cook that fish in the ashes!
- (70) pi ɲarama-ʔa
you-S stand-IMP
You two stand up!

To express the negative imperative, i.e. the prohibitive, the particle yuʔu is placed before the verb:

- (71) dʀu yuʔu ʕi:ni-ʔi
you-S PROHIB go down-IMP
Don't go down (there)!

4.7 PARTICLES AND INTERJECTIONS

Those known are:

geʔe	'no'	garu	'that way'
yuyu	'don't'	βaw	'cheerio'
katiʔi	'perhaps'	βama	'again'
wi	'this way'		

VOCABULARY

ALPHABETICAL VOCABULARY

Below is presented an alphabetical listing of words recorded from Mr. Don Fletcher of New Mapoon, the consultant for this study. The list is exhaustive for the corpus that was assembled. (It should be pointed out at this stage that no textual material can be presented for this language. The sketch grammar that has been written is based entirely on elicited data, as the speaker no longer uses the language, and his degree of fluency was such that he did not feel competent to speak spontaneously into a tape recorder in the form of a monologue.) The alphabetical order that is chosen for this wordlist is as follows:

a, æ, b, d, d̥, ɟ, dʳ, ð, e, g, γ, i, k, ʔ, l, m, n, ŋ, ŋ, ŋ, o, ö, p, r, ʃ, s, ʃ, t, t̥, t̥, tʳ, u, ü, β, w, γ, z

with long vowels being ordered after short vowels, and nasal vowels after oral vowels.

The abbreviations employed are as follows:

N	noun	T	time
ADJ	adjective	tr	transitive
PART	particle	intr	intransitive
INT	interjection	irr	irregular
LOC	locational		

Details of conjugation membership and transitivity are given for each verb. Where the ergative declension (I, II and III) and/or the genitive declension (A or B) of a noun is known, this information is also given. Note that there are a few examples of a root being recorded with allomorphs from two different conjugations, or two different declensions.

a, Vtr (Ia): pull	arana, N: toenail, fingernail
adi, N: ritual scar	aʃu, Vintr(IIa): bark
aɟiki, N(II): moon	awɳiladi, N: eldest sister
aɟiki, ADJ: yellow	awɳipwa, N: middle sister
aɟiti, N: wrinkle	ay, N: vegetable food
aɟima, Vintr(IIa): suffer	
anu, N: hip	ba, N: island
aŋa, Vintr(irr): go, come	baɟa, N: bag, marsupial's pouch
aŋukwiŋi, N: mother's brother	bana, Vintr(irr): climb
aŋuruɟi, N: my grandchild	banu, N: wattle species
aŋuʃa, N: daughter	barana, N: carpet snake

baꞑi, LOC: up
 baw, N(I): tooth
 bay, N: barracouta
 ba:nu, N: wild cucumber, grape
 bi:ni(pwa), ADJ: short
 bꞑadꞑa, T: long time ago
 bꞑaꞑa, N(II,III;B): husband
 bꞑeꞑeꞑa, VINTR(IVa): play
 bꞑeꞑi, N: beach
 bꞑi, N(I): mud, red paint
 bꞑiꞑi, VINTR(IIa): be dirty
 bꞑiꞑi-bꞑiꞑi, VINTR(IIIb): be noisy
 bꞑuyi, T: night
 bꞑuyi-bꞑuyi, T: afternoon
 buꞑu, N(III;B): ghost
 buꞑu-ge, N: clever man
 büꞑu, N: scorpion
 büwutu, N: large crab species
 bwa, VTR(Ia): break
 bwaꞑa, N(III): meat, flesh
 bwana, N: bream
 bwaraka, N: Torres Strait pigeon
 bwæni, VINTR(IIa): break
 bwi:, VTR(IIIa): kill
 bwi:ni, N: back

 dadi, ADJ: fast
 dimigiꞑi, N: water goanna
 duðu, N: word
 dupꞑiꞑi, N(A): old lady
 duru, N: four-prong spear
 duwiði, N: name
 du:lu, N: garfish
 du:nu, N: small whiting
 dwaꞑa, N: beach
 dwakwabaꞑi, N: salmon
 dwiri, N: sugarbag bee

 ɖa, N: chips of wood, splinter
 ɖay, N: testicles
 ɖaꞑa, N: grass
 ɖa:ꞑamana, N: sap
 ɖæ:wai, ADJ: greedy
 ɖe:ni, N(III;B): wasp
 ɖi, N: smooth-bark tea tree
 ɖi, VTR(IIIa): suck
 ɖiꞑi, N: New Guinea sago
 ɖuꞑi, N: kingfisher
 ɖwa, N: eye
 ɖwa-pawa, N: eyeball
 ɖwa-pay, N: eyebrow
 ɖwa, VTR(IIa): catch
 ɖwaladi, N(II;A): wild dog
 ɖwiꞑi, N: buttocks
 ɖwimi, N: string
 ɖwini, N: vine

 ɖa, N: ground
 ɖa, VTR(Ia): make

ɖa:tini, N: reef
 ɖe, ADJ: good
 ɖeꞑi, N: whitebark tree in mangrove
 ɖi:, VINTR(IIIa): fall
 ɖi:, VTR(IIIa): light fire
 ɖuꞑu, N: breast, milk, lump on tree

 dꞑa, VTR(IIa): leave, put down
 dꞑadaꞑa, VINTR(III): live, lie down
 dꞑaꞑi, N(II): current, tide
 dꞑaꞑi, VINTR(IIb): lie down
 dꞑe:bꞑi, N: umbrella palm
 dꞑe:gwati, N: trevally
 dꞑe:mꞑi, N: outrigger, shirt
 dꞑe:ni, ADJ: different
 dꞑe:ꞑimꞑi, N: shirt
 dꞑi, N: throat
 dꞑi:giti, ADJ: sweet
 dꞑwaꞑara, T: today, daytime
 dꞑwala, N: long-tom
 dꞑwamꞑa, N(III;B): woman
 dꞑwaga, N(II,III;B): wife
 dꞑwe, N: shell
 dꞑwili, N: brolga
 dꞑya, N: wing, arm

 ðawꞑiki, N: white kangaroo
 ðay, N(I,II): mother
 ðaymꞑi, ADJ: hungry
 ðadi, VINTR(III): burn
 ðæ:pa, VTR(IIa): bury
 ðitama, VINTR(II): be afraid
 ðu, VTR(Ia): sew
 ðuꞑu, N: yamstick
 ðurupu, ADJ: small
 ðutu, VTR(IIb): follow
 ðwata, VINTR(IIa): flow down
 ðwimi, VINTR(IIb): tell lies
 ðwiꞑi, ADJ(II;B): two

 ga, N(I): mouth
 ga, VTR(Ib): poke
 ga, VTR(IVa): peel
 gaꞑaga, N(II;A): kookaburra
 gaꞑu, N: chin
 gaꞑu-ꞑa, N: beard
 gamaraꞑu, N: pannikin
 gapꞑa, ADJ: bad
 garu, PART: that way
 garuꞑana, N: spear type
 gaꞑaka, N: star
 gatꞑali, ADJ: sour
 gawðayi, N: crocodile
 gawri, VTR(IIa): look for
 gæ, VTR(IIa): ask
 gægi, VINTR(irr): shout
 gæꞑama, VINTR(IIa): laugh
 geɖiꞑana, N: emu
 geꞑe, INT: no

ge?ekeka, Vtr(Ia): tickle
geḥa, Vintr(irr): sit
goy, N(II;A): buck wallaby
gu, N: knee
guwana, N: curlew
gu:nu, ADJ: heavy
gwapḥa, Vtr(irr): eat, drink
gwaḥa, LOC: north
gwe:ni, N: lily
gwunu, N: ankle, knuckle
gya, N: native cat

ḡayu, N: messmate tree
ḡama, N(III;B): taro, wild
cucumber, child
ḡara, N: large cabbage tree
ḡaḥu, N: bloodwood
ḡay, N: rain
ḡeḥi, N: snake (generic)
ḡunu, LOC: distant
ḡurupiḡi, ADJ: tall
ḡwa, N(I): sand
ḡwa-pay, N: sandhill
ḡwagaḥa, Vintr(IVa): swim
ḡwaḥaḡi, N: small crab species
ḡwini, N: coughing, breathing
ḡyaha, N(III): axe
ḡyu, Vtr(Ia): spear
ḡyūdi, N: scrub, dry forest

ḡiḡi, N: loya cane
ḡyi, N: termite mound, snapper
ḡyiti, ADJ: brown

kaḡaka, N: oyster
kaḡi, N: black ibis
kaḡu, N: skin
kaḡu rimi-rimi, ADJ: jealous
kaḡu-ḡe, N: palm of hand
kaḡupaḡaḡi, N: coconut palm
kaḡu-βwaḡi, N: mixed race person
kaḡu-we:ye, N: muscle
kali, N: hole
kalipwa, N: gully
kama, N: gum species
kaḡaha, Vtr(IIa): find
kaḡagwa, Vintr(IIa): crawl
karuku, N: beer
karupu, N: buck red kangaroo
kaḡa, LOC: down
kaḡiḡi, PART: perhaps
kaḡiḡi, T: soon
kaḡi(ni), ADJ: deep
kaw, N: lice
kayi-kayi, T: later on
kerimi, ADJ: clean, shiny
kili, N: king parrot

kiri-kiri, N: wood duck
kiḡi, N(III): knife
köyḡi, N: lefthand side
ku, N(I): tree, wood, stick
kubu, N: blackfruit
kuku, N: mother's father, father's
sister
kukulæ:ye, N: Islander
kukuḡaḡi, N: scrub hen
kumala, N: sweet potato
kumugini, N: woodpecker
kunu, T: now
kuḡaka, N: fighting stick
kuwaḡi, N: grub
kwabi, N: quandong
kwaḡaḡa, N: crane
kwana, N: nape of neck
kwe, N(II): foot
kwe-rāya, N: footprint
kwe?e, N(II): straight spear
kwiḡiḡi, N: long yam
kwiniḡi, N: possum
kwini:ḡi, N: cassowary
kwi:, Vtr(Ia): have, keep, look after
kwi:ḡi, N: eldest sister
kwumḡu, N: wrist
kyabara, N(I;A): alligator

?a, N(I): hand
?a, Vtr(IIIa): cover
?i:, Vtr(Ia): wake
?unuwana, N: blister
?wa, N(II;B): tame dog
?wapwa, N: pup
?we?e, Vtr(irr): cut, chop
?wi:ni, N: chest, rib
?ya, N: hair
?ya-ḡwa-pay, N: eyelashes
?ya:na, N: twigs
?yuru, N: white gum

la, N: wattle species, black snake
ladi, N: marrow
laḡi, N(III;A): girl
laḡu, N: hawk
laga-laga, N: leg corroboree
laya, N: lizard (generic)
layu, N: jaw, cheek, temple
layubḡeḡi, N: white cockatoo
lali, N: harpoon
lamalaḡi, N: stranger
lana, N: tongue
lanu, N: sea
laḡimi, ADJ: alive
lay, Vtr(IIa): carry
la:gaḡa, N: death adder
læ, Vintr(IVa): go walkabout

lædi, N: grass-tree
 læ:ya, N: fork in tree
 lu?u, N: mangrove
 luluma, VINTR(IIa): swell up
 lwaga, N(II): sickness
 lwagati, N: kingfish
 lwagaṭimçi, ADJ: sick
 lwe, N: lake
 lwi:yi, ADJ: angry

 ma, N(II;B): man
 ma, VTR(IIIa): hear, listen to
 maya, N: small brown snake
 mayu, N: armpit
 mayu?i:ni, N: saltwater mullet
 mayunu, N: lips
 ma?aṭaṅa, VTR(IIb): lift up
 ma?æni, N(A): father's brother,
 elder brother
 malyari, N: corroboree (generic)
 mamaliṭi, N: message stick
 marapi, N: bamboo
 maru, N: queenfish
 maruku, N: horse
 mawkwiyi, N: countryman
 mayi, N: father's father
 mæ, VINTR(IIIa): get up, wake up
 midḡi, N: club, spear thrower
 mṛæṛaḡi, N: land goanna
 mṛæṭiri, N: black duck
 mṛiṭiki, ADJ(II): many
 mu, N: buttocks
 mu?utu, N: firestick
 muruṭi, N: fish (generic)
 mutu-mutu, N: anthole
 muṭiṭi, N: white ibis
 muwã, N: fin
 muwi, N: fig-tree
 mwa, N: fire
 mwa-rwi?i, N: hot coals
 mwi, VINTR(IRR): dance
 mwini, N: sore
 myũyu, N: short yam

 nabu, N: tree sp. in mangrove
 nama, N: rough-bark tea tree
 namaranu, N: frying-pan
 napu, VTR(Ia): swallow
 natabani, N: sweat
 natimi, ADJ: tired
 naṭi, N(III;B): father
 ni, N: place, camp
 ni:yi, N(A): boy
 nubuti, N: navel
 nu:nu, N: wild potato

 na, N: fish (generic)

nagu, N: fern
 namweye, N: ironwood
 narama, VINTR(IVa): stand
 neḡi, N: small cabbage tree
 nu, ADJ: different

 nu, VTR(Ia): kick

 na, N: beard, moustache
 na, VTR(IIa): dig
 naba, N(III): paddle
 nu, N: clothes
 nu:bwa, ADJ: hot
 nu:lu, N(III;A): mosquito
 nwa, N(I): sun
 nwa?aṭa, N: catfish
 nwaṛi, N: bandicoot
 nwiṭa, VTR(IIa): pour out, empty

 paḡiki, T: recently
 paguru, N: yawn
 pa?u, N: blue-tongue lizard
 palawara, N: flower
 pana, N(A): friend
 papaṭi, N(I,II,III): stone
 paṛupaṛaṭi, N: cottonwood
 paṭa, VTR(IIa): fix, make
 paṭa, N: canoe
 paṭa-dre:mçi, N: outrigger canoe
 pawa, N: egg
 pawṭi, ADJ: blunt
 pay, N: forehead, face
 pay ḡuwi-ḡuwi, ADJ: ashamed
 pay-ḡa, N: hillside
 pa:na, N: riverbank, level
 pæ, VINTR(IIa): come out
 pæ?a, N: elbow
 pemini, N: thunder
 pimi, ADJ: one
 pṛa, VTR(IIa): rub, wash
 pṛaṅa, T: morning
 pṛeṛe, VTR(IRR): pick up
 pṛo?a, N(III;A): frog, tadpole
 pṛu?u, N(III;A): maggot, worm, leech,
 ghost
 pṛulu, N: rainy season
 pu, VTR(Ia): do, throw
 puḡi(pwa), ADJ: small
 pu?a, N(III): water
 pulugini, N: blanket
 puluku, N: bullock
 puṭuku, ADJ: hard
 puṭiki, ADJ(II): many
 puṭru, N: sailboat
 puyimi, N: billycan
 pwa?akwiṭi, N: kangaroo rat
 pwapu, N: lily species

pwe:, VINTR(IIIb): go in
 pwe:ke, N: groper
 pwi, N: bone, seed

ra, N: stomach
 ra, VTR(1b): wash, rub
 ragu, N: sandpaper tree, prawn
 rayu, ADJ: clear
 rama, ADJ: empty
 rana, N: sky
 raŋa, N: river
 raŋapwa, N: creek
 raŋi, N: bailer shell
 raw, ADJ: black
 rãya, N: shade
 rëye, N: whitefish
 ri, N: excrement
 riŋi, VTR(IIIb): hit, punch
 riyiga, VTR(IIa): smash
 roga, ADJ: grey
 ruđi, N: grandson
 rugu, N: bulrushes
 rugunu, N: file stingray
 ruluku, N: taipan
 rumu, N: fish net, side
 rumu, VINTR(IIb,IVb): bend down
 rumuŋana, N: kidney
 ruçi, N(III;A): mother's sister,
 child
 rwa, N(I): white paint
 rwagaŋi, N(II): fishing-line
 rwamaŋi, N: bamboo pipe
 rwiŋi, N: charcoal
 rwili, N: native almond

ŋama, T: recently
 ŋa:deye, N: jabiru
 ŋaŋina, N: honey, grease
 ceçi, N: crow
 çi, N: nose
 çiđi, N: nasal mucus
 çi puŋuku, ADJ: jealous
 çiđi, N: freshwater turtle species
 çi-yuŋkwi:yi, N: jabiru, broilga
 çiçi, N: oak

sãla, N: milkwood species

ŋiŋi, N: green snake
 ŋiŋiri, N: culture hero

tabwa, N: small bee
 tapiŋi, N: wife's brother
 tarama, N: drum
 taŋa, N: road
 taŋayama, N: wife's brother
 tiyati, ADJ: soft
 tini, N: tin

tiri, N: tick
 ti:ni, N: swamp
 tugumu, N: cliff
 tuçi, N: trochus shell
 twala, N: plain
 twiniga, VTR(IIa): bash

ta, VINTR(IIa): stand
 ta, VTR(IIa): bite, tie, burn/cook
 taba, VTR(IIa): chase
 tabwa, N: younger brother/sister
 talu, N: shoulder
 tama, N: thumb
 tapi, N: wing
 tarana, N: spotted snake
 tarana, ADJ: cold
 taçiti, ADJ: cold
 taŋa, N: fighting spear
 ta, VTR(IIa): push, send, move
 taŋi, ADJ: blue, green
 tidini, N: wax in ears
 tilini, N: saltwater turtle species
 timçiŋi, N: large grasshopper
 timçiŋi, N: large grasshopper
 tinipcece, N: lady apple
 tinipçi, N: large grasshopper
 tiribwiŋi, N: porcupine
 titiri, N: willy-wagtail
 tiyiga, VTR(IIa): smash
 ti:ni, N: spear type, thigh
 tu, N: west
 tudu, N: leaf
 tuŋu, N: leg
 tumu, ADJ: dead
 twara, N: eagle

ta, N: language, speech, song
 ta, VTR(1a): split
 taya, N: tail
 takara, N: large whiting
 taŋaga, N: long-tail stingray
 taŋaŋeça, VINTR(IRR): run
 tama, VINTR(IIa): jump
 taçta, VTR(IRR): say to
 teçiyeci, N: burr
 tidiri, N: joey, doe wallaby
 titi, N: fishhawk
 ti:, VTR(1a,IIIa): see, look at
 tuyubu, N: tobacco, cigarette
 tumu, ADJ: three
 twa, VTR(IVa): tell
 twađaga, VTR(IIa): wash
 twaka, VTR(IIa): heap up
 twama, N: hill
 twana, N: wave
 twarama, VINTR(IIa): float
 twe:ye, N: flood
 twi, VTR(IRR): say to
 twiŋina, N: beeswax

tʁaḏa, N: barramundi
 tʁalawati, ADJ: red
 tʁay, N: penis
 tʁæ:ni, N: green turtle
 tʁelimi, N: blood
 tʁoka, N: head
 tʁokaβaʃi, N: scrub turkey
 tʁokanwi, N: lagoon
 tʁoka-tʁoka, N: end
 tʁu, N: urine
 tʁya, N(I;A): ant, shark

 ubu, N: red gum

 βa, PART: back, again
 βaḏi, N: intestines
 βama, PART: back, again
 βaʁaka, T: long time ago
 βati, N: righthand side
 βaʃa, LOC: south
 βaw, INT: goodbye
 βi:ni, Vintr(I Ib): go down
 βʁeʔe-βʁeʔe, ADJ: slippery
 βʁiʔi, N: vagina
 βūʁu, N: smoke
 βūyi, N(I): dust,ashes,fog,cloud
 βwaʃi, N: milkwood species
 βwe, N: brains
 βwe:ni, N: dream
 βwi, Vintr(irr): die
 wa, N: grey hair

waʔa, N(III): ear
 walapanu, N: hat, dinghy,
 whaleboat
 waʁa, N: flat-tail stingray
 waʃayi, N(III;A): old man
 waʃi, Vintr(IIIb): dive
 we, N: owl
 we:ye, ADJ: big, fat
 wi, PART: this way
 wimʁigeʁa, Vintr(irr): cry
 winiga, Vtr(IIa): scratch
 winimi, N: spotted stingray
 wuyulabi, N: frill-neck lizard
 wuŋaʃimʁi, T: tomorrow
 wuʃi, N: house

 ya, Vtr(Ia): give, bring
 yayara, N: centipede, dragonfly
 yara, N: seagull
 yaraʃa, N: small parrot species
 yeʃi, N(III): wind
 yeri, N: feather
 yeti, N: bird (generic)
 yibaʃi, N: plains turkey
 yuʃi, N: loggerhead turtle
 yumu, Vtr(I Ib): cook in ashes

 zeni, Vintr(irr): vomit
 zi, Vtr(Ia): blow
 zoʔa, N: fly
 zuʔu, N: lily species

VOCABULARY IN SEMANTIC FIELDS

NOUNS

A - Body parts

tʁoka, head
 βwe, brains
 ʔya, hair
 wa, grey hair
 pay, forehead, face
 dwa, eye
 dwa-pay, eyebrow
 dwa-pawa, eyeball
 ʔya-dwa-pay, eyelashes
 ʁi, nose
 ʁiḏi, nasal mucus
 waʔa (III), ear
 ʃiḏini, wax in ears
 layu, jaw, cheek, temple
 gaʔu, chin
 ga (I), mouth
 mayunu, lips
 gaʔu-ŋa, beard
 ŋa, beard, moustache

baw (I), tooth
 lana, tongue
 dʁi, throat
 ywini, breathing, coughing
 kwana, nape of neck
 ʃalu, shoulder
 mayu, armpit
 dʁya, arm, wing
 pæʔa, elbow
 kwumʁu, wrist
 ʔa (I), hand
 kayu-ge, palm of hand
 ʃama, thumb
 arana, toenail, fingernail
 guʔu, breast, milk
 ʔwi:ni, chest, rib
 rumu, side
 βati, righthand side
 köyyi, lefthand side

anu, hip
 nubuti, navel
 ra, stomach
 rumupɕana, kidney
 βaði, intestines
 bwi:ni, back
 mu, ɠwi?i, buttocks
 tu?u, leg
 ti:ni, thigh
 gu, knee
 gwunu, ankle, knuckle
 kwe (II), foot
 kwe-rāya, footprint
 tʔay, penis
 ɠayu, testicles
 βɕi?i, vagina
 ri, excrement
 tʔu, urine
 kayu-we:ye, muscle
 kayu, skin
 pwi, bone
 ladi, marrow
 tʔelimi, blood
 natabani, sweat
 mwini, sore
 ?unuwana, blister
 aɠiti, wrinkle
 adi, ritual scar
 lwaga (II), fever, sickness
 βwe:ni, dream
 paguru, yawn

B - Human classification

ma (II;B), man
 dʔwamɕa (III;B) woman
 yama (III;B), ruɕi (III;A), child
 ni:yi (A), boy
 waɠayi (III;A), old man
 laɠi (III;A), girl
 dupɕiyi (A), old lady
 mawkwiyi, countryman
 kayu-βwaɠi, mixed race person
 kukulæ:ye, Islander
 ʃiβiri, culture hero
 bu?u-ɠe, clever man
 lamalaɠi, stranger
 pana (A), friend
 bu?u (III;B), pɕu?u (III;A),
 ghost

C - Kinship

aɠukwiɠi, mother's brother
 ðay (I,II), mother
 ruɕi, mother's sister
 naɠi (III;B), father
 ma?æni (A), father's brother
 kuku, father's sister,

mother's father
 mayi, father's father
 ma?æni (A), elder brother
 ɠabwa, younger brother/sister
 awɠilagi, kwil:yi, eldest sister
 awɠipwa, middle sister
 aɠuɠa, daughter
 (aɠu)ruɠi, (my) grandchild
 bɕaɠa (II,III;B), husband
 dʔwaɠa (II,III;B), wife
 tapiɠi, taβayama, wife's brother

D - Mammals

ɠiribwiɠi, porcupine
 gya, native cat
 ŋwaɕi, bandicoot
 kwiniyi, possum
 goy (II;A), buck wallaby
 karupu, buck red kangaroo
 ðawɠiki, white kangaroo
 ɠigiri, joey, doe wallaby
 baɠa, pouch of marsupial
 ɠaya, tail
 pwa?akwiɠi, kangaroo rat
 ɠwalagi (II;A), wild dog
 ?wa (II;B), tame dog
 ?wapwa, pup
 maruku, horse
 puluku, bullock

E - Reptiles

gawðayi, crocodile
 kyabara (I;A), alligator
 tʔæ:ni, green turtle
 yugi, loggerhead turtle
 ɠilini, saltwater turtle species
 ɕiɠi, fresh-water turtle species
 laɠa, lizard (generic)
 pa?u, blue-tongue lizard
 wuyulabi, frill-neck lizard
 mɕaɕagi, land goanna
 dimigiɠi, water goanna
 yeɕi, snake (generic)
 barana, carpet snake
 ʃi?i, green snake
 la:ga?a, death adder
 ruluku, taipan
 la, black snake
 maɠa, small brown snake
 ɠarana, spotted snake

F - Birds

yeti, bird (generic)
 pawa, egg
 ɠapi, dʔya, wing
 yeri, feather
 gegiɠana, emu

kwini:yi, cassowary
 d^rwili, ʒi-yu?ukwi:yi, brolga
 ʒa:deye, ʒi-yu?ukwi:yi, jabiru
 kwaɖa?a, crane
 guwana, curlew
 yibaʒi, plains turkey
 t^rokaβaʒi, scrub turkey
 kukuŋaʒi, scrub hen
 bwaraka, Torres Strait pigeon
 we, owl
 kumudini, woodpecker
 ʒeʒi, crow
 ga?aga (A), kookaburra
 duʒi, kingfisher
 ʒiʒiri, willy-wagtail
 layubʒeʒi, white cockatoo
 yaraʒa, small parrot species
 killi, king parrot
 laðu, hawk
 ʒiti, fishhawk
 ʒwara, eagle
 kaʒi, black ibis
 muʒiʒi, white ibis
 mʒaʒiri, black duck
 kiri-kiri, wood duck
 yara, seagull

G - Fish, etc.

muruti, na, fish (generic)
 muwã, fin
 rëye, whitefish
 dwakwabaʒi, salmon
 ʒakara, large whiting
 du:nu, small whiting
 du:lu, garfish
 ŋwa?aʒa, catfish
 bwana, bream
 maru, queenfish
 maɣu?i:ni, salt-water mullet
 t^raða, barramundi
 d^rwala, long-tom
 d^re:gwati, trevally
 bay, barracouta
 lwagati, kingfish
 iyi, snapper
 pwe:ke, groper
 t^rya (I;A), shark
 winimi, spotted stingray
 waʒa, flat-tail stingray
 ʒa?aga, long-tail stingray
 rugunu, file stingray
 kaɖaka, oyster
 ɣwa?aʒi, small crab species
 buwutu, large crab species
 d^rwe, shell
 raŋi, bailer shell
 tuʒi, trochus shell

H - Insects

iyi, termite mound
 mutu-mutu, anthole
 t^rya, ant
 de:ni (III;B), wasp
 tabwa, small bee
 dwiri, sugarbag bee
 ʒwiʒina, beeswax
 ʒaɖina, honey, grease
 buɣu, scorpion
 yaɣara, centipede, dragonfly
 pɕu?u (III;A), maggot, worm
 ʒoɣa, fly
 ŋu:lu (III;A), mosquito
 kuwati, grub
 ragu, prawn
 pɕo?a, (III;A), frog, tadpole
 ʒimciʒi, ʒimciʒi, ʒinipci, large
 grasshopper
 tiri, tick
 kaw, lice

I - Language, ceremony, etc

ʒa, language, speech, song
 duwiði, name
 duðu, word
 maɣari, corroboree (generic)
 laga-laga, leg corroboree

J - Material artefacts

kut^raka, fighting stick
 mamaliʒi, message stick
 ðu?u, yamstick
 miɖi, club, spear-thrower
 ʒaʒa, fighting spear
 kwe?e (II), straight spear
 duru, four-prong spear
 garu?ana, spear type
 ʒi:ni, spear type
 lali, harpoon
 kiʒi (III), knife
 ɣyaŋa (III), axe
 mu?uʒu, firestick
 rumu, fish net
 rwagaʒi (II), fishing-line
 ɖwimi, string
 pa^ra, canoe
 walapanu, dinghy, whaleboat, hat
 ŋaba (III), paddle
 pu^ru, sailboat
 pa^ra-d^re:mci, d^re:mci, outrigger
 canoe
 d^re:ʒimci, d^re:mci, shirt
 ŋu, clothes
 pulugini, blanket
 baɣa, bag
 tini, tin

tarama, drum
 puyimi, billy can
 gamaraŋu, pannikin
 namaraŋu, frying-pan
 rwamaŋi, bamboo pipe
 rwa (I), white paint

K - Food, fire, water

bwaʔa (III), meat, flesh
 ay, vegetable food
 ʔuyubu, tobacco, cigarette
 karuku, beer
 mwa, fire
 ku (I), wood
 rwiʔi, charcoal
 mwa-rwiʔi, hot coals
 βüyi (I), ashes
 βüɽu, smoke
 puʔa (III), water
 lwe, lake
 tʔokanwi, lagoon
 lanu, sea
 ʔwana, wave
 dʔaŋi (II), current, tide
 raŋapwa, creek
 raŋa, river
 pa:na, riverbank, level
 ʔwe:ye, flood
 ti:ni, swamp
 ʔay, rain

L - Celestial, weather etc

ŋwa (I), sun
 rãya, shade
 aɖiki, moon
 gaɽaka, star
 rana, sky
 βüyi, dust, fog, cloud
 yedi (III), wind
 pemini, thunder
 pɽulu, rainy season

M - Geography

ni, place, camp
 wuŋi, house
 taβa, road
 ɖa, ground
 bɽeni, dwaɣa, beach
 ɣwa (I), sand
 ɣwa-pay, sandhill
 ɖa:tini, reef
 ba, island
 bɽi (I), mud, red paint
 kali, hole
 kalipwa, gully
 twala, plain
 ʔwama, hill

pay-ɖa, hillside
 tugumu, cliff
 papaŋi (I,II,III), stone
 tʔoka-tʔoka, end

N - Arboreal

ku (I), tree, wood, stick
 læ:ya, fork in tree
 ʔudu, leaf
 ɣyüdi, scrub, dry forest
 ʔya:na, twigs
 ɖa, splinter, chips of wood
 ɖa:ʔamana, sap
 palawara, flower
 pwi, seed
 ɖaʔa, grass
 naɣu, fern
 ʔeɽiyeɽi, burr
 gwe:ni, lily
 pwapu, zuʔu, lily species
 ubu, red gum
 ɣaɽu, bloodwood
 ʔyuɽu, white gum
 kama, gum species
 paɽupaɽaŋi, cottonwood
 naŋweye, ironwood
 sæla, βwaɖi, milkwood species
 ɣayu, messmate tree
 ragu, sandpaper tree
 dʔe:bɽi, umbrella palm
 ɽiɽi, oak
 luʔu, mangrove
 ɖeɽi, whitebark tree in mangrove
 nabu, species of tree in mangrove
 banu, la, wattle species
 ɖi, smooth-bark tea tree
 nama, rough-bark tea tree
 neɖi, small cabbage-tree
 ɣara, large cabbage tree
 læɖi, grass-tree
 muwɪ, fig-tree
 ɖiŋi, New Guinea sago
 kwabi, quandong
 kaɣupaɽaŋi, coconut palm
 ʔiniɽeɽe, lady apple
 rwilli, native almond
 myüyu, short yam
 kwiʔiŋi, long yam
 kumala, sweet potato
 nu:nu, wild potato
 ba:nu, wild cucumber, grape
 ɣama, taro, wild cucumber
 kubu, blackfruit
 iɖi, loya cane
 marapi, bamboo
 rugu, bulrushes
 ɖwini, vine

O - Adjectives

pimi, one
 ðwiṭi (II:B), two
 ʃumu, three
 mɕitiki (II), puṭiki (II), many
 raw, black
 tʀalawati, red
 ʃæβi, blue, green
 iṣiti, brown
 roga, grey
 aḍiki, yellow
 we:ye, big, fat
 puḍi(pwa), ḍurupu, small
 yurupigi, tall
 bi:ni(pwa), short
 kaṭi(ni), deep
 nu:bwa, hot
 ʃaṣaṣa, ʃaṣiti, cold
 puṭuku, hard
 tiyati, soft
 gu:nu, heavy
 rama, empty
 βɕeʔe-βɕeʔe, slippery
 dadi, fast
 pawṭi, blunt
 dʀi:ḡiti, sweet
 gaʀali, sour
 kerimi, shiny, clean
 rayu, clear
 ge, good
 gapɕa, bad
 pay ḍuwi-ḍuwi, ashamed
 lwi:yi, angry
 dæ:waṭi, greedy
 ɕi puṭuku, kayu rimi-rimi,
 jealous
 ʃumu, dead
 laṭimi, alive
 lwagaṭimɕi, sick
 natimi, tired
 ḍaymɕi, hungry
 nu, dʀe:ni, different

VERBS

P - Motion

aṇa (intr)irr, go, come
 læ (intr)IVa, go walkabout
 pwe: (intr)IIIb, go in
 pæ (intr)IIa, come out
 βi:ni (intr)IIb, go down
 ḍutu (tr)IIb, follow
 ʃabæ (tr)IIa, chase
 karagwa (intr)IIa, crawl
 ʃama (intr)IIa, jump
 mwi (intr)irr, dance
 ʃaʔaʃeɕa (intr)irr, run

bɕeʔeṇa (intr)IVa, play
 gi: (intr)IIIa, fall
 bana (intr)irr, climb
 ywagaṭa (intr)IVa, swim
 waṭi, (intr)IIIb, dive
 ḍwata (intr)IIa, flow down

Q - Rest

geɕa (intr)irr, sit
 rumu (intr)IIb, IVb, bend down
 mæ (intr)IIIa, get up
 ʃa (intr)IIa, ṇarama (intr)IVa,
 stand
 dʀaṭi (intr)IIb, lie down
 ʃwarama (intr)IIa, float

R - Induced position

kwi: (tr)Ia, have, keep, look after
 dʀa (tr)IIa, leave, put down
 ŋwiṭa (tr)IIa, pour out, empty
 maʔaṭaṇa (tr)IIb, lift up
 ʃwaka (tr)IIa, heap up
 pɕeɕe (tr)irr, pick up
 dwa (tr)IIa, catch
 lay (tr)IIa, carry
 ya (tr)Ia, bring, give
 a (tr)Ia, pull
 ʃæ (tr)IIa, push, send, move
 pu (tr)Ia, throw
 kaṇaṇa (tr)IIa, find

S - Affect

bwi: (tr)IIIa, kill
 yyu (tr)Ia, spear
 twiniṇa (tr)IIa, bash
 riṇi (tr)IIIb, hit, punch
 nu (tr)Ia, kick
 ga (tr)Ib, poke
 ṇa (tr)IIa, dig
 ʔweʔe (tr)irr, cut, chop
 ga (tr)IVa, peel
 winiga (tr)IIa, scratch
 bwæni (intr)IIa, break
 bwa (tr)Ia, break
 ʃa (tr)Ia, split
 riyiga (tr)IIa, ʃiyiga(tr)IIa, smash
 gi: (tr)IIIa, light fire
 yumu (tr)IIb, cook in ashes
 ḍaḍi (intr)III, ʃa (tr)IIa, burn
 ʃa (tr)IIa, tie
 bɕiṇi (intr)IIa, be dirty
 ra (tr)Ib, pɕa (tr)IIa, rub, wash
 ʃwaḍaga (tr)IIa, wash
 ʔa (tr)IIIa, cover
 ḍæ:ṇa (tr)IIa, bury
 ga (tr)Ia, make
 paṭa (tr)IIa, fix, make
 ḍu (tr)Ia, sew

pu (tr)Ia, do

T - Attention

ʃi: (tr)Ia, IIIa, see
gawri (tr)IIa, look for
ma (tr)IIIa, hear, listen to

U - Talking, etc

ʃæŋa (tr)irr, ʃwi (tr)irr, say to
ʃwa (tr)IVa, tell
ðwimi (intr)IIb, tell lies
gæ (tr)IIa, ask
gægi (intr)irr, shout
aŋu (intr)IIa, bark
bŋiŋi-bŋiŋi (intr)IIIb, be noisy

V - Corporeal

gwapŋa (tr)irr, eat, drink
ʃa (tr)IIa, bite
napu (tr)Ia, swallow
gi (tr)IIIa, suck
zeni (intr)irr, vomit
ʔi: (tr)Ia, wake
zi (tr)Ia, blow
aɟima (intr)IIa, suffer
luluma (intr)IIa, swell up
geʔekeka (tr)Ia, tickle
dʔadaʃa (intr)II, live, lie down
βwi (intr)irr, die
wimŋigeŋa (intr)irr, cry
gæʔama (intr)IIa, laugh
ðitama (intr)II, be afraid

W - LOCATION

gwaʃa, north
βaʃa, south
ʃu, west
yunu, distant
baŋi, up
kaŋa, down

X - TIME

bŋadʔa, βaŋaka, long time ago
paŋiki, ŋama, recently
kunu, now
katiʔi, soon
dʔwaʔara, today, daytime
bŋuyi, night
kayi-kayi, later on
wunəʃimŋi, tomorrow
pŋaŋa, morning
bŋuyi-bŋuyi, afternoon

Y - INTERJECTIONS

βaw, goodbye
geʔe, no

Z - PARTICLES

katiʔi, perhaps
wi, this way
garu, that way
βa(ma), again, back