D.Tryon: An introduction to Pungu-Pungu

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<u>Pungupungu Phonology</u> The phonemes of Pungupungu are as follows:

Pungupungu Phoneme Chart

Consonant Phonemes:

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveo- Palatal	Velar	Retroflex
Stops vd	b	d	d (y)	g	(d)
vl	р	t	t (y)	k	(t)
Nasals	m	n	n (y)	η	(n)
Laterals	W		у	•	(1)
		1			r

Vowel Phonemes:



Table of Observed Consonant Contrasts:

	Initial	IV	Final
b	+	+	-
р	+	+	+
d	+	+	-
t	+	+	+
d (y)	-	+	-
t (y)	+	-	+
g	+	-	-
k	+	-	+
m	+	+	+
n	+	+	+
n(y)	+	-	+
η	+	+	+
W	+	-	-
¥	+	+	+
у	+	-	-
1	+	+	+

Note: Interpret -p- as PP as for Mananunggu.

Allophonic variations of Consonants:

The voiced/voiceless contrast for stops has been posited tentatively because of the existence of two sets of minimal pairs:

<u>ak</u> here, this <u>kak</u> away from speaker

<u>bæ</u> testicles <u>pæ</u> to blow fire

However, further investigation is needed before any definite statement can be made regarding

<u>næbæ</u> I went, <u>næpæ</u> I shall go

the full phonemic status of the voiceless stop series. It would seem that a

voiced/voiceless contrast exists in initial position only, the distinction being neutralised in final positions.

For purposes of this preliminary phonemicisation, a phonemic contrast between voiced and voiceless stops will be admitted.

/b/	has allophonic	[b] voiced	in all environments
		unaspirated	[does not occur word finally]
		bilabial	
		stop	
		_	

Examples:

/bæ/ [bæ] testicles; /baŋ/ [baŋ] to break; /() old woman; /mæræbæt/ [mæræbæt] whiskers; /kunbilin/ [kunbilin] lightning; /mibæ/ [mibæ] face;

/p/ has allophone [p] voiceless

in all environments

unaspirated bilabial
stop

Examples:

/pænæ/ [pænæ] on, in; /pamalaŋ/ [pamalaŋ] big; /Kælpæ/ [Kælpæ] tail; /lit(y)purp/ [lit(y)purp] axe; /ŋæpæ/ [ŋæpæ] I shall go; /papalak/ [papalak] my father; /mæpæræ/ [mæpæræ] liver, /ŋakpœ/ [ŋakpœ] to smoke; /dap/ [dap] many.

The evidence for setting up a voiced/voiceless contrast for p/b is rather tenuous, and it would perhaps be better to consider them as one phoneme, with the following distributions:

 $(p) - [p \sim b]$

- p word initial and final and –pC-

- b intervocalically and -Cb-

Until conclusive proof is offered, this is perhaps a better solution.

/d/	has allophone	[d] voiced	in all environments
	_	unaspirated	[does not occur word finally]
		alveolar	
		stop	

Examples:

/dal/ [dal] to tie; /dar/ [dar] to bite; /pændæ/ [pændæ] now; /ŋadal/ [ŋadal] tongue; /ŋada/ [ŋada] what about?; /kændæræk/ [kændæræk] tough.

/t/ has allophone [t] voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop in all environments

Examples:

/tæt/ [tæt] to sit down; /tæben/ [tæben] dingo; /ŋata/ [ŋata] house; /pœtuŋ/ [pœtuŋ] belonging to; /patura/ [patura] dry; /dit/ [dit] tooth.

As with p/b, the contrast between t/d is not absolutely proven. It rests mainly on the contrast $\eta ata/\eta ada$, plus the fact that several voiceless alveolar stops have been noted in intervocalic positions and used so constantly.

If this factor were to be ignored, the t/d contrast would disappear, giving:

 $/d/ - [t \sim d]$

t word initial and final d variant word initial and intervocalic

This is not a convincing solution because of the number of words (

stop is always varied.

/g/ has allophone [g] voiced velar

in all environments [does not occur word finally]

)initial alveolar

Comment [FoA1]:

stop

/gak/ [gak] here, indeed; /magat/ [magat] river; /wagat (y)/ [wagat(y)] beach; /malgin/ [malgin] spinifix; /marga/ [marga] flower.

has allophone [k] voiceless	in all environments
velar	
stop	

Examples:

Examples:

[k]

/kak/ [kak] particle indicating movement away from the speaker; /kalalk/ [kalalk] beach; /mækæ/ [mækæ] from; /nyukö/ [nyukö] to tell lies; /kirgat/ [kirgat] to dig; /nulkawak/ [nulkawak] children; /lak/ [lak] to eat.

As with the other stops, the voiced/voiceless contrast for g/k is rather tenuous. However, [g] occurs very (), and [k] tends to become varied () g/k contrast does not have full phonemic status.

/d(y)/	has allophone [d(y)]	voiced	in all environments
		1	[does not occur word initially
		affricate	or finally]

Examples:

/kud(y)uk/ [kud(y)uk] vagina; /mard(y)it(y)/ [mard(y)it(y)] to be cold; / η and(y)it(y)/ [η and(y)it(y)] one; /pœd(y)æ/ [pœd(y)æ] hand; /mæd(y)æk/ [mæd(y)æk] throat.

/t(y)/	has allophone	[t(y)] voiceless	in all environments.
		alveo palatal	
		affricate	

Examples:

/t(y)al/ [t(y)al] to roast; /t(y)ala/ [t(y)ala] just enough; /æt(y)æ/ [æt(y)æ] brother; /ræt(y)æ/ [ræt(y)æ] to want; / η æt(y)ær/ [η æt(y)ær] to cut; /wayat(y)/ [wayat(y)] (); /nyinit(y)u\eta/ [nyinit(y)u\eta] why?

The voiced/voiceless contrast for t(y)/d(y) is again very tenuous, but is based on the () recurrance of [t(y)] in intervocalic (position), compare $\eta pprox t(y) pprox and <math>\eta pprox d(y) pprox$, ræt(y)æ and ræd(y)a η . On the other hand, [d(y)] does not occur word initially or finally. The phonemic status of /t(y)//d(y)/ is therefore (). If the [-t(y) -] were regarded as a variant of [-d(y) -], the following solution could be possible: $/d(y)/ - [t(y) \sim d(y)]$

- t(y) occurs word initially and finally

and -t(y)C-

- d(y) occurs intervocalically and -Cd(y)-.

Further investigation may clarify the status of the voiced and voiceless stops, but () full phonemic status would seem certain only for / p t t(y) k/.

/m/ has allophone [m] bilabial nasal resonant	in all environments.
	/kadamun/ [kadamun] rotten (meat); /pambat(y)/ y)æm] flesh meat; /t(y)am/ [t(y)am] to drink.
/n/ has allophone [n] alveolar nasal resonant	in all environments.
Examples: (cannot decipher them!)	
	yuk] to smell; /yinymæk/ [yinymæk] tomorrow; ny/ [yæræny] skin, bark; /wuny/ [wuny] to throw
/η/ has allophone [η] velar nasal resonant	in all environments
	e] finger; /kamaηga/ [kamaηga] no; /ηaηgœ/ ır] chin; /t(y)irηa/ [t(y)irηa] to sneeze; /wiη/ [wiη]
/w/ has allophone [w] voiced bilabial median resonant	in all environments
Examples: /wiη/ [wiη] breast, you singular; /wœr); /yuw/ [yuw] to ().	η/ [wæη] (); /kæwæny/ [kæwæny] blood; (
/r/ has allophone [r] voiced in flapped median resonant	n all environments
Examples:	

/ræk/ [¥æk] camp; //ræny/ [¥æny] back; /ræt(y)æ/ [¥æt(y)æ] to want; /pibæræ/ [pibæ¥æ] ear; /pœræk/ [pœ¥æk] small; /dar/ [da¥] to bite; /wur/ [wur] to follow, chase.

/1/	has allophone	[1] voiced	in all environments
		alveolar	
		lateral	
		resonant	

Examples:

/lak/ [lak] to eat; /lit(y)purp/ [lit(y)pu¥p] axe; /malgin/ [malgin] spinifex; /ŋælæ/ [ŋælæ] (); /mal/ [mal] to converse; /kæl/ [kæl] track.

/y/ has allophone [y] semi-vocoid in all environments

Examples:

/yaŋaraŋ/ [yaŋa¥aŋ] today; /yura/ [yu¥a] give; /moyiny/ [moyiny] dog; /t(y)amuyit(y)/ [t(y)amoyit(y)] he; /poy/ [poy] to go.

It is also suspected that a retroflex series exists in Pungupungu: /t d n l/. Suspect words requiring further investigation are:

1	1	0
[t]	lartup	to lose
	wutup	to put in, insert
	ηaytup	to light a fire
	pæntup	to extinguish
	tædæymæ	to look for
	toyka	to come back
	tulukput	to push
	tuktup	to squeeze
	tuma	alive
	tup	to grab

- [d] baŋdup to break mœrdæstar
- [n] (cannot be deciphered whole page)

dæn	coolibah	dar	to bite	n/¥
dal	to tie	dar	to bite	l/¥
neyaŋ	you will	yeyaŋ	he will	n/y

B. Secondary Minimal Pairs (Extra Series)

ηeyæ	I lay	kiyæ	I lay	η/k
dal	to tie	t(y)al	to roast	d/t(y)
dap	all	dal	to tie	p/æ
lak	to eat	ηak	mouth	1/η

ba	()	dœ	to hit	b/d
	() us			b/d b/m
baη	to break	maŋ	stone	
bapa	father	bara	creek	p/r
dik	dance	pik	string	d/p
dik	dance	dit	tooth	k/t
kak	go away	kæl	track	k/l
kalan	woomera	kalaŋ	mother	n/η
kæmæŋ	to wag	karaŋ	under	m/r
kænæ	you (sg.)	pænæ	in, on	k/p
mæd(y)æk	threat	mæd(y)æm	meat	k/m
yura	cave	pura	them	y/p
nir	vein	nit(y)	name	r/t(y)
n(y)uk	to smell	t(y)uk	to cook	n(y)/t(y)
pæræ	handle	pænæ	on, in	r/n
pik	string	wik	water	p/w
pœnæŋ	dust	pœnæt(y)	to dream	η/t(y)
pœræk	small	pœræt(y)	to sleep	k/t(y)
ηura	penis	pura	them	η/p
ræk	camp	ræny	back	k/n(y)
t(y)al	to roast	t(y)am	to eat	l/m
t(y)ænæ	with, by	pænæ	on, in	t(y)/p
t(y)il	mangrove	t(y)in	elbow	l/n
wœŋ	rain	mœŋ	anus	w/m
wœrak	grass	wœraŋ	mosquito	k/η
wudak	saliva	wud(y)ak	to urinate	d/d(y)
wulæ	yam	wunæ	billy	l/n
wup	to give	wur	to follow	p/r
wut	ground	wup	to give	t/p
t(y)œt	foot	tœt	to sit	t(y)/t

Allophonic Variations of Vowels

/i/ has allophone [a] higher mid front

unrounded vocoid word finally and before /y/

before consonant clusters

[ï] higher middle unrounded vocoid

[i] high front

unrounded

elsewhere

vocoid

Examples:

/<code>nabali/[nabale]</code> old woman; /tumat(y)i/ [tumat(y)e] to hold; /dali/ [dale] soon; /ninga/ [nïŋga] nephew; /pirppirp/ [pïrppïrp] to wriggle; /bimbær/ [bïmber] to shut; /mibæ/ [mibæ] face; /riny/ [riny] honey; /<code>nand(y)it(y)/ [nand(y)it(y)/ one; /waliymæ/ [waleymæ] to walk.</code>

/æ/	has allophone	[æ] higher low	in all environments
		front	
		unrounded	
		vocoid	
	has free varian	t [e] lower mid	in closed syllables
		front	
		unrounded	
		vocoid	
Eva	mples		

Examples:

/æp/ [æp] to wash; /kænæ/ [kænæ] you singular; /kælpæ/ [kælpæ] tail; /pændæ/ [pændæ] now; /mibæ/ [mibæ] face, eyes; /diræ/ [diræ] tooth; /kæwælæt(y)/ [kæwælæt(y)] to urinate; /pœnæt(y)/ [pœnæt(y)] to dream.

/a/ has allophone	[a] low central unrounded vocoid	in all environments
has free variant	[Λ] higher low central unrounded vocoid	

Examples:

/bandup/ [bandup] to break; /dæn/ [dæn] coolibah; /kalan/ [kalan or k Λ l Λ n] mother; /kamanga/ [kamanga] no, not; /kalan/ [kalan] woomera.

/u/	has allophon	[u] high back rounded vocoid	before ¥
		[ö] lower mid back rounded vocoid	word finally and before [y]
		[u] higher mid back	elsewhere

rounded vocoid

Examples:

/lurun/ [lurun] to clean; /nura/ [nura] penis; /wawu/ [wawö] sand; /napmu/ [napmö] I shall sit; /muyiny/ [möyiny] dog; /puy/ [pöy] to go; /bulbul/ [bulbul] hot; /kuluk/ [kuluk] blind; /kœluk/ [kœluk] short; /mundak/ [mundak] old.

 $/\alpha$ / has allophone [α] lower mid

in all environments

front rounded vocoid

Examples:

/bœ/ [bœ] testicles; /wœrak/ [wœrak] grass; /ηœlma/ [ηœlma] heavy; /mœragara/ [mœragara] yesterday; /kœluk/ [kœluk] short.

Minimal Vowel Contrast Pairs

wœŋ	rain	wiŋ	breast	œ/i
riny	honey	ræny	back	i/æ
wak	crow	wik	water	a/I
t(y)al	to roast	t(y)il	mangrove	a/I
t(y)il	mangrove	t(y)œl	to lie down	i/œ
maŋ	stone	mœŋ	to shake	a/œ
ηuyaη	pubic hair	ηίγαη	I shall	u/I
t(y)at	to kill	t(y)œt	foot	a/œ
kuluk	blind	kœluk	short	u/œ
wulæ	yam	wula	year	æ/a
kæl	track	kal	to go along	æ/a

Morphophonemic Changes

Certain morphophonemic changes occur regularly in Pungupungu. They are as follows:

1. [-e] \rightarrow [-im] either when the emphatic marker [-m] is added, or when the following word begins with <u>b</u>.

Examples:

 η arme I sat \rightarrow η armim I am sitting kanyabado you came \rightarrow kanyabadim bara you came back

2. [-e] \rightarrow [-i η] before a following [g] Examples: karbade + gæny \rightarrow karbadi η gæny They went dual they two went 3. $[-æ] \rightarrow [-æm]$ before a following [b] Examples: $kæd(y)æ + bara \rightarrow kæd(y)æm bara$ He stood back He came back.

4. Progressive vowel harmony is regularly observed with $/\alpha$ / and $/\alpha$ /. This feature applies particularly to interrogatives and directionals, whose vowels harmonise with the noun to which they refer. Example:

example: naga nawalang? nægæ nænæn?	Which woman? Which man?
5. $[-m] \rightarrow [-\eta]$ Example: kærmim + They are sitting	before a following [g] -gæny → kærmiŋgæny dual They two are sitting.
6. $[-\eta] \rightarrow [-n]$ Example: napadi η + You (sg.) will go	n] before following [b] bara → napadim bara back you (sg.) will come back

Restrictions on Phoneme Occurrence

/p, t, k, t(y), m, n, n(y), η , w, r, l, y/ occur initially, intervocalically and finally. /b, d, g/ occur only initially and intervocalically. /g/, however, is extremely rare word initially. /d(y)/ occurs only intervocalically.

 $/\alpha$ alone may occur word initially out of the five vowel phonemes.

Consonant Clustering

Both intra and extra syllabic consonant clustering is common in Pungupungu. Examples will be given under both headings.

A syllable in Pungupungu consists of a nucleus of one vowel and an obligatory consonant onset, with an optional consonant or consonant cluster code, giving the formula:

Syllable = CV (C) (C). This gives three possible syllable shapes, thus:

CVdato hitCVCt(y)amto drinkCVCCyærikto comb (find another example)

Examples of consonant clusters:

1. Within	the syllable :-	
-rp	yærik	to comb
-rk	wirk	to finish
-lk	mulk	blow fly
-yt(y)	mayt(y)	to jump around

2. Between s	yllables:-
-lb-	t(y)ælbæræk, orange tree; kulbut, to ().
-lp-	walpuka, good; kælpæ, tail.
-ld-	kaldut, to sit on;
-lg-	walgide, dilly bag; malgin, spinifex.
-lk-	kælkæl, leap; pulkaŋ, hair belt.
-ld(y)-	t(y)ald(y)akule, right, correct.
-lt(y)-	<pre>pult(y)an, eagle hawk;</pre>
-lm-	wilmir, bream; ηœlma, heavy.
-lŋ-	milniny, mountain; mulnæk, wild turkey.
-lw-	t(y)alwa, fig;
-mb-	panbat(y), baby; t(y)ambal, gap, cave.
-md-	dumduma, to lick;
-md(y)-	læmd(y)œl, to bend down;
-mg-	pælæmgæny, trousers;
-my-	dæmyær, to sew;
-nb-	munbinyalak, rosella; kanbunin, rock wallaby
-np-	ηænpædæ, goose; ηanpuruk, rotten
-nd-	landi, buttocks; mundulk ()
-nt-	pæntup, to extinguish
-ng-	langur, nulla-nulla; kænga, red kangaroo
-nd(y)-	kand(y)ili, woman; ηand(y)it(y), one
-nm-	kanmalan, green plum tree; t(y)anmiyit(y), she
-ny-	yinyuliri, crocodile; munyura, pubic hair
-ŋd-	bandup, to break;
-np-	kalanpalak, my mother;
-ŋg-	mangara, to have a cold; nangan, to be afraid
-ηm-	læηma, wet; wuηmarat(y), yam
-rb-	pærbæ, you go now; pærbær, to blow
-rd-	wardikma, to walk about; yærde, that
-rt-	lartup, to lose; naytup, to light a fire
-rg-	pærgædæ, raw; marga, flower
-rk-	parka, sharp; kirgit, to dig
-rd(y)-	mard(y)it(y), cold; ηærd(y)e, soon
-rm-	pærmæny, finish; parmiyit(y), they;
-rŋ-	t(y)ima, to sneeze
-rw-	larwal, salt; t(y)arwa, rib
-kt-	tuktup, to squeeze
-kp-	tulukpuk, to push; nakpæ, to smoke;

-km-	dukmaka, policeman;
-nym-	wanyma, to paddle
-nyb-	dirinybuk, bloodwood;
-pm-	ηapmu, I shall sit.
-t(y)p-	ηæt(y)pær, far away; lit(y)purp, axe;
-t(y)m-	bit(y)ma, bird;
-dl-	kudluk, to cough; pædlæm, thigh.
-yk-	toyka, to come back;
-ym-	waleymæ, to walk around;

One example only of -CCC- has been observed, namely: dærpmin, narrow.

Six words only have been observed beginning with a vowel, $/\alpha/$. These are:

ægæk	to vomit.
ælælma	to flow.
æniginæ?	when?
æp	to wash.
æt(y)æ	younger sibling
æt(y)æpalak	grandmother.

Gemminate Consonants

Gemminate consonants appear to occur only in words of a reduplicative form, thus:

imate consonants appear to occur of		
kalakkalak	moon	
karawakkarawak	kookaburra	
kœrkkœrk	to itch	
kud(y)ukkud(y)uk	woman	
pirppirp	to wriggle	

Stress

Stress is not phonemic in Pungupungu. There are, however, two degrees of stress, primary stress, marked ' and secondary stress marked ` . In di-syllabic words, the stress falls on the first syllable: Examples: láéηma wet, t(y)írŋa to sneeze póélœ red man póéd(y)æ head

In tri-syllabic and polysyllabic words, the stress tends to fall on alternate syllables. Examples: woman

ηáwalàη

As stress is predictable, it will not be marked in the morphology section.

1. The Subject

1.0 Nouns

1.1 Noun Classes

In Pungupungu there remain only traces of a noun class system, that is to say, two noun classes only have been observed, and even there the markers are used irregularly. The two noun classes are as follows:

- a) flesh food
- b) vegetable food
- c) trees (prefix win)

a) <u>mæd(y)æm</u> precedes all nouns denoting animals, insects or parts thereof which are considered edible.

Examples:		
mæd(y)æm	kæræny	meat ant
mæd(y)æm	kængæ	kangaroo
mæd(y)æm	walany	snake
mæd(y)æm	wœdæwæl	oil, fat
mæd(y)æm	bwik	bone
mæd(y)æm	bit(y)ma	bird
mæd(y)æm	riny	grease

b) <u>mænæny</u> precedes all nouns denoting vegetable food:

Examples:		
mænæny	mælnŋmælaŋ	sugar yam
mænæny	malgin	spinifex
mænæny	kokanat	coconut
mænæny	wunmæræt(y)	long yam

1.2 Demonstratives

The demonstratives of Pungupungu most commonly used are:

t(y)e	this, here (masc; fem)
t(y)id(y)æ	that, there (masc)
t(y)ind(y)æ	that, there (fem)

It should be noted that these demonstrative adjectives are also used as demonstrative pronouns, and as such may fill the subject slot.

Examples:

win	t(y)id(y)æ	that wood
bara	t(y)id(y)æ	that creek
nawalan	t(y)ind(y)æ	that woman

ŋænæŋ	t(y)id(y)æ	that man
win	t(y)e	this tree
The demonstrative	adjective normal	lly follows the noun which it modifies.

1.3 Adjectives

In Pungupungu the adjective always follows the noun that it modifies. There do not appear to be any changes according to noun class. Examples:

moyiny	pamalaŋ		big dog
moyiny	pœrak		small dog
maŋ	kalalk		black stone
maŋ	ηœlma		heavy stone
maŋ	watpar		light stone
nændurt(y)ara	ku	good h	orse
nændurt(y)alk	ma	bad hor	rse
ηawalaη	pamalaŋ		big woman
ηænæŋ	pamalaŋ		big man
maŋ	wurewure		red stone
ηata	pæræŋæræŋ		new house
maŋ	put(y)put(y)m	alaŋ	smooth stone

Certain adjectives however, have a different singular and plural form. The two most common changes are:

t(y)araku	\rightarrow	paraku	(good)
pamalaŋ	\rightarrow	pamanyal	aη (big)
Examples:			
nændurpa	malar	I	big horse
nændurpa	manga	alaŋ	big horses

nampanagana	01 <u>9</u> 11010 0 0
nændurt(y)araku	good horse
nændurparaku	good horses

[Check: t(y)ænynuko, pretty; t(y)ænyalokpæ, ugly; nulkbara, skinny]

It should be observed that nouns do not change for number.

The comparative/comparison have special forms in Pungupungu. The English type big, bigger, biggest, do not occur. If a comparison were to be made: "I have short hair, he has long hair" would denote the same comparison as the English "His hair is longer than mine". [Examples required, plus superlative].

When "like, as" is indicated, this is achieved by means of the structure:

N + dæræt(y) N wætuŋ				
Examples:				
diræ	walany	dæræt(y)	pigipigi	wœtuŋ
teeth	long	like	pig	belong

Long teeth like a pig

mibæ	dæræt(y)	nændur	wœtuŋ
face	like	horse	belong
A face l	ike a horse		

1.4 Numerals

The numerals of Pungupungu do not exceed five, and in practice rarely exceed three. They are as follows:

They are as follows.	
η and(y)it(y)	one
parkataŋgæny	two
parkataŋand(y)it(y)	three
parkatoŋgæny parkataŋgæny	four
$para\eta and(y)it(y)$	five (one hand)

The numeral always follows the noun which it qualifies, thus,moyiny nand(y)it(y)one dogmoyiny parkatangænytwo dogsmoyiny paranand(y)it(y)five dogs

1.5 Possession

There are no noun classes for possession in Pungupungu, with the exception of certain kinship terms.

a) Pronoun Possessions

When a noun subject or object is pronominally possessed, the possessive adjective follows the noun.

The possessive adjectives are as follows:

ηæd(y)æ	my
kænæ	your (sg.)
t(y)amoyit(y)	his
t(y)anmoyit(y)	her
ηæræræ	our (pl. inc.)
ηæræ	our (pl. exc.)
nawara	your (pl.)
parmoyit(y)	their
nanga	our (dl. inc.)
ηærægæny	out (dl. exc.)
nawaragæny	your (dl.)
parmoyit(y)gæny	their (dl.)

Examples: (pœtuŋ - this may be added to any item to emphasise possession)

wælæræ	ηæd(y)æ	my spear
ræk	ηæd(y)æ	my camp
pœd(y)æ	ηæd(y)æ	my head
moyiny	ηæd(y)æ	my dog

wælæræ	kænæ	your (sg.) spear
mæd(y)æm	kænæ	your meat
mænæny	nanga	our (dl.) food

Certain kinship terms undergo a change in form according to the person possessing them. These are best explained in the following matrix:

		father	mother
Possessor	1 st	papalak	kalanpalak
	2^{nd}	papa kænæ/nawara	kalaη kænæ/nawara
	3 rd	yænpapanyinit(y)	yænkalannyinit(y)

When the possessor of these two items is in the first person, the suffix –palak is used; when the possessor is in the second person, the noun is followed by the normal possessive adjective; when the possessor is in the third person, the prefix yæn- is used to denote possession.

With other kinship terms, this special possessive system seams to revert to the normal noun plus possessive adjective [Check this].

It has been noted that <u>kænæ papa</u> (your father) is also used for papa kænæ, which would indicate that the position of the possessive adjective is not absolutely rigid. b) Noun Possessions

i). When the possessor and the possessed are in intimate relationship, or when a part of a whole is expressed, the possessor precedes the possessed without the use of any overt

possessive marker, thus:			
moyiny	kælpæ	[dog tail]	the dog's tail
lit(y)purp	pæræ	[axe handle]	the handle of the axe
nændur ræny	[horse	back] the ho	rse's back

ii). When the possessor and the possessed are in an ownership relationship, the possessive marker, pœtuŋ is placed between the possessor and the possessed, thus,

papalak	pœtuŋ	wælæræ	my father's spear
ŋawalaŋ	pœtuŋ	wargade	the woman's dilly-bag

1.6 Modifier Combinations

When a noun subject or object is modified by an adjective, demonstrative, possessive adjective or numeral, they occur in the following order:

+ Noun ± (Dem/Poss) ± Adj. ± Noun.

This order is not rigid, but represents the most frequent modifier ordering. Examples:

moyiny	ηæd(y)æ	pamalaŋ
dog	my	big

or	moyiny	pamalaŋ	ηæd(y)æ	
	moyiny	pamalaŋ	ηæd(y)æ	pœtun parkatangæny
	dogs	big	me	belong two
When	a numeral qua	lifies the noun, the pos	ssessive adjective is	s often reinforced by an
empha	atic marker pœt	tun, especially when a	n owner/owned rela	ationship exists between
posses	ssor and posses	sed.		-
_	bara	t(y)id(y)æ	pamalaŋ	
	ana alt	414		

creek	that	big
parkataŋg	gæny moyiny	ηæd(y)æ
two	dogs	my

1.7 Pronoun Subjects

The subject pronouns, used as free forms, are as follows:

ηæd(y)æ	Ι
kænæ	you (sg.)
t(y)amoyit(y)	he
t(y)anmoit(y)	she
ηæræræ	we (pl. inc.)
ηæræ	we (pl. exc.)
nawara	you
parmoyit(y)	they
nanga	we (dl. inc.)

These forms do not occur often in sentences with a pronominal subject since their bound form equivalents are used obligatorily in the verb affix unit (see 2.). They are, however, used to give emphasis to an action performed by a pronominal (actor).

1.8 Noun Subjects

When the noun is used as performer of the action, its corresponding third person singular or plural pronominal form must also be used in the verb affix unit (to be explained immediately below). Thus a sentence with a noun subject has the structure: + S \pm DO \pm VS \pm Aff. Unit [+ S + T + A]

The verb stem is not obligatory because there are certain actions denoted by the affix unit alone, without a verb stem. This feature of the Daly River Family will be treated at length below.

2. The Verb

2.1 Verb Classes

In Pungupungu there are some twelve verb classes, each dependant on the type of action performed. Pungupungu verb classes, then, could be said to be aspect dominated.

The sentence normally consists of the following items: \pm Time \pm Subj. \pm Obj. \pm Verb Stem \pm Affix Unit. Examples: mæragara moyiny nælæ dar keyæ narka [yesterday dog hand bite he me] Yesterday the dog bit my hand.

Note that when the subject is a noun, the third person form of the affix unit is used, thus repeating the subject, as in "The dog <u>he</u> bite me".

Each class of verb stems is accompanied by a special set of affixes (affix units), which are regularly derivable, but set out in full here for pedagogical reasons. The verb stem indicates what the action is and the affix unit indicates person, tense and aspect. With certain exceptions, which will be mentioned below, each verb stem may be thought of as belonging to one and only one verb class, and is conjugated with the affixes listed for that class as set out below.

The affix unit used as an independent sentence is always intransitive when a verb stem is used in conjunction, the verb is normally transitive.

The affix unit consists of two morphemes in the past tense:

ηe – yæ	Ι
kænye – yæ	You
ke – yæ	He

The first morpheme indicates the person or actor, while the second indicates the tense. In the future tense, the affix unit is tri-morphemic:

 $\eta a - be - ya\eta$ I $na - be - ya\eta$ You

ye – be – yaŋ He

As with the past tense, the first morpheme denotes the actor, the second futurity, and the third the type of action, in this case lying down.

It should be observed that in the past tense the affix unit is mormophonemic for first person plural exclusive and third person plural for his verb class only.

Examples of usage: mœragara marga nyuk ŋeyæ [yesterday flowar smell I] Yesterday I smelled a flower.

mæragara wungæl wa keyæ [yesterday tobacco buy he] Today he bought some tobacco.

yinymæk ηata luruŋ ŋabeyaŋ [tomorrow house clean I] Tomorrow I shall clean the house.

yinymæk winyiŋginy mariny ŋabeyaŋ [tomorrow boomerang make I] Tomorrow I shall make a boomerang. Observe that only the first person inclusive among the dual forms has a separate identity from the plural forms. In all other cases, for all verb classes, the suffix –gæny attached to the plural indicates duality. Examples: yinymæk nata lurun nærabayangæny

[tomorrow house clean you (dual)] You two will clean the house tomorrow.

With common noun subjects, the affix unit used is either that of the third person singular or plural according as the actor is singular or plural. Examples: bambat(y) wiŋ t(y)am keyæm

[baby milk drink he] The baby drank the milk.

moyiny $\eta a a keya \eta a keya narka$ [dog hand bite he me]The dog bit my hand.

It should be pointed out that each of the affix units for each class constitute independent meaningful utterances when not accompanied by a verb stem as in the above examples, and are often used as intransitive verbs. Thus:

ηeyæ	I lay down
kænyeyæ	you lay down
keyæ	he lay down

ηabeyaη I shall lie down

Thus, the verb stems belonging to verb class 1 are predominantly thought of as representing actions which are performed in a supine position. The inclusion of some of the verb stems may appear strange to the European, but not to the Aboriginal. Verb stems included in Class 1 include:

œp to wash baŋdup to break lak to eat luruŋ to clean pœnæt(y) to dream t(y)at to kill, spear to drink t(y)am t(y)uk to cook dik to dance ηæt(y)ær to cut ηakpu to smoke kæwælæt(y) to urinate wud(y)ak to excrete t(y)al to roast

mariny	to make
yit(y)	to comb
lurtup	to lose
kænæk	to laugh
dal	to tie
yærwæt	to bury
ηœluk	to swallow
dæmyær	to sew
yuw	to look at, see
nyœk	to smell
wa bora	to bring back
da	to hit
nawanawæ	to hear
ræt(y)ætup	to like
kœrkkœrk	to scratch
wirk	to finish
wup	to give
tup	to grab
wurur	to pull, lead

It should be noted that Class 1 has by far the largest membership. In fact, the other verb classes are very specific as regards the type of action they include. All verb stems which do not fit the specific requirements of the remaining classes are put into Class 1, which gives a very wide range of activities to this single class.

Class 1, then, includes verbs of lying, and actions thought of as perpetual lying down.

2.1.2. Class 2 – <u>Verbs of Sitting</u>

The () paradigm for Class 2 verb stems is as follows:

	Past	Future
Ι	ηæmæ	ηарто
you	kænyæme	napmo
he	kæme	yapmo
she	kænyme	yæt(y)mo
we (inc.)	ŋæræme	ηarapmo
we (exc.)	ηærme	ηarpmo
your	kangame	narpmo
they	kærme	parpmo
?	ŋaŋgeme	ηaηgapmo

 $\eta \alpha m \alpha$, alone means 'I sat down', and $\eta \alpha m \alpha$ 'I shall sit down'. However, this affix unit ($\eta \alpha$ -me, $\eta \alpha$ -p-mo) is also used to indicate tense with all verb stems denoting actions thought of as normally being performed sitting down. Examples:

mœragara mæd(y)æm lakma ηæmim [yesterday meat eat I] Yesterday I ate meat.

yinymæk kænækma ηœpmo [tomorrow laugh I] I shall laugh tomorrow.

Other verb stems belonging to this class are: yaw to look at kænæk to laugh

1100110011	to magn
lak	to eat
wær	to land
ηutηutma	to pluck a bird
pirppirp	to wriggle
ηutηutma	to pluck a bird

From this, it will have been observed that a verb stem may be a member of more than one class. This fact will be commented on separately below.

2.1.3 Class 3 - Verbs of Standing

The verb stem members of this class denote actions normally thought of as being performed standing up. The full paradigm for past and future tense is as follows:

	Past	Future
Ι	ηæd(y)æ	ηœbad(y)aη
you	kænyæd(y)æ	nabad(y)aŋ
he	kæd(y)æ	yabad(y)aŋ
she	kænyd(y)æ	yanybad(y)aŋ
?	ηæræd(y)æ	ηarabad(y)aη
?	ηærd(y)æ	ηarbad(y)aη
your	kængæd(y)æ	narbad(y)aŋ
they	kærd(y)æ	purbad(y)aŋ
?	ηaηgad(y)æ	ηaηgabad(y)aη

$$\begin{split} &\eta æ d(y) æ, \mbox{alone, means 'I stood up', and } \eta æ bad(y) a\eta, 'I shall stand up'. However, they also act as () affix units (\eta æ - d(y) æ, \eta a - ba - d(y) a\eta) as in: mæragara \eta aka \eta æ d(y) æ naŋ wungæl [yesterday ask I him tobacco] Yesterday I asked him for tobacco. \end{split}$$

kayik kawa kæd(y)æ [Sun rise the] The sun rose.

Other verb stems belonging to this class include: kay to call out

dumduma	to lick
ηaka	to ask for
kawa	to rise
baη	to fall down
yaraŋ	to stand up straight.

2.1.4 Class 4 - Verbs of Saying

The verb stem members of this class denote actions normally associated with the mouth. The full affix paradigm for past and future tense is:

	Past	Future
Ι	ηæmæ	ηæbæmæ
you	kænyæmæ	næbæmæ
he	kæmæ	yæbæmæ
she	kænymæ	yænybæmæ
we (inc.)	ŋæræmæ	ŋæræbæmæ
we (exc.)	ηærmæ	ηærbæmæ
you	kængemæ	nærbæmæ
they	kærmæ	pærbæmæ
we (dl.)	ŋaŋgemæ	ηaηgabæmæ

 ηama , alone, means 'I said', while $\eta abama$ means I shall say, tell. These same units ($\eta a - ma$, $\eta a - ba - ma$) also act as auxiliaries with verb stems denoting speaking actions. Examples:

mæragara pibæræŋun kænyæmæ [yesterday forget you] Did you forget yesterday?

yinymæk mal ηaηgagim [tomorrow converse we (dl.) Tomorrow we two shall have a chat.

Other verb stems included in Class 4 are:

mal	to converse
pibæræŋun	to forget
kænæk	to laugh
kadluŋ	to cough
t(y)ilk	to be sick

2.1.5 Class 5 - Verbs of Motion I.

This verb stem class would appear to include stems denoting action of a more gentle nature than class six, although the distinction is not always clear. The full affix paradigm for past and future is as follows:

	Past	Future
Ι	ηæbæm	ηæpæ

you	kænyæbæ	ηæpæ
he	kæbæ	уæрæ
she	kænybæ	yæt(y)pæ
we (inc.)	ŋæræbæm	ŋæræpæ
we (exc.)	ηærbæ	ηærpæ
you	kængabæ	ŋærpæ
they	kærbæ	pærpæ
we (dl.)	ηaηgabæ	ŋaŋgapæ

 $\eta aba, alone, means 'I went', while <math>\eta a p a$ means 'I shall go'. These affix units, (ηa -ba, ηa -pa) are also used as auxiliaries, as with:

yinymæk waleymæ næpæ [tomorrow walk I] Tomorrow I shall walk about.

mœragara pudan poy kæbæm [yesterday town go he] Yesterday he went to town.

Other verbs included in this class include:

tadaymæ	to look for
waleymæ	to walk about
poy	to go
wa bara	to bring back
bara	to come back
tap	to grab
wurka	to work

2.1.6 Class 6 - Verbs of Motion II

The verb stems belonging to this class seem to denote actions of a more athletic nature than those of Class 5, running and throwing etc. The following f(x) = f(x)

The full verb paradigm is as follows:

	Past	Future
Ι	ηabade	ηapadiη
you	kanyabade	napadiŋ
he	kabade	yapadiŋ
she	kanybade	yæt(y)padiŋ
we (inc.)	ηarabade	ηarapadiη
we (exc.)	ηarbade	ηarpadiη
you	kangabade	narpadiŋ
they	karbade	parpadiŋ
we (dl.)	ηaηgabade	ηaηgapadiη

 η abade, alone, means 'I went' and η apadi η 'I shall go'. These Class 6 affix units, (η a-bade, η a-padi η) are also used as auxiliaries with verbs of motion, as in:

mæragara winyiŋginy wund(y)at ŋabade [yesterday boomerang throw I] Yesterday I threw a boomerang.

mæragara win kalal ŋabade [yesterday tree climb I] Yesterday I climbed a tree.

Other verb stems included in this class are:t(y)ænæto runt(y)ænæ yiboyto run awaywogadato throw (boomerang)wund(y)atto throw (spear)t(y)æt(y)ætto light a firebarato come back

2.1.7 Class 7 - Verbs of Dying and Eating

This very restricted class of verb stems is limited to dying and the relationship of eating to dying.

The full verb paradigm is as follows:

	Past	Future	
Ι	ŋæbætæm	ŋæpæræ	
you	kænyæbætæ	næpæræ	
he	kæbætæ	yæpæræ	
she	kænybætæ	yæt(y)pæræ	
we (inc.)	ŋæræbætæ	ŋæræpæræ	
we (exc.)	ŋærbætæ	ŋærpæræ	
you	kængæbætæ	nærpæræ	
they	kærbætæ	pærpæræ	
we (dl.)	ηaηgabætæ	ηæηgapæræ	

This class has been found only in an independent ($\$), or with t(y)ærbinæ, to be hungry, or mard(y)it(y), to be cold.

Examples: mœragara moyiny kabutæ [yesterday dog die] The dog died yesterday.

 $\begin{array}{ll} mard(y)it(y) & \eta abatæm \\ [cold & I] \end{array}$

I am cold.

mæragara t(y)ærbinæ kæbætæ [Yesterday hungry he] Yesterday he was hungry.

2.1.8. Class 8 - Verbs of Going and Coming

This class, and all the remaining classes, has only one member. From Class 8 onwards the affix unit alone constitutes the verbal utterance. In other words, no verb stem appears with it. The full paradigm is as follows:

	Past	Future
Ι	ηaηæd(y)æm	ηabaηæd(y)æm
you	kanyaŋæd(y)æm	nabaŋæd(y)æm
he	kaŋæd(y)æm	yæboŋæd(y)æm
she	kanyŋæd(y)æm	yænybaŋæd(y)æm
we (inc.)	ηaraηæd(y)æm	ηarabaηæd(y)æm
we (exc.)	ηarηæd(y)æm	ηarbaηæd(y)æm
you	kængæŋæd(y)æm	narbaŋæd(y)æm
they	kærŋæd(y)æm	parbaŋæd(y)æm
we (dl.)	ηaηgaηæd(y)æm	ηaηgaηæd(y)æm

Examples:

ηarηæd(y)æmbaragæny[we comebackdual]We two (exc.) came back.

ηæηæd(y)æm pændæ [I go now] I went away.

(whole pages indecipherable -p.50, 51, 52, 53, 54, [written]). Note, pages are out of sequance (three pages of tables are inserted in between p.54 and p.56.

Verb Class 13

To burn (reflexive and intransitive)

	Non-future	Future
1	nabanga	nappanga
2	kanyabaŋga	nappaŋga
3a	kabaŋga	yappaŋga
3b	kanybaŋga	yæt(y)paŋga
1a		
1b		

2		
3	karbaŋga	parpaŋga
1		

<u>Verb Class 14</u> To dance (mirak) – women only

	NF	F
1	ηamoyæ	napmoyan
2	kænyæmoyæ	napmoyaŋ
3a		
3b	kanymoyæ	yæt(y)moyoŋ
1a		
1b		
2		
3	karmoyæ	parpmoyaŋ
1a		

<u>Verb Class 15</u> To be tired (pur)

To be tired (pur)	NF	F
1	ŋanibæ	ŋanbiribæ
2	kænyæribæ	nabiribæ
3a	kæribæ	yæbiribæ
3b	kænynibæ	yænybiribæ
1a		ηærætipiribæ
1b		
2		nætipiribæ
3		pætipiribæ
1		ηaηgitipiribæ

<u>Verb Class 16</u> To jump

	NF	F
1	ηaad(y)urga	ηæbæd(y)urga
2	kænyæd(y)urga	næbæd(y)urga
3a	kæd(y)urga	yæbæd(y)urga
3b	kænyd(y)urga	yænybæd(y)urga
1a	ηarad(y)urga	ηæræbad(y)urga
1b		
2	kængæd(y)urga	nærbad(y)urga

3	kærd(y)urga	pærbad(y)urga
1		

<u>Class 19</u> <u>pur</u> to be tired

	NF	F
1	ŋanebæm	ηæbiribæ
2	kænyæribæm	næbiribæ
3a	kæribæ	yæbiribæ
3b	kænynibæ	yænybiribæ
1a	ηætpiribæm	ηærættipiribæ
1b		
2	kængeribæm	nætipiribæ
3	kætpiribæm	pættipiribæ
1	ηaηgatbiribæm	ηaηgattipiribæ

Class 20

ŋæpænæ I come up kænyæpænæ you come up

(pages 56-8 indecipherable)

Class 1

	NF°	F
Definite	(VS) neyæ*	(VS) ηabeyaη
State	(VS ma) ηeyæ	VSma nabeyan
	(VS) ηeyæmæ	
	(Part mæ) (VS) neyæ	
Special	neyæ mækæ ^a	

*Includes English present continuous. *Emphatic – in with all classes except 1 optional. a Requires that subsequent action be stated.

Class 2

	NF	F
Definite	(VS) ηæme(m)	(VS) ηapmö
State	(VS ma) ηæme (VS) ηæmimæ (Part ma) (VS) ηæme	VSma ŋapmö
Special	ηæmimækæ	

2.4 Tense and Aspect

Apart from the basic future/non-future tense distinction discussed above, there exists in Pungupungu a series of tense/aspect distinctions. These will be summarised in table 1. below, where the first person singular forms only are given.

Class 1

	Past	Present	Future
Def.	ηeyæ	ηeyæ	ηabeyaη
	VS neyæ	VS neyæ	VS nabeyan
Cont.	ηeyæmæ	-	-
	VS ma neyæ	VS ma neyæ [gak]	VS ma nabeyang
Comp.	ηeyæ kæ	-	-
	Fig	. 1	

Class 2

	Past	Present	Future
Def.	ηæme	ηæme	ηарто
	VS næme	VS næme	VS ŋapmö
Cont.	ηæmimæ	ηæmim	-
	VS ma næme	VS ma næme	VS ma ŋapmö
Comp.	ηæmimækæ	-	-
<u> </u>	Fig	. 2	

Class 3

	Past	Present	Future
Def.	ηæd(y)æ	ηæd(y)æ	nabad(y)an
	VS næd(y)æ	VS næd(y)æ	VS nabad(y)an
Cont.	ηæd(y)æmæ	ηæd(y)æm	-
	VS ma næd(y)æmæ	VS ma næd(y)æ	VS ma ηabad(y)aη
Comp.	ηæd(y)æmækæ	-	-
	Fig. 3		

Class 4

	Past	Present	Future
Def.	ηæmæ	ηæmæ	ηæbæmæ
	VS ŋæmæ	VS ŋæmæ	VS ngaabaamaa
Cont.	ŋæmæmæ	ηæmæm	-
	VS ma ŋæmæ	VS ma ŋæmæ	VS ma ŋæbæmæ
Comp.	ηæmæmækæ	-	-

Fig. 4

Figures 1	-4 re	present	the I	Pungupungu	tense/as	spect d	istinction	is, which are:

1.	NF definite	i.	without VS
		ii.	with VS
2.	NF state	i.	without VS
		ii.	with VS
3.	Past completive	mækæ	
4.	Present	i.	without VS
		ii.	with VS
5.	Present continuous	i.	without VS
		ii.	with VS
6.	Future def.	i.	without VS
		ii.	with VS
7.	Future state		

2.4.1 Past Definite (now future definite)

The past definite describes a past completed action in general terms. The full paradigms have been given above, during the examination of the verb classes. It should be noted that in all cases, the forms of the past definite and the present are the same, the primary distinction in the tenses being between future and non-future.

i). The verb may consist only of the affix unit, a potential complete utterance in its own right, for example:

mæragara neyæ Yesterday I slept.

ii). More often, the affix unit is accompanied by a verb stem, the affix unit playing the subordinate role, as in:

mæragara mæd(y)æm lak ηeyæ [yesterday meat eat I] Yesterday I ate meat. moyiny ηælæ dar keyæ ηarka

[dog hand bite he me] The dog bit my hand.

Note that when a verb stem appears with an affix unit, the affix unit loses its basic independent meaning and becomes simply a class affix unit denoting actor and type of action.

2.4.2. Past Continuous (NF state)

The past continuous describes an uncompleted or imperfective action in the past. It consists of the past tense form, to which –mæ is added.

i). When no verb stem appears with the affix unit, the -mæ is added to the affix unit, thus:

moyiny keyæmæ He was lying down. ηæd(y)æ ηæmimæ I was sitting down.

 ii). When a verb stem is used, the -mæ is added to the verb stem. Examples: mæd(y)æm lakma ηæmimæ I was eating meat.

pœræt(y)mæ keyæ He has been sleeping.

2.4.3 Past Completive (mækæ)

There are two types of completive in Pungupungu.

i). The first indicates that the actor is no longer performing the action described by the verb. It is formed by adding the suffix –mækæ either to the affix unit, if no verb stem is used, or to the verb stem if there is one present in the sentence. Examples:

ηæd(y)æ ηæmimækæ I am no longer sitting down.

ηæd(y)æ pœræt(y)mækæ ηeyæ I am no longer sleeping.

i). The verb stem wirk (Class 1) indicates completed action or finished action, as

in:

wirk neyæ nata [finish I house] I have finished the house.

win næt(y)ær neyæ wirk neyæ [wood cut I finish I] I have finished cutting the wood.

Note that when the completed action refers to a verb, the dual verbal construction is necessary.

The emphatic particle $\underline{k}\underline{x}$ is also often used in conjunction with \underline{wirk} , as in:

wirk neyæ kæ mæd(y)æm [finish I part. meat] I have finished the meat.

2.4.4. The Present Tense (NF definite)

There is no present/past distinction in the definite, the present forms being identical with those explained for the past.

2.4.5 The Present Continuous (NF definite)

The present continuous indicates an action which is being performed at the actual moment of speaking. It is formed by adding –m to the past definite form of the affix unit, whether a verb stem is used or not, as in:

ηæ moyiny tumat(y)e ηæbæm [yes dog have I] Yes, I have a dog.

ηæmim pændæ [I sit now] Now I am sitting down.

However, with Class I affix units there is a special form involving the use of the demonstrative particle \underline{gak} (here), without the use of the -m suffix. Example: mæd(y)æm lak neyæ gak [meat eat I here]

I am eating tha meat.

Often, however, the distinction between past and present continuous is not maintained, the one form being used for the other, as in: ŋakpoma kænyæme [smoke you] Are you smoking?

as opposed to: mæd(y)æm lakma keyæ He was eating the meat.

2.4.6. The Future

The future tense has been examined above. No further explanation is needed, apart from the fact this seems to be a general future tense, there being no special forms for either distant or immadiate future. The future affix unit is normally composed of three morphemes: $\eta a - ba - ya\eta$ (1st pers. sg.). In each case, the first morpheme indicates the actor, the second, always <u>ba</u>, futurity, and the third, the type of action. Examples:

yinymæk yæbæŋæd(y)æm bara [tomorrow he back] Will he come back tomorrow?

æneginæ win kalal napadiŋ [when tree climb you] When will you climb the tree?

Observe that the future tense morpheme may take the following forms: /be~ba~bæ~p/. Each of these is morphophonemically conditioned.

Note also that the $-\eta$ of the future affix unit [yæbæ η æd(y)æ η] becomes \underline{m} by assimilation with a following \underline{b} .

Further example: yinymæk ŋapmö

[tomorrow I sit] Tomorrow I shall sit down.

2.4.7 Future Continuous

The future continuous indicates a future state, "will be doing something", as opposed to "will do somathing". This aspect is found only in cases where a verb stem is used with the affix unit, and does not exist when the affix unit is used. Example:

yinymæk kænækma ŋapmö [tomorrow laugh I] Tomorrow I shall be laughing.

The future continuous, then, consists of verb stem plus <u>-ma</u>, followed by the affix unit corresponding to the class of the verb stem.

2.4.8 Summary Matrix of Tense/Aspect Distinctions

Non-Future	Future
1. Present/Past Def. – VS/Ø	Future Def. – VS/Ø
2. Present/Past State – VS/Ø	Future Cont. – VS
3. Past Compl. – VS/Ø	

VS indicates that a verb stem is used, plus the affix unit corresponding to its class, while \emptyset indicates that the affix unit alone is used without verb stem to denote one of the twelve primary actions corresponding to the verb classes.

<u>2.4.9 neyan</u>

For Class 1 verb stems, there is an indefinite future affix unit, identical with the normal future except that the future tense affix <u>-ba-</u> is removed. The following is the full paradigm:

Ι	ηeyaη
You	neyaŋ
He	yeyaŋ
She	yænyyaŋ
We (inc)	ηareyaη
We (exc)	ŋaraŋ
You	naraŋ
They	paraŋ
We (dl.)	nangayan

It is found only with Class 1, the most general verb class, and is often used with the conditional and the imperative (which see). Examples:

maη wup neyaη ηarka, wungæl wa ηeyaη [money give you me tobacco get I] If you give me money, I shall buy some tobacco. mæd(y)æm wup neyaŋ ŋarka [meat give you me] Give me that meat! da neyaŋ muŋ [hit you him] Hit him! wa neyaŋ ŋarka [take you me] Will you taka ma? 2.4.10 Directional Particles There are two directionals in Pungupungu used with verbs of action. These are kak and bara. i). Kak indicates movement away from the place at present occupied by the speaker or speakers. It normally precedes the affix unit, thus: kak nabadim [away I go] I went kamanga, kak napadin [no away I go] No, I shall go. ii). Bara indicates movement towards the place actually occupied by the speaker or speakers. It normally follows the affix unit, thus: yinymæk yæbænæd(y)æm bara [tomorrow you come back] Will you come back tomorrow? kinæmæ kænyæbæm bara Where you come back] Where do you come from? 2.5 The Negative The negative in Pungupungu is indicated by the particle nagule. This occurs before the verb stem in sentences taking a verb stem, or before the affix unit in the type of

sentence where the affix unit alone constitutes the verb. It may be preceded by optional satellite tagments such as time and location.

Examples of usage:

nagule t(y)am nabeyaŋ, næpæræ [not eat you you die] If you do not eat this, you will die.

nagule kabadim bara [not he come back] He did not come back.

nagule poy kæbæm [not go he] He is not going.

nagule wirk neyæ nata [not finish I house] I did not finish the house.

nagule nyæk neyæ marga [not smell I flower] I did not smell the flower.

2.6 Direct Object

The direct object in Pungupungu occupies normally the slot in the sentence immediately before the verb stem. The direct object must be considered in three heads: i). common noun animate ii). common noun inanimate

iii). pronoun object

2.6.1 Common Noun Animate

With animate nouns the direct object may be placed either before or after the verb stem and affix unit. In all cases with animate nouns, the object is repeated in a pronominal form in the affix unit.

Examples:

mœragara moyiny da ŋeyæ nuŋ [yesterday dog hit I him] Yesterday I hit the dog.

dal ηeyæ nuη moyiny ηæd(y)æ [tie I him dog my] I tied up my dog.

yærwat nevæ nun pælæ [bury I him old man] I buried the old man.

æpηeyænuηpambat(y)[washIhimbaby]I washed the baby.

or

æp ηeyæ ηæd(y)æη pambat(y) [wash I her baby] t(y)at ηeyæ nuŋ ηurut(y)ul [spear I him emu] I speared an emu.

2.6.2 Common Noun Inanimate

When the direct object is an inanimate noun, it is normally placed before the verb stem and affix unit. In this case the direct object occurs alone, and is not repeated in a pronominal form in the affix unit.

Examples:

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maη ηœlk ηeyæ
[stone swallow I]
I swallowed a stone.
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mæragara moyiny yærwat keyæ mæd(y)æm
[yesterday dog bury he meat]
Yesterday the dog buried the meat.
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In this last example, $\underline{mad}(\underline{y})\underline{am}$ could also have been placed immediately before the verb stem.

2.6.3 Pronoun Objects

The table of object pronouns in Pungupungu is as follows:

ηarka	me
wiη	you
nuŋ	him
ηæd(y)æη	her
ŋæræræŋ	us (pl. inc.)
ŋæræŋ	us (pl. exc.)
nawaraŋ	you
pœraŋ	them
ŋaŋguŋ	us (dl.)
ŋæræŋgæny	us (dl. exc.)
nawaraŋgæny	you (dl.)
pœraŋgæny	them (dl.)

The pronoun object always occurs immediately after the affix unit.

Examples of usage: maŋ wup ŋeyæ nuŋ [money give I him] I gave him money.

> moyiny dar yæbeyaŋ wiŋ [dog bite he you]

The dog will bite you.

yuw ŋæbeyaŋ pœraŋ [look for I them] I shall look for them.

2.7 The Imperative

The imperative may take two forms in Pungupungu: i). Verb stem alone ii). Verb stem + ηeyaη paradigm (2.4.9)

Examples: tœt! sit down! da nuŋ hit him! kænæk! laugh! maŋ wup nuŋ t(y)id(y)æ! give him the money!

mæd(y)æm wup neyaŋ ŋarka! [meat give you me] Give me that meat!

wik t(y)am neyaŋ! [water drink you] Drink the water!

moyiny wup neyaŋ nuŋ! [dog give you him] Give him the dog!

The prohibitive consists of either <u>alat</u> preceding the verb stem or <u>kule</u> following the affix unit, or both. This can be stated in the formula: \pm alat \pm VS + Affix Unit \pm kule

Examples: alat mæd(y)æm lak, kadaman [not meat eat bad] Do not eat the meat, it is rotten.

alat tap kænyeyæ kule [not touch you not] Do not touch that!

kænyæd(y)æm kule [stand you not] Do not stand up! 2.8 The Desiderative The desiderative may take two forms, as follows:
i). Noun + -uη + Class 5 affix unit.
ii). ræt(y)æ tup + Class 1 affix unit.
The first structure indicates "want", while the second states directly "want to take".

2.8.1 Structure 1

In the first structure, the noun object is followed by the desiderative affix $-u\eta$ (cl. Purpose), while at the same time the Class 5 affix unit is used without any accompanying verb stem. The primary meaning of Class 5 affix units is that of motion or motion towards.

Examples of usage:

Long Jack winyiŋginy-uŋ kæbæm [Long Jack boomerang for he (go)] Long Jack wants a boomerang.

wik-uŋ ŋæbæm [water for I (go)] I want some water.

t(y)id(y)æ ηawalaη-uη kæbæ [he woman for he (go)] He wants a woman.

When "want" refers to another verb, and not to a noun as above, a verb stem is used, plus Class 1 affix units.

Example:

wik-un t(y)am neyan

I want to drink some water.

Note that the $\eta eya\eta$ form of Class 1 affixes is used, not the $\eta abeya\eta$ form, with Class 1 verb stems.

2.8.2 Structure 2

When "want" is particularised to "want to take", or when the desiderative is emphatic, the double verb $\underline{ret}(\underline{y})\underline{ret}(\underline{y})\underline{ret}(\underline{y})$ is used, plus Class 1 affix units. This form is applicable only when the object of the verb is a noun. Example:

2.9 The Frustrative

The frustrative form of the verb, indicating "almost, nearly" is conveyed by

<u>yaqaraq malaq</u> preceding the object or verb stem, depending on whether the verb is transitive or intransitive, plus <u>–ara</u> suffixed to the normal affix units (future tense). Examples:

mæragara ŋæd(y)æ gak yaŋaraŋ malaŋ kængæ t(y)at [yesterday I indeed almost kangaroo kill ŋabeyaŋ-ara I]

Yesterday I nearly killed a kangaroo.

mæragara galat(y) baη ηabad(y)aη-ara [yesterday glasses break I] Yesterday I nearly broke my glasses.

yaŋaraŋ malaŋ t(y)ilk ŋæppæ-ræ [almost sick I] I was nearly sick.

Note that the future tense form of the affix unit is used, to which the frustrative suffix $_$ ara is added.

But:

nænæη pamalaη ηurut(y)ul t(y)at kabeyaη-ara The big man nearly killed the emu. [Can present/past affix units be used also?]

2.10 The Conditional

The conditional in Pungupungu is conveyed by the verbs of both classes normally

being in the future tense, without the presence of any overt condition introducer. Examples:

maη wup neyaη ηarka, poy ηæpæ, wungæl wa ηeyaη [money give you me, go I tobacco buy I] If you give me money, I shall go and buy tobacco.

kaldut ŋapmo nuŋ, nagule mayt(y) para [sit on I him not budge back] If I sit on him, he will not move.

nagule t(y)am nabeyaŋ, næpæræ [not eat you you die] If you do not eat, you will die.

poy næpæ t(y)id(y)æ gak, moyiny dar yæbeyaŋ wiŋ [go you there indeed dog bite he you] If you go over there, the dog will bite you. () condition is expressed by the non-future tense in the conditional clause and the future in the main clause, thus:

mæd(y)æm lak kænyeyæ, t(y)ilk næbæmæ [meat eat you sick you] If you have eaten the meat, you will be sick. [Retest for () condition and past in cond. clause.]

2.11 Ability/Inability

Ability and inability, expressing the notions of "can" and "cannot", are conveyed in Pungupungu by the normal future and non-future tenses, there being no special abilitative or inabilitative forms.

Examples: maŋ t(y)id(y)æ war neyaŋ? [stone that lift you (fut.)] Can you lift that stone?

kængæ t(y)id(y)æ kæmim, yuw kænyyæ nung? [kangaroo that he sit see you (n.f) him] Can you see that kangaroo sitting there?

win talal neyaη? [wood carry you (fut.)] Can you carry the wood?

nagule talal ηabeyaη; ηœlma [not carry I (fut.) heavy] I cannot carry it; it is heavy.

The non-future form of the affix unit signifies "can now", while the future form signifies "will be able to". The $\eta eya\eta/\eta abeya\eta$ distinction for Class 1 has been discussed above.

2.12. Competence/Incompetence

Competence and incompetence are conveyed in the same way as ability and inability. Thus: modega mariny neyaŋ? [cars fix you (fut.)] Do you know how to fix cars?

However, "to know something/someone" is denoted by the verb stem <u>nawanawæ</u>, as in:

ηawaηawæ kænyæbæm nung? [know you him] Do you know him?

Yes, I know him.

2.13. The Reflexive

The reflexive is made concrete in Pungupungu, the part of the body affected being cited, as in:

mæragara mæd(y)æk næt(y)ær neyæ ræd(y)æ t(y)ænæ [yesterday neck cut I razor with] Yesterday I cut myself with a razor.

lit(y)purp t(y)ænæ t(y)æt næt(y)ær kænyeyæ [are with foot cut you] Did you hit yourself with an axe?

mæragara yuw neyæ wik pænæ maroy [yesterday see I water in shadow] Yesterday I saw myself in the water.

Some verb stems are already reflexive in nature, and may be used as reflexives without naming a concrete object. Example:

mæragara t(y)ilk ηæmæm [yesterday hurt I] Yesterday I hurt myself.

In the great majority of cases, however, the true reflexive does not exist, the reflexive object being made concrete, as above.

2.14. The Reciprocal

The reciprocated introducer $\underline{\eta a \eta g a r a}$ is used when the reciprocal involves the use of one first person actor. Thus:

 η a η gæræ t(y)at keyæ η arka, η a η gæræ t(y)at η eyæ nung [reciprocal spear he me reciprocal spear I him] We two speared each other.

But:

pura ηænæη da kærbæm gæny [these men fight they dual] These two men are fighting each other.

[Further testing required for 2.14]

2.15. The Passive

There is no real passive in Pungupungu. The passive is indicated by an active construction in which the actor is an impersonal third person, similar to the French "on".

Examples: mœragara t(y)at kæræ nung wælæræ t(y)ænæ [yesterday hit they him spear with] Yesterday he was hit by a spear.

mæragara moyiny da keyæ nung lit(y)purp t(y)ænæ [yesterday dog hit he him axe with] Yesterday the dog was struck with an axe.

In all cases, the subject of the verb is he or they, according as the speaker think that the action was performed by a singular or plural actor. The instrument will be examined during the discussion of the optional satellite tagmemes below.

2.16. Attempted Action

The form used to express attempted action is the same as for the frustrative (2.9) which has already been discussed. Example only will suffice here, thus:

mæd(y)æm lak ŋabeyaŋ-ara [meat eat I part] I tried to eat the meat.

mæragara wina $\eta æt(y)ær$ $\eta abeya\eta$ -ara [yesterday boat cut I part] Yesterday I tried to make a boat.

Observe that the affix unit always takes the future tense form, even if the attempted action is thought of as taking place in tha past.

2.17. Necessitative and Prohibitive

The forms for the necessitative (must) and prohibitive (must not) are the same as for the imperative and negative imperative seen above, 2.7. They do, however, take the conjugated imperative form thus:

mæd(y)æm wup neyaŋ ŋarka [meat give you me] You must give me the meat.

paragot kæmæm mæd(y)æm wup neyaŋ ŋarka [whiteman he say meat give you me] The whiteman says you must give me the meat.

[Additional testing required for 2.17]

2.18. Impersonal Verbs

To be hot, to have a cold, and to sweat all involve an impersonal verb structure, similar to that used to convey a passive (from English).

Examples: bulbul t(y)at kæd(y)æ ηarka

[heat hit he me] I am hot. wuluruk yær keyæ ŋarka [sweat hit he me] I am sweating.

maηgara tup keyæ ηarka [cold seize he me] I have a cold.

To be cold, however, belongs to Class 7, verbs of dying, c.f.

Observe that t(y)at takes Class 1 affixes normally, but Class 3 (verbs of standing) to express feeling hot.

3. Optional Satellite Tagmemes

We now come to the examination of the tagmemes which may occur as units peripheral to the main verb.

3.1. Location and Direction

The most common locationals in Pungupungu are:		
pænæ	in, inside, at, on, onto	
karaŋ pænæ	under	
pænækœ	beside	
mækæ	from	
ma	from	

3.1.1. Pænæ

Pænæ always occurs in post-position to the noun or pronoun which it governs. The locative phrase normally occurs either immediately before or after the verb.

Examples: poy kærbæ ræk pænæ [go they camp in] They went home.

ηata pænæ keyæmæ[house in he lie]He has been lying down inside the house.

t(y)id(y)æ wik pænæ kæme [him water in he sit] He is in the water.

ηælæ wik pænæ wutup keyæ[hand water in put he]He put his hand in the water.

kalkal dal neyæ win pænæ [leaves tie I stick on]

3.1.2. Karaŋ pænæ (under)

As with pænæ, kara η pænæ occurs in post-position to the noun or pronoun which it governs.

Example:

ηata karaη pænæ ηæmim[house under in I sit]I am sitting under the house.

3.1.3. Pænækæ (beside)

As with the above, pænækœ occurs in post-position to the noun or pronoun which it governs.

Example:

ηawalaηmæd(y)æmwalanypænækækænd(y)æm[womanmeatsnakebesideshe stand]The woman is standing beside a snake.

3.1.4. Mækæ ~ mæ (from)

As with the above locatives, mækæ~mæ occur as post-positions. Mækæ is more often used than mæ, although both may occur without difference in meaning. Examples:

paragit kawa kæd(y)æm yura maka [whiteman come he cave from] The whiteman came out of the cave.

mæd(y)æm pæk mækæ t(y)ut(y)at neyaŋ [meat bag from remove you] Take the meat out of the bag.

maη pænæ mæ t(y)æræt ηæbæm [rock on from descend I] I am getting down from the rock.

3.1.5. To, Towards

To, towards is normally indicated by pænæ in post-position to the noun. Example: poy ŋæpæ ræk pænæ [go I camp to] I am going to the camp. However, pænæ may be omitted in cases such as:

poy næpæ taun

[go I town] I am going to town.

The directionals <u>bara</u> and <u>kak</u> have already been explained above, 2.10.

3.2. Benefactive

The benefactive tagmeme indicates "for someone". In Pungupungu there are two structures used, depending on whether the benefactive is a noun or a pronoun.

3.2.1. With Pronouns

When the person benefiting is pronominal, there is no special benefactive form, the benefactive taking the normal object pronoun, as explained above, 2.6. In fact, the benefactive and the indirect object are identical, as will be seen below.

Examples: mœragara wungæl wa keyæ ŋarka [yesterday tobacco get he me] Yesterday he got cigarettes for me.

yinymæk winyiŋginy mariny yæbeyaŋ ŋarka [tomorrow boomerang make he me] Tomorrow he will make me a boomerang.

mæd(y)æm t(y)uk ŋeyaŋ wiŋ [meat cook I you] I shall cook the meat for you.

3.2.2 With Nouns

When the beneficiary is a noun, the affix unit is followed by $nu\eta/pera\eta$ (him/them), followed by the noun object, as in:

yinymæk nata da nabeyan nun t(y)id(y)æ pætun namuyak [tomorrow house make I him him (d.) belong old man] Tomorrow I shall make a house for the old man.

winyinginy mariny new nung t(y)id(y)æ pætung nænæn pamalan [boomerang make I him him (d.) belong man big] I made a boomerang for that big man.

Note that in the two examples above, $t(y)id(y)a poetu\eta$ (him there belong) is inserted between the pronoun and noun object. This may be omitted when the object of the benefaction is not something which the beneficiary can keep permanently, such as food, meat, eggs, etc, as in:

yinymæk poy næpæ mænæny wa nabeyan nun moyiny [tomorrow go I food get I him dog] Tomorrow I shall go and get food for the dog.

3.2.2. [Further testing required]

3.3 Privative

The privative, a kind of reverse benefactive, is perhaps better described as a locative

(c.f. 3.1), since the same morpheme mækæ, (from) is used in post-position to the noun it governs. Example: man wa neyæ t(y)id(y)æ mækæ [money get I him from] I get money from him. This same morpheme denotes "from, because, of", as in: nændur ræny mikt(y)at kæd(y)æm t(y)ædæl mækæ [horse back sore he saddle froml The horse has a sore back from the saddle. It can also denote "from, since", as in: mæragara maka kæbætæm t(y)id(y)a ŋanaŋ [yesterday from he dead him man] That man died yesterday. 3.3.[Further testing with pronouns] 3.4 Instrumental/Agentive The instrumental particle, t(y)ænæ (with, by) occurs always in post-position to the noun which it governs. The instrumental tagmeme $(+ N + t(y) \approx n \approx)$ occurs usually after the verb, but may precede it when emphasis on the agent is sought. Examples: mæragara da neyæ nun win t(y)ænæ [yesterday hit I him stick with] Yesterday I hit him with a stick. mæragara win næt(y)ær neyæ lit(y)purp pamalan t(y)ænæ [yesterday wood chop I axe big with] Yesterday I chopped the wood with a big axe. mæragara wælæræ wund(y)at nabade kalan t(y)ænæ [yesterday spear throw I woomera with] Yesterday I threw a spear with a woomera. The instrumental marker, $t(y) \approx n \approx x$, may also be used to emphasise the actor. In this case, it is attached to the subject tagmeme as in: mæragara moyiny kænæ t(y)ænæ dar keyæ ŋarka your by [yesterday dog bite he me] yesterday your dog bit me.

3.5 Manner

Manner in Pungupungu is indicated by adverbs of manner, which are normally

adjectives. The manner adverbs may either precede or follow immediately the verb stem, in sentences containing a verb stem or precede the affix unit in sentences where the affix unit alone constitutes the verb.

Examples: t(y)amoyit(y) mal watæt kæbæm [he talk fast he] He is talking too fast. t(y)araka næt(y)ær nabeyan nun pambat(y) pærak [well cut Ι him child small] I can circumcise him well when he is small. wætæt kabade [fast ha (go)] He ran fast. 3.6 Accompaniment Accompaniment (with) is indicated by the accompaniment suffix -gæny, in two wavs: a). With Non-Personal Nouns -With non-personal nouns, the accompaniment suffix -gæny is affixed to the noun to which it refers, thus: mæragara kud(y)a næbæm waleyma moyiny gæny [yesterday town I go dog with Yesterday I went to town with my dog. b). With Personal Nouns -With personal nouns, the affix unit used is never singular, but always dual or plural, thus: poy kærbæŋgæny Andy gæny [go they two Andy with] He went with Andy.

t(y)id(y)æ poy kærbæŋgæny Micky parmayit(y) gæny [he go they two Micky they two] He went with Micky.

In the first sentence, there is a kind of opposition, thus:

they two go : Andy with

Thus the speaker and the hearer know who the first actor is, the second being indicated by the phrase in opposition. The second sentence functions in the same way, except that instead of the Proper Noun + gæny, one has Noun + Pronoun : gæny. Both methods are used without distinction.

3.7 <u>Time</u>

The most common time adverbs in Pungupungu are as follows:

yaŋaraŋ	today
t(y)ælbænæ	morning

kœlœmœrœ	afternoon
ηik	night-time
yinymæk	tomorrow
mœragara	yesterday
ηurid(y)e	early evening
pændæ	now

The adverbs t(y)ælbænæ, kœlœmœrœ and ŋik may be used to qualify the basic temporal divisions, yinymæk, yaŋaraŋ and mœragara. Examples of usage:

yinymæk t(y)ælbænæ nabanæd(y)æm bara [tomorrow morning I come back] I shall come back tomorrow morning.

mæragara t(y)ilk næmæm [yesterday hurt I] Yesterday I hurt myself.

yinymæk yæbæŋæd(y)æm bara? [tomorrow he come back] Will he come back tomorrow?

namuyuk pændæ kæme [old man now he sit] Now he is an old man.

The time adverb phrase is placed normally at the beginning of the sentence, with the exception of <u>pændæ</u>, which either immediately precedes or follows the affix unit.

3.8 Indirect Object

There are several constructions used when an indirect object is included in the sentence, depending on whether the indirect object is a noun or pronoun, as follows: a). When the indirect object is a pronoun, the sentence may have the formula:

i). + DO \pm VS + Aff. [+S + Io] ii). + S + DO \pm VS + Aff. [+S + Io] Examples: maŋ wup kæyæ ŋarka

[money give he me] He gave me some money.

wik wa bara neyan win [water get back I you] I shall bring you back some water.

nænæn man wup keyæ win?

[man money give he you] Did that man give you any money?

Observe that when the subject is a noun, it is always repeated in pronominal form in the verb.

b). When the indirect object is a noun, the sentence has the formula:
i). + S + DO ± VS + Aff [s] + Io
ii). + DO ± VS + Aff [s] + Io
Examples:

moyiny mæd(y)æm wup keyæ nu η He fed the dog.

3.9 Purpose

There are two purpose constructions in Pungupungu, depending on whether the aim expressed is verbal or substantial.

a). Substantial

The purpose or goal marker is the suffix $-\underline{u\eta}$, which is affixed to the goal itself. Examples:

win-uŋ poy ŋæpæ [wood for go I] I am going to get some wood.

kalanpalak-un tædæymæ næbæm næd(y)æn [mother my for look I her] I am looking for my mother.

pinit(y)-uŋ borum kabæ? tin gol-ung [what for bore he tin gold for] What is he drilling for? Tin and gold.

b). Verbal

When the goal or purpose is verbal, the purpose marker <u>-un</u> is suffixed to the second verb, thus: pœræt(y)-un nabeyan sleep for I lie]

I am going to have a sleep. as opposed to: kapuk poy næbæm [swim go I] I am going for a swim.

In the first example, purpose is stressed, necessitating -un, while in the second futurity rather than purpose is expressed.

3.10 Cause Cause is expressed by means of two independent clauses, thus: næd(y)æ dingirk wa neyæ, mæd(y)æm t(y)alkma lak neyæ [me sick get I meat bad eat I] I am sick because I ate rotten meat. nærænyæm, nagule tumat(y)e kænyeyæ narka [I fell not held on you

I fell down because you did not hold me.

The first of the independent clauses express the main statement, while the second gives the cause or reason.

me]

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4
   Interrogatives
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The interrogatives of Pungupungu may be divided as follows:

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4.1.Who? - naga?
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a). With non-verbal sentences, naga? (who?) has no fixed position.

Examples: nawalan nægæ t(y)ind(y)æ? [woman who that] Who is that woman?

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naga t(y)id(y)æ nænæn?
[who that
               man]
Who is that man?
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b). With verbal intransitive sentences <u>naga</u> occurs sentence initially, thus: nægæ t(y)id(y)æ kæmæ?

> [who that he sit] Who is that sitting down?

nægæ kænækma kæbæm? [who laugh he] Who is that laughing?

c). With verbal transitive sentences, naga normally occurs sentence initially, but may also occur after the direct object tagmeme.

Examples:

nagama mæd(y)æm lak keyæ? [who eat he] meat

Who has been eating the meat?

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nagama mæd(y)æm ŋæt(y)ær keyæ?
[who meat cut he]
Who has been cutting the meat?
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winyinginy naga mariny keyæ? [boomerang who make he] Who made the boomerang?

win nagama $\eta æt(y)ær$ keyæ? [tree who cut he] Who cut the tree down?

Observe that the past continuous marker (ma) explained in 4.2. may be suffixed to the interrogative, as well as to the verb stem or affix unit.

4.2. Whom? - naga?

Naga, whom? occupies the same places in the sentence as for who?, the only change being that the verb affix unit is no longer in the third person singular.

Example:

mægæ ræt(y)æ tup kænyeyæ? [whom want take you] Whom do you like?

4.3.<u>Which? - naga + noun</u>

Which? functions in the same manner as who? whom?, the only difference being that <u>naga</u> is here followed by a noun subject, as in:

naga ŋawalaŋ mæd(y)æm t(y)uk kænyæ? [which woman meat cook she] Which woman cooked the meat?

4.4. Where? – t(y)ina?

Where? divides naturally into three sections for the description of Pungupungu:

a). where at?

b). where to?

c). where from?

a). Where at?

There are three forms used to ask "where at?". These can be summarised in the following matrix:

	Masc.	Fem.
Sing.	t(y)ina?	T(y)inyina
Plural	pina?	pina?

i). With masculine singular subjects, t(y) is used, as in:

t(y)ina ræk? [where camp] Where is the camp? t(y)ina nun namuyuk? [where him old man] Where is the old man? moyiny næd(y)æ t(y)ina? [dog my where] Where is my dog? wik t(y)ina kæd(y)æ? [water where he stand] Where is the water? Observe that when the subject is modified, t(y)ina no longer occupies the sentence initial position, but is placed after the subject. ii). With feminine singular subjects, t(y)inyana asks "where at?", as in: η awala η η æd(y)æ t(y)inyana? [woman my where] Where is my wife? t(y)inyana Nancy? [where Nancy] Where is Nancy? iii). With all plural subjects pina is used as the interrogative, thus: nawak pina kærbæm [woman where they] Where are the woman? pina pœraŋ? [where they] Where are they? moyiny $\eta ad(y)a$ pina? [dogs my where] Where are my dogs?

The series of interrogatives has no fixed and definite situation in the sentence, although preferred orders are:

i). With noun subjects, the subject is usually stated before the interrogative.

ii). With pronoun subjects, the interrogative more often precedes the pronoun.

b). Where to? $- t(y)inad(y) \approx - pinad(y) \approx$

Where to? is indicated in Pungupungu by $\underline{t(y)inad(y)\omega}$? (singular subjects) and $\underline{pinad(y)\omega}$? (plural subjects). The interrogative always occurs sentence initially.

Examples: t(y)inad(y)æ kæbæm? [where to he (go)] Where is he going?

moyiny t(y)inad(y)æ kæbæm? dog where to he (go)] Where is the dog going?

ηawak pinad(y)œ kærbæm? [woman where to they (go)] Where are the woman going?

pinad(y)æ kærbæmgæny? [where to they (go) dual] Where are they two going?

c). Where from? - kinæmæ ~ kinæmækæ

Where from? is indicated by <u>kinæmæ</u>? or <u>kinæmækæ</u>?, which may be used the one for the other without any apparent distinction. The interrogative occupies the sentence initial position with pronoun subjects in intransitive clauses. Otherwise it follows the noun subject or object, as the case may be.

Examples: kinæmæ kænyæm bara? [where from you back] Where do you come from?

kinæmæ kænybæm bara t(y)ind(y)æ? [where from she back that one] Where does she come from?

kinæmækæ kærbæm bara? [where from they back] Where do they come from?

ηawalaηkinæmækækænybæmbara?[womanwhere fromsheback]Where does the woman come from?

maη kinæmæ wa kænyeyæ? [money where from get you] Where did you get the money?

A plural interrogative pinæmæ? has also been attested, as in:

4.5.<u>When? - aneginæ?</u>

When? in Pungupungu is denoted by <u>aneginæ</u>?, which always occupies the sentence initial position.

Examples: æneginæ win ŋæt(y)ær nabeyaŋ? [when wood cut you] When are you going to cut the wood?

æneginæ yuw nabeyaŋ nuŋ? [when see you him] When will you see him?

æneginæyabaŋæd(y)æmbaranamuyuk?[whenhe comebackold man]When will the old man come back?

4.6. Why? - nyinit(y)an

<u>nyinit(y)un</u>? asks: why? what for? in Pungupungu, and always occupies the sentence initial position, even if the subject is a noun.

Examples of usage: nyinit(y)uŋ da kænyeyæ ŋarka? [why hit you me] Why did you hit me?

nyinit(y)un kanyænæd(y)æm bara? [why you come back] Why did you come back?

nyinit(y)uŋ keyæ moyiny t(y)id(y)æ? [why he lie dog that] Why is that dog lying down?

nyit(y)un bandup keyæ wælæræ? [why break he spear] Why did he break the spear?

nyit(y)uŋ yuma kænyæd(y)æ ŋarka? [why look you me] Why are you looking at me? 4.7.<u>What? - nyinit(y)?</u> nyinit(y)? what? occurs always sentence initially, and behaves in the same way as nyinit(y)un? (why?) as in 4.6. Examples of usage: nyinit(y) yuma kænyæme? [what look you] What are you looking at? nyinit(y) tumat(y)e kænyæbæm? [what hold you] What are you holding? nyinit(y) kæmæm? [what he (do)] What is he doing? nyinit(y) næræbæmæ? [what we (pl.) (do)] What shall we do? With reference to time, there is a special expression, thus: kayik t(y)ina? [sun where] What is the time? [Further testing required for how?] 4.8. Yes-No Interrogatives With questions expecting the answer yes or no, there is no special interrogative introducer, the question being indicated by a high rising intonation at the end of the sentence. In all other respects, the yes - no interrogative type sentence is identical with the normal declarative sentence. Examples of usage: yuw kænyeyæ nuŋ? kamaŋga [see you him no] Can you see him? No. poy næpæ? næ [go you yes] Will you go? Yes.

ηakpuma kænyæme? [smoke you] Are you smoking?

5. Non-Verbal Sentences

There are three types of sentences in Pungupungu which do not have a verb stem or

affix unit. These are:

a). To have b). Equational sentences c). Identificational sentences. 5.1.To Have The first type of non-verbal sentence corresponds with "to have", "not to have". a). To have -When the possessor is pronominal, the structure is: + Possessed N + Pronoun ± Numeral Examples: moyiny t(y)araka næd(y)æ good [dog me] I have a good dog. moyiny paraka næd(y)æ parkatangæny good me [dogs two] I have two good dogs. When the possessor is a noun, the structure is: + Possessor N + Possessed N. Example: t(y)ind(y)æ nawalan pambat(y) pærænæræn [that one woman baby new] That woman has a new baby. b). Not to have -With the negative, the word order is the same as for a)., with the addition of the negative kamanga, not nagule which negativises verbal sentence types. Examples: moyiny næd(y)æ kamanga [dog me no] I do not have a dog. t(y)ammiyit(y) wik kamanga [she water no] She has no water. Observe that in general the position of the possessor is not fixed, but may precede or follow the possessed noun. 5.2. Equational Sentences

Equational sentences in Pungupungu corresponds to the English "That is a . . . ". The structure is as follows: + Dem Pronoun + Noun Examples: t(y)id(y)æ pænηæt
[that one barramundi]
That is a barramundi.
t(y)id(y)æ papalak ηæd(y)æ
[that one father my]
That is my father.
t(y)id(y)æ gak ηata Micky pœtuη
[that one here house Micky belong]
That one is Micky's house.

5.3. Identificational Sentences

Identificational sentences comment on the subject, giving sentences of the type "The meat is good", "The stone is black". In Pungupungu, such sentences consist of the elements:

+ Subject + Comment (adj.)

Examples:

mæd(y)æm kadaman [meat rotten] The meat is rotten.

maη banbabanba [stone flat] The stone is flat.

6. Dependent Clauses

Dependent or subordinate clauses are not a feature of the Pungupungu language. Whenever what could be a subordinate clause in English occurs in Pungupungu, the sentence is divided into two main clauses or sentences.

Examples: kæŋæ t(y)id(y)æ kæmim / yuw kænyeyæ nuŋ? [kangaroo that he sit see you him] Can you see that kangaroo sitting there?

t(y)id(y)æ paragot kæmæm / mæd(y)æm wup neyaη ηara [that whiteman he (talk-say) meat give you me] That European says you must give me some meat.

[Test for further examples of Dep NS, Dep S]

Lexicon

ægæk	ækæk
ælælæ	ma
ænegii	næ?

vomit to flow when? æp æt(y)æ æt(y)æpalak

ba badak bambat(y)banbabanba bane nyarak baη baŋdup bapa bara $bara\eta and(y)it(y)$ barawin bawak binyd(y)æt bœ bægæny bulbul bakoyt(y) bwik da da . . . bawada dal dala dæmyær dan win daan dæny dap dapakæræt(y) dar dæræt(y) dark dærpmin dawan dik dingirk diræ wagat(y) diræ diræ mutmut

diralalkalk

dirinybuk

dirmæl

dit

to walk brother, younger sibling grandmother imperative particle cheeky person baby flat (of stone) armpit to be broken, to fall down (of tree) to break daddy indicates movement towards the speakar; creek fire branch kind of grass to shut testicles bullock hot full bone to hit to kill dead to tie up, to tie soon to sew bloodwood to copulate plenty, many many, all, everyone to bite like, as dove, pigeon narrow to cover up to dance to be sick beach tooth blunt knife slope gum tree (white) black cockatoo green ant

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durat(y) dœpmadœpma dumduma kadaman kænd(y)æræ kad(y)u kak gak kaka kakapalak kæl kabada kæl kæl tænyitænyi kæl mundak kæl pærængaayaang kaal pamalang kalakkalak

kalal

kalalk

kalan

kalamba

kalan mibæ

kalaŋ palak

kalaŋuk

kalawan kaldut

kælkæl

kælpæ

kænæ

kænæk

kanbunin kændæræk

kand(y)æli kængæ

kaŋalan

kæræl

kærbæk

kawa

kæt(y)pæk

kanmalan

karaŋ pænæ

karowakkarowak

kamaŋga

kamawœtuŋ

kamoyaŋ keyæ

hot coals

heart to lick dirty, rotten (of meat) land, country this way to go; indicates movement away from the speaker here, this, indeed uncle uncle, father in law (wife's father) to go along track winding track old road naw road highway moon to climb black forehead band woomera hook of woomera mother fly feather, animal fur/hair to sit on top of leaf tail to wag tail no, nothing, not like that you (sg.) to laugh rock wallaby tough, hard pregnant woman red kangaroo lizard green plum tree tibia under white gum kookaburra scorpion come here

kawa kæwælæt(y) kæræny kæwæny kay kayama kayik kayik walany t(y)inamalak kinæmæ? kiny kawa! kirgit kirt kit(y)ilili koga palak kogara kogok! kœlamœrœ kœluk kœmbæl kærkkærk kudluŋ kud(y)a kud(y)æmæ kud(y)anun kud(y)uk kud(y)ukkud(y)uk kuk ku() kuluk kumbæluŋær kunbilin ()) () (ηurid(y)e kurkkurk kut(y)imæ

lak læmd(y)œl landi læηma læηma wawa langur lænyetænye to rise (sun) urine, to urinate bat blood, bloodwood to call out to be calling sun daytime where him? where from? come here! to dig to rub to tickle grandfather (father's father) red ochre wait! afternoon short brown/yellow; yellow ochre to scratch to cough that way, down here down there (from down there) that way vagina young girl excrement, guts to take, land? blind north thundercloud, thunder lightning south rotten (of wood) last night to scratch down there to eat to bend down buttocks

green (grass), wet

)

wet sand

winding

(

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lartup larwal lawlaw lit(y)purp lit(y)purp pœræk lit(y)purp t(y)urkæle lœrap yeyaŋ lukluk luruŋ

mæ mæ mæd(y)æ nælæ mæd(y)æk mæd(y)æm mæd(y)æm bit(y)mamæd(y)æm bwik mæd(y)æm walany magat mækæ mal mælæ malaŋ malgin malmara mæluŋmæluŋ mamak mambærkma $m \approx n \approx \eta \approx t(y)$ mænæny manat(y) nælæ maη maŋ put(y)put(y)malaŋ man banbabanba man lit(y)purp maŋ yura maŋgara mæpæræ mæræ bæd(y)æ mard(y)it(y) () marga mariny mayt(y) mibæ

to (c)lose salt, grog to swell axe () steel axe to () up to be happy to shave, clean go on! indicates state fingernail

fingernail neck, throat meat, fish bird snake snake river from to talk, converse ironwood tree already spinifex pelican sugar yam good-bye moth porcupine fruit, vegetable, food, bread palm of hand stone, money smooth rock flat rock stone axe rockhole to have a cold liver hair; big brother to be cold to dance flower to build, make to jump around face, eye; hook (spear)

mibæ mænæny malgin mibæ mænæny mibæ mæŋ mibæ t(y)alkma mibæmibæ () mibit(y) () midaŋ mik mikmik milniny mirak miraŋuk mirgamæ mit(y)ilk miyik mubaŋandi mærdæ star mœnæ mœnægæny mænæ næd(y)æ mœη mærdæ mæd(y)æ mœragara maroy moyiny muİk mulŋæk mulukur munbinyalak mundok mundulk t(y)æt maη muŋayil mutmut mut(y) næd(y)æ naga? naguli maremare kogok

namuyuk

naŋadœl

spinifex seed fruit seed anus blind not to know flea louse to find, hunt forehead sore (n.) native cat mountain dance knee thunder? ant (black) sore (adj.) poor fellows married man married woman my husband buttocks egg (of bird) yesterday, last night shadow dog blow-fly wild turkey young girl (puberty) rosella/galah old (of spear) ankle to shake (tail or body) paddle (n.) blunt (point) wallaby son who? negative with verbs

knife

soon

old man

to point

nændær naŋænæ naŋa naŋgaŋ nawany palak nawara nawaragæny ndæ niga niŋga nir nir kændæræk nit(y) nulkawak nurat(y) nyinit(y) nyuk nyuka nyinit(y)uŋ ηæ ηabali ηada? ηadal ηæd(y)æ ηæd(y)æη ηad(y)iηga nagarunba ηak nak mæræbæt ηak raŋæræ ηak yæræny ηaka ηakpœ ηakaldup ηæl ηala ηalgin nala parkatangæny ngælæ $\eta \approx l \approx m \approx d(y) \approx ()$ ηælgin ηælgin bakoyt(y) nælgin kændæræk nælgin pamalan

horse previously, before mate to be frightened auntie (wife's mother) you (pl.) you two now bed nephew vein tendon name child (p) what? how? to smell (tr.) to tell lies why? yes old woman what about? tongue I her niece to lead (horse) door, mouth moustache winter lips to ask, ask for to smoke to open cheek big sea two days hand, claw beetle sea, tide high tide low tide? high tide?

ηælgin t(y)alkmu ηamama ηæmænæ ηænabælæm ηænaŋ ηanæ-ηat(y)pær ηanaη/pœrak $\eta and(y)it(y)paka$ ηaηga ηænpædæ ηapmu arup keyæ ηarηæræ ŋæræyæny ηaran ŋæræræ ηærd(y)e ηaytup ŋata ηata wœræk ηæt(y)ær nawænawæ ηuwak ηawalaη ŋawaŋuwæ ηæwæny ηeye palak ηæyt(y)pær ηik ηœlk ηœlma ηœn $\eta ugat(y)$ ηulan ηulanηulan ηunηura ηura ηurama $\eta urid(y)e$ ηurut(y)ul ηurut(y)ul nulkbara ηutηutma

low tide () turtle forked branch man, person long way thin one we two (inc.) goose sit down to hunt today we (pl. exc.) we two (exc.) goanna we (pl. inc.) immediately, now to light fire house () to cut; chop to find, hear, think about single woman? woman, wife to know how to auntie (father's sister) daughter far away, distant night-time to swallow thick, heavy sweat wing single girl or boy single man or woman pubic hair penis to circumcise last night emu emu chick to pluck (bird)

nuyan

pæ...æm thigh paka palalka pælæmgæny palat(y) pærbærmæ pamalaŋ pambut(y) baby pambut(y) kad(y)ak pambut(y) nura pambut(y) pæræk pan pænæ pænæ chest purnæt manat(y) pænbæræ pændæ now pæŋæny pænŋæt pæntuk pæntup father papalak pæpœd(y)æ fall cold? pæ handle pæræ paraka paramuŋ pæræŋæræŋ new pærbæ parekot paret(y)pærgædæ pærk pærk mirkamæ parka parkataŋgæny two parkatanand(y)it(y) three parkatangæny parkatungæny four parmæny parmoyit(y) parmoyit(y)gæny pætælmæŋ bull ant patput grasshopper

pubic hair close, closer nothing trousers (pædlæmgæny?) to apply, rub on, anoint to shiver, shake big, wide little girl little boy little baby to throw away tree-grub in, on, at high, up corroboree, song barramundi, fish to extinguish good (pl.) ripe, cooked to have? whiteman barb (stingray) unripe, raw cloud, sky thundercloud sharp (of a knife) good, finished they (pl.) they two

patura pibæræ pibærægæny pibæræŋun pik pinad(y)œ? pirppirp ηakpœ pœd(y)æ pælæ pinbin pœnæŋ pœnæt(y) pindi mæd(y)æm pœræk pœrak malaŋ ŋænæ pœræt(y) pœrlœr роу poy! pubup pudan pulibuli pulkaŋ pult(y)an pura $put(y)put(y)mala\eta$ ræk ræny ræŋæræ ræŋæræ ræny dælma ræt(y)æ riny $r c d(y) a \eta$

tæbɛn tædæymæ talal tanyetanye tær tærma tœma tœt dry (clothes) car to remember to forget string, rope where to? (pl.) to wriggle to blow (tr.) head old man older sister dust, ashes to dream fin small, thin kangaroo pouch to sleep to blow (wind) to go go away! to fan? town rainbow hair-belt, hair-string eaglehawk they (mob.) level (ground), smooth camp back cold weather wind high bank to like, want honey bandicoot dingo

to look for

alive, living to sit down

crooked

white

to carry on shoulders

to be broken, torn

toyka tutt(y)æt tulukput tulup tumat(y)e turup tuktup t(y)arbut $t(y) d(y) \approx d \approx t(y)$ t(yædl t(y)ald(y)ama t(y)ægæd(y)æ t(y)al t(y)al t(y)ala t(y)ælæræ t(y)ælbænæ t(y)abara t(y)ald(y)akule t(y)alkma t(y)ælmæ t(y)ælmæt(y)ælmæ t(y)alwa t(y)am t(y)ambul t(y)amoyit(y) t(y)ænæ t(y)ænæ t(y)ænæyiboy t(y)ænde nand(y)it(y) t(y)aŋgar t(y)angur mæræbæt t(y)anmiyit(y) t(y)ænynuku t(y)araku t(y)ar bænæ t(y)ærbinæ t(y)arwa t(y)arwa minyaŋ t(y)at t(y)atma t(y)atma t(y)ætt(y)æt t(y)awut(y) t(y)e t(y)ibæk

to come back to take off clothes (trousers) to () to allow, permit to hold to () to squeeze to () (o) to roast to play clap sticks this to roast dew all right (centipede?) early, this morning, dawn, morning out of sight right, correct, true bad shoulder in a line fig to drink, eat long yarn he to run, fly by (instrumental) to flee next week whiskers, chin beard she good good to be angry to be hungry rib kidney to put, place; to kill; catch (fish) straight right hand to light (fire) left hand here, this

for a long time

t(y)id(y)æ t(y)il t(y)ilk t(y)in t(y)ina? t(y)inad(y)œ? t(y)ind(y)æ t(y)ininy t(y)irnga t(y)æbæk t(y)œl t(y)ælæn durat(y)t(y)œlæn duramalaŋ t(y)œlbæræk t(y)œlup t(y)œnga mæd(y)æk t(y)œra t(y)œra punb() t(y) or at(y)t(y)ærat(y)at t(y)urut t(y)œt t(y)œt manat(y) $t(y) \alpha t \eta a l a mad(y) a$ t(y)œt kargat t(y)œtak t(y)utiny tutt(y)æt t(y)ætt(y)æt t(y)uk tup t(y)æt bara tuktup wa wa . . . bara watælæmæ

wadarany

walandam

walany

walany

wæddæ

war

wak wækpæt(y)

root wadænœnæ pœræk crow long

over there, that mangrove to be sick elbow where at? where to? her turn native bee to sneeze saliva to lie down, to put down hot ashes cold ashes orange tree to fill nape of neck stick (n.) bundle of sticks navel whirlwind to descend, get down foot sole of foot toe-nail south windbreak to remove, take out to light fire to cook to arrive at; to grab upper arm to squeeze to catch, get to bring back daylight ground-grub muscle (leg) younger sibling? to lift up basket river gum very far, long way

wælæræ wælæræ kælpæ walæbity) walegmæ wargide walpoka wan wanga waŋga wæny wanyma wær wara warak wardikma wurma warakwarak wætæt watpar $wat(y) \dots wat(y)$ wæt(y)æ wawu wawu tærma wawu patura wik wik diræ wik larwal wik mibæ wik waran wik yura wilakwilak wilmir win win bulbulma win nulk-bara win pamun winæ wiη wiη wiŋæniny wingæny wuny winyiŋginy wurewure wurewure wawo wirk

spear butt of spear flying-fox to walk around dilly bag good to throw (stone) shark corroborree shore to paddle to land paperbark to uncover, remove, take off to walk up to pick up to bark) light (adj.) some . . . others to give birth, to be born sand white sand dry sand water alongside creek grog, salt water spring (n.) running water waterhole galah bream (rivar) tree, wood, fire dry wood stick, limb thicket boat breast, milk you (sg. obj.) firestick burning to throw (spear) boomerang red, dawn red sand to finish, complete

(

wædæ wœdæwæl wœgada wæŋ wœrak wœraŋ wœtuŋ wadak wud(y)æ wud(y)ak wulæ wula wulurak wunæ wulær wund(y)at wungæl wunmarat(y) wuninir yæræny wup wur wurak wurewure wurit(y) wurka wurur wut wut pæne wut t(y)arak wutup yaŋaraŋ yaŋaraŋ mulaŋ yaŋarmada yænyæræ year yæræny yærik

yæruŋ yærwat

yinnulere

yinyæræny

ye? yiyat(y) little sister, muscle oil, fat to throw (boomerang) rain grass mosquito like, as saliva, spit nose to excrete short yarn year, the wet sweat belly alligator to throw (stone) (spear) tobacco, smoke long yarn hot season, mirage clothes to give to follow, chase to approach, close up, near red blue-tongue lizard to work to pull, drag ground, earth down (on the ground) level ground to put in, insert today, now nearly, almost seven sisters to steal to stab bark, skin, clothes to comb to stand up, straight to bury is that so? stingray

crocodile

ringworm

71

yinymæk yira yiril mæd(y)æ yit(y) yiyap yura yuw

+ Object Pronouns ηarka me wiη you nuη him ηæd(y)æη her ŋæræræŋ us (pl. inc.) ŋæræŋ us (pl. exc.) nawaraŋ you (pl.) them (pl.) pœraŋ us (dl. inc.) ηαηguη ηaraηgæny us (dl. exc.) nawaraŋgæny you (dl.) them (dl.) pærangæny

Text 1 – A7 Side 1

tomorrow digging stick

fish scale

to comb

to visit?

cave, clitoris, vagina? to see, look for

tœt tœt tœt <u>næmæ</u> ηad(y)aŋ nawalaŋ, wik sit; sit; I say; her; wife; water;

t(y)am kar <u>garbangæny</u>, wælæræ wund(y)æt <u>nabade</u>, drink; track they two; spear; throw; I;

 ηurut(y)ul, moyiny
 trrr
 <u>næmɛm</u> nuŋ moyiny,

 emu;
 dog;
 trrr;
 I tell;
 him; catch

t(y)ænæ <u>kabade</u> tup <u>keyæ</u> moyiny, η æd(y)æ run; he; grab; he; dog; my

ηawalaηt(y)ænæηarbadaŋgæntupηærægæny,wife;run with; we two;grab; we two;

dal <u>mæragæny</u>, dal <u>mæragæn</u> wa bara tie; we two; tie; we two; bring; back

<u>nærabængæny</u>, wat(y) pukana nangö <u>kænymæ</u> we two; good; job; us two; she say

ηarka ηawalaη t(y)ænæ gak, ηæ <u>ηæmεm</u> me; wife; that; one; yes; I say

ηæd(y)æη gak her; here.

Text 2 - A7 Side 1

mæd(y)æm t(y)at <u>keyæ</u>, <u>keyæ</u> wabælæmæ, meat; spear; he; he sleep day light

t(y)ælbænæ æp <u>kaboga</u>, mæd(y)æm tumat(y)e early morning; swim; he; meat; hold

<u>kæmim</u>, malmara <u>kærbæm</u> bara, t(y)ælmæ he sit; pelicans; they; come back; in a

t(y)ælmæ, mæd(y)æm kælpæ wærak <u>keyæ</u>, wurak line; meat tail; wave; he; close up

pændæ <u>kærbæm</u> bara malmara, kælpæ warak now; they; come back; pelicans; tail; show

keyæ mænæ kælpæ kæmæn/gamæ, balp balp he; boy one; tail; wag; he; more

muη balp balp <u>kæme</u>, malmara <u>kærbæm</u> shake; he; pelicans; they

bara t(y)ælmæ t(y)ælmæ, kærbæm wurak come back; in one; line; they; approach

pækæ, ŋælæ mæd(y)æm ŋœlak <u>keyæ</u>, closer; hand; meat; swallow; he

ηælæmæd(y)æmηælokkeyæ,mæd(y)æmmækæhand;meat;swallow; he;meat;close

tup keyæ, win tumat(y)e kæbæm, wurmada

grab; he; stick; hold; he; pelicans

<u>kæmim</u>, wud(y)æ da <u>keyæ</u>, pæd(y)æ da <u>keyæ</u>, he hit, stick with; hit; he; head; hit; he

t(y)id(y)æ η ana η and(y)it(y) da <u>keyæ</u>, t(y)id(y)æ this one three hit he this

 η and(y)it(y) ndæ, <u>kæmɛm</u> put ndæ da <u>keyæ</u>, one now he same now hit he

malmada <u>kærmæm</u> t(y)ænæ, <u>kærmæm</u> t(y)ænæ pelican they flee; they flee

gak, poy <u>kærbæm</u> malmada gak magat (missing a lina???)

<u>karbogam</u>, æp <u>karboga</u>, wirk, pærmæny, they swim, swim they; finish

malmara doma mækæ, warma $\frac{kærd(y)æ}{pelicans}$, pelicans () from pick up he

poy <u>kærbæ</u> ræk pænæ, ræk pænæ go they camp to, camp at

ηυτηυτma <u>kærme</u>, ηυτηυtma <u>kærme</u> t(y)uk pluck they pluck they, cook

mæd(y)æm nawara, kamaŋga, ŋæræ kærɛt(y) meat you pl. no we pl. only

mæd(y)æm, ηada nawara, ηæræ pærbæ meat what about you pl. we pl. got some

Pungupungu Text

He caught an animal and then went to sleep. At daylight he went for a wash. He had some meat. Then the pelicans flew up shoulder to shoulder. They waggled their tails. Now the pelicans came closer. They waved their tails and moved them about. Flap, flap, flap. The pelicans approached shoulder to shoulder. They came closer now. They had just swallowed some food, that they had caught. The hunter got a stick. The pelicans came down, and he hit one on the nose. He hit him on the head and neck. He hit first one and then another. Now another. In the same way he struck again. Then the pelicans fled. They flew away until they came to a big river, where they stopped. They landed and swam about. When the pelican killing was finished, they picked them up and went back home. There they plucked them and cooked them on a fire. Then they ate them. "Do you have any meat?" "No." "We have some meat." "What about you?"

Text 3 A7 Side 1 <u>nabogam</u>, <u>naboga</u>, <u>nabogam</u>, mæd(y)æ I swim I swim I swim animal

 η æmænæ nu η , tupma $\underline{\eta}$ æbɛm, η ælæ mæd(y)æm turtle him grab I hand animal

dap tupma <u>ηæbæm</u>, ηæmænæ, tup <u>ηeyæ</u> nuηplenty grab Iturtle;grab I

wulær mibæ, wulær tup <u>neyæ</u> nun mibæ, alligator eyes, alligator grab I him eyes

daR <u>keyæ</u> η aRka η ælæ, η ælæ daR <u>keyæ</u> bite he me hand hand bite he

ηaRka, ay ay <u>ηæmεm</u>, nyinit(y) <u>kænyæmæ</u> me, ay ay I say, what? she say

 η ælæ t(y)e, η ælæ t(y)e daR keyæ η aRka, hand this, hand this bite he me,

ye, næ, ma wælæræ bara, wælæræ wup oh? yes, hey, spear this way, spear give neyaŋ ηaRka, wælæraŋ t(y)at ηeyæŋ nuŋ you me spear for kill I him (so that I can spear him)

t(y)e keyæ, wælæræ wup kænyæ naRka nawalan, here he lie, spear give she me wife,

tup <u>neyæ</u> nuŋ kælpæ, wurur <u>neyæ</u> nuŋ, grab I him tail, drag I him

wæræk pænæ, wæræk pænæ yuw <u> $\eta eyæ</u>$ nu η , little on, little on, see I him,</u>

<u>ηeyæ</u> nuη, <u>kæbætæm</u> pændæ? ηæ <u>kæbætæm</u> I him he die now? yes him dead

wa poy <u>næbæ</u> næŋænæ ræk pænæ ya take go you first camp to

t(y)al <u>neyan</u>, naηguη mæd(y)æm, dala, cook you us two meat, soon,

 \underline{nar} poy $\underline{nangaba}$, wa poy $\eta a \eta g a b a$, t(y) a lwe go, we sit, take go we sit, cook

nangeyan ræk pænæ, yo næmænæ t(y)ukmæ we two camp at, yes turtle cook

ηaηapmo, ηæmænæ tupma <u>ηæbæ</u> wirk () turtle catch Ι

napmæd(y)æmpakapoynangabæ,yo,yomanyanimalgowe twoyesyes

kænymæ, tupma <u>næbæm</u> wirk, poy <u>næbæm</u> she say catch I finish, go I

ræk pænæ, tæt <u>nærnængæny</u>, win t(y)ætt(y)æt camp to, stop we two, fire light

 $\frac{kanybade}{she}, \ win \ t(y) \\ ext(y) \\ ext($

wulær? $\underline{\eta æmæ}$ $\eta æd(y)æ\eta$ kogok dale alligator? I say her want soon

 $\underline{\eta \text{ arbænæ}}$ t(y)adl $\underline{\eta a \eta g e y a \eta}$, yo $\underline{k \text{ anymæ}}$, we sit roast we two, yes she say,

mæd(y)æm næmænæ t(y)ukma <u>nærmengæny</u> lak meat turtle cook we, eat

<u>nærægæny</u>, lak <u>nærægæny</u>, tæt <u>nærmængæny</u>, we two, eat we two stop we two

mæ, wut kirgit <u>neyan</u>, wut kirgit hey, ground dig you ground dig

<u>neyan</u>, mæd(y)æ wulærun t(y)adl <u>nangeyan</u>, you meat alligator roast we two (so we can roast alligator)

yo, win t(y)æt(y)æt <u>kanybade</u>, t(y)adl <u>ŋæragæny;</u> yes, fire light she, roast we two

t(y)al naŋgeyaŋ? ŋæ, poy <u>nabadiŋ</u> wara cook we two? yes go you paperbark

yær <u>neyan</u>, wara yærwat <u>nangeyan</u>, get you, paperbark cover we two

wulær t(y)al <u>nangeyan</u>, yærwut <u>nangeyan</u>, alligator cook we two, cover we two

wara nabadin, t(y)al naragæny, wara

paperbark you get, cook we two, paperbark

t(y)æna dawan <u>næragæny</u> wiRK, tœt with cover up we two, finish, stop

<u>nærmingæny</u>, <u>nærmingæny</u>, pibæræ nun we two, we two I don't know,

tæt <u>nærmægæny</u> paka, mæ mæd(y)æm warak sit we two hey! meat uncover

<u>kænymæ</u> ηawalaη, mæd(y)æm warak <u>kænyæ</u>, she say woman, meat uncover she,

mæd(y)æm warak <u>kænymæ</u>, wara wa <u>kænyæ</u>, meat uncover she, paperbark take she

niga <u>kanybade</u>, wara niga <u>kanybade</u>, mæd(y)æm bed she make, paperbark bed she make, meat

wa bara <u>kænyæ</u>, wara t(y)œl <u>kænyæ</u> wara like towards she, paperbark put down she paperbark

pænæ, yeyan pær t(y)æl yeyan pak pana on, he will cold leave he will bag in

pær t(y)æl yeyan, lak <u>nangeyan</u> mæd(y)æm, cold leave he will eat we two meat

<u>narbade nangabæ</u> <u>nangapmo</u>, poy <u>nangabæ</u>, we go, we go, we sit, go we

ηæ <u>nangamo</u> pær, poy <u>nangabæ</u>, kayik yes we sit cold go we sit sun

kamanga nda, wætet nangabæ ræk neyt(y)pær not now, quickly we go camp far

yo kænymæ, baeg wa kænyæ, t(y)ælup kænyæ

yes she say, bag take she fill she

 $\begin{array}{ccc} talal & \underline{\eta ey a} \\ carry & I \\ \end{array} \begin{array}{ccc} \eta a mana a, & t(y) an miyit(y) \\ turtles, & she \\ \end{array} \begin{array}{ccc} bag \\ bag \\ \end{array}$

 $\begin{array}{cccc} t(y) & \underline{k} \underline{x} \underline{n} y \underline{x} \\ fill & she & now & carry & she & let's go \end{array}$

poy <u>nærbængæny</u>, <u>nærbængæny</u> ræk pænæ, go we two we go camp to,

mæd(y)æm t(y)id(y)æ punbowat, mæd(y)ækmæd(y)æk meat this bundle, necks

ηæmæmæ kinæ mækæ? kud(y)æmæ tupma turtle where from? down there get

tæt <u>nærmingæny</u>, nulkawak mæd(y)æm! stop we two, children food!

mæd(y)æm nulkawak bapa bapa <u>kærmæ</u> food children, Dad, Dad they say

nulkawak, nyinit(y) mæd(y)æm lak <u>næræ</u>, children, what sort? meat eat you pl.

nawara? mæd(y)æm wup <u>pœran</u> wayt(y) gak, you pl. ? meat give they will all here,

wup waleymæ <u>kænybæm</u> pœraŋ wiRk; give go she they will finish,

t(y)ala kænymæ gak; næ t(y)ala kænymæ; wiRk

all right she say here yes all right she say; finish.

When I was swimming I seized a turtle. I caught many turtles. I grabbed at an alligator by the eyes. He bit me on the hand. "Ah! Oh!" I said.

"What's up?" my wife asked me.

"An alligator bit me on the hand".

"Oh?"

"Yes, he bit me on this hand, he bit me on this hand".

"Did he?"

"Yes; Give me a spear, give me the spear, the spear so that I can spear him as he lies there." My wife handed me the spears and I speared him with two spears. He wriggled about. I seized him, I seized him by the tail and dragged him up onto the bank. There I had a look at him. I smashed in his eyes. "Is he dead now?"

"Yes, he is dead", I said to my wife. "You take him back to the camp and cook the meat for us".

"Soon, soon we shall go; we shall take him back and roast him at the camp".

"Yes, we shall cook the turtle that I have just finished catching".

"We have a lot of meat now, so we can go".

"Yes, yes", she said.

"I have finished hunting, so I shall go back to the camp! We shall stop there". She lit a fire. "We shall cook the turtle. What about the alligator?"

"Wait", I tell her. "We'll roast him soon".

"Yes", she said, "we shall cook the turtles and eat them. Then we shall rest".

"Hey, you dig a hole so that we can roast the alligator".

"Yes, shall we roast him?"

"Yes, go and get some paperbark so that we can wrap him up in it. We shall roast him, and put him underground. You go and get the paperbark and we shall roast him. We shall cover him up with paperbark and sit down when we have finished." I forget now. We sat down. "Hey! It's time for us to uncover the alligator," I said to her.

"Yes" said my wife, and she uncovered him. She removed the paperbark and made a bed, a bed of paperbark. She took the meat and placed the meat on it. "He can cool off. He can stay on the bag. Then we shall eat him, eh?"

"Yes, he will cool off if we leave him. Then we shall eat him. We shall go and sit down."

"Yes, we shall sit down and when he is cold we shall go."

"There is no sun now. We had better go quickly as it is a long way to the camp."

"Yes" she said. She took a bag and filled it with turtle meat. I tied up the necks and carried the turtles over my shoulder. She filled a bag and carried it. "Come on, let's go home now." She wrapped the meat up in bundles.

"Where did you get the meat from?"

"From down there. We caught it."

"Yes," they said.

"We shall put it down." We sat down

"Children! Meat! Meat! Children!"

"Dadddy, Daddy" the children called out.

"What kind of meat are you eating? Turtle?" "Yes, we are going to eat turtle", they say. "What about you? We shall give meat to the others there." She went around . . . the meat to them. "That's all right then", she said.

"Yes, that's all right," she said. Finish.

Text 4. A7 Side 2.

poy yæbæm; winæ yaka yæd(y)æ nuy walk I boat ask I him

paragot; winæ kulput neyæŋ ŋaRka; whiteman boat take you me you take me along boat

wa neyan naRka? næ poy næbæm; wæny gæræ take you me? yes, go I paddle they

pædlæm; wæny kæræ kalbut; kak pændæ? paddle shore they arrive forward now?

ηæ kak pændæ; ηære kina nabayaη? yes forward now where you stay? where you going to sleep?

ya kinamalak nabeyan; næbætæ næppæræ oh half-way I stop when I will I don't know where I'll sleep. When I'm tired I sleep.

kud(y)a ηa beyaη; kinæ nabeyaη; wulman, there I stop where you stop? wulman

wulman pækæ na beyan; yinymæk pændæ wulman close by I stop tomorrow then

ηapmand(y)aη; ηapmand(y)aη kud(y)æ kanbalga I start I start there at kanbalga

ræk; yuw ηa beya η pæra η ; yuw ηa beya η camp look for I them look I

pœraŋ gak; tœt ŋapmo; yo t(y)ægæd(y)æ them here stay I will yes from? that

mækæ gak; napmand(y)an t(y)ælbænæ napmand(y)an from here I start morning I start

gak; paindim η abeya η η ad(y)a η η awala η here find I her wife

ηæd(y)ægak;pærpækærbæmbaramyhereclose as they come back

kulgubænæ; nyinit(y) wurkama kærbæm? half-way what work they?

yura borumma kærmæm kæbæm; nyinit(y)uŋ hole bore he he for what

borum kæbæ? tin kabade kabade kabade bore he he go he go he go

kabade ndæ yuw keyæ pærang he go now look for he them

pær kærme; t(y)arako; kæ kæbæ; here they are, good ? he go

t(y)igak, papalak, kaka palak næd(y)æ hey, father my uncle my son

palak kærmæm nulkawak; mæ kinimæ my they say children hey where

kænyeyæ? kud(y)a/mæ neyæ; t(y)inæ ræk? you been? there I stay; where camp?

wulman, kud(y)a/mæ ηeyæ; t(y)ælbænæ wulman there I stay morning

namant(y)ene(m) bara; t(y)agad(y)a bara kine? I start back from where?

kanbalga ŋawæ kæd(y)æm pœraŋ; a kanbalga find he them ah

t(y)i/bækæ; ŋura/ma kabade, kut(y)imæ kak, here close circumcise he go down away kut(y)imæ poy kæbæm gak; walpoka, down go he now good

mæ, η awala η η æd(y)æ t(y)inyana? kæmæm hey woman my where at? she say

bara t(y)id(y)æ pamala η wurkama kærbæm; creek that big work they

ye? ηæ paragot kæbæm, ηæ paragot oh? yes whiteman he stop yes whiteman

kæbæm kabade, kænd(y)æræ η and(y)it(y) paka he stop go land one

kæl kabæ, t(y)æræt kabæm, yuw keyæ go along he go down he look he

pæran gærbæm; yuw kæræ nun them they stay see they him

papalak papalak kaka palak æt(y)æ father father uncle brother

palak, næd(y)æ palak kærmæ nulkawakak my son my they call my children

mæ, kalbut keyæ ŋaRka mit(y)imo diŋgi hey take me he me Mr. Moore dinghy

kanbalga t(y)œl η eyæ; t(y)agad(y)a mæ tup kanbalga sleep I from there from reach

ηeyækanbalga; t(y)agat(y)æmæηeyæIkanbalgafrom thereI

tup η eyæ wi η ; yo wik t(y)e kæd(y)æ reach I you hey water this he is? nyinit(y) wik? wik larwal wik t(y)inæ water? water alcohol water where what kæd(y)æ? t(y)e kæd(y)æ pæk pænæ t(y)e he stand here he stand bag in this wiRk. finish. I went along. I asked the whiteman: "Will you take me along in your boat? Will you take me?" "Yes, I am going." They paddled and took me. "Are you going on now?" "Yes, I'm going." "Where are you going to sleep?" "I don't know where I'll sleep. When I'm tired I'll go and sleep down there." "Where will you stay?" "I'll stay with the old man. Tomorrow I'll start out. I'll stay there at Kanbalga camp and I'll look for them. I'll look for them there. I'll stay there. Yes, from there I'll set out early to find my wife. [They came back half-way]. What are they working at? They are drilling holes. Why are they drilling? For tin and gold." He went on and on and he saw them. "Here they are. Everyone is all right." "Hey, daddy, uncle," my sons call out. "Where have you been?" "I have been over there." "Where did you camp?" "I camped with the old man over there. In the morning I started back." "Where from there?" "He found them at Kanbalga." "Ah, that is near here." "He went to a circumcision. He came from a fight and then he came here." "Good." "Hey, where is my wife?" "She's at the big creek where they are working." "Is she?" "Yes, there is a whiteman there." He went, still within the same territory. He went along and went down. He saw them. They saw him. "Daddy, uncle, brother, son," the children called out. Mr. Moore took me in his dinghy. I went to the old man and slept there. I slept at Kanbalga. From there I reached Kanbalga. From there I reached you. "Is there any water here?" "What kind of water?" "Grog, where is it?" "It is in that bag over there." Finish.

Text Micky Moreen – Pungupungu

kamanga; t(y)æt nawalan nädyä pœtun, wa keya gak, yiboy karbadangany: nothing foot woman me belong take he here, flee they two

kamanga nun; wur nangeyan, nawalan mœna kamanga pœrangany; pinadye nothing him follow we two, woman man nothing them two; where

karbangany ya; kak wa keya minyan; wa keya; kak karbadangany; matarba they two go; away take he lover; take he; away they two go; track

kiny ba, matarba kiny ba naraba; wurma naraba pœran; wur nareyan pœran come go track come go we pl. follow we them; follow we pl. them

tyæt; yuw naeyan pærangany; yo yo, tyæt par karbandyurgany tyæt par; foot look we pl. them two; yes yes, foot here they go along foot here

par karbandyurgany, t(y)œt t(y)anmiyity, tyanmiyity tye keya; ye; η a; a here they go along, foot her, she here lie; oh; yes; oh

napa, wur nareyan pœran; wurma naraba pœran; wurma naraba pœran; yuw you go, follow we them; follow we them; se

ηareyaη pœraη; anegina ma; yaηaraη; a tyœt laηma; ηa, yaηaraηma we them; when then; today; ah foot wet; yes, today then

lanma; karmim karminany; pura karmingany marene pana; apma, palap wet; they they two sit; they sit shade in; quiet, approach

pœraŋgany; kana ka, nawakadya pœraŋgany; ŋara ŋarpmo; yo yo yol nawara them two; you, you approach them; us we sit down; yes; you pl.

narpmo; nadya ka, poy napa pœrangany, nawakadya pœrangany; kabam you sit; me then, go I them two, I approach them two; he go

pœraŋgany palap; a par karmiŋgany; a kana nuŋ paka wur ka ŋabam wiŋ them two approach; here they sit; you him close follow I you

naga nawaragany, ηadya paramba, ηamam pœraηgany, pala wara karba; who you two, me alone, I say them two, approach come out they

toyty wa poy napa ηadyaη, toyt wa poy napa ηadyaη; ηar paka wa poy go back take go you her; now close take go

napa; toyty wa poy napa nadyan nawalan tyamoyity pa; tyamoyity pa; you go; go back take go you her woman him now; him now

tyamoyity ηawalaη pa toyty wa poy napa; wup neyaη nuη; yo nama ka; him woman now go back take go you; give you him; yes you say

tyarako ma tyekadya ka; toyty wup neyaŋ nuŋ; parmany. goog now this one; go back give you him; finish.

Translation Pungupungu text: Micky 28.3.69

There was nobody there. I could not see my wife's footprints. He has taken her and they had run off together. He was not there either. "We shall track them, that married man and my wife who have run off together."

"Where did they go?"

"He took his sweetheart away; they went off together. Come on, let's track them down. We shall follow them. We shall follow their footprints. We shall look for them." "All right; there are footprints going along here. These are her prints; yes they are all right."

"Are they?"

"Yes."

"Oh, you go on and we shall follow them." We followed them for a long time. Then we came upon them.

"When were they made?"

"Today."

"Ah they are fresh prints."

"Yes, they are fresh today. They must be somewhere around here. They may be sitting under the shade of a tree. Quiet now. We'll approach them. You, you approach them. We'll sit down."

"All right, you fellows sit down. Me, I'll go up to them. I'll creep up on them." So he went up to them.

"Ah, they are sitting here. Ah, I've been following you and him. Who are you two. I said to them all by myself. I approached and they came out. You had better take her back; you had better take her back. You must take her immediately. You had better take that man's wife back to him. That is his wife, so you had better take her back and give her back to him. Yes you say; this is a good story. You go back and giver her to him. Finish.

Additional Vocabulary

forehead	midaŋ
shoulder	t(y)ælmæ
rib	t(y)arwa
thigh	pælæm

to swallow ηœlk to spit wudak t(y)æbak t(y)at to wipe patura to be frightened naŋgaŋ to breathe ηæηæ (dœlma) in naema (breath out) to fall down kærænyæ yuŋœldœt to turn to jump papt(y)at to play kænæk 1. talal (hand) to carry 2. palat(y) (baby on shoulder) 3. warma (hand flat) 4. pudup (against chest) dirty kalalk clean laenggaerik elder brother wædæ elder sister wædæ wædæ mænæ pæræk (m) younger sibling wædæ nawalan pæræk (f) father papalak mother kalanpalak father's sister ηæwæny father's brother papa mother's brother kakaŋ mother's sister ηæwæny mother's brother's son næŋæ mother's brother's daughter nænæræny father's brother's son næŋæ father's brother's daughter ηæŋæræny father's father koga father's mother æt(y)aŋ mother's father kagaŋ mother's mother æt(y)æŋ son niyan næd(y)æ daughter $\eta aye \, / \, \eta æræd(y) æ$ wife ηæŋæræny husband nanaræny pælak $\eta æd(y)æ$ wife's father papaŋ wife's mother ηæwæny to tell lies nyukœ

General Conversation.

