# TIWI TODAY

## A STUDY OF LANGUAGE CHANGE IN A CONTACT SITUATION

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# ABBREVIATIONS

The letters and numbers (following some examples and sometimes elsewhere) indicate the initials and approximate age of the speaker.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ~ | fluctuates with | cl/Cl | clause |
| --> | becomes synchronically | Co | Complement |
| > | becomes diachronically | com act | common activity |
| > | older than | com n | common noun |
| < | is derived from | compr | complementiser |
| < | younger than | CON | concomitative |
| # | word boundary | CONJ | conjunction |
| . | syllable boundary | CON.M | concomitative marker |
| - | morpheme boundary | CONT | continuous |
| [ ] | phonetic symbol | coord | coordinate |
| / / | phonemic symbol | CPVE | completive |
| / | in the environment of | CT | Children's Tiwi |
| Ø | zero morpheme | CTE | Children's Tiwi-English |
| = | is equivalent to | CV | connective |
| ± | plus or minus | def | definitive (word) |
| { } | basic shape of morpheme | Def | Definitive (constituent) |
| 1 | first person | dem | demonstrative (word) |
| 2 | second person | Dem | Demonstrative |
| 1+2 | first and second person | | (constituent) |
| 3 | third person | des | descriptive |
| ´ | primary stress | DIR | directional |
| ˜ | secondary stress | dist | distant |
| A | agent | ditr | ditransitive |
| Accomp | Accompaniment | DO | |
| adj | adjective | dir obj | } direct object |
| alt | alternative | DUR | durative |
| anim | animate | Eln | English loan noun |
| ANU | Australian National | Elv | English loan verb |
| | University | Elw | English loan word |
| ans | answer | EMPH | emph |
| appos | appositional | Eng. | English |
| asp | aspect | ESG | East Sutherland Gaelic |
| attrib | attributive | eve | evening |
| aux | auxiliary | EXCL/excl | exclusive |
| av | adverb | Expos | Exposition |
| B | Benefactive | f/fem | feminine |
| C | variable consonant | FRUST | frustrative |
| Ç | retroflex consonant | FUT | future |
| CAE | Cultivated Australian | GAE | General Australian |
| | English | | English |
| Cas MT | Casual Modern Tiwi | gen vs | general verb stem |
| CAUS | causative | HAB | habitual |
| cf. | compare | hum | human |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ICVE | inceptive | Poss/poss | possessive |
| IMP | imperative | Possd | Possessed |
| incl | inclusive | Possr | Possessor |
| inc form | incorporated form | predve | predicative |
| i.f. | | PREP | preposition |
| indef | indefinite | Pur | Purposive |
| infl | inflected | Q | question clitic |
| INTENS | intensifier | Q Cl | Quote clause |
| interr | interrogative | quan | quantifier |
| IO | indirect object | quan adj | quantifying adjective |
| IRREAL | irrealis | R | rhotic |
| itr | intransitive | Reas | Reason |
| L | Lateral | RECIP | reciprocal |
| lim | limiter (word) | REFLEX | reflexive |
| Lim | Limiter (constituent) | Rel Cl | relative clause |
| lim adj | limiting adjective | rel pn | relative pronoun |
| Lit. | Literally | REP | repetitive |
| loc | locative (word) | resp | respectively |
| Loc | Locative (constituent) | S | subject |
| LOC | Locative (prefix) | S | stop |
| LTT | Less Traditional Tiwi | SAE | Standard Australian English |
| m/masc | masculine | | |
| M | Modifier | SBVE | subjunctive |
| Mi | Milikapiti | sg/Sg | singular |
| Mdl | Modal | sing | |
| min | minimal | smtr | semitransitive |
| mnr | manner (word) | SO | secondary object |
| Mnr | Manner (constituent) | Sp Co | Speech Complement |
| morn | morning | spkr | speaker |
| MT | Modern Tiwi | st | stative |
| MV | movement | subj | subject |
| n | noun | T | Temporal |
| N | nasal | TE | Tiwi-English |
| n.d. | no date | temp | temporal (word) |
| neg | negative (word) | TOP | topic |
| Neg | Negative (constituent) | tr | transitive |
| Ng | Nguiu | TT | Traditional Tiwi |
| NgNg | *Nginingawila Ngapangiraga* (see bibliography) | V | vowel |
| | | vb | verbal |
| norm pn | normal personal pronoun | vbl | verbal |
| NP | non-past | VC | verbal complex |
| NP | noun phrase | vd | voiced |
| NS | prenasalised stop | veh | Vehicle |
| num | numeral | vls | voiceless |
| O/obj | object | viz | namely |
| OBL | obligational | vs | verb stem |
| P | past | vs 1 | class 1 verb stem |
| P | predicate | vs 2 | class 2 verb stem |
| Pi | Pularumpi (or Garden Point) | vs 3 | class 3 verb stem |
| | | w | word |
| PE | Pidgin English | WO | word order |
| pers | person(al) | | |
| ph | phrase | | |
| phonol | phonological | | |
| pl | plural | | |
| pn | pronoun | | |

Map 1: Melville and Bathurst Islands

# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

This work is a revision of my PhD thesis submitted to the Australian National University in February 1983. The work ´grew like Topsy´, from what was basically a description of the changes in the Tiwi language to a fuller work which includes a more extensive look at some of the possible reasons for the change and a comparison with other situations of languages in contact.[1]

There are still a number of questions unanswered; particularly with regard to the future of the language and the educational issues.

## 1.1 THE PEOPLE AND LANGUAGE

The Tiwi language is spoken by about 1,500 - 1,600 people, most of whom inhabit Melville and Bathurst Islands, about 65 km to the north of Darwin.

In any language, change is normal and the speech of the young people and children usually varies in style and vocabulary to some extent from that of the older people.

> Language change is natural, inevitable and continuous and
> involves sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic factors which
> cannot easily be disintegrated from one another. (Aitchison
> 1981:221)

However, in recent years Tiwi has undergone, and is still undergoing, change which is greater than normal, at least in such a relatively short time, so that the actual structure of the language is changing. Tiwi has been in contact with English for about 70 years.

> Languages in contact provide dramatic instances of changes
> in language structure and use. Within one generation,
> contact situations can lead to extensive rearrangement of
> language structure. (Blount and Sanches 1977:6)

Traditional Tiwi is a polysynthetic language, with the verb having an extremely complex internal structure. The verb is able to take a number of affixes, mainly prefixes, indicating such things as person of subject, object

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and indirect object, tense, aspect, mood, time of day and location. There may also be incorporated forms in the verb which may be either nominal or verbal in character. These forms are different from the corresponding free form nouns and verbs. (See also Capell 1967:43.)

This can be illustrated by a sentence which consists of a single verb.

Example (1-1)

> a   - *mpi*    - *ni* - *watu* - *wujingi* - *ma* -
> she - NON-PAST - LOC - morn - DURATIVE - with -
>
> *jirrakirningi* - *yangurlimay* - *ami*
> light         - walk       - MOVEMENT
>
> ´She (the sun) is shining over there in the morning.´
> (Lit: She is walking over there in the morning with a light.)

The Tiwi used by young people is not polysynthetic. In their speech most of the verbal inflection is lost, with periphrastic, analytic verb forms replacing the complex inflected verbs. The language has become mainly isolating. Non-verbal concepts which are expressed in the verb in the traditional language (sometimes by a free form word as well) are expressed only by a free form word (a noun, pronoun, adverb, locative or time word). This is illustrated in example (1-2), which is how example (1-1) might be rendered in the speech of young people. In example (1-2), the words, *japinari* ´morning´ and *kutawu* ´there´ are Traditional Tiwi words which could also have occurred in example (1-1). However, in example (1-2) words and constructions from English (or Pidgin English) are also used.

Example (1-2)

> *japinari* { *wokapat* }    *a*   - *mpi*       - *jiki* - *mi*   *kutawu*   *with*   *layt*
>            { *mup* }
> morning     { walk }     she - NON-PAST - DUR - do   there    with    light
>            { move }
> ´She (the sun) is walking/moving over there in the morning with a light.´

The type of change to which I am referring is not that to which Pilling (1970) refers. He claims that much of the vocabulary of the Tiwi language is changed over a period of time because of the taboos on the use of words which are similar to the names of people who have died. Through this custom loan words have probably come into the language and stayed. However, as Black (1979) points out the change is not as great as Pilling makes out, at least in the traditional language of the older people.[2]

No single reason can be given for the changes, though they can be seen to be a result of contact, which has brought about a change in the culture as well as the language. The various types of language contact phenomena and their relevance to the Tiwi situation are discussed in Chapter 8.

The remainder of this first chapter is concerned with the historical background of the Tiwi people, the present geographical, anthropological and educational situation, the reasons for and the methods of investigation into the changes in the language, acknowledgements, and the organisation of the body of the work.

## 1.2  HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE TIWI

Before the early 20th Century there was little contact between the Tiwi islands and the mainland, which was regarded by the Tiwi as the home of the dead.  'They regarded the inhabited world as composed of their own two islands and on those islands they lived a self-contained exclusive existence' (Hart and Pilling 1960:9).  This lack of contact can be seen in both their culture and language.  No other Australian language has been demonstrated to be closely related to Tiwi, although it shares some features, such as a similar sound system, with other Australian languages.  Tiwi is typologically more similar to the languages of the north-west of Australia, in that it has a similar type of pronoun system and shows some similarities in the type of verbal inflection.

Like other Australian Aboriginal groups, the Tiwi were traditionally nomadic hunters and gatherers.  However, the culture of the Tiwi, though fundamentally that of mainland Aborigines, has some features which are distinct.

> Male initiation ceremonies on the mainland focus upon
> circumcision or subincision or both; neither custom was
> practised by the Tiwi, who instead included in their
> initiation ritual the forcible plucking out of the pubic
> hair of the novice.  The degree of plural marriages
> achieved under their marriage rules was far greater than
> anything reported for the mainland; the absolute
> prohibition of any female, regardless of age, being without
> a husband was unknown elsewhere in Australia; certain
> features of the kinship system fail to conform to any of
> the mainland norms, and so on. (Hart and Pilling 1960:10)

There are also differences in their material culture, such as the absence of spear throwers, didjeridoos and boomerangs, which are found in nearby groups.

> ·Tiwi art·,· top, .(as on the elaborately painted and carved
> ceremonial grave-posts) is very unlike that of the
> mainland, being more conventionalised and indeed almost
> non-representational. (Osborne 1974:1)

It seems that, in general, contact with outsiders such as Malays was hostile, though Malay influence can be seen in the material culture, as in the use of dugout canoes.  Throughout the 19th Century the Tiwi increasingly came into contact with other people, particularly Europeans, through expeditions to the islands and through shipwrecks.  The attempt by the militia, in 1824, to establish Fort Dundas, near the present site of Garden Point, was unsuccessful. In order to communicate with the Tiwi to prevent them spearing personnel and buffalo, the commander of the fort repeatedly tried to capture and keep a Tiwi in order to teach him English.  However, all such attempts failed and no effective communication between the militia and the Tiwi was established.  The hostility of the Tiwi, as well as the death of many personnel from disease, was instrumental in the abandonment of the fort in 1829 (Hart and Pilling 1960:28).

Despite the ineffectiveness of the contact gradually the 'Tiwi were drawn out of their hostile insularity by curiosity and their desire for iron' (1960:100).  The Tiwi people began to accept the intrusion of Malay, Filipino and Japanese pearlers because of the iron tools and trinkets they exchanged. This opened the way for other outside contact as well.

Another intruder, Joe Cooper, who had earlier been chased out, returned to Melville Island in the early 20th Century to hunt the buffalo which had become wild since the fort had been abandoned. With him he took a strong force of Iwaidja men, equipped with horses and guns. Cooper had previously captured two Tiwi women so that his men could learn the Tiwi language in order to communicate with the Tiwi people. It was through these Iwaidja men that the Tiwi mainly learned more of the outside world. The influence of the Iwaidjas can still be seen in the number of Iwaidja loan words in the Tiwi language, such as *karluwu* ´no, not´, which is commonly used in place of the Tiwi equivalent, *arnuka*.

In 1911 a French priest, Father Gsell, founded a Roman Catholic mission on the south-eastern tip of Bathurst Island, opposite Paru, the last camp of Joe Cooper. Father Gsell took some Filipino workmen with him and over the years other priests and some nuns joined him. It was not until the nuns joined the mission that Father Gsell was accepted as a ´big man´ by the Tiwi whose wealth and status were measured by the number of wives acquired. The Tiwi women and children were then allowed to go to the mission (Pye 1977:34).

It seems that Father Gsell did not try to convert the older Tiwi people who were set in their ways but concentrated on the younger people and children. With the arrival of the nuns a school was established. The Tiwi marriage customs were affected by the action of Father Gsell when he bought a young girl as a ´wife´ in 1921, after she had repeatedly fled to him for refuge, rather than become the thirteenth wife of an old man. This was the beginning of a practice which continued for many years, so that Father Gsell later became known as the ´bishop with 150 wives´ (Pye 1977:41-42, see also Gsell 1956). The girls were brought up in a dormitory by the nuns and when they reached marriageable age they were married off to younger men, but apparently still through traditional channels (Hart and Pilling 1960:108).

This dormitory system for girls operated at the Bathurst Island Mission until the end of 1972. The Tiwi were never compelled to put their daughters in the dormitory and there was never one for boys, though there was a school which the boys could attend. The effect of both the dormitory and the school on the language is discussed in 8.2.1 and 8.2.3.1.

Following World War I, another outside contact had considerable effect on some Tiwi of southern Melville Island. Japanese pearlers provided a lucrative source of trade. In exchange for goods the Japanese had access to the Tiwi women. In the early 1930s the Australian government broke up the camp on the south coast of Melville Island and sent patrol boats to discourage the Japanese. However, the Japanese simply moved the centre of their operations to the north, near to what is now Garden Point or Pularumpi (Hart and Pilling 1960:105). In an effort to prevent the continuation of the trade a government ration station was set up there in 1937. This was later moved to the site of Snake Bay (now known as Milikapiti) in 1940, after an orphanage was established at Garden Point by the Roman Catholic Mission at the instigation of the government. This was for part-Aboriginal children, from among the Tiwi and from other Roman Catholic areas in the Northern Territory.

Late in 1967 the orphanage was disbanded and the children sent to Darwin, though some, who had grown up and married, stayed at Garden Point or later returned. A number of Tiwi people were transferred from Bathurst Island Mission on a voluntary basis. These, together with some Tiwi who had lived in the area all along and the part-Aboriginal people who had remained, as well as a few Mission personnel and government workers, formed a new settlement.[3]

## 1.3  THE PRESENT SITUATION

Over the years since contact the Tiwi have gradually ceased their nomadic life, so that today the Tiwi population mainly centres around these three settlements: Nguiu(Ng), formerly the Bathurst Island Mission, but now a town; Garden Point, which became known by one of its traditional names, Pularumpi(Pi), in 1980; and Snake Bay, officially known as Milikapiti(Mi). There are also a few Tiwi, mainly men, at Pikataramoor, a forestry village in the south of Melville Island and a number living in Darwin at Bagot Reserve, but these have not been consulted in this study.

The three main settlements have a certain measure of independence, under the control of an elected town council.  Each place has its own character, although there is considerable movement from one to the other.  It is difficult to get an accurate picture of the population size of each place partly because of this frequent movement and visiting back and forth.  Nguiu, the largest community, had about 1200 people in 1980, 110 of whom were non-Tiwi (mainly Europeans).  Pularumpi and Milikapiti are roughly the same size with 300-400 people each.  In 1978 there were about 20 adult Europeans, working at Pi in a regular capacity or married to someone who was.  I am not sure of the number of Europeans at Mi but believe there were more than at Pi.  At Pi, there were also four part-Aboriginal families, the parents of which had been brought up in the orphanage there (see 1.2, p.7).  Most of these had some grown up children living at Pi and also children in the school.  Since 1978 other people from the orphanage have returned with their families.  The Europeans who work at each place stay for varying lengths of time, some staying for a few years, others only for a week or two.

At Nguiu, there are a few industries established, such as silk screen printing, pottery, an artefact-making operation and a sewing factory.  Although various industries have been attempted at the other two places at different times there do not appear to be any that have succeeded very well.  In all three places, many of the people are employed in maintaining the community in some way as: teachers, health workers, garage mechanics, store employees and council workers, etc.  Others receive unemployment benefits.  In the last few years wages and unemployment benefits have been equivalent to those received elsewhere in Australia.

Over the years the society has changed from a hunter-gatherer one to one based on a money economy.  Most people live in fairly substantial houses with electric stoves and washing machines and in some cases a refrigerator (or even a freezer).  Most families have a transistor radio and many have a cassette recorder and/or television (perhaps even a coloured one or more recently videos).[4]

Food is mainly bought at the store, being basically fresh or tinned meat (when there is plenty of money), white bread (or damper made from store-bought white flour), rice, tea and sugar.  People will often buy food at the ´Take-away´ rather than cook it, particularly when their stove is broken and it means cooking on an open fire, though some women prefer to cook this way.

Hunting and fishing are still carried on, but mainly at weekends. Unemployed men and women sometimes hunt during the week, or workers sometimes after work, to supplement their food bought from the store or because they have very little money left out of the pay cheque.  Coming from a hunter-gatherer culture people tend to spend or gamble their money soon after it is received.

For four weeks in June and July (during the dry season) when the schools are on holiday most people 'go bush', for at least part of the time. These days 'going bush' means getting a ride out to one's 'country' in a vehicle, together with one's luggage, including blankets, spare clothing, as well as basic 'tucker': flour, tea, sugar and some tins of meat. During this time, the people do spend a lot of time hunting and gathering bush food, such as: wallabies, possums, carpet snakes, turtle eggs, fish, crabs, oysters, whelks, mussels, mangrove worms and yams. These days this seems to be the main time when stories are told around the camp fire.

Many people are now Roman Catholics, though there are still some who are unbaptised and not all who are baptised are regular church goers or have strong convictions. Although the church has tried to discourage the old ceremonies some are still continued. In particular, those concerned with the death of a person, the *pukumani* ceremonies, are considered important, even by practising Catholics. The significance of them appears to have changed for some people who seem to regard them simply as 'memorial' ceremonies. Most people, even young ones, take some part in these, though it seems to be only the older men and women who do the actual singing.[5] Children are still taught some of the dances.

The *kulama* ceremony or 'yam' ceremony is still performed though in a more limited way than the death ceremonies. This ceremony is supposed to be performed only by initiated males and is associated with initiation. 'The *kulama* ceremony is part of the sequence of events and rituals participated in by young male and female Tiwi in order to achieve the status of full adulthood' (Goodale 1980:220). At Milikapiti, some initiation was still taking place in the 1960s but not much (1980:225). I am not sure when initiation ceased at Nguiu but it seems to have been earlier than this, though the *kulama* ceremony is still performed each year by some people. Its main function now seems to be to placate the spirit so that the land will produce well.

The making of artefacts connected with the ceremonial life is still carried on by some older people. Some of these are used in ceremonies though most of them are made for selling to tourists, museums and artefact shops. 'The young ones do not want anything to do with traditional art such as bark painting and carving ceremonial spears and other such things' (Pye 1977:23). At Nguiu there has recently been an awakening of interest among some of the younger women in the making of artefacts for selling to tourists.

The Tiwi are caught between two cultures, wanting to keep some of the old ways but desiring the benefits from the new ways. Most seem to want their children to learn English but many desire that they retain Tiwi as well, hence the wish to have it taught in the school.


## 1.4  THE SCHOOL SITUATION

At Nguiu, there are two schools under the control of the Roman Catholic Mission. St Therese School caters for boys and girls up to and including grade 5 and for girls in grades 6 and 7 and Post Primary. Xavier Boys' School caters for boys in grade 6 through Post Primary. Apparently 'education in their own language goes back to Father McGrath', who was a dominant figure at the mission from 1927 to 1948 (Pye 1977:63).

From all accounts Father McGrath was a fluent Tiwi speaker and often used the Tiwi language in the church services. However, it is not clear in just which way the language was used in the schools. It would undoubtedly have only been oral teaching, as there was no written form of the language until recently, and it probably consisted of teaching assistants using the language to instruct children and perhaps in the telling of stories.[6]

In 1975, with the approval of the Tiwi people, a bilingual programme was commenced at St Therese School, under the direction of Sr Therese Ward and with the help of the SIL linguist, Marie Godfrey. Although it was realised that the children and young people were speaking differently from the older people, it was decided that the medium of instruction should be the traditional language in the early years with a gradual transition to English (since this is what was desired by the community). This meant that an extensive oral programme needed to be devised for teaching Tiwi, commencing in the pre-school and extending through the infants and primary years, with reading in Tiwi being taught in grade 1.[7]

Both the Pularumpi and Milikapiti schools are government controlled schools. Milikapiti has never had a bilingual programme, though at the time of my first field trip (1978), there was some time set aside each week for cultural studies, which seemed to consist mainly of an Aboriginal teacher telling a Tiwi myth, followed by the children drawing a picture of the story. During this time the Tiwi language was apparently supposed to be spoken.[8]

The Pularumpi community asked for Tiwi to be taught in the school and the programme from St Therese was introduced. It seems that the children responded better to lessons in the vernacular than they had to lessons in English. However, difficulties were experienced with the programme, possibly due to the lack of training for teachers and assistants to implement such a programme and even a lack of understanding of the type of programme it was.

Post-primary children from Mi and Pi go to Ng to attend the schools there (living with relatives) or to a high school in Darwin (living in a college). Some have gone even further afield, to Catholic schools in Melbourne and Townsville.

## 1.5  REASONS FOR AND METHODS OF INVESTIGATION OF THE CHANGES IN THE LANGUAGE

The question of the viability of the bilingual programme at Pularumpi was raised because of the apparent lack of comprehension and use of ´proper´ Tiwi by the children. There was a need to know if what the children were speaking was in fact just a developmental stage of the language with some loan words thrown in or if it was a changed form. For this reason I was employed by the Northern Territory Department of Education to study what the children were speaking in relation to the traditional language. This period of employment was spent mainly at Pularumpi, from June, 1978 to March 1979 with two very brief trips to Milikapiti and three slightly longer trips to Nguiu. A further field trip was sponsored by the Australian National University in May and June, 1980.

In view of the limited time of the original field work, the fact that I had very little knowledge of the Tiwi language before the study and very little background in sociolinguistics, the original aim of the thesis (first submitted

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in July, 1981) was basically a description of the changes, with a brief attempt
to explain the changes in terms of the sociocultural conditions and to relate
the Tiwi situation in some way to the wider scene of language contact phenomena
and linguistic change.

With this aim in mind, my field work was spent in gaining some knowledge
of the traditional language and in collecting data on the young people's
speech, mainly from children of about 6 years to 15 years but also from young
adults.

Some of the traditional language data and material are from my own
elicitation and observation and some are drawn from Osborne's book, *The Tiwi
language* (Osborne 1974). For most of the traditional language data, I am
indebted to Marie Godfrey who made available to me her tape recordings and
texts. Much of my understanding of the traditional language has come from
Osborne's analysis, particularly of the verbal structure, and this has provided
the groundwork of my own description, with some reanalysis, variation and
modification. Discussion and correspondence with Marie Godfrey has also been
very helpful and many ideas and suggestions have come from her, either directly
or indirectly. Where possible I have tried to acknowledge all work which is
not my own.

The data collected on the young people's speech are mainly in the form of:
    (i) tapes of stories, collected in a fairly formal situation at school
or in a more informal setting,
    (ii) tapes of spontaneous conversations, normally with me absent,
    (iii) more formal elicitation, and
    (iv) some tests designed to measure informally the comprehension and
production of traditional Tiwi by children.

A called-for revision has meant a more in-depth look at language contact
phenomena and the relationship of the Tiwi situation to these. Also, since
several months of 1982 were spent at Nguiu as a member of the Summer Institute
of Linguistics, I was able to look more closely at some sociolinguistic aspects
of the situation. Unfortunately, lack of time and resources has not permitted
detailed sociolinguistic study.

Subsequent to the further research and wider reading the next section of
this chapter and the final chapter have been considerably revised from the
original submission. The descriptive chapters (2-6) are basically unrevised
though some changes have been made as I have gained greater insight from the
additional research.


## 1.6  ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to all those who have made the production of this work
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become my relatives and friends, for their help and hospitality. I would like
to thank those who helped by providing data, helped transcribe tapes,
particularly Jacinta Woneamirri, Lydia Burak, Paulina and Carol Puruntatameri,

## 1.7 THE PRESENT LANGUAGE SITUATION

The present language situation among the Tiwi is a very complex one. It has been shown above (rather briefly), that the culture of the Tiwi people has undergone (and is undergoing) rapid change through contact with European-Australian culture. So too has the language situation changed. However, the present language situation cannot be simply attributed to the influence of English on the Tiwi language or be described in terms of a 'simple' bilingual situation.

Tiwi and English are indeed in contact (in the sense Weinreich 1970:1 proposes), in that they 'are used alternately by the same persons'. Nearly all Tiwi people (except perhaps the very youngest and some of the oldest) are bilingual to some extent.

However, the extensive linguistic variation that exists in the Tiwi speech community is not simply due to the influence of one language on the other but must also be attributed to the change in cultural and social factors. Largely through the work of sociolinguists, such as Hymes (1961), Ferguson (1959), Fischer (1958), Labov (1964, 1972a, etc.) and others, it has been seen that even in 'monolingual' societies variation is the norm rather than the exception. As Labov (1972a:203) says:

> The existence of variation and heterogeneous structures in
> the speech communities investigated is certainly well
> established in fact. It is the existence of any other type
> of speech community that may be placed in doubt.

As a society becomes more complex, with people having a greater number of 'communication roles' within the society, the language diversity tends to increase (Gumperz 1968). 'Community bilingualism, speech stratification or major stylistic variation seems to become possible only as the economic base expands to allow economic stratification' (1968:467). In the case of the Tiwi, other factors (which are directly or indirectly related to the economic situation), such as education and age, need also to be considered.

The verbal repertoire of the Tiwi speech community can be characterised by four 'languages' or 'codes'. These are: Traditional Tiwi (TT); Modern Tiwi (MT), which is an anglicised Tiwi; Tiwi-English (TE), which is a Tiwiised English, and standard Australian English (SAE).[9] Throughout the work other

varieties are discussed where relevant but these are not considered as ´codes´ but as varieties of the others. For instance, Children´s Tiwi (CT) and Children´s Tiwi-English (CTE) are considered as basically developmental stages of MT and TE. Less Traditional Tiwi (LTT), which is typically spoken by the 30 to 50 year old age group, is considered as ´imperfectly learned´ Traditional Tiwi. The styles of LTT seem to be fairly idiolectal with people having varying abilities in Traditional Tiwi.

Modern Tiwi, on the other hand, appears to be an emerging new code (a ´creolised´ Tiwi). MT is typically spoken by young people less than 30-35 years, though older people also speak it (as a second language). It would seem that most young people under about 30 years of age have not had their primary socialisation in TT (even a ´baby talk´ style of TT). The reasons for hypothesising this are discussed in 8.2.3.3.

I am using the term ´Verbal repertoire´ as Gumperz (1964a:138) defines it, i.e. ´the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction´. In talking of the Tiwi speech community I am referring to those people who normally live on Bathurst and Melville Islands, who are Tiwi by birth (with at least one Tiwi parent) and whose primary socialisation includes a Tiwi-code. For the purpose of this study I am not including Europeans or part-Tiwi whose primary socialisation has been mainly in English.[10]

The closest parallel to the Tiwi situation which I have found discussed is that of the Cree community of Calling Lake, Alberta, described by Darnell (1971).[11] Darnell discusses this situation in relation to the problems Indian children have in a predominantly white school system. She (Darnell 1971:157) speaks of the necessity

> to define the linguistic repertoire of Calling Lake in
> terms of at least four, not merely two languages. Only
> then can the continuum of bilingualism be classified
> meaningfully by characterising each individual´s competence
> (a social as well as a linguistic matter) in two or more of
> these ´languages´.

She briefly discusses these four ´languages´ (Standard English, Cree-English, Anglicised Cree and Traditional Cree) but does not describe them nor how they differ from one another.

There are some differences between the Cree and Tiwi communities. In the case of the Cree community ´many adults are virtual monolinguals in Cree while others are virtual monolinguals in English´ (1971:157). This is not true of the Tiwi community. While there are some adults who have no or little command of an English code there appear to be very few (if any) who have no or little command of a Tiwi code.[12] Like some children in the Cree community, most Tiwi children have some command of English when they enter school (or pre-school) but it is not the English of the class room. Darnell (1971:164) notes that:

> many Indian children seem to have virtually interchangeable
> constructions in Cree and English.

Although I have not studied the English of the Tiwi community in any depth, it would seem that this is the situation there as well. The Tiwi spoken by young children (CT) (and also the Casual MT of older children and young

people to some extent) converges with their Tiwi-English (CTE), in that
syntactically they are almost identical.  Unlike the case of convergence in
India discussed by Gumperz and Wilson (1971), much of the lexicon of these two
codes overlaps, as there are many loan words from English assimilated into MT
(and hence CT).  However, there are sufficient differences to regard them as
two distinct codes.  One of these is the use of TT-derived versus
English-derived pronouns and interrogatives.

Example (1-3)

CT:   *ya kilim tha, kwani*
CTE:  *a  kil   yu,  meyt*
      I   hit   you  mate
      'I'll hit you, mate.'

The transitive marker, -*im*, borrowed from Pidgin English (with which there
has also been considerable, though intermittent, contact over the years, see
8.2.1, always occurs on transitive English loan verb in MT (and CT) but need
not occur in TE (See also Chapter 8, note 58).

Even though the four codes can be seen to be distinct, in that there are
features which are characteristic of each, they overlap to some extent.
Perhaps they can best be represented diagrammatically as in Figure 1.1.
Children's Tiwi (CT) and Children's Tiwi-English (CTE) are shown separately
from MT and TE respectively, because they converge syntactically and I wanted
to show this in the diagram.

```
        TT
           LTT
              MT
                 CT
                 CTE
                    TE
                       SAE
```
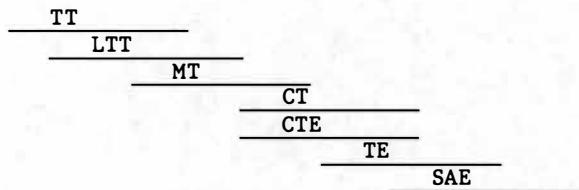
FIGURE 1.1   THE VERBAL REPERTOIRE OF THE TIWI COMMUNITY

The more formal styles of MT have features (particularly phonological)
which overlap with TT, so that example (1-4) is representative of both TT and
formal MT.

Example (1-4)

   *kuwan   awarra?*[13]
   who(m)   that(m)
   'Who is that?'

Although TT has polysynthetic verbs, consisting of a verb stem and a
number of possible affixes, there also exists a periphrastic verbal
construction consisting of a free form verb and an inflected auxiliary verb
(see 4.3, p.203).  This auxiliary may take the same affixes as the inflected
independent verb.  However, the minimally inflected verb (either independent or
auxiliary) need only have prefix(es) marking subject person and tense.  This
means that example (1-5) is representative of both TT and more formal MT.

TABLE 1.1  COMPARISON OF CODES IN THE VERBAL REPERTOIRE OF THE TIWI SPEECH COMMUNITY

|  | Traditional Tiwi (TT) | Less traditional Tiwi (LTT) |
|---|---|---|
| **Typically spoken by people ...** | over about 55 years[14] | between early 30s and 55 years |
| **Type of language** | polysynthetic | inflectional |
| **Verbal Forms** | inflected verbs with large variety of affixes; nominal & verbal incorporated forms | inflected verbs with less variety of affixes; fewer incorporated forms |
|  | Small class of free form verbs, | As for TT + some English loan verbs |
|  | + auxiliary verb with inflections as for independent verbs | |
| **Noun classification** | Gender distinction, masc. vs fem.: human nouns on basis of natural sex, non-human nouns on other semantic criteria. | |
|  | Agreement of most modifiers in gender (& number for human nouns) | |

| Modern Tiwi (MT) | Children´s Tiwi (CT) | Children´s Tiwi-English (CTE) | Tiwi-English (TE) |
|---|---|---|---|
| between 10 and early 30s | under 10 years | under 10 years | over 10 years |
| mainly isolating with some inflection | isolating with little inflection | isolating | mainly isolating with little inflection |
| some inflected verbs but limited number of affixes; no incorporated forms; small no. of verb stems | no inflected verbs (from TT) | English verbs, no standard English inflection | English verbs, + standard English inflections. |
| Large class of free form verbs (some TT forms, some TT imperative forms, many English loan verbs) | | | |
| Pidgin English transitive suffix, -im, on trans. English verbs | | | + -im on trans. verbs |
| + auxiliary verb | no inflected auxiliary verb | | |
| + aspect words:- tra(y) ´try´, s(t)at ´start´ pin ´past´ (Casual MT and CT only) | | + aspect words as for CT | + standard English auxiliaries |
| Gender distinction, masc. vs fem.: <br><br> human nouns and some non-human ones as for TT. | only human nouns | Semantic distinction of masc. vs fem. on basis of natural sex (unmarked on nouns); | |
| modifier agreement for human and some non-human nouns. | some confusion re modifier agreement | no agreement of modifiers | |

TABLE 1.1 (continued)

| | Traditional Tiwi (TT) | Less traditional Tiwi (LTT) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Pronouns** | minimal-augmented system<br>  1 + 2 min.:- *muwa*<br>  1 + 2 aug.:- *ngawa* | | |
| **Interrogatives** | interrog. pronouns:- ´who?´ m, f, pl;<br>´which?´ - m, f.  Other parts of speech<br>e.g. *awungana* ´how?´ | | |
| **Syntax** | Basic word order SVO but much variation | | |
| | Transitive clauses (with Direct Object) &<br>semitransitive (with Secondary Object) | | |
| | All nominal arguments for clauses (except some<br>locatives) are unmarked for case. | | |
| | Large number of conjunctions and clitics in<br>discourse | | |
| **Phonology** | Typical Aust. phoneme inventory: 5 stop &<br>nasal contrasts: p, t, ṭ, ṱ, k, m̪, n, ṇ, ɲ, ŋ;<br>+ prenasalised stops; rhotics: ř, ṛ; laterals<br>l, ḻ; semi-vowels: y, w, & velar fricative, g̱.<br><br>Four vowels: i, a, o, u. | | |
| | Syllable patterns: CV and V | | |
| **Borrowing** | Borrowed objects and<br>concepts by coined words<br>& some loans from Iwaidja,<br>Malay etc & English. | Only a few coined<br>words.<br><br>Loans from Iwaidja etc | |
| | Loans are mainly nouns; | Some Eng. loan verbs<br>& other words | |
| | Loans normally have TT phonology | | |

| Modern Tiwi (MT) | Children's Tiwi (CT) | Children's Tiwi-English (CTE) | Tiwi-English (TE) |
|---|---|---|---|
| singular-plural system *muwa > (ng)awa* ´we´ | as for MT but sound changes from TT more general, eg. *awa* ´we´ | Eng. pronouns, often no case or gender shown | Eng. pronouns; generally case & gender shown |
| ´who?´ - m,f, pl; ´which?´:- one form (m); Other parts of speech as TT basically but some sound changes, e.g. *awungana > awana* | | Basically Eng. but why?/what? > *wa* | Eng. but maybe some semantic changes |
| More rigid SVO order | Rigid SVO order | Rigid SVO order | Basically English word order |
| Trans./semitrans. > trans. with (DO) | | Clauses basically as Eng.; lack of infinitive construction (with ´to´) common; | |
| Borrowing of some Eng. loan prepositions to mark some cases, e.g. *fu/fo, from, with(i)* | | More Eng. preps, e.g. in, on, to. | basically preps as for standard Eng. |
| Fewer conjunctions and clitics; change in the functions of some. | | Basically English conjunctions | |
| ç>c; /ʈ/>/tš/, /t̪/; /ɭ/, /ɽ/>/r/? ɡ>∅,y,w,h; /NS/>/S/; ŋ>∅,y,w(word-initial) + fricatives: f, s, š; As TT + e and ə | | Basically as for CT, no voicing contrast; few CC clusters; not as many vowel glides as English | Variation from speaker to speaker - some close to Eng., others not as close; not as many vowel glides as English. |
| (C)(C)V(C)(C) | | (C)(C)V(C)(C) | Basically as English |
| No coined words | | Basically English vocabulary but some Tiwi words. | |
| are generally accepted as Tiwi words; | | | |
| More English loan verbs and other parts of speech; | | | |
| Older loans and loans in more formal MT have phonology closer to TT, newer loans are closer to English phonology | | Eng. normally modified towards Tiwi. | Eng. often modified towards Tiwi. |

Example (1-5)

    *kalikali yi   - mi*
    run      he:P - do
    'He ran.'

    MT is characterised mainly by the exclusive use of a free form verb, which may be preceded by loan aspect words, and which, in the more formal styles of MT (as in elicited speech or in recorded stories), is followed by a TT-derived auxiliary.  The LTT styles are characterised by the use of Tiwi verb stems and verbal inflections, though there may be less of these than in TT or they may be changed in some way.  These LTT styles have not been studied in detail and so the features noted for LTT (in Table 1.1) are mainly impressionistic.

    CT, typically spoken by children under 7 or 8 years, is a developmental stage of MT and so differs from child to child, though there are some common features (see Table 1.1).  It is mainly characterised by the non-use of a TT-derived MT auxiliary or by the non-standard use of one (see 4.3.1.2, p.205).

    The style I am calling Casual MT is similar to CT, in that a TT-derived auxiliary is normally not used and the past tense word, *pin*,[15] may be used, as in CT.  In both these varieties there is a rigid SVO word order.  Casual MT differs from CT in that the phonology may be closer to TT phonology (unless it is being used as a 'baby talk') and in the complexity of sentence structure (i.e. a greater use of relative and other subordinate clauses, see 6.9, p.295).

    Casual MT could be a later historical development than the more formal style of MT, which does have a TT-derived auxiliary, perhaps replacing the more formal style.  However, there is no clear evidence that this is indeed happening.

    Table 1.1 gives a summary of the various varieties in the Tiwi verbal repertoire.  The Tiwi-English column combines features from the whole range of Tiwi-English (i.e. from styles close to Pidgin English to styles closer to SAE).

    The verbal repertoire of the Tiwi community could be regarded as a continuum (as discussed by Bickerton, 1975), particularly for the English end of the spectrum.  There seems to be no clear boundary between the upper limits of TE and the lower limits of Standard Australian English (or Colloquial Australian English).

    Individuals in the Tiwi community command a range (or ranges) of the verbal repertoire and, as mentioned previously, most are bilingual in at least one code of Tiwi and at least one of English.  Very few people under 30-35 have a good command of TT but most older people have a command of MT, which they normally use in addressing young people.  Very few people have a good command of Standard or Colloquial Australian English, though most people's understanding is better than their production.  Some people, particularly young people (teenagers and those in their twenties) have a reasonable understanding of the Standard Australian (or even American) English used in films and TV.[16] Throughout the history of the mission at Nguiu the teaching of Standard English in the schools has been stressed and Pidgin English (PE) was not 'permitted'.[17] However, there is a considerable amount of PE spoken, though normally among themselves or with other Aborigines, not usually with Europeans.[18]  I am not sure of the relationship between this PE and that spoken elsewhere in the

Northern Territory,[19] since I have not studied it in detail.  I am not distinguishing it from TE (at least one style of TE).  The Tiwi situation regarding English seems to be very similar to that described by Elwell for Milingimbi, at least as far as the ´continuum´ is concerned, though there is little Pidgin English at Milingimbi (Elwell 1979:96ff).

The language situation of the Tiwi speech community is further complicated by the amount of code-switching which occurs.  At times it is difficult to determine where code-switching is actually occurring because of the amount of code-mixing there is in MT, particularly in Casual MT, in which English loans often have a pronunciation the same as or similar to their pronunciation in TE.[20]  The type of bilingualism and code-switching which occurs is discussed in more detail in 8.2.2.3.


## NOTES ON CHAPTER 1


1.  Because of commitments elsewhere, the author has not been able to undertake a major revision of the work, though, where relevant, comments have been included to indicate changes which may be more recent than in the original work, as the author has had a continuing contact with the Tiwi people over the succeeding years.

2.  Black (1979) by comparing a word list collected by Spencer (1914) and that of Osborne (1974) shows that there is little change and many of the tabooed words seem to have come back into the traditional language of today.

3.  Further information on the history of the islands and the culture of the people can be found in: Campbell (1834), Spencer (1914), Harney and Elkin (1943), Hart (1930), Hart and Pilling (1960), Goodale (1971) and Pye (1977).  For others see the bibliography in Pye (1977).

4.  These modern appliances are often broken and sometimes discarded.

5.  See Goodale (1980) for details of the *pukumani* ceremony.

6.  From reminiscences by some Tiwi women who were taught by Father McGrath, he appears to have taught English using Tiwi to some extent by comparing the two languages.

7.  In 1980, ´experience reading´ was introduced in grade 1, but I am not sure how this is being done, i.e. whether the teaching assistants are actually writing down what the children say or if they are changing it into ´more proper´ Tiwi.  I suspect that the latter applies.

8.  I have only returned to Milikapiti for brief visits since 1978 and so do not know what is happening there now.  It seems to be the general feeling of Nguiu people that more English is spoken there.

9.  See Elwell (1979:97ff), for a discussion of SAE, in relation to an Aboriginal community.

10. This study is primarily concerned with the Nguiu and Pularumpi communities and what is said about the Tiwi speech community may not always apply to Milikapiti. However, some examples throughout the work are taken from data collected at Mi and reference is occasionally made to the situation there.

11. The situation described by Douglas (1968) for the south-west of Australia, regarding Nyungar, Neo-Nyungar and Wetjala could be thought to be similar. However, the Neo-Nyungar he describes is more like the Tiwi-English code than Modern Tiwi. A situation similar to this may develop among the Tiwi if Modern Tiwi is replaced by Tiwi-English. (This is discussed further in 8.3.)

12. I am not sure about Milikapiti. There may be some Tiwi there who are monolingual in English. However, if so, they are likely to be bilingual in at least two English codes.

13. A final /i/ has been elided from *kuwani*.

14. With women it is older. Very few women seem to be recognised as ´proper´ TT speakers. It is well recognised that ´women are about a generation ahead of men in some changes´ (Bailey 1973). In the Tiwi situation the dormitory system has also had an effect on women´s speech (see 1.2, and also Chapter 8).

15. This is borrowed from Pidgin English (see Chapter 8, note 59).

16. Some Tiwi read English novels and magazines, though most who read limit their reading to comics.

17. Again I am not sure about the situation at Milikapiti.

18. Some older people who do not command a style close to SAE use a Pidgin English (or ´basilectal´) style in speaking to Europeans. This English code is similar syntactically to Children´s TE but there are other differences, particularly phonologically.

19. The Pidgin English, Aboriginal English or Creoles spoken elsewhere in Australia are discussed by various people under these different names (e.g. Hall 1943, Fraser 1977, Jernudd 1971, Hudson and Richards 1976, Hudson 1981, Sharpe and Sandefur 1976, Sandefur 1979, Sommer 1974, Vaszolyi 1976, Crowley and Rigsby 1979).

20. I am using ´code-mixing´ here in much the same way that Gibbons uses it for the speech of students at the University of Hong Kong (Gibbons 1979), i.e. in forming a new code, though with some difference (see 8.2.2.3, p.340 and note 32, p.362). See also Canfield, 1980, for code-mixing in Navajo-English. In contrast to this, ´code-switching´ refers to the choice of one code versus another. These codes may be alternated even within the one conversation or speech.

# Chapter 2

## PHONOLOGY

### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

In considering the total range of the verbal repertoire of the Tiwi speech community it is difficult to define an overall sound system. At the two ends of the continuum are the sound systems of traditional Tiwi and English. Through the range between the two extremes there is a complex intermingling of these two systems, producing in some cases new phonemes or new allophonic variations. In general, a greater influence is exerted by TT. Tiwis who speak a version of English close to standard English still usually have an 'accent', particularly in their vowel quality and their production of some English consonant clusters. On the other hand, TT is influenced very little, if at all, by English phonology.

TT is like other Australian languages in most aspects of its phonology. In common with typical Australian languages it has the following consonantal features and points of articulation: lack of contrast between voiced and voiceless stops; and bilabial, lamino-dental, apico-alveolar, lamino-palatal, apico-domal, and velar stops and nasals (Dixon and Blake 1979:19-20). It has a single laminal series with lamino-dental and lamino-palatal stops being allophones of the one phoneme, and with the nasals following the same pattern. There are two rhotics and two laterals and the semi-vowels, *w* and *y*. In general, Australian languages lack fricatives but a few in the north-west have a velar fricative; e.g. Iwaidja and Maung (Capell 1962:129). Tiwi is another of these languages. As in other Australian languages there are only a few contrastive vowels (four).

The incorporation of new sounds from English is largely dependent on age and education. Older people, particularly those for whom TT is the norm, when using loans in Tiwi usually use a 'Tiwiised' version such as /piʈipiʈi/ for 'fish' or /ʈukuli/ for 'school', even though they may use a more anglicised pronunciation when speaking English. On the other hand younger speakers will often use an anglicised version, such as /fɪš/ (or perhaps /piš/) and /skul(i)/, in their style of Tiwi. The version chosen by young people often seems to depend upon the formality of the speech or the age of the addressee. The forms with Tiwi phonology seem to be used more in the stories given and the elicited data or when speaking to older people, and the more English forms in spontaneous speech with their peers.

While new sounds from English are coming into the Tiwi language some sounds from TT are tending to drop out, such as the apico-domal (post-alveolar or retroflex) consonants and the velar fricative, others may be changed in some way. These changes are discussed in more detail in 2.3, p.33.

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Even with TT, it is difficult to posit a simple uniform system as there seems to be much variation from speaker to speaker and even within the speech of one person.  This variation is probably due to changing forms or perhaps there may be sociolinguistic differences, though this has not been studied in detail.  TT itself is not a stable entity, so that what is considered 'correct' or 'proper' Tiwi now was probably not so 'proper' 20 or 30 years ago.  Even in the few years since Osborne did his field work, 1966 and 1971-72 (Osborne 1974:ix), there seem to be changes in some words.  For instance, he claims that the word for 'friend (m)' is *mantani*, always having a prenasalised stop (1974:20), but I have often heard it without the prenasalisation, i.e. *matani* [mʌtʌ́ni].  Some people seem to fluctuate between the two versions.

In comparing word lists, given by investigators over the years, it is hard to determine what changes may have taken place because of the variation in symbols used for transcription.  It is also difficult to tell to what extent early investigators heard and recorded the differences between dental, alveolar, palatal and post-alveolar consonants.  A comparison of the symbols used by Osborne, Godfrey and myself are given in Appendix 3.

If we compare Spencer's word list (Spencer 1914) and the TT spoken today, there do appear to be some changes either in phonemes within different words or in allophonic variations.  In many of these there does not seem to be a regular pattern but individual words have a phoneme changed here or there, e.g. *makijaba* (Spencer) > *wakijapa* (my orthography – see Table 2.9), 'bitter mangrove worm', *punkinyi* > *pa(n)kinya* [pʌ(ŋ)kíɳʌ] 'first time'.  A few changes do seem to be more regular, in that they occur in several words, such as ɲ > w / a __ u,i, e.g. {mindanunga} > *mintawunga* 'stringy bark', *anuluara* > *awulagha* 'yesterday',[1] *burabanili* > *parripawurli* 'mud'.  Some of these variations can possibly be explained by the practice of tabooing words similar to the name of a dead person.  The words which are tabooed appear to come back into the language usually, but perhaps when they come back they may be slightly changed.

Some of the variation apparent today may be due to former regional dialects.  Pilling says that the 'native speakers do not recognise any strictly local differences or dialects' though there is considerable ideolectal variation in the phonemes (Pilling 1970:258).  However, Pilling does give some examples of variations which can be traced to particular groups living away from the Mission, such as *napi*[2] instead of *kapi* 'toward' and *arlapa* instead of *arnapa* 'wait'.  Although he recognises that 'the Tiwi denial of dialect variation, mentioned earlier, is of course, not proof that local dialects were formerly absent in their speech' (1970:259), he thinks that the emergence of dialects is relatively recent in that the examples of differences he found were given by people under thirty.

It seems that the Tiwi people rarely met or acted together as a tribe and 'for daily and yearly living the important group was the band or horde, of which there were nine' (Hart and Pilling 1960:11).  These bands were regional groups which were united in their tie to a particular territory, or 'country'.  It seems unlikely that there was no regional variation in the language, particularly between the two extremes of the islands.  However, there was considerable movement between bands and, in particular, a woman might change her band residence frequently during her life (1960:12).  Because of the fluidity of movement, regional variation was probably not very great and probably consisted mainly of differences in vocabulary or in the pronunciation of words.

Regional variation is evident to some extent between the three settlements of today. For instance, in some vocabulary tests conducted, Milikapiti children tended to give /piliŋkiti/ [pɪlɪŋkíti]~[pɪlíŋkɪti][3] for 'cry' while Nguiu and Pularumpi children tended to give /pilikiti/ [pɪlɪkíti]~[pɪlíkɪti].

Although adults were not tested these tendencies appear to reflect adult usage noted in the three places. Osborne, who did most of his work at Milikapiti, records the word as *pirlinkiti*, whereas in 'Nginingawila Ngapangiraga' (1980), which is largely indicative of Nguiu speech, it is listed as *pirli(n)kiti* (i.e. /piḷi(ŋ)kiti/).

Since the nine bands have now mainly congregated around the three settlements and there is a lot of movement between them, differences which may formerly have been regional now show up as variation between individuals (or family groups perhaps) within the total Tiwi speech community. At the same time, new regional variations may be emerging. These variations pose problems in the analysis of the phonology of TT before even considering the variations due to the influence of English.


## 2.2 SUMMARY OF TRADITIONAL TIWI PHONOLOGY

This summary is based upon consideration of my own data and observations and an evaluation of earlier descriptions, in particular those of Osborne (Osborne 1974:9-21) and Godfrey and Leeding (Godfrey and Leeding 1974). A detailed discussion of these analyses and my own conclusions is presented in an unpublished paper (Lee 1982).


### 2.2.1 STRESS IN TT

Primary stress (´), is predictable and therefore non-phonemic, occurring on the penultimate syllable of the word.[4] In words of more than three syllables a secondary stress normally (`) occurs on the initial syllable. In these words the positions of other secondary stresses are more difficult to predict as the situation is different for nouns and verbs. Osborne (1974:21) gives a detailed discussion of this, saying that in verbs with incorporated forms (see 4.2.1.1, p.160) a secondary stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the incorporated form (as well as on the initial syllable of the verb) and gives the example:

Example (2-1)

```
/t̀i  - ni  -  pə  -  kə̀pi  -  wamìni  -      amaɲípa/
(she:P - LOC - away - cooked:shellfish - nothing(?) - get:up)
'she came over for some cooked oysters'
```


### 2.2.2 INTERPRETATION IN TT

Retroflex consonants and homorganic nasal-stop clusters are each interpreted as single segments (see Lee 1982).

Example  (2-2)

(a)  [mɪnəmʌ̆ʈi ]    /minimaʈi /    'generous'

(b)  [kʌřʌ̆mpi ]    /kařaᵐpi /    'far away'

The phonetic sequences of labialised consonants followed by a low vocoid (i.e. [Cwʌ], [Cwɒ] or [Cwɔ]) are interpreted as /Co/ and the sequence [Cwi:] as /Cuyi/ (see Lee 1982).

Example  (2-3)

(a)  [pwɒ̆ʈʌ]    /poʈa/    'bone'

(b)  [ʌḷǐpwʌ]    /aḷipo/    'coconut'

(c)  [kwǐ:]    /kuyi /    'towards'

The sequence of /w/ followed by a low vowel is interpreted as /wa/ (see Lee 1982).

Example  (2-4)

(a)  [wɒ̆ʈʌ]    /waʈa/    'bush'

(b)  [wɔŋʌ̆tʌ]    /waŋata/    'alone'

The unstressed high vocoids, [ɨ] and [ə], are interpreted as allophones of /i /, except where they fluctuate with the high back vocoid, [o], because of the environment (e.g. contiguous peripheral consonants and/or a back vowel in a following syllable, particularly a stressed syllable).  Where [ə] fluctuates with [ʌ] in unstressed syllables it is interpreted as /a/ (see Lee 1982).

Example  (2-5)

(a)  [kɨr̥ɨʈǐni ]  ~  [kər̥əʈǐni ]        /kir̥iʈini /        'small (m)'

(b)  [məřəkəpəpóni ]  ~  [muřʌkopopóni ]    /mur̥akupupuni /  'country'

Word initial high vowels are interpreted as /yi / and /wu / (see Lee 1982).

Example  (2-6)

(a)  [ɪkwɔ́ni ]  ~  [yɨkwɔ́ni ]    /yikoni /    'fire'

(b)  [opɔ́ŋʌ]  ~  [wopɔ́ŋʌ]    /wupunga/    'grass'

Vowel glides and the long vowels, [i :] and [o :], are interpreted as sequences of two syllables with the intrinsic semi-vowel as a phoneme between the vowels (see Lee 1982).

Example  (2-7)

(a)  [tɛˈkʰwɔ́pɪ]      /tayikuwapi/      'many'

(b)  [yói ]           /yoyi /           'dance'

(c)  [ki :ʄíni ]      /kiyiʄini/        'small(m)'

(d)  [nɪ ᵑkíː]        /niᵑkiyi/         'then'

(e)  [tɒːlóʌ]         /tuwuluwa/        'head'

(f)  [tʌmóː]          /tamuwu/          'sit!'


### 2.2.3  TT PHONEMES

The number of phonemes posited is 22 consonants and four vowels.  These are shown in Tables 2.1 and 2.2.

TABLE 2.1     TRADITIONAL TIWI CONSONANTS

|  | Apical alveolar | Apical post-alveolar | Laminal dental/ palatal | Peripheral dorsal | Peripheral labial |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| stop | t | ʈ | ʄ | k | p |
| prenasal-ised stop | nt | ɳʈ | ɲʄ | ŋk | mp |
| nasal | n | ɳ | ɲ | ŋ | m |
| lateral | l | ɭ | | | |
| rhotic | ř | ɻ | | | |
| semi-vowel | | | y | g | w |

TABLE 2.2     TRADITIONAL TIWI VOWELS

|  | Front | Back |
|---|---|---|
| High | i | u |
| Low | a | o |

### Consonants

The contrasts are shown where possible between the stressed vowel /a/ and a final /a/ or /i/.  The examples in parentheses are between unstressed (or weakly stressed) vowels.

|  | a --- a |  |  | a --- i |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| t | /tiŋata/ | 'beach' | /tiŋati/ | 'sand' |  |
| ṭ | /waṭa/ | 'bush' | /ʃaʈiŋaʈi/ | 'young man' |  |
| ̌ʈ | /piřaʈa/ | 'rice' | /pikaʈi/ | 'sword fish' |  |
| k | /ʈiřaka/ | 'wallaby' | /ʈaliwaki/ | 'bush potato' |  |
| p | /aṇapa/ | 'wait!' | /papi/ | 'come out' |  |
| nt | /mamanta/ | 'friends' | /-wanti/ | 'smell' |  |
| nṭ | /waṇṭa/ | 'true' | /yuwaṇʈi/ | 'water goanna' |  |
| ɲʈ | (/maɲʈaŋa/) | 'stick' | /puṛaɲʈi/ | 'like' |  |
| ŋk | /awiṛaŋka/ | 'new(f)' | /taŋkinaŋki/ | 'white-breasted sea eagle' |  |
| mp | (/ampaṛuwu/) | 'widow(er)' | /kařampi/ | 'far away' |  |
| n | /mamana/ | 'slowly' | /piyani/ | 'sleep' |  |
| ṇ | /ařaṇa/ | 'be careful' | /-kuṛuwaṇi/ | 'greet' |  |
| ɲ | /maɲa/ | 'all right' | /kunaɲi/ | 'smoke' |  |
| ŋ | /kintaŋa/ | 'foot' | /kaŋi/ | (preposition) |  |
| m | /kama/ | 'why?' | /ařami/ | 'maybe' |  |
| l | /kapala/ | 'boat' | /kali/ | 'run' |  |
| ḷ | /ʈampinaḷa/ | 'cliff' | /kapaḷi/ | 'fail to hit' |  |
| ř | /ʈapařa/ | 'moon' | /kaři/ | 'when' |  |
| ṛ | /mampaṛa/ | 'first time' | /ʈapinaṛi/ | 'morning' |  |
| y | /kamaya/ | 'why?' (to a man) | /yiřikipayi/ | 'crocodile' |  |
| g | /kamaga/ | 'why?' (to a woman) | /-minagi/ | 'dance' |  |
| w | /ŋawa/ | 'we' | /awi/ | 'hey!(pl)' |  |

## Vowels

Primary stress (penultimate)     Secondary stress (initial)

| i | /maʈiřa/ | 'playing card' | /tiŋatiŋa/ | 'going along beach' |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| u | /ʈuřa/ | 'church' | /tuŋkuɲiŋa/ | 'type of snake' |
| a | /ʈařa/ | 'horse' | /taŋaṛima/ | 'camp' |
| o | /aɲʈořa/ | 'male wallaby' | /toŋulaka/ | 'canoe' |

### 2.2.4 PHONETIC REALISATIONS OF TT PHONEMES

In this section I am dealing with the phonetic realisations of phonemes in a very general way, particularly with regard to the vowels. For a more detailed account see Godfrey and Leeding 1974.

### 2.2.4.1 TT CONSONANTS

(1) Stops. There is no contrast between voiced and voiceless stops and the amount of voicing varies from speaker to speaker. The stops seem to be basically voiceless and unaspirated, hence the choice of the voiceless series of stops for the phonemic symbols. Voiced variations often occur inter-vocalically, particularly in the prenasalised stops.

(2) Laminal consonants. The laminal stops, nasals and prenasalised stops have dental and palatal allophones. Normally the palatal variant occurs before the high front vowel /i/ and the dental variant before the other vowels, though there may be some variation in this. Initially /ɲ/ is often realised as [ɲ] which may fluctuate with [n̪] before vowels other than /i/ (see Lee 1982).

Example (2-8)

(a) [ɲɔ́ŋʌ] ~ [n̪ɔ́ŋʌ]    /ɲoŋa/       'other(f)'

(b) [moḻokɪɲíni]          /muḻukiɲini/   'pot bellied(m)'

(c) [moḻokín̪ʌ]          /muḻukiɲa/    'full (of food)'

(d) [ʈɪʈi]              /ʈiʈi/        'bad(m)'

(e) [t̪ʌpʌ́řʌ]          /t̪apařa/     'moon'

(f) [t̪ɔ́řʌ] ~ [ʈɔ́řʌ]    /ʈuřa/       'church'

(3) The alveolar rhotic, /ř/, has two allophones the rhotic flap, [ř] and rhotic trill [r̃]. These fluctuate or vary from speaker to speaker, with the flap being more common.

(4) The velar fricative, /ɡ/, is usually only lightly articulated although it is voiced. It is often hard to distinguish from [w] but there is a clear distinction, at least for older speakers.

Example (2-9)

(a) [nʌŋkət̪ʌ́ɡʌ ]       /naŋkitaɡa/    'there'

(b) [ŋʌ́wʌ]            /ŋawa/        'we'[5]

### 2.2.4.2 TT VOWELS

The realisations of the vowel phonemes are shown in Figure 2.1. The symbols used do not necessarily represent sounds exactly corresponding to the cardinal vowels normally represented by the symbols. Because there are so few

contrastive vowels in Tiwi, the range of the allophonic variation for each
vowel is much wider than for the corresponding vowel in English. It is beyond
the scope of this work to go into great detail about the quality of the
allophonic variations and all the possible environments in which each variation
occurs. Only the more obvious ones are noted.[6]
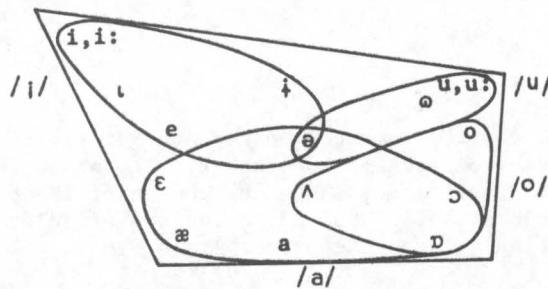


FIGURE 2.1   PHONETIC REALISATION OF VOWELS IN TT


(1)  /i/  The basic allophones are:

    [i],  the high front close vocoid,
    [e],  the mid front close vocoid,
    [ɩ],  the high front open vocoid,
    [ɨ],  a high central close/open vocoid (unrounded),
    [ə],  the mid central close vocoid.

    The allophonic variations in the various positions in the word are:

    (i)  syllables with primary stress:

[ɨ]  occurs contiguous to /w/

Example  (2-10)

    [ɩřɨwɪ́nɩ]        /yiřiwini/    'cold'


[i]  occurs before /y/, i.e. phonetically before another vowel,

Example  (2-11)

    [ŋíʌ]           /ŋiya/        'I'


[i:] occurs as a final stressed vowel but interpreted as /iyi/,
       (see 2.2.2    and Lee 1982).

Example  (2-12)

    [ʌḷətɨwɪ́:]    /aḷitiwiyi/   'female wallaby'

[ə] occurs in unstressed or weakly stressed syllables (see previous example).

[ɩ] occurs elsewhere,

Example (2-13)

(a) [mwɒɭíkɩ]      /moɭiki/      'bathe'

(b) [ʌowříni]      /awuřini/      'man'


(ii) finally, [i], [e] and [ɩ] fluctuate, (particularly in fast speech). [i] is more common.

Example (2-14)

(a) [ʌrə̢ʈɩlʌ́ni]                  /aɽiʈilani/ 'hermit crab'

(b) [ɩkwɔ́ni] ~ [ɩkwɔ́ne] ~ [ɩkwɔ́nɩ] /yikoni/      'fire'


(iii) initially [i̡], [ɩ], and [y̶] fluctuate and are all interpreted as /yi/ (see Lee 1982).

Example (2-15)

[iřəkəpέi] ~ [ɩřəkəpέi] ~ [y̶řəkəpέi]   /yiřikipayi/ 'crocodile'


(iv) in initial syllables, /Ci/, where C is not /y/, [i] occurs before /y/ and [ɩ] normally occurs elsewhere.

Example (2-16)

(a) [ŋiowóni]      /ŋiyuwuni/      'my older brother'

(b) [kɩⁿtʌ́ŋʌ]      /kiⁿtaŋa/      'foot'


(v) in other weakly stressed syllables [ɩ] normally occurs, though [e] may also occur in some environments,

Example (2-17)

(a) [ʌrɩʈɩlʌ́ni] ~ [ʌreʈɩlʌ́ni]   /aɽiʈilani/      'hermit crab'

(b) [pʌʈɩpʌʈɔ́:]                  /paʈipaʈuwu/      'egg'


(vi) in unstressed syllables [ɨ] and [ə] fluctuate, (see Lee 1982).

Example (2-18)

[kʌkərə̢ʈfwi] ~ [kʌkɨrɨ̢ʈfwi]   /kakiɽiʈiwi/      'children'

(2)  /a/  The allophones are:

[a],  a low central open unrounded vocoid,
[ʌ],  a low central close unrounded vocoid,
[æ],  a low front unrounded vocoid,
[ɛ],  a mid front open unrounded vocoid,
[ɔ],  a mid back open rounded vocoid,
[ɒ],  a low back open rounded vocoid,
[ə],  a mid central close unrounded vocoid.

[ɛ] and [æ] fluctuate before /y/, ([ɛ] is more common)

Example   (2-19)

(a)  [tɛɪkwɒ́pi̱ ]                    /tayikuwapi/      'many'

(b)  [-wɛyóř̌i]  ~  [wæyóř̌i ]          /-wayoři/         'ask'

[ɛ], [æ], and [ʌ] fluctuate following /y/

Example   (2-20)

(a)  [yɛ́ti ]  ~  [yǽti].  ~  [yʌ́ti ]   /yati/           'one'

(b)  [tɛyʌ́mʌ]                        /tayama/          'dingo(f)'

[ʌ], [ɒ], and [ɔ] fluctuate following /w/, though finally the normal
realisation is [ʌ],[7]

Example   (2-21)

(a)  [wʌ́ʈʌ]      ~     [wɒ́ʈʌ]         /waṭa/            'bush'

(b)  [wɒᵑkɪ́ni]   ~   [wɔᵑkɪ́ni ]       /waᵑkini/         'dog(m)'

(c)  [-yuʌ́ni ]   ~   [-yuɒ́ni ]        /-yuwani/         'younger brother'

[ʌ] and [ə] fluctuate in unstressed or weakly stressed syllables, particularly
in fast speech,

Example   (2-22)

(a)  [ʈəř̌əkəḷʌ́ni]~[ʈʌř̌ɪkʌḷʌ́ni]       /ṭaṛikaḷani/      'turtle'

(b)  [kətəʈʌ́ᵒnɪ] ~ [kɪtʌʈʌwɪ́ni]       /kitaṭawini/      'bread'

    Elsewhere the allophones [ʌ], [a], and [æ] fluctuate, the quality often
depending upon the environment, such as [æ] near a laminal or alveolar.

Example (2-23)

(a)  [ʌɾɪʈʊlʌ́ni ] ~ [ʌɾɪʈʊlǽni ]   /aɾiʈilani/      'hermit crab'

(b)  [ɪŋʌ́ʈi ]   ~   [ɪŋáʈi ]       /yiŋaʈi /      'plenty'

(c)  [koɪʌḷʌ́gʌ] ~ [koɪʌḷágа]      /kulaḷaga/      'hunt'


(3)  /u/  The allophones are:

    [u],  a high back close rounded vocoid,
    [o],  a high back open rounded vocoid,
    [ə],  a mid central close unrounded vocoid.

[u] occurs fluctuating with [o] before /w/.

Example (2-24)

    [moʌ́ni ] ~  [muʌ́ni]      /muwani /      'goanna'


[o] and [ə] fluctuate in unstressed or weakly stressed syllables (see Lee 1982).

Example (2-25)

    [ʌɾəkəlʌ́ni] ~ [ʌɾɪkoɪʌ́ni]  /aɾikulani/      'big(m)'


[o] occurs elsewhere.

Example (2-26)

(a)  [opóŋʌ]    ~   [wopóŋʌ]      /wupuŋa/      'grass'

(b)  [moᵑkwóŋʌ]            /muᵑkoŋa/      'stone axe'

(c)  [muɾ̆ólʌ]             /muɾula/      'hair'

    There are no occurrences of /u/ finally, except following /w/, when it seems normally to be realised as [o].  Long vocoids [o:] or [u:] are interpreted as /uwu/ (see 2.2.2(vi) and Lee 1982).

Example (2-27)

(a)  [nʌᵑkɪtʌ́ᵒ]         /naᵑkitawu/      'there'

(b)  [ʌᵐpʌɾú :] ~ [ʌᵐpʌɾ̆ó :]  /ampaɾuwu/      'widow(er)'

(4) /o/ The allophones are:

[o], a mid back close rounded vocoid,
[ɔ], a mid back open rounded vocoid,
[ɒ], a low back open rounded vocoid,
[ʌ], a mid central close unrounded vocoid.

[ʌ], [ɒ], and [ɔ] fluctuate following phonetic labialised consonants or peripheral consonants (see Lee 1982).

Example (2-28)

(a) [mì̥lʌᵐpwó̥r̥ʌ] ~ [mì̥lʌᵐpwɔ́r̥ʌ]        /milampoɾa/ 'foot'

(b) [pwʌʈíni]    ~    [pwɒʈíni]        /poʈini/    'urine'

(c) [pípwʌ]    ~    [pípwɒ]        /pipo/    'chest'

[o] normally occurs contiguous to /y/, unless the other contiguous consonant is a peripheral consonant,

Example (2-29)

(a) [yóni]        /yoni/        'other(m)'

(b) [yói]        /yoyi/        'dance'

[ɔ] occurs elsewhere,

Example (2-30)

[tɔ̀kwɔmpíni] ~ [tɔ̀kʌmpíni] /tokompini/ or /tokampini/        'bird(m)'[8]

[ʌɲʈɔ́ř̥ʌ]                /aɲʈořa/                'male wallaby'

## 2.2.5 PHONOTACTICS IN TT

The only phonemic syllable patterns in TT are V and CV.[9] The V syllables are filled only by the vowel, /a/, and occur only initially in a word.[10]

Example (2-31)

(a) [ʌr̥ípʌ]        /a·r̥i·pa/            'right(hand)'

(b) [ʌlʌó̥r̥ʌ]        /a·la·wu·ra/            'boss(m)'

(c) [ʌⁿʈomʌ]        /a·ⁿʈu·ma/            'hat'

TT words can generally be formulated as $(C)V(CV)^n$, where n can be any number. The longest number of syllables in any word found in the data is 20, which occurs in a verb with a number of affixes and an incorporated form (see example 1-1). In general, nominal forms do not have such a large number of syllables (though up to ten may occur, particularly in proper names).

Example  (2-32)

(a)  /a.$^{n}$ți.ři.ŋa.ṛi.ka /            'parrot'
(b)  /a.ṛi.ki.ți.ɲi.li.yi.po.yi.ni /      'male of the white cockatoo clan'

     All consonants may occur intervocalically but there are some restrictions on which consonants may fill the word-initial position.  Those consonants which do not occur initially are:

     (i) The post-alveolar stops and nasals.  This is in common with many other Australian languages and Dixon suggests that in these languages the alveolar and post-alveolar apicals are neutralised in the initial position of a word. (Dixon 1980:168).

     (ii) The alveolar rhotics.  The rhotics also are neutralised initially, but it is the post-alveolar rhotic /ṛ/ which may occur initially, while the alveolar rhotic /ř/ does not.  There are very few occurrences of initial /ṛ/ (about 10-20 words).

Example  (2-33)

   /ṛițiŋa/    'sugar glider'

     (iii) The velar fricative /ɡ/. Its occurrence is very restricted, being limited to the final consonant in the stem of a word, i.e. normally between the stressed vowel and the final vowel.  When suffixes are added the /ɡ/ is retained.[11]

Example  (2-34)

   verb stem: /-Capiŋaɡi/  'sneak up on'

   /pi  -  ṛi  -  ma  -  țiŋoḷimi - yapiŋaɡ -  ani/
   they:P- CV - CON:M- spear      - sneak:up:on- P:HAB
   'They would sneak up on it with a spear.'

     (iv) In addition to these consonants above, the consonants /ḷ/, /n/ and /ɲ/ have a low frequency of occurrence word initially. There are only about three or four words with initial /ḷ/, about 20-30 words with initial /n/, and about 12-15 words with initial /ɲ/.


## 2.2.6  ALTERNATION OF PHONEMES IN TT

     There is alternation between stops and their prenasalised counterparts, which are regarded as separate phonemes, because of clear cases of contrast.[12]

Example  (2-35)

(a)  /piḷikiti/    or    /piḷi$^{ŋ}$kiti/      'cry'

(b)  /pupuni/      or    /pu$^{m}$puni/        'good'

Besides these, there are other examples of alternation of phonemes. Most of these alternations have probably arisen because of previous regional variation (see also Section 2.1, p.20). In most cases the alternations are in individual words though there are some regularities in the alternations. There appear to be only a handful of words in each case. Some examples of these alternations are:

(i)   between alveolar apicals or post-alveolars and the corresponding laminals,

Example   (2-36)

(a)   /niᵐpaŋi/        or   /ɲiᵐpaŋi/              'goodbye'

(b)   /maⁿtatawini/ or   /maⁿⱦatawini/        'policeman'

(c)   /-uɳayi/         or   /-uɲayi/               'find'

(d)   /-Cakuḷuwuni/  or   /-Cakuḷuwiɲi/        'see'[13]

(ii)   between nasals and laterals,

Example   (2-37)

(a)   /manulaka/      or   /malulaka/            'clean water'

(b)   /aŋapa/          or   /aḷapa/               'wait!'

(iii)   between /g/ and /w/ or /g/ and /ŋ/,

Example   (2-38)

(a)   /aⁿⱦiɽuga/       or   /aⁿⱦiɽuwa/            'midday'

(b)   /yiloga/         or   /yilowa/              'abdomen'

(c)   /munaga/         or   /munaŋa/             '(finger)nail'

(iv)   between /p/ and /t/ and between /p/ and /l/,

Example   (2-39)

(a)   /pokayini/       or   /tokayini/            'play'

(b)   /ŋapukuɽayiŋa/  or   /ŋalukuɽayiŋa/       'good hunter(f)'[14]

(v)   between /w/ and /ŋ/, (initially) and between /ŋo/ and /wa/ (medially),[15]

Example (2-40)

(a) /wuniŋa/ or /ŋuniŋa/ 'possum'

(b) /wupuŋa/ or /ŋupuŋa/ 'grass'

(c) /paʈuŋoni/ or /paʈuwani/ 'die'


(vi) between /a/ and /o/,[16]

Example (2-41)

(a) /aḻipa/ or /aḻipo/ 'coconut'

(b) /pipa/ or /pipo/ 'chest'

(c) /tokompini/ or /tokampini/ 'bird'


## 2.3  CHANGES FROM TRADITIONAL TIWI IN MODERN TIWI

It has been pointed out in the introduction to this chapter that it is impossible to tell where TT begins and ends, particularly with regard to the phonology, as there are so many variations. Within the speech of the young people, as well as there being new sounds introduced through English, there are changes in the sounds used in the words from TT. Many of these changes are fairly general trends, while others are more individualistic.

In the following discussion of changes from the TT phonology a wide range of speakers is considered. If just one speaker or even a few speakers had been considered there would not be such apparent variation and fluctuation as shown. This applies with regard to the later sections as well, when the influence of English is discussed (2.4,p.49).

In Tiwi a particular word may have a wide range of pronunciations because of the variations possible for each sound within the word. For instance, the TT word /yati/ 'one(m)' can be realised as [yʌ́tɪ], [yʌ́ti], [yǽtɪ], [yǽti], [yɛ́tɪ], or [yɛ́ti].[17]

In some cases the variations in a particular sound in a word may be regarded merely as a variation between allophones of the one phoneme in one style of Tiwi. However, in another style of Tiwi the same variation may be considered as the alternation between two phonemes. In TT the different manifestations of the first vowel in /yati/ are all realisations of the vowel /a/. However, in MT a separate phoneme, /e/, is emerging with the realisations [e], [ɛ], and [æ], on the basis of contrast in other words (see 2.5.2, p.64),

Example (2-42)

[f ʌn ɪ]  /fani/  'funny'

[fæn ] ~ [fɛn]  /fen/  'fan'

This means that the pronunciations of the TT /yati/ could be phonemicised in two ways in MT:

[yʌ́tɪ] ~ [yʌ́ti]  /yati/ 'one'

[yǽtɪ ] ~ [yǽti ] ~ [yɛ́tɪ] ~ [yɛ́ti]  /yeti/ 'one'[18]

Another example of the possible ranges in a word is the verb stem 'to see'. This stem contains four consonants and five vowels (as well as a consonant initially which varies according to the morphological environment). The first vowel is a low central vowel, and although it may have some variation in phonetic quality, it is always /a/, the following consonant is always /k/, another consonant is always /w/ and the final vowel is always /i/. The remaining consonants can be given as L and N, where L represents a lateral and N represents a nasal and the remaining vowels can be given as U where U represents a high vowel, so that the stem can be given as: -CakULUwUNi, where L has the range /ḷ/ or /l/; N has the range /ɳ/ or /n/; and U has the range /i/, or /u/ [ʊ].

In general, the variations result from differences between speakers, but some individuals may fluctuate over the range of the varying phonemes. In this particular example very traditional speakers would use the /ḷ/, /ɳ/ and /i/ alternates of L, N, and U, i.e. /-Cakiḷiwiɳi/, whereas younger speakers fairly consistently use the /l/, /n/ and /u/ variants, i.e. /-Cakuluwuni/. Speakers between the two extremes may use different combinations, such as /ḷ/, /ɳ/ and /u/.

The changes apparent in the speech of young people are ongoing changes, some being fairly general but by no means used by all young people in all situations. Some of the differences in the speech of very young children cannot at this stage be described as changes in the language but are seen as due to stages in their language development, such as /ɾ̥/ > /y/ (see 2.3.8).

Some of the changes result in the loss of traditional Tiwi phonemes, such as the velar fricative (2.3.2). Other changes result in changes in the allophonic variations of phonemes (such as the change in the labialisation of consonants (2.3.4) and sometimes in the change of allophones of TT phonemes and the redistribution as allophones of other phonemes, such as [ɳ] /ɳ/ > [tš] /tš/ (2.3.7). Still other changes involve the merging of two phonemes, as the apico-alveolar and post-alveolar stops and nasals (2.3.1).

## 2.3.1 CHANGE OF POST-ALVEOLARS TO ALVEOLARS

Because of the difficulty in determining whether consonants are retroflex or not, particularly when working with children who may not repeat an utterance, it is hard to tell to what extent this change has taken place.

However, it does seem to be a fairly general change, though not in all words for all young people. Two young women in their early twenties (first cousins with very similar backgrounds) both showed evidence of the change in some words, but often in different words.

Example (2-43)

| | TT | | | Woman A | Woman B |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (a) | /moḷiki/ | [mwɒḷíki] | 'bathe' | [mwɒḷíki] | [mwɒḷíki] |
| (b) | /kulaḷaga/ | [kolʌḷʌgʌ] | 'hunt' | [kolʌḷáː] | [kolʌḷáː] |

There are a number of words in which the change seems to be common.

Example (2-44) (MT)

(a) /ṭařikaḷani/ > /ṭařakalani/ 'turtle'

(b) /maḷani/ > /malani/ 'shade'

(c) /ařaṇa/ > /ařana/ 'be careful!'

(d) /mapuṭiti/ > /maputiti/ 'devil'

(e) /ṭaṭiṇaṭi/ > /ṭatšiŋati/ 'young man'

However, there are some words in which the post-alveolar is retained even by young children. I am not certain why this is so, as the words concerned are not ones which form minimal or near minimal pairs with words with apico-alveolars. Since most of these words contain post-alveolar stops while many of the ones which have changed contain post-alveolar laterals or nasals, it may be that post-alveolar stops are not as susceptible to change as the lateral and nasal. Many of the TT words with post-alveolars are not used by young people but are replaced by loans.

## 2.3.2 LOSS OF VELAR FRICATIVE

The phoneme /g/ is changing in various ways, normally dependent upon the phonological environment. It has already been pointed out that the velar fricative has a very restricted occurrence (see 2.2.5 (iii), p.31); possibly /g/ has already been lost from other positions, such as initially. The change evident in the speech of the young people would seem to be a completion of change begun earlier as some of the changes given below are also evident in the speech of older people.

Many of the TT words containing /g/, particularly the verb stems (see note 11, p.73)), are no longer used by young people but where they are retained the /g/ is lost. The loss may be interpreted differently depending upon the surrounding vowels: (i) when the environment is /a/---/a/, the normal change is that the [g] is dropped, resulting in a final stressed long vowel, [áː]. Osborne mentions this change (1974:24). This can be interpreted as two segments phonemically, as the long high vowels are interpreted in TT, but with no intervening consonant, giving a final V syllable. This would be just

extending the distribution of V syllables, already established by word-initial /a/. Another interpretation is to treat this as a final stressed vowel, marking the stress, as Osborne does for final stressed high vowels in TT (1974:21). Since the stress in MT is not as predictable as in TT, because of the retention of English stress on some English loan words, this solution is more acceptable in MT than in TT.

For some speakers, a TT /aga/ becomes [ʌh] or [ah], where it seems the change has been aga > aha > ah (or aga > ag > ah).[19] The stress is retained on the final vowel /a/, so the second solution given above for the long vowel [áː] (i.e. to mark phonemic stress on the final vowel) fits in with this change.

Example (2-45)

(a)
/kuⁱaˌaga/ > { /kuⁱaláˊ/ / /kuⁱaláˊh/ } 'hunt'

(b)
/miⁿkaga/ > { /mikáˊ/ / /mikáˊh/ } 'fence'
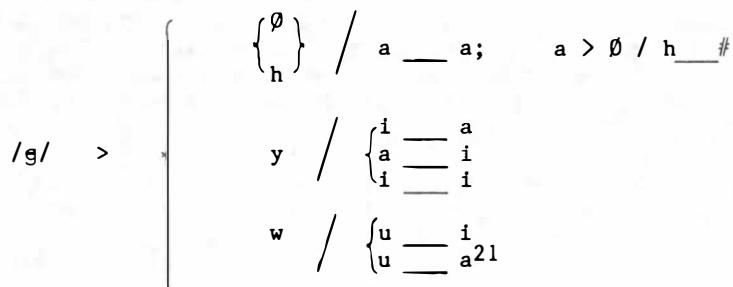
When one of the vowels contiguous to /g/ is /i/ or /u/, /g/ becomes either /y/ or /w/, according to the intrinsic y or w glide which results through the loss of [g],[20]

i.e. /agi/ > /ayi/ [ɛi] or [ɛyi]; /iga/ > /iya/ [iʌ] or [iyʌ]; /igi/ > /iyi/ [iː]; /uga/ > /uwa/ [ʊʌ] or [ʊwʌ]; /ugi/ > /uwi/ [ʊi] ~ [ʊwi]

Example (2-46)

(a) /yiⁿtagi/ > /yitayi/ 'behind'

(b) /muⁱiga/ > /muⁱiya/ 'angry'

(c) /-Cawuⱼigi/ > /-Cawuⱼiyi/ 'fall'

(d) /aⁿ ʈiɾuga/ > /atširuwa/ 'midday'

In general, the changes seem to be able to be summarised as:

$$
/g/ \quad > \quad \begin{cases} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \emptyset \\ h \end{matrix} \right\} \Big/ \text{a} \underline{\quad} \text{a}; \quad \text{a} > \emptyset \,/\, \text{h} \underline{\quad} \# \\[2em] \text{y} \quad \Big/ \begin{cases} \text{i} \underline{\quad} \text{a} \\ \text{a} \underline{\quad} \text{i} \\ \text{i} \underline{\quad} \text{i} \end{cases} \\[2em] \text{w} \quad \Big/ \begin{cases} \text{u} \underline{\quad} \text{i} \\ \text{u} \underline{\quad} \text{a}^{21} \end{cases} \end{cases}
$$

### 2.3.3 CHANGE IN PRENASALISED STOPS

It has been mentioned briefly in 2.1 (p.20) that even in the speech of older people today there appear to be changes in the prenasalisation of stops, i.e. that some words previously containing obligatorily prenasalised stops now contain optional nasalisation. This change seems to have gone even further with the young people. Godfrey has commented that the children seem to be leaving out the nasalisation generally. She found it difficult, in compiling readers, to find words in which children retained the nasalisation (private communication). I found that a number of children did put in nasalisation but it seemed to be optional and the prenasalised stops no longer have phoneme status. The optional nasalisation appears to be lexically determined, i.e. occurring in words which in TT are either obligatorily or optionally nasalised. However, there are some cases where a previously non-nasalised stop is optionally prenasalised (at least by some speakers): see example 2-47(b).

Example (2-47)

(a)  TT:     /yiŋkiti/   [ɪŋkíti ]  ´food´
  > MT/CT:  /yíkíti/   [ɪkíti] ~ [ɪŋkíti ]

(b)  TT:     /waŋataʈiři/   [wɔŋʌtʌʈiři]  ´separate´
  > MT/CT:  /waŋatatšiři/   [wɔŋʌtʌtšiři] ~  [wɔŋʌntʌtšíři ]²²

(c)  TT:     /pupuni/   [popóni] or /pumpuni/   [pompóni ]  ´good(m)´
  > MT/CT:  /pupuni/   [popóni] ~ [pompóni ]

The trend is rather to delete the prenasalisation as in examples (a) and (c) than to add it as in example (b).

The regarding of prenasalised stops as allophones of the corresponding non-nasalised stop also extends to English loans words with some speakers. One young woman, although saying [tšɛiⁿdžɪm] for ´change (clothes)´ wrote it as *jayijim*, leaving out the prenasalisation. This is discussed further in Section 2.5.1, (p.61).

### 2.3.4 LOSS OF LABIALISATION OF CONSONANTS

There is a tendency for young people, particularly children, to drop the labialisation of the peripheral stops and nasals in the TT phonetic sequences [Cwʌ], [Cwɒ], and [Cwɔ]. In most cases the vowel following such a consonant is rounded in MT and is classed as an allophone of the phoneme, /o/, in contrast to /a/. This does not represent a change in the phonemic system, as these phonetic sequences are analysed as /Co/ in TT as well (see 2.2.2, p.22), but it is a change in the phonetic realisation of the phonemic sequence /Co/, where C is a peripheral consonant.

Example (2-48)

(a)  [potšíni]     /potšini/     ´urine´   (TT: [pwɒʈíni])

(b)  [pʌtšɪpʌtšú:]   /patšipatšuwu/  ´egg´   (TT: [pʌʈɪpʌʈú:])

In some words speakers have an unrounded vowel, which must be interpreted as /a/, thus giving some words with alternation between the phonemes /a/ and /o/, as is the case with some older people as well (see 2.2.6(vi), p.33).

Example (2-49)

(a) TT: /moḷiki/    [mwɒḷíkɪ]              'bathe'
    MT: /moḷiki/    [mɔlɪ́kɪ]  or /maliki/  [mʌlɪ́kɪ]

(b) TT: /t̪arˇumoka/  [t̪ʌrˇomwɔkʌ]          'road'
    MT: /t̪arˇumoka/  [t̪ʌrˇomɔ́kʌ] or /t̪arˇumaka/  [t̪ʌrˇomʌ́kʌ][23]

The quality of the vowel sound in these words (and some others) seems to vary from speaker to speaker but does not seem to vary within the speech of the one individual.


## 2.3.5 CHANGE OF ALVEOLAR STOP TO ALVEOLAR RHOTIC

This is a common change, particularly among children, but it is by no means general. The change occurs intervocalically, i.e. t > rˇ / V__V.

Since the change is fairly generally restricted to children, though not just young children, it can perhaps be classed as a feature of Children's Tiwi rather than a change in MT, which tends to retain the [t].

Example (2-50)

(a) TT:    [moṗóti]       /miputi/
    MT:    [moṗóti]       /muputi/
    CT:    [moṗórˇi]      (/mupurˇi/ ?)    'fish'

(b) TT:    [ɪŋkɪ́ti]       /yiŋkiti/
    MT:    [ɪ⁽ŋ⁾kɪ́ti]    /yikiti/
    CT:    [ɪ⁽ŋ⁾kɪrˇi]   (/yikirˇi/?)     'food'

(c) TT/MT: [kɒtɒpi]       /kutupi/
    CT:    [kɒrˇɒp(i)]    (/kurˇup(i)/?)   'jump'

It is not clear whether the change [t] to [rˇ] represents a phonemic change or just a change in the allophones of /t/. Sometimes children who say [rˇ] in fast spontaneous speech give [t] in slow careful speech, but not always. This may be an indication that the [rˇ] is a fast speech allophonic variation of /t/, or it may be an indication that these children are aware of the 'proper' form and so give it in elicitation. In support of the latter there are some cases where the reverse rule i.e. [rˇ] > [t] is applied in careful speech. These cases are individualistic and appear to be examples of hypercorrection,

Example (2-51)

(a) /ŋarˇa/        [ŋʌrˇʌ]       >  [ŋʌtʌ]           'he'

(b) /yirˇat̪irˇima/   [ɪrˇʌt̪ɪrˇímʌ]  >  [yɛtʌtšɪrˇímʌ]   'three'

(c) /t̪aliwarˇa/ > /t̪arˇiwala/ > [t̪ʌtowʌ́lʌ]       'trousers'[24]

The phone, [t], does occur intervocalically and can be seen to be in contrast, at least in the speech of some children, indicating that the [rˇ] is a separate phoneme, /rˇ/. There is no contrast between /t/ and /rˇ/ initially as is also the case with TT (see 2.2.5, p.31).

Example   (2-52)

    [mopóři]                /mupuři/        'fish'
    [tšɩkɩpóti]        /tšikiputi/     'head cold'

       Most of the instances of intervocalic [t] are from TT /ţ/, indicating that children probably hear a difference between the post-alveolar stop and alveolar stops in the speech of older people.  It has been indicated also that post-alveolar stops may be more resistant to change than other post-alveolars, (see 2.3.1), and hence older young people may retain /ţ/ as a separate phoneme to /t/ (and this /ţ/ is not changed to /ř/ in CT).  The style of the older young people's speech in which /ţ/ is generally retained is given as Less Traditional Tiwi (LTT - see Table 1.1, p.12ff), though there is no clear break between this and MT.

Example   (2-53)

(a)  TT/LTT:    /taţuwali/           'shark'
     > MT:      /tatuwali/    [tʌtɔwóli]

(b)  TT/LTT:    /ţikiputi/          'head cold'
     > MT:      /tšikiputi/   [tšɩkɩpóti]

(c)  TT/LTT:    /kitaţawini/        'bread'
   (> LTT:     /kitaţawini/ ?)
     > MT:      /kiřatawuni/  [kɩřʌtʌ(w)óni][25]

(d)  TT/LTT:    /mapuţitɩ/        'devil'
     > MT:      /maputiti/    [mʌpotíti]
     > CT:      /maputiři/   [mʌpotíři]

       There is at least one example of TT /ţ/ to /ř/, given by a five year old boy.  This seems to be a case of overgeneralisation.

Example   (2-54)

    /taţuwali/  'shark'  >  /tařuwali/   [tʌřɔwóli]

## 2.3.6  CHANGES INVOLVING THE VELAR NASAL

       In TT, an initial velar nasal is often only lightly articulated so that only nasalisation on the first vowel is heard.  In the speech of young people, particularly children, this initial velar nasal, /ŋ/, is generally dropped. Before the high vowels /i/ and /u/, this can be interpreted as initial /ŋi/ > /yi/,[26] and initial /ŋu/ > /wu/.  An optional [y] or [w] can sometimes be heard in these circumstances (cf. 2.3.2.) The changes can be summarised as:

$$/ŋ/ \; > \; \begin{cases} \emptyset & /\#--a \\ /y/ & /\#--i \\ /w/ & /\#--u \end{cases}$$

       The rule could be given as /ŋ/ > ∅, where y and w are phonetic onglides. However, the rule has been given in this way to tie in with the interpretation of initial [ɩ] ~[yɨ] and [wu]~[ɔ], being interpreted respectively as /yi/ and /wu/ in both TT and MT (see 2.2.2, p.22 and 2.5.3(2.), p.67).

Example (2-55)

(a) /ŋawa/ > /awa/ [Áwʌ] 'we'

(b) /ŋaʈiti/ > { /atšiti/ [ʌtšíti]
                  /atširi/ [ʌtšíři] } 'don't!'

(c) /ŋiɾimi/ > /yirimi/ [(y)ɩɾími] 'I did'

(d) /ŋini/ > /yini/ [(y)íni] 'if'

(e) /ŋintuwuɾiyi/ > /yinturiyi/ [(y)ɩntɔɾí:] 'we went'[27]

     With the pronouns for 'I' and 'you(sg)', it is more common for the whole
first syllable, i.e. /ŋi/, to be dropped in CT.

Example (2-56)

(a)
/ŋiya/ > { /yiya/ [(y)íyʌ]
            /ya/ [yʌ] } 'I'

(b)
/ŋinʈa/ > { /yitša/ [(y)ɩ(ɳ)ʈʌ]
             /tša/ [ʈa] } 'you(sg)'

     In a medial position /ŋ/ is dropped by some speakers in some words,
leaving an intrinsic w glide which can be interpreted as /w/ (cf. 2.3.2). This
seems to occur mainly between unstressed vowels.

Example (2-57)

(a) /pulaŋumoni/ > /pulawumoni/ 'dog(m)'

(b) /-Caŋuḷimayi/ > /-Cawuḷimayi/ 'walk'

     The TT phonetic sequence [ŋw] commonly becomes [w]: /ŋo/ [ŋwɔ] > /wa/ (see
2.2.2, p.22).

Example (2-58)

     /paʈuŋoni/ [pʌʈoŋwóni] > /patšuwani/ [pʌtšowʌ́ni] 'dead'

/ŋu/ [ŋwu]/[ŋwɩ] > /wi/ (see 2.2.2, p.22)

Example (2-59)

     /ŋuyi/ [ŋwí:] > /wiyi/ [wí:] 'in the future'

/wuŋ/ (in fast speech [ŋw]) > /w/

Example   (2-60)

   /awuŋani/   [ʌᵚŋwʌ́nɩ]   >   /awani/   [ʌwʌ́nɩ]   'like that'


### 2.3.7  CHANGES INVOLVING LAMINALS

   The young people seem to be using the alveolar affricate [tš] in place of the TT [ʈ]. The beginning of this change is apparent in the speech of some older people. Because of contrast produced between [tš] and [ʈ] through the introduction of English loans (see also 2.5.1(2), p.60) these two phones may be regarded as two separate phonemes, at least in the speech of some young people.

Example   (2-61)

(a)  /ʈapaka/    [ʈʌ⁽ᵐ⁾pʌ́kʌ]   'house'   (TT: /ʈaᵐpaka/)
     /tšamp/     [tšʌmp]        'jump'

(b)  /ʈaliwařa/  [ʈʌlɩwʌ́řʌ]   'trousers' (TT: /ʈaliwařa/)
     /tšalaťši/  [tšʌlʌ́tši]    'jealous'

   An allophone of the new phoneme /tš/ is [š], at least for some speakers, occurring in fluctuation with [tš] in English loans.

Example   (2-62)

   [tšʌ́kɩm]  ~  [šʌ́kɩm]   /tšakim/   'throw'


Another allophone is [dž], occurring following nasals.

Example   (2-63)

   [ɩndžɩn]   /intšin/   'engine'[28]

   An allophone of /ʈ/ is /θ/, which occurs in fluctuation with [ʈ] in certain English loan words.

Example   (2-64)

(a)  [ʈři:]  ~  [θři:]     /ʈřiyi/   'three'

(b)  [fɛʈʌ]  ~  [fɛθʌ]     /feʈa/    'feather'

   Some young people still seem to have just the one phoneme with the two allophones, [ʈ] and [tš], as they fluctuate in the use of these loans.

Example   (2-65)

   [tšʌnɩmʌ́ni]  ~  [ʈʌnɩmʌ́ni]   /tšanimani/ 'Chinese man'

It seems that the change to two phonemes is typical of children's Tiwi while MT still retains the one phoneme of TT (with the changed phonetic variant, [ţ] > [tš]). This may be a change which will continue or it may be that children, as they develop their MT, will bring their speech more in line with that of the older young people.

In TT, the phoneme /ɲ/ has a low functional load and many of the TT words containing this phoneme are not used by younger people. Within the TT words which are used in MT a number of changes occur with the /ɲ/. These are:

(i) Initial /ɲ/ ([ɲ] or [ɳ]) before /i/ becomes /ţ/ ([ţ]). This particular change has been noted only in one very common word, viz. /ɲiřa/ [ɲířʌ]~[ɳířʌ] 'she' > /ţiřa/ [ţířʌ]. However, there is a corresponding change in the feminine form of the definitive, which is related to the feminine pronoun (see 3.3.5.2, p.121). This change involves more than a single phoneme, with a syllable, /wu/, being lost as well.

Example  (2-66)

/awuɲiřa/    [ʌ°ɲířʌ] 'that(f)' > /aţiřa/ [ʌ(ɳ)ţířʌ]

(ii) Some speakers (children) change an intervocalic /ɲ/ ([ɲ]) before a stressed /i/ to /tš/ ([tš] or [ⁿtš]).

Example  (2-67)

(a)  /muḷukiɲini/    [muḷokɪɲíni]    'fat(m)'
     > /mulukitšini/   [moɭokɪtšɪni]

(b)  /kiɲiři/    [kɪɲɪ̌ři]    'faeces'
     > /kitširi/   [kɪ(ⁿ)tšíri]

(iii) In some other words an intervocalic /ɲ/ ([ɲ] or [ɳ]) becomes /n/.

Example  (2-68)

(a)  /maɲuŋuli/    [mʌɲoŋóli]    'blood'
     > /manuŋuli/   [mʌnoŋóli]   (or [mʌnɵwóli])

(b)  /maḷipiɲiŋa/ [mʌḷɪpɪɲíŋʌ]    'bicycle'
     > /malipiniŋa/ [mʌlɪpɪníŋʌ]

(c)  /maɲa/    [mʌ́ɳʌ]    'go ahead' > /mana/    [mʌ́nʌ]

(d)  /pakiɲa/    [pʌkíɳʌ] 'first'    > /pakina/ [pʌkínʌ]

(iv) Other cases of [ɲ] remain as [ɲ].

Example  (2-69)

/kupuɲi/    [kɵpóɲi] 'canoe'    (as TT)

(v) In the speech of young people there appear to be no occurrences of [ɳ] remaining. As well as those discussed under (iii), initial [ɳ] before /a/ also becomes /n/.[29]

Example (2-70)
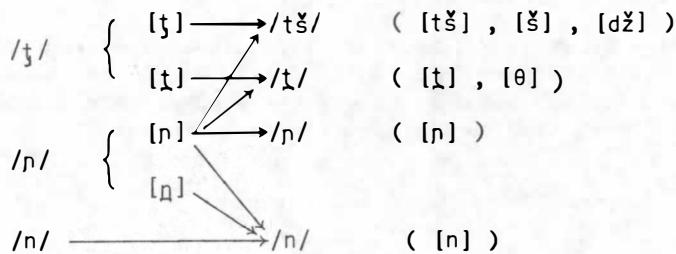
(a)  /ɲatiŋa/   [ɳʌtíŋʌ]    'one(f)' > /natiŋa/   [nʌtíŋʌ]

(b)  /ɲamuli/   [ɳʌmɔ́li]    'cup'    > /namuli/   [nʌmɔ́li]

   (vi) In some words [ɳ] becomes [n] (mainly intervocalically).  I am not sure why this happens in these words and not in the words discussed in (iii).

Example (2-71)

(a)   /yuwuɲawu/    [yu:ɳʌ́ᵒ]        'he threw (it)'
   > /yuwuɲawu/    [yu:ɲʌ́ᵒ]   (or > /yuwunawu/  [yu:nʌ́ᵒ])

(b)   /yimpaliɲa/    [ɩmpʌlíɳʌ]       'woman'
   > /yipaliɲa/    [ɩ(m)pʌlíɲʌ]

(c)   /ɳoŋa/        [ɳɔ́ŋʌ]           'other(f)'[30] > /ɲoŋa/   [ɲɔ́ŋʌ]

(d)   /kuɲani/      [koɳʌ́ni]    'deceive' > /kuɲani/   [koɲʌ́ni]

   These changes can be summarised as:



## 2.3.8  CHANGES INVOLVING THE POST-ALVEOLAR RHOTIC

   In general, it seems that the phonetic quality of the post-alveolar rhotic is close to the rhotic of Australian English [ɾ], i.e. not retroflected, at least with some young people.  There are also a number of instances where /ɽ/ > /ř̥/.

Example (2-72)

(a)  /pakitiɽiŋa/  >  /pakitiřiŋa/    'rain'

(b)  /kiḷuwaɽiŋa/  >  /kuluwařiŋa/    'sting-ray'

(c)  /alawuɽa/     >  /alawuřa/       'boss'

This may be a more general change in which the two phonemes /ɽ/ and /ř/ are falling together in the speech of young people as allophones of the one phoneme /r/. This needs more investigation.[31] There are few (if any) minimal pairs contrasting these two rhotics in TT.

Austin notes this as a feature of a dying language, Ngiyambaa (Austin 1981:10-11, citing Donaldson 1980:21).

Another change which is common with young children, as well as in the speech of adults to young children, is the change of TT /ɽ/ to /y/.

Example (2-73) (CT)

(a) /piṯaṟa/ > /piṯaya/ 'eye'

(b) /taṟiŋa/ > /tayiŋa/ 'snake'

(c) /ṯapuřaṟiŋa/ > /ṯapuřayiŋa/ 'bicycle'

This appears to be a feature of 'baby talk' and in general older children do not make these changes. The substitution of one sound for another is common in the 'baby talk' of Anindilyakawa (Leeding 1977), Warlpiri (Laughren 1984) and probably other Australian languages.[32]

There are some examples in TT of /ɽ/ becoming /y/ between two front high vowels. These may have originally been 'baby talk' forms, which have been retained in the normal form of the language. The forms with /ɽ/ are also retained and are generally recognised as the more 'correct' forms.

Example (2-74) (TT/LTT)

(a) /kiṟiṯini/ or /kiyiṯini/ ([ki:ṯíni]) 'small(m)'

(b) /kiṟiṯa/ or /kiyiṯa/ ([kíːṯʌ]) 'a little bit'

The young people normally use the second forms, often with the long [i:] reduced to [ɪ] (see 2.3.10(v)).

## 2.3.9 CHANGES INVOLVING VOWELS

Because of the indeterminate nature of the unstressed vowels in TT it is often difficult to determine what phoneme a central vocoid may be (see Lee 1982). However, in the speech of young people some central unstressed vocoids, which in TT can definitely be interpreted as /i/ or /u/, rather than /ə/, are lowered and so become allophones of /ə/.[33]

Example  (2-75)

(a) /ʈařikaḷani/  >  /ʈařakalani/        'turtle'

(b) /aḷiʈiřaka/  >  /aliʈařaka/        'frog'

(c) /ʈařumoka/  >  /ʈařamoka/        'road'

There are some changes of vowels in the stressed syllable or in weakly stressed syllables.  These seem to be individualistic changes rather than general ones.

Example  (2-76)

(a) /kapaka/        >  /kapuka/                'carry on shoulders'

(b) /kuřaᵐpali/  >  /kařapali/ or /kařapuli/  'house'

(c) /amiⁿtiya/  >  /amataya/                'and'

Most of the cases seem to be cases of assimilation to a nearby /a/.


## 2.3.10  ELISION OF SYLLABLES AND VOWELS

In normal fast TT speech, vowels and even syllables are elided.  In the example below, Line A represents Godfrey's transcription of a line of text, but in my phonemic symbols.  Her transcription is derived from the text tape being played back and the text repeated by a Tiwi speaker at a slower speed and more precisely.  Line B is as close a phonetic transcription as I can get to what is actually said on the tape for this line.

Example  (2-77)

    (A) /ŋini    ŋiⁿtuwaṛimařiŋulupumuwaṇi/
    (B)       [ŋìⁿtwɔˡmʌ̀ŋɔlɔ̀pɒmwʌ́ni]³⁴
'That is we tried to move around having ceremonies for the dead'

This type of contraction in the speech of young people is also very common, though probably no more so than in TT.

Other types of contraction may apply in both TT and MT:

(i) A final vowel may be elided in normal speech when the following word begins with a vowel.  This occurs where the two words are in fairly close grammatical relationship or are in the one phonological phrase.  This seems to be to preserve an overall CVCV pattern.

Example  (2-78)    TT:

(a) /ŋa.řa a.ŋu.ka  /        --> /ŋa.řa.ŋu.ka/
      he      not                'he does not...'

(b) /ʈi.ʈi    a.ṛi.mi.ṛi.ŋa.řa/  --> /ʈi.ʈa.ṛi.mi.ṛi.ŋa.řa/
     bad      he:sits          'he hates'

Example  (2-79)    MT:

(a)  / ʈi.řa   a.mom/           --> /ʈi.řa.mom/[35]
        she      eats                'she is eating'
(b)  /a·ri.ku.la.ni  yi.mi/     --> /a.ri.ku.la.ni.mi/
        big(m)        he.was          'he was big'

    (ii) Final syllables may be elided in normal speech where the following word begins with a consonant similar to the final consonant.

Example  (2-80)    TT:

    / ku·wa.ni         na·ki/  --> /ku.wa.na.ki?/
       who(m)          this(m)       'who is this?'

Example  (2-81)    MT:

    /ʈa       ma.ka     ku /  --> /ʈa.ma.ku?/
     you(sg)  where      go        'where are you going?'

(iii) A final high vowel, /i/, may be dropped.  In TT this appears to be only in certain circumstances, such as utterance finally (see note 9).  In MT, this dropping of final high vowels seems to be more common and is not limited to utterance finally.

Example  (2-82)    MT:

(a)  /kapi       kuřapali/  --> / kap       kuřapali/
        in        house           'in the   house'

(b)  /patšuwani   tšimi/     --> / patšuwan  tšim/
        die        she:did         'she       died'

(c)  / api       kiyi/      --> /ap kiyi/
        so        then            'so then'

(d)  /arikulani  kirila/    --> /arikulan   kirila/
        big(m)    gorilla         'a big     gorilla'

    (iv) Elision of high vowels often happens within words in some young people's speech.  Normally the vowels deleted are unstressed vowels.  This could be just instances of the type of deletion mentioned at the beginning of this sub-section (see example 2-77), in which it seems to be the high vowels which are deleted.  However, it seems to occur as well in elicited speech, which is normally more precise.  It is not clear whether the speakers think of the deleted vowels as part of the word or not.  More investigation needs to be done on this.  Since CC clusters are retained by some speakers in some English loan words, it is possible that these TT words are being reduced in their number of syllables by allowing consonant clusters.

Example     (2-83)

(a) /pil̪ikiti/ or /pil̪ikiři/  (TT: /pil̪ikiti  /)
    --> /plikiti/  or /plikiři/                          'cry'

(b) /pir̪imi/     (TT: /pir̪imi/) -->   /prim/ (or /přim/) 'they did'

(c) /kakiritšuwi/ (TT: /kakir̪it̪iwi/)
    -->  /kakritšuwi/  (or /kakřitšuwi/)                'children'

(d) /pumurali/     (TT: /pumur̪ali/) -->  /pumrali/     'lightning'

(e) /niminaki/     (TT: /nimi(ŋi)naki/) --> /nimnaki/ 'something'

(v) A type of contraction occurring in TT is that involving the dropping of /r̪/
between two high vowels, /i/, in unstressed syllables (see 2.3.8, p.44).  In
the speech of young people and also in that of many older people, a further
step occurs, where the phonetically long vowel resulting from such an elision,
[i:] (/iyi/), is reduced to a phonetic short vowel, [ɪ] (/i/).  In some words
there is often a reduction of the sequence /Vr̪V/, where V is a high vowel,
seemingly without any intermediate step.  These alternatives are used in some
older people's speech as well.

Example   (2-84)

(a) /kir̪it̪ini/   -->  /kiyit̪ini/  -->  /kit̪ini/     'boy'

(b) /kakir̪it̪iwi/ -->  /kakit̪iwi/                    'children'

(c) /-kur̪ur̪iyi/  -->  /-kur̪iyi/                     'finish'

(d) /-mir̪iŋařa/  -->  /-miŋařa/                      'sit'

     These contracted forms, or some of them, occur in young people's speech
more commonly than the non-contracted forms.

     (vi) Other contractions occur in the speech of young people, some of which
also occur in the colloquial speech of older people.

Example   (2-84a)

(a) TT:  /t̪iyimi/   >  MT: /tšimi/    'she did'

(b) TT:  /t̪uwur̪iyi/  >  MT: /tšuriyi/  'she went'

(c) TT:  /-mařur̪iyi/  (/maři-+-ur̪iyi/) >  MT: /mařiyi/ 'take'[36]
                       with       go

(d) TT:  /tuwawaŋa/  >  MT: /tuwaŋa/     'again'

     Some other examples which seem to be fairly common in children's speech
but are not as general as those above are:

Example  (2-85)

(a)  /kar̆ikamini/  >  /kakamini/          'nothing'
(b)  /awar̆a/        >  /ar̆a/            'that(m)'[37]
(c)  /yir̆aʈir̆ima/  >  /yaʈir̆ima/        'three'

## 2.3.11  MISCELLANEOUS CHANGES

There are a number of miscellaneous changes which affect odd words.  Some of these involve variations similar to the variations of phonemes in TT (see 2.2.6), but apparently in different cases from the TT examples, and with some different phonemes varying.  Most of the examples are not general to all young people, but some have been given by more than one person.

Example  (2-86)  /l/  -->  /r/

   /pili/      (TT: /pili/)  -->  /piri/      'because'

Example  (2-87)  /n/  -->  /l/

(a)  /punikapa/  (TT: /puṇikapa/)  -->  /pulikapa/  'meat'

(b)  /pinipaka/  (TT: /piṇipaka/)  -->  /pilipaka/  'bad, rotten'

(c)  /anikiʈa/  (TT: /awuniyikiʈa/ 'he comes in the evening;')
                -->  /alikiʈa/  'he is coming'

Example  (2-88)  /ʈ/  -->  /l/

   /mitaya/    (TT: /mitaya/)  -->  /milaya/    'steal'

There is at least one example of phoneme swapping,

Example  (2-89)

   /ʈaliwar̆a/  (TT: /ʈaliwar̆a/)  -->  /ʈar̆iwala/  'trousers'

## 2.3.12  CHANGES IN STRESS

Basically the stress is unchanged in TT-derived words in the speech of young people.  However, there are some words in which the stress is changed. These words are mainly those which, in TT, have a final long stessed high vowel.  In TT these long vowels are interpreted as /uwu/ and /iyi/ (see 2.2.2, p.22).  In MT these final vowels are normally shortened to /u/ and /i/ respectively, and the stress is transferred to the preceding syllable.

Example  (2-90)

(a)  TT:  /kaḷuwu/  [kʌḷóː]  >  MT:  /kalu/    [kʌ́lɔ]          'no, not'

(b)  TT:  /tamuwu/  [tʌmóː]  >  MT:  /tamu/    [tʌ́mɔ]          'sit!'

There are some other words in which stress change is apparent (cf. 2.1, p.21).

## 2.4 INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH ON MODERN TIWI PHONOLOGY

The influence of English upon the Tiwi sound system is similar to the influence of English on Creole, described by Sandefur. As he points out, when English first came into contact with Aboriginal languages, English words borrowed 'were pronounced by Aboriginal speakers in terms of the sound systems of their own' language (Sandefur 1979:29 ff). As time went on Creole (or pidgin at this stage) was influenced in turn by English, but this influence has been in stages, resulting in a continuum of sounds. He says that the 'AL [Aboriginal Languages] sounds that had replaced the English sounds in the formative stages of Creole began to return to or level toward the original English sounds.' (Sandefur 1979:42)

This levelling process is apparent in the Tiwi situation. Although the language spoken by the young people cannot be regarded as an English-based creole (or pidgin), it is certainly more heavily influenced by English than that of the older people. Some young people's Tiwi is more influenced by English than that of other young people. The situation portrayed in this section shows a wide range of data, collected from a large number of individuals and therefore much variation and fluctuation is apparent. If only one individual had been considered there would not be such diversity as indicated.

### 2.4.1 PHONETIC REALISATION OF ENGLISH PHONEMES IN MT

Some of the phonemes of TT and English overlap, although the realisation of the corresponding phonemes may not be exactly the same. However, there are also a number of phonemes which do not correspond. In borrowing words from English, older people generally fit them into the TT phonological system, even though they may pronounce the words with their English phonemes (or close approximations to them) when speaking English. Non-Tiwi sounds are changed into the closest Tiwi sound. Fricatives become stops, such as: f, v become p; s, z, š, ž, tš and dž become /ʄ/ ([ʈ] or [ʄ] depending usually upon the phonological environment); the vowel glides [ɛɹ], [aɪ] and the vowel [æ] (when it is lengthened before a voiced consonant) become /ayi/([ɛi], or [ɛɪ]).

Also, since consonant clusters cannot occur in TT, CC clusters from English loan words have a high vowel inserted (/i/ or /u/ depending upon the phonological environment) or lose one of the consonants. Since consonants do not end words in TT, a high vowel, /i/, is added to consonant-final English loans or in some cases the final consonant is dropped.

Example (2-91)

(a)  /pilayiki/      [pɪlɛíki]      'flag'

(b)  /ʄukuḷi/··      [ʈokóḷi]      'school'

(c)  /ʄiʄuwi/        [ʈɪʈówi]      'sisters'

(d)  /kapimani/      [kʌpɪmʌ́ni]    'government'

(e)  /payiti/        [pɛíti]        'fight'

In young people´s speech the loan words are generally closer to the English pronunciation, particularly in more informal styles of Tiwi, such as in casual speech. Modern Tiwi contains a large number of English loans, verbs as well as nouns. These vary widely in pronunciation; the more formal the style of Tiwi used, the closer the form is to traditional phonology. For instance, in the formal vocabulary tests, for the word ´fight´ (elicited by showing a picture of two boys fighting), most children gave /payiti/ [pɛíti]. However, in the tapes of spontaneous speech the anglicised version [faɪt] occurred more often, even in a basically MT sentence. Tables 2.3 and 2.4 give the English phonemes and their realisations in the Tiwi of young people. The realisations and the examples given come from a wide spread of young people. No one individual would realise each phoneme in all the ways given. Most of the realisations given occur in the English of the young people as well, though normally the realisations which are closer to TT phonology do not occur in the English styles.

This phenomenon (of newer loans having a phonology closer to the source language) has been noted in other language contact situations, particularly where there is a process of language death occurring. This is noted in Sayula Populuca (Clark 1977) and Isthmus Nahuat (Law 1961).

As can be seen from Tables 2.3 and 2.4 there are a large number of phones added to the repertoire of the young people´s speech. Because of the instability over the whole range of speech patterns, it is difficult to

TABLE 2.3  REALISATION OF ENGLISH CONSONANTS IN MT

| English phoneme | Tiwi phone* | Examples (phonetic) | | Tiwi phone | Examples (phonetic) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| p | p | pɪkɪpíkɪ | ´pig´ | pʰ | pʰǽnsɨl | ´pencil´ |
| | | ɛpót | ´airport´ | | æpʰót | ´airport´ |
| | | šɔp | ´shop´ | | šɔpʰ | ´shop´ |
| | | | | f | félɪkɛn | ´pelican´ |
| b | p | pol | ´ball´ | b | bol | ´ball´ |
| | | teˡpóli | ´table´ | | tʰéˡbɔl | ´table´ |
| | | mɔp | ´mob´ | | mɔb | ´mob´ |
| t | t | teˡpól(i) | ´table´ | tʰ | tʰéˡbɔl | ´table´ |
| | | pótim | ´put´ | | létʰʌ | ´letter´ |
| | | ɛpót | ´airport´ | | ʌˡtʰ | ´eight´ |
| | ř | pɒřɨm | ´put´ | d | idɨm | ´eat´ |
| d | t | to | ´door´ | d | do | ´door´ |
| | | (s)pʌˡtʌ | ´spider´ | | rídɨm | ´read´ |
| | | wɒt | ´wood´ | | | |
| | ř | pɪřɪpířɪ | ´bird´ | | | |
| k | k | kílɨm | ´hit, kill´ | kʰ | kʰɪlɨm | ´hit, kill´ |
| | | tšʌkɨm | ´throw, chuck´ | | | |
| | | keˡk | ´cake´ | | kʰeˡkʰ | ´cake´ |
| | | | | g | tšʌgɨm | ´throw, chuck´ |
| g | k | kˡəl | ´girl´ | g | gɨl | ´girl´ |
| | | pìkɪpíkɪ | ´pig´ | | pìgɪpígɪ | ´pig´ |
| | | fleˡk | ´flag´ | | flæg | ´flag´ |

TABLE 2.3 (continued)

| English phoneme | Tiwi phone* | Examples (phonetic) | | Tiwi phone | Examples (phonetic) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| f | p | pɛíti | 'fight' | f | fʌ́ni | 'funny' |
| | | pʌnɔpʌ́lʌ | 'funny (fellow)' | | ɛlɨff̵n(t) | 'elephant' |
| | | lap | 'laugh' | | lif | 'leaf' |
| | | | | b | bʌído | 'fight' |
| v | p | pétšɨl | 'Virgil' | v | vɨdžɨl | 'Virgil' |
| | | kípɨm | 'give' | | | |
| | | fʌᶫp | 'five' | | fʌᶫv | 'five' |
| θ | ṱ | ṱř̆i: | 'three' | t | tri: | 'three' |
| | | mʌᴼt | 'mouth' | | mʌᴼt | 'mouth' |
| | | nʌ́tɪŋ | 'nothing' | | nʌ́tɪŋ | 'nothing' |
| | θ | θř̆i: | 'three' | | | |
| | | mʌᴼθ | 'mouth' | | | |
| ð | ṱ | fáṱʌ | 'father' | t | fátʌ | 'father' |
| | | fέṱʌ | 'feather' | | fétʌ | 'feather' |
| | θ | faθʌ | 'father' | ð | faðʌ | 'father' |
| s | s | sɛlɨm | 'sell' | ṱ | ṱítʌ | 'sister' |
| | | pɔ́sɪkæt | 'cat' | | pɔ́ṱɪkæt | 'cat' |
| | | trásɪs | 'trousers' | š | pɔ́šɪkæt | 'cat' |
| | tš | tšɪtʌ | 'sister' | | | |
| | | trátšɪtš | 'trousers' | | | |
| z | s | su | 'zoo' | z | zu | 'zoo' |
| | | písi | 'busy' | | pízi | 'busy' |
| | | | | ts | tsu | 'zoo' |
| š | š | šɔ́tɨm | 'shoot' | tš | tšɔtɨm | 'shoot' |
| | | pɪšɪŋ | 'fishing' | | pɪ̀tšɪpɪ́tši | 'fish' |
| | | fɪš | 'fish' | | pínɪtš | 'finish' |
| | | | | ṱ | ṱʌř̆ɔkʌ́ri | 'shortcut' |
| tš | tš | tšʌ́kɨm | 'throw, chuck' | š | šʌ́kɨm | 'throw' |
| | | kítšɨm | 'catch' | | stέšyu | 'statue' |
| | | totš | 'torch' | | | |
| dž | tš | tš̆ʌmp | 'jump' | dž | dž̆ʌmp | 'jump' |
| | | | | ṱ | ṱʌmp | 'jump' |
| h | ø | ʌ́ntɪŋ | 'hunting' | h | hɪl | 'hill' |
| r | ř | ṱř̆i: | 'three' | r | rɛᶫn | 'rain' |
| | | mař̆i | 'Marie' | | prɔm | 'broom' |
| | w | wɔ̀lɪtšɔ́n | 'Ronald John' | | márɪ | 'Marie' |
| ŋ | ŋ | tš̆íŋʌᴼ | 'sing out' | | | |
| | | fɪ́šɪŋ | 'fishing' | n | fɪ́šɪn | 'fishing' |

\* The phones in the left-hand column are normally more common than those in the right-hand column.

determine a uniform phonemic system for MT.  The idea of each word having its own range of sounds, discussed in 2.3, p.33 can be extended to the loan words used by young people.  The word for ´frightened´ can be represented as: [P(ɪ)RAtín(i)], where P can be [p] or [f], R can be [ɾ] or [ř] (see 2.3.8), A can be [a] (or [ʌ])or [aˡ].   The variations at either extreme are: [pɪratíni] (close to TT) and [fráˡtɪn] (close to English) with various forms in between.  There are some restrictions on the cooccurrence of various phones, in that, when the more English phones are used there is generally no high vowel added between the consonants of a consonant cluster or at the end of a word.  Normally, though not always, the more English vowel sounds do not cooccur with the more Tiwi consonants, though for instance the variant [práˡtɪn] has been heard.  These observations seem to apply to loan words in general.[38]

Different people organise the phones into different phonemic systems, which will be discussed in more detail in Section 2.5 in summarising the phonological system of MT.

TABLE 2.4   REALISATION OF ENGLISH VOWELS AND VOWEL GLIDES IN MT

| English phoneme | Tiwi phone | Examples (phonetic) | | Tiwi phone | Examples (phonetic) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i (GAE: əɪ) | i | ídɫm | ´eat´ | ɪ | ířɫm | ´eat´ |
| | | Tif | ´leaf´ | | p̄ʌnɪpʌ́lʌ | ´funny´ |
| | | fʌ́ni | ´funny´ | | fʌ́nɪ | ´funny´ |
| | | | | ʊ | pʌno͡opʌ́lʌ | ´funny (fellow)´ |
| ɪ | ɪ | íntiyɛn | ´Indian´ | | | |
| | | kɪ́pɫm | ´give´ | ʊ | pólɫɫm | ´build´ |
| ɛ | ɛ | élɫfɫnt | ´elephant´ | ɪ | íntšɪn | ´engine´ |
| | | pénsil | ´pencil´ | | wɪt | ´wet´ |
| | æ | ǽlɫfɫnt | ´elephant´ | ʌ | λ̄ɪkóptʌ | ´helicopter´ |
| | | pǽnsɫl | ´pencil´ | | tšʌ́lʌtši | ´jealous´ |
| æ | æ | ǽpʊl | ´apple´ | ɛ | ɛks | ´eggs´ |
| | | flæg | ´flag´ | | f̄lɛk | ´flag´ |
| | ʌ | ʌpóli | ´apple´ | ɪ | mɪtšɪ́nɪkʌ́ni | ´machine gun´ |
| | | kʌ́řɫmʌp | ´carry´ | e | pek | ´bag´ |
| | ɛˡ | keˡntín(i) | ´shop´ (canteen) | ʌˡ | bʌ́ˡg | ´bag´ |
| ʌ | ʌ | ʌ́ntɪŋ | ´hunting´ | ʊ | kòkʊpʌ́řʌ | ´kookaburra´ |
| | | fʌ́ni | ´funny´ | | tšʌ́nɪmʌ́ni | ´Chinese man´ (China man) |
| | | tšʌ́lʌtši | ´jealous´ | ɛ | tšʌ́letši | ´jealous´ |
| a | a | fat̄ʌ | ´father´ | ʌ | fʌ́t̄ʌ | ´father´ |
| | | aftʌ | ´after´ | | | |
| ɒ | ɔ | lɔk | ´log´ | ɒ | frɒg | ´frog´ |
| | | ɔ̄spɪtʌl | ´hospital´ | ʌ | λtš̄ɪpɪtíli | ´hospital´ |
| | | fɔ́lo | ´follow´ | | kʌ́řʌpɪří: | ´corroborree´ |
| ɔ | o | olřɪ́ɫt | ´all right´ | wɔ | wɔlwéɫ | ´always´ |
| | | wókʌpàt | ´walk´ | ʊ | pʌ̄řʊpól | ´football´ |
| | | fo | ´for´ | | fʊ | ´for´ |
| | ɔ | wɔ̄kʌpàt | ´walk´ | u | kɫlú | ´claw´ |

TABLE 2.4 (continued)

| English phoneme | Tiwi phone | Examples (phonetic) | | Tiwi phone | Examples (phonetic) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ɔ | ɔ | pʊřɫm | ʼputʼ | | | |
| | | lǫkim | ʼsee, look atʼ | | | |
| u | u | lus | ʼlose, lostʼ | ɔˡ | skǫˡl | ʼschoolʼ |
| | | su | ʼzooʼ | uwɔ | tʃ̆uwǫn | ʼJuneʼ |
| | ɔ | ʃ̆ǫtɫm | ʼshootʼ | o | sǫ | ʼzooʼ |
| | o | tǫ | ʼdoorʼ | | | |
| ə | ɫ | ɛ́lɫf̥ɫn(t) | ʼelephantʼ | ɛ | sɛ́kɔl | ʼcircleʼ |
| | | pɛnsɫl | ʼpencilʼ | | ɛ́lɪfɛ̀n(t) | ʼelephantʼ |
| | ˡə | kˡəl | ʼgirlʼ | ɪ | pɪřɪplři | ʼbirdʼ |
| | ə | gə̄l | ʼgirlʼ | | ɛřɪplɛˡn | ʼaeroplaneʼ |
| | | sə̄kɔl | ʼcircleʼ | | mántɪn | ʼmountainʼ |
| | | ə̄li | ʼearlyʼ | o | kókǫnʌt | ʼcoconutʼ |
| | ʌ | wʌki | ʼworkʼ | ɔ | kókǫnʌt | ʼcoconutʼ |
| | | ɔ́spɪtʌl | ʼhospitalʼ | | sə̀kǫl | ʼcircleʼ |
| eˡ | ɛˡ | ʃ̆ɛˡn | ʼchainʼ | ɛ | ʃ̆ɛn | ʼchainʼ |
| (GAE: ʌˡ) | | ɛ̆ntʃ̆əl | ʼangelʼ | | ɛ́ntʃ̆əl | ʼangelʼ |
| | | ɔ̆lɪtɛ́ˡ | ʼholidayʼ | æ | tʃ̆æn | ʼchainʼ |
| | æˡ | kæˡk | ʼcakeʼ | | ǽnɔl | ʼangelʼ |
| | æʰ | kæʰk | ʼcakeʼ | ɪ | tɪkɪmáti | ʼtake outʼ |
| | ʌˡ | ʌˡt | ʼeightʼ | | | |
| | | gʌˡt | ʼgateʼ | | | |
| aˡ | aˡ | (s)paˡtʌ | ʼspiderʼ | ɛi | pɛiti | ʼfightʼ |
| (GAE: ɒˡ) | | flaˡ | ʼflyʼ | æi | pæři | ʼfightʼ |
| | a | klām ʌp | ʼclimb upʼ | ʌ | tʃ̆ʌ̄nɪmʌ́ni | ʼChinese manʼ |
| | | tra | ʼtryʼ | ʌˡ | bʌˡdi | ʼfightʼ |
| | | | | | flʌˡ | ʼflyʼ |
| ɪə | ɪə | spɪ̄ə | ʼspearʼ | ɪʌ | spɪ̄ʌ | ʼspearʼ |
| (GAE: iː) | | ɪə | ʼhereʼ | | ɪ̄ʌ | ʼhereʼ |
| | i | spi | ʼspearʼ | ʌ | ʌřɫm | ʼhearʼ |
| | ɪ | ɪ̄řɫm | ʼhearʼ | | | |
| ɛə | ɛ | sɛ | ʼchairʼ | ɛə | ʃ̆ɛə | ʼchairʼ |
| (GAE: ɛː) | | ɛ̄řɪplɛˡn | ʼaeroplaneʼ | ɛʌ | tʃ̆ɛʌ | ʼchairʼ |
| | æ | æpot | ʼairportʼ | ʌ | ʌ̄řɪplɛ́ˡn | ʼaeroplaneʼ |
| oɔ | o | pot | ʼboatʼ | oɔ | poɔt | ʼboatʼ |
| (GAE: ʌɤ) | | ó̄lɫm | ʼholdʼ | | ó̄ɔlim | ʼholdʼ |
| | | wɪ́nto | ʼwindowʼ | | wɪndoɔ | ʼwindowʼ |
| | (w)ɔ | (w)ò̄lɪmʌ́ni | ʼold manʼ | ʌɔ | ʌ̀ɔpɪnɫm | ʼopenʼ |
| | ʌ | ʌpɪnɫm | ʼopenʼ | | rʌɔp | ʼropeʼ |
| | | tɔmóřʌ | ʼtomorrowʼ | | wɪnt ʌɔ | ʼwindowʼ |
| aɔ | a | atsʌ́ˡt | ʼoutsideʼ | aɔ | aɔtsʌ́ˡt | ʼoutsideʼ |
| (GAE: æɤ) | | mántɪn | ʼmountainʼ | | mā̀ɔntɪn | ʼmountainʼ |
| | ʌɔ | kɪlʌ́ɔn | ʼclownʼ | ɛ | kɛpói | ʼcowboyʼ |

### 2.4.2 PHONETIC REALISATION OF ENGLISH VOWEL GLIDES IN MT

The vowel glides in English loans are of two kinds. In the older or more Tiwiised loans the glide is the length of two syllables and may be interpreted as two syllables, as are the vowel glides in TT (see 2.2.2, p.22, and example 2-91(a) and (e)). In the newer English loans the English glides are realised differently by different people. For instance, the English glide [eᶦ], as in 'bait' (see Table 2.4), may be realised as [eᶦ], [æᶦ], [ʌᶦ], [ɛꞏ] or [æꞏ].

Most young people have a contrast between their realisation of the English glide [ɛᶦ] and the English glide [aᶦ], as in 'bite'.

Example (2-92)

| Speaker 1 (PJ12) | Speaker 2 (BP6) | |
|---|---|---|
| [kɛᶦk] | [kʌᶦk] | 'cake' |
| [lʌᶦt] | [laᶦᵗ] | 'light' |

The English vowel [æ] is also realised in the same way as the English glide [eᶦ] in some words. This seems to be when the [æ] is lengthened in English before a voiced consonant e.g. MT: [pɛᶦk] 'bag'.


### 2.4.3 PHONETIC REALISATION OF ENGLISH CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN MT

Table 2.5 gives the realisations of some of the consonant clusters in English loan words in MT. The list is by no means exhaustive, as new words are being borrowed continually. In the table, the consonant clusters are grouped according to their occurrences in English, which do not necessarily coincide with their occurrence in Tiwi. For instance, some consonant clusters which occur finally in English may occur medially in MT, because the words in which they occur finally are verbs which take the transitive suffix, -im, e.g. 'ask' in English becomes askim. In the table the clusters are grouped according to their position in the word:

A: those clusters which occur only initially (or perhaps medially across syllable boundaries);
B: those which can occur initially, medially or finally;
C: those which occur medially or finally;
D: those which occur only medially, i.e. across syllable boundaries.

From Table 2.5 some general patterns can be seen:

(i) Most consonant clusters may be retained in MT, at least in the speech of some young people. Voiced stops normally become voiceless where a cluster is retained. The fricative [f] may be retained as [f] or may become [p].

(ii) Across syllable boundaries non-homorganic clusters generally seem to be retained, though some may have the insertion of a high vowel, often with the consonants being 'Tiwiised', e.g. [fɪksɨmʌp] or [pɪkɪtšɨmʌp] 'fix up'.

TABLE 2.5  REALISATION OF SOME ENGLISH CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN MT

| English | Tiwi | Examples (phonetic) | | Tiwi | Examples (phonetic) | |
|---------|------|---------|--------|------|---------|--------|
| A fl | fl | flæg | ´flag´ | p∔l | p∔lɛíki | ´flag´ |
| fr | fr | from | ´from´ | pw | pwɔ̀ŋkɪpwɔ́ŋki | ´frog´ |
| | pr | prom | ´from´ | pɪr | pɪrɒ̀kɪpɪróki | ´frog´ |
| kl | kl | klamʌp | ´climb up´ | k∔l | k∔lú: | ´claw´ |
| kr | kr | krɛ́šim | ´crash´ | k∔r | k∔rɛ́i | ´cry´ |
| gr | kr | krin | ´green´ | k∔r | k∔rín | ´green´ |
| bl | pl | plɛ́nkɪt | ´blanket´ | p∔l | p∔lɛnkíti | ´blanket´ |
| | | | | | | |
| B sp | sp | spʌ́ᷴtʌ | ´spider´ | p | pʌ́ᷴtʌ | ´spider´ |
| | | ɔ́spɪtʌl | ´hospital´ | tšɪp | ʌtšɪpɪtíli | ´hospital´ |
| | | | | tšɪp | tšɪpíl∔m | ´spill´ |
| st | st | stɪk | ´stick´ | t | tɪk | ´stick´ |
| | | pʌstimʌ́p | ´bust up´ | | | |
| | | fəst | ´first´ | s | fəs | ´first´ |
| | tš | pʌtš∔mʌ́p | ´bust up´ | t̞ | tít̞ʌ | ´sister´ |
| sk | sk | skɷl | ´school´ | tšɷk | tšɷkɔ́li | ´school´ |
| | | ʌsk∔m | ´ask´ | tšɪk | ʌtšɪk∔m | ´ask´ |
| | | pʌ́skɪt | ´basket´ | k | pʌ́kɪt | ´basket´* |
| | | | | | | |
| C mp | mp | tšʌmp | ´jump´ | | | |
| nt | nt | wɔ́nt∔m | ´want´ | n | wɔ́n∔m | ´want´ |
| | | ɛ́l∔f∔nt | ´elephant´ | | ɛ́l∔f∔n | ´elephant´ |
| ntš | ntš | tšɛ́ᷴntš∔m | ´change´ | tš | tšɛ́ᷴtš∔m | ´change´ |
| | | | | ɲ | ɛ́ɲɷl | ´angel´ |
| ld | lt | pɔ́lt∔m | ´build´ | t | potan | ´fall down´ |
| | | | | l | ol∔m | ´hold´ |
| lt | | | | l | sɔ̀mɪsɔ́l | ´somersault´ |
| ks | ks | fɪ̀ks∔mʌ́p | ´fix up´ | kɪtš | pɪkɪtš∔mʌ́pɪ | ´fix up´ |
| | | | | s | sɪs | ´six´ |
| gs | ks | ɛks | ´eggs´ | | | |
| kst | ks | nɛks | ´next´ | s | nɛs | ´next´ |
| | | | | | | |
| D mb | mp | ʌmpʌk | ´humbug´ | mb | ʌmbʌk | ´humbug´ |
| mt | mt | ɛ́mti | ´empty´ | | | |
| nθ | n̞t̞ | semɛ́n̞t̞ʌ | ´Samantha´ | | | |
| ktš | ktš | pɪ́ktšʌ | ´picture´ | tš | pɪtšʌ | ´picture´ |
| ktr | ktr | lɛ́ktrɪk | ´electric wire´ | tr | lɛ́trɪk | ´electric wire´ |
| | | | | tɪr | lʌtɪríkɪ | ´electricity´ |

*  This may actually be meant to be ´bucket´ but it was given for a picture of a basket.

(iii) A high vowel may be inserted between consonants, (when the clusters are initial or medial). The high vowel inserted is generally /i/ but may be /u/, being assimilated to a nearby /u/. A high vowel appears to be inserted only when the consonants are 'Tiwiised', i.e. close to a TT form, e.g. [tšǫkǫli] but [skǫl] 'school'.

(iv) One of the consonants may be dropped. This dropping of consonants seems to follow some kind of patterning, at least in some cases:

(a) for a cluster, /s/ plus a stop: initially or medially the /s/ may be dropped, e.g. /tιk/ 'stick', /pakιt/ 'basket'; finally, the stop may be dropped, e.g. /fεs/ 'first'.

(b) for a lateral plus a stop: finally, the stop may be dropped; medially, either may be dropped, e.g. /somisol/ 'somersault', /olim/ 'hold', /potan/ 'fall down'. In this latter case the voiced stop has become voiceless as well.

(c) for homorganic nasal plus stop clusters: /t/ may be dropped leaving /n/, e.g. /paynim/ [páˡn‡m] 'find', [n] may be dropped, leaving /tš/, /tšeyι(n)tš‡m/ [tšεˡ(n)tš‡m]~[tšεˡtš‡m] 'change'; for labial and velar homorganic sequences, both nasal and stop appear to be always retained, though these may turn out to be variable on further investigation.

(v) Clusters of three consonants may retain all three (though this may depend upon the actual components) or drop one consonant. There are only two examples of these in the data i.e. /kst/ and /ktr/ (see Table 2.5).


## 2.4.4  PHONOTACTICS

As can be seen from Table 2.5, there are a number of consonant clusters in MT which cannot be regarded as single segments as the phonetic clusters in TT can be, e.g. fl, pr, sp, etc. These must then be interpreted as two segments and so the phonotactics of MT can be seen as different from those of TT. The TT syllable patterns CV and V are expanded to include patterns such as:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CVC | /lok/ | 'log' | VC | /os•pital/ | | 'hospital' |
| CCV | /tri/ | 'three' | VCC | /eks/ | | 'eggs' |
| CCVC | /from/ | 'from' | CVCC | /fəst/ | | 'first' |

There do not appear to be any examples of CCVCC. It is difficult to decide whether the homorganic nasal-stop clusters appearing in MT are to be regarded as single segments (as in TT) or as phonemic sequences of two segments (as in English). In the syllable by syllable enunciation of words containing such clusters, some young people and children have given the nasal as closing the first syllable, in both TT and English words.

Example (2-93)

(a)  /man.ta.ŋa/        'friend(f)'
     (TT: /mantaŋa/   [mʌntʌŋʌ ] or /mataŋa/ [mʌtʌ́ŋʌ])

(b)  /tšaŋ.kul/        'jungle'

Others leave out the nasal, in syllabifying words. This is particularly so in words from TT (see 2.3.3, p.37) but may also occur with some English words given by some speakers.

Example (2-94)

(a) /ma.ta.ŋa/ 'friend' (given for either [mʌtʎŋʌ] or [mʌⁿtʎŋʌ ])

(b) /tše.yi.tšim/ for [tšɛ́ˡntšɨm] 'change'

Because of the now common CVC syllable pattern in MT it seems best to
interpret the homorganic nasal-stop clusters as a sequence of two segments /N/
+ /S/, except in the words from TT, which seem generally to have either lost
their nasalisation or to have optional nasalisation (see 2.3.3, p.37) in which
case the prenasalised stops may be regarded as allophones of stops. Since in
most examples of English loans the nasal is retained (but in some cases the
stop is dropped), it seems best to regard the prenasalised stops in loans as
two segments with either the stop or nasal as optional, depending upon the word
or the position of the stop in a word.

Example (2-95)

(a) [mʌtʎŋʌ] ~ [mʌntʎŋʌ ] /mataŋa/ 'friend(f)'

(b) [tšɛ́ˡtšɨm] ~ [tšɛˡntšɨm] /tšeyi(n)tšim/ 'change'

(c) [wɔ́ntɨm] ~ [wɔ́nɨm] /wan(t)im/ 'want'


## 2.4.5 STRESS

Stress is not predictable in English as it is in TT. Most loans which
have been borrowed into Tiwi for some time have been fitted into the TT stress
pattern as well as into the TT phonemic system (see 2.2.1, p.21).

Example (2-96) TT:

(a) /ʈukuḷi/ [ʈokóḷi] 'school'

(b) /aʈipitili/ [ʎʈɪpɪtíli] 'hospital'

(c) /piratini/ [pɩ̀rʌtíni] 'frightened'

(d) /puřupuḷi/ [pɔ̀řopóḷi] 'football'

In the speech of young people many of these older loans are retained, but
often with the final vowel dropped. In these cases it seems that sometimes the
primary stress may remain on the same syllable (now the final syllable) or it
may occur in the syllable in which it occurs in the English word. These may
sometimes coincide.

Example (2-97)

(a) [pɔřopóḷi] > [pɔřopól] or [pɔ́řopɔ̀l] 'football'

(b) [ʈokóḷi] > [tšokól] 'school'

(c) [pɩɾʌtíni] > [pɩɾátɪn] 'frightened'

More recent acquisitions from English generally maintain the English
stress, which may or may not coincide with the TT stress pattern.

Example  (2-98)

(a)  [ɔspɪtʌl]                               'hospital'

(b)  [λlɪkɔ́ptʌ] or [λlɪkɔ́pɪřʌ]              'helicopter'

(c)  [fʌ́ni ]                                 'funny'

(d)  [kɪ́lɨm ]                                'kill'

(e)  [tšɛ́ˡntšɨm ]                            'change'


## 2.5  MODERN TIWI PHONOLOGY

Considering the whole range of Modern Tiwi, a uniform phonemic system
cannot be postulated, as has been pointed out before.  Even one individual may
have different phonemic systems operating over his different styles of speech,
so that a person may distinguish between [p] and [f] in English but in his Tiwi
may not distinguish between them in loans.  For instance, a person may always
say [faˡt] for 'fight' in English, but in one style of Tiwi (such as casual MT)
he may fluctuate between [faˡt] and [paˡt], and in a more formal style of Tiwi
may say [pɛítɪ].  Another individual may never distinguish between [p] and [f],
even in English, while still another may always distinguish between them, so
that all English loans with an /f/ are pronounced with an [f], while all loans
with a /p/ are pronounced with a [p].

This type of stylistic variation is reported in creole situations, where
there is a continuum from the basilect (the style closest to the Aboriginal
language) and the acrolect (the style closest to the prestige language); see
Fraser 1977, Sandefur 1979.

Even in monolingual speech communities people adjust their way of speaking
depending upon: the topic of the speech, to whom they are speaking and the
setting, or the formality of the occasion of the speech.  These factors often
influence the phonological choices as well as the choices of the lexical items
(cf. Fischer 1958, Labov 1964, 1972b, Burling 1970:91-99).

Although it is not possible to postulate a phonemic system which is common
to all young people, an attempt is made in the following pages to show the
tendencies and to give a system which is fairly general for the normal speech
of many young people (about twelve years to the twenties).


### 2.5.1  MT CONSONANTS

Considering the MT data as a whole, including words derived from TT and
from English, there is a wide range of contoids, i.e. phonetic realisations of
consonants, which are shown in Table 2.6.  Those marked by an asterisk are not
very common.

As already pointed out, not all these contoids are used by every
individual.  The contoids are grouped and contrasted differently by different
people, some of these groupings and contrasts are discussed below.

TABLE 2.6    CONTOIDS IN MT

|  | Bilabial/ labio-dental | Lamino- dental | Apico- alveolar | Apico- domal | Lamino- palatal | Dorsal- velar |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **stops** | pʰ p b* | ƚ | tʰ t d* | ʈ* | ʈ* | kʰ k g* |
| **prenasalised stops** | mp | ṋƚ | nt | ṇʈ* | ɲʈ | ŋk |
| **affricates** |  |  |  |  | tš dž |  |
| **fricatives** | f v* | θ ð* | s z* |  | š | ɡ* |
| **nasals** | m | ṋ* | n | ṇ* | ɲ | ŋ |
| **laterals** |  |  | l | ḷ* |  |  |
| **rhotics** |  |  | ř r̃ | ṛ* |  |  |
| **semi-vowels** | w |  | r |  | y | h |

(1) Stops and fricatives.  The aspirated voiceless stops are only fluctuations or variations of the unaspirated voiceless stops or, in the case of the bilabial, of the fricative, [f].  Contrast between the stops and fricatives is more common than contrast between voiced and voiceless stops.  With the labials then, the phonemes /p/ and /f/ can be set up, as they are contrasted by a number of young people.

Example (2-99) (MT)

(a)        /pensil/      'pencil'
           /fens/        'fence'

(b)        /pafalo/      'buffalo'
           /papi/        'arrive'

    A contrast between /p/ and /b/ is made by a few young people in English loans but it is more common for [p] and [b] (and also [pʰ]) to be variants of the phoneme /p/.

Example (2-100) (MT)

(a) /pol/   [pol] ~ [bol]   'ball'

(b) /apat/   [ʌpát] ~ [ʌbát]   'about'

    Similarly /t/ and /s/ are contrasted by most young people, while [d] is normally a variant of /t/.

Example  (2-101)  (MT)

(a)  /teɪim/        'tell'
     /seɪim/        'sell'

(b)  /pitipita/  'abdomen'
     /pisi/         'busy'

(c)  /to/  [to] ~ [do]   'door'

The voiced and voiceless velar stops [g] and [k], can, in general, be regarded as allophones of /k/.  Though some young people distinguish between them, this is not common.

Example  (2-102)

(a)  /kəl/         [kəl]     ~     [gəl]       'girl'
(b)  /pikipiki/    [pìkɪpíki]  ~ [pìgɪpígi]   'pig'

Although some young people seem to make a distinction between the voiced and voiceless fricatives [v] and [f], and [z] and [s] (see Table 2.3), again, this is not general, so neither /v/ nor /z/ are considered as separate phonemes for MT.

Similarly the velar fricative [ɠ], while being used by some older young people in more formal styles of Tiwi, is not a normal phoneme in MT (see 2.3.2, p.35).

(2) Lamino-dental and lamino-palatal stops, affricates and fricatives.  Young people, in general, seem to be using an affricate, [tš] (or [t̪š]), rather than the palatal stop [t̪] (see also Lee 1982).  While in TT the phoneme /t̪/ can be regarded as having allophones [t̪] and [t̪], in MT, and particularly in Children's Tiwi, this appears to be split into two phonemes, /tš/ and /t̪/, in the speech of many young people (see 2.3.7, p.41).

The voiced and voiceless dental fricatives [ð] and [θ] are very rare and usually are in variation with [t̪] (or sometimes [t]), and so are not separate phonemes in general in MT (see Table 2.3).

Example  (2-103)   (MT)

(a)  /t̪ri(yi)/  [t̪ri:] ~ [θri:]   'three'

(b)  /fet̪a/      [fɛt̪ʌ] ~ [fɛθʌ]   'feather'

The occurrence of [s] is more common and in most cases seems to be contrastive to [tš] and [š].  However, there is still quite a lot of fluctuation between [tš] and [š] in English loans and some fluctuation between [s] and [š] (see Table 2.3).  Even so, many young people have a contrast between /tš/ and /š/ (sometimes with the /š/ phoneme being derived from a merging of the English /tš/ and /š/ phonemes),[39] particularly in newer loans.

Example  (2-104)

(a)  /t̪šimi/        [t̪šími]        'she did'
     /šita/         [šʕt̪ʌ]         'cheetah'

(b)  /t̪šiti/        [t̪šɪti]        'bad(m)'
     (or /t̪šiti̪ /)
     /šət/          [šət]           'shirt'

(3) Apico-domal (or retroflex) consonants.  Young people's speech still
contains some examples of these (see 2.3.1, p.35) but the general trend is for
them to be lost.  In the few words in which retroflex consonants are retained
even by children, these could be interpreted as two segments /r/ and /t/, as
Osborne interprets them for TT (1974:12).  This is acceptable in MT as there
exist 'non-suspect' CC sequences (see also the discussion in 2.4.4, p.56
regarding prenasalised stops).

(4) Rhotics.  The retroflex rhotic [ɻ], in general, is being replaced by one
closer to the English [r].  It is not clear from the evidence I have whether
this rhotic, [ɻ], and the alveolar rhotic flap, [ř], are falling together into
the one phoneme /r/ but it seems to be so (see 2.3.8, p.43).  (The alveolar
rhotic trill occurs only in fluctuation with the flap.)  At this stage I am
separating the two rhotics as separate phonemes, as in TT, as there appears to
be some contrast.

Example  (2-105)  (MT)

     /kuřupuɻani/    [kòřopoɻʌ́ni]    'frill-necked lizard'

     (TT:  /kuřupuɻani/)

(5) Prenasalised stops.  In general, those from TT derived words are normally
in fluctuation with non-nasalised stops (see 2.3.3, p.37) (except in the
subject-tense prefixes of verbs (see 4.2.1.2, p.167)) and in these cases are
regarded as allophones of the corresponding stops.  Where they occur in English
loans and are not in fluctuation with non-nasalised stops, they are regarded as
a sequence of two phonemes, /N/ and /S/ (see 2.4.3, p.56).  In either case the
prenasalised stops are not regarded as phonemes /NS/.

(6) Nasals.  The retroflex nasal, in general, is not regarded as a separate
phoneme in MT, its occurrence normally being restricted to the more formal Tiwi
of older young people.

     The dental nasal has become either /n/ or /ɲ/ (see 2.3.7, p.42).  There is
clear contrast between /n/ and /ɲ/ only in one or two examples, as there are
very few cases of [ɲ] remaining in the speech of most young people (see 2.3.7,
p.42).

Example  (2-106)  (MT)

(a)  /yipaliɲa/    [i(m)pʌlíɲʌ]        'woman'
     /lina/        [líɲʌ] ~ [líɲʌ]     'Lina'

(b)  /kupuni/      [kopóɲi]            'canoe'
     /tokopuni/    [tɔkɔpóɲi]          'bird'

There are some words which even young children give with a lamino-palatal nasal. Like the few remaining retroflex consonants, perhaps these palatal nasals can be interpreted as a sequence of two consonants, i.e. /n/ plus /y/.[40] Whether this is a psychologically valid interpretation or not is not clear at this stage. The palatal nasal is included in Table 2.7 (a table of general consonants for MT) but it is included in parentheses as its occurrence is so rare.

(7) Voiceless vocoid [h] appears to be a separate phoneme, in the speech of some young people, though by no means general. It occurs in words derived from TT in a final position (see 2.3.2, p.35), e.g. [kɔlʌlʌ̊h] /kulalah/ 'hunt', and in words derived from English in an initial position, e.g. [hɪl] /hil/ 'hill' (only in some people's speech). It is included in Table 2.7.

Table 2.7 is a summary of the consonants which are fairly general in MT. Those which are not very common are given in parentheses.

TABLE 2.7    MT CONSONANTS

|  | Inter-dental | Alveolar | Alveo-palatal | Labial | Velar |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **stops/ affricates** | t̪ | t | tš̌ | p | k |
| **fricatives** |  | s | š̌ | f | (h) |
| **nasals** |  | n | (ɲ) | m | ŋ |
| **laterals** |  | l |  |  |  |
| **rhotics** |  | ř |  |  |  |
| **semi-vowels** |  | r | y |  | w |

## 2.5.2  MT VOWELS

With regard to the vowels, the problem of postulating a uniform system is even more complex, since there are so many different vowels in the English loans, which are contrastive in English but not necessarily so in MT. These are realised in different ways by different people (see Table 2.4, p.52). Figure 2.2 shows the cardinal vowels[41] and the way in which these appear to be grouped to form phonemes in MT. There is some overlapping since for one person a vocoid may be grouped with one phoneme, while for another person it may be grouped with another one. For instance, one young girl's total vocoid inventory was lower than usual, so that her [ɛ] was equivalent to another person's [ɪ], and her [æ] to [ɛ].

Example  (2-107)

(a)  [mæn]      (BP6)      [mɛn]      /men/      'man, men'

(b)  [kɛləm]    (BP6)      [kɪlɨm]    /kilim/    'kill'

The main vocoids in MT are:

[i]   a high front close unrounded vocoid,
[ɪ]   a high front open unrounded vocoid,
[e]   a mid front close unrounded vocoid,
[ɛ]   a mid front open unrounded vocoid,
[æ]   a low front open unrounded vocoid,
[ɨ]   a high central open/close unrounded vocoid,
[ə]   a mid central close unrounded vocoid,
[ʌ]   a low central close unrounded vocoid,
[a]   a low central open unrounded vocoid,
[u]   a high back close rounded vocoid,
[ʊ]   a high back open rounded vocoid,
[o]   a mid back close rounded vocoid,
[ɔ]   a mid back open rounded vocoid,
[ɒ]   a low back open rounded vocoid
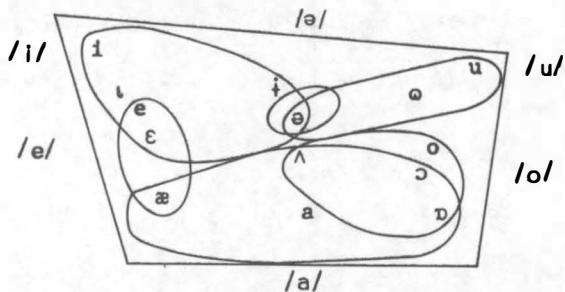


FIGURE 2.2     PHONETIC REALISATION OF VOWELS IN MT

The vocoid [ə] causes a problem.  In some cases it can be regarded as an allophone of /i/ or /u/, where it fluctuates with either [ɪ] or [ʊ].  These are generally in unstressed syllables (as in TT, see 2.2.2, p.22).  However, there are other cases of stressed [ə], derived from English stressed [ə], in which the [ə] is in contrast with other vowels, and so needs to be analysed as a phoneme /ə/ (see example 2-108).

As well as the four contrastive vowels of TT, /i/, /a/, /o/, and /u/, in general, /e/ is also contrastive in MT.

Example  (2-108)  (MT)

(a)  /kilim/     'kill'          (b)  /pitipita/    'abdomen'
     /kəl/       'girl'               /pet/         'bed'
     /kali/      'run'                /pət/         'bird'
     /kolim/     'call'               /apat/        'about'
     /kulalaa/   'hunt'               /pot/         'boat'
                                      /putim/       'put'

(c)  /elifin(t)/  'elephant'     (d)  /sik/         'sick'
     /əli/        'early'             /sekan/       'second'
     /alipura/    'pelican'           /səkul/       'circle'
     /oliteyi/    'holiday'           /sakim/       'suck'
                                      /sok/         'sock(s)'
                                      /suki/        'sooky'

Table 2.8 shows the vowels posited for MT. The vowel /ə/ is included in parentheses, since this has such a limited occurrence. Since a following alveolar consonant is often retroflected phonetically (e.g. [əɭi] or [eɭi]), perhaps this vowel and the following consonant can be treated in a similar way to the VC sequences in the few remaining words derived from TT which have a retroflex consonant, but as *erC* (cf. 2.5.1(3), p.61).[42] At least that is how /ə/ is treated orthographically. (See Table 2.9).

Example  (2-109)  (MT)

| | phonetic | phonemic | orthographic | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (a) | [tšíʈi] | /tšiʈi/ or /tširti/ | *jirti* | 'bad' |
| (b) | [-mwɒʈi] ~ [-mɔʈi] | /-moʈi/ or /mortl/ | *-morti* | 'son' |
| (c) | [səkɔl] | /səkul/ or /sərkul/ | *serkul* | 'circle' |
| (d) | [əɭi] ~ [əɭi] | /əɭi/ or /ərɭi/ | *erli* | 'early' |

TABLE 2.8    MT VOWELS

| | Front | Central | Back |
|---|---|---|---|
| **High** | i | | u |
| **Mid** | e | (ə) | o |
| **Low** | | a | |

The allophonic variations of the vowels in MT are similar to those of TT (see 2.2.4.2, p.25) except for /e/ and some allophonic variations of /a/. Only the general variations are given:

(1) /i/  [i]  occurs finally or contiguous to a medial /y/,

Example  (2-110)  (MT)

(a)  [kʌ́ři]      /kaři/    'when'

(b)  [wi(y)ǽři]  /wiyaři/  'also'

[ɪ]  generally occurs elsewhere

Example  (2-111)  (MT)

(a)  [ɪ(n)kíti]  /yikiti/   'food'

(b)  [íntɪyɛn]   /intiyen/  'Indian'

(c)  [pìkɪpíki]  /pikipiki/ 'pig'

(2) /e/   [ɛ] is the normal allophone, though some people have [e] or even [æ] (see earlier); [ɛ] or [e] normally occur finally,

Example (2-112) (MT)

(a) [tšɛ] ~ [tše]                 /tše/      'chair'

(b) [mɛn] ~ [mæn]              /men/     'man, men'[43]

(c) [él+f+n(t)] ~ [ǽləfən(t)]   /elifin(t)/  'elephant'

(3) /a/   [ʌ] is the normal allophone, sometimes fluctuating with [a], or [æ] may occur contiguous to /y/.

Example (2-113) (MT)

(a) [fʌ́ni]            /fani/    'funny'

(b) [fʌ́ṭʌ] ~ [fáṭʌ]     /fata/   'father'

(c) [yʌ́ti] ~ [yǽti]     /yati/   'one'

(d) [lʌ˺t] ~ [laˡt]     /layt/   'light'

(4) /o/   [ɔ] and [o] fluctuate in most positions:

Example (2-114) (MT)

(a) [lɔk] ~ [lok]   /log/   'log'

(b) [yɔ́ni] ~[yóni]   /yoni/   'other(m)'

The sequences [Cwʌ], [Cwɒ], [Cwɔ] and [Cɔ] fluctuate and, as in TT, these are interpreted as /Co/, (see 2.2.2, p.22).

Example (2-115) (MT)

[pwʌ́ṭʌ] ~ [pwɒ́ṭʌ] ~ [pwɔ́ṭʌ] ~ [pɔ́ṭʌ]  /pota/  'bone'

(5) /u/   [ʊ] is the normal allophone; [u] occurs before /w/,

Example (2-116) (MT)

(a) [-yu(w)ʌ́ni]  /-yuwani/   'younger brother'

(b) [kʊkóni]   /kukuni/   'water'

(c) [mʊn]     /mun/    'banana'

### 2.5.3 INTERPRETATION IN MT

(1) Phonetic consonant clusters

Homorganic nasal-stop clusters in TT-derived words (which, in general, fluctuate with the corresponding stop) are regarded as allophones of the stop phoneme.

Example (2-117) (MT)

(a) [mʌntʌ́nɪ ] ~ [mʌtʌ́nɪ]     /matani/      'friend(m)'  (TT: /ma(n)tani/)

(b) [pɒmpɒ́nɪ ] ~ [pɒpɒ́nɪ]     /pupuni/      'good(m)'   (TT: /pu(m)puni/)

(c) [pʌlʌmpʌ́lʌ]~ [pʌlʌpʌ́lʌ]  /palapala/   'bed'       (TT: /palampala/)

(d) [ɪmpʌlíɲʌ ] ~ [ɪpʌlíɲʌ]    /yipaliɲa/   'woman'     (TT: /yimpaliɲa/)

The consonant clusters in English loans, including the homorganic nasal-stop clusters, are regarded as sequences of two consonants.

Example (2-118) (MT)

(a) [trɛ́ktʌ]            /trekta/   'tractor'

(b) [stʌt] ~ [stat]       /stat/     'start'

(c) [spílɨm]              /spilim/   'spill'

(d) [trɪnk]               /trink/    'drink'

(e) [wʌ́ntɨm] ~[wɔ́ntɨm]   /wantim/   'want'

In the few TT-derived words which retain an invariable homorganic nasal-stop cluster (i.e. in the subject-tense prefixes of inflected verbs – see 4.2.2.2, p.176), the cluster is regarded as a sequence of two consonants.

Example (2-119) (MT)

[ʌmpɪrímɪ ]   /ampirimi/   'she does'

Retroflex consonants which are still retained in TT-derived words are regarded as sequences of two consonants, contrary to TT (cf. 2.2.2, p.21 and 2.5.1, p.61).

Example (2-120) (MT)

[tšíʈɪ]   /tširti/    'bad(m)'

(2) Initial high vowels

In TT-derived words these are interpreted as in TT, since there is still some fluctuation between them with or without an initial semi-vowel onglide (cf. 2.2.2, p.22).

In English-derived words there does not appear to be this fluctuation, and since there are loans which are a-, o- or e-initial, the loans with initial high vowels are also regarded as vowel initial. There are not many words found in this category.[44]

Example (2-121) (MT)

(a) [ɛ́lɪfl̩n(t)]   /elifin(t)/   'elephant'

(b) [orʌ́ᶜt]   /orayt/   'all right'

(c) [ɪ́ntɪyɛ̀n]   /intiyen/   'Indian'

(d) [ɪ́mɪu]   /imyu/   'emu'

(3) Vowel glides

In TT-derived words and in older or more Tiwiised loans, the vowel glides are interpreted as two syllables with an intrinsic semi-vowel between them (see 2.2.2, p.22).

Example (2-122) (MT)

(a) [tɛˢkwɔ́pɪ] ~[tɛˢkɔ́pɪ]   /tayikopi/   'many'[45]

(b) [pɛɪ́tɪ]   /payiti/   'fight'

In more recent loans the vowel glides are normally of one syllable length and can be interpreted as one vowel with a semi-vowel offglide (or in some cases an onglide) /y/ or /w/ (cf. Fraser 1977:159).

Example (2-123)

(a) [fʌˢt]   /fayt/   'fight'

(b) [pɛˢpʌ]   /peypa/   'paper'

(c) [poˢ]   /poy/   'boy'

(d) [poᵒt.]..~ [pɔᵒt]   /powt/   'boat'

(e) [ɔᵒlɨm]   /owlim/   'hold'

(f) [imɪu]   /imyu/   'emu'

(g) [kwɛšɪn]   /kwešin/   'question'

(h) [pɛˢk]   /peyk/   'bag'

The symbols /y/ and /w/ are chosen rather than /i/ and /u/ because these vowel glides are seen as having one syllable nucleus and are not two vowels in two distinct syllables, as Osborne interprets the VV sequences in TT (1974:18). This means that CC sequences result, but since there are other CC sequences present in MT this is no problem.  It also means that there are some instances of CCC sequences.

Example  (2-124)  (MT)

(a)  [poˡntim]    /poyntim/      'point'

(b)  [wɛˡstɨm]    /weystim/      'waste'

## 2.5.4  PHONOTACTICS AND STRESS IN MT

In MT, there are a number of 'non-suspect' consonant clusters, such as sk, ks, tr, nt.  The general syllable pattern can be given as (C)(C)V(C)C (see 2.4.4, p.56).  For examples of the CC clusters see Table 2.5, p.55.

In general the words derived from TT retain TT stress (except for those few discussed in 2.3.12, p.48), but most English loans retain English stress (see 2.4.3, p.57).

## 2.6  SUMMARY OF COMPARISON OF TT AND MT PHONOLOGY

|            | TT |     |     |     |     | MT |     |     |     |     |
|------------|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|

**Phonemes**

**Consonants:**

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ṯ | ṭ | ṱ | p | k | | ṱ | t | tš | p | k |
| n | ṇ | ɲ | m | ŋ | | n | ɲ | | m | ŋ |
| nt | ṇṭ | nṱ | mp | ŋk | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | s | š | f | | |
| l | ḷ | | | | | l | | | | |
| ř | ṛ | | | | | (ř) | | | | |
| | | y | w | ɡ | | r | y | w | h | |

**Vowels:**

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ɨ | a | o | u | | | ɨ | e | a | o | u | (ə) |

| TT | MT |
|---|---|

**Interpretation:**
(see 2.2.2.)

(i)   [ɒ] ~ [wɒ]   /wu/ ⎫

                                 }(#___)

    [ɪ] ~ [y ɨ]   /yi/ ⎭

As for TT, in TT words and older loans;
[ɪ]   /i/ (#___) in newer loans,

e.g. [ɒpóŋʌ] ~ [wɒpóŋʌ]
     /wupuŋa/ 'grass'
   [ɪŋʌ̌ʈ ɪ] ~ [yɪŋʌ̌ʈ ɪ]
     /yiŋaʈi/ 'plenty'

e.g. [ìntiyɛ́n]   /intiyen/
          'Indian'

(ii)  [ɒ:]   /uwu/
     [i:]   /iyi/

As for TT

e.g. [kʌlɒ́:]   /kaluwu/ 'no'
   [kí:ʈʌ]   /kiyiʈa/ 'a little'

[kʌlɒ:]   /kaluwu/   'no'
[kí:ʈʌ]   /kiyiʈa/   'a little'

(iii) [V₁ V₂]   /V₁YV₂/,

Y is intrinsic semi-vowel,
/y/ or /w/,

As for TT in TT words and some English loans,

e.g. [tɛí(n)t ɪ] /tayi(n)ti/
          'stand!'

e.g. [pɛítɪ]   /payiti/ 'fight'

In newer loans: [V₁V₂] /YV₂/,
where V₁ is a high vocoid,
[V₁V₂] /V₁Y/ where V₂ is a high
vocoid, and Y is a semivowel
/y/ or /w/

(iv) [NS] ~ [S]  /NS/ ~ /S/

[NS] ~ [S]   /S/ in TT-
derived words (more fluctuation
than in TT - see 2.3.3);
[NS] (in Eng. loans) /N/ + /S/,

e.g. /mantani/ ~ /matani/ 'friend(m)'

[NS] (not fluctuating with [S])  /NS/,

e.g [wɔŋkínɪ]   /waŋkini/
          'dog(m)'

e.g. [ʌ́mpʌk]   /ampak/ 'humbug'

(v)  [Cwɒ] ~ [Cɒ]  /Cɒ/,

[Cwi:]   /Cuyi/
e.g. [ŋwi:]   /ŋuyi/ 'future'
[Cwʌ] ~ [Cwɒ] ~ [Cwɔ]  /Cɒ/,

As for TT but less labialisation,
see 2.3.4;
[ŋw] > [w]
/ŋuyi/ > /wiyi/ 'future'
As for TT, but less labialisation,

e.g. [ɪkwʌ́nɪ] ~ [ɪkwɒ́nɪ] ~
   [ɪkwɔ́nɪ]   /yikoni/ 'fire'
[Cwʌ] ~ [Cʌ]   /Cɒ/ or /Ca/
e.g. [ʌl̩ípwʌ]   /alipo/
~[ʌl̩ípʌ]   /alipa/ 'coconut'

e.g. [ɪkwɔ́nɪ] ~ [ɪkɔ́nɪ]
     /yikoni/ 'fire'
As for TT but less labialisation;
English loans: [Cw]   /C/ + /w/,
e.g. [kwin]   /kwin/ 'queen'

(vi) [Ç̌]   /Ç̌/,

/Ç̌/ > /C/ (see 2.3.1)

e.g. [mwʌl̩ɪkɪ]   /moḷiki/ 'swim'

   [ʈ ít ɪ]   /ʈiʈi/ 'bad(m)'

[mɔl̩íkɪ]   /moliki/   'swim'

[Ç̌]   /r/ + /C/ (2.5.3)
[tš̌ítɪ]   /tširti/ 'bad(m)'

|  | TT | MT |
|---|---|---|

**Allophonic Alternations and changes:**

(i)

/ɟ/

[ɟ]  [ɟiːmɪ]  /ɟiyimi/  'she did'

/tš/  [tšɪ́mɪ]  /tšimi/ 'she did'
[tšʌ́kɨm]  /tšakim/ 'throw'

[ȶ]  [ȶʌmpʌ́kʌ]  /ȶampaka/  'house'

/ȶ/  [ȶʌpʌ́kʌ]  /ȶapaka/ 'house'
[ȶɪ́řʌ]  /ȶiřa/  'she'

(ii)

/ɲ/

[ɲ]  [kɒpɒ́ɲɪ]  /kupuɲi/  'canoe'

/ɲ/  [kɒpɒ́ɲɪ]  /kupuɲi/ 'canoe'

[mʌḷɪpɪɲɪ́ŋʌ]  /maḷipiɲiŋa/ 'bicycle'

/n/  [mʌḷɪpɪɲɪ́ŋʌ]  /malipiɲiŋa/ 'bicycle'

[mɒḷɒkɪɲɪ́nɪ]  /muḷukiɲini/  'pot-bellied'

/tš/  [(n)tš]  [mɒḷɒkɪ(n)tšɪ́nɪ]  /mulukitšini/ 'pot-bellied'

[ʌwɪɲɪ́řʌ]  /awiɲiřa/  'that(f)'

/ȶ/  [(n)ȶ]  [ʌ(ɳ)ȶɪřʌ]  /aȶiřa/  'that(f)'

[ɳ]  [ɪmpʌḷɪ́ɳʌ]  /yimpaḷiɳa/  'woman'

/ɲ/  [ɪpʌḷɪ́ɲʌ]  /yipaḷiɲa/ 'woman'

[mʌ́ɳʌ]  /maɳa/

/n/  [mʌ́nʌ]  /mana/ 'go ahead'

[ɲɪ́řʌ]  /ɲiřa/  'she'

/ȶ/  [ȶɪ́řʌ]  /ȶiřa/ 'she'

(iii) /g̶/  (only (V__V))
e.g. /kuḷaḷaga/  'hunt'

/h/ or Ø (a__a), (a > Ø /h__#)
/kulalah/ or /kulalaa/ 'hunt'

e.g. /aɳɟiṛuga/  'midday'

/w/  / u__V
/atširuwa/ 'midday'

e.g. /miḷiga/  'angry face'

/y/
/muliya/ 'angry face'
(see 2.3.2)

(iv) /ŋ/ [ŋ] medially

/ŋ/ [ŋ] medially, as TT

initially
/ŋawa/  'we'

Ø initially before /a/,
/awa/ 'we'

/ŋiɲi/  'if'

/y/ before /i/
/yini/ 'if'

(v) /t/ [t] initially

/t/  initially, as TT

[t̚] medially

[t̚] /t/ medially as TT

[ř] /ř/ medially in speech
of some speakers, see 2.3.5,

e.g. /yinkiti/ 'food'

[ɪ(ŋ)kɪ́tɪ]  /yikiti/
[ɪ(n)kɪ́řɪ]  /yikiři/

(vi) /ŗ/ initially

/ŗiţiŋa/  'sugar glider'

     medially

/piţaŗa/   'eye'

/r/
(?)

     [r]  initially
     [rɪtšíŋʌ] /ritšiŋa/

     [ř] ~ [r] medially
     [pɪţʌřʌ] ~ [pɪţʌrʌ]
     /piţara/  (?)
     (see 2.3.8)

    /ř/ medially only

     /ţapařa/  'moon'

/ř/      medially, as for TT

(vii) /ŗ/ medially

e.g. /piţaŗa/  'eye'

/y/      medially in speech of
     younger children
     [pɪţéyʌ] /piţaya/  'eye'

**Stress:**
Primary stress on penultimate
syllables.

As for TT in TT-derived
words; some English loans retain
English stress, others take
TT stress.

**Phonotactics:**
Open syllable structure:
  V,  CV

Open and closed syllables:
(C)(C)V(C)(C)

## 2.7 PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY

Throughout the rest of the paper a practical orthography is used, the
equivalents are given in Table 2.9. Most of the symbols used are the same as
those used by Godfrey (Godfrey 1979:2).

## 2.8 GENERAL MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

When morphemes are joined a number of different processes may take place.
It is outside the scope of this work to discuss all the possibilities. Osborne
gives a good discussion on these (1974:Chapter 2). Two of the most general
processes are given below and, in general, these apply in MT also. Other more
specific processes, particularly in relation to the verb, are discussed where
relevant throughout the rest of the work.

(1) Morpheme final vowels are lost preceding vowel-initial morphemes
(particularly where the initial vowel is /a/).

Example  (2-125)  (TT)

(a)  yi- + mini- + -pirni + -ani  -->  yiminipirnani
    he:P   me(DO)   hit    P:HAB    'He used to hit me'

(b)  ngawa + -ila  -->  ngawila
    we      EMPH      'we(EMPH)'

TABLE 2.9  COMPARISON OF PHONEMIC AND ORTHOGRAPHIC SYMBOLS (where different)

| TT phoneme | MT phoneme | Practical orthography |
|---|---|---|
| nt | | nt |
| ţ | ţ/rt | rt |
| ṇţ | | rnt |
| ʝ | tš | j |
| | ṱ | th |
| ɲʝ | | nj |
| mp | | mp |
| ŋk | | nk |
| ṇ | ṇ/rn | rn |
| ɲ | ɲ | ny |
| ŋ | ŋ | ng |
| | š | sh |
| ḷ | ḷ/rl | rl |
| ř | ř | rr |
| ŗ | r | r |
| ɡ | | gh |
| | ə | er |

Example  (2-126)  (MT)

    *wuta*   *pupuwi* + -*ana* --> *wuta*   *pupuwana* ?
    they   good(pl)   Q       'Are they good?'

(ii) Final high vowels are assimilated to the initial consonant or the first vowel of the following morpheme (particularly /i/ to /u/ before /w/ or /Cu/).

Example  (2-127)  (TT/MT)

    *yi - + - (w)uriyi* --> *yuwuriyi*
    he:P   go          'he went'

## NOTES ON CHAPTER 2

1. Spencer is not very consistent in his orthography and he does not seem to have heard the velar fricative (if it was present then). Where it occurs in modern words he writes various letters, as r in the word here, g in *ngaga* 'we' (Osborne's we inclusive form, *ɲaɣa* ?), or he has no symbol, as in *induria* 'stalk' (Osborne: *jintiriɣa* 'dry twig' ?)

2. The /n/ is possibly /ŋ/. Pilling often has /n/ where others have /ŋ/, even though he has /ŋ/ as a phoneme. Some speakers still use this form, or at least a similar form, /ŋampi/.

3. This word varies in its stress pattern, sometimes taking the normal TT stress (i.e. on the penultimate syllable - see 2.2.1) and sometimes having the stress on the preceding syllable. This latter pattern may be due to the possibility that this word was a loan word. Another word having this pattern is *Milikapiti* [mɪlɪkʌ́pɪti], the word for 'Snake Bay'. This is possibly a loan from Iwaidja, as Pym gives, *Milgabadi* for 'Snake Bay' (Pym 1979).

4. A small percentage of words have a final long high vowel which carries the primary stress. These vowels are interpreted as the sequences /iyi/ and /uwu/, following Godfrey and Leeding's interpretation (Godfrey and Leeding 1974:10). (See also 2.2.2, p.22, and Lee 1982.)

5. Osborne has the contrast, *ɲaga* 'we (incl)' and *ɲawa* 'we (excl)' (1974:54).

6. For a comparison of the symbols used by Osborne, Godfrey and myself see Appendix 3. Godfrey and Leeding give a detailed account of the vowels and their allophonic variations. (See Godfrey and Leeding 1974:40-53).

7. The contrast between the vowels /a/ and /o/ is neutralised following /w/ (see 2.2.2., p.22).

8. For alternation between phonemes see 2.2.6, p.33.

9. Osborne posits word medial CVC syllables as well as CCV(C) and (C)V C(C) syllables etc (1974:17-18). See Lee (1982) for discussion regarding this. There are also some cases of non-phonemic CVC syllable patterns, which Godfrey says occur utterance finally (private communication). Where these CVC syllables occur a pattern CV.CV can be reconstructed by comparison of the occurrence of the words elsewhere. Pilling notes that several of his older informants occasionally or always dropped the terminal /i/ of words in which younger informants nearly always pronounced it (1970:260). However, he does not give any indication whether this dropping of the terminal /i/ was conditioned in any way.

10. There are some instances of /a/ occurring as a syllable medially when an a-final prefix is added to about 3 or 4 a-initial verb stems, e.g. *taami* [tʌ́mi] 'say it!'.

11. Between 50-60 verb stems have been noted as having a /g/. Most of these seem to have been formed by the addition of the causative suffix /-amigi/, though in most cases this is abbreviated to /-igi/. Only about 20 nouns have a /g/ and about 10 other words.

12. Godfrey and Leeding (1974:54ff) give a detailed discussion of possible environments for the variations, but it is outside the scope of this work to go into such detail.

13. See discussion 2.3, p.34, and 4.2.1.1, p.157 regarding the /C/.

14. Godfrey and Leeding 1974:61.

15. The change in the vowel is due to the interpretation of [Cwʌ]~[Cwɒ]~[Cwɔ] as /Co/ and [wʌ]~[wɒ]~[wɔ] as /wa/, rather than a change in the quality of the vowel (see Lee 1982).

16. Godfrey would give this alternation as an alternation in the consonants, i.e. non-labialised and labialised consonants alternating (cf. note 15).

17. This applies to English-derived words as well as TT-derived words (see 2.4.1, p.49).

18. Some young people accept 'e' in written forms of English-derived words. However, I doubt that they would accept 'e' in the written form of TT-derived words, particularly if they had had any exposure to reading Tiwi in the orthography now in use.

19. Apparently in Nakara also a fricative [ɡ] often becomes [h] (personal communication from Bronwyn Eather, a linguist working on Nakara).

20. One exception to this is the instance of /yiloya/ given by one girl (may be more general?), for the TT /yiloga/, originally 'bladder' or 'abdomen' now meaning 'football' as well. Also /yintagi/ is sometimes given as /yintawi/ 'behind'.

21. There are no cases of V__u since /u/ does not occur finally except following /w/. It is not clear what is the general pattern with o__a,i (see note 20).

22. It is not clear whether the young people who prenasalise stops which are non-nasalised in TT (and this is not a general trend) apply any rules for doing this or if it is a case of hypercorrection, and the choice of stops to nasalise is relatively arbitrary.

23. The two allophones of the TT /ţ/ may be two separate phonemes, /tš/ and /ţ/ in the speech of many young people (see 2.5.1, p.60).

24. For the interchanging of /ř/ and /l/, see 2.3.11, p.48.

25. This is one example in which most older young people also change /t/ to /ř/.

26. cf. 2.2.6, p.32, /ŋ/ ~ /w/

27. The nasalisation in this word is generally retained, though it need not be regarded as a phoneme, since its occurrence is predictable. It could be written as a sequence (see 2.4.4, p.56, 2.5.1, p.61). This word is often heard with the subject pronoun /awa/ preceding it in which case in fast speech it is generally heard as [aᵒnturí:], where syllables have run together or been elided. The form /anturiyi/ [ʌnturí:] is also used for 'we went' (see 4.2.2.2, p.178).

28. Where the phonetic sequence of nasal + stop is retained in English loans they can be regarded as a sequence of two segments (see 2.4.4, p.56, and 2.5.1, p.61).

29. This change is apparent in the speech of some of the older people as well.

30. The variant [ɲɔ́ŋʌ] is apparent in the speech of many older people. Some young people take this even further and have [ɲ] > [y], i.e. [yɔ́ŋʌ] = /yoŋa/. This is possibly an example of bringing the feminine form into line with the masculine form [yoni] /yoni/.

31. Because of my difficulty in distinguishing between rhotics, except in very precise speech, there may be many more cases of this change. I did not pick up the changes until late in my fieldwork. Young people who can write Tiwi have difficulty in determining which rhotic to use in spelling.

32. This phenomenon is also found at Milingimbi, mentioned by Buyumini and Sommer, 1978. For further discussion see Chapter 7 note 1.

33. Some vowel changes are morphophonemic in nature,

    e.g. TT: /ŋiya/ + /-yuwani/ --> /ŋiyuwani/
            'my     younger:brother'
    > MT:    /ŋiya/ + /-yuwani/ --> /ŋiyawani/ (see 3.2.5, p.94).

34. I can hear no evidence of /ŋini/ 'that is' on the tape. It may be that it has been added by the speaker in repeating the sentence, to give the text more cohesion. The [wɔˡ] for *wari* indicates that in fast speech /ṛ/ may be elided and hence interpreted as /y/ (an intrinsic y glide), cf. previous sub-section.

35. This seems to be a contracted form of the word /ŋamuŋoma/ [ŋʌmwɑŋwɔ́mʌ], which seems to be an onomatopaeic word, possibly a 'baby talk' word.

36. See 4.2.1.2, p.167.

37. This is falling together with the third masculine pronoun, /aṛa/, in the speech of some children (see 3.3.5.2, p.121).

38. The more Tiwiised loans have TT stress (see 2.2.1, p.21) and the more English sounding ones usually retain English stress.

39. The one speaker may give some cases of the English /tš/ as /š/, but other cases as /tš/; cf. /šita/ [šita] 'cheetah' and /tšakim/ [tšʌkim ] 'throw, chuck', given by the same boy.

40. The practical orthography used by Godfrey for both the retroflex consonants and the laminal nasal, and which I in turn use (see Table 2.9, p.72), i.e. /C̦/ as rC and /ɲ/ as ny, allows for this interpretation, in the spelling system.

41. The symbols used do not represent exactly the same phonetic quality as the normal cardinal vowels. The [ɔ], in general, seems to be higher and the [i] lower (as in TT).

42. /e/ is chosen rather than any other vowel, since [ə] often varies with a more fronted vocoid (close to [ɛ] in the speech of some speakers.

43. Most young people do not make a distinction between 'man and 'men', those who gave [mɛn] gave it to refer to one man usually.

44. Since working with young literate adults (in 1984) I have found that they tend to write an initial high front vowel as *yi*, even in English loans.
    e.g.  *yirrim* 'hear'
    Also initial [æ] or [ɛ] in English loans is written as *ya* and [o] or [oᵂ] as *wu*.
    e.g.  *yanumuli* 'animal'
         *wulimani* 'old man'
    This has not been tested with young people who have not been taught the orthography now in use for TT.

45. Some of these glides are shortened in fast speech but in precise speech are still given as two, though this has not been tested with many young people.

# Chapter 3

## WORD CLASSES

### 3.1  INTRODUCTION

Traditional Tiwi has a number of word classes or parts of speech, some of
which may be divided into sub-classes.  The way in which these are classified
and named differs from Osborne in some cases (1974:58-59) and basically follows
Dixon's categories for most Australian languages (Dixon 1980:271).  The two
major word classes are nominals, subdivided into nouns, kin nouns, adjectives
and numerals, and verbals subdivided into inflected verbs and free form verbs.
Other full word classes are predicatives, locatives, temporals, adverbs,
particles and interjections.  The function word classes are pronominals,
prepositions, sentence introducers and conjunctions.

The classes and sub-classes are determined on syntactic, morphological and
semantic grounds.  Verbal constructions in both MT and TT are described.
Prepositions are discussed briefly in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 (Clauses).
Conjunctions and sentence introducers are not discussed in the work.

The categories for Modern Tiwi are, in general, the same as those for
Traditional Tiwi, the main differences being within the classes or sub-classes.
Some classes, such as inflected verbs, are much reduced in size, while other
classes, such as free verbs, are expanded.

### 3.2  NOMINALS

Included under nominals in general are: nouns, adjectives (descriptive,
limiting and quantifying), and numerals.  These are classed together as they
take similar morphological inflections and they may occur within a nominal
phrase, which typically functions as subject, object, or some other nominal
argument of a clause.  The nominals may occur grouped as a phrase, with the
adjectives and numerals modifying a noun attributively (normally preceding the
noun), or each may occur as a single exponent of a nominal phrase.[1]  Nominal
phrases are discussed further in Chapter 5.

Most nominals, in particular nouns and descriptive adjectives, may be used
predicatively (see 6.5, p.285).  When adjectives and numerals are not used
predicatively but stand alone or in a phrase without a noun present, the noun
they modify can be understood from the context.

Example (3-1) (TT)

(a) *kularlagha ngintirimi kirimpika. ngintuwunga arikulanga*
    search:for  we:did    crab(f)    we:got:her   big (one) (f)
    'We searched for crabs.  We got a big one.'

(b) *ningani   karrikuwani  tayikuwanga   arimarrimuwu*
    today     nobody       many(f)       he:marries (Lit: he:sits:with)
    'Today nobody marries a lot of wives.'

Example (3-2)  (MT)

    *kamini  naki     arikulanga?*[2]
    what?   this(m)  big(f)
    'What is this big (thing)?'

All nominals and pronominals are unmarked for case, though prepositions
are used to mark some locatives (discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6).[3]


## 3.2.1  CATEGORISATION OF NOUNS IN TRADITIONAL TIWI

In all varieties of Tiwi, nouns form an open class of words which denote
physical entities, such as objects, places, animals and people, including
people with certain qualities, e.g. *arini* 'a pugnacious man'.[4]  I am not aware
of any abstract nouns, such as 'love' or 'generosity' in English.  Such notions
are normally expressed by a verbal construction, a predicative or by the use of
a noun, indicating a person with that quality.

Example (3-3)  (TT/MT)

    *ngawa   puranji   arimuwu*
    us       like      he:does
    'He likes/loves us.'  (Lit: he sits/lives good (to) us)

Example (3-4)

(TT)    *ngarra      minimarti*
(MT)    *(ng)arra    minimati*
        he           generous (m)
        'He is generous.'

There is no clear distinction between common nouns and proper nouns (names
of people and places), except that proper nouns are normally not modified
attributively, except by definitives and demonstratives.  There is a
distinction between general nouns (common and proper) and kin nouns, in that
kin nouns are always prefixed by a normal personal pronoun (or a shortened form
of one) when they are used referentially.  These nouns are discussed in a
separate sub-section, 3.2.5.  They are not distinct from general nouns with
regard to the semantic categorisation, which is discussed in this sub-section.

There is a two-dimensional semantic division of nouns in TT: masculine
versus feminine, and human versus non-human (Osborne 1974:51).  This means
there are actually four semantic classes: human masculine and feminine, and
non-human masculine and feminine.  The line between human and non-human is a
little fuzzy, in that some animals, particularly those which are closely
associated with humans (such as dogs) are treated in the same way as human
nouns.

For human nouns the distinction between masculine and feminine gender is on the basis of natural sex, i.e. male versus female. For non-human nouns the distinction is made on other criteria, normally semantic grounds. I have not studied these in detail, but some are given by Osborne (1974:51) and Godfrey (language notes).[5] Some of these are listed below:

(i) The gender of some objects or animals is determined by their role in mythology. *Wayayi* or *pima* ´bush curlew´, is known as the wife of a mythical figure, *Purrukuparli*, and so is feminine; *japarra* ´moon´ is another mythical figure, a man, and so is masculine.

(ii) Osborne says that ´physical size and shape are factors controlling the gender assigned to inanimate things. The semantic features correlated with masculine gender are ´small, straight, thin´ and those with feminine gender, ´large, round and ample´´ (1974:51).

Example (3-5)  (TT)

   *mukoni* (m)  ´small stone axe´    *mukonga* (f)  ´large stone axe´

This does not seem to apply in all cases. For instance, the term *mungarlaka* is assigned feminine gender, but it means ´a long thin fighting spear with no teeth´. Most spears seem to be feminine, but not all, such as *junkoliti* (m) ´long heavy spear made of stringy bark wood and barbed on one side´ (Osborne 1974:165). It is not always clear why some objects are assigned one gender rather than the other and perhaps some other semantic criterion supersedes this one.

These criteria, i.e. longness and thinness for masculine and bigness and roundness for feminine, are also applied to some animals and plants.

Example (3-6)  (TT)

(a)  *arlamini* (m)  ´small barramundi´  *arlamunga* (f)  ´large barramundi´

(b)  *jorini* (m)  ´small thin jungle palm´   *jora* (f)  ´large jungle palm´

(iii) In general, trees (except some small thin ones, as in example 3-6(b)) and products of trees are feminine. This seems to extend to canoes and consequently to boats and ships, ´presumably because they are placed in the same category as bark canoes´ (Osborne 1974:51). Godfrey has also said that modern means of transport are normally classed as feminine (language notes). This is possibly an extension of this class.

Example (3-7)  (TT)

(a)  *taka* (f)          ´tree´

(b)  *jarrikarli* (f)  ´wattle tree´ (but *jarrikarlini*(m) ´young wattle tree´)

(c)  *pinyama* (f)      ´wild apple´

(d)  *kapala* (f)       ´boat´

(e)  *wurra* (f)        ´aeroplane´

(f)  *ampiripunguluwurri* (f) ´car, vehicle´

    Another possible extension of this category is the assigning of most articles of clothing to feminine gender.[6]

    I am not sure of the criteria for the assigning of gender to nouns which do not fit into the above categories.  It is not clear, for instance, why *arntumori* ´a pandanus headdress with dingo tails hanging´ should be given as feminine, while *japilingini* ´a pandanus headdress with feathers attached at three points´ should be masculine (NgNg:4,7).

    (iv) With regard to some animals there is a distinction between masculine and feminine in some cases.  In general this distinction seems to be made on the basis of species, so that Osborne gives *muwani* (m) and *muwaka* (f) both as species of goannas, presumably different species (the feminine one probably being bigger).  Godfrey has commented (private communication) that while this is generally true, the distinction between genders can also refer to the difference in sex, if this is in focus, so that *muwaka* can refer to the ´one which lays the egg´.

    (v) Osborne claims that ´parts of the body are of the same gender as their possessor, except for the genital organs,  which are invariably of the opposite gender to the possessor´ (1974:51).  However, it was brought to my attention very late in my field work that this is not the case, at least at Nguiu.  Body parts have their own gender, which in most cases seems to be masculine.  Time did not permit an intensive investigation of this, but older people who were asked gave ´mouth´ as masculine, irrespective of the sex of the possessor. However, in a story given by a woman in her forties at Pularumpi ´mouth´ was given as feminine when the possessor was a woman.

Example (3-8)  (LTT?)

> *Japarra kunji yikirimani* <u>*yirriputara*</u> *angi*      <u>*nyirra*</u>
> Japarra  close  he:made       mouth             which(f)  her
> ´Japarra closed her mouth (with his hand).´

    This may indicate the beginning of the change evident in the speech of young people where gender distinctions are generally not recognised (see 3.2.2) or it may be indicative of dialect differences.[7]

    (vi) Osborne in his lexicon tries to ´present the vocabulary as far as possible as it was before extensive culture contact began, by the exclusion of almost all the foreign words which are used by the Tiwi today´ (1974:117). However, one of the aims of this work is to describe the Tiwi of today and even

the speech of the older people cannot help reflecting the change in the culture. Some of the older ´dyed-in-the-wool´ traditionalists insist upon giving coined words for some borrowed items and concepts, at least in their formal speech, in elicitation or anything to be written. However, most people use loan words for borrowed items and concepts.

The loan nouns are assigned gender, on similar grounds to the traditional items, viz. on shape and size. For instance, *pirijirayita* ´refrigerator´ and *wanjingimajini* ´washing machine´ are feminine, being ´large, round and ample´, whereas *tayipuli* ´table´, *jaya* ´chair´ are masculine, apparently because they have legs (long thin ones?). Similarly cups, plates and dishes are feminine while knives, forks and spoons are masculine.

As with some traditional items, it is not clear why some items are assigned one gender rather than the other.

While gender is not always overtly marked, there are certain endings which normally indicate a masculine noun, *-ni* and *-ti* (or *-rti*)[8] and others which normally indicate a feminine noun, *-nga* and *-ka*. The percentages of nouns with these various endings are given in Table 3.1. The number of nouns counted (mainly taken from NgNg) are, masc.: 358, fem.: 393.

TABLE 3.1. PERCENTAGES OF NOUNS FOUND WITH VARIOUS ENDINGS IN TRADITIONAL TIWI

|  | Masculine | Feminine |
|---|---|---|
| *-ni* | 55.8 | 3.1 |
| *-ti/-rti* | 14.0 | 0.8 |
| *-nga* | 1.4 | 44.3 |
| *-ka* | 0.9 | 21.8 |
| ∅ | 27.9 | 30.0 |

Human versus non-human is not overtly marked but human nouns (and nouns for some animals and birds) are marked for plurality.[9] As Osborne points out, the numerals for ´two´ and ´three´ also show the distinction between human and non-human (see 1974:52; and see 3.2.6).

Gender distinction is neutralised in the plural number for human nouns, so that masculine and feminine plural human nouns are marked in the same way. There are two distinct plural suffixes, *-wi* and *-pi*, but these do not correlate with particular masculine or feminine suffixes. The suffix *-wi* is by far the commoner of the two, with 82.5% of the nouns having plural forms taking *-wi*, and 17.5% taking *-pi*.

With regard to the suffixes marking gender or number, Osborne speaks of these as being: the masculine suffix *-Ni* with morphologically conditioned variants *-ni* and *-ti*; the feminine suffix *-Ka*, with morphologically conditioned variants *-nga* and *-ka*; and the plural suffix *-Wi*, with the morphologically conditioned variants, *-wi* and *-pi* (1974:52, 53). In each case the first one mentioned is the more common one.

Example (3-9)    (TT)

|   | masculine | feminine | plural | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (a) | tini | tinga | tiwi | ´(Tiwi) person´ |
| (b) | ma(n)tani | ma(n)tanga | ma(n)tawi[10] | ´friend´ |
| (c) | pu(n)kirini | pu(n)kiringa | pu(n)kiripi | ´greedy person´ |
| (d) | pulangumoni | pulangumoka | pulangumowi | ´dog´ |
| (e) | makirringini | makirringika | makirringipi | ´frightened person´ |
| (f) | alawura | alawuringa | alawuruwi | ´boss´ |
| (g) | nyiyani | nyiyaninga | nyiyampi | ´permissible marriage partner´ |

When loans are pluralised they take the suffix -wi.

Example (3-10)    (TT)

(a) *jija*    ´sister, nun´    *jijuwi*    ´sisters´

(b) *kapimani* ´government (man)´ *kapimanuwi* ´government men´

There are a few nouns which mark plurality by a reduplicative prefix, *Ca-*, where C is the same as the first consonant of the stem. With V-inital stems the reduplicative prefix is simply C, where C is still the first consonant of the stem.[11] In many cases, there is also one of the plural suffixes, or there may be alternate forms which only use the suffix, as *mantawi* or *mamanta* ´friends´.

Example (3-11)    (TT)

|   | masculine | feminine | plural | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (a) | kirijini | kirijinga | kakirijuwi | ´child´ |
| (b) | parlini | parlika | paparluwi | ´ancestor´ |
| (c) | murru(n)tani | murru(n)taka | (ma)murru(n)tawi | ´white person´ |
| (d) | awurrini |  | wawurruwi | ´man´ |

One unusual plural form is the form for ´big´ or ´senior person´ for which the correspondences are given in example 3-12.

Example (3-12)    (TT)

*arikulani* (m), *arikulanga* (f), *arikakulapi* (pl) ´big, senior person´

In this case it would seem that the reduplication is an infix, but, as Osborne suggests, the masculine stem, *arikula-* is probably a fossilised form derived from a verb, with *a-* ´he:non-past´ (see 4.2.2.1, p.172) + the connective *ri-*, which occurs before class 1 verb stems (see 4.2.1.1(1), p.157) and the verb stem *-kula* (probably meaning ´to be big´), but now lost as a verb stem, so the *ka-* before the *-kula* is a prefix of that stem (1974:55).

There are a number of nominal forms which, like *arikulani*, appear to have been derived from verbs, but in some cases the verb stem is no longer used in other verbal constructions. A number of these nominals, derived from verbs are coined words for borrowed items or concepts (as examples 3-13 (c), and (d)), but not always (as examples 3-13 (a) and (b)).

Example (3-13)   (TT)

(a)   *a          - ri - ma    - ji  - kuwa - yiti*   (m)
      he/it:NP - CV - CON.M - tree - fruit - stand
      ´fruit tree(s)´

(b)   *a    - mpi - ri - ma      - jilupuwi    - yiti*   (f)
      she - NP  - CV - CON.M - paper:bark? - stand
      ´crocodile´s nest´

(c)   *a    - mpi - ri - punguluwurri*   (f)
      she - NP  - CV - Cgoes:fast[12]
      ´car´

(d)   *a       - wati    - mani - ma    - ji - rrorlipirri*   (m)[13]
      he:NP - everyone - us   - CON.M - in - lead/carry
      ´biggest boss, God, pope, king/queen?´   (NgNg:5)

Other nouns are formed by compounding. These forms are often inflected as other nominals are.

Example (3-14)   (TT)

      *minangu - pura(n)ji        (m)*
      *minangu - pura(n)ji -nga   (f)*
      *minangu - pura(n)ju - wi   (pl)*
      dance     - good
      ´good dancer´[14]

Loan words which are borrowed into TT are fitted into the TT sound system (see 2.1, p.19; 2.4.1, p.49), but although they are assigned gender, they are normally not given a typical masculine or feminine ending. The exception to this is where there are masculine and feminine equivalents, as for the names of people of other nationalities, which have been borrowed (Godfrey´s language notes).

Example (3-15)   (TT)

(a) *Marrikini* (m)   *Marrikininya* (f)   ´American´

(b) *kapimani* (m)     *kapimaninga* (f)     ´government man/woman´

In some cases the Tiwiisation of a word, such as the addition of the high vowel /i/ finally, gives the loan a typical masculine or feminine ending which may fit in with the gender assigned (as in examples 3-15 a,b, and as for *mutika* (f) ´car´) (refer to earlier discussion on the semantic categorisation of nouns). In other cases an ending may be atypical of the gender assigned, as for *arripilayini* (f) ´aeroplane´ and *patukuti* (f) ´skirt´ (from ´petticoat´) (where *-ni* and *-ti* are typically masculine endings (see p.81)).

### 3.2.2 CATEGORISATION OF NOUNS IN MODERN TIWI

The culture of the people has changed greatly over the last few decades. Although hunting is still important, the lives of the people no longer revolve around it, as they are no longer economically dependent upon it. Many men (and some women) have regular jobs and those who do not have jobs now receive unemployment benefits or pensions. The horizons of the people have been broadened over the years since the war, but particularly in the last few years, by travel, films, radio and more recently television.

As has been mentioned, this change in culture is reflected in the speech of even the older people. It is refected even more so in the speech of young people, not only in their greater use of English, but also the greater use of English loan words in their Tiwi and the loss of a number of traditional words.

I have not studied the extent to which the ´average´ TT speaker knows and uses the various terms relating to the traditional culture, particularly terms distinguishing different species of plants and animals, or the different items of the traditional material culture. The knowledge of some terms may have been specialist knowledge traditionally. However, many of these terms are more widely known by older people than by the young people, whose knowledge of traditional terms is, in general, very limited. Some traditional terms are even replaced by English loans in the speech of young people, e.g. *spiya* ´spear´, particularly in their casual speech.

For the traditional items which are still discussed by today´s Tiwi young people, the many synonyms are being lost and normally just one general term is used (though more may be known). One such word is *yingoti* ´bush honey´ which is used by young people compared to the fourteen words referring to different types, which Osborne notes (1974:48).[15]

A number of young people (aged from 12 years to mid-twenties) were asked their impressions as to whether certain people, animals or things were ´man´ or ´woman´. It would seem that, in general, only humans and dogs are assigned the same gender as in TT (on the basis of natural sex). For instance, *pulangumoni* was given as ´male dog´ and *pulangumoka* as ´female dog´. However, *jarrangini* (TT: ´male buffalo´ or ´bull´), *jarranga* (TT: ´female buffalo´ or ´cow´) and *pulika* ´cow, bull´ were usually given as the same gender, though young people varied as to what that gender was.

The gender assigned to some animals appears to be fairly consistent, normally agreeing with the TT gender such as *yirrikipayi* ´crocodile´ (m), *tartuwali* ´shark´ (m), *yilinga* ´carpet snake´ (f), *yuwurli* ´mangrove worm´ (m), and *jipojirringa* ´wallaby´ (m). This last word is given as feminine in TT but another word for ´wallaby´, *jirraka*, is given as masculine. I am not sure if the terms are exactly synonymous and why there is a gender difference. In

other cases there was no general agreement as to the gender, either for animals
or other items.  At times young people said they didn't know whether an item
was 'man' or 'woman'.  However, in the speech of older young people there is
normally agreement between the noun and any adjective used (see also 3.2.4).

There does not appear to be any general agreement by young people as to
the gender of loan nouns, except for those for humans.

The ability of children to produce appropriate TT feminine and plural
endings was determined by a rough test designed for this purpose.  The test
consisted of sets of human-like figures, an appropriate masculine form being
given for the masculine figure in each case.  The child was asked to name the
feminine figure and the picture showing three figures together.[16]  Table 3.2
gives the masculine form supplied for the figure and the feminine and plural
forms which would be expected, on the basis of comparison with analogous forms
in TT.  The (a) forms are those which are most expected, while the (b) forms
are those which, while consistent with TT morphological processes are not as
common, and the (c) forms are those which could conceivably be generated but
which are not really expected on the basis of comparison with similar TT forms.

TABLE 3.2    EXPECTED FORMS FOR FEMININE AND PLURAL NONSENSE NOUNS

| | masculine (given) | feminine | plural |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | *tangakani* | (a) *tangakanga*<br>(b) *tangakaka*<br>(c) *tangaka* | (a) *tangakawi*<br>(b) *tangakapi* |
| 2. | *panakini* | (a) *panaka*<br>(b) *panakinga* | (a) *panakuwi*[17]<br><br>(c) *panakipi* |
| 3. | *wapatiti* | (a) *wapatirringa*<br>(b) *wapat(it)inga*<br>(c) *wapatika* | (a) *wapatirruwi*[18]<br>(b) *wapa(it)uwi*<br>(c) *wapatipi* |
| 4. | *kaparti* | (a) *kaparinga*<br>(b) *kapartinga*<br>(c) *kapartika* | (a) *kaparuwi*[19]<br>(b) *kapartuwi*<br>(c) *kapartipi* |
| 5. | *palampa* | (a) *palampanga*<br>(b) *palampinga*<br>(c) *palampaka* | (a) *palampi*<br>(b) *palampawi*<br>(c) *palampapi* |

An older woman tested gave the expected (a) forms in all cases except for
item 4, for which the expected forms are based on the analogy with such nouns
as -*morti*(m), -*moringa*(f), -*moruwi*(pl) 'child of female person', which have a
*r*-final stem (see note 8 (p.140) and Lee 1981).  For this item the forms given
were the (b) forms, viz. *kapartinga* and *kapartuwi*.  It would seem that this
word was not regarded as having a r-final stem.  The formation of the
correspondence, -*rti*(m), -*ringa*(f), and -*ruwi*(pl), no longer seems to be a
productive one, at least for some people, though different results may have
been obtained if the feminine form had been given and the masculine form
requested.[20]

From the responses given by young people and children, no clear pattern could be seen. Some children as old as ten or twelve years were unable to give an appropriate response, though they were able to give the correct forms for a control set of pictures, showing a male dog, a female dog, and a group of dogs. On the other hand some children as young as six were able to give appropriate forms. Of those who gave distinctive endings for feminine and plural, the commonest endings were *-nga* and *-wi* respectively, as as would be expected from the frequency of these forms in TT compared to the less general forms *-ka* and *-pi*.

Older children were usually able to give a reasonable form with one of the appropriate feminine or plural endings, though in many cases the stem was changed or the suffix added to the whole masculine form. The commonest forms given by the children are given in Table 3.3. Those which coincide with the expected forms in Table 3.2 are indicated by the appropriate letter following the form.

Some children gave an appropriate feminine form but were not able to give an appropriate plural form, while for others it was the other way around (though this was not as common), so it would seem that feminine distinctions may be acquired before plural ones. Interestingly, three young people from Milikapiti each gave one plural form with an English plural (but no Tiwi Pplurals) and only one of these was able to consistently give an appropriate feminine form.

TABLE 3.3   FEMININE AND PLURAL FORMS (GIVEN BY CHILDREN) FOR NONSENSE NOUNS

| masculine | feminine | | plural | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. *tangakani* | *tangakanga*(a) | – 21[21] | *tangakawi*(a) | – 6 |
| | *tangakinga* | – 13 | *tangakuwi* | – 15 |
| | *tangakaninga* | – 4 | *tangakanuwi* | – 5 |
| | *tangatanga* | – 4 | *tangatuwi* | – 3 |
| 2. *panakini* | *panakinga*(b) | – 35 | *panakuwi*(a) | – 23 |
| | *panakanga* | – 5 | *panakawi* | – 4 |
| | *panakininga* | – 2 | *panakinuwi* | – 5 |
| 3. *waptiti* | *wapatinga*(b) | – 30 | *wapatuwi*(b) | – 22 |
| | *wapatirringa*(a) | – 5 | *wapatirruwi*(a) | – 5 |
| | *wapititinga*(b) | – 2 | *wapitituwi*(b) | – 2 |
| | *wapatika*(c) | – 2 | *wapatikuwi* | – 1 |
| | *waparringa* | – 3 | *waparruwi* | – 1 |
| 4. *kaparti* | *kapartinga*(b) | – 38 | *kapartuwi* | – 35 |
| | *kaparringa* | – 5 | *kaparruwi* | – 4 |
| | | | *kapartinguwi* | – 4 |
| 5. *palampa* | *palampanga* | – 11 | *palampawi* | – 9 |
| | *palampinga* | – 7 | *palampuwi* | – 15 |
| | *palampunga* | – 6 | *palampanguwi* | – 1 |
| | *palampalinga* | – 2 | *palampaluwi* | – 4 |

As can be seen from some of the forms given in Table 3.3, some children gave an appropriate feminine form and built the plural form on it, e.g. *kaparti*(m), *kapartinga*(f), *kapartinguwi*(pl). Others built both the feminine

and plural forms on the masculine form without cutting off the masculine suffix -ni, e.g. *tangakani*(m), *tangakaninga*(f), *tangakanuwi*(pl).  This latter phenomenon was very common with the form *kaparti*, with the feminine and plural forms being built upon the whole masculine form.[22]

Some children tried to relate the nonsense words to words which they knew and gave forms based on these.  For instance the plural form of *tangakani* was given by one 8-year-old as *tangakuwapi*, where she is obviously relating it to *tayikuwapi* ´many´, while another child (11 years) gave *tangatayikuwapi*.[23]

In general, the children under 8 or 9 were unable to give appropriate feminine of plural forms, though the children from Nguiu, who were in the bilingual programme, succeeded more than children of the same age at Pularumpi and Milikapiti.[24]

As in TT, there are no distinct feminine suffixes added to feminine loan nouns, except where a distinction is made between these and corresponding masculine forms (see also 3.2.1, p.78).

Example  (3-16)  (MT)

(a)  *janimani*(m)  *janimaninga*(f)  *janimanuwi*(pl)  ´Chinese person´

(b)  *tokta*(m)  *tokurringa*(f)  *tokurruwi*(pl)  ´doctor/nurse/health worker´

As can be seen in the above examples, and also in other cases, human loan nouns are pluralised by the addition of the plural suffix -*(u)wi*.

Example  (3-17)  (MT)

(a)  *pata*     ´priest´ (< ´father´),  *patuwi*     ´priests´

(b)  *eyinjil* ´angel´,                 *eyinjiluwi* ´angels´

In TT, there are some nouns for animals (other than those closely associated with humans) which are pluralised.  Osborne mentions some of these (1974:51).  The pluralising of nouns for animals extends to the loan nouns used for animals foreign to the traditional culture and also to the general term for ´animal´, *yanamurli*, which is borrowed since there is no TT equivalent.  This pluralising seems to be done by older people as well, though it may only apply to animals which are seen to be associated with humans, either those which are ´domestic´ or those which are kept in a zoo.

Example  (3-18)  (TT/LTT)?

    *kapi    murrintawi  wunini           awuta    yanamurluwi*
    where  white:men  they:keep:them  those    animals
´where the white people keep those animals over there´  (i.e. ´zoo´)

Example  (3-19)  (LTT/MT)

(a)  *pika*      ´horse´   *pikuwi*     ´horses´

(b)  *pikipiki* ´pig´     *pikipikuwi* ´pigs´

In the speech of young people, the use of the plural suffix is sometimes extended to other things besides humans and animals (though not in the speech of children who have not developed the plural suffix).

Example (3-20) (MT)

> *waranga* ´stone´    *waranguwi* ´stones´

## 3.2.3 ADJECTIVES IN TRADITIONAL TIWI

In TT, there is just a small class of adjectives. By adjectives I mean those words which are able to occur with a noun and modify it attributively, not just predicatively (cf. the class of words called predicatives, 3.4, p.122).

In agreement with Dixon´s observation on the range of meanings that such a small closed class of adjectives is likely to express, these adjectives denote qualities, such as dimension, colour, age and value (Dixon 1977). Table 3.4 gives the descriptive words which have been found to behave attributively with a noun. There are possibly more.

TABLE 3.4   ADJECTIVES IN TRADITIONAL TIWI

| Masculine | Feminine | Plural | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Dimension** | | | |
| *arikulani* | *arikulanga* | *arikakulapi* | ´big´ |
| $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} ki(ri)jini \\ kiyijini \end{array} \right\}$ | $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} ki(ri)jinga \\ kiyijinga \end{array} \right\}$ | *kaki(ri)juwi* | ´small´ |
| *yirrukuni* | *yirruka* | *yirrukuwi* | ´long, tall´ |
| *karuwuni* | *karuwunga* | *karuwuwi* | ´short´ |
| **Colour** | | | |
| *murru(n)tani* | *murru(n)taka* | *(ma)murru(n)tawi* | ´white´ |
| *tuniwuni* | *tuniwunga* | *tuniwuwi* | ´black´ |
| *yarini* | *yaringa* | | ´red´[25] |
| **Age** | | | |
| *awirankini* | *awiranka* | *awirankuwi* | ´old´ |
| **Value** | | | |
| *pu(m)puni* | *pu(m)puka* | *pu(m)puwi* | ´good´ |
| *jirti* | *jiringa* | *jajiruwi* | ´bad´ |
| *pijuwalini* | *pijuwalika* | *pijuwalipi* | ´beautiful´ |

Adjectives agree in gender or number with the nouns they modify (compared to the small class of predicatives, 3.4, p.122).

Example  (3-21)  (TT)

(a)  *kiyijini   pulangumoni*
     small(m)   dog(m)
     ´A small dog´

(b)  *yirruka   jarrumoka*
     long      road
     ´A long road´

It is not easy to distinguish adjectives from nouns in that most of the words which are classed as adjectives can occur alone as a nominal argument in a clause, as discussed at the beginning of Section 3.1.  Some of them also occur as nouns with special meanings, such as the masculine, feminine and plural forms of the word for ´small´ which also mean ´small boy´, ´small girl´ and ´children´.  Similarly, the forms for the word for ´big´ may also mean ´adult person´ or ´senior person´ when occurring alone.

As discussed briefly in 3.2.1 there are a number of nouns which have adjective-like meanings, particularly with reference to human propensity, but which never appear to modify nouns attributively.  These nouns have masculine and feminine forms and also plural forms when they refer to human qualities.

Example  (3-22)   (TT)

(a)  *arini* (m),      *arika* (f),      *aripi* (pl)     ´pugnacious person´
     (but not: *arini tini*)

(b)  *puruwunjini* (m), *puruwunjinga* (f), *puruwunjuwi* (pl)   ´sick person´
     This last form is probably derived from a verbal construction, with gender endings added (cf. *arikulani* p.82):

i.e. *pu     - ru - wunji - +* gender suffix
     (they - CV - be:sick)

The morpheme *wunji-* no longer appears to be used as a verb stem but it does occur as an incorporated form in a verb (see 4.2.1.1(2),p.160).

Example  (3-23)  (TT)

     *kapi   nga      - ri - wunji - muwu*
     where  we(incl) - CV - sick   - stay
     ´Where we stay when we are sick´ (viz. ´hospital´)

These adjective-nouns occur predicatively in a stative clause, as in example 3-24, or predicatively with a relative pronoun, as in example 3-25 (see also attributive noun phrases, 5.1.1, p.221, and relative clauses, 6.9.1, p.295).

Example  (3-24)  (TT)

(a)  *ngarra  pu(m)puni*
    he      good (m)
    ´He is good.´

(b)  *(karri)  ngiya  kirijini*
          I      small/small :boy
    ´(when) I was small´ or ´(when) I was a boy´

(c)  *awarra  minumarti*
    he      generous:man
    ´He is (a) generous (man).´

Example  (3-25)  (TT)

(a)  *ngintuwu  naki  ngini  pukirini*
    like      this(m)  who(m)  greedy(m)
    ´like this one who is greedy´

(b)  *awuta  kapunginaki  kapi  puruwunjuwi*
    those  those      who(pl)  sick(pl)
    ´those ones who are sick´

Other adjectival qualities are encoded as predicatives (see 3.4). The adjective-nouns described before could also be treated as predicatives.

As well as the descriptive adjectives, there is a set of limiting adjectives and a set of quantifying adjectives. These also agree with the noun they modify in number or gender. The quantifying adjective means ´many´ or ´all´[26] and modifies or refers to (when standing alone) entities which are countable. Limiting adjective: *yoni*(m), *(yi)nyonga*(f) ´other´, ´different´ *yingompa/yingampa* ´some, others´[27]

Example  (3-26)  (TT)

(a)  *yoni*       *warniyati*
    other(m)  Friday(m)
    ´Next Friday´

(b)  *nyonga  murrukupora*
    other(f)  teenage:girl
    ´Another teenage girl´

(c)  *yingompa  ngiya - mamanta*
    some      my   - friends
    ´Some of my friends´


Quantifying adjectives: *tayikuwani*(m), *tayikuwanga*(f), *tayikuwapi*(pl) ´many´[28] (The plural forms are only used to refer to humans and some animals).

Example (3-27) (TT)

(a) *tayikuwapi    wawurruwi*
    many(pl)      men
    ´many men´

(b) *ngarra - purnayuwi  tayikuwapi*
    his   - wives       many(pl)
    ´He has a lot of wives.´

(c) *tayikuwanga  pitipawumi   awinyirra   jurriyi*
    many(f)       they:cooked  that(f)     whistle:duck
    ´They cooked many whistle ducks.´

(d) *awarra   tayikuwani  yirrikipayi*
    that(m)   many(m)     crocodile(m)
    ´many crocodiles´  (or perhaps ´all those crocodiles´) (Osborne 1974:102)

    Another set of quantifying adjectives are invariable and can also be used
as adverbs (see 3.5.3, p.135).  These are *yingarti* ´much, many´ and *kiyija* (or
*kirija*) ´little (bit)´.  These seem to modify or refer to mass nouns or
quantities which are non-countable.  There are examples where *yingarti* is used
to refer to a count noun but these may be less traditional than TT usage.

Example (3-28) (TT)

(a) *yingarti pakitiringa*
    lot      rain
    ´a lot of rain´

(b) *kanijawa yingarti*
    flour    lot
    ´a lot of flour´

(c) *kiyija pakitiringa*
    little rain
    ´a little bit of rain´

(d) *jupijupi awi kiyija mirrawu*
    soup     and little tobacco
    ´soup and a little bit of tobacco´

## 3.2.4  ADJECTIVES IN MODERN TIWI

    Adjectives are not very common in the speech of young people, particularly
modifying nouns attributively.  Most of those which occur in TT (i.e. in Table
3.4) occur in my MT data, at least in one form, though some are very rare.  The
most commonly occurring Tiwi adjectives found in MT are the words for ´big´ and
´small´.

Example (3-29) (adjectives): (MT)

(a) *arikulani      yirrikipayi*
    big(m)          crocodile(m)

(b) *kijinga     kiripuka*
    small(f)    crab(f)

(c) *arikulanga     kurrapali*
    big(f)          house(f)

(d) *kijinga      thaliwarra*
    small(f)     trousers(f)

The examples given by older young people normally show the same agreement between nouns and adjectives as in TT, even though there appears to be confusion regarding the TT gender assigned to non-human nouns (see 3.2.2, p.84).

The plural form of these two adjectives only occur in the data as a noun or on their own, i.e. not modifying a noun. There are very few examples of other plural forms.

Example (3-30) (MT)

(a) *wurralathirri    arikulapi    pirimi*
    they:together     big(pl)      they:be
    ´They grew up together´.    (RJ12)

(b) *kapinaki     kakijuwi*
    these         children
    ´these children´

In the speech of younger children there are a number of examples of adjectives with inflections opposite to those expected, even with human nouns. In most cases the feminine form seems to be used as a general form. It would seem that even though a distinction in natural sex would be known, the agreement in adjectives and nouns is not developed until fairly late (in some cases not until seven or eight years old).

Example (3-31) (MT)

(a) *arra    kijinga*
    he       small(f)
    ´He is small.´    (TB3)

(b) *kijinga    pop*
    small(f)    pope
    ´a small pope´    (LW7)  (looking at a picture of the new pope)

The plural form of the adjective ´big´ has become *arikulapi*, being formed by the addition of the suffix -*pi* to the stem *arikula-*. The reduplicative prefix, found in the TT form *arikakulapi* is lost (see 3.2.1).

Although most of the TT adjectives are found in MT it is not uncommon for young people to use English loan adjectives, particularly in less formal Tiwi speech. In some cases the suffix *-wan* is used, even when the adjective is used attributively.

Example (3-32) (MT)

(a) *(ngawa meykim)* <u>*pik*</u>   <u>*wo*</u>
    we      make      big    war
    ʹWe will make a big war.ʹ   (PP23)

(b) *(thirra apim)* <u>*pik*</u>   <u>*arramukamunga*</u>
    she      has      big    something(f)
    ʹShe has something big.ʹ   (child)

(c) *pikwan   fin   yiningaji   shak*
    big:one  fin   like        shark
    ʹa big fin like a sharkʹsʹ   (TP9)

The class of adjectives is extended in MT to include more colours than in TT, given by loan words.

Example (3-33) (MT)

(a) *angilawa   plu   wan*
    mine       blue  one
    ʹMine is a/the blue one.ʹ

(b) *athirra   yelo-wan   mutika*
    that(f)   yellow:one  car
    ʹthat yellow carʹ   (DB12)

The limiting adjectives are also used by young people but the feminine form, *(yi)nyonga* which is often *nyonga* even in older peopleʹs speech is often replaced by *yonga*, which seems to be a regularisation of the form to conform with the masculine form *yoni* ʹotherʹ. Some young people change the masculine form *yoni* to *nyoni* to conform to the feminine form.

Example (3-34) (MT)

    *nayi       kiripuka   yonga*[29]
    that(m)   crab(f)    other(f)
    ʹthat other crabʹ   (JVT10)

The plural form of the limiting adjective normally seems to be *yingapa*, compared to the alternate forms *yingompa/yingampa* of TT, though there are not many examples. There may be variation between *yingapa* and *yingopa* but it is not distinctive (cf. note 27 p.142).

Example (3-35) (MT)

    *awurra   yingapa   men*
    ʹthose    other     menʹ

With regard to the quantifying adjectives, the TT masculine and feminine forms, *tayikuwani* and *tayikuwanga* do not appear to be used by young people, and only the plural form *tayikuwapi* is retained. This plural form is only used to refer to people, or perhaps animals, and can also mean ´all´ or ´everybody´. The /u/ is not normally retained and so the form is written as *tayikopi* or even *tekopi* since the phonetic form is [tɛᵏwɔ́pɩ] or [tekwɔ́pɩ].

Example (3-36) (MT)

(a)  *tayikopi  kakijuwi*
     many       children

(b)  *yimi      kapi  tayikopi* ...
     he:said   prep   all
     ´He said to everybody ...´

The invariable adjective *yingati* ´much, plenty´ (TT: *yingarti*) is used more freely than *tayikopi*. As in TT, it is generally used for mass nouns, but may also be used for count nouns, even humans and animals.

Example  (3-37)  (MT)

(a)  *anaki     yingati    wupunga*
     this(f)   plenty     grass
     ´this big lot of grass´   (MP22)

(b)  *yingati  jupojirringa*
     plenty    wallaby
     ´a lot of wallabies´

(c)  *yingati    men*
     plenty     men
     ´a lot of men´

The use of the English (or perhaps Pidgin English?) loan, *pik mop*, ´big mob´ is also common in the young people´s speech.

Example  (3-38)  (MT)

     *pik mop pikipiki*
     ´a lot of pigs´

The only example of the quantifying adjective *kiyitha* or *kitha* ´little bit´ (TT: *kiyija*), used as an adjective in the MT data is in the following expression, which appears to be an English expression transferred to MT.

Example  (3-39)  (MT)

     *awa   apim   kiyitha      pakitirringa*
     we    have   little:bit   rain
     ´We had a bit of rain.´   (DB12)

### 3.2.5  KIN NOUNS

These are nouns which belong to the class of human nouns, and for which
there is normally a masculine and feminine form and a plural form in which the
gender distinction is neutralised.  These are different from other nouns in
that they indicate one person's relationship to another or to others and, in
general, require a personal pronoun (or an abbreviated form of one) prefixed to
a kin term and indicating 'possession'.

These kin nouns are described as single words, since most kin-terms cannot
stand alone except in some cases when used vocatively.  No general formula can
be given for either the referential or vocative forms, because in some cases
the referential form consists of the kin-term prefixed by a full normal
personal pronoun (see 3.3.1, p.100) while the corresponding vocative form has a
shortened personal pronoun as a prefix or in some cases there is no prefix in
the vocative.  In other cases the referential form has a shortened form of the
pronoun as a prefix while the vocative form has no prefix.  In still other
cases, there are changes between the stems of the referential and vocative
forms.  Examples of some of the different types of kin nouns are given together
with the first person singular pronoun in each case.  The reason for the use of
a prefix in the vocative in some cases but not others is not always clear.[30]

Example  (3-40)  (TT)

| | Referential | Vocative | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|
| (a) | *ngiya - rringani* | *ngi - rringani* | 'my father' |
| (b) | *ngiya - purnayi* | *ngi - purnayi* | 'my husband' |
| (c) | *ngiya - yuwuni* | *yuwuni* | 'my older brother' |
| (d) | *ngiya - yi(m)punga* | *yi(m)punga* | 'my older sister' |
| (e) | *ngiya - naringa* | *nginari* | 'my mother' |
| (f) | *ngiy - uwani* | *yuwani* | 'my younger brother' |
| (g) | *ngiy - i(m)poka* | *yi(m)poka* | 'my younger sister' |
| (h) | *ngiy - ikalipini* | *kalipini* | 'my half-brother' |

In the examples (f) and (g) it appears to be the consonant of the pronoun
which is retained, not that of the kin term, since, with the third masculine
singular pronoun the forms are: *ngarr-uwani* 'his younger brother' and
*ngarr-i(m)poka* 'his younger sister'.

In MT there are some morphological changes in the referential kin nouns,
in that, in forms such as in examples (f) and (g) above, the full pronoun is
retained and the first consonant and vowel of the stem is dropped.

Example (3-41)

(a) *ngiya + -yuwani*    TT: *ngiy - uwani*    'my younger brother'
                        MT: *ngiya - wani*

(b) *ngarra + -yi(m)poka*  TT: *ngarr - i(m)poka*  'my younger sister'
                          MT: *ngarra - poka*

This retention of the full pronominal form is a generalisation made in other cases, cf. alternate pronouns (3.3.2.2, p.107) and reflexive and reciprocal pronouns (3.3.2.4, p.111).

Younger children, whose pronouns are being affected in general, have even further changes, with the loss of the initial *ng* or *ngi-* from the pronominal forms (see 2.3.6, p.39 and 3.3.1.2, p.102).

Example (3-42) (CT)

(a) *ngiya - rringani* > *ya - rringani*   'my father'   (referential)
    *ngi - rringani*   > *yi - rringani*   'my father'   (vocative)

(b) *nginja - naringa* > *tha - naringa*   'your(sg) mother' (referential)

I have no examples in the speech of children of the TT vocative form *nginari* for 'mother' but there are a number of examples of the use of the English loan *mami* when addressing one's mother or aunt (mother's sister, which in TT is the same term as for one's natural mother). Similarly *teti* 'daddy' is commonly used either referentially or vocatively by children or by people addressing children.


### 3.2.6 NUMERALS

In TT, there are numerals for the numbers 1 to 10.[31] The numerals for 1-3 agree with the noun they modify. For the numeral 'one' this agreement is simply in gender, i.e. *yati*(m), *nyatinga/natinga*(f).

Example (3-43) (TT)

(a) *yati tini*        'one man'

(b) *yati tangini*     'one stick'

(c) *natinga tinga*    'one woman'

(d) *natinga jaliwarra*  'one (pair of) trousers'

For 'two' and 'three' there is just one form for human nouns and two forms, distinguished for gender, for non-human nouns. This ties in with the agreement which other adjectives show with nouns (see 3.2.3, p.88) and with the fact that non-human nouns are not marked for plurality (see 3.2.1, p.81). Because 'one' is always singular the only distinction shown is for gender, which applies to both human and non-human nouns alike. The numerals 'two' and 'three' are always plural and so the human nouns take a plural form in which

the gender distinction is neutralised, while the non-human nouns take singular forms which show the gender distinction (cf. the forms for the quantifying adjectives (3.2.3, p.90)). The forms for 'two' and 'three' are given in Table 3.5, together with other numerals in TT.

TABLE 3.5   NUMERALS IN TT (AND LTT)

|  | **Osborne**[32] | **St Therese School**[33] |
|---|---|---|
| one | *yati*(m) | *yati*(m) |
|  | *nyatinga*(f) | *natinga*(f) |
| two | *yirrara*(m) ⎫ | ⎧ *yirrara*(m) |
|  | *yinjara*(f) ⎭ non-human | ⎨ *yi(n)jara*(f) |
|  | *yurrara*(pl)   (human) | ⎩ *yuwurrara*(pl) |
| three | *yirrajirrima*(m) ⎫ |  |
|  | *jajirrima*(f) ⎭ (non-human) |  |
|  | *yurrajirrima*(pl)   (human) | *yuwurrajirrima*(pl) |
| four | *yatapinti* | *yatapinti* |
|  | *yatawulingirri* | *yatawulingirri* |
|  |  | *yukurri* |
| five | *punginingita* | *pinginingita* |
| six | *kiringarra (yati)* | *kiringarra* |
| seven | *kiringarra yirrara* | *kiringarra yati*(m)    (LTT) |
|  |  | *walimani*    (LTT?) |
| eight | *kiringarra yirrajirrima* | *kiringarra yirrara*   (LTT) |
|  |     (masc. non-human) | *pinginingita yirrajirrima* |
|  |  | *punyipunyinga*     (LTT?) |
| nine | *kiringarra* | *pinginingita yatawulingirri* |
|  |    ⎧ *yatawulingirri* | *punyipunyinga yati*(m) |
|  | + ⎨ *yatapinti* | *punyipunyinga natinga*(f) |
|  |    ⎩ *kiriyatapinti* |  |
| ten | *wamutirrara* | *wamutirrara* |

The numerals, other than for 'one', 'two', and 'three', do not seem to vary, though perhaps some, which are based on a combination of the words for 'one', 'two', or 'three' with some other form (see Table 3.5) may vary. There are variant forms for most of the numerals but the use of these seems to depend upon the individual, arising perhaps from dialect variations. It is not clear where the forms which are listed in the school material came from. Godfrey has found that in some old data she has the same forms as those listed by Osborne.[34] When I elicited the numerals from an older man (in his fifties) he gave me the same forms which are in the school material. It seems that they are now the accepted forms.

In the new forms, which I am classing as Less Traditional Tiwi (LTT), the *yati* has been dropped from the form *kiringarra yati* ´six´ so that ´six´ has come to be just *kiringarra* (given as an alternative by Osborne 1974: 153). The word *kiringarra* itself is a compound of *kiri-* ´hand´[35] and *ngarra* ´he(?)´, and so it may be that *kiringarra* was an old form of ´five´ (or ´hand´), though Spencer gives *punginingita*, or a form of it: *binginida* (Spencer 1914:465). The form for ´six´ has been built upon this, meaning ´five and one´. Since *kiringarra* has been reanalysed as ´six´ (at least by some people), *kiringarra yati* has been reanalysed as ´seven´ (six plus one) and *kiringarra yirrara* as ´eight´ (six plus two).

The form *walimani* is obviously derived from the shape of the written symbol of ´seven´ as it means ´steel axe´. The form *punyipunyinga* for ´eight´ is a feminine form of *punyipunyi* ´brain´ and I would assume it is derived from the shape of the two halves of the brain. The form for ´ten´ is a compound formed from *wamuta* ´hand, finger´ plus *yirrara* ´two´.[36]

While many young people seem to know the TT numerals, or rather some varieties of the TT or LTT forms, the forms for the numbers four to ten are rarely used in their speech, except perhaps in a formal situation. Young people seem generally to use an English loan.

Example (3-44) (MT)

    *awa   sis   men*
    we    six   men/males
    ´we six men´    (BB8)

There is more use by young people of the TT numerals for the numbers one to three than of the other numerals. The older young people seem to make the distinction between the genders, at least for the numeral for ´one´, though this may not be general.

Example (3-45) (MT)

    *natinga   wulanga*
    one(f)    crab(f)
    ´one crab´    (CP19)

Children seem to generalise and use the masculine form *yati* for ´one´ to modify nouns of both genders, even for human nouns for which gender distinctions are relevant (cf. 3.2.2, p.84).

Example  (3-46)  (CT)

(a)  _yati_  _kiripuka_
     one    crab(f)
     ´one crab´  (PJ12)

(b)  _yati_  _tanikini_
     one    flying:fox(m)
     ´one flying fox´   (AW10)

(c)  _yati_  _waranga_
     one    stone (TT:(f))
     ´one stone´   (DB12)

(d)  _yati_  _yipalinya_
     one    woman
     ´one woman´   (RJ12)

Since _yati_ is used for feminine human nouns as well as masculine ones by young people (who have developed a gender distinction in these human nouns, as evidenced by their use of agreement between other adjectives and the nouns they modify), it would seem that this represents a change in the language and not just a developmental stage of language acquisition.

It is not clear whether there is any distinction made between human and non-human forms in the forms for the numerals ´two´ and ´three´. The gender distinction for non-human nouns has certainly been lost in these numerals.  For human nouns and nouns for some animals, young people, at least older young people, seem to use the form _yu(wu)rrara_ ´two´ and for non-human nouns, the form _yirrara_.

Example  (3-47)  (MT)

(a)  _yu(wu)rrara_      _jupojirringa_
     two (hum)       wallaby
     ´two wallabies´

(b)  _yu(wu)rrara_   _men_
     two (hum)     men
     ´two men´   (RJ12)

(c)  _yirrara_       _pijipiji_
     two(non-hum)  fish (TT:(m))
     ´two fish´

(d)  _yirrara_       _kiripuka_
     two(non-hum)  crab (TT:(f))
     ´two crabs´

However, since there is so little data on this it is not really conclusive whether young people, particularly children, do make a distinction between human and non-human forms for the numeral ´two´.  With regard to the numeral ´three´ it is even more inconclusive, since for the few examples of ´three´ there are a number of variant forms given, such as: the TT masculine and plural

forms: *yirrajirrima*, *yu(wu)rrajirrima*; forms based on the numeral ´two´, such as *yirrara ajirrima*; shortened forms such as *yajirrima*. From these variations, many of which seem to be individualistic, a clear pattern of the forms used in MT cannot be seen.

English loans for the numbers one to three are common in MT, as well as for the higher numbers.

Example (3-48)   (MT)

(a)  *wan  kiripuka*
     one  crab(f)
     ´one crab´   (PJ12)

(b)  *yiya  ap  tu  foti  tu  ka  naki*
     I     up  to  forty  two  on  this
     ´I am up to forty-two on this.´
     (talking about a dot-to-dot drawing)

## 3.3  PRONOMINALS

Included under pronominals are: personal pronouns (normal, emphatic, possessive, alternate, reflexive and reciprocal), relative pronouns, impersonal pronouns (interrogative, indefinite, and negative), demonstratives and definitives.

Pronominals, like nominals, are unmarked for case, except that there is a set of possessive pronouns (see 3.3.2.3, p.109).

## 3.3.1  NORMAL PERSONAL PRONOUNS

### 3.3.1.1  NORMAL PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN TT

In TT, the personal pronouns are ´based on a two dimensional scheme, one dimension being inclusion or exclusion of speaker and the other inclusion or exclusion of hearer´ (Osborne 1974:54). This type of system is common to many of the prefixing languages of northern Australia. Following McKay´s scheme the personal pronouns can be arranged as ´minimal´ versus ´augmented´, where the minimal categories are:

|  |  |  |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | [+ speaker, − addressee] | ´I´ |
| 1/2 | [+ speaker, + addressee] | ´you(sg) and I´ |
| 2 | [− speaker, + addressee] | ´you(sg)´ |
| 3 | [− speaker, − addressee] | ´he/she´ |

If one or more persons is added to each of those in the minimal set above, an augmented set is formed, so that the minimal set can be regarded as ´−other´ and the augmented set as ´+ other´ (see Dixon 1980:351-352).

In Tiwi there is an additional distinction of gender for the third minimal pronouns, but like nominals, this gender distinction is neutralised in the plural form.  In general, the third person augmented pronouns (and also demonstratives and definitives) are only used for humans, though there are some cases where they are is used to refer to animals or birds.

The normal or unmarked personal pronouns are shown in Table 3.6.

TABLE 3.6  NORMAL PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN TT

| | **Minimal** | | **Augmented** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *ngiya* | ´I´ | *ngawa* | ´we(excl)´ |
| 1/2 | *muwa* | ´you(sg) & I´ | | ´we(incl)´ |
| 2 | *nginja* | ´you(sg)´ | *nuwa* | ´you(pl)´ |
| 3 m | *ngarra* | ´he´ | | |
| 3 f | *nyirra* | ´she´ | *wuta* | ´they´ |

Osborne has a distinction between the first and first/second augmented forms, giving the latter, i.e. ´we (incl)´ as *ngagha* (my orthography). However, Godfrey has not come across this distinction in her work at Nguiu, and I have not noted it in my own field work.  This could be due to dialect differences, since most of Osborne´s work was done at Milikapiti and Godfrey´s and mine has been done at Nguiu and Pularumpi respectively.  It could mean the beginning of the change to a singular-plural system, which is carried further by young people.  In TT there is still a distinction between ´we (incl)´ and ´we (excl)´ in the subject person marked on the verb (see 4.2.2.1, p.172).

These pronouns may occur as subject, object or any other nominal argument of the clause.  The use of pronouns within the clause is generally not simply for anaphoric reference, particularly when they occur as arguments which are cross-referenced to the verb, since the verbal prefixes themselves have anaphoric reference or personal pronominal reference.  The use of pronouns is tied up with other discourse considerations as well as that of anaphoric reference, such as topicalisation or change of topic.  These are discussed briefly in 6.8.1 (p.291), but a detailed discussion of these is outside the scope of this work.

There is no case marking on pronouns and often the only way to determine the function and role of a pronoun in a clause is by consideration of persons marked on the verb.  Even then, it is not always possible to tell without resorting to semantic or other considerations (see example 3-49c).  In some cases the person (subject, object or indirect object) marked on the verb may be clarified by the use of a free pronoun (as in example 3-49b), since a number of the personal prefixes on the verb are homophonous.

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Example (3-49)  (TT)

(a)  *ngarra*    *a*      - *wun* - *takirayi*
     he           he:NP - them- give
     ´He gives to them.´ (the thing given is not specified in this case)

(b)  *ngawa*    *murrintawi  pi*    - *rri* - *mani*         - *mingirrilipigha*
     us(aug)    white:men   they:P - P  - ⎰us(min) ⎱       - teach
                                         ⎰us(incl)⎱
                                         ⎱you(pl) ⎰

     ´The white men taught us.´

(c)  *karri*  *ngawa  ngi*        - *mpi* - *ngan*       - *tumor* - *anyimi*
     when     we     ⎰we(excl)⎱  - NP  - ⎰you(pl) ⎱    - leave - CPVE
                     ⎱you(pl) ⎰          ⎰us(incl)⎱
                                          ⎱us(min) ⎰

     ´when we leave you completely´[37]

(d)  *wuta*  *nga*      - *ripu*     - *ma*  = *jawulighi*
     them    we(incl) - them(IO) - CON.M - fall
     ´We fall with them.´

These pronouns may also occur as possessors, but when used in this way
they seem to be mainly indicating inalienable possession.  It has already been
pointed out in 3.2.5) that these pronouns, or a shortened form of them, are
prefixed to kin terms to form kin nouns.

In the case of inalienable possession it is also possible to regard the
pronoun as prefixed to the following noun.  However, the pronoun is not
obligatory and the word possessed may occur alone (see also 5.1.2, p.227).

Example (3-50)  (TT)

     *yirrikipayi*  *ngarra*  *tuwara*   or   *yirrikipayi*  *tuwara*
     crocodile      his       tail            crocodile      tail
     ´the crocodile´s tail´                   (Osborne 1974)


### 3.3.1.2  NORMAL PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN MT

In the young people´s speech there are a number of phonological changes in
the various forms, most of which are the regular changes which occur in other
words as well.  The changes which affect the pronouns are:
     (i) the loss of initial *ng*, which has become 0 before *a*, *y* before *i* and *w*
before *u* (see 2.3.6, p.39);
     (ii) the loss of obligatory prenasalised stops, which have become
optional, and are interpreted as non-nasalised stops, /S/; (see 2.3.3, p.37);
     (iii) change of *ny* to *th* (see 2.3.7, p.41);
     (iv) change of intervocalic *t* to *rr* (see 2.3.5, p.38).

These changes are not absolute but are prevalent. The TT forms are retained by some young people, even fairly young children, in their more formal Tiwi speech. A further change which occurs in CT, or in the speech of older people speaking to younger children, is the loss of the initial syllable from the forms for ´I´ and ´you(sg)´.

The changes in the pronouns are:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *ngiya* | > | *yiya* | > | *ya* | ´I´ |
| *nginja* | > | *yitha* | > | *tha* | ´you(sg)´ |
| *ngarra* | > | *arra* | | | ´he´ |
| *nyirra* | > | *thirra* | | | ´she´ |
| *ngawa* | > | *awa* | | | ´we´ |
| *wuta* | > | *wurra* | | | ´they´ |

Besides these phonological changes the system has become a singular-plural system, with the loss of *muwa* ´we(min)´, i.e. ´you(sg) and I´, by most young people. There is also the corresponding loss of distinction in the personal prefixes on the verb (see 4.2.2, p.176). There are a few examples of the use of *muwa* as a possessive prefix to a kin term, mainly by children over 12 years. *(Ng)awa* is used widely to cover all cases of ´we´, merging the two TT forms *muwa* and *ngawa*.

Example (3-51)  (MT)

> *Konjen,* <u>*awa*</u> *fiksim, marri?*
> Constance, we fix O.K.?
> ´Constance, we´ll fix it, O.K.?´

In young people´s speech, there is a greater use of pronouns. This would be expected in children´s Tiwi or more casual MT particularly, where there is normally no verbal inflection and hence no personal anaphoric reference marked on the verb. In more formal MT the subject pronoun may be omitted, since the subject person is marked on the verb. However, since the object person is no longer marked on the verb (see 4.2.3.2 p.181), an object pronoun (or definitive or demonstrative) needs to be included in the clause. When the object is third person and can be understood from the context it may be omitted in MT. This and word order is discussed more in 6.8.2, p.293.

Example (3-52)  (MT - more formal)

(a) *yi - pakirayi* <u>*yiya*</u> *thurra*
    he:P - give me book
    ´He gave me a book.´

(b) *(awa) shutim yinti - ri - mi ka pirripirri*
    we shoot we:P - CV - do at bird
    ´We shot at some birds.´   (DB12)

(c) *(awa) fayntim yintirimi kiripuka kiyi kilim yintirimi*
    we find we:did crab then kill we:did
    ´We found a crab then we killed it.´

Example  (3-53)   (CT and casual MT)

(a)  *arra  klamap   tawa*
     he    climb:up  tower
     ´He is climbing the tower.´   (PW4)

(b)  *arra  shutim  awa  shotkan*
     he    shoot   us   shotgun
     ´He is shooting (at) us with a shotgun.´

The use of these normal pronouns as possessors is extended by young people beyond the case of inalienable possession, or at least these cases seem more common than in the speech of older people.

Example  (3-54)   (MT)

(a)  *awa  yintu - wapa  awa  kiripuka*
     we   we:P - eat    our   crab
     ´We ate our crab(s).´   (DB12)

(b)  *yitha    luk  yitha   puk*
     you(sg)  look  your(sg)  book
     ´You look at your book.´   (EP20)

### 3.3.2  MARKED PERSONAL PRONOUNS

There are a number of different types of personal pronouns which are marked by either a prefix or a suffix, such as emphatic, possessive or reflexive pronouns.  It is not easy to distinguish the criteria for the use of each of these types and only a brief discussion of some of the ways in which each is used is included.  Most of the suffixes or prefixes are used with other words or in other ways, some of these being discussed elsewhere where appropriate.

### 3.3.2.1  EMPHATIC PRONOUNS

In TT, these pronouns are formed by the addition of one of the suffixes, *-ila* or *-awa* (both of which are used elsewhere, see 3.6, p.138), or in one case a combination of both.  With the addition of the suffixes there are some changes to the stem, most of which can be explained, such as a regular morphophonemic change involving the dropping of the final stem vowel preceding a vowel initial suffix (see 2.8, p.71, and Osborne 1974:22).

Example  (3-55)   (TT)

     *nginja  + -ila  --> nginjila*
     you(sg)    EMPH     you(sg):EMPH

Table 3.7 gives a comparison of the normal and emphatic personal pronouns. The choice of suffix may be seen to be phonologically determined in most cases, the suffix *-awa* occurring when the final consonant of the stem is an alveolar, and the suffix *-ila* occurring when the final consonant of the stem is any other consonant.  Another explanation is that the suffix *-awa* occurs for third person and *-ila* for other persons.[38]

TABLE 3.7   NORMAL AND EMPHATIC PRONOUNS IN TT

|     | **Minimal** | | **Augmented** | |
|     | **Normal** | **Emphatic** | **Normal** | **Emphatic** |
|-----|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| 1   | *ngiya*     | *ngilawa*    |             |              |
| 1/2 | *muwa*      | *muwila*     | *ngawa*     | *ngawila*[39] |
| 2   | *nginja*    | *nginjila*   | *nuwa*      | *nuwila*     |
| 3 m | *ngarra*    | *ngatawa*[40] | *wuta*     | *wutawa*     |
| 3 f | *nyirra*    | *nyitawa*    |             |              |

Osborne says that these emphatic forms are used with a somewhat similar function to the English forms ´myself´, ´yourself´, etc. (1974:55). This is true to a certain extent but their semantic range is rather different from the English emphatic pronouns. Godfrey says that with the use of these there is often conveyed the sense of ´power´, particularly with the third person minimal forms; for instance, *ngatawa mapurtiti* is often used to mean ´the powerful spirit´, meaning ´Satan´. She suggests that originally there were two sets of emphatic pronouns, one with the suffix *-awa*, possibly with the meaning of ´power´ or ´importance´ and the other with the suffix *-ila*, with the sense of ´exclusion of others´. These two sets have amalgamated into the one set but the two meanings are retained, sometimes with one meaning in focus and sometimes with the other. In some cases the meanings seem to be related. This seems a feasible suggestion because, although the form *wutila* does not occur alone as an emphatic pronoun for third person augmented, it does occur as the base for other pronouns built on the emphatic pronoun, such as the reflexive, *wutilamiya*, ´themselves´ (see 3.3.2.4). Some examples of the use of these pronouns are given below and the two senses discussed above can be seen in some of them, while in others their use seems to be for emphasis only.

Example  (3-56)   (TT)

(a)  *yipungimirnikuwamini  ngatawa  wunarntani*
     he:would:dress:up      he:EMPH  man:who:lost:child
     ´The bereaved man { alone   } would dress up (for the ceremony).´
                       { himself }

(b)  *kapi      ngawila    pirrimantamangi*
     who(pl)   us:EMPH    they:looked:after:us(incl)
     ´those who looked after us, ourselves´

(c)  *pajungoni  pirikirimani  nyitawa    manjanga*
     dead/die   they:would:make  her:EMPH   stick
     ´They would kill it with the big stick.´

The addition of other suffixes and clitics are discussed in later sections, such as in the following sub-sections on marked personal pronouns and in Section 3.6, p.138, on clitics in general.

These pronouns are often used with a preposition, *kangi* or *ka*.[41]   Godfrey says that a regular language helper (a man of about 50) sometimes wrote *kangi* as in *kangi ngatawa* (prep + he:EMPH) but that recently he has written *kangatawa*, which is how younger people say it. It seems then that *kangi* has

become *ka* before an initial *ng* (cf. 2.3.10, p.45).[42]  Such a construction is used as a locative, often with the emphatic pronoun used in a possessive sense (on its own or with a noun meaning ´house´ or ´home´).  In these latter cases it seems to mean ´one´s own home or camp´, which has the sense of ´exclusion´.

Example  (3-57)  (TT)

(a)  *yinipakupawurli*   *kangatawa*   *(japuja)*
     he:came:back         to:his:EMPH   home
     ´He came back to his (own) home.´

(b)  *yimuwu*   *kangi*   *nyitawa*
     he:sat    PREP     her:EMPH
     ´He sat with her (in her own camp?).´

     In the speech of the young people it is only in this type of construction where I have found the emphatic pronouns of TT, though the preposition is always *ka* and never *kangi*.  This preposition is also used with normal personal pronouns, but there is so little data containing either of these constructions that it is not clear whether there is a semantic distinction in their use.  There appears to be no example where *ka* plus a normal pronoun means ´to someone´s place´, unless it precedes a possessed noun meaning ´home´ (as in Example 3-58d).  In general, it seems that there may be a distinction between *ka* plus a normal pronoun and *ka* plus an emphatic pronoun, with the former one meaning ´to/at someone´ (as in Example 3-58a) and the latter meaning ´to/at someone´s place´ (as in Example 3-58b), though perhaps this second one can also mean ´to/at someone´, with an emphatic sense (as in Example 3-58c).

     In all cases the construction seems to be regarded as a single word, since the *ng* is retained and in general the initial *ng* of pronouns (and other words) is lost (see 3.3.1.2).  The *i* of the suffix *-ila* is in general given as *u* (as it also is by many older people), being assimilated to the preceding *w*.

Example  (3-58)  (MT)

(a)  *Prentin  kam   yimi*    *kangawa*
     Brendon   come  he:did   to:us
     ´Brendon came to us.´    (DB12)

(b)  *wurra    pukupawuli*[43]  *kangawula*
     they     they:go:back    to:our:EMPH
     ´They went back to our place.´   (BB8)

(c)  *tha     luk   kangawula*
     you(sg) look  at:us:EMPH
     ´You look at us.´    (FP6)

(d)  *anturiyi*  *kangiya*   *thaputha*
     we:went    to:my      home
     ´We went to my place.´

     For emphasis, the young people seem to use a form of the possessive pronoun (the feminine form), which is based on the TT emphatic pronouns (see 3.3.2.3).  For exclusiveness the reflexive pronoun is used (see 3.3.2.4).

Example  (3-59)   (MT)

> *angilawa*  *ferst*
> I:EMPH    first
> ´I am first.´   (SP8)

### 3.3.2.2 ALTERNATE PRONOUNS

In TT, the pronouns which I am calling ´alternate pronouns´ are formed by the addition of the suffix *-(a)tuwu* to the normal personal pronouns or sometimes to the emphatic personal pronoun.  The suffix *-(a)tuwu* is perhaps best regarded as a clitic, in that it can occur on other words, but there seem to be very few occurrences of it other than on pronouns.[44]  For this reason I am treating the pronouns with this suffix as types of marked personal pronouns. Since all the pronominal forms to which the suffix is added are *a*-final I am treating the suffix as *-tuwu*, though as a clitic occurring on other words its form can be seen to be *-atuwu* (see examples in note 44).

Osborne calls this *-tuwu* a clitic meaning ´too´, in his dictionary (1974:136), but he does not discuss it within the text of his book.  It does seem to have the sense of ´too´ or ´as well´ or the sense of ´in turn´, though it cannot always be translated simply by these words.  This *-tuwu* is normally glossed as TOP (topic).  An alternate pronoun often occurs initially or near the beginning of a clause or sentence, in which case it normally seems to indicate a change of theme (or topic)[45] though often the action of the verb is the same as in the preceding clause or sentence. The use of these pronouns in a clause is discourse-related, but then the use of normal personal pronouns versus the lack of them is also related to the discourse structure, a detailed discussion of which is beyond the scope of this work (see also 6.8.1, p.291).

Example  (3-60)   (TT)

(a) *Karluwu*   *yi* - *ma* - *ngan* - *takirayi*   *kunawini* ...
    not       he:P - SBVE - us(DO) - give       money

*Partuwa*,   *ngarra* - *tuwu*  *nginaki*   *yoni*     *ngini*  *ngarra minimarti* ...
that´s:over he      - TOP    this(m)    other(m)   who(m)  he       generous(m)

´He won´t give us money ... Then there´s this other one, who is generous ...´

(b) *Kutupi*  *ngi* - *ri* - *mi*  *maringarruwu*.  *Nyirra* - *tuwu*  *awungarruwu*
    jump     I    - CV - do  other:side      she     - TOP    over:there

*ji* - *pakupawurli*
she - go:back

´I jumped down on the other side.  As for her, she went back over there.´

There are one or two examples in TT of this suffix occurring on emphatic pronoun forms or normal personal pronoun forms with the suffix *-ila*, such as:

(i) *ngarrila (ngarra + -ila) + -tuwu* --> *ngarrilatuwu* ´he:TOP´

(ii) *wutila (wuta + -ila) + -tuwu* --> *wutilatuwu* ´they:TOP´.

Example (3-61) (TT)

(a) <u>ngatawa</u> - <u>tuwu</u>  Japarra  yu   - watu - wuriyi[46]
    he:EMPH - TOP  Japarra  he:P - morn - go
    'Japarra, too, went out in the morning.'

(b) <u>wutila</u>    - <u>tuwu</u>  yingompa  pinuwajimumarri
    they:EMPH - TOP  others    they:tried:to:get:water
    'Others, too, tried to get water.' or 'In turn, others tried to get
    water'.

    This kind of pronoun is used quite extensively in MT. It is not clear
whether it is used in the same way as in TT, though it generally seems to be
so. There are a number of examples where the form used is similar to that in
example 3-61(b). However, the form is no longer based on the TT emphatic
pronoun form with the suffix -ila but is a reanalysis, consisting of the normal
personal pronoun plus the suffix -la (with the final vowel of the pronoun
retained) and the suffix -tuwu. From the data there does not appear to be any
difference in meaning in the use of the two forms, but on further investigation
one may be found. In most cases they seem to be used interchangeably. It may
be that the suffix -la has the sense of exclusion as the TT suffix -ila on
pronouns may have, or as one of the meanings of the clitic -(i)la has (see
example 3-62(c) and 3.6 p.138).

Example (3-62) (MT)

(a) <u>nyirra</u> - <u>tuwu</u>  anginaki  maratinga
    she    -  TOP  this(f)   ship(f)
    'As for this, this is a ship.' or 'This in turn is a ship.'   (MP22)
    (Said while pointing to a picture of a ship, in the process of talking
    about pictures in a book.)

(b) <u>ngarra</u> - <u>tuwu</u>,  tha       - rringani ...
    he     -  TOP  your(sg) - father ...
    'As for him, your father ...'   (LB33)
    (Said after talking about other members of the family.)

(c) waya  <u>yiya</u> - <u>tuwu</u>
    now    I   - TOP
    'Now it's my turn.'

(d) Kanis,  <u>tha</u>    - <u>la</u>   - <u>tuwu</u>
    Aquinas  you(sg) - only? - TOP
    'Aquinas, it's your turn' or 'Aquinas, it's just your turn(?).'

(e) kiyi  <u>wurra</u> - <u>la</u>  - <u>tuwu</u> poyis, kiyi  arra lernim tu kakijuwi  - la
    then   they  - only? - TOP  boys   then   he   teach  to small(pl) - only
    'Then, as for them, the boys, he taught them, just the little ones.'
                                                                    (DB12)

(f) anturiyi with fata ... kiyi karri  kam  pak  yintirimi
    we:went  with Father ..then  when   come back we:did

    awa - <u>la</u>   - <u>tuwu</u>, awa  shutim ka (pert) pirripirri
    we  - only? - TOP  we   shoot  at  bird  bird

´We went with Father ... then when we came back, we shot at some  birds
(just us (kids) and not Father?).´   (DB12)

This last example does seem to convey the sense of exclusion, where the
awa ´we´ in the last clause does not include all the participants in the awa of
the preceding clauses.


### 3.3.2.3  POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

The possessive pronouns in TT are formed by the addition of the prefixes
ngini- (m), (ng)angi- (f) and kapi- (pl), to the emphatic pronoun forms.  When
the feminine form is added to ng-initial stems the ngi- of the prefix is
dropped, so that (ng)angi- + ngilawa becomes (ng)angilawa ´my/mine(f)´.
Normally the initial ng of the feminine form is also dropped, except perhaps by
some people in formal or precise speech.

These prefixes also occur on the demonstratives (see 3.3.5.1, p.117) and
are also used alone as relative pronouns (see 3.3.3) and the possessive
pronouns are probably derived from relative clauses.  Some people seem to think
of them as two separate words.

i.e.  nginingilawa  <  ngini- + ngilawa
      my/mine(m)        which(m)   me
      ´that which is mine´ or ´that which is to me´

The forms of the possessive pronoun can be seen by comparing the emphatic
forms in Table 3.7 and adding the above prefixes.  The feminine forms affected
by the deletion of ngi are: angilawa ´mine(f)´, anginjila ´yours(sg)(f)´,
angatawa ´his(f)´ and angawila ´ours(f)´.  The gender of the form agrees with
the thing possessed (see 5.1.2, p.227).

The possessive pronouns may be used as modifiers of nouns (see 5.1.2,
p.227), in which case Osborne says the difference in meaning between these and
the normal pronouns as possessor ´can be suggested by the difference between
English "my" and "my own"´, (1974:55), i.e. one of emphasis. They may also
occur alone (as can all noun modifiers, see 3.2, p.77 and 5.1.2, p.227).

Example  (3-63)   (TT)

(a)  ta        - yakurluwunyi  alawura  ngini - nginjila
     IMP(sg) - see             boss(m)  which(m) -you(sg)
     ´See your boss!´

(b)  pili      nyirra - tuwu  a - mpu - ngupu - pu - rrajiyangirri
     because   she    - TOP   she- NP  - us(IO) - ? - force

     ngangi - nyitawa [47]
     which(f) - her:EMPH

     ´because she forces hers (i.e. her law) on us´

There are some examples of a possessive pronoun being composed of the
prefixes given above and the normal personal pronoun.  I am not sure if there
is any difference in meaning.  It may be that it is just a matter of degree or
emphasis.  These, too, are probably derived from relative clauses.

Example  (3-64)  (TT)

(a)  *ngini*  - *wuta*   murrintawi  languwiji
    which(m)- their  white:men   language
    'theirs, the whitemen's language'

(b)  *Japarra kunji yi  - kirim - ani   yirrimputara angi   - nyirra*
    Japarra close he:P - make - P:REP mouth       which(f) - her
    'Japarra kept her mouth closed (with his hand).'

There are several examples of possessive pronouns in the speech of young
people, though most of these are feminine forms.  There are no examples of
plural forms of the possessive pronoun, and only two examples of a masculine
form.  TT feminine forms or forms derived from them are used as general
possessive pronouns, possessing masculine and plural nouns also.[48]  Most of the
examples contain forms meaning 'my', 'your(sg)', 'our' or 'his' which in TT
simply have the prefix a- (reduced from angi- before initial ng).  In the few
examples of other possessive pronouns in MT the prefix has also been reduced to
a-, i.e. TT: anginyirra > MT: anyirra 'her'.  This form and the form angarra
'his', which occurs as an alternative to angatawa (or angarrawa),[49] are the
only examples of possessive forms based on the normal pronoun.  The other
possessive forms in MT are based on the emphatic forms.  The form for 'you(sg)'
has a further reduction of ang- to a-, i.e. TT: anginjila (angi- + nginjila) >
MT: ajila (or athila) (with sound changes, see 2.3.3, p.37 and 2.3.7, p.41.
The forms in the data are: angilawa (or reduced to angila) 'my'; ajila/athila
(or athala by some young children) 'your(sg)'; angawula 'our';
angarra/angatawa/angarrawa 'his' and anyirra 'her'.[50]

Example  (3-65)  (MT)

(a)  *angilawa*  *pulagumoka*
    my        dog(f)
    'my bitch'  (AW10)

(b)  *angatawa* *Maliki*   *jukorringa*
    his        Malcolm  mussel(f)
    'Malcolm's mussel'  (AM12)

(c)  *angilawa* *yikiti*
    my        food(m)
    'my food'  (DB12)

(d)  *angilawa* *ya - rringani*[51]
    my        my - father
    'my father'  (TP10)

There are two examples of the use of a masculine form which are used as in
TT, though with the initial ng as y.

Example  (3-66)  (MT)

(a)  *awa  tok*  *yiningawula*
    we   talk  our(m)
    'We'll talk our (language).'   (MD12)

(b) *yininginjila yimora, tha apim arikulani*
    your(m)        vagina  you(sg) have  big(m)
    'You have a big vagina.' (swearing)    (LW7)

    The first example is by a girl whose understanding of TT was quite good, coming from a family which encouraged the use of TT, and so she is probably using the form here as in formal Tiwi speech. Regarding the second example, I doubt whether the seven year old speaker would be aware of the correct TT form of the masculine pronoun, but because this is a common swearing expression which she has probably heard being used, she has reproduced the correct TT possessive pronoun.

### 3.3.2.4 REFLEXIVE, RECIPROCAL AND COLLECTIVE PRONOUNS

    In TT, the reflexive and reciprocal pronouns are formed by the addition of the suffixes, *-amiya* and *-ajirri* respectively, to the emphatic pronouns. These suffixes may also occur on verbs (see 4.2.7, p.188) and on the adverb, *wangata* 'alone'.[52] It is not always clear what are the criteria in TT for the occurrences of these suffixes on the different parts of speech. The semantic notions covered by these suffixes are wider than just 'reflexive' and 'reciprocal' but I have retained these terms, following Osborne, since it is difficult to find a term which conveys the wider sense. In a seminar at the Australian National University, Frances Morphy, in discussing the same phenomenon with the so-called reflexive/reciprocal suffix in Yolnu, suggested that the overall semantic notion was 'engaged in an activity alone' when used with one participant, and 'engaged in an activity jointly' when used with more than one participant. These meanings would respectively fit the uses of the reflexive and reciprocal suffixes in TT, though not with a one-to-one correspondence since the reflexive suffix can be used when there is more than one participant.

    When a purely reflexive or reciprocal sense is intended the suffixes seem to be added to the verb in TT.[53]

Example (3-67) (TT)

(a) *ngi - ri - pirn - amiya*      (Osborne 1974:44)
    I   - CV - hit  - REFLEX
    'I hit myself.'

(b) *pi    - ri - pirn - ajirr - ani*
    they:P - CV - hit  - RECIP - P:HAB
    'They used to hit themselves.'

    In the TT data, I have found no examples of reciprocal pronouns, but Godfrey has given an example of *muwilajirri* '(let's settle it) between you and me'.

    There are examples of reflexive pronouns in TT, in which case they do not refer to objects of reflexive verbs, but normally have a sense of 'for oneself' or 'by oneself'.[54]

Example  (3-68)  (TT)

(a) *ngataw* - *amiya*   a -   *papurti*
    he:EMPH - REFLEX  he:NP-go:up
    ´He goes up (to the bush) for himself.´

(b) *ngi* - *pawumi*  *ngilaw* - *amiya*        (Osborne,1974:56)
    I  - cook     me:EMPH - REFLEX
    ´I´ll cook my own.´  (or ´I´ll cook for myself(?).´)

Reflexive pronouns are used quite extensively in MT.  They may have the sense of ´by oneself´,[55] and are also extended to cover the objects of reflexive verbs.[56]  There are also some examples of a reciprocal pronoun, which has the function of a reciprocal object or means ´together´.  The forms of these pronouns in MT are different from the TT construction, with the emphatic pronoun plus the suffixes -*amiya* ´reflexive´ and -*ajirri* ´reciprocal´, being reanalysed as the normal pronoun plus the suffixes -*lamiya* and -*lajirri*. Alternately this may be analysed as the normal pronoun plus an emphatic suffix *la*- plus the reflexive or reciprocal suffix (cf. the alternate pronoun in MT, p.107).  In general, the full form of the normal pronoun is retained in MT when it is prefixed to some other form (cf. kin nouns, 3.2.5, p.95, and alternate pronouns, 3.3.2.2, p.107).  As in TT, the reflexive suffix may occur when there is one or more than one participant, but the reciprocal only occurs on plural pronouns.

Example  (3-69)  (MT)

(a) *awa  pley  yintirimi  awa* - *lamiya* (or *awa* - *la*  - *miya*
    we   play  we:did     we  - REFLEX       we  - EMPH - REFLEX

    *ka  ol  kamp*  (or *awa* - *la*  - *miya*)
    at  old  camp      we  - EMPH - REFLEX

    ´We played by ourselves at the old camp.´  (JP9)

(b) *wokapat  arra* - *lamiya*  (or *arra* - *la*  - *miya*)
    walk     he  - REFLEX       he  - EMPH - REFLEX
    ´He walked about by himself.´  (DB12)

(c) *wurra  meykim  wuta* - *lamiya* (or *wuta* - *la* - *miya*)    *trayi*
    they   make    they - REFLEX      they - EMPH - REFLEX  dry
    ´They dried themselves.´  (SK10)

(d) *yi* - *pini  ata* - *lamiya* (or *ata*      - *la*  - *miya*)[57]
    he:P - hit   he  - REFLEX      he:EMPH  - EMPH - REFLEX

    *o   from  kuwani?*
    or  from  who?

    ´Did he hit himself or who (did)?´  (MP11)

(e) *tuli  pirimi  wuta* - *lajirri* (or *wuta* - *la*  - *jirri*)
    spear  they:did they - RECIP       they - EMPH - REFLEX
    ´They speared each other.´  (MD12)

(f) *wurra* - *lajirri*  (or *wurra*   - *la*  - *jirri*) *arikulapi pirimi*
    they  - RECIP        they   - EMPH - RECIP  big(pl)   they:were
    ´They grew up together.´  (J12)

The collective pronouns (so called by Osborne 1974:56) are formed by the emphatic augmented forms prefixed by *nginingaji*, which elsewhere is used as a manner preposition 'like'. Osborne treats these as one word but older Tiwi people who can write seem to always write them as two words and so they are realy phrases, though they cannot be translated as 'like us' etc (cf. 5.2.3, p.241).

These pronouns then are: *nginingaji ngawila* 'all of us', *nginingaji nuwila* 'all of you', *nginingaji wutawa* 'all of them'. These pronouns are included in this section because they seem to be related semantically, if not in form, to the use of the completive verbal suffix *-anyimi*,[58] which is of the same order as the verbal reflexive and reciprocal suffixes (see 4.2.7, p.188).

Example (3-70) (TT)

> *nginingaji   ngawila   arikutumurnuwi*
> like          us:EMPH   people
> 'all of us people'

There is also at least one example of this type of pronoun based on the third masculine minimal emphatic pronoun.

Example (3-71) (TT)

> *nginingaji   ngatawa   murrakupupuni*
> all:of:it               country
> 'the whole world'

I have not come across many examples of these pronouns in MT, except for the one based on *ngawila* 'we'. In this case the prefix is reduced and the form becomes *najingawula* 'all of us'.


### 3.3.3  RELATIVE PRONOUNS

The relative pronouns agree in gender or number (in the case of human plural referents) with the referent. The referent may also be indicated by a noun, pronoun, definitive or demonstrative (normally antecedent) or there may be no overt reference other than the relative clause (as in example 3-72(b)). Relative clauses are discussed in more detail in 6.9.1, p.295.

In TT, the relative pronouns are *ngini*(m), *(ng)angi*(f), *kapi* or *ngampi*(pl).

Example (3-72) (TT)

(a) *yoni      nginaki   ngini   kintanga - wamini*
    other(m)  this(m)   who(m)  foot     - INTENS(m)
    'this other one who has a big foot'

(b) *(ngajiti)   ngangi   jipitika   (ngimparimayalamiya)*
    don't       which(f) weak(f)    you(pl):try:load:selves
    '(Don't try to load yourselves into) (houses) which
    are weak.'

(c)   *ngungi*   *ju   - wurim   - ani*   *kurrumpali*
     which(f) she:P - be:strong - P:HAB house
     ´house(s) which is/are strong´

(d)   *(awuta)*   *kapi*   *puruwunjuwi*
     those(DEF)  who(pl) sick(pl)
     ´those who are sick´

     In the MT data there are not many examples of relative pronouns.  Those
which occur were given by older young people.  In some cases the forms are
changed phonologically.  The forms found are: *ngini/yini*(m), *angi/anga*(f), and
*kapi*(pl) (see also 6.9.1.2, p.297).

Example  (3-73)  (MT)

(a)   *awarra  shop  ngini*   *murruntani kirritawinip*
     that(m) shop  which(m) white(m)   bread(m)
     ´that shop which has white bread´

(b)   *awuta  arikutumunuwi  kapi*   *purruriyi*   *wiyuwu*   *japini*
     those   people          who(pl) they:went   Nguiu    yesterday
     ´those people who went to Nguiu yesterday´       (LB33)

(c)   *anginayi*   *anga  kalikali*   *ampijikimi*
     that:one(f)  who(f) run          she:is:doing
     ´that girl who is running.´   (PP23)

### 3.3.4  IMPERSONAL PRONOUNS

     The impersonal pronouns comprise the interrogatives, indefinite and
negative pronouns.  The latter two sets are built upon the interrogatives,
which in turn are built upon the stem *kuwa*- for humans and *kami*- for
non-humans.

     In TT, the human forms are marked for gender or number, while the
non-human forms are marked for gender, as for human versus non-human nouns.
The interrogative pronouns are:

| Masculine | Feminine | Plural | |
|-----------|----------|--------|---|
| *kuwani*  | *kuwanga* | *kuwapi* | ´who?´ |
| *kamini*  | *kamunga* |        | ´which, what?´ |

     Most of the forms of the interrogative pronouns are found in the MT data,
though there are very few examples of the feminine non-human form.  In all
styles the -*ni* of the masculine forms is elided preceding a *n*-initial word, and
the final vowel in all forms is elided preceding a vowel-initial word.

Example  (3-74)  (TT/MT)

(a)   *kuwan(i)   awarra?*
     who(m)     that(m)
     ´Who is that (man)?´

(b)  *kuwang(a)*  *anaki?*[59]
    who(f)     this(f)
    ´Who is this (woman)?´

(c)  *kami(ni)*  *naki?*
    what(m)   this
    ´What is this?´

In MT the form *kamini* is often used for another TT pronoun (or proform), which generally means ´what?´ or ´how?´, viz. *awungana*. In general, this form is being lost in the speech of young people, except in the general ´greeting´ question (´What´s up?, ´How are you? or ´What are you doing?´) in which case it is usually changed to *awana*, through a regular sound change (see 2.3.4, p.37).[60]

Example (3-75)  (TT)

   *awungana*  *a*      - *wuji* - *rrupujinga* - *ma?*
   what      he:NP - DUR -  talk    - do
   ´What is he saying?´

Example (3-76)  (MT)

   *arra*  *kamini*  *sey?*
   he    what    say
   ´What is he saying?´ or ´What did he say?´

The indefinite pronouns are formed by prefixing *arrami*, which alone means ´perhaps´ or ´maybe´, to the interrogative pronouns. The /i/ of the prefix becomes /u/ before the /k/ of the stems. In general, both in TT and MT these pronouns mean ´someone´ or ´something´. The non-human form seems also to mean ´thing´ in some cases. In MT they are often used in the same way as the English ´anyone´ or ´anything´.[61] In MT, the only forms found are the masculine human form (though presumably the feminine form would occur if the person is known to be female) and the forms for both genders in the non-human forms.[62] These forms are often shortened to *amukuwani* (or *amukoni*) ´someone´ (or even *arrakuwani*) and *amukamini*(m), *amukamunga*(f), ´something´, ´thing´.[63]

Example (3-77)  (TT)

(a)  ... *pili* *arramukamini* *yi* - *rri*    - *ngin*    - *ja*  - *pirni*
    because  something(m)  he - IRREAL - you(sg) - EMPH - catch
    ´(Don´t roam away) because something might catch you.´

(b)  *awungarruwu*  *arramukamunga* ...
    over:there     something(f)
    ´Some feminine thing (is sitting) over there.´

Example (3-78)  (MT)

(a)  *tha*    *luk*  *arrakamunga,* *thirra* *mup* *awarra*
    you(sg) look  something(f)  she    move  here (?)
    ´You look, something moved here (?).´     (MW5)

(b)  *thirra* *apim* *pik* *arramukamunga*
    she     have  big  something(f)
    ´She has something big.´ or ´She has a big thing.´

(c)  *arrakuwani*   wantim   keyk?
     someone       want     cake
     'Does anyone want some cake?'   (JJ6)

(d)  awa  ketim  naki  *amukamini*
     we   get    this  something
     'We got this big thing.'

     Another type of indefinite pronoun in TT, with the forms *nimini*(m) and
*nimunga*(f), means something like 'what's his name?' or 'what's it called?'
(occuring when people cannot recall the name of someone or something).

Example  (3-79)   (TT)

     *pirripakirayi*            *nimini*,          Maliwarniyuwa
     they:gave:(her):to:him  what's:his:name  Maliwarniyuwa
     'They gave her to, what's his name, (to) Maliwarniyuwa.'

     There are no examples of these forms occurring on their own in MT but
there are some examples of the forms *niminaki* and *niminayi* derived from the TT
forms *nimini* plus the demonstratives *(ngi)naki* 'this(m)' and *(ngi)nayi*
'that(m)'.[64]  These are used as the TT forms given above, but there does not
seem to be any clear distinction in MT between the two forms.

Example  (3-80)   (MT)

(a)  awa  fayntim  *niminaki*,          yingoti
     we   find     what's:it:called  bush:honey
     'We found, what's it called?, bush honey.'   (TM14)

(b)  *korila*  yi  - pini  awarra  *niminayi*,        awarra men
     gorilla  he:P - hit  the(m)  what's:it called  the(m) man
     'The gorilla hit the, what's it called?, the man.'   (RJ12)

     In some cases they seem to be used meaning 'something' or 'some sort of'
where the name is not known.

Example  (3-81)   (MT)

(a)  wurra   luk   ran    fo   *niminaki*
     they    look  around for  something
     'They looked around for something.'   (JT13)

(b)  yi  - pakirayi  *niminaki*    yikiti
     he:P - give     some:sort:of  food
     'He gave him some sort of food.'   (RJ12)

     Negative pronouns are formed by prefixing *karri*[65] to the interrogative
forms.  In MT the human plural form *karrikuwapi* (or *karrikopi*) is generalised
to mean 'no one' and the masculine non-human form is generalised to mean
'nothing'.

Example (3-82) (MT)

(a) *awa luk yintirimi* <u>*karrikuwapi*</u>
    we   see  we:did      nobody
    'We didn't see anyone.'   (MP9)

(b) <u>*karrikamini*</u> *mutika awarri*
    nothing         car    then
    'There weren't any cars then.'   (PP23)


### 3.3.5 DEMONSTRATIVES AND DEFINITIVES

There are two sets of pronouns in TT which Osborne calls demonstratives, and which can generally be translated into English as 'this' or 'that'. I am calling one set 'demonstratives' since they are deictic, giving the location and identification of persons and objects in a spatiotemporal context, in relation to the speaker or addressee. The second set is unmarked for proximity to the speaker and the members are mainly anaphoric, and I am calling these 'definitives'.


### 3.3.5.1 DEMONSTRATIVES

In TT, there are three demonstrative stems which indicate proximity to the speaker and/or addressee: *-na(n)ki* 'close to the speaker', *-niyi* 'close to the addressee' and *-nayi* 'distant from the speaker and addressee.'[66] Each of the stems is prefixed by the forms *ngini-*(m), which becomes *ngi-* before the initial /n/ of the stems, *(ng)angi-*(f), and *kapi-* or *ngampi-*(pl).[67] (cf. relative pronouns, 3.3.3, p.113.) The masculine forms are often reduced even further to just the stems *na(n)ki*, *niyi*, and *nayi*. These reduced forms may be used more generally to mean 'this/that place/thing'.[68]

The unmarked stems were probably originally 'distance' locatives (see 3.5.1, p.125), and the marked demonstratives probably originally relative clauses (cf. 3.3.3, p.113). So that *(ng)anginaki* 'this one(f)' > <u>*(ng)angi*</u> *naki* '(the woman/thing(f)) which is/was here'.

The demonstratives may occur modifying a noun or on their own as pronouns.

Example (3-83) (TT)

(a) <u>*anginanki*</u> *pilimunga*
    this(f)       road(f)
    'this road'

(b) <u>*(ngi)nayi*</u>   *kiyijini*
    this(dist:m) boy
    'that boy over there'

(c) *nginja awarra    a   - wu - rra - marri - miringarra* <u>*nginayi*</u>
    you(sg) that(def:m) he:NP - OBL - EMPH - CON.M - live        that(dist:m)
    'That one (from over there) should marry you.'

(d) *yikoni*   *awarra*      *niyi*                *kumurrupuni*
    fire(m)   that(def:m)   that(near:you:m)   smoky
    'That fire near you is smoky.'

(e) *awarra*       *naki*        *ngini*       *tuwawanga*
    this(def:m)   that(dem:m)   which(m)   again

    *ngi* - *mpi* - *ri* - *wa*    - *yalangimi* ...
    I   - NP:f - CV - words - load
    'This which I am recording again ...'

In MT, there are a number of examples of the demonstratives with stems *na(n)ki* and *nayi*. There are a few examples of the stem *niyi*, but it is difficult to tell in most cases without knowing the non-linguistic context, whether it is used in the same way as in TT. Older young people seem to use it in this way (as in example 3-84a), but when it is used by children it seems to be used as an alternative to *nayi* (as in example 3-84b).

Example  (3-84)  (MT)

(a) *tha*  *luk*  *niyi*
    you   look   there
    'You look near you.'   (EP20)

(b) *kiyi*   *niyi*    *pu*    - *rru*  -  *wuriyi*  *kapuliyama*[69]
    then    there   they:P - P    -  go     far:out:sea
    'Then they went far out to sea.'   (DB12)

There are some examples by older young people of the TT forms of the masculine and feminine demonstratives, but, in general, the unmarked form consisting of just the stem occurs for the masculine and the feminine prefix is reduced to *a-*.

Example  (3-85)  (MT)

(a) *naki*   *kijini*
    this(m) boy   (DB12)

(b) *anaki*   *kijinga*
    this(f)  girl   (FW13)

(c) *kapinaki*   *kakijuwi*
    these      children   (DB12)

In general, distinctions in gender and number in the demonstrative forms are only given when they refer to humans (or some animals), as is the case with nouns (see 3.2.2, p.84). With other nouns the unmarked masculine forms *naki* and *nayi* are used, though some older young people may be aware of the appropriate TT gender for some items and use the appropriate TT demonstrative, particularly in formal speech.

Example  (3-86)  (MT)

(a)  _naki_  *kiripuka*
     this  crab(f)  (PJ12)

(b)  _nayi_  *wununga*
     that  possum(f)  (BB8)

Children (some even as old as 12 years) seem to extend these unmarked forms to refer to female humans.[70]

Example  (3-87)  (MT)

(a)  _naki_  *athirra*  *yipalinya*
     this  this:DEF(f)  woman
     'This woman'  (DB12)

(b)  *tha*  *naw*  _naki_  _Papara_
     you(sg) know  this  Barbara
     'You know this Barbara'  (CP8)

In the data of the young people's speech there is a greater proportion of demonstratives than in the TT data. One reason for this is that the young people's data consists of more examples of spontaneous, normal speech, compared to the TT data of stories. Another reason is that children, in telling stories (whether their own experience or something else, such as telling about a movie), put themselves into the situation, telling it as if they themselves were there in the situation at the time of telling. They may even extend this to the hearer, assuming that what is known to the speaker may also be known to the addressee.

## 3.3.5.2  DEFINITIVES

The definitives may modify a noun or be used alone as pronouns. In the former case they can often be translated by 'the', since they refer to a known and definite entity. When they occur as pronouns they can often only be translated as 'that one/thing (that we know or we have talked about)'. These definitives themselves do not indicate distance, but they may occur together with a demonstrative when the distance relative to the speaker and/or hearer is also relevant.[71]

The TT forms of the definitive are: *awarra*(m), *awunyirra*(f), and *awuta*(pl). These appear to be formed from the third person pronouns, prefixed by the anaphoric prefix *awu-*, but with some morphophonological changes, such as: *awu-* + *ngarra* 'he' (*awungarra*) --> *awarra*(m);[72] *awu-* + *nyirra* 'she' *awunyirra/awinyirra* (f) (optional assimilation to the following *ny*); *awu-* + *wuta* 'they' *awuta* (elision of similar syllables, see 2.3.10, p.45).

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Example (3-88) (TT)

(a) *nginaki  ngini  ngarra  jirti  a - ri - miringarra* ...
    this(m)  who(m)  he     bad(m)  he:NP- CV-sit

    *Api  nga    - pakurluwunyi  awarra*
    well  we(incl) - look:at      that:one(m)(def)

    ´This man who hates us ... well we look at that one.´

(b) *Kapijani  ngangi  yi  - marri - muwu, nyirra  awinyirra          arikulanga*
    K.        who(f)  he:P - CON.M - live  she   that:one(f)(DEF) big (f)
    ´The woman who Kapijani married was an adult.´

It is not always clear from texts why these definitives are used, as in
some cases there appears to be no previous reference, but in a number of
stories for which I have the transcription apparently reference was made to
whatever is being talked about before the actual story was taped.  In other
cases there is no previous mention of a participant but it is assumed the
participant is known to the hearer as well as the speaker, so that the
definitives are not simply anaphoric, with reference to the actual text or
discourse, but with reference to the extra-linguistic knowledge shared by the
speaker and hearer.

In MT, the definitives seem to be used in much the same way as in TT,
though, like the demonstratives, they occur more commonly.  This is to be
expected, particularly in the speech of children, who tend to make more
assumptions about the shared knowledge of the speaker and hearer.

The feminine form of the definitive is more common in MT than the feminine
form of the demonstrative (in comparison with the corresponding masculine
forms).  This may be because the masculine and feminine forms of the definitive
are more distinctive phonologically than are the masculine and feminine forms
of the demonstrative.  With nouns for humans and dogs the masculine, feminine
or plural forms of the definitives are used according to the gender or number
of the noun, as for TT, though some younger children in the study have not
developed the correct use of these.

In the speech of most young people the feminine and plural definitive
forms are changed from the traditional forms, particularly in casual speech.
In formal speech some young people gave the traditional forms.  These changes
are: *awinyirra    a(n)thirra* ´that one(f)´ (see 2.3.7, p.41) and *awuta > awurra*
´those ones´ (see 2.3.5, p.38).

Example (3-89) (TT)

(a) *awarra   arikulani  tini*
    that(m)  big(m)     man
    ´that big man´  (B12)

(b) *athirra  murrukupora*
    that(f)  girl   (RJ12)

(c) _awurra_  _wawurruwi_
    those    men
    ´Those are men.´   (EP20)

The masculine form is often also changed from _awarra_ to _arra_ but this seems to be mainly in children´s speech, even though in some cases the children are as old as 12 years.

Example (3-90) (CT)

    _arra_     _janimani_
    that(m)  Chinese man
    ´that Chinese man´

The form _arra_, which is used instead of _awarra_(m), is the same as the changed form of the masculine singular pronoun ´he´. This means that in some children´s speech the definitive and pronoun fall together, at least in the masculine form. This may be extended to feminine and plural forms by some children, though in the cases like those in example 3-91, these forms may perhaps be regarded as pronouns in apposition to the nouns rather than as definitives modifying the nouns.[73]

Example (3-91)

(a) _thirra_     _wununga_
   ⌠ that(f) ⌡ possum
   ⌡ she    ⌠
   ´that possum´ or ´she, possum´

(b) _wurra_    _Papara_  _mop_
   ⌠ those ⌡ Barbara  mob
   ⌡ they  ⌠
   ´those of Barbara´s mob´ or ´they, Barbara´s mob´

The older children normally retain separate forms for the definitives and the third person pronouns, for the feminine and plural. The changed plural form _awurra_, which seems common even with older children, is difficult to distinguish from the masculine form _awarra_, except in precise speech, which may be one reason why the masculine form has become _arra_ even though it is the same as the pronoun. The distinction between ´he´ and ´that one (m)´ is possibly not seen as so important as the distinction between ´that one(m)´ and ´those´.

With nouns other than human nouns, older young people normally use the appropriate form of the definitive to coincide with the TT gender of the noun. However, because of the loss of gender distinctions for most non-human nouns, particularly loan nouns (see 3.2.2, p.84), there are examples of both the masculine and feminine definitive forms occurring with the same nouns, even in the speech of the one individual.

Example (3-92) (MT/CT)

    _arra_   _jeyn_     or     _anthirra_  _jeyn_
    that(m) chain         that(f)   chain  (DB12)

Another form for ´those´ seems to be coming into being in MT, viz., _kapawurra (kapi + awurra)_.[74] It is not clear from the examples whether it is being used deictically or anaphorically.

Example (3-93) (MT)

(a) *kapawurra* *Fonta* *mop*
    those       Fonda  mob
    'those in Fonda's mob'   (JJ6)

(b) *kapawurra* *ami*
    those       army
    'those soldiers'   (DB12)

    As in TT, the definitives and demonstratives may occur together.

Example (3-94) (MT)

(a) *kuwapi* *awurra* *kapinaki?*
    who(pl)  these(DEF) these(DEM)
    'Who are these people?'   (EP20)

(b) *athirra* *anayi* *murrakupora*
    that(f)(DEF) that(f)(DEM) teenage:girl
    'that teenage girl'   (RJ12)


## 3.4 PREDICATIVES

    This term, from Osborne (1974:59), is used for a small class of words which only occur within the predicates of non-verbal clauses or stative verbal clauses, as complements (see 6.5, p.285 and 6.4, p.282).[75] These words have adjective-like meanings but do not modify a noun attributively. They are invariable in form and do not agree in number or gender with the noun to which they refer. Some of these are: *arliranga* 'shy', 'ashamed', *yikonari* 'hot', *paruwani* 'hungry', *kiyana* 'ripe, cooked'.[76] These predicatives may also occur as complements in semi-transitive clauses as in example (3-95a). These clauses are not discussed in the work (see 6.4, p.282).

Example (3-95) (TT)

(a) *yikonari* *ta* - *kirimi*
    hot      IMP(Sg) - make
    'Make it hot!'

(b) *ngiya* *paruwani*
    I       hungry
    'I am hungry.'

    In MT, some of these predicatives are retained though sometimes with a changed form, such as *janawuti* (or *thanawuti*) for *januwurti* 'tired'. This class has not been expanded by loan words, since the loan adjectives generally can occur as adjectives, i.e. as modifying a noun attributively. There are one or two loan adjectives in the data which occur only as complements, such as *tet* 'dead' and *tray* 'dry', but presumably with more data these would also appear as adjectives.

Example  (3-96)   (MT)

(a)  *yiya*  *thanawuti*
     I       tired
     ´I am tired.´   (AW10)

(b)  *awa-naruwi*  *paruwani*  *naki*  *yikiti*
     our-mothers   hungry      this    food
     ´Our mothers were hungry for this food.´   (PP23)

    In TT, some adjectival qualities are encoded in verbal forms which are now
frozen, though they show gender differences.  These forms occur predicatively.

Example  (3-97)   (TT)

(a)  *yuwurumi*  *(yi + -(w)urimi)*       ´hard(m)´
                 he:P    be:hard

     *juwurumi*  *(ji- + -(w)urumi)*      ´hard(f)´
                 she:P   be:hard

(b)  *yiporimi*  *(yi- + -Corimi)*        ´deaf(m)´
                 he:P    be:deaf

     *jiporimi*  *(ji- + -Corimi)*        ´deaf(f)´
                 she:P   be:deaf

(c)  *yirikupuranji*  *(yi- + ri- + kupuranji)*[77]   ´good looking(m)´
                      he:P   CV   be:good

     *jikupuranji*    *(ji- + -kupuranji)*            ´good looking(f)´
                      she:P   be:good?

## 3.5  OTHER WORD CLASSES

    There are other word classes which are separated on semantic and syntactic
grounds, with no morphological bases for distinguising them. Some of these
classes are: conjunctions and introducers, prepositions and interjections.
These classes are not discussed in detail in this chapter, but some are dealt
with in appropriate sections in later chapters.  Conjunctions are of two types,
those joining phrases (discussed in 5.1.3, p.230) and those joining clauses
within sentences.  Introducers are those words which introduce sentences.
Neither clause conjunctions nor introducers are discussed in this work.[78]  In
TT, there are very few prepositions and their functions are mainly relating
locative phrases to a clause.  In MT, the class of prepositions is expanded by
the introduction of some loan prepositions and their functions are expanded to
include grammatical relations other than locative.  Both TT and MT prepositions
are discussed in appropriate sections in Chapters 5 (Phrases) and 6 (Clauses).

    Interjections are a small class of words which can occur alone as a
complete utterance, or can occur in the outer periphery of a sentence as an
attention getter.  These are basically the same in MT as in TT, with some
changes resulting from regular sound changes.  Some of these are: *kuwa* (often
heard as [kwʌ] or [kwɒ]) ´yes´, *karluwu* (MT: *kalu*) ´no´, *pirri* ´go away!´, *aya*
´hey (to man)´, *agha* ´hey (to woman)´ (MT: *aa* or *ah*), *awi* ´hey (to more than
one)´, *arrarna* (MT: *arrana*) ´be careful!´.

Classes which are closely related to each other, in that they modify the clause or verb in some way, are: temporals, adverbs, particles and locatives. Each of these classes has proforms, which are related to the definitives, and which have anaphoric reference. These proforms have the prefix *awu-*, so that, *awungarri* means 'at that time', *awungani* means 'like that' or 'in that way'. There are three locative proforms, *awungarra* 'this place', *awungaji* 'that place where you are' and *awungarruwu* 'that place over there'.

### 3.5.1 LOCATIVES

The picture with regard to the locative forms in TT is somewhat confused, probably due to the differences between what are regarded as the 'proper' use of the terms and their actual use. There are two types of locatives, one type in which the relative distance from the speaker and/or addressee is important, and positional locatives which give the position relative to some other object, such as *yilaruwu* 'inside'.

With regard to the 'distance' locatives there are different sets. The set upon which the anaphoric locative proforms are built have three points of reference, as with demonstratives (see 3.3.5.1, p.117): *ngarra* 'here (where the speaker is)', *ngaji* 'there (where the addressee is)' and *ngarruwu* 'there (where someone else is, at a relative distance)'. These meanings apply also to the anaphoric forms, but in both cases, particularly in the anaphoric forms, the meaning of the second has been extended to mean 'to/at that place/thing/person' (where the place or person is in focus rather than the distance as with the third form).

In English there is 'a very close connexion between the deictic function of the demonstratives, 'this' and 'that'; and the locative adverbs, 'here' and 'there' (Lyons 1977(b):276). Presumably this is true of other languages as well. The basic forms in TT are normally given in reply to the question, 'Where (is something/someone)?' and mean 'here (or there) it is'.[79]

Example (3-98)   (TT)

(a)  *ngaji*                    *yingarti*  *kuwunawin- ana?*
     there (where you are) plenty       money    - Q
     'Do you have lots of money?'

(b)  ...*Tupawalingapi*     *awungaji*        *natinga*
        Tupawalingapi     at:that:place   one(f)

     *Waya*   *awungarra*      *nga*     -  *mpi*  -  *ri*  -  *ki*  -  *yamuku*  -  *rughi*
     now    at:this:place  we(incl)-  NP    -  CV  -  eve  -  together  -  put

     '(We'd arrive at) Tupawalingapi. At that place (we'd sleep)
     one (night). (We'd say). "Now we'll make camp here ...".'

(c)  *Maluwu ... Nyirra* *awungarruwu*      *Maluwu  ji*    -  *ni*  -  *ri*  -  *mi*
     Maluwu ... she    over:there(dist)   Maluwu   she:P  -  DIR  -  CV  -  go
     'Maluwu ... She came from over there, from Maluwu.'

In the speech of young people there are some examples of *ngarra* (or the changed form *arra*) meaning ´here´ but there are no examples of *ngaji* (or *aji*) and only one or two of *ngarruwu* (or *arruwu*) which seems to have lost the implication of distance and appears to mean simply ´there´ compared to ´here´ (see example 3-99b).

Example (3-99) (MT)

(a) *arra  yingati  tinki*
    here  plenty   dinghy
    ´Here there are a lot of dinghies.´   (BT11)

(b) *arruwu  rijinga*
    there   sugar:glider
    ´There´s a sugar glider.´ (said while looking at a book)

The anaphoric prolocatives are also used in MT, though in many cases, particularly with younger speakers, the *wung* within the traditional forms is reduced to /w/, viz., *awungarra > awarra*, *awungaji > awaji*, and *awungarruwu > awarruwu*. In MT these prolocatives appear to be used in much the same way as in TT.

Example (3-100) (MT)

(a) *yiya  awarra  tamu*
    I     here    sit
    ´I am sitting here.´   (AW10)

(b) *Wali  Jon  ajirri  payipayi  awaji*
    Ronald John don´t   sleep     there
    ´Ronald John, don´t go to sleep there!´   (JT13)

(c) *kiyi  kapi  yawulama  ji   -  majirripi  awaji*
    then  PREP  jungle    she:P - sleep      there
    ´Then in the jungle she went to sleep there/at that place.´   (RJ12)

(d) *yi  -  mi  naki  tharrukarri  awarruwu  ka  prij*
    he:P -  go  this  short:cut    over:there to  bridge
    ´He took this shortcut over there to the bridge.´   (RJ12)

In some cases *awarra* is used as ´at this place´, not referring to closeness to the speakers, but seemingly in relation to the participants in the story and in relation to their home, or perhaps in relation to the normal place of activity of the participants in the story.

Example (3-101) (MT)

    ... *ka  keyp;  kiyi  awarra  peta  yi  -  mi*
        to  cave   then  here    better he:P- be
    ´... to the cave´; then here, he became better.´   (RJ12)

(The ´cave´ in this story is ´home´, compared to the ´jungle´ in example (3-100c); in the same story the ´bridge´ in examples (3-100d) is *awarruwu*, it seems, because it is a long way from where the actor in this sentence starts).

In TT, the unmarked demonstrative stems are also used in a locative sense, where ´place´ is understood (see also 3.3.5.1, p.117).

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Example (3-102) (TT)

(a) *muwa    waya  yikurri kirimpika naki*
    you:and:I now   four    crab      this(place)
    ´You and I now have four crabs here.´

(b) *niyi        yinkitayi nga   - rri  - ja   - yangurlimay - ana?*
    that(place) close     we(incl) – IRREAL – EMPH – walk        - Q
    ´Is that place (that you spoke of) close enough for us to walk to?´

This occurs in MT to a certain extent, though in some cases the
preposition, *ka*, is also used before the demonstrative. The form, *niyi*, is not
used in this sense in the MT data (see also Locative, 6.2.3.1, p.261).

Example (3-103) (MT)

(a) *nginja    kam   naki*
    you(sg)  come  here/this place
    ´You come here.´   (LB33)

(b) *kapinayi  shak    nayi*
    those     shark   there/that place
    ´Those sharks were there.´   (JP9)

(c) *anturiui  ka   nayi*
    we:went  to   that(place)
    ´We went to that place.´

Other TT locatives in which relative distance is encoded are *na(n)kitawu*
´there (dist)´, *kitawu* ´there (mid-dist)´. These meanings are given by Godfrey
since my data on these is limited.

Example (3-104)  (TT)

(a) *ngu - mpu - wuriyi nankitawu kuta Marrika*
    you(pl)- NP - go      over:there maybe America
    ´Maybe you will go over there, to America.´

(b) *nyirra kitawu  ji - ni - pirrortighi*[80]
    her     there  he:her:P- LOC - father
    ´He fathered her over there.´

There are two other forms which are related to these, viz., *na(n)kitagha*
and *kitagha*, which in general both seem to mean ´towards here´ but it is not
quite clear what the exact meanings are in the data I have available, as not
all the examples seem to fit the meanings given by Godfrey for TT. One reason
for this is probably because the forms and their meanings are changing and this
change is apparent in older people´s speech as well as that of the younger
ones. For *na(n)kitagha* Godfrey gives one of the meanings as ´this side of
where you are´ (but where the addressee is at a distance), so that strictly
*na(n)kitagha* implies ´towards the speaker but still at a distance´, whereas
*kitagha* strictly means ´towards the speaker´ (but where the addressee is not at
a distance). Godfrey goes on to say that *kitagha* does not seem to be used much
and *na(n)kitagha* is used for both. In most cases it seems to be used meaning
´towards here´, ´this way´ or ´up to here (on body)´, but there are some cases
where it simply seems to mean ´here´, with no movement involved, as in example
3-105c.[81]

Example  (3-105)  (TT)

(a)  *api  kularlagha  a      - wa   - ni - ma  <u>nankitawu</u>.*
     well  search:for  he:NP - FRUST - LOC - do  over:there

     *Api  yoni    a     - ri - mi,   'Karluwu,  <u>nankitagha</u>'*
     so   other(m)  he:NP - CV - say    no         this:way

     ´Well he looked around over there (but couldn´t find it).
     So the other one said, "No, this way".´

(b)  <u>*nankitagha*</u>  *kangi  nga      - ri - wawuta*
     up:to:here   where  we(incl) - CV - chew
     ´(The pain comes) up to here, where we chew.´

(c)  *nyirra  ji    - yi - miringarra   <u>nankitagha</u>*
     she     she:P - CV - live         here
     ´She lived here.´

In MT, the TT forms *kitawu* and *na(n)kitawu* seem to be used
interchangeably, with the latter more common.  However, the forms are generally
changed to: *kutawu*, and *nakitawu*, *nakutawu* or *nakurrawu* (*t > rr*, see 2.3.5,
p.38).  *kutawu* seems to be used only by older children and young people.

Example  (3-106)  (MT)

(a)  ... *kapi  awurra  ami  <u>kuwatu</u>,    Tawin*
         PREP  those   army  over:there  Darwin
     ´... to the soldiers over there in Darwin.´   (PP23)

(b)  *pu      - nuriyi  <u>nakurrawu</u>*
     they:P - come    over:there
     ´They came from over there.´   (JT16)
     (speaking about a place distant from where the speaker is when speaking)

There are only a few examples of *kitagha* (or the changed form *kitaa/kitah*)
and these are only by older young people.  In general, the TT form
*na(n)kitagha*, has changed to *nakitaa* or *nakitah* (see 2.3.2, p.35) and this is
used to cover both traditional terms, as it was mentioned was the case with
older speakers as well.  In general it seems to mean ´to here´.

Example  (3-107)  (MT)

(a)  *tamuwu*    ⎰ <u>*kitah*</u>   ⎱   (MP22)
                 ⎱ <u>*nankitah*</u> ⎰   (EP20)
     ´(Come and) sit here!´

(b)  *tha     putim  <u>nakitah</u>*
     you(sg)  put    to:here
     ´Put it here!´

There are not many examples of *nakitah/nakitaa* and the anaphoric locative,
*awarra* ´here´.  *Awarra* is often used to mean ´here´, whether movement is
involved or not.  Younger children often seem to use the English loan *iya*,
though older children generally confine this to their English.

Example  (3-108)   (MT)

    *tha      pringim  pilankiti  <u>awarra</u>*
    you(sg) bring    blanket    here
    ´You bring a blanket here!´

Example  (3-109)   (CT)

    *tha     weyti,  anapa,  anapa <u>iya</u>*
    you(sg) wait    wait    wait  here
    ´You wait, wait here!´   (child)

    The changes in these locatives can be summarised as in Table 3.8.  Only
the locational components of the meanings are given in the table.

TABLE 3.8  CHANGES IN TIWI LOCATIVE WORDS

| TT | | MT |
|---|---|---|
| *ngarra* | } ´here (close to speaker)´ | *arra* |
| *naki* | | *naki* |
| *ngaji* | } ´there (close to addressee)´ | |
| *niyi* | | *(ng)arruwu* ´there´ |
| *ngarruwu* | ´there (far from speaker | *nayi* |
| *nayi* | and addressee)´ | |

**Anaphoric forms:**

*awungarra (naki)* ´here (close to speaker)´  *awarra (naki)*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | ´there (associated with addressee)´ | |
| *awungaji* | ´there (when place in focus)´ | *awaji* |

*awungarruwu*     ´there (when distance in focus)´    *awarruwu*

**Other locatives, with distance:**

*kitawu*          ´there (mid-distant)´    *nakutawu/nakurrawu* ´there (dist)´

*na(n)kitawu*     ´there (distant)´

               ´closer to speaker´
*kitagha*       (from mid-distance)   *nakitah/nakitaa* ´to here´

*na(n)kitagha*    (from distance)

In TT, there are also a number of other locatives which are positional locatives, such as *yilaruwu* ´inside´, *yintaghi* ´behind (but this side in relation to speaker)´, *yintuwu* ´behind (but other side in relation to speaker)´, *kuriyuwu* ´above´, *maringarra* ´one side (of)´, *maringarraghi* ´this side (in relation to speaker)´ and *maringarruwu* ´other side (in relation to speaker)´, and a number of others. These locatives may occur alone or with a prepositional phrase (see 5.2.1, p.239).

Example (3-110)   (TT)

(a)  *ngi    - nti  - pawurinji  yilaruwu*
     we(excl) - P  - go:in      inside
     ´We went inside (the club house).´

(b)  *ji   - pawuriji  yilaruwu  kapi   yangamini*
     she:P - go:in     inside    PREP   hole
     ´She went into the hole.´

(c)  *Japarra  yi  - papurti  kuriyuwu*
     Japarra   he:P - go:up    above
     ´Japarra went up above (into sky).´

(d)  *ngawurtupuwamughi  kuriyuwu  ngampi  purinjirringa*
     we:put:up            above     PREP    tree/pole
     ´We put (them) up on top of the pole.´

Some of these positional locatives are retained in MT, though it would seem others are not. The ones which are retained are: *kuriyuwu* (or *kuruwu*) ´above´, *yilaruwu* ´inside´, *yikitayi* (TT: *yinkitayi*) ´close (to)´, *yintaghi* (or *yintayi* ´behind´. As in TT these may be used alone or with a prepositional phrase.

Example (3-111)   (MT)

(a)  *papi      arimi    kuriyuwu*
     come:out   he:does  above
     ´It (wheat) comes out at the top.´    (MP22)

(b)  *thirra  ko  yilaruwu*
     she     go  inside
     ´She is going inside.´    (child)

(c)  *ji   - pawuriji  yilaruwu  kapi  shop*
     she:P - go:in     inside    PREP  shop
     ´She went into the shop.´    (MP22)

(d)  *yimi     arra     Japurra  yikitayi*
     he:went  that(m)  Japurra  close
     ´Japurra went close.´

(e)  *tamu  jimi      yikitayi  ka    purijirringa*
     sit    she:did   close     PREP  tree
     ´She sat close to the tree.´    (DB12)

There are a few examples of a preposition being used before these positional locatives, but, since these are mainly by younger children, it is probably an indication of over correction in their language acquisition.

Example  (3-112)    (CT)

> *wurra    klamap    <u>*kapi*</u>    <u>*kuruwu*</u>*
> they    climb:up    PREP    above
> ´They are climbing up (on top?).´    (MW5)

There are a number of cases of borrowing of English directional
post-positional adverbs.  Where ´up´, ´out´, ´down´ etc. occur with English
verbs these are normally retained when borrowed into Tiwi, such as in *klamap*
´climb up´, *potan/fotan* ´fall down´.  When these occur with transitive verbs
they occur following the transitive suffix *-im*, and so could perhaps be
regarded as separate words.  However, they rarely occur not associated with the
verb and in most cases there is no corresponding loan verb without the
directional post-position.  For these reasons they are considered as part of
the verb, e.g. *prekimap* ´break (up)´, *tikimat/teykimat* ´take out´.

There are some cases of an English ´directional´ adverb behaving as a
locative in MT, though not many.

Example  (3-113)    (MT)

> *putim    yimi    yikara    <u>tan</u>*
> put    he:did    hand    <u>down</u>
> ´He put his hand down.´    (RJ12)

Some other English locatives are borrowed, but again not many, such as
*atsayti/ajayiti* ´outside´, *antap* ´on top´.

Example  (3-114)    (MT)

(a)  *yu    - wuriyi    <u>ontop</u>/<u>antap</u>*
>     he:P - go        on:top
>     ´He went on top (of the building).´    (DB12)

(b)  *nuwa    pokayini    <u>atsayt</u>*
>     you(pl)    play    outside
>     ´You play outside.´    (EP20)


### 3.5.2  TEMPORALS

Some of the temporals in TT, indicating the time setting of actions or
events, are: *parlingarri* ´long ago´ (remote past), *puniyarri* ´long ago´ (recent
past), *japini* ´evening´, *japinari* ´morning´, *awurlanari* ´afternoon´, *ningani*
´today´, *pangarri* ´tomorrow´.

Most of these temporals are used by young people with the same meanings as
in TT, though with regular sound changes discussed in Chapter 2.  In some
cases, English loans are used by some young people, even where there is a TT
equivalent, particularly in their less formal Tiwi speech, such as *tumorra*
instead of *pangarri* ´tomorrow´, *moning* instead of *japinari* ´morning´, and
*aftanun* instead of *awurlanari* (MT: *awulanari*) ´afternoon´.  Sometimes both may
be used by the one speaker in the same discourse.

Example  (3-115)  (MT)

> *japinari,  erli  moning* ...
> morning    early morning
> ´In the morning, when it was early ...´   (PP23)

The meaning of *tumorra* is extended beyond the English meaning to also mean ´the next day´, in which case it may be used with a past tense.

Example  (3-116)  (MT)

> <u>*tumorra*</u>  *wokapat*    *yintirimi*
> next:day   walk:about   we:did
> ´The next day we walked about.´   (MP9)

Temporal words relating to the changed culture and for which there are no TT equivalents are common in the speech of both young and old.  Most of these have been borrowed.  Some of these are: *wiki(i)* ´week´, *manj/mant* (MT: *manth/mant*) ´month´; names of days of the week, such as *warniyati*[82] (MT: *waniyati*) ´Friday´, *jurra* ´Sunday´ (also ´paper, book, church, school, week´),[83] *waniji(yi)* (MT: *wenestey*) ´Wednesday´, *jarritiyi* (MT: *satutey*) ´Saturday´.  The days of the week are normally preceded by the temporal conjunction *karri*, ´when´, giving a temporal phrase (or non-verbal temporal clause).  This applies in all varieties (cf. 5.2.2 p.239, and 6.2.3.2 p.262).

Example  (3-117)

> (TT/LTT)  *karri*   *Jarritiyi*
> (MT)      *karri*   *Satuteyi*
>           when    Saturday
>           ´on Saturday´ (Lit. ´when (it is/was) Saturday´)

The TT anaphoric protemporal *awungarri*, ´then at that time´ is rarely used in this way in MT, and apparently only by older young people.

Example  (3-118)  (TT)

> *api karri tuwawanga kuwayi    arim    - apa,*
> well when    again     call:out it:does - FOCUS,
>
> <u>*awungarri*</u>       *tuwawanga*   *kalikali* ...
> at:that:time   again         run ...
>
> ´Well when (the siren) goes again then (at that time) run ...´

Example  (3-119)  (MT)

> ... *karrikamini*  *mutika*  <u>*awungarri*</u>
>     nothing         car      { at:that:time }
>                               { then        }
> ´(When our parents were children) there were no motor cars
> { at that time } .´
> { then        }

In TT, this form is also used as the temporal interrogative ´when?´ It is only in this way that younger children appear to use the form (generally changed to *awarri*).

Example (3-120)   (TT/MT)

    *awungarri*   *yu*   - *wuriyi?*
    when?      he:P - go
    'When did he go?'

Example (3-121)   (MT)

    *awarri*   *wurra*   *yujim*
    when?    they    use
    'When do they use (it)?'   (MP11)

In TT, there are two other words which are used with a temporal sense. Since some of the uses of these two words are merging in MT, their use in TT is discussed first and then how their use in MT differs.  The two words are *waya* and *nguyi*.  *waya* can be used where it seems to have a strictly temporal sense 'now' (either right now or now compared to an earlier time).

Example (3-122)   (TT)

(a) *waya*   *kiyana*
    now    cooked
    'It's cooked now.'

(b) *waya* *ningani karluwunara nga*       - *ri* - *wa*    = *pungintayi* *ngirramini*
    now  today   not:much   we(incl) - CV - words -  think:about story
    'Now, today, we don't think about the stories much.'

*waya* can be used with the past tense and also with the non-past referring to a future time.  In these cases the action or event in the clause containing *waya* seems to be a natural succession to what has gone before.

Example (3-123)   (TT)

(a) ... *ngawa*   *waya*     *arnuka*   *karrikuwani*
       we     then/now   not     nobody(m)

    *yi*   - *rri*   - *marri* - *miringarra*   *tayikuwanga*  *ngintuwu*  *parlingarri*
    he:P - IRREAL - CON.M - live       many(f)     like      long:ago

    '(He tried to throw out all our customs) then nobody married lot
    of wives like (they used to) long ago.'

(b) ...*api*   *nuwa*    *waya*   *awungarri*   *karri*  *ngini*
    well   you(pl)  then   at:that:time when    that

    *ngu*     - *mpu*   *wuriyi*  *nankitawu*   *kuta*  *Marrika*
    you(pl) - NP     go      over:there   maybe  America

    '(You will spread out to all different places) well <u>then</u>, at that
    time, when you will perhaps go to America, (then you <u>will</u> find a
    fellow countryman who has already gone).'

*nguyi* means 'in the future' when used with a non-past tense, and 'later' when used with a past tense.  The difference between the use of *waya* and *nguyi* in the past is that *nguyi* denotes only a succession in time, not as a natural consequence of a previous action or event, which *waya* indicates.[84]

Example  (3-124)  (TT)  (past)

    *ngawa  pakinya  japuja  yi  - ma  Wurankuwu*
    we  first  camp  he:P - became  Wurankuwu

    *api  <u>nguyi</u>  ngi  - nti - parimunga  Tumorripi*
    well  later  we(excl) - P  - camp  Tumorripi

    ´First we made camp at Wurankuwu and later we camped at Tumorripi.´

Example  (3-125)  (future)

    *kuta  kamini  a  - wuni  - pi  - rriti  <u>nguyi</u>*
    maybe what?  he:NP - dist:time - dist:time - stand  FUTURE
    ´I don´t know what will happen in the future.´

Even for older speakers *nguyi* [ŋwi:] is being replaced by *wiyi* [wi:].

Example  (3-126)  (TT/LTT)

    <u>*wiyi*</u>  *mutika  ji - ja  - pirni  nginja  - moringa*
    FUTURE car  she - IRREAL:EMPH - hit  your(sg) - daughter
    ´A car might hit your daughter in the future.´

In MT *waya* and *wiyi* are used as in TT with the non-past, meaning respectively ´now´ and ´in the future´.[85]  *Wiyi* seems to be used meaning ´will´, particularly in children´s speech.

Example  (3-127)  (MT)  **waya**:

(a)  *jalatuwu  tok  <u>waya</u>*
    you:in:turn  talk  now
    ´It´s your turn to talk now.´  (AW10)

(b)  *ngarra  pajuwani  <u>waya</u>,  Pishop  Kijel*
    he  dead  now  Bishop  Gsell
    ´He´s dead now, Bishop Gsell.´  (PP23)

Example  (3-128)  **wiyi** (can be translated as ´will´):

(a)  (MT/LTT)

    *ngiya  <u>wiyi</u>  pawungarra  ngu - nuriyi  pangarri*
    I  FUTURE  here  I - come  tomorrow
    ´I´ll come here tomorrow.´

(b)  (CT)

    *arra  <u>wiyi</u>  kilim  awani*
    he  will  hit  like:that
    ´He will hit you like that.´ (Said with suitable accompanying action.)

The use of *wiyi* meaning ´later´ with past tense appears to have been lost in the speech of young people, particularly children.  *waya* is used with the past tense in MT but it seems to be used to indicate sequence in time, not

necessarily natural sequence as it does in TT. The TT use of *waya*, indicating
natural sequence (both with past and future sense), has generally been lost in
MT, though it is retained in some cases.[86] However, the TT use of *nguyi* with
the past tense, meaning ´then, later´ has been taken over by *waya*.

Example  (3-129)  (MT)

(a) **Natural sequence:**

> *Konsen      jimi     'Kayi, Tekla, awa ko  waya' jimi.     Kiyi Jaklin*
> Constance  she:said  hey! Thecla we  go  now   she:said  then Jacqueline
>
> *thirra-tuwu  waya   askim  jimi       'Konsen,    awa stop  awarra ...*
> she-in:turn  then   ask    she:did    Constance  we  stop  here
>
> ´Constance said, "Hey, Thecla, let´s go now" she said.  And Jacqueline
> in turn then said, "Constance, let´s stay here ..."´   (TP9)

(b) **Time sequence:**

> *kiyi awa amom  yikirri ... kiyi awa  ko  waya  ka   pas,*
> then we  eat   food    ... then we   go  later PREP bus
>
> *awa ko  ken thaputha*
> we  go  again home
>
> ´Then we ate some food ... then later we got on the bus and went home
> again.´

This change can be summarised as in Table 3.9.

TABLE 3.9  CHANGES IN TWO TIWI TEMPORALS

| **TT** | | **MT** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *waya* | ´now´ (non-past) | | ´now´ (non-past) |
| | ´then´ (past/non-past) (natural sequence) | *waya* | ´then, later´ (past) (time/natural sequence) |
| *nguyi* | ´then, later´ (past) | | |
| | ´in future´ (non-past) | *wiyi* | ´in future, will´ (non-past) |

### 3.5.3  ADVERBS AND PARTICLES

It is difficult to tell the difference between adverbs and particles in some cases. I am calling adverbs those words which seem to be closely associated with the action of the verb, modifying it in some way, typically indicating manner or aspect, such as *mamana* ´slowly´, *mirarra*, *murruka* ´quickly´, *kiyija* ´a little bit´, *yingarti* ´a lot´, *ma(n)karrana* ´hard, vigorously´.

Particles are those words which seem to function more at sentence level, providing ´logical/modal-type qualification of a complete clause´ (Dixon 1980:284). Some of these in TT are: *arrami*, *arramukuta*, *arramingaji* ´maybe, perhaps´, *arnu(n)ka*, *karluwu* (Iwaidja loan) ´not´, *tu(wa)wanga* ´again´, *ninganuwanga* ´still´, *wiyarri* ´also, too´.

Example  (3-130)  (TT)  **Adverbs:**

(a)  *waya   ningan - apa   <u>kiyija</u>    ngi      - mpi - ni - ji - pakupawurli*
    now    today - FOCUS little:bit we(excl) - NP - DIR - DUR - go:back

    ´Today we are coming back (to them) a little bit.´ (i.e. to the old ways)

(b)  *<u>mirarra</u>   a    - ri  - mi*
    quickly   he:P - CV  - go
    ´He goes quickly.´

Example  (3-131)  (TT)  **Particles:**

(a)  *<u>arramukuta</u>  pi     - ni - ri - k   - apa  yinkiti*
    perhaps      they:P - LOC - CV - eve - eat  food
    ´Perhaps they ate some food over there in the evening.´

(b)  *yuwurrara  ngawa - rringanuwi  awungaji  <u>wiyarri</u>*
    two        our   - fathers     there     also
    ´Two of our fathers were there also.´

(c)  *<u>tuwawanga</u> ngi      - nti - wat - ingilipangu - rramilipur - ani*
    again      we(excl) - P   - morn - sleep       - get:up     - P:HAB
    ´Again we would get up while others were asleep.´

Most of the TT adverbs and particles seem to be used by the young people in much the same way as in TT, though with phonological changes, such as *arramukuta > amukuta*, *arrakuta*, or *arramukurra*, ´perhaps´ (cf. indefinite pronouns, 3.3.4, p.115); *arnuka > anuka* ´not´, *karluwu > kaluwu/ kalu* ´not´.

Example  (3-132)  (MT)  **Adverbs:**

(a)  *tamuwu   <u>murruka</u>*
    sit!     quickly
    ´Sit down quickly.´   (EP20)

(b)  *nayi  tini  kali  <u>makarrana</u>*
    that  man   run   hard
    ´That man ran hard.´   (DB12)

Example (3-133) (MT) **Particles:**

(a)  *pu    - wuriyi  yawulama  <u>tuwanga</u>*
     they:P - go       jungle     again
     'They went to the jungle again.'   (RJ12)

(b)  <u>*arrami*</u> *ngiya  ku  Tawin*
     maybe  I      go  Darwin
     'Maybe I'll go to Darwin.'

(c)  <u>*arramukurra*</u>  *kirritawuni  awaji  yilaruwu*
     maybe           bread        there  inside
     'Maybe there will be bread in it (the plane).'   (DB12)

The TT anaphoric proadverb *awungani* 'like that' becomes *awani* in MT.

Example (3-134) (TT)

     *ngawa  jirti  ngi    - mpi - ri - miringarra  <u>awungani</u>*
     we      bad    we(excl) - NP - CV - live        like:that
     'We don't like that (sort of thing I've talked about).'

Example (3-135) (MT)

     *nuwa    tuwim  <u>awani</u>   ka  priskul  o  kalu?*
     you(pl) do     like:that  at  preschool  or  not
     'Do you do that (like in the picture) at preschool or not?'   (BT13)

The negative, *anuka* (TT: *arnu(n)ka*) is still used by some older young people but in general the Iwaidja loan word *kaluwu/kalu* (TT: *karluwu*) is more common, the second pronunciation of the latter being more common (i.e. [kʌ́lɒ] versus [kʌló:]).

Example (3-136) (MT)

(a)  *ngarra  <u>anuka</u>  a      - wutimati  moliki*
     he       not       he:NP - want      bathe
     'He doesn't want to have a bath.'   (PP23)

(b)  *ngiya  <u>kaluwu</u>  wantim  nuwa      nimarra*
     I       not       want    you(pl)   talk
     'I don't want you to talk.'   (MP22)

There are some examples of the use of the English loan *kan* 'can't' in MT, i.e. mainly by children.

Example (3-137) (MT)

     *tha  <u>kan</u>   shutim  yiya*
     you  can't   shoot   me
     'You can't shoot me.'   (DB12)

There are some English loans which are difficult to fit into any one class. They generally seem to be adverbs or particles, though some seem to have a temporal or locative sense. It is difficult to tell the exact meaning of some of these as there are very few examples in the data and more investigation needs to be done on how these are used. Some of these are:

(i) *wantaym* ´once, at one go´, ´immediately´

Example (3-138) (MT)

(a) *Fonta  kiyi  <u>wantaym</u>  wapmirra  naki*
    F.    um    once?    spear    this
    ´Fonda speared it once/at once/in one go.´ (ST9)

(b) *<u>wantaym</u>  yingati  arripleyn*
    at:once    plenty    plane
    ´All at once there were a lot of planes.´ (PP23)

(ii) *rathruwul* (right through) ´a long time´, ´all the time´, ´completely´, ´a lot´, ´a long way´.

Example (3-139) (MT)

(a) *weyt  yintirimi  <u>rathruwu</u>     kiyi ful  warra*
    wait  we:did    all:the:time  then full water
    ´We waited all the time until high tide.´ (JVT10)

(b) *plat  yimi    <u>rathruwu</u>*
    blood he:did  a:lot
    ´He bled a lot.´ (JT13)

(iii) *wulikitha* or *alikitha* ´all; or ´completely´. This seems to be used quite often where the verbal suffix *-anyimi* (4.2.7, p.188) might be used in TT, or where the collective pronouns (3.3.2.4, p.113) might be used.

Example (3-140) (MT)

(a) *<u>wulikitha</u>  kam  pirimi*
    all      come they:did
    ´They all came.´ (JT13)

(b) *awa  <u>wulikitha</u>  kakijuwi  kiyi  anturiyi  moliki*
    we    all      children  then  we:went    swim
    ´All of us children went swimming.´ (CA14)

(c) *jipilim yimi  <u>alikitha</u>  kukuni*
    spill   he:did all       water
    ´He spilt all the water.´ (PP23)

*wulikija* is also commonly used by older people in place of the verbal suffix, *-anyimi* ´all, completely´.

Example  (3-141)  (LTT)

> yi  —  ma  - japirraya  ngarra - mirampi  <u>wulikija</u>
> he:P - with - go:down    his     - children  all
> ´He took all his children down.´

(iv) There are some other English loan words in MT which are closely associated with the verb and which give some aspect which is indicated within the TT verb by a verbal prefix.  These are discussed in 4.3.3, p.214.


## 3.6  CLITICS AND GENERAL SUFFIXES

In TT, there are a number of clitics and general suffixes (i.e. suffixes which may occur on words belonging to more than one class). Only a few of these are discussed here.

The clitics are those which have a specific syntactic function and which may occur on any word regardless of class.  Some of these are: -ana, the question clitic, which is discussed in Chapter 6 (6.7.1, p.290); -apa, a focus marker (not discussed in this work);[87] -awu and -awi which seem to be added to the end of a sentence and to have some sort of emotive meaning like ´woe!´ and -ayi which is often added when calling out to someone.  In MT, there are no clear examples of any of these but the question clitic (see 6.7.2, p.291), and some examples of the emotive clitics.

Some of the general suffixes which add a dimension of meaning to a word and may change the word class are: -kimi ´for the purpose of´ or ´causing to´, e.g. milamporakimi (milampora ´foot´ + -kimi) ´for the purpose of feet´, i.e. ´shoe´; pajungonikimi (pajungoni ´die´ + -kimi) ´causing to die´, i.e. ´deadly´; -nara ´close(?)´, e.g. karluwunara ´not much´ (karluwu ´not´); pangarrinara ´soon´ (pangarri ´tomorrow´).  There do not appear to be many of these suffixes which are productive in MT, except the suffix -la ´repetitive´ and -ama ´intensity´ (TT: -a(wa)mini(m), -a(wa)ma(f)).  These are discussed here as they occur in TT, with changes in the MT.

(i) -la.  This particular suffix appears to be able to be added to nouns, adverbs, free verb forms, inflected verb forms, predicatives and possibly other types.  It has the sense of ´only´ or of ´repetition´ (of a particular action), or ´continuity´ (of a particular state or action).  These meanings are all probably tied together (loosely) by the sense of ´exclusiveness´.  This suffix seems to be related to the emphatic pronoun suffix -ila, which may have originally had this sense of exclusiveness (see 3.3.2.1 p.104).  However, the suffix can be added in turn to an emphatic pronoun (probably a later development) to give an added sense of exclusiveness, as in example 3-142a.  This suffix is used quite freely in MT, though there are no examples of it on emphatic pronouns (since the emphatic pronoun is not in general use in MT, see 3.3.2.1 p.106).

Example  (3-142)  (TT)

(a)  *ngilawa - la    ngi - rr - aji - kuruwarni*
     I:EMPH - EXCL  I  - P - LIM - greet
     ´I am the only one doing the greeting.´

(b)  *nginja    pariwani - la*
     you(sg)  hungry  - EXCL/REP
     ´You are always hungry.´

(c)  *pirri - la  ti             - pa - yangiragha - la*[88]
     go(?) - REP  IRREAL(IMP:polite) - EMPH - speak       - REP
     ´Please keep talking.´

Example  (3-143)  (MT)

(a)  *karrikamini jaliwarra ... waruwaru - la  wuta*
     nothing       trousers       naked    - EXCL they
     ´They didn´t have any trousers ... they were {only / always} naked.´   (PP23)

(b)  *awarra malakaninga sakim yimi   athirra majipani tuwanga awani   -la*
     that(m) young:man    suck he:did that(f) blood    again   like:that-REP
     ´The young man sucked the blood of the girl and he kept doing it.´   (RJ12)

(c)  *lak kapawurra  wiyuwu - la*[89]
     like those      Nguiu  - EXCL
     ´Like those who {come from / belong to} Nguiu.´

    (ii) *-(aw)amini*(m), *-(aw)ama*(f) ´intensifier´.  These suffixes are mainly added to nouns but there are examples of them being added to other word classes.  When it is added to nouns it often changes the meaning completely, i.e. giving the resulting form a special meaning or even changing the part of speech.

Example  (3-144)  (TT)

(a)  *malamporamini*(m), *malamporama*(f), (*malampora* ´foot´) ´big foot´

     (the feminine form also has the special meaning ´tractor´)

(b)  *purnikapawamini*(m) *purnikapawama*(f) (*purnikapa* ´meat´) ´fat´

(c)  *wupung - awama*
     grass(f) -  INTENS
     ´a lot of grass´/´long grass´

(d)  *wingawama*(f)  (*winga* ´sea´)  ´rough sea´

(e)  *kipirlawama*  (*kipirla* ´open sea´)  ´far out at sea´

    In MT, the form used is always the feminine form *-ama*, except in words which have the ´frozen´ masculine form, such as *japin(aw)amini*(m) (*japini* ´evening´) ´night´.

Example  (3-145)

(a)  *yikal - ama*
     leg   - INTENS
     ´fat leg´

(b)  *kupil - ama*
     at:sea - INTENS
     ´far out to sea´

(c)  *karrampi - yama*[90]
     far       - INTENS
     ´very far´


# NOTES ON CHAPTER 3


1.  The words classified as definitives and demonstratives may also occur in an
    attributive noun phrase (see 5.1.1, p.221), but in general they behave more
    as pronominals and so are listed under pronominals (see 3.3.5, p.117).

2.  Regarding the lack of agreement see 3.3.5.1, p.118, and 5.1.1, p.221.

3.  There are possessive pronouns (see 3.3.2.3, p.109).

4.  This is regarded as a noun rather than an adjective as it does not appear
    to be able to modify a noun attributively (see 3.2.4, p.91).

5.  In most cases, my classification of nouns is derived from these sources.

6.  Osborne has ´bark apron´ *punkarti* as masculine, but possibly this is
    because it is a small piece of bark compared to the paper bark tree
    *punkaringa* (f).

7.  Osborne appears to have done most of his work at Milikapiti and Pularumpi,
    where it appears the language deterioration may be more advanced than at
    Nguiu.

8.  It would seem from the comparison of masculine and feminine forms that *-ti*
    occurs with stems which have an underlying *rr* (i.e. /r/) finally, and *-rti*
    with stems that have an underlying *r* (i.e. /r/) (see Lee 1981).

9.  Osborne notes that human nouns are used in the singular when the whole
    class is referred to rather than specific members (1974:53) (cf. also
    Example 3-1(b)).

10. There is also a plural form with a reduplicative prefix, *Ca-*, *mamanta*. (See
    following pages.)

11. An exception to this is the plural of *aliyinga* ´girl at puberty´, which is
    *alalingiyuwi*.

12. This is the meaning one older person gave me for this form, but the verb stem does not seem to be used elsewhere.

13. It is not certain what the *ji-* refers to here. (See 4.2.1.1(3), p.165 for further discussion of this.)

14. *pura(n)ji* stands on its own meaning ´good´ though it seems to be mainly used as a free verb with an auxiliary with the stem, *-muwu*, to mean ´like´ (see example 3-3). I have not come across *minangu* elsewhere, though I do have an example of a verb stem, *-minaghi*, of which I am not sure of the exact meaning, but which has to do with dancing.

15. The children who are going through the bilingual education programme at St Therese School probably know a good many more TT words than children of the same ages at Pularumpi and Milikapiti, but from my data and observation they do not seem to use them in their natural speech to any greater degree.

16. The figures are similar (but not the same) as those used by Jean Berko in testing the production of English plurals (Berko 1958). The test is only rough and no firm conclusions have been drawn from it. The production of the masculine form was not tested.

17. cf. *tarni(n)kini* (m), *tarni(n)ka* or *tarni(n)kinga* (f), *tarni(n)kuwi* ´flying fox´.

18. cf. *mapurtiti* (m), *mapurtirringa* (f), *mapurtirruwi* (pl), ´spirit, ghost´.

19. cf. *minumarti* (m), *minumaringa* (f), *minumaruwi* (pl) ´generous person´.

20. It may be that my [ṭ] was heard as [t], and that, in turn, I misheard the woman´s [t] as [ṭ], so that the forms she actually gave may have been *kapatinga*, *kapatuwi*, which fit in with a fairly regular TT correspondence. It seems that the correspondence, *-ti*(m), *-irringa*(f) and *-irruwi*(pl) is still a productive one, though this may only have occurred for item 3 because the form given for the masculine figure is not only morphologically like but also phonologically like *mapurtiti* ´ghost(m)´, which takes this correspondence (see note 18).

21. The letters refer to the letters on Table 3.2, i.e. with regard to the expected results. Where there are no letters, it means the form is different from one expected from TT analogies. The numbers refer to the number of children giving this particular form. The number of children tested altogether was 76, with ages ranging from six, seven to sixteen (with one nineteen year old).

22. The remarks made in note (20) about my [ṭ] possibly being heard as [t], also apply here. Some younger children certainly seem to have heard it as [t] since the forms they gave were ones in which /ṭ/ > /ř/, e.g. *kaparringa* (these children also gave *waparringa*) (see /t/ > /ř/ - 2.3.5, p.38).

23. They both gave *tangakanga* for the feminine, but then the feminine form of ´many´, *tayikuwanga*, is not generally used by children (see 3.2.4, p.91).

24. In general, the children from Milikapiti did not produce as great a proportion of appropriate forms as did those from Pularumpi and Nguiu which ties in with my general impression that the speech of children and young people from Milikapiti was closer to English .

25. I am not sure if these can occur attributively.  There is no plural form as there are no ´red people´.  The masculine form is only used when being precise.  (Godfrey´s language notes).

26. When speaking with Father McGrath, the priest who had lived at Nguiu for a number of years and knew the language well, he commented that one of the changes he had noted in the speech of Tiwis who had visited him, was the increased use of these words (particularly *tayikuwapi* to mean ´all´) compared to the use of the completive verbal suffix -*anyimi* (see 4.2.7, p.188).

27. Godfrey has commented that some men have said that *yingompa* refers to people while *yingampa* to non-humans but that they themselves often interchange them.  If there is such a distinction I think it has probably been lost in general.

28. These are formed by the prefix *tayi-* (of which there seems to be no other example) and the interrogative pronoun forms (see 3.3.4, p.114).

29. Regarding the disagreement of the demonstrative *nayi*, see 3.3.5.1, p.118).

30. The reason why -*rringani* ´father´ cannot stand alone is clear, in that *rr* does not occur word initially, but this does not apply to other stems.

31. There may be more, which have been coined or introduced.  However, the only numerals I have heard older people using for other numbers are English loans.

32. Osborne´s forms are given in my orthography.

33. The forms given in the second column are mainly from a sheet, used in the school programme, but some are also from a fifty year old man at Nguiu.

34. Spencer (1914) also has some of Osborne´s forms, including the ones for six to nine.

35. This form is used only in compounds or as an incorporated form in a verb (see 4.2.1.1(2), p.160).

36. Spencer has *warnuta irara* (though he has *wamuta* for ´hand´) so the first word is probably misheard, but he has it as two distinct words. (Spencer 1914:465).  This form is only used in compounds or in incorporated form in a verb (see 4.2.1.1(2), p.160).

37. Other possible readings of this clause are: ´when we all leave you (pl)´ or ´when we leave you all´, but the real world considerations will not allow ´when you(pl) leave us(incl)´.

38. Neither of these explanations gives any indication why the form for first person minimal is different, possibly taking both suffixes.

39. Although Osborne has a distinction in the normal forms between ´we (excl)´ and ´we(incl)´, he has no such distinction in the emphatic forms.

40. The original forms for the normal pronoun may have had *t* which has become *rr*, as has occurred more recently in Children´s Tiwi.

41. These prepositions are discussed in more detail in 5.2.4, p.242.

42. Younger people also use *ka* in other situations (see 5.2.4, p.242, and 6.2.2, p.253) but I do not think older people do normally, though Osborne has it listed as one of the prepositions and has an example of its occurrence elsewhere (1974:76), but the word it occurs before seems to have been originally *ng*-initial.

43. This seems to be an individualistic attempt to produce a TT verb form, *pu-rru-pakupawurli* (they:P-P-go:back) 'They went back.'

44. The only examples I have of *-(a)tuwu* occurring on other words come from Godfrey's language notes. She calls this an emphatic clitic. There do not appear to be any in the texts Osborne gives. Some of the examples Godfrey gives are:
    (i)   *niyi   kam - atuwu*
          that   why?   TOP     'How does that come about (what you said)?'
    (ii)  *pili   ngaw - atuwu  jan - atuwu*
          because we  -  TOP     sick - TOP     'Because we are sick too.'
    (iii) *kama   niyi   pokayin - atuwu*
          why?   that   laugh     TOP         'Why are you laughing?'
    There are no examples of this type of thing in my data of young people's speech.

45. I am only using the term 'theme' in a rough sense (as Osborne, 1974:62, does) to mean 'what is being talked about'.

46. I am not sure why this form of the emphatic pronoun is used here rather than the form *ngarrila-*, which seems to be used more commonly as the base for the alternate pronoun. It may be that the 'power' meaning suggested by Godfrey (3.3.2.1, p.105) is being retained here, since *Japarra* is one of the powerful mythological figures. Since this is given by a woman of about 45, it may not be a 'proper' TT form.

47. I am not sure who 'she' is but 'she' seems to refer to the 'church' or perhaps Mary. I am not sure what the prefix *pu-* means here (cf. 4.2.4, p.182).

48. There are no MT examples in my data of possessed plural nouns, but this is possibly because most possessed nouns (other than kin terms) are inanimate and therefore not pluralised.

49. This is a regular sound change, *t > rr* (see 2.3.5, p.38).

50. There are no examples in the data for 'your(pl)' or 'their'.

51. This is a kin noun, which may have a possessive pronoun as well as a possessive prefix (see 5.1.2, p.227).

52. When the reciprocal suffix occurs on the adverb, *wangata* 'alone' the resulting word means 'separately', though it seems to occur only where there is more than one participant, and they are engaged in the same activity (but not together).

53. On the verb they can also have other senses covered by some of the general meanings given above (see 4.2.7, p.188).

54. It is perhaps the benefactive sense which is dominant in the use of these pronouns compared to the use of the emphatic pronouns.

55. There is no use of the emphatic pronoun giving this sense as there is in TT, (3.3.2.1, p.105).

56. There are one or two examples of the reciprocal, but not the reflexive suffix, on verbs (see 4.2.7, p.188).

57. This seems to be formed from the TT emphatic form.

58. This is also used on adjectives (and perhaps other parts of speech).
    Example:
        ngawa   jajiruw - *anyimi*   ngi       - nti - ri - m - *anyimi*
        we      bad(pl) - CPVE     we(excl) - P   - CV - be - CPVE
        'Now we have become completely bad.'

59. The TT form is *anginaki* but this is often reduced, even by older people, to *anaki* (see 3.3.5.1, p.117).

60. Other interrogative words are used in much the same way as in TT, with sound changes in some.  These are *kama* 'why?', *maka* 'where?', *awungarri* ( > *awarri*) 'when?'

61. I am not sure if this meaning occurs in TT.

62. There are not enough examples where the context is clear to determine whether one form is taking over from the other.

63. This shortening of *arrami* to *amu* also occurs in the speech of some older people but I do not know how general it is.

64. I have no examples of these contractions in my TT data, but Godfrey has given as the full TT forms: *nimini nginaki* and *nimini nginayi*.

65. Alone this is a temporal conjunction meaning 'when' (see 5.2.2, p.239). (See also 6.6.1, p.287 and 6.6.2, p.288).

66. Osborne has given only the first and last forms.  These meanings are given by Godfrey who has studied these in detail.  I have only a few examples, particularly of *niyi*, as these pronouns occur more in normal speech than in texts.  The distances are relative.  In sending a taped message to a friend in Darwin the form *niyi* was given by a woman to refer to Darwin, although it is far from the speaker, it is close to the addressee, i.e. 'the place where you are'.

67. Godfrey gives the plural forms as containing the prefix, *ngi*- before the stem, i.e. the plurals are built on the masculine form.

68. Godfrey says that *niyi* and *nayi* can respectively mean 'that which you are talking about' and 'that which they are talking about'.
    Example:  *niyi karrampana*?
              that far:Q
              'Is that place you're talking about far away?'

69. This word comes from the TT word *kupila* ´middle of sea´ + the suffix *-(aw)ama* ´intensity´ (f) (see 3.6, p.139).

70. In some cases it is difficult to tell if a form is masculine or feminine as a preceding word ends with /a/, which is lost before an initial vowel, i.e. *kuwanganaki kijinga* could be *kuwanga naki kijinga?* or *kuwanga anaki kijinga?* ´Who is this girl?´

71. In a discourse, a demonstrative is often used with a definitive to distinguish participants, the stem *-naki* is used to refer to a recently mentioned participant compared to an earlier one, and *-nayi* is used for a participant mentioned earlier.

72. The process also occurs in the young people´s speech (see 2.3.4). The prefix *awu-* occurs as an anaphoric prefix on other proforms, and the reason for the masculine definitive becoming *awarra* and not remaining *awungarra* can be seen when comparing one of the locative proforms, *awungarra* ´here´. It would seem that the masculine definitive has been reduced in order to avoid confusion with this locative (see 3.5, p.124).

73. In TT the definitives and third person pronouns often seem to be used in the same way, as in examples (i) and (ii), but in other cases they are clearly distinct  as they are used together, as in examples (iii). A consideration of the discourse structure and the reasons for the uses of the definitives and pronouns is outside the scope of this work.
    (i)   *ngarra Kapijani*      (ii)  *awarra Kapijani*
          he     K.                     that(m) K.
    (iii) *ngarra awarra Kapijani*
          he        that(m) K.

74. *kapi* is used as a plural relative pronoun (3.3.3, p.113) and a plural prefix on possessive pronouns (3.3.2.3, p.109) and demonstratives.

75. Other parts of speech may occur as complements.

76. There are also a number of adjective-like nouns referring to human propensity which are inflected for gender or number but which normally occur only predicatively (see 3.2.3, p.89) or as a nominal argument of a clause..

77. This verb stem has been lost elsewhere but *puranji* can occur on its own as a word or in compound words (see example 3-14 and note 14).

78. See Godfrey 1985 for some of these in TT.

79. The meanings in the examples have been given mainly by Godfrey in private communication.

80. This is the only example of *kitawu* in the TT data considered, and it is not clear that it has the meaning ´mid-distant´, since the anaphoric form used to refer to the same place, later in the discourse, is the ´distant´ one, viz., *awungarruwu*. It may be that this speaker (in his forties) is using it with the same meaning as *na(n)kitawu*, as younger speakers do.

81. Godfrey gives *awungarra naki* meaning ´here´ as one in a set with *nankitawu* and *kitawu* but it is not clear what the difference is between this and the simple anaphoric term *awungarra*, except that this is more specific, meaning ´here, at this (place)´. (See discussion in 5.2, p.235).

82. I am not sure of the derivation of this.

83. Osborne has this originally as ´paper´ from the Malay or Macassarese *surat* (through Iwaidja). It is still used for ´paper´ and extended to the other meanings. However, some of these meanings are generally given by other loan words, at least by younger speakers, such as *jukurli* (MT: *jukul(i)/skul*) ´school´, *wik(i)* ´week´, MT: *puk(i)* ´book´.

84. These comments on *waya* and *nguyi* come from discussions with Godfrey, from her wider knowledge of TT.

85. In both TT and MT *waya* can be used alone as an aspectual particle, or in combination with other particles (see 3.5.3, p.135).

86. This function seems to be encoded in MT by the use of *api kiyi* which also occurs in TT as *api (nin)kiyi* ´so then´. I am not sure at this stage what may be the difference in TT between this and the use of *waya*, except that *api (nin)kiyi* is a conjunction.

87. See Godfrey 1985 for a discussion of this.

88. The only other use of *pirri* which I know is as an interjection, meaning ´go away´.

89. This is a common use in TT as well and the suffix occurs on a number of totem names and regional groups (see Osborne 1974:167-168).

90. The final *i* of the stem is retained and not dropped as in TT, so the suffix takes a *y*.

## Chapter 4

### VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

There are two types of verbal constructions in TT:

(i) an independent inflected verb form, composed of a nucleus and at least one or two prefixes, marking subject person and tense or mood.[1] The nucleus[2] structure consists of an obligatory verb stem, which carries the basic verbal meaning, optionally preceded by one or two incorporated forms giving additional nominal, verbal, stative or qualitative meanings. There may also be other affixes marking such things as object person, mood, aspect, emphasis, and location, (see 4.2 and Table 4.3, p.152).

Example (4-1)  (TT)

    a   - mpi - nu - wati - ma - jirrakirningi - miringarra
    she - NP  - LOC- morn -with- light         - sit
    ´She (the sun) is sitting over there with a light in the morning.´

(ii) a Verbal Complex (or periphrastic verb) consisting of a free form verb which is basically uninflected,[3] followed by an inflected auxiliary verb, which may carry the same inflections as the independent inflected verb. There are only three main auxiliary verb stems (see 4.3.2.1, p.210).

Example (4-2)  (TT)

    papi      a   - mpi - nu  - wati - ma    - jirrakirningi - mi
    come:out  she - NP  - DIR - morn - with  - light         - do
    ´She is coming out over there in the morning with a light.´

The choice of verbal construction is lexically governed. The class of TT free verb forms is relatively small (only about 40 words in my corpus). Osborne calls these ´verbal nouns´. However, in general, these forms occur only in this type of construction, though often without an auxiliary verb in spontaneous speech.[4] This class of free verb forms is extended by the use of a small number of English loan verbs in TT or LTT (Less Traditional Tiwi).

Example (4-3)  (TT)

    piraya - la   ngi - mpi - ripu      - warla - mi
    pray   - REP  we  - NP  - them(IO)  - spirit - do
    ´We just pray for the dead.´

It is in the verbal structures that the greatest change can be seen in Tiwi, and this change is bound up with changes in the syntax (see Chapter 6). The complexity of the verb has been lost in the speech of young people, though some affixes and common stems are retained in MT (or perhaps the LTT style of young people). The second type of verbal construction is the normal type in MT, with the class of free form verbs being extended by a large number of English loan verbs and also by the use of some common TT singular imperative forms as free verb forms (see example 4-4(a), and also 4.3.1.2, p.205). As with the independent inflected verb forms retained in MT, the auxiliary has also lost the complexity of the TT forms.

Example   (4-4)   (MT)

(a)   *tamu*        *ji   - mi*
      sit  (IMP)   she:P- do
      ´she sat´

      (TT sg. IMP:   *ta - muwu*   (IMP:EMPH(sg) + sit)   ´sit!´)

(b)   *payiti pi      - ri - mi*
      fight   they:P - CV - do
      ´they fought´

In Children´s Tiwi, and also in casual MT, free verb forms are used without inflected TT-derived auxiliaries.[5] Older people also use this style of speech with children.  Before excessive influence from English there was probably a baby talk Tiwi with the singular imperative forms used as free form verbs (as they still are with some more common verbs).  However, these days baby talk Tiwi also contains many loan verbs.[6]  Some young children (of about 6 or 7 years), however, know and are able to produce some forms of the auxiliary and even some forms of the independent inflected verb.  The range of language known and produced by children can be seen by the range of responses given for sets of pictures used to elicit vocabulary and expressions from them.  Some verbal forms were elicited by using a series of pictures of people (males, females and groups of people) performing various actions.  The variety of responses given for two of these items are shown in Tables 4.1 and 4.2.  The responses are arranged roughly in order, from those closest to the TT forms to those closer to English forms.  These two tables represent the types of responses for each item.  The ages of the children tested ranged from 3 or 4 years (not many) to 16 years.  The figures in the columns represent the number of children giving that particular response at each of the three settlements, Pularumpi (Pi), Nguiu (Ng) and Milikapiti (Mi).  The age range of the children giving each response is noted in parentheses for each item.  For instance, from Table 4.1, four children from 12 years to 14 years gave the TT form *ampirimajirripi* for ´she is sleeping/lying down´.

The test is classed as formal elicitation because the responses were elicited in a formal situation (normally at school).  I have found that in spontaneous speech even fewer forms approximating TT forms are used, with children using more English loan verbs for free verb forms (normally without an auxiliary) than in formally elicited material.  From the tables it can be seen that the majority of children gave the forms with a free form verb, an English loan verb in most cases.[7]

TABLE 4.1  RESPONSES TO TEST ITEM A

Picture shown: woman sleeping

TT form: $a - mpi - ri - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} majirripi \\ mili \end{array} \right\}$ or $a - mpi - ji - ngi - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} majirripi \\ mili \end{array} \right\}$ [a]

she- NP - CV sleep/lie:down    she - NP - DUR - CV  - sleep/lie:down

´she $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} sleeps \\ lies\ down \end{array} \right\}$ ´    ´she is $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} sleeping \\ lying\ down \end{array} \right\}$ ´

| Form | Differences from TT | Pi | Ng | Mi |
|------|--------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| *ampijingimili* | as TT | 1 (14)[b] | 1 (10) | |
| *ampirimajirripi* | as TT | 4 (12-14) | | |
| *ji(yi)majirripi* | as TT but past subj. *ji-* | | 2 (8-12) | |
| *ampijikimili* | CV: *ngi- > ki-*\* | | | 1 (12) |
| *ampijikimajirripi* | CV: *ngi- > ki-*\* | | 1 (16) | |
| *ampijimajirripi* | .CV:. *ngi- > ∅*\* | | 2 (8-9) | |
| *ampijakimajirripi* | CV: *ngi- > ki-*\*, /i/ > /a/ | | | 1 (9) |
| *ampijirrangimili* | change of verb stem, *-mili > -Cangimili* (class 1) (class 2) | | 1 (15) | |
| *awunjingimili* | TT form but masc. subj. | | 1 (8) | |
| *majirripi* | TT vs as free form verb | | 3 (9-10) | 2 (12-13) |
| *payipayi/peyipeyi* | old Eng. loan as free verb | | 1 (11) | |
| *ampijikimi* | + aux.: CV: *ngi- > ki-*\* | | | |
| *payipayi ji(yi)mi* | as above but past form of aux. | 1 (12) | | |
| *peyipeyi* [pɛˡpɛˡ] | as above but no aux.\* | 30 (4-16) | 21 (3-15) | 12 (7-14) |
| *payipayi* [pʌˡpʌˡ] | "         " | 4 (3-8) | 5 (5-9) | |
| *(thirra) awutha (or ko) peyipeyi*[c] | masc. form of TT vs -*(w)ija* ´about to go´ or ´go now´ | 1 (11) | | |
| *jilip* | new Eng. loan (TT phonol.) | | 1 (6) | |
| *shlip* | new Eng. loan | | | 1 (7) |
| *slip* | new Eng. loan with Eng. phonol. | | | 1 (4) |
| *siliping* | new Eng. loan | 1 (4) | | |
| *is sliping* | | 1 (8) | | |
| *is ko payipayi* | | | | 1 (4) |
| *ko slip* | | | | 2 (5) |
| Total number of children: | | 43 | 39 | 21 |

\*   indicates general change

[a]  I am not aware of any difference in meaning in the stems.

[b]  The numbers represent the number of children giving that response and the numbers in parentheses represent the range of ages of those children.

[c]  A mumber of other responses had the free form pronoun, *nyirra* or *thirra* ´she´ but some young children gave the masculine form, *arra* ´he´.

TABLE 4.2  RESPONSES TO TEST ITEM B

Picture shown: boy falling from tree

TT form: $yi$  –  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} pakupuraji \\ pawurlighi \end{array} \right\}$ or $yu$  – $wulantirruwu$ or $popuwa\ yi$  – $mi$[a]

           he:P – fall               he:P – fall           fall    he:P – do

           'he is falling' (Lit: 'he fell' or 'he has fallen')

| Form | Differences from TT | Pi | Ng | Mi |
|------|--------------------|------|------|------|
| *yipakupuraji*[b] | as TT | 2 (12) | 7 (9–16) | |
| *yipakapuraji* | change in stem vowel, /u/ > /a/ | | 10 (8–16) | |
| *apakupuraji* | as TT but non-past form | 1 (14) | | |
| *yipilantirruwu* | change of vs class: | | | |
| |   *-(w)ulantirruwu* (1 or 3?) | 1 (12) | | 1 (12) |
| |   > *-Cilantirruwu* (2) | | | |
| |   (see 4.2.1.1(1)) | | | |
| *yipakuraji* | change in vs form | | 1 (15) | |
| |   *-Cakupuraji* > *-Cakuraji* | | | |
| *takupuraji* | imp form of TT vb as free verb | 4 (7–9) | 1 (9) | |
| |   form*[c] | | | |
| *takapuraji* | as above but with vowel change | 4 (11–13) | 3 (7–9) | 1 (9) |
| *takapuraji yimi* | as above but with past aux. | 1 (10) | | |
| *takupaji* ⎫ | imp. form with change in stem | | 1 (10) | |
| *takupiji* ⎭ | | | | 1 (5) |
| *popuwa* | as TT free vb but no aux | | | 2 (8–12) |
| *pakupuraji* | TT vs with /u/ > /a/, as free | | 1 (5) | |
| |   form verb | | | |
| *yirrikipaji* | individual try at TT form | | | 1 (11) |
| *potan yimi* | Eng. loan with past aux. | 2 (10–11) | 1 (9) | 1 (9) |
| *potan awujikimi* | Eng. loan with non-past aux. | | 1 (13) | |
| |   (cf. Table 4.1) | | | |
| *potan/poltan* | Eng. loan but no aux.* | 16 (4–16) | 4 (7–8) | 5 (9–13) |
| *potani* |      "       " | 2 (6–9) | | 1 (9) |
| *fotan/foltan* | newer Eng. loan | 4 (5–12) | 3 (5–7) | 1 (7) |
| *polopa* | new Eng. loan ('fall over') | 1 (4) | | |
| *fol* | new Eng. loan | | | 1 (7) |
| *potan kowing* | Eng. loan with Eng. aux. | | 1 (8) | |

     Total number of children:          38        34       15

\* indicates general change

[a] I am not aware of any difference in meaning in the forms.

[b] This is common among older people as well.

[c] The actual singular TT imperative form is *tayakupuraji* (∅ (subj.) +
*ta-* (emph./imp.) + *-Cakupuraji* 'fall') but in MT these imperative forms with
class 2 verb stems are normally reduced (see 4.2.6, p.186)

Children from Nguiu tended to give more TT forms, or approximations of TT forms, than did children from Pularumpi or Milikapiti, and at a younger age. This would seem to be an effect of the bilingual program. The tables give some idea of the variation in the verbal forms of the whole range of language and the difficulty in determining what is typical of each age group, and the general trend of changes.

These results were obtained in 1978. Now that the bilingual programme at St Therese School, Nguiu has been going for a few more years, the responses of children who have been through that programme may be even closer to the traditional language.

## 4.2 THE INFLECTED VERB

There are a number of grammatical relations and concepts expressed in the TT inflected verb. The basic ones are: subject person, direct or indirect object person, tense, aspect, mood, voice, time of day, emphasis, position (in space of time)/direction. Throughout this section the discussion deals with the inflected verb in general, both the independent and the auxiliary forms. The analysis of the TT verb fairly closely follows that of Osborne (1974:Chapter 3), but with some modifications and changes in terminology.

All verbs are minimally marked for subject person and number (and gender for third person singular) and for tense or mood. Transitive verbs are also marked for direct object person and number (and gender for third person singular).

All other categories in the TT verb occur as they are required by the semantics or context. The discussion of the various categories and relations given below show only the basic meanings of some of the morphemes in the verb. The basic order of the possible morphemes in the TT verb is shown in Table 4.3, which represents a conflation of the verb structure in general and does not show the maximum expansion of any one verb.

There are a number of morphemes shown on the table which cannot co-occur, such as the two prefixes indicating time of day. The table does not show the various co-occurrence restrictions, some of which will be discussed in the appropriate sections following. Similarly, there are some permutations of morphemes which are not shown on the table, some of which are mentioned where relevant in the following pages. The headings for the columns and the glosses given for some of the morphemes are only very general, giving the basic meaning. Some of the basic morphological variations are given on the table. (See Osborne, Chapter 2, for a detailed discussion of most of the morphophonological variations.) At the bottom of the columns is given the section in which the particular morpheme is discussed.

There are no verbs which contain all the orders of morphemes shown in Table 4.3 as there are some co-occurrence restrictions. The morphemes given in a particular column are mutually exclusive with other morphemes in that column.[8] For instance, the connectives *ri-* and *ngi-* do not occur before a class 1 stem simultaneously. The occurrence of either connective depends upon the preceding morpheme (see 4.2.1.1(1), p.157). Some examples of a number of morphemes co-occurring are:

TABLE 4.3 NORMAL ORDER OF POSSIBLE MORPHEMES IN THE INFLECTED TT VERB

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| subject | tense | locative | mood 1 | mood 2 | temp 1 | DO/IO | aspect 1 | stance |
| (min-aug.) (see Table 4.5) | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\emptyset\\ mpi\text{-}\end{array}\right\}$ non-past $\left\{\begin{array}{l}rri\text{-}\\ (n)ti\text{-}\end{array}\right\}$ past | *(wu)ni* (i) 'dist-ant' (ii) direct-ional 'to here' (iii) 'distant in time' | *ma-* subjunc-tive *(w)a* frustra-tive *wu-* obliga-tional | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\emptyset\\ Ci\text{-}\end{array}\right\}$ irrealis (C = rr, (n)t, n, l, j) | *(w)ati-* 'in the morn-ing' | direct object or indirect object (see Table 4.8) | *(wu)ji-* durative or non-past habitual $\left\{\begin{array}{l}wi\text{-}\\ yi\text{-}\end{array}\right\}$ incep-tive *miji-* common activity | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}Cingi\text{-}\\ Ci\text{-}\\ ngi\text{-}\end{array}\right\}$ 'away from camp' or 'distant in time' $\left\{\begin{array}{l}Cirraya\text{-}\\ rraya\text{-}\end{array}\right\}$ 'walking along' |
| 4.2.2.1 | 4.2.2.1 | 4.2.4.1 (1) | 4.2.9.1 (2,3,4) | 4.2.9.1 (1) | 4.2.5 | 4.2.3.1 | 4.2.8.1 | 4.2.4.1 (2) |

aug.: augmented; con. m.: concomitative marker; min.: minimal;
subj: subject; temp: temporal; ∅: zero morpheme;
{ } indicates allomorphs of the same morpheme.

| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| emphat-ic | con-nective | temp 2 | concomi-tative | nucleus | voice | aspect 2 | aspect 3 | locative |
| *Ca-* emphat-ic (C = p, rr, t, j) | $\left\{\begin{array}{l} ri-\\ yi- \end{array}\right\}$ (before class 1 forms or stems, temp2, con. m – in some cases) *ŋgi-* (before class 1 & 3 forms or stems in some cases) | *ki-* ´in the evening´ | *ma(rri)-* concomi-tative marker (+ or – *ji(ngi)-* ´in/on´) | (± 1 or 2 incor-porated forms) + verb stem | *-(am)ighi* causative *-anyimi* complet-ive *-(am)iya* reflexive *-ajirri* recipro-cal | $\left\{\begin{array}{l} -ami\\ -mami \end{array}\right\}$ movement *-amiji* ´on the way´ | $\left\{\begin{array}{l} -ani\\ -mini \end{array}\right\}$ repeti-tive or past habitu-al | $\left\{\begin{array}{l} -wa\\ -pa \end{array}\right\}$ (as for locative prefix, but with impera-tive) |
| 4.2.6 | 4.2.1.1 (1) | 4.2.1.1 4.2.5 | 4.2.1.1 (3) | 4.2.1.1 (1,2) | 4.2.7 | 4.2.8.1 | 4.2.8.1 | 4.2.4.1 (3) |

TABLE 4.4 NORMAL ORDER OF POSSIBLE MORPHEMES IN THE INFLECTED VERB IN MT

| 1 & 2 subject-tense | 3 (locative) | 4 (mood 1) | 5 (mood 2) | 8 aspect | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (singular plural)  (see Table 4.7) | *(wu)ni-*  (i) (directional  ´to here´  (ii) (locative  ´distant´ | *ma-*  subjunc-tive  *(w)a-*  frust-rative | $\left\{\begin{matrix}rri-\\ri-\end{matrix}\right\}$  irrealis  or  negative | *(wu)ji-*  durative | |
| 4.2.2.2 | 4.2.4.2 | 4.2.9.2 (2,4) | 4.2.9.2 (4) | 4.2.8.2 | |

NB (1)  The columns with headings in parentheses are found only in the data given by older young people and is mainly in the more formally elicited material.  Most of these are probably more typical of an LTT style than MT.

(2)  The numbers at the tops of the columns refer to the numbers of the columns in Table 4.3 for TT.

| | 10 | 11 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 |
| | emphatic | connective | nucleus | (voice) | (aspect 2) | (aspect 3) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Ca-*<br><br>emphatic<br>(future?)<br>imperat-<br>ive | *ri-*<br>(before<br>class 1<br>verb<br>in some<br>cases)<br><br>*ki-*<br>(before<br>class 1<br>& 3<br>stems in<br>some<br>cases) | verb<br>stem<br><br>(no<br>incorp-<br>orated<br>forms) | *-ajirri*<br>recip-<br>rocal | *-ami*<br>durative<br>or<br>beginning | *-ani*<br>past<br>habitual<br>or<br><br>repetitive |
| | 4.2.6 | 4.2.1.2 | 4.2.1.2 | 4.2.7 | 4.2.8.2 | 4.2.8.2 |

Example  (4-5)   (TT)

(a) *yoyi   ngi      - mp - a      - ripu     - ji        - ng - arla    - m - ami*
    dance  you(pl) - NP - FRUST - them(IO) - DUR/HAB - CV - spirit - do - MV
    'You move around dancing for the dead (people) in vain.'

(b) *ngajiti nyi      - mp - a      - nguwun - ta    - yakurluwunyi*
    don't    you(sg) - NP - FRUST - us(DO) - EMPH - look:at
    'Don't look at us.'

(c) *kalikali  nga        - rru - wunji - rringi - makirringi - mi*
    run        we(incl) - P   - DUR   - away   - fright      - do
    'we were running out there in our fright'

(d) *yu   - wuji - ngi - pirn  - amiy    - am - ani*
    he:P - DUR  - CV  - hit   - REFLEX - MV - P:HAB
    'he was going about hitting himself'

(e) *morliki nga        - ma  - wun      - ta   - m - amighi*
    bathe    we(incl) - SBVE - them(DO) - EMPH - do - CAUS
    'we should cause them to bathe'

The order of the morphemes retained in the speech of young people, though
with changed forms in some cases, is given in Table 4.4 (cf. Table 4.3).  Some
of these morphemes, particularly those given in parentheses, do not occur very
often in the MT data and when they do occur it is usually in fairly formal
speech (such as elicitation).  For this reason many of the forms can probably
be regarded as a style closer to traditional Tiwi (i.e. a LTT style).  The only
affixes which occur with any regularity in MT are the subject-tense prefixes,
the durative aspect, the emphatic prefix and the connectives.  As has been
pointed out earlier, a basic characteristic of MT is the use of the verbal
complex construction rather than the independent inflected verb and so the use
of verb stems (other than the auxiliary verb stem *-mi*, see 4.3.2.2, p.213) is
also indicative of an LTT style rather than MT.

In the following sub-sections the morphemes are not discussed in the order
of their occurrence in the verb but in their grammatical categories.  The
nucleus of the verb is discussed first, then the subject-tense prefixes, direct
and indirect object prefixes, locative and stance prefixes, temporal prefixes,
the emphatic prefix, voice suffixes, aspect affixes and mood prefixes.  In each
case, the forms occurring in TT are discussed followed by the changes apparent
in MT.

## 4.2.1  VERB NUCLEUS (column 14, Table 4.3, p.152, and Table 4.4, p.154)

### 4.2.1.1  VERB NUCLEUS IN TT

In TT, the nucleus of the verb consists of a main verb stem and possibly
one or two incorporated forms.[9]  The incorporated forms are included as part of
the nucleus because they always occur immediately before the main verb stem and
they may be divided into the same phonological classes as the verb stems (see
p.157).  Also, in many instances incorporated forms and verb stems have become

'frozen' to form new verb stems.  For example, in some cases the incorporated form *wa-* 'words' or 'talk' can be separated from the following verb stem as in *wa-* 'words' + *-Cangirri* 'send' --> *-wayangirri* 'send a message' (where *C* represents a variable consonant).  However, in other cases such as the stem *-wayorri*, 'ask', it is obvious that the *wa* means 'words' but there appears to be no verb stem *-Corri* which occurs on its own (though there probably was at one stage).

(1) Main verb stems

The class of verb stems is an open class of at least 500 forms.  Within the class there is a two-dimensional division into sub-classes.  One division is on the basis of the type of subject-tense prefixes which they take and/or the occurrence of direct object prefixes within the verb, i.e. basically transitive versus non-transitive.[10]  Transitive verb stems take a direct object prefix for all persons except a third singular direct object, in which case there is no separate direct object prefix but the gender of the direct object is marked on the subject-tense prefix.[11]  For all other direct object persons the subject-tense prefixes on the verb are the same as the majority of non-transitive verbs.  A small class of about 20-30 verb stems, labelled 'feminine' verbs, always take the same subject-tense prefixes as transitive verbs with a third singular feminine object, regardless of whether there is such an 'object', and if there is, whether it is masculine or feminine.[12]  All the other verb stems, and transitive verb stems with a direct object which is not third person singular, take another set of prefixes (general subject-tense prefixes).  (See 4.2.2.1, p.172 and Table 4.5, p.173).  These prefixes often overlap with the 'transitive' or 'feminine' prefixes.

Example  (4-6)  (TT)

(a) **transitive verb stem (3rd sg masc DO):**

    *ngi - rri  - pakurluwunyi kirijini*
    I   - P:him - see          boy
    'I saw a boy.'

(b) **transitive verb stem (3rd sg fem DO):**

    *ngi  - nti  - pakurluwunyi kirijinga*
    I    - P:her - see          girl
    'I saw a girl.'

(c) **feminine verb stem (masc secondary obj):**[13]

    *ngi - ntu  - pumuti yikoni*
    I   - P(f) - light  fire(m)
    'I lit the fire.'

(d) **intransitive verb stem:**

    *ngi - rri - pangurlimayi*
    I   - P   - walk
    'I walked.'

Cutting across the division of transitive, feminine and general non-transitive verb stems is a non-semantic division into classes on a phonological basis.  Class 1 verb stems are consonant-initial, Class 2 verb

stems are also consonant-initial but with a variable consonant depending on the morpheme, and Class 3 verb stems are vowel-initial. Class 1 verb stems begin with only the peripheral consonants, *p*, *m*, *k* and *w*. These stems take a connective (or class marker) *ri-*, immediately preceding the stem, and following certain morphemes, such as most of the subject-tense prefixes, *(w)a-* 'frustrative', *(w)ati-* 'in the morning' and *(wu)ni-* 'distance/ direction'. Following the subject-tense prefix *ji-* 'she:P' or 'you(sg):P' the connective is *yi-*. Following some other prefixes, such as *(wu)ji-* 'durative' and some incorporated forms the connective is *ngi-*.

Example  (4-7)  (TT)

(a)  *a  – mp – ati – ri – muwu*
     she – NP – morn – CV – sit
     'she { is sitting / sits } in the morning'

(b)  *a  – mpi – ji – ngi – muwu*
     she – NP – DUR – CV – sit
     'she is sitting'

(c)  *ji   – yi – muwu*
     she:P – CV – sit
     'she sat'

Class 2 verb stems take the variable consonants, *p*, *y*, *t*, *j* or *rr*, depending upon the preceding morpheme. For instance, following the subject-tense prefixes in indicative verbs the consonant is *p*,[14] while following the durative prefix *(wu)ji-* the consonant is *rr*.  (See 4.2.8.1, p.189).  This consonant could also be regarded as a connective but it seems to be a more integral part of the stem than the connectives *ri-* and *ngi-*.

Other environments affecting the stem consonant will be mentioned where relevant in the appropriate sections.  These stems behave like the prefixes *Ci-* 'irrealis', *Ci(ngi)-* 'out:bush' and *Ca-* 'emphatic' and in the dictionary word list in Appendix 1, the stems are given as *C*-initial.

Example  (4-8)   (TT)

(a)  *yi  – pangurlimayi*
     he:P – walk
     'he walked'

(b)  *a  – wuji – rrangurlimayi*
     he:NP – DUR – walk
     'he is walking'

Class 3 verb stems are regarded as vowel initial, as Osborne regards them (his class IIa, Osborne 1974:30-31).  In many environments these stems take an initial *w* following a vowel-final morpheme, and in this regard are similar to what Osborne calls '*w* morphemes' taking '*w*-insertion' (1974:23).  (See example 4-9(a).) In other cases the vowel is retained and the final vowel of the preceding prefix dropped (a regular morphophonological process; see 2.8, p.71 also 4-9(b)), and in still other cases the final vowel of the prefix is retained and the initial vowel of the stem is dropped (example 4-9(c)).  This last phenomenon occurs only when the initial vowel is not *a*.  With some *a*-initial stems preceded by an *a*-final prefix both vowels are retained (example 4-9(d)).

Example  (4-9)  (TT)

(a)  *yu*    - *watu* - <u>*wapa*</u>
     he:P - morn - eat
     ´he ate (it) in the morning´

     (vs: -*apa* ´eat´)

(b)  *a*    - *mp* - <u>*apa*</u>
     she - NP - eat
     ´she eats (it)´

(c)  *ngajiti  nyu*      - *wunu*      - *wa*    - *ja*  - <u>*mori*</u>
     don´t    you(pl) - dist:in:time - FRUST - EMPH - leave
     ´Don´t leave them in the future!´

     (vs: -*umori*)

(d)  *ta*             - *apa*      ([tʌʎpa])
     IMP(sg):EMPH - eat
     ´Eat!´

Godfrey considers this class as *w*-initial,[15] but there are a number of
*w*-initial class 1 stems.  To avoid confusion with these I am calling the
*w*-initial forms which do not behave as class 1 stems (that is they do not
normally take connective *ri*-) as vowel-initial.

There are a number of irregularities manifested by some verb stems
belonging to this class.  One such irregularity is the metathesis of the final
vowel of the prefix *Ca*- with the initial vowel of the verb stem -*uriyi* ´go´
(and possibly some others), with a *w* inserted.

Example  (4-10)   (TT)

     *ta* +            -*uriyi* --> *tuwariyi*
     IMP(sg):EMPH   go           ´go!´
     (sg)

There are a few verb stems which behave like an *a*-initial class 3 verb
stem following the prefix *Ca*-, but which elsewhere behave as an *i*-initial or
*u*-initial class 3 stem or, in some cases, as a class 1 stem.

Example  (4-11)   (TT)

(a)  **verb stem: -*mi* ´say´ (Class 1)**

     *ngi* - <u>*ri*</u>    - <u>*mi*</u>
     I    - CV   - say
     ´I say´ or ´I said´

     *ngi* - *rri* - <u>*pa*</u>  - <u>*ami*</u>          ([ŋɔřəpʌʎmɩ])
     I    - P    - EMPH - sáy
     ´I said´

(b) **verb stem: —wunga** ´grab´ (Class 3)

    ngu - rru   - wunga
    I   - P:him - grab
    ´I grabbed him.´

    nyi          - rra  - anga
    IMP:you(pl) - EMPH - grab
    ´You(pl) grab him!´

The connective *ngi-*, which occurs before class 1 verb stems also occurs before class 3 verb stems, but with the vowel dropped.

Example (4-12)  (TT)

    a   - mpi - ji - ng - apa
    she - NP  - DUR- CV - eat
    ´she is eating´

The connective *ri-* (sometimes with the vowel dropped) also occurs before class 3 stems when it directly follows a frustrative prefix *(w)a-* (see 4.2.9.1, p.193).

Example (4-13)  (TT)

    pirlamarri  ngi - rr - a      - ru - wuriyi
    carelessly  I   - P  - FRUST - CV - go
    ´I carelessly tried to go´

(2) Incorporated forms

Within the nucleus there may be incorporated forms which convey nominal concepts, such as ´meat´, ´wallaby´, ´water´, or body parts; verbal concepts such as ´cry´, ´run´; stative concepts, such as ´hungry´, ´sleeping´, ´frightened´; and some miscellaneous concepts, such as ´with nothing´, ´everything´.  These incorporated forms are divided into three phonological classes on the same basis as the verb stems, so that there are class 1 forms (consonant initial), class 2 forms (variable consonant initial) and class 3 forms (vowel initial, with initial *w* in some cases).

As Osborne points out, the number of incorporated forms is small compared to the number of free forms, there being probably about 100-150 incorporated forms.  Normally, the nominal incorporated forms are general in meaning.  There may be a number of free forms referring to the different species covered by the one incorporated form, or free form synonyms covering the one object or animal referred to by one incorporated form.

Example (4-14)  (TT)

**Incorporated form**               **Free forms**

*majunguwuli(ngi)* - ´dog´  *pulangumo-ni*(m), *-ka*(f), *-wi*(pl)
                            *wank-ini*(m), *-a*(f), *-uwi*(pl)
                            *kitarringa-ni*(m), *-ka*(f), *-wi*(pl)
                            *pamilampunyi-ni*(m), *-ka*(f), *-wi*(pl)

Other incorporated forms are very specific, differentiating, for instance, between cooked and raw meat, dead or alive animals, etc.

Example (4-15)  (TT)

> *paningi-*    ´raw meat/fish´
>
> *kunti(ngi)-* ´cooked meat/fish´

There do not seem to be incorporated forms which refer to humans or human characteristics, though the form *paningi-*, given in example 4-15 has been extended to mean ´white person´.

Example (4-16)  (TT)

> *yi*  - *paningi*  - *miringarra*
> he:P - white:man - live
> ´the white man lived (here)´

Unlike some other prefixing languages of northern Australia and other languages in the world (such as Eskimo and Greenlandic) which have nominal incorporation in the verb, the incorporated forms are normally not cognate with corresponding free forms (Dixon 1980:436-437; Capell 1967:49-50;[16] Sadock 1980).

For a list of some of the forms, see Osborne (1974:48-50). There are a few forms which are cognate with free forms, though sometimes there is a meaning change as in example 4-17(b). In a few cases verbal incorporated forms are cognate with main verb stems, as in example 4-17(a). In still other cases, incorporated forms are part of other compound words, as in examples 4-17 (c)-(e).

Example (4-17)  (TT)

| **Incorporated form** | | **Free form verb stem or compound** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (a) *makirri(ngi)-* | ´be frightened´ | -*makirri* | ´be frightened´ |
| (b) *wulinji(ngi)-* | ´thirsty´ | *wulinjirri* | ´dry place´ |
| (c) *kiri-* | ´hand´ | *kirikurti* | ´thumb´ |
| (d) *mili-* | ´foot´ | *milikurti* | ´big toe´ |
| (e) *mangi-* | ´water´ | *mangupuranji* | ´good-tasting water´ |

The incorporated forms have reference to various grammatical relations within the clause, sometimes being cross-referenced to a free form in the clause expressing the same relationship. At other times they are the only reference to a particular relation. The verb is like a ´mini-clause´, as most of the grammatical relations which are usually syntactic functions can also be expressed in the verb. These grammatical relations are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6 with regard to clauses, but examples of some of the different ways in which incorporated forms are used are given here.

Some uses of incorporated nominal forms are:

(i) Associated with the subject of non-transitive verbs (see also example 4-16).

Example  (4-18)  (TT)

(a)  *waya*  *yi*  - *pa*  - <u>*nganti*</u>  - *yipaya*
     now   he:P - EMPH - rain    - finish
     ´The rain has finished now.´

(b)  *ngarratuwu*  *yu*  - <u>*warla*</u> - *yapipirraya* <u>*Purrukuparli*</u>
     he:TOP       he:P -  spirit - go:down      Purrukuparli
     ´Purrukuparli in his turn went down as a spirit.´

(ii) Associated with the direct object of a transitive verb (see 4.2.1.1(1), p.157):

Example  (4-19)  (TT)

(a)  *pi*     - *ti*    - <u>*wuliyonji*</u>    - *rrorlimpirr*       - *ani*
     they:P - P:her - dead:wallaby - carry:on:shoulders -  P:HAB
     ´They would carry the wallaby on their shoulders.´

(b)  <u>*ngarra*</u> - <u>*mirani*</u>  *yu*        - <u>*warla*</u> - *pungintay* - *ani*
     his        son       he:him:P - spirit -  think:of  - P:hab
     ´He would think of his son´s spirit.´

(iii) Associated with the secondary object of a ditransitive or semi-transitive verb.[17]

Example  (4-20)  (TT)

(a)  **semi-transitive:**

     *pi*      - *ri* - <u>*kij*</u>   - *unyaw* - *ani*
     they:P - CV - stick - throw - P:HAB
     ´they would throw the stick´

(b)  **ditransitive:**

     *yi*   - *min*    - <u>*tati*</u> - *rrakirayi*
     he:P - me(DO) - axe   - give
     ´he gave me an axe´

(iv) Associated with the indirect object (the indirect object being the nominal argument which is marked on the verb by the indirect object prefix, and which usually encodes ´benefactive, recipient, goal or addressee´).[18]  (See 4.2.2, p.172, and 6.2.1.1 (iii), p.250, for a fuller discussion of the nominal argument called indirect object).

Example  (4-21)  (TT)

(a)  *piraya* - *la*   *ngi*     - *mpi* - <u>*ripu*</u>     - <u>*warla*</u> - *mi*
     pray    - REP  we(excl)- NP   - them(IO) - spirit - do
     ´we pray for the dead´

(b)  *kularlagha*  <u>*pojimolintiya*</u> *pi*      - *rri* - <u>*mirri*</u>  - <u>*piyontingi*</u>  -
     search:for  wallaby         they:P - P   - her(IO) - live:wallaby -

```
ma - mini
do - P:HAB
```

'they would search for wallaby'

(v) As a concomitative, which is defined as a nominal argument which has close connection with the subject or direct object, normally with the sense of 'accompaniment'.  The incorporated form as a concomitative is indicated by the presence of a concomitative marker *ma(rri)-* on the verb.  (See (3), p.165.)

Example  (4-22)   (TT)

(a)  **connected with the subject:**

```
nga        - ri - marri - kiyawulingi¹⁹ - papurti
we(incl) - CV - CON.M - crab           - go:up
```
'we take the crabs up (to the bush)'

(b)  **connected with the direct object:**

```
yu  - wuni    - marri  - wa    - yangirri
he:P - them(DO)- CON.M  - words - send
```

'he sent them with a message'

(vi) As a Locative.
Example  (4-23)   (TT)

```
ngi - rru - wanti - papurti
I   - P   - water - go:up
```
'I got out of the water (onto dry land)'

In most cases the verbal incorporated form seems to apply to the subject, but not always.  It sometimes applies to the same participant as the direct object, as in example 4-24(a), and sometimes to others who are not referred to elsewhere in the clause or discourse, as in example 4-24(b).  In some cases the sense is only clear from the context.

Example  (4-24)   (TT)

(a)  ```
ngin  - ta       - ngirlipangi - rramangi
me(DO) - IMP:EMPH - sleep       - look:after
```
'Look after me while I am sleeping!'

(b)  ```
ngi      - nti - wati - ngirlipangi - rramilipur - ani
we(excl) - P   - morn - sleep       - get:up     - P:HAB
```
'we would get up while (others) were sleeping'

(c)  ```
mu       - ri - ki  - ngirlimpangi - rrangurlimayi
you & I - CV - eve - sleep        -walk
```
'you and I walk in our sleep'

(d)  ```
karri ngawa nga       - mi       - rra-warrijingi - muwu
when  we    we(incl) - him(IO) - EMPH-hungry    - live
```
'when we go hungry for him (God)'

These verbal and other types of incorporated forms do not, in general, have a corresponding external form in the clause with which they are cross-referenced. However, they do seem to have some kind of function which is related to the types of constituents found in the clause, i.e. temporal (see examples 4-24 (a) to (c)) or manner (see example 4-24 (d)).

There are some other types of incorporated forms which are like nominal incorporated forms, but they do not refer to a specific thing or animal. One of these is *wamini-*, meaning 'without something' and another is *wunjirriki-* 'everything' or 'a lot of things'. Both of these can occur alone in a verb (with the item referred to understood from the context) or cross-referenced with a nominal constituent of the clause.

Example (4-25) (TT)

(a) *pi     - ri - <u>wamini</u>                - kuruwurli*
    they:P - CV - without:something - be:cranky
    'they were cranky without (beer)'

(b) *ngi      - ntu - <u>wamini</u>        - yakupawurli karrikamini jipojirringa*
    we(excl) - P   - without:something - go:back     nothing(m)   wallaby
    'We went back without any wallaby.'

(c) *yu   - wə    - ri - <u>wunjirrik</u>     - unyawa - mini*
    he:P - FRUST - CV - ⎰ everything ⎱ - throw   - P:HAB
                        ⎱ lots       ⎰
    'he used to try to throw everything (the customs) away'

(d) *yu    - wuni     - <u>jirriki</u> - rrortighi tayikuwapi*
    he:P - them(DO) - lots      - father    many(pl)
    'he fathered many children'

(e) *wu    - ri    - ⎰ <u>mangi</u> ⎱[20] - wamini              - muwu*
                       ⎱ <u>kupu</u>  ⎰
    they:NP-CV -   ⎰ beer    ⎱ - without:something - live
                    ⎱ tobacco ⎰
    'they live without ⎰ beer    ⎱ '
                        ⎱ tobacco ⎰

*wamini-* could be regarded as a special type of concomitative, meaning 'with nothing'. It is not clear why *wamini-* should occur closest to the verb stem, particularly if it is to be regarded as a 'negative' counterpart to the concomitative marker *ma(rri)-*, which always occurs immediately before to the first incorporated form, and only immediately before the verb stem if there is no incorporated form (see following pages).

There may be two incorporated forms in the verb. In general, the form which is more 'nuclear' (i.e. associated with some role or function required by the semantics of the verb stem) is closest to the verb stem.

Example (4-26) (TT)

(a) *nga      - mpi        - ri - <u>kiji</u> - <u>maripi</u> - rrituwa*
    we(incl) - NP:her(DO) - CV - stick - chest  - slit:open

    'We slit the chest (of the goose(f)) with a stick.'

(b)  *yi  - mini  = ngilimpangi - yalipi - rrankina*
    he:P - me(DO)- sleep       - meat    - steal
    ´he stole my meat while I was asleep´          (Osborne 1974:47)

(3) The concomitative marker (column 13, Table 4.3, p.152).

Although the concomitative marker is not included in the nucleus structure
in Table 4.3, a discussion of it is relevant at this point.  It behaves like a
class 1 incorporated form in that it takes the connective *ri-* (or *yi-*)
following certain morphemes (see p.158).

The main purpose of the concomitative marker would seem to be to indicate
the presence of another nominal argument in the deep structure of the clause,
one that is not normally implied by the semantics of the verb.  The
concomitative marker is used in two ways:

(i) ´Accompaniment.´ In these cases, where the nominal argument implied is
in close association with one of the participants normally in a sense of
´accompaniment´, the forms of the concomitative marker are: *ma-* preceding class
2 verb stems and incorporated forms, with the variable consonant of the class 2
stem or form being *j*, and *marri-* preceding class 1 and 3 stems or forms, with
the final *i* being dropped before class 3 stems and forms (a regular
morphophonemic process - see 2.8, p.71).  The nominal argument to which the
concomitative marker makes reference may occur as an incorporated form (see (2)
(v), p.163), or as an overt nominal phrase in the clause, or both.[21]  There are
some cases where the concomitative marker has no overt referent, either in the
verb or in the clause, but the referent can be implied from the context, as in
example 4-27 (d).

Example (4-27)   (TT)

(a)  *arnuka karrikuwani  yi    - rri     - marri - miringarra  tayikuwanga*
    not    nobody        he(P) - IRREAL - CON.M - live        many(f)
    ´Nobody marries a lot of wives.´

(b)  *ji    - yi - ma    - jangu - rrurlighi nyirra - morti*
    she:P - CV - CON.M - baby  - growl     her    - son
    ´she protected her baby son´  (Lit: she ´growled with her baby
    son (at them, the kids who were trying to play with her, a cow)´)

(c)  *kali  pi    - rri - yi   - marru = wa    - m   - am - ani*
    run   they:P- P   - ICVE - CON.M - words - do  - MV - P:HAB
    ´they began to run around with the news´

(d)  *pi    - ri - ma   - jawurinji  kapi ampurikuluwurri*
    they:P - CV - CON.M - go.in     PREP car/vehicle
    ´They took (them, i.e. school boys) in a truck.´

(ii) ´Conveyance.´ In this case, the concomitative marker occurs as *ma-*
followed by the form *ji(ngi)-*.  This indicates a nominal argument which has the
sense of ´conveyance´ or ´vehicle´, and refers to something which the subject
or object may be ´in´ or ´on´ (normally) or it may refer to something which is
´on´ the subject or object (see also 6.2.1.2(2), p.252).  This nominal argument
may be overtly present in the clause or there may be no overt reference to the
item and it has to be inferred from the context (or from knowledge of the real

world), as in examples 4-28 (a, b).  It would seem that the form *ji(ngi)*- may
have originally been an incorporated form *Ci(ngi)*- with (*C* = *j*, following *ma*-).
Osborne has it as meaning 'tree, log, dugout canoe',[22] but the meaning has been
extended to mean any conveyance, etc.  In general, there is no other
incorporated form in the verb which refers to the means of conveyance, though
there would seem to be one in example 4-28 (c).  This is possibly a late
development after the form *Ci(ngi)*- lost its status as an incorporated form.
The *kili*- '(motor, wheeled) vehicle (?)'[23] may be put in to make the
distinction between a modern vehicle with wheels and a boat.

The form *Ci(ngi)*- behaves like a number of incorporated forms in that,
before class 1 and 3 verb stems or incorporated forms there is a connective,
*ng(i)*-, while before class 2 forms this is omitted and the variable consonant
of the class 2 form is *rr* (or in some cases *y*).[24]

Example  (4-28)  (TT)

(a)  *ta  - ma  - jingi        - mang - ini*
     EMPH - CON.M -  in:something – water – hold
     'Hold the water (in a container)!'

(b)  *jarrikarlani mu      - wati - pa  - ma   - ji           -rrapipirraya*
     turtle       you:&:I - morn - EMPH - CON.M -  in:something –go:down
     'Let's you and I go down in the morning for turtle (in a boat).'

(c)  *a   - wunu - wati  - yi - ma   - jingi      - kili  -ja*
     he:NP- DIR  -  morn  - ICVE - CON.M – in:something – vehicle–  go
     'He is coming along in the morning in a car/tractor/truck/bike/etc.'

(d)  *a   - mpu  - wuji - ki - ma   - jingi        - mangi - rrawulari*
     she – NP   -  DUR  - eve – CON.M – in:something – water – climb

     *tanki*
     tank

     'The water always goes up into the tank at night.'

(e)  *a    - ri - ma   - ji           - yakilinga*
     he:NP – CV  -  CON.M – on:something – climb
     'He is climbing on (a tree).'

Godfrey says that the form given in (e) is not a TT form used for a person
climbing a tree but one used (normally with the *C* = *rr* and not *y* as in the
example) for a vine climbing a tree.  However, this was given in reference to a
picture of a boy climbing a tree and so some individuals use it for people.  It
may be a LTT form, but the difference between this and the normal form:

     *a      - wuji - rrakilinga (purinjirringa)*,
     he:NP – DUR  – climb       tree
     'He is climbing (a tree).'

may be the same as the difference which exists in English between 'he is
climbing a tree' and 'he is climbing on a tree'. (NB only part of the tree is
visible in the picture.)
     Where both accompaniment and conveyance are implied it would seem that the
former has precedence (as can be seen in example 4-27(d)), where there is no

*ji(ngi-)*). However, this may be a LTT form, particularly since the conveyance is marked overtly in the clause by a prepositional phrase, which is common in MT (see 6.2.2.2(3), p.259). The example was given by a woman in her late forties.


## 4.2.1.2 VERB NUCLEUS STRUCTURE IN MT

In Modern Tiwi, the nucleus structure consists basically of just a verb stem (though there are a few examples of the use of an incorporated form, in the LTT of older young people). However, there is only one form which is used with any regularity in MT and that is the form *makirri(ngi)-* ´be frightened´, often used without the *ngi-* (where it would be included in TT). Younger people and children often use the form *makirri* as a free verb form, but this possibly comes from the verb stem *-makirri* (see example 4-17(a)).

Example  (4-29)    (MT but also TT)

> *kalikali   a    - mpi - ri - makirringi - mi*
> run         she - NP  - CV - frightened  - do
> ´She is running because she is frightened.´

The only regular use of the concomitative marker in the speech of the young people is with the verb stem *-uriyi* ´go´. In TT *marri-* + *-uriyi* is *marruriyi*, meaning ´go with/take´ (which in fast speech may be reduced to *marriyi*, but which in slow precise speech retains the two rhotics). In the speech of young people this has become a fused verb stem, *-marriyi*, meaning ´take´, even in precise speech.

Example  (4-30)    (MT)

> *pi        - ri - marriyi*
> they:P - CV - take
> ´they took (him)´

Only about 10 to 20 of the more common verb stems are used by young people compared to the several hundred in TT. The number known and used varies from speaker to speaker. Some of the common stems used (with regular sound changes) are: *-uriyi* ´go´, *-pini* ´hit, kill´ (TT *-pirni*, /C/ > /C/, see 2.3.1, p.34), *-Cakirayi* ´give´, *-Cangulimayi* or *-Cawulimayi* ´walk´ (TT: *-Cangurlimayi*, /C/ > /C/, 2.3.1, p.34, *ng* > *w*, 2.3.6, p.39), *-kirimi* ´make´, *-mi* ´do, say, go, be´. This last stem is also used as the stem of the auxiliary verb occurring with free form verbs in general (see 4.3.2.2, p.213). Some of these stems may occur only in the LTT production of some young people.

There are a number of differences in the forms of the stems (and affixes) in the speech of children, particularly with younger children. A number of these cases seem to be due to the child not yet having developed either the TT forms or the relatively stable changed MT forms, used by older young people.

Since there are so few examples in the MT data of independent inflected verbs, it is not easy to determine whether there are the same phonological classes of verb stems as in TT. It seems that these three classes are retained in the speech of older young people (at least in their LTT styles), though the characteristics of these classes may vary in some cases.

Class 1 verb stems, like TT class 1 verb stems, are consonant initial. Following a subject-tense prefix (except *yi-* ´he:past´ and *ji-* ´she:you(sg):past´) there may be a connective, *ri-*, as in TT (see p.158), but it is often omitted even by older young people, so that it would seem to be optional in MT (or in young people´s LTT). The connective *yi-* following the prefix *ji-* ´she/you(sg): past´ has in general been lost from the speech of young people, except in the case of the more formal speech of older young people.

Example (4-31) (MT)

(a)   *a*   – *mpi* – *(ri)* – *kuruwala/kuwala*
    she – NP – CV  – sing
    ´she is singing´

    (TT: *a* – *mpi* – *ri* – *kuruwala*)

(b)   *kalikali*  *ji*   – *mi*
    run     she:P – do
    ´she ran´

    (TT: *kalikali ji* – *yi* – *mi*)
                     CV

There are a few examples of *ri-* being replaced by *yi*.

Example (4-32) (MT)

    *ngi* – *yi* – *pini*  *pulangumoni*  *thapini*
    I   – CV – hit   dog(m)       yesterday
    ´I hit the dog yesterday.´   (MD12)

    (TT: *ngi* – *ri* – *pirni*)
              CV

In MT, the connective *ri-* and the past tense prefix *rri-* may be falling together in the speech of some young people (but not in the speech of all as *ri-* is retained in non-past forms by some, as in example 4-31(a)). In TT, the past tense form *rri-* is dropped before the connective *ri-* (see 4.2.2.1, p.172). In MT, either the *ri-* or *rri-* occur. This may depend upon the speakers (see also 2.3.8, p.43).

Example (4-33) (MT)

    *pi*      – *ri/rri* – *mi*
    they:P – CV/P    – do
    ´they did´

    (TT: *pi* – *ri* – *mi*)

Class 2 verb stems (and the emphatic prefix, *Ca-*) have a variable consonant, but because of the limited number of prefixes which occur in MT there is not the wide variety of morphological environments producing all the variants found in TT. The consonants which have been found to occur in MT are *p*, *rr* and *t*. *t* occurs on the otherwise unmarked singular imperative form,

which in many cases is also used as a free verb (with or without an auxiliary) in MT (see also 4.2.6, p.187, and 4.3.1.2, p.205). *p* occurs following subject–tense prefixes and the directional prefix (as in TT) and *rr* occurs following the durative prefix, *(wu)ji-* (as in TT; see 4.2.8.2, p.191).

Example  (4-34)  (MT)

(a)  *takuluwuni*
     see/look
     ´Look!´

     (TT:  *ta*       - *yakurluwinyi* )
           EMPH:IMP - see/look

(b)  *yi*  - *pakupuraji*                (as TT; see Table 4.2, p.150)
     he:P - fall
     ´he fell´ or ´he has fallen´

(c)  *ngi* - *ni* - *paputi*
     I   - DIR - go:up
     ´I came up´  (MW25)

     (TT:  *ngi* - *rri* - *ni* - *papurti* )
           I   - P   - DIR - go:up

(d)  *a*     - *wuji* - *rrakalinga*
     he:NP- DUR -   climb
     ´he is climbing´  (TM18)

     (TT: *a*      - *wuji* - *rrakilinga* )
          he:NP - DUR - climb

It is within the class 2 verb stems that the greatest number of variations are found in the data on the young people´s speech.  Only some of the older young people have hold of some of the morphophonological principles and can apply them.  The variants given by children are so different from each other that no generalisations can be made (see also Table 4.2, p.150).  For instance, for a picture of a girl walking, the expected TT form would be:

    *ampangurlimayi*          or    *ampijirrangurlimayi*
    *a-*  + *mpi-* + *-Cangurlimayi*    *a-*  + *mpi-* + *(wu)ji-* + *-Cangurlimayi*
    she + NP   + walk          she + NP    + DUR      + walk
    ´she walks´             or    ´she is walking´

A number of children gave approximations to the TT form (none of which could be said to be an accepted MT form), such as: *ampijingulimayi*, *ampitangulimayi*, *ampungulimayi*, *ampirriyulimayi*, *atawulimayi*, *jirrawulimayi*. The generations of some of these forms could be explained, such as: *ampitangulimayi* as *a-* ´she´ + *mpi-* ´non-past´ + *tangulimayi*, the MT free form verb, formed from the imperative; *atawulimayi* could be *a-* ´he/she´ + changed free verb form *tawulimayi*.  It seems that some children (even as old as 12 and 13 know and use certain traditional forms but are unable to generate new forms acceptable in either TT or MT.  While the stem *-Cangulimayi* or *-Cawulimayi* is known and may be used by some young people, at least in their more formal Tiwi speech (an LTT style), it is more common for the English loan *wokapat* (plus or minus an auxiliary) to be used (see 4.3.1.2, p.205, example 4-122(b)).

There are a few examples of class 3 verb stems being used by young people, the most common being -*uriyi* ´go´, -*ija* ´about to go, is going, will go´[25] and -*apa* ´eat´. These seem to be used much the same as they are in TT, i.e. with a *w* inserted in some places and with the initial vowel of the stem or the final vowel of a prefix being omitted. (Initial stem vowel *a* is never omitted, as is also the case in TT.) However, these processes do not seem to be always applied in the same places with the same prefixes and stems as in TT.

Example   (4-35)   (MT)

(a)   *yu*  - *wapa*
      he:P - eat
      ´he ate (it)´

      (as TT)

(b)   *yi*  - *n*  - *uriyi*[26]
      he:P - DIR - go
      ´he came´

      (TT: *yi* - *nu* - *wuriyi*)

In the speech of many young people a connective, *ki*- (or *ku*- before *w*) occurs before some stems. It does not seem to be general but it is common. It occurs fairly generally with the durative prefix, *(wu)ji*-, before class 1 and class 3 verb stems in place of the TT connective *ngi*-, which occurs in these situations. This may be derived from the ´evening´ prefix, *ki*-, but the meaning of ´evening´ has been lost in MT. In TT, before *k*-initial verb stems and before the ´evening´ prefix there is no connective *ngi*- (see 4.2.1.1(1), p.157).

Example   (4-36)   (TT)

(a)   *a*          - *wuji* - *ngi* - *pirni*
      he:him:NP - DUR   - CV   - hit
      ´he is hitting him´

(b)   *a*        - *wuji* - *ki*  -  *pirni*
      he:NP - DUR   - eve  -  hit
      ´he is hitting him in the evening´

Example   (4-37)   (MT)

      *a*       - *wuji* - *ki* - *pini*
      he:NP - DUR    - CV - hit
      ´he is hitting (him)´

The connective *ki*- in MT also occurs as an optional connective before the stem even without a preceding durative prefix. It may be regarded by some young people as part of certain stems, but it seems to be optional, and is not used generally by others as part of those stems.

Example   (4-38)   (MT)

(a)   *awa yi* - *nti* - *ki* - *muwu*  *awarra*
      we   we - P   - CV - sit    here
      ´We sat here.´

(b)  *yu*   - *ku* - *wapa* *awarra*
     he:P - CV - eat   that(m)
     ´He ate that.´   (RJ12)


     (cf. example 4-35(a))

There are some examples of verb stems being assigned to different classes
from TT, though these may be individual ´errors´ in some cases.

Example  (4-39)   (MT)

(a)  *a*   - *mpi* - *ru* - *wawurrini*
     she - NP  - CV - cut (class 1)
     ´it (tractor) cuts it´


     (TT:  *a* - *mp* - *awurrini*;  vs: -*awurrini*, class 3)

(b)  *pi*    - *rri* - *ku* - *punyawu*
     they:P- P   - CV - throw (class 1)
     ´they threw it´                          (RJ12)


     (TT:  *pu* - *rru* - *wunyawa*;  vs: -*unyawu*, class 3)

(c)  *ngajirri nyi*    - *mp* - *a*    - *ri* - *kutipi*  (class 1)
     don´t    you(pl) - NP - FRUST - CV - misbehave
     ´Don´t be naughty!´


     (TT:  *ngajiti nyi* - *mpa* - *ja* - *kuru(n)tipi*;  vs: -*ukuru(n)tipi*, class 3)

In MT, there is generally no division between transitive, non-transitive
and feminine verb stems as in TT (i.e. there are no differences in the
subject-tense prefixes used because of these distinctions in the stems), see
4.2.1.1(1), p.157).  There are no direct object prefixes used in MT, though
certain older young people may use some in their more formal style of Tiwi
(i.e. an LTT style).  Similarly, when the direct object is third person
singular, a different set of subject-tense prefixes is used from that in TT.
The subject-tense prefixes are discussed further in 4.2.2.2, p.176).

Example  (4-40)   (TT)


     *ji*     - *yi* - *pir(n)tangaya*     (fem. verb)
     she \:P - CV - hear
     he  /
     ´he/she heard it´

Example  (4-41)   (MT/LTT)

(a)  *yi*   - *pi(r)tangaya*
     he:P - hear
     ´he heard it´

(b)  *ji*    - *pi(r)tangaya*
     she:P - hear
     ´she heard it´

## 4.2.2  SUBJECT-TENSE PREFIXES (columns 1 and 2, Table 4.3, p.152 and Table 4.4, p.154)

### 4.2.2.1  SUBJECT-TENSE PREFIXES IN TT

As shown in Table 4.3, the subject-tense prefixes reflect the minimal-augmented system of the personal pronouns (indicating inclusion or exclusion of the speaker and addressee (see 3.3.1.1, p.100).  The two sets of prefixes are discussed together as they are closely bound, the allomorphs of the tense prefixes depending upon the subject person, and the allomorphs of the subject prefixes depending upon the tense of the verb.  In some cases there is a fused morpheme indicating subject person and tense (and in the case of transitive verbs, direct object as well), such as *yi-* ´he:past´ (in non-transitive verbs) and ´he/she:him:past´ (in transitive verbs).  It is only in the indicative and interrogative that the ´tense´ morphemes actually indicate tense, the tenses indicated being ´past´ and ´non-past´.  This distinction is lost when there is a subjunctive/irrealis or imperative, past and non-past meanings in these cases not necessarily being conveyed by the ´tense´ prefixes (see 4.2.9.1, p.193 for a further discussion of this).

It was indicated in Section 4.2.1.1(1) (p.157) that when there is a third person minimal direct object the subject-tense prefixes are different from those which occur when there are other direct objects and on most non-transitive verbs.  These subject-tense prefixes also indicate the gender of the object, and in the case of a third minimal subject the gender distinction of the subject is neutralised.  Another small class of non-transitive verb stems takes the same prefixes as transitive verb stems with a feminine third minimal direct object.  The sets of subject-tense prefixes are shown in Table 4.5.

In Table 4.5, the parentheses around the past tense prefix, *rri-*, indicate that the *rri-* is deleted immediately before the connective *ri-* before a class 1 form (see 4.2.1.1(1), p.158).  The *rri-* occurs where it is separated from the connective by another morpheme.  Before some morphemes the *i* is dropped.

Example  (4-42)  (TT)

(a)  ngi - rr - atı - rı - muwu
    I   - P  - morn - CV - sit
    ´I sat in the morning´

(b)  ngi - ri - muwu
    I    - CV - sit
    ´I sit´ or ´I sat´

Also, *rri-* does not occur before the locative prefix *(wu)ni-*.

Example  (4-43)  (TT)

ngi - ni - pakupawurli
I   - DIR - go:back
´I came back´[27]

TABLE 4.5 SUBJECT TENSE PREFIXES IN TT

| | General | Transitive | | Feminine |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 3 sg m DO | 3 sg f DO | |
| **Non-past** | | | | |
| **Minimal** | | | | |
| 1 | ngi- | ngi- | ngi-mpi- | ngi-mpi- |
| 1&2 | mu- | mu- | mu-mpi- | mu-mpi- |
| 2 | nyi-mpi- | nyi- | nyi-mpi- | nyi-mpi- |
| 3 m | a- | a- | a-mpi- | a-mpi- |
| 3 f | a-mpi- | a- | a-mpi- | a-mpi- |
| **Augmented** | | | | |
| 1 | ngi-mpi- | ngi- | ngi-mpi- | ngi-mpi- |
| 1&2 | nga- | nga- | nga-mpi- | nga-mpi- |
| 2 | ngi-mpi- | nyi- | nyi-mpi- | nyi-mpi- |
| 3 | wu-/∅ | wu-/∅ | wu-mpi- | wu-mpi- |
| **Past** | | | | |
| **Minimal** | | | | |
| 1 | ngi-(rri)- | ngi-(rri)- | ngi-nti- | ngi-nti- |
| 1&2 | mu-(rri)- | mu-(rri)- | mu-nti- | mu-nti- |
| 2 | ji- | nyi-(rri)- | nyi-nti- | nyi-nti- |
| 3 m | yi- | yi- | ji- | ji- |
| 3 f | ji- | yi- | ji- | ji- |
| **Augmented** | | | | |
| 1 | ngi-nti- | ngi-(rri)- | ngi-nti- | ngi-nti- |
| 1&2 | nga-(rri)- | nga-(rri)- | nga-nti- | nga-nti- |
| 2 | ngi-nti- | nyi-(rri)- | nyi-nti- | nyi-nti- |
| 3 | pi-(rri)- | pi-(rri)- | pi-ti- | pi-ti- |

The prefix *wu-* ´they:NP´ is elided before some morphemes, mainly before *w*-initial morphemes, but there are some examples of elision before a *t*-initial morpheme. It seems that in both cases the *wu-* may be included in careful precise speech, but not always.

Example (4-44) (TT)

(a) *yoyi   (wu)   - wuji - ngi - mi*
    dance  they:NP - DUR  - CV  - do
    ´they are dancing´

(b) *(wu)   - ti       - muji   - ngi - muwu*[28]
    they:NP - (IRREAL) - com.act - CV  - sit
    ´they are sitting doing something together´

The prefix *wu-*, ´they:non-past´ is fused with immediately following morphemes which begin with *ma*, producing /mo/ ([mwɔ], [mwʌ] or [mwɒ]).

Example  (4-45)   (TT)

    *wu*       - *mani*         - *wani* --> /moniwani/       ([mwɔnιwʌ́ni])
    they:NP - us(incl)(DO) - help
    ´they help us´

The prefix *mpi-* ´non-past:(f)´ is fused with *p*-initial morphemes which immediately follow, but it retains the prenasalisation.

The high vowel, *i*, in the various subject-tense prefixes, becomes *u* when influenced by a succeeding *w* or *ng*.  In other cases the vowel is dropped before certain morphemes.  Some examples of the use of subject-tense prefixes in TT are given in Table 4.6.

The subject prefixes for positive imperatives are: ∅ ´you(sg)´ and *nyi-* ´you(pl)´.  There are no tense prefixes in these forms.  The subject-´tense´ prefixes for other moods are discussed briefly in the appropriate sub-sections, though a detailed study is outside the scope of this work.

The present tense prefix *ə-*, described by Osborne (1974:37, 44), is treated differently in this analysis, being included as part of the locative prefix *(wu)ni-* (see 4.2.4.1, p.182), or as a separate ´obligational´ prefix (see 4.2.9.1(3), p.196).

The non-past subject-tense prefixes in indicative verbs may be used for ´present habitual´, ´present continuous´ or ´future´, depending upon the context.  The past subject-tense prefixes may be used for ´simple past´ or perfective.  Osborne says there is a future tense marked by the prefix, *Ca-*. However, I am regarding this as ´emphatic´, as it can also occur with past tense (see 4.2.6 p.186).  When occurring with non-past the sense does seem to be a ´definite future´ sense.  The durative prefix, *(wu)ji-* and the past habitual suffix, *-ani* are used when the continuous and habitual aspects are stressed (see 4.2.8.1, p.189).

Example  (4-46)   (TT)

(a)  <u>*ngi*</u>  - *pangurlimayi*
    I(NP) - walk
    ´I walk´, ´I am walking´, or ´I will walk´

(b)  <u>*ngi*</u> - <u>*rri*</u> - *pangurlimayi*
    <u>I</u>  - <u>P</u>  - walk
    ´I walked´ or ´I have walked´

Other examples of the use of the subject-tense prefixes are given in Table 4.6.

TABLE 4.6  SOME EXAMPLES OF SUBJECT-TENSE PREFIXES IN INDICATIVE VERBS IN TT

**Non-past**          **Past**

**Non-transitive**

**Class 1  verb stem:**  *-muwu* ´sit´ (*ri-* and *yi-* are connectives see
4.2.1.1(1), p.158)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ngi-ri-muwu* | *ngi-ri-muwu* | I sit/sat |
| *a-ri-muwu* | *yi-muwu* | he sits/sat |
| *a-mpi-ri-muwu* | *ji-yi-muwu* | she sits/sat |

**Class 2  verb stem:**  *-Cangurlimayi* ´walk´

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ngi-pangurlimayi* | *ngi-rri-pangurlimayi* | I walk/walked |
| *a-pangurlimayi* | *yi-pangurlimayi* | he walks/walked |
| *a-mpangurlimayi* | *ji-pangurlimayi* | she walks/walked |

**Class 3  verb stem:**  *-apa* ´eat´

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ngu-wapa* | *ngu-rru-wapa* | I eat/ate |
| *a-wapa* | *yu-wapa* | he eats/ate |
| *a-mp-apa* | *ju-wapa* | she eats/ate |

**Transitive**

**Class 1  verb stem:**  *-pirni* ´hit, kill´

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ngi-ri-pirni* | *ngi-ri-pirni* | I hit him |
| *ñgi-mpi-ri-pirni* | *ngi-nti-ri-pirni* | I hit her |
| *a-mini-pirni* | *yi-mini-pirni* | he hits/hit me |
| *a-mpi-ngini-pirni* | *ji-mini-pirni* | she hits/hit me |
| *a-ri-pirni* | *yi-pirni* | he/she hits/hit <u>him</u> |
| *a-mpi-ri-pirni* | *ji-yi-pirni* | he/she hits/hit <u>her</u> |

**Class 2  verb stem:**  *-Camangi* ´look after´

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ngi-pamangi* | *ngi-rri-pamangi* | I look/looked after him |
| *ngi-mpamangi* | *ngi-nti-pamangi* | I look/looked after her |
| *a-min-tamangi* | *yi-min-tamangi* | he looks/looked after me |
| *a-mpi-ngin-tamangi* | *ji-min-tamangi* | she looks/looked after me |
| *a-pamangi* | *yi-pamangi* | he/she looks/looked after <u>him</u> |
| *a-mpamangi* | *ji-pamangi* | he/she looks/looked after <u>her</u> |

**Class 3  verb stem:**  *-unyayi* ´find´

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ngu-wunyayi* | *ngu-rru-wunyayi* | I find/found him |
| *ngu-mp-unyayi* | *ngu-ntu-wunyayi* | I find/found her |
| *a-min-unyayi* | *yi-min-unyayi* | he finds/found me |
| *a-mpi-ngin-unyayi* | *ji-min-unyayi* | she finds/found me |
| *a-wunyayi* | *yu-wunyayi* | he/she finds/found <u>him</u> |
| *a-mp-unyayi* | *ju-wunyayi* | he/she finds/found <u>her</u> |

TABLE 4.6 (continued)

**Non-past**                    **Past**

**Feminine**

**Class 1  verb stem:**  *-kuruwala* ´sing´

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ngi-mpi-ri-kuruwala* | *ngi-nti-ri-kuruwala* | I sing/sang |
| *a-mpi-ri-kuruwala* | *ji-yi-kuruwala* | he/she sings/sang |

**Class 2  verb stem:**  *-Calami* ´load (something)´

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ngi-mpalami* | *ngi-nti-palami* | I load/loaded |
| *a-mpalami* | *ji-palami* | he/she loads/loaded |

**Class 3  verb stem:**  *-urughi* ´put down (something)´

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ngu-mp-urughi* | *ngi-ntu-wurughi* | I put down |
| *a-mp-urughi* | *ju-wurughi* | he/she puts/put down |

### 4.2.2.2  SUBJECT-TENSE PREFIXES IN MT

Within the speech of young people there are many differences in the subject-tense prefixes. Some of these are due to sound changes discussed in chapter 2, such as the loss of initial *ng*. Many of the differences in children´s speech are individualistic due to lack of acquisition of an acceptable MT form. However, there are a number of general changes which indicate changes in the system. As has been pointed out in 4.2.1.2, p.167, the distinction between transitive and non-transitive (and feminine) verb stems has been lost. There is still a syntactic and semantic distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs, but this is not marked morphologically on the inflected verb (see 6.3.2.2, p.273).

Also, as in the personal pronouns (see 3.3.1.2, p.102), the person-number system is being changed from a minimal-augmented system to a singular-plural one. Some of the older young people know and use the subject prefix *mu-* ´you(sg) and I´ (mainly in their LTT production), but not many. There are more examples of the prefix *nga-* but it is no longer used to mean ´we(incl)´ as distinct from ´we(excl)´. In general, *nga-* or the changed form, *a-*, is used for ´we´ for non-past. It was occasionally given with the past tense prefix *rri-* (or the connective *ri-* before class 1 stems), though the more common prefixes for ´we:PAST´ were *ngi-nti-* or *yi-nti-*. The subject-tense prefixes generally used in MT are given in Table 4.7.

The variation of the high vowel /i/ to /u/ before /w/ (as in TT) is not shown in the table, but is apparent in a number of the examples.

Example  (4-47)  (MT)

(a)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{ngu} \\ \underline{yu} \end{array} \right\}$ - *witha*
    I        - go(non-past)
    ´I´m going´

(b) $\left\{\begin{array}{c} \underline{ngi} \\ \underline{yi} \end{array}\right\}$ - rr - uriyi
    I      - P - go(past)
    ´I went´

Example (4-48) (MT)

(a) *kalikali*   *ji*    - *mi*
    run      she:P - do
    ´she ran´

(b) *ji*     - *pini pulangumoni*
    she:P - hit  dog(m)
    ´She hit the dog.´

Example (4-49) (MT)

    *maka* *ni*      - *mp* - *itha*
    where you(sg) - NP - go(non-past)
    ´Where are you going?´

Example (4-50) (MT)

    $\left\{\begin{array}{c} nga \\ a \end{array}\right\}$ - *rri/ri* - *pini*   or $\left\{\begin{array}{c} ngi \\ yi \end{array}\right\}$ - *nti* - *(ri)* - *pini*[30]
    we       - P/CV  - hit     we      - P  - CV  - hit
    ´we hit him/her/it´

TABLE 4.7 SUBJECT-TENSE PREFIXES IN MT

|  | **Non-past** | **Past** |
|---|---|---|
| **Singular** | | |
| 1 | $\left\{\begin{array}{c} ngi- \\ yi- \end{array}\right\}$ | $\left.\begin{array}{c} ngi- \\ yi- \end{array}\right\}$   (rri)-   (nti)- |
| 2 | $\left\{\begin{array}{c} nyi- \\ ni- \end{array}\right\}$ mpi-[29] | ji- |
| 3 m | a- | yi- |
| 3 f | a- mpi- | ji- |
| **Plural** | | |
| 1 | $\left\{\begin{array}{c} nga- \\ a- \end{array}\right\}$ | $\left\{\begin{array}{c} ngi- \\ yi- \end{array}\right\}$ nti- or $\left\{\begin{array}{c} nga- \\ a- \end{array}\right\}$ (rri-) |
| 2 | $\left\{\begin{array}{c} \left\{\begin{array}{c} ngi- \\ yi- \\ nu- \end{array}\right\} mpi- \end{array}\right.$ | $\left\{\begin{array}{c} ngi- \\ yi- \end{array}\right\}$ nti- |
| 3 | $\left\{\begin{array}{c} wu- \\ \emptyset \end{array}\right\}$ | $\left\{\begin{array}{cc} pi- & (rri-) \\ pi- & ti- \end{array}\right\}$ |

Example  (4-51)  (MT)

> *nuwa*      *nu*       - *witha*[31]
> you(pl)  you(pl) - go (non-past)
> ´you(pl) are going´                    (PP23)

With the stem -*uriyi* ´go(past)´ the form *anturiyi* is used for ´we went´
(both inclusive and/or exclusive).  The TT forms are: *ngintuwuriyi (ngi-*
´we(excl)´ + *nti-* ´past´ + -*uriyi* ´go´) ´we(excl) went´, *ngarruwuriyi (nga-*
´we(incl)´ + *rri-* ´past´ + -*uriyi* ´go´) ´we(incl) went´ (see Tables 4.5 and
4.6).[32]

The examples of inflected verbs in MT, both independent and auxiliary
verbs, are found mainly in the formally elicited material and the stories given
in ´language´.  There are very few examples in the spontaneous speech samples.
Since the tense used in the stories is mainly past tense, not much can be said
about the acquisition of the non-past subject-tense prefixes, as there are so
few examples over all.  It is only in the more formal language of older young
people that the non-past forms occur, either as inflected independent verbs or
as inflected auxiliary verbs (see 4.3.2.2, p.213).  In casual Modern Tiwi and
also in Children´s Tiwi, tense is generally unmarked (though a tense/aspect
word *pin* may be used with a free form verb, see 4.3.3, p.214).  Often a free
form verb is used for both non-past and past, sometimes with a temporal word if
the context does not make the time setting clear.  This is in line with what
Lyons says that not all languages have ´tense´ but it is probably true to say
that all languages nave various particles for time which ´provide means when
necessary of drawing deictic temporal distinctions.´ (Lyons 1977b:679).

According to Foss and Hakes the development of the child´s concept of
tense or time is a relatively late one.  They say (1978:276):

> Children need to be able to decenter attention from their
> own immediate (i.e. present) situation.  i.e.
> distinguishing between the ´then´ and ´now´ requires being
> able to focus on the relationship between what happened
> earlier and the present.  The ability to engage in this
> kind of decentering develops only slowly, over a period of
> years.

It would seem that when this distinction between non-past and past is
recognised, the use of the tense/aspect word *pin* is developed.  Later, in more
formal speech (i.e. closer to the TT model), a past form consisting of a
subject-tense past prefix with a Tiwi stem is developed (either as a common
independent verb, cf. 4.2.1.2, p.167, or as an auxiliary verb, cf. 4.3.2.2,
p.213).

With regard to the past tense prefixes, there is clear evidence that the
forms *yi-* (TT/MT: ´he:past´) and *ji-* (TT/MT: ´she:past´) are acquired before
other past tense subject prefixes.  There are some examples of these forms in
the speech of young children, particularly *ji-*, which is often generalised to
mean any person.[33]

Example  (4-52)  (CT)

(a)  *yiya* *ju* - *wuriyi*  *nakurrawu*
     I    P  - go      there
     ´I went over there.´   (CP7)

(b) *amom ji - mi*
eat  P  - do
´I/we ate´   (CB9)

(c) <u>*ya-yuwuni*</u>          *ji - pini      kiripuka*
my-older:brother  P - hit/kill  crab
´My older brother killed a crab.´   (CB9)

Usually, by 9 or 10 years old, these third singular forms are used correctly (and possibly some others as well) and in MT these and the non-past forms for third person are stable.  However, as will be seen from Table 4.7, other forms are not as stable and there are variant forms for other persons. This may be due to the fact that in TT the forms for the first and second persons are homophonous (see Table 4.5, p.173).  For instance, *ngi- mpi-* can mean ´we(excl):non-past´ or ´you(pl): non-past´ or with a transitive verb with a third singular feminine direct object: ´we (excl)/you(pl)/I:her:non-past´.

As yet, there do not seem to be any overall rules for the choice of one variant over another, though some individuals may have rules for their own choice of prefixes; for instance, *ngi- rri-* versus *ngi- nti-* for ´I:past´. Such a rule may be that *rri-* occurs with class 2 verb stems and *nti-* with class 1 and 3 verb stems.  This rule seems to be applied by one ten year old girl, though it is not a general rule.  The examples in 4-53 are all from this 10-year-old girl.

Example  (4-53)   (MT)

(a) *ngiya  ngi-nti-ri-pini*       (class 1)      ´I hit himD´

(b) *ngiya  ngi-rri-pakulwuni*     (class 2)      ´I saw him´

(c) *ngiya  ngi-ntu-wunyayi*       (class 3)      ´I found him´

(d) *ngiya  ngi-ntu-wunyawu yiloya*  (class 3)      ´I threw the ball´

(e) *ngiya  ngi-ntu-wuriyi*        (class 3)      ´I went´

A more common rule seems to be the use of *ngi/yi - rri* for ´I:past´ and *ngi-/yi- nti-* for ´we:past´, but again this is not general.


## 4.2.3  DIRECT AND INDIRECT OBJECT PREFIXES (column 7, Table 4.3, p.152)


### 4.2.3.1  DIRECT AND INDIRECT OBJECT PREFIXES IN TT

As discussed in 4.2.1.1, the occurrence of the direct object (DO) prefixes in TT is the main criterion for distinguishing transitive from non-transitive verb stems.  The DO and IO prefixes are mutually exclusive, the latter prefixes normally occurring in non-transitive verbs.  An IO prefix may occur in a transitive verb only when the DO is third person singular.[34]

Example  (4-54)

ngarra     *ji*                - *rupu*      - *rrangiparighi*
           ⎧ he ⎫
he         ⎨ she ⎬ : her:P - them(IO) - wake:up:CAUS
           ⎩    ⎭
´He woke her up for them.´

The nominal arguments to which the IO prefixes refer cover a much wider range of meanings than those normally covered by the term.  The most general sense is benefactive, but there are other ways in which they are used, as can be seen by examples 4-56 (b,c) (see also 6.2.1.1(3) p.250).  Conversely, they do not occur with ditransitive verbs as indirect objects in English do (see 6.3.2.1, p.270).  The DO and IO prefixes are given in Table 4.8, with most of the variants in parentheses.  The variant forms occur in different morphological and grammatical environments. In general, the initial *m* becomes *ng* following the tense prefix *mpi-*, the frustrative prefix *(w)a-*, and the subjunctive prefix *ma-*,[35] as well as initially (i.e. in a singular imperative verb, where the DO prefix occurs first).  There are a number of irregularities with the third person IO prefixes, but a lengthy discussion of these and the variations for other prefixes is outside the scope of the thesis.  (For a fairly detailed account of the variations of the IO prefixes see Osborne (1974:27)).[36]  The final vowel of the DO prefix is dropped preceding class 2 and 3 verb stems and incorporated forms and before the emphatic prefix *Ca-*.  In general, the final vowel of the IO prefix is dropped before class 3 forms but is retained before class 2 forms and the emphatic prefix.  The variable consonant of the class 2 forms and the emphatic prefix is a stop following a DO prefix.  The stop is assimilated to the point of articulation of the final nasal of the prefix, producing a prenasalised stop (as in examples 4-55 (a, b)).  Following an IO prefix, this consonant becomes *rr* (see example 4-56 (b)).

TABLE 4.8  DIRECT AND INDIRECT OBJECT PREFIXES IN TT

| Direct Object | Indirect Object |
|---|---|
| **Minimal** | |
| 1   *mini- (min-, ngini-, ngin-)* | *mi- (ngi-)* |
| 1/2  *mani- (man-, ngani-, ngan-)* | *ma- (nga-)* |
| 2   *minyi- (miny-, nginyi-, nginy-)* | *minji- (nginji-)* |
| 3 m  ∅ | *mi- (ni-, anti-, (n)ti-)* |
| 3 f  ∅ | *mirri- (mirr-, ngirr-, ngirr-,* |
|  | *mi(n)-, ngi(n)-)* |
| **Augmented** | |
| 1   *muwuni- (muwun-, nguwuni-, nguwun-)* | *mupi- (mup-, ngupi-, ngup-)* |
| 1/2  *mani- (man-, ngani-, ngan-)* | *ma- (nga-)* |
| 2   *mani- (man-, ngani-, ngan-)* | *miki- (niki-)* |
| 3   *wuni- (wun-)* | *ripi- (pi-, wupi-)* |

Example  (4-55)   (TT)  direct objects

(a)  *taringa a - mpi - ni - miny*[37]      - *ja*   - *kiyarri*
     snake she - NP  - LOC- you(sg)(DO)- EMPH - scare
     ´A snake scares you there.´

(b) *karluwu  yi    - ma   - ngan   - takirayi kuwinawini*[38]
    not      he(P) - SBVE - us(DO) - give    money
    ´He won´t give us any money.´

Example (4-56)  (TT)  indirect objects

(a) *piraya - la ngi    - mpi - ripu     -  warla - mi*
    pray  - REP we(excl)- NP - them(IO) -  spirit - do
    ´We pray for the dead.´

(b) *ngarra awarra  yi  - mupi         - rrupujinga - mi*
    he      that(m) he:P - us(IO)(excl) - talk     - do

    ´He said that to us.´

(c) *pokayini ngi      - ntu - wa   - ngirri - majil - apa...*
    play     we(excl)- P  - FRUST - her(IO) - do    - FOCUS
    ´We tried to play with her (but with no success)...´

There are some verbs which always take an IO prefix, such as -*kirima* ´do
to someone´, the verbs meaning ´to die´ (in which case the IO is the person
dying and the subject is an impersonal feminine subject prefix), and verbs of
´spearing´ (which are feminine verbs and the IO prefix refers to the person or
animal speared).

Example (4-57)  (TT)

(a) *awungana ji       - ma   - pu      - ki - kirima*
    what?    you(sg)(P)- SBVE - them(IO)- eve - do:to
    ´What would you do to them tonight?´

(b) *a   - mpi - ripi    - rrarawami*
    she - NP  - them(IO) - die
    ´they die´

(c) *pi     - ti - mirri   - kupur - ani  awinyirra kurlinjila*[39]
    they:P - P:f - her(IO) - spear - P:HAB that(f)   spear
    ´They would spear her (wallaby) with the wallaby spear.´


## 4.2.3.2 DIRECT AND INDIRECT OBJECT PREFIXES IN MT

There are very few examples of either DO or IO prefixes in the speech of
young people.  Certain older young people seem to know and be able to use some
forms of them, but in general they do not occur in the normal speech of young
people and the direct and indirect objects are indicated in different ways (see
6.2.2.1 p.255f).  All the examples given below are from the formally elicited
materials or from some formal written material[40] (i.e. from LTT styles).  These
prefixes are not included in Table 4.4 as they are not considered as typical of
MT, and are even less common than those included in parentheses in Table 4.4.

Example  (4-58)  (LTT)

(a)  *a    - wun    - tamangi   yanamurli*
     he:NP - them(DO)- look:after animal
     ´He looks after animals.´   (TM18)

     (as TT)

(b)  *ngiya pi    - rri - min    - tiyarra ngini yoyi  tami*
     me     they:P - P   - me(DO) - tell    that  dance do(IMP)
     ´They told me to dance.´   (LB33)

     (as TT)

     In at least one case an IO prefix is used for a DO, though this may just
be a case of a sound change of ny to j (cf. 2.3.7).

Example  (4-59)  (LTT)

     *ngi - minji       - pirni*
     I    - you(IO/DO?) - hit
     ´I will hit you´          (LB33)

     (TT: *ngi - minyi   -  pirni)*
               you(sg)(DO)

     There are a few examples of one of the verb stems meaning ´to die´ but the
IO prefix is either omitted or there is a fixed IO form, *mirri* ´her(IO)´ and a
subject-tense prefix referring to the person dying (cf. the TT form, as in
example 4-57(b).  Both examples in 4-60 are given by the same person (aged 21
years).

Example  (4-60)  (LTT)

(a)  *karri ngiya a   - mpi - rrarawami*
     when  I      she - NP  - die
     ´when I die´  (PP21)

(b)  *karri yi    - mirri    - kura*
     when  he:p  -  her(IO?) - die
     ´when he died´

(c)  *karri ji    - mirri   -  kura*
     when  she:p - her(IO?) -  die
     ´when she died´  (PP21)

## 4.2.4  LOCATIVE AND STANCE AFFIXES (columns 3, 9 and 18, Table 4.3, p.152, and Table 4.4, p.154)

### 4.2.4.1  LOCATIVE AND STANCE AFFIXES IN TT

     In TT, there are two types of locative prefixes.  It is difficult to
determine the precise distinction in their use in some cases, but basically the
prefix *(wu)ni-* seems generally to mean ´distance´ and the prefixes *Ci-(ngi-)* to

mean ´away from camp (or the normal sphere of activities(?))´. These are only very general meanings and the distance implied is only relative. Some of the difficulty in determining the use and meaning may be because these are changing, but it is difficult to sort out from the data what may be ´really traditional´ meanings and what may be innovative ones. Again, this is outside the scope of this work. Both prefixes can refer to ´distance´ in time as well as space.

Example (4-61) (TT)

(a)  kapi     nuwa      yintaghi  ngi      - mpi - _ni_       - man    - tumori
     who(pl)  you(pl)   later     you(pl) - NP  - dist:time - us(DO) - leave
     ´you who will leave us in the future´

(b)  yipala                  pi     - _pungi_    - wa    - yampunya
     promise/arrangement     they:P - away:time - words - follow
     ´They made that promise/arrangement a long time ago.´

The two prefixes do not usually co-occur. They may, however, but it is not clear why.

Example (4-62) (TT)

     kuta  kamini  a      - _wuni_     - _pi_[41]     - rriti
     maybe what?   he:NP - dist:time - away:time - stand
     ´I don´t know what will happen in the future.´

(1) The prefix, (wu)ni-

The form wuni- is used with the non-past and the form ni- is used with the past. wuni- normally becomes ni- following the non-past prefix mpi-, but it may remain as the full form in slow precise speech. The past tense form rri- does not occur when there is a locative, ni-. Besides the time sense discussed earlier, there are two basic meanings for this prefix, ´locative´ (in the distance) and ´directional´ (to here from a relative distance) used with verbs of motion.

Example (4-63) (TT) ´at a distance´

(a)  pi     - _ni_ - pirrortighi
     they:P - LOC - father
     ´they fathered him over there´ (i.e. a man and his brother)

(b)  a     - _wuni_ - ri - mili
     he:NP - LOC - CV - sleep
     ´he will sleep over there´

Example (4-64) (TT) ´directional´

(a)  karri yinkitayi a      - mpi - _ni_ - wij - apa ...
     when  close      she: - NP  - DIR - go  - FOCUS
     ´when she comes close´

(b)  kali yi  - _ni_ - ri - mi
     run  he:P - DIR - CV - do
     ´he ran here´

(2) The stance prefix *Ci(ngi)-*.

The most common variant of *C* is *p* (and *i* --> *u*), but it becomes *rr* following the durative prefix *(wu)ji-* (as in example 4-65(d)). The form *Ci(ngi)-* occurs before class 1 and 3 verb stems and incorporated forms, though before class 3 forms the final vowel of the prefix is dropped (cf. connective *ngi-*, 4.2.1.1(1), p.157). The form *Ci-* occurs before class 2 incorporated forms and verb stems and the emphatic prefix *Ca-*, with the second *C* becoming *rr*. Following the direct object and indirect object prefixes, the form is just *ngi-*.[42]

The most common meaning is ´out bush´ or ´away from camp´. Osborne gives the basic meaning as ´standing up´, but this seems rather to be an extension of the meaning (see Osborne, 1974:46). It is not always clear what the meaning is but in some cases it seems to mean ´extending over a large area´. Some examples of the use of the prefix are given below.

Example (4-65)

(a) *ngi        - rri - pi   - rrakurluwunyi - ani*
    we(excl) - P   - away - see           - P:hab
    ´We would see it (the bush place).´

(b) *awunganila    yinkitila ngi       - rri - pungi - pirn - ani*
    like:that:REP food:REP   we(excl) - P   - away  - hit  - P:hab
    ´We would keep catching food in the bush.´

(c) *yi   - mini   - ngi   - miji*
    he:P - me(DO) - away  - run:over
    ´He ran over me out bush.´

(d) *kalikali  nga       - rru - wuji - rringi  - makirringi - mi*
    run        we(incl) - P   - DUR  - away    - fright     - do
    ´we were running in fright (all over the place)´

Another prefix related to this one (in order and perhaps in sense) is the prefix *Cirraya-*, the *C* having the same variants as the *C* of *Ci(ngi)-*. Following the durative prefix the initial *Ci* is dropped. This prefix generally means ´walking along´ (mainly in travelling away from camp). There are very few good examples in the data and the various forms and meanings are not clear. Osborne gives a brief discussion (1974:46).

Example (4-66)

    *ngi - pirraya         - mangapa*
    I   - walking:along - drink
    ´I´ll drink    while I´m walking along   ´
                   along the way

(3) The locative suffix *-wa*.

This occurs instead of the locative prefix *(wu)ni-*, on positive imperative and hortatory (or obligational) verbs, with the same senses as the locative prefix (see 4.2.4, p.182). A stem-final high vowel becomes *u* before the *w*. Following a stem-final *a*, the suffix becomes *-pa*. This variant also occurs following the stem *-uriyi* ´go´.

Example (4-67)

(a)   *nyi*          - *rramang*    - *amiya* - *pa*
      IMP:you(pl) - look:after - REFLEX - LOC

      ´Look after yourselves over there!´

(b)   *ta*          - *yapipirray* - *amighu* - <u>*wa*</u>
      IMP:EMPH - go:down      - CAUS   - LOC
      ´Cause him/her to go down over there!´


## 4.2.4.2  LOCATIVE AND STANCE PREFIXES IN MT

The stance prefix does not occur in the speech of young people.  Examples of the locative prefix (*wu*)*ni*- have only the locative and directional senses (not the sense of distance in time).  There are not many examples of this prefix and most of these occur in the LTT style of older young people (as example 4-68(c)) (none in the speech of children under about 12).  The prefix combined with the stem -*uriyi* ´go´ seems to have become a frozen stem, -*nuriyi* ´come´ in the speech of many young people, being the only way in which they use the prefix (as in example 4-68(d)).  The form *ni*- is often used for the non-past form (instead of the TT non-past form, (*wu*)*ni*-).

Example (4-68)   (MT)

(a)   *nyirra  ji*    - <u>*ni*</u> - *ri* - *mi*   *from Wiyuwu*
      she      she:P - DIR - CV - go   from Nguiu
      ´She came from Nguiu.´   (LB33)

(b)   *yitha    awarri ji*      - <u>*nu*</u> - *wuriyi*
      you(sg) when    you(sg) - DIR - go
      ´When did you come?´   (DM14)

(c)   *ngarra wiyi awuriyi a*      - <u>*ni*</u> - *ri* - *mangapa*    *winga kapi klap*
      he      will he:go   he:NP - LOC - CV - drink        beer   PREP club
      ´He goes to drink beer over there at the club.´   (PP21)

(d)   *yi*   - <u>*nuriyi*</u>   *from  Putawani*
      he:P - come      from  Darwin
      ´He came from Darwin.´

There is at least one example of a boy using *li*- instead of *ni*-.  I have not come across any more examples of this, though there is some alternation of *n* and *l* in the speech of older people in TT (see 2.2.6, p.31).

Example (4-69)   (MT)

      *arra arripleyn a*      - <u>*li*</u> - *k*  - *itha*
      he    plane       he:NP - DIR - CV - go:NP
      ´The plane is coming.´

The only example of the locative suffix in MT is in the word *tuwaripa* (*ta*- ´EMPH:IMP´ + -*uriyi* ´go´ + -*pa* ´come here!´ (as in TT)), though the free form verb *kali* is more commonly used.

#### 4.2.5 TEMPORAL PREFIXES (columns 6 and 12, Table 4.3, p.152, and Table 4.4, p.154)

There are two temporal prefixes in TT, (w)ati-, meaning ´in the morning´ and ki- ´in the evening/night´. The different positions in the verb (see Table 4.3) are probably due to their having arisen in different ways.[43] (w)ati- behaves like class 3 forms in some ways in that it sometimes has a w inserted and at other times the final vowel of the preceding prefix is dropped. There may or may not be temporal words external to the verb as well as the temporal prefixes.

Example (4-70)

(a) pi      – rr – <u>ati</u>  – pangupari
    they:P – P – morn – wake:up
    ´they woke up in the morning´

(b) ngi       – nti – ri – <u>ki</u>  – yawuriji
    we(excl) – P    – CV – eve – go:in
    ´we went inside in the evening´

Neither of these prefixes is used in MT with these temporal meanings. As mentioned in 4.2.1.2 (p.167) the prefix ki- is used as an optional connective or as part of the stem in the speech of some young people. In general, the prefix (w)ati- is lost from MT, though some older young people did give it in some elicited expressions (but it seemed to have more the meaning of ´future´).

#### 4.2.6 EMPHATIC PREFIX (column 10, Table 4.3, p.152, and Table 4.4, p.154)

The prefix Ca- can occur with all moods. Osborne gives the meaning as ´future´ or ´imperative´. However, future time is also covered by non-past subject-tense prefixes and the prefix Ca- can also be used with past tense. It generally seems to be used for emphasis. The combination of this prefix with the various mood or aspect prefixes is discussed in the appropriate sub-sections. The initial consonant varies, depending upon the preceding prefix and mood (see Osborne 1974:28). It seems to vary in the same way as the variable consonant of class 2 forms.

Example (4-71)   (TT)

(a) jikipirti  yi  – miny   – <u>ja</u>  – pirni
    sneeze/cold he:P – you(sg) – EMPH – hit
    ´you <u>sneezed</u>´   (see note 37)

(b) mu       – <u>pa</u> – apa
    you:&:I – EMPH– eat
    ´you and I <u>will</u> eat´

The prefix Ca-, normally also occurs in imperative and hortative verbs, but not necessarily (cf. examples 4-92 and 4-93). It is always present in a singular imperative, at least when there is no other verbal prefix in the verb. It seems the nucleus cannot stand alone and the minimal imperative subject prefix is ∅, so the Ca- must occur. When the Ca- occurs initially in such a verb, the variable consonant is t. It is also t when the mood is

non-indicative and there is no preceding mood prefix (or the preceding mood
prefix is Ø, see example 4-72(c)).  It is *rr* in augmented imperative forms and
in hortative verbs, following the obligational prefix *wu-* as in examples 4-72
(b) and (d).

Example  (4-72)   (TT)

(a)  *ta*        - *yakupawurli*
     EMPH:IMP - go:back
     ´(You(sg)) go back!´

(b)  *kalikali  nyi        - rra - makirringi - mi*
     run        you(pl):IMP - EMPH - fright      - do
     ´You(pl) run in fright!´

(c)  *kuwani  a        - ta           - yalikinga?*
     who(m)  he:NP - EMPH(IRREAL) - climb
     ´Whoever can climb it?´

(d)  *nginja  awarra  a       - wu - rra - marri - miringarra*
     you(sg) that(m) he:NP - OBL- EMPH -  CON.M - live
     ´That man should marry you.´

There are a few examples of this prefix in MT used in indicative verbs, in
all cases being *pa-*.[44]  It is used in both past and non-past and in each case
is used for emphasis.

Example  (4-73)   (MT)

(a)  *ngiya  ngu  - pu   - wariyi*[45] *shop  anapini*
     I       I:NP - EMPH - go        shop  soon
     ´I <u>will</u> go to the shop soon.´    (PP23)

(b)  *kam  pak  yi  - pa  - mi*
     come back he:P - EMPH - do
     ´he <u>came</u> back´    (DB12)

There are a number of examples of the form, *ta-*, occurring initially in an
imperative verb,[46] generally without any other verbal prefix.  This form occurs
for all imperatives, both singular and plural (i.e. the form *ta-* + verb stem).
Before class 2 stems with initial *Ca*, the *Ca* of the stem (normally *ya* in TT)
and the prefix *Ca-* amalgamate, becoming a single *Ca* (*ta* in imperative forms, as
in example 4-74 (b)).

Example ·(4-74)   (MT)

(a)  *ta - yiti*
     imp - stand
     ´Stand!´

(b)  *takuluwuni*
     ´Look!´
     (TT: *ta-* + *-Cakuluwuni --> tayakurluwinyi*)

### 4.2.7  VOICE SUFFIXES (column 15, Table 4.3, p.152, and Table 4.4, p.154)

There are four first order suffixes in TT (i.e.  occurring immediately following the verb stem) which are mutually exclusive.  They are grouped together as ´voice´ suffixes, because each basically has an effect upon the relationship between the subject and/or object participants and the verb stem (see Nida 1974:168).  These are: *-amiya* ´reflexive´, *-ajirri* ´reciprocal´, *-amighi* ´causative´ and *anyimi* ´completive´.  The causative and reflexive suffixes have a shortened form *-(i)ghi* on some verbs, e.g. *-Camarnipa* ´to get up (itr)´, *-Camarnipaghi* ´to lift´ or ´cause to get up´.[47]  See also 3.3.2.4, (p.111) with regard to the reflexive and reciprocal suffixes on pronouns.  The causative suffix transforms a non-transitive verb stem to a transitive one.  In all cases the final stem vowel is elided with the addition of these suffixes.

Example  (4-75)   (TT)

(a)  *ngi - ri - pirn - amiya*
    I   - CV - hit  - REFLEX
    ´I hit myself´

(b)  *pi    - ri - pirn   - ajirri - ani*
    they:P- CV - {kill - RECIP  - P:HAB
               {hit
    ´they used to  {kill one another´
                {hit

(c)  *kuwayi nga      - wu  - rra  - ngantingi - m  - ajirri*
    call   we(incl) - OBL - EMPH - mangroves - do - RECIP
    ´we should call out to each other in the mangroves´

(d)  *pi     - ti       - ri - muw - amighi*
    they:P - P:her(DO)- CV - sit - CAUS
    ´they caused her to sit´

(e)  *yu   - wa   - ri - wunjirrik - unyaw - anyimi*[48]
    he:P -  FRUST- CV - everything - throw - CPVE
    ´he tried unsuccessfully to throw everything out completely

In my MT corpus there are very few examples of any of these suffixes, the only ones for which there are examples being *-ajirri* (or *-athirri*) ´reciprocal´ and *-anyimi* ´completive´ (only one example).  In some cases there are different morphophonological processes used (such as the retention of the final stem vowel, as in example 4-76(b)).  There are also some differences from TT in their uses, such as the addition of the reciprocal suffix on to the verb stem *-Capijingi*, which in TT only takes a plural subject-tense prefix and means in itself ´meet each other´ (as in example 4-76(c)); or the addition of the reciprocal suffix to a free verb form (as in example 4-77).

Example  (4-76)   (MT or LTT?) (inflected verbs)

(a)  *pi     - rru - wuriy - anyimi maminikuwi plakiji*[49]
    they:P - P   - go    - CPVE   women       blackies
    ´All the women and blackies went (to the bush).´  (PP23)

(b)  *wuji     - ki - pini - yajirri*
    they:DUR - CV - hit  - RECIP
    ´they are hitting each other´

(c) *pu*     - *rri* - *papijing* - <u>*ajirri*</u>
     they:P - P  - meet     - RECIP
     ´they met each other´

Example (4-77)   (MT) (free form verb)

     wurra        { *pujim* - <u>*ajirri*</u>
                   { *kikim* - <u>*ajirri*</u>

     they          { push - RECIP
                   { kick - RECIP
     ´they are pushing each other/kicking each other´

The function of the reflexive verbal suffix of TT seems to have been taken over by the reflexive pronoun in MT (see 3.3.2.4, p.112), the TT completive suffix by the quantifying adjective *tayikuwapi* (see 3.2.4, p.91) or the adverb *raythrru* (see 3.5.3, p.135), and the TT causative suffix by the free verb form *meykim*.


### 4.2.8 ASPECT AFFIXES (columns 8, 16, 17, Table 4.3, p.152 and Table 4.4, p.154)


#### 4.2.8.1 ASPECT AFFIXES IN TT

In TT the aspect prefixes are: *(wu)ji*-[50] ´durative´ and *wi*- or *yi*- ´inceptive´. The aspect suffixes are: *-ami* ´movement´ and *-ani* ´past habitual´ or ´past repetitive´. These may occur alone or in combination with each other, giving various meanings. The aspect prefixes do not co-occur, but each may occur with one or both of the suffixes. The durative prefix can generally be translated as ´is/was doing´ etc., but not in all cases. In the non-past it can also mean habitually or for a long time. It is outside the scope of this work to go into all the ways in which these affixes are used and further investigation of them needs to be carried out. Some examples of the durative prefix and/or the movement and past habitual suffixes are given here. There are various morphophonemic variations (see Osborne 1974:27-28, 32-33). The prefix *(wu)ji*- takes a connective, *ng(i)*- before classes 1 and 3 verb stems and incorporated forms (except when the stem or form is *k*-initial.

Example (4-78)   (TT)

(a) *a*      - <u>*wuji*</u> - *kurungumi*
     he:NP - DUR  - dig
     ´he is digging (right now)´

(b) *wuni*       - *watu* - <u>*wunji*</u> - *rrangiragha*
     they:NP:LOC - morn - DUR     - speak
     ´they always speak over there in the morning´
     (referring to news on the radio from Darwin)

(c) *nga*       - <u>*wunji*</u> - *rrapunya* - *mami*[51]
     we(incl) - DUR   - follow    - MV
     ´we always follow that one (wherever he goes)´

(d) *pi    - rri - mini   - <u>wuji</u> - ngi - pirni*
    they:P - P   - me(DO) - DUR  - CV  - hit
    ´they were hitting me´

(e) *pi     - tu - <u>wuji</u> - ki - yanga      - mini*[52]
    they:P - P:f - DUR  - eve - play:guitars - REP
    ´they were playing guitars in the evening´  or
    ´they kept playing guitars all evening(?)´

(f) *awunganila a  - mpi - ni - ma    - jirrakirningi - m - <u>ami</u>*
    like:that  she - NP  - LOC - CON.M - light        - do - MV
    ´she moves over there with a light´

(g) *kularlagha a  - mpi - <u>ji</u> - ngi -*[53] *ki - ma - <u>mami</u>*
    search:for she - NP  - DUR - away(?) - eve - do - MV
    ´she moves around at night searching for (food)´

(h) *pakinya yoyi   pi    - rru - <u>wuji</u> - ngi - m - am - <u>ani</u>*
    first    dance they:P - P   - DUR  - CV  - do - MV - HAB
    ´First they would dance for awhile at one place and then move to
    another place.´ (?)


(i) *Saturday nga     - <u>wuji</u> - ngi - miringarra*
                we(incl) - DUR   - CV  - sit
    ´On Saturday we will sit for a long time (fishing).´

   Osborne gives the two forms *wi-* and *yi-* as two different prefixes meaning
´beginning´ and ´inceptive´ respectively.  However, from the TT data I have
available it would seem that these can be regarded as variants of the one
morpheme ´inceptive´.  *yi-* occurs before class 1 and 3 verb stems and
incorporated forms, the evening prefix *ki-*, and the concomitative marker
*ma(rri)-*, or following the prefix *mpi-* ´non-past´.  *wi-* occurs before class 2
verb stems and incorporated forms or the emphatic prefix *Ca-* (in either case,
the variable consonant is *j*).  With the emphatic prefix the meaning is
generally ´in turn´.  When the inceptive prefix occurs without the emphatic
prefix it often co-occurs with the movement suffix *-ami*, as in example 4-79(c).
An ordering of morphophonological rules is:

   (i)    *yi-* --> *wi-*  /  { *Ca-* ´EMPHATIC´
                              { vs 2  (*C*-initial)

   (ii)   *C* --> *j*  /  *wi-*  ´INCEPTIVE´

   (iii) *wi* --> Ø  /  *mpi-* ´NON-PAST´  (as in Example  4-79(a))

Example  (4-79)  (TT)

(a) *tuwawanga a  - mpi - <u>ja</u>*[54]     *- ma    - jirrakirningi - mi*
    again      she - NP  - ICVE:EMPH - CON.M - light        - do
    ´Again she (the sun) in turn sets out with a light.´

(b) *tuwawanga ngi    - ntu - <u>wi</u>  - jangurlimayi*[55]
    again      we(excl) - P   - ICVE - walk
    ´We started walking again.´

(c)  *wu       - yi    - ma    - jurunigh   - ija*
     they:NP – ICVE - CON.M- grave:post - go(now)
     ´they are about to take the grave posts´

(d)  *awungarruwu   ngirramini a     - yu   - wamparr - ami*
     over:there    story        he:NP – ICVE - finish  - MV
     ´That story (of long ago) is about to finish.´

(e)  *awunganila pi    - rri - yi   - m - am - ani*
     like:that   they:P - P   –  ICVE - do - MV - P:HABO
     ´They would keep on moving and starting again.´ (?)


## 4.2.8.2  ASPECT AFFIXES IN MT

   There are examples of all of the TT aspect affixes in the speech of older
young people, though the use of them is not very common and they probably occur
in their LTT style.

   In general, the form of the durative prefix is unchanged from TT in the
speech of older young people, though the connective *ngi-*, which in TT occurs
preceding class 1 verb stems and incorporated forms, has in general become *ki-*
in MT (see also 4.2.1.2, p.170).  The meaning of the prefix is limited to
´continuous´ or ´repetitive´ in both past and non-past verbs.  Most of the
examples which occur in MT are in the non-past but there are a few, given by
older young people, in the past, co-occuring with *-ani* (as in example 4-80(d)).

Example  (4-80)  (MT/LTT?)

(a)  *a    - mpi - ji   - kuruwala*
     she - NP   –  DUR - sing
     ´she is singing´

     (as TT - no connective before *k*-initial class)

(b)  *wuji*[56]      - ku - warri*
     they:NP:DUR - CV - fight
     ´they are fighting´   (KA11)

     (TT:  *ngi-* > MT:  *ki-* or *ku-* before *w*)

(c)  *a     - wuji - rrakilinga*
     he:NP- DUR - climb
     ´he is climbing´

     (as TT, *C* of class 2 stem becomes *rr*)

(d)  *ngi  -  rru - wuji - ki - pirn - ani*
     I    –   P   - DUR - CV - hit  - REP
     ´I was hitting (him)´ or ´I kept hitting (him)´ (?)  (LB33)

   There are some examples of children younger than 12 years using the
durative prefix.  In some cases it was used as by the older young people (as in
examples 4-80(a-c)), but in other cases there were individual variations,
probably due to the lack of acquisition of acceptable TT or MT forms.  Some of

the variations were given by older young people (as in examples 4-81(b,c)).
These individual variations have connectives which do not occur following *wuji-*
in TT and normally in MT, as in examples 4-81(a, b) or have dropped the *wu*
where it is not dropped in TT, or normally in MT, as in examples 4-81(c).

Example  (4-81)

(a)  *a*       *- wuji - rri - muwu*
     he:NP - DUR   - CV - sit
     ´he is sitting´   (JP9)

     (TT:  *awujingimuwu*   MT:  *awujikimuwu*)

(b)  *kalikali a*     *- wuji - ri - mi*
     run       he:NP - DUR - CV - do
     ´he is running´   (RW19)

     (TT:  *awujingimi*   MT:  *awujikimi*)

(c)  *kalikali a*     *- nji - ki - mi*
     run       he:NP - DUR - CV - do
     ´he is running´

     (TT:  *awujingimi*   MT:  *awujikimi*)

There are just about three or four examples of the inceptive prefix.  It
is not clear whether they are used with the sense of an action beginning, or
with the sense of ´in turn´ (the TT sense of *wi-* ´inceptive´ plus *Ca-*
´emphatic´).  In example 4-82(a, b) this latter sense seems to be indicated,
even though the *Ca-* is not included in the second example.  The examples are
from written captions for a series of pictures in a book showing a girl looking
at various animals (a different animal on each page).  In example 4-82(c) the
prefix occurs with the movement suffix with the sense of ´is about to´ or ´is
beginning to´, as in TT.  The examples of this prefix are so few that I suspect
it is not generally used in MT but is typical of a style closer to TT.  (The
person who wrote these was 18 years at the time and she was producing reading
material in ´proper´ Tiwi for use in the school at Pularumpi.)

Example  (4-82)   (LTT?)

(a)  *a*    *- mpi - ja*    *- rrakuluwunyi kapi naki kawarri*[57]
     she - NP  - DUR? - look:at        PREP this goanna
     ´Now she is looking at this goanna.´   (TM18)

(b)  *a*    *- mpi - jakuluwunyi  jarrakalani*
     she - NP  - DUR:look:at  turtle
     ´Now she is looking at the turtle (in turn).´

(c)  *a*      *- wu  - jakiray - ami naki    jurrumumi anaki    kijinga*
     he:NP - ICVE - give    - MV this(m) torch     this(f)  girl
     ´He is about to give this torch to this girl.´   (PP23)

There are some examples of the movement suffix, *-ami*, used alone or
co-occurring with the durative prefix *wuji-*.  In general it seems to be used to
mean ´present continuous´ and in just one case is used to mean ´about to´
(example 4-83(a)).  There are no examples of its use by children younger than
about 12 years.

Example (4-83) (MT)

(a) *ngiya   moliki  ngi – ri – m – ami  ngiya – morti*
    I       bath    I  – CV – do – <u>MV</u>   my    – son
    ´I am about to bathe my son.´[58]

(b) *karrim  a   – mpi – ki – m –  ami*
    cut     she – NP – CV – do – <u>MV</u>
    ´she is cutting wood´

(c) *a     – <u>wuji</u> – kiyarr – ami  ngarra – poka*
    he:NP – DUR – scare  – <u>MV</u>   his    – sister
    ´he is scaring his sister´

Again, there are only a few examples of the suffix, *-ani* ´past habitual´, given by older young people (over 12 years), and it is generally used with this sense.

Example (4-84) (MT)

(a) *ngiya pongipongi ngi – ri – m – ani*
    I     smoke      I  – CV – do – <u>P:HAB</u>
    ´I used to smoke.´  (AP28)

(b) *yujim pi    – ri – m – ani   numoriyaka*
    use   they:P – CV – do – <u>P:HAB</u> spear
    ´They used to use spears.´  (MD12)

There are no examples of *-ani* used with any other aspect affixes (except the few examples with the durative prefix mentioned earlier).  One of the examples is given by a ten-year-old, but although it is used with past tense, the sense seems to be ´present continuous´ as she is describing a picture of children playing.

Example (4-85)

    *pokayini pi    – ri – m – ani      kapi jukuli*
    play     they:P – CV – do – <u>(P):HAB(?)</u> PREP  school
    ´They are playing at school.´ (?)  (JU10)

## 4.2.9  MOOD PREFIXES (columns 4 and 5, Table 4.3, p.152, and Table 4.4, p.154)

### 4.2.9.1  MOOD PREFIXES IN TT

There are two series of mood prefixes in TT.  Each mood prefix may occur alone or in combination with a prefix of the other series and/or with the emphatic prefix *Ca-*.  Again, a detailed study of the forms and meanings for the various moods is outside the scope of this work and only some of the very basic ones are given.  Associated with the use of the mood prefixes are some permutations of the order of morphemes (differing from the order shown in Table 4.3).  These are not commented upon except where they may occur in examples.  Only some of the mood prefixes occur in the speech of young people and these will be discussed in the next section.

(1) *Ci-* 'irrealis' (Mood 2)

The term 'irrealis' applied to this prefix is only a very general one. In most cases where this prefix is used, the event to which the verb refers has not actually taken place.[59] The consonant has the variants *rr, n, (n)t, l,* the form depending upon the preceding morpheme and in some cases upon whether the subject or object is feminine (or whether the verb stem is a feminine verb stem, see 4.2.1.1(1) p.157).[60] Following the irrealis prefix (when it occurs on its own without a preceding mood 1 prefix) the realisation of the emphatic prefix *Ca-* is *ja-* (as in example 4-86(b). There also needs to be posited a zero morpheme in this position, since in some cases there is no overt realisation of the morpheme but succeeding morphemes, such as the emphatic prefix *Ca-*, behave as if there is such an 'irrealis' morpheme. In these cases the *Ca-* is manifested as *ja-* (as in example 4-86(c,d) or *ta-* in forms with non-past subject-tense prefixes (as in example 4-72(c)). Also following the prefix *ji-* 'she(p)' there is no overt realisation of *Ci-*, but the realisation of *Ca-* is *ja-* when the sense is irrealis, as in example 4-86(d) (compared to *pa-* in the indicative).

Some examples of the use of the irrealis prefix, with or without the emphatic prefix, are given below. One difference between these uses is that, when there is a negative, the sense of the form without the emphatic is a general negation (i.e. habitual), while with the emphatic it is negating a specific event (cf. examples 4-86(a, b); see also Osborne 1974:44).

Example (4-86) (TT)

(a) *karluwu awungani yi - rri - mi*
     not      like:that he(P) - IRREAL - be
     'He wasn't like that.'

(b) *karrikamini yi - rri - ja - nyayi*
     nothing(m)  he(P) - IRREAL - EMPH - find
     'He didn't find anything.' (on that occasion)

(c) *ngi - nti - ja - pirni*
     I   - her:P - EMPH(IRREAL) - hit
     'I would have hit her.' (but I couldn't find her on that occasion)

(d) *ngarra karluwu ji - ja - kuruwala*[61]
     he     not     he:f - EMPH(IRREAL) - sing
     'He didn't sing.'

     (Osborne 1974:87)

(e) *ngawa arnuka ngi - ni - kirimi jiringa*
     we   not    we(excl) - IRREAL - make  bad(f)
     'We don't make things badly.'

(f) *ngarra arnuka a - mungurumi*
     he     not    he:NP - know
     'He doesn't know.'

     (no connective *ri* before stem as in indicative)[62]

(g) *ngini nginja wangatamiya ji* - *ja* - *muwu*
    if   you(sg) alone:REFLEX you(sg) - EMPH - live

    *nyi* - *ti* - *jarimunga yoni murrukupuni*
    you(sg)(NP) - IRREAL:f - move    different country

    ´If you lived alone would you move to another place?´

Some examples of this prefix in combination with Mood 1 prefixes are given in the sub-sections discussing the Mood 1 prefixes.

(2) *(w)a* - ´frustrative´ (Mood 1)

This is generally used to imply either that an action is attempted without success, or that the action was done ´to no avail´ or ´not with the desired or expected result´. The prefix may occur alone or with the emphatic prefix, *Ca-*. When *Ca-* (or a class 2 verb stem or incorporated form) occurs immediately following *(w)a-*, the variable consonant is *j*. The difference may be, as Godfrey suggests, that *(w)a-* alone (or with the connective *ri-* preceding class 1 and 3 stems) refers to action done to no avail, and the form with the emphatic refers to action attempted but not completed. However, I am not convinced from the examples I have that the dichotomy is as neat as this (cf. examples in 4-87).

Example (4-87) (TT)

(a) *ngu* - *wa* - *jamarnipa*
    I  - FRUST - get:up
    ´I try to get up´

(b) *nginingawila ngi* - *rr* - *a* - *ri* - *wunjirriki* - *ni*
    our(m)      we(excl) - P  - FRUST - CV - everything - keep
    ´We tried to keep all of ours (customs).´

(c) *ngi* - *rr* - *a* - *ja* - *ningurumogh* - *ani awarra jikipurti*
    I  - P - FRUST - EMPH - hold:back - REP that(m) sneeze
    ´I kept trying to hold back the sneeze, but without success.´

There does not seem to be any difference in meaning in the forms in example 4-88, except one of emphasis.

Example (4-88) (TT)

(a) *pokayini ngi* - *ntu* - *wa* - *ngin* - *ta* - *majila*
    play    we(excl) - P  - FRUST - her(IO) - EMPH - do

(b) *pokayini ngi* - *ntu* - *wa* - *ngirri* - *majil* - *apa*[63]
    play    we(excl) - P  - FRUST - her(IO) - do    - FOCUS
    ´we tried to play with her´

The frustrative prefix, normally with the emphatic prefix as well, occurs in negative imperatives or exhortations.

Example  (4-89)   (TT)

(a)  *ngajiti ngi      - mpi - a      - ri - mangapa*
    don´t   you(pl) - NP  - F̲RUST - CV - drink
    ´Don´t drink it!´

(b)  *ngajiti nyi     - mpi - nu  - wa     - ja  - marr  - uriyi*
    don´t   you(sg)- NP  - DIR - F̲RUST - EMPH - CON.M - go
    ´Don´t bring it!´

(c)  *ngajiti jajiruwi nga      - wa  - ja  - ama*
    don´t   bad(pl)  we(incl) - F̲RUST- EMPH -  be
    ´Don´t let´s be bad!´

    *(w)a-* may also occur, either alone or with *Ca-*, in positive imperatives meaning ´try´ and also in the protasis of a conditional sentence (normally as a warning, as in example 4-90(b)).

Example  (4-90)   (TT)

(a)  *yala ny      - a  - ngin  - ta  - pirni*[64]
    ?    you(pl) - F̲RUST- me(DO) - EMPH -  hit
    ´Try and hit me!´

(b)  *ngini jirti nyi      - mp - a      - ri - muw  - ajirri ...*
    if     bad   you(pl) - NP - F̲RUST - CV - live - RECIP
    ´If you hate one another...´

(3) *wu-* ´obligational´ (Mood 1)

    The obligational prefix occurs with non-past subject prefixes, other than second person, giving a hortatory sense.  These are closely related to imperatives (with second person subjects). *wu-* may occur (a) alone, though this is not very common.  These forms are similar to plural imperative forms without the emphatic prefix.  The imperatives can be regarded as having an obligational morpheme which is a zero morpheme, Ø.

Example  (4-91)   (TT)

(a)  *nuwa     waya awungaji tangarima a      - wu  - ma*
    you(pl) now   there    camp       he:NP - O̲BL - become
    ´You should make a camp there.´

(b)  *nyi          - rramang     - amiya  - pa*
    you(pl):IMP - look:after - REFLEX - LOC
    ´Look after yourselves over there!´

    *wu-* may occur with the emphatic prefix *Ca-*, which when it immediately follows has the realisation *rra-*.  This is equivalent to the imperatives with the emphatic (see examples 4-72 (b, d), p.187).   *wu-* may occur with both the emphatic prefix and also the irrealis prefix *Ci-*.  There are also equivalent forms in the imperatives.  These seem to be a more polite way of asking people to do things or exhorting people.

Example  (4-92)  (TT)

(a)  *wak  nga      -  wu  -  li    -  pa   -  ami*
     work  we(incl) -  OBL -  IRREAL -  EMPH -  do
     ´we should work´

(b)  *ti          -  pa  -  muwu*
     IMP:IRREAL  -  EMPH -  sit
     ´Sit down, please!´

(c)  *nyi          -  li  -  pa  -  muwu*
     you(pl):IMP  -  OBL -  EMPH -  sit
     ´You(pl) sit down (please)!´

(4) *ma-* ´subjunctive´ (Mood 1)

This prefix may occur alone, with the irrealis prefix *Ci-* and/or with the emphatic prefix *Ca-*. The study of the use of these different forms in all their intricacies is beyond the scope of this work.  Some of the common cases are given below:

     (i) *ma-* alone.

Example  (4-93)  (TT)

(a)  *nuwa      arnuka ngi    - nti - ni        - ma   - tangiragha*[65]
     you(pl) not    you(pl) - (P) - dist:time - SBVE - speak
     ´(If you lean towards the white man´s ways) you won´t talk (our language) in the future.´

(b)  *kuwani ji        - ma  - ngin   - takirtirruwa*
     who(m) he:f:(P) - SBVE - me(DO) - carry:on:shoulders
     ´Who would carry me on his shoulders?´

     (ii) *ma-* plus emphatic prefix *Ca-* (when this immediately follows *ma-* it has the realisation *ta-*).

Example  (4-94)  (TT)

(a)  *yinkiti nga      - ma   - wun       - ta  - yakirayi*
     food    we(incl) - SBVE - them(DO) - EMPH - give
     ´We should give them food.´

(b)  *naki nga - ma   - ta   - muwu*
     here I   - SBVE - EMPH - sit
     ´I would (like to) sit here.´

(c)  *karluwu yi    - ma  - ngan   - ta   - yakirayi kuwinawini*
     not     he(P) - SBVE - us(DO) - EMPH - give     money(m)
     ´He won´t give us money.´

     (iii) *ma-* plus the irrealis prefix *Ci-* (and no emphatic prefix) with the sense of ´unfulfilled´ or contrafact.  *Ci-* irrealis has the variants *rri-* (general); *(n)ti-* (when feminine subject, object or verb stem).

Example  (4-95)  (TT)

(a)  *(ngini nyi     – ma  – ti      – min    – ta   – yakirayi wurrokoti)*,
    if      you(sg) – SBVE – IRREAL:f – me(DO) – EMPH – give      money(f)

    *api  ngu – ma  – rri      – min(y) – jati – rrakirayi  yikoni*
    then I   – SBVE – IRREAL(m) – you(sg) – wood – give(DO)    fire

    ´(If you had given me money) then I would have given you firewood.´

(b)  *a       – ma  – ti      – mani  – pirni  wunijaka*
    he(NP) – SBVE – IRREAL:f – us(DO) – hit     wind(f)
    ´The wind almost hit us.´

    (iv) *ma-* plus *Ci-* ´irrealis´ plus the emphatic *Ca-*.  Immediately following
*ma-* + *Ci-*, *Ca-* has the realisation *pa-*.  This sequence of morphemes also
basically means ´unfulfilled´ or ´contrafactual´ (perhaps a little stronger
than the forms without the emphatic? – see also the protasis in example
4-95(a)).

Example  (4-96)  (TT)

(a)  *ngini yimpanga a       – ma  – rri    – pa   – muwu*
    if     alive    he(NP) – SBVE – IRREAL – EMPH – live

    *ngini a       – ma  – ni – min    – ta   – yarringa*[66]
    that  he(NP) – SBVE – LOC – me(DO) – EMPH – answer

    ´If he had been alive he would have answered me from over there.´

(b)  *karluwu ngu   – ma  – rri    – pa   – ani  awarra jikipirti*
    not       I(NP) – SBVE – IRREAL – EMPH – hold that(m) sneeze(m)
    ´I couldn´t hold that sneeze.´

## 4.2.9.2  MOOD PREFIXES IN MT

There are very few examples of the mood prefixes in the MT corpus and most
of these can be regarded as an LTT style.  Within the data there are not many
cases where non-indicative moods are used (except for imperative, see 4.2.6,
p.186) and interrogatives (see 6.6.2, p.288).

(1) Negative

In MT the negative is simply marked by the negative particle *kaluwu* or
*kalu* (TT: *karluwu*) or perhaps *anuka* (TT: *arnuka*), and a verbal form which is
the same as the indicative (see also 6.8.2, p.293).

Example  (4-97)  (MT)

(a)  *arra kalu   pilipim     yi  – mi*
    he   not    believe/obey he:P – do
    ´He didn´t obey him.´    (BB8)

(b) *ngiya* <u>*anuka*</u> *ngu - wutimarti mirripaka*
    I    not   I  - want      beer
    ´I don´t want beer.´   (LB33)

There is only one example (given by a woman in her thirties) of the irrealis prefix *Ci-*, and the emphatic prefix *Ca-* in the negative sense.

Example (4-98)   (LTT?)

    *nyirra anuka kuwa ji   -* <u>*ja*</u> *- ma*
    she    not   yes  she:P - EMPH - say
    ´She didn´t say "yes".´ or ´She didn´t agree.´   (LB33)

    (*Ci* --> ∅ / *ji-* ´she(p)´)

This use of the prefixes may be more generally known, but it would seem to be only by older young people.

For another use of the irrealis prefix by young people, see (4) below.

(2) Frustrative

Except for one example given by a twelve-year-old girl, who comes from a family keen on preserving traditional ways and language, the few examples in the speech of young people of the frustrative prefix *wa-* were given by people in the late teens or in their twenties or thirties. It is used with the same senses as in TT, i.e. ´trying to do something (but not succeeding)´ or ´doing something and it having no effect´, or ´doing something and not having the expected result´.

Example (4-99)   (MT/LTT?)

(a) *ngiya tayinti ngi - rr -* <u>*a*</u>   *- ri - mi*
    I      stand   I  - P  - FRUST - CV - do
    ´I tried to stand.´   (PP23)

(b) *kulalaa    ngi    - ntu -* <u>*wa*</u> *- ri - mi wununga*
    search:for we(excl)- P  - FRUST - CV - do possum
    ´We searched for possum but didn´t find anything.´   (CP19)

    (as TT)

(c) *pi    - rru -* <u>*wa*</u> *- pakina*
    they:P - P  -  FRUST - steal
    ´They tried to steal (water).´   (PP23)

    (TT: *pu-rr-*<u>*a*</u>*-jakinya*)

In the speech of younger people the function of *wa-* is taken over by the English loan word *tra* or *tray*, which occurs immediately prior to the verb, either an inflected independent verb or the free verb form (see Section 4.3.3, p.214).

For other examples of *wa-* in young people´s speech, see under (3) (imperatives) and (4).

(3) Imperatives and exhortations

There are only a few examples of a morphologically marked plural imperative, given by a speaker in his twenties.

Example (4-100) (LTT)

> nyi     - _rra_ - _muwu_  _nginingaji naki_
> you(pl) - EMPH- sit    like        this
> ´You mob sit like this!´   (MP22)

In general, the singular imperative form is used for both singular and plurals (see 4.2.6, p.187).

The negative imperative is normally given by young people by the imperative form of the negative particle (_ng_)_ajiti_ or (_ng_)_ajirri_ and a free form verb.

Example (4-101) (MT)

> _ngajirri_ _payiti_       or       _ajirri_ _payiti_
> ´Don´t    fight!´

There are only a few examples of the negative imperative being formed as in TT, and these are by older young people in formal situations. There are morphophonological changes in some forms.

Example (4-102) (LTT)

(a) _ngajiti_ _ni_      - _mp_ - _a_     - _jakuluwunyi_
    don´t   you(sg) - NP - FRUST - see/look
    ´Don´t look!´   (TM18)

    (TT:  _nyi_ - _mp_ - _a_ - _jakurluwunyi_)

(b) _ngajiti_ _ni_      - _mp_ - ə     - _ja_   - _pa_
    don´t   you(sg) - NP - FRUST- EMPH - eat
    ´Don´t eat!´   (TM18)

    (TT:  stem remains -_apa_, i.e. _nyi-mp-a-ja-apa_)

There are one or two examples of an imperative with the prefix _Ci-_, which in TT is _ti-_, initially. However, in MT this seems to have become _ji-_, probably mistaken by young people as being the same as the second person singular past prefix _ji-_.

It is not clear from the few examples in the data whether these are used as more polite commands, as in TT, or whether they are stronger commands. I am not sure if they are used as plural imperatives. They do not seem to be, but it is difficult to tell because in most cases they are taken from tapes of conversation and it cannot be determined whom the speaker is addressing.

Example  (4-103)  (MT)

(a)  *ji*         - *pa*         - *marriyi*
     you(sg):P - EMPH:IMP - take
     ´Take it!´

     (TT:  *ti*             - *pa*           - *marr*  -  *uriyi*
           you(sg):IRREAL - EMPH:IMP - CON.M -  go

(b)  *ji*        - *pu*          - *wariyi*
     you(sg) - EMPH/IMP - go
     ´You go!´

     (TT:  *ti*             - *pu*           - *wariyi*
           you(sg):IRREAL - EMPH:IMP - go

     (in both TT and MT, there is metathesis of the vowels in the EMPH:IMP
     (*pa-*) and the verb stem -*uriyi* ´go´).

     Few examples of the obligational mood occur in the data of the young
people´s speech.  These have a first-second person subject, which is not
general in MT and can be translated as ´let´s you and I...´ as it often is in
TT.  There are only a few examples of *wu-li-pa* (not *wu-rra-*).  These are
considered as LTT, not MT.

Example  (4-104)  (LTT)

     *kali*,        *mu*         - *wu* - *li*        - *pa* - *pa yikiti*
     come:here you:&:I - OBL - IRREAL - EMPH - eat food
     ´Come here!  Let´s you and I eat some food.´

(4) Other Moods

     Again, there are only a few examples of other mood prefixes in MT, given
by older young people.  Some of these are shown below:

     (i) *ma-* ´subjunctive´ + *Ci-* ´irrealis´ to show past contrafact (as in TT).

Example  (4-105)  (LTT)

(a)  *ngɪya ngu* - *ma*  - *rri*     - *riyi Jiliyarti*
     I      I    - SBVE - IRREAL -  go    Darwin
     ´I would have gone to Darwin (but...).´  (AP28)

(b)  *ngiya ngu* - *rr* - *a*     - *timarti ngarra ngini  japini*
     I      I    - P  - FRUST - want    he      that   yesterday

     *a* - *ma*  - *nu*          - *wuriyi*
     he - SBVE - LOC:IRREAL - go

     ´I wanted him to come yesterday (but he didn´t).´  (LB33)

(c) *ngiya ngu - tu    - jiyarra japini    a   - ma -   nti        - pawumi*
    I    I   - P:f(?) - tell   yesterday she - SBVE-  IRREAL:f(?)-cook

    *yinkiti*
    food

    'I told her yesterday to cook some food (but she didn't(?)).' (LB33)

(ii) *(w)a-* 'frustrative' as a hypothetical future conditional, implying a
warning (as TT - see example 4-90(b)).

Example  (4-106)  (LTT)

    *ngini ngi    - mp - a     - ri  - mi awungani   ngi - minji*[67]*- pirni*
    if    you(sg)- NP - FRUST - CV  - do like:that I   - you     - hit
    'If you do that I will hit you.'        (LB330)

    (iii) *Ci-* 'irrealis' and optional *Ca-* 'emphatic' as hypothetical
conditional (cf. TT example 4-86g).

Example  (4-107)  (LTT)

    *ngini kunawini ngi - rri    - ja  - ani   yingarti*
    I     money    I   - IRREAL - EMPH - have  plenty

    *ngi - rri   - ja   - wuriyi Jiliyarti*
    I   - IRREAL - EMPH - go     Darwin

    'If I had a lot of money I would go to Darwin.'  (PP23)

    However, the speaker who gave this last example appears to extend this use
to other conditionals which in TT would have *wa-* in the protasis, and
indicative non-past in the apodosis (cf. example 4-106).

Example  (4-108)  (LTT)

    *ngini   awungani   nyi    - mpi - ri - mi*
    if      like:that  you(sg) - NP  - CV - do

    *ngi - rri    - ja   - ⎧ pirni    nginja*
                         ⎩ *warri*
    I   - IRREAL - EMPH - ⎧hit       you(sg)
                         ⎩fight
    'If you do that I will hit/fight you.'  (PP23)

    These types of examples are not very general in the speech of young
people, particularly of those who are less than twenty.  For conditional
sentences there is normally no special marking on the verb, even by older young
people.

Example  (4-109)  (MT)

    *ngini ngiya ngu - wuni yingarti wurrukoti*
    if    I     I   - have plenty   money

> *api  ngu  - mpu      - wariyi Putawini*
> well I    - NP:EMPH - go      Darwin

> ´If I had lots of money I would go to Darwin.´  (LB33)

There may even not be an inflected verb in some cases.

Example  (4-110)  (cas MT)

> *ngini ngiya apim kunawini ngiya ku Tawin*
> if    I     have money    I     go Darwin
> ´If I had money I would go to Darwin!´     (RB20)

Within the speech of the younger people and children there are not many examples of moods other than indicative. This is possibly due to the type of data as the stories are mainly narrative and so are mostly in the indicative mood.


## 4.3  VERBAL COMPLEXES

The verbal complex consists of a free verb form carrying the basic verbal meaning and an auxiliary, which may be inflected in the same way as the independent inflected verb. In TT, this construction is not as common as the independent verb. However, it is typical of more formal MT, with the inflection on the auxiliary much reduced from TT, as seen in the previous section.

It is the extensive use of the verbal complex construction (or just the free form verb alone) which I am claiming as the main defining characteristic of MT.[68] In more casual MT, the auxiliary is commonly omitted, in which case there is normally an overt subject and, where necessary, an overt direct object. This is discussed in more detail in 6.3, p.265f.

Children´s Tiwi is similar to casual MT in that there is usually no inflected auxiliary. As discussed in 4.2.2.2 (p.176), children do not seem to acquire the appropriate MT subject-tense prefixes until 9-10 years old.

The verbal complexes are similar to the predicates of stative verbal clauses. The differences between them are discussed in 6.4, p.282f. In this section the constructions with free form verbs are considered, not those with other parts of speech.[69]


## 4.3.1  FREE FORM VERBS


### 4.3.1.1  FREE FORM VERBS IN TT

In TT, the class of free verbs is a relatively small, but potentially open, class consisting of about forty words in my corpus. These are not ´free´ in the sense that they can stand alone, since they need an auxiliary verb with them, except in some special cases and in cases of ellipsis. They are ´free´

in the sense that they are not bound to the auxiliary and do not take any
inflection (except -*la* ´repetitive´, see example 4-114(a)), the inflections
occurring on the auxiliary.  Osborne calls this class of words ´verbal nouns´
(1974:58), but most of them can only occur in this way, closely associated with
a verb and in most cases being ´active´ in meaning (see section 4.3.2.1, p.210,
regarding the stem of the auxiliary).

Example  (4-111)  (TT)

(a)  *papi*   *ji*   - *yi* - *mi*
     arrive she:P - CV - do
     ´she arrived´

(b)  *kularlagha*  *ngi*      - *nti* - *ri* - *ma* *wuninga*
     hunt          we(excl) - P    - CV - do possum
     ´We hunted for possum.´

(c)  *kaparli*  *yi*   - *kirimi*
     miss       he:P - do
     ´he missed´

   In TT, there are some examples of free form verbs occurring alone:
following a verb of ´going´ or where the free form verb has previously been
used with an auxiliary (i.e. a type of ellipsis).

Example  (4-112)  (TT)

(a)  *ngawurliyi*  *kularlagha*  *yinkiti*
     let´s:go      hunt          food
     ´Let´s go and hunt for food.´

(b)  *wurrinjila*   *yi*   - *ma* *marinyi*   ... *api*  *ninkiyi* *wurrinjila*
     sniff:around he:P - do bandicoot ... well then      sniff:around

     *kangi* *yangamini*
     PREP  hole

     ´He sniffed around for a bandicoot...so then he sniffed at a hole.´

   In spontaneous speech there are many more examples of a free verb used
without an auxiliary, particularly in speaking to children.  Some are used in
an imperative sense, such as *ani*, which is used as a free form verb meaning ´to
give´ and used alone meaning ´give me!´; *kali(kali)* as a free form verb with an
auxiliary means ´run´, and *kali* used alone in an imperative sense ´come here!´.
Other free form verbs are also used alone in an imperative sense without the
imperative auxiliary *tami (ta- + -mi)* ´do!´ as in examples 4-113(b).  There are
other examples, particularly in speaking to children or young people, where the
free form is used alone as an indicative verb (example 4-113(c)).

Example  (4-113)  (TT/LTT/cas TT)

(a)  *nuwa*    *yoyi*  *ningani,* *marri?*
     you(pl) dance today    how:about:it?
     ´Well, are you mob dancing today?´
          (spoken by an older woman to a group of children)

(b) <u>*kutupi*</u>, *ngini jijawurlighi*
    jump    that  you:might:fall
    ´Jump or you might fall.´

(c) *wantayim* <u>*julup*</u> *awarra Nyingani*
    at:once  dive  that    N.
    ´Nyingani dived at once.´ (in a story to a group of school children)

(d) *Papara,*    <u>*kali*</u>
    Barbara    come:here
    ´Barbara, come here!´

Within the data given by older people, there are some examples of English loan verbs, which behave as these free form verbs, taking an auxiliary verb stem, *-mi* (see next section). Osborne mentions these but does not describe them as part of the traditional language. However, these are a part of the language spoken by older people today and there are occurrences even in some fairly formal TT texts.

Example (4-114) (TT)

(a) <u>*piraya*</u> *- la    ngi      - mpi - ripu     - warla - mi*
    pray  - REP  we(excl) - NP - them(IO) - spirit - do
    ´we pray/keep praying/ for the dead´

(b) <u>*wak*</u>    *ngi      - wu - li     - pa  - ami*[70]
    work  we(incl)- OBL - IRREAL - EMPH - do
    ´we should work´

## 4.3.1.2 FREE FORM VERBS IN MT

The class of free verbs in MT is a large open class. It is hard to determine just how many free verbs there are, as just about any English verb seems to be able to be incorporated into the Tiwi of young people. Sometimes the meaning of the verb is different from its English meaning; for example, *kilim* means either ´kill´ or ´hit´, *luk* means either ´look´ or ´see´.[71]

Where there is an existing free form verb in TT this seems to be used rather than an English loan verb in most cases. In some instances the form may be changed from the TT form. Sometimes this is due to a regular sound change, or one which is fairly general, such as *t* > *rr* between vowels (see 2.3.5, p.38), as in *kurrup* (from TT *kutupi* ´jump´). Some speakers tend to drop the final vowel of the free form verb.´ So, throughout the range of young people´s speech the four forms of *kutupi* may be found: *kutupi, kutup, kurrupi, kurrup.*

Other changes may be more individualistic, being used only by a few children, such as *kakali* ´run´ (TT: *kalikali*) or *kalakali.*

Examples of free form verbs (from TT) used in MT:

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Example  (4-115)  (MT)

(a)  *kurrithakayi* *papi*    *pi*     *- ri - mi*
     Japanese       arrive  they:P - CV - do
     ´The Japanese arrived.´   (PP23)

(b)  *awa* *moliki*  *yi*   *-*   *nti - ri - mi*
     we   swim     we:P -   P   - CV - do
     ´We swam.´   (JT16)

     (TT:  *morliki*)

(c)  *kali*  *yi*  *- mi* *awarra*    *malakaninga*
     run   he:P - do  that(m)   young:man
     ´That young man ran.´   (RJ12)

     (as TT)

     Some of the English loan verbs used in MT are ´old´ loans, in that they
are well accepted into the language and follow the TT phonological pattern.
Many of these probably come from contact with Pidgin English, such as *payipayi*
´sleep´, *payiti* ´fight´, *kirayi* ´cry´, *tapi/sapi* ´know´ (from ´savvy´).[72]
These older loans are also used by older people in their less traditional
styles of Tiwi and in some cases in a type of Pidgin English which is sometimes
used (see 1.7, ·p.9, and 8.2.2, p.329f).

Example  (4-116)  (MT)

(a)  *wurra* *payipayi* *pi*     *- ri - mi*
     they   sleep     they:P - CV - do
     ´They slept.´   (DB12)

(b)  *kapinaki*    *kaluwu*  *payiti*
     these:ones   not      fight
     ´These ones aren´t fighting.´   (EP20)

(c)  *ngarra* *karluwu* *sapi* *yingarti*
     he        not      know  lots
     ´He doesn´t know much.´   (LB33)

     To these ´older´ English loan verbs are added newer ones, often with a
pronunciation more closely approximating Australian English, such as *fayt*
´fight´, *naw* ´know´, *pringim* ´bring´.

Example  (4-117)  (MT)

(a)  *awa* *pley* *yi - nti - ri - mi*
     we   play  we - P   - CV - do
     ´We played.´

(b)  *ja*  *naw*  *naki*
     you  know  this
     ´You know this.´

(c)  *shutim* *ji*   *- mi* *yiya* *ka*    *yikara*
     shoot   she:P - do  me     PREP   hand
     ´She shot me in the hand.´   (DB12)

There is a distinction made in the English loans (both older and newer loans) between transitive and intransitive, which seems to follow the English distinction rather than the Tiwi. As in many English based pidgins and creoles, such as Kriol (Sandefur 1979:114), Cape York Creole (Crowley and Rigsby 1979:188) and New Guinea Pidgin or Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler 1974:55), transitive verbs generally have the suffix *-im* (which occurs whether 'him' is the object or not).

Example (4-118) (MT)

(a)  *stop yimi   King Kong*
     stop he:did King Kong
     'King Kong stopped.'   (DB12)

(b)  *awa stopim  anjirra ka*
     we  stop    that    car
     'We stopped that car.'   (DB12)

(c)  *wurra ajikim awa manko*          (CM13)
     they  ask    us  mango
     'They asked us for mangoes.'

The English loan verb, *luk*, may be translated by either 'see', in which case it behaves like a transitive verb (but without the *-im*) or by 'look', in which case it behaves like an intransitive verb.

Example (4-119) (MT)

(a)  *luk  pi     - ri - mi yingati tiwi*
     see  they:P - CV - do plenty  men
     'They saw a lot of men.'   (DB12)

(b)  *luk  pi - ri - mi ka telupijin*
     look they - CV - do at  television
     'They looked at television.'   (DB12)

Another form of free form verb found in MT is from the singular imperative form of the TT inflected verb. This is the least marked form of the verb, having no subject prefix, but with the emphatic prefix *Ca-*, with the form *ta-* (see Section 4.2.6, p.186). This would probably be the most common form that young children hear older people using to them.

In speaking to children, adults also often use the imperative form of a verb as a free form verb, with or without an auxiliary. It has probably always been used this way as a baby talk form, though these days English loan verbs are used in baby talk as well. This is discussed further in 8.2.3.3, p.350.

Example (4-120)  (MT)

(a)  *tamu ji   - mi*
     sit  she:P - do
     'she sat'  (RJ12)

     (TT: *tamuwu*)

(b)  _tawunjali_  *yi*   - *mi*
    stop        he:P - do
    ´he stopped´   (DB12)

(c)  *nyirra*  _tayinti_
    she     stand
    ´she is standing´

    (TT IMP: *ta-* + *-yi(n)ti*)

(d)  *wurra*  _takalinga_
    they   climb
    ´they are climbing´

    (TT IMP: *ta-* + *-yakilinga* cf. 4.2.6, p.186)

    Some English loan verbs such as *ko* or *ku* ´go´ and *kam* never seem to occur with an auxiliary, when used on their own, though they do so when they are combined with an English particle, such as *pak* ´back´.

Example  (4-121)  (MT)

(a)  *wurra* _ko_ *ka* *push*
    they  go  to  bush
    ´They went to the bush.´   (MP9)

(b)  _ko_ _pak_  *yi* - *nti* - *ri* - *mi*
    go  back  we - P   - CV - do
    ´We went back.´   (MP9)

    I am not sure why this happens.  It may be that in the contexts in which the more formal style of language occurs, i.e. with the use of auxiliaries, the more formal style for ´go´ is also used, i.e. the TT verb stem *-uriyi* ´go´ and the directional prefix *ni-* plus *-uriyi* for ´come´.

    There are a number of English loan verbs which have an English particle closely associated with them (see also p.135).  These are treated as single words even though the suffix *-im* normally occurs between the stem and the postposition.  Most of these do not have an equivalent borrowed form without the particle.  Also, the particle cannot be separated from the verb by any other clause constituent as it can in English.  This infixing of *-im* seems to follow the pattern of Australian Creoles rather than that of Tok Pisin where the *-im* occurs either finally or in both positions (cf. Sandefur 1979:11, Crowley and Rigsby 1979:190, with Mühlhäusler 1974:55-56).

Example  (4-122)  (MT)

(a)  *arra* _karrimap_ *yi*  - *mi*  *arra* - *mirani*
    he    carry    he:P - do  his  - son
    ´He carried his son.´

(b)  *tumora*  _wokapat_    *yi* - *nti* - *ri* - *mi*
    next:day  walk(about)  we - P   - CV - do
    ´We walked about the next day.´

There are some examples of other free form verbs, used without an auxiliary, most examples of which have come from younger children, though a few were given by older young people. These forms are from TT verb stems or incorporated forms, but without any inflection.

Example (4-123) (MT or CT?)

(a) arra <u>kunani</u>[73] pojini
    he   pretend   urine
    'He is pretending to urinate.'

    (from TT vs 1: -kinyani 'pretend, deceive' ny > n see 2.3.7, p.41;
    Osborne 1974:125, NgNg:13)

(b) arra <u>pakupuraji</u>
    he   fall
    'He is falling.'

    (from TT vs 2: -Cakupura(n)ji 'fall')

(c) jirra <u>awulimayi</u>
    she   walk
    'She is walking.'

    (from TT vs 2: -Cangurlimayi 'walk', with loss of initial consonant of
    stem, and sound change ng > w, see 2.3.6, p.39).

(d) arra kalikali pili    <u>makirri</u>
    he   run       because frightened
    'He is running because he is frightened.'

    (from TT: -makirri 'be frightened' (vs or inc form))

The free form verb in example 4-123(a) is used generally but the forms in (b), (c) and (d) are not very common (at least I do not have examples other than the ones given), but there are other instances of the same thing happening with some other verb stems.

In TT, or perhaps a less traditional style than TT, there are examples of some other parts of speech being used as free form verbs.

Example (4-124) (TT/LTT)

(a) <u>jurra</u> yi  - kirimi
    paper  he:P - do/make
    'He wrote.'   (JW40)

(b) kunji yi  - kirimi
    door  he:P - make
    'He closed it.'

In both these examples a loan noun is used as a free form verb. jurra (from Iwaidja) is still used as 'church', 'school', 'paper' and 'week', and kunji (from Hindi) meaning 'door'.[74] This second example is used by young people as well as others. The Tiwi words for 'urine' and 'faeces' seem to be used more as free form verbs in children's speech.

Example  (4-125)   (MT/CT)

(a)  *arra ki(n)thirri*
     he    faeces
     ´He is defaecating.´   (JT16)

     (from TT:  *kinyirri* ´faeces´)

(b)  *ja    kinani    pojini*
     you    pretend   urine
     ´You´re pretending to pee.´   (BT11)

     (TT:  *pojini* ´urine´)

English loans, other than verbs, are sometimes used with a verbal sense.

Example  (4-126)   (MT/CT)

(a)  *(ng)ajirri ampak(i)*
     don´t          humbug
     ´Don´t fool around.´/´Don´t tease.´

(b)  *arra ampak Lina*
     he    humbug Lina
     ´He is teasing Lina.´


## 4.3.2  INFLECTED AUXILIARY VERBS


### 4.3.2.1  INFLECTED AUXILIARY VERBS IN TT

The number of verb stems which occur as auxiliary verb stems is limited, the main ones being *-mi*, *-ma* and *-kirimi*. Each of these can occur as main verb stems where they generally have the following meanings: *-mi* ´be´, ´say´ or ´go´, *-ma* ´become/be´ and *-kirimi* ´make´. Most of these verb stems occur in stative verbal clauses (see 6.4, p.282).

Example  (4-127)   (TT)   *-mi*

(a)  *ngini yikonari a     - ri - mangi - mi*
     which hot       he:P - CV - water - be
     ´which is hot water´

(b)  *ngarra awarra yi   - mi '...'*
     he        that   he:P - say
     ´He said "..."´

(c)  *awungani - la  pi     - ri - yi   - m  - am - ani*
     like:that - REP they:P - CV - ICVE - do - MV - hab
     ´They would keep moving around doing that.´

(d)  *pi      - ti  - ri - pirntangaya winyiwinyinga*
     they:P - P:f - CV - hear          snake

```
ji     - ni - yi   - m - am - ani
she:P - DIR - ICVE - go- MV - REP
```

'They heard a snake coming.'

Example (4-128)  (TT)  -ma

```
ngi     - mpi - ni         - ri - ma      pirijuwi
you(pl) - NP  - dist(time) - CV - become  priests
```
'(Maybe) you will become priests.'

Example (4-129)  (TT)  -kirimi

```
yimarlini nga      - ri - kirimi
basket    we(incl) - CV - make
```
'we make baskets'

Each stem, when used in an independent verb, is non-transitive occurring in an intransitive, semi-transitive or stative verbal clause (see 6.3, p.265, and 6.4, p.282). When these are used as auxiliary stems they are also, in general, in non-transitive clauses, even when the sense may be transitive.

Example (4-130)  (TT)

(a)  kunji  yi   - kirim - ani  yirrimputara anginyirra
     close  he:P - do    - REP  mouth        her
'He kept her mouth closed (with his hand).'

(cf. tr subj prefix: ji-, see Table 4.5, p.173)

(b)  ngiya nanginta pi      - ri - mi
     me    ask       they:P - CV - do
'They asked me.'

(no DO prefix)

In most cases, the choice of auxiliary verb stem with each free form verb seems to be arbitrary, i.e. there does not appear to be any semantic reason why one free form verb takes one stem and another free form verb takes another stem. There probably was a semantic reason at one time (as in example 4-130(a)). Perhaps each free form verb could occur as another part of speech before, but has come to be used only in this type of construction now, in which each auxiliary stem is simply translatable as 'do'. The most common auxiliary verb stem is -mi.

Some of the free form verbs which occur with the various auxiliary stems are: (* following a form indicates that it [or a phonologically changed form] is also used in MT):

(i) -mi

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| kalikali* | 'run' | kutupi* | 'jump' |
| morliki* | 'swim' | papi* | 'come out, arrive' |
| ngirringirri* | 'shine' | nanginta | 'ask' |
| purnangi | 'vomit' | yoyi* | 'dance' |
| nimarra* | 'talk' | kaparli | 'miss, fail to hit' |

(ii)  *-ma*

| | |
|---|---|
| *kularlagha**  | ´hunt, search for´ |
| *mitaya**      | ´steal´ |
| *wurrinjila*   | ´sniff around (for food)´ |

(iii)  *-kirimi*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *jilamara**   | ´paint´ | *kitarranga*   | ´carry on shoulders´ |
| *ku(n)ji**    | ´close´ | *yirrungurni*  | ´roast in hot ashes´ |

There are a few examples of some free form verbs taking auxiliaries with stems other than those above, such as:

(i) *wuli(n)jini* and *pokayini*, both meaning ´laugh´ or ´play,´ take *-unga* ´grab´.

Example  (4-131)  (TT)

> <u>*wulinjini*</u>  *ju*    - <u>*wunga*</u>
> laugh       she:P - do
> ´she laughed´

(ii) *puranji* or *pu(m)puni*, both meaning ´good´ and *jirti* ´bad´ take either of the stems *-muwu* or *-miringarra*, (which in independent verbs mean ´sit´ or ´live´) to mean ´like´ and ´hate´ respectively.

Example  (4-132)  (TT)

(a)  *ngawa* <u>*pumpuni*</u>   *nga*       - *ri* - <u>*miringarra*</u>
    we    like(good)   we(incl) - CV - sit/live
    ´We like (him).´

(b)  *ngiya* <u>*jirti*</u> *ngi* - *ri* - <u>*muwu*</u> *mamurruntawi yinkiti*
    I    bad    I  - CV - live white:men    food
    ´I don´t like white man´s food.´

(iii) *-pi*. This stem does not occur as an independent verb stem and there are very few occurrences of it as an auxiliary verb stem.  It may occur as an auxiliary verb stem with the concomitative marker *marri-* when the concomitative refers to a small animal of some kind, as in example 4-133(b).

Example  (4-133)  (TT)

(a)  <u>*purli*</u> *yi*   - <u>*pi*</u>
    hurt    he:P - do/be
    ´He got hurt.´

(b)  <u>*papi*</u>  *yi*   - *marri* - <u>*pi*</u>                *marinyi*
    arrive  he:P - CON.M - do(small animal) bandicoot
    ´He arrived with a bandicoot.´

In general, when an English loan is used the verb stem of the auxiliary is normally *-mi* (see examples 4-114), though there are some exceptions.

Example  (4-134)  (TT)

>     *mirrikuli yi   - kirimi*
>     miracles  he:P - make/do
>     'He did miracles.'

### 4.3.2.2  INFLECTED AUXILIARY VERBS IN MT

In young people's formal speech (an LTT style) there are a few examples of the use of a TT auxiliary stem, other than *-mi*, such as some individuals' use of *-ma* with *kulalah/kulalaa* 'hunt, search for' (TT: *kularlagha*).  These are usually used only by older young people.

Example  (4-135)

(a)  *wuta puranji  wu       - ri - muwu       kirritawini*
     they like      they:NP - CV - sit/live  bread
     'They like bread.'   (MP22)

     (cf. Example 4-132(a))

(b)  *pili     kunji  pi      - ri - kirimi*
     because  close  they·P - CV - do
     'because it was shut'  (Lit: 'they had closed it')  (PP23)

     (cf. Example 4-130(a))

It is more general for all auxiliary stems to be changed to *-mi*.

Example  (4-136)  (MT)

(a)  *mitaya  pi      - ri - mi*
     steal   they:P - CV - do
     'They stole (water).'   (PP23)

     (TT vs:  *-ma*)

(b)  *kulalaa ngi - tu - wa     - ri - mi wununga*
     hunt    we  - P  - FRUST - CV - do  possum
     'We hunted in vain for possum.'   (CP19)

     (TT vs: *-ma*)

(c)  *nyirra  pokayini  a  - mpi - ji - ngi - mi*
     she      laugh     she - NP  - DUR - CV  - do
     'She is laughing.'  (PP23)

     (TT vs: *-unga*)

The auxiliary verb stem used with other free form verbs, i.e. English loan verbs or free form verbs from imperative forms is always *-mi*.

Example (4-137) (MT)

(a) <u>pom</u>  pi    - ri - <u>mi</u>  *Dawin*
    bomb  they:P - CV - do  Darwin
    ´They bombed Darwin.´  (PP23)

(b) <u>takatapurri</u>             a    - wuji - ngi - <u>mi</u>
    hold:in:arms(imp.free vb)  he:NP - DUR  - CV  - do
    ´He is holding (the dog) in his arms.´  (TM18)


## 4.3.3  EXPANDED VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN MODERN TIWI

Since the auxiliaries and independent verbs in MT have lost much of the complexity of the TT inflected verb, the meanings expressed by the lost verbal affixes need to be conveyed in some other way.  The meanings expressed by some mood and aspect affixes are given by aspect words borrowed from English (or perhaps from Pidgin English).

Two words which commonly occur are: *sat/stat* ´start to´, replacing the TT inceptive prefix (see 4.2.8.1, p.190) and *tra/tray* ´try to´, replacing the TT frustrative prefix (see 4.2.9.1, p.195).  These words occur before an inflected independent verb or before the free form verb (either alone or in a verbal complex).[75]

Example (4-138)  (MT)

(a) <u>sat</u>   <u>pastimap</u> <u>yimi</u>   *nayi* *Jipin*
    start  bust:up   he:did  that  Stephen
    ´He started to bash Stephen up.´

(b) *thirra* <u>tray</u> <u>juwuriyi</u> *kirrim* *jimi*    *warra*
    she     try   she:went  get    she:did  water
    ´She tried to go and get (him) some water.´  (DB12)

(c) *arra* <u>tra</u> <u>luk</u> <u>aran</u>   *kapi* *awurra* *yingapa* *men*[76]
    he    try  look around  PREP  those   other    men
    ´He looked around in vain for those other men.´  (RJ12)

Another aspect or tense word, *pin* ´past,´ occurs only before a free form verb without an auxiliary, since tense is marked on the auxiliary.  This is used quite commonly in Children´s Tiwi and in casual Modern Tiwi.[77]

Example (4-139) (MT)

    *thirra* *pin*  *kipim* *yiya*
    she     past  give   me
    ´She gave (it) to me.´  (LW7)

These aspect words (and others) are used in creole languages in Australia. In Kriol they appear to be used in the same way, i.e. preceding the verb (Sandefur 1979;127 ff).  In Cape York Creole *bin* occurs preceding the verb but *trai* is given as a postsentence modifier and *sat/stat* is not mentioned (Crowley and Rigsby 1979;191, 193).

# NOTES ON CHAPTER 4

1. These are generally separate prefixes but are sometimes fused (see 4.2.2.1, p.172).

2. This term comes from Capell (1967:45). Osborne (1974) uses the term ´theme structure´.

3. These may take nominal inflections such as -la ´repetitive´ (see example 4-3).

4. The verbal complex is similar to the Predicate of a stative verbal clause, in which other parts of speech function as a complement to a verb of ´being´, or ´making to be´ (the same stems as in auxiliary verbs), but there are a number of points of difference, discussed in detail in 6.4, p.282).

5. The aspect words, *sat/stat* ´start to´, *tra/tray* ´try to´ and *pin* ´past´ can also be regarded as auxiliaries. These are discussed in 4.3.3, (p.214).

6. Adults often speak to children, even young children, in a style of Tiwi-English (a simple or pidgin English), often switching from baby talk Tiwi to this English. This type of variation and code-switching is discussed more in 8.2.2.2, p.335.

7. It is probable that more children are able to give and use an auxiliary form than the ones who actually gave one. In many cases the simplest form was probably given, much as an English speaking child might answer the question ´What is he doing?´ with ´running´.

8. There are some infrequent forms not covered by the morphemes in the table such as *(w)a(n)ji-* ´limitation´ (possibly *(w)a-* ´frustrative´ plus *Ci-* ´irrealis´).

9. Capell uses the term ´nucleus´, though he only mentions cases where the incorporated form is the grammatical object. He apparently has no examples in his data of incorporated forms as other grammatical relations (Capell 1967:49). Osborne uses the term ´theme structure´ but includes in this the concomitative marker *ma(rri)-*, which he simply translates as ´with´ (Osborne 1974:46-47).

10. ´Non-transitive´ covers stems which syntactically and/or semantically can be classed as ´intransitive´, ´semi-transitive´ and ´stative´. These categories are discussed more fully in Chapter 6, about clauses and simple sentences (see 6.3, p.265).

11. The gender of a third singular subject is neutralised in this case (see 4.2.2.1, p.172, and Table 4.5, p.173).

12. These verb stems are not regarded as transitive since they do not take a direct object prefix for other persons and where there is a masculine object there is no agreement on the verb. In many cases these are classed as semi-transitive (see 6.1.1, p.245 and 6.3.2.1, p.270), as in example 4-6(c), and in other cases as intransitive, as *-kuruwala* ´sing´.

13. See 6.2.1.2(1), p.251.

14. Before this *p* the *i* of the tense prefix *mpi-* is dropped and the *mp* of the prefix and the *p* of the stem become amalgamated (as also happens with the *p* of the emphatic prefix, *Ca-*), e.g. *a-* ˊsheˊ + *mpi-* ˊNPˊ + *-pangurlimayi* --> *ampangurlimayi*.

15. These are listed as *w*-initial in ˊNginingawila Ngapangiragaˊ (see bibliography).

16. According to Capell (1967:50) some ˊglossemes [incorporated forms] of the Tiwi type are foundˊ in Anindilyakwa.

17. These are discussed more fully in Chapter 6 in relation to clauses, but briefly, a secondary object is defined as a nominal argument required by the semantics of the verb stem, but which is not marked on the verb, except sometimes as an incorporated form, as in these examples.

18. With some verbs the recipient and addressee are marked by the direct object prefix, as in example 4-20b. See also ditransitive clauses, 6.3.2.1 (p.270).

19. This incorporated form is actually ˊcooked crabˊ (according to Osborne and also to some older informants of Godfreyˊs) but it seems to be used interchangeably with the form *piyawalingi-* ˊraw crabˊ.

20. The meaning of the form, *mangi-*, ˊwaterˊ has been extended to cover ˊbeerˊ. Osborne has the form *kəpi-* as ˊcooked shellfish, tobacco, gunˊ. It is difficult to determine how the last two meanings have been derived from the first.

21. There are some cases in Godfreyˊs data where the nominal argument referred to by the concomitative marker occurs as a direct object prefix with a transitive verb stem or an indirect object prefix with a non-transitive verb stem, though this does not seem usual.

22. I can find no clear examples where *Ci(ngi)-* is used meaning ˊtree, log, canoeˊ, without a preceding *ma-*.

23. The only other example I have of this form used in this way is in the frozen verbal form *ampirikuluwurri* which is used to mean ˊ(motor) vehicleˊ (see example 4-27(d)). Osborne gives *kili-* as meaning ˊeyeˊ and this has possibly been extended to mean ˊcarˊ, or ˊvehicleˊ, perhaps referring to the wheels or headlamps. Other people give this word as *ampiripunguluwurri*.

24. The occurrence of *rr* or *y* seems to depend upon the verb stem itself. Some class 2 verb stems take an initial *rr* and others an initial *y*. There does not appear to be an obvious basis (phonological, grammatical or semantic) for this.

25. I am not sure if this last meaning occurs in TT, where it refers to the future which is not the immediate future, but in MT *ngu-wuja* ˊI am goingˊ can refer to ˊtomorrowˊ as well as right now.

26. This has become a frozen stem, *-nuriyi* ˊcomeˊ, in speech of most young people (see 4.2.4, p.182).

27. The form for the non-past is: *ngu-wuni-pakupawurli* ´I come back´ (see 4.2.4.1, p.183).

28. The prefix, *ti-*, fits in with the ´irrealis´ prefix, *Ci-*, taking similar morphophonological variation of the *C*, but the meaning cannot be given as ´irrealis´, though it is not clear what meaning can be assigned. (See 4.2.8.1, p.189).

29. The vowels of *mpi-* and *nti-* are dropped before some class 3 verb stems, as in examples 4-49.

30. The direct object is given externally to the verb or is clear from context.

31. The prefix *nu-* appears to be taking over from the TT form *ngi- mpi-* ´you(pl)´.

32. Godfrey says she has noticed a number of young people (but it seems generally older than the age group studied here) using *nganturiyi* for ´we(incl) went´. This would be an LTT form.

33. Most verb forms used by young children are uninflected (except for the transitive marker, *-im*, see Table 1.1). A greater proportion of inflected verb forms (including auxiliary verbs in verbal complexes, see 4.3) may have been found if I had been able to collect stories and more formal data. However, I found this difficult to do with children younger than eight or nine.

34. I am not sure how a benefactive sense might be given with a transitive verb with a direct object prefix. It may perhaps occur as an unmarked nominal phrase or pronoun in the clause. I have no data on this.

35. This may also be the case following the other mood prefixes, but I have no data for them.

36. Osborne does not account for all the possibilities, probably because they did not come up in his data, such as *niki-* ´you(pl)(IO)´ following certain phonemes.

37. In the orthography the y is not normally written, but it is retained here to show that the nasal is the laminal nasal, compared to the alveolar in *min(i)-* ´me(DO)´. (The hyphens show the morpheme breaks, not the syllable breaks.

38. Ditransitive verbs take the recipient (or in some cases the source, as with the verb stem *-Cakinya* ´steal from´) as the DO (see also 6.3.2.1, p.270).

39. The ´spear´ may be regarded as a feminine object but the feminine form of the subject-tense prefixes is used regardless of whether the free from noun used for ´spear´ is feminine or not.

40. These latter are from Tiwi translations of English school readers.

41. The context does not imply ´away from camp´ or ´distance in space´.

42. I am not sure what happens when this occurs before a class 2 form or *Ca-*, as I have no examples.

43. The prefix *ki-*, in general, occurs immediately prior to the nucleus and behaves like a class 1 form in that it takes the connective *ri-* as a class 1 form does. My hypothesis is that the evening prefix, *ki-*, is possibly derived from the incorporated form, *ki-*, meaning ´fire´, the connection being the time when the fires are normally lit. The morning prefix is possibly derived from the frustrative prefix, *(w)a-* followed by the Mood 2 prefix, *Ci-*, though the connection between them is harder to see. These do not appear to co-occur with the morning prefix, at least in the data I have. The prefix, *(w)ati-* has another meaning not described by Osborne viz. ´everywhere´ or ´everyone´.

    e.g. *pi      - rr - ati        - pakilira*
         they:P - P  - every:where- spread:out
         ´They have all spread out´ or ´They have spread out all over´.

44. This is as in TT, since the examples of the *Ca-* in the indicative verbs in MT are following morphemes which in TT produce the variant *p* for *C*.

45. This is a normal TT morphophonological process with the stem *-uriyi* ´go´, i.e. with the metathesis of the vowels of the prefix and stem (see 4.2.1.1(1), p.159).

46. These verbal forms also occur as free form verbs in MT (see 4.3.1.2, p.205).

47. The forms without the causative suffix appear to have been lost in some cases.

48. This suffix seems to refer, not to a completed action, as is obvious from this example, but to the totality of the scope of the action, affecting ´all of the subject´ or ´all of the object´.

49. ´Blackies´ is the term that was used by the nuns for the girls in the dormitory at Nguiu.

50. This prefix has optional prenasalisation of the stop. The *wu-* is elided following some prefixes.

51. Following a stem final *a*, *-ami* becomes *-mami* and *-ani* becomes *-mini*, except followingthe verb stem, *-apa*, in which case the forms are respectively *-kami* and *-kani* with the final stem vowel becoming *u*. With some speakers these seem to be being regularised, to *-mami* and *-mini*.

52. The original meaning of this verb stem seems to be lost.

53. I am not sure what this *ngi* is, as there is normally no connective, *ngi*, before the evening prefix, *ki-*, and the prefix, *Cingi-* ´away from camp´ is normally *rringi-* following the durative prefix.

54. If this *Ca-* was a normal emphatic use the form would be *pa-*, which would be amalgamated with the preceding prefix, *mpi*, becoming *mpa-* (see note 14, p.216).

55. It is not clear whether there is any distinction between the use of the inceptive prefix with or without the emphatic prefix, *Ca-* (cf. the previous example) when the tense is past.

56. The non-past *wu-* ´they´ is fused with this and some other prefixes (see 4.2.2.1, p.173).

57. In these examples the *wi-* --> Ø following *mpi-*.

58. *moliki* is not normally used transitively.

59. The one use where it does not appear to be irrealis is in the form *Cimuji-* ´performing a common activity´ (see example 4-44(b), p.173 and note 28).

60. Osborne treats these differently, combining some forms with the past tense prefix, *rri-* (1974:44) and some forms with his ´connective-emphatic´ (1974:28).

61. The subject-´tense´ prefix is *ji-* (and hence the irrealis prefix is Ø) rather than *yi-* (+ *rri-*) because *-kuruwala*) is a feminine verb stem (see 4.2.1.1(1) p.157 and 4.2.2.1, Table 4.5, p.173).

62. I am not sure what the difference is between the use of *ni-* and Ø; both seem to be used for general non-past negatives.

63. The different forms for ´her(IO)´ are due to the different morphemes following (see 4.2.3.1, p.179).

64. The subject prefix *nyi-* loses its vowel. I am not sure what *yala* means, but apparently it always occurs with these forms (private communication from Godfrey).

65. The variable *C* of class 2 stems is *t*, immediately following *ma-*, cf. with the form of *Ca-* discussed in (b).

66. These forms behave similarly to the past tense forms, *rri-* and *(n)ti-*, in that this latter is related to feminine subjects, objects or verb stems. The locative prefix, *ni-* occurs following the irrealis prefix and as with the past tense form, *rri-*, the irrealis form, *rri-*, is deleted before *ni-*.

67. The indirect object form of the prefix for ´you(sg)´ is used here, instead of the TT DO prefix *minyi-* (see 4.2.3.1, p.179).

68. My hypothesis is that MT is a distinct code from TT, being an expanded style of Children´s Tiwi. This is discussed further in 8.2.3.3, p.350.

69. The auxiliary verb stems in both types of constructions are the same (cf. 4.3.2, p.210 and 6.4, p.282).

70. Although there is a TT verb stem, *-Camurrumi*, which is given as ´work´ the meaning of this and the English loan, *waki*, may be different. The English loan possibly only refers to the white man´s type of work.

71. These words are used with these meanings in Kriol (and possibly other creoles) (Sandefur 1979b) but the TT equivalent verb stems also have the same range of meanings.

72. See Chapter 8, note 58, p.364.

73. This is also used as a free form verb in a verbal complex in TT or in LTT.

74. Osborne gives this as being from Hindi, via Malay, via Iwaidja.  I am not
    sure where he gets his information, but it does not appear to be used in
    Iwaidja now (private communication from Pym).  It is interesting to note
    that in my data of Bhojpuri (a dialect of Hindi) I have *kunji* meaning
    ´key´.

75. *sat/stat* can occur as a free form verb with an auxiliary in MT but this
    does not seem common.

    e.g.  *api  sat   yimi     karri* . . .
          well start he:did   when  . . .
          ´Well, it started when . . .´
    ´finish´ normally occurs as a free form verb with an auxiliary followed by
    another free form verb form.

    e.g.  *karri   finish  pirimi    moliki*
          when    finish  they:did  swim
          ´When they had finished swimming´

76. *tra/tray* seems to have the connotations of the TT frustrative prefix
    (rather than the English meaning of ´try´), viz. ´attempt to do´ or ´to do
    but fail´ or ´to do without success´.

77. *pin* is also quite common in TE (Tiwi-English).  (See Table 1.1, p.12).

# Chapter 5

## PHRASES

A phrase is defined as a group of words which function as a unit, typically as a constituent of a clause, though phrases may be embedded within other phrases. In Tiwi there are: (i) noun phrases (NPs): attributive NPs and possessive NPs, coordinate NPs and appositional NPs,[1] (ii) prepositional phrases: encoding locative, manner, temporal,[2] (iii) other appositional phrases encoding locative, manner, temporal, (iv) verbal phrases (already discussed in Chapter 4 as verbal complexes, see 4.3, p.203).

The phrases discussed in this chapter are nominal phrases, prepositional phrases and other appositional phrases. Only some of the types of phrases are discussed.


## 5.1  NOUN PHRASES

NPs in Tiwi are not as close knit as English NPs, in that the order of the constituents may vary and may even be discontinuous, i.e. with elements of the phrase being separated by other clause elements. The reason for the reordering of elements has not been studied in detail, but it would seem that elements which are in focus are often fronted in the phrase (see also 6.8, p.291).[3]


### 5.1.1  ATTRIBUTIVE NOUN PHRASES

The structure of the attributive NP is basically the same in all styles and codes of Tiwi, but with some variations as to what can occur in each slot. The basic structure and ordering of the attributive NP is given in Table 5.1.

The attributive NP consists of an optional head noun and normally no more than three modifiers. The modifiers usually occurring before the head noun (in the most common order) are: Limiter (Lim), manifested by the limiting adjectives (see 3.2.3, p.90, and 3.2.4, p.93); Definitive (Def), manifested by definitives (see 3.3.5.2, p.119); Demonstrative (Dem), manifested by demonstratives (see 3.3.5.1, p.117); Quantifier (Quan), manifested by numerals (see 3.2.6, p.96) or quantifying adjectives (see 3.2.3, p.90, and 3.2.4, p.91); and Descriptive (Des), manifested by descriptive adjectives (see 3.2.3, p.88, and 3.2.4, p.91) or English loan nouns, used as adjectives, as in example 5-1(d). The word classes occurring in each slot are discussed in Chapter 3.

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## TABLE 5.1 NORMAL ORDER OF CONSTITUENTS IN ATTRIBUTIVE NOUN PHRASES

| Limiter | Definitive | Demonstrative | Quantifier | Descriptive | Head | Exposition |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **TT/MT** | | | | | | |
| limiting adj (3.2.2 3.2.4) | definitive (3.3.5.2) | demonstrative (3.3.5.1) | numeral (3.2.6) | des adj (3.2.2, 3.2.4) | common noun (3.2.1) | mnr ph (5.2.3) |
| | | | limiting adj or quan adj (3.2.2, 3.2.4) | English loan noun | proper noun (3.2.1) | loc ph (5.2.1) |
| | | | | | | group[4] noun |
| | | | | | kin noun (3.2.5) | rel cl (6.9.1) |
| **TT** | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | mnr cl (6.9.4) |
| **MT** | | | | | | |
| | | | | predve (3.4) | indef pn 2 (3.3.4) | |
| | | | | indef pn 1 (3.3.4) | | |

The modifier which normally follows the head noun is called the Exposition (Expos) and may be manifested by a relative clause, by a manner or locative phrase or clause, or by a group noun.[4] There may be other types of phrases and clauses which may occur in this position (such as temporal) but which are not apparent in my data. There are no examples of manner clauses occurring in this position in MT.

The head is given as optional, in that it need not be present in the phrase, being understood from the context. A minimal attributive NP consists of at least one of the constituents. It is not normal for a manner phrase or clause to stand alone as a noun phrase, but a relative clause may, as in example 5-1(h).

In general, in TT the modifiers agree in gender or number with the noun they modify or refer to (see 3.2.1, p.78), except for the manner and locative phrases and clauses, and English loan nouns used as adjectives, as in example 5-1(d). Relative clauses are normally introduced by relative pronouns which agree in gender or number with the noun to which they refer (see 3.3.3). There are some cases where there are clauses which behave as relative clauses, in that they are closely associated with a head noun, modifying it, but which do not have any relative pronoun, as in example 5-1(j).

Example  (5-1)  (TT)

(a)  **Def**     **Dem**        **Head**
     *awarra  kiyijini   jarrangini*
     that(m) small(m)   bull/buffalo
     ´that small buffalo´

(b)  **Quan**        **Head**
     *yingompa  ngiya - mamanta*
     some      my    - friends
     ´some of my friends´

(c)  **Def**        **Dem**      **Head**
     *awinyirra  anaki     mirripaka*
     this(f)    this(f)   sea/salt:water
     ´this salt water´

(d)  **Quan**       **Des**      **Head**
     *yinjara  simitiriyi purinjirringa*
     two(f)   cemetery   tree/pole
     ´two cemetery poles´

(e)  **Def**       **Head**                **Expos:- group n**
     *awarra  ngiya - rringani  Milipuruwunila*
     that(m) my    - father        of:Milipuruwu:totem(m)
     ´my father of the Milipuruwu totem´

(f)  **Quan**       **Head**               **Expos:- loc ph**
     *yingompa arikurtumurnuwi awungarra, Jiliyarti*
     some(pl) Tiwi:people       here          Darwin
     ´some Tiwi people here in Darwin´

(g)  **Lim**     **Dem**      **Expos:- rel cl**
     *yoni     nginaki   ngini  kintang - awamini*
     other(m) this(m)   who(m)  foot    - intens(m)
     ´this other one who has a big foot´

(h)             **Expos:- rel cl**
     *(ngajiti) ngangi   jipitika  (ngimparimayalamiya)*
     don´t      which(f) weak(f)    you(pl):try:in:fright:load:selves
     ´(Don´t load yourselves in your fright into) (houses) which are weak.´

(j)  *(ngawa-rringani amitiya manjatawuwi amitiya)*
     our - father    and        policemen  and

     **Head**          **Expos:- rel cl (no rel pn)**
     *ngawa-mantawi wu      - ri - pantingu - murrunta*
     our - friends they:NP - CV - white:man - be:white

     ´(our father and the police and) our friends who are white´

     Some examples of attributive noun phrases with variant orders from that
shown in Table 5.1 are:

Example  (5-2)

(a)                **Expos:- rel cl**                          **Head**
    *(kapani)  ngangi    ju    - wurim    - ani      kurrampali*
              which(f) she:P - be:strong - P:HAB   house
    ´the houses which are strong´

(b)  **Head       Quan**[5]
    *pilayiki  yirrara*
    flag(m)   two(m)
    ´two flags´

It may be better to treat the definitives, demonstratives and the limiting
adjectives, when they are used as limiters,[6] as external to the attributive NP
and in apposition to it (at least in TT).  These words do behave very much like
pronominals in many respects, in that they can occur in apposition to other
pronominals or frequently occur alone.  Also, they may occur with kin nouns or
proper nouns, which are in themselves definite or specific.  In this case it
may be better to consider them as being in apposition to those nouns, as with
other pronominals occurring with kin nouns and proper nouns (see also
appositional NPs 5.1.4, p.233).

Example  (5-3)  (TT)

(a)  <u>*awarra*</u>          *Jalingayi*
    that:one(m)(def)  J.
    ´that one, Jalingayi´

(b)  <u>*ngarra*</u>  *Kapijini*
    he(pn)    K.
    ´he, Kapijini´

In the speech of young children the definitives and third person pronouns
seem to be falling together, particularly the masculine singular forms (see
also 3.3.5.2, p.119).

Example  (5-4)  (CT)

    *arra*                  *nayi*          *Fonta*
    he/that:one(m)(def)   that(m)(dem)   Fonta
    ´he, that one, Fonda´    (BB8)

In MT, the basic order of the constituents of the attributive noun phrase
is the same as in TT, but there appears to be even greater freedom of movement
in children´s speech.  This may be due to the lack of development of ´style´.
There is agreement in gender and number between some modifiers and the nouns
they modify.  Agreement in MT applies with the definitives (see 3.3.5.2, p.119)
and most of the TT-derived adjectives, as in TT (see 3.2.4, p.91).

The agreement between demonstratives is being lost in the speech of
children though it seems to be retained by older young people (see 3.3.5.1,
p.117).  There are a number of English loan adjectives which do not show
agreement with the nouns they modify.  Also, some of the predicatives are used
attributively in MT and these do not show agreement (see example 5-5(g)).

Example  (5-5)  (MT)

(a)  **Li**     **Def**      **Head**
     *yoni      awarra  murrukupuni*
     other(m) that(m) country
     'that other country'   (MP22)

(b)  **Quan**       **Head**
     *yingati  jupojirringa*
     lots:of   wallaby
     'lots of wallabies'

(c)  **De**     **Des**        **Head**
     *naki    arikulani  kirila*
     this(m)  big(m)     gorilla
     'this big gorilla'   (JT16)

(d)  **Def**     **De**       **Head**
     *athirra  naki     yipalinya*
     this(f)   this     woman
     'this woman'   (DB12)

(e)  **De**      **Def**     **Head**
     *naki     athirra  yipalinya*
     this      this(f)  woman
     'this woman'   (DB12)

(f)  **Des**            **Def**      **Head**
     *arikulanga  athirra  thapaka*
     big(f)            that(f)   house
     'that big house'   (RJ12)

(g)  **Des**               **Head**
     *jana             malapora*
     sore(TT:predve)  foot
     'sore foot'

(h)  **De**    **Quan**  **Head**
     *naki   wan   wurataka*
     this   one   rat
     'this one rat'   (BB8)

(i)  **Li** **Def**    **Head**
     *sam  awurra  ami*
     some those   army
     'some of those soldiers'   (DB12)

(j)  **Li**    **De**   **Head**
     *yonga  naki  pijipiji*[7]
     other  this  fish
     'this other fish'   (JUT10)

There are examples of the Exposition slot being filled by a relative clause in MT (in the speech of older young people, over 12 years), in which the relative pronoun agrees in gender or number with the noun to which it refers. Some of the forms of the pronouns are changed from the TT forms (see 3.3.3).

The Exposition slot in MT may be filled by a manner phrase (see 5.2.3, p.241) or a locative phrase (see 5.2.1, p.236), or purpose phrase (see 5.2.4, p.242, and also example 5-7(a)).

Example  (5-6)  (MT)

(a)  **Head**          **Expos:- rel cl**
     *putayinga  kapi pungitaa*
     boil          PREP head
     ´a boil on the head´    (MD12)

(b)  **Des**    **Head**    **Expos:- mnr ph**
     *pikwan fin   yiningaji  shak*
     big      fin    like        shark
     ´a big fin, like a shark´s´    (JP8)

In TT, indefinite pronouns (see 3.3.4) may occur in a nominal phrase in apposition to other nominal elements.  In MT, they may occur in appositional NPs or as part of an attributive NP.  In Table 5.1 indefinite pronoun 1 is listed as occurring as the head of a phrase.  This is the set: *a(rra)mukamini*(m·), *a(rra)mukamunga* (f), etc., which is generally used to mean ´thing´ when modified, for example by an adjective or definitive, etc., as in example 5-7(b).  The second set (indefinite pronoun 2) is: *niminaki*, *niminayi* which generally mean ´what do you call this thing/person?´ or ´I´ve forgotten the name of this thing/person´.  In MT these forms seem to be used as a modifier, meaning ´some sort of´, (i.e. ´I don´t know the name of this type of thing´), as in example 5-8.

Example  (5-7)   (MT)

(a)  **Dem**  **Head**          **Expos:- pur ph**
     *nayi  arrakamunga  fo  putim waranga awaji*
     that  thing(f)        for put    stone    there
     ´that thing for putting stones there´    (DB12)

(b)  **Dem**  **Head**
     *naki   amukamini*
     this   thing(m)

Example  (5-8)   (MT)

     **Dem?**          **Head**
     *niminaki          yikirri*
     some:sort:of    food
     ´some sort of food´    (RJ12)

## 5.1.2  POSSESSIVE NOUN PHRASE

The possessive NP in TT is regarded as different from the attributive NP, in that there is an obligatory Possessor slot manifested by a pronoun (a normal personal pronoun, see 3.3.1.1, p.100, an emphatic pronoun, see 3.3.2.1, p.104, an alternate pronoun, see 3.3.2.2, p.107, or a possessive pronoun, see 3.3.2.3 p.109), an attributive NP, or an appositional NP.  The only difference between an appositional NP which occurs as a Possessor from a general appositional nominal phrase (see 5.1.4, p.233) is that, in the former, one of the elements may be a possessive pronoun.  Also, the former is embedded within a phrase and does not have a direct grammatical relationship to the verb of a clause.  The Possessed Head may be a common noun (3.2.1, p.78) or kin noun (3.2.5, p.95). The possessive pronoun agrees in gender or number with the noun in the Possessed Head (see 3.3.2.3, p.109).

Example  (5-9)   (TT)

(a)  **Possr:- norm pn    Possd:- com n**
   *ngarra*            *yintanga*
   his                name
   ´his name´

(b)  **Possr:- appos NP           Possd:- com n**
   *ngarra-mirani kiyijini,   ngarra yintanga*
   his   -son    small     his    name
   ´his small son´s name´        (Osborne 1974:Text 1, p.81)

(c)  **Possr:- appos NP           Possd:- com n**
   *nginiwuta, murrintawi     languwiji*
   their      (m) white:men  language (m)
   ´their, the white man´s, language´

(d)  **Possr:- poss pn    Possd:- kin n**
   *nginiwutawa*         *wuta - mantani*
   their(m)             their - friend(m)
   ´their male friend´
   In some cases the head is omitted and the phrase consists simply of a possessive pronoun.

Example  (5-10)   (TT)

   **Possr:- poss pn**
   *nginingawila*         *(wak nga      - wu  - rra  - ami)*
   our(m)                work we(incl) - OBL - EMPH - do
   ´(We should work at) our (language).´

In some cases the Possessor is manifested by a minimal attributive NP, consisting simply of a kin noun or a proper noun.

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TABLE 5.2  POSSESSIVE NOUN PHRASE IN TT

|  + Possessor | + Possessed Head |
| --- | --- |
| normal pronoun | |
| emphatic pronoun | common noun |
| alternate pronoun | kin noun |
| possessive pronoun | |
| attrib NP | |
| appos NP | |

Example  (5-11)  (TT)

(a)  **Possr:- kin noun     Possd:- kin noun**
     *muwa    - mantanga    nyirra  - naringa*
     our(min)- friend(f)   her     - mother
     ´your and my friend´s mother´

(b)  **Possr:- prop noun   Possd:- kin noun**
     *Purrukuparli        ngarra - mirani*
     P.                   his    - son
     ´Purrukuparli´s son´

It would seem that in the possessive NP there must be a pronoun indicating
the person and number (and also gender in the case of third singular) of the
possessor.  When a common noun occurs as the Possessed Head the pronoun occurs
as the whole or part of the Possessor slot.  When a kin noun occurs as the
Possessed Head the pronoun prefixed to the kin noun, occurs as part of the head
though there may also be another pronoun in the Possessor slot (as in example
5-9(d)).[8]

The order of possessor and possessed may be reversed though it does not
seem very common.  This probably occurs when the head noun is in focus.

Example  (5-12)

     **Possd:- com n    Possr:- poss pn**
     *alawura          ngininginjila*
     boss(m)           your(sg):poss(m)
     ´your boss´

The elements of the possessor may be split, with part of an appositional
phrase occurring before the possessed head (particularly a normal personal
pronoun) and part following the head.  It is even possible for the possessor
and possessed to be separated by other clause constituents.  However, when a
normal personal pronoun occurs as a possessor it always occurs before the
Possessed Head (normally immediately before it).

Example  (5-13)   (TT)

(a)          ┌──────────**Possr: - split appos NP** ──────────┐
     **Possr:- alt pn    Possd:- com n              Possr:- attrib NP**
     *ngarratuwu         yirruma (Wilinjuwila),     awarra ngiya-rringani*
     he:TOP             totem   (Wilinjuwila)     that(m) my - father
     ´As for my father´s totem (it was Wilinjuwila).´

(b) **Possd:- com n**                                    **Possr:- attrib NP**
   *wiyika        (nga    - mpungoghi),    awinyirra awurnanka*
   intestines   we(incl) - pull:out       that(f)   goose(f)
   ´(We pull out) the intestines of the goose.´

(c)              ┌──────── **Possr:- split appos NP** ────┐
   **Possr:-norm pn   Possd:- com n      Possr:- attrib NP**
    *ngarra          tuwara            yirrikipayi*
    his              tail              crocodile
   ´the crocodile´s tail´                        (Osborne 1974:75)

When the possessive NP is split in this way it would seem that the final
element serves as a reminder of the identity of the possessor (cf. split
appositional phrases, 5.1.4, p.233).

In MT, there are a number of examples which are similar to the structure
of the Possessive NP in TT, as in examples 5-14(a-d). However, there are a
number of cases where there is a demonstrative and/or a descriptive adjective
occurring before the Possessed Head, as in examples 5-14(e) and (f). This
seems to occur only when the Possessor is manifested by a possessive pronoun.
Also, there is an example of a coordinate NP (see 5.1.4) as the Possessed Head
(example 5-14(g)). The structure of the possessive NP in MT is given in Table
5.3. It will be noted that there are no examples of emphatic pronouns or
alternate pronouns as possessors. The order may be reversed, as in TT, except
in (1).

TABLE 5.3 : POSSESSIVE NOUN PHRASE IN MT

|       | **+ Possessor** | **+ Possessed Head** |
|-------|-----------------|----------------------|
| (1)   | poss pronoun    | attrib NP[9]         |
|       | poss pronoun    | coord NP             |
|       | normal pronoun  | common noun          |
| (2)   | attrib NP       | kin noun             |
|       | appos NP[10]    |                      |

Example (5-14) (MT)

(a) **Possr:- norm pn      Possd:- com n**
    *nyirra              yintanga*
    her                 name
   ´her name´

(b) **Possr:- appos NP      Possd:- com n**
    *Fonsi arra            thaputha*
    Fonzy his              home
   ´Fonzy´s home´   (AK9)

(c) **Possr:- attrib NP      Possd:- kin noun**
    *naki Marisa            thirra-naringa*
    this Marisa             her   - mother
   ´this Marisa´s mother´

(d)  **Possd:- kin n**     **Possr:- attrib NP**
  *nyirra - naringa   anaki   kijinga*
  her    - mother    this(f) girl
  'the mother of this little girl'  (MP22)

(e)  **Possr:- poss pn**    **Possd:- attrib NP**[11]
  *angilawa*             *arikulanga mutika*
  my                    big (f)    car
  'my big car'  (DB6)

(f)  **Possr:- poss pn**    **Possd:- attrib NP**
  *angawula*             *naki skul   wak*
  my                    this school work
  'my school work' or 'this school work of mine'   (AW10)

(g)  **Possr:- attrib NP**   **Possd:- coord NP**
  *anaki*                *nyirra - naringa amitiya nyirra - rringani*
  this(f)               her    - mother  and     her    - father
  'this girl's mother and father'


## 5.1.3  COORDINATE NOUN PHRASES

In TT, NPs are joined in three different ways: by simple juxtaposition, by the use of *wuta* and the use of *ami(n)tiya*.

The use of *ami(n)tiya* 'and' is not mentioned by Osborne and appears to be a recent innovation. Most of the examples of it joining elements in a nominal phrase in TT are given by either women or younger men. Godfrey says that *wuta* is used more commonly by older people, though *ami(n)tiya* is used as a sentence conjunction.[12] The way in which *wuta*, which also means 'they', is used has probably also recently changed or is in the process of change.

These three ways of conjoining in NPs are also used in MT, though the use of a conjunction, either *wuta/wurra* or *ami(n)tiya/amataya* is more common than no conjunction.

(1) Juxtaposition

This applies particularly when a number of nominal elements are joined, though it may also be used when there are only two elements.

Example  (5-15)  (TT)

(a)  *naki milipukani,    kirimpika jukorringa,*
    this mangrove:worm crab        mussel
    'these mangrove worms, crabs and mussels'

(b)  *nuwa     kakirijuwi nuwa      wurrukurrunyuwi*
    you(pl)  children    you(pl)  teenagers
    'you children and you teenagers'

Example (5-16) (MT)

> *arripilayin kapala*
> aeroplane  boat
> ´aeroplanes and boats´

When there is a long list of items, these may simply be listed without any conjunction until the last two items, or the conjunction may occur between only some items. This is particularly common in MT.

Example (5-17) (MT)

> *yiya, Wali  Jon, Jeyimi, Tampurra amataya Fonta*
> I    Ronald John Jamie  Tampurra and    Fonda´
> ´I, Ronald John, Jamie, Tampurra and Fonda´  (ST9)

(2) Conjoined with *wuta*

Osborne says that ´human nominals are coordinated by means of the personal pronoun *wuta* ´they´, inserted either at the beginning of the sequence, or between each member of the sequence, or both´ (1974:72). It may still be used in this way but it also seems to have changed position and meaning in most cases, occurring between the nominals, and meaning ´and´. It may also occur with non-human nouns, and even inanimate nouns. It would seem that *wuta* originally occurred initially before a coordinate nominal phrase, meaning ´they´, being in apposition with the coordinate NP (see also 5.1.4, p.233).

Example (5-18) (TT)

(a) *wuta, yingoti    wuninga, awuta (ngintiwunipirnani)*
    they  bush:honey possum   these (we:would:kill:them)
    ´We would get bush honey and possum.´

(b) *(yinkiti ngirripungipirnani)     wuninga wuta yilinga*
    food     we:would:kill:out:there possum  and  carpet:snake

    *wuta   yingoti*
    and    bush:honey

    ´(We would get food out there), possum, carpet snake and bush honey.´

The use of *wuta* or the changed form *wurra* as ´and´ is fairly common in the MT spoken by older young people but there are only a few examples of it used by younger children.

Example (5-19) (MT)

(a) *athirra yipalinya wurra arra    janimani*
    that(f) woman     and  that(m) Chinese:man
    ´that woman and that Chinese man´  (DB12)

(b) *Wali  Jon wurra Kempiyen wurra Fonta*
    Ronald John and  Campion  and  Fonda
    ´Ronald John, Campion and Fonda´  (BB8)

(3) Conjoined by *ami(n)tiya*

Although the use of *ami(n)tiya* as ´and´ joining two nominal elements in a coordinate NP may not be considered really ´proper´ Tiwi by older people, I am considering it as a feature of TT, since it occurs quite commonly in texts given by people of 40-50 years of age. It is probably a feature of the less traditional style of Tiwi. It would seem that the use of *ami(n)tiya* as a sentence conjuction meaning ´and´ (not described in this work) has been extended to cover the conjoining of coordinate NPs, possibly influenced by the English use of ´and´.

Example (5-20)   (TT)

(a) *murrintawi   amitiya   arikurtumurnuwi*[13]
    white:men    and       Tiwi:people
    ´white people and Tiwi people´

(b) *kuwinawini yiyawungarri  amintiya  yinkiti*
    money       whatever      and       food
    ´money, whatever and food´

The use of *ami(n)tiya* or the changed form, *amataya* is very common in MT, both as a conjunction in an NP and as a sentence conjuction (not described in this work). It appears to be more commonly used than *wuta/wurra*.

Example (5-21)   (MT)

    *kijinga    thaluwarra  amintiya kijinga  tres*
    small(f)   trousers    and      small(f) dress
    ´a small pair of trousers and a small dress´    (LB33)

See also examples 5-14(g), 5-17, 5-24.

(4) Partial coordinate NPs

A phenomenon which appears in TT is the occurrence of a nominal element which refers to part of a nominal argument of the clause. It may occur alone or in apposition to a first or second person plural pronoun. In either case there is a first or second plural person marked on the verb, so that the other referent of the NP argument is clear from the verb.

Example (5-22)   (TT)

(a) *nuwa,     nganginaki   (ngimpiripirtimi)*  ...
    you(pl)   this:one(f)   you(pl):are:promised
    ´You and this one are promised ...´

(b) *(kalikali ngintirimi)   ngiya - mani*
    run        we(excl):did   my    - friend(m)
    ´My friend and I ran.´

Although the last example is given by a young person it occurs in a book of written stories which have been edited extensively, and so is probably not typical of MT. In all cases in the MT data, the pronoun part of the coordinate NP is also included.

Example (5-23)   (MT)

```
ya - matawi  amataya  yiya  (awa  ko  moliki)
my - friends and      I     we   go  swim
'My friends and I went swimming.'     (AW10)
```

(5) Other Coordinate NPs

In a coordinate NP in MT, the items may sometimes be interspersed with *kiyi*, which is an abbreviated form of the TT sentence conjunction *ninkiyi*. However, when it is used in these phrases it seems to be more of a 'gap-stopper', used much as 'um' is in English.

Example (5-24)

```
yiya, amataya ya - rringani  (kiyi) Majiya, (Majiya) (kiyi)
I      and     my - father    (um)   Marcia  (Marcia) (um)

Isato  amataya Pili  Manji amataya ya-matani amataya wan
Isador and      Billy Manji and     my-friend and     one

murrutani  (kiyi anturiyi)...
white:man  (um   we:went) ...   (DB12)
```


## 5.1.4  APPOSITIONAL NOUN PHRASES

NPs may be very complex, with phrases being embedded within other phrases or with a number of nominal elements joined appositionally.  This is more common in TT than in MT where there does not tend to be much embedding.  This could be seen as a symptom of language death (cf. Hill 1973 and see discussion in 8.2.3.1, p.345).  However, it could also be seen as a general feature of child language.

Example (5-25)   (TT)

```
Apuyati, naki     Anjilim amintiya muwa    - mantanga nyirra-naringa,
A.       this(m)  A.      and      our(min) - friend(f) her   -mother

wuta yuwurrara (yuwunturrortighi  awarra Pukipiyapirayi)
they two        he:fathered:them   that(m) P.
```

'Apuyati, this one known as Anjilim, and our friend's mother, these two were fathered by Pukipiyapirayi.'

Complexity in NPs to the degree given in example 5-25 is not common in TT. However, appositional NPs are quite common.  There are two types of apposition:
(i) where there is elaboration of the preceding elements in such a way that each succeeding element becomes more specific (this also applies with other types of appositional phrases, see 5.2, p.235),

(ii) where there is a summing up of the preceding elements by the use of a pronoun or a pronoun phrase. This latter applies especially when the preceding phrase is a long one, as in example 5-25, but it may also occur where the phrase is not so long, as in example 5-27(a). The discourse reasons for the uses of these different types of phrases have not been studied.

As with other nominal phrases, the appositional NP may be discontinuous, with other clause constituents intervening between the different parts.

In the elaboration type of apposition the final part of the phrase may occur finally in the clause, often as new information or as a reminder of whom is being talked about:

(i) Elaboration:

Example (5-26) (TT)

(a)  *ngarra, ngini  yipaningimiringarra,  awarra  ngawa-rringani*
    he       who(m)  he:P:white:man:live   that(m)  our(aug)-father
    ´he, { who lived (here) as a white man }, our father´
         { who was a white man }

(b)  *nyirra - morti, awarra  kijini    jarrangini*
    her   - son    that(m)  small(m)  bull
    ´her son, that bull-calf´

(c)  *nyirra (waya arikulanga jiyimiringarra) awinyirra  ngangarra*
    she    now  big(f)     she:lived      that(f)   his(f)

    *ngiya - mirani*
    my   - son

    ´She (was then grown up), the one (promised to) my son.´

(ii) Summary:

Example (5-27) (TT)

(a)  *ngiya - naringa, nyirra (jiyimiringarra nankitagha)*
    my   - mother   she   she:lived      here
    ´My mother (lived here).´

(b)  See example 5-25.

Both these types of apposition occur in MT:

(i) Elaboration:

Example (5-28) (MT)

(a)  *wurra, kapinaki  (karluwu peyiti) kapinaki kakijuwi*
    they   these      not      fight   these     children
    ´(They´re not fighting), these children.´    (EP20)

(b)  *taringa,  puliyalinga        arikulanga...*
    snake(f)  poisonous:snake  big(f)
    ´a snake, a big, poisonous snake, ...´   (JVT10)

(ii) Summary:

Example  (5-29)  (MT)

(a)   *tha       - rringani,  arra (kilim awanari?)*
      your(sg) - father      he   kill   how:many
      ´Your father, (how many did he kill)?´   (LB33)

(b)   *wulimawi  amitiya wulikamuwi,  wurra...*
      old:men   and     old:women   they
      ´old men and women, they ...´

## 5.2  OTHER TYPES OF PHRASES

There are a number of other types of phrases in both TT and MT.  Just as nominal arguments of the verb can consist of appositional NPs, so other clause constituents can consist of appositional phrases.  In general, where this is the case each succeeding element becomes more specific, as with the elaboration type of appositional NPs.  Also, as with NPs, these phrases may be discontinuous.

Example  (5-30)  (TT)

(a)  **Locative:**

     *(nyirra) awungarruwu,          Maluwu (ji - ni - ri - mi)*
     she       at:that(dist):place Maluwu she:P-DIR- CV - be/go
     ´She came from over there, at Malawu.´

(b)  **Time:**

     *(nuwa)  nguyi, yintaghi (ngi   - mpi - ni          - wungili            -*
     you(pl) future later    you(pl)- NP - dist(time) - initiation:song -

     *kuruwala)*
     sing

     ´In the future, later on, you will sing initiation songs.´

(c)  **Locative (discontinuous):**

     *nankitawu (ningani nga       - watu - wunji - rraki - rrapijingi)*
     there      today    we(incl) - morn -  DUR   - group - meet

     *kuyi  tawunuli*
     PREP  town:hall
     ´We will meet there in a group this morning, in the town hall.´

Example  (5-31)  (MT)

(a) **Locative:**

>   (kiyi ponpon yuriyi)  nakurrawu,  ka thaputha
>   then  Bonbon he:went  over:there to  home
>   ´Then Bonbon went home.´

(b) **Locative (discontinuous):**

>   (wuta kurrijakayi waya) awarruwu           (kreshim) warta
>   they Japanese    then  at:that:place(dist) crash    bush
>   ´Then the Japanese crashed way over there in the bush.´  (PP23)

(c) **Manner:**

>   (nyi    - rra  - muwu) nginingaji naki, nginingaji ngiya
>   you(pl) - EMPH - sit  like        this  like       me
>   ´You sit like this, like me.´   (MP22)

There are prepositional phrases in TT and MT occurring in various clause
constituents, such as locative, manner and temporal.  In TT there are only
about eight to ten prepositions and only the main ones of these are discussed
here: *kapi* (or variant *ngampi*), *kaghi* (or variant *kangi*), *kapani* and *kuyi*,
whose basic functions are to introduce prepositional locative phrases,
*nginingaji* ´like´, which normally introduces prepositional manner phrases; and
*karri* ´when´, which introduces temporal phrases (or clauses).[14]  In MT, some of
the TT prepositions have been lost while others are changed in form and/or
meaning.  Some of the TT locative prepositions have had their meaning extended
to cover other grammatical relations.  This is discussed briefly in 5.2.4,
p.242, and in more detail in the appropriate sections in Chapter 6.  There are
some English loan prepositions introduced as well, such as *from* ´from´, *fo/fu*
´for´.

Besides the prepositional phrases, there are other types of phrases in
some of the clause constituents.  The phrases in this section are discussed
under the headings locative phrases, temporal phrases, manner phrases and other
prepositional phrases.


## 5.2.1  LOCATIVE PHRASES

The prepositions *kapi* and *ngampi*[15] appear to be variants of one another,
often varying from speaker to speaker.  The same speaker may use both, even in
the one text.  Similarly, *kaghi* and *kangi* are variants of one another.

The semantic reasons for the use of *kapi/ngampi* versus *kaghi/kangi* are
difficult to determine from the small amount of TT data at my disposal, as both
sets seem to be used indiscriminately to mean ´to, at, in, on, near, over´
etc.[16] However, Godfrey, with the aid of an older TT speaker, has established
that the criterion for distinction is basically proximity, *kapi/ngampi* being
used for distant locations and *kaghi/kangi* for close locations, the distance
being relative.  Also, *kaghi* and *kangi* are used when there is a directional
prefix, *(wu)ni-*, meaning ´to here´ on the verb (see 4.2.3, p.179).  There are
some examples in the data where these criteria still seem to be applied, as in
the examples in 5-32.

Example   (5-32)   (TT)

(a)  *(nginayi       a     - wunji - ngi - rriti) kapi purinjirringa*
     that(m)(dist) he:NP - DUR   - CV - stand  PREP tree
     '(That (distant) one is standing) near the tree.'

(b)  *kaghi kukuni (awungarra ngi      - mpi - ri - ki  - yamukurughi)*
     PREP  water  here        we(incl) - NP  - CV - eve - make:camp
     'At the water (here we will make camp in the evening).'

(c)  *(papi      a   - mpi - ni - yi   - m  - ami) kangi tingiwini*
     come:out  she - NP  - LOC- ICVE - do - MV    PREP  hollow:log
     '(She is starting to come out) of the hollow log'

However, there are a number of examples given even by older people where
the choice of the preposition is arbitrary, perhaps where distance is not very
relevant to the clause and the speaker can choose either preposition.

Example   (5-33)   (TT)

(a)  *(a    - wunyayi)  kapi  purinjirringa*
     he:NP - find       PREP  tree
     '(He finds him) at the tree.')

(b)  *(wu·     - ru - muwu)  kangi  mirriparinga*
     they:NP - CV - live    PREP   mangroves
     '(They live) in the mangroves.')

It would seem that while there may have been semantic criteria for the use
of these prepositions in older TT, the distinction is being lost among some
speakers, particularly younger men and women.  The three variations in example
5-34 were given by the same speaker (a man of about 50) as meaning the same.

Example   (5-34)   (TT)

                                                *kapi*
     *(taringa papi      ji    - ni  - ri - mi) ngampi tingiwini*
                                                *kangi*
     snake     come:out she:P - DIR - CV - do   PREP    hollow:log
     '(The snake came out) of the hollow log.'

The preposition *kangi* becomes *ka* before personal pronouns beginning with
*ng* (see 3.3.2.1, p.104).

Example   (5-35)   (TT)

     *(pi    - nu - wuriyi)  ka    ngawula*
     they:P - DIR - go        PREP our
     'They came to our (place).'

The preposition *kapani* generally means 'towards' or 'following along'.[17]

Example  (5-36)  (TT)

(a)  *(pakinya yu  -  wuriyi) kapani  Jikilawila*
     first    he:P -  go      towards Jikilawila
     ´(First he went) towards Jikilawila (country).´

(b)  *(ngiya ngi - ni - yi  - m - am - ani) kapani  nganginayi  kurrampali*[18]
     I      I   - DIR- ICVE - do - MV - rep  towards that(f)      house
     ´(I´ve followed) along those houses.´
     (answer to ´where have you come from?´)

     There are a few examples of a preposition, *kuyi*, which is used in TT
(usually meaning ´in´) but which is not found in MT.

Example  (5-37)  (TT)

     *(nankitagha ningani ngawatuwunjirrakirrapijingi)*      *kuyi tawunuli*
     here         today   we:are:meeting:together:in:morning  in    town:hall
     ´(We will meet here today, in the morning,) in the town hall.´

     In MT, there are very few examples of *kangi* and none of *ngampi* or *kaghi*.
However, there are two prepositions which are normally used: *kapi* and *ka*.  The
use of *ka*, as an abbreviation of *kangi* before pronouns beginning with *ng*, in
TT, has been extended in MT (as in examples 5-38(b) and 5-39(b)).  Looking at a
wide spectrum of data from various speakers, I cannot discern any overall
semantic criteria for using one form rather than the other, though some
individuals may have some such criteria.  It does not seem to depend entirely
upon the age of the speaker, either, though younger children tend to use *ka*
more than *kapi*.

Example  (5-38)  (MT)

(a)  *(fanim yintirimi tinko) kapi yangamini*
     find   we:did     dingo  PREP hole
     ´(We found a dingo) in a hole.´    (boy)

(b)  *(moliki yintirimi) ka   warra*
     swim    we:did      PREP water
     ´(We swam) in the water.´    (JT16)

(c)  *(arra wokapat) kapi kukuni*
     he   walk       PREP water
     ´(He walked) in the water.´    (MP11)

(d)  *(arra wokapat)  ka   tesat*
     he   walk        PREP desert
     ´(He walked) in the desert.´    (MP11)

     In MT, it is common to find a preposition, *kapi* or *ka*, used with a
locative word, particularly by children under about twelve years, where, in TT,
the locative word is used alone.

Example  (5-39)  (MT)

(a)  *(Jampurra yuwuriyi) kapi nankurrawu*
     Jampurra  he:went    PREP over:there
     ´(Jampurra went) over there.´    (boy)

(b)  *(yitha    luk)  ka   kuriyuwu*
     you(sg)  look  PREP above
     ´(You look) up there.´    (JP9)

     In MT, the English loan preposition *prom* or *from* is used extensively,
normally with a locative sense.  (For another sense see 6.9.5, p.301).

Example  (5-40)   (MT)

(a)  *(kam  pak  pirimi)   from Tu Mayil*
     come  back they:did   from Two Mile
     ´(They came back) from Two Mile.´

(b)  *(karri kam  pak)   from olitey*
     when   come back   from holiday
     ´(When (we) came back) from (our) holiday.´    (PP10)

     In all varieties of Tiwi a prepositional locative phrase may occur
following a positional locative word, such as *yilaruwu* ´inside´, *kuriyuwu* ´up,
above´ (see 3.5.1, p.124).

Example  (5-41)   (TT)

     *(yipapurti)  kuriyuwu kapi yinguka*
     he:went:up    above    PREP sky
     ´(He went up) into the sky.´

Example  (5-42)  (MT)

(a)  *(yi - marriyi)  yilaruwu  ka   keyp*
     he:P - take       inside     PREP cave
     ´(He took (him)) into the cave.´        (RJ12)

(b)  *(tha     putim) yilaruwu ka   sink*
     you(sg)  put     inside    PREP sink
     ´(Put (it)) in the sink!´

## 5.2.2  TEMPORAL PHRASES

     A temporal phrase in TT may be a phrase expressing duration or a
prepositional phrase specifying a certain time. The first type of phrase
consists of a nominal which expresses a period of time and a quantifier.  Some
of these temporal nominals are TT words such as *wumunga* ´day, period of 24
hours,´ TT words with an extended meaning such as *pakitiringa* ´year´ (primary
meaning: ´rain´).  Other words are English loans such as *wik(i)* ´week´.  In
some cases the nominal is omitted where it can be understood from the context,
as in example 5-43(b).

Example  (5-43)  (TT)

(a)  *yi  - pamurrum - ani* <u>*yirrara pakitiringa*</u>
    he:P - work    - REP two     years
    'He had worked for two years.'

(b)  <u>*natinga*</u> *ngintirimajirripani*
    one(f)  we:P:sleep:HAB
    'One (night) we would sleep (there).'

    For temporals of this type in MT the English loan preposition *fu* or *fo*
'for' may occur.  As in English, this preposition seems to be optional.  There
are too few examples in the data of this type of temporal to determine which
form is more common and whether the phrase with the preposition is taking over
from that without the preposition.

Example  (5-44)  (MT)

(a)  *ngiya payipayi ngirimi* <u>*yirrajirrima tey*</u> ...
    I     sleep   I:do    three         days
    'I will sleep (for) three days ...'    (MD12)

(b)  *ngawa awungarruwu* <u>*fu  tu  wik*</u>
    we     there       for two weeks
    'We will stay there for two weeks.'    (GM30)

    The second type of temporal phrase is derived from temporal clauses, in
which *karri* is the subordinate temporal conjunction, meaning 'when' (see 6.9.3,
p.299).  The *karri* may be followed by a nominal or a predicative, or by the
name of a day of the week or month of the year.  These may be regarded as
temporal clauses, meaning 'when (it was/is/will be) ...', but in a number of
examples it is difficult to determine just what an overt subject would be,
except perhaps the third masculine pronoun *ngarra*, as 'dummy' subject.  Since
there is no subject pronoun given in these situations, illustrated by the
examples in 5-45, they are regarded as phrases, with the *karri* used as a
preposition, which can be translated by 'on, in, at'.  These phrases would seem
to be recent innovations, particularly those with the days of the week and
months of the year, so they are probably best regarded as LTT rather than TT
even though they are normally used by older people.  They also occur in MT.

Example  (5-45)  (TT/LTT)

(a)  *ngirramini ngini* <u>*karri     pukaringini*</u>
    story       about  at/when  mass/church
    'a story about at mass'

(b)  *pi    - ni - ri - ki  - pakupawurli* <u>*karri waniyarti*</u>
    they:P - DIR -  CV - eve - go:back      when  Friday
    'They came back on Friday evening.'

Example  (5-46)  (MT)

    <u>*karri satutey*</u> *moliki yintirimi ka   winga*
    when  Saturday  swim   we:did    PREP sea
    'On Saturday we went swimming in the sea.'    (PJ12)

    In MT these phrases are extended, in that *karri* may occur with a temporal
word, which in TT requires no such preposition.

Example (5-47) (MT)

<u>*karri thapinamini*</u> *anturiyi with fata*
when     night       we:went  with Father
'At night we went with Father.'     (DB12)

There are some other types of temporal phrases in TT or LTT, for which I have found no MT equivalents to date, such as with *nginingaji*, which is normally used as a preposition in manner phrases and clauses (see next subsection and 6.9.4, p.300), as in example 5-48(a). An example of another type of temporal phrase is also given here, 5-48(b).

Example (5-48) (TT/LTT)

(a) <u>*nginingaji namurruputi*</u> *api ...*
    about         supper:time well ...
    'About supper time, well ...'

(b) *ngini     yoni waniyarti*[19]
       that      other Friday
       which(m)
    'on (the) next Friday'


## 5.2.3 MANNER PHRASES

The prepositional manner phrases are introduced by *nginingaji*, meaning 'like', which also functions as a subordinate conjunction with a manner clause (see 6.9.4, p.300). The manner phrases, like the prepositional temporal phrases, are probably derived from clauses, only in this case it is the predicate which is omitted, not the subject as with temporal phrases. These occur in all varieties of Tiwi. (MT: *nginingaji/yiningaji/ ningaji*.)

Example (5-49) (TT)

*ngawa awungani nga    - ma  - ta  - ami*
we     like:that we(incl) - SBVE - EMPH - be

<u>*nginingaji wuta, ngawa - mamanta*</u>
like         them   our   - friends

'We should be like them, our friends.'

Example (5-50) (MT)

(a) *wutatuwu  kakijuwi <u>nginingaji</u> nuwa*
    they:TOP   children like       you(pl)
    'They (were) children like you (are).'     (PP23)

(b) *wurra yusim thaliwarra <u>yiningaji</u> nuwa    skul    poy*
    they  use   trousers   like       you(pl) school boys
     'They use trousers like you school boys (do).'     (EP20)

## 5.2.4  OTHER PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

There are prepositional phrases occurring in other clause constituents, particularly in MT.  In TT (or perhaps LTT) there are only two or three such types of phrases.  One of these is the use of the locative prepositions, *kapi/ngampi* and *kaghi/kangi*, with the addressee, following the verb stem *-mi* when it means 'say'.  This is probably a LTT use rather than TT.  It is certainly extended in MT , though with the prepositions *kapi* and *ka*, to mark the indirect object of other verbs.  This is discussed in more detail in 6.2.1.1(3), p.250.

Another type of prepositional phrase is a complement phrase following a verb of speech or a word meaning 'story'.  In TT the preposition used is *ngini*, which, as has been pointed out earlier, is used as a complementiser and general subordinating conjunction elsewhere (see 6.9.7, p.304).  In MT the preposition may be *ngini/yini* or *apat*.  In all cases it may be translated as 'about'.

Example  (5-51)  (TT)

(a)  *naki      yoni      ngi - mpi  - yi   - wa   - yalam - ami*
    this(m) other(m) I    - NP   - ICVE - word - load  - MV

    *ngini   awinyirra arntongi*
    about   that(f)   jabiru
    'I am starting to record this other (story) about that jabiru.'

(b)  *ngirramini ngini nyirra, ngawa - naringa*
    story       about her    our   - mother
    'a story about her, our mother (Mary)'

Example  (5-52)  (MT)

(a)  *nginja   telim ngawa stori ngini Majiya*
    you(sg) tell  us    story about Marcia
    'You tell us a story about Marcia!'   (LB33)

(b)  *yiya tok  apat  naki*
    I     talk about this
    'I am talking about this.'   (EP20)

In MT, there are prepositional phrases for other grammatical relations such as: indirect object (*kapi* or *ka*), benefactive (with *fo/fu*), purpose (with *fo/fu*), and accompaniment (with *wutili(yi)* or *with(i)*).  These are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

## NOTES ON CHAPTER 5

1. There are some other types of nominal phrases, not discussed here for lack of space, such as the ´goal-oriented´ noun phrase, discussed by Osborne (1974:75) and a pronoun phrase, basically consisting of a plural pronoun, and a modifier, usually a quantifier.
   e.g. *ngawa yuwurrara*
   ´we   two´

2. There are some other types of phrases which are trivial, such as:
   *kawunga yatiwani*
   facing   one-sided
   ´facing the same way´

3. The splitting of phrases by other clause elements occurs in some other Aboriginal languages, such as Walmatjari (Richards 1979:123).

4. A ´group´ noun is not described as such in Chapter 3, but by this I mean a noun indicating people of a particular region or totem.   These are normally marked by the suffix *-(i)la* (see 3.6, p.138).

5. This phrase is part of a coordinate NP, the first part being the phrase in example 5-1(d).   The order of numeral and head may perhaps be reversed for stylistic effect or perhaps because ´flags´ is in focus in the second phrase.

6. It is only the plural limiting adjective which is used as a quantifier, meaning ´some´ or ´a number of´.

7. Some children have not acquired gender distinctions for adjectives (or definitives) and in most cases the feminine form of the adjective is generalised. (Normal MT forms: *yoni*(m) *nyonga/yonga*(f) ´other´).

8. When a kin noun occurs as the Possessed Head the Possessor is normally not manifested by a normal personal pronoun, since the kin noun is already prefixed by such a pronoun or by an abbreviated pronoun.   However, Godfrey says she has had some examples of this occurring, mainly with *ngiya* ´my´, *ngawa* ´our´.
   e.g. *ngiya ngi-yuwani*
   my    my -young:brother

9. Presumably this could be expanded to include Quantifier, Exposition etc., though the Possessor may take the place of the Definitive, since there are no examples of definitives when there is a Possessor.

10. This is only of the type: attrib NP, normal personal pronoun, e.g. 5-14(b).

11. The feminine form of the possessive pronoun seems to be generalised in MT (except in the speech of older young people, older than about 20), for all genders (see 3.3.2.3, p.109).

12. Private communication.

13. The context implies 'Tiwi people' but in both TT and MT *arikurtumurnuwi* (or *arikutumunuwi*) normally refers to all peoples.

14. Most of these prepositions also introduce corresponding subordinate clauses (see 6.9, p.295).

15. Pilling notes that *napi* [possibly *ngapi*] is a dialectal variation used by people from a certain camp (Pilling 1970:266).

16. Osborne has just *kapi* (or *ngampi*) and *kaghi* (or *ka*) as having 'entirely general locative/directional meaning' (1974:76). These are the only prepositions he discusses.

17. These examples and meanings are from Godfrey, as there are very few examples in the TT data I have. *kapani* seems to be *kapi* + the verbal repetitive suffix -*ani*, and perhaps there is a sense of 'repetition' or 'continuity', as with the verbal suffix.

18. It is not clear what the exact meanings of the aspect suffixes, *yi*- 'INCEPTIVE', -*ami* 'MOVEMENT' and -*ani* 'REPETITIVE/PAST HABITUAL' are in this example (cf. 4.2.8, p.189).

19. *ngini*, as well as being the masculine singular form of the relative pronoun (see 3.3.3, p.113), functions as a general conjunction and complementiser (see 6.9.7, p.304).

## Chapter 6

## CLAUSES AND SENTENCES

### 6.1 OVERVIEW

I define a clause as a group of words which function together as a unit,
having one main predication (verbal or non-verbal).  It may function alone as a
simple sentence or as part of a larger, more complex sentence.  A clause may
occur within one of the constituents of a sentence or another clause, for
instance: as a relative clause within one of the nominal arguments of a clause
(see 5.1.1, p.222, and 6.9.1, p.295), as a temporal clause within the Temporal
constituent of a clause or sentence (see 6.9.3, p.299) or as a complement
clause following a verb of speech, ´wanting´, etc. (see 6.9.7, p.304).

In TT, there may also be two logical predications encoded in the verb,
when a verbal or stative incorporated form occurs in the nucleus structure of
the verb (see 4.2.1.1(2), p.160).  However, these can be regarded as adding a
dimension of meaning to the verb or clause.  In most cases they are similar to
lateral constituents (see below and discussion in 4.2.1.1(2), p.160), being
similar to participial phrases in English, such as ´being frightened´.

Example  (6-1)  (TT)

| nuwatuwu | yingompa nyi | | - rra | - _makirring_ | - _uriyi_ |
| you(pl):TOP some | you(pl):IMP | - EMPH | - fright | - go |

´Some of you go    in fright.´
                   because you are frightened.´

### 6.1.1 SUMMARY OF CLAUSE TYPES IN TRADITIONAL TIWI

Clauses in TT may be classified two-dimensionally: (i) according to mood,
i.e. indicative, subjunctive, imperative/hortative and interrogative.  The
differences between these are not very significant and are discussed more fully
in sub-sections 6.3, 6.6 and 6.7; (ii) according to the type of predicate
structure.  There are three main types of predicates, giving rise to three main
types of clauses: (a) active verbal clause with a predicate consisting of a
verb or a verbal complex, as described in 4.3, p.203; (b) a stative verbal
clause with a predicate consisting of a complement plus a verb; (c) a
non-verbal clause with a predicate consisting of just a complement.  Each of
the types (a) and (c) can be sub-divided according to the relationship of the
nominal arguments to the predicate.

The term ´predicate´ is used as a syntactic term, as it is normally used
in tagmemics rather than logic (cf. Longacre 1964:35f with Lyons 1977a:148f).
Longacre distinguishes centred and non-centred clauses.  The former are those

which ´contain bound subjects with their predicates and such subjects must occur whether or not a substantive phrase also expresses subject elsewhere in the clause´ (1964:35). Non-centred clauses are ones in which the predicate does not contain a bound subject. In TT, verbal clauses are centred clauses while non-verbal clauses are non-centred.

The active verbal clauses can be sub-divided into: transitive, ditransitive, semi-transitive and intransitive clauses. A transitive clause has a verb which requires a second nominal argument, and this argument, the direct object (DO), is obligatorily marked on the verb by a direct object person prefix (or by the choice of a transitive subject-tense-object prefix, in the case of third singular objects, see 4.2.1.1(1), p.157 and 4.2.2.1, p.172). A semi-transitive clause has a verb which requires a second nominal argument but this argument, the secondary object (SO), is not encoded by a verbal prefix.[1] A ditransitive clause has a verb which requires three nominal arguments, of which two are encoded on the verb by personal prefixes, the subject (S) and the direct object, while the third, the secondary object, is not so encoded. The direct object is animate (being the recipient or source, depending on the verb) and the secondary object is normally inanimate. An intransitive clause is one which requires only one nominal argument, the subject (S).

The distinction made between transitive, ditransitive, semi-transitive and intransitive at clause level is different from that made between transitive, and non-transitive (feminine and general) verb stems in the verbal construction. Transitive verb stems occur in both transitive and ditransitive verbs. Non-transitive verb stems (both feminine and general) occur in semi-transitive and intransitive verbs, though, in general, feminine stems tend to be in semi-transitive verbs (see 4.2.1.1(1), p.157). These clause types and the reasons for separating them are discussed more fully in 6.3.1.1, p.267, and 6.3.2.1, p.270.

The non-verbal clauses can be divided into sub-types according to the relationship between the subject and the predicate, which consists solely of a complement. A stative non-verbal clause expresses a relationship between the subject and predicate of ´being´ (location, description or identification) and a possessive non-verbal clause expresses a relationship of ´having´. There is no difference in the surface structure of this latter type of clause with the non-verbal stative clauses expressing identification. The non-verbal clauses are related to the stative verbal clause and to some semi-transitive verbal clauses with verbs of ´having´ respectively. These are discussed in more detail in 6.5, p.285.

## 6.1.2 SUMMARY OF CLAUSE TYPES IN MODERN TIWI

As in TT, the distinction between clauses in MT on the basis of mood is not very significant and the differences are discussed in 6.3, 6.6 and 6.7. With regard to the other dimension, that of predicate structure, there are still three main clause types but the actual predicate structures vary from those of TT.

In MT, the active verbal clause has a predicate consisting of an independent inflected verb or a verbal complex, as in TT, or a free form verb. There may also be an optional aspect word, which is closely tied to the verbal

construction, viz. *sat/stat* ´start to´ or *tra/tray* ´try to´ (see 4.3.3, p.214).
In MT, there is no distinction between transitive and semi-transitive clauses,
since the direct object prefix has been lost from the verb (see 4.2.3.1,
p.179). A transitive clause in MT is one which has a verb which requires two
nominal arguments, the subject (S), and the direct object (DO). A ditransitive
clause is one which has a verb requiring three nominal arguments, the subject,
the secondary object or object (the thing ´given´) and the direct object or
indirect object (the ´recipient´) (see 6.3.2.2, p.273, regarding the
differences). An intransitive clause requires only one nominal argument, as in
TT. These clause types are discussed further in 6.3.1.2, (p.268) and 6.3.2.2,
(p.273).

## 6.2 CLAUSE CONSTITUENTS

The clause constituents in all varieties of Tiwi can be ´layered´ in
groups depending upon their relationship to the predicate. There are arguments
which can be further grouped into core and non-core arguments, and there are
lateral constituents. The definitions and criteria for the arguments of a
clause vary between TT and MT and these are discussed in the following
sub-sections.

The lateral constituents ´convey specific information about the
circumstances of the action expressed in the predicate´ (Glasgow and Garner
1980:41),[2] but, in general, are not arguments of the verb and, in the case of
TT, are not usually marked on the verb. These lateral constituents are
basically the same for TT and MT, though the manifestation of them may differ.
These constituents are: locative (Loc), temporal (T), manner (Mnr), modal
(Mdl), negative (Neg) and reason (Reas).[3] Locative may be considered an
argument of the clause with verbs of motion but there is no formal difference
between these manifestations of locative from locative in other clauses (except
for motion ´from´ in MT; see 6.2.3.1, p.260).

Most of the non-predicate constituents of a clause may occur as
appositional phrases, as discussed in Chapter 5 (5.1.4, p.233 and 5.2, p.235).
Normally in these cases, each succeeding element within that constituent
becomes more specific in meaning (see examples 5-30, 31, p.235). These
appositional phrases may be interrupted by other clause constituents, but the
reason for this is not always clear without more extensive investigation (some
reasons are discussed briefly in 6.8, p.291).

## 6.2.1 ARGUMENTS OF THE CLAUSE IN TRADITIONAL TIWI

In TT, the clause may consist of just a verb, since most of the arguments
of the verb may be indicated in the verb in some way (or, where they are not,
they may be clear from the context), or there may be references to the
arguments of the verb externally to the verb.

Some of these nominal arguments are encoded in the verb by a prefix
indicating the person and number (and in the case of third person singular,
also gender). These are: subject (S), direct object (DO) and indirect object
(IO). These arguments are referred to as core arguments. Other arguments,
referred to as non-core arguments, are either:

(i) required or implied by the semantics of the verb but are not encoded on the verb by a personal prefix, viz secondary object (SO) and instrument (In),

(ii) signalled within the verb by the presence of the concomitative marker, thus showing they are required by this particular form of the verb, viz. concomitative (Con) (cf. 4.2.1.1(3), p.165).

All these nominal arguments of the verb may occur externally to the verb as an unmarked noun phrase (5.1, p.221), a personal or impersonal pronoun (3.3.1-3, p.100ff), a definitive or demonstrative (3.3.5, p.117), a pronominal phrase or a combination of some of these as an appositional NP (5.1.4, p.233). The pronominalisation of arguments is discussed in a little more detail in 6.8.1, p.291.


### 6.2.1.1  CORE ARGUMENTS IN TT

(1) Subject.  The subject (S) is the nominal argument which is required in the intransitive clause.  Dixon (1980:286) labels the two nominal arguments required in the transitive clause A and 0, where A is the transitive subject and 0 is the transitive object.[4]  In TT, S and A fall together and are denoted by S.  Neither have case-marking and they cannot be distinguished by word order differences (see 6.8, p.291).  Moreover, they are normally encoded on the verb by the same set of prefixes (see 4.2.2.1, p.172).  This is another feature in which Tiwi differs from most Australian languages, particularly Pama-Nyungan languages (Dixon 1980:286).  The term S refers to the nominal argument required in all verbal clauses and which is encoded in the verb by the first and second prefixes (see Table 4.3, p.152).  This applies to those clauses which require just one nominal arugment (viz.  active intransitive clauses and stative verbal clauses) and those which require two or three nominal arguments (viz.  active transitive, semi-transitive and ditransitive clauses).

Example  (6-2)  (TT)

(a)  **active itr:**

> *ji*      - *pangurlimayi*
> she:P - walk
> ´She walked.´

(b)  **stative verbal:**

> *winga ji*    - *pungi*  -  *mangi* - *ma*
> sea     she:P - away    -  water - become
> ´It became salt water out there.´

(c)  **active tr:**

> *ji*       - *mini*   -  *pirni*
> she:P - me(DO) -  hit
> ´She hit me.´

(d) **active semi-tr:**

> *ji*  -  *kirimi*  *wangatunga*
> she:P - make    bark:basket
> ´She made a bark basket.´

(e) **active ditr:**

> *ji*   -  *min*  -  *takirayi*  *kunawini*
> she:P -  me(DO)- give      money
> ´She gave me money.´

The term ´S´ is extended to cover the nominal argument in non-verbal clauses which identifies who or what is being talked about. The term S is used because of the relationship between stative non-verbal clauses and stative verbal clauses. In the latter case the same verbal subject prefixes are used as in active clauses (see 6.4.1, p.283, and also 6.5.1, p.285). There seems no reason to call this nominal argument by another term.

In the non-verbal clauses the subject may be manifested by an expanded NP, but it is more usual for it to be manifested by a single word, such as a noun, pronoun, definitive or demonstrative, with a quality or state etc. being given in the predicate.

Example  (6-3)  (TT)

(a) *ngarra, muwa-mantani  yijana*
    he       our-friend(m) sick
    ´Our friend is sick.´

(b) *(karri) ngiya kirijinga*
    when    I     small(f)
    ´(when) I was a girl´

(2) Direct Object (DO).

The DO is defined as that nominal argument required by certain verb stems (transitive) and which is indicated on the verb by a DO prefix (see 4.2.3, p.179) for all persons, except third singular in which case the subject-tense prefix also encodes the gender of the DO (see 4.2.2.1, p.172). The DO may occur overtly in the clause as well, cross-referenced to the verbal prefix. There may also be an incorporated form in the nucleus of the verb referring to the DO (see 4.2.1.1(2)). The DO occurs in transitive and ditransitive clauses.

The DO normally has the role of patient or, in the case of ditransitive verbs, recipient or source, depending upon the verb. (This is discussed further in 6.3.2.1, p.270).

Example  (6-4)  (TT)

(a) *pi*   - *rri* - *wun*   - *unyayi* *awuta*      *nyarringari*
    they:P- P   - them(DO)- find    those(def) goose
    ´They found the geese.´

(b) *Maliwarniyuwa pi*    - *rri*  - *pakirayi pakinya*
    M.              they:P - P:him - give    first
    ´It was to Maliwarniyuwa that they gave (her) first.´

(3) Indirect Object (IO).

The IO is the nominal argument to which the IO prefixes on the verb refer (4.2.3, p.179).[5] Although 'indirect object' is used here, the senses in which it is used in TT are much wider than those normally covered by the term. The IO may encode benefactive (as in example 6-5(a)), purpose (as in example 6-5(b)), the addressee with certain verbs of speech (6-5(c)), the patient (6-5(d) and (e)), or the person talked about (6-5(f)).

The IO in TT appears to cover a similar range of functions as both the purposive and dative cases in most other Australian languages. In some languages these are separate but in others they fall together (Dixon 1972:146-147; 1980:297ff; McKay 1975; Capell 1956:77f; Hudson 1978:24f).

The IO prefix is often the only indication of the presence of an IO in the clause, but there may be an overt expression of the IO in the clause as well and/or an incorporated form in the nucleus of the verb (see 4.2.1.1(2), p.160).

Although benefactive and purpose are not normally arguments of the verb (cf. Dixon 1980:297f), they are considered as such in TT, since, when they are present in a clause they are cross-referenced to the verb, with the IO prefix indicating person and number (and, in the case of third singular person, gender, see Table 4.8, p.180). Here 'benefactive' and 'purpose' are semantic terms and 'IO' is the syntactic term. The beginning of a change is discussed further on where the IO is not necessarily marked on the verb.

Example   (6-5)

(a)   *ngu - mpu - nginji - kuruwala*[6]
      I   - NP:f - you(IO) - sing
      'I will sing for you.'

(b)   *mintawunga     nga      - murr    - uriyi*
      stringy:bark(f) we(incl) - her(IO) - go
      'We go for stringy bark.'

(c)   *ngarra awarra      yi  - mupu  - rrupujinga - mi   ngini* '......'
      he     that:one(m) he:P - us(IO) -   talk    - say that  '......'
      'He said to us "....."'

(d)   *a   - mpu - nginji       - rrangurliya*
      she - NP  - you(sg)(IO) - hold:shoulders
      'She is holding you by the shoulders.'

(e)   *kulinjila      pu-tu      - mirri  - kupur - ani   jipojirringa*
      wallaby:spear  they:P-P:f - her(IO) - spear - P:HAB wallaby
      'They would spear the wallaby with a wallaby spear.'

(f)   *awarra          mu             - rrupujinga - mi*
                       *wu- + mi-)*
      that:one(m)      they:NP+him(IO) - talk       - say
      'They talk about that one.'

The IO prefix is mutually exclusive with the DO prefix, and, in general, the IO does not occur in transitive clauses, but it may occur when the DO is third singular person.[7]  (See 4.2.3.1, p.179).

The IO does not appear in any of the examples of ditransitive clauses in my corpus, except in example 6-7(c) (where it occurs as a prepositional phrase) but it may occur in intransitive and semi-transitive clauses.  In some cases it would seem that the IO prefix on the verb is optional where there is an overt expression of the IO externally to the verb.  This may be a recent innovation.

Example  (6-6)  (TT)

    *pu      - rr - uriy - ani*     <u>*nyarringari*</u>
    they:P - P  - go   - P:HAB  goose(f)(IO)
    'They would go for geese.' (cf. example 6-5 (b))

Another feature which appears to be a recent innovation is the use of a prepositional phrase, with the 'locative' prepositions *kapi/ngampi* or *kaghi/kangi*, for the external form of IO. In all the examples I have where the IO is such a prepositional phrase there is no IO prefix on the verb.  This seems to be the beginning of the change apparent in MT, where there is never an IO prefix and the grammatical relations, covered by the IO in TT, are given by prepositional phrases (see 6.2.2.1, p.254, and Table 6.1, p.266).

Example  (6-7)  (TT/LTT?)

(a) *yi - pakilinga*  <u>*kaghi yingoti*</u>[8]
    he:P- climb       PREP  honey
    'He climbed for honey.'

(b) *'...' ngiya ngi - ri - mi* <u>*kapi*</u> *ngiya -* <u>*mamanta*</u>
         I      I   - CV - do PREP my      - friends
    '"..." I said to my friends.'

(c) *ta       - waningi*[9] *- yangirri* <u>*ngampi*</u> <u>*ngiya*</u> *-* <u>*purnayi*</u>
    IMP(sg) - words       - send      PREP      my    - husband
    'Send a telegram to my husband!'


### 6.2.1.2  NON-CORE ARGUMENTS IN TT

(1) Secondary Object (SO).

The SO is a nominal argument required by certain verb stems but which is not indicated on the verb by a personal prefix.  It may occur in the verb as a nominal incorporated form (as in example 6-8(a)) (see also 4.2.1.1(1), p.157) or expressed overtly in the clause, externally to the verb.  The SO tends to be inanimate, while the DO tends to be animate.  The SO occurs in ditransitive and semi-transitive clauses.  In some cases there is no reference to the secondary object in the clause at all but it has to be inferred from the context (as in example 6-4(b), where 'her' is understood from the previous sentences).

Example  (6-8)

(a)  *awu* <u>*ngarratuwu*</u>   *naki*   <u>*yoni*</u>    *ngi* – *mpi* – *yi*   *-wa*   *-yalam-ami...*
     and he:TOP         this(m) other(m) I   – NP:f – ICVE  –words-load  –MV
     ´And here´s another story I am recording ...´

(b)  *Yirrikati  yi*  –  *kirimi*  <u>*mampunga*</u>
     Y.          he:P – make     canoe
     ´Yirrikati made canoes.´          (Osborne 1974:63)

(c)  *ngarra a*    – *man*   – *takirayi* <u>*kuwinawini*</u>
     he       he:NP– us(DO)– give      money
     ´He gives us money.´
(2) Concomitative.

     The concomitative (Con) is the nominal argument of the verb which is
signalled by the concomitative marker, *ma(rri)-*, on the verb.  This is
discussed at some length in 4.2.1.1(3) (p.165) but some of the discussion is
reiterated here.  This prefix, *ma-*, may immediately precede a form, *ji(ngi)-*,
which means ´in, on´ and in this case the concomitative normally has the role
of conveyance or vehicle, though in some cases it seems that what is referred
to by the concomitative is actually ´in´ or ´on´ the person referred to by the
subject, as in example 6-9(d).  When the prefix *ma(rri)-* occurs without the
form *ji(ngi)-* the role of the concomitative is normally accompaniment, though
the range included in TT is wider than in English, including things which are
carried, as in example 6-9(a).  The concomitative could perhaps be divided into
two different grammatical relations, vehicle and accompaniment, but at this
stage they are treated together because it is still not clear without further
investigation whether this is the basic distinction.  There are other uses of
the concomitative marker which need further investigation.  In general, the
concomitative refers to an object or person in close association with one of
the other major nominal arguments of the clause, normally S or DO.

     The concomitative may be manifested overtly by a NP or pronominal
externally to the verb and/or by an incorporated form in the verb.  (When there
is *ji(ngi)-* present there is only one example in the data of such an
incorporated form (see 4.2.1.1(3), p.165, and example 4-28(c), p.166).  In some
cases there is no overt reference to the concomitative and the meaning has to
be inferred from the context as in example 6-9(e) or from one´s knowledge of
the situation, as in example 6-9(g).[10]  The concomitative has been found in all
active verbal clause types in the data except the ditransitive.

Example  (6-9)

(a)  *a*   – *wuni* – <u>*marri*</u>  – <u>*kiji*</u>  – *ja* <u>*manjanga*</u>
     he:NP– DIR  – CON.M – stick  – go  big:stick
     ´He is bringing a big stick.´
     (Lit:  ´He is coming with a big stick.´)

(b)  *karrikuwani yi*   – *rri* – <u>*marri*</u> – *muwu* <u>*tayikuwanga*</u>
     nobody       he:P – SBVE– CON.M – live  many(f)
     ´Nobody marries a lot of wives.´
     (Lit:  ´Nobody lives with many (feminine things/persons).´)

(c) *ngawa kinukuluwi kiyija       pi     - rri - muwunu - ma    - jumori*
    we    old:people little:bit they:P - P   - us(DO) - CON.M - leave
    'They left us with a little (of the old ways).'

(d) *'yayi, yayi' ji    - yi - ma    - ju - wurtingi*[11]  *- m - ani*
    oh    oh    she:P - CV - CON.M- in - because:of(?) - do - P:HAB

    *awinyirra*[12]
    that(f)

    '"Oh, oh" she would say because of that (spear) in her.'

(e) *Kiyi pi    - ti        - ri - marr  - unga  - mini  tuwara*
    then they:P- P:her(DO)- CV - CON.M - grab  - P:HAB tail
    'Then they would grab her tail (with the spear still in her).'[13]

(f) *ngawa kapala nga     - ri - ma   - jing - uriyi*
    we    boat    we(incl)- CV - CON.M- in  - go
    'We go in a boat.'

(g) *jarrikarlani mu     - wati - pa  - ma   - ji - papirraya*
    turtle    you:&:I - morn - EMPH- CON.M- in - go:down
    'You and I will go down in the morning (in a boat) for turtle.'

(3) Instrument (In).

    In my TT data there are very few instances of an instrument expressed in a clause. Where it does occur, it is manifested by a NP, which has no cross-reference to the verb. Instrument has been found in all active verbal clause types, except ditransitive, and in the stative semi-transitive clause.

Example  (6-10)  (TT)

(a) *a      - wunji - kurungumi  arlukuni*
    he:NP - DUR   - dig       digging:stick
    'He is digging with a digging stick.'

(b) *pajungoni pi     - ri - kirim - ani   nyitawa*[14] *manjanga*
    die/dead   they:P - CV - make  - P:HAB her:EMPH      big:stick
    'They would kill it (i.e. wallaby) with the big stick.'

## 6.2.2 ARGUMENTS OF THE CLAUSE IN MODERN TIWI

    In MT, where the subject is encoded on the verb, a clause may consist of a predicate alone or with a number of other constituents, as in TT. Where there is an uninflected free form verb a clause consists of at least a subject and predicate except in the case of an imperative and some instances of ellipsis, which is not discussed here (see also 6.9.7.2, p.308).

    As in TT, the constituents of the clause can be 'layered' but the criteria for classing constituents as core arguments, non-core arguments or lateral constituents are different. Core arguments are those which are required by the semantics of the verb, i.e. subject (S), direct object (DO) and indirect object (IO). In MT, there is no object marked on the verb and so the distinction

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between direct object and secondary object, which exists in TT, is lost.  The
non-core arguments in MT are: benefactive/purpose (B/Pur), instrument (In),
accompaniment (Accomp), and vehicle (Veh).  The lateral constituents are the
same as those in TT, viz. locative (Loc), temporal (T), manner (Mnr), modal
(Mdl), negative (Neg) and reason (Reas).  These are discussed further in 6.2.3
(p.260).

    In MT, most of the non-core arguments and also the IO are expressed in the
clause by prepositional phrases, not by unmarked nominal phrases or pronominals
as in TT.  A brief description of the core and non-core arguments is given
here:


### 6.2.2.1  CORE ARGUMENTS IN MT

(1) Subject.

    In MT, the definition of S is the same as that given for TT, viz. that
nominal argument which is encoded by the first one (or two) prefixes on the
verb, in a verbal clause containing an inflected verb.

Example  (6-11)   (MT)

(a)  **itr:**  <u>*(ng)arra*</u>  *kalikali*  *yi-mi*
               he          run         he:P-do
               ´He ran.´

(b)  **tr:**  <u>*(ng)arra*</u>  *kilim*  <u>*yi*</u>  - *mi*  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ngiya \\ yiya \end{array} \right.$
              he          hit      he:P - do   me
              ´He hit me.´

    In clauses containing no inflected verb but a free form verb occurring
alone, the term ´S´ is extended to cover the NP which precedes the verb.  This
NP would be cross-referenced to the inflected verb if there was one, and is the
actor or agent with an active verb and the experiencer with a stative verb (in
general).

Example  (6-12)   (MT)

(a)  **itr:**  <u>*arra*</u>  *kalilaki*
               he      run
               ´He is running.´/´He ran.´

(b)  **tr:**  <u>*arra*</u>  *kilim*  *yiya*
              he      hit      me
              ´He is hitting me.´ or ´He hit me.´

    Again, in MT non-verbal clauses, the subject is that NP which identifies
the thing or person being talked about.  It is equivalent to the S of TT
non-verbal clauses and normally precedes the predicate, as in TT.

Example (6-13)  (MT)

> *(ng)arra  kijini*
> he      small(m)/boy
> ´He is small.´ or ´He is a boy.´

As in TT, S may be manifested by a NP (5.1, p.221f), a pronoun (3.3.1-4, p.100f), a definitive or a demonstrative (3.3.5, p.117f).

(2) Direct Object.

In MT, the DO is the second nominal argument semantically required by certain verbs.  Since the DO person is no longer marked on the verb the DO is pronominalised more than in TT.  The normal position of the DO in MT is following the verb, though this may vary where there is an inflected verb (see 6.8.2, p.293).  The DO occurs in transitive clauses and normally as the second object in ditransitive clauses.  The DO may be manifested by a noun phrase or by a pronoun.  When the object is third person and can be understood from the context it may be omitted (see 6.3.2.2, p.273).

Example (6-14)  (MT)

(a)  *ju    - wunga naki kirritawini*
     she:P - get    this bread
     ´She got this bread.´          (MP22)

(b)  *yiya kilim yi  - mi*
     me   hit   he:P - do
     ´He hit me.´

In casual MT or in Children´s Tiwi, where there is no inflected verb, there is fairly rigid word order SVO.

Example (6-15)  (Cas MT/CT)

(a)  *arra kilim awa*
     he   hit  us
     ´He is hitting us.´ or ´He hit us.´

(b)  *nyirra meykim tunga*
     she    make   basket
     ´She is making a basket.´ or ´She made a basket.´

Some cases of DO in MT are equivalent to one of the functions of the concomitative in TT, for instance the verb stem *-marriyi* ´take´ in MT is derived from the concomitative marker *marri-* plus the stem *-uriyi* ´go´ (see 4.2.1.2, p.167).

Example (6-16)  (MT)

> *yi  - marriyi yipalinya ka   keyp*
> he:P - take    woman     PREP cave
> ´He took the woman to the cave.´

(3) Indirect Object.

The IO is the third nominal argument required by ditransitive verbs, such as verbs of ´giving´ or some verbs of speech (see also 6.3.2.2, p.273). In the clauses containing such verbs it is regarded as a core argument. In ditransitive clauses the IO may occur as a prepositional phrase with either of the prepositions *kapi* or *ka* (see 5.2.4, p.242) or it may occur as an unmarked NP or pronominal. (See 6.3.2.2, p.273, for examples of the IO in ditransitive clauses).

The IO may also be a non-core argument in some intransitive clauses (depending upon the verb). The verbs in these clauses are mainly English loan verbs which take such an indirect object in English, as in examples 6-17 (a, b).

The verb stem *-mi*, meaning ´say´ or the loan verbs *sey* or *tok* (plus or minus an auxiliary with the stem *-mi* ´do´ (see 4.3.2.2, p.213)) also take an IO. In these cases the IO is always a prepositional phrase with the prepositions *kapi* or *ka*, as in 6-17(c).

Example (6-17) (MT)

(a) *awa lap   yintirimi ka Reyshel*
    we  laugh we:did    at Rachael
    ´We laughed at Rachael.´    (SM12)

(b) *arra poyntim  kapi yirrikipeyi*
    he   point    at   crocodile
    ´He is pointing at a crocodile.´  (IM10)

(c) *nuwa    kalu   tok  ka ngiya*
    you(pl) not    talk to me
    ´You are not talking to me.´    (EP20)

This second function of the IO corresponds to one of the functions of the IO in TT and, as previously mentioned, is being marked by a prepositional phrase even in the speech of some older people (see 6.2.1.1(3), examples 6-7(b-d).


## 6.2.2.2  NON-CORE ARGUMENTS IN MT

(1) Benefactive/Purpose.

In general, there is no formal distinction between benefactive and purpose, both being manifested by a prepositional phrase with the English loan preposition *fo* or *fu* ´for´. There are some examples in the older young people´s speech where a purpose is manifested by an unmarked NP following a verb of motion, as in the less traditional style of Tiwi discussed in 6.2.1.1, p.251, and shown in example 6-6.

Example (6-18)   (LTT/MT)

(a) *ngu - witha   yikiti*
    I   - go:now  food
    'I am going for food.'   (MD12)

(b) *ju    - wuriyi opireyshin*
    she:P - go      operation
    'She went for an operation.'   (CP19)

    Benefactive/purpose occurs in all types of active verbal clause types in MT, except the ditransitive.[15]

Example  (6-19)   (MT)

(a) *yi   - kirim - ani     jurra  fu  ngawa*
    he:P - make  - P:HAB(?) church for us
    'He built a church for us'   (JN12)

(b) *awa luk  ran     yintirimi fo  kapinaki*
    we  look around we:did    for these
    'We looked around for these people.'   (ST10)

(c) *wuta pu     - nu - riyi fu  poting*
    they they:P - DIR- go   for voting
    'They came for voting.'   (AP28)

Example  (6-20)   (Cas MT/CT)

(a) *thirra kijimi wan fo  thirra*
    she    get    one for her
    'She got one for her.'   (AM12)

(b) *arra weyt fu  ngawa*
    he   wait for us
    'He is waiting for us.'   (boy)

(c) *arra ku waya fu  jupojirringa*
    he   go now  for wallaby
    'He is going now for wallaby.'   (TP8)

    There are a few examples (three or four) where the prepositions, *ka* or *kapi*, are used to express purpose but this does not seem to be a general trend. These examples are given by children and they may be cases of hypercorrection, a TT derived preposition being given instead of the English derived one.

Example  (6-21)   (MT)

(a) *arra tray luk  aran    kapi awurra yingopa   men*
    he   try  look around PREP those  other(pl) men
    'He tried to look around for those other men.'   (DB12)

(b) *thirra kam jimi   naki      kapi wununga*
    she    come she:did this/here PREP possum
    'She came here for possum.'                  (CP8)

(2) Accompaniment.

The accompaniment in MT is equivalent to one of the functions of the concomitative in TT (see 6.2.1.2 (2), p.252). There are basically two ways of showing accompaniment in MT: by the use of the prepositions *wuta* or *wurra* and *with(i)* ([wɪt(ɪ)]). *wuta* or *wurra* is derived from the third plural pronoun, which is used in TT (or in LTT) as a conjunction meaning 'and' in coordinate NP's (see 5.1.3, p.230). This does not seem to be used by young children (as is also the case with *wuta/wurra* used as a conjunction). The accompaniment normally follows the verb or is final in the clause and, in the data, occurs only in intransitive clauses.

Example (6-22) (MT)

(a) *nginanki    waki awujikimi   wuta ngarra-mirani*
    this:one(m) work he:is:doing with his-   son
    'This man is working with his son.'

(b) *ngarra yi   - nuriyi ningani wuta awinyirra   yipalinya*
    he       he:P -come   today   with that(f)     woman
    'He came today with that woman.'      (AP28)

(c) *arra    jiyita peyiti wurra naki    arra     kopra*
    that(m) cheetah fight  with  this(m) this(m)  cobra
    (def)                        (dem)   (def)
    'The cheetah fought with this cobra.'    (DB12)

The English loan preposition *with(i)* is also used in MT,[16] mainly by children.

Example (6-23) (MT/CT?)

(a) *karri thapinamini anturiyi with fata*
    when  night        we:went  with Father
    'At night we went with Father.'    (DB12)

(b) *awa pley with ya - pokuwi*
    we  play with my - sisters
    'We played with my sisters.'    (AW10)

As with purpose, there are some cases of younger children using the general preposition *ka* to indicate accompaniment.

Example (6-24) (CT)

    *arra peyiti ka    intiyen[17]*
    he    fight with Indian
    'He is fighting with the Indian.'    (boy)

There are some cases in which it is difficult to tell whether the prepositional phrase with *with* functions as an accompaniment or as an instrument, since accompaniment is normally animate and the nouns in these particular cases are inanimate. They occur with the verbs *pley*, *wulijini* or *pokayini*, all meaning 'play' and are similar to English expressions with this verb.

Example (6-25) (MT)

> *ngarra pley* <u>*with*</u> <u>*naki*</u> <u>*thapurraringa*</u>
> he     play   with this bike
> ´He is playing with this bike.´     (PP18)

Some older young people gave this type of clause (in 6-25) but with the preposition *wutiriyi* or *wutili/wutiliyi* derived from a TT word *wutiriyi* which seems to mean ´mixed up´ or ´together´.[18] This is also used for instrument in MT (see 6.2.2.2(4)).

Example (6-26) (MT/LTT?)

> *wulijini wu*     *- timuji*   *- ngi - mi* <u>*wutiliyi*</u> <u>*malipininga*</u>
> play     they:NP - together - CV - do with     bike
> ´They are playing together with the bike.´     (MW25)

(3) Vehicle.

Vehicle is another argument in MT which is equivalent to one of the functions of the concomitative in TT (see 6.2.1.2(2), p.252). This is manifested in MT by a prepositional phrase with the general preposition *ka*.[19]

Example (6-27)

(a) *yi*   *- nuriyi Jipilayi* <u>*ka*</u>     <u>*mutika*</u>
     he:P- come     Jipilayi PREP car
     ´He came by/in the car.´     (CP19)

(b) *awa ko waya*     <u>*ka*</u>     <u>*pas*</u>
     we   go now/then PREP bus
     ´We went then by/in the bus.´     (JW10)

(4) Instrument.

In MT the instrument may occur as an unmarked NP, as in TT (see 6.2.1.2(3), p.253), or by a prepositional phrase with one of the prepositions *with(i)*, *wutiriyi/wutiliyi/wutili* or *wuta/wurra*. *wutiriyi* seems to be used only by older young people and *wuta/wurra* by children (with this sense). It may be that the use of *wuta/wurra* may be a hypercorrection (likening it to the use of *wuta/wurra*) for accompaniment in MT). There is really no formal distinction between instrument and accompaniment except that instrument may be unmarked (see also (2), p.252). When the instrument is an unmarked NP there may be ambiguity, but the context normally makes it clear that an instrument is meant rather than a direct object. It would seem that the use of the prepositions has been introduced to clarify the sense.

Example (6-28) (MT)

(a) <u>*yikara*</u> *pi*     *- ri - kirim - ani*     *palingarri*
     hand     they:P - CV - make - P:HAB long:ago
     ´They used to make it (bread) by hand long ago.´     (MP22)

(b) *yi - nti - kiyakitirringa*[20] <u>*withu*</u> <u>*waranga*</u> (i -->u/___ w )
     we - P - throw:and:hit     with   stone
     ´We threw a stone and hit it.´

(c) *nyirra kutupi <u>wutiriyi</u> <u>alipurrunga</u>*
    she     jump    with      rope
    ´She is jumping with a rope.´  (i.e. skipping)   (PP18)

(d) *ngiya kilim nuwa    <u>tangini</u>*
    I     hit   you(pl) stick
    ´I´ll hit you with a stick.´   (EP20)

(e) *arra pley  purrupul <u>with</u> <u>tangini</u>*
    he   play  ball     with stick
    ´He is playing ball with a stick.´    (JP9)

(f) *kakijuwi pley  pati  <u>wuta</u> <u>kitaa</u>*
    children play  about with guitar
    ´The children are playing about with a guitar.´


### 6.2.3  LATERAL CONSTITUENTS

    The lateral constituents (i.e. those constituents which convey specific
information about the circumstances of the action or event but which, in
general, are not arguments of the verb) are basically the same in MT as in TT,
though they may be manifested differently.  These are: locative (Loc), temporal
(T), manner (Mnr), modal (Mdl), negative (Neg) and reason (Reas).


### 6.2.3.1  LOCATIVE

    In all varieties of Tiwi the locative may occur in all types of active
verbal clauses.  It may also occur in stative clauses (both verbal and
non-verbal) but as the complement in the predicate of the clause (see 6.4,
p.282, and 6.5, p.285).  The locative constituent of a clause may be manifested
by a locative word (see 3.5.1, p.124); by a locative noun, indicating a place
or the name of a place, such as *tingata* ´beach´; by a locative phrase (see
5.2.1, p.236), an appositional locative phrase (see 5.2, p.235) or by a
locative clause (see 6.9.2, p.298)

(1) Traditional Tiwi

    The locative constituent may indicate motion ´to´ or ´from´ with the verbs
of motion and location ´at´, ´in´, ´on´, ´near´ etc. with non-motion verbs.
There are no formal differences between these different types of location.
Location ´at´ may be marked just by the verbal locative prefix *(wu)ni-*, ´at a
distance´ or by the verbal stance prefix *Ci(ngi)-* ´out bush´ (see 4.2.4,
p.182).  There may be a locative expressed externally to the verb as well as
these verbal prefixes.  These prefixes are used only with these senses and are
not used to signal a general locative (cf. the use of the concomitative marker
to signal a concomitative 6.2.1.2(2), p.252).  With motion verbs the prefix
*(wu)ni-* may also be used to mean ´to here´.  In this case there may be an

external locative, also meaning ´(to) here´, but it is more usual for an external locative (cooccurring with the verbal prefix) to indicate motion ´from´,[21] as in example 6-29(a). The stance prefix, meaning ´out bush´, may also be used with motion verbs.

Only a few examples are given here. For other examples see the examples in 6.3.1.1, p.267 and 6.3.2.1, p.270. For examples of locative phrases see 5.2.1, p.236 and for examples of locative clauses see 6.9.2, p.298.

Example  (6-29)  (TT)

(a)  *nyirra ji    - nu - wurimpura Nguiu*
    she      she:P - DIR- leave     Nguiu
    ´She has left Nguiu (for good(?)).´

(b)  *a       - wuriyi murrakupupuni*
    he:NP - go   country/bush
    ´He goes to the bush.´

(c)  *yinkiti awungani - la ngi       - rri - pungi    - pirn - ani    pirlima*
    food    like:that - REP we(excl) - P    - out:bush - catch - P:HAB on:way
    ´We would keep getting food in the bush like that on the way.´

(2) Modern Tiwi

In MT the locative indicating motion ´from´ is different from other locatives, in that it is always marked by the preposition *prom* or *from* (see also 5.2.1, p.239).

Example  (6-30)  (MT)

(a)  *kam pak pirimi   from Tu Mayl*
    come back they:did from Two Mile
    ´They came back from Two Mile.´    (CK10)

(b)  *arra kurrup from warra*
    he   jump   from water
    ´He jumped from the water.´    (RJ12)

In MT, there are some examples of the directional prefix, but in many cases this seems to be fused with the stem *-uriyi* ´go´ to give *-nuriyi* ´come´ (see 4.2.4.2, p.185). Where it does occur there is often a motion ´from´ in the clause.[22]

Example  (6-31)  (MT)

    *yi   - nuriyi muwa      - morti from Milikapiti*
    he:P - come   your:&:my - son   from M.
    ´Our son came from Milikapiti.´    (AP28)

Other locatives in MT occur as unmarked nominals or as prepositional phrases with the preposition *kapi* or *ka* (see 5.2.1, p.236). There appears to be a greater tendency to use a preposition before a locative noun than in TT, as in example 6-32(b) and (c).

Example  (6-32)   (MT)

(a)  *kurrijakayi pu       - rr - uriyi wiyuwu*
     Japanese    they:P - P  - go
     'The Japanese went to Nguiu.'      (PP23)

(b)  *yi - nt - uriyi ka mirraparinga*
     we - P - go      to mangroves
     'We went to the mangroves.'    (JVT10)

(c)  *awa ko ka Milikapiti*
     we  go to Milikapiti
     'We went to Milikapiti.'        (LB33)

(d)  *awa kalikali Juliyan*
     we   run       J.
     'We ran to Julianne's (place).'    (FP6)


**6.2.3.2  TEMPORAL**

   In all varieties of Tiwi the temporal constituent of a clause may be
manifested by a temporal word (though the temporal words used may vary from
style to style (see 3.5.2, p.130); by a temporal phrase (5.2.2, p.239), by a
temporal clause (6.9.3, p.299) or by an appositional phrase, with a combination
of some of these.  The position of the temporal may vary, though it occurs most
frequently either initially or finally.  The temporal constituent may occur in
all types of clauses, both verbal and non-verbal, though there are not many
examples in the stative verbal clauses and the non-verbal clauses.

   In TT some temporals may be marked on the verb, with a possible external
temporal as well.  The temporals marked on the verb are *(w)ati-* 'in the
morning', *ki-* 'in the evening' (see 4.2.5, p.186), and the prefixes *(wu)ni-* and
*Ci(ngi)-* with the meaning 'a long time in time' (see 4.2.4, p.182).

Example  (6-33)

(a)  *(japinari) ngu - wati - papirraya tingata*
     morning    I  - morn - go:down    beach
     'I am going down to the beach in the morning.'

(b)  *ngawa waya ningani yipulintiwi pungintagha nga      - wati[23] - wini*
     we    now  today  slow      head      we(incl) - all     - have
     'Now today we all have slow heads.'

   There are no temporal prefixes on the verb in MT, and so any temporals
occur overtly in the clause.  These may be manifested by an English loan word
as well as the types of elements mentioned previously (see 3.5.2, p.130).

Example  (6-34)   (MT)

(a)  *awa waya paruwani*
     we  now  hungry
     'We are hungry now.'

(b) _palingarri_ *peyiti pi    - ri - m - ani*
    long:ago    fight  they:P - CV - do- P:HAB
    ´Long ago they used to fight.´

(c) *(karri)* _thapinari_ *awa ko wiyuwu*
    when      morning   we  go Nguiu
    ´In the morning we´re going to Nguiu.´


## 6.2.3.3 MANNER AND MODAL

In TT, the modal constituent is manifested by a particle, such as *arrami*, *arramukuta*, *amukuta* or *kuta*, all meaning ´perhaps, maybe´, *tu(wa)wanga* ´again´ or *awunganuwanga* ´likewise, in the same way´.[24] There are not many examples of these in the MT data (see 3.5.3, p.135 for a discussion of these). When these occur in a clause they are normally either initial or close to initial.

Example (6-35) (TT)

(a) _arramukuta_ *pi     - ni - ri - k  - apa  yinkiti*
    perhaps     they:P - LOC- CV - eve - eat  food
    ´Perhaps they will eat some food there in the evening.´

(b) *paparluwi* _awunganuwanga_ *a     - wun     - takirayi*
    old:people  likewise       he:NP - them(DO)- give
    ´In the same way he gives to the old people.´

Example (6-36) (MT)

(a) _arramukurra_ *kurritawini awaji yilaruwu*
    maybe        bread       there inside
    ´Perhaps there is bread inside there.´   (DB12)

(b) _arrami_ *ngiya ku Tawin*
    maybe   I     go Darwin
    ´Maybe I´ll go to Darwin.´   (AP28)

The manner constituent normally occurs close to the verb, modifying it in some way. In all varieties of Tiwi it may be manifested by a manner word (3.5.3, p.135), a prepositional manner phrase (5.2.3, p.241), an appositional manner phrase (5.2, p.235), or a manner clause (see 6.9.4, p.300).

Example (6-37) (TT)

(a) *ngawa waya* _pirlamarruwi_ *ngi      - mp - ati - ri-muwu*
    we    now  carelessly  we(excl) - NP - all - CV-live
    ´Now we all live without planning.´

(b) *ngawa* _awungani_ *nga    - ma   - ta   - ami* _nginingaji wuta_
    we    like:that we(incl)- SBVE - EMPH - be   like          them

    _ngawa -   mamanta_
    our   -  friends
    ´We should be like that, like our friends.´

Example (6-38) (MT)

(a) *kam   ji   - mi   murruka- la*
    come  she:P - do  quick  - REP
    ´She came quickly.´ (or kept coming quickly(?))

(b) *wurra yujim thaliwarra nginingaji nuwa     skul     poy*
    they  use   trousers    like      you(pl) school boys
    ´They use trousers like you school boys.´

The negative particles are discussed when negation is discussed more fully in 6.6, p.287.


### 6.2.3.4 REASON

In general, reason in TT is encoded by a reason clause (see 6.9.5, p.301) but there are some cases where reason is indicated by an incorporated form within the verb, as in example 6-39 (see also 6-1, p.245). I have no examples in my corpus of a clause constituent (either unmarked NP or pronominal, or a prepositional phrase) functioning as a reason constituent.

Example (6-39) (TT)

(a) *nga       - ru - wa  - kiringayi*
    we(incl) - CV - ant - scratch
    ´we scratch because of the ants´

(b) *nga       - ri - pu    - kiringayi*
    we(incl) - CV - grass - scratch
    ´we scratch because of the grass´

There are some examples in MT of a reason phrase with the preposition *pili* which comes from the TT reason conjunction meaning ´because´ (see 6.9.5, p.301). This type of phrase may be possible in TT as well but I have no examples in my corpus.

Example (6-40) (MT)

(a) *nyirra japini    juwuriyi Milikapiti pili     nyirra - rringani*
    she    last:night she:went Snake:Bay  because her    - father
    ´She went to Snake Bay last night because of her father.´   (LB33)

(b) *arrana     pili    pulangumowi*
    take:care because dogs
    ´Take care because of the dogs.´       (FP13)

There are one or two examples in MT where there is a prepositional phrase, with the preposition *prom/from* marking reason.

Example (6-41) (MT)

(a) *nyirra pulingiya from naki taringa*
    she    trembling from this snake
    ´She is trembling because of the snake.´       (PP18)

(b)  *arra pajuwani <u>from awinyirra pumurali</u>*
    he    dead     from that(f)    lightning(f)
    ´He has died because of the lightning.´       (child)

These examples could be thought of as encoding source but there is at least one example in MT where source is encoded by an unmarked NP (the only example of source as opposed to reason).

Example  (6-42)  (MT)

    *wu      - ri - kirimi kirritawini  <u>naki flawa</u>*
    they:NP - CV - make    bread      this flour
    ´They make bread from this flour.´

## 6.2.4  SUMMARY OF THE CHANGES IN THE CLAUSE CONSTITUENTS

There is a basic change in Tiwi in the way in which arguments of the verb are indicated.  In TT, they are defined by cross-referencing (or the lack of it) to verbal affixes, while in MT, they are mainly defined syntactically by word order and/or by the marking of the NP in the clause by a preposition (or the lack of such marking).  In MT, the unmarked NPs are distinguished syntactically and semantically.  In more formal MT, the subject may be determined as in TT, i.e. by cross-reference with the subject-tense prefix in the verb.  In Casual MT, it is mainly distinguished by position and semantically (see also 6.8, p.291, re word order in the clause).
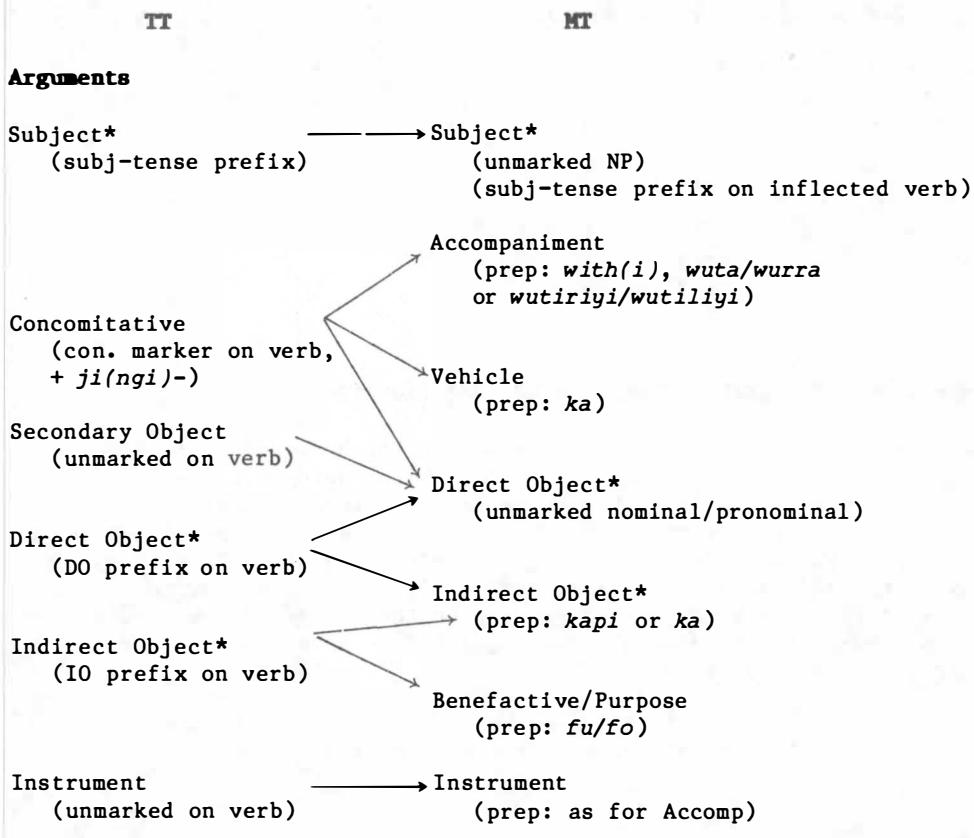
There is no one-to-one correspondence between the constituents of the clause in TT and MT.  The correspondences between the two are shown in Table 6.1.

## 6.3  ACTIVE VERBAL CLAUSES
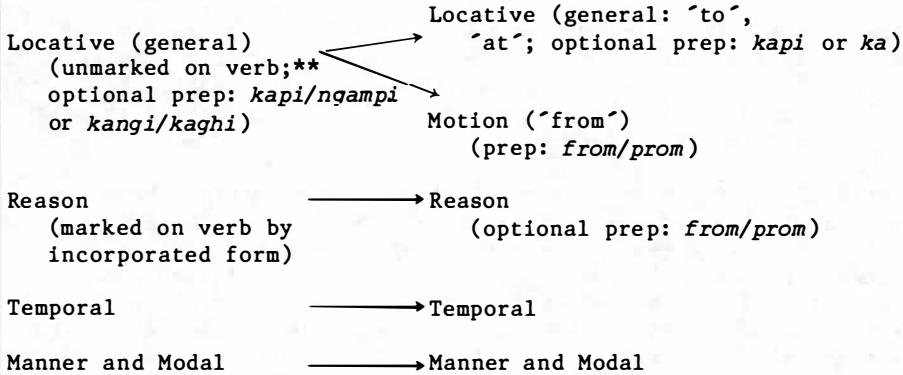
Active verbal clauses in TT and MT are those which have a predicate consisting of an independent inflected verb, verbal complex (a free form verb and an inflected auxiliary verb and in the case of MT sometimes a free form verb alone (see Chapter 4)).  In MT there may be an aspect word before the free form verb or independent inflected verb (see 4.3.3).

The term ´active´ here is used simply as a name to distinguish these clauses from the stative verbal clauses which have a verb and a complement (described in 6.4).  Not all verbs in these types of clauses are ´active´ in the sense that they refer to an action.  Some of the ´active´ TT verb stems refer to a state or event, such as *-urimi* ´be strong, hard´, *-wanti* ´smell (itr)´.  Some verb stems occur as stems of independent verbs or auxiliary verbs in active clauses and also as stems of verbs in stative clauses.  These are:

TABLE 6.1 CORRESPONDENCES OF CLAUSE CONSTITUENTS IN TT AND MT

<div align="center">TT            MT</div>

**Arguments**

Subject*   ———————→ Subject*
 (subj-tense prefix)      (unmarked NP)
           (subj-tense prefix on inflected verb)

           Accompaniment
            (prep: *with(i)*, *wuta/wurra*
            or *wutiriyi/wutiliyi*)

Concomitative
 (con. marker on verb,
 + *ji(ngi)*-)      Vehicle
            (prep: *ka*)

Secondary Object
 (unmarked on verb)

           Direct Object*
            (unmarked nominal/pronominal)

Direct Object*
 (DO prefix on verb)

           Indirect Object*
            (prep: *kapi* or *ka*)

Indirect Object*
 (IO prefix on verb)

           Benefactive/Purpose
            (prep: *fu/fo*)

Instrument   ———————→ Instrument
 (unmarked on verb)     (prep: as for Accomp)

**Lateral Constituents**

           Locative (general: ´to´,
Locative (general)     ´at´; optional prep: *kapi* or *ka*)
 (unmarked on verb;**
 optional prep: *kapi/ngampi*
 or *kangi/kaghi*)    Motion (´from´)
            (prep: *from/prom*)

Reason   ———————→ Reason
 (marked on verb by    (optional prep: *from/prom*)
 incorporated form)

Temporal   ———————→ Temporal

Manner and Modal  ———————→ Manner and Modal

\* indicates Core Arguments
\*\* See note 3, p.311

| | Active independent verb | Active auxiliary verb | Stative verb |
|---|---|---|---|
| *-mi* | ´go, say´ | ´do´ | ´be´ |
| *-ma* | | ´do´ | ´be, become´ |
| *-kirimi* | ´make´ | ´do´ | ´make be´ |
| *-muwu* | | | |
| | ´sit/live´ | ´do´ | ´be, live´ |
| *-mirringarra* | | | |

There are also clauses containing causative, reflexive and reciprocal verbs. These are not discussed in this chapter (see 4.2.7, p.188). Clauses containing verbs of speech are discussed separately (in 6.3.3, p.278).


## 6.3.1  INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Intransitive clauses are those which have a verb requiring basically just one nominal argument. Verbs of motion may be said to require a locative indicating a motion ´to´ or motion ´from´ (see 6.2.3.1, p.260) and so could be separated from other intransitive clauses. However, since these locatives are not formally different from other locative constituents[25] and since motion verbs do not always have a locative constituent, these clauses are not treated differently from other intransitive clauses.

The other lateral constituents of the clause may also occur in intransitive clauses, i.e. temporal, manner, modal, reason and negative in both TT and MT. (See examples in 6.2.3, p.260, and in the following sub-sections).


## 6.3.1.1  INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES IN TT

The arguments other than the subject which may occur in an intransitive clause in TT are Indirect Object (a core argument) (see 6.2.1.1(3), p.250) and concomitative (a non-core argument) (6.2.1.2(2), p.252). With verbs of motion the indirect object may refer to the person/people to whom the subject person is going.

Example (6-43)  Indirect Object:  (TT)

(a) **P**                                                              **IO**
*pokayini ngi  - ntu - wa  - ngin  - ta      - majila awinyirra*
play      we(ecl)- P  - FRUST- her(IO)- EMPH    - do      that(f)

*jarranga*
cow

´We tried to play with the cow.´

(b) **IO**                **P**
*ngawa - mamanta ngu - rupu      - rru  - wariyi*
our   - friends  I   - them(IO) - EMPH - go
´I´m going to our friends.´

Example (6-44)   Concomitative:   (TT)

(a)  **P**                                                    **Con**
   *ngi*      *- nti - ri - ma*     *- jakuji - rrangurlimay - ani*    *wurarripi*
   we(excl) - P    - CV - CON.M - group  - walk        - P:HAB  family
   ´We used to travel on foot with the family.´

(b)  **P**                                          **Con**
   *ngi*      *- nti - ri - ma*     *- jing - uriyi*  *mutika*
   we(excl) - P    - CV - CON.M - in   - go     car
   ´We went by car.´

There is just one example of an instrument with an intransitive verb, with the verb stem *-kurungumi* ´dig´.

Example (6-45)   (TT)

    **P**              **In**
    *a*      *- wunji - kurungumi*   *arlukuni*
    he:NP - DUR   - dig         digging stick
    ´He is digging with a digging stick.´

    **P**          **SO**
    *awunjikurungumi yangamini*
    ´He is digging a hole.´

## 6.3.1.2  INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES IN MT

In MT, an intransitive clause may consist of just a predicate (P) (as in TT), when the subject is marked on the verb. When there is an overt subject in the clause, the unmarked order is SP, though this order may be reversed. The reason for reversing the order has not been studied in detail but it would seem in general that the subject following the verb is either new information or old information re-introduced (see 6.8.2, p.293 for further discussion). When there is no bound subject on the verb, an overt subject is required, except under certain conditions for deletion of the subject, such as in a purpose clause (see 6.9.6, p.302), and the order always seems to be rigidly SP.

The optional arguments (non-core), which may occur in intransitive clauses in MT are: Benefactive/Purpose (B/Pur), Accompaniment (Accomp), Vehicle (Veh), Indirect Object (IO) and Instrument (In). The occurrence of some of these depends upon the semantics of the verb. (See 6.2.2.2, p.256 for a more detailed discussion of these). The lateral constituents, particularly locative (indicating motion ´to´ or motion ´from´ with verbs of motion), may also occur (see 6.2.3, p.260).

The locative lateral constituent and the non-core arguments normally follow the verb, but the order may vary. When the order is SP the subject and predicate are not normally separated except by a negative (see 6.6, p.287) or a manner word (see 6.2.3.3, p.263). There are normally no more than two different types of constituents in a clause, other than the subject and predicate.

Example (6-46)   (MT)

```
       T              P         Accomp
(a)  karri thapinamini anturiyi with fata
     at    night       we:went with father
     ´At night we went with Father.´

(b)  P           B/Pur   L
     ju  - wuriyi wununga ka warta
     she:P- go    possum
     ´She went for possum.´

(c)  S              P                B/Pur
     awa luk ran    yi - nti - ri - mi fu  niminaki
     we  look around we - P  - CV - do for something
     ´We look around for something.´

(d)  S   P                       IO
     awa win yi -  nti - ri - mi ka pat
     we  win we -  P   - CV - do at bat
     ´We won at bat.´

(e)  S   P                       IO
     awa shutim yi -  nti - ri - mi ka pirripirri²⁶
     we  shoot  we -  P    - CV - do at bird
     ´We shot at some birds.´

(f)  S   P                           In
     arra tikinim a   - wuji - ki - mi with alukuni
     he   dig     he:NP- DUR  - CV - do with digging:stick
     ´He is digging with a digging stick.´

(g)  S   P         Accomp
     yiya wokapat with pulangumoka
     I    walk     with dog
     ´I walked with the dog.´

(h)  S   P    IO
     yiya ripot ka nuwila²⁷
     I  ⌠ tell/ on you
        ⌡ report
     ´I´ll tell on you.´

(i)  S    P    B/Pur
     yiya pley fo yitha
     I    play for you(sg)
     ´I´ll play for you.´

(j)  S     P  L      Veh
     wurra ko Wiyuwu ka pot
     they  to Nguiu  by boat
     ´They went to Nguiu by boat.´
```

(k)  **T          S     P       Loc**
    *thapinari yiya moliki ka winga*
    morning   I    swim   in sea
    ´This morning I swam in the sea.´

(1)  **S       P       In**
    *nyirra kutupi wutiriyi   alipurrunga*
    she    jump   with      rope
    ´She is jumping with a rope.´ (i.e. skipping)


## 6.3.2 DITRANSITIVE, TRANSITIVE AND SEMI-TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

In TT, a distinction is made between three degrees of transitivity (other than intransitive), depending upon the number of nominal arguments required by the verb, and whether there is cross-referencing with personal prefixes to the verb. These are: ditransitive, transitive and semi-transitive. In MT, there are only two degrees of transitivity: ditransitive and transitive.


### 6.3.2.1 DITRANSITIVE, TRANSITIVE AND SEMI-TRANSITIVE CLAUSES IN TT

In TT, transitive clauses are defined as those with verbs requiring two nominal arguments, S and DO, both of which are encoded on the verb by personal prefixes (see Table 4.3, p.152).

Neither the S nor DO need appear overtly in the clause, when it is clear to whom the prefixes refer. When the S and DO are overt in a clause the unmarked order is SPO[28] but this may vary, the variation being due to discourse considerations, some of which are discussed briefly in 6.8.1, p.291. In the data there are not actually many examples of both the S and DO occurring overtly in the clause. It is more common for just one to occur in the clause externally to the verb, viz. SP (or PS) and PO (or OP) (the orders in parentheses being the marked orders).

Example  (6-47)   (TT)

(a)  **S          P                                          DO**
    *ngarra  ju          - wung - iyawarli      awinyirra  ngiya - naringa*
    he      he/she:P:her - seize - straight:away  that(f)    my    - mother
    ´He just seized my mother.´

(b)  **S          P**
    *jikipirti yi  - mini  - pirni*
    sneeze    he:P - me(DO) - hit
    ´I sneezed.´ (Lit: ´a sneeze hit me´)

(c)  **DO              P**
    *nyirra - morti yi          - pa  - arla  - pungintay  - ani*
    her    - son   he/she:P:him - EMPH - spirit - think:about - P:HAB
    ´She would think about her dead son.´

A semi-transitive clause is one with a verb requiring two nominal arguments, the S and SO (Secondary Object) but the SO is not marked on the verb, except perhaps by an incorporated form (see 4.2.1.1(2), p.160) (i.e. it is not marked by a personal prefix). Most verb stems take general subject-tense prefixes but a small class of verb stems occurring in semi-transitive verbs take the feminine subject-tense prefixes, as in example 6-48(a) (see 4.2.1.1(1), p.157, and Table 4.5, p.173).

The discussion regarding the order of the arguments in relation to the predicate given for transitive clauses also applies here. If the SO is understood from the context it may be omitted from the clause, as in examples 6-48(c) and (d).

The SO is normally inanimate, while the S is animate, often having the role of agent. The verbs are often verbs indicating a change of state (or position), as in examples 6-48(d), (e) and (f). In most cases, there is no transfer of action as is the case with most transitive verbs.

Example  (6-48)    (TT)

(a) **SO        P**
    *awarra   ngi - mpi   - wa    - yalam - ami*
    that(m) I - NP(f) - words - load  - MV
    ´I am beginning to record that.´

(b) **P                      SO**
    *pu      - ru - mangapa   winga*
    they:P - CV - drink      beer(f)
    ´They drank beer.´

(c) **P**
    *mitaya  yi   - mi*
    steal    he:P - do
    ´He stole (her)´
    (The ´her´ is understood from the context.)

(d) **P              SO**
    *yi    - kirimi  mampunga*
    he:P - make    canoe(f)
    ´He made a canoe.´              (Osborne 1974:63)

(e) **P                     SO**
    *pu      - rru - wunyawa   numoriyaka*
    they:P - P   - throw      spear(f)
    ´They threw spears.´

(f) **P                       L**
    *ji       - pajuwurtirri   kapi wurrampuwuni*
    she:P(f) - hide            in   reeds
    ´She hid (him) in the reeds.´

Both transitive and semi-transitive clauses may contain a concomitative, often only indicated in the verb by a concomitative marker and perhaps an incorporated form[29] (see 6.2.1.2(2) and examples 6-9(c) and (e), p.253, and also 4.2.1.1(3), p.165). Both may also have an instrument where the semantics

of the verb allows it, but this is not very common.  (see 6.2.1.2(3), p.253).
A semi-transitive clause may contain an IO (normally with a benefactive sense),
while the only examples of an IO in a transitive clause occur when the DO is
third singular (see 6.2.1.1(3) p.250 and also 4.2.3.1, p.179).

When the concomitative marker occurs with certain intransitive verb stems
(without the form *ji(ngi)-* 'in, on') the resulting verb form could be regarded
as a semi-transitive verb and the concomitative as SO (cf. 6.2.1.2(2), p.252).

Example  (6-49)  (TT)

(a)  **P**                          **SO**
    *yi  - marri - kij  - uriyi  manjanga*
    he:P - CON.M - stick - go     stick
    'He brought the stick.'

(b)  **SO**      **S**       **P**                                      **S**
    *Nginja   awarra    a     - wu  - rra - marri - miringarra  nginayi*
    you(sg)  that(m)   he:NP - OBL - EMPH - CON.M - live        that(m)
            (def)                                            (dem)
    'That man should marry you.'

Similarly, when a nominal argument encoding purpose occurs with a verb of
motion, without an IO prefix, the verb in this particular type of clause could
be regarded as semi-transitive and the purpose as a SO (cf. 6.2.1.1 (3),
p.250).

Example  (6-50)  (TT)

    **P**                  **SO**
    *ngi - ntu - wuriyi  yinkiti*
    we  - P   - go      food
    'We went for food.'

In general, the addition of the causative verbal suffix, *-amighi*,
transforms an intransitive verb into a transitive verb.

Example  (6-51)

    **Loc**        **P**
    *palampala  nga      - wuni      - muw - amighi*
    bed        we(incl) - them(DO) - sit - cause
    'We make sure they have beds.'
    (Lit:  'we cause them to sit on beds')

There are some cases where this does not occur and the verb becomes
semi-transitive.  This seems to be mainly with stative verb stems and where the
resulting object is not animate.

Example  (6-52)

    **SO**        **P**
    *wupunga  a -  ri - kuluwurim - amighi*
    grass(f) he - CV - grow      - cause
    'It (rain) causes the grass to grow.'

Ditransitive clauses are those which have a verb requiring three nominal arguments, S, DO (both of which are encoded on the verb as in transitive clauses), and SO (which is not encoded on the verb by a personal prefix, as in semi-transitive clauses).  There are only about 6 or 7 ditransitive verbs in the data, mainly of 'giving' or 'telling' (which is discussed in 6.3.3, p.278). The DO refers to the recipient or addressee and the SO to the thing 'given' or 'told'.  There is one verb stem *-Cakinya* which means 'steal from' and for this verb the DO is the person stolen from and the SO is the thing stolen.  It is unusual for both the DO and SO to occur overtly in a clause.  When the SO does not occur overtly, it can normally be recovered from the context.

Example  (6-53)   (TT)

(a)  **S**          **P**                          **SO**
   *ngarra a      - man    - takirayi   kuwinawini*
   he        he:NP - us(DO) - give        money
   'He gives us money.'

(b)  **P**                          **DO**
   *pi     - rri   - pakirayi  awarra   Jalingayi*
   they:P - P:him - give        that(m)  Jalingayi
   'They gave (her) to Jalingayi.'
   (The 'her' is understood from the preceding sentences)

(c)  **P**                          **SO**
   *yi   - min   - takinya    kuwinawini*
   he:P - me(DO) - steal:from   money
   'He stole money from me.'

## 6.3.2.2  TRANSITIVE AND DITRANSITIVE CLAUSES IN MT

Transitive clauses in MT are simply those which have a verb requiring two nominal arguments, S and DO.  The DO of MT covers both the DO and the SO of TT. S is always animate and normally has the role of agent while DO may be animate or inanimate, normally with the role of patient or undergoer.  Although the DO is not cross-referenced to the verb in any way it may be omitted when it is clear from the context what it is.  This happens normally when the DO is third singular, i.e. when one would expect a third singular pronoun, a definitive or a demonstrative.

Example  (6-54)   (MT)

(a)  **S**              **P**
   *tokutinga a       - mpamangi*
   nurse      she:NP - look:after
   'The nurse is caring for (him).'      (RW12)

(b)  **S**         **P**
   *thirra olim*
   she    hold
   'She is holding (it).' (something)    (AP14)

The word order in MT has become more rigid, being normally SPO, which is to be expected with the decrease in cross-reference with the verb.  This is particularly so when there is a free form verb occurring alone.

Example  (6-55)

(a)  S        P       DO
    *arra  kilim  yurrara jipojirringa*
    he     kill   two     wallaby
    ´He killed two wallabies.´   (PP18)

(b)  S        P       DO
    *nyirra meyikim tunga*
    she    make    basket
    ´She is making a basket.´   (FT25)

(c)  S     P     DO
    *arra kilim awa*
    he    hit   us
    ´He ⎰ is hitting us.´
        ⎱ hit          (LW8)

    In MT the normal order is (S)PO but when there is no overt S the order OP
may occur, as it may in TT (see Osborne 1974:62-63 and section 6.8.1, p.291).

Example  (6-56)   (MT)

(a)  S                    P                 DO
    *nyirra  anaki       a   - mpi - kirimi  palampala*
    she      this:one(f)  she - NP  - make    bed
    ´This (woman) is making the bed.´    (AT9)

(b)  P               DO
    *ju   - wunga  naki        kirritawini*
    she:P - get    this(m)      bread(m)
    ´She got this bread.´           (MP22)

(c)  S      P
    *ngiya  yi  - pini*
    me       he:P - hit
    ´He hit me.´                    (PP21)

    There are a number of English loan verbs which are ambi-transitive,
sometimes behaving transitively with a DO and sometimes intransitively with no
DO but maybe with an IO, having a preposition either *ka* or *kapi*. Many of these
verbs which are ambi-transitive in MT are also ambi-transitive in English and
so it seems that, in general, the English pattern is being followed.

Example  (6-57)  (MT)

(a)  S        P
    *tha* ⎰ *sapi*[30]
        ⎱ *nawu*
    you   know
    ´You know.´

(b)  S      P        DO
    *tha* ⎰ *sapi*    *naki   thampurra*
        ⎱ *nawu*
    you   know      this   Jampurra
    ´You know this(one) Jampurra?´

(c)  **S    P            DO**
     *awa pley yintirimi purrupuli*
     we  play we:did    football
     ´We played football.´   (DB12)

(d)  **S    P      Mdl**
     *awa  pley  tuwanga*
     we    play  again
     ´We played again.´    (MP11)

One such verb is *luk*, which behaves transitively and can generally be translated by ´see´ and which also behaves intransitively generally being able to be translated by ´look´ with a preposition *ka* or *kapi* ´at´.

Example (6-58)  (MT)

(a)  **S    P            DO**
     *awa luk yintirimi pelikan*
     we  see we:did    pelican
     ´We saw a pelican.´   (DB12)

(b)  **P            IO**
     *luk  pirimi   ka  telipijin*
     look they:did at  television
     ´They looked at television.´        (DB12)

However, there is not an exact correspondence between *luk* used transitively or intransitively in MT and the way the verbs ´see´ and ´look´ are used in English, though when it has the preposition it normally means ´look´.

Example  (6-59)  (MT)

(a)  **S        P                DO**
     *yingati pipil luk pirimi   awarra arikulani tini*
     many    people look they:did that(m) big(m)     man
     ´Many people looked at that big man.´       (DB12)

(b)  **S      P     DO**
     *nginja luk  nginja  puk*
     you     look your    book
     ´You look at your book.´

Other verbs which take a preposition in English are used without one in MT, following the pattern of the TT equivalent, which may be transitive or semi-transitive.

Example (6-60)

    TT:  *kuwayi* (free verb + vs: *-mi*)  ´call out´[31]     (smtr)

    MT:  *jingawu* (free verb + vs: *-mi*)  ´call out´ (from ´sing out´)

    **S      P      DO**
    *nyirra jingawu  nyirra - morti*
    she     call:out her    - son
    ´She is calling out to her son.´   (MW25)

Example (6-61)

    TT:  *-piyanguwa*(tr) ´beckon someone´

    MT:  *weypim*  (free verb + vs: *-mi*) (tr) ´wave to´

**P**                 **DO**
*weypim pirimi   ngawa*
wave    they:did  us
´They waved to us.´   (RJ12)

    Some non-core arguments and the lateral constituents may occur in transitive clauses in MT. The non-core arguments which may occur are: Benefactive/Purpose (B/Pur) (see 6.2.2.2(1), p.256), Instrument (In) (see 6.2.2.2(4), p.259), and Vehicle (Veh) (see 6.2.2.2(3), p.259).

Example (6-62) (MT) Benefactive/Purpose

(a) **P**                 **B/Pur**
    *katim ji   - mi fu  ngawa*
    cut    she:P - do  for  us
    ´She cut it for us.´   (DB12)

(b) **S**     **P**    **DO B/Pur**
    *thirra kijimi wan fo thirra*
    she    got    one for her
    ´She got one for her.´   (child)

Example (6-63) (MT) Instrument

    **S**     **P**    **DO**       **In**
    *arra pley purrupuli with  tangini*
    he    play ball     with  stick
    ´He is playing ball with a stick.´

Example (6-64) (MT) Vehicle

    **P**            **Veh**
    *pu    - marriyi ka arripleyn*
    they:P - take    by plane
    ´They took (him) by plane.´

    Ditransitive clauses are those containing verbs which semantically require two nominal arguments as objects, indicating the recipient and the thing ´given´ (the patient). The patient always occurs as an unmarked NP or pronoun. The recipient may occur as an unmarked DO or as an IO object with a preposition, *kapi* or *ka*.

    In some cases the pattern is similar to the English pattern (where the recipient is marked by a preposition) but the preposition is normally one derived from TT, *ka* or *kapi*. In these cases the recipient is not a pronoun.

Example (6-65) (MT)

```
     S          P     DO              IO
Ajuwang ngarra selim simitiriyi pol kapi murruntaka
A.      he     sell  cemetery pole  PREP white:woman
'Ajuwang sells cemetery poles to a white woman.'   (PP21)
```

With the verb 'to bring' the preposition used is *fu*, which may be used even with a pronoun. This phrase has the function of benefactive/purpose.

Example (6-66) (MT)

```
    S      P       B/Pur
nyirra pringim fu  ngawa
she    bring   for us
'She brought (them) (i.e. presents) for us' (cf. example 6-67 (b)).
```

In other cases the pattern of the clause with the recipient as a DO is, as in English clauses, 'transformed by dative movement'. In these cases the recipient normally occurs as a pronoun. The patient can be regarded as the SO, as in TT.

Example (6-67) (MT)

```
(a) S        P      DO            SO
   tha     showim ngiya kala    awinyirra
   you(sg) show   me    colour  that(f)
   'You show me that colour.'   (GP20)
```

```
(b) S        P       DO   SO
   nyirra pringim ngawa presen
   she    bring   us    present
   'She brought us presents.'   (LB33)
```

However, the pattern of some clauses departs from the English pattern when the SO or 'gift' is omitted and the recipient is still treated as a DO, i.e. without a preposition. When the SO is left out it refers to an inanimate item, understood from the context.

Example (6-68) (MT)

```
(a) P              DO
   kipim yi - mi arra-matani
   give he:P-do  his -friend
   'He gave it to his friend.'
```

```
(b) S     P      DO
   arra showim nayi janimani
   he   show   that Chinese:man
   'He showed it to that Chinese man.'   (DB12)
```

In some cases where the recipient follows the patient (normally when the recipient is not a pronoun) there is no preposition.

Example (6-69)   (MT/LTT?)

```
    S       P                          SO                  DO
    ngarra  a  - wu - jakiray - ami  naki   jurrumumi    anaki  Kijinga
    he      he:NP- ICVE- give    - MV  this(m) light(m)/torch this(f) girl(f)
    'He is about to give the light/torch to this girl.'      (PP21)
```

### 6.3.3   CLAUSES WITH VERBS OF SPEECH

There are a number of verbs of speech which fit into different clause
types.  Some of these contain reference to what is said, as a speech complement
(Sp Co), which may be manifested by a phrase or a clause.

### 6.3.3.1   CLAUSES WITH VERBS OF SPEECH IN TT

In TT, the speech complement may be a phrase with the preposition *ngini*,
with the meaning 'about (something)' (see 5.2.4, p.242).  The speech complement
may also be manifested by a speech complement clause (Sp Co Cl) or a quote
clause (Q Cl).  These last two are distinguished in that the speech complement
clause refers to what is said and means 'about when ....', while the quote
clause contains the actual speech.[32]  The speech complement clause, like the
phrase, begins with the general preposition and complementiser, *ngini* (see
5.2.4, p.242, and 6.9.7.1, p.304).  The quote clause also optionally begins
with this, when it follows the verbs of speech.

Some verbs of speech may be transitive or ditransitive taking a DO prefix
referring to the addressee.  The verb stems -*Ciyarra* and -*injiliyarra*, meaning
'tell', are normally ditransitive and -*Carringa* 'answer' is transitive.  The
ditransitive verbs may take either: (i) an SO (which is either a noun meaning
'story', 'talk' or definitive 'that') (ii) a speech complement (Sp Co)
referring to what is said (a speech complement clause or phrase or a quote
clause).

Other verbs are semi-transitive, such as -*Cangiragha* (which may also be
intransitive) and -*mi* 'say'.  These semi-transitive verbs take either an SO or
a Sp Co (see above under ditransitive verbs).  Still others may be
intransitive, such as the free form verb, *nimarra* 'talk' with the auxiliary
stem -*mi*.  Some of these semi-transitive and intransitive verbs may take an IO
prefix referring to the addressee, such as -*mi* 'say', (with the incorporated
form -*Cupujinga*)[33]  (see also 6.2.2.1 (3), p.256).

Some examples of the various types are:

(i) ditransitive,

Example (6-70)   (TT)

```
(a)  SO          P
     ngirramini  ji  - min   - tiyarra
     story       she:P - me(DO) - tell
     'She told me a story.'
```

(b)   **Loc**      **P**
    *awungaji pi      - rr - ati - manu    - ngu - njiliyarra - mini*
    there    they:P - P - morn - us(DO) - away- tell          - P:HAB

    **Sp Co (Q.Cl)**
    *ngini ´...´*
    COMPR

    ´There they kept telling us "...".´


    (ii)  transitive,

Example  (6-71)   (TT)

    **Neg**      **P**
    *karluwu  yi  - rri - ngin  ~ tupujinga - yarringa*
    not      he:P- SBVE- me(DO)- talk       - answer
    ´He did not answer me.´


    (iii)  semi-transitive,

Example  (6-72)   (TT)

(a)  **P**                          **Sp Co (Sp Co Cl)**
    *ngu - wu   - jangiragha - mami ngini karri yi   - ku - mulungurrumi*
    I   - ICVE - speak       - MV   COMPR when he:P - eve - be:born
    ´I am about to speak about when he was born in the evening.´

(b)  **SO**      **P**
    *awarra pi      - ri - m(i)*
    that   they:P - CV - say
    ´They said that.´

(c)  **S**                    **P**                        **Sp Co (Q Cl)**
    *ngarra awarra       yi  - mupu - rrupujinga - mi  ngini "..."*
    he      that:one(m)  he:P - us(IO)- talk        - say  COMPR
    ´That one said to us "...".´

(d)  **P**                       **T**      **Sp Co (Sp Co Ph)**
    *nimarra pi      - ni - ri - mi pakinya ngini nyirra mirripaka*
    talk    they:P- LOC- CV - do first    COMPR she    beer
    ´They talked first about beer.´

    The verb stem -*Cangiragha* ´speak´ can take an SO which refers to the
language, rather than what is spoken.

Example  (6-73)   (TT)

    **S**    **Neg**    **P**                                    **SO**
    *nuwa    arnuka ngi     - nti - ni          - ma - tangiragha nginingawila*
    you(pl) not    you(aug)- P   - dist:(time)- SBVE- speak      ours
    ´You won´t speak our language in the future.´

(iv) intransitive,

Example (6-74) (TT)

**Loc       P**
*awungaji nimarra ngi – nti – pi   – ngi – ki   – ngi – mi*
there    talk   we: – P   – away – CV  – eve – CV  – do
´We talked there in the evening.´


## 6.3.3.2  CLAUSES WITH VERBS OF SPEECH IN MT

As in TT, different verbs of speech occur in different kinds of clauses.
However, there are only one or two examples of the speech verbs of TT being
used in MT, except for the verb stem *–mi* ´say´, and the free verb *nimarra*
´talk´.  Most of the speech verbs in MT are English loan verbs.

Some verbs take a speech complement, which may consist of a speech
complement phrase (Sp Co Ph) or a quote clause (Q Cl).  There are only two
examples of a speech complement clause occurring.  Each of these complements
refers to what is being said.  The complement phrase usually has a
complementiser, *apat* ´about´ and there are only a few examples of the TT
complementiser *ngini* (or its changed form, *yini*).  In MT, the quote clause
manifesting a speech complement is not normally introduced by the
complementiser *ngini* (or *yini*) though there are some examples of it in the
elicited data (see example 6-79).

Example (6-75) (MT)

(a) **S       P     Sp Co (Sp Co Ph)**
*ngiya tok   apat naki*
I      talk  about this
´I am talking about this.´   (EP20)

(b) **S       P     Sp Co (Q Cl)**
*ngiya ngirimi 'ngini ngiya pupuni api  nguwuja pojininga'*
I      I:said  if    I     good  well I:will:go    beer
´I said: "If I am well I will go for beer".´

(c) **S             P       Sp Co (Q Cl)**
*arra    thapurra yi  – mi '...'*
that(m) Thapurra he:P – say
´Thampurra said "..."´

(d)     **S P    Sp Co (Q Cl)**
*kiyi ya wani 'awi,      awa ko thaputha'*
then I  say  hey(pl)   we  go home
´Then I said: "Let´s go home.".´   (CM12)

(e) **Sp Co (Q Cl)        S    P**
*'kuwan(i) awarra?' awa wani*[34]
who(m)      that(m) we  say
´"Who is that?" we said.´   (CP9)

The verbs which are used intransitively without a complement are: *tok* and *nimarra* ´talk´. *tok* always occurs without an auxiliary and *nimarra* normally has no auxiliary in the speech of young people. Both may take an IO, with the preposition *kapi* or *ka* (see 6.2.2.1(3), p.256).

Example (6-76)

(a) **S    Neg    P    Mdl**
   *ngiya kalu    tok  tuwanga*
   I     not     talk again
   ´I am not going to talk again.´   (MD12)

(b) **S        P        IO**
   *nginja  nimarra  ka    naki*
   you(sg) talk     PREP this
   ´You talk into this (tape recorder).´    (LB33)

(c) **S       Neg    P    IO**
   *nuwa    kalu    tok  ka   ngiya*
   you(pl) not     talk PREP me
   ´You are not talking to me.´   (EP20)

*tok* or *tokim* may be used transitively with the DO referring to the language.

Example (6-77)  (MT)

(a) **S       P    DO**
   *nginja  tok  nginingawila languwiji*
   you(sg) talk our(m)       language
   ´You talk our language.´  (LB33)

(b) **S       P        DO**
   *ja      tokim    languwiji*
   you(sg) talk     language
   ´You talk language.´  (LB33)

The verb *telim* may be used as in English, with a noun meaning ´story´ plus a speech complement phrase or a speech complement clause. When the addressee occurs as well, it occurs as a DO (i.e. as an unmarked NP) irrespective of its position following the verb. In some cases there is no noun for ´story´, as in example 6-78(c). The noun for ´story´ plus the speech complement phrase could be regarded as a secondary object NP.

Example (6-78)  (MT)

(a) **S  P    SO**
   *ja telim stori karri ngawa nginturiyi Tipurupuwu*
   you tell  story when  we    we:went    Tipurupuwu
   ´You tell a story about when we went to Tipurupuwu.´   (LB33)

(b) **S       P    DO    SO**
   *nginja  telim ngawa stori ngini Majiya*
   you(sg) tell  us    story about Marcia
   ´You tell us a story about Marcia.´    (LB33)

(c)
```
    S          P                    DO         SO (Sp Co Ph)
    nuwa       telim yintirimi      ngiya      ngini wawurruwi
    you(pl)    tell  you(pl):did    me         about males
    'You told me about the boys.'   (EP20)
```

(d)
```
    S       P      SO     DO
    nginja telim stori muwa      - mantanga
    I       tell  story our(min) - friend

    SO (Sp Co Cl)
    ngini karri ngawa ngintirimuwu ka   Tipurupuwu
    about when  we    we:lived     PREP T.         (LB33)
```

    'You tell our friend a story about when we lived at T.'

Where the addressee is third person singular it may be omitted if the
referent can be understood from the context. In the following example there is
a speech complement containing a quote clause (the only example with *telim*).

Example (6-79)  (MT)

```
    S    P          Sp Co (Q Cl)
    yiya telim yirimi yini 'yiya ko anting'
    I    tell  I:did  COMPR I    go   hunting
    'I told (her) "I am going hunting."'   (DB12)
```

The verb *askim* or *ajikim* may mean either 'ask' or 'ask for' (with the
object being what is 'asked for'). In both cases it behaves ditransitively
with the person asked as a DO (i.e. with no preposition). I assume it could
also take a speech complement when it means 'ask', but there are no examples
(cf. ditransitive clauses in MT, 6.3.2.2, p.273).

Example (6-80)  (MT)

(a)
```
    S     P     DO       SO
    ngiya askim nuwa     kweshin
    'I will ask you(pl) a question.'   (MP11)
```

(b)
```
    S                    P      DO SO
    maminikuwi wurra ajikim awa manko
    women       they  ask    us mango
    'Some women asked us for mangoes.'   (CM12)
```

## 6.4  STATIVE VERBAL CLAUSES

Stative verbal clauses are distinguished from active clauses mainly on the
basis of the type of predicate. The predicate in stative verbal clauses
consists of a complement preceding an inflected verb. The complement may be
manifested by such things as NPs, predicatives, and locative or manner words or
phrases. The verb is a verb of 'being' or 'becoming'.[35]

These stative verbal clauses could be included with the active verbal
clauses and the complement plus verb treated as a type of verbal complex
(described in 4.3, p.203). Just as equally, the stative verbal clauses could

be grouped together with the non-verbal clauses, since the same types of
complements occur as the predicate in non-verbal clauses and the same sort of
relationships are expressed in these clauses as are expressed in the stative
non-verbal clauses.  Because of this dilemma as to where these clauses fit, and
for ease of description, this type of clause is discussed separately, though
there may appear to be little difference between some of the examples in this
type and some of the active verbal clauses.

There are examples of some of the lateral constituents within these
clauses but none of non-core arguments.


### 6.4.1 STATIVE VERBAL CLAUSES IN TT

In TT, the verb stems in this type of clause are *-mi* ´be´, *-ma* ´be´,
´become´ and *-muwu* or *-miringarra* ´live´.[36] The complement may consist of a NP
(an extended noun phrase or an adjective or noun alone, see 5.1, p.221f), a
predicative (3.4, p.122), a manner phrase (see 5.2.3, p.241), a manner word
(3.5.3, p.135), a locative word (3.5.1, p.124) or a locative phrase (5.2.1,
p.236).

Example  (6-81)   (TT)

(a)  S      P
        Co (mnr ph)              V
     *wuta nginingaji murrintawi wu      - ri - mi*
     they  like        white:men  they:NP-  CV - be
     ´They are like white men.´

(b)  S        T      P
                Co (adj)      V                          S
     *nyirra waya arikulanga ji    - yi - miringarra awinyirra   ngangarra*
     she     now  big            she:NP-  CV - live        that:one(f) his(f)
     ´His (promised wife) had now    become big.´
                                     grown up.´

(c)  P
     Co (n)   V
     *pirajuwi ngi    - mpi - ni      - ri - ma*
     brothers you(pl)- NP  - dist:time- CV - become
     ´(Maybe) you will become brothers in the future.´

(d)  S                          P
                                Co (adj)   V
     *ngampunginayi ngawa - mamanta papurajuwi pi      - ri - ma*
     these          our   - friend  good(pl)   they:P - CV - be/become
     ´These friends of ours ⎰ are good.´
                            ⎱ have become good.´

(e)   **S**             **P**

                        **Co (loc w)**   **V**

*ngiya - rringani nankitawu*   *yi*   *- ni - ri - mi*
my    - father   there(dist)   he:P - LOC- CV - be
´My father came from a distant place.´
(Lit: ´My father was at a distant place.´)

    When the complement is manifested by an appositional phrase the phrase may
be discontinuous, as may happen in lateral clause constituents (see 5.1.4,
p.233, and 5.2, p.235), with the more specific element following the verb.

Example (6-82)   (TT)

      **S**     **P**

           **Co (mnr w)**   **V**                   **Co (mnr ph)**

*ngawa awungani*   *nga*    *- ma*   *- ta*   *- ami*   *nginingaji wuta*
we    like:that   we(incl) - SBVE - EMPH - be   like       them

*ngawa-mamanta*
our  -friends

´We should be like that, like our friends.´


## 6.4.2  STATIVE VERBAL CLAUSES IN MT

    In MT, the stative verbal clauses are similar to those in TT, but with
more restriction on the verb stems for verbs of ´being´. The only stem
occurring is *-mi*.[37] Also in my MT corpus the complement consists only of a NP
(usually either a noun or an adjective) or a predicative (see 3.4).

    The examples of these clauses in my corpus of MT data are mainly from the
formally elicited material. The type of relationship expressed by such clauses
are more commonly expressed in non-verbal clauses, as it is in TT as well (see
6.5).

Example (6-83)

(a)   **S**            **P**

                    **Co (predve)**    **V**

*yipalinya yikonari*    *a*  *- mpi - ri - mi*
woman      hot        she - NP - CV - be
´The woman is hot.´    (MD12)

(b)   **S**                    **P**

                          **Co (adj)**   **V**

*athirra murrukupora*  *kijinga*   *ji*  *- mi*
that(f) young:woman   girl      she:P- be
´That young woman was a girl.´ (when the film started)   (RJ12)

(c)   **S (attrib NP)**        **P**

                        **Co (loc w)**   **V**             **Co (loc ph)**

*yingati yirrikipeyi*  *awaji*    *pu*    *- rru - muwu*  *kapi makatinga*
lots    crocodile   there      they:P - P - live   PREP river
´A lot of crocodiles live there in the river.´

## 6.5  NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

There are two basic types of non-verbal clauses in all varieties of Tiwi:
stative, expressing a relationship of ´being´ (location, description or
identification) and possessive, expressing a relationship of ´having´.[38] The
stative non-verbal clause expresses the same sort of relationship as the
stative verbal clause in TT and MT, but, since there is no verb, aspect, tense
and mood are not expressed.  In both the stative and possessive non-verbal
clauses some of the lateral constituents, such as temporal, negative and modal,
may also occur.

### 6.5.1  STATIVE NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

Some of the lateral constituents, such as locative and manner, can occur
as the complement in the predicate.  The complement may be manifested by a NP
(often just a noun or adjective) (5.1, p.221), a predicative (3.4, p.122), a
manner word (3.5.3, p.135) or locative word (3.5.1, p.124), by a phrase or a
clause, such as a manner phrase (5.2.3, p.241), or a speech complement clause
(6.3.3.1, p.278, and 6.3.3.2, p.280).  The subject may be manifested by a NP or
more commonly, by a definitive, demonstrative or personal pronoun.

Example  (6-84)  (TT)

(a)  **S (def)        Co (poss NP)**
awinyirra    nyirra-maninga      anginaki muwa    -mantanga
that:one(f)   her-mother´s:mother this(f)  our(min)-friend(f)
´That (woman) is the grandmother of this friend of ours.´

(b)  **S (pn)    (Neg)    Co (noun)**
wuta      karluwu  mitayuwi
they      not      thieves
´They are not thieves.´

(c)  **S (def)    Co  (Sp Co Cl)**
awarra    ngini karri amatimanipirni wunijaka
that(m)   about when  she:hit:us      wind(f)
´That (story) is about when the wind almost hit us.´

(d)  **S (nonn)    Co (adverb)**
kiripayuwa    wangatajirri
thigh(s)      separate
´The thighs (would be) separated/to one side.´

(e)  **(Mdl)    S (def + dem)    Co (adj)**
(arrami)   awarra nginaki   jirti
maybe      that(m) this(m)   bad(m)
´Maybe that one is bad.´

(f)  **S (attrib NP)              Co (loc w)    (Mdl)**
yuwurrara ngawa-rringanuwi   awungaji    wiyarri
two       our - fathers      there       too
´Two of our Fathers were there too.´

Example (6-85)    (MT)

(a)  **S (pn)    Co (noun)**
     *arra    yipalinyini*[39]
     he      sissy
     ´He´s a sissy.´     (JVT10)

(b)  **S (pn)    (Neg)    Co (noun)**
     *wurra    anuka    wawurruwi*
     they     not      males
     ´They are not males.´     (EP20)

(c)  **S (pn)    Co (NP)**
     *wutatuwu    kakijuwi    nginingaji    nuwa*
     they:TOP    children    like          you(pl)
     ´They too are children, like you.´

(d)  **S (attrib NP)        Co (loc w)**
     *awarra    murrakupuni    karrampi*
     that(m)   country(m)
     ´That country is far away.´

   It is also possible to have a complement with the subject deleted, when
the subject can be understood from the context, or when there is an existential
sense.

Example (6-86)    (TT)

(a)          **Co (Ph)**
     *(karri) kirija yikonari*
     when    little:bit hot
     ´(when) it (water) is warm´

(b)              **Co (noun)**
     *(yita wanga)  kirik-ayi*
     look!         salty oh
     ´(Hey) it (water) is salty´

Example (6-87)    (MT)

(a)  **(T)    Co (attrib NP)**
     *wantaym  yingati  arripleyn*
     at:once  lots     plane
     ´ ⎧At once  ⎫  there were a lot of planes.´    (PP23)
     ´ ⎩Suddenly⎭

(b)  **(Neg)    Co (noun)**
     *kaluwu   pinana*
     not      banana
     ´It´s not a banana.´ (referring to something in a picture) (LB33)

## 6.5.2 POSSESSIVE NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

These may have a NP, a definitive, a demonstrative or a personal pronoun as the subject, which never seems to be omitted.  The complement is manifested by a NP (often just a noun), and this indicates the thing possessed.  There is no structural difference between this type of clause and the stative non-verbal clause.  It is normally only the context or the sense which indicates what sort of relationship is being expressed.

Example  (6-88)  (TT)

(a) **S(pn)    Co (noun)**
    *ngarra    mili-yirrukuni*
    he        foot-long
    ʻHe (has) a long foot.ʼ

(b) **S(pn)    Co (noun)    S**
    *ngarra    yingoti,    Jankinanki*
    he        bush:honey  J.
    ʻJankinanki (had) some bush honey.ʼ       (Osborne 1974:62)

Example  (6-89)   (MT)

(a) **S(pn)    (Neg)    Co (noun)**[40]
    *ngiya    kaluwu    mani*
    I        not       money
    ʻI donʼt have any money.ʼ

(b) **S (pn)    Co (noun)**
    *thirra    pulangumoni*
    she       dog(m)
    ʻShe has a dog.ʼ

## 6.6 NEGATION

### 6.6.1 NEGATION IN TT

In general, a clause may be negated in either of two ways in TT, by a negative particle *arnuka* or *karluwu* (see 3.5.3, p.135) or by a negative pronoun (see 3.3.4, p.114), or both, as in example 6-90(c).  The negative particle normally occurs immediately before the verb or verbal complex.  In negative clauses, subjunctive or irrealis prefixes are normally used on the verb (see 4.2.9.1, p.193f).

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Example  (6-90)  (TT)

(a) *nuwa   arnuka ngi     - nti - ni        - ma - tangiragha nginingawila*
    you(pl) not    you(pl) – P   – dist:time – SBVE– speak        our(m)
    ´You won´t speak our language in the future.´

(b) *waya ningani karrikamini tayikuwanga a      - marri - muwu*[41]
    now  today  nobody    man(f)      he:NP – CON.M – live
    ´Now today nobody marries a lot of wives.´

(c) *arnuka karrikuwani a      - watu    - wukurijimi - nara*[42]
    not    nobody     he:NP – everyone – know       – close?
    ´Nobody knows very much now.´

    Imperative and hortatory clauses differ from other types in that the
negative particle used is *ngajiti*. The verbal prefixes for negative
imperatives are different from those for positive imperatives (see 4.2.9.1,
p.193f).

Example  (6-91)  (TT)

(a) *ngajiti morliki ngi     - mp - a     - ja  - ami ngampi mirripaka*
    don´t   swim   you(pl) – NP – FRUST – EMPH – do  PREP    sea
    ´Don´t swim in the sea!´

(b) *ngawa ngajiti jajiruwi nga     - wa    - ja  - ama*
    we    don´t  bad(pl) we(incl) – FRUST – EMPH – be
    ´We shouldn´t be bad.´

**6.6.2  NEGATION IN MT**

    The normal way of forming a negative in MT is by inserting the negative
particle *kalu(wu)* (TT: *karluwu*). This form (an Iwaidja loan) is used more
often than the form *anuka* (from the traditional form *arnuka*), though this
latter is used by some. Where the negative occurs with an inflected
independent verb or a verbal complex there is generally no subjunctive or
irrealis prefixes on the verb as in TT (see 4.2.9.2, p.198), except in some
cases in the speech of older young people. These latter cases, which are not
given here, are considered as LTT.

Example  (6-92)  (MT)

(a) *arra kalu   pilipim yi  - mi*
    he   not   obey    he:P – do
    ´He didn´t obey (him).´    (BB8)

(b) *ngawa kalu lawut*[43] *lukim yi - nti - ri - mi awarra  pulangumoni*
    we    not allowed look  we – P   – CV – do that(m) dog(m)
    ´We weren´t allowed to look at that dog.´   (SK10)

(c) *nginja  kalu sapi*
    you(sg) not  know
    ´You don´t know.´    (LB33)

(d)  *wurra* <u>*kalu*</u> *pilipim awa*
     they   not   obey    us
     'They didn't obey us.'  (ST9)

There are some examples of a negative pronoun (see 3.3.4, p.114), normally in a non-verbal clause, though there are also some examples of one in a verbal clause, as in example 6-93(a)).

Example  (6-93)  (MT)

(a)  *awa – mawampi*      <u>*karrikamini*</u> *yujim pirimi*     *klos*
     our – grandparents   nothing      use    they:did   clothes
     'Our grandparents didn't use any clothes.'    (MD12)

(b)  *arra* <u>*karrikamini*</u> *waya mani*
     he    nothing      now   money
     'He has no money.'

(c)  <u>*karriukuwapi*</u> *wiyuwu*
     nobody        Nguiu
     'There wasn't anyone at Nguiu.'  (PP23)

The negative imperative is given by the use of the negative *ngajiti* (or the changed forms *ngajirri* or *ajirri*), normally with a free form verb, but sometimes with an imperative form derived from TT, but the form used is the positive singular imperative form of TT, not the negative imperative form.

Example  (6-94)  (MT)

(a)  <u>*ngajirri*</u> *jakim waranga*
     don't     throw stone
     'Don't throw stones!'  (PP17)

(b)  <u>*ajirr(i)*</u> *awani*[44]
     don't     like:that
     'Don't do that!'

(c)  <u>*ajirri*</u> *payipayi awaji*
     don't   sleep     there
     'Don't sleep there!'  (JT13)

(d)  *ajirri tamu*
     don't    sit
     'Don't sit!'

There are also some examples of the English loan word, *kan* 'can't'.

Example  (6-95)  (MT)

     *tha*     <u>*kan*</u>     *shutim yiya*
     you(sg) can't   shoot   me
     'You can't shoot me.'  (DB12)

## 6.7  INTERROGATIVES

### 6.7.1  INTERROGATIVES IN TT

Direct questions or ´yes/no´ questions are no different structurally from other types of clauses, except for an optional question clitic, -ana, on the final word, and an extra high pitch on the penultimate syllable (a stressed syllable) of the final word (whether there is the question clitic or not).

Example  (6-96)  (TT)

```
(a)  ta       - ami ngini ngiya ngi - ta   - yawurij - ana?⁴⁵
     imp(sg) - do  COMPR I     I   - EMPH - go:in   - Q
     ´Say "May I go in?".´
```

```
(b)  nginja   paruwan - ana?
     you(sg) hungry   - Q
     ´Are you hungry?´
```

Information questions have interrogative words, such as an interrrogative pronoun (3.3.4, p.114) or one of the other interrogative words, awungana ´what?´, maka ´where?´, kama ´why?´, awungarri ´when?´ or awunganari ´how many?´.  The interrogatives normally occur either initially or close to initially in the clause.

Example  (6-97)  (TT)

```
(a)  awungana yintanga awinyirra?
     what      name      that:one(f)
     ´What is the name of that woman?´
```

```
(b)  nginja awungana yintanga?
     you(sg) what    name
     ´What is your name?´
```

```
(c)  maka nyi    - mp - ija?
     where you(sg) - NP - go:now
     ´Where are you going?´
```

A particle, kuta or amukuta, meaning ´maybe´ or ´perhaps´, may occur before any of the interrogative words, with the sense of ´who knows?´ or ´I don´t know´.

Example  (6-98)  (TT)

```
     kuta kamini   a      - wuni     - pi  - rriti  nguyi
     maybe what     he:NP - dist:time - away - stand   in:future
     ´Who knows what will happen in the future?´
```

### 6.7.2 INTERROGATIVES IN MT

General direct questions and information questions are formed as in TT.[46]

There are one or two tag questions which either do not occur in TT or which seem to have a different meaning. One such tag is *wayana? (waya* ´now´ + *-ana* Q?), which Godfrey says occurs in TT as meaning ´Do you now understand?´. It may have this meaning in some of the instances in the MT data, but often it just seems to be used much as the tag question is used in English, to evoke a response to a statement or to seek confirmation.

Example  (6-99)  (MT)

(a)  *anginaki kirijinga api  puraji a   - mpi - ri - muwu  kirritawini,*
     this(f)  girl      well like   she - NP  - CV - do     bread

     *way - ana?*
     now - Q

     ´This little girl likes bread, do you understand?´  (MP22)

(b)  *lak   yiya, way - ana?*
     like  me    now - Q
     ´(He´s) like me, isn´t he?´ (referring to picture of a boy)  (PW4)

Another type of tag question is derived from English, though only one word is from English. It is formed by the English loan *o* ´or´ and the Tiwi negative *kalu(wu)*, giving ´or not?´.

Example  (6-100)  (MT)

(a)  *thirra tayinti ka    skul    o kaluwu?*
     she    stand  PREP  school  or not
     ´Is she standing at school or not?´   (EP20)

(b)  *nuwa     naw o kaluwu?*
     you(pl)  know or not
     ´Do you know or not?´                     (BT13)

### 6.8  WORD ORDER AND PRONOMINALISATION

### 6.8.1  WORD ORDER AND PRONOMINALISATION IN TT

The grammatical relationship of arguments is not determined by word order in the clause in TT and the order is relatively free. The unmarked order is SPO where O refers to either the direct or secondary object (see the discussion in Osborne 1974:62f). Variations from this order are due to discourse considerations, a full discussion of which is outside the scope of this work. In general, the ordering can be looked at in terms of ´theme´ meaning roughly ´the thing being talked about´, as suggested by Osborne (1974:62). Osborne says that the ´theme always comes first in a sentence, regardless of its

syntactic function´ (62). This, in general, would seem to be true but the situation is a little more complex than this statement implies. Often when a topic is being introduced for the first time it occurs in the theme position, as in example 6-101, though normally new information is not initial in the clause or sentence.[47]

Example (6-101) (TT)

> *(ngintiwatingilipangirrangurlimayani)*, *api* <u>*Pipiyanyumili*</u> <u>*awungaji*</u>
> we:would:walk:in:morning:when:asleep   well P.                      there
>
> *ngintipamukurughani*
> we:would:make:camp
>
> ´(We would walk in the morning when everyone else was asleep) then at Pipiyanyumili, there we would make camp.´

New information normally occurs finally, or near finally, in the clause and this new information can then become the theme of the next clause.[48]

Example (6-102) (TT)

> *ninkiyi, pi    - rri   - pakirayi* <u>*awarra*</u>  <u>*Jalingayi*</u>.
> then      they:P - P:him - give      that(m)  J.
>
> <u>*Jalingayi*</u> *pi    - rri  - pakirayi*
> J.          they:P- P:him- give
>
> ´They gave (her) to that Jalingayi. It was to Jalingayi that they gave her.´ (Then Jalingayi is talked about as fathering a son.)

In some cases a new participant in a story may be given as the theme, which occurs as a pronoun while the name of the person being introduced is given as an amplification at the end of the clause.

Example (6-103) (TT)

> *(api awarra naki    ngini    tuwawanga ngimpiriwayalangimi)*
> well this(m) this(m) which(m) again     I:am:recording
>      (def)   (dem)
>
> *pili   * <u>*ngarra*</u> *ngini  yipaningimiringarra,* <u>*awarra*</u> <u>*ngawa - rringani*</u>
> because he      who(m) he:white:man:lived   that(m) our   - father
>                                               (def)
>
> ´(Well, this which I am recording again) is because of the white man who lived (here), that one, our father.´
> (The story goes on to talk about this priest.)

A final NP like the one in the preceding example (normally with a definitive), often serves as a reminder of the one about whom the speaker is talking. It is normally separated from the rest of the clause by a slight pause, and is really an elaboration (see 5.1.4, p.233).

Often where there is a change of theme, particularly where there is some sort of a contrast, the new theme is introduced by an alternate pronoun (see 3.3.2.2, p.107), often with a more specific reference following later in the clause.  This often occurs where the action of the verb is the same as in the preceding clause, but one of the participants is different, or sometimes when a ´passive´ participant becomes an ´active´ one, i.e. an object becomes a subject.

Example  (6-104)   (TT)

(a)  *(ngintuwutumartani  arramukaminawurti   ngirrimimajilamini)*
     we:wanted          all:sorts:of:things we:played:with:him

     *api nyirratuwu pokayini ngintuwangintamajila,      awinyirra jarranga*
     well she:TOP    play     we:tried:to:play:with:her that(f)    cow

     ´(We wanted to play with all sorts of things.)  Well, we tried to play with that cow.´

(b)  *(ngarra Kapijani yipakirayi      ngarra - ampinyuwini)*
     he      Kapijani he:gave:to:him his    - wife´s:uncle

     *pili    nyirratuwu nyirra awinyirra    arikulanga*
     because she:TOP    she    that:one(f) big(f)

     ´(He, Kapijani, his wife´s uncle gave (her) to him) because she was now an adult.´

In general, pronouns do not occur following the verb, either as subjects or objects, though definitives and demonstratives may.

Example  (6-105)   (TT)

     *Maluwu nyirra jinirimi       awinyirra*
     Maluwu she    she:was:there  that:one(f)
     ´It was from Maluwu that that woman came.´


## 6.8.2  WORD ORDER AND PRONOMINALISATION IN MT

The word order in MT is not as free as in TT.  Where there is only an uninflected verb it seems that the word order has become rigid, being SPO, since neither the subject nor object are encoded on the verb.  Where there is an inflected verb there is greater freedom, since the subject is encoded on the verb, and the order may be reversed, though it is not usual to have OPS. PS for intransitive verbs and OP for transitive verbs (where the subject is encoded only on the verb) are more common than OPS.  It would seem that the normal order is reversed for similar reasons as for the reversal in TT.  Where it does not cause confusion as to what is subject and object, the object may be fronted as the theme, as in example 6-106(a, b), or the subject may follow the verb, as new information, as in example 6-106(c).

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Example  (6-106)

(a)  **O**     **P**
    *ngiya yi  - pini*
    me     he:P- hit
    ´He hit me.´    (PP21)

(b)  **O**          **P**
    *wan mo    jakim ji   - mi*
    one more  throw she:P- do
    ´She threw one more.´   (DB12)

(c)  **P**              **S**
    *papi   ji - mi elepani*
    arrive she:P-do elephant
    ´There arrived an elephant.´    (RJ12)

    Because of decreased encoding of arguments on the verb there is a greater
use of free form pronouns in MT.  Unlike TT, these may occur following the verb
as well as preceding it.

Example  (6-107)  (MT)

(a)  *weypim  pi     - ri - mi awa*
    wave:to they:P - CV - do us
    ´They waved to us.´   (TP8)

(b)  *teykim  pi     - ri - mi yiya ka pot*
    take    they:P - CV - do me   by boat
    ´They took me by boat.´   (DB12)

(c)  *yiya kilim yitha*
    I    hit   you(sg)
    ´I´ll hit you.´

(d)  *wurra kaluwu pilipim awa*
    they  not    obey    us
    ´They didn´t obey us.´        (ST9)

    There are not many examples of third person pronouns as objects, these
sometimes being given by definitives or demonstratives or omitted when they can
be understood from the context (see also 6.3.2.2, p.273).

Example  (6-108)

(a)  *arra kijim yimi   naki*
    he   got   he:did this
    ´He got this/it.´

(b)  *kiyi olim yimi   athirra*
    then hold he:did that:one(f)
    ´Then he held her.´        (DB12)

## 6.9  SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

In TT, clauses may be joined together or embedded within each other, forming more complex sentences.  There are a number of cases of subordinate clauses in TT expressing different relationships.  The subordinating strategy used in Tiwi is that of a subordinating conjunction and a clause with a finite verb.  Glass has found that this seems to be the most common strategy in Australian prefixing languages (Glass 1980:8).  The basic subordinate conjunctions in TT are *karri* ´when´, expressing a temporal relationship (6.9.3, p.299), *pili* ´because´ expressing reason (6.9.5, p.301), *pili ngini* ´in order to´, expressing purpose (6.9.6, p.302) and *ngini* which is a general subordinate conjunction and complementiser (COMPR) (see 6.9.7, p.304).  As well as these, the relative pronouns (3.3.3, p.113) and prepositions (discussed in 5.2, p.235) may be used as subordinate conjunctions (see 6.9.1; 6.9.3, p.299 and 6.9.4, p.300).

Some of the clauses discussed below could be called ´adjoined relative clauses´ (particularly those with the complementiser *ngini*) since their surface positions with respect to the main clauses are marginal rather than embedded (Hale 1976:78).  However, others, such as the relative clauses (which do have distinct relative pronouns, see 6.9.1.1) are embedded within other clauses and so are definitely subordinate.  Also, since none of the clauses discussed below can stand alone as a main clause they are called ´subordinate´.

In MT, some of these conjunctions are used, but in general there is less use of subordination, particularly in children´s Tiwi and in spontaneous speech.

## 6.9.1  RELATIVE CLAUSES

### 6.9.1.1  RELATIVE CLAUSES IN TT

In TT the relative pronouns *ngini*(m) *(ng)angi*(f) and *ngampi* or *kapi*(pl) agree in gender or number with the noun which the relative clause modifies (see 3.3.3, p.113).  Normally the relative clause follows the nominal or pronominal head which it modidfies, as in examples 6-109(a,b), but in some cases there may be another nominal or pronoun to which the relative pronoun relates, occurring internally to the relative clause as in example 6-109(c).  In other cases the relative clause precedes the head, as in example 6-109(d), and still other cases there is no head externally to the clause (except perhaps a verbal prefix), as in example 6-109(e).  Relative clauses may be verbal or non-verbal clauses.  They are basically no different in structure from independent clauses (except for the relative pronoun).

Example (6-109) (TT)

(a) **Head**           **Rel Cl**
    *yoni      nginaki ngini  pupuni  (api  ngarra awarra*
    other(m) this(m) who(m) good(m) well  he      that:one(m)

    *pupuni nga      - ri - muwu)*
    good   we(incl)- CV - sit

    'This other one who is good (well, we like him).'

(b) **Head**           **Rel Cl**
    *ngawa tayikuwapi kapi    ngi     -nti-ri-ki -miringarra wiyarri*
    we      many        who(pl) we(excl)-P -CV-eve-sit              too

    *(ngawa awunganuwanga yi  - muwuni-kuruwarni)*
    we       likewise        he:P- us    - great

    'Many of us who were sitting there too (he thanked us also).'

(c) **Rel Cl**                                              **Head**
    *kapi    nuwa    yintaghi ngi    - mpi - ni  - man   - timori nuwa*
    who(pl) you(pl) later    we(excl)- NP - dist:- you(pl)- leave  you(pl)
                                             time             (DO)

    *(waya ...)*
    then

    'You whom we will leave behind later, you (then ...).'

(d)          **Rel Cl**             **Head**
    *(kapani) ngangi   juwurimani    kurrampali*
    (towards) which(f) she:was:strong house(f)
    '(towards) the houses which are strong.'

(e) **Rel Cl**
    *kapi    purruwuriyi Nguiu  (pinipakupawurli)*
    who(pl) they:went   Nguiu   they:came:back
    'Those who went to Nguiu (have come back).'

    Just about any grammatical relation may be relativised, but the subject is
by far the most common, as in examples 6-109(a, b, d, e). In a verbal relative
clause when the subject is relativised the relative pronoun agrees in number
with the subject-tense prefix. When the DO or IO is relativised the relative
pronoun agrees in number with the DO or IO prefixes on the verb in the relative
clause, as in example 6-109 (c), 6-110.

Example (6-110) (TT) IO relativised

    *(pirayala ngi     -mpi-ripu     -warla -mi)*
    pray      we(excl)-NP -them(IO)-spirit-do

    *kapi    a - mpi-ripu    -rrarawani*[49]
    who(pl) she- NP -them(IO)-die

    ´(We only pray for those) who die.´

Other relations may be relativised also, such as:

Example (6-111) (TT) Concomitative (see 6.2.1.2(2), p.252)

    *Kapijani ngangi yi  - marri - muwu, nyirra ...*
    K.          who(f) he:P - CON.M - live  she
    ´The one whom Kapijani married, she ...´

Example (6-112) (TT) Secondary Object (see 6.2.1.2(1), p.251)

    *(awarra naki)  ngini    tuwawanga ngi - mpi  - ri - wa  - yalangimi...*
    this(m) this(m) which(m) again     I   - NP(f) - CV - words - load
    (def)   (dem)
    ´(This) which I am again recording ...´

Relative clauses may be embedded within one another but this complex
structuring does not seem common.

Example (6-113) (TT)

        **Head**
    *(karri* ngawa *ngi      - mpi    - ngan    - tumor - anyimi)*
    when    we      we(excl) - NP(DO) - you(pl) - leave - CPVE

    **Rel Cl**
    *kapi    ngawa kunukuluwi kiyija      pi    - rri - muwunu- ma    - jumori*
    who(pl) we     old:people little:but they:P- P   - us(DO)- CON.M - leave

    **Rel Cl**
    *ngini    pi    - rr - a    - ri - ni*
    which(m) they:P- P  - FRUST- CV - have/keep

    ´(When we leave you completely), we old people with whom they
    left a little of what they tried to keep´


## 6.9.1.2 RELATIVE CLAUSES IN MT

In MT, there are not many examples of relative clauses, particularly in
spontaneous speech data, most of the examples are from elicited material. It
seems that in MT, only subjects and direct objects may be relativised and, as
in TT, the relativisation of the subject is by far the most common. Often a
pronoun follows the relative clause in apposition to it. The relative pronouns
used are changed by some speakers, being *ngini/yini*(m); *angi/anga*(f); *kapi*(pl)
(see 3.3.3, p. 114).

Example  (6-114)  (MT)    Subject:

(a)  **Head**        **Rel Cl**
     *(anginayi)*    *anga    kalikali a      mpi - jiki - mi, nyirra ...*
     (that:one(f))  who(f)  run      she - NP - DUR - do      she
     ´(That woman) who is running, she ...´        (PP23)

(b)  **Head**          **Rel Cl**
     *(kapinayi pipil)* *kapi      pu     - rr - uriyi Wiyuwu thapini,    wurra ...*
     those      people who(pl)  they:P- P - go      Nguiu  last:night they  ...
     ´(Those people) who went to Nguiu last night, they ...´   (CA12)

Example  (6-115)  (MT)  Direct Object:

     **Head**          **Rel Cl**
     *(awarra yimaka)*  *ngini      ngawa luk ngi - ri - mi  thapini ...*
     that(m) film(m)  which(m)  we    see we - CV - do last:night
     ´(That film) we saw last night ...´          (MD12)

There are no occurences of relative pronouns in the speech of young children, relativisation being carried out by simple juxtaposition.

Example  (6-116)  (CT)

     *nyu-mathawu naki,* <u>*arra apim naki klas  aws*</u>
     you-know      this he    has  this glass house
     ´You know this man who has a glass house.´      (AK9)


## 6.9.2  LOCATIVE CLAUSES

Like locative phrases in TT, locative clauses are related to the main clause by one of the locative prepositions, *kapi/ngampi* or *kaghi/kangi*.  The prepositions in these cases can generally be translated as ´where´.  (See 5.2.1, p.236, for a discussion on the meanings and uses of *kapi/ngampi* versus *kaghi/kangi*.)

Example  (6-117)  (TT)

(a)  *wutatuwu  pi    - ti - ri - ma    - yajuwurtirri* <u>*kangi*</u>
     they:TOP  they:P- P(f)- CV - bush - hide              where

     <u>*a    - ri - ma    - ji - kuwa - yiti*</u>[50]
     he:NP- CV - CON.M- on - fruit- stand
     ´As for them, they hid behind the fruit trees.´

(b)  *ngarra yu      -wunyayi* <u>*ngampi yi  - ni - wuji - ngi - miringarra - mini*</u>
     he      he:P:him-find    where  he:P- LOC- DUR - CV - sit          - P:HAB

     <u>*ngampi minta manukuki*</u>[51]
     PREP    xamia:palm ?

     ´He found where it was sitting, near a xamia palm.´

(c)  *pu     - rru - wuriyi kapi Artawuni pi     - ni - ri   - monjingi - mili*
     they:P- P  - go     PREP A.       they:P- LOC- CV  - eat      - sleep
     'They went to Artawuni where they ate and slept'

There are some examples of locative clauses in MT but not many.  In all
cases the preposition used is *kapi* and not *ka*, which is the other locative
preposition in locative phrases in MT (see 5.2.1, p.236).

Example  (6-118)   (MT)

(a)  *thirra showim kapi  thirra- naringa  pajuwani ji    - mi*
     she   show   where her  - mother  die      she:P - do
     'She showed him where her mother had died.'        (RJ12)

(b)  *(a - mpi - marriyi kapi mil, kapi arikulanga*
     she- NP - take     PREP mill PREP big(f)

     *kurrapali) kapi  wu      - ri - kirimi kirritawini*
     house (f)   where they:NP - CV - make    bread

     '(It (truck) takes it to the mill, to a big house,) where they make
     bread.'   (MP22)

(c)  *(anturiyi tawn)  kapi  awurra kijim trinki*
     we:went    town   where those  get   drink
     'We went to town where you can get drink.' (?)    (TP10)

(d)  *(arra payipayi awaji) kapi  yingati tanikini*
     he      sleep    there where lots     flying:fox
     '(He is sleeping there,) where there are lots of flying foxes.'
                                                    (Grade 1 child)

## 6.9.3  TEMPORAL CLAUSES

Temporal clauses in all varieties of Tiwi begin with the temporal
preposition *karri* 'when'.  The remainder of the clause is an indicative clause,
usually without another temporal element (cf. temporal phrase, 5.2.2, p.239).

Example  (6-119)   (TT)

(a)  *Nuwatuwu      waya awungani  ngimpinuwujaami*
     you(pl):TOP    then like:that you(pl):will:in:turn:be

     *karri  tayikuwapi apunguma[52]          arikutumurnawamini*
     when   many        he:np:will:become man:intens
     'You too will be like that when many (of you) will become great men.'

(b)  *karri ngintipaya, ngintipawurinji yilaruwu*
     when  we:finished  we:went:in      inside
     'When we had finished we went inside.'

Example  (6-120)  (MT)

(a)  *karri luk      jimi*,  *api  palapi jimi*
     when  see/look  she:did  well  wild   she:was
     'When she    saw (him)       well, she was angry.'
                  looked (at him)  (DB12)

(b)  *karri wurra finish*, *wurra yushim*
     when  they  finish    they  use
     'When they finish (it) they will use (it).'    (MP11)


**6.9.4  MANNER CLAUSES**

     In TT, a manner clause, like a manner phrase, is introduced by the
prepositions or conjunctions *ngintuwu* or *nginingaji* 'like' (see 5.2.3, p.241).

Example  (6-121)  (TT)

(a)  *(waya arnuka karrikuwani yi   – rri    – marri – miringarra*
     now   not    nobody       he:P – IRREAL – CON.M – live

     *tayikuwanga) ngintuwu parlingarri  tayikuwanga*
     many(f)      like      long:ago      many(f)

     *pu     – pungu      – marri – miringarra*
     they:P – dist(time) – CON.M – live
     '(Now nobody marries a lot of wives) like they did long ago.'

(b)  *(api  nga      – ma   – timuji – ngi – mi) nginingaji   wuta*
     well  we(incl) – SBVE – com:act – CV – be  like          them

     *ngawa-mamanta papurajuwi*
     our  -friends good(pl)

     '(Well, we should be) like our friends (who) are good.'
     (Lit:  'like our friends are good.')

     There are only two examples of a manner clause in MT manner phrases being
more common (see 5.2.3, p 382).

Example  (6-122)  (MT)

(a)  *(wuta puraji wu      – ri – muwu kirritawini)*
     they  good   they:NP – CV – sit  bread

     *nginingaji anginaki kijinga awungani*[53]
     like        this(f)  girl    (does) like:that

     'They like bread like this little girl (does).'    (MP22)

(b)  *(telim ngawa stori, mana)*    <u>*nginingaji ngiya telim*</u>
    tell   us     story go:ahead  like     I     tell

    <u>*nginja  ngini Majiya*</u>
    you(sg) about Marcia

    ´(Go ahead and tell us a story) like I told you about Marcia.´    (LB33)


## 6.9.5  REASON CLAUSES

A reason clause in TT begins with the conjunction *pili* ´because´.  These clauses normally follow the main clause.

Example  (6-123)   (TT)

(a)  *(ngajiti     ngangi    jipitika ngiparimayalamiya)*
    don´t(IMP)  which(f)  weak(f)  you:frightened:load:yourselves

    <u>*pili     awinyirra jiyinga*</u>
    because that(f)    bad(f)

    ´(Don´t load yourselves into the houses which are weak) because they are no good (in a cyclone).´

(b)  *api waya awarra naki ngimpiriwayalami awarra <u>pili</u>*
    so  now  that   this I:record       that    because

    <u>*waya ningani **karluwunara** ngariwapungitayi       ngarramini*</u>
    now  today   not:much    we:think:about:words story

    ´So I am going to record this now because today we don´t think about the (old) stories much.´

(c)  *Yita wanga pirripupoyani         <u>pili     ngarra yaringala</u>*
    indeed     they:used:to:feed:him  because  he     red

    <u>*jiyikiyangirluwumpinamini*</u>, <u>*pili     ngarra ngarra – **mirani***</u>
    he:would:be:painted:fire    because  he     his     – son

    <u>*yuwarlapungintayani*</u>
    he:thought:of:his:spirit

    ´Indeed they used to feed him because he was painted up red, because he would be thinking of his dead son.´

Normally reason clauses in MT follow the same pattern as TT, but some younger people use a changed form of the conjunction viz. *pirri*.  This does not seem to be a general change and I am not sure why it is used by some speakers and not others or from where the change comes.  Perhaps it is from a baby talk form (see 8.2.3.3, p.355f).

Example  (6-124)   (MT)

(a) *pilikiti ampijikimi*  <u>*pili     taringa ampukunyayi*</u>
      cry       she:is:doing because snake    she:finds
      ´She is crying because she sees a snake.´   (MD12)

(b) *wuta moliki wurimi*    <u>*pili     wuta yikonari*</u>
      they swim   they:do   because they hot
      ´They are swimming because they are hot.´   (PP21)

(c) *nyirra kalikali* <u>*pirri    nyirra fratin*</u>
      she     run       because she       frightened
      ´She is running because she is frightened.´ (PP18)

(d) *arnapa* <u>*pili     ngiya jayijim*</u>
      wait!  because I       change
      ´Wait because I am changing.´ (clothes)      (CP19)

## 6.9.6  PURPOSE CLAUSES

   In TT, these are introduced by the general conjunction *ngini* (see 6.9.7,
p.304), though in some cases this seems to be optional, particularly following
verbs of motion.

Example  (6-125)   (TT)

(a) *(yu - wa    - nguwunu - kuwuna)* <u>*ngini     a      - ma   - ti       -*</u>
      he:P- FRUST - us(DO)  - chase    order:to he:NP - SBVE - IRREAL -

   <u>*ri - kurruwa*[54]</u>
   CV - catch/punish(?)

   ´He chased us (but without success) in order to catch (or punish?) us.´

(b) *(yi     - ni - pangirri ngawa - rringani)* <u>*ngini          a    - pamurrumi*</u>
      he:P:him- DIR - send     our   - father    in:order:to   he:NP- work
      ´(Our Father (God) sent him here) to work.´

(c) *(api ngiya awarra     ngi - nu - wuriyi)*
      well I      that:one(m) I   - DIR - go

   <u>*ngini          ngiya ngu  - pamurrumi*</u>
   in:order:to  I       I:NP  - work

   ´(I came here from that one) in order to work.´

   With verbs of motion the *ngini* is optional.

Example  (6-126)   (TT)

   *yu  - wuriyi* <u>*kularlagha a     - wuni - ri - ma wuninga*</u>
   he:P- go       search:for he:NP- LOC  - CV - do possum
   ´(He went) to search for possum.´

   Where the verb in the purpose clause is given by a verbal complex as in
example 6-127 the inflected auxiliary verb is sometimes omitted.  This seems to
be the only case of a non-finite verb in a clause in TT, though there are
numerous examples in less traditional Tiwi, particularly in normal speech.

Example (6-127) (TT)

```
ngawa  kapala  nga      - ri - ma    - jing - uriyi  kularlagha miputi
we     boat    we(incl) - CV - CON.M - in   - go     search:for fish
```

```
kapi kuluwagha
PREP creek
```

´(We go in a boat) to hunt fish in the creek.´

There are some examples, by at least one speaker, of the use of *pili ngini* as a conjunction in purpose clauses. It is not clear from the data what may be the criterion for the use of *pili ngini* versus *ngini*.

Example (6-128) (LTT)

```
(api wak  nga       - wu - li     - pa  - ami naki jurra
well work we(incl)- OBL- IRREAL- EMPH- do   this book
```

```
nga       -wu - rra - kirimi) pili   ngini akirijuwi  awarra  wuta
we(incl)-OBL- EMPH- make      in:order:to children   that(m) they
```

```
nguyi       wuni    - pa  - kirrimiya
in:future   they:NP - EMPH - read
            dist(time)
```

´(We should work at making books) so that the children will read them in the future.´

In general, there is no use of the conjunction *ngini* (or its changed form *yini*) in MT to encode purpose, though there are one or two examples in the speech of older young people. There are also one or two examples of *pili* encoding purpose, which are structurally no different from reason clauses.

Example (6-129) (MT or LTT?)

```
(ngiya ngu - wija    pamparinga) pili        ngiya ngu  - wunga kirimpika
I      I:NP- go:now mangroves    in:order:to I     I:NP - get   crab
```
´(I am going to the mangroves) to get crabs.´

More commonly in MT, purpose clauses have no conjunction. There is no auxiliary with the verb and also no subject shown, the subject being the same as the subject of the main clause. The main clause normally has a verb of motion in the examples in the MT corpus.

Example (6-130) (MT)

(a)
```
ngi - ntu - wuriyi kulalaa warta
we  - P   - go     hunt    bush
```
´We went hunting in the bush.´   (GP19)

(b)
```
yiya yu - wutha  tuwim angilawa wak
I    I  - go:NP do    my       work
```
´I am going to do my work.´   (AW10)

There are one or two examples of the preposition *kapi* occurring before the purpose. I am not sure if this is fairly common or if it is an individual´s attempt to produce ´better´ Tiwi.

Example (6-131) (MT)

(a) *yi - nt - uriyi* <u>*kapi kijim kurrijuwa*</u>
    we - P - go    PREP get   axe
    ´We went to get an axe.´   (PJ12)

(b) *yi - nt - uriyi* <u>*kapi yi - ntu - wapa kapi wata*</u>
    we - P - go    PREP we - P  - eat  PREP bush
    ´We went to eat in the bush.´   (PJ12)


## 6.9.7 OTHER SUBORDINATE CLAUSES


### 6.9.7.1 OTHER SUBORDINATE CLAUSES IN TT

    Most other subordinate clauses are introduced by the general conjunction and complementiser, *ngini*, as are purpose clauses. The meaning of *ngini* is very general, being able to be translated as ´if´, ´that´, ´that is´. Some of the uses of *ngini* have been discussed elsewhere: as a masculine singular relative pronoun (3.3.3, p.113, and 6.9.1.1, p.295), as a complementiser following verbs of speech (6.3.3.1, p.278); and in purpose clauses (6.9.6, p.302). Some other examples of the uses of *ngini* as a subordinate conjunction are given here (in some cases the *ngini* is optional):

    (i) In a Conditional sentence

Example (6-132) (TT)

(a) <u>*ngini ngi*   *- mp - a*    *- ri - karlayampi*  *kapani wuta*</u>
    if    you(pl)- NP - frust - CV - lean:towards towards them

    <u>*murrintawi nuwa*   *arnuka ngi*    *- nti - ni*      *- ma*  *- tangiragha*</u>
    white:men  you(pl) not    you(pl) - P  - dist:time - SBVE - speak

    ´If you lean towards the white man´s ways, you won´t
    speak our (language) in the future.´

(b) *ngajiti ninganikawa*[55]  *kukuni ngi*    *- mp - a*    *- ri - mangapa*
    don´t   today         water  you(pl) - NP - FRUST - CV - drink

    <u>*ngini a*  *- mpu - ngani - pirni*</u>
    if    she - NP - us(DO) - hit

    ´Don´t drink any water today, if it (the cyclone) hits us.´

    (ii) In an event-specifier sentence (i.e. where an event is specified) or in a paraphrase sentence.

Example (6-133) (TT)

(a) *kuta kamini awunipirriti                nguyi*
    maybe what? it(m):will:stand:in:future  in:future

    *ngini   amukuta awungana ngimpirima        yintaghi*
    that:is maybe   what?    you(pl):will:do later

    ´I don´t know what will happen in the future, that is what you will
    do ...´

(b) *karluwu ngumarripuwariyi pili    ngiyatuwu jana, ngini*
    not     I:SBVE:EMPH:go    because I:TOP     sick COMPR

    *ngumarripuwariyi puniril api jana yingarti*
    I:SBVE:EMPH:go    funeral but sick much
    ´I couldn´t go because I am sick, that is I would have gone but I am
    very sick.´

    (iii) As a complementiser following verbs of ´wanting´ ´knowing´ etc.

    *ngini* would appear to be optional but the tendency seems to be that when
the subjects of the clauses are the same there is no complementiser and when
the subjects are different there is one.

Example (6-134) (TT)

(a) *ngini nyimpitimarti nyimpapurti   Nguyuwu ...*
    if    you(sg):want you(sg):go:up Nguiu
    ´If you want to go to Nguiu ...´

(b) *ngimpitimarti ngini jampaka manijamuwulami    kapi*
    you(pl):want   that  house   they:build:for:us where

    *ngarimarrawirriyalangamiya*
    we:load:ourselves:in:with:food
    ´Do you want them to build us a house where we can go and eat?´

(c) *ngawa waya ngarimungurumi ngini ngarra jirti*
    we   now  we(incl):know    that  he     bad
    ´We know that he is bad.´

    The verb in the clause may be given just as a free form verb without the
auxiliary in some cases, though this may be indicative of change.

Example (6-135) (TT)

    *agha,  nyimpitimarti kularlagh - ana?*
    hey(f) you(sg):want   hunt      - Q
    ´Hey, do you want to go hunting?´

    The only examples in the TT corpus of clauses following verbs of
perceiving do not have complementisers.

Example  (6-136)  (TT)

(a)  *pitiripirtangaya* <u>*winyiwinyinga jiniyimamani*</u>
     they:heard      snake      she:was:coming
     ´They heard a snake coming.´

(b)  *ngi - rri - ngin   - jakurluwunyi* <u>*ji          - yi - marri -*</u>
     I   - P   - you(sg)- see         you(sg)-:P - CV - CON.M -

     <u>*pi*</u>          *- yapipirraya*
     long:thing? - go:down

     ´I saw you go down with a fishing line.´

     (iv) As a complementiser following verbs of speech.

     This is also discussed a little in 6.3.3.1 (p.278).  When the quote clause
follows the verb of speech, *ngini* normally occurs as a complementiser but when
the quote clause precedes the verb of speech, there is normally no
complementiser.  There are no examples of indirect speech in my TT data.[56]

Example  (6-137)

(a)  *awungaji pirratimanungunjiliyarramini*              *ngini* ´...´
     there   they:kept:telling:us:in:the:morning:out:there  COMPR ´...´.
                                                           (long speech)

     ´There they kept telling us "...".´

(b)  <u>*'Aya! nginta muwatuwuja*          *jarrikarlani.*</u> *yimi*
     hey(m) listen we(min):go:in:morning turtle        he:said
     ´"Hey, let´s you and I go down for turtle, in the morning," he said.´

(c)  *Kali ngintumakirringim - apa* <u>*ngini 'Yita  waya  yinkitayi*</u>
     run  we:did:in:fright  - FOC COMPR listen! now   close

     *ampiniwujingilupuja,' ngirimi*
     she:is:running:here   I:said

     ´We ran and I said "Wow, she´s getting close."´


### 6.9.7.2  OTHER SUBORDINATE CLAUSES IN MT

     There are a few examples of the complementiser *ngini* (or *yini*) occurring
in MT.  However, subordinate clauses in MT more commonly contain no
complementiser.

     In the corpus of children´s Tiwi there are very few, if any, examples of
subordination.  This could be seen as evidence of language death, particularly
as there appears to be a decrease in the number of subordinate clauses in MT in
general (cf. Hill 1973).  However, lack of subordination is common in
children´s speech everywhere.  Moreover, the decrease of subordination in older
young people´s speech may perhaps be due to the type of data collected,
compared to the TT data available.

(i) Conditional Sentences

The only examples are given by older young people, mainly in the formally elicited material.  Because they are given by older young people the form used is normally as in TT, i.e. *ngini* (not the changed form *yini*).

Example (6-138)  (MT)

(a)  <u>*ngini ngarra awungani*</u>  **arramukuwani** <u>*tuwanga*</u> *api*  *ngarra* *tayinti*
    if    he      like:that someone      again    well he    stand
    ´If anyone does that again, he will have to stand.´     (MP22)

(b)  (LTT?)  <u>*ngini awungani*  *nyi*</u>  *- mpi - ri - mi* *ngiya*
            if    like:that you(sg)- NP  - CV - do  I

            *ngi - rri*    *- ja*  *- <u>warri</u> nginja*[57]
            I  - IRREAL - SBVE - fight you(sg)
            ´If you do that I will fight you.´    (PP21)

(c)  <u>*ngini a - mpi - ni - riyi arripilayin*</u> *api* *ngiya* *ngi- kija* *awinyirra*
    if    she- NP - DIR - go   plane       well I     I  - go:NP  that(f)
    ´If the plane comes I will go on it.´    (AP28)

(d)  <u>*ngini ngiya* **ku Tawin**</u> *ngiya kijim awiranka tres*
    if    I      go Darwin I    get   new     dress
    ´If I go to Darwin I will get a new dress.´    (CP19)

(e)  <u>*ngini ngu - wini yingarti* **kunawini**</u> *ngu - wuja*  *Jiliyarti*
    if    I  - have much    money   I   - go:NP   Darwin
    ´If I had a lot of money I would go to Darwin.´    (PP21)

(f)  <u>*ngini ngiya apim* **kunawini**</u> *ngiya ku Tawin*
    if    I      have money    I      go Darwin
    ´If I had some money I would go to Darwin.´    (RP20)

There are one or two examples of conditionality encoded in the speech of children, but these are given by two clauses juxtaposed, without any conjunction.  Osborne notes that this also occurs in TT (Osborne 1974:71).

Example (6-139)  (CT)

(a)  <u>*nuwa*     *wantim manko*</u>, *nuwa*    *pey po*  *jiling*
    you(pl) want    mango   you(pl) pay four shilling
    ´If you want mangoes then you will have to pay forty cents.´ (CM12)

(b)  <u>*arra errilpleyn a - li - kitha ningani*</u>, **arramukurra**
    he   plane       he - DIR - go:NP today    maybe

    *kurritawini awaji  yilaruwu*
    bread       there   inside

    ´If the plane comes today, maybe there will be some bread on it.´
    (This was the sentence asked for.)   (DB12)

(ii) There are no examples of ´event-specifier´ clauses in MT with a subordinating conjunction, *ngini* or *yini*.  The examples of paraphrase sentences have the clauses juxtaposed without any conjunction (cf. example 6-133(b) in TT).

Example  (6-140)   (MT)

(a)  *muwa    - moruwi   Papara, Kayli, Jajina, Sementha wuta*
     our(min)- children Barbara Kylie  Justina Samantha they

     *pupuwi,  wuta karluwu jana*
     good(pl) they not      sick

     ´Our children, Barbara, Kylie, Justina, Samantha, are well, they are not
     sick.  (AP28)

(b)  *kiyi yiya, Wali   Jon,   Petrik  yinturiyi Pajinapi*
     then I     Ronald John   Patrick we:went   Pinyinapi

     *ku kijim kijini   muputi*[58]
     go get   small(m) fish(m)

     ´Then I, Ronald John and Patrick went to Pinyinapi, we went to get
     small fish.´   (PJ12)

     This last example shows deletion of the subject in the second clause.  The
conditions for deletion of the subject are not discussed in this work.

     (iii) Sentences with verbs of ´wanting´ or ´knowing´ etc.

     Again it is only the older young people who use the subordinate
conjunction *ngini*, and there are only about ten examples in the data, mainly
from the formally elicited material.  Where it is used there is usually a sense
of uncertainty about what is being said, such as following a clause meaning: ´I
don´t know´, i.e. it is used in the same way that the English ´whether´ or ´if´
is used.

Example  (6-141)   (MT)

(a)  *ngiya karluwu   ngirimajawu ngini   arimangapa*
                                *naw*
     I     not       I:know       if       he:drinks
     ´I don´t know if he drinks.´   (LB33)

(b)  *ngiya karluwu ngirimajawu ngini nginayi     Jiliyarti yuwuriyi*
     I     not       know        if    that:one(m) Darwin     he:went
     ´I don´t know if that man went to Darwin.´   (PP21)

     *ngini* also occurs in some cases with a verb of ´seeing´ but not always.
It seems to depend upon the speaker.  Since there are no examples in the TT
data of *ngini* with verbs of seeing, these may be examples of hypercorrection.
It may simply mean that my TT data in that area is deficient (cf. Example
6-136(b)).  Some speakers never seem to use it and for other speakers it is
optional.  In general, *ngini* as a complementiser is being lost.

Example  (6-142)   (MT/LTT?)

(a)  *Nayi   kijini ngirripakuluwuni (ngini) yuwunjikupirnani   pulangumoni*
     that(m) boy    I:saw(him)         COMPR   he:was:hitting:REP dog
     ´I saw that boy hitting the dog.´   (LB33)

(b) *ngirripakuluwuni awarra   tini yipawurliyi*
    I:saw          that(m) man  he:fell
    ´I saw that man fall down.´   (PP23)

    With younger people there is often a free form verb without an auxiliary
in the second clause.

Example  (6-143)   (MT)

    *luk pirimi    yingati tiwi   kali*
    see they:did  many     people run
    ´They saw many people running.´    (DB12)

    With verbs of ´wanting´, there is, in general, a lack of *ngini* (except for
one example by an older young woman), whether the subjects of the clauses are
the same or different.  Even when the verb in the main clause is an inflected
verb, with the verb stem *-itimarti* (or *-itimati*) ´want´ the verb in the second
clause is often a free form verb without an auxiliary.  When the English loan
verb *wantim* occurs in the main clause it normally occurs without an auxiliary
and the verb in the second clause is also without an auxiliary.

Example  (6-144)   (MT)

(a) *ngiya nguwutimarti nguwitha Wiyuwu*
    I     I:want         I:go(np) Nguiu
    ´I want to go to Nguiu.´      (PP23)

(b) *ngarra kaluwu awutimati moliki*
    he     not     he:wants bathe
    ´He doesn´t want to have a bath.´         (MD12)

(c) *ngiya nguwutimarti ngarra kam  tumorra*
    I     I:want          him    come tomorrow
    ´I want him to come tomorrow.´          (LB33)

Example  (6-145)   (CT)

(a) *ya kalu  wantim  tok  ka Mishel*
    I   not   want     talk to Michelle
    ´I don´t want to talk to Michelle.´     (LW7)

(b) *yiya wantim yitha ka tingarra*
    I    want   go    to beach
    ´I want you to go to the beach.´      (DB12)

    There are other cases of subordinate clauses in MT which do not take a
subordinate conjunction.  In some cases, where the subjects of both are the
same, the two verbs could perhaps be regarded as a single predicate,
particularly in the case where the first verb is *pinij* or *finish*, in example
6-146 (cf. the construction with *sat* or *stat*; see 4.3.3, p.214). However, the
auxiliary normally occurs between ´finish´ and the next verb.

Example (6-146) (MT)

>     *karri* *finish* *pirimi* *moliki kiyi* ...
>     when finish they:did swim then
>     ´When they had finished swimming then ...´

Other verbs also may occur in the first clause usually with a construction similar to the English but perhaps with no preposition where there would be one in English. I am not sure how the corresponding sentences would be said in TT.

Example (6-147) (MT)

(a)  *nyiya* *janawurti kalikali* *ka* *nginja*
     I    tired    run    PREP you(sg)
     ´I am tired of running after you.´    (EP20)

(b)  *arra* *lerrim awa payt*
     ´He let us fight.´    (boy)

(iv) With verbs of speech (see also 6.3.3.2, p.280) *ngini* or *yini* may occur, at least in older young people´s speech.

Example (6-148) (MT)

(a)  *yiya telim yirimi* *yini* *'yiya ko anting'*
     I   tell I:did COMPR I   go hunting
     ´I told (her) "I am going hunting."´    (DB12)

(b)  *kiyi ya wani* *'awi,* *awa ko japuja'*
     then I say   hey(pl) we go home
     ´Then I said: "Let´s go home.".´    (CM12)

(c)  *'kuwan(i) awarra?' awa wani*
     who(m)    that(m)   we say
     ´"Who is that?" we said.´    (CP9)

In MT, there are some examples of indirect speech, which are mainly from the elicited material. In these cases the form of the English sentence which was asked may have influenced the MT sentence given. These have the complementiser *ngini* in each case.

Example (6-149)

(a)  *ngiya ngurruwujiyarra ngiya - moringa* *ngini wutili kapinayi*
     I     I:told          my   - daughter COMPR with   these

     *ampiwuja* *kulalah*
     she:is:going hunting

     ´I told my daughter that she could go hunting with these people.´ (PP23)

(b)  *ngarra yimi* *ngini awuja* *japuja*
     he     he:said COMPR he:is:going home
     ´He said that he was going home.´

In each case the tense of the verb in the indirect quote clause is the same as it would be if it was a direct quote, but the subject person is different from a corresponding direct quote clause. It may be that the form of the English was misunderstood and that the examples in 6-149 may respectively mean: ´I told my daughter: "She (i.e. someone else) is going hunting with those people."´ and ´He said: "He (i.e. someone else) is going home."´.

In more spontaneous speech there are no examples of indirect speech with the complementiser *ngini* or *yini*, but in the corpus of data there are three examples of indirect speech sentences following the English pattern with an infinitive, following the verb ´tell´. In two of these examples the direct object pronoun used is also in English while in the other cases it is in Tiwi. This as yet does not seem to be a general pattern, though it may become more general if the language moves closer to English.

Example (6-150) (MT?)

(a) *yiya telim arra tu stop*
    I    tell  him  to stop
    ´I told him to stop.´   (DB12)

(b) *thirra telim tem tu stop*
    ´She is telling them to stop.´   (PP18)

(c) *thirra telim im tu stop*
    ´She is telling him to stop.´   (MP11)

These last two examples are examples of code-switching where the codes are MT and English. Code-switching is a very common feature of the speech of young people and some older ones (discussed further in Chapter 8).

## NOTES ON CHAPTER 6

1. The Secondary Object as well as other clause constituents (see 6.2.1.2(1), p.251) may be referred to by an incorporated form in the verb.

2. The scheme presented here is following one given for Burrara by Glasgow and Garner, but with some changes and modifications (Glasgow and Garner 1980).

3. Both locative and temporal may be indicated on the verb but only in some cases and with specific meanings (see 6.2.3.1, p.260, and 2, p.262). In some cases, locative, temporal and manner may occur as complements in a stative clause (see 6.4, p.282 and 6.5, p.285).

4. The term ´transitive clause´ here is used in a wider sense than in 6.1.1 (p.245), referring to all clauses which require a second nominal argument.

5. There are some examples in the data where the IO prefixes are used to refer to the concomitative but the IO argument is one which does not normally require the concomitative marker *ma*- on the verb (see 4.2.1.1(3), p.165).

6. *-kuruwala* is a feminine verb stem (possibly ´song´ is an unstated feminine object (see 4.2.1.1(1), p.157).

7. It may be possible to have an IO externally to the verb in other cases but I have no examples of this to date.

8. The phrase in this particular example may also be a locative, as it may also be in example (c).

9. This seems to be a compound incorporated form composed of *wa-* ´words´ and *iningi-* ´goods´.  It is not clear why it is used here, unless it has become a frozen form meaning ´telegram´.

10. There are some examples where the concomitative is also referred to by an IO prefix or even a DO prefix in the case of transitive verb stems.  More investigation of these is needed as there are only a few examples in the data and it is not clear why they differ from other forms.

11. The *ji-* assimilates to *ju-* before *wu*, but the *ngi-*, which normally occurs before class 1 and 3 forms has been lost, probably because there is a *ngi-* occurring on the form *wurti(ngi)-*. It is not clear just what this form means but it seems to be used in the sense of the gloss given, in most cases.

12. It is not clear whether *awinyirra* refers to the subject (wallaby) or to the concomitative (spear) both referred to in earlier sentences.

13. This example follows (d) in the text and the concomitative inferred from the context is the same as the one inferred from the context in (d), viz. ´spear´, given in the previous sentences.

14. It is not clear whether this emphatic pronoun refers to the secondary object ´her´ (´wallaby´ understood from previous context) or to the ´stick´ which is also feminine.  Godfrey´s gloss of the text implies the latter. It is unusual to have a third person pronoun as object following the verb (see 6.8.1, p.291).

15. There is one case of benefactive with the ditransitive verb, *pringim* ´bring´, but this behaves as an IO, as in English (see 6.3.2.2, p.273).

16. Instrument is also marked by this preposition (see 6.2.2.2 (4), p.259).

17. This could perhaps be an IO (see 6.2.2.1(3) p.256).

18. I have not many examples of this in the TT data and it is not discussed elsewhere in this work.
     e.g. *tayikuwapi* <u>*wutiriyi*</u> *ngini    yirrikipayi yoyi  wurimi*
     (TT)   many         mixed:up compr   crocodile    dance they:do
              ´Everyone is mixed up when they do the crocodile dance.´


19. There are no examples in the data of *kapi*.

20. The TT stem is *-Cakitiringa* which seems to mean ´throw and hit´.

21. In this case where there is a prepositional phrase the preposition is traditionally *kaghi* or *kangi*, though this seems to be changing (see 5.2.1, p.236).

22. There are a few examples of the prefix *(wu)ni*- meaning ´at a distance´ in MT (see 4.2.4.2, p.185).

23. See note 43, Chapter 4, p.218 for this prefix, *(w)ati*-.

24. Other particle-like words, such as *manya* ´go ahead´, behave as peripheral elements in a sentence and are thus not included as clause elements.

25. In MT Location ´from´ is marked differently (see 6.2.3.1(2),p.261).

26. *shutim* is normally transitive but is used intransitively in some cases. The difference seems to be the difference between ´shoot´ and ´shoot at´, as in English.

27. The meaning given here is implied from the context, not ´I´ll report <u>to you</u>.´

28. See Osborne´s discussion (1974:62).

29. There are no examples of the concomitative marker plus *ji(ngi)*- ´in,on´ giving a sense of conveyance.

30. This is one English loan which never seems to occur with an auxiliary.

31. This is possibly an older loan from ´cooee´, which itself is a loan from another Aboriginal language into English. *jingawu* is also used by older people.

32. The quote clause is discussed more fully in 6.9.7.1(iv), p.306.

33. Without this incorporated form the addressee is normally marked by a prepositional phrase (see 6.2.1.1(3)), which may be a less traditional style.

34. *wani* (or *awani*) is the MT equivalent of TT: *awungani* which means ´like that´. It seems to be commonly used in MT meaning ´say´ or ´(say) like that´.

35. There may also be stative transitive clauses with verbs of ´naming´ and semi-transitive clauses with verbs of ´making to be´, but there are very few examples of these and so they are not included in the description.

36. These stems may also occur in an active verbal intransitive clause or, with the concomitative marker with the meaning ´live with´ or ´marry´, in an active verbal semi-transitive clause (see example 6-49(b), p.272).

37. Some older young people may use either *-ma* ´be, become´ or *-muwu* or *-miringarra* ´live´ in this type of clause but they are not general to MT, and can be assigned to a LTT style.

38. Possession may also be expressed by the use of the verb stems *-ini* ´have, keep´ and *-majila* ´own (pet or animal)´, in active verbal semi-transitive clauses in TT.

39. This is the masculine form of *yipalinya* (TT: *yimparlinya*) ´woman´ and seems
    to mean ´feminine man/boy´ or ´sissy´.

40. Possession in MT may also be expressed by the use of the loan verb *apim*
    (± an auxiliary in a transitive clause (cf. note 38).

41. That this is an irrealis verb is indicated by the lack of the connective
    *ri-* (see 4.2.1.1(1), p.157).

42. The prefix *-ati* seems to be used with the sense of ´everywhere´ (see note
    43, Chapter 4).  For *-nara*, see 3.6, p.138.

43. This is the only example in the data of this word, *lawut* (´allowed´) as an
    aspect word, though it may be more common.

44. This seems to be quite common in TT as well (but with the form *ngajiti
    awungani*).

45. The final vowel preceding *-ana* is dropped.

46. The question words beginning with *awung* are changed to begin with *aw*.
    e.g. *awungarri* > *awarri* ´when?´

47. Godfrey (private communication).

48. Godfrey discusses this as one type of repetition used as a stylistic device
    indicating difference in focus (Godfrey 1985:4).

49. This stem has an impersonal feminine subject and the person dying is marked
    as an IO.

50. This seems to mean ´it stands with fruit on (the tree(s))´ versus
    > a     - ri - marri - kuwa - yiti
    > he:NP- CV - CON.M - fruit- stand
    > ´it stands with fruit´.

    It is not certain why the masc. prefix is used as ´tree´ is feminine.
    Godfrey says that the first means when there is only a little bit of fruit
    while the second means a lot of fruit (private communication).

51. I am not sure what *manukuki* means.

52. I am not sure why the subject-tense prefix on the verb is one meaning
    ´he:NP´, agreeing with the complement *arikutumurnawamini* which is masc.
    sing., when the prefix expected would be the same as in the main clause.
    Also, the prefixes *pu-* ´away from camp´ and *ngu-* ´CV´ appear to mean
    ´distance in time´, though it could mean ´away from home´ (see 4.2.4,
    p.182).

53. In TT and sometimes in MT *awungani* (or the changed form *awani/wani*) is an
    anaphoric manner word (see 3.5.3, p.135), but often in MT it is used as
    meaning ´(do, say) like that´.

54. This verb stem normally means ´erase´ or ´rub out´ and it may perhaps be
    extended to mean ´punish´ or something like that.

55. I am not sure what the suffix *-kawa* means.

56. Godfrey has noted one or two examples of indirect speech but since these are given by a man in his forties and were changed to direct speech when given by older men, it is assumed that these are LTT.

57. The use of the irrealis and/or subjunctive is not common among most young people and I am not sure if this form would be used in TT in this case.

58. This could perhaps be considered a purpose clause with *ku* as a conjunction, but there are no other examples of this.

# Chapter 7

## SUMMARY OF THE CHANGES

This chapter is concerned with a summary of the changes, the types of changes and their interrelationship.

### 7.1 PHONOLOGY (See also 2.6)

In MT there is a loss of some TT phonemes. In some cases the lost phonemes are merged with other TT phonemes (such as the post-alveolar consonants which are merged with the apico-alveolars). In other cases, the phoneme is lost from some positions (such as the velar fricative between two /a/s, and initial /ŋ/ before /a/). (See 2.3, p.35ff.)

New phonemes are introduced. These occur mainly in English loans. However, there appears to be the splitting of one TT phoneme (/t̪/) due to the influence of English (in addition, the phonetic realisation of the palatal stop has changed to be more like the English phoneme), (i.e. TT: /t̪/ [t̪] and [t] > MT: /tš/ [tš] and /t̪/ [t̪]) (see 2.3.7, p.41. Also /ř/ and /r̩/ appear to be falling together and replaced by a phoneme closer to English (/r/) (see 2.3.8, p.43).

With the introduction of English loans which are not ´Tiwiised´ to any great extent, the stress pattern (with primary stress falling upon the penultimate syllable) has become less predictable. Also the stress in some TT-derived words has changed. Some of these changes are due to the dropping of a final vowel. In these cases the stress is the same but it is no longer on the penultimate vowel (see 2.4.5).

Similarly the simple (C) V syllable pattern has become more complex, allowing some consonant clusters. Again, this is mainly in English loans but it also occurs in some TT-derived words through the dropping of an unstressed vowel (at least in the speech of some young people (see 2.4.4 and 2.3.10).

There is a change in some TT phonemes in the speech of young children (such as /r̩/ > /y/(see 2.3.8). These differences probably also occur in the ´baby talk´ of adults.[1]

## 7.2  WORD CLASSES

### 7.2.1  RELEXIFICATION

This is mainly through borrowing from English or Pidgin English, particularly in open, or potentially open, classes such as nouns, adjectives, adverbs and free form verbs.  Many loans are used for items or concepts for which there are already terms in TT, such as *spiya* for ´spear´ (see also Appendix 1).

### 7.2.2  REDUCTION AND EXPANSION OF CLASSES

Because of the change in structure of the language, there is a reduction in some word (or stem classes) with a corresponding expansion in other classes to compensate.  There is also reduction or expansion in other classes:

(i) There is a vast reduction of the class of inflected verb stems with a corresponding expansion in the class of free form verbs (see Chapter 4).

(ii) There is a reduction of predicatives with a corresponding expansion of adjectives (see 3.4).

(iii) There is reduction in the classes of conjunctions, introducers, particles and clitics.

(iv) There is expansion in the class of prepositions (see 5.2 and 6.2).

### 7.2.3  NOUN CLASSIFICATION (see 3.2.2)

Gender distinctions are basically retained only for humans and some animals on the basis of natural sex.  However most older young people show the same agreement as in TT between commonly used adjectives and nouns.  As yet, there is no regular adoption of one form to modify all non-human nouns. However, young children tend to generalise (even for human nouns), using the feminine form, which may indicate beginning of a regular change.  (It is not clear why the feminine form should be chosen).

### 7.2.4  PRONOUNS (see 3.3)

There are a number of changes in the pronominal system:

(i) There are general sound changes (such as the dropping of the initial /ŋ/ or initial syllable) in most forms.

(ii) With the personal pronouns there is a change from a minimal-augmented system to a singular-plural one (see Table 3.6, p.101, and p.103).

(iii) Third person normal pronouns and the definitives appear to be falling together, at least in the speech of younger children.

(iv) There is loss of gender distinction in the demonstratives with the changed masculine form, which is unmarked by a prefix, being generalised.


## 7.2.5  DISTANCE LOCATIVES AND DEMONSTRATIVES

The three-way distinction of TT (relative distance from speaker or addressee) is becoming a two-way distinction (relative distance from speaker).


## 7.3  VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS (see Chapter 4)

It is in the verbal construction that the greatest changes have taken place.  These changes seem to have influenced the major changes in the structure of the language.

The changes are:

(i)

TT: { inflected independent verb

verbal complex (free form verb + inflected auxiliary verb)

> MT: + aspect + { verbal complex
word        free form verb
            inflected independent verb (only about 10-15 stems)

(aspect words: *sat/start* ´start to´, *tray/tra* ´try to´; *pin* ´PAST´ (but only where no inflected verb)).

(ii) The complex inflections of the TT verb have been greatly reduced (normally with compensation elsewhere see Chapter 6 and cf. Table 4.3, p.152, and Table 4.4, p.154), This has involved the loss of virtually all incorporated forms and the loss of most affixes except the subject-tense prefixes and some aspect affixes.

(iii) There is the generalisation of the subject-tense prefixes from three sets (transitive, feminine and general) to one set (cf. 4.2.2.1, p.172, and 4.2.2.2, p.176).

(iv) The set of free form verbs is expanded in MT to include, as well as some TT-derived forms, loan verbs from English or Pidgin English (most transitive forms have the suffix, *-im*, which is borrowed from Pidgin English) and the singular imperative forms of some common TT inflected verbs (*ta* - + verb stem).

(v) The three auxiliary verb stems of TT, viz. *-mi*, *-ma*, *-kirimi*, are generalised to the one form, *-mi*.

## 7.4 PHRASES

### 7.4.1 NOUN PHRASES

There are relatively few changes in the structure of the Noun Phrases, though there are some:

(i) The attributive noun phrase is basically the same structure in MT as in TT. The differences are mainly in the words which may occur in each modifier position. For instance, predicatives may be used as descriptive adjectives in MT but not in TT. In the data on the speech of young children there are no examples of relative clauses[2] (see 5.1.1, p.221).

(ii) Possessive Phrases in MT may have a modifier, other than the Possessor before the Head noun, which does not appear to happen in TT (see 5.1.2, p.227).

(iii) Co-ordinate noun phrases are of three types all of which appear in both TT and MT but not to the same degree (see 5.1.3).

|     |                                         | TT          | MT |
| --- | --------------------------------------- | ----------- | -- |
| (a) | no conjunction                          |             |    |
| (b) | conjunction *wuta* ´they                | increase    |    |
| (c) | conjunction, *ami(n)tiya*               | in          |    |
|     | (from sentence introducer, ´and´)       | occurrence  |    |

### 7.4.2 PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES (see 5.2)

TT: There are few prepositions (most also occur as subordinate clause conjunctions)

| | | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *kapi/ngampi* ⎫<br>*kaghi/kangi* ⎬ | Locative<br>(Indirect<br>Object – LTT?) | ⎧ ´to´, ´at´, ´on´,<br>⎨ ´in´, ´near´, ´from´ |
| *kapani* | Locative | ´towards´, ´along´ |
| *kuyi* | Locative | ´to´, ´in?´ |
| *ngini* | Speech Complement | ´about´ |
| *nginingaji* ⎫<br>⎬<br>*ngintuwu* ⎭ | Manner | ´like´ |
| *karri* | Temporal | ´when´ |

MT: There is a loss of some TT prepositions, but a gain of some English loans. There are more grammatical relations shown by prepositions than in TT.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *kapi/ka* | Locative | ´to´, ´at´, ´in´, ´on´, ´near´ |
| | Indirect Object | ´to´ |
| | Vehicle | ´by´ |
| *from* | Locative / Reason | ´from´ |
| *fu/fo* | Benefactive/Purpose / Temporal (duration) | ´for´ |
| *with(i)* *wuta/wurra* *wutiriyi/* *wutili(yi)* | Accompaniment / Instrument | ´with´ |
| *yini* *apat* | Speech Complement | ´about´ |
| *yingaji* *lak/layk* | Manner | ´like´ |
| *karri* | Temporal | ´when´ |

## 7.5  CLAUSES AND SENTENCES (see Chapter 6)

(1) Clauses in TT and MT can be divided into the same basic types according to their predicate structure, but the predicate structure varies within each type for each style, and can be summarised thus:

| | Active Verbal Clauses | Stative Verbal Clauses | Non-Verbal Clauses |
|---|---|---|---|
| TT: | inflected verb / verbal complex (free form verb + auxiliary) | complement + inflected verb ´be´ | complement |
| MT: | ± asp + inflected verb / verbal complex | complement + inflected verb, ´be´ | complement |
| Casual MT and CT: | ± asp + free form verb | complement | |

(2) Active verbal clauses can be further subdivided according to the core or non-core Arguments required in each, summarised as:[3]

```
                TT                              MT
                                                    ┌ (i)  DO,  SO
ditransitive:    S, DO, SO  >  ditransitive: S, ┤
                                                    └ (ii) IO,  O
transitive:      S,  DO  ┐
                         ├  >  transitive:    S   DO
semi-transitive: S,  SO  ┘

intransitive:    S          >  intransitive: S
```

(3) Other changes in Arguments:

| TT | MT |
|---|---|
| Indirect Object (marked on verb by pers. prefix) | Indirect Object (prep: *ka* or *kapi*) |
| | Benefactive/Purpose (prep: *fu/fo*) |
| | Direct object (unmarked) |
| Concomitative (signalled on verb by CON. marker + *ji(ngi)*- 'in, on') | Accompaniment (prep: *with(i)* etc) |
| | Vehicle (prep: *ka*) |

(4) Subordination

There are some changes in subordinating conjunctions, particularly in the loss of the general complementiser or conjunction, *ngini*, in some situations. In general, there are less subordinating strategies and more coordinating strategies.[4]


## 7.6  THE TYPES OF CHANGES AND THEIR INTERRELATIONSHIP

Some of the changes can be seen to be of the types of change which is found in 'normal' language change. Many of which are due to borrowing from other languages, though not necessarily through extensive contact. Some of the changes in Tiwi which would perhaps have occurred without extensive contact are:

(1) the splitting of /t̪/ into two phonemes, /t̪/ and /t̲/. This is due to the conditioning of the allophonic variations being lost, mainly through borrowing (see 2.3.7, p.41).

Many other Australian languages, mainly over the eastern half (see Dixon 1980:140f), have contrast between lamino-dental and lamino-palatal stops and nasals. Dixon (1980:153f) suggests that from the available evidence this seems to be a change from a single laminal series in Proto-Australian. So this change in Tiwi is similar to the change that has taken place in other Australian languages, though the change from the realisation of [t̪] to [tš] is probably due to direct influence from English.

(2) The loss of initial /ŋ/ (see 2.3.6). This change is similar to the dropping of initial consonants which has occurred in some other Australian languages (Dixon 1980:196f).

(3) The extension of the use of the common auxiliary stem *-mi* to replace the less common stems such as *-kirimi* and *-unga*. This a case of grammatical analogy.

(4) The regularisation of the three sets of subject-tense prefixes of TT to the one of MT is typical of the regularisation which occurs in normal language change.

   Other changes have to be more directly attributed to extensive contact with English and/or Pidgin English (to direct borrowing from them or to analogical modelling on structures within them).

   These changes, although given under the separate headings of Phonology, Word classes, Clauses etc., are not discrete changes occurring independently of each other. Change in the lexicon, through borrowing, introduces new phones or phonemes into the language, leading to an expansion in the phoneme inventory. There is a corresponding reduction in the phoneme inventory through the loss of some TT phonemes (see 2.7).

   These changes appear to be going on simultaneously. With the change in culture, children and young people have had less exposure to the ´pure´ form of the language and so hear fewer occurrences of the sounds which are being changed. Many young people seem to be aware of the ´proper´ pronunciations and sometimes use them in their more formal speech or in writing. However, their casual speech does not seem to be affected by this awareness and many who are able to write have difficulty in spelling words with post-alveolar consonants and the velar fricative. In material written by young people there are a number of examples of hypercorrection, in which words are spelt with post-alveolar consonants where they do not occur in TT.

   On the surface, it is not clear whether the introduction of English loan free form verbs has led to the loss of TT verb stems or vice versa, or whether the loss of the TT verbal inflections has led to more grammatical relations being indicated by nouns or prepositional phrases and to tense, mood and aspect being shown by separate words, or the other way around, or whether the changes have been simultaneous.

   There seems to be a ´vicious circle´ operating. As more English loan verbs are introduced more verb stems are lost, and as more verb stems are lost more English loan verbs are introduced. Similarly, as the verb inflection is lost, the more rigid becomes the word order as grammatical relations are shown by noun or prepositional phrases. Also as more prepositions are introduced or the functions of existing prepositions are expanded the more inflection is lost from the verb.

   Both the loss of some TT verb stems and the use of English loan verbs are apparent in the speech of middle-aged (and even some older) people. Similarly, some loss of verbal inflection and the extension of the meanings of TT locative prepositions have also been noted in their speech. The extent of these traits has not been studied in detail.

   MT is characterised by the almost complete loss of TT verb stems and verbal inflections and by much language ´mixing´, with elements derived from both TT and English (and/or Pidgin English). MT seems to be an amalgamation of TT and English.[5]

The question arises whether MT has developed from the speech of middle-aged people through a process of language 'death', with the changes being carried to an extreme and thus necessitating extensive borrowing, or whether it has developed in another way (i.e. whether MT is a reduced or simplified form of TT through gradual loss and replacement by English, or whether it is in fact an emerging new code developed from an anglicised baby talk Tiwi which has amalgamated forms and structures from both TT and English (and/or Pidgin English)).

This question is considered in the next chapter in the light of language contact phenomena (i.e. the types of situations which are brought about by language and culture contact) and language acquisition and the affect of these on the Tiwi situation.

## NOTES ON CHAPTER 7

1.  I have not studied Tiwi 'baby talk' (i.e. the speech of adults to young children) phonology in detail.  However, some of the phonological differences found in young children's speech have been observed casually in Tiwi baby talk.  In view of what has been observed by linguists in other Australian languages (Anindilyakwa by Leeding 1977, Milingimbi children's speech by Buyumini and Sommer 1978, Warlpiri by Laughren 1984, and also casual observation in different languages by SIL linguists), it does seem likely that these regular phonological differences do arise from Tiwi baby talk (see also discussion in 8.2.3.3).

2.  This is to be expected in child language (cf. Clark and Clark 1977:341).  This is one way in which CT (and all child language) is like a pidgin language (cf. Slobin 1977).  (See also 8.2.3.3, p.353).

3.  S(Subject):TT/MT(more formal) - marked on verb by personal prefix, but casual MT and CT - unmarked on verb; DO (Direct Object): TT - marked on verb by personal prefix; MT - unmarked on verb; SO (Secondary Object):TT/MT - unmarked on verb; IO (Indirect Object):TT - marked on verb by personal prefix, MT - unmarked on verb, but indicated by prepositional phrase with *kapi/ka*.

4.  The scope of this work does not permit a detailed study of the coordination and subordination of sentences (see 6.9, p.295).  A statistical analysis of the use of subordinating versus coordinating strategies in either TT or MT has not been carried out.  The statement made is based on an impressionistic survey.

5.  'Mixing' is used here to refer to the incorporation of elements derived from English or Pidgin English into an otherwise Tiwi sentence (i.e. with Tiwi pronouns and interrogatives).  It is seen as distinct from 'switching' between the two languages, though at times it is difficult to determine where mixing ends and switching begins.  Code-switching is discussed in more detail in 8.2.2.3.

## Chapter 8

## LANGUAGE CONTACT PHENOMENA AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO TIWI

Since Tiwi is a language which has undergone drastic change through the contact of at least two languages and cultures, a study of the various contact phenomena which may occur is seen as relevant here.  These include linguistic acculturation, linguistic interference, bilingualism, lingua francas, pidginisation and creolisation, and language shift and loss.  Most of these have a bearing on the Tiwi situation as does the question of language acquisition, in determining just how MT may have developed and the possible future of the language.

Each of these phenomena is discussed briefly in general, then with regard to the wider Australian scene and then more specifically to the Tiwi situation. An attempt is made, by comparison with the evidence of studies on other situations of language contact and of language acquisition, to show how MT has probably developed and what may be the future of the Tiwi language, with particular reference to some of the educational implications.

### 8.1  LANGUAGE CONTACT IN AUSTRALIA

Among Australian Aborigines, various language contact phenomena, such as: linguistic acculturation, bilingualism, the use of lingua francas, pidginisation and creolisation, language shift and language loss, have occurred or are still occurring in different situations.  The type of phenomenon has depended upon the type of contact, which has varied from place to place.

A number of languages have become extinct through the demise of a whole tribe or group (Dixon 1980:18).  This has normally come about as a result of murder, disease, and through the alteration of their lifestyle or change in location, leading to a lack of desire to live.  The most drastic example of this is the case of the full-blood Tasmanians who were completely wiped out in just over seventy years, through a mixture of these three factors (Dixon 1980:78, Swadesh 1948:226-227).

In some cases missionaries, though well meaning, discouraged traditional customs, thus, as Dixon (1980:78) says:

> estranging them [young people] from their elders and disrupting the authority structure that underlay the social system.  Amid this disruption of their traditional life, tribes tended simply to fade away.

In a number of cases people were forced from their tribal lands and banded together on missions or settlements often with people from other language groups. It seems that even precontact there was a considerable amount of multilingualism in many areas of Australia (Dixon 1980:32, 46, 69). So that, in some places where different groups were brought together one of the languages became a lingua franca, sometimes displacing languages with smaller numbers of speakers. This is the case with Wik-Munkan in much of the western part of the Cape York Peninsula (Dixon 1980:94), Yindjibarndi at Roebourne in Western Australia (Wordick 1982:3) and Gugu Yimidhirr at Hopevale in Queensland (Haviland 1979b:34).

At other places, although there is much linguistic diversity and bilingualism, no one language has been accepted as a lingua franca, though English is understood and is used for communication with Europeans and even though one language may be more ´prestigious´ and is understood by most people. One such place is Maningrida in Arnhem Land (Elwell 1977).

At still other places where people who did not speak the same language were collected together a pidgin English was used. This was normally introduced by Europeans or by other Aborigines from areas where a pidgin English was spoken. This was the case at Roper River (or Ngukurr) (Sandefur 1979:12-13).

On some missions and settlements dormitories and schools were established and children from different language groups were brought together. As Sommer (1974:41) says:

> Deprived of active contact with their clan language and
> faced with the social necessity to communicate with their
> fellows (of whatever linguistic background) children were
> forced to use pidgin.

However, the medium of instruction in schools was standard English.

At some places a form of pidgin English has become the lingua franca among Aboriginal people and has become a creole as it has acquired native speakers. Among these are Kriol, spoken at Ngukurr and Bamyili in the Northern Territory[1] (Sharpe and Sandefur 1976, Sandefur 1979), and Cape York Creole (Crowley and Rigsby 1979). In these cases there exists a creole (or post-creole) continuum similar to that described for Jamaican Creole by DeCamp (1971a, 1971b) and Bickerton (1975a), (see Sommer 1974:42). The acrolect (i.e. the style closest to standard English) is normally reserved for communication with Europeans.

Even where Aboriginal English which is not a creole is spoken, there is still normally a dialect continuum (Dixon 1980:74). Aboriginal English is a term used for English which ´is marked by some features as being distinctively Aboriginal´ (Blake 1981:68). It may have some features of Pidgin English (such as the use of *bin* ´past´) and basically extended phonology like the creole languages but it is a dialect of English, mutually intelligible with other dialects (Dixon 1980:74). As with creole speakers, speakers of Aboriginal English (either as a first or second language) normally use a style closer to standard Australian English with Europeans, if they have the ability. There are very few places these days where no English at all is spoken. (For further discussion see Blake 1981:67-68, Dixon 1980:69-76, Elwell 1979).

Some languages, although not completely extinct, are dying, having only a few speakers left. As in other cases, linguists in the past have been mainly concerned with recording the ´pure´ forms of these dying languages without concerning themselves with the forms spoken by young people. However, Douglas (1976) briefly describes the Nyungar language of south-western Australia, which is probably a simplified version of the traditional language, and the modern form Neo-Nyungar, which is basically an Aboriginal English with a smattering of Nyungar words. Austin (1981) looks at the changes in some eastern Australian languages which are dying. At least one of these appears to be a case of convergence with English. Speaking Gamilaraay ´now means inserting invariable lexical items into what are otherwise English sentences´ (Austin 1981:31).

Even in situations where an Aboriginal language is still used to a considerable extent, the children´s speech appears to be changed in many cases. In an informal survey conducted among S.I.L. linguists working in different Australian languages, a number commented on the increasing use of English by children. In at least one case (Nyangumarta) this was to the exclusion of the traditional language, though some can still ´hear´ (i.e. understand) it. In some cases, changes in the language spoken by the children have been noted, though not studied systematically in most instances. Some changes noted are: the increased use of English loans and the regularisation of grammatical affixes (Gugu-Yalanji, Gurindji).[2]

Even where the European contact with Australian Aborigines has been relatively peaceful, quite a lot of coercion appears to have been used in many cases (see Dixon 1980:77-79, Berndt and Berndt 1977:493-499, Elkin 1974:362-364). Elkin (1974:364) says:

> The Aborigines, on their part, learnt that they could not
> rid their various tribal countries of the white man, nor
> take his possessions with impunity, for they came off worst
> when faced with either guns or courts. They therefore
> gradually adapted themselves to the white man, with his
> flocks and herds, as a permanent factor in the environment.

Except for early clashes, there has been little resistance by the Aborigines to European ways and culture, with many Aboriginal people readily accepting the ´benefits´ of civilisation. So, although there has been intermittent violence and considerable coercion, the contact has resulted in breakdown of the culture and language in a number of cases. In general, the results appear to be different from those found by Dozier with respect to the effect of the type of culture contact on the culture and language (see Dozier 1964). Perhaps other factors have played a more important part. A more detailed look at the type of contact situation at each place and its effect on the culture and language would need to be taken to determine what correlation there may be.

## 8.2   LANGUAGE CONTACT AND THE TIWI SITUATION

### 8.2.1   THE TYPE OF CONTACT (See also 1.2)

On Bathurst Island the mission contact with the Tiwi was peaceful, though the contact with Joe Cooper and his Iwaidja henchmen with guns had not been quite so peaceful shortly before (see 1.2, p.3). Father Gsell, the founder of

the Mission, while having a rather condescending attitude towards the Tiwi, did respect their ways to some extent. He did not try to convert initiated adults but persuaded the elders to allow boys who wanted to stay at the Mission to do so and attend school. Although these boys did not become initiated but received religious instruction and were baptised, they were not cut off entirely from their families. They had contact with them when they came to the Mission from time to time and spent time on 'walkabout' with them during school holidays.

The girls were another story. Since they were espoused to old men, belonging to them like chattels (see 1.2, p.3), the elders were not as willing to permit them to stay at the Mission. They eventually allowed them to stay with the nuns for short periods but their husbands would always come to claim them. This continued until one girl fled back to the Mission. After she had done this a second time Father Gsell, playing on the Tiwis' desire for the white man's goods, arranged to buy her from her husband. She was the first of many 'wives' whom he bought in this way. These girls became the 'property' of the priest and when they were old enough he allowed them to marry young men of their choosing. Gsell (1956:93) himself says:

> When they [the men of the tribe] saw how these girls were
> treated with never an attempt to wean them from what was
> good and wholesome in their native way of life, and when
> they saw that at a marriageable age they were perfectly
> free to marry young men of the tribe, all doubts and
> lingering fears were abandoned and I began to receive so
> many offers of "wives" that I became embarrassed and I was
> forced to limit my business.

It is not certain from documents or from speaking with people just how much contact these girls had with their own families. It appears they may have had casual contact with them when the families came to the mission and maybe younger girls were allowed to go 'out bush' during holidays. Apparently in later years older girls (adolescents) were not allowed to do so. Boys and girls were housed and schooled separately but the boys appear to have had more freedom, being allowed more time with their families at holidays. When more people settled around the Mission, boys apparently lived with their families but most girls were kept in the dormitory.

With regard to language, it seems that the use of the Tiwi language was certainly not discouraged. In the words of Gsell (1956:58):

> We had to make ourselves understood quickly and so to begin
> with we were obliged to use pidgin English. ... Our
> Aborigines had some notions of pidgin English, picked up
> from the buffalo hunters and odd traders and in this way we
> were able to communicate with our parishioners although,
> little by little, we tried to introduce language worthy of
> that name. Nor was that too difficult; because these
> people have a keen ear for sounds and they are quick to
> learn. However, we thought it our duty to study their own
> native dialects.

This statement above seems to apply to the general Mission policy not just to the Tiwi situation; with regard to the Tiwi situation specifically he says (1956:107-108)

> The Mission's population increased and there had to be
> control. The first question was that of language. The
> native language was very difficult to learn. We were the
> first foreigners to speak it, or rather to smatter it
> because we could only use a few words. If the aboriginal
> language was to be the official language of the Mission, it
> would have to be mastered, something which presented
> enormous difficulties because the aborigines refuse
> fiercely to initiate the white men into their
> mother-tongue. In fact, we never learnt more than the most
> commonly used words, filling in gaps with pidgin English.
> This was good enough for the adults, but something much
> more precise was needed to teach the children effectively.
>
> The Government having insisted that the Mission should
> teach English, we proceeded to teach English; and because
> these aboriginal children are highly intelligent and
> blessed with prodigious memory they were very soon
> prattling away like sons of Albion. And the teachers, in
> turn, were now able to learn from their pupils much of the
> aboriginal language, a knowledge which we felt
> indispensable if we were really to understand the soul of
> this people.

However much Tiwi the teachers learnt from their pupils, it does not seem
to have been enough to communicate well in Tiwi,[3] except for one priest, Father
McGrath, who arrived in 1927, became the 'boss' in 1938 and left in 1948. From
all accounts Father McGrath had a good grasp of the Tiwi language and used it
in communicating to the people, often preaching in it at church. According to
Brother Pye, who spent some time as a teacher in the Boys' School during Father
McGrath's time, the adults did not need to speak English as they could
communicate through Father McGrath (private communication). This would account
for some of the older people now being able to speak only a type of Pidgin
English with Europeans. A number of the older people, particularly at
Pularumpi and Nguiu, and all of the younger ones (under about 40 years) have
been to school and can speak a style of English closer to SAE. Many can also
read and write English reasonably well.

It is hard to assess the amount of Pidgin English spoken as it is not
normally spoken to Europeans. However, there has been some contact with Pidgin
English over the years, in addition to the initial period of contact. A number
of people have spent some time among other Aboriginal people at the East Arm
Leprosarium near Darwin. Also a number of men were in contact with other
Aboriginal people in the army during the war. There has been considerable
influence of Pidgin English on both Modern Tiwi and the basilectal style of
Tiwi-English. However this basilectal style of Tiwi-English does not appear to
be the same as the pidgins or creoles spoken across northern Australia, for
instance, Pidgin English pronouns are not used but pronouns which are closer to
SAE (cf. the discussion in 1.7, p.11)

Although English was taught in the school, the use of Tiwi does not seem
to have been discouraged, either in the school or dormitory, except perhaps
under the rule of one sister (from hearsay). Indeed, from accounts of their
school days by some Tiwi women, Father McGrath appears to have taught English
through a comparison with Tiwi.

I believe that most of the language contact phenomena listed in 8.1 (p.324) apply in some sense to the Tiwi situation.  The peaceful non-resistant type of contact seems to have led to a situation similar to the Yacqui discussed by Dozier (1964).[4]  In this situation the Spanish contact with the Yacqui Indians of Sonora and Arizona was a relatively permissive one in which the Indians were given the opportunity to choose whether or not to adopt Spanish cultural items and integrate them into their culture.  Apparently they were not coerced into taking over European and Catholic ways.  ´The result was that a fusion of Spanish and Yacqui cultural elements took place in a relatively short time´ (Dozier 1964:516).  This can also be seen in the language which is ´an amalgam, where Spanish and Yacqui elements have been thoroughly integrated´ (1964:516).  The language spoken by the Tiwi young people is an amalgam of Tiwi and English (and Pidgin English).  However, the situation has not reached the stage where people cannot recognise the origin of the various elements of the culture or language.  Although they dance traditional type dances at Christian masses and maybe bring Christian elements into their traditional ceremonies, they are able to recognise the origin of these (at least the older people are able to do so).  Similarly in the language most people can recognise the elements which are ´Tiwi´ and those which are English (except for young children).

There is certainly community bilingualism as discussed briefly in 1.7 (p.9), arising from partial language shift.  The shift does not seem to be a simple shift from Tiwi to English with a gradual decline in the use of Tiwi and a correlative rise in the use of English.  MT is replacing TT but it seems that the changes in MT can be associated more with changes which take place in pidginisation and subsequent creolisation rather than with those involved in most cases of language death.  The future of Tiwi is by no means clear.  In the following sections the Tiwi situation is discussed, in turn in relation to bilingualism, language death, language acquisition and creolisation.

## 8.2.2  SOCIETAL BILINGUALISM, LANGUAGE SHIFT AND THE TIWI COMMUNITY[5]

Fishman (1972c) discusses bilingualism in relation to diglossia. Ferguson´s (1959) original concept (i.e. of the use of two varieties of the same language in a community, each with a definite role) has been extended and refined by Fishman, Gumperz and others to refer to any situation in which separate languages or language varieties are used for different functions within a speech community.  Fishman (1972c) proposes that stable bilingualism occurs where there is diglossia as well as bilingualism in a society.  On the other hand, transitional bilingualism occurs where there is no diglossia or the different functions of the separate languages are being lost.  In this latter case one language is in the process of replacing the other(s).[6] Fishman goes on to say that:

> in diglossic-bilingual speech communities children do *not* attain their full repertoires at home or in their neighbourhood play groups. (1972:141)

However, in a situation of transitional bilingualism

> children typically become bilingual at a very early age, while still largely confined to home and neighbourhood, since their elders (children of school age and adults alike) carry into the domains of intimacy a language learned outside its confines. (1972:145)

Di Pietro (1970:19) proposes a universal:

> The presence of multilingualism in a speech community
> depends on the association of each language involved with
> specific domains of social interaction . . . The stability
> of multilingualism is a function of the time period in
> which the community gives each language dominance in
> specific domains of interaction [and that a situation in
> which two languages] would be used equally as well for all
> domains of interaction is highly transitory and represents
> the step just before a new stage of monolingualism in one
> or other of the languages.

The relevant domains of language behaviour vary from community to
community but some are: home, neighbourhood, school (classroom and playground),
work, church or religion, and governmental administration.  As well as domain
variance, Fishman (1972d:79) stresses the importance in language maintenance
and shift of media variance (i.e. written, read or spoken language) and
overtness variance (i.e. the language related to inner speech, comprehension
and production).

Because of the limited time and resources a detailed sociolinguistic
survey of the Tiwi situation has not been possible and the discussion below is
mainly based on casual observation, informal talking to people and
transcriptions of natural conversations.  There are holes in the data as speech
in certain domains, such as the ´beer´ club, the home and some work situations,
was not observed.  However, some generalisations can be made regarding the
domains of language behaviour.


## 8.2.2.1  TIWI LANGUAGE USE DEPENDING UPON DOMAINS

The domains which appear to be relevant to the Tiwi situation are:
traditional culture and ceremonies, the home, church and related activities,
school and related activities, governmental administration, work, commercial
activities (shop, bank, etc.), recreational activities (gambling, ´beer´ club,
films and TV, football, playing, etc.).  An overriding factor influencing the
speech in most of the domains above with regard to the amount of English spoken
is the presence or absence of Europeans.  The style of English spoken also
depends upon this, and the age and relative proficiency of the individual
speakers.  Much of the speech observed in some cases may have been due to my
presence as a European, although I did try to keep in the background as much as
possible and when it was necessary to speak, tried to use Tiwi.[7]

(1) Traditional ceremonies

The Tiwi still hold some traditional ceremonies (see 1.3, p.6) and the
singing in these ceremonies is in TT.[8]  Some of the songs, particularly some of
those sung in the *pukumani* (or death) ceremonies are old songs which are passed
down from the composer to his brothers and/or his descendants.  However most
songs used in the *pukumani* and *kulama* (yam) ceremonies are newly composed for

the occasion. In both ceremonies the songs can be about mythological, historical or current events, fiction or natural history (Goodale 1971:293). The language used in the ceremonial songs is traditional language, though according to Goodale (1971:188):

> since there is a preset style for the *kulama* chant many archaic words are used if they fit the rhythm better and extra syllables will be added or dropped from words for the same reason.

This also applies to the songs used in the *pukumani* ceremonies and she says that even foreign words will be used if they fit the metre more readily (1971:290).

Young people still take some active part in the *pukumani* ceremonies, though not many appear to compose songs for them, because they do not know the traditional language well enough and because many do not appear to be interested enough to do so. It would seem, then, that this use of TT is being lost and it is doubtful that MT will take over this function as MT is not regarded as being a fit medium for ceremonial songs. A style of LTT may be acceptable but I am not sure of this.

(2) Church and related activities

In church services English is mainly used. During his time at the Mission Father McGrath preached in Tiwi (Pye 1977:61) but since then preaching has been done in English, since no other priest has had sufficient ability in Tiwi and there are no Tiwi preachers (at least I know of none who preach in church services today). The liturgy too is in English. The church services are attended by a number of Europeans (and mixed race people at Pularumpi) and in general the priests are unwilling to allow too much Tiwi into the services because of this.

At Nguiu there have been occasional scripture readings (or prayers) in Tiwi. In some cases these readings have been translated on the spot from a simple English version written out by the priest.[9] This means that the Tiwi used would not be regarded by purists as ´proper´ TT since there may be unassimilated English loans for some terms (rather than coined terms). On some occasions portions translated by Marie Godfrey and her translation helpers have been used. This second type of reading is in fairly regular use in the church services now (1987). These are being written down and anything which is written down seems to be needed to be written in ´proper´ TT before being accepted by the older people. In 1983-84 I prepared Scripture readings in a simplified TT (a style of LTT), substituting English loan words and expressions from MT where a more traditional word or expression has not been understood by young people with whom I checked the reading. These readings were accepted as ´good´ by some but others (traditionalists) objected to the language used.

There are also a number of Tiwi hymns which are used from time to time. Most of these are in TT or an LTT style but with non-Tiwi tunes. Other hymns are in English. The singing is normally led by older women, though sometimes young women accompany the hymns, particularly the modern ones, on guitars. At the end of the service or during the offering some of the older women will sometimes sing Latin hymns which they learnt as schoolgirls.[10]

On special occasions, such as Christmas and the anniversary of the founding of the Mission, Tiwi dancing and singing (a *yoyi*) may be incorporated into a mass. This seems to be performed mainly by older people.

When a person dies a Catholic funeral service is held (at least if the person was baptised).  This is normally held outside the person's house or nearby and then also at the graveside.  English is used during the Catholic ritual but Tiwi dancing and singing are also performed, particularly at the graveside.[11]

In private prayer, it seems that Tiwi is used (except for the set prayers) at least by older people.  I am not sure just what style is used but I should imagine that it would be a fairly formal style, and as close to TT as the individual is able to make it.

(3) School and related activities

At school (and pre-school) children come into more contact with Standard English, particularly at Milikapiti and Pularumpi where the medium of instruction is English.[12]  At these places, since there are some Tiwi teachers and teacher aides some of the instruction of the children is in Tiwi, which may vary from casual MT to a fairly hard LTT style or TT, depending upon the proficiency of the teacher or aide, the understanding of the children and the formality of the lesson.

Although Milikapiti does not have a bilingual programme, some time in the week is set aside for a Tiwi lesson (at least this was so in 1978).  The one Tiwi lesson I observed there consisted of the telling of a Tiwi myth (mainly in an LTT style which has some English loans but has TT verbs) and the children then drawing a picture (presumably illustrating the story).  During this time it seems that Tiwi was supposed to be spoken.  At one stage a number of children pounced on another child for speaking English.  However, the teacher herself, in giving instructions or in any aside unrelated to the lesson, often spoke English.  At other times, in explaining difficult parts of the myth or giving instructions she spoke in a simpler style of Tiwi (closer to MT).[13]

Example  (8-1)

(a)  telling myth (LTT):

<pre>
ngarra  wangatamiya  kintanga   awarra  Ningani
his     alone        footprint  that(m) Ningani

ju       - pakitirruwa        - la  ju       - porlimpirri
he:P:her - carry:on:shoulder  - REP he:P:her - carry:on:shoulder

tuwanga  julup,  morlik, morlik, morlik, morlik,
again    dive    swim

morlik  morlik,  warta   pu       - rru - papurti
                 bush    they:P - P   - go:up
</pre>

'There were footprints only of that man, Ningani.  He carried her on his shoulder all the time.  He carried her on his shoulder. Again he dived.  He swam and swam, and swam and swam.  They went up into the bush.'

(b)  Instruction to children (LTT/MT and English)

*truwim nyi   - rra    - kirimi pikja.  Aileen, tanga nginiyi jurra.*
draw   you(pl) - EMPH:IMP - make   picture Aileen  get!  that(m) paper

*Come on everybody, sit down.*

´(All of you) draw a picture!  Aileen, get that paper!  Come on everybody
sit down!´

At Nguiu, the children come into more contact with TT as it is supposed to
be taught from the pre-school (see 1.4, p.7, and Chapter 1, note 6, p.17).
Much of the actual instruction of the children is left to the Tiwi teacher
aides, with the European teacher preparing the lessons and supervising.  There
are also some trained Tiwi teachers.  A number of primers and reading books
have been prepared and printed in a simple style of TT.  Children are taught to
read in TT, even though it is not the code they speak.  All the same the
programme is meant to be a transitional one with most of the lessons in the
upper primary and post primary years being conducted in English.[14]  I am not
sure at what grade formal instruction in standard English is begun.  European
teachers communicate to the children in standard English, perhaps with a
smattering of Tiwi words and expressions, or through their teacher aides.

At Nguiu, there is some post-primary education, mainly in English, Maths,
Social Science, Religion, with technical studies for the boys and home crafts
for the girls, with the continuation of some Tiwi language lessons.  During
these years there is some time devoted to Tiwi language study and reading.
Post-primary children from Pularumpi and Milikapiti are sent to the Catholic
schools at Nguiu, or to Darwin, either to the Catholic school there or to a
government school.  There are a few children from each settlement who have been
sent further afield, mainly to Catholic schools (in Melbourne or Townsville).
It seems that people who have spent their post-primary years away from the
islands often speak more English in their natural conversations (with other
Tiwi) than others of their age, but this is not always the case.[15]

Both Tiwi and English songs are taught in the school at Nguiu.  The Tiwi
songs are mainly those which have been made up for this purpose.  They are
mainly in a simple style of TT or LTT (not MT) and normally have non-Tiwi
tunes.[16]  Singing plays quite an important part in the life of the schools,
particularly St Therese, the girls´ school (coeducational until Grade 6).
There is an annual eisteddfod run by St Therese School (and children also
participate in the eisteddfod in Darwin each year).  There are categories for
both English and Tiwi songs.[17]  Groups from around the community as well as
from the schools are encouraged to participate.  There are also other occasions
at which Tiwi songs are composed and sung, such as the end of the year concert.
I am not sure what the situation is at Milikapiti, but Pularumpi school did not
seem to have any similar functions, at least while I was there.  However, at
Pularumpi, children were taught some of the Tiwi songs, mainly the same as
those in use at Nguiu.

Although there is an emphasis on teaching Tiwi at the school at Nguiu,
English is also stressed.  Children are (perhaps unconsciously) given an image
of English as the ´prestigious´ language.  The library is stocked with well
produced English books, with brightly coloured pictures, with which the locally
produced Tiwi books find it hard to compete.  (One way those involved in the

bilingual programme have tried to overcome this is by producing colourful ´big books´ for class use in the younger grades.  Also in recent years the quality of books produced at the Literacy Production Centre has greatly improved.) The children also watch a number of English films.

(4) Government and administration

The language associated with government and administration is English. There are some non-Tiwi personnel involved in administration and most business and correspondence is conducted in English.

However, a number of government leaflets, posters and even cassettes (such as ones on procedures for voting and health) have been translated into Tiwi (and other Aboriginal languages).

I am not sure in which language council meetings are conducted.  This may depend upon the composition of the council, which is elected each year.  At Pularumpi, the council includes a number of mixed-race people, including the president, and this may mean that English is used predominantly.  I am not sure about the other two places.

At the few community meetings I observed at Pularumpi there seemed to be a mixture of English and Tiwi (MT or LTT) used.  The English may have been mainly for the benefit of the Europeans and mixed-race people present.

(5) Work

Most of the work situations have European overseers or advisers and so the language used much of the time would be English.  I am not sure whether Tiwi, English or both are used by Tiwi people when talking together in a work situation.  It possibly depends upon whether the talk is work-related or not. I would think that Tiwi would be used but with some code-switching to English, particularly in talk which is unrelated to work.

(6) Commercial activities

At each settlement, these take place at the store, the take-away restaurant, the bank and post-office. The language used in transactions at these places is mainly English, though once again, there appears to be some code-switching, probably depending upon the interlocutors and perhaps the topic (see next section).

(7) Recreational activities

Many of the recreational activities these days are English-orientated, such as watching films or TV, listening to the radio or cassettes (mainly pop and country-western songs) and reading (mainly comics).  Most of the natural conversations which were recorded were in an informal recreational setting: people gambling or sitting talking, at the films before they started, or children playing.  In these conversations there was much code-switching between the various Tiwi codes and English (mainly Tiwi-English).  The speech of all interlocutors could not always be transcribed because of the manner of recording and transcribing.[18]

On the few occasions when I was present during traditionally-oriented recreational activities, such as fishing, hunting and camping trips there appears to have been the same amount of code-switching as during other

recreational activities (cf. 8.2.2.4, p.342).  A teacher-linguist at Nguiu did comment that after bush holidays children seemed to use more Tiwi words in their speech but maybe these were simply vocabulary related to hunting and fishing.

(8) Home

I have not been able to observe the language use in the home but assume it is similar to that in the recreational activities.  It seems that there are very few occasions on which there is interaction just between members of a nuclear family (even at night) because there normally seem to be other family members or friends present (living or staying with the family).

In 1984, while camping out with a Tiwi family, with members ranging in age from the late forties to a babe in arms, I was interested to note that the family played a game while settling down at night.  This game seemed to involve guessing the identity of a family or couple given some clues about the composition of the family and other details.  For the most part the game seemed to be conducted in English, though other conversation was normally in Tiwi (MT or LTT) with some switching to English.  My presence would not have influenced this choice of English as I was camped a little distance away separated by some bushes and was not participating in any way.

## 8.2.2.2  TIWI LANGUAGE USE DEPENDING UPON INTERLOCUTORS

Despite the difficulties of recording and transcribing natural conversations, some tendencies of language use can be seen.

Whenever a European is present, particularly as an active participant in the conversation, English is used (though sometimes people address each other in Tiwi when they do not wish the European to understand or when they need to clarify something which has been said in English).  The style of English depends upon the proficiency of the speaker.  Even young children are able to use some English to Europeans.  When I was leaving a group of young women (with whom I had been speaking mainly Tiwi), they were urging a 2-1/2 year old toddler to say: *nimpangi matanga* ('goodbye friend') and the child responded with *shi yu* ('see you').  Hollos (1977:212) says that:

> even very young children have a considerable range of
> alternate linguistic repertoires and forms which
> demonstrate their sophistication in understanding social
> situations and rules.[19]

When the Tiwi are speaking among themselves the speech they use seems to depend largely upon the ages of both the speaker and addressee.[20]  A summary of the languages or codes which tend to be used by various interlocutors are shown in Table 8.1.  The tendencies shown in this table are very general and there is some variation, particularly between the range of styles of LTT used.  The table indicates the codes used mainly in an informal setting.  There is often variation in a more formal situation, such as an older person using a simple TT or LTT style to a child, particularly in a 'teaching' situation, as in example 8-2.

Adults speak to children in English, i.e. Tiwi-English (TE), to facilitate their entry to school and adjustment to European ways. This is common in situations of language shift, particularly where the native tongue is seen to have very little practical value in the modern world (see Darnell 1971:168, Denison 1971:166-167, Dorian 1981(a):82-83, 1980c:4-5, Miller 1972:8).

TABLE 8.1   LANGUAGE USE DEPENDING UPON INTERLOCUTORS

| Speaker | Addressee | Language or code |
|---|---|---|
| older person (over 30-35) | older person (over 30-35) | TT or LTT |
| older person (over 30-35) | young person (10-12 to 30-35) | LTT or MT (casual or formal) |
| young person | older person | MT (casual or formal) or LTT |
| young person | young person | Casual MT (but much internal code-switching with TE)[21] |
| older/younger person | child (less than 10-12) | Casual MT or Baby Tiwi (BT) and TE (not much internal code-switching)[22] |
| child | adult | CT and children's TE (not much internal switching) |
| child | child | CT and TE (with internal switching) |

However, in the Tiwi community, children are still expected to speak Tiwi, even though the Tiwi addressed to them is not normally TT. English is considered inappropriate for some occasions. For instance, on one occasion when my language helper and her two grandsons, aged four and five years, were at my place the two boys were looking at photos of people in the community and talking together about them. One boy, seeing a photo of their father said to the other:

Example  (8-2)

> *may fata   teya,  may fata  , fata*[23]
> 'My father there, my  father, father.'

His grandmother corrected him saying the TT form, *ngiya-rringani* ('my father'). The other boy, with the typical perversity of a child, continued to speak in TE:

> *fata    teya, awa*[24] *fata   teya*
> 'father there, our   father there'

However, later in the conversation the boys quite naturally came out with the MT form, *yarringani* 'my father'.

This same woman in addressing the boys after I had given them a drink, asked: *wat yu sey*? ['What do you say?], to which one boy dutifully replied *tenk you* ['thank you'] and to his brother *sey tenk you, mana* ['say thank you, go ahead'].

As with most Australian Aboriginal groups, there are certain rules of avoidance to be observed with people in certain kin relationships, particularly between those in a mother-in-law/son-in-law relationship.[25]  Among the Tiwi, as well as for this relationship there are rules regulating the behaviour of siblings of the opposite sex.[26]  According to Goodale these apply only to ´one granny´ siblings i.e. siblings with the same mother´s mother.  Such siblings may not touch each other, nor may they talk to each other directly but only through a third person (Goodale 1971:72).

An interesting example of this avoidance occurs on one tape where a man (in his fifties) is conveying a message to his older sister through his three year old daughter.  While speaking the man was a few yards away from and had his back turned to his sister.  Speaking in casual MT (addressing any other woman of her age he would speak in TT or LTT), he says:

Example  (8-3)

> *ja        lipim japuja pakinya, ja       kam  pak. tayikim!*
> you(sg) leave home    first     you(sg) come back take
>
> *ngiya karluwu ku japuja pili    ngawa miting.*
> I     not     go home   because we    meeting
>
> ´You leave them/her at home. Come back. I´m not going home because we have a meeting. Take them/her!

It is not clear whether he means his sister to take home his daughter or the groceries which she is carrying.  In either case he can only be addressing his sister and not his daughter.

When there are people of varying ages speaking together there is considerable external code-switching (see next sub-section), much of which is due to the different interlocutors.

## 8.2.2.3  CODE-SWITCHING

Much has been written in recent years on code-switching and the factors influencing it.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) distinguish between two types of code-switching: ´situational´ and ´metaphorical´.  They say (1972:424) situational switching is that which occurs:

> when within the same setting the participants´ definition
> of the social event changes....  (i.e. there are) clear
> changes in the participants´ definitions of each other´s
> rights and obligations.

From the examples given this is seen to occur only when there is some change in the participants.  On the other hand metaphorical switching (1972:425)

> relates to particular kinds of topics or subject matter
> rather than to change in social situation.
> Characteristically the situations in question allow for the
> enactment of two or more different relationships among the
> same set of individuals.

Scotton and Ury (1977) look at code-switching in terms of social arenas (viz. the identity arena, the power arena, and the transactional arena). They suggest (1977:6) that a speaker switches codes for two reasons:

> To redefine the interaction as appropriate to a different social arena, or to avoid, through continual code-switching, defining the interaction in terms of any specific arena.

Application of these insights could probably be made to the Tiwi situation but this would involve further specific study.

I prefer to use the terms ´external´ and ´internal´ switching used by Hatch (1976) (following Oksaar (1972)). These terms correspond roughly to the situational and metaphorical switching coined by Blom and Gumperz. External switching is due to change in the social situation and is related to social factors, such as domain (or setting), interlocutor and topic (i.e. to factors external to the speaker). Internal switching ´concerns language factors, fluency of the speaker and his ability to use various emotive devices´ (Hatch 1976:202) (i.e. to factors internal to the speaker).

Some of these internal changes may be related to social factors but the change in the social situation arises from within an individual rather than from a change in the external social factors. For instance, an emotion of anger may result in a switch to a less intimate variety of language in the same way that a parent´s anger or displeasure may be shown by their use of a child´s formal name rather than a family nickname.

External switching is the type of switching to which Weinreich refers when he says (1970:73):

> The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence.

Much of the code-switching found in the Tiwi community is external switching. The language use determined by domains and interlocutors has already been discussed. However, although a domain may remain unchanged for a particular conversation, the interlocutors may vary or there may be interlocutors of different ages within the group. This affects code-switching within the conversation. This is shown in example 8-4 in which a woman (about 55) is talking about her grandson to a group of people (ages from about 20 to 60) in Tiwi and then addresses the grandson (about 3 years old) in English.

Example (8-4)

(a)  JP55 (to group - Tiwi):
  *ngarra nguwuri   naki ngiya - mawanyin - awu*
  he      sorry for this my    - grandson - emotive
  ´Oh, I´m sorry for my grandson´

(b)  JP55 (to grandson - TE):
  *yu  trank ayi, litil  poyi?*
  you  drunk eh    little boy
  ´Are you drunk, eh, little boy?´

If a European is present the conversation may switch entirely to English or may switch to English just when the European is involved. (The presence of a European, even though not an active participant in the conversation, may influence the amount of English used). For instance, a group of women of various ages were discussing the departure of some school children for an excursion to Darwin. They had been talking in MT (with some internal switching to TE) and LTT, depending upon the ages of the speakers. One woman turned to me on the outskirts of the group and said:

Example (8-5)   AM20 (English[27] to me):

> tey *kowing* ran   tawn tu *si, tey  kowing* fo  ekskeshun
> they going  round town to see they going  for excursion

> tem *kits,* skul   ekskeshun?
> them kids  school excursion

> ´Are they going around town to see, are they going for an
> excursion, those kids, a school excursion?´

There appear to be some examples of switching depending upon the topic but it is sometimes difficult to tell whether the switch depended upon the topic or the interlocutor, because of the difficulties of recording (see note 30). Many of the terms used in gambling are English derived (such as the terms for money e.g. *fayp tola* ´five dollars´, *tu popi* ´twenty cents´,[28] and names of card games, e.g. *fayp man* ´five men´, and card terms, e.g. *jak*(i) ´jack´, *tu rusta* ´a pair´).[29] The talk associated with gambling is often in English, perhaps because of its association with European culture, but it is not completely, as can be seen in example 8-6(b). In both examples in 8-6 a woman in her fifties is speaking. In (a) she seems to be addressing all the players (of varying ages and sexes) while in the second she is addressing her young female partner. It would seem that the interlocutor is not particularly relevant here.

Example (8-6)

(a) (TE):   *mayn anti  win*
            mine aunty win
            ´My aunty has won.´

(b) (Tiwi): *nginja  wangata, nginga  wangatawu, kijinga*
            you(sg) alone    you(sg) alone       small(f)
            ´You can go alone, oh, you can go alone, young girl.´

Children, in playing games associated with European culture, often use English but, once again, not always and there is often a fair bit of switching.[30] Examples 8-7(a) & (b) are said by the same boy but at different times in the same game (playing with toy cowboys and Indians).

Example (8-7) (MP11)

(a) (TE):    *i fotan    fotan,    i fayt with intiyen*
             he fall:down fall:down  he fight with Indian
             'He's fallen down, fallen down. He's fighting with the Indian.'

(b) (Cas MT):  *arra peyiti ka    intiyen*
             he    fight   prep Indian
             'He's fighting with the Indian.'

In some games English rhymes are used:

Example (8-8) (TE)[31]

    *Fraytey, Fraytey ring ta pel, wen i kam  jamp layk a frok*
    'Friday, Friday ring the bell, when he comes jump like a frog'

By Weinreich's definition Tiwi speakers would not be classed as 'ideal' bilinguals because in the speech of Tiwi young people among themselves there may be considerable switching for which there seems (to an outsider) to be no reason and this switching may occur within a single sentence. It is this type of switching which Hatch (1976) calls 'internal' switching.

Because of the number of loan words and structures from English or Pidgin English in MT, it is difficult to tell where mixing ends and internal switching begins. However, I am using the term 'mixing' to refer to the use of elements (phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical) from TT, English and Pidgin English, amalgamated into a new code, MT, which has TT-derived pronouns, interrogatives and possibly TT-derived inflected auxiliaries (see Table 1.1, p.12ff). On the other hand by 'internal switching' I am referring to the switching which occurs in the same discourse (either in the same sentence or in separate ones) where both English and TT-derived pronouns etc. are used. I realise that this is rather an arbitrary distinction and there is no clear cut boundary between mixing and switching and hence no clear cut boundary between MT and TE.[32] For instance, in example 8-9 (a young mother to her toddler) there is internal switching between Casual MT (or Baby Tiwi) and TE. The final sentence in example 8-9 is regarded as MT rather than TE because, although *kijim* is derived from Pidgin English and *simitriyi pos*[33] from English, they are well-accepted loans into MT. In an equivalent TE sentence 'get' would probably be used rather than *kijim*.

Example (8-9)

    (BT):    *aminayi*[34]    (TE): *i ko tat wey*
             grandfather       he go that way

    (Cas/MT): *wata, wata. arra kijim simitriyi pos.*
             bush bush   he   get   cemetery post

    'Your grandfather has gone that way to the bush. He is getting cemetery posts.'

Hatch (1976) gives a number of ways in which internal switching is used for stylistic effect, such as: repetition of a statement for emphasis, heightening of contrasts, emphasising the unexpected, parenthetical remarks, to emphasise quotations or the use of proverbs in another language, and for affection, good-humoured teasing and swearing (see also Gumperz 1971b).

Some of these can be seen in the conversations I recorded, though there is insufficient data to give many examples.

(i) Emphasis of quotations

Example (8-10)

(TE): *"kip   mi mani"*  (TT/LTT): *ampirimi nyirratuwu*
     give    me money             she:says she:TOP
     ´"Give me money" she says.´

(ii) Repetition for emphasis

Example (8-11)

   (Cas MT): *Jowana, nyirra frantayi, nyirra   ngawa tayikuwapi luk*
             Joanna she     open     she/her   we    all          see

   *awinyirra ajikim  murruntani.*     (TE): *may hanti, shis  not*
   that(f)    ask      white:man                my   aunty  she´s not

   *itin.*    (TT/LTT): *nyirra jurruwuni, nanginta ampirimi murruntani ...*
   hidden           she    open      ask       she.does white:man.

   ´Joanna is not devious. We all see her asking a white man (i.e. for money for beer). My aunty she´s not devious. She´s not devious, she asks a white man ...´

However, there is also a considerable amount of internal code switching for which there seems to be no obvious reason, as in example 8-9, and 8-11 (taken from an account by a twenty year old woman speaking to another a little older).

Example (8-11)

   (Cas MT): *En  Mari, yingopa kakijuwi, wurra ko ka   jata     pleyn.*
           Ann Marie some    children  they  go PREP charter plane

   (TE): *en  sekan wan i was finish*  (Cas MT): *waya, ap  arra*
       and second one he was finish          then  well that(m)

   *palatmen, awinyirra Polin,*   (TE): *shi was ka   frant. en  tat*
   pilot      that(f) Pauline        she was PREP front  and that

*palatmen jas  went in.*   (CasMT): *apawu yimi   nayi arramukamini*
pilot    just went in              well  he:did that something

*awarrawu*
there

´Ann Marie, some of the children were going by charter plane.  And the
second (or next?) one had gone.  Well that pilot (Pauline was up the
front).  And that pilot just went in.  Well he did something (in) there´

Some of the switching into English may be triggered by the use of an
English loan word or an English name in a MT sentence.  For instance, in
example 8-11, the use of *jata pleyn* at the end of the first sentence may have
triggered the use of English in the next one.

This type of switching is ´by no means a rarity.  Linguists specialising
in bilingualism cite it to provide instances of interference´ (Gumperz
1971b:316).  It seems to occur only in the speech of bilinguals who are equally
proficient in both languages or codes they use,[35] though the codes may not be
recognised as standard by monolinguals in either.  Lance (1970:253), in
speaking of Spanish-English bilinguals in the American south-west, says:

> Bilinguals such as these tend to switch back and forth
> between the two languages when all participants in the
> conversation know both languages and are ´simpaticos´.

Weinreich (1970:74) says:

> This tendency has been attributed [by some linguists] to
> persons who, in early childhood, were addressed by the same
> familiar interlocutors indiscriminately in both languages.

It is not clear whether this was the case with Tiwi who are now in their
late teens or twenties, though it does seem that this is happening with many
children at present.

However two languages have been acquired (i.e. whether they are acquired
simultaneously or one is acquired later), it does seem that this type of
switching is ´very persistent whenever minority language groups come in close
contact with majority language groups under conditions of rapid social change´
(Gumperz 1971b:316) and where children grow up speaking the two languages.[36]

## 8.2.2.4  BILINGUALISM AND LANGUAGE DEATH

A number of recent studies have been done on ´dying´ languages in terms of
the domains of language behaviour and language shift.  Most of the situations
studied have gone beyond Fishman´s description of transitional bilingualism, in
that the children in the community are no longer bilingual but are monolingual
in the dominant language (though there may be some comprehension of the less
dominant language).  However, they do not fit in with what Di Pietro (1970:19)
says about ´the step just´before a new stage of monolingualism´, in that both
languages could not be used equally well in all domains.  In most cases there
are domains in which the language being displaced has never been used (such as
interaction with outsiders).  There may be other domains in which the dominant

language is not used but these domains will become defunct when older people die (perhaps because religious traditions are not being carried on by young people). In other domains, which were formerly associated with the native tongue of the community, the dominant language may come to be able to be used equally as well and eventually replace it.

Dorian (1981a), in describing the state of affairs for East Sutherland Gaelic (ESG), which she calls a terminal Gaelic dialect (1976), has shown that previously ESG had specific domains of use but that these are now being taken over by English (or some style of English). Present-day East Sutherland Gaelic bilingualism is transitional or unstable, on a society-wide basis (1981a:96).

Similiarly Timm (1980) has shown that in Basse Bretagne (in Brittany) French, the dominant language, coexists with Breton in all the domains studied.[37]

The Tiwi situation is different from those described by Dorian and Timm, though it would certainly be regarded as a society with unstable bilingualism. The Tiwi situation has not progressed as far with regard to language shift, as children are being taught both languages (Tiwi and English) in the home. However, as discussed in 1.7 (p.10ff), the variety of either language which is learned in infancy is not the standard variety. It is not simply that children have not acquired the standard through imperfect learning, but that they are not normally addressed in the standard variety of either language. In some senses children are exposed to the standard in both languages in that they hear traditional Tiwi spoken by older adults among themselves and they hear standard Australian English (and American English) on the radio, TV, films, church and perhaps from interaction with some Europeans in the community.

From the evidence of the type of bilingualism present in the Tiwi community there is certainly a process of language shift taking place. Whether this will continue until there is a total shift to English remains to be seen. The factors for and against such a shift are discussed in more detail in 8.3.


## 8.2.3 LANGUAGE CHANGE IN TIWI: DEATH OR REBIRTH?

The changes which have taken place in Tiwi must be attributed to language shift. It seems to be well accepted that, as Samarin (1971:127) says, ´reduction in language use probably always has some repercussions on language output´.

Dorian (1981a:114) notes that:

> Where the death of a language is extremely rapid and occurs
> by the way of the extinction of the people who use it, it
> may happen that the last speakers of the language are fully
> fluent and remain in perfect control of the phonology,
> lexicon and grammar of their mother-tongue. Where language
> shift is taking place, however, so that a new language is
> gradually replacing the original language of a community,
> without the extinction of a people, it is common to find
> speakers of quite different ability among the residual
> population which still speaks the older tongue.

Bloomfield (1927:437) describes one Menomini man about forty as ´speaking no language tolerably´. Dorian (1981a:115) in discussing the situation in Eastern Sutherland in Scotland says that although there are no bilinguals who ´speak no language tolerably´ there are some:

> who have neither the syntactic range of the best local monolingual English speakers nor that of the best and most proficient older-generation Gaelic speakers´. [Furthermore,] ´although there are no Gaelic speakers in East Sutherland today whose English is anything less than fluent, there does exist an interesting group of English-dominant bilinguals whose Gaelic is conspicuously aberrant in terms of older-generation norms.

Dorian calls these speakers ´semi-speakers´, the youngest of whom was about 35 years (Dorian 1978a:592). Voegelin and Voegelin (1977) also mention some Indians whose first language was Tübatulabal but who stopped speaking it when they learned English at school. These Indians were able to produce simple sentences in Tubatalabal but not more complex ones.

In the Tiwi situation, in terms of standard Australian English and TT, children and some young people in their teens could be regarded as speaking neither language. However, these young people are not deficient in language, in that they have no problem in communicating with each other and with most adults.[38] These young people and children could be regarded as semi-speakers of TT and SAE but they are fluent speakers of MT and TE. However, because both of these varieties are in a state of flux and are probably not yet fully developed languages there is not the same range of expression that is found in TT and SAE.


## 8.2.3.1 FORMAL CHANGES IN DYING LANGUAGES

Because the study of language death as a phenomenon is so new and there have been so few studies, generalisations about the types of changes cannot be made. Some of the changes found in various dying languages are briefly given below.

(1) Dorian has discussed some ways in which the speech of semi-speakers of Sutherland Gaelic (ESG) is aberrant from that of fluent speakers, such as:

(i) some loss of gender distinctions (Dorian 1976, 1981a:124-129, 147-148);

(ii) some loss of case marking but with the semantic notions being shown in other ways, such as by prepositional phrases[39] (Dorian 1973:426-435, 1981a:129-136, 148);

(iii) reduction of the tense system with no tendency to substitute adverbial time markers (Dorian 1981a:138-141, 150-151);

(iv) loss of one type of passive (Dorian 1973:421-426; 1981a:142-144);

(v) reduction of the lexicon, though a considerable number of ESG words are retained even by those who are unable to use them in a Gaelic sentence (Dorian 1981a:145-146).[40]

(2) Dorian has said little about the interference of English on ESG.  She says (1980c:25) that she has been surprised by how little structural interference from English there is in the speech of semi-speakers.  There is a considerable amount of lexical interference but in this the more common strategy is for English loans to be adapted to Gaelic morphology and morphophonology (Dorian 1981a:100).  Even in casual speech in which there is a greater use of loan words, this is the case (1981a:101).

The use of loan words seems to vary from case to case in language death.  In some cases there seem to be few loan words used, as in Nez Perce (Aoki 1971); and Kiliwa (Mixco 1977).  In other cases the use of loans is very common and is seen as being tied up with the death of the language, as in Welsh dialects (Breatnach 1964); Tlaxclan Nahuatl (Hill and Hill 1977); Shoshoni (Miller 1971); Ormuri and Paraci (Kieffer 1977) and Arvanitika (Trudgill 1977).

Dorian (1980c:25) has noted that many accounts of languages that are facing extinction do stress the influence of the dominant language on the dying language (for instance, Costello´s (1978) account of Pennsylvanian German).

(3) Dressler (1972), on studying the phonological change in Breton in a part of Lower-Brittany, concluded that:

(i) An optional rule in the speech of an older generation is lost in the disintegrating speech of a younger generation (1972:452).

(ii) The gradual loss of words (´lexical fading´) in which a phonological rule occurs results in the eventual loss of the rule itself (1972:452).

(iii) ´Uncertainty in the competence of one language does not necessarily result in the adoption of rules of the victorious language, rather it results in free variation including the introduction of new variants´ (1972:454).

(iv) ´Restriction of the use of the decaying language to fewer and fewer speech situations results in "stylistic shrinkage", i.e. the conflation of various social styles or of various slow and fast speech styles.  (1972:454).

(4) Hill (1973, 1978) has found in her study of the Cupeño and Luiseño languages of California that a linguistic feature accompanying the reduction in functional range is the reduction in frequency of subordinate clauses.  She cites various linguists who have found this phenomenon in other cases involving reduction of function or language death (Hill 1973:46-7).[41]

(5) Trudgill (1977) has looked at the types of processes involved in the changes in Arvanitika, an Albanian dialect in Greece, which appears to be a dying language.  He has looked at the changes in relation to the processes involved in other mixed languages, particularly creoles.  He has labelled what is happening in Arvanitika as ´creolisation in reverse´, the sociolinguistic justification for this being that the situation dealt with involves the ´loss of its native speakers, by a language´ whereas creolisation involves the ´acquisition of native speakers by a language´ (Trudgill 1977:33) (cf. Sankoff and Laberge 1974).  He considers a number of types of grammatical changes in the language to determine whether ´creolisation in reverse´ is an appropriate

term linguistically as well.  Mühlhäusler (1974) has shown that the four
features: reduction (or impoverishment), simplification, stability and
unintelligibility[42] can be used in the typological classification of various
kinds of mixed languages.  He says (1980:21):

> Reduction in structure or impoverishment comprises those
> processes that lead to a decrease in the referential or
> non-referential potential of a language.  Simplification
> means that a language is made either more regular or less
> marked.

Using these features, a creole is characterised by simplification,
stability and unintelligibility.  Trudgill´s initial hypothesis is that
Arvanitika will display reduction but not the other three. He says (1977:35)
that Arvanitika:

> is unstable in that it is in a state of considerable flux,
> with no real norms for usage ... [and] ... it remains to a
> certain extent mutually intelligible with Albanian.

However, he has shown that, although there are some clear examples of
reduction (the loss of relational words and the loss of the imperfect), other
changes involve simplification in one component of the language with
compensation elsewhere (which he calls ´simplification with cost´).  These are
cases of the replacement of synthetic forms by analytic forms.  There are also
cases of overall simplification viz. cases of the loss of syntagmatic
redundancy, such as the loss of the definite connecting particles.  However, he
notes (1977:47) that:

> there are no examples of the loss of paradigmatic
> redundancy commonplace in pidgins.  In Arvanitika the three
> genders remain distinct,[43] as do the separate declensions
> and conjugations.  Irregular verbs and plural formations
> also remain irregular.

I am not convinced that all the changes which Trudgill discusses are due
to language ´death´.  As Dorian pointed out, the types of changes she found are
similar to those in ´healthy´ languages.  Trudgill compares present-day
Arvanitika with modern Albanian.  It seems that Arvanitika is spoken by
descendents of Albanians who immigrated to Greece mainly in the 11th and 15th
centuries.  Many of the changes Trudgill discusses could have occurred as
normal language changes throughout a long period of stable bilingualism.  It
seems that a more rapid shift is taking place now as older speakers tend to use
Arvanitika for most purposes, while as Trudgill says (1977:38):

> middle-aged speakers and younger adults indulge in a
> considerable amount of switching according to factors such
> as formality, location, subject-matter, the presence of
> outsiders and the linguistic ability of interlocutors.

He may have obtained different results if he had compared the speech of
younger people with that of older ones, as Dorian did.

(6) Austin (1981) describes briefly the changes in three Eastern Australian
languages.  In two of these, Gamilaraay and Dharawal, there are no longer
fluent speakers, knowledge of the language consisting of some words and a few

set expressions or sentences. In Gamilaraay basically only certain fixed forms of words are remembered and as it 'is presently spoken has no syntactic features which differentiate it from English' (ibid:25). Ngiyambaa is more actively controlled with a small speech community ranging from fluent speakers to those who know only some words.[44] In the Ngiyambaa of younger speakers, some case inflections and inflected verbs are retained, though there is a collapsing and reanalysis of some case suffixes and verb conjugations. A phonological change common to Gamilaraay and Ngiyambaa is the loss of distinction between the two rhotics r and rr, influenced by English. In Gamilaraay there is a retention of the lamino-dental stop, which is also noted in other languages. One syntactic change noted by Donaldson for Ngiyambaa 'illustrates replacement of a synthetic, morphologically complex construction by a simpler analytical one' (Austin 1980:26).[45]

(7) In summarising the changes in language death Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (1977:87) say:

> Language death therefore can be looked at as a sort of pidginisation: obligatory rules change to variable ones; the polystylism of a normal language moves to monostylism.

However, Dorian (1978a:606) has found that the changes in ESG are not indicative of pidginisation.

> Radical morphological simplification as found in many pidgins is not characteristic of ESG, even among the most halting speakers, even very near the point of extinction.

From most of these studies on language death it seems, as Dorian (1981a:151) concluded, that there is basically no difference between the types of change in 'dying' languages and those found in 'healthy' languages. The difference is probably more in the amount of change (in a relatively short time span).[46]

## 8.2.3.2 CHANGES IN TIWI IN RELATION TO LANGUAGE DEATH

Some of the changes in Tiwi can be seen to be similar to those described for various language death situations and, as already mentioned, are therefore no different from normal language change (see Chapter 7 for a summary of the changes).

(1) Phonological changes

As in Ngiyambaa and Gamilaraay (Austin 1981), the distinction between the two rhotics of TT appears to be collapsing, due to the influence of English (see 2.3.8, p.43). A similar phenomenon is found in the falling together of the post- and apico-alveolar consonants (see 2.3.1, p.34). These changes could be due to lexical fading, where words containing the less common (but more marked) consonants, the post-alveolar ones, are gradually being lost from the language, so that the distinction between the two types is blurred and eventually lost (cf. point(ii) of Dressler's conclusions given on p.345 of

8.2.3.1).  These changes can be regarded as cases of overall simplification.
In TT, there are very few minimal pairs (if any) with post- and apico-alveolar
consonants in contrast and so there is very little loss of semantic
distinction.

As Dresssler found in dying Breton, there is much variation in the
phonetics and phonology, influenced by the sound system of the dominant
language (point (iii) on p.345).

Although I know of no optional rules in TT which have been lost in MT (cf.
point (i) on p.345), a phonemic alternation, between non-nasalised and
prenasalised stops, in TT has been lost in MT.  The prenasalisation has been
dropped completely by some young speakers and is used optionally in some words
by others (see 2.3.3, p.37).

Since different TT speech styles have not been studied, particularly
before extensive contact with English, it cannot be determined whether there
has been much ´stylistic shrinkage´ (see point (iv), p.345).[47]  Even if there
has been some ´stylistic shrinkage´ there has also been ´stylistic expansion´,
in which a LTT style has become a very formal style for some young people, with
a less formal style being MT (with inflected auxiliaries) and an even less
formal style being casual MT (with no inflected auxiliaries) (see Table 8.1,
p.330).  In their more formal styles MT speakers tend to use phonological
variations which are closer to the TT phonology, such as the use of an initial
/ŋ/ on pronouns.

It would seem then that the Tiwi situation does not exactly parallel that
of cases of dying languages as far as the phonological changes are concerned.

(2) Lexicon

In MT, as in Tlaxclan Nahuatl and Arvanitika, there is considerable
relexification, through the use of English loans (see 7.2.1, p.317).  Trudgill
(1977:39) questions whether the loss of Albanian words in Arvanitika is a case
of reduction since the Arvanitika speakers know and use Greek loan equivalents
in their Arvanitika.  This applies in the MT situation to a certain extent with
respect to English loans.  However, there is clearly reduction as many of the
TT words lost have no equivalent in MT, such as the names of different species
of bush honey (see 3.2.3, p.91, and Appendix 1)).  On the other hand, the
lexicon is expanded as words are borrowed for new items and concepts; such as
*purrupuli* ´football´.  In TT the term is *yilogha* which has been extended to
cover this from the traditional meaning of ´bladder´.

The reduction and expansion in the lexicon can be seen to be due to the
need to meet the demands of a changing culture and is the same type of change
which occurs in normal language change when the culture is also changing
(though perhaps more slowly).

The vast reduction of the class of verb stems and the corresponding
expansion of the class of free form verbs could be seen as relexification.
However, the process involves more than that and is part of the general change
from the use of synthetic to analytic forms (see (5) below).

(3) Word classes

As for East Sutherland Gaelic, gender distinctions are being lost for most inanimate nouns (see 8.2.3.1(1), p.344 and 7.2.3, p.317; see also note 55).

The change in the pronominal system from a minimal-augmented system to a singular-plural (7.2.4, p.317) does not have an exact parallel in the language death situations described. It can be considered as reduction rather than simplification (see 8.2.3.1(5), p.345), since the semantic distinction between ´you(sg) and I´, ´we(incl)´ and ´we(excl)´ is lost. (The distinction between these last two is already lost in the speech of older people in the pronouns but not in the verbal prefixes, cf. 3.3.1.1, p.101 and Table 4.5, p.173). This seems to be a direct influence of English.

The change from a three-way distinction to a two-way distinction in the deictic locatives and demonstratives (7.2.5) can be seen as a case of reduction, since a semantic distinction is lost. This too is probably due to English influence.

(4) Morphology

The change from three sets of subject-tense prefixes on the verb to one set (7.3(iii), p.318) is a case of simplification as no semantic distinction is lost.[48] This is tied up with the general change from synthetic to analytic structures (see (5) below).

(5) Syntax

In the speech of young Tiwi people there is relatively less use of subordinate clauses than in the TT data, which correlates with Hill´s findings (see 8.2.3.1(4), p.345). However, some of the difference may be due to the different types of data collected.

(6) Other changes

Many of the studies of language death have noted the tendency to move from synthetic to analytic structures (Dorian, see 8.2.3.1(1), Trudgill, see 8.2.3.1(5), Austin, see 8.2.3.1(6)). However, this seems to occur in one or two structures and not almost completely, as in the case of Tiwi.

Dorian (1981a:435) has noted that:

> One of the most impressive features of mutational change [i.e. the phonological change in the alternation of initial or final consonants in certain syntactic environments] in ESG is the extreme rarity of the total disappearance of a mutation.

This is not the case in Tiwi. Much of the complex morphology of the verb is lost (7.3, p.318), with basically just the subject-tense prefixes and some aspect affixes being retained. In this regard the change in Tiwi has been more radical than that described in most language death situations. Most of the affixes which are retained do not have allomorphic variation as other affixes which condition morphophonemic variation have been lost.

Most of the grammatical categories encoded by verbal affixes in TT are expressed by an analytic construction in MT. So in most cases there is reduction with compensatory expansion. There are some cases in which there appears to be a decrease in the referential potential of the language (i.e. overall reduction), particularly in the loss of the mood prefixes, for which there appears to be no substitution. This loss of categories with no compensatory gain elsewhere is common in language death situations. However, the lack of examples of modal expressions (such as, ´should´, ´ought´, ´must´) may be due to the type of data collected for MT (i.e. no hortatory types of discourse).[49]

Also, unlike Trudgill´s findings for Arvanitika (1977:40), there is a greater number of prepositions in MT than in TT (7.4.2), though not as many as in English (either SAE or TE).

It seems that in most cases of language death described in the literature the decaying language has remained a recognisable version of the language (though aberrant) and the varieties are mutually intelligible.[50] Dorian (1981a) says that among the semi-speakers of ESG there was ´almost perfect passive control of ESG´. Trudgill (1977:35) says that there is a certain amount of mutual intelligibility between Arvanitika and its parent language, Albanian, that Arvanitika speakers listened to and understood a great deal of Albanian broadcasts.[51]

This is not the case in Tiwi. There is some overlap between the two codes. However, although young people´s comprehension of TT is greater than their production, few young people, particularly children, can understand much of the TT spoken by older people among themselves or the stories told (or written) in TT. One twenty year old girl commented that she could not understand her father when he spoke in ´hard´ Tiwi. Most older people understand MT to a considerable extent but this may be because they understand some English (SAE and/or TE) and so understand the English loans in MT. MT is generally thought of as ´half and half´ and not really Tiwi.[52] It is doubtful that a TT speaker with no knowledge of English or Pidgin English would recognise MT as being a type of Tiwi (though he would be able to see Tiwi-derived words in it); consequently he would understand little of it.

### 8.2.3.3 MODERN TIWI IN RELATION TO LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND CREOLISATION

Some of the changes discussed above (those which are similar to changes in language death situations) could be seen to be due to a fairly gradual process over the years as Tiwi has become replaced by English in some functions and as children have been exposed to less and less Tiwi in their daily lives.

Thomason (1981:1) concludes that ´there are no linguistic prerequisites for, or constraints on contact induced language change´ or as Swadesh (1948:234-235) says ´there are no such things as inherently weak languages that are by nature incapable of surviving changed social conditions´. However, it seems to me that given the right cultural and social conditions, Tiwi is a prime candidate for change.

TT, being highly polysynthetic, is a complex language by any standard. Not only can the inflected verb have a large number of affixes indicating a number of grammatical relations and a number of incorporated forms conveying various semantic notions, these affixes and forms have a number of morphophonemic variations depending upon the morphemes preceding or following them. As Clark and Clark (1977:338) say:

> Although formal complexity is not yet very well defined, roughly speaking a system within a language is formally more complex when it contains rules with exceptions.[53]

In this sense, TT is a language with complex morphology.

That there are differences in formal complexity between languages (at least in some aspects) can be shown by comparing noun plurals in English and Egyptian Arabic. Clark and Clark (1979) say:

> Egyptian Arabic, in contrast [to English], uses many more devices for expressing plurality ... and is correspondingly harder for children to master. Both Arabic and English children start to express the idea of "more than one" at much the same age, but the gap between the first expression of plurality and mastery of the adult devices is much greater in the case of children acquiring Arabic. In general, the more complex the linguistic device to be acquired, the greater this gap should be (Slobin 1973).

Another example of complexity of language affecting language acquisition is given by Slobin (1973:181) who says that for bilingual children acquiring two languages, ´if a given semantic domain receives expression earlier in one of the two languages, a difference in formal complexity is suggested´. He gives some examples of studies of bilingual children in which this is indicated. One such study is that of children becoming bilingual in Serbo-Croatian and Hungarian. By the age of two, children were using a variety of Hungarian case endings on nouns expressing a number of locative relations but at the same time they had barely begun to develop locative expressions in Serbo-Croatian, which require a locative preposition as well as a case ending on the noun (1973:182).

Slobin (1977:190) says further that systems which maintain the principle of semantic clarity are easier to acquire. The Turkish system of agglutinative morphology has almost perfect one-to-one correspondence of form and meaning and

> the entire system is mastered well before the age of two. ... [On the other hand the Serbo-Croatian inflectional system is] a classic Indo-European synthetic muddle, with the choice of nominal case ending influenced by issues of grammatical gender, animacy, number and phonological shape of stem. There are many irregularities, a great deal of homonymy, and scattered zero morphemes. · The Yugoslav child does not master such a system until about age five. ... [In learning Serbo-Croatian] the child chooses a single suffix for each grammatical case and uses it in all instances, ignoring gender, irregularities, and so forth. In effect, he has made his Indo-European language as analytic as possible, and then spends several years accepting the morphophonemic complexities of his mother-tongue.

Most of the studies on relative complexity and ease of acquisition have involved nominal morphology and case systems. There appears to be relatively little work done on languages which have a complex verbal morphology. Some recent work has been done on one such language, Hebrew, by Berman (1981, 1982). She has found (Berman 1981:280) that Hebrew-speaking children

> gain rapid mastery of those features of the inflectional
> system which are semantically necessary to express time,
> number, sex and person, simplifying various distinctions in
> ways which will not incur semantic ambiguity.

This seems to occur by the age three. Presumably features of the inflectional system expressing other semantic notions, such as aspect, mood, are not acquired until later. Similarly the morphophonemic and other variations are not acquired until later.

Based on this Hebrew study and on the other studies of language acquisition cited, it is reasonable to assume that, even before extensive contact with English, Tiwi children, while developing early the basics of the verb morphology (possibly just the subject-tense prefixes), would not develop the full range of verbal affixes and incorporated forms (and the morphophonemic rules for these) until relatively late, perhaps into their teens. In order for these to develop children would need a readily available adult model, either by frequent interaction with adults or with older children, who in turn are in contact with adults.[54]

However, in the Tiwi situation after contact, children were introduced to school and English. As has been mentioned before (8.2.1, p.326), many girls were kept in a dormitory. When some of these girls entered the dormitory their Tiwi would hardly have been fully developed.[55] As they appeared to have had little regular contact with their families they would not have had a constantly available adult model. Possibly the models presented by older children to younger children moved further from TT over the years. Many women, even older women of 40 or 50, have commented to me that they did not learn Tiwi properly until they married. In this case, the model that they presented to their children would have deviated from the norm of the men's speech. This seems to be a common phenomenon anyway. Bailey (1973:24) says:

> Since it is known that women are about a generation ahead
> of men in some changes, the language of one's mother will
> be different from that of one's father.

The changes could also be partly accounted for by the change in the culture in which films, radio and television are taking the place of informal gatherings of the family group around the camp fire in the evening perhaps telling stories.[56] There is probably not as much interaction between adults and children as there would have been previously.

These social and cultural factors would account for the types of changes which are found in dying languages and the changes in the speech, of Tiwi people about 35 to 50 or 60 (i.e. LTT) (see Table 1.1, p.12ff). However, it does not really account for the more radical changes in MT, particularly the almost complete loss of the complex verbal morphology. It may perhaps be regarded as simply a matter of degree but this does not really explain why there seems to be a considerable break in the language around the 30–35 year old age group or why older people speak to younger ones in a MT form.

If the drastic change cannot be attributed simply to the gradual breakdown of the language due to the imperfect learning by children, to what can it be attributed? It seems to me that it can only be attributed to processes of pidginisation and creolisation, though the way in which I am using these terms needs elaborating.

By most definitions of a pidgin, MT cannot be classed as one since it is the first language of a group of speakers. Also it is doubtful that MT could be classed as a true creole language since it does not appear to have arisen from a pidgin.

Most languages described as pidgins and creoles have closer links to the dominant language (normally a European one) than MT has to English (cf. MT with TE and the pidgin or creole languages of Northern Australia).[57]

Although a Pidgin English has been used at various times by different Tiwi people and it has influenced both MT and TE, it has not become a lingua franca, particularly at Nguiu where the use of standard English has been encouraged (see 1.7, p.17). Although MT shares many features with the pidgin and creole languages of northern Australia,[58] there is no evidence that MT has arisen directly from them. Neither can MT (considering the full range of MT, from its more formal styles to its casual styles) be considered just a relexicalised version of TE, though the casual and children's versions of each do converge considerably (see Table 1.1, p.12ff).

To consider how MT may have developed we need to look at language acquisition and how this may affect language change, with particular reference to Tiwi.

Studies in child language acquisition have abounded in recent years. A number of linguists have agreed with Kiparsky (1970:310) when he says 'the child's acquisition of language is an individual act of creation'. Language change is seen by these linguists to be a result of each generation creating the language anew. In Kiparsky's view linguistic change is initiated by children as a result of imperfect learning (a view held by some earlier linguists such as Sweet who said in 1899: 'If languages were learnt perfectly by children of each generation, then language would not change').[60]

In Kiparsky's view (also followed by King 1969), it is proposed that the grammar constructed by the child is simpler than, or at least as simple as that of, the adult model. Baron (1977:37) says:

> Kiparsky does, in fact, differentiate between the roles of
> *adults* and *children* in linguistic change. Adults add
> additional rules to the grammar by innovation. Children
> either restructure the innovations, yielding the same
> surface output as their elders, or fail to learn completely
> their parents' grammar, thereby yielding a presumably
> simplified output.

Traugott (1977:81) agrees with Baron:

> It is necessary to consider the possibility that children
> not only simplify (either on the deep or surface level) but
> that they may elaborate as well.

Some creolists hold this view, that a language is created anew by each generation, as being particularly evident in the formation of creoles. Bickerton (1975:6) says that ´creoles are, quite literally, invented or reinvented each time they appear´. He claims (1977:64) that a pidgin, by its very nature, is inadequate as a model for children to use as a primary language being ´too impoverished and unstable a medium to serve all the communicative needs of an individual.´

Children must then draw upon their innate knowledge to expand the language to enable it to function adequately.

Slobin (1977) looks at the cognitive and communicative determinants of the nature of language and how these apply in relation to language change, comparing the change apparent in language acquisition, historical change and change in contact situations. He presents four basic ´ground rules´ to which a communicative system must adhere if it is to function as a ´full-fledged human language´ (Slobin 1977:186). These four ´charges´ are:
    (i) Be clear (stated previously as one of Slobin´s operating principles of child language: ´Underlying semantic relations should be marked overtly and clearly´ (Slobin 1973)).
    (ii) Be humanly processible in ongoing time, meaning that ´language must conform to strategies of speech perception and production´ (Slobin 1977:186).
    (iii) Be quick and easy, relating to the human propensity to ´cut corners´ (1977:187).
    (iv) Be expressive, including two important aspects: semantic and rhetorical. A fully expressive language needs to be able to encode a wide range of semantic notions and must also be able to be used for more than just conveying logical propositions and referential information. It needs to provide speakers with means of engaging a hearer´s attention, of conveying specific attitudes, of expressing social relationships etc.

Slobin sees these four principles as in conflict, the first two tending to simplify language and the latter two tending to elaborate and expand it. Pidgin languages and early child languages are seen as being influenced most by the first two principles and creoles and adult language (or older child language) need to attend more to the last two charges.

While Slobin´s theory is not fully developed (at the time when the study for this present work was done) and there may be some problems in it (see Sankoff 1977b and Schlesinger 1977), it does seem to go a long way in explaining the nature of language change and the relationships between language change and language acquisition. It explains the similarity in structure and function between the Tiwi and English spoken by young children and pidgin languages (i.e. very little inflection and with the inflection which is present being regularised or generalised, strict SVO order, little marking of tense or aspect, coordinate rather than subordinate structures)[61] and between the MT spoken by older children and young adults and creole languages (with more inflection, marking of tense and aspect and more use of subordinate structures).

Since Slobin´s principles apply to child and adult language in general (not just in a contact situation) in relation to pidgins and creoles, they do not explain other similarities (such as lexical) between MT (and TE) and the northern Australian creoles (see note 58). Nor do they explain the difference

between the MT spoken by adults (young and old) and their LTT styles. There appear to be additional reasons concerning the language acquisition histories of MT speakers. The acquisition histories of the Tiwi young people appear to be different from those of the semi-speakers of East Sutherland Gaelic.

The semi-speakers of ESG had various Gaelic acquisition histories. As Dorian says (1981a:148):

> [Some] were fluent child-speakers, dominant in Gaelic, at
> the time they entered school. ... [Some] also had
> childhood proficiency greater than their current
> proficiency, but they were never completely fluent and
> never Gaelic-dominant; ... others learned more active
> skills as they grew older, through having an interest in
> the language.

These semi-speakers had their primary socialisation in English or English became their primary language after entering school.[62]

In the Tiwi situation, it is my belief that most of the young people, whose first language is MT, have never had their primary socialisation in TT, so that by the time they entered school they were not fluent TT speakers. By the same token the primary socialisation has not been in English either (though nowadays children are addressed in both Tiwi and English, see Table 8.1, p.336).

As I have mentioned elsewhere, these days adults and older children tend to speak to young children in a ´baby talk´ version of Tiwi (BT) (as well as a simple version of TE). This BT is basically a casual MT (i.e. with no TT-derived inflected verbs or auxiliaries) but with some phonological differences (such as /y/ for /r/ and apico-alveolars for retroflex consonants).[63] The use of baby talk seems to be a common feature in Australian Aboriginal languages (see Chapter 7, note 1, p.323) as it is in languages all over the world (Brown 1977:20; Ferguson 1977).[64]

It seems highly probable (because of the complexity of the TT morphology) that even before contact there existed a BT style. One feature of this which seems to have survived into the present BT, and hence into MT (in addition to the phonological differences), is the use of the singular imperative as a free form verb (see 7.3, p.318, and 4.3.1.2, p.205). There must have been a point in time when adults started using more English loans, including verbs, in their BT.

It is not clear if this occurred because older children were already speaking a version of Tiwi which contained a greater number of verbal complexes (compared to inflected independent verbs) and using English loan verbs as the free form verbs in these verbal complexes, due to the gradual breakdown and relexification of the language.

This may have been the case. However, there is another possible explanation which seems to correlate with the age division between MT and LTT speakers. During the time of Father Gsell (1911-1938) communication with the older people was in Pidgin English (see 8.2.1, p.327). Father McGrath, who took over from Father Gsell, apparently had a very good command of Tiwi and there was little need for the older people to speak English,[65] though it was still taught to the children in school. When Father McGrath left in 1948,

there would probably have been a break in communication with the older people. It is my belief that, rather than reverting to using a form of pidgin English[66] in which to communicate to the older people, the remaining staff (only a few), in emulating Father McGrath, spoke Tiwi to them. (Most mission staff have always seemed to pick up and use some Tiwi, mainly common words). However, because of the lack of control of the language by most of them this would have been a very much reduced form, with perhaps the use of English verbs rather than the complex Tiwi ones. In turn, the older Tiwi may have used a 'foreigner talk' Tiwi to the mission staff, again with some English verbs. This may have come to form the basis of a BT form, which adults may have begun using with children, possibly to make their entry into school easier or perhaps just to make it easier to communicate with the children who had been influenced by English. The 'foreigner talk' Tiwi may have been based upon a pre-existing BT form.

However the BT developed, it seems to me that an anglicised BT is the 'pidgin' or simplified hybrid upon which MT has been built and expanded. Ferguson and de Bose (1977) point out the similarities between 'simplified' registers (such as broken language, foreigner talk and baby talk) and pidgins. Mühlhäusler (1980:48) says that simplified registers of this type

> appear to be most influential right at the beginning of the pidgin-creole life-cycle ... [but] ... little is known about their roles ... in the form of 'motherese', in the gradual transition from a second to a first language.

In the Tiwi situation this BT has not developed into a stable pidgin. However as Mühlhäusler (1980:32) points out:

> Creolization seems to be able to take place at any stage of a developmental continuum.

Further Bickerton (1977:57) says:

> [The] period at which this step takes place will be decided, not by any internal development in the pidgin, but by the communicational needs of children.

Although the role of baby talk in a child's language acquisition is not clearly understood as yet,

> the structure of the input is proving more and more to be a crucial factor ... in the sense of utterances directed at the child. (Traugott 1977:83)[67]

> Nobody develops a language in a vacuum, so to this knowledge [i.e. innate knowledge discussed by Bickerton][68] we must add children's reference to perceptual strategies that analyze the input provided both by the pidgin, however inadequate, and the native languages heard though not necessarily well understood by the child. (Traugott 1977:87)

It would seem then, that the basis of young Tiwi children's speech has been an anglicised BT. Traditionally, children would probably have been expected to stop using CT by a certain age, possibly five or six, as is the

present case with Anindilyakwa (Leeding 1977). However, with the introduction
of an anglicised BT this expectation may have been waived and children were
perhaps not corrected. Older children also were possibly addressed in an
anglicised Tiwi and they in turn addressed younger children in anglicised BT.

Although MT cannot be regarded as a creole in the strictest sense of the
term, it does appear to be a creolised form of an anglicised BT. BT is not the
first language of anyone but it is in a sense a ´contact´ language (cf. Givón
1979:5). In the development of MT, children (and adults to a certain extent)
have drawn upon Tiwi, English and Pidgin English to produce a hybrid or
amalgam.

An expanded form of this anglicised BT is also used by older adults as a
second ´language´[69] in speaking to older children and young adults (see Table
8.1, p.336). Although I have not studied the differences between the MT spoken
as a first language by young people and that spoken as a second ´language´ by
older adults, there do appear to be differences.[70] The phonology of the MT of
older adults is closer to TT phonology (the English loans are normally more
Tiwiised as well). Older adults use more TT inflections in the auxiliary verb
(when they use one) and do not normally use the aspect words *tra* ´try´ or *sat*
´start´, though they do use *pin* ´past´ in their casual MT (see note 58, p.364).

I am not sure when adults started to speak to children in simple TE in
addition to BT. It is possibly a fairly recent step. However, even before
that, children were coming into contact with English, at least when they
reached school and possibly even earlier.

As has been pointed out before, Children´s Tiwi and their Tiwi-English
converge (1.7, p.11). From studies done by Volterra and Taeschner (1977:311),
it seems that children who grow up learning two languages go through three
stages:

(i) the child has one lexical system which includes words from both
languages.

(ii) the child distinguishes two different lexicons but applies the same
syntactic rules.

(iii) the child has two linguistic codes differentiated both in lexicon
and syntax, but each language is exclusively associated with the person using
that language.

With Tiwi children the second stage seems to last considerably longer
(until about six or seven years old) than in a stable bilingual situation.
This is possibly because the same person speaks both languages to the child.
However, Tiwi children do seem to eventually develop and sort out their English
and their Tiwi. As children grow older they develop a more formal MT style
which more closely approaches TT than their casual style does (i.e. with the
use of inflected TT-derived auxiliaries, the use of more TT-derived words and
Tiwiised English loans,[71] and with a syntax more like TT). They also develop a
style of English which is closer to SAE and which they use with Europeans,
while retaining a more casual style of TE which they use in code-switching in
their speech with their peers (see 8.2.2.3, p.344).

## 8.3 CONCLUSION

The changes which have occurred in Tiwi appear to be very similar to those occurring in English in the 13th-14th century. There has been some debate as to whether the language which ´triumphed´ (Jones 1953) was a creole. Domingue (1977) concludes that while the changes seem to have been due to processes similar to pidginisation and creolisation, the term ´hybrid´ is probably preferable to ´creole´.[72]

There are factors for and against the survival of Tiwi as a separate language (even in its changed form). Liebe-Harkort (1980) lists some factors influencing the survival of minority languages. Some of these are relevant to the Tiwi situation.[73]

(i) Geographical factor. The isolation of the Tiwi in the past has been instrumental in the Tiwi language receiving little influence from other languages. This isolation is fast diminishing. There is considerable movement to and from Darwin by both Tiwi and Europeans. There are four (small) planes a day and Tiwi people often go into Darwin to the hospital, to see a football game, to take part in an exhibition, to visit relatives living there and for other reasons. Also there are a number of visitors to the islands, such as government personnel and tourists, as well as the Europeans who work there.

(ii) Traditional setting. The fact that some traditional life is still carried on has some bearing on the maintenance of Tiwi (TT in the ceremonial life and MT in everyday speech when ´out bush´).

(iii) Economic conditions. As the Tiwi society has become a money-based one and Tiwi people are employed (often with a European boss) there has been a move towards more opportunities for English to be used. Also the availability of money has meant that most Tiwi families have been able to buy radios, cassette recorders, televisions and video machines. The introduction of these has probably had and is having a profound effect upon the language maintenance and shift particularly with regard to the amount of English heard versus the amount of time in interaction with speakers of TT. Also, as elsewhere, with the introduction of radio and television the world is fast encroaching upon the Tiwi´s domain.

(iv) Social environment. The social environment of the Tiwi has changed from one in which the main social interaction was between members of an extended family (with occasional interaction with the wider community) to one in which there is considerable interaction with a wider community on a day by day basis.

> A group´s unconscious decision about its language can be
> seen reflected in the language or languages they teach
> their children. Many choose to raise their children in
> both languages. (Liebe-Harkort 1980:76)

As has been discussed previously, this has happened in the Tiwi situation but the Tiwi which people use to their children is, in general, MT not TT. Because of the diversity of the community now it is very difficult for a general consensus to be reached. While a number of ´purists´ may be trying to teach the ´proper´ language to their children or grandchildren at home, a number of other people are not doing so. The teaching of TT (or a simplified form of it) is left to the school by many people.

(v) Attitudes towards language. This varies from person to person. Most people (young and old) see English as being important for children to learn in order to live in today's society. The older people see Tiwi as equally important and wish it to be taught in the school. These older people are proud of their identity as Tiwi. Michael Sims (a priest who spent some years at Nguiu) says (1978:167):

> The Tiwi people have always shown themselves a strong
> virile people, proud of the traditions of their ancestors.
> Today their self-reliance is becoming evident as they
> address themselves to advanced policies in Aboriginal
> matters, dictated by governmental demands. Their strength
> is shown in wanting to decide their own future after
> thoughtful deliberations about present day policies. They
> are unwilling to lose their true identity as a Tiwi people.

Most young people wish to retain the Tiwi language but not the 'hard' Tiwi, (even though they are generally ashamed of their 'half-and-half'). This seems to be a reflection of their desire to be identified as Tiwi. There are some young people who would like to be able to understand and speak 'hard' Tiwi and make an effort to do so but this is not a general trend.

The maintenance of the Tiwi language and other Aboriginal languages has been encouraged in recent years by the change in government policy towards them, as in the introduction of bilingual education in some schools and the translation of some government pamphlets. The effect of the bilingual programme at Nguiu on the Tiwi language and its maintenance is unclear at present. Since many of those involved in the programme (both European and Tiwi) insist upon 'purity', particularly in the written form, this may tend to stifle the development of the language, as anything less pure may be seen to be a corrupt form. Most of the Tiwi teachers and aides in the school are not traditional speakers themselves and so the style actually used in most of literature is a simplified TT, without incorporated forms in the verb or the more complex mood and aspect affixes (as most of the material is narrative). The use of loan words for which there is no Tiwi equivalent is considered acceptable but not the English loans in MT verbal complexes. The programme only goes so far and it would seem that children are then expected to develop the more complex verbal affixes and forms as best they can, out of school or when they leave school.

I believe that a standardised verbal system modelled along the lines of TT is an unrealistic goal to be aimed at by the teaching of a traditional language or a simplified version of it, that the speech of young people will move further away from TT because this is seen as unattainable. However, if the MT verbal system is allowed to develop naturally and is accepted, I believe that the language may stabilise, particularly with emphasis in the literature and teaching on the use of other TT parts of speech which are not unattainable and which will help to preserve the identity of the language as Tiwi.

At this stage it is unclear what direction Tiwi will take, whether MT will stabilise, with perhaps a formal style of MT moving closer to TT or to simplified TT, because of the influence of the bilingual programme in the school, or whether MT and TE will converge completely or perhaps be more strongly influenced by a mainland creole language. This latter may occur as there is more and more contact with mainland Aborigines and if the need to be

identified as Aboriginal, rather than Tiwi, emerges (through the national Aboriginal movement). It may be that in the three separate communities of Nguiu, Pularumpi and Milikapiti, different situations may develop. Only time will tell whether Tiwi will die out completely or remain as a living language, though in an inevitably changed form.

## NOTES ON CHAPTER 8

1. Kriol or related dialects are common over other parts of the Northern Territory and north-western Australia, for instance in the Fitzroy Valley where Kriol, introduced from the outside as a developed creole language, is spoken by most children as their primary language (Hudson 1981).

2. This is common in languages which are dying (see 8.2.3.1).

3. Because of the morphological complexity of the Tiwi language, it is doubtful that the children from whom they learnt would have had a complete control of the language, particularly the verbal constructions (see discussion in 8.2.3.3, p.352).

4. Although the history of Milikapiti was somewhat different from that of Nguiu and Pularumpi (see 1.2, p.4), the contact appears to have been as peaceful. Goodale (1971:539) says regarding the Tiwi situation there: ´There has been almost no resistance to the changing content of life among the Tiwi´. Also apparently Milikapiti was selected by the government for an intensive programme by the Department of Welfare in 1954. One of the reasons for this according to Goodale (1971:12) was ´the Tiwi´s positive attitude towards education and change, which they sincerely believe will regain for them the equality with the whites that they lost at the turn of the century´.

5. The term ´bilingualism´ here is used in the wider sense of meaning the alternate use of two or more languages, i.e. to include the term ´multilingualism´.

6. The factors influencing the survival or loss of languages and the relationship to the Tiwi situation is discussed in detail in 8.3.

7. My spoken Tiwi (even my MT) is far from perfect, particularly at understanding, so people find it easier to talk to me in English. Many other Europeans try to pick up some Tiwi but it normally amounts to knowing and using a few words, though some may be able to understand casual MT a little.

8. I am not sure if the language used is the same as the TT spoken today, or if it is a special style or an archaic one.

9. This was mainly done by two women in their 50s or 60s who were willing to do it. No men seem to be willing.

10. When choosing a tune to fit the Lord's Prayer which had been translated into TT, some of the older women seemed to think a Latin hymn tune (or chant) more suitable than either an English tune or a traditional Tiwi song style.

11. Before and after the ceremony near the house and later at the graveside the mourners express their grief in a traditional way, with wailing and hitting themselves. However, the self-inflicted beating does not seem to be as violent as in past days (Goodale 1971:249; Berndt 1950).

12. Pularumpi school had a bilingual education programme for about two years (see 1.4, p.7), during which time part of my field work at Pularumpi was done. However, this was only in the early grades and so did not affect many children in the community.

13. This teacher would have been in her late 30s or early 40s. She is older than those who have MT as their language of primary socialisation (see 8.2.3.3, p.355).

14. I do not know the results of a recent evaluation done at the school (in 1982) to determine the overall progress of Aboriginal children in bilingual schools in comparison with those who have had all their instruction in English. Most of those involved in the Tiwi programme seem to feel that the children have learnt more easily through the bilingual programme.

15. One of the keenest advocates for maintaining a 'proper' Tiwi is a man in his 40s who spent most of his childhood in Darwin. Another man, of about 25, who is a trained teacher and speaks good English, is able to produce a style of LTT that is closer to TT than most people of his age. He is keen that young people should speak 'correct' Tiwi.

16. I am not sure if traditionally people sang songs (other than at ceremonies) and taught them to children. There do seem to be some Tiwi songs about the old days which are remembered and which were being taught at the school by some older women. Some of these songs have Polynesian island tunes which have been introduced at some time.

17. In the 1982 eisteddfod at least one of the Tiwi songs was newly composed by a young man in a LTT style (not MT).

18. Most conversations were recorded outdoors with a of people around, many of whom I did not know. Some people were too far away to be picked up clearly by the microphone and there was often a lot of extraneous noise. The conversations were normally transcribed some time after the event and sometimes by people not involved in the conversation. It is not always clear who is doing the speaking and to whom. The topic too is not always clear because there were often two or three strands of conversation going at once with different interlocutors.

19. See also Volterra and Taeschner 1977; Lindholm and Padilla 1978.

20. Other factors such as sex are not so apparent except that older women seem to use a style of LTT closer to MT on more occasions than older men do and most women rarely use what is considered 'proper' TT.

21. See the next section 8.2.2.4 for a discussion of internal versus external code-switching.

22. This may be changing with some younger adults, particularly at Milikapiti and Pularumpi, who seem to speak to their children mainly in TE.

23. I have written the English phonemically (as much as possible) because the pronunciation is normally different from SAE and also to show the similarity between TE and the English loans in Casual MT and CT.

24. By a quirk of fate the changed form, *awa* of the TT pronoun, *ngawa* ´we, us, our´ corresponds in pronunciation to the English ´our´. Since children seem to learn some case forms of the English pronominal system relatively early, it is probably the English form meant here.

25. In some cases this means all contact or speech with a certain person has to be avoided and in other cases there are special avoidance styles of speech used (see Dixon 1980:58-65, Haviland 1979a:210-211, Berndt and Berndt 1977:80-85).

26. This is so over parts of Arnhem Land also (Berndt and Berndt 1977:83).

27. This style of English is closer to SAE than is the TE style used in the internal switching among themselves.

28. This is derived from ´two bob´. A ´bob´ was the colloquial term for ´shilling´, used before decimal currency.

29. I assume this is from ´two roosters´ but I´m not sure how the expression is derived.

30. I have no examples of speech when playing traditional games, or out hunting, etc. (See also 8.2.2.1(7), p.334).

31. This rhyme (which was a corrected version of one which actually did rhyme) was inserted into a narrative in MT by a 10 year old girl about a game she and her friends had played, so it is also an example of internal switching.

32. My use of the term ´code-mixing´ differs from Kachru´s use (1978). His term would include what I am calling internal switching as well as mixing. It is hard to actually determine a boundary between them.

33. Older people or younger people in more formal MT would say *jimitiriyi poj(i)*.

34. This is a baby Tiwi form as the referential pronoun is omitted (see 3.2.5, p.95).

35. Some internal switching is due to lack of proficiency in one language and so the speaker switches to the other. Some may be due to speakers inserting odd words of one language into their speech in another to identify with the speakers of the second language. This happens in the speech of some Europeans on Bathurst and Melville Islands. However, these cases are rather different from the rapid switching back and forth in the speech of young Tiwi.

36. cf. Hatch 1976:207, Gumperz 1971b:322. Dorian has observed very little of this in the East Sutherland Gaelic situation (Dorian 1981a:98).

37. 16 domains were studied including: family, neighbourhood, street, cafes and bars, work, church, senior citizens´ clubs, community festivities, school.

38. There seems to be some communication barrier between some older people and some young people but it would be equally true to say that the older people are ´deficient´ or not proficient in the language of the young people as the other way around.

39. The genitive case is almost extinct even in the speech of fluent ESG speakers, being replaced in most cases by the use of a prepositional phrase. Nouns in the dative case are also marked by a preposition in the older generation norm of ESG and so the loss of the dative is a loss of redundancy (i.e. a simplification).

40. See also Campbell and Canger (1978) on Chicomulcetec, Voegelin and Voegelin (1977) on Tübatulabal, Austin (1981) on Gamilaraay and Dharawal (see also p.346 of this Chapter).

41. See also Voegelin and Voegelin (1977).

42. These terms were used by Whinnom (1971:106) as defining criteria of a pidgin.

43. This is contrary to what Dorian found for ESG in which there has been some loss of gender distinctions. The difference is probably due to the fact that the gender systems in Greek and Albanian are similar (i.e. a three-way distinction) while the gender systems of Gaelic and English are different (i.e. a three-way versus a two-way distinction) and furthermore gender distinctions are not very marked in English, in that they are indicated formally only in pronoun replacement.

44. The Ngiyambaa data is taken from Donaldson (1980), the Dharawal data from Eades (1976) and the Gamilaraay data taken from early records by Ridley (1875) and Greenway (1877) as well as the more recent field notes of Wurm (1955) and Austin himself (1975).

45. A detailed study of another dying Australian language (Dyirbal) has been done by Annette Schmidt for her MA thesis at ANU, Canberra, now published (see Bibliography).

46. The extreme cases where basically only absolute forms of words are retained, as in Gamilaraay (Austin 1980), are probably due to just words being transmitted to children, who otherwise have their primary socialisation in the dominant language. Discussion of language change in general can be found in such standard works as: Anttila (1972), Bynon (1977), Lehmann (1962, 1973), Li (1975, 1977), Stockwell and MacCaulay (1972).

47. It seems certain that there was a baby talk style of Tiwi in which there were phonological differences and that this style has become the basis of MT (see Chapter 7, note 1, p.323, and 8.2.3.3, p.355ff).

48. A semantic distinction could be said to be lost as the gender of the direct object is no longer marked on the verb.  However, this is shown (where relevant) in MT by an overt form.  Moreover, in the case of a third singular subject a semantic distinction is gained as the gender of the subject is marked on the inflected verb in MT whereas it is neutralised in TT (see 4.2.2.1, p.172).

49. In later field work a few examples of *shut* ´should´ have been noted.

50. This does not apply to those languages, such as Gamilaraay and Dharawal, where basically just words are being passed on and inserted into English sentences.

51. He does not indicate whether Albanians today can understand Arvanitika, though there apparently was some cooperation between the two groups during the war and presumably mutual intelligibility.

52. Whether it is thought to be more related to Tiwi or English would vary from person to person depending upon their ability in TT or English.  People´s feelings or intuitions in this have not been ascertained.

53. For other discussions of linguistic complexity see Clark and Clark (1977:523-524), Mühlhäusler (1974:69-72), Slobin (1973:181-183, 1979:65-67).

54. Although interaction with (slightly older) peers has been shown to be an important factor in child language (Baron 1977:38), there must be a link to the adult model somewhere along the line, since, in most normal language learning situations, children´s speech does come to approximate adult speech.  Though there may be slight changes from generation to generation.

55. There would probably have been a baby talk version of Tiwi which has probably changed over the years (see discussion on p.355).

56. It is doubtful that children learn very much English just from films and television, except from parts of the action type films in which words may be matched with actions.  Clark and Clark (1977:330) report that in cases where children have only been exposed to their own or another language by watching TV they do not pick it up.  For instance, Snow (1976) and her colleagues, found that Dutch children constantly watching German television did not pick up German.  In the case of the Tiwi children, films probably help to reinforce and expand the English they learn elsewhere.

57. See Chapter 1, note 19 (p.18).

58. Some of these features shared with Pidgin English and creoles are:

(i) The use of -*im* on transitive English loan verbs.  Some verbs with -*im* may have been borrowed directly from Pidgin English, but the -*im* is now a productive transitive marker in MT. cf. MT: *kipim* ´give´ with Kriol: *gibit* ´give´, *gibim* ´keep´ (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979).  Also *kreshim* ´crash (tr)´ is a recent word.

(ii) Some words in MT are obviously borrowed from Pidgin English e.g. *japi*, or *sapi* ´know´, *kiyemin* ´lie, deceive, pretend´.

(iii) The suffix *-pala* on the end of some adjectives seems to be a borrowing from Pidgin English e.g. *panupala* ´funny´.  However in these cases the whole word appears to be borrowed (not many examples) and new words are replacing them, often with the suffix *-wan*, e.g. *faniwan* ´funny´.

(iv) The use of the aspect words *pin* ´past´, *sat/stat* ´start´, *tra/tray* ´try´.  The first of these is clearly borrowed from Pidgin English and also occurs in TE.  I am not sure about the latter two.  They appear to have arisen independently of Pidgin English influence.  Other aspect words or auxiliary verbs which are used in Kriol and other creole languages are not used in MT (such as, *gona* ´will´; *labda mas* ´must´, *yusda* ´used to´; cf. Sandefur 1979:126).

(v) There are also some features of the ´basilect´ of TE in common with Pidgin English, particularly as it is used by older people, viz. the use of the general preposition *long(a)* and the possessive preposition *play/pla* (from *bilong*).  I have not studied TE in sufficient detail to determine the overall relation of the ´basilectal´ form with Pidgin English.

59. See for example Kiparsky 1968, 1970, Bar-Adon 1978:532.  For a detailed discussion of the relation of ontogeny to language change see Chapter 2 of Baron (1977).

60. Henry Sweet (1899) *The practical study of languages*, London, quoted in Jespersen 1922:161.

61. Although early child language is not restricted in function in the sense that a pidgin is, it is restricted in the sense that many of the semantic notions and communicative intents expressed by an adult are undeveloped in young children (see Slobin 1973:183ff).

62. I am using the term ´primary´ in the sense that Mühlhäusler (1974:13) uses it, to refer to the language best mastered.

63. Although this latter feature is common in the MT spoken by older children and young adults it is not common in that spoken by older adults, except in this BT form.

64. See also other articles in Snow and Ferguson 1977.

65. This comment was made to me by a brother who was at the Mission for part of Father McGrath´s time.

66. This same brother made the comment that Pidgin English had not been used between the Tiwi and Europeans.  He was unaware that a type of Pidgin English (the basilect form of TE) was used among the people themselves from time to time.

67. See also Clark and Clark 1977:380.

68. See earlier discussion (p.353f).

69. ´Language´ is probably not the best term to use here.  Although MT and LTT are distinct codes they do overlap to some extent and are continuous in one sense (see 1.7, p.11).

70. cf. the comments made by Hudson (1983) re the adult Pidgin English and the Kriol used by children in the Fitzroy Valley.  (See also Jernudd 1971:20).

71. Throughout this work I have used the word ´loan´ although strictly speaking if MT is regarded as an amalgam of TT and English it is not really legitimate to speak of English loans unless I speak of TT loans as well.

72. Givón (1979) also does not regard Middle English as a creole.

73. See also Dorian (1980c).

# APPENDIX 1

## LEXICAL AND SEMANTIC CHANGES

Throughout the work, some lexical and semantic changes have been mentioned where relevant. A brief discussion of some of these are given here, and also a comparative word list showing some of the changes. There are three main ways in which the lexicon is changing:

(i) Coining of words for introduced items and concepts. This is normally done by means of a verbal construction, which may become frozen, such as *ampiripunguluwurri* ´car´ (lit: ´she goes fast(?)´). For other examples see 3.2.1, p.83, and Osborne 1974:117. It may be done by the addition of suffixes to existing words, such as *milamporama* ´tractor´ (*milampora* ´foot´ + *-(aw)ama* ´intensity(f)´), and *milamporakimi* ´shoe´ (*milampora* + *-kimi* ´for the purpose of´).

(ii) Extension of meaning. Meanings of words are extended to cover new items and concepts, such as, *yilogha* ´bladder´ > ´football´, *yimata* ´intestines´ > ´sausages´, *yimanka* ´shadow, reflection´ > ´film, movie´.

(iii) Borrowing of loan words. This is by far the most common means in MT, being extended to cover items which are not borrowed (see 3.2.2, p.84) and to verbs (see 4.3.1.2, p.205). The phonology of the loans varies from close to TT to close to English (see 2.4, p.49).

The word list given here is not exhaustive and TT words for which I have no MT equivalent are not listed (see also Osborne 1974:117ff and Ng Ng). Similarly, a number of MT words are not listed. Where there are corresponding masculine, feminine and/or plural forms, the stem is given with the suffixes in that order. The classes of the verb stems are not given, but this can be determined by the form given: class 1 stems having an initial consonant, class 2 stems having an initial C (variable consonant), and class 3 stems having an initial vowel, sometimes with an optional /w/. The subject-tense prefixes taken by each stem are indicated, viz. general (gen), transitive (tr), or feminine (fem) (see Table 4.5, p.173). The auxiliary stem is given with free form verbs. In the MT column the dichotomy is not strictly between formal versus casual or formal versus children´s Tiwi but rather showing the forms closest to the TT form on the left and the form furthest from the TT form on the right. The forms which contain an alternation between *j* and *th* are not pronounced differently but rather show a difference in the phonemic analysis (see 2.3.7, p.41. The verbal complexes are shown centred and written in the following way. V.C (±*mi*) In a more formal style of MT an auxiliary with verb stem *-mi* is normally used but in more casual MT (and CT) there is normally no auxiliary.

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| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---|---|---|---|
| about | *ngini* | *yini* | *apat* |
| above | *kuriyuwu* | *kuriyuwu* | *ontop/antap* |
| adult | *arikula-ni,-nga* | *arikula-ni,-nga* | |
| (cf. ´big´) | *yinkurti(m),yinkurlinga(f)* | | |
| adults | *arikakula-pi* | *arikula-pi* | |
| | *(ka)kununkuluwi* | | |
| aeroplane | *arripilayini(f)* | *arripilayin(i)* | *erripleyn* |
| | *wurra(f)* | *(m/f)* | *erriplen* |
| after | | *apta/afta* | |
| after that | *partuwa* | *afta that* | |
| afternoon | *awurlinari* | *awalinari* | *aftanun* |
| again | *tu(wa)wanga* | *tuwanga* | *ken* |
| airforce | | *epoji* | *efos* |
| airport | | *epot* | |
| alive | *yimpang-ini,-a* | *yipanga* | |
| | *papangi(m)pi(pl)* | | |
| all | *-anyimi(vbl suffix)* | *wulikiyitha* | *alikitha* |
| | *tayikuwapi(pl)* | *tayikwapi/tayikopi* | |
| all right | | *warayiti* | *orayt* |
| almost | *yinkitayi* | *yikitayi* | |
| alone | *wangata* | *wangata* | |
| also | *wurarri/wiyarri* | *wiyarri* | |
| always | *yimpaja* | *walwayi* | *alwey* |
| and | *ami(n)tiya* | *ami(n)tiya* | *amataya* |
| | *wuta* | *wuta* | *wurra* |
| angel | *yingumpul-ini,-unga,-a* | *e(yi)njil* | |
| angry, to be – | *-kupiyawumi(gen)* | *palapi/polapi (+-mi)* | |
| | *-mungarlingiyi(gen)* | | |
| angry (face) | *murligha* | *muliya* | *waytfeys* |
| | | *kirrijirti* | |
| animal | *yanamurli(m)* | *yanamuli* | *animal* |
| animals | *yanamurluwi* | *yanamuluwi* | *animaluwi* |
| another (m) | *yoni(m)* | *yoni(m)* | |
| (f) | *(yi)nyonga(f)* | *nyonga(f)* | *yonga(f)* |
| | | | *nat(h)awan* |
| ant | *waliwalinga(f)* | *waluwalinga(f)* | |
| apple | *apuli* | *apul(i)* | *epul* |
| arm (lower –) | *yirrimpunga* | *yirripunga* | |
| (upper –) | *kurumuta* | *kurumuta* | |
| armband | *pamijini(m)* | *pamijini* | |
| (various | *parnti(m)* | | |
| kinds) | *yarirringa(f)* | | |
| | *jukuti(m)* | | |
| | *kulijima* | | |
| army | | *ami* | |
| arrive at, to | *-Cakurunguti (gen)* | | |
| | *papi (+-mi)* | *papi (+-mi)* | |
| ashamed | *aliranga* | *aliranga* | |
| ashes | *pumu(wu)tinga* | *pumitinga* | |
| | *tuwunya* | *tuwunya* | |
| ask, to | *-wayorri (tr)* | *ajikim/askim (+-mi)* | |
| | *nanginta (+-mi)* | | |
| asleep, to be – | *piyani (+-mi)* | *piyani (+-mi)* | |
| | | *payipayi/peypey (+-mi)* | |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---|---|---|---|
| at | *kapi/ngampi* | *kapi* | |
| | *kaghi/kangi* | *ka* | |
| axe | *kurrijuwa*(f) | *kurrijuwa/kurrithuwa* | |
| | *atingi-(i.f)* | | |
| (steel -) | *walimani*(f) | *walimani* | |
| (stone -) | *mu(n)konga*(f) | | |
| | | | |
| baby | *kiriji-ni,-nga* | *ki(ri)ji-ni,-nga* | |
| | *kiyiji-ni,-nga* | | |
| | *minkila,-tinga,-tuwi* | *peypi/pepi* | |
| bad | *jirti*(m),*jiringa*(f) | *jirti*(m),*jiringa*(f) | |
| | *jajiruwi(pl)* | *jajiruwi(pl)* | |
| bad (of food) | *pirnipa-ni,-ka,* | *pinipa-ni,-ka,* | |
| | *mankini* | *jirti* | |
| ball | *yilogha*(Lit: bladder) | *yiloya* | *parrupul* |
| | *wurama*(f) | *purrupul(i)* | *pol/pul* |
| banana | *japarra*(m)(Lit: moon) | *(mun(i)* | *pinana* |
| bandicoot | *kipopi*(m) | *kipopi*(m) | |
| | *maruwunyi,marinyi*(m) | *marinyi*(m) | |
| | *tukotukuni*(m) | *tukotukuni*(m) | |
| | *jajurruka*(m) | | |
| (baby -) | *tukotuko/tukotuka* | | |
| | *pakijapura*(m) | | |
| bank (money -) | | *penk* | |
| barge | *kurawarri* | *paj* | |
| basket (general) | *(wanga)tunga*(f) | *tunga* | *paskit* |
| | | *pajikiti* | *pajikirri* |
| (various kinds) | *yimorlini*(m) | | *peyk/pek* |
| | *yirripurunga* | | |
| | *wulirrika* | | |
| basketball | *pajikitipuli* | *pajikitipul(i)* | *paskit pol/pul* |
| bat (cricket -) | *alukura* | *pat/pet* | |
| be, to | *-mi* | *-mi* | |
| beach | *tingata*(m) | *tingata* | *tingarra* |
| beat, to (hit) | *-pirni*(tr) | *-pini* | |
| | | *kilim(+-mi)* | |
| beat, to | *-pirni*(tr) | *-pini* | |
| (in game) | *-kumori*(tr) | *kilim(+-mi)* | |
| | | *takumori(+-mi)* | |
| beautiful | *pijuwali-ni,-nga,-uwi* | *lapili(yi)* | |
| | *mijuwali-ni,-nga,-uwi* | | |
| | *pu(m)pu-ni,-ka,-wi* | *pupu-ni,-ka,-wi* | |
| because | *pili* | *pili* | *pirri* |
| become, to | *-ma* | *-ma* | |
| bed | *-palampala*(m) | *-palapala*(m) | *pet* |
| beer | *mirri*(m)*paka*(f) | *mirripaka*(f) | |
| | *winga*(f), *pojininga*(f) | *winga*(f), *pojininga*(f) | |
| before | *purniyarri* | *puniyarri/punaya* | |
| (previously) | | | |
| better (well) | | *peta* | *perra* |
| bicycle | *japurraringa*(f) | *japurraringa*(f) | |
| | *marlipinyinga*(f) | *malipininga*(f) | |
| | | *pajikuli* | *payk* |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---|---|---|---|
| big | *arikula-ni,-nga* | *arikula-ni,-nga* | *pik* |
| | *arikakula-pi(pl)* | *arikula-pi(pl)* | |
| billy can | *wilijinga* | *wulijinga* | |
| | *karlupika* | | |
| bird (generic) | *tokamp-ini,-unga,-uwi* | *tokapu-ni,-nga,-wi* | |
| | *tokomp-ini,-unga,-uwi* | *tokopu-ni,-nga,-wi* | |
| | | *pirripirri* | |
| | | *pert* | |
| biscuit | *pijikiti* | *pijikiti* | *pikikirri* |
| | | | *piskit* |
| bite | *-wirri*(tr) | *-wirri* | |
| | | *patim/paytim(+-mi)* | |
| | | *takuwarri(+-mi)* | |
| cage | | *keyj* | |
| cake | | *keyk* | |
| call, to (name) | *-mamula/-momula*(gen) | *kolim(+-mi)* | |
| call out, to | *-Curughi* | | |
| | *kuwayi(+-mi)* | *kuwayi(+-mi)* | |
| | *jingawu(+-mi)* | *jingawu(+-mi)* | |
| camp (n) | *tangarima*(m) | *tangarima*(m) | |
| | *japuja*(m) | *japuja/thaputha*(m) | |
| | | | *kemp* |
| can ( – do) | (SBVE/IRREAL vbl prefixes see 4.2.9.1) | *ken* | |
| cannot (do) | *karrawungana* | *karrawana* | |
| | | *kan* | |
| canoe (dugout) | *tongula(n)ka* | general: *tongulaka* | |
| | *kupunyi* | | *kupunyi* |
| | *i(ngi)-* (i.f.) | | *kinuwu* |
| bark | *mamp-ini,-unga* | | |
| | *ingikili-* (i.f.) | | |
| canteen | *kayintin(i)* | *kayintin/keyntin* | |
| car | *ampiripunguluwurri* | | |
| | *mutika* | *mutika* | *ka* |
| card (playing –) | *jupuluwu* | *jupuluwu/thupuluwu* | *kat* |
| care for, to | *-Camangi*(tr) | *mayntim(+-mi)* | |
| careful! | *arrarna* | *arrana* | |
| carelessly | *pirlamarri* | *pilamarri* | |
| carpet snake | *yilinga*(f) | *yilinga* | |
| | *jipiyika*(f) | *jipiyuka/jiyipuka* | |
| carry, to | | *karrimap(+-mi)* | |
| (on shoulders) | *-Corli*(m)*pirri*(tr) | | |
| | *-Cakirtirruwa*(tr) | | |
| | *kapaka(+-ma)* | *kapaka/kapuka(+-mi)* | |
| | *kitarranga(+-kirimi)* | | |
| case (n) | *putamanta* | *putamanta/purramanta* | |
| cashews | | *kajuwi* | |
| cat | *pujikat* | *pujikat/pusiket* | |
| catch, to | *-pirni*(tr) | *-pirni* (vs) | |
| | *-unga*(tr) | *-unga* (vs) | |
| | | *kijim(+-mi)* | |
| catch up with, to | *-kiyurruwa* | *kajimap/kejapi(+-mi)* | |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---|---|---|---|
| cave | | keyp | |
| cemetery | jimitiriyi | jimitiriyi/simitriyi | |
| centipede | piyarringa(f) | piyarringa | |
| chain | ngarimintirrawulari | je/she | |
| | (Lit: we climb our | | |
| | buttocks (on it)) | | |
| change, to (tr) | | jayi(n)jim/jeynjim(+-mi) | |
| chase, to | -(mata)kuwina(tr) | tamatakuwina(+-mi) | |
| cheeky | jiki | jiki | |
| cheetah | | jita/shita | |
| chest | pipo | pipo | |
| | maripi- (i.f.) | | |
| child (see boy, girl) | | | |
| children | kaki(ri)juwi | kaki(ri)juwi | |
| children | | | |
| (of m ego) | -mamirampi | -mirapi | |
| (of f ego) | -moruwi | -moruwi | |
| chin | yirrinamila | yirrinamila | jin/shin |
| | pinamila- (i.f.) | | |
| choose, to | | pikim(+-mi) | |
| church | jurra(m) | jurra/thurra | |
| cigarette | pongipongi(m) | pongpong(i) | sukret |
| circle | kurluwukari(m) | serkul | |
| clap, to | -Cakiriparri (gen) | -Cakiriparri | |
| | pawupawu(+-mi) | pawupawu(+-mi) | |
| claw (crab's -) | jipita(f) | jipita | |
| | munagha/munanga | kiluwu | |
| clean, to | | klinap(+-mi) | |
| cliff | jampinarla(m) | klip/klif | |
| | pungaringawarna | | |
| climb, to | -Cakilinga (gen) | -Cakalinga | |
| | -Cawulari (gen) | takalinga(+-mi) | |
| | | klamap(+-mi) | |
| (- up) | -Cakilingura (gen) | | |
| clinic | kirliniki | kiliniki/klinik | |
| close (distance) | yinkitayi | yikitayi | |
| close, to | nyinta(+-kirimi) | kunji(+-kirimi) | |
| | kunji(+-kirimi) | | |
| come out, to | papi(+-mi) | papi(+-mi) | |
| come up, to | ni- + -Caputi (gen) | kamap(+-mi) | |
| | (DIR) (go:up) | | |
| come here! | kali | kali | |
| completely | -anyimi (vbl suffix) | rajrruwu/raythruwu | |
| cook, to | -Cawumi(itr) | kukim(+-mi) | |
| country | murraku(pu)puni(m) | murrakupuni | |
| cow | jarranga(f) | jarranga/tharranga | kaw |
| | | pulika | |
| cowboy | | kapoy/kawpoy | |
| crab | wurlanga(f) | wulanga(f) | |
| | kiri(m)pika(f) | kiripuka | kiyipuka |
| crash, to | | kreshim(+-mi) | |
| craving (- for) | murnuka | munuka | ? |
| crayfish | kulipima | krafish | |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---|---|---|---|
| creek | | | |
| (salt water) | *kuluwagha* (m) | *kuluwaa/kuluwah* | |
| (fresh water) | *makatinga* (f) | *makatinga* | |
| | | | *krik* |
| crocodile | *yirrikipayi* (m) | *yirrikipayi* | |
| | *piyatirringi-* (i.f.) | | |
| (female -) | *jikipayinga* (f) | | |
| cry, to | *-Cuku(n)tirri* (gen) | | *kirayi(+-mi)* |
| | *-kiruwa* (gen) | | *pili(n)kiti/* |
| | *pirli(n)kiti(+-mi)* | | *pili(n)kirri(+-mi)* |
| | *Cutani-* (i.f.) | | |
| cup | *nyamuli/namuli* (f) | *namuli* | *kap* |
| cut, to | *-awurrini* (tr) | *-awurrini* (vs) | |
| | | *karrim(+-mi)* | |
| (- lengthwise) | *-makanya* (tr) | *-makana* (vs) *katim/* | |
| cut down, to | | *katim tan(+-mi)* | |
| cut off, to | | *katim of(+-mi)* | |
| cut up, to | | *katim ap(+-mi)* | |
| cut cards, to | | *katim(+-mi)* | |
| | | | |
| daddy (see also father) | | | *tati/teti* |
| damper | *pamantarri* (m) | *pamantarri* | |
| | *kanijawa* (m) | *kanijawa* | *tampa* |
| dance | *yoyi* (f) | *yoyi* | |
| dance, to | *yoyi(+-mi)* | *yoyi(+-mi)* | |
| (disco -) | | *tisko tans* | |
| Darwin | *Jiliyarti, Putawini* | *Putawini* | *Tawin* |
| daughter | | | |
| (of m ego) | *-miraninga* | *-miraninga* | |
| (of f ego) | *-moringa* | *-moringa* | |
| day (24 hours span) | *wumunga* | *wumunga* | *teyi/tey* |
| dead | *arntingi* | | |
| | *pajungoni* | *pajuwani* | *tet* |
| dead, to be - (see die) | | | |
| deaf, to be - | *-Corimi* (gen) | *yipotila* | *tef* |
| death adder | *pomika* | *pomika* | |
| death ceremony | *pukumani* | *pukumani* | |
| deceive, to | *-kiyarri* (gen) | *kunani(+-mi)* | |
| (cf. pretend, lie) | | | |
| defaecate, to | | *kinthirri(+-mi)* | |
| (cf. faeces) | | | |
| desert | | *tesat* | |
| devil | *maputiti* | *maputiti* | *maputirri* |
| die, to | *-kura, -Carawumi* | *-kura (vs)* | |
| | (takes fem, impersonal | (actor as subject | |
| | subject + actor as IO) | + fem. IO) | |
| | *pajungoni(+-mi)* | *pajuwani(+-mi)* | |
| different (m) | *yoni* (m) | *yoni* (m) | |
| (cf. other) (f) | *(yi)nyonga* (f) | *nyonga* (f) | *yonga* (f) |
| (pl) | *yingompa/yingampa* | *yingompa* | |
| dig, to | *-kurungumi* (gen) | *tikinim(+-mi)* | |
| digging stick | *arlukuni* (m) | *alukuni* | |
| | *timirrikimani* (m) | *purunjiti* (TT:stick) | |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---------|----|-----|-------------|
| dinghy | *maratinga*(f) | *tongulaka*<br>(TT: canoe) | *kinuwu* |
| | *jipulinga* | | |
| | *jarntuwu* | *jantuwu* | *tinki* |
| dingo | *tayam-ini*(m);*-pi*(pl)<br>*tayama*(f) | *tayamini* | *tinko* |
| dinner (supper) | *namurruputi* | *tina* | |
| (midday meal) | *anjirugha* | *anjiruwa* | |
| dirt | *parruwarti* | *parruwati* | |
| dirty | *parruwartila* | *parruwatila* | *terti* |
| dive, to | *-Cungarti* (gen) | *julup(i)(+-mi)* | |
| | | | *tayping* |
| do | *-mi, -kirimi*<br>(also as auxiliary) | *-mi*<br>(also as aux,) | |
| doctor | | *takta*(m); *takarringa*(f)<br>*takarruwi* | |
| dog | *pulangumo-ni,-ka,-wi* | *pulangumo-ni*(m)<br>*pulanguma-ni*(m)<br>*-ka*(f), *-wi(pl)* | *pulawamani* |
| | *wank-ini,-a,-uwi*<br>*kitarringa-ni,-ka,-wi*<br>*inguwulingi-* (i.f.) | | *tok(i)* |
| doll | | *toltol(i)* | *tol(i)* |
| don't | *ngajiti* | *(ng)ajiti* | *ajirri* |
| door | *kunji*(f) | *to* | |
| down | | *tan* | |
| dress (n) | *manipurruwa* | *manipurruwa* | *tres* |
| drink, to | *-mangapa* (gen) | *trinkim/trink(+-mi)* | |
| drink (n) | | *trink* | |
| drive, to | *-parrirri* (f.vs) | *trapim/traypim(+-mi)* | |
| drop, to | *-Camartunguni*(tr) | *tropim(+-mi)* | |
| drum | | *tram* | |
| drunk | *malurani*(m) | *tranki* | |
| dry, to (tr) | | *trayim/trayi(+-mi)* | |
| dugong | *marntuwunyini* | *mantuwunyini* | *mantuwujini* |
| dump (n) | | *tamp* | |
| ear | *pirrakuninga* | *pirrakuninga* | |
| ( - of corn) | | *pirrakuninga* | |
| early | | *erli* | |
| earth | *(ya)kuluwuni* | *(ya)kuluwuni* | |
| eat, to | *-apa* (gen) | *-apa* | |
| | *-mulaja* (gen) | *(itim/irrim(+-mi)* | |
| | *ngamungami(+-mi)* | *amom(+-mi)* | |
| | *ngomungomi(+-mi)* | | |
| eel | *pirranjinga*(f) | *pirranjinga* | |
| egg(s) | *pajipajuwu*(f) | *pajipajuwu/pajipathuwu* | |
| | *karaka* | *karaka* | |
| | *kuluwuka* | | |
| (small - ) | *karakini* | | |
| | *karapari* | | |
| eggs | | *eks* | |
| eight | *kiringarra* { *yirrajirrima* }[1] *eyt*<br>{ *yirrara* }<br>*punyipunyinga* | | |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---|---|---|---|
| elbow | yirrimpunga | | |
| | yipunga | yipunga | elpo/elpow |
| electric | | latiriki | letrik/lektrik |
| elephant | | alipani | elifin(t) |
| embarrassed | aliranga | | aliranga |
| empty | wawulingo- (i.f.) | | emti |
| emu | yimiyuwu | yimiyuwu | imyu |
| end, to | -amparri (gen) | | piniji/finish(+-mi) |
| end (finished) | juwa | juwa/thuwa | tayen |
| engine | | injin | enjin |
| evening | japini | japini | thapini |
| | ki- (vbl prefix) | | |
| everybody | tayikuwapi | tayikuwapi/tayikopi | epiripoti |
| | -anyimi (vbl suffix) | | |
| | (w)ati- (vbl prefix) | | |
| everything | tayikuwa-ni,-nga | | epiriting |
| | -anyimi (vbl suffix) | | |
| everywhere | nginingaji ngatawa | najingatawa murraku(pu)puni | |
| | murraku(pu)puni | | |
| | (w)ati- (vbl prefix) | | epiriweya |
| eye | pijara | pijara | pithaya |
| eyebrow(s) | wumuringa | | wumurunga |
| face | yirrinkilingapa | yirrikilingapa | feys/fes |
| | | yirrikilapa | |
| faeces | kinyirri | | kinyirri/kinthirri |
| | punti- (i.f.) | | |
| fall | -Cakupuranji (gen) | -Cakupuraji | |
| | -Cawulighi (gen) | -Cawuli(yi) | |
| | popuwuwa(+-mi) | | potan/fotan(+-mi) |
| fall over, to | -Cakupuranji (gen) | | takupuraji(+-mi) |
| | -Cakupuringi(n)ti (gen) | | polopa(+-mi) |
| fan | wunijakini | wunijaka | fan/fen |
| | wunijaka | | |
| far | karrampi | | karrampi |
| (very - ) | | | karrampiyama |
| | | | karrampawama |
| fast | murruka | murruka | yirrim(il)a |
| | (TT: yirrim(il)a (+-mi) ´fly´) | | |
| fat (adj) | purnikapawamini (m) | punikapamini (m) | |
| | purnikapawama (f) | punikapa (f) | |
| (pot-bellied) | murlukinyi-ni,-nga,-wi | | mulukuji-ni,-nga,-wi |
| father | -rringani,-rringanuwi (pl) | -rringani,-rringanuwi (pl) | |
| | | | teti |
| father (priest) | pata/parra | pata/parra | fata/fatha |
| feather(s) | murrula,yilima | | feta/fetha |
| female | yimparlinya | yipalinya | tinga |
| fence | minkagha | minkah/minkaa | fens,keyt |
| fight, to | -warri (gen) | | |
| (only with | -muningi- (i.f.) | | peyit(i)(+-mi) |
| pl subj.) | | | fayt(+-mi) |
| film(s) | yima(n)ka (m) | yimaka | pija/pikja |
| | wurrangorra (m) | | |
| fin | | | fin |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---|---|---|---|
| find | *-unyayi*(tr) | *-unayi* | |
| | | | *payin(t)im(+-mi)* |
| | | | *fayntim(+-mi)* |
| finger | *wamuta* | *wamuta* | *finka* |
| finish, to | *-amparri* (gen) | | *pinij(i)(+-mi)* |
| | *-Cipaya* (gen) | | *finish(+-mi)* |
| | *-ku(ru)riyi* (gen) | | |
| | *-Capaya*(tr) | | |
| finished | *juwa* | *juwa/thuwa* | *tayen* |
| fire | *yikoni*(m) | *yikoni* | *faya* |
| | *ki-* (i.f.) | | |
| first | *pakinya* | *pakina* | *fers(t)* |
| fish | *miputi/muputi* | *muputi* | |
| | | *pijipiji* | *fish* |
| fishtrap | | | *pijitrap/fishtrap* |
| five | *punginingi(n)ta* | *punginingita* | *fayp/fayv* |
| fix, to | | | *pikijim(i)(+-mi)* |
| | | | *fiksim(+-mi)* |
| flag | *pantirriwuni*(m) | *pilayiki* | *fleyk/flek* |
| | *pantirra*(m) | | |
| | *pilayiki* | | |
| flour | *kanijawa*(m) | *kanijawa/kanithawa flawa* | |
| | *kokini* | | |
| flower | *wurri(n)jinga*(f) | *wurrijinga* | *flawa* |
| fly, to | *yirrima(+-mi)* | | *flay(+-mi)* |
| | *yirrimila(+-mi)* | | |
| flying fox | *tarni(n)kini*(m) | *tanikini* | |
| | *tarni(n)ka*(f) | | |
| | *tarni(n)kuwi*(pl) | *tanikuwi* | |
| follow, to | *-Ca(m)punya*(tr) | | *folo(+-mi)* |
| | *-Capurikigha*(tr) | | |
| food | *yinkiti* | *yikiti* | *yikirri* |
| | *muwurnikini* | | |
| | *antingi-* (i.f.) | | |
| fool around, to | *-Caparri*(tr) | | *ampak(i)(+-mi)* |
| foot | *kintanga* | | *kintanga* |
| | *mila(m)pora/mala(m)pora* | | *mulapora/malapora* |
| | *mili-* (i.f.) | | |
| football | *yilogha/yilowa* | *yiloya* | *futpol* |
| | (Lit: ´bladder´) | *purrupul(i)* | *parrupul* |
| for (prep) | | | *pu/fu/fo* |
| forehead | *wuratinga* | *awuratinga* | |
| forever | *yiloti* | | *yiloti* |
| forty | | | *foti* |
| four | *yikurri* | *yikurri* | *fo* |
| | *yatawulingirri* | | |
| | *yatapinti* | | |
| fowl | *kirilimunga* | *pawuli* | *hen* |
| | (jungle - ) | *kakalulu* | *jikini* |
| friend | *ma(n)ta-ni,-nga* | | *mata-ni,-nga* |
| friends | *ma(n)tawi, mamanta* | | *matawi, mamata* |
| frightened, to be - | *-wanga* (gen) (+IO prefix) | *-wanga* (vs) | |
| | *-makirri* (gen) | | *makirri(+-mi)* |
| | *makirri(ngi)-* (i.f.) | | *piratin(i)/pratin(+-mi)* |
| | | | *fratin/parrin(+-mi)* |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---|---|---|---|
| frill-necked | *kurupurrani*(m) | | *kurrupur(r)ani* |
| lizard | *kuntamani*(m) | | *kutamani* |
| frog | *arlitirraka*(f) | *alitarraka* | *pirok(i)pirok* |
| | | *ponkiponki* | *frok* |
| from | *(+kapi/kangi)* | *prom* | *from* |
| front (n) | | *frant* | |
| full (of food) | *murlukinya* | *mulukinya* | *ful* |
| funny | *wulijinikimi* | *panupala* | *fani(wan)* |
| future (in - ) | *nguyi/wiyi* | *wiyi/wi* | |
| gaol | | *jeyl* | |
| garden | | *katin* | |
| gate | | *keyt* | |
| generous | *minimarti*(m) | *minimati* | |
| | *minimaringa*(f) | *minimaringa* | |
| | *minimaruwi*(pl) | *minimaruwi* | |
| get, to | *-unga* | *-unga* | |
| | | *kijim(+-mi)* | |
| | | *ketim/kerrim(+-mi)* | |
| get up, to | *-Camarnipa* (gen) | | |
| (itr) | *-Camulupurri* (gen) | *ketap/kerrap(+-mi)* | |
| | *-Cukularri* (gen) | | |
| ghost | *mapurtiti*(m) | *maputiti/maputirri* | |
| | | *moputiti/moputirri* | |
| | *mapurtirringa*(f) | *maputinga* | |
| | *mapurtirruwi*(pl) | *maputuwi/moputuwi* | |
| girl (small) | *ki(ri)jinga* | *ki(ri)jinga* | *kerl* |
| government (man) | *kapimani*(m) | *kapimani* | |
| - (woman) | *kapimaninga*(f) | | |
| - (men) | *kapimanuwi* | | |
| grab, to | *-unga*(tr) | *-unga* | |
| | | *kirapim(+-mi)* | |
| | | *krapim(+-mi)* | |
| grass | *wupunga* | *wupunga* | *kras* |
| grasshopper | *kulaminikimi*(m) | *krasopa* | |
| gravepost | *turtini*(m) | *jimitiriyi* ⎞ *pol* | |
| | *mumpuka* | *simitriyi* ⎠ | |
| greedy | *pu(n)kiri-ni,-ka,-pi* | *pukiri-ni,-ka,-pi* | |
| green | | *krin* | |
| ground | *(ya)kuluwuni*(m) | *(ya)kuluwuni* | |
| | *yarti*(m) | | |
| groundsheet | *tapulini* | | |
| grow up, to | *-kirluwurimi* (gen) | *arikulani(+-mi)* | |
| | | *arikulanga(+-mi)* | |
| | | *arikulapi(+-mi)* | |
| guitar | | *kitaa* | |
| gun | *yanga(n)tuni*(m) | *yangatuni* | *kan* |
| | *jurruwarli*(m) | *jurruwali/thurruwali* | |
| hair | *kayimogha* | | |
| | *murrula* | *murrula* | *heya* |
| halfway | *pirlima* | *apwey/afwey* | |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---|---|---|---|
| half an hour | | | apenawa/afenawa |
| hand | yikara | yikara | |
| | kiri- (i.f) | | |
| happy | kukunari | | kukunari |
| | miringayi | miringayi | |
| | miyingari | | |
| hat | arntuma | arntuma/antuma | at |
| have, to | -(wi)ni (gen) | -wuni | |
| | | | apim(+-mi) |
| he | ngarra | ngarra | arra |
| head | pungi(n)tagha | pungitaa/pungitah | het |
| | tuwuluwa | | |
| hear, to | -pir(n)tangaya(f) | | irim(+-mi) |
| helicopter | | alikopita | elikopta |
| | | alikopirra | alikaparra |
| help, to | -wani(tr) | alipim(+-mi) | |
| | | elpim(+-mi) | |
| here | awungarra | | awarra |
| | ngarra | | arra |
| ((to) here) | na(n)kitagha | nakitah | iya |
| | kitagha | nakitaa | |
| hermit crab | arijilani | | arijilani |
| hey! | aya(m), agha(f) | aya(m),aa/ah(f) | (h)ey |
| | awi(pl) | awi(pl) | |
| hide, to (itr) | -Cajuwurtirramiya (gen) | | ayt(+-mi) |
| (tr) | -Cajuwurtirri(tr) | | aytim(+-mi) |
| | | | atim(+-mi) |
| hiding | | | proprop |
| high | kuriyuwu | | kuriyuwu |
| hill | jipunyini(m) | | il/hil |
| hips | yampo/yampa | | yampa |
| hit, to | -pirni(tr) | -pini | |
| | | | kilim(+-mi) |
| hold, to | -(wi)ni | | olim(+-mi) |
| | | | owlim(+-mi) |
| hold in arms, to | -urta(m)pirri(tr) | -utapirri | |
| hole | yangamini(m) | yangamini | ol/owl |
| holiday | | olitey | |
| hollow log | tingiwini(m) | tingiwuni | |
| home | japuja(m) | japuja | thaputha |
| | tangarima | tangarima | awum |
| honey | yingoti(f) | yingoti | yingorri |
| | tamulanjini | | |
| horse | pika(m) | | pika |
| | partitapartita | patirrapatirra | |
| | | patapatarra | |
| | | patapata | |
| hospital | kapi ngariwunjumuwu ´where we stay when we´re sick´ | ajipitili | ospital |
| | ajipitili | | |
| hot | yikonari | yikonari | ot |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---|---|---|---|
| house | kurrampali | kurrapali | karrapuli |
| | jampaka | japaka | thapaka |
| | pulawujinga | thaputha | aws |
| | ili- (i.f) | | |
| how? | awungana | awana | aw |
| how many? | awunganari | awanari | aw meni |
| hug, to | -urta(m)pirri(tr) | -utapirri | |
| | | | takutapirri(+-mi) |
| hungry | paruwani | | paruwani |
| hunt, to | kularlagha(+-mi) | kulalah(+-mi) | |
| | | kulalaa(+-mi) | |
| | | | antim(+-mi) |
| hunting | | { kulalah | anting |
| | | kulalaa } | |
| husband | -purnayi | | -punayi |
| I | ngiya | ngiya | yiya/ya |
| if | ngini | ngini | yini |
| ill | yijana | | jana/thana |
| immediately | yartipili | | wantaym |
| in | kapi/ngampi | kapi | |
| | kaghi/kangi | ka | |
| Indian | | Intiyen | |
| injection | jakijini | jakijini | thakijima |
| inside | yilaruwu | | yilaruwu |
| into | kapi/ngampi | kapi | intu |
| | kaghi/kangi | ka | |
| is | -mi,-ma | -mi | |
| Japanese | Kurri(n)jakayi(m) | | Kurrithakeyi |
| jealous | marntupungari | matupungari | jalaji } |
| | | | jaleji } |
| jetty | | jeti | |
| juice | arlagha | alah | ala |
| | | alaa | |
| jump | kutupi(+-mi) | | kutup(i)(+-mi) |
| | | | kurrup(+-mi) |
| | | | jamp(+-mi) |
| June | Juwun | | Juwun |
| jungle | yawurlama | yawulama | jankul |
| kick, to | -Canyuwungawu (gen) | | kikim(+-mi) |
| | | | kiki(+-mi) |
| kill, to | -pirni(tr) | -pini | |
| | | | kilim(+-mi) |
| knee | yimpula | yipula | ni |
| knife | yilati | yilati | yilarri |
| | kuwarri(m)pi | lati | larri |
| | | | nayf |
| know, to | -(mungu)majawu (gen) | -majawu | sapi |
| | -mungurumi (gen) | -mathawu | na/nawa |
| land | timani(m) | | timani |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---|---|---|---|
| language | *languwiji* *lankuji* | | *languwij(i)/lankuji* |
| last | | *las* | |
| late | | *leyt* | |
| (too - ) | *tuwiliti* (Eln) | *tu leyt* | |
| later | *arnapini* | *anapini* | |
| | *yintaghi* | | *yintayi* |
| | *nguyi/wiyi* | | *wiyi* |
| laugh | *wuli(n)jini* | *wulijini* | *lap/laf* |
| leaf | *wiyini* | *wiyini* | *liyf* |
| learn, to | *-Cajuwurnikaja* (gen) | | *lern(+-mi)* |
| leave, to | *-Cumori*(tr) | *-Cumori* | |
| | | *lipim(+-mi)* | |
| leg | *yirrikarla* | *yirrikala* | *lek* |
| | *ankili-* (i.f) | | |
| (upper - ) | *yinkala* | | *yikala* |
| (lower - ) | *rapughi* | | *mulapora,malapora* |
| | *(yi)nguwana* | | (TT: foot) |
| let, to (allow) | *ma-* (SBVE) + vb stem | | *letim(+-mi)* |
| | | | *lerrim(+-mi)* |
| letter | | *jurra/thurra* | *leta* |
| lick, to | *-wara*(tr) | | *likim(+-mi)* |
| lie down, to | *-majirripi* (gen) | | *-majirripi* |
| | *-mili* (gen) | | *-mathirripi* |
| | | | *-mili* |
| lie, to | *-kinyani* (gen) | | *kunani(+-mi)* |
| (tell a lie) | *kinyani(+-mi)* | | *kiyemin* |
| lift up, to | *-Camarnipaghi* | *-Camanipawi* | |
| | | *-Camanipayi* | |
| | | | *liftimap(+-mi)* |
| light | *Cirrakirningi-* (i.f) | *layt* | |
| lightning | *pumurali* | *pumurali* | |
| | *mirratani* | *malaratani* | |
| like (similar to) | *nginingaji* | *yiningaji* | *lak/layk* |
| | *ngintuwu* | *ningaji* | |
| like, to | *puranji+* ⎰*-muwu* | | *lakim(+-mi)* |
| | ⎱*-miringarra* | | *laykim(+-mi)* |
| line (n) | | | *layn* |
| line up, to | *-Curnuki* (gen) | | *laynap(i)(+-mi)* |
| lion | | | *layin* |
| listen, to | *-pir(n)tangaya*(f) | | *lijin(+-mi)* |
| | | | *lisin(+-mi)* |
| little | *kirija* | *kiyija* | *kiyitha* |
| (a - bit) | *kiyija* | | |
| live, to | *-miringarra* (gen) | *-miringarra* | |
| | *-muwu* | *-mingarra* | |
| | | *-muwu* | |
| lizard | ⎰*kurupurrani*(m) | *kurrupurrani* | |
| (frill-necked -) | ⎱*kuntamani*(m) | *kutamani* | |
| log | *taka*(f) | *taka* | *lok* |
| | *purinjirringa*(f) | *purijirringa* | |
| (hollow -) | *tingiwini*(m) | *tingiwuni* | |
| lolly (sweet) | | *loli* | |
| | | *mintika* | |
| | | *jokilit* | |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---------|-----|-------------|-------------|
| long | *yirrukuni*(m) | *long* | |
| | *yirruka*(f) | | |
| long time | *yirnukuni* | *yinukuni* | *raythru* |
| long way | *karrampi* | *karrapi* | *raythru* |
| look, to | *-Cingira*(f) | *luk(i)(+-mi)* | |
| look after, to | *-Camangi*(tr) | *-Camangi* | |
| | | *mayntim(+-mi)* | |
| look around, to | *-Cingira*(f) | *luk (a)ran(+-mi)* | |
| look at, to | *-Cakurluwunyi*(tr) | *-Cakuluwuni* | |
| | | *lukim(+-mi)* | |
| look for | *kularlagha(+-ma)* | *kulalaa(+-mi)* | |
| | | *kulalah(+-mi)* | |
| lose, to (tr) | *-Camulinjipamighi*(tr) | *lusim(+-mi)* | |
| | | *lus(+-mi)* | |
| lost, to be - | *-Camulinjipa* (gen) | *-Camulijapa* | |
| lots | *tayikuwani*(m) | *tayikuwapi* | *pik mop* |
| (of things/ | *tayikuwanga*(f) | | |
| people) | *tayikuwapi(pl)* | | |
| lots (of) | *yingarti* | *yingati* | |
| loudly | *makirrana* | *makarrana* | |
| lucky | *piraya* (Elw ´prayer´(?)) | *piraya* | |
| lunchtime | *anjirugha* | *ajiruwa* | *athiruwa* |
| machine | | *mijini* | *meshin* |
| machine gun | | *mijinikani* | *meshin kani* |
| make, to | *-kirimi(itr)* | *-kirimi* | |
| | | *meykim(+-mi)* | |
| male | *awurrini*(m) | | |
| | *jajingarti*(m) | *jajingati* | *thajingati* |
| man | *tini*(m) | *tini* | *men/man* |
| | *awurrini*(m) | *awurrini* | |
| | *jajingarti*(m) | *jajingati* | *thajingati* |
| mango | | *manko* | |
| mangroves | *mirriparinga*(f) | *mirriparinga* | |
| | *pamparinga*(f) | *mirraparinga* | |
| mangrove snake | *minayinka*(f) | *minayika* | |
| | *tunkurninga*(f) | | |
| | *wurupalangati*(m) | | |
| mangrove worm | *yiwurli*(m) | *yuwuli* | |
| | *milipukani*(m) | | |
| | *yirrikala*(m) | | |
| (bitter -) | *wakijapa*(f) | | |
| many (see lots) | | | |
| married (person) | *marritimani* (Elw) | *marritimani* | |
| marry | *marri-+* {*-muwu* | | |
| | CON.M {*-miringarra* | | |
| match | *juluwu* | *juluwu* | |
| | *majiji* | *majij(i)* | *majis* |
| maybe | *arrami* | | |
| | *arramukuta* | *arramukuta* | *amukuta* |
| | *arramingaji* | | *arrakuta* |
| mean, to | | *min(+-mi)* | |
| medicine | *mirrijini* (m) | *mirrijini* | |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---|---|---|---|
| meet, to | *-Capijingi* (gen) (pl subj prefix) | { *-Capijingi* *-Capijiyi* } | |
| | | *mitim(+-mi)* | |
| men | *wawurruwi* | *wawurruwi* | men |
| midday | *anjirugha* | *ajiruwa* | *athiruwa* |
| milk | *pularti*(m) | *pulati* | *miliki* |
| mind, to (look after) | *-Camangi*(tr) | *mayntim(+-mi)* | |
| miracle | *mirrakuli* *mirrakuli (+-kirimi)* | *mirrakuli* | |
| mirror | *ngapunkirrimiya* (Lit: we look closely) | *mira* | |
| misbehave, to | *-Cukuru(n)tipi* (gen) | *kutipi* | |
| | | *ampak(i)(+-mi)* | |
| miss, to (fail to hit) | *kaparli (+-kirimi)* (gen) | *kapala(+-mi)* | |
| | | *mistim(+-mi)* | |
| | | { *mijimila* *misila* } | |
| money | *kuwunawini*(m) | *kunawuni* | |
| | *wurrupiya*(m) | *wurrupiya* | *mani* |
| | *wurrukoti*(m) | | |
| monkey | | *manki* | |
| moon | *japarra*(m) *wurlini*(m) | *japarra* | *thaparra* |
| more (one – ) | | *mo* *yatimo* | *wan mo* |
| morning | *japinari* *(w)ati-* (vbl prefix) | *japinari* | *thapinari* *moning* |
| mother (voc) | *-naringa*(f) *nginari* | *-naringa* | *mami* |
| mothers | *-naruwi* | *-naruwi* | |
| motorboat | | *mutuputi* | *murruputi* |
| motorcar | *ampunguluwurri*(f) | *mutika* | *ka* |
| mountain | | *mantin/mawntin* | |
| mouse | *wuruwataka*(f) | *wurataka* | |
| mouth | *yirripu(n)tara* *upu-* (i.f.) | *yirriputara* | *mawth* |
| move, to | *-kitimurna* (gen) | *mup(+-mi)* | |
| move fast, to | | *flay(+-mi)* | |
| mud | *parrupawurli*(m) *yuwuni*(m) | *parrapawuli* *parrapawuli* | |
| mug | *nyamuli/namuli*(f) (Elw) | *namuli* | *kap* |
| murderer | *martirramani* (Elw) | | |
| music | | *musik* | |
| mussel | *jukorringa*(f) | *jukorringa/thukorringa* | |
| naked | *wawurruwari* | *warruwarila* | |
| name | *yintanga*(f) | *yitanga* | |
| naughty, to be | *-Cukuru(n)tipi* (gen) | *-kutipi* | |
| navy | | *nepi/neypi* | |
| near | *yinkitayi* | *yikitayi* | |
| nest | *maruti*(m) | *nes* | |
| new | *awirank-ini,-a* | *awiranka* | |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---|---|---|---|
| next | yoni(m), (yi)nyonga(f) | | neks/nes |
| next day | pangatupangarri | pangarri | tumora |
| next week | | | nes wik(i) |
| night | japinawamini(m) | japinamini | thapinamini |
| | yartijanga | | yatijanga/yatithanga |
| no | karluwu | | kaluwu/kalu |
| | arnu(n)ka | | |
| nobody | karrikuwa-ni,-nga,-pi | | karrikuwapi/karrikopi |
| none | karrikam-ini,-unga, | karrikamini | nating |
| nose | yirringintamura | yirrintamura | nos |
| | tinkimagha | tingimara | |
| | jinimuli | jinimuli | jinimula |
| not (see no) | | | |
| nothing (see none) | | | |
| now | waya | waya | naw |
| nuisance | | nusini | |
| nun (s) | jija (Elw,f) | jija | sista |
| nuns | jijuwi | | |
| nurse (f) | takutinga (Elw) | tokutinga | tokarringa |
| nut | wurranya | nat | |
| obey, to | kuwa(+-mi) | | pilipim(+-mi) |
| | (Lit: say ´yes´) | | |
| old (man or woman) | yirrula(m), yinjula(f) | | yirrula/yurrula(m) |
| | yinkurti(m), yinkurlinga(f) | | |
| | (ka)kunukurluwi(pl) | | |
| | parlini(m), parlika(f) | | |
| | paparliwi(pl) | | |
| | wulikimani(m), wulikimaka(f) | | wuliman(i)(m) |
| on | kapi/ngampi | kapi | |
| | kangi/kaghi | ka | |
| once (at - ) (see immediately) | | | |
| one | yati(m) | yati(m) | yati |
| | nyatinga/natinga(f) | natinga(f) | wan |
| open, to | -apurtuwa(tr) | | apinim(+-mi) |
| operation | | opireyshin | |
| or | | o | |
| orange (n) | | orinj | |
| other | yoni(m) | yoni(m) | |
| | (yi)nyonga(f) | nyonga(f) | yonga(f) |
| others | yingompa/yingampa | | yingapa/yingopa |
| our(s) | nginingawula(m) | | |
| | (ng)angawula(f) | } angawula | |
| | kapingawula(pl) | | |
| paint, to | jilamara (-kirimi) | | peyntim(+-mi) |
| | (Lit: make colour | | |
| pandanus, small | miyarti(m) | | miyati |
| " " , large | miyaringa(f) | | |
| paper | jurra(m) | jurra/thurra | peypa |
| | punkaringini(m) | | |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | MT (casual/CT) |
|---|---|---|---|
| paper bark, | | | |
|     large tree | *punkaringa*(f), *juma*(f) | | |
|     small tree | *punkaringini*(m) | | |
|     small piece | *punkarti*(m) | | |
|     (or bark apron) | | | |
| parrot | *arntirringarika*(f) | | *a(n)tirringarika*(f) |
| pass, to – by | *-kumori*(tr) | | *pajim pay(+-mi)* |
| | | | *pasim pay(+-mi)* |
| pay, to | | | *pey(+-mi)* |
| pelican | *arlipiwura*(m) | | *pelikan/peliken* |
| | *alikamporni*(m) | | |
| pencil | *pinijili* | *pinijili* | |
| | | *pinjil* | *pensil* |
| people | *tiwi* | *tiwi* | *pipul* |
| | *arikurtumurnuwi* | | |
| perhaps | *arrami* | *arrami* | |
| | *arramukuta* | *arramukuta* | *amukuta* |
| | *arramingaji* | | |
| pick, to | | *pik(+-mi)* | |
|     (choose) | | *pikim(+-mi)* | |
| pick up, to | *-unga* (gen) | *-unga* | |
| | | *pikim ap(+-mi)* | |
| picture | *wurrungorra*(m) | | |
| | *yimanka* | *yimaka* | *pija* |
| | (Lit: shadow, spirit) | | *pikja* |
| pig | *pikipiki*(m), *-uwi(pl)* | *pikipiki*(m), *-uwi(pl)* | |
| | *pangalontinga* | | |
| pillow | *ngarimatirrawulari* | | *pila/pilo* |
| | (Lit: we climb our heads on it) | | |
| pilot (n) | | *palatmen* | |
| pins and needles | *minyika* | *minyika* | |
| pipe | *marupongini*(m) | *maruponguni* | *payp* |
|     (smoking) | *marripongini* | *marruponguni* | |
| | *pajalirri*(m) | *pajatirri* | |
| place | *murrakup(pu)uni* | *ples* | |
| | (country) | | |
| plant, to | *-kijika*(tr) | *plentim(+-mi)* | |
| plate | | *yintangalarri* | *pleyt* |
| play, to | *pokayini* | | *pokayini(+-mi)* |
| | *(-unga)* | | *(wulijini)(+-mi)* |
| | *wulijini* | | *pley(+-mi)* |
| point, to | *-urtimini* | *poyntim(+-mi)* | |
| poke, to | *-urtiyangirri*(tr) | *pukim(+-mi)* | |
| policeman | *ma(n)tatawini*(m) | *majatawini* | *matharrawini* |
| | *ma(n)jatawini*(m) | | |
| policemen | *ma(n)jatawi* | *majatawi* | *matharrawi* |
| possum | *wuninga*(f) | *wununga* | *posum* |
| | *nguninga*(f) | | |
| | *wurriwanjinga* | | |
| potato | *mayilinga* | *mayalunga* | *piteyta* |
| | *jaliwaka* | *roka* | |
| pram | *puja* | *puja* | *pusha* |
| prawn | *mijingarringa* | | *mijingarringa* |
| | *mijingarrima* | | |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---|---|---|---|
| pray, to | *piraya(+-mi)* | *pirayi/prey(+-mi)* | |
| pretend, to | *-kinyani* (gen) | *kunani(+-mi)* | |
| | *kinyani(+-mi)* | | *kiyemin* |
| priest | *ngawarringani* | *ngawarringani pata/fata* | |
| priests | *ngawarringanuwi* | *ngawarringanuw:* | |
| | *pirijuwi* | *prijuwi* | |
| properly | | *pirapili/propili* | |
| pull (along), to | *-kitikimi*(f) | *pulim(+-mi)* | |
| push, to | *-Cangirri*(tr) | *pujim/pushim(+-mi)* | |
| put (down), to | *-urughi(f/tr)* | *putim/purrim(+-mi)* | |
| put into, to | *-Camukurighi*(f) | *-Camukuriyi* | |
| | | | |
| question | | *kweshin* | |
| quickly | *mirarra* | *mirarra* | |
| | *murruka* | *murruka* | |
| | | *murrukala* | |
| | | | |
| race, to | *-kuwuntirri* (gen) | *reys(i)(+-mi)* | |
| race (n) | | *reys* | |
| radio | *walaji*(Eln) | *walaji* | *waylis* |
| rain (n) | *pakitiringa*(m) | *pakitirringa* | *pokutinga* |
| | *yiruwayi*(m) | | *reyn/ren* |
| rain, to | *-Cungoli* (gen) | *-Cungoli* | |
| rainbow serpent | *ampiji* | *apiji* | |
| rat | *wuruwataka* | *wuruwataka* | *wurataka* |
| | | | *rataka* |
| (tree - ) | *yintumunga* | *yitumunga* | |
| read, to | *-ukirrimiya* (gen) | *ritim(+-mi)* | |
| | | *rit(i)(+-mi)* | |
| ready | *riti*(Eln) | *riti* | *reti* |
| record, to (see tape) | | | |
| red | *yaringari* | *yaringa* | *ret(wan)* |
| | *yarini*(m) | | |
| | *yaringa*(f) | | |
| rest, to | *-karuwi* (gen) | *res(+-mi)* | |
| return, to | *-Cakupawurli* (gen) | *-Cakupawuli* | |
| | | *ko pak(+-mi)* | |
| revolver | *tilitilinga* | *rapalupa/rapalapa* | |
| ride, to | | *raytim(+-mi)* | |
| rifle | *jurruwarli* | *jurruwarli* | *thurruwali* |
| | *yangartuwini* | *yangatuwuni* | *yangatuni* |
| ring up, to | | *ring ap(i)(+-mi)* | |
| river | *makatinga* | *makatinga* | |
| road | *jarrumoka* | *jarrumoka* | *tharrumoka* |
| | *pilimunga* | *pilimunga* | *rot* |
| roof | | *ruf* | |
| rope | *arlipurrunga* (vine) | *alupurrunga* | *rop* |
| | *kaya* | *kaya* | |
| rub out, to | *-kurruwa* (gen) | *rapimat(+-mi)* | |
| rubbish | | *rapaji(yi)* | *rapish* |
| rude | | *yimopini* | *rut* |
| | | (´lecher´) | |
| run | *kali(kali)(+-mi)* | *kali(kali)(+-mi)* | |
| | *lu(m)pi(ngi)-* (i.f.) | | |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---|---|---|---|
| sad | aliranga (´shy´) | aliranga | set |
| (be - ) | -kuruporri (gen) | | |
| sail, sailing boat | jimpala | jimpala | |
| salt water | kirririka | | |
| | mirri(m)paka | mirripaka | |
| | winga | winga | |
| same | awarrawanga | awarrawanga | sem |
| sand | tingati | tingati | san/sen |
| | wutuwujini | | |
| | nampirrangini | | |
| Saturday | Jarritiyi | Satutey | |
| sausage | yimata | yimata | sosij |
| | (intestines) | wiyika | |
| say, to | -Cangiragha | -Cangiraa | |
| | | -Cangirah | |
| | -mi | -mi | sey(+-mi) |
| | Cupijinga- (i.f.) | | |
| school | jukurli | jukuli | skul |
| | jurra | | |
| school boy | pirayimani | | skul poy |
| sea | winga | winga | |
| | mirri(m)paka | mirripaka | |
| (open - ) | kipirla | kupuliyama | |
| second | | sekan(i) | |
| see, to | -Cakurluwunyi(tr) | -Cakuluwuni | |
| | aya (gen) | | luk(+-mi) |
| | | | lukim(+-mi) |
| seed | poja | poja/potha | sit |
| sell, to | | selim(+-mi) | |
| send, to | -Cangirri(tr) | sentim(+-mi) | |
| sew, to | -urtiporri | sowimap(+-mi) | |
| | -urtawiya | | |
| shade | marlani | malani | |
| shallow (water) | kiluwunila | shalo/shalow | |
| shark | tartuwali | tatuwali | shak |
| she | nyirra | nyirra | thirra |
| | nyitawa (emph) | | |
| shine, to | kirawi(+-mi) | | |
| | mirlimirri(+-mi) | milimirri(+-mi) | |
| | -kara (gen) | ngirringirri(+-mi) | |
| shiny, shining | ngirringirri | ngirringirri | |
| ship | maratinga | maratinga | |
| | kapalipi | arikulanga kapala ('big boat') | |
| shirt | | shert | |
| shoe(s) | mila(m)porakimi | milaporakimi | |
| | kintangakimi | militamini | |
| | militamuni | mintamuni | |
| shoes | | | shus |
| shoot, to | -kupuri(f) | shutim(+-mi) | |
| | (with spear) | | |
| shop | kayintini | kayintini(i)/keytin | |
| | | jopi | shop |
| | | kawapi | |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---|---|---|---|
| short | *karuwu-ni,-nga* | | *karuwu-ni,-nga* |
| shortcut | | | *tharrukati/tharrukarri* |
| shot gun | *jurruwarli* | | *jurruwali/thurruwali* |
| | *yangartuwuni* | *yangatuni* | *yawutuni* |
| | | | *shot kan* |
| shoulder | *ngimpala* | *yimpala* | *sholta* |
| show, to | | | *jowim/showim(+-mi)* |
| shut, to | *-kilayi*(tr) | | |
| | *nyinta* *kunji* *(+-kirimi)* | | *kunji (+ -kirimi -mi )* |
| shy | *aliranga* | | *aliranga* |
| sick | *yijana* (predve) | | *jana/thana* |
| | *puruwunji-ni,-ka* | | |
| | *wu(n)ji-* (i.f.) | | |
| sing, to | *-kuruwala*(f) | *-kuruwala* | |
| | | | *sing(+-mi)* |
| sing out, to | *kuwayi(+-mi)* | | |
| | *jingawu(+-mi)* | | *jingawu(+-mi)* |
| sink, to | *-Cungarti* (gen) | *-Cungati* | |
| sister, (elder -) | *-yi(m)punga* | | *-(yu)punga* |
| voc: | *yi(m)punga* | | *yupunga* |
| (younger - ) | *-yi(m)poka* | | *poka* |
| | *yi(m)poka* | | *yipoka* |
| sister (nun) | *jita/jija* | *jitha* | *sista* |
| sisters | *jijuwi* | *jijuwi* | |
| sit, to | *-muwu* | *-muwu* | |
| | *-miringarra* | *-mungarra* | |
| | | | *tamu(+-mi)* |
| six | *kiringarra (yati)* | *sis* | *siks* |
| skeleton | *namijipi* | *namajipi* | |
| skirt | *manipirruwa* | *patukuti* | |
| sky | *yinguka* | | |
| | *wa(m)paka* | *wapaka* | *skay* |
| sleep, to | *-majirripi* | *-majirripi* | |
| | *-mili* | *-mili* | |
| | *piyani(+-mi)* | | *payipayi/peypey(+-mi)* |
| | *ungili(m)pangi-* (i.f.) | | |
| slow | *mamana* | | *mamana* |
| small | *ki(ri)ji-ni,-nga* | | *kiji-ni,-nga* |
| | *kaki(ri)juwi(pl)* | | *kakijuwi(pl)* |
| smash (up), to | *-pijighi*(tr) | | *smeshimap(+-mi)* |
| | *-puwuta*(tr) | | |
| | *pomigha* | | |
| smoke (n) (from fire) | *kumurripini*(m) | *jumuki* | |
| smoke (cigarette) | *jumuki* | | *jikiriti* |
| | *pongupongi* | | *pong(u)pongi* |
| snake | *taringa* | *taringa* | *tayinga* |
| (poisonous - ) | *puliyarlinga* | | *puliyalinga* |
| sneak up, to | *jinikini(+-mi)* (Elw) | | *jinikini(+-mi)* |
| | | | *snik ap(+-mi)* |
| so | *api* | | *api* |
| soap | *jikirringini* | *jikirringini* | *sop* |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---|---|---|---|
| sock | *stokin* | | *sok* |
| soft | *jipiti-ni,-ka,-wi* | | *jipitij-ni,-ka* |
| some | *yingampa* | *yingapa* | *sam* |
| | *yingompa* | | |
| somebody | *arramukuwa-ni,-nga,-pi* | | *a(rra)mukuwa-ni,-nga* |
| something | *arramukam-ini,-unga* | | *a(rra)mukam-ini,-unga* |
| | *amukamini*(m) | | *niminaki* |
| | | | *niminayi* |
| sometimes | *yingampini* | | *yingapini* |
| son (f ego) | *-morti* | | *-morti/-moti* |
| (m ego) | *-mirani* | | *-mirani* |
| soon | *ninganinara* | *ninganinara* | *ninganara* |
| | *pangarrinara* | | |
| | *arnapinara* | | *anapini* |
| sore | *(yi)jana* | | *jana/thana* |
| soup | *jupijupi* | *jup(i)* | *sup* |
| speak | *-Cangiragha* (gen) | *-Gangiraa* | |
| | | *-Cangirah* | |
| spear (n) | *numoriyaka* | | *spiya* |
| | (+ a number of specific names) | | |
| spear, to | *-kipuri(f)(+IO)* | *tuli(+-mi)* | *wap(i)mirra* |
| | *turli (+-wurtimi)* | | |
| | *tirriki (+-mi)* | | |
| | *minga (+-mi)* | | |
| spider | *pirraka* | *pirraka* | *(s)payta* |
| | *ponga* | | |
| spill, to | *-Cangimurtighi*(tr) | *jipilim(+-mi)* | |
| | | *spilim(+-mi)* | |
| spirit | *yima(n)ka* | | *yimaka* |
| | *wurrangorra* | *yurrungorra* | |
| | *mapurtiti* | *maputiti* | *maputirri* |
| stand | *-Ci(n)ti* (gen) | *-Ci(n)ti* | |
| | | *tayiti(+-mi)* | |
| | | *teynap(i)(+-mi)* | |
| | | *stenap(+-mi)* | |
| star | *japalinga*(f) | *japalinga* | *thapalinga* |
| start, to | *yi-/wi-* (vbl pref) | *sat/stat* | |
| steal, to | *mitaya(+-ma)* | *-Cakina* | |
| | | *mitaya(+-mi)* | |
| steal from, to | *-Cakinya*(tr)(+ DO) | *mitaya(+-mi) ka/from* | |
| stick | *tangini*(m) | *tangini*(m) | *tangani* |
| (large - ) | *manjanga*(f) | *majanga(f)/mathanga* | |
| | | | *(s)tik* |
| still (yet) | *ninganuwanga* | *{ ninganuwanga }* | *anuwanga* |
| | | *{ nunganuwanga }* | |
| still (adv) | *muya* | *stil* | |
| stingray | *kirluwaringa*(f) | *kuluwarringa* | |
| stone | *waranga* | *waranga* | |
| stop, to (itr) | *-wunjarli* (gen) | *-wujali* | |
| | | *stop(+-mi)* | |
| stop, to (tr) | *-wunjarlamighi*(tr) | *stopim(+-mi)* | |
| story | *ngirramini*(m) | *ngirramini/yirramini* | |
| | *ngarramini*(m) | | *stori* |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---|---|---|---|
| strongly | *makarrana* | *makarrana* | |
| stuck, to be - | *-Camarti* (gen) | *stak(+-mi)* | |
| stupid | *mayali-ni,-nga* | *stupiti/stupirri* | |
| suck, to | | *sakim(+-mi)* | |
| sugar | *tingati* (Lit: sand) | | |
| | *juka* | *juka* | *shuka* |
| sugar bag | *yingoti* | *yingoti* | |
| | (+ number of specific names) | | |
| sugar glider | *rijinga* | *rijinga* | |
| suitcase | { *putumanta* *putamanta* } | *putamata* | *purramata* |
| sun | *warnarringa* | *wanarringa* | |
| | *yiminga* | *yimunga* | *san* |
| | *pukuyi* | | |
| Sunday | *Jurra* | *Jurra/Thurra* | |
| sweat (n) | *kalampara* | *kalapara/kalapora* | |
| swim, to | *morliki(+-mi)* | *moliki/maliki(+-mi)* | |
| sword fish | *jirtaka* | *jitaka* | *soshak* |
| | *tukurruka* | *pikaji* | |
| | | | |
| table | | *teypul(i)* | |
| taboo | *pukumani* | *pukumani* | |
| tail | *tuwara* | *tuwara* | *teyl* |
| | *aripiya* | | |
| take, to | *marri- + -uriyi* (gen) CON.M + ´go´ | *-marriyi* *teykim(+-mi)* | |
| talk, to | *nimarra(+-mi)* | *nimarra(+-mi)* *numarra(+-mi)* *tok(+-mi)* *tokim(+-mi)* | |
| tape, to (record) | { *wa- + -Calami(f)* words + load *(-wayalami)(f)* } | *teypim(+-mi)* | |
| tasty | *kurrupuranji* | *kurrupuraji* | |
| tea | *manguluwuni*(m) | *manguluwuni* | *ti* |
| | *malarri* | *mangala* | |
| tea (leaves) | *malarri* | | |
| | *tilipi* | *tilip(i)* | |
| teach, to | *-piligha*(tr)[2] | *tijim(+-mi)* | |
| | *-waluwa*(tr) | *lernim(+-mi)* | |
| | { *wa- + -iluwa* words + give } | | |
| teacher | *ngini a-wunu-waluwa* (Lit: a man who gives them words) | | |
| | *tija* (Elw) | *tija* | |
| teachers | *kapi wunu-wa-luwa* (Lit: those who give them words) | *tijuwi* | |
| | *tijuwi* (Elw) | | |
| television | | *telupijin* | |
| tell, to | { *-urtiyarra*(tr) *-ujiyarra*(tr) } | *-ujiyarra* *telim(+-mi)* | |
| tent | *tapulini* (Elw) | *tapulini* | *tent* |
| | *wunini (?)* | | |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---------|-----|-------------|-------------|
| that (dem)(dist) | *nginayi* (m) *(ng)anginayi* (f) | *nayi* (m) *a(ngi)nayi* (f) | *nayi (m/f)* |
| (dem)(mid-dist) | *nginiyi* *(ng)anginiyi* | | |
| (def) | *awarra* (m) *awinyirra* (f) | *awarra* (m) *awinyirra* | *arra* *(a)thirra* |
| that way | *awungani* | *awani* | |
| that's all | *waya juwa* | *waya juwa* | *waya thuwa* |
| then (at that time) | *awungarri* | *awarri* | |
| then (next) | *(nin)kiyi* | *(nin)kiyi* | *kiyi* |
| there | *nankitawu* *kitawu* | *nakutawu* *kutawu* | *nakurrawu* |
| there (dist) | *awungarruwu* | *awarruwu* | |
| (mid-dist) | *awungaji* | *awaji* | |
| these (dem) | *kapi(ngi)naki* | *kapinaki* | |
| (def) | *awuta* | *awuta* | *(a)wurra* |
| they | *wuta* | *wuta* | *wurra* |
| (non-past) | *wu-* (vbl pref) | *wu-* | |
| (past) | *pi-* (vbl pref) | *pi-* | |
| thin | *pojali-ni,-nga,-wi* | *pojali-ni,-nga,-wi* | |
| this (dem) | *(ngi)na(n)ki* (m) *(ng)angina(n)ki* (f) *anaki* (f) | *naki* (m) *anaki* (f) | *naki(m/f)* |
| thoroughly | *-anyimi* (vbl suff) | | *rajrru(wu)/rathrru(wu)* |
| those (dem)(dist) | *kapi(ngi)nayi* *ngampunginayi* | *kapinayi* | |
| (mid-dist) | *kapi(ngi)niyi* *ngampunginiyi* | | |
| three | *yirrajirrima* (m) *jajirrima* (f) *yuwurrajirrima(pl)* | *yirrajirrima* *yirrathirrima* | *yiyathirrima* *thrriyi* |
| throat | *miraka* | *miraka* | |
| throw, to | *-unyawu* (gen) | *-unyawu* *-unawu* | |
| | *-Cakitiringa* (tr) | *-Cakitirringa* | |
| | | *jakim(+-mi)* | |
| thumb | *kirikurti* | *tam/tham* | |
| tickle, to | | *tikilim(+-mi)* | |
| tiger | | *tayka* | |
| time | | *taym* | |
| tin | *wilijinga* | *wulijinga* | *tin* |
| tired | *janawurti* | *janawuti* *thanawuti* | *tayit* |
| to | *kapi/ngampi* *kaghi/kangi* | *kapi* *ka* | |
| tobacco | *pongupongi* *mirrawu* *kupu-* (i.f.) | *paki* | |
| today | *ningani* | *ningani* | |
| together | *Camuki-* (i.f.) | *wulikija/wulikitha* | |
| tomorrow | *pangarri* | *pangarri* | *tumorra* *tomora* |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---|---|---|---|
| too | wurarri/wiyarri | wiyarri | |
| | -tuwu (clitic) | -tuwu (clitic) | |
| tooth | yinkana | yikana | |
| top (on - ) | kuriyuwu | kuriyuwu | an tap/on top |
| torch | jurrumumikimi | jurrumumi(kimi) | toj(i) |
| | | | tojila(yi)rri |
| towel | tawuli | tawuli | |
| tractor | milampora(wa)ma(f) | mulaporama | trekita |
| | | yikanamila | trekta |
| tree | purinjirringa(f) | purijirringa/purithirringa | |
| | taka(f) | taka | |
| tremble, to | pulingiya(+-mi) | pulingiya(+-mi) | |
| trousers | jaliwarra(f) | jaliwarra/thaliwarra | tharriwala |
| | | | trajij/trasis |
| try, to - | (w)a- (vbl pref) | (w)a- | |
| | | | tra/tray |
| turn, (to - over) | -Caja(m)purni(tr) | opa(+-mi) | |
| turn (n) | | mup | |
| turtle | jarrikarlani | jarrikalani/tharrakalani | |
| | | thakalani | |
| | manipiri(yi) | manipiri(yi) | |
| | kitungarruwu | kituwarruwu | |
| | kitirika (+ other | | |
| | specific names) | | |
| two | yirrara(m) | yirrara/yurrara | |
| | yinjara(f) | | |
| | yuwurrara(pl) | yuwurrara | tu |
| under | yilaruwu | anta | |
| up | kuriyuwu | kuriyuwu | ap |
| urine | pojini | pojini | |
| urinate, to | -Cungoli (gen) | pojini(+-mi) | |
| use, to | | yujim (+-mi) | |
| | | yusim | |
| visitor | mamparang-ini,-a | | |
| | Canuwuju- (i.f.) | pisitrey | |
| wait, to | -inyuki (gen) | wayiti/weyt(i)(+-mi) | |
| wait for, to | -Canyuki(tr) | wayiti/weyt(+-mi)(+fu/fo) | |
| wait! | arnapa | anapa | |
| walk, to | -Cangurlimayi (gen) | -Cangulimayi | |
| | | wokapat(i)(+-mi) | |
| wallaby | jipojirringa(f) | jupojirringa | |
| | jirraka(m) | jirraka | |
| | pojimolintiya | | |
| | anjora(m) | ajora/athora | |
| (live - ) | piyontingi- (i.f.) | | |
| (dead - ) | wuliyonji(ngi)- | | |
| | ngiliyonji(ngi)- | | |
| (baby - ) | pakija(m)pura[3] | jowi | |
| want, to | -itimar(n)ti (gen) | wantim/wanim(+-mi) | |
| wash (tr), to | -wunyirra(tr) | wajim/washim(+-mi) | |
| wash (itr), to | -wunyirraya (gen) | moliki(+-mi) | |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---|---|---|---|
| waste, to | | weystim(+-mi) | |
| watch, to | | wajim(+-mi) | |
| watch out! | arrarna | arrana | |
| water (fresh) | kukuni | kukuni | wata/warra |
| water (salt) | mirripaka | mirripaka | |
| | winga | winga | |
| wave, to | -piyanguwa | weypim(+-mi) | |
| we | ngawa | (ng)awa | |
| (you & I) | muwa | | |
| Wednesday | Waniji(yi) | Wenestey | |
| wet | kukunila | kukunila | wet |
| wet, to | -Cukomi(tr) | (wetim/werrim)(+-mi) | |
| what? | awungana | awana | |
| (which one?) | kamini(m) | kamini | |
| | kamunga(f) | kamunga | |
| when | karri (conj.) | karri (conj.) | |
| when? | awungarri | awarri | |
| where? | maka | maka | |
| which? | kamini(m) | kamini(m) | |
| | kamunga(f) | kamunga(f) | |
| which (rel pn) | ngini(m) | yini(m) | |
| | (ng)angi(f) | angi/anga(f) | |
| white (person) | murru(n)ta-ni,-ka | murruta-ni,-ka | |
| (light-coloured) | (ma)murru(n)tawi(pl) | murrutawi | |
| who? | kuwa-ni,-nga,-pi | kuwa-ni,-nga,-pi | |
| who (rel pn) | ngini(m) | yini(m) | |
| | (ng)angi(f) | angi/anga(f) | |
| | kapi/ngampi(pl) | kapi(pl) | |
| why? | kama | kama | |
| wife | -purnayinga | -punayinga | |
| will (future) | | wiyi | |
| win, to | -kumori(tr) | win(+-mi) | |
| wind | wuni(n)jaka(f) | wunijaka/wunithaka | |
| | | win | |
| window | | winto | |
| wipe, to | -wunirraya (gen) | waypim(+-mi) | |
| wireless | waliji(yi) | waliji(yi) | waylis |
| with | ma(rri)- (vbl pref) | wutiriyi | |
| | | wuta/wurra | |
| | | with(i) | |
| woman | yimparlinya | yipalinya | |
| | tinga | tinga | wuman |
| women | mamirnikuwi | maminikuwi | |
| wood (of tree) | purnikapa(f) | wut | |
| wood, firewood | yikoni | | |
| (large) | wantanga(f) | | |
| (small) | wantangini(m) | | |
| work (n) | waki | wak(i) | werk |
| work, to | -Cumurrumi (gen) | | |
| | wak(i)(+-mi) | wak(i)(+-mi) | |
| worry, to | warri(+-mi) | warri(+-mi) | |
| write, to | -(ij)ilarlinga (gen) | | |
| | jurra(+-kirimi) | raytim(+-mi) | |
| | ('paper' + 'make') | | |

| ENGLISH | TT | MT (formal) | (casual/CT) |
|---------|-----|------------|-------------|
| yam | *murani*(m) | | |
| | *muranga*(f) | | *muranga* |
| year | *pakitiringa* ('rain') | | *yiya* |
| yellow | *arrikirninga* | *arrikuninga* | *yela* |
| yes | *kuwa* | | *kuwa* |
| yesterday | *awurlagha* | | |
| | *japini* | | *japini/thapini* |
| | *nangu(n)ji* | *nanguji* | *nawuji* |
| yet (still) | *ninganuwanga* | | *ninganuwanga* ⎫ |
| | | | *anuwanga* ⎬ |
| you (sg) | *nginja* | | *yija/yitha* |
| | | | *ja/tha* |
| you (pl) | *nuwa* | *nuwa* | *nu* |
| young | *kiriji-ni,-nga* | | *ki(yi)ji-ni,-nga* |
| | *kiyiji-ni,-nga* | | |
| | *kaki(ri)juwi(pl)* | | *kakijuwi* |
| young man | *jajingarti* | | *jajingati/thajingati* |
| | *malakaninga* | *malakaninga* | *yang fela* |

## NOTES ON APPENDIX 1

1. See 3.2.6, p.98.

2. There are a number of forms given with the basic stem such as: *-kiripiligha* (Osborne 1974:154) 'teach [to do something with the hands(?)]', *-Cajipiligha* (NgNg:73) and *-mingirripiligha* (from a text).

3. This term is also used for baby possums and bandicoots. I am not sure if the MT term *jowi* is also used for these.

A selection of texts is given showing the various styles along the continuum of the verbal repertoire of the Tiwi speech community. The texts chosen are basically narrative style, though some of the later ones have conversation in them (interpolations by other speakers). For this reason, the TT text and the ones which are slightly less traditional do not contain the verbal or syntactical complexity which occurs in other types of discourse, such as hortatory discourse.

Texts A and B represent TT, given by men over forty. These are from Godfrey's data but the morpheme breaks are my own, and the glosses a mixture of Godfrey's and mine. For other TT texts, see Osborne 1974:79-114.

Text C represents a style less traditional, in that it contains no incorporated forms, but it still retains the minimal-augmented pronominal system of TT (see Table 1.1). This is given by the same speaker as Text B, but it is spoken for a younger audience, being a story told for use as reading material at the school.

Texts D and E are given by young people in their early twenties or late teens, and while basically traditional, there are some differences and the verb forms are not as complex, in that, there are no incorporated forms, the only verbal prefixes indicate subject person and tense, (though other texts by the same speakers do contain some other prefixes), and the verb stems used are fairly common ones. Text E contains some interpolations by children in children's Tiwi.

Texts F and C are basically MT, one being given by a boy of twelve, the other by a girl of eight.

Text H is basically casual MT, i.e. normally with no auxiliaries given for the free verbs. It is given by a boy of ten.

The texts A to H are, in general, monologues given in formal settings. So the eight year old girl and the twelve year old boy give a simple style of MT which is their more formal style of Tiwi. It is not certain whether the boy who gave text H knows and is able to produce a more formal style of Tiwi. Since he comes from a family in which some of the young members (including his mother and aunt, both in their twenties) normally do not speak a style much closer to TT, this is possibly his most formal Tiwi style, though he probably understands other styles.[1]

In text J, while being in a formal setting, i.e. at preschool, the speech and structure is basically casual MT, given by a young teacher's aide to a class of preschoolers. There are some interpolations from children within the text, usually as responses to questions asked.

Text K is a brief excerpt of a conversation between two four year old preschool boys, at the preschool but playing on their own outside. It is in a children's style of Tiwi-English.

TEXT A (TT)       'CHASED BY A COW'     (RA)

Awarra ngi - mpi - yi - wa    - yalam - ami karri ngiya pirayi - mani,
that(m) I   - NP:f - ICVE - words - load - MV  when I      prayer - man

karri ngawa ngi    - nti - pukurutup - ani,  karri ngawa kakirijuwi
when we    we(excl) - P   - misbehave - P:HAB when we    children

ngi       - ntu - wutumart - ani   arramukamin - awurti    pokayini
we(excl) - P   - want      - P:HAB something(m) - all:kinds play

ngi       - nti - mi       - ma    - jila$^2$ - mini;  api nyirra - tuwu pokayini
we(excl) - P   - her(IO) - CON.M - do(?)  - P:HAB well she     - TOP  play

ngi       - ntu - wa    - ngin    - ta    - ma   - jila awinyirra jarranga
we(excl) - P   - FRUST - her(IO) - EMPH - CON.M - do(?) that(f)   cow

pili     nyirra-moringa ju        - wurtiyi api nyirra ji   - yi - ma -
because her   -daughter she:her:P - bear:child well she     she:P - CV - CON.M -

jangu - rrurlighi nyirra - morti, awarra kiyijini   jarrangini.$^3$ Nyirra
baby  - growl     her    - son    that(m) small(m)  bull             she

jiyimajangurrurlighi. Manya   pokayini ngi     - ntu - wa   - ngirri
she:with:baby:growled alright play    we(excl) - P   - FRUST - her(IO)

ma    - jil  - apa$^4$ nyirra arnuka pokayin - apa    ngini ji   -
CON.M - do(?) - FOCUS she    not    play     - FOCUS COMPR she:P -

muwunu - kuwina. Kali ngi      - nti - makirri - ngi - m  - apa   ngini
us(DO) - chase   run we(excl) - P   - fright - CV - do - FOCUS COMPR

'Yita   waya yinkitayi a   - mpi - ni - wuji - ngi - lupu - ja.'
listen! now  close     she - NP - DIR - DUR  - CV - run  - about:to:go

Ngi - ri - mi. Kalikali ngi - ri - m  - apa   ngi - rri - ngi$^5$
I   - CV  say   run      I   - CV - do - FOCUS I   - P   - ?

ma    - yawulari  minkagha. Kutupi ngi - ri - mi maringarruwu.
fright - climb     fence     jump   I   - CV - do other:side

Nyirra - tuwu awungarruwu ji    - pakupawurli. Wuta - tuwu yingompa
she    - TOP  there        she:P - go:back       they - TOP  others

ngiya - mamanta, wuta - tuwu pi   - ti - ri - ma   - yajuwurtirri kangi
my    - friends  they - TOP  they:P - P:f - CV - bush - hide         PREP

a  - ri - ma   - ji - kuwa - yiti. Waya juwa awungarruwu.
he - CV - CON.M - on - fruit - stand now  end  there

'I am starting to record that story of when I was a school boy, when we used to be naughty, when we children wanted to play with all sorts of animals. Well we tried to play with a cow because she had had a calf; but she protected

her calf, that small bull. She protected it. We went ahead and tried to play
with her but she wouldn´t play and she chased us. We ran because we were
frightened and I said "She is getting closer". I ran in fright and climbed a
fence. I jumped down on the other side. As for her, she went back. As for my
other friends (or some of my friends), they hid in fright among the fruit
trees. That´s all now.´

TEXT B (TT)      ´HOW WE CAMPED ON THE WAY TO A DISTANT PLACE´   (DK)

```
Parlingarri karri ngi       - nti - ri - ma    - jakuji - rrangurlimay - ani
long:ago     when  we(excl) - P   - CV - CON.M - family - walk          -P:HAB

wurarripi                       api awungarra ngi      - ntu - wuripura - mini.
people:with:lots:of:children    well here      we(excl) - P   - leave    - P:HAB

Ngi      - nti - pangurlimayi, japinari ngi      - nti - wati - pangurlimay -
we(excl) - P   - walk           morning  we(excl) - P   - morn - walk -

ngi, ngi       - nti - wati - ngilipangi - rrangurlimay - ani    api
P:HAB we(excl) - P   - morn - sleep       - walk         - P:HAB well

Pipiyanyumuli awungaji ngi      - nti - pamuk    - urugh - ani. Nginingaji
Pipiyanyumuli there    we(excl) - P   - together - put   - P:HAB about

namurruputi api  awungaji ngi       - nti - ri - ki - yamuk   - urugh -
supper:time well there    we(excl) - P   - CV - eve - together - put   -

ani. Kuyi makatinga, api  awungaji japuja yi  - ma     - mini.
P:HAB PREP river      well there    camp  he:P - become - P:HAB

Natinga ngi      - nti - ri - majirrip - ani.  Kiyi yinkiti ngi      -
one(f)  we(excl) - P   - CV - sleep    - P:HAB then food(m) we(excl) -

rri       - pungi - pirn - ani, wuninga wuta yilinga       wuta
P:him(DO) - away  - catch - P:HAB possum and  carpet:snake and

yingoti. Awungaji ngi       - nti - ri - marr - awurri - majirrip - ani
bush:honey there   we(excl) - P   - CV - CON.M - belly  - sleep    - P:HAB

natinga wumunga. Ninkiyi japinari ngi      - ntu - wati - ngilipangi -
one     day       then    morning  we(excl) - P   - morn - sleep      -

rramilipur - ani,  ngi       - nti - wati - ngilipangi - rrangurlimay -
get:up     - P:HAB we(excl) - P   - morn - sleep       - walk         -

ani    japinari. Ngi      - nti - pangurlimay - ani  - apa,  ninkiyi
P:HAB morning   we(excl) - P   - walk         - P:HAB - FOCUS then

yinkiti ngi      - rri       - pungi - pirn - ani  pirlima. Wuta
food    we(excl) - P:him(DO) - away  - catch - P:HAB half:way them

yingoti    wuninga awuta ngi      - nti - wuni - pirn - ani, ninkiyi
bush:honey possum  those we(excl) - P   - them - catch - P:HAB then

papi   ngi      - nti - ri - m  - ani Tumorripi.  'Awungarra
arrive we(excl) - P   - CV - do - P:HAB Tumorripi       here
```

```
nga      - ri - marr  - awurri - majirripi.'  ngi      - nti - ri - m   - ani,
we(incl)- CV - CON.M - belly  - sleep       we(excl) - P   - CV - say - P:HAB
```

```
'Kaghi kukuni awungarra nga      - nti - ri - ki - yamuk    - urughi.'
PREP   water here      we(incl) - P   - CV - eve - together - put
```

```
Awungaji Ngi      - nti - ri - majirrip - ani.   Ninkiyi, japinari
there    we(excl) - P   - CV - sleep    - P:HAB  then     morning
```

```
ji     - ni  - watu - wukirijim - ani,  tuwawanga
she:p - LOC - morn - rise       - P:HAB again
```

```
ngintiwatingilipangirramilipurani,
we:would:get:up:while:(others):sleeping:in:morning
```

```
ngintiwatingilipangurrangurlimayani.6 ...
we:would:in:morning:(others)sleeping:walk
```

´Long ago, when we used to travel on foot with the family, well, we would
leave from here.  We walked, we would walk in the morning while others were
asleep, well there, at Pipiyanyumuli, we would make camp.  About supper time we
would camp at that place.  It was at the river there we would camp.  For one
night we´d sleep there.  Then we would get food in the bush, (such as) possum,
carpet snake and bush honey.  There we would sleep one night with full
stomachs.  Then in the morning we´d get up while others were still asleep, and
we´d walk in the morning while everyone else would be asleep.  As we walked, we
would catch food on the way; bush honey and possum was what we´d get, then we
would arrive at Tumorripi.  "Here we´ll sleep with full stomachs," we´d say,
"Here, at the water, we´ll make camp." There we would make camp in the evening.
Then in the morning the sun would rise again and we´d get up while others were
still sleeping and we would walk while others were asleep....´

TEXT C (LTT)     ´THE DOG AND THE BUFFALO´   (DK)

```
Parlingarri awuta ngarra - mani      pulangumoni amintiya jarrangini.
long:ago    those his    - friend(m) dog(m)      and      buffalo
```

```
Yu   - wurtiyarra ngarra - mani   ngatawa jarrangini, yi   - mi, awungani
he:P - tell       his    - friend he:EMPH buffalo     he:P - say like:that
```

```
'mu       - wuja kularlagha, muwa    - tuwu yinkiti,' yi   - mi. Ngarra
we(min) - go   hunt        we(min) - TOP  food      he:P - say  he
```

```
awarra yi   - mi, ngarruwu pulangumoni. Partuwa pu      - rru - wuriyi,
that(m) he:P - say he:there dog          after:that:they:P - P   - go
```

```
pu     - rru  - wurnayi kawarri. Yi   - mi ngarra pulangumoni, 'Aya,
they:P - P:him - find   goanna    he:P - say he    dog           hey(m)
```

```
muwa     - tuwu ngarra kawarri' yi   - mi. 'Ayi, muwa     piraya,' yimi
we(min)- TOP  here   goanna  he:P - say yes  we(min) lucky   he:said
```

```
jarrangini. ´Api nginja ta      - pirni´ yimi      pulangumoni.
he:there buffalo     well you(sg) IMP(sg) - kill   he:said dog
```

```
'Karluwu, ngiya arikulani. Api nginja ta      - pirni, nginja kiyijini.'
no        I     big(m)     so  you(sg) IMP(sg) - kill   you(sg) small(m)
```

*Partuwa,   ngarra yi  - pirni pulangumoni awarra  kawarri.  Partuwa,*
after:that he     he:P - kill  dog              that(m) goanna    after:that

*pu     - rru - wuriyi, pu     - tu  ~ pumuti     yikoni, pu     - rru -*
they:P - P      go       they:P - p:f - light:fire fire    they:P - P     -

*pawumi.  Api ngarra jarrangini yu  - wapa wiyika     amintiya*
cook     well he    buffalo     he:P - eat  intestines and

*tuwuluwa, amintiya jukotanga, ngarra - tuwu pulangumoni yu - wapa*
head      and      back        he      TOP  dog          he:P - eat

*yinkala yirrara amintiya tuwarra.  Pu     - rru - wapa, pu     - ru -*
leg     two      and     tail       they:P - P   - eat   they:P - CV -

*murlikiyi.  Api yimi    ngarra jarrangini 'Waya mu       - ru -*
be:full    so  he:said he    buffalo     now  we(min) - CV -

*murlikiyi, waya mu      - wuja tangarima.'  'Ayi, manya    awarra,'*
be:full    now  we(min) - go   camp           yes  go:ahead that

*yimi    ngarruwu pulangumoni.  Partuwa    pu     - rru - wuriyi,*
he:said he:there dog            after:that they:P - P   - go

*pi     - rri - papirraya ngampi wutawa japuja, Tarntipi awungarruwu papi*
they:P - P   - go:down   go     their  home    Turntipi there        arrive

*pi    - ri - mi.*
they:P- CV - do

    ´Long ago there were a dog and a buffalo who were friends.  The big one,
the buffalo, said to his friend, "Let´s go hunting food for us both," he said.
He said it to the other one, the dog.  After that, they went and found a
goanna.  The dog said, "Hey, there´s something for us, a goanna," he said.
"Yes, we´re lucky," said that buffalo.  "Well, you kill it, you´re small."
After that the dog killed the goanna.  After that they went and they built a
fire and they cooked it.  Well, the buffalo ate the intestines, the head and
the back.  As for the dog, he ate the two legs and the tail.  They ate until
they were full.  "Well," said the buffalo, "now we are full, let´s go home."
"Yes, let´s do that," said the dog.  After that, they went, they went down to
their home.  They arrived over there at Tarntipi.´

TEXT D (LTT)    ´WHEN I WAS SCARED´   (CP19)

*Ngi - ntu - wuriyi mirraparinga nginti[7] yingompa mamirnikuwi*
we  - P   - go     mangroves    ?        some    women

*ngi - nti - papirraya; kularlagha ngi - nti - ri - mi[8] piranga.*
we  - P   - go:down    hunt       we  - P   - CV - do    whelks

*Ngi - ntu - wampa yuwurli.         Ngintuwuriyi wulanga, ngintuwuriyi wulanga*
we  - P   - eat   mangrove:worm  we:went      crab     we:went      crab

*kiyi ngiya wangata ngu - wuja      ngi - rri[9] - papijingi taringa,*
then I     alone   I   - about:to:go I   - P      meet       snake

```
puliyarlinga.    Kuta maka ji    - mi angilawa yimunga kiyi kuwayi
poisonous:snake maybe where she:p - go my         spirit  then call:out

ngi - ri - mi. Ngiya - mamanta kali pi    - ri - mi kiyi ngi - nti - ri -
I   - CV - do  my     - friends run they:p - CV - do then I   - P   - CV -

pirni nyirra, awinyirra taringa.  Ninkiyi ngu - nt - ujiyarra japuja.
kill  her     that(f)   snake     then    we  - P  - say/tell home

Ngi - nti - papurti warta.  Ngu - ntu - wuriyi, ngintipapurti warta
we  - P   - go:up   bush    we  - P   - go      we:went:up     bush

kiyi nguntuwuriyi japuja.
then we:went      home
```

   'We went to the mangroves, that is some of us women went down; we hunted
for whelks. We ate some mangrove worms. We went and we ate (as we went?). We
went for crabs, we went for crabs and I was going along alone when I met a
snake, a poisonous snake. I was so scared (Lit: I don't know where my spirit
went) and then I called out. My friends ran up and we killed it, that snake.
Then we said, "Let's go home." We went up to the bush. We went up to the bush
and then we went home.'

TEXT E (LTT)     'MAKING BREAD'    (MP22)
         (A picture talk on a book about making bread)

```
Aringampirra. (child: Wuta ko payipayi.)  Ta      - muwu kutaa
move:over!            they go sleep        IMP(sg) - sit  here

(child: Tamuwu kanayi.)  Ngiya karluwu wantim nuwa    nimarra, ngini
        sit!   there     I     not     want   you(pl) talk     if

ngarra nimarra arramukuwani api  ngarra tayinti.  Nyi     - rra    - muwu
he     talk    someone      well he     stand      you(pl) - IMP(pl) - sit

nginingaji naki, nginingaji ngiya.  Api  kiyi ngajirri nimarra, marri.
like       this  like       me      well then don't    talk     alright

Naki api  kamini awarra manya?  (child: Kirritawini)  Ngarra naki   ngini
this well what   that   go:ahead         bread                he     this(m) about

kirritawini amitiya ngini wu     - ri - kirimi kirritawini.  (children
bread       and     about they:NP - CV - make   bread

calling out)  Ngajirri awungani.  Ngini ngarra awungani   arramukuwani
              don't    like:that   if    he     like:that  someone

tuwanga api  ngarra tayinti.  Manya   nyirra - naringa anaki    kiyijinga
again   well he     stand     alright her    - mother  this(f)  girl

api ji    - pawurinji yilaruwu kapi shop kiyi ju      - wunga naki
well she:P - go:in     inside   PREP shop then she:P  - get    this

kirritawini.  Arikulani awarra  shop ngini     murruntaini kirritawini
bread         big(m)    that(m) shop which(m)  white(m)    bread(m)
```

*amitiya kiyija     tuniwuni kirritawini.  Nginaki kirritawini wulikija*
and     little:bit black(m) bread       this(m) bread         all

*awarra.  (pointing to one type of bread) (child: Awa apim awarra)  Ngini*
that(m)                                         we  have that        which(m)

*yilaruwu api  jipitini, way - ana? (child: Kuwa, kuwa, awa purrim parra.)*
inside   well soft       now - Q            yes,  yes,  we  put    butter

*Arnapa kayi.    Anaki    kijinga api  puranji a  - mpi - ri - muwu*
wait   listen!  this(f) girl     well like    she - NP  - CV - do

*way - ana?  Nyirra amungom kirritawini.  (child: Thirra*
bread        now - Q   she     eat    bread                    she

*paruwani)  Api  kiyi kapi nginaki kirritawini, nga      - pamukuriyi*[10]
hungry      well then PREP this    bread        we(incl) - put

*parra.  Naki, nyirra - naringa amitiya nyirra - rringani, api  wuta*
butter  this  her    - mother  and     her    - father    well they

*puranji wu      - ri - muwu kirritawini wurarri nginingaji anginaki*
like    they:NP - CV - do   bread       also    like       this(f)

*kiyijinga awungani.  Naki kirritawini api  pakinya wunga    kanijawa api*
girl      like:that  this bread       well first   they:get flour    well

*wu      - ri - kirimi kirritawani.  Naki flawa, flawa, api  wunga    kapi*
they:NP - CV - make   bread         This flour  flour  well they:get PREP

*wit.  Api  nginingaji wupunga awungani.  Pakinya wit  wunga.   api*
wheat well like       grass   like:that  first   wheat they:get well

*wu      - ri - kirimi flawa kiyi kirritawini wu      - ri - kirimi*
they:NP - CV - make   flour then bread       they:NP - CV - make

*awungani.  Naki, yingarti wupunga api  wit   awarra.  Awarra  murrakupuni*
like:that  This, lots     grass   well wheat that      that(m) country

*Keneta. ... awarra  yoni, yoni.  Awarra murrakupini karrampi. ... Naki*
Canada      that(m) different(m) that   country     far:away      this

*purrawukununga, ninkiyi nginaki tangini, ngarra - tuwu naki   sit,*
ear             then    this(m) stick(m) he     - TOP  this(m) seed

*poja, yilaruwu.  Nyirra - tuwu naki mutika anaki   arikulanga Anaki*
seed  inside      she    - TOP  this car(f) this(f) big(f)     this(f)

*milampor - ama    a  - mpi - ri - wawurrini*[11] *naki.  Ninkiyi papi*
foot     - INTENS he - NP  - CV - cut             this(m) then   come:out
(tractor)
*a - ri - mi kuriyuwu a  - mpawurinji kapi nyonga  mutika.*
he - CV - do above    she - go:in     PREP other(f) car(f)

´Move over! (child: "They´re going to sleep") Sit down here! (child: "Sit
there!") I don´t want you to talk.  Whoever talks will have to stand.  Sit like
this, like me.  Well, don´t talk, O.K.? This here, well, what is this?

(children: "Bread") This (story) is about bread and about them making bread.
(children calling out) Don´t do that! Anyone who does that will have to stand.
O.K., this girl´s mother has gone into the shop then she has bought this bread.
It´s a big shop which has white bread and a little bit of brown bread.  There´s
a lot of this kind (pointing to one kind).  (child: "We have that.") The inside
of it is soft, isn´t it? (child: "Yes, yes, we put butter (on it).") Wait a
minute, listen! This little girl likes bread, isn´t that so? She´s eating some
bread.  (child: "She´s hungry.") Well then, on this bread we put butter.  Here
(in this picture), her mother and her father, well, they like bread also, like
the girl does.  This bread, well, first they get flour and then they make
bread.  This flour, well, they get it from wheat.  Well, it´s like grass, like
that.  First they get wheat, then they make flour, then they make bread like
that.  This big lot of grass here is wheat.  That country is Canada.  It´s
another country.  It´s far away. (There is) this ear, then this stick, and
inside there is this seed.  As for this, it´s a big vehicle.  This big tractor
cuts this.  Then it comes out of the top and goes into another truck. ...´

TEXT F  (MT)     ´THE BIG GORILLA´     (A story about a film – RJ12)

    (In parts the text or meaning is not clear and these parts are left out)

*athirra anayi*[12] *murrukupora thirra   (naringa?) karri luk  yi – nti –*
that(f) that(f)  girl        she/her mother?   when  look we – P   –

*ri – mi kapi yimaka.  Athirra murrukupora kijinga   ji    – mi kiyi*
CV – do PREP film     that(f) girl         small(f) she:P – be and

*(athirra) neyi     arra yoni    thirra – yuwuni        arikulani yi   – mi.*
(that(f)) that(m) he   other(m) her   – older:brother big(m)    he:P – be

*Kiyi wurra – lathirri arikulapi pi     – ri – mi.  ... Kiyi yi   –*
then they – RECIP    big(pl)   they:P – CV – be       then he:P –

*nuriyi*[13]  *awarra   kirila   arikulani tini ... Kiyi kijim yi  –  mi athirra*
come       that(m) gorilla big(m)    man  ... then get    he:P – do that(f)

*yipalinya.  Kiyi athirra      (kiyi) yi  – marriyi ka   keyp kiyi ...*
woman       then that:one(f) (um)  he:P – take   PREP cave then

*arikulanga ji   – mi awaji (kapi) ka   athirra keyp.  From awarra kirila*
big(f)     she:P – be there PREP PREP the(f)  cave   from the(m) gorilla

*yi  – pakirayi niminaki yikiti.  Kiyi kam  yi   – mi malakaninga kiyi*
he:P – give     something food    then come he:P – do young:man    then

*arra tray luk aran   kapi awurra yingompa men,  api papi    yi   – mi*
he   try  look around PREP those  other(pl) men  well come:out he:P – do

*awarra arikulani kirila.  Kiyi yi   – pini malakaninga kiyi kam  ji   –*
the(m) big(m)    gorilla  then he:P – hit  young:man    then come she:P –

*mi murrukupora kiyi stop yi   – mi  naki arikulani kirila, kiyi putim*
do young:woman then stop he:P – do  this big(m)    gorilla  then put

*yi   – mi yikara tan.  Api kam  ji   – mi yipalinya, ji       –*
he:P – do hand   down  well come she:P – do woman       he:her:P –

```
pamanipayi¹⁴.   Putim ji   - mi ka   yikara, kiyi yi  - marriyi kapi
lift:up         put   she:p - do PREP hand    then he:P - take    PREP
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```
athirra ka keyp kiyi awarra      (kiyi) peta  yi  - mi (kiyi).  Kiyi
the(f)  to cave then that:one(m) (um)   better he:P - do (um)     then
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```
athirra yipalinya ji   - marriyi ka    jankul, ka   yawulama. Kiyi thirra
the(f)  woman     she:P - take   PREP  jungle  PREP jungle    then she
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```
showim kapi thirra - naringa pajuwani ji   - mi. Api  kiyi pilikiti ji    -
show   PREP her    - mother  die      she:P - do well then cry      she:P -
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mi kiyi ju   - wuriyi thaputha. Juwuriyi thaputha. (kiyi) Waya
do then she:p - go     home      she:went home      (um)   now
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```
awarruwu kiyi. Kiyi neks moning, karri moning, kiyi pu      - wuriyi
there    then  then next morning when  morning then they:P - go
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yawulama tuwanga. Kiyi seyi athirra yipalinya kapi malakaninga, kapi
jungle   again    then say  the(f)  woman     PREP young:man      to
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```
awarra,       'Tha   wantim yikiti nawu?' 'Kuwa,' yi  - mi. Api  kiyi
that:one(m)   you(sg) want  food   now     yes     he:P - say well then
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```
(pu     - wuriyi thaputha) puwuriyi yawulama kiyi, kiyi klamap
they:P - go     home       they:went jungle  then  then climb:up
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```
ji    - mi purinthirringa athirra yipalinya. Kiyi ju   - wunga yikiti, kiyi
she:P - do tree           the(f)  woman       then she:P - get   food     then
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yi   - kuwapa¹⁵ awarra.      'Eyi, yirra   jirti awarra    naki,' yimi.
he:P - eat      that:one(m) eh    listen! bad(m) that:one(m) this(m) this(m)
```

```
Api  yu   - nawu¹⁶ awarra.      Kiyi papi      ji   - mi athirra
well he:P - throw  that:one(m) then come:out she:P - do that:f)
```

```
taringa, kopra, kiyi papi    jimi    kiyi ju   - wuriyi athirra
snake    cobra  then come:out she:did then she:P - go    that:(f)
```

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yipalinya kiyi potan     jimi,   kiyi kali yimi    awarra malakaninga.
woman     then fall:down she:did then run  he:did that(m) young:man
```

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Kiyi sakim yimi    athirra majipani, tuwanga awani    - la. Kiyi waya
then suck  he:did that(f) blood     again   like:that - REP then now
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```
awarri finish kiyi karrimap yimi,  yi   - marriyi thaputha ... ¹⁷
when   finish then carry     he:did he:P - take    home     ...
```

´(This is about) that young woman (and her mother?), that we saw in a
film. That young woman was small and her older brother was bigger. They were
growing up together. ... Then there came this big gorilla, a big man, ... Then
he seized that young woman and took her to a cave and she grew up there. That
gorilla gave her some kind of food. Then there came this young man who was
looking around for some other men, but he couldn´t find them. Well then, up
came that big gorilla. Then he caught the young man and then the young woman
came and the gorilla stopped, then he put his hand down. Well, she came and
lifted him up (the young man). Then she put him on his (the gorilla´s) hand

and he (the gorilla) took him to the cave and he (the man) became better. Then the woman took him to the jungle. then she showed him where her mother had died (or her mother´s grave). Then she cried and she went home. She went home (um), and they were there (um). Then the next morning, when it was morning, they went to the jungle again. then the woman said to the young man, "Do you want some food now?" "Yes," he said. Well then, (they went home), they went to the jungle, then the woman climbed a tree. Then she got some food, then he ate it. "Hey, it´s no good!" he said. So he threw it away. then there came up this snake, a cobra. It came up and went for the woman, then she fell down and the young man ran to her. Then he sucked her blood, and kept doing it. Then when he had finished he picked her up and took her home. ...´

<u>TEXT G</u> (MT) ´WHEN WE PLAYED AT THE OVAL´[18] (JP8)

*Yiya, Tekila, Shila, Tepra, Worik, (kiyi) (anturiyi*[19] *ka), anturiyi*
I    Theckla Sheila Debra  Warwick (um)    we went    PREP we went

*ka naki, naki opal kiyi anturiyi ka   epot.   Kiyi awa pleyi yi - nti -*
to this  this oval then we:went PREP airport then we  play  we – P   –

*ri – mi skiping  rop  kiyi karri naki*[20] *Tekila tray jamp ji    – mi*
CV – do skipping rope then when  this     Thecla try  jump she:P – do

*kiyi potan     jimi ... kiyi kiyi kiyi yiya Tekila kipim yintirimi yiya –*
then fall:down she:did  then then then I    Thecla give  we:did    my    –

*wani            kiyi yiya payim yintirimi trink kiyi yiya kipim yintirimi.*
younger:brother then I    buy   I:did      drink then I    give  I:did

*trink kiyi yiya kipim yintirimi.  Kiyi anturiyi ka   epot   kiyi.  Kiyi*
drink then I    give  I:did         then we:went PREP airport then   then

*awa tat*[21] *ka   epot.   Kiyi awa pleyi yintirimi ka    nayi*[22] *ka*
we  stay   PREP airport then we  play  we:did    PREP that    at

*opal kiyi kiyi kam  pak (Thecla: 'alikopirra, alikopirra').  Kiyi awa pleyi*
oval then then come back             helicopter, helicopter     Then we  play

*yintirimi alikopirra kiyi kiyi kiyi alikopirra.  Kiyi yiya, Tekila, kiyi*
we:did     helicopter then then then helicopter   then I     Thecla then

*awa jamp yintirimi kiyi awa pleyi yintirimi naki Kang Fu kiyi yiya, naki*
we  jump we:did     then we  play  we:did     this Kung Fu (um) I     this

*Tekila, kiyi Shila  kiyi, waya thuwa.*
Thecla  and  Sheila then  now  end

  ´I, Thecla, Sheila, Debra, Warwick, (went to) we went to the oval and then to the airport. Then we played skipping rope. When Thecla tried to jump (the rope) she fell down ... Then, then, then I and Thecla gave it to my younger brother. Then I bought a drink and I gave some to Thecla. Then we went to the airport. Then we stayed at(?) the airport. Then we played there, at the oval and then we came back. (Thecla: "helicopters, helicopters"). Then we played helicopters, then, then, then, helicopters. Then I and Thecla, we jumped, and then we played Kung Fu, I, Thecla and Sheila, then that´s all.´

TEXT H (MT/CT)     ´A VISIT TO DARWIN´   (JV10)

*Yiya, Konij, Frenjij, Jowi,* (child: *Jon Mak,*) *Piyani, Ampo, Tekila,*
I     Aquinas Francis, Joey       John Mark Vianney Ampo Thecla

*... anturiyi ka su, su. Api ngarra, naki* (child: *arikulani yirrikipayi*)
   we:went  to zoo zoo  well he(?)  this        big(m)   crocodile(m)

*ariukulani yirrikipayi* (child: *amataya tayinga*) *amitiya taringa,*
big       crocodile        and  snake        and  snake

*puliyalinga     arikulanga ... jipojirringa amitiya anturiyi ka Awa*
poisonous:snake big(f)         wallaby    and    we:went  to Howard

*Spring, awa molik, molik, molik, kiyi anturiyi ka nayi awa amom, trink*
Springs we swim   swim   swim   then we:went  to that we eat   drink

*kiyi awa amom yikirri kapi atsayt. Kiyi sam  wurra moliki, wurra amom*
then we  eat food     at  outside then some they swim   they eat

*yikirri. Kiyi awa ko waya ka pas, awa ko ken   thaputha kiyi anturiyi(?)*
food      then we  go then in bus  we go again home     then we:went

*ka ami. Awa jeynjim klos    pakina kiyi anturiyi ka ami  kiyi awa luk*
to army  we change clothes first  then we:went  to army then we  look

*awarra  men arra trapim lenmowa .... anturiyi ka tingarra, awa luk  naki*
that(m) man he  drive lawn:mover      we:went to beach    we look this

*neypi, kiyi anturiyi kapi  naki pulawska, anturiyi (kapi) ka pik powt, awa*
navy   then we:went to/on this bulldozer we:went   on     on big boat  we

*luk powt, powt kiyi anturiyi. Arra payipayi payipayi awani,   kiyi (awa),*
see boat   boat then we:went   he  sleep    sleep    like:that then (we)

*waya finish kiyi.*
now  finish then

   ´I, Aquinas, Francis, Joey, (child: John Mark), Vianney, Ampo, Thecla ...
we went to the zoo, zoo. Well, (there was) this (child: big crocodile) big
crocodile (child: and snake) and snake, a poisonous snake, a big one ...
wallabies. And we went to Howard Springs, we swam and swam and swam. Then we
went to where we had some drinks and ate food outside. Then some went swimming
and they ate food (?). Then we went into the bus and went home again, then we
went to the army. We changed our clothes first. Then we went to the army and
we saw a man driving a lawn mower ... We went to the beach and we saw the navy
and then we went on this bulldozer. We went on this big boat, we saw (over) the
boat, boat, then we went. He (pointing to a boy) (went to) sleep, sleep like
this, then (we). That´s all now.´

TEXT J (Cas MT)    ´A PICTURE TALK ABOUT CHILDREN PLAYING´    (EP20)

(There are a number of interpolations by children and where the speaker is known, he/she is given by their initials and age, and their speech is put in parenthesis. The basic text is given by a teacher´s aide (aged about twenty) to a class of preschool children, eventually about a picture of children playing on swings etc.)

*Petro, aya,    ta     - mu*[23] *nakutaa, murruka ... kijim nayi ...*
Pedro  hey(m) IMP(sg) - sit    here    quickly    get    that

(PW4: *Elenoya, Elenoya) ta      - muw - a    ... (MW5: luk Yako Yako, tamu*
     Eleanora, E.       IMP(sg) - sit - EMPH            look Yako Yako sit

*yakuluwuni.) ... tamu that     wiyarri, tamu murruka!  ... tha     kalu ko*
ground          sit you(sg) too    sit quickly       you(sg) not  go

*thaputha pili   ngiya waya thanawuti kalikali ka ngintha - la. ... (PW4:*
home     because I    now  tired    run      to you(sg) - REP

*tha     kalu pijikirri, tami ?)    kuwa (ED5: A wan  to ko shop, shop.)*
you(sg) not  biscuit    isn´t:it:so? yes      I want to go shop  shop

*ngintha kalu pulati wurra pijikiti. ... ngintha mak  nakutaa kapi*
you(sg) not  milk   and   biscuit  ... you(sg) come here    PREP

*kakijuwi, tha  - mamanta, murruka. ... tuwaripa*[24] *ngintha - tuwu*
children  your - friends  quickly  ... come       you(sg) - TOP

*nakutaa kapi tha  - mamanta murruka. ... tha     luk  kayi,*[25] *tha*
here    PREP your - friends quickly  ... you(sg) look listen!  you(sg)
                                                                     EMPH
*anuka pijiti  wuta miliki. Nyirra telim ngiya naki. Ngiya kalu kiyemin*
not   biscuit and  milk    she    tell  me    this  I     not  pretend/lie

*naki. ... Nuwa,    kamini tuwim naki yirrungorra, ka yirrungorra? (PW4:*
this      you(pl) what   do    this picture       in picture

*arra klamap   tawa) (child: kapi silipiriyi)   (PW4: Lak  Wiyu  way - ana?*
he   climb:up tower         PREP slippery(dip)       Like Nguiu now - Q

*Lak Wiyu. Ningaji ka  Wiyuwu kakijuwi, wayana?) ... Ngarra kamini*
Like Nguiu like   PREP Nguiu children  isn´t:it:so? he     what

*olim, naki, naki? ... (child: sem Snek Peyi,  sem  awarra) ngintha luki,*
hold  this  this            same Snake Bay   same here     you(sg) look

*ngintha luki kapinaki kakijuwi, maka  wuta pokayini, maka, awi? ... ka*
you     look these    children  where they play      where hey:(pl) PREP

*maka?  ... Wuta maka  klamap,  maka? (child: wurra (kayi), wurra (kayi)*
where      they where climb:up where         they (um)    they (um)

*pilikiti fu  ...) kalu, wuta takalinga maka? (PW4: ka   naki, ka naki ...*
cry      for       no   they climb:up  where       PREP this  on this

*arikulanga) kuwa, wuta takalinga arikulanga anganaki.* ...
big(f)      yes    they climb:up  big(f)      this:thing(f)

*kakijuwi wuta peyiti o  kalu?* ... *Wuta kalu pilikiti, kalu, wuta peyiti*
children they fight  or not        they not  fight      not   they fight

*ningaji nuwa.   Nuwa   peyiti kumuwi*[26] *nuwa,   karri nuwa pleyi,*
like    you(pl) you(pl) fight    ?      you(pl) when  you  play

*pokayini atsayt* ... *Thirra tayiti ka   maka?* ... (MW5: *ka   rot* ...)
play     outside     she    stand  PREP where               PREP road

*Thirra teyinti ka   skul  o  kalu?* (MW5: *ka   rot, rot.) Ka*
she     stand  PREP school or not        PREP road road  PREP

*tharrumoka, kuwa.* ... *Kuwanga (a)naki*[27] *yipalinya? Naki*
road        yes        who(f)    this   woman      here

*yipalinya o  awurrini?  naki maminikuwi o  wawurruwi, awuta?* ... *Awuta*
female    or male       here females    or males     those          those

*wawurruwi, pilikama awuta wawurruwi?* ... *Wuta yusim thaliwarra ningaji*
males      why      those males            they use   trousers    like

*nuwa   skul   poyi, wayana?* ...
you(pl) school boy(s) don´t:they

    ´Pedro, hey, sit over here! Quickly.  ... Get that! ... (PW4: Eleanora,
Eleanora) ... Sit down! (MW5: Look at Yako.) Yako, sit down on the ground!
... You sit down too! Sit down quickly! ... You can´t go home because I am
tired of running after you all the time.  ... (PW4: You can´t have a biscuit,
can he?) Yes.  (ED5: I want to go to the shop, shop.) You can´t have any milk
and biscuits.  ... You come here to the children, to your friends, quickly.
... You come here too to your friends, to the children, quickly.  (said to
another child) ... You look here, you´re not going to have milk and biscuits.
She told me this.  I´m not lying to you.  ... All of you, what are (they) doing
in this picture? In the picture? (PW4: He is climbing the tower.) (child: on
the slippery dip) (PW4: Like at Nguiu, isn´t it? Like Nguiu?) Like at Nguiu,
children, isn´t it? ... What is he holding? ... (child: Same as at Snake Bay,
same as here.) You look, you look at these children.  Where are they playing,
where, he? ... At where? ... Where are they climbing up? (child: They (um),
they (um) are crying for ...) No, where are they climbing? (PW4: On this, on
this) ... (PW4: (it´s) big) Yes, they are climbing on this big thing.  Are the
children fighting or not? ... They are not crying, they are not fighting, like
you.  You are always fighting(?), when you are playing outside.  ... Where is
she standing? (MW5: On the road.) ... Is she standing in the school (or at
school) or not? (MW5: On the road, road.) On the road, yes.  ... Who is this, a
female? Is this a female or a male? Here, are these females or males? ...
These are males.  ... Why are they males? ... They use trousers, like you
school boys, don´t they? ...

TEXT K (CTE)    A CONVERSATION BETWEEN TWO PRESCHOOLERS

    (at Garden Point) (A free translation is not given as I am not always
    sure of the meaning.)

ED5: *Luk iya, meyt.*  MW5: *A telim Paturrawa, kwani.*  ED5: *eyi?*
     look here mate       I tell  Paturrawa, cousin        eh?

MW5: *A seyi a telim Paturrawa.*  ED5: *Luk, meyt, te      wan kilim yu*
     I say  I tell  P.                 Look mate  they(?) want kill  your

*fata   from Paturrawa.*  MW5: *Te  kil  yu   fata  iya.*  ...  MW5: *from*
father from P.                 They kill your father here             from/with

*mashil* ...  ED5: *Luk  meyt, a kil     yu   brata.  A kilim Petro,*
muscle           Look mate  I kill/hit your brother  I hit   Pedro,

*pastimap   kurruwa.*
bust:him:up backside

    The conversation continues in the same vein, half in children's
Tiwi-English and half in CT.

# NOTES ON APPENDIX 2
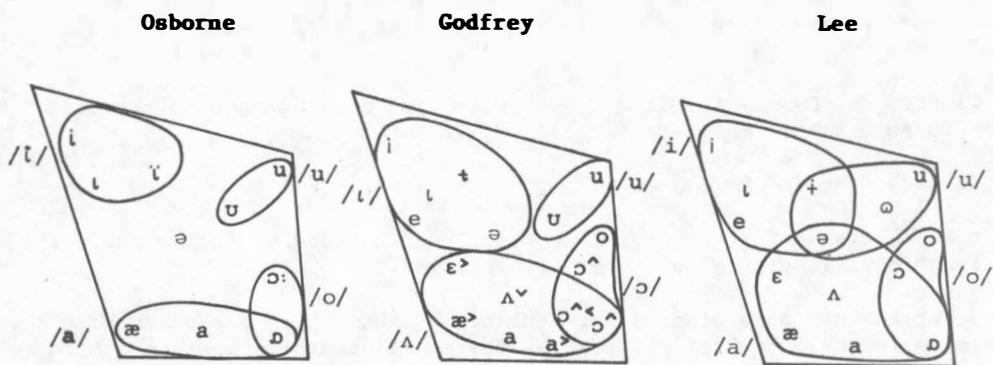
1.  His aunt made the comment to me that she could not understand her father
    when he talked 'hard language'.

2.  Without the free verb, *pokayini*, this verb stem means 'own a domestic
    animal' (private communication from Godfrey).

3.  The speaker has changed the sex of the calf from the previous sentence.

4.  Godfrey calls this a 'mid-sentence attention-getter' (see Godfrey 1985).

5.  I am not sure what this *ngi-* is.

6.  See earlier on in the text for these verbs morpheme-by-morpheme.  The text
    continues in the same vein as the previous part.

7.  I am not sure what this word is or means.  It may be meant to be *ngini* with
    the meaning 'that is'.

8.  In TT this would be *-ma*.

9.  In TT the subject and tense prefixes would be *ngi - nti -* 'we (past)' as
    this verb stem only takes a plural subject and implies a reciprocal action.

10. Osborne has the TT stem as: *-amukurighi*, as has Godfrey.  (cf. verb in Text
    B, Line 3.)

11. In TT this is a class 3 verb stem which does not take the connective, *ri-* (see 4.2.1.1(a)).

12. For the difference between these forms, definitives and demonstratives, see 3.3.5.

13. Traditionally, this is the directional prefix *ni-* (or *nu-* before stems with stressed /u/ followed by the verb stem, *-(w)uriyi* ´go´), but it has become a frozen stem, *-nuriyi* ´come´, in MT. Similarly, *-marriyi* (in Line 8) is from *marri-* ´CON.M´ + *-(w)uriyi* ´go´.

14. The TT verb stem is *-Camanipaghi*. The subject prefix is unusual for MT, being as it would be in TT, i.e. indicating the gender of the 3rd sg. direct object (fem) (see 4.2.2.1). The MT subject prefix normally would be *yi-* ´he:past´.

15. The TT stem is *-(w)apa* (a class 3 verb stem) but many young people add *ki/ku* to some verb stems (see 4.2.1.2, p.170).

16. The TT verb stem is *-(w)unyawu*.

17. The text continues further, but is not included because of the length. The paragraph divisions in MT have not been studied.

18. This text has not been studied for sentence breaks, which are often hard to determine in the speech of children as there are so many stops and starts and *kiyi* is put in willy-nilly as a gap filler. The breaks made are those which seem logical semantically.

19. This seems to be a frozen form meaning ´we went´ (see 4.2.1.2).

20. The masc. form of ´this´ seems to be used by this speaker generally (see 3.3.5.1, p.117f).

21. I am not sure what this means, whether it means ´stay at´. If this is so it seems to refute the next sentence where the play is taking place at the oval. It may be that the speaker has simply omitted the connecting sentence telling of the movement from one place to the other. The two places are very close.

22. *ka nayi* is often used by children where it has the sense ´there´ or ´at there´.

23. In MT the normal form of the imperative for both singular and plural is the TT singular form. The TT form for this verb stem, *-muwu*, is *tamuwu* but the stress is shifted in MT giving *tamu* generally. This is also used as a free verb.

24. This is the imperative (singular), *ta-* + *-(w)uriyi* ´go´ + imperative locative suffix, *-pa*; (see 4.2.5).

25. This is an attention getter. In TT it often seems to be initially in a sentence.

26. I am not sure what this word is as I have not come across it elsewhere, either in MT material or in TT data. It seems to mean ´always´.

27. I´m not sure if this is a feminine or masculine form (see 3.3.4.1).

## COMPARISON OF PHONETIC SYMBOLISATION OF TT VOWELS

Comparison of the phonetic realisations of TT vowels given by Osborne, Godfrey and myself (the symbols and variety).

| Osborne | Godfrey | Lee |
|---------|---------|-----|



**Osborne:**

/i/ [i], [ɩ], [ï] ⎫
⎬ [ə]
/u/ [ʊ], [u] ⎭

/ɑ/ [a], [æ], [ɒ], [ə]

/o/ [ɔː], [ᵁɒ]     (Osborne 1974:12-14)

**Godfrey:**

/ɩ/ [ɩ], [iˇ], [e], [ɨ], [ə]     /ʊ/ [ʊ], [o], [ɔ^], [u]
/ʌ/ [ʌˇ], [ɛˀ], [æˀ], [a], [aˀ], [ɔˇ], [ɔᵛ˂]

(Godfrey and Leeding 1974)

More recently: /ɔ/ [o], [ɔˇ], [ɔ^], [ɔᵛ˂]

(Godfrey 1979:2 and private communication)

**Lee:**

/i/ [ɩ], [i], [e], [ɨ], [ə]
/u/ [o], [u], [ə], [ɨ], [ə]
/a/ [ʌ], [a], [æ], [ɛ], [ɒ], [ə]
/o/ [o], [ɔ], [ɒ], [ᵂɒ], [ᵂɔ], [ᵂʌ]

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        AIAS      Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies

        ALS       Australian Linguistic Society

        PL        Pacific Linguistics

        SIL       The Summer Institute of Linguistics

        SIL-AAB  The Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian
                  Aborigines Branch


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