# AN INTRODUCTION TO GOG-NAR

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## INTRODUCTION

The *Nar* language was spoken on the Staaten River, in the south-western part of the Cape York Peninsula. Its neighbours included *Gogo-Bera* on the north, the *Kunjen* dialects on the east and *Gunggara* and related dialects on the south. *Gogo-Nhang* is a dialect of the same language as *Nar*.

Roth (1897-1900) collected a short vocabulary of what looks like *Nar* or *Nhang* around the turn of the century and published it under the name *Kundara*; the name, but not the vocabulary, seems to correspond to the modern *Guandhar*, recorded by Sommer (1972). *Gog-Nar* was (re-)discovered by Miss Sandra Newland (1968a) (now Mrs Keen) and she recorded about 1½ hours of tape from the last native speaker, Michael Richards, in Normanton (1968b). Sommer (1972) recorded Richards, and soon afterwards he was taken to the Eventide Home in Charters Towers. I recorded ten hours from him there in August, with Saltwater Jack, who speaks it as a second language,[1] helping and prompting but refusing to act directly as an informant. In October, Michael Richards died, at the age of about 90. In 1973 I recorded five hours with Saltwater Jack, also about 90 years old and now, in the absence of his friend, a willing informant. Later in the year Sutton did some further recording on my behalf. Saltwater Jack has since died and there are now no living speakers. There is one speaker of *Nhang*, who has been recorded by Sommer (1972).

The informants proved willing, friendly, patient and helpful, but both had most of the deficiencies one would expect in men of their age.

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[1]This fact was first reported by Newland, who did not have an opportunity to verify it.

## 1. THE LANGUAGE NAME

Newland (1968b) transcribed the language name as [koki'nari] but also
wrote it *Koko-nari*. Sommer (1972) spelt it *Koko-Nar̃* and Sutton (priv.
communication, December 1973) *Gugu-Nare*. To my hearing, the average
pronunciation seems to be about [kòkənárə] with fluctuation between [o]
and [ʊ] for the first vowel and [r] and ⁺[ɾ] for the last consonant.
However, the first portion of the language name is presumably the *Nar*
word for 'word, language' (but not necessarily so, since the language
name could be a borrowing from a neighbouring language) and this is /k/
(with fluctuation in vowel quality and length, in my transcriptions, but
with no final vowel). A second vowel phone occurs only in combined fo...
(some of them, perhaps, such as the language name, would be more corre...
described as phrases) and its place of articulation is to some extent
dependent on the following consonant, for example, /kok yem/ *'calling*
has been heard [kó.kiyèm]. The function of this vowel may be to break
an unacceptable consonant cluster and it may not be necessary to regar...
it as a phoneme. The final vowel phone of the language name may be
simply an off-glide from the [r]. I therefore prefer, at present, to
write the name *(Kok-)Narr*, or, to use the Australian Institute of Aborig-
inal Studies' convention, *Gog-Nar*.


## 2. PHONOLOGY

*Gog-Nar* was spoken in an area where many languages are phonologically
unusual (Sutton 1973). This is true of its eastern neighbours (Sommer
1969) and appears to apply also to its southern neighbours but not to
its northern neighbours (Sutton 1973). *Nar* seems to be moderately
aberrant, with several (perhaps six) vowel phonemes, fricatives and word
initial and word-final consonant clusters. A particularly interesting
feature is the occurrence of word-final clusters of two stops /tp/ and o...
two nasals /nm/ and /nŋ/. Also interesting is the deletion of word-
final /ŋ/ in most cases where it is not clause- or utterance-final.
Vowels do not occur clause- or utterance-final.

No systematic study has yet been made of *Nar* phonology and the
following is quite tentative.


### 2.1 Vowels

The number of vowel phonemes in *Gog-Nar* is not at all clear. My own
experience with other Australian languages with normal vowel phonology
predisposed me towards a three-vowel solution in this case, (that is,
three vowels plus length; what I am now interpreting as mid-high vowel
phonemes I originally interpreted, in general, as long high vowel
phonemes), but there seems to be no alternative to a fourth vowel phon-
eme /œ/. My transcripts show much fluctuation between high and mid-high
vocoids, in such words as those I am writing as /koŋk/ *'smell'*, /ɾomp/
*'house'*, /təmpék/ *'goanna'*, /yel/ *'eye'*, /t̪apór/ *'far'* and others. This
fluctuation seems to be genuine, at least in some cases, but, following
Sommer (1972) and Sutton (private communication, November 1973), I am
tentatively accepting the opposition between high and mid-high vowel
positions as being phonemic.

There are numerous occurrences of a central vocoid [ə], some of
which can be assigned to /i/ or, in fewer cases, other vowel phonemes,

many of which cannot at present. This vocoid also occurs frequent-
after a final consonant, in which position it is regarded at present
not phonemic. It occurs more often on a monosyllabic word, but seems
be optional in most cases; perhaps not in compound forms like the
guage name. It may also be non-phonemic in some word-medial occur-
ces, for example, in [mɪrəmbaŋ] *tomorrow*. After some final conson-
s, for example, /r/, /rr/ and /y/ it may be advanced to [ɛ]. It may
devoiced.

Vowel length is common and could be phonemic. Alternatively,
ess could be phonemic. Stress is most commonly on the first vowel
a word and a stressed vowel is frequently long.

The vowels /i, e, a, o, u, œ, ə/ will be regarded as phonemic
the purposes of this paper. Stress will be marked where it is not
the first vowel.


## 2 Consonants

probable consonant phoneme inventory is given in Table 1.


### TABLE 1   Consonant phonemes

| | PERIPHERAL | | APICAL | LAMINAL | |
| | Labial | Velar | (Alveolar) | Dental | Alveolar |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stop | p | k | t | t̪ | ty |
| Nasal | m | ŋ | n | n̪ | ny |
| Fricative | β | γ | | | |
| Lateral | | | l | | |
| Trill | | | rr | | |
| Flap | | | r | | |
| Glide | w | | ɹ | | y |

The two laminal series may not be opposed in all positions; for
example /miny/ *'meat'* has also been heard as [mi:n̪] and there seems to
be some fluctuation between final [ɲ] and [n̪] in the imperfect tense
form of some verbs. However, there is clearly an opposition word-
initially; compare /n̪taŋ/ *'cut'* and /nytyaŋ/ *'took'*.

Stops are normally voiceless but tend to be voiced after a nasal;
/p/ and /k/ tend to be voiced lenis word-initially and before a stressed
vowel.

Oppositions between fricatives and stops are illustrated by /kaγat̪/
*'uncle'*, /kakany/ *'moon'* and /pam/ *'man'*, /βam/ *'someone else'*. These
distinctions (and some others, such as those between the 'r' sounds) are
somewhat blurred in the speech of the informants.

/l/ contrasts with /r/ in /pəlárk/ *'white'*, /pərárk/ *'conversation'*.
Opposition between the three 'r' sounds seems to be illustrated by /t̪arr/
*'thigh'*, /tar/ *'foot'* and /t̪ar/ *'hot'*, but there is considerable doubt
about whether /r/ and /ɹ/ are separate phonemes, and there are many
examples of apparent free variation.

A retroflexed lateral [ꞁ] is a common variant of /r/, espe
word-initially as in [ꞁukaŋ] /rukaŋ/ 'entered', also in [kaꞁ] /k
Occasionally other retroflexed contoids have been heard but thes
probably variants of the more normal apico-alveolars.

/ŋ/ is usually dropped from word-final position unless the
occurs clause- or utterance-final, when it is never dropped.  Vow
not occur clause- or utterance-final, that is, before a pause or
(This does not apply to non-phonemic vocoids such as [ə].)  Stem-
/ŋ/ is also dropped before a consonant-initial suffix.  Thus /ŋap
*water'*, /ŋapílimp/ *'in the water'*, /ŋapíŋar/ *'lacking water'* (/a
*'lacking'*), /ŋu ŋapí ̱nam/ *'I can see the water'*, /ŋu ŋapí tyiŋ/ *'
some water'*.  This phenomenon was originally interpreted as addit
a non-phonemic [ŋ] where a clause- or utterance-final vowel occur
since there were believed to be some words which did not drop a f
/ŋ/ (and only for these words was final [ŋ] regarded as phonemic)
However, it is now doubted whether there are any such words (/ŋaŋ/
was one, as in /ŋu ŋaŋ kuriyakim/ *'I'm only walking around'*, but
example of /ŋa/ has since been noted).  Since /ŋ/ is not always de
in circumstances where it could be (that is, where it is followed
morpheme boundary followed by a consonant), it seems best to regard
stems and suffixes ending in /ŋ/ as having an allomorph lacking thi
consonant, rather than postulating a phonological rule.  We can then
write the nasal in where it is heard and omit it where it is not.

A similar situation exists for word-initial /ŋ/ on certain ver
and a few (possibly only three) other words.  However, in these ca
must regard the allomorph lacking the initial nasal as a bound form
is suffixed to the preceding word.  Examples will be given in sectio
3.2 and 3.3.

Some tendency has been noted for the informants to add a final
[m] or [ŋ] in other circumstances, that is, after a consonant.  This
be attributable to the tendency of very old people to maintain voicin
after the end of an utterance.

A word-final or stem-final consonant or consonant cluster may b
deleted where the following word or bound morpheme begins with the sa
·consonant or consonant cluster.  Alternatively, in the case of a boun
morpheme, a vowel may be interposed.  Where a word-final consonant is
dropped the two words concerned may be combined in a single phonologi
word (that is, only one primary stress).  In the case of a bound morph
it may be best to regard it as having an allomorph lacking the initia
consonant or cluster.  Examples:

/marák/ *'sun'*, /kanəŋk/ *'now'*, [mərákánəŋk]

/ma̱raŋk/ *'in the hand'*, /katpiβ/ *'holds'*, [má̱rəŋkàtpəβ]

/nyinŋ/ *'fly'*, /ŋíməṉt/ *'operative suffix'*, [ɲinŋí.məṉd]

/nayipŋíməṉt/ *'with a knife'*, /ṉtaŋ/ *'cut'*, [naibŋí.məṉdaŋ]

/ṯukump/ *'deep'*, /palank/ *'causative suffix, imperative'*,
    [ṯúkəmba.bàlank]


## 2.3  Phonemotactics

Syllable types include CV, CVC, CCVC, CVCC, CCVCC, CVCCC.  Examples of
monosyllabic words of each of these types are /ṉa/ (~ /ṉaŋ/) *'this'*,
/ṉurr/ *'that'*, /ṉtaβ/ *'is cutting'*, /murk/ *'ground'*, /ṉtalk/ *'will cut
/wi̱rmp/ *'good'*.

All phonemes may occur word-initially except vowels, /l/, /r/, and /ɣ/. Word-initial consonant clusters are rare; two stems with /ŋ/ and two with /nt̪/ are the only o..es known. Any consonant may word-final while vowels may occur word-final only if the word t clause- or utterance-final. Many consonant clusters may occur final including heterorganic clusters such as /rk/, /r̥mp/, /lŋk/, /nk/, /tp/, /nm/ and /nŋ/. Such final clusters need not necessar- be followed by a non-phonemic vocoid; thus while a one-syllable word g in /tp/ has such a release, for example, [watpə] /watp/ 'other', wo-syllable word /payitp/ 'emu' is [bayitpʰ], with only a barely le final aspiration. Final clusters of two nasals are normally not wed by any vocoid, for example, /mœnŋ/ 'nape' is [mœnŋ]. Note the ast between /ŋinm/ [ŋinm] 'is going' and /ŋinim/ [ŋinəm] 'is ing'.


## GRAMMAR


### Noun and pronoun morphology

t *Gog-Nar* noun stems are monomorphemic, but compounds formed in the pattern as the language name are common. Examples include /t̪aw ur/ 'moustache' ('mouth-hair'), /kump t̪aw/ 'anus' ('buttocks-mouth'), mœt̪/ 'flour' ('vegetable food-dust') and /perrimp kayik/ 'mountain' tone-head'). In some cases one component is otherwise unknown, for mple, /yel mut̪/ 'blind', /yel muk/ 'tears' and /yel t̪ukump/ 'eyebrow' el/ 'eye').

There does not appear to be any morphological basis for proposing class of adjectives distinct from nouns. Some, but not all, stems of scriptive terms are reduplicated, but so are a few other noun stems. r example, /pirkəpirk/ 'smooth', /tukətuk/ 'rough', /piŋipiŋ/ 'river m', /watyəwaty/ 'woman'.

*Nar* has a nominative-ergative system of inflection for nouns and nominative-accusative system for pronouns. For nouns, nominative is marked while other cases are marked by suffixes. The locative coin- des with the operative (ergative/instrumental), possibly because of ss of an earlier final vowel. Genitive coincides with causal, and tive with allative and comitative (accompaniment).

Table 2 shows the personal pronoun paradigm. A dash marks an nknown form. There could possibly be a separate locative case form, which case some of the alternative dative forms given are actually cative.

Table 3 gives a paradigm for some kinship terms.

Most kinship terms have a final /t/ or /t̪/ which is dropped with he operative and dative cases. 'Elder brother' is quite exceptional. ŋut̪əmut/ 'mother' and /pimát̪/ 'aunt' seem to follow the pattern of father'. /rit̪iwarəŋ/ 'sister-in-law' adds /int/ to form the operative. her examples could not be elicited; unfortunately, in many cases the ord /ŋut̪ántək/ 'my' was included and this, rather than the kinship erm, carried the inflectional suffix.

Some other irregular words seem to follow the pattern of kinship erms to some extent. /mukánəŋ/ 'white man' has a dative /mukánp(əm)/. kuŋak/ 'child' possibly has dative /kuŋanp/; the genitive/causal is kuŋakiŋ/. /kurək/ 'dog' has operative /kurpalkiŋ/ (Saltwater Jack has

TABLE 2  Personal pronoun paradigm

|  | SINGULAR | | | DUAL | | | PLURAL | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | First | Second | Third | First | Second | Third | First | Second | Third |
| Nominative | ŋu, ŋuy ŋunaŋ | yint | n̪ulaŋ | ŋalin ŋalint | yupal | pil pilaŋ | ŋanaŋ ŋanant, ŋant | yul, or yur | t̪anaŋ |
| Accusative | ŋan̪ | yin, yinan | n̪inaŋ (?) | — | yupin̪ | — | — | yukin̪ | — |
| Genitive/Causal | ŋutaŋ ŋut̪ântek | yinaŋ | n̪uŋunaŋ (?) | n̪iŋanaŋ | yuβoŋ | paɣanaŋ | ŋaŋanaŋ | yukoŋ | t̪aɣanaŋ |
| Dative | ŋan̪int | yinp, yinamp | n̪umpenaŋ | ŋaŋpena(?) ŋenampen | yump, yuβump | paŋpena | ŋampenaŋ, ŋaŋampenaŋ ŋanampent | yukump | t̪ampenaŋ |

TABLE 3  Kinship term paradigm

|  | father | elder brother | elder sister | uncle | son |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nominative | ŋit̪it | mut̪ók | kanilat̪ | kaɣat̪ | ŋalatin |
| Operative | ŋit̪int | muyurr, (mut̪ukuŋ) | kanilant | kaɣant | ŋalatint |
| Genitive | — | — | kanilat̪iŋ | kaɣat̪iŋ, kaɣant̪iŋ | — |
| Dative | ŋitinp | muyurin | | | — |

a regularised form /kurəkŋîməṉṯ/), dative /kurpalp/ and genitive /kalkiŋ/ ~ /kurəkiŋ/ (the latter possibly a regularised form).

The system for most nouns is as in Table 4.

### TABLE 4  Noun paradigm

|  | *stone* | *horse* | *ground* | *old woman* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| nominative | perrimp | yaraman | murk | miyerr |
| ative/ locative | perrimpŋîməṉṯ | yaramanŋîməṉṯ | murkuŋ | miyerrimp |
| tive | — | — | — | miyerriŋ |
| ve | perrimpək | — | murkək | — |
| ative | — | yaramanmint | — | — |

Table 5 gives a paradigm for some interrogatives.

### TABLE 5  Interrogative paradigm

|  | *who?* | *what?* | *where?* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nominative | ṉanaŋ | — | ṯant (*'which'*) |
| Operative/Locative | ṉanant | ṉarəmp | — |
| Genitive/Causal | ṉantək(uŋ) | — | — |
| Dative | — | ṉarək, ṉarkiṉṯiŋ | ṯantik |
| Ablative | — | — | ṯantəmint, ṯantəminy |

By far the most common form of the operative/locative morpheme is /ŋîməṉṯ/,[1] with occasionally an intervening /ə/, for example, /kalkŋîməṉṯ/ from /kalk/ *'spear'*, /kurkalŋîməṉṯ/ from /kurkal/ *'coolamon'*, /yeləŋîməṉṯ/ from /yel/ *'eye'*. The allomorph /imp/ is next most common; words which use it include /ṛəkir/ *'shade'*, /mampəṉ/ *'someone'* and /məláty/ *'nulla-nulla'*. /limp/ has been noted in /ŋapîlimp/ from /ŋapîŋ/ *'water'* and /kimpîlimp/ from /kimpîŋ/ *'fire'*. /uŋ/ occurs with /kant/ *'tree'*, /wurump/ *'wind'* and a few other words. /aŋk/ has been noted with /maṛ/ *'hand'*, /ṯar/ *'foot'* and /marəkaṉ/ *'policeman'*. /mura/ *'many'* has operative /murarkiŋ/. Other forms known only with a single stem although well attested in both cases) are /əp/ in /minyəp/ *'animal-operative'* and /inyty/ in /ṛompinyty/ *'house-locative'*.

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[1] K.L. Hale suggests that the first part of this suffix may be related to the suffix /ŋim/ described under the name 'complement' among the verbal inflectional suffixes in section 3.2. This seems plausible; suffixes of the form -(V)nṯ seem to be common ergative markers in Pamic languages.

The genitive, dative and ablative suffixes seem to be norma[l]
/iŋ/, /ək/ (or /k/ replacing stem-final /ŋ/) and /mint/ but the [l]
tion is very limited. The dative of /ŋapíŋ/ 'water' is /ŋapíĺək/
suggests that certain stems with final /ŋ/ may have an allomorph w[ith]
final /l/ (compare operative/locatives /ŋapílimp/ and /kimpílimp/[,]
/kimpíŋ/ 'fire'). /mura/ 'many' has genitive /murarkiŋ/, the same [as]
its operative.

The following sentences give some illustrations of the use o[f]
various case forms:

1. kurək t̯alár        'He's a good dog.'
   dog   good

2. r̥omp   ŋut̯a   pityiŋ,    kimpílimp       'My house got burnt.'
   house  my     burn-PAST   fire-OP

3. mar̯   kar̯   t̯arəwulk    yint,   ŋapí    n̯urr   ŋay
   hand  not   wash-PURP    you,   water   that   drink-PURP

   'Don't wash your hands in that water, it's for drinking.'

4. kurpalki   payilkón̯tək   yinan        'The dog might bit you.'
   dog-OP     bite-POT      you-ACC

5. ŋuna   nurku   n̯t̯aβ        'I'm cutting up meat.'
   I      meat    cut-PRES

6. r̯əkírimp       wurruk      'Hang it in the shade.'
   shade-LOC      hang-PURP

7. mayik      purəm   yikárim,    kayiŋimən̯t̯     yikárim
   food-DAT   there   dig-PRES,   yamstick-OP    dig-PRES

   '(The women) are digging for yams with their yamsticks.'

8. kurək   βamiŋ         'Another man's dog.'
   dog     other-GEN

9. ŋu   pintim         kurəkiŋ       'I'm frightened of the dog.'
   I    afraid-PRES    dog-GEN

10. r̥omp    n̯urr   ŋiŋənaŋ     kuŋakiŋ      'That house over there belong[s]
    house   there  our(pl)     child-GEN      to me and my kids.'

11. ŋuna     kutyəkininkón̯tək        'I might stay three (days).'
    I        three-DAT-sit-POT

12. ŋuna   kimpí      n̯t̯aty       yinamp
    I      firewood   cut-SUB      you-DAT
    'I'll cut some wood for you.'

13. yukump          kar̯     ŋikiy
    you(pl)-DAT     not     talk-PURP

    'I don't want to talk to you.'

14. n̯ula   panpaŋ,       yurkan̯mint
    he     run-PAST,     policeman-ABL

    'He ran away from the policeman!'

yilárəmpmint      ŋinin̪
*yesterday-ABL*     *sit-IMPERF*

'*I've been (here) since yesterday.*'

A suffix whose function is not known, which seems to occur only a dative suffix, is -int̪iŋ. The dative in these cases is reduced /ək/ to /k/.

kuykint̪i      karin̪      ŋalaŋ
*fish-DAT-?*    *fight-IMPERF*   *we(du)*

'*We've been fighting for the fish!*'

Other suffixes frequently attached to noun stems include two forms oprietive ('having'), a privative ('lacking') and a semblative e'). /maraŋk/ '*having*' may be heard as either a suffix or a post-ion; it is normally attached to kinship terms, but /kalk maraŋk/ *his spear*' has been noted. Note that the final /t/ of /ŋit̪it/ *er*' has been dropped in /ŋit̪imaraŋk/ '*his father*'.

mut̪ók    maraŋk    purəm    kanəŋk    karim        pilaŋ
*brother*   *having*    *there*    *now*     *fight-PRES*    *they(du)*

'*The two brothers are fighting.*'

The other 'having' form is /woləm/ as in /minywoləm/ '*having meat*', pékwoləm/ '*got a cold*', /ŋamawoləm/ '*with a big one*', /mœt̪əwoləm/ *rty*' (/mœt̪/ '*dirt*'), /kalkwoləm/ '*with a spear*'.

kuŋakuŋak    purəm    naŋkəwoləmokinm        kuyək
*child(pl)*    *there*    *line-having-emph-go-PRES*   *fish-DAT*

'*The children are going fishing.*' (from Newland's transcripts)

The privative is /ar/, as in /pamar/ '*there's no blackfellows ere)*', /mayar/ '*got no tucker*', /ŋapîŋar/ '*there's no water*'.

kurək    kokar        katpilk       '*Keep the dog quiet.*'
*dog*     *word-lacking*   *hold-PURP*

The semblative is normally /oŋ/, as in /kurəkoŋ/ '*like a dog*', atyəwatyoŋ/ '*like a woman*'; one irregular form noted is /kuŋan/ '*like child*' (/kuŋak/ '*child*').

yint    n̪urr    murkumok        ŋinim,       pamoŋinim
*you*    *there*   *ground-LOC-emph*   *sit-PRES*,    *man-like-sit-PRES*

'*You're sitting on the ground like a blackfellow.*'

Noun_ are not marked for number, with one exception: /kuŋak/ *child*' has a reduplicated plural /kuŋakuŋak/ (see example 18).

## 3.2 Verb morphology

Many verb stems in *Nar* are mono-morphemic. However, verbs are commonly compounded of a noun and a verb, some very frequently used verbs being formed in this way, for example, /yel yem/ '*looks*' ('eye throws'), /kok yem/ '*calls*' ('word throws'), /kok n̪am/ '*hears*' ('word sees'), /kok

rany/ *'was calling out'* ('word was throwing away'), and some of
involving /kok/, /koŋk ṉam/ *'smells'* ('smell sees'), /kow yekim
sulky' ('nose gets up'), /pinytyî kinytyaŋ/ *'got sick'* ('sick(ne
broke'), /yilkutinyty/ *'will steal'* (/yilk/ *'will take'*, /kutiny
probably a locative of /kut/ *'behind'*), /ṯarinm/ *'goes on foot'*
goes'), /ṯaratiŋk/ *'stand up!'* ('foot-stand!'), /kompinim/ *'sits'*
('buttocks-sits').

    Verb stem formatives include:

(a)  /pa/ ~ /paṯa/, added to a noun stem to form a stative verb.
    times phonologically a separate word. Examples include /ṯaŋ
    *'is itchy'*, /warrapaṯaŋ/ *'is spoilt'* (the informant's usual
    tion was *'buggered up'*, /warraŋ/ *'bad'*), /ṯaŋirkpaṉ/ *'have be
    yarning'*, /pinwarr paṯim/ *'is thinking'*, /ṉarəkpaṉ/ *'were do
    what?'*

(b)  /mpa/ is similar in function (as well as in phonemic shape) t
    Examples: /man ṟaympaŋ/ *'throat got dry'* (/ṟay/ *'dry'*), /kaṟ
    *'disappeared'* /kaṟ/ *'not, none'*).

(c)  Another formative/auxiliary verb with a similar function is /n
    *'to become'*. Examples: /ŋamaninṯərr/ *'got big'*, /puŋku ninṯər
    *'got on to one's knees'* (/puŋku/ *'knee'*), /pinytyîninṯərr/ *'got
    sick'*, /kompəninṯənpiŋ/ *'made (him) sit down'* (/komp/ *'buttocks*
    /piŋ/ *'caused'*), /yelim ninṯərr/ *'learnt'* (/yelim/ *'knows'*), /
    ninṯərr/ *'got dry'*.

(d)  /pi/ is the causative verb stem formative, and is added to the
    imperfect tense form of an intransitive verb to derive a corresp
    ing transitive verb. Thus /yeki/ *'to climb'*, /yekiṇpiŋ/ *'lifted
    'woke (tr)'*, /kaki/ *'to return'*, /kakiṇpiŋ/ *'was bringing back'*
    /parki/ *'to fall'*, /parkiṇpiŋ/. There is one example of addition
    /pi/ to a noun stem — /kawuŋpirr/ *'made (him) bleed'*.

(e)  /pala/, the verb *'to leave (tr)'* also functions as a causative
    formative, forming a transitive verb when added to a noun stem.
    is also added to an English or pidgin verb used when there is no
    *Nar* word or it has been forgotten. Examples: /ṯukumpapalank/
    *'make it deep'* (/ṯukump/ *'deep'*), /putyimpalank/ *'push it'*,
    /ṯowimapalaṉ/ *'was sewing'* (from *'sew-im-up'*). Possibly /yelimpal
    *'was telling'* from /yelim/ *'knows'* should be included here.

(f)  /pili/; the only example is /ŋimtyinpilim/ *'calls (me) grandfather
    from /ŋimtyin/ *'grandfather'*.

(g)  One possible example of an agentive, /woṉṯ/ *'killer'* from /wi/ *'to
    kill'*.

    Certain verb stems, all with initial /ŋ/ and all very common, have
a bound form from which the initial consonant has been deleted and which
is used much more frequently than the free form. These include /ṇi/ *'to
go, walk'*, /ŋi/ *'to spear, kick'*, /ŋini/ *'to be, sit'*, /ŋati/ *'to stand'*
/ŋa/ *'to eat'*, /ŋiki/ *'to speak'* and /ŋali/ *'to carry'*. There may be
others. Examples of this usage are given below.

21.  ŋant      kanəŋkink        *'Let's go now.'*
     *we(pl)*     *now-go-PURP*

2. ŋu    ŋurəkinm        *I'm going out to the scrub.*
   I    scrub-DAT-go-PRES

3. palaβ        *Let him eat it.*
   let-eat-PRES

24. ŋu    minyalk        *I will eat some meat.*
    I    meat-eat-PURP

25. ŋu    ŋaŋikin̠        *I was just talking, that's all.*
    I    only-talk-IMPERF

26. kalkŋímən̠t̠irr        *He speared it with a spear*
    spear-OP-spear-PAST

27. ŋu    kanəŋk    t̠apórəkaliny        *I took it a long way away.*
    I    now    far-DAT-carry-IMPERF

Inflectional suffixes added to verb stems include:

past tense — /ŋ/ and /rr/

imperfect — /n̠/ and /ny/ (there may be some conditioning factor determin-
        ing which is used).

present tense — /β/, /p/, /m/, /nm/, /tp/

purposive — two morphemes, referred to as purposive 1 and purposive 2.
        No difference in function has been noted. The purposive includes
        future, imperative and optative functions.

purposive 1 — /lk/, /nk/, /k/, /âk/, /ŋk/(?)

purposive 2 — /iy/ (Note also /r̠aty/ *throw (it) away*, where /ty/ marks
        the purposive (1 or 2?)

potential — /óntək/, added after either purposive. Sometimes heard as
        [wándək] after purposive 1 or [ándək] after purposive 2.

past purposive — (*would have*, *wanted to*), /laŋk/ (or /lank/?), /rank/
        (the latter only with /ŋi/ *to go*).

past potential — (*might have*), formed from the past purposive in the
        same way as potential is formed from purposive. Very rare in the
        corpus.

subordinate — this is a very tentative name. The verb is not marked for
        tense because it is in the subordinate clause of a two-clause
        sentence, or because the previous sentence was on the same topic
        and it is unnecessary to specify tense again. The allomorphs are
        /ty/, /nyty/.

complement — a suffix or postposition /ŋim/, following another inflec-
        tional suffix.

    There is very little correlation between the alternative forms of
suffixes, except that present tense /β/ or /p/ and purposive 1 /lk/
seem to occur on the same verbs, which also have past tense /ŋ/ (but
other verbs also have this past tense form). There seems to be no
prospect of grouping verbs into conjugations.

    Tables 6, 7 and 8 give the forms for some of the best known verbs.
Some verbs are quite irregular, to the extent that they might be said to
have two stem forms; this applies particularly to those illustrated in
Table 8.

## TABLE 6  Verb paradigms

|  | *cut* | *eat* | *fall* | *see* | *go* | *return* | *be* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Past | ṉṯaŋ | ŋaŋ | parkiŋ | ṉiŋ (ṉaŋ?) | ŋirr | — | ŋiṉ... |
| Imperfect | ṉṯany | — | parkiṉ | ṉany | ŋiny | kakiṉ | ŋiṉ... |
| Present | ṉṯaβ | ŋaβ, (ŋap) | parkip | ṉam | ŋinm | kakim | ŋiṉ... |
| Purposive 1 | ṉṯalk | ŋalk | parkilk | ṉak | ŋink | kakák | ŋiṉ... (ŋiṉ... ŋinak... |
| Purposive 2 | — | ŋay(iy) | — | — | — | kakiy | — |
| Subordinate | ṉṯaty | ŋaty | — | ṉaty | ŋinyty | — | — |

## TABLE 7  Verb paradigms

|  | *run* | *chase* | *spear* | *give* | *speak* | Causative | St... |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Past | panpaŋ, (panparr) | kunyirr | ŋirr | mukurr | — | -piŋ | -pa... -pa... |
| Imperfect | panpiṉ | — | ŋiny | mukuny | ŋikiṉ | -piṉ, (-piny) | -pa... -pa... |
| Present | panpim | kunyitp | — | — | ŋikim | -piβ | -pa... |
| Purposive 1 | — | kunyilk | ŋirraŋk(?) | mukunk | ŋikák, (ŋikək) | -pilk | — |
| Purposive 2 | panpiy | — | — | — | ŋikiy | — | — |
| Subordinate | — | kunyity | — | mukunyty | — | -pity | — |

## TABLE 8  Verb paradigms

|  | *hit, kill* | *bite* | *climb* | *leave (tr...* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Past | kiŋ | paṯiŋ | yekiŋ | palarr |
| Imperfect | kiṉ, (kiny) | paṉ | — | palany |
| Present | kiβ | paṯip | yekip, yekim | palətim |
| Purposive 1 | wilk | payilk | yawilk | palank |
| Subordinate | wity | payity | yawity | — |

An occasional /a/ instead of an expected /i/ has been noted and is not known whether this has any significance, for example, /ŋinytyimam/ instead of /ŋinytyimim/ 'is playing', /paṯaŋ/ instead of /paṯiŋ/ 'bit'.

Examples illustrating the uses of the various inflections now follow.

28. kurpalki paṯiŋaṉ    'The dog bit me.'
   *dog-OP     bite-PAST-me*

29. yint ŋalək ṯurúləkiny    'How many times have you come
   *you   to here   how many-go-IMPERF          here?'*

30. ŋu ṯampənaŋikiṉ    'I've been talking to them.'
   *I   they-DAT-speak-IMPERF*

31. ŋu pilkayi mura wanp kiṉ    'I used to kill a lot of
   *I   wallaby   many   often   kill-IMPERF       wallabies.'*

32. kurək wanp kiβ    'He's always belting the dog.'
   *dog    often   hit-PRES*

33. ṉantəku pintim yint    'Who are you frightened of?'
   *who-GEN   afraid-PRES   you*

34. ŋuna maywoləm nyile kakim
   *I   food-having   soon   return-PRES*

   'I'm coming back by-and-by with some tucker.'

35. yint ŋantəkiniŋk,    ŋana   kakim
   *you   here-sit-PURP,      we(pl)   return-PRES*

   'You stop here, we're going back.'

36. kaṟ yekiṉpilk, wirkəmok    'I can't lift it, it's too heavy.'
   *not   lift-PURP,   heavy-emph*

37. ŋant ŋinytyimak    'We're going to have a corroboree.'
   *we(pl)   dance-PURP*

38. yukumpey    kaṟ   ŋikiy    'I don't want to talk to you.'
   *you(pl)-DAT-emph   not   speak-PURP*

39. yint ṯi    ŋinytyimiy    'Can you dance?'
   *you   question   dance-PURP*

40. nyinṉíməṉṯalkónṯək    'The flies might eat it.'
   *fly-OP-eat-POT*

41. minyəp    yinan   payiˑlkónṯək
   *animal-OP   you-ACC   bite-POT*

   'The snake will bite you( if you don't kill it).'

42. ŋu kanəŋkalaŋk    'I was just going to eat it (when he
   *I   then-eat-PAST PURP             took it).'*

43. ŋu nyile parkilaŋk    'I nearly fell down.'
   *I   now   fall-PAST PURP*

44. ŋaṉ    kurpaḻki   paṯilaŋk        *'The dog tried to bite me.'*
    me     dog-OP     bite-PAST-PURP

45. ṉula   ṉṯalankóntək   maṛ       *'He would have cut his hand (if*
    he     cut-PAST POT   hand

46. yilárəmpirankóntək        yint,  yint   ṯalár   tyilank
    yesterday-go-PAST POT     you,   you    good    take-PAST-PURP

    *'If you had come yesterday you could have taken some (meat).'*

47. ṉina    kurək    wity
    him     dog      hit-SUB

    *'I'm going to hit the dog.'* (previous sentence elicited was *'The
                            dog might bite you.'*)

48. nayip    ṉurr    yilkóntək,     maṛ     ṉṯaty
    knife    that    get-POT,       hand    cut-SUB

    *'He might get the knife and cut his hand.'*

49. nurku    ŋunta    mukunk,        kurək       mukunyty
    meat     to here  give-PURP,     dog         give-SUB

    *'Give me some meat so I can feed the dog.'*

50. kunmaki    warrapaṯaŋ    kimpí       yakiṉpiṉŋim
    back       spoil-PAST    firewood    lift-IMPERF-COMP

    *'I hurt my back lifting the log.'*

51. ŋuna    kuṉakuṉak    yilinytyinm,      ŋinytyimiṉ     ŋim    kut
    I       children     watch-PRES,       play-IMPERF    COMP   ?

    *'I'm watching the kids playing.'*


## 3.3  Other word classes

Demonstratives include /ṉaŋ/ *'this, here'*, /ŋantək/ *'here'* and /ṉurr/,
/ŋulaŋ/ and /purəm/, all translated as *'that'* or *'there'*; their mean-
ings cannot be differentiated at this stage.  They are not inflected.
/ŋulaŋ/ and /ŋantək/ have bound allomorphs /ulaŋ/ and /antək/ respect-
ively.

52. kanəŋk    kirulaŋ        *'He's still alive.'*
    now       alive-that

    Interrogatives, apart from those inflecting as nouns or verbs and
dealt with above, include /ṯuru/ *'which way?'*, /ṯurúk/ *'how?'*, /ṯurint-
(ək)/ *'when?'*, *'how long?'*, /ṯurúlək/ *'how long?'*, *'how many times?'*,
/ṯiŋ/ is a question marker, used in choice questions (that is,
questions whose expected answer is 'yes', 'no', or a choice between
two or more alternatives).

53. yint    ṯiŋ        *'How about you?'*
    you     QUESTION

54. ŋapí    ṯiŋ      **or** ŋapíŋ    yina    ṯiŋ     *'Have you got water?'*
    water   QUESTION        water    your    QUESTION

```
ŋu   tiŋink                         ŋut̯əmut,   ŋintaty
I    QUESTION-go-URP               mother,    bathe-SUB
```

'Mum, can I go down for a bogey?'

/t̯ekuŋ/ seems to be a dubitative marker, 'might be', as in

```
t̯eku    yawilkulaŋ        'He mightn't be able to get up.'
might be get up-PURP-that
```

/ŋuntaŋ/ and /ŋalək/ are directional adverbs, 'this way', 'to
here' (the latter has a bound form /alək/). The former is used often
with the verb 'to give' as in example 49. Note also example 57, where
the verb of motion is omitted.

```
7.  yint   t̯i          ŋuntaŋ      'Will you come here?'
    you    QUESTION    to here
```

```
8.  maṛ    pəláləkinyalək        '(I've) come here twice.'
    time   two-DAT-go-IMPERF-to here
```

/kaṛ/ 'no, not, none' is used to form a negative sentence or clause.

```
59.  yint   kaṛink,        pinytyiwoləm      'You'd better not go if you're
     you    not-go-PURP,   sickness-having                          sick'
```

```
60.  ŋuna   miyaty,          ŋama   kaṛ      'I eat a little, not a lot.'
     I      little-eat-SUB,  big    not
```

```
61.  kaṛ    warkiŋpin̲     ŋuy      'I haven't made it yet.'
     not    make-IMPERF   I
```

/kunaym/ 'self' denotes action on one's own, or of one's own accord.

```
62.  ŋula   kunayminyalək         'He came here of his own accord (that is,
     that   self-go-IMPERF-to here                      unasked).'
```

```
63.  ŋuna   pinwarr pat̯im    kunaym,   pinwarr pat̯im    pamaṛ
     I      think-PRES       self,     think-PRES       man-lacking
```

(Informant's translation) 'I think about by myself, no friends.'

This word is used also to mark reflexive, where this is thought
necessary. Note that Gog-Nar has no other reflexive marker and that
reflexive is often not specified. This applies also to reciprocal
sentences; in fact, I have not been able to elicit any sentence in which
there was any explicit specification of reciprocity and I must conclude
that the speakers rely on the absence of an overt object. There is a
word /kari/ 'to fight' which may be derived from /ki/ 'to hit' by means
of an earlier reciprocal marker, but this is not productive in the
language at present.

```
64.  ŋuna   maṛ    n̲taŋ   or  ŋuna   maṛ   kunaym   n̲taŋ   'I cut my hand.'
     I      hand   cut-PAST                 self
```

```
65.  pat̯i        pilaŋ       'They bit one another.'
     bite-PAST   they (du)
```

```
66.  ṉurr    pilaŋ        kikimŋímənt̲    karim     '(The horses) are kicking
     there   they (du)    kick-OP        fight-PRES              one another.'
```

/kan/ ~ /kanəŋk/ 'now', 'then' is a very common sentence constituent, normally not requiring to be included in the English equivalent.

67. wat   n̠urr   kanəŋk   rompinytyinim        wankər
    crow   there   now      house-LOC-sit-PRES   top

    'There's a crow sitting on top of the house.'

    /pal/ 'let' may be related to the verb /pala/ 'to leave (tr)'.

68. kanəŋk   pal   parkip         'I hope it rains.'
    now      let   fall-PRES

    See also example 23.

    /ŋaŋ/ 'only, just' is illustrated in example 25.

    /ŋinŋint/ or /ŋinyint/ 'while walking, while going' in association with a verb indicates that the action is carried out while the agent is in motion.

69. ŋinyintaty            'He was eating while he was walking along.'
    while going-eat-SUB

    /mok/ and /kuy/ seem to mark emphasis. The former is very common both bound and free. The latter also may occur as a bound or free form. /kut/ is another morpheme which may have a similar function.

70. miyerr   n̠a     ŋamamok         'It's very cold.'
    cold     this   big-emph

71. may    kanəŋk   kuyaβ          '(They) are eating now.'
    food   now      emph-eat-PRES

    Other non-inflecting words include adverbs such as /paɣaraŋ/ 'before, long ago', /keyiŋink/ 'by and by', /yilŋumpaŋ/ 'often', /rowaŋ/ 'up, on top', /wankər/ 'on top' and others.


## 3.4  Other bound morphemes

A few suffixes which need further study, but which may possibly mark emphasis, include /oŋ/, /uy/ (possibly the same as /kuy/, see previous section), /ey/ and /aŋ/.

72. yint   ŋan̠int   n̠akuy,            ŋuna   t̠untimoŋ
    you    me-?     look-PURP-emph    I      swim-PRES-emph

    'Watch me swim.'       (See also example 38.)


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