

# From tense to aspect or vice versa: verb categories in the Iwaidjan languages

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# 1. Introduction: The Iwaidjan languages

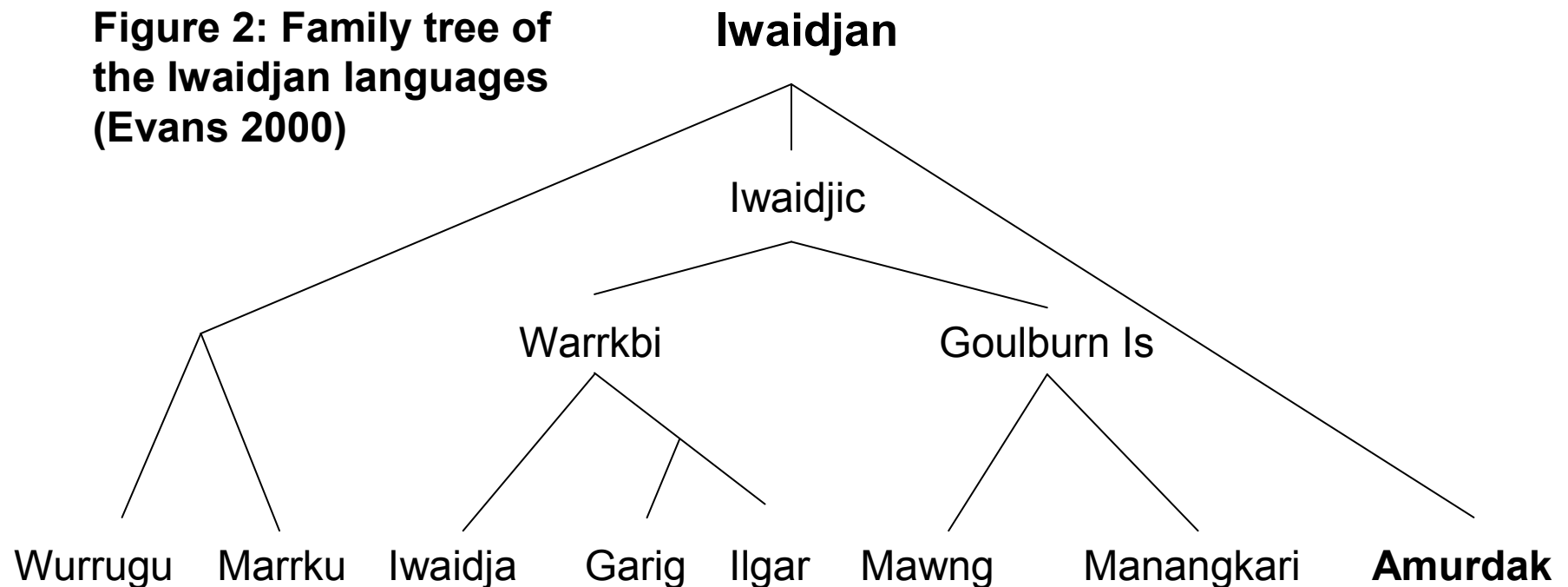


Figure 1: Location of the Iwaidjan languages (adapted from Evans 2000)

# 1. Introduction: The Iwaidjan languages

- Non-Pama-Nyungan languages (“Proto-Arnhem“?, cf. Evans 2003 and Green 2003), Northern Arnhem Land, Australia

Figure 2: Family tree of the Iwaidjan languages (Evans 2000)



# 1. Introduction: The Iwaidjan languages: State of research and data

- overview: Evans (2000)
- **Mawng**: still being learnt by children, grammar (Capell & Hinch 1970), larger and detailed studies
- **Iwaidja**: still being learnt by children, grammar (Pym & Larrimore 1979), larger and detailed studies
- **Ilgar/Garig**: no full speakers; unpublished notes and scattered studies (see e.g. Evans 2000: 133 for references)

# 1. Introduction: The Iwaidjan languages: State of research and data

- **Amurdak**: full speakers (?), sketch grammar (Handelsmann 1991), draft dictionary (Handelsmann 1998), text collection (Mailhammer & Handelsmann in press), analysis of verbal categories (Mailhammer forthc.), notes and scattered studies
- **Marrku**: no full speakers; text collection (Evans, Williams Malwagag & Marrala 2006), unpublished notes (see Evans 2000: 133)
- **Wurrugu/Manangkari**: few records (Evans 1996 on Wurrugu)

# 1. Introduction: The Iwaidjan languages: State of research and data

- good idea of the correspondences between the Iwaidjic languages
- relationship and degree of connectedness of the seemingly peripheral languages are not exactly known (see Evans 2000 for the general facts and 2006 on the case of Marrku)
- it is apparent that the non-Iwaidjic languages show striking divergences not only with respect to the Iwaidjic languages but also to the prevalent NPN/Top End model
- comparative research has focused on lexical issues (e.g. Evans 1997) or on the Iwaidjic branch (e.g. Evans 2007a); initial mutation, lenition (“great Iwaidja consonant shift, see Evans 2007b), assimilatory fortition (cf. Evans 2000, 2007b)

# 1. Introduction: Aims of this talk

- preliminary overview of the Iwaidjan verbal morphology and verbal categories
- key problems/issues in the comparative research, focusing on Amurdak
- to explore ways to account for some of the divergences between Amurdak and the Iwaidjic branch as well as to develop a possible historical scenario
- to show that some of the verbal morphology can in fact be connected to Iwaidjic/Proto-Iwaidjan, making Amurdak a clear member of the Iwaidjan family

## 2. Overview of the verb in the Iwaidjan languages

	bilabial	apico- alveol.	apico- retr.	lamino- pal.	velar
stop	p <b>	t <d>	ʈ <rt>	c <j>	k <k>
nasal	m <m>	n <n>	ɳ <rn>	ɲ <ny>	ŋ <ng>
approx.	w <w>		ɻ <r>	j <y>	ɥ <h>?
tap			ɽ <rd>		
trill		r <rr>			
lateral		l <l>	ɭ <rl>		
flapped lat.		l <sup>r</sup> <ld>	l <sup>ɽ</sup> <rld>?		

Figure 3: Consonant phonemes of Amurdak and practical orthography



## 2. Overview of the verb in the Iwaidjan languages: The Iwaidjic verb

- (1) The (simple) verb in Iwaidjic (Evans 2000: 109)[\[1\]](#)

(Direc)-S-(O)-(Fut)-ROOT-(Redup)-(Recip)-TAM

- [\[1\]](#) Mawng has a larger verbal complex which comprises also coverbs (see Singer 2006: § 2.5 for details). The affixes sometimes form portmanteau morphemes, i.e. it is not always possible to clearly delineate each morpheme.

## 2. Overview of the verb in the Iwaidjan languages: The Iwaidjic verb

(1)

a. Ilg *yijbun-nga-many*

away-3sgA-3plO-take-PST.

‘She took them away.’ (Evans 2000: 108)

b. Mw *"Puka wurnkurrk awuni-wunya-n."*

DEM.P.PL jellyfish 3MA/3pl-burn-PP

"A jellyfish stung them." (Singer 2006: 102)

## 2. Overview of the verb in the Iwaidjan languages: The Iwaidjic verb

- subject prefixes cross reference the subject as well as one object (transitive verbs); in addition, there is an oblique pronoun which can be used to express a third subcategorised argument
- prefix paradigms for transitive and intransitive verbs
- TAM morphology is usually suffixed to the root
- verbal categories: present tense, past tense (perf./imp.), future, various modal categories (composite irrealis, cf. Verstraete 2005)

## 2. Overview of the verb in the Iwaidjan languages: The Iwaidjic verb

- directional prefix-components only in Warrkbi languages (Mawng uses postverbal suffixes, cf. Singer 2006)
- gender is distinguished in 3sg; original 5-gender system found in Mawng; Warrkbi languages have simplified this system within a continuum of possibilities (see Evans 2000, 2007b for details)
- corresponds to the general Non-Pama-Nyungan model (cf. Evans 2003b: 17)

## 2. Overview of the verb in the Iwaidjan languages: Marrku

### (2) Marrku

a. *ma-nga-la-yi*

PST-1sg-be,sit-PST

‘I was living staying’

(Evans, Williams Malwagag & Marrala 2006: 56)

b. *miyimayi*

‘It took him away’

(Evans, Williams Malwagag & Marrala 2006: 51)

## 2. Overview of the verb in the Iwaidjan languages: Marrku

- probably shares with Iwaidjic the cross-reference of objects in the verbal prefix
- TAM-prefix and suffix
- formal differences in the prefixes characteristic for conjugation classes (Evans, Williams Malwagag & Marrala 2006: 57)
- directional prefixes

## 2. Overview of the verb in the Iwaidjan languages: Amurdak



### Verb template

[((Dir-)subject) prefix] - v. root – [object] – [subj. number]

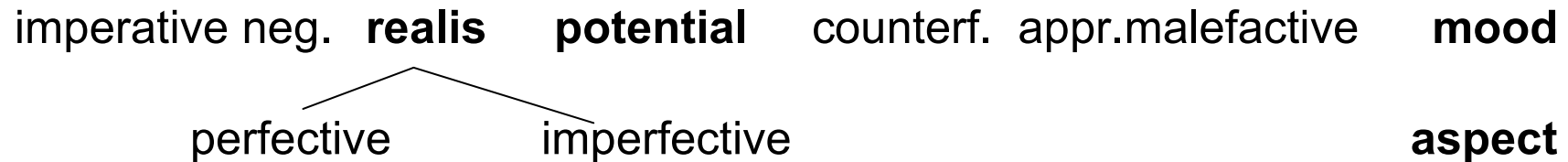
<i>arr-</i>	<i>dakan-bu</i>	<i>-wurduk</i>
% <i>arr-</i>	<i>rakan-wu</i>	<i>-wurduk%</i>
1nsg.excl.PFV-	see-3sg.dat	-Subj. du.

‘We two (excl.) saw/have seen/can see him/her/it’

NB: “Object” is used here in a broad sense without making a statement about grammatical relations. The translation of Amurdak verb forms is highly dependent on the context, due to severe underspecification resulting from the lack of tense as a grammatical category (cf. Mailhammer forthc.)

## 2. Overview of the verb in the Iwaidjan languages: Amurdak

- Key differences to the Iwaidjic system:
- a) Verbal categories
- the realis domain is divided into two aspectual categories; tense does not exist as a grammatical category (Mailhammer forthc.); the potential is also used as a future tense (cf. Iwaidja)
- neg., counterf. [\[1\]](#) and appr. are expressed by prefixes, the malefactive by a suffix



[\[1\]](#) There are few attestations so far, but the evidence seems fairly strong that this category exists. That it is formed differently as in other NPN languages, including the Iwaidjic languages, is probably due to the loss of TAM morphology, since the past tense suffix is usually responsible for the counterfactual reading (cf. Verstraete 2005)



## 2. Overview of the verb in the Iwaidjan languages: Amurdak

- b.) Morphosyntax
- the verbal prefix is in principle optional; it can express the person and number of the subject as well as TAM information[1]; different conjugational classes for realis and pot.
- very little suffixed TAM morphology[2]
- no gender-marking and so far no clear vestiges have been found
- no cross-referencing of the object in the verbal prefix; bound marker formed on the basis of the word denoting ‘body’; a bound version of the oblique pronoun; in addition, there is a clitic version of the word *ngalaj* ‘with’, which can function as an applicative; neither of these strategies seems obligatory

[1] So far the apprehensive and the counterfactual have only been attested with one person category. Therefore it is unclear whether they are in fact form invariant.

[2] The malefactive is a clear case (see Mailhammer 2009). But there are some alternations between imperatives and non-imperatives involving the deletion/addition of a nasal, which may perhaps be seen as vestiges of TAM marking.

## 2. Overview of the verb in the Iwaidjan languages: Amurdak

- (3) a. *Wara-wa- ngarlu.*  
3sgPFV-spear-1sg.acc  
'He speared me.'
- b. *Yuban- ja- laj -anu.*  
3sgPOT\_to- go- -acc -dat  
'S/he/it will bring it for me.' (Handelsmann  
1991: 77)
- c. *Wara-ma -bu rrubiya nganu.*  
3sgPFV-get -dat money dat.pron.  
'He gave him money for me.' (FTr 93-1-3)

## 2. Overview of the verb in the Iwaidjan languages: Amurdak

- the **subject prefix** of the **realis** categories and the **potential shows variation across verbs** from which **conjugation classes** can be abstracted
- the bound subject number morpheme is transparently cognate with the respective numerals and is used to further specify a nsg subject for dual, trial and plural; probably a fairly recent innovation

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development

- generally, the Iwaidjic verb model with cross-referenced objects in the verbal prefix, suffixed TAM morphology and gender marking is taken to be the ancestral model on comparative and internal evidence (cf. Evans 2000, 2003a and others)
- the question resulting from this is obviously how the situation in Amurdak can be explained
- principle possibilities:
  - a) Amurdak is extremely conservative going back to a pre-NPN-stage ☹️
  - b) Amurdak is extremely innovative, having drastically changed the NPN/Iwadijan model 😊
  - c) external influence ☹️

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development



- 3.1 Representation of objects
- a) “accusative” marker *-rlu*, which often occurs with a prefixed possessive, seems to have grammaticalised from the lexeme denoting ‘body’, which also occurs freely. However, its high degree of semantic bleaching and its status as a purely grammatical marker suggest that its creation may not have been too recent (cf. the history of indefinite pronouns like *everybody* and *anybody* in English and Evans 2003b: 462 for what could be a pre-stage of the Amurdak situation in Bininj Gun-Wok)

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development



- b) “dative marker” is the bound version of the oblique pronoun, which also exists in the Iwaidjic languages, though not all forms appear to be clear cognates
- in Mawng, the oblique pronoun is a clitic (Singer 2006: § 2.2.7)
- but in Amurdak it seems to be more closely integrated into the verbal complex

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development



- c) the applicative also seems to be a fairly recent innovation; the successive stages of the development of Proto-Iwaidan \**ngalkaj* can be seen in Iwaidja and Mawng (Mailhammer 2009)
- the strategies found in Amurdak all appear to be transparent and fairly recent innovations

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development



- Harvey (2003a: 198ff) on the development of object clitics:
  - clitic pronoun expressing the Indirect Object > generalisation of object clitics > Direct and Indirect Object clitics; a number of Non-Pama-Nyungan language have object enclitics instead of cross-referencing prefixes (see Evans 2003a for an overview)
- suggests that oblique pronouns developed into obligatory indirect object markers and then triggered the creation of new direct object markers



# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development



- **Problem:** Does not fully explain what happened in Amurdak.
  - What happened to the old cross-referencing prefixes?
  - Why have not all languages that allow cliticisation of oblique pronouns developed object enclitics?
  - Object markers do not seem to be obligatory under all circumstances in Amurdak.
- **Additional factors:**
  - loss of gender marking in Amurdak
  - loss of “old” TAM-suffixes

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development



- Could the old transitive prefixes have become opaque due to a loss of the gender system and general weakening/loss of segments, for which the development of object enclitics was a solution (perhaps in the sense of the “Hermit Crab model” proposed by Heath 1998)?

## Amurdak Realis and Potentialis prefixes

### Perfective (PFV)

### Imperfective (IPV)

### Potential (POT)

? not attested

\* reconstructed

N assimilating  
nasal

class model verb paradigm	1 <i>aldikiny</i> 'listen'	2 <i>yilkin</i> 'be full'	3 <i>ya</i> 'eat'	4 <i>rakan</i> 'see'	5 <i>wurlka</i> 'dance'	6 <i>miyardma</i> 'want'
1sg	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>aN-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>aN-</i>	<i>aN-</i>
1nsg incl	<i>a-</i>	* <i>a-</i>	<i>aN-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>aN-</i>	?
1nsg excl	<i>arr-</i>	<i>arr-</i>	<i>aN-</i>	<i>arr-</i>	?	?
2sg	<i>anu-</i>	<i>anu-</i>	<i>anuN-</i>	<i>anu-</i>	<i>anuN-</i>	<i>anuN-</i>
2nsg	<i>awurr-</i>	<i>awurr-</i>	<i>awun-</i>	<i>awurr-</i>	<i>awun-</i>	?
3sg	( <i>w</i> ) <i>a-</i>	( <i>w</i> ) <i>a-</i>	( <i>w</i> ) <i>a-</i>	( <i>w</i> ) <i>a-</i>	( <i>w</i> ) <i>ara-</i>	( <i>w</i> ) <i>ara-</i>
3nsg	( <i>w</i> ) <i>arr-</i>	( <i>w</i> ) <i>arr-</i>	( <i>w</i> ) <i>andu-</i>	( <i>w</i> ) <i>arr-</i>	( <i>w</i> ) <i>andu-</i>	?
1sg	<i>anga-</i>	<i>anga-</i>	<i>angaN-</i>	<i>anga-</i>	<i>angaN-</i>	<i>angaN-</i>
1nsg incl	<i>a-</i>	?	<i>angaN-</i>	?	<i>angaN-</i>	<i>angaN-</i>
1nsg excl	<i>angarr-</i>	?	<i>angaN-</i>	?	<i>angaN-</i>	* <i>angaN-</i>
2sg	<i>anu-</i>	?	<i>anuN-</i>	<i>anu-</i>	?	<i>anu-</i>
2nsg	<i>awurr-</i>	?	<i>anuwun-</i>	?	?	<i>awun-</i>
3sg	( <i>w</i> ) <i>a-?</i>	?	( <i>w</i> ) <i>anu(wu)-</i>	( <i>w</i> ) <i>anu-</i>	( <i>w</i> ) <i>anu-</i>	( <i>w</i> ) <i>ara-?</i>
3nsg	( <i>w</i> ) <i>arr-?</i>	?	( <i>w</i> ) <i>andu-</i>	?	( <i>w</i> ) <i>andu-</i>	( <i>w</i> ) <i>andu-</i>
1sg	<i>an-</i>	<i>an-</i>	<i>aman-</i>	<i>an-</i>	<i>aman-</i>	?
1nsg incl	* <i>aban-</i>	<i>aban-</i>	<i>aman-</i>	<i>aban-</i>	<i>aman-</i>	?
1nsg excl	<i>arran-</i>	<i>aban-</i> <i>arran-</i>	* <i>arrman-</i>	<i>arran-</i>	<i>arrman-</i>	?
2sg	<i>wan-</i>	<i>wan-</i>	<i>uman-</i>	<i>wan-</i>	<i>uman-</i>	<i>uman-</i>
2nsg	<i>urran-</i>	<i>wan-</i>	<i>urrman-</i>	<i>urran-</i>	<i>urrman-</i>	?
3sg	<i>wan-</i>	<i>wan-</i>	<i>wan-</i>	<i>wan-</i>	<i>wan-</i>	?
3nsg	<i>irran-</i>	<i>warran-</i> <i>irran-</i>	<i>irran-</i>	<i>irran-</i>	<i>irran-</i>	?

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development



- directional forms seem to be built from the paradigms in classes 4 and 5; clear parallels in Iwaidja, cf. *ny-* ‘towards’ and *j-* ‘away’ (cf. Pym & Larrimore 1979: 93)
- problem of how class membership is determined has not been solved yet due to lack of sufficient attestations
- conceivable that morphophonemic changes at the root-prefix interface can explain the emergence of conjugation classes; details yet unclear
  - e.g. most verbs in class 3 seem to be *y-* initial and most verbs in class 5 seem to be *w-* initial, but it’s not yet clear how this relates to the morphological shape of the relevant prefixes

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development



- **Observations:**

- phonology: no prefix begins with a true consonant (general tendency to lose initial consonants in Amurdak, e.g. *ujali* vs. Iw *kujali* 'fire')
- far-reaching overlaps:
  - between number categories
  - between TAM categories (only POT clearly distinct)
  - between person categories
  - between conjugation classes
- cases of obvious analogical levelling
- classes 1, 2 and 4 as well as 3, 5 and 6 show recurrent similarities

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development



- Preliminary conclusions:
  - the different allomorphs characterising different conjugation classes arose independently of the loss of suffixed TAM morphology, as this is found in the realis as well as in the POT categories
  - the allomorphy of verb prefixes may be due to historical morphophonemic effects operating at the prefix-root boundary

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development



- **In search for cognates:**
  - Iwaidjic intransitive verb prefixes
  - Iwaidjic transitive prefixes
- **Why transitive prefixes?**
  - ancestral 5-gender system (cf. Mawng)
  - simplification in Warrkbi languages
  - processes of over-generalisation, lexicalised/pseudo agreement, deponency (see Evans 2007)
  - endpoint lexically determined allomorphs which are in fact vestiges of the old gender markers; some verbs no longer transitive (Evans 2000, 2007)

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development



- (4) *ang*-verbs in Iwaidja (N/ED gender)

1sg	<i>ang-</i>
1pl	<i>arrung-</i>
2sg	<i>kung-</i>
2pl	<i>kurrung-</i>
3sg/pl	<i>angbu-</i>



# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development



- Amurdak verb paradigms far less homogenous, though individual forms look promising, e.g. A *an(y)-ja* ‘I ate/drank’ vs. Iw *an-da* (%ang-Ida%) ‘I drink’ and A *wandumak* ‘They get/got’ vs. M *nganduma* ‘They got me’
- local overgeneralisations, levellings ?
- unless these can be convincingly accounted for, it may be better to look for cognates among intransitive prefixes

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development

- **Amurdak realis prefixes ~ Iwaidjic intransitive non-future prefixes: 1sg**
- **a-** (cl. 1, 2, 4) ~ Iw/II/M *nga-* (loss of initial *ng-* in Am)  
cf. A *a-rda* 'I went' vs. Iw *nga-ra* 'I go'
- **aN-** (cl. 3, 5, 6) ? (but note *anga-* vs. *angaN-* and the distribution over the vb. classes; cf. Iw *an-da* 'I drink' %ang-lda% quoted above; details unclear)
- **anga-** (cl. 1, 2, 4) ~ PI *\*kanga-* (?) (cf. present tense *k-* prefix in M, which, does not occur on C-initial stems, but may have been there once, cf. M 3sgVEnon-fut *kama-*, Singer 2006: 55f))
- **angaN-** (3, 5, 6) cf. above; final *N* unclear

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development



- Amurdak realis prefixes ~ Iwaidjic intransitive non-future prefixes: 1nsg
- (incl.) no distinct forms in Amurdak
- excl.
- *arr-* (1, 2, 4) ~ M *ngarrK-*, Iw *ngarruK* ~ *ngarr-* ~ *ngad-*, Ii *ngad-* (loss of initial ng-); cf. Am *arr-yadbin* ‘we (ex.) worked’ ~ Iw *ngad-jaman* ‘we (ex.) work’
- *angarr-* (1, 2?, 4?) cf. 1sg *anga-langaN-* above

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development



- **Amurdak realis prefixes ~ Iwaidjic intransitive non-future prefixes: 2sg**
- ***anu-* (1, 2, 4) ~ M *an-* (Iw/II *ang-*) (with anaptyctic *u* in Amurdak, cf. Iw 1nsg)**
- ***anuN-* (3, 5, 6) (?; but cf. 1sg forms with final N)**

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development

- Amurdak realis prefixes ~ Iwaidjic intransitive non-future prefixes: 2nsg
- *awurr-* (1, 2, 4) ~ M/II *kurr-* (Iw *kurruK-*)  
(lenition of *k* in intervocalic pos. + old present tense prefix, \**kakurr-* > *awurr-*)  
Am *awurr-yadbin* 'you (nsg) worked' vs. M *kurr-yama* 'you (pl) work'
- *awun-* (3, 5, 6?) ? (original phonetic variant ?, 2nsgPOT in class 3 seem to have to allomorphs in free variation, *urrman-* and *unman-*)
- *anuwun-* (3) ? (perhaps new formation from 2nsg and 2nsg; but note also M 2sg>3pl *anpun-*)

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development

- Amurdak realis prefixes ~ Iwaidjic intransitive non-future prefixes: 3sg
- *wa-* (1, 2, 3, 4) ~ PI 3sgED cf. M *aK-*; Iw *K-* overgeneralised (~ ?PNPN 3sg.non-PST \**ka-*, cf. Harvey 2003b: 499)
- *wara-* (5, 6) ?
- *wanu-* (3, 4, 5) ?

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development



- **Amurdak realis prefixes ~ Iwaidjic intransitive non-future prefixes: 3nsg**
- ***warr-*** (1, 2, 4)      ?< *\*barr-* (PNPN \*pV-rrV-, cf. Harvey 2003b: 500)
- ***wandu-*** (3, 5, 6)      ? (but note correspondences with transitive prefixes quoted above)

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development

- **Amurdak realis prefixes ~ Iwaidjic intransitive non-future prefixes:**
- some forms seem to be cognate with Iwaidjic intransitive forms
- recurrent correspondences between classes 1, 2, 4 and 3, 5, 6, which suggests that there may be a common feature that can explain e.g. the *N*-final forms
  - prefix-root morphophonemics
  - perhaps influences from the transitive system
- some similarities between Amurdak realis prefixes and some Iwaidjic transitive prefixes: systematisation and convincing account of displacement necessary



# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development

- Amurdak POT prefixes ~ Iwaidjic FUT prefixes: 1sg
- ***an-*** (1, 2, 4) ~ M/Iw *ngana-* (< \**ngawana-* < \**ngabana-*)
- ***aman-*** (3, 5) < \**ngawana-/ngabana-* (nasal assimilation)

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development

- Amurdak POT prefixes ~ Iwaidjic FUT prefixes: 1nsg
- 1nsg.incl.
- *aban-* (2) < \**arrkban-* (cf. M *arrkpana-*, Iw *adbana-*)
- 1nsg.excl.
- *arrman-* (3, 5) < \**ngarrKban* (cf. M *ngatpana-*, Iw *ngadbana-*)
- *arran-* (1, 2, 4) < \**ngarrKban* (?)

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development

- Amurdak POT prefixes ~ Iwaidjic FUT prefixes:  
2<sup>nd</sup> person
- 2sg
- *wan-* (1, 2, 4) < \**abana* < \**ambana* < \**anbana-* (cf. M *anba(na)-*, Iw *angmana-*)
- *uman-* (3, 5, 6) ~ unstressed variant without lenition, cf. Iw *angmana-* (?)
- 2nsg
- *urrman-* (3, 5) < \**kurrbana-* (cf. M *kutpana-*, Iw *kudbana-*)
- *urran-* (1, 4) < \**kurrbana* (?)

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development

- Amurdak POT prefixes ~ Iwaidjic FUT prefixes: 3<sup>rd</sup> person
- 3sg
- *wan-* < \**aKbana-* (cf. Iw *bana-*, M *abana-* (ED))
- 3nsg
- *irran-* new formation (?) (M *mawana-*, Iw *ana-* < \**awana-*)

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development



- Amurdak POT prefixes ~ Iwaidjic FUT prefixes:
  - N/B the recurrent correspondences between classes 1, 2, 4 and 3, 5, 6, cf. realis paradigms
  - POT is formally and functionally cognate with Iwaidjic FUT

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development

- **Developmental sketch:**
- a) At a pre-stage Amurdak was of the general Iwaidjan/NPN-type
- b) gender became unproductive (cf. also the Warrkbi languages) and opaque
- c) instead of “muddling” on, Amurdak made use of the path sketched by Harvey (2003a), and developed bound object markers and used only the intransitive prefix forms
- explains why there are no clear vestiges of gender-marking on verb prefixes and no radically different conjugation types, such as Iwaidjan *ang*-verbs

# 3. Amurdak and Iwaidjic: Pathways of development

- **Unsolved puzzles:**
- where do the different conjugation classes come from?
  - probably phonological factors, local generalisations/suppletion (but perhaps some interaction with the transitive system)
- how did the aspectual opposition arise from essentially one categorial paradigm (intransitive paradigms) and how does this fit in with the loss of TAM morphology and the loss of tense as a morphological category?
- where and why did all the transitive prefixes go and why did Amurdak develop bound object markers?

## 4. Conclusions

- morphology of the Amurdak verb displays striking differences in comparison to the other Iwaidjan languages
- some of these differences can be explained, but there are some major unsolved problems
- however, it can be shown that there are in fact substantial correspondences with the other Iwaidjan languages, which strongly suggest that Amurdak is a member of the Iwaidjan language family
- overall data suggests that Amurdak is innovative and has further developed the inherited state of affairs



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