A SKETCH GRAMMAR OF BURARRA

Rebecca Green
IVth Year Honours Thesis

Except where otherwise acknowledged, this thesis is the original work of the author.

Rebecca Green
26.6.87
# Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations and Symbols

Chapter One: Introduction
1.0 The Language and its Speakers 1
1.1 Previous Study 2
1.2 This Study 2
1.3 Phonology and Orthography 3
1.4 Morphophonology 4

Chapter Two: Word Classes
2.0 Word Classes 7
2.1 Nouns 7
2.2 Adjectives 7
2.3 Pronouns 8
2.4 Indeterminates 8
2.5 Verbs 10
2.6 Adverbs 11
2.7 Particles 13
2.8 Interjections 14

Chapter Three: Nominal Morphology
3.1 Noun Classes 15
3.2 Case 16
3.2.1 Locative/Instrumental Case 17
3.3 Pronouns 19
3.3.1 Categories: Person, Number and Gender 19
3.3.2 Cardinal Pronouns 21
3.3.3 Third Person Pronouns as Definite Markers 22
3.3.4 Possessive Adjectives 23
3.3.5 Oblique Pronouns 23
3.3.6 Kin Possessive Pronouns 24
3.3.7 Dative Pronouns 24
3.3.8 Identification of Stems 24
   (i) Case Suffixes 24
   (ii) Person/Number Stems 24
   (iii) Number Suffixes 24
3.4 Adjectives 28
3.5 Possession 30
   (i) General Nouns
   (ii) Kinship Terms
   (iii) Body Parts

3.6 Quantifying Expressions 33

Chapter Four: Verbal Morphology

4.0 Verbs; the structure of the verb 35

4.1 Pronominal Prefixes 35

4.1.1(i) Declarative Intransitive Prefixes 36
   (ii) Identification of Stems
       (a) Number Affixes
       (b) Person Stems

4.1.2(i) Declarative Transitive Prefixes 39
   (ii) Number Affixes
   (iii) Person Marking

4.1.3 Gender 42

4.1.4 Use of Number Categories 43

4.2 Directional Prefixes 44

4.3 Tense/Status Suffixes 46

4.3.1 Realis 46

4.3.2 Irrealis Status 51
   (i) Apprehensive
   (ii) General Irrealis

4.4 Realis Negator -rma 53

4.5 Imperative Constructions 53
   (i) Imperative Mood

4.6 Intransitivization 55

4.6.1 Reciprocal Intransitives 57

4.7 Nominalization 58

Chapter Five: Syntax

5.1.0 Simple Sentences 59

5.1.1 Core NP Functions 60

5.1.2 Peripheral Arguments 62

5.2 Negation 70

5.2.1 gala yapa 'otherwise, mustn't' 71

5.3 Questions 72

5.3.1 Information Questions 72
5.3.2 Yes-no Questions
   (a) Simple yes-no questions
   (b) Tag questions
   (c) Yama? (1/2 INTERROG)

5.4 Verb Serialization

5.4.1 Subject=subject Serial Verbs
   (a) Compound Action
   (b) Aspectual Indicators

5.4.2 Causatives: Object=Subject Serialization

5.5 Complex Sentences

5.5.1 Conjunctions

5.5.2 -pa: CIRCumstances

5.5.3 Embedded Clauses
   (a) Adverbial Clauses
   (b) Relative Clauses

Bibliography: Burarra Texts

Other References
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S.G.M.K.J!
### Abbreviations and Symbols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>an</td>
<td>an noun class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPR</td>
<td>apprehensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUG</td>
<td>augmented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>away</td>
<td>away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARD</td>
<td>cardinal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CON</td>
<td>contemporary tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gun</td>
<td>gun noun class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUM</td>
<td>human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INC</td>
<td>inceptive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERROG</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTR</td>
<td>intransitivizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>general irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jin</td>
<td>jin noun class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KINPOSS</td>
<td>kin possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L/I</td>
<td>locative instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>minimal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc</td>
<td>masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIN</td>
<td>minimal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mun</td>
<td>mun noun class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nf</td>
<td>nonfeminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRECON</td>
<td>precontemporary tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QU</td>
<td>question particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>realis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECIP</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twds</td>
<td>towards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIV</td>
<td>universal quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X (\rightarrow) Y</td>
<td>X (agent) acts on Y (object)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>morpheme boundary between adjective/noun stem and obligatory noun class prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>morpheme boundary elsewhere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1,2,3,1/2 first, second, third and one/two (first and second) persons respectively
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 The Language and Its Speakers

Burarra is a non-Pama-Nyungan, multiple-classifying, prefixing language spoken in Arnhem Land in the Northern Territory. Burarra people's country is in Central Arnhem Land, along the Blyth and Cadell Rivers and the coastal and inland areas around and between them. Many people now live to the west of this, at Maningrida, a settlement on the mouth of the Liverpool River.

Speakers of at least 8 other languages also live at Maningrida (these include Ndjébbana, the language of the traditional landowners, Nakkara, Gunbarlang, Gunwinjgu, Djinang, Gupapuyngu, Gurrngoni, Maung and Rembarrnga). It is hard to give a figure for the population of Maningrida (and outstations) and the various language groups, as population counts vary considerably. Glasgow 1985 gives an approximate figure of 600 Burarra people (Glasgow 1985 p.11), while Elwell 1977 gives a total of 594 (in 1972) from one source, and around 350 from other sources (a 1966 Census, recent government department estimates and a Maningrida outstation census) (Elwell 1977 pp.14 and 20). Elwell estimates the population of the Maningrida area at around 1,000-1,2000; Burarra people are clearly the largest group in the area, with Gunwinjgu people (c.150) following them; the Ndjébbana, Nakkara and Djinang groups all number approximately 100. However, Elwell estimates that equal numbers of Ndjébbana and Burarra people actually live in Maningrida settlement (Elwell 1977, p.21).

The Burarra language is also known to its speakers as Gu-jingarliya ('language') or Gu-jarlabiya ('it goes fast'). One major dialect division exists: my informants distinguished their own language, which they referred to as Gu-jingarliya or Gu-jarlabiya, from Gun-nartpa (named from its word for the demonstrative 'that', gun-narda in the speech of my informants). I was told that there used to be three dialects, but two are not now distinguished; differences in the remaining two are largely in the area of vocabulary. Dialect differences were noticeable amongst speakers of Gu-jingarliya, particularly in the vowels; I made no systematic study of
Burarra is the first language of the children, and although all the young adults speak English, they rarely use it in speaking to each other. English loan words are common; my observation is that most are largely or completely assimilated to Burarra phonology, although those who speak English may also use the English form (e.g. [rroj] 'Rose', [daJajit] 'trousers', [bojiku] 'bicycle'). Children learn English at school, although there are now two bilingual programmes at Maningrida School: one in Ndjebbana and one in Burarra. T.V. reached Maningrida 2 years ago, and that may well have an impact on language use.

1.1 Previous Study of the Language

Burarra was included in the survey of languages of Arnhem Land made by Capell in 1938/39, and brief notes were published in Capell 1942. The material there is very limited, and unfortunately Capell did not recognize the existence of two series of stop consonants.

Since the 1960's, David and Kathleen Glasgow have published a large amount of work on Burarra, dealing with the phonology, morphology and clause-level syntax; the most recent publication is a Burarra-English/English-Burarra dictionary (Glasgow 1985).

1.2 This Study

This thesis presents a complete sketch grammar of the Burarra language. The area of phonology was not included in my study; a summary of the phonology and morphophonology, drawn from Glasgow 1981 and 1985, is given at 1.4. Chapter 2 discusses word classes, while Chapter 3 concentrates on nominal morphology and noun-phrases, Chapter 4 on verbal morphology, and Chapter 5 on syntax.

Fieldwork for this thesis was conducted from November 1986-January 1987. A month was spent on preliminary work with Burarra students at Batchelor College, south of Darwin, followed by six weeks in Maningrida. Analysis is based on
material obtained from informants (in texts, elicitation sessions, and in recordings or observation of natural conversation), and on material published by the Maningrida Literature Production Centre, with reference also to a collection of texts made available to me by Kathleen Glasgow (Glasgow n.d.). All examples drawn from published texts are identified by a citation of the source; where no source is given, the example is drawn from my fieldwork data.

1.3 Phonology and Orthography

The orthography I use in writing Burarra is that developed by Kathleen Glasgow (see Glasgow 1981b), and used by the bilingual programme at the school. Tables 1(a) and 1(b) display the consonant and vowel phonemes respectively, and the orthographic symbols which represent them.

There are five places of articulation of the consonants. There is one laminal series, a lamino-palatal, and two apical series, alveolar and retroflex. Burarra has two contrastive 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Apico-</th>
<th>Lamino-</th>
<th>Dorso-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial</td>
<td>Post-</td>
<td>Alveo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless Stops /p/ p</td>
<td>/t/ t</td>
<td>/t/ rt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced Stops /b/ b</td>
<td>/d/ d</td>
<td>/d/ rd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals /m/ m</td>
<td>/n/ n</td>
<td>/n/ rn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals /l/ l</td>
<td>/l/ rl</td>
<td>/r/ rr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhotics</td>
<td>/r/ rr</td>
<td>/r/ r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1(a): Consonant Phonemes and Orthographic Symbols

series of stops, analysed as voiced and voiceless in Glasgow 1981a. Only two laterals and two rhotics are distinguished, at the apical points of articulation; the alveolar rhotic is a trill, and the retroflex one a continuant. Initially
and finally, the voiced and voiceless series do not contrast; initial stops are voiced and final stops voiceless. There is also no contrast between alveolar and retroflex consonants initially, and the unmarked series, the retroflex series, occurs. (According to a spelling convention, however, the simpler symbols are used, those which elsewhere represent the alveolar consonants.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>/u/ i</td>
<td>/u/ u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>/a/ e</td>
<td>/o/ o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1(b): Vowel Phonemes and Orthographic Symbols

(Tables 1(a) and 1(b) are adapted from Glasgow 1981b.)

Burarra has 5 contrasting vowels in stressed syllables; these are represented in Table 1(b) by their least restricted allophones. Conditioned allophones of /u/ are [i] and [e]; /a/ also has allophones [ae] and [ε]; /o/ has an allophone [ɔ]; /u/ has other allophones [o], [u], [i] and [β]; and /a/ has many allophones [a], [a'], [ʌ], [ɔ], [ɔ], [ɔ], [β]. Only three vowels (i,a,u) contrast in unstressed syllables.

Stress is described as grammatically predictable, being placed "on the first syllable of the first root in the word" (Glasgow 1981a, p.64). My own observation is that stress is not completely predictable by this rule, but I am unable to say what conditions the variation observed.

1.4 Morphophonology

The following rules operate at morpheme boundaries:

1. Glide → apical nasal/ apical nasal+

   e.g. ngu=welangga
        gu=yigipa
   1MIN=name
        L/I=3MINPOSS
   an=nelangga
        gun=nigipa
   3Man= name
        3Mgun=3MINPOSS
2. $V \rightarrow \phi /\text{ny}_+ + C$

- apical

\[ \text{continuant} \]

\[ \text{e.g. nyi-na-na} \]

\[ jinyu-na-na \]

\[ \text{2M} \rightarrow \text{3M-see-PRECON} \]

\[ \text{3M} \rightarrow \text{3Mjin-see-PRECON} \]

\[ \text{ny-bo-na} \]

\[ jiny-bo-na \]

\[ \text{2MIN-go-PRECON} \]

\[ \text{3Mjin-go-PRECON} \]

3. $\text{C} \rightarrow \text{palatal/ny+}$

velar

(bilabial)

\[ \text{e.g. a-gurkuja-rra} \]

\[ a-bamu-na \]

\[ \text{3Man-be afraid-CON} \]

\[ \text{3Man-go along-PRECON} \]

\[ \text{jiny-jurkuja-rra} \]

\[ jiny-jamu-na \]

\[ \text{3Mjin-be afraid-CON} \]

\[ \text{3Mjin-go along-PRECON} \]

4. $\text{ny} \rightarrow n/ + C$

+apical

-continuant

\[ \text{e.g. nyi-raka-ja} \]

\[ \text{2MIN-sit down-CON} \]

\[ \text{n-dima-nga} \]

\[ \text{2MIN-have-CON} \]

5. $\text{rr} \rightarrow d/\left\{ n+ \right\}$

\[ \text{rr(C)(V)+} \]

\[ \text{e.g. ngu-rrima-nga} \]

\[ a-rra-na \]

\[ \text{1M} \rightarrow \text{3M-have-CON} \]

\[ \text{3M} \rightarrow \text{3Man-shoot-PRECON} \]

\[ \text{n-dima-nga} \]

\[ \text{burrbu-da-na} \]

\[ \text{2M} \rightarrow \text{3M-have-CON} \]

\[ \text{3NS} \rightarrow \text{3NS-shoot-PRECON} \]

6. $a \rightarrow i/ + y a$

\ [+ INTR]

\[ \text{C+ nga} \]

palatal

TENSE/STATUS SUFFIX

\[ \text{e.g.} \]

\[ \phi -gaka-\phi \]

\[ \phi -barnyja-\phi \]

\[ \text{2M} \rightarrow \text{3MIMP-move-IRR} \]

\[ \text{2M} \rightarrow \text{3MIMP-put-IRR} \]

\[ \phi -gaki-ya-\]

\[ \text{ngu-barnyja-nga} \]

\[ \text{2MIMP-move-INTR-IRR} \]

\[ \text{1M} \rightarrow \text{3M-put-R} \]
7. a → u/ V C +suffix
   -front bilabial
e.g. φ -jarlapa- φ
   2M→3WIMP- make -IRR
   ngu -jarlapu-rda
   1M→3M - make -CON

8. (b → w/ V V)
   in pronom. prefix marker of NONMIN person/number
   and 3 person NONMIN
   e.g. aburr- bo -na ~ awurr-bo-na
   3AUG - go - PRECON

( ) signifies an optional rule
+ indicates a morpheme boundary between root
or stem and affix.

These rules are based on those given in Glasgow 1985;
I have formularized them, and expanded some (giving the
optional change in rule 3, and rule 8) and omitted others
(such as a rule dealing with the variation between the vowels
u and i in the pronominal person/number/case marker bu-)
where my data show them to be inadequate. I cannot, as yet,
offer an alternative, however.
2.0 Word Classes

The following word classes can be identified in Burarra:

noun
adjective
pronoun
indeterminate
verb
adverb
particle
interjection

The morphological characteristics of each class are displayed in Table 2(a); each class is then discussed separately.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORD CLASS</th>
<th>NOUN</th>
<th>PRONOUN</th>
<th>ADJECTIVE</th>
<th>INDET</th>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>ADVERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CATEGORY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CASE: CORE/OBL</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCAL</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOUN CLASS</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERSON</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUMBER</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GENDER</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>HUMAN/NONHUMAN</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TENSE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2(a): Categories Expressed by Word Classes

2.1 Nouns

Nouns (Ch. 3) are a large open class of words which name categories of humans, animals, plants, inanimate objects, natural phenomena and some abstract concepts like trouble, law, knowledge, language, kinship, love, etc. Nouns inflect for case, and belong to one of four noun classes. Sub-classes of nouns must also be recognized, on the basis of distinctive possessive formations: general nouns, kin terms, and body part nouns.

2.2 Adjectives

Adjectives (Ch. 3) are a large open class of words
which describe qualities of the nouns they modify, in terms of size, quantity, colour (there are three colour adjectives, =gungunyja 'black', =gungaricha 'white', =mugulumberpa 'red'), degree of knowledge, physical condition (strong, weak, rough, smooth, etc), shape, and many more.

Adjectives agree with what they modify in class, case, person, number and gender. They are distinguished from verbs in that they do not show tense, and do show case.

Nouns and adjectives are distinguished by the fact that adjectives obligatorily mark class or person, and do not have a fixed or restricted class membership. The majority do not have overt marking of class; however, for some nouns, class is variable, being determined by the referent, but usually restricted to one or two classes. There are some words which have unrestricted class membership which one would want to classify as nouns on other morphological grounds (the derived nouns formed from verbs with the derivational prefix gu-, some of which have fixed class, some variable but limited, and some free); or on semantic grounds (e.g. =mawunga, 'shadow, reflection'). So morphologically there is no sharply defined dividing line between these classes, and there is little to separate them syntactically (both can occur as head of an NP, and can be modified by another adjective).

2.3 Pronouns

Pronouns (Ch. 3) are a small, closed class, encoding categories of person, number, gender and case.

2.4 Indeterminates

yinda 'where', yina (=)gaya 'where, which of known possibilities' and =nga 'an indeterminate person or thing', form a class on distributional grounds: they are used as interrogatives (5.3.1), and in introducing subordinate clauses with universal reference, wherever, whatever clauses—these are illustrated below. The only other subordinators in Burarra are the conjunctions ngardawa 'because' and minyja 'if' (and these are not used as interrogatives).
2(i) an =gata ana =nga joborr gu =rrumu-rra
   3Man=that 3ManHum=indet. law 3M~3Mgun =break-PRECON
   person
   abu - bu -na    aburr - workiya -na
   3AUG~3Man- hit-PRECON 3AUG -do always -PRECON
Whoever broke the law they hit him all the time.
   (Djordila)

2(ii) rrapa gun= nga ni-pa jal a -ni -Ø
   and 3Mgun=indet.3Mnf-CARD desire 3Man-be-IRR
   thing
   marn.gi     a-ni -Ø
knowledge     3MIN-be-IRR
   and whatever he wants to know    (Djordila)

2(iii) gun -ngardapi-ya jangu~ yina gun- gaya
   3Mgun -one - story where 3Mgun-which of known possibilities
   It's one story wherever it is.   (An-gureja,a)

2.(iv) gapula   rrapa wurulguman wugupa aburr- bo- na ,
   old person and old woman together 3AUG- go -PRECON,
   yinda aburr-gaki-yi - na , yinda aburr- bo -na ,
   where 3AUG -move-INTR-PRECON where 3AUG -go -PRECON
   birri- pa aburr- malchi - nga burr-wa.
   3AUG-CARD 3AUG-go along with- R 3AUG- DAT
Old men and women went together (with them); wherever
   they shifted, wherever they went, they went along with them.
   (Pascoe, B.(a) )

=nga negated by gala (5.2) means 'no-one, none'; I do
   not know if yinda and yina =gaya can occur in analogous
   constructions.

2(v) gala barrwa mun = nga manggo
   NEG again 3Mmun=indet. thing mango
   There are no more mangoes, there aren't any mangoes left.

2(vi) Gala ana = nga a- ninya -Ø
   NEG 3ManHum=indet.person 3Man-be (sitting)-CON
   There's no-one there.
=nga inflects as an adjective, but makes a distinction between human and nonhuman members of the an, masculine, noun class; hence it is =nga to which the INDETerminate column in Table 2(a) refers.

(=)Gay may be either an adverb (uninflected) or an adjective, inflected as such. Yinda and yina are uninflected.

2.5 Verbs

Verbs are a large open class of words describing actions, emotions and states. Verbs crossreference their subject and object in prefixes, and express categories of tense and status in suffixes; there are a number of conjugation classes defined on the basis of allomorphs of these suffixes.

Burarra has a number of verbal constructions consisting of an uninflected word followed by an inflected verb, which often provides no more than the transitivity of the construction, and a base for person and tense inflections. The most common of these auxiliary verbs are an intransitive verb ni 'be (sitting), stay' and a transitive verb nega 'make'; these verbs are used with English words also to provide a base for inflections:

2(vii) thirsty nyi- ni - Ø?
   " 2MIN- be - PRECON
   Were you thirsty?

2(viii) Lock im up Ø-nega- Ø.
       2M>3MIMP-make-IRR
       (You) Lock it up.

2(ix) Well off nyi- nega - Ø.
      " 2M 3M- make -IRR  Well, turn it off.

In some cases, the uninflected word also occurs independently; for instance:

marn.gi knowledge
jal desire, love, liking
jama work

Others do not occur outside this construction; these I consider nouns with restricted distribution, as I do not find a sufficient basis for setting up another word class.

Constructions of this type are widespread in prefixing
languages; they are found for instance in Alawa, Mara and Warndarang, from around the Roper River in Arnhem Land (Sharpe 1976), in the Djamindjungan languages spoken in the Victoria River District (Hoddinott and Kofod 1976) and in Northern Kimberley languages such as Ngarinjin (Capell 1976) and Wunambal (Vaszolyi 1976). In some languages, including those of the Northern Kimberley group, they constitute the major type of verbal construction; in Burarra, they are relatively few in number.

2.6 Adverbs

Adverbs are a large open class of uninflecting words which indicate the how, when, where or likelihood of an event.

Temporal adverbs include:

geka today
yi-rrawa yesterday
ngulam tomorrow
wola a long time ago
wolawola sometime
waya at a specific time

gipa already
barrwa again
mola again
munguy further, keep doing
nuwurra later
burraya soon

Those which indicate position, direction or distance include:

waykin high, up on
wupa low, in, under
gojalapa halfway
yarlanga (clear), outside
yigurrepa close
bulay far

Manner adverbs include:

wugupa together
ngardapa  alone  
burr-guya  hard

**Demonstrative Adverbs** form a subgroup of adverbs, distinguished by the specific categories of distance and visibility which they encode. The series of demonstrative adjectives parallels, and is largely derived from, that of adverbs, and is given here with it. There are four degrees of distance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverbs</th>
<th>Adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngunyuna</td>
<td>=guna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gata</td>
<td>=gata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaba</td>
<td>=gaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gapa</td>
<td>=gapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaya</td>
<td>=gaya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gaya has been found only functioning as an interrogative, alone or in combination with yina 'where?'. It thus appears to be the interrogative corresponding to the set of demonstratives, asking 'which, in/at which of a set of known possibilities? which specific place?'.

Several other demonstratives occurred in my data which I was not able to define precisely: =narda 'that', =guta 'this', gurda 'here, towards (?)'.

Both demonstrative adverbs and adjectives are used of time as well as place:

2**(x)**  an =guna yawarriny  
3Man =this young man  
   this young man, the present day young man (Djordila)

2**(xi)**  Ngaypa ng =guna gugu wana ngu-babalapa  
1MIN-CARD 1MIN =this now big 1MIN-comparative degree of size  
   I am bigger now  
(Darcy, b)

2**(xii)**  an = gapa  
3Man =that far out of sight  
   That ancestor way back then.  
(Djordila)
2(xiii) Gu=gata wenga jin=mola jinyu-ni-  Ø
L/I=that from 3Mjin=good 3Mjin-be-PREC0N
Ni-pa Leon wugupa acha -la
3MIN-CARD " together 3MfemOBL-DAT
From then on she was better, and Leon was too.
(Cooper, K.)

As in English, =guna can be used to foreground distant events:
2(xiv) Wola gun =guna waya 1980
Long time ago 3Mgun =this specific time "
A while back, this was in 1980....... (Cooper, K.)

2.7 Particles
At this stage of my analysis, this is considered a residue class. All particles are uninflected.

Negator: gala (5.2)
Modal negator: gala yapa
Conjunctions (5.5.1): ngardawa 'because'
minyja 'if'
rrapa 'and'
rraka 'and so'
wurra 'but'
o 'or'

Interrogatives: Sentence initial: yama (5.3.2c)
final ya (5.3.2b)
yuwa (")

Simile: minypa 'like'
'Thought' (mistaken inference, thwarted intention): jimarna

FUTURE: barra (4.3.2 (ii))
Postposition: wenga 'from'
2.8 Interjections

Interjections noted were:

- ngaw: yes
- i-i: yes!
- aya: uh-huh, I see
- [mλ̃'] (approximation): O.K.
- ngika: no
- guwa: come here
- [cɬʰa] (approximation): shoo! (said to dogs eating food not meant for them)
- arlay: hey! to a man
- ajay: hey! to a woman
- lila: hey! to a baby
- worra: what a pity, what a shame, poor thing
- (minyja: that's right, isn't it)
3.1 Noun Classes

There are four noun classes in Burarra. Class is not overtly signalled on the majority of nouns, but is obligatorily marked on adjectives, the indeterminate =nga, and verbs, where these have minimal third person reference (on transitive verbs class is marked only for objects). The full system of prefixes is shown below in Table 3(a).

The four classes will be glossed (using the adjectival class prefixes) as an, jin, mun, and gun respectively.

Included in the an class are human males, some animals, some trees, cars and trucks, sand, fish spears and hooks, the moon (and hence night), and lightning.

The jin class includes human females, animals not in the an class, some trees, and the sun.

The mun class includes vegetable foods (and for some, the trees they grow on), grass, some body parts, paper, pens, clothes (but not shoes- gun class), bedding, tins, aeroplanes, guns and spears, etc.

In the gun class are found liquids (water, blood, tea, lemonade, petrol, etc), other body parts, the ground, places and houses, shoes, plants and trees not in another class, fire and firewood (but not grassfires- mun class), wind and rain, and abstract things like thought, law, time, etc.

The semantic categorization of these classes, particularly the mun and gun classes, is not clear to me, and is an area needing further research. A categorization of the an and jin classes as masculine and feminine respectively, is supported by Burarra usage and by other elements of the grammar. For some nouns referring to humans (e.g. =gcaliya 'Aboriginal person', =gumarrbipa 'spouse') class membership is dependent on the sex of the referent; and, while each animal species is accorded membership of one or the other class, individual large animals can be classified according to their sex. Also, a gender distinction, of feminine/non-feminine, is made at some points of the verbal cross-referencing system and thepronoun system, and it is the feminine gender which is used for jin class referents, and the non-feminine for an (and other) class referents. (A morphological distinction between humans and nonhumans is made, in the an class only, on =nga 'an indeterminate person or thing'.)
Nouns where class is overtly marked include those with variable class prefixes where the class is determined by the referent, and some where an invariable class prefix forms part of the stem:

\[ \text{e.g.:} \quad \text{gun-jong} \]

stick, tree \hspace{1cm} \text{(with an adjectival prefix)}

\[ \text{ana-mernda} \]

\[ \text{creek} \hspace{1cm} \text{(with an loc./inst. prefix; cf. \text{mernda} 'arm')} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part of Speech</th>
<th>ADJ (nonlocal)</th>
<th>INDET (=nga)</th>
<th>LOC/INST (noun/adj)</th>
<th>VERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefixes:</td>
<td>an- human: ana-</td>
<td>ana-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jin- nonhuman: an-</td>
<td>ji-</td>
<td>jinyu-, ji-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mun-</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gun-</td>
<td>gu-</td>
<td>gu-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3(a): Class Prefix System

3.2 Case

All non-prefixing Australian languages have a system of casemarking that serves to identify the grammatical functions of intransitive subject (S), transitive subject (A), transitive object (O), and other, peripheral, cases. Prefixing languages are not so uniform; some mark core functions, others only local functions, and some have very few case inflections. Burarra is one which, like Tiwi (Osborne 1974), Gunwinjgu (Oates 1964, Carroll 1976), Gunbarlang (Harris 1969, Coleman 1982), and Ndjébbana (McKay 1984) has no casemarking for the three core functions. Word order is not fixed; role assignment is determined by crossreferencing on the verb.

The following extract shows one noun, \text{marrchila} 'crocodile' in S, A and O slots:

3.1 Balngga \text{gu-ni - } \emptyset \text{, an-ngardapa}

evening \text{3Mgun-be -PRECON 3Man= one}
It was evening, one man went down and was fishing at the beach... But a crocodile (S) came to the top of the water, he smelt the man and was ready to eat him. His wife saw the crocodile (O) sneaking up. Then she shouted to him, "Hey, that crocodile (A) is going to eat you!"

(Pascoe et al, b)

3.2.1 Locative/Instrumental Case

Burarra nouns and adjectives inflect for only one case, which can be glossed Locative/Instrumental (L/I). This case is marked by a distinct set of noun class prefixes, shown in Table 3(a) above. These replace adjectival prefixes, including any which form part of a noun stem, e.g.

- gun-jong = with a stick, in a tree, stick
- gu-jong = tree

L/I -tree, stick -tree
(Burarra must be noted as another language where case is marked by a prefix—Blake (1977) gives Nungali as the only known language where this is so—and as one of the few where the categories of case and nounclass are fused. In Nungali however, the same case marker replaces the class marker on nouns for three of the four noun classes. In Burarra no such neutralization occurs.)

This case is used to mark location in space or time, direction of movement, instrument, mode of transport, and mun and gun class nouns in the role of purpose or goal.

As a marker of location, it covers position in or on:

3(ii) ana- munya gu- ni - Ø
L/I- night 3Mgun- be - PRECON
It (the time, gun class) was in the night.

3(iii) abi -gurrmu -nga mu -garrung mu-guyinda
3AUG→3Man - put - CON L/I-blanket L/I-one, type
They put it (a snake) on the blanket.

(Ngalwaringa)

The direction it indicates may be into, onto, out of, through or along (on top of):

3(iv) Bokpurra a-gortkurrchi-nga gu-bugula
frog 3Man- jump - R L/I- water
The frog jumped into the water.

3(v) a - na - be - na cup ana=guyinda
3Man -twds -come out-PRECON " L/I-one, type
He jumped out of the cup.

3(vi) An=ngardapa an=gugaliya a- bamu -na
3Man= one 3Man=Ab. person 3Man-go along-PRECON
gu -wurrpa
L/I-mangroves, jungle
A boy was walking through the jungle.

(Pascoe et al, a)

An instrument may be inanimate, or a body part:

3(vii) Ngu- rra -na gormabola mu-marriyang
1M→3M -spear, shoot -PRECON wallaby L/I- gun
I shot a wallaby with a gun.
3(viii) jinyu- na -na ji-guya mu -wirrpu-na
3M→3Mjin -see -PRECON L/I-nose 3M→3Mmun- wet -PRECON
rrralala
hole
She saw her (turtles) where she made a hole with her nose. (Darcy, a)

Mode of travel is illustrated in:
3(ix) Gu-repara ny- bo -na ?
L/I- foot 2MIN- go -PRECON
Did you go on foot?

An example of a noun in purpose role marked by the locative/instrumental case is given in 5(xxix).

As an indicator of position or direction, this prefix is not very specific. Adverbs can be used to define it more precisely, as in the following examples:
3(x) Yama ngu-barrnguma- Ø wupa gu-bala ?
1/2INTERR0G 1MIN- enter -IRR inside L/I-house
Can I come inside the house? (Fry, c)
3(xi) arri -ny -yurrgaka- Ø gu-bol waykin
1/2 UA→3M -fem- cook -IRR L/I-fire high, up
We’ll cook it on/over the fire. (Darcy, a)
(The adverb can either or follow the noun here: waykin gu-bol is also possible.)

3.3 Pronouns

There are two sets of free pronoun stems in Burarra: cardinal and oblique. From the oblique stems, which function as kin possessive pronouns, dative pronouns are formed by the addition of a dative suffix.

3.3.1 Categories: Person, Number and Gender

Burarra pronouns and pronominal prefixes distinguish three number categories, which I term Minimal (MIN or M), Unit Augmented (UA) and Augmented (AUG), following McKay’s usage for Rembarrnga (McKay 1975) and Ndjébanna (McKay 1978 and 1979). Four person categories are distinguished in the Minimal number, which I will call 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 1/2
persons. 1/2 person refers to speaker and hearer, and involves 2 people in the minimal number, three in unit augmented, and four or more in augmented, while in the other person categories, the minimal number is one, unit augmented two and augmented three or more. In nonminimal categories in the free pronouns, the distinction between first and 1/2 person categories is neutralized.

(Burarra pronouns were first described in terms of four person and three number categories in Glasgow 1964a; there the terms applied to the number categories were singular, dual and plural (in 1/2 or first inclusive person applied to the hearer only). I prefer to use minimal for the base category, as a distinction of singular vs. nonsingular (in which 1/2MIN is classed as nonsingular) also operates in Burarra—see the discussion of the pronominal prefixes in Ch. 4.)

In the unit-augmented category of free and bound pronouns, a gender distinction appears, of feminine and non-feminine. (In practice, nonminimal free pronouns are restricted to animate reference; mun and gun class referents may however be crossreferenced by nonfeminine 3rd person UA prefixes.)

The choice of gender for same sex referents is clear; where the referents are of both sexes, the choice depends on the sex of the speaker and the addressee. When referring to a couple, a speaker uses the opposite gender category to their own—thus a man will use the feminine form, and a woman the nonfeminine. When one is talking to a couple, the feminine form is used in addressing the man, while for addressing the woman, the nonfeminine is appropriate, as a polite reference to the other person. Use of the 1 and 1/2 person pronominals presents more possibilities: man as speaker—included persons both women? man and woman? present or not? and vice versa—and unfortunately I do not know how the choice is made. (A similar use of gender in unit-augmented pronominals in Ndjébbana is described in McKay 1979.)
In the minimal category, gender is distinguished only in oblique pronouns. The third minimal cardinal pronoun is used both for an and jin class referents, and in referring to a point in time.

3.3.2 Cardinal Pronouns

Cardinal pronouns, shown in Table 3(b), appear in 3, A and 0 functions. They are not necessary for pronominal reference, as this is provided by the pronominal prefixes obligatory on all verbs and adjectives. Often they are used to provide explicit contrast, as in example 3(xii) below, or to disambiguate the pronominal prefixes, as in example 3(xiii).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>MIN</th>
<th>UA</th>
<th>AUG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>2/3</td>
<td>ngarri-pa</td>
<td>nfem</td>
<td>ngati-pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>ngay-pa</td>
<td>fem</td>
<td>ngarrinyji-pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>nginyi-pa</td>
<td>nfem</td>
<td>anagoti-pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>ni-pa</td>
<td>fem</td>
<td>biti-pa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3(b): Cardinal Pronouns

3(xii) Nginyi- pa bol  \( \emptyset \) -rrumurrma- \( \emptyset \) ngay-pa
2MIN -CARD firewood 2M\( \emptyset \)3MIMP- break -IRR 1MIN-CARD
barra ngu -boy- \( \emptyset \) bugula ng- ga - \( \emptyset \) arrku -la
FUT 1MIN -go -IRR water 1M\( \emptyset \)3M-take-IRR 1/2MIN -DAT
(Nakachurra)
"You break firewood and I will go and get us water."

3(xiii) Aburr=jaranga wurra gama gorlk gati -ya
3AUG -lots man woman swag there -
aburr- ni - \( \emptyset \) , ngayburr-pa nyiburr-worlworlchi-nga
3AUG -be -PRECON 1,1/2AUG-CARD 1,2AUG -be happy -R
(Cooper, K.)
There were a lot of people there (men, women and children) and we were all happy.

(In this example, both the pronoun and the prefix are ambiguous when taken separately— the common category is 1st person augmented.)

Pronouns may also be used in apposition to nouns, which define the scope of reference of the pronoun:

3(xiv) Ngayburr-pa nguburr=gugaliya nguburr-yinmiya-∅ 1/2AUG -CARD 1/2AUG =Aboriginal 1/2AUG -do how -IRR

barra jama nguburr- ji -∅?

FUT work 1/2AUG -stand-IRR

How will we Aboriginal people work?

Here there is a two-way process, as the noun itself has pronominal reference: we Aboriginals. The pronoun acts to focus on and emphasize this identity.

3.3.3 Third Person Pronouns as Definite Markers

Third person pronouns are placed at the beginning of NPs (including proper names) as markers of definite reference or when referring to particular individuals. The identity of the referent may have already been established, as in 3(xv), or it may be unique (as for example 3(xvi)).

3(xv) Ni- pa ana-mutika jiny-jortkurrchi-nga Ronnie

3MIN-CARD L/I- car 3MJin- jump -R "

Smiler an=nika , lika ni- pa Ronnie burr- " 3Man=3MPOSS then 3MIN-CARD " 3M→3AUG-

ga -nyja rrava,

take- R home (Cooper, K.)

She Jumped in Ronnie Smiler's car, then Ronnie took them home.

3(xvi) Ni- pa jin-babalapa ji- na -jeka -rra

3MIN-CARD 3MJin-biggest one 3MJin-twds-return-PRECON

ji- na - bamu -na

3MJin-twds-go along -PRECON (Fry, d)

Then the mother came back.

(no previous reference)

In other cases the function of the pronouns is one
of singling out an individual from a group, e.g.:

3(xvii) birri- pa aburr-bupiya -na gulach ....
3AUG -CARD 3AUG -go down-PRECON grass lily
lika ni- pa jin=gata jiny-ye -na
then 3MIN-CARD 3Mjin=that 3Mjin-say -PRECON
burrinyju-la , "Ngay- pa ajirri-ny -yolka-ja !"
3UAfemOBL-DAT 1MIN-CARD IM*2UA-fem-trick-PRECON
They all went down for grasslily, (but two stayed
on the high ground playing. They thought a ghost came, and
went down to the others crying.....) Then a girl there said
to those two, "I tricked you!" (Fry, b)
Here ni-pa jin=gata, 'a girl there', is singled out
from the group referred to as birri-pa, 'they all'.

3.3.4 Possessive Adjectives
The cardinal pronouns form the basis of the possessive
adjectives, which are formed by adding an adjectival prefix
(see below) to the pronoun stem. Only the third person minimal
form is irregular- the possessives are built on two pronominal stems, =yika and =yigipa (glossed as 3MINPOSSessive).
I am not aware of any difference in meaning or usage between
the two forms.
Examples showing the use of these adjectives are given
at 3.5.1, Possession.

3.3.5 Oblique Pronouns
The oblique pronoun stems are displayed in Table 3(c)
below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>MIN</th>
<th>UA</th>
<th>AUG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PERSON</td>
<td>MIN</td>
<td>UA</td>
<td>AUG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>arrku</td>
<td>nfem ata</td>
<td>arrburra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>apa</td>
<td>fem arrnyja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nggu</td>
<td>nfem anagota</td>
<td>anagorr burra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>nonfem nuya</td>
<td>nfem buta</td>
<td>burra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem acha</td>
<td>fem burrinyja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3(c): Oblique Pronoun Stems (Kin Possessive Pronouns)
(adapted from Glasgow 1984)
3.3.6 Kin Possessive Pronouns

The oblique stems are used as possessive pronouns enclitic on kinship terms, for example:

- mampa apa  
  mother 1MINKINPOSS  
  mother to me, my mother
- mampa burra  
  mother 3AUGKINPOSS  
  mother to them all, their mother

Their use is described in more detail at 3.5.11, Possession.

3.3.7 Dative Pronouns

Dative suffixes are added to the oblique base to form dative pronouns. The suffixes are:

- MIN and UA: -la(wa)
- AUG: -wa

forming e.g. apu-la apa-la  
1MIN-dat
nu-la nuya-la  
3MINnfem-DAT
burr-wa burra-wa  
3AUG-DAT

(Both -la and -lawa are heard for MIN and UA categories; I do not know what determines the choice, if anything.)

Dative pronouns appear in peripheral argument function, discussed in 5.1.2, and as alternatives to the kin possessive pronouns in the kinship phrase.

3.3.8 Identification of Stems

Comparison of the cardinal, kin possessive and dative pronouns shows that the forms can be analysed into morphemes: case, gender and number affixes, and person/number stems.

3.3.8.i Case Suffixes

The case suffixes are easily identified:

- CARDinal, or core: -pa
- KIN POSsessive: -Ø
DATive:  
-\text{-la(\text{wa}) NonAUG}
-\text{-wa AUG}

-\text{pa} as a cardinal pronoun suffix is also found in Nakkara/\text{and Ndjebbana}; in the latter it alternates with an emphatic suffix -\text{-mala} (McKay 1984). Capell and Coate (1984) would link it with Nunggubuyu -\text{-waj}, which Heath describes as emphatic: it is optional on all free pronouns and is "used in contexts....in which the speaker feels there is a need to emphasize the identity of a given referent as the real one out of a pool of possible choices" (Heath 1984, p.261). A link between this function and the Burarra and Ndjebbana contrastive and focussing use of free pronouns ending in -\text{pa} is certainly plausible.

Heath further suggests an identification of Nunggubuyu pronominal -\text{-waj} with one of the nominal pergressive suffixes -\text{-baj} and -\text{gaj} (both [-\text{waj}] after a vowel or non-nasal sonorant), which denote "a zone or a field in which or through which some entity is located or in motion" (p.207), -\text{-gaj} implying also an association with an earlier situation. Both are also used as subordinators, meaning 'while X' and 'back when X' respectively. This function resembles the use of the subordinator -\text{pa} in Burarra (see 5.5.2), and a common function exists also between this -\text{pa} and the pronominal -\text{pa} in Burarra: both relate a particular person or event to others, although the pronominal referent is focussed on and contrasted with other possible referents, while the event referred to in a -\text{pa} clause is backgrounded and given as the circumstances of another event. The similarities in function of the morphemes -\text{pa} and -\text{-waj/-baj/-gaj} suggest that there may be a historical relationship between Burarra and Ndjebbana, and Nunggubuyu.

3.3.8.11 Person/Number Stems

The minimal stems are largely suppletive between the cardinal and oblique cases, while the non-minimal stems show less suppletion for case, but do show a neutralization of 1 and 1/2 person categories.
Table 3(d): Minimal Pronoun Stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON/NUMBER</th>
<th>1/2</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CASE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARD</td>
<td>ngarri ngay nginyi ni/(yika/yigi: POSS)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>arrku apa nggu nfem nuya fem acha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3(e): Nonminimal Pronoun Stems

All 1 and 1/2 person cardinal stems have a root \textit{nga(y)-} while the corresponding oblique stems show \textit{a-}. The minimal 1/2 person stems are fairly transparently 1st person \textit{a-}, \textit{nga-} plus a plural affix \textit{-rr(i)} (the \textit{-ku} in the oblique form is less easily identified, but may relate to the second person form \textit{nggu}; a similar formation: 1st person + plural + 2nd person, for 1/2 person, is found for instance in some Daly River languages.) Analysing these stems thus further, however, we are left with an unidentifiable \textit{-pa} in 1MINOBL, and a \textit{-ku} in 1/2MINOBL not clearly identifiable. On a synchronic basis it seems preferable not to further segment them.

All stems have probable cognates in the pronominal systems of other prefixing languages (see Green 1987 and Blake 1986). An alternation between \textit{a-} and \textit{nga-} for first person is found in other languages also; in some, for instance Kungarakany and Waray, a number distinction is encoded, while in Alawa it is one of case.

3.3.8.iii Number Suffixes

The minimal pronoun stems are portmanteaux in which the categories of person, number and case are fused.

Unit-augmented and augmented forms are built on a non-minimal stem, with suffixes:

- UA: \textit{-ta}, \textit{-ti}
- AUG CARD: \textit{burr} (1,2,1/2), \textit{birri} (3)
- OBL: \textit{burra}
It is perhaps more accurate to say that the cardinal 3rd person augmented form is also a portmanteau morpheme, as it is not identical to the 1,1/2 and 2 person augmented affixes. The oblique 3AUG form however has no overt marking of person: -burra simply marks augmented number.

The oblique 1, 1/2 and 2 person pronouns are seen to be doubly marked for number, consisting of an augmented person/number stem, plus -rr-, an element in many nonsingular prefixes, plus -burra, the augmented number affix. This perhaps reflects an early stage of the language where a singular/nonsingular number distinction was made throughout the pronominal system (witness 1/2 MIN stems arr, ngarr mentioned above). At this stage, the nonsingular forms may have been:

- 1, 1/2 CARD ngarr(V)
- 1, 1/2 OBL arr(V)
- 2 : anagorr(V)
- 3 burr(V)

At a later stage, the third person form may have been reanalysed as an unmarked nonsingular (or more likely perhaps as a nonminimal or augmented number marker when these categories were developed) and added to the already marked 1, 2, and 1/2 person forms. A similar analysis of the bound pronominals is made at 4.1.1.ii(b).

Following this analysis, it appears that the unit-augmented feminine forms are built on what were originally nonsingular forms, marked by -rr-, and are now the augmented (or minimal, in the 1/2 person cardinal pronoun) forms, e.g.:

- anago -rr -iny -ti
- 2NONMIN -NS -fem -UA

→ anagorrinyji

while the nonfeminine pronouns are built on the nonminimal person stem with no number marking:

- anago - -ti
- 2NONMIN -nfem-UA

→ anagoti

This is clearly the case in Ndjebbana bound pronominals, where the augmented forms are identified by the vowel -a-,
and the unit-augmented (non-feminine) forms by the vowel -i-, for example:

1UA nyirri-
2UA nirri-
1AUG nyarra-
2AUG narra-

The feminine unit-augmented prefixes however are nyarra-nya, narra-nya, with the feminine gender affix -nya following the augmented form (McKay 1979).

3.4 Adjectives

Adjectives can be used both attributively and predicatively, and can occur as the head of a noun phrase. Adjectival prefixes are shown below in Table 3(f); they mark agreement with the class and case of a third person head or subject, and with the person, number, and gender (where relevant) of 1/2, 1st, 2nd and non-minimal 3rd person subjects.

(This system of agreement contrasts with that found in European languages, where adjectives agree with their subjects in gender, not in person.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>MIN</th>
<th>UA(Fem)</th>
<th>AUG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PERSON</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ngu-</td>
<td>{</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nyi-</td>
<td>nyirri(ny)-</td>
<td>nyiburr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>arr-</td>
<td>arri(ny)-</td>
<td>nguburr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>an-,  jin-, mun-, gun-</td>
<td>abirri(ny)-</td>
<td>aburr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L/I:ana-, ji-, mu-, gu-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3(f): Adjectival Prefixes

Adjectival prefixes differ from the subject prefixes of intransitive verbs only in 3rd minimal category.

Possessive adjectives are formed by the addition of an adjectival prefix to a cardinal pronoun stem, as described above; demonstrative adjectives, and many other adjectives, are derived from adverbs by the same process. For example, from the free form ngardapa 'alone' is derived the bound
form =ngardapa 'one': an=ngardapa, 'one an class thing', etc.

Examples:

3(xviii) jin=delipa jocha
   3Mjin=little mouse

3(xix) an=delipa jichicha
   3Man=little fish

3(xx) ngay-pa wola ngu=delipa ngu-ni-
   1MIN=CARD long ago 1MIN=little 1MIN-be-PRECON
   Long ago when I was little
   (Darcy, b)

3(xxi) Aburr=werranga gama yerrcha aburr-bo-ya
   3AUG =other woman mob 3AUG -go-CON
   Other women went
   (Cooper, J.)

3(xxii) Jin=gata jin=ngardapa jiny -ye-na
   3Mjin=that 3Mjin= one 3Mjin -say-PRECON
   That one (woman) said.....

   There is one defective adjective, wana 'big', which
does not inflect (interestingly, 'big' in Maung, another
multiple-classifying language, is also uninflected (Capell
and Hinch 1970)):

3(xxiii) a- be -na acha-la wana gornabola
   3Man-arrive -PRECON 3Mfem -DAT big wallaby
   He came to a big wallaby
   (Mudjana et al)

3(xxiv) awurri- ny=jirrapa ngu- wu -cha jiny-
   3UA -fem= two 1M=3M-give-CON 3M=3Mjin-
   jolarchi-nga jin=delipa rrapa wana
   bag - R 3Mjin=little and big
   I gave him two, and he bagged them, a little one and
   a big one
   (Wunggara, a)

3(xxv) mari gun =nika janguny wana,
   trouble 3Mgun=3MPOSS story big
   jama gun=nika janguny wana
   work 3Mgun=3MPOSS story big
   Trouble's story (or the story about trouble) is
   big, the story about work is big.
   (An-gureja, a)
3.5 Possession

Possession in Burarra is signalled in several ways, depending on the subclass of noun filling the 'possessed' slot. Distinctive constructions exist for general nouns (including proper nouns), kinship terms, and body parts.

3.5.1 General nouns

The possessor is indicated pronominally by a possessive adjective based on the cardinal pronouns, which shows agreement with the noun in the possessed role. If the possessor is indicated by a noun (for example, in 3(xxv), or by name, as in 3(xv) above) this always immediately precedes the possessive adjective; the possessor phrase as a whole may occur in any position in relation to the possessed NP.

Examples:

3(xxvi) gun=nginyi- pa jilipit
        3Mgun=2MIN -CARD thongs
        Your thongs

3(xxvii) nginyi- pa ny=nyay- pa mampa apa ya?
         2MIN -CARD 2MIN=1MIN-CARD mother 1MIN-KINPOSS QU
         You're my mother aren't you?

3(xxviii) janguny pig gun=nika
         story " 3Mgun=3MINPOSS
         Pig's story

3.5.2 Kinship Terms

Burarra has an elaborate system of expressions referring to kin categories; these are described in some detail in Glasgow 1984. For each category, there is a form used to address someone as kin, a vocative form, for instance:

ama

Mum, mother or mother's sister

A speaker can refer to their own kin using this form with a possessive prefix: nguji- my(feminine)

nguna- my(masculine)

thus: nguji-ama, 'my mother'.
For referring to an addressee’s kin there is another term, which has no overt marking of possession and is often suppletive; for 'mother' this is muma.

Additionally, there exist kinship phrases consisting of an optional possessive pronoun, plus a kin term and enclitic possessive or dative pronoun. These can be used to refer to anyone's kin, including one's own:

3(xxix) jin-ngay- pa mampa apa
3Mjin=1MIN-CARD mother 1MINKINPOSS
my mother

3(xxx) Aburr- we-na achi- la mampa burr-wa,
3AUG -say-PRECON 3Mfem-DAT mother 3AUG-DAT
"Ama , bubu -bawu -na ,nyiburr-boy-∅ barra."
Mother, 1,3AUG-2M -leave-PRECON 1,2AUG -go -IRR FUT
They said to their mother, "Mother, we have left
you, we are going."

The kinship terms occurring in these phrases all end in -na, perhaps the same suffix as found on cardinal pronouns; usually they are identical to, or built on, one of the other terms for the kin category.

3.5.iii Body Parts

For many body part nouns the possessive phrase consists of: N =jirra, where =jirra is a frozen form of the verb jj 'to stand' (i.e. it takes the intransitive verbal pronominal prefixes, but does not inflect for tense ).

(Neighbouring Nakkara uses an identical construction for the same purpose, /=jirra is glossed as POSSessive in this construction. The categories crossreferenced by the prefix agree with those of the possessor (compare possessive adjectives used with general and kin nouns, where the adjectival prefix agrees with the possessed NP). An NP representing the possessor is optional and may either precede or follow the body part phrase.

Examples: 3(xxxi) mula ngu=jirra
hair 1MIN=POSS
my hair
Body part nouns can also be used of plants, inanimate objects or abstract entities:

3(xxxii) jarrka rrepara a=jirra
goanna foot 3Man=POSS
goanna's feet or tracks (Pascoe et al, a)

3(xxxiii) mula gu=jirra
hair 3Mgun=POSS
the leaves of a tree

3(xxxiv) ngana mu=jirra garrung
mouth 3Mmun=POSS blanket
the edge of the blanket (Ngalwaringa)

and in 5(xxxiii): ngana gu=jirra
mouth 3Mgun=POSS

gun class's mouth: the door of the house.

An alternative method of indicating the possessor for these nouns is to use a person/number prefix. Where a possessed body-part noun is inflected for the locative/instrumental case, the case prefix agrees with the person or class of the possessor, not the body-part:

3(xxxv) Burdak arr-bama arr-barnyi -ya - Ø
Wait 1/2MIN-head 1/2MIN-put down-REFL-IRR
Let's put our heads down (= bow our heads)

(An-gureja, b)

3(xxxvi) Mun=gata lipalipa mu=gochula aburr-ni- Ø
3Mmun=that boat L/I-abdomen 3AUG-sit-PRECON
They were in that boat (Pascoe, B. (a))

(This contrasts with the use of the locative/instrumental case to indicate general means, as in gu-rrepara (3(ix)): 'on foot', not 'on your, my, feet, etc'.)

Not all nouns referring to body parts can occur in these constructions- some are treated as general nouns.

Body-part nouns include those for:

- head
- arm
- hair
- eye
- tooth
- hand/finger
- knee
- back
- nose
- foot
- chest
- mouth
- leg
- side
- thigh
Some of those that are general nouns are words for:

heart  bone  eyebrow  eyelid

venin  and another word for eye

The criteria by which these are categorized are not obvious to me. All of those I learned during my fieldwork were in the first category; 'heart' (mun-molma) occurs in a text I read subsequently, and others I have found in the dictionary. This area (and the intersecting question of how these nouns are assigned to nounclasses) also needs further research.

3.6 Quantifying Expressions

Adjectives express the quantities 'none', 'one', 'two', 'many':

=nyagara  '(having, being) none'
=ngardapa  'one'
=jirrapa  'two'
=jaranga  'lots, many'

=ngardapa and =jirrapa take the adjectival prefixes in the appropriate number category, minimal and unit-augmented respectively. =Ngardapa thus agrees in class with any noun it modifies, while =jirrapa marks gender. These two numbers are used in counting-

abirri=jirrapa  an=ngardapa : three
3UA-nfem =two  3Man =one
abirri=jirrapa abirri=jirrapa : four
abirri=jirrapa abirri=jirrapa an=ngardapa : five, etc.

Gun=nyagara, a general expression meaning 'there isn't/aren't/weren't any, nothing', is the most commonly heard use of =nyagara, but other subjects are possible:

3(xxxvii)  Ngu=nyagara

1MIN=none

I haven't got any (which I was told to say when a child was looking for lollies).

=Jaranga, although denoting a large quantity, can be used with minimal prefixes with generic reference (see 4.1.4).

=Yerrcha is a noun meaning 'mob, group' which is used
in combination with nouns referring to humans or higher animates, thus: wurra yerrcha rrapa gama yerrcha

man mob and woman mob

men and women

and the pigs in the Burarra version of 'The Three Little Pigs' (Abirri=jirrapa An-ngardapa Bigipigi) were referred to as "bigipigi yerrcha", the pig mob.

mu-, 'UNIVersal quantifier'

A human reference noun in a 'N yerrcha' phrase can be prefixed with mu- to mean 'all the Ns':

3(xxxviii) mu-delipa yerrcha aburr-duwuji-nga

UNIV-child mob 3AUG - cry - R

All the kids cried. (Mudjana, b)
4.0 Verbs

Burarra verbs obligatorily inflect for categories of tense and status, and crossreference categories of person, number, class and gender of their arguments (subject, or subject and object).

They may optionally specify the direction of action away from or towards a focal point.

All verbs are inherently transitive or intransitive. There are derivational suffixes which create intransitive stems from transitive stems, but no processes which increase the valency of a verb.

The structure of the verb is shown in the diagram below, which also indicates the section at which each element is discussed.

PRONOMINAL-DIRECTION-V-REJIPROCAL-INTRANS-TENSE/-REALIS-CIRCS
(REFL) STATUS NEG
4.1.1, 4.1.2, 4.2, 4.6.1, 4.6, 4.3, 4.4, 5.5.2

4.1 Pronominal Prefixes

Intransitive verbs crossreference only one argument, the subject of the verb, while transitive verbs crossreference two arguments, the subject and the object. (In Burarra, the only test for the objecthood of an argument is whether it can be crossreferenced as the second argument in the transitive prefixes.)

The categories of person, number and gender identified in the free pronouns (see 3.3.1) are also encoded in the bound pronominals. In addition, the category of illocutionary force is expressed through the prefixes: prefixes expressing the imperative mood form a set distinct from those used on declarative verbs. The category of class also appears in declarative prefixes, where agreement is shown with third person minimal intransitive subjects and transitive objects.

Declarative prefixes are discussed in the following
section; imperative prefixes are discussed separately at 4.5.1.

4.1.1 Declarative Intransitive Prefixes

The intransitive prefixes are displayed in Table 4(a).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>MIN</th>
<th>UA</th>
<th>AUG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PERSON</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ngu-</td>
<td>nyirri(ny)-</td>
<td>nyiburr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nyi-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a-, jiny-, mu-, gu-</td>
<td>abirri(ny)-</td>
<td>aburr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>arr-</td>
<td>arri(ny)-</td>
<td>nguburr-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4(a): Intransitive Verb Prefixes

As in the free forms, some neutralization of person categories occurs. In non-minimal categories, 1st and 2nd persons are not distinguished. Thus 'me and somebody else' has the same form as 'you and somebody else', but is distinct from 'you and me and others'. This is a different neutralization from that found in the free pronominals, (see Table 3(b) at 3.3.2), where the distinction is between 'any group including me, with or without you' and 'you in a group of two or more which does not include me'. The following diagrams show these different sets:

Bound pronominals

Pronominal
Person Stem: nyi-
(1UA, AUG; 2UA, AUG)

Free Pronouns

Pronominal
Person Stem: nga(y)-
(1UA, AUG; 1/2UA, AUG)

arri-, nguburr-
(1/2 UA, AUG)

anago-
(2UA, AUG)
(Here the person categories ringed may be referred to by the adjacent pronominal stem; where 1 and 2 alone are ringed, 2 is to be understood as referring to more than one hearer.)

Used together, the free and bound pronominals disambiguate each other thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Free</th>
<th>+ Bound</th>
<th>1+3 persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nga(y)-</td>
<td>+ nyi-</td>
<td>1+3 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nga(y)-</td>
<td>+ arri-, nguburr-</td>
<td>1+2(+3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anago-</td>
<td>+ nyi-</td>
<td>2+3 persons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.1.ii Identification of Stems

(a) **Number Affixes** are readily identified in the intransitive prefixes as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MIN</th>
<th>Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UA</td>
<td>-rri-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUG</td>
<td>-burr-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, comparison of 1/2 MIN and UA forms **arr-**, **a-rri-** and the oblique 1 and 1/2 nonminimal stem **a-** suggests an analysis of **-rr-** as a non-singular number marker, with unit-augmented number further marked by **-i-** and augmented number by **-bu-**. Diachronically this may be valid; synchronically it leads to the necessity for different ordering rules for the UA and AUG affixes. An alternative analysis is available for **arri-**: **arr-** + **-rri-**, with **rr+rr** realized as a single trill, **rr**. Although the element **-rr-** appears as a separate morpheme in the transitive prefixes, I prefer not to segment the number affixes here further, while noting the occurrences of **-rr-**.

(b) **Person Stems** thus identified are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MIN</th>
<th>1 ngu-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 nyi-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 3   | no overt marker of person; class is marked: a-, jiny-, mu-, gu-.
| 1/2 | arr-  |
The first person minimal and 1/2 person augmented stems are identical; this is very common in prefixing languages. In some languages (for instance, Rembarrnga, Djabu, Mangarayi) the opposite categories (1 AUG and 1/2MIN) are also marked by a different identical stem.

The nonminimal third person stem is analysed as abi-, with abi- + -burr- realised as aburr-. It is possible that -bu- was originally a third person non-minimal stem, marked with the plural number affix -rr-, and that burr- then became aburr-, with the third minimal an (masculine) class marker perhaps generalized as a third person marker. -Burr- would then have been reinterpreted as an augmented number affix, so:

```
* MIN 1 ngu NONMIN 1 ?
  2 nyi  2 nyirr > nyirr
  3 a, etc  3 burr > aburr
  1/2 arr  1/2 ngurr ngurr
```

Certainly -rr- is widespread in prefixing languages as a plural and nonminimal number affix; the UA/AUG distinction is not made in all languages and is marked in very different ways where it is, suggesting that it is a late development. -Bu- is widespread both as a third person nonminimal stem and as a nonminimal number marker, but abu- is distinctively Burarra. The dual function of -bu- could be attributed to a proto-language, as it occurs in so many languages, or it could be a later, independent, development, with 3rd person being treated as the unmarked category.

The development suggested here would account for the
difference in ordering of AUG -bu- and UA -i in relation to the plural element -rr-.

4.1.2.1 Declarative Transitive Prefixes

Transitive prefixes encode categories of person, number, gender and class for not one but two participants, and in addition must indicate the grammatical function of each. Many of the prefixes are amenable to analysis, with the morphemes identified usually encoding more than one category. In some cases however the whole prefix must be considered as a portmanteau morpheme. Often there is overt marking of person for only one of the participants: which is marked depends on a complex hierarchy of person, number and case. This hierarchy is summarized in the following diagram, where person categories on the left take precedence over those on the right. The next section discusses this marking in detail.

\[
1, \frac{1}{2} \rightarrow 2 \text{ (A and/or NONMIN)} \rightarrow 30 \rightarrow 3A \rightarrow 3MINA \rightarrow 2MINO
\]

(But, 1 and 2 NONMIN stems are identical, so it is impossible to identify which is marked in 1NONSING \(\rightarrow\) 2NONSING combinations; and in the 1MIN \(\rightarrow\) 2NONMIN prefixes a person stem -a- appears, which marks this combination as a whole (although it is the same in form as the free pronoun 1 and 1/2 oblique stem -a-, and bound pronominal stem -a- 1/2 person.)

Transitive prefixes are shown in Table 4(b). Those where both arguments are nonsingular (these are found in the lower right-hand corner of the table) are the most transparent, and these will be discussed first.

Where two or more agents act on two or more objects, distinctions of number are neutralized for both arguments, and one number affix -rrbu- marks simply 'nonsingular agent and object'. That a singular vs. nonsingular distinction is operating here is clear from the 1/2 person object forms (given separately in Table 4(c)), where arrbu- is used for nonminimal agents with minimal, as well as non-minimal,
Table 4(b): Declarative Transitive Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>MINIMAL</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>1/2</th>
<th>UNIT AUGMENTED</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>1/2</th>
<th>AUGMENTED</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ajirri(ny)</td>
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<td>ngubijirri(ny)</td>
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**NONSINGULAR**

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4.1.2.ii Number Affixes

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<tr>
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<td>ajirri-</td>
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<td>3 UA</td>
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Table 4(c): 1/2 Person Object Prefixes

objects; minimal number in 1/2 person involves two people.

Person marking in the -rrbu- forms is easily identifiable. The first and second person non-minimal stem nyi- and a 1/2 person stem a- mark first, second or 1/2 persons as agent or as object (or as both, as in 1->2 and 2->1 combinations). In combination with these, third persons appearing in the other role are not marked. Where both agent and object are third person, the third person non-minimal stem bu- is used.

Analysis of prefixes where one participant is singular is complicated by more neutralizations of person categories. Non-minimal 1st and 2nd persons are not distinguished in agent role with a third minimal object, or in object role (excepting the 1MIN->2NONMIN combination);

2nd and third persons are not distinguished when acting on 1st minimal or 1st, 2nd or 3rd non-minimal objects; and the distinction between non-minimal 1st and third persons as agents is neutralized with a second person minimal object. Thus the augmented form bubu- marks simply AUG A->2MIN, and the unit-augmented form birri-, which also appears in 2,3UA->1MIN and 3UA->3MIN forms, can be glossed only as UA A->1,2MIN; 3UA A->3MIN.

Some morphemes and marking conventions are identifiable however.
(In these prefixes, the elements -rr and -bu-, combined in the intransitive augmented suffix -burr-, appear independently as markers of augmented number. Possibly -rrbu- is then to be analyzed as NS O, NS A.)

4.1.2.iii Person Marking

In all combinations of any 1st or 1/2 person, or non-minimal 2nd persons, with a third person in the other role, 1, 2 or 1/2 person is marked; 3rd person is marked as well (by the stem -bu-) only in object role when non-minimal.

Ngu- marks 1st person minimal A or O; in object role, it is distinguished by an affix -na-. (-na- or -n- is a common accusative or inverse morpheme in prefixing languages; this is the only category in which it appears in Burarra.)

Nyi- appears again to mark non-minimal 1st and 2nd persons in agent and object role.

1/2 person is marked by the stems a-(MIN and UA) and ngu- (AUG). The form av(a)- is found for 1/2M\rightarrow 3M; my informants also gave arrbiya- for 1/2NS\rightarrow 3NS, thus distinguishing 1/2 person in agent role from that in object role.

Glasgow and Garner (1980) identify this -y- as the directional prefix -y- 'away'; it is possible that the accusative morpheme -na- has been identified with the other directional prefix, -na- 'towards (speaker)', and -y-introduced to mark an agent on this analogy. The 1/2 MIN object prefix is identical to the 1/2 MIN intransitive subject prefix arr-, with the plural element appearing in the minimal category. (It seems that where no other case or number marker is suffixed to the 1/2 person stem a-, the plural suffix -rr- is used; this may be a means of distinguishing it from the third minimal an- class marker a-.)

1. with u\rightarrow i/\_\_\_\_y
Minimal first person agents with non-minimal second person objects are marked by a stem a-. This may be identifiable with the bound pronominal 1/2 person marker a-, or the oblique free form stem for 1 and 1/2 persons, or it may simply mark this agent-object combination. This combination is highly marked across languages, and in many the stem marking it is not identifiable with any other.

In the remaining minimal agent and minimal object combinations, 2nd person is marked as agent with a third person object. A second person stem is not identifiable in the second person object forms— it is the person of the agent, both first and third, which is marked, 1st as ngiy- 3rd as biy-. Both forms have recognizable stems (ngu-, bu-, although bu- is otherwise only non-minimal) and another element -γ-. This may be the same element as that occurring in av- 1/2MIN 3MIN and arrbiya- 1/2NS 3NS, indicating that the person marked is in agent role.

In third person minimal agent with minimal object forms, the class of the object is marked, preceding the affix indicating the number of the agent. With a minimal agent, class markers are identical to those found on intransitive verbs. Thus although Burarra has very little case-marking, what there is reveals a frequent pattern of nominative/accusative case-marking for first and second persons, and ergative/absolutive case-marking for third persons.

4.1.3 Gender

As in the free pronouns, gender is distinguished in the unit-augmented category of both transitive and intransitive prefixes. In the latter, it is marked for whichever argument is unit-augmented (if both are, of course, the NONSG←→NONSG prefixes are used, which do not mark gender).

The affixes are, as in the free pronouns:

- Non-feminine: -∅-
- Feminine: -ny-

The use of the gender categories as described at 3.3.1 applies to both free and bound pronouns. The non-feminine
bound forms can also be used of mun and gun class referents, if one particularly wants to specify their number.

4.1.4 Use of Number Categories

All three number categories are freely used in referring to humans. The minimal category is also used to make generic reference:

4(i) Gun=gata mu-nguyurra an=guyinda a-ninya - ∅

3Mgun=that first 3Man=one, type 3Man=sit, stay-PRECON
gun=mola, wurra yama ngati -pa
3Mgun=good but 1/2INTERROG 1/2UAnfem -CARD
arri- -ninya - ∅ minypa an=gata mu-nguyurra
1/2UA-nfem=sit, stay-IRR like 3Man=that first
an=guyinda ?
3Man=one, type

The way our ancestor lived was good, but why don't we live like our ancestor? (Djordila)

The generic minimal category is obligatory when talking about animals as game; otherwise, the appropriate non-minimal category can be used:

4(ii) Yirrawa William a-bo-ya ,abirri- ∅ =jirrapa

yesterday " 3Man=go-CON 3UA -nfem=two
abirri- ∅ =jirrapa gornabola a-ra -cha
3UA -nfem=two wallaby 3M→3Man=shoot-CON

Yesterday William went, (and) he shot four wallabies.

4(iii) Ngu -bo-na Sydney Canberra wenga abirri- ∅ =

1MIN- go -PRECON " " from 3UA -nfem=

jirrapa abirri- ∅ =jirrapa gornabola nguburr-na -na.
two 3UA -nfem=two wallaby 1M→3AUG=see-PRECON

Non-minimal prefixes can also be used for mun and gun class referents; it is more usual for the class prefix to be used, however, even when number is otherwise specified as nonsingular:

4(iv) aburr-bo-na janrra gubu-ma -nga

3AUG -go-PRECON stone 3AUG→3Mgun=get-PRECON
abirri- ∅ =jirrapa abirri- ∅ =jirrapa abirri- ∅ =jirrapa
3UA -nfem=two 3UA -nfem=two 3UA -nfem=two
gun =ngardapa.
3Mgun=one
They went and got seven stones. (Ngamlaka, a)

4.2 Directional Prefixes
There are two directional prefixes in Burarra:
-ya- 'away (from)' a focal point,
-na- 'towards' often the speaker
They occupy the position immediately before the verb stem, after the pronominal prefix; they do not co-occur. There are restrictions on their use: -na- is used only on intransitive verbs with a minimal subject, and -ya- on both transitive and intransitive verbs, but only where both subject and object are minimal.
Examples:

-na-: 4(v) nyi-na -boy-Ø apu-la
2MIN-twds-go -IRR 1MINOB1-DAT
(You) Come to me.
4(vi) Burray ngu-na -jeka -Ø Maningrida
Soon 1MIN-twds-return-IRR
Soon I'll come back to Maningrida.
(cf. Ngu -jeka -Ø barra Canberra
1MIN-return -IRR FUT
I'm going back to Canberra)
In both these examples, the point of reference is the speaker, or where the speaker is. In narrative it is often the main character:

4(vii) Ni-pa wangarra yigurrepa a-na -bambu -rda,
3MIN-CARD ghost close 3Man-twds-move along-CON
a-na -jorlchi-nga a-na -bambu -rda
3Man-twds-creep -R 3Man-twds-go along-CON
(Mudjana, b)
The ghost moved closer towards (the children), he crept along towards (them)
or, a more elegant translation, equally accurate:
The ghost came closer, he came creeping along (where the point of reference has already been established).
i. -ya- may perhaps be from PA*ya-n 'go'. Many other monosyllabic PA verb roots are represented in Burarra, but the verb 'go' is bov-bo.
4(viii) a-gana -ja a-ni -rra gornabola.

3Man -watch-CON 3Man-sit-CON wallaby
gorrngunya m-ba -nga, rrapa an=gugaliya
grass 3M>3Mmun -eat-CON and 3Man =Aboriginal person
a-na -cha, bulay bulay a- na -bambu -rda
3M>3Man-see-CON far far 3Man -twds-move along-CON

(Walabarra)

The wallaby was watching...... he ate grass, and the
man saw him, far away he (the man) came along.

-ya-: 4(ix) a- bo-ya bugula, gu-na-cha,
3Man- go-CON water 3M>3Mgun-see-CON
gu-ba -nga a-ni -rra gornabola, a-durchu -nga
3M>3Mgun-eat-CON 3Man-sit-CON wallaby 3Man-be full-R
a-murrparriya-∅, a- ya -rrik -nga
3Man-turn away -CON 3Man -awy-crawl -CON

(Walabarra)

He went for water, he saw it, the wallaby was drinking,
he was full, he turned away, he crawled away.

(Here the point of departure is the water to which
the wallaby had just gone: he went to the water, drank and
went away from the water.)

4(x) Gun=narda war gu-wulebi-ya -na gu-y -
3Mgun=that " 3Mgun-finish-INTR-PREC0N 3Mgun-away-
bamu -na.
move along-PRECON
That war finished and went away (i.e. was no longer
with us).

(An-gureja, b)

With non-minimal subjects, an enclitic gurda is used
to mark direction towards the focal point:
4(xi) Aburr=jaranga wurra gama gorlk aburr-bo-na gurda
3AUG=lots man wiman swag 3AUG -go-PRECON towards
Lots of people (men, women and children) came.

(Cooper, K.)

(Gurda also occurs as a demonstrative adverb and adjective,
'this way'- as a directional it is fixed in position.)

The prefix -y(a)- 'away' appears to be attached to a
limited number of parts of speech other than verbs. Ay-yinda alternates with yinda in the question (Ay)yinda ny-bo-ya? (Away) Where are you going? and yi-gabu 'away over there' was heard as well as gabu, 'over there (out of sight)'.

4.3 Tense/Status Suffixes

Suffixes mark distinctions in the categories of status and tense. Burarra makes a basic opposition in the category of status, or the degree of reality of an event (Foley and Van Valin 1984). An event is categorized as realis, that is, known to have happened or to be happening, or as irrealis, not known to be realized, but considered to be a possibility, or a prediction or an intention. Realis status covers past and present time, while irrealis covers present and future time. In the present, events which are known to be happening have realis status, while those which are possible are irrealis; for example:

4(xii) Jiny- yu -rra
3Mjin-lie, sleep-CON
She's sleeping. (realis, contemporary tense)

4(xiii) Jawurrga a-yina -nga a-balcha - Ø a-ya - Ø
head 3Man-say thus-CON 3Man-be high-IRR 3Man-lie-IRR
He thought it could be up high. (Pascoe et al, a)

4.3.1 Realis Status

Realis status is marked as such on only two conjugations of verbs, 5(b) and 6 (see Table 4(d)). In all other conjugations there is no separate morpheme marking realis status; verbs take a tense suffix, locating an event in time in one of the three possible tenses, precontemporary, contemporaneous and inceptive.

(Conjugation 5(b) comprises the verb ga 'take' and compounds built on it. Conjugation 6 is a large conjugation, containing both transitive and intransitive verbs whose meanings include 'put, be tired, rush, throw, cry, play,
cut, hop, etc.; there is no clear semantic basis for the lack of tense distinctions.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONJUGATION</th>
<th>VERBS (e.g.)</th>
<th>REALIS</th>
<th>TENSES</th>
<th>IRREALIS</th>
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<tr>
<td>1(a)</td>
<td>jarlapa make</td>
<td>PRECON</td>
<td>CON</td>
<td>INC</td>
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<td>(b)</td>
<td>bamba go along</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>rda</td>
<td>nga</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bu hit</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>rnda</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ni, ninya be sitting</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ji be standing</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>ngan</td>
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<td></td>
<td>yu be lying</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>na</td>
<td>cha</td>
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<td>wu give</td>
<td></td>
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<td>(b)</td>
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<td>ga</td>
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<td>borrwa think</td>
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<td>ga, take</td>
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<td>rruwuja cry</td>
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<td>nga</td>
<td></td>
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<td>rrima take, bay eat</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>rda</td>
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<td>ma get, jo scold</td>
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<td>ngga</td>
<td>n</td>
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Table 4(d): Tense/Status Suffixes
(I list here conjugations established on the basis of my fieldwork. Conjugations are numbered (but not lettered) according to the table in Glasgow 1985, which however shows
more inflections, particularly inceptive and apprehensive, and more subdivisions of conjugations on the basis of these, which are not establishable on my limited data.)

The precontemporary/contemporary tense distinction divides all time up to the present moment; it is applied on several time scales, as shown in Table 4(e). The smallest time scale is that of today, where contemporary tense refers to the present moment, time right now, and precontemporary tense refers to any time today before now. Another time scale is that of the recent past, where the contemporary tense refers to yesterday, and the precontemporary to before yesterday. These time scales are described in Glasgow 1964b; according to my informants, this two-way distinction can also be applied to the distant past, where the contemporary tense is used for what one was doing, and the precontemporary tense for what had already been done—seemingly a simple past/pluperfect distinction. However, I have found no instances of contrasting tenses used in this way in my data. Most often, the precontemporary is used for all events before yesterday or before now, with the contemporary tense used to refer to an object or event that exists in the present moment by virtue of being ever present, such as natural features or natural phenomena like the rise and fall of the sun. The contrast as applied in these contexts often spans

i. I am terming these precontemporary and contemporary following Eather’s usage for Nakkara (Eather, n.d.).
both the smaller scales, reaching from now to sometime
before yesterday.

For example,

4(xiv) Ngay-pa mungoyurra ng-gurkuja - $\emptyset$ nu-la
LMIN-CARD at first LMIN-be afraid-PRECON 3Mnf-DAT
ngu-workiya -na , an-anngiya , birlimurra,
LMIN-do always -PRECON 3Man-whatcha- leech
macalledit
ngardawa maningan m-ba -nga arrburr-wa
because blood 3M\(\rightarrow\)3Mmun-eat-CON 1/2AUG-DAT
a-workiya - $\emptyset$.
3Man-do always-CON (Darcy, b)

At first I was always afraid of, um, leeches, because
they eat our blood all the time.

(Here the first clause refers to the distant past, and
the second to a still relevant fact about leeches.)

4(xv) Rrapa jambaku din mu-yu -rra mu-workiya - $\emptyset$
And tobacco tin 3Mmun-lie-C0N 3Mmun-do always-CON
abirri- $\emptyset$ -jirrapa nyibu -ma -nga
3UA -nfem-two 1,2AUG\(\rightarrow\)3M-get-PRECON (Mudjana, a)

And we got two of the tobacco tins that always lie
around.

(Tobacco tins (and other tins) almost count as a
natural feature at Maningrida.)

4(xvi) Marmnga ji- na - be -ya jiny-yorkiya - $\emptyset$
Sun 3Mjin-twds-come out-CON 3Mjin-do always-CON
jiny-bamu -na.
3Mjin-go along-PRECON (Darcy, a)
She went to where the sun always comes up (i.e. east).

4(xvii) Aburr-gata gu-ngarda yerrcha aburr-bamu -na
3AUG -that child mob 3AUG -go along-PRECON
gun-menama gu- ji -rra-pa .
pandanus 3Mgun-stand-CON-CIRC (Fry, d)

Those children went along where the pandanus stands.

While an event can be precisely located in time by
an adverb or adverbial phrase (eg. geka 'today', wola 'a
long time ago', ngay-pa ngu-delipa ngu-ni- ' (when) I was
little'), if none occurs to define the time scale, all that can be known is that events described using the precontemporary tense occurred before an unspecified point in time, and those described in the contemporary tense at or during that time.

Examples:

4(xviii) Ngu-na -cha ngu-ni-rra an-gurrorlpa
   1M→3M-see-CON 1MIN-be-CON  ant
   I'm looking at the ants.
   (This is unspecified as to time, but was said while looking.)

4(xix) Then: ngu-na-na ngu-ni-∅
   1M→3M -see-PRECON 1MIN-be-PRECON
   I've just been looking.
   (Or, in another context, I was looking (anytime earlier today or before yesterday).)

4(xx) Yirrawa ngu-na -cha
   Yesterday  1M→3M-see-CON
   Yesterday I saw her.

Further study is needed to define the third realis inflection, inceptive, more precisely. I have very few examples of it, and so it is given in the table of inflections for only two conjugations; its actual range of occurrence is probably much greater. It is used to refer to the commencement of an activity; in the examples I have, the activity was not completed, but whether this is a necessary criterion for use of the inceptive is one of the points that needs clarification.

Examples:

4(xxi) Ngu-borrwu-nga
   1M→3M-think -INC
   This was said after giving an issue some thought—the translation given was 'I'll think about it'. The English version focusses on the future, when more thinking will take place; the Burarra focusses on the fact that the thinking has already started.
4.3.2 Irrealis Status

In the irrealis status, inflectional distinctions are made not on the basis of the time of the event but according to the likelihood and desirability of it happening.

4.3.2.1 Apprehensive

Events which are probable and to be avoided are referred to using a series of inflections which have a parallel in many Aboriginal languages, and for which I use the term apprehensive. It can be translated 'or else', 'in case' or simply 'might'; a clause containing an apprehensive verb often occurs with another clause saying how to avoid the event.

Examples:

4(xxiii) Arlay, nguymbula φ-na-φ! biy-ba-rda
Hey+masc snake 2MIMP-see-IRR 3M>2M-bite-APPR
nula! φ-garlma-φ, biy-ba-rda!
?you? 2MINIMP-get up-IRR 3M>2M-bite-APPR
Look out, there's a snake! it might bite you! Get up, else it will bite you!

4(xxiv) φ-garlma-φ arlay , bol n-do-n
2MINIMP-get up-IRR hey+masc fire 2M-burn-APPR
Keep away from the fire or else you'll get burnt (lit. Get up, hey! You might burn in the fire.)

Again, I have few instances of this inflection; further study would undoubtedly reveal its occurrence in other conjugations.

4.3.2.2 General Irrealis

All other non-realized events are categorized simply
as IRRealis, marked by a zero tense/status inflection. 4(xiii) at 4.3 gives an example of present possibility; future time can be specified by a particle *barra*, FUTURE, which precedes or follows the verb, or by a temporal adverb followed by *barra* (eg. *geka barra* 'today future'). The placing of *barra* in relation to the verb appears to signal a slight difference in meaning, although one that has been hard to capture. The order *barra V* is used more often in referring to future actions subsequent to or contingent on another action, while *V barra* makes more immediate or definite predictions or statements of intention.

For example:

*V barra*: 4(xxv) Jiny-yu - Ø barra
3Mjin-lie, sleep-IRR FUT
She's going to sleep (i.e., she's falling asleep)

*barra V*: 4(xxvi) Ngu-bo-ya , barra ng -gormakuniya- Ø
1MIN-go-CON FUT 1MIN-swim -IRR
I'm going to have a swim
(i.e., Right now I'm going along; when I get to where I'm going, I'll swim.)

4(xxvii) *V barra*: Geka barra gu -ngardapa arri-ny -ji - Ø
Today FUT L/I-one 1/2UA-fem-stand-IRR barra.
FUT
*barra V*: Ny-jurda geka barra nyiburr-bamiya- Ø,
2MIN-this today FUT 1,2AUG -carry -IRR barra ng-gonyja- Ø burr-wa.
FUT 1M-call -IRR 3AUG-DAT (Darcy, a)
Today we're going to be standing in one place (to get turtles). You here we'll carry home today, so I'll call the others.

*barra V*: 4(xxviii) Arlay, birri-wengga- Ø burrinyju-la
Hey+masc 2UAnfIMP-speak-IRR 3UAfem -DAT barra nguburr-boy- Ø yi-gapa.
FUT 1/2AUG -go -IRR away-there far out of sight
(Gangalarra)
Hey, you two talk to those two women, so we can all go over there.

(Hey, you two tell them we're going)

4.4 Realis Negator -rna

The suffix -rna added to a realis verb indicates that the speaker knows or believes that the event referred to did not in fact take place. A verb negated by -rna is further negated by the clause level particle gala (see 5.2) to make a simple statement of fact about the non-realization of an event. A -rna clause alone has a conditional meaning, and is used to describe an unrealized condition and any imaginary events contingent upon it:

4(xxix) Nginyi-pa nyi- na -bo-ya -rna geka manggo

2MIN -CARD 2MIN-twds-go-C0N-NEG today mango

ngiy- wu -cha-rna.

1M→2M-give-C0N-NEG

If you had come today, I would have given you mangoes.

4(xxx) Ngay-pa jal ngu-ni- Ø ngu-ba -nga-rna

1MIN-CARD want 1MIN-be-PRECON 1M→2M-eat-C0N-NEG

jichicha.

fish

(Pascoe, G.)

I wish I could have eaten fish.

(In this example the condition is not mentioned, but is implied by the unfulfilled possibility: if I could have, I would have eaten fish.)

(There appears to be some neutralization of tense before this suffix, as the precontemporary, not contemporary, tense is used otherwise, when talking about time earlier today. This was not investigated.)

4.5 Imperative Constructions

There are a number of ways to make a command in Burarra. Commands addressed to a second person can be made with verbs in the imperative mood, which is used solely for this purpose; it is described below. Declarative verbs in irrealis status can also be used as second person imperatives, as in these
examples:

4(...i) gala barra nyi-raka -Ø
   NEG  FUT  2MIN-sit down-IRR
   Don't sit down!

4(...ii) Wurra nyi-na -gaki- ya -Ø
   But  2MIN-twds-move-INTR-IRR
   But come here! Move this way!

4(...iii) Glue nguna!
   "  2,3M→1MIN
   Give me the glue.

(nguna, the verb prefix, is often used as a short form of nguna-wu-Ø -'give me'.)

Second person pronouns can be used with both imperative and declarative verbs to make explicit reference to the subject.

Declarative verbs with 1/2 person prefixes are used as hortatives, or 1/2 person imperatives:

4(...iv) Nguburr-boy-Ø barnda,
   1/2AUG-go -IRR turtle
   Let's go for turtle.  (Darcy, a)

4(...v) Arri-Ø -boy-Ø arri-Ø -yllkakiya-Ø
   1/2UA-nfem-go -IRR 1/2UA-nfem-hide -IRR
   gun- ngati -pa rrawa arri-Ø -jarlapu-na
   3Mgun-1/2UA-nfem-CARD house 1/2UA-nfem-build -PRECON
   arri-Ø -ni-Ø .
   1/2UA-nfem-be-PRECON
   Let's go, let's hide in the houses we built.  (Ngamlaka, b)

I found no third person imperatives.

4.5.1 Imperative Mood

Verbs in the imperative mood, where the action is by definition unrealized, take the irrealis verb stem. They are distinguished from declarative irrealis verbs by a distinct set of pronominal prefixes, shown in the table below.
(Note: No distinctive prefixes were given in elicitation for non-minimal object combinations; Glasgow 1985 however lists burr-bu- as the NS A→NS O imperative prefix. Further study may confirm use of this form, as well as the corresponding declarative form.)

Thus: 4(xxxvi) Ø - raka -Ø!
2MIMP-sit down-IRR
(You) sit down!

4(xxxvii) bubur- raka -Ø!
2AUGIMP-sit down-IRR
You all sit down!

No specifically second person stems are found in these imperative prefixes. Instead, the stem bu^bi occurs. This appears in the declarative prefixes both as a third person non-minimal stem, and as a marker of non-minimal number unspecified for person, and it is probably the latter which is represented here. (Again, bV- is found in other prefixing languages, including Nakkara (Eather unpublished) and Ndjébbana (McKay 1984), as a second person imperative stem, as well as with its other meanings.)

4.6 Intransitivization

Intransitive verbs are derived from transitive verbs by the addition of a suffix -ya:

\[ V_{tr} \rightarrow V+ya \]

\[ \text{INTR} \]

\[ \phi \rightarrow S \]

\[ A \rightarrow \phi \]

or \( A = 0 \), is expressed as \( S \).

In this process, an inanimate object of a transitive
verb becomes the subject of the derived intransitive verb, and the agent of the transitive verb is completely backgrounded; it does not appear at all as an argument of the derived verb.

Thus:  

- wuleba finish (tr), use up  
- wulebi-ya be finished, used up  
- gupa build  
- gupi-ya be built

4(xxxviii)  

a) Di gu-wuleba-na  
tea 3M→Mgun-finish-PRECON  
She/he finished the tea.  
b) Di gu-wulebi-ya -na  
Tea 3Mgun-finish-INTR-PRECON  
The tea's all finished up.  

4(xxxix)  
a) gu-jong gu-gorda-nga,  
stick 3M→Mgun-chop -R  
gu-gupu -na a-ni-  φ  bala  
3M→Mgun-build-PRECON 3Man-be-PRECON house  
He chopped up sticks and built a house.  
b) gu-na -na bala gu-jong  
3M→Mgun-see-PRECON house stick  
gu-gupi - ya -na  gu- ji -  φ  
3Mgun-build-INTR-PRECON 3Mgun-stand-PRECON  
He saw the house built of sticks.

Where the subject of the intransitivized verb is animate, the verb is understood as having reflexive force:

4(xl)  
a) jiny-bu -na  
3M→Mjin-hit-PRECON  
He/she hit her.  
b) jiny-bu - yi -na (bama jiny-jirra)  
3Mjin-hit-INTR-PRECON head 3Mjin-POSS  
She hit herself (on the head)/ She hit her head.

The body part noun in (xl) b) is not in object function, but in subject function; the full noun phrase would include a noun referring to the possessor, the subject (S) of the intransitivized verb.
All intransitivized verb stems are members of conjugation class 4a, and take the appropriate tense/status suffixes. Many intransitive verbs for which there is no corresponding transitive stem end in -ya (and belong to conj. class 4a); for instance: bupiya get/go down, descend
walagiya dance
japarndiya sing

4.6.1 Reciprocal Intransitives

Intransitive verbs with a reciprocal sense (ie where the subject refers to a group of two or more, each member of which acts on some other member of the group, or to a set of two mutually exclusive groups each member of which acts on a member of the other) are derived from transitive verbs by the addition of a reciprocal suffix -chichi- (used with verbs of 2 or more syllables) ~ -chichi- (used with monosyllabic verbs) plus the intransitivizing suffix -ya:

bu hit
bu-chichi-ya hit each other

E.g. 4(xli) Nyiburr- ga -chichi- ya - ø, nyiburr-1,2AUG -take-RECIP -INTR-IRR 1,2AUG -burrmanybi -chi - ya - ø
address as kin-RECIP-INTR-IRR

You can all take care of each other and address each other as kin. (An-gureja, b)

4(xlii) Minypa wola an=guyinda balapala
Like long ago 3Man=one, type house-REDUP
a-rrenyi - chi - ya - na
3Man-tread on-RECIP-INTR-PRECON

Like the ancestors (generic minimal) used to visit each other. (Djordila)

3AUG -spear, shoot-RECIP -INTR-PRECON 3AUG -be-PRECON
Burbbu- da -na aburr-ni- ø awurr=gugaliya
3NS↔3NS-shoot-PRECON 3AUG -be-PRECON 3AUG = Aboriginal person
rrapa gama burr-ma -nga . Wurra yerrcha burr-mari
and woman 3Man3AUG-get-PRECON Man. mob -trouble, fighting
awurr-bo-na butu-la burrbu-da-na
3AUG-go-PRECON 3UAnfOBL-DAT 3NS3NS-shoot-PRECON
Japani yerrcha.
Japanese mob (Mason)
Long ago the Japanese came to Milingimbi. They shot
each other. They were shooting the Aboriginal men and taking
the women. The men angrily went and shot the Japanese.

4.7 Nominalization

Noun stems are derived from verb stems by the addition
of a nominalizing prefix gu-. This is most readily identified
as a gun class prefix, used perhaps because this is the
class to which abstract nouns belong (not all derived nouns
are abstract, but the process of nominalization itself is
one of abstraction, from an action 'X' to 'one who does
X, one for Xing'.

Derived nouns obligatorily occur with a noun class
prefix appropriate to their referent, for instance

galiya =gu+galiya
hear, listen one who hears, =person
an=gugaliya : man
3Man=person
jin=gugaliya : woman
3Mjin=person
rrrika
an=gu+rrrika
crawl
3Man=NOM+crawl
one that crawls: a truck
barmguma
mun=gu+barmguma
enter, get into
3Mmun=NOM+get into
one for getting into: a dress
dawurrja gun=gu+rdawurrja
play
3Mgun=NOM+play
play

yinda =gu+yinda one who says or
do, say thus NOM+do, say thus does thus:
i. The one exception known to me is

gugaliya in the phrase gugaliya yerrcha, 'people'.

CHAPTER FIVE: SYNTAX

5.1.0 Simple Sentences

A simple sentence in Burarra is defined as including at least a predicate, which may be verbal or nominal, and reference to at least one argument of the predicate, the subject.

If the predicate is a verb or an adjective, the pronominal prefix or class prefix respectively provides sufficient reference to form a grammatical sentence. NP arguments are not necessary, and sentences with no NPs are common. For instance:

5(i) Jiny-yu -rra
3Mjin-lie, sleep-CON
She's asleep, she's sleeping.

5(ii) Jin=ngay-pa
3Mjin=1MIN-CARD
She's mine (said by a child about a turtle her grandmother had got for her).

5(iii) gun=mola-mola
3Mgun=good-good
It's good, everything's fine. (A frequent comment about how things are.)

An NP in subject function is necessary if the predicate is a noun, pronoun or other part of speech:

5(iv) Ngay-pa bangardi -jan
1MIN-CARD subsection name-fem
I'm bangardidjan

5(v) Ngay-pa bapapa nggu-la
1MIN-CARD father's sister 2MINOBL -DAT
I'm auntie to you.

No copula is necessary for present time reference. Otherwise, the positional verbs ni, ninya 'be sitting, stay', yu, yunya 'be lying, (sleep)', and ji, jinja 'be standing' are used as copulas to give explicit time reference to non-verbal predicates, and in existential sentences. ni is usually used of humans or time, ji of trees and buildings, and yu of places, the law and abstract qualities. In the following examples the predicate, including the copula,
is enclosed in square brackets:
5(vi) Ngay-pa \[ ngu-delipa ngu-ni- \emptyset \].  
1MIN-CARD 1MIN=little 1MIN-be-PRECON  
I was little.
5(vii) Barra ni-pa an=delipa \[ wana a-ni- \emptyset \].  
FUT 3MIN -CARD 3Man=little \[ big 3Man-be-IRR \].  
So when the child is big (Djordila)
5(viii) Ngarri-pa \[ gurdijarra arr-ni- \emptyset \].  
1/2MIN-CARD \[ fish 1/2MIN-be-PRECON \].  
We were fish. (Marnalpuy)
5(ix) \[ Gun=mola-mola gu-yu - \emptyset \].  
3Mgun=good-good 3Mgun-lie-PRECON  
There was goodness, it was good. (An-gureja, b)

5.1.1 Core NP Functions

Intransitive sentences minimally consist of an intransitive verb cross-referencing one argument in subject function, which is optionally included as an NP.

Transitive sentences minimally contain a transitive verb, crossreferencing two arguments, a subject and an object, both optionally included as NPs. Example (i) in Chapter 3 illustrated NP arguments in S, A and O functions, and showed that nouns give no indication of grammatical function: role assignment is determined principally by the crossreferencing on the verb.

Word order is not fixed. One NP argument occurs more frequently than two, and is found more often before the verb than after it. AOV order is more frequent with 2 NP arguments than other possible orders (AVO, OVA and OAV have been found, but no instances of both A and O NPs after the verb). Where the pronominal prefix is ambiguous as to role assignment, and the context does not supply any more information or is unknown, the first of two NPs is understood as the subject and the second as the object (whether in AOV or AVO order): where the context is known, however, this order may be reversed. As it is most often new information which is expressed as an NP, pragmatic considerations probably
play a large part in determining word order, with AOV being a preferred or neutral ordering.

Verbs which in many languages are ditransitive (ie which have three semantic roles, two of which can often have the properties of objects) are classed as either intransitive or transitive in Burarra. A maximum of two arguments can be crossreferenced on any verb, and the only test for objecthood is the ability to be crossreferenced by the second, non-subject element of the transitive verb prefixes. Which semantic role maps onto this function is fixed for each verb, and is not open to variation.

Thus, many speech act verbs are intransitive, with only the subject being crossreferenced:

wengga say, speak  
gonyja call out  
giwija beg  

ngurrrja 'tell (a story), tell about (someone), name' is transitive, crossreferencing the teller and the story, the person talked about or the thing named- the theme of the speech act:

5(x) Janguny ngu-ngurrja-∅ barra ngu-ni-∅. story 1M→3M-tell -IRR PUT 1MIN-be-IRR  
I'm going to tell a story.  
(not ngiy-ngurrja-∅, 'I will tell you')  
wenggana, 'ask', on the other hand, crossreferences the speaker and addressee, the person asked:

5(xi) Jiny-yenggana-na, "Ajay, nginyi-pa  
3M→3Mjin - ask -PRECON Hey+fem 2MIN-CARD  
ny=nyay-pa mampa apa ya?"  
2MIN=1MIN-CARD mother 1MINPOSSKIN QU  
He asked her, 'Hey, you're my mother, aren't you?' (Mudjana et al)

5(xii) Jin=ngay-pa nguj-ama jurra mu-jerrmu-rra  
3Mjin=1MIN-CARD my+fem-mother letter 3M→3Mmun-send-PRECON  
My mother sent a letter.

5(xiii) Ngay-pa ngu-jerrmu-rra school a-bo-na  
1MIN-CARD 1M→3M-send -PRECON " 3Man-go-PRECON  
I sent him to school.
"give", *gurdagurdarra* 'show' and *guybuka* also 'show' have as second element crossreferenced the *recipient*, not what is given or shown. It is rare for NPs to appear in all three roles with these verbs, and the recipient is least often expressed as an NP. Thus:

5(xiv) Aburr-we-na nu-la , Murma ny-jirra
3AUG-say-PRECON 3MnfOBL-DAT hand 2MIN-POSS
nyirr-gurdagurdarra-∅ .

2,3M→1,2AUG - show -IRR

They said to him, *Show us your hands.* (Ngamlaka, a)

5(xv) ....ngardawa gun=jaranga government arr- wu -cha
because 3Mgun=lots " 3M→1/2M,AUG-give-CON
because the government *gives us a lot.* (Djordila)

5(xvi) rrapa mirkal dulgu mu-ma- ya -∅
and cloth yellow ochre 3Mmun-get-INTR-CON
nyirrbu- wu -na
1,2NS↔ NS-give-PRECON

and they gave us yellow cloth (Cooper,J.)

In all these examples, it is clearly not the theme, the thing given or shown, which is crossreferenced on the verb- the prefixes would be *gu* 3M→3Mgun for 5(xv), and *mbu-* or *mbirri* ( 3AUG→3M or 3UA→3M) for example 5(xvi). Example 5(xiv), with a second person agent and second person theme (your hands) would have to be expressed by an intransitive, reflexive form of the verb if the theme were to be cross-referenced. Instead, it appears as a peripheral argument; these are discussed in the next section.

5.1.2 Peripheral Arguments

NPs in any semantic roles other than those accorded subject or object status by each verb appear as peripheral arguments. Burarra has two choices for overtly marking NPs as peripheral: the dative case in pronouns, and the locative/instrumental case on nouns and adjectives. Uninflected nouns also appear as peripheral arguments.

The range of semantic roles which occur in the periphery
of the clause is shown in Table 5(a), which also shows the case in which they appear. It is apparent that which case

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEMANTIC ROLE</th>
<th>ANIMACY OF REFERENT</th>
<th>NONHUMAN</th>
<th>INANIMATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HUMAN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BENEFICIARY</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVERSELY AFFECTED</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADDRESSEE</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOAL (DESTINATION)</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURPOSE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/L/I/(DAT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TARGET OF FEELING</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPANION</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIME</td>
<td></td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCATIVE SPACE</td>
<td>L/I: PERSON</td>
<td></td>
<td>L/I</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>POSS N/(DATIVE)</td>
<td></td>
<td>L/I</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DURATION</td>
<td>BODY PART: L/IPERSON</td>
<td></td>
<td>L/I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTRUMENT</td>
<td>BODY PART: L/I NOUNCLASS</td>
<td></td>
<td>L/I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEANS (OF TRAVEL, etc)</td>
<td>BODY PART: L/I NOUNCLASS</td>
<td></td>
<td>L/I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>material</td>
<td></td>
<td>L/I; wupa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOURCE from X</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td>wenga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>out of X</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td>DIR-na-V L/I-N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THEME(what is given, carried, etc)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what you KNOW/FORGET</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; HIDE FROM</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; LISTEN TO</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td>/DATIVE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; TAKE CARE OF</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who you HELP</td>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUSE</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5(a): Case-marking of Peripheral Arguments

is used is decided largely according to a scale of animacy (human - nonhuman - inanimate) rather than according to semantic role. Obviously, some roles are more likely to be filled by animate participants than by inanimate ones, and vice versa, but where I have examples of both, animate (especially human) referents are expressed by an NP containing
a dative pronoun, while inanimate referents are usually expressed by an uninflected noun. For instance,

5(xvii) Ny-yecha - apu-la ?
2MIN-look for-PRECON 1MINOBL-DAT
Were you looking for me?

5(xviii) Ngu-wecha -rra jurra.
1MIN-look for-CON book
I'm looking for a book.

5(xix) gipa ngu-galiyi-na nsgu-la.
already 1MIN-listen-PRECON 2MINOBL
I've been listening to you.

5(xx) ngu-galiyi-na vort gu-bunggu-na.
1MIN-listen-PRECON rain 3Mgun-fall -PRECON
I heard the rain falling.

Location, instrument and means are an exception. A dative pronoun may appear when a person is a location, as in 5(xxi), but in alternative constructions, the body part which is the location may appear in either of the body part possessive constructions (N =jirra, L/I-N where the prefix marks person) without a dative pronoun:

5(xxi) jin=delipa jinyu- raka -ja (apu-la)
3Mjin=little 3Mjin-sit down-PRECON 1MINOBL-DAT
rrarnba ngu-jirra
thigh 1MIN-POSS

5(xxii) jin=delipa jinyu- raka -ja ngu-rrarnba
3Mjin=little 3Mjin-sit down-PRECON L/I-thigh
gu-jirra ( ngu=guyinda).
1MIN-POSS 1MIN=one, type
The little girl sat on my lap.

5(xxiii) janrra ji-ngana gu-yu -rra
stone L/I-mouth 3Mgun-lie-CON
She's got a stone in her mouth.

Body parts as instrument and means of travel, etc, occur only in the locative/instrumental case (see the examples 3(vii) and 3(viii) at 3.2.1.).

In all other cases where the participant is human, a dative pronoun is obligatory. It occurs in a fixed position,
enclitic to the verb, and thus may be separated from the rest of the NP if that is placed before the verb, as in 5(xxiv):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{an=biti -pa worlapa buta} & \quad \text{abirri-} & \phi & \text{-duldulji-nga} \\
\text{3Man=3UAnf-CARD brother 3UAnfKINPOSS 3UA -nf-knock -R} \\
\text{3MnfOBL-DAT 3UA -nf-stand-PRECON}
\end{align*}
\]

They two knocked at their brother's door. (lit. knocked for their brother, to get his attention) \text{(Ngamlaka, b)}

That human participants are obligatorily marked by a dative pronoun for all roles except those of location and instrument suggests a distinction between the former as inner peripheral arguments, those more central to the meaning of the predicate, and the latter as outer peripheral arguments.

Nonhuman animates are distinguished from human participants in that they are not always obligatorily marked by a dative pronoun. This use of the pronoun can be seen as one application of the use of third person pronouns as definite markers described at 3.3.3. With animals, a dative pronoun indicates reference to a particular individual, while its absence indicates generic reference. This choice is not available for human referents.

Thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{5(xxv) Ni-pa a-worlapu-rra gornabola} \\
\text{3MIN-CARD 3Man-hunt -CON wallaby} \\
\text{He's hunting for wallaby.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{5(xxvi) Ngu-galiyi- na (nu-la ) galgu.} \\
\text{1MIN-hear, listen-PRECON 3MnfOBL-DAT flying fox} \\
\text{I heard flying foxes/( I heard the flying fox).}
\end{align*}
\]

A dative pronoun can be used to mark an inanimate object where this is in the role of purpose, especially when mentioned in isolation, or as an expansion of an idea:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{5(xxvii) Project nu-la ?} \\
\text{" 3MnfOBL-DAT} \\
\text{Is it for a project? someone asked about my taping.}
\end{align*}
\]
and again 3Man-hit-RECIP-INTR-PRECON 3Man-be-PRECON
a-workiya -na , jin-gama nu-la , guna-wangarra
3Man-do always-PRECON woman 3MnfOBL-DAT spirit of dead person nu-la .
3MnfOBL-DAT
And they used to fight all the time, about women and
old family feuds. (Djordila)
(Here a feminine noun is in apposition to a nonfeminine
pronoun, where 'woman' is a general subject of dispute,
rather than a particular woman being fought over; cf.:
awurr-bacha-Ø acha-la gama
3AUG-fight-CON 3MfOBL-DAT woman
They're fighting over a woman.
The locative/instrumental case is occasionally used
to mark purpose also:
5(xxix) Bokpurra gu-gu -rdawurrja a-wechawecha-Ø
frog L/I-NOM-play 3Man-search for-PRECON
Frog looked for play (ie, someone to play with).
(Darcy 1986)
Examples are now given to illustrate the semantic roles
listed.
Beneficiary
5(XXX) Bugula Ø -wemba-Ø acha-la
water 2M-3MIMP-draw -IRR 3MfOBL-DAT
Get some water for her (a pet joey).
Adversely Affected
5(XXXI) Gun=nginyi-pa jilipit gun=ngumurda
3Mgun=2MIN -CARD thongs 3Mgun=stolen
gu-ma -nga nggu -la.
3M->3Mgun-get-PRECON 2MINOBL-DAT
She stole your thongs from you.
5(XXXII) Wurra an-mugat bala gu-rrumu-rra
but 3Man-wild house 3M->3Mgun-break-PRECON
ati -la.
1/2,1UAnfOBL-DAT
But the wolf broke our houses on us. (Ngamlaka, b)
Addressee
5(xxxiii) Ngay-pa  ngu-we -na  achi-la Audrey
1MIN-CARD 1MIN-say-PRECON 3MfOBL-DAT "
barra  gu-bu  -Ø  nu-la  ngana  gu-jirra
FUT  3M=3Mgun-hit-IRR 3MfOBL-DAT mouth 3Mgun-POSS
I said to Audrey to bang on the door for him (i.e., to
arouse him). (Cooper, K)

Goal
5(xxiv) jimarn jarra  wangarra  a-na  -yurtchi-nga
thought instead ghost 3Man-twds-run -R
apu-la.
1MINOBL-DAT (Manggawarda)
I thought it was a ghost running towards me.

5(xxv) Yinda  ny-bo-ya ? Betty  achi-la?
Where 2MIN-go-C0N " 3MfOBL -DAT
Where are you going? to Betty's?

Target of Feeling
5(xxvi) Jiny-jurkuja -Ø nggu-la,
3Mjin-be afraid-PRECON 2MINOBL-DAT
She was frightened of you.

5(xxvii) jal  nyi-ni-rra  di?
want, liking 2MIN-be-CON tea
Do you want tea?

5(xxviii) ngay-pa  jal  ngu-ni-rra  nggu-la.
1MIN-CARD like 1MIN-be-CON 2MOBL-DAT
I love you. (Wunggara, b)

Cause
5(ixl) Ni-pa  a-wurkurji  -nga  maparn.
3MIN-CARD 3Man-hurt,be in pain-R boil
He is hurting from a boil.

Companion
5(xl) Gapula  rrapa  wurlguman  wugupa  aburr-bo-na ,
Old person and old woman together 3AUG-go-PRECON
yinda aburr-gaki  -yi  -na , yinda aburr-bo-na ,
where 3AUG -shift-INTR-PRECON where 3AUG -go-PRECON
birri-pa  aburr- malchi  -nga  burr-wa.
3AUG -CARD 3AUG -go along with-R 3AUG-DAT
Old men and women went with them; wherever they
shifted, wherever they went, they went along with them.

(Pascoe, B., a)

Theme

5(xli) An=ngardapa an=gugaliya nyibu-na -cha
3Man=one 3Man=Aboriginal person 1,2AUG→3M-see-CON
burlupurr a- na -bamiya- a- na -bambu -rda
dilly bag 3Man-twds-carry -CON 3Man-twds-move along-CON
gun=jaranga.
3Mgun=lots

We saw a man coming carrying lots of dilly bags.

(Cooper, J.)

I have no examples where a human is a peripheral theme. A different verb - wulaka 'carry on one's shoulder'- is used to describe carrying children; it is transitive, and hence the person carried is cross-referenced as object. It should be possible to talk about showing a person to somebody - it would be interesting to see whether the person shown, the theme, appeared in the dative or unmarked case.

Take Care Of

5(xlii): beneficiary, theme

jaga a-gana - φ nu-la jurra
3Man-watch-IRR 3MnfOBL-DAT book
=take care of

He could take care of the book for him.

5(xliii): theme:

gala ana=nga jaga a-gana- φ
NEG 3ManHUM=indet. person =3Man-take care of-IRR
or thing

apu-la.

1MINOBL-DAT

There isn't anyone to take care of me. (Wunggara)

Locative and temporal NPs were illustrated at 3.2.1(ii) and (iii), and source NPs (from X or out of X) at 3(iv).

Duration in time is expressed by an uninflected NP:

5(xliv) Birri-pa abi-rrimarrma-nga an=gata
3AUG-CARD 3AUG→3Man-keep-PRECON 3Man=that
nguymbula ngorrngurra gun=ngardapa rrapa barrwa
snake day 3Mgun=one and again
abi-rrimarrma-nga.
3AUG>3Man-keep -PRECON

They kept that snake for one day and another (day).
(Ngalwaringa)

The material out of which something is made may appear as a locative/instrumental NP (an extension of the instrument function perhaps, as in English 'made with sticks', etc) (for an example see 5(cxiv) below), or may be expressed by an NP containing a postposed wupa 'inside', and an un-inflected noun:

5(xlv) gun-gurrema wupa gu-gupu -na a-ni- φ
3Mgun -stone in 3M→3Mgun-build-PRECON 3Man-be-PRECON
gun=nigipa bala.
3Mgun=3MPOSS house

He was building his house out of stone. (Ngamlaka, b)

More than one peripheral argument can of course occur in one sentence, and their roles are inferred from the semantics of the verb, as the role of a single peripheral argument is. Whether there is any ordering of NPs in a clause according to semantic role as a fall-back device in the case of ambiguity (for instance with two human participants as addressee and beneficiary, etc) is a topic that needs to be investigated. Example (xlvi) is the only instance where a dative pronoun does not immediately follow the verb (except when the NP appears in isolation or as an afterthought) - and the NP separating them is also a peripheral argument.

5(xlvi) ngay-pa ngu- na -bo-na balija nggu-la.
1MIN-CARD 1MIN-twds-go-PRECON food 2MINOBL-DAT
I came to you for food- translated as: I came for food and you gotta give me it.

In 5(xlvii) a beneficiary appears with wu 'give', as well a a theme; both core arguments are represented only as bound pronominals:

5(xlvii) Lika benadol nguna- wu -na acha-la.
Then panadol 2,3M→1M-give-PRECON 3MfOBL-DAT
Then she gave me panadol for her. (Cooper, K.)
5.2 **Negation**

Negation in Burarra is achieved by means of two particles, *ngika* and *gala*, and the realis negator *-rna* (4.4). In elicitation and observation of conversation during my fieldwork, *ngika* occurred only as an interjection 'no' and *gala* as a negative particle 'not'. In other texts however, *ngika* also occurs as a negator at phrase and clause level. It is used largely with parts of speech other than verbs, and usually follows the element it negates:

5(xlviii) Gun=narda ngati-pa ngardapa ngika  
3Mgun=that 1/2MIN-CARD alone NEG  
In that we are not alone. (Djordila)

5(il) gun=borrmunga ngika janguny  
3Mgun=compatible NEG story  
They're not compatible stories. (An-gureja, a)

*Gala* on the other hand always precedes the predicate, which is usually a verb, which it negates. Thus they appear to be largely complementary, but in one text both are used to negate different instances of the same clause:

5(1) borijipa ngika nginyi-pa wugupa ati-la  
in vain NEG 2MIN -CARD together 1,1/2UAnf-DAT
5(1b) gala borijipa nginyi-pa wugupa  
NEG in vain 2MIN -CARD together  
It is not for nothing that you are with us.  
Unfortunately I was not aware of the contrast during my fieldwork and so I am unable to say anything about the semantic difference encoded, if any.

When used with realis verbs, *gala* always co-occurs with the realis negator *-rna* (4.4), making a simple statement of fact about the non-occurrence of an event, in contrast with the conditional meaning of a *-rna* clause alone.

5(li) gala ngu-na -cha-rna.  
NEG 1M→3M-see-CON-NEG  
I didn't see any (margarine).
5(lii) gala nyiburr-we -ya -rna nggu-la.
NEG 1,2 AUG-say-CON-NEG 2MINOBL-DAT
We didn't say it to you.

Irrealis verbs are negated by gala alone— the form of the verb itself is the same in negative sentences as in affirmative ones; e.g.:

5(liii) Gala barra nyirri-φ-gurkuja -φ.
NEG PUT 1,2UA -nf-be afraid-IRR
Don't be afraid. (Ngamlaka, b)

(A couple of instances of gala occurring with a realis verb without the negator -rna appear in my fieldnotes, once in elicitation and once in spontaneous speech. I am suspicious of these, pending further investigation, as I have only two cases and have found none in texts subsequently examined.)

5.2.1 gala yapa

Gala yapa 'otherwise, mustn't' placed at the beginning of a clause forms prohibitives when used in conjunction with a general irrealis verb, or, when used with an apprehensive verb, refers to a possibility to be avoided at all costs. An injunction made with gala yapa has stronger force than a simple negative or an apprehensive verb alone.

5(liv) Gala yapa burr-ba -rda.
NEG must 3M*3AUG-eat-APPR
He mustn't eat them. (Ngamlaka, b)

But 2MIMP-return-IRR home NEG must sorcery 2MIN-go-APPR
But go home. No one must work sorcery on you.

(Djordila)
5.3 Questions

Questions fall into two groups on the basis of the answer being solicited: information questions and yes/no questions.

5.3.1 Information Questions are formed by placing an interrogative at the beginning of a sentence and replacing the sentence-final falling intonation with a rising intonation.

The indeterminate =nga 'an indeterminate person or thing' is used, alone or in combination, as an interrogative word in many questions.

=nga alone asks who? or what thing?

5(lvi) Nyi=nga ny=yelangga?
2MIN=wh 2MIN=name
What's your name?

5(lvii) Jin=nga marrnga?
3Min=wh sun (time, clock)
What's the time?

5(lviii) Aburri-ŋ=nga (aburri-ŋ=gata) abirri-ŋ=rranyji -nga
3UA -nf=wh 3UA -nf=that 3UA -nf-tread on-R
aburri- -ni-ŋ ?
3UA -nf-be-PRECON
Who are the people who were dancing?

To ask 'whose?' the third person possessive adjective =yika/=yigipa (see 3.3.4) follows the indeterminate =nga:

5(lx) mun=guna ana=nga mun=nika jungka?
3Mmun=this 3ManHUM=wh 3Mmun=3MPOSS hat
Whose (which boy's) hat is this?

=nga followed by the generic noun =guyinda in the locative/instrumental case is used to ask 'by what means, on what?'

5(lx) Mun=nga mu=guyinda a-rra _na ?
3Mmun=wh L/I=one, type 3M=3Man-spear,shoot-PRECON
What did he spear/shoot it with?

and =nga combines with the appropriate third person dative pronoun to ask 'what for?, who for? who to? who at?'
5(lxi)  An=nga nu-la n-duwuji-nga?
3Man=wh 3MnfOBL-DAT 2M-cry -R
What are you crying for?

=nga is not used of actions: to ask what someone is doing, the verb yinmiya 'do how, do what' is used:
5(lxii)  Ny-yinmiya- ø nyi-ni-rra?
2MIN-do what-CON 2MIN-be-CON
What are you doing?

The demonstrative interrogative =gaya asks 'which (of known possibilities)?':
5(lxiii)  Ny=,jaya rrepara ny-jirra ny=jeja?
2MIN=which foot 2MIN-POSS 2MIN=sore
Which foot (ie which of your feet) is sore?

Both yinda 'where?' and yina (=)gaya 'where, which of known possibilities)?' are used to ask where (at), where to (although ay-yinda 'away-where' also occurs in the allative sense). Both can combine with the postposition wenga 'from' to ask 'where from?'
5(lxiv)  Yinda } ny-bo-ya?
Ay-yinda ) 2MIN-go-CON
Where are you going?
5(lxv)  Yina gaya wenga wurra yerrcha abi -rrenyji-nga?
Where which from man mob 3AUG›3Man-tread on-R
Where are the men who were dancing from?
5(lxvi)  Yina an=gaya?
Where 3Man=which
Where is he?

Guyinpa asks 'when, how long?'
5(lxvii)  Guyinpa ny-be -na ?
when 2MIN-arrive-PRECON
When did you arrive?
5(lxviii)  Guyinpa barra nguburr-yu - ø?
how long, FUT 1/2AUG -sleep-IRR
how many
How long will we stay? (Gangalarra)
These interrogatives and the functions in which they appear are summarized in the table below, Table 5(b).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERROGATIVE</th>
<th>CLAUSE FUNCTION</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=nga</td>
<td>S,A,O: CORE</td>
<td>who, what thing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=nga DAT PRON</td>
<td>INNER PERIPHERAL</td>
<td>who/what for/to/at?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=nga =yika/=yigipa</td>
<td>(NP: POSS)</td>
<td>whose?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=nga =guyinda</td>
<td>OUTER PERIPHERAL:</td>
<td>with/on what,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LOC/INST</td>
<td>by what means?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yinmiya (ni)</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>be doing what?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=gaya</td>
<td>(NP: DEF)</td>
<td>which?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yinda</td>
<td>LOCATIVE, ALLATIVE</td>
<td>where at, to,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yina (=)gaya wenga</td>
<td>(ABLATIVE)</td>
<td>(from)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guyinpa</td>
<td>OUTER PERIPHERAL:</td>
<td>when, how long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TEMPORAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5(b): Clause Functions of Interrogatives

5.3.2 Yes-no questions

There are several types of yes-no questions in Burarra: simple yes-no questions, tag questions, and questions about permission/intention.

a) Simple yes-no questions substitute sentence-final rising intonation for the sentence-final falling intonation of statements:

5(lxix) Ny-boy-Ø barra? balaja?
2MIN-go -IRR FUT food
Are you going? for food? (ie to eat lunch or tea)

5(lxx) Gu-rrepara ny-bo-na ?
L/I-foot 2MIN-go-PRECON
Did you go on foot/ did you walk?

b) ya and yuwa are both question particles pronounced with a rising intonation which follow statements and act as tag
questions.

*ya* forms tag questions which ask for confirmation of the truth of a statement:

5(lxxi) Nginyi-pa bulany -jan ya?
2MIN -CARD subsection name-fem QU
You're bulanyjan aren't you?

*yuwa* also asks for agreement to a statement; one context in which it is used is in taking leave of someone (where to my knowledge *ya* is not used):

5(lxxii) Bobo, yuwa?
See you later, eh? OK?

5(lxxiii) Nuwurra ngulam, yuwa bambay
later tomorrow OK old lady
Till tomorrow, OK?

c) *Yama* forms yes-no questions about the addressee's intentions to do something concerning the speaker, requests for permission, and suggestions (or exhortations) about combined action, and hence always occurs with general irrealis verbs. It is often translated by a modal, can? or will? or by 'why don't I/ you/ we?'

*Yama* always occurs in sentence-initial position, after any conjunction; *ya* can co-occur in a sentence with *yama*.

5(lxxiv) Yama ngu-walagiya-∅ barra?
1/2INTERROG 1MIN-dance -IRR FUT
Can I dance?

5(lxxv) Yama nguna -barrba-∅ wupa
1/2INTERROG 2,3M→1M-let inside-IRR inside
gun=nginyi-pa bala ya?
3Mgun=2MIN -CARD house QU
Will you let me inside your house? (Fry, c)
5(lxxvi) Yama arr-dawurrja-∅?
1/2INTERROG 1/2MIN-play -IRR
Can we play?
5(lxxvii) Wurra yama ngati-pa arri-∅-ninya-∅
but 1/2INTERROG 1/2UAnf-CARD 1/2UA-nf-be,sit-IRR
minypa an=gata munguyurra an=guyinda?
like 3Man=that first 3Man=one,kind
But why don't we live like our ancestors?
(Djordila)

5.4 Verb Serialization
A noticeable feature of Burarra is the frequent use
of serial verb constructions. They occur in as many as one
in three clauses, and even when they are least used, still
occur in one in eight clauses.
Serializing is at core level- that is, all verbs
in a serial construction appear with their arguments
cross-referenced by the pronominal prefixes. All verbs are
fully inflected for tense/status, and must be inflected
for the same tense/status category (or the corresponding
one in conjugations where no tense distinctions are made).
The verbs must also share core arguments. Two types
of construction can be distinguished on the basis of
which argument is shared: those where the object of one
is the S of the other (O = S); these constructions have
a causative meaning;
and those where the S or A of one is the S of the
other, S/A = S. These are used in describing compound
actions.

5.4.1 Subject-Subject Serial Verbs
In this type, the construction consists of an open
slot, which may be filled by any verb, transitive or in-
transitive, followed by a restricted slot, in which a
limited number of intransitive verbs appear. The two verbs
may be separated by an enclitic dative pronoun or the
directional clitic gurda 'towards', or by the future
particle barra, but no other constituents may occur between
Those verbs which appear in the restricted slot are (with their lexical meanings):

**motion verbs**
- boy~bo 'go'
- bamba~bama 'go along'
- rrika 'crawl'
- yurtcha 'rush'
- jarl (a shortened form of jarlabiya 'walk fast', which does not take tense inflections)
- worki-ya 'throw self about'

**positional verbs**
- ni, ninya 'be (sitting), stay'
- ji, jinja 'be standing'
- yu 'be lying, sleep'

These are exactly the classes of verbs (motion and posture/stance verbs) claimed by Foley and Olson (1985) to be the first two verb classes most accessible to the restricted slot of a serial verb construction.

As these verbs are all intransitive, it may be noted that these constructions have a grammatical function in addition to their semantic function. It was noted at 4.1.2.i that many neutralizations of person and number occur in the transitive verb prefixes; where these involve the agent, the intransitive prefix on a serializing verb can help to disambiguate or further specify the subject of the whole construction:

5(1xxviii) m-ba -nga a-rrik -nga gorrngunya
3M->3Mmun-eat-CON 3Man-crawl-CON grass
He crawled along eating grass. (Walabarra)

(Here the transitive prefix indicates only that the agent is a minimal third person; one would expect an animate agent, ie an or jin class, but this is decided by the prefix of the intransitive verb: 3rd person minimal an class.)
5(lxxix) Burrbu - da -na aburr-ni-ø.  
3NS→3NS-shoot-PRECON 3AUG-be-PRECON

They shot them.  
(Mason)

(burrbu- crossreferences a nonsingular agent and  
object; aburr- specifies the agent as augmented in number: 
they three or more shot them two or more.)

5(lxxx) gugaliya yerrcha bijirri ø-na-na  
Aboriginal person mob 2,3M→3UA-nf-see-PRECON  
a-yurtchi-nga.
3Man-rush -R

He ran straight at (lit. looking at) the two men.  
(Guwanga, a)

(In this example bijirri- could have a second or  
third person agent - the third person prefix a- disambig­  
uates the person and specifies the class as well.)

All of the verbs listed above can (presumably) be  
used to describe compound action (although no examples have  
been found where workiya is used in its literal sense);  
some are also used as aspectual auxiliaries (these are boy,  
bamba, workiya, ni, ji, and yu).

a) Compound Action  
Serial verbs decribe the simultaneous actions of one  
subject; they appear not to refer to sequential actions  
as they may do in many languages.

5(lxxviii) and 5(lxxx) above are examples of rrika  
and yurtcha used in this way: 'he crawled along eating grass'  
and 'he ran looking at them'. Other examples:

5(lxxxi) ana-mernda gu-rра -cha a-yu -rра,
L/I-arm 3M→3Mgun-spear-CON 3Man-lie-CON
a-garliyа - ø , a-gana -ja a-ni -rра,
3Man-get up -CON 3Man-watch-CON 3Man-sit-CON
a-gurmi - ya - ø , a-gana -ja a-yu -rра.
3Man-put down-INTR-CON 3Man-watch-CON 3Man-lie-CON

He lay propped on his elbow (lit. he lay spearing it  
the ground) with his arm), he got up, he sat watching,  
he lay down, he lay watching.  
(Walabarra)
You go along watching for wallabies.

(Nakachurra)

The man went creeping along.

(Walabarra)

He fell with the chair.

(Wamba refers to steady, continuous movement, and this sentence was said of somebody who had been leaning back in his chair. He leant back too far, the chair kept going back and he kept going back with it.)

b) Serial Verbs as Indicators of Aspect

Verbs of motion used in their literal sense involve both movement in space and movement in time — 'X went from place Y to place Z' implies that X was at place Z at a later time than they were at place Y. Positional verbs do not involve a change in location, but rather the maintenance of one position in one location, again with the implication of progression through time. It is not hard to see how such verbs come to be used not only in their primary sense of change or lack of change spatially, but also in a purely temporal sense. The motion verbs burlaji, bamba and workiya, and the positional verbs ni, ji and yu are used in Burarra as aspectual auxiliaries indicating the temporal nature of the event referred to by the main verb (Foley and Olson (1985) note that such verbs are commonly used as aspectual operators). Thus:

He went on crouching over.

(Walabarra)

I am grateful to Harold Koch for pointing this out.
Whether the progression is through time only or through space as well is sometimes determined only by the context:

In the first of these two sentences, the fire is moving over the ground; in the second, it is stationary, but continuing to burn well.

**boy** is used to indicate change of state through time:

In the context being that I had been sitting eating damper and was offered some more by a child. This is what I was told to say to explain why I didn't want any more.

**Workiya**, literally 'throw oneself about', expresses habitual action, and is glossed 'do always', as it is frequently translated. For instance,
they suck our blood. (Darcy, b)

The positional verbs indicate durative aspect, actions or states which last over a period of time. Ji 'be standing' and yu 'be lying' are used only of subjects in the appropriate posture; ni 'be sitting, stay' is the unmarked durative auxiliary, and occurs with verbs denoting actions done in any posture, or any type of movement:

5(xci) Birri-pa abi-rrenyji -nga aburr-ni-∅.
   3AUG -CARD 3AUG-3Man-tread on-R  3AUG -be-PRECON

They were dancing.

(The dancing referred to involved large leaps and jumps and twirls, and was certainly not done in a sitting position!)

5(xcii) bolkeynu gubi-na -cha gu-rro -ngga
   volcano 3AUG-3Mgun-see-CON 3Mgun-burn-CON
   gu-ji -rra.
   3Mgun-stand-CON

They saw a volcano burning. (Cooper, J.)

5(xciii) nyibi-na -cha bugula gu-borrwembiya-∅
   1,2AUG 3M-see-CON water 3Mgun- boil -CON
   gu-yu -rra.
   3Mgun-lie-CON

We saw water boiling (in the ground).

(Cooper, J.)

In these latter examples, the verb appropriate to the subject is used - water appears flat on the ground and is thus lying boiling, while the volcano is tall and upright, and so is standing burning.

Serial constructions with sequences of three verbs do occur (for example, in 5(lxxxv) above). In these constructions, there is one unrestricted slot and two restricted slots. The first restricted slot here corresponds to the single restricted slot as described above; the second is even more limited, and can be filled by one of only three verbs: ni be (sitting)
   bamba go along
   workiya do always
(workiya as an aspectual marker (which is the only sense in which it appears in examples to date) only occurs as the last serial verb, never as the second of three.)

Verb serialization is not uncommon in Australian languages, although the level at which it occurs and the semantics of the constructions vary. The type and functions found in Burarra are also found in neighbouring Ndjébbana (McKay 1984) and Djinang¹ (Waters 1984); in the latter, Waters lists seven serializing verbs, all of which can encode different aspectual distinctions (including 'lie', INTERMITTENT, and 'crawl', RAMBLITIVE).

5.4.2 Causatives: Object = Subject Serialization

The second type of serial construction in Burarra is one where the subject of the second verb must be co-referential with the object of the first, necessarily transitive, verb. Such constructions imply that the agent of the first verb is responsible for the action or state ascribed to the subject of the second verb:

5(xciv) ngu-jerrmu-nga gochilawa a-bo-na .
    1M→3M-send -PRECON beach 3Man-go-PRECON
    I sent him; he went to the beach
    = I made him go to the beach.

5(xcv) Ni-pa jiny-ba -rra jiny-jorchi-nga.
    3MIN-GARD 3M→3Mjin-bite-PRECON 3Mjin-bleed -R
    He bit her; she bled.
    = He made her bleed. (Cooper, K.)

I have examples with intransitive verbs only as the second verb; it is logically possible for transitive verbs to occur also.

Note that verbs of speech, being intransitive, cannot fulfil the object = subject constraint of this construction and do not occur as causative verbs.

¹ I am grateful to Harold Koch for drawing this to my attention.
5.5 Complex Sentences

Complex sentences are those containing more than one clause. Two clauses may be connected by a conjunction or related by the suffix -na, 'circumstances'; one may be embedded in the other, or they may simply adjoin each other. In all cases all verbs are fully inflected for person and tense.

5.5.1 Conjunctions

Four co-ordinating conjunctions have been found:

wurra but
rrapa and
rraka and so
o or

(This last is suspiciously like English 'or' and may be a loan - one informant (who was aware that other words were loans, for instance from Macassan, commented simply that the forms were very alike);

and two subordinating conjunctions:

ngardawa because
minyja if

Rrapa and rrraka require some comment. Rrraka links two clauses where the second clause describes a consequence of the event or state described in the first; the two clauses cannot be permuted.

5(xcvi) Minypa gu=gapa gu=guta abirri-∅-borrwi-
like L/I=that out L/I=this(?) 3UA -nf-remember-
of sight
ya -na abirri-∅-ni- ∅ rrraka balapala
INTR-PRECON 3UA -nf-be-PRECON and so house-REDUP
abirri-∅-rrenyji -chi- ya -na
3UA -nf-tread on-RECIP-INTR-PRECON
Like back and forth they two (remembered themselves) = remembered each other and so they visited each other.
(Djordila)

5(xcvii) Gala carburettor a-rrima-∅ rraka
Neg " 3M→3Man-have -IRR and so
arr-jarlapu-nga-ma a-dericha -nga-ma
1/2M→3M-make -INC-NEG 3Man-stop moving -INC-NEG
It hasn't got a carburettor and so we couldn't make it stop.

(\textit{Wunggarra, a})

5(xcviii) Jonoma a-jirra a-rrumi-ya - $\phi$ rraka
back 3Man-FOSS 3Man-break-INTR-CON and so
gala a-yinmiya - $\phi$ burr-bay - $\phi$.
NEG 3Man-do how,what-IRR 3M$\rightarrow$3AUG-bite-IRR
His (a snake's) back was broken and so he couldn't bite them.

(\textit{Ngalwaringa})

\textbf{Rrapa} functions as an adverb 'also' as well as a conjunction:

5(ic) Balanda gun=nika joborr ngardapa gu-yu -rra
white person 3Mgun=3MFOSS law alone 3Mgun-lie-CON
rrapa minypa gun=ngayburr-pa ngardapa rrapa gu-yu -rra.
and like 3Mgun=l,1/2AUG-CARD alone also 3Mgun-lie-CON
The Balanda law is separate and our law is also separate.

(Djordila)

As a conjunction, \textit{rrapa} is used frequently to link two clauses where the first describes something about one object of discussion and the second describes something about another:

5(c) an=nerranga an=mola rrapa an=nerranga an=bachirra
3Man =other 3Man=good and 3Man=other 3Man=wild
Some are friendly and some are the angry kind.

(Djordila)

or where both clauses describe a similar or repeated act by the same subject:

5(ci) Lika nyiburr-japarndiya- $\phi$ nyiburr-ni-rra rrapa
then 1,2AUG - sing -CON 1,2AUG -be-CON and
nyiburr-marrkapchi-nga nyiburr-ni-rra nu-la .
1,2AUG -feel happy-R 1,2AUG -be-CON 3MnfOBL-DAT
Then we were singing and we were feeling happy towards Him.

(Cooper, K.)

In both of these examples, the conjunction can be seen as adding new information, either a new topic or another comment about a current topic, thus reflecting its adverbial meaning. \textit{Rrapa} can be used to link sequential actions; more often, however, co-ordinated clauses simply follow
one another, as example 5(cii), which ends a text on going
digging for grubs, illustrates:

5(cii) Nyiburr-bo-na , nyiburr-jeka -rra , rrawa
1,2AUG -go-PRECON 1,2AUG -return-PRECON camp
abi-yolaji -nga, a-rro -nga a-yu - ø.
3AUG>3Man-cook in ashes-R 3Man-burn-PRECON 3Man-lie-PRECON
A-ngorrchi -nga, nyirrbu - wu -na ,
3M>3Man-take from fire -R 1,2NS<NS-give-PRECON
nyiwu -ba -rra nyiburr-ni-.
1,2AUG>3M-eat-PRECON 1,2AUG -be-PRECON

We went, we returned, at camp they cooked them in the
ashes, they got hot. She took them out, they gave (them)
to us and we all ate them. (Fry, a)

5.5.2 -pa CIRCumstances

The suffix -pa occurs on verbs, following the tense/status
suffix and realis negator -rna (see 4.4); on
adjectives, and on the adverb waya 'at a specific time'.
A clause where -pa occurs on a verb or waya is usually
preceded or followed by another clause; the -pa clause
describes the circumstances of the action in the second
clause.

The circumstances may be temporal, being the time at
or during which another action takes place; for example:
5(ciii) Wurra jarrka a-yolka-ja . Bokpurra
but goanna 3M>3Man-trick-PRECON frog
a-gortkurrchi-nga-pa , a-ba -rra .
3Man-jump -R -CIRC 3M>3Man-eat-PRECON

But Goanna tricked him. As Frog jumped, he ate him.
(Darcy, c)

5(civ) Way -pa barra ready nyirri-ø-ni-ø
specific time -CIRC FUT " 1,2UA -nf-be-IRR
wireless nyirri-ø-jerrma- ø barra anagorrburrr-wa .
" 1,2UA>3M-nf-send -IRR FUT 2AUGOBL -DAT
When we are ready, we will send you a wire.

A -pa clause can also give a reason for performing
an action:
But one is still working, having not yet finished.

In some cases, the circumstances refer to place:

Those children went along where the pandanus stands.

He hurried along towards the place where we were cooking meat.

(Where -pa occurs on an adjective it implicitly relates the referent of the noun it modifies to another one of the same kind, or to another occasion involving that referent, as in:

We'll take an aeroplane, it being the same one or, We'll take the same aeroplane.)

5.5.3 Embedded Clauses
One clause is subordinate to another when it is embedded within it as one of its arguments, core or peripheral, or when it modifies and is embedded within an argument.

It is not clear that full clauses appear in core argu-
ment functions in Burarra. The clearest cases of embedding are at the outer peripheral level, involving adverbial clauses of place, and at the level of the noun phrase.

a) Adverbial Clauses

In the examples below, location and goal are expressed as full clauses and are clearly subordinate, as they are completely contained within the superordinate clause:

5(cix) Abirri-ny =yerranga [marnnga jiny-bunggiya-∅
3UA -fem=other sun 3Mjin- fall -CON
jiny-yorkiya -∅ abirri-ny -bamu -na .
3Mjin-do always -CON 3UA -fem-go along -PRECON

The other two women went (to where) the sun sets.

(Darcy, a)

5(cx) Lika an=ngardapa a-na -na
then 3Man= one 3M=3Man-see-PRECON
[marnnga jiny- ji -rra jiny-yorkiya -∅
sun,clock 3Mjin -stand-CON 3Mjin-do always-CON
a-yilkaki- yi -na .
3Man- hide -INTR-PRECON

Then she saw one hiding (where) the clock stands.

(Ngamlaka, a)

Neither of these clauses of place give any indication in themselves of their function in the superordinate clause—(cix) is literally, and in Burarra order, 'The other two women the sun always falls down they went'. (As described at 2.4, yinda 'where?' does function as a subordinator, but in clauses with universal reference, not clauses describing particular locations or goals.)

Other clauses indicating a goal or location are not contained within the main clause, but are still functionally subordinate to it:

5(cxi) Ngubberr-barrngumu-rra wupa ni-pa a-yu -rra
1/2AUG -enter -PRECON inside 3MIN-CARD 3Man-lie-CON
a-workiya -∅ .
3Man-do always-CON

We went in to where he sleeps. (Cooper, K.)

(Literally, 'We entered inside he always sleeps', but
here 'he always sleeps' is not describing an action or characteristic of the subject but is indicating the place they entered, the place where that action always occurs.)

5(cxii) Jinyu-na -na ji-guya mu-wirrupu-na
3M→3Mjin -see-PRECON L/I-nose 3M→3Mmun- wet -PRECON
rrralala.

hole

(Darcy, a)

She saw her (turtles) where she made a hole with her nose.

b) Relative Clauses

It is not easy to decide in many cases whether a given clause is a relative clause or is simply co-ordinate to another clause. Where it is embedded within a second clause it is clearly subordinate:

5(cxiii) Nyibu -na -cha garriwa jin=jaranga
1,2AUG→3M-see-CON turtle 3Mjin= lots

[ mu-man.goli gubirri-jarlapu-rda acha-la ]
[ L/I-bamboo sticks 3UA→3Mgun-make -CON 3MfemOBL -DAT ]

mundirra mu=guyinda .

trap  L/I=one, kind

We saw lots of turtles in traps which they made for her with bamboo sticks.

Another example of an embedded relative clause is in 5(xvi).

Where the candidate for relative clause status lies outside the other constituents of the main clause, it could be considered to be simple co-ordination, but intonation patterns indicate otherwise. In (cxiv), 'e dog ate the thong' is pronounced as a unit - there is no pause between 'dog' and the verb 'eat'. 'Dog' is clearly part of this clause, but is also functioning as the object of the first verb. The second clause is not given the intonation pattern

5(cxiv) Gugaliya yerrcha awu-bitima-nga
Aboriginal person mob 3AUG→3Man-chase -CON

gulukula gu-ba -rra jilipit.
dog 3M→3Mgun-eat-PRECON thong
characteristic of independent clauses:

gulukula gu-ba-r ra jilipit

but receives as a unit the falling intonation characteristic of the end of the sentence:

gugaliya yerrcha awu-bitima-nga gulukula gu-ba-r ra jilipit.

Intonation is clearly important in signalling the independent or subordinate status of clauses, and requires much more detailed study.
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