

Bininj Gun-wok:
a pan-dialectal grammar of
Mayali, Kunwinjku and Kune

Volume 1: Chapters 1-8

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Bininj Gun-wok: a pan-dialectal grammar of Mayali, Kunwinjku and Kune

Volume 1: Chapters 1-8

Nicholas Evans



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Preface

This book started out in 1986 as part of a consultancy with the Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service and the Gagudju Association to develop an orthography for Gun-djeihmi and materials that could be used in Kakadu National Park to interpret various facets of Aboriginal culture such as ethnobotanical knowledge, place names and oral traditions around the rich galleries of ancient rock art found there. Although there was already substantial material on a related dialect, Kunwinjku, through work by Arthur Capell, Lynette Oates, Peter Carroll, Steve Etherington and others (see §1.6), Gun-djeihmi, like the other dialects of Bininj Gun-wok, was virtually undescribed. I therefore began to prepare a descriptive grammar of the Gun-djeihmi dialect.

Immediately I became interested in the theoretical problems posed by a polysynthetic language where so much information was concentrated into long verbal words like *bayiwarlkgarrinj* 'he hid himself away with it', *bigomdjumeng* 'it stuck in her throat' or *barribebeganagang* 'they each took some' (these examples are taken from one of the first texts I recorded, from Toby Gangele – see Text 1 in the Appendix). This 'genius' for concentrating all the information on the head of the clause was the exact opposite of what I was used to in Kayardild, the Queensland language I had worked on previously, where the basic organising principle is to percolate down all possible morphosyntactic information to dependents, leading to massive stacking up of case, tense and interclausal agreement on nominals. In the late 1980s there was growing interest in such topics as noun incorporation, adverbial quantification and the significance of bound pronominals for syntactic structure, but I did not feel that existing sources on Kunwinjku, or other related languages for that matter, provided adequate discussion of these issues, so in my elicitation work I began to get detailed material on these topics (especially with two of my outstanding Gun-djeihmi teachers, Toby Gangele and Eddie Hardy).

I began searching the descriptive traditions of other areas of the world for models of how to organise the grammar of a polysynthetic grammar. This is a topic that has challenged many of the great thinkers about linguistic structure, from Humboldt in his discussion of the structure of classical Aztec and Sapir in his grammar of Southern Paiute, to, in more recent times, work by Launey on Classical Aztec, Mithun on Seneca and Mohawk, Rice on Slave, Sasse on Cayuga, Foley on Yimas, and in Australia especially McKay on Rembarnga and Heath on Nunggubuyu. But I still found that many of the questions I was interested in were not dealt with at the level of detail needed to really understand how the language worked: How do you say X in a polysynthetic language? Now that we have a list of all the dozens of verbal morphemes, how do we put them together into a meaningful construction? For example, how do the reflexive suffix, the benefactive prefix and noun incorporation all

interact inside a verbal word? How do you work out what scope a bound prefix like 'all' or 'the wrong (one)' will have if it can't be placed next to the element it modifies? Does pronominal reference work in the same way once pronominal elements become obligatory? Does noun incorporation really have the same discourse function in object and intransitive subject function? Do the radical differences in structure between polysynthetic and non-polysynthetic languages mirror a difference in underlying semantic structure that requires us to discard our Eurocentric biases before we can adequately capture how the language works (as per the Boas-Sapir tradition)? Is it merely a surface phenomenon (as per Mark Baker's recent work), or are there differences of a more subtle nature?

Further, in the last few years, new work on construction grammar has emphasised the need to characterise the meanings of linguistic gestalts, and I believe that this is an aspect of polysynthetic languages that has been rather neglected, at the expense of concentrating on spectacular arrays of individual morphemes. I therefore decided to write a detailed grammar that would pay attention to the range of questions outlined above, though I am under no illusion of having done justice to all these issues.

The second thing that struck me about Gun-djeihmi was the exceptionally rich sociolinguistic matrix it was set in. To begin with, there are two special registers that index kinship relations: a special register for use with respected relatives like one's mother-in-law (§1.5.1), and a complex system of 'triangular kin terms' that calculate the kinship relations of a referent from the simultaneous perspectives of speaker and hearer (§1.5.2).

Equally complex is the pattern of inter-nested variation between dialects. From the start, although my initial assignment was to work on the Gun-djeihmi dialect, many of the texts and even sentence materials I gathered mixed features from other dialects, which was hardly surprising given that many of my teachers had either started out speaking other dialects and switched to Gun-djeihmi as their life circumstances changed — from Kunwinjku, Kuninjku, Gun-dedjnjenghmi or Pine Creek Mayali — or else were spending a lot of time talking to Kunwinjku speakers. As well, there was lots of talk about clan-specific variants; Nipper Kapirigi, for example, began our first session by mentioning specific details of the Badmardi clan lect. Articulated judgments of linguistic closeness often stressed links to neighbouring languages as more important than those to neighbouring dialects — Gun-djeihmi speakers would regularly state that their dialect was 'like Jawoyn' or 'like Dangbon' rather than 'like Kunwinjku'. And often, when I employed the standard elicitation technique of asking whether particular made-up sentences were grammatical, Gun-djeihmi speakers would say things like 'that's how Kunwinjku people talk' or 'sounds like Maningrida side' rather than simply 'that's incorrect'.

If only to make sense of such statements, identify intrusions from other dialects, and transcribe multi-dialectal or multi-lingual conversations, I needed to find out about these other dialects; so from 1989 I began to carry out fieldwork in other areas, particularly with Kuninjku and Kune speakers in the small and very traditional outstations some hundred kilometres to the east, south of Maningrida. Kuninjku and Kune exhibited all sorts of interesting differences from both Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku, such as the disappearance of gender agreement from Kune, the loss of the dual number in the divalent prefix paradigms, and the use of the instrumental as an ergative, and I began to realise that the structural heterogeneity of the dialect chain was much greater than suspected. From the point of view of learning the language, working in these outstations had the further advantage that, since these communities (unlike those in Kakadu) used hardly any English or Kriol, I was forced to use the language in all interactions. Finally, in 1996, when working with Murray Garde in a literacy workshop on Dalabon/Ngalkbun at Barunga, some of the Mayali speakers there

invited us to visit the small community of Manyallaluk (formerly Eva Valley), and record some language there. Manyallaluk Mayali again proved to have all sorts of grammatical differences from all the other varieties, and as well to be an interesting case of a recent koine (or dialect blend) formed earlier this century when speakers of various dialects moved south to work in a small mining community.

By the mid 1990s, then, I decided to work together all these materials into a pan-dialectal grammar, loosely guided by Weinreich's notion of a 'diasystem', or deeper underlying system in terms of which specific dialect variants can be understood.

From a theoretical point of view, this means abandoning the fiction that you are describing a system inside any one speaker's head: no-one is fully conversant with all the dialects described here. On the other hand, speakers often phrase their judgments of correctness in terms of different dialect norms (for example, if I ask a Kune speaker if you can say *daluk ngalmak?* [woman FE-good] for 'good woman', I am told 'that's how people talk at Oenpelli'). And they often play with dialect differences, for example by making characters in texts speak other dialects than their own (see Text 6 for an example) or by accommodating to certain dialect features of visitors in a playful way or, out of deference, starting off by adopting salient features of a host's dialect to show they acknowledge their ownership of country they are visiting. One goal of this grammar, then, is to capture speakers' models of the wider system of codes in which they participate; it would be artificial to put this off until later (say, until we have full grammars of each separate dialect), because the investigator constantly encounters dialectally mixed data, and because so much speech behaviour makes use of what are assumed to be mutually known differences in dialect systems.

I believe there are also real descriptive and explanatory advantages in taking a pan-dialectal approach, of the type Weinreich recognised when developing his notion of diasystem. In many cases, comparison across dialects reveals much about the language that would remain puzzling if we just had information about the behaviour of one dialect. For example, the way in which gender agreement does not match the set of noun classes very neatly began as a puzzle when I was looking just at Gun-djeihmi, but once I looked at all dialects it is clear that it is just one step in a process by which different dialects have, to different degrees, simplified an original four-gender system (still found in Kunwinjku), while all retaining an original system of four overt noun-class prefixes (see §5.5). Or, to take a second example, comparing the structure of the divalent pronominal prefixes across dialects reveals a clear typological patterning in where dual marking appears and where it is neutralised (§10.2.2). And, from the viewpoint of grammaticalisation, cross-dialectal comparisons allow one to pin-point rather clearly the way in which certain innovations (such as the 'part-class' marked by the *-no* suffix in the eastern dialects) proceed by extending constructions that are more limited in other dialects.

There is also a good practical reason for writing a pan-dialectal grammar: until now, most published work has focussed on the Kunwinjku dialect, but as Bininj Gun-wok represents one of the few Australian languages with a growing number of speakers there is a need for an informed description of the whole suite of varieties to meet various practical goals. The needs of the other speech communities, in terms of planning orthography, developing bilingual programs, assessing the skills needed by interpreters dealing with speakers of various dialect backgrounds, getting information to language centres, evaluating the feasibility of unified vs dialect-specific dictionary programs and so on, will all be better met by a description that encompasses the whole dialect chain.

This is not to say that there are no major drawbacks of the approach I have taken here. Firstly, it is difficult to organise material in those cases where the subsystems are not parallel,

as in the case of the tense/aspect/mood suffixes (§9.3) or the kinship system (§1.4.1). An ideal investigator needs to be on the alert for such systemic differences, and not presume too much parallelism when dealing with unfamiliar dialects; I have no doubt that subsequent detailed work on particular dialects will show me to have sometimes failed on this point. Second, constraints on time and opportunity have meant that it has not always been possible to get comparably detailed data on all topics, so that different dialects will assume centre stage according to the problem being discussed. Again, I hope that this grammar will encourage further work to bring our knowledge of all dialects to a level where truly systematic comparison is possible. Thirdly, the existence of three different orthographies (§1.2.6) and the switches between them according to the variety in focus will undoubtedly make the reader's task harder in some places than it would have been in a grammar based on one variety.

In dealing with these three types of shortcoming, I have used different approaches in different places, according to what I have judged the most illuminating strategy. Sometimes I compare particular subsystems one dialect at a time (pronominal prefixes), sometimes I give a more detailed exposition of one dialect's system with notes on how others differ (e.g. demonstratives), while at other times I begin with a discussion of the most complex system (e.g. the Kunwinjku noun class and gender system) followed by a discussion of how the others can be derived from this via various simplifications or transformations.

A final shortcoming is my omission of any discussion of intonation from this grammar. Originally I planned a chapter on this topic, but realised that it was too complex a topic to do justice to so briefly. Instead, a separate book on this topic is envisaged, with my colleagues Judith Bishop and Janet Fletcher, growing out of our recent work (see Bishop 1997a,b, 2002; Bishop & Fletcher forthcoming; Fletcher & Evans 2000).

The language described in this book is in the fortunate and unusual position, for an Australian language at least, of not being under immediate threat of extinction. This makes it possible for me to dedicate it equally to the many great *bininj* who taught me and who have now left us, and to the generations to come: *ngurri-bulerri ngurri-gerrnge, ngurri-wernh-wokdi gun-wok*.

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Abbreviations

*	1. Unacceptable example 2. Reconstructed form	du	dual
°	number neutralised	DUB	dubitative
∅	zero morpheme	DV	deverbal
I	first person	EMPH	emphatic
2	second person	ERG	ergative
3	third person	EXC	exclusive
12	first person inclusive	EXT	extended
I	noun class, typically masculine	FAC	factive
II	noun class, typically feminine	FE	feminine gender agreement
III	noun class, typically vegetable	fem	feminine (pronoun)
IV	noun class, typically neuter	FUT	future
a	augmented	GEN	genitive
ABL	ablative	GENTIL	gentilic
ANA	anaphoric (demonstrative)	GIN	generic incorporated nominal
ANA.IMM	immediate anaphoric	h	higher object
BEN	benefactive applicative	IO	indirect object
BPIN	body-part incorporated nominal	IMM	immediate
CAUS	causal	IMM.PREV	just mentioned (demonstrative)
CENTRIP	centripetal	IMP	imperative
CHACLOC	characteristic location	IN	incorporated nominal
COM	comitative applicative	INC	inclusive
COMIT	comitative (nominal suffix)	INCEP	inceptive
CONJ	conjunction	INCH	inchoative
CTRFAC	counterfactual	INSEP	inseparable
DEM	demonstrative	INSTR	instrument
DET	determiner	intr.	Intransitive
DIREC	direction	IO	indirect object
DIST	distributive	IRR	irrealis
		ITER	iterative
		IVF	incorporating verb form

I	lower object ¹
LOC	locative
m	minimal (not usually marked in glosses)
MA	masculine gender agreement
masc	masculine (pronoun)
NEG	negative
NEU	neuter
nm	non-minimal
NP	1. non-past (in glosses) 2. noun phrase (in body text)
O	object
OBL	oblique
P	past
PERSIS	persistive
PI	past imperfective
pl	plural
POSSD	possessed noun
PP	past perfective
PR	present
PRIV	privative
PROP	proprietary
PRPTY	property
PRT	part suffix
PROHIB	prohibitive
PROX.SER	proximal seriated
Q	question marker
RR	reflexive/reciprocal
REDUP	reduplication
REL	relativiser
REM	remote (demonstrative)
RESP	respect (in trirelational kin terms)
S	1. subject (intransitive) 2. subject (in word order discussions)

sg	singular
sp.	species
SUB	subordinate marker
SUBJ	subject (general)
TAM	tense/aspect/mood
tr.	transitive
ua	unit augmented
v	verb
VBSR	verbaliser
VE	vegetable
VEG.LOC	location (plant)
VIOL	with violent intent
YON	yon, distal demonstrative
YON.ID	distal identificational
... ..	in glosses, where one word translates two in vernacular
√	stem form (where a verb is cited in non-past without any pronominal prefixes)

Subject/object combinations like 3a/1du mean 'third augmented subject acting upon first person dual object', i.e. 'they doing it to us two'. Minimal number is not usually marked on glosses, so that 3/1 is to be interpreted as meaning 'third minimal subject acting upon first minimal object', i.e. '(s)he or it acting upon me'.

Boundaries

-	morpheme boundary
.	lexicalised morpheme boundary, e.g. in old compound; only shown where relevant
=	clitic boundary
—	element that is positionally bound to the preceding word, e.g. pronouns after verbs in some cases
\$	syllable boundary
[...]	foot boundaries
%...%	encloses underlying forms

¹ Note that although the number '1' and the letter 'l' are typographically similar, they occur in different slots, since the latter always directly follows the number '3', while the former never does.

Kinship abbreviations

B	brother
C	child
D	daughter
e	elder
F	father
H	husband
M	mother
S	son
W	wife
y	younger
Z	sister

Concatenations of the above, such as MM or FZ, are interpreted as 'mother's mother', 'father's sister', and so forth, except that e and y modify the symbol which follows, as in eB 'elder brother' and yZ 'younger sister'.

Languages, dialects, registers

A	All dialects
BGW	Bininj Gun-wok
D	Dalabon
Dj	Gun-djeihmi
Dnj	Gun-dedjnjenghmi
E	Kune (broad sense)
E:D	Kune: Dulerayek
E:N	Kune: Narayek
I	Kuninjku
k.k.	Kun-kurrng (avoidance register)
o.d.	other dialects
o.l.	ordinary or 'outside' language (i.e. everyday register)
R	Rembarnga
W	Kunwinjku

M	Mayali (broad sense)
Mkr	Makassarese
MM	Manyallaluk Mayali
X/Y	Example in which dialects X and Y are code-mixed
\$	avoidance register (in word list only)

Sources

E&E	Etherington and Etherington (1994)
GID	Garde (1997), Dictionary of Kuninjku
KH	Hale (1959) field notes
Karrarrkid	<i>Jesus Nungka Karrarrkid</i>
KS	<i>Nganjmira: Kunwinjku Spirit</i>
MT	Mayali Texts (Evans 1991)
OM	Oenpelli monologue: Berndt and Berndt (1951a)
OP	Carroll (1995)
PC	Carroll (1976)
T	Text (Appendix 1)

Other conventions

Translations are normally shown in single quotes, except that double quotes are used for specifically Aboriginal English terms.

Sometimes I use the initials of speakers drawn from the set acknowledged on p.vii, and my own initials (NE) in the case of interviews in which I was a participant.

I use smaller fonts in paragraphs of a more esoteric nature, for hard-core readers only.



Map 1: Location of Bininj Gun-wok dialect

1 *The language and its speakers*

1.1 Linguistic type

Phonologically, Bininj Gun-wok is typical of Australian languages in having paired stop and nasal phonemes at each point of articulation (except the glottal), lacking fricatives, having a relatively rich inventory of liquids (two rhotics and two laterals) and having a strict one-consonant onset for syllables.¹ More specifically, it is typical of the languages of central Arnhem Land and contrasts with most other Australian languages, in having a phonemic glottal stop, two stop series (short and long), five vowels without a length contrast, relatively complex consonant clusters in codas and no essential distinction between word and syllable phonotactics.

Like most of the Gunwinyguan languages, it is richly polysynthetic. Verbs have a morphological template with around twelve prefix slots showing subject and object pronominal information (distinguishing three numbers for each — minimal, unit augmented and augmented — though with some neutralisations), direction, aspect, various types of adverbial and quantificational information, applicatives, ‘generic’ and ‘body part’ incorporated nominals and spatial prefixes;² of these only the first, pronominal, slots are obligatory. (Note that, unlike in many North Australian languages such as Maung and Nunggubuyu, verbs do not exhibit gender agreement.) Then follows the verb root, an optional suffix for reflexive/reciprocal and a final tense/aspect/mood inflection. Two examples of sentences comprising a morphologically elaborate verb with little or no other material are 1.1a and 1.2a.

1.1 a. *Aban-yawoih-warrgah-marne-ganj-ginje-ng.*

Dj 1/3pl-again-wrong-BEN-meat-cook-PP
‘I cooked the wrong meat for them again.’

b. *Aban-yawoih-warrgah-marne-ginje-ng gun-ganj.*

Dj 1/3pl-again-wrong-BEN-cook-PP IV-meat
‘= 1.1a’

¹ Though western dialects optionally drop some initial consonants in word-initial position.

² Additional complexity comes from the fact that verb stems are often compounds, sometimes resulting from old frozen incorporations: see §8.2.1.

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- 1.2 a. *Al-djal-gudji ba-gurlah-mirnde-bimbu-ni.*
 Dj FE-just-one 3/3P-hide-many-paint-PI
 'Just she on her own painted lots of buffalo hides.'
- b. *Al-djal-gudji ba-mirnde-bimbu-ni gun-gurlah.*
 Dj FE-just-one 3/3P-many-paint-PI IV-hide
 '= 1.2a'

As these illustrate, noun incorporation is optional, involves dropping the noun class prefix (here *gun-*) and there is basic synonymy between incorporated and unincorporated versions, though incorporated objects tend to be given or situationally expected and incorporated subjects of intransitive stance verbs tend to be new and given a presentative reading (§10.4.3.3). A corollary of this basic synonymy is that noun incorporation does not affect argument structure, but rather provides referential specification about the absolutive argument of an already-created argument array.

Incorporated nominals, in fact, have three functions: to index generic-type nouns, as in 1.1 and 1.2 above, to localise the effects of the predicate on a body part of the absolutive argument (1.3), or to supply a secondary predicate, again on the absolutive argument (1.4).

- 1.3 *A-bid-garrme-ng daluk.*
 Dj 1/3-hand-touch-PP woman
 'I touched the woman on the hand.'
- 1.4 *Ga-rrarrkid, galuk nga-rrarrgid-ma-ng.*
 Dj 3-alive FUT 1/3-alive-pick.up-NP
 'It's alive, I'll pick it up alive.'

Not all noun roots are incorporable and in fact the set of incorporable roots is essentially the same as the set of roots participating in nominal compounding; I shall call these 'compounding roots'. Compare 1.5 which illustrates the root *dulk* of *gun-dulk* 'tree' incorporating 1.5a and compounding with *guyeng* 'long, tall' (1.5b), with 1.6 which illustrates the impossibility of the root *dubang* of *an-dubang* 'ironwood tree' either incorporating 1.6a or compounding 1.6b; instead, they may be doubled by a semantically related root (here *dulk* 'tree') which is either incorporated 1.6c or compounded 1.6d. See §8.1.3.3 for a list of compounding roots.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1.5 a. <i>Barri-dulk-djobge-ng.</i>
Dj 3a/3P-tree-cut-PP
'They cut down the tree.' | b. <i>an-dulk-guyeng</i>
VE-tree-long
'tall tree' |
| 1.6 a. <i>*Barri-dubang-djobge-ng.</i>
Dj 3a/3P-ironwood-cut-PP
'They cut the ironwood tree.' | b. <i>*an-dubang-guyeng</i>
VE-ironwood-long
'tall ironwood tree' |
| c. <i>Barri-dulk-djobge-ng an-dubang.</i>
3a/3P-tree-cut-PP III-ironwood
'They cut the ironwood tree.' | d. <i>an-dulk-guyeng an-dubang</i>
VE-tree-long III-ironwood
'tall ironwood tree' |

There are several reasons for seeing incorporated nouns as (part of) the argument expression, rather than as simply altering the meaning of the verb so that it has a narrower meaning than it otherwise would. Firstly, they are linked to a specific argument position, which can be altered by argument-changing morphemes such as the comitative applicative

(§10.1). Secondly, they may be referential. Thirdly, pairs like 1.1a,b and 1.2a,b are effectively synonymous and nominal incorporation does not affect the argument structure of the verb (e.g. transitivity and choice of pronominal prefixes is left intact). And fourthly, it is very much a lexically accidental fact whether a given noun root can be incorporated; for example, \sqrt{ganj} 'meat' is incorporable, but \sqrt{me} 'vegetable food' is not and furthermore the same facts about incorporability hold regardless of the incorporating verb. For all these reasons I treat certain types of incorporated nominals as (part of the expression of) arguments throughout this grammar. Note, however, that there are also many formally similar combinations, which involve compounding rather than incorporation and where the nominal root does not function as an argument, but is simply a morphological formative in the verb stem. Tests for distinguishing compounding from incorporation will be discussed in §8.1.3.

Turning now to grammatical relations, it is impossible to identify these on the basis of anything but verbal morphology. There are no productive voice alternations, biclausal causatives, complementation constructions, obligatory case marking on core NPs,³ or constraints on NP order or deletion that can be used to identify subjects, objects or indirect objects. The grammatical relations 'subject', 'object' and 'indirect object', as well as derived object- and indirect object-like arguments (formed by the comitative and benefactive applicatives) are defined solely on the basis of registration by pronominal prefix, control of reflexive/reciprocal formation and selection of noun incorporation (§10.1.2).

Three argument-changing affixes alter the argument structure of the basic root: a comitative prefix *yi-* (cf. *golung* 'go down', *yigolung* 'goes down with, takes down'), a benefactive prefix *marne-* (cf. *ginje* 'cooks', *marneginje* 'cooks for') and a reflexive/reciprocal suffix *-rr(en)*⁴ (cf. *djobge* 'cuts', *djobgerren* 'cut self, cut each other'). Various logical combinations of these affixes are possible (e.g. *marneginjerren* 'cook for each other', *marneyigolung* 'take down for') though the reflexive interpretation of *-rr(en)* is only available when this is the first step in semantic composition, so that *marnedjobgerren*, for example, can mean 'cut oneself for' but not 'cut for oneself'. There are also a number of other senses available for these affixes, for example causation for *marne-* and collective action for *-rren* and these also interact in complex ways with the order of argument composition and with the expression of the object argument. See §10.3 for details.

The verbal affix positions are the only obligatory places where arguments must be represented. Overt external nominals (including free pronouns) representing subjects and objects are not obligatory, though not infrequent, especially when used to supply contrastive information (1.7), to give fuller information about the entity in question (1.6c, 1.8, 1.9) or to make up for neutralisations in the pronominal prefix system (1.10; see §10.2.3). Sometimes other morphological material within the verb, such as the collective use of the reflexive-reciprocal (1.11) or numero-spatial quantifiers like *mirnde-* 'many' (1.2) also adds specificity to the referring expression. As a result, referring expressions are constructed by unifying material from a number of verbal affix positions with any external material (§6.1.3, §6.2). In the following examples such material is shown in bold.

³ Though Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali have an optional ergative use of the instrumental — see §5.2.1.2.

⁴ *-rr-* is the reflexive/reciprocal morpheme, but verbs bearing it will (like other verbs) be cited in their non-past form, which ends in *-rren*.

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1.7 *Ngudda ngadburrung yi-ngeibu-n balanda raft, ngad ngarri-ngeibu-n*
 Dj you brother 2/3-call-NP balanda we 1a/3-call-NP

bininj, wularl.

Aborigine Wularl

'You, brother, call it 'raft' in balanda (language), **we** Aborigines call it *wularl*.'

1.8 *An-biya garri-yerrng-ma-ng, bu garri-worrhm-i, an-dehne*
 Dj VE-different 12a-wood-get-NP REL 12a-light-NP VE-this

an-geb-warre.

VE-flame-bad

'We'll get some different wood when we make the fire; this wood doesn't give a good flame.'

1.9 *Ngakngak bogen ga-rrabu-gurrme.*

Dj grey.crowned.babbler two 3-egg-layNP

'Grey-crowned babblers lay two eggs.'

1.10 *Ben-na-ng berrewoneng.*

3/3(u)a-see-PP them.twoOBL

'(S)he saw the two of them.'

1.11 *Barri-dowe-rr-inj rouk.*

Dj 3aP-die-RR-PP all

'They all died.'

One particular semantic problem that arises from the obligatoriness of subject and object pronominal prefixes concerns referentiality. Since they are obligatory, third person pronominal prefixes must still be used for non-referential arguments (1.12) and an important role of external material is to specify referentiality, whether through the use of free pronouns (1.13) or demonstratives (1.14).

1.12 *Alege daluk gaban-du-ng.*

Dj FE:DEM woman 3/3pl-scold-NP

a. 'That woman is scolding them.'

b. 'That woman scolds people.'

1.13 *Alege daluk gaban-du-ng bedda.*

Dj FE:DEM woman 3/3pl-scold-NP them

'That woman is scolding them.'

1.14 *Alege daluk gaban-du-ng namekke bininj rouk.*

Dj FE:DEM woman 3/3pl-see-NP MA:DEM person all

'That woman is scolding those people.'

The modulation of referentiality by the external elements interacts with the interpretation of some of the adverbial prefixes on the verb. Thus the prefix *yawoih-* indicates repetition (§1.3.5.1) and can mean either 'again' or 'another' according to a range of factors, one of which is the referring status of the object, or otherwise, as determined by the external demonstrative.

- 1.15 a. *Gunubewu nga-yawoih-ma-ng daluk, nga-yawurrinj.*
 Dj maybe 1/3-again-marry-NP woman 1-young.man
 'I might marry another woman, I'm a young man.' (my last wife died)
- b. *Gunubewu nga-yawoih-ma-ng alege daluk.*
 maybe 1/3-again-marry-NP FE:DEM woman
 'I might marry that woman again.' (who I split up from)

Nominal morphology is more limited. Many case roles go unmarked. Subject and object are not overtly marked for case, except for optional ergative marking in some dialects. Marking for such peripheral roles as location and goal is normal but not obligatory and there is no case agreement across the words of a nominal group. There are, however, rich possibilities of derivation and compounding.

The most important aspect of nominal morphology is the system of gender agreement, marked on agreement targets by a series of (maximally) four prefixes (masculine, feminine, vegetable and neuter). A formally identical set of prefixes (glossed I, II, III and IV) is found on most nouns, often in sets of related meanings (e.g. *na-ngordo* 'male leper', *ngal-ngordo* 'female leper', *kun-ngordo* 'leprosy'; *kun-mim* 'eye', *man-mim* 'fruit'). I shall refer to these as noun class prefixes. Nouns may also be unprefixed (e.g. *bininj* 'man; person; human', *mim* 'breathing hole of animal that has buried itself underground').

The default case (at least in Kunwinjku, the only dialect with four clear genders) is for there to be congruence between gender and noun class prefixes, except that unprefixed (or 'zero class') nouns can have any gender:

- 1.16 a. *na-mekbe na-kohbanj / na-mekbe bininj*
 W MA-DEM I-old.person MA-DEM man
 'That old man/that man'
- b. *ngal-mekbe ngal-kohbanj / ngal-mekbe daluk*
 FE-DEM II-old.person FE-DEM woman
 'That old woman/that woman'
- c. *man-mekbe man-dubang / man-mekbe kamarn*
 VE-DEM III-ironwood VE-DEM [yam.sp.]
 'That ironwood tree/that "cheeky yam"'
- d. *kun-mekbe kun-kanj / kun-mekbe balanda*
 NEU-DEM IV-meat NEU-DEM European
 'That meat/that English (language)'

However, there are many cases of non-congruence, for example *man-mekbe kun-dalk* 'that grass' (class IV, but vegetable gender) and *na-mekbe man-djewk* 'that rain' (class III, but masculine gender); this complex topic is discussed in §5.5. The ubiquity of non-congruent agreement, as well as the fact that logically they are two quite different categories (gender is inflectional and obligatory, while noun class is derivational and optional in the sense that not all nouns are prefixed), is the reason for treating these as two separate, though related, systems. Outside Kunwinjku, the other dialects have all eroded the gender agreement system to some extent, making differences in gender systems one of the areas in which the dialects differ most markedly. The noun-class systems, on the other hand, exhibit much less variation across dialects.

As in many polysynthetic languages, there is practically no distinct non-finite morphosyntax: to say 'I saw him swimming', for example, one says 'I-him-saw he-swims' and 'I want to go' is 'I-want I-go' (§14.1). And the fact that all non-verbal material is optional anyway means that there it is meaningless to postulate coreferential NP-deletion in certain types of subordinate clause. However, there are some more subtle constraints making it possible to identify subordinate constructions (as opposed to distinct subordinate morphosyntax), such as sequence-of-tense constraints; complements of perception clauses, for example, must be in the non-past even when referring to past events. The possibilities of incorporating one verb into another, as in 1.17, also makes it possible to express certain complex events, expressible through subordinate clause syntax in other languages, as a single verbal word:

- 1.17 *Ga-[ganj-ngu-nihmi]-re.*
 Dj 3-meat-eat-IVF-goNP
 '(S)he is going along eating meat.'

In any case, clause boundaries are rather difficult to establish owing to a number of factors, especially the free word order, the non-obligatoriness of external nominals and the fact that the lack of case-marking on most external nominals makes it hard to place them in a particular clause on the basis that a particular verb has governed their case. In practice the difficulty of establishing clause boundaries poses few problems for semantic interpretation: the verb, whose own boundaries are quite clear, provides a précis of the clause, whose details are then expanded in other material loosely adjoined before or after the verb.

1.2 The Bininj Gun-wok dialect chain

1.2.1 *Traditional and present location of speakers*

The language I will refer to as Bininj Gun-wok, but which has been most widely referred to in the literature as Kunwinjku (Gunwinggu) or Mayali (see §1.2.3), claims perhaps two thousand fluent speakers in the area roughly bounded by the Stuart Highway to the west, the Arafura Sea to the north, the Goyder River to the east and the Roper River to the south: see Map 1.

Perhaps half of these people speak it as their first language; at least over the last century, it has been the major lingua franca of this area, used in one variety or another between speakers of such different Aboriginal languages as Iwaidja, Maung, Jawoyn, Ndjébbana, Rembarnga and Dalabon when they come together for ceremonial and other gatherings. The situation described by Capell still holds true today, except that some of the other languages he mentions are actually giving way to Bininj Gun-wok:

[T]he language has become well-known among other tribes to which it is not vernacular, so that it serves as a lingua franca for the whole western half of Arnhem Land and has thus an importance greater than the actual number of its speakers would suggest. This is the reason for its being chosen as a vehicle for Mission work. Not only the Church of England Mission, but also the Methodist Mission at Goulburn Island is able to use this language, for it is generally known to the Maung and Gunbalang tribes as well as their own language and it can be used among the Gungorogone and other tribes about the Liverpool River. (Capell n.d., cited in Oates 1964)

To make this more concrete, since I began working in the area in 1985 I have encountered second-language speakers of one or another variety over the whole area mentioned above: as far west as Adelaide River ('own' language: Warray), as far north as Croker Island ('own' languages: Marrgu, Ilgar or Iwaidja), as far east as Maningrida and Gochan Jiny-jirra ('own' language: Burarra) and as far south as Bulman ('own' languages: Dalabon and Rembarrnga). In the south and west Bininj Gun-wok is giving way to an English-based creole (usually spelled Kriol), but in the north and east its status as a lingua franca remains firmly established.

It is likely that the use of Bininj Gun-wok as a lingua franca goes back for at least a century. Kunwinjku was chosen as the medium of evangelism by early missionaries arriving in the Oenpelli region in the 1930s precisely because it was already functioning as a lingua franca in the area:

Nell Harris deduced that the best-known lingua franca was Gunwinggu (Kunwinjku). With the help of Arthur Capell of the University of Sydney and several Aboriginal co-translators, she translated the Gospel of Mark and the First Epistle of John during the 1930s. The Bible Society published them in 1942. (Harris 1990:839).

The widespread use of Gun-djehmi in the Kakadu region suggests it was used as a lingua franca by Aboriginal workers in the buffalo industry, but I lack historical evidence for this. Berndt and Berndt (1970b) mention the widespread knowledge and use of Kunwinjku on Goulburn Island alongside the indigenous language there, Maung. As a final example, Elwell (1982) mentions the use of Kunwinjku (presumably in some eastern variety) as a lingua franca between speakers of various other Aboriginal languages (e.g. Rembarrnga, Kunbarlang) at Maningrida. Overall, then, the evidence points to various post-contact factors strengthening a traditional use of Bininj Gun-wok as a lingua franca in the region.

Its rapid expansion over the past century has resulted in it being spoken in many contemporary centres which lie outside the traditional clan territories with which one or another of its dialects were associated. This applies to places such as Kunbarlanja (Oenpelli), Croker and Goulburn Islands, many outstations in Kakadu, Pine Creek, Manyallaluk (Eva Valley) and Barunga. New communalects have formed at such centres as Oenpelli and Manyallaluk, incorporating some words from other Aboriginal languages into the dominant Bininj Gun-wok dialects used there. In §1.2.3 I discuss the status of Manyallaluk Mayali as a koineised modern variety, combining features of several dialects as well as influence from neighbouring languages like Dalabon and Rembarrnga.

As a result of these developments, many individuals for whom Bininj Gun-wok is their mother tongue, or at least the dominant Aboriginal language which they speak, belong to clans that traditionally spoke another language, often now extinct. In the Kakadu area Mayali is spoken by members of the Murumburr and Wirlirrgu clans, for which the traditional language was Umbugarla or Ngumbur. In Oenpelli, Kunwinjku is spoken by members of a variety of clans, for which the traditional languages included Mengerrdji, Erre, Urningangk and Gaagudju. In such outstations as Ngankorlord and Korlobidahdah south of Maningrida, Kune is spoken by members of the Kardbam and other clans, whose traditional language was Dalabon. Many of my main informants belong to one or another of the categories above.

1.2.2 Contemporary dialect situation

The traditional sociolinguistic ideology over much of Australia and certainly throughout Arnhem Land, took the patrilineal clan with its own clan territory as the basic social/geographical category and associated each clan with a distinctive linguistic variety (occasionally with two), so that one could talk about the Badmardi clan, for example, as a Gun-djeihmi speaking clan. On this traditional model, there was a direct relationship between 'language' and 'country' (see Merlan 1982b), with speakers from a particular clan 'owning' particular language varieties that belonged with their clan estates. Normatively they would speak these varieties as well as 'owning' them, but accidents of life-history, as well as the expansion of some languages and contraction or death of others, could lead to someone not speaking the language they 'own' and not 'owning' the language they speak. At the same time, the formation of new communalects in such places as Kunbarlanja (Oenpelli) and Manyallaluk (Eva Valley) has created new linguistic varieties that do not have a traditional affiliation with particular clan territories.

The contemporary dialect situation of Bininj Gun-wok results from the overlaying, upon a dialect chain marked by gradual linguistic changes as one moves from clan to clan, of communalects developed more recently in (relatively) larger communities developed as missions (Oenpelli), government settlements (Maningrida), or smaller aggregations such as buffalo camps (in what is now the Kakadu area) or small mining communities (e.g. Eva Valley). The traditional picture, which can now be most clearly discerned only in the more traditional areas around the Liverpool River, would have been a classic example of a dialect chain, in which changes in phonology, grammar and lexicon grade from one small speech community to the next. But in the modern context speakers also recognise varieties spoken in larger communities outside the area in which the local clans traditionally spoke a variety of Bininj Gun-wok.

Depending on the level of social 'grain' that is contextually appropriate, recognition of varieties may range from very detailed distinctions of what might be called 'clan lects', based on just a couple of distinct lexical items that would be used in ritualised contexts such as first arrival on someone else's country, or addressing parts of a particular clan's landscape (see detailed discussion below), to high-level groupings that take in the whole dialect chain. In this section we survey the dialectal variety found over this chain.

The 'dialects' I will be discussing fall between these extremes and refer to groupings of lects within which (a) phonology, grammar and lexicon share significant clusterings of properties and (b) these distinctions are recognised, at least by the relevant group and its neighbours, by the use of distinct lect names. For convenience I concentrate below on six 'dialects' — Kunwinjku, Kuninjku, Gun-djeihmi, Manyallaluk Mayali, Gundedjnjenhmi and two varieties of Kune most commonly known as Kune Dulerayek and Kune Narayek. It should not be assumed, however, that these groupings have particularly definitive status; for most of them further subdivisions are possible down to the level of clan lects, while groupings of two or more of them, in opposition to one or more other lects, are also common; the two Kune varieties will serve to illustrate these points. At the same time, so many speakers mix features of more than one dialect in their speech (for examples see Texts 8 and 9) that homogenising statements about the structure of a given lect do not always correspond to the practice of speakers, although there is typically much more consensus on what speakers of a given lect 'should' say. For example, a speaker of Gun-djeihmi may start off by pointing out that in this dialect *wow* rather than *yoh* is the word for 'yes' (a statement with which any

Gun-djehmi speaker would agree), but then blithely use only *yoh* through a whole conversation.

This section is structured as follows: §1.2.3 considers the complex problem of lect naming, including the vexed issue of naming the whole dialect chain; §1.2.4 briefly describes the speech communities, locations and salient structural features of the dialects just mentioned, concluding with a brief look at clan lects and second language varieties; §1.2.5 reexamines the data from the perspective of the dialect chain as a whole, focussing on a dozen phonological, grammatical and lexical features and how these are distributed over the dialect space; §1.2.6 examines the ramifications of these sociolinguistic distinctions for orthography.

1.2.3 Naming of varieties

Within the study area, indigenous language names hardly ever coincide with the sort of absolute, user-neutral labels that linguists, administrators and others like to have when referring to language varieties. This is a common situation in Australia (see particularly Walsh (1997) on lect naming in the Fitzmaurice River area and Miller (1972) on similar problems in the Western Desert) but one at odds with the naming practices one is forced to use in producing maps of language locations, for example. Incidentally, this contrasts with the labels for patri-clans (*kun-mokurrkurr* or *kun-nguya*) which are absolute, in the sense of having the same reference regardless of user or context. Clan names are usually kept distinct from language names, although clan names prefixed with the Class IV marker *kun-* are sometimes an alternative way of designating clan lects (§1.2.4.7).

Language names, then, should be regarded either as deictics (shifters) — whose reference depends on who uses them and in what context — or as names for isogloss boundaries, such as the use of *kayakki* and *burrkyak* to designate varieties using one or the other of these words for 'no'.

Let me illustrate this first with a local-level and then with a higher-level term.

The terms *kun-rayek* 'hard (language)' and *kun-kerlk* 'soft (language)' are widely used as lect names in the eastern dialect area; the Class IV prefix *kun-* (spelt *gun-* in some orthographies) is appropriate for languages, clans and countries, among other things. Yet the reference of these terms depends on who uses them. Basically people regard their own varieties as 'hard' or 'strong' and other varieties as 'soft' or 'weak'; the roots will also combine with different prefixes (predominantly masculine *na-* or neuter *kun-*) or roots (e.g. *dule-* 'language'), depending on who is speaking. For example, Kune speakers at Korlobidahdah refer to their own variety as *Kune* or *Kune Narayek* (hard/strong Kune) and contrast this with *Kune Nakerlk* (soft Kune) spoken to the north-east around Bolkdjam and Buluhkaduru. But the Kune speakers at Bolkdjam and Buluhkaduru characterise their own variety of Kune as *Dulerayek* [language-hard], applying the term *Dulekerlk* to other varieties. More generally, speakers of a range of eastern varieties use *kun-kerlk* to refer to western varieties such as that spoken at Kunbarlanja. In this case I will take advantage of the fact that the Bolkdjam and Buluhkaduru speakers compound *rayek* with the root *dule*⁵ and refer

⁵ The use of the root *dule* to mean 'language' is an eastern peculiarity; in other dialects it is limited to the meaning 'song, ceremony'.

to their dialect as Kune Dulerayek, as opposed to Kune Narayek, spoken by people around Korlobidahdah and adopt these as 'absolute' names for these two dialects.

The term Mayali, which I have used in previous publications to refer to the whole dialect chain, has a range of levels of use. This has been pointed out by a number of investigators; Kesteven (1984:58–59), for example, observes that:

[Mayali] is used as a language label, although the exact reference it has depends on the context: sometimes it refers to all 'Kunwinjku' dialects, sometimes it refers to Kundjeyhmi speakers (usually by a speaker of 'proper' Kunwinjku) and sometimes to those who speak the Beswick variety of Kunwinjku.

The original meaning of this root is 'thought', 'mind' or 'idea'. An example of its use meaning 'mind' is on page 35 of the Berndt's (1951a) 'Oenpelli Monologue' (retranscribed here into Kunwinjku orthography) *kabenedjalhdjare bu mayali kadberre, dja kunwok yarrka, kun-kurrng, dja kun-debi, kun-mud rowk kadberre kabenehbekkank rok kadberre*. The Berndts translate this as 'they just want to find out our thoughts [i.e. *kun-mayali* (NE)] and the different features of our language [i.e. *kun-wok*], our "cousin" language [*kun-kurrng*], our relationship terms [*kun-debi*], our phratries [*kun-mud*] and so on.' Note that in various Yolngu languages to the east the word *mayali* means 'meaning, sense', especially 'inner meaning'. In Kuninjku the derived verb *mayali-bayhke* means 'enlighten'. It is easy to see how in contexts like 'they understand our meaning' or 'they follow our meaning' *mayali* could be given the secondary interpretation 'language'.

For many speakers, particularly those to the south and west, Mayali is an acceptable term for the whole dialect chain. A typical statement (in this case made by an Oenpelli man) is that made to Ken Hale in 1959 (Hale 1959:171) by Mr Frank Francis: '*Gun-winjgu, gun-dangyohmi, gun-dangburddjin.gaberrk, gun-djeihmi, gun-djawonj, gun-dangbon (ngalkbon), gun-marung* — all these learn Mayali'. This statement includes, as Mayali speakers, both people whose native tongue is one or another variety in the dialect chain and people who have learnt it in addition to another language appropriate to their 'own' language. Some of these latter, such as Jawoyn and Gun-dangbon (Dalabon), are relatively closely related languages belonging to the same Gunwinyguan family (§1.4). Others, such as Maung (which is a member of the Iwaidjan group), are only distantly related, although extensive contact has left them with many loanwords from the Kunwinjku dialect. This use of Mayali to cover the whole dialect chain is found in many places (e.g. Garde (1996:90) reports Kuninjku speakers as saying *yoh, Mayali ngarriwokdi rowk* 'yes, we all speak Mayali', even though they refer to their own variety as Kuninjku).

A more restrictive use of the term 'Mayali' opposes it to Kunwinjku and the eastern dialects. On this use of the term, speakers of certain dialects — including Gun-djeihmi, but also other varieties spoken in communities in Manyallaluk, Pine Creek, Barunga etc. that could not be identified as Gun-djeihmi — speak 'Mayali', which is categorised as significantly different from Kunwinjku. Linguistically, this aligns with certain key isoglosses, discussed in more detail in §1.2.4; note that the difference between *g* and *k* is merely orthographic, a topic we return to below. On occasion I will refer to this grouping as 'the Mayali dialects'.

Table 1.1: Main isoglosses distinguishing Mayali from Kunwinjku (see also Table 1.3)

Linguistic category	'Mayali' form	Kunwinjku form
Third person minimal, past pronominal prefix	<i>ba-</i>	•
Third person unit augmented	<i>gabani-</i>	<i>kabene-</i>
Third person augmented	<i>gabarri-</i>	<i>kabirri-</i>
Vegetable/Class III prefix	<i>(ng)an-</i>	<i>man-</i>
'yes'	<i>wow, woh</i>	<i>yoh</i>
'no'	<i>gayakki</i>	<i>burrkyak</i>

Contemporarily, this opposition coincides with a major cultural division between, on the one hand, those residing in the Kakadu area and further south in places like Pine Creek and Eva Valley and on the other hand those living at Kunbarlanja and the many outstations scattered along the northern edge of the Arnhem Land escarpment almost to Maningrida. Speakers of 'Mayali' in this second, more restrictive sense, contrast themselves socially with Kunwinjku, who are sometimes characterised as 'mission people' or 'Christian people', in opposition to the Mayali who stress their long involvement with the buffalo and mining industries and the hard-working, hard-living lifestyle associated with it. Seen from the other side, this association of the language label 'Mayali' with particular groups has led to discomfort, by speakers resident at Kunbarlanja, with the use of the term 'Mayali' to denote the whole dialect chain.

Even within the more narrowly circumscribed area delimited by the isoglosses mentioned above, variations in the use of the term 'Mayali' occur. The late Nipper Kapirrigi, asked about difference between Gun-djeihmi and Mayali, said 'Gun-djeihmi — that's the proper Mayali now'. Interestingly, his traditional clan territory, the Badmardi lands around Gorlonjdjorr (Deaf Adder Creek), is one of the few places where a variety of Mayali, in the narrower sense, is both 'owned' and 'spoken' and it is significant that this variety can be known either by a term prefixed by neuter *gun-/kun-* (i.e. Gun-djeihmi), or by the term Mayali. Varieties of Mayali spoken further to the south (Pine Creek or Eva Valley), in the territories of clans that traditionally spoke other languages, do not have names using this prefix, so that for them Mayali is the only available designator.

At this stage it is worth commenting briefly on the formation of other lect names. The commonest method is to prefix *kun-/gun-* to a distinctive root. This may be based on:

- (a) **GEOGRAPHICAL TERMS** The term Kunwinjku is based on the root *winjku* 'freshwater', as in *Kun-bo-winjku* 'freshwater country' and evokes the opposition between dwellers in 'saltwater' clan countries to the north (e.g. Maung, Iwaidja) and the 'freshwater' or inland-dwelling Kunwinjku.
- (b) **MANNER OF SPEAKING** We have already discussed the widespread use of *rayek* 'hard' and *kerlk* 'soft', which may be either compounded with a root meaning 'language' (as in the E:D opposition *dulerayek* 'hard language, Bolkdjam Kune' vs *dulekerlk* 'soft language, prototypically Kunbarlanja Kunwinjku'), prefixed directly with *kun-* (*kun-rayek* vs *kun-kerlk*), or prefixed with masculine *na-* and used to modify a language name (e.g. *Kune Narayek*).

- (c) COMMONLY USED WORDS Sometimes the word is just used on its own with a pronoun, e.g. where *bedda burrkyak* 'they *burrkyak*' or *ngad kayakki* 'we *kayakki*' are the words for 'no' in the respective dialects. It is likely that *kune* is an example of this, based on a distinctive demonstrative term. At other times it is compounded with other roots, as in *kun-dangyohmi*, a term used for Kunbarlanja speakers and apparently based on *dang* 'mouth' (often used with the further sense 'language'), *yoh* 'yes' and *mi*, here functioning as a delocutive; Manyallaluk Mayali speakers also use a related form as a verb (e.g. *gabarridangyohme* 'they (who) speak Kunwinjku').

Likewise *Gun-dedjnjenghmi* is based on the stereotype that speakers of this variety preface requests with the particle *dedjnjengh* (see 6.102).

As a further example, the dialect name Kurruh,⁶ used by Kuninjku speakers for Kune, is based on the interjection *kurruh!* (roughly 'go on!') in that dialect, as in *Kurruh kan-dadjung!* 'Hey! Give it to me!'; the corresponding delocutive verb is *kurruhme* (see Garde 1996:89 for further details).

- (d) A number remain unexplained, such as *Gun-djeihmi* (which looks like it's based on a delocutive verb *djeihme* 'go *djeih!*'), but such a verb is currently unattested, though note the interjection *djehdje* which can precede requests in Manyallaluk Mayali, along the lines of the *dedjnjengh* example discussed in (c) above), *Kun-dangburddjinkaberrk* for the Kunbarlanja variety and *Buboyen* and *Berreboyen*, used by Kune speakers to refer respectively to their own 'hard' dialects and the 'soft' dialects to the west.

The widespread use of the Class IV prefix extends to named registers as well, such as *Kun-kurrng* or *Kun-balak* 'mother-in-law register' (see §1.5.1) and *Kun-debi* 'special trirelational kin vocabulary' (§1.5.2), as well as to clan lects such as *Kun-walidjaw* (see below). Some names for neighbouring languages are also prefixed with *kun-/gun-*. Thus Maung is known as *Kun-marung* by Kunwinjku speakers, Jawoyn as *Gun-djawonj* by Gun-djeihmi speakers and Dalabon as *Kun-dangbon* by Kune speakers (note that in the last case the Dalabon root *dala-* 'mouth' is replaced by the Kune root *dang*, also 'mouth', while *bon* is the verb 'go' in that language). Such prefixation does not occur with all language names: Iwaidja is always *Yibadja*, never *Kun-yibadja* and Amurdak is *Ngamurdak*, never *Gun-ngamurdak*.

To close this section, let us return to the problem of how to designate the entire dialect chain. The problem is that although various groups have ways of using a broad-reference term to refer to the whole chain, these are based on the names for their own variety: Mayali speakers at Pine Creek or Manyallaluk, for example, will happily use the term 'Mayali' to denote the whole dialect chain (a usage employed by the present author in various publications), while Kunwinjku speakers at Kunbarlanja will likewise happily use the term 'Kunwinjku' to denote the whole chain. Adopting either term as the term for the whole dialect chain does not always find favour with speakers of the other dialects.

As a result, in this grammar I adopt a more recent suggestion, using the term *Bininj Gunwok*, literally 'Bininj's language'.⁷ *Bininj* can refer, at various levels of generality, to (a)

⁶ This name has been written variously as *Gurra* (Kyle-Little 1957:214), *Guru* (Altman 1987:15) and *Kuru* (Taylor 1987:70).

⁷ This formation follows the solution adopted in north-eastern Arnhem Land for a higher-order name to cover such closely related varieties as Djambarrpuyngu, Gupapuyngu, Djapu; the term *Yolngu Matha* was coined in the 1970s, comprising *Yolngu* (corresponding in its semantic range to *Bininj*) and *Matha* 'language'.

people from the areas where Bininj Gun-wok is spoken, as opposed to other Aboriginal people, (b) Aboriginal people, as opposed to others such as *balanda* (whites/Europeans), and (c) humans as opposed to other beings such as *mimih* spirits; it is of course the first sense of *bininj* that is intended here.

Because of the adoption of different orthographies by different speaker groups, it is not possible to have a completely neutral spelling of the term, which will be Bininj Gun-wok in the Gun-djeihmi orthography, Bininj Kun-wok in the Kunwinjku orthography and Bininy Gun-wok in the Mayali orthography used in the Katherine region. I arbitrarily adopt the spelling Bininj Gun-wok here.

1.2.4 Six dialects: a brief portrait

Kunwinjku, Gun-djeihmi and the two Kune varieties represent the extreme poles of structural variation across the dialect chain. We therefore begin with these varieties, before passing to Kuninjku, Gun-dedjnjenghmi and Manyallaluk Mayali. After that we briefly consider the existence of more specific clan lects and comment briefly on some features of second-language varieties.

1.2.4.1 Kunwinjku

This is the variety spoken in the largest population centre, Kunbarlanja (formerly Oenpelli). This currently has a population of around 700, almost all of whom speak Kunwinjku. Increasing knowledge of English has not stopped it from being the first language of children, although there is concern in the community that mastery of special registers like the avoidance register Kun-kurrng and the trirelational kinship system Kun-debi (§1.5) is declining.

With a tradition of literacy and bible translation going back to the 1930s and grammars produced since the 1960s (§1.6), Kunwinjku is the best-documented variety. Since 1992 an excellent translation of parts of the Bible (Genesis, Exodus, Ruth, Luke, John, Acts and Ephesians) has also been available, leading to the elaboration of a new ecclesiastical register. As a result of the relatively early availability of these materials Kunwinjku is often referred to in the general typological literature, usually employing examples from Oates' or Carroll's grammars (e.g. Mithun 1986).

In many grammatical domains Kunwinjku represents the most elaborated variety and the convenient point of departure for contrastive study of dialect differences. In view of the fact that the mission brought together speakers of so many languages, for whom Kunwinjku was originally a second, third or later language, it is remarkable how little levelling of grammatical categories appears to have taken place in Kunwinjku, when one compares it with other dialects. In the system of transitive pronominal prefixes to the verb, for example (§10.2), only this dialect maintains three values for number of both subject and object. And only Kunwinjku retains four genders, the other dialects having reduced this number. On the other hand, in the domain of case marking the southern and eastern dialects have a more elaborated set of distinctions (for example a distinct marker for 'time (when)' and ergative NP-marking, albeit optional). Here it is likely that the less overt marking of case relations

found in Kunwinjku results from the influence of Iwaidjan languages (especially Iwaidja and Maung) which lack case marking.

1.2.4.2 *Gun-djeihmi*

This variety is spoken by between 50 and 100 people predominantly living in the Kakadu region in such communities as Patonga Airstrip, Nourlangie Camp (*An-larrh*), Spring Peak (*Ngurrkdu*) and Deaf Adder Gorge (*Korlonjdjorr*), as well as the township of Jabiru. Although the language is still in regular daily use, there is a tendency for children to shift to English at the expense of Gun-djeihmi.

Examples of Gun-djeihmi texts are Texts 1, 4, 8 and 9. Since this is the dialect I have worked on longest, this grammar contains a great deal of Gun-djeihmi material throughout.

As far as one can reconstruct from the statements of older speakers, this variety was originally spoken by several clans living around the north-western edge of the Arnhem Land escarpment, such as the Badmardi and Mirarr clans and over the last century or so spread westward onto the floodplains of the Alligator River, through its use as a lingua franca in the buffalo camps, displacing the original languages of that region, such as Ngurmbur and Umbugarla. Gun-djeihmi speakers are often said to be allied with the Jawoyn, the group to their south-west and I have sometimes heard people from other areas equate Gun-djeihmi with Jawoyn. In post-contact times both groups have been involved in mining and in the buffalo industry and most recently in what are now adjoining National Parks. Although both belong to the Gunwinyguan family, these languages are not closely related, although there has been limited convergence in the gender system and in the phonology, as well as some lexical borrowing.

With speakers of the neighbouring Kunwinjku dialect, on the other hand, there are often tensions and rivalries, in part based on the very different post-contact histories of these two populations that were mentioned above. These differences are one cause of the Gun-djeihmi decision, in 1990, to adopt a different orthography for this dialect. It is also striking that Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku display greater differences than any other pair of adjacent dialects.

The main distinctive features of Gun-djeihmi (shared with Gundedjnenghmi and other Mayali dialects unless otherwise mentioned) are as follows.

PHONOLOGY The optional dropping of initial *ng* before non-back vowels in certain environments (§2.4.2). Basically this is dropped more and more frequently as one moves west, so that Kune and Kuninjku speakers always say *ngadjadj* for 'uncle', Kunwinjku speakers prescriptively say *ngadjadj* but occasionally say *adjadj* (though they will typically deny this if it is pointed out), while Gun-djeihmi speakers always say *adjadj* except in ligature with preceding words. In Gun-djeihmi loss of initial *ng* affects all grammatical prefixes and most, but not all, lexical items that begin with it in other dialects.

Loss of historical initial *ng* is a feature of the languages spoken across the floodplains to the west of the Arnhem Land escarpment, from Warray and Kungarakany in the west through Umbugarla, Amurdak and Gaagudju to Gun-djeihmi. Iwaidja and Maung have also lost *ng* initially, but other segments as well and all at a greater time depth.

Initial *n* is also dropped in some demonstratives (§7.3.1) (e.g. *namekke* ~ *amekke* 'that').

Another distinctive phonological feature of Gun-djeihmi is the optional lenition of *g* in the intervocalic position resulting from certain nominal prefixes (e.g. *gu-gukku* ~ *gu-wukku* 'in the water').

With Kunwinjku is shared the fact that some morphemes begin with an initial *y* corresponding to *r* in Kune (cf. Dj, w *kun-yid* 'fight', E *kun-rid*; Dj, w *na-yin* 'snake', E *na-rin*; Dj, w *yawoyh-* 'again', E *rawoyh-*).

MORPHOLOGY The two most salient differences are the form of the vegetable prefix and the form of third person predicate prefixes. Both these differences set the Mayali dialects — Gun-djeihmi, Gun-dednjenghmi and Manyallaluk Mayali — against the rest.

The vegetable prefix takes the form (*ng*)*an-* in Gun-djeihmi, as opposed to *man-* in Kunwinjku, Kuninjku and Kune, so that 'spear' is (*ng*)*an-gole* in the former and *man-kole* in the latter. Of the Mayali dialects, only in Gun-djeihmi is the (*ng*)*an* form found everywhere; Gun-dednjenghmi and Manyallaluk Mayali use the *man-* form in some demonstratives and the (*ng*)*an-* form elsewhere.⁸

The third person pronominal prefixes to the verb (§10.2) differ in a number of ways, the two most important being consistent *a* vocalism in the first syllable of the Mayali forms and a non-zero past minimal form (3P *ba-*, 3uaP *bani-*, 3aP *barri-*, against W, I \emptyset , *bene-* and *birri-* and E \emptyset -, *bini-* and *birri-*). Apart from the third person past form, it seems likely that the Mayali *a*-forms are original, with vowel-levelling (W, I) or vowel-harmony (E) introducing changes in the other dialects; this is supported by the presence of archaic place names with the *a*-forms in the eastern dialect area (e.g. *barri-djowkkeng* 'they crossed', a place name in the Kuninjku-speaking area, which is identical to the Mayali form but would be expressed *birri-djowkkeng* in Kuninjku).

THE PATTERN OF GENDER AGREEMENT Neuter agreement has been lost, accompanied by the extension of vegetable agreement. The resultant three-class system bears some resemblances to Jawoyn (Harvey 1998a).

THE PRONOMINAL PREFIX PARADIGM Within the divalent pronominal prefix paradigm, there is neutralisation of the augmented vs unit-augmented contrast for subjects with non-minimal objects (§10.2).

DISTINCTIVE FORMS FOR GRAMMATICAL ROOTS Gun-djeihmi has distinctive forms for grammatical roots from some closed classes, in particular the modal particles (§9.3) and the ignoratives (§7.2).

INTERJECTIONS The interjections *woh* 'yes' and *gayakki* 'no' distinguish it from Kunwinjku, which has *yoh* and *burrkyak* respectively. *Woh* is shared with the other Mayali varieties and *gayakki* with all varieties except Kunwinjku.

⁸ Within the Gunwinyguan family as a whole, (*ng*)*an-* is found in the western languages (Jawoyn and Warray) as well as in Mayali, while *ma(n)-* or *mu-* is found in the eastern languages (e.g. Kunbarlang, Ngandi, Ngalakan). Bininj Gun-wok, sitting in the centre geographically, is the only Gunwinyguan language to have both forms, whether across or within dialects. Outside Gunwinyguan *m*-initial forms are much commoner, but nonetheless there are some languages (e.g. Maung) that possess both *m-* and *ng*-initial forms (conditioned by the lexical root they attach to). This suggests that the alternation is a very old one, reconstructable beyond Proto Gunwinyguan and still present in Proto Gunwinyguan, with most descendant languages generalising one form or another in an areally patterned way.

OTHER LEXICAL ITEMS from the approximately 20% of vocabulary not shared with Kunwinjku. These may be different but etymologically related forms, as in Gun-djeihmi *gunak*, Kunwinjku and Kune *kun-rak* 'fire', or completely unrelated, as in Mayali *nawandak*, Kunwinjku *kedjebe* and Kune *y bekka* 'filesnake'.

1.2.4.3 Kune Narayek and Kune Dulerayek

These closely related varieties are spoken at the eastern edge of the dialect chain by some 150 speakers in the Cadell River region south of Maningrida, centred around the outstations of Korlobidahdah (Kune Narayek) and Bolkdjam and Buluhkaduru (Kune Dulerayek). Both speech communities are traditionally bilingual — Kune Narayek speakers with Dalabon and Kune Dulerayek speakers with Rembarrnga — though among younger speakers Kune is gaining ground at the expense of these other languages. There is no published work on these dialects, though Garde's (1997) Kuninjku dictionary includes significant lexical data from Kune. Sample texts at Appendix 1 represent both dialects: Kune Dulerayek in Text 5 and Kune Narayek in Texts 7 and 8.

Prolonged bilingualism has led to significant influence from Dalabon and Rembarrnga. Although these two languages also belong to the Gunwinyguan family, Dalabon is genetically closer to Bininj Gun-wok, while Rembarrnga belongs to the eastern Gunwinyguan group along with Ngalakan and Ngandi. However, there are significant areal similarities between Rembarrnga and Dalabon, such as the use of instrumental *-yih* as an ergative marker, the presence of a sixth vowel phoneme and the loss of noun class prefixes and associated development of a suffix *-no* (D) or *-na* (R) on part nouns and adjectives, so that in some domains the influence of these two distinct languages leads to similar outcomes. In the lexical domain, however, there are significant differences (particularly in natural-species terms), generally taking the form of Dalabon-influenced vocabulary in Kune Narayek and Rembarrnga-influenced vocabulary in Kune Dulerayek.

In what follows, statements about 'Kune' apply equally to both varieties unless otherwise specified.

PHONOLOGY Like Dalabon and Rembarrnga, Kune has a sixth high central vowel phoneme, here represented as *v*, whose phonetic realisation ranges across [i], [ɨ] and [ə]. Most Kune words with this phoneme are probably loans from Dangbon or Rembarrnga (e.g. E:N *kurrbvlah* 'bush stone curlew' (same in D) and *man-bvrlahbvrlang* 'kurrajong sp. growing in rock country' (cf. D *bvrlahbvrlang*), E:D *ngawvrrh* '*casuarina equisetifolia*'). There may also be a very marginal lamino-dental phoneme (here written provisionally as *dh*) in a number of place names (e.g. *Dhungalibbi* and *Dhaymikaldja*).

Kune has high front vowels corresponding to mid front vowels in other dialects for a number of lexemes: *ngayi(h)* 'I' answers Dj, W *ngaye*; and present tense *nami* 'makes'⁹ corresponds to *name* in other dialects.

Kune also retains postvocalic *r* in a wider range of environments than other dialects, for example after *u* and before velars (cf. E *namurng* 'snake sp.', *warkwan* 'not know', *djarng*

⁹ The form *nami*, which represents the past imperfective in other dialects, is absent in Kune as a result of the lack of an imperfective series in eastern dialects (see 9.3.4).

'dreaming' and *burkmen* 'be dry', which in other dialects would be *namung*, *wakwan*, *djang* and *bukmen* respectively).

Along with Kuninjku it has initial *r* corresponding to some *y*-initial morphemes in other dialects (e.g. *rawoyh*- 'again' as opposed to *yawoyh*- in Dj and W, or *narin* 'snake' against *nayin* in Dj and W).

MORPHOLOGY There are a number of significant morphological differences both in nominal and verbal morphology.

Kune has lost the original four-gender system preserved in Kunwinjku, so that it can use *namak* (the masculine prefixed form of 'good') with *bininj* 'man (masc)', *daluk* 'woman (fem)', *manme* 'vegetable food (veg)' and *kundjirla* 'axe (neut)', whereas Kunwinjku would exhibit gender agreement, giving *namak*, *ngalmak*, *manmak* and *kunmak* respectively (§5.5).

At the same time, Kune has extended the suffix *-no*, which in western dialects is basically a third person anaphoric possessive marker, to mark 'part nouns', dropping the class III or class IV prefix these take in other dialects (cf. W *kun-keb* 'nose', E *kebno*). In Kune the possessor need no longer be third person, so that *kebno ngarduk* (etymologically 'nose-his/her/its my') is acceptable for 'my nose'; this is ungrammatical in other dialects (see §5.5.2.5 for more details).

Nominal morphology found in Kune but lacking in Kunwinjku and Gun-djeihmi includes the distinctive 'time' suffix *-keno* (§5.2.1.12) (also found in Kuninjku and MM) and the directional prefix *berre-*, as in *berre-kaddum* 'upwards' (otherwise only found in MM).

Two case relations in which Kune parallels Dalabon and Rembarrnga and diverges from the other dialects (except MM) are the marking of transitive subject and locative.

The suffix *-yi(h)* occurs in other dialects, but is restricted to instrumental or proprietive function, while in Kune it also has an ergative use, optionally marking transitive subjects (§5.2.1.2). Dalabon and Rembarrnga parallel Kune exactly in having a suffix *-yih* with instrumental, proprietive and ergative function; in this case it is possible that this is an 'areal retention' rather than an innovation.

Kune also follows the Dalabon and Rembarrnga pattern in making wider use of the suffix *-kah* for marking locative roles, in circumstances where the preposition *kore* and/or the locative prefix *ku-* would be used in other dialects. A Kune Narayek example is *rolongad jek kayo kururrk kurlbbinjhhkah* 'the hooded parrot lives inside termite mounds'. The noun-class prefix *kun-*, which would in other dialects be replaced by *ku-* in locative roles, may optionally be retained, with location being shown by the suffix *-kah* (e.g. Kune *kunronjkah* 'in the water' as an alternative to *kuronj*, which is an alternative in Kune but the only form usual in Kuninjku). Note that a suffix *-ka(h)* is indeed found in other dialects, but is semantically more specialised. In Gun-djeihmi, for example, it mainly marks goal, cause and direction arguments (§5.2.1.4); again this suggests that Kune, Rembarrnga and Dalabon here have an areal retention.

A number of pronominal verb prefixes have different forms in Kune (§10.2); most importantly, the third person unit augmented base is *bini* against W *bene* and Dj *bani* and the third person augmented object is *bin* against W *ben* and Dj *ban*. In addition, Kune object pronominal prefixes do not distinguish a unit-augmented form. Kune Narayek lacks the directional prefix *m-* 'towards' and both Kune subdialects lack the prefix *bal-* 'away, along' found in the western dialects (§11.2) (cf. Dj, W *kanjok*, *yimray ngarrwokdi* 'brother-in-law, come and we two will talk' with E:N *kanjok*, *yiray ngarrwokdi*).

Kune also lacks the 'immediate' use of the glottal prefix in verbs that is found in Kunwinjku and Gun-djeihmi (§11.4.3). In this case its absence contrasts rather than convergences with Dalabon, which normally terminates all pronominal prefixes with the glottal stop (cf. W, Dj, which contrast *nga-ngun* 'I eat' with *nga-h-ngun* 'I am eating now', D *ngah-ngun* 'I eat, am eating' and E:N *nga-ngun* 'I eat; I am eating').

Many other features of verbal morphology distinguish Kune from the western dialects, but are shared to an extent with Kuninjku: the comitative applicative is *re(y)-* rather than *yi-* (§10.3.2) and there is no past imperfective series (§9.3.4.1). A number of incorporated nominal roots also differ in form: E *kolk-* 'liquid', *bo-* in the western dialects; *ko-* 'flower' (vs *nguy-*); and *mo* 'bone' (vs *murrng-*). There is also a different pattern of iterative reduplication: the iterative form of *re* 'goes' is *rere* in Kune as opposed to *rengere* in western dialects (§9.4.2).

Kune has a distinctive verbal enclitic =*bonh*, whose function corresponds to the particle *wanjh* (roughly 'now') in other dialects (as in Dj, W *yire wanjh* vs E:N *yire=bonh* 'you go now; it's time for you to go'). The form *bonh* is also found in Rembarnga.

PRONOUNS Kune has the form *ngungke* 'your', as opposed to W, Dj *nguddangki*; in addition 'I' is *ngayi(h)* compared to W, Dj *ngaye*.

Kune Narayek has extended the form *nuye*, which means 'his, its' in other dialects in contrast to (*ngaleng*) *ngarre* 'hers', to the point where it is a general third person possessive marker, irrespective of gender. An example illustrating this is E:N *bininj nuye daluk nuye* 'husband and wife' (lit. 'his/her man, his/her wife'), in W and Dj *bininj ngarre daluk nuye*. This neutralisation of gender in third person possessives may also reflect Dalabon influence, since the third person possessive suffix *-no* in Dalabon does not specify gender: *bi-no kvrdvkvrd-no* 'husband and wife'.

INTERJECTIONS A number of interjections are characteristic of Kune. Most commonly remarked upon is the use of *bih*, often added after requests and *manj* is used instead of the common interjection *mah* 'time to act'.

SEMANTIC AND LEXICAL DIFFERENCES Among the hundreds of these, particularly worth noting are the distinctive verb lexemes *dadjung* for 'give' (elsewhere *won*), *rakburren* for 'go, head off' (elsewhere *re*) and *nabadjan* for 'big' (which elsewhere is *nakimuk*; *-badjan* has become semantically specialised in other dialects as a reference term for 'mother'). Some salient semantic differences are the use of *kukno*, literally 'his/her body', in the phrase *kukno doweng* 'died'; *ngokkowino* to mean 'nighttime' (*ngokkowi* means 'afternoon' in Dj and 'dusk, evening' in I); *darrkidno* to mean 'body' (in other dialects it means 'alive' but also 'physically present'); *mankole* to mean 'acacia conspersa' ('bamboo spear-shaft; bamboo' in other dialects) and *djolengno* to mean 'cycad damper' (in ED) — in other dialects the root *djoleng* means, more generally, 'ripe' or 'cooked'.

1.2.4.4 Kuninjku

This is spoken by two to three hundred speakers in the Mann and Liverpool Rivers areas, most of whom live relatively traditional lives on small outstations (such as Marrkolidjban, Mumeka and Yikarrakkal) 20–50 km inland in the area between Oenpelli and Maningrida. Some older speakers say this used to be a Dalabon-speaking area, but unlike the situation

with Kune Narayek, this is not a bilingual speech community, even among older speakers. The form of the language name, Kuninjku rather than Kunwinjku, reflects a characteristic elimination of *w* after prefixal nasals (§3.2.2). Until recently very little was known about this dialect but this situation is beginning to be remedied through Garde's detailed work (see §1.6). A sample Kuninjku text is Text 6.

To a greater extent than anywhere else in the dialect chain, Kuninjku tend to be monolinguals and there are large numbers of both the old and the young who know practically no English, nor other Aboriginal languages; those between 15 and 45 know more English and sometimes some Burarra. The high proportion of monolinguals is striking in an area as traditionally multilingual as central Arnhem Land (see Elwell 1982) and is presumably due to the combination of the fact that Kuninjku is so widely known that it can be used with members of most other language groups in the area, plus the tendency of most Kuninjku speakers to live traditional lives in their own country rather than moving to larger settlements like Maningrida and Oenpelli, where they would have more contact with speakers of other Aboriginal languages and of English. On the other hand, the very traditional setting means that special registers are continuing to be passed on.

As befits its geographic position between Kunwinjku and Kune, Kuninjku is very much a transitional dialect; what distinguishes it from these other dialects is more the mixture of features from both, rather than traits not found elsewhere. Typical in this regard is the system of divalent pronominal prefixes, which has the same semantic structure as the Kune system (i.e. neutralising the augmented vs unit augmented contrast in both subject and object), but the same forms as the Kunwinjku system (i.e. 3ua *kabene-* rather than *kabini*, as in Kune and 3/3pl *ben-* rather than the *bin-* found in Kune). Another neutralisation shared with Kune is the loss of distinct past imperfective forms (§9.3.4).

The extension of suffixation for possessed parts at the expense of Class III or IV prefixes, so characteristic of Kune, is also found in Kuninjku, but coexists alongside the class-prefixed forms, so that 'eye' can be either *kun-mim* or *mimno* and 'seed' either *man-mim* or *mimno*. Unlike in Kune, the *-no* suffix has not been leached of its person value in Kuninjku, so that while *mimno* can mean 'his/her eye', to say 'my eye' one has to say *kunmim ngarduk* in Kuninjku whereas Kune speakers can say *mimno ngarduk*. Kuninjku has largely lost neuter agreement, which is still retained to some extent in Kunwinjku, but unlike Kune still has agreement for the other three genders, albeit not consistently observed.

One distinct form found only in Kuninjku is the 'hither' form of the third person minimal past. The hither prefix *-m-*, one of only two codal prefixes to the verb, poses syllabification problems when it follows the zero third person minimal prefix and Kunwinjku and Kuninjku have adopted different solutions: Kunwinjku uses a special form *ku-* just here, giving *kum-*, whereas Kuninjku extends the non-past prefix *ka-* into past use just in this environment, giving *kam-* (§10.2.4).

1.2.4.5 *Gundedjnjenhmi*

This dialect, very similar to Gun-djeihmi, is spoken by a small number of speakers — at most a dozen — with traditional clan territories south-east from Oenpelli (Djordi, Djorrolam and Madjarlun clans) and often said to have traditional alliances to Dalabon people. It is not known whether this dialect is being passed on to children. Joy Kinslow Harris (1969a) includes some material from this dialect, transcribed as Gun-de?ynekmī, in her typological

survey of Western Arnhem Land languages. Text 2 is a version of the emu story in this dialect told by Jimmy Kalarriya, who was one of my two main sources for this dialect, the other being Lofty Bardayal Nadjimerek. The paucity of speakers means that we have less information for this dialect than for the others.

In most respects this dialect is identical to Gun-djeihmi, using *ba-* as the third person past form, *bani-* and *barri-* for the respective unit augmented and augmented third person forms and *ngan-* rather than *man-* for the vegetable class (except that some demonstratives use the *man-* prefix in the vegetable class — §7.3.1).

The one distinctive morpheme so far discovered in this dialect is the first person inclusive augmented prefix, which is *yirri-* as opposed to *garri-/karri-* in the other dialects (e.g. *yirriyoy* 'we (inclusive, augmented) slept', which would be *karryoy* in Kunwinjku).

1.2.4.6 Manyallaluk Mayali

I use this variety to illustrate more general properties of the Mayali used from Barunga to Pine Creek; it is not yet clear how far the details are equivalent in all these areas. Perhaps a hundred speakers use these varieties as a first or second language; children are mostly not learning Mayali in these areas, where Kriol is expanding rapidly. As at Kunbarlanja, these areas all lie outside the area in which Bininj Gun-wok was traditionally spoken.

In the case of Manyallaluk Mayali, which is spoken in Jawoyn country, the language variety appears to be a koiné (or dialect blend), the development of which can be dated to the period following the establishment of mining and market gardens in Eva Valley around 1916, where speakers of various dialects of Bininj Gun-wok, as well as Jawoyn, Rembarrnga and Dalabon, found employment. A distinct community emerged, with its own language variety based on Mayali as lingua franca, but incorporating local features from particular dialects and other languages spoken in the area.

Structurally, this koiné clearly results from the blending of features of the westernmost (Gun-djeihmi) and easternmost (Kune) dialects, with the incorporation of some words from Rembarrnga, Dalabon and Jawoyn and some structural features of Dalabon. Note that this at least sometimes reflects previous rather than present multilingualism; all the Dalabon features given below, for example, occur in the speech of individuals (such as Mary-Anne Kalamuka) who do not speak Dalabon. However, there has not yet been systematic research relating variation in the use of the Manyallaluk Mayali koine to the other languages used by members of the speech community.

Like Gun-djeihmi and Gun-dedjnjenghmi, Manyallaluk Mayali uses *ba-* for third person minimal subjects in the past tense (e.g. *bawam* '(s)he went' vs Kune/Kunwinku *wam*). It also uses *ngan-* as the vegetable-class prefix (vs Kunwinjku and Kune *man-*). The demonstrative series, however, mixes both prefixes: *manih* 'this' but *nganekge* 'like that'. Since this mixture is also found in Gundedjnjenghmi it is unclear if this results from koineisation in situ or was directly inherited from Gundedjnjenghmi. Also like Gun-djeihmi, initial *ng* can be dropped in certain environments, though the prosodic conditions differ somewhat (§2.4.2).

Kune-like features, on the other hand, include:

- the lack of the 'towards' prefix *m-*, so that whereas Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku oppose *yimray!* 'come' to *yiray!* 'go!', Manyallaluk Mayali speakers (like Kune speakers) use *yiray!* to mean both 'come!' and 'go!'

- the use of instrumental *-yih* as an ergative,
- the extension of *-no* to part nouns,
- a number of distinct lexical items not found in other dialects, such as *wendi* 'be up high' (alongside *barndi*, the form found in other dialects) and *dadjung* 'give' (o.d. *won*),
- no use of the immediate prefix *h-* in perception complements,
- forms of many incorporated nouns, such as *kolh* (alongside o.d. *bo*) for 'water' and *ko* (o.d. *nguy*) for 'flower'.

Some features of Manyallaluk Mayali, however, must be attributed not to other dialects of Bininj Gun-wok, but to other Gunwinyguan languages: Dalabon, Rembarrnga and Jawoyn in order of importance.

Dalabon influence, already strong in Kune as we have seen, has induced even further changes in Manyallaluk Mayali. Grammatically, two striking patterns are the high frequency of the suffix sequences *-no-gah* [-3POSSD-LOC] and *-no-yih* [-3POSSD-INSTR] (e.g. *galknogah* 'on the tree stump') — both used in an identical way in Dalabon — and the pronoun plus sequential contractions *galng-* < *ga-weleng* [3-then] and *balng* < *ba-weleng* [3P-then]. Dalabon has an identical form *kalng* < *kah-yeleng-*, but lacks a *ba-* prefix which would generate the *balng-* form, so that it seems that *galng-* is a direct borrowing from Dalabon, which has then been analogically generalised to the past form *balng*. Additional contracted forms, again lacking in Dalabon, are *bandileng-* < *bandi-weleng-* [3a/3plP-then-] and *bandijaleng* < *bandi-jal-weleng-* [3a/3plP-just-then-]'. There are a number of Dalabon loanwords, such as *korrehken* (D *korrhkvn*) for '(long) before', against *gorrogo* in other dialects.

Perhaps most striking is the sociolinguistic difference from all other dialects in the conditions on the use of the *kunkurrng* avoidance register (§15.2). In other dialects this is used **in the presence of** one's mother-in-law and other high-respect relatives, whereas in neighbouring Dalabon there is a similar register, but the conditions on its use are different: it is used to talk **concerning** such relatives, rather than **to** them. Now the avoidance variety of Manyallaluk Mayali has the same vocabulary as the other dialects (as far as attested so far), but it is used under Dalabon-style conditions; that is, the crucial contextual determinant of when to use it is that one is talking about one's *na-/ngal-kurrng*, rather than, as in the other dialects, in his/her presence.

As far as is currently known, the influence of Rembarrnga and Jawoyn is confined to the lexicon. 'Dog', for example (*duruk* in all other dialects), is *djamo* in Manyallaluk Mayali, identical to the Rembarrnga form.¹⁰

An interesting lexical sharing with Jawoyn and Dalabon involves the calquing of a particular idiom by which women refer to their birth place (where their afterbirth is buried) by the expression 'my digging stick' and men by the expression 'my woomera'. This is not found in other dialects of Bininj Gun-wok, but is employed in Manyallaluk Mayali using the expressions *kundjadj ngarduk* and *borndok ngarduk* respectively.

¹⁰ Harris (1969a) cites examples in which *djamo* is the Dedjnjengmi (De?ynekmi in her orthography) word for 'dog'. This needs checking with present-day speakers, since it suggests it may be a Dedjnjengmi rather than a R loan.

Within the kinship system, an important difference between Manyallaluk Mayali and other dialects is the semantics of its grandparent terms: it has generalised a single term (*gakgak*) to cover all parallel grandparents and has extended another (*mamamh*) to all cross-grandparents except father's mother (§1.4.1.1). The resultant system is peculiar to Manyallaluk Mayali and does not exactly match that found in any other dialect, nor in the three other languages considered above.

1.2.4.7 Clan lects

The dialect differences described above do not exhaust the geographically conditioned variation. At the limiting case, it seems likely that traditionally every clan had minor but distinctive differences in language variety. These can no longer be identified with accuracy in certain regions, such as Oenpelli and the Kakadu Region, where more homogenised koiné forms have emerged over the last fifty years or so, combined with the fact that these varieties are to a large extent spoken outside their traditional country. However, the evidence from more traditional clans further east, particularly in the Kuninjku-speaking area, is almost certainly characteristic of the whole region in precontact times, as it is in certain other parts of Australia (e.g. eastern Arnhem Land and western Cape York — see Smith & Johnson 1986). All examples found so far have been confined to lexical differences. However, we still know very little about these clan lects (Murray Garde is currently gathering further material) so any statements must be provisional at this stage.

The ideology that every clan should have at least some identifiable differences in its language variety is reflected in the occasional practice of referring to language varieties using the clan root, as in *ngad ngarri-djalama, kun-djalama ngarri-wokdi* 'we Djalama people, we speak *kun-djalama*' (GID).

It is also linked with assertions that particular clans and words they use, are aligned with the patrimoiety division into Yirridjdja and Duwa (§1.4.2.1). The existence of distinct moiety lects is at its most formalised in eastern Arnhem Land, where the application of regular phonological rules, including final-vowel deletion, gives Yirridjdja and Duwa dialects quite different phonotactics (Morphy 1977; Wilkinson 1991). But the distinction has been spreading westwards into the adjoining Gunwinyguan languages, so that both Rembarrnga and Dalabon speakers say there are two varieties of their language, one corresponding to each moiety, even though they can cite few actual differences.¹¹ Some of the words showing clan-based variation in the Kuninjku area are identified as being Duwa or Yirridjdja, as in *burda*, said to be the Duwa lect name for *man-djay* 'cane grass'; *birdidjirr*, said to be the Duwa lect name for *man-bolobbi* and *man-djandjadj*, said to be the Yirridjdja name for *djendek* or *marrabbi* (Sand Palm). It is often unclear what the nature of such claims is. Are these words that can be used by any clan of the appropriate moiety, or are they clan-specific, inheriting moiety affiliations through the fact that each clan is either Duwa or Yirridjdja?

¹¹ Thus George Left-Hand of Weemol told me that in Rembarrnga, Yirridjdja speakers would say *ngamangara* for 'I get' while Duwa speakers would reduplicate this to *ngamangamangara*. Similarly, Maggie Tukumba said that the Yirridjdja variety of Dalabon is described as *Dalabonmuduk* 'slow Dalabon' and the Duwa variety as *Dalabondjurrkdjurrk* 'quick Dalabon'. At present, though, I have no evidence that normal, as opposed to self-conscious and stereotyped, speech differs along these lines.

In any case, at least in the Kuninjku-speaking area, there are groups of words said to be specifically associated with the speech of individual clans — probably at most a dozen for each clan. These always include a distinct *man*-prefixed word for ‘small amount of food’ and the clan lect can either be known by the corresponding *kun*-prefixed word, or by the clan name, prefixed by *kun*- (see Table 1.2).

Table 1.2: Some clan lects and associated clans

Lect name	<i>Kundedjwarre</i>	<i>Kunwalidjaw</i>	<i>Kundjedjenbak</i>
Associated clan(s)	<i>Kunkurulk</i>	<i>Kunkulmarra</i>	<i>Kunkardbam</i>
(Moiety)	(<i>Duwa</i>)	(<i>Duwa</i>)	(?)
‘small amount of food’	<i>mandedjwarre</i>	<i>manwalidjaw</i>	<i>mandjedjenbak</i>

This same root can also be combined, according to Mick Kubarkku, with verbs, for example, instead of saying *ngayo* for ‘I sleep’ one can say *ngadjedjenbak ngayo* [I-djedjenbak I-sleep] and instead of *man-me kan-wo* for ‘give me food’, *kan-djedjenbak kan-wo* [you/me-djedjenbak you/me-give].

The lengthy nature of these locutions makes one suspect they were only employed on relatively formalised occasions, but for the moment I have no more ethnolinguistic evidence than that just given. One such formalised occasion when clan lects are appropriate is when greeting deceased ancestors at particular clan sites, especially sacred places. An example of such a greeting, using particular Kundedjwarre interjections (GID), is the following:

- 1.18 *Kandi-bekkan bu dabbarrabolk Namarrmokadardjarr Namayhkurdihwarr*
 2a/1-listenNP SUB ancestors [interjection] [interjection]

Kundedjwarre-nin. Ngurri-kurrme-rr-imen kun-red and ngudberre
 clan.lect.name-be 2a-put-RR-IMP IV-country youOBL

kun-red kondanj ngadberre kun-red and ngayi boss nga-yime
 IV-country here 1aOBL IV-country I 1-dONP

ngayi kakkak nga-yime kun-red kondanj.
 I MM 1-dONP IV-country here

‘Ancestors! listen to me, I greet you with the words ‘Namarrmokadardjarr Namayhkurdihwarr’, you who were of the clan lect Kundedjwarre. Just stay where you are here in your place, our place, it’s our country and now I’m the boss of this my Mother’s Mother’s country here.’

Other lexical items with distinct forms were ‘lie, sleep’, where normal *kayo* ‘(s)he sleeps’ is replaced in Kun-walidjaw by the form *ngaworlehyo* ‘drink’, ‘urinate’, which is *dilebun* in most dialects but *bayiddjirrekorrhme* in *Kundedjwarre* and ‘woomera’, where normal *borndok* is replaced in Kun-walidjaw by *kardakku*.

Many of the words said to belong to specific clan lects are in fact shared with other languages or more distant dialects, for example:

- The word for the short-eared rock wallaby, known as *badbong* in most dialects, is *dorlhawarr* in Kundedjwarre, which is also the form in Dalabon.

- The word for 'male agile rock wallaby', *warradjangkal* in most dialects, is *barlkkidj* in Kundedjwarre, which is also the form in Rembarrnga.
- The word for 'red shouldered parrot', *werleyh* in most dialects, is *djadberlhberl* in Kunwalidjaw, which is also the form in Gun-djeihmi and Jawoyn.

This suggests that at least some of the clan lect differences are formed by taking over alternative forms known from distant dialects or neighbouring languages and licensing them as emblems of clan speech. Other forms, such as the 'little bit of food' examples discussed above, do not have outside cognates and appear to be specific coinages.

In the Kakadu region, the one definite example of clan differences in language varieties comes from differences between the speech of the Badmardi men like Nipper Kapirigi and George NaMingum on the one hand and of Mirarr Gun-djeihmi man Toby Gangele on the other. The Badmardi clan lect, but not the Mirarr lect, retained retroflex glides in some words (cf. 'ordinary' *gun-mim* 'eye', pronounced *gun-mirim* by Kapirigi and NaMingum); there were also some minor lexical differences. No living speakers maintain these clan lect differences.

1.2.4.8 *Second-language varieties*

This is a neglected topic, but one of great interest for studies of language contact, because of the likely role of second-language speakers in propagating the diffusion of language change.

Here I confine myself to a few remarks on the phonological features of the variety of Kunwinjku spoken by native speakers of such Iwaidjan languages as Iwaidja and Ilgar. These differ from the Gunwinyguan languages in lacking a glottal stop long stops and mid vowels and such L2 speakers normally simply omit the glottal stop, neutralise the long-short distinction by using phonemes from a single stop series and replace mid vowels with high vowels. For example, an Ilgar speaker who speaks fluent but heavily accented Kunwinjku pronounces *nawu kolomomo kubowinjku* 'that long-nosed crocodile (lives) in freshwater' as *nawu kulumumu kubuwinjku*; *karrikayhmen* 'we cry out' as *karrikaymin*; and *birribonguni* 'they were drinking' as *birribunguni*.

1.2.5 *Some important isoglosses*

To illustrate the many cross-cutting ways in which grammatical, phonological, lexical and sociolinguistic features group dialects, let us consider a dozen or so from the thousands of features which are not spread uniformly across the dialect chain. We find four basic patterns of isoglosses:¹²

- (a) Maximising, with a large number of alternatives distinguishing the varieties.

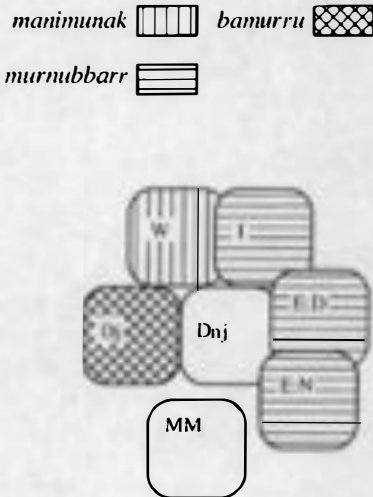
¹² I stress that at this stage these patterns are formulated on a purely impressionistic basis and need to be tested against a properly based dialectological study with a wider range of isoglosses and proper statistical analysis of the data. Such a study would be likely to show up other patterns, such as an east-west continuum in some phonological features (initial C-dropping and percentage of words that have lost postvocalic *r*) and a north-south continuum in others (e.g. the frequency of case suffixation).

- (b) Kunwinjku-centred, in which Kunwinjku is set off from the other dialects in all directions; within the grammar this often results from Kunwinjku maintaining contrasts that have been neutralised in the other dialects.
- (c) The Mayali bundle, grouping Gun-djeihmi, Gundedjnjenhmi and Manyallaluk Mayali against the rest, with some features shared by all these three and some found in a pure form in Gun-djeihmi and in mixed form in the other two.
- (d) The Kune bundle, either grouping the two Kune subdialects against the rest, or focussed on Kune and found in more limited form in Kuninjku and Manyallaluk Mayali.

Let us now consider some examples of each of these patterns.

MAXIMISING This pattern is particularly common in the lexicon. Large numbers of lexical items serve as shibboleths and it is possible to justify virtually any division or alliance of lects on the basis of one lexeme or another. The distribution of such shibboleths across the vocabulary is non-random, with high vocabulary sharing for kin terms, human terms and generics, for example and high differentiation among plant and animal (specific) terms, as well as closed class lexemes like negative and apprehensive particles and demonstratives. Even within a domain like birds there is a non-random distribution of variation, with particularly high divergence for such large and commonly eaten birds as the magpie goose and the emu. Isogloss 1 in Figure 1.1 compares the distribution of terms for 'magpie goose' (MM and Dnj forms not yet known).

Isogloss 1: Words for 'magpie goose'



Isogloss 2: Third person minimal past 'hither' forms

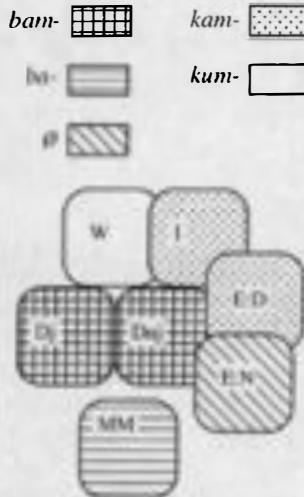


Figure 1.1: Two maximising isoglosses

Even larger sets of contrasting forms are found when one compares the prefix used for third person minimal past verbs with a ‘towards’ meaning (as in ‘(s)he came’); here the intersection of two differently patterned morpheme distributions (west to east loss of *m*, Mayali *ba-* vs zero past in other dialects and different strategies in Kunwinjku and Kuninjku for dealing with the impossibility of syllabifying the ‘towards’ prefix *m* after a zero prefix) gives five different forms, as shown in isogloss 2.

KUNWINJKU-CENTRED There are many ways in which Kunwinjku is set off from all other dialects. The example most cited by speakers is the word for ‘no’,¹³ which is *burrkyak* in Kunwinjku but *kayakki* (or its orthographic variants *gayakki* or *gayakgi*) in all other dialects. Speakers of other dialects sometimes say of Kunwinjku speakers, ‘they say *burrkyak*’ or ‘that *burrkyak* mob’ and speakers of Gun-djeihmi at one end of the dialect chain and Kune at the other say, of each other, that ‘they’re like us; we both say *kayakki*’. The evidence points to *burrkyak* being a Kunwinjku innovation: its confinement to one dialect, the existence of a cognate form to *kayakki* in the next closest language (Dalabon has *kahke*) and the etymology of *burrkyak* as ‘lacking body’, which suggests a novel emphatic form.

Isogloss 3: The form for ‘no’

kayakki  *burrkyak* 

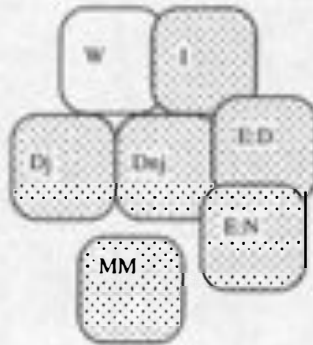


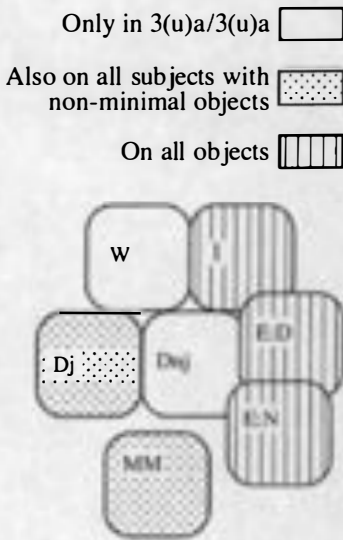
Figure 1.2: The ‘no’ isogloss

Turning to the grammar, it is striking that in the two most important morphological subsystems showing substantial cross-dialectal variation, namely the gender and pronominal prefix systems, there is a consistent pattern by which Kunwinjku has the full set of contrasts, partly neutralised in dialects to the east, south and west. Consider number in the divalent (subject/object) prefix system (§10.2). In the intransitive system all dialects distinguish three

¹³ And throughout Australia the word for ‘no’ commonly forms the basis of language names: Victorian language names like Wemba-Wemba, Yota-Yota and so on are all reduplications of the word for ‘no’ in the relevant language. Closer to the area at hand, many language names recorded last century in the Cobourg region appear to have been based on the word for ‘no’, though they are no longer so known: Marrgu was recorded as Yagu and Ilgar as Yarlú (*yigarlu*).

numbers: minimal, unit augmented and augmented. But once both subject and object number are involved only Kunwinjku maintains all three values, although even Kunwinjku partially neutralises the contrast where subject and object are both third person. The Mayali dialects neutralise the two non-minimal numbers of the subject, provided that the object is non-minimal, while the eastern dialects (Kuninjku and Kune) neutralise the two non-minimal numbers for both subject and object (isogloss 4; note that our data for Gun-dedjnenghmi is incomplete).

Isogloss 4: Neutralisations of unit augmented vs augmented in pronominal prefix system



Isogloss 5: Number of genders

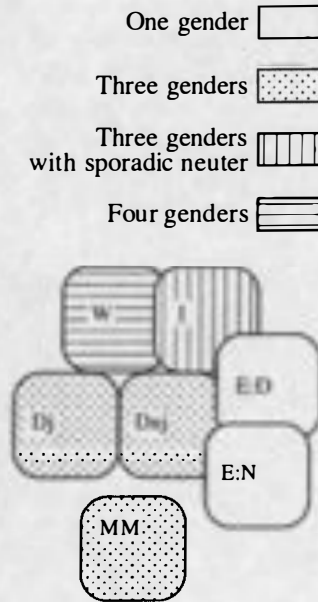


Figure 1.3: Two isoglosses showing maximum category differentiation in Kunwinjku

Likewise, in the area of gender agreement, only Kunwinjku maintains four classes (though it is breaking down — see §5.5). The dialects next to Kunwinjku — Gundjeihmi to the west and Kuninjku to the east — have essentially lost neuter agreement, extending vegetable agreement at its expense, though Kuninjku still has some sporadic neuter agreement. Kune has lost agreement entirely (isogloss 5).

THE MAYALI CLUSTER Many isoglosses cluster together around the Mayali dialects. A whole set of pronominal prefix forms, some intransitive and some transitive, have an identical *a-(i)* vocalism in Gun-djeihmi, Gun-dedjnenghmi and Manyallaluk Mayali, corresponding to an *e-(e)* or *i-(i)* vocalism in Kunwinjku and Kuninjku and an *i-(i)* vocalism in Kune; the past forms are shown in Table 1.3 (see §10.2 for more details).

Table 1.3: Vocalism in third person prefixes across dialects

Subject(/object)	Dj, Dnj, MM	w, I	E
3ua(/3)	<i>bani-</i>	<i>bene-</i>	<i>bini-</i>
3a(/3)	<i>barri-</i>	<i>birri-</i>	<i>birri-</i>
3/3du	<i>banbani-</i>	<i>benbene-</i>	<i>bindi-</i>
3/3pl	<i>ban-</i>	<i>ben-</i>	<i>bin-</i>
3a/3pl	<i>bandi-</i>	<i>bindi-</i>	<i>bindi-</i>

Equally salient is the form of the vegetable gender prefix and corresponding class III prefix, which in the Mayali dialects is *ngan-* (optionally dropping the *ng* to become *an-*), as opposed to *man-* in the other dialects. In Gun-djeihmi this is the only form found, whereas in Gundedjnjenghmi and Manyallaluk Mayali two of the demonstratives have *man-* rather than *ngan-* for their vegetable form (Isogloss 6).

Isogloss 6: Form of the vegetable/class III marker

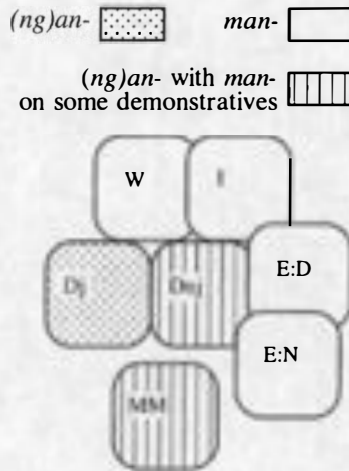


Figure 1.4: Form of the vegetable prefix

An interjection commonly cited by speakers as associated with all three Mayali dialects is *woh* for yes, as opposed to *yoh* in the remaining dialects, although this is prescriptive rather than actual and many Gun-djeihmi speakers, for example, use *yoh* at least as often in their unmonitored speech.

THE KUNE CLUSTER As many isoglosses define the Kune dialects, in opposition to the rest, as characterise the Mayali cluster. Two clear examples from the realm of morphology are use of *re-* rather than *yi-* as the comitative applicative (isogloss 7) and the distinctive form of iterative reduplication of inflected monosyllables with a monosyllabic reduplicate (e.g. *ru-ruy* ‘burned and burned’) instead of the disyllabic reduplicate (*rungu-ruy*) found elsewhere (isogloss 8).

Isogloss 7: *yi-* vs *re(y)-* comitative

Isogloss 8: Iterative on monosyllables in CVNV- (*runguruy-*) vs CV- (*ruruy*)

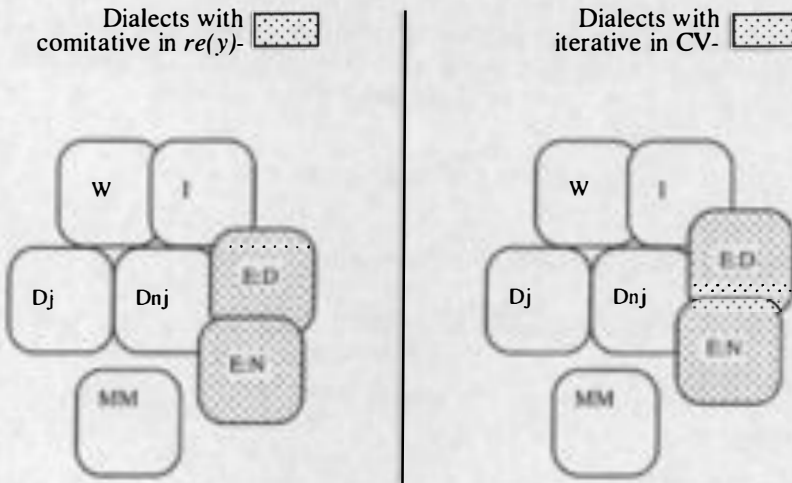


Figure 1.5: Some uniquely Kune isoglosses

The two features discussed in the preceding paragraph are confined to Kune. However, many other traits are shared with adjacent dialects to the west and/or south. Thus the neutralisation of the past perfective/imperfective contrast is also found in Kunwinjku to the east (isogloss 9) and the extension of instrumental *-yih* to ergative use is also found in Manyallaluk Mayali to the south (isogloss 10).

Isogloss 9: Neutralisation of perfective vs imperfective contrast in past

Isogloss 10: Extension of instrumental *-yih* to ergative use

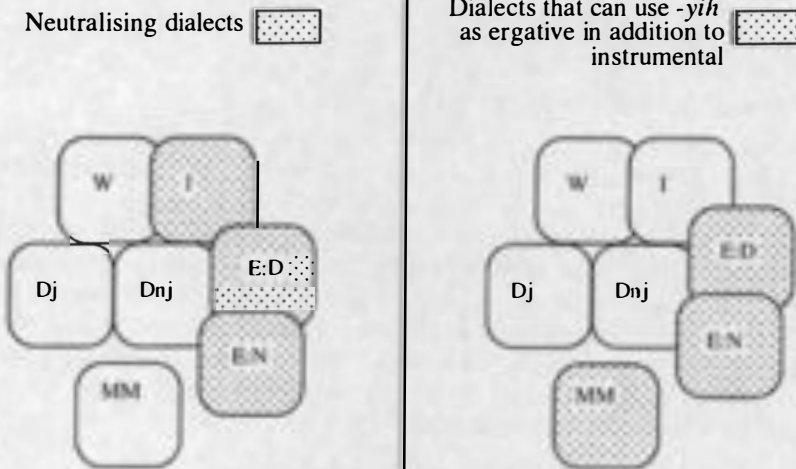


Figure 1.6: Two isoglosses focused on Kune

Other traits, found in their most intense form in Kune, form a cline as one moves westwards. Thus the *-no* suffix, which was probably originally confined to marking possessed parts whose third person minimal possessor had been established in the discourse, has come in Kuninjku and Manyallaluk Mayali to be an alternative marker of part nouns without any anaphoric requirements, though the possessor must still be third person minimal. In Kune it is also an alternative part marker, but with the further extension that the possessor can be of any person (§5.5.2.5). This distribution is shown in Isogloss 11.

Isogloss 11: Conditions on the *-no* suffix

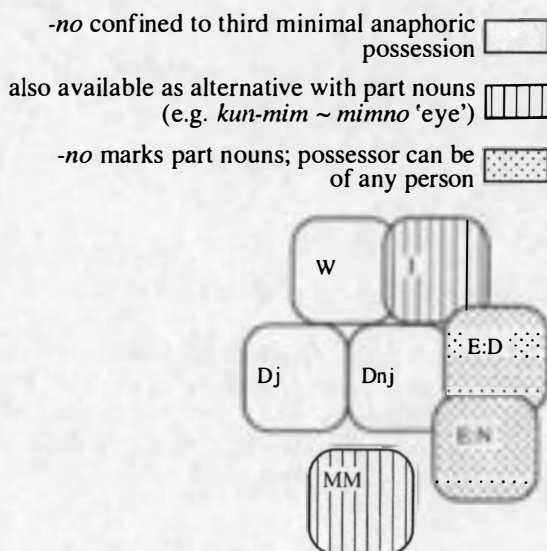


Figure 1.7: Conditions on the *-no* suffix

1.2.6 Dialects and orthography

As practical orthographies for the various dialects have been devised, beginning with Kunwinjku in the 1960s and 1970s (superseding earlier systems in use during the 1950s) and followed by Gun-djeihmi, Kuninjku, Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the attitudes that speakers have traditionally held towards dialect variation have been transferred to the arena of orthography, with the upshot that in many instances orthographic difference has been regarded as just as acceptable and even desirable, as differences in pronunciation, grammar and lexicon. These attitudes are at once ethnocentric and pluricentric, in regarding one's own dialect (and written materials reflecting that dialect) as best for oneself and one's kindred, but being tolerant of (if sometimes amused at) the use of other dialects as appropriate for other social groups.

As a result of these attitudes three different orthographies are now in use: the Kunwinjku orthography, the longest-established and now in use for Kunwinjku, Kuninjku and Kune; the Gun-djeihmi orthography, in use for Gun-djeihmi; and the Mayali orthography, used for Manyallaluk Mayali. Although my early discussions with Gun-djeihmi people in 1987–88 had resulted in a decision to use the Kunwinjku orthography, subsequent discussions in 1990–91 moved away from this position, partly motivated by the desire of some key individuals to have a distinct orthography and partly by the optimistic desire (in the special circumstances of the orthography being most visible in road signs, interpretive materials, pamphlets etc. inside the Kakadu National Park) that it would lead to approximately correct pronunciations by the thousands of non-Aboriginal visitors to the Park.

The fact that the Kunwinjku orthography was extended to the Kuninjku and Kune languages had a number of reasons, partly based on the use of parallel orthographies for other languages with literacy programs in Maningrida (e.g. Ndjébbana) and partly on the use of some existing Kunwinjku materials in the (very elementary and largely unfunded) bilingual programs run in the Kuninjku and Kune outstations.

The Manyallaluk Mayali orthography developed out of a different literacy resource centre (first Barunga school and later the Katherine Regional Aboriginal Language Centre). These were substantially occupied with other languages (especially Kriol and Jawoyn) and transferred many of the orthographic principles used in these languages to the Mayali orthography.

As the above remarks will show, the three separate orthographies all grew out of distinct local developments and there has never been a concerted attempt to develop a unified orthography. This is not an unusual situation in Australia — there are four different orthographies in use for different dialects of the Western Desert language (spoken over a vast area, in three states each with their own educational bureaucracy) and as many for the Arandic dialects, spoken over a much smaller region. Although it necessitates the preparation of dialect-specific materials, this is what speakers themselves ask for; they also express a preference for dialect-specific dictionaries rather than one that includes material from the whole dialect chain.

Obviously, though, this complicates the job of writing a pan-dialectal grammar, burdening the reader with three separate orthographies and the writer with the hornet's nest of which orthography to use when making statements that apply to more than one dialect. My (admittedly only partially satisfactory) solution has been as follows: information about the three orthographies is given in the phonology chapter, following the discussion of relevant phonemic contrasts and broken into sections on vowels (mercifully the same across dialects), diphthongs and consonants. When making general statements, or citing forms that are the same in all dialects, I use the Kunwinjku orthography unless this seems unnatural because I am taking another dialect as point of departure. When discussing dialect-specific features I use that dialect's orthography. For Gun-dedjnenghmi, which has no established orthography, I use the orthography of the dialect closest to it, namely Gun-djeihmi; I also use this for statements true of the Mayali dialect group as a whole. For the title of the book and the spelling of the language name throughout, one orthography had to be used and I have opted for the Gun-djeihmi spelling in deference to my first language teachers. My apologies to those linguists whose love of consistency is offended by this complex solution (though one in the spirit of multiple ranked constraint violations!) and to those language speakers who see words spelled in ways they are not accustomed to.

1.3 Genetic and areal position

In this section I first place Bininj Gun-wok in its genetic perspective, then pass to a consideration of its neighbouring languages and the various levels of influence they have had, closing with some brief comments on more recent contacts with Macassarese.

1.3.1 Genetic position

Bininj Gun-wok is a member of the so-called Gunwinyguan family and in fact the family name is based on Kunwinjku,¹⁴ as the most numerous language of the group. This family is the most numerous and widespread group of non-Pama-Nyungan languages, spreading like an octopus across Arnhem Land, centred on the Arnhem Land escarpment (see the Map) but with tentacles extending to the north, east, west and south.

Typologically, languages of this group are characterised by complex verb morphology with subject and object prefixes, incorporated nominals, adverbial and applicative prefixes and suffixes for reflexive/reciprocal and tense/aspect/mood and, in nominal morphology, prefixation for four or five genders/noun classes and suffixation for a relatively limited range of cases. Phonologically almost all Gunwinyguan languages have two medial stop series, a codal glottal stop, rich possibilities for coda consonant clusters and five vowels with no length contrast. In all these respects Bininj Gun-wok is typical of the language family as a whole.

Naturally some of the member languages have altered this typology somewhat. Kungarakany, at the western extremity, has no noun incorporation and most languages have reduced the number of genders (to four in Kunwinjku, Kunbarlang and Ngalakan, to three in Mayali and Jawoyn), or gotten rid of gender contrasts altogether (as in Kungarakany, Dalabon and Rembarnga). Only Ngandi — and Nunggubuyu if this is included in Gunwinyguan — have the original five-class system. Nunggubuyu, probably as a result of intense interaction with the Maran languages (Heath 1984), has lost the long–short stop contrast by leniting short stops and leaving historical long stops as the only stop category, has reduced the number of vowels to three (but introduced a length contrast) and in general has undergone so many phonological changes that comparisons with the other Gunwinyguan languages are frequently obscured.

Figure 1.8 gives a provisional classification of the Gunwinyguan languages, based partly on a lexicostatistical classification and partly on my qualitative evaluation of the most salient similarities in phonology and morphology. Percentage figures denote the minimum percentage of words from the Swadesh 100-word list between any pair of languages below that node of the tree. A few key morphological innovations are likewise noted beside particular nodes, indicating that all daughter languages share a reflex of that innovation. This classification is, it must be stressed, heuristic only: there is as yet not even a single published dictionary of a core Gunwinyguan language and this has held up the reconstruction of phonological change (though see Harvey forthcoming); many languages still lack comprehensive grammars, notably Kunbarlang, Kungarakany, Jawoyn and

¹⁴ An earlier spelling, Gunwingguan (e.g. O'Grady, Voegelin & Voegelin 1966; Harris 1969a) was based on a phonetically inaccurate spelling of the language name as Gunwinggu; many early investigators failed to hear the /ɲk/ cluster correctly.

Dalabon;¹⁵ and the process of distinguishing genetic from areal traits requires a careful sifting of dozens of complex morphological paradigms.

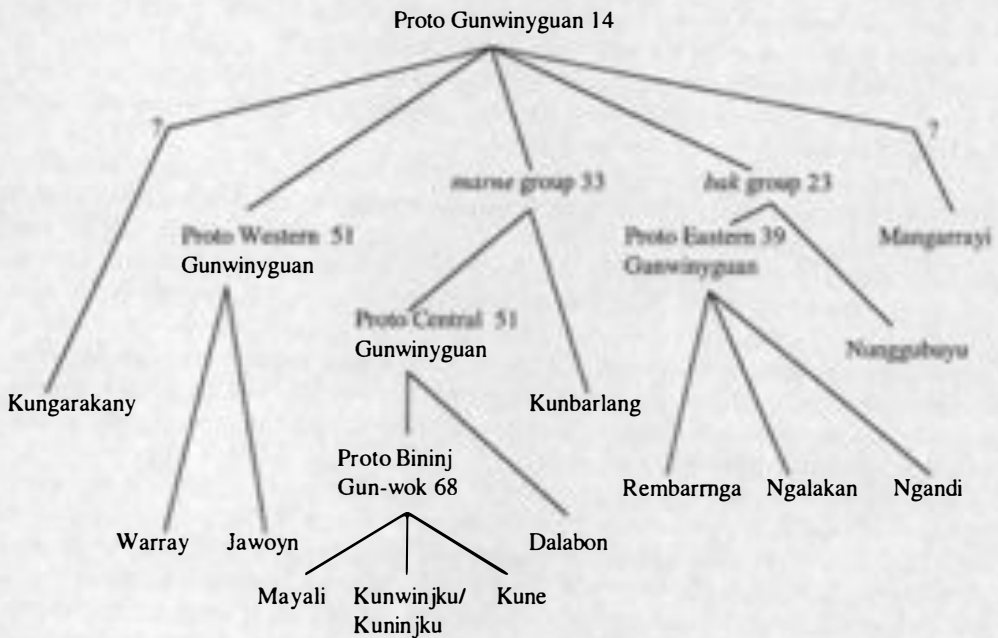


Figure 1.8: The Gunwinyguan language family

Whether Kungarakany and Mangarrayi should be grouped within Gunwinyguan is currently unclear. Each lies at the periphery of the language family (respectively to the west and south), has been treated as an isolate in previous classifications (O’Grady, Voegelin & Voegelin 1966; Wurm & Hattori 1981), lacks normal typological features of Gunwinyguan languages (e.g. noun incorporation) and has a lower cognacy rate with the other members of Gunwinyguan. However, each also shows tantalising resemblances to Gunwinyguan. Mangarrayi, for example, has many cognate irregularities of reconstructable Proto Gunwinyguan past perfective forms, except that the characteristic final nasals found in other Gunwinyguan languages have been hardened to stops (e.g. Mang *wab* ‘visited’ corresponding to BGW *wam* ‘went’, with the nasal attested in all other languages — see Harvey (forthcoming) and Alpher, Evans & Harvey (forthcoming) for full discussion). Overall their position remains unclear and they will not be discussed further here.

These languages apart, the Gunwinyguan languages fall into three clear subgroups: western, comprising Warray and Jawoyn,¹⁶ central, comprising Bininj Gun-wok and Dalabon and eastern, comprising Rembarrnga, Ngalakan and Ngandi.

¹⁵ However work is in progress on these languages by, respectively, Carolyn Coleman, Nick Evans, Francesca Merlan and Evans and Merlan. The early grammars of Kunbarlang by Harris (1969b) and of Dalabon by Capell (1962) are neither comprehensive nor reliable.

¹⁶ The earliest classifications treated Warray as an isolate (O’Grady, Voegelin & Voegelin 1966; Wurm & Hattori 1981), but recent work by Mark Harvey (forthcoming) has shown it to be a Gunwinyguan language with telling shared similarities with Jawoyn.

Each of the latter two subgroups appears to have a further member whose position is a little less clear. Kunbarlang is a puzzling mixture of similarities to central Gunwinyguan and radical differences, perhaps attributable to massive influence from neighbouring non-Gunwinyguan languages of the Arafura coast (Carolyn Coleman, pers. comm.); it shares somewhat higher vocabulary levels (33%) with central than with other Gunwinyguan languages and shares with them certain key morphemes, such as a reflex of the benefactive applicative *marne-* (hence my choice of the name 'marne group'). However, we still know too little about this language to position it definitively.

Within eastern Gunwinyguan, Nunggubuyu presents problems of classification. Jeffrey Heath, author of a masterly grammar and deeply knowledgeable about languages of eastern Arnhem Land, suggests it is grouped most closely with Ngandi and the Groote Eylandt language Anindilyakwa (Heath 1997). My own view is that many of the similarities he cites are shared retentions rather than innovations, that it is closely related to the eastern Gunwinyguan languages in what I label the *bak* group (after the shared innovation of benefactive applicative *bak-*) and that in general it has remained morphologically conservative while undergoing phonological change. However, the question is still wide open and will only be resolved by widening the framework of comparison so as to better decide what is retention and what is innovation.

With regard to the wider genetic position of the Gunwinyguan family, it is one of the twenty or so families designated 'non-Pama-Nyungan' that cover the north-western eighth of Australia, namely the Kimberleys, Top End and the south-western Gulf. The label 'non-Pama-Nyungan' distinguishes these languages negatively from Australia's most numerous and widespread family, Pama-Nyungan, that covers the remaining seven-eighths of the continent and that shares a number of innovations in morphology, pronoun systems and phonology (see Evans & Jones 1997 and references therein). As a negative label, 'non-Pama-Nyungan' does not entail the genetic unity of its member families (except in the deepest sense, as fellow members of the Australian phyllic family), although a number of similarities across the non-Pama-Nyungan languages have been identified (as in Blake 1988; Heath 1990; Harvey forthcoming).

A number of other neighbouring language families appear to be relatively close to Gunwinyguan: Wardaman/Wagiman (included by Harris 1969a in her 'Yangmanic subgroup' of Gunwinyguan) to the southwest, the Maningrida group to the northeast, the Iwaidjan languages to the northwest. Some of these resemblances will be touched on in the next section. There are also affinities with the Pama-Nyungan family, whose system of conjugation markers (Dixon 1980) bears some significant resemblances to the conjugation system in Gunwinyguan languages (Alpher, Evans and Harvey forthcoming). In none of these cases is our understanding of the historical relationships yet clear enough to propose a concrete grouping. But it seems inevitable that detailed comparative reconstructions will in the future support the setting up of an intermediate-level grouping linking Gunwinyguan to one or more of these families — let us call it Proto Arnhem, for the sake of argument, without suggesting that its members are coextensive with all the languages of Arnhem Land (see Green forthcoming).

Two brief examples will illustrate the difficulties.

In the case of gender prefixation, for example, it is clear that Gunwinyguan, Iwaidjan and the Maningrida group all descend from an ancestral system having five genders, showing some suppletion according to case relationships (e.g. masculine *na-*, with a form *ki-* that was probably genitive; feminine *ngal-* (genitive (*k*)*iny-*), vegetable *ma-* with alternate *nga-*, neuter *ku-*, neuter 2 *ra(k)-*). This has collapsed in some descendant

languages (leaving *na-* in some languages and a reflex of *ki-* such as *yi-* in others) and disappeared in others (e.g. Dalabon or Rembarnga). However, so many other non-Pama-Nyungan languages show reflexes of such a system (e.g. Ungarinyin in the Kimberleys, Nungali in the Victoria River Region and other languages of Arnhem Land such as Gaagudju and Umpugarla which appear only distantly related to Gunwinyguan) that it must be imputed to a much deeper level than Proto Arnhem.

On the other hand, a study of the development of the two stop series may provide a more precise grouping. These are present in Gunwinyguan, Wagiman and the languages of the Maningrida group; they are also present in the Yolngu languages, a Pama-Nyungan enclave, but are likely to be an areally convergent development there. It is generally assumed that the possession of these two stop series is simply an areal feature, but it may turn out to be a shared phonological innovation of Gunwinyguan, Wagiman and the Maningrida languages (with areal influence stimulating convergent developments in Yolngu). It is also possible that they developed in other groups (such as Iwaidjan) which then lost them through the lenition of the short stops. The point is that at present we have no study of the historical phonology of these groups and it may be some time coming given the lack of good lexical sources for many of the languages. The collection of a sufficient number of cognate sets to test the hypotheses is also made more difficult by the low level of cognacy (generally around 10% between these families, but in Australia such low levels should not be taken to rule out genetic connection); this increases the importance of having sizeable dictionaries before such work can be undertaken.

1.3.2 Neighbouring languages and territories

The Bininj Gun-wok dialect chain lies in the midst of Australia's most linguistically complex region. Considering the dialect chain as a whole, speakers traditionally maintained social contacts with speakers of several dozen languages within a radius of several hundred kilometres of the Arnhem Land plateau; many of these have now become extinct (e.g. Erre, Urningangk, Umpugarla) or nearly so (Gaagudju, Marrgu, Amurdak, Ngandi).

About a dozen languages were (and mostly still are) spoken in areas close enough to the traditional clan territories of Mayali, Kunwinjku or Kune speakers to have been in regular contact (see map); it is likely that all of these will ultimately be shown to have, at the least, donated some vocabulary, while others have had more far-reaching influences. I shall briefly sketch the way in which these languages relate to Bininj Gun-wok, working clockwise from the Cobourg Peninsula.

Three languages of the Cobourg Peninsula to the northwest are in immediate contact with Kunwinjku and Mayali: Amurdak, Iwaidja and Maung; further northwest are/were three others, the near-extinct Garig/Ilgar and Marrgu and the extinct Wurrugu (Evans 1996). All these languages belong to the Iwaidjan family, which is only remotely related to Gunwinyguan. These languages have subject and object agreement, but practically no other verb-prefixal morphology and no noun incorporation. A five-class gender system showing cognacy of four classes is reconstructable (Evans 1998) and survives in some of them (most clearly in Maung), but the phonological systems are quite different, lacking a second stop series, glottal stop and (reconstructable) mid-vowels and mostly possessing an extra series of flapped laterals. Contemporarily, there is widespread bilingualism between Kunwinjku and Iwaidja or Maung; traditionally it is likely there was a similar amount of contact with Amurdak. Iwaidja, like Bininj Gun-wok, is something of a lingua franca, which was widely used on luggers from Darwin to Gove and many Macassan loans have been passed into Bininj Gun-wok through Iwaidja (see §1.4.3).

There have been large numbers of loans in both directions, including animal, plant and meteorological terms (e.g. *mirridjbu* 'seagull' and *makkumbu* 'evening storm during wet season', both borrowed from Iwaidja), but also the phratry terms, again most likely borrowed

from Iwaidja and the subsection terms, diffused from Bininj Gun-wok into Iwaidja and Maung sometime after the inception of contact with Macassans (Evans 1997b). The existence of a large body of shared technological and plant vocabulary in a stratum old enough to have undergone distinctive sound changes in both languages suggests a long period of coexistence. In terms of Aboriginal mythology the links with the Cobourg language groups are emphasised by the creator story of Arramurrunggundji, the Dreamtime Sisters who came ashore at Cape Croker and travelled up the Cobourg peninsula into what is now Kunwinjku-speaking territory. Their name itself is a loan from Iwaidja, where *warra-* is a plural prefix, as in *warra-mundujun* 'females', *warr-urldunggurldu* 'older women', *warra-bunyi* 'fathers' (Pym & Larrimore 1979:56–57).

Immediately north of Kuninjku and Kune on the Arafura coast are speakers of Kunbarlang, another Gunwinjguan language, whose position within the Gunwinjguan family is currently unclear.

To the northeast and east, along the Arafura coast and hinterland south of Maningrida, are various languages recently shown (Green forthcoming) to belong together in a so-called 'Maningrida' group, which is related to Gunwinjguan at an intermediate time depth: Ndjébbana (also known as Gunibidji or Gunividji) (McKay 2000), Nakkara (Eather 1990), Burarra (with its dialects Gidjingarli and Gun-nardba) and Gurr-goni (Green 1995). Like the Gunwinjguan languages, the Maningrida languages have two stop series, a phonemic glottal stop and five vowels. Burarra and Gurr-goni retain a four-gender system cognate with Gunwinjguan; verbs are prefixed for subject and object, though the overall possibilities of verb prefixation are more limited than in Gunwinjguan and the languages make heavy use of verb-serialising constructions. Judging by the only published vocabulary of a Maningrida language, Burarra (Glasgow 1994), there has been substantial lexical borrowing in both directions between Bininj Gun-wok (particularly the Kune dialect) and Burarra, though the phonological similarities make the direction of borrowing hard to determine.

To the immediate south-east are Rembarrnga (McKay 1975) and Dalabon. These languages, particularly Dalabon, are closely related to Bininj Gun-wok, though not so close as to be mutually comprehensible. The most significant differences between the latter two languages and Mayali are two innovations: their loss of noun class prefixes and related development of a part class of nouns with obligatory suffixation for person of the possessor and the development of a sixth, high central, vowel. The long-standing bilingualism with these languages in some speech communities was discussed in §1.2.4.3, along with the likelihood that there has been some language shift from Dalabon to Kuninjku and Kune and strong typological influence from Dalabon on these dialects. Beyond them to the south-east are Ngandi (Heath 1978) and Ngalakan (Merlan 1983), structurally quite similar to Bininj Gun-wok in not having lost noun classes or developed a sixth vowel, but not in close contact with it; I have not met any Bininj Gun-wok speakers who know either of these two languages. Ngandi is particularly interesting for comparative studies of Gunwinjguan because of its heavy lexical and structural influence from neighbouring Yolngu languages, and its conservative phonology — most importantly its conservation of a sixth point of articulation (lamino-dental) that has been lost in all other Gunwinjguan languages.

Further east are various languages of the Yolngu subgroup of Pama-Nyungan; these languages form an enclave, in generally non-Pama-Nyungan Arnhem Land, of a language family that covers seven-eighths of the continent (see Evans & Jones 1997 and references therein). Geographically closest are Djinang and Djinba (Waters 1989) and beyond them to the east are Djapu (Morphy 1983), Gumatj, Gupapuyngu, Djamparrpuyngu, Rirratjingu,

Ritharrngu (Heath 1980) and others. Though not close to Bininj Gun-wok genetically, the Yolngu languages have been associated with a number of important diffused cultural items, most importantly the system of patrimoieties known in Bininj Gun-wok as Duwa/Yirridjdja and in the Yolngu languages as Dhuwa and Yirritja,¹⁷ but also such as terms as Dj *galngbui* 'animal temporarily forbidden to family of young boy who speared it as his first kill', from Yolngu-Matha *ga:lngbuy* 'game killed by male before puberty', etymologisable as *galng* 'hunting' plus associative suffix *-buy*. The fact that linguistic influence also went the other way is attested by the Yolngu-Matha word *manymak* 'good', which originated in Bininj Gun-wok, Dalabon or Rembarrnga (its etymology is *manj* 'taste, savour' and *mak* 'good'). The long-standing mutual influence between Gunwinyguan, Maningrida and Yolngu languages is also shown by the extraordinary similarities in their phonologies, all characterised by three features unusual in Australia: a lenis/fortis stop contrast, syllable-final glottal stops and a predominance of closed syllables.

To the south-west is Jawoyn, spoken in four main dialects: Gerniny?mi around Gimbat, Ngarla?mi along the Cullen, Edith and Fergusson Rivers, Letburirt in the lower Katherine catchment and Jawoyn Ngan-wirlang to the north-east of these other dialects (Merlan 1989). According to Minnie Alderson, Jawoyn territory extended as far north as Nourlangie Rock. Gun-djeihmi-speaking members of the Badmardi and Mirarr clans had regular contact with Jawoyn speakers and often refer to them as 'company'; many place names in Badmardi territory are Jawoyn (e.g. *Gulinj Djarang Djarang*, which means 'bat dreaming' in Jawoyn and *Gorlonjdjorr*, the Jawoyn name for the northern nail-tail wallaby) which may indicate either that Gun-djeihmi had displaced Jawoyn in that area, or that the names were bestowed through the Jawoyn associations of particular ancestral dreaming figures. There have been many lexical loans in both directions; the direction of borrowing is easy to identify thanks to the widespread intervocalic lenition undergone by Jawoyn words (giving *lawul*, for example, as the Jawoyn equivalent of Gun-djeihmi *ragul* 'red-eyed pigeon, *geophaps smithii*'). The most striking shared grammatical characteristic is the behaviour of the gender system, with Jawoyn and Gun-djeihmi (but not Kunwinjku) having generalised the (*ng*)*an*- class for agreement with all non-human noun classes. The kinship system of Gun-djeihmi, in particular the semantics of the grandparent terms, also exhibits Jawoyn influence (see §1.4.1.1).

To the west and north-west, in the floodplains of the Alligator River and Cooper's Creek, were a number of languages only distantly related to Bininj Gun-wok: Umbugarla, Bugurniidja, Ngurmbur and Gaagudju. All of these are extinct or close to extinction; only Gaagudju has been substantially documented (Harvey 1992), though we have some information on Umbugarla (Davies 1989). These languages are all extremely complex phonologically and morphologically, with many portmanteau pronominal prefixes and large numbers of verbs that supplete for tense and/or number, all complicating the task of interpreting what scant materials are available. Earlier classifications (e.g. Wurm & Hattori 1981; Harris 1969a) leave some of these unclassified and assign others to distinct family-level groups; and indeed it is hard to say much about languages that combine such irregularity with scanty attestation. Judging by the low level of shared vocabulary between these languages and Bininj Gun-wok, there appears to have been little linguistic contact. However, there are a number of (probably recent) Umbugarla loans in Gun-djeihmi, mostly pertaining to floodplain animal species and technologies (e.g. *djerli* 'water goanna' < Umb *dji:li* and

¹⁷ The dental *dh* is assimilated to *d* in all borrowing Gunwinyguan languages except Ngandi.

widjaluk 'paddle' < Umb *widjaluk*). However, this could also come from Iwaidja, where it is /widjalug/.

Finally, in the north-western corner of the escarpment were spoken three languages — Erre, Mengerr(dji) and Urningangk (called Wurningak in Bininj Gun-wok) — which appear to have been closely related to each other and were grouped by the Gagudju as Gimbi-yu (lit. 'associated with the stone country'). Wurm and Hattori (1981) group these as the 'Mangerrian' family. Today, members of the clans traditionally speaking these languages have switched to Kunwinjku, so that all three are extinct, though some materials were recorded between the 1940s and 1960s by Capell, Harris and others from the last speakers; Mark Harvey has recently checked older materials with the last semi-speakers. The Gimbi-yu languages have highly unusual phonotactics with six vowels (including /æ/), many vowel-initial words and complex final consonant clusters (e.g. /ɪɲm/ Mark Harvey, pers. comm.). Systematic comparison of their vocabulary with other groups is urgently needed.

Overall,¹⁸ Bininj Gun-wok and its Gunwinyguan relatives (Dalabon, Rembarrnga and Jawoyn) were traditionally spoken around the edges of the Arnhem plateau, across which networks of trade, intermarriage and ceremonial exchange appear to have linked them all, as *na-warde-gen* or 'stone country people', in opposition to those living in the floodplains, lowlands and coastal regions. However, recent migrations of Kunwinjku speakers to the Oenpelli region and of Mayali speakers into the buffalo country, have blurred this picture. Before these migrations, the most significant exceptions to the association of Gunwinyguan languages with the escarpment were the Mirarr Gun-djeihmi clan, speaking Gun-djeihmi but living around the headwaters of the East Alligator River and the Kunbarlang, who are the only Gunwinyguan speakers dwelling on the coast. It seems likely that both these cases represent relatively recent moves down from the plateau (cf. Harvey 1990), but confirmation of this will need to wait on detailed comparative work on their lexicons.

Although I have focussed on the languages immediately adjacent to the Bininj Gun-wok dialect chain, which in itself provides a picture of some complexity, there were additional, more distant, linguistic contacts in traditional times, though the effects of these were probably restricted to lexical borrowings. The great trading route known by the Gun-djeihmi word *bulk* ran from the Arafura coast through the Mayali region away to the Tanami desert several hundred miles to the southwest; Mayali speakers traded stone points and bamboo spear shafts southwards in exchange for boomerangs (restricted to ceremonial use in this region) and other items. It is likely that the subsection terms arrived along this route, as did terms for traded items like boomerangs in this area. For example, the word for 'boomerang' in Mayali is *birrgala*, of unknown origin, but in languages to the north (e.g. Burarra, Iwaidja) it is *garligarli* or some variant thereof (e.g. Maung /ga|ɲa|ɲi/), cognate with such boomerang words as *karli* in Warlpiri (see Evans & Jones 1997:402–406).

Besides the *bulk* trade, participation in the ceremonies of other groups near and far was the norm, so much so that there were special terms for 'graduates' of each of these ceremonies; most of these terms are formed by prefixing *Nadjorr-* to the name of the ceremony. For example, young men who had been through the *Wangga* ceremonies of the Wagadj on the Beagle Gulf were called *Nadjorrwangga* and those who had been through the Walaga ceremony of Pine Creek and the Daly were called *Nadjorrwalaga*. On the other

¹⁸ This view is given from the perspective of Bininj Gun-wok and leaves out some of the more distant Gunwinyguan languages, such as Ngalkan and Ngandi far to the south-east and Warray and Kungarakany to the west.

hand, the term *Nadjorlirra* normally designates 'foreign' graduates of the *Lirra* ceremony held in the Oenpelli region.

Other distant ceremonies are the *Garrwardi* ceremony from Wave Hill, the *Arlarrmanjdji* woman's ceremony from Bamyili and the widespread *Yaburdurrwa* or *Djaburdurrwa* ceremony. As well as the names of the ceremonies themselves, vocabulary pertaining to ceremonial apparatus is frequently borrowed, as is vocabulary for particular ceremonial roles, such as *Djunggai* 'those in the moiety going through, as opposed to staging, the ceremony', which has been borrowed from languages of the Roper region. A full account of the rich ceremonial life of the region, including discussion of the geographical origins of the various ceremonies, is in Berndt and Berndt (1970a); see also Maddock (1969).

1.3.3 Impact of Macassan

Our overview of the pre-European linguistic contact situation would not be complete without a consideration of the effects of the Macassans. Praus from Sulawesi, engaged in gathering trepang, tortoise-shell, pearlshell and sandalwood, visited the Arnhem Land coast from at least the beginning of the eighteenth century. They developed regular contacts with coastal Aboriginal people and all of the languages along the coast between the Cobourge Peninsula and Groote Eylandt show evidence of substantial lexical borrowing. In the best-documented case, Yolngu-Matha, there are well over two hundred loans (Walker & Zorc 1981); there are also scores of loans in the Iwaidjan languages (Evans 1992a). There is some evidence (summarised in Urry & Walsh 1981) that a Macassan-based pidgin was used as a contact language between distant Aboriginal groups. Most loan words are from Makassarese, though some are from Malay and it seems that a mixture of the two languages was employed by the crews. Following established practice, I use the term Macassan for all contacts emanating from the port of Macassar, when one does not specifically wish to distinguish these linguistic sources, restricting 'Makassarese' [Mkr] for words known to be from that language. Although it is known that the Bugis were involved in the trepang trade, there are no clear cases of Bugis loans.

As an inland people, speakers of Bininj Gun-wok would have had fewer contacts with the Macassans. Fewer than twenty Macassan loans have been identified and there are no identifiable effects on the grammatical or phonological systems. One loan (*an-badjdju* 'wild potato') has accrued a vegetable class prefix; others are left unprefixed. For fuller discussion of possible routes of indirect borrowing and fuller etymological information, see Evans (1992a).

Most Macassan loans pertain to introduced items or animals, or new categories of people:

MATERIAL CULTURE *baddumang* 'glass, mirror' < Mkr *patomang* 'compass; mirror' (semantic shift based on reflective or glass object — in Yolngu-Matha it has come to mean 'swimming goggles'); *an-badjdju* 'wild potato' (Dj) < Mkr *pacco* 'taro, colocasia sp.'; *badjubadju* 'coat, shirt' < Mkr *bajubaju* 'short-sleeved jacket', Malay *baju* 'shirt, jacket', (from Persian *bazu* 'shoulder'); *balabbala* 'table, sleeping platform, esp. platform used in tree burials' < Mkr *balla?balla?* 'cottage, small house; couch'; *bikkang* 'fish-hook' < Mkr *pekang* 'fish-hook; rod'; *burru-burru* 'scabies' < Mkr *puru-puru* 'pimples, pustules'; *djala* 'sling net' < Malay *jala* 'casting net'; *djaluwarrra* 'trousers' < Mkr *jaluwara?* 'trousers' (from Persian *shalwar*); *djarrang* 'horse' (w) < Mkr *jarang* 'horse'; *djurra* 'book, paper' <

Mkr *sura?* 'letter'; *kabbala* 'boat' < Mkr *kappala?*; *kayungkayung* 'paddle, oars' < Malay *kayuh* 'oar, paddle'; *kalurru* 'cigarette; cigarette paper' < Mkr *kaluru?* 'to roll up; cigar'; *kandidjawa* 'flour; damper' < Mkr *kanrijawa* 'kind of sweet cake'; *lama* 'shovel-nosed spear' < Malay *lamang* 'short sabre'.

CATEGORIES OF PEOPLE *balanda* 'European, non-Aboriginal person' < Mkr *balanda* (from Dutch *Hollander*); *bangku* 'half-caste person' < Iwaidja *banggu* 'mangrove bark, used to give a pinkish colour to boiled trepang; half-caste person' < Mkr *kayo bangko* 'mangrove species whose bark is used to colour trepang'; *jawirna* 'friend, disciple' < Mkr *toana* 'guest'.

Words for two winds are also borrowed from Macassan: *barra* 'north-west wind; monsoon' < Mkr *bara?* 'west wind'; *djimurru* 'east wind' from Mkr *timoro?* 'east wind'.

1.4 Ethnographic background

Pre-contact culture — and there are people alive today who did not see Europeans until their teens — involved a hunter-gatherer economy exploiting the rich animal and plant life to be found around the northern edges of the Arnhem Land escarpment, an area with a monsoonal climate, plentiful water in rivers and billabongs and ecosystems including wet sclerophyll forest, flood-plains, pockets of monsoon vine-forest and the open sandstone uplands of the escarpment. The clan territories of Bininj Gun-wok speakers did not lie on the sea, but often directly abutted those of coastal clans. The whole region, with its many caves and rock shelters, abounds in rock-art going back at least twenty thousand years and human occupation of this area goes back beyond fifty millennia. The rock art tradition informs what is today the biggest source of outside income, namely painting, predominantly on bark. There are dozens of major painters within the population of two thousand or so speaking Bininj Gun-wok.

There is a rich body of ethnographic material on the western Arnhem Land region, beginning with Spencer's classic *Native tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia* (1914), running through the many works by the Berndts (e.g. Berndt & Berndt 1951a, 1970a) and research on land tenure by Keen (1980), Kesteven and Smith (1983) and Merlan and Rumsey (1982), to work on the articulation between hunter-gatherers and the modern Australian economy by Altman (1982, 1987), on art and visual symbolism by Taylor (1987), on rock art by Chaloupka (1993) and on ethnobotany by Chaloupka and Giuliani (1984), Altman (1981) and Russell-Smith (1985). Specifically dealing with the ethnography of the Kakadu region is the 'Cultural Survey' by Chaloupka et al. (1985), and Levitus' (1988) ethnohistorical examination of post-contact life, particularly Aboriginal participation in the buffalo and other industries. Harvey (1990) discusses the land-language-group relationships of the region. I shall not recapitulate this work here and shall confine my discussion to those ethnographic issues that abut more or less directly on language.

Throughout the western Arnhem Land region the basic unit of social organisation is the patrilineal clan, known as *gun-mogurrurr* in Mayali and *kun-nguya* in Kune. Ideally at least, each clan is named and has a clearly defined territory within which male clan members and their spouses would normally be based, though travel, for example for purposes of ceremony and trade, was common. People have deep emotional ties to their clan lands, reinforced by a sense of responsibility for the many sacred sites found there and the presence of ancestral bones kept wrapped up in paperbark in rock caves and crevices. Clan affiliation

remains important even among people living in larger settlements and mostly away from their clan lands; one motivation of the outstation movement is to enable people to once more live on their clan country.

Each clan (often in common with other clans) is traditionally affiliated with a particular language, though over time this linguistic allegiance can switch, as has often happened between other languages (Erre, Urningank, Ngurmbur and Dalabon) and Bininj Gun-wok; the issue of clan-specific lects was discussed in §1.2.4.7 above.

Although the patrilineal clan is the most overt social grouping, matrilineal links to land — to one's 'mother country' — are also important. In Mayali the compound *bo-garrang*, lit. 'water-mother', is used to designate one's mother's country or clan, as in the sentence *yibogarrang NaMarrirn* 'your mother's country (clan) is Marrirn'. According to Kesteven (1984) the Kunwinjku expression *kun*-(clan) is used to designate one's mother's clan; I have not heard this in Mayali. Uterine links to one's mother's mother's clan are expressed in Mayali, as in Kunwinjku, by the compound (*clan*)-*gakkak* (e.g. *yiBadmardi-gakkak* 'your mother's mother is/was Badmardi', although a closer translation might be 'you are (linked to) the Badmardi through your mother's mother'). Membership of the phratries or *djungunj* is determined matrilineally (see §1.4.2.3).

Ownership of a particular language and ideally but not necessarily the ability to speak that language, was traditionally a central index of clan membership, though many clans of the region have now switched language affiliation. But in the multilingual context resulting from frequent linguistic exogamy (that is, the common practice of taking a spouse from another language group), various types of matrilineal grouping and residence or social participation over a wide area, knowledge of other languages was also significant to one's social identity. In fact many of the Bininj Gun-wok-speaking individuals I worked with, who belong to a clan traditionally speaking another language, learned Bininj Gun-wok from their mothers.

The contemporary lifestyle of Bininj Gun-wok speakers spans a wide spectrum. At the most traditional are the dozen or so outstations between Gunbarlanja and Maningrida, in which small communities of twenty to fifty people live on their traditional lands, still deriving a large part of their sustenance from hunting and gathering, but integrating such technologies as guns, four-wheel drives and cassette recorders into their lives, paid for by a combination of income from painting and crafts and social security payments. At the other extreme are people living in *balanda*-style towns such as Jabiru, working as rangers, in eco-tourism ventures or in western-style offices (such as the Australian National Parks and Wildlife Services). Others live in larger settlements, such as Oenpelli, Maningrida and Barunga, originating as missions or government settlements for Aboriginal people. Despite these very different lifestyles and the divergent values that go with them, networks of kinship, marriage and shared ceremonial participation link together people over the whole region and individuals often move back and forth between these worlds.

The ability to maintain valued aspects of traditional lives is supported by the inclusion of most clan territories within either the Arnhem Land Aboriginal Reserve or the Kakadu National Park, which is formally Aboriginal land leased back to the Commonwealth for use as a co-managed Park. However, neither security of land tenure nor the existence of extra financial support to some groups from royalty payments has been enough to avoid the far-reaching problems afflicting the Aboriginal population since European settlement: poverty, alcoholism (though most outstations and some communities, such as Manyallaluk, have banned alcohol), high infant mortality, poor health and limited education and employment.

1.4.1 Kinship

As in all Australian Aboriginal societies, kinship is the dominant organising principle of social relations and one's kin relation to somebody largely determines how one should behave with them. As a result, everyone in the familiar social universe is treated as kin, necessitating the denotational extension of kin terms, which is achieved by 'classifying' certain individuals as equivalent to others. For example, my 'father's brother' is classified as equivalent to my 'father'; his children (who would be called 'cousins' in English) are now equivalent to my father's children, that is, they are my classificatory brothers and sisters and so forth. This section gives an overview of the system, though a full treatment is beyond the scope of this grammar.

There is significant variation in the structure of the kinship system across dialects; the most significant difference pertains to whether marriage is permitted with classificatory first cross-cousins (i.e. FZC or MBC) or restricted to second cross-cousins (i.e. MMBSC or FFZDC) and in whether two, three or four descent lines are distinguished in the grandparent's generation. This variation is discussed in §1.4.1.1. For the moment we merely illustrate the overall principles involved by considering the Kuningku system, drawing on material in Taylor (1987) and Garde (1995). Figure 1.9 shows the main kin terms from the point of view of a male ego.

Three types of semantic extension merit comment here.¹⁹

Firstly, there is extension of terms in all generations to cover same-sex siblings. Thus FB is known by the same term as F, *ngabbard* and MZ by the same term as M, namely *karrard*. The offspring of these terminologically collapsed pairs are likewise not distinguished, so that FBC, like FC, is terminologically one's sibling rather than one's cousin. Likewise MMZ is *kakkak*, just like MM. Except for ego's sibling, where older and younger siblings are distinguished, same-sex siblings are not allocated different points on the chart, since they are terminologically and systemically identical. In even-numbered generations sibling equivalence extends to opposite-sex siblings as well: MM = MMB (*kakkak*), FM = FMB (*makkah*), MMBDD = MMBDS (*kanjok*) and so on; the only exceptions, again, are ego's siblings. In odd-numbered generations there is more limited opposite-sex equivalence: *kangkinj* is both ZD and ZS and *ngalkurrng* 'MMBD' and *nakurrng* 'MMBS' share the same root, but M and MB and F and FZ, are terminologically distinguished.

The second type of extension applies to relatives two generations apart. Thus the terms *ngadjadj* (basically MB) and *berluh* (basically FZ) recur in the -1 and +3 generations, as well as in the -1 generation (that is, they are extended between kin types who call each other FF(Z)/SC) and *karrard* (M) is extended down two generations to MBSD; again M is FFZ to this person. This parallels the fact, to be discussed below in connection with the eastern subsection system, that an individual and his/her FF(Z) will be in the same subsection category if first-choice marriages are followed. Terminological extension to relatives only one generation removed, on the other hand, does not occur, except for the special Crow skewing rule discussed in §1.4.1.2.

¹⁹ See Scheffler (1978) for a full comparative discussion of types of extension rule in Australian kinship systems.

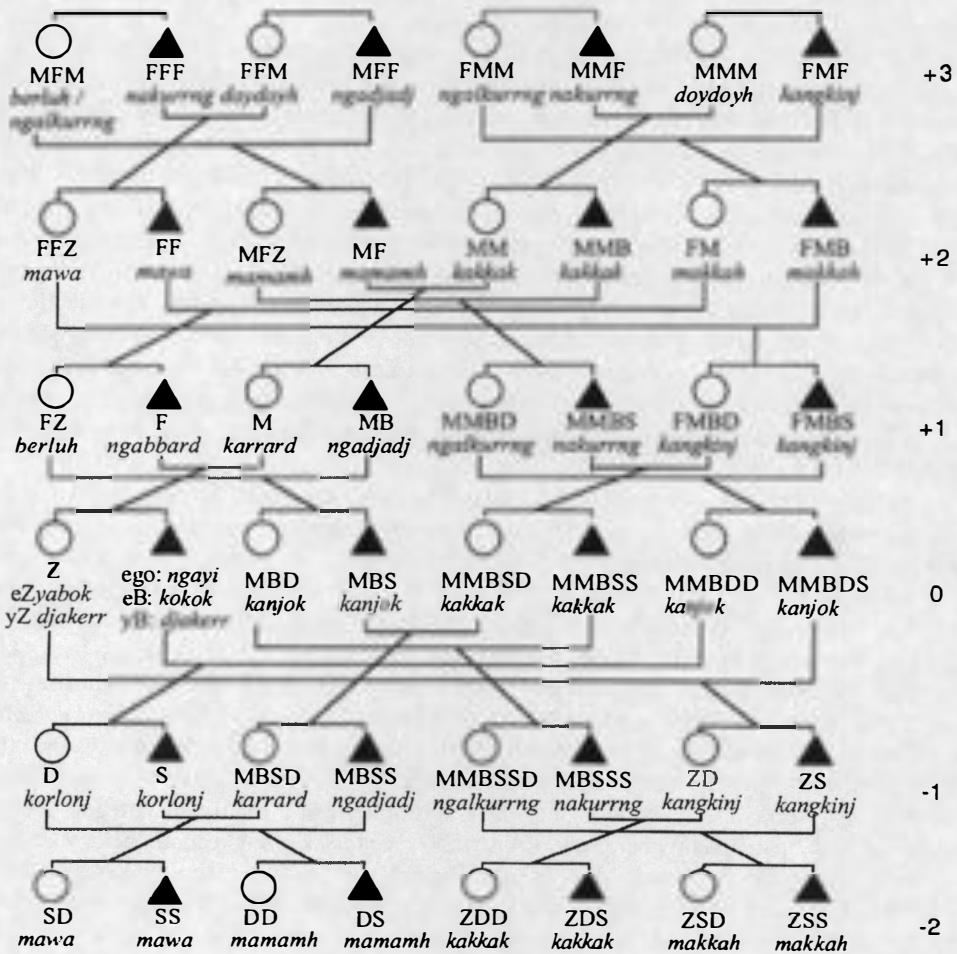


Figure 1.9: Kuninjku kinship system, from viewpoint of male ego (adapted from Taylor 1987:73 and Garde 1996:69)

The third type of extension is confined to the +3 and 0 generations and involves neutralisation across grandparental lineages whose members would fall in the same patri- and matrilineal descent lines (see below for further discussion). Whereas the +2, +1, -1 and -2 generations all terminologically distinguish four grandparent lineages and their patrilineal descendants, the +3 and 0 generations collapse certain relatives in different lineages but in the same patrilineal and matrilineal descent lines. Thus in the third generation up, FFF and MMF are both *nakurrng* and FFM and MMM are both *doydoyh*. And in ego's generation, both his first cross-cousins (MBC) and his second cross-cousins (MMBDC) are *kanjok*. One important

consequence of this is that although one should marry one's second cross-cousin and not one's first, both are terminologically equated as *kanjok*.²⁰

Now these terminological equivalences are generally associated with kinship systems of the Kariera type, in which only two grandparent lineages are terminologically distinct and in which marriage between first and second cross-cousins are not distinguished. We shall see below that in some other dialects the kinship system is more consistently of the Kariera type, to the point where the grandparent generation also fails to distinguish four lineages. There has been much debate in the anthropological literature about whether the Kunwinjku system is of the Kariera or the Nyulnyul type (see Scheffler 1978) and it is clear that it is not purely of one type or the other: that the degree to which four lineages are kept apart terminologically depends on the generation level and that some dialects make the terminological distinctions in more levels than others. We shall also see, in our discussion of subsections (§1.4.2.2), that there are two subsection systems at work, with the eastern one logically congruent with a Nyulnyul system and the western one logically congruent with a Kariera system; the variants of the kinship system correlate in an approximate way with the logic of the local subsection systems, but not completely.

Finally, note that this discussion only covers the most basic terms. Firstly, it is limited to address terms; reference terms often differ from these. Some reference terms lexicalise the person of the propositus: while the address term *kakkak*, for example, would be used to address one's MM and can also be used to refer to them, there are such special reference terms as *ngalkinjbarlen* (W) or *ngaldjongmiken* (I) which specifically mean 'his/her MM' (see §6.3.1). Actual siblings are often distinguished from classificatory siblings by special deverbial locutions, so that 'my (actual) father' is *nganbornang* (lit. '(the one who) saw my conception spirit in a dream'), whereas both actual and classificatory fathers are *ngabbard*. Special derivational affixes derive 'dyadic' terms, meaning 'pair, one of whom calls the other K' (e.g. *yaw-ko* 'mother and child pair') — see §5.3.1.2–§5.3.3. There are also special 'bereavement' terms meaning 'someone who has recently lost a relative in category X' (e.g. *Djna-gomyak* 'man recently bereaved of his wife', *na-marladj* 'boy recently bereaved of his mother'). And there is a whole class of special reference terms that simultaneously reckon the kinship relations to both speaker and hearer (e.g. 'the one who is your MM and my M'); this system is known in different dialects as *gun-dembui*, *kun-derbi* and *kun-derbuy* (§1.5.2).

1.4.1.1 Cross-dialect differences in the kinship system

Across dialects there are substantial differences in the kinship system and associated marriage rules. This is too complex a topic to treat here comprehensively, but will be illustrated by comparing three different divisions of one semantic subfield: terms for grandparents and their siblings.

As in virtually all Australian languages, there is a fundamental distinction between parallel grandparents (FF, MM), in which the same type of filiative link (e.g. father–child) is repeated for two generations and cross-grandparents (FM, MF) in which there are two types of

²⁰ In fact this is oversimplified. Some first cross-cousins are reclassified by the Crow skewing rule (§1.4.1.2), being shifted up one generation, while actual spouses and their siblings are called *kakkali*. However, all are considered kinds of *kanjok*.

filiative link. The parallel vs cross distinction survives all variation, but the number and content of grandparent categories otherwise varies markedly.

In the diagrams of Table 1.4 the central column represents the system in W, I and for some Dj speakers (Dj2). The left-hand column represents the situation found with some Gun-djeihmi speakers and the right-hand column represents the Manyallak Mayali system.

Table 1.4: Parallel and cross grandparent terms

Parallel grandparent terms	
Dj1	w, Dj2, I
FF <i>mawah</i>	FFZ <i>gakkak</i>
MMB <i>mawah</i>	MM <i>gakkak</i>

w, Dj2, I	
FF	FFZ
<i>mawah</i>	<i>mawah</i>
MMB <i>kakkak</i>	MM <i>kakkak</i>

MM	
FF	FFZ
<i>gaggak</i>	<i>gaggak</i>
MMB <i>gaggak</i>	MM <i>gaggak</i>

Cross grandparent terms	
Dj1	w, Dj2, I
FM <i>makkah</i>	FMB <i>mamamh</i>
MFZ <i>makkah</i>	MF <i>mamamh</i>

w, Dj2, I	
FM	FMB
<i>makkah</i>	<i>makkah</i>
MFZ <i>mamamh</i>	MF <i>mamamh</i>

MM	
FM	FMB
<i>makkah</i>	<i>mamamh</i>
MFZ <i>mamamh</i>	MF <i>mamamh</i>

The pattern represented in the central column is typically associated with a kinship system of the Nyulnyul (Aranda) type, with a marriage prescribed between second cross-cousins. It distinguishes four grandparent 'lines' and extends these four terms to all siblings of the relevant grandparent, including those of the opposite sex: *mawah* from FF to FFZ, *kakkak* from MM to MMB, *makkah* from FM to FMB and *mamamh* from MF to MFB.

The correlation between the semantics of grandparent terms and the choice between first and second cross-cousin marriage flows from the following logic: If marriage is permitted to one's first cross-cousin (e.g. FZC), then one's FZ is also one's WM. From this it follows that one's FFZ, for example, is one's FWM = MM. This makes the use of a single term for MM and FFZ, for FF and MMB and so forth, congruent with the first cross-cousin marriage rule found in the Kariera system. On the other hand, where second cross-cousin marriage is practiced, one's WM is one's MMBD (i.e. her father is one's MMB, or *kakkak*), whereas the mother of one's first cross-cousin (i.e. one's FZ) has as her father one's FF. Terminological distinction of FF and MMB thus aids in distinguishing the mothers of one's first and second cousins. However, as Scheffler (1978) and others have pointed out, the two can be logically independent to the degree that one distinguishes categories of cousin for the purposes of reckoning marriageability, without giving them distinct terms.

Note though, that, although the grandparent terms in the middle column follow the classical Nyulnyul pattern, a glance at the terms for 'cousin' and 'spouse' in Figure 1.9 shows that we are not dealing with a prototypical Nyulnyul system:²¹ the two types of cross-cousins are not clearly distinguished terminologically, since the two terms *kakkali* and *kanjok*, each

²¹ This contrasts with the situation in languages immediately to the north, such as Iwaidja and Marrgu, which have full Nyulnyul kinship systems distinguishing first from second cross-cousins terminologically and prescribing marriage with the second cross-cousin as the most favourable.

applicable to both types, essentially depend on the degree to which the referent is a real spouse (or sibling thereof), as opposed to just someone in that broad class. This system is therefore best understood as Nyulnyul with respect to grandparent terms and marriage rules, but Kariera with respect to cousin and spouse terms.

Looking now at the left-hand column, which represents the system for some Gun-djeihmi speakers, there are still four grandparent terms, but extended on principles that are more in conformity with a Kariera system: *mawah* as 'male in parallel grandparent class', *gakkak* as 'female in parallel grandparent class', *makkah* as 'female in cross-grandparent class' and *mawah* as 'male in cross-grandparent class'. Note that the Gun-djeihmi are sociolinguistically aligned with Jawoyn people, who structure their grandparent terms in a similar way, with four categories representing the intersection of the cross vs parallel with the male vs female contrasts.

The right hand column represents the situation in Manyallaluk Mayali, which has reduced the number of grandparent terms to three by generalising *gaggak* to all parallel grandparent categories and generalising *mamamh* to all cross-grandparent categories except FM; that is, the denotational range of *makkah* has shrunk to its focal referent.

Note that, despite these differing patterns of extension, the focal values of these kin terms remain the same across dialects, except for the disappearance of *mawah* from the system in Manyallaluk Mayali. For example, *kakkak* is extended to opposite-sex siblings in W, Dj2 and I, to other parallel grandparents of the same sex in Dj1 and to all grandparents in Manyallaluk Mayali, but always includes MM as its focal referent.

It seems likely that the differences described above represent semantic convergences with the other languages with which each group has the most intensive contact and intermarriage. But a full test of this hypothesis remains to be carried out and in addition the way in which the consequences of the grandparent terminologies do or do not work their way through the rest of the kinship system remains to be studied in detail.

1.4.1.2 Modjarrkdorinj: *the cross-cousin skewing rule*

A further complication to the kinship system comes from the operation of a Crow-style skewing rule, which reclassifies certain children in the cross-cousin category (FZC) up a generation, so that FZS (who one would expect to be called *kanjok*) is treated terminologically as a 'F' (*ngabbard*) and FZD (who one would again expect to be called *kanjok*) is treated terminologically as a 'FZ' (*berluh*). Of two people who have been skewed in this way it is said (using the Dj form): *banimodjarrkdorinj*.

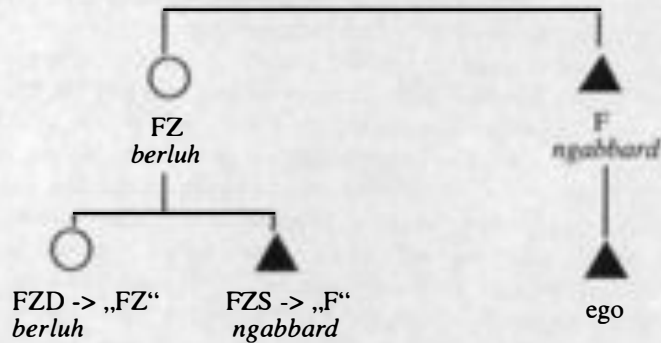


Figure 1.10: The Crow-style cross-cousin skewing rule known as *modjarrkdorrinj*

A number of factors affect the decision whether to apply this skewing rule or not. Genealogical closeness favours its application, but there is some latitude for individual discretion and affected parties will sometimes discuss whether to apply it or not in determining their relationship. In the Gun-djeihmi dialect older speakers are more likely to apply it, younger speakers not to.

The ramifications of applying this rule introduce a complexity that lies outside the scope of this description: how subsequent generations are affected and which collateral relatives must take this rule into account in figuring their kinship relationship. By any measure the number of discretionary individual factors here makes it difficult to decide what people whose line of connection takes in such a relationship will call each other.

1.4.2 Social categories

As in many Australian societies, there are a number of higher-order social categories, basically forming a rationalised, over-arching and regionally extended summary of kinship relations, which serve to order relations between individuals and are especially useful in the contexts of ceremonies, large gatherings and meetings with strangers, as a way of extending the principles of kin-based interaction into a wider domain.

1.4.2.1 Matrimeoities and patrimoities

The highest-order divisions are into two patrimoities, Duwa and Yirridjdja and two matrimeoities, Mardku and Ngarradjku. One inherits patrimoiety membership from one's father and must marry into the opposite patrimoiety; likewise one inherits matrimeoity membership from one's mother and must marry into the opposite matrimeoity. Thus if my father is Duwa, so am I, as will be my children if I am a man and my brother's children if I am a woman; my mother, being of the opposite patrimoiety to my father, must be Yirridjdja and my wife must likewise be Yirridjdja. If my mother is of Mardku matrimeoity, so will I be and my sister's children if I am a man, or my own children if I am a woman, but my father and my wife will both be Ngarradjku. The matrimeoity names are normally prefixed with

the noun class prefixes *na-* for men and *ngal-* for women (e.g. *Namardku* 'Mardku man', *Ngalngarradjku* 'Ngarradjku woman'). The patrimoiety names do not get prefixed. It seems that the coexistence of these two named systems is a recent phenomenon, resulting from the relatively recent adoption from eastern Arnhem Land of the Duwa/Yirridjdja system in connection with certain ceremonies; the form *Duwa* is borrowed from Yolngu *Dhuwa* and the lack of prefixes is likely to reflect recent provenance. On the other hand, the matrimoiety system appears to be of long standing in western Arnhem Land and is found throughout the Coburg region, where the Duwa/Yirridjdja system is just catching on.²²

Because of the way in which descent and marriage correlate with the moiety systems, particular kin types map into each combination of matrimoiety x patrimoiety. From a male viewpoint, my siblings and parallel grandparents (MM and FF), for example, are all in the same combination as me; my father and my son will be in the same patrimoiety as me but the opposite matrimoiety; my wife and cross-grandparents (FM and MF) will be in the opposite matrimoiety and the opposite patrimoiety and my mother, as well as my sister's children will be in the same matrimoiety but the opposite patrimoiety.

1.4.2.2 Subsections

By combining matrimoieties and patrimoieties we thus generate four categories, normally known as 'sections', each containing groupings of certain kin. Whether one traces through one's patriline or one's matriline, there is a two generation cycle to return to one's own combination, since both MM and FF have the same value for both moiety systems as ego. These cycles of filiation are generally known as patricycles and matricycles.

In fact, no explicit recognition, in the form of directly named entities is given to sections in the study area, although section systems do exist in many other parts of Australia. (By this I mean that there is no specific set of four names for the sections, as opposed to the categories given by combining patri- and matrimoiety names).

Instead, however, there is an eightfold division into eight subsections or 'skins', known as *kun-kurlah* (Kunwinjku and Mayali), *kun-kurn* (Kuninjku) or *malkno* (Kune). This has been diffused into Arnhem Land from the south relatively recently (probably in the last couple of centuries),²³ and its origins can be traced to the fusion of two section systems several hundred kilometres to the south-west, in the Djamindjungan languages of the Victoria River district (see McConvell 1985a,b). In fact the subsection system has reached the Bininj Gun-

²² Identical forms are found in Maung and related forms (usually in the plural and hence reduplicated) in Iwaidja: *namardgurrmardgurr* (m.)/*ngalamardgurrmardgurr*; *nangarrangarraju* (m.)/*ngalangarrangarraju* (f.) (Pym 1979). According to Harvey (1990), these forms were not found in Gaagudju. The form of the prefixes in Maung and Iwaidja suggests they are borrowed from Kunwinjku or Kunbarlang: the normal masculine and feminine prefixes in the Iwaidjan languages are (y)i- and (y)iny- respectively.

²³ The dates are still unclear. Berndt and Berndt (1951b:260) say the Kunwinjku adopted the subsection system from their neighbours to the south sometime after 1912. On the other hand, the fact that the equivalent terms in Iwaidja and Maung (which must have been borrowed via Kunwinjku) undergo lenition, datable by the fact that it occurs only in the earliest Macassan loanwords, suggests a date more like the eighteenth century (Evans 1997b). In fact the Berndts were relying on Spencer's testimony in saying there were no subsections in 1912, but his informants were Gaagudju rather than Kunwinjku and the Gaagudju clearly did not make use of the subsection system (Mark Harvey pers. comm.). In any case two centuries seems a maximum time depth.

wok-speaking area in two versions: a western version, used in Gun-djehmi and Kunwinjku as well as in the Iwaidjan languages to the northwest and an eastern version, used in Kune, Dalabon and the Yolngu languages to the east. Although the two systems are basically isomorphic, there are intriguing differences in the form and value of the subsection names which we will return to after examining the western system in detail.

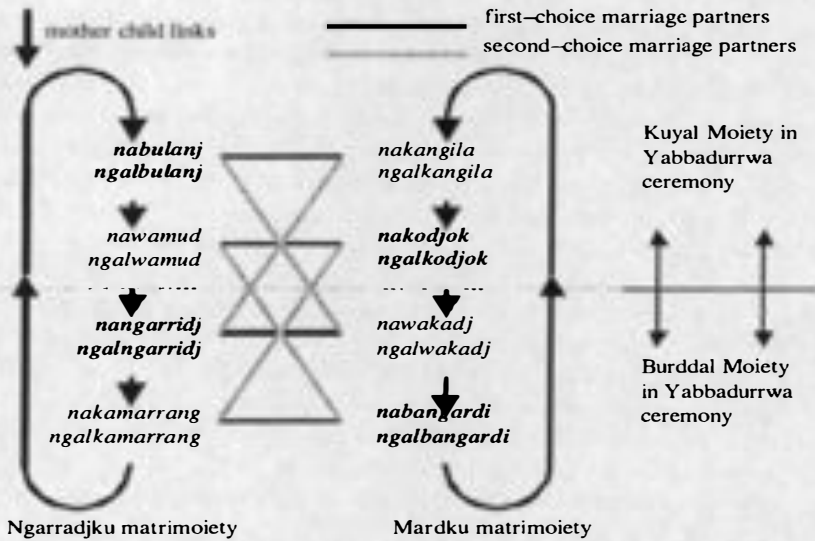


Figure 1.11: The subsection cycle (western version)

Yirridjja subsections are shown in normal font,
Duwa subsections in **bold**.

The western version of the subsection system can be regarded as a further bisection of the section system mentioned above, such that the four-generation matricycle is divided into two two-generation stretches by a further binary division, namely the division into the so-called Kuyal and Burddal moieties that play a role in the Yabbadurrwa ceremony. This further division ensures that one is no longer in the same subsection as one's mother's mother or one's father's father; though sharing matrmoiety and patrimoiety values with these parallel grandparents, ego will differ from them in 'Yabbadurrwa moiety'.²⁴ This system is shown in

²⁴ Standard anthropological discussions of moiety systems normally discuss three types: patrimoieties, matrmoieties and generational moieties, the latter grouping even-numbered generations (e.g. ego, FF, SS, MM, DD) against odd-numbered generations (F, FFF, S, SSS, M, MMM etc.). Moieties of the type described here (originally described for Kuninjku in Garde 1993) were labelled 'ceremonial moieties' by Maddock (1969) in connection with Dalabon, but this term is insufficiently precise, since other moiety oppositions also play a role in ceremonial organisation. A useful descriptive term would be 'matricouple' (or 'patricouple') moiety, given that it groups four-generation matricycles into two two-generation stretches or matricouples. For the moment, however, I just use the term 'Yabbadurrwa moiety'. It appears that 'Yabbadurrwa moieties' arose by borrowing just two of the four sections used in the Roper River, namely

Figure 1.1. Note the existence of paired male and female terms distinguished by the prefixation of *na-* (male) vs *ngal-* (female) and the fact that each subsection has two possible subsections from which they can draw their spouse; first-choice spouses are shown by solid lines (which run horizontally) and second-choice spouses by lines (running diagonally).

First note that the system is basically matrilineal, in that one's subsection is determined by one's mother's. In the ideal case, where everyone marries their first-choice partner (e.g. *ngalngarridj* men all marry *ngalwakadj* women and *ngalngarridj* women all marry *nawakadj* men), then one could phrase the descent rule as '*nakamarrang/ngalkamarrang* are the children of *nawakadj* men' as well as '*nakamarrang/ngalkamarang* are the children of *ngalngarridj* women'. However, when deviations from the ideal occur, it becomes clear that it is the mother who determines subsection membership. If a *ngalngarridj* woman, for example, marries her second-choice husband, namely a *nakangila* man, the children are still *nakamarrang/ngalkamarrang* rather than *nawamud/ngalwamud* and in the case of irregular unions it is again the mother's subsection membership that determines the child's.²⁵

As a consequence of this, the subsection membership of relatives through the male line is determined by alternating matrilineal and marriage links in the above chart: the normal subsection for the father of a *nakamarrang* ego, for example, is found by tracing up to ego's mother (*ngalngarridj*), then, should the marriage be first-choice, across to *nawakadj*; should the marriage be second-choice, the father will be *nakangila*, traced via the diagonal second-choice marriage link. Should ego's father have been a *nawakadj* man born to a first-choice union, repeating this logic ego's father's father will be *nawamud* (that is, *nawakadj*'s mother is *ngalkodjok*, whose first-choice spouse is *nawamud*) and therefore in a different subsection to ego. In fact one finds a secondary four-subsection patricycle (here, *nakangila*, *nawamud*, *nawakadj*, *nakamarrang*, to give the patricycle that descends through the Yirridjdja patrimoiety) provided that only first-choice unions are made, though this is not generally articulated as a structural principle.

If a mixture of first- and second-choice unions is made, there is an earlier return to ego's subsection through patrilineal links. Should a *nakamarrang* ego's *nawakadj* father have been born to a second-choice union, ego's father's father will be *nakamarrang* like himself (located by taking the second-choice partner of a *ngalkodjok* woman) and should ego's father be a *nakangila* born to a second-choice union, ego's father will be a *nawamud* (the second-choice partner of *ngalbangardi*, the mother of *nakangila*).

Overall though, as long as only first- and second-choice marriages occur, ego's father's father will be in either his own subsection (here, *nakamarrang*) or the subsection two generations up his matriline (here, *nawamud*). Another way of saying this is that ego's father's father will always share his patrimoiety and patriline (as outlined above in our discussion of sections) but may be in the same or opposite Yabbadurra moiety depending on which marriages occurred.

those associated with the Kunapipi ceremony. Maddock (1969) documents the adoption of all four sections at Beswick in the 1960s, with two associated with the Duwa patrimoiety and two with Yirridjdja. But with the wider diffusion of two of these terms northward the links with the section system appear to have been broken.

²⁵ However, for the purposes of certain rituals in which patrimoiety membership is important, the child may have a second subsection derived from the father's.

Each subsection has a different combined value for the combination of three binary features generated by the three moiety systems (for convenience only the male forms are shown in Table 1.5).

Table 1.5: Western subsections as combinations of three moiety values

	Kuyal		Burddal	
	Duwa	Yirridjdja	Duwa	Yirridjdja
Ngarradjku	<i>nabulanj</i>	<i>nawamud</i>	<i>nangarridj</i>	<i>nakamarrang</i>
Mardku	<i>nakodjok</i>	<i>nakangila</i>	<i>nabangardi</i>	<i>nawakadj</i>

These moiety oppositions have a number of social functions. In different ceremonies different moiety systems serve as principles for grouping participants and determining their roles: Duwa vs Yirridjdja in the Kunapipi, for example and Kuyal vs Burddal in the Yabbudurrwa. Patrimoiety is (now) associated with particular clans, countries and sites, though this is likely to be a relatively recent cultural introduction from eastern Arnhem Land. Both patrimoiety and matrimoiety are associated with the classification of plant species, with a tendency for younger and more easterly speakers to invoke the patrimoiety system and older and more westerly speakers to invoke the matrimoiety system (see §1.4.2.4 below). Moiety oppositions can also be used to describe the choice of partner: both first-choice and second-choice spouses are opposite patri- and matrimoiety, but while the first-choice spouse is of the same Yabbadurrwa moiety, the second choice is of the opposite Yabbadurrwa moiety.

The eastern system, variations on which are found in Dalabon, Rembarrnga and across into the Yolngu languages, embodies a basically similar design to the western system, from which it can be generated by applying a number of transformative principles.²⁶ The first step in doing this is to hold constant the sociocentric values (the values on the three moiety oppositions), since these have a much wider regional reference than any particular set of subsection terms and ask what skin names instantiate each combination. We then find the system given in Table 1.6 (again with only the male terms for the moment).

Table 1.6: Eastern subsections as combinations of three moiety values

	Kuyal		Burddal	
	Duwa	Yirridjdja	Duwa	Yirridjdja
Ngarradjku	<i>kela</i>	<i>kodjok</i>	<i>balang</i>	<i>bangardi</i>
Mardku	<i>wamud</i>	<i>bulanj</i>	<i>kamarrang</i>	<i>ngarridj</i>

²⁶ This is a synchronic claim only and moreover one that arbitrarily starts from a western perspective. The question of which historical steps produced these correspondences and whether the original system was of the western, the eastern or some third type, would lead us too far astray here; Patrick McConvell is currently pursuing this issue. It is worth pointing out, however, that there are structural parallels between the eastern system and the set-up McConvell (1985a) suggests generated the subsection system in the first place, namely the superimposition on a section system (here implicit in the existence of the patri- and matrimoiety systems) of a further division within which half the marrying pairs are endogamous and half are exogamous (see remarks below).

First consider the forms. Notice that all but one of the terms are drawn from the same set of roots as the western system (by removing the *na-* prefix and contracting *kangila* to *kela*), the only non-cognate members being *balang* (in the eastern system) and *wakadj* (in the western system).

The feminine forms of the eastern skin names, shown under the masculine terms in Table 1.7, basically add *-djan* to these roots, with some contractions and assimilations. The *-djan* suffix suggests this system passed through Dalabon on its way into Bininj Gun-wok, since *-djan* is a feminine suffix on some kin terms in Dalabon,²⁷ but in every other language is restricted to subsection terms.

Table 1.7: Male and female terms in the eastern system

	Kuyal		Burddal	
	Duwa	Yirridjdja	Duwa	Yirridjdja
Ngarradjku	<i>kela</i> <i>kalidjan</i>	<i>kodjok</i> <i>kodjdjan</i>	<i>balang</i> <i>belinj</i>	<i>bangardi</i> <i>bangardidjan</i> (E <i>bangvrn</i>) ²⁸
Mardku	<i>wamud</i> <i>wamuddjan</i>	<i>bulanj</i> <i>bulanjdjan</i>	<i>kamarrang</i> <i>kamanj</i> (~ <i>kamanjdjan</i>) ²⁹	<i>ngarridj</i> <i>ngarridjdjan</i>

Now consider the position of particular forms in the system. It is clear, through a comparison of Tables 1.5 and 1.6, that every cognate root has the same Yabburra moiety value in the eastern and western systems, but the opposite value for the other two moiety systems. For example, *nawamud* (western system) is Kuyal, Yirridjdja and Ngarradjku, while *wamud* (eastern system) is Kuyal, Duwa and Mardku. Another way of saying this is that, in converting from the western to the eastern system, one uses the root that designates the category of one's first-choice spouse (treating *balang* and *wakadj* as suppletive root-equivalents); I shall refer to this transformative property as 'spouse-swap'.

We can now display the eastern system in terms of the conventions used in Table 1.6 above and placing the eastern forms in the positions that correspond to the values given by their three moieties (see Figure 1.12).

Because of 'spouse swap' and because first-choice spouses in the western system occupy the directly facing position on the opposite matricycle, the roots have simply traded places on the diagram. However, there is a complication: the eastern system also differs on the matter of preferred spouse, so that only two pairs (*balang* – *ngarridj* and *kela* – *bulanj*) now marry directly opposite. The preferred marriage of the other two pairs is exchanged, giving the new pairs *kamarrang* – *kodjok* and *bangardi* – *wamud*, for which the bold, first-choice marriage

²⁷ Examples are *winjkvn* '(woman's) daughter's son', *winjkvndjan* '(woman's) daughter's daughter', *wulkvn* 'younger brother', *wulkvndjan* 'younger sister', *be* '(man's) son', *bedjan* '(man's) daughter'.

²⁸ *Bangvrn*, used in Kune, appears to be a loan from Dalabon or Rembarrnga, which have identical forms; some speakers replace the high central vowel, restricted to loanwords in Kune phonology, with *u*.

²⁹ I have not heard this form, but it is listed as a variant in Etherington and Etherington (1994:12).

lines now run diagonally.³⁰ These ‘diagonal’ pairs now marry out of their Yabbadurrwa moiety, while the ‘horizontals’ continue to marry within it.

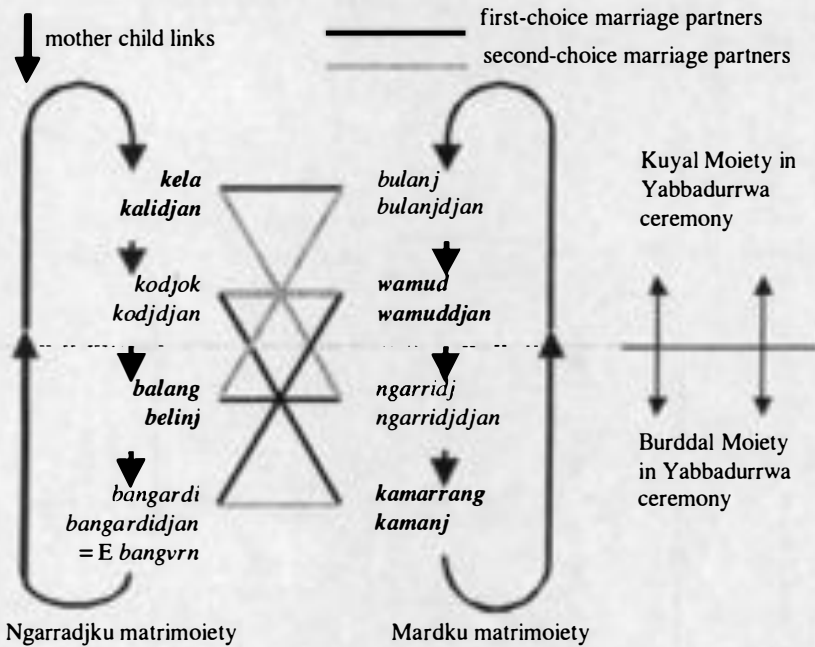


Figure 1.12: The subsection cycle (eastern version)

Yirridjja subsections are shown in normal font,
Duwa subsections in **bold**.

This suggests a different display mode: to display all first-choice marriages by horizontal lines, we need only reverse the direction of one of the matricycles in the display (and adjust our placement of the Kuyal/Burddal labels). This notational variant is shown in Figure 1.13. The display mode in Figure 1.13 de-emphasises the difference in marriage preferences and stresses two other structural differences. First is the fact, mentioned above, that half the marriage pairs are exogamous and half endogamous with respect to the Kuyal–Burddal system (for example *bangardi–wamud*, which marries a Burddal to a Kuyal, is exogamous, whereas *balang–ngarridj*, which marries a Burddal to a Burddal, is endogamous).

³⁰ This is true for Kune and Kuninjku. Preliminary data from Manyallaluk Mayali, which employs the eastern subsection terms, suggests that two pairs have a clear choice of preferred spouse (*gamarrang–godjok* and *wamud–bangvrn*), while there are two equally preferred options for the other two pairs (that is, *ngarridj* and *bulanj* are both equally good spouses for *gela* and *balang*). This situation requires further research.

Second is the fact that, as a consequence of the matricycles running in opposite directions, one is now in the same subsection as one's father's father if the relevant marriages are first-choice: on this assumption, for example, Bangardi's father would be a Ngarridj; Ngarridj's mother would then be a Wamuddjan and marry a Bangardi. The placement, in the ideal situation, of ego and his FF in the same subsection is characteristic of Central Australian subsection systems such as Warlpiri; in such systems members of a patriline alternate between pairs of subsections known as patricouples. The pair Bangardi–Ngarridj, just mentioned, would be an example: Ego, his FF and his SS, would all be Bangardi, whereas ego's F, FFF, S and SSS would all be Ngarridj.

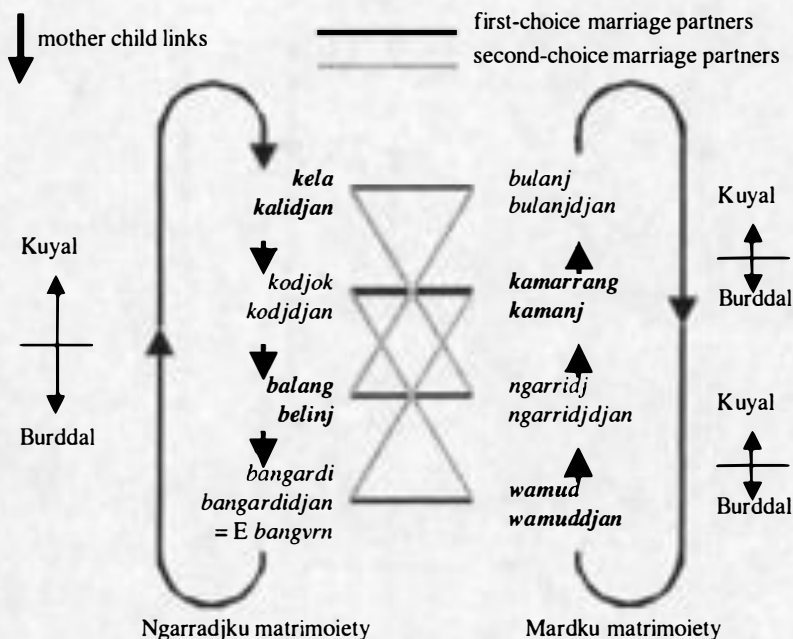


Figure 1.13: The subsection cycle (eastern version; display mode 2)

Yirridjdja subsections are shown in normal font,
Duwa subsections in bold.

In ordinary speech, the commonest way of referring to individuals is to give their subsection. This achieves an eightfold reduction, with respect to knowing nothing, of the set of possible referents and obviously is insufficiently precise for foolproof identification, though in context it is usually sufficient. In Text 7, for example, the speaker begins 'this afternoon Kodjdjan gathered plants ...'; in this context only one Kodjdjan had taken part in the expedition (she happened to be the speaker's wife), so the term identified her uniquely as long as one knew the universe of immediate discourse. In other situations, of course, the

subsection name may be insufficiently precise and may be supplemented by further descriptors such as clan names and nicknames (see §1.5.3 below) though high levels of vagueness are often tolerated by the hearer. Finding out someone's subsection is an essential early step in making new acquaintances (see 7.61 for examples of appropriate questions) and allows them to be classified as kin (e.g. a Bangardi man, meeting a Kodjok man, would normally then classify him as *kakkak* 'MM' and vice-versa), though this may be over-ridden by actual genealogical connections if these are subsequently discovered.

Children master the subsection system from an early age. A popular children's game involves one player calling out the subsection name of another, who must respond instantly by calling out the skin name of the subsection that is in the *kakkak* relation to them. For example, if I am *bangardi* skin, someone will call *bangardi!* to me and I have to call back *kodjok!* as quickly as possible.

1.4.2.3 Matrilineal phratries

Widespread in the region from Cobourg Peninsula to the escarpment is a system of named exogamous groups, membership in which is inherited matrilineally, known in Mayali as *gundjungunj*. The exact number of these varies from group to group and analyst to analyst; the early witness of Earl (1842:240–241) lists only three terms for the Cobourg Peninsula area; Berndt and Berndt (1970a:65) say there are only four 'truly Gunwinggu' subdivisions, Maddock (1965:40) found six at Beswick and Chaloupka et al. (1985) argue for eight in the Mayali-speaking region, but another analysis of their data suggests there are six.³¹ The Berndts propose the term 'phratries' for these groups and although it represents a deviation from the original meaning of that technical term, I adopt it here for want of anything better.

Unlike the matrimoieties, the phratries do not form a closed set but rather a collection of grouped matrilineal descent groups, with the content of the collection varying according to the social universe under consideration. The basic principle of organisation extends out from the Cobourg Peninsula south-eastwards into the Arnhem Land escarpment; as the system extends from its original region more and more new phratry names are brought in to supplement the original set of three or four. Phratry names all begin with the prefix *yarri-*,³² which is not an attested prefix in any language of the region (unlike the matrimoiety terms, whose *na-/ngal-* prefixes suggest an origin in Bininj Gun-wok or Kunbarlang), so that the question of the original language in which the system was developed remains a mystery.

³¹ The difference results from their postulation of two extra phratries achieved by subdividing *yarriburrik* and *an-djarrabuma* into two each, on the grounds that each of these occurs in both matrimoieties. However, if one regards the matrimoiety and phratry systems as independent this becomes unnecessary, since there is no logical requirement that a given phratry be associated only with one matrimoiety (see the discussion of plant classification below). A further reason for not subdividing these phratries is that, regardless of matrimoiety association, they have the same 'symbols' – *gunak* 'fire' for *yarriburrik* and *gukku* 'water' for *andjarrabuma*; their subdivisions into the *djungunj* categories *nabininj goyek* and *nabininj garri* are also identical: respectively *donggorlmirrimirri* 'hot coal from ironwood tree' and *djanggogo* 'fine ash from firestick' for *yarriburrik* and *gerralkgen* 'gentle rain from the east' and *balmarradjja* 'heavy monsoonal rain' for *andjarrabuma*.

³² Unless one seeks to relate it to the first person inclusive augmented prefix *yirri-* in Gun-dedjnenghmi, on the grounds that in self-identifying group statements it is natural to use the first inclusive (we fire people etc.).

Forms of four of the phratry names are comparable between Amurdak, Garig, Gaagudju, Iwaidja, Kunwinjku, Mayali and Dalabon (see list in Harvey 1990:43). Many of the 'signs' for phratries are semantically equivalent across languages (e.g. Iwaidja *manyij* 'sun' and Bininj Gun-wok *kun-dung* 'sun' for the Yarriyarninj phratry). Other phratries appear to have been named by using new words from the local language as symbols of the phratry and then extending them to become the actual names of the phratry.

Phratry names and their associated 'signs' for Iwaidja, Kunwinjku, Mayali and Dalabon are given in Table 1.8.

Table 1.8: Phratry names and their associated 'signs'

Iwaidja	Kunwinjku	Mayali	Beswick (Maddock)
<i>yarri-yarniny:</i> <i>manyij</i> 'sun'	<i>yarri-yarninj:</i> <i>kun-dung</i> 'sun'	<i>yarri-yarninj:</i> <i>gun-dung</i> 'sun'	<i>jari-ja:nin:</i> <i>gun-dung</i> 'sun'
<i>yarri-wurlgarr:</i> <i>murrhala</i> 'pandanus'	<i>yarri-wurrkal:</i> <i>kukku</i> 'water' <i>man-belk</i> 'pandanus'	<i>yarri-wurrgan:</i> <i>gabo</i> 'green ant'	<i>jari-wulga:</i> <i>gabo</i> 'green ant'
<i>yarri-wurrik:</i> <i>gujali</i> 'fire'	<i>yarri-burrik:</i> <i>kunak</i> 'fire'	<i>yarri-burrik:</i> <i>gunak</i> 'fire'	<i>jari-burag:</i> <i>gunag</i> 'fire'
<i>yarri-garn.gurr:</i> <i>waryad</i> 'rock', <i>ubaj</i> 'rain'	<i>yarri-karnkurrk:</i> <i>kun-warde</i> 'rock'	<i>yarri-garn.gurrk:</i> <i>gun-warde</i> 'rock'	<i>jari-gangangulg:</i> <i>gun-wadi</i> 'rock', <i>gugu</i> 'water'
	<i>djoned:</i> <i>djoned</i> 'march fly'	<i>na-walganj:</i> <i>nabiwo</i> 'groundbee'	<i>nabiwo:</i> <i>nabiwo</i> 'sugarbag bee'
		<i>an-djarrabuma:</i> <i>gukku</i> 'water'	<i>wurumbulu:</i> <i>gunmudgu</i> 'plains kangaroo'

Each of these phratries is, in the escarpment groups, subdivided further on the basis of locality. Maddock (1965:40), who worked at Beswick, gives two: *nabininjgarri* (spelt by him *nabininggari*), associated with the western groups Mayali and Jawoyn and *nabininjbulgai* (spelt by him *nabiningbulgai*), associated with the eastern groups Djinba, Kune and Rembarnga; Dalabon straddles the distinction. Chaloupka et al. (1985:64ff.) add a third group: *nabininjgoyek*; on this system the easternmost groups are *nabininjgoyek* (lit. masculine-person-east), the central groups are *nabininjbulgai* and the western groups are *nabininjgarri* (lit. masculine-person-high.country). In either system, the eastern and western groups each have their own variant of the *gun-djungunj* sign, formed on the principle that the *nabininjX* sign should be semantically associated with the main phratry sign, but with the further characteristic that the western sign should be small and fine and the eastern sign large and coarse. The signs for the *nabininjgarri-djungunj* and *nabininjgoyek-djungunj* in Mayali, retranscribed from Chaloupka et al. (1985: 68–69) are given in Table 1.9.

Table 1.9: Signs for the *nabininjgarri-djungunj* and *nabininjgoyek-djungunj* in Mayali

<i>Yarriarninj</i>	<i>gun-dung</i>	'sun'
<i>nabininjgarri</i>	<i>gard</i>	'small spider, spreading web through grass in the early dry, dew laden in the mornings', represents <i>andungbolabola</i> 'cool sun'
<i>nabininjgoyek</i>	<i>garrawadjji</i>	'funnel web spider' representing <i>an-dung-bahbang</i> 'hot sun'
<i>Yarriwurgarn</i>	<i>gabo</i>	'green ant'
<i>nabininjgarri</i>	<i>garrngilelh</i>	'small green ant, lives in pandanus'
<i>nabininjgoyek</i>	<i>wardjarrarrg</i> ³³	'large green ant'
<i>Yarriburrik</i>	<i>gunak</i>	'fire'
<i>nabininjgarri</i>	<i>djanggogo</i>	'fine ash from <i>gun-djahgorl</i> (fire stick)'
<i>nabininjgoyek</i>	<i>donggorlmirrimirri</i>	'hot coal from <i>an-dubang</i> (ironwood tree)'
<i>Yarrigarn.gurrk</i>	<i>gunwarde</i>	'rock, stone'
<i>nabininjgarri</i>	<i>bilembil</i>	'quartz'
<i>nabininjgoyek</i>	<i>birdurk</i>	'orthoquartzite, used for spearheads'
<i>Nawalganj</i>	<i>nabiwo</i>	'ground-nesting native bee'
<i>nabininjgarri</i>	<i>birdigelk</i>	'soft beeswax nest'
<i>nabininjgoyek</i>	<i>birdirayek</i>	'hard beeswax nest'
<i>Andjarrabuma</i>	<i>gukku</i>	'water'
<i>nabininjgarri</i>	<i>balmarradja</i>	'heavy monsoonal rain'
<i>nabininjgoyek</i>	<i>gerallken</i>	'gentle rain from the east' ³⁴

1.4.2.4 Moieties, phratries and ethnoclassification

Apart from their role as higher-level social categories, moieties and phratries provided a framework for classifying the phenomena of the natural world. The growing prominence of the patrimoiety system spreading from the east, at the expense of the indigenous western Arnhem Land systems of matrimoieties and phratries, means that speakers in different locations and of different ages frame these classificatory principles in different ways. Informal observation suggests that in the eastern areas, where the Duwa–Yirridjda system has become most deeply embedded, people give category affiliations exclusively in terms of Duwa and Yirridjda and knowledgeable adults are able to give the patrimoiety affiliations of most plants and animals. But in the western areas, such as Gun-djeihmi, the patrilineally and matrilineally oriented systems coexist — at least in the 1980s when systematic research was carried out by two sets of investigators.

Chaloupka and Giuliani (1984), in their discussion of Mayali ethnoclassification, give matrimoiety and phratry names for most of the plant species they list and on pages 24–27

³³ I was unable to verify this word and retain Chaloupka et al.'s transcription.

³⁴ These signs do not coincide with the usual proportion *nabininjgoyek*: coarse, large :: *nabininjgarri*: fine, small. In this case it seems the direct geographical associations of the weather types — particularly the source of the gentle rain in the east — overrides the other proportion.

discuss the factors governing matrimoiety and phratry assignment to plants, which I summarise here. Note that in some instances these assignments distinguish distinctly named taxa (by the Linnean and/or Mayali taxonomic systems) felt to be opposed; in other cases they distinguish species receiving the same name in Mayali but differently classified by the Linnean system and in other cases again they simply distinguish varieties or specimens of the same Mayali and Linnean taxon.

The classificatory criteria are complex and often take into account morphological oppositions (e.g. white flowers for *mardgu* vs red flowers for *ngarradjgu*, tall and straight for *mardgu* vs low and spreading for *ngarradjgu*, long leaf for *mardgu* vs short leaf for *ngarradjgu*, thin-stemmed for *mardgu* vs thick-stemmed for *ngarradjgu*). For example, thin-stemmed specimens of *mangalarreh* (*leptocarpus spathaceus*) are *mardgu*, while thick-stemmed specimens are *ngarradjgu*. Other factors influencing classification are landscape/habitat association, seasonality, and association with animals or species of determinate affiliation; an example of this last factor is *an-njilinjbirrk* (*hibbertia oblongata*), which is of the *mardgu* moiety and *yarri-garngurk* semi-moiety 'as this is the social affiliation of [*al-wanjdjuk*], the emus, who feed on its flowers' (Chaloupka & Giuliani 1984:27).

In determining phratry membership, strong associations with elements used as symbols for the phratries are also important; the shrub *gurndun*, whose fruiting is said to require lots of water to bring about, is assigned to *an-djarrabuma* phratry, whose symbol is *gukku* 'water'.

Often the classification of a plant species does not depend on absolute criteria, but on the nature of some minimal opposition between sister taxa. Consider two subspecies of *grevillea heliosperma*, the lowland form *an-djen.gererr* and the highland form *an-bardbard*. Now the landscape of the *garrigad* 'high country' is *mardgu* moiety and *yarriburrik* phratry (symbolised by *gunak* 'fire') and that of the *ganjdjiganjdji* 'lowlands' is *ngarradjgu* moiety and *andjarrabuma* phratry (symbolised by *gukku* 'water'). These landscape affiliations are transferred to the plants that live there, so that lowland *an-djen.gererr* is *ngarradjgu* and highland *an-bardbard* is *mardgu*. However, the two subspecies are assigned to the same phratry, *yarriburrik* (whose symbol is *gunak* 'fire'), 'perhaps because its timber is used as firewood producing good, long lasting coal' (p.25).

As some of these examples show, the phratry terms do not behave as subdivisions of the moieties for purposes of plant classification — if that were so it should be impossible for two plants of opposed phratries to have the same matrimoiety, or vice versa. Rather, classification by matrimoiety and classification by phratry appear to proceed independently, on the basis of different criteria. One criterion (say their use as firewood in the case of the two *grevillea* subspecies discussed above) may group the two together under the same phratry (in this case *yarriburrik*), while another criterion — the opposition between highland and lowland environments — may assign them to opposite matrimoieties.

Turning now to patrimoiety affiliations, as mentioned this is the sole basis for classification among the Kune and other eastern Kunwinjku-speaking clans; the list of plant names in Altman (1981), gives only patrimoiety affiliations. However, patrimoiety-based classifications are also employed by Mayali speakers, as witnessed by the fact that the lists of Mayali plant names compiled by Russell-Smith (1985) a few years after the survey by

Chaloupka and Giuliani (1984) gives only patrimoiety affiliations, where Chaloupka and Giuliani give matrimoiety and phratry affiliations.³⁵

The overall principles that Russell-Smith found for assigning plant species to patrimoieties are almost identical to those assigning them to matrimoieties and phratries:

Apart from the situation where plants are ascribed skin names on the basis of connections with creation stories, ceremonies and so on, there are ... general rules which may be applied to determine whether a plant taxon belongs to one moiety of the other ... It is to be emphasised ... that, as this is a relative system which requires a broad knowledge of plant morphologies, usages, habitats and the like (as well as a firm grounding in Aboriginal mythology), it is not possible (usually) to say that plants with long leaves are Yirritja and those with short leaves are Duwa. Rather, where there are two taxa with recognised similar properties (e.g. two morphologically similar species), the taxon with the longer leaf may be identified as Yirritja and the taxon with the smaller leaf, Duwa. (Russell-Smith 1985:245)

Russell-Smith goes on to give diagrams showing that compared to Duwa, Yirridjja leaves are longer, with more reticulated leaf venation, narrower and have narrower veins; Duwa species have thorns. The similarities to the matrimoiety criteria discussed above are striking and raise the question of whether the same morphological criteria have simply been given the new duty of assigning patrimoieties.

1.5 Sociolinguistic issues

Speakers of Bininj Gun-wok have at their disposal a rich set of sociolinguistic choices. To begin with, there are the complex regional variations in dialect, ranging from the broad dialect groups to vocabulary which is specific to clan lects, as discussed in §1.3. Most speakers have knowledge of more than one regional variant and switch between these for various purposes such as greeting etiquette (acknowledging someone's clan origin, or the fact that one is a guest on a particular clan's land, but opening a conversation with that variety), social alignment, humour and quotation.

There are then a number of register choices reflecting kinship relations between speaker, hearer, bystander and referent. In the public domain, the three most important deviations from the unmarked register or Kun-wok-duninj 'proper/real language' are:

- (a) the use of a special polite register, known as *Kun-kurrng*, *Kun-balak* or *ngarrimikme* (§1.5.1), involving near-complete lexical replacement, between or in the presence of certain categories of relative. The relationship categories requiring this are prototypically a man and his wife's mother or wife's mother's brother, that is, between people who call themselves *na-/ngal-kurrng* on the basis of an actual affinal relationship.
- (b) the use, between adults and as a form of polished etiquette, of a special set of kinship terms, known as *Kun-derbi*, *Kun-derbuy* or *Gun-dembui*, which identify referents by their kinship relationship to both speaker and hearer simultaneously (§1.5.2).

³⁵ I imply above that this results from a recent shift to patrilineal-based classification. But there are other possible explanations consistent with both systems operating at once: the affiliations may have been given in reply to different questions by the investigators, or taking into account the different age of the investigators or the fact that Giuliani is female. Further research is needed to resolve this.

- (c) the use, between potential rather than actual affines (also calling each other *na-/ngal-kurrng*) of a form of ritualised joking obscenity. This is discussed in detail in Garde (1995), who shows that both (a) and (c) are used between people calling themselves *na-/ngal-kurrng* and that (c), like (a), can be referred to as *Kun-kurrng*, with the choice between respectful and joking styles being determined by whether the son-in-law/mother's brother-in-law relationship is actual or fictive.

In addition to these, there are a number of other types of register variation: song language (not discussed further here, but a tape produced by Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation contains an interesting collection of transcribed song texts with commentary), ritual language (not discussed here owing to its secret/sacred nature), baby talk and public harangue. Murray Garde is currently preparing a detailed ethnography of communication for Kuninjku.

In addition to register choices, there are complex conventions governing naming and reference to individuals. These are touched on briefly in §1.5.3.

1.5.1 The respect register *Kun-kurrng*

Between certain relatives, prototypically a son-in-law and his mother-in-law or her brother (a relationship known in Aboriginal English as '(poison) cousin'³⁶), various forms of avoidance, both behavioural and linguistic, are practised. Eyes should be mutually averted and a man should hand 'his mother-in-law her share of his recent kill in his left hand, with that wrist clasped in his right hand' (Harris 1970:783). Linguistically, such avoidance is manifested by the use of a special register known variously as *Kun-kurrng*, *Kun-balak* or (in Gun-djeihmi) *arri-mikme*. *Kun-kurrng* is the neuter form of the root $\sqrt{\text{kurrng}}$ found in *nakurrng* 'son-in-law; mother-in-law's brother' and *ngalkurrng* 'mother-in-law'; $\sqrt{\text{balak}}$ is found in the verb $\sqrt{\text{balakbun}}$ 'bestow daughter';³⁷ and *arrimikme* is a deverbal form which means '(the way) we practice avoidance'. 'Ordinary language', by contrast (often called 'outside talk' in Aboriginal English), is referred to as *kun-wok-duninj* 'proper talk'. There are discussions of *Kun-kurrng* in Harris (1970), Manakgu and Djayhgurrnga (1985) and Garde (1995).³⁸

This prototypical function, of being used between certain types of relatives, is not the only context in which *Kun-kurrng* is used. It is also employed by widows during their period of mourning, who during these periods attain great fluency in it; in fact much of my data on the Gun-djeihmi variety was gathered from one such widow. It can furnish replacements for tabooed vocabulary items: Murray Garde (pers. comm.) observed a case where, following the death of a man called Billy, the word *bilikkan* 'billycan' was temporarily tabooed and replaced with the *Kun-kurrng* word *mambard* (which also happens to be the ordinary-language word in Dalabon). Sometimes it is used as a form of politeness when making requests, or to conceal the content of speech from those presumed to understand the everyday register but not *Kun-kurrng*.

³⁶ Manakgu and Djayhgurrnga's account of Oepelli Kunwinjku includes as 'poison cousins', 'mother's uncle's children' and 'father's mother's children'; both can marry ego's children.

³⁷ And in Ngalkan the free form *balak* means 'MMBC, MMBSSC'.

³⁸ For discussions of similar registers elsewhere in Australia see Dixon (1971), Goddard (1992), Haviland (1979), McConvell (1982), McGregor (1989) and Rumsey (1982), as well as Dixon (1990) on the etymological origins of special respect vocabulary in Dyrbal.

In Manyallaluk Mayali, the sociolinguistic conditions on the use of Kun-kurrng are different, even though the vocabulary is essentially identical; as in Dalabon, it is used when referring to, rather than in the presence of, relatives who are *nakurrng* or *ngalkurrng*.

Acquiring Kun-kurrng takes some time and even in the most traditional areas it is said not to be mastered until one's twenties. (The Kuninjku-speaking areas appear to have maintained the Kun-kurrng tradition the most, so that examples drawn on below are from the Kuninjku variety unless otherwise mentioned.) There is concern in less traditional areas that even though children are acquiring the ordinary language they do not learn Kun-kurrng or Kunderbi properly, and there are movements in Oenpelli to arrest this decline by teaching it more formally (which was the main purpose of the Manakgu texts mentioned above). Nonetheless, even in areas such as Kakadu where younger speakers do not have a full command of the ordinary register, people in their thirties know a certain amount. It appears to be acquired gradually, with spurts during periods of widowhood of one's close female relatives and partly assisted by formal teaching of everyday and *kun-kurrng* equivalents. Essentially the same register is spoken throughout the dialect chain, though there are minor dialectal variations, often involving the use of 'ordinary language' translation equivalents or near equivalents from another dialect.³⁹

Structurally, Kun-kurrng involves replacing all open-class vocabulary. Most grammatical affixes and closed-class items like pronouns and ignoratives are left unchanged (and unlike in some other avoidance registers reported in Australia, second person pronouns remain in the singular), but there are some exceptions. Imperatives are avoided and replaced by non-past declaratives. The privative suffix *-yak* is replaced by the postposition *-yagúra*, the negative interjection (*gayakki* in Gun-djeihmi and Kune, *burrkyak* in Kunwinjku) is replaced by *gayagura*, the word *ayed* or *baleh* 'where' is sometimes replaced by the locative-prefixed form of the (ordinary language) root *ngale* 'who' and the negative imperative particle (*bayun* in Gun-djeihmi, *yuw(u)n* in Kunwinjku and Kuninjku) is replaced by *morndin*,⁴⁰ as in the following sentence in the Gun-djeihmi variety (ordinary language translation underneath):

1.19 *Morndin gan-weibu-n an-ngoni gun-gundam, gun-gundam-bulalh*
 Dj *Bayun gan-wo-n na-gudji gun-bid, gun-bid-bogen*
 don't 2/1-give-NP VE/MA⁴¹-one IV-hand IV-hand-two

yi-walebonghme.

yi-garrme.

2-holdNP

'Don't hold (things) in one hand, hold them in two hands!' (when giving to your mother-in-law)

A sample dialogue in the Gun-djeihmi version, with the ordinary language equivalent underneath, is given below:

³⁹ See Haviland (1979).

⁴⁰ In Gun-gurrng the derivation of the negative imperative particle from the verb 'stay, lie' is obvious; *morndin* is actually the imperative of this verb (and constitutes an exception to the non-use of imperative verb morphology in Gun-gurrng). The Kunwinjku negative imperative particle *yuwun* probably derives historically from a similar source, namely the imperative of 'lie'.

⁴¹ Interestingly, different patterns of gender agreement are employed here: the more conservative vegetable gender agreement is used in the polite register and the more innovative masculine agreement (an option with modifying 'one') in the everyday variety. See §5.5.5 on alternative agreement patterns.

- 1.20 A: *Gun-mulbui yi-walebonghme?*
Gun-ganj yi-garrme?
 IV-meat 2-haveNP
 'You got any meat?'
- B: *Gayagura.*
Gayakki.
 nothing
 'No, nothing.'
- A: *An-manjyakku?*
An-yahwurd
 VE-little
 'Just a little?'
- B: *Lerra.*
Larrk.
 nothing.at.all
 'No, nothing at all.'
- B: *Barri-dogang gabarri-rombehme. Gare gabarri-ngalbonghge,*
Barri-wam gabarri-djangan. Gare gabarri-ngalge,
 3aP-gopp 3a-huntNP maybe 3a-findNP
- arri-murnáme nguddangge, milbabba yi-m-warnduihme.*
arri-mang nguddangge malaiwi yi-m-rai.
 1a-getNP your tomorrow 2-hither-goNP/IMP
 'They've gone hunting. If they find something, we'll save some for you.
 Come back tomorrow.'
- A: *Wanjh, yi-modme.*
Wanjh, yi-ma.
 right 2-getNP/IMP
 'Well, get some them.'
- B: *Ngundi-marne-murname.*
Ngundi-marne-mang.
 1a/2-BEN-getNP
 'We'll save some for you.'

Phonologically, there are sufficient differences between Kun-kurrng and ordinary language that one can 'pick it' without understanding it. These involve: (a) a more sing-song intonation (b) a greater proportion of open syllables — where these are stressed this results in phonetically lengthened vowels in positions unusual for ordinary language (e.g. *kayakúra* [gajəgú:ɪɛ] 'nothing'; (c) a large number of polysyllabic nominal roots which receive penultimate stress (e.g. *na-birdídjji* 'boy'), this is outside the normal pattern of stress assignment; and (d) words are longer on average which is probably a universal of polite registers, indexing the effort the speaker is devoting to being polite.

A short sample text in this register features as Text 11.

1.5.1.1 Formal correspondences between Kun-kurrng and everyday lexemes

The basic tendency, as illustrated by the above examples, is for all lexical roots to be replaced with distinctive Kun-kurrng roots. Most closed-class items, such as pronouns or conjunctions, do not change in Kun-kurrng. In this section we look at the structural parallels between synonymous words in Kun-kurrng (k.k.) and the everyday register (o.l.), while in the next we examine the semantic relationships between lexemes in the two registers.

Most affixal material is also left unchanged, including the many adverbial elements in the verb, discussed in Chapter 11; for example, o.l. *burlurr-yo* [along-lie] 'lie along stretched out', retains the spatial prefix unaltered in its k.k. form *burlurr-morndi*. However, incorporated nominal roots have distinctive Kun-kurrng forms, as long as the corresponding free forms do, because they are incorporated in the same way as in the ordinary language — by dropping any noun-class prefix and prefixing it to the verb stem; compare o.l. *kanj-ngun* [meat-eat] 'eats meat' (*kun-kanj* 'meat'), whose k.k. form is *mulbbuy-yakwan* (k.k. *kun-*

mulbbuy 'meat'), and o.l. *bo-ngun* [water-eat] 'drinks', whose k.k. form is *djulkinj-yakwan* (k.k. *kun-djulkinj* 'water'). Another pair of examples illustrating noun-verb compounding (see §8.1.3) with a different verb are o.l. *dord-nan* [lice-see] 'look for lice', k.k. *barndidj-kurdurdmn* ('louse' is o.l. *dord* and k.k. *barndidj* and o.l. *nan* = k.k. *kurdurdmn* 'see') and o.l. *bolk-nan* [country-see] 'look after/around country', k.k. *melwon-kurdurdmn* ('country' is o.l. *kun-bolk* and k.k. *kun-melwon*). However, see below for an example of a noun root (*bim* 'painting, image') which has the same form in both registers, whether it is free or incorporated.

Moreover, many internally complex verb stems built up from a prebound and a theme (§8.2) mirror this structure in Kun-kurrng. In some cases (e.g. (a) and (d) below), the same prebound is used in both registers, while other cases ((b) and (c)), a distinctive prebound form is used in Kun-kurrng. By and large the corresponding theme is employed in the Kun-kurrng verb; note that a full stop is used to show the boundary between prebound and theme.

- (a) o.l. *bid-kuyk.me-rren* 'make ochre spray-print of one's hand', built up from the root *bid* 'hand' into the complex stem *kuyk.me*, then adding *-rren* to create a reflexive form, becomes k.k. *kondam-kuyk.bongh.me-rren*; *kondam* is the Kun-kurrng root for 'hand', the preverb *kuyk* is retained and the formative *bongh* (found in many Kun-kurrng verbs) is interposed between the preverb and the thematic *me*; then the form is reflexivised in the normal way.

Note in passing that the formative *bongh-* is highly productive and is also applied to produce respect forms from some English loans: 'buy' is o.l. *bayahme* and k.k. *bayahbonghme*. It is also found in respect register vocabulary in several other Gunwinyguan languages, including Ngalakan, Jawoyn and Dalabon.

- (b) o.l. *bukirri.yo* 'dream', built up of the root *bukirri* 'dream' plus *yo* 'lie, sleep', becomes *borridj.morndi* — *borridj* is a k.k. root⁴² meaning 'dream' (*borridjbonghme* 'dream of', corresponding to o.l. *bukirri-bun*); *morndi* is the k.k. root covering sitting and lying (i.e. corresponding to both o.l. *yo* and *ni*).
- (c) o.l. *yakwon* 'finish off', built up from the root *yak* 'nothing' (also the privative suffix) plus *won* 'give', becomes k.k. *yakura-weybun*, where *yakura* is the k.k. root for 'nothing' (and also the privative suffix) and *weybun* is the k.k. root for 'give'.
- (d) o.l. *durrkmirri* 'work', built up from the prebound *durrkmi* plus *rri* (an allomorph of *di* 'stand') becomes k.k. *durrkmi-djarrberlme*, retaining the prebound *durrkmi* and substituting the k.k. root for 'stand', which is *djarrberlme*. (Note also that 'play', which in o.l. is expressed by the reduplication of *di* 'stand' to give *dirri*, is expressed in k.k. as *djarrberl-djarrberlme*.)

Similar structural parallels are found with nominals. Reduplicates, for example, are constructed by substituting the appropriate k.k. equivalent; thus o.l. *kun-wardde* 'rock' equals k.k. *kun-bangam*, while the reduplicated o.l. form *kun-warddeh-wardde* 'escarpment country, rock country' has as its k.k. equivalent *kun-bangah-bangam*.

There are also a number of cases where there is partial but unsystematic overlap between the forms, usually taking the form of a common first syllable: o.l. *man-burluddak* 'stringybark' (I) = k.k. *man-burludjdjurri*; o.l. *an-larrh* 'cypress pine' (Dj) = k.k. *an-larnganganj*, o.l. *wakwak* 'crow' = k.k. *wakwarrayal*.

⁴² This is an example of loan words from neighbouring languages being borrowed as Kun-kurrng roots: in Burarra the word for 'dream' is *borrich*.

Despite the parallels sketched above, there is not always perfect structural congruence between forms in the two registers. 'Warm oneself by the fire', for example, is not overtly reflexive in the ordinary language form (*kuwan*), but is in the k.k. form (*ngolkkerren*, with reflexive/reciprocal *-rren*).

1.5.1.2 Semantic correspondences between Kun-kurrng and everyday vocabularies

Although it is always the case that respect vocabularies are smaller than everyday vocabularies in Australian languages, there are a number of ways in which the two can correspond. The Dyirbal respect register, as described by Dixon (1971), essentially involves many-to-one correspondences through the whole vocabulary. The many-to-one mapping can reach extreme dimensions, as in the Gurindji respect register where all transitive verbs from the ordinary language map onto a single verb in the respect register (McConvell 1982). Alternatively, special respect forms may exist for only a subset of the vocabulary, which is the case for Guugu-Yimidhrr, for example (Haviland 1979).

Kun-kurrng lies at the upper end of documented respect registers in terms of vocabulary size; though documentation is far from complete, around 500 Kun-kurrng roots are currently recorded. Many common plant and animal names, for example, have their own distinct Kun-kurrng roots, as with the tuber terms o.l. *karrbarda* (long yam *dioscorea transversa*), *man-kodjbang* (water peanut *aponogeton elongatus*) and *man-yawok* (cheeky yam *amorphophallus paeoniifolius*), which have the k.k. equivalents *man-karremudyi*, *man-borndengkekorrongo* and *man-mari* (or *man-milekan*). And even sex-specific terms for some macropod species maintain a terminological distinction in Kun-kurrng (cf. o.l. *karndakidj* 'male antilopine wallaroo', k.k. *kalngunjkorrongo*; o.l. *karndayh* 'female antilopine wallaroo', k.k. *ngal-marndamarndayi*; o.l. *kalkberd* 'male wallaroo', k.k. *(na)njamlurruk*; *wolerrk* 'female wallaroo', k.k. *ngal-wardderdomrdi*). Sometimes such gender-specific terms have distinct roots in ordinary language but the same root combined with different noun class prefixes in Kun-kurrng (e.g. o.l. *barrk* 'male black wallaroo' = k.k. *na-kulngunj*, o.l. *djukerre* 'female black wallaroo' = k.k. *ngal-kulngunj*).

Nonetheless, it is often the case that the Kun-kurrng vocabulary does not extend to distinct forms for every ordinary language lexeme. In this case one of two strategies are used:

- (a) A Kun-kurrng lexeme covers more than one ordinary language lexeme, through semantic extension of one type or another.
- (b) The ordinary language form is simply used as is.

We exemplify each of these strategies in turn.

SEMANTIC EXTENSION This most commonly involves the use of a Kun-kurrng term of more general meaning, forming a superordinate to the hyponyms used in ordinary language. Where biota are denoted, this superordinate term may or may not correspond to an intermediate taxon in Western classifications, for example:

- *badbong* 'short-eared rock wallaby', *djorrkkun* 'rock possum' and *nabarlek* 'little rock wallaby' are all small rock-dwelling marsupials which share the k.k. equivalent *dolhwarr* (which is also the word for 'short-eared rock wallaby' in Dalabon and in the Kundedjwarre clan lect);

- *kun-dayarr* 'pandanus spiralis', *man-djimdjim* 'pandanus aquaticus' and *man-ngohngo* 'pandanus basedowii', the three species of pandanus growing in the region, are all denoted by k.k. *kun-yarilng*.

Within the domain of body parts it may involve the same Kun-kurrng term for adjacent parts (e.g. *kun-kom* 'neck' and *kun-djud* 'nape of neck', both *kumadj* in k.k.).

Metaphors of similarity may also be exploited, as with o.l. *kun-kawadj* 'sand' and *djukka* 'sugar', both *kun-karnalanj* in k.k.; *delek* 'white clay' and *kandidjawa* 'flour; damper', both *kabarrh* in k.k.; and *mandjawak* 'knife', *barrawu* 'shovel-nosed spear', *lama* 'iron or stone spear-head' and *djalakkiradj* 'wire-pronged spear', all *djerrkudmiken* in k.k.

A similar range of principles applies to verbs. Hypernymic relationships occur in o.l. *yo* 'lie' and *ni* 'sit', both *morndi* in k.k. and *bun* 'hit (typically with a held object); kill' and *dulubun* 'hit or kill with a thrown or shot object', both *biribonghme* in k.k. Metonymic extensions are found in euphemistic Kun-kurrng expressions, such as the use of *morndi* 'sit, lie' to cover *dedjdjong* 'have sex'.

An interesting set of perceptual vs sensory distinctions maintained in the everyday language but conflated in Kun-kurrng involve pairs contrasting hearing vs general intellection; this pattern runs through both nouns and verbs, as with *kun-kanem* 'ear', *kun-beng* 'faculty of understanding and intellection', both *kun-mardorrk* in k.k.; *bekkan* 'hear; feel; understand (language)' and *bengkan* 'understand (generally), know, think', both *marrngalahme* in k.k. (See Evans & Wilkins 1998 on 'hear'/'know' polysemy in Australian languages more generally.)

USE OF ORDINARY LANGUAGE TERM This is only attested with non-verbal roots, particularly nouns. As well as the more obscure plant, animal and implement names, quite a few basic nouns also lack Kun-kurrng equivalents, such as *djang* 'dreaming, dreaming site', *kabbal* 'floodplain', *karlba* 'yellow ochre' and *bim* 'picture, image'.

All verbs and predicate adjectives have a Kun-kurrng counterpart and since virtually all clauses contain verbs this makes sure that the respect relationship is indexed at least once in every clause except those with nominal predicates. Thus 'they are looking for paintings and recording them', which in ordinary language is *bim kabirriyawan kabirribimmang* [painting they.look.for they.painting.record] would in Kun-kurrng be *bim kabirrirombehme kabirribimmodme*; note that here *bim* also appears unchanged as an incorporated noun in Kun-kurrng. A second example, where the proportion of unchanged words is higher and with a formally identical nominal predicate in the same utterance as a verbal clause where the distinction is signalled, is the following:

1.21 o.l.	<i>Djang</i>	<i>ka-yo</i>	<i>man-dudjmi</i> ,	<i>duwa</i> ,	<i>djang</i>	<i>ngarduk</i> .
k.k.	<i>Djang</i>	<i>ka-morndi</i>	<i>man-kurdildil</i>	<i>duwa</i> ,	<i>djang</i>	<i>ngarduk</i> .
		dreaming	3-lieNP	III-green.plum	[moiety]	dreaming my
		'There's a green-plum dreaming there, a Duwa one, it's my dreaming.'				

1.5.2 Kun-derbi: a polite trirelational kinship vocabulary

When adults refer to kin they make use of a special set of 'polite' kin terms, known as *Kun-debi* (W), *Kun-derbi* (I), *Kun-derbuy* (E) or *Gun-dembui* (Dj).⁴³ Speakers characterise

⁴³ So far I have been unable to obtain an etymology for any of these terms.

Kun-derbi as a reference system ‘that always lets you know who you’re talking about — like *balanda* names’ but ‘without naming people’. Jawoyn has a similar system called *Yernderr*, explored in Merlan (1989). Unlike Kun-kurrng, which presupposes a single kin dyad as context and indexes this context through replacement of almost the whole vocabulary, Kun-derbi can index virtually any kin dyad as a distinctively coded context, but signals it only through the choice of terms for kin reference.

Because kin terms are two-place predicates, their referent cannot be calculated until one knows the propositus — the person from whose position the kin term is calculated. This can be done in three ways. First, it may rely on pragmatic rules (e.g. that talk to or by a child takes the child as propositus, so that ‘mummy’ said **by** a child usually means ‘my mummy’ and **to** a child means ‘your mummy’). Second, the propositus may be coded explicitly, as when one says ‘my mother’ or, in Dalabon, *nah-ngan*, where *-ngan* means ‘my’. Third, there may be different lexical items according to the propositus, as with Japanese. Kun-derbi uses a mix of these strategies, but with the added complication that there are simultaneously two propositi, so that there are terms with meanings like ‘the one who is my mother and your daughter, given that you are my grandmother’. A sample of ways of referring to an individual who is the mother (*garrang*) of one of the speech-act participants will give an idea of how this works (terms from the Gun-djehmi variety):

<i>al-garrng</i>	‘the one who is your <i>garrang</i> ⁴⁴ (M) and my daughter, given that I am your MM (<i>gakkak</i>)’
<i>al-doingu</i>	‘the one who is your daughter and my mother, given that you are my MM (<i>gakkak</i>)’
<i>al-gakkak</i>	‘the one who is your <i>gakkak</i> (MM) and my mother; given that I am your mother’
<i>arduk gakkak</i>	‘the one who is my <i>gakkak</i> and your mother, given that you are my mother’.
<i>al-bolo</i>	[lit. ‘the old woman’] ‘the one who is mother of one of us and mother-in-law of the other, given that we are husband and wife’

First note that these terms are normally taught in pairs: for example a young person’s *gakkak* will teach them that when they speak together the young person should refer to his or her mother as *al-doingu*, while the *gakkak* should refer to the young person’s mother as *al-garrng*. Likewise, a woman will teach her daughter that the latter should refer to her *gakkak* as *arduk gakkak*, while the mother will refer to that person as *al-gakkak*. A prescriptive statement typifying this method of instruction is the following (in 1): *bu ngabenrdebikan ngayime ‘nababba kamhre’ wanjh ngudda yiyime ‘yo, nakiwalak namekke’*, lit. ‘if I use Kun-derbi and I say “*nababba* is coming”, you would say “yes, that’s *nakiwalak*”’ (GID). In practice the system is not taught in its entirety by any one person; rather, senior people teach juniors the full set of forms appropriate when the two of them are talking together; in other words, they work through the possible set of referents they may wish to discuss together. So a young *al-bulanj* subsection girl might be taught the terms *al-garrng* and *al-doingu* by an *al-ngarridj* subsection woman and the terms *al-gakkak* and *arduk gakkak* by her *al-gamarrang* subsection mother.

⁴⁴ Loss of the second vowel from *garr(a)ng* here follows from the rule Vowel-drop, given in §3.5.

Second, it will be clear that the degree of transparency of these terms varies. Within the five considered above, *arduk gakkak* is simply composed by combining *arduk* 'my' with *gakkak* and is hence fully explicit, although it is still conventionalised in the sense that it would only be used to certain categories of relative. *Al-gakkak* combines the feminine prefix with the root and does not explicitly index the propositus; rather, the unusual use of the prefix indexes the fact that it is a term used by a mother to her child (and many other terms used by mothers to their children prefix *na-* or *al-* in this way). *Al-garrng* is similar, being based on *garrang* but with a distinctive dropping of the second vowel. *Al-doi-ngu* is a special lexical form, though still ultimately analysable etymologically: the propositus is made explicit, at least etymologically, by the archaic second person possessor suffix, productive in Dalabon⁴⁵ but in Bininj Gun-wok confined to the Kun-derbi subvocabulary;⁴⁶ the root *doi* is found in the kin term *doydoy* — (Dj *doidoi*) 'MMM, FFM' and people of the *doydoy* category to the hearer are in the same subsection as the referent; *al-* is again the feminine prefix. So etymologically the word is 'she that is your *doy(doy)*, i.e. your classificatory MMM'. In the final example, *al-bolo*, there is genuine vagueness; as with kin uses of English 'the old woman' (or, for that matter, 'the mother-in-law') either speaker or hearer may be the propositus.

It appears that these terms are strung along a cline from totally transparent, with the propositus marked explicitly (e.g. *arduk gakkak* above), through terms that contain etymological markers of the propositus that are no longer productive (e.g. the suffix *-ngu* 'your', as in *na-bei-ngu* 'the one who is your son and my younger brother, given that we are father and son' (cf. *beiwurd* 'son' and Dalabon *be(y)* 'son'), to terms that resist synchronic analysis (e.g. Kuninjku *na-ngadjkewarre* 'the one who is your *nakurrng* (WMB) and my *ngadjadj* (MB), given that we call each other *makkah*'). It seems likely that the system originated as a formalisation of a number of principles of 'centricity' (Merlan 1982a) governing who it was polite to take as propositus, but blurring into circumspection and obscure usage where certain of these principles came into conflict.

It will be apparent that to successfully use these terms requires the ability to take the hearer's perspective and work out the referent's kin relationship to the hearer as well as to oneself; in addition, it requires one to make fine judgments about the nature of the relationship between oneself and one's interlocutor. Kun-derbi is the most intellectually demanding part of the Bininj Gun-wok lexicon and is acquired relatively late in life; in most traditional outstations south of Maningrida, adults in their twenties, who had full command of the normal registers and some fluency in the use of avoidance language, were still far from having a complete mastery of Kun-derbi.

Some speakers claim that the metalinguistic term Kun-derbi is not restricted to kin terms, but covers other polite ways of referring, such as the use of *yik-* prefixed clan names when referring to the dead (e.g. *Na-yik-Badmardi* 'the late (male) Badmardi') (see §5.3.1.4). However, the vast majority of usages identified as Kun-derbi involve kin terms; so far over one hundred terms have been collected. An extended discussion of Kun-derbi is beyond the

⁴⁵ Cf. Dalabon *rolu-ngu* 'your dog'.

⁴⁶ Other Kun-derbi words with this suffix include *na-/al-minjadjadngu* 'the one who is my daughter's daughter and your *ganjok*, given that I call you *gakkak*' and *nangalayngu* 'the one who is my father and our uncle, given that we are cousins' (this form has other senses as well). The obscurity of the roots *minjadjad* and *ngalay* in these cases, however, makes it hard to know exactly what the original meaning of this expression was, though it probably included 'your [feminine] X'.

scope of this grammar; Andrew Manakgu of the Kunwinjku Language Centre is currently producing a book on the topic.

1.5.3 Naming and address

As recognised by Stanner (1937), the choice of names and address terms is a complex and difficult matter in Aboriginal society and many indirect means are preferred as a substitute for specific personal names. In Biniŋ Gun-wok the commonest means of identification are kinship terms (including Kun-derbi terms), subsection terms and clan names. A typical use of subsection name combined with clan name is the following, from a text by David Kanari:

1.22 *Ginga barri-dulubu-ni gorrogo and bi-marne-durrkmirri-ni. Bedda*
 crocodile 3aP/3-shoot-PI before 3/3hP-BEN-work-PI they

nangamed, Nangarridj Nabolmo Nangarridj, Fred balanda
 whatsisname Nangarridj Nabolmo Nangarridj European

ba-ngei-yo-i.

3P-name-lie-PP

'They used to shoot crocodiles in the olden days and he worked for him.

They, him and whatsisname, a NaNgarriŋ man, a NaNgarriŋ man of the

NaBolmo clan, Fred was his European name.'

The matrimoiety names are also sometimes used for identification in the western dialects, but the patrimoiety terms never are.

Humorous nicknames are also widely used throughout the Biniŋ Gun-wok area. One productive way of forming nicknames is the 'mishap' compound X-Y, where X denotes the body part affected by the mishap and Y the offending entity. As Mick Alderson put it, 'whatever you get hit by, you get a nickname' (e.g. *ngorrk-madjawarr* [torso-bamboo.spear] 'someone hit in the ribs by a bamboo spear' — see §5.4.4 for further examples). Other nicknames are formed in a more ad hoc manner. For example, the nickname of one senior Gun-djeihmi man was *NaDjikka* (lit. 'he-breast'), because he continued yelling for his mother's breast late into boyhood.

'Bush names' are used with more circumspection and conferred in a more regulated way. Typically they are passed on from father's father to son's son, or from father's father's sister to brother's son's daughter. For example, Eddy Hardy took his bush name *Gabburriyarn.ga* from his father's father (a *Nabulanj* man of *Nabolmo* clan) and passed on his own father's name *Garraladda* to his son. There is a tendency for European first names to be passed on in the same way. The bond created by such namesaking is a special one and there is a special term, *ngeigo*, for referring to namesake dyads (§5.3.1.2). Most bush names cannot be analysed into meaningful components (other than the occasional noun class prefix), as with the above two or *Nayombolmi*, the name of Barramundi Charlie.

When someone dies, name taboos apply to their bush names and their European names, but their subsection titles can still be used, often in combination with a phrase like *gure X bawakwam* 'who was lost at X'. More generally, they may be referred to as *na-ngeiwarre* 'he-name-bad' if male and *al-ngeiwarre* if female.

Clan names of deceased people should not be used directly, but should either be prefixed by *yik-*, as in *Nayikbadmardi* 'the late (male) Badmardi', or used with the *gun-* prefix

normally used for clan territories, as in *Gun-Badmardi*. In the latter case indirect reference is made to the deceased via the land he or she belonged to.

Another important taboo concerns the use by a man of his sister's name, or vice versa. The verb *bengbun* 'offend the sensibilities of' is often used in connection with a disregard of this practice:

- 1.23 *ngey-warre nakka yuwn yi-ngeybu-n, wardi yi-bengbu-n ngalkka!*
 name-bad MA:DEM don't 2/3-name-NP might 2/3-offend-NP FE:DEM
 'Don't use that bad name (i.e. your sister's), you might offend her.'

1.6 Fieldwork, previous work, sources

This grammar draws both on my own fieldwork of approximately sixteen months since 1986 and that of other investigators. The mix depends on the dialect and the topic and I treat them together here.

There has been substantial previous work on the Kunwinjku dialect, mostly by a series of linguists working for the Church Missionary Society at Oenpelli. Through the 1930s and 1940s missionaries Nell and Len Harris, working in conjunction with local Aboriginal people and with Dr A. Capell of the University of Sydney, began analysing the grammar, collecting texts, developing an orthography and translating the Bible (see Harris 1990:838–839). A series of trained missionary linguists — Lynette Oates, Merrill Rowe, Peter Carroll and Steve Etherington — carried this tradition forward, in the process increasing the depth of linguistic documentation, training Kunwinjku speakers in vernacular literacy, linguistic analysis and translation skills. This led, for example, to the publication of important work by Kunwinjku speakers Andrew Manakgu, Esther Djayhgurrnga and others. Especially in Carroll's case, large numbers of texts were also recorded while documenting the works of Aboriginal artists, especially bark painters. In terms of published work, the highlights of this tradition are:

- Oates (1964), the first grammar of Kunwinjku;
- Rowe (n.d.), a handwritten manuscript which explores Kunwinjku verbal morphology in great detail;
- Carroll (1976), a further grammar of Kunwinjku, with a different focus to Oates, a more accurate treatment of the phonology and the first comprehensive systematisation of Kunwinjku conjugations;
- Etherington and Etherington (1994), a pedagogical grammar notable for its attention to idiom and commonly employed constructions;
- a series of works written by Andrew Manakgu with the intention of illustrating nuances of Kunwinjku for the benefit of younger speakers, such as a book (Manakgu 1998) with facing texts in regular Kunwinjku and the respect register Kun-kurrng;
- Carroll (1995), a study of Kunwinjku verbal art, particularly important for its analysis of episode structure, pause and its text collection;
- a translation of parts of the Bible (three books from the Old Testament and four from the New) representing the combined efforts over several decades of most of the above individuals, as well as other Kunwinjku-speaking members of the Bible-translation team; this appeared in 1992 and its command of a wide stylistic range and respect for semantic accuracy make it a major achievement in translation. However, because it is

a translation and in many respects a new register it is not systematically taken into account in this grammar;

- Nganymira (1997), which brings together a large corpus of mythological and autobiographical texts by artist Alex Nganymira, together with reproductions of bark paintings and photographs of relevant sites; these texts were mostly gathered by Carroll and later transcribed and translated (freely) by Manakgu and Etherington

I shall not evaluate these in further detail here, but at relevant points in the text will refer to their analyses and data. The Carroll and Nganymira corpora have been regularly drawn upon as a source of data and for checking generalisations.

A number of other anthropologists and linguists have also worked on Oenpelli Kunwinjku. In the 1950s anthropologist Catherine Berndt recorded (by dictation) and published a number of texts (Berndt & Berndt 1951b, 1970b), though unfortunately the collection they published as *The speaking land* (1988) only contained the English translations and the Kunwinjku originals are not publicly available; she also wrote an interesting article on idioms and figures of speech in Kunwinjku (Berndt 1951). The brilliant figure Ken Hale, in the course of expeditions that led to his much better-known work on a number of other Australian languages, spent several weeks working with Kunwinjku speaker Frank Francis in Howard Springs, resulting in a substantial body (174 pages) of fieldnotes (lodged at AIATSIS) containing, among other things, important information on gender agreement and special kinship vocabulary, as well as some richly graphic texts. In the 1970s, as part of the Ranger Inquiry on the impact of uranium mining, linguist Sue Kesteven did further fieldwork on the language (Kesteven 1984).

My own work on the Kunwinjku dialect has been limited to around six weeks, mostly in the context of vernacular literacy courses and other language projects which I taught as part of teacher training programs run out of Batchelor College and the (then) School of Australian Linguistics in 1986–88 and 1991; during this time Esther Djayhurrnga and Faith Mangiru, younger Kunwinjku with excellent English (then in their twenties and thirties) were of great assistance. Subsequently, in the course of work on other dialects (and other languages in the region, such as Ilgar and Iwaidja) I have often recorded and checked further material; Goldie Blyth, who grew up speaking Iwaidja and Kunwinjku but later learned excellent English while living in southern Australia with her missionary engineer husband, was a particularly valuable source for discussing semantic nuances. Most of the Kunwinjku material in this grammar, however, is drawn from the various sources cited above.

The Gun-djeihmi material, on the other hand, is largely based on material I collected myself during some nine months of fieldwork between 1987 and 1991, as part of a consultancy, funded by the Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service (ANPWS) and the Gagudju association, to develop an orthography and initial language documentation for Gun-djeihmi. Many of my ideas about the phonology of the language, as well as numerous minimal pairs, arose while teaching service courses on the new orthography to Gun-djeihmi-speaking Park Rangers. The concerns of the ANPWS meant that a relatively large amount of material on such topics as animal and plant behaviour, oral history of the buffalo-hunting period and material on ecology and land management (e.g. traditional burning practice) was recorded as part of the textual corpus, but the need to work out the grammar of Gun-djeihmi, then virtually undescribed except for some remarks in Harris (1969), meant that I spent a lot of time on more structured elicitation work as well, especially with †Toby Gangele, Eddie Hardy and Violet Alderson. I was fortunate in being able to use vocabulary and ethnographic

notes by Chaloupka and Giuliani (1984), Chaloupka et al. (1985) and Russell-Smith (1985) as the point of departure vocabulary collection and for prompting older speakers to produce short 'oral essays'.

Material on Kuninjku and Kune comes from two sources: documentation by Murray Garde (including a draft dictionary, numerous texts and personal observations) and my own fieldwork (mostly undertaken jointly with Garde) at a number of outstations out of Maningrida between 1989 and 1997, totalling around sixteen weeks. Again, the format of gathering material varied widely, encompassing participant observation (often while undertaking traditional activities such as hunting and visiting sites), structured elicitation, recording of stories (often recounted to the whole outstation round the camp-fire at night) and subsequent transcription with younger speakers, checking of cross-dialectal material, gathering of information on the encoding of spatial relations from picture stimuli and the production of basic literacy materials for the outstation schools as part of week-long language workshops attended by trainee teachers from a number of outstation schools. Garde's own materials are gathered over nine years of more or less continuous residence in Kuninjku-speaking communities. As previously unconsidered questions arose during the final write-up period of the grammar, I was able to send specific questions by email to Garde, who checked them with speakers in Maningrida or nearby outstations.

My most important language teachers for these dialects were †David Karlbuma (Kune Narayek, also Dalabon) and Charlie Brian (Kune Dulerayek) and Mick Kubarkku, James Iyuna, †Big John Dalnga-Dalnga and Big Bill Birriya-Birriya for Kuninjku.

Manyallaluk Mayali material was recorded during two visits to Barunga and Manyallaluk, totalling about three weeks, in 1996 and 1997; these visits concentrated on checking dialect differences, some aspects of grammar and the recording and transcription of traditional myths and autobiographical material. My main teachers of this dialect were Mary-Ann Kalamuka, Mavis Jumbiri and †Hilda Dooley.

Other material was gathered as opportunities arose while working in other locations, including Bulman (while working on Dalabon), Croker Island (while working on Ilgar, Iwaidja and Marrgu), Darwin and Batchelor (where many speakers of Bininj Gun-wok undertake higher education).

2 Phonology

The phoneme inventory of Bininj Gun-wok comprises five vowels, with no length distinction, and twenty-two consonants. In its consonant inventory it arrays stops and nasals at five places of articulation — bilabial, velar, apico-alveolar, apico-retroflex and lamino-palatal — with an additional medial contrast between short and long stops and a glottal stop restricted to syllable-final position. There are two laterals (apico-alveolar and apico-retroflex), two glides (labio-velar and palatal) and a contrast between a tapped or trilled rhotic and a retroflex continuant. Although the above list treats retroflex consonants as distinct segments, as is conventional, there are reasons for analysing retroflexion as a syllable prosody; these are discussed in §2.3.2. Syllables are frequently closed, engendering complex clusters. The rules for assigning stress are complex and are discussed in §2.5.

There are few differences between the dialects in phonology. In what follows forms will be cited from the Gun-djeihmi dialect and in that orthography, unless otherwise stated. Dialect differences in orthography, which are confined to diphthongs and consonants, will be discussed in the relevant sections.

2.1 Vowels

Table 2.1: Phonemic vowel system

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

The system of five phonemic vowels, distinguishing quality but not length, can be grouped as in Table 2.1. The orthographic symbols correspond to the expected phonetic symbols, having their Latin values.

Phonetically, these essentially have their cardinal values except that:

- (a) *e* and *o* are rather open (phonetically [ɛ] and [ɔ]) in closed syllables (e.g. *gek!* [gɛ:k] ‘I say’, *mod* [mɔ:t] ‘children’s python’), and the high vowels *i* and *u* are somewhat lax and centralised in the same positions (e.g. *bukbuk* [bɔkbɔk] ‘pheasant coucal’, *barrimbom* [baribimbɔm] ‘they painted’). Note that long consonants (§2.3.3) render

the preceding syllable closed for the purposes of vowel allomorphy, thus *bedda* /bed:a/ 'they' is [bɛt:a].

- (b) *e* is rather close [e⁺] word finally (e.g. *gayime* [gajime⁺] '(s)he does').
- (c) All vowels except *i* end with a clear palatal off-glide before tautosyllabic palatal consonants (e.g. *madj* [ma'tʃ] 'swag', *gun-godj* [gɔŋgɔ'tʃ] 'head'). There is also some diphthongisation of all but *i* in front of tautosyllabic retroflexes (see §2.3.2 for more on retroflexion), taking the form of a high front off-glide accompanied by retroflex colouring (e.g. *gun-berd* [gɔnbɛ'tʃ] 'tail'). Some early sources, such as Capell and the Berndts, often fail to transcribe syllable-final palatals and retroflexes, but do transcribe the diphthongisation (except before *i*) so that the correct phonemicisation can be recovered.

In Kune there is a marginal sixth vowel phoneme: a high central vowel [i], written *v* in the practical orthography, restricted to a few loan words from Dalabon and Rembarrnga, which both have a full-fledged sixth vowel phoneme. Some examples are the Kune (Dulerayek) word for the tree *casuarina cunninghamiana*, which is *ngawvrrh* [ŋawirʔ], the Kune Narayek word *mangvlorrbbō* [maŋjɔɾp:ɔ] 'grass sp. eaten by black wallaroo' and the place name *Bvrba* [bi:ba], pronounced [bi:ba] in the five-vowel dialects.

The phonemic status of the five main vowels is illustrated by the following minimal and near-minimal pairs. The sixth vowel in Kune is so rare that no minimal or near-minimal pairs have yet been found.

<i>middurru</i>	'tick'	<i>malkno</i>	'skin, subsection' (E)
<i>yimedda!</i>	'you look around!'	<i>molknō</i>	'secretly' (E)
<i>yimadbun</i>	'you wait'		
<i>yimodmen!</i>	'you be quiet!'		
<i>yimudwern</i>	'you are hairy'		

Non-front vowels:

<i>an-bunj</i>	'bamboo shaft, bamboo pole'
<i>bonj</i>	'enough!'
<i>yigukbanj</i>	'you stink'

Non-back vowels:

<i>bayimeng</i>	'(s)he said'
<i>bayemeng</i>	'(s)he was ashamed'
<i>bayameng</i>	'he speared it'

2.1.1 Vowel groupings suggested by phonological patterns

A number of patterns apply to natural classes of these five vowels:

- (a) In the Mayali dialects, initial *ng* can be dropped before the non-front vowels *a*, *o* and *u* in some environments (§2.4.2).
- (b) The two front vowels *i* and *e* condition a correspondence between morpheme-initial *y*, in Mayali and Kunwinjku and *r* in more easterly dialects: M, W *nayin*, E *narin* 'snake'; M *gun-yerrng*, E *kun-rerrng* 'firewood'; M, W *yi-*, E *re-* 'comitative prefix'. (There is also one case of this correspondence before *a*: M, W *yawoyh-*, E *rawoyh-* 'again'). These two vowels are also grouped together by seemingly free variation in a few environments. The word (*ng*)*aye* 'I' is sometimes pronounced (*ng*)*yai* in Gun-djeihmi and Kuninjku, and in Kune *ngayi(h)* is the only pronunciation. 'Tadpole' alternates in pronunciation between *karlkke* and *karlkki* in Kuninjku.

- (c) Cross-cutting the above groupings are restricted alternations within the verb paradigm between the non-high, non-back vowels *a* and *e* and the non-low back vowels *o* and *u*:

<i>ma-ng</i>	get-NP	<i>me-i</i>	get-PP
<i>ra-i</i>	go-IMP	<i>re-ø</i>	go-NP
<i>bu-n</i>	hit-NP	<i>bo-m</i>	hit-PP
<i>yu-n</i>	lie-IMP	<i>yo-ø</i>	lie-NP

The two non-low back vowels also alternate, in Kunwinjku, in the preposition *kore* ~ *kure* (Oates 1964:13) and in Kuninjku in *kordduk* ~ *kurdduk* 'shit'.

2.1.2 Non-phonemic vowel length

Although vowel length is not phonemic,¹ there are some environments in which they are phonetically long (shown by [:] in this section only).²

- (a) Monosyllables are commonly (though not invariably) pronounced with their vowel lengthened (e.g. [mɪn ~ ni:n] /nin/ 'grass wren', [mak ~ ma:k] /mak/ 'message stick'). This is particularly noticeable in monosyllables which, as interjections, carry the intonation for a full sentence (e.g. [bòɔŋ] /boŋ/ 'OK then (you needn't persuade me any more)'). The possibility of vowel lengthening disappears when another morpheme is added: *nud* [nu:t] 'stinking, rotten', *nudbanj* [nɔtbaŋ] 'stinking, rotten'.

The monosyllables in the above category all have the form CVC. In the case of monosyllables of form CVCC, such as *barrk* 'black wallaroo', the vowel is always short.

Only two open-class CV monosyllables exist and these are restricted to the non-Mayali dialects; both are pronounced with long vowels: *ni* '(s)he/it was sitting' (W, I, E), *di* '(s)he/it was standing'. In Mayali these would take the third person minimal past prefix *ba-* and would therefore no longer be monosyllables, though condition (b) below then applies to them.

The only other open monosyllables, the conjunctions *ba* and *bu*, are always grouped phonologically with the following (or more rarely the preceding word) and then fail to count as monosyllables for the assignment of non-phonemic length (e.g. *bu ngudda* [buŋɔt:a] 'and what about you?').

- (b) There is a small set of monosyllabic nominal roots of form CV which, though they cannot be pronounced in isolation, are pronounced with a long vowel if they precede either (i) the third person possessor suffix *-no* or (ii) another root, whether as a result of incorporation, noun-verb compounding or noun-adjective compounding. The CV root may be word-initial, or preceded by nominal or verbal prefixes and more than one such root may occur in the same root. Examples are:

<i>ka:-no</i>	'(its) quill (of echidna)' (MM)
<i>mo:-no</i>	'(its) bone(s)' (I, E, MM)
<i>man-bo:-mak</i>	[VE-liquid-good] 'good water' (W)
<i>ga-bo:-yo:</i>	[3-liquid-lie] 'there is water' (Dj, W)

¹ Oates (1964) left open the possibility that vowel length was phonemic, but subsequent descriptions have all discounted this and the orthography does not distinguish long vowels.

² See Borowsky and Harvey (1997) and B. Baker (1999) for a discussion of similar phenomena in Warray and Ngalakgan respectively.

ko:-no ' (its) flower' (E, MM)
ka-ko:-bun [3-flower-strike] 'it comes into flower' (E, MM)

In the word for 'drink', structurally 'liquid-eat', the incorporated *bo* is on the way to being lexicalised and speakers vary between short- and long-vowel pronunciations (*bo:ngun* ~ *bongun*), whereas for all other occurrences of this root the vowel is long.

- (c) A few disyllabic roots have a long open *e* in their second syllable, associated with aberrant stress placement, which only appears before flapped following stops (see §3.1.1). The most important roots in this set are $\sqrt{\text{mirndé}}$ 'many', $\sqrt{\text{dilé}}$ 'urine, piss' and $\sqrt{\text{bulé}}$ 'blackened, burned, dark', as in *arribulerri* [aribulé:ri] 'we Aborigines, we black people' (%*arri-bule-di%* [we-black-stand]).
- (d) Phonetic long vowels may arise from the phoneme sequence *iyi*, as in *gabariyigan* 'they go for it', phonetically [gabari:gan] and from loss of /g/ between two vowels, as in some speakers' pronunciation of *nagamarrang* 'male skin name' as [na:maran].
- (e) Stressed syllables of form CV? in X-*me* verb stems have a lengthened vowel; mid-vowels are somewhat open in this environment.

<i>awehme</i>	'I vomit'	[awé:ʔme]
<i>ngadjohme</i>	'I want to cough'	[ŋajɔ:ʔme]
<i>adjuhme</i>	'I bogy, swim'	[a jú:ʔme]
<i>abuhme</i>	'I blow'	[abú:ʔme]

- (f) There is expressive lengthening of the final syllable of an intonational phrase (most commonly, but not necessarily, a verb) when duration of the activity is stressed; this is usually accompanied by a suspended high intonation contour (e.g. *barriwa::m* 'they kept going and going'; *bidjaldulubom madjawa::rr* 'she kept spearing her with her quills (*madjawarr*)').
- (g) One word remains that has a lengthened vowel not accounted for by any of the above: *Djan-di:rnku*, *w man-di:rnku* 'cycad'. The fact that the *d* is phonetically retroflexed in some dialects (e.g. Kune) shows it to be in the same syllable as the retroflex nasal in those dialects (see §2.3.2), ruling out an interpretation as reduced from underlying *man-diyirnku* by (d) above. In this word only, I mark vowel length orthographically.

2.2 Diphthongs

Eight phonetic diphthongs occur in all dialects, though phonemically these are best analysed as sequences of vowel plus semivowel (see below). The eight diphthongs represent all possible combinations of vowel with a following glide except for that of a high vowel with a glide of equivalent frontness. Orthographically, the second element is written with a semivowel symbol in the Kunwinjku and Manyallaluk Mayali orthographies and with a vowel in the Gun-djeihmi orthography; phonetically, the relative prominence of the two vocalic elements varies according to the diphthong, as follows.

Orthography:

Kunwinjku, Manyallaluk Mayali	iw	ew	aw	ow	ey	ay	oy	uy
Gun-djeihmi	iu	eu	au	ou	ei	ai	oi	ui

Phonetic transcription:

showing relative prominence: [iu eũ au oũ eĩ aĩ oĩ uĩ]

For convenience, in discussions of diphthong types below I shall refer to 'w-final' and 'y-final' diphthongs even where my examples are Gun-djeihmi and do not employ orthographic *w* or *y*.

Examples of each of these diphthongs are:

<i>iu</i>	<i>gun-diu</i>	'liver'	<i>an-yiuk</i>	'honey'
			<i>garri-marne-biwkge</i>	'we bend it' (MM)
			<i>man-yiwku</i>	'plant sp.' (E)
<i>eu</i>	<i>an-djeuk</i>	'rain, raincloud'	<i>deu-deu</i>	'dollarbird'
<i>au</i>	<i>bayaumei</i>	'she got a child'	<i>yaukyauk</i>	'young girls'
	<i>lauk</i>	'stone-tipped spear'		
<i>ou</i>	<i>garnbouh</i>	'whip snake'	<i>an-bouh</i>	'seasonal swamp'
	<i>gun-douk</i>	'biceps muscle'	<i>badjoukgeng</i>	'(s)he crossed it'
	<i>duwowh</i>	'common koel' (E)	<i>korrowkkorow</i>	'kookaburra' (E)
	<i>gun-djoubdjurd</i>	'occiput'		
<i>ei</i>	<i>bamei</i>	'(s)he got it'	<i>yingeibu!</i>	'Say its name!'
	<i>al-beiwurd</i>	'our daughter'	<i>ganweibu!</i>	'Give it to me!' (k.k.)
<i>ai</i>	<i>maih</i>	'animal'	<i>barai</i>	'(S)he should go!'
	<i>malaiwi</i>	'tomorrow'		
<i>oi</i>	<i>al-goigoi</i>	'promiscuous woman'	<i>woibuk</i>	'true'
	<i>gun-boi</i>	'cooking stone'		
<i>ui</i>	<i>barui</i>	'it got cooked'	<i>guluibirr</i>	'saratoga' (fish sp.)
	<i>gun-dembui</i>	'special kinship vocabulary'	<i>badjakdui</i> <i>kuluyhkuluy</i>	'it rained' 'tawny frogmouth'

Diphthongs contrast on the one hand with pure vowels and on the other with sequences of two vowels separated by a glide:

Table 2.2: Contrast between diphthongs, pure vowels and V+glide+V

V	V ₁ V ₂	VGlideV
e <i>gabame</i> 'it shines'	ei <i>bamei</i> '(s)he got it'	eyi <i>badjobkeyi</i> 'he was chopping it'
o <i>ganwo</i> 'give me!'	ou <i>garnbouh</i> 'whip snake'	
	au <i>yaukyauk</i> 'girls'	awu <i>nawu</i> 'that one'
		<i>yawurrinj</i> 'youth(s)'
	ui <i>badjakdui</i> 'it rained'	uyi <i>djama badjakduyi</i> 'it didn't rain'

Turning now to their phonemic status, there are two pieces of evidence for treating them as sequences of vowel plus glide, rather than as unitary diphthong phonemes.

The first piece of evidence comes from reduplication patterns. There are a number of reduplicative and retriplicative processes (see §3.6), most of which involve left-copying some variant of an initial CV- sequence. If the diphthong were a single composite segment, we should expect the entire diphthong to be copied; if it were two segments, only the first should be copied. In each case, it is just the first segment that is copied:

CV- reduplication:

-*yau* 'child (esp. in derived senses)' → -*ya-yau* 'children' (e.g. Dj *gun-nguk-yayau* 'udder' [IV-guts-children]; W *kun-bid-yayaw* 'three middle fingers' [IV-hand-children]).

-*beywurd* (w) 'child (of male)' → -*be-beywurd* 'children'

CVhCV- retriPLICATION:

-*bouk* 'seasonal swamp' → *an-boh-bo-bouk* 'swampy riverine area' (**an-bouh-bou-bouk*)

Iterative reduplication; pattern (d) (§9.4.2), from an inflected monosyllabic stem of form CV(C), forms a reduplicative prefix CVNV-:

-*mei* 'getPP' → -*mene-mei* 'ITER-getPP' (**meinei-mei*)

The second piece of evidence comes from phonotactics, in that the semivowel has the same positional possibilities as other sonants in the coda. As we shall see in §2.4 the basic syllable structure is CV(non-nasal sonant)(stop/nasal), with a maximum of one segment able to fill each of the two syllable positions. However, we find that diphthongs are incompatible with the non-nasal sonant position being occupied: within rhymes we get sequences like *owk* (e.g. *djowkke* 'cross') or *uyk* (e.g. *bidkuykmerren* 'make prints by spraying ochre over an outline of one's hand'), comparable to *olk* or *urrk* (e.g. *kunbolk* 'country' or *burrk* 'body'), but sequences like **owlk* or **uyrrk* are impossible. As with other sonants, the *y* and *w* closing diphthongs are also incompatible with apical stops in the same coda, so that the absence of such combinations as **yd* and **wd* parallels the impossibility of sequences such as **ld*. Again this parallel can be readily explained if the second element is seen simply as a semi-vowel filling the sonant slot of the coda. (Note that this formulation does not rule out the possibility of there being additional constraints on coda sequences where the first element is a semivowel.)

It is possible that some of the *y*-final diphthongs, at least, derive from old sequences of vowel plus palatal stop, or vowel plus palatal nasal plus glottal stop. First note that *y*-final diphthongs are even more constrained phonotactically than the *w*-final ones: except for the root *kuykmerrinj*, given above, they are never followed by a further consonant within the syllable, whereas *w*-final diphthongs, as we have seen, can be followed by any non-coronal stop.³ The only exception to this generalisation involves syllable-final glottal stops, as in W *weleyhweleyh* 'red-winged parrot' and W *mayhmayh* 'birds' and glottal stops have extra phonotactic possibilities in any case, as will be discussed in §2.4. This phonotactic gap would be explained if we assume *Vy* reflects earlier *Vdj* or *Vnj* by lenition, since both of these segments are syllable-final.

To establish this hypothesis we need cognates in *Vdj* or *Vnj*. So far I have just a few examples: Ngandi *ngij* 'name (n.)' and Igar -*ngijbunggu* 'name (v.)', corresponding to W *kun-ngey* 'name' and *ngeybun* 'name'; BGW *mayh* 'animal' to Dalabon *manjh* 'animal'; BGW *malaywi* 'tomorrow' to Maung *malanybi*.

Further language-internal evidence comes from sporadic alternations like *bodjunjhme* 'squirt water' (as recorded by Ken Hale for Kunwinjku) with the form *bodjuyhme*, also attested.

³ This is restricted to tautosyllabic clusters: *Vy* may be followed by any stop that initiates a new syllable, as in *na-woy\$do* 'sugar glider', *a-ngey\$bun* 'I name it', *al-bei\$wurd* 'our daughter'.

2.3 Consonants

Table 2.3: Consonant phoneme inventory

		Place of Articulation					
		Peripheral		Apico-		Lamino- palatal	Glottal
		Bilabial	Velar	alveolar	retroflex		
Manner of Articulation	Short stop	p (b)	k (k)	t (d)	ʈ (rd)	tʃ (dj)	ʔ (h)
	Long stop	p: (bb)	k: (kk)	t: (dd)	ʈ: (rdd)	tʃ: (djdj)	
	Nasal	m (m)	ŋ (ng)	n (n)	ɳ (rn)	ɲ (nj)	
	Lateral			l (l)	ɭ (rl)		
	Rhotic			r (rr)	ɻ (r)		
	Semi-vowel	w (w)				j (y)	

Table 2.3 sets out the consonant phoneme inventory. The most suitable IPA symbols are given in bold, followed by their representations in Kunwinjku orthography, which is the only one with a one-to-one mapping of graphemes to phonemes. Note that the class name 'rhotic' is used to group the apico-alveolar rhotic **r** (a trill or tap) and the apico-retroflex **ɻ** (a continuant).

The long-stop series and the glottal stop, are restricted in distribution. Long stops only occur intervocally or in the environment $v(\text{Non-nasal sonant})_v$ (§2.3.1). Glottal stops only occur syllable-finally. Harvey (1991) presents cogent evidence that in a series of Arnhem Land languages the glottal stop should be treated as an underspecified autosegment linked to the syllable and I will assume this analysis for Bininj Gun-wok as well, though the only language-specific phonological evidence is its anomalous phonotactics: it is the only stop that can follow nasals in the coda position (§2.4). The flap *rr* does not occur word-initially and can be morpheme-initial only when derived from *d* by morphophonemic alternation (§3.1.1).

The three orthographies differ in their treatment of the stops. Since there is no phonemic voicing difference this frees two sets of English graphemes (*b, d, g; p, t, k*) for use and different selections from this set have been made. The two primary considerations shaping orthographic choices here have been (a) the differential distribution of phonetic (as opposed to phonemic) voicing: short stops tend to be voiceless syllable finally and voiced syllable initially and long stops to be always voiceless; and (b) the need to avoid the orthographic confusion that using *g* for the velar stop creates when dealing with the distinct phonemic sequences /nk/, /ŋ/ and /ŋk/.

The Kunwinjku orthography, by using *k* for the velar stop, solves (b), since the three relevant sequences are written *nk*, *ng* and *ngk*. This leaves it with a mixed set of voiced and voiceless symbols (when pronounced with their English values) and the drawback (frequently cited by linguistically naive English-speaking critics of the orthography) that what is phonetically a voiced velar stop, as in the language name Kunwinjku, phonetically [gɔnwɪŋgu], gets represented by a voiceless symbol. A further disadvantage of this orthography (though rarely mentioned) is that all long stops bar the velar are phonetically voiceless but written with doubled voiced symbols, e.g. *kaddum* 'peak', phonetically [gat:ɔm].

The Gun-djeihmi orthography, as regards its treatment of consonants, departs from Kunwinjku by overdifferentiating the velar stop, writing *g* syllable initially and *k* syllable

finally, e.g. *guk* 'body' (written *kuk* in Kunwinjku), phonetically [gɔk]. This brings the pronunciations of the velar stop symbols closer to English and incidentally solves another problem by making it possible to distinguish long stops from doubled stops (cf. *bukkang* 'I showed you' /puk:an/ and *nakimukgen* 'of the big one' /nakimukken/); the marginal existence of these contrasts is discussed in §2.3.1. On the negative side, the Gun-djeihmi orthography opens up ambiguities in the nasal plus velar stop sequences, since orthographic *ng* can now be /nk/ or /ŋ/; this must then be solved by inserting either a hyphen or a dot between the *n* and the *g* when these are separate phonemes (e.g. *an-gang* 'he carried me', *baman.gang* 'he fell').

The Manyallaluk Mayali system, based on an orthography developed earlier for Jawoyn, overdifferentiates short stops, writing them voiced syllable initially and voiceless syllable finally: thus *gunbart* for 'knee' (phonetically [gunbat]), which would be spelled *kunbard* in Kunwinjku and *gun-bard* in Gun-djeihmi. This means that like Gun-djeihmi, but unlike Kunwinjku, sequences of apical nasal plus stop can be confused with the velar nasal. It writes long stops as if they were geminates, e.g. *bukgang* 'I showed you' or *gatdum* 'peak' (see last paragraph); this loses the (marginal) advantage of distinguishing long from doubled stops, but brings the phonetic values of all long stops close to how a naive English speaker would pronounce the letters. In addition, it writes the palatal stop as *j* syllable initially and *tj* syllable finally and the palatal nasal as *ny*.

In short, each orthography has minor imperfections, though in practice one only rarely needs supplementary notations to show the correct phonemic transcription. The following array shows how stops are represented in all three orthographies; *x*, *y* means 'x syllable initially, y syllable finally'; for each orthography, the first line gives the short stops and the second the long. Note that some (though not all) doubled digraphs are simplified, e.g. *rdd* instead of *rdrd*.

Kunwinjku	b	k	d	rd	dj	h
	bb	kk	dd	rdd	djdj	
Gun-djeihmi	b	g, k	d	rd	dj	h
	bb	kk	dd	rdd	djdj	
Manyallaluk Mayali	b, p	g, k	d, t	rd, rt	j, tj	
	pb	kg	td	rtd	tjj	

NOTES ON PHONETIC REALISATION We have already noted the tendency for stops to be voiced syllable initially and voiceless syllable finally; this applies in all dialects. It is a tendency, rather than an absolute requirement, so that *kuk* 'body' may be pronounced [kɔk] as well as the more usual [gɔk]. Again without being an absolute generalisation, there is a tendency for speakers from more easterly dialects to use the voiceless syllable-initial pronunciation more often.

In Gun-djeihmi only, there is frequent intervocalic lenition of /k/ to [ɣ], so that *agarrme* 'I have it', for example, phonemically /akarme/, is often pronounced [aɣarme] and *ragul* 'red-eyed pigeon' is often pronounced [ɾaɣul]. Particularly in Kunwinjku, word-final /ŋ/ often nasalises and diphthongises the preceding vowel and may even be omitted phonetically, leaving the preceding nasalisation as a cue to its underlying presence; *anmarneyimeng* '(s)he told me', for example, is typically realised as [anmaŋeyimēŋ] or [anmaŋeyimē^ŋ] but also as [anmaŋeyimē] or [anmaŋeyimē^ə]. Stops are usually unreleased syllable finally, thus [ɟat] for *ngad* 'we, us'. The apico-alveolar rhotic tends to be a voiceless trill when it is the first element of a consonant cluster (e.g. [gɯuʃk] *kururrk* 'in the cave; inside') and be a tap

intervocally (e.g. [ɲare] for *ngarre* 'let's go'), but in rhetorical or bombastic speech a voiced trill pronunciation is extended to intervocalic environments as well. Apart from these particularities, consonants have the pronunciation corresponding to the phonetic symbols used to represent the phonemes in the consonant chart. Specific problems involving the realisation of retroflex segments will be discussed in §2.3.2.

The following minimal or near-minimal pairs illustrate key contrasts of place and length:

RETROFLEX vs ALVEOLAR

<i>gun-bard</i>	'knee'	<i>bad</i>	'stone, rock' (E)
<i>ngard</i>	'little short-necked turtle'	<i>badbong</i>	'rock wallaby'
<i>an-gord</i>	'shit'	<i>ngad</i>	'we, us'
<i>malkno</i>	'skin, subsection' (E, MM)	<i>an-god</i>	'giant paperbark'
<i>garnbouh</i>	'common tree snake'	<i>marlkno</i>	'liver' (E, MM)
<i>gun-burn</i>	'ankle'	<i>ganbom</i>	'you hit me (past)'
<i>kon-no</i>	'spike' (E)	<i>ngunbun</i>	'(s)he hits you'
<i>gu-labbarl</i>	'billabong, swamp'	<i>korn-no</i>	'crotch' (E)
<i>gun-berle</i>	'dew'	<i>gabbal</i>	'flood plain'
<i>gun-borlo</i>	'hollow left by uprooted tree'	<i>gukbele</i>	'white-bodied, white person'
		<i>na-bbolo</i>	'man who is father to one of us and father-in-law to the other'

ALVEOLAR vs PALATAL

<i>dangnud</i>	'foul-mouthed'	<i>djang</i>	'dreaming, dreaming place'
<i>arridoukge</i>	'we go bang'	<i>arridjoukge</i>	'we cross'
<i>gun-god</i>	'paperbark'	<i>gun-godj</i>	'head'
<i>gun-mud</i>	'body hair, fur'	<i>gun-mudj</i>	'gall'
<i>an-nameng</i>	'he made me'	<i>an-njamed</i>	'what (vegetable class)'
<i>gun-djen</i>	'tongue'	<i>djenj</i>	'fish'
<i>gandji</i>	'jabiru' (E)	<i>ganjdji</i>	'inside, under'

PALATAL vs VELAR NASAL

<i>gunj</i>	'kangaroo'	<i>an-gung</i>	'honey'
<i>gabanj</i>	'it stinks'	<i>gabang</i>	'it's cheeky, dangerous'
<i>njamed</i>	'what'	<i>ngamed</i>	'whatsisname'

PALATAL vs RETROFLEX

<i>an-dedj</i>	'crotch'	<i>an-berd</i>	'penis'
<i>an-benj</i>	'firestick bush'	<i>an-berbern</i>	'ghost gum'

GLOTTAL vs ZERO

<i>berlu</i>	'aunty'	<i>berluh</i>	'aunty (vocative)'
<i>gun-worr</i>	'leaf'	<i>gun-worrh</i>	'fullness, satiation'
<i>gun-mil</i>	'slice of yam'	<i>gun-milh</i>	'forehead'
<i>larr</i>	'sandpaper fig'	<i>an-larrh</i>	'callitris pine'
<i>mani</i>	'money'	<i>manih-mani</i>	'beads'

GLOTTAL vs OTHER STOPS

<i>yidjuhme</i>	'you swim'	<i>yidjudme</i>	'you stick it in'
<i>an-bolh</i>	'track, pad'	<i>yidjukme</i>	'you spit' (E:D)
<i>yyiahwurd</i>	'you are small'	<i>gu-bolk</i>	'place'
<i>gabarrhbun</i>	'it is dawning'	<i>yyiakwo!</i>	'finish it!'
		<i>gabarrkbun</i>	'(s)he wraps it'

2.3.1 The stop contrast

Like most other languages in Arnhem Land, including the Maningrida family, the Yolngu subgroup of Pama-Nyungan and virtually all the Gunwinyguan languages, Bininj Gun-wok has two stop series, whose primary phonetic distinction is in length.⁴ The short stops are positionally unrestricted, while the long stops are restricted to intervocalic positions, though with the possible interposition of a non-occlusive consonant (i.e. liquid or glide) between the preceding vowel and the stop. Examples of minimal or near-minimal pairs are:

<i>gabalbun</i>	'he hits away'	<i>gabbal</i>	'floodplain'
<i>gun-djabu</i>	'fish trap'	<i>djabbo</i>	'orphan; northern quoll'
<i>gadi</i>	'on top'	<i>gaddum</i>	'peak'
<i>manjdjurdurk</i>	'quiet snake'	<i>gun-durddu</i>	'heart'
<i>gun-badjorr</i>	'foot' (GG)	<i>ngunbadjde</i>	'(s)he punches you'
<i>garrolgan</i>	'he flies'	<i>garrolkkan</i>	'he gets up'
<i>gugun</i>	'on the right'	<i>gukku</i>	'water'
<i>ragul</i>	'red-eyed pigeon'	<i>kun-djakku</i>	'left hand'
<i>njarlgan</i>	'archer fish'	<i>njarlkkan</i>	'tree orchid sp.'

Long stops are unrestricted with respect to their position in the foot. Most commonly they begin the second syllable of disyllabic roots:

<i>dd</i>	<i>ngudda</i>	'you'
<i>kk</i>	<i>gukku</i>	'water'
<i>rrd</i>	<i>birddu, birddurk</i>	'quartz'

But this is not obligatory. There are examples of fortis consonants in trisyllables, in which they may initiate either the second or the third syllable:

<i>búlubbi</i>	' <i>eriosema chinense</i> '
<i>an-bíkkurrudj</i>	' <i>buchanania arborescens</i> '

They may also initiate the third syllable of a tetrasyllable:

<i>djálakkiradj</i>	'wire spear'
---------------------	--------------

⁴ There has been considerable debate about the best phonological treatment of this contrast in Arnhem Land languages, which has been analysed in terms of voicing (e.g. Glasgow 1981), fortis/lenis (e.g. Heath 1978; Merlan 1983) and geminate/singleton (McKay 1975, 1980, 1984; Baker 1999), in addition to the length analysis given here. An instrumental phonetic study by Butcher (1990) found length to be the only reliable phonetic correlate of the contrast in languages of the Gunwinyguan, Maningrida and Yolngu groups. In a number of languages of the Daly River, by contrast, there is a voicing contrast and in these languages the contrast is not restricted to intervocalic position.

Just a few words show variation between short and long stops. 'Rock', always pronounced *kunwardde* in eastern dialects, varies between *gun-warde* and *gun-wardde* in Gun-djeihmi; conversely 'my, for me' always has a short stop in Gun-djeihmi (*ngarduk*), but varies between short and long stops in Kuninjku: *ngarduk* ~ *ngardduk*. The interjection 'ow!' is heard both as *warddaw* and *wardaw*, with no clear dialect distribution yet recorded.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that there is a phonetic contrast between long stops and geminated stops,⁵ though the latter must straddle a morpheme boundary, whether it result from reduplication, affixation or compounding. Whereas phonemic long stops are realised phonetically as long, voiceless and tense, geminated stops have a clear double articulation, with voice onset appearing roughly halfway through the combined closure period, though there may be voicing throughout the entire closure.⁶ Thus in *Daddubbe*, the name of a malignant spirit, the *dd* is a double stop (resulting from the compounding of *dad* 'leg' with *dubbe* 'malfunctioning'), whereas the *bb* is a long stop; phonetically this is realised as [datdup:e ~ daddup:e]. Similarly, in *guk-gurduk* 'Aboriginal person', a compound of *guk* 'body' and *gurduk* 'black', the medial velar sequence is typically pronounced [kg], whereas in *gukku* 'water', which is monomorphemic, there is just a single long velar stop, pronounced without voicing: [guk:u].

In the case of verbs comprising a stop-final theme plus a prebound beginning with the same consonant (see §8.2.1), there is some variation in whether the long or the geminate pronunciation is heard, basically depending on how obvious the morpheme boundary is.⁷ In verbs like *bukkan* 'show' or *bekkan* 'hear, listen, understand', in which the theme *kan* 'carry, take' can be isolated by morphological analysis but the first elements *buk* and *bek* are cranberry morphs with no existence outside the compound, only the long stop pronunciation appears. But in a verb like *bakbakke* 'break into bits', in which the morpheme boundary with *ke* is clear both from the presence of other verbs with the same theme (e.g. *bakme* 'break (intr.)'), but also from the reduplication of the prebound to *bakbak*, only the geminate pronunciation is heard.

In the Gun-djeihmi orthography the distinction between geminate and long stops is shown, at least for velars, by the choice between *kg* and *kk*: *bekkan* and *bukkan* but *bakbakke*. In the other orthographies this distinction is not made, but will be shown here where relevant by an interposed dot (e.g. *bakbak.ke* in the Kunwinjku orthography), though this device will not be used when morpheme divisions render it unnecessary.

Despite the existence of a phonetic contrast between long and geminate stops, there are some tantalising similarities between the distribution of long stops and of stop clusters when one examines their phonotactic distribution, which could be taken as evidence that long stops are simply geminates that are not separated by a morpheme boundary.

We have already mentioned that long stops cannot be word-initial; in this they resemble stop clusters.

Turning to the question of what consonants may precede long stops, we find the set is restricted in two ways.

⁵ Such a three-way contrast is also found in Warray: see Harvey (1986).

⁶ The following discussion of the phonetics is based on auditory data only; clearly an instrumental study would be rewarding.

⁷ And there may be interspeaker variation. The word for 'rock possum' was pronounced *djorrkkun* by Toby Gangele, but *djorkgun* by Minnie Alderson. This does not have an obvious segmentation, though *djorkk* occurs in some dialects with a meaning 'trunk, body'.

Firstly, only a single consonant may come between the vowel and the long stop and it must be a non-occlusive (i.e. a liquid or a semivowel). Examples illustrating the possible sequences are given in Table 2.4.

The attentive reader will notice a second generalisation evident in the above data. The long stop must be a non-apical. In fact it is mostly a non-coronal; the only examples with a palatal are the four given above (*yakirrdjdja*, *nawordjdja*, *Bularldjdja* and *ganbaldjdja*). Table 2.5, giving the number of examples of each combination counted (roots only counted once) in Garde's Kuninjku dictionary, gives an idea of the relative frequency of the various combinations. The proportions given express the ratio of cluster attestations with a particular stop to total attestations of that stop, thus there are 45 roots with long *bb* in the Garde corpus, of which 16 occur in clusters with a preceding consonant.

Table 2.4: Possible sequences of consonant + long stop

With <i>rr</i>	<i>wurrbbarn</i> (Dnj) 'emu'	<i>yarriwurrkkarr</i> 'matri-phratry name'
	<i>yakirrdjdja</i> (I) 'milkwood tree'	<i>djorrkkun</i> 'possum sp.'
With <i>r</i>	<i>djarkkadj</i> 'freshwater shell sp.'	<i>birbbarrh</i> 'water lily' (MM)
	<i>nawordjdja</i> 'flood water' (E)	
With <i>rl</i>	<i>djurlbbun</i> 'cocky apple'	<i>njarlkkann</i> 'paperbark orchid'
	<i>gun-murlbbui</i> 'meat' (k.k.)	<i>warlkkarra</i> (I) 'ox-eye herring'
	<i>Bularldjdja</i> 'clan name'	
With <i>l</i>	<i>dolbbe</i> 'bark of ghost gum'	<i>ngalkka</i> (I) 'that (fem)'
	<i>mulbbamh</i> (I) 'crammed together'	<i>ngarridolkkang</i> 'we got up'
	<i>ganbaldjdja</i> 'toothless catfish'	
With <i>w</i>	<i>Nakiwkkani</i> (I) place name (sole example)	
With <i>y</i>	<i>man-wuybbinj</i> (I:k.k) 'honey'	<i>marraykka</i> (I) 'female mythological figure'

As Table 2.5 shows, the greatest number of clusters involving long stops have velar stops, followed by bilabial stops, though in terms of percentage the labial stop participates in clusters more often than the velar. Palatals are a long way behind in terms of cluster frequency and there are no clusters at all with a long apical stop.

Table 2.5: Count of stop combinations in clusters

	N (%)	<i>rr</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>rl</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>
<i>bb</i>	16/45 : 36%	3	0	6	6	0	1
<i>dd</i>	0/33 : 0%	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>rdd</i>	0/35 : 0%	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>djdj</i>	3/26 : 12%	1	1	1	0	0	0
<i>kk</i>	26/130 : 20%	11	0	8	5	1	1

Now this distribution parallels that found with codal clusters; we shall see in §2.4 that *rrk*, *rlk*, *rrb*, *lk*, *wb* and *yk*, for example, are all possible coda clusters, but *ld*, *rld* and *rrd* are not,

though each of the latter is a possible sequence across a syllable boundary. The impossibility of nasal plus long-stop clusters likewise parallels that found with codal clusters: the only nasal plus stop clusters in codas have the glottal stop as their second element. A robust generalisation, in other words, is that a given sonant can only occur in a cluster with a long stop if it can also occur as a coda cluster with the corresponding short stop; *rrk* is a possible coda cluster and *rrkk* a possible long-stop cluster, while *ld* is an impossible coda cluster and *ldd* an impossible long-stop cluster, for example. The only exceptions to this correlation are the rare cases of clusters involving long palatal stops, which lack corresponding sonant plus short-stop codal clusters.

The above discussion should make it clear that there are significant parallels between the phonotactics of long stops and the phonotactics of clusters. This suggests that the correct phonological treatment of long stops would be as geminates, thus inheriting the generalisations about cluster phonotactics.⁸ This analysis would also account for the likely source of many long stops (such as in *bukkan* and *bekkan*, discussed above) as old geminates whose separating morpheme boundary has been lost.

However, this analysis is not without problems:

- (a) It clashes with speaker syllabifications, which do not split long stops across the syllable boundary. Unlike geminates, which are split when speakers syllabify them (e.g. *dalk...ken* 'dingo'), long stops are confined to the syllable onset, e.g. *gu...kku* 'water'; in this rather artificial pronunciation the long stops are sometimes voiced.
- (b) Stop clusters never begin a morpheme, but in two cases long stops are morpheme-initial. One of the demonstrative series in eastern dialects has the forms *nakka* 'that (masc)', *ngalkka* 'that (fem)' and *makka* 'that (veg)'; this is segmentable into gender prefix plus root *-kka* and significantly the vegetable prefix is *ma-* rather than the expected *man-* (§5.5), thereby avoiding the banned sequence nasal plus long stop. The other exception is a pair of words from the Kun-derbi kinship vocabulary (§1.5.2), used by a husband and wife about the person who is parent of one of them and parent-in-law of the other: *nabbolo* for father(-in-law) and *ngalbbolo* for mother(-in-law); again this can be segmented into gender prefix *na-/ngal-* plus *-bbolo*.
- (c) it fails to account for why there is no set of long nasal stops, since geminate nasals are perfectly permissible (e.g. *ngannang* '(s)he saw me').
- (d) to the extent one can account for the historical origins of long stops, it explains only part of the data.

It is certainly true that many long stops appear to derive from old clusters, which at some stage of their development would have assimilated to geminates. Examples are *bukkan* 'show' and *bekkan* 'hear, understand, know', discussed above,⁹ the female subsection terms *ngarridjjan* and *kodjjan*, etymologically made up of roots *ngarridj* and *kodj(ok)-* plus

⁸ A further argument for this position might come from the distribution of retroflex disagreement (§2.3.2), which is vanishingly rare in the case of two successive short consonants, but possible in the case of a sequence of short consonant then cluster or the reverse (e.g. E *man-kurlunduh*, *barndol*). This can be accounted for by saying that an apical onset can take its retroflexion value from a preceding syllable coda only if that coda is also apical. A similar argument could then be made for a disagreeing retroflex sequence in which one is a long stop (e.g. *Burddal*, *man-burluddak*). In each case the disagreement could be said to result because gemination allows a retroflexion value to pass to an adjoining syllable, as in homo-apical clusters.

⁹ In the case of *bekkan* a possible source is from the unattested *bengh-kan* [mind-carry] by denasalisation; this would leave it as a doublet of *bengkan* 'know'.

feminine marker *-djan*, though in this case the attachment of the feminine suffix probably took place in Dalabon (§1.4.2.2) so the forms were most likely borrowed with the long stops already in place and the long stops in Kuninjku resulting from assimilation of place in such verbs as *kodjdjeyo* 'sleep' (< *kodj.djeyo* < *kodjkeyo*) or *murridjdje* 'break' (< *murridj.dje* < *murridjke*), whose western dialect cognates have the assimilated form.

However, there are at least four other sources of long stops.

Firstly, some long stops occur at reduplication boundaries, where stop-initial stretches or one or two syllables are repeated, for example *mabarrabbarra* 'rock pigeon' (I) and *korlokkorlo* 'shotgun; masturbation' (I). This is not the usual pattern of disyllabic reduplication (§3.6.4), which normally inserts a glottal stop (e.g. *an-gaboh-gabo* 'area with many billabongs'). Rather, reduplication in which the stop is lengthened at the boundary is found with words in which the reduplicand has no morphemic status (there is no morpheme **barra*, **korlo* or **berreb*), including in such Macassan loanwords as *balabbala* 'table' (< *bala?bala?*) and *burrubburru* 'scabies' (< *puru-puru*). In such cases it seems that long stops are a boundary-marking phenomenon rather than a result of cluster simplification.¹⁰

Secondly, long stops appear in large numbers of loan words in which the stop is a voiceless intervocalic in the donor language. This may be because the donor language has a voicing contrast, as in English (*baccy* (tobacco) > *bakki*, bullocky > *bulikki* 'cow') or Makassarese (*padomang* > *baddumang* 'glass', *botolo?* > *budjdjulung*,¹¹ *kappala?* > *kabbala* 'boat', *pacco* > *an-badjdju* 'wild potato'); note that Makassarese has both voicing and gemination and geminate and single voiceless stops both end up as long stops in Bininj Gun-wok. It may be because the donor language has a length contrast, with length conditioning voicelessness, as in Yolngu (*Yirridjdja* > *Yirridjdja*). Or it may be because the donor language has just a single stop series, but with voiceless realisations intervocalically, as with Iwaidja /makumpu/ 'wind type' > *makkumbu*.¹²

Thirdly, there are a good number of words in which the long stop appears to be reconstructable to a great time depth, owing to the presence of cognate long stops in relatively distant languages. Harvey (forthcoming) contains a number of examples; here I give just two. The crucial evidence for time depth comes either from languages in other families with a long-short contrast (such as Gorrhone and Burarra in the Maningrida family), or from distantly related languages that once had such a contrast and preserve traces of it historically, such as Nunggubuyu in which short stops lenite and long stops descend as (unpaired) stops. The form *kabbal* 'salt-pan, flood-plain' (and thence a relatively open area) has extremely widespread cognates in Australia (e.g. Kayardild *kabar-a*, Gimbi-yu *ap:al*, Gidabal *galal* 'scrub, open forest', Girramay *galal* 'sand'); it appears with a long stop in those languages that have them (e.g. Gorrhone *galal* '(flood) plain', Ritharrngu *galala* 'clearing, open plain'; in both these orthographies *p* represents a long bilabial stop) and as a stop rather than a glide (short *b* would lenite to *w*) in Nunggubuyu *abala* 'plain, open area'. The verb *badjdje* 'punch, hit' appears with a long stop in a number of other Gunwinyguan languages (e.g. Ngalakan *bac:i*, suppletive form of *buyji* 'hit each other'; Ngandi *bacca* 'to

¹⁰ One could argue that they result from the assimilation of an underlying glottal stop (e.g. *korlokkorlo* < *%korlohkorlo%*), but one would then have to set up a rule allowing the assimilation of the glottal stop across nonce boundaries but not across regular morpheme boundaries, as in *an-gaboh-gabo*.

¹¹ On the accretion of final *-ng* in Macassan loans see Evans (1992a).

¹² At this stage we know very little about Iwaidjan historical phonology, but it is clear there has been lenition of stops initially and medially (see Evans 1997b, 1998 for some initial observations). This raises the possibility that some of the intervocalic stops in the Iwaidjan languages descend from long stops, so that Iwaidjan *makumpu* may be historically *mak:umpu* and the loan may stem from this period.

hit'), with an unlenited stop in Nunggubuyu (*baja* ~ *waja*, a compound variant of 'to hit') and with a long stop in some languages of the Maningrida group (e.g. Burarra *bacha* 'fight each other', where *ch* is a long palatal stop). So although we are still far from having a definitive reconstruction, the most plausible interpretation of the evidence is that the common ancestor of Gunwinyguan, Nunggubuyu and the Maningrida languages had a long–short contrast and that a fair number of long stops in Bininj Gun-wok simply preserve ancestral long stops.

These three other sources of long stops (reduplication, borrowing of voiceless or long stops and descent from original long stops) thus make it implausible to treat all synchronic long stops as geminates. Rather, a fuller account sees geminates as one among several sources.

The relevance of (a) to (d) above is that although there are suggestive resemblances, in terms of phonotactics, between the distribution of long stops and sequences of two stops, these parallels are not complete and an ideal formal treatment should capture the phonotactic similarities without having to treat long stops as geminates.

2.3.2 Retroflexion as syllable prosody

Phonological analyses of Australian languages normally treat retroflexion as a segmental feature of apical consonants. However, retroflexion in Bininj Gun-wok is better understood in autosegmental terms, as a prosodic feature whose basic domain is the syllable.

There are four reasons for arguing this, outlined below. For ease of exposition I use phonemic transcriptions in the next few paragraphs, marking retroflexion on every segment it appears on. (All three orthographies are rather inconsistent in their representation of retroflexion, typically marking it only once per syllable but with some vacillation about where it is marked when more than one locus is possible.)

Firstly, although retroflexion can be realised phonetically on a syllable-initial segment (e.g. /gomɖaw/ (I) 'long-necked turtle'), a final segment (e.g. /gunbaɖ/ 'knee'), a vowel (e.g. /be'g/ 'deaf adder'), or various combinations of the above (e.g. /ɖɖ/ 'louse', /gaɭgi/ 'salmon-tailed catfish' (E:D)), it only needs to be marked once on any syllable and once a syllable is marked as retroflex the loci of retroflexion will be predictable: any apical segment in the syllable and the vowel. Retroflexion is more clearly audible on the vowel in monosyllables, which are phonetically lengthened, as discussed in §2.1.2.

Within a syllable, all apical stops and nasals agree in retroflexion. Thus there are words like /tʃ/ 'moon', /tʃ/ 'louse' and /tʃaŋki/ 'near' on the one hand and /nin/ 'small bird', /nan/ 'I saw you' and /tatkujɛ/ 'long-legged' on the other, but no syllables like */tʃ/, */tʃ/, */naŋ/ or */nan/. The only exceptions to such 'retroflexion agreement' occur when two apical consonants are linked across a morpheme and syllable boundary (see below). Note also that the retroflex continuant /ɹ/ does not participate in these effects and hence we find words like /naɹin/ 'snake'.

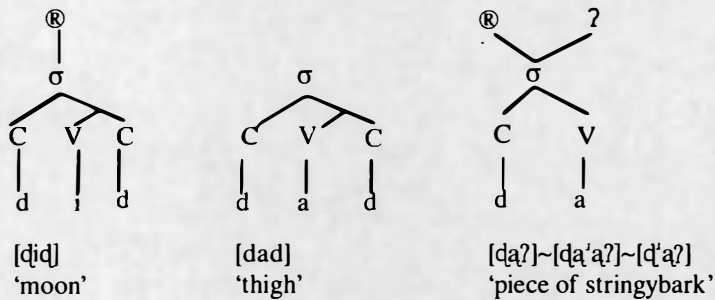
Secondly, it follows that syllables may be retroflexed even when there is no apical segment, with the retroflexion manifested on the vowel in rather variable ways. For example, the word for 'deaf adder' is pronounced [be'k], [b'ɛk], [be'ɛk] and [bɛk] by different speakers, or even the same speaker. Such variability is not found with other segmental phonemes and it is noteworthy that literate speakers have difficulty placing the *r* when spelling these words; the only other sound with which they have similar difficulties in writing is the other autosegment, /ʃ/.

Thirdly, no other consonantal segments allow their leading phonetic cues to pass through a glottal stop, but retroflex stops can, as in /kaʔti/ '(s)he is standing, exists', phonetically [gaʔdʒi].

Fourthly, when the morphophonemic rule of flapping (§3.1.1) removes one segment that can exhibit the contrast, retroflexion remains on other eligible segments if the original stop was retroflex: /kari-ʔame/ (E:D) 'we flavour it with herbs' (where the initial segment and the vowel are retroflex) /yi-ʔame/ 'you flavour it with herbs', or /kari-ʔaŋʔpun/ 'we hit them close up' vs /yi-ʔaŋʔpun/.

Taken together, these four factors suggest that retroflexion is an autosegment associated with the syllable and manifested clearly on any apical stops that may be present, as well as (more variably) on any vowel. The autosegmental representations these facts suggest are illustrated in 2.1; the retroflexion prosody is represented by ®. In articulatory terms, retroflexion involves a gesture of the tongue-tip, which is independent of the movement of the whole tongue. The timing of this gesture may be synchronised with the occlusion by the tongue, may immediately precede or follow it, or may be slower — in this case, apparently, at syllable pace.

2.1



As mentioned above, the only exception to retroflexion agreement occurs in cases where an apical nasal plus stop cluster is involved at one end of the syllable; in this case there can be disagreement in the retroflexion value, resulting from the assimilation in point of articulation between the nasal and stop. Consider what happens when the retroflexed /ʔot/ 'louse' is incorporated into the apico-alveolar /nan/ 'sees' and prefixed by the non-retroflexed /ŋan/ '(s)he/me'. Though there is some variability in the resulting pronunciation, the commonest is /ŋantotŋan/ '(s)he delouses me', in which each of the two syllable onsets assimilates the retroflexion value of the coda of the preceding syllable in retroflexion. Likewise, when the root /tuʔu/ 'heart' is prefixed by the class IV marker /kun-/ , the commonest result is /gunduʔu/ , with the first /t/ losing its retroflexion through assimilation to the apico-alveolar coda of the prefix. Most such cases arise across morpheme boundaries, but sometimes they occur inside polysyllabic roots, for example are /man-kuʔuntuʔ/ (E:D) 'melaleuca minutifolia', /weŋdɛlweŋdɛl/ (E) 'plant sp.', /an-wiŋjilk/ 'various small shrub sp. used for red dye' (Dj) and /paŋʔol/ (E) 'carpet python'.

There is some variability across dialects in how far this process of retroflex assimilation in clusters occurs. Consider the word for the cycad *cycas armstrongii*, spelt *an-dirn.gu* in Gurdjihmi and *man-dirn.ku* in Kunwinjku. In both these dialects the nasal of the second syllable is clearly retroflexed, but the stop beginning the second syllable is not, assimilating to the alveolar articulation of the (m)an- vegetable prefix. In Kune, by contrast, such assimilation does not take place and the initial is clearly retroflexed (giving the pronunciation

[mandj:ngu]). Likewise, the name for the *persoonia falcata* tree is [mandak] in Kunwinjku and [andak] in Gun-djeihmi, with the root-initial apical agreeing with the prefix-final nasal in not being retroflexed, whereas in Kune it is pronounced [mandʌk], with disagreement of retroflexion in the cluster and retroflexion clearly audible on the vowel. In such cases of retroflex disagreement in a cluster there is a dissimilatory tendency to emphasise the retroflex onset to the point of having rhotic release: [mandʌk].

Table 2.6: Syllabic retroflexion in three syllable environments, compared over three dialects

Environment	Dialect			Gloss
	Kune	Kuninjku	Gun-djeihmi	
Velar (retroflex restricted to Kune)	<i>kaburk</i>	<i>kabuk</i>	<i>gabuk</i>	'dry'
	<i>ngarkme</i>	<i>ngakme</i>	<i>ngakke</i> (v.t.)	'drown'
	√ <i>bork</i>	√ <i>bok</i>	√ <i>bok</i>	'track'
	√ <i>warkwan</i>	√ <i>wakwan</i>	√ <i>wakwan</i>	'not know'
	<i>-barng</i>	<i>-bang</i>	√ <i>bang</i>	'cheeky'
	<i>djarng</i>	<i>djang</i>	<i>djang</i>	'Dreaming'
	<i>namurng</i>	<i>namung</i>	<i>namu(ng)</i>	'tree snake'
	<i>berk</i>	<i>berk</i>	<i>berk</i>	'deaf adder'
Open (retroflex restricted to Kune, with variation in Kuninjku)	√ <i>barne</i>	√ <i>barne</i>	√ <i>barne</i>	'bright, shine'
	—	<i>yiwirmeng</i>	<i>yiwimeng</i>	'kin term'
	√ <i>warbun</i>	√ <i>wabun</i>	√ <i>wabun</i>	'sing spell'
	<i>borkung</i>	<i>bokung</i>	—	'black bittern'
	<i>ngorkkowino</i> 'night'	<i>ngokkowi</i> 'dusk'	<i>ngokko</i> 'already'	
Glottal-final	√ <i>werhne</i>	√ <i>werhne</i>	√ <i>weryhne</i>	
	√ <i>ngerh</i>	√ <i>ngerh</i>	√ <i>ngelh</i>	'heart, breath'
	√ <i>kirh-</i>	√ <i>kih</i>	√ <i>gih</i>	'mud'

In addition to retroflex agreement within the syllable, there is agreement between apical stops and nasals in successive open syllables, suggesting a tendency to maintain the retroflex gesture over a period longer than the syllable when possible. Thus there are words like /tʌt:ʌ/ 'brother (of woman)', /pʌt:et:et/ 'flagellaria indica', /tʌtʌtʌ/ 'cicada' (I), /tʌtʌtʌ/ 'sacred kingfisher' and /nenikot/ 'goat' (= 'goat'), but none mixing apico-retroflex and apico-alveolar occlusive onsets in adjacent open syllables (though orthographically this is obscured by the regular Australianist practice of not using retroflex digraphs word-initially, so that /tʌt:ʌ/ is written *dardda*, for example). Interestingly this constraint does not apply to laterals and there are many examples mixing retroflex and non-retroflex laterals in adjacent syllables: *wularl* (Dj) 'stringybark canoe', *wularla* (I) 'spectacled hare wallaby', *korlele* (E:D) 'lizard sp.', *balurlu* (E:D) 'fish sp.' and *bolorlo* (E:D) '*terminalia grandiflora*'. A possible articulatory explanation is that the horizontal compression of the tongue necessary to articulate a lateral renders the articulatory gesture of the tongue tip less independent than with stops.

As mentioned above, in cases where no consonant in the syllable is apical, syllabic retroflexion may still be realised as a retroflex colouring on the vowel. The environments in which this may occur, however, become more restricted as one moves from east to west.

Comparing just three syllable environments over three dialects¹³ — glottal-final, velar-final and open — we find that while Kune attests syllabic retroflexion in all three, Kuninjku loses it before velars (except for the one word *berk* 'deaf adder') and only keeps it variably in the other two environments, while Gun-djeihmi loses it before velars (*berk* is again the exception) and in open syllables, retaining it only in some glottal-final syllables — see Table 2.6.

The BGW dialect data alone does not establish whether vocalic retroflexion is an innovation or a retention. Comparison with other Gunwinyguan languages, however, shows it to be retention, since most of the above words (as well as others not given on the table) are attested with the retroflex segment in such languages as Jawoyn, Rembarrnga and Ngandi (though the sources do not discuss whether it should be treated as a conventional segmental phoneme or a syllable prosody):

VELAR ENVIRONMENT *J burakminj* 'become dry', Ngandi *barng* 'bitter, sour, bad-tasting', *J barang* 'aching, sore, hurt'; *J berk* ~ *brek* 'bad, dangerous'; *J ngan-bork(-ngayu)* 'tracks'; *J ngan-jarang*, R *djarng* 'dreaming place'; *J mork* 'fly'. (Note also *Dj gun-ngeng* 'pouch of kangaroo', *J ngan-ngerng*)

OPEN-SYLLABLE ENVIRONMENT *J warwu* 'sing, ensorcel', *mur* 'whipsnake'

GLOTTAL-FINAL ENVIRONMENT *J ngerhme* 'have a spell', *J werhma* 'vomit'

2.4 Syllable structure and phonotactics

The phonotactic template for Bininj Gun-wok is essentially monosyllabic. No special phonotactic characterisation is necessary for words of more than one syllable, with three exceptions: the restriction of fortis stops to words of two or more syllables (§2.3.1), the restriction of vocalic onsets to first syllables in the Mayali dialects (§2.4.2) and the availability of *rr* as onset in non-initial syllables, though only between two vowels. There is also a relatively high proportion of closed syllables; on a sample of 138 syllables drawn from the head words of six randomly chosen pages of the Gun-djeihmi–English dictionary, 75 (= 54%) of syllables were closed and 28 (= 23% of all syllables and 37% of closed syllables) ended in a stop (including the glottal stop).

The basically monosyllabic nature of the phonotactics and the preference for closed syllables, gives the characteristic lego-like phonotactic structure typical of the Gunwinyguan languages and contrasts with the majority of Pama-Nyungan languages, which are canonically disyllabic and prefer open syllables. It also explains the virtual absence of rules assimilating place or manner of articulation (see §3.2 for the few exceptions), since concatenations of morphemes so rarely lead to unacceptable phonotactic structures.

In this section, then, we proceed by first examining the phonotactic structure of the individual syllable (§2.4.1), then pass to additional possibilities available at the word-edge in the Mayali dialects through the tolerance of onsetless syllables word initially (§2.4.2); finally we consider what additional restrictions and possibilities arise when syllables are juxtaposed (§2.4.3).

2.4.1 Phonotactic structure of the syllable

The basic syllable structure is:

$$2.2 \quad C \ V \ (L) \ \frac{(S)}{(N)(h)}$$

¹³ At present we lack the detailed cross-dialect word lists that would allow us to expand both the number of dialects and the range of environments (most importantly to final bilabials, but also getting better data on the influence of vowel quality).

Where C is any consonant except h (/r/) (*rr* is also disallowed word initially), V is any vowel, L is any liquid (l, r, rr), N is any nasal (m, n, rn, nj or ng) and S is any oral stop.

Syllables may thus begin with any consonant except ?; when word-initial, *rr* is also disallowed. Syllable finally, all consonants are allowed. The overall sequence in the coda follows the well-known sonority hierarchy: segments decrease in sonority as one moves outwards from the syllable nucleus.

As in most Australian languages, onsets must be simple, i.e. restricted to a single consonant, but there are a couple of marginal exceptions involving initial bilabials followed by liquids (see Evans 1995b for examples of other Australian languages showing this pattern): Kuninjku has a single occurrence of *bl* in the form *namorlblayini* 'renowned hunter' and Kune allows the pronunciation *bredurrkmeɻ* alongside *biredurrkmeɻ* for 'he snatched it away'; in each case the aberrant syllable is stressed. In some words the vowel *i* is shortened in the environment #b_IV# and the following vowel stressed, e.g. *bilibilih* [bilibiliʔ] 'acacia auriculoforma' (E.D).

Two further constraints are needed to prevent the structure in 2.2 from overgenerating.

Firstly, semivowels may also occur, basically in the same slot as the liquids, but only before stops; in other words, non-occlusive consonants (liquids plus semivowels) can come between vowels and codal stops, suggesting a more disjunctive restatement of 2.2 as follows:

$$2.3 \quad C \quad V \quad \frac{(C_{\text{occlusive}}) (S)}{(L) (N) (h)}$$

Secondly, the positional possibilities of the outer consonantal segments get limited by those employed for the inner ones, according to what Hamilton (forthcoming) has called the 'articulator hierarchy' (Labial > Dorsal > Laminal > Apical), such that successive segments must move leftwards along this hierarchy. This renders sequences like **ln*, **rrd*, or **yɻj* impossible within the coda, since the two segments occupy identical positions on the hierarchy; **yɻ* is excluded, *a fortiori*, because the second segment is to the right on the hierarchy.

In fact this formulation still does not work perfectly. It predicts that the sequences **wb* and **wk* should be disallowed, when in fact they occur and it predicts that sequences of liquid plus palatal nasal (e.g. **lnj*) or liquid plus non-velar nasal plus glottal stop (e.g. **rrmh*) should be allowed, when in fact they are not. But it will serve as an orienting generalisation to guide the more detailed survey of possibilities which we now embark on; more specific constraints that have yet to be brought under general formulations will be noted as we go.

In what follows I do not mark syllable boundaries following open syllables, since any sequence *XVCV* must be syllabified as *XV.CV*, but I mark them with \$ elsewhere. The morpheme boundaries given below (e.g. after the class IV prefix *gun-*), entail syllable boundaries.

OPEN SYLLABLES: *CV* These may begin with any non-glottal consonant and contain any vowel. Examples, combining each vowel with a representative of each manner of articulation, are *ba* 'in order that', \sqrt{bele} 'white', *gak\$bi* 'north-east, north', \sqrt{bo} 'liquid, water', *bu* 'when'; *nja* 'here you are', *baginjeyi* '(s)he might cook', *Njirrinjirr* (place name), *njolobongh\$me* 'sing' (Kunkurrng), *njuridj* 'restless fly catcher'; *la* 'and' (w), *an-lerrelele* 'shrub sp.', *an-lirridji* 'gravelly soil from ridge', *kun-lorre* (w) 'soil, dirt', *Lumaluma* 'mythological giant'; *walabi* 'scoop net', *naweleng* 'man responsible for killing', *wirriwirriyak* 'black-faced cuckoo shrike', *wolewoleh* (Dj) 'late afternoon, dusk', *wuyuk\$me* 'doze off'. Examples of open syllables beginning with initial long consonants were given in §2.3.1.

STOP-FINAL SYLLABLES: *CVS* These may end in any (short) stop.

b	<i>gun-geb</i>	'nose'
k	<i>ga-mak</i>	'good'
d	<i>gun-dad</i>	'leg'
rd	<i>gun-berd</i>	'tail'
dj	<i>gun-godj</i>	'head'
h	<i>ma</i>	'time to act!'

LIQUID-FINAL SYLLABLES: *CVL* These may end in any liquid.¹⁴

rr	<i>dju\$lar</i>	'freckled monitor'
l	<i>gun-yil</i>	'tendon'
rl	<i>gun-berl</i>	'arm, wing'
r	<i>bar\$me</i> (l, E)	'shine'

SEMIVOWEL-FINAL SYLLABLES: *CVW* These were discussed and exemplified in §2.2 under 'diphthongs'. Note that there are no sequences of form *CVWL*;¹⁵ basically semivowels occupy the same coda position as liquids, but are more restricted with respect to the clusters they can form.

NASAL-FINAL SYLLABLES: *CVN* These may end in any nasal.

m	<i>bawam</i>	'(s)he went'
ng	<i>djang</i>	'dreaming site'
n	<i>gabun</i>	'(s)he hits it'
rn	<i>nawern</i>	'many'
nj	√ <i>manj</i>	'smell (usually good)'

SYLLABLES ENDING IN A LIQUID PLUS NASAL: *CVLN* These end in any liquid plus the velar nasal (again the *r* may be better analysed as syllabic retroflexion; in any case it is restricted to eastern dialects in this position).

lng	<i>an-galng\$gi</i>	'freshwater mangrove <i>barringtonia acutangula</i> '
rlnj	<i>gorlnj</i>	'carpentaria palm'
rrng	<i>-ngurrng\$me</i>	'puff, suck on'
rng	<i>namurng</i>	'green tree snake' (E)

As mentioned above, the restriction on place specifications of the final nasal is consistent with the articulator hierarchy. However, there are further unattested combinations whose absence does not follow from the articulator hierarchy, namely sequences of liquid plus palatal or bilabial nasal: there are no combinations **lm*, **rlm*, **rrm*, **rm*, **lnj*, **rlnj*, or **rrnj*. There is a single example of *rnj* in the Kuninjku dialect: *kernj\$ kernj* 'pulse'.

Because of the overall patterning of semivowels like liquids in the coda position, it is worth pointing out here that there are essentially no codas of semivowel plus nasal (e.g. **yng*, **wm*). The sole exception is the sequence *wn* in the prohibitive particle *yuwun* 'don't', but note that this is also pronounced *yuwun* and *yun*.

¹⁴ Though on the prosodic analysis of retroflexion outlined in §2.3.2, the *r* in words like *barme* 'shine' in the eastern dialects is analysed as a syllable prosody rather than a segment.

¹⁵ This may be reason the English loan *boil* becomes *boyla*; addition of a vowel allows resyllabification as *boyl\$a*, which is phonotactically allowable.

SYLLABLES ENDING IN A LIQUID PLUS STOP: *CVLS* These end in any liquid plus a non-coronal stop (i.e. *b, k* or *h*).

lb	<i>dolb\$dolb\$me</i>	'pulsate'
lk	<i>gun-dulk</i>	'tree'
lh	<i>gun-milh</i>	'forehead'
rlb	<i>marlb\$me</i>	'flashlight'
rlk	<i>gun-gurk</i>	'dirt'
rlh	<i>barlh\$me</i>	'sweat' (W)
rb	<i>ngalarb\$me</i>	'swim' (I:k.k) (only example)
rk	<i>wark\$wan</i>	'not know' (E)
rh	<i>kirh\$wo</i>	'make wet' (E)
rrb	<i>gurrurrb\$me</i>	'experience twitching in one's body as a signal that some kinsman will arrive'
rrk	<i>barrk\$bu</i>	'cover'
rrh	<i>gorrh\$ge</i>	'burst' (v.t.)

SYLLABLES ENDING IN A SEMIVOWEL PLUS STOP: *CVWS* Like the preceding group of clusters involving nasals, these end in either semivowel plus a non-coronal stop (i.e. *b, k* or *h*), except that the sequence **yb* is not found.¹⁶

wb	<i>gun-djoub\$djurd</i>	'occiput (attested in Dj only; would be written <i>kundjowbdjurd</i> in W orthography)'
wk	<i>kudjewk</i>	'rainy season'
wh	<i>dawh</i>	'amputated' (I)
yk	<i>bayk\$kuyk\$kuyk\$me</i>	'(bee) spray honey' (I)
yh	<i>mayh</i>	'bird, animal'

SYLLABLES ENDING IN A NASAL PLUS GLOTTAL STOP: *CVNh* These end in any nasal plus a glottal stop.

mh	<i>mamamh</i>	'mother's father'
ngh	<i>gingh\$me</i>	'squeak out of side of mouth'
nh	<i>abanh\$nan</i>	'I see them now'
rnh	<i>arridarnh\$yo</i>	'we sleep close together'
njh	<i>wanjh</i>	'well, then'

There are two possible examples of *Cvngk* syllables, though these have also been recorded as *Cvnggh* and it is not clear which is the correct transcription: *belengkh\$me* ~ *belenggh\$me* 'lick' and *d(r)angkh\$me* ~ *d(r)anggh\$me* 'be drunk'. The exceptional status of the latter can of course be attributed to it being a partly-assimilated English loan. Apart from these, no final nasal-plus-stop clusters are attested.

¹⁶ Oates (1964:15) contains putative examples of *yb* and *ydj*, namely *djawaybmeng* 'he asked' and *ngabeddaydjmenj* 'I was initiated' (transcriptions hers). However, these are both mistranscriptions, the first of the sequence *ayh* (which can sound like *ayb* before a following bilabial owing to anticipatory lip-rounding) in *djawayhmeng* and the second of *adj* in *ngaberddadjmeng*; the *y* off-glide is certainly there phonetically, conditioned by a following palatal stop, but phonemically this is a vowel rather than a diphthong.

SYLLABLES ENDING IN A TRIPLE CLUSTER OF LIQUID, NASAL PLUS GLOTTAL STOP: *CVLNh*
The only attested triconsonantal cluster is *rrngh*, which is well-represented in the corpus.

<i>rmgh</i>	<i>na-gurrngh</i>	'son-in-law' (vocative)
	<i>ngarnarrngh</i>	'black cockatoo' (E)
	<i>mim\$narrngh\$narrng</i>	'droop eyes' (I)

Nine other clusters which are still compatible with the sonority and articulator hierarchies are unattested: **lngh*, **lmh*, **lnjh*, **rlngh*, **rlmh*, **rlnjh*, **rrmh*, **rrnjh*, **rngh*, **rmh* and **rnjh*. There are also no triple clusters ending in a stop other than the glottal stop.

VOWEL-INITIAL SYLLABLES IN NON-INITIAL POSITION Morphophonemic processes of cluster simplification occasionally create vowel-initial syllables. The most important such process is the loss of *w* after nasals in Kuninjku (§3.2.2), which gives such forms as *Kuninjku* from *Kunwinjku* for the language name and *kan-urrhke* from *kan-wurrhke* for 'you're having me on'. No resyllabification takes place, so this results in vowel-initial syllables (*kun\$inj\$ku*, *kan\$urrh\$ke*) In other dialects more sporadic processes of simplification very occasionally produce similar results. In Gun-djeihmi, for example, %*gunrak*% 'fire' has been simplified to *gunak*, syllabified as *gun\$ak*. Although the aberrant syllabification is tolerated, the resultant form no longer has its class IV prefix segmented off and *gunak* as a whole is incorporated (see §5.5.2.3) suggesting that while vowel-initial syllables are tolerated, vowel-initial roots (or at least, prefixable roots) are not.

MORPHEME STRUCTURE CONDITIONS As the previous paragraph suggests, there is a constraint that all morphemes in Bininj Gun-wok must be consonant initial and indeed that morpheme breaks should align with syllable boundaries. In fact, the overwhelming majority of morphemes are simply a string of one or more appropriate syllables conforming to the general phonotactic conditions on syllable structure.

The only exceptions to this generalisation are the following:

- Two verbal prefixes, each comprising a codal consonant: IMMEDIATE *h-* (§11.4.3) and *m-* (§11.2.1). In most cases these can be syllabified with a preceding prefix; in the case of zero prefixation there are special morphological solutions in the case of *m-* (§10.2.4), but none in the case of *h-*, which can then simply not be used.
- Some TAM allomorphs, such as *-y* and *-m* (allomorphs of the past perfective) and *-n* (allomorph of the non-past). These are all syllabified with the preceding CV of the verb root. See §9.2 for the verb paradigm.
- Two morphemes beginning with consonants: the demonstrative root *-kka* and the Kunderbi root *-bbolo* 'old parent(-in-law)', both found in the eastern dialects. These were discussed above.
- The reflexive/reciprocal morpheme *-rr-*, which is the only affix consisting just of a syllable-initial consonant and is always followed by a vowel-initial TAM suffix.

For verbal morphemes filling obligatory slots on the verb (i.e. subject and object and TAM) there are further restrictions: they must end in a vowel, liquid or nasal. Examples are *nga-* 'I', *ban-* 'them (object)', *ngarr-* 'we two inclusive', *-m* 'past perfective' (one allomorph). These tighter restrictions also apply to the argument-changing affixes, the comitative *yi-* and benefactive *marne*. Other more lexical morphemes within the verb, such as incorporated nouns or adverbial prefixes (which are usually related to external roots), are not subject to

this additional constraint and must merely conform to general syllable structure; examples are *kak*- 'at night', *yawoyh*- 'again' and *djarrk*- 'acting together'.

In the domain of nominal morphology similar patterns are found. Inflectional prefixes must end in vowels, liquids or nasals (e.g. *na*- 'masculine', *ngal*- 'feminine', (*m*)*an*- 'vegetable') and case suffixes must end in vowels or nasals, possibly followed by a glottal stop¹⁷ (e.g. ablative *-be(h)*, comitative *-dorreng*, locative *-ka(h)*). The only exception to this is the privative, *-yak*, with its final velar stop.

The net result of these constraints on morphologically complex words is a sort of phonotactic white bread sandwich: outer inflectional morphology with light phonotactics of open syllables or a single codal sonorant, wrapped around inner morphology of a more derivational or lexical nature exhibiting more complex syllable structures.

2.4.2 Initial syllables beginning with vowels

In all dialects there are a few words, almost entirely interjections, that can begin with vowels (usually *a*). Kuninjku, for example, has the following vowel initial interjections: *a* 'what'd you say?', *adjuh* 'I'm not sure, who knows, maybe', *arda* 'OK', *ay* 'hey', *ukay* 'wow!' and *uwa* 'yes!'. The only other vowel-initial words in the eastern dialects are *ungke*, a variant of *ngungke* (< *nguddangke*) 'yours' and English loans such as *odjbel* 'hospital'. Despite the existence of vowel-initial interjections, vowel-initial loanwords from other languages are adapted to the C-initial phonology by adding an appropriate glide or *ng*, as in the three language names *Yerre* (< *Erre*), *Wurningak* (< *Urningangk* and note the simplification of the banned final *ngk* cluster as well) and *Ngamurdak* (< *Amurdak*).

In the Mayali dialects only, vowel-initial words occur more frequently. This is particularly obvious in the Gun-djeihmi dialect, which as the most extreme example of vowel-initial words is the focus of the following discussion.

To begin with, there are a good number of loan-words from languages to the north and west that freely allow vowel-initial phonotactics; unlike the situation in more easterly dialects, such loan words are not assimilated by adding an appropriate initial consonant. Examples are the language names *Amurdak* and *Erre*, pronounced vowel initially in Gun-djeihmi in contradistinction to the Kunwinjku and Kuninjku pronunciations given above, *alabbanjdja* 'plant sp. *grewia xanthopetala*' (a Iwaidja loan) and the place name *Indjawandja* 'Cannon Hill'.

More numerically important, however, are the large numbers of words which freely drop the initial *ng* found in their cognates in other dialects,¹⁸ particularly when coming at the beginning of a breath-group;¹⁹ for example:

¹⁷ A significant number of these suffixes exhibit alternations between glottal-final forms and those without the glottal stop, though one of the other form tends to be preferred in a given dialect. Further examples are instrumental *-yi(h)* and genitive *-ken(h)*. Such alternations are not found in verbal suffixes, which never have final glottal stop.

¹⁸ I have heard Kunwinjku speakers also make this vowel-initiation pronunciation, but then correct my repetitions by restoring the *ng*-. They also standardise towards the *ng*-initial spelling when writing in Kunwinjku. Paradoxically, because most of the Kunwinjku corpus was transcribed by native speakers, this has resulted in a more prescriptively influenced corpus for Kunwinjku, so that it is not clear exactly what the conditions on *ng*-drop are in this dialect.

<i>anabbarru</i>	=	<i>nganabbarru</i>	'buffalo'
<i>an-berbern</i>	=	<i>ngan-berbern</i>	'ghost gum'
<i>aye</i>	=	<i>ngaye</i>	'I, me'
<i>adjadj</i>	=	<i>ngadjadj</i>	'uncle' (MB)
<i>an-bom</i>	=	<i>ngan-bom</i>	'(s)he hit me'
<i>a-wam</i>	=	<i>nga-wam</i>	'I went'
<i>okko</i>	=	<i>ngokko</i>	'already'
<i>udda</i>	=	<i>ngudda</i>	'you'
<i>uniwam</i>	=	<i>nguniwam</i>	'you two went'

Some speakers insert an epenthetic *w* in front of the *u* resulting from *ng*-drop, as in *wudda* 'you' (< *udda* < *ngudda*).

Front vowels never license the dropping of word-initial *ng*, so that *nginj* 'hook' is never pronounced **inj* and *ngeigo* 'namesake' is never pronounced **eigo*.²⁰

For each of the three eligible vowels, however, there are words which never drop initial *ng*:

<i>ngarradj</i>	(* <i>arradj</i>)	'white cockatoo'
<i>ngakngak</i>	(* <i>akngak</i>)	'grey-crowned babbler'
<i>ngorrkelh</i>	(* <i>orrkelh</i>)	'the one who is my brother-in-law and your father'
<i>nguk-badjan</i>	(* <i>ukbadjan</i>)	'fat-bellied'

I have been unable to discover a principle that will exhaustively predict which words may drop initial *ng* and which may not, though there are some clear regularities. The set of forms which may drop initial *ng* includes:

- all prefixes containing *ng* plus a non-front vowel, such as *nga-* (first person minimal), *ngan-* (vegetable class; third person minimal subject on first person minimal object) and *ngani-* (first person exclusive unit augmented subject)
- all free pronouns (e.g. *ngaye* 'I', *ngad* 'we')
- primary kin terms (e.g. *ngabbard* 'father' and *ngadjadj* 'uncle', though not Gundeumbui terms like *ngorrkelh*)
- other closed-class items like ignoratives (*ngayed* 'where, how') and preverbal particles (*ngokko* 'already').

On the other hand, reduplicates like *ngakngak* 'grey-crowned babbler' and *ngeredjngeredj* 'pandanus frog' do not allow *ng*-drop.

There is a residue of terms, such as *ngarradj* 'white cockatoo' which never drops *ng* and *nganabbarru* ~ *anabbarru* which does, that cannot be predicted and must be marked lexically.

Occasionally other initial nasals are dropped in casual speech, in Gun-djeihmi only. The masculine noun-class marker *na-* is sometimes reduced to *a-* (e.g. *ahni* 'this'). Initial *nj* is sometimes dropped in the interjection (*nj*)*onj-njonj* 'how cute!'. Initial *y* may be dropped before *i* (e.g. *yimrai* / *imrai* come!).

¹⁹ It appears that in Manyallak Mayali the situation is a little different, with *ng*-initial pronunciations favoured at the beginning of the breath-group and then vowel-initial pronunciation breath-group internally. However, more transcribed data is needed before this impression can be confirmed.

²⁰ Note, however, that words with initial *nge* and *ngi* are rare in Mayali. I have only recorded seven distinct roots in initial *nge* and two roots with initial *ngi*. Compare this with several score with initial *nga*, about thirty with initial *ngo* and several score with initial *ngu*. The proportions in Kuninjku are comparable.

Initial-dropping appears to be an areal feature of north-western Arnhem Land. In all the Western Gunwingguan languages (Jawoyn, Warray, Kungarakany) it primarily results historically from loss of initial *ng*, although in Warray it may sometimes result from loss of initial *n* as well. Within the Mayali dialect chain there is a progressive increase in *ng*-dropping as one moves from east to west. Thus the status of *ng*-dropped variants ranges from virtually non-existent in Kune to 'substandard' (and consciously corrected) in Kunwinjku, to relatively free variation in Gun-djeihmi. Proto Gunwingguan does not appear to have allowed vowel-initial syllables and initial-dropping seems to result from areal influence from the relatively distantly related languages of the floodplains area and the Cobourg Peninsular.

2.4.3 Clusters across syllable boundaries

There are very few special 'syllable contact' restrictions blocking certain types of clusters across syllable boundaries. At least across morpheme boundaries, virtually any permissible syllable-final consonant series can precede any permissible syllable-initial consonant except *rr*. As a result, intervocalic clusters of up to four segments can occur, for example *rrnghm* in *ngalgurrnghme* 'to call s.o. mother-in-law', arising from the combination of a triconsonantal codal cluster *rrngh* with a consonant onset *m*. It also means that many clusters which are not permitted in codas (e.g. *ln*, *wm* or *bk*) can occur across syllable boundaries (e.g. *W mandjalnekke* 'just like that', *biyawmey* 'she conceived him' and *bebkeng* '(s)he took him/her/it out').

The lack of syllable-contact constraints generates a very large number of combinations, namely the number of syllable-final consonant series multiplied by the number of syllable-initial consonants. Multiplying the fourteen possible onsets by the 44 possible consonantal codas given in §2.4.1 (six *VS*, four *VL*, five *VN*, five *VNh*, four *VLN*, two *VW*, one *VLNh*, twelve *VLS*, five *VWS*), plus the possible clusters involving long stops (14 — see §2.3.1), gives 631 possible clusters. Our corpus of roots is not large enough yet to test whether all these possible combinations occur intramorphemically, but we can test for the occurrence of virtually every cluster across morpheme boundaries by concatenating the right morphemes. I first briefly discuss the patterning of trans-syllabic clusters within morphemes, then turn to the more generously exemplified domain of clusters that span morpheme boundaries.

INTRAMORPHEMIC CLUSTERS As mentioned above, we do not yet possess a large corpus of polysyllabic roots — certainly well under five hundred if one excludes proper names. Even this number includes many that are etymologically multimorphemic (e.g. *maddjurn* 'black-headed python', apparently an old compound based on *djurn*, which is the Ngalakan word for the same species), or at least include cranberry morphs (e.g. *-kohbanj* 'old person', including *banj* 'stinking'; cranberry 'prepounds' are particularly frequent — §8.2.1), or are loanwords (e.g. *ngadburrung* 'brother (not genealogically close)' and Dj *galdurkk* 'kookaburra', both from Maung or Iwaidja, E *dorrhbakkak* 'plant sp.' from Dalabon, or Dj *galngbui* 'young man's first kill', from one of the Yolngu languages),²¹ and clan and place names are likely to have a high proportion of loans from surrounding languages, given the language shift to Bininj Gun-wok that has occurred. Deciding how to delimit the domain of

²¹ Except for *kaldurkk*, in which the *ld* results from the adaptation of a monomorphemic flapped lateral in Iwaidja, the clusters here all appear to span live or frozen morpheme boundaries in the donor languages: in YM *galngbuy* segments into *galng* 'hunting' plus associative *-buy*; in Dalabon *dorrhbakkak* *dorrh-* means 'stem' and *bakkak* is obviously a reduplication and in Iwaidja and Maung *adburrung* the *ngad-* is the first person plural pronominal prefix (hence: we-brothers).

inquiry and what counts as a morpheme boundary, therefore involves a complex series of arguments that would lead us too far astray here.

If one concentrates on clear cases which are neither likely loans, nor contain cranberry morphs or frozen morpheme boundaries, the majority of transsyllabic clusters would either be allowed as codas anyway (e.g. *rlb* in *kurlba* 'blood' or *rrk* in *wurrkeng* 'cold season'), comprise homorganic nasal-stop clusters (e.g. *lumbuk* 'dove sp.', *kondah* 'here', *borndok* 'woomera', *al-wanjdjuk* 'emu' (Dj), *yingkih-* 'before, first') or have an apical consonant as the last element of the leading syllable (e.g. *an-wunnguk* 'shrub sp.' (Dj), *an-burnbarra* 'herb sp.' (Dnj), *balmarded* 'sorry for the swearing (interjection)', *wardbukkarra* 'onomatopoeic word in song'). However, there are also heavier clusters, for example, of two peripheral occusives in Dj *an-yakngarra* 'pandanus spiralis' and *bangme-* 'not yet'.

As yet I have no examples of four-consonant clusters inside morphemes, nor of stop plus liquid clusters (which would violate the sonority hierarchy), nor of clusters like *djd*, *mng* or *bdj* which move from left to right on Hamilton's articulator hierarchy. As we shall see below, such 'heavy' clusters are permitted across morpheme boundaries, which suggests that the set of permitted transsyllabic clusters within morphemes is a subset of the set of transmorphemic possibilities, but a superset of the intrasyllabic possibilities. However, a fuller evaluation of this claim and a more exact definition of what the gaps are, must await the assembling of a fuller corpus, combined with far-reaching etymological analysis.

TRANSMORPHEMIC CLUSTERS We lack the space to work through all 631 possible clusters here. Rather, we examine particular combinations illustrating the basic productivity of coda x onset combinations, focussing on sequences which we would expect to be highly marked in view of the intrasyllabic patterns discussed in §2.4.1, as well as on the basis of the thorough survey of Australian phonotactics in Hamilton (1995).

First, consider the sonority hierarchy. Unlike intrasyllabic clusters, as well as transsyllabic clusters in many other Australian languages, there is no bar against increasing sonority as one moves rightward through a cluster.²² Sample clusters illustrating this are *kn* (*bokno* '(its) track'), *kng* (*bikuknguneng* 'it ate the body'), *bl* (*lablab* 'little bronze cuckoo'), *dr* (*kubadrurrk* 'cave'), *dw* (*mudwern* 'hairy'), *mrl* (Dj *gun-gomrlarnduk* 'adam's apple'), *ngr* (*gun-dangrurrk* 'oral cavity'), *nw* (*anwong* '(s)he gave me') *rw* (*Mirwi* 'clan name'), *my* (*gamyo* '(s)he sleeps on the way here'). Of course these all conform to the sonority hierarchy inside each of their syllables, since the last consonant is more sonorous than the vocalic nucleus of its syllable.

Second, consider the articulator hierarchy. We saw with intrasyllabic clusters that in liquid plus stop clusters the stop must be further to the left on Hamilton's articulator hierarchy. Again the articulator hierarchy does not apply to these clusters when they span a syllable boundary, as exemplified by such sequences as *rrd* (*ngarrdokmeng* 'we headed off'), *rrl* (*ngarrlobmeng* 'we ran') and *r.d* as in *kaker.di* 'it has a spike' (k.k.). Similar constraints, applying to liquid plus stop clusters inside syllables (e.g. **rrn*, **ln*) fail to apply to transsyllabic clusters: *ngarrnalkbun* 'we cry', *andjalnekke* 'just like that'. There is also no constraint against such clusters as *djd*, *njn*, *mng* and *bdj* (which move from left to right on the articulator hierarchy), even though as seen above they appear to be absent from

²² In Kayardild, for example, the sequence *rnw* is outlawed, even though *Vrn* is a possible coda and *wV* a possible onset; to avoid this constraint it assimilates to *rnm*, e.g. %ngarnwulaaja% > ngarnnulaaja 'from the beach' (Evans 1995d).

transsyllabic clusters within morphemes: *bagodjorrinj* 'she struck her head',²³ *nginjno* 'hook', *bamimnguneng* '(s)he ate the fruit', *gungebdjined* 'snot'.

Third, consider the tight constraints on consonants following semivowels in a cluster, shown in §2.4.1 to apply within syllables (e.g. **wng*, **wr*, **yd* and **ydj*). All these are possible clusters across morpheme boundaries: *biyawnguneng* '(s)he ate the child', *kayawre* 'the child goes', *kangeydi* 'it has a name on it', *boydjokeng* '(s)he chopped up the antbed'.

Fourth, recall that within syllables nasals could not be followed by any stop except the glottal. No such constraint applies across syllable boundaries, as witnessed by such sequences as *nakomrdudj* 'initiant', *ngadjangkan* 'I hunt', *kanjdorrenng* 'with meat' and *kabimdi* 'there is a painting'.

Fifth, note that repeated instances of the same consonant, one as coda and one as onset, are common. Examples are *kun-ney* 'name', *bim-mang* '(s)he recorded a picture' and *ngagey-yawan* 'I'm trying to think of the name'.

Finally we note that complex clusters arising from the contact of codal clusters with initial consonants are frequent and unconstrained. Examples are *dulkdjokeng* '(s)he cut down the tree', *dinhno* 'protrusion', *malngno* 'clan spirit', *kirhno* 'mud' (l), *ngalkurrnghme* 'call mother-in-law' and *mimnarrnghnarrng* 'droop eyes' (l).

The only partial constraints on syllable contact appear to those involving contact between apicals differing in retroflexion. This topic was partly discussed in §2.3.2, where we saw that there is cross-dialectal variation in how far such clusters assimilate place values. For example, the vegetable class prefix (*m*)*an-*, with its final apico-alveolar nasal, assimilates retroflex-initial stops to an alveolar position in western dialects (e.g. Dj *an-dak* 'persoonia falcata', w *man-dak*) but in Kune there is independent articulation of the two occlusives, producing *man-rdak* (usually pronounced [mand'ak]). Likewise the *l*-final verbal prefixes *djal-* 'just' and *bal-* 'away, along' vary, across dialects, individuals and degrees of attention to speech, in how far they assimilate, or are assimilated to, following retroflexes: followed by retroflex initials, such as *rdurdeng* 'returned' or *rlurlmeng* 'swelled up', they may themselves undergo retroflexion, as in w *benebarlrdurdeng* 'they went back', Dj *adjarlrlurlmeng* 'I just swelled up', or there may be independent articulation, as *benebal.rdurdeng* or *adjal.rlurlmeng*. Interestingly, when the first element of such a pair is retroflex it is never assimilated to an alveolar articulation: *barnname* 'put up high' may be pronounced [baŋname] or [baŋname] but never [banname] and *berdno* 'its tail' may be pronounced [beɖno] or [beɖno] but never [bedno].

2.5 Stress

Stress is the most complex part of the phonology. It is complicated by the alternative stress patterns that emerge in connected discourse, which reweight primary and secondary stress to meet higher-level timing targets. There are also important cross-dialect differences; Manyallaluk Mayali, for instance, does not conform to the rules given below. The following account, then, is simplified only, largely restricted to stress in isolated word forms and says little about some dialects (such as Manyallaluk Mayali) which appear on the basis of initial investigations to differ substantially in their stress patterns. A more comprehensive investigation is planned as part of a full study of prosody and intonation in Bininj Gun-wok.

²³ Though in eastern dialects the sequences *djd* and *djk* are assimilated to *djj* – see §3.2.3.

The stressed syllable is normally signalled both by greater intensity and by serving as the intonational nucleus for the phrase, normally resulting in higher pitch. In the following examples I shall indicate the syllable receiving word stress by an acute accent on the relevant vowel.

2.5.1 Basic stress pattern

Most of the variation in stress assignment results from the interaction of a general penultimate stress target with a constraint requiring stress to be placed foot initially, with feet mostly constructed to align with morphemes, but with some additional specific constraints. Light syllables sometimes also optionally reject stress and compounds and certain types of suffixes form new right edges at their boundaries, allowing more than one primary stress to be assigned. Overall, this leads to stress falling anywhere between the last syllable (in monosyllables) and the fifth-last (in the irrealis form of some verbs).

Thus in 2.4a, illustrating the simplest case, word stress can fall on the penultimate syllable because it is foot-initial (which in the unmarked case follows from being morpheme initial), whether or not the last syllable also forms its own foot. Obviously, in monosyllables stress falls on the only syllable available (2.4b).

- | | | | | | |
|--------|--|---|---|---|--|
| 2.4 a. | <i>Ngá-na-ng</i>
1/3-see-PP
'I saw him/her.' | <i>gún-dulk</i>
IV-tree
'tree' | <i>gun-dúlk-gen</i>
IV-tree-GEN
'of the tree' | <i>dáluk</i>
woman
'woman' | <i>ø-békka-ng</i>
1/2-hear-PP
'I heard you.' |
| | <i>an-dálk-bang</i>
III-grass-cheeky
'cheeky grass' | | <i>gun-dúlk-berl</i>
IV-tree-arm
'branch of tree' | | |
| | <i>Bi-ngérh-do-y.</i> (E)
3/3HP-heart-strike-PP
'He speared him in the heart.' | | <i>Yibín-ma-ng.</i> (E)
2/3pl-pick-NP
'You pick them up.' | | |
| | <i>Yí-ngu-ø</i>
2/3-eatIMP
'Eat it!' | <i>á-bo-m.</i>
1/3-hit-PP
'I hit it.' | <i>Bí-na-ng.</i>
3/3h-sec-PP
'(S)he saw him/her.' | | |
| 2.4 b. | <i>ø-ná-n</i>
1/2-see-NP
'I see you' | <i>bónj</i>
[interjec]
'OK, enough' | <i>nín</i>
small.bird
'small bird' | <i>ø-wá-m</i> (W, I, E)
3P-go-PP
'(s)he went' | |

The examples in 2.5 illustrates what happens when the penultimate syllable does not begin a foot, usually (as in all these cases) because it is not morpheme-initial. The stress shifts leftward from the penultimate until an eligible foot-initial syllable is reached. This can lead to stress being placed on the third syllable from the end (2.5a), or the fourth last (2.5b).²⁴ Note that feet are grouped here by square brackets; I return to the notion of foot below.

- | | | | |
|--------|----------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| 2.5 a. | [wóibukki]
'true' | [bámurru]
'magpie goose' | [barri-][dúlubo-m]
3a/3P-hit.from.distance-PP
'they shot it' |
|--------|----------------------|-----------------------------|--|

²⁴ Four-syllable feet additionally receive a very light tertiary stress on their third syllable, not shown in these transcriptions.

	[an-][márne-][bom] 3/1-BEN-hitPP 'he hit my relative'	[bárrí-][na-ng] 3a/3-see-PP 'they saw him'	[bíni-][na-ng] (E) 3ua/3-see-PP 'they two saw him'
	[gárrí-][re] 12a-gONP 'let's go'	[gun-][déngé-][bok] IV-foot-track 'footprint'	[an-][górle-][bard] III-bamboo-knee 'node of bamboo'
2.5 b.	[djírrirdirdi] 'sacred kingfisher'	[na-][gárrigad-][gen] MA-west-GEN 'westerner(s)'	[barri-][dúlubu-ni] 3a/3P-hit.from.distance-PI 'they were shooting (it)'
	[Kámarrang-kah] [skin.name]-LOC 'on/to Kamarrang'		

The stress patterns discussed so far can be accounted for in terms of three constraints, in an informal optimality-theoretic statement:

- 2.6 Align right
Stress should be maximally close to the right edge
- 2.7 Shun right edge
Stress shouldn't adjoin the right edge
- 2.8 Left-align with foot
Stress should align with the left of a foot

'Align right', as expressed here, is multiple-valued; it is best satisfied by being at the right edge (but then clashes with 2.7), second-best by being at the penultimate and so forth. 'Shun right edge' can only be violated when the word is monosyllabic and there is no other stress placement solution. 'Left-align with foot' (2.8) can never be violated. However, to understand its operation we need to say more about the foot, a subject to which we now turn.

2.5.2 Feet

Feet are the basic timing units within which stress is assigned and are of approximately equal length. In other words, Bininj Gun-wok is stress- rather than syllable-timed.

Normally each morpheme before the root is a foot, even if monosyllabic (except for the two non-syllabic morphemes *m* and *h*, which are integrated with the preceding syllable). From the root rightwards things get more complicated: most importantly, TAM suffixes are merged with the preceding morpheme (the root, or the reflexive-reciprocal suffix) into a single foot. However, monosyllabic roots (possibly with cohering TAM suffix) are feet in their own right.

Let us illustrate with examples from the Kune dialect for which we have multiple measurements from free text (Bishop 1997a; the text analysed appears in Appendix 1 as Text 5). The pronominal verbal prefixes *bini-* 'they two (acting on him/her)' and *bi-* '(s)he acting on him/her' each make up a foot, while the root *na-* 'see' plus past perfective *-ng* become the monosyllabic foot *nang*. Both *bininang* 'they two saw him/her' and *binang* '(s)he saw him/her' break into two feet: [bini][nang] and [bi][nang] respectively.

When one compares timing measurements of a number of tokens of the two verb forms *bini-na-ng* and *bi-na-ng* in the same text (Text 5), one finds that the prefixes *bini-* 'they

two/him (past)' and *bi-* 'he/him (past)', consistently make up a comparable proportion of the word's duration (in milliseconds) both to each other and to the following *-nang* 'saw' (Bishop 1997); the second figure in each box gives the maximum fundamental frequency (F_0) achieved during the foot (the numbers in the top row refer to paragraphs in the text).

3	dur. F_0	4		4		13		14	
<i>bini</i>	72 169	<i>bini</i>	51 161	<i>bini</i>	78 153	<i>bi</i>	114 173	<i>bi</i>	63 167
<i>nang</i>	64 162	<i>nang</i>	69 136	<i>nang</i>	76 144	<i>nang</i>	101 138	<i>nang</i>	59 161

Note in passing that the fundamental frequency values illustrate the stress rules given above: in line with the rules in §2.5.1 these words are stressed as *bini-nang* and *bi-nang*, as shown (among other things) by the higher F_0 values achieved during this foot compared to the inflected root *-nang* (in the case of the disyllabic prefix *bini-*, the first syllable always had a higher F_0 than the second, but this is not shown here).

Each foot, even if monosyllabic, is able to receive secondary stress on its first syllable. Secondary stress is not shown in my transcriptions here, being predictable from the foot boundaries. It is important to bear in mind, though, that feet are not 'degenerate' and unstressed simply because they are monosyllabic.

So far we have been considering cases where feet align with morpheme boundaries. However, there are a number of situations where foot construction is more complex, splitting morphemes and merging parts of morphemes.

The simplest case involves codal morphemes, such as immediate *-h*, hither *-m* and present or past perfective allomorphs taking the form of a syllable-final nasal (such as *-ng* in *nang* 'saw'). These are simply grouped with the rest of their syllable inside the same foot (e.g. [*barri-h-*][*na-ng*] [they-immediate-see-PP] 'they saw him at that moment' or [*bani-m-*][*wa-m*] [they two-towards-go-PP] 'they two came'). Such cases follow from the principle that feet must align with syllable onsets.

Secondly, some further verbal inflections, such as the past imperfective *-ni* (*ngu-ni* 'eat-PI'), irregular past perfective suffixes like *-nginj* (*da-nginj* 'stand-PP') and *-neng* (*ngu-neng* 'eat-PP'), invariably cohere into feet with their roots: [*ngu-ni*], [*da-nginj*] and [*ngu-ni*]. That this is a specific characteristic of these suffixes rather than a general property of monosyllabic affixes is shown by the fact that a range of monosyllabic preverbal prefixes form their own feet (e.g. [*nga-*][*bo-*][*yi-*][*bawo-ng*] [1/3-liquid-COM-leave-PP] 'I left the drink with him', [*ba-*][*nud-*][*górrhgeng*] 'he lanced his sore').

2.5.2.1 Morphemes producing anomalous footing

We turn now to two cases in which morpheme-specific footing behaviour can lead to a non-alignment of feet with morpheme-initial syllables: verbs in the irrealis and prefixes which produce anomalous footings when combined with verbs beginning with *d*.

Verbs in the irrealis add a suffix of one or two syllables, depending on the verb conjugation, as in *garrme-ninj* [hold-IRR], *ni-wirrinj* [sit-IRR]. Even when disyllabic, however, the irrealis suffix does not form a foot able to receive stress; rather, it merges with the root into a single foot, then stressed on its first syllable: [*a-*] [*gárrme-ninj*] [1/3-get-IRR], [*ba-*][*ní-wirrinj*] [3-sit-IRR]. This can lead to stress falling on the fourth- or fifth-last syllable, as part of a tetra- or pentasyllabic foot: [*an-*][*báye-meninj*] [3/1-bite-IRR], [*birri-*][*wáyini-wirrinj*] [3aP-sing-IRR].

In western dialects however (at least Gun-djeihmi and sometimes Kunwinjku), four or five syllable feet are split so as to form a final trisyllabic foot (2.9), with the preceding part of the root merging with the preceding morpheme. For example, the root *warre* 'bad' is fractured into *wa*, which may either be a foot on its own or merge with the preceding morpheme and *rre*, grouped with the irrealis. Similar fracturings affect the irrealis forms *wokdiwirrinj*, *dangemeninj* and *bayemeninj*.

2.9	[bâ-wa][rré-meninj]	[ba-wok][dí-wirrinj]	[an-ba][yé-meninj]	[ba-rra][ngé-meninj]
	3P-go.badiRR	3P-speak-IRR	3/1-bite-IRR	3-stand-IRR

Final monosyllabic feet beginning in *d* behave anomalously when they follow a small set of disyllabic morphemes ending in a lexically accentable *e* (e.g. *mirndé* 'many' and *bulé* 'charcoal, black'). Feet of either one or two syllables display the same behaviour after comitative *yi-*. In such circumstances the affected foot merges with the preceding syllable to produce a new disyllabic foot and the *d* changes to *rr* by flapping (§3.1.1). With *mirnde* and *bule* this leaves behind a syllable that can either merge with the preceding foot (in the case of *bule*) or form its own foot (in the case of *mirnde*); a stray syllable is extruded in the other direction when *yi-* merges with a disyllabic verb and this forms its own secondarily-stressed foot also, as in the case of [yi-rrurn][de-ng]. Note that the potential of these syllables to attract primary stress is only realised in this environment; elsewhere the comitative merely receives secondary stress and the *e*-final morphemes behave as initially-stressed disyllabic feet.

The following examples contrast normal footing and stress behaviour, shown in the left and right columns, with refooting induced by the interaction of *d*-initial roots with the comitative or the lexically accented *e*-final morphemes, shown in the central column.

2.10	[gabbarri-][márne-][di]	[arri-bu][lé-rrí]	[garri-][dúrnde-ng]
	3a-BEN-standNP	1a-charcoal-standNP	12a-return-NP
	'they are praying'	'we Aboriginal people'	'we return'
	[gabbarri-][mirn][dé-rrí]	[arri-][bule-][bárrkbo-m]	[garri-][yí-rrurn][de-ng]
	3a-many-stand	1a-charcoal-cover-PP	12a/3-COM-return-NP
	'there are many of them'	'we covered the ashes'	'we bring it back'
	[gabbarri-][mirnde-][dúlubu-n]		[garri-][yi-][báwo-ng]
	3a/3-many-shoot-NP		12a-COM-leave-PP
	'they shoot many of them.'		'we leave it with him/her'
		[gabbarri-][mirnde-][djóbge]	
		3a/3-many-cutNP	
		'they cut many of them'	

2.5.2.2 Morphemes allowing alternate footings

In two further cases morphemes initiate new feet only optionally: certain elements within the pronominal prefix and the reflexive/reciprocal suffix.

Trisyllabic pronominal prefixes always have a morphologically analysable final disyllabic element, though for glossing purposes they will normally be treated as portmanteaux. In Gun-djeihmi, for example, *gabbarri-* 'they (non-past)' can be segmented into *ga-* 'non-past' plus third person augmented *barri-*. Such prefixes allow two footings: one in which they are

treated as a single trisyllabic foot and one in which they are broken into a monosyllabic plus a disyllabic.

- 2.11 [gabarri-] ~ [ga][barri] '3a(/3)' [gabani-] ~ [ga][bani] '3ua(/3)'

Note that where the first syllable is closed, as in the case of *banbani-* 'third person minimal acting upon third person unit augmented', which can be segmented into *ban-* 'third person acting upon third person augmented' and *bani-* 'unit augmented object', only the segmented footing is possible: [ban][bani] '3/3du', not *[banbani-].

If these are prefixed directly to a monosyllabic stem and hence eligible to receive word stress, these alternate footings can lead to different placements of the main word stress. If not, it simply leads to different assignment of secondary stress.

- 2.12 [gábarri-][yo] ~ [ga][bárrí-][yo] 3a-lie 'they are sleeping'
[gabarri-][wókdi] ~ [ga][barri-][wókdi] 3a-speak 'they are speaking'

With the reflexive/reciprocal suffix *-rr-* (§10.3.4) there is variation in whether it initiates a new foot or not. When it plus the following TAM inflection form a monosyllable, as is the case in the non-past and past perfective, it merges in all dialects with the preceding root into a single foot.

- 2.13 [arri-][wok-][békka-rr-en] [a-][djawurrk-][djóbge-rr-inj]
1a-language-hear-RR-NP 1-chin-cut-RR-PP
'we hear each other talking' 'I shaved'

However, when this suffix plus its following TAM inflections form a disyllable (i.e. in the past imperfective, the imperative and the irrealis), the dialects differ in their footing. In the westerly dialects (Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku) it forms a new foot attracting primary stress:

- 2.14 [barri-][man.ga-][rré-ni] 'they were all falling'
[arri-bu-][rré-ni] 'we used to fight'
[birri-wo-][rré-ni] 'they used to give each other' (w)²⁵
[garri-][bid-][yi-][garrme-][rr-ímen] 'let's help one another'

However, the easterly dialects (e.g. Kune) never let the reflexive/reciprocal initiate a new foot, leading to the creation of long feet in such cases, with the root-initial stressed:

- 2.15 [ngarr-][márnbu-rr-emen]
12-make-RR-IMP
'let's prepare ourselves'/'let's get ready'

2.5.3 Stress retraction with light syllables

In the case of disyllabic nominal roots (nouns and adjectives) whose first syllable is open, the stress that would be expected to fall on the root-initial syllable optionally moves left to a preceding prefixal syllable, provided the word is trisyllabic, as in *ná-gimuk* 'big (masculine)', *ná-mekke* 'that (masculine)', E *kún-djila* 'axe'. This does not happen if the root-initial syllable is closed (e.g. *na-yáhwurd* 'big (masculine)', *ga-rrárrgid* '(it is) alive'), or if the prefix is longer than one syllable (e.g. W *birri-kímuk* 'big (plural); they are big').

²⁵ Exceptionally, the reflexive/reciprocal does not initiate a new foot with this verb in Gun-djeihmi: [barri-][warde-][wó-rreni] 'they used to give him money'.

More rarely this occurs with verbs of comparable structure: [ngá-yawan] ~ [nga-][yáwa-n] 'I am looking for him/her', [yí-yime] ~ [yi-][yíme] 'you say'. Again, this retraction is impossible if the penultimate syllable is heavy, thus [nga-][djóbge-ng] 'I cut it', but not *[ngá-djobge-ng].

2.5.4 Compounding and suffix boundaries as edges

In nominal compounds (§5.4) (whether Noun + Noun, or Noun + Adjective), special stress rules apply in the case where both roots have two or more syllables: each root bears primary stress on its first syllable, as in 2.6. This is consistent with regarding the compounding boundary (shown here with a +) as constituting a new right edge. In other cases normal stress assignment rules apply, as has been exemplified above.

2.16	[gùn-][déŋge+][gúrlah]	[rákmo+][wárre]	[bálem+][gímuk]
	IV-foot-skin	hip-bad	fat-big
	'sole of foot'	'lame, bad-hipped'	'having lots of fat'

Some disyllabic suffixes behave like compounds in the sense that two primary stresses can be assigned: one on the first syllable of the prefix and one to the left of the suffix boundary, as if it were a compounding boundary, for example *-djahdjam* 'place of' (Dj only), *-migen* 'dyadic' and *-dorreng* 'with':

2.17	[bámurru+][djáhdjam]	[mámamh+][mígen]	[gún-dulk+][dórreng]
	magpie.goose-CHACLOC	MF-DYAD	IV-tree-with
	'gathering place for magpie geese'	'pair who call each other <i>mamamh</i> '	'with a stick'

For the purposes of glossing in the rest of this grammar I will not show compounding boundaries outside this section.

2.5.5 Stress shift in connected discourse

The rules outlined above account for stress assignment in words spoken in isolation. In connected discourse, however, higher level intonational contours can lead to the location of main stress on other positions. This is too complex a topic to treat properly here, interwoven as it is with timing and intonation at higher levels. However, I shall briefly mention a couple of examples to illustrate the existence of the phenomenon; they are taken from the discussion in Bishop (1997), based on a detailed transcription of Text 5.

First, in narratives stress is often shifted onto a monosyllabic inflected verb root, either because it is phonetically lengthened to suggest drawn-out activity (§9.3.4.1), as in the case of *bini-wám* in Text 5, or because intonation-group final stress in this position can sometimes signal 'then'.

Second, contrastive stress can sometimes fall on bound pronouns within the verb and when this happens they can attract abnormal primary stress. An example from paragraph 10 of the narrative occurs when the protagonist Kodjok outwits one of the two *mimih* spirits who had been planning to kill and eat him. The early placement of main stress on *bi-* 'he acting upon him' in the phrase *bí-marne-wenjhmeng* suggests a contrastive emphasis comparable to English 'he tricked him'. Normally main stress would be assigned here as [*bi-*][*marne*]

[wénjhmeng], though as a separate foot *bi-* would of course be eligible to receive secondary stress.

Examples like this illustrate the possibility of significant reweightings of primary stress according to the complex demands of discourse context, even though the overall constraint that stress must fall foot-initially appears to be robust.

2.6 Delimiting the word

The word can be delimited by both phonological and morphological criteria; although any given criterion applied alone is restricted and usually indecisive, their combined application gives unambiguous results.

Phonologically, the distinctiveness of the word is somewhat reduced by the virtually identical phonotactic possibilities of syllable and word, so that the phonotactic differences between a word and a string of syllables is slight. In the Mayali dialects, the left edge of the word is the only place allowing vowel-initial syllables, but this distinction does not exist in the eastern dialects. In all dialects *rr* cannot occur word initially. The reduced phonotactic possibilities of the inflectional morphemes which bracket the outside of words mean that there is a correlation between complex codas and word-internal position, but the possibility of using nominal roots without case suffixation or prefixation for noun class means this is not an absolute test. Some morphophonemic processes, such as flapping, palatal assimilation and cluster reduction apply only within the word (see Chapter 3; none are found across all dialects). The stress assignment rules, though complex because of their sensitivity to word-internal morphological structure, define the word boundary, since the rules assigning stress work from the word's right edge. Most important in practice is the location of potential pause: in normal speech, planned pauses only occur at word boundaries.

Morphologically, the word is the primary domain within which ordering restrictions apply, as well as stipulations of elements that cannot be omitted. The non-configurational syntax of Bininj Gun-wok, with its free phrase and word order and the omissibility of constituents from syntactic groupings, means that few ordering constraints can be made once one moves beyond the word (though see Chapters 6 and 13 for some exceptions to this). Transitional cases involve cliticised elements, such as oblique pronouns used to make neutralised number and person categories explicit (§10.2.3), or cliticised markers of second person minimal possessor (§7.1.3) or restriction (§13.8), which are positionally fixed but come outside word-final morphology; the oblique pronouns bear their own stress but the other clitics do not.

3 Morphophonemics

The morphology of Bininj Gun-wok is mostly straightforwardly agglutinative, with just a few morphophonemic complications, many of which tend to be dialect-specific. Compared to its neighbours to the north and west (Gaagudju, Umpugarla, Iwaidja, Maung), all possessing complex sets of morphophonemic transformations of clusters, long-distance dissimilations and vowel mergers, the morphology is almost lego-like, though there are interesting morphophonemic rules involving the behaviour of the glottal stop (§3.3), long-distance dissimilation of peripheral nasals (§3.4) and complex types of reduplication and retriplication (§3.6).

3.1 Lenitions and flapping alternations

Neither of the following two rules apply across all dialects; the first is more widespread.

3.1.1 *d*-flapping

Morpheme-initial *d* becomes *rr* after vowel-final monosyllabic prefixes, or after open non-monosyllables with final stress. This rule applies in all dialects except Kune (see Carroll 1976:30ff. for further Kunwinjku examples), though for simplicity of exposition I mainly give Gun-djeihmi examples below. The leading hyphen in 3.1 represents either a morpheme boundary or a word boundary.

3.1 $d \rightarrow rr /$ -CV-__
 -CV(C)Cé__

Note that this applies regardless of whether syllabic retroflexion turns the *d* into a retroflex consonant: compare the non-retroflexed *d* alternating with *rr* in the pair *barridukdjobgeng* 'they chopped down a/the tree' vs *arrulkdjobgeng* 'I chopped down a/the tree' and the retroflexed *rd* (spelt *d* for the reasons given in §2.3.2) alternating with *rr* in the pair *barridurndi* [baridurndi] 'they returned' vs *arrurndi* [arurndi] 'I returned'.

Example sets 3.2–3.4 illustrate the application of this rule (after word-initial prefixes) to a verb root, a nominal root (whether functioning as an independent noun or incorporated) and a directional prefix respectively.

- 3.2 a. *Ngani-danginj.*
1ua-standPP
'We two (EXC) stood.'
'We two (EXC) are siblings.'
- b. *Ngarri-danginj.*
1a-standPP
'We (EXC) stood.'
'We (EXC) are siblings.'
- c. *Nga-rranginj.*
1-standPP
'I stood.'
- d. *Ba-rranginj.*
3-standPP
'(S)he/it stood.'
- e. *Yi-rranginj.*
2-standPP
'You stood.'
- 3.3 a. *gun-dulk*
IV-tree
'tree'
- b. *Gabani-dulk-di.*
3ua-tree-standNP
'There are two trees there.'
- c. *Ga-rrulk-di.*
3-tree-standNP
'There is a tree there.'
- d. *gu-rrulk*
LOC-tree
'in the tree'
- 3.4 a. *Barri-darnh-nang.*
3a/3P-close-seePP
'They saw him close up.'
- b. *Ba-rrarnh-gaihmeng.*
3P-close-call.outPP
'(S)he called out from close up.'

The insertion of a glottal stop, closing the conditioning syllable, prevents flapping (3.5d), as does the addition of a disyllabic prefix (3.5e):

- 3.5 a. *Garri-downen.*
12a-dieNP
'We (INCL) die.'
- b. *Nga-rrowen.*
1-dieNP
'I die.'
- c. *Yi-rrowen.*
2-dieNP
'You die.'
- d. *Nga-h-downen.*
1-IMM-dieNP
'I am dying right now.'
- e. *Nga-marne-downen.*
1/3-BEN-dieNP
'I die for him/her.'

Example set 3.6 illustrates the application of the rule after a non-initial monosyllabic prefix; note that the comitative prefix here attracts the word stress.

- 3.6 a. *Nga-m-durndeng.*
1-hither-returnNP
'I come back.'
- b. *Garri-durndeng.*
12a-returnNP
'We come back.'
- c. *Nga-rrurndeng.*
1-returnNP
'I go back.'
- d. *Garri-yi-rrurndeng.*
12a-COM-returnNP
'We take it back.'

Finally, example sets 3.7 and 3.8 illustrate flapping after disyllabic prefixes that, exceptionally, bear stress on a final open syllable (§2.5.1):

- 3.7 a. *Bani-di.*
3uaP-standNP
'They two stood.'
- b. *Ba-rrri.*
3P-standNP
'(S)he stood.'
- 3.8 a. *Gabarri-mirndé-rrri.*
3a-many-standNP
'They are many (of them)'
- b. *arri-bulé-rrri*
1a-black-standNP
'we Aboriginal people'

Unusual stress conditions can lead to the blocking of the above rule.

Firstly, polysyllabic verb roots whose second syllable begins in a liquid attract stress to that syllable, rather than their first syllable as expected and this blocks flapping should such roots begin with an apical stop (shown here in bold):

- 3.9 a. *Gabarri-bo-déléngga-n.* b. *Yi-derréhme!*
3a-liquid-carry-NP 2-moveIMP
'They carry water in their crops.' 'Move over!'

Secondly, prefixes to the verb resulting from single-syllable reduplication attract main stress and do not flap even where they otherwise meet the conditions in 3.1:

- 3.10 *Ba-yi-dúrh-durndi.*
3P-COM-INCEP-returnPP
'(S)he started back.'

Finally, there are examples that cannot be accounted for by the above examples, where flapping either applies where it shouldn't (3.11 a, b) or fails to apply where it should (3.11 c). It is likely that a fuller understanding of stress and prosody will be needed before such examples can be accounted for.

- 3.11 a. *Ga-bili-rrown.* b. *bi-rrudu-rranjbom*
Dj 3-flame-dieNP W 3/3h-heart-spearPP
'The flames are dying.' 'he speared him in the heart'
[Oates 1964:17]¹
- c. *nga-dédj-madurrkme*
W 1-root-pull.outNP
'I will pull out roots' [Carroll 1976:31,
who attributes the irregularity here to the 'unusual stress pattern'
but does not specify further]

Examples illustrating the non-application of this rule in Kune are 3.12 and 3.13, the first with a non-retroflex syllable and the second with a retroflex syllable. Manyallak Mayali similarly lacks the flapping rule (e.g. *bidulubom* 'he speared/shot it' rather than *birrulubom*, the form found in Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku; likewise MM *badelkgang* 'it is stuck' vs Dj *barrelkgang*).

- 3.12 *Kun-kurk ka-dudje-ng.*
E:N IV-dirt 3/3-bury-NP
'Dirt is covering it.'
- 3.13 [yidɛɾbuigan]
Yi-derbuyka-n
2-speak.kun.derbuy-IMP
'Speak *kun-derbuy*!' [§13.4]

The flapping rule also applies, in a post-root environment, to the inchoative verbalising suffix *-da ~ -rra* when following a root-final vowel (cf. *kelkdanj* 'it became soft', *djokkorranj* 'it became tight') and to the thematic *di*, again following a prepound-final vowel (cf. *di* 'stand', *bengyirri* 'pay attention', *durrkmirri* 'work' (W, I)).

It is also possible that the initial consonant of the reflexive/reciprocal morpheme *rre* results from an earlier application of flapping to an earlier form *de*, ultimately from an interdental. See §10.3.4.

¹ The first flapping is regular but the second is not; this may be a mistranscription.

3.1.2 *d/rr alternations in the pronoun paradigm*

Within the pronoun paradigm, a number of non-minimal roots have *rr* before vowels and *d* before consonants. This alternation is found in all dialects (see §7.1 for full data); exemplifying from Kunwinjku:

Table 3.1: *rr/d* alternation in the pronoun paradigm

		Unit augmented oblique form <i>-ewoneng</i>	Augmented oblique form <i>-berre</i>	Direct form <i>-da</i>	Emphatic form <i>-man</i>
1	nm ngaRR-	<i>ngarrewoneng</i>	<i>ngadberre</i>	<i>(ngad)</i>	<i>ngadman</i>
12	nm kaRR-	<i>karrewoneng</i>	<i>kadberre</i>	<i>(ngad)</i>	<i>(ngadman)</i>
2	nm nguRR-	<i>ngurrewoneng</i>	<i>ngudberre</i>	<i>ngudda</i>	<i>ngudman</i>
3	nm beRR-	<i>berrewoneng</i>	<i>bedberre</i>	<i>bedda</i>	<i>bedman</i>

On the evidence contained here, this alternation could be accounted for either by taking the flap as underlying, with it hardening to a stop before further consonants, or by taking the stop as underlying, with it flapping to *rr* before a vowel; each account has equal predictive power over the data. Taking the *d* as underlying would relate this change better to the *d*-flapping discussed in §3.1.1, but taking the *rr* as underlying would relate it to the historical sound change that has turned final *rr* into *d* in Bininj Gun-wok (Harvey, forthcoming). In any case, this particular version of the alternation is restricted to the pronoun paradigm; sequences like *ngarr-dokme* 'you and me go on ahead' or *ngarr-bawong* 'you and me left it' do not change to **ngaddokme* or **ngadbawong* in any dialect.

3.1.3 *Lenition of initial g after the locative prefix*

For some Mayali speakers, initial *g* of some nominals lenites to *w* after the locative prefix *gu-* (§5.2.2.1), for example:

- 3.14 *gukku* 'water' *gu-wukku* 'in/into the water'
 gun-gak 'night-time' *gu-wak* 'yesterday'

But many nominals do not lenite in this environment:

- 3.15 *gun-gun* 'right hand' *gu-gun* 'on the right'

Morphophonemic lenition, from *g* to *w*, must be distinguished from the regular phonetic lenition of [g] to [g ~ ɣ] in intervocalic position. Thus *gugun*, though lacking morphophonemic lenition, is phonetically [gugun ~ guɣun].

3.2 Cluster assimilations and simplifications

There are a few rules simplifying clusters arising from the prefixation of closed syllables; many only apply in rapid speech. For given dialects it is not always evident whether these should be treated simply as fast-speech phenomena and therefore not shown in phonemic representations, or whether they should be shown at the phonemic level, with the pre-simplified versions represented at a more abstract level of structure (shown below by

enclosing the underlying versions in %%). In Kunwinjku, with its longer tradition of literacy, these changes are not usually written or represented in dictionary materials. In general, the more easterly dialects have a larger set of such simplifications.

3.2.1 Loss of *r* after apical consonants

Within the verb, morpheme-initial *r* may be dropped following apical consonants at the end of a preceding morpheme:

3.16 $r \rightarrow \emptyset / [r- , l- , n- _]_v$

Some examples are:

3.17 % *barri-djal-rey* % \rightarrow *barridjaley*
Dj 3aP-only-goPI
'they just kept going along'

3.18 % *a-bal-re* % \rightarrow *a-bal-e*
Dj l-away-goNP
'I'll come on out'

3.19 % *ngarr-re* % \rightarrow *ngarr-e*
Dj la-goNP
'we'll go'

In careful speech this rule is not obligatory. In Gun-djeihmi I have recorded the careful pronunciation (by DK) *ga-worr-rung* for 'the leaves burn' and a line from the Kunwinjku Bible translation (Karrarkid 11) contains the word *bene-bal-rey* 'they two kept going along' (cf. 3.17).

In Gun-djeihmi, but not in other dialects, this rule also applies to the citation forms of some nouns:

3.20 a. *gun-rak* *gunak*
IV-fire (W, E) fire (Dj)

b. *gun-red* *guned*
IV-country (W, E) nest (Dj)

3.2.2 Post-nasal *w*-drop

This is restricted to eastern dialects and is responsible for the pronunciation of the language name *Kuninjku* instead of *Kunwinjku* by those speakers.

3.21 $w \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{XN-}_v$

Examples are:

3.22 % *kun-winjku* % \rightarrow *kun-injku* (language name)
% *kan-wo* % \rightarrow *kan-o* 'Give it to me!'
% *ka-m-wurrme* % \rightarrow *kam-urrme* 'It comes rumbling along.'
% *kan-wurrhke* % \rightarrow *kan-urrhke* 'You're having me on.'

A related change in Kuninjku is the pronunciation of the cluster *kw* as a long *kk* (e.g. *yakwong* as *yakkong*).

3.2.3 Palatal assimilation

Various morpheme-initial consonants sporadically assimilate to the palatal articulation of preceding segments in fast speech, merging with them to give a long stop. Again, this is more widespread in eastern dialects and in Manyallaluk Mayali, so that Kunwinjku *dadjkeng* 'he cut it' is almost always *dadjdjeng* in Kuninjku, while 'sleeps' is usually pronounced *godjgeyo/kodjkeyo* in Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku, but *kodjdjeyo* in Kuninjku.

The underlying sequence *djd* always triggers assimilation, though the exact realisation varies from dialect to dialect. The crudest word for 'copulate with', underlyingly *dedjdong* (compounded from *dedj* 'butt' and *dong* 'strike'), sees assimilation to a palatal geminate in Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku *dedjdjong*, while in Kuninjku it receives the phonetic pronunciation [deːtɔŋ], in which the palatal stop conditions the diphthongisation of the preceding vowel but assimilates to the following alveolar.

The analogous nasal sequence *njn*, on the other hand, only sporadically triggers assimilation, which occurs in 3.23 but not 3.24, even though both are from the Gun-djeihmi dialect. It is not clear at this stage what the conditioning factor is.

3.23 % *ga-ganj-nudmen* % → *ga-ganj-njudmen*
 3-meat-stinkNP
 'the meat stinks'

3.24 a. *nginj-no*
 hook-its
 'fishhook'

b. *A-djawinj-nomeng*.
 1/3-cooking.fumes-smellPP
 'I smelled the cooking fumes.'

In Gun-djeihmi, *rd-y* sporadically palatalises to *dj* in the lexeme *wurdyau* 'child', which becomes *wudjau* in fast speech.

3.2.4 Nasal assimilation

Within the pronominal prefix paradigm only, Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku speakers regularly assimilate the unit-augmented object marker *bani* (Dj) or *bene* (W) to *mani* and *mene* respectively (Dj *abanbaninang* ~ *abanmaninang* 'I saw the two of them' or W *ngabenbenenang* ~ *ngabenmenenang*; see §10.2.2 for further examples). Eastern Kunwinjku dialects, which lack unit augmented object forms, are not eligible for this change, while Manyallaluk Mayali appears to only use unassimilated forms like *ngabanbani*-.

3.2.5 Tautosyllabic *rr* deletion

Where a syllable with a codal *rr* has its initial also converted to *rr* by flapping (§3.1.1), the codal *rr* is deleted. An example is the pair *durrkmang* 'jerk, tug, pull' and its comitative counterpart *yirrukmang* (rather than *yirrukkmang*) 'snatch off someone, grab off someone'; the comitative *yi-* triggers flapping of the initial.

3.3 Morphophonemic rules involving glottal stops

3.3.1 Glottal insertions

Glottal stops are inserted by a number of processes: as the immediate prefix in most dialects (§11.4.3), sporadically on pronouns (§7.1) and accompanying reduplication and the incorporation of certain adverbs.

3.3.1.1 In reduplications

In many types of reduplication prefixes are created whose last coda is closed with a glottal stop. In *ba-djangani* 'followed a track' > *ba-djah-djanganj* '(s)he started to follow a track' and *bininj* 'person' > *binih-bininj* 'people', the glottal stop replaces other codal material (*ng* and *nj* respectively) in monosyllabic and disyllabic reduplications respectively, while in *nagimuk* 'big (one)' > *nagihgimuk* 'many big (ones)' and *an-gabo* 'creek' > *an-gaboh-gabo* 'area with lots of creeks', the glottal stop is added to an originally open syllable, again in monosyllabic and disyllabic reduplications respectively. Fuller details of each of these types are discussed and further exemplified in §3.6.

3.3.1.2 Incorporation of certain adverbs

The incorporation of certain adverbs into the verb involves the addition of a glottal stop in addition to the removal of affixal *-kih*. Thus *wernkih* 'properly' has the incorporating form *wernh-* and *darnkih* 'nearby' has the incorporating form *darnh-*, while *ney-ken*, the genitive of 'elbow', has the incorporating form *neykenh-* 'propped up'.

3.3.2 Glottal dissimilation

Except for such lexicalised cases as *man-dihdih* '*canarium australianum*', it is not acceptable for successive syllables to end in a glottal stop and these are eliminated by various means across dialects.² Thus glottal-closed disyllable reduplication of the root *gohbanj* 'old person' should give the form *gohbahgohbanj*, but this illegally has three successive syllables closed with a glottal stop. One hears various forms of this word that bring it into line; in Gundeihmi both *gohbagohbanj* and *gobagohbanj* are heard, with elimination of the glottal stop that reduplication should have inserted and optionally one of the lexical ones as well, while in Dulerayek the usual form is *kobohkobanj*, with the reduplicatively-inserted glottal stop surviving and the lexical ones dropping out (vowel assimilation has also applied to the second vowel here).

3.25 *-yahwurd* 'small' → *yahwu-yahwurd* 'many small ones', not **yahwuh-yahwurd*
 Dj *-buhme* 'blow' → *bu-buhme* 'keep blowing', rather than **buh-buhme*

² This is a striking phonological difference between Bininj Gunwok and its closest relative Dalabon, which freely tolerates series of glottal-closed syllables (e.g. *mahkih* 'that one', *kahnjerrhdabuninj* 'its body was dangling' and *kahkahkaninj* 'you have brought me').

- 3.26 *Gun-mayorrk ga-warnam-bu-buhme.*
 Dj IV-wind 3-across-ITER-blowNP
 'The wind keeps blowing across through the car.'

3.3.3 Adglottal retroflexion

In all dialects the presence of a morphemic glottal stop before a morpheme-initial apical leads to the apical and the preceding vowel having a retroflex quality. Phonologically I interpret this as prosodic retroflexion spanning the two syllables adjacent to the glottal stop, but orthographically this is represented as a retroflex segment on the preceding vowel. I know of no explanation for this process in either articulatory or acoustic terms; it may suggest that the glottal stop, at least in these constructions, derives from an original retroflex stop.³

$$3.27 \quad \% \text{XV-h-S} \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{apical} \\ +\text{obstruent} \end{array} \right] \text{Z} \% \rightarrow \% \text{XVr-h-S} \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{apical} \\ +\text{obstruent} \\ +\text{retroflex} \end{array} \right] \text{Z} \%$$

Examples are:

- 3.28 $\% \text{ka-h-di} \% \rightarrow \text{kar-h-di}$ (phonetically [gɐʔdʒi]) 'here it stands'
 3.29 a. $\% \text{woh-nan} \% \rightarrow \text{worh-nan}$ [wɔʔnʌn] '(s)he looks after, keeps an eye on'
 b. $\% \text{djengeh-no} \% \rightarrow \text{djengerh-no}$ [dɛŋgɛʔnɔ] 'nest'

3.4 Peripheral dissimilation

There are sporadic instances of *peripheral dissimilation*, a term which I will use broadly to refer to cases where successive syllables which would begin with consonants at the same peripheral articulation (i.e. successive bilabials, or successive velars, or merely successive peripherals, according to the case) dissimilate the point of articulation of one of them.

A once-off case of this may be seen in the Dulerayek pair of terms for 'fingernail' and 'toenail': *bid-ngalanjo* 'fingernail, lit. fingernail-its' but *dengemalanjno* 'toenail' (cf. Dj *gun-denge-ngalanj*). Here the original velar nasal dissimilates (just in this lexeme and just in this dialect) to *m* following an *ng*-initial syllable.

A more widespread example affects the pronominal prefix *gabi-* (M) / *kabi-* (W), which in all dialects marks third minimal subjects acting on third minimal higher animate objects (§10.2.7). This dissimilates to *gayi-/kayi-* before all occurrences of the benefactive prefix *marne-* and in the Kunwinjku dialect also sporadically before other morphemes beginning in *m*, *b* or *w* (*kayibalnanganan* 'he has a good look', *kayimokkinje* 'he burns the cut', *kayibadnan* 'he looks at him now' and *kayiwokmang* 'he answers him' — all examples from Hale 1959:160).

The clearest example, however, is with the pattern of nasal-inserted disyllabic reduplication that encodes iteration with monosyllabic verbs. This normally takes the initial CV of the tense-inflected verb, adds a velar nasal, then copies the vowel. For example, from the non-past root *dong* 'strikes' we derive the iterative form *dongodong* and in this case we

³ In such Cape York languages as Wik Mungkan, ancestral retroflex glides descend as the glottal stop. It is also worth noting that comparable processes are found in at least one other Gunwinjku languages; Heath (1978:16–18) discusses somewhat similar processes in Ngandi.

cannot be sure that the *ng* is not copied. In the case of its past perfective form *dongodoi* it is clearer that the *ng* is not copied (though one could arguably attribute it to some sort of conjugation marker), while in the case of the non-past *rengere*, from *re* 'goes', there is no plausible source for the velar nasal outside the reduplicative template itself.

This *CVngV*- pattern is found for all candidate verbs that do not begin with a peripheral consonant (examples from Gundjeihmi and Kunwinjku dialects):

3.30	Non-past form		Corresponding iterative form
	<i>du-ng</i>	'swear at-NP'	<i>dungu-du-ng</i>
	<i>do-ng</i>	'strike-NP'	<i>dongo-do-ng</i>
	<i>do-y</i>	'strike-PP'	<i>dongo-do-y</i>
	<i>ru-ng</i>	'burn, cook-NP'	<i>rungu-ru-ng</i>
	<i>ru-y</i>	'burn, cook-PP'	<i>rungu-ru-y</i>
	<i>na-n</i>	'see-NP'	<i>nanga-na-n</i>
	<i>ni-∅</i>	'sit, be-NP'	<i>ningi-ni-∅</i>
	<i>di-∅</i>	'stand-NP'	<i>dingih-di-∅</i>
	<i>yo-∅</i>	'lie-NP'	<i>yongo(h)-yo-∅⁴</i>
	<i>re-∅</i>	'go-NP'	<i>rengih-re-∅</i>
	<i>re-y</i>	'go-PI'	<i>rengih-re-y</i>
	<i>danj</i>	'stand-PI'	<i>danga-da-nj</i>

However, whenever the input form begins with a peripheral consonant — *b, k, m, ng, or w* — *n* rather *ng* appears in the reduplicative prefix:

3.31	Non-past form		Corresponding iterative form
	<i>bu-n</i>	'hit, kill-NP'	<i>bunu-bu-n</i>
	<i>ka-n</i>	'take, carry-NP'	<i>kana-ka-n</i>
	<i>ma-ng</i>	'take, pick up-NP'	<i>mana-ma-ng</i>
	<i>ngu-n</i>	'eat-NP'	<i>ngunu-ngu-n</i>
	<i>wo-n</i>	'give-NP'	<i>wono-wo-n</i>
	<i>wo-ng</i>	'give-PP'	<i>wono-wo-ng</i>
	<i>wa-m</i>	'go-PP'	<i>wana-wa-m</i>
	<i>we-∅</i>	'throw-NP'	<i>wene-we-∅</i>

Note that peripheral dissimilation is restricted to the output of this particular reduplication pattern and that it does not apply to superficially similar outputs from other reduplicative processes. Consider the verb *ma-* 'take, pick up'; its non-past form is monosyllabic so it chooses this reduplicative process, leading to the form *manamang* as given in 3.31 above. However, its past imperfective form is disyllabic (*mangi*), selecting a different reduplicative pattern — disyllable reduplication — giving the form *mangihmangi*, in which a sequence of peripherals is quite acceptable.

3.5 Vowel-drop

Loss of second-syllable vowels between *rr* and following velar segment occurs in some compounds and derivations and has operated historically on some loan words.

⁴ The form with inserted glottal stop is found in Kune.

The most common form of vowel-drop can be formulated as follows:

3.32 $CV_{\alpha}rV_{\alpha}ng \rightarrow CV_{\alpha}rrng / _ -CVC$

In the following examples, 3.33 shows the process applying to a Gun-djeihmi word when it is the first, but not the last, element in a compound; other dialects (for example, Kunwinjku) have the vowel-dropped form in all environments; 3.34 illustrates it applying to the normal form for 'mother' when compounded in a triangular term, while 3.35 illustrates it applying to a verbalised noun.

- | | | | | | |
|---------|--------------------|----|------------------------------------|----|--------------------|
| 3.33 a. | <i>gun-murrung</i> | b. | <i>gun-bikkik-murrung</i> | c. | <i>murrng-wern</i> |
| Dj | IV-bone | | IV-rib-bone | | bone-many |
| | 'bone' | | 'rib bone' | | 'bony' |
| 3.34 a. | <i>garrang</i> | b. | <i>na-garrng-burrk-warre</i> | | |
| Dj | 'mother' | | I-mother-body-bad | | |
| | | | 'the one who is my father and your | | |
| | | | uncle (we are spouses)' (semantic | | |
| | | | motivation for this in unclear) | | |
| 3.35 a. | <i>gurrung</i> | b. | <i>ga-gurrng-men</i> | | |
| Dj | 'hot season, | | 3-hot.season-INCH.NP | | |
| | "first summer" | | 'become hot season' | | |

There are some examples of this rule applying sporadically in environments not specified by 3.32. In the Gun-dembui term *al-garrng* 'the one who is my daughter and your mother', the rule applies despite the lack of a following syllable. There are also examples of it failing to apply in the specified environment (e.g. *gurrung-burrk* 'middle of the hot season', *gurrung-bang* 'hot sun'). Note that in these two cases both elements of the compound receive stress; it may be possible to give a restatement of 3.32 that relates this sort of case to stress patterns when a larger set of examples is available.

A likely example of this rule applying historically to a loan word is the root *-gurrng* which occurs in the words *na-gurrng* 'son-in-law', *al-gurrng* 'mother-in-law' and *gun-gurrng* 'respect language' as well as in such derivatives as *ngalgurrnghme* 'call someone mother-in-law'. This word is historically a loan from Yolngu-Matha to the east, where it has the form *gurrung* (Zorc 1986:147). Note that the similar word *gurrung* 'hot season' is not a loan, since it has the clear etymology *gu-rrung* (%*gu-dung*%) 'in the sun'.

3.6 Reduplication and retriPLICATION

There are a large number of reduplication types in Bininj Gun-wok and one type of retriPLICATION, many specific to particular derivational categories. All copy leftward, resulting in the prefixation of reduplicated material to a root. In this section I briefly summarise the main formal types; the specific details are discussed in the relevant morphology sections. For simplicity of exposition I mainly use Gun-djeihmi examples below, but unless otherwise noted the other dialects are comparable.

3.6.1 Full single-syllable reduplication

Here a whole syllable is copied, as in *dolbdolbme* 'pulsate' and *wurlhwurlhge* 'light fires all over the place', or *maih-maih* 'birds'. If the syllable ends in a nasal, a final glottal stop is added (e.g. *manjh-manjbom* 'thanked many', *barnh-barndi* 'be up high all around'). This process is the exponent of iterative reduplication for some verbs (§9.3.2) and for plural formation for some nouns, or simply lexical stem-formation in the case of nouns like *yaukyauk* 'young girls' and *gikgik* 'small birds' which lack an unreduplicated singular form (§5.3).

3.6.2 Glottal-closed first-syllable reduplication

This copies the first syllable and inserts a glottal stop as its coda, replacing any consonantal material. In other words, from a target $C_\alpha V_\beta(C)CV(X)$ this forms a reduplicative prefix $C_\alpha V_\beta h-$. The 3.37 examples show [original closed syllables, etc.] in which the original syllable is open and (3.37) examples with original closed syllables whose codal material is displaced by the glottal stop; note that the displacement of codal material does not interfere with syllabic retroflexion in *durh-durndeng* [dʉʔdʉʔŋdɛŋ].

3.36	<i>na-gimuk</i>	'big'	→	<i>na-gih-gimuk</i>	'many big'
Dj	<i>a-nani</i>	'I looked at'	→	<i>a-nah-nani</i>	'I looked after'
	<i>ba-yameng</i>	'he speared'	→	<i>ba-yah-yameng</i>	'he tried to spear it'
3.37	<i>-durndeng</i>	'return'	→	<i>-durh-durndeng</i>	'start back'
Dj	<i>-djang-gani</i>	'follow track'	→	<i>-djah-djang-gani</i>	'start to follow a track'

This type of reduplication, applied to nouns and adjectives, expresses plurality (§5.3). Applied to verbs, it expresses inception (§9.4.1).

3.6.3 Open disyllable reduplication

From a target of form $\sigma CV(C)-$ this forms a prefix σCV ; in other words it copies the entire first syllable and the first CV of the second, as in *ginje-ginjeng* 'kept cooking' from *ginjeng* 'cooked' and *dange-dangen* 'slows to a halt' from *-dangen* 'stops, stands' — this type is one formal exponent of iterative aspect (§9.4.2). The Kunwinjku plural forms of skin terms also follow this pattern:

3.38	<i>ngarri-ngarridj</i>	<i>waka-wakadj</i>
	<i>kama-kamarrang</i>	<i>banga-bangardi</i>
	<i>bula-bulanj</i>	(but <i>kang-kangila</i> , not * <i>kangikangila</i>)
	<i>wamu-wamud</i>	<i>kodjo-kodjok</i>

3.6.4 Glottal-closed disyllable reduplication

This pattern reduplicates two syllables, placing a glottal stop after the second vowel. In other words, from a target $\sigma C_\alpha V_\beta(C)X$ this forms a reduplicative prefix $\sigma C_\alpha V_\beta h-$. Examples in which two open syllables are copied and a final glottal inserted are in 3.39, while 3.40

illustrates the replacement of codal consonants by a glottal stop. Replacement applies vacuously (3.41) if the source form already ends in a glottal stop.

- 3.39 *gun-wardde* 'rock' → *gun-warddeh-wardde* 'rock plateau'
mungui 'continuously' → *munguih-mungui* 'always, often'
an-gabo 'creek' → *an-gaboh-gabo* 'area with many creeks'
- 3.40 *-walem-gen* 'south-GEN' → *waleh-walem-gen* 'southerners'
- 3.41 *mawah* 'FF' → *mawah-mawah* 'FFs'

Where the source form is trisyllabic, only the first two syllables furnish material for the reduplication, which then proceeds normally; 3.42 gives examples of trisyllabic source forms with open second syllables. Trisyllabic source forms with closed second syllables are vanishingly rare, but 3.43 gives the hypothetical unreduplicated source for an attested reduplicated form.

- 3.42 *an-yakngarra* 'pandanus' → *an-yakngah-yakngarra* 'pandanus scrub'
gayawal 'long yam' → *gayah-gayawal* 'lots of long yams'
djekmiwo 'laugh at' → *djekmih-djekmiwo* 'laugh and laugh at' (w)
- 3.43 **ganbalbal* → *ganbah-ganbalbal* 'black soil plain'

This pattern is used for a number of purposes: to form some plurals and names for ecological zones from nouns of more than one syllable (§6.2.7.4), to derive adjectives or adverbs and to form the iterative aspect of certain classes of verb (§9.4.2).

3.6.5 Epenthetic disyllable reduplication

For a couple of verbs, special reduplicated forms exist that take a closed syllable and expand it into a disyllable by copying across the first vowel, forming a prefix (3.44) from a root of form (3.45).

- 3.44 $\begin{array}{c} \sigma \quad \sigma \\ \wedge \quad \wedge \\ CV_1 \quad CV_1 \end{array}$
- 3.45 $\begin{array}{c} \sigma \quad \sigma \\ \wedge \quad \wedge \\ CV_1 \quad CV_1 \end{array}$

Examples are *wurlu-wurlhme* 'burn off' and *dogo-rrokme* 'lead off'. The alternation between *d* and *rr* in this latter example is due to regular flapping; see 3.1 above. This type expresses a combination of spatial and temporal distributedness — §9.4.3.

3.6.6 Nasal-inserted disyllabic reduplication

This forms the iterative aspect (§9.4.2) of monosyllabic inflected verbs, taking the inflected form as input. It is found in all dialects except Dulerayek. From a source of form $CV_\alpha(C)$ it derives a prefix $CV_\alpha NV_\alpha$, where *N* is realised as *n* if *C* is a peripheral consonant (*g*, *b*, *w*, *m* or *ng*) and *ng* elsewhere: see §3.4 on peripheral dissimilation for examples.

3.6.7 Retripliation

This is a derivational process, most productive in the Gun-djeihmi dialect, by which names for geographical or ecological zones can be formed from noun roots referring to a characteristic entity in that zone (§5.3.3.1). It is limited to monosyllabic roots; from a target of form $CV_{\alpha}(C)$, a new stem $CV_{\alpha}hCV_{\alpha}CV_{\alpha}(C)$ is formed, for example *gu-behbeberl* 'area with many tributary creeks', *an-bohbobouk* 'alluvial plains', *mi-djohdjodjo* 'mixed scrub zone with wattle predominant' and *an-gohgogod* 'paperbark grove'.

4 *Word classes*

There are three open word classes — verb, noun and adjective — and about a dozen closed classes. After discussing certain problems in applying distinguishing criteria (§4.1), I shall deal first with the open classes (§4.2), then the closed (§4.3).

4.1 Criteria for distinguishing word classes

In straightforward cases there are clear morphological differences (discussed in detail in §4.2) between nouns and adjectives on the one hand and verbs on the other. Nouns and adjectives are morphologically relatively simple, taking at most noun class prefixes and/or a limited set of case and derivational affixes, although both nouns and adjectives, when used predicatively, can take intransitive pronominal prefixes. Verbs are highly complex morphologically, with up to two sets of pronominal prefixes, adverbial, quantifying and directional prefixes, incorporated nouns, applicative prefixes and a complex conjugationally determined set of tense/aspect/mood suffixes.

Determining, on purely morphological grounds, whether a word is a verb, a noun or an adjective is therefore usually a simple matter. *Ngakinjeng* 'I cooked it' has to be a verb because it has the first person subject prefix *nga-* and the past perfective suffix *-ng*; *kun-dulk* 'tree' has to be a noun because it takes the class IV prefix *kun-* (which it can replace with the locative prefix *ku-* to give *ku-rrulk* 'in the tree', governs vegetable gender agreement (thus *kun-dulk manekke* 'that (VE) tree'), can incorporate into verbs (e.g. *birri-dulk-djobkeng* [they-tree-chop-PP] 'they chopped the tree') and can be the first element of nominal compounds (e.g. *man-dulk-kimuk* [VE-tree-big] 'big tree'). The root *nakimuk* 'big' is an adjective because its prefix must vary (in all dialects except E) to show agreement with its head (thus *bininj nakimuk* 'big man', *daluk ngalkimuk* 'big woman', *kabbala mankimuk* 'big boat' etc.).

There are, however, three interrelated problems: the looseness of syntactic structure and virtual absence of inflectional categories, the widespread use of non-verbs as predicates and the widespread lexicalisation of verbs into nominals with no overt marker of conversion.

The very loose syntactic structure, with clause boundaries difficult to determine, no morphosyntactic dependencies, optionality of much of the semantic case marking and only limited syntactic rules of ordering and constituency, makes syntactic tests for word class hard to apply. The great precision and complexity with which argument structure (Chapter 10), adverbial scope (Chapter 11) and coreference relations between distinct verb stems (Chapter

12) are encoded within the verbal word contrasts with an almost total lack of conventionalised coding mechanisms for relationships contracted between separate words. The only morphosyntactic dependency is the mechanism of gender agreement within the nominal group, but even this has been lost in some dialects and blurred or partly neutralised in others (§5.5). Except for gender agreement, the system of obligatory TAM choices on the verb and the matching of person/number values between pronominal prefixes to the verb and external nominals, it is fair to say that there is no inflectional morphology encoding syntactic dependencies between distinct words.

Consider the status of the word *kangurdulmekeno* in 4.1: is it an adverbial phrase, filled by a temporal adverbial, or a subordinate clause, filled by a verb? Correspondingly, should the word be glossed in terms of its constituent morphemes, as 'when it thunders', or as a temporal nominal, 'during the build-up season'?

- 4.1 *Ka-kobu-n (bu) ka-ngurdulme-keno.*
 E 3-flower-NP SUB 3-thunderNP-when
 build.up.season
 'It flowers during the build-up season/when it thunders.'

Such indeterminacies arise from the interaction of a number of factors: the suffix *-keno* can be used on both verbs and nouns (as a time complementiser (§14.4) or temporal suffix (§5.2.1.12) respectively) and similarly the 'subordinating' conjunction *bu* (which might be thought to favour an analysis as a subordinate clause) can also occur as a focussing device before nominal groups (6.4.1.3). There is no process of forming non-finite verbs (see §14.1), so that there is no clear-cut morphosyntactic indication of whether *kangurdulmekeno* is a phrase, a clause, or a phrase realised by a clause through rank shift. Intimately linked to this is the problem of lexicalisation; we shall see in §4.1.2 and §5.6 below that fully inflected verbs frequently become lexicalised with meanings denoting entities, times or places. Only rarely is there any formal index of category change.

4.1.1 Use of non-verbs as predicates

Non-verbs can be used as predicates. This results in some overlap in morphological possibilities, though without affecting the certainty with which we can assign roots to the verb or nominal class.

The norm is to use verbs as predicates, nouns as arguments and adjectives either as attributive modifiers of arguments (4.2) or as predicates (4.3).

- 4.2 *Na-mege bininj na-warre ga-m-lobm-e.*
 Dj MA-DEM man MA-bad 3-HITHER-run-NP
 'That bad man is running this way.'

- 4.3 *Na-mege bininj ga-warre.*
 Dj MA-DEM man 3-bad
 'That man is (in a) bad (way).'

But it is equally possible to use a noun as a predicate (4.4–4.6). Normally, nouns used as predicates occur unprefixes for their pronominal subject, this being shown by a free pronoun (4.4). But it is also possible to use pronominal subject prefixes (4.5, 4.6).

- 4.4 *Ngaye bininj.*
 Dj I man
 'I am an (Aboriginal) man.'
- 4.5 *Gun-dulk an-dehne ga-wurdurd.*
 Dj IV-tree VE-DEM 3-child
 'That tree is a sapling.'
- 4.6 *Nga-ngordo. Bene-ngordo.*
 w 1 m-leper 3ua-leper
 'I am a leper.' 'They two are lepers.'

Any word capable of being used as a predicate can take limited TAM marking in the form of the past imperfective suffix *-ni*, which can occur on nouns (4.7), pronouns (4.8), the counterfactual particle (4.8), adjectives (4.9) and adverbs (4.10, 4.11); see §8.3 for further examples. The irrealis suffix can also occur (8.96), but the past perfective cannot, which is why I use the simple gloss P for 'past' rather than PI for the suffix *ni* in these examples.

- 4.7 *Gorrogo al-wanjujuk bininj-ni.*
 Dj before II-emu person-P
 'Long ago emu was a person.'
- 4.8 *Dja ngokko ø-bal-h-ka-ni na-wu mayh berrewoneng-ni*
 w and already 3P-away-IMM-carry-PI MA-DEM animal them.twoOBL-P
yimankek-ni.
 CTRFAC-P
 'But already Echidna was bringing back food which she thought was for both of them.' [OP 426]
- 4.9 *Kodowele na-kimuk-ni yiman Namorrodo na-kimuk-ni-duninjh.*
 w [name] MA-big-P like [name] MA-big-P-really
 'Godowele was big like Namorrodo, who was very big.' [OP 439]
- 4.10 *Arri-yoh-yonginj gu-wardde gun-gare-ni gorrogo.*
 Dj 1a-ITER-sleepPP LOC-rock IV-before-P before
 'We lived for a while in the rock country.'
- 4.11 *Crash birri-yime-ng, ku-kak-ni.*
 w 3aP-do-PP LOC-night-P
 'They had a crash, it was at night.'

Nouns marked in this way may also function as second predicates, as in the following example, where *ngawurdurdni* function as the secondary predicate ' (me) as a boy' — were it a primary predicate in a subordinate clause it would normally be preceded by the subordinating conjunction *bu*.

- 4.12 *Tom Cole ngan-ga-ng nga-wurdurd-ni an-gurrme-ng gonhdah.*
 Dj 3/1-take-PP 1-child-P 3/1-put-PP here
 'Tom Cole took me as a child and put me down here.'

The ability to use non-verbs as predicates results in certain aspects of 'verbal morphology' appearing on nouns, adjectives and so on in these constructions, raising the issue of what is

specifically 'verbal' and what is more generally 'predicate' morphology. Other extensions of what is typically verbal morphology into the realm of predicates more generally are discussed in §8.3 and include noun incorporation, the benefactive applicative, some adverbial-type prefixes and aspectual reduplication.

Despite this considerable overlap, there is never any doubt, once the behaviour of a given lexical root is examined in a wide enough range of contexts, about whether it is a verb or not. This is because there are still many other verbal affixes that only occur on verbs — the past perfective suffix and comitative applicative are clear examples — and also because the third person pronominal forms have different variants when they combine with verbs from when they combine with other word classes used as predicates (§10.2.1); most importantly, the non-past, non-minimal prefixal forms in *ka-* can only be used with verbs (cf. *kabirri-lobme* 'they run' (v.i.) but *birri-kimuk* 'they are big').

The only borderline cases are a couple of predicate adjectives like *babang* 'hurt, be in pain' and *rohrok* 'same, similar', which take the *ka-* forms of the pronominal prefixes even though in other respects their morphological possibilities are like adjectives used as predicates. Thus one says *kabenekukrohrok* 'they two are alike' rather than **benekukrohrok*, even though *rohrok* resembles an adjective root in not having a past perfective form, having no suffix when used as a non-past predicate, and feeding the formation of an inchoative verb (*karohrokmen* 'he tries', lit. 'becomes alike'). For further discussion of such cases see §13.3.

4.1.2 Verbs as referring expressions: the lexicalisation problem

It is also possible to use a fully inflected verb as an argument or adjunct. Here the verb functions as a sort of headless relative — 4.1 was one example of this; another is:

- 4.13 \emptyset -*yakbo-m an-gurladj, everything, ba-wam bene-wam bene-danginj.*
 Dj/w 3P-pour-PP III-goose.nut 3-gOP 3uaP-gOP 3uaP-standPP
 'She poured out goose nuts, everything, she went, they went, the two siblings.
 (lit. they two went they two stood).' ('They two stood' can be used as an argument meaning 'two siblings'.)

In contrast to the situation with nominals used as predicates, verbs used as arguments rarely take distinctive nominal morphology, although they may take 'versatile' affixes, such as *-keno* 'time' which combines equally well with nouns and verbs (4.1); 4.14 is a rare example of the locative prefix preceding the regular verbal prefixes:

- 4.14 *Gu-mege ngaye nga-ni gu-ba-rrowe-ng.*
 Dj LOC-DEM I 1-sit LOC-3P-die-PP
 'I was at the funeral (lit. at he-(had)died.)'

There are a number of examples where the semantics of such uses is completely compositional; this is particularly clear in the case of time expressions like *kangurdulme* 'it thunders' in 4.1, w, 1 *karrungbidbun* [3-sun-ascend] or MM *kadungbebme* [3-sun-emerge] 'sunrise', or the use of *kawurluwurlhme* 'it burns around the place' for 'burning-off season, season for lighting hunting fires'.

In most cases, however, there is some phraseologisation of the semantics, so that the resultant word is better treated as a lexicalisation, morphologically verbal but syntactically on a par with nouns. An example is the use of *bene-danginj*, literally 'they stood (up)', to mean 'the two siblings' in 4.13. The use of the 'assume stance' (§9.3.7) form of 'stand' to refer to siblings is motivated by its extension to the meaning 'be born, come into existence'

(metaphorically motivated by the notion of the children being born, feet first, onto the ground, as it were) and occasionally it is used as a predicate with this meaning:

- 4.15 *Minj karri-na-n na-wu wurdyaw bu ka-rrangen.*
 W not 12a-see-NP MA-DEM child SUB 3-stand.upNP
 'We (men) can't see a baby when it's being born.' [KS 262]

Most of the time, however, *birridanginj* simply means 'siblings', 'sisters' etc. Variation of the pronominal prefixes is permitted: one can say *birri-danginj* 'they (pl) siblings', *ngarri-danginj* 'we (pl) siblings' and so forth as appropriate. Unlike cases of verbs used as relative clauses, which are almost always marked by a relative demonstrative and set off by a separate intonation contour (§14.3), lexicalised deverbal nouns do not require a relative demonstrative (e.g. 4.13, 4.14) and lie inside the same intonation contour as the verb supplying the main predicate (such as *benewam* in 4.13). Occasionally they take appropriate class I or II suffixes to indicate the sex of their referent, as with *alngunihyo* 'my wife' vs *nangunihyo* 'my husband'. These tests are discussed more comprehensively in §5.6.2.

Table 4.1: Deverbal lexicalisations

Expression	Verbal meaning	Nominal meaning
(Dj) <i>arri-djuhme</i> [1a-swimNP]	'we swim ("bogey"); we are in the water'	'our bogey ceremony, involving purification by swimming'
(Dj) <i>garri-mikme</i> [12a-avoidNP]	'we practice avoidance'	'our (inclusive) mother-in- law language, avoidance language'
(w) <i>ka-lobme-n!</i> [3-run-NP]	'(s)he runs'	'good runner'
(Dj) <i>ga-bo-man.ga-n</i> [3-liquid-fall-NP]	'water falls'	'waterfall'
(Dj) <i>ba-yo-i</i> [3P-lie-PP]	'it lay'	'leftovers'
(Dj) <i>al-nguni-h-yo</i> [II-2ua-IMM-lieNP]	'she that you lie'	'your wife'

Table 4.1 gives an idea of the semantic range of such deverbal lexicalisations. Note that the pronominal prefixes can still encode personal deixis (cf. *al-nguni-h-yo* 'your wife', *al-ngunihyo* [II-1ua-lieNP] 'my wife', or *ngabornang* 'my son/daughter' (of male) and *yibornang* 'your son/daughter' (of male), lit. 'you begot him/her'). Because of the productivity of this part of the morphology, such words are not simply frozen sequences; part of the sequence is conventionalised and part is open.

This is not to deny, however, that there are more frozen cases where former verbs lose their inflectional possibilities and become members of another class. Examples of the latter, cited in their Gun-djeihmi form, are seen in 4.16.

- 4.16 *garrumoledmi* etymologically analyseable as *ga-rrung-boledm-e*
 'afternoon' 3-sun-turn-NP
 [time nominal] 'the sun turns around'

See discussion in §5.6.2 on the anomalous form of the non-past suffix here.

<i>gare</i> 'maybe' [modal particle]	etymologically analyseable as	<i>ga-re</i> 3-gONP 'it goes'
<i>-gadi</i> 'above' [postposition]	etymologically analyseable as	<i>ga-di</i> 3-standNP 'it stands'

There are also intermediate cases in terms of how fixed the various morpheme slots are. For example *ga-rrung-yibme* [3-sun-sinkNP] 'dusk, lit. it-sun-sets' has not been recorded with other tenses, but allows the aspectual prefix *bal-* 'towards', as in *gabaldungyibme* 'just as the sun is setting; right on dusk'.

4.2 The major word classes: diagnostics

4.2.1 Verbs

Verbs are easily distinguished by their complex morphology, with at least twelve prefix and three suffix positions (§8.1). Most important among these are the one (if intransitive) or two (elsewhere) pronominal prefixes, the two applicative prefixes (benefactive and comitative), the reflexive/reciprocal derivational suffix, the set of five conjugationally determined tense/aspect/mood (TAM) suffixes, the ability to incorporate nominals, and the many adverbial, aspectual and quantifying prefixes. Although nouns and adjectives used as predicates may employ a subset of the intransitive prefix set and a subset of the TAM set (§4.1) and some sorts of noun–adjective compounding resemble noun incorporation, they cannot take other verbal affixes such as applicatives, reflexive/reciprocal or most of the adverbial or aspectual prefixes.

Verb roots may be classified by valence into intransitives, transitives and ditransitives (there are no semitransitive verbs), and cross-classified into a large number of conjugations (§8.2.3). With a few exceptions transitivity values are fixed (§13.4.2), although valency can be increased or decreased by applicative prefixes and the reflexive/reciprocal suffix (§10.3).

4.2.2 Nominals

Nouns and adjectives share a number of morphological properties: prefixes for gender/noun class and case suffixes. Though gender and noun-class prefixes are formally identical, gender signals an inflectional category (governed by the head noun and marked on modifying nominals) while noun classes have no syntagmatic significance, being merely part of the lexeme-forming morphology and confined to (some) nouns; see §5.5 for discussion.

The superordinate term 'nominal' will be used to subsume the two classes of noun and adjective, along with other minor classes (free pronouns, ignoratives, demonstratives, numerals, locationals, manner adverbials and temporals) sharing some of their morphological possibilities.

4.2.2.1 Nouns

Over half of the noun lexemes include a noun-class prefix as well as a root; such prefixes are particularly common with inanimates. Some roots are attested with only one prefix,

while others occur in lexeme sets differing only in their prefixes; such alternations exhibit a number of semantic relationships ranging across male/female pairs like *na-kohbanj* 'old man' and *ngal-kohbanj* 'old woman', abstracts like *kun-ngordo* 'leprosy' alongside *na-ngordo* 'male leper', and metaphorical relationships like *kun-mim* 'eye' vs *man-mim* 'seed, fruit'.

Some nouns with class III or IV prefixes can replace them, when referring to locations, by the locative prefix *ku-* (cf. *kun-karlang* 'shoulder', *ku-karlang* 'on the shoulder'). The locative preposition *kure/kore*, on the other hand, may be used with nouns of all classes and all nouns can take case suffixes.

4.17	<i>kun-dulk</i> IV-tree 'tree'	<i>ku-rrulk</i> LOC-tree 'in the tree'	<i>ku-rrulk-be</i> LOC-tree-ABL 'from the tree'	<i>kun-dulk-dorrens</i> IV-tree-with 'with a/the tree'
	<i>daluk</i> woman 'woman'	<i>kore</i> LOC 'to the woman'	<i>daluk</i> woman 'from the woman'	<i>daluk-be daluk-yak</i> woman-ABL woman-PRIV 'without a woman'

A subset of nouns can be compounding bases; essentially the same subset can be incorporated into verbs. Most of these are generic nouns.

4.18	<i>kun-bolk</i> IV-place 'place'	<i>ku-bolk-mak</i> LOC-place-good 'good place'	<i>ku-bolk-yirridjdja</i> LOC-place-Yirridjdja 'Yirridjdja place/country'	<i>ngarri-bolk-nahna-n</i> 1a-place-look.after-NP 'we look after (our) country'
------	--	--	---	--

One noun has a suppletive alternation between its free and compounding forms: *kukku* (w), *gukku* (Dj), *kun-ronj* (I, E) 'water' is the free form, but *bo-* (w, Dj, I) or *kolk-* (E, MM) is used when compounded, suffixed or incorporated; in this case the incorporated form has the more general meaning 'liquid':

4.19	<i>gukku</i> Dj water 'water'	<i>an-bo-bang</i> VE-liquid-dangerous 'brackish water'	<i>bo-yak</i> liquid-PRIV 'lacking water'	<i>ngarri-bo-yi-na-ng</i> 1a/3-liquid-COM-see-PP 'we saw him with the water/liquid/grog'
------	--	--	---	---

4.20	<i>kukku</i> I water 'well-known water site'	<i>man-kuken</i> VE-well.known 'well-known water site'	<i>man-bo-kuken</i> VE-liquid-well.known
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Another subset of nouns, dealing with body parts or manifestations, can also be incorporated into verbs (§8.3.2, §10.4.2) and form specific body-part compounds (§5.4.2). Unlike with other nouns, there is no restriction on which body-part nouns can compound or incorporate.

Other subclasses of nouns that it is useful to recognise are:

KINSHIP NOUNS These have extra morphological possibilities (though usually not totally productive) involving various derivational affixes specific to kin relationships, such as second person possessive *ke-* and property dyad *-miken* (§5.3.1.3).

PLACE NAMES These are morphologically invariant, although they may include a fixed noun-class prefix (e.g. *Namiminja*). Some have aberrant phonotactics or stress patterns, suggestive of origins in a different language.

PROPER NAMES (e.g. clan names, 'bush names', moiety, phratry and subsection names.) 'Bush names' often include noun-class prefixes (e.g. *Namiyilk*), but do not oppose masculine to feminine forms. Clan and subsection names display a contrast between masculine and feminine and, in the case of clans, neuter noun classes. In the western system of subsection terms this is achieved through the use of the regular noun-class prefixes, whereas in the eastern system the special feminine suffix *-djan*, likely a Dalabon loan, is employed (§1.4.2.2). The phratry names *yarriburrik*, *yarrikarnkurk*, *yarriwurrkan* and *yarriyarninj* include the prefix *yarri-*, not found elsewhere.

4.2.2.2 Adjectives

When used attributively, these take a gender prefix governed by the head noun (which may or may not have a formally similar noun-class prefix); being governed for gender is normally a reliable test for adjectival status. Unlike nouns (at least those in Classes III and IV) adjectives may not take the locative prefix *ku-*. Certain nouns resemble adjectives in indicating sex by prefix, notably paired human terms like *nangordo/ngalngordo* 'male/female leper', or *nakoykoy/ngalkoykoy* 'promiscuous man/woman'. These are best treated as de-adjectival nouns, since the form of the prefix is determined directly by the referent, rather than by agreement with a governing noun, as in the case of adjectives. However, the (limited) possibility of using adjectives without governing heads (§6.3) — in which case their gender is determined directly by the referent — makes this at best a slender difference.

4.21	<i>bininj na-mak</i>	<i>daluk ngal-mak</i>	<i>man-me man-mak</i>
	man MA-good	woman FE-good	III-food VE-good
	'handsome man'	'pretty woman'	'good food'

The rules of agreement vary considerably from dialect to dialect and are discussed in §5.4. Most importantly for the definition of the adjective class, in Kune the agreement system has been abandoned, resulting in the generalisation of the masculine form: the form *namak*, for example, would be used to modify all three nouns in 4.21. Since the *na* prefix is then dropped in compounds (e.g. *kolh-mak* [water-good] 'good water'), this leaves the Kune dialect with the following criterion for adjectives: they are words with *na-* prefixes that get dropped in predicative compounds.

When used predicatively, adjectives can take intransitive pronominal prefixes and can incorporate nouns and take the imperfective verbal suffix in non-present.

4.22	<i>Nga-mok.</i>
Dj	1-sore
	'I'm sore.'

4.23	<i>Nga-rreng-mok.</i>
Dj	1-foot-sore
	'My foot is sore.'

- 4.24 *Wirriwirriyak* *ba-rrenge-mok-ni*.
 Dj black.faced.cuckoo.shrike 3P-foot-sore-PI
 'Shrike's foot was sore.'

In compounds, adjectives are always the second element:

- 4.25 *Yi-geb-gimuk*.
 Dj 2-nose-big
 'You have a big nose' or 'Your nose is big.'

In fact, the ability to occur as the second element in compounds give a good criterion for identifying adjectives. Although two of the four main types of nominal compound (body-part compounds and mishap nicknames) allow the second elements to be nouns, the other two (*bahuvrihi* compounds and predicate compounds) require the second element to be an adjective, or a property expression formed from a noun plus case or quantity expression (§5.4). As seen above, this can be used to identify adjectives in the eastern dialects that have lost gender agreement.

Adjectives regularly participate in the formation of de-adjectival inchoative verbs like *kimukmen* 'become big' and *kimukwon* 'make big', though occasional nouns also turn up in inchoatives and causatives, such as *dalehmen* 'become dry' from *kun-daleh* or *dalehno* 'dry wood'.

Comparative constructions also pick out members of the adjective class, although they are so little used (see §13.3.7 for the various methods) that they do not furnish good tests and they have no special comparative form.

A number of non-prototypical members of the adjective class do not share all the above criteria, failing to show gender agreement and/or predicative compounding behaviour.

First, a number of adjectives, particularly those referring to colour, rarely if ever occur in direct combination with the gender prefixes, instead forming predicative compounds with a body-part noun describing the location of the colour (or with the noun *kuk* 'body' if the whole entity has that colour). The resultant compound may then optionally take a gender prefix reflecting the referent.

- | | | |
|------|---|------------------------|
| 4.26 | <i>kuk-ngerrmeng</i> | <i>kodj-ngerrmeng</i> |
| E | body-red | head-red |
| | 'red, red-bodied' | 'red of head' |
| 4.27 | <i>ko-ngerrmey</i> | <i>ko-wirrwirrmeng</i> |
| M | flower-red | flower-pink |
| | 'red flower' | 'pink flower' |
| 4.28 | <i>al-guk-gurduk</i> | |
| Dj | FE-body-black | |
| | 1. 'Aboriginal woman, black woman' | |
| | 2. 'black animal of feminine gender, e.g. black python' | |

Many adjectives with this limitation appear to be deverbal, sometimes including a frozen past perfective suffix *-ng* (§5.6.1.3): Dj, E *ngurlmeng* 'black', as in Dj *nagukngurlmeng* 'black-bodied, of man or masculine' (Kuninjku *ngurlme* 'appear in darkness, appear as a dark shape'), MM *bame*, E:D *barme* 'white' (Dj *bame* 'shine, glisten'). The relation of *ngerrmeng* 'red' to the verb *ngerrme* 'growl, bark (of dog)' is not currently clear. Other

adjectives with comparable verb-like morphology are *barlme* (Dj, MM) and *barlmeng* (I, E) 'full',² related to the verb *barlme* 'overflow', as in Dj *babobarlmeng* 'the water overflowed'.

There is not, however, a perfect correlation between this combinatoric profile and being verbally derived. The Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku adjective *bele* 'white', for example, eschews direct gender-prefixed forms like masculine *nabele* or feminine *ngalbele* in favour of compounded forms like *nagukbele* and *ngalkukbele*, even though it has adjectival cognates in quite distant languages (e.g. Kayardild *balarr* 'white'). On the other hand the Kune adjective *barme* 'white' can take direct *na*-prefixation: *nabar* 'white' and the deverbal adjective *bu(r)lerri* '(be) black', (which incorporates *bule* 'charcoal' into *di* 'stand') may occur in modifier position, as in *nawu burlerri kunj Nabarlek* 'that black wallaby Nabarlek' [KS 26].

Other properties, such as 'yellow' and 'round', are expressed by words that are basically nouns (*karlba* 'yellow ochre', but sometimes also used to mean just 'yellow' and *djurdudjurdu* 'round grinding stone', sometimes used to mean just 'round'), whose combinatorics have been extended to allow predicative-type compounding (e.g. Dj *an-godj-djurdudjurdu* [VE-head-round] 'round-headed tuber or yam').

As with the deverbal adjectives discussed above, extension to the predicative compound construction appears to be the first combinatorial property of adjectives to appear. It is interesting in this regard that noun roots can occur in any of the combinations N-N (e.g. in body-part compounds), N-Adj (e.g. in predicative compounds) and N-V (as incorporated nominals), so that this morphosyntactic context is a natural place for categorial reanalysis to occur to adjective status, whether from change of state predicates (e.g. from 'head loomed dark' to 'black head') or by coercion of properties from typical possessors of those properties (e.g. from 'head-(round like a) grinding stone' to 'head-round').

A second set of adjectives with more limited combinatorial properties are those normally attested with the 'possessed noun' suffix *-no*, such as *lorrkno* 'hollow' (lit. 'its hollow') and *kukno* 'raw' (lit. 'its body'). These also never take agreeing gender prefixes, but can occur (without the *-no* suffix) in compounds, such as Dj *gu-rrulk-lorrk* [LOC-tree-hollow] 'in hollow trees'. As the possibility of rephrasing this last example as 'in tree-hollows' illustrates, the boundary between property and part is not always clear with such words.

A third set of adjectives with more limited combinatorics are predicate adjectives such as Dj *darrgid* 'alive' which are always either used as predicates (in which case they take the relevant intransitive prefixes) or incorporated as secondary predicates (§10.4.4). Accordingly, they never appear with noun-class prefixes. See §13.3.2 for further discussion.

A great deal more study is needed on the lexeme-specific variations in adjectival properties; it seems likely that closer scrutiny will reveal them to be even more heterogeneous than the above description indicates.

4.3 Closed classes

The first eight of the closed classes below exhibit, in a non-productive way, elements found in the broad nominal class, such as restricted uses of case suffixes or gender prefixes; this applies to free pronouns, most ignoratives, demonstratives, numerals, locationals, manner adverbials and temporals.

² MM appears to form more of these deverbal adjectives with *mey* than with *meng*, as compared with other dialects. Both *mey* and *meng* are attested past perfective endings, albeit in different conjugations.

4.3.1 Free pronouns

Free pronouns show a three-way number distinction and person, with first inclusive and exclusive, second and third persons. As compared to the more elaborated system of bound pronominals on the verb, some person/number combinations are missing and are usually filled by prefixing bound pronominals to numbers (e.g. *nguni-bogen* [2ua-two] 'you two').

There are three major pronoun series: direct (e.g. Dj *ngaye* 'I, me'), oblique (e.g. Dj *ngarduk* 'my') and emphatic (e.g. Dj *ngayeman* 'myself, I in turn'). Further categories can be formed by adding nominal suffixes or syntactic clitics.

4.3.2 Ignoratives

Ignoratives exhibit regular polysemy between interrogative and indefinite meanings, depending partly on whether they occur clause-initially (§7.2). Wh-interrogatives may also be used as ignoratives (something, someone etc.), and with negatives they mean 'nothing', 'noone' etc. Most ignoratives are subtypes of nominal and these take noun-class prefixes (e.g. W *na-ngale* 'who (male)', *ngal-ngale* 'who (female)', *man-ngale* 'which (e.g. tree)'), as well as some nominal case suffixes (e.g. Dj *njanjuk-gen* [what-GEN] 'why, because of what'). There is also a set of phrasal ignoratives based around the verb *yime* 'do'.

4.3.3 Demonstratives

Demonstratives always take gender prefixes, except in Kune, which has lost its gender system and generalised the masculine demonstrative forms. They form a large set organised around a complex range of deictic distinctions, encoding such precise meanings as 'this here with us', 'that one there that you were wanting to know about', etc. (§7.3). One of the demonstrative sets doubles as relative pronouns. Further spatial demonstratives, with meanings like 'over there', substitute the locative prefix *ku-* for the gender prefixes in the above sets. Unlike adjectives (the other class showing fully-fledged gender agreement), demonstratives cannot enter into compounds with their head; thus *man-bo-mak* [VE-liquid-good] 'this good water' is acceptable but not **man-bo-mekbe* 'that water'.

There is also a set of locational deictics, such as *gonhdah* (Dj)/*kondanj* (l) 'here' and Dj *ngahdjarre* 'this side, this way', which give deictic specification but function as locationals syntactically.

4.3.4 Numerals

The small class of numerals includes *na-kudji* 'one', *boken* 'two' (*djarrkno* in eastern dialects), *danjbik* or *boken na-kudji* 'three', *kun-karrng-bakmeng* [IV-fist-broken] 'four', *kun-bid-gudji* [IV-hand-one] 'five', *kun-bid-bogen* [IV-hand-two] 'ten'. Only the first three regularly function as nominal modifiers. Another important member of this series is *na-wern-(ken)* 'many'. Of the forms listed above with the masculine prefix *na-*, *na-kudji* exhibits gender agreement with its head, whereas *na-wern* is almost always invariable (§5.5.4.2).

4.3.5 Locationals

This class includes around a dozen words such as *kanjdji* 'inside, underneath, under', *kaddum* 'on top (of), *djarre* 'a long way off' and *koyek* '(in the) east'. Some, such as *kuberrk* 'outside' and *kururrk* 'inside (a three-dimensionally enclosed space)' have an absorbed locative prefix *ku-*. Many locationals can be used either with or without an explicit 'ground' (cf. 'under the table', 'underneath'); in the former case they are postposed to a nominal group and in the latter they are used as independent adverbials. Apart from the occasional use of spatial suffixes such as the ablative *-beh*, these words do not vary their form with the syntactic context. In eastern dialects there is a directional prefix *berre-*, which may only combine with locationals (e.g. *berre-koyek* 'eastwards', *berre-kaddum* 'upwards').

4.3.6 Prepositions

There are two main prepositions (§6.4.1): resemblance is expressed by *yiman* 'like' and general location ('at, in, on, towards' also sometimes 'for') is expressed by the form *gure* in the Mayali dialects and *kore/kure* in the remaining dialects. Morphologically they are invariable; syntactically, they are always NP-initial. *Yiman* can also be used as a conjunction meaning 'like, for example'.

4.3.7 Manner adverbials

These occur in the same clause as a main verb or nominal predicate and cannot be used non-elliptically as a main predicate, nor as an argument. Examples are Dj *gorregorre* 'quickly', Dj *an-wern* and W *man-wern* 'too much', *yid-yak* 'peacefully, without fighting' (all dialects), I, E *mol Kno* 'secretly', Dj *gorrkgen* 'wrapped in a blanket' (cf. *an-gorrk* 'blanket, material'), Kuninjku *monambad* 'in single file'.

As this list shows, some are morphologically simple, others allow reduplication (for emphasis — W, Dj *werrk* 'quickly', *werrkwerrk* 'really quickly') or take the noun-class prefix *an-/man-*, the part suffix *-no* (in Kuninjku and Kune) or role suffixes such as *-yak* 'without' and genitive *-ken/-gen*.

The Class III prefix — (ng)*an-* (Dj), (MM) — *man-* elsewhere is commonly used to derive manner adverbials from adjectives (cf. W *kun-bele* 'white' (adj.) and *man-bele* 'running clear' (manner adv.), or E *na-mungu* 'person who is ignorant or innocent' and *man-mungu* 'accidentally'). There are also many manner adverbials with this prefix but without corresponding adjectives, for example Dj *ngan-barlok* and W *man-barlok* 'suddenly, unexpectedly'.

A number of adverbs have a suffix *-ki(h)* — *wernkih* 'properly', *darnkih* 'near', *woybukkih* 'true, fair dinkum', Kuninjku *rayekki* 'staying in one place, stationary' — which does not occur in other word classes. The first two of these may be incorporated into verbs, in which case they drop the *-kih* suffix.

4.3.8 Temporals

This class includes deictic temporals (like *bolkgime* 'now', *malaiwi* 'tomorrow'), time-of-day terms (like *barnangarra* '(in the) daytime', *gu-gak* 'at night', *ngokkowi* 'in the

afternoon') and terms for more distant times (such as *an-gare* 'before', '(in the) olden days', *gorrogo* '(in the) olden days'). The above are the Gun-djeihmi forms; there is great cross-dialectal variation here and a disproportionate number of forms exhibit semantic differences across dialects: Dj *ngokkowi* '(in the) afternoon', Kuninjku *ngokkowi* 'dusk, evening', E *ngorkkowino* 'night'.

Many temporals exhibit dribs and drabs of nominal morphology. The part suffix *-no* appears in easterly dialects (e.g. E *ngorkkowino* or *kakno* 'night', lit. 'its night' (also MM *gakno* 'night'), Kuninjku *wolewoleho* 'afternoon', lit. 'its afternoon'); presumably this identifies the relevant time as part of the diurnal cycle, but it does not extend to all comparable nouns. The neuter prefix *kun-* is found on *kun-kak* 'night' in Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku; Kuninjku has lexicalised the locative prefix *ku* giving *kukak* 'night' (which means 'at night' or 'during the night' in Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku). Used as a clitic elsewhere in the grammar to mean 'only' (§13.6.3), *-wi* occurs as a suffix with temporals only, in the Dj pairs *ngokko* 'already', *ngokkowi* 'afternoon' and *bolkgime* 'now', *bolkgimewi* 'just about'.³ The genitive suffix *-ken* also appears in pairs like Dj *an-gare* 'before, in the olden days' and *an-gareh-gen* 'a while back, last week or so'. Compounding with certain adjective roots, such as *buyiga* 'other', is also possible (e.g. Dj *malayi* 'tomorrow', *malayibuyiga* 'the day after tomorrow').

There are also quite a few deverbal temporals exhibiting various degrees of lexicalisations, such as Dj *garrumoledmi* 'mid afternoon' lexicalised from *ga-rrung-boledme* 'it-sun-turns' but with assimilation of *ng* to *m* before *b* that would not affect an incorporated nominal in a normal verb and E *kangurdulmekeno* for 'build-up season', literally 'when it thunders', which is formally a normal verb: *ka-ngurdulme-keno* [3-thunder-TIME]. Such deverbal time terms run along a continuum of decategorialisation depending on how productive their verbal morphology is; in neither of the above cases, for example, can the TAM values of the verbal suffix be varied, but *karrumoledmi* is less clearly verbal to the extent that it has undergone the additional phonological changes just described.

4.3.9 Modal particles

These modify the modality, mood, polarity and tense of the clause. All are morphologically invariable. Their syntactic position is typically either preverbal (e.g. *wardi* 'maybe', *marrek* 'not, never', *kaluk* 'bye-and-bye, then, future') or clause-initial, in the case of *yiddok* 'perhaps; interrogative particle' (§13.10). Preverbal particles are discussed along with TAM inflections in §9.3.

4.3.10 Conjunctions

There is a handful of clausal conjunctions: *ba* 'so that, in order that', *wanjh* 'well then; all right', *kaluk* 'after, then'. *Bu* is a general subordinating conjunction; often it translates as 'when' or 'as' (see Chapter 14 for a full discussion).

Conjunction of elements can be rendered by *dja* in Dj and *la* in W and I, though it is equally common to simply list conjuncts with no overt conjunction. The particles *yika* 'some,

³ See also §5.2.1.9 on whether *-wi* can sometimes function as an instrumental suffix.

a subset, or' and *kare* 'maybe, perhaps', though basically particles, can precede each of a number of conjoined nominals or clauses in lists of alternatives.

4.3.11 Interjections

The rich set of interjections is discussed in detail in §13.12. I define the prototypical interjection as a word that is (a) monomorphemic, (b) capable of making up an independent, non-elliptical utterance and (c) not used to represent a non-speech sound.

Condition (a) is to exclude 'interjectional phrases' that are conventionalised sequences serving as discourse markers; an example of a would-be interjection excluded by this condition is the morphologically complex *kebnguneng* 'thankyou', whose morphological structure is *ø-keb-nguneng* [I/you-nose-ate], literally 'I ate your nose'.

Condition (b) is to exclude the various monomorphemic words (e.g. modal particles like *wardi* 'might', conjunctions like *la* or *dja* 'and' and so forth, as well as many nouns) which are syntactically integrated with other words in a clause and either cannot occur alone (as with *wardi* and *dja*), or only do so in very specialised contexts, such as when an isolated noun is used for nomination, as in the utterance *daluk!* 'a woman!'.

Condition (c) is to exclude ideophones (see §4.3.13).

Interjections can be further subcategorised by basic function (see §13.12).

4.3.12 Particles

Particles are also morphologically invariable, but unlike interjections are syntactically integrated, occurring as part of a full clause. They are distinguished from other morphologically invariable words on semantic grounds; they express the speaker's attitude to the clause, evaluate its truthfulness, or suggest the range of situations to which it applies, for example *djaying* 'supposedly', *kare* 'maybe', *wardibu* 'hopefully', *barna* 'looks like it's time', and *yarrkka* 'anything, etc.' (see §13.11).

4.3.13 Ideophones

There is a small set of ideophones used onomatopoeically to represent the sound of particular events. Among them are *wurr* (Dj) 'sound of a tree falling, crash!', *birndulh* (Dj) and *djiluh* (I) 'sound of hands clapping on water to scare away crocodiles', *ngam* 'gulp!', *lerrngbak* 'bull's eye!; sound of beating someone up', *lerre* 'rattling of snail-shell collars placed around dogs', *njok* 'bark of dog', *dawird* (I) 'sound that Namorrorddo makes as he moves across the sky', *gurlulk* (Dj) 'sound of an emu', *djek-djek* 'call of the *bodjekdjek* bird'. These are often repeated a number of times, if the sound represented is a repetitive one. Many bird names, such as *djirndi* 'quail', double as ideophones representing the sound of that bird. The integration of ideophones into clausal syntax is discussed in §13.13.

5 *Nominals*

Nominals and their morphology play a relatively minor role in Bininj Gun-wok. Many clauses only contain an inflected verb, with no overt nominal word, and where the latter do occur they often lack any inflection showing their syntactic role in the clause; an unmarked noun or adjective may be subject, object, indirect object or various adjunct roles such as location or goal. The most complexity in the nominal word lies in its derivational morphology and compounding possibilities. Because nouns and adjectives have largely similar morphological possibilities they are discussed together here under the rubric 'nominals'; many of these possibilities extend to demonstrative, personal and ignorative pronouns as well. Statements in this chapter, however, should be taken to refer just to nouns and adjectives unless otherwise indicated.

5.1 Structure of the nominal word

Nominal words have the structure in (5.1). Nominalisations of locative expressions exceptionally allow two prefixes in the first slot (§5.6.2.3).

5.1 (Pref) (Quant) (Redup) Stem (Der) (Possessed marker) (Adn) (Role) (Tense)

Examples showing the expansion of some of these slots are:

- 5.2 a. *gu-wardde-borledmigenh-be*
Dj LOC-rock-other.side-ABL
'from on the other side of the rock (plateau)'
- b. *yiwk-no-beh*
MM honey-3POSSD-ABL
'from its honey'
- c. *kon-no-yih*
E:N spike-3POSSD-INSTR
'by its spike'
- d. *na-bal-kih-kimuk*
MA-away-REDUP-big
'very very big'

- e. *bakki-yak-ga*
 Dj tobacco-PRIV-LOC
 'for want of tobacco, because of having no tobacco' (see 5.69)
- f. *bigibigi-yak-ni*
 Dj pig-PRIV-P
 'there were no pigs'

With regard to the optional suffixal slots, the order in 5.1 remains tentative, since the rarity of morphologically expanded suffix sequences means that not all combinations are attested in the corpus. For example, the order Possessed.marker-Adnominal, which occurs frequently in Dalabon constructions like *rolu-no bi-no-kvn* [dog-3POSSD man-3POSSD-GEN] 'her husband's dog' (lit. 'dog-his, husband-her-of'), will normally be expressed more periphrastically in Bininj Gun-wok as *duruk nuye, nabinjkobeng nuye* 'dog his, (her) husband his-one'. The extent to which adnominal and other role suffixes can co-occur is also unclear. There are some examples of adnominal plus role sequences, such as in 5.2, but compared to the frequency of multiple case marking in other Australian languages (see Dench & Evans 1988 and the Australianist papers in Plank 1995) these are rare in the corpus.

We now examine each of the above slots in more detail.

THE PREFIX SLOT (pref) may be filled by:

- (a) one of the four noun-class/gender prefixes (§5.5)

<i>na-</i>	(masculine/I)
<i>(ng)al-</i>	(feminine/II)
<i>(ng)an-</i> (M)~ <i>man-</i> (W, I, E)	(vegetable/III)
<i>kun-</i>	(neuter/IV)

Many nouns, such as *na-rangem* 'boy', *ngal-beywurd* 'daughter (of male ego)', *man-larrh* 'callitris pine', and *kun-wardde* 'rock', have a lexical noun-class prefix which cannot be omitted in free nominals, although it can be replaced by a locative or pronominal prefix. In other words, one can never say just **rangem* or **wardde*, although one can have words like *ngarri-rangem* 'we boys' or *ku-wardde* 'at/in the rock (country)'. The only time noun-class prefixes are dropped is in manner predicates with the privative suffix, as in e.g. *wok-yak* 'without talking', *yid-yak* 'without fighting' (cf. *gun-wok* 'language, talk', *gun-yid* 'trouble, fight') — see §5.2.1.6 — or when the nouns are incorporated (§8.1.3).

There are other nouns, such as *wurdurd* 'child', *bininj* 'man, person, Aborigine', *daluk* 'woman', *mim* 'breathing hole for animal that buries itself in mud or sand' (Dj) and *gukku* 'water', which do not take a non-zero noun-class prefix and occur as bare roots in a 'zero class', which I shall refer to as Class V. Some of these nouns, such as *mim*, combine with noun-class prefixes when they have a different sense (*man-mim* 'fruit', *kun-mim* 'eye'); others, such as *bininj*, *daluk* and *gukku*, never combine with noun-class prefixes.

Adjectives and some other modifiers (some numerals, demonstratives) lack fixed class prefixes, but in agreement with the noun they modify they can be assigned gender prefixes formally identical to the noun-class prefixes (e.g. *bininj na-warre* 'bad/ugly man', *daluk ngal-warre* 'bad/ugly woman', Dj *an-larrh an-warre* 'bad callitris.pine').

The noun-class and gender systems, and the interactions between them, are dealt with in detail in §5.5.

- (b) the locative prefix *gu-/ku-* (§5.2.2.1), which can replace the Class III or IV prefixes in locative constructions for some lexemes (Dj *an-labbarl* 'billabong', *gu-labbarl* 'at the billabong'; W *kun-wardde* 'stone', *ku-wardde* 'in the stone (country), stone country'). It may also occur on some unprefixed nouns (e.g. Dj *gu-wukku* 'in the water' < *gu-gukku*). Although it sometimes marks a case-like locational relationship within the clause, this prefix is also used simply to designate locations without regard to their grammatical function in the clause, and with some noun roots the locative prefix occurs so often that it approaches the status of a further noun class, marking locations. A special 'vegetable locative' prefix *mi-* (§5.2.2.3) is formally similar but restricted to a few collocations, as in *an-djoh* 'wattle', *acacia difficilis*, *acacia platycarpa* and *mi-djohdjodjo* 'mixed scrub, with wattle predominant' (§5.3.3.1).
- (c) a pronominal prefix, drawn from the intransitive subject set found with verbs (§8.3.1). Pronominal prefixes are used for nominal predicates such as Dj *bani-wokbuyiga* 'they two are (of) a different language' and *nga-wurdurd* 'I, (as) a child', and for apposed noun phrases like Dj *arri-gukbulerri* 'we Aborigines'. The use of pronominal prefixes in nominal predicates is complex, participating in semantic opposition to the use of the noun-class prefixes, and is discussed in §13.3.1.

The QUANTIFIER prefix slot contains the prefixes *djal-* 'only', *bal-* 'away' and *wernh-* 'properly', all of which also function as verbal prefixes (see Chapter 11). Of these, *djal-* can combine with both nouns and adjectives, while *bal-* and *wernh-* combine only with adjectives, e.g. *na-wernh-kimuk* 'really big (masc.)', *man-bal-kerrnge* 'a newer (camp site), along the way' (KS72), *na-djal-kudji* [MA-just-one] 'just one; all alone'.

The REDUPLICATIVE prefix slot allows partial reduplication of nouns or adjectives when they have plural meaning (see §5.3).

STEMS may comprise:

- (a) a simple root, as in *gun-√warde* [IV-rock] or *√malindji* 'praying mantis',
- (b) a reduplicated root, as in *gu-warddeh-wardde* [LOC-rock] 'rocky plateau', *kilwirrkilwirr* 'plant sp.: *crinum asiaticum*' and *moduyhmoduyh* 'type of lizard' (E:N),
- (c) two or more roots, as in Dj *an-wardde-geb* [III-rock-nose] 'rock outcrop, out-jutting rock', E:N *dedjmildungh* 'plant sp. eaten by rock possums' (cf. *man-dedj* 'root, tuber') or
- (d) combinations of the above, e.g. *djadberlhberlh* 'bird sp.'

Many internally complex stems contain one or more cranberry morphs not found elsewhere. In the above examples, for example, the elements *kilwirr*, *moduyh* and *mildungh* do not occur outside these formations.

The DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX slot contains such derivational affixes as *-migen* 'property, kinship dyad' (e.g. *gakkak-migen* 'pair who call each other *gakkak*, 'mother's mother with her daughter's child') or *-yi* 'characteristically possessing, PROPrietive', as in *na-gole-yi*

[1-bamboo.shaft-PROP] 'those (whose country) characteristically possesses good bamboo shafts'.

The POSSESSED NOUN slot essentially contains just the third person singular possessed suffix *-no* 'his, her, its' (e.g. *wurdurđno* 'his/her children'). In eastern dialects this suffix has become a general marker of part status, ranging from body parts (e.g. *mimno* 'his/her/its eye (I), eye (E)') to more abstract notions of part such as part of landscape (*labbarlno* '(its) billabong', i.e. the landscape's billabong) or the diurnal cycle (e.g. *kakno* '(its) night', i.e. that part of the diurnal cycle which is the night); this topic is examined in §5.5.4. The trirelational kinship vocabulary contains frozen forms of other possessor suffixes which were once more productive (§1.5.2), such as *-ngu* 'your'.

The ADNOMINAL SUFFIX slot optionally contains suffixes whose function is to relate one referring expression to another adnominally, in attribution or copredication, such as *-yak* 'without, PRIVative' and *-dorreng* 'with, having'. Many of these frequently function as derivational affixes as well.

The ROLE slot contains such suffixes as *-gahl-kah* 'LOCative' or *-be* 'ABLative'.

The QUANTIFIER slot contains such suffixes as *-duninj* 'really' and *-buyiga* 'another'. Since these suffixes are typically found in nominal predicates, which lack role marking, they do not co-occur with role suffixes.

The TENSE slot can optionally contain either the past marker *-ni* or the irrealis marker *-niwirrinj*; these are the most general allomorphs of the past imperfective and irrealis in the verb paradigm. Tense marking is found on nominals when they are past nominal predicates, as in *na-mak-ni* [1-good-P] 'he was a good man', or referring expressions valid only at some past time, such as *nga-wurdurđ-ni* [1-child-P] 'I as a child, the child me' (§8.3).

5.2 Role affixes

Bininj Gun-wok does not use nominal morphology to encode information about core grammatical relations, with the exception of the optional use of the instrumental or ablative to mark transitive subjects in some dialects. Determination of grammatical relations is done by the pronominal verb prefixes, supplemented by context. Applicative prefixes to the verb supply thematic-role information about benefactives and comitatives (§10.3). Some adjunct roles, such as purpose, are not usually marked overtly, and are inferred from lexical, sentential and pragmatic context (§13.5.3). However, there are a number of case-like nominal suffixes, as well as various prefixes and prepositions, that are used to encode various types of adjunct roles. In no case is there agreement; suffixes attach to the head or last noun only, and prepositions precede the whole phrase.

Because these suffixes are not obligatory, they are not true case inflections, and accordingly I prefer the term 'role suffixes' to capture their more optional nature. In addition, it is less clear than with case affixes proper that they form a closed class. Consider the Gun-djeihmi suffix *-djahđjam* 'characteristic location' (§5.2.1.1.1), which in some ways is distributionally similar to the locative suffix *-gahl/-kah* (§5.2.1.4): both can be used on nouns indicating the location at which the clause takes place, but the second is much more general and will not normally be used outside a clausal construction, while the second is much more specific (it could be glossed '(the/a) place where one characteristically finds X')

and will often be used for nomination, for example in place names. Neither is obligatory as a way of marking locations — which could also be shown through the use of a locative prefix (§5.2.2), a locative preposition (§6.4.1.1) or nothing (§13.5.3) — and neither manifests agreement over a phrasal unit, or has any further syntactic consequences. Because of the difficulties of drawing boundaries to this set in a principled way, I include in this section any suffix that attaches to nouns and thereby specifies their relation to the main predicator or to another noun.

5.2.1 Role suffixes

We begin this section with the three suffixes — the ablative, proprietive and genitive — that at least in some dialects can express the core grammatical relation of transitive subject, albeit optionally in each case. We then pass to the remaining suffixes, which are invariably used for adjunct or adnominal relations.

5.2.1.1 ABLative -be(h)

The final glottal is optional in Kunwinjku and absent in other dialects. This suffix is not found in other Gunwinyguan languages and it may have grammaticalised recently from the free form *beh* (only found in Kune), which means ‘away’, as in *yiwemen beh* [you-throw-IMP away] ‘throw it away!’

This suffix primarily denotes source of movement:

- 5.3 *Daluk bogen bani-m-wam Ayers Rock -be.*
 Dj woman two 3uaP-hither-goPP -ABL
 ‘The two women came back from Ayers Rock.’
- 5.4 *Birri-bebme-ng wolewoleh Madjinbardi-be.*
 E:N 3aP-arrive-PP yesterday Mudginberry-ABL
 ‘They arrived yesterday from Mudginberry.’
- 5.5 *Ba-bebme-rr-inj maih gu-wukku-be.*
 Dj 3P-appear-RR-PP animal LOC-water-ABL
 ‘The animals are coming up away from the water.’
- 5.6 *Wurdyaw ø-durnd-i ku-red koyek-beh.*
 W child 3P-return-PP LOC-camp east-ABL
 ‘The child returned to the camp from the east.’ [PC 101]

The ablative may also mark source of material or knowledge:

- 5.7 *Birri-marnbu-yi kubbunj kun-dulk-be kordow.*
 E:N 3a/3P-make-IRR canoe IV-tree-ABL bombax.ceiba
 ‘They used to make canoes out of bombax trees.’
- 5.8 *Ngarridjdan, nga-djare kun-wok nga-ma-ng nguddah-be.*
 E:N [subsection] 1-wantNP IV-language 1/3-get-NP you-ABL
 ‘Ngarridjdan, I want to record language from you.’

The ablative appears as a fixed part of a number of locationals expressing relative location; *borledmibe* 'behind' (5.9) is found in all dialects, while some others are restricted to Manyallaluk Mayali: *garrigatbe* 'on top of, on', *gatdumbe* 'above', *ganyjiganyjibe* 'inside'. Although these describe static spatial relationships rather than movement, the ablative appears to be motivated by the virtual trajectory as one's regard moves from one location to the other:

- 5.9 *Yi-bekka-n na-mege ga-wokdi borledmi-be.*
 Dj 2-listen-IMP MA-DEM 3-talkNP behind-ABL
 'Listen to that man talking behind the house.'
- 5.10 *Gunak ga-bili-walayhme ga-waydi table gatdum-be.*
 MM light 3-flame-hangNP 3-shineNP high-ABL
 'The light is hanging over the table.'

The ablative is also used, in Manyallaluk Mayali, for situations in which there is partial applicability of a spatial relation, for example in applying the term 'inside' to an animal that is half-projecting from a hole:

- 5.11 *Ga-wo-gom-bepme, djorrkgun ga-wo-gom-darrh,*
 MM 3-PART-neck-come.outNP rock.possum 3-PART-neck-stick.out
ba-gom-bepme-ng an-gururrk-be gururrk-ga
 3P-neck-come.out-PP III-inside-ABL inside-LOC
 'The rock possum's neck is sticking out of the hole (in the tree), it's inside sticking half out.'

A less common use of the ablative is to mark the body part of transitive subjects, when used as an instrument:

- 5.12 *Gun-bid-be nga-garrme-ng daluk.*
 Dj IV-hand-ABL 1/3-grasp-PP woman
 'I touched the woman with my hand.'
- 5.13 *Nga-gorn-melme-ng gun-denge-be.*
 Dj 1-crotch-touch.with.foot-PP IV-foot-ABL
 'I touched her crotch with my foot.'

In western dialects (Gun-djeihmi, Kunwinjku and Kuninjku) the ablative occasionally functions as an ergative marker on inanimate subjects:

- 5.14 *Gubunj-be ba-gubunj-djirrkka-ng.*
 Dj canoe-ABL 3/3P-canoe-push-PP
 'One canoe pushed another.'

But this is not obligatory, and an unmarked nominal may be used instead:

- 5.15 *Gun-mayorrk ba-djirrkka-ng gubunj.*
 Dj IV-wind 3/3P-push-PP canoe
 'The wind pushed the canoe.'

In Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali the instrumental *-yih*, and in Kuninjku the genitive *-ken*, are commonly used instead of the ablative for transitive subjects.

Finally, the ablative may be used in eastern dialects (Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali) to indicate a language being talked in (e.g. *kunwokbeh* 'in language' i.e. in Bininj Gun-wok). This parallels the use of the ablative *-walyng* in Dalabon (e.g. *Dalabon-walyng* 'in Dalabon').

5.2.1.2 INSTRUMENTAL *-yi(h)*

The final glottal stop is optional in Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali, and absent in other dialects.

This suffix has three main senses: instrumental, ergative and propriative (that is, furnished or equipped with). The instrumental and propriative uses are found in all dialects; the ergative is restricted to Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali. Comparative evidence suggests the Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali ergative use, though maintained under areal influence is conservative rather than innovative. In Kune a fourth, causal sense has developed as an extension of the ergative, apparently under Dalabon influence.

Syncretisms of propriative, instrumental and ergative are common in Australian languages (see e.g. Blake 1977; Saulwick 1996), and it is tempting to see the instrumental and ergative as extensions from an original comitative meaning, by extending 'having, being equipped with' to 'using as an instrument' to 'affecting'. However, the comparative evidence from other Gunwinyguan languages does not give unqualified support to this: in every Gunwinyguan language with a cognate form, instrumental and ergative functions are available (Dalabon *-yih*, Warray *-yi*, Ngalakan *-yih*, Rembarrnga *-yih*), while none of these have a straightforward comitative use, though Ngalakan and Rembarrnga include it in comitative circumfixes (*bardda-* *-yi(h)*) and Warray and Rembarrnga use it as a base for a disyllabic propriative (*-yiwu* and *-yinda* respectively). This evidence means that while instrumental and ergative uses are inherited, the comitative use need not be.

INSTRUMENTAL USE In all dialects *-yi(h)* can be used to indicate an instrument (see also Text 4.18, 24).

5.16 *Barri-larrhke-ng kun-wardde-yih.*

MM 3a/3P-pound-PP IV-stone-INSTR
'They pounded it with a stone.'

5.17 *Balloon barri-dukga-ng gun-yarl-yi gu-dulk-gah.*

MM 3a/3P-tie-PP IV-string-INSTR LOC-stick-LOC
'They tied the balloon onto the stick with string.'

5.18 *Birlmu nga-me-y wakkidj-yih ngarri-nguneng.*

E:N barramundi 1/3-catch-PP line-INSTR 1a/3-eatPP
'I caught barramundi with a line and we ate it.'

5.19 *Kun-buddji-yi ngun-baro-ng*

E:N IV-armpit.sweat-INSTR 3/2-rub-NP
'He rubs you with sweat from under his arm.'

ERGATIVE USE In both subdialects of Kune, and in Manyallaluk Mayali, this suffix can mark transitive subjects. This optional use is particularly common in the case of inanimate (5.20) or lower animate subjects (5.21; see also Text 7.3) or where the pronominal prefix system leaves it unresolved which argument is the subject (5.22, 5.23). In situations where the prefix system disambiguates reference, the instrumental is less likely to be used as an ergative: when Kodjok reports the events of 5.26 later in the same text, he says *Kamarrang ngan-karmeng* [K. 3/1-grabbed] 'Kamarrang grabbed me', with no instrumental suffix.

- 5.20 *Barri-juhge-wi gukgu-ga', bang-no ba-we-yi gukgu-yi.*
 MM 3a/3P-soak-PI water-LOC poison-3POSSD 3/3-throw-PI water-INSTR
 'They used to soak (cycads) in water, and the water would leach out the poison.'
- 5.21 NE: *Wurryung bi-dulubo-m?* HD: *Wurryung-yih bi-dulubo-m.*
 MM turtle 3/3hP-spear-PP turtle-ERG 3/3hP-spear-PP
 'Did turtle spear her (echidna)?' 'Turtle speared her.'
- 5.22 *Yoh deddeh-yih ø-bolkbom, kaluk kaddum. Namek konda kanjdji*
 E:D yes lorikeet-INSTR 3/3P-createPP then up MA:DEM here down
Maljangarnak laik kun-ronj and kaddum yi-na-n njamed-me-ng.
 [place] like IV-water up 2/3-see-NP what-VBSR-PP
Ku-mekke ka-re kinga kaluk ken kabi-kinje njamed-yih
 LOC-DEM 3-gONP croc then oops 3/3h-burnNP whatsit-INSTR
djang-yih, Mardayin yoh.
 dreaming-INSTR [name] yes
 'Yes, the rainbow lorikeet created the place there, but upstream (on uplands).
 Maljangarnak is lower down like the water, and further up is where the saltwater
 crocodile goes but the Mardayin power cooks/burns him, yeah.'
- 5.23 *Kodjok bi-karrme-ng Kamarrang-yih.*
 E:D [skin] 3/3hP-grab-PP [skin]-INSTR
 'Kamarrang grabbed Kodjok.'

CAUSAL USE In Kune the instrumental suffix can be used to indicate inanimate causes of states described by an intransitive verb; this appears to be calqued on a Dalabon use of the same suffix (5.25).

- 5.24 *Nga-kodj-ru-ng kun-dung-yih*
 E:N 1-head-burn(INTR.)-NP IV-sun-INSTR
 'My head's hurting from the sun.'
- 5.25 *Ngah-kodj-ru-ru-ng mudda-yih*
 D 1-head-REDUP-burn(INTR.)-PR sun-INSTR
 'My head's hurting from the sun.'
- 5.26 *Nga-denge-ru-ng kun-kurk-yih*
 E:N 1-foot-burn-NP IV-dirt-INSTR
 'My feet are burning from the hot sand.'

PROPRIETIVE USE This use, meaning 'having/equipped with X', ranges syntactically from adnominal use (5.27), through the formation of non-standardised phrases of characterisation (5.28, 5.29), to lexicalised forms, a selection of which are given in 5.30–5.33. It therefore exhibits a functional range, typical for such suffixes in Australian languages (see Dench & Evans 1988), from relational (i.e. clause-level) through adnominal to derivational.

- 5.27 *Ngarri-na-ng ø-bebme-ng kornobolo yaw mud-yi.*
 I 1a-see-PP 3P-come.out-PP wallaby child fur-INSTR
 'We saw a young wallaby with fur.'

- 5.28 *na-wu mayh ngalng-yi*
W MA-REL creature shell-INSTR
‘that shell-having creature (i.e. long-necked tortoise)’ [Berndt 1951]
- 5.29 *na-wu mayh bid-ngalng-yi*
W MA-REL creature hand-shell-INSTR
‘that creature with nails on its claws (i.e. goanna)’ [Berndt 1951]
- 5.30 *na-kole-yi*
W MA-spear-INSTR
‘spear-maker; person from country where bamboo (used for spears) grows’
- 5.31 *kubunj-yi* *ngal-djikka-yi*
canoe-INSTR FE-breast-INSTR
‘canoe-maker’ [Oates 1964:34] ‘adult woman’
- 5.32 *na-/ngal-kali-yi* *man-karre-mud-yi*
I-II-marital.relations-INSTR III-leg-hair-INSTR
‘married man/woman’ ‘hairy yam’
- 5.33 *na-kordang-yi* *na-koyh-yi* (I)
I-magic-INSTR I-?-INSTR
‘sorcerer, “clever man”’ ‘rock country person’

Once such forms are lexicalised there is no need for a head noun to appear, and there may be conventionalisation of the meaning; many things have knees or nodes, but *bardyi* refers to a specific type of string bag; similarly with the extension of *nakorleyi* from its literal meaning of ‘person having bamboo spear’ to ‘person from the stone country’. In some words the form suggests an etymology as a proprietive structure, but speakers no longer volunteer explanations for the terms; an example is the central dialect word for ‘green plum’, *man-moyi*, which looks like a proprietive of *mo* ‘bone’.

Proprietary uses of this suffix are often found in neologisms (5.34) and in Kun-kurrng terms (5.35). Some of the latter calque proprietive structures found in the everyday language (5.35b), but in others (5.35c,d) the root is obscure.

- 5.34 a. *na-wel-yi* (W) / *man-wel-yi* (I) b. *man-denge-yi*
I-wing-INSTR III-wing-INSTR III-foot-INSTR
‘aeoplane’ ‘motor vehicle’ (old term) (*kun-denge*
‘foot’ also means ‘wheel’)
- 5.35 a. *na-ker-yi* b. *ngal-ngarel-yi*
I-spike-INSTR II-hair-INSTR
‘eel-tailed catfish’ ‘long-necked turtle’
(k.k. = o.l. *marrngunj*) (k.k. = W o.l. *ngalmangeyi*)
- c. *ngal-marndamarnda-yi* d. *ngal-wirn-yi*
II-?-INSTR II-?-INSTR
‘female red kangaroo’ (= o.l. *karndayh*) ‘olive python’ (= *manjdjurdrk*)

Occasionally it is used in complements of having, for example, ‘went along with her digging stick’ (see Text 2.52).

5.2.1.3 GENITIVE -gen/-ken(h)

The final glottal stop is confined to Kunwinjku.

POSSESSIVE USE belonging to X The basic meaning is 'of, belonging to'. It is mostly used in nominal predicates, but see §6.3.2 for some rare examples of attributive adnominal use.

- 5.36 *Djirrirdirdi na-djamun-gen.*
 Dj sacred.kingfisher MA-sacred-GEN
 'The sacred kingfisher is sacred (belongs to the realm of the sacred).'

Such adnominal genitives, like the oblique pronouns (§7.1.3), are often ambiguous between a possessive and a benefactive meaning (see Carroll 1976:102–103):

- 5.37 *kun-rurrk kun-winjku-kenh*
 W IV-house IV-freshwater-GEN
 'the Kunwinjku house or the house for the Kunwinjku' [PC 103]

- 5.38 *Man-ih man-me wurd-kenh.*
 W VE-DEM III-food child-GEN
 'This food is for the children.' or 'This food is the children's.' [PC 103]

Where the possessor is a pronoun, the special oblique pronouns are used (§7.1.3). However, just when talking about possession by actual close kin (especially one's father), the genitive suffix is added to the direct pronoun: *ngarduk duruk* 'my dog' and *ngarduk ngadjadj* 'my uncle' but *ngaye-ken ngabbard* 'my father'.

GENTILIC USE OF X (country), from X (country) This is the commonest way of giving people's territorial affiliation:

- | | | |
|------|------------------------|---|
| 5.39 | <i>na-walem-gen</i> | <i>na-goyek-gen</i> |
| Dj | I-south-GEN | I-east-GEN |
| | 'southerner' | 'easterner' |
| | <i>na-garrigad-gen</i> | <i>na-warde-gen</i> |
| | I-west-GEN | I-stone-GEN |
| | 'westerner' | 'stone country person; person from the escarpment area' |

In giving the territorial affiliations of animals it is more common in the western dialects to use the suffixes *-waken* (§5.2.1.7) or *-djahdjam* (§5.2.1.11). The term *dalk-gen* [grass-GEN] for 'dingo' is an exception; it builds on the common opposition between dingos and domestic dogs as 'bush' vs 'camp' animals. In Eastern dialects, however, the genitive is preferred to the gentilic suffix for animals and plants as well as people, so that a tree can be described as *bad-ken* [rock-GEN] 'of the rock country' in Kune, for example.

'OVER, CONCERNING, ABOUT, WITH THE PURPOSE OF, BECAUSE OF' There is a wide range of semantic nuances in this general field:

- 5.40 *Yawkyawk marrek gabarri-ngu-n, an-jamun gun-jikga-gen, wardi*
 MM young.girls NEG 3a/3-eat-NP VE-taboo IV-breast-GEN might
ga-jikga-warreme-n
 3-breast-go.bad-NP
 'Young girls can't eat bush bananas, they're taboo on account of their breasts, their breasts might dry up.'

- 5.41 *Nartdo jeny-gen, ngarri-golh-bu-n.*
 MM myrystica.insipida fish-GEN 1a/3-water-hit-NP
 'Myrystica insipida is used for fish, we poison water (with it).'
- 5.42 *Barri-du-rr-inj mani-gen.*
 Dj 3aP-growl-RR-PP money-GEN
 'They argued about money' (can mean 'over what happened to the money').
 (This can be paraphrased by using the comitative applicative and treating the
 cause NP as an object; see §1 0.3.2.11)
- 5.43 *Barri-wurlh-wurlhge-yi, dja njamed-gen.*
 Dj 3aP-ITER-light.fire-PI and anything-GEN
 'They would go around lighting fires, for whatever reason.'

The genitive is a common means of forming neologisms (5.44), as well as for circumlocutory formations in Kun-kurrng (5.45):

- 5.44 a. *ku-djorr-ken* b. *ku-bodme-ken*
 W LOC-torso-GEN LOC-back-GEN
 'shirt' [Oates 1964:34] 'saddle'
- 5.45 *man-mile-ken*
 I:k.k. III-woven.mat-GEN
 'cheeky yam (*man-yawok*)' (normally leached by putting it in
 a woven mat in a creek to filter out the poisons before eating)

'HAVING' So far this use is only attested in Gun-djeihmi; note the parallels with English 'a woman of many moods' or 'coat of many colours'.

- 5.46 *gorrk-gen*
 Dj material/blanket-GEN
 'having a blanket; wrapped in a blanket'
- 5.47 *manjdjurdurk al-dabbu-gen*
 Dj olive.python II-egg-GEN
 'the olive python has eggs in its belly'

It is not yet clear what is the basis for using GEN rather than COM in these constructions.

'SINCE, FROM' This nominates a given time or state taken as starting point.

- 5.48 *Nga-bid-warrem-inj wurdurd-gen.*
 Dj I-hand-be.bad-PP child-GEN
 'My hand's been withered since I was a child.'
- 5.49 *Wolewoleh-ken nga-wa-m kondanj.*
 E:N yesterday-GEN I-go-PP here
 'I came here yesterday.' (i.e. 'I've been here since yesterday.')

QUANTITY EXPRESSIONS The genitive appears on various quantity expressions dealing with number or dimension. Though Etherington and Etherington (1994:97) give the translation 'pretty big' for W *na-kimuk-kenh* [MA-big-GEN], other examples such as those given below suggest there is no restriction on degree.

Expressions of this type may be ascriptive (5.50–5.52) or predicative (5.53–5.54):

- 5.50 *Duruk ginga ba-bayeng ba-ngu-neng na-wern-gen.*
 Dj dog crocodile 3/3P-bitePP 3/3P-eat-PP MA-many-GEN
 'The/a crocodile ate all the dogs/the many dogs.'
- 5.51 *Na-wern-gen gowarrang gorrogo arri-na-ni.*
 Dj MA-many-GEN echidna before 1a/3-see-PI
 'In the old days we used to see lots of echidnas around here.'
- 5.52 *Na-gimuk-gen!*
 Dj MA-big-GEN
 'Big ones!' (said on seeing a batch of file snakes)
- 5.53 *An-gareh-gen goba-gohbanj barri-nam-i gun-djurle-gimuk-gen.*
 Dj III-old-GEN REDUP-old.person 3a/3P-make-PI IV-shelter-big-GEN
 'In the old days, the old men would build a big shelter.'
- 5.54 *Gukku an-bo-gimuk-gen.*
 Dj water VE-water-big-GEN
 'The water is really up.'

As the last two examples show, the genitive-suffixed quantity root may compound with the nominal root it modifies provided that this is a compoundable root:

- 5.55 *Bani-yidme-guyeng-gen yiman dalkgen.*
 Dj 3ua-tooth-long-GEN like dingo
 'The two teeth are long like a dingo's.'
- 5.56 *Na-mege balagarde berd-guyeng-gen.*
 Dj MA-DEM rock.lizard tail-long-GEN
 'That rock lizard has a long tail.'
- 5.57 *ga-bolk-warlah-gen*
 Dj 3-place-wide-GEN
 'the whole wide world'

The genitive expression is prefixed by the class III form *an-* (Dj, MM) or *man-* (other dialects) when it functions as an adverbial (see §5.2.2.4 on the use of this prefix for manner adverbs) for example *an-gare-gen* [III-old-GEN] 'formerly, before' (5.53), 'once' (5.58) and 'for a short time' (5.59).

- 5.58 *An-gudji-gen a-bunjhmei.*
 Dj III-one-GEN 1/3-kissPP
 'I kissed her once.'
- 5.59 *an-garre-djumbungh-gen*
 Dj III-way-short-GEN
 'for a short time'

In some cases, it is unclear whether this prefix is present because of the expression's adverbial status, or because it modifies a noun governing vegetable agreement, which would require a suffix of the same form:

- 5.60 *Ga-bo-lutme an-gimuk-gen.*
 MM 3-liquid-runNP VE-big-GEN
 'The water's running high.' ('water' governs vegetable agreement)
- 5.61 *Wanjh karri-re karri-rerrng-ma-ng karri-worrhme man-kimuk-ken.*
 W then 12a-goNP 12a-wood-get-NP 12a-lightNP VE-big-GEN
 'Then we go and get wood and light up a big (fire).'

ERGATIVE USE Rarely, the genitive is used to disambiguate transitive clauses by marking the subject. A dialectal Kune/Kuninjku speaker, for example, explained that *Kamarrangyih* in 5.26 would be phrased as *Kamarrangken* in Kuninjku. However, this use is much rarer than its Kune equivalent.

5.2.1.4 Locative -ga/-ka(h)

The final glottal stop is optionally dropped in Gun-djeihmi, but is always present in other dialects. In eastern dialects this suffix sometimes has the form *-hkah* when following a root that does not end in a stop, as in E:D *ku-ronj-hkah* [LOC-water-LOC] 'in the water'; this is a feature of this suffix in Dalabon and Rembarnga as well.

The semantic range of this suffix varies widely across the dialects. The original centrality of the locative meaning is suggested both by the cross-dialectal evidence and by comparative evidence from Dalabon and Rembarnga, which have a cognate suffix *-(h)kah* (the first glottal found after vowels) centred on locational meanings. In Gun-djeihmi, Kunwinjku and Kuninjku, however, there has been a retreat of the locative sense, this being taken over by the locative prefix *ku-*, the preposition *kure ~ kore*, and (in Gun-djeihmi only) the suffix *-djahdjam*. In Kuninjku locative uses of the suffix are confined to a number of locationals, as in *konda-kah* [here-~] 'on this side', *karrikad-kah* [west-~] 'on the west side' and *k.k. kadwoh-kah* 'up, high, above' (= o.l. *kaddum*).

Other senses of this suffix, such as reason and purpose, are current in all dialects. For the older Gun-djeihmi speakers I worked with the locative use was still present in ignoratives and on locational words, but not found on regular nouns, but some younger speakers have begun to extend this suffix back into locatives, perhaps under increasing influence from other Mayali dialects.

LOCATION AND DIRECTION In Kune, Manyallak Mayali and Gun-dedjnenghmi this suffix is the normal way of expressing location (5.62, 5.63) and destination (5.64, 5.65). When it combines with a Class IV noun, the prefix *kun-* is normally replaced by the locative prefix *ku-* (§5.2.2.1), as in 5.62 (cf. *kun-ronj* 'water'); in other cases just the suffix is used. On part nouns it follows the part suffix *-no* (5.62–5.64). In Kune the suffix can follow pronouns (5.65).

- 5.62 *Ku-ronj-kah kanjdji birri-yo-y.*
 E:D LOC-water-LOC under 3aP-lie-PP
 'They were lying under the water.'
- 5.63 *Ngarri-gurrme gun-marlaworr-no gerre-no-gah.*
 MM 1a-putNP IV-leaf-3POSSD oven-PRT-LOC
 'We used to put its leaves (i.e. of the ironwood tree) in ground ovens (instead of salt).'

- 5.64 *Nungkah ø-wam kabo-no-kah.*
 E:N he 3P-goPP river-PRT-LOC
 'He went to the river.'
- 5.65 *Ngudda-kah nga-re kun-red ngungke-kah.*
 E:N you-LOC 1-goNP IV-place your-LOC
 'I'll come out to your place.'

The exact nature of the locational relation is usually left to inference, but more precise specification using postposed locationals like *kanjdji* 'under' (5.61; §6.4.2) is possible. The verb, which often has precise locational semantics of its own, plays an important part in implying the nature of the locational relation. Thus a verb like *wendi* 'be high' (as in 5.63) will normally imply a relation 'on (top of)', while a verb like *birdikge* 'enter' will normally imply 'through' or 'into':

- 5.66 *Ngan-jewk ga-nyilk-birdikge do-gah.*
 MM III-rain 3-rain-enterNP door-LOC
 'The rain is coming in through the door.'

In Gun-djeihmi this suffix is sometimes used for pure location by younger speakers, for example Yvonne Margarula (e.g. *gah-garrgad-gah* [REDUP-high.country-LOC] for 'up in the high country' and *man-dulum-gah* [III-hill-LOC] 'on the hill'). But most locative uses of *-ga(h)* in this dialect are restricted to directional uses, either with ignoratives like *ayega* 'where (to)' (§7.2.4) or to locationals (5.67, 5.68). These uses on locationals are, of course, also found in the eastern dialects (e.g. E *konda-kah* 'on this side, around here', and *karrikad-kah* 'on the western side, in the west').

- 5.67 *A-milmilme ganjdji-ga gu-bo-burrk.*
 Dj 1-diveNP inside-LOC LOC-liquid-middle
 'I dive into the middle of the water.'
- 5.68 *Ganjdji ga-guk-gurrme, ga-h-yo, galuk ganjdji, gure gu-wukku*
 Dj under 3-body-putNP 3-IMM-lieNP later inside LOC LOC-water
galuk gaddum-ga ga-gurrme gure ga-h-yo, gu-bolk-buk, ga-h-yo.
 later up-LOC 3-putNP LOC 3-IMM-lieNP LOC-place-dry 3-IMM-lieNP
 'He puts the body underneath to lie, then inside, where it's in the water, 'then he puts it higher up in the tunnel to lie in a dry place.'

In Kun-kurrng this suffix has been absorbed in the word for 'up, high', *kadwohka*, corresponding to *kaddum* in the ordinary register.

GOAL Particularly in the western dialects where the locative sense has been restricted or lost, this suffix is used with a broad 'goal' sense that includes 'with the purpose of X, wanting X' (5.69–5.72) and 'on behalf of' (5.73). The first sense may alternatively be expressed by one use of the comitative applicative (§10.3.1.4). The Kunwinjku interrogative *njale-kah* (§7.2.3.2) 'because of what' reflects the goal sense.

- 5.69 *Ngarri-re-i Pine Creek ngarri-bebm-i, bakki-yak-ga barri-yiga-ni,*
 Dj 1a-go-PI 1a-appear-PI tobacco-PRIV-LOC 3aP-fetch-PI

- bakki barri-dowe-rr-inj.*
 tobacco 3aP-die-RR-PP
 'We used to turn up at Pine Creek, because we had no tobacco we used to fetch it, we were dying for tobacco.'
- 5.70 *Bininj bene-bu-rr-inj daluk-kah.*
 W man 3uaP-hit-RR-PP woman-LOC
 'The men were fighting about (because of) the woman.' [PC 102]
- 5.71 *An-h-djawa-djawa-n munguih an-me-ga / an-bang-ga.*
 Dj 3/1-IMM-ITER-ask-NP always III-food-GOAL III-grog-LOC
 'He's forever asking me for food/for grog.'
- 5.72 *Kabi-bu-n daluk-kah.*
 W 3/3h-hit-NP woman-LOC
 'He will hit him because of the woman.'
- 5.73 *Birri-wo-ni wangbol ngan-ege, wanjh buyiga na-mege na bininj*
 Dj/w 3a/3P-give-PI voodoo VE-that well other MA-DEM now man
na-gunweleng gorrogo bi-marne-bom, na-wu ibin bininj,
 I-'right.man' before 3/3hP-BEN-killPP MA-REL he.was man
na-mud-djarrk-ga.
 I-hair-together-LOC
 (idiom for 'kith and kin')
 'They'd give that *wangbol* (a sort of voodoo image) to another man now (who was to follow) the murderer, who'd killed (a man) before, to that man (to carry out revenge) on behalf of their tribe.

This sense is sometimes found in adnominal constructions, with the meaning 'thing used for X, for using with X':

- 5.74 *gukku gu-mim-ga*
 Dj water LOC-eye-LOC
 'eye medicine; water (used) because of something in the eyes'

Finally, it occurs (in 1) in the expression *boken-kah* [two-~] 'twice'.

5.2.1.5 *COMITATIVE* -dorren(h)

This suffix is found in all dialects; the glottal-stop final form is restricted to Kune Dalabon has a cognate comitative suffix *dorrvngh*, as well as a formally related noun *dorrung* meaning 'body'.

This suffix basically means 'with, in company of, in presence of' (5.75), 'equipped with' (Text 4.8).

- 5.75 *Ngaye nga-na-ng nungka djarrang-dorrengh.*
 W I 1/3-see-PP him horse-COMIT
 'I saw him with a horse.' [PC 102]

It is more usual to express accompaniment with the COMitative applicative and a free or incorporated nominal unmarked for role. See §10.3.2.

It is commonly used to mark instruments, in which case it is paraphrasable with the instrumental suffix, but this time not with the comitative applicative:

- 5.76 *An-gudji-gen a-bom guba-dorreng, a-berd-bakke-ng.*
 Dj III-one-GEN 1/3-hitPP iron.bar-COMIT 1/3-tail-break-PP
 ‘Once I hit him with an iron bar, and broke his tail’.
- 5.77 *Nga-yame-ng barrawu-dorreng.*
 Dj 1/3-spear-PP [spear]-COMIT
 ‘I speared it with a *barrawu* spear.’
- 5.78 *Njaleh-dorreng yi-yame-ng? Nga-yame-ng lama-dorreng.*
 W what-COM 2-spear-PP 1-spear-PP shovel.spear-COMIT
 ‘What did you spear him with?’ ‘I speared him with a shovel spear.’
- 5.79 *Ngarri-djuhme kun-ronj-dorrengh.*
 E:N 1a-batheNP IV-water-COMIT
 ‘We bathe (our eyes) with (spinifex resin dissolved in) water.’

In Gun-djeihmi, this suffix is used for ‘(talking) in a language’, where eastern dialects use the ablative (q.v.):

- 5.80 *Gun-wok-dorreng nguni-wokdi!*
 Dj IV-language-COMIT 2ua-talkIMP
 ‘You two talk in (Aboriginal) language!’

The structure PRONOUN-*dorreng-h-ni* is often used as a main predicate with the meaning ‘be present at’. It is unclear at this stage whether the glottal stop is the immediate aspect marker, or is a protected full form of the suffix.

- 5.81 “*Barna ngudda-dorreng-h-ni yi-ban-na-ng.*”
 Dj looks.like you-COMIT-?-P 2/3pl-see-PP
 “‘Looks like you were present there, and saw them.’”
 “*Wou, ngaye-dorreng-h-ni.*”
 yes I-COMIT-?-P
 “‘Yes, I was present there.’”

In Manyallaluk Mayali the form *X-dorreng* (‘having X’) can also feed the verbaliser *-men* (§8.2.2.1) to form a verb ‘(come to) have X’, which may further incorporate a body part:

- 5.82 *Ja ngalengman Christine ba-bit-wurdurt-dorrengh-m-iny,*
 MM and sheEMPH 3P-hand-child.of.female-with-VBSR-PP
Charlie nungan, barri-beiwurt-dorrengh-miny.
 heEMPH 3aP-child.of.male-with-VBSR-PP
 ‘And Christine now has children herself, and Charlie; they both have children.’

5.2.1.6 PRIVative -yak

This forms predicates (§5.83) or predicative adjuncts of lack (5.84, 5.85):

5.83 *Anabbarru yerre ba-m-bebme-ng. Nomo bigibigi, before, bigibigi-yak-ni.*
 Dj buffalo behind 3-hither-appear-PP no pig pig-PRIV-PI
 'Buffaloes came later. There were no pigs either, in the old days there were no pigs.'

5.84 *Darh-yak, gun-dalk ngarri-rurrk-nam-i. An-ngulubu arri-rurrk-nam-i,*
 Dj bark-PRIV IV-grass 1a-shelter-make-PI III-spear.grass 1a-shelter-make-PI
arri-yo-i.
 1a-lie-PI
 'If we had no stringybark, we used to make shelters out of grass. We'd build them out of spear grass, and sleep in them.'

5.85 *Dabbarrabolk birri-nguneng man-munmun na-wu kun-ronj-yak*
 I old.people 3a/3P-eatPP III-[grass] MA-REL IV-water-PRIV
birri-h-ni, wanjh birri-nunj-wukme-ng yiman kun-ronj.
 3aP-IMM-sitPI then 3aP-spit-produce-PP like IV-water
 'The old people used to eat *man-munmun* grass when there was no water and chewing the grass would produce spittle that they could swallow.' [GID]

Noun-class prefixes are sometimes dropped before roots bearing this suffix. Such prefix dropping is obligatory when using privatives as manner adverbs (5.86; see also 13.259, 13.260).

5.86 *Wurdurd, baw, wok-yak!*
 I children ssh talk-PRIV
 'Kids, quiet, don't talk!' [GID]

5.87 *Ngad kabbal, konhda warde-yak.*
 I we plains here rock-PRIV
 'We're plains-country people, there's no rock country here.' [GID]

In the avoidance register *-yak* is replaced by *-yaku.ra*, as in *kun-mulbuy-yaku.ra* 'without meat', whose ordinary language equivalent is *kun-kanj-yak*. This is the only suffix to have a distinct form from the everyday register. It is likely the following *u* vowel is original: the privative suffix in Dalabon is *-yakkv*, and there are negative free words in other languages with final *u* (e.g. Marrgu *yagu* 'no'). However, the reason for the long vowel remains unclear.

The negative interjections (§13.9.1) *gayakki* (Dj) / *kayakki* (E, I) and *burrkyak* (W) 'no, nothing' both contain this suffix. The former can be analysed as the third person prefix *ga-/ka-*, the privative and the suffix *-ki(h)* which is occasionally found on pronouns (§7.1.4) as well as on some adverbs (§4.3.7). The latter is the privative form of *burrk* 'body' (i.e. 'without body, without physical presence'). For some Gun-djeihmi speakers *yakki* is a productive negative predicate, which can incorporate nominals and take the full range of pronominal prefixes:

5.88 *Ngudda yi-mani-yakki.*
 Dj you 2-money-nothing
 'You've got no money.'

- 5.89 *Ga-djal-yakki*.
 Dj 3-only-nothing
 ‘There’s just nothing here.’

There are a number of lexicalised expressions containing the privative (e.g. *kom-yak* [neck-PRIV] ‘uninitiated person’ (thus *ngakomyak* ‘I’m uninitiated’), but also *W na-/ngal-kom-yak* [I/II-neck-PRIV] ‘widower/widow’; *namomoyak* ‘spirits of first person’ (cf. *mo-* ‘bone’), *Dj ngabbard-yak* [father-PRIV] ‘person recently bereaved of their father’. In some cases the root to which it attaches is not attested in other combinations, for example *warnyak* ‘not want, not feel like’, whose root *warn* is not found elsewhere; its antonym is *djare* ‘want’.

5.2.1.7 GENTilic -waken

This suffix is used most extensively in the central dialects, Kunwinjku and Kuninjku, with the gentilic meaning ‘-dweller’, when applied to non-humans:

- 5.90 *djenj kurrula-waken*
 W fish saltwater-GENTIL
 ‘saltwater fish’ [PC 203]
- 5.91 *djenj ku-bo-waken*
 W fish LOC-water-GENTIL
 ‘freshwater fish’
- 5.92 *na-yin ku-warde-waken*
 W I-snake LOC-rock-GENTIL
 ‘a rock snake’
- 5.93 *ku-ngol-waken*
 W, I LOC-cloud-GENTIL
 ‘aeroplane’

This is sometimes expressed by the suffix *-wagen* in Gun-djeihmi as well (5.94), but it is more usual to use the suffix *-djahdjam* (§5.2.1.11). In eastern dialects this relation is expressed by the genitive (§5.2.1.3).

- 5.94 *Gawork gu-wardde-wagen*.
 Dj friar.bird LOC-rock-GENTIL
 ‘The friar bird lives in the rock country.’

It is possible this suffix derives from the verb *wake* ‘crawl, move around’.

5.2.1.8 -kadi/-gadi/-karri ‘on top of, above’

This suffix most probably derives from the third person minimal verb form *ka-di/ka-rrri* [3-stand] ‘it stands’ by deserialisation. Indeed, on occasion speakers paraphrase the suffixal form by substituting the locative suffix and using a following independent verb:

- 5.95 *Ku-bad-karri, same like kun-bad-kah ka-di*.
 E:D LOC-rock-on.top same like IV-rock-LOC 3-standNP
 ‘*Kubadkarri* (up on the rock) is like *kunbadkah kadi* (it’s (standing/vertical) on the rock).’

A vestige of its verbal origin is shown by the fact that, unlike other locational expressions, those with *-gadi* may appear directly as predicates, without requiring a stance verb, as in 5.96 (see also 5.99):

- 5.96 *Wilpbarra-gadi gun-yerrng.*
MM wheelbarrow-on.top IV-wood
'The wood is on the wheelbarrow.'

It usually combines with the locative prefix *gu-/ku-*, and it may follow other locational suffixes such as *-djam* or *-djahdjam*:

- 5.97 *Gu-yed-djam-gadi ga-ni.*
Dj LOC-nest-PLACE-above 3-sitNP
'It's sitting on top of the nest.'

- 5.98 *Gu-yed-djahdjam-gadi ga-ni.*
Dj LOC-nest-PLACE-above 3-sitNP
'It's sitting on top of the nest.'

- 5.99 *Malamalayi yi-ma-ng yi-gurrm-e, gun-dung gu-godj-gadi,*
Dj next.morning 2/3-get-NP 2/3-put.down-NP IV-sun LOC-head-above
an-ginjdek yi-ma yi-manjbekka-n.
III-cheeky.yam 2/3-getIMP 2/3-taste-IMP
'Next morning you get it and put it down (in the ground oven), and when the sun is overhead, get the cheeky yam out and taste it.'

Occasionally the noun-class prefix is dropped when this suffix is added (e.g. *wardde-gadi* [rock-above] 'up on the rock country', from *gun-wardde* 'rock').

The suffix *kadi/karri* is common in Kuninjku place names, as in *Danngarrkadi* (*dann Garr* 'frilled lizard'), *Karlangkarri* (cf. *kunkarlang* 'shoulder'). This is likely to derive from an existential construction of the type 'there is an X (there)' [lit. it-stands X]; this locution is frequently used in talking about sites.

The remaining suffixes are all dialectally restricted.

5.2.1.9 INSTRUMENTAL -bewi, -wi

The form *-bewi* is only found in one Kunwinjku lect. It 'has an optional use amongst one clan group, who are from the north-western part of the Kunwinjku area. It is known and not used by some speakers and not known by other speakers' (Carroll 1976:101). Carroll gives the following examples:

- 5.100 *Bininj ø-danjbo-m na-marnkol djalakkirradj-bewi.*
W man 3/3P-spear-PP I-barramundi wire.spear-INSTR
'A man speared a barramundi with a wire spear.' [PC 101]
- 5.101 *Bininj ø-dulubom manimunak mako-bewi.*
W man 3/3P-shootPP magpie.goose rifle-INSTR
'A man shot a goose with a rifle.' [PC 101]

- 5.102 *Bininj ka-rruka-n djalakirradj kun-yal-bewi.*
 W man 3/3-tie-NP wire.spear IV-string-INSTR
 'A man will tie the wire spears with string.'

Use of just *-wi* on instruments also occurs in some dialects (MM, W). Formally this is identical to the 'only' clitic *=wi*, and contexts in which it marks instruments are often framed as 'not (using) X, only Y', as in the following example. Here a parsing as the 'only' clitic is defensible, given that the instrumental part of the reading is available to nominal groups not marked with any role suffix (see §13.8.3).

- 5.103 *Goj gun-dolng-yih guny bi-gok-warrewo-ni, well barri-yam-i*
 MM because IV-smoke-INSTR kangaroo 3/3h-eye-spoil-PI 3a/3P-spear-PI
eniwei. Jandu mahni, an-bu jal ngan-wurrk-yak, gun-gurra=wi,
 anyhow ? VE:DEM VE-REL just III-fire-PRIV IV-wind=only
madi jal li'l bit too hard.
 might.be just
 'Because the smoke blinds the kangaroo, and they could spear him easily. But that other way, just without any fire (to help), just using the wind (i.e. hunting from downwind), that's just a bit too hard (to get close undetected).'

Such contrastive constructions (counterposing privative *-yak* against 'only' *=wi*), then, set the stage for the reanalysis of *wi* as an instrumental suffix.

In the case of *-bewi*, this appears to be made of the ablative *-be* plus the 'only' clitic *=wi*. Recall that ablative *-be* appears on body parts used as instruments (§5.2.1.1). Interestingly, the only example in the Etheringtons' grammar (1994:95) of the use of *wi* as a way of marking instrument is *kunbidwi* 'by hand, with his/her hands'. 'By hand' is an obvious bridging context for the extension of meaning from '(only) using hands' (i.e. without any other instrument), to a more general instrumental sense, and instead of *kunbidwi* one can imagine a use *kunbidbewi* [hand-ABL-only] 'only by hand', with a more general instrument sense subsequently abducted, as witnessed by the above Kunwinjku examples.

5.2.1.10 *-djam* 'approximate location'

This suffix, restricted to Gun-djeihmi, indicates approximate location, and is variously translatable as 'around, by, near, next to':

- 5.104 *Na-wern-gen gunak-djam barri-mirnde-rri.*
 Dj MA-many-GEN fire-LOC 3aP-many-stand
 'Many people are around the fire, by the fire.'
- 5.105 *darn.gih-djam*
 Dj close-LOC
 'next to'

5.2.1.11 *CHARACTERISTIC LOCATION*' -djahdjam

This suffix, formally a reduplication of *-djam* but much commoner, expresses characteristic location. Again it is restricted to Gun-djeihmi.

The relationality of this suffix is interestingly ambiguous. X-CHACLOC can either mean 'place where one characteristically finds X' ((a) below) or 'thing characteristically found at X' ((b) below).

(a) Characteristic location, place where one finds X¹

5.106 *djamun-djahdjam*

Dj dangerous-CHACLOC
'police station' (i.e. 'place where one characteristically finds danger')

5.107 *bamurru-djahdjam*

Dj magpie.goose-CHACLOC
'goose camp; place where one characteristically finds magpie geese'

5.108 *Djirndih-djahdjam merenghmerenggidj bi-yawa-ni.*

Dj quail-CHACLOC [bird.sp.] 3/3hP-seeK-PI
'Merenghmerenggidj looked for Quail in his usual place.'

(b) Thing characteristically found at X, -dweller [= W -waken]

5.109 *Wardde-djahdjam ga-yo.*

Dj rock-CHACLOC 3-lieNP
'It's a rock-dweller.'

5.110 *Gukku-djahdjam ga-yo.*

Dj water-CHACLOC 3-lieNP
'It's a water-dweller.'

5.111 *gun-dulk-djahdjam*

Dj IV-tree-CHACLOC
'tree-dweller'

5.112 *An-dehne gurrula-djahdjam ga-h-di.*

Dj VE-DEM sea-CHACLOC 3-IMM-standNP
'This plant grows by the sea.'

5.2.1.12 TIME -keno

This suffix is restricted to Kuninjku, Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali; Dalabon has a cognate suffix *-keno/-kvno*. The vowel is long [ke:no], as one would expect if *ke* were a monosyllabic root with following possessed-noun or part suffix *-no*, but no corresponding nominal root *ke* has yet been found. Note also that the word *yekke* 'cool season', which is found in all dialects, may end with a frozen form of *ke*.

This suffix is used on time expressions denoting longish periods of time, typically seasons, as in E *kudjewkkeno* 'during the wet season' (*kudjewk* 'rainy season'), I *yekkekeno* 'during the cool/dry season' (5.113). In the western dialects these nouns would simply be employed without affixation, except that Gun-dedjnjenghmi occasionally uses the dyad suffix *-go* with

¹ Some, at least, of these examples are expressed by compounds of form *ku-bolk-X* in Kunwinjku (e.g. *ku-bolk-djamun* [LOC-place-dangerous] for *djamundjahdjam*).

a similar function (§5.2.4). Note that the eastern dialects also have an ignorative *baleh-keno* ‘when’ (§7.2.4.2).

- 5.113 *Ngarri-karu-ng man-ekke man-yawok yekke-keno.*
 I 1a-dig-NP VE-DEM III-cheeky.yam cool.season-TIME
 ‘We dig that cheeky yam in the dry season.’ [GID]

Many of the season terms are at least partially verbal (varying in their degree of nominalisation — see §5.6), so it is unclear whether the use in an example like 5.114 is a straightforward affixation to a nominal, or involves the addition of a nominal suffix to an inflected verb in a subordinate clause (a construction discussed in §14.1).

- 5.114 *Ngarri-kolkbu-n ka-ngurdurlme-keno.*
 E:N 1a-poison.water-NP 3-thunderNP-TIME
 ‘We throw fish-poison in the water during the stormy season.’

There is one puzzling example in which this suffix has a spatial rather than a temporal meaning; this may preserve an original spatial meaning.

- 5.115 *Djirrihdih ku-rralk-keno, yahwurd, merhmerh na-kimuk.*
 I stubble.quail LOC-grass-TIME small [quail.sp.] MA-big
 ‘The stubble quail is the one that lives in the grass, it’s the small one;
 the *merhmerh* quail is big(ger).’ [GID]

5.2.1.13 *-deleng* ‘involved participant’

The free noun *deleng-no* means ‘contents’; this root is also incorporated in verbs such as Dj *deleng-gan* ‘carry collected contents’. In Gun-djeihmi, Kunwinjku and Kuninjku it occasionally appears as a suffix on core nominals, with the meaning ‘be involved, involving, as involved participant’, typically when there is uncertainty about exactly who is engaged in the activity, or a shift of context.

- 5.116 *Wanjh, bi-yam-i. Bi-yawoyh-yam-i, bininj bi-yam-i*
 W then 3/3hP-spear-PI 3/3hP-again-spear-PI man 3/3hP-spear-PI

bene-bininj-deleng.
 3uaP-man-involved

‘Then he was spearing her. He was spearing again. He was spearing a man,
 they were spearing one another.’ [OP 363]

- 5.117 *Bininj-deleng mak ngarri-yame-rre-ni, barri-yame-rre-ni.*
 Dj Aboriginal.person-involve too 1a-spear-RR-PI 3aP-spear-RR-PI
 ‘We Aboriginal people used to spear each other too, they used to spear each other.’

- 5.118 *Daluk-deleng bene-bu-rr-inj?*
 I woman-involved 3uaP-hit-RR-PP
 ‘Was it only the women who were fighting?’ [Murray Garde, pers. comm.]

- 5.119 *Na-bininjkobeng, wanjh bi-kayhme-ng ngal-bu, bene-daluk-deleng.*
 W I-spouse then 3/3hP-call.out-PP FE-REL 3uaP-woman-involved
 ‘The husband, then he called out to her, to the two women.’ [OP 407]

5.2.2 Role-marking prefixes

The most significant role-marking prefix is the locative *gu-/ku-* (§5.2.2.1), which occupies the same paradigmatic slot as the noun-class prefixes and is largely confined to nouns which normally take the Class IV prefix *gun-/kun-*, though it can also replace the (*m*)*an-* prefix on some nouns of location (cf. *kun-warde* 'rock', *ku-warde* 'on/in the rock'; Dj *an-kabo* 'creek', *gu-gabo* '(at) the creek'). Functionally this prefix occupies a rather unclear position. On the one hand it invites treatment as a portmanteau of noun class plus case (i.e. the locative form of the *gun-/kun-* prefix), which is its likely historical origin and is supported synchronically by the regular substitution of *kun-* and (*m*)*an-* by *gu-/ku-* in locative contexts. On the other hand it sometimes behaves more like an emergent noun class that marks locations, as seen by the frequency with which *ku-*prefixed nouns for locations are used in nomination outside a clausal context (e.g. *kuwarddewardde* 'rock country, escarpment' as an alternative to *kunwarddewardde*, *kulabbarl* 'billabong' instead of *man-labbarl*). At the same time a number of locational expressions have absorbed this prefix, such as *kururrk* 'inside' and *ku-berrk* 'outside'.

Ultimately the difficulty with analysing this suffix is with the logical separation into 'role' and 'cast' (Evans 1997c), that is, into thematic role in a clause on the one hand, and ontological type on the other hand. Similar cases frequently arise when noun class and role marker intersect, such as the *ku-* class in many Bantu languages. This is because the role-cast distinction, which works well with some roles (e.g. patient) and ontological types (e.g. animate), is less clear-cut when one deals with place-denoting nouns, which are at the same time a role (i.e. the location of the action) and an ontological type (i.e. a locale).

Historically it seems likely that Biniŋ Gun-wok is in the late stages of a shift away from noun class plus case portmanteaux, via pure noun-class prefixes (which is what they are, apart from *gu-/ku-*), to their reduction to derivational prefixes of limited productivity, which is what they are tending to in the eastern dialects and have become in such languages as Dalabon, Rembarŋga and Kungarakany. Heath (1987) argues that the portmanteau prefix system was once more widespread in many non-Pama-Nyungan languages, and that among other things an erstwhile *-n* suffix (still present in the prefixes *ngan-*, *man-* and *kun-* in Biniŋ Gun-wok but no longer analysable as a distinct morpheme) once marked the accusative form of these prefixes, whose basic forms were *ma-* and *ku-*, as they still are in many non-Pama-Nyungan languages. The *ku-* locative, on this analysis, continues this form with a different function, while the form *ma-* survives only in the demonstrative *makka* (§7.3). The fact that in Kune one encounters locatives of class IV nouns expressed by *ku-X-kah* and even *kun-X-kah* in addition to the form *ku-X*, which is commonest in other dialects, represents a further step away from the use of *ku-* to express location.

A second prefix, though historically parallel, is much more limited in productivity; *mi-* is used as a prefix to vegetable-class nouns (and occasional zero-class nouns) in locative contexts (§5.2.2.3), but only with a handful of lexemes (e.g. *man-kulurrudj* 'palm tree', *mi-kulurrudj* 'under the palm tree'), and most combinations are lexicalised. As Heath argues, the use of the *i-* vowel here may also reflect an old case plus noun class portmanteau.

Two other prefixes on nominals will also be briefly discussed: the class III prefix *man-/(ng)an-*, which can also be used on expressions of manner, and the prefix *berre-*, which in the eastern dialects is added to locationals to indicate direction.

5.2.2.1 LOCATIVE *gu-/ku-*

This prefix indicates location in a broad sense, with some extension to time expressions. It may be further combined with locational nominals, the locational preposition *gure/kure*, or

with more precise locational suffixes (§5.2.2.2) to indicate location more precisely. It is restricted to a subset of nouns (mostly in classes III and IV) and never occurs on adjectives.

LOCATIONAL USE As mentioned above, the prefixed nominal does not necessarily function as a locative adjunct; it may also function as a locative noun designating a place that can be seen as a location, as in *gu-labbarl* [LOC-billabong] which can mean either 'at the billabong' or simply '(the) billabong'. Nouns prefixed by *gu-*, therefore, are not necessarily adjuncts, and can function as arguments, for example clausal objects:

- 5.120 *Garri-bawo bolkgime gu-gabo, galuk garri-m-durnde-ng.*
 Dj 12a-leaveIMP now LOC-creek later 12a-hither-return-NP
 'Let's leave the creek now and come back later.' (cf. *garri-bolk-bawong*
 'we left the place', showing that this verb governs an object, which can then
 incorporate)

In the following examples locative *gu-/ku-* replaces the *gun-/kun-* of *kun-kawadj* 'sand', *kun-bad* 'rock' and *gun-dulk* 'tree'. (See also Text 4.37, where it replaces the *an-* of *an-gabohgabo* 'area of many creeks, riverine area', and 10.328, where it replaced the *an-* of *andulum* 'peak'). As 5.17 illustrates, the locative suffix may be employed concurrently with the prefix; this is particularly common in Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali.

- 5.121 *Karri-yo ku-kawadj.*
 E:N 12a-sleepNP LOC-sand
 'We sleep on the sand.'
- 5.122 *Man-djamko ka-di ku-bad.*
 E:N III-[grevillea.sp.] 3-standNP LOC-rock
 'Man-djamko trees grow in the rock country.'

The locative prefix (optionally in combination with the locative preposition) may be used with body-part nouns if (a) the clause is transitive and the object is located on the body part of the subject (5.123, 5.124), or (b) an intransitive verb specifies the location of some other object on the body (5.125, 5.126). In other circumstances, where the body part is the location and is part of the intransitive subject or object as in 'I punched him on the nose', 'I have a pain in my belly (i.e. I'm sore in my belly)', it is incorporated into the verb (see §10.4.2).

- 5.123 *Gun-ganj a-ngorrnga-ni gu-garlang.*
 Dj IV-meat 1/3-carry.on.shoulder-PI LOC-shoulder
 'I carried the meat on my shoulder.'
- 5.124 *Bi-ka-ng kore ku-berd.*
 W 3/3hP-take-PP LOC LOC-tail
 'He took him on his tail.' [KS 40]
- 5.125 *Ka-karrme marlakka ka-welhwelhme kore ku-kom.*
 W 3/3-haveNP bag 3-hangNP LOC LOC-neck
 'She has a big bag hanging from her neck.' [KS 82]
- 5.126 *Ku-berre nuye ka-h-ngey-di.*
 I LOC-chest his 3-IMM-name-standNP
 'There is a name on his chest (i.e. on a T-shirt he is wearing).'

This prefix cannot freely attach to any noun. It is basically limited to those with overt (m)an- or gun- class prefixes, which it replaces: *an-labbarl* 'billabong', *gu-labbarl* 'billabong, at the billabong'; *gun-wardde* 'rock', *gu-wardde* 'in the rock, on the rock'.

Gunak 'fire' in the Mayali dialects, which has historically absorbed the noun-class prefix *gun-* and lost the root-initial consonant (cf. *kun-rak* in eastern dialects), is an interesting exception: it prefixes *gu-* in Gun-djeihmi and Manyallaluk Mayali without dropping *gun-*:

5.127 *Ba-wakwakbu-ni gu-gunak.*

Dj 3P-circle.around-PI LOC-fire
'It was circling around the fire.'

5.128 *Ba-ngolu-ngi gu-gunak.*

MM 3/3P-roast-PI LOC-fire
'She roasted it in the fire.'

The only noun with no class prefix that can take *gu-* (in the Mayali dialects only) is the word *gukku* 'water' which irregularly lenites to *gu-wukku* or even *guukku* in Gun-djeihmi (5.129) and Manyallaluk Mayali (5.130). However, Manyallaluk Mayali allows the use of the locative suffix as an alternative (5.131). The eastern dialects have an alternative lexeme for water, *kun-ronj*.

5.129 *Gunak ga-marnbu-n, ga-wurlhge, ga-bili-ga-n ganjdji, gu-wukku,*
Dj fire 3/3-make-NP 3/3-lightNP 3/3-fire-take-NP down LOC-water

gu-bo-djorlok.

LOC-water-deep

'(The namorroddo spirit) makes a fire, lights it, takes it down into the water, deep into the water.'

5.130 *Gu-wukgu nahni gapbala, gapbala ga-re gu-wukgu.*

MM LOC-water MA:DEM boat boat 3-goNP LOC-water
'The boat is in the water.'

5.131 *Barri-djuhge-wi gukgu-gah.*

MM 3aP-soak-PI water-LOC
'They used to soak the (cheeky yams) in water.'

Other nouns, either unprefixed or prefixed with *na-* or *ngal-*, make use of alternate means to express location. In the eastern dialects they use the locative suffix, and in all dialects they may use the preposition *gure/kure* (§6.4.1.1) or simply employ as an unaffixed satellite nominal (§13.5.3).

FIXED LOCATIONAL EXPRESSIONS WITH *gu-/ku-* Two specific locationals have the *gu-/ku-* prefix: *gururrk/kururrk* 'inside' and *kuberrk* 'outside'. Both represent lexical specialisations of class III or class IV nouns taking the locative prefix, respectively *gun-rurrk/kun-rurrk* 'cave' and (m)an-*berrk* 'desert, open place'. In Gun-djeihmi the original meanings 'in the cave' and 'in an open place' (5.132) are still current alongside the 'inside' meaning of *kururrk*, but in the eastern dialects the locative-prefixed forms have become more specialised, so that 'in the cave' will be expressed as *ku-wardde-rurrk* [LOC-rock-cave/inside] and 'in the desert, out in the open' is normally expressed as (*kure*) *manberrk* [(LOC) III-desert], that is, by the III-prefixed noun alone (5.133) or in combination with the locative preposition.

- 5.132 *because bedda wurd gabarri-yo gu-berrk,*
 Dj they children 3a-lieNP LOC-dry.scrub, higher country
gu-berrk gabarri-yo gabarri-bodjare gukku gabarri-bongu-n.
 LOC-dry.scrub 3a-lieNP 3a-be.thirstyNP water 3a-drink-NP
 (Commenting on some birds coming down to a waterhole:) 'Because they
 and their children live higher up, in the dry scrub. They're staying in a dry
 place and want to drink some water.'

- 5.133 *Marrawirri yiman mimih yerre ka-rohrok la man-berrk*
 I [name] like [name] behind 3-like CONJ III-open.country
ka-h-di.
 3-IMM-standNP
 'Marrawirri is just like a *mimih* spirit but lives in the open bush.' [GID]

The differences between genuine nominal and locational use can be illustrated for *gururrk* by the following pair of examples. In 5.134 the root *rurrk* is a genuine nominal, meaning 'cave', and occurs both incorporated and with locative *gu-*; in 5.135, on the other hand, it functions as a locational postposition following another noun giving the locale.

- 5.134 *Gareh people barri-re-i barri-rurrk-na-ni gu-rurrk ...*
 Dj maybe 3aP-go-PI 3aP-cave-see-PI LOC-cave
 'Maybe people would go and look in the cave ...'

- 5.135 *Balabbala kururrk ka-h-ni.*
 I table inside/under it-IMM-sits
 '(The cat) is sitting "inside" the table.' (i.e. under the table, in a sort of shelter)

Accompanying the lexicalisation of *kururrk* to a locational in the eastern dialects, there has been a semantic extension to encompass a larger set of 'inside' scenarios. Thus in Gun-djeihmi this form would only be used for situations in which the figure is genuinely enclosed, for example in a cave or house, whereas in Kuninjku it can be used for less bounded types of enclosure such as (in 5.135) a dog sitting under a chair where only the top and the legs bound the space. Expansion of the semantic range of *kururrk* in these dialects has been accompanied by a contraction in the range of *kanjdji* to 'under, down, below' (though it can still be used for 'inside' relations when these are also 'down', e.g. 'down inside the ground'), whereas in Gun-djeihmi it spans both 'inside' and 'under' meanings.

A third specialised locational, found in Gun-djeihmi, is *gu-wadda* 'to camp, home' (5.136), for which there is no corresponding word **gun-wadda* or **an-wadda* in this dialect, though neighbouring languages (e.g. Dalabon) have *wadda-no* as a free root meaning 'camp, home'. In Manyallaluk Mayali the *gu-*prefixed form can also mean 'at home' and can combine with a possessive pronoun (5.137).

- 5.136 *Ba-ru-i, gamak, ma, garri-yi-rrurnde-ng gu-wadda.*
 Dj 3P-cook-PP good well.then 12a-COM-return-NP LOC-camp
 'It's cooked now, good, let's take it back home.'

- 5.137 ... *gu-watda nuye*
 MM LOC-home 3mascOBL
 '... in its home, (of a goanna) in its hole.'

Finally, the locational *ku-buldjarn* 'in the middle' (I, E and MM) uses this prefix with the root *buldjarn* 'deep; middle, centre'.

TEMPORAL USE OF *gu-/ku-* With different temporal nouns the semantic effects are different. From nouns in *gun-/kun-* designating times of day, *gu-* prefixes derive time adverbials meaning 'at X, in the X':

5.138 *gun-gak/kun-kak* 'night, night-time' *gu-gak/ku-kak* 'at night'

One of the six main season names includes this prefix with the root for 'rain':

5.139 Dj *an-djeuk* 'rain' *gu-djeuk* 'wet season'
 W, I *man-djewk* 'rain' *ku-djewk* 'rainy season'

In rare cases, temporal *gu-* may attach to inflected verbs functioning as deverbal nominals:

5.140 *Gu-mege aye a-ni gu-ba-rrowe-ng.*

Dj LOC-DEM I 1-sit LOC-3P-die-PP

'I was present at his funeral.' (Later given as *Gumege aye ani gube barroweng*.)

5.2.2.2 *gu-x-positional*

Precise location can be expressed, in Gun-djeihmi, by prefixing *gu-/ku-* to nouns compounded with various roots denoting positional parts, such as *gu-M-burrk* 'in the middle of X' (5.141, 5.142; cf. *burrk* 'body'), *gu-X-wodj* 'underneath X' (5.143; cf. *gun-wodj* 'fallen log'), and *gu-X-godj* (cf. *gun-godj* 'head' 'to the top of X' (Text 4.41; cf. *gun-godj* 'head').

5.141 *A-milmilme ganjdji-ga gu-bo-burrk.*

Dj 1-diveNP down-LOC LOC-water-middle
 'I dive into the middle of the water.'

5.142 *Gukku ga-bo-yakm-en gu-rrung-burrk.*

Dj water 3-water-vanish-NP LOC-sun-middle
 'The water will vanish in the middle of the dry season.'

5.143 *Gukku bi-burriwe-ng gu-rrulk-wodj.*

Dj water 3/3hP-throw-PP LOC-tree-fallen.log
 'The water threw him under a log.'

5.2.2.3 'VEGETABLE LOCATIVE' *mi-*

As discussed above, this is likely to have been the original locative form of the class III (vegetable) prefix, but is now restricted in use. Most dialects a half dozen noun roots attested with this prefix. Usually these are Class III nouns, though some are Class IV or unprefixated.

A rare example of it being used as the locative of a *man*-class noun is 5.144, from Hale's 1959 fieldnotes on Kunwinjku; in this example *mi-* replaces the regular Class III prefix *man-* of the noun *man-kulurrudj* 'palm':

- 5.144 *Ka-h-yo kure mi-kulurrudj.*
 W 3-IMM-lieNP LOC VEG.LOC-cycad.palm
 'He's sleeping under the cycad palm.' [KH 27]

Garde's dictionary of Kuninjku contains a comparable example of *mi-* being used in a locative sense in *mi-kurladadjakel* '(frogs lie) in the sedge grass', as against the citation form *man-kurladadjakel*. Further uses occur in song language, for example the use of *mi-balmardi* 'in the hollow log' based on *man-balmardi* 'hollow log' in a recently composed Kuninjku song in the Wurrurrumi style (Djimar et al. 1994).

As a second example of this use, consider the following pair of clauses: in the first a Class III noun functions as subject, taking the *man-* prefix, while in the second it functions as a location, taking the *mi-* prefix. Note that not all dialects use the *mi-* form with this root. In Gun-djehmi, for example, 'in the jungle' uses the *gu-* root — *gu-ngarre* — and in Kuninjku, where the citation form is *man-ngarre*, the locative can be expressed either as *mi-ngarre* or with a preposition as *kore man-karre*.

- 5.145 *Man-ngarre ka-karrme warnwarnh.*
 E:D III-jungle 3-haveNP ficus.racemosa
 'The jungle has *ficus racemosa* trees.' (i.e. 'There are *ficus racemosa* trees in the jungle.')

- 5.146 *Mowirn mi-ngarre ka-di.*
 E:N crested.hawk VEG.LOC-jungle 3-standNP
 'Crested hawks live in the jungle.'

As a third illustration, consider how one says 'in the anthill'. In Kuninjku one substitutes locative *ku-* for the *kun-* prefix in *kun-boy*, whereas in Kuninjku one uses *mi-* with its normally unprefixated equivalent *kambe* 'anthill, antbed':

- 5.147 *Nahni man-kung ka-h-di kure ku-boy.*
 W MA:DEM III-honey 3-IMM-standNP LOC LOC-anthill
 'There is honey in this antbed.'
- 5.148 *Nanih man-kung ka-h-di kure mi-kambe.*
 I MA:DEM III-honey 3-IMM-standNP LOC VEG.LOC-anthill
 'There is honey in this antbed.'

Other combinations of *mi-* with zero-class roots are attested: Garde's Kuninjku dictionary lists *mi-kurrula* 'in the sea' (*kurrula* 'sea') and *mi-kurrambalk* 'in the house' (*kurrambalk* 'house', etymologically *ku-rrang-balk* LOC-door-blocked but synchronically unanalysable).

In Gun-djehmi this prefix is merely derivational, being limited to certain terms for plant habitats. In this usage it is prefixed to a retriplicated or reduplicated plant name characteristic of the habitat (§5.3.3.1).

Finally, some place names contain this prefix, such as *Mikorle* (cf. *man-korle* 'bamboo'), a place name in an area with many bamboo trees.

5.2.2.4 (m)an- 'Class III, manner'

A variety of adverbial uses of nominals can be signalled by replacing the regular noun-class prefix with the prefix marking class III/vegetable gender, which takes the form (*ng*)*an-*

in the Mayali dialects and *man-* elsewhere (§5.5). Eastern dialects prefer to use the suffix *-no* (cf. W *man-molk*, I, E *molkno* 'sneakily, secretly').

Although in some cases the prefix could be argued to be an instance of vegetable agreement with an ellipsed nominal (e.g. *gun-wok* 'language' in 5.149, which would govern vegetable agreement in this dialect), in other cases such as 5.150 and 5.151, where the agreement governor is the second or first person pronoun, this explanation cannot be invoked. It is possible, though, that the adverbial use of this prefix arose through reinterpretation of vegetable agreement in examples like 5.149.

Adverbial uses of this prefix include:

(a) Quantification of the main predicate

5.149 *Gabarri-wokdi ngan-wern.*

Dj a-talkNP III-much
'They talk too much.' (*Na-wern-gen* would mean 'the many of them talk'.)

(b) Quantification of a non-subject, including entities in a part-whole relation to the subject (5.150) or an instrument (as with *man-mim-kudji* 'killed a buffalo with one bullet').

5.150 *Yi-rrad-da-ngimen an-dad-gudji!*

Dj 2-leg-stand-IMP III-leg-one
'Stand on one leg!'

(c) Secondary predicate on a subject of any person or gender:

5.151 *A-rredjjo-i a-bekka-n an-mak.*

Dj 1-fuck-PP 1-feel-NP III-good
'I had a fuck and now I feel good.'

5.152 *Kabi-kuk-ngime-wo-n kabi-kuk-mirnhke. Kurlba wanjh ka-lobme*

w 3/3h-body-enter-give-NP 3/3h-body-bendNP blood then 3-run

med man-bulerri Man-bulerri. Man-bulerri. Eeee. Wanjh
wait III-dark III-dark III-dark then

ka-m-bad-bebme wurd man-bele.

3-hither-now-emergeNP a.bit III-white

'He puts the body (of the effigy) inside (between trees) and bends it. Then the blood starts to run out, first it runs dark, dark, dark. Then hey, it starts to come out clear.' [KH 159]

Sometimes similar functions are signalled by the absence of a noun-class prefix altogether (see 13.5.3).

5.2.2.5 DIRECTION *berre-*

In Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali the prefix *berre-* is used on a number of locational nominals to indicate direction, as in *berre-kaddum* 'upwards' (*kaddum* 'up high, (on) top'), *berre-koyek* 'eastwards'. This may reflect Dalabon influence, since Dalabon has an identical prefix, e.g. *berre-djihbi* 'to the north, northwards' (D *djihbi* 'north').

- 5.153 *ø-dukka-ng ø-wayhke-ng na berre-kaddum kure ku-ronj-hkah*
 E:D 3/3P-tie.up-PP 3/3P-lift-PP now DIREC-up LOC LOC-water-LOC

kuberrk.

outside

'He tied it up (the crocodile) and lifted it up out of the water.' [Lena Yarinkura:

Two brothers]

In the other dialects these roots are used either with no overt marker of location (e.g. *kaddum* could be substituted here for *berre-kaddum*) or with the locative suffix (e.g. *gaddum-ga* in 5.68).

5.3 Miscellaneous nominal morphology

In this section we cover the remaining nominal morphology, except for compounding, gender/noun class, and deverbalisation, which are treated in subsequent sections.

5.3.1 Relational affixes

A diverse group of suffixes are grouped semantically around the marking of various types of relation between entities.

5.3.1.1 'POSSesseD noun' -no

In western dialects this suffix optionally marks nouns possessed by third person possessors, which may be overt or implicit. It probably derives from a form of the third person singular pronoun, whose root is *nu*, but at some time depth since cognate suffixes are found in Dalabon (-*no*) and Rembarrnga (-*na*).

- 5.154 *Njale na-wu al-yurr ga-ngu-n marlaworr-no ga-ngei-yo?*
 Dj what MA-REL II-grasshopper 3-eat-NP leaf-POSSD 3-name-lieNP
 'What is the name of that (plant) that Leichhardt's grasshopper eats its leaves?'

- 5.155 *Yi-belenghme an-bundjek an-djudj marlaworr-no-be.*
 Dj 2-lickNP III-manna III-e.bleeseri leaf-POSSD-ABL
 'You lick manna off the leaves of *eucalytus bleeseri*.' [EH]

- 5.156 *Ngal-gabulai wurdurd-no barri-dowe-ng.*
 Dj II-(name) children-POSSD 3aP-die-PP
 'Ngalgabulay's children have all died.'

In these dialects *-no* may also be used anaphorically as the sole marker of a possessor that has been mentioned or is clear from context (see also Text 1.9). So far my corpus for this use in these dialects only contains examples where the possessor relationship is part to whole:

- 5.157 (People are sitting around a camp fire and eating filesnakes. One says:
 Dj *Gom-no gan-wo!*
 neck-POSSD 2/1-giveIMP
 'Give me its neck!'/ 'Give me a neck of one of them!'

In Eastern dialects like Kuninjku and Kune, as well as in Manyallaluk Mayali, the function of this suffix has been greatly extended and need no longer be anaphoric, to the point where in Kune it is simply a marker of parthood in the broadest sense (parts of bodies, plants, the landscape and the diurnal cycle). Because this development is intimately tied up with changes in the noun-class system, which led to the partial replacement of the *man-* and *kun-* classes, and arguably represents the development of a further, 'part' class, it will be discussed in the section on noun classes in §5.5.2.5.

5.3.1.2 DYAD -go/-ko

This suffix has a variable semantic range across dialects, centred around the kinship dyad meaning of 'pair such that one calls the other by some kin term (K)' but extending through other cases where two entities share a property, or co-occur, to include a straightforward dual sense in some dialects. Such a pattern of chained polysemy is shared with comparable suffixes in a number of other Australian languages, and parallels the range of Dalabon *-ko*. The situation is further complicated by the existence of a distinct morpheme *-miken* for expressing the dyad relationship with certain kin terms (see §5.3.1.3).

KINSHIP DYAD SENSE This is the most productive meaning across dialects: derived nominals of the form *K-go* designate pairs of people, one of whom calls the other K. Kinship roots taking *-go* are never self-reciprocal; with self-reciprocal kin terms (e.g. *kakkak* MM, DC) dyads are formed with the PROPERTY suffix (§5.3.1.3). Where the kin term is a compound, only part of it appears in the dyadic term: Dj *wurdyau* 'child (of female ego)' > *yau-go* 'mother-child pair'; *beiwurd* 'child (of male ego)' > *beigo* 'father-child pair'.

5.158 *guni-yau-go*

Dj 2a-child.of.female-DYAD
'you two, mother and child (or mother's brother/sister's child)'

5.159 *bani-bei-go*

Dj 3ua-child.of.male-DYAD
'father and child, father's sister and nephew/niece'

This sense produces an expression of cardinality two, but the root itself is not predicable of both referents (since, for example, the mother is not a *yau* 'child'); what the two referents share is participation in a given kinship relationship.

In Kunwinjku the form *-karrngko* has the unexpected meaning 'person and his *kakkali*', despite the root *karrng*, etymologically 'mother'. It is unclear why the root for 'mother' should be used here.

SHARED PROPERTY SENSE This is exemplified by such terms as Dj *ngei-go* 'pair of namesakes' (based on *gun-ngei* 'name'), I *rid-ko* 'pair involved in fighting one another' (based on *kun-rid* 'fight') and W *ngane-kunak-ko* 'we two co-brothers-in-law' (based on *kunak* '(camp)fire', a common symbol for marriage). These dyads have some property in common, to which the root refers more or less directly. These terms may be used with either dual or singular reference:

5.160 *Bini-ngey-ko.*E 3ua-name-DYAD
'They two are namesakes.'²5.161 *Ngei-go arduk ga-m-re.*Dj name-DYAD my 3-hither-goNP
'Here comes my namesake.'

CO-OCCURRENCE SENSE Examples of this are W, I *dirdko* [moon-DYAD] 'shadow of moon, moonlight' (5.162) and the Kuninjku season names *kunkurra-ko* [wind-DYAD] 'windy season', *wularri-ko* [westerly wind-DYAD] 'westerly wind season', *barra-ko* 'northwest wind season' and *djimurru-ko* 'east wind season' (5.163). Here the shared property is time of occurrence; that is, the season is defined as occurring when a particular wind is blowing, or the visual conditions of moonlight occur when the moon is up. In contrast to the other senses of the dyad, here the nominal expression refers only to the element nominated by the root, for example, the moonlight rather than the moon itself.

5.162 *Dird-ko karri-re.*I moon-DYAD 12a-goNP
'Let's go by moonlight.' [GID]5.163 *Djimurru-ko kun-kurra ka-bu-n koyek-beh.*I east.wind-DYAD IV-wind 3-hit-NP east-ABL
'In the east wind season the wind blows from the east.' [GID]

DUAL SENSE This sense, in which the cardinality of two found in the dyad sense is abducted without any implication of reciprocity, is again restricted to the eastern dialects (I, E and MM). It can occur both with non-relational roots, like Kuninjku *dabbarrabbolk-ko* [old.person-DYAD] 'two old men' and *ngal-daluk* 'female' in 5.164, and with relational roots like *yaw* 'child' in 5.165.

5.164 *Na-rangem ø-dokme-ng, ngal-daluk-ko rerre.*E:N I-boy 3P-lead.off-PP II-woman-DYAD behind
'The boy is the oldest one; the two girls came later.'5.165 *Gun-matj ngabanbani-yaw-wo-ng yaw-no-go.*MM IV-swag 1/3du-child-give-PP child-3POSSD-DYAD
'I gave blankets to her two kids.'

5.3.1.3 PROPeRty -migen/-miken

This has three broad senses: the derivation of terms for properties (including abstracts), the derivation of new terms for entities possessing the property denoted by the root (often verbal), and the formation of dyadic kin terms, based on self-reciprocal kinship roots. These dyadic terms effectively designate groups characterised by the possession of a particular type of kinship relationship between their members.

² This is synonymous with *kabini-ngey-yo* (lit. 'they two are called'), an interesting example of a verbal expression where the collective/shared meaning is simply left implicit.

PROPERTIES These are almost all based on verbal roots denoting events giving rise to the property; the property itself is then often denoted by a *kun*-class noun. The suffix *-miken* replaces the thematic (e.g. *kukdadjke* 'butcher, divide' > *kukdahdadjmiken* 'striped with blocks of different colour'; *dangbalhme* 'close, block (door, cave, passage)' > *dangbalmiken* 'lockable (of door)'; *modme* 'be quiet, silent' > Dj, W *modmiken* 'peace, peaceful', but also k.k. *modme* 'get, obtain' > 1 *kun-modmiken* 'power, strength'). Note that the form *-miken* resembles the incorporating form *-mi* of the commonest thematic and may derive historically from a sequence of that plus genitive *-ken*. In a few cases there is either no known root (e.g. *layirrimiken* 'striped, having stripes', with no known verb *layirime*) or the semantic relation to the verb is obscure, as in *dadjmiken* 'solid in build, having big muscles' (cf. *dadjme* 'cut off, stop'). Sometimes the root is reduplicated in the property term (e.g. *dilhme* 'make dots' > *dilhdimhiken* 'dotted').

A sentence example involving a derived adjective of this sort is:

- 5.166 *Barndol* *kuk-dah-dadj-miken*.
 carpet.python body-REDUP-cut-PRPTY
 'The carpet python has striped blocks of colour.' [GID]

ENTITIES WITH A GIVEN PROPERTY There are only a couple of these, as in *djorrngmiken* 'straightened spear shaft' < *djorrngme* 'straighten (e.g. spear)', and *djerrkud-mi-ken*, the Kun-kurrng term for 'knife' in all dialects, for which there is no corresponding root *djerrkudme*. A sentence example of the first is:

- 5.167 *An-djorrng-miken* *barri-mun.ge-yi*.
 Dnj VE-straighten-PRPTY 3aP-send-PI
 'They used to send straightened ones (spear shafts).'

DYAD The property suffix combines with self-reciprocal kin terms to form dyadic terms equivalent in meaning to the dyads with *-ko* discussed in §5.3.1.2. Presumably the semantic motivation for the use of the 'property' suffix to form dyads is that members of the group share the property of calling each other by the root term. Some examples are (in their Dj form) *gakkak-migen* 'pair calling each other *gakkak*, typ. MM/DC pair', *mawahmigen* 'pair calling each other *mawah*, typ. FF/SC', *makkahmigen* 'pair calling each other *makkah*, typically FM/SC'.

One typological variable exhibited by dyad terms in Australian languages is the degree to which their cardinality is limited to two (see Merlan & Heath 1982; McGregor 1996). Certainly two-member groups are the prototype in Bininj Gun-wok, and in such cases the noun may either be left unprefixing for number (5.168) or bear a prefix (5.169) overtly specifying that the number is two:

- 5.168 *gakkak-migen*
 Dj MM-PRPTY
 'mother's mother and her daughter's child'
- 5.169 *bani-mawah-migen*
 Dj 3ua-FF-PRPTY
 'father's father and his son's child'

However, it is possible to vary this cardinality up or down, as long as all members of the denoted group (including the non-referred to propositus if singular) form a set within which

all kin relationships are either of the type named by the root, or of siblinghood (e.g. two brothers plus the man who is classificatory father-in-law to both of them). Within the data recorded so far it appears that such non-dual uses are found with the *-migen/-miken* dyads but not with the *-go/-ko* dyads.

An example of a dyad term used with cardinality greater than two is:

- 5.170 *Gurri-doidoih-migen gurri-m-ra-i!*
 Dj 2a-WF/DH-PRPTY 2a-hither-go-IMP
 'You wife's father/daughter's husband group come!' (i.e. a group containing two or more brothers with one or more fathers-in-law to them)

On the other hand, it is possible (at least with some terms) to refer to just one member of a dyadic pair by prefixing the appropriate noun-class prefix. Thus from Dj *makkah-migen* 'FM/DC pair' one can derive the feminine minimal term *al-makkah-migen* [FE-FM/DC-PRPTY] which can mean either 'father's mother, in company of her daughter's child' or 'her father's mother' that is, one member of the dyad is foregrounded as the referent, selecting the relevant noun class, and the other backgrounded as propositus (i.e. as 'kin possessor'). Likewise, the Mayali dyadic stem *manjmigen* 'mother's father/daughter's child dyad' can be used either with a dual prefix, as in *bani-manjmigen* 'they two, mother's father and his daughter's child', or with a singular noun-class prefix as in *namanjmigen* 'his/her mother's father'.

Sometimes the property dyad term is lexicalised and has no non-dyadic equivalent. In Kuninjku the singular masculine form *na-djongmiken* means 'his/her mother's mother's brother' and the singular feminine form *ngal-djongmiken* means 'his/her mother's mother', but unlike the examples with *mamamhmiken*, for example, there is no form **djong* meaning 'mother's mother' (although there is a root *djongok* meaning 'MMBD'). In other cases there is semantic slippage between the root and the *-migen* term; with *manjmigen* there is a root *manjme*, *nga* kinship verb used in trirelational expressions like *yimanjmeng* 'the one who is your wife and my niece, you and I being related as *na-kurrng*', but the 'mother's father/daughter's child' relationship represented by the dyad term (see preceding paragraph) does not correspond to any of the relationships represented in the trirelational term.

SPATIAL RELATIONSHIP A single locational term is made up of the verb preponed *borled* (*borledme* 'turn around') plus the property suffix. *Borledmiken* means 'behind', as in the following example; it is sometimes suffixed (5.2a).

- 5.171 *Warde borledmiken yi-yawa-n.*
 try behind 2/3-look-NP
 'Try looking behind.'

There is a second spatial relationship term with this suffix, but limited to Kun-kurrng: the adjective *kalawhmiken* 'up high', which is equivalent to the verb *barndi* 'be up high' in the everyday register. It derives from the Kun-kurrng verb *kalawhke* 'place up high' (= o.l. *barnname*).

- 5.172 *Konjkonj ka-kalawh-miken.* (k.k.) = *Wayarra ka-barndi.* (o.l.)
 devil 3-high-PRPTY devil 3-be.highNP
 'Devils live high up.'

5.3.1.4 *-yik- 'deceased, the late'*

This appears prefixed to clan names, between the noun class prefix and the root giving the clan name (e.g. *Na-yik-Marrirn* 'the late Marrirn man', Dj *Al-yik-Murumburr* 'the late Murumburr woman', 1 *Na-yik-Wurrbbarn*. 'the late Wurrbbarn man'). Most speakers say it means simply 'deceased' or 'the late', being used as a polite way of referring to deceased people by giving their clan affiliation.

5.173 *Gonhda-gah nuye nungan, na-Wagadj-beh nuye, na-yik-Badmardi bu*
 Dnj here-LOC his himself 1-[skin]-ABL his 1-late-Badmardi SUB
nuye-ni gun-red.
 his-P IV-country
 'This side of the gorge is his, from NaWagadj's side, it's the country of the late NaBadmardi.'

However, one Dj speaker said it could be used more widely as an expression of respect, that is as a polite way of referring to clan members, and counted as Gun-dembui alongside the use of trirelational kin terms.

In languages to the north and east a formally related prefix has a slightly different meaning, always in combination with the Bininj Gun-wok noun-class prefixes, which suggests borrowing with some semantic shift. In Maung a prefix *-y(i)k-* appears before the noun-class prefix and subsection roots, and denotes a close friend or relation of that subsection (e.g. *Naykamarrang, Ngalyikamarrang* 'male/female friend or close relation of the *kamarrang* subsection'). In Rembarrnga (McKay 1975:74) the prefix appears on clan names and is apparently no different in meaning to straightforward use of the noun class prefix (e.g. *Nabalngarra* or *Nayikbalngarra* 'man of Balngarra clan').

5.3.1.5 *INSEparable -dord*

As a free noun this root means 'louse', but it has been grammaticalised in Kuninjku, via compounding, into a suffix meaning 'inseparable from' or 'always connected with'. Two Kune examples in which the collocation is phrasal and has not developed into a suffix are *namarden dordno* [lightning louse-POSSD] 'Leichhardt's grasshopper (which always appears during the lightning storms preceding the wet season)' and *barrk dordno* (lit. black wallaroo, its louse) 'small bird that calls out *djiwiwi* whenever it sees a black wallaroo'. In Kuninjku and Kune this second form has an alternant in which *dord* is simply suffixed and appears without the possessed marker *-no*:

5.174 *Barrk-dord kan-marne-yime-ninj ngadberre, barrk*
 E:D black.wallaroo-INSEP 3/1a-BEN-say-IRR usOBL black.wallaby
ka-rrarnh-ni.
 3-near-sitNP
 'The *barrkdord* bird tells us if a black wallaroo is nearby.'

Further examples of the suffixal use from Kuninjku, but with a more conventionalised root, are *mim-rdord* [eye-INSEP] 'someone who hunts all the time, especially who is always on the lookout for a particular type of animal' and *korn-dord* [crotch-INSEP] 'hunter who specialises in one particular animal'.

5.3.1.6 -marrumarru 'always engaged in' (1)

In Kuninjku this attaches to nominal roots or to verbals in their incorporating form, and derives nominals meaning 'someone always engaged in' either the action denoted by the verb, or some action associated metonymically with the nominal root. Thus the verb *djekme* 'laugh' (incorporating form *djekmi* — see §12.1) yields *djekmi-marrumarru* 'someone who is always laughing' (this can also be rendered by compounding with the verbal prepound: *djekmarrumarru*), while the noun *kun-bodme* 'back' yields *bodme-marrumarru* 'someone who sits doing the same thing for a long time', as in:

5.175 *Ngal-bodme-marrumarru, ka-djal-borolhme kun-yarl.*

I II-back-always.engaged.in 3-just-spinNP IV-string
'She's continually sitting there spinning string.' [GID]

5.176 *Nga-bodme-marrumarru dolobbo nga-bimbu-n.*

I I-back-always.engaged.in bark.painting I-paint-NP
'I've been continually doing bark paintings all the time.'

5.3.2 Plural formation

Most nouns have no special plural form; rather, number is shown by a range of sites on the verb, including the pronominal prefix slots, numero-spatial prefixes, and collective uses of the reflexive/reciprocal, as well as the use of plural demonstratives and quantifying adjectives such as *na-wern* 'many' and *rowk* 'all' and (in Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali) the noun *ngong* 'mob' (e.g. Text 7.2), which in Manyallaluk Mayali is used as a clitic (§6.5.2).

However, for some nouns there are special plural forms, mostly formed by some sort of reduplication, and the possibility of using pronominal prefixes with nouns to indicate number also exists; these are treated here. There is considerable variability across dialects in this part of the grammar, and the use of the plural forms of nouns is optional rather than obligatory.

REDUPLICATION In general, reduplication for plural is lexeme-specific and, unlike with verbs, one cannot apply the various formal types productively throughout the nominal lexicon. However, some guidelines can be formulated: basically, the classes of noun permitting reduplicative plurals are human terms like *daluk* 'woman' or *ngal-kohbanj* 'old woman', some kin terms, clan names (though only attested in western dialects), some terms based on 'country of origin', and (in Kunwinjku only) subsection terms. Examples given below will include representatives of each of these types.

Reduplicated plural forms have three options when it comes to prefixation:

- (a) dispense with noun-class prefixes, whether or not these are present in the singular form: *w morlenj* 'woman', *morleh-morlenj* 'women', *Dj na-/al-gohbanj* 'old man/woman' but *gobagohbanj* 'old men, old women' (the form of this term varies slightly across dialects, in *w kohbahkohbanj* and *E:D koboh-kobanj*).
- (b) take a singular noun class marker despite their plural reference (e.g. *Dj al-gornh-gorngumo* 'aunties', *na-yuh-yunggi* 'ancestors, first people'). The generalised use of the prefix *na-* for non-singular reference is particularly common in Gun-djeihmi (see §5.5.4.2), but is also attested in Kunwinjku (e.g. *na-rrangbon* 'Dangbon people') and Kuninjku (*na-momoyak* 'ancestral spirits').

- (c) take a plural pronominal prefix on the reduplicated form (e.g. Dj *barri-marlah-marladj* 'orphans, children who have lost their mother').

The further east one goes in the dialect chain, the more use is made of plural pronominal prefixes rather than reduplication and/or prefixation with *na-*, so that 'first people' in Kuninjku is *birri-yunggi* instead of Dj *nayuhyunggi*, and 'Kunwinjku-speaking people' is *birri-rinjku* instead of W *nawinjku*. The Kunwinjku dialect has a mix of both strategies, with use of the *na-* prefix for certain collectivities (e.g. *narrangbon* as given above), and the *birri-* prefix for others (cf. *Na-rol* 'man of Rol clan', *Ngal-rol* 'woman of Rol clan', *Birri-rol* 'people from Rol clan' — E&E 93).

With regard to reduplication of root material, plurals follow one of several patterns:

- (a) Full single-syllable reduplication (§3.6.1) is used where the root is monosyllabic:

5.177	<i>ngal-yauk</i>	→	<i>yauk-yauk</i>
Dj	II- young girl		REDUP-young girl
	'young girl'		'young girls'

Where the root is etymologically a compound whose first element is monosyllabic, either full single-syllable reduplication (5.178) or glottal-closed single-syllable reduplication (5.179) are used:

5.178	Dj	<i>al-gorn.gumo</i>	'aunt'	→	<i>al-gornh-gorn.gumo</i>	'aunts'
	Dj	[Etymologically based on a word for father, <i>gorn.gumo</i> , whose first element <i>gorn</i> means 'crotch, groin']				

5.179	Dj	<i>al-beiwurd</i>	'daughter (of male)'	→	<i>al-beh-beiwurd</i>	'daughters (of male)'
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Some other roots also allow this pattern (e.g. Kunwinjku *ngal-dah-daluk* 'females' < *ngal-daluk* 'female' and *na-rah-rangem* 'boys' < *na-rangem* 'boy').

- (b) Disyllabic roots, with the exception of subsection terms, form their plurals by glottal-closed disyllable reduplication.

5.180

Dj	<i>na-/al-marlad</i>	'orphan'	<i>barri-marlah-marladj</i>	'orphans'
W	<i>morlenj</i>	'woman'	<i>morleh-morlenj</i>	'women'
W	<i>daluk</i>	'woman'	<i>daluh-daluk</i>	'women'
Dj	<i>bininj</i>	'person, Aborigine'	<i>binih-bininj</i>	'people, Aborigines'
W	<i>na-ngordo</i>	'male leper, cripple'	<i>ngordoh-ngordo</i>	'lepers, cripples'
Dj	<i>na-marrirn</i>	'male of Marrirn clan'	<i>nguni-marrih-marrirn</i>	'you twoMarrirn clan members'
Dj	<i>na-walem-gen</i>	'westerner'	<i>waleh-walem-gen</i>	'westerners'

- (c) Subsection terms, in Kunwinjku only, usually form their plural by open disyllable reduplication, though there is a great deal of variation here, both in whether one or two syllables are reduplicated and in whether two-syllable reduplications merely take the root as input, or include the noun-class prefix as well. (See Etherington and Etherington 1994:13 for a list of plural forms of subsection terms.) Compare *Ngal-kama-kamarrang* 'Ngal-kamarrang women', which reduplicates the first two syllables

of the root, with *Ngalba-ngal-bangardi* 'Ngal-bangardi women', which reduplicates the first two syllables of the prefixed word.

Other examples of the first pattern are *Na-bula-bulanj* 'Nabulanj men', *Na-banga-bangardi* 'Na-bangardi men' and *Na-kodjo-kodjok* 'Nakodjok men', and examples of the second are *Ngalwa-ngalwamud* 'Ngal-wamud women' and *Ngalwa-ngalwakadj* 'Ngalwakadj women'. Note that only female terms include the prefix in the input to reduplication. There are also subsection terms which form their plural by single-syllable reduplication, such as *Na-wa-wamud* 'Nawamud men', *Na-wa-wakadj* 'Nawakadj men', *Nakokodjok* 'Nakodjok men' (alt. form), *Ngal-ba-bangardi* 'Ngalbangardi women' (alternate form) and *Ngal-ko-kodjok* 'Ngalkodjok women' (alternate form).

In addition, there is the irregular pair *Na-kang-kangila* and *Ngal-kang-kangila* (resp. 'Nakangila men' and 'Ngalkangila women') which are the only reduplications to contain a CVng- prefixal sequence in which the ng derives from an initial segment.

In making sense of this irregularity it must be borne in mind that most languages of the region have their own versions of these terms, and those found in Maung and Iwaidja, in particular, are commonly employed by some individuals at Kunwinjku, so the potential for different borrowed forms to be used in this domain, according to the quirks of individuals' life histories and particular kin connections, is significant.

There are a number of other semi-regular reduplicate plurals. For example, 'old people' is *dabbarrabolk* (Dj) and *daborrabolk* (W); the root *dabbolk* from which this is derived (with flapping and, in Dj, vowel harmony) does not occur alone, but is found in the derived verb *dabbolkmen* 'become an adult'. Reduplicated words for 'children', variously *wurdwurd* (W) or *wurdurd* (Dj, I, MM), no longer correspond to a singular unreduplicated form **wurd*, though it is likely this once existed on the basis of the Dalabon cognate *wurd-ngan* 'my child' and the specialised BGW word *wurd* 'womb; capacity for biological motherhood'. The contemporary singular form for 'child', however, is *wurdyaw*, etymologically a compound of *wurd*- plus another root for 'child', *-yaw*, that is also the incorporable form. In Gun-djeihmi, the root *wurdurd* can now be used to mean 'child' when used as a predicate: e.g. *nga-h-wurdurd-ni* [I-IMM-child-P] 'when I was a child'.

A few recent loans, ultimately from English but filtered through Iwaidja or Maung, take the Iwaidja/Maung nominal plural prefix *warra*- (e.g. *warra-djabbani* 'Japanese (pl)'). Interestingly, these sometimes retain features of English phonology, as in *warra-mishinri* 'missionaries' with its palatal fricative [wara-mifinɹi]. These forms are limited to the Kunwinjku dialect, and it is likely they were introduced there through missionary activity from Goulburn Island, mediated by Maung-speaking missionaries such as the Reverend Lazarus Lami-Lami.

5.3.3 Expressions of plentitude

5.3.3.1 Eco-zone terms

Names for ecozones or geographical zones can be formed by reduplicating or retriplicating a root denoting a characteristic geographical or botanical feature of the zone, and prefixing a lexically determined noun-class or locative prefix. This set is particularly well-developed in Gun-djeihmi, from which all examples in this section are drawn unless

otherwise indicated, though parallels in other dialects are noted where known. Many equivalents in other dialects, however, are formed in other ways — Dj *an-yakngah-yakngarra* (5.181) is translated into Kune as *dayarr-wern* [pandanus-many], using the ‘plenty’ suffix (§5.3.3.2), while Dj *an-djohdjo-djoh* ‘wattle grove’ is rendered w *mi-djoh-wern* [VEG.LOC-wattle-many] using the same strategy plus the vegetable locative prefix.

Three copying patterns are found, according to the structure of the base. In addition, many zone terms replace the noun-class prefix of the base with the locative or vegetable locative prefix.

If the root is trisyllabic, a disyllabic copy is formed by Glottal-closed Disyllable Reduplication (§3.6.4):

5.181	<i>an-yakngarra</i>	→	<i>an-yakngah-yakngarra</i>
	III- <i>pandanus.spiralis</i>		III-ZONE- <i>pandanus.spiralis</i>
	‘pandanus scrub’		

Some disyllabic roots also apply this rule, such as *gun-wardde* ‘rock’ > *gu-warddeh-wardde* ‘rock country; sandstone escarpment’, a form found in all dialects.

Other disyllabic roots take just the first syllable as input, and employ Glottal-closed First-Syllable Reduplication (§3.6.2). It may be that such cases are historically compounds, of which the first element is reduplicated; in 5.182 both elements occur elsewhere (*barn-* is a prepond meaning ‘up high’ and *-go* is the dyadic suffix), though how this would then compose to give the tree name remains unclear.

5.182	<i>an-barn.go</i>	→	<i>mi-bah-barn.go</i>
	III- <i>grevillea.pterydofolia</i>		VEG.LOC-ZONE- <i>grevillea</i>
			‘scrub with grevillea pterydifolia predominant’

If the root is monosyllabic, a disyllabic prefix of the form *CVhCV-* is formed by retriplication (§3.6.7):

5.183 a.	<i>an-berl</i>	→	<i>an-behbe-berl</i>
	III-arm		III-ZONE-arm
	‘tributary creek’		‘area with many tributary creeks’
b.	<i>an-bouk</i>	→	<i>an-bohbo-bouk</i>
	III-seasonal.swamp		III-ZONE-seasonal.swamp
	‘seasonal swamp’		‘alluvial plains’ (= I <i>man-boh-bo-bowk</i>)
c.	<i>an-djoh</i>	→	<i>an-djohdjo-djoh</i>
	III-acacia.sp.		III-ZONE-acacia.sp.
			‘wattle grove’
			(= W <i>midjohdjodjoh</i> and E, I <i>midjohdjidjoh</i>
			with irregular vowel assimilation in the
			penultimate syllable)
d.	<i>an-berrk</i>	→	<i>an-behbe-berrk</i>
	III-dry.region		III-ZONE-dry.region
	“‘desert”, dry region’		‘dry lowland scrub’
5.184	<i>gun-god</i>	→	<i>an-gohgo-god</i>
	IV-paperbark		III-ZONE-paperbark
			‘paperbark grove’

5.185	<i>gun-djelk</i> IV-gravel	→	<i>gu-djehdje-djelk</i> LOC-ZONE-gravel 'gravelly country'
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5.3.3.2 PLENTY -wern

As an independent root, *-wern* is an adjective meaning 'much, many', but it can also appear after nominal roots, deriving adjectives with the meaning 'having much/many Ns'. Although words of the form *N-wern* probably originated as nominal compounds (§5.4), this suffix can now combine with any noun root, whereas compounds proper have strict limits on their first element. Examples are Dj *an-gurladj-wern* 'area with lots of swamprush' (< *an-gurladj* 'eleocharis dulcis, swamp rush') and *ga-wok-wern* [3-language-PLENTY] '(s)he is talkative' (14.59).

This suffix is frequent as an alternative to the special eco-zone construction discussed above; examples are W *man-labbarl-wern* [III-billabong-PLENTY] 'area with lots of billabongs' and Dj *an-djoh-wern* 'area with many wattle trees'.

5.3.3.3 -mirndewern 'rich in'

Formally this comprises *mirnde* 'many' plus *-wern* PLENTY. This combination can be used as a nominal predicate in its own right, glossed "rich" by informants (and in the Aboriginal English of the region "rich" typically means 'having a large family, having many descendants' rather than referring to material wealth):

5.186	<i>Nguni-mirnde-wern.</i>
Dj	2ua-many-PLENTY 'You're "rich", you've got plenty of kids.'

In Gun-djeihmi the sequence can be combined with kin terms denoting offspring. An example based on the root *djedje* 'child through female line' is Dj *nguni-djedje-mirnde-wern*.

5.4 Nominal compounds

Nominal compounding in Bininj Gun-wok is both productive and regular. It also displays significant parallels with noun incorporation in terms of which roots can be involved as the first element, the ordering of elements, and the semantic interpretation of two of the main compounding types. Nominal compounds may involve two or more elements. Multi-root compounds are largely restricted to detailed anatomical terms:

5.187	<i>gun-garre-murrng-badjan</i>	<i>gun-garre-murrng-yau</i>
Dj	IV-calf-bone-mother 'femur'	IV-calf-bone-child 'tibia'

Table 5.1: Types of nominal compound

Type of compound	Structure [X-Y]	Semantics	Parallel verbal construction
Restricted domain compounds	N-Adj (e.g. <i>rakmo-warre</i> 'lame, bad-hipped')	'having an X which is Y'; 'Y as far as one's X is concerned'	Incorporated body-part constructions with intransitive verbs
Whole-part compounds	CL-N-N where Y is a body part (e.g. <i>gun-denge-gurlah</i> 'sole of foot')	'The Y part of X'; 'Y, which is inalienably linked to X'	None
Modifying compounds	GENDER-N-Adj where the gender value is governed by the N (e.g. <i>an-dulk-rayek</i> 'hard wood')	'X which is Y'; '(a) Y X'	Generic noun incorporation with intransitive verbs
Mishap nicknames	N-N, where X is a body part and Y is a noun denoting an animal or weapon (e.g. <i>mad-djarrang</i> 'kicked in the ankle by a horse')	'person who suffered an injury to their X inflicted by Y'	None
Taste compounds	N-N, where X denotes the type of taste and Y means 'taste'	'(thing) smelling/ tasting like X'	Incorporation of nouns into non-verbal predicates meaning 'smell/stink'

Except for compounds involving body parts (§5.4.2), nominal compounds are built on a closed class of first elements, or 'compounding elements', which are typically noun roots stripped of their class prefixes. This set is identical to the set of incorporable nominals, and suppletive forms found with incorporated nouns reappear in nominal compounds (most notably *w gukku/kukku* 'water' and *MM kun-ronj* 'water', whose suppletive compounding forms are *bo-* and *korlh-* respectively). The full list of compounding elements is given in Table 8.1, but the examples in 5.188 will show the parallelism; all the nominal compounds cited here will be analysed further below.

5.188	Free (prefixed) form	in nominal compound	as incorporated nominal
	<i>gun-dulk</i> 'tree, wood'	Dj <i>an-dulk-rayek</i> 'hard wood'	Dj <i>ngarri-dulk-djobgeng</i> 'we chopped the tree'
	<i>gun-madj</i> 'swag'	Dj <i>madj-mak</i> 'tidy'	Dj <i>nga-madj-gurrmeng</i> 'I put down my swag'
	<i>an-rud</i> 'road'	Dj <i>an-rud-gare</i> 'old road'	Dj <i>ga-rud-yo</i> 'there is a road'
	<i>gukku</i> 'water'	Dj <i>an-bo-mak</i> 'good water'	Dj <i>ga-bo-yo</i> 'there is water'

Compounds fall into five classes on both structural and semantic grounds; the fifth is limited in productivity. Table 5.1 summarises these types, and gives parallels to compositionally analogous noun-incorporation constructions where these exist. Note that restrictive domain, mishap and taste compounds are exocentric, while whole-part and modifying compounds are endocentric.

5.4.1 Restricted domain compounds

These make a predication whose application is restricted to a part designated by the first element, which must be a body-part noun. The noun-class prefix or part suffix associated with the root is dropped (although use as a predicate may then result in the addition of a predicate prefix). The resultant structure is thus:

5.189 [N - Adj]_{Adj}
X Y

The meaning is 'having a Y X' or 'Y as far as one's X is concerned', which often translates into English as *Y-Xed*:

5.190 <i>rakmo-warre</i> (Dj) hip-bad 'lame, bad-hipped' (<i>gun-rakmo</i> 'hip')	<i>dule-kelk</i> (E:D) language-soft 'having a 'soft' language variety' (<i>dule-no</i> 'language')
<i>mim-warre</i> (Dj) eye-bad 'short-sighted, having bad eyes' (cf. <i>gun-mim</i> 'eye')	<i>balem-gimuk</i> (Dj) fat-big 'having lots of fat' (cf. <i>gun-balem</i> 'fat')
<i>njam-gimuk</i> (Dj) guts-big 'fat, having big guts'	<i>keb-dukkurr</i> (E) nose-short 'having a short nose' (<i>keb-no</i> 'nose') (applied to estuarine crocodile)
<i>kodj-rayek</i> (I) head-hard 'fuzzy-haired'	<i>bid-mak</i> (I) hand-good 'dextrous'
<i>kuk-yirrek</i> (I) body-smooth 'smooth-bodied'	<i>darrkid-badjan</i> (E:D) body-big 'big, big-bodied'

Syntactically, compounds of this type are adjectives, although unlike most adjectives they do not usually take gender prefixes (5.191). They may take prefixes for subject person and number (5.192) and be suffixed for past tense if appropriate (5.193), but the third person minimal prefix *ga-/ka-* is not normally used.

5.191 *Bani-wok-buyiga*.

Dj 3ua-language-different
'They have a different language, they are different as far as their language is concerned.'

5.192 *Yi-berd-kimuk!*

I 2-penis-big
'You've got a big prick!' (typical remark between joking partners)

5.193 *Ngaleng wanjh ø-kele-ni Lumaluma na-wu ø-berd-kimuk-ni.*

w she then 3P-afraid-P [name] MA-REL 3P-penis-big-P
'She was afraid of (the monster) Luma-Luma, who had a big penis.' [KS 78]

There is a clear structural parallelism with verbs with incorporated body-part nouns (§10.4.2), such as *nga-mim-warreminj* [I-eye-bad.became] 'my eyes are no longer any good' or Dj *ba-bid-ngimeng* [(s)he-hand-entered] 'he put his hand in', lit. 'he entered as far as his hand is concerned'. Structurally, both are made up of a body-part noun followed by a predicate, which is an adjective in the case of the compound and a verb in the case of the incorporated noun construction. Semantically, in both cases the body-part noun gives the domain or part of the nominated entity to which the predication is restricted. Indeed, in the case of deverbal adjectives formed from verb roots by adding the past perfective suffix (§5.6.1.3), a form like E (\emptyset) -*kuk-ngurlme-ng* [(3P)-body-black/be.black-PP] could be parsed as either a restricted domain compound 'black-bodied' or an intransitive verb with incorporated body part 'its body became black'.

A distinct subtype of the restricted-domain construction involves similitive compounds in which the second element is a noun, but construed as meaning 'like an X' instead of 'X': Dj *molo-borndok* 'orange horseshoe bat' [tail-woomera] (i.e. 'like a woomera as far as its tail is concerned'), I *ngal-berd-djenj* [II-tail-fish] 'mermaid' (i.e. 'like a fish as far as her tail is concerned'), W *kodj-bulu* [head-old.person] 'white-haired' (i.e. 'like an old person as far as his/her head is concerned' and I *kodj-njalng* [head-yabby] 'having a head like a yabby', a term of reference used by a man about his sister.

5.4.2 Whole-part compounds

These are endocentric compounds, and have the meaning 'the Y part of X' (e.g. 'sole' is 'the skin part of the foot') or 'Y, which is only there because X is/was there' (e.g. 'footprint' is 'track, which is only there because (a) foot was there). Note that by 'whole-part' I am including the range of inalienable semantic relations discussed in §10.4.2, which takes in representations (e.g. 'name'), manifestations (e.g. 'shadow') and natural signs (e.g. 'footprint'). They take the noun class appropriate to their head noun, the first element. Their structure, then, is:

5.194 [CL-N - N_{<body part>}]_N
 X Y

Some examples are:

5.195	<i>gun-denge-bok</i>	<i>gun-dulk-berl</i>	<i>gun-denge-gurlah</i>
Dj	IV-foot-print	IV-tree-arm	IV-foot-skin
	'foot print'	'branch'	'sole of foot'
	<i>gun-dulk-dad</i>	<i>gun-bid-ngalanj</i>	
	IV-tree-leg	IV-hand-nail	
	'root'	'finger nail'	
	<i>gu-wardde-rurk</i>	<i>an-gole-bard</i>	
	LOC-rock-cave	III-bamboo.shaft-knee	
	'cave in rock'	'node of bamboo shaft'	

The crucial role of the head noun in determining the noun-class prefix is not established by all the examples in 5.195, since in most cases both elements take the same noun-class prefix (e.g. *gun-denge* 'foot', *gun-bok* 'print, track', *gun-denge-bok* 'footprint'). In the case of *an-gole-bard*, however, 'bamboo' is *an-gole* while 'knee' is *gun-bard*. Further examples

demonstrating the importance of the head noun come from compound terms for genitals, in which the head noun takes the class III prefix (anomalously for body parts — see §5.5.2.4), whereas the part noun takes the class IV prefix. The compound in such cases always takes the class III prefix:

5.196	<i>man-day-djen</i>	<i>man-berd-kurlah</i>
W	III-head.of.penis-tongue 'urethra' (cf. <i>kun-djen</i> 'tongue')	III-penis-skin 'foreskin' (cf. <i>kun-kurlah</i> 'skin')

In the eastern dialects, in which body-part nouns take the part suffix *-no* instead of a noun class prefix (§5.5.2.5), part-whole compounds have the form:

5.197	[N - N _{<body part>} - no] _N
	X Y PART

Examples are:

5.198	<i>dedj-mad-no</i>	<i>bid-ngalanj-no</i>
E:N	butt-ankle-PRT 'root of tree' (cf. <i>mad-no</i> '(its) ankle')	hand/finger-nail-PRT 'fingernail' (cf. <i>ngalanj-no</i> '(his/her/its) nail', <i>bid-no</i> '(its) hand')
	<i>bodme-murrng-no</i> back-bone-PRT 'backbone' (cf. <i>bodme-no</i> '(his/her/its) back')	

Where the noun denoting the whole is neither a generic (e.g. *gun-dulk* 'tree') nor a bodypart noun (e.g. *gun-denge* 'foot'), it is not eligible for compounding, as mentioned above. In such cases the terms for whole and part will still be conjoined, in the same order as for whole-part compounds, but as morphologically separate words. In the eastern dialects the part noun bears the part suffix *-no* (5.199), but in the western dialects it does not (5.200):

5.199	<i>man-kalarr dulk-no</i> (I)	<i>ngal-kordow mim-no</i> (E)
	III-e.bleeseri tree-PRT 'trunk of <i>eucalyptus bleeseri</i> '	II-emu eye-PRT 'red-flowered herbaceous bush' (flowers are said to resemble emu's eyes)
5.200	<i>gurdugadji gun-denge</i>	<i>gunj gurlba</i>
Dj	emu IV-foot ' <i>hibiscus meraukensis</i> ' (leaves have emu-foot shape)	kangaroo blood 'plant sp. (<i>vitex glabrata</i>)'

5.4.3 Modifying compounds

These have the meaning '(an) X which is Y' or '(a) Y X', and belong to the noun category. The semantic parallel to generic incorporation with intransitive verbs, as in W *dulk-mankang* '(the/a) tree fell', is clear: in both constructions, the second element supplies the predicate whose argument is the first element. Normally, however, verbs with incorporated generic nouns function as predicates, while noun-modifier compounds function as arguments (in addition to other regular functional differences between verbs and nouns).

Modifying compounds take a gender prefix, whose value is governed by the first element. The second element may be an adjective, but can also be numeral root such as *kudji* 'one' and certain types of social-category nouns like the patrimoiety names Duwa and Yirridjdja (e.g. *kun-bolk-duwa* 'Duwa country'). Eastern dialects, in which gender agreement has been lost, lack the gender prefix in this construction.

5.201 [(GEN-) N - Mod]_N

In all dialects, modifying compounds are the preferred method of applying adjectives to nouns capable of compounding or incorporation, and in some dialects (for example, Kuninjku) this is the only way of modifying such nouns. Compare the behaviour of the noun *an-gayawal* 'long diasporea transversa yam', which cannot be compounded, with the noun *gun-dulk* 'tree', which can: modification of the first results in the phrasal two-word Mayali combination *an-gayawal ngan-guyeng-guyeng* [III-diasporea transversa VE-big-big] 'long diasporea yam', while modification of the second is expressed by the compound *an-dulk-guyeng* 'tall tree' in Gun-djehmi and by the structurally parallel *man-dulk-kuyeng* [VE-tree-long] in Kunwinjku and Kuninjku.

In Kune gender agreement is restricted to occasional use of the masculine prefix and a more productive means of marking modifiers is to use the part suffix, as in *bininj dukkurrh-no* [man short-PART] 'short man'. Modifying compounds simply join the noun and adjective, with no part suffix, as in *yarl-dukkurrh* [string-short] 'short string'. The fact that most compounding roots are either inanimate generics, or body parts, skews the semantic distribution of this construction, since modification of animate nouns, and of specific inanimates (e.g. tree names) will instead be carried out by the non-compounding construction.

Because of the formal identity of gender and noun-class prefixes (see §5.5), it is not immediately obvious that gender prefixes are involved here, as opposed to the noun-class prefixes used in whole-part compounds. Evidence that they are in fact gender rather than noun prefixes comes from the fact that they select their prefix on the basis of gender rather than noun-class rules in cases where there is disagreement between the two. For example the words for 'tree' and 'flame' both take *kun-* noun-class prefixes (e.g. Dj *gun-dulk* 'tree, wood', w *kun-birli* 'flame') but govern agreement with the vegetable prefix (*m*)*an-* (see §5.5.3.1). Modifying compounds based on these roots are Dj *an-dulk-rayek* 'hard wood' and w *man-birli-kimuk* 'big flame'. On the other hand, where the noun governs neuter agreement, as in the case of most body parts and landscape features, the compound will take the neuter prefix *kun-*, as in *kun-mok-kare* [NEU-sore-old] 'old sore', *kun-bid-kudji* [NEU-hand-one] 'five', *kun-bid-bokenh* [NEU-hand-two] 'ten', and with 'water' viewed as a landscape feature in:

- 5.202 *Kun-ekke kukku kun-bo-kimuk*.
 W NEU-DEM water NEU-water-big
 'That water's big.' [KH 19]

Analysing the prefixes as gender also allows a unified account of gender agreement in nominal modification, whether it is realised by separate words or compounds. Some further examples of modifying compounds in the dialects using gender agreement are in 5.203, and from dialects without gender agreement, in 5.204.

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| 5.203 | <i>an-dalk-bang</i> (Dj)
VE-grass-cheeky
'cheeky (i.e. spiky) grass' (cf. <i>gun-dalk</i> 'grass') | <i>an-dulk-gohbanj</i> (Dj)
VE-tree-old
'full-grown tree' |
| | <i>an-boi-gilelh</i> (Dj)
VE-cooking.stone-soft
'antbed used in ground oven'
(lit. 'cooking-stone which is soft';
cf. <i>gun-boi</i> 'cooking stone') | <i>an-dalk-mirrh-mak</i> (Dj)
VE-grass-sharp-very
'sharp grass' |
| | <i>man-ngorl-kimuk</i> (W) ³
VE-cloud-big
'big clouds' (cf. <i>kun-ngorl</i> 'cloud') | <i>an-dedj-barng</i> (MM)
VE-base-cheeky
'wild grape' (lexicalised) |
| 5.204 | <i>dule-djurrkdjurrk</i> (E:D)
speech-fast
'quick language' | <i>djalh-badjan</i> (E:D)
leaf-thick
'thick leaf' |

Although predicative compounds occasionally co-occur with a noun identical in reference to their root, particularly when a demonstrative is also present (e.g. 5.202, 5.205), it is more typical for them to be the sole word in their phrase, as in 5.206 and 5.207.

- 5.205 *An-jarrman go-no go-ngerrmey.*
MM III-kurrajong flower-PRT flower-red
'Kurrajong trees have red flowers.'
- 5.206 *Man-wodj-kare kani-dorrorkke.*
I VE-log-old 12ua-dragNP
'Let's drag the hollow log.'
- 5.207 *Bolkkime karri-re kaddum karri-yo kun-kak-djarrkno.*
E:N now 12a-gONP up.high 12a-sleepNP NEU-night-two
'Let's go into the high country now, and camp there for two nights.'

They are also frequently used as a way of modifying incorporated nominals sharing the same root:

- 5.208 *Na-marrgon an-djal-dulk-gudji ga-rrulk-do-ng.*
Dj I-lightning VE-only-tree-one 3-tree-strike-NP
'Lightning always strikes just that one tree.'
- 5.209 *Na-behrne djabbilarna ga-bo-garrme an-bo-gimuk.*
Dj MA-that billycan 3-liquid-haveNP VE-liquid-big
'That billycan has lots of water.'

COMPLEX MODIFIERS As well as monomorphemic adjectives or numerals, the second element in modifying compounds may comprise a derived property expression formed by adding the PRIVative or PLENTY suffixes to a noun root:

- 5.210 *gun-bolk-djidning-yak*
Dj NEU-place-laterite-PRIV
'place with no laterite'

³ Though note that the form *kun-ngorl-kimuk* is also attested (KS 196).

- 5.211 *gun-bolk-djidning-wern*
 Dj NEU-place-laterite-PLENTY
 'place with lots of laterite'

Note that the above examples are exceptional, within the Gun-djeihmi dialect, in taking a neuter prefix. As will be discussed in §5.5, this dialect retains *gun-* as a noun-class prefix but has lost neuter gender agreement, replacing it with generalised vegetable agreement. The above examples may represent archaic formations from a period when neuter agreement was still possible; in Kunwinjku the head noun *kun-bolk* 'place' still governs neuter agreement when used to discuss landscape features.

-buyiga/-biyika/-biya 'OTHER' IN MODIFIER COMPOUNDS There are two ways of translating English 'another': the adjective *-buyiga/-biya* (Dj), *-buyika/-biyika* (I, E) and the verbal prefix *yawoyh-* (§11.3.5.1). The adjective can have both meanings of English 'another' — 'another (token of the same type)' and 'another, a different one, one of the wrong type' — whereas the verbal prefix can only have the first meaning (in addition to covering other types of event repetition). The forms *-buyiga*, *-biyika* and *-biya* appear to be merely phonological variants.

Like other modifiers in this construction, this root appears as a separate word when modifying words whose roots are not compounding elements, such as *narangem* 'male' in 5.212 and *daluk* 'woman' in 11.131d. It may also be used as a head noun, particularly with the third person augmented prefix, with the meaning 'others' (5.213). When modifying a word whose root is a compounding element, however, it generally appears in a modifying compound (5.214, 5.215).

- 5.212 *Ngal-dah-daluk, na-rangem na-buyika nani wanjh*
 FE-REDUP-female MA-male MA-different MA.DEM then
konem-kuyeng nungka.
 tallness-long he
 'That's a female, the male is different; he has a long neck.'
- 5.213 *Birri-buyika minj balemane birri-bebme-ninj, bonj birri-ru-y*
 3a-other NEG where 3aP-emerge-IRR right 3aP-burn-PP
birri-dowe-ng birri-dukka-rrukka-rr-inj.
 3aP-die-PP 3aP-REDUP-tie-RR-PP
 'Some of the others had no where to get away, and so in the end were burned, writhing to death.'
- 5.214 *Ngad wurdyau ba-rrowe-ng gu-djeuk-biya.*
 Dj we child 3P-die-PP LOC-rain-other
 'Our child died last year.'
- 5.215 "Ladjkurrungu la yi-re, konda ngal-yabok-warre ngane-yo."
 (address.term) CONJ 2-gONP here II-sister-RESP 1ua-sleepNP
"Oh, ku-mekke nuk ku-bolk-buyika nga-h-yo."
 LOC-DEM DUB LOC-place-other 1-IMM-lieNP
 "Ladjkurrungu you go, I'm sleeping here with your sister."
 "Oh, I'll go and sleep somewhere else then." [GID]

The set of roots with which *-buyiga* and its variants can form modifying compounds is slightly larger than that found with other modifiers, taking in a number of time nominals that do not normally incorporate, such as 'tomorrow' and 'yesterday' (5.216) as well as *dird* 'month' (11.131d). The only attestations of these as anything like incorporated or compounded nouns is in the collocations *malayi-barrhbun* (Dj) 'day break, day dawn' and *dird-kan* (W) 'hunt by moonlight', in both of which they are arguably lexicalised rather than productive incorporating elements. The extended set of combinatorial possibilities for *-buyiga* suggests it is on its way to being grammaticalised as a suffix rather than a simple compounding element.

5.216	<i>malayi-buyiga</i>	<i>wolewoleh-buyigah-ni</i>
Dj	tomorrow-another	yesterday-other-P
	'the day after tomorrow'	'the day before yesterday'

5.4.4 *Mishap nicknames*

Nicknames identifying people by a mishap that has befallen them have the form X-Y, where X denotes the body part affected by the mishap, and Y the source of the mishap. As Mick Alderson explained this practice, 'whatever you get hit by, you get a nickname'. Examples of such nicknames:

5.217	<i>ngorrk-madjawarr</i>
Dj	flank-goose.spear
	'hit in the flank by a goose spear'
5.218	<i>mad-djarrang</i>
Dj	ankle-horse
	'kicked in the ankle by a horse'
5.219	<i>garre-ginga</i>
Dj	calf-crocodile
	'bitten on the calf by a crocodile'
5.220	<i>denge-wamba</i>
	foot-shark
	'bitten on the foot by a shark'

5.4.5 *Taste compounds*

The order expected in taste/smell compounds, by analogy with other modifying compounds (§5.4.3), is exemplified by forms such as *man-manj-mak* [III-taste-good] 'delicious' and *na-manj-warre* [I-taste-bad] 'saltwater crocodile', said to taste foul. Often the two-part element *manj-warre* [taste-bad] is further compounded after the tasted entity, as in *an-bo-manj-warre* 'stagnant water' and *guk-manj-warre* [body-taste-bad] 'filthy, disgusting to taste' (said of black bats in contradistinction to fruit bats).

However, a second and unexpected order is found in a handful of other taste/smell compounds. These unexpectedly have the second element as head, preceded by a modifier giving the type of smell (e.g. *an-nguk-manj* [III-shit-taste, i.e. tasting like shit] 'cheese fruit *morinda citrifolia*'). What appears to be this order is found in many names for plants and

fishes which have *manj* as a second element, without the first element being analyseable: Dj *an-garralarlhmanj* 'wild cashew', *durnbuhmanj* 'bream', *an-djarrmanj* 'brachychiton sp.'. The name for the olive python exhibits both orders, but in different dialects: Dj *al-ngururrkmanj* but W *manjdjur(d)urrk*.

It is possible this aberrant ordering results from the effects of structural analogy on nominal compounds, taking nominal predicates in which *banj* 'smell' incorporates a nominal root designating the source of the smell (e.g. *ga-nguy-banj* [3-flower-smell] 'it smells of flowers', *ga-nud-banj* [3-pus-smell] 'it smells rotten', *ka-bolk-dile-banj* [3-place-piss-smell] 'the place smells of piss' or *yi-kord-banj* [2-shit-smell] 'you smell of shit or farts'). Unlike the examples with *-manj*, which take nominal morphology in the form of noun-class prefixes, the *banj* constructions clearly take predicate morphology, viz. pronominal prefixes, and the order [incorporated noun - predicate] is normal for a predicate. It seems possible that analogy mediated by the close semantic link between 'taste' and 'smell' has then led to the order in nominal predicates with *-banj* influencing that in nominal compounds with *-manj*.

5.5 Gender and noun classes

5.5.1 Preliminaries⁴

In most dialects, nouns fall into one of five categories on the basis of the prefixes they normally take, including a fifth unprefixated category. These 'noun-class prefixes' are glossed with Roman numerals (except that the fifth, zero class will not normally be overtly glossed), and correlate well across dialects, except for the fact that Class III has the form *(ng)an-* in the Mayali dialects against *man-* in the other dialects, and that the initial *ng* optionally drops from Class II in the Mayali dialects. A representative set of five nouns across three sample dialects is shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Forms of noun classes across three representative dialects

Dialect	I	II	III	IV	V
	'boy; male'	'old woman'	'(VE) food'	'rock'	'person'
Dj	<i>na-rangem</i>	<i>(ng)al-gohbanj</i>	<i>(ng)an-me</i>	<i>gun-wardde</i>	<i>bininj</i>
W	<i>na-rangem</i>	<i>ngal-kohbanj</i>	<i>man-me</i>	<i>kun-wardde</i>	<i>bininj</i>
E	<i>na-rangem</i>	<i>ngal-kohbanj</i>	<i>man-me</i>	<i>kun-wardde</i>	<i>bininj</i>

The only significant departure from this system is found in the eastern dialects, particularly Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali, where the suffix *-no* has been extended from its original function of marking third person minimal possessors (§5.3.1.1) to become a sixth class designating part nouns. Many part nouns which in other dialects belong to classes III-V have been recruited to this class, losing their prefix in favour of the part suffix; compare Dj *gun-mim*, W *kun-mim*, E *mim-no* 'eye' and Dj *an-mim*, W *man-mim*, E *mim-no* 'fruit'. This development is discussed in §5.5.2.2. The locative prefix *gu-/ku-*, and its virtually fossilised vegetable locative counterpart *mi-*, occupy the same slot as the noun-class prefixes, but are

⁴ The account given here supersedes an earlier version, published as Evans (1997a). I am grateful to Grev Corbett and Dunstan Brown for probing discussions of gender and noun class that sharpened this analysis.

best considered as locative versions of the Class III and IV prefixes, though the issue is complex — see §5.2.2.1.

Congruent with the system of noun classes, in terms of both the form of the prefixes used and the majority of semantic principles determining category membership, is a system of gender agreement marked on modifiers such as adjectives and demonstratives, and maximally distinguishing four genders on the common Australian pattern of masculine, feminine, vegetable and neuter. Unlike the noun-class system, however, the system of gender agreement shows significant differences across dialects. Kunwinjku, which has the maximal system, has four genders corresponding in form to the first four noun classes. Nouns of the fifth (zero) noun class can belong to any of the four genders, though with a preference for them to belong to one of the two animate genders (masculine and feminine). The Mayali dialects have reduced this system to three by neutralising the neuter vs vegetable distinction in favour of the vegetable gender. This tendency to get rid of the neuter gender can also be perceived at work among Kuninjku speakers and younger speakers of Kunwinjku. Most dramatically, the eastern dialects have effectively lost the gender system altogether by generalising masculine agreement across the board.⁵ Table 5.3 illustrates this situation for the same three dialects exemplified above.

Table 5.3: Typical gender/noun class correlations in three dialects

	Congruent examples (at least in Kunwinjku)	Examples of unprefixated nouns with parallel semantics
Masculine Kunwinjku Gun-djeihmi Kune	'good boy (I)' <i>na-rangem na-mak</i> <i>na-rangem na-mak</i> <i>na-rangem na-mak</i>	'good man (V)' <i>bininj na-mak</i> <i>bininj na-mak</i> <i>bininj na-mak</i>
Feminine (w, Dj only) Kunwinjku Gun-djeihmi Kune	'good old.woman (II)' <i>ngal-kohbanj ngal-mak</i> <i>al-gohbanj al-mak</i> <i>ngal-kohbanj na-mak</i>	'good woman (V)' <i>daluk ngal-mak</i> <i>daluk al-mak</i> <i>daluk na-mak</i>
Vegetable (w, Dj only) Kunwinjku Gun-djeihmi Kune	'good food (III)' <i>man-me man-mak</i> <i>an-me an-mak</i> <i>man-me na-mak</i>	'good cheeky.yam (V)' <i>kamarn man-mak</i> <i>gamarn an-mak</i> <i>kamarn na-mak</i>
Neuter (w only) Kunwinjku Gun-djeihmi Kune	'good rock (IV)' <i>kun-wardde kun-mak</i> <i>gun-wardde an-mak</i> <i>kun-wardde na-mak</i>	'good water (V)' <i>kukku kun-mak</i> <i>gukku an-mak</i> <i>(kun-ronj na-mak)</i>

⁵ However, there are occasional uses of feminine agreement (e.g. *ngalkudji daluk* for 'one woman' in Text 8.9). Note also that the *na-* prefix, though no longer contrastive, is still dropped when the adjective is followed by a verbalising suffix (e.g. *nabadjan* 'big' but *badjanminj* 'got big').

The cross-dialectal difference in the behaviour of noun-class and gender systems underscores the need to treat them as separate phenomena,⁶ but even within any one dialect there are several reasons to do this.

Firstly, they reflect a general theoretical distinction between inflectional and derivational morphology: gender is an obligatory, governed agreement category found on modifiers like *-mak* 'good' or *-mekke* 'that', while noun class is simply part of each noun lexeme.⁷

Secondly, the two systems are logically independent, even though there is a large measure of congruence between them. (We can now define the term congruence so that it applies to the situation exemplified by *manme* and *ngalkohbanj*, in which a noun has a gender of the same form as its (non-zero) class prefix.) A large proportion of animate nouns, and some inanimate nouns, have no overt class prefix (hence belonging to Class V, the 'zero class'); zero class nouns, nonetheless, belong to one of the four genders, as shown by the behaviour of their modifiers in the right-hand side of Table 5.3. In addition, partially distinct semantic principles govern the assignment of nouns to genders and to noun classes (in Kunwinjku, life-form plant names will go into the *kun-* class but the vegetable (*man-*) gender), and individual lexemes sometimes govern 'quirky' agreement (e.g. *man-djewk* (W), *an-djeuk* (Dj) 'rain, rainwater', which always governs masculine agreement). As a result there are a significant number of lexemes where noun class and gender are non-congruent.

There is another important difference from the speaker's point of view: since nouns will always be heard with the noun-class attached (leaving aside cases of incorporation) the speaker does not have to learn any principles for class membership, but merely learn the phonological form of the word. Noun class, in other words, is an overt category. Gender, on the other hand, is a covert category, since there may be no clue in the form of the word itself to the gender membership, so that semantic principles (where they exist) are a useful aid. The learning of this covert category (whether by native speaker or linguist) is further complicated by the fact that gender agreement is neutralised in favour of the masculine in a range of situations, such as with plurals and certain demonstratives; these will be discussed in §5.5.4.

The existence of two partly linked subsystems means that there are two potential points of contrast within which semantic differences can be signalled. The lexicalisation of metaphorical resemblances, for example, may be shown either by substitution of one noun-class prefix for another, or the use of different gender agreement with the same noun form. An example of the first strategy is the use of Class III prefixes for the plant analogues of human body-parts which take class IV (e.g. Dj *gun-godj* 'head (of person, animal)', *an-godj* 'head of tuber'; *gun-dad* 'leg', *an-dad* 'root'). An example of the second is the use of masculine agreement with the primary meaning of *birndu*, namely 'mosquito', but feminine agreement with its second meaning 'glossy ibis'; the metaphorical extension from 'mosquito' to 'glossy ibis' presumably draws on the prominent beak/proboscis in both. In general the

Earlier grammarians of Kunwinjku (e.g. Oates 1964; Carroll 1976) subsumed both under the same label, as 'noun classes', presumably because of the formal and semantic overlap between the two, and indeed most descriptions of northern Australian languages until the late 1980s did not make the distinction in any systematic way.

⁷ This creates a glossing problem, since a gloss like 'ironwood tree' really belongs to the two-part sequence *man-dubang* rather than just to the root *-dubang*, whereas with an adjective like *man-kimuk* 'big (VE)' the gloss 'good' belongs only to the root. Despite this I adhere in my glossing to the fiction of glossing the root separately, if only because there are many reasons for mentioning the prefix as a separate entity.

noun-class system is more rigid and lexicalised, leaving little room for creativity and the encoding of contextual effects, whereas the gender system allows considerable scope for speakers to bend gender choice to encode subtleties of construal and context, though always within the general semantic principles to be outlined below. To give an example, the zero-class noun *delek* 'white clay' can take a masculine modifier in the context of discussing its use in painting (a semantic domain associated with masculine gender agreement), but a vegetable modifier in the context of discussing how it is eaten as a cure for diarrhoea, since vegetable agreement is associated with non-meat foods.

Because of the large degree of overlap in the semantic content of the noun-class and gender systems, it is tempting to treat one of these as primary, either deriving gender membership from noun class, or the reverse:

5.221 semantics → noun class → gender
 semantics → gender → noun class

Neither of these alternatives is adequate, however. The first alternative is clearly problematic, most obviously because of the many nouns in Class V (the unprefixated class), whose gender cannot be predicted from their noun-class membership, since nouns in Class V can be of any gender. Consider the Kunwinjku words *benuk* 'plains turkey' which is masculine, *ngarrbek* 'echidna' which is feminine, *karrbarda* 'hairy yam' which is vegetable, and *kuk* 'body' which is neuter.

Predicting noun class from gender works a little better but is still inadequate. For instance, plant terms will all take vegetable gender, whether they are specific terms or names of life forms, yet the former will belong to Class III while the latter belong to Class IV; compare *man-berbern* 'ghost gum' and *man-dubang* 'ironwood' on the one hand with *kun-dulk* 'tree' and *kun-dalk* 'grass' on the other.

As these examples show, we cannot always predict gender from noun class, or noun class from gender. Rather, there is a body of semantic principles, with a great deal of overlap, but some assignment rules specific to each. For a formal implementation of this conception within Network Morphology, see Evans, Brown and Corbett (2002).

While the complexity and nature of the rules for noun-class membership are relatively stable across dialects (except for the addition of a part class in eastern dialects), the rules for gender assignment undergo successive simplification as one moves away from the maximally differentiated Kunwinjku system. For this reason we begin our exposition by working through the rules for noun-class membership (§5.5.2), then pass to those determining gender agreement (§5.5.3); at the end of that section we review the degree to which the two are congruent. In §5.5.4 we pass to several classes of situation where the expected pattern of agreement does not obtain, as a result of 'outside' factors (i.e. other than the lexical item itself), such as plural contexts, the nature of the modifier, and biological determination of gender with sex differentials.

5.5.2 Noun class

The structure of this section is as follows. I firstly sketch the overall semantic principles determining noun-class membership (§5.5.2.1), appealing to examples of cross-classification (where the same root combines with different prefixes) to sharpen the contrast (§5.5.2.2). Then I mention some problematic cases where the lack of cross-classification makes it hard

to tell whether an initial sequence is actually a prefix (§5.5.2.3). We then pass to a detailed consideration of the lexemes in each of the five classes found right across the dialect chain (§5.5.2.4), and finally in the suffixed 'part class' in the eastern dialect (§5.5.2.5).

5.5.2.1 Overall semantic principles

Studies of noun-class systems (e.g. Dixon 1972; Schmidt 1985; Lakoff 1987) have shown that their semantic patterning results from the clustering, around a set of initial members, of other items linked to the founding members by such principles as metaphorical, metonymic or synecdochic connections, or placed in a different class to a founding member because of a principle of opposition such as anomaly within its class or different domain for the application of a metaphor of similarity.

Table 5.4: Main semantic groupings in the five noun classes

<p>I Some male higher animates Some lower animates Some types of honey</p>	<p>II Some female higher animates Some lower animates Sun (some varieties), rainbow serpent and some meteorological terms</p>
<p>III Plants and their products Sexual and excretory body parts Song, ceremony and custom Fire (bushfires) Food, vegetable and otherwise Some types of honey Landscape features with <i>water or</i> plant associations</p>	<p>IV Most parts of animals and plants <i>Life form terms for plants</i> <i>Some objects made from plants</i> Some parts of the landscape <i>Fire (domestic fires)</i> Weather and sea Time measures Languages and speech Country; place-based social categories</p>
<p>V Animates Implements not made from plants [Otherwise no specific semantic content; compatible with every semantic category]</p>	

In the Bininj Gun-wok system, the founding elements for each class are as follows: males for I, females for II, plants for III and body parts (or abstracts) for IV. Class V is a residue class, though strongly associated with animacy. Table 5.4 elaborates this by spelling out the main groups of entities found in each class; where categories are given in italics they reflect groupings that are not relevant to the system of gender discussed in §5.5.3. Comments on the motivation for the clusterings will be given as the membership is discussed in detail, though obviously the interpretation of the semantic motivations is of a lower order of certainty than the empirical fact of class membership.

5.5.2.2 Cross-classification

Many noun roots combine in a semantically predictable way with two or more prefixes. Some initial examples, illustrating the general association of I with masculine, II with feminine, III with plant and IV with body parts, physical states, behaviours, and abstracts, are the following:

5.222 Dj	<i>na-gohbanj</i>	'old man'	<i>na-goigoi</i>	'promiscuous man, male larrikin'
	<i>al-gohbanj</i>	'old woman'	<i>al-goigoi</i>	'promiscuous woman, female larrikin'
	<i>an-gohbanj</i>	'old tree'	<i>gun-goigoi</i>	'adultery, promiscuous behaviour'
	<i>na-ngordo</i>	'male leper, cripple'		
	<i>al-ngordo</i>	'female leper, cripple'		
	<i>gun-ngordo</i>	'leprosy'		

Terms for matrimoiety (§1.4.2.1), and the subsection terms from the western system (§1.4.2.2), have paired class I and II forms (e.g. W *na-bulanj* 'man in *bulanj* subsection', *ngal-bulanj* 'woman in *bulanj* subsection', *na-/ngal-mardku* 'man/woman of *mardku* matrimoiety').

In the case of terms for clans, the I and II prefixed forms denote male and female clan members respectively; in addition, the I-prefixed form may be used to refer to a plurality of clan members, typically taking in the whole clan. Class IV-prefixed forms can be used to refer to the clan territory, and, obliquely, to make metonymic reference to a member of that clan in cases (such as following the clan member's death) where it would be impolite to make direct reference to the person:

5.223 Dj	<i>Na-Badmardi</i>	1. 'male member of Badmardi clan'
		2. 'the Badmardi mob'
	<i>Al-Badmardi</i>	'female member of Badmardi clan'
	<i>Gun-Badmardi</i>	1. 'Badmardi clan territory'
		2. (speaking obliquely) 'member of Badmardi clan'

Language and clan names take the *kun-* prefix. In Gun-djeihmi individual speakers regardless of sex, or groups of speakers, may be referred to by the *na-*prefixed form; in Kunwinjku the feminine prefix is used to name female clan members, and either the *na-*prefix, or the pronominal dual or plural prefix, to name groups of clan members or language speakers.

5.224 Dj	<i>Gun-djeihmi</i>	'Gun-djeihmi language'	<i>Na-djeihmi</i>	'Gun-djeihmi people'
	<i>Gun-djawnj</i>	'Jawoyn language'	<i>Na-djawnj</i>	'Jawoyn people'
	<i>Gun-winjgu</i>	'Kunwinjku language'	<i>Na-winjku</i>	'Kunwinjku people'
W	<i>Na-marrirn</i>	'male of Marrirn clan'	<i>Ngal-marrirn</i>	'female of Marrirn clan'
	<i>Birri-marrirn</i>	'they (people) of Marrirn clan'		

Where the root refers to a language rather than a clan, it is unusual to refer to individual speakers using a noun-class prefix. In both Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku dialects, *gun-dangbon* means 'Dangbon language' (there is no Dangbon clan), and the masculine form *na-rrangbon* would typically refer to 'the Dangbon-speaking people' rather than 'male Dangbon speaker'. In the eastern dialects the third person augmented prefix *birri-* may be used in such plural situations (e.g. Kunwinjku *birri-rinjku* 'Kunwinjku-speaking people'); see §5.3.2.

There are also many pairs in which the class IV form denotes a human or animal body part, and the class III form a parallel part of a plant (including honey) or of the landscape:

5.225 Dj	<i>gun-godj</i>	'head'	<i>an-godj</i>	'head of tuber, gorge, "pocket"
	<i>gun-dad</i>	'leg'	<i>an-dad</i>	'root'
	<i>gun-garre</i>	'calf, lower leg'	<i>an-garre</i>	'"string" of hairy yam'
	<i>gun-berl</i>	'arm, wing'	<i>an-berl</i>	'branch; tributary stream'
	<i>gun-njam</i>	'guts, intestines'	<i>an-njam</i>	'honeycomb, "bee-bread"'

In several pairs the vegetable prefix signals a genital body part that is a metaphorical extension from some other body part; the association between vegetable prefix and genitalia is extensive (see below):

5.226 Dj	<i>gun-berd</i>	'tail'	<i>an-berd</i>	'penis'
	<i>kun-berl</i>	'arm'	<i>man-berl</i>	'middle part of lower penis, removed during subincision' (see Berndt 1951)
	<i>kun-korn</i>	'testicle'	<i>man-korn</i>	'vagina'

In addition to the regular alternations in noun-class prefix described above, there are more idiosyncratic alternations. Some nouns have no prefix in their most basic sense, but take a prefix in specialised senses:

5.227 Dj	<i>yabok</i>	'sister'	<i>al-yabok</i>	'my child, your sister' (Gun-dembui)
	<i>dabu</i>	'egg'	<i>an-dabu</i>	'bee eggs'
	<i>gung</i>	'floodwater'	<i>an-gung</i>	'honey' ⁸

In other cases the relation between unprefixed and prefixed nouns is metonymic or metaphorical:

5.228 Dj	<i>djak</i>	'meat ant'	<i>gun-djak</i>	'pain, fever' (meat ants cause pain)
	<i>mok</i>	'bush fly'	<i>gun-mok</i>	'sore' (bush flies cluster on sores)
	<i>madj</i>	'octopus' ⁹	<i>gun-madj</i>	'swag, possessions' (that one wraps up as an octopus wraps its victim?)

There are also examples where the most basic senses are prefixed, and secondary senses have no prefix:

5.229 Dj	<i>gun-mim</i>	'eye'	<i>gun-djamun</i>	'ceremonial discipline'
	<i>an-mim</i>	'seed, fruit'	<i>an-djamun</i>	'tabooed food; private parts'
	<i>mim</i>	'breathing hole of animal that buries itself in sand (e.g. turtle)'	<i>djamun</i>	'policeman'

⁸ Comparative evidence, such as Gidabal *gung* 'water', suggests an original meaning 'liquid, water' from which the honey meaning would have been a semantic specialisation — liquid food. Alternatively, the 'honey' meaning may have been generalised from an original meaning of 'liquid part of sugarbag'. Another pair of putative cognates spanning this semantic range is Nunggubuyu *gu:gu* 'fresh water' (with numerous other words of form *gugu* or *gug:u* meaning 'water', including Gun-djeihmi *gukku* 'water') and Yolngu-Matha *guku* 'honey (especially without wax)' (Zorc 1986:135).

⁹ Comparative evidence in this case suggests the 'octopus' meaning is prior — in Iwaidja and Maung the word *maj* means 'octopus' but there is no cross-classed form meaning 'swag'.

- 5.230 I *kun-djurlng* 'dust'
djurlng 'bones of ancestors located in rock ledges'

Before concluding this section, it should be noted that by no means all semantic extensions are accompanied by a change in noun class. Particularly in the case of 'sign metonymies' (Evans 1997d), in which a term for one species is extended to another with which it is found in a predictable spatial or temporal association, the morphological class marker tends to remain unchanged (e.g. *ngal-yurr* 'Leichhardt's grasshopper; herb sp. eaten by Leichhardt's grasshopper', *man-yawok* 'cheeky yam; grasshopper sp. [katydid] that calls out at the time when one should gather cheeky yams'). In such cases it appears that the noun-class marker is motivated by the etymologically original meaning. For example, there is dialectal evidence that the 'yam' meaning is original to *man-yawok*, which would motivate the *man*-prefix; the extension to 'grasshopper' is only found in one dialect, while the 'yam' meaning is more widespread.

5.5.2.3 Problems of prefix absorption

Where there is cross-classification, the existence of contrast sets makes it clear we are dealing with a morphologically segmentable prefix. However, there are many nouns lacking such contrast sets, and it is not always clear that we are dealing with a synchronically segmentable prefix rather than either a root-initial sequence homophonous with some prefix, or a frozen prefix no longer analysed as a morpheme by speakers. Consider the words *nayin*, *nabarlek* 'little rock wallaby' and *gunak* 'fire' in Gun-djeihmi. Since the roots of these words do not occur elsewhere; what evidence is there that we are dealing with prefixes *na-*, *na-* and *gun-* respectively? In this section I outline the range of possible tests; however, since each test is limited in application, there remain cases where the question is not decidable.

INCORPORATION Incorporated nouns drop the noun-class prefix (5.231 a,b). This can be used to identify prefixes, even when (as in the case of *an-yiuk*) the root does not combine with other prefixes.

- | | | | |
|----------|-----------------------------------|----|--------------------------------|
| 5.231 a. | <i>Nga-yi-rrurnde-ng an-yiuk.</i> | b. | <i>Nga-yiuk-yi-rrurnde-ng.</i> |
| Dj | 1/3-COM-return-NP III-honey | | 1/3-honey-COM-return-NP |
| | 'I'll bring back honey.' | | 'I'll bring back honey.' |

This test is useful in identifying cases where a prefix has been absorbed historically. In Gun-djeihmi, for example, the word *gunak* fails to drop the *gun-* prefix under incorporation:

- 5.232 *Gan-gunak-wo-ø!*
 Dj 2/1-fire-give-IMP
 'Give me a light!'

Synchronically, then, *gunak* is a single morpheme in the Gun-djeihmi dialect. Diachronically, however, there is evidence that it derives from an original IV-prefixed form *gun-rak*, where *rak* is a root meaning 'wood, fire'. In more easterly dialects the form is actually *kun-rak*, and the root is incorporable, as in I *ka-rak-mang* [3-firewood-getNP] '(s)he is getting firewood', which corresponds to Dj *ga-yerrng-mang* (Dj *gun-yerrng* 'firewood'). The absorption of the *gun-* prefix in Gun-djeihmi was probably connected with an irregular cluster simplification (**gun-rak* > *gunak*) that left the original root with a phonotactically unacceptable vowel-initial structure.

The incorporation test cannot be applied to all nouns because only some can incorporate; most nouns referring to animates, and most non-generic inanimates (except body parts) cannot incorporate (§8.1.3).

STRESS PLACEMENT As we saw in §2.5 the rules for stress placement are complex, but basically stress will fall on root-initial syllables if they are non-final. In the case of *nabarlek*, this should give the pronunciation [nabá[ɛk] if *na-* is a prefix. However, it is in fact pronounced [nába[ɛk], suggesting that we are dealing either with an old prefix that has been absorbed into the root, or with a single morpheme that just happens to begin with *na-*.

This test cannot be applied to words like *nayin* or *gunak* since the fact that the putative root is the final syllable debars it from receiving stress.

CROSS-DIALECTAL EVIDENCE I have already appealed to this in the case of *gunak*. Another example is *nayin*, for which no decisive test can be applied within the Gun-djeihmi dialect. However, there is a sound correspondence between syllable-initial *y* in Gun-djeihmi and syllable-initial *r* in Kuninjku before non-back vowels (i, e, a), with the further conditioning factor that the segments must be morpheme initial. Examples are Dj *-yawoih*- I *-rawoih-* 'again', Dj *gun-yerrng* I *kun-rerrng* 'firewood', and Dj *gun-yid* and I *kun-rid* 'trouble, fight'; contrast this with the form for 'meaning, thought, whose root is *mayali* in both dialects, and not **marali* in Kuninjku, because the *r/y* segment is not morpheme-initial. Now the I word for 'snake' is *narin*; the existence of a *y:r* correspondence suggests that historically the Gun-djeihmi word *na-yin* involves a masculine noun-class prefix. This is simply an etymological argument, however, and cannot tell us whether *nayin* is synchronically one morpheme or two for Gun-djeihmi speakers.

5.5.2.4 Semantics of noun-class membership

We now pass to a more detailed consideration of the distribution of the five classes across semantic types of noun. For simplicity of exposition, forms will be from the Gun-djeihmi dialect unless otherwise mentioned, but the facts are parallel across dialects. On noun-class membership in compounds see §5.4.

I CLASS

- (a) A few nouns denoting male humans, such as *na-rangem* 'boy, male', *na-gohbanj* 'old man', *na-godjek* 'man who has eloped', *na-goigoi* 'promiscuous man', *na-weleng* 'man responsible for killing game, e.g. kangaroo'. We may also include here the *na-*prefixed moiety, subsection, clan and language names discussed above.
- (b) The names of powerful spirit beings, mostly associated with the sky, such as *na-marnde* 'spirit, mimi spirit', *na-marrkkan* 'bogey man', *na-marrgon* 'lightning', *na-morden* 'lightning' (E), *na-mondjok* 'man-like sky spirit; black part of sky during cold season', *na-morrordo* 'shooting star, embodiment of death spirit', *na-bulwinjbulwinj* 'dangerous spirit who kills females by striking them with a yam and then eating them', *nabirriwarnngu* 'spirits represented in some types of rock painting' (E). Note also *na-malk-be* 'epileptic fit', whose form suggests epilepsy is believed to be caused by evil spirits — compare with the expression *namalkbe gabibun* [lit. 'a fit is hitting him'] 'he is having a fit'.

- (c) The names of some mammals (e.g. *na-garndegin* 'dingo', Dj, I *na-gayalak* 'little flying fox *pteropus scapulatus*', *na-djinem* 'male black rock wallaroo' (I), *na-barlek* 'little rock wallaby, *peradorcax concinna*', I *na-kornborrh* 'juvenile agile wallaby', I *na-kurdakurda* 'male agile wallaby, very large specimen'). Some inherently masculine animal terms have *na-* prefixed forms in the avoidance register but not in ordinary language (e.g. *na-gulngunj* 'male black wallaroo' = o.l. *barrk*; *na-njamlurruk* 'male common wallaroo' = o.l. *galkberd*).
- (d) The names of some reptiles (e.g. *na-warndak* 'Arafura file snake', *na-waran* 'Oenpelli python', I *na-badbirrem* 'small rock lizard', I *na-manjwarre* 'crocodile'). In some snake names the *na-* prefix appears to have been absorbed into the stem (e.g. *nayin* 'snake (generic)', *namu* 'whip snake'), though see above on the problems of demonstrating this. Again, some animal terms that are unprefixes in the ordinary language have a masculine prefix in Kun-kurrng: *dadbe* 'king brown snake' (o.l.) but k.k. *na-djak-korrngko* [I-pain-big].
- (e) A few birds (e.g. *na-maddorl* 'wedge-tailed eagle', *na-djik* 'tawny frogmouth', *na-ngarrarlbak* 'Burdekin duck', *na-wangku* 'black duck', W *na-kodjborlonghborlongh* 'black-headed magpie').
- (f) A few fish (e.g. *na-bardebarde* 'Leichhardtian bony bream', *na-gerdmi* 'black bream', *na-gurl* 'toothless catfish', Dj, I *na-marn.gorl* 'silver barramundi', *na-rranggi* 'perchlet sp.', I *na-keryi* 'eel-tailed catfish', I *na-mindjibuk* 'very young silver barramundi', I *na-warlah* 'brown river stingray').
- (g) Some items associated with painting (a male activity), such as *na-birlabirla* 'ochre'.
- (h) A few honey words, such as *na-biwo* 'sugarbag (honey) found on antbeds, dead logs etc.; bee producing this honey', E *na-bad-yalk* 'honey from rocks' (though this takes the vegetable prefix in Kunwinjku, *man-bined*), and the avoidance equivalent *namawul* to ordinary Kuninjku *bobidj* 'honey in branches at the top of the tree'. The semantic domain of honey consistently splits across the *man-* and *na-* classes, and the generic for 'honey' is masculine even though it takes the Class III prefix (see below). The type of rock honey known as *man-yalk* in ordinary Kuninjku is known in the avoidance variety as *na-boddarrkke*.
- (i) A handful of insect terms (e.g. I *naworrkorl* 'green ant').
- (j) A few words for powerful meteorological phenomena (cf. the spirits discussed under (b)), such as I *nadjardawo*, E *nawurlam* 'whirlwind', I *na-kurl* 'last storms of wet season, "knock-em-downs"'.

II CLASS

- (a) A few nouns denoting female humans, many paired with corresponding male forms in *na-* (e.g. *al-gohbanj* 'old woman', *al-bininjgobeng* 'wife', *al-godjek* 'woman who has eloped', *al-gebjuk* or *al-goigoi* 'promiscuous woman, "Iarrikin"', *al-gukgurlduk* 'black woman', *al-yauk* 'young girl'). The II prefix is also found on a number of kin terms characterised by respect or circumspection, such as *ngal-djum* 'address term for sister' (I).
- (b) A few mythical, ancestral or superhuman beings, of a clearly female nature, such as the Rainbow Serpent, *ngal-yod* in Dj and W and *ngal-mudj* in E (but \emptyset -class *borlung* in

MM), I *ngal-malanjdirrihidirri* 'an old female mimih spirit', I *ngal-kunburriyaymi*, an ancestral mermaid creature.

- (c) The Kun-kurrng names of certain large female marsupials, whose ordinary language terms are unprefixated but govern feminine agreement. Some examples are *ngal-marndamarndayi* 'female red kangaroo', whose ordinary language equivalent is the monomorphemic *garndaih*; *ngal-warddedjemngorrmo*, corresponding to ordinary language *djukerre* 'female black wallaroo'; and I *ngal-warddardomrdi* 'female wallaroo or euro' = o.l. *wolerrk*.
- (d) Some names of reptiles and small marsupials, and the Kun-kurrng names of some reptiles and small marsupials whose ordinary language terms are unprefixated but govern feminine agreement such as *al-walngurru* 'chameleon dragon *chelosania brunnea*', *al-mangeyi* 'long-necked turtle *chelodina rugosa*', *al-ngururrkmanj* 'olive python' (Dj).

Note that the last word has a Class I prefix in Gun-djeihmi ordinary language, while in other dialects its equivalent is unprefixated (*manjdjurdurk*) but governs feminine agreement, and has the feminine-prefixated avoidance-language form *ngal-wirnyi*. Other examples of feminine-gender unprefixated words that take a Class II prefix in the avoidance language are *ngal-kadjedjed*, corresponding to ordinary language *ngarrbek* 'echidna', *ngal-ngarelyi*, corresponding to ordinary language *komrdawh* 'long-necked turtle', and *ngal-djangara-kurlngunj*, corresponding to ordinary language *djurn* 'black-headed python'.

- (e) A few bird names, such as *al-mandjurlgadj* 'swamp hen, crane', *al-marngul* 'Australian little grebe', *al-wanjujuk* 'emu', *al-maygorlo* 'finch sp.', Dj *al-gordow* / I *ngal-kordo* 'brolga', W *ngal-kurndurr* 'white egret'.
- (f) A few fish, such as *al-makkawarri* 'lesser salmon catfish',¹⁰ *al-men.giyanggu* 'lesser salmon catfish', *ngal-dadmo* (Dj), *ngal-dadmurrng* (I), *ngal-kid* (E) 'saratoga', Kuninjku *ngal-djenken* 'garfish'. The Kun-kurrng words for 'filesnake', *ngal-djangarabunebune* and *ngal-djangarakerlkkerlk* has a feminine prefix, though its ordinary equivalent in Gun-Djeihmi, *nawarndak*, has an absorbed masculine prefix, and other words in the dialect chain are unprefixated: W *kedjebe*, I *bekka*.
- (g) A number of shellfish and crustacean terms (e.g. I *ngal-djarlarrk* 'salt water cockle shells'). There are also terms from this set that are \emptyset -class in ordinary language but have II-prefixated equivalents in Kun-kurrng (e.g. I o.l. *barnkabarra* 'mud crab', k.k. *ngal-kundamenkorrongo*). The gathering of shellfish is traditionally a female activity.
- (h) A number of meteorological/celestial terms such as *al-gokkarrng* 'star(s)', *al-djurlum* 'willy-willy', E:D *ngal-benbe* 'sun', E:N *ngal-wodjdjo* 'floodwaters (fresh)', Dj *al-yurr* 'Leichhardt's grasshopper' (prob. etymologically derived from **yurr* 'storm' via the association of this grasshopper with the stormy season — see Evans 1997d).

¹⁰ This is in Gun-djeihmi. Kuninjku has the III-prefixated *man-makkawarri*, but with feminine agreement — *ngalekke manmakkawarri* 'that lesser salmon catfish' — while Kuninjku has the I-prefixated *namakkawarrinj*.

III CLASS

- (a) Most nouns denoting or concerning plants or their edible products (e.g. *an-badbirri* 'wild apricot, hibbertia sp.', *an-balindja* 'vitex acuminata', *an-berbern* 'ghost gum', *an-gumbe* 'cycad flour', *an-galgid* 'juice, nectar'). Some names for parts of plants also take Class III (e.g. *an-dad* 'root', *an-dedj* 'butt (of yam)', Kuninjku *man-bundjak* 'sweet edible plant resin').
- (b) Nouns for various types of food which, though not vegetable, are nonetheless not classed as meat, and which like vegetables are subsumed under the generic (m)*an-me* 'non-meat food'. A major subclass concerns bees and honey (e.g. (m)*an-dabu* 'bees' eggs', (m)*an-djok* 'sugarbag', (m)*an-gung* 'sugarbag, honey (generic)', (m)*an-njam* 'honeycomb, bee bread', (m)*an-yalk* 'bee sp. that "dives into rocks"', (m)*an-yiwk* 'honey (generic)', and *man-bined* (w) 'rock honey'). The dual affiliation of honey terms between Class I and III was mentioned above, and they display a parallel split between masculine and vegetable when it comes to gender.
- (c) Anatomical terms pertaining to genitalia, sexually produced fluids or excretion (usually to distinguish them from other anatomical terms with the same root), such as (m)*an-berd* 'penis' (cf. *gun-berd* 'tail'), w *man-day* 'head of penis', w *man-daydjen* 'urethra', w *man-mangerrmangerr* "'gills" under head of penis', (m)*an-bale* 'vagina', (m)*an-gorn* 'crotch, vagina', w *man-berl* 'part of penis excised during subincision' (cf. *gun-berl* 'arm'), w *man-djin* 'inside of vagina, walls of vagina', w *man-korndjen* 'clitoris', (m)*an-rduk* 'semen', (m)*an-gurrk* 'vaginal juices' (but also 'edible gum'), (m)*an-gord* 'excreta, shit', (m)*an-dili* 'urine'.
- Anomalous noun-class membership for genitalia, and the association of genitalia with edibility (perhaps mediated by the common use of 'eat' as a euphemism for 'fuck') has been reported for other Australian languages. In Yanyuwa *-ragugu* 'penis', although taking a male possessive prefix, governs 'food-class' modifier agreement (Kirton 1971:58). In Maung one obscene term for 'penis', *ma-yirradad*, involves the vegetable-class prefix on the root *yirradad* 'meat food' (Capell & Hinch 1970:52). In Tiwi 'parts of the body are of the same gender as their possessor, except for the genital organs, which are invariably of the opposite gender to the possessor' (Osborne 1974:51).
- In Kuninjku a further body-part term in this class is *man-bolidj* 'ceremonial scar', possibly through its association with ceremony (Class III, see below).
- (d) A few bird and fish names, though not all speakers agree on the noun class of these, and it is a mystery why these nouns are Class III. One Gun-djeihmi speaker says *an-gurndurr* for 'egret', but other speakers give *al-gurndurr* (cf. w *ngal-kurndurr*); eastern dialects have *man-djanganarli* for 'black duck', and Kuninjku has *man-barladjidji* for 'plumed whistling-duck'. Kunwinjku has *man-makkawarri* for 'lesser salmon catfish' (but with feminine agreement), which in Gun-djeihmi is Class II: *al-makkawarri*.
- (e) The word for rain and rain-water, (m)*an-djeuk*. This governs masculine agreement in Kunwinjku and Gun-djeihmi.
- (f) Some honey terms, including the generic terms for honey, Dj *an-yiuk* and w, I *man-kung*, but also I *man-bobbidj* 'wild honey type', though its Kun-kurrng equivalent is Class I, *na-mawul*. See remarks under (h) of Class I about the split between these two classes for honey terms.

- (g) Some geographical terms. Some of these are associated with the growth of forest (see some of the terms for stands of plants in §5.3.3.1) or the presence of drinking water (e.g. *(m)an-gabo* 'creek, river' and I *man-bohbobowk* 'country with lots of water-catching depressions'). But with others the link is less clear: *(m)an-berrk* 'open lowland area', *(m)an-bolh* 'track, buffalo pad', *(m)an-bowk* 'plain', *(m)an-dulum* (var. *an-dulung*) 'mountain'. Note particularly the switch from *gun-* for body-part nominals to *(m)an-* for some metaphorically similar landscape forms (e.g. *gun-ngalng* 'turtle shell', *(m)an-ngalng* 'cliff'; *gun-berl* 'arm, wing', *(m)an-berl* 'small tributary creek, branch of river').
- (h) Some wooden implements (e.g. *(m)an-barnba* 'goose stick', *(m)an-gole* 'bamboo spear', *(m)an-birrmulu* 'spear type', *(m)an-danj* 'three-pronged fish spear', *(m)an-larrbi* 'spring wattle spear', *(m)an-dobbo* 'bundle, esp. of spears', I *man-berlnginj* 'clapsticks'). There is also one non-plant-derived part used with such wooden implements: *(m)an-birrmulu* 'quartz used in spear tips'.
- (i) The congruent vegetable gender is used for vehicles (i.e. boats, cars and planes), but the only examples of Class III with these involve descriptive expressions like *man-denge-yi* 'car, i.e. having feet/tyres' and *man-wel-yi* 'planc, i.e. having wings' (see 5.34), which presumably arose from agreement and substantivisation.
- (j) Fires that burn in the bush (as opposed to domestic fires): *(m)an-wurlh* and *(m)an-wurrk* 'fire used to round up kangaroos'.
- (k) Names for cultural practices carried out on specific occasions, such as *(m)an-karre* 'corroboree, dance, song', I *man-dule* 'song', W *man-karni* 'revenge magic', I *man-kordang* 'magic, shamanistic powers', I *man-beng* 'ritual payment of goods such as those given to clear silence relationships' (cf. *kun-beng* 'faculty of intellection and understanding'). Other cultural practices observed on a daily basis (e.g. language and its varieties) are in Class IV.

Man-burrba 'cloth' may be in Class III because cloth was a traditional means of ceremonial payment, or because of its extra specialised sense 'men's ceremonial loin-cloth'.

IV CLASS

- (a) Most body parts (e.g. *gun-godj* 'head', *gun-denge* 'foot', *gun-dang* 'mouth', *gun-bid* 'hand', *gun-ganj* 'meat'), except body parts pertaining to sex or excretion, which are class III (see group (c) above).
- (b) Many things made of wood or string, and implements in general (except for weapons — (III(h)) such as, *gun-wabban* 'axe-handle', *gun-yarl* 'string', *gun-dirdde* 'shoulder bag', *gun-gurrardba* 'bush string', *gun-ngobarn* 'string fibre made from leaves of pandanus').
- (c) Life-form terms for plants (e.g. *gun-dulk* 'tree' (which contrasts with *man-dulk* 'acacia sp.'), *gun-dalk* 'grass', *gun-god* 'paperbark tree'). A revealing example here involves words for pandanus. Most dialects have three names for the three species of pandanus found in the area, and these species names generally belong to Class III (e.g. Dj *anyakngarra* 'pandanus spiralis', Dj *an-djimdjim*, W *man-belh* 'pandanus aquaticus', Dj

an-morre, *W man-kudjek*, *I, E man-ngohngo* 'pandanus basedowii'). However, in Kun-kurrng a single more general term is used to subsume all three, and this belongs to Class IV: *gun-yarilng*. (Note that Class IV is also used in Kune and Kuninjku for one more specific term, namely *kun-dayarr* 'pandanus spiralis', though this is the prototypical member of the pandanus set).

- (d) Most landscape terms (e.g. *gun-borlo* 'hollow in ground', *gun-djidning* 'laterite', *gun-djurrk* 'strong current, running water', *gun-gayalanj* 'sandbar, sand, sandy place'). A coherent set of exceptions is the set of landscape terms derived by transfer into the vegetable class of neuter nouns denoting body parts (see III Class (g)).
- (e) Words pertaining to camp or domestic fires (e.g. *gun-yerrng* 'firewood', *gun-bili* 'flame', *gun-dolng* 'smoke', *gun-rurrk* 'dwelling, shelter', *gun-godbarri* 'paperbark shelter').
- (f) Names for clans and clan territories (e.g. *gun-mogurrurr* 'clan' (Dj, W), *kun-nguya* 'clan' (R, E), *gun-Badmardi* 'Badmardi clan lands').
- (g) Names for language and languages, and other cultural practices pervading everyday life (e.g. *gun-wok* 'language', *gun-gurrng* and *gun-barlak* 'avoidance language, and other more general aspects of respect behaviour', *gun-borrk* 'dance', *I kun-berr* 'fun, joking behaviour'). The association of the Class IV prefix with languages is sufficiently strong that it is added to a number of names for neighbouring (see §1.2.3).
- (h) Intangible and abstract nouns (e.g. *gun-njirrge* 'hatred', *gun-ngordo* 'leprosy'; *kun-njilng* 'feeling' (W), *kun-warre* 'evil; wrong marriage', *kun-mak* 'goodness; proper marriage', *kun-djamun* 'holiness, ceremonial discipline', W, *I kun-dowiken* 'death', *I kun-modmiken* 'power, strength').

Ø-CLASS (CLASS V)

This cannot be characterised in any positive way, not even as a residue class. In terms of its semantics, it contains nouns that one would expect to belong to just about any of the above subgroups of classes I–IV, though with a preponderance of animate nouns, artefacts and loanwords. Out of a sample of 350 nouns from Kunwinjku and Gun-djeihmi, around 90% of human nouns were unprefixing once terms for contrast sets were excluded; for mammals the ratio is comparable, for birds it is around 85%, for reptiles, around 70%, and for artefacts, about 73% (though this drops to around 60% once English and Macassan loans are excluded). For other semantic categories, on the other hand, the ratio of ø-class nouns is much lower: of plants, only 30% are unprefixing (a disproportionate number being terms for waterlilies), and virtually all body parts proper are prefixing except the term for 'body' itself, *guk*.

Apart from the overall correlation of ø-class with animates and artefacts, words in this class span virtually every semantic subcategory given for the four prefixing classes, and frequently they have equivalents in other dialects, clan lects, or in Kun-kurrng that take the prefix one would expect from their semantics. Where each of the other four classes has a correlation, albeit incomplete, with a congruent gender category, such that the agreement behaviour of a word can be roughly predicted from its noun-class prefix, this is not the case with the ø-class; rather, gender agreement is what one would expect of prefixing nouns in the relevant semantic sub-category.

In what follows I shall not give full exemplification of all semantic subclasses of unprefixated nouns, but a sample of words corresponding in their semantics to each prefixed class.

To class I: male human (e.g. *bininj* 'man, person'); male spirit (e.g. *malk* 'malevolent spirit'); male mammal (e.g. *gandagidj* 'male antelope wallaroo'); large animal (e.g. *nganabbarru* 'buffalo' and *kunj* 'macropod (generic)'); reptile (e.g. *kurrudjardu* 'whip snake' and *kalawan* 'goanna'); bird (e.g. *bamurru* 'magpie goose' (Dj), *galdurrk* 'kookaburra' and *garnamarr* 'black cockatoo'); fish (e.g. *wamba* 'shark'), and artefact associated with masculine activity (e.g. *dolobbo* 'bark painting'). All of these words govern masculine agreement.

To class II: female (e.g. *daluk* 'woman, female', though note its II-prefixed Kun-kurrng equivalent *ngal-djubdjubgen*); female large marsupial (e.g. *garndaih* 'female red kangaroo'); small animal, bird and reptiles (e.g. *ngarrbek* 'echidna', *ngurrurdu* 'emu' (E; overtly prefixed as *al-wanjdjuk* in Dj), *minjbulung* 'Torres Strait pigeon', *gurrurldanj* 'scrub fowl' and *w manjdjurdurrk* 'olive python' (with overt II prefix in its Dj equivalent *al-ngururrkmanj*)); a fish (e.g. I *boddowk*, W *burd* 'spangled grunter', which in the Kundedjwarre clan lect is *ngal-keblorrk*). Again, all of these govern feminine agreement.

To class III: plant and plant-product examples are *yaldanj* 'lily sp.', *karrbarda* 'hairy yam' (but k.k. *man-karremurdi*), E *mardamarda* 'yellow flowering acacia' (= I *man-djoh*), *kabbay* 'sticky material made from ironwood sap'; excretory product (e.g. W *kurduk* 'turd, shit'); water (e.g. *kukku* (Dj, W) 'water'). All govern vegetable agreement.

To class IV: body part (e.g. *guk* 'body'), wood/string artefact (e.g. *gurlbburru* 'axe') and trade/cultural practice (e.g. *bulk* 'trade, exchange; traded item'). There are also many language names in this group (e.g. *Gagudju* 'Gagudju language').

As mentioned above, loan words generally join this class, though occasionally they accrue noun-class prefixes of the semantically expected type, as with (*m*)*an-rud* 'road' (< Eng 'road').

5.5.2.5 The part class -no in eastern dialects

The noun-class system of the easterly dialects (Kuninjku, Kune and Manyallak Mayali) has developed a sixth, suffixing noun class, under Dalabon/Rembarrnga influence. What one may broadly term 'part nouns' drop any noun-class prefix they may have in more westerly dialects, and instead add the suffix *-no*, which in the eastern dialects has extended its use from third person minimal possessive anaphor to a general marker of parthood.

Examples of the possessive anaphor use in other dialects, such as *wurdurndno* 'her children' (5.156), were given in §5.3.3.3, and this use is found in the eastern dialects as well, as in E:N *kandji yaw-no* [jabiru child-3POSSD] 'baby jabiru, child of jabiru' and:

5.233 *Ngarri-yewkme djenj kurlah-no, ngarri-kinje.*
E:N 1a/3-rinseNP fish skin-3POSSD 1a/3-cookNP
'We wash the poison out of the fish's skin, and then we cook it.'

5.234 *Ka-kurlh-karu-ng dabu-no ka-kurrme, ka-rrudje-n, rerre*
E:D 3/3l-dirt-dig-NP egg-3POSSD 3/3l-put.downNP 3/3l-bury-NP later

yaw-no ka-bebme.
 child-3POSSD 3-appearNP

'(The scrub fowl) lays its eggs in the dirt, covers them over, and later its children come out.'

A slight widening of the use of this suffix in Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku involves its use with nouns referring to tracks, imprints and nests; for these nouns, reference back to the entity making them is normally contextually implicit, as in Dj *barlahno* 'tracks of a crawling animal', *djenkehrno* 'nest' (incl. of a crocodile) and *barrardno* 'rut in road'. In Gun-djeihmi these few forms constitute a small set of nouns which are not attested with a noun-class prefix, and always occur with the *-no* suffix (except of course when incorporated, as in *ga-barlah-yo* 'there are tracks lying there'). Within those dialects they are best treated as a subset of the unprefix class, contrasting with other unprefix nouns which do not (in these dialects) take the *-no* suffix (e.g. Dj *dabu* 'egg').

As one moves east through the dialect chain, the use of the *-no* suffix gets extended. A salient bridging context, in which analysis either as anaphor or as part marker is equally plausible, is furnished by discussions of dismemberment and eating, in which body parts are referred to in isolation, but the whole from which they have been removed furnishes an implicit possessive anaphor:

5.235 *Kurlah-no karri-we, kanjdji karri-ngu-n.*

E:N skin-3POSSD/PRT 12a-throwNP inside 12a-eat-NP

'We throw away its/the skin, and eat the inside.'

5.236 *Barrk ka-ngu-n dedj-no.*

E:N black.wallaroo 3-eat-NP root-3POSSD/PRT

(Discussing a particular plant:) 'Black wallaroos eat its/the bark.'

By the time one reaches Kuninjku, nouns for parts of humans, animals and trees are all regularly encountered in two forms, one with a noun-class prefix (e.g. *kun-keb* 'nose', *kun-mim* 'eye', *man-mim* 'seed, fruit') and one with the prefix dropped and the *-no* suffix added (e.g. *kebno* '(his/her/its) nose', *mimno* '(his/her/its) eye; its seed, fruit'). As the last example shows, certain semantic differences signalled by alternate noun-class prefixes are expressed by the same form once the part-marking suffix is adopted at the expense of the prefixes. Some unprefix nouns also show alternations (e.g. *dabu* ~ *dabuno* 'egg'). One restriction on the use of the *-no* forms is revealing: the possessor still has to be third person minimal, as with the anaphoric possessive use. Thus one can say *kebno* for 'his/her/its nose', but to say 'my nose' one has to say *kun-keb ngarduk*, using the *kun*-prefixed form and the appropriate possessive pronoun. (Note though, that if one simply points to one's nose — for example in asking for the word 'nose' — *kebno* is acceptable; the *-no* is only ruled out if non-third minimal possessor is being insisted on.)

The *-no* suffix is also found, in Kuninjku, on a number of adverbial-type time words, as in *wolewolehno* 'dusk, late afternoon, yesterday' (cf. Dj *wolewoleh*, without the suffix), *rawoyhno* 'again' (only attested as a verbal prefix in Dj, with form *yawoih-*). However, time words of a more clearly nominal nature, such as *kun-kak* 'night', do not have an alternate of the form *kakno* in this dialect.

We now turn to the Kune dialect, in which the use of the *-no* suffix to mark part nouns reaches its fullest elaboration. Manyallaluk Mayali appears, on the evidence of preliminary

data, to correspond to the Kune situation, but only occasional examples from that dialect will be given.

The first significant difference between the use of this suffix in Kune and in dialects to the east is its freedom from the requirement that the possessor be third person. Thus phrases like *baleh malkno ngungkeh* [what skin-*no* your] 'what's your skin?', *darrkid-no ngarduk* [body-*no* my] 'my body' or *ridme-no ngadkih* [tooth-*no* our] 'our teeth' are fully acceptable, both in Narayek and Dulerayek subdialects. This demonstrates that the suffix has been reanalysed from a third person possessive to a marker of parthood or, to put it another way, the possessor is now the 'whole'; that is, *ridme-no* is to be construed as 'its tooth, i.e. the body's or the mouth's' rather than 'his tooth'.¹¹

It is worth pointing out that in this respect, although Dalabon and Rembarrnga have likely served as the diffusional model for the development of this construction, and the domain of words taking this suffix is largely parallel, the detachment of *-no* from third person in Kune has gone beyond what is found in those languages. For example, †David Karlbuma, who was bilingual in Dalabon and Kune Narayek, said *darrkidno ngarduk* for 'my body' in Kune, but *dorrung-ngan* in Dalabon, using just the first person minimal suffix *-ngan*. This may be related to the fact that *-no* in Dalabon is clearly integrated into a full paradigm of possessive suffixes, whereas in Bininj Gun-wok it is essentially isolated as the only productive possessive suffix, making its contrast with other person values less salient.

The second significant difference is in its semantic range, and it is to this topic that we now turn in detail. Note first that words that do not denote parts (in the broad sense to be instantiated below) behave as in the western dialects, belonging to the five classes already discussed (e.g. *na-marnkork* 'barramundi', *ngal-kordow* 'brolga', *man-kurladj* 'spike rush *eleocharis dulcis*', *kun-ronj* 'water', *bininj* 'person'). There is also a clear distinction between core cases of parthood in which virtually all nouns take the suffix, namely parts of animates, plants or artefacts, and less core cases such as parts of the landscape, heavens or diurnal cycle, where only a subset take the suffix and the rest behave as they do in the western dialects.

The following words take the *-no* suffix in Kune:

- (a) BODY PARTS OF HUMANS OR ANIMALS Examples are *kodjno* 'head', *kebno* 'nose', *mimno* 'eye', *berdno* 'tail', *rakmono* 'hip', *kurlahno* 'skin', *ngerhno* 'heart, heartbeat, breath', *kanjno* 'muscle, flesh, meat', *mudno* 'fur, downy feathers', *berlno* 'arm; wing', *konno/mirhno* 'spike', MM *ngalanhno* 'shell' as well as a range of compounds — see §5.4.2.

Extruded parts, traces and products such as *dabuno* 'egg', *djorhno* 'crocodile's nest', *djomono* 'track, pad (e.g. of buffalo)', *mono* 'bones; remains', *durnno* 'web' and *ngalkno* "'nose", entrance passage to beehive' are included here. An interesting reversal of the usual part-whole relationship of animal to product is in the case of some bees, where a single term denotes both the type of honey and the bee that produces it, but where the actual word for the insect appears as *bodno*, literally 'its bee', i.e. the bee of the hive or the honey (e.g. *nabiwo bodno* 'the bee of the *nabiwo* honey'). In western dialects this is simply *bod*. This does not stop other names for parts of the honey product from also taking the part suffix (e.g. *ngurrkeno* 'liquid honey').

¹¹ This raises the question of what 'body' is then part of, although since the focal reference of *darrkidno* is the trunk the answer may be that the trunk is part of a more comprehensive whole; alternatively the 'body' might be part of the whole 'being' which includes 'soul', 'name', 'breath' and so on.

Also included are words having to do with aspects of essence or representation, including *ngeyno* 'name', *malkno* 'subsection, "skin"', *bimno* 'image, picture', *rarrkno* 'cross-hatching on painting', *waralno* 'spirit'.

The only body parts that do not normally take the *-no* suffix are sexual body parts, which take the Class III prefix as in other dialects (e.g. *man-berd* 'penis', *man-korn* 'vagina'). In some cases this leads to structural splits between prefixed and suffixed forms (e.g. *berdno* 'tail' (*kun-berd* in western dialects) and *man-berd* 'penis', and, in I, *kirhno* 'mud' (*kun-kih* in Dj) and *man-kirh* 'vagina').

- (b) PARTS AND PRODUCTS OF PLANTS Examples are *kono/nguyno* 'flower', *marlaworrno* 'leaf', *dorrhno* 'stem', E:D *dongeno* 'dead leaf', *mimno* 'seeds, fruit', MM *galhno* 'stump', *dedjmadno* 'root', *kalkidno/nunjno* 'juice/glue from *djalamardi* orchid (*cymbidium* sp.)', *kuyno* 'resin', *koyhno* 'resin from *spinifex*', *duyhno* 'powder', *yarlno* 'string, rope' (traditionally made from bark or fibre). A revealing exception (without *-no*) is *dorddord* 'eucalyptus seeds', formed by reduplicating the word for 'louse'.
- (c) PARTS OF ARTEFACTS Examples are *nginjno* '(fish)hook', *kebno* 'hook', *benno* 'handle', MM *madjbarnelno* 'shoulder strap of bag'.
- (d) SOME PARTS OF THE LANDSCAPE AND HEAVENS Examples are *kodjno* 'head of gorge', *kabono* 'creek', *durrunno* 'mountain', *bolidjno* 'grooves, scars (on rock)', *mokolngno* 'flat rock', *rudno* 'road'; *berreno* 'cloud', MM *njilkno* 'rain'. Some have prefixed forms as alternants: *labbarlno* 'billabong' alongside *kun-labbarl*, and *ngarreno* 'jungle, rainforest' alongside *man-ngarre* or *mi-ngarre*. Note, though, that many parts of the landscape and heavens do not take the part suffix: *kun-kawadj* 'sand', *kun-bad* 'rock', *kun-ngol* 'cloud', *kinhkinh* 'star'. We lack the space or the comprehensive data to go into how far this partition has a semantic basis in what counts as parthood for landscape terms.
- (e) LIFE-FORM TERMS FOR PLANTS We saw above that in the western dialects terms like 'tree' and 'grass' belong to Class IV, whereas terms for particular plant species are in Class III. Now while the names for particular plant species in the eastern dialects behave just as they do further west (taking the *man*-prefix, as in *man-kurndalh* '*vitex acuminata*' or *man-djimdjim* '*pandanus aquaticus*' and never allowing a *-no*-suffixed alternant), the life-form terms sometimes occur in the suffixed form as an alternative to the IV-prefixed form: *kun-dulk* ~ *dulkno* 'tree', *kun-dalk* ~ *dalkno* 'grass'. Examination of the contexts here is instructive. In the first case the part-suffixed form is used where another sense of the first lexeme, namely 'stick; trunk', is being emphasised: *mankalarr dulkno* 'trunk of the *man-kalarr* tree'. In the second, the part-suffixed form is used in the context 'the grass part of the landscape':

5.237 *Bininj birri-wam dalk-no birri-wurlhke-ng.*

E person 3aP-goPP grass-PRT 3aP-set.fire.to-PP
'Men went and burnt off the grass.'

- (f) PARTS OF THE DIURNAL CYCLE, AND OTHER TIME WORDS There is considerable variation here on which words are included. Always taking *-no* are the words for 'yesterday', *wolewolehno* (I, E) and E *ngorkkowino* 'night'. Another 'night' root, *-kak*, takes the part suffix in Kune (*kakno*) but is prefixed in Kuninjku (*kun-kak* or *ku-kak*), the word for 'a night, a sleep' does not take the suffix (*kun-koddje*), while words for

'tomorrow' are attested both with and without the suffix: E:N *ngulam* 'tomorrow' but E:D *ngulanjakno*. The term *rawoyhno* 'again' can also be grouped with this set.

- (g) SOME QUANTIFICATIONAL TERMS such as *djarrkno* 'two' (cf. the verbal prefix *djarrk-* 'together'), *bulno* 'big mob' and *njonno* 'mob', perhaps based on an extension like 'that part of the group's characteristics that is its cardinality'.
- (h) SOME ADJECTIVES Adjectives in Kune split about evenly between those taking *-no* and those taking a gender prefix (virtually always *na-* as a result of the collapse of gender distinctions in this dialect); a few allow either possibility. Adjectives taking the part suffix are E *kanbino*, I *kukno*, MM *djorlengno* 'ripe' (but their k.k. equivalent is prefixed, *nakuybi*), *kirrbelno* 'wet', *darrkidno* 'alive', *barngno* 'poisonous', *wobno* 'light', *yarlno* and *durnno* 'long' (though *nakuyeng* is also used). 'Short' allows either construction: *dukkurrhno* or *na/ngal-dukkurrh*. Adjectives taking the gender prefix are *namak* 'good', *nawarre* 'bad', *nabarmeng* 'red', *nakunkun* 'heavy', *nabadjan* 'big', *ngaldaluk* 'female' and *narangem* 'male'.

Two interrelated questions remain problematic here: the semantic motivation for extending the part suffix to this group, and the basis for deciding which adjectives take it. Is it based on the status of the qualified entity as part of the extension of entities having that property,¹² or at least as part of a set of comparanda such as the big ones in a set graded for size? Or is it because, for those adjectives that take it, it is the state of a crucial part that determines the application of the adjective.

Consider *barngno* 'poisonous', which also means 'its poison'; this adjective will normally be applied to a plant, for example, just in case 'its poison' is still in it, for example from not having been leached out. Or consider the application of *wobno* 'light' to a spear shaft. The crucial fact is that the internal spaces are empty of fluid; a text in Gun-dedjnjenghmi by Lofty Bardayal about the trials of carrying spear shafts uses the inchoative verb *wobmen* to describe the point at which they become lighter as the water finally comes out of them, and the probably related Kunwinjku word *kun-wobe* means 'lungs'. A sentence example illustrating the way a typical context of use with 'wet' lends itself to either translation is the following:

5.238 *Nga-bekka-n kirrbel-no.*

E 1/3-feel-NP wet-PRT

'I can feel it's wet; I can feel its wetness; It feels wet.'

Many of the adjectives taking *-no* originate as nouns: *kukno* 'ripe' means 'body' in other dialects (as does its k.k. equivalent *na-kuybi*), as does *darrkidno* 'alive'; both *yarlno* and *durnno* 'long' also mean 'string', and *barngno* 'poisonous' also means 'poison', as we saw. On the other hand, most of the adjectives which take gender prefixes, such as *namak* 'good' and *nawarre* 'bad', are clear adjectives in the other dialects. More detailed investigation of examples of adjective use, and of the etymology of the whole set of terms, may reveal that

¹² This analysis would be compatible with the view of Capell (1962), who in a brief remark regarding the comparable use of the *-no* suffix in Dalabon, suggests these are basically abstract nouns, e.g. Dalabon *bi weh-no* [man bad-PART] 'bad man' is to be construed as 'man of badness'. However, Dalabon has extended the use of *-no* with adjectives much further than Kune has, e.g. to take in evaluatives like 'good' and 'bad', so it is not clear that exactly the same account of their semantics should be given.

the split into adjectives taking *-no* and those taking gender agreement is based on how far 'essential parts' of entities are used in adjectival evaluation.

SUMMARY OF PART NOUNS IN THE EASTERN-DIALECT CLASS SYSTEM

The net effect of developing a sixth part class in the eastern dialects has been twofold.

From the morphological point of view it makes the expression of class more complex, by taking in suffixation as an option to prefixation (or non-affixation in the case of Class V).

This represents a partial typological convergence in these dialects with their Gunwinyguan neighbours to the immediate east, Dalabon and Rembarrnga, in both of which prefixal morphology on nouns is highly restricted. However, this should not be exaggerated, since no nominal prefix is actually being lost in the process; the Class I and II prefixes (*na-* and *ngal-*) are completely unaffected, while the Class III and IV prefixes, as well as the locative prefix *ku-*, remain productive but apply to a more limited class of entities.

The second effect is the development of an entirely new semantic category, in the form of the part class, and the leaching of the most obvious part nouns (body parts, plant parts) out of Classes III and IV, leaving these classes with a different semantic centre of gravity (e.g. names of languages and abstracts remain in Class IV). The reclassification of certain other entities whose part status is less obvious (e.g. mountain, river, night) appears to be more variable and inconsistent and would repay closer study of the cross-dialect differences.

Again, while this represents a partial semantic adjustment towards Dalabon and Rembarrnga, which also have a part class of nouns, it is not a total convergence, since those languages lack the other semantic categories (masculine, feminine, vegetable, neuter) that are retained in Kune.

5.5.3 Gender

As outlined in §5.5.1, there is much more cross-dialectal variation when it comes to gender than is the case for noun-class. At the level of the diasystem we can set up a four-class system with the following internal structure:

Unmarked	Masculine	Vegetable
Marked	Feminine	Neuter
	Animate (unmarked)	Inanimate (marked)

The two unmarked categories, masculine and vegetable, benefit in various neutralisations (§5.5.4) in which normal gender agreement is suspended, both within dialects like Kunwinjku that have all four genders, and when one considers simplifications to the system in some dialects. Neuter, as the most marked category overall, survives only in Kunwinjku and (to a lesser extent) Kuningku. Masculine, as the least marked category, survives in all dialects (even when the four classes collapse to one in Kune, it is the masculine form of adjectives that is generalised). In dialects with three or four genders intact, it also benefits the most from various types of neutralisation, and is the gender found in most non-congruent agreements (that is, those in which the gender prefix differs from that one would expect from the noun-class prefix). Vegetable, as the second-least marked category, benefits through the extension of agreement in some contexts in four-gender systems, inherits the membership of the neuter gender in dialects like Gun-djeihmi that have moved to a three-gender system, and in the one-gender systems of Kune survives marginally, through the retention of a couple of vegetable-class demonstratives in limited contexts.

As already mentioned, Kunwinjku has the maximal and probably the most conservative system, with four genders producing agreement on modifiers, using formally identical prefixes to those in the noun class system. Examples of the four genders being marked on modifiers of various types are:

- 5.239 *Warreka* \emptyset -re-y *ngal-mekke daluk*, *minj bene-yu-wirrinj na-mekke*
 W wrongly 3P-go-PI FE-that woman not 3uAP-sleep-IRR MA-that

na-bininj kobeng

I-spouse

'But even though that woman went around with him, she did not sleep with her husband.' [OP 349]

- 5.240 *Ka-ngokme duruk bu ka-ngalke- \emptyset ngal-ekke ngarrbek.*

W 3-barkNP dog 3-find-NP FE-that echidna

'The dog barks when it finds the echidna.'

- 5.241 *Bu ku-djewk karri-re wanjh karri-ma-ng man-u*

W when LOC-rain 12a-goNP well 12a-get-NP VE-REL

man-djurrukumalba.

III-berry.plum

'When the wet season comes, then we gather those berry plums.'

- 5.242 *Wanjh bene-karu-y kun-kimuk kun-ngad.*

W then 3uAP-dig-PP NEU-big IV-well

'And then they dug a deep hole.' [OP 395]

Even in Kunwinjku, though, there is a tendency to reduce the number of genders. Over the forty-year span for which we have recorded textual materials, there is a tendency for vegetable agreement to be extended at the expense of neuter agreement in certain semantic categories. In Gun-djeihmi and the other Mayali dialects this tendency has led to the neutralisation of the vegetable vs neuter distinction in favour of the vegetable gender. As the logical endpoint of this development, in the eastern dialects the system collapses altogether, with the generalisation of the masculine to all contexts.

This section concentrates on the rules for gender assignment in Kunwinjku. Unless otherwise mentioned, the rules in Gun-djeihmi can largely be derived by merging the two inanimate genders into the vegetable. Gender agreement in a number of other dialects represents intermediate points along the trajectory outlined in the preceding paragraph, for example Kuninjku has largely eliminated neuter agreement, but retains it for a few time and other nouns. For reasons of space these dialects will be ignored here.

The basic contents of each of the four gender categories in Kunwinjku are shown in Table 5.5. Comparison with Table 5.4 will illustrate the basic parallels in semantic structure with that of the noun-class system, as well as some relatively minor differences. Categories in brackets have migrated from the neuter into the vegetable gender for some (mostly younger) speakers of Kunwinjku. Gun-djeihmi gender categories are comparable to Kunwinjku, except that all nouns that are neuter in Kunwinjku have passed into the vegetable gender in Gun-djeihmi; there are also sporadic differences in individual lexemes which will be commented on where relevant.

Table 5.5: Overview of semantic categories in gender assignment

<p>Masculine</p> <p>Male higher animates</p> <p>Overall default for animates</p> <p>Some lower animates</p> <p>Rain</p> <p>Compass points</p> <p>Some items used in painting</p> <p>Trade items, esp. Macassan and European</p> <p>Some types of honey</p>	<p>Vegetable</p> <p>Plants and their products, including life-form terms</p> <p>Sexual and excretory body parts</p> <p>Song, ceremony and custom</p> <p>Fire (both bush and domestic)</p> <p>Food, vegetable and otherwise</p> <p>Some types of honey</p> <p>Boats, planes and cars</p> <p>[Drink, water, well]</p> <p>[Camp nexus]</p> <p>[Landscape features with water associations]</p>
<p>Feminine</p> <p>Female higher animates</p> <p>Some lower animates</p> <p>Sun</p>	<p>Neuter</p> <p>Most parts of animals and plants</p> <p>Some parts of the landscape</p> <p>Weather and sea</p> <p>Time measures</p> <p>Languages and speech</p> <p>Country; place-based social categories</p>

We now discuss each of these categories in turn. The discussion is basically organised by gender, but departs from this where particular contrasts are relevant (e.g. between masculine and vegetable for terms for honey). Note that only humans, some spirits, and macropods (kangaroos and wallabies) have sex-differentiated lexemes, that is lexical items whose meaning includes the sex of the referent.

5.5.3.1 Details of gender assignment

In discussing examples, agreement will be illustrated with naturally occurring phrases using a variety of modifiers, such as *namekke* ‘that (masc)’, *ngalekke* ‘that (fem)’ (see §7.3 for the full set) and *nakimuk* ‘big (masc)’. Rather than gloss these phrases completely, I shall simply indicate the head noun with the symbol ‡ (e.g. *namekke ‡bininj* ‘that man’). Where the head noun must be translated by several English words, these are joined with a ‘.’, e.g. ‘male.wallaroo’.

MASCULINE

All male humans take masculine agreement (e.g. *namekke ‡yawurrinj nakimuk* ‘that big youth’). Except for a small group of specifically feminine spirits (see §5.5.2.4.II(b)), spirits of various types are always masculine (e.g. malignant sky spirits, ghosts of dead humans, or *mimih* spirits). Non-humans lexically specified as male (e.g. *‡kalkberd nakimuk* ‘big male.wallaroo’) will always take masculine agreement. Those that are sex-neutral but are

significant enough to humans to allow biological sex to be encoded when desired, such as *djarrang* ‘horse’ or *ngal-wandjuk* ‘emu’, may take it (see §5.5.4.1).

For vertebrate animates below humans there is a mixture of masculine and feminine members in virtually all biological categories (e.g. reptiles, birds, fish). Within each group, the division is fairly evenly balanced, and undoubtedly contains many arbitrary elements. However, there are a few general principles that partially save us from having to encode the gender of each item individually (see §5.5.3.2).

In the domain of native bees and honey, there is a single term for each bee species and the honey it produces. Thus *lorlbarn*, for example, refers both to a particular type of honey found in tree-trunks, and to the bee that makes that honey.¹³ The ten or so honey terms are evenly split between the masculine and vegetable genders; the masculine items tend to have phallus-like entry tubes (sometimes described in Aboriginal English as “boy-one sugarbag”), as with the *nabiwo* type, but the generic *man-kung* also allows masculine agreement alongside the vegetable agreement congruent with its *man-* prefix.

5.243 “*Yi-m-ra-y nga-ngalke-ng man-kung, na-hni man-kung*
W 2-hither-go-IMP 1-find-PP III-honey MA-this.here III-honey
ka-h-di kore ku-boy.”
3-IMM-stand LOC LOC-antbed
“‘Come over here, I’ve found some honey, here it is near the ant hill.’”

As the default animate category, the masculine extends to most non-vertebrates, the main exception being certain crustaceans (see below). Flies, ants, beetles etc. are all masculine, (e.g. *‡bon nabang* ‘stinging fire.ant’, *‡deddel nabang* ‘stinging black.ant’, *‡djak nabang* ‘stinging meat.ant’, *namekke ‡bidkinjenbidkinjen* ‘that firefly’, *‡kabo nakimuk* ‘large green.ant’).

Items used in painting and decoration are split between masculine (probably because of their association with the predominantly male activities of painting and ritual) and vegetable (due to the source of most of them as plant products), as in the following extract in which *kun-rodjbe* ‘red (ochre)’, *kun-kurlba* ‘blood (colour)’ and *delek* ‘white clay’ are masculine, while *karlba* ‘yellow (ochre)’ and *kun-burlerri* ‘black; charcoal’ are vegetable. For at least some, there is contextual variation in gender assignment: *delek* takes vegetable agreement in contexts not associated with art (for example, when discussing how it is eaten as a cure for dysentery), whereas in discussions of painting it takes masculine agreement. A similar split applies to *dolobbo* ‘piece of stringybark’ which will take masculine agreement when the painting on it is being focussed on, but vegetable agreement when its origin as part of a tree is being stressed, as in *man-kimuk yi-lawkmang dolobbo* ‘you’re cutting off a big piece of stringybark’.

5.244 *Na-wu kun-rodjbe kore kinga, nakka kun-kurlba ngalengarre*
W MA-REL IV-red.ochre LOC croc MA:DEM IV-blood her
Likanaya. Dja karlba makka kun-balem ngalengarre. Dja
[name] and yellow VE:DEM IV-fat her and

¹³ The biological taxonomy of these insects has yet to be properly investigated and many still lack Linnean names — see Chaloupka and Alderson (1998).

kun-burlerri makka ngad kun-kurlah, dja na-wu delek,
 IV-black VE.DEM we IV-skin and MA-REL white.clay

wanjh nuye kun-duk.

then his IV-sperm

'The red colour in the crocodile is the blood from Likanaya. The yellow is her fat, the black is our skin, and the white colour is sperm.' [KS 56]

Rain, rainwater or rain-cloud, *man-djewk*, takes masculine agreement despite its Class III prefix (e.g. *na-djalkimuk man-djewk* 'just (a) big rain'). The corresponding Gun-djeihmi word *an-djeuk* likewise takes masculine agreement (5.245), but in Kuninjku this word has vegetable agreement congruent with its noun class (5.246).

5.245 *Gu-wak an-djeuk ba-djakdu-i na-gimuk.*

Dj LOC-night III-rain 3P-fall-PP MA-big

'During the night a lot of rain fell.'

5.246 *Man-djewk man-kimuk ngan-bom ngadberre, birlibirli-wern ngarri-na-ng.*

III-storm III-big 3/1pl-hitPP 1aOBL lightning-PLENTY 1a/3-see-PP

'A large storm hit us and there was lots of lightning.' [GID]

The four compass points are all masculine (e.g. *nani #kakbi* 'there in the north'). So are most celestial nouns (e.g. *#dird nakimuk* 'big moon', *#kinhkinh nakimuk* 'big star').

Trade items, artefacts and all metal objects (these categories overlap substantially) all take masculine (e.g. *#borndok nakimuk* 'large woomera', *#djalkiradj nakimuk* 'large wire.spear', *#djirla nakimuk* 'large stone.axe', *#lama nakimuk* 'large shovel.spear', *#mandjawak nakimuk* 'large knife', *#medjek nakimuk* 'large goose.wing.fan', *#bakki nawarre* 'bad tobacco').

FEMININE

This is the most semantically coherent of the four genders. All female humans, and spirits whose female status is focussed on, are feminine (e.g. *ngalekke #daluk* 'that woman'). So are higher animate terms that are lexically female (e.g. *#kardalbburru ngal-balem* 'fat female.antilopine.wallaroo'). Roughly half of the terms in other animate vertebrate classes are feminine (§5.5.3.2), and all shellfish and crustaceans (e.g. Kuninjku *#ngarlirrk ngalbu* 'those snails').

'Sun' is feminine, despite having a Class IV prefix in some dialects (*kundung*), though it has a Class II prefix in others (e.g. E:D *ngalbenbe*); in the mother-in-law register it is attested with both II and IV prefixes (*ngal-djarala* and *kun-djarala*). On the general tendency for 'sun' to be feminine in Australian languages see Harvey (1997).

VEGETABLE

The semantic focus of this gender is plants (e.g. *manekke #mandubang* 'that ironwood.tree', *manu #karrbarda* 'that cheeky.yam'). Note that this applies even when, as life-form terms, they take the Class IV prefix (see §5.5.2 above) (e.g. *#kun-dulk manbu* 'that tree', *manngale kundulk* 'which tree' [KH 57], *manu kunkod* or *makkah kunkod* 'that paperbark tree' [KH 55], and to various Class IV terms for combustibles like *kun-rerrng* 'firewood' and *kun-djahkorl* 'firestick'). This gender extends to a number of items

transformed from plants in various ways — what might be called ‘the great chain of vegetable matter’:

- THEIR PRODUCTS, such as *manihmanu †birrkala* ‘that boomerang’ [KH 49], *makkamanu payp* ‘that pipe’ (though some traded products, such as ‘tobacco’, are masculine), *manrurkdjokko* ‘small hollow log’ (Berndt 1951);
- VEGETABLE FOODS, such as *manbu †manme* ‘this vegetable.food’ [OM 38];
- EXCRETA, whose visible contents, at least after a few days in the sun, are predominantly plant fibre (e.g. *manekke †kurduk* ‘that turd’ [KH 155]);
- Some TYPES OF HONEY (transformed nectar), such as *†man-kung manmekbe* ‘that honey’;
- BOATS, VEHICLES AND PLANES, the original boats being made of bark or hollowed wood (e.g. *manekke Macassan †kabbala* ‘that Macassan boat’, *manbu †manwelyi* ‘that plane’, *manu kungolwaken* ‘that plane’ [KH 149]);
- FIRE (burnt wood), such as *manekke †kunak* ‘that fire, light’ [KH 54] and *†kunak manbu* ‘that campfire’ (Oates 1964:109), *mankare †kunak* ‘old fire’, *†kunerrng manekke* ‘that firewood’, *†kundjakkorl manyahwurd dja mankimuk* ‘large and small firesticks’.

Also in this category, though the links to the plant nexus are not clear, are:

- SEXUAL BODY PARTS, such as *†manberd mankimuk* ‘big penis’ [KH 23], perhaps mediated by the widespread metaphor of sex as eating. This link is highly productive; Garde (1996:96) gives examples of applying vegetable agreement to animal body parts being butchered in order to generate obscenely amusing implications;
- ROADS (flattened or cut scrub?), such as *†man-bolh manmekbe* ‘that track’;
- Terms for SONG, CEREMONY AND CUSTOMS carried out on particular occasions (e.g. *manbu †Ubarr* ‘that Ubarr (hollow log) ceremony’, *†mankarre manu kurrih* ‘that bluetongue lizard song’ [KH 149], *makka yawkyawk †mankarre* ‘that law (about) young girls’, *manekke †kundjak* ‘that sickness (in a context where it is being attributed to sorcery)’ [KH 202]).

Among some speakers of Kunwinjku there is an extension of the vegetable gender into the semantic domain of the neuter. These extra vegetable categories will be discussed at the end of the section on neuter agreement.

NEUTER

This gender is focussed on parts, places and categories linked to them. The major subcategories are:

- Most BODY PARTS (i.e. all except sexual and excretory), such as *†kunkodj/†kundenge kunkimuk* ‘big head/foot’ [KH 18], *†kundjak kundulmuk/kunwarre* ‘heavy/bad pain’; also in contexts of edibility (e.g. *kunih †kunkanj* ‘this meat/muscle’ [KH 49]). This can include ‘devils’, when viewed as the spirit part of a (dead) person (e.g. *kunu †namarnde* ‘that devil/ghost’ [KS 212]); when viewed as free-standing entities these take masculine agreement as stated above;
- Most PARTS OF THE LANDSCAPE, such as *kuni †mabele kunwarre* ‘this bad muddy ground’ [KH 52], *kunih †kunred* ‘this is the place’ [KH55], *kuni ngurridjowkke* ‘that

[place where] you cross' [KH 59], *‡kunngarlk kunkuyeng* 'high cliff' [KH 92]. Note that *kukku* 'water' and its corresponding compounding root *bo-* take either neuter or vegetable agreement when viewed as part of the landscape (e.g. *kunekke kukku kunbokimuk* 'that big (body of) water' [KH 19] and *manbokimuk* 'big water, lake' [KH 71]), but vegetable agreement in contexts where it is viewed as something to drink (e.g. 'don't drink *that water!*' (*manih kukku*) [KH 29]);

- Most phenomena of WEATHER AND SEA, such as *‡kunmayorrk kunkimuk* 'big wind' [KH 65], *‡mabularr kunwarre* 'bad white.sea' [KH 71], *‡kundjarna kunkimuk* 'big waves' [KH 71];
- TIME MEASURES, such as *‡kunkodjke kunkudji* 'one night' (lit. 'one sleep') [KH 155], *‡kumunun kunu* 'that night';
- A few PARTS OF PLANTS in Class IV, such as *‡kunmarlaworr kunkudji* 'one leaf' [KH 159];
- LANGUAGE(S), AND OTHER PLACE-BASED SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS such as clans and clan designs (e.g. *kunbuyika* 'another (moiety design)' [KS 138], *‡kunwok kunbuyika* 'another language', *kunngey kunkerrnge* '(a) new name' [KS 260], *kunkudji ‡Balanda* 'only English' [OM 37], *kunu ‡djurra kadberre* 'this book of ours' [OM 35]. It is worth pointing out that in the regional ideology, languages, clans and the moieties and designs associated with them are all directly linked to tracts of country in the landscape (see Merlan 1982b);
- Linked to the above category, ABSTRACT NOUNS MORE GENERALLY, such as *kunrayek ‡kunngudj ngardduk* 'my hard efforts' [KS 260], *‡kunrak kunwarre* 'wrong marriage' [KH 171] (i.e. between people of the wrong category; note the metonymic extension of *kunrak* 'fire' to marriage here, based on the image of the couple sleeping by the one fire, and compare it with the vegetable agreement used with *kunrak* when this literally means 'fire').

Among many speakers of Kunwinjku (including some quite old people, such as Bobby Nganjmira), and among all younger speakers, there has been a migration of certain subcategories out of the neuter gender into the vegetable. These subcategories can be seen as extensions of foci that fall into the vegetable gender for all speakers. They include:

- LANDSCAPE FEATURES HAVING TO DO WITH WATER (metonymically linked to the food/fire nexus), such as *manekke ‡mankabo* 'that creek' [KS 178], *mahni ‡manlabbarl* 'that billabong', *‡kunkurk manbu* 'that soft.ground' [KS 174], *‡kunkih manekke* 'that mud';
- Other types of NON-FLESH FOOD AND DRINK (and note that the closest to a generic term for 'food', *manme*, has vegetable food as its semantic focus), such as *manbu Saki ‡kunbang* 'that Saki drink';
- Items in the 'CAMP' SEMANTIC DOMAIN, most of which are Class IV. This extends to parts of the humanised landscape used as dwellings and shelters, such as rocks in the context of rock caves (*manbu ‡kunwardde* 'that rock (cave)'), as well as implements used in camp or when gathering vegetable foods, such as *manih ‡kunkaninj ‡kunmadj* 'that firestick and swag', *‡kunmadj manekke boken* 'those two swags' (Carroll 1976:95). The extension to the 'camp' nexus is probably motivated by the original vegetable class

membership of 'fire' (see above), while that to vegetable-gathering implements is motivated by metonymic association;

- Some BODY PARTS, such as *ɰkundjen mankuyeng* 'long tongue', *manbu ɰkunmurrng kunj* 'those kangaroo bones'. It is not clear if there is any semantic commonality to the body parts which do this, though many such crossovers may be contextual, for example *ɰkundjen mankuyeng* 'long (VEG) tongue' was used in the context of describing how a being uses its long tongue to lick honey out of a nest.

In Gun-djeihmi, as stated above, the vegetable and neuter genders have simply been merged in favour of the vegetable. As a result vegetable agreement is used not only with entities such as *gun-rurrk* 'shelter' (5.247) and *gun-barlkbu* 'digging stick' (5.248), which would attract vegetable agreement for younger Kunwinjku speakers and neuter for older, but also for nouns that Kunwinjku speakers of all ages accord neuter agreement to, such as time expressions like *djandi* 'week' (5.249) and language items like *gun-wok* 'language, talk' (5.250).

5.247 *Ngan-ege gurrambalk, yiga gun-rurrk an-mak, djalbonj an-ege*
Dj VE-that house maybe IV-shelter VE-good enough VE-that

a-yolyolme-ng.

1-tell-PP

'That house, maybe it's a good shelter. Enough, that's what I've talked about.'

5.248 *Gun-barlkbu an-ege bi-rrerlme-ng.*
Dj IV-digging.stick VE-that 3/3HP-throw-PP

'She threw that digging stick at him.'

5.249 *Ga-bawo-n galuk ga-re, djandi, an-gudji.*
Dj 3/3-leave-NP then 3-goNP week VE-one

'He leaves it while one week goes by.'

5.250 *Djalbonj ngan-ege gun-wok nga-yolyolme bolkgime.*
Dj finished VE-that IV-talk 1-tellNP now

'That's all I'll say now.'

5.5.3.2 Masculine vs feminine for animate nouns

We now return to the problem of deciding how to assign animate nouns to masculine or feminine, which is the largest domain of unpredictability and arbitrariness in the system.

For humans the system is clear: masculine if male (*namekke ɰmarrkkidjbu* 'that sorcerer'), feminine if female (*ngalkudji ɰdaluk* 'one woman'), though with young babies the gender will often not be focussed on and will default to masculine, and once females are in the plural they receive masculine agreement under the plural rule (see §5.5.4.2 below). Beings such as deities and malignant spirits behave similarly, although their sex is not always obvious and in such cases masculine agreement is the default.

For most macropods the basic lexical field is a 'male:female:child' triplet, as in *karndakidj* 'male antilopine wallaroo', *karndayh* 'female antilopine wallaroo', *djumbuk* 'juvenile antilopine wallaroo' (these are the Kuninjku terms). Some species have a fourth term for referring to a particularly large male adult specimen; in this case, for example, there

is the term *kalaba* 'large male antilopine wallaroo'. Within such sets, the female term (here *karndayh*) is feminine, while the remainder are masculine.

For other animates the lexicon virtually never distinguishes sex. *Dalkken*, for example, refers to dingos of either sex, *nganabbarru* a buffalo of either sex, and *kuluban* a flying-fox of either sex. All such animates have a conventionalised gender that is either masculine or feminine, as in *‡karnamarr nakimuk* 'large red-tailed.black.cockatoo' (masc), *‡ngarradj ngalkimuk* 'large white cockatoo' (fem). If the animate is sufficiently large or otherwise salient that its actual biological sex is of interest, it is possible to override the conventionalised gender by using modifiers appropriate to the biological sex; this is discussed in §5.5.4.1. Elsewhere modifiers are chosen simply on the basis of the arbitrarily specified grammatical gender.

Table 5.6 exemplifies the split in gender between masculine and feminine for a sample of birds, snakes and fish:

Table 5.6: Gender in selected bird, snake and fish terms

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>kalarrwirdwird</i>	'white ibis; straw-necked ibis'	<i>ngalkurndurr</i>	'white egret'
<i>karnamarr</i>	'red-tailed black cockatoo'	<i>ngarradj</i>	'white cockatoo'
<i>djikirridj-djikirridj</i>	'willy wagtail'	<i>kaldurrk</i>	'kookaburra'
<i>mukmuk</i>	'tawny frogmouth' 'boobook; barn owl'	<i>djornhdjorndok</i>	'Indian turtledove'
<i>makkakkurr</i>	'pelican'	<i>manimunak</i>	'magpie goose'
<i>namu(ng)</i>	'black snake'	<i>maddjurn</i>	'black-headed python'
<i>djenbedjek</i>	'mulga snake'	<i>djokbinj</i>	'brown rock python'
<i>kurukadji</i>	'brown snake'	<i>berek</i>	'death adder'
<i>barndol</i>	'carpet python'	<i>kedjebe</i>	'file snake (mostly collected by women)'
<i>nawaran</i>	'Oenpelli python'	<i>borlokko</i>	'yellow-bellied water snake'
<i>wamba</i>	'shark'	<i>kurrukabal</i>	'long tom'
<i>namarnkorl</i>	'barramundi'	<i>manmakkawarri</i>	'lesser salmon catfish'
<i>dangwalah</i>	'pearl perch, bass'	<i>kuwalili</i>	'mullet'
<i>karlarrk</i>	'bream'	<i>madjabbarr</i>	'rough-scaled mullet'

It is doubtful whether clear general principles can be formulated to predict the gender membership of nouns in these semantic fields. In the case of birds, for example, Hale (1959:132) in his unpublished Kunwinjku fieldnotes suggests the distinction is one between 'large or well-known' (masc) vs 'small' (fem), but this is not always easy to apply, nor always true. For example, emu and brolga are both large and well-known, but feminine, while the willy-wagtail is small but masculine; the questions of whether it is masculine because it is 'well known' illustrates the difficulty of applying these criteria rigorously. Certainly there are principles that apply in particular cases: the 'emu', in myth, is always an old woman (see

Texts 1–02),¹⁴ and the *ngakngak* ‘pied butcherbird’, for example, is probably masculine through its role in certain male ceremonies, but such cases are a distinct minority. Within the snakes, Heath (1984) has suggested that pythons are assigned to the feminine noun class (in Nunggubuyu) because of the sexual symbolism of swallowing, and certainly the majority of Bininj Gun-wok python terms are feminine, but there are exceptions, such as the carpet python and the Oenpelli python, both masculine. For the fish we have no explanations at all.

There are other isolated cases, such as the echidna (feminine) and flying foxes (masculine), where the gender rules in Bininj Gun-wok form part of widespread trends throughout Australia, perhaps based on symbolisations of salient external facts, namely the oozing milk from female echidnas (the only monotremes in Arnhem Land) and the prominent circumcised-looking penises of male flying foxes. Again, though, these form only a minority of cases.

Table 5.7: Possible combinations of gender and noun class

Gender	Noun class				
	I	II	III	IV	V
Masculine	congruent	Exceptions: [biological sex; plural contexts]	A few lexically specified exceptions: <i>man-djerek</i> ‘rain’, <i>man-dung</i> ‘honey’, <i>man-djowol</i> ‘katydid’ [Also: plural contexts]	Many cases, e.g. many implement terms; <i>kun-waral</i> ‘spirit’ [Also: plural contexts]	Many cases (commonest pattern for animate masculine nouns)
Feminine	Exception: [biological sex]	congruent		One exception: <i>kun-dung</i> ‘sun’	Many cases (commonest pattern for animate feminine nouns)
Vegetable	15	16	congruent	Many categories	Some cases (occasional pattern for vegetable nouns)
Neuter	17			congruent	Some cases (occasional pattern for neuter nouns)

¹⁴ The position of the emu in systems of grammatical and cultural classification has been widely discussed: see Harvey (1997) on its noun-class membership in northern Australia, and Maddock (1975) on its status in myth.

¹⁵ I do not include the plant name *namarndengabek* ‘plant species whose leaves are said to resemble a devil’s hair’, which is vegetable gender and could be argued to have a *na-* prefix, on the grounds that the *na-* prefix is part of the first compounding element (*namarnde* ‘devil’) rather than being attached to the compound as a whole.

¹⁶ It is likely that the term *ngal-yurr*, when used in its botanical sense of ‘*pityrodia jamesii*; *cleome viscosa*’ rather than its entomological sense of ‘Leichhardt’s grasshopper’, would take vegetable agreement; this is a rare example of a metonymic extension of an insect term (motivating the *ngal-* prefix) into the botanical domain.

¹⁷ Sole exception: *namarnde* ‘devil’ is attested once with the demonstrative *kunu* ‘NEU-that’, presumably construed here as a body part (i.e. ghost, spirit).

5.5.3.3 Degree of congruence of noun-class and gender systems

Having discussed membership of both the noun classes and genders, it is time to review the extent to which these two formally and semantically similar systems overlap. A matrix showing the correlations between them in the Kunwinjku dialect is given in Table 5.7. Dark shaded areas are unattested and pale shaded areas are attested only with a very few lexemes under highly specifiable conditions, whereas unshaded cells are amply populated. The unshaded cells down the diagonal represent the congruent cases, where the overt forms for gender and noun class match, and the unshaded cells in the right-hand column result from the compatibility of the fifth, unprefixing class with all genders.

Feminine agreement with Class I nouns, and masculine agreement with Class II nouns occur in limited and syntactically specifiable contexts: feminine nouns allow masculine agreement in plurals (§5.5.4.2) and crossover in either direction can occur when the biological sex of a particular referent does not coincide with its conventional gender (§5.5.4.1).

Masculine agreement with Class III nouns, apart from plural contexts, is confined to a few cases that need to be lexically specified: *man-djewk* 'rain', *man-kung* 'honey' (optional, so that it also allows vegetable agreement, and consistent with the masculine gender of many honey terms) and *man-djawok* 'katydid grasshopper', a metonymic extension of a plant term to an associated animal, with retention of noun class III but adoption of the default masculine gender.

Turning now to the cells with substantial populations, they fall into three categories:

- (a) The four 'congruent' cells, in which the gender and noun class match formally, such as *naworneng* 'joker at ceremony' (masculine), *ngalyod* 'rainbow serpent', who is usually mythologically female (feminine), *man-dubang* 'ironwood tree' (vegetable) and *kunngey* 'name' (neuter). For most types of noun with inanimate referents, for example nouns denoting plants and body parts, the default situation is for them to be in the appropriate one of these cells. For animates, on the other hand, this is the second rather than the first choice, since animates normally take no overt prefixation, going into Class V but with the semantically appropriate gender. However, going into the congruent cell is then the second preference for this group.
- (b) The four cells with Class V nouns. For animates, which normally eschew overt prefixation, as well as for implement terms, these are the default cells: zero prefixation, plus the semantically appropriate gender. For most inanimates, which prefer overt prefixation, these are the second choice in a way that mirrors the congruent cells as the second choice for animates.
- (c) The two cells in which Class IV nouns belong to one of the two unmarked genders (i.e. masculine or vegetable).

For masculine Class IV nouns, this can reflect either the use of masculine gender for many implement and painting terms, as with *kun-rodjbe* 'red ochre' (MA), or alternate gender assignments on the basis of different semantic principles, as with *kun-waral* 'spirit', assigned to Class IV by the body-part principle, and to Class I by the animate (or more specifically by the malevolent animate) principle.

For vegetable Class IV nouns, the situation is more complex. For many, their assignment results from the play of two semantic principles, one in the domain of gender and one in the domain of noun class. Examples are the assignment of *kun-dulk* 'tree' to Class IV by the 'plant life-form principle', and to the vegetable gender by the

general plant principle, or the assignment of *kun-rak* 'fire' to Class IV by the 'domestic fire' principle, and to the vegetable gender by the 'general fire' principle. For others, there is a good deal of contextual variation and inter-speaker variation, reflecting the gradual migration of Class IV nouns into the vegetable gender. In a case where *kunwardde* 'rock' manifests vegetable agreement, for example, this can be attributed to the extended principle by which terms for camp and habitable places go in the vegetable gender, and a construal of a rock shelter as belonging to this semantic category, at least in some discourse settings.

5.5.4 Problems of agreement

We now pass to a number of situations where gender agreement does not follow from the gender of the lexeme, as outlined in the preceding section: cases where biological agreement overrides the lexically specified gender, and generalisation of the masculine in plural and other quantifying contexts, as well as with presentationals.

5.5.4.1 Agreement based on biological sex

Nouns whose lexical meaning includes specification of sex take the expected gender agreement: thus *ʔbininj namak* 'good/handsome man', *ngalege ʔdaluk algimuk* 'that big woman', *ngalkudji ʔdjukerre* 'one female black wallaroo'.

Agreement based on sex, but not following from the lexical head, arises in two types of case.

The first is with the small group of nouns for humans which lack a noun-class prefix, and which are not specified for sex; modifiers of these take whichever gender is appropriate in the circumstances, as in I *ngalkka ʔbalanda ngalmak* 'that good/beautiful white.person (woman)' vs *nakka ʔbalanda namak* 'that good/handsome white person (man)', and *ngalkka ʔmararradj ngalmak* 'that good/beautiful lover (woman)' vs *nakka ʔmararradj namak* 'that good/handsome lover (man)'.

The second arises in the names of animates and some spirits. Sometimes these lack a noun-class prefix and are unspecified for gender (e.g. Dj *djorrkgun* 'rock ringtail possum'); if the sex is being focussed on, this may take whichever gender is appropriate (e.g. *ʔdjorrkgun ngalgimuk* 'large ringtail.possum'). In other cases the noun has a class prefix congruent with a particular gender, but in cases where the sex is of particular interest, gender will be determined not by the noun class but by the actual sex of the referent. Thus *na-garndegin* 'dingo' and *na-marnde* 'devil, evil spirit' take the Class I prefix in Gun-djeihmi, and in circumstances where their sex is not at issue, will take the congruent masculine gender; but the biologically appropriate gender may be used on modifiers when this is being focussed on:

5.251 *na-garndegin na-rangem / al-daluk*
 Dj I-dingo MA-male FE-female
 'male/female dingo'

5.252 *na-marnde na-mege / al-ege*
 Dj I-evil.spirit MA-that FE-that
 'that male/female evil spirit'

Conversely, other names of animals and spirits are in Class II and normally take feminine agreement, but sex-based agreement is possible, as in the following:

5.253 *al-makkawarri na-mak / al-mak*
 Dj II-lesser.salmon.catfish MA-good FE-good
 'that good male/female lesser salmon catfish'

5.254 *Al-wanjdjuk gabani-larlma-rr-en, al-wanjdjuk al-bininjgobeng ga-ma-ng*
 Dj II-emu 3ua-divorce-RR-NP II-emu II-spouse 3/3-marry-NP
na-buyiga bininj al-wanjdjuk ... wanjh nungan-wali na-bininjgobeng
 MA-other man II-emu then 3mascEMPH-in.turn I-spouse
ga-ma-ng ngal-buyiga daluk al-wanjdjuk.
 3/3-marry-NP FE-other woman II-emu
 'When emus divorce, the wife emu marries another male emu ... And the husband,
 for his part, marries another female emu.'

5.255 *Ngal-kunburriyaymi na-rangem*
 I II-mermaid.spirit MA-male
 'male mermaid spirit' (In Kune such male mermaids are instead referred to
 by substituting the Class I prefix, i.e. *nakunburriyaymi*.)

5.5.4.2 Plural and other quantifying contexts

In all dialects, certain types of quantified phrases display masculine agreement regardless of the gender of the head. (Because it is typologically common for masculine plural to be used as the plural for all genders, it is worth emphasising here that this is not the Bininj Gunwok situation, since the prefix *na-* is simply masculine; there is no reason to consider it a plural morpheme, though as discussed it occurs in plural contexts.) The exact conditions vary from dialect to dialect, in terms of the quantifiers involved and the degree to which neutralisation to masculine is obligatory. Overall the phenomenon has gone furthest in Gun-djeihmi, and is related to the fact that modifiers do not normally take non-minimal pronominal prefixes in that dialect, so that where Kunwinjku and Kuninjku have *birrimkke* and *birrimkke* 'those (pl)' with third augmented prefix *birri-*, Gun-djeihmi would simply use the masculine form *namekke*. The conditions for each are summarised in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8: Quantifying contexts in which masculine agreement is extended

Pluralising modifiers	
Plural demonstratives	w (optional), I (optional) Dj (obligatory)
-wern 'many'	Dj (obligatory)
boken 'two'	w (optional), Dj (obligatory)
Other quantifier-type modifiers	
-barrkid '(an)other'	I (optional)
-kimuk 'big, much (with mass nouns)'	w (optional)
-kudji 'one'	Dj (optional)

We now turn to these various contexts in more detail.

PLURAL CONTEXTS Plurality may be expressed in a number of ways (see §6.2.1): operations on the head noun, such as full or partial reduplication; specific number words such as plural demonstratives, numerals or the plural adjective *-wern* 'many'; signalling of number on the verb through pronominal or quantifying prefixes or simply by context.

In Kunwinjku, Kuninjku and Kune non-minimal pronominal prefixes are commonly combined with adjectival and demonstrative roots to signal plurality (e.g. *w birri-mekbe* 'those', *l daluk boken bene-mekke* 'those two women'). In Gun-djeihmi, however, this option is not employed and such modifiers are simply prefixed with the masculine (e.g. *namekke* 'that, those').

In Kunwinjku, also, there are examples of the generalised use of the masculine with plurals. A particularly revealing Kunwinjku text, told by Sam Manggudja Ganaray (included in Carroll 1975) is 5.256, which is a translation¹⁸ of the relevant parts of this text, with the Kunwinjku demonstratives in square brackets.

- 5.256 a. Long ago they used to tell us this story.
 b. They used to tell us about this [*ngalbu*] woman
 c. they were giving to a man.
 d. That [*ngal-mekbe*] woman did not want him, she did not want him,
 e. She was afraid of him.
 f. This happened long ago, when they did those things.
 g. They used to paint them,
 h. then those [*naninjanu*] two women were frightened of those [*namekke*] two men.
 i. They went and got, they dug and they got some (cheeky) yam.
 j. They went and crushed it, they mixed white ochre and cheeky yam,
 k. Then they went and they painted the women on the rock.
 l. They said: let us paint those [*na-wu*] two women, they are afraid of us.
 m. Then they went, they painted in a cave,
 n. they painted those [*na-hni*] two women, they gave them big knees,
 o. they gave them big feet, they gave them birds' beaks (for noses),
 p. they gave them big elbows.
 q. They said let us try and see, maybe we can kill them.
 r. Then they painted them, they finished the painting,
 s. then they went, they went then, they were watching them,
 t. they were wondering, when will they get leprosy.
 u. They went then and many years passed and they watched them,
 v. and already those [*na-mekbe*] two women had got leprosy.
 w. They said, it's true we have hurt them.
 x. Then they went, their leprosy got worse, they went,
 y. Then those [*na-mekbe*] two women died.
 z. Many used to do this then, to those [*nawu*] (girls) who were afraid of them.
 zz. They were frightened, this [*ngal-bu*] woman was frightened.

¹⁸ I have slightly modified Carroll's translation towards a more literal one, by inserting demonstratives in the English where his freer translation lacks them.

As the narrative moves back and forth between a single woman and a pair of women, the single woman is always represented by a feminine-prefixed demonstrative (*ngal-bu* or *ngal-mekbe*), as in lines b, d and zz, while the pair of women is always represented by a masculine-prefixed demonstrative (*na-ninjanju*, *na-hni* or *na-wu*), as in lines h, l, n, v and y.

I turn now to some specific examples of the use of the masculine in various types of plural construction. First consider plurality shown by reduplication:

5.257 *Na-meke dah-daluk birri-gih-gimuk.*

W MA-that REDUP-woman 3aP-REDUP-big
'Those women are big.' [KH 33]

5.258 *Na-ngale-ngale bene-bogen na-nhni daluk-daluk?*

W MA-who-who 3ua-two MA-this.here REDUP-woman
'Who are these two women?' [KH 34]

Now consider the various plural demonstratives. We already saw the use of *naninjanu* [MA-those] with 'two women' in line h of 5.256. A Gun-djeihmi example with the plural demonstrative *namegebu* modifying a feminine is 5.259; see also 7.164 for an example with it modifying Class IV body parts.

5.259 *Bininj bandi-h-worrum-bokka-rr-eni, barri-djare-ni na-megebu daluk.*

Dj man 3a/3pl-IMM-around-track-RR-PI 3a-want-PI MA-those woman
'Men were following them around, they desired those women.'

Occasionally, plural demonstratives in Kunwinjku take agreement with some other gender in Kunwinjku. An example is Hale's (1959) recording of the Curlew and Snake myth, which contains the sentence *kunekkebu* [IV:those] *kun-mud* [IV-feather] *kandi-wo!* 'Give me those feathers!' Certainly the existence of plural demonstratives in all classes suggests that normal class agreement with plurals was once more widespread, but has gradually been replaced by the masculine-agreement rule. The plural modifiers with other class prefixes have accrued rather specialised meanings that remove them from the realm of pure agreement (e.g. Dj *anegebu* 'all that stuff (esp. actions)' discussed in §7.3.1.1, and w, I *kun-wern* 'many times; often').

Masculine prefixation of the root *-wern* 'many' with plurals of any gender is the norm in Gun-djeihmi (e.g. †*daluk nawern* 'lots of women'), although in the absence of a head noun the vegetable form *an-wern* is often used to mean 'lots of food'. In Kunwinjku it is more common to use a non-singular pronominal prefix (e.g. *daluk birri-wern* [woman they-many] 'many women'), but standard agreement is still used with inanimates: Oates (1964:64) gives the example *man-wern man-me* 'much food' and the Nganjmira texts (Nganjmira 1997:122) include examples like *kun-wern kun-kodjke* 'many nights'. In Kuninjku masculine prefixation in plural contexts is an option (5.260) but prefixation of the appropriate gender is also common (5.261, 5.262), as is the use of a nonminimal pronominal prefix (5.263) and the lexicalised use of *kunwern* to mean 'many times, often' (5.264).

5.260 *Na-wern djarduk ø-ngu-neng kure kaddum ø-barndi.*

I MA-many red.apple 3/3P-eat-PP LOC high 3P-be.highPI
'He ate many red apples while he was up (in the tree).'

5.261 *Kun-derbi man-wern ka-karrme.*

I IV-triangular.kin.terms VE-many 3/3-haveNP
'There are many terms in triangular kinship.' [GID]

5.262 *Darwin man-wern murrikang ka-rlobmerlobme.*
 VE-many car 3-ITER-runNP
 'In Darwin there are many cars running around.' [GID]

5.263 *Kakkawarr kaben-ma-ng birri-wern bininj.*
 messenger 3/3pl-bring-NP 3a-many person
 'The messenger will bring many people.' [GID]

5.264 *Kun-wern ø-wungme-ng ø-bulkkidjma-rr-inj.*
 NEU-many 3P-smoke-PP 3P-cause.serious.illness-RR-PP
 'He smoked too much and made himself seriously ill.' [GID]

OTHER QUANTIFIER-LIKE CONTEXTS While the above constructions, which are found across all dialects, involve various types of pluralising quantifier, some dialects have particular extensions of masculine agreement to other modifiers, all pertaining to enumeration.

Kuninjku has extended masculine agreement to *-barrkid* 'different':¹⁹

5.265 *Bene-dolkka-ng yawoyhno bene-djowkke-ng kabo-no na-barrkid.*
 3uaP-get.up-PP again 3uaP-cross-PP creek-its MA-different
 'They set off again and crossed a different creek.'

Gun-djeihmi allows the modifier *-gudji* 'one' to take either feminine or masculine agreement with feminine heads: for 'one woman' either *daluk ngal-gudji* or *daluk na-gudji* is possible. Carroll's Kunwinjku corpus includes the following example of 'one' modifying a feminine noun but taking a feminine prefix:

5.266 *na-kudji ngal-mangeyi*
 W MA-one II-turtle
 'one turtle' [PC 97]
 [cf. *ngalmangeyi ngalyahwurd* '(a) small turtle' and *ngalmangeyi ngalka ngalkomkuyeng* 'that long-necked turtle', with regular feminine agreement, cited on the same page.]

There are some Kunwinjku examples suggesting that the root *-kimuk* 'big', which can have the meaning 'big mob of, lots of' when used with mass nouns, can display masculine superclassing in this plural-like context, for example:

5.267 *na-kimuk kun-madj kabirri-bawo-n*
 W MA-big IV-swag 3a/3-leave-NP
 'they leave a big mob of swags'

5.5.4.3 Presentational contexts

Occasionally the presentational demonstrative *na(h)ni* 'this one here (which I present to you now)' generalises masculine agreement. Example 5.268 is one of several clear cases from Gun-djeihmi; 5.269, from Kunwinjku, is less clear given that Carroll (1976:97) claims *ngal-mangeyi* governs masculine agreement, and certainly there are many cases in Kunwinjku of this demonstrative series agreeing in gender with its head (see §7.3).

¹⁹ Though it uses the pronominally prefixed form *birri-barrkid* to mean 'foreigners, they who are different'.

- 5.268 *Na-hni gun-dulk a-garrme.*
 Dj MA-this.here IV-tree 1/3-holdNP
 'I'm holding this tree here.'
- 5.269 *Bi-na-ng na-ni na-wu ngal-mangeyi.*
 W 3/3P-see-PP MA-DEM MA-REL II-turtle
 'He saw something that (was) a turtle.' [PC 97]

The use of the unmarked, masculine option before the referent is named (and thereby assigned a noun class) is reminiscent of what Heath (1984:169) reports with regard to the dropping of noun-class prefixes in Nunggubuyu: 'presence of (continuous) prefix is correlated with definiteness or givenness, and its absence is correlated with focus and foregrounding'.

5.5.4.4 *With the relative demonstrative*

The preceding two sections have shown that not all modifiers manifest gender agreement to the same degree: certain quantifiers, and presentational demonstratives, frequently generalise masculine agreement to other genders, while adjectives such as 'good' and 'bad', and other demonstratives such as the *-mekbe/-mekke* and *-kka* sets (see §7.3.2) always have regular gender agreement. Significantly, the demonstratives that have regular gender agreement are those that can be used pronominally as well as adnominally, making the extra semantic resolution accorded by the gender prefix useful in working out the reference, whereas the presentational demonstratives are not used pronominally and their reference is usually clarified by a gesture.

A second demonstrative series that often relaxes gender agreement, at least in some dialects, is the 'relative' series (see §7.3.1.2), whose masculine form *na-wu* can, commonly in Gun-djeihmi and Kuninjku and more occasionally in Kunwinjku, be used with referents of all genders. Again this demonstrative is mostly used adnominally rather than pronominally, so that its reference can be determined locally from the noun to which it is adjacent (5.270–5.272; also 5.85) or, where it is used as a relative pronoun, from the adjacent verb (5.273).

- 5.270 *Djerrh na-wu man-djamun kun-djak-kenh ka-karrme.*
 small.dilly.bag MA-REL VE-sacred IV-illness-GEN 3-haveNP
 'That small dilly bag (we call) *djerrh* is sacred, it has the power to cause illness.'
 (*djerrh* is vegetable gender) [GID]
- 5.271 *Na-wu djidjerok, man-kod man-mak, la man-birdubirdu*
 MA-REL water.under.bark III-melaleuca VE-good CONJ III-[melaleuca.sp.]
man-bah-bang.
 VE-REDUP-cheeky
 'With the water tree Melaleucas, the large tea trees are drinkable but the water from the *man-birdubirdu* Melaleucas is foul.' [GID]
- 5.272 *Yi-bengka-n kun-red na-wu karri-wam karri-na-ng kinga?*
 2-know-NP IV-place MA-REL 12a-goPP 12a-see-PP crocodile
 'Do you know that place where we saw the crocodile?' [GID]

- 5.273 *ø-djordoh-djordm-inj na-wu ngarri-dudj-i.*
 3P-EXT-grow-PP MA-REL 1a/3-plant-PP
 'The ones we planted have all grown up.' [GID]

Nonetheless, the relative demonstratives are often used with the expected agreement, particularly when the head is feminine (5.274), and in the rare cases that they are used pronominally, with no head (5.275).

- 5.274 *Wanjh ø-wam Mehme ngal-bu ku-kurlk Mehme-bukka*
 then 3P-goPP [name] FE-REL LOC-dirt [name]-eh

Mehme ngal-yahwurd djiribidj djiribidj ngal-bu. Yoh.
 [name] FE-small quail quail FE-REL yes

'I'm *Mehme* here, here I stay on the ground.' Then *Mehme* went away, the one that lives on the ground. That *Mehme*, the little one, she's also called *djiribidj*.' [GID]

- 5.275 *Yo birri-do-y man-dudjmi. Ya birri-ka-ng kondanj*
 yes 3a/3P-strike-PP III-green.plum yeah 3a/3P-take-PP here

Dabbarabbolk wanjh ngandi-bukka-ng ngadberre wanjh
 old.people then 3a/1a-show-PP 1aOBL then

ngarri-h-do-y man-ih man-bu kun-wardde
 1a/3-IMM-strike-PP VE-DEM VE-REL IV-rock

'Yes, they used to pound the green plums. The old old people used to take them here and they showed us and we pounded up that *Buchanania obovata* fruit.'

5.6 Deverbal nominals

Deverbal nominals can be formed in two ways:

- (a) The verb stem, either gerundivised or inflected for a suitable TAM category, is prefixed directly with a gender or noun-class marker, without pronominal argument prefixes. In the case of resultatives it may be further suffixed by the genitive. Their essential formal feature is that the verb stem is directly prefixed with a marker normally restricted to nominal stems, and I shall therefore refer to them as fully deverbal nominals. This method is used for abstracts, single instances of an action, and resultatives. It also includes the use of verb roots, inflected for the past perfective (or, more rarely, the incorporated verb form), as adjectives which then take agreement morphology.
- (b) A fully inflected verb is used directly as a nominal. Either there is no formal marking of the conversion, or a noun-class prefix is added to the fully inflected verb; the essential formal feature of this kind of deverbal nominal is that it still bears characteristically verbal pronominal prefixes and I shall refer to this type as partially deverbal nominals. This method is used for agent nominalisations, kin terms based on characteristic actions or events, and names of cultural practices. It is essentially a lexicalisation of the potential of fully inflected verbs to be used as headless relative clauses, via conversions like 'they look at each other' to 'they who look at each other'

(see §14.3). The relative demonstrative normally used in such constructions becomes less obligatory the more they are lexicalised.

We now examine each of these types in detail.

5.6.1 Fully deverbal nominals

There are three types of these: abstract and event nouns with a Class IV prefix on an inflected form of the verb (usually the non-past), deverbal nominals which replace the verb thematic with *-mi* and add a noun-class prefix, and deverbal adjectives which employ the past perfective form of the verb.

5.6.1.1 Abstract and event nouns with Class IV prefix

A number of nominals denoting abstract qualities or individual events are formed by prefixing the Class IV marker *gun-/kun-* directly to the verb stem. This is commonest in Kunwinjku, possibly due to the neologising influence of Bible translations on this dialect. Some examples adapted from Oates (1964:35) are:

5.276	<i>kun-njirrke</i>	<i>kun-bekka-n</i>	<i>kun-belewon</i>
W	IV-blackenNP 'hatred'	IV-hear-NP 'hearing'	IV-whitenNP 'whiteness'
	<i>kun-bayeng</i>	<i>kun-bunjhman</i>	<i>kun-berrebbun</i>
	IV-bitePP 'a bite'	IV-kiss? 'a kiss'	IV-promiseNP 'a promise'

Oates claims such nominalisations are always based on the 'present tense form of the verb'. While this is mostly true, her examples, as cited above, include one based on the past perfective form (*-bayeng*) and one which does not occur in any TAM category (*bunjma*), the nearest candidates being NP *bunjman* and imperative *bunjma*. A comparable irregularity is found with the form *ka-lobmen* 'good runner', which has an *n* not found in the non-past form for that conjugation.

However, examples are also found in other dialects:

- 5.277 a. *gun-mikme*
Dj IV-avoid
'respect or avoidance register' (syn. *ngarrimikme*)
- b. *kun-yeme*
IV-be.afraid/ashamedNP
'fear, shame'

The use of the Class IV prefix with deverbal abstract nouns is clearly related to its use in deriving abstracts from adjectives (e.g. *kun-mak* 'goodness' < *-mak* 'good', *kun-warre* 'badness, something bad' < *-warre* 'bad'; see §5.5), and with abstract property nouns derived from verbs by adding the property suffix *-miken* (§5.3.1.3).

5.6.1.2 Deverbal nominals in -mi

The suffix *-mi* appears in a handful of clearly deverbal formations, and in a much larger set of nouns for which a verbal origin is plausible but no agnate verb stem is attested. These formations occur with a range of noun-class prefixes, including \emptyset . Note that *-mi* is also the commonest allomorph of the incorporating verb form (IVF) suffix used to adapt verbs for incorporation into other verbs (see §12.1) and the past imperfective form of *-me* verbs (§9.2).

A rare deverbal use of this suffix with a verb well attested elsewhere is the form *na-djird-mi-wern* 'thief', in which the verb *djirdmang* 'steal, pinch' has been deverbalised to *djirdmi*, prefixed with noun Class I marker *na-*, and suffixed with *-wern* 'plenty', as in:

5.278 *Warrkdjird na-djird-mi-wern.*
 Dj butcher.bird I-steal-DV-many
 'The pied butcher bird is a thief.'

A commoner use is in deriving names for varieties of Bininj Gun-wok, e.g. *Kun-dangyohmi* (Kunwinjku, as known by speakers of other dialects), *Gun-dednjenghmi* and *Gun-djeihmi*. The degree to which these names are etymologically transparent varies considerably: the first is based on the verb *dang-yoh-me* 'talk *yoh*-language (Kunwinjku)', based on the word *yoh* for 'yes', and the second on a characteristic particle *dednjengh* used by speakers of this dialect (see §1.2.3 for further information on these two names). No etymology for *Gun-djeihmi* has yet been found.

The language-naming function, in turn, is part of a broader use of *-mi* to derive names for kinds of sound, or entities or places associated with particular types of sound, suggesting the general deverbal meaning '(thing/place) associated with making the sound X / with going X'. A clear example is the place name *Binghbinghmi* 'Graveside Gorge', derived from *binghme* 'make clicking sounds'. The Kuninjku noun *kun-ngoyngoymi* means 'water splashing down a water course', though without a corresponding verb of sound production.

A number of animal names could plausibly be based on verbs of sound production, such as Dj *belganghmi* 'tree frog', *ngal-godjorrhmi* 'black hen', *gudjurrumi* 'gutsache bird (calls out like it has a gut-ache)', *na-genjhmi/na-gerdmi* 'bream' (cf. *genj-genj* 'pulse').

Finally, there are a couple of non-acoustic adjectives in Gun-djeihmi which apparently have a frozen form of this suffix, though again without the putative root being attested elsewhere: *na-yuihmi* 'full (of moon)' and *gun-galngyohmi* 'wet'.

5.6.1.3 Deverbal adjectives in -meng

A number of adjectives, particularly of colour but also of content, are formally equivalent to the past perfective form of verbs in *-me*. In many cases there are corresponding verbs with related meanings (though usually in another dialect), so that 'black' is etymologically 'loomed', 'white' is etymologically 'glistened' and 'full' is 'overflowed'. These deverbal adjectives are most numerous in Kune, and their synonyms in the other dialects are usually underived adjectives; thus in Dj 'black' is the underived adjective *-gurduk* as against E *-ngurlmeng*, and 'white' the underived adjective *-bele* as against E *-barmeng*. The adjectival versions combine directly with gender prefixes and cannot vary the tense suffix, whereas the verbs take subject prefixes and can vary the tense suffix. Example (5.279) compares the verbal and adjectival uses of the same root in two dialects: in Kuninjku *ngurlme* is a verb

meaning 'appear as a dark shape' (cf. its PP form *ngurlmeng* 'appeared as a dark shape') while *ngurlmeng* is a Kune adjective meaning 'black'.

5.279 a. *Nganabbarru ku-kak ka-m-ngurlme-ng.*
buffalo LOC-night 3-hither-loom.dark-PP
'A buffalo came in the darkness last night.' [GID]

b. *Ka-m-ngurlme man-djewk.*
3-hither-loom.darkNP III-rain
'The storm is looming dark towards us.'

5.280 *kurlbbinj na-ngurlmeng*
E:N anthill MA-black
'dark-coloured anthill'

Example 5.281 illustrates a similar comparison between Dj *barlme*, a verb meaning 'be full, overflow' while *barlmeng* is a Kune adjective meaning 'full':

5.281 a. *Banigin na-behne ga-bo-gimuk ga-barlme.*
Dj cup MA-DEM 3-liquid-big 3-overflowNP
'That cup is full to overflowing.'

b. *Ba-bo-barlme-ng an-djeuk na-gimuk.*
Dj 3P-liquid-overflow-PP III-rain MA-big
'(The tank) overflowed because of the rain.'

c. *banikin na-barlmeng*
E:D cup MA-full
'full cup'; 'the cup is full'

Further examples are E *barmeng* 'white', corresponding to the past perfective of *bame* 'shine, glisten' in other dialects, and E *ngerrmeng* 'red', with no obvious cognate but belonging to this formal pattern.

Like other adjectives, these frequently form the second element in restrictive compounds (e.g. *kukbarmeng* 'white skinned', *mudbarmeng* 'white-feathered', *marrengermeng* 'red-haired'). It is possible that the reanalysis of these verbs as adjectives was favoured by the formal and semantic parallels between intransitive verbs with incorporated subjects, and restrictive compounds — see remarks in §5.4.3.

5.6.2 Partially deverbal nominals

The lexicalisation of verbs inflected for actants and TAM categories (usually without further morphological marking) as names for entities, kin terms and practices, is a common feature of polysynthetic languages (see e.g. Michelson (1990) on Oneida, Sasse (1993, 1999) on Cayuga, and Mithun and Corbett (1999) on Mohawk). In Bininj Gun-wok, for example, *ka-warlbu-n* [3-hunt-NP] used as the main predicate, means 'he is hunting', but it can also be construed as a relative clause meaning 'he who hunts/is hunting' or 'the one hunting/who hunts', when accompanied by the relative demonstrative *nawu* 'that' (see §14.3). This second use has then become sufficiently conventionalised that it can function as a habitual agentive

nominalisation, with the meaning 'hunter'; in such cases the relative demonstrative can be omitted.

Lexicalised deverbals can be based on either pronominal argument of the verb, and may be ambiguous where the verb has more than one: *bi-yawmey* [3/3HP-conceive-PP, lit. (the one such that) she conceived him/her] can mean either 'his/her mother', deriving from a relative clause with subject pivot, or 'her child', deriving from a relative clause with object pivot. They may also derive from taking the whole clause as the referent (e.g. *arri-djuhme* [we-batheNP] 'the practice by which we bathe, i.e. our ceremony of purification by swimming' and *gabbari-mikme* [they-respectfully.avoid] 'their practice of using the avoidance register'). In some cases there is ambiguity between taking one of the actants, vs the whole proposition, as the referent: thus *gabbari-bolk-nahnan* [they-country-look.afterNP] can mean either 'they who look after the country; custodians' or 'their practice of looking after the country, their custodianship'.

The last example illustrated the possibility that such lexicalised deverbals may contain an incorporated noun. A few also have external nouns in object or intransitive function (e.g. Dj *ga-nahna-n Gunabibi* [3-look.after-NP Gunabibi] 'Gunabibi boss' and MM *jang ga-wernmen* [dreaming.site 3-increase-NP] 'increase site').

Apart from the need to use *nawu* with the relative clause interpretation, there is no morphosyntactic difference between relative and deverbal uses. This makes it difficult to decide when one is dealing with a lexicalised deverbal expression. Consider the expression *nawu kan-bukkabukka-n* [REL:DEM 3/1a-teach-NP] 'our teacher' (lit. 'the one such that (s)he teaches us'): Is this a lexicalised word for 'teacher', or merely an ad hoc formation of a relative clause?

This question is not always answerable in a principled way, and to some extent rests on considerations of how frequently the particular combination is encountered. However, the five tests outlined in the next section can often be employed.

5.6.2.1 Criteria for identifying lexicalisation of deverbals

One or more of the following criteria may be used to identify lexicalised deverbal nominals:

- (a) NOUN-CLASS PREFIXATION Particularly in Gun-djeihmi, noun class prefixes can be added to the deverbal formations (in front of the pronominal prefixes) but not to relative clauses in general. Examples are (5.282, 5.283); see also (4.14) for an example with the locative prefix.

5.282 *al-ngani-h-yo* / *al-ngani-h-ni*

Dj II-1ua-IMM-lieNP II-1ua-IMM-sitNP
'my wife' (lit. 'she (who) we lie/sit')

al-nguni-h-yo / *al-nguni-h-ni*

II-2ua-IMM-lieNP II-2ua-IMM-sitNP
'your wife' (lit. 'she (who) you two lie/sit (together)')

5.283 *al-bani-danginj*

Dj II-3uaP-standPP
'his/her sister' (lit. 'she (who) they two "stood" (were born)')

5.284 *al-bani-regeh-re-i*

Dj II-3ua-ITER-go-PI

'his old girlfriend', 'the girl he was going around with'

- (b) FIXED TAM VALUE As the above examples illustrate, the TAM value of the verb may be non-past, past perfective or past imperfective. Two further examples with the perfective are 4.14 and 5.285, and we shall see more in the section on deverbal kinship terms. Example 5.284 is the only one with the imperfective, and no examples with the imperative or irrealis have been recorded (they are also unlikely on semantic grounds).

5.285 *ba-yo-i*

Dj 3P-lie-PP

'left overs'

But even though there are three possible TAM values for these nominalisations, variation of the TAM value is not generally possible with the deverbal reading. With *bani-danginj* 'his/her sibling; they two siblings', for example, the root *da-* 'stand; be born' is only attested as a deverbal with the past perfective TAM inflection, whereas when used as a verb it combines (albeit rarely) with other TAM values, such as the non-past *dangen* in 4.15. (It regularly occurs with all other TAM values when it has the basic 'stand' meaning.)

- (c) CONVENTIONALISATION OF OTHER MORPHOLOGICAL POSSIBILITIES Various other morphological possibilities become restricted when verbs get lexicalised. Consider the verb *bornan* 'to beget'. To begin with, the deverbal reading with the meaning 'father' is restricted to its past perfective form, as in *nga-bornang* [1/3-father-PP] 'my child' (lit. '((s)he whom) I beget') and *ngan-bornang* [3/1-father-PP] 'my father' (lit. '(he who) beget me'). But in addition, various morphological possibilities exploited when this is used as a standard verb are absent when it is deverbalised. Thus the attestation of verbal uses includes examples with an incorporated object (5.286) and in the reflexive form (5.287), neither of which occur in the deverbal use.

5.286 *Wanjh ø-yaw-borna-ng ngalengarre Likanaya kore King River.*

W then 3/3P-baby-beget-PP herOBL [place] LOC

'Then he made a baby for Likanaya, at the (mouth of the) King River.' [KS 56]

5.287 *Beywurd ø-borna-rr-inj.*

I child 3/3P-beget-RR-PP

'He fathered (for himself) a child.' [GID]

The restriction on morphological possibilities with deverbal nominalisations is not total.

Firstly, deverbals expressing personal relationships, such as kinship, allow all possible values of subject and object pronouns.

Secondly, some deverbal nouns of place/physical manifestation, which typically incorporate a generic noun into *-yo* 'lie' (5.288, 5.289), also allow the incorporation of body-part roots and spatial prefixes to provide further detail about the trace (5.290–5.292).

- 5.288 *ga-bo-yo*
 Dj 3-liquid-lieNP
 'river'
- 5.289 *ga-bok-yo*
 Dj 3-track-lieNP
 'track' (i.e. mark of person or animal)
- 5.290 *ga-godjge-yo*
 Dj 3-sleep-lieNP
 'marks made (by sleeping kangaroo)'
- 5.291 *ga-berd-bok-yo*
 Dj 3-tail-track-lieNP
 '(kangaroo's) tail prints'
- 5.292 *ga-bulurru-bok-yo*
 Dj 3-slide-track-lieNP
 'slither marks (of crocodile)'

Thirdly, even basically frozen sequences may have some prefixal slots open (see the discussion in §4.1.2 of *garrumboledmi* 'afternoon' (lit. 'it-sun-turns') for an example).

- (d) NOMINAL SYNTAX Lexicalised deverbals resemble ordinary nominals in their syntactic possibilities: they can occur without the relative demonstrative *nawu*, including when used as locatives, in which case they either combine directly with the locative preposition *kore* (5.293) or have no marking of their locative role (5.294), an option also found with regular locations (see §13.4.1).

- 5.293 *Ngal-bu daluk kore ka-h-bim-di mak birri-djal-wern*
 W FE-REL woman LOC 3-IMM-image-standNP and 3a-just-many
 painting
 'The woman in the picture here [*kahbimdi*] is just anyone.' [KS 142]
- 5.294 *Ga-bo-rrolngga-n a-wurlebm-e*
 Dj 3-liquid-spray-NP 1-swim-NP
 shower
 'I'll have a shower.'

Likewise lexicalised deverbals used as time adverbials may either take the locative prefix (4.14) or be used with no marking of their role (5.295).

- 5.295 *Ga-rrum-boledmi a-m-re ø-na-n wudda-djahdjam.*
 Dj 3-sun-turnNP 1-hither-goNP 1/2-see-NP you-CHACLOC
 afternoon
 'Tomorrow afternoon I'll come out and look out at your camp.' (Here *garrumboledmi* represents an advanced stage of lexicalisation, the final *ng* in *dung* 'sun' having irregularly assimilated in place of assimilation to the following *b*.)

When used as possessive modifiers, deverbal nominals are simply placed next to the possessum, and do not take a genitive case suffix (5.296).

5.296 *ngan-yawme-y kun-red*
 3/1-conceive-PP IV-country
 'my mother's country'

- (e) SEMANTIC SPECIALISATION Some deverbal nominalisations can be used under a different set of conditions to the corresponding verbs, owing to the semantic specialisation that often accomplishes lexicalisation. The two deverbalised words for 'waterfall', *ga-bo-man.ga-n* [3-water-fall-NP] (Table 4.1) and *ga-djurk-bume* [3-running.water-blowNP], can both be applied to a dry waterfall (e.g. during the dry season) for example, whereas the full verbal uses (e.g. the choice of one of the past forms) are limited to situations where water is actually falling. Other examples are the restriction of deverbal *arri-djuhme* (see above) to the 'bogey [water-purification] ceremony', where the non-lexicalised verb can apply to immersion in water for all purposes while the deverbal nominalisation is confined to situations of actual purification, and the restriction of the 'we-sit' and 'we-lie' expressions to one's spouse, ruling out the deverbal use with others with whom one happens to be sitting or lying in the same place.

5.6.2.2 Main semantic categories

Most of the semantic categories covered by partially deverbal nominalisations have already been exemplified. The most important types are:

- (a) TERMS FOR HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS The core of this category are kin terms for relationships within the nuclear family, namely father (e.g. *nganbornang* 'he begot me; my father' — cf. 5.286), mother (e.g. *nganyawmey* 'she conceived me; my mother'), sibling (e.g. *al-bani-danginj* 'his/her sister; she that they were born (together)') and spouse (e.g. *al-nguni-h-yo/al-nguni-h-ni* 'your wife; she that you two lie/sit (together)' (cf. 5.282). The parent terms can be used to designate offspring by taking the object as pivot (e.g. *nga-yawmey* [1/3-conceivePP] 'my child; the one I conceived'). Generally the person combination constrains the interpretation (e.g. I/him-begot is 'my son' while he/me-begot is 'my father'), but where both actants are third person minimal either reading is possible (e.g. *bibornang* 'he/him(her) begot'), which may mean either 'his child' or 'his/her father'). The reference of the spouse terms to 'wife' or 'husband', and of the sibling terms to 'sister' or 'brother', may be picked out by the noun-class prefix.

These deverbal kinship terms exist alongside nouns designating essentially the same relationship (see §1.4.1). However, whereas the kinship nouns are readily extended to classificatory kin of any degree of genealogical distance or even merely fictively kin, the deverbal kinship terms emphasise genealogical closeness and the basically biological events that engender the kinship relations. The deverbal terms will typically be used in making genealogical statements (5.297) and in stressing that a given individual is one's actual, as opposed to one's merely classificatory, kin.

5.297 *Na-ngale ngun-bornang?*
 I-who 3/2-begot-PP
 father
 'Who is your father?'

In such discourse contexts, it should be noted, the syntax of the clause allows either an analysis in which the kinship relation is parsed as a true verb (e.g. 'who begot you' in 5.297) or one in which it is parsed as a nominal predicate (*Nangale mamamh nguddangki* [who MF your] 'who is your maternal grandfather?').

A further difference between deverbal and purely nominal kinship terms here is that, in address, it is always the nominal terms that are used (e.g. *karrang!* 'mother!').

In addition to kinship terms proper, there are a number of other deverbal nominalisations for human relationships of various types; most can equally well be used as verbs in predicates establishing the relationship, or as deverbal nominals to refer to an individual in such a relationship. These include 'boss' (5.298), 'sweetheart (typically clandestine)' (5.299), 'co-lover' (5.300) and 'ex-girlfriend/boyfriend' (lit. 'they went around'; see 5.284).

5.298 *Ngan-marne-worhna-n.*

Dj 3/1-BEN-look.after-NP

a. 'He looks after me.' b. 'My boss.'

5.299 *Kabene-na-rr-en.*

W,I 3ua-look.at-RR-NP

a. 'They two are sweethearts.' b. '(His/her) sweetheart.'

5.300 *Gabani-madj-yi-gadju-rr-en.*

Dj 3ua-swag-COM-follow-RR-NP

a. 'They are co-lovers. (i.e. they take turns in the same bed).' b. 'His/her co-lover.'

- (b) PRACTITIONERS AND PRACTICES Examples of this have already been given (e.g. *ga-warlbun* [he-hunts] 'hunter', *gabbarri-bolk-nahnan* [they-country-look.after] 'custodians; custodianship', *ga-nahnan Gunabibi* [he-look.after Gunabibi] 'Gunabibi boss', *arri-mikme* [we-practice.avoidance] 'our practice of respect towards in-laws', *arri-djuhme* [we-bathe] 'our practice of ritual cleansing').
- (c) DYNAMIC PLACES This covers various aspects of the landscape that result from dynamic forces, and that are typically evanescent to some extent; this applies particularly to bodies of water which are all highly changeable in the monsoonal climate of the area. Examples are the waterfall terms described above, as well as *ga-bo-yo* [it-water-lies] 'river', *ga-bok-yo* [it-track-lies] 'track', *ga-berd-bok-yo* [it-tail-track-lies] 'kangaroo's tail prints', *ga-bulurru-bok-yo* [it-slither-track-lies] 'slither marks of a crocodile', *ga-bo-re* [it-liquid-goes] 'spring'. It is striking that in all such cases the structure includes an incorporated nominal with an intransitive verb, and in each case athetic or existential reading (e.g. 'there is water coming out') is also possible. For some of these, regular nominal synonyms exist (e.g. *gun-bok* 'track'), though it is difficult to elaborate these (e.g. into 'slither tracks') without passing to the (de)verbal form. For others only the deverbal locution is available (e.g. *gabore* 'spring' and the waterfall terms).
- (d) METEOROLOGICAL EVENTS Many expressions denoting times of the day (e.g. *ga-rrung-yibme* [it-sun-sinks] 'sunset', *ga-malayi-barrhbun* [it-morrow-cracks] 'dawn', *ga-rrumboledme* (see 5.295 above) 'afternoon') are included here, as well as many names for seasons (e.g. *ka-ngurdurlme* [it-thunders] 'pre-wet season; lightning time'). For many of these it remains difficult to prove definitively that these are really lexicalised,

since the possibility of using tensed versions establishes their verbal nature quite clearly (5.301), though in eastern dialects one morphological feature they share with core nominals is use of the 'time' suffix *-keno* (5.114).

- 5.301 *Galuk ba-malayi-barrhbu-ni barri-yauh-re-y.*
 Dj then 3P-morrow-crack-PI 3uaP-again-go-PI
 'Then when day was breaking they would go off again.'

- (e) ARTEFACTS A few terms for artefacts are deverbal nominalisations (e.g. W *ka-djongbu-rr-en* [3-put.on-RR-NP] 'dress', *ka-rrulk-warnam-yo* [3-tree-crosswise-lie] 'cross'). However, it is striking that although appropriate verbs are often used to describe such entities, or the relations to them of their users, these verbs typically do not get lexicalised as names in the way they do in the Iroquoian languages, for example; instead, most novel artefacts are denoted by nouns borrowed from another language. For example the verb *ka-kodj-djongdi* [it-head-be.put.inside] will often be used to describe a person wearing a hat, but the English noun 'hat' is an alternative; similarly a verb of sticking or tying will typically be used to describe someone with a bandage on (e.g. MM *barri-mat-dukgang* 'they tied up his ankle' or Kuninju *mad-belbmerrinj* 'his ankle is stuck together') but the loan-word *burridjdjang* (possibly Macassan) or *bendidj* (< bandage) is also used.

Note that this preference for loan-words does not extend to new *processes* (e.g. telephoning, or getting a flat tyre) which will be designated by new combinations of an incorporated noun plus verb. It thus appears that the language specifically disprefers the use of deverbal nominalisations for artefact terms.

5.6.2.3 Nominalisations from other types of predicate

A few nominalisations are based not on verbal predicates but on locative nominal predicates. These resemble partially deverbal nominalisations in permitting the concatenation of two rounds of prefixal morphology, in the form of a noun-class prefix in front of the locative prefix.

- 5.302 *na-gu-bodme-gadi / al-gu-bodme-gadi*
 Dj I-LOC-back-on II-LOC-back-on
 'Male/female impregnating spirit (that rides) on the back (of the hunted animal).'

6 *The nominal group*

6.1 Problems with the notion of NP in Bininj Gun-wok

I have called this chapter 'the nominal group' rather than 'the noun phrase' because the notion of noun phrase is inapplicable to this language on any strict definition of the term, which normally takes as criterial such characteristics of the NP as the presence of a determiner, clear criteria for showing constituency, and the presence of internal sequence rules. Rather, whether a given language has a clear NP category is a language-specific question,¹ and for languages which lack this category the less restrictive term, nominal group, is preferable (cf. Himmelmann 1997:11–12).

Overall:

- (a) Although several nominal words pertaining to the same entity are often adjacent, there is rarely evidence that they form part of a syntactic unit; rather they are related paratactically and the relations between them are worked out from pragmatics rather than syntax. At best there are a couple of sequence rules that amount to specific constructions combining nominal elements.
- (b) The assemblage of referring expressions largely proceeds by unifying material from the verb with that from adjacent nouns.

In the rest of this section I discuss four ways in which Bininj Gun-wok departs from the structures found in a language like English. In §6.1.1 I deal with the difficulty of dividing texts into predicates and actants. In §6.2.2 I pass to the problem of determining an NP constituent by tests of adjacency and order. In §6.2.3 I look at the way a 'functional NP' – which would be represented by an f-structure in a theory like Lexical Functional Grammar – needs to unify information found in the nominal group and the various sites on the verb. Finally in §6.1.4 I go even deeper and look at the question of whether the basic semantic division between argument and predicate always corresponds to that found in English.

6.1.1 *Difficulties in determining predicate versus actant use*

As in many polysynthetic languages (see Sasse 1991; Launey 1994), the opposition between predicate and actant is frequently unclear, since a typical verb already contains a

¹ See, for example, Heath (1986) for arguments that Nunggubuyu has no such unit.

great deal of information about the actant(s). Rather, identificational information typically proceeds by a series of successive predications.²

Consider the following passage, from a Gun-djehmi text about rock painters told by David Kanari. I have supplied two translations, the first assimilating it to a typical 'Standard Average European' structure with clearly defined nested NPs, and the second reproducing the original structure more closely.

6.1 *and na-mak ngaye ngarri-danginj nagohbanj, ngaye na-wernwarre*
 Dj MA-good me 1ua-standPP old.man me I-older.sibling
 – sibling –

na-rangem ngarduk, Nayombolmi Charlie, Barramundi Charlie
 MA-male my [name]

barri-ngeibu-ni waidbala Gorrogo bi-marne-wokgihmi waidbala
 3a/3P-call-PI whitefeller before 3/3P-BEN-workPI whitefeller

nángamed, Frank Muir gure ngamed Djarradjin, Djurdilba,
 who LOC what [place] [place]

balanda barri-bolk-ngeibo-m Muirella Park.
 white 3aP-place-call-PP

Translation a. 'And my dear old brother, that old fellow — my older brother Nayombolmi Charlie — whose whitefeller name was Barramundi Charlie. In the old days he used to work for a whitefeller, whatsisname, Frank Muir, at whatsitsname, Djarradjin, Djurdilba, whose whitefeller name was Muirella Park.'

Translation b. 'And that good old man, we were born of the same parent, my older sibling, he was male, Nayombolmi Charlie, they used to call him Barramundi Charlie, the whitefellers. In the old days he used to work for a whitefeller, whatsisname, Frank Muir, at whatsitsname, Djarradjin, Djurdilba, the whitefellers used to call the place Muirella Park.'

On the second translation there is a greater number of clauses (five verbs instead of three), the relations between elements are looser, the hierarchical relationships present in the first translation (such as relative clauses like 'whose whitefeller name was X') are no longer present, and the actant-predicate relations that are clear on the first translation have become blurred.

A related problem is created by the lack of an obligatory copula, and the virtual lack of formal means for signalling whether nominals are functioning syntactically as arguments of predicates. This makes it difficult to decide whether a sequence of nominal words (e.g. a demonstrative and a noun), even where they pertain to the same entity, is to be treated as a single phrase, or as an ascriptive clause construction. Consider the following passage, for which two alternative translations are again supplied (one by Carroll, who recorded the story, and measured the pauses shown in brackets, and one by the present author).

² It has been pointed out to me by Matthew Dryer (pers. comm.), however, that this phenomenon does not correlate simply with the degree of polysynthesis, since some polysynthetic languages of North America (e.g. Kutenai, Algonquian) do not present this pattern, while some isolating languages do; see, for example, David Gil's (1994) treatment of Riau Malay.

6.2 *Na-mekbe bininj duninj kunj ø-ka-ni*, [0.4]
 W MA-DEM man proper kangaroo 3/3I-carry-PI

na-ni na-wu mam kun-malng [2.2]
 MA-DEM MA-REL devil IV-spirit

na-nu wanjh, [1.8]
 MA-DEM then

ø-djare-ni kunj. [2.7]
 3-want-PI kangaroo

- a. 'The one with a kangaroo was a true man. The other was a devil spirit. That one then, he was wanting kangaroo.' [OP 410; Carroll's translation]
 b. 'The real man was carrying the kangaroo, while the devil spirit one (= the one who was a devil spirit) was wanting the kangaroo.' [alternative translation by N.E.]

The critical difference between these translations, both of which are compatible with the text, lies in what they treat as main predication and what they treat as part of larger NP units. The structural analysis implied by Carroll's translation of the first line treats *kunj kani* as a relative clause (who was carrying a kangaroo), while the analysis implied by mine treats it as the main predication. Conversely, Carroll's treats *bininj duninj* as the main predication (was a true man) whereas mine treats it as part of the subject noun phrase. In the next part Carroll's translation splits the sentence up into two separately asserted propositions ('the other was a devil spirit' and 'that one then, he was wanting kangaroo'), whereas mine interprets *mam kunmalng* as a relative clause, partly because the relative demonstrative *nawu* is present and this favours a relative clause interpretation (though it does not force it), and partly because the information about him being a devil is not new but had been given a few lines previously. The possibility of these rather different translations arises from the lack of grammaticalised means of signalling the difference between predicate and actant interpretations, or, from the point of view of discourse dynamics, of signalling the difference between theme and rheme. (It is possible that a proper analysis of the intonational system will show how these differences are signalled.)

From the point of analysing the syntax of the NP, these issues create widespread indeterminacies about what the relevant units are. Carroll's analysis leads to such units as *namekbe ... kunj kani* 'the one with the kangaroo' and *nani nawu* 'that one', whereas mine postulates the units *namekbe bininj duninj* and *nani nawu mam kunmalng* 'that devil spirit one'.

6.1.2 Lack of evidence for NP constituency

The second problem, shared with a number of so-called 'non-configurational' languages, is posed by the fact that the elements corresponding to a single NP in English need not occur contiguously. 'My baby' in 6.3 and 'that snake Ngalyod the rainbow snake' in 6.4, for example, are represented by material on both sides of the verb. In neither case is there any pause between elements, and note that the Carroll corpus from which these examples are drawn notes pauses as short as 0.2 seconds.

6.3 *Wurd na-wu yi-na-yi ngarduk?*
 W baby MA-REL 2/3-see-IRR my

- a. 'Have you seen my baby?' [OP 401; Carroll's translation]
 b. 'Have you seen the baby, of mine?' [alternative translation]

6.4 *Nabinkullawa na-wu ngal-lekke daluk bi-rrang-balhme-ng ku-wardde*
 W [name] MA-REL FE-DEM woman 3/3hP-door-close-PP LOC-rock

wanjh nayin na-mekke bi-bom ngal-yod.
 then snake MA-DEM 3/3hP-killPP II-rainbow.serpent

- a. 'Nabinkullawa closed the opening of the cave on that woman then that snake killed her it was the Rainbow Serpent.' [OP 330; Carroll's translation]
 b. 'Nabinkullawa closed the opening of the cave on that woman, then that Rainbow Snake killed her.' [alternative translation]

Are such examples to be treated as single phrases which happen not to have all their elements contiguous (as suggested by Carroll's translation for 6.3), or as appositions of nominals which all refer to the same entity, but are not necessarily part of a single phrasal constituent, instead being strung together paratactically?

This issue has been widely discussed for a number of other Australian languages,³ but occurs in a more exacerbated form here. It has been suggested for many Australian languages that although nominal elements may be simply apposed as far as constituent structure goes, they are nonetheless reassembled into a unit at another level of representation (such as functional structure in LFG) on the basis of their matching 'categorial signatures' (Hale 1983), that is the possession of common morphosyntactic values for case, number and/or gender. A clear statement of this position is in Dench's (1995a:189) grammar of Martuthunira, in which one criterion for identifying noun phrases is as 'sequences of nominals over which some nominal suffix may be distributed'.

Now there are clear problems adapting this analysis to Bininj Gun-wok, owing to the paucity of agreement morphology on nominals. The lack of case marking on core NPs, its optionality on non-core NPs, and the fact that roles are normally marked on at best one element, means that examples like 6.5, which appear to display case agreement morphology, are extremely rare; in any case, it is equally plausible to treat this as a case of true apposition (as suggested by the alternative translation) in which the two nominal words, though sharing the same case inflection, are not a single syntactic unit (see Dench and Evans 1988 on a range of such constructions). It might be thought, in the absence of case-marking, that gender marking could be used to assemble NPs, but as we saw in §5.5 gender agreement is restricted to some dialects only, and even in those fails to apply in such a wide range of circumstances that it would be at most a patchy method.

6.5 *Gotjjarn gu-barndat-gah ga-di ngan-djoh-gah.*
 MM witchetty.grub LOC-root-LOC 3-stand III-[acacia.sp.]-LOC

- a. 'Witchetty grubs live in the roots of *ngan-djoh* trees.'
 b. 'Witchetty grubs live in roots, in *ngan-djoh* trees.'

There is also a high degree of indeterminacy when it comes to order and function within a sequence of nominal elements. As is typical in Australian languages generally, as well as

³ See, for example, Hale (1983) and Simpson (1991) on Warlpiri, Blake (1983) on Kalkatungu, Heath (1986) on Nunggubuyu, Dench (1995a,b) on Martuthunira and Nordlinger (1998) on a number of Australian languages.

more broadly in languages which lack a clearly defined noun phrase, there is no true determiner category. Although specification of nouns by combining them with demonstratives and/or pronouns is preferred, bare nouns can achieve reference, as with the examples of *maih* 'the birds' in 2.66 and *gohbagohbanj* '(the) old men' and *yawurrinj* '(the) young man/men' throughout Text 4 (on bare nouns see §6.3.2 below for further discussion). There are also no second-position auxiliary phenomena that, in a language like Warlpiri, can be used to demonstrate constituency.

The difficulty of identifying a phrase-like group is exacerbated by the lack of ordering restrictions when a sequence of nominal words occur together. It is not possible to establish a comprehensive set of clear ordering rules with respect to such functions as 'determiner', 'number', 'qualifier', 'generic' and 'entity', although there are a few rules governing the ordering of some determiners (e.g. when 'one' is used to mean 'a certain'), and certain possessive constructions. Issues of order will be discussed in §6.3 below. To preview that discussion, in the absence of a clearly structured noun phrase, descriptors of entities are built up through successive mention, but the nominal elements involved need not form part of any syntactic unit.

Taken together, these factors entail a great deal of indeterminacy with respect to whether a number of nominal words form a phrase, and indeed of which verb, if any, they constitute an argument, owing to the lack of core case-marking.

6.1.3 The unification problem

The third problem in establishing the unit of analysis — this time at the level of finding surface exponents of particular referring expressions or 'functional' NPs — comes from the degree to which information from the verb and from free nominal elements must be integrated in constructing referring expressions. Consider the following two sentences from a text commenting on a small flock of pigeons walking down towards a river to drink; for expository purposes I have indicated in bold those portions of the sentence which are unified to give the referring expression at issue.

6.6 *Na-bene maih a-na-ng ga-m-golu-rr-en gaddum-be djohboi.*
 Dj MA-that bird 1/3-see-PP 3-hither-descend-RR-NP up-ABL poor.thing
 'I've seen **those birds** coming down (to the waterhole) from higher up, dear little things.'

... [3 lines of text intervene] ...

Na-mege maih ngarrgu gabarri-bódjare gukku.
 MA-that bird our 3a-thirstyNP water
 'Those birds of ours, they're thirsty for water.'

In both lines the full semantic specification needed to reach the interpretation 'those birds' and 'those birds of ours' can only be obtained by combining information from external material, in a nominal group, and material inside the verb. The first two words of the first line could be translated as either 'I saw that bird' or 'I saw those birds', but the plural interpretation is forced by the following verb, which uses a reflexive/reciprocal suffix with a collective interpretation (§1.3.1.2), even though the pronominal prefix (as is normal with lower animates) does not encode their number. In the subsequent line, specification of plurality again occurs in the verb: here the speaker, somewhat unusually, uses the augmented

form of the pronominal prefix to indicate plurality, as a way of personifying the birds (and the theme of the whole text is the way the birds care for their offspring by taking water back in their crops).

Supplying the number of nominal expressions is only one example of how information from the verb is unified with external nominal material. Another common situation involves the integration of incorporated nominals with external modifiers (6.7); a further case involves set/subset constructions, where the superset is represented by a pronominal prefix to the verb and the subset by an external free pronoun or nominal (6.8).

6.7 *Nga-yaw-ngu-n ngaleng ngarre.*

W 1/3-baby-eat-NP 3fem 3fem.OBL
'I will eat **her** baby.' [OP 401]

6.8 *Wanjh daluk ngal-mekbe bene-re-y.*

W then woman FE-DEM 3uaP-go-PI
'Then he and that woman were going.' (i.e. 'they two, including that woman') [OP 406]

These types do not exhaust the way in which unification from verbal and nominal material is used to construct referring expressions; the topic is discussed in more detail in §6.2. It is noteworthy that in all such cases the nominal and verbal material are directly adjacent.

6.1.4 The division problem

The preceding section presupposed that the actual semantic division into predicate and arguments is unproblematic, even though the information pertaining to arguments is distributed across both nominals and verbs. An important question, however, is whether the concentration of morphology on the verb leads to a different division of how situations are represented, in terms of what information is taken to pertain to the arguments and what to the event (see discussions among philosophers of the so-called 'division problem' (Hirsch 1997)). This arises most acutely in the case of some types of noun incorporation, as well as in the interpretation of some bound verbal affixes of a broadly quantificational nature.

Consider a clause like the following:

6.9 *Yekke-keno ka-ko-di man-mardba.*
dry.season-TIME 3-flower-standNP III-eucalyptus.phoenicea
– flower – NP

'The *Eucalyptus phoenicea* flowers in the dry season.' [GID]

How should this clause be analysed, and in particular what is the correct treatment of *kakodi*? On one analysis *kodi* is simply a verb, meaning 'to flower', that happens to be decomposable into a prebound identical to the nominal root *ko* 'flower', plus a thematic *di* 'stand'. On another, *di* here is the main verb 'stand', and *ko* is an incorporated 'part' noun which restricts the degree to which the main verb is predicable of its subject; that is, the interpretation is something like 'the *Eucalyptus phoenicea* stands/displays salient vertical features, as far its flowers are concerned'.

There is evidence for interpretations of each type in the grammar (see §8.2.1 on complex verb stems, and §10.4.2 on the semantics of part incorporation). The development of new lexemes by reanalysing old incorporated or compounded nouns as part of a new complex

verbal stem is a productive means of expanding the lexicon (§8.2.1), and although there are formal tests for identifying lexicalised prebound + theme structures (§8.1.3.3) there are a number of difficult transitional cases, so that the decision as to the proper treatment must be made individually for each lexeme.

To summarise my position: our analysis of Bininj Gun-wok must distinguish three types of case: (a) those where incorporated nouns are simply regular arguments that happen to be morphologically positioned inside the verb (see §6.2.2 and §10.4.3); (b) those where incorporated nouns denote the part of an absolutive argument involved in or affected by an action (see §10.4.2); (c) those where a noun root has been compounded with a verb stem, so that the noun root is no longer a distinct syntactic entity (see §8.2.1) on complex verb stems. These three situations can be clearly distinguished in principle, and a range of tests can be used to identify each type, though there are also borderline cases, and lack of any immediately obvious formal difference between them means that a range of tests typically needs to be applied before we can identify the appropriate analysis in a given case.

A second problem concerns the use of nouns incorporated into stance verb for 'thetic propositions' (§10.4.3.3) in which the existence of a state-of-affairs as a whole is asserted (see Sasse 1987; Launey 1994), without dissecting it into a predicate made of some actants, so that 'it-tree-stands', for example, is used to assert the state of affairs of there being a tree present. Here again the analysis is problematic: Are such constructions syntactically like zero-argument weather verbs, with no actant at all (with the incorporated nominal giving further information about the type of stance, e.g. 'stand tree-like'), or is the incorporated noun effectively an argument of the verb which happens to be incorporated? Matthew Dryer (pers. comm.) favours the first analysis for the polysynthetic language Kutenai, but in Bininj Gun-wok the fact that if no suitable incorporable noun root is available a free nominal must be used, in what looks much more like a regular one-place construction (see §10.4.3.3), disfavors such an analysis.

Clearly in the 'flowering' case, and less decisively in case of the thetic construction, it may be argued that the appropriate analysis is not to simply construct a referring expression by integrating material that happens to be encoded partly in the verb and partly on an external nominal, as I suggested under the rubric of the 'unification problem' above. Rather, incorporation of a noun root into the verb is iconic of the fact that one cannot achieve a clear separation of actant and predicate in these circumstances.

The other place where the division problem emerges clearly is in the interpretation of certain prefixes on the verb. Consider the prefix *warrgah-*. In many examples this is best translated by the English adjectival expression 'the wrong ...', as in (6.10), which might naively be taken to suggest it is a modifier of nominal heads that happens to be prefixed to verbs.

- 6.10 *Na-bininj*kobeng *bini-warrkah-bo-m*.
 E I-spouse 3uaP-wrong-hit-PP
 'They punched the wrong husband.'

However, consideration of a broader range of contexts (discussed in detail in §11.3.4) shows that its meaning is more complex, and essentially evaluates an event as having had the wrong outcome owing to the action having involved an entity that was or ended up in the wrong place (e.g. with 'fall' it means 'fall in the wrong place'). The semantics of this affix, then, cannot be easily accommodated in any simple division between material pertaining to events and material pertaining to actants.

6.1.5 Preview of rest of chapter

The rest of this chapter will be organised as follows: §6.2 looks in detail at the ways material from verbs is unified with external nominals to construct detailed referring expressions; §6.3 looks at what constructional types can be identified within groups of external nominals; §6.4 passes to the problem of adpositional groups, where a preposition or postposition is combined with a nominal group; and finally, §6.5 looks at a number of clitics which combine with nominal groups.

6.2 Unification constructions and referring expressions

In this section we examine four semantic areas in which material from the verb and external nominals is unified to give full referring expressions: number, head-modifier relations, information on referential and discourse status, and domain. This last category has to do with alternative delimitations of the extension of the predication, and can be further divided into set-subset and part-whole constructions.

6.2.1 Number

We have already seen (§6.1.3) that information on nominal number is most commonly encoded on the verb, either on the pronominal prefix or by the collective use of the reflexive/reciprocal suffix. While in the case of non-human arguments number is only encoded in the pronominal prefix in cases of personification or salience (§10.2.5.1–10.2.5.2), with human arguments it is always so marked, whether as augmented (6.11) or unit augmented (6.12):

6.11 *dja barri-ru-ngi yawurrinj*
Dj and 3aP-burn(INTR.)-PI young.man
'and the young men would get burned'

6.12 *Marrek ø-bengka-yi yungkih Kamarrang rowk bini-marne-warlkka-rr-inj.*
E:D NEG 3P-know-IRR in.front subsection all 3ua/3P-BEN-hide-RR-PP
'He didn't know that two men of Kamarrang subsection were ahead hiding from him.'

The regular use of number on pronominal prefixes compensates for the limited means for showing plurality on nouns themselves, primarily through various forms of reduplication (§5.3.2). However, pronominal prefixes only show number for core arguments (subject and object; see §10.2.1–§10.2.2) and only if they are human (leaving aside special instances of personification) and in other situations a number of other means must be used:

- (a) The use of inherently plural demonstratives such as Dj *namegebu* 'those' (§7.3.1, 5.259) and *w naninjanu* 'those' (5.256); Dj *namegebu daluk* and *w naninjanu daluk* both translate 'those women', though in the examples given number is also shown on the pronominal prefixes to the verb.
- (b) The use of 'numerospatial quantifiers' prefixed to the verb, such as Dj *mirnde-* 'many', *gaberrk* 'mob', and *djangged* 'bunch', E:D *njon* and *bul* 'mob', and *mogen-* which in Gun-djeihmi means 'bundle' but in Kune means 'mob, bunch' as in:

- 6.13 a. *Kuluban ka-moken-di.*
 E:N flying.fox 3-mob-standNP
 'There's a flock of flying foxes.'
- b. *Kuluban nga-moken-na-ng.*
 E:N flying.fox 1/3-mob-see-PP
 'I saw a mob of flying foxes.'

When these numerospatial quantifiers are used with non-humans they are in complementary distribution to the normal encoding of number on the pronominal prefixes. They normally have scope over the absolutive argument, and it is likely that they originated as incorporated nouns denoting objects like 'bundle', 'bunch' and so forth. (For fuller discussion see §11.3.3.)

- (c) Two nominal words often used to emphasise plurality are *rowk* 'all' (e.g. *yawurrinj rowk* '(all) the young men') and *ngong* 'mob, lots of' (e.g. MM *algordow ngong* 'the broilgas' and E:N *djirrbili ngong* 'lots of *djirrbili* fish'; see §6.5.2).
- (d) There remain many contexts in which only context or real-world knowledge determines whether a plural reading is intended. In *birndu gadjal-di* 'there are still a lot of mosquitoes around' in 11.163, for example, there is no explicit marking of plurality; a plural reading is preferred simply on the basis that mosquitoes normally come in swarms.

6.2.2 Head noun/modifier relations

Referring expressions are often constructed by combining an incorporated nominal and an external modifier of various types, such as adjective (6.14, 10.244), numeral (6.15, 10.250), possessive pronoun (6.7, 10.247) or demonstrative (6.16, 10.248).

- 6.14 *An-biya garri-yerrng-ma-ng, bu garri-worrhm-i, an-dehne*
 Dj VE-different 12a-wood-get-NP REL 12a-light-NP VE-this
an-geb-warre.
 VE-flame-bad
 'We'll get some different wood when we make the fire, this (kind of) wood produces a poor flame.'
- 6.15 *Ngakngak bogen ga-rrabu-gurrme.*
 Dj grey-crowned.babbler two 3-egg-layNP
 'Grey-crowned babblers lay two eggs.'
- 6.16 *Nga-murrng-bimbom na-mekke.*
 W 1/3-bone-paintPP MA-DEM
 'I painted those bones.' [OP 353]

Modifiers in such cases are always immediately before or after the verb. Where relevant their gender is governed by the incorporated head, as with the vegetable agreement with *-yerrng-* 'wood' in 6.14. The same possibilities for contextual refashioning of agreement exist as are found with external heads, such as the use of masculine for agreement with a

body part (which would normally govern neuter agreement) in the context of painting (see §5.5.3.1).

Ambiguities may arise in cases where the modifier can plausibly modify either the incorporated noun or another, external, head. Example 6.15 could potentially receive an alternative parsing in which *bogen* 'two' modifies *ngakngak*, with the meaning 'two grey-crowned babblers lay eggs'. This could be disambiguated by using a demonstrative outside *bogen* (thus *ngakngak bogen namekke garrabugurrme* 'those two grey-crowned babblers lay eggs'), but most often the ambiguity would be prevented by the use of intonational means to group *bogen* with either *ngakngak* or *garrabugurrme* according to whether the head was the free or the incorporated nominal.

More commonly, the problem is avoided by compounding the modifier with a repeated form of the incorporated root (6.17, 5.208, 5.209, 10.245, 10.249). This option is only available if the modifier is an adjective (see §5.4.3).

- 6.17 *Ngaye Nicholas ngani-ngime-ng ngani-rurrk-na-ng ngan-rurrk-makkaigen.*
 Dj me 1ua-enter-PP 1ua-shelter-see-PP VE-shelter-beautiful
 'Nicholas and I went in and had a look at the beautiful (new amenities) building.'

In addition to such clear-cut cases of modification by adjectives, numerals and demonstratives, there are cases where the headedness relations are less clear but the incorporated and external elements are nonetheless combined into a single referring expression.

First, a very frequent construction, particularly in making existential orthetic statements, is to incorporate a generic-type noun, and place a more specific noun next to the verb (6.18). Note that generic-specific constructions in which both generic and specific are represented by separate words in the same NP are common in Australian languages (see e.g. McGregor 1990:254 on Gooniyandi).

- 6.18 *Ga-rrulk-di an-dubang.*
 Dj 3-tree-standNP III-ironwood
 'There's an ironwood tree there.'

Secondly, it is also common to modify the referents of pronominal prefixes by external material; particularly frequent is the construal of *bininj* 'person; Aboriginal person' with a pronominal prefix with the meaning 'we people':

- 6.19 *dja kan-do-ng bininj*
 W CONJ 3/1a-strike-NP person
 'and strikes us people down'
- 6.20 *Djerdedjerd ka-wokdi, kan-mulewa-n bininj,*
 E:D black.faced.wood.swallow 3-talkNP 3/1a-inform.on-NP person
ø-darrhm-eninj kunj.
 3P-pop.head.up-IRR macropod
 'When the black-faced wood swallow calls out it tells on us people; a kangaroo might have popped its head up from the grass (and hear the warning from the swallow).'

This strategy will also be used when the pronoun needs to be modified for restrictive emphasis, as in:

- 6.21 *Ngayi nga-kudji kan-ka-n!*
 E:N me 1-one 2/1(a)-take-NP
 'Take just me!'

The constructional criteria for distinguishing such modificational constructions from simple 'doubling' of the pronominal prefix by an external pronoun (6.22), or of an incorporated noun by a synonymous external root (6.23), are not clear-cut. In principle we can appeal to adjacency, since the above modifying constructions always place the modifier immediately next to the verb whereas 'doubling' constructions need not (e.g. *nungka* and *ka* in 6.24), but in practice it is so common for clauses to be made up of simply a verb plus one external nominal that this criterion is often inapplicable. Impressionistically it seems to be the case that in modifying constructions the external material is more closely integrated with the verb in terms of intonation contour, but again we must await fuller studies of the intonational phonology before this claim can be established satisfactorily.

- 6.22 *Aleng ba-djal-yim-i.*
 Dj she 3P-just-do-PI
 'She used to do that all the time.' [T 1.6]
- 6.23 *Dja man-korle ø-korle-kurme-ng ...*
 W CONJ III-bamboo.spear 3/3P-bamboo.spear-put-PP
 'And she stacked bamboo spears ...' [OP 367]
- 6.24 *Nungka man-korle ka-karrme na-wern.*
 E:N he III-spear 3-holdNP MA-many
 'He's holding a lot of bamboo spears.'

6.2.3 Referential status

Because pronominal prefixes for subject and object are obligatory and there are no alternations with intransitive constructions that allow suppression of the object argument, prefixes for third person pronominal object are not restricted to established or even referential entities. Both the third person higher animate object prefix *bi-* and the augmented prefix *bVn-* may be used for generic or new arguments, as well as for established participants where object pronominals would be appropriate in English. It is only by integrating the pronominal prefixes with material from an external nominal group (bare nouns, pronouns, possessives and demonstratives) that the referential status of these pronominal prefixes can be determined. This topic is further discussed and exemplified in §10.2.7, but for the moment we illustrate the problem with a single textual excerpt from the *Kunwinjku Spirit* corpus (Nganjmira 1997:4–6). The translation has been slightly adapted to make it more literal; in the couple of places where the alteration is relevant to the issue of referentiality, the original translation follows mine in square brackets.

- 6.25 Background: Yingarna, the Rainbow Snake ancestress of today's people, came across under the seas, and reached the island of Waminari, where:
- a. *Ngaleng ben-yawme-y birri-wern birri-kuk-bu-buyika bininj*
 she 3/3pP-bear.child-PP 3a-many 3a-body-REDUP-different person

dja mayh.

CONJ animal

'She gave birth to many strange people and animals,

- b. *Birri-warre-ni birri-kodj-buyika-ni dja birri-burrk-buyika-ni.*
 3aP-bad-P 3aP-head-different-P CONJ 3aP-body-different-P
 'ill-formed, with strange heads and bodies.' OR: 'They were ill-formed, they had strange heads and bodies.'
- c. *Minj ben-marne-djare-niwirrinj, wanjh ø-yime-ng:*
 NEG 3/3plP-BEN-want-IRR then 3P-say-PP
 'She didn't like them, and said:
- d. "Ngaben-yawoyh-kuk-ngu-n, kaluk ngaben-djordm-ih-we kore ku-njam".
 1/3pl-again-body-eat-NP later 1/3pl-grow-IVF-throwNP LOC LOC-stomach
 'I'll swallow them again, and later I'll grow some more [them] in my belly'".
- e. *Kaluk yerrih na-kudji man-djewk ben-yawoyh-yawme-y,*
 then after MA-one III-rain 3/3plP-again-bear.child-PP
 'The next year she gave birth again,
- f. *Kaluk bininj duninh na-wu birri-djordm-inj wurdyaw duninh ...*
 then person real MA-REL 3aP-grow-PP child real
 'to normal people who grew up as proper children ...'

Line omitted explaining how these children grew up to be the various tribes of the region.

- g. *Yingarna ø-wam ø-durnd-i kore ngalengarre kun-red Waminari.*
 [name] 3P-goPP 3P-return-PP LOC 3femOBL IV-place [place]
 'Yingarna went back to her place at Waminari.
- h. *Wanjh ben-berd-djobke-ng wurdwurd ku-mekke kun-red, dja*
 then 3/3plP-penis-cut-PP children LOC-DEM IV-place CONJ
birri-dowe-ng.
 3aP-die-PP
 'Then she circumcised some children (some boys) at that place, but they died.
- i. *Yerre ngaleng ø-wam Marrkolidjban dja ben-berd-djobke-ng*
 later she 3P-goPP [place] CONJ 3/3plP-penis-cut-PP
wurdwurd ku-mekke,
 children LOC-DEM
 'Later she went to Marrkolidjban and circumcised some boys (to see if they would be OK),
- j. *kamak kun-ekke, minj ngad karrben-berd-djobke kondah ...*
 good IV-DEM NEG we 12a/3pl-penis-cutNP here
 and they were OK. (But) we don't circumcise people [circumcise] in this area ...'

A wide range of translations for *ben* plus its accompanying external material are appropriate in this passage.

The only straightforward examples of **anaphoric use** are in line c and the first occurrence in line d; in both these cases there is no external material. The second occurrence in line d

receives an anaphoric translation in the KS translation ('grew them again in her belly') which is essentially a 'lazy pronoun' use pushing the boundaries of what counts as an identical entity in tracked discourse, given that a whole new set of children are involved.

Three of the remaining occurrences involve **new mentions**, namely the examples in lines a, h and i. In each of these cases a nominal group follows the verb. In the latter two cases this takes the form of a plural nominal with a spatial demonstrative (*wurdwurd kumekke* '(some) children at that place'), and in the former case there follows a lengthy nominal group of five or nine words, depending on whether one wants to analyse the material in line b as a separate nominal predication (as indicated by the alternative gloss offered).

In line e the translation is problematic; the translation supplied gives an English intransitive verb as the equivalent ('give birth' rather than 'give birth to people'), but equally valid would be a translation with a bare plural (e.g. 'gave birth to babies'). Either way, nominal material making the nature of the object clear is supplied in the next line.

Finally, line j exemplifies a **generic-object** use, which could be translated either with a bare plural generic noun, as I have done ('circumcise people'), or again with an intransitive English verb, as in the published translation. The generic-object use is extremely frequent. No external nominal appears in such circumstances.

The above text is typical in representing how far constructional means, in the form of conventional interactions between verbal-prefix and external nominal material, determine the interpretation of such pronominals. Prefixes not supplemented with external material may equally well be anaphoric or generic, while in the case of new mentions external nominals typically immediately follow the verb. The unfolding discourse context is as important in determining the interpretation as the presence and nature of immediate external material. Nonetheless, where precision is desired, generic interpretations can be forced by adding bare nouns, and specific anaphoric interpretations by adding free pronouns and anaphoric demonstratives. Examples of these will be given in §10.2.7.

6.2.4 *Profiled domain*

A fourth way in which verbal and nominal material enter into unificational constructions is in giving two 'takes' on the domain of application of the verbal predicate, with the verbal and nominal material delineating two concentric levels (one narrower, one broader) at which the predication applies.

Two types of construction need to be distinguished. First, in set-subset constructions, a construction of the type *THEY.TWO-WENT THAT WOMAN* for '(s)he and that woman went' is used. The pronominal prefix specifies the superset, and an external nominal specifies a profiled subset. The predicate is true both of the set and of the subset. Second, in part-whole constructions, a construction like *THEY-EYE-BECAME.BIG THOSE WOMEN* is used for 'the women's eyes grew big'. An incorporated nominal specifies which part of an entity is affected by the verbal predicate, while a pronominal prefix and, optionally, a free pronoun, profiles the 'whole' affected by the action. Here the predication only applies literally to the part, although it has implications for the whole (as effects on, or controlled parts of, the whole).

We discuss each of these in turn.

6.2.4.1 Set-subset constructions

The normal way of expressing 'X and Y', for core arguments of the verb, is to use a pronominal prefix referring to the whole set {X, Y}, supplemented by an external nominal referring to Y, which will be whichever member of the set whose presence the speaker does not take for granted.⁴

Consider the following two examples from the same Kunwinjku story [KS 406]. In the first example, which follows a few lines in which a man (*Nabinkullawa*) is introduced as a protagonist, the fact that he is living as a married man is introduced with a set-subset construction in which the pronominal prefix *bene-* 'they two' is combined with the external nominal group *daluk ngalmekbe* 'that woman/wife (of his)'.⁴

- 6.26 *Wanjh daluk ngal-mekbe bene-re-y, bene-wam wanjh ngal-buyika*
 W then woman FE-DEM 3uaP-go-PI 3uaP-goPP then FE-other
birri-m-wo-ng.
 3a/3P-hither-give-PP
 'Then he and his wife were going along (living), the two of them lived then he was given another (woman).'

The new young wife, *Minaliwo*, refuses to sleep with him, so that only the man and his older first wife sleep together. In the description of this situation the set is described by a pronominal prefix to both a verb (*beneyoy*) and an adjective (*benekare*), while the first wife is referred to by an adjective (*ngalkare*):

- 6.27 *Minj bene-yu-wirrinj burrkyak, djarre ngalengman ø-djal-yo-y.*
 W NEG 3uaP-sleep-IRR no far 3femEMPH 3P-just-sleep-PP
Med bedman bene-yo-y bene-kare, ngal-kare.
 later 3aEMPH 3uaP-sleep-PP 3ua-same.old FE-same.old
 'They did not sleep together, no, she just slept off by herself. Then they slept together, the same old couple, (he and) the same woman (whom he had always slept with).'

Set-subset constructions are particularly common with reciprocal verbs like *narren* 'see (each other), meet' or *marren* 'marry (each other)' (§10.3.4):

- 6.28 *Ani-ma-rr-en Al-mardgu*
 Dj 1ua-marry-RR-NP FE-[matrimoiety]
 'I have to marry a woman of the Mardgu matrimoiety.' (i.e. 'We have to get married, me and some Al-mardgu woman.')

A special subtype of this construction is where the subset is actually divided off on a temporal basis; this is common when talking about old-time practices which 'we' (the speakers) still identify with but were actually only carried out by the subset denoted by the external nominal. Note that in this case it is only the subset, as denoted by the external nominal, to which the predication actually applies.

⁴ Set-subset constructions are very common in Australian languages, though the exact form they take depends on the structure of the language: in dependent marking languages they will usually be realised by the juxtaposition of a free pronoun and a nominal, agreeing in case. For examples see Goddard (1982).

- 6.29 *Ba-bolk-ngei-yo-i, arri-bolk-ngeibu-ni dabbarrabolk gorrogo, Gamirn.*
 Dj 3P-place-name-lie-PI 1a-place-call-PI old.people before [place]
 'It was called, our old people used to call it, *Gamirn*.'

6.2.4.2 Part-whole

The second sub-type of this construction involves an incorporated noun designating a part, and a pronominal prefix (and, optionally, an external nominal, as in the examples below) designating the whole.

The designated entity must be in an absolutive relation to the verb, that is object or intransitive subject. Both 'part' and 'whole' are treated as having the same grammatical relation to the verb; their translation in English will sometimes be into two NP constituents (e.g. 'she touched me on the hand') and sometimes into one, with the whole expressed as a possessive adnominal phrase ('she touched my hand') or as a sequence of two nouns (e.g. 'crocodile tracks'). Their placement in the same grammatical relation to the verb parallels their treatment when they appear as isolated nominal groups (as in nomination, e.g. *namarn.gorl gunbarrebarnmo* [barramundi backbone] 'barramundi's backbone', *gunj andjomborl* [kangaroo track] 'kangaroo track'); see §6.3.3 below for further examples.

Semantically, the predication in part-whole constructions need only be true of the part, but its consequences are potentially relevant for the whole. In saying, for example 'I-hand-entered the hole' for 'I put my hand in the hole', it is only true of the hand, not of the whole person, that they have entered the hole, but various potential consequences (e.g. death from snake-bite) are relevant to the whole person. Likewise, in 6.30 it is the hand rather than the whole of Nawamud that is waving, even though Nawamud himself is the one engaged in the activity construed as the communicative act of one person waving to another.

- 6.30 *Nawamud ga-bid-wayda-n.*
 Dj [subsection] 3-hand-wave(INTR)-NP
 'Nawamud is waving (with) his hand.'
- 6.31 *Ba-rrang-barrme-ng yau.*
 Dj 3P-mouth-become.open-PP baby
 'The baby (bird) has opened its mouth (to be fed).'
- 6.32 *Ba-milh-dulubu-ni na-bang burl.*
 Dj 3/3P-forehead-shoot-PI MA-dangerous bull
 'He would shoot dangerous bulls in the forehead.'

The 'part-whole' relation is interpreted in a broad sense to include relations of representation (e.g. name, voice, language, shadow) as well as spirit, products, tracks (6.33) and remains. This constellation is common in Australian languages (see Chappell & McGregor 1995).

- 6.33 *Ginga barri-barlah-na-ni.*
 Dj crocodile 3a/3P-track-see-PI
 'They would see **crocodile slither-tracks**.' [T 4.27]

More detailed discussion of this construction is contained in §10.4.2.

6.3 Composition in the nominal group

As discussed in §6.1, referring expressions may be built up from a range of combinations of verbal and external nominal material. Representation on the verb alone, whether by pronominal prefix, incorporated noun or (more rarely) other number-marking affix, is the commonest option. Where nominal material is present, there is no constraint that a 'head noun' be present, and it is not uncommon for modifiers to occur alone, their head being supplied by information on the verb which may range from, minimally, information about person and number (6.34), to more precise referential specification supplied by incorporated nominals (6.14–6.16).

- 6.34 *Nakka yi-ngu-ø, kaluk nga-ngu-n.*
 W MATHIS 2/3-eat-IMP later 1/3-eat-NP
 'You eat this one now, I'll eat (something) later.'

In fact it is probably wrong to correlate the possibility of having no external head with the availability of specification on the verb. Modifiers in isolation can occur equally well for the third verbal argument of ditransitives, which lacks pronominal representation, and even when no incorporated nominal is present to serve as a head, as in 6.35:

- 6.35 *Kandi-wo-ø man-kuyeng!*
 W 2/1-give-IMP VE-long
 'You give me the long (one)!'

Likewise, complement NPs which cannot be represented by any verbal material can be represented just by a modifier:

- 6.36 *Daluk djama ba-ra-yi gu-biya.*
 Dj woman NEG 3P-go-IRR LOC-other
 'The woman couldn't go to another (place).'

- 6.37 *ngan-yame-ng man-kuyeng-dorreng.*
 W 3/1-spear-PP VE-long-with
 'He speared me with the long one.'

A more accurate statement, then, would be that any referring expression may be represented simply by modifiers, which will be construed as 'an X one' or 'an X place' according to the morphosyntactic context.⁵ When the referring expression is also an argument, however, additional semantic specification may be achieved through information marked on the verb, as in the examples mentioned above.

Even when more than one nominal element is present, there is no requirement they be contiguous. Discontinuous expressions are particularly common when the modifier is a measure expression like 'big' (6.38), 'many' (6.39, 6.40) or 'bundles of, in bundles' (7.38), but also occurs with other modifiers such as possessive pronouns (6.3) and demonstratives (6.41). Whether these agree in gender with their head depends on the specific agreement rules for quantifiers in the particular dialect (§5.5.4).

⁵ This is common, incidentally, in many Australian that lack any pronominal representation on the verb (see e.g. Dench (1995a,b) on Martuthunira).

- 6.38 *Na-marn.gorl ga-garrme na-gimuk.*
Dj 1-barramundi 3-catchNP MA-big
'He's catching a big barramundi.'
- 6.39 *Djabbo man-korle ø-me-y man-wern.*
W quoll III-bamboo.spear 3/3P-get-PP VE-many
'Djabbo the quoll got lots of bamboo spears.' [KS 120]
- 6.40 *Nungka man-korle ka-karrme na-wern.*
E:N 3masc III-bamboo.spear 3/3-haveNP MA-many
'He's holding a lot of bamboo spears.' [T 8.5]
- 6.41 *Bininj yi-djawa na-mekbe.*
Dj man 2-askIMP MA-DEM
'Ask that man!'

Even when a series of words do occur together, there are no tight constraints on their ordering.⁶ Demonstratives may precede or follow their heads: compare *nawu gunj* 'that kangaroo' (Text 1.39) and *gunj nawu* (Text 1.45), with no obvious meaning difference.

In strings containing a noun, demonstrative and other modifiers there is a tendency for the modifiers (whether adjective, numeral, possessive pronoun or classifier) to fall between the demonstrative and the noun,⁷ as in *ngale ngarrku ngurrurdu* [FE:DEM our emu] 'that emu of ours' (Text 2.1). But there are plenty of cases where this does not hold, either because the demonstrative is placed on the opposite side of the head to other modifiers, as in *namege maih ngarrgu* [MA:DEM bird our] 'those birds of ours' (6.5), or because the demonstrative is actually placed between an adjective or quantifier and the head noun, as in the following examples:

- 6.42 *Gek, well, nga-wam, a-wam before, and na-marn.gorl na-mege*
W I.say 1-gopp 1-gopp I-barramundi MA-that
djenj nga-rranjbom durnbuhmanj.
fish 1-spearPP black.bream
'I say, well, I went along before, and that barramundi fish I speared, [self-corrects]
(a) black bream.' [MT Lungfish 68]
- 6.43 *Djirndih ngal-u na-yahwurdurd, ba-yi-walkka-rri-nj.*
Dnj quail FE-that MA-little 3P-COM-hide-RR-PP
'That little quail hid himself away with it.' [T 2.57]
- 6.44 *Wanjh ben-nguneng birri-bu-buyika na-wu bininj*
W then 3/3plP-eatPP 3a-REDUP-other MA-REL person
'Then he ate (all) the other people.' [KS 40]

⁶ This contrasts with a number of other Australian languages in which split and modifier-only NPs are possible, but where the ordering is relatively constrained when the words are contiguous (see McGregor (1990) on Gooniyandi, Dench (1995b) on Martuthunira, and Evans (1995c) on Kayardild, for example).

⁷ This is in conformity with Rijkhoff's (1992) findings concerning cross-linguistic tendencies in ordering within noun phrases, with the idealised and commonest order being as follows:

Determiner Quantifier Adjective Classifier Noun

There is thus no reason to posit rules ordering nominal words when they occur as a contiguous group, since they are at best loose tendencies. In other words, nominal words have the same independence, when occurring as part of a contiguous group of words referring to the same entity, as they do when they occur as the sole nominal word, or in a discontinuous construction.

Against this anarchic background, however, some more-fixed orderings stand out. The root *-gudji* 'one' is polysemous between the indefinite meaning 'one, a certain' and the strictly numeral meaning 'one (no more)'. When it has the indefinite meaning it is always group-initial, as in Text 1.43 *nagudji djirndi* 'one (bird), quail (had hidden himself away with the backbone)' (see also Text 4.14–4.15; Text 8.8). On the other hand, when it has the numeral meaning it can (like the other numerals) have either order: *dird nagudji* 'one month' but *nagudji yau* 'one chick' in 13.5.

Likewise, in the possessed-noun construction, in which 'X's Y' is expressed as 'X Y-his', Y will always follow X. See §6.3.1 below for examples. The other possessive construction, using an oblique pronoun for the possessor, has no ordering restrictions.

I take these few ordering restrictions to represent the grammaticalisation of a few individual modifying constructions, but without the accompanying grammaticalisation of a full set of rules leading to the formation of a NP structure (cf. Himmelmann (1997) on the logical independence of various construction types within the NP).

We now pass to a number of important functions of referring expressions and see how they are realised within nominal groups, of varying degrees of structural conventionalisation.

6.3.1 Possessive constructions

Although there is a genitive suffix, this is only rarely used attributively, its most common use being in nominal predicates of the type X Y-GEN 'X is Y's, is for Y' (5.36–5.38). There are, however, occasional examples of attributive use:

- 6.45 *Yiman ga-yime barri-rurk-name-ng, bininj-genh bogare gun-njam.*
Dj like 3-dONP 3a/3P-building-make-PP person-GEN urine IV-guts

ga-djuhme

3-washNP

'Like, they've made a building here for peoples urine and faeces, where they can wash.' [MT 12.7]

- 6.46 *Gaboyarmeng arri-bal-yerrga-ni alengman Namaddalk-gen.*

Dnj [place] 1a-along-sit-PI herEMPH [clan]-GEN

'We'd sit down at Gaboyarmeng, her (country), belonging to the Namaddalk clan.'

[MT 22.46]

In addition, of course, it is common to construct possessive phrases by juxtaposing an oblique pronoun either before or after the possessed noun, in either order (e.g. *ngarduk ngadjadj* 'my uncle', Dj *an-garre nuye* 'his custom').

Where the possessor is shown by a noun, a much commoner alternative to using the genitive is the structure shown in 6.47, where the possessed noun is followed by a possessive pronoun, and preceded by a nominative noun or pronoun representing the possessor (6.48–6.50; 7.27).

- 6.47 Possessor Possessed Oblique Pronoun
- 6.48 *djorrkkun man-nguk nuye*
E:N rock.possum III-shit 3mascOBL
'rock possum's shit'
- 6.49 *dabbarrabolk kun-wok bedberre*
I old.people IV-language 3aOBL
'the old people's language'
- 6.50 *Birri-Bunidj kun-red bedberre yiman kayime Madjikkarra.*
I 3a-[clan] IV-country 3aOBL ...like... [place]
'The country of Bunidj people is like around Madjikkarra.' [GID]

Even though this is one of the more conventionalised orders, there is still some flexibility; there are examples where the noun representing the possessor is placed after the possessed noun (6.51), as well as examples where the possessor noun plus the oblique pronoun both precede the possessed noun (6.52). The only constant ordering factor is that the oblique pronoun always follows the possessor noun, though not necessarily directly.

- 6.51 *Djalabarn kun-red Dad-dubbe nuye.*
I [place] IV-home [name] 3mascOBL
'Djalabarn is the home of Dad-dubbe (the *mimih* spirit).' [GID]
- 6.52 *Mimih nuye duruk yiman Djabbarraboy.*
I [spirit] 3mascOBL dog like [name]
'Djabbarraboy is, like, the *mimih* spirit's dog.'

Where the possessor is third person minimal, the construction in 6.47 may be used, but substituting the 'third person possessed suffix' *-no* (§5.3.1.1) for the oblique pronoun (e.g. *Kabbulay wurdno* 'Kabbulay's children', lit. 'Kabbulay children-his/her').

Kin terms have special 'third person possessed reference forms' (here abbreviated 3REF) which are usually formally distinct both from the vocative forms (§1.4.1) and from the reference forms combined with first or second person pronouns. Thus one uses *karrang!* to call one's mother, and would say *ngarduk karrard* to mean 'my mother', but in referring to the mother of a third person the form *ngalbadjan* (lit. 'II-great') is used. Similarly to call one's father the form *ngabba!* will be used, and 'my father' is *ngayeken ngabbard* (on the special regularised possessive form *ngayeken* see §7.1.3), but in referring to the father of a third person the 3REF form *kornkumo* will be used (e.g. 14.19). Presumably because these forms are inherently possessed, no possessive pronoun is used with them, and they may be simply juxtaposed with a noun referring to the possessor, as in *ngalbadjan Minaliwo* 'Minaliwo's mother' [OP 349], *Nym gornkumo* 'Nym's father' [MT 16.11]. Alternatively, the 3REF form may just be used alone, with the interpretation 'his/her X'; see Text 5.13 and 5.15 for examples of *kornkumo* being used with the meaning 'his father'.

6.3.2 Determination

Determination of nouns, in terms of marking whether they are given or new, definite or indefinite and so on, is not obligatory in Bini Gun-wok. We saw in §6.2.3 that third person pronominal object prefixes to the verb can have a wide range of interpretations, extending

from situations where reference has been well-established by prior mention, to new mentions, to generic-object uses. Similarly, in §10.2.8 we will discuss the use of the third minimal 'higher object' prefix *bi-* even with non-referring objects in situations like 'he should have married a *Ngalngarridj* woman'. To an extent it is through the choice of external nominals that such distinctions are made. But here again there is considerable flexibility, and the means available are optional methods of being more precise, rather than necessary choices of the type associated with grammaticalised determiner use.

Let us begin by considering the use of bare nouns, that is the use of nouns as the only external nominal. Most commonly such uses are found:

- (a) where no specific reference is being made, whether with 'psychological objects', as in *barriwam djilidjilih* [they-went cane.grass] 'they went out (for) **cane grass**' [Text 1.10], or because the identity is unimportant, as in *birribom bininj* [they/him-killed person] 'they killed **a man**' and *gundulk barri-mey* [stick they/it-picked.up] 'they picked up **a stick**'.
- (b) where nouns are being used as proper nouns, as with the uses of the various bird names in the first text (e.g. *Wirriwirriyak ba-rrenge-mokni* [cuckoo.shrike 3-foot-was.sore] 'Black-faced cuckoo-shrike had a sore foot' — Text 1.8).
- (c) as subject complements, as in *maih barri-yimerranj* [bird they-turned.into] 'they turned into **birds**'.

But it is also possible to use bare nouns as definite expressions. This is particularly common with 'contextually given' uses, where the context is that of the speech act (6.53) or constructed by the interaction of the text with frame semantics (e.g. the use of *wurdurd* for 'the children, her children' in Text 1.7). But it is also found with established participants in linear narratives (6.54).

6.53 *Kabirri-dedj-ngolih-ngolihme daluk.*

3a-bum-REDUP-move.hipsNP woman
'The women are shaking their butts in the dance.'

6.54 *Daluk bi-kang bi-yi-wam Bumabuma ø-marnburrinj*
woman 3/3hP-takePP 3/3hP-COM-goPP [name] 3P-make-RR-PP

warlang wanjh.

then bat

'He took the woman, went with her and then Bumabuma turned himself into a bat.' [GID]

More commonly, however, determination is made overt through the use of one of the many demonstratives (see §7.3 for examples), such as *namekke* 'that (aforementioned)' or *nakka* 'that (just mentioned now)', or by combining the noun with a pronoun, as in the following examples (see also Text 1.44).

6.55 *Birri-na-ng ka-h-kodjkeyo nungka karndakkidj.*

3a/3P-see-PP 3-IMM-sleepNP 3masc kangaroo

'They saw the kangaroo sleeping.' [GID]

6.56 *Nungga nabininjgobeng ga-ga-n gun-bid-bogen.*

Dj 3masc 1-spouse 3-take-NP IV-hand-two

'And he, the husband, takes ten.'

6.57 *Na-yuhyunggi bedda werrk barri-bukka-ng.*
 Dj 1-first.people 3a first 3aP-show-PP
 'The first people taught people how to paint first.'

The opposite possibility (i.e. the explicit treatment of an entity as a new mention is signalled by placing an appropriately prefixed form of the root *-gudji* 'one' before the modifier noun.⁸ This use covers cases where a new entity is introduced (e.g. '(there's) a snake here!' (*nagudji nayin gayo*) in Text 4.15 or 'one (of the birds, a) quail' (*nagudji djirndih*) in Text 1.43), as well as situations where a referent is arbitrarily selected from a presumed referent set, e.g. 'one of the youths (*nagudji yawurrinj*) would be watching a track' (Text 4.14). Text 8, in which the narrator is pointing successively to a number of individual figures in a rock painting, includes several instances of 'one' being used in this way (lines 1, 8 and 9), in two cases following a use in the same clause of an emphatic pronoun, which there combines with 'one' to give the effect 'now this one here'.

6.3.3 Appositional elaboration

Pairs of apposed nouns frequently occur in isolated phrases, especially in nomination; they may be separated by a demonstrative. The relations are various, though always taking alternative labellings or perspectives on the same entity. The commonest types are:

- (a) 'An X, which is/was a Y', as in I (*ngaleh*) *ngalyuhyungki ngurrurdu* '(that) ancestor emu', *Kodjok (namekke) nawernwarre* '(that) younger Kodjok brother' (i.e. (that) Kodjok, the younger brother one') [T 5.8].
- (b) 'An X, called Y'; here Y usually comes first, as in Dj *algaiho daluk* 'Algaiho woman/women', Dj *Gorlonjdjorr an-rud* 'the Gorlonjdjorr (Deaf Adder Gorge) road'.
- (c) 'An X, which is a type of Y' (e.g. *madjbalem kundulk* 'madjbalem tree':

6.58 *Bene-wa-m kore madjbalem kun-dulk yiman man-boyberre*
 W 3ua-go-PP LOC [tree.sp.] IV-tree like III-wild.apricot

ø-barnem-wele-welm-i.
 3P-bunch-EXT-hang-PI

'They came to a *madjbalem* tree with fruit hanging down from its vines.' [KS 38]

- (d) 'An X, which is a transformation or sign of the presence of Y'; here either order is found (e.g. Dnj *djang kurdukadji* 'emu dreaming [*djang*]' and Dj *gunj an-djomborl* 'kangaroo pad; pad made by the passage of kangaroos').
- (e) 'An X, which is a part of Y' (e.g. Dj *an-ngui an-dangdang* 'flower of *Eucalyptus ferruginea*', Dj *gun-mim an-djimjim* 'seeds of water pandanus', Dj *namarngol barrebarnmo* 'barramundi(s) backbone'). This appositional construction is mainly found in western dialects; in eastern dialects the part noun is marked with the part suffix *-no* (§5.5.2.5) and follows the noun designating the whole, so that 'flower of *Eucalyptus ferruginea*' would be rendered in Kune as *man-dangdang ko-no*. Note also

⁸ For a discussion of the use of 'one' as an 'indefinite determiner' in a range of Australian languages, in ways that closely parallel the situation in Bininj Gun-wook, see McGregor (n.d.).

that where the whole is designated by a compounding root, whole-part compounds are used instead of apposition (see §5.4.2).

- (f) 'An X, made of Y' (e.g. Dj *an-bornde gun-yarl* 'banyan (bark) string', W *mandulk borndok* 'acacia-wood spearthrower').
- (g) 'An X (measure or group) of Ys', e.g. Dj *gun-mogen ngan-gorle* 'a bundle of bamboo spears'.

When integrated into a clausal unit, part-whole pairs usually get separated through the incorporation of the part noun into the verb (§10.4.2). The remaining appositional pairs, however, are simply juxtaposed in the clause as well:

- 6.59 *Wurningak kun-wok birri-wokdi.*
W Urningangk IV-language 3aP-speakP
'They spoke the Urningangk language.'
- 6.60 *Bi-wo-ng gorn.gumo gun-ngei Gurlumirridj.*
Dj 3/3hP-give-PP father3REF IV-name [name]
'Her father gave her the name Gurlumirridj.'
- 6.61 *Baleh na-wu wurdyaw Wurrakkak?*
W where MA-REL child [name]
'Where's that baby Wurrakkak?' [KS 22]

6.3.4 Conjunctional elaboration

Conjunction translatable by 'and' is commonly expressed by simple juxtaposition of the conjuncts under a listing intonation (6.62, 6.63). See Text 1.9 and Text 1.65 for further examples.

- 6.62 *Bi-ngu-ni bi-yakwo-ni kun-berl kun-dad.*
W 3/3hP-eat-PI 3/3hP-finish-PI IV-arm IV-leg
(of a cannibal:) 'He was eating and finishing an arm, and a leg.'
- 6.63 *Anabbarru lendo, djama marrek gonhda ba-di-wirrinj. Gu-behni marrek*
Dj buffalo horse NEG never here 3-stand-IRR LOC-here never
ba-di-wirrinj. Gunj, gornobolo, yok, ngal-wanjujuk.
3P-stand-IRR kangaroo agile.wallaby bandicoot II-emu
(before the white man came:) 'Buffaloes, horses, they were never here. They were never 'here. (Just) kangaroos, agile wallabies, bandicoots, and emus.' [MT 7.36-39]

The conjuncts in such list structures may be split by the verb:

- 6.64 ... *kun-kerri ø-ma-ngi, kun-yerrng*
W IV-cooking.stone 3/3P-get-PI IV-wood
'... he got cooking stones, and firewood'

It is also possible to signal conjunction overtly through the conjunctions *la* (W, I, E, MM) or *dja* (W, Dj). Both of these can also be used to conjoin elements of other ranks (e.g. clauses), and *dja* can also mean 'or' (see below). When conjoining nouns or nominal groups, these

conjunctions are particularly common with, though certainly not restricted to, elements that in some way form a linked pair rather than simply an incidental grouping (see also 10.205):

6.65 *Man-bardbard la man-dadjek kabene-djarrk-nguybu-n.*
 III-heliosperma CONJ III-pteridifolia 3ua-together-flower-NP
 'The *Grevillea heliosperma* and the *Grevillea pteridifolia* flower together
 (at the same time).'

6.66 *Wurdwurd dja teacher kabirri-kuk-djarrangbu-n kabirri-kurrme*
 W children CONJ 3a/3-body-sort-NP 3a/3-putNP
na-yahwurd dja na-kimuk.
 MA-small CONJ MA-big
 'The children and teacher sort out the fish into big and little groups.'

The English loan 'and' is also used, though under rather different conditions from those in the donor language: it simply marks the following word as part of a set of conjuncts, without requiring that it not have been mentioned previously. The second 'and' of the following example precedes *nabulanj*, the name of speaker's father (mentioned as *ngabbard* in the first line), but this time as part of a different subset-grouping (i.e. having grouped by husband and wives, the new grouping is by father and children).

6.67 *Ngabbard and garrard, bene-boken, al-wakadj, al-wakadj boken*
 W father mother 3ua-two II-wakadj II-wakadj two
and na-bulanj na-kudji and ngayi na-bangardi, and Peter and Jack.
 I-bulanj MA-one me I-bangardi
Ngarri-djal-travellingman kure bikibiki ngan-ngorrme-y
 1a-just-travel LOC pig 3/1-pick.up.on.shoulders-PP
halfway long the road.

'Father and my two mothers, the two *al-wakadj*, the one *nabulanj* (i.e. my father) and me, *na-bangardi*, and Peter and Jack. We just kept travelling till we got to a place where a pig lifted me off the ground on his shoulders dead in the middle of the road.' [MT Jacky Namarndala, Lungfish]

'Or' can be expressed in a number of ways. Firstly, the conjunction *dja* may also be used with this function, for example:

6.68 *Galuk danjbik dja bogen bani-lobm-i gunak-dorrenng*
 Dj then three CONJ two 3uaP-run-PI fire-with
bani-wurlh-wurlhge-yi
 3uaP-ITER-light-PI
 'Then two or three would run around with a firestick and set fire
 (to the shelter).' [T 4.8]

Secondly, each alternative can be accompanied by the word *gare* 'maybe' (7.124), *yigah* 'some; in some cases' (6.69) or *yiman gayime* 'like; for example' (6.70):

6.69 *Gorrogo bininj barri-worm-i barri-m-re-i, na-meg-be PineCreek-be*
 Dj before person 3aP-swim-PI 3aP-hither-go-PI MA-that-ABL -ABL

yiga, Gunbarlanja-be yiga barri-m-re-i, still
 some.cases Oenpelli-ABL some.cases 3aP-hither-go-PI

barri-warrm-i barri-djuhm-i bularl,
 3aP-swim-PI 3aP-bogy-PI stringybark

'In the old days people used to come swimming across, they used to come across from Pine Creek or from Oenpelli, they'd still paddle across, using a stringybark raft.'

6.70 *All right, na-mege bininj bi-djal-gadju-ngi, bi-marne-bebm-i*
 Dj all.right MA-DEM man 3/3P-just-follow-PI 3/3P-BEN-appear-PI

yiman gayime gonhda yiman gayime Katherine, yiman gayime
 ...for.example... here ...for.example... ..for.example...

Roper, yiman gayime Borroloola, yiman.gayime Daly River.
 ...for.example... for.example

'All right, that man would keep following him, until he would come upon him here, or at Katherine, or at Roper, or at Borroloola, or at Daly River.'

Finally, the conjunction *o*, from the English word 'or' is frequently used, though the conditions on its use are more like those on the three forms mentioned above, so that 'or, X for example' is often a better translation:

6.71 *But djang barri-yim-i dabbarrabbolk korroko old people yiken,*
 Dnj dreaming 3aP-say-PI old.people before again

ngabbard ngaye-ken o makka ngaye-ken.
 father 1-GEN or FM 1-GEN

'But the old people, before, said it was dreaming, for example my father or my father's mother.'

6.3.5 Expansion by adjoined verbs

Nominal groups are often expanded by adding inflected verbs, which typically have a relative clause reading. Although relative clauses are typically made overt through the use of the 'relative demonstrative' *nawu* (§14.3), this is not always the case, particularly when the verb is so frequently used that it is on the border of being lexicalised as a deverbal nominal (§5.6), which removes the need for the use of a relative demonstrative. The verb 'promise', for example, is frequently used in groups expanding *daluk* 'woman', with the meaning 'promised wife', but structurally 'woman they/he-him-promised'.

6.72 *Kum-h-wam nungkah ø-djare-ni bi-me-yinj*
 W 3Phigher-IMM-gOPP he 3-want-PI 3/3hP-marry-IRR

ngal-ekke ngal-bu ngal-yawk nuye-ni birri-berrebbom bi-ka-yinj.
 FE-DEM FE-REL II-girl 3mascOBL-P 3a/3P-promisePP 3/3hP-take-PP
 'He came and wanted to marry that girl of his who they'd promised he could get.'
 [KS 202]

6.73 *Nga-re ngaben-na-nba nga-ma-ng ngal-bu ngardduk daluk*
 W 1-goNP 1/3pl-see-NP so.that 1/3-get-NP FE-REL IOBL woman

ngandi-berrebbom.

3a/1-promisePP

'I'll go and see if I can marry that woman they've promised me.'

OR: 'I'll go and see if I can marry that betrothed woman of mine.' [KS 202]

When verbs modify non-core arguments the relative demonstrative is in any case never used (§14.3), as with the verbs meaning 'we see our faces' and 'we wash our clothes' in the following example:

6.74 *Ga-garrme bathroom baddumang arri-geb-na-rr-en,*

Dj 3-haveNP bathroom mirror 1a-face-see-RR-NP

and gukku ba arri-djuhme, gure ngarri-madj-djirridjbu-n.

and water so.that 1a-washNP LOC 1a-swig-wash-NP

'It's got a bathroom and mirrors where we see our faces, and water so that

we can have a wash, where we can wash our clothes.'

Mention should also be made here of the frequent use of the verbs *ngei-yo* [name-lie] 'be called' and *ngeibun* 'name', appropriately prefixed for subject, to introduce names and typically to identify the group or language using the particular name:

6.75 *Bedda nangamed, Nangarridj Nabolmo Nangarridj, Fred balanda*

Dj they who Nangarridj Nabolmo Nangarridj balanda

ba-ngei-yo-i. Fred whiteman name, bininj barri-ngeibu-ni Namiyilk,

3P-name-lie-PP Aborigine 3aP/3-call-PI [name]

that Aborigine name. That Nangarridj been second with Old Charlie Barramundi.

'They, him and whasisname, a Nangarridj man, a Nangarridj man of the Nabolmo clan, Fred was his *balanda* name, Fred was his whiteman name, Aboriginal people used to call him Namiyilk, that was his Aboriginal name. That Nangarridj used to be old Charlie Barramundi's offsider.'

Another type of expansion where finite verbs are simply adjoined after a head noun involves phrases like 'the long story of my distant travels and how I grew up', which can be phrased as 'the long story my I went far I grew up'; see §14.6 for further discussion of such examples.

6.4 Adpositional groups

Prepositions and postpositions are not normally found in Australian languages,⁹ but the existence of small sets of prepositions is an areal feature of north-western Arnhem Land. Iwaidja, for example, has four prepositions (Pym & Larrimore 1979). Bininj Gun-wok has a small set of adpositions: three prepositions, and three locationals that, although normally used as independent adverbs, are sometimes used postpositionally.

⁹ Although in some cases the border between phrasal suffix and postposition may be hard to draw: see, for example McGregor (1990) for an analysis treating Gooniyandi case markers as postpositions rather than suffixes.

Prepositions are prosodically integrated with the word they adjoin, with which they always form a single intonational contour. Although they most commonly combine with a single word, they sometimes combine with multi-word nominal groups, whose internal composition reflects the features discussed in §6.3; examples are *gure gured bedberre* 'to their camp', *gure man-garre ngadberre mulil* 'at our funeral corroborees' (6.84) and *yiman gunrurrk djukdjuk* 'like chook houses' (6.97). Postpositions have their own word-stress but form part of the same intonational contour. Each can also function as an independent locational, in which case they are positionally free, but when they are used relationally (i.e. with a noun as one of their arguments) they will have a defined position.

6.4.1 Prepositions

6.4.1.1 Location *gure/kure/kore*

This has a semantic range that covers all sorts of location (e.g. at, in, on, inside) and direction (into, onto etc.) as well as, under certain conditions, goals of transfer verbs (e.g. give something to someone). The form *kore* is limited to Kunwinjku (where it is the only form) and Kuningku (where it alternates with *kure*); elsewhere just the form *gure/kure* is used.

It seems likely this preposition originated as a reduced form of *ku-red* [LOC-place/camp], with the Kunwinjku form *kore* lowering its first vowel by ablaut. Synchronically *kure* and *kured* are distinct and there is no restriction on using them together (e.g. Dj *gabarribodelenggan gure gured bedberre* '(the birds) are carrying the water (in their crops) back to their camp.')

The semantic range of this preposition overlaps to a great extent with the locative prefix *gu-/ku-*, and the locative suffix *-ga/-kah*. Of the three, however, the preposition has the widest combinatorial possibilities, since it is the only one that can combine with all nominal sub-classes. For example, it can combine with place names (6.76, 6.77), other proper names such as the names of ceremonies (6.78), locationals (6.79) and pronouns¹⁰ (6.80), none of which may combine with the locative prefix or suffix.

6.76 *Wanjh bene-munkewe-ng kore Manawukan.*

W then 3uaP-send-PP LOC Maningrida
'Then they sent it to Maningrida.' [OP 448]

6.77 *Warradjan ... Kun-dedj ka-rrudje-rr-en ka-rrabu-dudje. Kure*
[turtle.sp.] IV-rear 3-bury-RR-NP 3-egg-buryNP LOC

Mikkinj na-wern
[place] MA-many

'The pig-nosed turtle ... It buries its rear end and lays eggs in the ground.
There are many in Mikkinj valley.'

6.78 *Barri-ngime-rr-inj gure Djabururrwa.*

Dj 3aP-enter-RR-PP LOC [ceremony]
'They've been through the Djaburdurrwa (Yaburdurrwa) ceremony.'

6.79 *Birri-bekka-ng ka-h-wowm kure kaddum.*

I 3a/3P-hear-PP 3-IMM-call'wow'NP LOC up.high
'They heard him call out "wow" from up the top.'

¹⁰ Only *i* in the eastern dialects can pronouns bear the locative suffix; see 5.65 for a Narayek example.

- 6.80 *Bedda bene-wakwa-m minj bene-na-yinj ka-m-lobme-ng kore bedda.*
 I they 3uaP-not.know-PP not 3uaP-see-IRR 3-hither-run-PP LOC them
 'And they didn't know and didn't see (the buffalo) running straight at them.'

It is also the only means for expressing location in dialects like Gun-djeihmi where the sense of the *-ga* suffix has contracted away from pure location, with nouns incapable of taking the locative prefix, such as the zero-class nouns *djamun* (6.81) and *bininj* (6.82), and the Class II noun *ngalbadjan* (6.83).

- 6.81 *Ganmani-weiga-ng gure djamun.*
 Dj 3/1ua-hand.over-PP LOC police
 'He handed the two of us over to the police.'
- 6.82 *Nungga an-ga-ng gure bininj gabarri-mirnde-rri arri-weleng-wokda-nj.*
 Dj 3masc 3/1-take-PP LOC person 3a-many-standNP 1a-then-talk-PP
 'He took me to a group of people and then we started talking.'
- 6.83 *∅-durnd-i kore ngal-badjan.*
 W 3P-return-PP LOC II-mother3REF
 'She went back to her mother.' [OP 423]

It is also used with Class III and IV nouns, for which prefixation with *gu-/ku-* is a formal possibility, when the location is at least partly metaphorical, e.g. participation at an event:

- 6.84 *Wanjh mago nga-buhme-ng, gure man-garre ngadberre mulil,*
 Dj/w then didgeridoo 1/3-blow-PP LOC III-ceremony 1aOBL funeral
yiman gayime gu-bu na-marnde ga-rrowe-n.
 ...for.example... LOC-REL 1-corpse 3-die-NP
 'Well I started to play the didgeridoo, at our funeral ceremonies, like when there is a corpse, when someone dies.'

Although the examples given so far have contained this preposition as the sole marker of location, it is not incompatible with the locative prefix, and many examples contain both (e.g. 6.85, 6.86); more rarely it combines with the vegetable-locative prefix *mi-* (§5.2.2.3), as in 6.87. Only rarely, and only in Kune, does it combine with the locative suffix *-kah* (6.88).

- 6.85 *Gun-dulk ba-djardahme-ng gure gu-rakmo.*
 Dj IV-stick 3P-get.stuck-PP LOC LOC-hip.bone
 'A stick has got stuck in the wheel housing.'
- 6.86 *Borlokko ba-rrukka-rr-inj gure gu-rrulk.*
 Dj water.python 3P-tie-RR-PP LOC LOC-tree
 'A water python has coiled itself up in a tree.'
- 6.87 *Nga-warnyak nga-yo kure mi-kurrambalk.*
 I 1-not.want 1-sleepNP LOC VEG.LOC-house
 'I don't want to sleep inside the house.' [GID]
- 6.88 *Murray ∅-wam kure Mankorlod-kah.*
 E:N [name] 3P-goPP LOC [place]-LOC
 'Murray has gone to Mankorlord.'

In certain cases it is possible to take advantage of two coding sites to express certain distinctions. Thus in Gun-djeihmi *gure gu-wardde* [LOC LOC-rock] means specifically 'in the cave', whereas the combination of the locative preposition with the Class IV prefix means 'on/at the rock(s)', as in:

- 6.89 *Mimih ga-h-barndi gure gun-wardde.*
 Dj [spirit] 3-IMM-be.high LOC IV-rock
 'The mimih spirit is on top of the rocks.'

A couple more uses of this preposition bear mention. Firstly, occasionally it is used to join locationals to one of their arguments (e.g. *darnkih kore ngad* 'near to us') [OP 415].

Secondly, in cases where the indirect object cannot be expressed by the object pronominal prefix, because this slot has been usurped by a direct object higher in animacy than the object (§10.5), the indirect object is expressed by a free pronoun preceded by the locative preposition (6.90). The same goes for cases where the alignment of person values with objects prevents the comitative applicative being used; here, too, the preposition is used to indicate the location (6.91–6.93).

- 6.90 *An-yirrukme-y gure nungga.*
 Dj 3/1-steal.from-PP LOC him
 'He stole me from him.'

- 6.91 a. *Aban-daluk-yi-warlkka-ng.*
 Dj 1/3pl-woman-COM-hide-PP
 'I hid the woman with them.'

- b. *An-warlkka-ng gure bedda.*
 3/1-hide-PP LOC them
 'He hid me with them.'

- 6.92 *Ban-warlkka-ng gure aleng / aye.*
 Dj 3/3plP-hide-PP LOC her me
 'She hid them with her/with me.'

- 6.93 *Aban-daluk-yi-bawo-ng.*
 Dj 1/3pl-woman-COM-leave-PP
 'I left my wife with them.'

- 6.94 a. *Ban-bawo-ng gure aleng.*
 Dj 3/3plP-leave-PP LOC her
 'He left them with her.'

- b. *Bi-bawo-ng gure bedda.*
 3/3hP-hide-PP LOC them
 'He left her with them.'

Thirdly, in a very few cases the preposition is used with arguments which are nonetheless registered as objects on the verb; in all such cases they have some sort of goal role:

- 6.95 *Bi-rrelme-ng kore Kodowele.*
 W 3/3hP-throw-PP LOC [name]
 'He threw things at Kodowele.' [OP 442]

Fourthly, the preposition is commonly used to introduce a range of subordinate clause types, including relative clauses of location, complements, and temporal adverbials with the meaning 'while' (for more examples see §1 4.3–§14.4).

- 6.96 *Wolewoleh nga-wa nga-na-ng kabokab kure djenj ø-wolohme-ng.*
 yesterday 1-gOPP 1/3-see-PP water.ring LOC fish 3P-snap-PP
 'Yesterday I saw expanding rings in the water where a fish snapped.' [GID]

6.4.1.2 *yiman* 'like'

This preposition most commonly introduces expressions of similarity:

6.97 *Patonga an-rurrk-yahwurd, an-rurrk-warre, yiman gun-rurrk djukdjuk.*
 Dj [place] VE-shelter-small VE-shelter-bad like IV-shelter chicken
 'At Patonga the houses are small and useless, like chicken houses.'

6.98 *Rarrbu birri-yirrk bom mayh korroko birri-karrme-ninj*
 quartzite.tools 3aP/3-cut.upPP animal before 3a/3P-have-IRR
man-kole njamed yiman barrawu.
 III-spear what like shovel.nose.spear
 'A long time ago they used to cut up animals with quartzite tools and they had spears like shovel-nose spears (i.e. which they used to kill the animals).' [GID]

6.99 *Ngarri-ngu-n, ba ka-banj yiman kordduk.*
 I 1a/3-eat-NP so.that?¹¹ 3-smell like shit
 'We eat it (cycad flour) but it smells like shit.'

Occasionally it follows rather than precedes the modified noun:

6.100 *Nani nawu na-yungki ngad karri-ngeybun, bininj, yo*
 I MA:DEM MA:REL I-first we 12a-callNP person yes
nakka kan-h-ngu-yi na-bang na-bang, na-bang na-yuhyungki
 MA:DEM 3/1a-IMM-eat-IRR MA-dangerous (x 3) I-founding.ancestor
Mongerrh kun-waral yiman.
 [name] IV-spirit like
 'He is someone from creation times, we call him (like that), a human form but he eats people, and he's dangerous, very dangerous, Mongerrh is like a spirit.'

The compared entity may be an incorporated noun:

6.101 *Yaukyauk ga-bed-di yiman djenj.*
 Dj seahorse 3-tail-standNP like fish
 'Seahorses have tails like a fish's.'

As with English 'like', *yiman* may mean 'for example, such as' (6.102). The collocation *yiman gayime* is also frequently used with this meaning (Text 9.10):

6.102 *Manme ka-h-ngu-n yiman man-djulurkkun wanjh ka-kinje*
 I III-food 3-IMM-eat-NP like III-[berry.sp.] then 3/3-burnNP
ka-birle-ka-n.
 3/3-light-carry-NP
 '(The firefly) eats food like the Antidesma berries and then burns it and produces the light.'

Yiman may also be used to introduce exemplifying clauses:

¹¹ The semantics of *ba* seems out of place here, and it may be a mistranscription of English 'but'.

- 6.103 “*Dednjengh kan-wo djenj*”, *yiman kabirri-djanohme*.
 [interjection] 2/1-giveIMP fish like 3a-bludgeNP
 ‘For example if they’re bludging off someone they (Gun-dednjenghmi speakers) say “*Dednjengh*, give me some fish”.’ [GID]
- 6.104 *Cooinda Hotel, wanjh gu-mege gun-bang ngarri-h-bo-ma-ng*,
 Dj then LOC-DEM IV-grog 1a/3-IMM-liquid-get-NP
bu gabarri-bo-ma-ng, yiman bininj ga-garrme gun-warde.
 REL 3a-liquid-get-NP like person 3/3-haveNP IV-money
 ‘Cooinda Hotel, there where we get grog, where they get grog, like if someone has money.’

It is also frequently used in giving definitions and explanations:

- 6.105 *Yo, yuk-no na-mekke yiman man-kung yi-bengka-n*,
 I yes liquid.honey-PRT MA-DEM like III-honey 2/3-know-NP
bo-no na-wu, na-mekke ngarri-marnbu-n ngarri-bongu-n.
 liquid-PRT MA-REL MA-DEM 1a/3-make-NP 1a/3-drink-NP
 ‘*Yukno* that’s like honey, you know, the liquid part of it, that’s the part we drink.’
 [GID]

The collocation *yiman bonj* is used to refer to a gesture or demonstration given in illustration:

- 6.106 *Bi-djal-berl-karrme-ng la ø-djal-mey kun-dulk yiman bonj*
 I 3/3hP-just-arm-grab-PP CONJ 3/3P-just-getPP IV-stick ...like.this...
kunekke ka-yime.
 NEU:DEM 3-doNP
 ‘He just grabbed him by the arm and just got a stick, just like this (shows size with hands), that’s how it was.’ [GID]

Kunbarlang, the Gunwinyguan language immediately to the north of Bininj Gun-wok, has an apparently cognate form *yimarna* ‘resemble, like’ (Coleman 1982), whose exact word-class status remains to be investigated. Note also the resemblance to the counterfactual particle *yimaneke*, discussed in §13.11.1; many Australian languages have similar forms representing ‘similarity’, ‘mistake’ and ‘counterfactual’ (Breen 1984).

6.4.1.3 *bu* ‘concerning’

The commonest form of this word is as a generalised clausal subordinator expressing meanings like ‘when’ and ‘if’ (see Chapter 14). In some cases the subordinate clause it combines with is reduced to a single nominal word (analyseable as a nominal predicate, with the subject nominal ellipsed), so that one is not forced to analyse it as a preposition:

- 6.107 *Ngarri-yauh-re gu-bolk-buyiga, yarrkga bu djandi*.
 Dj 1a-again-goNP LOC-place-other anything SUB week
 ‘We’ll go to a different place, anytime (when it’s) some other week.’

In other cases, however, no such analysis can be plausibly made, so that it behaves like a genuine preposition with the meaning ‘concerning; as far as X is concerned’:

- 6.108 *Bu ngudda.*
 I concerning you
 'That's up to you.' [GID]
- 6.109 *Bu kun-wardde-kenh.*
 W concerning IV-money-GEN
 'Now, about money.' [E&E 10]

6.4.2 Postpositions

A number of locational (§4.2.5) can be used as postpositions when locating a figure with respect to an overtly nominated ground. As mentioned above, each can also be used as a locational adverb (e.g. *ganjdji* can mean 'down, below, inside'), in which case the position is free within the clause, but when they are used to locate one object with respect to another they will always follow the 'ground' noun.

- 6.110 *Ganjdji ga-guk-gurrme, ga-h-yo, galuk ganjdji, gure gu-wukku.*
 Dj under 3-body-putNP 3-IMM-lieNP later inside LOC LOC-water
 'He puts the body underneath to lie, then inside, where it's in the water.'
- 6.111 *balabbala ganjdji*
 Dj table under
 'under the table'

Compared to the semantically parallel locative suffixes such as *-gadi* 'on top' or *-burrk* 'in the middle' the locative postpositions are less integrated phonologically, still being able to receive a separate word stress even though they have become positionally restricted.

Depending on the word they modify, the locative postposition may be the sole indicator of location, or it may combine with the locative prefix *gu-* (where this is allowed), and/or with the preposition *gure*. Most can also be used as independent adverbials or nominals.

6.4.2.1 *ganjdji/kanjdji* 'inside, underneath'

As discussed in §5.2.2.1, the ongoing grammaticalisation of *kururrk* with the meaning 'inside' leaves *ganjdji/kanjdji* with a contracting semantic range in the 'inside' domain in some dialects, though the 'underneath' meaning remains unchallenged.

- 6.112 *ku-korkorl kanjdji nga-yo-ø*
 E:D LOC-windbreak inside 1-sleep-NP
 'I sleep inside the windbreak.'
- 6.113 *Yi-ni-n kure kurrambalk kanjdji.*
 W 2-sit-IMP LOC house inside
 'You're sitting inside the house.' [KH 20]

6.4.2.2 *gaddum ~ gaddung/kaddum* 'on top of'

The corresponding location means 'high, up (high)'. The variant *gaddung* is restricted to Gun-djeihmi, where it is found in some speakers only.

- 6.114 *balabbala gaddung*
 Dj table top
 'on top of the table'

6.4.2.3 *darn.gih-djam* 'next to'

In all dialects *darn.gih/darnkih* functions as a locational adverb meaning 'nearby', but the postpositional use of *darn.gih-djam* is confined to Gun-djeihmi:

- 6.115 *balabbala darnkih-djam*
 Dj table next.to-LOC
 'next to the table'

6.5 Clitics to nominal groups

There are a number of clitics which, though predominantly found after nominal groups, can also be attached to, and have semantic scope over, other word classes: =*warriidj* 'also, too', =*wi* 'only' and =*duninj* 'real(ly), proper(ly)'. These are discussed in §13.8 along with other clausal clitics.

In this section we discuss =*wali* 'in turn', the only true clitic that appears to be totally restricted to nominal groups. We also examine two quantifier-like words which, if they appear in a nominal group, will always be in final position, and display some clitic-like characteristics.

6.5.1 =*wali* 'in turn'

Most commonly this clitic attaches to emphatic pronouns (see §7.1.3 for further examples):

- 6.116 *Yi-m-lobme-n yi-m-lobme-n, yi-m-ra-y, yim-ra-y,*
 2-hither-run-IMP 2-hither-run-IMP 2-hither-go-IMP 2-hither-go-IMP
yim-ra-y, ba yingan=wali yi-libme.
 2-hither-go-IMP so.that 2EMPH=in.turn 2-lickNP
 'Quick come over here and you have a turn to lick (the honey).' [T 6.71]

However, it can also combine with any nominal word; an example is *Moses=wali* 'Moses' turn'.

6.5.2 *rowk/rouk* 'all' and *ngong* 'mob'

These two quantifying words both have the syntactic peculiarity that they must be breath-group final, and can never occur as free-standing nouns. *Rowk/rouk* always receives its own stress, but is rhythmically and intonationally linked to the preceding word; it can follow nouns, adjectives or verbs. *Ngong*, which is restricted to Kune and Manyalluk Mayali, only comes at the end of nominal groups, and is phonologically integrated to different degrees in different dialects.

In the case of *rowk/rouk*, it can occur either as the last element of a nominal group, with the meaning 'all' (e.g. *bininj rowk* 'all the men', *yehyeng rowk* 'all of creation', *kamak rowk* 'everything OK'), or directly after a verb, in which case it can have scope over either subject or object, according to context (W *birridowerrinj rowk* 'they (have) all died' (cf. a parallel Dj example in 11.42), Dj *barringuneng rowk* 'they ate it all' or 'they all ate it'). Sometimes it can have the meaning 'all over' rather than quantifying any particular argument, as in Text 1.21 *gunnud gurlba birrelkgeng rouk* 'blood and pus spattered him all over'. Numerous examples of *rouk* occur in Text 1. Text 5.2 contains an unusual example of it being used with the meaning 'both', the dual number being given by the pronominal prefix to the verb.

Ngong may be a Dalabon loan, since an identical form is found there. It basically means 'mob' or 'lots of', and can be used after nouns to mean 'lots of N' (e.g. Kune Narayek *doweng djirrbili ngong* 'lots of *djirrbili* fish died' in Text 7.1). In Manyallaluk Mayali it has clitic status, lacking an independent stress (e.g. *jatdih=ngong* [frog=mob] '(all the) frogs', *wurdurt=ngong* 'children').

7 *Pronouns: personal, ignorative and demonstrative*

7.1 Personal pronouns

The bulk of pronominal signalling is carried out by the bound pronominal prefixes (§10.2) and it is there that the most complex system is found, revealing a typical Australian architecture of three numbers for each person value, including an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person.

Of the three main pronominal series — direct, oblique and emphatic — only the oblique series makes as many number and person distinctions as the bound pronominal prefixes. The others collapse the inclusive/exclusive distinction, and the augmented/unit augmented distinction, to give a system very like English. However, one does hear various formations to fill these gaps and even extend them to a trial number, derived by prefixing the appropriate pronominal prefix to a numeral root (e.g. Dj *nguni-bogen* or E *ngunidjarrkno* [2ua-two] ‘you two’, Dj, W *ngurri-wern* [2a-many] ‘you mob’ and *ngarri-danjik* [1a-three] ‘we three exclusive’, or E *bini-djarrkno* ‘they two’).

The free pronouns perform important discourse functions of emphasis, contrast, and referentiality. Although bound pronouns need not be referential (§10.2.8), free pronouns must be, so that the use of free pronouns is one way of specifying a referential reading for pronominal arguments.

7.1.1 A note on number

Before examining the pronoun system in detail, it is worth explaining the basis on which I formulate number using the glosses ‘minimal’, ‘augmented’ and ‘unit augmented’ instead of the more familiar ‘singular’, ‘dual’ vs ‘plural’.¹ Now there are two logical ways of measuring the number of a pronoun: absolutely, in terms of the number of entities being denoted, and relatively, that is in terms of the number of entities beyond the logically minimum size of the set. For second, third and first exclusive pronouns both methods give the same result, but once first person inclusive pronouns are included the results differ. Consider the smallest first inclusive pronoun, containing ‘you and me’, which would be expressed by the pronominal prefix *ngarr-*, as in *ngarrwokdi* ‘you and me are talking’. Reckoned absolutely this is a dual, referring to a set of two entities, but reckoned relatively this is the logically

¹ The use of minimal/augmented analyses for Australian languages goes back to McKay (1975, 1978).

minimum set for a first person inclusive pronoun, and would count as a 'minimal' in the same way as 'I' is the minimal first person exclusive and 'you' is the minimal second person.

Consider two possible analyses of the Gun-djeihmi dialect. For now we consider just the bound prefixes and the free obliques, which show the system most clearly; optional initial dropping of *ng* isn't shown here.

Table 7.1: Formulation of pronoun paradigm with absolute number categories

	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
First exclusive	<i>nga- ngarduk</i>	<i>ngani- ngarrewoneng</i>		<i>ngarri- ngadberre</i>
First inclusive		<i>ngarr- ngarrgu</i>	<i>gani garriwoneng</i>	<i>garri- gadberre</i>
Second	<i>yi- nguddanggi</i>	<i>nguni- ngurriwoneng</i>		<i>ngurri- ngudberre</i>
Third	<i>ga-/ba- nuye (masc), ngarre (fem)</i>	<i>(ga)bani- berrewoneng</i>		<i>(ga)birri- bedberre</i>

This formulation, in terms of an absolute system of number, is clearly inelegant. In terms of semantic structure, it suffers from the asymmetry of lacking a singular in the inclusive, having a trial only in the inclusive (necessitated by the fact that *garriwoneng* means 'belonging to three of us, including me and you' and similarly *gani-* means 'we three, including you'), and having 'plural' mean 'greater than three' for the inclusive but 'greater than two' for the others. In terms of the form of morphemes, it likewise conceals certain regularities by showing the formatives *ni* and *woneng* with different number values in the inclusive.

These problems can be avoided if one adopts the relative analysis, using the number categories minimal (as defined above), unit augmented (i.e. one more than the minimal set) and augmented (i.e. two or more greater than the minimal set), as in Table 7.2; factorised number and person morphemes are shown in the first column and the headings, in the order bound:free.

Table 7.2: Formulation of pronoun paradigm with relative number categories

	Minimal	Unit augmented <i>ni-/Vwoneng</i>	Augmented <i>-rri/-berre</i>
First exclusive <i>nga-, nm ngaRR</i>	<i>nga- ngarduk</i>	<i>ngani- ngarrewoneng</i>	<i>ngarri- ngadberre</i>
First inclusive <i>nm ga-, gaRR</i>	<i>ngarr- ngarrgu</i>	<i>gani- garriwoneng</i>	<i>garri- gadberre</i>
Second <i>nm ngu-, nguRR</i>	<i>yi- nguddanggi</i>	<i>nguni- ngurriwoneng</i>	<i>ngurri- ngudberre</i>
Third <i>ua ba-, a bi-, nm beRR</i>	<i>ga-/ba- nuye (masc), ngarre (fem)</i>	<i>(ga)bani- berrewoneng</i>	<i>(ga)birri- bedberre</i>

Now the three-way number contrast of the first inclusive is seen as paralleling that of the other person values, and the *ni-*, *-woneng* and *-berre* formatives can be given unitary meanings. Because of its greater elegance, this is the system I will adopt in glossing and in further discussion of the free pronoun systems, the bound intransitive prefixes, and the subject prefixes of transitive combinations.

Note, though, that only the presence of an inclusive vs exclusive pronoun contrast motivates the distinction between the two number analyses. Once the inclusive vs exclusive pronoun collapses, as it does once we are dealing with objects in transitive combinations (discussed in §10.2.2) there is no longer any motivation for using this special number analysis. As a result, I use the 'singular', 'dual' and 'plural' glosses for objects of pronominal prefixes. To add a further layer of complexity, oblique pronouns that have been cliticised to the verbs in eastern dialects to make good certain neutralisations in the object prefix system follow the minimal/augmented system of their free counterparts.²

7.1.2 Free and bound pronoun systems: forms

Table 7.3 gives the bound pronominal prefixes, and the corresponding direct, oblique and emphatic free forms. Optional dropping of initial *ng* in Gun-djeihmi is not shown, except in the complicated case of the second person pronouns, where a number of initial variants compete; the dropping of initial *ng* in the Kune form (*ng*)*ungke* is also shown since it does not follow from regular phonological rules.

Note that Table 7.3 does not include complex oblique forms made up by combining direct plus oblique form. This is particularly common in the combination *ngaleng ngarre* 'her (possessive)', sometimes reduced to *ngalengarre*.

Note also that Kune neutralises the gender distinction in the oblique series; compare *bininj nuye daluk nuye* 'her husband and his wife' where other dialects would have *bininj ngarre daluk nuye*. As with so many Kune dialect features this may reflect Dalabon influence, since Dalabon likewise makes no gender distinction in its third person minimal possessives: note the Dalabon translation, *bi-no kvrdvkvrd-no*, of the above.

² In Australia, Glasgow (1964) for Burarra [Burer] and McKay (1975) for Rembarrnga were the first to propose analyses along these lines, while Conklin (1967) discusses a similar analysis for the Philippine language Hanunoo. For Kunwinjku, Oates (1964) uses a conventional absolute-based analysis, while Carroll (1976) uses the traditional terms singular, dual and plural while redefining them in relative terms; this is also the practice in Rowe (n.d.). I prefer to keep the terminologies distinct, both to emphasise their different organisational properties and to make possible the independent discussion of distinct systems or sub-systems where these may exist.

Table 7.3: Bound pronominal prefixes and free pronouns

		First exclusive	First inclusive	Second	Third	
Minimal	Prefixed	<i>nga-</i>	<i>ngarr-</i>	<i>yi-</i>	M <i>ga-/ba-</i> K <i>ka-/ø-</i>	
	Free	Direct	<i>ngaye,</i> I <i>ngayi</i> E <i>ngayih</i>	<i>ngad</i>	<i>ngudda,</i> Dj (<i>ng/g/w</i>) <i>udda</i>	masc <i>nungga(h)</i> ³ fem <i>ngaleng</i>
		Oblique	<i>ngarduk,</i> E <i>ngardukki</i>	<i>ngarrgu</i>	<i>nguddanggi,</i> ~ <i>ngudda ge</i> clitic = <i>ge</i> E (<i>ng</i>) <i>ungke</i>	masc <i>nuye</i> fem <i>ngarre</i>
		Emphatic	<i>ngayeman</i>	<i>ngadman</i>	<i>yingan,</i> E <i>ngudda</i>	masc <i>nungan</i> fem <i>ngalengman</i>
Unit augmented	Prefixed	(<i>ng</i>) <i>ani-/ngane-</i>	<i>gani-/kane-</i>	<i>ngune-</i> Dj (<i>ng/g/w</i>) <i>uni-</i>	W (<i>ka</i>) <i>bene-</i> M (<i>ga</i>) <i>bani-</i> E (<i>ka</i>) <i>bini-</i>	
	Free	Oblique	(<i>ng</i>) <i>arriwoneng</i> W <i>ngarrewoneng</i>	<i>garriwoneng</i> W <i>karrewoneng</i>	W <i>ngurrewoneng</i> Dj (<i>ng/k</i>) <i>urriwoneng</i>	<i>berrewoneng</i>
Augmented	Prefixed	(<i>ng</i>) <i>arri-</i>	<i>garri-</i>	<i>ngurri-</i> Dj (<i>ng/k</i>) <i>urri-</i>	W (<i>ka</i>) <i>bene-</i> M (<i>ga</i>) <i>bani-</i> E (<i>ka</i>) <i>bini-</i>	
	Free	Direct	(<i>ng</i>) <i>ad</i>	(<i>ng</i>) <i>ad</i>	<i>ngudda</i> Dj (<i>ng/g</i>) <i>udda</i>	<i>bedda</i>
		Oblique	(<i>ng</i>) <i>adberre</i>	<i>gadberre</i>	<i>ngudberre</i> Dj (<i>ng/g</i>) <i>udberre</i>	<i>bedberre</i>
		Emphatic	(<i>ng</i>) <i>adman</i>	(<i>ng</i>) <i>adman</i>	<i>ngudman</i> Dj (<i>ng/g</i>) <i>udman</i>	<i>bedman</i>

7.1.3 Functions of major free pronoun forms

DIRECT SERIES These can have subject, object or indirect function, though subject function is by far the commonest.

7.1 “*Njale njanjukgen maddjurn ba-wodjme-ng?*” *ngan-djawa-m nungga.*
Dj what why python 3P-sink-PP 3/1-ask-PP he
“‘Why is it called *Maddjurn bawodjmeng* (‘where the black-headed python sank down’), he asked me.’

7.2 *Nagohbanj nungga-gih Nym gorngumo bi-bukka-ng ...*
Dj old.man him-now Nym father 3/3hP-show-PP
‘Him now, that old man, Nym, his father taught him how to paint ...’

³ The final *h* is found in Kune.

The bound pronominal prefixes often dispose of the need for free direct pronouns, so that in the majority of sentences only bound pronouns are used. However, free pronouns get used regularly in a number of circumstances.

They are commonly used in simple predicative constructions like ascriptives:

- 7.3 *Ngaye bininj.*
 Dj I Aboriginal.man
 'I am an (Aboriginal) man.'

Direct pronouns may also combine with the locative preposition:

- 7.4 *An-yau-bawo-ng gure bedda.*
 Dj 3/1-child-leave-PP LOC them
 'He left me as a child with them.'

They are also used for special emphasis or contrast (7.5–7.7, 7.14), and as isolated elements in sentence fragments (7.8, 7.9):

- 7.5 *Ngad ngarri-danjik ngarri-bebme, ngudda yi-ni-n kanjdji!*
 W we 1a-three 1a-go.outNP you 2-sit-IMP inside
 'We three will go out, you stay inside!' [KH 23]

- 7.6 *A-marne-djal-djare ngaleng.*
 Dj 1/3-BEN-just-wantNP her
 'I love only her.'

- 7.7 *Ngudda ngadburrung yi-ngeibu-n balanda 'raft', ngad ngarri-ngeibu-n*
 Dj you brother 2/3-call-NP balanda we 1a/3-call-NP
bininj, wularl.
 Aborigine wularl
 'You, brother, call it "raft" in *balanda* (language), we Aborigines call it *wularl*.'

- 7.8 *Aye! A-wulebme gu-labbar!*
 Dj I 1-swimNP LOC-billabong
 'It's me! I want to swim in the billabong!'

- 7.9 *Ngaleng!*
 E her
 'It's her!' OR: 'Here she is!'

Finally, the existence of distinct masculine and feminine pronouns in the third person singular, which is not found on the bound pronoun series, often leads to the use of these pronouns for discourse tracking purposes:

- 7.10 *Ngaleng ga-ga-n na-gudji yau, nungga nabininjgobeng*
 Dj she 3/3INP-take-NP MA-one chick he husband
ga-ga-n gun-bid-bogen.
 3/3I-take-NP IV-hand-two
 'She (the female emu) takes one chick, and he, the husband, takes ten.'

OBLIQUE SERIES The three main functions of oblique pronouns are:

- (a) To express possession of a noun in any grammatical relation (e.g. *ngarduk duruk* ‘my dog’).
- (b) To express benefactive type relationships, when no benefactive applicative is present on the verb.
- (c) As a way of marking the number of pronominal arguments of the verb, in those cases where neutralisations in the transitive prefix paradigm have occurred. This is the only time this series can mark core arguments of the verb, and this use is also positionally restricted, to immediate pre- or post-verbal position. (This third use is discussed in §10.2.3.)

Returning to the most basic relationship, that of expressing possession, two sentence examples are:

7.11 *Wanjh gabarri-bo-delengga-n gure gu-red bedberre.*
 Dj then 3a/3-water-carry.in.crop-NP LOC LOC-home theyOBL
 ‘Then they (birds)’ll carry it back to their nest in their crops.’

7.12 *Al-yau nga-bu-n nguddanggi.*
 Dj FE-child 1/3-hit-NP youOBL
 ‘I will hit your daughter.’

As 7.12 shows, it is possible for the oblique pronoun not to be contiguous with its head, suggesting these pronouns be analysed as implicitly substantive — ‘your one’, ‘yours’ etc. A more appropriate gloss for 7.12, on this analysis, is ‘I will hit the child, your one.’ (See §6.1 on the issue of whether NPs are a relevant analytic unit.)

There is one interesting irregularity in the use of the oblique pronouns to express possession: just when referring to possessed kin (e.g. ‘my father’), one can use the form *ngayeken* (formed by adding genitive *-ken* to the direct base) instead of the normal first person minimal oblique form *ngarduk* (e.g. *W ngayeken ngabbard* ‘my father’).

A second use of oblique pronouns is with beneficiary NPs. The semantic link is presumably that ‘something for X’ is ‘something that will belong to X’.

7.13 *Wanjh, an-dehne gukku nga-bo-bawo-n bedberre munguih-munguih.*
 Dj well VE-that water 1/3-liquid-leave-NP theyOBL for.ever
 ‘Yeah, I’ll leave that water for them for ever.’

7.14 *Wanjh Ngalyod ø-wam kore kun-red ka-bolk-ngey-yo Mibukala*
 W then rainbow 3P-goPP LOC IV-place 3-place-name-lieNP [place]
dja ø-bukm-inj ngarre.
 CONJ 3P-dry.up-PP herOBL
 ‘Then Ngalyod the Rainbow Serpent went to a place called Mibukala, but it dried up on her.’ [KS]

Two other formal possibilities are applicable to both possession and benefactives: the genitive nominal suffix (§5.2.1.3) and the benefactive applicative (§10.3.1); the latter would see 7.12 paraphrased as 7.15. Where the possessed entity belongs to an object or intransitive subject, the use of the benefactive applicative is more common than the oblique pronoun, while when it belongs to actants occupying other grammatical roles in the clause the benefactive applicative cannot be used.

- 7.15 *Al-yau* \emptyset -*marne-bu-n*.
 Dj FE-child 1/2-BEN-hit-NP
 'I will hit your child.'

Note also that the benefactive cannot combine with reflexive interpretations of the reflexive/reciprocal (see §10.3.4) (though it is compatible with reciprocal interpretations), so that one cannot express sentences like 'he bought himself a car' or 'I'll bring (some) meat back for myself' with the benefactive. In these situations the oblique pronoun is used in combination with the basic verb stem:

- 7.16 *Nga-bayahme-ng ngarduk murrikka*.
 I 1/3-buy-PP meOBL car
 'I bought a car for myself.'

- 7.17 *Nga-m-kanj-yi-rrurnde-ng ngarduk*.
 I 1/3-hither-meat-COM-return-PP meOBL
 'I'll bring meat back for myself.'

There are many examples where the oblique pronoun occurs next to an object that could syntactically be construed as a possessum; the main factor in whether a possessive or a beneficiary interpretation is appropriate is the verb semantics. Thus in 7.18 either translation is appropriate, while in 7.19 only a beneficiary translation works.

- 7.18 *Ngaben-djawa-n Japanese daluk minj nga-ka-n ka-kinje*
 W 1/3pl-ask-NP Japanese woman NEG 1/3-take-NP 3/3-cookNP

man-me ngardduk.

III-food meOBL

'I asked Japanese women, could I take them bush to cook food for me/to cook my food and look after me.' [KS 258]

- 7.19 *wanjh na-yahwurd* \emptyset -*wam* \emptyset -*warlbom berrwoneng man-kung*.
 W well MA-little 3P-goPP 3P-huntPP they.uaOBL III-honey
 'while the younger brother went out to get wild honey for the two of them
 (?to get their wild honey)' [KS 218]

There is much variation in the details of oblique pronoun use within the NP. In addition to simply juxtaposing the oblique pronoun (7.18, 7.20), in all dialects one frequently hears the sequence DIRECT + OBLIQUE + N (7.21–7.23).

- 7.20 *ngani-ma-rr-inj by then, wanjh djawirna ngarduk*
 Dj 1ua-marry-RR-PP right friend my
 'we were married before — right, my friend,

but ngani-murrego, ngaye nga-djagerr-hme nungga ngan-gogok-m-e,
 CONJ 1ua-pair.of.brothers I 1/3-yB-callNP he 3/1-eB-call-NP
 'we're brothers, I call him younger brother and he calls me older brother'

- 7.21 *Ngaye ngarduk duruk yahwurdurd-ni, djama a-bu-yi*.
 Dj I my dog small-bePI not 1/3-hit-IRR
 'When my dog was small, I never hit him.'

7.22 *Ngudda nguddangki rouk.*

Dj you youOBL all
'All your (things).'

7.23 *Nga-yaw-ngu-n, ngaleng ngarre.*

w 1/3-baby-eat-NP she sheOBL
'I will eat her baby.' [PC 401]

In addition, the direct pronoun alone is sometimes used instead of an oblique, though this may be restricted to the Gun-djeihmi dialect. I have yet to determine if this is restricted to certain types of possession.

7.24 *ngaye duruk*

Dj I dog
'my dog'

7.25 *Ngaye daluk gorrogo ba-ganj-ginje-yi.*

Dj I woman before 3/3P-meat-cook-PI
'My wife used to cook for me.'

A common way of expressing possessives is with the structure in 7.26, in which the parentheses around the possessor noun indicate that it may follow or precede the possessed noun plus oblique pronoun construction.

7.26 (POSSR,) [POSSD, OBL.PRONOUN,]

As a way of saying 'i's j' this is actually commoner than the use of the genitive adnominal construction *i-GEN j* (see §6.3.1), for example:

7.27 *Marrek ngarrbek yau nuye?*

MM not echidna child 3OBL
'Wasn't it echidna's child?'

(It appears that, in MM, *nuye* 'his' can also be used with feminine possessors, since echidna is clearly a female character.)

Sometimes speakers express second person singular possession with the form written *ge* (Mayali orthography) or *ke* (other dialects). This encliticises to the possessed noun (7.28, 7.29), or a verb complex incorporating the possessed noun (7.30). The third person possessed suffix *-no* cannot follow verbs with incorporated objects in the same way.

7.28	<i>djadj ngarduk</i>	<i>djadj=ke</i>	<i>djadj-no</i>
MM	birthplace my	birthplace=your	birthplace-3POSSD
	'my birthplace'	'your birthplace'	'her birthplace'

(Note that the practice of referring to a birthplace with the term *djadj*, lit. 'digging stick', is limited to females, and to Manyallaluk Mayali)

7.29 *A-djare a-bolk-na-n gun-yed=ge.*

Dj I-want I-place-see-NP IV-country=your
'I want to see your country.'

- 7.30 *A-djare a-bolk-na-n=ge.*
 Dj 1-want 1-place-see-NP=your
 'I want to see your country.'⁴

Internal evidence suggests *ge* was once the basic second person oblique free pronoun. It appears as a frozen second person person prefix in some Gun-dembui terms (e.g. *ge-mawah* 'the one who is your *mawah* and my *al-gurrng*' — §15.3). It seems likely that the normal second person oblique *nguddanggi* derives, via epenthetic insertion of the homorganic nasal *ng* and final vowel raising, from the sequence *ngudda ge* 'you your', which is still heard occasionally, and itself built on the pattern DIRECT + OBLIQUE described above, while the Kune form *ngungke* may derive by a similar route from an original second person possessive clitic *-ngu*, still found in some triangular kin-terms (§15.3) as well as on Dalabon nouns (e.g. *rolungu* 'your dog').

McKay (1975:109) describes a similar alternation in Rembarrnga, where the second person dative enclitic, basically *-ka*, has the form *ngka* when attached to a stem whose final segment is a vowel, semivowel or liquid, and concludes that such alternations point to the ambiguous status of this pronoun between free form and suffix. This suggests that the alternation between stop-initial and prenasalised forms may in fact go back to an intermediate level of Gunwinyguan.

Like other nominals used as predicates (§4.1.1), oblique pronouns may take the past suffix *-ni* when referring to a previously existing relationship of possession, which has been terminated either through the death of the possessor (7.31) or the cessation of the possessive relationship (7.32).

- 7.31 *Na-yik-Badmardi bu nuye-ni gun-red. Old man, old Gabirrigi,*
 Dnj MA-late-Badmardi SUB his-P IV-country [name]
gun-red berrewoneng, Balawurru, berrewoneng, a-bal-djal-gukwe-rr-inj.
 IV-country 3uaOBL [place] 3uaOBL 1-towards-just-profane-RR-PP
 'The late NaBadmardi, it used to be his country, old man, old Gabirrigi's, the country belonged to them two, Balawurru, to them two, I just profaned myself (by mentioning the dead man's name).

- 7.32 *Arduk-ni an-ekke modikka.*
 Dj my-P VEG-that car
 'That car used to be mine. (Then I lost it gambling.)'

Oblique pronouns have a third use, in which they are encliticised to the verb in order to distinguish certain number values, or the inclusive/exclusive distinction, that have been neutralised in the pronominal prefixes to the verb; this is particularly common in the eastern dialects. In such cases, and only then, they can represent direct arguments of the verb (7.33, 7.34), and have no possessive or other oblique semantics.

- 7.33 *Duruk wardi ngun-baye-ng ngurrewoneng*
 E dog might 3/2°-bite-NP 2.ua.OBL
 'Dog might bite you two.' [DK]
- 7.34 *Duruk wardi ngun-baye ngudberre*
 E dog might 3/2°-bite-NP you.a.OBL
 'The dog might bite you (pl).' [DK]

⁴ In Dalabon the first person possessive suffix can also cliticise to verbs in this way, so as to modify an incorporated noun (e.g. *ngayh-mele-monwo-yan=ngan* [1/3HORT-swag-make-FUT=my] 'I will have to make up my swag well'), but this is not possible in Bininj Gun-wok.

Significantly, such cases are also unusual in having a fixed constituent order: the oblique pronoun must follow the verb when indicating an object, and (in Gun-djeihmi only) precede it when indicating a subject. In Kune and Kuninjku, for example, to say 'he saw them two' one must say *bennang berrewoneng*; and *berrewoneng bennang* cannot mean this. No such order restriction applies, of course, when the oblique pronoun is used to mark possession, and in this function it can come before the verb (e.g. *manme berrewoneng nganwong* 'he gave me the food belonging to those two'). For further examples and discussion see §10.2.3.

An interesting consequence of this in Kune is that, at least in Kune Narayek, speakers will usually combine the augmented with the unit augmented pronouns when expressing possession by a unit augmented possessor, as in *duruk ngadberre* 'our dog' but *duruk ngadberre ngarrewoneng* 'the dog belonging to the two of us'. This suggests the *-woneng* forms are becoming reanalysed as unit augmented pronouns without case specification.

EMPHATIC SERIES Pronouns in this series have a range of meanings according to grammatical and pragmatic context: reflexive, 'in return', 'alone' and 'in contrast'. Most can be translated by English reflexive pronouns, though many such uses are not strict reflexive constructions.

Reflexive action is also coded by the use of the reflexive/reciprocal verb form (§10.3.4) and hence special pronoun forms are often unnecessary. However, emphatic pronouns can be used to force a reflexive meaning when a reciprocal meaning is also possible because the actor is non-singular. Compare 7.35 and 7.36:

7.35 *Barri-djawurrk-djobge-rr-inj.*
Dj 3aP-beard-cut-RR-PP
'They cut their beards.' OR: 'They cut each other's beards.'

7.36 *Bedman barri-djawurrk-djobge-rr-inj bedberre.*
Dj theyEMPH 3aP-beard-cut-RR-PP they
'They all cut their own beards.'

When used with the 'in return' meaning, emphatic pronouns are often (perhaps always?) followed by the clitic =*wali* 'in return':

7.37 *Ngabbard bi-bom na-mege bininj, nga-bu-n nungan=wali*
Dj father 3/3HP-killPP MA-that man 1/3-kill-NP himEMPH=in.turn

ga-guk-yo.
3-body-lieNP

'That man killed my father, I'll kill him and he'll die himself (in his turn).'

7.38 *Gorrogo, bu ngarri-ni gorrogo, birrgala barri-mun.ge-yi gakbi.*
Dj before SUB 1a-sitP before boomerang 3a/3P-send-PI northeast

Adman=wali, an-gorle arri-mun.ge-yi walem, an-dobbo-gen.
weEMPH-in.turn III-bamboo 1a/3-send-PI southwest III-bundle-GEN

'Before, as we lived before, they used to send boomerangs northeastward (from the desert). We, in return, used to send big bundles of bamboo back southeastward.'

A number of senses of 'alone' — 'by one's own efforts' (7.39), 'without sharing' (7.40), and 'uniquely having this property' (7.41, 7.42) — are expressed by emphatic pronouns. Each of these senses may be emphasised by optional use of the root *-kudji* 'one', 'alone' with the appropriate pronominal prefix.

- 7.39 *Yingan yi-marnbu! Nungan ba-ma!*
 Dj youEMPH 2-doIMP heEMPH 3P-getIMP
 'You do it yourself!' 'He should get it himself!'
- 7.40 *Ngadman garri-ngu-n garri-gudji.*
 Dj weEMPH 12a-eat-NP 12a-alone
 'We'll eat it by ourselves, on our own.'
- 7.41 *Ngad djama garri-na-n, gurdangyi nungan ga-na-n, gare*
 Dj we not 12a-see-NP clever.man heEMPH 3/3-see-NP maybe
ga-ma-ng gan-bukka-n.
 3/3-pick.up-NP 3/1a-show-NP
 'We (ordinary people) can't see it (the splinter taken out of the sick person), only the clever man can see it, maybe he will pick it up and show it to us.'
- 7.42 *gure nungan an-garre nuye, djama ga-bangme-ngu-n, ga-bawo-n*
 Dj LOC heEMPH III-custom his not 3/3-not.yet-eat-NP 3/3-leave-NP
ga-nudme-n wanjh nud ga-ngu-n,
 3-rot-NP then rotten 3/3P-eat-NP
 'whereby he (the crocodile), after his own custom, does not eat (his prey) yet, he leaves it to rot, and then eats it rotten.'

Another sense is 'including X him/herself':

- 7.43 *Na-mege bininj barri-yim-i — maih barri-yimerra-nj rouk,*
 Dj MA-that person 3aP-do-PP creature 3aP-turn.into-PP all
alengman al-wanjdjuk.
 herEMPH II-emu
 'Those people did that — they all turned into creatures, including emu herself.'

In multi-participant texts, emphatic pronouns are sometimes used contrastively to indicate that one participant is now performing the same action as a previous participant — sometimes translatable by 'X in X's turn' (7.44). At other times the action may be different (as in 'asking' as opposed to 'telling' in 7.45) but still part of a to-and-fro exchange.

- 7.44 *Gunak ba-yerrng-yiga-ni ba-yerrng-yiga-ni. Bedman wanjh*
 Dj wood 3P-wood-fetch-PI 3P-wood-fetch-PI theyEMPH then
barri-yerrng-me-i
 3aP-wood-get-PP
 'She (emu) was fetching firewood ... and then *they* got some wood (to start cooking with before emu's return).'
- 7.45 *wanjh nga-marne-bolk-ngeibo-m ngadburrung Nicholas,*
 Dj then 1/3-BEN-place-say.name-PP brother Nicholas
wanjh ngan-djawa-m nungan-wali ba-yime-ng ...
 then 3/1-ask-PP heEMPH-in.turn 3-say-PP
 'then I told my brother Nicholas the name of that place, then he asked me, he said ...'

Finally, the emphatic form may be used to mean 'they others', that is those who have not been main participants:

- 7.46 *Bedman gu-barri-barnh-barndi, "ngayed yi-yimerra-n?"*.
 Dj theyEMPH LOC-3aP-ITER-hangPI what 2-turn.into-NP
 (After describing the escapades of emu and quail, the narrative turns to the other birds) 'While they others were all sitting in the tree (they asked), "what are you going to turn into?"'

The idiom *ngayeman ngarduk* means 'my business, my affairs'.

7.1.4 Other personal pronoun series

There are further series of free pronouns that are used more rarely, some confined to particular dialects. All are transparently built on the direct forms.

AS.FOR SERIES These pronouns, limited to Gun-djeihmi, are formed by cliticising *=(m)bu* to the direct pronouns, and mean 'what about X; as for X'. The *bu* form follows consonants, the *mbu* form follows vowels. They are likely to be a grammaticalisation of the general subordinating conjunction *bu*, which also has the meaning 'as to', 'as for', 'up to' when used as a preposition (§5.2.3.3), as in the Kuninjku expression *bu ngudda* 'that's up to you'.

- 7.47 *Ngayed-bu wudda-mbu yi-yime?*
 Dj how-AS.FOR you-AS.FOR 2-dONP
 'What about you, what are you going to buy (do)?'
- 7.48 *Ngaye-mbu, gayakki?*
 Dj me-AS.FOR nothing
 'What about me, have you nothing for me?'
- 7.49 *Ngudda-mbu ngurri-minde-rri gandi-bu-n ngadberre?*
 Dj you-AS.FOR 2a-many-stand 2a/1a-hit-NP we
 'Are you going to hit us (too)?'
- 7.50 *Wularl na-mege ngad=bu ngarri-ngeibu-ni, ngudda ngadburrung*
 Dj stringybark.raft MA-DEM we=ASFOR 1a/3-call-PI you brother
yi-ngeibu-n balanda raft, ngad ngarri-ngeibu-n bininj, wularl.
 2/3-call-NP English we 1a/3-call-NP Aborigine wularl
 'Wularl is what we used to call that. You, brother, call it "raft" in English, we Aborigines call it *wularl*.'

LOCATIVE SERIES This series is again confined to the Gun-djeihmi dialect, and its members are formed by suffixing *-(djah)djam* to the direct pronouns. No difference between the simple and reduplicated forms is evident.

<i>ngaye-djam</i>	<i>ngaye-djahdjam</i>
<i>wudda-djam</i>	<i>wudda-djahdjam</i>
<i>nungga-djam</i>	<i>nungga-djahdjam</i>
<i>ngaleng-djam</i>	<i>ngaleng-djahdjam</i>
<i>ngad-djam</i>	<i>ngad-djahdjam</i>

wudda-djam *wudda-djahdjam*
bedda-djam *bedda-djahdjam*

The suffix *-(djah)djam*, when used with pronouns, has only one of the meanings found with other nominals (see §5.2.1.10, §5.2.1.11): it can mean 'place where X is habitually' but not 'thing found habitually at X's place'.

7.51 *Ga-wohna-n* *udda-djam*.
 Dj 3/3I:NP-look.after-NP you-LOC
 'He is looking after your place.'

7.52 *Gu-warde a-re* *gudda-djam* *ga-wohna-n*.
 Dj LOC-rock 1-goNP you-LOC 3/3I:NP-look.after-NP
 'I'm going up to the rock country to look at your country.'

-gih/-kih 'NOW' Suffixed to pronouns, this indicates that the referent has just been identified in the speaker's or hearer's consciousness, or in that of some character in the discourse. Speakers translate *nungga-gih* in isolation as 'that's him — I just recognised him'. In the following example, *nungga-gih* accompanies the first identification of an exemplifying character in the text — Nym's father as an example of older people teaching painting.

7.53 *Na-yuhyunggi* *bedda werrk barri-bukka-ng*,
 I-first.people they first 3a/3P-show-PP
 'The first people taught people how to paint first
nagohbanj nungga-gih Nym gorngumo bi-bukka-ng ...
 old.man him-now Nym father 3/3hP-show-PP
 'Him now, that old man, Nym's father taught him how to paint ...'

In 7.54 the realisation of who the referent is belongs to the mother of the boy whose bones are being shown:

7.54 *Mo-no* *bi-marne-kurrme-ng* *nungka-kih*.
 E bone-3POSSD 3/3hP-BEN-put-PP him-now
 '(He) showed her the bones of him now (her son).'

-h 'IMMEDIATE' Glottalisation with 'immediate' meaning occurs in a number of word classes, notably verbs (§11.4.3) and demonstratives (§7.3), and is also found occasionally on pronouns (e.g. *nungkah* 'him here' or 'him now' as opposed to basic *nungka*). In Kune the immediate forms have been generalised to the basic form for first and third masculine minimal, thus *ngayih* and *nungkah*.

-ko 'PRONOMINAL DUAL' In Kunwinjku and Gun-dedjnjenghmi specific dual forms of the first and second pronouns (which otherwise don't distinguish number) can be formed by suffixing *-ko* as a pronominal dual. (See §6.2.7.1 on the related, and much commoner, use of this suffix as a dyad marker.) Although this usage is not mentioned by the grammatical sources on Kunwinjku, Hale's field notes (p.35) contain examples of it: *ngudda-ko* 'you (du)' and *ngadko* 'we (du)'. Interestingly, it appears that this suffix blocks application of the ablative case: *kure nguddabe* 'off you (sg or pl)', but *kure nguddako* 'off you (du.)' (p.64). The form *ngadko* also occurs in Gun-dedjnjenghmi (Murray Garde pers. comm.).

7.2 Ignoratives

By 'ignoratives' (see Karcevski 1969; Wierzbicka 1980; see also Mushin 1995 who uses the term 'epistememes') I refer to interrogative pronouns like 'who' or 'what', as well as indefinite pronouns like 'someone', 'something'. These are united by the semantic component of the speaker's or hearer's ignorance with respect to an entity or event.

As in most other Australian languages, most ignoratives exhibit triple polysemy between interrogative, indefinite pronoun, and negative pronoun senses. They typically have an interrogative interpretation when used clause initially⁵ and/or with a questioning intonation, an indefinite pronoun interpretation when non-initial and/or with declarative intonation, and as negative indefinite pronouns ('no-one', 'nowhere' etc.) when used with a negative particle and/or irrealis inflection. (For fuller discussion of the syntax of negation see §13.7, and of questions see §13.8.)

In discussing ignoratives, we need to distinguish three basic parameters.

First, the ONTOLOGICAL CATEGORY⁶ of the interrogated referent, such as person in case of *who*, thing in the case of *what*, and time in the case of *when*. Although linguists are in broad agreement about what these categories are, the details have been little investigated cross-linguistically. Are linguistic manifestations, for example, always 'things', as suggested by English *what is your name*, *what did he say* and *what do I call you* (e.g. *cousin*)? In fact we shall see that, in Bininj Gun-wok, these three sentences can be literally translated as 'who is your name', 'what did he say' and 'how/where do I call you', suggesting a more problematic assignment of speech to a higher-level ontological category.

Second, the mixture of EPISTEMOLOGICAL AND EXISTENTIAL ASSUMPTIONS underlying the use of a given term: for example (very roughly) that the speaker can identify the referent, and that the referent exists in the case of *somebody*, that no referent exists in the case of *nobody*, and that a referent may exist and the speaker is not asserting any particular identity for the referent, in the case of *anybody*. Note that this parameter is a bit broader than what Haspelmath (1997:2) calls 'core functions', since he is predominantly concerned with indefinite pronouns. At the same time, it is important to realise what a large set of semantic clusters exist along this parameter: the simplistic label 'indefinite pronoun', for example, has been shown by Haspelmath to cover at least nine core functions, all of which should in principle be described in a grammar. Another important semantic cluster found with ignoratives in Bininj Gun-wok (as in most other Australian languages) is the special 'whatsisname' series, used to fill in for a word the speaker has temporarily forgotten: these are formally related to the 'who' and 'what' ignoratives, so that one has *-ngamed* 'whatsisname' (with velar initial) grouped with *-ngale/-nganjuk* 'who', and *njamed* 'whatsisname' grouped with *njale/njanjuk* 'what'. Interestingly, there is a special 'do.whatsisname' form *njamedme*, morphologically the verbalised form of *njamed*, even though there is no true ignorative verb in the language.

⁵ They may be preceded by the topic NP, as in 7.60.

⁶ Here I follow Haspelmath (1997:21) and Jackendoff (1983:51); other terms in use are 'epistemological' category (Durie 1985: Chapter 6) and 'knowledge' category (Mushin 1995). This is not the place to pursue the question of whether it is better to extend the general ontological categories needed to discuss all conceptual representations (as per Haspelmath and Jackendoff), or to conceive of ignoratives, with their focus on domains of knowledge and ignorance, as reflecting human conceptualisations of ways of knowing about things (as per Durie and Mushin), as opposed to categories of things themselves.

Third, questions of RELATIONALITY: in the case of 'whose', for example, the restriction of the interrogated referent is partly by ontological category (that is, the referent should be a person) and partly by the possession relationship between the interrogated referent and the possessed entity. Note that it is not always clear in the linguistics literature when one is dealing with issues of relationality and when one is dealing with ontological category: Does 'why', for example, interrogate an ontological category of cause, or interrogate an event category fulfilling a particular relation (of causality) to a given event?

This equivocation in the literature probably reflects some equivocation on the part of languages themselves: 'where', for example, is represented by a monomorphemic root in the everyday variety of Bininj Gun-wok (*baleh* or (*ng*)*ayed* according to the dialect), but may be presented by the 'who' ontological-category root plus the locative-marking relational prefix in the more analytic mother-in-law variety (*gu-ngale*; see below). Unlike *whose*, which can in some way be broken down into an ontological element *who* and a possessive element *s(e)* (and indeed is spelled *who's* by a growing number of untutored English speakers), the form *why* in English is monomorphemic, while *what for* is clearly decomposable; *njaleken* or *njanjukgen* in Bininj Gun-wok are likewise decomposable. And while English *why* does not form indefinite pronouns or negative pronouns — there is no **somewhy* or **nowhy* on the pattern of *someone*, *noone* or *somewhere*, *nowhere* — other languages, such as Russian, include it in these series through forms like *pochemu-nibud* 'for some reason'.

In presenting the data from Bininj Gun-wok, I follow the root forms as my first line of cleavage, on the assumption that this attests an emic division of ontological categories in the language. Then I examine the ontological distinctions that may fall together under a given root (e.g. 'where' and 'how' under *baleh/ngayed*) as well as commenting on any delimitation of ontological boundaries that is unusual from an English perspective (as with the different translations of 'what', with regard to linguistic content, that were mentioned above); at this stage I concentrate on the range of meanings found with interrogative function, which is always the most richly attested. I then consider any derived forms where case or other suffixes indicate particular relations; thus Dj *njanjukgen* 'why', the genitive of *njanjuk* 'what', will be discussed under *njanjuk*. Finally, I close each section with an examination of the clusters of epistemological and existential assumptions that can be associated with each form in different syntactic and semantic contexts, namely the evidence for polysemy between interrogative, indefinite-pronoun and negative-indefinite meanings, and for further meaning distinctions within the indefinite-pronoun range. Within the limits of my data I exemplify the range of indefinite-pronoun meanings discussed by Haspelmath (1997), though I lack the space or the corpus necessary to examine all combinations of these meanings with ontological and relational categories. The 'whatsisname'-type roots will be discussed at the end of each form-oriented section.

7.2.1 Dialect differences

There is basic uniformity across the dialect chain in semantic structure, but Gun-djeihmi dialect stands out by having a distinct set of roots for the main formal categories, although there is much mixing of forms and use of the 'Kunwinjku' forms by most Gun-djeihmi speakers (Toby Gangele was an exception). The Gun-djeihmi forms differ from the other dialects by using the following:

- *-nganjuk* rather than *-ngale* for the 'who/someone' series,
- *njamed* rather than *njale* for the 'what/something' series,

- *njanjuk* rather than *njale* as the base for case-marked forms (such as Dj *njanjukgen* ‘why, what for’ vs *njaleken* ‘why, what for’ in the other dialects) and
- *ngayed* rather than *baleh* for the ‘where/how’ series.

Note that the association of initial *ng* with humans and of *nj* with non-humans/inanimates survives other formal differences across dialects.

There are also some specific derived forms limited to particular dialects. Table 7.4 shows the full set of forms, with dialect affiliations noted where relevant. Note that any root shown with a hyphen will take an appropriate noun-class, pronominal or locative prefix as discussed below (e.g. *ngale* ‘who (male)’, *ngalngale* ‘who (female)’, *mannale* ‘which car’, *kunngale* ‘which part of the body’, *yingale* ‘you who’). If the sex of a human referent is not known or irrelevant, the masculine prefix will be used.

Table 7.4: Main ignorative roots across dialects

Meaning	Dj	Other dialects
who	<i>-nganjuk</i>	<i>-ngale</i>
whatsisname	<i>-ngamed</i>	<i>-ngamed/-njamed</i>
what	<i>njanjuk</i>	<i>njale</i>
whatsitsname	<i>-njamed</i>	<i>-njamed</i>
why, what for	<i>njanjukgen</i>	<i>njaleken</i>
where	<i>ngayed</i>	<i>baleh</i> ; also I, E <i>balehkeno</i> ‘when’
how, when, how many	<i>ngayed gayime</i>	<i>baleh kayime</i>

Interrogative pronouns are retained unchanged in Kun-kurrng, except that *gu-ngale* replaces *ngayed* (7.68), and *dakalhme* replaces *yime* (7.140) in the phrasal ignorative *baleh kayime* (W)*ngayed kiyime* ‘how’, ‘when’.

We now turn to a detailed discussion of each root.

7.2.2 *-ngale/-nganjuk* ‘who’

The root *-nganjuk* is restricted to Gun-djeihmi; *-ngale* is used in all other dialects.

7.2.2.1 *Ontological range*

The basic meaning is ‘who’, as in 7.55–7.58, establishing the prototypical ontological category as people. The masculine prefix is used when the referent is male, plural or of unknown gender, and the feminine prefix when the referent is female. The same roots are used in the mother-in-law register (7.58).

- 7.55 *Na-ngale ngunbene-bom?*
 W MA-who 3/2ua-hitPP
 ‘Who (either sex) hit you?’ [KH 19]

7.56 *Ngal-ngale daluk ngal-kimuk?*

w II-who woman II-big
'Who's the large lady?' [KH 19]

7.57 *Na-nganjuk / al-nganjuk yi-djawa-m?*

Dj MA-who FE-who 2//3-ask-PP
'Whom (masc/fem) did you ask?'

7.58 *Na-nganjuk gan-weibu-n, gayagura garri-djal-murndi.*

Dj MA-who 3/1a-give-NP nothing 12a-just-sitNP
'Who's going to give me some (tobacco), we're just sitting here with nothing.' [k.k.]

The semantic range of the *-ngale/-nganjuk* set, however, is broader than English 'who'. To begin with, it can be used in all questions about a person's identity in terms of name or subsection or "skin" (§1.4.2.2):

7.59 *Na-ngale gun-ngei bininj?*

Dj MA-who IV-name Aboriginal
'What is his aboriginal name?'

7.60 *Ngudda yi-ngale yi-ngey-yo?*

I you 2-who 2-name-lieNP
'What is your name?'

7.61 a. *Ngudda yi-ngale kun-kurlah?*

w you 2-who IV-skin
'What is your "skin"?''

b. *Ngal-ngale kun-kurlah ngarre?*

FE-who IV-skin her
'What is her "skin"?' [E&E 13]

I have one example of the bare root being used to question a person's identity in terms of clan membership:

7.62 *Ngale yi-karrme kun-nguya? Na-kardbam.*

I who 2-haveNP IV-clan I-[clan.name]
'What clan are you?' 'Nakardbam.'

And, prefixed with *kun-* (the noun-class prefix most commonly used with body parts — §5.5), it can mean 'which part of (a person's) body':

7.63 *Kun-ngale bi-rrulubom?*

I IV-who 3/3hP-piercePP
'Which (part of his/her body) did it pierce?' [GID]

So far we could unite all these uses as ignoratives relating to the identity of humans, their parts and their representations in terms of names and labels of various sorts. However, there are also cases where *-ngale* is used, duly prefixed with the vegetable prefix, of non-humans (7.64, 7.65). It is possible that the first use is motivated by the fact that ownership of the car will be attributed to a person or group, while in the second case the focus on naming of the plant species evokes parallels to the use of *-ngale* when human names are being sought, but much more data is needed before this can be evaluated properly.

7.64 *Man-ngale ngurri-m-wam?*

I VE-who 2a-hither-gOPP
'Which (truck) did you come on?'

- 7.65 *Man-ih man-ngale?*
 I VE-DEM VE-who
 'What is this (plant) called?'

7.2.2.2 Relational elaborations

This root is highly restricted in the relation-marking affixes with which it can occur. It is striking that the forms **nanngaleken* or **nanganjukgen* [who-GEN], which one would expect to find with the meaning 'whose', are not attested. Instead 'whose X' is expressed as 'who X his/her', using the possession structure outlined in 7.26.

- 7.66 *Na-nganjuk ngan-gorle nuye?*
 Dj MA-who III-spear his
 'Whose spear (is this)?'

- 7.67 *Na-ngale birrkala nuye?*
 W I-who boomerang his
 'Whose boomerang?'

The only form which uses case-like affixation to give a relational derivation of this root is found in Kun-kurrng, where the locative-prefixed form *gu-ngale* is used for 'where' instead of the ordinary-language forms *ngayed* or *baleh* (see below):

- 7.68 *Gu-ngale ga-morndi.* (k.k.)
 Dj LOC-who 3-stay
 'Where is he staying?' (= o.l. *ngayed gayo*)

It can also be used to mean 'where on the body', functioning as the locative form of *kun-ngale* (see above) in conformity with the regular pattern of forming *ku*-locatives from *kun*-nouns.

7.2.2.3 Indefinite and negative pronoun uses

The interrogative function of *-ngale/-nganjuk* has already been exemplified above. Note that it can also be used as an interrogative in embedded questions (7.69) and WH-complements of verbs of perception or cognition (7.70).

- 7.69 *Barri-djawaih-m-i na-nganjuk gaban-h-bu-n?*
 Dj 3aP-ask-PI MA-who 3/3pl-IMM-kill-NP
 'They used to ask who was killing them.'

- 7.70 *Na-mung ø-durrkme-y man-kole ø-nome-ng, ø-bekka-ng na-ngale*
 E taipan 3P-pull-PP III-spear 3P-smell-PP 3P-hear-PP I-who
bi-yame-ng.
 3/3hP-spear-PP
 'Taipan pulled out the spear and smelled it, so he could know who had speared him.'

Indefinite pronoun uses, translatable as 'someone' or 'anyone' are also possible, such as in the protasis of a conditional. These are normally accompanied by *bininj* 'person':

- 7.71 *Bu na-ngale bininj ka-re ...*
 W SUB MA-who person 3-gONP
 'If anyone goes ...' [E&E 100]

However, it is not attested as an indefinite pronoun when a specific referent is intended: here *bininj* 'person' is used, typically modified by dubitative *nuk* (7.72).

- 7.72 *Bininj nuk ø-wulhke-ng ka-m-re kunubeywu, kan-yika-ng.*
 W person DUB 3-light.fire-PP 3-hither-gONP maybe 3/1a-bring-PP
 'Maybe someone has lit a fire, maybe he is coming here and bringing us something.'
 [OP 494]

The reduplicated forms *nanganjuhnganjuk* (Dj) and *nangalengale* (other dialects) mean 'all sorts of people', 'lots of people', as in:

- 7.73 *Na-ngale-ngale nakga barri-wogihme-ng ...*
 Dnj MA-who-who MA:DEM 3aP-work-PP
 'All sorts of people were working there ...'

In negative contexts *-ngale/-nganjuk* function as negative pronouns, translatable as 'no-one':

- 7.74 *Larrk, marrek, minj change birri-yime-rr-inj. ø-Djal-yi-wam*
 W nothing never not 3aP-do-RR-PP 3P-just-COM-gOPP
na-djal-kudji story makka man-kare djal burrkyak changim
 MA-just-one VE:DEM VE-old just nothing
na-ngale ø-yime-ng. And minj na-ngale ø-marnbu-yi overnight
 MA-who 3P-do-PP not MA-who 3P-make-IRR

larrk. Makka djal korroko
 nothing VE:DEM just long.ago

'No, nothing, it has never changed. There has only been one story which has continued from long ago and no one has changed it. And nobody just made it up overnight! It is from long ago.' [JN, interview with MG]

- 7.75 *Minj mak na-ngale ka-re ka-kawo-n.*
 W not at.all MA-who 3-gONP 3-disturb-NP
 'Noone goes there or disturbs anything.' [OP 353]

7.2.2.4 -ngamed 'whatsisname'

The form *ngamed*, found in all dialects, roughly means 'whatchamacallim', 'whatsisname', and replaces nouns for entities whose name the narrator has forgotten, with a comparable ontological range to *-ngale/-nganjuk*. Unprefixed *ngamed* can also mean 'whatchamacallim', 'whatsisname'; it may be prefixed if enough is known to assign it to a gender.

- 7.76 *Bedda na-ngamed, Nangarridj Nabolmo Nangarridj, Fred balanda*
 they MA-who Nangarridj Nabolmo Nangarridj balanda

ba-ngei-yo-i.

3P-name-lie-PP

'They, him and whatsisname, a Nangarridj man, a Nangarridj man of the Nabolmo clan, Fred was his European name.'

7.77 *An-ngamed ngarri-ga-ni an-wung an-djaddad.*

VE-what 1a/3-carry-PI III-flame.cone III-flame.carrier

'We were carrying whatsitsnames (inflorescences of a tree whose name the narrator forgets), flame cones, flame carriers.'

In Kuninjku only, this takes the form *njamed* after the feminine prefix, giving the pair masculine *nangamed* and feminine *ngalnjamed*, presumably reflecting peripheral dissimilation.

It is possible that this form derives by syncope from a fuller phrase, *na-ngale na-med*, attested in Kuninjku, literally 'MA-who MA-wait.a.minute', where *med* is normally an interjection meaning 'hang on!' (§13.12). Similar remarks appear to the 'whatsisname' form *njamed* discussed below.

In Gun-djeihmi only, *-ngamed* parallels the 'who' root in allowing the reading 'no-one', 'nobody' in negative contexts:

7.78 *Djama na-ngamed an-marne-yolyolme-ninj.*

NEG MA-who 3/1-BEN-mention-IRR

'Nobody ever talked about him/her to me.'

7.2.3 *njale/njanjuk/njamed* 'what'

In dialects other than Gun-djeihmi, *njale* means 'what', 'something' and (in negative contexts) 'nothing', with *njamed* restricted to the meaning 'whatsisname'.

In Gun-djeihmi the situation is more complicated: though it can still mean 'whatsisname', it can also mean 'what', 'something' and 'nothing'; *njale* is commonly used as in the other dialects (though usually considered not pure Gun-djeihmi), and *njanjuk* serves as the base for the interrogative term *njanjukgen* 'why', is widely used as an indefinite pronoun, and only occasionally functions with the meaning 'what'. I take this to reflect an earlier situation where Dj *njanjuk* paralleled W *njale*, but has now been encroached upon by *njamed* extending its semantic range out of the 'whatsisname' meaning into the realm of ignoratives proper.

7.2.3.1 *Interrogative sense; ontological range*

This root series covers about the same ontological range as English 'what', including both inanimates and non-human animates (7.79a,b). In Gun-djeihmi the *-njamed* root takes the semantically appropriate gender prefix, as in (7.88), where it takes the feminine, the default gender for birds. The form *an-njamed* (Dj) or *man-njale* (W, 1) 'what (veg.)' has also been recorded (7.81), with the meaning 'what tree?', although the vegetable prefixed *-ngale* root is possible as well (§7.2.2.1).

7.79 a. *Njale bene-boken kabene-h-na-n?*

W what 3ua-two 3ua-IMM-see-NP
‘What are they two looking at?’

b. *Nga-marridowe-n, njanjuk nga-ngu-n?*

Dj 1-be.hungry-NP what 1-eat-NP
‘I’m hungry, what am I going to eat?’

7.80 *Al-njamed ngal-dehni?*

Dj FE-what FE-DEM
‘What (bird) is that?’

7.81 *Makka man-dubang man-njale?*

I VE:DEM III-ironwood VE-what
‘What’s the ironwood tree called (in Kun-kurrng)?’

This series may also be used when asking the name of non-humans:

7.82 *Njale ngey-no?*

I what name-3POSSD
‘What’s its name?’

In Kunwinjku the phrase *njale kun-dung* (lit. ‘what sun’) is used to mean ‘what’s the time?’.

7.2.3.2 Relational forms

‘Why’ is built by adding genitive *-ken/-gen* to the root *njanjuk* (Dj) or *njale* (other dialects); recall that one sense of the genitive is cause or purpose (§5.2.1), so this is literally ‘for/because of what’. Examples are:

7.83 *Njanjukgen gurri-bu-rr-en?*

Dj why 2a-hit-RR-NP
‘What are you fighting about?’ OR: ‘Why are you fighting?’

7.84 *“Njale njanjuk-gen maddjurn ba-wodjme-ng?” ngan-djawa-m nungga.*

Dj what why python 3P-sink-PP 3/1-ask-PP he
‘“Why is it called *Maddjurn bawodjmeng*” he asked me.’

7.85 *Njaleken? (w)*

why *Ba-m-djal-wam ngan-na-ng. (Dj)*
3P-hither-just-goPP 3/1-see-PP
‘Why (did he come)?’ ‘He just came to see me.’

In Kunwinjku there is also a form *njalekah* ‘why, for what purpose, formed adding the goal suffix *-kah* ‘cause’ to the ‘what’ root:

7.86 *Njale-kah ngan-yi-bebme-ng kore bu bininj walah*

W what-BEN 3/1-COM-appear-PP LOC SUB person ?
‘Why was he taking me to where the people are?’ [OP 411]

7.87 *Wanjh ngal-kudji ngal-kohbanj bi-djawam “Njale-kah wanjh*

W then FE-one FE-old.person 3/3hP-askPP what-BEN then
yi-h-ngalkbu-n?”.

2-IMM-cry-NP

‘Then an old lady asked him, “Why are you crying?”.’

In Gun-djihmi there is also a 'why' form *njanjukge* with the suffix *-ge*, not otherwise attested; it may be an idiosyncratic contraction of *-gen*. This form can also be used as an indefinite pronoun, with the meaning 'for something'; see below.

- 7.88 *Njanjukge gan-marne-bom?*
 Dj what.for 2/1-BEN-killPP
 'What did you shoot that (dog) of mine for?'

Njale-dorreng, formed in Kunwinjku by adding *-dorreng* 'with', means 'with what?'

7.2.3.3 Indefinite and negative pronoun uses

Any of the forms *njale*, *njanjuk* and *njamed* can be used indefinitely with the meaning 'something', 'anything' or 'whatever'. Specifically, they are attested with the meaning 'specific something' (7.89), 'non-specific, irrealis something' (7.90–7.92), or in the protasis of a conditional (7.93). One or more modal elements or conjunctions normally co-occur with the 'what' pronoun to give this meaning: the dubitative particle *nuk* (7.89), the subordinating conjunction *bu* (7.90, 7.91), perhaps fused with the conjunction *wardi* 'might' to give the particle *wardibu* 'try for' (7.91, 7.92), or cliticised to a demonstrative (7.93).

- 7.89 *Njale nuk benbene-dundiwe-yi.*
 W what DUB 3/3duP-cause.to.return-IRR
 'Something was pulling them back.'
- 7.90 *Bolkgime wurd ngarri-yauh-makna-n, bu njale ngarri-ma-ng ...*
 Dj now a.bit 1a-again-try.look-NP SUB something 1a-get-NP
 'Now we'll try having another look, and if we get something ...'
- 7.91 *Bolkgime bu njanjuk ga-yi-rrurnde-ng, wardibu gayakki widdjak.*
 Dj now SUB what 3-COM-return-NP try.for nothing no.matter
 'Now he'll bring something back, but if he should bring back nothing it doesn't matter.'
- 7.92 *Wardibu njanjuk, ayeman, balanda na-wern-gen gu-behne, gare*
 Dj try.for something 1sgEMPH balanda MA-many-GEN LOC-there maybe
gabbarri-bolk-gagawo-n, ngarr-e ngan-gudji-hgen, ngarri-yauh-makna-n.
 3/3pl-place-spoil-NP 1a-goNP VE-one-GEN 1a-again-try.look-NP
 'If possible, I'll (get) something myself, (but) there's a lot of balandas there, could be that they're 'wrecking the place (spoiling the fishing), we'll go one more time now and try our luck.'
- 7.93 *barri-bebbe-gana-ga-ng, gun-berd, gun-dad, njanjuk namege=bu*
 Dj 3a/3P-each-ITER-take-PP IV-tail IV-thigh something MA:DEM=SUB
barri-bebbe-gana-ga-ng
 3a/3P-each-ITER-take-PP
 'they each took their share, some part of the tail, some a thigh, they each took something like that'

It may also be used, after a list of alternatives, with the free-choice meaning 'anything', 'whatever':

- 7.94 ... *na-wu gare Yirridjdja, Duwa, njamed.*
 Dj MA-REL maybe Yirritja Duwa whatever
 '... who might be Yirritja, Duwa, whatever.'

The reduplicated forms *njale-njale* and *njanjuk-njanjuk* are often used, with the meaning 'all sorts of things', 'whatever', 'this and that':

- 7.95 *Wurdurd-no — ragul, gorlobbok, goddoukgoddouk,*
 Dj children-3POSSD red.eye.pigeon peaceful.dove bar.shouldered.dove
gikgik, njanjuk-njanjuk maih na-wern-gen —
 brown.honeyeater all.sorts bird MA-many-GEN

barri-marridowe-n-di.

3aP-starve-PERSIS-PI

'All her children — the red-eye pigeon, the peaceful dove, the bar-shouldered dove, the brown honeyeater, all the various birds — they were hungry.'

- 7.96 *Larrk, marrek Mardayin birri-bimbuyi, ya na-djamun and*
 nothing NEG [ceremony] 3aP-paint-IRR yeah MA-sacred
ngarri-kernge ngarri-dolhme-ng djang ngarri-bimbu-n,
 1a-new 1a-appear-PP dreaming 1a-paint-NP

ngarri-bimbom and ngalyod and njaleh-njale.

1a-paintPP Rainbow what-what

'No, they didn't paint Mardayin ceremony designs, they are sacred, but we, the new generation have appeared and we paint sacred dreamings such as rainbow serpents and what have you.' [GID]

I have examples of indefinite uses of the 'why/for what' forms in Gun-djeihmi. The 'why' form *njamedgen* may be used with the meaning 'for some reason' (7.97), while *njanjukge* can mean be used indefinitely to mean 'for something' (7.98):

- 7.97 *Barri-wurlh-wurlhge-yi, dja njamed-gen.*
 Dj 3aP-ITER-light.fires-PI CONJ what-GEN
 'They would go around lighting fires, for whatever reason.'

- 7.98 *wanjh bolkgime ngani-wohme-n-di wardibu djenj.*
 Dj all.right now 1ua-sit.around-PERSIS-PI try.for fish
Nángarridj, Alwagadj wardibu njanjukge gabani-ma-ng bolkgime
 [name] [name] try for.something 3uaNP-get-NP now
 'But now we'll just keep sitting around for a while and try getting some fish.
 Nangarridj and Alwagadj are trying to get something now.'

Negative sentences with *njale* (7.99, 7.100), *njanjuk* (7.101, 7.102) or *njamed* (7.103) mean 'nothing', 'nothing at all':

- 7.99 *Birri-dadj-dadjke-ng, minj njale ø-yu-wirriinj.*
 E 3a/3P-ITER-cut-PP NEG what 3P-lie-IRR
 'They hacked him apart until nothing remained.'

- 7.100 *minj mak njale ø-na-yi ku-rurk bu ø-ni-wirrinj*
 W NEG at.all what 3P-see-IRR LOC-cave SUB 3P-sit-IRR
 'but she did not see anything inside' [OP 422]
- 7.101 *Na-mege wurdyau gun-djikka bi-marne-warrem-inj,*
 Dj MA-DEM child IV-breast 3/3hP-BEN-go.bad-PP
djama njanjuk ga-ngu-n, wanjh ga-marridowe-n.
 NEG what 3/3L:NP-eat-NP then 3-be.hungry-NP
 'That kid's (mother's) breast went bad on him, he's got nothing to eat,
 so he's going hungry.'
- 7.102 *Ngarri-ma-ng gun-guyeng-gu ngarri-yerrga-ng, djama njanjuk*
 Dj 1a-get-NP IV-long-?7 1a-sit-PP not something
ngarri-ma-yi ga-djal-yakki
 1a-get-IRR 3-just-nothing
 'We'll catch something in the long run, (though) we've been sitting here and
 haven't caught anything at all.'
- 7.103 *Djama ba-ngu-yi njamed, gayakki, marrek ba-ngu-yi.*
 not 3/3IP-cat-IRR what nothing not 3P-eat-IRR
 'He didn't eat anything, he had nothing to eat.'

7.2.3.4 *njamed* 'whatsitsname, whatchacallit'

In all dialects *njamed* functions as the equivalent of *na-ngamed* (§7.2.2.4) for non-human referents, being used when the speaker is unable to recall the name of a thing:

- 7.104 *Njamed djirndi gare ba-yi-warlkge-rr-inj njanjuk, gu-mege*
 Dj whatsit quail maybe 3P-COM-hide-RR-PP or.something LOC-there
ganjdji.
 under
 'That whatsitsname, quail, maybe he's hidden himself away with it or something,
 under the leaves there.'
- 7.105 *Nga-kodjmukme-ng, njamed ngarri-ngeybu-n kun-wok-beh, Nawuleb.*
 E 1-forget-PP whatsit 1a-call-NP IV-language-ABL [name]
 'I've forgotten its name, we call it whatsitsname in language, *Nawuleb*.'

Njamed can take case suffixation appropriate to its role in the phrase or clause (e.g. *njamed-no-ken, berl-no-ken* [whatsit-3POSSD-GEN arm-3POSSD-GEN] 'for one's whatsit, for one's arm').

The form *njamedme*, formed by adding the productive verbalising suffix *-me* (§8.2.3.1), means 'do whatchacallit'; in other words it is used when the speaker forgets the proper verb to describe an action. Note that this is not a genuine interrogative verb, though these exist in other Australian languages such as Dyirbal (Dixon 1972); it is not used to ask questions like 'what did X do'.

I have no other examples of this suffix. David Kanari translated the word *gun-guyenggu* as 'long run'.

7.106 *Namek konda kanjdji Malnjangarnak laik kun-ronj and kaddum yi-na-n*
 E:D MA-DEM here down [place] like IV-water up 2/3-see-NP

∅-njamedme-ng ku-mekke ka-re kinga kaluk ken kabi-kinje
 3P-do.whatsitsname-PP LOC-DEM 3-goNP crocodile then oops 3/3h-burnNP

njamed-yih djang-yih, Mardayin yoh, ka-rrurnde-ng, kinga ∅-yo.
 what-ERG dreaming-ERG [ceremony] yes 3-return-NP crocodile 3-lieNP
 'Malnjangarnak is lower down like the water, and further up is where whatsit, the salt water crocodile goes but the Mardayin power cooks/burns him yeah, and so he goes back.' [Bob Burrawal: Armbands Text]

Njamed can also be used to introduce a statement for which the speaker seeks evaluation and agreement, with the meaning 'whatcha reckon?'

7.107 *Njamed, gun-wok ga-rayek.*
 Dj what IV-language 3-hard
 'Whatcha reckon, it's a hard language, eh?'

7.2.4 *baleh/ngayed* 'where'

Baleh is found in all dialects except Gun-djehmi, and is often used by Gun-djehmi speakers anyway. The final *h* of *baleh* is sometimes omitted.

Note that there are various phrasal combinations of *baleh/ngayed* plus verb, particularly *baleh/ngayed kayime* 'how' 'do what' 'when' 'how many'; these combinations are treated separately in §7.2.5.

7.2.4.1 Interrogative sense; ontological range

The basic sense of *baleh/ngayed* is '(located) where', as in:

7.108 *Ngayed yi-yo-∅?*
 Dj where 2-sleep-NP
 'Where are you staying?'

7.109 *Kela baleh ka-h-ni? Na-beh.*
 [skin] where 3-IMM-sitNP MA-YON
 'Where is Kela?' 'There.'

7.110 a. *Baleh yi-h-di? (w)* where 2-IMM-standPI
 'Where have you been?' [E&E 100]
 b. *Baleh yi-rri? (I)* where 2-standPI
 'Where have you been?' [GID]

Baleh can be extended to mean 'where to' (7.111). (In Gun-djehmi this meaning is expressed synthetically by adding the goal case to *ngayed* — §7.2.3.2.)

7.111 *Ngudda baleh yi-re?*
 you where 2-goNP
 'Where are you going (to)?'

The roots (*ngayed* and *baleh*) can also be used in questions about kinship, such as 'what's your skin' (7.112), and 'what's your kin relationship to X' (7.113), presumably on the rationale that the answer 'places' the referent in kinship space.

- 7.112 a. *Ngayed ngudda yi-gurlah?* (Dj) b. *Baleh ka-kurn nungka?* (W)
 where you 2-skin where 3-skin he
 'What's your skin?' 'What's his skin?'

- 7.113 *Baleh yi-yime Kela, nguni-rdi?*
 where 2-say/doNP [skin] 2ua-standNP
 'What (kin relationship) do you call Kela?' (Alternatively, this could be analysed as 'how are you to Kela', where *baleh -yime* means 'how' (see §7.2.5))

Sometimes *baleh* is used in asking about other linguistic information as well: it may be used instead of *-ngale* in asking for people's names (7.114), and in asking what was said (7.115):

- 7.114 *Yi-bengka-n Kodjok? Baleh nakka ka-h-ngey-yo?*
 2-know-NP [skin] where MA:DEM 3-IMM-name-lieNP
 'You know Kodjok? What's his name?'

- 7.115 *Baleh ngundi-marne-yime-ng?*
 where 3a/2-BEN-say-PP
 'What did they say to you?'

In Kuninjku the phrase *baleh -konom* is used to mean 'how tall':

- 7.116 *Baleh ka-konom? Na-konom-kuyeng.*
 where 3-height MA-height-long
 'How tall is he?' 'He is tall.' [GID]

In Manyallaluk Mayali it can be prefixed by a gender marker when used with the meaning 'which': *nabaleh* 'which one (bird)'. And as mentioned above, 'where' is expressed in mother-in-law register by *gu-ngale*, the locative prefixed form of the 'who' root (7.68).

7.2.4.2 Relational extensions

There is some cross-dialectal variation in the case and other suffixes found with these roots.

In Gun-djeihmi the goal case is added to give the meaning 'where to', 'whither'; the *d* is (irregularly) lost before the *g*:

- 7.117 *Ngaye-ga gurri-re?*
 Dj where-BEN 2a-goNP
 'Where are you mob going?'

In all dialects the ablative case is added to give the meaning 'where from', as in the following expressions used to enquire about someone's country of origin:

- 7.118 a. *Baleh-be yi-m-dolka-ng?* (W) b. *Ngayed-be ba-rrolkka-ng?* (Dj)
 where-ABL 2-hither-get.up-PP where-ABL 3P-get.up-PP
 'Where do you come from?' 'Where does he come from?'

The 'where' root, usually but not always with an added suffix, is used in all dialects to mean 'which'. Identification from among a set, in other words, is asked for in terms of location.

In Gun-djeihmi the 'where' root may be used by itself (7.119), or a goal suffix can be added (7.120, 7.121):

7.119 *Ngayed na-be? / ngal-de?*

Dj where MA-DEM FE-DEM
'Which one (masculine/feminine)'

7.120 *Ngayega na-be / al-de / an-de yi-djare?*

Dj where MA-DEM FE-DEM VE-DEM 2-want
'Which (masculine/feminine/vegetable) do you want?'

7.121 *Yi-rrang-barrme-n, gan-bukka-n aye-ga yi-baba-ng.*

2-mouth-open-IMP 2/1-show-NP where-LOC 2-hurt-NP
'Open your mouth, and you can show me which (tooth) hurts.'

The forms *balehmanu* (W) and *balehmane* (I), appear to add a reduced form of the demonstrative *manu* 'that one (VE)'; *balehmane*, at least, can mean 'which way' as well as 'which':

7.122 *Balehmanu yi-djare?*

W which 2-want
'Which do you want?'

7.123 *Balehmane ngarr-ka-n man-bolh?*

I which 1a-take-NP III-road
'Which road will we take?'

In Kuninjku and Kune only, the form *balehkeno*, which adds the temporal suffix *-keno* to the 'where' root, means 'when':

7.124 *Baleh-keno ka-wokdi mayh? Kaluk ka-wurlu-wurlhme*

I,E where-TIME 3-speakNP creature later 3-EXT-burn.offNP

karri-wareyo.

12a-enter.ceremonyNP

'When will the ceremony happen? After, when it's burning off time, we'll go and enter the ceremony.'

7.2.4.3 Indefinite and negative pronoun uses

A few examples of indefinite pronoun use occur in the corpus. Note that as with 'what', markers of irrealis non-specific meanings (7.125) co-occur with subordinating or modal markers like *wardibu* 'maybe; try for':

7.125 *Wardibu ngayed ngarri-ma-ng gare bogen, gare-h danjbik ...*

Dj maybe where 1a-get-NP maybe two maybe-IMM three
'Maybe somewhere we'll get maybe two, or maybe three ...'

The form *gu-bale*, formally the 'where' form plus the locative prefix (not attested elsewhere on this root), can also mean 'somewhere':

- 7.126 *Wanjh djarre gure gu-bouk gu-bale nani.*
 Dj, w well there LOC LOC-swamp LOC-where MA:DEM
 'Well, a long way away there's a small swamp somewhere.'

Both 'where' and 'which' forms can also function as negative pronouns; the 'which' form here means something like 'in no direction, no (way) which' (see also (5.213)).

- 7.127 "Karrang, minj baleh ngarr-e?" "La bonj wanjh kan-bu-n ngarrku",
 I mother NEG where 12-goNP CONJ finished then 3/1a-kill-NP us
wanjh ben-nganenghme-ng bonj ben-nguneng yo
 then 3/3plP-refuse.permission-PP finished 3/3plP-eatPP yeah
ben-kudjihmeng bonj.
 3/3plP-put.in.place.foreverPP finished
 "Mother, is there nowhere we can go?" "It's the end, it's going to eat us both."
 Then it wouldn't let them go, it ate them, and left them there.

7.2.5 baleh/ngayed ... yime 'do what; how; when; how many'

This collocation, which combines the 'where' root with the verb meaning 'do; say', expresses a wide range of meanings. With some meanings the prefix is fixed for person and number; with others it varies with the subject.

In Manyallaluk Mayali there is evidence that the sequence *baleh gayime* has been lexicalised into a single word, since the prefix *ngan-* (class III, in its 'manner' use) can be attached to the whole complex, as in:

- 7.128 *Jarran* [Kriol] *gayawal ngan-balegayime ngurri-bu-n?*
 MM that [yam.sp.] MAN-how 2a-hit-NP
 'How do you prepare that *gayawal yam*?'

7.2.5.1 Interrogative use; ontological range

The roots *baleh* and *ngayed* actually combine with a number of verb roots to give specific ignorative phrases (§7.2.4.2), and it might be argued that the general meaning of *baleh* and *ngayed* is 'how' when combined with a verb root. However, the specific question 'how' is always posed with *baleh/ngayed* plus either *yime* or its derivative *yimiwo* 'do like this':

- 7.129 *Wardi kan-bukka-n, baleh ka-yime?*
 I might 2/1-show-NP where 3-doNP
 'Can you show me what you do?' 'How you do it?'
- 7.130 *Baleh nga-yimiwo-n?*
 I where 1-do.like.this-NP
 'How do I do this?'

With the meaning 'do what', the prefix varies with the subject:

- 7.131 *Baleh ø-yime-ng?*
 W where 3P-do/say-PP
 'What did he do/say?'

- 7.132 *Ayed garri-yime? Nga-rrenge-mok" ba-yime-ng.*
 Dj where 12a-doNP 1-foot-sore 3P-say-PP
 ‘‘What are we going to do? I’ve got a sore foot’’ he said.’

The meaning ‘when’ is also expressed by this combination, with fixed third person minimal prefix. (Note that Kuninjku and Kune use the form *balehkeno* for ‘when’ — see §7.2.3.2.) In Kunwinjku it is possible to vary the tense on the ignorative verb to agree with that of the main verb (7.133, 7.134), but in Gun-djeihmi it is fixed as non-past (7.135a,b):

- 7.133 *Baleh ka-yim-e yi-m-re?*
 W where 3-do-NP/F? 2-hither-goNP
 ‘When are you going to come?’

- 7.134 *Baleh ø-yime-ng yi-yame-ng kornobolo?*
 W where 3P-do-PP 2-spear-PP wallaby
 ‘When did you spear the wallaby?’

- | | | | |
|----------|------------------------------|----|---------------------------------|
| 7.135 a. | <i>Ngayed ga-yime yi-re?</i> | b. | <i>Ngayed ga-yime yi-m-wam?</i> |
| Dj | where 3-doNP 2-goNP | | where 3-doNP 2-hither-goPP |
| | ‘When are you leaving?’ | | ‘When did you come?’ |

It may also mean ‘how many’ (7.136–7.139). In this construction the TAM suffix is invariably non-past, but in Kunwinjku the pronominal prefix shows number for human subjects (7.137). In Gun-djeihmi both prefix and suffix are invariant.

- 7.136 *Baleh ka-yime kunj yi-bom?*
 W where 3-doNP kangaroo 2-killPP
 ‘How many kangaroos did you kill?’

- 7.137 *Baleh kabirri-mirnde-yime ngundi-bom?*
 W where 3a-many-doNP 3a/2-hitPP
 ‘How many people hit you?’

- 7.138 *Ngayed ga-yime al-beiwurd yi-garrme?*
 Dj where 3-doNP 11-child.of.male 2-haveNP
 ‘How many daughters have you got?’

- 7.139 *Ngayed ga-yime yi-yo gu-behne?*
 Dj where 3-doNP 2-lieNP LOC-DEM
 ‘How many (nights) are you camping here?’

In the mother-in-law language the verb root *yime* is replaced by its correspondent *dakalhme*. Note that although the verb root is replaced by its mother-in-law correspondent, the ignorative root *baleh/ngayed* itself, like all other ignorative roots, remains unchanged.

- 7.140 *Ayed garri-dagalhme, gun-djule-yagura.* (k.k.)
 Dj where 12a-doNP IV-tobacco-PRIV
 ‘What are we going to do, (I’ve) got no tobacco.’

7.2.5.2 Some specific derivatives

With incorporated *kuk* ‘body’ this phrase means ‘look like what’:

- 7.141 *Baleh ka-kuk-yime?*
 where 3-body-doNP
 'What does (s)he/it look like?'

And with *yimerran* 'happen', *ngayed/baleh* means 'what happens' or, if the benefactive applicative is added, 'what happens to X':

- 7.142 *Baleh ngun-marne-yimerra-nj?*
 where 2/3-BEN-happen-PP
 'What happened to you?'

7.2.5.3 Indefinite and negative pronoun uses

Indefinite uses of this ignorative set are rare, but see 7.165, in which *ngayed ga-yime* combines with the plural demonstrative *anegebu* to mean 'do all sorts of stuff'. Dj *ngayed gayimerran* and *ngayed gabolkymerran* are also attested with the meanings 'whatever should happen' and 'if the time should come', again in combination with either the subordinating conjunction *bu* (Text 9.20) or the modal adverb *gare* 'maybe' (7.143).

- 7.143 *Galuk gare, ngayed ga-bolk-yimerra-n, gare, an-buyiga djandi,*
 Dj then maybe where 3-place-turn-NP maybe VE-other Sunday⁸
bu nungan ... gare bu well gabarri-wo-n time off, ngarri-yime
 SUB heEMPH maybe if 3a/3-give-NP 1a-doNP
gare, bu larrk minj ga-garrme-ø.
 maybe SUB nothing NEG not 3-have-NP
 'Then maybe some time whenever the time comes, maybe some other Sunday,
 when he ... maybe if they give some time off sometime, maybe we'll do this
 (again), when he's got nothing to do.'

Baleh ... yime is attested in Kune with the further sense 'this is how ...', 'what we do ...' (with 'we' prefix):

- 7.144 *Kuybuk na-mekke baleh ngarri-yime ...*
 E:N banksia.dentata MA-DEM where 1a-doNP
 'With (the inflorescences of) the swamp banksia what we do is ...'

There is also one example of *baleh kayime* in a negative context, with the meaning 'in no way':

- 7.145 *Aa, nga-kerlkda-nj, minj bale ka-yime nga-re*
 ah 1-become.soft-PP NEG where 3-doNP 1-goNP
 'My leg's gone weak, I can't walk (i.e. there's no way I can walk).'

⁸ Djandi may mean either 'Sunday' or 'week' but the first sense was intended here.

7.3 Demonstratives

Bininj Gun-wok has a rich set of demonstratives. Though there is significant cross-dialectal variation, in all dialects they convey information about spatial deixis (proximity to speaker, hearer etc.), discourse status ('that mentioned before', 'that just mentioned'), assumptions about the hearer's attention ('that one I'm indicating now', 'that one whose identity I expect you can recover from the following word(s)'), and various combinations of the above (e.g. 'this here, which you wanted to know about', 'the one that was just here, or was just mentioned'⁹).

There are distinct prefixes for each gender found in the particular dialect; demonstratives prefixed for the vegetable gender or with the locative have mostly accrued semantically specialised demonstrative-adverb functions (which will be discussed along with other gender-prefixed forms of the equivalent root). There is more haphazard coding of number, through pronominal prefixation and/or distinct root forms depending on the dialect.

Most can be used either as modifiers (i.e. adnominally) or independently (i.e. pronominally), with the relative frequency of these options varying from demonstrative to demonstrative — this will be mentioned on a case by case basis. In general the forms referring to entities immediately present or just mentioned favour more independent use, while those pointing further back in the discourse are usually placed next to a head nominal.

The large number of distinctions encoded in the demonstrative system allows them to play a crucial role in the management of reference. We shall see in §10.2.8 that pronominal cross-referencing on the verb brings no presuppositions about referentiality: a sentence like 'maybe I/her-again-marry' can mean 'maybe I will marry someone again' as well as 'maybe I will marry her again'. These underspecifications in the system of pronominal prefixation to the verb are partly made good by the use of demonstratives to fix the reference of a noun phrase, in terms of coordinates of space, the unfolding discourse, and assumptions about the hearer's cognitive state.

Most existing works on Kunwinjku (e.g. Capell 1940; Oates 1964; Carroll 1976, 1995) merely exemplify some of the demonstratives without discussing the semantic contrasts involved. Capell labels them 'definite article', Oates 'indicative adjectives', Carroll 'determiners'. Etherington and Etherington (1994:101) devote about a page to the topic and have some discussion of their meaning, though without dealing with all forms or citing textual examples.

Himmelman (1997:62ff.) rightly points out that the term 'anaphoric' is not always appropriate (for cases when the presumed mental accessibility of the referent to the hearer is not based on prior mention in the same discourse), and proposes the term 'anamnesitic' functions to cover uses motivated by assumptions about the hearer's memory for the referent. Though this term is useful, I regard it as characterising a semantic dimension only, rather than a precise value on that dimension, since 'memory' can be evoked in much more specific ways: with *nabehrnu* the cognitive component is 'which you wanted to know about', whereas with *nakka* it is 'which was just mentioned, or was just here' (which could arguably be unified along the lines of 'which I assume you were recently paying attention to'). Similar remarks apply to his term 'recognitional' (Himmelman 1996:230), where 'the intended referent is to be identified via specific, shared knowledge rather than through situational clues or reference to preceding segments of the ongoing discourse'. For these reasons, and in the interests of falsifiability, I use more precise natural-language paraphrases which allow us to combine rather precise specifications on a number of dimensions.

More than any other word class, demonstrative semantics require lengthy in-depth study, large corpora, and detailed recording of context and accompanying gesture (see Himmelmann 1996; Wilkins 1989), and we lack this for even one dialect of Bininj Gunwok.¹⁰ Moreover, the prima facie evidence suggests that the systems are far from parallel across dialects. For these reasons, the following section must be regarded as preliminary, and does not claim to give equal coverage to all dialects. I begin by examining the Gun-djeihmi system in some detail, with brief remarks on different conditions applying to the comparable forms in other dialects. I then summarise, briefly, the systems found in the other dialects.

7.3.1 Gun-djeihmi and Gun-dedjnjengbmi

Demonstrative roots in Gun-djeihmi combine with the three gender prefixes and the locative prefix *gu-*. Unlike Kunwinjku (§7.3.2.1), which has the pronominal-prefixed forms *birri-mekbe* 'they aforementioned' and *benemekbe* 'they two aforementioned' alongside gender-prefixed forms like *namekbe* 'that man aforementioned', pronominal prefixes do not combine with demonstrative roots in Gun-djeihmi.

In many cases the resultant forms are slightly irregular, with morphophonemic rules specific to demonstratives. Known Gun-djeihmi forms are given in Table 7.5; note that some parts of the paradigm are unattested. In discussions below I name each series after the masculine form, which is unmarked (§5.5). Gun-dedjnjengbmi forms appear to follow a very similar system and will also be discussed in this section.

Because of the non-equivalence of semantic categories across dialects, and the incomplete information on demonstrative semantics in some dialects, the glosses given Table 7.5 will not generally be used outside this chapter.

Table 7.5: Demonstratives in Gun-djeihmi

Series (masc. referential form in <i>na-</i>)	Base	Rough meaning	Gloss	Feminine in <i>ngal-</i>	Vegetable in <i>ngan-</i>	Locative in <i>gu-</i>
<i>namege</i>	<i>-mege</i>	'that; aforementioned'	ANA	<i>ngalege</i>	<i>nganege</i>	<i>gumege</i>
<i>namegebu</i>	<i>-megebu</i>	'(all) those'	ANA.PL	<i>ngalegebu</i>	<i>nganegebu</i>	<i>gumegebu</i>
<i>namekke</i>	<i>-mekke</i>	'that mentioned just before'	ANA.IMM	<i>ngalekke</i>	<i>nganekke</i>	<i>gumekke</i>
<i>namekbe</i>	<i>-mekbe</i>	'from over there'	ANA.ABL			<i>gumekbe</i>
<i>nabe</i>	<i>-be</i>	'yon, that beyond/outside'	YON	<i>ngalbe</i>	<i>ngande</i>	<i>gube</i>
<i>nabehne</i> (~ <i>nehne</i>)	<i>-behne</i>	'coming this way from there; turning now to speak of'	YON.CENTRIP	<i>ngal(d)ehne, ngalwanehne</i>	<i>ngandehne</i>	<i>gubehne</i>
<i>nabehdjam</i>	<i>-behdjam</i>	'that over there'	YON.ID	<i>ngaldehdjam</i>	<i>ngandehdjam</i>	<i>gubehdjam</i>

¹⁰ See Glasgow (1964), Glasgow and Glasgow (1994) and especially Wilkinson (1991) for relatively detailed treatments of demonstratives in languages just to the east, respectively Burarra and Djamparrpuyngu.

<i>nabernu</i>	<i>-bernu</i>	'the one which you wanted to know about, which is over there'	REM	<i>ngalernu</i>	<i>ngandernu</i>	<i>gubernu</i>
<i>nabehrnu</i>	<i>-behrnu</i>	'the one which you wanted to know about, which is here'	REMEM		<i>ngandehnu</i>	<i>guberhnu</i>
<i>nani(h)</i>	<i>-ni</i>	'that/this (now) in a series'	PROX.SER		<i>ngani(h)</i>	<i>guni(h)</i>
<i>nanibu</i>	<i>-nibu</i>	'these ones (being contrasted)'	PROX.SER.PL			
<i>nahni</i>	<i>-hni</i>	'this here with us'	IMM	<i>ngahli</i>	<i>nganhni</i>	<i>guhni</i>
<i>nakka</i>	<i>-kka</i>	'that just mentioned/that was <i>just present</i> '	IMM.PREV	<i>ngalkka</i> , <i>ngalukka</i>	(Dnj <i>makka</i>)	
<i>nawu</i>	<i>-bu</i>	(a) relative pronoun (b) 'that which you should be able to identify when I mention its name'	REL	<i>ngalu</i>	<i>ngandu</i> , <i>nganbu</i>	<i>gubu</i>

A few remarks on form:

- (a) It can be seen that the bases fall into groups, built on the sequences *mek*, *be*, *ni*, *kka* and *bu*, with various further suffixations, the insertion of glottal stop at the end of the first, second or third syllables, and irregular minor changes of consonant or vowel, such as the weakening of *b* to *w* in *nawu*, (though E has *nabu*), its loss in *ngalu* and optional assimilation of place in *ngandu* (though Dnj also has *nganbusee* Text 2.8), and the loss of initial *m* from the *mek* base after the apical-final feminine and vegetable prefixes. However, the exact meaning of these formatives can be variable in some of these sequences: *be* has a distal meaning in *nabe* and *nabernu*, for example, in *nabehe* makes a contribution to the complex meaning 'coming this way from there; turning now to speak of', and in *namekbe* is simply an ablative (though in Kunwinjku this form has lost its ablative meaning). Diachronically all senses may have developed from an original free form *beh* meaning 'away' (see discussion in §5.2.1.1).
- (b) Assigning meanings to some of the other formatives is more straightforward: post-base *-bu* is clearly associated with plural referents (though relative *-bu* is not), glottal *h* marks 'immediacy'¹¹ in space or attention as it does with verbs (§1.4.3), and final *-nu* (possibly reduced from the dubitative *nuk*) with 'previous interest by hearer'.

¹¹ Interestingly, immediacy is marked, in the case of the pair *namege* 'that mentioned' and *namekke* 'that just mentioned', by consonant lengthening rather than the glottal stop. Though the combination of glottal stop plus short stop does not normally yield a long stop in Bininj Gun-wok, the reverse process (long stops dissimilating to glottal plus short stop) does occur in some neighbouring languages, such as Rembarrnga (McKay 1975).

- (c) The *nakka* series stands out phonologically as an almost unique example of a morpheme beginning with a long consonant (§2.3.1). No vegetable form is attested in Gun-djehmi (by analogy one would expect *ngakka*). But Gun-dedjnjenghmi, which mixes *ngan-* and *man-* forms for the vegetable series of demonstratives, uses the form *makka*; Manyallaluk Mayali is similar (see below). The Kunwinjku and Gun-dedjnjenghmi forms of this demonstrative appear to preserve an original nominative form *ma-* of the vegetable prefix, which everywhere else have yielded to the generalisation of the form *man-* (see Heath 1987).
- (d) The initial *n* of the masculine forms is frequently dropped, giving *akka* alongside *nakka*, *amekke* alongside *namekke*, and so forth. Initial *n*-dropping is otherwise unattested in Gun-djehmi, though *ng*-dropping is a regular option (§2.4.2), and the Western Gunwinyguan language Warray has changed masculine *na-* to *a-* in all environments.
- (e) For the *mek-* set only, the prefix *djal-* ‘just’ can be placed between the gender prefix and the base; when this happens the *m* may assimilate to the apical articulation of the *l* giving such forms as *gudjalnekke* ‘just there/then, right there//then’, alongside unassimilated forms like *gudjalmekke*; similarly *andjalnekke* ‘just like that’.

By far the two commonest series are the *namege* series, for ‘that (over there)’ or ‘that (aforementioned)’, and *nawu* for ‘that (whose name I will now mention)’ or as a relative pronoun. I will deal with these two first, then the others in the order of the Table 7.5.

7.3.1.1 namege set ‘that over there, that aforementioned’

In Gun-djehmi, this is used both spatially (for remote entities) and anaphorically (for previously mentioned entities), with the latter use predominant (hence the gloss ANaphoric). In other dialects only the anaphoric use is found. It is almost always used adnominally (i.e. occurs adjacent to a nominal head), but rare pronominal (i.e. independent) uses are attested, such as 7.152 below.

When used as a spatial demonstrative it means ‘that there’ or ‘that over there’, contrasting with *nabehne* ‘this here’ or *nahni* ‘this here with us’. It agrees in gender with the noun it modifies.

- | | | | |
|----------|-------------------------|--------|---------------------------|
| 7.146 a. | <i>na-mege bininj</i> | b. | <i>ngal-ege daluk</i> |
| Dj | MA-ANA man | FE-ANA | woman |
| | ‘that man (over there)’ | | ‘that woman (over there)’ |

- c. *an-ege an-me / gubunj / gun-wok / gun-warde*
 VE-that III-food canoe IV-word IV-rock
 ‘that food/canoe/word/rock over there’

- | | | | | | |
|-------|---------------|----------------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| 7.147 | <i>Djang</i> | <i>ba-yimerra-nj</i> | <i>gorro:go,</i> | <i>an-ege</i> | <i>an-godjboyorr,</i> |
| Dj | dreaming.site | 3P-turn.into-PP | before | VE-ANA | VE-washaway |

djama ngan-gabo-duninh.

not VE-billabong-real

‘It became a *djang* (dreaming site) long ago ... that washaway there, it’s not really a billabong.’

- 7.148 *Ga-rrulk-gimuk an-ege, ga-rrulk-yahwurd ngan-dehne.*
 Dj 3-tree-big VE-ANA 3-tree-small VE-YON.CENT
 'That tree is big; this tree is small.'

Namege is also the unmarked series for NPs that are given in the discourse. It may occur before (7.149) or after (7.150, 7.151) its head, or independently (7.152). The difference between independent and adnominal use is, however, not easy to establish analytically: where the noun it modifies is incorporated into the verb (e.g. Text 9.8), is this an independent use that happens to refer to the same entity as an incorporated noun, or is it an adnominal use whose head noun has been incorporated?

- 7.149 *Yi-bawo an-ege gun-wok.*

Dj 2-leaveIMP VE-ANA IV-word
 'Forget that word (which I told you before).'

- 7.150 *Yawurrinj bandi-gurrm-i, barri-ni gure gu-rurk. Barri-djal-ni*

Dj young.men 3a/3pl-put-PI 3aP-sitPI LOC LOC-shelter 3aP-just-sitPI
marrek barri-woh-bolkna-yi gu-red gayakki, dja barri-djal-ni
 not 3a/3P-bit-look.around-IRR LOC-camp nothing and 3aP-just-sitPI
gu-rurk gu-mege.
 LOC-shelter LOC-ANA

'They put the young men there, to sit inside the shelter. They just sat there, and weren't allowed to look around the camp at all, and they just sat there in the shelter/inside there.'

- 7.151 *Galukborrk ba-werrhme-ng, gorrogo ba-rrolga-ng wanjh, gun-barlkbu*
 Dj long.time 3P-rake-PP before 3P-rise-PP then IV-digging.stick

an-ege bi-rrerlme-ng.
 VE-ANA 3/3hP-throw-PP

'She raked them up for a long time before he suddenly flew up. She threw that digging stick at him.' ('digging stick' is not overtly mentioned but is given by the frame.) [T 1.53-54]

- 7.152 *Gure bi-djal-yawa-ni ganjdji ba-djal-wokda-nj na-mege.*

Dj LOC 3/3hP-just-look.for-PI under 3P-just-speak-PP MA-ANA
 'While she was looking for him inside there that one (quail) spoke up.'
 ('quail' is pronominal object of preceding clause, and overtly mentioned in line 48.)
 [T 1.51]

The following example shows a typical progression from introduction of a participant as a bare noun, to modifying it with a *namege* series demonstrative in a subsequent clause.

- 7.153 *Bikibiki an-ngorrme-ng an-wayhge-ng, wanjh a-rrolkka-ng, an-warrhke-ng,*
 Dnj pig 3/1-pick.up-PP 3/1-lift-PP then 1/3-get.up-PP 3/1-drop-PP

wanjh a-rrolkka-ng, an-warrhge-ng na-mege bikibiki, because
 then 1/3-get.up-PP 3/3-drop-PP MA-ANA pig

na-bang-kirridjdja-ni

MA-fierce-really-P

'A pig picked me up off the ground with his shoulders, then I got up, he dropped me down, then I got up, that pig dropped me down, because he was really fierce.'

The form *na-ge*, recorded once from NK, may be a contraction of *namege*:

- 7.154 *Ngabard bi-bom na-ge bininj, nga-bu-n nungan=wali ga-guk-yo.*
 Dj father 3/3-killPP MA-ANA man 1/3-hit-NP himEMPH=in.turn 3-body-lie
 'That man killed my father, and I'll kill him in revenge.'

The *an*-form *anege*, when used alone, may be used as an adverbial demonstrative, with the meaning 'like that' or 'that state of affairs'. This use, which I gloss separately, is in addition to its regular adnominal demonstrative use, exemplified in 7.166c and 7.147-7.149. The association with the (*ng*)*an*-/*man*- prefix with manner was noted in §5.2.2.4.

- 7.155 *Gu-berrk gabarri-yo gabarri-bo-djare gukku gabarri-bongu-n.*
 Dj LOC-dry.scrub 3a-lieNP 3a-liquid-wantNP water 3a-drink-NP
gukku nanege barri-bo-garm-i ganjdji, gabarri-yó.
 water like.that 3a/3P-liquid-hold-PP inside/under 3a-lieNP
 'They're staying in a dry place and want to drink some water. They (the parents) can hold the water underneath like that there (in their crops) while they sleep.'

- 7.156 *Galuk yerrega bu ga-nudme-n anege ga-ngu-n, an-djal-nekke*
 Dj later afterwards SUB 3-rot-NP like.that 3-eat-NP VE-just-that
an-garre nuye na ginga ...
 III-custom his now estuarine.crocodile
 'Till later, afterwards, when it rots, that's how he eats it. Its just as I have just told you, his custom, the estuarine crocodile ...'

- 7.157 *barri-na-ni gun-murrung that skeleton anege ba-yim-i na-wárre-ni*
 Dj 3a/3P-see-PI IV-bone like.that 3P-do-PI MA-bad-P
na-mege na-marnde Daddubbe ba-ngei-yo-i
 MA-that I-devil [name] 3P-name-lie-PI
 'and they would see the skeletons, that would be the evil work of that bad devil called Daddubbe'

The locative form *gumege* means either 'then, at that time' (7.158) or 'there, at that place' (7.159). Its ablative form *gumegebe* means 'from there, after that, from then' or (as a clausal conjunction) just 'after':

- 7.158 *galuk ga-guk-nudme-n, wanjh gu-mege ga-ngu-n. Djama*
 Dj later 3-body-rot-NP then LOC-ANA 3-eat-NP not
ga-bangmi-ngu-n an-bu wanjh ga-gulba-re na-gerrnge.
 3-not.yet-eat-NP VE-REL then 3-blood-goNP MA-new
 'and when later the body rots, that's when he eats it. He doesn't eat it yet when there's fresh blood flowing.'

7.159 *bonj bu man-ih garrgad ngarri-re-i ma-hni anbu*
 Dnj finished SUB VE-PROX.SER high.country 1a-go-PI VE-IMM then

Jabiru-genh. Warnbi arri-yo-i. Gu-mege-be yigah-be
 [place]-GEN [place] 1a-sleep-PI LOC-ANA-ABL some-ABL

arri-yorrme-i darn.gih ...

1a-walk.in.a.group-PI close

'Right, we'd go on, up in the high country. There then, near Jabiru. We'd sleep at Warnbi. From there we'd be walking in different groups, close ...'

Reduction of *gumege* to *gumeh* is attested in front of a following velar stop (e.g. *gumeh* 'that's where he rests' instead of *gumege gayo*).

In addition to the above uses, relative clauses on places ('the place where ...') are usually formed with *gumege* with or without the general subordinator *bu*.

7.160 *An-bolk-bukka-ng gu-mege, bu nungga ba-rrang-inj.*
 Dj 3/1-place-show-PP LOC-that REL he 3P-stand-PP

'She showed me the place where he was born.'

7.161 *Cooinda Hotel, wanjh gu-mege gun-bang ngarri-h-bo-ma-ng ...*
 Dj then LOC-that IV-grog 1a-IMM-liquid-get-NP

'Cooinda Hotel, there where we get grog ...'

Demonstratives of this series have a plural set available, formed by suffixing *-bu*. As mentioned in §5.5.4.2, plurals normally take the masculine prefix (7.162, 7.163). In 7.164, however, the vegetable prefix is used, reflecting lexicalisation with a meaning something like '(doing) all that stuff, that sort of thing', modifying the complex ignorative *ngayed gayime* 'do something/somehow'.

7.162 *and some, al-gaihgo daluk ba-bimbo-m, bininj*
 Dj Al-gaihgo woman 3P-paint-PP man

bandi-h-worrum-bokka-rre-ni just for sex I think, because
 3a/3plP-IMM-around-chase-RR-PI

bininj barri-djare-ni na-megebu daluk
 man 3a/3-want-PI MA-those woman

'and some painted female Algaihgo figures, they who were always chasing around after men, just for sex, I think, because those (*algaihgo*) women were always wanting a man.'

7.163 *Barri-marnbo-m rouk, barri-bebbe-ganaga-ng gun-berd, gun-dad,*
 Dj 3a/3P-prepare-PP all 3aP-each-carryITER-PP IV-tail IV-leg

njanjuk ná-megébu barri-bebbe-ganaga-ng.

anything MA-those 3aP-each-carryITER-PP

'They got it all ready, and they each took their sharetail, thigh, all that sort of stuff, they each carried off their share.'

7.164 *Gun-boi barri-me-i, barri-mudginje-ng, ngayed barri-yime-ng,*
 Dj IV-cooking.stone 3a-pick.up-PP 3aP-singe.fur-PP how 3a/3P-do-PP

an-egebu.

VE-all.that

'They got the cooking stones and singed its fur, that's what they did, all that sort of stuff.' [T 1.34-35]

7.3.1.2 *nawu set*

Formally, the postulated root *bu* (possibly cognate with the free subordinator *bu*), has undergone irregular lenition in the masculine form *nawu*, irregular loss of initial *b* in the feminine form *ngalu*, and irregular assimilation (optional) of place in the vegetable form *ngandu* ~ *nganbu*. Other dialects preserve the unchanged *bu* forms: *nabu* is used instead of *nawu* in Kune,¹² *ngalbu* instead of *ngalu* in Kunwinjku and Manyallaluk Mayali, and *manbu* (with the full root, and m-initial vegetable prefix) in Kunwinjku.

This has two functions; I will use the gloss REL in both cases.

- (a) As a relative pronoun — see §14.3.
- (b) For first mentions (7.165, 7.166) or first re-mentions (7.167) of participants that should be readily identifiable once linguistic identification is made through naming (this is close to the 'recognitional' function described by Himmelmann (1996:230)). Because identification is mediated by labelling rather than pointing or anaphoric reference, it is never used without some further descriptive material (i.e. independently), which may range from a noun to a relative clause; syntactically it is therefore always adnominal and never pronominal. The only exceptions are when it combines with another demonstrative (7.206), or with the (*ng*)*an*-prefixed forms lexicalised with the meaning 'then, at that time' (7.170, 7.171).

A notable feature of the Aboriginal English of the region, as well as of the English used to Aboriginal people by many *balanda*, is the use of 'that' for entities identifiable in the same way (eg. 'I talked to that Peter Wellings' or 'they bin come with that school truck'), where 'that' would be rendered by a definite article in standard English (or by zero in the case of a proper name). In translations below I add such uses of 'that' in brackets after translations with the definite article.

7.165 *Aleng al-wanjdjuk ba-m-durnd-i. "Maih na-wu, gunj na-wu*
Dj she II-emu 3P-hither-return-PP animal MA-REL kangaroo MA-REL

bonj andi-wo, gunj andud."

OK 2a/1-giveIMP kangaroo then

'The emu came back. "Right, that animal, that kangaroo, give it to me/give me some then!" (Emu has just returned, and these are her first words) [T 1.45]

7.166 *Really dry, barri-re-i bamurru barri-ngu-ni. Like they bin allday go*
Dj 3aP-go-PI goose 3aP-eat-PI

in the goose camp, you know? Have goose up there, anything. Lily root,

an-dem, an-gurladj, Well sometimes barri-re-i gonda

III-lily III-spiked.rush

3aP-go-PI there

¹² The form *ngalbu* has been recorded once from a Gun-djeihmi speaker.

garrigad na-wu ...

high.country MA-REL

'When it was really dry they'd go and eat magpie geese, lily root, the white-flowered lily, the corms of the spike rush, when they'd go up into the ('that') high country ...'
(first mention of the high country after some lines discussing lowland activities)

- 7.167 *Njamed na-wu, ragul nungga gun-dulk ba-me-i.*
whatchamacallit MA-REL red.eyed.pigeon he IV-stick 3P-get-PP
'That whatchamacallim, the red-eyed pigeon, he picked up a stick.

"Aye, *a-nud-gorrhge*" *ba-yime-ng, barri-dolkga-rr-inj rouk.*

me 1/3-pus-burstNP 3P-say-PP 3aP-get.up-RR-PP all

"Me, I'll burst the pus out", he said. And they all got up.' (first mention of *ragul* as a major participant, though it had been included in a list of birds seven lines earlier)

An interesting example of the use of *nawu* for re-mentions is 7.168, in which the many birds introduced earlier in the text as bare NPs, and many of which played no part in the intervening story, are all reintroduced at the end of the story with *nawu*. The most recently mentioned of them, *djirndi*, is modified by *nawu* and *namege*:

- 7.168 *Djirndi na-wu na-mege goddoukgoddouk na-wu gorlobbok*
Dj quail MA-REL MA-that bar.shouldered.dove MA-REL peaceful.dove

na-wu merengmerenggidj na-wu njamed na-wu wirriwirriyak,
MA-REL [bird name] MA-REL whatsit MA-REL cuckoo.shrike

na-wern-gen bininj.

MA-many-GEN people

'That quail and that bar-shouldered dove and that peaceful dove and that *merengmerenggidj* and that whatsit, the cuckoo-shrike, all the many people.'

Nawu series pronouns are also used with afterthought expressions:

- 7.169 *Ba-yerrng-yiga-ni ba-djoleng-m-inj ba-ru-y na-wu gunj.*
Dj 3P-wood-fetch-PI 3P-cooked-INCH-PP 3P-cook-PP MA-REL kangaroo
'While she (emu) was getting wood it got cooked and ready, that kangaroo.' (The kangaroo had been a core participant in lines 26–27, 34, 36–37.) [T 1.39]

The (ng)*an*-prefixed form of this demonstrative — either *anbu* or *andu* (sometimes with a final *d* inexplicably added: *andud*) — has a second, lexicalised sense, in which it means 'then, at that time' (7.170, 7.171, see also Text 1.45).

- 7.170 *Ngarri-dukka-ni warreh ngarri-dukka-ni andu barna arri-re-i,*
Dnj 1a-tie-PI poor.feller 1a-tie-PI then looks.like 1a-go-PI

goyek ngarri-yauh-dulubu-ni an-gorle-dorreng.

east 1a-again-go.straight-PI III-spear-with

We'd tie them up in bundles, poor us (working so hard), we'd tie them up, then — looks like we'd have to go. And we'd head off straight to the east again with the spears.'

- 7.171 *Bula kan-ka-ng ngadberre andu, bula yi-yime,*
Dnj earthquake 3/1pl-take-PP us then earthquake 2-callNP

njale-makka bula?

what-then earthquake

'An earthquake struck us then, what do you say for *bula*?'

7.3.1.3 *namekke set 'exactly that one mentioned just now' (glossed ANA(phoric) IMM(ediate)).*

Morphologically this is identical to the *namege* series, but with the last consonant fortis. This may be an irregular result of inserting the 'immediate-marking' glottal stop, which would give *namehge* or *namegeh*. Semantically it is also similar to the *namege* series in referring back to the last-mentioned participant, but with the added implication 'that one just now' or 'just then, right there'.

7.172 *Gamak ngan-ekke.*

Dj good VE-ANA.IMM

(in a discussion of houses, in which the enumeration of a number of badly built shacks was followed by the mention of a brick one:) 'Now that house now is OK.'

7.173 A: *Namorrorddo 'e bin live before mightbe 'e bin die na ø-dowe-ng*

Dj [malignant being] 3P-die-PP

gare [laughter].

maybe

B: *Ga-djang-di gu-mekke?*

3-sacred.site-standNP LOC-ANA.IMM

A: *Ya djang, na-bang-ni Namorrorddo na-mekge.*

yeah sacred.site MA-dangerous-P [name] MA-ANA.IMM

A: 'Before there was a Namorrorddo there but maybe now it is dead.'

B: 'Is there a sacred site there?'

A: 'Yes, a sacred site for that dangerous Namorrorddo there.'

Two forms of this root have been lexicalised with *djal-* 'just': *andjalnekke* means 'exactly as was just said' or 'just like that', and *gudjalnekke* ~ *gudjalmekke* 'precisely then'.

7.174 *andjalnekke an-garre nuye na ginga*

Dj just.like.that III-custom his now estuarine.crocodile

'it's exactly like that (just as I have just told you), his custom, the estuarine crocodile'

7.175 *Na-wu gudjalmekke gu-mege bim ba-bimbo-m,*

Dj MA-REL just.then LOC-that painting 3P-paint-PP

ba-bim-gurrme-rr-inj ba-yime-ng, "Aa, bonj!"

3P-image-put-RR-PP 3P-say-PP Ah OK

'At the very moment when someone would do that painting there, he was fixed as an image there, and said, "Ah, OK".'

7.176 *Wou, gudjalmekke nga-marne-yolyolme-ng, ngan-garre djumbung-hgen.*

Dj yes just.then 1/3-BEN-tell-PP III-way short-GEN

'Yes, when I was just telling him now, I just talked for a short time.'

7.3.1.4 *namekbe set 'from that one'*

In Gun-djeihmi and Gun-dedjnjenghmi this is effectively an ablative form of the *namege* series, with the ablative *-beh* contributing the spatial meaning 'from (there)' (7.177), or, in the case of the locative-prefixed form *gumekbe*, the temporal meaning 'after (that, then)' (7.178). To express the meaning 'after (that, then)' the ablative of the anaphoric form, namely *gumegebe*, may also be used (see §7.3.1.1). In fact it is likely that the *-mekbe* series is a reduced form of the anaphoric plus ablative sequence *-megebe*.

7.177 *Ba-m-bo-re-i, ba-bo-lobm-i an-bo-gimuk gorrogo bininj*
Dj 3P-hither-liquid-go-PI 3P-liquid-run-PI VE-liquid-big before person

barri-worm-i barri-m-re-i, na-mekbe Pine Creek-be yiga
3aP-swim-PI 3aP-hither-go-PI MA-ANA.ABL -ABL some

'When the floodwaters used to come running high, in the old days people used to come swimming across, sometimes from there at Pine Creek.' (spoken at Coinda)

7.178 *Alwanjdjuk, wanjh gumekbe albinjgobeng yayau gabani-larlme-rr-en,*
Dj emu well after wife chicks 3ua-divide-RR-NP

ngaleng ga-ga-n na-gudji yau. Nungga nabininjgobeng ga-ga-n
she 3/3-take-NP MA-one chick he husband 3/3-take-NP

gun-bid-bogen. Wanjh gare albininjgobeng ga-ma-ng na-buyiga
IV-hand-two then maybe wife 3/3-take-NP MA-other

bininj alwanjdjuk, wanjh nungan-wali nabininjgobeng ga-ma-ng
man emu then he-in.turn husband 3/3-take-NP

ngal-buyiga daluk al-wanjdjuk. Djalbonj, gumekbe gabani-yarlarrme,
FE-other wife II-emu finished after 3ua-split.upNP

djama gabani-yawoh-ma-rr-en.
not 3ua-again-marry-RR-NP

'Emus, well after the wife (and husband) divide their chicks between each other, she takes one chick, and he, the husband, takes ten. Then the wife maybe takes another husband emu, while the husband, for his part, takes another wife emu. And that's it, after they split up they never mate with each other again.'

7.3.1.5 *nabe set*

This is used to mean 'yon, that (coming from) beyond; that far from speaker and hearer':

7.179 *na-be bininj*

Dj MA-YON man
'that man, see him long way' [VL]

7.180 *Ga-gurre-n na-be ga-rrenggelhme.*

Dj 3-lie-NP MA-YON 3-limpNP
'He is faking it, the one limping over there.'

- 7.181 *Na-be bogen gabani-m-re.*
 Dj MA-YON two 3ua-hither-goNP
 'Those two over there are coming.'

It may also be used of referents lying beyond or outside some boundary, such as a window or the wall of a building:

- 7.182 *ngan-de nganabbarru*
 Dj VE-YON buffalo
 'that buffalo outside (seen through a window)' (the use of the vegetable prefix here is unusual; one would expect the masculine)

- 7.183 *ngan-de ga-di gun-dulk bogen*
 Dj VE-YON 3-standNP IV-tree two
 'those two trees there (outside the house; speakers are inside)'

- 7.184 *Gu-mege nga-re nga-ni gu-be ba-rrowe-ng.*
 Dj LOC-there 1-goNP 1-sitNP LOC-YON 3P-die-PP
 'I'll go and sit down there outside, where he died.'

- 7.185 *An-gudji-gen ngarri-yauh-makna-n bolkgime gaddum gu-be.*
 Dj III-one-GEN 1a-again-try.look-NP now upstream LOC-YON
 'We'll have one more try and look there upstream now.' (in another clearing on the bank, beyond the mangroves blocking our view)

For examples of *nabe/alde/ande* in combination with the ignorative *ngayed* 'where' to mean 'which', see §7.2.3.2.

7.3.1.6 nabehne set

Note that, as is regular after a glottal stop, the following nasal is sometimes retroflexed, giving *nabehrne*. The form is sometimes also contracted to *nehne*.

This set has two related senses:

- (a) '(This one) coming this way from there, (this one) appearing here from there'. On the basis of this sense I gloss the set 'YON.CENTRIP(etal)'. I take the second discourse-based sense (see below) to be a metaphorical extension of this from space into text.

- 7.186 *Yeah wanjh, imin come from, what that they ba-m-dolkga-ng na-bernu*
 Dj well 3P-hither-set.off-PP MA-REM

goyek, ba-rud-giwa-m al-dehne Arramurrunggunjdji
 east 3P-road-follow-PP FE-YON.CENTRIP Arramurrunggunjdji
 'Yeah well, she came from, they, she set off, that one there, from the east, she followed the dreaming track this way from over there, that *Arramurrunggunjdji*.'

- 7.187 *Wanjh, na-behne barri-m-golu-rr-inj maih, mimgoi*
 Dj well MA-YON.CENTRIP 3aP-hither-descend-RR-PP bird red.eye.pigeon

djohboi gabarri-djare gabarri-bongu-n gukku.
 dear.thing 3a-want 3a-drink-NP water
 'Well, those birds just came down here from up there, those dear little red-eyed pigeons. They want to drink the water.'

7.188 *Yiman ga-yime goyek-be ga-m-lobme gun-mayorrk, gun-godjngol,*
 Dj like 3-doNP east-ABL 3-hither-runNP IV-wind IV-cloud

ngan-djeuk ga-m-lobme na-behne goyek-beh ...

III-rain 3-hither-runNP MA-YON.CENTRIP east-ABL

'Like, there's a wind coming up fast from the east, and big clouds, and rain coming up fast here from in the east ...'

- (b) 'Turning now to, to speak now of, to attend to now, as for'. As with *nawu* this introduces new participants which may later be tagged with *namege*, but unlike with *nawu* it is not used for re-mentions, nor is there any assumption that the referent will be familiar or easily identifiable.

7.189 *Na-behrne mimih ba-ngei-yo-i Daddubbe and ba-ni gu-warde*
 Dj MA-YON.CENTRIP mimih 3P-name-lie-PI [name] 3P-sitP LOC-rock

galuk na-warre-ni na-mege mimih.

ater MA-bad-PI MA-that mimih

'This sort of *mimih* spirit now, it was called Daddubbe (lit. malfunctioning legs) and it lived in the rock country. Bye and bye it would do bad things, that *mimih*.'

7.190 *or yiman goyek-goyek bedda gabarri-ngeibu-n golomomo,*
 Dj like REDUP-east they 3a-call-NP [name for freshwater crocodile]

yiman ga-yime, yiman gayime Rembarrnga, yiman gayime Dangbon, or
 like 3-doNP [name] [name]

Ngalkbon, But na-behne ngad now Na-djeihmi, yiga
 [name] MA-YON.CENTRIP we now MA-djeihmi or

Mayali, ngarri-ngeibu-n modjarrgi.

Mayali 1a-call-NP freshwater.crocodile

'Or as the easterners call it, *golomomo*. Like for example the Rembarrnga, like the Dangbon or Ngalkbon. But turning now to us Nadjeihmi, or Mayali, we call it *modjarrgi*.'

7.191 *Gu-behne ga-bolk-ngei-yo, balanda bedda*
 Dj LOC-YON.CENTRIP 3-place-name-lieNP European they

birri-bolk-ngeibu-n Iron Billabong.

3aP-place-call-NP

'Turning now to what this place is named, they *balandas* call it Iron Billabong.'
 (begins the sixth in a series of short stories, many about particular places)

The locative form *gu-behni* or *gu-behne* (often lenited to *gu-wehne*) is the normal way of expressing '(as for) here now', 'in this place now' where the location is established by discourse rather than spatial deixis:

7.192 *Anabbarru yerre ba-m-bebme-ng. Nomo bigibigi, before, bigibigi-yak-ni.*
 Dj buffalo behind 3P-towards-appear-PP pig pig-PRIV-PI

Njanjuk-njanjuk na-mekke, anabbarru lendo, djama marrek gonhda
 what-what MA-ANA.IMM buffalo horse not never here

ba-di-wirrinj. Lendo we callim horses. Or anabbarru, we callim buffalo,
3-stand-IRR

you know yourself already. *Gu-behni* *marrek* *ba-di-wirrinj.*
LOC-YON.CENTRIP never 3P-stand-IRR

'Buffaloes came later (kangaroos etc. first). There were no pigs, in the old days there were no pigs. All those things now, buffaloes, horses, they were never here. They were never in this place here.'

7.193 *Bene-wok-gi-medda-nj* *imin* look back this way, *imin* talk *Gagudju,*
Dj 3uaP-speak-IVF-turn.around-PP

ø-wokda-nj, that way *ba-wokda-nj.* All right *bani-wam gu-werhne,*
3P-talk-PP 3P-speak-PP 3uaP-went LOC-YON.CENTRIP

Ambuga:rla, Gagurl, Homburr *gun-garri-gen,* right up to crossing, you know
Umbugarla Gagurl Ngumbur IV-west-GEN

that Anbangbang way, this side Ambugarla here, tharran Ngurrmbur, this country.

They turned around and spoke (i.e. turning to successive directions, and speaking in the right language for that direction), they looked this way and spoke Gagudju, that way. She spoke. All right, the two of them went along to this area now, (and spoke) Umbugarla, Gagurl, Ngumbur. The westerner's country, up to the crossing, you know that way by Nourlangie Rock, it's Umbugarla country here, that's Ngurrmbur here, this country.'

7.3.1.7 nabehdjam set

I don't have enough textual examples of this to explain this meaning fully. Isolated examples are usually glossed 'that one over there':

7.194 *an-dehdjam*

Dj 'that one over there, like that, that's how it is'

7.195 *gu-behdjam*

Dj 'over there'

Violet Lawson says *nabehdjam* or *andehdjam* can also be used with the meaning 'see what happened!' or 'you heard what happened'.

7.3.1.8 nabernu set

This is used for remote but not excessively distant referents, and in this sense forms part of a three-term distance series *nahni/nabernu/nabe* roughly corresponding to older English *this/that/yon*. Occasionally the middle syllable is lost and the second nasal deretroflexed (see 7.205 for an example of *gunu*).

7.196 *Al-dernu daluk* *ga-re.*

Dj FE-REM woman 3-gONP

'There she is, that woman, over there.'

- 7.197 *An-dernu ga-yo.*
 Dj VE-REM 3-lieNP
 'There it is over there.'
- 7.198 *Al-ernu ga-bok-yo.*
 Dj FE-REM 3-track-lieNP
 'That woman's tracks are over there.'
- 7.199 *Gu-bernu gukku / an-gabo.*
 Dj LOC-REM water III-creek
 'That water/creek.'

In discussing established referents it may have a combined spatial and discourse deictic sense, namely 'the one you wanted to know about, which is over there'. In 7.186 above, for example, *nabernu* modifies *Warramurrungundji*, following my request for information about this ancestral figure.

7.3.1.9 *nabehrnu set*

This set is infrequently used. Formally it adds a glottal stop to the previous set. As we have seen, the glottal stop is widely used to signal immediacy. In this case, the resultant form takes the combined discourse/spatial meaning just discussed, and brings the spatial component closer: 'the one you wanted to know about, which is here'.

- 7.200 *Nabehrnu!*
 Dj 'Here it is — the one you were looking for!'

7.3.1.10 *nani set 'this in a series'*

Nani-form demonstratives are used to refer to locations in a series, for example successive places in a journey narrative:

- 7.201 *Galuk gu-Galangak ngarri-bidbu-ni Galangak na-ni gakbi and*
 Dnj then LOC-[place] 1a-climb-PI [place] MA-PROX.SER north
ngarri-wam right up to ngarri-yimowo-ng ma-ni garrkad,
 1a-goPP 1a-skirt-PP VE-PROX.SER high.country
Djidbidjidbi this side arri-djal-wam, Namarrgon,
 [place] 1a-just-goPP Lightning.Dreaming
an-guyin-geb-nguneng gukku.
 3/1pl-almost-nose-eatPP water
 'Then at Galangak we'd climb up, Galangak there in the north. And we went up right up, we skirted around the high country on this side, at Djidbidjidbi, we just kept going, at Namarrgon the water almost drowned us.'

When referring to seriated entities without spatial location, *nani* is often simply translated as 'this', but still implies some sort of participation in a series. In the following example, the speaker is talking about what he is working on now (as opposed to at earlier phases of his life):

7.202 *But ngani-murrego, ngaye nga-djagerr-hme nungga ngan-gogok-me,*
 Dj Iua-pair.of.brothers I 1/3-YB-callNP he 3/1-EB-callNP

na-ni man-bu an-garre ngarduk still ngarr-djal-durrkmirri
 MA-PROX.SER VE-REL III-way my 1a-just-workNP

bolkgime.

now

'We're brothers, I call him younger brother and he calls me older brother, we're just doing work on my own ways now.'

There are also forms in *nanih* etc. It is not completely clear whether this is distinct from the *nani* set, though the proximal focus is more consistently clear than in the *nani* set.

7.203 *Djenj wardibu ngarri-makna-n, dja bu gayakki, ngarri-yauh-re,*
 Dj fish if.poss 1a-try.look-NP and if nothing 1a-again-goNP

bolk-buyiga gunih goyek, gaddum, ngarri-yauh-makna-n,
 place-other LOC:PROX.SER east upstream 1a/3-again-try.look-NP

wardibu ngarri-ma-ng

if.poss 1a/3-get-NP

'We'll try and look for some fish, and if we get nothing we'll go on again. Another place, this next one upstream to the east, we'll try and look again and maybe get something.'

7.204 *Bolkgime nganih nga-yolyolme-ø ginga.*
 Dj now VE:PROX.SER 1-tell-NP crocodile

'This story I'm going to tell now is about a crocodile.' (recorded third in a series of consecutive short stories)

Nonetheless, sometimes in journey narratives *nanih*-series pronouns are used for distal locations. It is not clear whether this results from relativised or empathetic deixis, or whether the glottal stop is signalling immediacy ('that one now in a series'):

7.205 *Dja ganjdjiganjdji manih manih arri-re-i, gure Djidbidjidbi*
 Dnj and low.country VE:PROX.SER VE:PROX.SER 1a-go-PI LOC [place]

way ngarri-re-i. Wanjh, Warnbi ngarri-bal-bolk-ngeibu-ni, arri-yo-i
 1a-go-PI then [place] 1a-along-place-call-PI 1a-sleep-PI

gunu.

LOC:REM

'And we'd go through the low country there now, we went the Djidbidjidbi way. Then, at that place along the way that we used to call Warnbi, we'd camp there.'

Sometimes demonstratives of this series are followed by *nawu*-series demonstratives:

7.206 *Nanih na-wu ngarduk, nanih na-wu nuye.*
 Dj MA:PROX.SER MA-REL my MA:PROX.SER MA-REL his

'This is for me, this is for him.'

The plural, *bu*-suffixed form *nanihu* can be used in a situation where two groups are being contrasted:

- 7.207 *Nanibu barri-ganj-ngune-ng, dja nanibu gayakki.*
 Dj MA:PROX.SER.PL 3a/3P-meat-eat-PP CONJ MA:PROX.SER.PL nothing
 ‘Some of them ate the meat, and some of them didn’t.’

7.3.1.11 *nahni set*

This refers to entities or locations close to both speaker and hearer, which are being presented to the hearer’s attention. Accompanying verbs often take the immediate aspect (7.210, 7.211).

- 7.208 *Na-ngale nahni arri-h-ni?*
 Dj MA-who MA:IMM 1a-IMM-sit
 ‘Who’s this man here with us?’

- 7.209 *Al-ngale ahli ngarri-h-ni?*
 Dj FE-who FE:IMM 1a-IMM-sit
 ‘Who’s this woman here with us?’

- 7.210 *Yi-yerrga guhni!*
 Dj 2-sitIMP LOC:IMM
 ‘Sit down here (close to me) (= *gonda*)!’

- 7.211 *Nahni bogen yerre.*
 Dj MA:IMM two behind
 ‘These two (teeth) behind’ (said to a dentist whose hand is in the speaker’s mouth).

This set is often used presentatively, when holding up or presenting something new to the hearer’s attention:

- 7.212 *Njale nahni? An-dem.*
 Dj what MA:IMM III-lily
 ‘What’s this (plant)? (said as the speaker holds it up close to the hearer) White lily.’

- 7.213 *Nahni gun-dulk a-garrme.*
 Dj MA:IMM IV-tree 1/3-haveNP
 ‘I’ve got this tree here (close to you and me).’ [VL]

- 7.214 *yi-yerrga guhni!*
 Dj 2sitIMP LOC:IMM
 ‘You sit down here!’

As the above examples illustrate, members of this set are most commonly used pronominally (7.208, 7.209, 7.212), but it may also be used adnominally (7.211, 7.213).

7.3.1.12 *nakka set*

This form refers back to an entity that was either just mentioned (7.215–7.217) or just present (7.219). It is often rendered as ‘that one now’ in Aboriginal English. Occasionally it is closed with a glottal stop (e.g. *makkah* in 7.217).

- 7.215 *Amekke ngakngak and alekke daluk Burruwunggu,*
 Dj MA:ANA.IMM grey.crowned.babbler FE:ANA.IMM woman [name]

well im garrim gunak, gunak gabarri-garrme ngalkka.

he has fire fire 3a/3-haveNP FE:IMM.PREV

'That grey-crowned babbler and the woman Burruwungu, well that one now has fire.'

7.216 *Namiminja marrek ga-wernh-djang-di*

Dnj [place] NEG 3-proper-dreaming.place-beNP

but nakka ø-djal-wam ø-gurrme-rr-inj, Na-marrgon.

MA:IMM.PREV 3P-just-goPP 3P-put-RR-PP I-lightning

'Namiminja's not really a proper dreaming place. But it's just that that one 'now (Namiminja) went and put himself there, at Namarrgon (lightning dreaming).'

7.217 *An-ngamed ngarri-ga-ni an-wung an-djaddad,*

Dnj VE-what 1a-carry-PI III-flame.cone III-flame.carrier

An-djaddad ngarri-ga-ni gamak-ni,

III-flame.carrier 1a-carry-PI good-P

an-barlngu, makkah ba-bed-warre-ni, ba-rrulmuk-ni wanjhgih.

III-firestick.type VE:IMM.PREV 3P-now-bad-PI 3P-heavy-PI just.like

'We were carrying whatsits — flame cones, flame carriers. We carried that *an-djaddad* flame carrier, it was good. As for the *an-barlngu* type of firestick, that one now was no good, like it got heavy.'

7.218 *Ngaye na-bale nga-ngu-n? Nakka yi-ngu, galuk nga-ngu-n.*

Dnj I MA-which 1-eat-NP MA:IMM.PREV 2-eatIMP later 1/3-eat-NP

'Which will I eat?'

'You eat that one, I'll eat (something) later.'

7.219 *Na-ngale nakka, ba-h-di gonhda?*

Dj MA-who MA:IMM.PREV 3P-IMM-standP here

'Who was that person (who was here just now)?'

Because it can refer back to an entity mentioned immediately before, it is often used in ascriptive sentences in which the topic (possibly modified by its own demonstrative) is first mentioned with a 'continuation rise', and then followed by a comment which begins with the *nakka*-series demonstrative. Here the break after the continuation rise is indicated with a comma.

7.220 *Mayh namekke, nakka bininj-ni.*

Dnj bird MA:ANA.IMM MA:IMM.PREV human-PI

'Those birds, they were human then.'

For the same reasons, it is often used in definitions:

7.221 *Gun-djurlu, nakka yellow.*

Dj IV-yellow MA:ANA.IMM

'*Gun-djurlu* means yellow.'

7.3.2 Demonstrative systems in other dialects

The following discussion merely highlights the most salient differences, pending a full study of the demonstrative systems of these dialects. The difficulty of investigating the

semantics and pragmatics of demonstrative systems is compounded, in dialectological study, by the existence of stereotypes about demonstratives being associated with particular dialects, so that the first line of explanation one is given for many forms is 'that's Kunwinjku; we don't say that', 'that's Kunkerlk' etc., even for forms that are in fact attested in the dialect of the speaker offering the explanation.

7.3.2.1 *Kunwinjku, Kuninjku and Kune*

I begin by discussing differences in the use of gender and pronominal prefixes, then pass to the different root sets.

GENDER AND PRONOMINAL PREFIXES As discussed in §5.5, there are significant differences across dialects in the number of genders employed in agreement, and this is particularly obvious with demonstratives.

Where Gun-djeihmi has three genders plus a locative form, Kunwinjku has four genders plus a locative form (adding neuter *kun-*). Thus we find *kunekke* or *kunmekbe* 'that aforementioned' (neuter gender) in the *namekke/namekbe* series, *kunukka* 'that (being indicated)' in the *nakka* series, *kuhni* 'that (neuter) thing over there; over there, that way, that direction' in the *nani* series (though with formal neutralisation between neuter and locative forms, both *kuhni*), and *kunu* 'that (which I now mention)' in the *nawu* series. An example is 7.222 (see §5.5 for further examples).

- 7.222 *Wanjh bolkkime birri-h-di med kun-bolk danjbik birri-h-di*
 W then now 3aP-IMM-stand wait IV-country three 3uaP-IMM-standP
kun-mekbe kun-wernh koyek, med yerrih birri-h-wam.
 NEU-ANA.ABL NEU-many east wait after 3aP-IMM-goPP
 'So that now they settled here from several (clan) countries [NEU], from those many (countries) to the east, they haven't gone yet.' [KH 150]

Nonetheless, for the reasons discussed in §5.5, neuter agreement is losing ground to extended vegetable and masculine agreement. Whereas in Gun-djeihmi this has led to the loss of neuter demonstrative forms, in Kunwinjku it has led to their semantic specialisation. This is particularly true with forms suffixed for case: the Etheringtons' grammar, in its list of three demonstratives used for 'managing discussion' (1994:101), includes *kunmekbekenh kunu* 'that's the reason why ...', *kuninjkunu* 'thus, in the light of that', and *kundjalmekbe rerrih* 'immediately'.

The weakening of gender agreement in Kuninjku and its disappearance in Kune, accompanied by the increasing generalisation of the masculine forms to all contexts (§5.5), means that many of the non-masculine prefixed forms are not found in these dialects. Thus in Kune Narayek one says *nane daluk* 'this woman', *nane manme* 'this fruit' and *nane kanjno* 'this meat' alongside *nane bininj* 'this man'. A Kune Dulerayek example of a *na*-prefixed demonstrative with what in other dialects would be a vegetable-gender noun (didgeridoo) is:

- 7.223 *Mako-dorrens ø-buhme-ng nakka man-nguk nuye.*
 E:D didgeridoo-COM 3/3P-blow-PP MA:IMM.PREV III-guts his
 'The didgeridoo he played was made out of his (*balang*'s) guts.'

In Kuninjku some of the *kun-* forms survive through semantic specialisation (e.g. *kuneke* and *kunukka*, which both mean 'in that manner, at that time').

A second formal difference from Gun-djeihmi in terms of prefixation to the demonstrative roots is the possibility of prefixing non-minimal pronominal prefixes to some demonstrative roots in Kunwinjku, Kuninjku and Kuninjku, for example *w bene-mekbe* 'those two already mentioned' and *birri-mekbe* 'those (more than two) already mentioned', and *K bene-mekke* in the following example:

- 7.224 *Bedda bene-wam daluk boken bene-mekke bene-wam wanjh*
 they 3uaP-goPP woman two 3ua-DEM 3uaP-goPP then
bonj djenj bene-h-yawam.
 finish fish 3uaP-IMM-look.forPP
 'There were once two women who went out looking for fish.' [GID]

DIFFERENCES IN PRONOMINAL ROOT SETS Below we mention a number of differences from Gun-djeihmi, both in terms of formally distinct sets and of different uses of formally identical sets. The discussion is far from exhaustive since much investigation remains to be done on this topic, and I simply gloss the forms as DEM(onstrative) at this stage pending further research, except for the 'relative' *nawu* series, which appears to have equivalent functions across all dialects.

- (a) Kunwinjku has a root series in *-u*, with gender-prefixed forms *nanu*, *ngalu*, *manu* and *kunu*, the last form being homophonous with the *nawu*-series neuter form. This set appears to function as distal demonstratives:

- 7.225 *Na-nu yok yahwu-yahwurd.*
 W MA-DEM bandicoot REDUP-small
 'Those bandicoots are small.' [KH 17]

- 7.226 *Kaluk na-mekbe na-marnde bi-djawa-m bininj bi-marne-yime-ng:*
 W then MA-DEM I-devil 3/3hP-ask-PP man 3/3hP-BEN-say-PP

"*Na-wu ngaben-bekka-n wurdwurd birri-djekm-i, kunubewu*
 MA-REL 1/3pl-hear-NP children 3aP-laugh-PP maybe

bininj gabirri-ni gu-red." *Kaluk na-mekbe bininj ø-yime-ng:*
 person 3a-sitNP LOC-camp then MA-DEM person 3P-say-PP

"*Na-nu man-dabonkelk (?) ka-wokdi."*

MA-DEM III-boughs.of.trees(creaking?) 3-speakNP

'Then the devil questioned the man and said: "I hear children, they were laughing, maybe there are some people in camp". Then the man said, "That noise is only the boughs of the trees creaking".' [Oates 1964:93-95]

The vegetable form is frequently combined with *mane*, possibly a raised-vowel version of *mani*, to mean 'this':

- 7.227 *Mane-manu ngarrewoneng kubunj.*
 W VE:DEM-VE:DEM our canoe
 'This is our canoe.' [KH 19].

The *W nu* series may be a reduced form of the *Dj nabernu* and *nabehrnu* series (§7.3.1.8, §7.3.1.9). Gun-dedjnjenghmi speakers, who generally mix Kunwinjku and Gun-djeihmi features in their dialect, also use this form:

7.228 *Na-maddalk ngaleng ngarre gun-red ngal-godjok ngal-u ga-h-ni*
 Dnj 1-[clan] she her IV-country II-[skin] FE-REL 3-IMM-sitNP
njamed Gorlonjdjorr. Wanjh na-nu. Gaboyarmeng-gen ngarri-yime
 whatsit Gorlonjdjorr right MA-DEM [place] 1a-callNP
gu-mege arri-yerrga-n.
 LOC-there 1a-sit-NP

'She of the Namaddalk clan, it's her country, Ngaldgodjok's, who lives at whatsit, at Gorlonjdjorr. All right, there. There at what we call Gaboyarmang we'd sit down.'

The form *nabenu* is used in Kune Narayek, with the meaning 'this here', as in *bininj nabenu* 'this man here' or *nabenu kanjno* 'this meat here'; formally this matches *Dj nabernu* (§7.3.1.8), but semantically is a better match to *Dj naberhrnu* 'the one you wanted to know about, which is here' (§7.3.1.9). In Kune Dulerayek the form is *nabeno*:

7.229 *Walk na-beno, na-kudji kaluk Balang bi-ka-ng.*
 E:D circumcision.candidate MA-DEM MA-one then [subsection] 3/3hP-take-PP
 (first line of story:) 'This circumcision candidate, of Balang subsection, was a candidate for his impending circumcision ceremony.'

- (b) The *-mekbe* series has a less specialised use in Kunwinjku, where there is no reason to regard it as containing the (etymologically original) ablative sense that it exhibits in Gun-djeihmi and Gun-dedjnjenghmi. Etherington and Etherington (1994:101) list *ngalekke* as a variation of *ngalmekbe*, and *kunekke* as a variant of *kunmekbe*. And Kunwinjku texts contain numerous examples of this series being used where no ablative element is present and a *namekke* series demonstrative from Gun-djeihmi would be used, for example:

7.230 *Kaluk darnkih bene-h-bebm-i dja ben-bekka-ng wurdurd*
 W then near 3/3duP-IMM-appear-PP and 3/3plP-hear-PP children
birri-h-dirri, kaluk na-mekbe na-narnde bi-djawa-m bininj
 3aP-IMM-play then MA-DEM 1-devil 3/3P-ask-PP man
bi-marne-yime-ng.
 3/3P-IMPL-say-PP

'When they were close to the camp they heard children playing. Then that devil questioned the man and said ...' [Oates 1964:91–92]

- (c) There appears to be considerable variation across dialects in the conditions for use of the *nahni* and *nanih* series, and a tendency for the presence and/or position to be identified by speakers as characteristic of dialect rather than referential differences.

Garde's Kuninjku dictionary lists *nanih* with the meaning 'this one, that one' and notes it is equivalent to Kunwinjku *nahni*. As in Gun-djeihmi, however, it is often used presentatively (see 13.158 for an example). The *nani* and *nanih* series are used in Kuninjku for mid-range spatial location; it is not clear at this stage whether the Kune

form *naneh* is part of a distinct series or merely a phonological variant of *nanih*, which also occurs, in similar contexts (see Text 8.1).

Etherington and Etherington (1994:101), for the Kunwinjku series *nahni/ngahli/mahni*, give the gloss 'that' and for the corresponding locative *kuhni*, the gloss 'over there, that way, that thing over there, that direction'. Opposed to this they list an 'intensive form' *nanihnjanu* 'this right here'. This might suggest that in Kunwinjku the *nahni* set no longer has the 'right here with you and me' meaning, which has been taken over by a newly developed emphatic form *nanihnjanu*.

However, there are many textual examples in the Kunwinjku Spirit corpus in which the *nahni/ngahli/mahni* series is used adnominally to present new story characters, typically in a story where the character is introduced by gesturing to the appropriate figure in a bark painting. Examples are *ngalyod djareni bibuyinj ngahli daluk* 'Ngalyod (the Rainbow Snake) wanted to kill this woman' [KS 26], *mahni manu Djang ngardduk kunkare duninj* 'this is one of my best Dreaming drawings — old-time way' [also KS 26], *ngahli ngalyaw ngalbadjan bihberrebbom* 'this young woman was promised in marriage by her mother'. There are also many examples of *nahni* being used to present new paintings or stories, in which case it is used pronominally: *nahni Wurrakak kahkarrme walabi* 'this (painting) is Wurrakak holding a fishing net' [KS 22]; *nahni ngayolyolme ...* 'this (story) I'm going to tell about ...' [KS 32]. Such examples show that the presentative proximate sense is not confined to Gun-djeihmi and is also available for this series in Kunwinjku.

- (d) The semantic range of the *nakka(h)* series again varies across dialects, though it centres on the '(in attention) immediately before' meaning. It is almost always used pronominally rather than adnominally. In Kunwinjku, Kuninjku and Kune and Gun-djeihmi it is used for immediate prior mentions (7.231), to refer to entities that have just been present (13.51) and in definitions and exemplifications (7.232):

- 7.231 *But really ngarri-ngeybu-n boddowk ngad,*
 1a/3-call-NP spangled.grunter we
some burrkyak makkah kabirri-ngeybun bokorn.
 [Kunwinjku] VE:DEM 3a-callNP spangled.grunter
 'But we (Kuninjku) really call the spangled grunter fish *boddowk*, though the *Burrkyak* (Oenpelli dialect) (for it), (in) that now, they call it *bokorn*.'
- 7.232 *Djidjngak nakka na-yahwurd bininj.*
 W [name] MA:DEM MA-small man
 (at beginning of account of who Djidjngak is:) 'Djidjngak, he's a little man.' [KS 88]

However, in these eastern dialects it has both a broader semantic range¹³ and more combinatorial possibilities than are found in Gun-djeihmi and Gun-dedjnjenghmi. Etherington and Etherington (1994:101) say this series is used in Kunwinjku 'when indicating with lips or pointing or with other immediate reference'. Thus it can be used in Kunwinjku to refer to distal present objects (7.233), and, unlike in Gun-djeihmi and Gun-dedjnjenghmi, can combine with pluralising *bu* (7.234):

¹³ So much so that Capell (1940:270) used it to illustrate the 'definite article' in Kunwinjku.

7.233 *Ngudda ngune-boken ngune-na nakka kornobbolo?*
 W you 2ua-two 2ua-seeIMP MA:DEM wallaby
 'You two look at that wallaby!'

7.234 *Njale nak(k)abu?*
 W what MA:DEMpl
 'What are those? [KH 20]'¹⁴

And in Kuninjku and Kune it can be used when gesturing to present objects:

7.235 *Kaddum nakka dimirndimirn yiman ka-yime komrdawh, djang*
 above MA:DEM water.skater like 3-donp [tortoise.sp.] dreaming
nakka.
 MA:DEM
 'At the top (of the painting here), those are water skaters, somewhat like long-neck tortoises, they are dreaming beings.'

A commonly used formal variant in Kuninjku and Kune, is *nakkan* (7.236), which can mean 'that one' (pointed to or referred to):

7.236 *Ka-rowe-n nakkan.*
 3-die-NP MA:DEM
 'That (guy) is really laughing hard.'

(e) Kuninjku has the special forms *nanin* and *manin* (presumably built on the *nani* series — so far no form *ngalin* has been recorded), meaning 'this (close at hand)':

7.237 *Manin karri-barlungmen!*
 VE:DEM 12a-turn.off-IMP
 'We turn off here!' (Vegetable form presumably agreeing with 'road') [GID]

7.238 *Nanin bid-no yi-djuyme.*
 MA:DEM hand-3POSSD 2-squeezeNP
 'Push this button here.' [GID]

(f) There is a special contrastive form *nanemah* 'this other one', at least in Kune Narayek (Text 8.3). Another suffixation possibility for the *nane* root in Kune Narayek is *nanebay* 'this here', clearly influenced by its Dalabon equivalent *nvndabay*.

(g) Kune Narayek has a form *nane* 'this here', contrasting with *nanenj* 'this right here'. Strangely enough I have yet to hear the expected locative counterpart *kune*, though such a form is likely to have motivated the language name *kune*.

(h) A form *nake*, occasionally heard in Kune, may be a reduced variant of *nameke*.

(i) In Kune the masculine form of the *nawu* series is *nabu* rather than *nawu*, and in Kuninjku the feminine form is *ngalbu*, as in Kunwinjku (§7.3.1.2).

(j) Kunwinjku has a form *nanihnjanu*, which Etherington and Etherington (1994:101) label an 'intensive form'. The example they give is *nanihnjanu bininj* 'this man right here'.

¹⁴ This example is transcribed by Hale as *naka*, but his early transcriptions do not indicate length reliably.

7.3.2.2 Manyallaluk Mayali

On the basis of the data collected far, this appears to resemble the Gun-djeihmi system. Text 3 contains a number of examples of demonstrative use (see lines 14, 23 and 41). There are, however, two major differences.

Firstly, for some demonstrative series the vegetable form takes the *ngan-* prefix, while for others it takes the *ma(n)-* prefix, even though the corresponding noun-class prefix is always *ngan-*, never *man-*. Compare *nganekke* and *nganbu* in 7.239 with *mahni* in 7.240:

7.239 *Bani-borletge-rr-inj, bi-bom, majawarrh-majawarr barri-dulubom*
MM 3uaP-turn.round-RR-PP 3/3hP-hitPP REDUP-throwing.stick 3aP-spearPP

ngan-ekge ngan-bu ga-no, ngarrbek.

VE-ANA.IMM VE-REL spike-3POSSD echidna

'Then they exchanged roles, she attacked her, throwing throwing-sticks at her, with those spikes, (that now appear on) the echidna.'

7.240 *Go-no ba-yakm-inj, bamu-no ma-hni ga-yime.*
MM flower-3POSSD 3P-finish-PP bud-3POSSD VE:IMM 3-dONP

'When its flowers are finished, its fruit-buds come out like this.'

It is possible that the mixture of *ma(n)-* and *ngan-* vegetable prefixes in the demonstrative series reflect the origins of Manyallaluk Mayali as a koiné mixing dialects from the west and east ends of the chain. However, it is worth noting that Gun-dedjnjenghmi also has both *ngan-* and *man-* based demonstrative forms (see §7.3.1), so that in this respect Manyallaluk Mayali may merely be continuing the Gun-dedjnjenghmi system. More detailed information on both demonstrative systems is needed before these competing hypotheses can be evaluated.

The other difference from Gun-djeihmi is the presence of a *nu* series, as in Kunwinjku and (again) Gun-dedjnjenghmi. An example is *ngalu galidjan* for 'that (female) Galidjan', and *nanu yaw* 'those baby (crocodiles)' in Text 3.41.

A further minor difference is that the Manyallaluk Mayali feminine relative-demonstrative form is *ngalbu*, as in Kune, rather than the form *(ng)alu* found in Gun-djeihmi.

7.3.3 Locational demonstratives

Most of the demonstrative series we have been examining have a locative-prefixed form that can be translated variously as 'there' or 'here' (with further semantic specifications) according to the series. In addition to such forms, there is an opposed pair of demonstratives of purely local function, that is virtually identical in all dialects, though there is considerable variation, not obviously linked to meaning, in the presence and position of the glottal stop. Sources on Kunwinjku do not mention a cognate 'there' form, though *kure*, the locational preposition, is widely used with the meaning 'there at'. In the other dialects the (optional) final glottal stop, and the position of stress on the second syllable, distinguish 'there' from the locational preposition; it is likely both ultimately derive from the same source, *ku-red* [LOC-place].

Table 7.6: Locative demonstratives

Dialect	'here'	'there'
Dj	<i>gonhda(h)</i>	<i>guré(h)</i>
W	<i>konhda</i>	?
I	<i>kon(h)da(h)</i>	<i>kuré(h)</i>
E	<i>kondanj</i>	<i>kuré(h)</i>

In many cases they are interchangeable with spatially equivalent demonstratives with the locative prefix, particularly *gumekke* (Dj) / *kumekke* (W, I). However, there is a subtle difference: the latter are more appropriate either in referring to a location that has already been established through naming (7.241), or where it is indefinite and therefore could not be indicated by pointing (7.242).

7.241 *Karri-re Kunburray ø-bolk-bukk-an ka-djarrhbumme ku-mekke.*
 12a-goNP [place] 1/2-place-show-NP 3-waterfallNP LOC-DEM
 'We'll go to *Kunburray* and I'll show you the waterfall there.'

7.242 "*Ladjkurrungu la yi-re, konda ngal-yabokwarre ngane-yo.*"
 Mardayin.initiate CONJ 2-goNP here II-your.sister Iua-lieNP
 "Oh, *ku-mekke nuk ku-bolk-buyika nga-h-yo.*"
 LOC-DEM DUBIT LOC-place-other 1-IMM-lieNP
 'Ladjkurrungu you go, I'm sleeping here with your sister.'
 'Oh, I'll go and sleep somewhere else then.'

This does not mean that the 'here'/'there' forms are incompatible with names of places, provided that prior naming is not the only way of identifying the place. In the following example 'there' is identified simultaneously by contrast, by gesture and by naming:

7.243 *Burrungandi ku-berrk ka-yo. Kondah larrk.*
 stinking.turtle LOC-open 3-lieNP here nothing
Kure Beswick ka-rri ka-rrudje-rr-en.
 there [place] 3-standNP 3-bury-RR-NP
 'The 'stinking' turtle lives out in the open. They're not found here (central Arnhem Land). Down there near Beswick they bury themselves in the ground.'

The semantics of these two forms are much like English 'here' and 'there', and are compatible with location (7.244, 7.245, 7.246) or motion towards (7.247, 7.248):

7.244 *Minj mak ngan-garrme-ninj, so Tom Cole ngan-ga-ng nga-wurdurd-ni*
 Dj NEG at.all 3/1-have-IRR 3/1-carry-PP 1-child-P

an-gurme-ng gonhdah JimJim.
 3/1-put-PP here [place]

'He couldn't take me on (as a shooter, since he was leaving for Sydney), so Tom Cole brought young me and put me down here at Jim Jim.'

7.245 *Dabbarrabbolk kun-kare birri-bid-kuykme-rr-inj konda kure.*
 old.people IV-before 3aP-hand-spray.ochre-RR-PP here LOC

kun-wardde

IV-rock

'A long time ago, the old people sprayed (ochre) over their fingers here on this rock.'

- 7.246 *Ngarri-durnde-ng JimJim, Duruk Ga-bard-bok-yo ga-bolk-ngei-yo*
 Dj 1a-return-NP [place] dog 3-knee-print-lieNP 3-place-name-lieNP

JimJim bolkgime yiman guré, balanda birri-bolk-ngeibo-m Cooinda Hotel
 [place] now like there balanda 3aP-place-call-PP

'We'll go back to Jim Jim, Duruk Gabardbokyo (Place where the dog's copulatory knee-prints are) is what Jim Jim is called. Now, like there, *balandas* have called that place Cooinda Hotel.'

- 7.247 *Birri-kerrh-kerrnge kabirri-djare konda kabirri-ngime kamak.*
 I 3a-REDUP-new 3a-wantNP here 3a-enterNP good

'These new people, they want to come here, it's OK for them to enter.'

- 7.248 *Na-walawalak ø-djangka-ng kure.*

E:D I-B 3P-hunt-PP there

'The younger brother went off (to) there hunting.'

The ablative suffix *-be(h)* is added to get the meaning '(away) from here/there':

- 7.249 *Kure-beh yi-m-kolkme-n konda-beh nga-m-kolkme*
 I there-ABL 2-hither-chop-IMP here-ABL 1-hither-chopNP

'You chop from that side and I'll chop from this side.' (words to a *Wurruwurrumi* style song)

- 7.250 *Yiga money, ga-yime-n an-me, gu-mege ngarr-... gorrogo ngandi-ga-ni,*
 Dj or 3-do-NP III-food LOC-there 1a- before 3a/I-take-PI

or *ngarri-re-i Gunbarlanja, Oenpelli. Yiman gonhdah-be bininj*
yiga 1a-go-PI [place] like here-from people

gorrogo barri-dowe-ni bakki.
 before 3aP-die-PI tobacco

'Or money, or food. There, in the olden days, they used to carry me, Or we'd go to Gunbarlanja, Oenpelli. Like, people from here used to be starving for tobacco.'

The phrase *kurebeh, kondabeh* (to cite it in its Kuninjku form; other dialects have parallel forms) means 'all over the place':

- 7.251 *Kure-beh, konda-beh bene-h-bu-rr-inj.*
 I there-ABL here-ABL 3uaP-IMM-hit-RR-PP
 'They both fought and fought all over the place.'

One difference from English 'here' is that *gonhdah* is easily relativised (at least in *Gun-djeihmi* and *Gun-dedjn-jenghmi*) to the deictic centre of the clause it occurs in, in which case it often translates as English 'there'.

- 7.252 *Ba-rrrolga-ng bu Yirrarra ba-bo-rrulubom. Ba-bo-rrulubom*
 Dnj 3P-jump.up-PP REL [place] 3P-liquid-shootPP 3P-liquid-shootPP

gonhdah ba-gard-gurrme-ng,
 here 3P-fin-put-PP

'He jumped up there at Yirrarra where he shot straight through into the water.
 When he shot into the water there he left his fin.'

7.253 *Gu-mege-be arri-yonginj Anmulari, wanjh bi-berl-djobge-ng Djomborno*
 Dnj LOC-there-ABL 1a-sleepPP [place] then 3/3hP-arm-cut-PP [name]

bottle gonhda, bi-berl-djobge-ng gu-mege-beh ngarri-dolkga-ng.
 here 3/3P-arm-cut-PP LOC-there-ABL 1a-get.up-PP

'After coming from there we camped at Anmulari, then Djomborno (Peter
 Djenjdjomerr) cut his arm on a bottle there, he cut his arm and from there we
 set off.'

Two derivatives of these forms are at present attested, in Gun-dedjnjenghmi only, though further investigation may show them to be more widespread. The special form *gonhdagih* means 'over here', and a form suffixed with *nu*, probably reduced from the dubitative clitic *nuk*, means 'there somewhere'.

7.254 *ø-wa-m ba-gurrme-rr-inj gurénu. Finished then. Gamak?*
 Dnj 3P-go-PP 3P-put-RR-PP there.somewhere OK

'She went and put herself in the landscape somewhere, and that was it. OK?'

Other forms attested in only one dialect are *W kuhri*, which means 'that way' when gesturing (Etherington & Etherington 1994:101), *Dj niyih*, which means 'around here, near here, in this vicinity' (7.255, 7.256), and *Dj ngahdjarre*, which means 'this way, this side' (7.257).

7.255 *Galuk gu-mege ba-bolk-na-ng ba-yime-ng "Niyih nga-rrarnh-wodjme",*
 Dj later LOC-that 3P-place-see-PP 3P-say-PP here 1-near-sinkNP

wanjh gu-mege maddjurn ba-wodjme-ng.
 then LOC-then python 3P-sink-PP

'When she saw that place she said: "Near here is the place where I can sink down
 (under the water)". So that's where black-headed python sank down.'

7.256 *Wanjh na-bene na bininj niyih barri-yo-i Nadjeihmi,*
 Dj well MA-YON.CENTRIP now person here 3aP-sleep-PI

or Gagudju

'Well, the people who used to live around here, the Nadjeihmi, or the Gagudju'

7.257 *Ngarri-m-yauh-re ngahdjarre, gare djal ngarri-yauh-re*
 1a-hither-again-gONP this.way maybe just 1a-again-gONP

gu-bolk-buyiga.
 LOC-place-another

'We'll come here this way again, maybe we'll just go to another place again.'

7.3.4 Gesture-accompanying demonstrative

In all dialects the expression *yiman bonj* 'like this' is used to accompany an illustrative gesture. See 6.106 for an example.

8 *The verb: overview*

The verb is morphologically the most complex word class in Bininj Gun-wok. Since it is a polysynthetic language, a verb frequently expresses what would take a whole sentence in English, for example 'I cooked the wrong meat for the two of them again'. Because of its internal complexity, much of what is accomplished by the syntax in other languages is carried out within the verb — expression of arguments, adverbials and adverbial quantification, and reflexivisation. At the same time, there are many complexities in the coding of tense, aspect and mood on the verb.

Our discussion of verbal morphology will therefore run over several chapters. In this chapter we summarise the overall architecture of the verb, the structure of the basic lexical unit (the stem), and some problems of delimiting verbal structure from predicate structure more generally. The remaining four chapters of this bracket are organised around functions (which do not correspond to adjacent groupings of verbal slots). Chapter 9 examines the encoding of tense, aspect and mood, including the complex conjugation system and the many semantic types of reduplication. In Chapter 10 we turn to the representation of arguments on the verb through pronominal prefixation and noun incorporation, as well as the diathesis-changing applicative prefixes and reflexive/reciprocal suffix. In Chapter 11 we look at the wide range of adverbial-type information that can be represented on the verb, while in Chapter 12 we look at constructions which merge more than one verb stem in the same verbal word.

8.1 Structure of the verbal word

The verbal word has a template rather than a recursive structure: there is a finite number of slots (with at most one level of embedding, consisting of the incorporated verb slot), and the order of slots does not directly reflect any sort of iconic ordering principles (in contrast to, say, Turkish or Eskimo). In certain cases where two valency-changing affixes straddle the verb root, both orders of semantic composition are possible, giving different interpretations: thus BEN-V-RR can be composed as [[BEN-V]-RR], with the interpretation 'V for each other', or as [BEN-[V-RR]] 'V oneself for BEN' (§10.3.4.8).

The full set of verbal slots is shown in Figure 8.1; plus and minus signs before the slot number give the direction with respect to the verb stem. Slots marked * may be filled with more than one exponent from the same set of morphemes. Note that the subject and object prefixes (-11, -10), the stem (O and E-O), and the incorporated body part slots (-3, E-4) may

themselves be morphologically complex. The morphological analysis of the subject and object prefixes is discussed in §10.2.1–§10.2.2, and the way in which morphologically complex body part terms result from compounding to form specific body part terms (e.g. lower.arm-bone) is discussed in §6.4.2. The stem itself may be complex, and historically may include a compounded nominal, e.g. *wid+na-* ‘hate’ [different+see] or *bo-wo-* ‘cast (fish poison) into water’ [water-give]; complex stems are discussed in §8.4.

A further level of complexity not shown here comes from various reduplicative patterns that take the verbal stem plus incorporated noun as input, e.g. *ngarribolknahbolknan* ‘we look after the country’, in which the IN+stem portion *bolkna* has been left reduplicated and a glottal stop inserted. These processes are discussed in §9.4.

	-12	-11	-10	(-9)	(-8)	(-7)*	(-6)	(-5)*	(-4)	(-3)	(-2)	(-1)	V.Emb							
													(E-4)	(E-1)	(E-0)	(E+3)	0	(+1)	+2	+3
Tense																				
Subject																				
Object																				
Directional																				
Aspect																				
Miscellaneous 1																				
Benefactive																				
Miscellaneous 2																				
Gener. inc. nom																				
Bod.par.inc.nom																				
Numerospatial																				
Comitative																				
Gener. Inc. nomini																				
Comitative																				
Stem [open]																				
Incorporated Noun																				
Stem [open]																				
RR																				
TAM																				
CASE																				

Figure 8.1: Verbal affix positions

Optional slots are shown in brackets. Potentially fused segments are shaded together. The order of subject and object can be reversed according to person and animacy values. V.Emb represents the option of embedding one verb in another.

8.1.1 Internal structure of the verbal word template

Despite its templatic structure, the verb is not simply a linear string of morphemes. It has significant internal structure, shown in a number of ways.

Firstly, at the beginning and end of the structure are two ‘fusion zones’, in which portmanteau morphemes occur; these are:

- (a) the ‘pronominal zone’ of the first three slots, and
- (b) the ‘conjugation zone’ comprising the last syllable of the stem (the ‘theme’) and the following TAM and reflexive/reciprocal suffixes.¹

These two fusion zones are the only areas where irregular paradigms must be learned. Everywhere else the morphemes are simply strung together, with slight modifications according to the morphophonemic rules given in Chapter 3.

Secondly, the distribution of obligatory as opposed to optional slots is not random: the obligatory slots are the beginning (the pronominal zone), the stem, plus the end (the TAM slot). The fusion zones are thus coextensive with the obligatory part of the verbal word.

¹ More accurately, the sometimes suppletive form of the TAM suffixes is determined by either the theme or the reflexive/reciprocal suffix, whichever immediately precedes it, and there is some more minor variation in the form of the thematic according to the TAM suffix.

Thirdly, different phonotactic possibilities exist at different points in the word. Basically, the lexical roots — incorporated nominals of various types, most of the miscellaneous prefixes (predominantly adverbial in nature), and all but the final syllable of the verb root — enjoy the full range of phonotactic possibilities, and may comprise maximally heavy syllables. The valence-changing prefixes all comprise open syllables. Syllables in the pronominal zone will be either open or have a coda limited to a single sonant. The TAM markers, which are always the final syllables in the verb will be either open or end in a nasal, which cannot be retroflex nasal. All morphemes cleave along syllable boundaries except for the immediate and ‘towards’ prefixes (neither of which occurs in Kune) and the TAM suffixes. These phonotactic patterns combine to produce a clear asymmetry to the rhythmic structure of the verbal word, which becomes more evident as the word is expanded.

Fourthly, a limited amount of embedding is possible within this structure, as indicated by the V_{emb} slot in Figure 8.1. Immediately before a small set of simple stems, such as *re* ‘go’, *yerrga* ‘sit down’, *yo* ‘lie’, the transitive thematic *-ge* and *we* ‘throw’, there can be a gerundivised verb, possibly with its own incorporated nominal. In 8.1, for example, from a Gun-djeihmi text, the verb stem *-yawa-* ‘look for’ has incorporated the noun *bo-* ‘liquid, water’ to form *boyawa-* ‘look for water’, uses the ‘incorporating verb form’ *boyawanihmi-* ‘looking for water’, and this is then all incorporated into the verb *-re* ‘go’. The embedded verb is here shown within square brackets.

- 8.1 *Ba-[bo-yawa-nihmi-]re-i.*
 Dj 3P-water-search.for-IVF-go-PI
 ‘He went along searching for water.’

A comparable example from the Kunwinjku dialect is:

- 8.2 *Birri-[kanj-yi-lobm-i-]durnd-i.*
 W 3aP-meat-COM-run-IVF-return-PP
 ‘They ran back with the meat.’

Note that the gerundivising suffix is only found with such incorporated verbs, and is given the slot number E-3 to make clear that it does not correspond to any slot on normal verbs (though arguably it is in complementary distribution to, and therefore the embedded equivalent of, the TAM slot +2).

At least in Gun-djeihmi, speakers accept as grammatical sentences like 8.3, in which the matrix intransitive verb incorporates its subject, and an embedded gerundivised verb incorporates its object. However, I have no spontaneous textual examples of such structures.

- 8.3 *Ga-yau-[ganj-ngu-nihmi]-re.*
 Dj 3-child-meat-eat-IVF-goNP
 ‘The child goes along eating meat.’

No instances of more than one level of embedding have ever been reported, so the structure is not properly recursive.

8.1.2 Main features of each slot; exemplification of affix orderings

We now summarise the main features of each slot, and give pointers to the sections of the grammar in which they are discussed.

The obligatory PRONOMINAL ZONE, in slots (-12) to (-10), contains one or two pronominal prefixes, and sometimes an indication of tense/aspect/mood, as part of a complex paradigm, with up to 82 forms in the Kunwinjku dialect, which makes the most distinctions. In many cases there is a single portmanteau here; but there are cases where internal segmentation can be made in accordance with the ordering set out above, for example tense < subject, as shown by Dj *ga-barri-* or W *ga-birri-* [NP-3a] 'they (non-past)' vs Dj *barri-* or W *birri-* [(P)-3a] 'they (past)'; subject < object as in Dj *a-banmani-* or W *nga-benbene-* [ISUB-3uaOBJ].

A further layer of morphological complexity not shown in Figure 8.1 involves the breakdown of subject and object morphemes into person and number elements: in the above examples *-rri-* can be identified as an augmented number marker for subjects, and *mani-* (Dj) or *bene-* (W) as a unit augmented number marker for objects. The morphological analysis of these elements is most meaningfully carried out with respect to the whole pronoun paradigm and is discussed in §10.2.

In Kunwinjku, and sometimes in Mayali, the immediate prefix *h-* can move forward from its basic position at slot (-8) so that it falls between (-12) and (-11); compare *kabirrihkarrme* 'now they have it' [KH 157], where it follows the pronominal unit *kabirri-* '3a/3NP', with *kahbirridawe* 'now they put it to dry' [KH 155], in which it has been moved forward to immediately after slot (-12).

The optional DIRECTIONAL SLOT (-9), contains just two options — *m-* 'towards' and *bal-* 'away' (cf. *ngawam* 'I went', *ngamwam* 'I came' and *ngabalwam* 'I went along'). Only Gun-djeihmi, Gun-dednjenghmi and Kunwinjku have both, Kuninjku has only *m-*, while Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali lack this slot. See §11.2 for details.

The ASPECTUAL SLOT (-8) contains just one option, *h-* 'immediate', and Kune lacks this possibility; compare *ngangun* 'I eat' and *ngahngun* 'I am eating right now', and see the detailed discussion in §11.4.3. As mentioned above, this morpheme shares the typical positional instability of the glottal stop and sometimes shifts to an earlier syllable. Normally, though, it immediately follows the directional slot, as in the following examples:

8.4 *Ga-m-h-re.*
Dj 3-towards-IMM-goNP
'He is just coming here.'

8.5 *Bolkgime arri-bal-h-yakwo-n.*
Dj now 1-away-IMM-finish-NP
'We've just finished (building) it now'.

The first MISCELLANEOUS SLOT (-7) can be filled by one or more options drawn from a large set including adverbials like *gak-* 'at night', quantifiers like *bebbeh-* 'each', aspectuals like *bed-/bad-* 'in due course' or *guyin-* 'almost' (8.4), and spatial prefixes like *darnh-* 'close up'. These are discussed in §11.3–§11.6. There is considerable cross-dialectal variation in some of the items.

8.6 *A-bal-guyin-yakwo-yi.*
Dj 1-away-almost-finish-IRR
'I've almost finished.'

Examples (8.7–8.9) illustrate the possibility of filling this slot with more than one prefix; *woh-*, *djarrk-* and *yawoyh-* all belong to the first miscellaneous class, *darnh-* to the second, while *mirnde-* allows two positional alternatives (see below).

- 8.7 *Arr-woh-djarrk-yo.*
Dj 12-a.bit-together-sleepNP
'Let's you and me both sleep for a bit.'
- 8.8 *Birri-yawoyh-djarrk-mirnde-moname-rr-inj.*
W 3aP-again-together-many-assemble-RR-PP
'They assembled together as a group.' [PC 62].
- 8.9 *Kabene-djarrk-darnh-na-n.*
W 3ua-together-close-see-NP
'They two are looking closely together.' [E & E 40]

The BENEFACTIVE SLOT (-6) contains just one option, the benefactive applicative *marne-*; compare *ngawayirni* 'I sing' and *ngabenmarnewayirni* 'I sing for them' (W). See §10.3.1.

The benefactive follows most miscellaneous prefixes (8.10–8.11), and precedes incorporated nominals (8.10, 8.12) and some position (-5) prefixes such as *djal-* 'only' (8.13):

- 8.10 *Bani-weleng-bepbe-marne-yaw-dulubu-rr-iny.*
MM 3uaP-then-each-BEN-child-spear-RR-PP
'Then the two of them each speared the other over the (death of the) child.'
- 8.11 *Bi-wernh-marne-djare-ni.*
Dj 3/3P-properly-BEN-want-PI
'He really loved him.'
- 8.12 *∅-marne-madj-ga-n.*
Dj 1/2-BEN-swag-take-NP
'I'll take your swag.'
- 8.13 *Gabi-marne-djal-djare.*
Dj 3/3h-BEN-just-wantNP
'She just loves him.'

Occasionally *marne-* is placed by speakers at a later point in the word: note *bimarneyawkuknguneng* 'he ate her child (lit. he ate the child's [yaw] body [kuk] on her)', in which *marne-* is regularly positioned, with the attested variant *biyawmarnekuknguneng*.

The second MISCELLANEOUS SLOT (-5) contains various quantifying affixes, such as *darnh-* 'close up' (§11.5.4). Mostly *djal-* 'only' occurs in this slot, though it is also sometimes found in slot (-7), as in W *kabi-djal-marne-re* 'he just goes about by himself' [OP 475].

Since it is only possible to assign a miscellaneous-class morpheme to (-5) or (-7) if it cooccurs with the benefactive applicative, there are some miscellaneous-class morphemes in the corpus whose exact position have yet to be determined.

The GENERIC INCORPORATED NOMINAL (GIN) slot (-4) may contain an incorporated 'generic' nominal root like *dulk* 'tree', *warde* 'stone' or *bo* 'liquid' (cf. *ngarridjobkeng* 'we cut it', *ngarridulkdjobkeng* 'we cut the tree'). See §10.4 for full discussion. The set of incorporable generic nouns is restricted to the 60 or so compounding nominals listed in Table 8.1, in §8.1.3.4.

The BODY-PART INCORPORATED NOMINAL (BPIN) slot (-3) may contain an incorporated 'body part' nominal like *bid* 'hand' or *bok* 'track'; see §10.4. The incorporated 'body part' nominal may co-occur with a generic nominal, which it follows:

- 8.14 *Ba-yau-dang-barrme-ng.*
 Dj 3P-baby-mouth-open-PP
 'The baby opened its mouth.'

Unlike incorporated generics, incorporated body parts do not form a closed class: any nominal belonging to the class of body part nouns (and more broadly, the sphere of 'person parts' including 'spirit', 'voice', 'track' etc.) may incorporate here, including semantically specific multi-morpheme compounds, such as *berd-kurlah* [penis-skin] 'foreskin':

- 8.15 *Ka-berd-kurlah-djobke-rr-en.*
 W 3-penis-skin-cut-RR-NP
 'He gets circumcised.' [KH 84]

More rarely incorporated are SECONDARY PREDICATES, such as *darrgid* 'alive' in *barri-darrgid-mangi* 'they picked them up alive', which appear in the general incorporated nominal zone, though the corpus has no examples allowing us to determine their relative position with respect to the other incorporated nominals. Indeed, it is not completely clear that they are a separate slot category, as opposed to an alternative reading of generic incorporated nominals (cf. *ngayawbawong* 'I left the child, I left him/her as a child' but *nganyawbawong* '(s)he left me as a child' rather than '? she left me, the child'). On the other hand, the most natural interpretation of *gerrnge* 'alive' in a sentence like 8.16 is that it is an incorporated secondary predicate, in a separate slot following incorporated generic and body-part nouns.

- 8.16 *Bi-yau-guk-gerrnge-gurrme-ng.*
 MM 3/3h-child-body-new-put-PP
 'She put the baby down alive.'

The SPATIAL slot (-2) contains such prefixes as *da-* (Dj) and *larra-* (E) 'in the sun', *yirri-* 'spread', and *boiboi-* (Dj) 'flat'; these come between the incorporated nominal and the root, as in Dj *ga-warde-boiboi-yo* 'the rock (*warde*) is lying flat', Dj *arri-dulk-yirri-gurrm-i* 'we laid out all the sticks (*dulk*) parallel', or Dj *ba-guk-da-yoi* 'its body (*guk*) was lying in the sun'. Other affixes with spatial meaning, such as *warrgah-* (Dj, E) 'in the wrong place' or *darnh-* 'close up', occupy the miscellaneous slots earlier in the word. The numerospatial quantifier *mirnde-* 'many (spread out)' may occupy this slot, as in Dj *ba-gurlah-mirnde-bimbuni* 'she used to paint lots of buffalo hides (*gurlah-*)' or W *ø-dulk-mirnde-rri* 'there were many trees'. Alternatively, it may occupy the miscellaneous slot, as in Dj *ngaban-mirnde-madj-yi-bawong* 'I left the swags (*madj-*) with the many of them'.

The COMITATIVE slot (-1) contains just one option the comitative applicative *yi-*, which adds a comitative object (cf. Dj *ba-lobme-ng* '(s)he ran, went fast, drove', *ba-yi-lobme-ng* '(s)he ran with him, drove with him'); see §10.3.2 for discussion. As 8.17 illustrates, incorporated nominals precede the comitative prefix.

- 8.17 *Bani-guk-yi-rrurnde-rre-ni.*
 Dj 3aP-body-COM-return-RR-PI
 'They brought each other back.'

The STEM slot (0) is essentially an open slot; as mentioned above, it may be simple or complex, and in the case of some denominal verbs can comprise four or five morphemes. Stem structures are discussed in §8.2.

The REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL slot (+1) contains the reflexive/reciprocal suffix *-rr*. This forms reflexive/reciprocal verbs like Dj *gabbarri-bekka-rr-en* 'they listen to themselves; they listen to each other' (see §10.3.4), and also functions as a collective (§11.3.1.2), as in Dj *barri-dowe-rr-inj* 'they all died'. Also in this position is the persistive morpheme *-(yi)nd-*, discussed in §9.3.6.

The TAM slot (+2) is the locus for tense/aspect/mood inflections, with complex conjugational variants determined by the last syllable of the verb stem (in most cases), or, if present, by the morpheme occupying the reflexive/reciprocal slot. TAM inflections are drawn from a five-choice system of non-past, past perfective, past imperfective, imperative and irrealis (see §9.3). The form of the TAM inflection is determined by membership of the verb root in a complex system of conjugation classes, discussed in §8.2.3 and §9.2.

Finally, there are some dialect-specific possibilities for adding a case suffix after the final inflection. In Kune the locative *-kah* may be added to an inflected verb, in slot 3 (8.18, 14.19); in the Kunwinjku and Manyallaluk Mayali dialects, this slot may be filled by the genitive case suffix *-ken* (14.18), and in Manyallaluk Mayali the temporal case suffix *-keno* can be added in the same place (8.99). See §14.1 for further discussion.

8.18 *Namekke* \emptyset -*wam* *nungka kornkumo bi-nah-na-ng-kah* \emptyset -*wam*.
 E:D MA:DEM 3P-goPP he father 3/3hP-REDUP-see-PP-LOC 3P-goPP
 'His father went off for him, while (the clever man) watched him.'

8.1.3 Types of noun incorporation

Because of the importance and complexity of noun incorporation in Bininj Gun-wok, and the loose way in which 'incorporation' is often used in the linguistic literature, it is worthwhile discussing the five distinct types of situation in which a nominal root can appear as part of a verbal word. Two of these types are major sources of complexity in stem structure; the remaining three do not form complex stems (unless they have been phraseologised), but rather allow information about arguments, or secondary predicates on them, to be registered optionally on the verb. However, the high degree of formal overlap between these five constructions means that many important generalisations only become possible once the potentially confusing effects of these distinct types have been cleared away.

The five ways in which nominal roots may become part of a verbal word are:

- (a) denominal verb formation
- (b) noun-verb compounding
- (c) generic noun incorporation
- (d) body-part noun incorporation
- (e) secondary predicate incorporation

Since the first two of these contribute to the formation of the verb stem, they are not given separate affix positions in Figure 8.1, being subsumed under the stem slot. Types (c) and (d) are represented by slots -4 and -3 respectively. Strictly speaking (e) merits its own affix

position, since it can co-occur with (c) or (d), but there are so few examples of it that a special affix position has not been assigned to it in Figure 8.1.

Except that (a) and (b) are mutually exclusive, each of the processes shown above operates independently. Unlike in some Iroquoian languages, for example, there is no limit of one noun root per verbal word, so that several nominal roots may appear as long as each instantiates a different type of incorporation (or results from the limited embedding discussed in §8.1). In 8.19, for example, the verb *girribun* has been formed by lexically compounding the nominal root $\sqrt{\text{girri}}$ 'ground oven' (which would normally appear with the *gun-* noun-class prefix, i.e. *gun-girri*) with the simple root *bu-n* 'hit' to give a new lexeme meaning 'cook in a ground oven'; into this has been incorporated the body-part noun *guk-* 'body' and the generic noun *yau* 'baby'. Examples with such multiple nominal roots are often useful in deciding on the analysis of particular sequences.

- 8.19 *Namarnde ba-yau-guk-girri+bo-m.*
 Dj devil 3/3h-baby-body-ground.oven+hit-PP
 'The devil cooked the baby's body in a ground oven.'

Of the above five types, the first two are lexical only — they form a single verb lexeme, do not have agnates in which the nominal appears externally instead of within the verb, are not amenable to description in terms of clause-level syntactic relationships, have an unconstrained set of thematic-role relationships between the verb root and its nominal portion, and their semantics cannot be compositionally derived. The last three are lexico-syntactic, in the sense that though they result in a single phonological and morphological word, the constraints on what word can incorporate, and the semantic interpretation of the resulting complex, can be characterised in terms of clause-level syntax. In some cases, though (see especially the discussion of derived double-object verbs, in §10.1.3.4), some details about argument structure that are pertinent to the role of the incorporated nominal (IN) must be lexically encoded on the verb.

Useful as it is to set up these five types for analytic purposes, the boundaries between them are sometimes unclear.

In the case of (b) on the one hand, and (c) and (d) on the other, this usually results from the ongoing tendency to create new lexemes by phraseologising syntactic incorporations. For example, *bo-ngun* [liquid-consume] 'drink' clearly originated as a generic incorporation parallel to *ganj-ngun* [meat-consume] 'eat meat' and still has the compositional semantics of a lexico-syntactic incorporation, but it is now virtually impossible to paraphrase this with an external nominal; *ngangun gukku*, in which the bound form *bo-* is replaced by the free external form *gukku* 'water', would sound as strange as 'I eat the water' in English, whereas *ngangun gun-ganj* is equivalent to *nga-ganj-ngun*, both meaning 'I eat (the) meat'. And unlike other instances of incorporated *bo-*, which have not been lexicalised and which have a phonetically long vowel, in the combination *bongun* the vowel may be pronounced either long or short (§2.1.2).

A comparable example with an incorporated body part are the sequences *bid-yi-karrmerren* and *bid-yi-nan*. Formally these can be analysed, respectively, as [hand-COM-takeRR] 'take each other by the hand' and [hand-COM-see/watch] 'watch X in the hand of'. But they are almost always used with the idiomatic meanings 'help one another' and 'learn from PRON:OBJ about how to make IN by watching OBJ's hands as (s)he makes it; watch how OBJ made IN' (8.20). In such cases the nominal is always incorporated rather than external.

8.20 *Bu wanjh ngarri-bal-djordm-inj dja ngarrben-na-ng nawu*
 W SUB then 1a-away-grow.up-PP and 1a/3pl-look-PP MA:REL

dolobbo ngarrben-bid-yi-na-ni.

bark 1a/3pl-hand-COM-watch-PI

'And then when we grew up, we always watched them, and watched how they made bark paintings.'

Blurring of the boundaries between (a) denominal verb formation and (b) lexical compounding can arise because certain roots, such as *we-* 'throw', can function as denominalising affixes in addition to being involved in numbers of lexicalised compounds.² In an example like MM *djang.we* 'cause increase by throwing e.g. handfuls of stones from the green plum dreaming at the appropriate *djang* (dreaming site)', is this an example of a lexicalised compound '*djang.throw*', or a denominal causative 'to cause the *djang* (to do its work of increasing)'? Many expressions denoting the creation of landscape features by ancestral beings involve the verb *bun* 'hit', compounded with a noun for the landscape feature, which may itself be a compound:

8.21 *Bani-[wardde-barrarn]-bo-m.*

Dj 3uaP/3-rock-escarpment-hit-PP

'The two of them created the rocky escarpment.'

Are these instances of denominal verb formation, since the frame is productive and hence not appropriately viewed as noun-verb compounding, or of lexico-syntactic incorporation, since the root can occur alone? Such cases suggest that two (related) roots need to be distinguished: one with a more concrete meaning (e.g. 'hit' for *bun*), which participates in lexical compounds, and another with a general and more abstract meaning (e.g. 'cause to exist', again for *bun*).

With regard to the three types of lexico-syntactic noun incorporation, namely generic, body-part and secondary predicate incorporation, it is important to distinguish these types as:

- (a) classes of lexical root, such that the generic class contains roots like *rurk* 'cave, cavity' and *yaw* 'child', the body-part class contains roots like *mim* 'eye' and *kanem* 'ear', and the secondary predicate class contains roots like *darrkid* 'alive' and *ngoreng* 'sick';
- (b) construction types linking a morpheme position to a particular type of semantic interpretation.

For each class of lexical root in (a) there is a favoured construction type (b) in which it occurs, but there is also the possibility of it occurring in other construction types with different interpretations. Thus certain body-part nouns can also occur with generic-noun interpretations (e.g. *waral* 'spirit, shadow' as 'ghost, spirit', *kurlah* 'skin' as 'pelt' or 'hide', *dang* 'mouth' as 'door', and *kuk* 'body' as a sort of filler for animate nouns with no incorporable generic), and generic nouns with secondary predicate interpretations (see §10.4.5). However, it is not possible just to plug in any semantically plausible noun and get a particular interpretation; rather, we must stipulate membership of each of the three

² Harvey (1995:135–137) discusses a similar problem for another Gunwinjguan language, Warray, in which the verb *bu-m* 'hit' may also function productively as a factitive denominaliser meaning 'to make X', e.g. *wek-bu-m* 'to make a fire', from *wek* 'fire'.

classes. For example, even though the 'part' class is essentially open, it is limited to nouns designating objects that are normally parts of living creatures. If, in a particular anomalous case, another object serves as a body part (e.g. the stone axe or *garramalk*, which forms the knees of the lightning spirit Namarrgon in certain representations), it cannot be incorporated simply because it would be semantically compatible with the body-part construction on that occasion, and must occur as an external nominal (10.7).

8.1.3.1 Denominal verb formation

This involves the derivation, from a noun or adjective N, a verb of form N-V in which N is a complement rather than an argument. Prototypically V cannot stand alone; this is the case for the two inchoatives *-me* and *-men*, and for *-hme* 'causative/CALL', as well as *-ke* 'causative', but not for *-we* 'throw', *-wo* 'give' or *-bu* 'hit', all of which may also be used as denominal causatives, or *-da* 'stand' which can be used as a denominal inchoative.

Denominal verb formation is the only one of the five types to allow the retention of nominal derivational and compounding morphology inside a verbal word. Thus the denominal Dj verb *ngalgurrnghme* 'call OBJ mother-in-law' (e.g. *angalgurrnghme* 'I call her mother-in-law'), is formed by adding the causativising thematic *-hme* to the noun *ngalgurrng* 'mother-in-law', with its class II prefix *ngal-* left in place, whereas the incorporation of the noun *gun-dulk* 'tree' into *djobge* 'cut' requires the dropping of the noun-class prefix, giving (for example) *a-dulk-djobgeng* 'I cut the tree' rather than the totally ungrammatical **a-gun-dulk-djobgeng*. Similarly, the class prefix may be retained when a verb is derived from a noun or adjective by means of the inchoativising root *-me*:

- 8.22 *Nga-murrng-bimbom wanjh naka na-djamun, [na-djamun]-me-rr-inj.*
 W 1/3-bone-paintPP then DEM I-taboo I-taboo-INCH-RR-PP
 'I painted those bones and they are taboo, they have become taboo.' [OP 353]

Denominal inchoatives are also unusual in allowing the presence, within the verb root, of compound forms like *kodj-bulu* [head-old.person] 'greyhair; old person' (8.23), as well as human kin nouns (8.24) or animal nouns (e.g. *mayh* 'animal' in 8.25 and *ngurrurdu* 'emu' in 8.26) that could not appear as an incorporated nominal.

- 8.23 *Ngaye kuringkunu bolke nga-djal-ni-wirrinj, nga-kodjbulu-me-ninj*
 W I here now I-just-sit-IRR I-grey.hair-inchoative-IRR

kuringkunu.

here

'Now I just stay here at this place I have grown old here.' [OP 354]

- 8.24 *Ngani-murre-go, ngaye nga-djagerr-hme nungga ngan-gogok-m-e.*
 Dj 1ua-brother-DYAD I 1/3-yB-CALL.NP he 3/1-eB-CALL-NP
 'We're brothers, I call him younger brother and he calls me older brother.'

- 8.25 *Ba-Ing-mayh-wo-rr-iny.*
 MM 3P-then-animal-FAC-RR-PP
 'She turned herself into an animal then.'

- 8.26 *Bani-ngurrurdu-wo-rr-iny.*
 MM 3uaP-emu-FAC-RR-PP
 'The two of them turned themselves into emus.'

Finally, just in the case of denominal verb formation, the nominal root can be an adjective. In 8.27, for example, the adjective root *djokko* 'tight' serves as the base for the denominal verb *djokkorranj* 'be(come) tight'; the part noun *kuk* 'body' has then been incorporated.

- 8.27 *∅-Kuk-djokko-rra-nj.*
 W 3P-body-tight-stand-PP
 'It became tight.'

A particular type of denominal verb formation, first pointed out by Carroll (1976:78), is found with factitive uses of the verb *wo-* 'give', which as their complement may prefix a noun-modifier compound with the meaning 'give OBJ a [noun] which is [(that of a) modifier]':

- 8.28 *Barri-bid-wern-wo-ng.*
 Dj 3aP-hand-many-FAC-PP
 'They made many handprints.'
- 8.29 *Bindi-keb-mayh-wo-ng.*
 W 3a/3pl-beak-bird-FAC-PP
 'They gave them birds' beaks.' [Carroll 1976:78]
- 8.30 *Bindi-denge-kimuk-wo-ng.*
 W 3a/3pl-foot-big-FAC-PP
 'They gave them big feet.' [Carroll 1976:78]

8.1.3.2 Noun-verb compounds

I use this term for compounds of a nominal and a verbal stem, comparable to English 'baby-sit', which need to be entered as a separate lexical item. This involves the compounding of a root (usually nominal or adjectival but sometimes verbal or adverbial) with an independent verbal root to form a new verb lexeme (e.g. *danj+bu-* [spear+hit] 'spear', *marri+dowe-* [be hungry+die] 'be starving'). The vast majority of verb lexemes in Bininj Gun-wok involve such compounds; in discussions in which the internal structure of stems is at issue I will place a + between compounding morphemes, as opposed to a - between syntactically incorporated nominals and their host verbs. Since noun-verb compounding derives new predicates (whose meaning may be compositional, as with *bo+ngu-* [liquid+eat] 'drink', or non-compositional, e.g. *ngei+bu-* [flower+hit] 'flower'), there is typically no other way of expressing the resultant meaning, and no option of paraphrase by omitting the compounded nominal or having it appear as an external nominal. Many compounds of this type originate as incorporated nominals and in some cases they may be difficult to distinguish from incorporated generics or body parts, as discussed above.

The major difference between noun-verb compounding on the one hand, and the various types of lexico-syntactic incorporation on the other, is that the former is non-productive, non-compositional and lexicalised, whereas the latter is productive, compositional and always allows unincorporated paraphrases. Stems formed by noun-verb compounding lack unincorporated paraphrases, and thus have a quite different grammatical status to those formed by the optional syntactic incorporation of generic or body-part nominals. Below I

outline a number of specific morphosyntactic tests distinguishing noun–verb compounds from lexico-syntactic incorporation.

8.1.3.3 Distinguishing noun–verb compounding from lexico-syntactic incorporation

As an example illustrating the difference between noun–verb compounding and lexico-syntactic incorporation, consider the verb complex *arrimimbowoni* ‘we used to put (OBJ’s) fruit in the water’, from the following sentence:

- 8.31 *An-barnadja* *ngarri-mim-bo+wo-ni*.
 Dj III-owenia.vernicosa 1a-fruit-water+put-PI
 put.in.water
 ‘We used to put the fruit of *owenia vernicosa* in the water (to poison the fish).’

This contains the two nominal roots *mim* ‘fruit, seed’ and *bo-* ‘liquid’. The first (and outermost) is syntactically incorporated, the second results from noun–verb compounding. The omissibility test gives quite different results for the two nominal roots. The outer root *-mim* can readily be omitted from the complex, with optional replacement by an external nominal:

- 8.32 *An-barnadjdja* (*an-mim*) *ngarri-bo+wo-ni*.
 III-o.vernicosa III-fruit 1a-water+put-PI
 ‘We used to put *owenia vernicosa* fruit in the water.’

However, omission of *bo-* is quite unacceptable, even when there is an external nominal like *gukku* ‘water’:

- 8.33 **An-barnadjdja* *gu-wukku* *ngarri-mim-wo-ni*.
 III-o.vernicosa LOC-water 1a-fruit-put-PI

In addition to optionality, several other features distinguish syntactic incorporation from noun–verb compounding:

PRODUCTIVITY Syntactically incorporated nominals can appear with most semantically compatible verb lexemes; nominal roots in noun–verb compounds cannot.

WORD POSITION As mentioned above, incorporated nominals are ordered as GIN < BPIN < Compounded N. This was illustrated by 8.16 above in which the ‘generic’ *yau-* ‘child’ precedes the ‘body part’ *guk-* ‘body’, which precedes the compounded nominal *girri-* ‘ground oven’ which is part of the complex verb stem *girri+bu-* [ground.oven+hit] ‘cook in a ground oven’.

In deciding whether *bo-* ‘liquid’ in *bongun* ‘drink’ (*ngun* ‘eat’) is a GIN or an instance of noun–verb compounding, for example, we can use these positional criteria. When we find the word *ka-kurlba-bongun* for ‘he drinks blood’, in which *kurlba* is the incorporated root of the body-part noun *kun-kurlba*, we conclude that the *bo* in *bongun* results from noun–verb compounding (for another example see KS 142, *kandi-kurlba-bongun* ‘they drink our blood’). Note that this does not support any inference that *bo* in all other verbs is part of a noun–verb compound, since the same root can participate in several incorporation types. Each verb must therefore be analysed separately.

A similar case is *bol-kadjung* [place-follow] ‘copy’, as in *w ngundi-bol-kadjung* ‘we copy you’. The first piece of evidence that *bolk* ‘place, country’ here is a case of noun–verb

compounding is that it is not an object of the verb, since 'you' is the object here; nor can *bol*k be a body part of the object, so it is not an example of body-part incorporation either. Additional evidence that it is part of a noun-verb compound comes from an example like *ngarrbenbene-djen-bolkkadjung* 'we copy the speech of the two of them' (Berndt 1951).³ Since the root *djen* 'tongue, speech' is an incorporated body part, and precedes *bol*k, this is further evidence that *bol*k is not a GIN, and must be part of a noun-verb compound.

POTENTIAL PAUSE Pauses may be taken immediately before the verb stem on long verb complexes — after syntactically incorporated nominals but before compounded nominals — for example, *gaban-marne-madj...ga-n* [3/3pl-BEN-swag...take-NP] 'he will carry their swags' but *gabanmarne...girribun* [3/3pl-BEN...ground.oven+hit-NP] 'he will roast (it) for them in a ground oven'.

ACCESSIBILITY TO EXTERNAL MODIFICATION Syntactically incorporated nominals may be modified by external demonstratives, adjectives, numerals and relative clauses. Examples are

8.34 *Al-daluk gabi-yau-garrm-e.*
FE-female 3/3h-child-have-NP
'She has a female child/a baby daughter.'

8.35 *Gu-gun nga-mim-baba-ng.*
LOC-right 1-eye-hurt-NP
'My right eye hurts.'

Compounded nominals cannot be so modified, as shown by the unacceptability of trying to modify 'pouch' in 8.36:

8.36 **An-gimuk ga-yau-djol+ga-n.*
VEG-big 3-child-pouch+take-NP
'It is carrying a baby in its pig pouch.'

GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN INCORPORATED NOMINAL AND VERB Syntactically incorporated nominals are predictable in the grammatical relations they contract with their verb: generic nominals must be intransitive subjects or objects (with some complications in the case of double-object verbs), and body parts must belong to intransitive subjects or to objects. Lexically incorporated nominals, on the other hand, may bear a variety of grammatical relations to the incorporating verb. With some, the grammatical relation is one of those permitted in syntactic incorporation, as with intransitive subject (+*yo* 'track.lie') or object (+*ngu* 'liquid.eat' i.e. 'drink'). With others, the relation is disallowed in syntactic incorporation but occurs in a limited number of noun-verb compounds. Examples of the latter are instrument, location, destination and source complements, and manner nominals (see §8.2.1.1 for examples.)

The wide range of grammatical relations between compounded nominal and verb here parallels the situation in languages whose only form of 'incorporation' is 'lexical' (in the terms of Mithun (1984a), which corresponds to my 'noun-verb compounding'). The variable and implicit relations between IN and V in such compounds conforms to Sapir's (1911:257) famous analogy between noun incorporation into verbs and noun-noun compounds:

³ Berndt gives a slightly different translation, which I have corrected here.

the grammatical expression of a logical relation, in other words a syntactic process, is sacrificed to a compositional process in which the logical relation is only implied. The sacrifice of syntax to morphology or word-building is indeed a general tendency in more than one American language

It is clear that if noun-verb compounding is not systematically distinguished from syntactic incorporation, the range of grammatical relations would be wide enough to support the view that there are no syntactic constraints on generic or body-part incorporation. I shall argue against this anarchic position in §10.4. However, since one aim of my analysis is to prove that lexico-syntactic incorporation involves predictable grammatical relations between incorporated nominal and predicate, it would be circular to use grammatical relations to decide whether a given nominal root inside a verbal word is a case of compounding or incorporation. All classifications of N+V structures relevant to the question of grammatical relations must be made on the basis of the tests given above.

8.1.3.4 Generic and body-part incorporation

The incorporation of both generic and body-part nominals is optional, and restricted to particular grammatical relations; the semantic effects of incorporation are often hard to discern and mainly reside in discourse effects such as givenness and emphasis (see §10.4.3.3). Examples 8.37 and 8.38 illustrate the optionality of incorporation with a 'generic' object, and 8.39 and 8.40 its optionality with an object's body part. As these examples illustrate, noun-class prefixes are dropped when nouns are incorporated.

- 8.37 *Barri-ngune-ng gun-ganj.*
 Dj 3a/3P-eat-PP IV-meat
 'They ate the meat.'
- 8.38 *Barri-ganj-ngune-ng.*
 Dj 3a/3P-meat-eat-PP
 'They ate the meat.'
- 8.39 *Bamurru a-bom gun-godj.*
 Dj magpie.goose 1/3-hitPP IV-head
 'I hit the magpie goose in the head.'
- 8.40 *Bamurru a-godj-bom.*
 Dj magpie.goose 1/3-head-hitPP
 'I hit the magpie goose in the head.'

With intransitive verbs the incorporated noun is construed as the subject if a generic, and as a part of the subject if a part noun. Incorporated and unincorporated versions of the construction with generic nouns are basically equivalent (though the incorporated construction tends to favour a presentative or 'thetic' interpretation).

- 8.41 *Gun-dulk ba-man.ga-ng.*
 Dj IV-tree 3P-fall-PP
 'The tree fell.'
- 8.42 *Ba-rrulk-man.ga-ng.*
 Dj 3P-tree-fall-PP
 'A tree fell.'

However, with body-part nouns there is a preference for the noun to incorporate, and this is obligatory in intransitive constructions, when the verbal predication is true of the part but not necessarily of the whole (8.43). See §10.4.2.6 for fuller discussion.

- 8.43 *A-mim-warremi-nj.*
 Dj 1-eye-go.bad-PP
 'My eyesight has gone.' (lit. 'I went bad in the eyes')

Although generic and body-part incorporation behave in a broadly similar way with respect to grammatical relations and optionality, a number of differences in their morphology and semantics allow us to distinguish the two types.

Firstly, there are POSITIONAL DIFFERENCES. When they co-occur, the generic incorporated nominal always⁴ precedes the body-part incorporated nominal, as in 8.16 above (where the generic refers to a human) and 8.44, which involves a part (*djorrh* 'body') of an inanimate generic. (Incidentally, this example suggests that 'part incorporation' would be a more accurate designation for the construction, but I retain 'body part incorporation' on the basis of the prototypical semantic type.)

- 8.44 *Ba-m-djal-wardde-djorrh-djobge-ng.*
 Dj 3/3P-hither-just-rock-body-cut-PP
 'He just cut the body (i.e. the column) of the rock coming this way.'

Secondly, there are DIFFERENCES IN THE PRODUCTIVITY OF INCORPORATION. Incorporated body parts form an open class: any named body part of a human, animal or plant can be incorporated, no matter how specific. For example, detailed anatomical terms are regularly formed via whole-part compounding (e.g. *gun-berl-gal-murrng-yahwurd* [IV-arm-marrow-bone-small] 'radius', *gun-godj-mud* [IV-head-hair] 'head hair' or *gun-garre-mok* [IV-calf-sore] 'sore on calf'), and these compounded body parts may be incorporated (8.45–8.47). Also included in this class are other sorts of inalienably possessed nouns, such as 'name' or 'spirit' (see §10.4.5 for a full semantic characterisation).

- 8.45 *Ngan-garre+mok-bukka-ng.*
 Dj 3/1-calf+sore-show-PP
 'He showed me the sore on his calf.' (lit. 'showed me his calf-sore')
- 8.46 *Nga-godj+mud-djobge-rre-n.*
 Dj 1-head+hair-cut-RR-NP
 'I'm going to cut my hair.'

⁴ A possible counterexample is the sentence *ngalekke ngalengman kumekke kadjalwaralbimdi* 'there are rock paintings of her spirit there'. Here the part noun root *waral* 'spirit' precedes the generic *bim* 'painting'. There are two analytic possibilities:

- (a) *bimdi* really involves noun-verb compounding in this example, though this is implausible given the productivity of incorporated nouns with stance verbs in presentative constructions (e.g. *dulkdi* 'there is a tree there'). We do not yet know whether another generic can be incorporated here (e.g. *dulkbimdi* 'there is a painting of a tree'); if so, this would support its analysis as a case of noun-verb compounding.
- (b) the standard order can be reversed in presentative constructions. To test this account, we would need to check for parallels (e.g. *djorrhulkdi* 'trunk of tree stands'). A possible parallel is *kom-darnh-di namekke ngarrihnan* 'we see the neck closely' (can this be re-phrased as 'there is a prominent neck close there, which we see?'), in which the prefix *darnh-* 'close up' is, exceptionally, between the incorporated noun and the root.

8.47 *Wanjh ø-denge-nud-dowkke-ng.*

then 3/3P-foot-pus-burst-PP

'Then he burst the pus out of his foot.' (lit. 'then he burst out his foot-pus')

Generic incorporated nominals, by contrast, are drawn from a closed class of around sixty items. This is essentially the same as the set of compounding elements in modifying compounds (§5.4.3), and the same few suppletive forms occur there as well: thus Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku have *bo* as the incorporating form meaning 'liquid, water' with verbs, and also in nominal compounds, as opposed to the free form *gukku*; in Kune and Kuninjku the incorporating and compounding form is *kolk* as opposed to the free form *kun-ronj*.⁵ Note that in Kuninjku there is one suppletive compounding/incorporating form in the body-part set as well: *kord* 'shit' as opposed to the free form *kudduk*. This evidently results from lexical replacement affecting the free noun but not the incorporated form, since in other dialects, such as Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku, the root is used as both the free and incorporated form: Dj *an-gord*, W *man-kord* 'shit'.

This set is listed in Table 8.1 with roots arranged alphabetically; the noun class prefixes that occur when they are external are given in brackets; as elsewhere (*m*ʌn- indicates that the Class III form is (*ng*ʌn- in the Mayali dialects and *man*- in other dialects. For Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali words which take the part suffix *-no* when used as free forms, this is shown in brackets, since it is dropped when the noun incorporates. Kunwinjku orthography is used unless a form is limited to a dialect with a different orthography, in which case the orthography appropriate to that dialect is used. Unless otherwise specified, the same form, modulo the changes above, is found in all dialects. In this alphabetisation *g* and *k* are treated as equivalent.

There is a strong dispreference for CV syllables in incorporated nouns; the only exceptions are the suppletive form *bo*, and the form *go* in E and MM.

Although the term 'generic noun' applies reasonably well to most items on the list, there are some, such as *gun-ngale* and *gun-wabban* (both meaning 'axe-handle'), which are more specific. Of the main list, all but one are inanimate; the only freely incorporable animate is *yau* 'child, baby'.

Unlike in Tiwi, for example, where there are incorporated forms referring to such animals as 'live wallaby', 'dugong or turtle', 'crocodile', 'buffalo' and 'dog' (Osborne 1974:49), or the more closely related language Rembarrnga, which may incorporate the noun *djenj* 'fish' as well as certain kin terms such as *njarra* 'father' (McKay 1975:298), Bininj Gun-wok has no incorporated nouns referring to non-human animates. Note that this is specifically a block on incorporation, rather than a block on the more general presence of nominal roots denoting animates in the verbal word, since a broader range of animate and human nouns can occur within denominal verbs (see examples in §8.1.3.1 above).

⁵ Several related languages have the same suppletion, e.g. Ngandi *bun*- 'water' (compounded form), (*ku*-)djark 'water' (free form); Ngalakan *binyi* 'water' (compounded form), *we?* 'water' (free form). In Ngalakan, as in Mayali, this is the only suppletive incorporated nominal in the language.

Table 8.1: Incorporating generic nouns

[(m)an-]	<i>barrarn</i>	'escarpment'		<i>gunak</i>	'fire' (Dj only; this includes a frozen class IV prefix and is etymologically connected with <i>kun-rak</i> in I and E; see below)
[kun-]	<i>bili</i>	'fire'			
	<i>bo-</i>	'liquid' [incorp. only; nearest external equivalent <i>gukku</i> 'water'] (Dj, W)			
	<i>bod</i>	'bee'	[kun-]	<i>kurlah</i>	'hide, pelt'
[kun-]	<i>boy</i>	'cooking stone'	[kun-]	<i>kurlk</i>	'dirt'
[(m)an-]	<i>bolh</i>	'track, kangaroo or buffalo pad'	[man-]	<i>lod, lod(no)</i>	'loaf' (I, E only)
			[kun-]	<i>madj</i>	'swag, possessions'
[kun-]	<i>bolk</i>	'place, ground'	[man-]	<i>mala</i>	'branch' (I)
[kun-]	<i>bulé</i>	'ashes, burnt ground'		<i>malayi</i>	'(to)morrow'
[an-]	<i>bunj</i>	'bamboo clump, bamboo plant' (Dj, Dnj only)	[man-]	<i>me⁶</i>	'vegetable food'
	<i>dabu</i>	'egg'		<i>mile(-no)</i>	'woven material; bedding or cloth' (I, E)
[kun-]	<i>dalk</i>	'grass'	[kun-]	<i>moken</i>	'bundle'
	<i>deleng</i>	'contents (of a container)'		<i>mudda</i>	'sun' (MM)
	<i>djalk(no)</i>	'branch' (E only)	[kun-]	<i>ngale</i>	'axe-handle'
[kun-]	<i>dolng</i>	'smoke, mist'	[(m)an-]	<i>ngui</i>	'flower' (Dj, W)
[kun-]	<i>dule</i>	'song' (I, E)	[kun-]	<i>red</i>	'camp'
[kun-]	<i>dulk</i>	'tree; stick'		<i>njilk</i>	'rain, rainwater' (MM)
[kun-]	<i>dung</i>	'sun'	[kun-]	<i>rak</i>	'fire; firewood' (I, E; see also <i>gunak</i> above for Dj syn. of 'fire' meaning, and <i>kun-yerrng</i> below for syn. of 'firewood' meaning in other dialects)
[kun-]	<i>dorrh</i>	'vine'			
[kun-]	<i>djorrh</i>	'body, form' (Dj, I)			
[kun-]	<i>djurle</i>	'bark shelter, shade' (Dj, W)			
[kun-]	<i>djurrk</i>	'fast-flowing water'			
[(m)an-]	<i>kabo</i>	'billabong'	[(m)an-]	<i>rud</i>	'road, track'
	<i>galh(no)</i>	'tree stump' (MM)	[kun-]	<i>rurrk</i>	'shelter, house'
[(m)an-]	<i>karre</i>	'custom, manner; (Dj) song'	[kun-]	<i>wabban</i>	'axe-handle'
[kun-]	<i>kanj</i>	'meat'		<i>wadda</i>	'home' (MM)
[kun-]	<i>keb</i>	'burning wood' (also 'nose' when used as body part)	[kun-]	<i>ward(de)</i>	'rock; (coin) money'
	<i>go(no)</i>	'flower' (MM)	[kun-]	<i>wok</i>	'word, language, news'
[kun-]	<i>kod</i>	'paper money' (I)		<i>yau</i>	'baby, child; child [of woman]'
[(m)an-]	<i>kole</i>	'bamboo shaft; spear-shaft'	[kun-]	<i>yerrng</i>	'firewood' (<i>kun-rerrng</i> in E; <i>kun-rak</i> used in I)
[kun-]	<i>golk</i>	'water, liquid' (E, MM = Dj, W <i>bo-</i>)	[(m)an-]	<i>yiwk</i>	'honey' (also used as incorporated form of (m)an-kung) ⁷
[kun-]	<i>korrk</i>	'material, clothes'			
	<i>kuk</i>	'any animate [see below]; money'			

⁶ I have never heard *me-* incorporated in any dialect, or seen it incorporated in any text in my corpus. However, Oates (1964:55) has the form *birridjarrkmedjareni* for 'they were all wanting food', suggesting it was incorporable at an earlier phase of the language.

⁷ This is an incipient suppletive form. For speakers in some dialects (e.g. Kuninjku) this root specifically designates the fluid part of wild honey when used as a free nominal, but when incorporated means 'honey' more generally, a meaning generally expressed (in all dialects) by the free form (m)an-kung.

There are three other human nouns, however (*daluk* 'woman', *bininj* 'man' and *beiwurd* 'child through male line'), which can incorporate in limited circumstances — basically as the lower object of double-object verbs (§10.1.3.4).

Thirdly, there are DIFFERENCES IN THE SEMANTIC RELATIONSHIP linking the incorporated noun to its co-indexed pronominal and external exponents. Incorporated generics, as the name implies, serve to classify items that may be further specified by external nominals, as in 8.48, 8.50 and 8.52. Specific nominals, on the other hand, cannot be incorporated (8.49, 8.51). Semantically, then, the structure IN-V N designates a generic/specific relationship when the incorporated noun is generic.

8.48 *Ga-rruk-di an-dubang / an-berbern.*

Dj 3-tree-stand(NP) III-ironwood.tree III-ghost.gum
'An ironwood/ghostgum tree is there.'

8.49 **Ga-rrubang-di / *ga-berbern-di.*

Dj 3-ironwood.tree-standNP 3-ghost.gum-standNP

8.50 *Ga-yau-garrm-e al-daluk.*

Dj 3/3-baby-have-NP II-female
'She has a baby girl.'

8.51 *Ba-bo-yakm-inj gukku / gun-gih / an-bang.*

Dj 3P-liquid-disappear-PP water IV-mud III-grog
'The water/mud/grog is all gone.'

8.52 **Ba-gih/bang-dowe-ng.*

Dj 3P-mud/grog-die-PP

Incorporated body-part nouns also frequently co-occur with external nouns designating the possessor of the body part, as in (8.53, 8.54). But in this case the semantics is one of affected body-part/affected whole (§10.4.2).

8.53 *Bamurru a-godj-bom.*

maggie.goose 1/3-head-shootPP
'I shot the magpie goose in the head.'

8.54 *Daluk ga-mim-baba-ng.*

woman 3-eye-be.sore-NP
'The woman has a sore eye.' OR: 'The woman is sore in the eye.'

Despite these differences in their semantic foci, the classes of incorporated generics and body parts show some overlap, resulting largely from polysemy of the relevant body-part noun. Some examples are given in Table 8.2 (in their Gun-djeihmi forms).

Table 8.2: Polysemy of incorporated body-part/generic nouns

Term	Meaning as incorporated body part	Meaning as incorporated generic
<i>gun-gurlah</i>	skin	pelt, hide
<i>an-mim</i>	fruit, seed pod	fruit, seed pod
<i>gun-ganj</i>	flesh, muscle	meat

Others have the same reference, but may occur with either a generic function (when the possessor is irrelevant) or a body-part function (when the possessor is involved, and named), for example *dabu* 'egg', *an-djud* 'butt (of yam)', *gun-yed* 'nest', *gun-marlaworr* 'leaf' and *gun-bok* 'track'. In fact, it is better to view the categorisation into generic and part nouns as simply a morphological classification, since part nouns can sometimes be used as arguments in their own right, while on the other hand some non-part nouns, when used in exceptional circumstances to denote body parts, are not conferred with the right to incorporate; *garramalk* 'stone axe' in 10.7 is actually part of Lightning Man (whose knees are made of stone axes, which he strikes together, underlying the use of the reflexive construction here), but does not incorporate in the way a regular body-part noun would.

Owing to these problems, it is not always obvious whether a generic or body-part construction is involved. Apart from the clues supplied by the presence of an external nominal denoting the 'whole' if a body-part construction is involved, or a 'specific' if a generic construction is involved, the most reliable test is to try double incorporation, since only a single incorporated nominal per slot type is allowed. In 8.16 above, for example, and in 8.55, the presence of *yau* 'child' in the generic nominal slot means *guk* and *dang*, in the following slot, can only be interpreted as body-part nominals.

- 8.55 *Ba-yau-dang-barrme-ng, ngal-badjan, gabi-wo-n.*
 Dj 3P-baby-mouth-open-PP II-mother 3/3h-give-NP
 'The baby opened its mouth, and (its) mother is feeding it.'

A more broadly applicable test is to see whether the affected possessor must be introduced with the benefactive applicative (as happens with generics) or not (as with body parts). This will be described in §10.4.2.2.

8.1.3.5 Secondary predicate incorporation

Secondary predicate incorporation can typically be distinguished from generic and body-part incorporation on the grounds of both its meaning and the participating morphemes.

In terms of its meaning, it predicates a state holding of the absolutive argument at the time of the action denoted by the verb stem (e.g. 'alive' of the intransitive subject at the time of running away in 8.56, or of the object at the time of being born in 8.13), rather than giving object-like properties helping pin down the referent, as with the body-part and generic INs discussed above.

- 8.56 *Ba-rrarrgid-wam.*
 Dj 3P-alive-goPP
 '(S)he ran away alive.'

In terms of the participating morphemes, these are virtually all limited to functioning as predicate nominals rather than referring nominals when outside the verb; such is the case, for example, with *darrgid* and *mimbi*, both meaning 'alive', and both of which are used externally as predicate adjectives, taking the predicate pronominal prefix rather than the gender prefix (e.g. Dj *ga-rarrgid* or W *ka-mimbi* '(s)he is alive').

In rare cases positional tests can distinguish incorporated secondary predicate nominals from generic or body-part nominals, for example 8.16 above, in which the incorporated secondary predicate *-gerrnge-* 'alive' follows the incorporated generic and body-part nouns. However, in the overwhelming majority of examples the secondary predicate is the sole incorporated nominal, making this test difficult to apply consistently.

In situations where the argument normally aligned with the incorporated nominal slot is non-third person, however, it is possible to get a secondary predicate reading from a normally generic incorporated nominal; compare the argumental interpretation of *yau* as 'child' in 8.57 with its secondary predicate interpretation as 'as a baby, as a child' in 8.58, in which the argument identification is carried out by the first person pronoun. (For fuller discussion of the argument linking here see §10.4.5.) Such examples suggest that the division between generic and secondary predicate incorporated nominals is not based simply on the morphemes involved, but on the plausibility of particular semantic interpretations given the meaning of these morphemes, and their interaction with other aspects of the construction.

8.57 *Arduk garrard an-yau-yi-bawo-ng.*
 Dj my mother 3/1-child-COM-leave-PP
 'My mother left the child with me.'

8.58 *An-yau-bawo-ng kure bedda.*
 Dj 3/1-child-leave-PP LOC them
 'My mother left me, as a child, with them.'

8.2 Structure of the verb stem

Most verb stems are either simple monosyllabic roots, like *yo* 'lie' or *bu* 'hit', or can be broken down into a PREPOUND plus a monosyllabic THEMATIC. (There are also more complex cases involving more than one prepond, or denominal verbs whose nominal root is internally complex, to be discussed below.) A few verbs, such as *dowe* 'die', *ginje* 'cook' and *baye* 'bite' appear on the basis of their distant cognates to have been disyllabic since a very early stage. Since they lack other verbs sharing their second syllable, they do not yield naturally to an analysis into prepond and thematic, and are best treated as disyllabic roots; in fact, they may rarely take preponds of their own, as in the root *marrwedowe* 'be hungry', based on *dowe* 'die'. Occasionally there is more than one prepond, as in the verbs *durndulubun* 'nail (tr.)' with the preponds *durn* and *dulu*, and *bengwabun* 'get lost', with the preponds *beng* and *wa*.

The thematic may be formally identical to a simple root (as in *bimbu* 'paint', made up of the noun root *bim* 'painting' plus the verb root *bu* 'hit'). Or it may only occur in combination with preponds, as with the thematic *de*, which never occurs alone (and hence is not considered a root), but recurs in a number of compound stems, e.g. *durnde* 'return', *ngukde* 'defecate'. Some such thematics may have originated as simple roots, whose basic form has been lost but survives only in compounds. An example is *ke*, which only occurs in combination in Bininj Gun-wok, but which in Wagiman is a free verb meaning 'put' (Cook 1987:216).

An interesting halfway-type is the root *wa*, which serves as thematic for such verbs as *yawa* 'search for' and *wakwa* 'not know, forget', but as a root is restricted to the past perfective form *wam* of the suppletive verb 'go', whose root is *re* in other TAM values. In Dalabon, however, *wa* is a fully independent root, meaning 'follow', suggesting that the semantic shift that resulted in it joining the suppletive 'go' verb in Bininj Gun-wok has left it severely restricted as an independent root, predominantly surviving as a thematic on complex verbs. Because of the equivalence of thematics and roots in determining conjugational variants, I shall extend the term thematic, in discussions of verb conjugation,

to cover simple roots as well, though I will use a leading hyphen on thematics proper (e.g. *-nje*, which never occurs alone), but none on thematics that are also roots (e.g. *bu*).

The thematic determines the conjugation-dependent form of the TAM inflections. The data will be given in full in §9.2, but for the moment the principles can be illustrated with the restricted set of data given in Table 8.3. As this table shows, different thematics pattern differently in the form of their TAM inflections. For example, *-ng* marks the past perfective with verbs in thematic *-me*, *na*, *wo*, *we* and *-nje*, but it marks the non-past with verbs in thematic *ru* and *-lu*; likewise *-n* marks the imperative with verbs in thematic *-me*, but the non-past with verbs in thematic *na* and *wo*; with this last set of verbs, the imperative is marked by \emptyset , which marks the non-past with verbs in thematic *-me*, *we* and *-nje*.

Table 8.3: Simplified illustration of how thematics determine conjugation

Root/thematic		IMP form	NP form	PP form
<i>-me</i>		<i>-men</i>	<i>-me</i>	<i>-meng</i>
<i>bame</i>	'shine'	<i>bamen</i>	<i>bame</i>	<i>bameng</i>
<i>na</i>	'see'	<i>na</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>nang</i>
<i>widna</i>	'hate'	<i>widna</i>	<i>widnan</i>	<i>widnang</i>
<i>wo</i>	'give'	<i>wo</i>	<i>won</i>	<i>wong</i>
<i>bawo</i>	'leave'	<i>bawo</i>	<i>bawon</i>	<i>bawong</i>
<i>we</i>	'throw'	<i>wemen</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>weng</i>
<i>kowe</i>	'tell a lie'	<i>kowemen</i>	<i>kowe</i>	<i>koweng</i>
<i>kinje</i>	'cook'	<i>kinjemen</i>	<i>kinje</i>	<i>kinjeng</i>
<i>ru</i>	'burn' (intrans.)	<i>ru</i>	<i>rung</i>	<i>ruy</i>
<i>karu</i>	'dig'	<i>karu</i>	<i>karung</i>	<i>karuy</i>
<i>kolu</i>	'descend'	<i>kolu</i>	<i>kolung</i>	<i>koluy</i>

Table 8.3 also shows how simple roots, and complex stems built from them by adding a prepond, pattern identically with respect to their conjugation (e.g. the pairs *na*, *widna*; *wo*, *bawo*; and *ru*, *karu*), and how several thematics often group together into a common pattern (e.g. *we* with *kinje*, and *ru* with *-lu*). Up to five thematics may be grouped together into a single conjugation; for example, the thematics *du*, *ru*, *lu*, *dju*, and *do* all form the non-past by adding *-ng*, the past perfective by adding *y*, the past imperfective by adding *yi* and so forth, so they are grouped together into the same conjugation (arbitrarily numbered conjugation 5).

Prepounds may be of a number of types: they may be incorporated nouns, spatial prefixes, gerundivised verbs, or else they may be limited to being prepounds. Even in the latter case, there is a range in the degree of semantic independence — from prepounds occurring in a number of verbs sharing some semantic characteristic, to those limited to one verb but having clear etymologies in another language, to those that are totally unanalyseable. The various possibilities are discussed below. As with incorporated nominals, simple CV prepounds are rare (examples are *ya* in *yawa* 'look for' and *ba* in *bawo* 'leave'), and the preference is for closed monosyllables or disyllables.

The structure of denominal verb stems is more complex, since it inherits affixation and compounding possibilities from the nominal morphology. Thus the denominal stem *djorlok djorlok wernme* in 8.59 includes the nominal compound *djorlok djorlok wern*

[deep-deep-many] 'with many deep holes' (plus an incorporated generic, *bol*k), while the denominal stem *gundoihme* in 8.60 includes the IV-class prefixed nominal *gun-doi* 'type of father-in-law'.

- 8.59 *Ga-bolk-djorlok-djorlok-wern-me-n.*
 Dj 3-country-deep-deep-many-INCH-NP
 'The country gets ruined with many deep holes (mines).'
- 8.60 *Arr-gun-doi-hme* *Nabangardi, Nakodjok.*
 Dj 1a-IV-father-in.law-FAC.NP Nabangardi Nagodjok
 'We call Nabangardi and Nagodjok men father-in-law.'

We now examine prepound + theme and denominal verb structures in more detail.

8.2.1 Prebound plus theme structures

Prebounds may be of a number of types: compounded nouns (§8.2.1.1), spatial prefixes (§8.2.1.2), ideophones (§8.2.1.3), incorporated verbs (§8.2.1.4), sequences only attested as prebounds (§8.2.1.5), or, rarely, a lexicalised noun plus suffix (§8.2.1.6).

8.2.1.1 Compounded nouns as prebounds

These are the commonest type of prebound; in them the prebound is identical in form, and semantically related to, a free noun root. The main criteria for distinguishing noun-verb compounds from the various types of lexico-syntactic incorporation are position, indispensability and idiomaticity, as discussed in §8.1.3 above.

The compounded nominal may bear a wide variety of thematic relations to the verb root. In addition to intransitive subjects and objects, which are common in lexico-syntactic incorporation as well, the compounded nominal may be a body part (belonging to a whole bearing a variety of relations to the verb), an instrument, source or manner. Some are so inextricably linked with their compound meaning that a particular relation is hard to identify.

Noun-verb compounding, unlike lexico-syntactic incorporation, may affect the transitivity of the verb stem. Thus *nguibun* 'flower, break into flower' is intransitive, but its thematic *bu* 'hit, kill' is transitive; conversely *gebbarrkme* 'punch in the face' is transitive but its root, *barrkme* 'break' is intransitive.

Some examples of various thematic roles follow. The thematic roles I claim are not meant to be the only possible analysis, since a major characteristic of this kind of compounding is that the nature of the relation between entity and verb is not made grammatically explicit.

INALIENABLE PART OF INTRANSITIVE SUBJECT (theme)

<i>bok-yo</i>	<i>ngui-bun</i>	<i>ngei-yo</i>
track-like	flower-hit	name-like
'be a track'	'flower, come into flower'	'be called'

INALIENABLE PART OF TRANSITIVE SUBJECT

djol-gan
pouch-carry
'carry in pouch'

PATIENT, THEME

bo-ngun
liquid-consume
'drink'

bo-bun
liquid-hit
'strike water with'

werrk-we
outside-throw
'peel off (e.g. sheath hands to
scare fish from bamboo)'

INSTRUMENT

danj-bun
pronged.spear-hit
'spear with a fish-spear'

barrk-bun
covering-hit
'wrap'

bad-dab.ke
rock-block.shut
'block entrance
with a rock'⁸

dolng-bun
smoke-hit
'drive away (spirit) by
smoke of ironwood
leaves'

LOCATION

gerri-bun
ground.oven-hit
'cook in a ground oven'

red-di
place-stand
'have campsite at a place'

wilk-deng
ash-?
'cook under the ashes'

DESTINATION

bo-won
liquid-give
'put (poison) into water to kill fish'

SOURCE

wilk-mang
ashes-pick.up
'take out from the ashes'

TIME/AMBIENCE

dird-kan
moon-carry
'hunt by moonlight' (W)

INDETERMINATE

ngei-bun
name-hit
'name, call by name'

goi-bun
glans.penis-hit
'urinate'

woibuk-we
true-throw
'believe'

8.2.1.2 *Spatial preponds*

By spatial preponds I mean recurring elements, limited to prepond position and not occurring outside the verb, that encode information about spatial disposition or position. Most occur in pairs, organised around the contrast 'be in position P' vs 'cause to be in position P', with the contrast shown by a range of different oppositions between thematics, typically *di* 'stand, be positioned' vs *name* 'make' or *do* 'strike'. In some cases forms that would be expected to belong to this group on semantic grounds are only attested with one thematic, as in the case of *-lurlh-di* 'lean, be hunched over'.

⁸ This is, of course, another example involving two preponds; the inner *dab-* segment only ever occurring as a prepond.

The difference between these and the more closely bound spatial adverbial prefixes, such as *da-* ‘in the sun’ and *yirri-* ‘spread’, is not always easy to sustain. Where a spatial prefix predominantly combines with simple thematics (this is the case for *bong* and *djong*, for example), I place it here, whereas when it frequently combines with thematics to which a prepond has already been attached (e.g. *da-kurrme* ‘put in sun’, *da-barrkme* ‘crack in sun’) I place it in the section on spatial adverbial prefixes (§11.5.3). However, the boundary is a fuzzy one and may be drawn differently as more exhaustive lexicographic work unearths fuller sets of combinations.

Table 8.4: Some typical pairs involving spatial preponds

<i>djongdi</i>	‘be inside something tight fitting, e.g. head inside hat’
<i>djongbu</i>	‘put on clothes’
<i>bongdi</i>	‘be attached together’ (I)
<i>bongdo</i>	‘strike each other, so as to get stuck together’ (I)
<i>djabdi</i>	‘be standing up, be vertical’
<i>djabname</i>	‘place in a standing, vertical position’
<i>barndi</i>	‘be located up high’ (Dj, Dnj, W, I)
<i>barnname</i>	‘place up high’ (Dj, Dnj, W, I)
<i>wendi</i>	‘be located up high’ (E, MM)
<i>wenname</i>	‘place up high’ (E, MM)

Interestingly, in Kun-kurrng these spatial preponds are not replaced by other forms, although their thematics are; this contrasts with the situation with compounded nominals. Thus corresponding to the set *dahkendo* and *dahkenwe* (see below) we have the Kun-kurrng forms *dahkenlorlme* and *dahkenwarlhke*.

Some typical pairs involving spatial preponds are given in Table 8.4.

Often the reflexive of the transitive form is used to describe the assuming of the relevant position (e.g. *djongburren* ‘put one’s clothes on’, or *dahkendorren* ‘get inside’).

Some spatial preponds, as in Table 8.5, combine with a slightly larger set of thematics, or show a more idiosyncratic set of oppositions between thematics.

Table 8.5: Some spatial preponds

<i>bod-di</i>	be.low.down-position	‘lie face down’
<i>bod-dan</i>	be.low.down-stand	‘lift head up to pœer’
<i>bod-kawon</i>	low.down-run.away. in.fright	‘wake a sleeping animal and it runs away’
<i>balh-me</i>	blockage-CAUS	‘close, block off’
<i>balh-ngun</i>	blockage-eat	‘fuck, sodomise’
<i>dahken-di</i> ⁹	<i>dahken</i> -stand	‘be inside a container’ (all dialects)
<i>dahken-dong</i>	<i>dahken</i> -strike	‘put inside a container’ (all dialects)
<i>dahken-we</i>	<i>dahken</i> -throw	‘spread out a swag’

⁹ This may represent a frozen use of genitive *-ken* with incorporated locationals, something that is more productive in Dalabon (see also §11.5.6). The formative *dah-* may be cognate with the Dalabon spatial prepond *dad* ‘inside’, as in *daddi* ‘to be inside’.

8.2.1.3 Ideophones

A few verbs have as their preponds words that mainly occur as ideophones. Most have *-ke* as thematic, as in *lidjke* 'pinch', built on the ideophone *lidj!* 'pinch!'; *wayhke* 'lift', built on the ideophone *wayh!* 'up!'; and *borrhke* 'dance', corresponding to the reduplicated ideophone *borrhborrh!* (which could be used to describe a dance, for example).

8.2.1.4 Incorporated verbs

The incorporation of verbs into verbs is discussed in full in Chapter 12. In most cases both the incorporated and the host verb contain full stems, capable of functioning alone as a lexical verb. For example, 8.61 exemplifies the incorporation of the lexical verb *wayini* 'sing' (itself analysable into prepond *wayi-* plus *ni* 'sit') into the lexical verb *yerrga* 'sit' (itself comprising prepond *yerr-* plus *ga* 'carry, take'), while 8.62 illustrates the incorporation of the lexical stem *golū* 'descend' (comprising prepond 'go' plus thematic *lu*), suffixed with gerundivising *-ih-*, into the simple lexical stem *we* 'throw', used here as a causative.

8.61 *Ga-wayini-yerrga-n.*

Dj 3NP-sing-sit.downIVF-NP
'He sits down singing.'

8.62 *Gan-golu-ih-we-men gore Manaburdulba*

Dj 2/1-go.down-IVF-throw-IMP at [place]
'Drop me off at Manaburdulba.'

In some cases, however, the host for gerundive incorporation is not a lexical verb but merely a thematic incapable of functioning independently. This is most obvious with the transitive thematic *-ke*, which is associated with a number of causative lexicalisations (§12.2.1), among which is the formation of some causatives through the incorporation of gerundivised intransitive verbs, exemplified by 8.63. In such cases it has a complex prepond, comprising a gerundivising suffix applied to a verbal stem which may itself then comprise a thematic plus a prepond, as in the case of *bidbuih*, here prepond *bid*, thematic *bu* plus gerundivising *ih*.

8.63 *Bandi-bidbu-ih-ge-yi yawurrinj.*

Dj 3a/3pl-go.up-IVF-TR-PI young.man
'They would make/get the boys (to) climb up (the trees).'

8.2.1.5 Sequences limited to preponds

Many preponds are either one-off cranberry morphs, such as the *ba-* in *bawo* 'leave', the *marn-* in *marnbu* 'make'¹⁰ and the *ya-* in *yawa-* 'look for', or appear in just a couple of

¹⁰ By analogy with the common Australian pattern of forming the verb 'make' as the factitive of 'good', i.e. 'make good' (e.g. Kayardild *mirrayalatha* 'make' (*mirra-* 'good'), Warlpiri *ngurrjmani* 'make' (*ngurrju* 'good') and Dalabon *monwon* 'make' (*mon* 'good')), we would expect the prepond *marn* to have originally meant 'good', and indeed the Kunkurrng paraphrase of *marnbun* as *marlangweybun* combines *marlang* 'good' with *weybun* 'give, cause to be'. However, the lack of any other word in which *marn* recurs makes it impossible to confirm or reject this hypothesis.

verbs whose semantic relationship to other is too irregular to allow us to postulate anything more than a vague meaning (e.g. the meaning of 'being fixed in one place' assignable to the prepound *mad* in *maddi* 'stay in one place' and *maddbu* 'wait'). Sometimes the prepound is attested as a free nominal root but the semantic relationship is too tenuous to justify treating it as a clear case of noun-verb compounding, as with *bidbu* 'go up', where *bid* is a noun root meaning 'hand' but not bearing a clear relationship to the semantics of the verb.

In some cases, however, there are tightly organised semantic groups in which a clear meaning for the prepound is in evidence, for example the meaning 'return' for *durn* in *durnde* 'return' and *durn.ga* 'take back'.

Sometimes an original meaning of the prepound can be uncovered by etymological research, but is no longer synchronically present in the language: the *yerr* in *yerrgan* 'sit', which occurs only once as a prepound, is probably related to the doublet roots *red* 'camp, home'/*yed* 'nest' (on the *r:y* correspondence see §1.2.4.8, and on the detrilling of word-final *rr* to *d* see Harvey, in press), and the *wayi* in *wayini* 'sing' is probably an old incorporated verb, on the basis of such cognates as Kayardild *wayiija* 'sing'.

8.2.1.6 Lexicalised noun plus case suffix

Occasionally an incorporated noun along with a nominal suffix get lexicalised as a prepound, for example *bengyirri* 'listen out for, pay attention', etymologically *beng(h)* 'attention, hearing, intellect' plus *yi* 'instrumental/comitative' incorporated into *di* 'stand' (i.e. 'stand with one's attention'), and the various locative-type prepositions that include genitive *-ken*, such as *neykenyo* 'lie propped up on elbow', *neykendi* 'stand propped up' (cf. *kun-ney* 'elbow'), *dahkendi* 'be inside a container', *dahkendo* 'place inside a container' (8.64). As noted in §8.2.1.2, in Dalabon the genitive is productively added to incorporated locations, but in Bininj Gun-wok its use in this construction is not productive.

- 8.64 *Djurra kururrk* \emptyset -*dahkendo-y*.
 book inside 3/3P-put.inside-PP
 'He put the book inside (the bag).'

8.2.2 Denominal verb structures

There are around half a dozen suffixes forming verbs from nouns or adjectives. The exact number depends on where one draws the line between denominalising suffixes and roots incorporating nouns with idiosyncratic semantic effects. There are also one-off combinations like *bulu-bebme* [old.man-emerge] 'turn into an old man', which cannot be considered regular noun incorporation (since *bulu* is not elsewhere attested as an incorporated root), nor as a regular denominal verb (since *bebme* does not regularly give new verbs through combination with nominal roots).

8.2.2.1 INTRANSITIVE -men

From adjective (and more rarely noun) roots this derives intransitive verbs meaning 'become Adj/N', as in *kimukmen* 'become big' (cf. the adjective-*kimuk* 'big'), *dalehmen* 'get dry (e.g. hides, grass)' (cf. the noun *dalehno* (I) 'dried plant matter', *gun-daleh* (MM) 'firestick'). This is the sole member of Conjugation 11.

8.2.2.2 *FACTitive* -wo

This thematic, whose basic meaning is 'give' when used as an independent root, can derive denominal transitive verbs, usually from noun+adjective compounds, with the meaning 'make N ADJ', 'endow with Ns that are ADJ', make 'ADJ Ns', 'make (a) ADJ N'. (See 8.28–8.30 for further examples.)

- 8.65 *Ga-wok-gimuk-wo-n.*
Dj 3-noise-big-FAC-NP
'It makes a loud noise.'

The verb *yimerran* 'turn into' has a middle form that uses the reflexive of the factitive, *yimeworren* 'turn oneself into'.

- 8.66 *An-ege ba-yim-i na-wárre-ni na-mege, na-marnde Daddubbe,*
W VEG-that 3-do-PI MA-bad-P MA-DEM I-that devil
ba-ngei-yo-i mimih ba-yimewo-rre-ni.
3P-name-lie-PI mimih 3P-turn.oneself-RR-PI
'That would be the evil work of that, that devil called Daddubbe, it would have turned itself into a *mimih*.'

8.2.2.3 *INCHOative* -da ~ -rra

(The *d*-initial variant is found after stops, and the *rr*-initial variant after vowels.) This root, whose corresponding independent root *da* means 'stand; reach a standstill' when used independently, is occasionally used as an inchoative, deriving expressions of the form 'become ADJ', as in *djokkorranj* 'became tight' (where *djokko* 'tight' is an adjective root) or *kelkdanj* 'it became soft (e.g. pasta)'. See 8.27 for a sentence example.

8.2.2.4 *TRANSitiviser* -(h)me

(The glottal stop is only found in case where the nominal root does not itself end in a stop.¹¹)

McKay (1975:39) notes a formally similar suffix, *-hminj*, in Rembarrnga, with a range of causative-type meanings, and contrasting with an inchoative suffix *-minj*. A causative denominal suffix *-hmi* is also found in Warray (see example in Harvey 1995:127).

This suffix has a number of functions. Although transitiviser is a useful overall gloss, it is not completely accurate, since a few verbs in *-(h)me* are in fact intransitive (see below).

CALL [KIN] From a kin term K this derives a verb meaning 'call OBJ K'.¹² These verbs are particularly common when discussing kin relationships with respect to subsection terms. The *-me* is found after stop-final terms, the *-hme* form elsewhere: see *gogokme* 'call OBJ *gogok* (older brother)', *djagerrhme* 'call OBJ *djagerrh* (younger brother)' (8.24). Any noun class markers in the kin term are retained, as with the II-class *ngal-* of *ngalgurrng* 'mother-in-law' in 8.67, and the IV-class *gun-* of *gun-doi* in 8.68.

¹¹ McKay (1975:39) notes a formally similar suffix, *-hminj*, in Rembarrnga, with a range of causative-type meanings, and contrasting with an inchoative suffix *-minj*.

¹² See Evans (2000) for a survey of kinship verbs in several other North Australian languages.

8.67 *Gabi-ngal-gurrng-hme.*Dj 3/3h-II-WM/DH-TRS:NP
'He calls her mother-in-law (*ngal-gurrng*).'8.68 *Arr-gun-doi-hme Nabangardi, Nagodjok.*Dj 1a-IV-WF-TRS:NP [clan] [clan]
'We call Nabangardi and Nagodjok men father-in-law (*gun-doi*).'

Given that the address forms of many kin terms are formed by adding *h* to the kin reference terms (e.g. *ngalgurrngh* is the vocative of *ngalgurrng*) it might be argued that the 'call by' verbs are formed simply by adding *-me* to the address form. However, this explanation would not be valid for all cases. The address form of *garrard* 'mother' is *garrang*, without final glottal stop, yet the verb meaning 'call OBJ mother' is *garranghme*, not *garrangme* which would be generated by adding *me* to the address form.

The 'call K' construction cannot be used with verbal kin terms like *ngarri-danginj* 'we are siblings'; instead a periphrastic construction like 8.69 is used:

8.69 *Ngaben-yime ngarri-danginj nakka.*I 1/3pl-callNP 1a-standPP MA:that
'I call him sibling.'

More generally, an alternative idiomatic construction with *melme* (basic meaning: touch with foot, kick, stomp) plus the relevant kin term is available in Kuninjku:

8.70 *Ngaleng korlonj ngun-melme.*I she (woman's)child 3/2-touch.with.footNP
'She calls you "son".'

TRANSITIVISATION OF NON-VERBAL PREDICATE There around half a dozen examples of this use. A clear example is the predicate adjective *kele*, which can form the intransitive verb *kelemen* 'become afraid' by the addition of the intransitive verbaliser *-men* (see §8.2.2.1 above), but can also form the transitive verb *kelehme* 'cause to be afraid, frighten away':

8.71 *Gukku gabarri-bo-djare, Nangarridj bayun yiban-gelehme!*Dj water 3a/3-liquid-wantNP Nangarridj don't 2/3pl-frightenIMP
'They (birds) want to drink, don't frighten them away, Nangarridj!'

Further examples (all from Garde's Kuninjku dictionary) are *kudji-hme* 'put in place forever' (\sqrt{kudji} 'one'), Kuninjku *kuyenghme* 'extend time, make someone wait for a long time' (\sqrt{kuyeng} 'long'), and Kuninjku *karnhme* 'make narrow, thing' (cf. $\sqrt{karnkarn}$ 'thin, skinny').

Slightly less clear semantically is the Kuninjku verb *yurrrhkuhme* 'misunderstand', as in *kabirriwokyurrrhkuhmen* 'she misunderstands (what was said)'; *yurrrhku* 'wrong, mistaken' occurs in compounds like *kukyurrrhku* 'in the wrong position (e.g. in the wrong queue)'.

ADAPTATION OF LOAN VERBS FROM ENGLISH/KRIOL The suffix appears on a number of loan words of English origin, typically mediated through the English-based pidgin/creole (Kriol) spoken widely in the Top End. In many cases the Kriol form of the word already has a final *-im/-am*, serving as a transitivity marker ultimately derived from English *him*, and this *m* ends up as part of the verbalising suffix, as in *bayahme* 'buy', from Kriol *bayim* or *bayam*, *dajihme* 'touch, interfere with' from Kriol *dajim* (< Eng. *touch'im*), and *djoldihme* 'salt (e.g. buffalo hides)' (Dj) from Kriol *joldim* (< Eng. *salt'im*). All these function as transitive verbs, like their Kriol and English counterparts.

In some cases, however, the suffix is applied to a verb that is intransitive in both English and Kriol. Thus in Gun-Djeihmi the word for 'work' is *wogihme* or *wokgihme*, while in Manyallaluk Mayali the variant is *worrgimhme* (in Kunwinjku and Kune it is an indigenous word, *durrkmirri*). At this stage of research it is not clear whether this is a transitive verb or not in Gun-djeihmi: certainly phrases like *wokgihme nganabbarru* [work buffalo] 'work with buffalo, work in the buffalo industry' could plausibly be analysable as containing transitive verbs, but it is also possible that *nganabbarru* here is functioning as a purpose phrase with zero case marking (§13.5). A clearer case is Manyallaluk Mayali *bornhme* 'be born', from English *born*, intransitive also in Kriol ('I bin born').

NONCE DERIVATIONS There are also a few indigenous words in which *-hme* applies to what appear to be ideophones, resulting in a transitive verb, for example I *bid-deyhme* [finger-*deyh*-TRS] 'click trigger of gun into place' (cf. *deyhbun* 'crush (e.g. louse) under one's finger').

Occasionally this suffix is used to derive what appear to be on-the-spot formations, taking a whole phrase as input:

- 8.72 *Nga-kak-boken-hme.*
 I 1-night-two-TRS.NP
 'I'll go for two nights.'

8.2.3 Membership of conjugation classes

As mentioned in §8.2.1, the thematics of the verb stem can be grouped into a number of conjugation classes, each with their own distinct patterning of TAM allomorphy. The full paradigm of TAM inflections will be given in §9.2, but the membership of conjugation classes will be discussed here, since it is more relevant to the study of stem structure than to the tense/aspect/mood system. The main emphasis in this section is on exemplifying the groupings of verbs built up from each thematic. Because of the huge number of verbs in the language, these listings are intended to be representative rather than exhaustive. The semantics of the prepond+theme combination is often only tenuously related to that of the theme when used alone, and I do not attempt to analyse the relation between root and thematic semantics here.

8.2.3.1 Conjugation 1: *-me* verbs [= Carroll I, Oates IA]

This contains a number of basic verbs whose pre-theme is unanalysable. Most but not all are intransitive and many intransitive *-me* verbs have corresponding transitive verbs in *-ke*. Examples are given in Table 8.6.

Most of the transitive members of the conjugation have cognates (usually in *ma* rather than *me*) in other Gunwinjguan languages and beyond (e.g. *karrme* 'get, have', reflexed by Kayardild *karrma-tha* 'have, keep, hold', *nome* 'smell' reflexed by Jawoyn *noma* 'smell (tr.)', Mangarayi *numa-* 'smell (tr.)' and Gupapuyngu *nhuman* 'smell, sniff around'). It is therefore likely they go back as disyllabic roots to a considerable time depth. These verbs may take their own preponds, and the resultant derivatives are also often transitive (e.g. *doname* 'fold up'). On the other hand, *-me* is also widespread in Australian languages as a predominantly intransitive denominal verbaliser (see Alpher, Evans & Harvey forthcoming for details).

Table 8.6: Some intransitive (-me) verbs of the 1st conjugation

Verb	Gloss	Corresponding transitive verbs in -ke:
<i>bame</i>	'shine'	—
<i>balme</i>	'overflow'	—
<i>dokme</i>	'lead off, go ahead'	—
<i>dokorrokme</i>	'walk quickly' (redup. from <i>dokme</i>)	—
<i>lobme</i>	'run'	—
<i>bakme</i>	'break (intr.)'	<i>bakke</i> 'break (tr.)'
<i>dadakme</i>	'go aground'	<i>dadakke</i> 'run aground (tr.)'
<i>djobme</i> (W,Dj)	'cease, be cut off'	<i>djobke</i> 'cut (tr.)'
<i>dadjme</i> (I, E)	'cease, be cut off'	<i>dadjke</i> 'cut (tr.)'
<i>djuhme</i>	'bathe (intr.), bogey'	<i>djuhke</i> 'immerse, make wet'
<i>warrhme</i>	'drop (intr.), get lost'	<i>warrhke</i> 'drop, lose'
<i>wayhme</i>	'ascend, come up'	<i>wayhke</i> 'raise, lift'
<i>yarlarrme</i>	'separate (intr.)'	<i>yarlarrke</i> 'separate (tr.)'
<i>yibme</i>	'sink (intr.)'	<i>yibke</i> 'sink (tr.)'

The second main group of transitive verbs in this conjugation are denominal verbs in *-hme*, mostly transitive (§8.2.2.4). Again, this form aligns with transitive/causative verbs in other Gunwinyguan languages like Warray and Rembarrnga.

Finally, there are a few other transitive *-me* verbs: *bedme* 'fall on; crush', *belbme* 'stick to, adhere to' and *bengngukme* 'forget'.

Within the Kun-kurrng respect register (§15.2), the commonest verb formative is *-bonghme*, which belongs to the *-me* conjugation. The association between this conjugation and intransitivity disappears in the Kunkurrng register, and verbs in *bonghme* are evenly divided between intransitives, like *njolobonghme* 'sing' (o.l. *wayini*) and *njarlbonghme* 'dance in a particular style' (o.l. *njarlme*), and transitives, like *walebonghme* 'hunt' (o.l. *warlbu*) and *ngarnarrbonghme* 'swear at, curse, scold' (o.l. *du*).

8.2.3.2 Conjugation 2: *-ke* and *we* verbs, plus *kinje* and *baye* [= Carroll 2, Oates 1B]

There is only one verb each in *-ye* and *-nje*, but each is an old root reconstructable beyond Proto Gunwinyguan: *baye* 'bite' and *kinje* 'cook'. An irregular verb within this conjugation, also going back beyond Proto Gunwinyguan, is *dowe* 'die' and its derivatives such as *marridowe* 'be hungry' and *kombukdowe* 'be thirsty'.

Table 8.7: Some *-ke* verbs of the 2nd conjugation

Verb	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
<i>bakke</i> *	'break (tr.)'	<i>lidjke</i>	'pinch'
<i>bolkke</i>	'drop an article' [Oates 1964]	<i>ngalge</i>	'find'
<i>dadjke</i> (W,I, E)*	'cut, chop'	<i>njirrke</i>	'hate' (W)
<i>djobke</i> (Dj, W)*	'cut, chop'	<i>wayhke</i> *	'raise, lift'
<i>djuhke</i> *	'bathe (tr.), immerse, make wet'	<i>yarlarrke</i> *	'separate (tr.)'

Most *-ke* verbs in this conjugation are transitive verbs, many opposed to intransitives in *-me* (see Table 8.6; such verbs are marked here with an asterisk).

Occasionally *me/ke* pairs exist in Kun-kurrng, corresponding to semantic pairings that in the ordinary register are expressed by distinct lexical stems (e.g. o.l. *rung* 'burn, cook (intr.)', k.k. *bobekme, kinje* 'burn, cook (tr.)', k.k. *bobekke*).

The few intransitive verbs in this conjugation are either derived from ideophones (§8.2.1.3), as with *borrhke* 'dance' or *dowkke* 'go off (of a gun), go *dowk!*', or verbs involving a sudden apparition, such as *mayhke* 'flash (esp. lightning)' (note that *mayh* on its own means 'animal, rainbow snake') and *marduhke* 'flash'.

Table 8.8: Some *-we* verbs of the 2nd conjugation

Verb	Gloss
<i>burriwe</i>	'throw'
<i>kowe</i>	'tell a lie'
<i>mun.gewe</i>	'send, release'
<i>djangwe</i>	'throw handfuls of stones from green plum dreaming (<i>djang</i>), to cause increase in green plums'(MM)

The verb *we-* 'throw', which can form causatives such as *djordmihwe* 'grow up, bring up (tr.), raise' from *djordme* 'grow up, develop' by incorporating intransitive verbs (see §12.2), also has several derivatives involving nonce prepounds.

8.2.3.3 Conjugation 3: verbs in *-ka, -na, -wo* and *-ngu* [= Carroll 3, Oates 2A(i)]

Each of these can function as an independent verb: *kan*¹³ means 'take, carry', *nan* means 'see', *won* 'give' and *ngun* 'eat'. Each can also serve as thematic in complex verbs, and *wo* also forms denominal factitives (§8.2.2.2). All have such widespread cognates in Australia that is likely they will be reconstructable to Proto Australian. *ngu-* is slightly irregular within this conjugation, adding a second syllable in the past perfective: compare NP *nan*, PP *nang* but NP *ngun*, PP *nguneng*.

Examples of complex stems involving each of these as thematics are given in Table 8.9.

Table 8.9: Some 3rd conjugation complex stems

Thematic <i>-ka</i>		Thematic <i>-na</i>	
<i>dolkan</i>	'rise up, stand up'	<i>nan</i>	'see'
<i>djangkan</i>	'go hunting'	<i>bolknan</i>	'look around'
<i>djurkkan</i>	'put pressure on (someone)'	<i>dordnan</i>	'delouse'
<i>mankan</i>	'fall'	<i>widnan</i>	'hate'
<i>ngolekan</i>	'wait'	<i>wohnan</i>	'keep watch, look after'
<i>ngomkan</i>	'swim along'	<i>burrknan</i>	'recognise'
<i>ngorrkan</i>	'carry on shoulders'	<i>bimburrknan</i>	'read' [Oates 1964]
<i>warlkan</i>	'hide'		
<i>yerrkan</i>	'sit down'		
<i>yikan</i>	'fetch'		
<i>bekkan</i>	'listen, feel'		
<i>bukkan</i>	'show'		

¹³ This and other verbs with non-zero non-past forms will be cited in their nonpast form; thus *kan* 'carry' rather than *ka*.

Thematic <i>-wo</i>		Thematic <i>-ngu</i>	
<i>won</i>	'give'	<i>ngun</i>	'eat'
<i>bawon</i>	'leave'	<i>kolkngun</i>	'drink' (I, E, MM)
<i>belewon</i>	'make white, clean'	<i>bongun</i>	'drink' (Dj, W, Dnj)
<i>kawon</i>	'run away in fright (animal)'	<i>balhngun</i>	'sodomise, fuck'
<i>woybukwon</i>	'tell OBJ the truth'		
<i>warrewon</i>	'make a mistake'		
<i>yakwon</i>	'finish'		

8.2.3.4 Conjugation 4: verbs in *bu* and *wa* [=Carroll 4, Oates 2A(ii)]

This includes the verb *bun* 'hit' and a large set of verbs with *bu* as thematic, as well as verbs with *-wa* as thematic.¹⁴ The two groups of verbs differ slightly in the past perfective, where *bu* and its derivatives have *bom* instead of the expected *bum*.

As discussed in §8.2, the root *wa* probably meant 'follow' originally, but has lost its independent status in Bininj Gun-wok, except as the past perfective form of the suppletive verb 'go' (9th conjugation).

Although *bun* itself is transitive, some of its derivatives (e.g. *kobun* or *nguybun*, both 'break into flower') are not.

Table 8.10: Some 4th conjugation complex stems

Thematic <i>-bu</i>		Thematic <i>-wa</i>	
<i>bun</i>	'hit, kill'	<i>djongbun</i>	'dress, put (clothes) on'
<i>berrebbun</i>	'promise'	<i>kobun</i>	'flower, come into flower' (E, MM)
<i>bidbun</i>	'climb up, ascend'	<i>madbun</i>	'wait for'
<i>boyakbun</i>	'pour water'	<i>marnbun</i>	'make, prepare'
<i>bunbun</i>	'stop'	<i>ngeybun</i>	'say the name of, name'
<i>danjbun</i>	'spear'	<i>nguybun</i>	'flower' (Dj, W, I)
<i>dilebun</i>	'piss'	<i>wabun</i>	'call out name of something with magical effect'
<i>dulubun</i>	'shoot'		
<i>djirridjbun</i>	'wash (tr.)'	<i>warlbun</i>	'hunt'
		<i>djawan</i>	'ask'
		<i>kuwan</i>	'sit and warm oneself by fire'
		<i>mulewan</i>	'inform, report, tell about someone'
		<i>wakwan</i>	'not know, be ignorant of'
		<i>yawan</i>	'seek, look for'
		<i>yakwan</i>	'eat, consume' (k.k.)

8.2.3.5 Conjugation 5: verbs in *du*, *ru*, *-lu*, *-dju* and *-do*; *-de* and *-dje*; and *ma* [=Carroll 5, Oates 2B(i) & 2B(ii)]

A higher than usual proportion of the thematics in this conjugation cannot function as independent roots; *-de* and *-dje* on the one hand, and *ma* on the other, make up two slightly different sub-conjugations. Again, the subconjugational difference is confined to the past

¹⁴ At least one disyllabic verb with *wa* as thematic is a non-Gunwinyguan cognate for the full disyllable: note *kuwa-n* 'sit and warm oneself by the fire', Kayardild *kuwa-tha* 'keep oneself warm, warm oneself'.

perfective, and is caused by the different effects of the PP-marking suffix *-y* on the preceding vowel: it leaves back vowels unchanged (*duy, ruy, luy, doy*), raises the low vowel (*mey* instead of expected *may*) and raises the *e* vowel (*di* and *dji* instead of expected *dey* and *djei*).

Conjugation 5a includes the verb *dung* ‘abuse, swear at, curse’¹⁵ and verbs with it as thematic; *ru* ‘burn (intr.)’ and verbs with it as thematic, verbs with thematic *-lu* and *-dju*, and the verb *dong* ‘strike’ and verbs with it as thematic (Dj, w *dedjo* probably results from a cluster simplification of *dedjong*; see §3.2.3).

Table 8.11: Some verbs of conjugation 5a

Verb	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
<i>dung</i>	‘abuse, growl’	<i>kadjung</i>	‘follow; ache’
<i>djakdung</i>	‘rain’	<i>dong</i>	‘strike, hit with a missile’
<i>yiddung</i>	‘quarrel, get wild’	<i>dahkendong</i>	‘put in a container’ (cf. <i>-dahkendi</i> ‘be inside’)
<i>rung</i>	‘burn’	<i>djorndong</i>	‘pound’
<i>karung</i>	‘dig’	<i>dedjong</i> (Dj, w)	‘fuck’
<i>kolung</i>	‘go down’	<i>dedjong</i> (l)	‘fuck’
<i>djirmikolung</i>	‘swoop down’		

(5b) includes verbs with thematics *-de* and *-dje*:

Table 8.12: Some verbs of conjugation 5b

Thematic <i>-de</i>		Thematic <i>-dje</i>	
<i>bolkmaddeng</i>	‘stay in one place, stay behind’	<i>borrhborrdjeng</i>	‘shake off, shake down’
<i>durdeng</i>	‘return’	<i>badjdjeng</i>	‘hit, punch’
<i>ngadeng</i>	‘defecate’	<i>ngadjeng</i>	‘strike, hit’

(5c) includes the verb *mang* ‘get’ and its derivatives:

Table 8.13: Some verbs of conjugation 5c

Verb	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
<i>mang</i>	‘get’	<i>djirdmang</i>	‘steal, pinch’
<i>bolkmang</i>	‘arrive at a place, reach land (from sea)’	<i>kardmang</i>	‘catch on hook; snag’
<i>bunjhmang</i>	‘kiss’	<i>larlmang</i>	‘divide up’
<i>durrkmang</i>	‘pull, jerk’	<i>romang</i>	‘dodge’
<i>djalkmang</i>	‘split’	<i>yawmang</i>	‘conceive; bear a child’

¹⁵ Again, this has widespread non-Gunwinyguan cognates, e.g. Kayardild *thuu-ja* ‘swear at, curse’, Ndjebbana *djo-* ‘be angry with, berate’, Burarra *jo-* ‘scold, complain about’.

8.2.3.6 Conjugation 6: verbs in da [= Carroll 6, Oates 3A]

This includes the root *da* 'stand' (6a), which has two sets of forms depending on whether a stative or inchoative meaning is expressed (§9.3.7), various stems based on *da* (6b), and denominal inchoatives in *rri* (6c). These subconjugations differ slightly in their past perfective and non-past forms; for those in 6c, the perfective vs imperfective contrast is neutralised in favour of the imperfective form (used with perfective meaning, as in 8.67). This probably results from the partial conflation of two formerly independent paradigms (those for *da* 'stand', and *-da* 'become') which in Proto Gunwinyguan were more distinct; see Alpher, Evans and Harvey (forthcoming).

Table 8.14: Some verbs of conjugation 6 (a,b,c)

6a		6b		6c	
<i>dangen</i>	'stand up, stop'	<i>meddan</i>	'turn around, look around'	<i>yimerran</i>	'turn into'
<i>gotjmadangen</i> (MM)	'be born'	<i>ngokdan</i>	'become night'	<i>djokkorra</i>	'become tight'
<i>nguydangen</i>	'stand in flower (e.g. spear-grass)'	<i>waydan</i>	'be raised'	<i>kelkda</i>	'become soft'
		<i>barledan</i>	'become crooked'	<i>belngdan</i>	'settle, subside, go down (tyre)'

8.73 *Ba-bo-belngda-nj.*

Dj 3P-liquid-settle-PP

'The mud in the water has settled.'

8.2.3.7 Conjugation 7: verbs in di, -rri and ni [= Carroll 7, Oates 3A]

This conjugation includes the root *-di* 'stand, be standing' and its derivatives (which flap to *-rri* if the prebound ends in a vowel, e.g. *bengyirri*, *durrkmirri*¹⁶), plus the root *-ni* 'sit' and its derivatives. Almost all the derivatives are intransitive like their bases, but MM *moh-rdi* 'wound (tr.)', lit. wound-stand, is an exception.

A set of forms that hybridise this conjugation and 6a are the inflected forms of the persistive (7b), such as *djuhmiyindi* 'to soak' (see §9.3.6).

A slightly irregular verb in this set is *wokdi* 'speak'; the form *-wokdanj* is used suppletively as the past perfective of the seventh conjugation verb *wokdi* 'speak', often with the sense 'spoke up, started to talk'; other forms of this verb are not attested but it appears to have undergone the same generalisation of the imperfective form to the perfective.

¹⁶ Evidence that *durrkmirri* is underlyingly %*durrkmi-di*% comes from the k.k. equivalent *durrkmidjarrberlme*; *djarrberlme* is the k.k. equivalent of *di*. Note also that in Kune, *dirri* is the iterative reduplication of *didi*, as opposed to the form *dingihdi* found in the other dialects (see §9.4.2).

Table 8.15: Some verbs of the 7th conjugation

Root -di 'stand'				Root -ni 'sit'	
<i>di</i>	'stand'	<i>wokdi</i>	'talk, speak'	<i>ni</i>	'sit'
<i>bangdi</i>	'be strong flavoured (e.g. chillies)'	<i>bengyirri</i>	'listen, pay attention'	<i>wayini</i>	'sing'
<i>bengdi</i>	'sit waiting for word, or for something to happen'	<i>dirri</i>	'play'	<i>yengkihni</i>	'be wet'
<i>bimdi</i>	'be a painting, exist (of a painting)'	<i>durrkmirri</i> (W, I)	'work'		
<i>dahkendi</i>	'be inside something (e.g. bed, canoe)'	<i>mirrhdi</i>	'be sharp, spiky'		
<i>djangdi</i>	'be a dreaming site'	<i>mohrdi</i> (MM)	'wound (v.t.)'		

8.2.3.8 Conjugation 8: verbs in yo [= Carroll 8, Oates 3B]

This conjugation is made up of the root *yo* 'lie' and its derivatives. All are intransitive.

Table 8.16: Some verbs of the 8th conjugation

Verb	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
<i>yo</i>	'lie'	<i>keyo</i> ,	'sleep'
<i>boyboyyo, boboyo</i>	'lie flat on one's stomach, lie prone'	<i>kodjkeyo</i> (Dj) <i>kodjdjeyo</i> (I)	'sleep'
<i>bukirriyo,</i>	'dream'	<i>lambarriyo</i>	'lie on one's back'
<i>kodjbukirriyo</i>	'dream'	<i>yirriyo</i>	'stretch (the body)'

8.2.3.9 Conjugation 9: the verb *re* and its derivatives [= Carroll 9, Oates 4]

This is a suppletive verb whose paradigm historically conflates the root *wa*, originally 'follow' (see 4b) and the root *re*. This conjugation includes a large class of verbs based on *re*, and the open class of associated motion structures with incorporated verbs.

Table 8.17: Some verbs of the 9th conjugation

Verb	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
<i>re</i>	'go'	<i>djalkmire</i>	'tear'
<i>bore</i>	'flow out, issue forth'	<i>wohre</i>	'go on foot (most dialects), go' (MM)
<i>bukirrire</i>	'dream'	<i>wuyukmire</i>	'be tired' [Oates 1964]

8.2.3.10 Conjugation 10: reflexive/reciprocal -rre [= Carroll 9, Oates 4]

This is a derived conjugation in the sense that almost all of its members are derived from other stems by adding *-rre* to the stem, giving a meaning of reciprocal/reciprocal (when added to transitive roots) or collective (predominantly with intransitive roots). (See §10.3.4 for discussion of the reflexive/reciprocal and §11.3.1.2 on the collective.) Incidentally, the

-rre suffix is the only verbal suffix that always follows, exactly, the root; all other verbal suffixes perturb the root in at least one conjugation.

A small number of verbs in this conjugation, however, have no corresponding underived form; an example is *kurren* 'lie, deceive', which lacks a corresponding root **ku*. In addition, the meanings of some verbs in *-rre* have become somewhat idiomatised (e.g. *burren*, lit. 'hit each other', for 'fight', and *marren*, lit. 'take each other', for 'get married'); *dangwerre* is an intermediate case: it can readily be broken into *dang* 'mouth' plus *we* 'throw', but the straightforward transitive use of the basic root *dangwe* is so far unattested.

Table 8.18: Some verbs of the 10th conjugation

Verb	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
<i>burre</i>	'fight each other' (< <i>bu</i> 'hit, kill')	<i>kurre</i>	'deceive, trick'
<i>dangwerre</i>	'argue with each other' [Oates 1964]	<i>lirrherre</i>	'scratch oneself'
<i>durre</i>	'growl each other, abuse one another' (< <i>du</i> 'curse')		

8.2.3.11 Conjugation 11: verbs in *-men* [= Carroll 12, Oates 6A, 6B]

This conjugation, which is completely open, contains:

- (a) The productive class of denominal inchoative verbs, such as in Table 8.19.
- (b) Certain verbs of becoming, whose prepound does not occur independently:

djordmen 'grow up (living being), mature'
- (c) Various other verbs of sensation etc.:

djalarrkmen 'be angry' [Oates 1964]

kelemen 'be afraid'

worrkmen 'be full of food' [Oates 1964]
- (d) Many English loans with inchoative, predicative or adverbial semantics; *-men* is added to the borrowed English form:

bulmurnmen (MM) 'become/be full moon' (< Kriol *bulmurn* < Eng. *full moon*)

8.74 *Ngarri-djen-quickone-men*.

E:N 1a-tongue-quick.one-NP
'We talk quickly (in our dialect).'

Table 8.19: Some verbs of the 11th conjugation

Verb	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
<i>badjanmen</i> (E:D)	'get big' (- <i>badjan</i> 'big')	<i>karemen</i>	'get old' (- <i>kare</i> 'old')
<i>bukmen</i>	'dry up, get dry esp. of country' (pred.adj. <i>buk</i> 'dry')	<i>kimukmen</i> (Dj, W, I)	'get big' (- <i>kimuk</i> 'big')
<i>dalehmen</i>	'get dry (e.g. hides)' (I <i>dalehno</i> 'dried plant matter', MM <i>gun-daleh</i> 'firestick')	<i>makmen</i>	'become good' (- <i>mak</i> 'good')
		<i>warremen</i>	'go bad' (- <i>warre</i> 'bad')

8.2.3.12 Non-verbal conjugation

This is a set of endings, as opposed to a conjugation proper, since it is not affiliated with a class definable on anything but negative grounds. These endings are attached to non-verbal predicates, for example predicate adjectives, nouns used as predicates, and time adverbs whose temporal location is being stressed. Note that there is no imperative form. Except for their present endings, these are formally identical to the verb *ni* 'sit':

- | | | | |
|--------|--|----|-------------------------------|
| 8.75a. | <i>∅-babang-ni.</i> | b. | <i>Bene-rohrouk-ni.</i> |
| w | 3P-be.sore-PI | | 3uaP-similar-PI |
| | '(S)he was sore, in pain.' | | 'The two of them were alike.' |
| | c. | | |
| | <i>∅-Djare-ni.</i> | | |
| | 3P-want-PI | | |
| | '(S)he wanted (it).' (cf. <i>kun-djare</i> 'desire') | | |

8.3 Verb morphology versus predicate morphology

A certain amount of what we have been calling verbal morphology in this chapter should more accurately be designated 'predicate morphology', since it can be applied to other parts of speech when they function as predicates. This section summarises these possibilities.

Most similar to verbs are predicate adjectives like *gele* 'afraid', *babang* 'in pain' and *rohrok* 'similar, same' which normally take intransitive pronominal prefixes, and inflect for a subset of TAM inflections (the past imperfective, and irrealis); *babang* and *rohrok* may incorporate nouns as well.

Other adjectives have a choice between pronominal prefixes and gender prefixes, according to the syntactic context. The adjective root *mak* 'good', for example, will always take a gender prefix when functioning as an attributive adjective within a noun phrase (e.g. *daluk ngalmak* 'good or beautiful woman'); when functioning as a predicate it can take either a pronominal prefix or a gender prefix according to what it is describing: *kamak* 'it's good, it's OK' (the situation in general), *namak* 'he's good/handsome', *ngalmak* 'she's good/beautiful'. But note that to say 'are you OK, is that OK with you' one says *ngudda kamak* [you 3-good] rather than **yimak* [2-good], since the 'good' is predicable of the general situation in which you are participating, rather than of you as an individual.

8.3.1 Pronominal prefixes

Adjectives and life-stage nouns, when used as predicates, can take intransitive pronominal prefixes. In 8.76 the noun *bodme-marrumarru* 'person who is continually engaged in a particular action or task' is used as a nominal predicate, and takes a first person minimal subject prefix. Similar prefixation applies to the adjectives *darrgid* 'alive' (8.77) and *mak* 'good' (8.78). As the second example shows, a free pronoun may be used at the same time. (In 13.32, *wurdurd* 'child' is prefixed with the third person minimal prefix when used as a predicate, with the meaning 'is a sapling'.)

- 8.76 *Nga-bodmemarrumarru dolobbo nga-bimbun.*
 1-person.always.engaged bark.painting 1-paintNP
 'I've been continually doing bark paintings all the time.'

8.77 *Nga-rrarrkid.*
E:D 1-alive
'I'm alive.'

8.78 *Ngayih nga-mak.*
E:D I 1-good
'I'm healthy.'

Note that compounds count as adjectives for the purposes of the above formulation, regularly taking pronominal prefixation:

8.79 *Yi-keb-mak.*
I 2-face-good
'You are good-looking.'

Pronominal prefixes, when used on non-verbs, have a slightly different use of the past vs non-past contrast found on third person forms (this is discussed in §10.2.1).

Prefixes from the transitive pronominal set are never used on non-verbs, except in connection with benefactive *marne-* (§8.3.3).

8.3.2 Noun incorporation

Predicate adjectives like *rohrok* 'same, similar', *gih* 'wet' and *babang* 'painful', regularly incorporate nominals.

8.80 *Ga-bolk-rohrok.*
Dj 3-place-alike
'It's a similar place.'

8.81 *Gu-gak ba-yerrng-gih-ni.*
Dj LOC-night 3P-wood-wet-P
'Last night the firewood was wet.'

These are clear cases of noun incorporation since the relevant adjectives can only function as predicates, and do not compound with noun roots to form nominal compounds. With other adjectives, on the other hand, which participate in productive compounding constructions (§5.4) with the same set of nominal roots as get incorporated, the appearance of a noun root followed by the adjective root is not in itself proof of incorporation, since a simpler analysis is that a noun-adjective compound has first been formed, then used as a nominal predicate in the way any noun phrase can be.

8.82 *Yi-berd-kimuk!*
I 2-prick-big
'You've got a big prick!' (Joking register)

However, when the subject is third person minimal it is possible to distinguish the two constructions, since predicate adjectives with incorporated roots take the third person pronominal prefix *ga-/ka-*, while attributive compounds take the relevant gender prefix (§13.3.1). In 8.83, for example, the adjective *bang* 'cheeky, dangerous', which normally takes gender prefixes, is here being used as a predicate adjective with an incorporated nominal, as shown by its employment of the prefix *ga-*:

- 8.83 *Garrarndalk ga-yiwk-bang.*
 MM [grass.sp.] 3-honey-cheeky
 'Kerosene grass (*heteropogon triticeus*) has cheeky (chilli-tasting) honey.'

A couple of noun roots may also be used as predicate adjectives: $\sqrt{\text{banj}}$ 'smell (n.)', may be used as a predicative adjective with the sense 'smelly', and $\sqrt{\text{merlem}}$ 'belly' may be used as a predicative adjective with the sense 'pregnant'.

- 8.84 *Ka-budjdji-banj.*
 MM 3-stinking-stink
 'It smells no good.'

8.3.3 Use of the benefactive

Rarely, a predicate adjective occurs with the benefactive applicative:

- 8.85 *Nani mak yi-na manimunak arri-marne-gele.*
 Dj MA:DEM also 2-seeIMP magpie.goose 1a-BEN-frightenNP
 'We're also frightened, you see, for the magpie geese.' (that they would be negatively affected by mining.)
- 8.86 *Na-ngale yi-marne-wok-yak?*
 I-who 2-BEN-language-PRIV
 'Who are you in a silence relationship with?'

A lexicalised predicate adjective with the benefactive is *marne-worrhworr* 'orphan' (e.g. *na-marne-worrhworr* 'boy orphan', Dj *bani-marne-worrhworrh* 'pair of orphans').

8.3.4 Use of adverbial-type affixes

Some predominantly verbal affixes of quantification and intensification such as *wernh-* 'properly', *bal-* 'away' and *djal-* 'only', may also be used before adjectives, as in *na-wernh-kimuk* [MA-properly-big] 'really big', *na-balh-kih-kimuk* [MA-away-INCEP-big] 'really really big' and *na-djal-gudji* [MA-just-one] 'just one'. Note that in these constructions the adjective is normally prefixed with the gender prefixes, rather than the third person pronominal series, though non-singular pronominal prefixes are not ungrammatical, as exemplified by *birri-djal-kudji* [3a-just-one] 'they were all alone'. Some sentence examples are:

- 8.87 *Al-djal-gudji ba-mirnde-bimbu-ni gun-gurlah.*
 Dj FE-just-one 3P-many-paint-PI IV-hide
 'Just the one woman by herself marked all the buffalo hides.'
- 8.88 *Yiman birri-kodj-yime-ng na-wern rerrih bininj,*
 E:D like 3aP-head-do-PP MA-many behind person
but nungkah na-djal-kudjih-kudji \emptyset -ngudj-bebme-ng.
 he MA-just-REDUP-one 3P-speed-emerge-PP
 'Everyone thought that there were lots of people there, but there was just him on his own doing it all.'

- 8.89 *Kun-wernh-waleng.*
 I IV-properly-south
 'It's a long way south.'

8.3.5 Use of tense

Of the five tense/aspect/mood categories available to verbs (imperative, non-past, past perfective, past imperfective and irrealis), the past imperfective (8.90–8.92) and irrealis (8.96) may be marked on non-verbal predicates by non-zero morphemes corresponding to the commonest allomorph of these categories used on verbs. Past non-verbal predicates use the suffix *-ni*, which is the commonest allomorph of the past imperfective; this is added directly to the end of the predicate. Interestingly, this form is used in those dialects which have lost the past imperfective category. Because of the lack of contrast with a past perfective category, I gloss this simply P (for past) when it occurs on non-verbal predicates.

Non-verbal predicates that are realis and non-past normally take no overt inflection, though it could of course be argued that they have a zero non-past inflection in the same way as verbs in conjugations 2, 7, 8 and 9 have a zero non-past.

Within the overall nominal class, the use of tense suffixation is commonest with adjectives (8.90, 8.91), but also found with nouns taking the privative (8.92).

- 8.90 *Yiga barri-gak-re-y barri-gele-ni.*
 Dj sometimes 3aP-night-go-PI 3aP-afraid-P
 'Sometimes they went by night and were afraid.'
- 8.91 *Ba-gudjeuk-warre-ni.*
 Dj 3P-rainy.season-bad-P
 'It was a bad wet season.'
- 8.92 *Ba-gukku-yak-ni.*
 Dj 3P-water-PRIV-P
 'There was no water.'

It is also found on time adverbs (8.93; other lexicalised examples are Dj *wolewolehni* 'yesterday' and *wolewolehbuyigahni* 'the day before yesterday'), possessive pronouns (8.94, 7.32) and nouns denoting life stages (8.95) and body parts (8.96):

- 8.93 *Bedda an-marne-yakwo-ng, gu-wak-ni card arri-dirrinj.*
 Dj they 3/1-BEN-finish.up-PP LOC-night-P card 1a-playPP
 'They cleaned me out (of money) when we played cards last night.'
- 8.94 *Na-yik-Badmardi, bu nuye-ni gun-red.*
 Dj MA-late-Badmardi REL his-P IV-country
 'The late Nabadmardi, it used to be his country (when he was alive).'
- 8.95 *An-bukka-bukka-ng ngadberre, na-wu gunj ngarri-yam-i, and na-wu*
 Dj 3/1a-ITER-show-PP us MA-REL kangaroo 1a/3-spear-PI MA-REL
maih arri-bu-ni barri-bu-ni bedda dabbarrabolk gorrogo, ngaye
 animal 1a/3-kill-PI 3a/3P-kill-PI they old.people before I

nga-wurdurd-ni galuk ngaban-na-ng.

1-child-P bye.and.bye 1/3pl-see-PP

'He taught us how to spear kangaroos, and how to kill animals. (as) the old people used to kill them in the old days, as I would see them as a child.'

8.96 *Yawkyawk bokenh na-wu bene-berd-djenj-ni, yimankek*

W young.girl two MA-REL 3ua-tail-fish-P CTRFAC

kun-dad-niwirrinj

IV-leg-IRR

'There were two young girls who had tails like fish, they didn't have legs.'

(lit. 'there were no legs') [KS 174]

Although the imperative suffix is not attested with nominal predicates, modal particles associated with imperative meanings are:

8.97 *Yuwn yi-kele!*

W PROHIB 2-afraid

'Don't be afraid!'

8.3.6 Use of aspectual reduplication

Non-verbal predicates sometimes undergo aspectual reduplication. For an example of iterative reduplication applied to the predicate adjective *banj* 'stinking', see 9.151.

8.3.7 Directional prefixation

Carroll's collection of Kunwinjku texts includes one example in which the 'hither' prefix *m-* is used, along with tense suffixation, with a predicate nominal:

8.98 *Ku-m-bininj-ni bu kerrngnge-ken.*

W 3P-hither-man-P SUB new-GEN

'He was a man at first.' [OP 424]

8.3.8 Use of complementising role markers

Rarely, nominal predicates take role suffixes to indicate the relative tense relations between two propositions:

8.99 *Ba-worrkimhm-i nga-yakki-ni-keno.*

MM 3P-work-PI 1-nothing-PI-when

'(My father) he used to work here before I existed (when I was nothing).'

9 *Tense, aspect and mood*

9.1 The tense, aspect and mood system

As in most Gunwinyguan languages, Bininj Gun-wok has a basic system of five inflectional suffixes for tense, aspect and mood, with tense confined to realis mood, and aspect confined to the past tense, as shown in Figure 9.1. In the easterly dialects (Kuninjku and Kune) the aspect contrast in the past is lost, with the perfective forms only being retained for all verbs except the stance verbs, which use the imperfective forms. Compensatory strategies for expressing past imperfective meanings in the eastern dialects are discussed in §9.3.4.1.

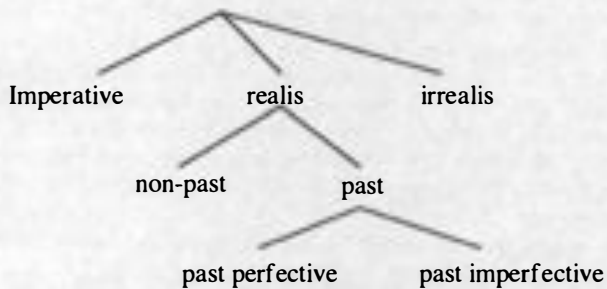


Figure 9.1: The inflectional system for tense/aspect/mood

These five major tense/aspect/mood categories yield a richer system of grammaticalised distinctions through combination with various preverbal particles such as *kaluk* 'bye and bye, later', *djama/minj/marrek* 'not', *bayun/yuwun* 'prohibitive' and *wardi/marndi* 'might', as well as through more minor derivational categories like the persistive and stance-inceptive, and a system of reduplication encoding three further aspectual possibilities — inceptive, iterative and extensive.

9.2 Paradigm of verbal TAM inflections

The forms representing the five TAM categories are organised into a paradigm of considerable conjugational irregularity. Again, this is typical of the Gunwinyguan languages, and a paradigm of comparable complexity probably characterised Proto Gunwinyguan (Alpher, Evans & Harvey, forthcoming). The paradigm is shown in Table 9.1; in addition to

TAM are shown the other suffixal categories conditioned by conjugation, namely the persistent, reflexive/reciprocal and gerundive. (For the classes, and conjugation numberings, refer back to the discussion of verb stem structure in §8.2, which contains fuller facts about conjugation membership.) The three right-hand columns show a number of gaps, due to the logical impossibility of using reflexive/reciprocals with classes containing intransitive verbs¹, and the non-productive nature of the persistent and gerundiving forms. Note that the symbol ‘+’ here means ‘add this suffix to the theme’ and ‘-’ means ‘delete the final vowel of the theme, then add this suffix’.

Since the same segments occur now as markers of one category and now of another (e.g. *ng* marks non-past of some conjugations, but past perfective of others; *yi* marks the past imperfective of some conjugations and the irrealis of others, and so on), it is not possible to break the paradigm down into conjugation markers plus TAM-markers proper, as can be done for many Pama-Nyungan languages (see Dixon 1980). It is striking that all TAM inflections end in a vowel or a nasal.

There is striking cross-dialectal uniformity in the organisation and forms of this paradigm, so that this aspect of the inflectional morphology is the most stable cross-dialectally (compare the very different transitive pronominal prefix paradigms discussed in §10.2, and the major difference in noun-class systems and gender agreement discussed in §5.5). Apart from the lack of an imperfective series in Kuninjku and Kune, the few differences are the following, corresponding to superscript numerals in the table:

- (1) Kuninjku has *dowimen* rather than *dowemen* for the imperative of ‘die’, and *dowimeninj* rather than *dowemeninj* for the irrealis (see Etherington & Etherington 1994:69).
- (2) Some younger speakers from the eastern Kuninjku area² form the past imperfective of the first two conjugations by adding *-ni* to the theme, giving forms like *name-ni* [make-PI], *yame-ni* [spear-PI] and *wurlhke-ni* [lit. fires-PI] instead of the standard *nami*, *yami* and *wurlhkeyi*; in other words, they have extended the commonest past imperfective ending *-ni* into conjugations 1 and 2a. While an alternative explanation for their Conjugation 1 forms is that they are just using the irrealis form (minus final *-nj*; see (3)), this would not hold for their Conjugation 2 forms which should on this account be *wurlhkemeni* rather than the attested *wurlhkeni*.
- (3) Particularly in Kuninjku, there is a tendency to drop the final *nj* from certain irrealis forms, for which it is shown here in brackets (e.g. *warlkkayinj ~ warlkkayi*).
- (4) As with (3), there is variation between *inj* and *i* endings here; Carroll (1995:447) has a rare example of the nasal-final ending, *durndeyinj*.
- (5) Toby Gangele (Gun-djeihmi) had *dayi* rather than *dangemeninj* for the irrealis of ‘stand up, come to a standstill’.
- (6) There is some difference in whether speakers build this irrealis form on the non-past or the imperative root: most have imperfective *rey*, but Minnie Alderson has *rayi*.
- (7) *Rayinj* is the standard form for the irrealis in Gun-djeihmi, and *rawinj* in Kuninjku, but Toby Gangele had *raiwinj*.
- (8) Some thematics have two gerundive forms: one for incorporation into causatives, and one for incorporation into associated motion or stance. See §12.1 for discussion and details.

¹ Of course collective readings of these verbs should be possible, as they are with such intransitive verbs as *dowe* ‘die’ and *kolu* ‘go down’ (see §11.3.1.2 for examples). However, they are totally unattested over the relatively large corpus, suggesting that the ability to extend this suffix productively to form collectives of intransitive verbs is limited.

² This characterisation may be too specific, since Etherington and Etherington simply give the alternative forms in their description of Kuninjku, without mentioning a geographical or age basis. Earlier sources, such as Carroll (1976), do not mention the variant forms, suggesting they are innovative.

Table 9.1: Paradigm of TAM inflections, arranged by conjugation class/thematic

conjug.	Thematic/verb	Imperative	Non-past	Past perf.	Past imperf.	Irrealis	RR/ COLL	Persistent
1	-me karrme 'have'	+n karrmen	+∅ karrme	+ng karrmeng	-i (red?) karrmu	+ninj karrmeninj	+rre- karrmerre-	-iyindi (djuhwiyindi)
2	2 -ke, we kinje 'cook' baye 'bite'	+men kinjemen bayemen	+∅ kinje baye	+ng kinjeng bayeng	+yi (red?) kinjeng bayeng	+meninj kinjemeninj bayemeninj	+rre- kinjerre- bayerre-	+ndi (djuhmikendi)
	2irr dowe 'die'	+men dowemen ¹	+n downen	+ng doweng	+ni downeni	+meninj dowemeninj ¹	+rre- dowerre-	+ndi dowendi
3	3 ka, na, wo warlka 'hide'	+∅ warlka	+n warlkan	+ng warlkkang	+ni warlkkani	+y (red?) warlkayinj (nj)	+rre- warlkarre-	+yindi warlkkayindi
	3irr ngu 'eat'	+∅ ngu	+n ngun	+ngeng ngeng	+ni nguni	+yi nguyinj	+rre- ngerre-	—
4	4a -wa djawa 'ask'	+∅ djawa	+n djawan	+m djawam	+ni djawani	+yi(nj) djawayinj	+rre- djawarre-	—
	4b bu bu 'hit'	+∅ bu	+n bun	-om bom	+ni buni	+ninj buninj	+rre- burre-	+yindi (djuwindi)
5	5a du, ru, -lu, -dju, do du 'growl'	+∅ du	+ng dung	+y duy	+ngi dungi	+yi(nj) duyinj (nj)	+rre- durre-	—
	5b -de, -dje durnde 'return'	+∅ durnde	+ng durndeng	+i durndi	+ngi durndengi	+yi(nj)⁴ durndeyinj (nj)	+rre- durnderre-	+indi (dudjindi)
	5c ma ma 'take'	+∅ ma	+ng meng	+ey mey	+ngi mengi	+yi meyinj	+rre- marre-	—
6	6a da da 'stand up'	+ngimen dangimen	+n/ngen dan/dangen	+nj/nginj danj/danginj	+nj/ngeni danj/dangeni	+ngémeninj dangémeninj ⁵	+ngerre- dangerre-	—
	6b -da warada 'be raised'	+∅ warada	+n waradan	+∅ waradi	+nj waradinj	+ngémeninj waradémeninj	—	—
7	7a di, -rri, ni di 'stand' ni 'sit'	+n din nin	+∅ di ni	+∅ di ni	+∅ (MM -wi) di ni (MM niwi)	+wirrinj diwirrinj niwirrinj	—	—
	7b -(yi)ndi 'persistent'	-(yi)dangimen	-(yi)ndi	-(yi)ndanj	-(yi)ndi	-(yi)ndangemeninj	—	—
	7c wokdi 'speak'	wokdin	wokdi	wokdinj	wokdi	wokdiwirrinj	—	—
8	yo yo 'lie'	-un yun	+ngen yungeng	+y/nginj yunginj	+y yuy	-uwirrinj yuwirrinj	—	—
9	re re	re	re	wam	re (red?) re	re (red?) re	—	—
10	-rre 'reflex/recip' burre- 'fight'	+men burremen	+n burren	-inj burinj	+ni burreni	+meninj burremeninj	—	—
11	-men warremen 'bad'	-mimen warremimen	-men warremen	-minj warreminj	-i warremeni	+meninj warremeninj	—	—
non-verbal	-∅ hahang 'hurt'	n/a	+∅ hahang	+ni hahangi	+ni hahangi	+niwirrinj hahangiwirrinj	—	—

9.3 Semantics of tense/aspect/mood categories

The main focus of this section is on the semantics of the five main TAM inflections, though grammaticalised combinations of these categories with the TAM inflections will be discussed where relevant. At the end of the section we consider two more restricted categories: the existence of alternative stem sets for 'assume stance' and 'maintain stance' for 'stand' and 'lie', and the persistive category, which occupies the same slot as the reflexive/reciprocal, and can be further inflected for the final tense/aspect/mood categories. The employment of the gerundive forms, which do not encode TAM but prepare the stem for incorporation into another verb, is discussed in Chapter 12. The treatment of negatives is only discussed in this section if they are not totally predictable combinations of negative particles plus the relevant verb inflection (e.g. negative imperatives, unlike positive imperatives, use the non-past rather than the imperative mood, so they are discussed here); a more general discussion of negation is in §13.7.

9.3.1 Imperative

This forms positive imperatives and hortatives. Positive imperatives simply combine the imperative TAM inflection with the appropriate pronominal prefix in either monovalent or divalent prefix combinations. There is no deletion of the subject pronominal prefix.³

9.1 *Nga-lod-ngu-n, kan-lod-wo!*
 I 1/3-bread-eat-NP 2/1-bread-giveIMP
 'I want to eat some bread, give me bread!'

9.2 *Yi-m-rai! Nguni-m-rai! Ngurri-m-rai!*
 Dj 2-hither-goIMP 2ua-hither-goIMP 2a-hither-goIMP
 'You (sg/dual/plural) come here!'

A continuous imperative, 'keep doing V', can be formed by conjoining *munguyh* to the imperative:

9.3 *Munguih yi-bunjhma, gun-marne-djare.*
 Dj repeatedly 2/3-kissIMP 3/2-BEN-likeNP
 'Keep kissing her, she likes you!'

First person hortatives can also be expressed with the imperative TAM inflection:

9.4 *Ngarrben-yame-n!*
 w 12/3pl-spear-IMP
 'Let's spear them (pl)!'

9.5 *Ngarr-wokdi-n!*
 Dj 12-talk-IMP
 'Let's you and me talk!'

³ The form *djal-bawo!* [just-leaveIMP] has been recorded in Manyallaluk Mayali for 'leave it'. At this stage it is not clear whether more generalised deletion of the subject prefix is allowed in Manyallaluk Mayali, or whether this is of a fixed expression.

In Kuninjku, clauses with *wardi* plus the imperative can also be used to make non-pushy suggestions, something like English 'just (v)' (see §13.11.3); *kab* 'what about' can also be combined with the imperative to mean 'what about Ving' (§13.11.5).

A more polite imperative can also be formed with the non-past (q.v.).

Third person hortatives are formed by combining the imperative TAM inflection with the past pronominal prefix series:

- 9.6 *Ba-ngu-n djenj!*
Dj 3P-eat-IMP fish
'That fish should bite (my bait)!'
- 9.7 *Yi-bawo ba-gurlah-dalehm-imen!*
Dj 2-leaveIMP 3P-hide-dry-IMP
'Leave the hides to dry!' (lit. 'Leave them, let the hides dry!')
- 9.8 *Barri-wern-m-inj, aban-widna-n, barri-ra-i!*
Dj 3aP-many-INCH-PP 1/3pl-dislike-NP 3aP-go-IMP
'There's a lot of people here, I don't like them, they should go!'
- 9.9 *Yi-bawo djang-no, yi-warrewo-n, ba-djal-yun!*
MM 2/3-leaveIMP dreaming-POSSD 2/3-wreck-NP 3P-just-lieIMP
'Leave the dreaming site alone, you're wrecking it, it should just stay there (untouched)!'
- 9.10 *Yi-marne-yime-n ku-m-ra-y konda.*
W 2/3-IMP-say-IMP 3P-hither-go-IMP here
'Tell him to come here!' [KH 21]

I have one Gun-djeihmi example of a hortative in which the pronominal prefix is non-past, combined with the future modal *galuk*:

- 9.11 *Ba-bo-ngune-ng, ga-rrowe-n, gukku an-wern gun-godj gabi-garrme,*
Dj 3P-liquid-eat-PP 3-die-NP water VE-much IV-head 3/3h-haveNP
ga-geyun galuk.
3-sleepIMP bye.and.bye
'He really hit the grog, he's out of it, all that grog has got him by the head, let him sleep.'

The imperative (plus past pronominal prefixes if the subject is third person) is also used to express obligation (translated as 'must' or 'have to'), either on its own (9.12, 9.13) or, in Kunwinjku, by combining the particle *mak* with the past pronominal series (9.14, 9.15). The imperative, when expressing obligation, urges immediate action; the non-past may also be used to express obligation (see below) when the emphasis is on general principles or behaviour rather than the need for a particular action to be carried out imminently.

- 9.12 *Nungka ø-ngu.*
W he 3P-eatIMP
'He must eat.'
- 9.13 *Bedda birri-yime-ng: "Nungka na-warre, ø-dowi-men!"*
W they 3aP-say-PP he MA-bad 3P-die-IMP
'They said: "He is evil, he must die!"'

- 9.14 *Ngad mak karri-bongu.*
 W we must 12a-drinkIMP
 'We must drink.'
- 9.15 *Ngaleng mak ø-keyu-n.*
 W she must 3P-lie.down-IMP
 'She must lie down.'

The 'just' verbal prefix *djal-* is sometimes also used to emphasise obligation:

- 9.16 *Bolkkime yi-djal-ay.*
 W now 2-just-goIMP
 'You have to go there now.' [GB]

Permission can also be expressed by the imperative, together with a declarative intonation pattern. The intonation pattern may be the only clue to the permission interpretation (9.17), or the particle *wanjh* 'then' may be placed before or after the verb (9.18, 9.19):

- 9.17 *Ngudda yi-ray.*
 W you 2-goIMP
 'You can go there.' [GB]
- 9.18 *Ma, gakkak guni-ra-y wanjh.*
 Dj well.then MM 2ua-go-IMP then
 'OK then, you and your mother's mother can go.' [EH]
- 9.19 *Ma, mawah wanjh yi-ga.*
 Dj well.then FF then 2-takeIMP
 'OK then, you can take your father's father.'

Prohibition can be expressed in Gun-djeihmi, by combining the particle *marrek* 'never' with the imperative (9.20). This is in contrast to the normal pattern of negative commands, which use a prohibitive particle plus the non-past (see below).

- 9.20 *Bu yi-bebme, marrek daluk yi-gadju.*
 Dj when 2-appearNP never woman 2-followIMP
 'When you come out (of the Garrwardi ceremony) you can't chase after women.'

9.3.2 Non-past

The non-past can have a present or future reading, and, in the present, a habitual or continuous reading. Thus *kayo konhda* can mean '(s)he sleeps here', '(s)he is sleeping here', or '(s)he will sleep here'. Nonetheless, the usual interpretation of the non-past is present tense:

- 9.21 *Ngal-yauk ga-gaihme.*
 Dj II-girl 3-cry.outNP
 'He's singing out for that young girl.'
- 9.22 *Ngarduk duruk ga-wulebme.*
 Dj my dog 3-swimNP
 'My dog is having a swim.'

Each of the above could, in context, be used with a future reading ('he will cry out for that young girl', 'my dog will have a swim'). Alternatively, the future can be shown explicitly by the future modal particle *kaluk* (reduced to *kalk* in Kune). *Kaluk* is always preverbal when signalling future; it may also be used with the more general meaning 'later', in any tense; with this second meaning its position is free (13.249).

9.23 *Ngoi, galuk nga-wayini.*

Dj OK FUT 1-singNP
'OK, I'll sing it to you.'

9.24 *Kaluk ø-wo-n / ø-marnbu-n birrkala.*

W FUT 1/2-give-NP 1/2-make-NP boomerang
'I'm going to give/make you a boomerang.'

Another way in which temporal reference is often clarified is by the use of the IMMEDIATE aspect prefix *-h-* (see §11.4.3 for fuller discussion) which typically implies a present continuous rather than a present generic or future reading. This use of the immediate prefix is more common in Kunwinjku than in Gun-djeihmi, and totally absent in Kune.

9.25 *Nga-re.* vs *Nga-h-re.*

Dj, w 1-goNP 1-IMM-goNP
'I (will) go.' 'I am going.'

9.26 *Nga-ngu-n.* vs *Nga-h-ngu-n.*

1-eat-NP 1-IMM-eat-NP
'I (will) eat.' 'I am eating.'

Negative generic statements, and negative past or future statements more generally, are expressed by a combination of the non-past TAM inflection with the particle *djama* (Dj, 9.27), *minj* (W, 9.28) or *marrek* (I, E, MM; 13.294). With second person or generic subjects this is often interpreted as meaning 'can't', that is as a general statement of withheld permission or impossibility (9.29).

9.27 *Barnangarra djama ngarri-na-n.*

Dj daytime not 1a-see-NP
'We don't see (possums) in the daytime.'

9.28 *Minj na-ngale ka-wardde-burriwe, ka-rrulk-bakke, man-me ka-ngu-n*

W not MA-who 3/3l-rock-throwNP 3/3l-tree-breakNP III-veg.food 3/3l-eat-NP

dja ka-bongu-n kukku ku-mekke kun-red.

and 3/3l-drink-NP water LOC-DEM IV-place

'Nobody is allowed to throw rocks, break trees, eat any fruit or drink water in this place.' [KS 156]

9.29 *Minj ngudda yi-re.*

W not you 2-goNP
'You can't go there.' [GB]

Generic prohibitives are expressed by the combination of *marrek* 'never' and the non-past (9.30–9.33).

- 9.30 *An-garre djamun, marrek daluk ga-na-n.*
 Dj III-sacred.dance forbidden NEG woman 3-see-NP
 'The sacred dances are forbidden, women can't see them.'
- 9.31 *Marrek walem kabirri-du-rre-n, kakkak-wi kabirri-du-rre-n aa.*
 I NEG south 3a-swear-RR-NP MMB-only 3a-swear-RR-NP yeah
 (In reply to the question 'in the south, do they joke with their nakurrng?')
 'In the south they don't/can't swear. Only with grandkin (MMB/ZDC), yeah.'
 (Garde 1996:143)
- 9.32 *Marrek nga-ngun wardi nga-ngordom-en.*
 I NEG 1/3-eatNP might.be 1-become.crippled-NP
 I cannot eat that food otherwise I might become crippled.
- 9.33 *Marrek ngurri-djurlhme mudda, wardi ngun-baye na-barng.*
 E NEG 2a-touchNP spider maybe 3/2(a)-biteNP MA-dangerous
 'You mustn't touch spiders, or they might bite you, they're dangerous.'

Negative imperatives are expressed by the combination of the non-past and the negative imperative particle *bayun* (Dj), *yu(wu)n* (w, I) or *marrek* (E):

- 9.34 *Bayun gan-yam-e!*
 Dj don't 2/1-spear-NP
 'Don't spear me!'
- 9.35 *Yun yi-ganj-ngu-n!*
 w don't 2-meat-eat-NP
 'Don't eat the meat!'
- 9.36 *Balang yun kan-wok-dahme.*
 Balang don't 2/1-language-answer.backNP
 'Balang, don't answer back!'
- 9.37 *Marrek yi-birli-ma-ng kun-rak, wardi yi-ru-ng na-barng.*
 E NEG 2-flame-pick.up-NP IV-fire might 2-burn-NP MA-dangerous
 'Don't touch the fire, you might get burned!'

The non-past can be used as a polite imperative. It may be used alone (9.38), or even more politely in combination with *gare* 'perhaps, maybe' (9.39).

- 9.38 *Ngayi nga-kudji kan-ka-n!*
 E:D me 1-one 2/1^a-take-IMP
 'Take me!'
- 9.39 *Gunak gare yi-yerrng-ma-ng, gun-boi.*
 Dj fire maybe 2-firewood-get-NP IV-cooking.stone
 'Maybe you could go and get some firewood and cooking stones.'

Apprehensive clauses are expressed by combining the non-past with the modal particle *marndi* (w, 9.40) or, in the other dialects, *wardi* 'might, "bye-and-bye"' (9.41). Kuningku also has the variant *warde* (9.42). Speakers of Gun-djeihmi sometimes use *marndi* as well. In Kuningku, *wardi* is used in the ordinary register and *marndi* in Kun-kurrng. As these

examples illustrate, apprehensive clauses may be independent (9.40–9.42), or combine with another clause advising on preventive action (9.43).

9.40 *Marndi yi-manka-n.*

W might 2-fall-NP
'You might fall.'

9.41 *Na-marrgon wardi an-do-ng.*

Dj 1-lightning might 3/1-strike-NP
'Lightning might strike me.'

9.42 *Yi-barnname-n warde duruk ka-ngun.*

I 2-put.up.high-IMP might dog 3-eatNP
'Hang it up otherwise the dog will eat it.'

The non-past can also express obligation (9.43, 9.44). When the subject is first person, the particle *wanjh* 'then' is also used before (9.45) or after (9.46) the verb. Obligation can also be expressed by the combination of the particle *mak* with the imperative (§9.3.1) or the particles *wanjh* or *mak* with the irrealis (§9.3.5).

9.43 *Balanda ngun-djawa-n.*

Dj white.person 3/2-ask-NP
'The white man has to ask you.'

9.44 *Yi-djawa-n.*

W 2-ask-NP
'You have to ask.'

9.45 *Ngaye wanjh nga-re werrkwerrk.*

W I must 1-goNP quickly
'I must go now.'

9.46 *Nga-warrhke wanjh.*

W 1-dropNP must
'I'll have to drop it.'

Permission is expressed by combining the adverb *kamak* 'good, OK' with a clause in the non-past (9.47, 9.48). This is the normal way of saying 'you may X' or asking 'may I X?'

9.47 *Kamak yi-wok-ma-ng.*

W OK 2-language-get-NP
'You can tape this'/'It's OK for you to tape this.'

9.48 *Wamud, gamak ngani-re gu-mekke?*

Dj [subsection] OK 1ua-goNP LOC-DEM
'Wamud, may we two to go there?'

The non-past is used for the complements of perception verbs, whenever the perceived event actually occurred, with the time reference being given by the tense on the perception verb itself: one says 'I saw him, he swims' for 'I saw him swimming', rather than 'I saw him, he was swimming'. (Such constructions are discussed in §14.2.2.1.)

9.3.3 Past perfective

In Kune this is the only past category, the past imperfective having been lost. In the remaining dialects the past perfective is opposed to the past imperfective, with the choice between made along the following main dimensions: perfective for events that are punctual, completed, of current relevance, or foregrounded; imperfective for actions that are repeated or habitual, long-lasting, uncompleted, or used to frame another action. There are also a few verbs whose meaning is significantly different in the two aspects. We now discuss the main senses of the past perfective in detail; those of the imperfective are discussed in the next section, along with alternative strategies available for expressing these meanings in Kune.

Most typically the past perfective is used to refer to a single, completed past action.

- 9.49 *Bi-mok-garu-i, bi-nud-gorrhge-ng. Gun-nud ba-rrolga-ng an-ege.*
 Dj 3/3hP-sore-dig-PP 3/3hP-pus-burst-PP IV-pus 3P-get.up-PP VE-that
 'He dug in his sore and burst his pus out. All the pus rushed out.'

But the action may persist a long time, as long as the episode is completed:

- 9.50 *Galukborrk ba-werrhme-ng, gorrogo ba-rrolga-ng wanjh.*
 Dj long.time 3/3P-rake-PP before 3P-get.up-PP then
 'She raked them a long time, before suddenly he flew up.'

Where the effects of the completed action persist into the present, the past perfective may translate an English present perfect or even a simple present:

- 9.51 *Ba-rayek-m-inj.*
 Dj 3P-hard-INCH-PP
 'It has frozen.'

- 9.52 *An-barndarr ba-nguibo-m.*
 Dj III-turkey.bush 3P-flower-PP
 'The turkey bush is in flower (lit. has flowered).'

- 9.53 *∅-Dung-mirrhmirrhme-ng.*
 W 3P-sun-get.sharp-PP
 'It's hot.' (lit. 'The sun has got sharp.')

- 9.54 *Bolkki kikkik birri-marne-yime-rr-inj, kabirri-na-n narin.*
 E now birds 3aP-BEN-say-RR-PP 3a-see-NP snake

Kabirri-marne-mulewa-rr-en.

3a-BEN-inform-RR-NP

'Now all the birds have agreed to warn one another if they see a snake.'

(Given as conclusion to a myth.)

The past perfective may combine with the time adverbial *bolkgime* 'now' with the meaning 'have just Ved':

- 9.55 *Bolkgime ngarri-m-wam.*
 Dj now 1a-hither-goPP
 'We've just come.'

Possible, likely, past actions are expressed by the combination of *gare* 'maybe' with the past perfective.

- 9.56 *Njamed, djirndi, gare ba-yi-warlkga-rr-inj njanjuk, gu-mege*
 Dj whatsit quail perhaps 3P-COM-hide-RR-PP something LOC-there
ganjdji.
 underneath
 'That whatsit, quail, might have hidden himself away with it or something,
 under (the leaves) there.'

In Kuninjku and Kune, with their lack of a formally distinct past imperfective, the past perfective is also used for durative actions that would in the other dialects be expressed with the imperfective. An example is the following rendition of the same text in two dialects; the Kuninjku version was given as a translation of an original Kunwinjku text. In the Kuninjku version the Kunwinjku imperfective forms *benebalhrey* 'they two were going along' and *bene-kuk-kani* 'they two carried the body' are rendered into Kuninjku with the forms *bene-h-wam* (the immediate *h* here is marking the clause as subordinate) and *bene-kuk-kang*. These are past perfective forms in the other dialects, though of course, strictly speaking, they should simply be glossed 'past' in Kune due to the lack of an aspectual distinction. For this reason I gloss them P(P) in this example, but elsewhere in the grammar I will continue to gloss them PP for the sake of consistency with other dialects.

- 9.57 *Bu bene-balh-re-y na-mekbe duruk ø-woh-nome-ng na-kudji*
 W SUB 3uaP-along-go-PI MA-DEM dog 3/3P-part-smell-PP MA-one
na-kimuk-ken kalawan wanjh bene-bom bene-kuk-me-y
 MA-big-GEN goanna then 3uaP-killPP 3uaP-body-pick.up-PP
bene-kuk-kani.
 3uaP-body-carry-PI
 'As the two of them were going along, that dog smelt a big goanna along the
 way. Then they killed it and picket it up, and carried it along.'
- 9.58 *Bu bene-h-wam namekke duruk ø-who-nome-ng na-kudji*
 SUB 3uaP-IMM-goP(P) MA-DEM dog 3/3P-part-smell-P(P) MA-one
na-kimuk-ken kalawan wanjh bene-bom bene-kuk-me-y
 MA-big-GEN goanna then 3uaP-killPP 3uaP-body-pick.up-P(P)
bene-kuk-ka-ng.
 3uaP-body-carry-P(P) (translation as 9.57)

Negation of the past perfective is expressed by the irrealis plus the particle *djama* (Dj) *minj* (W, I) or *marrek* (E) (see §9.3.5).

9.3.4 Past imperfective

The past imperfective is used for a variety of past actions that are uncompleted, neutralised, repeated, drawn out or backgrounded. Such clauses are negated with *djama* 'not' in Gun-djeihmi and *minj* in Kunwinjku.

Habitual, repeated past actions or past states are typically but not necessarily accompanied by appropriate time adverbials with meanings like 'before, in ancient times, in the olden days'. The past imperfective extends to purpose complements of habitual verbs, as with 'to

get cane grass' in 9.62. For a whole text, reporting past ritual practices, see the Morak story (Text 4 in Appendix 1).

- 9.59 *Al-wanjujuk gorrogo al-gohbanj ba-rri ba-yim-i. Wou, ba-re-i*
 Dj II-emu before II-old.person 3P-stand 3-say-PI yes 3-go-PI
an-djai, ba-bu-ni. Ba-re-i ba-ngolu-ngi ba-rro-ngi
 III-cane.grass 3/3P-hit-PI 3P-go-PI 3/3P-roast.on.coals-PI 3/3P-pound-PI

gu-warde.

LOC-rock

'Long ago, Emu was an old woman, it is said. Yes, she would go off to get cane grass. She used to go and roast it, and pound it on a rock.'

- 9.60 *Ngaye daluk gorrogo ba-ganj-ginje-yi.*
 Dj I woman before 3P-meat-cook-PI
 'My wife used to cook for me.'

- 9.61 *Ngaye gorrogo an-bang nga-gurrm-i, gun-gurlah a-ma-ngi.*
 Dj I before III-poison 1-put.down-PI IV-pelt 1/3-pick.up-PI
 'In the old days I used to put down baits, to get (dingo) pelts.'

The past imperfective can also be used to refer to a single, drawn-out event, emphasising its duration (e.g. the carrying along of the goanna's body in 9.57), or the number of sub-acts involved (e.g. the many bamboo stems cut in 9.64). It need not imply that the event was not completed, if the emphasis was on how long the event was lasting. In 9.65 the eating of the fruit was complete, but took a long time; and in 9.66 the rain had finished, but went on for a long time, as evidenced by the large pool of water on the road.

- 9.62 *Nga-yawa-ni djama a-ngalge-meninj.*

Dj 1/3-look.for-PI not 1/3-find-IRR
 'I looked for him for a long time but didn't find him.'

- 9.63 *A-djobge-i anabbarru malamalayi.*

Dj 1/3-cut-PI buffalo morning
 'I was cutting up buffalo all morning.'

- 9.64 *Man-ekke man-kole birri-djobke-ni.*

w VE-DEM III-bamboo 3aP-cut-PI
 'They've really chopped a lot of bamboo (only two stems are left standing).'

- 9.65 *Ba-ngu-ni wakwak.*

Dj 3/3P-eat-PI crow
 'The crow ate all the fruit.'

- 9.66 *Na-gimuk ba-djakdu-i an-djeuk ... ba-djakdu-i.*

Dj MA-big 3-rain-PP III-rain 3-rain-PI
 'It's rained a lot ... It's really been raining.'

The past imperfective is frequently used in backgrounding 'while' clauses, which may be marked with the subordinator *bu* 'when' (9.57, 9.58, 9.67) but are usually marked as a background clause simply by intonation (9.68, 9.69).

- 9.67 *Bu anabbarru barri-darnh-bebme-rre-ni, barri-darnh-bu-ni.*
 Dj when buffalo 3aP-close-appear-RR-PI 3aP-close-kill-PI
 'When the buffalo stampeded up close, they'd kill them.'
- 9.68 *Barri-h-ngu-ni djilidjili, gorlobbarra barri-na-ng.*
 Dj 3aP-IMM-eat-PI cane.grass kangaroo 3aP-see-PP
 'As they were eating cane grass, they saw a kangaroo.'
- 9.69 *Ba-ngarre-werrhm-i gun-marlaworr, gun-boi ba-ngune-ng.*
 Dj 3P-scrub-scratch-PI IV-leaf IV-cooking.stone 3P-eat-PP
 'While she was scratching around in the leaves, she ate a cooking stone.'

In Manyallaluk Mayali the clitic =*wi*, whose basic meaning is 'only' (§13.8.3) has developed as a marker of past imperfective with some verbs, particularly those without a formally distinct past imperfective, such as stance verbs. An example is *barri-niwi* 'they used to sit' (< 'they just sat (around)'). The full range of verbs in which this has happened has yet to be investigated.

9.3.4.1 Expressing repetition and duration in the eastern dialects

As noted, the eastern dialects (Kuninjku and Kune) lack the past imperfective category. They make use of a number of devices for expressing the relevant semantic contrasts:

- (a) They may simply make use of the perfective, with no formal marking of duration or repetition, as in the last verb in 9.58 above.
- (b) Particularly with monosyllabic verbs, and durational meaning, they employ prosodic vowel lengthening on the past form (e.g. *birriwaaaaam* 'they kept going', *birriniiii* 'they sat for a long time'; see Text 6.5, 70). This also occurs in other dialects — for an MM example, see Text 3.28.
- (c) Use of serial verb constructions with *ni* 'sit' and *re* 'go' (e.g. *I doweng ni* '(s)he was sick (for a long time)' [lit. she.was.sick/died she.sat], *I nganedurrinj nganewam* 'we used to swear at each other' [lit. we.swore.at.each.other we.went]). See §14.5 for fuller examples.
- (d) Extended use of the irrealis to cover habitual past actions:

- 9.70 *Kuybuk na-mekke, baleh ngarri-yime, man-kuybuk, man-limbidj,*
 E:N banksia.dentata MA-DEM how 1a-do III-banksia III-banksia.dentata
sometime ngarri-karrme kun-ridme ngarri-dowe-n, toothache, korroko
 1a-getNP IV-tooth 1a-die-NP before
birri-kinje-ng, hot one, kun-ridme birri-kinjé-meninj and ø-dowé-meninj,
 3aP-burn-PP IV-tooth 3a/3P-burn-IRR 3P-die-IRR
marrek bi-kadju-yi pain ø-yime-ninj, na-mak, ø-mak-m-eninj
 NEG 3/3hP-chase-IRR 3P-do-IRR MA-good 3P-good-INCH-IRR

nungan man-kuybuk.

heEMPH III-banksia.dentata

'That *banksia dentata* cone, what we do, with that *man-kuybuk* or *man-limbidj*, sometimes, if we get a really bad toothache. In the olden days they'd set fire to one of the banksia cones, and burn the tooth with it, and the pain would go, it'd be OK, it'd get better. That's the *banksia dentata*.'

- 9.71 *Yarlang ya yarlang birri-name-ninj birri-borrkke-meninj bungkurk-kah*
E:N ordinary yeah ordinary 3a/3P-make-IRR 3aP-dance-IRR [style]-LOC

birri-borrkke-meninj o djal kun-borrk-kah birri-borrkke-meninj.

3aP-dance-IRR or just [style]-LOC 3aP-dance-IRR

'Ordinary ones (body decorations) yeah, they'd put it on and dance in the *bungkurk* style or in the *kun-borrk* style.'

9.3.4.2 Lexicalised aspectual differences

With a few verbs, referring to states whose onset is highly salient, the perfective and imperfective forms differ more substantially in meaning, to the point where the Kunwinjku dictionary lists at least some as separate entries. In each case the perfective profiles the transition into the state, and the imperfective the state itself.

Thus with the verb *wakwa* 'lose, not know, be ignorant of', the perfective is typically translated as 'forgot', as in *ngawakwam* 'I forgot — I lost my knowledge of it' (9.72), while the imperfective translates as '(formerly) was ignorant, didn't know before': *ngabolkwakwani* 'I didn't know this place before (but now I do)'. *Downen*, which can mean either 'be sick, be in pain' or 'die', is associated with the first meaning in the imperfective, and the second in the perfective: *w downeni* '(s)he was sick', *doweng* '(s)he died'. With other TAM values either sense is possible (e.g. *wardi kabirri-downen* 'they might get sick' or 'they might die').

- 9.72 *Nga-ngey-burrbu-ni, bolkkime nga-ngey-wakwa-m.*

W 1/3-name-know-PI now 1/3-name-be.ignorant-PP

'I used to know the name, but now I've forgotten it.' (i.e. entered a state of not knowing)

9.3.5 Irrealis

This is used for a variety of situations whose status is less than fully real: negated past sentences, past sentences with the meaning 'nearly' or 'about to', expressions of wish or obligation, hypotheses, certain types of yes/no questions (§13.8), and complements of 'desire' predicates. As discussed in §9.3.4.1 it is also used in eastern dialects to cover repeated past actions.

Previous descriptions of Kunwinjku have used a range of labels for this category. Oates (1964) and Carroll (1976) use the term 'past negative', which is too specific because the category need not be negative, and Etherington and Etherington (1994) use the term 'indefinite'. I prefer the term 'irrealis' since all senses have in common the reduced reality status of the proposition.

Negated past sentences combine the irrealis with a negative particle: Dj *djama* (9.73), *minj* in W (9.74) and I (9.75), and E *marrek* (9.76). (*Marrek* can also be used in Dj, W and I but has the more emphatic meaning 'never' in those dialects):

- 9.73 *Ngaye ngarduk duruk yahwurdurd-ni, djama a-bu-yi.*
 Dj I my dog small-PI not 1/3-hit-IRR
 'When my dog was small I never hit him.'
- 9.74 *Minj njale mak bene-bekka-yi.*
 W not what too 3uaP-hear-IRR
 'They did not hear anything.' [OP 395]
- 9.75 *Yimarnek nga-rrulubu-yi, la ø-bid-deyhmeng, minj ø-dowkme-ninj.*
 I CTRFAC 1/3-shoot-IRR but 3-hand-clickPP not 3P-go.off-IRR
 'I tried to shoot but the trigger just clicked without it (the gun) discharging.'
- 9.76 *ø-Wam, ø-wam, marrek ø-bengka-yi yungkih kamarrang rowk*
 E 3P-goPP 3P-goPP not 3P-know-IRR ahead [subsection] all
bini-marne-warlkka-rr-inj.
 3ua/3P-BEN-wait-RR-PP
 'And so off he went but he didn't know that two men of Kamarrang subsection were ahead hiding from him.'
- 9.77 *Marrek nga-yame-ninj gornobbolo.*
 Dj never 1-spear-IRR wallaby
 'I never speared a wallaby.' [EH]

The meaning 'nearly' or 'about to' is expressed by the irrealis inflection alone:

- 9.78 *A-rrowkme-ninj / a-bu-yi.*
 Dj 1/3-shoot-IRR 1/3-hit-IRR
 'I nearly shot it/nearly hit it.'
- 9.79 *Na-djik ba-m-bebme-ng gu-mege, wanjh bi-berdme-ninj,*
 Dj I-tawny.frogmouth 3P-hither-appear-PP LOC-there then 3/3P-cover-IRR
barri-yame-ng, barri-burnname-ng.
 3aP-spear-PP 3aP-stop-PP
 'Tawny Frogmouth appeared there, and just as he was about to cover(a would-be victim with stringybark), they speared him and stopped him.'
- 9.80 *Yi-man.ga-yi.*
 Dj 2-fall-IRR
 'You nearly fell.'
- 9.81 *Nga-kayhme-ninj glass ngarduk.*
 E 1-call.out-IRR glasses my
 'I was about to call out for my glasses (that's why I wanted the tape turned off).'

The meaning 'almost finished' is expressed by the prefix *-bal-guyin-* 'almost' plus the irrealis in Gun-djeihmi; other dialects use comparable prefixes with the past suffixes (§11.4.4).

- 9.82 *A-bal-guyin-yakwo-yi.*
 Dj 1-away-almost-finish-IRR
 'I've almost finished.'

Unsuccessful attempts are expressed by combining the irrealis with the modal counterfactual particle *yimankek* in W (9.83) or I (9.84). Kuninjku also has the variant *yimaneke* (9.85). See §13.11 for further discussion.

- 9.83 *Yimankek ø-lobme-ninj, dja na-yahwurd.*
 W CTRFAC 3P-run-IRR but MA-small
 '(The child) tried to run, but he was too small.'

- 9.84 *Nungka yimankek ø-dulubu-yi bulikki, dja burrkyak-ni.*
 I he CTRFAC 3P-shoot-IRR bullock but nothing-PI
 'He tried to shoot the bullock, but nothing.'

- 9.85 A: *Yimaneke kandi-bawo-yi, kadjin ngad ngarrben-marne-yime.*
 I CTRFAC 3a/1a-leave-IRR parent-in-law we 1a/3pl-BEN-sayNP

B: *Daluk kandi-wo-yi.*
 woman 3a/1a-give-IRR

A: 'They should leave off the swearing and joking, we're their in-laws.'

B: 'They're supposed to give us wives.' [Garde 1996]

Alternatively, the attempt clause may merely use the irrealis, followed by a subsequent clause containing the verb *barabu* 'try but fail' (9.86). *Yimaneke* plus the irrealis can also express 'supposed to', giving rules that should be followed but are in fact being broken (9.85).

- 9.86 *Birri-doh-dombu-yi, larrh, birri-barabo-m.*
 E 3aP-INCEP-extinguish-IRR mothing 3aP-try.but.fail-PP
 'They tried unsuccessfully to put the fire out.'

The irrealis is likewise sometimes used after the hearsay particle *djaying* (§13.11.2):

- 9.87 *Djaying ba-ra-yinj gurih.*
 Dnj supposedly 3P-go-IRR there
 'I thought he was going to go that way (but he didn't).'

Wishes, or desirable but unrealised actions may be expressed as the irrealis complement of an overt desire verb, implicating non-fulfilment:

- 9.88 *A-djare-ni a-bu-yi.*
 Dj 1-want-PI 1/3-kill-IRR
 'I wanted to kill him.'

- 9.89 *Ngaye nga-djare-ni nga-na-yi.*
 Dj I 1-want-PI 1-see-IRR
 'I wanted to see him.'

Alternatively, they may be expressed simply as an unadorned irrealis clause:

- 9.90 *Nga-bongu-yi.*
 W 1-drink-IRR
 'I wish I could have a drink.'

- 9.91 *Ngarr-na-yinj* \emptyset -*wolewoleh-m-eninj*, *ngarr-wok-yi-bid-bidbu-yi*.
 I 1a-see-IRR 3P-afternoon-INCH-IRR 1a-language-COM-ITER-go.up-IRR
 'We should have a look in the afternoon, talking as we climb up.'
- 9.92 *Nga-rrulubu-yi*.
 W 1-shoot-IRR
 'I wish I could shoot it.'
- 9.93 *Bi-ma-yi* *Na-burlanj gun-mak*.
 E:D 3/3hP-marry-IRR MA-[skin] IV-good
 'She should have married straight, to a Naburlanj man.'
- 9.94 *Yi-rrulubu-yi*.
 E:N 2/3-shoot-IRR
 'You should have shot it.'

Hypothetical situations may also be expressed by the irrealis:

- 9.95 *Kunukka korroko-ni kunubewu ngandi-kom-dadjke-meninj, dja bolkkime*
 W IV:DEM before-P maybe 3a/1-neck-cut-IRR CONJ now
man-kerrnge man-karre.
 VE-new III-law
 'Under the old-time law I would have been hanged, but this was the new law.'
 [KS 254]

A number of other unrealised complements, of such verbs as 'ask', 'forget' and 'try for', take the irrealis. (These are discussed and exemplified in §14.2.2.4.)

The irrealis also appears in counterfactual conditional clauses (conditionals are discussed more generally in §14.4.4). In a counterfactual conditional both the protasis and the apodosis are in the irrealis. These may have either a present (9.96) or a past counterfactual (9.97, 9.98) meaning.

- 9.96 *Bu nga-burru-bu-yi Kunwinjku, wanjh nga-wokdi-wirrinj*.
 W if 1-know-IRR [language] then 1-talk-IRR
 'If I knew Kunwinjku I would speak it.'
- 9.97 *Bu \emptyset -na-yi bulikki, wanjh \emptyset -dulubu-yi*.
 W if 3P-see-IRR bullock then 3P-shoot-IRR
 'If he had seen the bullock then he would have shot it.'
- 9.98 *Bolkkime karri-yu-wirrinj, or tomorrow, ngarr-ayi ngarr-ma-yi*
 E:D now 12a-sleep-IRR 12-goIRR 12-get-IRR
kun-djahkorl and \emptyset -bukka-yi nga-borledme-ninj nga-wurlhke-meninj.
 IV-firestick 1/2a-show-IRR 1-twirl-IRR 1-make.fire-IRR
 'If we'd all stayed here longer, we could have gone to get a firestick and I'd have shown you how I rub firesticks together to make a fire.'

More unusually, the irrealis can be used in the protasis and the non-past in the apodosis (in this case jokingly juxtaposing the hypothetical nature of the first part with the humorous certainty of the second part):

- 9.99 *Daluk yi-ngu-yi, yiben-kadju-ng ba yiben-dedjdjo-ng.*
 woman 2/3-“eat”-IRR 2/3pl-follow-NP so 2/3pl-fuck-NP
 ‘If you want to have sex with a woman you follow them around to fuck them.’
 (Garde 1996:137–138)

Obligation may also be expressed by combining the modal particles *mak* or *orwanjh*, the past prefix set, and the irrealis:

- 9.100 *Nungka wanjh ø-ra-yi werkwerrk.*
 W he then 3P-GO-IRR quickly
 ‘He should go soon.’
- 9.101 *Nungka mak ø-ra-yi.*
 W he must 3P-GO-IRR
 ‘He must go.’
- 9.102 *Ngaleng mak ø-ra-yi ø-warlbu-yi man-me.*
 W she must 3P-GO-IRR 3P-hunt-IRR III-food
 ‘She must go hunting for food.’

Finally, the irrealis gets extended to express habitual repetition in eastern dialects that have lost the past imperfective (see §9.3.4.1).

9.3.6 *Persistent -(yi)nd-*

This suffix has not been described in previous publications on the language, despite appearing in all dialects (though typically recurring with the same handful of verbs). It consists of two parts: a persistent morpheme *-(yi)nd-*, which follows the stem (in the same slot as the reflexive/reciprocal), and a tense/aspect/mood suffix, on a similar pattern to the ‘stand’ verbs *di-* and *da-* (see Figure 9.1). Example 9.103 illustrates the non-past form, 9.104 the past perfective, 9.105 the irrealis, and 9.106 the past imperfective (formally identical with the non-past, like other verbs in this conjugation).

- 9.103 *Gorlobbarr ga-rrume-djuhm-iyind-i.*
 Dj wallaroo 3-tail-be.in.water-PERSIS-NP
 ‘The antelope wallaroo is dangling its tail in the water.’
- 9.104 *Ba-djal-wam mimbi ba-djuhm-iyind-anj.*
 Dj 3P-just-gOPP alive 3P-be.in.water-PERSIS-PP
 ‘It kept going around and multiplying in the water.’
- 9.105 *Jesus ø-yimih-yim-i kun-djal-wern-duninh bu kuningkunu djurra*
 W 3P-REDUP-say-PI IV-just-many-REALLY SUB that book
kore minj ø-bimbu-yind-angimeninj.
 LOC not 3P-write-PERSIS-IRR
 ‘Jesus did many things, so many they couldn’t all be written down in this book.’
 [God Kanbengdayhke Kadberre; John 21.25]
- 9.106 *Bad wurdurd-no – ragul, gorlobbok, goddoukgoddouk,*
 [but] children-POSSD red.eye.pigeon peaceful.dove bar.shouldered.dove

gikgik, njanjuk-njanjuk maih na-wern-gen, barri-marridowe-nd-i.
 honeyeater all.sorts bird MA-many-GEN 3aP-be.hungry-PERSIS-PI
 'But all her children — the red-eye pigeon, the peaceful dove, the bar-shouldered
 dove, the brown honeyeater, all sorts of birds — they were constantly hungry.'

Semantically, the persistive expresses the persistence of the designated state or (if the verb designates a change of state) of the result.⁴ In 9.103 the kangaroo is keeping its tail in the water for a long time, in 9.106 the children are hungry over a long period, in 9.107 the cheeky yams are left in the water for a long time to leach out the toxins (this typically takes several days), and in 9.108 the meat is subjected to prolonged cooking in the ground oven.

9.107 *Birri-djuhke-ng kun-djabarrk. Birri-barlke-ng man-bu man-me wanjh*
 W 3aP-make.wet-PP IV-bag 3aP-fill-PP VE-DEM III-food then

birri-djuhke-ng ø-djuhmi-djuhmi-yind-i.

3aP-make.wet-PP 3P-ITER-be.in.water-PERSIS-PI

'They put (the cheeky yams) into a dilly bag and put it in the creek to soak (while the toxins leached out).' [KS 190]

9.108 *Bi-marne-bebme-ng bi-na-ng ø-yerrka-ng nungan, wanjh kun-kanj*
 W 3/3h-BEN-appear-PP 3/3h-see-PP 3P-sit-PP him then IV-meat

ø-kerribom (namarnde kun-kanj). ø-kerrih-kerribu-yind-i.

3/3-roastPP devil IV-meat 3(3?)-ITER-roast-PERSIS-PI

'(The devil) appeared and he saw him sitting there, then he cooked the meat in a ground oven, devil meat. It cooked in the ground oven for a long time.'

Where the verb is transitive, the persistive involves a change of diathesis: the persistive form becomes intransitive, and its subject is the patient (i.e. the object of the basic verb). Thus in 9.109 the transitive verb *balhme* 'to block off' (which normally takes the blocker as the subject and the place blocked off as the object and is exemplified with this argument structure in the second line) forms the persistive *balhmiyindi*, an intransitive verb which takes the place blocked off as its subject. Similar remarks apply to the underlying transitive verbs *bimbun* 'write' in 9.105, *dukka* 'tie up' in 9.110 and *marnbun* 'make' in 9.111. (For a further example with *dudje* 'bury' see 13.143.)

9.109 *Birri-na-ng ka-balhm-iyind-i birri-durnd-i ku-red*
 W 3aP-see-PP 3-close.off-PERSIS-NP 3aP-return-PP LOC-camp

bindi-marne-mulewa-m, "Nakka birri-rurk-balhme-ng ngarri-na-ng".

3a/3pIP-BEN-inform-PP MA:DEM 3aP-cave-block-PP 1a-see-PP

(Some people have been walled up in a cave by an evil spirit; and some children come to find them:) 'They saw that it was blocked up, and went home, telling them (their family): "We've seen that they've blocked up the cave".' [KS 222]

9.110 *Ka-rrukka-yind-i.*

3-tie.up-PERSIS-NP

'He's tied up.'

⁴ Note that Carroll (1995:413) translates a comparable form *kabirrihdjuhmiyindi kuronj* as 'they stay in the water' in one of his texts.

- 9.111 *Kun-debi bu karri-wokdi-h minj karri-ngeybu-rr-en kunuka*
 W IV-triangular.kin.terms REL 12a-talk-IMM not 12a-name-RR-NP that
man-karre kadberre ø-marnbuyi-nd-anj.
 III-custom our 3P-make-PERSIS-PP
 'Kun-debi is when we talk without naming each other, that is how our custom has
 always been (i.e. that's how our custom was made).' [Manakgu & Djayhgurrnga]

In many cases this patient-focussed diathesis is best interpreted as a medio-passive or reflexive. The persistive form of the transitive verb *warlkka* 'hide' in 9.112 could be translated either as 'were hidden' or 'had hidden themselves'. Use of the reflexive form *birriwarlkkarrinj* 'they hid (themselves)' would also be possible here but would emphasise the act of hiding rather than the resultant state.

- 9.112 *Minj ngad ngarrben-na-n, bedda birri-warlkka-yind-i kore*
 W NEG we 1a/3pl-see-NP they 3a-hide-PERSIS-PI LOC
ku-wardde-rurk.
 LOC-rock-cave
 'We couldn't see them, because they were hidden in the rock.' [KS 90]

Similarly, in 9.113 the reflexive verb *garri-djuhgerren* 'we are making ourselves wet' would be possible, but would focus on the activity, whereas *djuhgendi* focusses on the resultant state of being in the water for a good long cool off. Note that here, besides the transitive *djuhge* 'to make wet, to put in the water' there is also an intransitive verb *djuhme* 'to be in water', as well as its persistive *djuhmiyindi* 'to be in water for a long time, to soak' (see 9.107 above). Finally, the Kuninjku dialect, at least, has the form *djuhmikendi*, formally the incorporation of the gerundive form *djuhmi* (from *djuhme*) into the transitiviser *-ke*, which then forms a persistive form; it is not clear at this stage how this differs semantically from *djuhkendi*. A comparable example from the Kunwinjku Bible is *birrikukbarlmikendi* 'they were filled with the Holy Spirit' (Acts 2:4), in which the verb *barlme* 'overflow, be full' has been gerundivised, incorporated into transitivising *ke*, and this then put in the persistive form.

- 9.113 *Garri-djuhge-nd-i.*
 Dj 12-put.in.water-PERSIS-NP
 'We're sitting in the water.'

The origins of the persistive suffix are not altogether clear. In the slot between stem and TAM inflections Proto Gunwinyguan appears to have had three derivational categories: a reflexive *-yi-*, a reciprocal *-NHDHi-*, and an inchoative *-Dhi-*, each with further allomorphs. Different Gunwinyguan languages have collapsed these three in a number of ways, and re-extended their functions around this semantic field. It is possible that the persistive descends from the reciprocal, via an extension from reciprocal to reflexive, which would account for the nasal onset; delaminalisation, a change we know has applied in the language, would account for the change from *-NHDHi-* to *-ndi-*.

However, it would not account for the *yi* segment found after some thematics, nor for the *a* vocalism in the perfective and irrealis. An alternative source would be as a grammaticalisation of a pattern by which gerundivised verbs were incorporated into the verb *da* 'stand'. Both the *a* vocalism and the *yi* segment would be consistent with this source, and

the semantics, extending 'stand' to mean 'persistent state', are not implausible. However, this explanation does not explain the *n* segment; although prenasalisation of affix-initial stops sometimes occurs elsewhere in the grammar (e.g. the *-ngke* allomorph of *-ke*, discussed in §7.1.3), it would be more consistent with *da* as an incorporating thematic to flap to *rra* after a vowel, as happens when *da* is used as an inchoative (§8.2.2.3).

Finally, it is not impossible that the current construction represents a paradigmatic merger of the two sources above.

9.3.7 Special 'inceptive' forms of stance verbs

With two of the stance verbs — 'stand' and 'lie' — there are two alternative stem sets,⁵ that are on the road to merger even in older speakers, but at least in the non-past and past perfective encode the difference between 'be in stance X', with stem of form CV, and 'assume/become in stance X', with stem of form CVngV. I gloss this 'inceptive'; note that it is not to be confused with the inceptive pattern of partial reduplication discussed in §9.4.1, which is fully productive and whose meaning range is more complex.

The full set of relevant forms are given as alternatives in Table 9.1. For both verbs there is an encroachment of the imperfective forms (*danj* and *yoy*) into contexts where the perfective would normally be used. Revealingly, those dialects that have lost the imperfective form (I, E) have actually lost the perfective form of these verbs, and just for these verbs use the imperfective form (*danj*, *yoy*) as their normal past; at the same time, they have split off a separate verb *dangen* 'to stand, come to a standstill'. The third stance root, 'sit', lacks this contrast (though the existence of forms like non-past *ningen* and past perfective *ninginj* in some other Gunwinyguan languages suggests it once participated in a similar contrast; see Alpher, Evans & Harvey, forthcoming).

To discern the semantic contrast present in those speakers who have both sets, compare the two contrasting pairs *dan* 'be standing' and *dangen* 'become standing, come to a standstill' (9.135), both non-past, and *danj* 'stood' and *danginj* 'reached a standing position'⁶ (9.114), both past perfective. Compare also *danj* 'stood' (imperfective) and the corresponding 'assume stance' imperfective *dangeni*, meaning 'was coming into a standing position' (9.115). Note that the use of the special 'assume stance' form extends to other verbs taking *da* as thematic, such as *ngokdan* '(sun) set, become dark' in 9.116.

9.114 *Ngarri-danginj wanjh ngarri-kolu-y.*
 I 1a-standPP then 1a-get.down-PP
 'We stopped and got down (from the truck).'

9.115 *Bene-burriwe-yi, madjawarr ø-durnde-ngi, ø-djab-dange-ni*
 W 3uaP-throw-PI spear 3P-return-PI 3P-upright-stand:INCEP-PI

⁵ These alternative stem sets have not been discussed satisfactorily in published work: they are not mentioned in Oates (1964) or Carroll (1976); Etherington and Etherington give two alternative sets for 'stand', without going into the nature of the semantic distinction, and mention the use of *yoy* as the past perfective of *yo* alongside *yonginj*, but without mentioning non-past *yongen*.

⁶ *Danginj* has the further idiomatic meaning 'was born'.

kore bene-danginj.

LOC 3P-standPP

'The two of them were throwing spears, but the spears were bouncing back and coming to stand upright in the ground where the two of them were standing.'

[OP 392, with translation slightly altered]

9.116 *Bene-re-y ø-ngokda-ngeni*

W 3uaP-go-PI 3P-sun.set:INCEP-PI

'They were going along as the sun was setting.' [OP 373]

The non-past form of 'lie, be lying' *yo*, participates in a similar opposition to *yongen* 'lie down, start to lie down'. In the past perfective there is a parallel opposition between *yoy* 'lay, slept, camped' and *yonginj* 'lay down; set up camp' (as in 9.117, where it co-occurs, as is typical, with the verb *gurmerrinj* 'put himself').

9.117 *ø-Ngoreng-wam bonj, ka-bal-yongen.*

W 3P-wounded-goPP right 3-away-lie:INCEP:NP

'He went away wounded. Right, he (the wounded man) starts to lie down.'

[KH fn.161]

9.118 *Kure ø-yonginj ø-kurrme-rr-inj ø-yibmeng en Gun-djeihmi*

W there 3P-lie.downPP 3P-put-RR-PP 3P-sink-PP and [name]

kabirri-yime "wodjmeng".

3a-sayNP

'He lay down there, put himself (into the landscape), sank down, and Gun-djeihmi say "wodjmeng" (for 'he sank down').'

9.119 *Wanjh bu ka-djolengme-n karri-wayhke karri-kurrme kaluk*

W then SUB 3-get.cooked-NP 12a-liftNP 12a-put.downNP later

bu ka-wolebuk-ki-yongen.

SUB 3-get.cool-IVF-lie:INCEP:NP

'Then when it's cooked we take it out of the fire and put it down (by the side) until it starts to get cool.'

As with the 'stand' forms, compound verb stems including the root *yo* may use the inceptive forms:

9.120 *Man-dolng-kimuk wanjh ka-ke-yongen.*

W III-smoke-big then 3-asleep-lie:INCEP:NP

'With all the smoke (the baby) will go to sleep.' [KS 262]

9.4 Verbal reduplication

There are three formal types of verbal reduplication, each associated with its own meaning or cluster of meanings: inceptive, iterative, and extended. Note, though, that these names merely characterise their prototypical functions, and further functions are discussed below.

9.4.1 Inceptive reduplication

Inceptive reduplications basically involve copying the first CV of the verb stem, adding a glottal stop, and prefixing the resultant string to the root. Thus the inceptive of *yame-* 'spear' is *yah-yame* 'try to spear' and the inceptive of *dolka-* 'get up, arise, fly up' is *doh-dolka-* 'hop along'.

Where the initial syllable has structure CVN (at least for apical Ns) speakers vary as to whether to place the glottal stop after the CVN, or to replace the N with it. For the inceptive of *durnde-* 'return' I have recorded both *duh-durnde-* and *durnh-durnde-*; for the inceptive of *manka-* 'fall', *manh-manka-* 'stumble'; for the inceptive of *dombu-* 'extinguish' I have recorded *doh-dombu-* 'try to extinguish'; for the inceptive of *barnname* 'hang up, put up high' I have recorded *barnh-barnname*. At present it is not clear what conditioning factors are involved.

The meanings conveyed by inceptive reduplication are:

(a) INCEPTION, as in *du(rn)h-durnde-* 'start back':

9.121 *Garri-durnh-durnde-ng wurdurd, ba-ngokda-nj.*
Dj 12a-INCEP-return-NP children 3P-get.dark-PP
'Let's get home, kids; it's already got dark.'

(b) UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT, as in:

9.122 *Barri-yah-yame-ng gunj, barri-warreh-warrewo-ng.*
Dj 3a/3P-INCEP-spear-PP kangaroo 3a/3P-ITER-miss-PP
'They tried to spear the kangaroo but they kept missing it.'

9.123 *Ba-bili-doh-dombu-ni dja ga-warre barri-djal-ru-ngi.*
Dj 3/3P-flame-INCEP-put.out-PI but 3-bad 3aP-just-burn-PI
'He'd try to put out the fire but to no avail, they'd just get burned.'

9.124 *Birri-yah-yame-ng yimankek ø-warreh-warrewo-ng.*
W 3aP-INCEP-spear-PP CTRFAC 3P-ITER-wreck-PP
'They tried spearing Ngalyod, but kept missing.' [Namarladj story]

(c) LEXICALISED MEANINGS With *dolga-* 'get up' the inceptive form has the specialised meaning 'jump along':

9.125 *Ga-rroh-dolga-n.*
Dj 3-INCEP-get.up-NP
'He jumps along.'

9.4.2 Iterative reduplication

For most iterative reduplications the meaning is 'do over and over again', 'do to many objects', 'do all over the place'. With intransitive verbs such as stance verbs it may mean 'many SUBJs do all around' (9.126). There are no examples of iteratives representing the plurality of a transitive subject.

- 9.126 *Na-mege duruk ga-yongo-yo-ø*
 Dj MA-that dog 3-ITER-lie-NP
 'There are dogs lying all around.'

Some verbs have specialised meanings for their iterative stems: with the verbs *bukkan* 'show, teach' and *wam* 'go:PP' it can mean 'thoroughly, completely, all the way', and with the verbs *rey* 'go:PI' and *da-* 'stop' it can mean 'gradually'.

In the Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali dialects, iterative reduplication of inflected monosyllabic roots involves just the first CV- of the root, as with E *birri-ngu-nguyi* 'they used to eat it', *ka-yo-yo* 'it/they lie(s) around', *ka-re-re* 'it goes and goes', *ka-ru-rung* 'it keeps burning', *ngarri-me-mey* 'we picked them up (many times)', *ngabin-kolk-wo-wong* 'we drank a lot of water' and MM *ngarri-bili-ka-kan* 'we carry flames around'. The complexity of the rules in the other dialects can be seen from the fact that the corresponding forms would be, respectively, *birri-nguyih-nguyi*, *ka-yongo-yo*, *ka-renge-re*, *ka-rungu-rung*, *ngarri-mene-mey*, *ngaben-kolk-wono-wong* and *ngarri-bili-kana-kan*. For other verb forms the reduplication patterns are identical across all dialects.

We now give the rather complex morphological rules for iterative reduplication.

- (a) FULL SINGLE-SYLLABLE REDUPLICATION (§3.6.1) Verbs with the themes *-ke* and *-ma*, delocutive verbs in *-me*, and some with the themes *-bu* and *-di*, reduplicate the prepond syllable; if it ends in a lateral or nasal they add a glottal stop to the end of the syllable. Many of these verb roots refer already, in their unreduplicated form, to inherently complex events. A few lack unreduplicated forms.

Some sentence examples follow Table 9.2:

Table 9.2: Full single-syllable iterative reduplication forms

Unreduplicated form		Reduplicated form	
<i>wurlh-ge</i>	'light fires, burn off'	<i>wurlh-wurlh-ge</i>	'light fires all over the place'
<i>bak-ge</i>	'break'	<i>bak-bak-ge</i>	'break up, shred up'
—		<i>bob-bob-me</i>	'stink like baby's poo' (MM)
<i>dadj-ge</i>	'cut'	<i>dadj-dadj-ge</i>	'cut to pieces'
<i>djob-ge</i>	'cut'	<i>djob-djob-ge</i>	'keep cutting, cut all around'
<i>djid-ma</i>	'steal'	<i>djid-djid-ma</i>	'keep stealing, steal all the time'
—		<i>dolb-dolb-me</i>	'pulsate'
<i>dolk-me</i>	'clap'	<i>dolk-dolk-me</i>	'clap fast'
<i>belk-me</i>	'clap'	<i>belk-belk-me</i>	'clap fast'
<i>djek-me</i>	'laugh'	<i>djek-djek-me</i>	'laugh away'
<i>mel-me</i>	'dance, stomp, tread'	<i>melh-mel-me</i>	'feel around with feet'
—		<i>woyh-woyh-me</i>	'look around for food in water' (e.g. wader birds) (E)
<i>wak-bu</i>	'go round'	<i>wak-wak-bu</i>	'go round and round'
<i>manj-bu</i>	'thank'	<i>manjh-manj-bu</i>	'thank many people'
<i>barn-di</i>	'be high, sit in trees'	<i>barnh-barn-di</i>	'sit in trees all round, be high all round'
<i>wen-di</i>	'= <i>barndi</i> ' (MM, E)	<i>wenh-wen-di</i>	'= <i>barnh-barndi</i> ' (MM, E)

- 9.127 *Ga-rrulk-djob-djobge munguih.*
 Dj 3-tree-ITER-cutNP always
 'He keeps cutting trees down all the time.'

- 9.128 *Ga-yau-guk-djek-djek-me.*
 Dj 3-child-body-ITER-laugh-NP
 'The baby's laughing away.'
- 9.129 *Burd barrk ka-melh-melme dorrh-no.*
 E:D [waterlily.sp.] 3-ITER-touch.with.footNP stem-POSSD
 'She feels around with her foot for the waterlily stem.'
- 9.130 *Kikkik ka-wenh-wendi.*
 MM birds 3-ITER-be.highNP
 'Lots of birds are perched all over (the tree).'
- 9.131 *Kodjokbamdjelk ka-berd-welh-welhme daya-dayarr-hken.*
 I [name] 3-penis-ITER-spin.aroundNP ZONE-pandanus-GEN
 'Kodjok Bamdjelk (mythical being) spins his penis around in the pandanus groves.'
 [GID]

- (b) OPEN DISYLLABLE REDUPLICATION Other disyllabic stems, whether simple or complex, reduplicate the first CV(C)CV (§3.6.3). This pattern is restricted to disyllabic stems whose final syllable is open (see Table 9.3). Occasionally, especially in Kunwinjku, a glottal stop is inserted to close the second syllable; attested cases are shown in Table 9.3, with the glottal stop in brackets.

Table 9.3: Open disyllable iterative reduplication forms

Unreduplicated form		Reduplicated form	
<i>kinje-</i>	'cook'	<i>kinje-kinje-</i>	'keep cooking'
<i>baye-</i>	'bite'	<i>baye-baye-</i>	'keep biting'
<i>durnde-</i>	'return, come back'	<i>durnde(h)-durnde-</i>	'keep coming back'
<i>bolk-na-</i>	'look around'	<i>bolkna(h)-bolk-na</i>	'keep looking around'
<i>bo-ngu</i>	'drink'	<i>bongu-bongu</i>	'drink repeatedly'
<i>mad+bu-</i>	'wait'	<i>madbu-madbu-</i>	'wait around'
<i>barrh+bu</i>	'dawn'	<i>barrhbu-barrhbu-</i>	'wait around'
<i>djava-</i>	'ask'	<i>djava-djava-</i>	'keep asking'
<i>bukka-</i>	'show, teach'	<i>bukka-bukka-</i>	'teach thoroughly, "right through"'
<i>noih-me-</i>	'fuck'	<i>noihme-noihme-</i>	'fuck all night long'
<i>dukka-rre-</i>	'coil, tie oneself up'	<i>dukka-rrukka-rre-</i>	'writhe around'
<i>dolkka-</i>	'stand up, get up'	<i>dolkka-dolkka-</i>	'keep getting up and down'
<i>wake-</i>	'crawl'	<i>wake-wake-</i>	'crawl all around'
<i>wokdi-</i>	'talk'	<i>wokdi-wokdi-</i>	'keep talking'
<i>nalkbu-</i>	'cry'	<i>nalkbu(h)-nalkbu-</i>	'keep crying'

- 9.132 *An-baye-baye munguih.*
 Dj 3/1-ITER-biteNP always
 '(The baby) keeps on biting me.'
- 9.133 *Gabarri-djal-noihme-noihme dja ga-rrung-bebme.*
 Dj 3a-just-ITER-fuckNP and 3-sun-appearNP
 'They just keep fucking till sunrise.'

Disyllabic inflected forms of monosyllabic roots also follow this pattern, for example *mangi-ma-ngi* 'ITERATIVE-get-PI', *ngune-ngune-ng* 'ITERATIVE-eat-PP' (9.134), and *dange-dange-n* 'ITERATIVE-stop:INCEP-NP' (9.135). The monosyllabic inflected forms of monosyllabic roots follow a different pattern, described in (d) below.

- 9.134 *Bi-yau-ngune-nguneng ginga.*
 Dj 3/3HP-child-ITER-eatPP crocodile
 'The crocodile ate the baby right up.'
- 9.135 *Anabbarru ga-rrange-dange-n, ga-rrange-dange-n, ba-rra-ningj.*
 Dj buffalo 3-ITER-stop:INCEP-NP 3-ITER-stop:INCEP-NP 3P-stop-PP
 'The buffalo's slowing down, it's slowing down, it's stopped.'

(c) GLOTTAL-CLOSED DISYLLABLE REDUPLICATION Verb stems of more than two syllables reduplicate the first two syllables and insert a glottal stop at the end of the second syllable; this replaces any final consonant that may be present (§3.6.4). From *marridowe-* 'be hungry', for example, the iterative stem is *marrih-marridowe-*; from *mardukge* 'flash' the iterative stem is *marduh-mardukge-* 'flicker' (9.136); from *warrewo-* 'do badly, wreck' the iterative stem is *warreh-warrewo-* (9.137).

- 9.136 *Bidginjenbidginjen ga-marduh-mardukge gu-rredj-be.*
 Dj firefly 3-ITER-flickerNP LOC-bum-ABL
 'Fireflies flicker from their bums.'
- 9.137 *Gabarri-bolk-warreh-warrewo-n.*
 Dj 3a/3-place-ITER-wreck-NP
 'They're wrecking the place.'

With regard to patterns (b) and (c), there is some latitude as to whether incorporated nouns are included in the reduplication source or not. Examples where reduplication picks out two syllables of the stem, leaving the incorporated nominal untouched, are 9.134 and 9.137 above, the second verb (*gord-gurrmih-gurrmi*) in 9.138 and 9.139.

- 9.138 *Djang an-ekge ba-ngukde-ngukde-ngi, ba-gord-gurrmih-gurrmi.*
 Dj dreaming VEG-DEM 3/3P-ITER-shit-PI 3/3-shit-ITER-putPI
 'That dreaming there, he shat it out all over the place, he put down a lot of shit there.'
- 9.139 *Anege ba-godj-gurrme-gurrme-rre-ni aleng an-ne gold.*
 Dj VEG:DEM 3P-head-ITER-put.down-RR-PI she VEG-DEM
 'And where he put his head down all over the place that is gold.'

In 9.140, on the other hand, a monosyllabic incorporated nominal and the first syllable of the verb feed the reduplication. As is typical in this construction, the verb is in the past imperfective. Another commonly occurring example is the form *bolknah-bolknan* 'look after country', based on *bolk-na-* 'country-see'; further (past imperfective) examples from Kunwinjku are *ø-bona-bo-nani* 'he was watching the water' and *ø-bobi-bo-bidbuni* 'the water was getting deeper and deeper' [both from OP 396].

- 9.140 *ø-Dulkngoh-dulk-ngorrka-ni cross nuye-ni.*
 W 3P-ITER-tree-carry.on.shoulder-PI his-P
 'He carried the cross (a long way).' [Jesus Kararrkid]

In 9.141 the incorporated nominal, being disyllabic, spans the reduplication domain, thus furnishing the only reduplicated material.

- 9.141 *ø-Wardde-wardde-djobge-ng.*
 Dj 3P-ITER-rock-split-PP
 'White cockatoo) split the rock (in several places).'

Finally, there is at least one example in which both incorporated nominal and root are separately reduplicated (9.142); in this case separate treatment of the two reduplication domains leads to the root following the rules for reduplication of inflected monosyllables given below. This contrasts with 9.143, based on the same incorporated noun plus verb combination, in which only the root reduplicates, following the rules for monosyllabic roots.

- 9.142 *Karri-dulk-dulk-dongo-do-ng.*
 12a-ITER-stick-ITER-strike-NP
 'We beat sticks in rhythm against the burial pole.'

- 9.143 *Namarrgon ba-rrulk-dongo-do-i.*
 Dj lightning 3P-tree-ITER-strike-PP
 'Lightning struck lots of trees.'

It may be that the degree to which the incorporated noun plus verb has been phraseologised into a single unit affects the choice of reduplication source, but at present we have too few examples to decide the question; it is also likely that speakers have considerable expressive latitude here.

- (d) **NASAL-INSERTED DISYLLABLE REDUPLICATION** The most complex pattern involves verbs whose inflected forms are monosyllabic. These verbs undergo a special pattern of reduplication **just in those TAM categories whose inflected forms are monosyllabic**. The pattern of reduplication, in other words, is sensitive to the number of syllables in the **inflected** form, since non-monosyllabic inflected forms of the same root fail to undergo it.

Consider the root *wo-* 'give'. This has monosyllabic forms in the non-past (*wo-n*) and the past perfective (*wo-ng*) but its past imperfective is disyllabic: *woni*. The iterative forms of the non-past and the past perfective will be based on a root given by the pattern below, and then inflected in the normal way: non-past *wono-wo-n* (9.144) and past perfective *wono-wo-ng* (9.145). The iterative form of the past imperfective, on the other hand, is formed simply by reduplicating the disyllabic inflected root according to pattern (b): *woni-woni* (9.146).

- 9.144 *An-h-wono-wo-n munguih.*
 Dj 3/1-IMM-ITER-give-NP always
 '(The child) keeps giving me things.'
- 9.145 *Aban-bo-wono-wo-ng goba-gohbanj.*
 Dj 1/3pIP-liquid-ITER-give-PP REDUP-old.person
 'I gave all my grog to the old people.'
- 9.146 *An-h-woni-wo-ni a-ngune-ng wanjh.*
 Dj 3/1-IMM-ITER-give-PI 1-eat-PP then
 'She kept giving me (food) and so I ate it all.'

In most verbs the non-past is monosyllabic, so an alternative statement of the rule would appear to be that it is based on the non-past inflected form. However, consideration of other roots show this not to be the case. Verbs with different vowels in different monosyllabic inflected forms have a separate iterative stem for each category. Thus *ma-ng* 'take-NP' / *me-y* 'take-PP' has the distinct iterative stems *mana-ma-ng* (iterative non-past) and *mene-me-y* (iterative past perfective). Likewise, the suppletive verb for 'go' bases its iterative reduplication on the relevant tensed forms: *rengere* (iterative non-past), *wana-wam* (iterative perfective), and *rengerey* (iterative past imperfective). These cases show that iterative reduplication takes as its input inflected monosyllabic forms.

The rules for forming special iterative prefixes can now be formulated.

To a monosyllabic inflected form C_1V_1 (X) is prefixed the iterative reduplicand $C_1V_1NV_1$ (h). The inserted nasal segment depends on the place of articulation of the root-initial consonant: if it is peripheral (*b*, *g*, *m*, *ng* or *w*), the inserted segment is *n*, elsewhere it is *ng*. An alternative formulation is to say that *ng* is inserted, except that 'peripheral dissimilation' can change it to *n* (see §3.4 on peripheral dissimilation). A few examples are given below; see §3.4 for fuller data.

Table 9.4: Nasal-inserted disyllable iterative reduplication forms

With non-peripheral initial		With peripheral initial consonant	
Inflected simple form	Iterative form	Inflected simple form	Iterative form
<i>do-ng</i> 'strike-NP'	<i>dongo-do-ng</i>	<i>bu-n</i> 'hit, kill-NP'	<i>bunu-bu-n</i>
<i>do-y</i> 'strike-PP'	<i>dongo-do-y</i>	<i>bo-m</i> 'hit, kill-PP'	<i>bono-bo-m</i>
<i>na-n</i> 'see-NP'	<i>nanga-na-n</i>	<i>ma-ng</i> 'take, pick up-NP'	<i>mana-ma-ng</i>
<i>na-ng</i> 'see-PP'	<i>nanga-nang</i>	<i>me-y</i> 'take, pick up-PP'	<i>mene-me-y</i>
<i>ni-∅</i> 'sit, be-NP'	<i>ningi-ni-∅</i>	<i>ngu-n</i> 'eat-NP'	<i>ngunu-ngu-n</i>
<i>re-∅</i> 'go-NP'	<i>rengere-re-∅</i>	<i>wo-n</i> 'give-NP'	<i>wono-wo-n</i>
<i>re-y</i> 'go-PI'	<i>rengere-re-y</i>	<i>wo-ng</i> 'give-PP'	<i>wono-wo-ng</i>
<i>danj</i> 'stand-PI'	<i>danga-da-nj</i>	<i>wa-n</i> 'go-PP'	<i>wana-wa-m</i>

Note that the above pattern of formation does not always correspond to the division of verbs into conjugations. For example, *ka-* and *na-* are in the same conjugation (3a), but have different nasals in their iterative stems on account of their different initial segments.

Some sentence examples follow (see also Text 1.41).

- 9.147 *Gorregorre garri-ngunu-ngu-n garri-re gu-wadda.*
 Dj quickly 12a-ITER-eat-NP 12a-gONP LOC-home
 'Let's quickly eat up and go home.' (Not clear what meaning the reduplication has here.)
- 9.148 *Gabarri-h-ningi-nin⁷ munguih gu-bolk-gudji.*
 Dj 3a-IMM-ITER-sitNP always LOC-place-one
 'They always stay in the one place.'

⁷ Normally the NP form of 'sit' is simply *ni*, but this reduplicated form was recorded with suffix *n* from VA. This needs checking.

9.149 *Ba-wana-wa-m.*
 Dj 3-ITER-go-PP
 'He's gone right away.'

9.150 *Ba-rengéh-re-i lendol / gabbal.*
 Dj 3P-ITER-go-PI horse boat
 'The horse/boat was coming from a long way away.'

Nasal-inserted iterative reduplication is not confined to verbs proper; occasionally it is found with predicate adjectives. An example is 9.151, in which the monosyllabic adjective root *-banj* 'stinking' reduplicates according to the rule for inflected monosyllables.

9.151 *Ka-kord-nud-bana-banj.*
 3-shit-rotten-ITER-stinking
 'It stinks of rotten shit all around.' [GID]

Comparative note on iterative reduplication: Almost identical forms are widespread in Gunwinjguan, suggesting that this pattern of reduplication is of great antiquity. In Rembarrnga the vowel is copied but there is no place variation for the nasal, as in *mama-ma*, *nana-na*, and palatal nasals lenite to *y*, as in *ruyuruny* rather than *runyuruny* (McKay 1975:198–199).

In some languages this reduplicative pattern does not derive a new stem, but fills in gaps in the TAM paradigm (e.g. the Ngalakan present: (Merlan 1983:115 et seq.): *-bunubun* 'hit-PRES', *-wunuwun* 'give-PRES', *-janga-cangan* 'stand-REDUP.PRES', *nanga-rnangan* 'sit-REDUP. PRES').

9.4.3 Extended reduplication

The third type of reduplication is only available to stems in the *-me* or *-men* classes with monosyllabic preponds, in other words with form

$C_1V_1C_2(C_3)me$ e.g. *bakme, welme, wirrkme, wurlhme*, or:
 $C_1V_1C_2(C_3)men$ e.g. *yakmen, djordmen*

From these it forms reduplicative prefixes of the form $C_1V_1C_2V_1$, according to the rule of EPENTHETIC DISYLLABLE REDUPLICATION (§3.6.7). This gives, from the above set, the forms *bakabakme, welewelme, wirriwirrkme, wurluwurlhme, yakayakmen* and *djordodjordmen*. Occasionally a glottal stop appears at the reduplication boundary (e.g. *djordohdjordmen*).

There is one example where dissimilation applies to avert a sequence of three syllables beginning with the same consonant: *bebme* > %*bebebebme*% > *bekebebme* [OP 368]. This is the only example of *b* > *k*.

The commonest function of extended reduplication is to indicate that an activity or state is spatially extended: that it is carried out, or obtains, in a number of distinct places. The best English translation is often 'all over the place'. Examples are the following (see also 13.332):

9.152 *Bandi-bu-ni narlangak-yi, darrgid, bi-djal-wirri-wirrk-m-i, o*
 Dj 3a/3plP-hit-PI blanket.lizard-INST alive 3/3hP-just-EXT-scratch-PI or
narlangak bi-baye-yi.
 blanket.lizard 3/3hP-bite-PI
 'They'd flog him with a live blanket lizard, and it would just scratch him all over, or it would bite him.'

- 9.153 *Man-me ka-wele-welme.*
 III-fruit 3-EXT-be.aroundNP
 'The tree has fruit all over it.'

In other cases the semantics of spatial extent is not quite as clear, though still present. *Djurludjurlhme* means 'eject (e.g. poke out of a hole by using a stick)', as opposed to *djurlhme* 'touch'; here the spatial separation revolves around the distance between subject and object. And *bakabakme* means 'break into many pieces' (which would typically be scattered, but not necessarily) as opposed to *bakme* 'break (intr.)'. Likewise *barra-barrhmeng* means 'all smashed up (e.g. of a boat smashed on a reef)' as opposed to *barrhmeng* 'cracked'. In 9.154 the plants have each been planted in a different place:

- 9.154 *∅-Djordoh-djordm-inj na-wu ngarri-dudji.*
 3P-EXT-grow.up-PP MA-REL 1a-plantPP
 'The ones we planted have all grown up.'

The verb *dokorrokme*, which we would expect to mean 'goes off ahead in different directions', has the slightly unexpected meaning 'be in a hurry, be chafing at the bit':

- 9.155 *Gawarre, ga-rrogo-rrokme, ga-djare ga-bolk-ma-ng.*
 Dj nothing.to.do 3-EXT-go.aheadNP 3-wantNP 3-place-get-NP
 'Don't worry (about his cranky impatience), he's in a hurry, he wants to get home.'

10 *Arguments on the verb*

One consequence of polysynthetic structure is that information about every verbal argument is represented (at least potentially) on the verb itself, either as a pronominal prefix or an incorporated nominal, or through indexing the coreference of subject and object by the reflexive/reciprocal suffix. At the same time, the lack of the usual syntactic phenomena relevant to establishing grammatical relations by non-morphological means (such as voice alternations, movement rules, binding of infinitives or arguments deleted under other identity conditions), and even of case marking for core grammatical relations,¹ means that all the evidence relevant to our discussion of argument structure comes from the verbal morphology.²

This chapter, then, contains a lot of the material that is normally found in the syntax section of grammars of non-polysynthetic languages. First (§10.1) I sketch the sites of argument encoding on the verb, the criteria for identifying grammatical relations, the basic and derived argument structures and their interrelationships. Then (§10.2) I pass to the pronominal prefixes, their form and semantics. In §10.3 I examine the three relation-changing verbal affixes — the benefactive and comitative applicative prefixes, which increase valence, and the reflexive/reciprocal suffix, which decreases it. (See also §9.3.6 and §12.5 for less productive valence-reducing affixation.) In §10.4 the centrally important issue of noun-incorporation is discussed, with an emphasis on its semantics and its contribution to argument structure. Finally, in §10.5 we return to a more functionally-based overview of the whole system of argument representation on the verb, focussing on the normal alignment it presupposes between grammatical relations and person/animacy values, as well as what happens when this normal alignment is disrupted.

10.1 Argument coding on the verb: preliminary overview

10.1.1 Argument sites on the verb

The sites on the verb relevant to representing argument structure are the two pronominal prefixes at or just after the left edge (slots -11 and -10 in Figure 8.1), the incorporated nominal slots just left of the stem (slots -4 and -3) and the reflexive/reciprocal suffix just

¹ Leaving aside the optional use of the instrumental to mark transitive subjects in Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali; see §5.2.1.2.

² See Dryer (1996) for a similar point with respect to Kutenai.

after the stem (position +1). Thus in 10.1 the subject 'they' and derived (benefactive) object 'them' are represented by pronominal prefixal morphemes, and the object 'meat' by the incorporated noun *ganj* 'meat', while in its reciprocal form (10.2) there is still a subject and (benefactive) object, but now there is just a subject prefix, and the reflexive/reciprocal suffix (given a reciprocal interpretation here) signals that the benefactive object is to be construed as coreferential with the subject.

10.1 *Bandi-marne-ganj-ginje-ng.*
Dj 3aSUBJ/3plOBJ-BEN-meat-cook-PP
'They cooked the meat for them.'

10.2 *Barri-marne-ganj-ginje-rr-inj.*
Dj 3aSUBJ-BEN-meat-cook-RR-PP
'They cooked the meat for each other.'

There is an important asymmetry between higher and lower animates in the distribution of overt marking across this system. (The exact boundary between higher and lower animates, though centred around human babies, is somewhat elastic; see discussion in §10.2.7.)

Lower animates will not normally have their number marked on the pronominal prefix (§10.2.5.1). Moreover, since only overtly plural objects, or, if minimal, higher animate objects receive non-zero marking in the pronominal prefix system (§10.2.7), these lower animate arguments are usually represented by a zero prefix, as in the first gloss of 10.3. Note, though, that since I normally gloss subject and object as a portmanteau unit (as in the second glossing of 10.3), the representation of such arguments as zeros will not always be obvious from the glosses. Zero exponence for objects is also not limited to non-humans, since even human objects have zero exponence if they are minimal and the subject is non-minimal (for fuller details see the discussion of the divalent prefix sets in §10.2.2).

10.3 *Nga-∅-ganj-ginje-ng.* (normally written *Nga-ganj-ginje-ng.*)
Dj 1SUBJ-3OBJ-meat-cook-PP (normally glossed 1/3-meat-cook-PP)
'I cooked the meat.'

10.4 *Nga-ginje-ng.*
Dj 1/3-cook-PP
'I cooked/burned³ him/her/it.'

On the other hand, it is almost exclusively inanimates or body parts that are represented by incorporated nouns, so that humans (and other animates) will normally miss out on the chance to be overtly represented in the incorporated nominal slot (10.4), unless a body part proper, or a 'dummy' body part like *kuk*- 'body' is used (10.5).

10.5 *Nga-guk-ginje-ng.*
Dj 1/3-body-cook-PP
'I cooked the body' OR: 'I burned him/her.'

As a result of these asymmetries, overt coding on the verb is well-adapted to situations where indirect or benefactive objects (which will normally outrank true objects for the 'object' prefix slot — see below) are human while the true objects are inanimate, and poorly

³ *Ginje* can mean either 'cook' or 'burn'. For obvious pragmatic reasons the second gloss will be preferred (though not required) with human objects.

adapted to the reverse situation. More generally, problems arise when the benefactive or indirect objects are higher on the hierarchy proposed by Silverstein (1976) than the objects are. These issues are discussed in §10.5.

10.1.2 Definition of grammatical relations

We are now in a position to discuss the issue of grammatical relations in more depth, giving definitions and operational tests for the grammatical relations of 'subject', 'true object', 'indirect object' and 'comitative object', as well as the more general terms 'object', 'first object' and 'second object', all of which will be needed to capture various generalisations.

ARGUMENT I define an argument as an actant subcategorised for and assigned a thematic role by the verb, and capable of being indexed on it by pronominal prefix or incorporated nominal. Underived verbs may have from one to three arguments, and derived verbs from one to four, though four is highly unusual.

SUBJECT This is defined as the argument represented by the first pronominal slot. Intransitive subjects may be incorporated, and their number represented by A-quantifying prefixes. Subjects bind reflexive/reciprocal arguments.

OBJECT This will be used in a broad way to characterise any other argument representable by pronominal prefix or incorporated noun. 'Objects' in this broad sense can be divided into the following types:

- (a) 'True objects' (O) are the second subcategorised argument of an underived transitive verb. With ditransitive verbs, 'true objects' are that argument which is neither subject nor indirect object (see below). Among 'objects' in the broad sense, it appears that only true objects can be reflexivised.
- (b) 'Indirect objects' (IO) are that argument of a ditransitive verb which is represented by the second pronominal prefix slot. As in most languages with two pronominal slots, indirect objects are encoded preferentially over direct objects.
- (c) 'Benefactive objects' are derived arguments introduced by the BENefactive prefix *marne-*. For most purposes they behave exactly like indirect objects. However, it is necessary to distinguish them since in rare cases a benefactive prefix can be added to a ditransitive verb, in which case it is the benefactive object which gains representation by the pronominal object slot.
- (d) 'Comitative objects' are arguments introduced by the COMitative applicative *yi-*.

Any of these four can, if the sole object, be represented by the second pronominal prefix (subject to their person and referential characteristics), and feed reciprocal formation. True objects and comitative objects, if the sole object, can be represented by incorporated nominals and bound by numerospatial A-quantifiers (that is, adverbial-type quantifiers — see §11.3). Only true objects can be reflexivised. When two objects are present, the above characteristics will be split such that one (which I term the 'first object') is registered by the second pronominal prefix and can feed reciprocals, while the other (the 'second object') can be registered by incorporated nominals and bound by numerospatial A-quantifiers.

For the role of second object, benefactives outrank indirect objects, which outrank comitatives and true objects. Only comitative and true objects can be second objects.

Where a verb has both a comitative and a true object, the question of which is first and which is second object is lexically determined; basically, the argument most likely to be human will be higher, and the one most likely not to be human will be lower. In the prototypical case, 'first' objects are higher on the Silverstein animacy/topicality hierarchy. What happens when there is a departure from these prototypical conditions is discussed in §10.5.

CAUSAL This is a minor type, and covers CAUSal/purposive arguments added by the benefactive prefix. Unlike normal benefactive arguments, causal arguments follow rather than precede reciprocalisation in their semantic composition, with the result that they may show up on the second pronominal slot even on reciprocalised verbs:

10.6 *Daluk bogen bani-marne-bu-rr-inj.*
 Dj woman two 3uaP-BEN-hit-RR-PP
 'The two women fought each other over him, because of him.'

We can summarise the availability of these five object types for representation by the object prefix, the incorporated nominal slot and for feeding reflexivisation and reciprocalisation in the following way: pronominal 'object' marking is available for all types of 'object', and if more than one candidate exists, it will be used to mark the leftmost of the types listed below; if both COM and O are present, the choice will be determined by complex factors (to be discussed in §10.1.3.4). Incorporated nominals are regularly available for COM and O objects, in exceptional cases for IO or BEN objects, and never for CAUS objects. Where both COM and O are present, the choice will again be determined by the factors discussed in §10.1.3.4; in general, complementary pronominal prefixation and noun incorporation will then be in contribution distribution, with the pronominal prefix representing the argument higher in animacy.

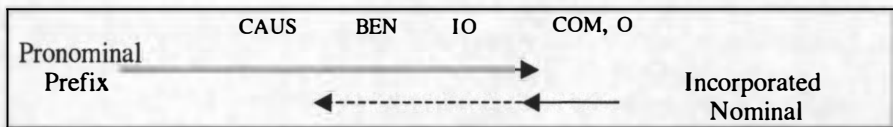


Figure 10.1: Availability of pronominal prefixation and incorporation for object types

10.1.3 Argument structures and coding

The following section illustrates the association of morphosyntactic privileges with arguments for all major valency types, summarised in Figure 10.1. Note that it is useful to limit the terms 'intransitive', 'transitive' and 'ditransitive' to underived verb stems, and save the terms 'monovalent', 'divalent' and 'trivalent' for characterising all verbs, derived or not, in terms of their number of argument positions.

With respect to the phenomena to be discussed here, verbs resulting from more restricted types of valency change, namely causative formation (§12.2), passive-like persistent constructions (§9.3.6) and medio-passive gerundive incorporation (§12.5), behave like the corresponding underived verbs with the same valency. For example, causatives behave like underived transitive verbs, and passive-like persistent constructions like underived intransitive verbs.

10.1.3.1 *Avalent (subjectless) verbs*

Avalent (subjectless) verbs, such as *ngurdurlme ~ ngurrurlme* 'to thunder' and *mayhke* 'to lightning' (10.7), formally resemble intransitive verbs with third person minimal subjects, except that unlike semantically similar intransitive verbs such as *marduhmarduhge* 'to flash, flicker' (10.8) they can have no incorporated or external subject:

10.7 *Namarrgon garramalk ga-rro-rre-n, ga-mayhge, ga-ngurrurrurlme.*
 Dj lightning.man stone.axe 3-strike-RR-NP 3-lightningNP 3-thunderNP
 'Namarrgon the lightning man strikes together the stone axes (on his knees), and there is thunder and lightning.'

10.8 *Bidginjenbidginjen ga-marduh-marduhge gu-rredj-be.*
 Dj firefly 3-ITER-flickerNP LOC-backside-ABL
 'The firefly flickers from its behind.'

A possible exception is the verb *barrhbun* 'to dawn, (day) to break', which can incorporate the root *malayi* 'morrow', giving for example, *ba-malayi-barrhbuni* 'the morrow would dawn' (see Text 4.37). However, *malayi* incorporates so rarely it may in fact be better analysed as an adverbial prefix rather than a properly incorporated noun here.

10.1.3.2 *Monovalent verbs*

The base type are intransitive verbs. These have a single pronominal prefix, representing the subject, and can incorporate nominals as generics, body parts or secondary predicates. A-quantifiers have scope over their subjects.

10.9 *Gabarri-lobme.*
 Dj 3a-runNP
 'They are running.'

10.10 *Ga-rrulk-mirnde-rrri an-dadjek.*
 Dj 3-tree-many-standNP III-grevillea pterydifolia
 'There are many fern-leaved grevillea trees there.'

Monovalent verbs can also be derived from divalent verbs by reflexivisation or reciprocalisation. Such derived monovalent verbs have identical argument-marking properties to basic intransitive verbs. Examples 10.11 and 10.12 illustrate, for underlying transitives that have been reflexivised, the use of intransitive prefixes, with incorporated body-part and secondary predicate nominals; see 10.217 for an example with no incorporated nominal. For an example of a reflexive/reciprocal verb formed from a divalent verbs derived by adding the comitative to an intransitive see 10.187, and for a comparable example with a benefactive see 10.188.

10.11 *Nga-bid-djobge-rr-inj.*
 Dj 1-hand-cut-RR-PP
 'I cut myself on the hand.'

10.12 *Daddubbe ba-bim-gurrme-rr-eni.*
 Dj [name] 3P-painting-put.down-RR-PI
 'Daddubbe would turn herself into a rock painting, would put herself down (on rock walls) as a painting.'

10.1.3.3 Divalent verbs

The canonical type is the underived transitive verb; this cross-references its subject and object by pronominal prefix, and can incorporate nouns referring to the object itself in the case of a generic noun (10.3), or a part thereof (10.13):

- 10.13 *Ngaban-godj-do-ng.*
 Dj 1/3pl-head-strike-NP
 'I strike them in the head.'

Divalent verbs derived by addition of the comitative or benefactive applicative to an intransitive verb take the expected pronominal prefixation, with the object pronoun representing the comitative or benefactive object as appropriate. However, they behave differently with respect to nominal incorporation: comitative divalent verbs parallel normal transitives, incorporating the object (10.14b), whereas benefactive divalent verbs incorporate the subject (10.15, 10.16):

- | | | | |
|----------|------------------------------------|----|----------------------------------|
| 10.14 a. | <i>Yiban-yi-rrurnde-ng.</i> | b. | <i>Yi-yiuk-yi-rrurnde-ng.</i> |
| Dj | 2/3pl-COM-return-NP | | 2/3-honey-COM-return-NP |
| | 'You are taking them back.' | | 'You are taking the honey back.' |
| 10.15 | <i>Ngan-marne-ganj-warrem-inj.</i> | | |
| Dj | 3/1-BEN-meat-go.bad-PP | | |
| | 'The meat went bad on me.' | | |
| 10.16 | <i>Bi-marne-yau-dowe-ng.</i> | | |
| Dj | 3/3P-BEN-child-die-PP | | |
| | 'Her child died (on her).' | | |

Divalent verbs derived by applying reflexivisation or reciprocalisation to trivalent verbs have a single prefix slot, for subject, and may incorporate nominals (representing the second object — see below). This is true whether the original trivalent verb is ditransitive, or created from transitives through the addition of an applicative.

- 10.17 *Barri-madj-bukka-rr-inj.*
 Dj 3aP-swap-show-RR-PP
 'They showed each other the swag(s).'
- 10.18 *Bani-marne-kanj-kinje-rr-inj.*
 Dj 3uaP-BEN-meat-cook-RR-PP
 'The two of them cooked meat for each other.'
- 10.19 *Bani-bo-yi-bawo-rre-ni.*
 Dj 3uaP-liquid-COM-leave-RR-PI
 'They used to leave grog with each other.'
- 10.20 *Bani-daluk-yi-bu-rr-inj.*
 Dj 3uaP-woman-COM-hit-RR-PP
 'The two of them fought (hit each other) over the woman.'
- 10.21 *Gabani-madj-yi-gadju-rre-n.*
 Dj 3ua-swap-COM-follow-RR-NP
 'They follow each other in the swag, share the swag.'

On the other hand, where an applicative adds an argument after reflexivisation or reciprocalisation has applied, both pronominal prefix slots can be used (for further examples see §10.3.4.1):

- 10.22 *Ben-marne-baru-rr-inj.*
 3/3pl-BEN-paint-RR-PP
 '(S)he painted himself up for them.'

10.1.3.4 Trivalent verbs

The canonical type is the underived ditransitive verb, which cross-references its subject and indirect object by pronominal prefix, and can incorporate nouns referring to the true object itself in the case of a generic noun (10.23), or a part thereof (10.24):

- 10.23 *Aban-madj-bukka-ng.*
 Dj 1/3pl-swap-show-PP
 'I showed the swag to them.'
- 10.24 *Ngaye wurdyau aban-ganem-bukka-ng doctor.*
 Dj I child 1/3pl-ear-show-PP
 'I showed my child's ear to the doctors.'

There are only around half a dozen underived ditransitive verbs in the language. The most important (besides *bukkan* 'show') are *won* 'give', *berlwon* 'give (daughter) in marriage', *yirrukman* 'deprive IO of O', *berrebbun* 'promise O to IO', *kaybun* 'withhold O from IO, deny IO O, refuse to give O to IO'.

More numerous are derived trivalent verbs formed by adding the benefactive to underlying transitives. These closely resemble ditransitives: they cross-reference their subject and benefactive object by pronominal prefix, and can incorporate nouns referring to the true object itself (10.1) or part thereof (the last verb in 10.25).

- 10.25 *Ngabornang ba-wa-m barri-ngabed-marnbo-m,*
 Dj my.daughter 3P-go-PP 3aP-hair-do.up-PP
ngandi-marne-ngabed-marnbo-m.
 3a/1-BEN-hair-do.up-PP
 'My daughter went (to the salon) and they did up her hair; they did up her hair for me.'

Similar to this last group, though far less numerous, are trivalent verbs derived by adding both benefactive and comitative applicatives to an intransitive verb:

- 10.26 *Kandi-marne-kanj-yi-lobme-ng.*
 W 3a/1pl-BEN-meat-COM-run-PP
 'They drove (back) with the meat for us.'

The most problematic class of trivalent verbs are those formed from transitives through the addition of a comitative applicative suffix, which then have both a comitative and a true object. All these verbs show complementarity between the comitative and true objects, one of which is represented in the second pronominal slot and one by an incorporated nominal. However, they divide into three classes, depending on which object is represented where. I will name these the *yinan* class, the *yikurrme* class and the *yimang* class after typical members, meaning respectively 'see with', 'put down with' and 'take from'.

For verbs in the *yinan* class, the added comitative becomes the second object: the derived comitative object incorporates, while the original object is presented on the pronominal prefix, and controls reciprocal formation:

- 10.27 *Ngan-na-ng.*
Dj 3/1-see-PP
'He saw me.'
- 10.28 *Ngan-bo-yi-na-ng.*
Dj 3/1-liquid-COM-see-PP
'He saw me with the grog.'
- 10.29 *Bani-bo-yi-na-rr-inj.*
Dj 3uaP-liquid-COM-see-RR-PP
'They saw each other with the grog.'

Further examples illustrating this pattern of incorporation are 10.30, illustrating how body-part incorporation parallels generic incorporation in argument selection (i.e. the body part of the second object incorporates), and 10.31, illustrating incorporation of the added object with the derived trivalent verb *yikadjung* 'follow in place X, share X'; another verb in this class; 10.22 illustrates what happens when such a verb is put into the reflexive/reciprocal.

- 10.30 *Aban-berd-yi-na-ng anabbarru, barri-berd-garm-i.*
Dj 1/3pl-tail-COM-see-PP buffalo 3aP-tail-hold-PP
'I saw them with the buffalo's tail, holding the tail.'
- 10.31 *Ngan-madj-yi-gadju-ng.*
Dj 3/1-swag-COM-follow-NP
'He follows me in the swag.' (i.e. we share the same swag — typically referring to brothers sharing a sexual partner)

In a distinct subclass of *yinan* verbs the semantics of the comitative are 'over COM, wanting to have COM' (i.e. the 'potential possession' meaning of the comitative). An example is 10.32, as well as the examples with *yiburren* 'fight over, fight wanting to have' (10.165), *yiyakwon* 'finish off, clean out of' (10.164) and *yibirrbme* 'clean out of' (10.166).

- 10.32 *Aban-warde-yi-bekka-n.*
Dj 1/3pl-money-COM-feel-NP
'I'll feel them for money, I'll frisk them for money.'

In all *yinan* class verbs, verbal entailments apply only to the original object: 'he saw me with the drink' entails 'he saw me' but not 'he saw the drink' (he may merely have seen that I had the drink hidden, e.g. under my shirt, without seeing the drink itself). The only exception is with *yiyakwon*, where the metaphorical nature of 'finish' makes it difficult to determine how the entailments apply (see 10.164); certainly it need not apply to the money (since the sponger may still have it), and only applies in a loose sense to the object.

The main verbs in this class are:

'ACTUAL' COMITATIVE

- yinan* 'see/watch O with COM' (< *nan* 'see')
- yibekkan*, 'hear O with COM' (< *bekkan*, 'hear')
- yikadjung* 'follow O in being with/in COM, share COM with O' (< *kadjung* 'follow')

'POTENTIAL' COMITATIVE

- yibekkan*₂ 'feel O for COM, frisk O for COM' (< *bekkan*₂ 'feel')
- yibun* 'hit O over/for possession of COM' (< *bun* 'hit')
- yibirrbme* 'clean O out of COM' (< *birrbme* 'clean, clean up')

IDIOMATIC

- iyakwon* 'clean O out of COM'

Common to all these verbs semantically is the fact that the COM argument is (or is thought to be) in the possession of the object at the outset of the event.

With verbs in the *yikurrme* class, which I will illustrate with *yibawon* 'leave with', it is the comitative argument that becomes the first object, occupying the pronominal object prefix slot (10.33) and feeding reciprocal formation (10.34), while the true object incorporates:

- 10.33 *Aban-ganj-yi-bawo-ng.*
Dj 1/3pl-meat-COM-leave-PP
'I left the meat with them.'

- 10.34 *Bani-bo-yi-bawo-rre-ni.*
Dj 3ua-liquid-COM-leave-RR-PI
'They used to leave grog with each other.'

Part nouns only incorporate rarely with verbs in this class, but when they do they occupy a separate argument slot, while being construed, exceptionally, as belonging to the subject at the beginning of the transaction and the object at the end.

- 10.35 *Ga-rrowe-n, an-ngey-yi-bawo-n.*
Dj 3-die-NP 3/1-name-COM-leave-NP
'When he dies, he'll leave his name to (lit. with) me.'

Examples of other verbs are 10.36, with *yigurrme* 'put down', and 10.37, with *yiwarlkgan* 'hide with'.

- 10.36 *An-gole-yi-gurrme.*
Dj 3/1-spear-COM-put.downNP
'He puts the spear down with me, leaves the spear with me.'

- 10.37 *Aban-daluk/bo-yi-warlkgang yerre.*
Dj 1/3pl-woman/liquid-COM-hide-PP behind
'I hid the woman/drink with them out the back.'

Note that once again the entailments of the verb generally apply to the original object only: 'put down X with Y' entails 'put down X' but not 'put down Y', and 'hide X with Y' entails 'hide X' but not 'hide Y'. 'Leave X with Y' is an interesting exception: as a result of the specific semantics of 'leave', it entails both 'leave X' and 'leave Y'.

All the main verbs in this class have already been exemplified. In all of them, the COM argument ends up with the object at the end of the event.

- yigurrme* 'put O with COM, leave O with COM' < *gurrme* 'put down'
- yibawon* 'leave O with COM' < *bawon* 'leave O (behind)'
- yiwarlkgan* 'hide O with COM' < *warlkgan* 'hide'

The third class contains the two verbs *yimang* 'take/get O off COM', from *mang* 'pick up, get', and *yirrukman* 'snatch O off COM' from *durrkmang* 'tug, pull abruptly'.⁴ These resemble *yigurrme* verbs in that the verbal entailments apply to the original object, the COM argument is represented in the pronominal slot, and the object noun can incorporate (10.38, 10.39). Body parts, if they incorporate, are construed as belonging to the object (10.40).

10.38 *An-madj-yi-rrukme-y.*

Dj 3/1-swag-COM-tug-PP
'He grabbed the swag off me.

10.39 *Kumekke kanj-no ø-kuyin-dolkka-ng wanjh*
then meat-3POSSD 3P-almost-get.up-PP right

bi-woh-kanj-yi-me-y kun-kanj ø-me-y ø-njohlme-y
3/3hP-PART-meat-COM-get-PP IV-meat 3/3I-take-PP 3P-pop-PP

ø-kanj-me-y, bi-woh-dad-kaybom.

3P-meat-get-PP 3/3hP-PART-leg-deprive.ofPP

'Just as he was about to get up, he (emu) snatched the meat from right out of his mouth, took it and popped it into his mouth. He took half of the meat (kangaroo leg) off him.'

10.40 *Ngan-yaw-berl-yi-me-y.*

3/1-child-arm-COM-take-PP
'He grabbed the baby off me by its arm.'

Unlike *yigurrme* verbs, however, the subject rather than the object ends up with the transferred object at the end of the event, like verbs of the 'potential comitative' subgroup of the *yinan* group. Table 10.1 summarises the semantic and morphosyntactic differences between these groups:

Table 10.1: Semantic and morphosyntactic differences between verb groups

<i>yinan</i> group	O is pronominal prefix, and feeds reciprocal COM incorporates if GEN or body part; body part construed as part of COM O and COM are in proximity from the beginning of the event [for 'potential comitative' subgroup, SUBJ and COM are in proximity at the end of the event]
<i>yigurrme</i> group	COM is pronominal prefix, and feeds reciprocal O incorporates if GEN; body part construed as part of SUBJ at beginning and OBJ at end O and COM are in proximity at the end of the event
<i>yimang</i> group	SUBJ and COM are in proximity at the end of the event COM is pronominal prefix O incorporates; incorporated BP construed as part of O

⁴ There is irregular dissimilatory loss of the codal *rr*, following the flapping of the root-initial *d* to *rr* after the stressed comitative prefix (§3.1.1).

Finally, there are trivalent verbs derived from intransitive verbs by the addition of both applicatives (e.g. *marneyirrunde* [BEN-COM-return] 'bring/take COM back for BEN'). These incorporate the COM argument and represent the BEN on the second pronominal prefix (e.g. 10.26 and 10.336).

10.1.3.5 Tetravalent verbs

This group is extremely rare and my only examples are elicited, formed by adding a benefactive applicative with 'indexed possessor' meaning to a trivalent verb.⁵ An example with a ditransitive verb is 10.41, and with both applicatives on a transitive verb is 10.42; the exceptional incorporation of an indirect object in 10.43 most likely reflects the special status of *yau* 'child' as an incorporated noun (see §10.4.3.2), but too little data is yet available to make a conclusive ruling about the behaviour of incorporated nominals, or of reflexive/reciprocals, in this construction. There appears to be some inconsistency in whether the indirect object or the added benefactive gets indexed by the second pronominal; 10.41 and 10.42 exemplify the former, and 10.43 the latter.

10.41 *An-marne-yau-berrebom.*

Dj 3/1-BEN-child-promisePP
'He promised something to my child(ren).'

10.42 *Ngabenbene-marne-madj-yi-bawo-ng wurdurd rowk berrewoneng.*

W 1/3du-BEN-swag-COM-leave-PP children all they.twoOBL
'I left the swags with the children of the two of them.'

10.43 *Ka-m-wa-m yayaw ben-marne-madj-yi-kurrme-ng Badjan.*

3-hither-go-PP children 3/3pl-BEN-swag-COM-put-PP mother
Ben-madj-yi-bawo-ng.
3/3pl-swag-COM-leave-PP
'The uncle came and left his swag with the children of his sister (the mother).
He left the swag with them.'

10.2 Pronominal prefixes

There are two sets of pronominal prefixes: a monovalent set, registering subject (§10.2.1), and a divalent set, registering subject and object (§10.2.2). A variant of the monovalent set can also be used with non-verbal predicates.

Most forms in the divalent set are portmanteaux, although occasionally segmentation into subject and object morphemes is possible. With third person singular objects the divalent set is identical to the monovalent set (or, viewed in another way, the third person object morpheme is zero) except that for the combination 'third person subject/third person object' there is a special form for high-animacy objects; the rather complex conditions governing its

Of the other Gunwinjguan languages, only Rembarrnga (McKay 1975:275) has been reported as allowing addition of a fourth benefactive argument to an underlying ditransitive. A pair of Rembarrnga examples illustrating the parallel to 10.41 is the following (McKay labels the benefactive prefix with the term 'implicating'):

nganba-dehwa-∅ bordi-∅
3a/1-give-PP spear-NOM
'They gave the spear to me.'

nganba-bak-dehwa-∅ bordi-∅
3a/1-IMPL-give-PP spear-NOM
'They gave the spear to a member of my family.'

use are discussed in §10.2.7. In the case of trivalent verbs there are complex rules determining which is the 'higher object'; with underlying ditransitives it will normally be the indirect object, but with double object verbs it is lexically specified in such a way as to be the argument that is typically higher in animacy with that particular verb. These issues are discussed in detail in §10.5.

Where the subject is first or second person the pronominal prefixes form a single series, but where the subject is third person there are two prefix sets depending on the TAM of the verb: a past set and a non-past set. The past set is used with the past perfective, past imperfective and irrealis TAM inflections, and with conjunction with the imperative TAM inflection for third person hortatives. The non-past is used with the non-past and imperative TAM inflections.

Dialect differences with the monovalent pronominal prefixes are restricted to form; the semantic categories are identical. But with the divalent prefixes the dialect differences are greater: the Kunwinjku dialect has the most complex system, and is discussed first; the other dialects simplify this through various types of semantic neutralisation, and are discussed later.

10.2.1 Monovalent pronominal prefixes

The monovalent prefix sets, presented in Table 10.2, show relatively little cross-dialect variation, basically splitting along the Mayali vs Kunwinjku isogloss. The differences are greatest in the third person forms, with lesser differences in the second person non-minimal forms and the final vowel of all non-minimal forms. Here as elsewhere the lack of dialect identification means the same form is found in all dialects, and bracketed forms like *(ng)a-* mean '*nga-* in Kunwinjku etc., and *nga- ~ a-* in the Mayali dialects'.

In Gun-djeihmi all initial velar nasals are optional (e.g. 'I go' can be *ngare* or *are*). With the non-minimal second person forms, some speakers (e.g. Toby Gangele, Eddy Hardy) have *g-* initials; other speakers (e.g. Minnie Alderson) have *ng-* initials. These velar initials may be dropped before *u* and, further, a *w* glide may be inserted. Thus 'you two saw it' could be *gurrinang*, *ngurrinang*, *urrinang*, or *wurrinang*. In Manyallaluk Mayali only the *ng-* or \emptyset -initial forms are found in the non-minimal (e.g. *ngurrinang* or *urrinang*).

The paradigm in Table 10.2 can be constructed by concatenating the morphemes given in the following way, in the order Tense-Person-Number (e.g. *ka-bi-rrri* [NP-3nm-a] in Kunwinjku. Note that *(ng)* means '*ng* initially dropped in Mayali dialects':

TENSE (third person only): non-past *ka-*, past *ba-* (M), \emptyset - (o.d.).

PERSON: 1st exclusive *(ng)a-*,
1st inclusive *(ng)arr-* (minimal) *ka-* (non-minimal),
2nd *yi-* (minimal), *ngu-* (non-minimal),
3rd \emptyset - (minimal), *ba-* (M), *bi-/be-* (o.d.) (non-minimal).

The choice between *bi-* and *be-* in the non-Mayali dialects is decided by the vowel in the following number prefix. In its details this pans out as follows: in W and I, use *be* before *ua ne* and *bi* before *aug rri*; in E always use *bi*.

NUMBER: \emptyset - (minimal), M, E *-ni*, K *-ne* (unit augmented), *-rri* (augmented).

The only forms not accounted for by this set of rules are the two idiosyncratic forms *ngi-* 'second person minimal', limited to some speakers of Kunwinjku, and *yirri-* 'first inclusive augmented', limited to some speakers of Kun-djedjnjenghmi; both are likely to be archaic residues submerged by paradigm regularisation in most dialects.

Table 10.2: Monovalent pronominal prefixes

Person	Minimal	Unit augmented	Augmented
1 (first exclusive)	<i>nga-</i>	M (ng)ani- K ngane- I, E ngani-	(ng)arri-
12 (first inclusive)	(ng)arr-	M gani- K kane- I, E kani-	M garri-, K, I, E karri- (Dnj) yirri ⁶)
2	<i>yi-</i> (ngi-) ⁷	M (ng)uni-, guni- K ngune- I, E nguni-	M (ng)urri-, gurri- K, I, E ngurri-
3 non-past	M ga- K ka-	M gabani- K, I kabene- E kabini-	M gabarri- K kabirri-
past	M ba- o.d. \emptyset -	M bani- W, I bene- E bini-	M barri- W, I, E birri-

Most of this prefix paradigm can be equally combined with non-verbal stems (e.g. numbers, like *nguni-bogen* 'you two'), demonstratives (e.g. *W birri-mekbe* 'those'), predicate adjectives (e.g. *Dj garri-bondjek* 12a-cold 'we are cold') or skin names (e.g. *W ngarri-kamarrang* 'we Kamarrang men/women'). See §8.3 for numerous examples. But when the referent is third person the following 'non-verbal prefix' series is used:

Table 10.3: Pronominal prefixes used with non-verbs

3 (non-verbal)	non-past	M ga-, K ka-	M bani- W, I bene- E bini-	M barri- W, I, E birri-
	past	M, K \emptyset -	M bani- W, I bene- E bini-	M barri- W, I, E birri-

For third minimal forms, this series observes the usual past vs non-past distinction, as exemplified by 10.44 and 10.45. Note that here Mayali uses the same \emptyset -prefix in the past that is found in Kunwinjku, instead of the verbal 3 minimal past form *ba-*.

⁶ This form is only attested in the speech of Lofty Bardayal; it may be archaic since it appears to be cognate with Rembarrnga *yarra-* 'we augmented' and Dalabon *yarah-* 'we unit augmented', though both these forms are exclusive rather than inclusive.

⁷ The alternative form *ngi-* occurs frequently in KS (e.g. p.212 *Dja bu ngimarrwedowen ngidjare ngingun kuk*. 'Suppose you are too hungry and want to eat that mussel raw.'). Though not attested elsewhere (to my knowledge), it may be an archaic variant; certainly some other Gunwinyguan languages have cognate forms (e.g. Kungarakany *ngi-* 'you'), and *yi-* may be an irregular development from this via palatalisation and lenition, or by semantic shift from a first inclusive form; cf. the first inclusive prefix *yi-* in Ngalakan (Merlan 1983:87–88).

10.44 *Gun-dulk an-ege ga-wurdwurd.*

Dj IV-tree VE-this 3-child
'This tree is a sapling.'

10.45 *Gorrogo nadjik ø-bininj-ni.*

Dj longago tawny.frogmouth 3P-person-P
'Long ago Tawny Frogmouth was a person.'

But for third non-minimal forms, what is normally the 'past' form is used regardless of tense, as in 10.46. These will be glossed with no indication of TAM.

10.46 *Bani-wok-buyiga.*

Dj 3ua-language-different
'They have a different language.'

Comparative note: on phonological grounds we would expect the Gun-djeihmi forms *bani-* and *barri-* to be older than the Kunwinjku forms *bene-* and *birri-*, with the latter resulting from vowel levelling and vowel harmony respectively. Some support for this position comes from the place name *Barridjowkkeng* in Kunwinjku territory, whose prefix has the Gun-djeihmi form; the expected form is *Birridjowkkeng*.

Comparison with further Gunwinyguan and other non-Pama-Nyungan languages also suggests that *-rr-* originally had dual or unit augmented semantics, and that the *-nV* unit-augmented morpheme is a relatively recent innovation. The opposition of dual *rr* to plural *l* is widespread in non-Pama-Nyungan languages (see Evans 1995c:34–35 for a tabulation) and is preserved in the Dalabon prefix system, where unit augmented *rr*, however, now competes with an innovative *nV*.

10.2.2 Divalent pronominal prefixes

As in many north Australian languages, the transitive pronominal prefixes form a complex paradigm with complex patterns of formal neutralisation, referral rules from one part of the paradigm to another, and irregularities for combinations involving first person acting upon second or the reverse. There is a tendency for the combinations with first or second person objects to be represented by forms whose basic meaning involves third person participants (see Heath 1991; Evans, Brown & Corbett 2001).

A series of neutralisations of object categories, by eliminating the inclusive/exclusive distinction in first person objects, get rid of the motive for analysing the number system of objects as a minimal/augment rather than a singular/plural system (see more below under §10.2.2.3). I therefore adopt a singular/dual/plural analysis for the system of object number. There is further neutralisation of the dual/plural distinction in sub-parts of the paradigm.

In addition, there is much more substantial cross-dialectal variation here than in any other part of the grammar. These variations basically involve the neutralisation of the non-singular number categories, first for subjects (in all dialects except Kunwinjku) and then for objects (in the easternmost dialects), as well as neutralisation of the inclusive/exclusive distinction with non-minimal objects for some speakers of Gun-djeihmi, and all Kune and Kuninjku speakers.

Full paradigms for three main systems (Kunwinjku, Gun-djeihmi and Kuninjku/Kune) are given in Tables 10.4–10.6. Aside from a few remarks on minor variant forms, these tables give the complete set of forms, so that readers who merely seek the forms can skip the rest of this section, which gives a detailed analysis of the paradigms in terms of sub-paradigms and patterns underlying the variation across dialects.

Table 10.4: Overall paradigm of Kunwinjku subject/object combinations

Subject	Object								
	3 [ɛ]	3pl [ben-]	3la [benbene-]	1sg [ngan-]	1pl	1du	2 [ngun-]	2pl	2du
1 [nga-]	nga-	ngaben-	ngabenbene-				ø-		benbene-
1aa [ngane-]	ngane-	nganaben/ ngaraben-	nganabenbene/ ngarabenbene-				ngandi-	ngandi-/bi-	
1a [ngarri-]	ngarri-	ngarrben- ngarrbenbene-	ngarrbenbene-						
12m [ngarr-]	ngarr-								
12aa [kane-]	kane-	kaneben-/ karaben-	kanebenbene-						
12a [karri-]	karri-	karaben-	karabenbene-						
2 [ri-]	ri-	riben-	ribenbene-	kan-		kanbene-			
2aa [ngane-]	ngane-	nganaben/ ngaraben-	ngunabenbene/ ngarabenbene-	kandi-					
2a [ngarri-]	ngarri-	ngaraben-	ngarabenbene-						
3 [ka-/ø]	ka-/ø (i.o.) (ka)bi- (h.o.)	(ka)ben-	(ka)benbene-	ngan-	kan- (ngan-)	kanbene-	ngun-		ngunbene-
3aa [(ka)ben-]	(ka)ben-	(ka)bindi-		ngandi-	kandi- (ngandi-)	kandi-	ngundi-		
3a [(ka)birri-]	(ka)birri-								

Third person series have *ka-* in the non-past and *ø-* elsewhere (e.g. *kaben-* '3/3plNP', *ben-* '3/3plP'). Plural object forms generally serve as the base for dual forms and are given before these in the paradigm; the reason for switching from a minimal/augmented to a singular/plural analysis with objects is discussed in the text.

Table 10.5: Overall paradigm of Gun-djeihmi subject/object combinations

Subject	Object								
	1 [a]	3pl [ban-]	3du [banbani-]	1sg [ngan-]	1pl	1du	2 [ngun-]	2pl	2du
1 [nga-]	<i>nga-</i>	<i>ngaban-</i>	<i>ngabanbani-</i>				<i>a-</i>	<i>bi-, di-</i>	<i>bi-, di-</i> (MM -ngandi)
1su [ngani-]	<i>ngani-</i>	<i>ngarrban-</i>	<i>ngarrbanbani-</i>				<i>ngandi-</i>	<i>bi-, di-</i> (MM -ngandi)	<i>bi-, di-</i> (MM banbani)
1a [ngarri-]	<i>ngarri-</i>								
12su [ngarr-]	<i>ngarr-</i>	<i>ngarrban-</i>	<i>ngarrbanbani-</i>						
12su [gani- ~ ngarri-]	<i>gani-/ngarri-</i>	<i>ngarrban-</i>							
12a [garri-]	<i>garri-</i>	<i>garrban-/</i> <i>ngarrban-</i>	<i>garrbanmani/</i> <i>ngarrbanmani-</i>						
2 [i-]	<i>yi-</i>	<i>yiban-</i>	<i>yibanbani-</i>		<i>gan-</i>	<i>ganbani-</i>			
2su [gandi-]	<i>gandi-</i>	<i>ngarrban-</i>	<i>ngurrbanbani-</i>	<i>ngandi-</i>	<i>gandi-</i>				
2a [ngarri-]	<i>ngarri-</i>								
3 [ga-/ba-]	<i>ga-/ba-</i> (1a) <i>(ga)bi-</i> (ba)	<i>(ga)ban-</i>	<i>(ga)banbani-</i>	<i>ngan-</i>	<i>gan-</i> (ngan-)	<i>ganbani-</i>	<i>ngun-</i>	<i>ngulberren /</i> <i>ngun-</i>	<i>ngunbani-</i>
3su [(ga)bandi-]	<i>(ga)bandi-</i>	<i>(ga)bandi-</i>		<i>ngandi-</i>	<i>gandi-</i> (Dnj ngambi-)	<i>gandi-</i>	<i>ngundi-</i>	<i>bi-, di-</i>	
3a [(ga)barri-]	<i>(ga)barri-</i>								

Again, third person series have *ga-* in the non-past and \emptyset elsewhere (e.g. *gaban-* '3/3a', *ban-* '3/3aP'). Optional dropping of initial *ng* (e.g. *nga-* ~ *a-* '1/3') is not shown on the table, but is available for all initial velar nasals. Also not shown is the variant realisation of initials with second non-minimal subjects; thus, *nguni-* stands for *nguni*~*uni*~*wuni*~*guni-*. Finally, optional realisation of *bani-* as *mani-* after nasals (e.g. *(ng)abanbani-* ~ *(ng)abanmani-* for 1/3ua) is not indicated here. Other remarks as for Table 10.4.

Table 10.6: Overall paradigm of subject/object combinations in Kuninjku and Kune

Subject	Object					
	3 [ə]	3pl		1sg [ngun-]	1pl	2 [ngun-] (all numbers)
		[ben-] (I)	[bin-] (E)			
1 [ŋa-]	ŋa-	ŋaben-	ŋabin-			ə-
1ua [ŋaui-]	ŋaui-	ngarrben-	ngarrbin-			ngundi-
1a [ŋarri-]	ŋarri-					
1a [ŋarri-]	ŋarri-					
12m [ŋary-]	ŋary-					
12ua [karri-]	karri-					
12a [karri-]	karri-					
2 [yi-]	yi-	yiben-	yibin-	kan-		
2ua [ŋaui-]	ŋaui-	ngarrben-	ngarrbin-	kandi-		
2a [ŋarri-]	ŋarri-					
3 [ka-/ə-]	ka-/ə- (I.o.) (ka)bi- (h.o.)	(ka)ben-	(ka)bin-	ngan-	kan-	ngun-
3ua [(ka)hene- E (ka)hau-]	(ka)hene-	(ka)bindi-		ngandi-	kandi-	ngundi-
3a [(ka)harrri-]	(ka)harrri-					

Again, third person series have *ka-* in the non-past and *ə-* elsewhere (e.g. E *kabin-* '3/3pINP', *bin-* '3/3pIP'). Note the complete reduction of object number marking to a two-valued system, singular vs plural (including dual), and the neutralization of the inclusive/exclusive distinction for subjects once object number exceeds singular. The Kuninjku and Kune systems have identical semantic structure, but Kune has *bin(i)* wherever Kuninjku has *ben(e)*. In Kuninjku there is conditioned alternation between *i-* final and *e-* final prefixes (see §10.2.2.1); only the *i-* final forms are shown here.

The most revealing way to present this complex data is through a series of partial paradigms, beginning with the most differentiated system (Kunwinjku) and passing through the successive neutralisations that occur in other dialects. Within the system of any one dialect, there are also patterns of formal extension such that it makes sense to begin with the paradigm for third person object forms, pass to the paradigms for third person acting on first and second person, then finally to the paradigms for first on second and second on first. In the first (subject) column of each paradigm I give in square brackets, for comparison in factorising the forms, the relevant intransitive subject form.

Throughout these paradigms, I use (*ka-*) or (*ga-*) to represent the segment present in third person non-past prefixes. As with the intransitive series, initial velar nasals are optional in Mayali, and in Gun-djeihmi there are *g-*, *ng-*, *ø-* and *w-*initial variants of the second non-minimal series. For example 'you two saw it' has the variants *nguninang*, *guninang*, *uninang* and *wuninang* in Gun-djeihmi. The *ø-* and *w-*initial variants, which result from elision of the initial consonant in the case of *ø-* (optionally followed by a prosthetic *w-*) are not shown in the paradigms.

10.2.2.1 Third person object forms

Tables 10.7–10.23, which follow over the next ten or so pages, are laid out in such a way as to show the most peripheral categories — namely the combinations not represented in all dialects — in the outer cells. Thus the unit augmented category for objects, not distinguished in the eastern dialects, is shown in the rightmost column; the eastern dialects simply use the augmented form, made more precise where necessary by a dual free pronoun (see §10.2.3 below). Similarly the unit augmented category for non-third person subjects with non-minimal objects, distinctive only in the Kunwinjku dialect, is shown in the bottom rows; other dialects simply use the augmented form for the subject, again supplemented where necessary by a dual free pronoun. In all dialects the neutralisation of augmented and unit augmented, for both subject and object, occurs where both are third person. To show the morphological analysis more concisely, the morphological factors (given after the table in the case of monovalent prefixes) are given in square brackets within the relevant cells, throughout §10.2.2. Where nothing is said, the subject morpheme is identical to that found in the monovalent set. Morphemes occur in the order: Tense/Subject-Object Augmented-Object Unit Augmented; there is no form with separate exponence for tense and subject outside zero and fused forms.

KUNWINJKU This is the most differentiated system, with distinct forms for all three numbers in subject and object, except that the two non-singular values are neutralised where both subject and object are non-singular.

In Table 10.7, *+bene* means the dual suffix is added after the plural object form. Note also that the initial *b* of the dual suffix optionally assimilates in nasality to the preceding nasal, so that alongside *ngabenbene-* etc. is the variant *ngabenmene-*. This applies to all transitive prefix forms with dual suffix *-bene*. If the subject morpheme ends in *rri*, the *i* is dropped before a following non-zero morpheme (e.g. *ngarrbenene* '1a/3pl' instead of predicted *ngarribenbene*); this leads to neutralisation of the difference between 1a and 12m

subjects in the paradigm.⁸ Where unit-augmented subjects have non-singular objects there is also optional neutralisation with the corresponding form for plural subjects; for example, instead of using the distinct form *nganeben* for '1ua/3pl', one can use the form *ngarrben* which is identical to the '1a/3pl' form.⁹

Table 10.7: Kunwinjku third person object divalent pronominal forms

Subject	Object		
	3sg [- \emptyset]	3pl [-ben/ \emptyset , -bin/-di]	3du [+bene]
1m	<i>nga-</i>	<i>ngaben-</i>	<i>ngabenbene-</i>
1ua	<i>ngane-</i>	<i>nganeben-/ngarrben-</i>	<i>nganebenbene-/ngarrbenbene-</i>
1a	<i>ngarri-</i>	<i>ngarrben-</i>	<i>ngarrbenbene-</i>
12m	<i>ngarr-</i>	<i>ngarrben-</i>	<i>ngarrbenbene-</i>
12ua	<i>kane-</i>	<i>kaneben-/karrben-</i>	<i>kanebenbene-/karrbenbene-</i>
12a	<i>karri-</i>	<i>karrben-</i>	<i>karrbenbene-</i>
2m	<i>yi- (ngi-)</i>	<i>yiben-</i>	<i>yibenebene-</i>
2ua	<i>ngune-</i>	<i>nguneben-/ngurrben-</i>	<i>ngunebenbene-/ngurrbenbene-</i>
2a	<i>ngurri-</i>	<i>ngurrben-</i>	<i>ngurrbenbene-</i>
3m: lower object	<i>(ka-)</i>	<i>(ka)ben-</i>	<i>(ka)benbene-</i>
3m: higher object	<i>(ka)bi-</i>	<i>(ka)ben-</i>	<i>(ka)benbene-</i>
3ua [+di if O nm]	<i>(ka)bene-</i>	<i>(ka)bindi-</i>	<i>(ka)bindi-</i>
3a [+di if O nm]	<i>(ka)birri-</i>	<i>(ka)bindi-</i>	<i>(ka)bindi-</i>

MAYALI These dialects neutralise the augmented vs unit augmented contrast for subjects once the object is non-singular; in other words what in Kunwinjku is an optional neutralisation always occurs in Mayali. There is also a tendency to neutralise the inclusive vs exclusive contrast for subjects (in favour of the exclusive) once objects are non-minimal. As in Kunwinjku, the initial *b* of the unit augmented suffix optionally assimilates in nasality to the preceding nasal, so that alongside *ngabanbani-* etc. is the variant *ngabanmani-*. This applies to all transitive prefix forms with unit augmented suffix *-bani*.

⁸ Carroll (1976:66) cites augmented forms with non-minimal objects as retaining the vowel found on the corresponding monovalent forms (e.g. *ngurriben* for 'you augmented acting upon them' rather than *ngurrben* as here). I give the vowel-less forms here on the basis of my own field notes as well as the main other published sources (e.g. Oates 1964; Etherington & Etherington 1994:58).

⁹ Again, the possibility of these neutralisations is shown in Etherington and Etherington (1994:58), whereas Carroll (1976:66) only showed the unneutralised forms. It is not clear at this stage whether this reflects a process of historical change, or a corpus based on less idealised language use.

Table 10.8: Mayali third person object divalent pronominal forms

Subject	Object		
	3sg [- \emptyset]	3pl [- <i>ban</i>]	3du [+ <i>bani</i>]
1m	(ng)a-	(ng)aban-	(ng)abanbani-
1ua	(ng)ani-	(ng)arrban-	(ng)arrbanbani-
1a	(ng)arri-	(ng)arrban-	(ng)arrbanbani-
12m	(ng)arr-	(ng)arrban-	(ng)arrbanbani-
12ua	gani- ~ (ng)arri-	(ng)arrban-	garrbanbani- ~ (ng)arrbanbani-
12a	garri- (Dnj yirri-)	garrban- ~ (ng)arrban-	garrbanbani- ~ (ng)arrbanbani-
2m	yi-	yiban-	yibanbani-
2ua	(ng/g)uni-	(ng/g)urrban-	(ng/g)urrbanbani-
2a	(ng/g)urri-	(ng/g)urrban-	(ng/g)urrbanbani-
3m	ga-/ba- (low obj) (ga)bi- (hi obj)	(ga)ban-	(ga)banbani-
3ua	(ga)bani-	(ga)bandi-	(ga)bandi-
3a	(ga)barri-	(ga)bandi-	(ga)bandi-

KUNINJKU AND KUNE Throughout their transitive pronominal prefix system Kuninjku and Kune are parallel semantically, but there is an important formal difference: Kune has forms in *i* where Kuninjku has forms in *e*, though Kuninjku speakers often sporadically use *i* forms as well. For the unit-augmented non-third person subject forms with singular objects, Kuninjku speakers have conditioned allomorphy between the two forms, using the *i* forms before *y* and the *e* forms elsewhere — *ngunewon* ‘you two give it to him/her/it’ but *nguniyakwon* ‘you two finish it’ — while Kune speakers generalise the *i* form.

These paradigms neutralise the plural vs dual contrast for objects, so that here ‘plural’ includes ‘dual’, whereas in Kunwinjku and Mayali plural means ‘three or more’. They also minimise the augmented vs unit-augmented distinction for subjects if the objects are non-minimal, and the inclusive vs exclusive distinction once the objects are non-minimal. Example 10.47 shows the neutralisation of unit augmented vs augmented for object arguments (*bin-*) but not intransitive subjects (*kabini-*). As this example shows, postposed free pronouns may be brought in to express the distinction; this is discussed more fully in §10.2.3 below.

10.47 *Daluk djarrkno bini-ngune-ng man-me man-birlanghbirlangh,*
E woman two 3uaP-eat-PP III-vegetable.food III-[plant.sp.]

mural bin-bom berrewoneng
nasty.spirit 3/3pl-killPP them.uaOBL

‘Two women ate that (tabooed) *man-birlanghbirlangh* food, and an evil mural spirit killed them.’

Table 10.9: Kuninjku and Kune third person object divalent pronominal forms

Subject	Object		
	3sg [-∅]	3pl: (I) [-ben]	3pl: (E) [-bin]
1m	<i>nga-</i>	<i>ngaben-</i>	<i>ngabin-</i>
1ua	<i>ngane-/ngani-</i>	<i>ngarrben-</i>	<i>ngarrbin-</i>
1a	<i>ngarri-</i>	<i>ngarrben-</i>	<i>ngarrbin-</i>
12m	<i>ngarr-</i>	<i>ngarrben-</i>	<i>ngarrbin-</i>
12ua	<i>kane-/kani-</i>	<i>ngarrben-</i>	<i>ngarrbin-</i>
12a	<i>karri-</i>	<i>ngarrben-</i>	<i>ngarrbin-</i>
2m	<i>yi-</i>	<i>yiben-</i>	<i>yibin-</i>
2ua	<i>ngune-/nguni-</i>	<i>ngurrben-</i>	<i>ngurrbin-</i>
2a	<i>ngurri-</i>	<i>ngurrben-</i>	<i>ngurrbin-</i>
3m	(<i>ka-</i>) (lo obj) (<i>ka</i>) <i>bi-</i> (hi obj)	(<i>ka</i>) <i>ben-</i>	(<i>ka</i>) <i>bin-</i>
3ua	I (<i>ka</i>) <i>bene-</i> , E (<i>ka</i>) <i>bini-</i>	(<i>ka</i>) <i>bindi-</i>	(<i>ka</i>) <i>bindi-</i>
3a	(<i>ka</i>) <i>birri-</i>	(<i>ka</i>) <i>bindi-</i>	(<i>ka</i>) <i>bindi-</i>

10.2.2.2 Non-third person objects: some general characteristics

Once we move to first and second person objects, we witness four changes in the organisation of forms. Firstly, ordering of morphemes by person appears, so that first or second person morphemes precede third person regardless of whether they are subject or object. Secondly the morpheme *-n-* directly follows non-third person morphemes representing objects (e.g. *ngu-n-di-* [2-OBJ-3aSUBJ] '3a/2(a)' and *nga-n-di* [1-OBJ-3aSUBJ] '3a/1(a)' [the exact meaning of this form varies across dialects]). Thirdly, forms in which first person acts upon second or vice versa never have separate exponence for both participants, using a variety of alternative strategies. Fourthly, the distinction between augmented and unit augmented subjects is neutralised everywhere.

10.2.2.3 Third person subject forms with first person objects

This is the most confused and variable part of the paradigm; for Kunwinjku every source gives a different version. We have already seen (in §10.2.2.1) the tendency for the inclusive/exclusive distinction to break down for the subjects of divalent prefix combinations; for objects it breaks down completely.

Two constants survive this variation: the use of *-di* for all non-minimal third person subjects, and the use of *ka-* as a base for at least some first person non-minimal objects. Recall that the use of *-di* with third person objects was restricted to cases of third non-minimal subject on third non-minimal object; its extension in this part of the paradigm and subsequently suggests it should be characterised as 'neither subject nor object are third person minimal'. The use of *ka-*, familiar to us as the 12 non-minimal base in the monovalent paradigm, sees various extensions from this, for example to cover all 1 non-singular objects (not just first inclusive) in the Etheringtons' analysis of Kunwinjku, and in Kuninjku and Kune; at the same time the root *nga-*, basically first person exclusive in the monovalent

paradigm (though also found in the first inclusive minimal form *ngarr-*) sees an extension into first person more generally, as a variant form in the Etherington's analysis. In other words, one of the factors generating the range of forms is the competition between inclusive and exclusive roots for extension into a neutralised first person object base.

KUNWINJKU There is so much variation in the Kunwinjku speech community on this point that no analysis is likely to be definitive, though a comparison of idiolectal differences would be fascinating. It is worth beginning with Carroll's (1976:69) analysis, set out in Table 10.11 below (I have changed his number glosses for the subject to their minimal-augmented system equivalents).

Table 10.11: Kunwinjku 3 subject / 1 object pronominal forms: Carroll (1976)

Subject	Object		
	1sg	1(2)pl	1du
3m	<i>ngan-</i>	<i>kan-</i>	<i>kanbene-</i>
3ua, a	<i>ngandi-</i>	<i>kandi-</i>	<i>kandi-</i>

Note (a) the realignment of the *nga-* vs *ka-* contrast away from the inclusive/exclusive distinction it carries with the monovalent and third person object forms, to a distinction between singular vs non-singular object, (b) the collapse of the inclusive/exclusive distinction, (c) the concomitant reanalysis of the object number system to a singular/plural system, and (d) the revaluing of the *bene* prefix from having relative number (unit augmented), which it has in subjects, to absolute number (dual).

It is possible that this derives from an earlier stage in which *ngandi-* was associated with first exclusive augmented objects, and *kandi-* with first inclusive augmented objects, as well as *nganbene-* for first exclusive unit augmented objects and *kanbene-* for first inclusive augmented objects. However, not even the oldest existing corpora require this analysis, though they are suggestive. Note, however, the following quote in Rowe (n.d.:6), likely to be based on an old form of the language: 'The use of *kanbene-* for "he to us (you 2 & I)" supports my reasoning [regarding kinds of "we" – NE] as *bene-* is the prefix for two people. In other words, the Kunwinjku seem to think of "you 2 & I" as 2 people'.

A subsequent snapshot, some two and a half decades later, is furnished by the following excerpt from the grammar by Etherington and Etherington (1994:58):

Table 10.12: Kunwinjku 3 subject / 1 object pronominal forms: Etherington and Etherington (1994)

Subject	Object		
	1sg	1(2)pl ('us (3+)')	1du ('us two')
3m	<i>ngan-</i>	<i>kan-/ngan-</i>	<i>kanbene-</i>
3ua, a	<i>ngandi-</i>	<i>kandi-/ngandi-</i>	<i>kandi-</i>

The Etheringtons' grammar, well-attuned as it is to variant forms found in the Kunwinjku speech community, notes explicitly (p.56) that '*kanbene* and *nganbene* are simply alternatives'. The paradigm they note shows an extension of the *ngan-* and *ngandi-* forms from singular object forms to become alternative plural object forms as well.

MAYALI This represents another complex twist; again, it shows a collapse of the inclusive vs exclusive distinction, with slight differences in form between the Gun-djeihmi, Gun-dedjnjenghmi and Manyallaluk Mayali systems.

Table 10.13: Mayali 3 subject / 1 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object		
	1sg	1pl	1du
3m	(ng)an-	gan-	ganbani-
3ua, a	(ng)andi- (Dj) gandi- (MM)	gandi-/ ngambi- (Dnj)	gandi-

This is structurally identical (with slightly different forms) to Carroll's analysis of the relevant part of the Kunwinjku paradigm.

KUNE AND KUNINJKU As with the other combinations, Kune and Kuninjku neutralise the distinction between plural and dual objects.

Table 10.14: Kune and Kuninjku 3 subject / 1 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object	
	1sg	1nsg
3sg	ngan-	kan-
3nsg	ngandi-	kandi-

For this part of the paradigm the formative *ka-* is '1(2)nsg'. However, this meaning for *ka-* becomes untenable once one looks at the derivation of the 2/1 forms (see §1 0.2.2.6).

10.2.2.4 Third person subjects on second person objects

These are more straightforward. Throughout there is a generalisation of the root *ngu* beyond the second person non-minimal value it has in the monovalent paradigm to cover minimal values as well, completely displacing *yi-*, the monovalent form for second person non-minimal.

KUNWINJKU This has a comparable structure to one version of the Mayali first person object forms. Unit augmented object number is marked only where the subject is minimal. Object number is neutralised for non-minimal subjects, and also between minimal and augmented objects where the subject is minimal.

Table 10.15: Kunwinjku 3 subject / 2 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object		
	2sg	2pl	2du
3m	ngun-	ngun-	ngunbene-
3ua,a	ngundi-	ngundi-	ngundi-

MAYALI This resembles Kunwinjku, except that (a) the dual object marker *-bani* can be used even when subject is non-minimal, (b) there is a suppletive form *bi-/di-* fpr 3nm/2pl, and (c) the neutralisation between singular and non-singular objects with minimal subjects is patched by procliticising the oblique augmented pronoun to specify plural number.

The initial variation *ng ~ g ~ ø ~ w* is confined to Gundjeihmi; other Mayali varieties just have *ng*.

Table 10.16: Mayali 3 subject / 2 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object		
	2sg	2pl	2du
3m	<i>(ng/g/w)un-</i>	<i>(ng/g)udberre=ngun-</i>	<i>(ng/g)unbani-</i>
3ua, a	<i>(ng/g/w)undi-</i>	<i>bi-, di-</i>	<i>(ng/g)unbani-</i>

KUNINJKU AND KUNE This is simplified from the Kunwinjku system by getting rid of dual number.

Table 10.17: Kuninjku and Kune 3 subject / 2 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object	
	2sg	2pl, 2du
3m	<i>ngun-</i>	<i>ngun-</i>
3ua, a	<i>ngundi-</i>	<i>ngundi-</i>

10.2.2.5 First person subjects with second person objects

Where the subject is minimal, all dialects use a zero portmanteau for the singular object, whose primary function is to mark third minimal on third singular lower animate. There are varied strategies for dealing with non-singular objects, basically amounting to different ways of encoding object number and not coding the subject overtly. Where the subject is non-minimal, the basic strategy is to reuse the 3/2 forms, though with some further intricacies. In other words, within the broad set of pronominal disguise strategies identified by Heath (1991) as being used in north Australian languages for combinations of first person on second or the reverse, the two basic strategies employed for this sub-paradigm are (a) don't encode person of either referent (where the subject is first minimal) and (b) reuse the third person subject forms for first person (where the subject is first non-minimal).

KUNWINJKU With minimal subjects the form is basically zero, but with dual number of the object marked by the standard dual combination *benbene*. This is identical to the third person subject on third person object paradigm, keeping number constant except that the zero is extended from third singular to third plural object. With non-minimal subjects, the forms for third person on second person are used. There is, however, an additional variant *bi-* (used elsewhere for 3/3HP); according to the Etheringtons' grammar (p.53) '*ngundi* and *bi* are interchangeable when we (any number) does action of verb to you (more than one person)',

but Garde (pers. comm.) suggests *bi-* is restricted to the past tense. This would be the sole intrusion of tense distinctions into the pronominal prefix system outside 3/3 combinations.

Table 10.18: Kunwinjku 1 subject / 2 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object		
	2m	2a	2ua
1m	∅-	∅-	<i>benbene-</i>
1a, ua	<i>ngundi-</i>	<i>ngundi-/bi-</i>	<i>ngundi-/bi-</i>

MAYALI These resemble the Kunwinjku subparadigm, except for the intrusion of *bi-* into the 1m/2pl form, the occurrence of *di* for first non-minimal subjects with second plural objects (and second dual objects in Gun-djeihmi), and the extension of the dual object marker *banbani* (corresponding to *benbene*) to non-minimal subjects. Relative to Kunwinjku, the form *ngundi* is more restricted, having been partly or totally supplanted by *bi*, *di* or *banbani* (according to the dialect and the combination). Gun-dedjnjenghmi has a form *ngunbi-*, used for 1a>2sg/pl; this serves as a possible bridge between the *ngundi* and *bi* forms.

Table 10.19: Mayali 1 subject / 2 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object		
	2m	2a	2ua
1m	∅-	<i>bi-, di-</i>	<i>banbani-</i>
1a, ua	<i>(ng/g)undi-</i> <i>(Dnj ngunbi-)</i>	<i>bi-, di- (Dj)</i> <i>bi-, ngundi- (MM)</i> <i>ngunbi- (Dnj)</i>	<i>bi-, di- (Dj)</i> <i>banbani- (MM)</i>

KUNINJKU AND KUNE These resemble Kunwinjku, except that the *bi-* variant is not found. As elsewhere in the paradigm, there is also a greater tendency to encliticise the oblique pronoun form to make object person and number unambiguous; see §10.2.3.

Table 10.20: Kuninjku and Kune 1 subject / 2 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object	
	2m	2(u)a
1m	∅-	∅-
1a, ua	<i>ngundi-</i>	<i>ngundi-</i>

10.2.2.6 Second person subjects with first person objects

These forms are generally based on the third/first inclusive paradigms, except that the picture is complicated by the various degrees of neutralisation of the inclusive/exclusive object distinction with third person subjects that was discussed in §10.2.2.3. This complication is almost certainly the result of a lag, in which the 2/1 forms, once based transparently on the 3/12 forms, have been detached from them by remodelling of the 3/1(2) paradigm.

Table 10.21: Kunwinjku 2 subject / 1 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object		
	1sg	1pl	1du
2m	<i>kan-</i>	<i>kan-</i>	<i>kanbene-</i>
2a	<i>kandi-</i>	<i>kandi-</i>	<i>kandi-</i>

KUNWINJKU With non-minimal objects these are identical to the 3/1 forms, with number values taken from the corresponding subject and object values (e.g. 2m/1du is the same as the form for 3m/1du). With minimal objects they are based on the corresponding 2/1pl form, *ka-* initial variant.

MAYALI This is based on the 3/1 system given in §10.2.2.3, except that 2m/1sg uses the 3/1 plural form *gan-* instead of the 3/1sg form (*ng*)*an-*. Unlike in Kunwinjku, a *ng-* initial form *ngandi-* intrudes into this paradigm from the 3/1 paradigm, presumably an extension of the 3nm/1 form.

Table 10.22: Mayali 2 subject / 1 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object		
	1m	1a	1ua
2m	<i>gan-</i>	<i>gan-</i>	<i>ganbani-</i>
2a	(<i>ng</i>) <i>andi-</i>	<i>gandi-</i>	<i>gandi-</i>

KUNINJKU AND KUNE These forms are the most straightforward: they are basically derived directly from the 3/1 forms, except that as in Mayali the 2/1sg form is based on the 3/1pl form *kan-* rather than the 3/1sg form *ngan-*.

Table 10.23: Kuninjku and Kune 2 subject / 1 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object	
	1sg	1pl, du
2m	<i>kan-</i>	<i>kan-</i>
2a, ua	<i>kandi-</i>	<i>kandi-</i>

10.2.3 Use of free pronouns to supplement prefixal categories

The dialects that neutralise number contrasts in their transitive pronominal prefix series commonly make use of juxtaposed free pronouns to add specification where needed. Most significant is the placement directly after the verb of the oblique series pronouns (10.48–10.51), which in free use mark possessive or oblique participants (§7.1), to indicate the number of the object. Though positionally fixed, these are not clitics, since they bear independent word stress.

Note that these juxtaposed free pronouns employ a minimal/augmented number system, in contrast to the singular/plural system used on the object prefixes, as illustrated by the use of the first inclusive minimal form *ngarrku* for a group of two in 10.50.

When the number of the subject is indicated it is usual to use the intransitive pronominal prefix on the corresponding number word (e.g. *ngunibogen* 'you two' (Dj), *birridanjik* 'they three' (w)), usually but not necessarily before the verb.

Juxtaposition of oblique pronouns is found from Kunwinjku, through Kuninjku, to Kune.

The more neutralisations occur in the prefix paradigm the commoner it is, so that it is maximally frequent (though still not obligatory) in Kune and Kuninjku:

10.48 *Wanjh bin-weleng-baye-ng berrewoneng.*

E then 3/3pl-then-bite-PP 3uaOBL
'Then the dog bit them two.' [DK]

10.49 *Duruk djarrkno wardi kan-baye kadberre karri-wern.*

E dog two might 3/1pl-biteNP 12aOBL 12a-many
'Those two dogs might bite all of us (inclusive).' [DK]

10.50 *Wardi kan-baye ngarrku.*

E maybe 3/1pl-biteNP 12minimalOBL
'It might bite us two (you and me).' [DK]

10.51 *Karri-re djenj, ø-ka-n ngudberre.*

E 12a-goNP fish 1/2°-go-NP 2aOBL
'Let's go fishing, I'll take you guys'. [DK]

10.52 *ø-Wo-n ngurrewoneng.*

I 1/2-give-NP 2uaOBL
'I'll give it to you two.'

But it is also found in Kunwinjku:

10.53 *... ngurri-ngime-n werrk, ba ø-na-n ngudberre!*

W 2a-enter-IMP first so.that 1/2-see-NP 2aOBL
'... you mob go in first, so that I can see you!' [KS 222]

10.54 *Kornkumo dja Ngai-badjan ngandi-kelehm-i ngadberre ...*

W Father and II-Mother 3a/1-scare-PI 1aOBL
'Father and Mother used to scare us.'

Similar is the use of pronouns to clarify whether inclusive or exclusive readings are intended in cases where the pronominal prefixes neutralise this distinction. In Kunwinjku, Kuninjku and Kune this is achieved by the choice between inclusive and exclusive free pronouns (e.g. 10.54). In Gun-djeihmi the inclusive reading can also be forced by placing a second person pronoun next to the verb in a set-subset construction (§10.2.6) with the pronominal prefix:

10.55 *Wudda ganmani-na-ng.*

Dj you 3/1du-see-PP
'He saw you and me.'

10.2.4 m- support

In Kunwinjku and Kuninjku the expected zero third person minimal past prefix would leave the directional prefix *m-* in a phonotactically unacceptable position word-initially. For example, we would get the unacceptable

- 10.56 * \emptyset -*M-wam*.
 w, I 3P-hither-goPP
 'He/she came.'

This is avoided in different ways in these two dialects.

In Kunwinjku it is avoided by inserting a nonce prefix *ku-*,¹⁰ giving *kumwam* as the correct realisation:

- 10.57 *Ku-m-ka-ng*
 w 3P-hither-bring-PP
 'He brought it (here).' [PC 64]

In Kuninjku, the prefix *ka-*, normally confined to the non-past, is extended to this context:

- 10.58 *Ngaleng ka-m-wam* \emptyset -*kayhme-ng* "koooo"
 E she 3(P)-hither-goPP 3P-call.out-PP kooo
 '(then) she came (and) she shouted "koooo"'.
 'koooo'

In Gun-djeihmi the problem does not arise because the *ba-* prefix provides phonological support: *bamwam* 'he/she went'; in Manyallaluk Mayali and Kune it does not arise because the directional prefix is not found (and since Manyallaluk Mayali and Gun-dedjnjenghmi have 3P *ba-* the problem would be avoided anyway). The second distribution map in Figure 1.3 summarises the treatment of this feature across dialects.

The same problem can potentially arise after a number of other prefixes in all dialects, for example after the 1/2 prefix \emptyset -, or the 3/1 prefix *ngan-* which would create an unacceptable cluster *nganm-*. I lack a good set of corpus examples of how this is dealt with, but two particular solutions are offered by the following examples. In the first the resultant cluster is simplified by dropping the second element; in the second the problem is avoided by not having an overt first person subject, with the directional prefix implying a first person object.

- 10.59 *Migan*.
 Dj \emptyset -*m-yiga-n*.
 1/2-hither-fetch-NP
 'I'll bring you here.'
- 10.60 *Ga-m-wohna-n ngahdjarre*.
 Dj 3/3I-hither-look-NP this.way
 'It's looking this way' (given as a translation of 'It's looking at me.')

Oates (1964:110) contains an example that suggests a third solution is sometimes applied; she gives the form *ngan-kum-yikang*¹¹ for 'he was coming to get me', which looks like the prefix *ku* has been inserted to avoid the phonotactically impossible sequence **nganmyikang*. However, I have never heard such a form myself, or seen it in other Kunwinjku texts.

¹⁰ Several other Gunwinyguan languages, such as Ngalakan and Ngandi, employ *ku-* as the third person neuter pronominal prefix (unlike Bininj Gun-wok, these languages have gender agreement on the verb; this is of course the verbal equivalent of the neuter *ku-* found on nominals); so do many other non-Pama-Nyungan languages outside Gunwinyguan, making it likely this is an archaic feature that has been lost in Bininj Gun-wok (and several other Gunwinyguan languages). Diachronically, then, Kunwinjku *ku-* in *kum-* may be a residue of an old neuter pronominal prefix on the verb.

¹¹ I have converted her form into the Kunwinjku orthography.

10.2.5 Number in pronominal prefixes

In this section I discuss various ways in which speakers employ the pronominal-prefix number system in a way that deviates from the mathematically expected choice.

10.2.5.1 Lack of number agreement for non-humans

Number agreement is normally restricted to humans (e.g. 10.61), and not found on non-humans (10.62, 10.63) or parts of humans (10.64):

10.61 *Abanmani-na-ng bininj.*

Dj 1/3du-see-PP man
'I saw the two men.'

10.62 *Duruk ginga ba-baye-ng ba-ngune-ng na-wern-gen.*

Dj dog crocodile 3/3I-bite-PP 3/3-eat-PP MA-many-GEN
'The crocodile has eaten all the dogs.'

10.63 *Nga-na-ng boken kornobolo.*

W 1/3-see-PP two wallaby
'I saw two wallabies.'

10.64 *Barri-bid-wern-wo-ng delek.*

Dj 3aP/3-hand-many-make-PP white.clay
'They made many white clay hand prints.'

Suppression of number with inanimates is not limited to grammatical objects: subjects that are non-human equally fail to trigger number agreement:

10.65 *Bolkgime ga-yauma-rre-n ba-wernm-inj.*

Dj now 3-breed-RR-NP 3-become.plentiful-PP
'(Those dingoes) are breeding up now and have become plentiful.'

10.66 *Na-mege maih ga-m-golu-rr-en gaddum-be.*

Dj MA-that bird 3-hither-descend-RR-NP up-ABL
'Those birds are coming down from higher ground.'

10.67 *Nganabbarru ga-mirnde-rri.*

Dj buffalo 3-many-standNP
'There are many buffaloes.'

10.68 *Galawan ba-rrulk-bidbom.*

Dj goanna 3P-tree-climbPP
'Goannas have climbed up into the trees'/'The/a goanna has climbed up into the tree.'

10.69 *Bod ga-di.*

Dj fly 3-standNP
'There are flies there.'

As these examples show, lack of number marking on the pronominal prefixes can be compensated for in a number of ways: overt NP quantifiers like *nawern.gen* 'many' (10.62) or *boken* 'two' (10.63); A-quantifying number prefixes to the verb like *mirnde-* 'many' (10.67), chaining with inherently plural verbs like *wernmen* 'become plentiful, become many'

(10.65), or the collective use of the reflexive/reciprocal (10.66). In other cases there is no overt indication of plurality (10.68, 10.69).

10.2.5.2 Situations in which the number of non-humans is marked

There are two circumstances in which non-humans may trigger pronominal number marking. The first involves inanimates that are personified as dreamtime beings (i.e. as transmogrified humans):

- 10.70 *Gabani-warde-djal-ni bogen.*
 Dj 3ua-rock-just-sitNP two
 'There are two (dreaming) rocks there.'

The second involves making vivid just how close the entities are to the speaker — clearly the multiplicity of objects is more visually salient, and at the same time the objects are more visually distinct, when seen from close up: 10.70 could also be used of ordinary rocks looming apart very close to the speaker. A further example below (10.71) occurred in a text about being charged by a herd of buffaloes. While it is common for herds of buffalo to be referred to using the minimal pronominal prefix (e.g. 10.67), in this text the closeness and individuation of buffalo charging towards the narrator is indicated through the use of the augmented prefix:

- 10.71 *Bu nganabbarru barri-darnh-bebme-rre-ni ...*
 Dj when buffalo 3aP-close-appear-RR-PI
 'When buffalo would stampe up close ...'

Similar uses of number marking to express individuation or visual salience with body parts are discussed in §10.4.2.5.

10.2.5.3 Plurality of non-referential humans not marked

Non-referential arguments usually receive the same person, animacy and number marking as referential arguments (§10.2.8). However, occasionally non-referential humans are simply not marked for plurality or animacy, which is equivalent to having a zero pronominal prefix for that argument:

- 10.72 *Bininj ga-yawa-n.*
 Dj man 3(3I)NP-see-NP
 'She's looking for men/for a man.' (but see §10.2.7 for alternative phrasings)
- 10.73 *Man-kare na-wu nakka kunukka korroko ø-yah-yame-ninj,*
 E:D III-old MA-REL MA:DEM then before 3P-INCEP-spear-IRR
yoh ø-bu-rre-meninj na-mekke daluk-ken, ø-yame-rr-imeninj yoh.
 yes 3P-hit-RR-IRR MA-DEM woman-GEN 3P-spear-RR-IRR yes
 'Yes, long ago there'd be spearings or people would fight each other over women,
 yes they'd spear each other, yeah.'

10.2.5.4 The vague plural with singular human referents

There are two circumstances in which augmented pronominal forms are used with singular human referents. Firstly, this may indicate uncertainty about which of a number of possible referents is involved — as Eddie Hardy explained the augmented form (10.74), ‘just guessing a couple of places — don’t know which one it is’. (Note that although the surface referent here is actually a place, I include it under human referents because it is a euphemistic and indirect way of discussing human mishaps.)¹²

10.74 *An-berredjalkme-i, gare barri-bolk-yakm-inj, malayi*
Dj 3/1-stick.in.gullet-PP maybe 3aP-place-become.bad-PP tomorrow

garri-wok-bengyirri.

12a-word-hearNP

‘Some food has got stuck in my gullet, (a sign that) maybe something bad has happened somewhere, we’ll hear the news tomorrow.’

He explained that, once the actual identity of the place was known, one would say something like 10.74, with a minimal form:

10.75 *Gu-mege ba-bolk-warrem-inj.*
Dj LOC-DEM 3P-place-become.bad-PP

‘Something bad happened there (= someone died there).’

Kuninjku speakers do not employ this usage and would just say *bolkwarreminj* throughout, with the minimal prefix form.

A Kunwinjku example, from the Yirrbardbard and Kurwirluk story in Hale’s fieldnotes, is:

10.76 *Ngayh, nakka na-wu birri-kayhme?*
W hey that MA-REL 3aP-cry.out

Aba na-nu ngaye ø-djal-gowe-ng wanjh yiman ngudda.

oh MA-DEM I 1/2-just-trick-PP well like you

‘Hey, who’s that who sang out?’

‘Oh, that was only me tricking you, as you did me.’

The ‘vague plural’ is also used in certain situations in which indirectness is appropriate, such as some Kun-derbi terms, as when a wife mentions her brother to her husband:

10.77 *Baleh birri-wam na-kurndjewarre?*
W where 3aP-goPP MA-my.brother,your.wife’s.brother
‘Where has my brother gone?’ [KH 41]

10.2.6 Prefixes and set/subset constructions

Set/subset constructions are the usual way of translating conjoined NPs referring to composite sets of people, i.e. ‘X and Y’ or ‘X with Y’. A non-minimal pronominal prefix designating the superordinate set is combined with a free NP designating a member of the set:

¹² Note that in the Yolngu language Djamparrpuyngu (Wilkinson 1991:215) ‘non-singular pronouns are used to refer to a deceased person’. Although this would fit with example 10.74, I do not have wider evidence for this usage in Bininj Gun-wok.

- 10.78 *Ladjkurrungu wahjh yi-re, konda ngalyabokwarre ngane-yo.*
I novice then 2-goIMP here my.wife/your sister 1ua-lieNP
'Ladjkurrungu you go, I'm sleeping here with your sister.'
- 10.79 *Al-gudji daluk guni-djal-ni-n!*
Dj FE-one woman 2ua-just-sit-NP
'You've got to stay with one woman!' (lit. 'You two, including just one woman, should stay together'.)
- 10.80 *Ma, gakkak guni-ra-y wanjh!*
Dj well mother's.mother 2ua-go-IMP then
'Well then, you and your mother's mother can go.'

In 10.81 the set is represented by both a bound and a free expression, while the subset is designated by another free expression:

- 10.81 *Minj bene-yu-wirrinj burrkyak, djarre ngalengman ø-djal-yo-y,*
W NEG 3uaP-sleep-IRR no far sheEMPH 3P-just-sleep-PP
med bedman bene-yo-y bene-kare, ngal-kare.
wait theyEMPH yuay-sleep-PP yua-old FE-old
'They (the old husband and his young second wife, who is repulsed by him) did not sleep together, she just slept far off, while he and his old wife slept together.'
[OP 406]

Further discussion of set/subset constructions is in §6.2.4.1.

10.2.7 Semantics of the ø- vs bi- choice

For combinations of third minimal subjects with third minimal objects, there is a choice between two prefixes, depending on the animacy, both relative and absolute, of the object. The *bi-* forms are used for 'higher animate' objects ('higher', as we shall see, can be given an absolute or a relative interpretation), while the zero forms are used for 'lower animate' objects (again this can be interpreted in either absolute or relative terms).

The relevant form sets (which I shall simply refer to as ø- and *bi-* in the following discussion, since the *ba-* and *ka-/ga-* elements simply mark tense) are given in Table 10.24. Note that in certain pre-peripheral environments *kabi* is realised as *kayi*; see §3.4.

In the examples of this section I shall gloss the *bi-* forms with /3h (for 'acting upon third minimal higher-animacy object'), and the ø- forms with /3l (for 'acting upon third minimal lower-animacy object') *appro*. Typically *bi-* will be used with human objects (10.82, 10.84) and ø- with sub-human objects (10.83, 10.85):

Table 10.24: Forms of ø- and *bi-* across dialects

		ø-	<i>bi-</i>
Past	Dj, Dnj, MM W, I, E	<i>ba-</i> ø-	<i>bi-</i>
Non-past	All dialects	<i>ka- (ga-)</i>	<i>kabi- (gabi-)</i>

- 10.82 *Daluk bi-bom.*
A woman 3/3hP-hitPP
'(S)he hit the woman.' OR: 'The woman hit him/her.'
- 10.83 a. *Daluk ba-bom.* b. *Daluk ø-bom.*
M woman 3/3L:P-hitPP W, I, E woman 3/3L:P-hitPP
'The woman hit it.' 'The woman hit it.'
- 10.84 *Bininj bi-baye-ng duruk.*¹³
A man 3/3hP-bite-PP dog
'The dog bit the man.'
- 10.85 a. *Bininj ba-ngune-ng duruk.* b. *Bininj ø-ngune-ng duruk.*
M man 3/3L:P-eat-PP dog W, I, E man 3/3L:P-eat-PP dog
'The man ate the dog.' 'The man ate the dog.'
- 10.86 *Duruk ba-baye-ng gornobbolo.*
Dj dog 3/3L:P-bite-PP wallaby
'The dog bit the wallaby.'
- 10.87 *Gornobbolo ba-na-ng duruk.*
Dj wallaby 3/3L:P-see-PP dog
'The wallaby saw the dog.'
- 10.88 *Na-waran ba-rrukka-ng gunj.*
Dj MA-Oenpelli.python 3/3L:P-strangle-PP kangaroo
'The Oenpelli python strangled the kangaroo.'

Another hypothesis that would fit the above data is that *bi-* is like an inverse marker: in addition to equally matched pairings of two humans, it can be used in situations where the object is substantially higher than the subject in animacy. In support of this 'inverse' interpretation, we could bring in sentences like the following, in which powerful malevolent beings interact with humans. (All my data relevant to this point are from Gun-djeihmi.) Here *bi-* is only used with the inverse combination (i.e. with human killing spirit) showing that humanness of the object is not a sufficient condition for *bi-*:

- 10.89 *Bininj / daluk ba-bu-ni na-bulwinjbulwinj.*
Dj man woman 3/3P-kill-PI MA-spirit
'The spirit killed the man/woman.'
- 10.90 *Bininj / daluk bi-bu-ni na-bulwinjbulwinj.*
Dj man woman 3/3hP-kill-PI MA-spirit
'The man/woman killed the spirit.'

Further support for an 'inverse' interpretation comes from the following sentences (10.91–10.94), in which non-human animate objects are allowed the *bi-* form when the subject is inanimate. Note that if both subject and object are inanimate (as in 10.95), the \emptyset -form is used.

- 10.91 *Gunj / duruk gun-dulk bi-bom.*
Dj roo dog IV-stick 3/3hP-hitPP
'The stick hit the kangaroo/dog.'

¹³ In Kune *duruk* could optionally take instrumental *-yih* here (see §5.2.1.2).

- 10.92 *Ba minj birri-na-yinj nganabbarru ø-yo-y, wanjh man-wurlh*
 I but not 3a/3-see-IRR buffalo 3P-lie-PI then III-bushfire
bi-wayhke-ng.
 3/3hP-wake-PP
 'But they didn't see a buffalo lying there, and the bush fire woke him up.'
- 10.93 *Wanjh arri-ngu-n djenj, ngarri-ginje-ø gun-murrung, minj duruk*
 Dj right 1a/3-eat-NP fish 1a/3-burn-NP IV-bone not dog
ga-murrng-ngu-n gabi-gom-dulubu-n gun-murrng, arri-murrng-ginje.
 3-bone-eat-NP 3/3h-neck-shoot-NP IV-bone 1a/3-bone-burnNP
 'When we eat fish, we burn the bones, so a dog won't eat them and they won't get stuck in his gullet, we burn the bones.'
- 10.94 *Bi-rrang-gardme-i djenj.*
 Dj 3/3hP-mouth-get.hooked.up.with-PP fish
 'The hook has caught the fish's mouth.'
- 10.95 *Ba-rrulk-gardme-i, ba-rrulk-gardme-i murdikka.*
 Dj 3/3P-stick-get.hooked.up.with-PP 3/3P-stick-get.hooked.up.with-PP car
 'The car has got hooked up with a stick, has caught a stick (in its axle).'

To sum up so far: let us assume the following scale of 'animacy':

- 10.96 Malevolent spirits > humans > other animates > inanimates

Bi- is used (a) for inverse combinations, where the object is higher than the subject on this scale, and (b) for equal combinations if both participants are human or above.

However, we need to modify this further. Where both participants are non-human, the choice seems to be affected both by the degree of individuation of the participants, and by the degree of difference between them. We saw above that 'dog bit wallaby' or 'kangaroo saw dog' does not trigger *bi-*; however, 'my dog bit your dog' does (10.97), and so does a case of one wallaroo licking another (10.98):

- 10.97 *Ngaye duruk ngarduk bi-baye-ng ngudda duruk.*
 Dj I dog my 3/3hP-bite-PP you dog
 'My dog bit your dog.'
- 10.98 *Kandakkidj kabi-belenghme karndayh.*
 E:N male.antilopine.wallaroo 3/3h-lickNP female.antilopine.wallaroo
 'The male antilopine wallaroo is licking the female antilopine wallaroo.'

And while 'bushfire woke buffalo' triggers *bi-*, as does 'poison kills fish' (10.99), 'fire frightened dog/kangaroo' (10.100) does not:

- 10.99 *Mawurrumbulk kabi-bu-n ka-dowe-n.*
 E:N fish.poison 3/3h-kill-NP 3-die-NP
 'The fish poison kills the fish.'
- 10.100 *Gunak ba-gelehme-ng gunj / duruk.*
 Dj fire 3/3P-frighten-PP kangaroo dog
 'The fire frightened the kangaroo/the dog.'

This may be attributable to dialect difference, to narrative intent, or to the higher position of 'buffalo' on the animacy scale.

For some speakers, third person human objects must be referential to get the *bi-* form (10.101), while non-referential objects take the \emptyset - form (10.102). Other speakers, however, prefer 10.101 in all circumstances, whether the object is referential or not. The issue of referentiality on bound pronouns is discussed further in §10.2.8.

- 10.101 *Bininj gabi-yawa-n.*
 Dj man 3/3hNP-*seek*-NP
 'She is looking for her man.' (all speakers)
 'She is looking for a man.' (some speakers)

- 10.102 *Bininj ga-yawa-n.*
 Dj man 3/(3i)-*seek*-NP
 'She is looking for a man (any man).'

Finally, with referential human objects there is a certain amount of flexibility, depending on the degree of affectedness of the object. With the verb *bimbun* 'paint', for example, human and other higher animate objects typically trigger the \emptyset - form when a simple depiction is involved (10.103), but the *bi-* form when painting leads to ensorcelment of the depicted object (10.104).

- 10.103 *Na-ngamed Na-bangardi Na-malawarrbenggan al-gaihgo daluk*
 Dj MA-who I-[skin] I-[proper.name] II-[name] woman
ba-bimbo-m.
 3/3lP-*paint*-PP
 'Whatsisname, Nabangardi NaMalawarrbenggan, did a painting of an *al-gaihgo* woman.'

- 10.104 *Bi-bimbom.*
 Dj 3/3hP-*paint*PP
 'He "painted" her (did a painting that caused her to be ensorcelled).'

The frequently used verb *karrme* takes the *bi-* form for objects when it means 'grasp, hold' (see Text 5.13), but the \emptyset - form when it means 'have' (§13.3.5.2), even though object-incorporation shows it to be transitive in both cases. This is part of a more general pattern of not marking third person object features (e.g. plural number) with the 'have' meaning.

With nouns referring to children and babies there is also considerable variation. To begin with, baby non-humans, as one would expect, select the \emptyset - form (10.105):

- 10.105 *Ga-yau-djolga-n.*
 Dj 3/3l-baby-carry.in.pouch-NP
 'It carries a baby in its pouch.'

Where *yau* is human, the choice depends on the degree of affectedness. Where the object is an indirect object or beneficiary (10.106–10.108), the *bi-* form is always used:

- 10.106 *Ba-yau-dang-barrme-ng, ngal-badjan gabi-wo-n.*
 Dj 3P-baby-mouth-open-PP II-mother 3/3h-give-NP
 'The baby opened its mouth, and its mother is giving (food) to it.'

- 10.107 *Gun-djikka bi-marne-yau-warre-m-inj.*
 Dj IV-breast 3/3hP-BEN-baby-bad-INCH-PP
 'That kid, his tit went bad on him.'
- 10.108 *Gun-djikka bi-marne-yau-wolngwo-ng.*
 Dj IV-breast 3/3hP-BEN-baby-warm-PP
 'She warmed the milk for the baby.'

With transitive verbs such as *bun* 'hit' or *burriwe* 'throw', there is more variation, with both \emptyset - (10.109) and *bi*- (10.110) attested:

- 10.109 *Bininj ba-bu-ni wurdya.*
 Dj man 3/3L-hit-PI child
 'The man hit the child.'
- 10.110 *Gabi-guk-burriwe gu-wukku.*
 Dj 3/3h-body-throwNP LOC-water
 'She will throw the baby into the water.'

An illustration of the latitude available when the object is *yaw* comes from the following version of the Echidna and Tortoise text, recorded by Peter Carroll from Jimmy Nganjmira (Carroll 1995:540–541):

- 10.111 *Ngarrbek nani, ... \emptyset -yaw-me-y, \emptyset -yaw-bawo-ng, kondah*
 W echidna MA:DEM ... 3/3IP-baby-get-PP 3/3IP-baby-leave-PP here
- wurdyaw, ku-m-wana-wa-m ngal-mangeyi \emptyset -yaw-na-ng*
 child 3P-hither-ITER-go-PP II-tortoise 3/3IP-baby-saw
- ku-m-dolkka-ng, kurih djarre ku-m-wa-m \emptyset -yaw-na-ng*
 3P-hither-get.up-PP this.way far 3P-hither-go-PP 3/3IP-baby-see-PP
- ka-h-yaw-yo, \emptyset -yaw-me-y, \emptyset -yaw-ngune-ng, bi-yaw-ngune-ng,*
 3-IMM-baby-lieNP 3/3IP-baby-get-PP 3/3IP-baby-eat-PP 3/3hP-baby-eat-PP
- bi-yaw-wukme-ng kun-njam. Wanjh ku-m-durndi ngarrbek,*
 3/3hP-baby-swallow-PP IV-belly then 3P-hither-returnPP echidna
- \emptyset -yaw-yawa-m ku-red nawu kobakobanj.*
 3/3IP-baby-look.for-PP LOC-camp MA:DEM old.people
 'This is about echidna ... Echidna had a baby and left it here. Tortoise came from a long distance and saw the baby. Tortoise came here from a long distance. He¹⁴ came and saw the baby lying there. He got the baby and ate it. He ate the baby and swallowed it into his stomach. Then echidna returned and looked for her baby in the old people's camp.'

In the first part of the story, concerning echidna's gestation of the baby and her leaving it to go out hunting, the \emptyset - form is used; the \emptyset - form continues as the short-necked turtle sees the baby and picks it up. As the climax is reached, in which Tortoise eats and swallows echidna's baby, the narrator shifts to the *bi*- form, presumably to focus on the affectedness of the patient; in fact the verb 'eat' is first given with the \emptyset - prefix, then repeated with the *bi*- form.

¹⁴ This is Carroll's translation. In other versions Turtle is said to be a woman.

Finally, as the narrative moves back to echidna searching for the baby, the narrator goes back to the \emptyset -form.

The scope for narrator latitude here is shown by the fact that in some other versions of this story the *bi*-form is not even used for the crucial verb 'ate' (it is rendered as *nguneng*, with the \emptyset -prefix), while in other versions *bi*- is extended further, and used with verbs of lower discourse transitivity such as *gurrme* 'put down' (*biyawgurrmeng* 'she put the baby down') and *bawo* 'leave' (*biyawbawong* 'she left the baby'), both in a Manyallaluk Mayali version of the text. Although it could be argued that some of this may reflect dialect variation, all three Carroll versions are in the Kunwinjku dialect (told by Sam Garnarraj (p.401) and Dolly Maralngurra (p.425)), so that this would at best be a partial explanation.

To sum up this section, in clear-cut cases, such as with adult human objects on the one hand or inanimate objects on the other, the rules are categorical: use *bi*- for the first, and \emptyset - for the second. But there are border-line cases, such as babies or higher non-humans, where the speaker enjoys considerable latitude to manipulate the \emptyset - vs *bi*- choice for communicative ends, with the *bi*- form emphasising patient affectedness and/or the speaker's empathy for the patient's plight.

10.2.8 Non-referential uses of pronominal prefixes

Because of the obligatory nature of pronominal prefixes, they cannot be used to encode the choice between referential and non-referential uses. Thus in 10.112 the third person augmented object prefix need not be referential: it could mean 'them' or 'people', while in 10.113 and 10.114 the interpretations are clearly non-referential. (See 11.122 for a further example.)

- 10.112 *Al-ege daluk gaban-du-ng*
 Dj FE.DEM woman 3/3pl-scold-NP
 a. 'That woman scolds people.'
 b. 'That woman is scolding them.'

- 10.113 *Kulalung ka-rohrok yiman Namorrorddo. Nungka kaben-widnan*
 W [name] 3-same like [name] he 3/3pl-hateNP
wurdwurd. Bu kaben-bekka-n kabirri-h-nalkbu-n munguyh.
 children SUB 3/3pl-hear-NP 3a-IMM-cry-NP always
 'Kulanung is a spirit like a Namorrorddo. He hates hearing babies cry and cry all the time.' [KS 232]

- 10.114 *Munguyh kaben-yawa-n daluk, minj kabi-marnedjare daluk bininj*
 always 3/3pl-look.for-NP woman not 3/3h-loveNP woman man
na-mekke. Kabirri-warnyak daluk.
 MA-DEM 3a/3-not.want woman
 'He's always looking for women, but there is no women who loves that man.
 Women don't want him.'

Similarly, in 10.101, many speakers prefer to use the *bi*-form even when the object is non-referential, that is the best translation is 'she's looking for a man'; a further example is 10.115.

- 10.115 *Bad ga-re an-gung ga-na-n, ga-rrurnde-ng gabi-marne-yime*
 Dnj but 3-goNP III-honey 3/3L-seeNP 3-return-NP 3/3h-BEN-sayNP
 “An-gung nga-na-ng. Come on ngarr-e, ngarr-ni ‘iiiiiiii’ ga-yime
 III-honey 1/3-see-PP 12-goNP 12-sitNP [noise] 3-sayNP
ga-m-borled-borledme wanjh maitbi ngarri-dolkka-ni.
 3-hither-ITER-turn.roundNP then maybe 1a-get.up-PI
 ‘(talking about the *None* honey wasp spirit:) But he goes and sees some honey,
 comes back and says to someone: “I’ve seen some honey. Come one, let’s go”,
 he goes “iiiiiiii” and buzzes around and around; then maybe we get up (to look).’
 [Lofty Nadjimerek Bardayal per MG]

Similar remarks apply to subject prefixes; 10.116 is an example in which the subject pronoun is non-referential (with the use of augmented number here suggesting referential vagueness, as discussed in §10.2.5.4):

- 10.116 *Bu kabirri-djirdma-ng nuye man-me kore ku-labbarl*
 W SUB 3a/3-steal-NP his III-veg.food LOC LOC-billabong
kore Ugulumu, wanjh kabi-bu-n.
 LOC [place] then 3/3h-kill-NP
 ‘Anybody who steals his food at the waterhole at Ugulumu will get killed.’
 (lit. If they steal his food ... he will kill him/her.) [KS 234]

The pronominal prefixes, in other words, merely specify the person and number of a potential reference set, without making a commitment to the existence of a particular referent; this task of reference management is achieved by the free pronouns (§7.1) and demonstratives (§7.3). Unlike bound pronouns, free personal pronouns and demonstratives must be referential; 10.112 could be disambiguated to the referential reading by adding a free pronoun, for example, giving (10.117).

- 10.117 *Al-ege daluk gaban-du-ng bedda*
 Dj FE.DEM woman 3/3pl-scold-NP them
 ‘That woman is scolding them.’

Occasionally, generic, non-referential arguments fail to be registered on the pronominal prefix, merely appearing as an unmodified free noun after the verb:

- 10.118 *Namorrordo na-bang, ka-djare ka-bu-n bininj.*
 I [name of dangerous spirit] MA-dangerous 3-wantNP 3-kill-NP person
 ‘Namorrordo is dangerous, he kills humans.’

For further discussion of the issue of non-referential uses of pronominal object prefixes, see Evans (1999).

10.3 Relation-changing verbal affixes

In this section I discuss the various methods by which valency changes are overtly signalled on the verb. Two applicative prefixes, BENefactive *marne-* and COMitative *yi-*, each add an object, while the reflexive/reciprocal suffix decreases the verb’s valency by one, while specifying that subject and object are coreferential. Interactions between these three

affixes, and their phraseologisation with certain verbs, are also discussed in this section. Argument structure alternations that are not signalled by productive argument changing morphology are discussed in §13.4.

10.3.1 BENefactive marne-

For some speakers (e.g. EH) this has the variant form *-mene*; this may be the Pine Creek Mayali variant. In just one example it is reduplicated (11.146), for unknown reasons. Before *marne-* the 3/3h prefix *kabi-* is frequently realised as *kayi-* (10.145). It is used with certain non-verbal predicates as well (see §8.3.3).

The benefactive applicative increases the valency by one, converting monovalent into divalent (10.15, 10.16), divalent into trivalent (10.25), and trivalent into tetravalent (10.41) verbs.

10.3.1.1 Beneficiary or maleficiary

Most commonly the added argument introduces a beneficiary or maleficiary:

- 10.119 *Gan-marne-bebm-i.*
Dj 2/1-BEN-arrive-PI
'You came out to get me, came out for me.'
- 10.120 *Gan-marne-bu-n gunj a-ngu-n.*
Dj 2/1-BEN-kill-NP kangaroo 1/3-eat-NP
'You will kill the kangaroo for me so I can eat it.'
- 10.121 *An-dehne gun-dulk gan-marne-djobge-men!*
Dj VE-that IV-tree 2/1-BEN-chop-IMP
'You cut that tree for me!'
- 10.122 *Yiben-marne-kole-munkewe!*
W 2/3pl-BEN-spear-sendIMP
'You send them a spear!' [PC 78]
- 10.123 *Lama kan-marne-ka ba nga-yame.*
W shovel.spear 2/1-BEN-getIMP so 1/3-spear
'Get me the shovel spear, so I can spear him!' [KH 19]
- 10.124 *Marrek ø-bawo-yi, ngayih nga-marne-bengka-n rule.*
E:D not 3/3lp-leave-IRR I 1/3-BEN-know-NP rule
'(My son) didn't leave (school), I know what rule is best for him.'

With monovalent verbs of communicative action, BEN introduces an interlocutor argument:

- 10.125 *A-marne-yime-n.*
Dj 1/3-BEN-say-NP
'I will tell her, say to her.'
- 10.126 *Bi-marne-mim-bulhm-i.*
Dj 3/3-BEN-eye-close-PI
'He was closing his eyes for her.'

10.127 *ø-Marne-ngeybom.*E:N 1/2-BEN-namePP
'I named it for you, I told you its name.'Malefactive readings are commonest with verbs of removal or destruction:¹⁵10.128 *A-djare-ni a-rrulubu-yi na-mege gunj, njanjukge gan-marne-bo-m?*Dj 1-want-PI 1/3-shoot-IRR MA-that kangaroo why 2/1-IMP-kill-PP
'I wanted to shoot that kangaroo, why did you kill it on me (depriving me)?'10.129 *An-marne-djidme-i.*Dj 3/1-BEN-steal-PP
'He stole it from me.'

10.3.1.2 Indexing possessor of absolutive argument

Some uses of the benefactive applicative are examples of what is sometimes called 'possessor raising'; they allow a translation in which the beneficiary/maleficiary is expressed as a possessor of the subject (underlying intransitives) or the object (underlying transitives):

10.130 *An-marne-djak-dowe-ng.*Dj 3/1-BEN-pain-die-PP
'The pain's subsiding on me; my pain is subsiding.'10.131 *Kabi-marne-durn-karrme.*I 3/3h-BEN-hole-haveNP
'It (the conception spirit) bears his (the child's) hole (i.e. the spirit, which dwelt in an animal which was speared at the event signalling the child's conception, carries the hole or wound across as it passes to the child, which will then show up as a birth mark on the child).' [Garde pers. comm.]

In fact, the benefactive construction is the normal way of expressing possession under these circumstances. Some further examples in which a possessed noun translation is more appropriate are given below. This construction is particularly common where the benefactive argument is in a kinship relation to the intransitive subject or the object (10.132), so much so that the normal interpretation of a sentence like 10.134, in which there is no external NP, is that the possessed noun is close kin to the benefactive argument.

10.132 *Ngaye wurdyau ngan-marne-yolyolme.*Dj I child 3/1-BEN-mentionNP
'Someone was talking about my kid.' (cf. *nganyolyolme* 'someone was mentioning me')10.133 *Duruk ngarduk ngan-marne-bo-m.*Dj dog my 3/1-BEN-kill-PP
'Someone shot my dog.'

¹⁵ Two other Gunwinyguan languages, Ngalakan (Merlan 1983:47–50, 94–95) and Ngandi (Heath 1978:83) have, in addition to the comitative and benefactive, a third applicative with form paʔa; in Ngalakan the semantic focus is ill effect or deprivation, and in Ngandi this is the meaning just with the verb *ma* 'get, pick up'.

- 10.134 *An-marne-berrebbom.*
 Dj 3/1-BEN-promisePP
 'He promised (something to) my kids.' (first contextual interpretation;
 lit. He promised something to (someone) of mine)

Where the possessed noun is a body part of the absolutive argument, the benefactive is not normally used, since the body part is construed with the absolutive in any case: one says 10.135, for example, for 'I touched the woman's hand'. Further examples are in §10.4.2.2.

- 10.135 *A-bid-garrme-ng daluk.*
 Dj 1/3-hand-grasp-PP woman
 'I touched the woman on the hand; I touched the woman's hand.'

When, however, the benefit to the owner is being stressed, one can use a benefactive for possessed body parts also, as in 10.136, where the bird, agonised by his sore, clearly benefits from the surgical action. However, the use of the benefactive in such circumstances is not grammatically required, as may be seen by the similar sentences in §10.4.2.2, which lack the benefactive.

- 10.136 *Gan-marne-dowkge-men!*
 MM 2/1-BEN-burst-IMP
 'Burst (my blister) for me!'

In cases where the argument higher in animacy is actually the second object of the verb, the benefactive prefix can be used to promote it to being a higher object, without actually adding an argument. Thus in 10.137, 'I showed your scar to them', the indirect object is 'them' and the object would normally be 'you (your scar)'. Here, however, we have a conflict between the principle that indirect objects beat objects for pronominal representation, and the principle that first or second person objects should outrank third person objects. This conflict is resolved here through the use of the benefactive prefix to promote it to higher object, allowing it to be represented pronominally without a conflict of principles. Eddy Hardy, who gave me this sentence, suggested a second clause should be added as shown, which allows 'them' to be shown explicitly as an argument (here the subject) of the second verb.

- 10.137 *∅-Mene-bolidj-bukka-ng (ba gundi-bolidj-na-n).*
 Dj 1/2-BEN-scar-show-PP so.that 3a/2-scar-see-NP
 'I showed them your scar so that they could see your scar.'

10.3.1.3 'Having' construction with stance verbs

Used with the verbs 'stand' and 'lie', *marne-* is part of a phrase meaning 'have ready' (10.138); see §13.3.5.5 for further examples.

- 10.138 *Bi-marne-bong-yo-y.*
 W 3/3h-BEN-string-lie-PP
 'He has the string (lying there) for her.' [PC 71]

10.3.1.4 Goal

With verbs of controlled perception, BEN introduces an argument denoting the goal or anticipated object:

10.139 *A-marne-bolk-nah-na-n.*
 Dj 3/1-BEN-place-REDUP-see-NP
 'I'm looking around for him.'

10.140 *A-marne-wohna-n.*
 Dj 1/3-BEN-watch.out-NP
 'I'm watching out for him.'

The sequence *marne-wohnan* here has the further idiomatic meaning 'SUBJ be boss of BEN', 'boss of BEN' (e.g. *anmarnewohnan* [3/1-BEN-watch.outNP] 'he's my boss', 'my boss').

10.3.1.5 Reason; prior cause; relevance

The benefactive may also introduce a prior cause or reason (10.141, 10.142) or purpose (10.143).

10.141 *Daluk bogen bani-marne-ginjwe-rri-nj, bani-marne-bu-rri-nj.*
 Dj woman two 3ua/3-BEN-be jealous-RR-PP 3ua/3-BEN-hit-RR-PP
 'They were jealous of each other over him and hit each other over him.'

10.142 *Bukbuk bininj ø-durnd-i ku-red, ben-marne-yime-ng "ngayi*
 coucal man 3P-return-PP LOC-camp 3/3pl-BEN-say-PP I
ngane-danginj ø-dowe-ng". Bene-marne-kodj-do-rr-inj,
 1ua-standPP 3P-die-PP 3ua/3P-BEN-head-strike-RR-PP

bene-kurlba-wam bene-nalkbom.

3uaP-blood-goPP 3uaP-cryPP

'Coucal man returned to his camp, and them "my brother is dead". The two of them struck their heads over him, their blood ran down, and they cried.'

10.143 *Kun-ak birri-me-i birri-wam bindi-marne-wurlh-wurlhke-ng.*
 E IV-fire 3aP-get-PP 3aP-goPP 3a/3pl-BEN-ITER.light.fire-PP
 'They picked up their firesticks and went to set fires around for them (to burn them with).'

Although the zero exponence of the introduced causal argument in the above cases fails to show explicitly that it receives pronominal representation, non-minimal third person causal arguments unambiguously show that it is represented on the second prefix slot:

10.144 *Bindi-marne-du-rr-inj.*
 3a/3plP-BEN-swear-RR-PP
 'They argued over them.'

In some cases the meaning is vague between 'out of respect for' and 'with respect to':

10.145 *kayi-marne-kadju-ng bininj*
 E:D 3/3h-BEN-follow-NP Aboriginal
 'He follows Aboriginal (law) with respect to her (his wife).'

Occasionally *marne-* is used pleonastically with comitative *yi-*; here both applicatives appear to be introducing the same causal argument:

- 10.146 *Bani-marne-guk-yi-bu-rr-inj.*
 Dj 3uaP-BEN-body-COM-hit-RR-PP
 'The two of them fought each other over him.'

10.3.1.6 Phraseologised uses

There are a few verbs in which *marne-* is idiomatically fixed and does not add an argument. The most important is with *djare*, a non-verbal predicate which means 'want'; the form *marnedjare* means 'desire, love, want'. *Djare* is often used either on its own (e.g. *jidjare?* 'do you want (some)?'), as a main clause predicate taking a desire complement (§14.2.2.4), or with an object in the meaning of 'want (something), desire (something)', as in Dj *gabarribodjare gukku* 'they (the birds) want water' and Dj *barridjareni namegebu daluk* 'they desired those women'. In the combination *marnedjare* 'desire, love, want', it cannot therefore be said that *marne-* is adding an argument, since *djare* may already be used transitively anyway. However, it focusses on the positive effects on its object (where a woman was object, for example, *djare* denotes lust, and *marnedjare* 'love', in line with the concern for the benefits to the grammatical object). Similarly, when a complement clause is embedded under 'want', *djare* will be used if both clauses have the same subject (e.g. 'I want to go'), whereas *marnedjare* will be used if the desired action is to be initiated by a different subject (e.g. 'I want him to go'):

- 10.147 *Ngaye nga-marne-djare ka-re, minj nungka ka-djare ka-re.*
 I 1/3-BEN-wantNP 3-goNP not he 3-wantNP 3-goNP
 'I want him to go (there), but he doesn't want to.'

Partially disjoint sets count as different subjects for this purpose:

- 10.148 *Bi-marne-djare-ni ngal-badjan ba bini-yu-wirrinj.*
 E:D 3/3hP-BEN-want-PI II-mother so.that 3uaP-sleep-IRR
 'He wanted to sleep with (Balang's) mother.'

Another important phraseologised use is the combination *marneyimerran* 'happen to', based on *yimerran* 'turn into; happen', although in this case *marne-* is still adding a benefactive; thus *baleh ngunmarneyimerranj* 'what happened to you?'

In Kunwinjku the sequence *marne-di* [BEN-stand] is used with the meaning 'pray'. See also the expression *djudju ... marne-ngalke* 'have a tooth-ache', discussed in §13.4.5.

10.3.1.7 Goal of movement

There is a single example in which the benefactive introduces the goal of movement with a transitive verb; interestingly, the object (which is human) is indicated by pronominal prefix, and the introduced goal argument (which is non-human) incorporates:

- 10.149 *Wanjh bonj kukku bi-marne-bo-kurrme-ng.*
 w then finished water 3/3hP-BEN-liquid-put-PP
 'Then he finished, he put him in the water.' [OP 365]

10.3.1.8 Comparative note

Functionally similar prefixes are found in most Gunwinjguan languages (Kungarakany being an exception), and in a number the forms are cognate with *marne-*. In Kunparlang the form is *marnaj-* and in Dalabon it is *marnv-*. It is possible that this construction originated as an incorporated serialised verb, incorporating a verb meaning 'do for, look after': in Ngalakan the verb 'take care of someone' is *marninj*, and in Ngandi *marninjh-dhu* means 'make, make properly, do properly'.

10.3.2 comitative *yi-/re-*

The comitative applicative adds an argument that is considered as being with the intransitive subject or object. From a prototypical sense in which it accompanies, and is under the control of, an intransitive subject a number of semantic extensions occur, as discussed below. However, the introduced argument is never construed as accompanying a transitive subject: it cannot be used to express, for example, 'we chopped down the tree with the youths' (on the reading that they are helping us; on the reading that they are in the tree the comitative is possible), for which a set-subset construction would be used.

The comitative has the form *yi-* in most dialects, but in Kune it is *re-*¹⁶ (see Figure 1.8). There is a prosodic difference between these two forms (not shown in the orthography): unlike *yi-*, *re-* forms its own foot, and like other CV morphemes forming their own foot, has a phonetically long vowel.

- 10.150 Dj *Ngaban-madj-yi-bawo-ng.*
 w, I *Ngaben-madj-yi-bawo-ng.*
 E *Ngabin-madj-re-bawo-ng.*
 1/3pl-swag-COM-leave-PP
 'I left the swags with the lot of them.'

The added argument becomes a 'second object' (see §10.1.2 for definition of this term) and is cross-referenced by pronominal prefix and/or incorporated nominal as appropriate to the verb's valency; see §10.1.3.4 for the complex question of which non-subject argument takes the pronominal slot, and which is incorporable.

Thus in 10.150 above the added third person plural argument is cross-referenced by object prefix (*ban/ben/bin* according to the dialect), and in 10.151 by the third person minimal higher prefix *bi*; in 10.152 it is cross-referenced by an incorporated nominal. There are also cases, of course, where the added argument is not marked overtly either by incorporated nominal or by object prefix; this arises where there is no appropriate incorporable nominal, and where the subject/object combination is such that so that the object is zero, as in 10.153.

- 10.151 *Kabi-yi-barndi-∅.*
 W 3/3h-COM-climb(hill)-NP
 'He climbed a hill with him (on his shoulders).' [PC 73].

¹⁶ As well as in Dalabon, the form *re-* is also found as a non-productive comitative prefix in Ngalakan (Baker 1999:100–101), where it is confined to two verb roots; others use the productive comitative *barida-*. In Ngalakan, as in Bininj Gun-wok, the prefix *re-* has a long vowel.

10.152 *Yi-yiuk-yi-rrurnde-ng.*
 Dj 2-honey-COM-return-NP
 'You are taking the honey back (returning with the honey).'

10.153 *Djenj ka-re-dolhme*
 E fish 3/3l-COM-pop.upNP
 '(The bird) pops up with a fish.'

The comitative is usually an alternative to the nominal suffix *-dorreng* 'with' (§5.2.1.5). Occasionally, however, it co-occurs with it, at least in MM (10.154). It is also compatible with the ablative *-beh* (see §10.3.2.3 below).

10.154 *Nga-guk-yi-ngalge-ng gunj-dorreng, Gojok.*
 MM 1/3-body-COM-find-PP kangaroo-with Gojok
 'I would see him, Gojok, (returning from the hunt) with a kangaroo.'

10.3.2.1 Comitative use proper

Most commonly the comitative adds an argument that is construed as being 'with' the subject of an underlying intransitive or the object of a transitive. With an intransitive verb the subject is always implied to be in control (10.155), or at least to have been in control at some point (10.156), of the comitative argument.

10.155 *Ba-guk-yi-golu-i gunj, ba-guk-yi-lobm-i.*
 Dj 3/3lP-body-COM-descend-PP kangaroo 3/3lP-body-COM-run-PI
 'He took the kangaroo's body down and ran along with it.'

10.156 *Ku-mekbe Mayawunj wanjh kanjdji ben-yi-yibme-ng,*
 W LOC-there [place] then down 3/3plP-COM-sink-PP
kaben-h-yi-yo ku-mekbe walem Mayawunj.
 3/3plNP-IMM-COM-lieNP LOC-there southwest [place]
 'And then (the rainbow) took them down under the water there at Mayawunj,
 and he still lies with them there in the southwest, at Mayawunj.'

Note also the idiom *beng-yi-rrri* [attention-COM-stand] 'pay attention'.

With transitive verbs the association with 'control' is less strong — with 'hear with' (10.157) or 'see with' (10.28), for example, there is no necessary implication that the object is in control of the COMitative, though control is implicit with such other verbs as 'put down with' (10.158) and 'leave with' (10.35, 10.37).

10.157 *Aban-yi-bekka-n.*
 Dj 1/3pl-COM-hear-NP
 'I hear them with him/her.'

10.158 *Nga-kole-yi-kurrme-ng.*
 W 1/3-spear-COM-put.down-PP
 'I left the spear with him.' [PC 73].

However, the added argument must always be located in the same place as the underlying object. This links the above examples to occasional instrument interpretations (10.159), in which the two objects are in contact.

- 10.159 *Gun-yarl ba-yi-dukga-ng.*
 MM IV-string 3/3I-COM-tie.up-PP
 'He tied it up with string.'

Although such examples receive an 'instrument' translation in English, with other types of 'instrument' uses, such as 'hunting kangaroos with a gun', the construction is unsuitable due to the lack of physical contact, and a case suffix must be used (§5.2.1.2).

The comitative has been lexicalised and is pleonastic in the verb *yikan* 'go for, fetch', etymologically *yi-kan* [COM-take].

Another important lexicalised use is with the verb *yawmang* 'conceive, give birth to, be mother of'; the comitative *yiawmang* means 'be mothered with, get (country) from one's mother', that is it identifies someone's mother's country, as in I *Baleh karrard ngun-yi-yawmey? Ngaye karrard ngan-yi-yawmey Kandadjaken*, lit. 'Where did (your) mother give birth to you with?' 'Mother gave birth to me with Kandadjaken', and more freely 'What is your mother's country?' 'my mother's country is Kandadjaken'.

10.3.2.2 Locative use

Less commonly, the COMitative applicative introduces a locative argument; in 10.160 this is left implicit ('they're following us (in our camping place)'), but it can also be expressed by an external noun giving the location (10.161) or by an incorporated noun (10.31).

- 10.160 *Ngandi-re-kadju-ng.*
 E:D 3a/1a-COM-follow-NP
 'They're camping with us.'
- 10.161 *Nga-yi-kodjdje-kurrme-rre-n bila.*
 I 1-COM-sleep-put.down-RR-NP pillow
 'I laid (my head) down to sleep on the pillow.'

In fact the boundary between locative and comitative is not always clear: *yibawon* will mostly be translated 'leave with' (10.33, 10.35) but sometimes also 'leave in', as in:

- 10.162 *Bene-bad-yi-bawo-ng manu kabbala.*
 W 3ua/3P-now-COM-leave-PP VE:DEM boat
 'The two of them left him in the boat.' [KH 151]

10.3.2.3 Speaking a language

In Manyallaluk Mayali this construction can be used for talking a language. The external nominal naming the language retains the ablative case:

- 10.163 *Namu English-beh, Gunwinjgu-beh, Gunmayali-beh, ngan-ekge*
 MM not -ABL Kunwinjku-ABL Mayali-ABL VE-DEM
nga-yi-wokdi.
 1-COM-talkNP
 'Not in English, just in Kunwinjku, in Mayali, that's what I'll talk in.'

10.3.2.4 *Eventual possession*

In a number of combinations, the COMitative introduces an argument possessed at the beginning of the transaction by the object and at the end of the transaction by the subject (whether in reality, or intention);¹⁷ see §10.1.3.4 for further discussion of this argument frame.

10.164 *Bedda andi-yi-yakwo-ng.*
Dj they 3a/1-COM-finish-PP
'They finished off my (money).' ('They finished me, ending up with money at the end.')

10.165 *Ani-guk-yi-bu-rr-en.*
Dj 1ua-body-COM-hit-RR-NP
'We're fighting over (her).' ('We're fighting, aiming to have her.')

10.166 *Ban-warde-yi-birrbme-ng.*
Dj 3/3pl-money-COM-clean-PP
'She cleaned them out of money.'

Yi- is used, optionally and pleonastically,¹⁸ with the ditransitive verb *berrebbun* 'promise O to IO', to emphasise that the object argument will end up in the possession of the indirect object. Compare 10.167, with no COM, and the synonymous 10.168, with COM.

10.167 *Banbani-gorrk-berrebbom.*
Dj 3/3du-material-promisePP
'She promised the two of them clothes.'

10.168 *An-warde-yi-berrebbom.*
Dj 3/1-money-COM-promisePP
'He promised me money.'

A similar pair is:

10.169 *Gun-doi arduk an-berrebbom al-yau nuye.*
Dj IV-father-in-law my 3/1-promisePP II-child his
'My father-in-law promised me his baby daughter.'

10.170 *An-beiwurd-yi-berrebbom.*
Dj 3/1-child-COM-promisePP
'He promised me his daughter.'

10.3.2.5 *Cause*

The comitative is sometimes extended to mean 'over', in its causal sense. Usually this means 'because of wanting to have', as in 10.165, where it may be seen as a contextual sense

¹⁷ For comparable examples with the proprietive case in Kayardild see Evans 1995c:146–147.

¹⁸ McGregor (1998:184) mentions a similar phenomenon in the Kimberley language Warrwa, in which just a few verbs, such as 'chase' and 'pass over', take the comitative applicative *-ngany* without apparent change in argument structure. He suggests that the comitative expresses greater physical closeness between interactants than the corresponding non-comitative construction.

of 'eventual possession'. But it can also be used for cause more generally (typically in connection with conflict), as in:

- 10.171 *Bi-yi-bom namarladj.*
 W 3/3HP-COM-killPP I:orphan
 'He killed him because of the child.'
- 10.172 *Ngudda nuk kandi-rurrk-yi-rru-y man-balmardi.*
 you DUB 2/1pl-hollow-COM-growl-PP III-hollow.log
 'You must be growling at us over that hollow tree business.'

10.3.2.6 Incipient subordinating use

One of the striking differences between Dalabon and Rembarrnga on the one hand, and Bininj Gun-wok on the other, is the existence of special subordinate-clause prefixes in the former. In Dalabon the pronominal prefixes in subordinate clauses appear formally related to the comitative applicative.

In Manyallaluk Mayali one hears occasional sentences with the comitative applicative that are compatible with either a comitative or a subordinate clause reading. An example is 10.173, where the verb *ngayiman.gang* could be translated either as 'I was born with it (the digging stick)/at it/where it is' or as 'where I was born'. The bridging context is the resumptive use of the comitative for the second mention of the digging stick, coinciding with the subordinate-clause like backgrounding of the repeated verb as old information.

- 10.173 *Jatj ngarduk ga-yo gure nga-man.ga-ng,*
 MM 'digging.stick'¹⁹ my 3-lieNP LOC 1-be.born-PP
nga-yi-man.ga-ng Ngarratjbambirlang.
 1-COM-be.born-PP [place]
 My digging stick (i.e. a woman's birthplace) is there (in Arnhem Land) where I was born; where I was born is Ngarratjbambirlang (I was born with it — my *djatj* — at Ngarratjbambirlang).

10.3.2.7 Use with *dukkan* 'tie' and *dulubun* 'spear'

In Manyallaluk Mayali, the comitative has a special effect with *dukkan* 'tie', in that, at the same time as promoting the instrument (e.g. rope) to object position, the thing tied up is demoted to a locative. In other words the alternation is between *dukkan* 'tie up O (with NP:INSTR)' to 'tie O around NP:LOC'. So far this is the only example of a verb in which the addition of an applicative causes the original object to be demoted to adjunct status.

A sample sentence pair is:

- 10.174 *Barri-kalh-dukka-ng.*
 MM 3a/3-stump-tie-PP
 'They tied the stump up.'

¹⁹ In Jawoyn, Dalabon and Manyallaluk Mayali, the idiom 'my digging stick' is used by women to refer to their birthplace; men use the expression 'my woomera'.

- 10.175 *Yarl-no ba-yi-dukka-ng kalh-no-kah.*
 MM string-3POSSD 3/3IP-COM-tie-PP stump-3POSSD-LOC
 'They tied the rope onto the stump.'

In the other dialects the comitative is not used with *dukkan* in this way; besides the commonest use, in which the object is the thing tied (e.g. 10.176, 10.177), it is also possible (though less usual) to incorporate the instrument of tying, as in 10.177. This suggests that *dukkan* is a true double-object verb in these dialects.

- 10.176 *Bi-djorrh-dukka-ng.*
 3/3h-waist-tie-PP
 'He held him round the waist.'

- 10.177 *Barri-bid-dukka-ni.*
 Dj 3a/3P-hand-tie-PI
 'They used to tie together (the kangaroo's) arms.'

- 10.178 *Birri-yarl-dukka-ng kun-dulk.*
 3a/3P-rope-tie-PP IV-tree
 'They tied the rope around the tree.'

Again in Manyallaluk Mayali, the verb *dulubun* 'spear O' has a special comitative *yidulubun* 'skewer O onto NP:LOC', although in this case the thing penetrated is in object relation in both diatheses. In other words, this shares with the *yidukkan* construction the fact that the location ends up as a locative, but differs from it in that the underived verb does not treat the location as an object. An example of the comitative construction is:

- 10.179 *Beba ba-yi-dulubom waya-kah*
 MM paper 3/3IP-COM-spearPP spike-LOC
 'He has skewered the papers (e.g. receipts) onto the spike.'

There is one example, from Gun-dedjnjenghmi (Murray Garde, pers. comm.) in which both objects of 'tie' incorporate, though note that the verb has been reflexivised and the thing tied around is therefore a body part of the derived subject:

- 10.180 *An-djoh arri-kodj-dukka-n "o an-djoh monidj*
 Dnj III-[wattle.sp.] 1a-head-tie-NP oh III-[wattle] secretly
ngurri-djoh-kodj-dukka-rr-imen" wanjh arri-kodj-dukka-rr-en now.
 2a-[wattle]-head-tie-RR-IMP then 1a-head-tie-RR-NP now
 'We tie *an-djoh* wattle (bark) round our heads. "Oh, quickly tie wattle-bark headbands around your heads!" (someone would say), and then we'd tie them round our heads.'

10.3.2.8 Comparative note

The comitative applicative seems to have evolved by stranding of a comitative noun suffix originally attached to an incorporated nominal (cf. the nominal instrumental suffix *-yi* discussed in §5.2.1.2, which can have a comitative meaning when used derivationally). This possibility was first raised by Carroll (1975:74). In Rembarrnga (McKay 1976:171–172) nouns suffixed with comitative *-yi(nda)* can be incorporated with a secondary predicate sense, as in:

- 10.181 *Djenj-∅ nga-[bikkang-yinda]-mi-ya.*
 R fish-NOM 1/3-hook-COMIT-get-PAST.PUNC
 'I caught a fish with a hook in its mouth, which already had an old hook in its mouth.'
- 10.182 *Barra-yang-yi-bolh-moern.*
 R 3a-story/words-COMIT-arrive-PAST.CONT
 'They shouted as they arrived.'

In Rembarrnga the actual conditions on the choice between *-yi* and *-yinda* with incorporated nominals are not straightforward (see McKay 1975:171–172) but in any case it is clear that some sort of comitative nominal suffix is being incorporated, with a secondary predicate meaning.

The origins of the comitative as a 'with' suffix on incorporated secondary predicates may explain the semantic restrictions on the comitative preventing instrumental or 'with transitive subject' interpretations. As we shall see in §10.4.5, incorporated secondary predicates must modify absolutes. In examples like 'we/it-[hook-with]-caught' or 'we-[speech-with]-arrived', the comitative predicate is construed semantically with the absolute. However, in readings 'with transitive subject', as in 'we chopped down the tree with them' (i.e. with their help) or 'we hunted the kangaroos with a gun' the comitative predicates have scope over the transitive subject, and would therefore be blocked from incorporating as secondary predicates.

10.3.3 Interaction of the two applicatives

It is possible to derive a trivalent from a monovalent verb by prefixing both applicatives to an underlying intransitive (10.183), and likewise to derive a tetravalent verb from a divalent verb (10.43); in such cases the two applicatives combine in a compositional way. I have no examples of both applicatives being prefixed to an underlying ditransitive; given the total absence of five-place predicates (§10.1.1) it is unlikely that such combinations are admitted.

- 10.183 *Bi-marne-yi-rrurnd-i wurdurd.*
 A 3/3P-BEN-COM-return-PP children
 '(S)he brought the kids back for him/her.'

Additionally, as we saw in §10.3.1.5, both *marne-* and *yi-* are sometimes combined pleonastically when introducing a causal argument (10.146).

10.3.4 Reflexive/reciprocal suffix *-rr-*

In addition to the applicative prefixes, which increase valency, there is a reflexive/reciprocal suffix *-rr-*, which typically adds a reflexive or reciprocal meaning while reducing the valency of the verb by one. It is added directly to the stem and has its own distinctive TAM conjugation; see §8.2.3.10. The reflexive/reciprocal is also used to express collective activity, in which case the valency is unaffected; this is discussed separately in §11.3.1.2.

Most typically, the reflexive/reciprocal is added to di- or tri-valent verbs, which may be underived (10.184), or have reached the requisite valency by addition of an applicative

(10.185, 10.186). Where the resultant predicate is monovalent, or where the reflexive/reciprocal is the last derivational step, the object prefix slot is left unfilled (10.185, 10.187, 10.188), and the verb is interpreted as having a first object coreferential with its subject.

- 10.184 *Gabandi-bu-n.*
Dj 3a/3pl-hit-NP
'They are hitting them.'
- 10.185 *Gabani-bu-rre-n.*
Dj 3ua-hit-RR-NP
'Those two are fighting each other, those two are fighting.'
- 10.186 **Gabandi-bu-rre-n.*
Dj 3a/3pl-hit-RR-NP
- 10.187 *Bani-guk-yi-rrurnde-rre-ni.*
Dj 3uaP-body-COM-return-RR-PI
'The two of them carried each other home, brought each other home.'
- 10.188 *Barri-marne-borrkke-rre-ni.*
Dj 3aP-BEN-dance-RR-PI
'They danced for each other.'

However, where the addition of a beneficiary or causal argument follows the application of the reflexive/reciprocal, the second pronominal slot may be re-filled by the added beneficiary or causal argument. This is commonest in the frame 'X oneself/one's body part for BEN', as in 10.189 and 10.190.

- 10.189 *Kabi-marne-djikka-djuyme-rre-n.*
I 3/3h-BEN-breast-squeeze-RR-NP
'She squeezes her breasts for him (her baby).'
- 10.190 *Ngarrben-marne-bok-kurrme-rre-n.*
I 1a/3pl-BEN-track-put-RR-NP
'We'll leave our tracks for them.'

10.3.4.1 Ordering of RR and applicatives in semantic composition

Since the applicative and reflexive/reciprocal morphemes lie on opposite sides of the verb stem, the morpheme ordering cannot be said to determine the ordering of semantic composition, in contrast to the situation with comitative and benefactive applicatives, which are always semantically composed from the inside (comitative) to the outside (benefactive) when both occur. In fact both orderings of composition are attested between RR and the applicatives.

The available ordering partly depends on whether a reflexive or reciprocal interpretation is involved.

Reflexives must always bind true objects. Examples like 10.191a,b, in which the coreferential argument would be introduced by a comitative or benefactive applicative, are judged unacceptable.

- 10.191 a. * \emptyset -*yi-lobme-rr-inj*
 I 3P-COM-run-RR-PP
 (for 'he drove himself there'; *yilobme* is a common phrase for 'drive (someone)')
- b. * *Nga-marne-bayahme-rr-inj mudikka*
 I 1-BEN-buy-RR-PP car
 (for 'I bought myself a car.'; this must be expressed with an oblique pronoun — see 7.16)

Since reflexives must always bind true objects, reflexive formation always precedes valency increases by applicatives in semantic composition. Examples are 'he saw himself with the beer/child' in 10.194 and 'he hid himself away with it' (Text 1.47; Text 2.56–57), in both of which the order of composition is COM-[hide-reflexive].

- 10.192 a. \emptyset -*Bo-yi-na-rr-inj*.
 I 3/3IP-liquid-COM-see-RR-PP
 'He saw himself with the beer.'
- b. \emptyset -*Yaw-yi-na-rr-inj*.
 I 3/3IP-child-COM-see-RR-PP
 'He saw himself with the child.'

As mentioned above, where reflexive formation precedes the benefactive, the second pronominal prefix can be re-filled by the benefactive argument, for example 'he cut his arm for them' (10.193), composed as BEN-[arm-cut-reflexive], 'we'll show ourselves (our bodies) to them' in 10.194, and 'we'll put our footsteps (leave our tracks) for them' in 10.190.

- 10.193 *Kaben-marne-berl-dadjdje-rr-en*.
 I 3/3pl-BEN-arm-cut-RR-NP
 'He cuts his arm for them.'

- 10.194 *Ngarrben-marne-kuk-bukka-rr-inj*.
 I 1a/3pl-BEN-body-show-RR-PP
 'We showed ourselves to them.'

Reciprocals, on the other hand, typically take the output of valency increases as their input, for example 'they brought each other back (i.e. came back with each other)' (10.187), which is [COM-return]-reciprocal; 'they left a spear with each other' (10.195), which is [spear[COM-leave]]-reciprocal; and 'they cooked meat for each other' (10.2), which is [BEN-cook]-reciprocal.

- 10.195 *Bene-korle-yi-kurrme-rr-inj*
 I 3ua-spear-COM-put-RR-PP
 'They two left a spear with each other, left each other a spear.'

However, reciprocals may serve as input to valency increase when this is the causal or 'affected family member' sense of the benefactive applicative, as in 'they swore at each other over them' (10.144), which is composed as BEN-[swear-recv], and 'they showed each other their kids' (10.196), composed as BEN-[show-recv].

- 10.196 *Bindi-marne-bukka-rr-inj wurdurd rowk*.
 I 3a/3pl-BEN-show-RR-PP child all
 'They showed each other all their kids.' (though the simpler construction *birri-bukka-rr-inj rowk wurdurd bedberre* is also possible here, where 'their' is expressed by an external oblique pronoun *bedberre* rather than by the combination of benefactive and object prefix)

Whether the second pronominal slot is filled thus depends on the order of composition. Object arguments introduced after reflexive/reciprocalisation can be represented by pronominal prefix (10.193, 10.194, 10.196), though of course there are many cases, such as 10.192 where this does not show up overtly owing to zero exponence of third singular objects. On the other hand, object arguments introduced before reflexive/reciprocalisation will be suppressed (10.18, 10.21).

10.3.4.2 Extent of reflexive/reciprocal use

The reflexive/reciprocal is used more widely than its English equivalents, and occurs with all implicit reciprocals and reflexives.

Thus English verbs with plural subjects, that delete reciprocal objects (e.g. 'they are fighting (each other)'), will be translated with an overt reflexive/reciprocal in Bininj Gun-wok (10.185); further examples with 'shake hands' (10.197), 'mix' (10.198), 'kiss' (10.199) and 'fuck' (10.200)²⁰ illustrate the fact that all semantic self-converses (i.e. where $V(A,B) \leftrightarrow V(B,A)$) employ the reflexive/reciprocal.

10.197 *Guni-bu-rr-inj, bonj, guni-bid-ma-rre-men.*

Dj 2ua-hit-RR-PP finished 2ua-hand-take-RR-IMP
'OK, you two have finished fighting, shake hands now.'

10.198 *Kun-kare minj karri-rawo-rr-inj na-wu Mimih. Ngad karri-yo*

W IV-old not 12a-mix-RR-PP MA-DEM mimih we 12a-campNP

kondah, dja bedda kabirri-yo kore ku-warde-rurrk.

here and they 3a-campNP LOC LOC-rock-cave

'A long time ago, we didn't mix with the *Mimih* — we lived here, and they lived in the rocks.' [KS 90]

10.199 *Kabene-bunjhme-rr-en.*

3ua-kiss-RR-NP

'They are kissing.'

10.200 *Kabene-dedjdo-rr-en.*

3ua-fuck-RR-NP

'They're fucking.'

This does not mean that such verbs cannot be used in their simple transitive form, if the depiction of the action is as a non-reciprocal. A non-reciprocal transitive example with 'kiss' is:

10.201 *An-gudji-gen a-bunjhmej.*

III-one-GEN 1/3-kissPP

'I kissed her once.'

²⁰ Of course the situational context determines whether the predicate is self-converse or not. Both 'kiss' and 'fuck' can be used non-reciprocally precisely when the action is not being actively reciprocated, or is not so portrayed, exactly as in the difference between English 'she kissed him' and 'they kissed'. The corresponding verbs in Bininj Gun-wok are comparable in allowing both transitive and reciprocal uses; the difference is that in Bininj Gun-wok the reciprocal is always overtly marked.

An overt reflexive will likewise be used where English typically has only an implicit reflexive, with such verbs as 'dress (oneself)' (10.202), 'hide (oneself)', 'shave (oneself)' (below) etc.

- 10.202 *Bokngarru kabirri-djongbu-rr-en kun-borrk-kenh.*
 dancing.belt 3a-dress-RR-NP IV-dance-GEN
 'They dress in dancing belts for dances.' [GID]

And it is often more idiomatic to use reciprocal constructions where English would use a unidirectional transitive, as in 10.203 with 'see', 10.204–10.206 with 'marry' and 10.207 with 'have an argument with'. In such cases the set/subset construction is used, with the pronominal prefix referring to the whole set, and one or both of the subsets represented by a free noun phrase (if there is just one, it will always be the non-subject noun phrase in English). In some such cases, particularly *marren* 'marry', the reciprocal has arguably become phraseologised; I discuss idiomatic and phraseologised reciprocals in §10.3.4.6.

- 10.203 *Wolewoleh Peter Wellings arri-na-rr-inj Jabiru.*
 Dj yesterday 1a-see-RR-PP
 'We saw Peter Wellings in Jabiru yesterday.' (lit. Peter Wellings and us, we saw each other in Jabiru yesterday)
- 10.204 *Ngayi Balang ngane-ma-rr-inj.*
 I Balang 1ua-take-RR-PP
 'Balang and I got married.'
- 10.205 *Wamuddjan ngane-ma-rr-en Ngarridj la Ngarridjjan nga-bebke.*
 Wamuddjan 1ua-take-RR-NP Ngarridj and Ngarridjjan 1/3-produceNP
 'I'll get married to a woman of *Wamuddjan* skin and I'll have (produce) children of *Ngarridj* and *Ngarridjjan* skin.' [GID]
- 10.206 *Ani-ma-rre-n al-mardgu.*
 Dj 1ua-take-RR-NP FE-mardgu
 'I have to marry a woman of the *-mardgu* matrimoiety.'
- 10.207 *Nungka bene-dangwe-rr-inj dird.*
 W he 3uaP-argue-RR-PP moon
 'He had an argument with the moon.'

10.3.4.3 Selection of bound argument

Reciprocal and reflexive constructions, even though they are marked by the same verbal suffix, employ different principles for determining which argument is coreferential with the subject. In reflexives only true objects are bound by the subject. Objects introduced by applicatives are therefore always interpreted as having applied, in semantic composition, after the reflexive (10.208); see also §10.3.4.1, Text 1.47 and Text 2.56–57.

- 10.208 *Ngal-badjan ngan-yi-warlkka-rr-inj.*
 II-mother 3/1-COM-hide-RR-PP
 'Mum used to hide herself away with me.'

In reciprocals, on the other hand, indirect objects and benefactives outrank true objects for binding by the subject. Concomitantly, reciprocalisation can apply after the addition of benefactive and comitative arguments (though before the addition of causal arguments — see §10.3.4.1).

10.209 *Barri-warde-wo-rre-ni.*
 Dj 3aP-money-give-RR-PI
 ‘They used to give each other money.’
 * ‘They used to give themselves as money.’

10.210 *An-me barri-wo-rre-ni.*
 Dj III-veg.food 3aP-give-RR-PI
 ‘They used to give each other food.’
 * ‘They used to give themselves as food.’

10.211 *Gabarri-bolidj-bukka-rre-n.*
 Dj 3a-scar-show-RR-NP
 ‘They show each other their scars.’

In reciprocals of double-object verbs, regardless of the verb type (§10.1.3.4) the lexically-determined ‘first object’ — the one that would be represented by object affix, and would not sanction incorporation — binds the reciprocal (10.29, 10.196). A further example is 10.212, which is ambiguous between reflexive and reciprocal readings:

10.212 *Birri-wardde-yi-warlkka-rr-inj.*
 3aP-money-COM-hide-RR-PP
 ‘They used to hide the money with each other.’/‘They used to hide themselves away with the money.’

Causal NPs introduced by BEN are outranked by the original objects for reciprocal binding; another way of interpreting this is that reciprocalisation precedes the introduction of a causal argument in semantic composition.

10.213 *Daluk bogen bani-marne-godj-badjdje-rr-inj.*
 Dj woman two 3uaP-BEN-head-punch-RR-PP
 ‘The two women punched each other in the head over him.’

10.214 *Bindi-marne-kodj-badjdje-rr-inj.*
 3a/3pl-BEN-head-punch-RR-PP
 ‘They punched each other in the head over them.’

Where a reflexive/reciprocalised transitive verb has an incorporated body-part nominal, this is interpreted as part of the subject, in the same way as happens with an intransitive verb (§10.4.4.1); this is of course, referentially, the same argument that would be construed as part of the incorporated object of a transitive verb. Thus *ngey-bimbu-rren* [name-write-RR] means ‘write one’s own name’ (10.215), *bid-kurrme-rren* [hand-put.down-RR] means ‘make, put down a print of one’s own hand’, and *keb-birrka-rren* [nose-poke-RR] means ‘stick finger up one’s nose’. There are examples, however, where the subject possessor interpretation of reflexives is extended in a way that cannot be derived from a corresponding basic transitive construction. These are dealt with in §10.3.4.5 below.

10.215 *Yi-ngey-bimbu-rr-en!*
 2-name-write-RR-NP
 ‘Write your name!’

In one interesting example a clausal object, involving a body part in object relation in the main clause but incorporated as subject of the subordinate clause, is placed before the reflexivised verb:

- 10.216 *Karri-kurlba-dolbdolbme karri-bekka-rr-en.*
 I 12a-blood-pulseNP 12a-feel-RR-NP
 'We can feel our blood pulsing.'

10.3.4.4 Reflexive vs reciprocal interpretations

We now turn to the question of whether a reflexive or reciprocal interpretation is given. In most cases context is enough to decide. Reflexive interpretations, for example, are forced where the subject is singular:

- 10.217 *Marrek munguyh ø-ru-yinj, ø-dombu-rr-inj.*
 E:D not for.long 3P-burn-IRR 3P-extinguish-RR-PP
 'It didn't burn for long, it burned itself out.'
- 10.218 *Kun-wern ø-wungme-ng ø-bulkkidjma-rr-inj.*
 I NEU-much 3P-smoke-PP 3P-cause.serious.illness-RR-PP
 'He smoked too much and made himself seriously ill.'
- 10.219 *A-bid-bik+ma-rr-en.*
 Dj 1-hand-take.out.splinter-RR-NP
 'I'm cutting the splinter out of my hand.'
- 10.220 *A-djawurrk-djobge-rr-eni.*
 Dj 1-beard-cut-RR-PI
 'I used to shave myself.'

Note that the object of the reflexive action may be a physically separated body part of the subject, which will typically (always?) be incorporated:

- 10.221 *Ka-waral-na-rre-n.*
 I 3-spirit-see-RR-NP
 '(S)he is looking at him/herself (in water, or mirror).'

Where the subject is non-singular, there is possible ambiguity for most verb lexemes:

- 10.222 *Arri-wok-bekka-rr-en.*
 Dj 1a-word-listen-RR-NP
 'We listen to each other talking.' OR: 'We listen to ourselves talk (on a tape recorder).'
- 10.223 *Gabarri-djobge-rre-n.*
 Dj 3a-cut-RR-NP
 'They are cutting themselves/each other.'

To avoid ambiguity in such cases, an emphatic pronoun can be added to force a reflexive reading:

- 10.224 *Bedman gabarri-djobge-rre-n.*
 Dj themselves 3a-cut-RR-NP
 'They are cutting themselves (*each other).'

10.3.4.5 Extended coreferential domain in reflexive constructions

In reflexivised or reciprocalised verbs with incorporated body parts, as we have seen, these are construed as belonging to the subject. This corresponds to the standard interpretation of body part incorporation, described in §10.4.5.1. However, there are also cases where the reflexive possessor interpretation cannot be so derived, because (a) the incorporated noun is not a body part:

- 10.225 *Yi-worrhme an-dumuk, yi-yaw-ginje-rr-inj wurtyaw dolng-no-yih.*
 MM 2-make.fireNP III-native.cherry 2-baby-burn-RR-PP child smoke-its-INSTR
 'You make a fire with native cherry (wood); you used to 'burn' (sterilise) your baby with its smoke.'

(b) the verb meaning is such that the subject is not affected via the incorporated body part:

- 10.226 *A-woh-re, a-gurlh-melme-rr-inj.*
 Dj 1-a.bit-goNP 1-vomit-step-RR-PP
 'I took a step, and trod in my own vomit.'²¹

or (c) with verbs of excretion, when used in their base form, the body part would not be their object; an example is the coarse *mad-ngukde-rren* [ankle-shit-RR] 'shit all over one's own ankles as a result of eating too much' [GID].

Though in each of these cases the extension of the reflexive possessive interpretation goes beyond what is available through regular body-part incorporation, it is still limited within the general domain of entities that were until recently inside the body.

While on the topic of extending the semantics of 'self', note that with some verbs this extends to twins, or to other identical representations. Thus in Kuningku the verb *yurhke* 'to go past' can incorporate *kuk* 'body' and be reflexivised, giving *kuk-yurhkerren*. This can then be used in examples like *kuk-yurhkerrinj* 'he passed himself (two twins, or in supernatural contexts)' and *yi-kuk-yurhkerrinj* 'you passed someone who looks just like you' (Murray Garde, pers. comm.).

10.3.4.6 Chained reciprocals

Instead of the action being directly exchanged between two actors, it is possible for it to be chained in sequence, that is instead of $A \leftarrow V \rightarrow B$, the arrangement is $A \rightarrow B \rightarrow C \rightarrow D$. Lichtenberk (1985) mentions comparable extensions of the reciprocal in a number of languages; in Bini Gun-wok it is particularly common when talking about transmission from generation to generation:

²¹ Note, though, that for some speakers the transitive affected-body-part construction is possible here (e.g. *bi-kurk-melmeng* [3/3hP-vomit-stepped] 'he stepped in his (another person's) vomit').

- 10.227 *Birri-bid-yi-bukka-bukka-rr-inj.*
 3aP-hand-COM-ITER-show-RR-PP
 'Each generation taught the next.'

10.3.4.7 Middle and passive-like uses of the reflexive

With inanimate subjects the reflexive/reciprocal is also sometimes used as a passive, in parallel with the use of reflexives in many languages with 'decausative' semantics (Geniusenie 1987). Compare the reflexive interpretation given to *barrkburren ~ barrhburren* in 10.228 with the passive interpretation in 10.229, as well as the decausative use of *domburrinj* (< *dombun* 'put out, extinguish') in 10.217, and *barleyerdkerrinj* in 10.230 (used with a male human subject this would have the reflexive sense 'masturbate'). See also 8.15 for an example translatable as 'he gets circumcised'.

- 10.228 *Ginga ga-godj-barrkbu-rr-en gun-bak.*
 Dj crocodile 3-head-cover-RR-NP IV-slime
 'The crocodile covers its head with slime.'
- 10.229 *Barlabarla ka-djordme Manbulukarri, ka-barrhbu-rr-en.*
 river.mangrove 3-growNP [place name] 3-cover-RR-NP
 'The river mangrove grows at Manbulukarri; it (the place) is all covered over.'
- 10.230 A: *ϕ-Bakme-ng ϕ-nangah-na-ng bonj.*
 3P-break-PP 3/3P-ITER-see-PP finish
 'He saw it was broken and that was the end of it.'
- B: *Njale ϕ-bakme-ng?*
 what 3P-break-PP
 'What was broken?'
- A: *ϕ-Barle-yerdke-rr-inj ... (laughter)*
 3P-glans.penis-expose.elongated.object-RR-PP
 'The "prick" of the spear had been pulled out ...' [Garde 1996:143]

Rarely, verbs in the reflexive may have a middle interpretation, this time benefactive. This is chiefly with verbs of reproduction, meaning 'to conceive/beget a child for oneself' or, to give a gloss more revealing of the link to the reflexive, 'to conceive/beget a child (as a continuation) of oneself'.²² As well as 10.231, see 5.287.

- 10.231 *Ngane-h-wam ngane-wurdma-rr-inj.*
 W 1ua-IMM-gOPP 1ua-get.child-RR-PP
 'We lived together, and made ourselves a child.'

²² In fact the use may extend more generally to actions performed on one's family, when these concern birth and death. Consider MM *yiyawinyerriny wurtyaw dolngnoyih* 'you disinfect (your) newborn child with its smoke (disinfectant plant sp.)' [you baby-cook-yourself], and Dj *ngarigukbeherren* 'we smoke the bodies of our dead' [we body-smoke-ourselves].

10.3.4.8 'All over the place'

A further semantic extension of the reflexive/reciprocal, so far attested only in Kuninjku, is to denote situations where the action is repeated in many places. The use of *bokkarrinj* with this effect in 10.233 suggests this extension may be motivated by a metaphor of 'following one's own tracks', something like 'chasing their own tails' in English.²³

10.232 *Man-me ka-yawa-rr-en.*

III-food 3-search.for-RR-NP

'She's looking for food all over the place.'

10.233 *Minj birri-warlkka-rr-imeninj la kunak birri-bokka-rr-inj*

NEG 3aP-hide-RR-IRR CONJ fire 3aP-follow.track-RR-PP

man-wurrk birri-bokka-rr-inj birri-wam birri-wurlhke-ng

III-grass.fire 3aP-follow.track-RR-PP 3aP-gopp 3aP-light.fire-PP

birri-bid-karrme-rr-inj.

3aP-hand-hold-RR-PP

'We wouldn't hide ourselves, but we'd follow the (hunting) fires all over the place, we'd follow the tracks everywhere, we'd go along and cooperate in the hunt, lighting fires.'

10.3.4.9 Phraseologised and frozen forms

There are many idiomatic lexical items in which the reflexive/reciprocal form differs semantically from the underived form through more than the addition of reflexive, reciprocal or collective meaning. I refer to these as phraseologised interpretations.²⁴ There are also verbs which are formally reflexive/reciprocals, but have no corresponding underived form; I call these frozen reflexive/reciprocals. These are really two poles of a continuum, and my discussion will pass from the frozen extreme back to cases where the meaning is more and more compositional. Most of my data come from the Gun-djeihmi and Kuninjku dictionary data bases.

FROZEN REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCALLS Examples where the semantics is clearly reflexive are the following; in each, the RR suffix follows a thematic attested elsewhere in its plain form, but the combination with the prebound does not occur outside the RR construction.

yeykerren 'give self away in hiding, cause self to be found in hiding' (I)

nidberren 'stop in one's tracks' (I)

ngirrburren 'rub body against something, scratch by rubbing against' (I)

borndurren 'wipe oneself' (10.228)

kungabmerren 'comb one's hair' (I; note similarity to *gun-ngabek* (Dj), *kun-ngabired* (Dj) and *kun-ngabed* (W), all 'hair').

²³ See also Lichtenberk (2000:39) for discussion of some Oceanic languages in which reciprocals can 'signify that the overall situation comprises a plurality of localities or different directionalities: the locality or directionality of one subevent is not the same as that of another subevent'.

²⁴ These correspond to Geniusie's (1987:363) 'semantic reflexiva tantum', that is reflexive verbs 'that are related to the base verb in an irregular, individual way semantically'. Frozen reflexive/reciprocals correspond to her 'formal reflexiva tantum'.

mimwodburren 'wave hands in front of one's eyes (*kun-mim*), usually to swat flies' (I); though note Dj *wodbun* 'wave (magic leaf, when clever man is ministering to patient) over O'.

kodjkerren 'stay still' (E:D, see Text 5, para 5)

rakburren 'go, head off' (E:D)

10.234 *A-geb-borndurr-en*.

Dj 1-nose-wipe(RR)-NP
'I wipe my nose.'

Usually there is a good match between reflexive-reciprocal forms in the ordinary language and in Kun-kurrng. Sometimes, however, a frozen RR form is found in Kun-kurrng, corresponding to an underived form in the ordinary language: 'warm oneself by the fire' is *kuwan* in ordinary language, but *ngolkkerren* in Kun-kurrng (I).

There is only one frozen example where the meaning is clearly reciprocal: *yurrmerren* 'pass each other going in opposite directions'; although *yurrme* is not attested, note the related form *yurrke* 'go ahead, be in front of'.

Of the frozen reflexive/reciprocals, *kurren* can add a benefactive object (10.235), while *ngirrburren* (10.236) may take a locative adjunct:

10.235 *Gan-marne-gu.rre-n*.

Dj 2/1-BEN-lie-NP
'You're lying to me.'

10.236 *Nganabbarru ka-ngirrbu.rre-n ku-rrulk*.

I buffalo 3-rub-NP LOC-tree
'The buffalo is rubbing itself on a tree.'

PHRASEOLOGISED REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCALLS One can recognise three types of phraseologised reflexive/reciprocals.

Firstly, the combination of elements may be completely or almost completely compositional, with the expected argument structure, but only attested in the reflexive/reciprocal:

dangwerren 'argue with each other' [mouth-throw-RR] (Dj, I) (10.237)

milhmerren 'face each other' [forehead-verb.thematic-RR] (I) (10.238)

bolkdadjerren '(country, place) "cut off", come to an end (used of border areas where one location ends and another begins)' [place-cut-RR] (I)

ronjwerren 'urinate' (lit. water-throw-RR) (I)

kukmarnburren 'organise oneself, arrange the position of one's body' (I) [body-make(good)-RR]

djenmarnburren 'pronounce speech correctly' (I) [tongue-make(good)-RR]

10.237 *Gabani-dang-we-rr-en*

Dj 3ua-mouth-throw-RR-NP
'They're arguing.'

10.238 *Ka-kom mayh kabene-milhmerr-en Dilebang*.

I 3-neck creature 3ua-face.each.other-NP [place]
'The rainbow serpents heads stand there facing each other at Dilebang.'

Somewhat less compositional are:

<i>woknarren</i>	'call out to each other/have a talk [OP 427]' [lit. word-see-RR], (perhaps originally 'see each other by words, as a result of each other's words') (I) ²⁵
<i>gebnarren</i>	'urinate' [lit. nose-see-RR] (Dj)
<i>ganemwarreworren</i>	'marry wrong way' [lit. ear-ruin-RR, perhaps 'violate each other's common sense'] (Dj)
<i>bidwernworren</i>	'have many children' [lit. hand-many-give-RR]

Secondly, specific idiomatic semantics may coexist alongside completely compositional semantics:

<i>narren</i>	'see, look at each other', but also 'give each other the eye, flirt with the eyes, be boyfriend and girlfriend' (A)
<i>bekkarren</i>	'listen to oneself, feel (oneself)', but also 'consider, think about before making a decision' (Dj, I)
<i>burlumerren</i>	'praise oneself', but also 'show off, perform' and 'stalk prey when hunting' (I)
<i>kadjurren</i>	'follow each other', but also 'be countrymen' (A)
<i>werren</i>	'throw oneself', but also 'keep coming and coming to see someone, throw oneself on someone (through frequent visits)'
<i>djorringmerren</i>	'straighten oneself', but also 'spread legs and head down, usually to drink, of animals' (I)
<i>marnburren</i>	'make oneself', but also 'prepare oneself, get ready'
<i>raworren</i>	'mix oneself up, combine oneself together' but also 'make a group of many'
<i>larlmarren</i>	'divide oneself up, be divided, be separated' but also 'get divorced, separate'
<i>bakkerren</i>	'break oneself', but also 'compose a song, inspired by some event' (13.209)
<i>ngurren</i>	'eat oneself' (e.g. of a cat eating its tail), 'eat each other' (e.g. two snakes), but also, with plural subject 'have sex' ('eat each other')
<i>kundjiburren</i>	'argue/fight and then walk away in anger, walk away from an argument' but also 'stay away out of sullenness, keep oneself away from a fight' (I)
<i>dukkarren</i>	'tie oneself up', but also 'writhe'

Rarely, there is a complete break between underived and reflexive/reciprocal constructions; an example is *wurhlke* 'set fire, ignite, start a seasonal bush fire; turn a light on' (neither permitting reflexive/reciprocals), but *wurhkerren* 'get dressed' (I), a synonym for *djongburren*.

The third situation is where the semantic extension in the reflexive/reciprocal affects the argument structure itself. Consider verbs of excretion, which in their underived form are either intransitive or take a cognate object designating the thing excreted: faeces or eggs with

²⁵ Dalabon *wonan* 'hear' may result from further extension along the same path, with irregular cluster simplification.

ngukdeng 'defecate (v.i.), shit out (v.t.); lay (eggs)', and urine with *dilebun* 'urinate (v.i.), piss out (v.t.)' (see Text 9.17 for an example). However, in their reflexive/reciprocal form these verbs mean 'shit (on) oneself' and 'piss (on) oneself' (10.239). In other words (as in English) they can be construed as having a locational object only in the reflexive construction.

- 10.239 *Ga-rrilebu-rr-en gun-bang ba-bonguneng ngan-wern*
 Dj 3-piss-RR-NP IV-grog 3P-drinkPP VE-much
 'He's pissing himself; he drank too much.'

10.3.4.10 The aberrant 'stick together' construction

Two verbs of physical cohesion, *-djudme-rr-en* 'stick together' (cf. *djudme* 'stick onto') and *belbmang* 'stick together', have an aberrant construction whose analysis is still unclear. They take the divalent prefix set with plural object form; the first verb uses a reflexive/reciprocal suffix. It is unclear whether these are to be analysed as object-oriented verbs whose subject is to be understood as the cohering agent (bamboo nodes, glue) and whose object is the bits stuck together (in other words, this would be a verb with reflexive/reciprocal form that, exceptionally, does not become intransitive), or a collective reading of a transitive verb, imposed by the *rr* in the case of *-djudme-rr-en* (recall that collective uses of *rr* are unusual in not reducing the verb's valency), and by lexical semantics in the case of *belbmang*.

- 10.240 a. *Gaban-gorlebard-djudme-rr-en.*
 Dj²⁶ 3/3pl-bamboo.node-stick-RR-NP
 'Bamboo nodes hold each other together; bamboo is held together by its nodes.'
- b. *Kaben-korlebardboldj-djudme-rr-en.*
 3/3pl-bamboo.node-stick-RR-NP
 = a.
- 10.241 *Gaban-belbma-ng.*
 Dj 3/3pl-stick.together-NP
 'It sticks together.' (cf. MM *gabibelbme* '(the child) sticks to (its mother)')

10.4 Noun incorporation

Noun incorporation is a central, complex and theoretically interesting part of the argument grammar of Bininj Gun-wok. Basically, it involves the combination of a noun root and a verbal root into a single, semantically more specific, verbal word. Since noun incorporation is grammatically optional, there exist near-synonymous alternatives in which the noun root is not incorporated but appears as an external nominal.

²⁶ Goldie Blyth, a speaker of Kunwinjku and Gun-djeihmi whom I asked about these sentences, said 10.240 would sound better with a unit augmented subject (*gabani-gorlebard-djudmerren*), and suggested the construction was used because there are joined pairs of segments all the way along the bamboo. On this explanation, the unit augmented prefix would refer to the two sides of each node, and the RR would be the collective reading, iterated over the many joints. However, this would fail to account for the construction in 10.241.

An example of such a pair is 10.242a,b. As this pair illustrates, nominal morphology, in the form of noun-class prefixes, is present in the external form, but dropped in the incorporated form; 10.242b is also typical in that the incorporated noun is the object. Intransitive subjects are also commonly incorporated (10.243). Incorporation of nouns in other grammatical relations (comitative objects, and, just with *yaw* 'baby', indirect objects and benefactives) occurs with certain lexemes; this is discussed in §10.4.2.2.

10.242 a. *Al-ekge al-gohbanj ba-bimbu-ni gun-gurlah.*

Dj FE-DEM II-old.person 3/3P-paint-PI IV-skin
'That old lady used to paint buffalo hides.'

10.242 b. *Al-ekge al-gohbanj ba-gurlah-bimbu-ni.*

Dj FE-DEM II-old.person 3/3P-skin-paint-PI
'That old lady used to paint buffalo hides.'

10.243 *Ga-wardde-djabdi.*

Dj 3-rock-stand.up.straightNP
'There is a rock standing up straight.'

We have already discussed the morphology of noun incorporation in §6.1.3 and §8.1.3. That section contains a full list of incorporable 'generic' nouns and a discussion of the criteria for distinguishing lexico-syntactic incorporation, which will be our sole focus in this section, from the often formally similar process of deriving new verbs by compounding. As shown in detail there, verbs with lexico-syntactic incorporation have agnate constructions where the nominal is external, allow the incorporated noun to be syntactically unified with external material and/or pronominal affixes on the verb. Generic and part nouns also have distinctive positional slots.

In this section, the emphasis will be on three cross-cutting parameters: (a) the type of incorporated nominal (body part, generic or secondary predicate), (b) the grammatical relation borne by the incorporated nominal to the verb, and (c) the semantic and discourse differences between incorporated and non-incorporated constructions. The following sections are organised around the first parameter, with the other two discussed in each relevant section.

While generative accounts of noun incorporation, notably those by Baker (1988, 1993, 1995), have attempted to give a unitary account of the phenomenon in terms of the syntactic environments allowing and disallowing incorporation, the approach taken here will be *constructional*. Both the constraints on incorporability, and the semantics of the choice to incorporate, will be shown to be construction-specific, depending on the semantic class of both the verb and the nominal root, as well as on broader characterisations in terms of valency, and generic vs body-part status. For example, while Bininj Gun-wok basically conforms to the robust cross-linguistic preference for incorporated nouns to be in an absolutive relation to the verb (i.e. object or intransitive subject), the normal interpretation of verbs with incorporated objects is rather different to that of verbs with incorporated intransitive subjects: the former tend to be given, while the latter are existential orthetic, at least with stance verbs. And while the limitation on incorporability to nouns in absolutive relations holds generally of generic nouns, it needs to be modified in the case of part nouns (where the absolutive constraint applies to the possessors of the part, not the part itself) and discarded in the case of the incorporable noun *yaw* 'baby, child', which is exceptional in being incorporable even as an indirect object. All this means that, while bearing in mind an overarching absolutive preference, we need to approach noun-incorporation as a family of

related but distinct constructions, each with its own partially unique semantic and syntactic characterisation.

10.4.1 External modification of incorporated nouns

As in other polysynthetic languages possessing what Rosen (1987) has called 'classifier noun incorporation', it is common for referring expressions (shown below in bold) to include both an incorporated nominal and external modifiers (see also Baker 1995, Chapter 4). Among the various types of external material that can be construed with the incorporated nominal are adjectives (10.244), which may themselves incorporate the same root as the verb (10.245), proper nouns, illustrated here in the form of a subsection name (10.246), possessive pronouns (10.247, 10.248), demonstratives (10.249), numerals (10.250) and relative clauses (10.251, 10.252). For further examples see §6.2.2. As with arguments represented pronominally, external material is crucial to the interpretation of incorporated nominals, for example in deciding whether a generic, newly presented or definite interpretation is to be given (though the verbal construction itself also plays an important role, as we shall see).

10.244 *Ga-yau-garrme al-daluk.*

Dj 3-child-haveNP FE-woman
'She has a female child.'

10.245 *Minj na-ngale ka-rrulk-karrme man-dulk-djamun.*

W NEG MA-who 3-tree-touchNP VE-tree-sacred
'No-one can touch that sacred tree.' [KS 196]

10.246 *Galijan bi-dulubom, Gojok bi-marne-yaw-ngune-ng, well*

MM [name] 3/3h-hit.with.missilePP [name] 3/3h-BEN-child-eat-PP

Galijan-ih bi-bom.

[name]-ERG 3/3h-killPP

'Galijan killed him, she ate **her** (Tortoise's) **child** Gojok, yes Galijan killed him.'

10.247 *Gamak gan-bolk-bukka-n ge.*

Dj good 2/1-place-show-NP your
'It's good that you will show me **your country**.'

10.248 *Warramurrungundji ø-dulk-wakwam ngalengarre kun-barlkbu.*

W [name] 3/3P-stick-forgotPP her IV-digging stick
'Warramurrungundji forgot **her digging stick**.' [KS 20]

10.249 *Ga-rrulk-gimuk an-ege, ga-rrulk-yahwurd ngan-dehne.*

Dj 3NP-tree-big VE-that 3-tree-small VE-this
'**That tree** is big, **this tree** is small.'

10.250 *Bogen gabani-dulk-di.*

Dj two 3ua-tree-standNP
'There are **two trees** there.'

10.251 *An-bolk-bukka-ng gu-mege, bu nungga ba-rrang-inj.*
 Dj 3/1-place-show-PP LOC-that SUB he 3P-be.born-PP
 'He showed me that place where he was born.'

10.252 *Ga-rrulk-gimuk ngan-du nga-djobge.*
 Dj 3-tree-big VE-REL 1/3-cutNP
 'The tree that I will cut is big.'

In addition to being modified, incorporated nominals may also be conjoined with external material:

10.253 "Oo *gunak gare yi-yerrng-ma-ng, gun-boi.*"
 Dj oh fire perhaps 2-wood-get-NP IV-cooking.stone
 "Well maybe you should get some firewood and cooking stones"
 (they said to her).'

Over the last decade Baker (1988, 1993, 1995) has given arguments for a movement treatment of noun incorporation in languages such as Mohawk, whereby head nouns are moved from being the head of a NP into the verb, leaving a trace to head the stranded phrase and mediate external modification. But I prefer to adopt a non-movement analysis of such constructions, and the arguments given by Rosen (1987) for Onondaga and Mohawk can equally well be applied here. Since Bininj Gun-wok freely dispenses with external NPs, and allows stranded modifiers even without incorporation (§6.3), 'head movement' is not needed to explain empty or headless external nominal groups, which are simply commonly exercised options, whether or not noun incorporation takes place. Also problematic for the movement account is 'doubling' — the repetition of the nominal root inside and outside the verb (10.254, 10.256) — which shows that nominal roots can appear on the verb without moving out of an external NP. In 10.257 only the first of a conjoined pair of nouns ('grass' and 'stick') is incorporated, presumably because the prototypical characterisation of the activity needed for such a small fire is in terms of grass (as opposed to the more substantial firewood needed for a larger cooking fire).

10.254 *ba-m-bo-re-i, ba-bo-lobm-i, an-bo-gimuk*
 Dj 3P-hither-liquid-go-PI 3P-liquid-run-PI VE-liquid-big
 'when the floodwaters used to come running high'

10.255 *Gun-barlkbu ba-m-durnd-i, gun-gom bi-gom-djudme-ng.*
 Dj IV-digging.stick 3P-hither-return-PI IV-throat 3/3hP-throat-stick-PP
 'The digging stick came back and stuck right in her throat.'

10.256 *Djaying kun-murrng birri-murrng-moyhme-y ...*
 W it.is.said IV-bone 3a/3-bone-get-PP
 'They reckon they got those bones ...' [KS 68]

10.257 *Bene-dalk-mey man-dalk-buk dja kun-dulk, bene-worrhme-ng*
 W 3uaP-grass-getPP VE-grass-dry and IV-stick 3uaP-make.fire-PP

bene-kinje-ng na-wu wirlarrk.
 3uaP-cook-PP MA-DEM goose.egg
 'Gathering dry grasses and sticks, they made a fire to roast the eggs.' [KS 172]

In fact all logically possible combinations — incorporated noun only, incorporated noun plus external noun, external noun only, and noun represented by a zero (i.e. neither incorporated noun or external noun) — are grammatical. The differences between them

represent a number of constructional and discourse differences, discussed in §10.4.2.6 and §10.4.3.3. It is therefore difficult to see what explanatory value a movement account would have in Bininj Gun-wok.

10.4.2 Incorporation of body parts

Although body parts are sometimes excluded from discussions of the grammatical relations borne by incorporated nominals to the verb,²⁷ there are enough significant parallels between the incorporation of body-part and generic nouns that it makes sense to consider these together. Before passing on to an overall consideration of grammatical relations, then, we go over this constructional parallelism in some detail.

10.4.2.1 Constructional parallelism between generic and body-part incorporation

The basic meaning of the incorporated body-part construction is to express the concurrent involvement of both the part and the whole in the designated action. Syntactically, the whole and the part are treated, in the grammar of Bininj Gun-wok, as being in apposition: a sentence like English 'I touched her on the hand' is cast as 'I touched her, the hand'. Anticipating the arguments for apposition given in the next section, we can formulate the following constraint on body-part incorporation, in terms of grammatical relations:

10.258 Body-part nominals can incorporate if their wholes occupy grammatical relations that sanction generic incorporation.

Leaving aside for the moment the special case of double-object verbs (for some of whose subclasses additional semantic constraints cut in — see §10.4.3.1), this means that the parts of intransitive subjects (10.259, 10.260) and of objects (10.261, 10.262) can incorporate; see §6.2.4.2 for further examples.

10.259 *A-bikkik-bakme-ng.*

Dj 1-rib-crack(intr.)-PP
'I cracked my ribs.'

10.260 *Yi-gurlah-yayme-n ngan-galngginj.*

MM 2-skin-be.itchy-NP III-freshwater.mangrove
'You get an itchy skin from the freshwater mangrove.'

10.261 *Gun-dulk an-bid-djudme-n.*

Dj IV-splinter 3/1-finger-stick.in-NP
'A splinter is sticking into my finger.' (lit. A splinter is sticking into me, in the finger.)

10.262 A: "Garrang! Yi-na- \emptyset na-gomdudj ganhmani-djamun-lidjge!"

Dj mum 2-look-IMP 1-initiate 3/1du-private-pinchNP
"Mum! Look at this young initiated man pinching us on our private parts!"

²⁷ See, for example, Baker (1993:15) who justifies it in terms of 'narrowing in on the natural class of things about which something meaningful can be said'.

- B: "Yiddok ngaye, dimin-dimin gunhmani-lidjge, gunhmani-djamun-lidjge"
 is.it I stripey.fish 3/2du-pinchNP 3/2du-privates-pinchNP
 "It's not me, it's those stripey fish that are pinching you two, pinching you on
 your privates"

Subjects of intransitives with added benefactives (10.263, 10.264) also allow body-part incorporation. Note that, to understand these sentences, it helps to recast the English translation in a way that reflects the Bininj Gun-wok syntactic organisation (e.g. 'I cracked in the ribs' or 'He became big in the eyes for her' instead of 'I cracked my ribs' or 'He made his eyes big for her').

- 10.263 *Bi-marne-mim-gimukm-inj.*
 Dj 3/3h-BEN-eye-become.big-PP
 'He made eyes at her.' (lit. He became big in the eyes for her.)
- 10.264 *Ngan-marne-djen-bebme-ng.*
 Dj 1/3-BEN-tongue-appear-PP
 'She stuck out her tongue at me.' (lit. She emerged in the tongue for me.)

The incorporated body part is never construed with the transitive subject.²⁸ In 10.265 the 'mouth' must belong to the fish, not the pelican, even though \sqrt{dang} may mean 'mouth' or 'beak' and either meaning is pragmatically plausible. In 10.266 the incorporated form 'hand' must be construed as the object's; to specify that the subject used his hand a free nominal plus the ablative suffix must be used (10.267). If the subject's body part is seen as a 'location' rather than an 'instrument', it is represented by a free nominal with the locative prefix (10.268, 10.269.)

- 10.265 *Makkakurr ba-rrang-danjbo-m djenj.*
 Dj pelican 3/3-mouth-spear-PI fish
 'The pelican "speared" the fish in the mouth (*with its beak).'
- 10.266 *A-bid-garrme-ng daluk.*
 Dj 1/3-hand-grasp-PP woman
 'I touched the woman on the hand.'
- 10.267 *Gun-bid-be nga-garrme-ng daluk.*
 Dj IV-hand-ABL 1/3-grasp-PP woman
 'I touched the woman with my hand.'
- 10.268 *Gun-ganj a-ngorrnga-ni gu-garlang.*
 Dj IV-meat 1-carry.on.shoulder-PI LOC-shoulder
 'I carried the meat on my shoulder.'
- 10.269 \emptyset -Warrem-inj kore \emptyset -ngorrkah-ngorrka-ni kore ku-karlang.
 W 3P-become.bad-PP LOC 3P-ITER-carry-PI LOC LOC-shoulder
 '(Wurrakak) got sick of carrying it (his large penis) on his shoulder.' [KS 16]
- 10.270 *Ka-karrme marlakka ka-welh-welme kore ku-kom ngalengarre.*
 W 3-haveNP bag 3-ITER-hang LOC LOC-neck her
 'She has a bag hanging from her neck.' [KS 82]

²⁸ The location/instrument body-part noun root *djol* 'pouch' in *djolkan* 'carry in pouch' is an instance of noun-verb compounding, and there is no agnate construction in which *djol* is external. See §8.2.1.1.

10.4.2.2 Body-part incorporation and 'possessor raising'

Accounts of body-part incorporation often make use of the term 'possessor raising', defined by Mithun (1995:642) as a construction in which 'the possessor of an entity seems to assume the grammatical role of that entity'. In this section I assess the suitability of this account for body-part incorporation in Bininj Gun-wok.

If the term 'possessor raising' is taken to mean simply that the 'whole' (or 'possessor') is coded as an argument equivalent to that representing the 'part' (or 'possessed') term in English, the term is quite appropriate. In each of 10.271–10.273 the 'possessor', represented as an adnominal in English, is represented as a pronominal argument on the verb, sometimes supplemented by external nouns (10.273).

10.271 *A-mim-warremi-nj.*

1-eye-go.bad-PP

'My eyesight has gone.' (lit. I went bad in the eyes.)

10.272 *Wanjh bi-mim-delkkeng nud-no, and njamed djirndih*

Dnj then 3/3hP-eye-spatterPP pus-3POSSD whatsit quail

bi-keb-delkkeng and lumbuk konda kabarri-keb-malkme

3/3hP-face-spatterPP fruit.dove here 3a-nose-be.markedNP

nudno bi-keb-delkkeng namekke wirriwirriyak

pus.3POSSD 3/3hP-face-spatter-PP MA:DEM cuckoo.shrike

ka-keb-malkme, denge-nud-no.

3-face-be.markedNP foot-pus-his

'Then his pus spattered in his eye, and spattered whatsisname's face, quail's, and fruit doves have their face marked here, where the pus spattered his face, his face is marked with the pus from his foot, from that black-faced cuckoo-shrike.'

10.273 *Aban-berd-yi-na-ng anabbarru, barri-berd-garm-i.*

Dj 1/3pl-tail-COM-see-PP buffalo 3a/3-tail-hold-PI

'I saw them with the buffalo's tail (lit. I saw them with the buffalo at its tail), they were holding it by the tail.'

However, when the term 'possessor raising' is given the further analytical implication that body-part incorporation is a formal index of possessor raising, which is conceived of as a process of syntactic derivation rather than simply a descriptive label about semantic interpretation, this becomes inappropriate, since for Bininj Gun-wok the same syntactic argument structure should be postulated for a clause whether or not the body part is incorporated. This raises the question of what that structure is. I shall suggest that the most suitable analysis is one in which part and whole are syntactically in apposition, with 'head' like properties shared between the part and the whole, and that this analysis is appropriate whether or not the part is incorporated.

The first question, of whether body-part incorporation constitutes a formal index of possessor raising, is best approached by beginning with another construction in which there is a clear formal index of a possessor being raised to argument status: the use of the benefactive applicative to promote possessors to argument status (§10.3.1), exemplified in 10.274, 10.275. In 10.274 the possessor is shown by the possessive pronoun *ngarduk* 'my'; the verb

melme- 'touch with foot, kick' is transitive, and its object is 'child'. In 10.275 the benefactive prefix *marne-* promotes the possessor to indirect object status, as shown by its representation in the pronominal prefix slot.

- 10.274 *Bi-yau-melme-ng* *ngarduk na-beiwurd.*
 3/3HP-child-touch.with.foot-PP my I-child
 'He kicked my child.'
- 10.275 *Ngan-marne-yau-melme-ng* *na-beiwurd. (*Ngan-yau-melme-ng.)*
 3/1-BEN-child-touch.with.foot-PP I-child
 'He kicked my child, he kicked the child on me.'

Here, then, there is evidence that the argument structure of the clause has been changed, since different arguments get represented in the pronominal prefix slots. And there is a formal exponent of the change, in the form of the applicative *marne-*. Finally, there are two alternative constructions available, a 'possessor-raised' construction (§10.3.1.2), and an unraised construction in which the possessor is represented by an adnominal, not an argument. These three considerations justify treating 'possessor raising' as a productive rule with clear syntactic ramifications.

If we now turn to the relevant body-part constructions, we find that none of the above three observations hold. Firstly, the argument structure of the clause, as shown by the choice of pronominal prefixes, is the same regardless of whether or not the body part is incorporated (10.276, 10.277), at least where the body part is in object relation. Body-part incorporation, therefore, cannot be claimed to be a formal index of possessor raising. This contrasts with the situation in Mohawk, for example (Mithun 1995), where nominal incorporation can signal possessor raising both of body parts and of other possessed items, subject to the semantic condition that the possessor must be the primary affected participant of the clause (as with 'he car-stole me' for 'he stole my car').²⁹

- 10.276 *Ngan-melme-ng* *an-gorn.*
 Dj 3/1-crotch-touch.with.foot-PP III-crotch
 'He felt my crotch with his foot.'
- 10.277 *Ngan-gorn-melme-ng.* *(*Ngan-marne-gorn-melmeng.³⁰)*
 3/1-crotch-touch.with.foot-PP
 'He felt my crotch with his foot.'

Secondly, the formal index *marne-*, found with other types of possessor raising, is not found in the case of body-part incorporation. Thirdly, there is no corresponding construction in which the whole is encoded as an adnominal possessor NP.³¹ There is thus no motivation for postulating possessor-raising as an optional, formally registered rule with effects on argument structure.

²⁹ Closer to home, Rembarrnga appears to use nominal incorporation with a possessor-raising meaning, to judge by such examples as *nga-djenj-djunghminj* I-fish-fell for 'my fish fell' and *nga-njarra-bolhminj* I-father-arrived for 'my father arrived' (McKay 1975:304–305).

³⁰ *Nganmarnegornmelmeng* is not ungrammatical, however; it could mean 'he touched (her) crotch with his foot' with the implication that 'her' refers to a close female relation (e.g. wife, sister) whose interests coincide with the speaker's. See §10.3.1.2 for this construction.

³¹ It is possible to treat the part as an independent argument when stressing perceptual separation (see §10.4.2.5) but in this case the possessor is not overtly represented.

An alternative account of body-part syntax here is to see part nouns (whether incorporated or not) as syntactically in apposition to their wholes. This analysis has been proposed for a number of dependent-marking Australian languages in which part nominals agree in case with, but are separate constituents from, their wholes (e.g. Warlpiri (Hale 1981) and Yankunytjatjara (Goddard 1982)). It has also been proposed for another Gunwinyguan language, Ngalakan (Merlan 1983), and for Nunggubuyu by Heath, who uses the term 'part-for-whole grammatical identity' (1984:472).

On this latter analysis, then, part nominals and whole nominals are syntactically in apposition, regardless of whether or not one is incorporated, and both are linked to the same argument position of the verb. It is possible to incorporate one of the apposed pair, for discourse purposes, but this does not alter the basic appositional argument structure. One advantage of this analysis is that it accounts for the syntactic constraints on body-part incorporation automatically: we already need a set of interpretation rules specifying which argument incorporates for generics, and by applying these to all apposed nominals linked to the same argument position, we account for constraints on body-part incorporation as well. Another advantage is that it accounts for certain parallelisms between the incorporation of body parts, of generics, and of secondary predicates: in dependent-marking Australian languages, there is a widespread tendency to syntactically appose all three types by the mechanism of case-agreement. The fact that all three types allow incorporation in Mayali is a significant parallel, that could be captured by saying that noun incorporation has the general characteristic of picking out one of two apposed nominals.

The apposition analysis, with its implication that information is spread over the two apposed elements, is also well-placed to account for certain splits in head-like semantic properties between the part and the whole. Apposition-based analysis of part-whole constructions in dependent-marking languages that have attempted to identify one or other element as head have generally concluded that some head-like properties are associated with the part, some with the whole (see, for example Hale (1981) on Warlpiri, Evans (1995c) on Kayardild). For example, number marking in argument positions indexes the number of the whole, not the part, as shown by 10.278. (On the other hand, semantic entailments about which entity the predicate holds apply sometimes only to the part, sometimes only to the whole: 10.271 entails only that the eyes, not the whole person, became big, and 10.264 only that the tongue, not the whole person, emerged.)

- 10.278 *Abanmani-bid-garrme-ng daluk.*
 Dj 1/3du-hand-grasp-PP woman
 'I grabbed the two women by their hands.'
 * 'I grabbed the woman by her two hands.'

In all the examples so far the predicate holds only of the part, not of the whole, and this is the usual situation, but in 10.279 'being afraid' is predicated of the whole, not the part (here 'the hand'), and in 10.280 the predicate 'ascending' holds of both (although only the back may actually be sticking out of the water).

- 10.279 *Nga-melme-ng bigibigi gun-denge-be, nga-bid-gelem-inj.*
 1/3-touch.with.foot-PP pig IV-foot-ABL 1-hand-fear-PP
 'I touched the pig with my foot, I was afraid for my hand ("I bin fright my hand").'

- 10.280 *Ginga ba-bodme-waihme-ng.*
 crocodile 3P-back-ascend-PP
 'The croc's back has floated up.'

Given these complexities, it seems unlikely that the scope of the predicate could be decided at the level of syntax. Rather, detailed knowledge of the global semantics, in combination with real-world knowledge (e.g. that tongues can stick out without their possessor moving, but that crocodile's backs cannot float up without the whole crocodile floating up as well) is probably used to reconstruct the scope of the predicate, starting from the general premise of body-part involvement. As McGregor (1985:210.11) has put it: "the body part specifies the EXTENT or LOCUS of the participant's involvement in the action. That is, it specifies that part of the individual which is most directly and intimately involved in the action. And secondly, it expresses the fact that it is usually whole individuals rather than their body parts that are involved in the 'direction' of actions or processes." By simply specifying which is the whole and which the part, and linking them to the same entity, while leaving open the question of whether the predicate has scope over whole only, part only or both, the apposition analysis builds in about the right amount of syntactically specified semantics.

Before concluding this section, it is worth noting three deviations from the typical body-part construction as described above.

Firstly, in rare cases what we have been calling the 'part' remains external, while the 'whole' incorporates, reversing the usual pattern.³² Thus in 10.281, which ties up the tortoise and echidna myth by pointing to the hyoid bone inside the tortoise, said to be a modern-day remnant of the spirit of echidna's child (which tortoise had eaten), *malng* 'spirit' is external while *yaw* 'child' incorporates.

- 10.281 *Malng kondah ga-yaw-rdi.*
 MM spirit here 3-child-standNP
 'The child's spirit is here.'

What is unusual here is that the usual emphasis has been reversed: from the usual situation, where the spirit is a part of the child, to the salient and unusual situation here, in which the hyoid 'child' has become a manifestation of the child's spirit. The fact that this could be paraphrased with *yaw* as a secondary predicate, as 'its spirit is here, in the form of this "child"', not only emphasises the connection between part-whole constructions and secondary predicates, but opens up the possibility that we could have even more underspecification, with the construction merely pairing part and whole without stipulating which is which.³³

Secondly, there are many cases where the body part is no longer presented in relation to a whole, but has become separated from its possessor and is treated as an argument in its own right, but still incorporates. One example is 10.282, and further will be given below.

³² Recall also from our discussion on the 'part-noun' nominal construction (§5.5.2.5) that, in the case of bees and their hives, the usual pattern of marking product with the third person possessed suffix is reversed, so that one says *diwarra nabarng bodno* ['diwarra-honey cheeky (is) bee-its] with the bee encoded as the part.

³³ For example, this could be done by saying that 'body part' nouns can occur in the part slot, without requiring that they always be given a part interpretation when they occur there. This would allow for a more natural treatment of cases where part nouns are functioning as separate arguments; see examples below.

- 10.282 *Gunekke ga-h-gurlh-yo ganjdji.*
 Dj there 3-IMM-vomit-lieNP below
 'The vomit lies there underneath.'

Thirdly, in constructions describing situations where the subject deliberately moves, transforms or shows their body part, this is encoded as a separate argument, without the need for reflexivisation, as in I *kodjkurluborledke* 'change one's mind (*kodjkurlu*)', with *kodjkurlu* as the object of the transitive verb *borledke* 'change' and *kukborledke* 'change one's form (my sorcery)' (*kuk* 'body'), as well as 'he showed me *the sore on his calf*' in 8.45.

10.4.2.3 The semantic range of incorporated body part nominals

Although I have been using the general term 'body-part incorporation' in deference to descriptive tradition, body parts are only a subset, perhaps the prototypical subset, of nominals incorporable in this construction.

Some clearcut examples of body parts proper being incorporated have already been given; further examples are 10.283 and 10.284. The construction is not limited to parts of animates, but extends to parts of trees and plants (10.298; also Text 6.50), beehives (10.304), and even of rocks (8.44):

- 10.283 *A-yidme-baba-ng.*
 Dj 1-tooth-hurt-NP
 'My tooth aches.'
- 10.284 *A-berd-bakke-ng duruk.*
 Dj 1/3-tail-break-PP dog
 'I broke the dog's tail.'

If the verb is intransitive, the incorporated part will be interpreted as executing the action (6.30), undergoing it (10.284), or being the focus of it (10.283). If the verb is transitive or ditransitive, the incorporated part will be interpreted as the part of the object upon which the action is focussed. This semantic range parallels that found in body-part constructions in non-incorporating Australian languages like Warlpiri (Hale 1981) and Gooniyandi (McGregor 1985). All of the specific meanings just mentioned are essentially sub-senses of a more general meaning of 'body-part involvement', as discussed above.

However, the semantic range of this construction is wider than what one would normally understand by 'body parts', or even by 'part-whole' constructions. To begin with, it includes 'replaceable' body parts like hair (10.285), and spirits (10.286), contents (10.287) and corpses (10.288); in both these cases action involving the part simultaneously involves action on the possessor or whole as with the canonical body-part incorporations already discussed.

- 10.285 *Ngabornang ba-wam barri-ngabed-marnb-om,*
 Dj my.daughter 3P-goPP 3a/3P-hair-make-PP
ngandi-marne-ngabed-marnb-om.
 3a/1-BEN-hair-make-PP
 'My daughter went (to the salon) so they would do up her hair, and they did up her hair for me.'

- 10.286 *Na-morrorddo gabi-waral-ma-ng gabi-waral-yi-rrolga-n.*
 Dj I-shooting.star 3/3h-spirit-take-NP 3/3h-spirit-COM-go.up-NP
 'The shooting star (believed to be an agent of death) takes his spirit, and goes up into the sky with his spirit.'
- 10.287 *Djabbilarna ba-bo-warrkme-ng.*
 Dj billycan 3P-liquid-drop-PP
 'The billycan of water dropped.'
- 10.288 *Gabarri-guk-gurrm-e.*
 Dj 3a/3-body-put-NP
 'They are putting his body (onto the burial platform).'

But there is a second set of incorporable part nominals for which appearance in this type of construction does not entail any effects upon the whole. This set includes nouns of 'personal representation' (Chappell & McGregor 1995), such as speech (10.289), names (10.290) and tracks (10.291); 'products' such as nests (10.292) and eggs (10.293), and residues such as bones (10.294).

- 10.289 *Aban-wok-bekka-n.*
 Dj 1/3pl-speech-hear-NP
 'I hear their speech (on a tape recorder).'
- 10.290 *David ga-ngei-burru-n.*
 Dj 3/3-name-know-NP
 'David will know its name.'
- 10.291 *Gorlobbarr ga-berd-bok+yo-ø.*
 Dj antelope.wallaroo 3-tail-track+lie-NP
 'An antelope wallaroo's tail-track is there.'
- 10.292 *Na-wurkkbil ga-yed-yo-ø.*
 Dj I-eagle 3-nest-lie-NP
 'There is an eagle's nest.'
- 10.293 *Gumugen ga-rrabu-yo-ø.*
 Dj freshwater.crocodile 3-egg-lie-NP
 'Freshwater crocodile eggs are there.'
- 10.294 *Gubehne guluban ba-murrung-do-i.*
 Dj here flying.fox 3/3P-bone-crush-PP
 'Someone crushed up the bones of a flying fox here.'

Is it possible to give a unified semantic characterisation to this set? Clearly the term 'body part' is too narrow, as it would fail to include, for example, nests, tracks or names. Nor is inseparability a requirement — the bones in 10.294, for example, have long been separated from their one-time 'possessor'. (We shall see below that there is a way of encoding separation, independently of incorporation.) There is no requirement of 'unity of action' — in 10.292 the eagle is not lying 'with' the nest; in 10.293 the crocodile that has laid the eggs is not present, etc. On the other hand, the term 'inalienable' is too strong: such 'inalienables' as core kin, and country, cannot be incorporated in this construction type.

What is important here is that one item is seen as a 'clue' to the existence of the other. The incorporated noun is an 'index' of the whole, in the sense of Peirce (1940:104–110) or an 'indexical', in the sense of Lyons (1977:106) who takes as 'criterial for the application of

the term indexical that there will be some known or assumed connexion between a sign A, and its significatum C such that the occurrence of A can be held to imply the presence or existence of C'. In other words, the incorporated part noun, although it may in fact be separated physically from its 'possessor' at the time of the reported action, would nevertheless not exist unless its possessor exists or existed.

10.4.2.4 *The special use of incorporated kuk- 'body'*

While on the subject of generic vs body-part nouns, it is worth discussing the several semantic interpretations available to this noun when incorporated. Firstly, there is the important fixed expression *ka-kuk-yo* [3-body-lienP] which means 'it lies dead'. Secondly, in narratives that make a crucial transition from life to death, *kuk-* will be used for the dead body; in hunting stories this often means that incorporated *kuk-* represents killed animals. For example, in a hunting story in Carroll's Kunwinjku corpus (1995:355), the initial section proceeds as 'he saw it then standing still; then it saw him standing still; it just came closer looking for food; he stalked it he saw it standing still ... bull's eye he speared it'. In this entire pre-kill section there is no incorporation; *kuk-* first appears incorporated into the verb *mankang* 'fall', as *kukmankang* 'it fell dead'. Subsequently the narrative describes the hunter doing various things to the dead kangaroo, constantly represented by incorporated *kuk-*:

- 10.295 \emptyset -Bal-wa-m \emptyset -kuk-bardme-y, \emptyset -kuk-ngorrme-y,
 W 3P-along-go-PP 3/3IP-body-get.by.legs-PP 3/3I-body-heave.on.shoulders-PP
 \emptyset -komba-kom-badj-i \emptyset -bal-kuk-ngorrka-ng.
 3/3IP-ITER-neck-break-PP 3/3P-along-body-carry.on.shoulder-PP
 'He just went and got it by the legs, he put the body on his shoulder, he broke its neck with a stick, he put the body on his shoulder.' [OP 355]

The narrative continues for another dozen or so lines, all the time tracking 'dead kangaroo' with incorporated *kuk-*.

More generally, *kuk-* is sometimes used as a sort of dummy generic to make up for the lack of a generic for adult humans or other animates. With trivalent verbs in which a human third argument is out-ranked for the second pronominal slot (e.g. 10.296), it is frequently cross-referenced on the verb by incorporated *kuk-* which is here leached of its body-part meaning.

- 10.296 *Abanmani-guk-wo-ng al-beiwurd.*
 Dj 1/3du-body-give-PP II-daughter
 'He gave his daughter to them two.'

10.4.2.5 *Encoding cognitive separation of body parts*

As mentioned above, physical separation of the body part from the corresponding whole does not prevent the noun referring to it from being incorporated. However, there is a construction which allows cognitive separation to be shown by representing them as separate arguments of the verb, and encoding their number in the relevant pronominal prefix position.

In the overwhelming majority of body-part constructions, including all examples given so far, the pronominal prefix positions on the verb represent the person and number of the

whole, not the part. Thus in 10.297 the subject prefix is singular since the man is singular; the fact that two eyes are affected is not overtly represented, and the unit-augmented (here equivalent to dual) prefix *bani-* is unacceptable. In 10.298 the prefix *ga-* represents the singularity of the tree, not the plurality of its pods.

10.297 *Ba-(*bani-)mim-barnibarnimi-nj.*

Dj 3P(*3uaP)-eye-droop-PP
'His (the drunk man's) eyes drooped.'

10.298 *Ga(*gabarri)-mim-barndi- \emptyset .*

Dj 3(*3a)-seed.pod-be.high-NP
'The tree's seed pods are hanging up high.'

However, I have a small set of examples in which body parts themselves are cross-referenced for number, instead of their possessors, and, in those cases where it would differ, for person (see 10.307):

10.299 *Barri-bok-barrkme-ng.*

Dj 3aP-track/footprint-break-PP
'The tracks are broken/cracked.' ('Footprint they bin bust.')

The key semantic factor here is separation, a fact to which I was first alerted by Toby Gangele when he pointed out that the above sentence would be appropriate in the context of tracks set in concrete. These are sufficiently separated and 'distinct' to govern their own number agreement. Incorporated *bok-* here is best analysed as the incorporated intransitive subject itself, rather than 'part' of a subject.

Although in the case of 10.299 the separation is physical, this need not always be the case. The complexities of treating separability are well illustrated in the following fictitious dialogue between dentist (D) and patient (P), written by Judith Alderson:

10.300 a. *Yi-m-ra-i yi-yerrga, \emptyset -yidme-na-n.*

Dj 2-hither-go-IMP 2-sitIMP 1/2-tooth-look-NP

b. *Yi-rrang-barrme-n, gan-bukka aye-ga yi-baba-ng.*

2-mouth-open-IMP 2/1-show(IMP) where-LOC 2-hurt-NP

Dentist: Come and sit down. I'll look at your teeth. Open your mouth, and show me where it hurts.

c. *Nahni bogen yerre.*

MA:DEM two behind

Patient: These two behind.

d. *Bani-yidme-nudmi-nj, \emptyset -yidme-durrkma-ng.*

3uaP-tooth-go.rotten-PP 1/2-tooth-pull-NP

Dentist: The two teeth are rotten, I'll pull your teeth out.

e. *Wau! Warddau!*

Ouch! Yow!

f. *Okko \emptyset -yidme-durrkme-i. Ma, yi-yidme-na-rre-men!*

already 1/2-tooth-pull-PP well 2-tooth-look-RR-IMP

Dentist: I've already pulled your teeth out. Well, take a look at your own teeth!

- g. *Wou, bani-nudmi-nj.*
 yes 3uaP-go.rotten-PP
 Patient: Yeah, they've gone rotten all right.
- h. *Bani-yidme-guyeng-gen yiman dalkgen.*
 3ua-tooth-long-GEN like dingo
 Dentist: They're long teeth, like a dingo's.
- i. *Ma, abanmani-yidme-ga-n, aban-yidme-bukka-n.*
 well 1/3du-tooth-take-NP 1/3pl-tooth-show-NP
 Patient: Well, I'll take the two teeth and show them to everyone.
- j. *Nja, bobo.*
 here.you.are see.you.later
 Dentist: Here you are, and see you later.

As this dialogue shows, it is too simplistic to equate number-cross-referencing with physical separation. It is true that the 'intact' teeth in a. and the second verb in d. are not cross-referenced for number, and that the extracted teeth in g., h. and i. are cross-referenced with the unit.augmented (two) prefix. However, in the first verb of d. the still-attached teeth trigger number- marking, and in f. the extracted teeth do not trigger number marking. Furthermore, 'tooth' and 'you' must be viewed as part of the same entity in f. to account for the use of the reflexive. The crucial difference, it would appear, is not physical separation but cognitive separation: Are the teeth being focussed on as separate entities, or as part of something else?

10.4.2.6 Functions of body-part incorporation

As Mithun (1986) has remarked, in incorporating languages there is considerable variation across construction types in whether incorporated or external nominals are the unmarked choice. With body-part nominals in Biniñ Gun-wok, incorporation is clearly the unmarked choice whenever this is grammatically sanctioned,³⁴ and is obligatory in the case of intransitive verbs.

Intransitive verbs with incorporated body parts fall into two types semantically.

In the first the predicate expressed by the verb stem is true of the body part but not necessarily of the whole. Examples already given are 'I-hand-feared' for 'I was afraid for my hand' (10.279), 'it-back-ascended' for 'its back floated up' (10.280), 'he/her-BEN-eye-became.big' for 'his eyes became big for' (10.271), 'she-tongue-emerged' for 'she stuck out her tongue' (10.264), 'he-eyes-drooped' for 'his eyes drooped' (10.297); further examples are 'we-head-be.immersed.in.water' for 'we wet our heads' (10.301), 'it-face-be.marked' for 'its face is marked' (10.302) and 'I-spirit-disappeared' for 'my spirit has disappeared' (10.303). In all examples in the corpus with this constructional meaning, the body part is incorporated; sentences like *bimarnegimukminj gunmim*, the unincorporated equivalent of 10.271, simply do not exist. This may be because it is only by incorporating the body part

³⁴ Obviously there are also cases, such as body parts of transitive subjects, which do not allow incorporation for grammatical reasons; since non-incorporation in such cases is obligatory this is irrelevant to the present discussion.

noun that the limitation of the predicate's applicability to the body-part, rather than the subject as a whole, is made clear.³⁵

- 10.301 *Gonhdagi Wirrirri arri-dadje-yiii, ngarri-yo-i, ngarri-godj-djuhm-i,*
Dnj here [place] 1a/3-cut-PI 1a-sleep-PP 1a-head-bathe-PI

ngarri-yo-i.

1a-lie-PI

'Over here at Wirrirri we'd cut (bamboo) for a long time, then lie and have a rest, we'd wet our heads (to cool down) and have a rest.'

- 10.302 *Na-mekke wirriwirriyak ka-keb-malkme, denge-nud-no.*
DNj MA-DEM cuckoo.shrike 3-face-be.markedNP foot-pus-his

'His face is marked with the pus from his foot, from that black-faced cuckoo-shrike.'

- 10.303 *Nga-djal-malng-yakm-inj my ghost disappeared.*

Dj 1-just-spirit-become.nothing-PP

'My spirit has just disappeared altogether.'

The second constructional meaning found with body parts incorporated into intransitive verbs is the presentative or existential interpretation (10.304, 10.305), in which the presented entity is incorporated into a stance verb. (For a negated example see 13.94.) This construction is shared with incorporated generics (§10.4.3), but with generics, incorporation is not obligatory, perhaps because of the lexical restriction that only some nouns can incorporate. Note, though, that existentials with body-part subjects also allow a special construction (§13.3.5.4) in which, in the non-past at least, the body part takes regular pronominal prefixation, but without an incorporating verb being present.

- 10.304 *Ga-geb-di.*

Dj 3-nose-stand

'There is a nose!' (i.e. there is an entrance to a native bee hive)

(Chaloupka & Alderson n.d.)

- 10.305 *Ka-ngey-di.*

3-name-stand

'There is a name there.' (e.g. written down on a list, or on a T-shirt)

Body-part nouns incorporated in object function, by contrast, allow agnation with non-incorporated versions, with the choice controlled by discourse factors. Incorporation is by far the commonest choice whenever the correct grammatical relations obtain between the possessed noun and the verb. This may partly reflect the unnaturalness of focussing on the effects of the action on the parts rather than on their possessors.³⁶ However, since body parts in Bini Gun-wok incorporate even when the part is cognitively separate, this cannot be the whole explanation. More important is the fact that incorporated nominals tend in general to be backgrounded with respect to other material (Mithun 1984a). In all examples where

³⁵ This would explain the conundrum, pointed out by Ken Hale (pers. comm.), that one can say *wurdyaw dangbarmeng* (with incorporated body part and external generic) for 'the child opened its mouth', but not **kundang yawbarmeng*, with external body part and incorporated generic.

³⁶ See Mithun's discussion (1984a:858) of why unincorporated body parts in Blackfoot appear only marginally grammatical, since they imply "that the effect of my action on the back is more important than its effect on the man".

body parts do not incorporate, there is clear evidence that, for one reason or another, they are being foregrounded. This may result from conjunction, contrast or their emergence as a distinct discourse participant in their own right.

An example of non-incorporation under conjunction, which has the effect of focussing on successive attributes of individual body parts, is the following:

- 10.306 *Barri-marnbom rouk, barri-bebbe-gana-ga-ng, gun-berd, gun-dad,*
 Dj 3a/3P-prepare:PP all 3a/3P-each-ITER-take-PP IV-tail IV-thigh
njanjuk namegebu barri-bebbe-gana-ga-ng.
 anything all.that 3a/3P-each-ITER-take-PP
 'They prepared it (the kangaroo), they each took their share, some part of the tail, some a thigh, they each took something like that.'

In the above case it could be argued that the non-incorporation of conjuncts represents a grammatical rather than a discourse fact, since no language to my knowledge has been reported as allowing the incorporation of conjuncts. But in the next example, which directly follows from it in the original text, non-incorporation is not grammatically forced, since the word *barrumeyiwarlkgarrinj* 'he hid himself away with the backbone' is perfectly grammatical. Here non-incorporation has a clear discourse motivation — the weakly contrastive emphasis suggested in English by 'quail hid himself away with the *backbone*'.

- 10.307 *Na-gudji djirndih gun-dume ba-yi-warlkgarrinj.*
 Dj MA-one quail IV-backbone 3P-COM-hide-RR-PP
 'One bird, quail, hid himself away with the backbone.'

Another example of non-incorporation of a body part due to discourse contrast comes from the following textlet, where the speaker is describing his prowess at catching magpie geese with a throwing-stick, and enumerates a number of different 'shots', each hitting a different goose on a different body part. Note that in the final example (for reasons that are unclear) the body part is doubled, appearing in both external and incorporated positions.

- 10.308 *Bamurru ba-m-re-i, an-barnba nga-rrelmi gun-berl a-bakke-yi,*
 Dj goose 3P-hither-go-PI III-goose.stick 1/3-throwPI IV-wing 1/3-break-PI
yiga gun-gom a-bu-ni, yiga gun-geb a-geb-badjdji-ni.
 some IV-neck 1/3-hit-PI some IV-beak 1/3-beak-smash-PI
 'A magpie goose would come up, and I'd throw a goose stick. I might break its wing, or I'd hit it in the neck, or I'd smash its beak.'

Non-incorporation may also signal the emergence of a body part as a discourse participant in its own right, as illustrated by a passage in Text 1, which deals with the origin of the birds. The episode in lines 14–21, excerpted here as 10.309, involves *wirriwirriyak* the black-faced cuckoo shrike, who is unable to hunt due to his sore foot, and the other birds, in particular *ragul* the red-eyed pigeon, who undertake to cure him by lancing the pus out of his foot.

- 10.309 a. *Gun-dulk barri-mey, barri-nud-gorrhge-ng.*
 IV-stick 3a/3P-getPP 3a/3P-pus-burst-PP
 'They picked up a stick, and they burst his pus out.'

- b. *njamed na-wu, ragul,*
whatchamacallit MA-that red-eyed.pigeon
'That whatchamacallit, the red-eyed pigeon,
- c. *Nungga gun-dulk ba-me-i.*
he IV-stick 3/3P-get-PP
'he picked up a stick.
- d. "Aye, *a-nud-gorrhge*" *ba-yime-ng.*
me 1/3-pus-burstNP 3P-say-PP
'"Me, I'll burst the pus out", he said.
- e. *Bi-mok-garu-i, bi-nud-gorrhge-ng.*
3/3hP-sore-dig-PP 3/3hP-pus-burst-PP
'He dug in his sore and burst his pus out.
- f. *Gun-nud ba-rrolga-ng an-ege.*
IV-pus 3P-arise-PP VE-that
'All the pus rushed out.
- g. *Gurlba gun-nud bi-rrelkge-ng rouk, ragul.*
blood IV-pus 3/3hP-spatter-PP all red-eyed.pigeon
'Blood and pus spattered him all over, the red-eyed pigeon.'

In the first few lines, disposing of the pus is being viewed as an action carried out for the benefit of *wirriwirriyak*, and it remains in the unmarked incorporated position. But by line f. the pus emerges (literally) as an independent participant, spattering over *ragul*'s face and hence accounting mythologically for his 'red eyes'; at this point it becomes an external argument. Although in this case non-incorporation coincides with physical separation, we have seen already that physically and conceptually separate parts may still incorporate and conversely that non-incorporation may take place even when the part is not separate. It seems unlikely, then, that it is simply the physical separation of the pus which is responsible for non-incorporation here. An additional factor favouring non-incorporation, in line g., is its conjunction with another body-part nominal, *gurlba* 'blood'.

In summary, then, non-incorporation of eligible body-part nominals construed with the object signals discourse salience due to various factors: conjunction, contrast and independent interest as a discourse participant. Note that although physical or cognitive separation may on occasion go together with discourse salience (as in f., g.) the two factors are in principle independent, and have different formal realisations: discourse salience is shown by non-incorporation; cognitive separation by encoding as a distinct argument and control of person and number marking by the body part.

10.4.3 Incorporation of generic nouns

We now pass to incorporation of generic nouns. Recall that, unlike with body parts, the incorporation of generic nouns is not productive: only around forty generic nouns can incorporate (listed in §8.1.3.4), while a few other human nouns can only incorporate into three-place verbs. This means that incorporated constructions inevitably only occur with certain lexical items as objects.

This section falls into three parts. First we look at the question of which grammatical relations can be contracted between the incorporated nominal and the verb. We then examine

the special behaviour of one incorporated noun, *yaw* 'child, baby', which is aberrant in the grammatical relations it contracts. Finally we look at the discourse and semantic effects of the choice between incorporated and external constructions.

10.4.3.1 Generic incorporation and grammatical relations

In this section I survey the full range of grammatical relations sanctioning incorporation. Since we have already shown that generic and body-part incorporated nominals behave in a similar way with respect to their grammatical relations once part-for-whole grammatical identity has been allowed for, in what follows I shall give examples of each type, with 'G' for generic and 'BP' for body part.

We have already seen that the basic pattern, as is widespread cross-linguistically, is for absolutes to be incorporated: objects (as in 10.242b) and intransitive subjects (as in 10.243).

Since it has sometimes been claimed that intransitive subject incorporation is restricted to 'unaccusative verbs', it is worth stating here that no such restriction applies in Bininj Gunwok — such typically 'unergative', volitional verbs as 'crawl', 'get up' and 'wave' can incorporate their subjects (10.310–10.312) or body parts thereof (10.313).

10.310 *Ga-yau-dolga-n.*

Dj 3-baby-get.up-NP
'The baby (kangaroo) gets out of its pouch.' (G)

10.311 *Ga-bod-ngih-ngime-n, ga-bod-ngime-n, ga-ngih-ngime-n bod-no,*
MM 3-bee-INCEP-enter-NP 3-bee-enter-NP 3-INCEP-enter-NP bee-3POSSD

man-gung.

III-honey

'The bee starts to go in (by the entrance to the hive), the bee goes in to the honey.' (G)

10.312 *Ga-yau-wage-n.*

Dj 3-baby-crawl-NP
'The baby is crawling.' (G)

10.313 *Ga-bid-waida-n.*

Dj 3-hand-wave-NP
'He is waving (with) his hand.' (BP)

Intransitive verbs with an added benefactive argument behave like simple intransitives for purposes of incorporation (10.314; see also the examples with incorporated body parts in 10.263, 10.264):

10.314 *Ngan-marne-ganj-warreminj.*

3/1-BEN-meat-go.badPP

'The meat went bad on me.' (G)

On the other hand, underlying intransitive verbs with an object added by the comitative applicative behave like transitives, incorporating the derived comitative object:

10.315 *A-madj-yi-rrurnde-ng.*
Dj 1/3-swap-COM-return-NP
'I take the swag back.'

10.316 *Ba-guk-yi-golu-i gunj ba-guk-yi-lobm-i.*
Dj 3/3l-body-COM-descend-PP kangaroo 3/3-body-COM-run-PP
'He took the kangaroo's body down and ran along with it.'

Two more relations to the verb allow incorporation in a much more restricted way. Firstly, locatives denoting 'base' locations allow incorporation into verbs of stance and waiting in Manyallaluk Mayali:

10.317 a. *Ga-mele-di.* b. *Ga-ni mele-gah.*
MM 3-blanket-standNP 3-sitNP blanket-LOC
'(S)he is on the blanket.' '(S)he is on the blanket.'

10.318 *Ga-mitj-yo.*
MM 3-burrow-lienNP
'(The goanna) stays in his burrow.'

10.319 *Datbe gabi-watda-marnbu-n.*
MM deaf.adder 3/3h-camp-wait-NP
'The deaf adder waits for him at his camp.'

Locative incorporation of this type is even more limited in the other dialects. In all dialects it is possible in the single collocation *yed-di/red-di* 'be in camp, be at home', which agnates with a construction in which 'camp' is an external locative *kured*. There are also very limited possibilities for incorporating locations into stance verbs after marking them with the genitive suffix for example 10.320. Some further, and more lexicalised, examples are given in §11.5.8.

10.320 *Ka-rurrk-ken-di.*
I 3-hollow-GEN-standNP
'He's inside (e.g. in jail).'

Secondly, the verb *dowen* 'die' can incorporate nominals denoting a goal, with the meaning 'be dying for/of':

10.321 *Ba-kukku-dowe-ni.*
MM 3P-water-die-PI
'They were dying of thirst.' (Notice the unusual appearance of *kukku* as an incorporated form here; normally the suppletive root *bo-* or *kolk-* is used.)

10.322 *Nga-ronj-dowe-ng.*
E:D 1-liquid-die-PP
'I was dying for a drink.'

CAN TRANSITIVE SUBJECTS INCORPORATE? An apparently robust generalisation cross-linguistically is that transitive subjects can never incorporate. We have already seen (§10.4.2.1) that body parts incorporated into transitive verbs will generally be construed with the object, not the transitive subject. There are two construction types, however, which are equivocal on this point.

Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku each have a single transitive verb which, when used in a particular sense, means 'hurt (tr.)' and appears to incorporate as its transitive subject the

bodily source of pain.³⁷ The verbs are *Dj gan* 'take, carry' (13.159, 13.160), and *w kadjung* 'chase':

- 10.323 *Ngan-yidme-kadju-ng.*
 w 3/1-tooth-chase-NP
 'My tooth is hurting me.' [PC 75]

This is not, however, an unequivocal case of transitive subject incorporation, since an alternative explanation is that it is an 'impersonal' construction (§13.4.5) with a null subject, and the body part is actually construed with the object (i.e. 'it is chasing/carrying me on the tooth'). Without ergative marking to clarify the role of the external NP we cannot tell.

A similar example is the collocation *djare-bun* [desire-hit], as in 10.324. Is \sqrt{djare} 'desire' here to be construed as an incorporated transitive subject (i.e. 'desire struck her') or as an incorporated object in an impersonal type construction (i.e. 'it struck her desire, for *burda* grass')?³⁸ Again we lack decisive tests.

- 10.324 *Njamed-kenh kun-djare burda bi-djare-bom.*
 Dnj whatsit-GEN IV-desire [grass.sp.] 3/3hP-desire-strikePP
 'A desire for whatsit, for *burda* grass seized her.'

Another class of constructions that may suggest transitive-subject incorporation is exemplified by the verbs *djowkke* 'cross' (10.325, 10.326), *bidbun* 'climb, ascend' (10.327–10.329) and *kadjung* 'follow' in 10.330, 10.331. The secondary uses of each verb all involve motion verbs used as path verbs; in the path sense, the entity forming the path incorporates.

- 10.325 *A-rud-djoukge-ng.*
 Dj 1/3-road-cross-PP
 'I crossed the road.'
- 10.326 *Barri-bolk-ngeibu-ni Gamirn, Gamirn gorrogo ba-rud-djoukge-yi.*
 Dj 3a/3P-place-name-PI [place] [place] before 3(/3!?)P-road-cross-PI
 'They used to call that place Gamirn, in the olden days the road crossed (the river) at Gamirn.'
- 10.327 *Galawan ba-rrulk-bidbom.*
 Dj goanna 3/3!P-tree-climbPP
 'The goanna has climbed up the tree.'

³⁷ Kunbarlang also incorporates body parts as transitive subject into the verb 'inflict pain', as in *djangal-ngaybu ga-ngany-djangal-gulangwany* [foot-my it-me-foot-inflicts.pain] for 'my foot hurts'; this construction has the same ambiguous analysis as in Bininj Gun-wok. Heath (1982:174, 1984:473) suggests transitive-subject-incorporation analyses for two verbs of pain: *-ambam=ba-* 'headache afflict (O)' and *-andhuḷa=valga-* 'sores on head to afflict (lit. pound)' (examples from Heath 1984:473), but without giving what would be the knock-down evidence: the gender of the grammatical subject on the verb, which should be determined by the incorporated nominal on his analysis.

³⁸ A third possibility would be that *djarebun* involves noun-verb compounding and is hence not a relevant example of incorporation. This could be tested by seeing if *bibom* could be substituted for *bidjarebom*, but so far I have not had the chance to check this.

- 10.328 *Ba-bo-bidbom gu-rrulum.*
 Dj 3/(3!?)P-liquid-climbPP LOC-high.point
 'The water has reached up over the little island.'
- 10.329 *Ba-bo-bidbom gu-gebgale.*
 Dj 3/(3!?)P-liquid-climbPP LOC-bank
 'The floodwaters have reached over the banks.'
- 10.330 *Karri-djurle-kadju-ng.*
 MM 12a/3-shadow-follow-NP
 'We follow the shade.' (e.g. keep moving so as to remain in the shade as it shifts)
- 10.331 *Kun-djurle ka-djurle-kadju-ng kun-rurrk.*
 MM IV-shade 3/(3!?)-shade-follow-NP IV-house
 'The shade reaches as far as the house.' ('That shadow go long the house.')

In each case the path verb could be interpreted as incorporating a transitive subject, especially given the general lack of O=S diathesis alternations in Bininj Gun-wok. The crucial support for a transitive-subject-incorporation analyses would be to demonstrate that verbs in this construction can both incorporate and have a non-zero object prefix, but the nature of their verb semantics makes human objects almost impossible to obtain (cf. English '? The road crosses them', '? The water flooded us').

Again another analysis is not implausible: these are rare examples of such O=S alternations (i.e. between 'X V Y' and 'Y V'), and the second construction in each set is to be construed as intransitive. This is supported³⁹ by the presence of the locative prefix *gu-* on the would-be object, and by occasional intransitive uses of these verbs without an external nominal denoting an endpoint (10.332).

- 10.332 *Ka-kolk-bidbu-n.*
 E 3-liquid-climb-NP
 'The tide is coming up.'

To conclude this section: although these two constructions may be thought to permit transitive subject incorporation, both are compatible with other analyses in which the incorporated noun is absolutive.

INCORPORATION WITH DOUBLE OBJECT VERBS With ditransitive verbs, whether underlying (10.333) or derived by adding an indirect object to an underlying transitive by the benefactive applicative (10.1), it is the true object that is incorporated.

- 10.333 *Abanmani-ganj-wo-ng.*
 Dj 1/3du-meat-give-PP
 'I gave meat to the two of them.'

The same applies to incorporated body parts of objects of ditransitives, whether underlying (10.334) or derived (10.335).

- 10.334 *Ngaye wurdyau aban-ganem-bukka-ng doctor.*
 Dj 1sg child 1/3pl-ear-show-PP
 'I showed my child's ear to the doctors.' (BP)

³⁹ This support is suggestive rather than absolute, since *gu-* prefixes do not categorically signal a locative case relation; see §5.2.2.1.

- 10.335 *Ngabornang ba-wam barri-ngabed-marnb-om,*
 Dj my.daughter 3P-go:PP 3a/3P-hair-make-PP
ngandi-marne-ngabed-marnb-om.
 3a/1-BEN-hair-make-PP
 'My daughter went (to the salon) so they would do up her hair,
 and they did up her hair for me.'

Ditransitive verbs derived by adding both comitative and benefactive arguments to an intransitive by the respective applicatives behave similarly:

- 10.336 *An-marne-bo-yi-rrurnd-i gukku.*
 Dj 3/1-BEN-liquid-COM-return-PP water
 'He brought the water back for me.'

Where violations of topicality distribution in ditransitive verbs (§10.5) cause the true object to usurp the pronominal slot and the indirect object to be represented by an external pronoun, the object can still incorporate anyway:

- 10.337 *An-bolidj-bukka-ng gure bedda.*
 Dj 3/1-scar-show-PP LOC them
 'He showed my tribal scar to them.'

Everything described so far fits the basic 'absolutive analysis', provided absolutes are defined in a sufficiently constrained way to include the true objects of ditransitives, the subjects of semi-transitives (BEN-V_i) and the derived objects of comitatives. But with double object verbs, in which the comitative adds a second object to a transitive verb, the situation is more complicated, although all such verbs still follow the basic absolutive pattern in the sense that one of the objects is incorporated.

We saw in §10.1.3.4 that there are three classes of double object verb: one in which the underlying object occupies the pronominal slot (e.g. *yinan* 'see with'), and two in which the derived object occupies the pronominal slot (e.g. *yikurrme* 'leave with, put with' and *yimang* 'get off'). In each type, the argument allowing generic incorporation is that which does not occupy the pronominal slot: the comitative object with O⁺ verbs, and the true object with O⁻ verbs.

An example of incorporation of the comitative object with *yinan* type verbs is 10.338 (see also 10.28, 10.30 and 10.31); 10.338 also illustrates the possibility of incorporating certain human nouns (in this case *daluk* 'woman') just in the case of double-object verbs.

- 10.338 *Bi-rraluk-yi-bom.*
 Dj 3/3P-woman-COM-hitPP
 'He hit him over the woman.'

An example of incorporation of the true object with *yikurrme* type verbs is 10.339 (see also 10.33, 10.35, 10.44).

- 10.339 *Ngan-ganem-yi-bawo-ng anabbarru.*
 Dj 3/1-horn-COM-leave-PP buffalo
 'He left the buffalo's horns with me.'

The patterning of incorporation here reflects the functional complementarity between pronominal prefixation and incorporation introduced in §10.1.1, and which we will return to

in §10.5. The choice of which argument verbs lexicalise as the incorporand reflects, semantically, the participant which is prototypically lower in animacy, and functionally, the argument which is statistically most likely not to be a human and hence to miss out on representation by the second pronominal affix. On the other hand, two commonly given explanations of incorporating argument selection fail to account for these facts. A Baker-style account, based on PS sisterhood in d-structure, predicts that it should always be the true object that incorporates, since this will always be the d-structure sister; this fails to account for cases like 10.28 and 10.31, in which it is the derived object which incorporates. Thematically based accounts that predict which argument incorporates on the basis of a hierarchy thematic roles like 'patient', 'location' and 'theme' (typically defined as 'that whose movement is at issue') are also empirically inadequate: with *yigurrme* the theme ('spear' in 10.36) incorporates in preference to the location ('me'), while with *yigadjung* the location ('swag' in 10.31) incorporates in preference to the theme ('me').

10.4.3.2 Incorporation of yaw 'baby'

Apart from the limited conditions under which one can incorporate *daluk* 'woman', *bininj* 'man' and *beywurd* 'child' with double-object verbs, *yaw* is unique in being the only incorporable generic noun referring to humans. Indeed, apart from *bod* 'bee', it is the only generic noun referring to animates. Ordinarily *yaw* behaves like any other incorporated root, being incorporated as object (10.340) or intransitive subject (10.310, 10.312):

10.340 *Bi-yau-nguneng ginga.*
Dj 3/3h-child-eat-PP crocodile
'The crocodile ate the child.'

However, it allows an additional possibility: it can be incorporated as an indirect object or benefactive:

10.341 *Galamarnmarn a-yau-bukka-ng.*
Dj spinning.top 1/3-child-show-PP
'I showed the top to the child.' (also OK in MM)

10.342 *Gorrk abanmani-yau-wo-ng.*
Dj clothes 1/3du-child-give-PP
'I gave the clothes to the two babies.'

10.343 *Gun-matj ngabanbani-yaw-wo-ng.*
MM IV-sweg 1/3du-baby-give-PP
'I gave the stuff for those two kids.'

10.344 *Bi-yaw-djikka-wo-ng.*
W 3/3hP-child-breast-give-PP
'She gave the baby the breast.' (E&E 87)

10.345 *Gun-djikka bi-marne-yau-warrem-inj.*
Dj IV-breast 3/3hP-BEN-child-go.bad-PP
'That kid, his tit went bad for him.' (also acceptable in MM)

10.346 *Bi-marne-yau-wolngwo-ng.*
Dj 3/3hP-BEN-child-warm.milk-PP
'He warmed the milk for the baby.' (also acceptable in MM)

In Gun-djeihmi, at least, this construction appears to be somewhat marginal in that both orders of the two INs have been attested:

- 10.347 *A-yau-bo-wo-ng.*
 Dj 1/3-child-liquid-give-PP
 'I gave water to the baby.'
- 10.348 *Aban-gorrk-yau-wo-ng.*
 Dj 1/3pl-clothes-child-give-PP
 'I gave the babies clothes.'

The aberrant behaviour of incorporated *yaw* is awkward for all accounts of incorporation, and constitutes an exception to the supposedly universal claim made in Baker (1988) that indirect objects never incorporate. In reference to this data, Baker (1995:332) suggests that *yaw* may not always be an incorporated noun root, and may optionally count 'as some kind of adverbial element'. Interestingly, Etherington and Etherington (1994:86), in their pedagogical grammar of Kunwinjku imply a similar analysis: 'When the action is done by, or to a baby, [*yaw* — NE] is incorporated. Kunwinjku is most unusual in this particular prefix, which is usually incorporated into every verb relating to a baby'. We shall also see below that, in line with other generic incorporated nominals, *yaw* can sometimes be given the predicate interpretation 'as a child, like a child'.

Finally, there are occasional examples in which *yaw* qualifies the size of an absolutive argument (10.349), a non-argument (10.350) or a transitive subject argument; in 10.351 it refers to the smallness of the microphone.

- 10.349 *ø-bo-karu-y man-ekke ka-yaw-labbal-yo.*
 W 3/3IP-liquid-dig-PP VE-DEM 3-child-billabong-lienP
 'He dug it out, so that there's a little billabong there.' [KS 178]
- 10.350 *Kan-yaw-wok-ma-ng.*
 ■ 2/1-child-language-get-PP
 'You are recording me with a small one.' [Murray Garde, pers. comm.]
- 10.351 *Kaben-yaw-wok-ma-ng.*
 ■ 3/3pl-child-language-get-PP
 'It (that small mike) records their words.' [Murray Garde, pers. comm.]

This suggests that *yaw* 'child' can have at least three interpretations: the regular generic incorporated nominal interpretation 'child, baby', the predicate interpretation available with other generic nouns 'as a child, like a child', and a broader adverbial-type interpretation 'pertaining to or involving something small or young'. Note that while this would allow the generalisation that indirect objects do not incorporate to be saved, by saying *yaw* has the adverbial-type incorporation in such constructions, this still begs the question of why just this one generic noun, across a large number of languages, has this aberrant behaviour. It also stresses the lexico-syntactic nature of noun incorporation: though certain broad syntactic generalisations are possible, certain incorporating lexemes make their own rules.

10.4.3.3 Functions of incorporated generic nominals

Pairs of sentences differing only in whether the noun is incorporated are essentially synonymous, apart from the special case of body-part incorporation with intransitive verbs discussed in §10.4.2.6 above. However, there are subtle discourse factors controlling when a generic noun incorporates: basically, for tracking inanimates that are given in the discourse (whether through prior mention or through their evocation as props in a context), but also, with certain intransitive verbs, for presentatives. In the 'given' use, the incorporated nominal usually occurs alone without external modification; in the presentative use, it may occur alone or be followed by a more specific external nominal.

In Bininj Gun-wok, and cross-linguistically, the commonest functions of incorporated generic nominals are for tracking established inanimate participants, as well as 'procedurally implicated' entities that have a short-lived discourse appearance in the context of certain activities (e.g. house-building, wood-gathering). These are normally grammatical objects, and as inanimates miss out on overt representation on the pronominal prefix system. It is common for inanimates to progress from external to incorporated status through the discourse, as in the following textlet by Toby Gangele about getting dingo pelts for bounty:

- 10.352 *Ngaye gorrogo an-bang nga-gurrm-i, gun-gurlah a-ma-ngi.*
 Dj I before III-dangerous 1/3-put down-PI IV-pelt 1/3-get-PI
Gun-gurlah a-ga-ni djamun-djahdjam. A-gurlah-wo-ni, gun-warde
 IV-pelt 1/3-take-PI dangerous-place 1/3-pelt-give-PI IV-money
an-wo-ni.
 3/1-give-PI

'In the old days I used to put down (dingo) baits to get their pelts. I would take the hides to the police station. I would give them to him and he would give me money.'

Note how *-gurlah* is first introduced as a free nominal, recurs once as a free NP, then is incorporated into the ditransitive verb *-woni*. Note also how the new entity *warde* 'rock, money' is not incorporated into the verb in the following clause, even though the argument frame is the same, and even though the verb complex *anwardewoni* 'he used to give me money' is quite grammatical.⁴⁰

A similar example, this time from the Kunwinjku dialect, is 10.353; here 'firewood' progresses from an external argument of the second verb to an incorporated argument of subsequent verbs.

- 10.353 *ϕ-Worrhmeng, wanjh kun-rerrng ϕ-yikang, ϕ-wam ϕ-rerrng-mey,*
 W 3P-make.firePP then IV-firewood 3/3IP-go.forPP 3P-gOPP 3/3IP-wood-getPP
ku-m-wam ϕ-rerrng-name-ng, ϕ-rerrng-kurrme-ng, keb
 3P-hither-goPP 3/3IP-wood-make-PP 3/3IP-wood-put-PP first.flames
ϕ-rerrng-name-ng.
 3/3P-wood-make-PP

'He went and got firewood, he came and put wood on the fire first, he put wood on the fire, he put more wood on the fire.' [OP 384:24-28]

⁴⁰ Although 10.352 illustrates the possibility of incorporating the object of *won*, it is equally common not to incorporate the object with this verb, for example I *yiwon kunmadj* 'you give him sheets' (with the incorporable root \sqrt{madj} 'sheets, swag, material') and *minj ngalkka ngurriwon kunj* 'don't give her [ngalkka] any kangaroo [kunj]' (with the unincorporable root/word *kunj*).

Note that similar progressions are sometimes found with body-part nouns as well:

10.354 *Bu karri-n-an na-wern karri-dulubun, karri-ngu-n*
 W SUB 12a/3-see-NP MA-many 12a/3-shootNP 12a/3-eat-NP

kun-karrk. Bu karri-djal-burriwe, kun-ukka kun-warre.
 IV-wing.membrane SUB 12a-just-throwNP NEU-DEM NEU-bad

Minj karri-yawoyh-danjbu-n bu minj karri-karrk-kinje.

NEG 12a/3-again-spear-NP SUB not 12a/3-membrane-cookNP

'When we see a lot of (flying foxes) and shoot them, we have to cook and eat the lot, including the wing membranes. We won't be able to shoot them again if we don't cook that membrane part.' [KS 46]

Another example of the use of incorporated generics to track given inanimate referents is 10.355, in which 'cane grass' is introduced in the first clause by a specific external nominal, then tracked in the next clause by the incorporated generic root *-dalk* 'grass'.

10.355 *Barri-wam djilidjilih, barri-dalk-djobge-yi.*
 Dj 3aP-goPP cane.grass 3aP-grass-cut-PI

'They went out for cane grass, and were cutting it.'

In other cases, the incorporated nominal has not been overtly mentioned before, but is situationally given, as with 'the ground' in 10.356, and 'the scrub' in 10.357 (the frame for which was built up by the context of the preceding two lines).

10.356 *Bonj. Ba-rrolkka-ng ba-bolk-melme-ng ba-rra-nginj gamak.*
 Dj OK 3P-get.up-PP 3/3P-ground-tread-PP 3P-stand-PP good

'OK. He got up, he tested his foot on the ground, he put his weight on it, it was all right.'

10.357 *Njamed djirndi gare ba-yi-warlkge-rri-nj njanjuk gu-mege*
 what quail perhaps 3/3P-COM-hide-RR-PP something LOC-there

ganjdji." Djirndi-djahdjam merenghmerenggidj right bi-yawa-ni.
 underneath quail-place [?] 3/3hP-seeK-PI

Ba-ngarre-werrhm-i gun-marlaworr, gun-boi ba-ngune-ng,
 3/3P-scrub-scratch-PI IV-leaf IV-cooking.stone 3/3P-eat-PP

'Maybe that whatsit, quail, might have hidden himself away with it or something under (the leaves) there. The *merengmerenggidj* (?) looked for him there where the quail was. While she was scratching around in the leaves, she ate a cooking stone.'

In 10.358 both *dalk* 'grass' and *bule* 'burnt grass' are contextually implicated by the general frame, which in this text was a discussion of traditional fire practices:

10.358 *Gurrih na-wu ba-m-bebme-ni an-bu barri-dalk-wurlhge-yi.*
 Dj blue.tongue MA-REL 3-towards-appear-PI VE-REL 3a/3P-grass-burn-PI

Gurrih na-wu ba-bule-yiga-ni, ba-bule-yawa-ni ...

blue.tongue MA-DEM 3P-burnt.grass-go.for-PI 3P-burnt.grass-search-PI

'Those blue-tongue lizards would come out when they were burning off the grass. Those blue-tongues would go out for the burnt grass, looking for the burnt grass ...'

An inanimate whose first appearance as an incorporated nominal is through contextual implication may then persist in the discourse, recurring as an incorporated nominal without modifying generic in subsequent clauses:

10.359 *Na-bene maih a-na-ng ga-m-golu-rr-en gaddum-be djohboi.*
 Dj MA-that bird 1/3-see-PP 3-hither-descend-RR-NP up-ABL poor.thing
 'I've seen that bird coming down (to the waterhole) from higher up, dear little thing.

Ngarrin-geibu-n mimgoi ...
 1a/3-call-NP red.eyed.pigeon
 'We call it *mimgoi* (lit. eye-red) ...

Na-mege, maih ngarrgu gabarri-bó-djare gukku.
 MA-that bird our 3a-liquid-wantNP water
 'Those birds of ours, they're thirsty for water.

Because bedda wurd gabarri-yo gu-berrk,
 they children 3a-lieNP LOC-dry.scrub, higher.country
 'Because they and their children live higher up, in the dry scrub.

gu-berrk gabarri-yo gabarri-bo-djare gukku gabarri-bongu-n.
 LOC-dry.scrub 3a-lieNP 3a-liquid-wantNP water 3a-drink-NP
 'They're staying in a dry place and want to drink some water.

gukku ngan-ege barri-bo-garm-i ganjdji, gabarri-yó,
 water VE-that 3a/3P-liquid-hold-PP inside/under 3a-lieNP
 'They (the parents) can hold it underneath there (in their crops) while they sleep.

galuk malaiwi, gabarri-m-yauh-golu-ng, gabarri-yauh-bo-ma-ng, gukku
 then tomorrow 3a-hither-again-descend-NP 3a-again-liquid-get-NP water
 'Then the next day they'll come down again and get more (water)

gabarri-bo-ga-n ... [another bird chases it away]
 3a-liquid-carry-NP
 'and carry it ...'

Nouns in object role are also frequently incorporated with transitive verbs of creation and discovery, such as *marnbun* 'make', *kurrme* 'put (e.g. a painting in a location)' (10.360) and *ngalke* 'find' (10.361); semantically this is more akin to the presentative constructions with stance verbs in which the incorporated noun is completely new in the discourse.

10.360 *Birri-bim-kurrme-ng ka-bim-di.*
 W 3a-picture-put-PP 3-picture-standNP
 'Her picture has been put there.' (said in response to a picture of a stamp with an image of the queen)

10.361 *Bene-h-yawa-m korroko wanjh bene-red-ngalke-ng wirlarrk bokenh.*
 W 3uaP-IMM-look.for-PP before then 3uaP-nest-find-PP egg two

ø-yongoh- yo-y
 3-ITER-lie-PP
 'They looked around and then they found a nest with two eggs.' [KS 172]

We now turn to the role of generic incorporation with intransitive verbs. Less attention has been given to the semantic and discourse role of incorporated nominals in intransitive subject function, though Sasse (1987) discusses the role of incorporation in 'thetic' predicates and Mithun and Corbett (1999:53) note that: 'Incorporation for discourse purposes can also be seen with presentative verbs, verbs with little semantic content of their own, such as "exist" or "have". The entity and its existence together form a single unit of newsworthy information, so they are often packaged together in a single word.'

In fact there are three distinct conditions under which intransitive verbs may incorporate their subjects in Biniñ Gun-wok: presentational/thetic constructions with stance verbs, the tracking of animate discourse participants, and a few fixed expressions. We now discuss each in turn.

- (a) PRESENTATIONAL/THETIC, WITH STANCE VERBS In presenting a new scene comprising both an entity and its disposition (10.362), introducing a new entity (10.363) or asserting existence (10.364), a stance verb with an incorporated noun is regularly used; the relevant stance verbs are *di* 'stand', *ni* 'sit', *yo* 'lie' and *barndi/wendi* 'be up high'. Modifiers of the incorporated noun may follow (10.363) or precede (10.364) the stance verb.

10.362 *Ku-rurrk* \emptyset -wam *man-kabo* *ku-mekke* *ku-wardde* \emptyset -bo-yo-y.
 W LOC-shelter 3P-goPP III-river LOC-DEM LOC-cave 3P-water-lie-PP
 'She went to the shelter near the river where there is water in that cave.' [OP 349]

10.363 *Ka-djang-di* *kurdukadji*.
 Dnj 3-dreaming-standNP emu
 'There's an emu dreaming there.' OR: 'There's a dreaming of an emu there.'

10.364 *Muddikka* \emptyset -bolh-yo-y *but* *balanda* *nuye-ni* *na-wu* *nganabbarru*
 W vehicle 3P-track-lie-PP European his-P MA-REL buffalo
 \emptyset -bonoh-bom.
 3P-ITER-killPP
 'There was a vehicle track, but it was for European buffalo hunters.'

Although such constructions sometimes occur in texts (e.g. 10.362), they are more commonly encountered in responses to new situations, for example in a task where people are asked to describe what is in pictures (10.365–10.367; see also 13.61, 13.62):

10.365 *Ben-no* *ka-ben-di*, *karri-ben-karrme*.
 I handle-3POSSD 3-handle-standNP 12a-handle-holdNP
 'There is a handle, we grasp the handle.' (response to a picture of door with a handle)

10.366 *Birri-djal-keb-kurrme-ng*, *wanjh* *ka-h-keb-yo*.
 I 3aP-just-'nose'-put-PP then 3-IMM-'nose'-lieNP
 'They put (clothes) hooks (on the wall), so that there are clothes hooks there.'
 (response to a picture of hooks projecting from a wall)

- 10.367 *Kun-madj ka-wendi, ka-rurk-ni.*
 MM IV-cloth 3-be.highNP 3-hole-sitNP
 'There are towels hanging out to dry, there is a hole (in one of them).'
 [response to a picture of towels on a line, one with a conspicuous hole]

Where the noun is not incorporable, it will appear (a) doubled by an incorporable generic, if one exists, as with *an-bernbarn* (10.368), (b) doubled by an incorporated body part of which the verb holds (10.369), or (c) if none exists, simply as an external noun (10.370, 10.371).

- 10.368 *Gonhdah ga-rrulk-di an-bernbarn.*
 Dj here 3-tree-standNP III-ghost.gum
 'There's a ghost gum tree here.'
- 10.369 *Ku-rurk kure duruk ka-keb-darrkme.*
 ■ LOC-enclosed.space LOC dog 3-nose-stick.outNP
 'There is a dog in the kennel, with its nose sticking out.'
- 10.370 *Kabirri-barnh-barndi kardab.*
 ■ 3a-ITER-be.highNP spider
 'There are spiders up (on the wall).'
- 10.371 *Djenj ku-rurk ka-ni, bol-kah.*
 MM fish LOC-enclosed.space 3-sitNP bowl-LOC
 'There is a fish in the bowl.'

Incorporation is not possible with intransitive stance verbs if they are negated; the noun must appear externally (10.372). With objects of most verbs, on the other hand, negation is no bar to incorporation (10.373). The only transitive verb where negation is incompatible with incorporation is *karrme* 'have', again concerned with existence and presence; once again the object must appear externally if this verb is negated (10.374).

- 10.372 *Minj kun-dulk ø-ni-wirrinj, kun-wardde, man-kabo.*
 W NEG IV-tree 3P-sit-IRR IV-rock III-river
 'There were no trees, rocks, or rivers.' [KS 16]
- 10.373 *Minj kabirri-dulk-dadjke.*
 W NEG 3a/3-tree-cutNP
 'They can't cut trees down.'
- 10.374 *Ngaye minj yaw nga-karrme.*
 W I NEG child 1-haveNP
 'I don't have a baby.'

So far our discussion has concerned stance verbs. More rarely intransitive subjects incorporate with other verbs. Sometimes these are compatible with a presentational interpretation, as in 10.375, which was again given in response to a picture (of rain streaming down a window).

- 10.375 *Ngan-djewk ka-njilk-birdikke do-kah.*
 MM III-rain 3-rain-enterNP window-LOC
 'The rain is coming through the window.' OR: 'There is rain coming through the window.'

A further example is 10.376; although Carroll translates this as ‘he waited then he heated lots of antbed’, an alternative translation would be ‘he waited until there were lots of hot (bits of) antbed’:

- 10.376 \emptyset -*Madbom* *wanjh* \emptyset -*wernh-boy-ru-y* \emptyset -*bolk-karu-y* *wanjh*
 W 3P-waitPP then 3P-properly-antbed-be.hot-PP 3/3P-place-dig-PP then
 \emptyset -*wilkd-i*.
 3P-put.in.ashes-PP
 ‘He waited then he heated lots of antbed, then he put it in the ashes.’ [OP 445]

Bo ‘liquid’, in particular, is attested as in incorporated intransitive subject with a wide range of verbs of appearance and motion, such as *re* ‘go, flow, issue forth’, *bebme* ‘appear’, *lobme* ‘run, flood (water)’:

- 10.377 *Ba-bo-lobm-i gorrogo, an-djeuk, bu ba-bo-bebm-i gaddum-be,*
 3P-liquid-run-PI before III-rain REL 3P-liq.-appear-PI upstream-ABL
ba-m-bo-re-i, ba-bo-lobm-i an-bo-gimuk ...
 3P-hither-liq-go-PI 3P-liq.-run-PI III-liquid-big
 ‘When the floodwaters used to run, when the waters came down from upstream,
 when the floodwaters used to come running high ...’

At other times incorporated-subject nouns are interpretable as parts (and hence follow the obligatory incorporation of part nouns discussed in §10.4.2.6). An example is the root *dang* ‘mouth; opening’ in 10.378, which is here specifying the part of the cave which is affected:

- 10.378 *Yiman gayime bininj barri-ngim-i gorrogo,*
 Dj for example person 3a/3P-enter-PI before
 ‘For example, when people used to go in (into caves),
maih barri-yawa-ni ganjdji-gen, yiman gayime ngarrbek,
 animal 3a/3P-see-PI inside-GEN for example echidna
 ‘and look for animals from inside (the caves), such as echidna.
ban-marne-dang-balhm-i barri-dowe-ni ganjdji gu-rurrk,
 3/3pIP-BEN-mouth-be.blocked-PI 3a/3P-die-PI inside LOC-cave
 ‘The mouth of the cave would close behind them and they would die inside.
an-djeuk bogen or danjbik, that mean maybe two year three year,
 III-rain two three
 ‘After two or three years,
ba-rrang-marrhma-ngi, that mean used to open the door,
 3P-mouth-open-PI
 ‘the door would open,
gareh people barri-re-i barri-rurk-na-ni gu-rurrk.
 maybe 3aP-go-PI 3a/3P-cave-see-PI LOC-cave
 ‘maybe people would go and look in the cave’

With other intransitive verbs, however, generic nouns do not incorporate; thus *djordmen* ‘grow up’ is not attested with an incorporated noun, even in contexts where a thetic interpretation is reasonable. An unincorporated example from the Nganjmira corpus is:

10.379 *Yerre bu bene-dowe-ng wanjh kun-dulk ø-djordm-inj, man-kod.*
 W later SUB 3uaP-die-PP then IV-tree 3P-grow-PP III-paperbark
 'After they died a tree grew up, a paperbark.' [KS 196]

- (b) TRACKING DISCOURSE PARTICIPANTS The few generic animate nouns — notably *yaw* 'child' and *bod* 'bee' — can be incorporated as intransitive subjects, including of agentive verbs, when functioning as established discourse participants, in the same way as objects. For examples of incorporated *yaw* tracking an established participant (and moving between intransitive subject and object roles) see the versions of the Echidna and Tortoise text in 10.111; for an example with *bod* where it is contextually implicated, see 10.311. With *yaw*, in particular, incorporation into intransitive verbs in a discourse-tracking rather than a presentative sense is permitted; this is not the case for other generic nominals.
- (c) Finally, there are a few relatively FIXED EXPRESSIONS, such as *ka-bolk-ngey-yo* [3-place-name-lieNP] 'the place is called ...' which are used without discourse constraints.

10.4.4 Secondary predicate incorporation

Secondary predication is the third function of lexico-syntactically incorporated nominals in Bininj Gun-wok, though this is less common than the generic or body-part functions.⁴¹

Such elements make a predication about the subject that is only asserted to be true during the time of the main predicate.⁴² Compare the role of the adjective when used as a main predicate (10.380), and when used as an incorporated secondary predicate (10.381, 10.382). When used as main predicate the state of being alive is asserted as true categorically in the present, while in 10.381 and 10.382 it is only asserted to be true at the time of the main action, respectively of getting away and being picked up.

10.380 *Na-rangem ga-rrarrgid.*
 Dj I-boy 3-alive
 'The boy is alive.'

10.381 *Ba-rrarrgid-wa-m.*
 Dj 3P-alive-go-PP
 'He got away alive.'

10.382 *Barri-re-i gare ginga barri-barlah-na-ni. Barri-djuhm-i*
 Dj 3aP-go-PI maybe crocodile 3aP/3-track-see-PI 3a-swim-PI
barri-yawa-ni barri-darrgid-ma-ngi.
 3a/3P-look.for-PI 3a/3-alive-pick.up-PI
 'They (novices in the Morak ceremony) might see some crocodile tracks.
 They'd have to go into the water, look around for the crocodile and pick it
 up alive.'

⁴¹ See Evans (1995d:94–97) for some discussion about possible semantic links between these three functions.

⁴² Typological discussion of secondary predicate incorporation has been limited compared to the lively discussion of generic and body-part incorporation, though the phenomenon recurs in a number of languages. See, however, the discussion of predicate incorporation in Aztec in Launey (1981:167–169) and some brief general remarks in McGregor (1997:166–167).

In §10.4.4.1 we discuss the incorporation of roots that can only ever function as predicates when incorporated, while in §10.4.4.2 we turn to secondary-predicate interpretations of noun roots which normally have a referring, generic function when incorporated.

10.4.4.1 Nominal roots only incorporable as secondary predicates

Like the other types of syntactic incorporation, incorporated secondary predicates follow an absolutive pattern: they are controlled by objects (10.382, 10.384) and intransitive subjects (10.381, 10.384). The most commonly incorporated nominal predicates are *darrkid* (10.3), *mimbi* or *kerrnge* (8.16) 'alive',⁴³ *kodjek* 'trysting, eloping, for purposes of illicit sex' (10.383, 10.384), *ngoreng* 'sick' (10.385), and *djoleng* 'cooked' (10.386):⁴⁴

- 10.383 *Bani-godjek-wam.*
Dj 3uaP-elope-goPP
'They eloped, they ran off together.'
- 10.384 *Gaban-godjek-ma-ng.*
Dj 3/3pl-elope-take-NP
'He's taking them off for sex.' (lit. He's taking them, as elopers.)
- 10.385 *Bininj gabarri-dowe-n, gaban-marnbu-n gabarri-ngoreng-yo.*
Dj person 3a-die-NP 3/3pl-make-NP 3a-sick-lieNP
'He can make people die and get sick.'
- 10.386 *Wanjh bene-wam bene-bebke-ng bindi-djoleng-wo-ng rowk*
W then 3uaP-goPP 3uaP-take.out-PP 3a/3pl-cooked-give-PP all
na-wu kalawan.
MA-DEM goanna
'So the two of them went and took it out (from the fire) and gave everyone some goanna cooked.'

Further incorporated predicates not exemplified here are *dulkki* 'sick from invisible causes' (cf. *kun-dulkki* 'internal sickness'; *dulkki-mankan* 'fall down sick', *dulkki-yo* 'lie sick'), *barrkid* 'different' (13.143) and *ro* 'dodging spears' (see Oates 1964:108).

Theoretically, incorporated secondary predicates with double object verbs should behave in the same way as incorporated generics and body parts, by having scope over the second object in the same way that second objects can sanction generic incorporation (§10.1.3.4). This is certainly the case with some predicates, such as *ngoreng* 'sick', which has scope over the true objects with some comitative verbs (10.387) and over the comitative object with others (10.388), exactly like an incorporated generic.

⁴³ The difference is dialectal, *mimbi* being used in Kunwinjku, *kerrnge* in Manyallaluk Mayali and *darrkid* in the other dialects.

⁴⁴ McKay's discussion of Rembarrnga noun incorporation (McKay 1975:290–297) contains a number of examples that I would consider secondary predicate incorporation, with partial semantic overlap with those considered here: *kardburr* and *kari* 'wounded', *murnungu* 'one who has just carried out a killing', *durra* 'alive', boy 'left unharmed (of game)' and *djuk* '(ritually) set apart'.

10.387 *Ngalekke daluk ben-ngoreng-yi-bawo-ng.*
 FE:DEM woman 3/3pl-sick-COM-leave-PP
 'That woman left the sick person with them.'

10.388 *Ngalekke daluk ben-ngoreng-yi-na-ng.*
 FE:DEM woman 3/3pl-sick-COM-see-PP
 'That woman saw them with the sick person.'

However, when the secondary predicate suggests a degree of conjoint action, as with *godjek* 'elope', the interpretation becomes more complicated. In both of the following examples the secondary predicate is interpreted as being true of both objects.

10.389 *Aban-godjek-yi-bawo-ng.*
 Dj 3/3pl-elope-COM-leave-PP
 'I left them with her (for sex).' (They and her were there illicitly.)

10.390 *Ngaban-godjek-yi-na-ng.*
 Dj 1/3pl-elope-COM-see-PP
 'I saw them with a woman.' (They and the woman were there illicitly.)

All of the above are adjective roots: like adjectives they can appear in predicate nominal constructions (*darrgid* in 10.380), take gender prefixation (e.g. Dj *an-djorleng* 'cooked', with vegetable prefix *an-*), and be compounded with nouns in bahuvrihi and predicative compounds (§5.4) such as *bidngoreng* [finger-sick] 'deformed finger'. As across the set of adjectives, not all of these properties are possessed by any given member of the set. Thus *darrgid*, for example, is unattested with gender prefixes, whereas *djorleng* is attested with both gender prefixes and pronominal prefixes in the predicate nominal construction.

Not all adjective roots can incorporate as secondary predicates; just as the set of incorporable nominals is limited in a somewhat arbitrary and lexeme-specific way, so is the set of incorporable adjectives. The adjective root *nud*, for example, cannot incorporate as a secondary predicate, and when expressing a comparable meaning must appear externally:

10.391 *Ga-bawo-n ga-nudme-n wanjh nud ga-ngu-n.*
 Dj 3/3l-leave-NP 3-rot-NP then rotten 3/3l-eat-NP
 '(The crocodile) leaves (his victim) to rot, and then eats it rotten.'

10.4.4.2 Secondary predicate interpretations of incorporated generics

Occasionally incorporated generic nominals have a secondary predicate interpretation, best translated by 'as a N' or 'like a N'. Thus in 10.392 the noun root *rurrk* 'cave; hollow cavity' is incorporated into the verb *wokdi* 'speak' to convey the meaning 'sound hollow (i.e. make a noise as something hollow does)', in 10.393 the noun root *bim* is interpreted as 'as a painting', in 10.394 *yaw* 'child' is best translated 'like a child, like children', and in 8.58 and 10.395 *yaw* is interpreted as 'as a child' rather than '(the) child'.

10.392 *Nga-bekka-n ga-rurrk-wokdi.*
 Dj 1/3-listen-NP 3-cavity-speakNP
 (when tapping trees to see which will make a good didgeridoo):
 'I listen for which sounds hollow.'

- 10.393 *Daddubbe ba-bim-gurrme-rre-ni.*
 Dj [name] 3-painting-put-RR-PI
 'Daddubbe would turn herself into a rock painting, would put herself there as a rock painting.'
- 10.394 *Birri-yaw-ni.*
 w 3a-child-sitPI
 'They sat down like children.'
- 10.395 *∅-Yaw-na-rr-inj.*
 I 3P-child-see-RR-PP
 'He saw himself as a child.' (e.g. in a photograph)

More rarely, body parts can be construed as secondary predicates. The commonest case is the body-part nominal *kuk* 'body', which can be given the secondary predicate interpretation 'as a (mere) body (i.e. dead)', most commonly in the collocation *ka-kuk-yo* [3-body-lienNP] '(s)he is dead'.⁴⁵

There is no single formal clue as to when a secondary predicate rather than an argument interpretation is appropriate, except in the rare cases where the filling of more than one incorporated nominal slot provides a clue. The person of the absolutive argument is one guide, since incorporated generics construed with non-third person arguments will usually have a predicate construal (compare 8.57 and 8.58), but the converse is not true and predicate construals are available alongside argument construals for third person absolutives.⁴⁶ Also relevant are the discourse restrictions on incorporation into intransitive verbs (§10.4.3.3), which cases of secondary predicate incorporation usually violate; intransitive verbs like *wokdi* are basically limited to incorporating *yaw* 'child' in argument function, so that incorporation of another nominal root like *rurrk* 'cavity' forces a secondary predicate reading. Likewise reflexive verbs normally incorporate body parts rather than generics, so that the incorporation of generic nouns like *bim* in 10.393 or *yaw* in 10.395 is likely to induce a secondary predicate reading (and in any case the combination *bim-kurrme* 'put O (onto a rock wall) as a painting or image' is on the way to becoming phraseologised).

A peculiar case of secondary predication involves the root *mudj* 'rainbow serpent', which takes the Class II prefix when used as an external nominal: *ngal-mudj*. In narratives in which the rainbow serpent is transformed into part of the landscape, this often incorporates into verbs such as *yerrkan* 'sit down', but always takes the genitive suffix *-ken(h)* when incorporated (as in 10.396).⁴⁷ As discussed in §11.5.8, Dalabon nouns in locative function

⁴⁵ An interesting case of opposite semantic developments comes from the other word for 'body' in the dialect chain, which is *darrkid* in Kune. Recall that this means 'alive' when used as a secondary predicate in dialects such as Gun-djeihmi. The semantic development to 'alive' seems to have passed via the meaning 'actually present, at hand, with us (in the realm of the living)' which this form has in Kuninjku.

⁴⁶ Here the situation is reminiscent of the discussion in Hale (1983) 'predicate' vs 'argument' construals of Warlpiri nominals, though in this case they are free rather than incorporated nouns.

⁴⁷ For further examples, with the verbs *ni* 'sit' and *namerren* 'make oneself', see OP 379. The following page also has a puzzling similar example with incorporated *njaladjken*; *njaladj* is the name of an exchange ceremony.

take the genitive suffix when incorporated, but in Bininj Gun-wok suffixation of incorporated nouns with the genitive is limited to a couple of frozen spatial prefixes.⁴⁸

10.396 *Wanjh gumekke ba-mudj-genh-yerrga-ng, ba-djal-gurrme-rr-inj*
Dj then there 3P-rainbow.serpent-GEN-sit-PP 3P-just-put.down-RR-PP

djang.

dreaming

'Then he sat down there in the form of a rainbow serpent, and made himself

djang.'

10.5 Pronominal prefixes, incorporation and prototypical animacy distribution

In §10.1.1 we discussed the functional complementarity between the two systems available for representing arguments on the verb: the system of pronominal prefixes, basically set up to represent higher animates (in that lower animates will not have their number marked, and even the third person minimal form is always represented by zero), and the system of incorporated nominals, basically set up to represent inanimates (in that all incorporable generics except *yaw* 'child' and *bod* 'bee' refer to inanimates). The distribution of zero exponence within the divalent prefix paradigm (§10.2.2) also means that, outside simple 3 minimal / 3 minimal combinations, even human objects will only receive non-zero marking if they are non-third person and/or non-minimal.

In monovalent and divalent verbs there is spare capacity within the system, as it were, since there are more coding slots than arguments to code, so that arguments are sometimes represented in two places, once on the pronominal prefix and once by incorporated nominal (e.g. *biyawnguneng* in 10.111).

However, with trivalent verbs the system is stretched to the limit. If the arguments have what I shall call a 'prototypical animacy'⁴⁹ distribution', in which the first object is in fact higher on the Silverstein hierarchy than the second (as in clauses like 'he showed me the stone', 'he gave her to me', 'he left the money with them' or 'I saw them with her'), then overt exponence is optimised and each argument can be overtly expressed, at least potentially.

But although each verb presupposes a prototypical distribution of reference across the animacy hierarchy, and the marking system operates most efficiently when this distribution holds, this does not mean that situations violating this distribution will never be encountered. What happens in such circumstances? One possibility would be for the marking preferences to override the normal morphosyntactic privileges, so that first person true objects with third person indirect objects would override the rule that indirect objects claim the pronominal prefix slot, and trigger the first person object form. Another possibility would be that trivalent verbs are simply disallowed in this situation — this is what happens in French, for example, where a clause like **Il me lui montre* is ungrammatical for 'he shows me to him/her'.

⁴⁸ Though I have one example from Gun-djeihmi of a genitive-suffixed form of *gele* 'afraid' being incorporated, with scope over a transitive subject: *barrigeleghenbwong* 'they left it (the dreaming), in fear'.

⁴⁹ This terminology is unfortunately inexact, but has become established: for animacy, read 'person/number/animacy, as arranged in the Silverstein hierarchy'.

We find that Bininj Gun-wok has two main strategies for dealing with such non-prototypical cases, depending on the argument structure of the verb. It should be noted, though, that such cases are so unusual as to be virtually absent from the textual corpus, so that the following examples were all obtained by elicitation unless otherwise noted.

- (a) Where the verb is an underived ditransitive and the true object is higher in animacy than the indirect object, it simply usurps the privilege of pronominal object marking (10.397). That it is still a true object is shown by the fact that it still licenses incorporation of associated body parts (10.398). The indirect object appears as an external pronoun or noun phrase preceded by the locative preposition *gure/guri* (10.399, 6.90).

10.397 *An-bukka-ng gure bedda.*

Dj 3/1-show-PP LOC them
'He showed me to them.'

10.398 *An-bolidj-bukka-ng gure bedda.*

Dj 3/1-scar-show-PP LOC them
'He showed my tribal scar to them.' (lit. He showed me, the scar, to them.)

10.399 *Arduk abbard an-bertwo-ng guri na-nih bininj.*

Dj my father 3/1-give.in.marriage-PP LOC MA-DEM man
'My father gave me in marriage to that man.'

There is one textual example of this type, in which the third argument is introduced by an applicative (the causal use of the benefactive) rather than being intrinsic to the basic verb stem; in this example the displaced third person argument is ellipsed, presumably being recoverable from context.

10.400 *Ngan-marne-baye-ng.*

W 3/1-BEN-bite-PP
'It (dog) bit me because of it (because I damaged the mythological site).' [PC 71]

- (b) If the would-be violating verb is a derived double-object verb, it is avoided and a simple transitive verb used instead. The third entity is represented either as a prepositional phrase (10.401b; 10.402b; 10.403b,c) or case-marked phrase (10.404b), or by using a second clause (e.g. 10.402b). In each of the examples below I first give a double-object verb in which the person/animacy distribution is prototypical, and normal morphosyntactic privileges apply; then I give one or more examples of the divalent alternatives used in cases of person/animacy distribution violations.

10.401 a. *Arduk garrard an-yau-yi-bawo-ng.*

Dj my mother 3/1-child-COM-leave-PP
'My mother left the child with me.'

b. *An-yau-bawo-ng gure bedda.*

3/1-child-leave-PP LOC them
'He left me, as a child, **with them.**'

10.402 a. *An-bo-yi-na-ng.*

Dj 3/1-liquid-COM-see-PP
'She saw me with the drink.'

- b. *An-na-ng gure berluh rowk.*
 3/1-see-PP LOC aunty all
 'She saw me with all the aunts.'
- c. *Al-badjan gun-na-ng berluh rowk gurri-h-re-y.*
 II-mother 3/2-see-PP aunty all 2a-IMM-go-PI
 'Your mother saw you with your two aunts.' (lit. Your mother saw you,
 when you with all your aunts were going.)

10.403 a. *Bani-kole-yi-gurrme-ng.*
 Dj 3ua/3P-spear-COM-leave-PP
 'The two of them left a/the spear with him.'

b. *Bi-kurrme-ng gure bedda.*
 3/3hP-put-PP LOC them
 'He put her with them.'

c. *Ban-gurrme-ng gure aleng.*
 3/3pl-put-PP LOC her
 'He put them with her.'

10.404 a. *Bani-daluk-yi-bu-rr-inj.*
 Dj 3uaP-woman-COM-hit-RR-PP
 'The two of them fought over the woman.'

b. *Na-meke daluk bogen bani-bu-rr-inj aye-genh / udda-genh.*
 MA-that woman two 3uaP-hit-RR-PP me-GEN you-GEN
 'Those two women fought over me/over you.'

Note that in some examples (e.g. 6.92) it is sufficient for both objects to be higher than third singular on the animacy hierarchy to trigger the alternative construction, even though the higher object (e.g. 'me' in 6.92) may still be higher than the lower object ('them') in person/animacy. The generalisation is this: whenever the existence of a non-prototypical animacy distribution means that both objects would have a non-zero form registered on the pronominal prefix, the comitative construction is avoided in favour of an underived transitive with the comitative argument represented by a PP. In the case of third person singular objects, there is a choice between representing them as incorporated nominals in the derived trivalent construction (e.g. 6.93) or using underived transitives with prepositional comitatives that allow them to appear as non-zero object prefixes (e.g. 6.94b).

To summarise: non-prototypical distributions of animacy across the three arguments lead to either (a) the use of a marked construction in which the lower-animacy indirect object, displaced from the prefix slot, is represented by a free pronoun preceded by a preposition, or (b) the non-use of the comitative double-object construction, with the comitative argument represented either by a prepositional or case-marked phrase. The fact that in either case a marked construction must be used is a grammatical diagnostic for the marked nature of the semantics, as indicated by the virtual absence of such examples from the text corpus.

11 *Adverbial elements in the verb*

In this chapter we discuss the many adverbial elements that can precede the verb root, which furnish information about direction, location, position quantification, aspect and seriation, time and manner. Their semantic functions do not correlate neatly with their morphological position, so I discuss the two separately: in §11.1 I outline the ordering facts, and in §11.2–§11.7 I discuss their semantic effects. A third variable is the question of whether there exists, for each prefix, a free-standing counterpart. Many, such as the prefixes *yawoih-* ‘again’, *darnh-* ‘near’ and *gak-* ‘at night’, have free-standing counterparts, respectively *yawoyhno* (external in some dialects only), *darn.gih* and *gun-gak*. Some, like *warrgah-* ‘in the wrong place’ have etymologies suggesting an external origin, but no synchronic free-standing counterpart. Prefixes that are synchronically or diachronically relatable to external material may have the ‘heavy’ syllable structures characteristic of lexical roots (§2.4.1). A third group, like the directionals *-m-* and *-bal-* and the ‘immediate’ prefix *-h-*, only occur as prefixes; these are either non-syllabic or have the ‘light’ syllable structures characteristic of affixes. Throughout this chapter, I mention corresponding free-standing forms wherever they exist.

Although the prefixes are grouped roughly, for expository purposes, into quantificational, aspectual, directional, etc., there is a considerable amount of semantic overlap; for example *bal-* can have both directional and aspectual senses, and *djal-* can function both as a restrictive quantifier and as a marker of continuous aspect.

There is also considerable semantic overlap with material outside the verb, in particular with free adverbials, clitics and demonstratives, and I discuss this where relevant in this chapter.

11.1 Prefix orderings

The prefixes at hand occupy slots -9 (directionals), -8 (immediate), -7 (‘miscellaneous’ – the majority), -5 (another miscellaneous set, including *djal-* ‘just’), -2 (numerospatial). See §8.1.1 for a full expansion. The spatial prefixes occur inside the incorporated nominal slots (-3 and -4); incorporated nominals precede *da-* ‘in the sun’ and *yirri-* ‘spread’, but the position of the latter with respect to the numerospatial and comitative slots has yet to be determined.

Several prefixes of the same slot can co-occur, and it is the relative ordering of such prefixes that concerns us here. Full data is not available yet, but the following statements can

be made: *woh-* 'part' precedes *djarrk-* 'together', and *bed-* 'now' precedes *yawoih-* 'again', as shown by the following examples.

- 11.1 *Arr-woh-djarrk-yo-ø!*
 Dj 12-part-together-sleep-IMP
 'Let's you and me both sleep for a bit!'
- 11.2 *Arri-bed-yauh-dadjge-yi ...*
 Dj 1a-now-again-cut-PI
 'Now we'd cut some more (spearshafts) ...'

11.2 Directionals *m-*, *bal-*

These prefixes specify direction, basically 'towards' and 'away/along' respectively, and co-occur with a wide range of verbs. A Gun-djeihmi set illustrating the three-way contrast is *ga-re* '(s)he is going', *ga-m-re* '(s)he is coming', *ga-bal-(r)e* '(s)he is going along'.

Only the western dialects (Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku) have both these directional prefixes; *bal-* is lacking in Kuninjku and Kune Dulerayek, while the Kune Narayek and Manyallaluk Mayali lack both prefixes, relying on free adverbials to convey directional information. Combined with the distinctive variation in third person past prefixes with *m-* this makes the directionals a salient dialect marker; the shading shows the extent of overt marking on the verb of these categories.

Table 11.1: Directional prefixes across dialects

	3NP.hither	3P.hither	3NP.away
Dj	<i>ga-m-</i>	<i>ba-m-</i>	<i>ga-bal-</i>
W	<i>ka-m-</i>	<i>ku-m-</i>	<i>ka-bal-</i>
■	<i>ka-m-</i>	<i>ka-m-</i>	<i>ka-</i>
E:D	<i>ka-</i>	\emptyset	<i>ka-</i>
MM	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>ka-</i>

11.2.1 *m-* 'hither'

The basic function of this affix is to mark movement towards the deictic centre. Compare Dj *yirai* 'you go!' and *yimrai!* 'you come!'; *yirrunde!* 'you return, you go back!' and *yimdurnde!* 'you come back!'; *ngarrurnde* 'I'll go back' and *ngamdurnde* 'I'll come back (here)'.

Initial zero pronominal prefixes, such as the 1/2 prefix in all dialects and the 3P prefix in Kunwinjku and Kune, leave the *m-* prefix unsupported in a phonotactically unacceptable position. In the case of the third person past prefix this is resolved by using a special allomorph *ku-* (W) or *ka-* (E); see §10.2.4.

Dialects lacking the hither prefix resort to the use of adverbials like *gonhda* (11.3) or *kondanj* (11.4) 'here', or combine the verb with an interjection like *woy!* 'come here!' (11.5). A few lexemes in these dialects retain a frozen *m-* prefix, most notably *-m-dolkka* in the meaning 'to come from (homeland, clan land)' (11.6).

- 11.3 *Yi-ra-i gondah!*
MM 2-go-IMP here
'Come here!'
- 11.4 *Wolewoleh-ken nga-wam kondanj.*
E yesterday-GEN 1-go here
'I came here yesterday.'
- 11.5 *Yi-ra-y woy!*
E 2-go-IMP come.here
'Come here!'
- 11.6 *Namirwi ka-m-dolkka-n.*
E Namirwi 3-hither-get.up-NP
'He comes from the Namirwi clan.'

The 'hither' prefix exhibits a number of semantic extensions. With some verbs the 'towards' motion may not be part of the verbal predicate itself, but of some contextually obvious subsequent, prior or concurrent action:

- 11.7 *Yi-m-yerrng-ma-ø!*
Dj 2-hither-wood-pick.up-IMP
'You pick up the wood (and bring it here).'
- 11.8 *Birri-m-h-di.*
I 3aP-hither-IMM-standP
'They were standing there (on their way here).'
- 11.9 *Kum-rdurndi kum-bininj-minj.*
W 3hitherP-returnPP 3hitherP-man-INCH:PP
'He came back as a man.'

With stance verbs the 'hither' form may in other contexts imply either closeness to some deictic centre (11.10), or a narrowing distance between the static object and some moving participant (11.11, 11.12):

- 11.10 *Darn.gih ga-m-ni.*
Dj close 3NP-hither-sitNP
"Him close-up sit down."
- 11.11 *Bu bene-bal-kolu-ngi na-wu nganabbarru ku-m-di kore*
W SUB 3uaP-along-descend-PI I-REL buffalo 3P-hither-standPI in
kukku, dja bedda minj bene-burrbu-yi.
water but they not 3ua-know-IRR
'While the two of them were climbing down (towards it) that buffalo was standing in the water, but they didn't know it.'
- 11.12 *Ku-m-kuni-yo-y.*
W 3P-hither-VIOL-lie-PI
'The devil lay in wait for him.' [Oates 1964:93]

11.2.2 *bal-* 'away, along'

According to an early characterisation by Berndt and Berndt (1951a), this signifies 'movement in space or time'. Most truly directional uses are compatible with an 'away' meaning, if the current deictic centre is static, or an 'along' meaning if it is moving. Each of these spatial senses has a corresponding aspectual extension: (a) completion (moving away from the relevant action) and (b) recurrence or continuation (cf. English 'talking away').

- (a) Trajectory in space away from the current static deictic centre, which may be based on the speaker and/or hearer (11.13, 11.14) or, in third-person-based narrative, on the protagonist's current position (11.15).

11.13 *Wudda-djahdjam guned a-bal-e.*

Dj you-place camp 1-away-goNP
'I'll come out to your place.'

11.14 *Yi-bal-derrebme-n!*

Dj 2-away-move-IMP
'Move over!' (so there's room for me to squeeze in)

11.15 *Nungka ø-bal-wam kore man-kabo bu ø-dung-yibmi-yibmi darnki.*

W he 3P-away-goPP LOC III-river SUB 3P-sun-REDUP-sinkPI near
'He went to the river near sunset.'

- (b) Where the central participant is moving, it denotes a continued trajectory ('along'):

11.16 *Yi-bal-ngomka!*

W 2-along-swimIMP
'Swim along ahead!' [KH 58]

11.17 *Kun-dulk makah ka-bal-h-dulk-darlka-n.*

W IV-stick 3DEM 3-along-IMM-tree-float-NP
'A stick is floating along (down the river).' [KH 59]

Sometimes the trajectory is more metaphorical:

11.18 *Bedda birri-borrkke-ng kondah kun-kare. Bu dabbarrabbolk*

W they 3aP-dance-PP here IV-before SUB old.person

bindi-bal-bukka-ng yawuh-yawurrinj.

3a/3pP-along-show-PP REDUP-young.man

'They danced it here long ago, when the adults passed it on to the young men.' [KS 140]

- (c) An aspectual extension of the 'away' meaning, so far only attested in Gun-djeihmi, is its use with just completed or about-to-be completed (11.19) actions: the actors are moving 'away' from that action to another. Completed actions take the past, perfective (11.20) or imperfective (11.21) according to whether the sequence is repeated, or the non-past plus immediate aspect (11.22).

11.19 *Ga-bal-ngokda-n ga-rrung-yibme ganjdji, wanjh ga-golu-ng.*

Dj 3-away-night.fall-NP 3-sun-sinkNP down then 3-go.down-NP
'When night is about to fall and the sun is setting down, then he goes down.'

- 11.20 *A-bal-djal-gukwe-rr-inj.*
 Dnj 1-away-just-profane-RR-PP
 'I just said a tabooed name.'/'"I just swore myself."'
- 11.21 *Barri-bal-djud-warrehwarrewo-ni, ba-rrurnde-ngi, darah*
 3aP-away-back.of.neck-turn.away-PI 3P-return-PI stringybark
ba-mangi, ban-berdm-i, ban-bu-ni.
 3/3P-pick.upPI 3/3pl-cover-PI 3/3pl-kill-PI
 'As soon as they had turned their backs on him he'd come back, pick up a sheet of stringybark, cover them, and kill them.'
- 11.22 *Bolkkime arri-bal-h-yakwo-n.*
 now 1a-away-IMM-finishNP
 'We just finished (building) it now.'

Nearly completed actions take *guyin-* 'nearly' (§11.4.4) plus the irrealis.

- 11.23 *A-bal-guyin-yakwoyi.*
 I-away-almost-finish-IRR
 'I've nearly finished.'
- (d) An aspectual extension of the 'along' meaning is its use for recurrent aspect, equally well attested in Gun-djeihmi (11.24, 11.25) and in Kunwinjku (11.26, 11.27):
- 11.24 *Yi-bal-yolyolme-n al-gohbanj!*
 Dj 2-along-tell-IMP II-old.person
 'You tell on, old woman!' (Said by a storyteller wanting the old woman to 'take over' the telling of the same story.)
- 11.25 "Aaa, gadberre!" *ban-bal-manjh-manjbo-m rouk.*
 Dj aaa ours 3/3plP-along-ITER-thank-PP all
 "'Aah, (meat) for us!" and she (emu) heartily thanked them all around.'
- 11.26 *Nga-birli-rrombo-m nga-rohrokme-ng dja ø-bal-djal-wurlhme-ng.*
 W 1-flame-extinguish-PP 1-try-PP but 3P-along-just-flare.up-PP
 'I tried to put the fire out, but it kept starting up again.' [KH 51]
- 11.27 *Bene-bal-djal-yonginj ku-ronj kandji.*
 W 3uaP-along-just-liePP LOC-water under
 'They were just only lying under the water.' [PC 100]

Dialects lacking *bal-* do not have any particular compensating strategies. The above sentences were mostly translated into Kune simply by dropping the *bal-*. Thus 11.14 was translated as *yiderrebmen!*, 11.20 as *ngadjalkukwerrinj*, 11.22 as *bolkkime ngarriyakwon* and 11.24 as *yiolyolmen!* The main exception is the continuing trajectory sense, where Kune will often employ the adverb *munguyh* 'always, continuously', for example in the translation (11.28) of 11.16:

- 11.28 *Yi-warrme-n munguyh!*
 E 2-swim-IMP always
 'Keep swimming!'

11.3 The A-quantifier prefixes

In this section I discuss a number of quantifier-type prefixes, with meanings like 'each', 'many' or 'all together' marked on the verb. Following Bach et al. (1995) I call these A-quantifiers (for 'adverbial-type' quantifiers) to distinguish D-quantifiers (for 'demonstrative/determiner-type quantifiers'), which appear within external NPs. For most meanings in this domain Bininj Gun-wok has both means available, as illustrated for 'many' in 11.29 and 11.30, and 'another' in 11.31 and 11.32:¹

11.29 *Bamurru ga-mirnde-rri.*
Dj magpie.goose 3-many-standNP
'There are many magpie geese.'

11.30 *A-na-ng bamurru na-wern-gen.*
Dj 1/3-see-PP magpie.goose MA-many-GEN
'I saw many magpie geese.'

11.31 *Wolewoleh a-me-i djenj, bolkgime a-yauh-me-i.*
Dj yesterday 1/3-get-PP fish today 1/3-again-get-PP
'I caught a fish yesterday, and I got another one today/and I got one again today.'

11.32 *Yawurrinj na-buyiga ba-man.ga-ng.*
Dj young.man MA-another 3P-fall-PP
'Another young man fell down.'

As these examples show, in many contexts both A- and D-quantifiers are possible. However, there are significant differences as well. In general, the meaning of the A-quantifiers will include other, more specific components, such as information about the spatial arrangement of the magpie geese in the case of *mirnde-* (discussed in §11.3.3) and the implication that a whole event was repeated in the case of *-yawoyh-* (§11.3.5.1). For fuller discussion see Evans (1995a).

A second difference concerns the scope of quantification: in the case of D-quantifiers the scope is determined by constituent contiguity, being restricted to the phrase of which they form a part, whereas in the case of A-quantifiers there is no such constituent contiguity, so that other means must be used to determine their scope. With some of these the scope is determined by semantic roles; *djarrk-*, for example, translatable as 'all' or 'altogether', has scope over semantic agents, while *wernh-* and *woh-*, respectively 'properly, to completion' and 'partly', mostly have scope over semantic patients. Those with number-based meanings have scope over absolutes (objects and intransitive subjects) in the overwhelming majority of cases. With some (such as *warrgah-* 'the wrong one') the selection of scope reflects a complex interaction of their semantics with cultural knowledge. And with others (such as *djal-* 'only, just' and *yawoyh-* 'again; another') scope selection reflects the building up of presuppositions and topic relations in the discourse context.

¹ Some of the affixes discussed in this section would not uncontroversially be regarded as quantifiers, but are included because of parallelisms in their behaviour with other clear cases. *Djal-* 'only', for example, does not count as a quantifier by the usual tests of Barwise and Cooper (1981), van Benthem (1986) etc., but relationally it is the converse of the universal quantifier 'all', and as noted by Partee (1990), it quantifies over implicit sets that contrast with the given focus.

The order of presentation in this section will reflect approximate semantic groupings: §11.3.1 will deal with those with ‘universal quantifier’-like meanings like ‘all’; §11.3.2 with ‘extent’ quantifiers like ‘properly, completely’ and ‘partly’; §11.3.3 with numerospatial quantifiers like ‘many’; §11.3.4 with a prefix, meaning ‘the wrong one; in the wrong place’; and §11.3.5 with ‘again, another’ and ‘just, only’, whose scope is determined by discourse factors. My most extensive data for this domain comes from the Gun-djeihmi dialect, (particularly from Eddie Hardy), which I later cross-checked against the Kune dialect with David Karlbuma, and these sentences are given in brackets without interlinear glosses where their structure is sufficiently similar to be obvious to the reader. Where I am aware of differences in other dialects I note these, but the analysis has not been checked exhaustively for these dialects.

11.3.1 ‘Universal’ A-quantifiers

Three verbal affixes express meanings closely related to universal quantification: *djarrk-* ‘all, altogether’, *rr-* ‘all, collective’ and *bebbeh-* ‘distributive’. The basic scopal affinity of each of these is with the subject, but with subtle additional restrictions or extensions. *Djarrk-* is restricted to semantic actors acting in concert, at the same time and place. The collective sense of the reflexive/reciprocal suffix is the most general form, and is used in cases where the others are inappropriate (e.g. when the subject is not an agent), as well as in cases where *djarrk-* would be possible. *Bebbeh-* marks distributive share (explained below), most commonly over a subject key although events themselves may also be the key.

Universal quantification may also be achieved by the use of the D-quantifier *rouk/rowk* ‘all’, which comes at the end of the nominal group over which it has scope, or directly after the verb if its argument is only represented by a verbal prefix; for discussion and examples see §6.5.2.

11.3.1.1 *djarrk-* ‘all acting together’

This has scope over the semantic actor. Its rough meaning is ‘acting together, all doing the same thing at the same time and place’.² An intransitive example is 11.33 and a transitive example is 11.34. Note that 11.34 cannot mean ‘we shot all the dogs’ although the number of neither the external nominal nor the pronominal object rules this out.

11.33 *Nguni-djarrk-re nguni-boken nguni-bo-yiga-n.*
 Dj 2ua-together-goNP 2ua-two 2ua-liquid-fetch-NP
 ‘You two go together and get drinks.’

11.34 *Garri-djarrk-dulubom duruk.*
 Dj 12a-together-shootPP dog
 ‘We all shot the dog(s).’

² There is a single exception in which *djarrk-* appears to quantify over the object: *benmenedjarrkmokenbom* [OP 439] ‘he hit the two of them together’.

Verbs that count as taking semantic actors include any that are potentially controlled, including stance verbs; *yo* can mean 'lie' or 'sleep'.³

- 11.35 *wanjh yika na-wu ngarri-ngime ku-rurrk ngarri-djarrk-yo-y.*
 W well some MA-REL 1a-enterNP LOC-house 1a-together-sleep-PP
balanda-dorrens, dja yika na-wu wurdwurd birri-lobme-ng.
 white-with and some MA-REL children 3aP-run-PP
 'Some of our people went into the dormitory, and slept among white people;
 but some of the children ran away.' [OM 42]

With a few verbs, like 'chase', where the grammatical object is still an agent, *djarrk-* may have scope over it:

- 11.36 \emptyset -*Wam wanjh benbene-djarrk-worrumbokka-ni kunak.*
 W 3P-goPP then 3/3duP-together-chase.around-PI fire
 'He went then, the fire was chasing them.' (i.e. a man is pursuing a kangaroo and both are running away from a bush-fire)

On the other hand, verbs like 'die', denoting actions that cannot be controlled, cannot be quantified over with *djarrk-*; instead, the collective suffix must be used. This shows that concerted controlled action is a key part of the meaning of *djarrk-*.

As with all A-quantifiers in the language, *djarrk-* falls within the scope of negative particles. Thus 11.37 cannot be given an interpretation with the 'altogether' outside the negative: to say 'all of them (collectively) didn't go' one must say something along the lines of 11.38.

- 11.37 *Djama barri-djarrk-rayinj.*
 Dj not 3aP-together-goIRR
 'They didn't all go together.'
- 11.38 *Barri-yerrga-rr-inj, barri-bolkmaddi.*
 3aP-sit.down-RR-PP 3aP-stay.in.one.placeP
 'They all sat down and stayed in one place.'

In Kune the external form *djarrkno* means 'two'. It is likely that this is a dialect-specific semantic development, given that *boken/bogen* is found meaning 'two' in all other dialects, and that *-djarrk-* has the 'altogether' meaning in Dalabon as well.

11.3.1.2 Collective reading of -rr-

The basic meaning of *-rr-* is as a reflexive/reciprocal suffix; this is discussed and exemplified in §10.3.4. Extension from reflexive/reciprocal to collective is not infrequent in Australian languages (see Dench (1987) on Martuthunira and other Pilbara languages), nor cross-linguistically. Lichtenberk (1985:28) attributes this to the fact that each participant in a collective event concurrently has the roles of performer of the activity and of 'companion' to the other participant(s), while Kemmer (1993:124) motivates the link through her

³ In fact, in Kune, *djarrk-* is most commonly used with such verbs; 'go together' and 'all shoot' in (11.33) and (11.34) were translated without prefixed *djarrk-*: *nguniray djarrkno ngunikolkhang kunronj!* (note that *djarrkno* here simply means 'two', its commonest meaning in this dialect) and *karridulubom duruk*.

prototype of 'middle voice' semantics: 'Instead of distinguishing conceivably separate component events, in which individual entities carry out similar actions, the speaker merges the component events conceptually into a single event'.

Unlike the reflexive/reciprocal readings, the collective reading does not decrease the valency of the verb (see examples below), and is compatible with intransitive verbs like *bebmeng* 'appear, come, turn up' (11.206), though there are several intransitive-only conjugations for which the collective is unattested (see Table 9.1).

The collective use of *-rr-* universally quantifies over subjects, without the semantic restrictions associated with *djarrk-* or *bebbeh-*. It can be used with controlled verbs such as 'go down' (11.39), 'enter' (11.40) or 'stand' (11.41), but also with uncontrolled verbs like 'die' (11.42):

11.39 *Wanjh, na-behne barri-m-golu-rr-inj maih, mimgoi djohboi.*
Dj well MA-DEM 3aP-hither-come.down-RR-PP bird pigeon dear

gabbarri-djare gabbarri-bongu-n gukku,
3a-wantNP 3a-drink-NP water

'Well, those birds all came down here again, those dear little red-eyed pigeons, they want to drink the water.'

11.40 *Barri-ngime-rr-inj gure Djabardurrwa.*

Dj 3aP-enter-RR-PP LOC [ceremony]

'They went through the Djaburdurrwa ceremony together.'

11.41 *Barri-dange-rr-inj gandi-nah-na-ni ani-bu-rre-ni.*

Dj 3aP-stand-RR-PP 3a/1a-ITER-see-PI 1a-hit-RR-PI

'They all stood and watched us fighting each other.' (Here the first RR is collective, the second reciprocal.)

11.42 *Barri-dowe-rr-inj.*

Dj 3aP-die-RR-PP

'They have all died.' ('They bin all die.') [DK, referring to all his parents' generation]

Most verbs in which *-rr-* is given a collective rather than a reflexive/reciprocal interpretation are intransitive, as with 11.39–11.42, while with transitive and ditransitive verbs, a reflexive/reciprocal reading is favoured. But for transitives, too, a collective reading can be forced by adding *djarrk-*, as in 11.43. Without *djarrk-* this would be given the reciprocal reading 'the men took each other back'.

11.43 *Bani-djarrk-yi-rrurnde-rre-ni.*

Dj 3ua/3P-together-COM-return-RR-PI

'The two of them both took him back together.' ('They take im back somebody else altogether.')

Other comparable examples without *djarrk-* were only accepted with a reciprocal reading:

11.44 *Bani-guk-yi-rrurnde-rre-ni.*

Dj 3uaP-body-COM-return-RR-PI

'They carried each other back.'

Ambiguity can arise in these examples because the pronominal prefix set has the same forms where there is no object and where there is a third minimal object. The following example, however, suggests that the collective use of *-rr-*, unlike the reflexive/reciprocal uses, does not preclude an object prefix, since the form *bandi-* is divalent. The presence of divalent prefixes here forces the collective reading:

- 11.45 *and some, al-gaihgo daluk ba-bimbo-m, bininj*
 Dj and some Algaihgo woman 3P-paint-PP man
bandi-h-worrum-bokka-rre-ni.
 3a/3pP-IMM-around-chase-RR-PI
 'and some painted female Algaihgo figures, they who all used to chase
 around after men.'

11.3.13 *bebbe(h)- 'DISTRIBUTIVE'*

The prefix *bebbeh-* marks distributives: its presence on the verb indicates that the meaning of some word or constituent is distributed over some semantically plural **distributive key**. There is, in addition, a frequent extra meaning of spatial separation. A broad range of elements can function as distributive share and key (see Gil 1995 for these terms).

First let us consider examples where the verb is intransitive. There, the distributive key may be the intransitive subject, as in 11.46, or the event itself (11.47, 11.48). Where the distributive key is the event, a meaning of spatial (11.47) or spatiotemporal (11.48) separation is added.

- 11.46 *Bonj, garri-bebbe-yarlarm-e.* (= E *Bonj, karribebbehray.*)
 Dj OK 12a-DIST-separate-NP
 'All right, let's each go our own way.' (one separating per each of us)
 ([us]_{key} [separate-bebbeh]_{share}, i.e. one separating off per each of us)
- 11.47 *Barri-bebbe-wam.* (= E *Birribebbehwam.*)
 Dj 3aP-DIST-goPP
 'They each went on their own.'
 ([EVENT]_{key} [someone-go-bebbeh]_{share}, i.e. one person-going per event)
- 11.48 *Ngad karri-yid-yak karri-djal-bebbeh-ni yid-yak.*
 we 12a-trouble-PRIV 12a-just-DISTR-sitNP trouble-PRIV
 'We won't cause any trouble, we'll just sit down separately (each in our own proper place) without any trouble.' [KH 47, excerpted and slightly retranscribed]

Now let us consider the situation with transitive verbs. In 11.49–11.52 the distributive key is the subject, and the distributive share is the verb–object plus-/component of the event. Note that the identification of distributive key is reinforced by *rouk* 'all' in 11.51, and by the iterative reduplication of the verb in 11.52.

- 11.49 *Gunj barri-bebbe-yame-ng.* (= E *Birribebbehyameng kunj.*)
 kangaroo 3aP-DIST-spear-PP
 'They each killed a kangaroo.'
 ([they]_{key} [kangaroo-spear-bebbe]_{share}, i.e. one kangaroo-killing per man)

- 11.50 *Bani-bebbeh-marne-djidme-rr-inj daluk.*
 3uAP-DIST-BEN-steal-RR-PP woman
 ‘They each stole each other’s wife.’ (i.e. one wife-stealing per man)
 (= E *Benebebbehmarnedjidmarrinj daluk.*)
- 11.51 *Na-mege rouk bininj barri-bebbeh-garrm-i an-gorle.*
 Dj MA-that all man 3a-DIST-have-PI III-spear
 ‘Each of those men had a spear.’ (i.e. one spear-having per man)
 (= E *Bininj kabirribebbehkarrme mankorle.*)
- 11.52 *Barri-bebbe-gana-ga-ng — gun-berd, gun-dad, njanjuk na-megebu.*
 Dj 3aP-DIST-ITER-take-PP IV-tail IV-leg what MA-those
 ‘They each took their share — tail, thigh, all that stuff, they each carted off
 their share.’ (i.e. one share-taking per person)

In each of the above examples, then, *bebbeh-* marks the verb, possibly plus some argument, as distributive share; another semantically plural constituent is then selected as distributive key. Except for the cases where the distributive key is the event itself, in all cases so far the distributive key was marked overtly as plural by the form of the pronominal prefix. In 11.53, however, there is no overtly plural argument, but the semantic plurality of the object is inferred from the meaning of the verb *larlmang* ‘separate (tr.)’:

- 11.53 *God ø-yime-ng “Mah, kun-ngol kum-ra-y ka-kurrme-rr-en*
 W 3P-say-PP well.then IV-heaven 3P-hither-go-IMP 3-put-RR-NP
ku-bulkayh kore ka-bo-yo, ba ka-bebbe-bo-larlmang”.
 LOC-middle at 3-water-lieNP so.that 3-DIST-water-separate-NP
 ‘God said: “Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide
 the waters from the waters”.’ [Genesis 1:6 (The Bible Society in Australia 1992)]
 ([water]_{key} [bebbeh-firmament-separate-it EVENT]_{share}, i.e. one firmament-
 separating-it event per unit of water)

Note that here the distributive share contains the verb and its subject, and the key is the object; from the viewpoint of constituency, this is the reverse of an example like 11.49.

A similar example in which a plural transitive subject can be the distributive key is:

- 11.54 *Nga-bebbeh-dulubom duruk.*
 Dj 1sg-DIST-shotPP dog
 ‘I shot (all) the dogs.’
 ([dog]_{key} [I-shoot-*bebbe* EVENT]_{share}, i.e. one event of me-shooting-it per dog)

This object-key reading, however, is not the most favoured one for 11.54, which many speakers do not find particularly acceptable for ‘I shot all the dogs’. These speakers say it would only be appropriate if it further means ‘I shot (the) dogs, in a number of different places or on a number of separate occasions’. Moreover, they prefer to recast it in the imperfective aspect (as in 11.55), giving a meaning more like ‘I went around shooting dogs in different places’. The glosses given, and the use of the imperfective here, suggest an analysis in the event is distributive key as shown. This would explain why 11.55 does not have an exhaustive reading, since it is not the set of dogs which is distributed.

- 11.55 *Nga-bebbeh-dulubu-ni duruk.*
 Dj 1/3-DIST-shoot-PI dog
 'I went around shooting dogs.'
 ([EVENT]_{key} [I dog-shoot-*bebbeh*]_{share}, i.e. one me-shooting-dog per event)

In Kune, which lacks a clear past imperfective category, the preference is to rephrase this with a related external version of the distributive, *bebbehbe* (11.56); the use of this adverb in Gun-djehmi is exemplified below.

- 11.56 *Nga-dulubom bebbeh-be duruk.*
 E 1/3-shootP distrib-ABL dog
 (= 11.55)

To give a more direct translation of 'I shot all the dogs' speakers prefer a D-quantifier like *na-wern* 'many' or *rouk* 'all':

- 11.57 *Nga-rrulubom na-wern duruk / duruk rouk.*
 Dj 1sg-shotPP MA-many dog dog all
 'I shot all the dogs, I shot the many dogs/all the dogs.'

To summarise, *bebbeh-* allows a variety of partitioning of the verb's core arguments into the distributive share, as presented in Table 11.2.

Table 11.2: Partitioning of core arguments into distributive share using *bebbeh-*

Key	Share	Example
S: intr. subject	V- <i>bebbeh</i>	11.46
A: tr. subject	O-V- <i>bebbeh</i>	11.49, 11.51
O: object	A-V- <i>bebbeh</i>	11.53
Event	S-V- <i>bebbeh</i>	11.47
Event	A-O-V- <i>bebbeh</i>	11.54

Where the distributive key is the event, a meaning of spatial (11.48) or temporal (11.54) separation, or both (11.47), is present.

To show distribution over non-core NPs, a formally-related external adverb is needed, such as *bebbehbebbeh* 'all around' (11.58) or *bebbeh-be* 'from each place' (11.59):

- 11.58 *Aban-marne-ganj-ginje-ng na-wern-gen bebbeh-bebbeh.*
 1/3pl-BEN-meat-cook-PP MA-many-GEN REDUP-DIST
 'I cooked meat for each of them, I cooked them meat all round.'
- 11.59 *Arri-h-mangih-mangi bogen=wi bebbeh-be.*
 1a-IMM-REDUP-getPI two=ONLY DIST-from
 'We got two from each place.'

11.3.2 Extent quantifiers

The A-quantifiers *wernh-* 'properly' and *woh-* 'partly, in a limited way' quantify over the extent to which an event is properly carried out or reaches its full potential. More than any other of the A-quantifying prefixes, their semantics is complex and interacts strongly with the

lexical semantics of the verb they are attached to, so that in many cases it does not make sense to talk about them having scope. With affect verbs, however, they may have object scope, and for that reason I discuss them here.

11.3.2.1 *wernh-* 'properly'

This typically shows that the predicate is carried out in a full or satisfactory way. It is related to the free manner adverbial *wern-kih* (§13.7). An example is:

- 11.60 *Djama ba-wernh-ngomga-yi.* (= E *Marrek wernhdjuhmeninj.*)
 Dj not 3P-properly-swim-IRR
 'He couldn't swim properly.'

The exact effect of *wernh-* depends on the verb it combines with. With *nan* 'look' it means 'have a good close look at' (11.61), with *bun* 'hit' it means 'hard', with *lobme* 'run' it means 'run fast' (11.62, 11.63), with *burrbun* 'know' it means 'be sure of' (11.64), with *dokme* 'lead off, be in front' it means 'be way out in front' (11.65), and with *re* 'go' it means 'go further' (11.66). In this last case only Kune uses the corresponding external adverb, which adds *-kih* to the verbal-prefix form.

- 11.61 *A-wernh-na-n gun-mok.*
 Dj 1/3-properly-look-NP IV-sore
 'I look at the sore properly, have a good look at the sore.'
- 11.62 *Ga-wernh-lobme ngudjmak.* (= E *Kawernhkudkudme ngudjmak.*)
 Dj 3-properly-runNP fleet.footed
 'He's running really fast, he's fleet-footed.'
- 11.63 *Bininj ø-borledme-ng kunj, ba bedda kabirri-wernh-lobme djarre.*
 I person 3P-turn-PP kangaroo so they 3a-properly-runNP far
 'The people turned themselves into kangaroos, so they could run further and faster.'
- 11.64 *Gukku a-wernh-burrbu-n.* (= E *Kunronj ngawernhbengan.*)
 Dj water 1/3-properly-know-NP
 'I want to make sure of the water.'
- 11.65 *Ga-wernh-dokme.* (= E *Kawernhdokme.*)
 Dj 3-properly-be.in.frontNP
 'It's way out in front.'
- 11.66 *Garri-wernh-ra-i!* (= E *Karriray wernkih!*)
 Dj 12a-properly-go-IMP
 'Let's keep going a bit further!'

When such verbs are negated, *wernh-* gives the meaning 'not properly' (11.60, 11.67) or, with verbs of existence, 'not really, not authentically' (11.68):

- 11.67 *Djama ga-wernh-wokdi.* (= E *Marrek kawernhwokdi.*)
 Dj not 3-properly-talkNP
 'He can't talk properly.'

- 11.68 *Namiminja marrek ga-wernh-djang-di, nakka ø-djal-wam*
 Dj [place name] not 3-properly-dreaming-beNP that 3P-just-goPP
ø-gurrme-rr-inj Namarrgon.
 3P-put-RR-PP lightning
 'Namiminja isn't really a dreaming place, except that Namarrgon (lightning)
 put himself there.'
 (= E *Namumuyak marrek kawernhdjangdi ...*)

With transitive verbs of affect, like 'eat' or 'drink', *wernh-* has the meaning 'all of O', 'to completion' and, if negated, 'not much of O':

- 11.69 *Aban-bo-wono-wo-ng gobagohbanj, marrek a-wernh-bongu-yi.*
 Dj 1/3pl-liquid-REDUP-give-PP old.people NEG I-properly-drink-IRR
 'I kept giving (my) drink to the old people, and didn't get to drink much myself.'
 (= E *Ngabinkorlhwowong kobakohbanj, marrek ngawernhkolknguyi.*)
- 11.70 *Ba-gukku-yak-ni, an-djeuk ba-wernh-man.ge-yi, ba-gudjeuk-warre-ni.*
 Dj 3P-water-PRIV-PI III-rain 3P-properly-fall-PI 3P-wet.season-bad-PI
 'There was no water, it didn't rain properly, it was a bad wet.'

11.3.2.2 woh- 'PARTIALLY'

This expresses limitation in extent. Again the exact effect depends on the semantics of the modified verb. With stance verbs like *ni* 'sit' or *yo* 'lie, sleep' and other verbs implying that an animate subject remains in a fixed location it means 'for a little while' (11.71–11.74). In Kune (only?) this can also be expressed (in conjunction or alternation) by the external adverbial *iyangbonj* 'little while':

- 11.71 *Arr-woh-djarrk-yo.* (= E *Ngarrwohyun yiyangbonj.*)
 Dj 12-PART-together-lieNP
 'Let's you and me lie down together for a bit.'
- 11.72 *A-djare an-gudji ani-woh-yo, djama a-yauh-marne-djare.*
 Dj 1-want III-one 1ua-PART-sleepNP not 1/3-again-BEN-desireNP
 'I only wanted us to sleep together for a short time, I don't want him anymore.'
- 11.73 a. *Gabani-woh-ni.* b. *Kabini-ni yiyangbonj.*
 Dj 3ua-part-sitNP E 3ua-sitNP short.while
 'They two sit down only for a short while.'
- 11.74 *Yi-marre-dadjje Bangardi, nga-woh-dirri.*
 2-hair-cutNP Bangardi 1-PART-playNP
 'I'll play for a while, while you cut Bangardi's hair.'

With affect verbs the interpretation can either be that the action was done in haste, or that the object was only partly affected (11.75). To force the partitive object meaning, an external nominal compounded with *-yahwurd* 'small' must be used (11.76).

- 11.75 *Barri-woh-ganj-ngune-ng.* (= E *Birriwohkanjnguneng.*)
 Dj 3a/3P-PART-meat-eat-PP
 'They just ate some of the meat.' OR: 'They ate their meat hurriedly.'
- 11.76 *Barri-ganj-ngune-ng an-ganj-yahwurd.* (= E *Birrikanjnguneng kanjyawno.*)
 Dj 3a/3P-meat-eat-PP VE-meat-small
 'They ate some of the meat.'

With transitive verbs, negated *woh-* means 'not even a bit, not at all':

- 11.77 *Barri-djal-ni marrek barri-woh-bolk-na-yi gu-red gayakki.*
 Dj 3aP-just-sitPI never 3aP-a.bit-place-see-IRR LOC-camp nothing
 'They just sat there and weren't allowed to look around at all.'

It is impossible for *woh-* to have subject scope. To say, for example, 'only some of them ate meat', one must use a contrastive construction (11.78) or the D-quantifier *yiga* 'some, sometimes' (§13.11.12).

- 11.78 *Nanibbu barri-ganj-ngune-ng, dja nanibu gayakki.*
 Dj that.lot 3aP-meat-eat-PP but that.lot nothing
 'That lot ate some meat, but that (other) lot (ate) nothing.'
 (= E *Nabenobo birrikanjnguneng, ngad kayakki.*)

With verbs that either themselves describe a trajectory, or refer to a point along a contextually evoked trajectory, the interpretation is 'part-way along', and is often translated into English as 'half way'. Examples where the verb itself describes the trajectory are *bebme* 'come out, stick out' in 11.79, *djobme* 'run out, stop' and *yakmen* 'become nothing, finish up' in 11.80, while in 11.81 the context (a picture of a tree growing half way up a hill) interacts with the stance verb 'be located high', whose semantics itself projects a path.

- 11.79 *Djorrkkun ga-wo-gom-bebme, an-gururrk-be.*
 MM possum 3-PART-neck-emergenP III-hole-ABL
 'The possum's neck is sticking half way out from the hollow tree.'
- 11.80 *Gu-ngarre-wern, ga-woh-ngarre-djobme, ga-woh-ngarre-yakme-n.*
 Dj LOC-scrub-much 3-part-scrub-run.outNP 3-part-scrub-finish-NP
 'There's a lot of scrub there, but it doesn't extend all the way up the escarpment, it runs out.'
 (= E *Ngarreno nawern, wohngarredadjmeng.*)
- 11.81 *Kun-dulk man-dulum ka-woh-barndi.*
 I IV-tree III-hill 3-PART-be.up.highNP
 'The tree is half way up the mountain side.'

The following example is very similar to 11.81, in that 'half way' is with respect to a vertical path, but in this case the path is given by context rather than the lexical semantics of the verb:

- 11.82 *Ka-woh-ngey-di.*
 I 3-PART-name-standNP
 'It (the T-shirt) has a name on it half-way up.'

Finally, with some verbs the meaning of *woh-* is lexicalised to the point where the semantics is quite specific, and noun incorporation will be outside rather than inside it; an example is *worhnan*, which means 'look after, keep an eye on, be the boss of'.

11.3.3 The numerospatial A-quantifiers

We saw in §9.2 that some information about grammatical number of subjects and objects, particularly for human arguments, is furnished by pronominal prefixes. In addition, several A-quantifying prefixes (the number and forms depend on the dialect) provide information about approximate number. Between them, these prefixes can be used of any entities, animate or inanimate. To an extent, this makes them functionally complementary to the pronominal number system, which only shows the number of human arguments. But unlike the system of pronominal number, the numerospatial A-quantifiers are optional, and furnish additional spatial information.

Two initial examples with *mirnde-*, the most common such prefix in Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku, are 11.83 and 11.84. These illustrate the prevailing absolutive orientation of this prefix, modifying the intransitive subject (11.83) and the object (11.84):

11.83 *Gonhdah ngudda ngurri-mirnde-yerrga!*
 Dj here you 2a-many-sitIMP
 'You lot sit here!'

11.84 *Al-djal-gudji ba-mirnde-bimbu-ni gun-gurlah.*
 Dj FE-just-one 3P-many-paint-PI IV-hide
 'She, by herself, painted a whole heap of buffalo hides.'

Unlike the pronominal prefixes, which provide information just about number, the A-quantifying prefixes additionally provide information about the spatial disposition of the group. Table 11.3 presents the Gun-djeihmi system, which has the most contrasts.⁴

Table 11.3: A-quantifying prefixes in Gun-djeihmi

Form	Gloss	Spatial Disposition	Further Remarks
<i>mirnde-</i>	many	scattered all over, stretching in all directions	often implicates very large number
<i>gaberrk-</i>	mob	in a bounded space in a group	applied to humans, suggests lack of common purpose
<i>djangged-</i>	bunch	all bunched up close	with humans suggests common purpose

Eddie Hardy used the following sentence to illustrate the differences between the Gun-djeihmi prefixes:

⁴ In Kune there is a two-way system, in which *kaberrk-* is more spread out (frequently offered as an equivalent to both *mirnde-* and *gaberrk-* in Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku) and *moken-* is more bunched up, and offered as an equivalent to *djangged-*. (The free noun *gun-mogen* (Dj) or *mokenno* (E) literally means 'bundle'.)

- 11.85 *Bamurru ga-mirnde-rri.* (= E *Manimunak kakaberrkdi.*)
 magpie.goose 3-many-standNP
 'There are many magpie geese, there are magpie geese all over the place.'

With *mirnde-*, this sentence would be appropriate to describe a situation where the geese are stretching out in all directions across the floodplain. The equivalent sentence with *djangged-* (*bamurru gadjanggeddi*) would be used of a flock of geese tightly bunched in a small waterhole. The intermediate *bamurru gababerrkdi* would be used of geese around a waterhole but not necessarily crowded together.

Where humans are involved similar differences obtain (11.86–11.91), but in addition the relative spatial dispositions are typically given metaphorical extensions so that 'spatially closer' implies 'more co-ordinated, with more common purpose'. The exact interpretation depends on the verb: with 'dance' only the 'closest' prefix implies common purpose, while with 'sing' the 'medium density' prefix *gaberrk-* implies common purpose but not closely coordinated activity, while the closest prefix *djangged-* implies both common purpose and close coordination.

- 11.86 *Gabarri-mirnde-borrkge.* (= E *Nawern kabirriborrkke.*)
 Dj 3a-many-danceNP
 'There are many (people) dancing.'

- 11.87 *Gabarri-gaberrk-borrkge.* (= E *Kabirrikaberrkborrkke.*)
 Dj 3a-mob-danceNP
 'There's a mob of people dancing, all in one place (e.g. on the one disco floor, but possibly doing different dances).'

- 11.88 *Gabarri-djangged-borrkge.* (= E *Njonno kabirriborrkke.*)
 Dj 3a-bunch-danceNP
 'They're all dancing in a group.'

- 11.89 *Gabarri-mirnde-wayini.* (= E *Kabirrikaberrkwayini.*)
 Dj 3a-many-danceNP
 'There are many (people) singing.'

- 11.90 *Gabarri-gaberrk-wayini.* (= E *Kabirrikaberrkwayini.*)
 Dj 3a-mob-singNP
 'They're all singing in a group.'

- 11.91 *Gabarri-djangged-wayini.* (= E *Mokenno kabirriwayini.*)
 Dj 3a-bunch-singNP
 'They're all singing in a chorus.'

A further illustration of the difference in spatial meaning comes from examples where two such prefixes combine. In each case, *mirnde-* expresses the multitude of groups, and *djangged-* the fact that each group is a closely packed bunch or flock. (In Kune such double prefixes are not possible, and just *kaberrk-* is used.)

- 11.92 *Maihmaih ga-djangged-mirnde-rri.* (= E *Kikkik kakaberrkdi.*)
 Dj birds 3-bunch-many-standNP
 'There are many flocks of birds in the tree.'

- 11.93 *An-mim ga-djangged-mirnde-rri.*
 Dj III-fruit 3-bunch-many-stand
 'There are many bunches of fruit in the tree.'

A further manifestation of the spatial nature of these prefixes is their failure to occur with certain verbs which do not focus on spatial orientation. For example, none of these prefixes is attested as object of the verb 'hear'.

The spatial differences between these three further account for the affinity of certain referents for a particular prefix, which we can illustrate by the choice of typical intransitive subjects and typical objects with the prefixes *djangged-* and *gaberrk-*. Flying foxes typically congregate in dense flocks, while the rib-bones of an old buffalo skeleton are strewn around within a circumscribed area:

- 11.94 *Guluban ga-djangged-di.* (= E *Kuluban kamokendi.*)
 Dj flying.fox 3-bunch-stand
 'There's a flock of flying foxes.'
- 11.95 *Guluban a-djangged-na-ng.* (= E *Kuluban ngamokennang.*)
 Dj flying.fox 1/3-bunch-see-PP
 'I saw a flock of flying foxes.'
- 11.96 *Anabbarru ga-birrkbirrk-gaberrk-yo.*
 Dj buffalo 3-rib.bone-mob-lieNP
 'There's a heap of buffalo rib-bones lying there.'
 (= E *Nganabbarru birrkbirrkmono kakaberrkyo.*)
- 11.97 *Anabbarru a-birrkbirrk-gaberrk-na-ng.*
 Dj buffalo 1/3-rib.bone-mob-see-PP
 'I saw a heap of buffalo rib-bones.'

The semantic operation of these prefixes can be made clear by considering the incorporation of *mogen-* '(in a) bundle' in Gun-djeihmi. Unlike in Kune, where it has been fully grammaticalised as a numero-spatial quantifier, in Gun-djeihmi it can appear in addition to a generic incorporated nominal. This selects the argument denoting an object likely to be bundled up, such as 'spears' or 'swags':

- 11.98 *Aban-mogen-madj-wo-ng.* (= E *Ngabenmokenmadjbom.*)
 Dj 1/3pl-bundle-swag-give-PP
 'I gave them a bundle of swags.'

A pseudo-English parallel in which 'bundle' is prefixed to the verb, like 'I bundle-gave them the swags', should make clear both the process by which the scope of the argument is selected, and the degree to which selectional affinities operate — 'I bundle-gave them the dogs' sounds strange. With the three other numero-spatial A-quantifiers considered here, similar processes of semantically guided selection operate, but the selectional affinities are less strict than with 'bundle'.

Mirnde- is the unmarked form and as such has the weakest selectional affinities. Nonetheless, it tends to be associated with humans and higher animates more than do the other two, presumably because humans are more perceptually differentiated and correspondingly less likely to be lumped together conceptually. These effects are complex and the reader is referred to Evans (1995a) for details.

11.3.4 warrgah- 'wrong, (something/one in the) wrong (place)'

This prefix is only found in Gun-djeihmi and Kune.⁵ In Kunwinjku the roots *warre-* and *warribu-* are occasionally incorporated with similar effects, but the system is more limited; this is discussed at the end of this section. The presence of the same form at both ends of the dialect chain, as well as in Dalabon (e.g. 11.100) suggests it is original and has been lost in Kunwinjku.

Translations of some clauses with *warrgah-* initially suggest it means simply 'the wrong one', and more specifically 'the wrong O':

11.99 *Na-binjgobeng bani-warrgah-bom.* (see also 6.10 for an E example)

Dj I-spouse 3uaP-wrong-hitPP
'They punched the wrong husband.'

11.100 *Bi-no bvkah-warrkah-bong.*

D man-3POSS 3/3h-wrong-hitPP
'He punched the wrong husband.'

11.101 *Ngan-warrgah-marne-dulubom duruk.* (= E *Duruk warrkahdulubom ngarduk.*)

Dj 3/1-wrong-BEN-shootPP dog
'He shot the wrong dog of mine.'

However, the full facts are considerably more complex and exhibit the considerable effects of lexical semantics, including the contribution made by the incorporated nominal to defining the type of event (see Mithun 1986). I shall first present what appear to be a bewildering and arbitrary set of syntactic behaviours, and then propose a unifying semantic account. For example, 11.102 means 'the tree fell in the wrong place', not 'the wrong tree fell', showing that the scope of *warrgah-* is not restricted to arguments but can extend to (implied) locations:

11.102 *Ba-warrgah-dulk-man.ga-ng.*

Dj 3P-wrong-tree-fall-PP
'The tree fell in the wrong place (e.g. across the road).'

But it is not the case the *warrgah-* can never quantify over intransitive subjects:

11.103 *Barri-buyiga barri-warrgah-wayini- \emptyset -yerrga-ng.*

Dj 3uaP-wrong 3uaP-wrong-sing-IVF-sit-PP
'The wrong people were singing (at the ceremony).'

With some ditransitive verbs *warrgah-* has scope over the object; to obtain scope over the indirect object a D-quantifier such as *na-biya* '(the) wrong' must be used:

11.104 *An-djamun a-warrgah-bukka-ng gun-bim.*

Dj VE-sacred 1-wrong-show-PP IV-painting
'I showed him the wrong painting, a secret one.'

11.105 *Bani-warrgah-marne-wayini an-biya an-garre, an-djamun.*

Dj 3uaP-wrong-BEN-singPI VE-wrong III-song VE-sacred
'They sang him the wrong (category of) song, a sacred song.'

⁵ It is likely *warrgah-* derives from the root *warre* 'bad' plus the locative suffix *-gah*, with loss of the second vowel.

11.106 *A-bukka-ng gun-bim na-biya bininj.*
 Dj 1-show-PP IV-painting MA-wrong person
 'I showed the painting to the wrong person.'

11.107 *Bani-marne-wayini na-biya bininj.*
 Dj 3uaP-BEN-singP MA-wrong person
 'They sang a song for the wrong person.'

With other ditransitive verbs, *warrgah-* is unselective, allowing either object or indirect object scope:

11.108 *A-warrgah-warde-wo-ng mungu.*
 Dj 1sg-wrong-money-give-PP accidentally
 'I accidentally gave the money to the wrong person.' OR: 'I accidentally gave him/her the wrong money.'

We have seen examples of transitive verbs in which *warrgah-* binds the object (11.104, 11.105) but with other transitive verbs it can select either subject or object:

11.109 *Ba-warrgah-warde-me-i.*
 Dj 3P-wrong-money-get-PP
 'He picked up the wrong money.' OR: 'The wrong person picked up the money.'

There are derived double-object verbs like 11.110 in which the scope is over the underlying object:

11.110 *Ngaban-warrgah-madj-yi-ma-ng.*
 Dj 1/3pl-wrong-swag-COM-pick.up-NP
 'I might get the wrong swag off him.'

But with derived double-object verbs the scope of *warrgah-* is not over an argument at all, but over an implied locative adjunct:

11.111 *Ngaban-warrgah-bo-yi-na-ng.*
 Dj 1/3pl-wrong-liquid-COM-see-PP
 'I saw them with the beer in the wrong place.'
 *'I saw them with the wrong beer.'
 *'I saw the wrong people with the beer.'

Finally, in some cases *warrgah-* is interpreted as having scope over one member of the plural set of subject referents:

11.112 *Nguni-warrgah-yerrng-yiga-ng.*
 Dj 2ua/3-wrong-wood-fetch-PP
 'You went with the wrong woman (i.e. not your wife) to fetch wood.'

It should now be abundantly clear that the scope behaviour of *warrgah-* does not follow from any syntactic features of argument structure. On the other hand, a semantically unitary account can be given if we marry an enriched semantics for *warrgah-* to certain cultural assumptions about ways of being wrong, in particular to beliefs about the appropriateness of certain actions to certain places. If we define its meaning as 'the event was wrong because [some entity] was in or is culturally associated with the wrong place, during or as a result of the event' we can make sense of the scope behaviour of all of the above examples.

In 11.99 and 11.101 the victims were in the wrong place: wrongly in the shooting or punching line. In 11.102 the tree came to be in the wrong place — the reason the ‘wrong tree fell’ interpretation is ruled out is that this would need the tree to be in the wrong place *before* the event. In 11.103 *warrgah-* can have scope over an intransitive subject because one’s clan and language affiliation is central in giving rights to sing in a ceremony; for this event the wrongness lies in an outsider usurping the rightful place of members of another clan in singing in the ceremony. Example 11.104 concerns a spectator being shown sacred rock paintings, when he should just have been taken to see the ‘open’ paintings in another place. In 11.105 a sacred song, which should be confined to particular ceremonial grounds, is wrongly sung in an ‘open’ place. In 11.108, by contrast, the everyday act of giving is involved, so it may go wrong either because the giver picks up a pay package that’s lying in the wrong place, or because (in the context of royalty payments to traditional owners of a particular territory) the recipient is actually associated with another clan territory — significantly, the latter reading can be forced by adding the external noun *na-wokbuyiga* ‘member of another language group’ as object. A similar wrongful clan affiliation accounts for the possibility of subject scope (11.109), where the wrong person (again, of the wrong clan territory) comes to pick up the money.

In 11.110 the action goes wrong because the right and the wrong swag end up in the wrong places. Scope selection in 11.111 depends intimately on the contemporary rules of beer-rationing — the beer is not subject to absolute moral prohibitions, and it is unnatural to talk of the ‘wrong beer’ or a ‘wrong person’ drinking beer, but there are certain places ‘out of bounds’ to given individuals who have been banned from those areas as a result of previous incidents. Finally, in 11.112 the stereotyped frame of using ‘going off to get wood’ as an alibi for illicit liaisons interacts with the dual number of the pronoun to give an interpretation based on the insinuation that the event was wrong because the addressee was in the wrong place (the bush) with the wrong partner.

With a unitary semantics for *warrgah-* of this type, we can say that scope selection by *warrgah-* is not necessarily lexicalised, but does require a sophisticated representation of lexical semantics together with cultural presuppositions about which activities should be performed by which participants in which places. The extra meaning ‘through some entity being/ending up in the wrong place’ is crucial to this interpretive process.

As mentioned above, Kunwinjku lacks this form of the prefix, though it has a formally related prefix *warrebu-* (11.113); this is compatible with the meaning discussed for *warrgah-* but I lack a comparably broad corpus to determine whether the semantic range is exactly equivalent.

- 11.113 *Mungu nga-m-warrebu-wam.*
 W unknowing 1-hither-wrong-go:PP
 ‘I have come to the wrong place.’ [Oaes 1964:91]

11.3.5 Quantifiers whose scope is affected by discourse factors

We now discuss two A-quantifiers, each found in all dialects, whose scope selection is not constrained by the sorts of extra semantic factors discussed in §11.3.1–§11.3.4, and on superficial examination appears to be unselective. In each case, however, there are

additional factors, having to do with discourse structure, presuppositions and event structure, which rule out some scope interpretations.

11.3.5.1 yawoih- 'again, another'

This prefix takes a number of forms: basically *yawoih-* (Dj), *yawoyh-* (W) and *rawoyh-* (E); in Gun-djeihmi it is often reduced to the forms *yawuh-* or *yauh-*. For convenience I will use *yawoih-* in the discussion below to cover all these variants. Its external counterpart *rawoyhno* 'again' is particularly common in Kune.

Yawoih- expresses phasal quantification, in particular the speaker's view that essentially the same event has been repeated.⁶ Depending on its scope, *yawoih-* may be translated into English as 'again', 'too', 'the next', 'another' or '(some) more'. All of these can be regarded as expressing the same fact of repetition that is coded by the A-quantifier *yawoih-*, with the choice between the English forms conditioned by the nature of what they qualify — definite or indefinite, count or mass, noun or verb, seriated or non-seriated.

It is likely this prefix originated as an incorporated form (§12.1) of the verb *rawo-n* 'combine, make two, put together, make an addition'; the incorporating form would regularly be *rawoyh-*, identical to the Kune dialect form. An example of *rawon* being used as a main verb in a context where repetition is contextually conveyed is 1 *ka-karre-rawon* [3-ceremony-make.two/combine] 'he is participating in his second ceremony, he is repeating ceremony'. Following grammaticisation as an 'again' suffix it would then have become positionally more flexible, being able to occur further to the left than an incorporated verb, though in most cases this prefix directly precedes the verb root anyway.

Since what counts as 'the same event' is cognitively flexible, it is worth distinguishing three types of repetition.

In some cases, both the verbal action and the identity of all participants remain the same; in such cases the only suitable English translation is 'again'. I shall call such situations 'exact replays'. Two examples are:

11.114 *A-yawoih-man.ga-ng.*

Dj 1-again-fall-PP
'I fell over again.'

11.115 *A-warnyak, djama yi-yawoih-djobge-rre-n!*

Dj 1-don't.want not 2-again-cut-RR-NP
'I don't want you to cut yourself again!'

More frequently, the repeated event is viewed as being the same, even though one or more participants has been substituted by another individual in the same role. An English example would be 'I saw an accident yesterday, and I saw an accident again today'. I shall call these 'replays with token-replacement(s)', and refer to 'substitutes' in particular roles. In such cases the most appropriate English translation varies — most often the substitute nominal will be qualified by such words as 'another', '(some) more', 'too' or '(the) next'.

⁶ In rare cases the event is composite and represented by more than one verb, but with *yawoyh-* marked only on the first, for example:

mak kun-kudji-ken ø-yawoyh-dang-kolu-yi dja ø-kalkid-ngu-neng
then IV-one-GEN 3P-again-mouth-go.down-PI and 3P-juice-eat-PP
'(Wirriwirriyak) put his head down again and ate some more.' [Oates 1964:100]

A third possibility is that only a part of the event is repeated, for example the component state of a causative verb. An English example is *Mary closed the door again*, which is ambiguous⁷ between a reading in which the whole event of Mary closing the door is repeated, or merely the resultant state of the door being closed (it may be the first time Mary has closed it). Likewise, *the jungle has grown over the ruins again* is ambiguous in allowing either that the whole causative event the jungle growing over the ruins — is repeated, or merely that the final state — of being jungle — is repeated. Indeed, with the right set of indefinite NPs, as in *little Edwin got lost at the supermarket, but a kind old lady took him home again*, only the repeated-state reading is natural. I shall call these ‘final-state replays’.

With ‘exact replays’, the scope of ‘again’ must by definition be the complete clause, so scope selection is not an issue. I will therefore concentrate on the scope effects of *yawoih-* with the second and third types of repetition.

Replays with token-replacement can be expressed with *yawoih-* in cases where the substitute is the object, the subject or both.⁸ Three examples where the substitute is in object relation are 11.116–11.118. Where the substitute nominal is a mass or plural noun in English the translation ‘some more’ is required; where it is a singular count noun the translation ‘another (one)’ is needed:

- 11.116 *Gan-yawoih-wo!*
Dj 2/1-again-giveIMP
‘Give me some more (tobacco, cigarettes, etc.)!’
- 11.117 *Kabirri-yawoh-dah-dakendo-ng.*
W 3a/3-again-INCEP-put.in-NP
‘They put in more (rubbish) (into the log).’ [KH 156]
- 11.118 *Gunubewu nga-yauh-ma-ng daluk, nga-yawurrinj.*
Dj perhaps 1/3-again-get-NP woman 1-young.man
‘Perhaps I’ll get another wife, I’m (still) a young man.’

A further example where the substitute nominal is in object relation is 11.119. In this context (where the substitutes form an ordered series), the English translation is ‘the next’, as in line c. In line f, ‘and then again they saw his next camp’, we have a nested repetition: an exact replay of a replay with replacement; that is, the event of them seeing the next camp is repeated. In such cases the replay with replacement is expressed by *yawoih*, the exact replay by *kun-kudji* ‘once (more)’:

- 11.119 a. *Bene-bokka-ni kerrenge-ken kure ø-yonginj*
W 3uaP-track-PI new-GEN where 3P-sleepPP
‘They tracked him to the first place where he had slept’
- b. *bene-na-ng red-kare dja munguyh bene-djal-bokka-ni*
3uaP-see-PP camp-old and always 3uaP-just-track-PI
‘saw that it was an old camp, and continued tracking him until’

⁷ As McConvell (1983:4) points out, the O.E.D. recognises both these senses of ‘again’ by identifying the two senses ‘repetition of an action or fact’ and ‘back into a former position or state’.

⁸ I have no examples in my corpus of *yawoih-* having scope over a clause where the substitute is an indirect object. I suspect this is not an accidental gap, but have not systematically tested this. I therefore confine my discussion to its interaction with subjects and objects.

- c. *bene-bal-h-wa-m bene-yawoyh-red-na-ng*
 3uaP-away-IMM-go-PP 3uaP-again-camp-see-PP
 'they came up and saw his next camp (lit. again saw a camp (of his))'
- d. 'they went up and saw that the wood in the fireplace was blackened'
- e. 'and had been burning only the day before'
- f. *dja munguyh bene-djal-bokka-ni, kun-kudji mak bene-yawoyh-red-na-ng.*
 and still 3uaP-just-track-PI next.time then 3uaP-again-camp-see-PP
 'and still kept following his tracks, then again they saw his next camp.' [Oates 1964:109]

Now consider example 11.120, where the replacement is the intransitive subject. Here the speaker is talking about successive generations of young girls being raised in the mission dormitories and married off by the missionary to young men, in his attempt to break the tradition of betrothing young girls to old men. The verb *birribadyawoyhdjordmerreni* in the last line, 'now another (lot) of them began to grow up', expresses the repetition of a familiar cycle with a new set of equivalent participants. The replacement is the intransitive subject 'those other young girls who were just starting to grow'.

- 11.120 a. 'On his own account, then, he chose them, and gave them (in marriage) until none were left;
- w b. 'and we younger people were born.
- c. *Ngarri-wam, ngarri-djordmen rowk,*
 1a-gOPP 1a-grow.upNP all
 'We all grew bigger,'
- d. 'and afterwards another white man came.
- e. 'He questioned us,
- f. 'and made a choice from among us to give those young boys who had been in the dormitory at the same time as we had.
- g. 'Time went by, and he had finished giving us all.
- h. *Wanjh birri-bad-yawoyh-djordme-rre-ni, na-wu yawkyawk*
 then 3aP-now-again-grow-RR-PI MA-REL young.girls
birri-m-yahwurd-ni.
 3aP-hither-small-PI
 'And then those other young girls were just starting to grow (i.e. a new generation of girls was growing up again to go the same way as us). [OM 45]

It is also possible for both subject and object to be replaced, if both are further tokens of appropriate types. Example 11.121 could be used either to a person who had already been getting filesnakes, or to someone who had not been gathering filesnakes herself but was joining a group who had been getting filesnakes. The exactly replayed event is thus 'someone gets some filesnakes', allowing substitution of either or both NPs.

- 11.121 *Bayun yi-yauh-ma-ng. An-dehne bayun yi-yauh-ma-ng.*
 Dj don't 2-again-get NP VE-DEM don't 2-again-get-NP
 'Don't get any more filesnakes. Don't take any more of those.'

Likewise, in 11.122 the event of a young man marrying a young woman (under the supervision of a missionary) is repeated with new individual men and women in line e; that is, both subject and object are substituted. This may be related to the fact that since third person pronominal prefixes need not be referential, the event is loosely specified enough to count as a repetition even when the exact referential identity of participants is being varied; that is, the verb *bi-me-y* encodes 'someone married someone', which is being repeated, rather than 'he married her', which is not being repeated.

11.122 a. 'Well, at last that white man said:

w b. "*Ngaben-wono-wo-n, kabirri-ma-rr-en, yawurrinj dja yawkyawk*".
1/3pl-REDUP-give-NP 3a-marry-RR-NP young.man and young.woman
'I want to give them in marriage, those young boys and girls.'

c. *Wanjh ngokkogen bene-bad-ma-rr-en, bininj daluk.*
well at last 3uaP-now-marry-RR-NP man woman
'So two of them were married, a man and a woman.'

d. *Ngarri-wam, dird-buyika ngal-buyika daluk bi-yawoyh-me-y*
1a-goPP moon-other FE-other girl 3/3P-again-marry-PP
na-wu bininj.
MA-REL man
'We went on, and the next month another girl was married to another man.'

e. 'He kept on doing that, that white man,

f. 'giving in marriage whoever had grown up at the same time as each other

g. 'until at last he had finished (giving) them all.' [OM 45]

It is also possible to repeat the event with the verb and object held constant, but the subject being substituted (11.123, 11.124). In all my examples of this type the substituted subject is marked either with the D-quantifier *buyiga* 'other' or the nominal clitic =*wali* 'in turn, for his/her/their part'.

11.123 *Aye a-ga-ng Cooinda, a-yi-rrurnd-i gu-red,*
Dj I 1/3-take-PP [place] 1/3-COM-return-PP LOC-home
dja barri-buyiga barri-yauh-yi-rrurnd-i Cooinda.
and 3a/3P-other 3pa/3P-again-COM-return-PP [place]

'I took her to Cooinda, then I took her back home, then another mob took her back to Cooinda again.'

11.124 *Aye werrk ø-ga-ng Cooinda, dja bedman-wali ngundi-yawoih-ga-ng*
Dj I first 1/2-take-PP [place] and they-IN.TURN 3a/2-again-take-PP

Cooinda
[place]

'First I took you to Cooinda, then they took you to Cooinda again.'

Example 11.125 is similar, with a substituted subject (a different Aboriginal guerilla) while the verb 'spearing' and the object (the white policeman) are held constant. Note that the place of spearing, grammatically a body-part nominal construed with the object, is also varied from 'armpit' to 'ribs'.

- 11.125 a. *Ku-m-djal-burriwe-ng bi-marne-yame-ng na-wu ka-h-kodjbakke-rr-en,*
 W 3P-hither-just-threw-PP 3/3-BEN-spear-PP MA-REL 3-IMM-head.break-RR-NP
 'He just threw it at him (the policeman) and speared his hat (i.e. what was on his head),'
- b. *na-wu ka-h-kodjbakke-rre-n bi-marne-yame-ng.*
 MA-REL 3-IMM-head.break-RR-NP 3/3P-BEN-spear-PP
 'and speared his hat.'
- c. *Yimaneκ ∅-kuyin-yime-ng.*
 CNTRFAC 3P-almost-do-PP
 'He (the policeman) tried to have a go.'
- d. *Ngokkoyen kun-wanj bi-yame-ng.*
 by.now IV-armspit 3/3humanP-spear-PP
 'But by now he (the Aborigine) had speared him in the rib below the arm.'
- e. *Bi-kariburriwe-ng. "Waaaaw", ∅-yime-ng.*
 3/3-knock.down-PP aargh 3P-say-PP
 'and knocked him down. He (the policeman) said "aargh".'
- f. *Yimaneκ ∅-kuyin-yirrhme-y mako,*
 CNTRFAC 3P-almost-pull.out-PP gun
 'He was about to pull out his gun (when)'
- g. *na-buyiga ku-m-yawoh-kolhmibo-m bi-bad-yawoh-yame-ng*
 MA-other 3P-hither-again-set.woomera-PP 3/3P-now-again-spear-PP
ku-berremalk.
 LOC-shoulder.blade
 'the other Aborigine aimed his woomera towards him and now he speared him again between the shoulderblades.' [KH 153]

There is some evidence suggesting that replays with replacement expressed with *yawoih* in which the the object is unchanged and the subject is substituted can only be made if the object is the topic of the clause. The evidence that the object is the topic in these examples is:

- (a) The use of deictic 'hither' in 11.125 — the deictic centre is the policeman.
- (b) The greater elaboration of adjuncts on the object in 11.125 — the terms for body parts, gun etc. all refer to policeman.
- (c) The use of term *gured* 'home' to mean 'to her home' in 11.123 without any overt pronominal modification.
- (d) The fact that it is the non-objects that are realised by external nominals, including free pronouns. External pronouns and other nominals usually mark non-topics, in particular contrastive focus, or new subjects. For example the two subjects in contrast are *aye* and *barribuyiga* in 11.123 and *aye* and *bedmanwali* in 11.124, and the subject nominal in line g is *nabuyiga*.
- (e) The fact that all attempts to elicit constructions of this type have been unacceptable when the object is not human and hence not easily made a topic; for example 11.126, where the object is 'rock', was rejected in favour of 11.127:

- 11.126 **Nungga werrek ba-warde-bidbo-m, dja aye yerre a-yawoih-bidbo-m.*
 he first 3/3P-rock-climb-PP and I later 1/3-again-climb-PP
 'First he climbed the rock, then later I climbed it again.'
- 11.127 *Nungga werrek ba-warde-bidbo-m, dja aye yerre a-weleng-bidbo-m.*
 he first 3/3P-rock-climb-PP and I later 1/3-then-climb-PP
 'First he climbed the rock, and then later I climbed it.'

To summarise the data on 'replays with replacements', *yawoih-* is used for cases where only the object is replaced (11.116–11.118), where an intransitive subject is replaced (11.120), where both subject and object are replaced (11.122), and where the object is held constant and the subject replaced (11.123–11.125).

There are two asymmetries between subject substitutions and object substitutions that are worth pointing out.

Firstly, transitive-subject substitutions appear to require heavy contextualisation, in the form of various textual indications that the object is the point of view, and overt marking of the substituted subject nominal with *-buyiga* 'other' or *=wali* 'in turn, for his/her/their part'. Such heavy contextualisation is unnecessary with object substitutions (see 11.116–11.118, for examples). I take this to reflect the fact that the non-substituted argument will be the topic, and that the unmarked topic is the subject. There is no passive, and the means of treating an object as topic are rather indirect, but include the sorts of devices just discussed.

Secondly, there are stricter limitations for subjects than for objects on what can be considered another token of the same type. We have seen that subject substitutions need not be similar; in 11.123, for example, the first subject is 'I' and the second 'another mob', and in 11.124 the first subject is 'I' and the second 'they'. Object substitutions, on the other hand, need to be fellow-tokens of a clearly defined type, such as 'fish', 'wife', 'camp' or 'filesnakes'. My corpus lacks any examples in which the substituted objects vary in a way comparable to the substituted subjects — there is no example like 'they saw me, and then they saw you again'. This is not an absolute subject–object asymmetry, since as we have seen both subjects and objects can be substituted. But it is indicative of the relative importance of objects over subjects in defining what is considered the same event.

Now consider 'final-state replays'. We saw above that English 'again' can be used in cases where the resultant state, but not the entire complex event, is repeated. In Bininj Gunwok, analogously, semantically causative verbs allow the use of *yawoih-* even where the total event described by the verb has not occurred before, provided that the state contained within the verb has occurred before.⁹

Thus in 11.128 it is not necessary that the referent has made himself whole before; merely that he has been whole before. Note that the state of being whole is not described by the verb lexeme *marnbu-* 'make good, cause to be good', but is only implied by lexical composition.

- 11.128 *Bene-kuk-me-y bene-kuk-ngorrnga-ng kun-ak bene-yerr(ng)-me-y*
 W 3ua/3P-body-get-PP 3ua/3P-body-carry-PP IV-fire 3ua/3P-wood-get-PP

⁹ McConvell (1983:4) shows that the verbal clitic *-rningan* 'again' in Gurindji behaves in a similar way. For example, the Gurindji sentence below can mean either that the child had covered up the money before, or that the money had been covered up before (not necessarily by the child).

Karu-ngku wumara-ma jakarr ma-ni-rningan.
 child-ERG money-TOPIC cover get-P-again
 'A child covered up the money again.'

bene-kuk-yi-karrme-rr-inj *bene-yime-ng* "Marndi kun-malng
 3ua/3P-body-COM-get-RR-PP 3ua-say-PP maybe IV-spirit

ka-rrolka-n mak ka-yawoyh-marnbu-rr-en marndi kan-h-bu-n.
 3-get.up-NP then 3-again-make.good-RR-NP maybe 3/12-IMM-kill-NP
 'They took his body, dragged it to a fireplace, gathered wood for a fire and lifted
 his body on it. They said, "Maybe his spirit will rise up and he will make himself
 whole again. Then he will kill us".' [Oates 1964:111]

Similarly, in 11.129, the ancestral 'Dreaming Mother' Snake Yingarna, who has given birth to many people and animals, decides they are not to her liking and that she must swallow them and try gestating them again. The verb *ngaben-yawoyh-kuk-ngun* 'I will swallow them again' indicates the repetition of the final state (i.e. of them being inside her) but not of the total event, since she has not swallowed them before:

11.129 *Ngaben-yawoyh-kuk-ngun, kaluk ngaben-djordm-ih-we kore kun-njam.*
 W 1/3pl-again-body-eatNP later 1/3pl-grow-IVF-throwNP LOC IV-stomach
 'I will swallow them again, so as to grow them in my belly.' [KS 4]

Comparing the behaviour of *yawoih-* with English 'again' reveals both parallels and differences. The most significant parallel is that, in both Bininj Gun-wok and English, the same form can be used for exact replays, replays with replacement(s), and partial replays, and that partial replays are based on similarity of final state. The major difference is that Bininj Gun-wok is much more liberal than English in allowing substitutions, since many of the examples above cannot naturally be translated into English with 'again' and require various D-quantifiers. It is likely that this reflects the much weaker association between topic and subject in Bininj Gun-wok than in English, one of whose consequences is to allow objects to be topics without needing to be promoted to subject status by a passive.

This is a good point at which to review the contribution made by discourse and general pragmatic assumptions to the scope of *yawoih-*. In many examples (e.g. 11.119, 11.120, 11.122) it is clear which event is being considered as repeated because preceding textual material mentions a parallel episode. In other cases the nature of the repeated event is clear either from pragmatic context, as when 'give me some more (tobacco)' (11.136) was uttered after the addressee had already given some tobacco to the speaker, or from presuppositions about the state of the world, as with *kayawoyhmarnburren* (11.128), where the 'final-state replay' interpretation depends on a presupposition that being whole or healthy is the normal state. Finally, in cases of deciding whether a partial replay interpretation is to be 'subject [again V object]' or '[subject again V] object', information about which argument is topic is drawn on it is assumed that the partial replay includes the V and whichever argument is topic. Thus discourse and pragmatic factors accomplish the selection, in particular utterances, from among the larger set of possibilities allowed by the grammatically unselective nature of *yawoih-*.

11.3.5.2 *djal-* 'just'

Djal- is the commonest optional verbal prefix, and has a wide range of senses, fairly close to that of English 'just'. It can also precede noun-adjective compounds (5.208), adjectives, numerals (8.87) and locationals (11.130) when they are used predicatively, again with a

restrictive meaning.¹⁰ When it restricts nouns, it is a separate word rather than a prefix (11.160). Occasionally it is reduplicated (with regular syllable-final replacement of the codal consonant by a glottal stop), as in *W* \emptyset -*djah-djal-nalkbuni* 'he just kept crying' [KS 30].

- 11.130 *Minj na-ngale ka-re ku-mekke. Djal djarreh-beh karri-di karri-nan.*
W not 1-who 3-goNP LOC-DEM just far-ABL 12a-standNP 12-seeNP
 'Nobody is allowed to go there. Only from afar can we stand and look.' [KS 196]

We now discuss its various senses.

UP TO A POINT *Djal-* may express continuation up to or at a given point: either 'keep doing A until B' (11.131), or 'still be doing A at reference time, keep on doing A' (11.132). Given the existence of a free adverbial particle *jalng* in Ngalakan, with the meaning 'right to, as far as', this may well be the etymologically prior sense.

- 11.131 *Maminga ngun-ma-ng, yi-djal-yo yi-rrowen.*

Dj clam 3/2-get-NP 2-just-lieNP 2-dieNP
 'If a giant clam grabs you, you just lie there till you die.'

- 11.132 *Gu-mege-be ngarri-dolkga-ng Ngurrkdu, ngarri-djal-wam.*

Dj LOC-there-from 1-get.up-PP Spring.Peak 1-just-goPP
 'From there at Spring Peak we got up and kept travelling.'

DURATIVE One extension from the continuative sense is to a durative. Frequently this sense is accompanied by the adverb *mungui* 'a long time' or its reduplicated form *munguihmungui*:

- 11.133 *Djabel gukku ga-djal-di mungui.*

Dj perch water 3-just-standNP long.time
 'The perch just stays there in one place all the time.'

- 11.134 *A-djal-bengngukme munguihmungui.*

Dj 1/3-just-forgetNP always
 'I just keep forgetting that word all the time.'

ONLY DO X AND NO MORE Another semantic extension is from 'do up to a reference point' to 'only do X and no more', 'only do X and not something else one might expect'. It is this sense which brings us to the basic pragmatic function of 'only' in most languages, and of *djal-* in Bininj Gun-wok, namely to restrict the scope of an assertion against a presupposition that more would be expected. In 11.135 the preceding text makes clear that the expected activity that fails to take place is catching a fish. And in 11.136 the dialogue makes clear that *yirrbardbard* presupposes the presence of some new bird or animal, but that *kurrwirluk* disabuses him of this: 'all that happened was ..., all it was was me ...' Note that here the scope of the restriction is the whole clause.

- 11.135 *Wardibu ngarri-ma-ng, ande gamak, wanjh ngarri-yi-rrurnde-ng*
Dj if.possible 1a/3-get-NP maybe good then 1a-COM-return-NP

¹⁰ As can its equivalent *ja-* in Ngandi; see Heath (1978:79).

djenj, dja bu gayakki, gare larrk, ngarri-djal-durnde-ng.
 fish and REL nothing maybe nothing 1a-just-return-NP
 'If we can catch (a fish), maybe we'll be lucky, then we'll take some fish back,
 and if not, maybe we'll get nothing, then we'll just go back (emptyhanded).'

11.136 (From a myth about *yirrbardbard* (king brown snake) and *kurrwirluk* (curlew).
 W These two originally human characters, at this point in the myth, are on the verb
 of turning into animal form.)

Kurr: *Kakali, na-yin na-bang marndi ngun-baye.*
 B-in-law I-snake MA-dangerous might 3/2-biteNP
 'Brother-in-law, that dangerous snake might bite you.'

Yirr: *Nakka ngaye, ø-marnehmarne-warre-me-n. Ngayh, nakka na-wu*
 that 1sg 1/2-REDUP+BEN-bad-become-NP hey that MA-REL
birri-kayhme?
 3a-cry.out
 'That's me, I'm turning into a snake on you.' 'Hey, who's that who sang out?'

Kurr: *Aba nanu ngaye ø-djal-gowe-ng wanjh yiman ngudda.*
 oh that I 1/2-just-trick-PP well like you
 'Oh, that was only me tricking you, as you did me.' [KH 119]

11.137 *Madjibarli ngarri-djal-ngu-n.*
 white.apple 1a-just-eat-NP
 'We simply eat the white apple (without needing to prepare it in any way);
 we just eat the white apple as is.'

In addition to the interpretation 'all that happens is X, without further consequences' (as in 11.136) or 'all that happens is X, without further preparations being needed' (as in 11.137), a further contextual modulation may be 'all that happens is X, without any warning signal (i.e. X happens unexpectedly)'. Thus one reading of *birri-djal-kodj-nang* [they/him-just-head-saw] is 'they unexpectedly saw his head' (E&E 82). See footnote 13 for further discussion of this example.

Frequently clauses with *djal-* are preceded or followed by a negative clause overtly denying that some presupposed activity took place:

11.138 *Minj ø-yidduwe, dja ø-djal-bawo-ng.*
 W not 3P-get.angryNP but 3P-just-leave-PP
 'He didn't get angry, but just left it.'

11.139 *Barri-djal-ni marrek barri-woh-bolkna-yi gu-red gayakki.*
 Dj 3aP-just-sitPI not 3aP-a.bit-look.around-IRR LOC-camp nothing
 'They just sat there and weren't allowed to look around at all.'

ONLY (NP) In addition to the cases we have just seen, in which *djal-* makes a restriction with clausal or verbal scope, it may have scope over arguments.¹¹ We shall now turn to cases

¹¹ I have found just one example, in Hale's 1959 field notes, of *djal-* having scope over a non-argument, namely a purpose complement. A passage outlining what Aboriginal people can now buy with their wages — 'they buy food, they buy materials, they buy axes, knives, billycans maybe, anything they can buy now' — goes on:

where *djal-* restricts some argument; typically these are translatable by 'only NP' in English. We shall see that, grammatically, *djal-* has unselective scope: it can bind any argument of the verb, as well as non-argumental adjuncts. Scope is worked out contextually, from the surrounding discourse and beliefs about the world, which build up presuppositions about what is expected to take place. It is these positive expectations which contextualise the scope of the restriction given by *djal-*.

In many cases *djal-* is ambiguous between argumental scope and some other reading; 11.140 for example, allows the continuative reading 'I keep speaking Gun-Djeihmi' as well as the object scope reading 'I speak only Gun-djeihmi':

- 11.140 *A-djal-wokdi gun-djeihmi.*
 Dj 1-just-speakNP [language name]
 'I keep speaking Gun-Djeihmi.' OR: 'I speak only Gun-djeihmi.'

Often the discourse establishes the context for assigning scope to a particular argument, such as the object:

- 11.141 *Wanjh karri-djal-burrbu-n kun-kudji balanda bu karri-wokdi,*
 W well 12-just-know-NP NEU-one white.man REL 12a-speak-NP
dja karri-bimbu-n yarrka, dja minj bu ngadman kadberre
 and 12a-write-NP anything and not REL we ours
kun-wok karri-bih-bimbu-n, kunu karri-wakwa-n.
 IV-language 12a-INCEP-write-NP NEU:REL 12a-not.know-NP
 'We know only how to speak English, when we write any time, but we don't
 know how to write our own language.' [OM 37]

In decontextualised sentences, unambiguous restriction of scope to object is achieved by the D-quantifiers \sqrt{gudji} 'one' and =wi 'only':

- 11.142 *Gun-wok an-gudji ga-wokdi.*
 Dj IV-language VE-one 3-speakNP
 'He speaks only one language.'

The scope of *djal-* may also be the subject. This makes a sentence like 11.143 three-ways ambiguous, although the preferred interpretation is for it to have scope over the verb and a continuative reading (*marne- ... -djare* is a collocation with the meaning 'love, desire').

- 11.143 *A-marne-djal-djare.*
 Dj 1/3-BEN-just-wantNP
 'I still love her/him.' (first interpretation offered) OR: 'Only I love her/him.'
 OR: 'I love only her/him.'

The subject-scope interpretation could be forced by 11.144, and the object-scope interpretation by 11.145:

Dja gorrogo-ni kunu burrkyak, birri-djal-durrkmirri bonj, man-me=wi.
 and before-PI then nothing 3pl-just-work enough III-food=only
 'But in those old days there was nothing, they just worked for food.'

- 11.144 *Aye a-djal-gudji a-marne-djal-djare.*
 I 1-just-one 1/3-BEN-just-want
 'Only I love her/him.'
- 11.145 *Ngaleng=wi al-gudji(=wi) a-marne-djal-djare.*
 she=only FE-one(=only) 1/3NP-BEN-just-want
 'I love only her.'

A textual example of *djal-* having subject scope with a transitive verb is:

- 11.146 (Several lines back it was mentioned that only one old man and his daughter
 W remained who had true ownership rights of Oenpelli, with the associated
 obligation to look after that country.)
- Dja na-wu ngadman kun-winjku karri-h-wokdi, dja yiwadja, ngad*
 and MA-REL weEMPH IV-winjku 12-IMM-speak and Iwaidja we
gunu wanjh karri-mungu, yimankek nungan ø-djal-wohna-yi
 NEU-REL well 12-stranger CTRFAC him 3P-just-look.after-IRR
na-wu kun-red nuye kondan kunu.
 MA-REL IV-country his here NEU:REL
 'And we who speak Kunwinjku, and Iwaidja, well we are strangers (to this
 country), he should be the only one looking after this country of his here.'

With a ditransitive verb, there are five possibilities:¹²

- 11.147 *Gabi-djal-ganj-wo-n.*
 Dj 3/3-just-meat-give-NP
 a. '(S)he's still giving him/her meat.'
 b. 'All (s)he's doing is giving him/her meat.'
 c. 'Only she gives him meat.'
 d. 'She gives him only meat.'
 e. 'She gives meat only to him.'

To force one of the last three interpretations, a restricted external nominal is used:¹³

- 11.148 *Al-ege=wi gabanmani-bo-wo-n bani-bogen.*
 Dj FE-that=only 3/3du-liquid-give-NP 3ua-two
 'Only she gives it to them two.' [= c.]

¹² There may in fact be more, e.g. 'all that's happening is that (s)he is giving him meat'; this type of interpretation has yet to be checked out.

¹³ Etherington and Etherington (1994:82) discuss a similar example in Kunwinjku, in which *birridjalkodjngang* is five-ways ambiguous between (a) 'they unexpectedly saw his head', (b) 'they were seeing his head for a period of time/continuously', (c) 'they saw only HIS head', (d) 'they saw only his HEAD', and (e) 'only THEY saw his head'. They mention that disambiguation between these readings can be achieved, respectively, by (a) use of *wanjh*, e.g. *wanjh birridjalkodjngang*, (b) use of a durative adverb like *kunkakkuyeng* 'all night long', (c) use of the possessive pronoun *nuye* plus *kih*, e.g. *birridjalkodjngang nuyekih kukodj*, (d) prefixing *djal-* to the whole 'his head' phrase, e.g. *birridjalkodjngang djalkunkodj nuye*, (e) apposing a subject pronoun doubled by the appropriate pronominally prefixed form of \sqrt{kudji} , e.g. *bedda birri-djal-kudji birri-djal-kodjngang*.

- 11.149 *An-me=wi / gun-ganj=wi gabi-djal-wo-n.*
 Dj III-veg.food=only IV-meat=only 3/3h-just-give-NP
 'She only gives him vegetable food/meat (never beer).' [= d.]
- 11.150 *Gun-wardde=wi ø-djal-wo-n.*
 Dj IV-money=only 1/2-just-give-NP
 'I offer you only money.' [= d.]
- 11.151 *Na-mekke=wi gabi-djal-bo-wo-n.*
 Dj MA-that=only 3/3h-just-water-give-NP
 'She gives it only to him.' [= e.]
- 11.152 *A-djal-bim-bukka-ng na-mekke na-gudji.*
 Dj 1/3-just-painting-show-PP MA-that MA-one
 'I showed the painting only to him.' [= e.]

In the case of a verb with two or three arguments, therefore, *djal-* can have scope just over the verb, over the configuration of verb plus its object arguments, or over any of the three arguments.

Thus *djal-* can unselectively bind actants in addition to its verb-restricting senses. In practice, however, its scope is determined by pragmatic context, and *djal-* behaves like the various operators whose scopes can be derived from Topic-Focus Articulation and other discourse factors (Hajicová & Sgall 1987; Koktová 1986; Sgall, Hajicová & Panevová 1986). Similarly, Partee (1995) has argued that other A-quantifiers are responsive to topic-focus articulation, such that their scope is always the non-topic.

Although 'topic' is not always easy to identify in Bininj Gun-wok, particularly in decontextualised sentences, the textual examples in my corpus conform to the generalisation that the scope of the restriction is always a non-topic. In 11.141, for example, the topic is clearly the subject 'we' throughout the paragraph, while *djal-* restricts the object. In 11.146 the situation is a little less clear, but I would argue that the topic is 'this country', which is the object of the last sentence, in which *djal-* has scope over the subject.

A clear illustration of the importance of informational status to the interpretation of *djal-* comes from intransitive clauses, which, unlike transitive clauses, do not readily lend themselves to argument-scope interpretations of *djal-*. Put simplistically, the reason is that in transitives there are enough arguments for one to be topic and the other to be restricted by *djal-*, while with intransitives, with their sole argument, such a division of labour is not possible. Let us consider three types of intransitive clause:

- (a) Presentatives like 11.153; formally these have a stance verb and an incorporated generic term, which may be coreferential with an external specific term:

- 11.153 *Ga-rrulk-di (an-dubang).*
 Dj 3-tree-stand III-ironwood
 'There is a tree there.'

Since the function of presentatives is to draw attention to a new situation, including the presence of a new intransitive subject, they do not respond to a discourse presupposition that something is there, so restriction is pragmatically unmotivated. If *djal-* is added to such a construction it will not be given a restrictive interpretation, but a continuative one:

- 11.154 *Birndu ga-djal-di.*
 Dj mosquito 3-only-stand
 'There are still a lot of mosquitoes around.'

This cannot mean 'only mosquitoes are here', which would need to be expressed by:

- 11.155 *Gu-bolk-birndu-wern.*
 LOC-place-mosquito-many
 'This is a mosquito-ridden place.'

(b) Straightforward intransitive clauses in which the subject is the topic:

- 11.156 *Ga-yau-wage.*
 Dj 3-baby-crawlNP
 'The baby is crawling.'

Here the subject, as a topic, is unavailable for restriction. Here again *djal-* cannot have scope over the sole NP, and will be given scope over the verb, typically with a continuative interpretation:

- 11.157 *Ga-djal-yau-wage.*
 Dj 3-just-child-crawlNP
 'The child is still crawling, only crawling (it can't walk yet).'

Note, though, that when a body-part nominal is present in such constructions — and syntactically these behave as adjuncts construed as a sort of stage predicate on the argument they are part of (§10.4.5) — *djal-* can have scope over the body-part NP. This shows that it is the number of referring expressions available, rather than the syntactic transitivity of the verb, which affects the possibility of *djal-* restricting an NP.

- 11.158 *Na-mege bininj ga-djal-murrng-yo.*
 Dj MA-that man 3-just-bone-lieNP
 'Only the man's bones remain.' (lit. The man remains only as bones.)

(c) The only way for the subject to be a non-topic, and therefore available for restriction, is for the non-subject part of the sentence to be overtly shown as presupposed. The restriction may then be marked either by *djal-* on the subordinate verb (11.159), or by nominal clitic =*wi* (11.160).

- 11.159 *Na-marnde dja ø-wayhme-ng, "Na-ngale ka-ni ku-red ngudda*
 W I-devil and 3P-call.out-PP I-who 3-sitNP LOC-camp you
yi-h-yo?" Kaluk ø-yime-ng, "Ngaye na-gudji nga-djal-h-yo
 2-IMM-sleepNP then 3P-say-PP I MA-one 1-just-IMM-sleep
wanjh" ø-yime-ng.
 well 3P-say-PP

'And the devil asked him, "Who is staying there where you camp?" Then he said, "I'm the only one camping in that place."' [Oates 1964:91]

- 11.160 *Kabirri-melme man-me manu ka-re rowk. djal kun-ngen=wi*
 W 3a/3NP-press-NP III-food VE:DEM 3-goNP all only IV-sweat=only

ka-h-yo, kurduk man-bu kun-ngen-dorrens, wanjh kabirri-wirrkme.
 3-IMM-lieNP shit VE-that IV-sweat-COM then 3a/3-scratchNP
 'They press it, and all the food (in the turd) goes away. All that remains is the
 sweat, the shit with the sweat in it. Then they scratch it.' [KH 155]

Djal- is thus grammatically unselective, with its scope being made clear by various discourse mechanisms: building up of presuppositions through a text, explicitly denying expectations, and using devices such as relativisation of the verb to indicate relative informational status.

11.3.5.3 *djaloh-* 'just doing this little action'

The prefix *djaloh-*, though etymologically a combination of *djal-* 'just' with *woh-* 'partial action', now functions as a unit, at least in Gun-djeihmi. Its function is to downplay the significance of the action denoted by the modified verb, usually against the interlocutor's assumption of greater significance; in this sense it appears synonymous with the third sense of *djal-* discussed above.

- 11.161 A: *Udda gamak?*
 Dj you well
 'How are you, all right?'
 B: *Wou, gamak. Dja njanjukgen?*
 yes good and why
 'Yes, fine. Why do you ask?'
 A: *Gayakki, dja nga-djaloh-djawa-n.*
 nothing and 1-just.this.little.action-ask-NP
 'Nothing, I'm just asking.'
- 11.162 *Ga-djaloh-geiyo.*
 Dj 3-just.this.little.action-sleepNP
 'He's just having a nap.'
- 11.163 \emptyset -*Djaloh-malerrme-i, dja njalegen yi-godj-dadjme-ng.*
 Dj 1/2-just.this.little.action-tease-NP so why 2-head-cut-PP
 'I was just teasing you, so why are sulking?'

11.4 Aspect and sequence prefixes

These specify the sequencing of the event described in the clause with respect to other events (such as the speech act), the sequence of events described in the narrative, and other events evoked by the context of the narrative. They occupy slots -8, -7 and -5 in the optional prefix range.

11.4.1 *-bangme-* ~ *-bangmi-* 'not yet'

Note on form: the *e*-final form is found in all dialects, the *i-* form sporadically in Gun-djeihmi. This prefix expresses the fact that the verbal action has yet to occur at the reference

time.¹⁴ Where the irrealis verb inflection is used, no explicit negative particle is needed (11.164).

- 11.164 *Ba-bangme-durnde-yi.*
 Dj 3P-not.yet-return-IRR
 'He hasn't come back yet.'

In imperatives with *bangme-* the negative imperative particle is used:

- 11.165 *Bayun yiban-gelehme-ø, bayun yi-bangme-yarl-waroume-ø!*
 Dj don't 2/3pl-frighten-IMP don't 2/3-not.yet-line-swing-IMP
 'Don't frighten them (the birds), don't swing your line yet!'

In Gun-djeihmi this prefix can be used with non-verbal predicates, as long as a negative particle is used (11.166), but in Kune, at least, the preference is to use the inchoative to form the corresponding verb (11.167):

- 11.166 *Djama a-bangmi-ngudjwarre.*
 Dj not 1-not.yet-lame
 'I'm not disabled yet, I can still walk.'
- 11.167 *Marrek nga-bangme-ngudjwarre-m-inj.*
 E not 1-not.yet-lame-INCH-PP
 '= (11.166)'

11.4.2 *bed-* (Dj, E), *bad-* (W) 'in due course; at the proper point in time'

This emphasises that an action is carried out at an appropriate time. It may be used, as in 11.168, to indicate that the action will occur later than the moment of speech, once the subjects are ready, and here would be best translated as 'when ready; eventually', but it can also indicate, in a different context, that the appropriate moment in time has now been reached, after the carrying out of appropriate preparatory activities (11.169, 11.170). In (11.171) it indicates that, after having rested, the speaker's group were once again ready to start cutting bamboo again. The semantic invariant through these situations is always the appropriateness of the action to the point in time, with the context contributing the information needed to decide whether this entails a delay (short or long) or not.

- 11.168 a. *Garri-bed-re.* (Dj) b. *Karri-bed-re* (E) c. *Kaluk karri-bad-re* (W)
 12a-now-goNP 12a-now-goNP FUT 12a-now-goNP
 'We'll come later (eventually; when we're ready).' OR: 'We can go now.'
- 11.169 *Gani-m-bed-re.*
 Dj 12-hither-now-goNP
 'We'll come now that we've finished.'
- 11.170 *Bani-bed-marnbom.*
 Dj 2ua/3P-now-fixPP
 'Those two have got it going now.'

¹⁴ Oates (1964:53) on Kunwinjku calls it 'unattained aspect'.

- 11.171 *Gonhdagi Wirrirri arri-dadjge-yiii, ngarri-yo-i, ngarri-godj-djuhm-i,*
 Dnj here [place] 1a/3-cut-PI 1a-sleep-PP 1a-head-bathe-PI
ngarri-yo-i. Arri-bed-yauh-dadjge-yi, ngarri-godj-djuhm-i ngarri-yo-i.
 1a-lie-PI 1a/3-now-again-cut-PI 1a-head-bathe-PI 1a-lie-PI
 ‘Over here at Wirrirri we’d cut (bamboo) for a long time, then lie and have a
 rest, we’d wet our heads (to cool down) and have a rest. Now we’d cut some
 more, then we’d wet our heads and have a rest.’

11.4.3 h- ‘immediate’

This is present in all dialects but Kune, with comparable functions across all dialects that have it.¹⁵ The immediate form emphasises the immediacy of the predicate or its simultaneity with the deictic centre — either the speech act (‘Ving now’) or a framing clause (e.g. ‘he saw it standing’, as in 11.175). Note that a very similar meaning of immediacy is given by the glottal stop in demonstratives (§7.3) and on pronouns (§7.1).

- 11.172 *Gan-h-na-n.*
 Dj 2/1-IMM-see-NP
 ‘You’re looking at me right now.’
- 11.173 *Ga-h-geyo.*
 Dj 3-IMM-sleepNP
 ‘He’s sleeping now.’
- 11.174 *Gun-warde gabarri-h-na-n.*
 Dj IV-rock 3a-IMM-see-NP
 ‘They’re looking at the rock (just now).’
- 11.175 *ø-Na-ng ka-h-di.*
 W 3/3P-see-PP 3-IMM-standNP
 ‘He saw it standing.’

The immediate is also used in presentatives to give vividness, as in the following section of Text 8 in which the immediate present is used in sports-commentary style:

- 11.176 *Yiman bolkgime ngani-h-ni-ø, wakkidj nungga ba-djare-ni*
 Dj like now 1ua-IMM-sit-NP fishing he 3P-want-PI
ba-m-wam ngadburrung
 3P-hither-goPP my.brother
 ‘Well here we are sitting now, my brother wanted to come here fishing.’

¹⁵ It is tempting to speculate that its absence in Kune is due to its obvious association in that speech community with Dalabon, in which all pronominal prefixes end in a glottal stop, so that a Dalabon word like *ngah-ngun* ‘I eat (it)’ is simply the present-tense form, without the *h* having any aspectual function, whereas in Kunwinjku, for example, *nga-h-ngun* is specifically ‘I am eating now’ in contrast to *nga-ngun* ‘I eat, I am eating’. In other words, it is possible that the disappearance of this morpheme from Kune may have been due to the need to reserve it as a clear marker of Dalabon language in the special case of the Kune speech community, traditionally bilingual in Kune and Dalabon.

Related to this presentative use is its employment for commentary, for example on pictures in a book, translatable as ‘here we have ...’ or ‘now, in this one there is ...’:

11.177 *Djurra ka-h-djabdi.*

I book 3-IMM-be.uprightNP
(commenting on one of a series of pictures illustrating topological relations)
‘Here we have a book standing upright (on a shelf).’

The immediate prefix is also used in subordinate clauses of various types (see §14.3–§14.4).

11.4.4 *guyin-/kuyin-, ba(r)lanh- ‘nearly’*

These forms are exactly synonymous; *balanh-* is used in Kune (Dalabon has an identical form) and occasionally in Kunwinjku (11.182), while *guyin-/kuyin-* is used in all dialects except Kune. In Kune *balanh-* may also appear as a free form with the same meaning (11.178).

On its own, this prefix means ‘nearly happened but didn’t’ or ‘be about to’. It is attested with the irrealis, past perfective and past imperfective TAM inflections:

11.178 *Nga-guyin-djongburremeninj.* (= E *Balanh ngangarkmeninj.*)

Dj 1-nearly-drownIRR
‘I nearly got drowned.’

11.179 *Ban-wo-ni barri-m-guyin-re-y darn.gih. “Ngam” ba-yim-i*

Dj 3/3plP-give-PI 3aP-towards-almost-go-PI close gulp 3P-do-PI
ban-gaibu-ni
3/3plP-deny-PI
‘She’d offer (food) to them and they’d be about to come close almost up to her.
“Gulp”, she’d go and deny it from them.’

11.180 *A-bal-guyin-yakwo-yi.*

Dj 1-away-nearly-finish-IRR
‘I’ve nearly finished.’

11.181 *Guwak ba-guyin-yime-rre-ni.*

Dj night 3P-almost-turn-RR-PI
‘When it was just starting to get dark, they’d put on a corroboree.’

11.182 *Ngal-kudji bi-keb-baddji man-djad la ngal-buyika ngal-bu*
W FE-one 3/3hP-face-bashPP III-straight and FE-other FE-REL

bi-barlanh-bom, wanjh ø-djal-woh-manka-ng ngal-ekke.
3/3hP-nearly-hitPP then 3P-just-PART-fall-PP FE-DEM
‘He clubbed one straight in the the face, and he was about to club the other one, when she fell down.’ [KS 68]

11.183 *Ngan-balanh-keb-do-y.*

E 3/1-almost-face-strike-PP
‘He was about to punch me.’

11.4.5 *weleng- 'then, next'*

This marks the verb it modifies as occurring next in a series of events. Formally and semantically similar forms occur in Rembarnga (*walang-* 'then, after that, next; as a result, so' — McKay 1975:188) and Dalabon (*yelvng-* 'next, then'). See Text 7.3, for a further example.

- 11.184 *Nungga an-ga-ng gure bininj gabarri-mirnde-rri-∅*
Dj he 3/1-take-PP LOC person 3a-many-be-NP

arri-weleng-wokdanj.

1a-then-talkPP

'He took me to a group of people and then we started talking.'

- 11.185 *Nungga werck ba-warde-bidbom, dja aye yerre a-weleng-bidbom.*
Dj he first 3P-rock-climbPP and I after 1/3-then-climbPP

'He climbed up the rock first, and then I climbed up after him.'

- 11.186 *Birri-dad-ngorroka-ni wanjh birri-bid-dukk-a-ni wanjh ku-mekke*
3a/3P-leg-shoulder.carryPI then 3a/3P-hand-tie-PI then LOC-DEM

birri-weleng-dedjbu-ni madjangh-no birri-ngu-ni.

3a/3-then-cut.open-PI offal-3POSSD 3a/3P-eat-PI

'They would carry (the kangaroo) on their shoulders, then tie its arms together, then next they would cut it open there, and eat its offal.' (*Madjanghno* refers to the small bits of offal that can be cooked quickly on the coals and eaten while the rest of the meat cooks slowly.)

11.4.6 *yinggih- 'previously, before, already'*

When the verb modified by *yinggih-* is in the past tense, this prefix refers to events that had already occurred before the temporal reference point (11.187). It probably derives from the free adverbial *yungkih* 'first; in front' (§13.7).

- 11.187 *Ba-yinggih-ni.*

Dj 3P-before-sitPI

'He was already sitting there (before us).'

- 11.188 *Ba-yinggih-wokdi.*

Dj 3P-before-speakPI

'He's already been talking before us.'

- 11.189 *Yoh gorrogo barri-yinggih-bolk-garu-i, barri-bolk-duhge-ng.*

Dj yeah already 3a/3P-before-place-dig-PP 3a/3P-place-drill-PP

'Yes, (here) they have already dug and drilled the ground.'

- 11.190 *Njalekenh konhdah kore ku-midj ngurri-yawa-n na-wu ka-rrarrkid?*
W why here LOC LOC-tomb 2a-seek-NP MA-REL 3NP-alive

Nungka ∅-yawoyh-mimbi-minj yiman ngun-yingkih-marne-yime-ng

he 3P-again-alive-PP like 3/2a-before-BEN-say-PP

ngudberre.

you

'Why are you seeking here in the tomb he who is alive? He has come alive again, as he told you before.' [Karrarrkid 10]

When the verb is in the non-past, the modified verb specifies an action that needs to be carried first in a series:

- 11.191 *Med, nga-yingkih-bo-ma-ng.*
 ■ wait 1/3-before-liquid-get-NP
 'Wait, I'll fill up the gerry can first.'

11.5 Spatial prefixes

These give the spatial disposition of the verbal action or of the absolutive participant. Apart from *darnh-* 'close up' and *bulurru-* 'sliding' all lie between the incorporated nominal and the root. In addition, some only occur with a few verbs — preeminently the stance verbs, and verbs of induced position like *gurrme-* 'put (down)' — and taken together with their inner position this raises the question of whether these are productive prefixes or simply recurring prepounds in a limited lexical set; see §13.3.4 for a discussion of such 'positional verbs'.

11.5.1 *boiboi-, bobo-* 'flat'

The form *boiboi-* is confined to older speakers of Gun-djeihmi. Younger Gun-djeihmi speakers and speakers from other dialects use *bobo-*. It has absolutive scope.

- 11.192 *Ga-warde-boiboi-yo-∅.*
 Dj 3-rock-flat-lie-NP
 'The rock is lying flat.'
- 11.193 *Ga-bobo-yo-∅.* (= E *Kaboboyo.*)
 Dj 3-flat-lie-NP
 'He's lying on his belly.' [EH]
- 11.194 *Bi-bobo-gurrme-ng.*
 E:N 3/3hP-flat-put-PP
 'He put him on his belly.'

11.5.2 *bulurru-/burlurr-* 'along'

The first variant is found in Gun-djeihmi, the second in Kunrayek; at least for Kunrayek the identical form may be used in the mother-in-law register. I have no examples from other dialects. This prefix precedes incorporated nominals (11.196).

This refers to movement, or disposition, along a line. It can refer to sliding action (11.195) or to tracks made by sliding (11.196), but also to a stationary entity stretching over a significant distance (11.197):

- 11.195 *Ga-bulurru-di.*
 Dj 3-slide-standNP
 '(S)he is sliding (i.e. slipping while standing).'
- 11.196 *Ga-bulurru-bok-yo.*
 Dj 3-sliding-track-lieNP
 'There are (crocodile) sliding tracks there.' (referring to tracks of a crocodile sliding into the mud).
- 11.197
Ka-burlurr-yo nanih nganabbarru. (o.l.)
Ka-burlurr-morndi nanih badjorrkorrongo. (k.k)
 3-slide-lieNP MA:DEM buffalo
 'The buffalo is lying stretched out.'

11.5.3 *da-/larra-* 'in the sun'

The form *da-* is used in Gun-djeihmi, and the form *larra-* in Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali (as well as Dalabon).

This prefix is closely bound to the verb, inside incorporated nominals. It has absolutive scope. It only combines with a few verbs, such as:

- 11.198 *Ba-guk-da-yo-i. (= E Kuklarrayoy.)*
 Dj 3P-body-in.sun-lie-PI
 'It (the crocodile) was lying in the sun.'
- 11.199 *Garri-da-gurrme.*
 Dj 12a-in.sun-putNP
 'We are drying them (the clothes), putting the clothes out in the sun.'
- 11.200 *Bolk ba-rra-barrkme-ng.*
 Dj ground 3P-in.sun-crackPP
 'The ground cracked in the sun.'
- 11.201 *Barri-madj-larra-gurrme-ng kure waya-gah gah-walayhme.*
 MM 3a/3P-clothes-in.sun-put-PP LOC wire-LOC 3-hangNP
 'They've hung out the clothes on the line in the sun.'

11.5.4 *darnh-* 'close up'

This precedes incorporated nominals; it occurs in all dialects (as well as in Dalabon) with identical form and meaning. In all dialects there is an agnate free form *darn.gih* (Dj) / *darnkih* (W, E), also commonly used with no clear difference in meaning (see the alternation in 11.205). It has three related senses:

(a) One actant is close to the other.

- 11.202 *Al-daluk djama gabarri-darnh-yo. (= E Kabirridarnhyo.)*
 Dj II-female not 3a-close.up-lieNP
 '(Young men) can't sleep close to their sisters.'

- 11.203 *An-darnh-geb-barrkme-ng.*
 Dj 3/1-close-nose-hit-PP
 ‘He hit me in the nose close up.’
- 11.204 *Barrkdord kan-marne-yime-ninj ngadberre, barrk ka-rrarnh-ni.*
 E [bird.sp.] 3/1a-BEN-say-IRR usOBL black.wallaroo 3-close-sitNP
 ‘The *barrkdord* bird would tell us when a black wallaroo is close by.’

(b) The subject is close to another implicit participant (11.205, 11.206) or location (11.207) in the frame.

- 11.205 *Ba-gaihme-ng ba-wam darn.gih, ba-rrarnh-gaihme-ng.*
 Dj 3P-call.out-PP 3P-goPP close 3P-close-call.out-PP
 ‘She called out and went close up, she called out from close up (to them).’
- 11.206 *Bu nganabbarru barri-darnh-bebme-rre-ni, barri-darnh-bu-ni.*
 Dj when buffalo 3aP-close-appear-RR-PI 3a/3P-close-kill-PI
 ‘When buffalo stampeded up close (to them), they’d shoot them at close range.’
 (= E *Nganabbarru birridarnhbebmeng, birridarnhbom.*)
- 11.207 *Galuk gumege ba-bolk-na-ng ba-yime-ng “niyih nga-rrarnh-wodjme”*
 Dj then there 3/3P-place-see-PP 3P-say-PP here 1-close-sink
 ‘Then (black-headed python) looked around and said, “I’ll sink down near here.”’

(c) Aspectual extension: the action is about to happen.

- 11.208 *An-darnh-geb-do-ng.*
 Dj 3/1-close-nose-strike-NP
 ‘He’s about to punch you on the nose.’ (“He not punch you yet, but he ready to punch you.”)

11.5.5 *lambarri-/lambarr- ‘lying on back’*

The form *lambarri-* is found in Gun-djeihmi (and Dalabon), the form *lambarr-* in Kune. This also patterns absolutely.

- 11.209 *Ga-lambarri-yo-ø.*
 Dj 3-on.back-lie-NP
 ‘He’s lying on his back.’
- 11.210 *Gabi-lambarri-gurrme.* (= E *Kabilambarrkurrme.*)
 Dj 3/3hNP-on.back-putNP
 ‘He puts him on his back.’

11.5.6 *neigen(h)- ‘propped up, leaning against’*

This is etymologically the genitive of *gun-nei* ‘elbow’, plus the genitive *-gen*. In Kune it tends to be reduplicated to *neyhneyken-*.

This construction is interesting because it is a rare Bininj Gun-wok example of a construction much commoner in Dalabon: the incorporation of locations, suffixed with the genitive *-kvn*, into verbs. A Dalabon

example is *balah-djarrk-dun-kvn-ni*, *balah-djarrk-dun-kvn-daddi* 'they're all in the cave [*dun*], they're all inside the cave'. It is possible that Manyallaluk Mayali permits a greater range of incorporated locatives with *-ken*; I have one Manyallaluk Mayali example *ba-buk-ken-dowe-ng djenj* [3P-dry-GEN-die-PP fish] 'the fish died in the dried up (water)', but an insufficiently large MM corpus to determine how common this construction is. A solitary Kuninjku example is *ka-rurk-ken-di* [3-hollow-GEN-stand] for 'he is in gaol'.

Typically it is used for situations where a participant is propped on their elbow, although some other prop may be used.

11.211 *Ga-neigenh-di*. (= E *Kaneyhneykendi*.)
Dj 3-propped-standNP
'He's standing propped up (e.g. leaning against the wall).'

11.212 *Ga-neigen-yo-ø*.
Dj 3-propped-lie-NP
'He's lying propped up on his elbow.'

11.5.7 warnam- 'crosswise'

This occurs close to the root, inside incorporated nominals.

11.213 *Gun-mayorrk ga-warnam-bu-buhme*.
Dj IV-wind 3-cross-ITER-blowNP
'The wind is blowing across through the car (between two open windows).'

11.214 *Bogen ba-rrulk-wanam-yo-i*, *arri-dulk-yirri-gurrm-i*.
Dj two 3P-stick-crosswise-lie-PI 1a-stick-spread-put-PI
'Two rails would lie crosswise, and we would lay out sticks (on them) to make a sleeping platform.'
(= E *Djalkno dulkwarnamyoy*; *ngarriyirrikurmeng*.)

11.5.8 worrum- 'around'

This is only attested with the verb *bokkan* 'follow tracks':

11.215 *Ngalege daluk bi-worrum-bokkani na-mege bininj*.
Dj FE:that woman 3/3hP-around-follow.track-PI MA-that man
'That woman was always following that man around.'

11.5.9 yirri- 'spread, extended, parallel, in a line'

This occurs close to the root, inside incorporated nominals; it is present in all dialects. For verbs describing the spreading of a body part, the body part is incorporated into *yirriyo* (e.g. 'spreading her hand' (11.218) and E *kadadyirriyo* 'she is spreading her legs').

11.216 *Arri-dulk-yirri-gurrm-i*.
Dj 1a-stick-spread-put-PI
'We laid out all the sticks (in making a sleeping platform).'

- 11.217 *Ga-berl-yirri-yo ga-rrolga-n.*
 Dj 3-wing-spread-lieNP 3-rise-NP
 'It spreads its wings and takes off.'
- 11.218 *Daluk ngal-yauk ga-bid-yirri-yo.*
 Dj woman II-girl 3-hand-spread-lieNP
 'The woman is spreading her hand.'

11.5.10 *yurrguh-* 'on side' (Dj)

This occurs close to the root, inside incorporated nominals; it is restricted to Gun-djeihmi. It has two senses:

- (a) One one's side. This partially overlaps with the Kune prebound *lurh-* 'stooped over', which would be used for 11.219, whereas for 11.220 Kune uses an external form of the Gun-djeihmi prefix. It thus appears that the Kune prefix *lurh-* has the more specific meaning 'leaning from the vertical'.

- 11.219 *Ga-rrulk-yurrguh-di.* (= E *Karlurhdi kundulk.*)
 Dj 3-tree-on.side-standNP
 'The tree is leaning sideways.'
- 11.220 *Murrikka ga-guk-yurrguh-yo-ø.* (= E *Murdikka yurrkku kadi.*)
 Dj car 3-body-on.side-lie-NP
 'The car's lying on its side.'
- 11.221 *Gu-djaku ga-yurrguh-yo-ø.* (= E *Kudjakkubeh kayo.*)
 Dj LOC-left 3-on.side-lie-NP
 'He's lying on his left side.'
- (b) Facing towards the speaker.
- 11.222 *Ga-yurrguh-ni-ø.*
 3-on.side-sit-NP
 'He's sitting facing towards me.'

11.6 Time prefixes

These two prefixes pertain to the time of the diurnal cycle at which the action is carried out. Both are highly productive, and lie outside incorporated nominals.

11.6.1 *gak-/kak-* 'by night'

This occurs in identical forms (orthography aside) in all dialects. It is related to the free noun *gun-gak* 'night-time, darkness', and clearly originated as an incorporated manner nominal.

- 11.223 *A-gak-ganj-ngune-ng.*
Dj 1/3-night-meat-eat-PP
'I ate meat by night.'
- 11.224 *Barri-gak-re-y.* (= E *Birrikakwam*,)
Dj 3a/3P-night-go-PI
'They travelled by night.'
- 11.225 *Gun-djolamah a-gak-di, gunak a-worrhmi, an-gimuk,*
Dj IV-hide 1-night-standPI IV-fire 1/3-light-PI VE-big
gunj ba-m-re-i, ba-bongu-ni, a-gak-yam-i.
kangaroo 3P-towards-go-PI 3P-drink-PI 1/3-night-spear-PI
'I'd stand in a hide by night, light a big fire. A kangaroo would come up
to drink, and I'd spear it under cover of darkness.'
- 11.226 *Marndi ngarri-yo-y kan-kak-dulubu-n ngadberre*
W might 1a-lie-PP 3/12pl-night-shoot-NP we
'He might shoot at us during the night.' [OM 42]

Occasionally this root shows the same external to incorporated progression through the discourse that characterises incorporated generic nominals. A short text in the Kunwinjku Spirit collection begins with the sentence *Djidjnguk kare kukak* 'Djidjnguk passes by at night'. Several sentences later the same verb is repeated, this time with incorporated *kak*: *Nungka karranjbun nawern djenj bu kahkacre*. 'He gets a lot of fish going after them at night.'

11.6.2 mala- 'in the morning'

This prefix is commonest in Kuninjku, Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali. It indicates that the action occurs during the morning, usually early, and lies outside incorporated nouns (11.242), and numerospatial quantifiers (e.g. *malakaberrkdi* 'be many in the morning').

- 11.227 *Karri-mala-bok-na-ng.*
I 12-morning-track-see-PP
'We saw the tracks early in the morning.'
- 11.228 *Birri-mala-kakdoy.*
R 3aP-morning-get.up.before.dawnPP
'They got up before dawn.'
- 11.229 *Ngani-durndi na-kare, kure ngani-mala-bidbom.*
E:N 1ua-returnPP MA-old LOC 1ua-morning-ascendPP
'We came back along the same road that we went up this morning.'

Additional examples from Kuninjku and Kune are *maladjangkan* 'go hunting early in the morning', *maladulubun* 'shoot something early in the morning', *malabebme* 'turn up early in the morning' and *malakaberrkdi* 'be many early in the morning'.

11.7 Manner prefixes

Of the following three prefixes, the first two have scope over the subject, while the third has scope over the absolutive. All predicate a motive or style of action that holds at the time of the predicate.

11.7.1 gele-/kele- 'afraid'

This is found in all dialects. It is related to the class IV noun *gun-gele/kun-kele* 'fear', and also appears in the denominal inchoative verb *gelemen/kelemen* 'be afraid' and the denominal factitive verb *gelehme/kelehme* 'frighten'; it clearly originated as an incorporated manner nominal. In all examples so far it expresses the subject's fear.

11.230 *Yawurrinj ba-gele-bo-bawo-ng.*
 Dj young.man 3P-afraid-liquid-leave-PP
 'The young man, being afraid, left the grog.'

11.231 *Ba-gele-wam.* (= E, I *Kelewam.*)
 Dj 3P-afraid-goPP
 'It went away in fear.'

11.232 *Birri-na-ng mako ø-karrme-ng wanjh birri-kele-lobme-ng.*
 I 3aP-see-PP gun 3P-take-PP then 3aP-afraid-run-PP
 'When they saw him grabbing the gun they took off in fear.' [GID]

There is one Gun-djehmi example in which this prefix, modifying a transitive subject, takes a genitive prefix before the main verb root. Given the limited pattern of marking incorporated nouns giving locations, however (§11.5.6), it is possible that this should be construed as something like 'they left it, at the fearful place'.

11.233 *Barri-gele-genh-bawo-ng.*
 Dj 3a/3P-fear-GEN-leave-PP
 'They left (the sacred site) in fear.'

11.7.2 molk-, monidj- 'stealthily, secretly'

No semantic difference has been found yet between these prefixes, and the distribution may be just dialectal, with *monidj-* occurring in Kune and *molk-* in Kuninjku; both state that the subject is carrying out his/her activity in secret, stealthily or hidden. In some contexts it overlaps with *guni-* (§11.7.3), but *guni-* only implies stealth with some verbs (e.g. 'lie in wait') and is perfectly compatible with noisy demonstrations of anger in others (e.g. 'leave fighting'); *molk-* and *monidj-*, on the other hand, always require stealth. Both have corresponding external nominals (e.g. I *molkno bininj kare* 'the man is sneaking along):

11.234 *Nga-molk-na-ng kunj.*
 I 1/3-stealth-see-PP kangaroo
 'I saw the kangaroo in hiding.'

- 11.235 *Ka-monidj-bebme.*
 3-stealth-appearNP
 'He sneaks up (appears by stealth).'
- 11.236 *Bininj ka-monidj-re.*
 man 3-stealth-gONP
 'The man is sneaking along.'

11.7.3 *guni-/kuni-* 'intending to cause harm; with violent intent'

This expresses the fact that a core argument is involved, or will become involved, in some sort of harmful behaviour, typically involving violence, such as fighting (11.237), killing (11.238) or hunting (11.239), and typically involving stealth to assist in achieving these violent ends. However, in Gun-djeihmi at least (though probably not in other dialects) the activity may also be merely verbal, provided that it involves a clash or confrontation (11.240–11.242).¹⁶ Usually *guni-* has scope over the absolutive; examples where it qualifies the intransitive subject are 11.238, 11.240, 11.241 and 11.12, and with the object, 11.23 and 11.243, although Kune prefers not to use *kuni-* when it would have scope over the object of 'see', another intransitive verb to bear the prefix (11.237).

- 11.237 *A-guni-na-ng (... bi-bom).* (= E *Nganang kuniwam bibom.*)
 Dj 1/3-VIOL-see-PP 3/3hP-killPP
 'I watched someone kill somebody.'
- 11.238 *An-gole ba-me-i, barri-guni-nahna-ni.*
 Dj III-spear 3/3P-pick.up-PP 3a/3P-VIOL-watch-PI
 'He picked up a spear, and they watched him go off to hunt.'
- 11.239 *Ba-guni-wam.* (= E *Kuniwam.*)
 Dj 3P-VIOL-goPP
 'He's gone off to scold someone.'
- 11.240 *Ba-guni-wokdi.*
 Dj 3P-VIOL-talkPI
 'He talked wildly.'
- 11.241 *A-guni-re nga-rru-ng.* (= E *Ngamarnekunire ngadung.*)
 Dj 1-VIOL-goNP 1-growl-NP
 'I'm going off to growl him.'
- 11.242 *A-guni-na-ng ba-wam gabi-rru-ng.*
 Dj 1/3-VIOL-see-PP 3P-goPP 3/3h-growl-NP
 'I watched someone going to growl someone.'

It may also have scope over derived objects:

16 Dalabon has a formally, semantically and combinatorially identical prefix; Dalabon equivalents of 11.239, 11.237 and 11.244 are *kahkunibong*, *ngahnang kahkunibong*, and *bulu ngahkunirebawong*. Rembarrnga has a cognate prefix *kunji-* which means 'stalking, sneaking up with the purpose of killing' (McKay 1975:189–190); it is restricted to intransitive verbs or benefactives derived from intransitives.

- 11.243 *Aban-guni-marne-bebme-ng.*
 Dj 1/3pl-VIOL-BEN-appear-PP
 'I came in on them fighting.'

In many cases, the violent activity is predicated of both objects of a double-object verb:

- 11.244 *Aban-guni-yi-bawo-ng.* (= E *Ngabinkunirebawong.*)
 Dj 1/3pl-VIOL-COM-leave-PP
 'I left them there fighting with him/her.'

- 11.245 *Aban-guni-bawo-ng.*
 Dj 1/3pl-VIOL-leave-PP
 'I left them fighting.'

Where a transitive verb subcategorises an inanimate object, *guni-* may have scope over its subject:

- 11.246 *Ba-guni-bongu-ni bi-nahna-ni.*
 Dj 3P-VIOL-drink-PI 3/3hP-look-PI
 'He was drinking, getting worked up for a fight, and looking around for someone to pick a fight with.'

12 *Verbal incorporation*

A closed class of verb stems can incorporate a further verb immediately before the main stem. This incorporated verb will be labelled an 'incorporated verb form' (IVF). Gerundive verbal incorporation has three main functions:

- (a) Deriving MORPHOLOGICAL CAUSATIVES, for example Dj *goluihwe* 'drop off, cause to get down', formed by incorporating *golu* 'descend' into *we* 'throw':

12.1 *Ga-golu-ih-we-men* *gore Manaburdulba.*
Dj 2/1-go.down-IVF-throw-IMP at [place]
'Drop me off at Manaburdulba.'

- (b) Deriving a range of other complex predicates, predominantly of ASSOCIATED MOTION OR STANCE, as in 12.2. This further illustrates the possibility of incorporating a nominal into the incorporated verb.

12.2 *Ga-ganj-ngu-nihmi-re.*
Dj 3-meat-eat-IVF-gONP
'He goes along eating meat.' ('He eat beef all the way.')

- (c) Deriving MEDIOPASSIVES:

12.3 *Ba-rrang-marrhm-i-wam.*
3P-door-open(tr.)-IVF-goPP
'The door opened up.'

Note that the outer verb, as well as the gerundivised verb, may (rarely) incorporate a nominal; the gerundive and its incorporated nominal are embedded between the finite verb and its incorporated nominal.

12.4 *Ga-yau-[ganj-ngu-nihmi]-re al-ege wurdyau.*
Dj 3-child-meat-eat-IVF-gONP II-that child
'That little girl is going along eating meat.'

There is always identity between the subject of the incorporated verb and either the object of the incorporating verb (in the case of causatives), or the subject of the incorporating verb (in other cases). The changes to argument structure resulting from the three types of verbal incorporation can be shown as follows; in all cases it is the incorporating verb that determines argument structure.

MORPHOLOGICAL CAUSATIVES (for illustrative examples, see 12.15–12.17):

X<subject> (Y<object>) V → C<subject> X<object> V-causative (Y<adjunct>)

ASSOCIATED MOTION:

X<subject> (Y<object>) V → X<subject> (Y-incorporated.object) V-V<motion>

MEDIOPASSIVE:

X<subject> Y<object> V → Y<subject> V-mediopassive

In delimiting the phenomenon of verbal incorporation, I do not include non-verbal secondary predicates, which are discussed in §10.4.4. Examples of the latter are *ngoreng-manka* [sick-fall] ‘fall sick’, *kodjdje-bawo* [sleep-leave] ‘leave asleep’ and *djare-mulewa* [desire-inform] ‘tell of one’s wishes’. In each case the first element is not a fully fledged independent verb; some, like *djare*, function regularly as non-verbal predicates; others, like *kodjdje-*, only occur incorporated into verbs. I also exclude such elements as *munke-* in *munke-kadju* ‘follow later, come later, let O go ahead’ [*kadju* ‘follow’], *munkena* ‘watch someone go’ [*na* ‘see, look at’] and *munkewe* ‘send’ [*we* ‘throw; causative’]; although the verb-like meaning ‘go away’ could be set up here without problems, *munke* can itself never function as a verb on its own, and thus resembles an incorporated secondary predicate in its behaviour. None of these elements require any morphological preparation before combination with a verb, whereas most regular verbs require a non-zero gerundivising suffix. Table 12.1 shows the forms of incorporated verbs, arranged by conjugation.

12.1 Form of incorporated verbs

Verbal incorporation tends to be highly lexicalised and limited in productivity, with regard to both the incorporating and the incorporated verb; such constructions tend also to be of low text frequency. This makes it impossible to obtain a full paradigm, since speakers do not accept made-up forms and the investigation is dependent on finding examples within the corpus. Since different verbs from the same conjugation incorporate into different host verbs, one cannot always get comparable data for the same gerundivised verb with different host verbs. For example, the incorporated form of *bu* conjugation verbs might be inferred to end in *buyh*, from the causative *bidbuyhwe* ‘pick up’ (made up of *bidbu-* ‘climb’ plus *we* ‘throw’), and there are a number of examples of this pattern with incorporations into *we*.

Table 12.1: Form of incorporated verbs, by conjugation (cf. Table 9.1)

Conj.	Theme/ex.		With causative	With other verb
1	<i>-me</i>		<i>ngimewon,</i> <i>yimeworren,</i> <i>-me/-mi djekmiwon,</i> <i>worrkmiwon,</i> <i>ngimire</i>	<i>kolkmiyakmen</i> <i>borledmingun,</i> <i>kolhmibun,</i> <i>lobmidurndi,</i> <i>buŋhmire</i>
2	<i>-ke, we</i>	<i>djɔŋkɛ</i> 'cross'	<i>-kayh</i> <i>djɔŋkɛkayhɔ</i>	<i>-keyihmi-</i> <i>wokɛyihmire</i>
3	<i>ka, na, wo</i>	<i>dolkka</i> 'get up' <i>rudka</i> 'follow a path'	<i>+yh(mi)</i> <i>dolkkayhwe,</i> <i>rokayhmiworren,</i> <i>makayhɔ</i>	<i>+yh(mi)/</i> (<i>djangkayhni</i>) <i>-kiyi-</i> <i>rudkiyire</i>
	3irr	<i>nga nga</i> 'eat'	—	<i>+nihmi</i> <i>ngunihmire</i>
	4a	<i>wa</i> <i>djɔŋwɔ</i> 'ask'	—	<i>+yh</i> <i>djɔŋwɔyihɔ</i>
4	4b	<i>bu</i>	<i>+yh</i> <i>bidbuyhke,</i> <i>dɔmbɔyɛkɛ</i>	<i>-ki</i> <i>nalkkihre</i> < <i>nalkbun</i>
	5a	<i>du, ru, -lu,</i> <i>-ɔ, do</i>	<i>+yh</i> <i>koluyhwe</i> (<i>ɔɔalɔhɔ</i>)	—
5	5b	<i>-de, -ɔ</i> <i>durnde</i> 'return'	<i>-i</i> <i>durndiwe</i>	<i>-i</i> <i>durndi</i>
	5c	<i>ma</i> <i>ma</i> 'take'	<i>-i</i> <i>mi-</i>	<i>-i</i> <i>marrhmire,</i> <i>djɔlkmire</i>
6a	<i>da</i>	<i>da</i> 'stand up'	<i>+yh</i> <i>ɔɔɔɔɔyɛkɛ</i>	<i>+yh</i> <i>dɔyɛh-</i>
7	7a	<i>di, ni</i> <i>di</i> 'stand', <i>ni</i> 'sit'	—	<i>-di</i> <i>dirrimurlmurlme</i> <i>-ni(hmi)</i> <i>wɔyɛyihmire</i>
	7c	<i>di</i> <i>wokdi</i> 'speak'	—	<i>-ki(h)</i> <i>wokkimeddan,</i> <i>wokkihre</i>
8	<i>re</i>	<i>re</i> 'lie'	—	<i>-ɔ</i> <i>yoyɔwɔ</i>
9	<i>re</i>	'go'	—	—
10	<i>-rre</i>	'reflex/recip'	<i>-mi</i> —	<i>+n</i> <i>kurrenwan</i>
11	<i>-men</i>		<i>-mi(h)</i> <i>djɔndɔmɔkɔhɔ</i>	—
Non-verbal	<i>-ø</i>		—	—

But incorporations into *re* 'go' are only found with a different set of verbs in this class, such as *nalkbu* 'cry' (e.g. *nalkkihre* 'go along crying'). Does this mean that there are two incorporating forms for *bu* verbs, one for incorporation into causatives and one for incorporation into motion verbs? Or is *nalkkihre* in fact not an example of an incorporated verb at all: could *nalk* be treated as an incorporated noun or secondary predicate (cf. *nalkngurdme* 'stop crying'), with a special suffix *kih* found on such words? This analysis seems rather forced, since *nalk* does not occur as a nominal in most dialects. It would be tenable for Manyallaluk Mayali, where a nominal root *nalk* is found in the collocation *nalk-dorren* 'with tears, with crying', but there is also a verb *nalkge* 'cry' in that dialect from which an incorporating form *nalkgi* could be derived. Also problematic for the predicate-incorporation analysis is the function of *-kih*: though attested as a suffix on free adverbials, it is always dropped when these are incorporated (see §4.3.7).

Because of these problems, it is impossible to give a full paradigm showing the incorporating form of every verb. Instead, Table 12.1 presents all attested incorporating forms, organised by both conjugation and incorporating verb, since there is some evidence that there are two patterns, depending on the incorporating verb, though this is not clinched

by minimal pairs, for the reasons just given. The alternations between *-me* and *-mi* for first-conjugation verbs incorporated into causatives, and between *-mi* and *-mih* for eleventh-conjugation verbs, appear to lack a clear conditioning factor.

Overall it must be stressed that there is a great deal of heterogeneity in the form of incorporating verbs. Etymologically this is likely to reflect a merger between several distinct methods of incorporating verbs: one by adding *-kih* to the prebound (as with *nalkkih*, described above), a second by adding *-yi(h) ~ -y(i)h* to the thematic (as with *da-yh-ke* from *da*), with a reduced variant consisting of the raising of final *e* (thus *-mi* from *-me*), and a third by adding *-hmi* to the thematic (as with *wayinihmi* from *wayini*), as well as various combinations of these.

12.2 Causatives formed by verbal incorporation

Causatives meaning 'cause O to V' are formed from verbs meaning 'V' by incorporation into the verbs *we* 'throw' and *wo* 'give', and into the transitive theme *-ke*. Recall that each of these is also associated with causative-type meanings for some combinations with prebounds (§8.2.2.2, §8.2.3.2). See also §14.2.2.3 on synthetic causative constructions involving two distinct inflected verbs.

12.2.1 Causatives with *we* 'throw' and *-ke* 'transitive theme'

There are some differences across dialects in the choice between these; in Kunwinjku only the first option appears to occur, while in Gun-djeihmi and Kuninjku some verbs incorporate into *we* and some into *-ke* with no systematic conditioning factor yet evident.

In some verbs, such as *durndiwe* 'throw back; return', the 'throw' meaning is still present, at least in some contexts, as in W *dolkkayhwe* [go.up-IVF-throw] 'toss up' and 12.5 and 12.6. In the case of *ngimiwe* 'throw inside', there is a contrast with *ngimewo* 'put inside' (e.g. putting people in dormitories; see 12.21). It is likely that such examples formed the bridging context for extension to a more general causative meaning (particularly in Kunwinjku, where the *-ke* causative is restricted or even absent).

12.5 *Bene-burriwe-yi manbu man-kole, ngalyod ø-durnd-i-we-yi.*
W 3uaP-throw-PI VE:DEM III-spear rainbow 3/3I-return-IVF-throw-PI

berrewoneng

3uaOBL

'When they threw spears, Ngalyod threw them back at them.'

12.6 *Kururrk ka-ngim-i-we Lorrkkon.*
I inside 3-enter-IVF-throwNP Lorrkkon
'He throws it inside the *Lorrkkon* pole.'

Sometimes the causation is direct and physical, such as picking children up (12.7), taking them across a river (12.8), or pulling something out of the ground (12.9).

12.7 *Aban-bidbu-ih-geng gure gu-rrulk na-mege wurdurd.*
Dj 1/3pl-climb-IVF-causePP LOC LOC-tree MA-that children
'I lifted the children into the tree.'

12.8 *Gabandi-djoukga-ih-we wurdurd.*
 Dj 3a/3pl-cross-IVF-throwNP children
 ‘They take the children across.’

12.9 \emptyset -*Marne-dolkka-yh-we-ng.*
 W 1/2-BEN-come.up-IVF-throw-PP
 ‘I pulled it up for you.’ [E&E 61]

But it may also be indirect verbal causation (asking the boys to climb up in 12.10; in this context giving a command as ceremonial boss), or be a matter of allowing or acceding to someone’s wishes (*goluihwe* in 12.11, meaning ‘let me get down, let me get out, drop me off’).

12.10 *Bandi-bidbu-ih-ge-yi yawurrinj.*
 Dj 3a/3pl-go.up-IVF-TR-PI young.man
 ‘They (the Morak bosses) would make/get the boys (to) climb up (the trees).’

12.11 *Gan-golu-ih-we-men gore Manaburdulba.*
 Dj 2/1-go.down-IVF-throw-IMP LOC [place]
 ‘Drop me off at Manaburdulba.’

And it may involve a number of acts over a long period:

12.12 *Bi-djordm-ih-we-ng.*
 Dj 3/3P-grow.up-IVF-throw-PP
 ‘She grew him up, raised him up.’

In the case of *dombu* ‘extinguish; put out (fire)’, the gerundive-incorporated form is less direct than the simple transitive form (i.e. acting upon the ignition system of a car, rather than directly on the engine itself).

12.13 *Yi-rrombu-ih-ge-men!*
 Dj 2-extinguish-IVF-TR-IMP
 ‘Turn it off!’

In some cases the semantics of the causative is somewhat idiomatic — from *bengdi* ‘wait in readiness, be expectant’ is derived *bengdaihge* ‘remind, inform that something is ready’:

12.14 *Yamidj an-bengda-ih-ge- \emptyset adberre, gore*
 Dj grasshopper 3/1-be.ready-IVF-TR-NP us LOC
ba-guk-gih-gimukm-inj an-gindjek.
 3P-body-INCEP-become.big-PP III-cheeky yam
 ‘The long-horned grasshopper lets us know when the cheeky yams have got big.’

Whether the incorporated verb is intransitive (e.g. *djordmen* ‘grow, mature’), transitive (e.g. *dombun* ‘extinguish’) or ambitransitive (e.g. *bidbun* ‘climb up O; climb’) the result of incorporation into *-ke* or *-we* is always a transitive verb, never a ditransitive. If there is an original object, it gets demoted to locative adjunct status in the causative.

Thus while *bidbu* is ambitransitive, allowing the frames ‘climb’ and ‘climb up O’, the derived *bidbuihge* is only transitive, and means ‘SUBJ put O up (in some high location which may be specified by an adjunct)’ (12.15); the causee, not the location, incorporates, which (as seen in §10.1.2) is a good diagnostic of object status.

12.15 *Aban-yau-bidbu-ih-geng gure gu-rrulk.*

Dj 1/3pl-climb-IVF-causePP LOC LOC-tree
'I got those children to climb the tree.'

12.16 **Aban-dulk-bidbu-ih-geng.*

Similarly, from the transitive verb *djowkke* 'cross (O, e.g. river or road)' we get the derived causative 'take O across (LOC, e.g. river, road)' (12.17). Again, the derived object can incorporate and be indexed by object pronominal prefixes, while the erstwhile object takes local marking (in this example, a preposition):

12.17 *Ngaban-yau-djoukga-ih-we-ng gure an-gabo.*

1/3pl-child-cross-IVF-throw-PP LOC III-river
'I took the children across the river.'

12.2.2 Incorporation into *wo-* 'give'

In §8.2.2.2 we saw that factitive verbs may be derived from adjectives or nouns by incorporating them into *wo-* 'give'. It is also possible to incorporate gerunds into *wo-*. In most cases this derives a causative. However, in some cases the changes are more idiosyncratic.

Typical examples of the causative use are Dj *worrkmiwon* 'fill (tr.)' (12.19) from *worrkmen* 'be full, be sated' (12.18), MM *man.gayhwon* 'let fall' (12.20) from *man.gan* 'fall' and *ngimewon* 'put (people) inside (dormitories)' (12.21) from *ngime* 'enter'. In each of these cases the 'give' meaning is not absent in the context: the subject of (12.19) is giving food to the object; in 12.20 cockatoo is giving, if unwillingly, emu the chance to get hold of the dropped piece of kangaroo meat; and the subject of 12.21 is giving the Aboriginal children over to the missionaries running the dormitory supervisors.

12.18 *Ga-worrkm-en.*

Dj 3-fill-NP
'(S)he gets full, she fills up.'

12.19 *Ga-worrkm-i-wo-n.*

Dj 3-fill-IVF-give-NP
'He fills her (e.g. with food).'

12.20 *Garnamarr ba-yi-dolga-ng but imin burn, ba-manka-yh-wo-ng.*

MM cockatoo 3/3I-COM-go.up-PP hePST 3/3-f all-IVF-cause-PP
'Red-tailed cockatoo flew up with it (the kangaroo's leg bone), but it burnt him and he let it fall.'

12.21 *Bindi-yawoyh-ngime-ø-wo-ng kure kun-rurrk birri-di.*

W 3a/3pl-again-enter-IVF-give-PP LOC IV-cave 3aP-standP
'They put them (i.e. the next generation of Aboriginal children) into dormitories again.'

The reflexive form *-worren* is used in cases of deliberate causation of a change to oneself. For example, the verb *rokan* normally expresses either uncontrolled motion as in Dj *gayidmerogan* 'his tooth is wobbly', or movements that require no particular effort as in W

ngadengerokahrokan 'I'm wiggling my toes'; *rokaworren*, by contrast, emphasises the greater voluntary control needed for a more difficult wiggling task.

- 12.22 *Kunu nga-h-ganem-roka-yhmi-wo-rr-eni.*
 W then 1-IMM-ear-wobble-IVF-give-RR-PI
 'I used to be able to wiggle my ears.' [KH 106]

Comparable is the derivation, from *yime* 'say, do', of *yimeworren* 'turn oneself into'; this contrasts semantically with *yimerran* 'turn into' in that the first, as a reflexive causative, means 'deliberately cause oneself to become', while the second describes an unvolitional transformation.

- 12.23 *Daddubbe mimih ba-yime-wo-rr-eni.*
 Dj [name] mimih 3P-do-give-RR-PI
 'Daddubbe could turn himself into a *mimih*.'

An idiosyncratic use of *wo*, in which the object added is a patient rather than a causee, is *djekm-i-wo* 'laugh at' (12.25), from *djekme* 'laugh' (12.24).

- 12.24 *Njale yi-djekme?*
 W what 2-laughNP
 'What are you laughing at?'
- 12.25 *Birri-wern ngandi-ngey-djekm-i-wo-n*
 W 3a-many 3a/1-name-laugh-IVF-give-NP
 'Everyone laughs at my name.'

Also idiosyncratic is the form *djare-wo-* 'want some more (food)', from the predicate adjective *djare* 'want, desire':

- 12.26 *Ga-djare-wo-n gun-ganj.*
 Dj 3-want-give-NP IV-meat
 'He wants another taste (of meat).'

12.2.3 Other verb incorporations with causative-type meanings

The verb *kurrme* 'put, put down' is attested with a causative-type meaning in two combinations: I *larrhmikurrme* 'put in the sun (to dry)' alongside *larrhme* 'dry out' and Dj *wolehbugurrme* 'leave to cool, away from heat of the fire' alongside *wolehbun* 'breeze come up'.

Bun 'hit' appears in one further possible example: *kolhmibun* 'shake or shuffle something into a correct position (e.g. spear into the notch of spearthrower)', but although *kolhmi* has the form of a gerundivised *me* verb, so far no form *kolhme* is attested outside this combination.

With both the *kurrme* and *bun* examples, the other semantic components of the incorporating verb (placing with *kurrme*, and physical impact with *bun*) remain in the causative construction.

12.3 Associated motion and verb incorporation

A handful of motion verbs — so far only *durnde* ‘return’, *medda* ‘turn around’, *re* ‘go’ and *murlmurlme* ‘slide’ are attested — can incorporate a gerundive expressing what the subject was doing while or immediately after the relevant motion.

Re ‘go’ is the commonest motion verb to incorporate gerundives (it also derives mediopassives; see §12.5). Complex predicates of the form *v-IVF-re* are often translated as ‘v all the way’, implying that the subject was continually engaged in the gerundive verb activity while moving along (see also 12.2).

12.27 *Ga-rud-g-iyi-re.*

Dj 3-road-carry-IVF-goNP

‘He goes along following the path.’ (*rudgan* ‘follow a path’)

12.28 *A-yo-i-wam.*

Dj 1-sleep-IVF-goPP

‘I slept going along (as we drove along).’

12.29 *Ga-bo-ngu-nihmi-re.*

Dj 3-liquid-eat-IVF-goNP

‘He goes along drinking.’ (“Him drinkin all the way.”)

12.30 *Ga-wayini-hmi-re.*

Dj 3-sing-IVF-goNP

‘He goes along singing all the way.’

12.31 *Gabani-bunjhm-i-re.*

Dj 3ua-kiss-IVF-goNP

‘The two of them go along kissing all the way.’

12.32 *Nahnane ø-wage-yihmi-re-i.*

Dj MA:DEM 3P-crawl-IVF-go-PI

(pointing to the tracks left by a Dreamtime being) ‘This is where he came crawling along.’

Although particularly common in Gun-djeihmi and Manyallaluk Mayali, this construction is also widespread in Kunwinjku (12.33, 12.34) and present, though not common, in Kuninjku (12.35).

12.33 *Wanjh, bene-wok-ki-wam.*

W well 3uaP-talk-IVF-goPP

‘Well, they went along talking together.’ [KS 94]

12.34 *Na-kudji na-marladj ø-ngiwkmih-ngiwkm-i-re-y.*

W MA-one 1-orphan 3P-ITER-cry-IVF-go-PI

‘An orphan was always crying.’ [OP 429]

12.35 *Ka-wurrke, yi-bo-rrahkendo ka-wurrm-i-re.*

I 3/3-startNP 2/3-liquid-put.insideIMP 3-rumble-IVF-goNP

‘He’ll start it up (the engine) and you fill it with water (radiator) while the engine is running.’

However, once one reaches the easternmost dialects (particularly Kune), *re* appears in a serial verb construction, rather than incorporating the other verb (§14.2). This happens even where the speakers are bilingual in Dalabon, which has an incorporating construction similar to the more westerly dialects (see §12.6).

It may be an accidental gap, but I have found no examples containing a directional prefix. Would-be examples like *banimwokkih mire* for ‘the two of them came along talking’ are so far unattested.

With *durnde* ‘return’, the best translation is ‘back’ or ‘(all) the way back’:

- 12.36 *∅-Nalk-kih-durn-durnd-i.*
 I 3P-cry-IVF-ITER-return-PP
 ‘He went all the way back crying/he cried all the way back.’ (Note that iterative reduplication here precedes gerundive incorporation.)
- 12.37 *Birri-kanj-yi-lobm-i-durnd-i.*
 W 3aP-meat-COM-run-IVF-return-PP
 ‘They ran back with the meat.’

Two other motion verbs only occur rarely in this construction; *medda* ‘turn around’ denotes an action that just precedes the incorporated verb:

- 12.38 *Bene-wam bene-danginj bene-wok-ki-medda-nj Gagudju.*
 W 3uaP-goPP 3uaP-standPP 3uaP-talk-IVF-turn.around-PP Gagudju
 ‘The two sisters went along, and then they turned around and spoke Gagudju.’

And *murlmurlme* ‘slide’ can incorporate a verb describing the stance while moving:

- 12.39 *Yi-rrirri-murlmurlme.*
 Dj 2-stand-slidenP
 ‘You slide standing up.’

12.4 Incorporation of non-motion verbs

Finally, several stance verbs can incorporate gerundives, plus a miscellany of other once-off combinations.

12.4.1 Stance verbs

The commonest meaning of this construction with stance verbs is ‘(hold stance) while Ving’, although the interpretation ‘(get in stance) to V’ is also compatible with many contexts. Examples of this with *yerrgan* ‘to sit down’ are 12.40 and 12.41 — the common complex *wayiniyerrgan* (lit. ‘sit down singing’) is typically used in the context of singing a long ceremonial song or song cycle — *yo* ‘lie, lie down’ is used in 12.42.

- 12.40 *Ga-wayini-∅-yerrga-n.*
 Dj 3-sing-IVF-sit.down-NP
 ‘He sits down singing.’

12.41 *Barri-buyiga barri-wayini- \emptyset -yerrga-ng.*
 Dj 3aP-other 3aP-sing-IVF-sit-PP
 'The wrong people sang the song.' (i.e. they were from the wrong country to sing that song)

12.42 *\emptyset -Ngiwkmih-ngiwkm-i-yo-y.*
 W 3P-ITER-whinge-IVF-lie-PP
 'He lay down, whingeing and whimpering.'

In 12.43 the stance verb *di* 'stand' is used more to emphasise the vertical disposition of the subjects: it was offered as a description of a picture in which raindrops were running down the pane of a window:

12.43 *Man-djewk \emptyset -djerlhm-i-rri, \emptyset -djerlhke-ng.*
 I III-rain 3P-drip-IVF-standPP 3P-drip-PP
 'The rain drops are running down (the window pane).'

The monosyllabic 'sit' verb *ni* is not attested in this construction, its place being taken by *yerrka*; but it does occur, in Gun-dedjnjenghmi at least, in one highly idiomatic gerundive with the verb *djangga* 'hunt', in which *djanggaihni* means 'cheer, greet someone's appearance'. Note that the most obvious etymology for this verb, 'sit while (waiting for others to come back from) hunting' would have non-identity of arguments between the two verbs, which is not found in any other gerundivised construction.

12.44 *Arri-bebm-i ngan-gorle gandi-marne-djangga-ih-ni.*
 Dnj 1a-appear-PI III-spear 3a/1a-BEN-hunt-IVF-sitP
 'As we turned up with the spear shafts everyone would cheer our appearance.'

12.4.2 Other verbs

A sprinkling of other verbs occurs in this construction.

With the verbs *wokdi* 'speak' (12.45) and *yakme* 'finish, stop' (12.46) the meaning is clearly compositional, simultaneous in the first case and phasal in the second.

12.45 *Ga-nalk-gi-wokdi.*
 Dj 3-cry-IVF-speakNP
 'She's crying and talking at the same time.'

12.46 *Nga-bekka-n yi-kolkm-i-yakme-n, bukkān nga-m-warr-warrme.*
 I 1/3-hear-NP 2-chop-IVF-stop-NP that.place 1-hither-ITER-wadeNP
 'When I hear you stop (chopping), I'll come wading across there where you are.'

With other verbs the combination is highly idiomatic. *Ngun* 'eat' incorporates *borledme* 'turn round (intr.)' to give the meaning 'take around, put right around, fence off' (12.47); similarly, it incorporates the verb *wabme* 'move from place to place; shift camp' to give *wabmingun* 'step around someone, go around someone'.

Wan, which cannot occur independently but is etymologically the verb for 'follow' (§8.2.3.4), combines with *gurren* 'lie, deceive' (itself a frozen reflexive) to give the meaning 'accuse of lying, reckon O is lying' (12.48).

- 12.47 *Waya birri-dukka-ng birri-borledm-i-ngune-ng.*
 wire 3aP-tie-PP 3a/3P-turn.around-IVF-eat-PP
 'They stretched the wire (as a fence) around (the house).'
- 12.48 *Andi-gurren-wa-n aye ... dja nawu guk-bele wanjh*
 Dj 3a/1a-lie-follow-NP me and MA:REL body-white then
gan-gurren-wa-n ga-yime.
 3/1a-lie-follow-NP 3-doNP
 'They say I'm lying ... the white bloke thinks we are lying.'

There is a single example (in a text in Oates 1964:104) of a perception complement being incorporated: *dalkmi*, the IVF of *dalkme* 'crunch', is incorporated into *bekkang* 'heard':

- 12.49 *Na-mekbe nawu bininj ø-dalkm-i-bekka-ng bu bene-h-mim-baye-yi.*
 W MA-DEM MA:REL man 3/3P-crunch-IVF-hear-PP SUB 3aP-IMM-seed-bite-PI
 'That man heard the crunching sound of them eating seeds.'

12.5 Mediopassive incorporation

A second function of verbal incorporation into *re* 'go' is to derive mediopassives; this is only attested with verbs of the *ma* conjugation. In this construction the first element remains the semantic head, though with intransitivised argument structure.

Thus from *djalkmang* 'to slice, split (tr.)' (12.50), one gets *djalkmire* 'to split along (intr.)' or simply 'to split (intr.)' (12.51), while from *marrhmang* 'to open (tr.)' one gets *marrhmire* 'to open (intr.)' (12.52, 13.136). The semantic route by which this developed may be the 'all the way' sense of the associated motion constructions, although the normal interpretation of these would be 'he went along splitting the rock' rather than 'the rock went along splitting'. In any case, the verb *re* offers a way for the main clause argument structure to be presented as intransitive.

- 12.50 *Duruk ba-rrad-djalkme-y na-mege bininj.*
 Dj dog 3/3-leg-slice-PP MA-DEM man
 'The man sliced the dog's leg.'
- 12.51 *Ba-warde-djalkm-i-wam.*
 Dj 3P-rock-split-IVF-goPP
 'The rock split along.'
- 12.52 *Ba-rrang-marrhm-i-wam.*
 Dj 3P-mouth-open(tr.)-IVF-goPP
 'The door opened up.'

12.6 Comparative remarks

So far the only other Gunwinyguan languages known to have something like verbal incorporation are Rembarrnga (McKay 1975:175–178) and Dalabon (author's field notes), which both have something similar to the associated motion construction. Tiwi also has verb incorporation, using suppletive incorporating forms of verbs (Osborne 1974:47–50).

The Rembarrnga construction is formally similar to that in Bininj Gun-wok, in that a sequence *yi* (or *yu*) appears between the two verb stems (though McKay treats it as a prefix to the second stem rather than a suffix to the first); there are also some changes to the initial of the second verb. The only verbs appearing in the second slot are *ra ~ wa* 'go/come' and *many* 'went'; the construction indicates 'durative aspect, or the fact that the activity is in progress at the time in question, or that it takes place while the subject is in motion' (McKay 1975:175).

Despite the formal similarity, there is a major difference in the status of the two verb stems: McKay treats the 'go' verb as a 'progressive suffix', with the first stem being the main verb, and it is the first stem that determines the argument structure (though there is only a difference where the first verb is transitive). It is likely that the Rembarrnga construction originated as a structure of the Bininj Gun-wok associated motion type, but that later the erstwhile incorporating verb was reanalysed as a suffix leaving the incorporated verb as the head (as with the mediopassive construction in Bininj Gun-wok). Intransitive incorporated verbs would have played a key bridging role here, as the argument structure with such verbs is compatible with both analyses.

In Dalabon the verb *bon* 'go' can incorporate another verb, which must be suffixed by a gerundivising *ye*; the result indicates associated motion or 'along', though it is sometimes also used with an imminent future meaning. An example of the 'along' meaning is 12.53; significantly, David Karlbuma, who supplied this sentence and was bilingual in Dalabon and Kune Narayek, offered 12.54 as its Kune equivalent, employing a serialised verb construction.

12.53 *Dulh djakih kah-warme-ye-bo-n.*
 D stick that 3-float-IVF-go-PR
 'A stick is floating along (down the river).'

12.54 *Kun-dulk nakkanj ka-warme ka-re.*
 E:N IV-stick that 3-floatNP 3-goNP
 'A stick is floating along (down the river).'

In Ngalakan (Merlan 1983:129) the nearest equivalent seems to be verb compounding, as with *burriny'-ja* 'to bury' (*burriny'* (thematic verb), *-ja* 'make stand'), *marninyh-ja* 'to wear' (*marninyh* 'make'). There is no gerundivising morphology, and no evidence the first verb can itself incorporate nominals.

13 *Syntax of the simple clause*

13.1 Preliminaries

In organising this grammar I have followed a general principle of discussing semantic systems in that part of the grammar where their encoding is most elaborated and grammaticalised. Because the language is so heavily polysynthetic this means that much of what one expects in a syntax chapter, on the basis of more familiar languages, is to be found in the various chapters on verbal morphology. Thus the bulk of information on argument structure is discussed in Chapter 10 (e.g. reflexivisation and reciprocal formation in §10.3.4); auxiliary preverbal particles are discussed with the tense/aspect/mood inflections in Chapter 9, and quantification in §11.3 (except for the ‘only’ clitic =*wi* in §13.8.3 below). The present chapter is devoted to those aspects of the syntax where the dominant means of expression is not morphological, or where it is useful to bring together material, in a summary way, from a number of areas of the morphology (e.g. in a comparison of how the ‘having’ relationship is expressed, or in discussing the different means of negation).

Despite the title of this chapter, the delineation of a unit ‘clause’ is difficult to achieve in a watertight way, although the problems are a little less severe than is the case for the noun phrase (cf. §6.1). There is considerable freedom of element order (§13.2), and the fact that core case marking is not assigned by the verb (except for optional ergative marking in Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali) makes it difficult to show that a particular nominal is truly a subject or object of the verb rather than an adjoined nominating word serving to give extra information about one of the arguments, comparable to an ‘afterthought’ NP in English. As we saw in Chapter 10, the rich system of subject and object agreement, as well as noun incorporation, means that information about up to three arguments may be represented on the verb itself. Although intonational breaks will be present in clear cases of such afterthought nominals, there will be many examples in rapid speech where such breaks are not made, so these are not a reliable guide.

A useful guiding metaphor is that of a solar system: the verb forms the centre of the clause, and immediately joining it are various words in close construction with it; most of the construction types to be discussed in this chapter involve specifications of order and morphological features of non-verbal words placed next to the verb. Most syntactic statements apply to elements which the verb’s gravitational pull has attracted into an adjacent position where constructions have become grammaticalised. Most other elements (e.g. adverbials), but also most nominal groups representing the arguments of verbs, are free to be positioned anywhere within the intonational group. Only a few constructions — some involving the elements *wanjh* and *bonj* (§13.12.4) the placement of interrogative pronouns

(§13.8), and some floated quantifiers such as *rowk* 'all' — involve positional options which are not immediately adjacent to the verb.

13.2 Word order

Word order in Biniñ Gun-wok plays an important part in the organisation of discourse, but its grammatical function is limited. The few grammatical rules involving word order are:

- (a) Ignoratives almost always appear initially when used as interrogatives (§7.2).
- (b) Purpose adjuncts and complements appear adjacent to the verb (§13.5), as do second predicates (§13.4.4).
- (c) Modal particles immediately precede the verb (Chapter 9), except that ignoratives used as negative pronouns come between the negative particle and the verb (§13.9.5).
- (d) Oblique pronouns used as objects immediately follow the verb (§10.3).
- (e) The quantifier *rowk* 'all' floats to the end of the intonational group, whether it be a nominal group or a clause (§6.5.2).
- (f) There are some ordering restrictions in presentative/existential constructions (§13.3.4).
- (g) Non-arguments tend to follow rather than precede the verb.

In the rest of this section, we focus on the ordering of nominal groups representing verbal arguments. First (§13.2.1) we demonstrate that all orderings are grammatically possible, then (§13.2.2) we turn to some of the discourse-based preferences regarding order.

13.2.1 Order of major clausal constituents

Grammatical relations do not determine order in Biniñ Gun-wok, and there is no evidence that particular orders (like SVO) are used to disambiguate clauses where the prefixal morphology fails to identify subject and object clearly (*pace* Blake 1987:158). Speakers whom I have consulted claim that a sentence like 13.1 is ambiguous.

- 13.1 *Na-marnde bi-baye-ng ginga.*
 I-devil 3/3hP-bite-PP crocodile
 'The devil bit the crocodile.' OR: 'The crocodile bit the devil.'

By far the commonest pattern is for clauses to lack any overt nominal group, and to rely on the pronominal prefixation on the verb. Next most common is for a single overt nominal group to be present. Out of a sample of 105 transitive and ditransitive clauses from monologic texts, just over half (54) had no external nominal group, most of the remainder (44) had just one external nominal group, and only seven had two. One context where more than one nominal group naturally appears is in descriptive statements accompanied by gestures to elements in a picture; Text 8 contains some examples.

Of those transitive clauses with one external nominal group, the commonest orders were OV (24), SV (8) and VO (7). This distribution reflects the interaction of some of the discourse-ordering tendencies discussed below, in particular the tendency to place episode-initial and contrastive material before the verb, and non-episode-initial new material after it.

Here are some examples illustrating each order for transitive clauses. Note that the two verb-initial orders are the rarest, and I could not find any clear examples in Gun-djeihmi; but examples from Carroll (1976), who illustrates the existence of all six orders in Kunwinjku, are reproduced here. Additional exemplification of the commoner orderings will be given in the next section's discussion of discourse-driven order.

SVO

- 13.2 *An-garehgen gohbagohbanj barri-nam-i gun-djurle-gimuk-gen.*
 Dj III-before old.men 3a-make-PI IV-shade-big-GEN
 'In the olden days the old men would make a big bough-shade.'

SOV

- 13.3 *Na-gudji djirndih gun-dume ba-yi-warlkga-rr-inj.*
 Dj MA-one quail IV-backbone 3P-COM-hide-RR-PP
 'One bird, quail, had hidden himself away with the backbone.'

OVS

- 13.4 *Bininj barri-djare-ni namegebu daluk.*
 Dj man 3a-want-PI those woman
 'Those women wanted a man.'

OSV

- 13.5 *Duruk ginga ba-baye-ng ba-ngune-ng na-wern-gen.*
 Dj dog crocodile 3/3P-bite-PP 3/3P-eat-PP MA-many-GEN
 'The crocodile has bitten and eaten many dogs.'

VSO

- 13.6 *Bi-bo-m marrkidj ngal-i ngal-bu daluk.*
 W 3/3hP-kill-PP clever.man FE-DEM FE-REL woman
 'The clever man killed the woman.' [PC 81]

VOS

- 13.7 *Ka-na-n nuye kun-warde Na-bulanj.*
 W 3/3-see-NP 3mascOBL IV-money I-[subsection]
 'Nabulanj will see (i.e. get) his money.' [Carroll 1976:81]

It is rare for ditransitive verbs to have more than one external NP. As with verbs of lower valence, it is usual for one or more arguments to be represented simply by pronominal prefix, as with the subject of 13.8, or by an incorporated nominal, as with the object of 13.9:

- 13.8 *Ngal-bu daluk bininj birri-wo-ni.*
 W FE-DEM woman man 3a/3-give-PI
 'They were giving this woman to a man.' [OP 418]
- 13.9 *Ngal-mangi-yi ngarrbek bi-marne-yaw-ngune-ng korroko.*
 W II-tortoise echidna 3/3hP-BEN-baby-eat-PP before
 'Long ago Tortoise ate Echidna's baby.' [OP 426]

A rare example of a ditransitive with three external NPs, the order IO V O SUBJ, is:

- 13.10 *If bininj na-buyiga gabi-marne-djidma-ng daluk, yawurrinj ...*
 Dj if man MA-other 3/3h-BEN-steal-NP woman young.man
 'If a young man steals another man's wife ...'

13.2.2 Word order and discourse factors

Below I present the main word-order tendencies in connected discourse. I refrain from giving quantitative support, pending a full study on a larger corpus. None of these word-order tendencies are cross-linguistically unusual (see e.g. Givón 1987).

Note that some of these tendencies may conflict, for example a new participant introduced by a presentative motion verb like *bebme* 'appear' would be assigned postverbal position by (e), but preverbal position by (a) if its appearance coincides with a new paragraph or episode.

- (a) i. NEW PARAGRAPHS ARE OFTEN FLAGGED WITH PREVERBAL NOMINALS REPRESENTING CORE ARGUMENTS. Consider the following extract from a Gurdjeihmi text by Toby Gangele about Nadjik, the tawny frogmouth bird. The preceding portion of text has recounted his habit of turning up at people's camps, asking for food, then swallowing the person who offered it; in the end people decide to kill him. The two-line episode in which the humans lure Nadjik by cooking a kangaroo begins with two preverbal external nominals, denoting the man and the kangaroo; the next line of the episode has no external nominals. The next episode, in which Nadjik arrives, is signalled with the preverbal external noun *Nadjik*, last referred to with an external nominal in the first line of the texts. Here I symbolise episode boundaries by '[' for close, and '[' for open.'

- 13.11 *Barri-wam,] [Na-gudji bininj gunj ba-bardngorm-ei.*
 Dj 3aP-goPP MA-one man kangaroo 3/3P-break.leg.joints.for.cooking-P
Ba-wilkde-ngi, yiga barri-warlkga-rr-inj.] [Na-djik
 3/3P-put.on.fire-PI some 3aP-hide-RR-PP I-tawny.frogmouth
ba-m-bebme-ng gumege. Wanjh bi-berdme-ninj,
 3P-towards-appear-PP there just.then 3/3hP-cover-IRR
barri-yame-ng, barri-burnname-ng.
 3a/3P-spear-PP 3a/3P-stop-PP
 'They went (to execute their plan).] [One man broke the joints of a kangaroo ready to cook it. While he was putting it on the fire to cook, some of the others hid themselves away.] [Na-djik turned up there. Just as he was about to cover him (with the bark), they speared him and stopped him doing it.'

Texts frequently begin with an external nominal introducing the main protagonist:

- 13.12 *Namarnde gun-marne-bebme, yi-gurdangyi.*
 devil 3/2-BEN-appearNP 2-clever.man
 'A devil comes to you, and you (become) a clever man.' (first line of a text explaining how one becomes a 'clever man' or sorcerer)

ii. NEW MENTIONS OF ARGUMENTS TEND TO OCCUR PREVERBALLY, for example:

- 13.13 *Ba-ngarre-werrhm-i gun-marlaworr, gun-boi ba-ngune-ng,*
 3P-scrub-scratch-PI IV-leaf IV-cooking.stone 3/3P-eat-PP

gun-njamed, gun-yirrge ba-ngune-ng.

IV-what IV-ash 3/3P-eat-PP

'While she was scratching around in the leaves, she ate a cooking stone, and (also ate) the whatsitsname, the ash.'

To the extent that major participants tend to be introduced at the beginning of new episodes this tendency blends into (a)i. An example is 13.14, excerpted from the Al-wanjduk text (Text 1.38–43). Here both quail and the prized backbone (Alwanjdjuk's last chance for a piece of the meal) are both mentioned for the first time in the text, and are both introduced as preverbal nominal groups. Note that 'quail' is further identified as a new mention by the use of *na-gudji* 'one' (see §6.3.2).

- 13.14 *Bonj an-barrgid ba-wam, man.gek gunak.*
 Dj OK VE-other 3P-goPP CTRFAC fire

Ba-yerrng-yiga-ni ba-djoleng-m-inj ba-ru-i na-wu gunj.
 3P-wood-go.for-PI 3-ready-INCH-PP 3P-cook-PP MA-REL roo

Barri barri-marnbom rouk, barri-bebbe-gana-ga-ng, gun-berd, gun-dad,
 3aP 3a/3P-preparePP all 3a/3P-each-ITER-take-PP IV-tail IV-thigh

njanjuk namegebu barri-bebbe-gana-ga-ng. Na-gudji djirndih
 anything all.those 3a/3P-each-ITER-take-PP MA-one quail

gun-dume ba-yi-warlka-rr-inj.

IV-backbone 3P-COM-hide-RR-PP

'All right, she (emu) had gone off another way, supposedly to get fire. While she was going for wood it had been cooked and got ready, that roo. They prepared it, they each took their share, some part of the tail, some a thigh, they each took something like that. One bird, quail, had hidden himself away with the backbone.'

However, there are examples where protagonists are established participants (and would be expected to be postverbal by (c) below), but owing to the commencement of a new paragraph are placed in preverbal position. In the following example, from a story about the brutal ancestral figure Luma-Luma, two preceding paragraphs have outlined various of his dangerous and destructive doings with his enormous penis; 13.15 initiates a new paragraph telling about his parentage and role as an initiator of ceremonial designs. (Note that Yingarna, his mother the rainbow serpent, is placed postverbally here despite being a new mention.)

- 13.15 *Luma-Luma bi-yawme-y Yingarna. Nungka ø-wam Gumardderr*
 W [name] 3/3h-have.child-PP [name] 3masc 3P-goPP [place]

kore Malworn.

LOC [place]

'Luma-Luma was born of Yingarna. He walked down the Goomadeer River to Malworn.' [KS 60]

- (b) CONTRASTIVE MENTIONS OCCUR PREVERBALLY. This holds equally true of simple contrastives of the form 'A V₁s, while B V₂s' (e.g. 13.16, 13.17) and of paired contrastives of the form 'A Vs X, while B Vs Y' (e.g. 13.18).

13.16 *Gohbagohbanj barri-borrkge-yi, dja yawurrinj bandi-nahna-ni.*
 Dj old.men 3aP-dance-PI CONJ young.man 3a/3pl-watch-PI
 'The old men would dance, and the young men would watch them.'

13.17 *Ngad ngarri-danjik ngarri-bebme, ngudda yi-ni-n kanjdji!*
 W we 1a-three 1a-go.outNP you 2-sit-IMP inside
 'We three will go out, you stay inside.' [WH 23]

13.18 *ngaleng ga-ga-n na-gudji yau, nungga na-bininjgobeng*
 Dj 3fem 3/3-take-NP MA-one chick 3masc 1-spouse

ga-ga-n gun-bid-bogen.

3-take-NP IV-hand-two

'She (the female emu) takes one chick, and he, the husband, takes ten.'

- (c) ESTABLISHED PARTICIPANTS TEND TO BE POSTVERBAL IF THEY APPEAR AS EXTERNAL NOMINALS AT ALL. This applies equally to 'afterthought NPs', whose function is to ensure that the pronominal prefixes are properly construed (13.19), and to NPs in 'linked repetitions'. These are a characteristic structure of Bininj Gun-wok discourse¹ which proceeds as 'A. A having happened, B. B having happened, C.' An example is 13.20, whose second line shows both a postverbal established participant (*djilidjili*) and a preverbal new participant (*gorlobarra*).

13.19 *Gurrih na-wu ba-bule-yiga-ni, ba-bule-yawa-ni,*
 Dj blue.tongue MA-REL 3/3P-burnt.grass-go.for-PI 3/3P-burnt.grass-search-PI

barri-bokga-ni.

3a/3P-track-PI

'Those blue-tongue (lizards) would go out for the burnt grass, looking for the burnt grass, and they'd track them (i.e. the old people would track the blue-tongue lizards).'

Barri-na-ni ba-ngim-i gu-rurk, barri-durkm-i. Barri-bu-ni
 3a/3P-look-PI 3P-enter-PI LOC-hole 3a/3P-pull.out-PI 3a/3P-kill-PI

gohbagohbanj.

old.people

'They'd look for where they had gone into their holes, and pull them out.

They'd kill them, the old people.'

13.20 *Barri-wam djilidjilih barri-dalk-djobge-yi, barri-h-ngu-ni*
 Dj 3aP-goPP cane.grass 3aP-grass-cut-PI 3a/3P-IMM-eat-PI

¹ This pattern is found in a number of other Australian languages (see Heath (1985), for example, on a similar phenomenon in Ngandi).

djilidjili, gorlobbarra barri-na-ng.

cane.grass kangaroo 3a/3P-see-PP

'They went out for cane grass and were cutting it. As they were eating cane-grass, they saw a kangaroo.'

- (d) ADJUNCTS (E.G. PURPOSE, LOCATION, INSTRUMENT) TEND TO BE POSTVERBAL ON FIRST MENTION. For example, each of the lines below, all from the Morak text (Text 4), includes a postverbal first mention of an adjunct.

13.21 *Galuk danjbi dja bogen bani-lobm-i gunak-dorrend*

Dj bye.and.bye three CONJ two 3uaP-run-PI fire-with

bani-wurth-wurhge-yi.

3ua-ITER-light-PI

'Bye and bye two or three would run around with a firestick and set fire (to the shelter).'

13.22 "Marrek gurri-darrgid-ma-ng, bi-rrulubu-n bokkoh-yi."

Dj NEG 2a/3-alive-grasp-NP 1a/2a-hit.with.missile-NP spear-INSTR

'If you don't pick it up alive, we'll spear you!'

13.23 *Galuk ba-malayi-barrkbu-ni, barri-yauh-re-i gu-gabohgabo.*

Dj bye.and.bye 3P-morning-dawn-PI 3aP-again-go-PI LOC-streams

'Bye and bye it would grow light, and they'd go on again along the creeks.'

Interestingly, adjuncts often shift into preverbal positions on subsequent mention — the opposite of what happens with arguments. Two examples of this happening (where near-synonyms are employed in the repetition) are:

13.24 *wanjh na-mege ginga ga-ga-n gu-rurrk ganjdji,*
Dj then MA-that crocodile 3/3-take-NP LOC-home underneath

gure gelbi ga-yi-ngime-n. Djama ga-bangme-guk-ngu-n.

LOC lair 3/3-COM-enter-NP NEG 3/3-not.yet-body-eat-NP

'then that crocodile takes it down into his home under the ground, and goes into his lair with it. He doesn't eat its body yet.'

13.25 *Nicholas ngaye Benny Lee, Helen Lee, arri-m-wam wakkidj,*
Dj 1sg 1a-hither-goPP fishing

djenj ngarri-m-wam

fish 1a-hither-goPP

'Nicholas, me, Benny Lee and Helen Lee have come here fishing, have come for fish.'

- (e) NOMINALS REPRESENTING ARGUMENTS IN PRESENTATIVE, EXISTENTIAL AND THETIC CONSTRUCTIONS TEND TO BE POSTVERBAL.

13.26 *gun-marlaworr ga-ma-ng, gabi-wordbu-n, ga-rrolga-n gun-dulk*

Dj IV-leaf 3/3-take-NP 3/3h-wave.magic.leaf-NP 3-arise-NP IV-stick

'He takes a (magic) leaf and waves it (over the patient), and a stick comes up (out of the patient's body).'

With existential constructions the situation is actually a little more complicated, depending on whether the entity can be represented by an incorporable noun. This construction is discussed in more detail in §13.3.4 and §10.4.3.3.

13.3 Non-verbal predicates and related constructions

In this section I discuss a number of constructions which typically do not use verbal predicates, there being no copula in the language: ascriptive and equational clauses, some types of 'having' predicates, possessive constructions, and constructions expressing similarity and comparison. Certain other constructions which do use verbs (typically of stance and position) are included here also, either because they contract semantic oppositions to non-verbal predicates (e.g. some 'having' constructions), or because they frequently group with non-verbal predicates cross-linguistically (e.g. locative and existential constructions). Note that although presentative constructions have sometimes been claimed to be structurally similar to existentials (see Hengeveld 1992:118–121 for discussion and references), these are not expressed in Bininj Gun-wok by a particular clausal construction, but rather by the addition of the presentative demonstrative *nahni* to a range of clause types (§7.3.1.11).

13.3.1 Constructional characteristics

Non-verbal predicates have a topic — comment structure, with the topic invariably placed first and realised by a nominal group. The comment is realised by a nominal of some kind, which may range from an adjective, noun, oblique pronoun, or some combination of nominals into a nominal group. Occasionally a pronoun or demonstrative from the *nakka* 'just mentioned' series (§7.3.1.12) is used as a link between the topic and comment, particularly in definitions and equational constructions. The following excerpt from Text 2 (lines 10 to 14) illustrates four successive non-verbal ascriptive clauses. In this example a pronoun or demonstrative is used as a link in each clause: *ngaleng* 'she' in a., *nakka* 'that just now' in b. and e., and *nawu* 'that (relative)' in c./d.

- 13.27 a. *ngaleh ngal-yuhyungki ngurrurdu ngaleng bininj, Bulanjdjan.*
 Dnj FE-DEM II-ancestor emu she human [subsection]
 'that female ancestor emu, she was a human (then), of Bulanjdjan subsection.
- b. *Mayh na-mekke nakka bininj-ni,*
 bird MA-DEM MA:DEM human-P
 'Those birds, they were human then,
- c. *bininj yerre-kah-wi na-wu korlordoddok,*
 person after-LOC-only MA-REL peaceful.dove
 'people only afterwards became (such birds as) the peaceful dove,
- d. *la rakul lumbuk karrkkanj, njalehnjale,*
 and red.eyed.pigeon banded.fruit.dove brown.falcon whatever
 'the red-eyed pigeon, the banded fruit dove, the brown falcon and so forth,

- e. *nakbu wakwak nakka bininj-ni.*
 MA:DEM crow MA:DEM person-P
 'and the crow was human too.'

As discussed in §8.3, nominal predicates take a subset of the morphology available to the verbs, particularly pronominal prefixes and TAM suffixes. The form *bininj-ni* in lines b. and e. of the above example illustrates the use of the past suffix *-ni* on a nominal predicate, while the use of a pronominal prefix is illustrated by the third augmented prefix *birri-* and the first minimal prefix *nga-* in the following examples. As they illustrate, it is possible to omit the topic nominal leaving just the nominal predicate.

- 13.28 (*Bedda*) *birri-warre.*
 W they 3a-bad
 'They are bad.'

- 13.29 (*Ngaye*) *nga-mungu.*
 I I 1-innocent
 'I am innocent.'

Third person pronominal prefixes draw on a slightly different set of forms when applied to nominal predicates, neutralising the past/non-past distinction found with pronominal prefixes on verbs (see §10.2.1).

Noun class prefixes (§5.5.2), such as the Class IV prefix *kun-* in *kun-kanj* 'meat' (13.30), remain attached in nominal predicates. They are neither replaced nor preceded by pronominal prefixes:

- 13.30 *Ngad kun-kanj bedberre bininj.*
 W we IV-meat 3aOBL Aborigine
 'We are meat for Aborigines.' [OP 511]

Nouns belonging to the zero-prefix class may, if they refer to life-stages, take pronominal prefixes, for example *nga-wurdurd-ni* [1-child-P] '(when) I was a child' (8.95), *nga-yawurrinj-ni* '(when) I was a young man' (13.31) and *ga-wurdwurd* 'it is a sapling' (13.32). Other zero-class nouns, such as *bininj* 'person', do not take pronominal prefixes.

- 13.31 *Bern ngan-bim-mey korroko, ngayi nga-barndi kure, wirlihwirlih*
 I [name] 3/1-picture-getPP before I 1-be.highP LOC Wubarr.pole
nga-yawurrinj-ni.
 I-young.man-PI

'Berndt (Ronald Berndt, the anthropologist) took a photograph of me a long time ago when as a young man I climbed up the ceremonial *Wubarr* pole.' [GID]

- 13.32 *Gun-dulk an-ege ga-wurdwurd.*
 Dj IV-tree VE-DEM 3-child
 'This tree is a sapling.'

With gender prefixes the situation is more complicated. It is common to replace them with pronominal prefixes to signal plurality (13.28, 13.33) or to indicate non-third person subject (13.29).

13.33 *Ngal-eke moleh-molenj birri-kih-kimuk.*
 W FE-that REDUP-woman 3a-REDUP-big
 'Those women are big.'

But most adjectives used as nominal predicates only allow the gender prefixes (13.34); the same applies to attributive compounds (13.35, 13.36).

13.34 a. *Na-meke bininj na-kimuk.* b. *Ngal-eke daluk ngal-kimuk.*
 W MA-DEM man MA-big FE-DEM woman FE-big
 'That man is big.' 'That woman is big.'

13.35 *Gun-dulk an-dehne an-dulk-djumbung.*
 Dj IV-tree VE-that VE-tree-short
 'That tree is short.'

13.36 *Ngal-daluk-buk.*
 W FE-woman-peaceful
 'She is a quiet-tempered woman.'

Where the referent is third person minimal, however, a few adjective roots allow either gender or pronominal prefixes, but with a difference in meaning, as with the following examples with *-mak* 'good' and *-warre* 'bad'. In each case the pronominally-prefixed root conveys a situational meaning — 'it's good/bad for him/her'² — while the gender-prefixed root attributes the adjective as a long-term property of the individual. The forms *gamak/kamak* and *gawarre/kawarre* may also be used with no clear subject, to mean '(it's) OK' and '(it's) no good' respectively; exceptionally, these forms are used in the past tense without replacing the prefix (see Text 1.59 and Text 4.11).

13.37 a. *Kodjok ka-mak.* b. *Kodjok na-mak.*
 [subsection] 3-good [subsection] MA-good
 'Kodjok's OK (e.g. not upset or sick).' 'Kodjok's a good/handsome person.'

Dj c. *Na-mak-ni.*
 MA-good-P
 'He was a good man.'

13.38 a. *Alekke daluk ga-warre.* b. *Alekke daluk ngal-warre.*
 Dj FE:DEM woman 3-bad FE:DEM woman FE-bad
 'That woman's no good (upset, sick etc.)' 'That woman is bad/ugly.'

13.39 *Nungka na-warre, ø-dowi-men.*
 W he MA-bad 3P-die-IMP
 'He is a bad man, and must die.'

Similarly, the root *ngudjwarre* means 'bad at walking, bad on one's feet'; Dj *al-ngudjwarreni*, with the feminine gender prefix and past suffix, was translated by EH as 'she was too old to walk' (i.e. she was someone unable to walk), a stable property, while *bangudjwarreni*, with the verbal prefix, was translated as '(felt) too tired to walk', a more transient state.

² This applies only to the third minimal prefixed form. Non-minimal pronominal prefixes, like *birri-* in 13.28, get the property interpretation, like gender-prefixed forms.

Predicate adjectives like *babang* 'be sore, sick', *banj* 'stink(ing)', *bonjdjek* 'cold', Dj *gangemak* 'happy' and *warnyak* 'not feel like, not want' take the pronominal prefix set found with verbs, most obvious from the presence of the prefix *ga-/ka-* in non-past, non-minimal forms:

13.40 *Gabarri-gange-mak.*
Dj 3a-feeling-good
'They're feeling happy.'

13.41 *Ga-bonjdjek.*
Dj 3-cold
'She is cold.'

And in Gun-djeihmi, which has the non-zero form past form *ba-*, predicate adjectives can take this in the past:

13.42 *Ba-warnyak-ni.*
Dj 3P-not.want-P
'He didn't want any.' (transient, verb-like; verbal past prefix and past suffix)

13.43 *Ba-bonjdjek-ni.*
Dj 3P-cold-P
'She was cold.'

Rohrok 'same, similar' can occur with either prefix set. In Gun-djeihmi, for example, it can take the non-verbal third person unit augmented form *bani-* (13.44), or the verbal form *gabani-* (13.45, 13.46).

13.44 *Bani-berd-rohrok.*
Dj 3ua-tail-similar
'The two of them have similar tails.'

13.45 *An-mardba, an-djalen, gabani-rohrok an-ngui.*
Dj III-scarlet.gum III-woollybutt 3ua-similar III-flower
'The scarlet gum and the Darwin woollybutt have similar flowers.'

13.46 *Gun-dulk nahni gabani-werrk-rohrok.*
Dj IV-tree MA:DEM 3ua-bark-similar
'These two trees have similar bark.'

13.3.2 *Ascriptive and equational predicates*

Extensive examples of ascriptive predicates have been given in the preceding section, involving nouns like *bininj* 'person, human' (13.27) and *yawurrinj* 'young man' (13.31), adjectives like *warre* 'bad' (13.28) and *kimuk* 'big' (13.33), attributive noun-adjective compounds like *an-dulk-djumbung* 'short tree' (13.35) and *ngal-daluk-buk* 'peaceful woman' (13.36), and predicate adjectives like *bonjdjek* 'cold' (13.41). To this may be added social identification terms like subsection terms (13.47) and clan names (13.48). (Further examples of nominal ascriptive predicates can be found in §8.3.)

13.47 *Ngal-kudji ngal-bu Ngal-bangardi, ngal-buyika Ngal-kangila.*
 W FE-one FE-REL II-[subsection] FE-other II-[subsection]
 'One of the women was Ngalbangardi (subsection), the other was Ngalkangila.'
 [KS 196]

13.48 *Na-mege bininj Na-badmardi.*
 Dj MA-that man I-[clan]
 'That man is a Badmardi man.'

Although ascriptive predicates most commonly describe stable states, occasionally they are applied to situations of becoming. One example is c. 13.27, *bininj yerrekahwi nawu korlordoddok, la rakul ...* 'only later did people become (such birds as) the peaceful dove, the red-eyed pigeon ...'; another is:

13.49 *Namarnde gun-marne-bebme, yi-gurdangyi.*
 Dj devil 3/2-BEN-appearNP 2-clever.man
 'A devil comes to you, and you (become) a clever man.'

More commonly, however, transformations are expressed by either denominal inchoative verbs (§8.2.2.1) or the verb *yimerran* 'turn out, turn into, become':

13.50 *Ba-djal-yim-i galukborrk "gurlulk, gurlulk" ba-yime-ng.*
 Dj 3P-just-say-PI long.time [onomatopoeic] 3P-say-PP
 'She just kept saying for a long time: "gurlulk, gurlulk".'

"Anege yi-yimerra-nj."
 that 2-turn.into-PP

'"That's how you turned out," (they said).'

"Ayed a-yimarra-ng? Al-wanjdjuk a-yimarran!"
 how 1-turn.into-NP II-emu 1-turn.intoNP

'"How am I going to turn out? I'll turn into an emu."'

Equational predicates, in which identity is asserted to hold between a topic and a comment, both with unique reference, are rare, except in cases of demonstrative identification:

13.51 *Ngad karri-bekka-n bu ka-h-re ka-h-yime "wuhwu, wuhwu".*
 W we 12a-hear-NP SUB 3NP-IMM-goNP 3NP-IMM-sayNP [onomatopoeic]

Wanjh karri-yime "Ah, nakka nungka-h."
 then 12a-sayNP ah MA:DEM him-IMM

'We hear him going along saying "wuhwu, wuhwu". Then we say, "Ah, that's him (the little man known as Djidjnguk)".' [KS 88]

The other common circumstance in which equational clauses are used is in identificational statements about place. Note that in each of the following examples a locative comment (including the locative preposition *kure*) is directly linked to the topic, without the need for any verb; this contrasts with locational constructions which always require a stance or positional verb (§13.3.3).

- 13.52 *Djikkabbal kun-red kure Kamarrang ø-danginj.*
 [place] IV-place LOC [subsection] 3P-be.bornPP
 ‘Djikkabbal is the place where Kamarrang was born.’ [GID]
- 13.53 *Kabirlingun kure wakkidj ngarri-we.*
 [place] LOC fish.hook 1a-thrownP
 ‘Kabirlingun is where we go fishing.’ [GID]
- 13.54 *Yingundje kure ngarnkul djang ka-rri.*
 [place] LOC black.duck dreaming 3-standNP
 ‘Yingundje is where the black duck dreaming is.’ [GID]

13.3.3 Locative predicates

Locative constructions use a stance or positional verb, plus (usually) a locative complement, typically a spatial deictic or a locative-marked nominal group — by suffix (13.55), one of the two locative prefixes (13.56) and/or preposition (13.57) — though when the verb has a specific locative content the noun may be left unmarked (13.58).

- 13.55 *Ga-h-wendi galk-no-gah.*
 MM 3-IMM-be.highNP stump-PRT-LOC
 ‘(The hose) is on top of the tree stump.’
- 13.56 a. *Barri-dahgendi gu-rredj.*
 Dj 3aP-be.insideP LOC-back
 ‘They were inside the back (of the truck).’
- b. *Bob mi-ngarre ka-di.*
 E:D red.backed.fairy.wren VEG.LOC-jungle 3-standNP
 ‘Red-backed fairy wrens live in the jungle.’
- 13.57 *Barri-ni gure gu-rurrk.*
 Dj 3aP-sitPI LOC LOC-shelter
 ‘They used to sit in the shelter.’/‘They would be in the shelter.’
- 13.58 *Mambard ka-barndi kaddum table.*
 cup 3-be.highNP up/above
 ‘The/a cup is on the table.’

Locational words may also be used, with no noun:

- 13.59 *Djamo ka-di karrikad.*
 MM dog 3-standNP outside
 ‘The dog is outside (the kennel).’
- 13.60 *Karrh ka-wendi kaddum.*
 MM spider 3-be.highNP above
 ‘The spider is above.’ (used to describe a situation where a spider was hanging from the roof).

Locational constructions in Bininj Gun-wok never occur without a verb. In this respect Bininj Gun-wok contrasts markedly with dependent-marking Australian languages such as

Kayardild,³ where locative-marked nominals are sufficient to constitute a locational predicate.

Structurally and semantically distinct from both locationals and existentials are predications with the meaning 'be present, be there (with someone else)'. These are expressed by adding the comitative suffix *plus* a tense marker to a free pronoun (e.g. *ngaye-dorrengh-ni* 'I was there, I was present as a witness'). See 5.81 for a sentence example.

13.3.4 Existential and presentative predicates

The commonest type of existential construction likewise uses one of the four stance verbs 'stand' (13.61), 'lie' (13.62), 'sit' (13.63) or 'be high' (13.64, 13.65; E and MM have *wendi* corresponding to *barndi* in other dialects). Where morphologically possible the stance verb incorporates a generic term (13.61, 13.62), otherwise the noun is immediately adjacent to the verb (13.64, 13.65). A locative group may precede (13.61) or follow (13.65), but need not be present (13.62–13.64). Where incorporation occurs, the incorporated generic noun will usually be followed by a more specific external noun, as with 'cypress pine' in 13.61 and 'billabong' in 13.62. (For further examples see §10.4.3.3.)

13.61 *Ku-dulum-kah ka-dulk-di an-larrh ngan-dulk-kudji, ka-djabdi.*
MM LOC-peak-LOC 3-tree-standNP III-cypress.pine III-tree-one 3-be.verticalNP
'There is a cypress pine on top of the mountain.'

13.62 *Ga-bo-yo an-gabo.*
Dj 3-liquid-lieNP III-billabong
'There's a billabong there.'

13.63 *Gukku alengman ba-gole-ni ba-bo-ni, an-gole.*
Dnj water herEMPH 3P-spear-sitPI 3P-liquid-sitPI III-spear
'The water itself (was heavy), there were the spears and the water inside the spears.'

13.64 *Kabirri-barnh-barndi kardab.*
I 3a-ITER-be.highNP spider
'There are spiders up (on the wall).'

13.65 *Pensil ka-h-wendi kure kabad kaddum.*
MM pencil 3-IMM-be.highNP LOC cupboard on.top
'There is a pencil on top of the cupboard.'

In general the choice of stance verb in these existentials reflects the position of the entity at issue: trees stand, while billabongs 'lie' (i.e. are stretched out horizontally). There is some room to stress salient facts of the situation: normally one says of fruit in a tree that are not too high up, *kamimdi* [it-fruit-stands] 'there are fruit', but if one wanted to stress how high up they were one could say *kamimbarndi* [it-fruit-be.high] 'there are fruit up high'.

There are also some more idiosyncratic distinctions. Thus one normally uses *yo* 'lie' with names (e.g. *kangeyyo* [it-name-lies] 'it has a name; its name is ...'); in the standard situation

³ Verbless locational predicates are of course found in many languages of the world – see Hengeveld (1992) and Clark (1978).

that this denotes the name is not physically present but exists in people's minds and in the language. But if a name is physically present, through being written down (e.g. in a book, or on someone's T-shirt) one says *kangeydi* [it-name-stands], regardless of its physical orientation.

Two other structures found in existentials are:

(a) The simple use of quantifier, with no copular, after a locative expression:

13.66 *Warradjan ... Kun-dedj ka-rrudje-rr-en ka-rrabu-dudje. Kure*
 [turtle.sp.] IV-rear 3-bury-RR-NP 3-egg-buryNP LOC

Mikkinj na-wern.

[place] MA-many

'The pig-nosed turtle ... It buries its rear end and lays eggs in the ground.
 There are many in Mikkinj valley.'

(b) Use of *karrme* 'have' (see §13.3.5) with a locational noun as the subject:

13.67 *Warnwarnh man-ngarre ka-karrme.*

E:D ficus.racemosa III-jungle 3-haveNP

'The jungle has *ficus racemosa* trees, i.e. there are *ficus racemosa*
 trees in the jungle.'

13.68 *Man-ngarre ka-karrme badjikokok yawnowurd.*

E:D III-jungle 3-haveNP leech little

'There are little leeches in the jungle.'

13.3.5 'Having' predicates

A number of distinct constructions express a range of 'have'-type relations at the clausal level.

13.3.5.1 Instrumental and comitative suffixes

These are treated first because, across the Australian continent, they are the commonest way of expressing 'having' in predicates. In Bininj Gun-wok, however, this method is hardly ever used.

The instrumental suffix *-yih* is frequently used in adnominal expressions to express the meaning 'having, equipped with' (e.g. *nawu mayh bidngalngyih* 'that animal with nails on its claws'); see §5.2.1.9 for many examples. However, it is vanishingly rare to see it used in clausal predications of 'having'. The only example known to me is from Kune (Dulerayek):

13.69 *Buyuh ko-no man-kung-yih.*

E:D a.aulacocarpa flower-3POSSD III-honey-INSTR

'*Acacia aulacocarpa* flowers have honey.'

The comitative suffix *-dorreng* is likewise restricted to instrumental and other adjunct uses, and is not attested in having predicates, although it occasionally appears on secondary predicates:

- 13.70 *Wanjh kun-djawurrk-dorrenng nga-m-wam kondanj kunu.*
 W well IV-beard-COM I-hither-goPP here then
 'I had a beard when I came here.' (i.e. I came here bearded.) [OP 354]

13.3.5.2 *garrme-/karrme-* 'have'

This verb is the unmarked method of expressing the 'having' relationship. It has a broad semantic range, which spans 'grab' (6.106), 'grasp' (13.71), 'touch' (13.72), 'take hold of' (13.73), 'hold on to' (13.74) and 'hold' (13.75).

- 13.71 *Galawan ga-rrulk-garrme.*
 Dj goanna 3/3-tree-graspNP
 'The goanna is **grasping** onto a tree.'
- 13.72 *A-guk-garrme-ng a-yibbom bigibigi.*
 Dj 1/3-body-touch-PP 1/3-patPP pig
 'I **touched** the pig. I patted it.'
- 13.73 *Nga-kodj-wurrkmeng marrkidjbu kam-wam ngan-kodj-karrme-ng*
 I 1/3-head-stunPP clever.man 3hither-goPP 3/1-head-hold-PP
ngan-marnbom.
 3/1-healPP
 'I had an object inside my head and the clever man **took hold of** my head and healed me.' [GID]
- 13.74 *Yi-wernh-karrme warde ka-biwme.*
 2-properly-holdIMP might 3-bendNP
 '**Hold on to** it tightly or else it might bend.' [GID]
- 13.75 *Ngudda yi-karrme-n wardi nga-walewarre.*
 I you 2/3-hold-IMP might 1-wrongly.hold
 'You **hold** her (the baby) otherwise I'll hold her incorrectly.' [GID]

Used with the meaning 'have', this verb applies a wide range of possessive relationships:

- (a) Temporary or long-term possession of alienable or constructed objects (see also 6.97, 6.103, Text 9.9).

- 13.76 *Man-me yi-karrme? Kayakki, birri-yakwong birri-dedjwarla.*
 I III-food 2-haveNP nothing 3a/3P-finishPP 3a-greedy.guts
 '**Have** you got any food? No, those greedy guts finished it all.' [GID]

- (b) 'Having' kin and other types of relationship:

- 13.77 a. *Na-bininjkobeng ka-karrme.* b. *Daluk ka-karrme.*
 I I-spouse 3-haveNP woman 3-haveNP
 'She **has** a husband.' 'He's married.'
- 13.78 *Ka-karrme mararradj. Nga-na-ng bi-mim-lewkme-ng.*
 I 3-haveNP lover 1/3-see-PP 3/3hP-eye-look.suggestively-PP
 'She **has** a lover. I saw him give her the eye.' [GID]

the object (10.131, 10.245), showing that in some respects it is transitive and in others not. No other verb has a comparably ambiguous status.

- 13.87 *Yi-bengka-n Kodjok? Bale nakka ka-h-ngey-yo?*
 2/3-know-NP [subsection] where MA:DEM 3-IMM-name-lieNP
Bulanj bi-karrmeng.
 [subsection] 3/3hP-have-PP
 'You know that Kodjok? What's his name now? He's got a son (now)
 — (a little) Bulanj.'

13.3.5.3 Restricted-domain constructions

English and many other languages extend the use of 'have' to situations like 'he has bad eyes', 'she has rough skin' and so on, which are actually predicates restricted to some domain of the subject (i.e. he is bad, as far as his eyes are concerned). Bininj Gun-wok grammaticalises this restricted-domain analysis, expressing such statements in the form *X N-Pr* where *N* is a 'part noun' and *Pr* is predicate (which may be an adjective or a verb). Note that 'part' here includes parts of the persona (voice, shadow, spirit, language, reflection) as well as the body proper.

Because of the structural parallels between incorporation and noun-adjective compounding the same formulation works for both types: restricted domain noun-adjective compounds used as predicates (as in 13.88–13.90), and body-part nouns incorporated into intransitive verbs (10.91); the incorporation of 'affected' body-part nouns into intransitive verbs (discussed and exemplified in detail in §10.4.2).

- 13.88 *Bene-mim-warre.*
 3ua-eye-bad
 'They both have poor eyesight.' [GID]
- 13.89 *Bulurr bodme-darrkdarrk.*
 Storr's.monitor back-rough
 'Storr's monitor has a rough back.'
- 13.90 *Nga-ngabed-guyeng.*
 Dj 1-hair-long
 'I have long hair.'
- 13.91 *Ba-rrang-barrme-ng yau.*
 Dj 3-mouth-open(intr.)-PP baby
 'The baby (bird) has its mouth open.' (lit. it is open, as far as its mouth is concerned)

The predicate may also be a predicative adjective like *dulmuk* 'heavy' (13.92) or *rohrok* 'alike' (13.44: *bani-berd-rohrok* [they.two-tail-alike] 'they have similar tails; they are alike as far as their tails are concerned').

- 13.92 *Ga-merlem-dulmuk.*
 Dj 3-belly-heavy
 'She is pregnant.' (lit. Her belly is heavy.)

The verb 'stand' is often used in this construction when the possession of a particular protruding part is at issue:

- 13.93 *Ka-ker-di.*
 3-spike-standNP
 'It has a spike.' [GID]
- 13.94 *Marndingunjungunj minj ka-werl-di.*
 dugong NEG 3-side.fin-standNP
 'Dugong don't have side fins.' [GID]

13.3.5.4 'Have a prominent (part)': the bare part construction

In this construction the part noun is prefixed with a verbal prefix, but no actual verb is present, i.e. the construction resembles body-part incorporation, but without a verb to incorporate into. Past tense suffixes may be added. This construction is mostly used to denote salient, transient prominence of some part:

- 13.95 a. *Ga-merlem.* b. *Ba-merlem-ni.*
 Dj 3-belly 3P-belly-PI
 'She is pregnant.' 'She was pregnant.'
- 13.96 *An-dehne gun-dulk ga-bamo.*
 Dj VE-that IV-tree 3-bud
 'That tree is in bud.' (*an-bamo* 'bud')
- 13.97 *Towel ka-rurrk.*
 3-hole
 'The towel has a hole in it. (A speaker of MM translated this by incorporation into 'sit': *karurrkni*.)
- 13.98 *Djama ga-wok.*
 Dj not 3-speech
 'He says nothing.'

Occasionally the transience requirement is relaxed, where the salience is unusual.

- 13.99 *Ka-kodj.*
 3-head
 'It (the rock formation) has a head.' (said of a cliff with a head-like shape)

13.3.5.5 'Have ready'

This special construction employs the benefactive applicative plus a stance verb, with the special meaning 'BEN have SUBJ ready to use' (see also §10.3.1.3). The subject may incorporate.

- 13.100 *Djama ga-bangme-ngu-n bu ga-h-gulba-re, ga-bawo-n*
 Dj not 3-not.yet-eat-NP REL 3-IMM-blood-goNP 3-leave-NP

galuk ga-re, djandi, an-gudji, djandi bogenh, gu-mege bu
 then 3-goNP week VE-one week two LOC-there REL

gabi-marne-ganj-yo, now might be ga-ngu-n yerre-ga.

3/3hNP-BEN-meat-lieNP 3-eat-NP after-LOC

'He won't eat it as long as the blood is flowing. He leaves it while one week goes by, two weeks, when he has the meat lying there ready for him, now he might eat it, afterwards.'

- 13.101 *Ngaleng ø-karrm-i, ngalmangeyi, mankole, ø-marne-yo-y, madjawarr.*
 W she 3/3-get-PI tortoise III-spear 3/3-BEN-lie-PP throwing.stick

Ngarrbek, kun-wardde ø-marne-wardde-yo-y.

echidna IV-stone 3/3P-BEN-stone-lie-PP

'Tortoise got spears, she had a bundle of bamboo spears and throwing sticks. Echidna she had a pile of stones (ready for the fight).' [OP 401]

- 13.102 *Bu wangbol yarrka kabi-marne-yo bininj, nungka werrk*
 W SUB [dead.parts] all.sorts 3/3h-BEN-lie man 3masc first

ka-rrrokme kaben-bun

3-get.upNP 3/3pl-killNP

'When he's got some part of a dead man ready (e.g. hair, finger, bones), he's ready to head off and kill a man.' [KH 154]

13.3.5.6 'Have N[um] x'

As an alternative to using the verb *karrme* (see above), one may use an ascriptive construction whose topic is a possessive expression, and whose comment is a numeral:

- 13.103 *Yau nuye bogen.*

Dj child his two

'He has two children.' (lit. His children are two.)

13.3.5.7 'Have on (item of clothing etc.)'

Expressions of wearing are generally phrased using positional verbs or their derivatives:

- 13.104 *Ka-kodj-djongdi hat.*

3-head-have.placed.inside.a.containerNP hat

'He has a hat on.'

- 13.105 a. *Ka-bid-djongbu-rr-en ring.* b. *Ring ø-bid-dahkendo-rr-inj.*

3-finger-put.on-RR-NP

3P-finger-put.inside-RR-PP

'She has a ring on her finger'

'She has a ring on her finger.'

(lit. She put a ring on her finger.)

(lit. She put her finger inside a ring.)

- 13.106 *Ka-dolng-dakan.*

I 3-smoke-hold.in.mouthNP

'He has a cigarette in his mouth.' (lit. He is holding a cigarette in his mouth.)

13.3.6 Possessive predicates

Possessive predicates are expressed in one of three ways: either by a nominal predicate in the genitive, though this is unusual and tends to have the specific semantics 'belonging to through association' (13.107), by a possessive group comprising a noun denoting the possessor, plus an adjacent oblique pronoun (13.108), or simply by an oblique pronoun (optionally preceded by a cardinal pronoun) (13.109). The latter two methods, both employing the oblique pronoun, are the normal means of expressing possession. Where the possessive relationship no longer obtains (e.g. when one loses one's car at gambling, or through the death of the owner) the oblique pronoun may be marked for past tense (7.32, 8.94).

13.107 *Wularla* *Yabbadurruwa-ken.*
 I spectacled.hare.wallaby [ceremony]-GEN
 'The spectacled hare wallaby is associated with the Yabbadurruwa ceremony.' [GID]

13.108 *Nawu maralakka nuye na-bininjkobeng.*
 w MA:DEM bag.type heOBL MA-spouse
 'The bag belongs to her husband.' [KS 82]

13.109 *Duruk bedda bedberre.*
 Dj dog they 3aOBL
 'It's their dog.' OR: 'The dog is theirs.'

Note also the idiom *ngayeman ngarduk* [1EMPH 1OBL] '(it's) my business'.

13.3.7 Comparative constructions

As in most Australian languages, comparatives and superlatives are not commonly used,⁴ but nonetheless distinct constructional means are available.

Absolute comparatives and superlatives (i.e. with no explicit comparandum) modify the adjective by one of three means. Although these are often translated with the superlative meaning, they are also compatible with the comparative translation when this means 'possessing the quality to the greater extent of two comparanda'; I have no examples of the distinction between grades of three-way comparisons (good, better, best) and in all the examples I have heard the same form permits either comparative or superlative interpretation according to context.

(a) Addition of the clitic =*duninj* 'real' (e.g. Dj *an-mak=duninj* [VE-good-real] 'really good'). This often implicates a superlative reading:

13.110 *Ngerbungerbu* *yiman namindjibuk,* *la*
 I baby.barramundi.fingerling like barramundi.fingerling CONJ

⁴ See Schweiger (1984) for a survey of the little descriptive material available up to 1984.

na-yahwurd=duninj.

MA-small=real

'*Ngerbungerbu* is the name for barramundi fingerlings, like *namindjibuk*, but the smallest ones.' [GID]

- (b) Addition of the prefix *wernh-* 'properly', mostly found on verbs (§1.3.2.1) but also available with predicate adjectives (e.g. *nawernhkimuk* [MA-properly-big] 'bigger/biggest', according to context).⁵
- (c) The adjective root *mak* 'good' has the special comparative/superlative form *makgayigen* ~ *makgayen* (Dj) or *makkayken* (o.d.) 'best quality, wonderfully beautiful', which I here gloss 'POSitive evaluation'. This form can be used either as a predicate (13.111–13.112) or directly as an argument (13.113).

13.111 *A-warnyak al-dehne, al-buyiga a-djare al-mak-gayigen.*

Dj 1-not.want FE-DEM FE-other 1-want FE-good-POS
'I don't want this woman, I want the other one, the prettier one (or: the really beautiful one).'

13.112 a. *Ga-bo-mak-gayen.* (Dj)

3-liquid-good-POS
'(It's) the cleanest water!'

b. *Kolk-mak-kayken.* (E:N)

water-good-POS
'(It's) the cleanest water!'

13.113 *An-bolk-mak-gayen.*

Dj VE-place-good-POS
'(It's) a most beautiful place.'

Relative comparatives, in which explicit comparison between two entities is made, employ two distinct techniques:

- (a) Two assertions are made, using antonymic adjectives, with or without a conjunction like *dja* 'and, but':

13.114 *Nungka na-kimuk, dja ngaye nga-yahwurd.*

W 3masc MA-big CONJ 1 1-small
'He's big, but I'm small.' (i.e. 'He's bigger than me.') [E&E 98]

13.115 *Na-yaw-kimuk nawu namarnkorl. Nakka namindjibuk*

MA-child-big MA:REL 1-barramundi MA:DEM barramundi.fingerling
yahwurd.
small

'The *namarnkorl* are the larger juveniles. The small ones are called *namindjibuk*.' OR: 'The *namarnkorl* type of barramundi are bigger than the *namindjibuk*, smaller fingerling ones.'

- (b) The verb *yurrhke* 'beat, pass, surpass' (13.116) is used, usually together with some other predicate describing the property or activity being compared (13.117–13.119) though sometimes this is left to context (13.120). Note that for some comparisons

⁵ Etherington and Etherington (1994:97) gloss this form as 'biggest' in Kunwinjku but in the dialects I am most familiar with this can also be used in situations where it is not necessarily claimed that no bigger entity exists, merely that the described entity is somewhere at the top end of the bigness range.

special verbs exist to specify the dimension of contrast, such as *kodjnan* [head-see] ‘look (down) on someone’s head, be taller than’.

- 13.116 *Ngun-ngudj-yurhke-eng.*
 3/2-speed-beat-PP
 ‘(S)he left you behind (running, racing), (s)he beat you.’
- 13.117 *Ngan-kodj-na-n, ngan-yurhke.*
 3/1-head-see-NP 3/1-beatNP
 ‘He’s taller than me, he beats me.’ (lit. He looks at my head.)
- 13.118 *Nani ka-ngudj-bang kaben-yurhke.*
 MA:DEM 3-speed-fierce 3/3pl-beat-NP
 ‘He’s really fast, he’ll beat them all.’ (or: He’s the fastest.)
- 13.119 *Nungka ngun-yurhke-ng Kuninjku ka-wokdi.*
 3masc 3/2-beat-PP Kuninjku 3-speakNP
 ‘He can speak Kuninjku better than you.’ (He’s passed you in knowledge now.)
- 13.120 *Ngudda yiben-yurhke-ng mayh yi-bengan.*
 you 2/3pl-beat-PP creature 2-know-NP
 ‘Your knowledge of ceremony is better than theirs.’
- 13.121 *Nani kabi-yurhke.*
 MA:DEM 3/3h-beatNP
 ‘This one has more than that one (reference to one container having more water than another).’⁶

Equal degree is expressed by the predicate adjective *ka-rohrok* ‘same, similar’, which may incorporate a part noun designating the locale of similarity (13.44, 13.46, 13.122); alternatively the noun may be placed adjacent to the predicate (13.45). To express ‘they are equally tall’, one would typically incorporate *kuk* ‘body’ or *kornom* ‘height’, then juxtapose an adjective next to the predicate, appropriately prefixed according to the dialect.

- 13.122 *Kabene-keb-rohrok.*
 3ua-face-same
 ‘Those two have the same face.’ [GID]
- 13.123 a. *Gabani-guk-rohrok, na-guyeng bani-bogen.*
 Dj 3ua-body-same MA-long 3ua-two
 ‘They are equally tall; they are both tall.’
- b. *Kabene-konom-rohrok, bene-konom-kuyeng.*
 3ua-height-same 3ua-height-long
 ‘They are equally tall; they are both tall.’

Enquiries about degree are formed by combining *baleh kayime* ‘how (much)’ (§7.2.5) with an appropriate adjective:

⁶ Note the anomalous use of the *kabi-* prefix here, normally reserved for objects of higher animacy.

- 13.124 a. *Baleh kayime na-kimuk?*
 ...how... MA-big
 'How big?'
- b. *Ka-rrulmuk yiman kayime njale?*
 3-big ...how... what
Ka-wob yiman kayime nanih bu karri-wayhke.
 3-light ...like... MA:DEM REL 12a-liftNP
 'How heavy is it?' 'As light as this, which we're lifting now.'

13.4 Argument structure

13.4.1 Preliminaries

Most of the means for building up and altering argument structure are morphologically encoded in the verb, and have already been discussed in Chapter 10: the use of benefactive and comitative applicatives to add an argument and of the reflexive/reciprocal suffix to indicate the identity of subject and object. The way in which the choice between the thematics *-me* and *-ge/-ke* is used to express the distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs (e.g. *bakme* 'break (intr.), get broken', *bakke* 'break (tr.), cause to break') was discussed in §8.2.3.1, and the incorporation of one verb into another (usually 'throw' or 'give') to derive causatives was treated in §12.2 (e.g. *worrkmen* 'become full', *worrkmi-won* [become.full-give] 'make full (of food), feed'). Methods for forming synthetic causatives through conventionalised complex sentences are discussed in §14.2.2.3.

Apart from such overtly signalled means for changing the transitivity of verbs, there are few alternations in transitivity; the few that exist are treated in §13.4.2.

Apart from the causative and transitivising operations (which add a new causer subject while demoting the old subject to object status), all of the above morphological operations add or subtract non-subject arguments while leaving the original subject intact. There is no productive passive, antipassive or instrumental voice. Some functional equivalents to the passive are discussed in §13.4.3.

A second type of argument-structure alternation found in many languages, but expressed in Bininj Gun-wok without modulating the basic mapping of thematic roles onto verbal arguments, involves the transformation of perception clauses from those overtly expressing the perceiver ('I heard her talking') to those in which only the perceived object is overtly expressed, as subject, with the perceiver relegated to an optional oblique phrase ('she sounded tired (to me)'). This second type is expressed in Bininj Gun-wok by introducing the complement (e.g. 'tired') as a secondary predicate on the object (i.e. 'I heard her tired'). These constructions, along with the more general issue of secondary predication, are discussed in §13.4.4.

In §13.4.5 we turn to 'impersonal' constructions in which the experiencer is encoded as object, while the subject is either unspecified or is the name of a sensation or emotion (e.g. 'it-me-tooth-chases' (Dj) or 'toothache it-me-chases' (E) for 'I have tooth-ache'). Finally, in §13.4.6 we examine idioms, with particular emphasis on which argument positions are fixed.

13.4.2 Transitivity alternations

Differences in the 'discourse transitivity' of semantically transitive verbs (Hopper & Thompson 1980) are not generally reflected in any formal change to the verb stem, the pattern of argument prefixation or the use of role-marking affixes on external nominals. Instead, the relevant information about the identifiability, genericity and referential status of the object is supplied by external nominals (§6.2.3), while encoding a fully saturated argument structure through the relevant pronominal prefixes.

Where the object is generic and human, the third person augmented pronoun will be used in a generic sense. Thus 'she scolds' (habitually) will be expressed as 'she-them-scolds' (10.112), 'we don't circumcise (in that area)' as 'not we-them-circumcise' (6.25j), 'he kills people (with a fighting club)' as 'he-them-kills' (13.125), 'she (can) give birth to young' as 'she-them-gives.birth.to' (13.126) etc.

13.125 *Namorrorddo ka-karrme miyarrurl kaben-bu-n.*
 I [name] 3-haveNP fighting.club 3/3pl-kill-NP
 'Namorroddo has a fighting club which he uses to kill people.' [GID]

13.126 *Kaben-yawwo-n ngalkunburriyaymi yiman ngalyod*
 I 3/3pl-give.birth.to.young-NP mermaid.spirit like rainbow.serpent
la ngal-berd-djenj ngal-buyika.
 CONJ II-tail-fish FE-different
 'The mermaid spirit can reproduce just like the rainbow serpent but the woman with a tail like a fish (another variety) is different.' [GID]

Likewise, where the object is human, non-generic, but unidentified (because the exact identity is not yet important) the commonest pattern is to use the transitive prefix set, identifiable through the form *bi-* where the subject is also third person minimal, for example 'she should have married a Naburlanj man' [she-him-marry-IRR Naburlanj] (9.97), 'he has got a Bulanj (as son)' [he-him-has.got Bulanj] (13.87), 'she married a European' (13.127) and 'he says (to someone)' (13.128).

13.127 *Balanda bi-mey.*
 E:D European 3/3h-marryPP
 'She married a European.'

13.128 *Bad ka-re an-kung ka-na-n, ka-rrurnde-ng kabi-marne-yime*
 Dnj but 3-goNP III-honey 3/3I-see-NP 3-return-NP 3/3h-BEN-sayNP
 "An-kung nga-na-ng. Come on ngarr-e, ngarr-ni 'iiiiiiii' ka-yime
 III-honey 1/3-see-PP 12-goNP 12-sitNP [noise] 3-sayNP
ka-m-borled-borledme wanjh maitbi ngarri-dolkka-ni.
 3-hither-ITER-turn.roundNP then maybe 1a-get.up-PI
 (talking about the None honey wasp spirit:) 'But he goes and sees some honey, comes back **and says to someone:** 'I've seen some honey. Come one, let's go, he goes "iiiiiiii" and buzzes around and around; then maybe we get up (to look).'
 [Lofty Nadjimerek Bardayal per Murry Garde]

With verbs like 'look for', with a 'psychological object' (Quine 1960) for which it is not yet known whether a candidate for successful reference has been found, speakers disagree on

whether to use the *bi*-form, which overtly marks a third person minimal object or whether to use the \emptyset -form, appropriate to intransitives: for 'he is looking for a woman' some will use the prefix *kabi*- (he-(s)he) and others the prefix *ka*- (he) (§10.2.7).

The verb *karrme*, when used with the sense 'have', is unique in disallowing overt object coding in the pronominal prefix, even though the possibility of incorporating objects shows it to be transitive (§13.3.5.2).

The biggest analytic problem arises with generic inanimate objects of the type '(s)he drinks', 'he can't hear' etc., where the fact that no pronominal prefix combination with a third person inanimate object is distinguishable from the corresponding intransitive form makes it impossible to determine whether the argument structure includes an object or not. Consider a sentence like 13.129, in which the first use of *ngun* 'eat' is followed by an external object (*djenj* 'fish'), whereas the second isn't; in both cases the pronominal prefix to the verb is *ka*- which can either be transitive (3/3 lower object) or intransitive (3 subject). Clearly the first use of the verb is transitive. But how can we decide whether the second is intransitive (i.e. 'he could eat then') or transitive with no overt external object (i.e. 'he could eat it then')? Nothing in the grammar allows us to decide between these analyses, although the patterns discussed above for verbs with human objects favour the second analysis in terms of allowing a more general statement.

13.129 *Minj ka-ngu-n djenj, la birri-berhk-eng wanjh bonj*
 NEG 3/3-eat-NP fish CONJ 3aP-lift.restriction-PP then finished

\emptyset -*nguneng*.

3(/3?)P-eatPP

'He wasn't allowed to eat fish and then they lifted the restriction and it was OK for him to eat it then.'

Similar problems arise with the lexeme *yakwon* 'finish, finish off'. Most of the time this takes third person minimal, non-human objects, making it difficult to determine whether it is transitive:

13.130 *Birri-ngune-ng birri-yakwo-ng.*
 3a/3P-eat-PP 3a(/3?)P-finish-PP
 'They ate it all.' (i.e. 'They ate and finished it.')

However, there are some clear cases (i.e. where there is an object that will bring out overt object-coding morphology) establishing that it can be used transitively:

13.131 *Bi-ngu-ni bi-yakwo-ni.*
 W 3/3hP-eat-PI 3/3hP-finish-PI
 'He finished eating her.' (i.e. 'He was eating her and finishing her off.')

Here again, the most general solution is to treat it as a transitive verb in all cases, in order to avoid a proliferation of constructions, so that the gloss 3a/3P rather than 3aP is the better one for 13.131.

In the case of 'see' there is actually a lexical difference between intransitive and transitive uses. *Nan*, a transitive verb, is 'see, look at (O)', whereas *worhnan*, an intransitive verb, is 'be awake, conscious; watch out, be responsible; be sighted' (13.132); a second pronominal argument can only be introduced by the use of the benefactive applicative (13.133).

13.132 *Mim-dubbe, nomo ka-worhna-n.*

I eye-blocked NEG 3-see-NP
'He's blind, he can't see.'

13.133 *Ngan-marne-worhna-n.*

Dj 3/1-BEN-watch.out-NP

'He watches out for me.' OR: 'He is responsible for me.' OR: 'He's my boss.'

With other perception verbs such doublets are not found, so that *kabekkan*, for example, can mean either '(s)he is listening to it, (s)he is hearing it' or '(s)he is listening; (s)he can hear, understand'; again the most general solution is to treat these verbs as always formally transitive, but with the exact nature of their object underdetermined by the verb morphology.

A final type of transitivity alternation that should be mentioned involves a small set of 'path verbs', such as 'cross' and 'climb'. These have two argument projections: one in which a moving entity is subject and the path is object ('I crossed the river', 'we follow the shade') and a second in which the path is subject and an intersected location is the object ('the road crosses the river', 'the shade follows (reaches) the house'. Because the intersected locations are inanimate, the transitivity of the second type cannot be shown by the pronominal prefixes. However, the path noun is incorporable in both cases (§10.4.3.1). While incorporation of the path noun in the first case is expected of an object, in the second case it is anomalous if the verb is transitive (i.e. it would be transitive subject incorporation, which otherwise does not occur); this anomaly would be resolved by claiming the second type to be an intransitive construction. However, there is no other clear proof that the verb in these constructions is transitive, and claiming them to be intransitive would also produce an anomaly, namely that these are the only verbs in which there is an absolutive-type alternation in which the same thematic role (path) is projected onto object in one construction, and intransitive subject in the other. This small set of verbs, then, remains anomalous by either analysis.

13.4.3 Functional equivalents of the passive

There is no true productive passive voice in the language. In this section we discuss the major functional equivalents to it. In §13.4.3.1 we discuss construction types which induce a passive-like diathesis with certain transitive verbs, though in each case the construction is limited in productivity and semantically specialised. Then in §13.4.3.2 we discuss another method of achieving the general discourse goal of focussing on the patient and downgrading attention to the agent, but without changing the actual diathesis of the verb: the use of generic third person plural subjects.

13.4.3.1 Constructions with passive-like diathesis

There are three constructions in which the patient is encoded as object and the agent does not get argument status. In each case the verb is marked suffixally.

In the PERSISTIVE construction (exemplified by 13.134), a suffix *-(yi)nd-* is added to the verb root, adding the meaning 'remain for a long time in this state'. Where the verb is intransitive (as with *wohmen* 'wait around, hang around'), the argument structure is

unaffected, but where it is transitive (as with *dudje* 'bury' in 13.135), the original object becomes the subject (i.e. 'remain buried'). Further details and examples are given in §9.3.6.

13.134 *Wanjh bolkgime ngarri-wohme-nd-i.*
 Dj then now 1a-hang.around-PERSIS-NP
 'And now we'll wait around for a while.'

13.135 *Karri-re kore ku-labbarl ku-mekbe kun-u karri-djuhme wanjh*
 W 12-goNP LOC LOC-billabong LOC-there NEU-DEM 12a-batheNP then
karri-ma-ng yika nawu ka-yo kore ku-bak dja yika na-wu
 12a-get-NP some MA:DEM 3-lieNP LOC LOC-weed and some MA-DEM
ka-rrudji-nd-i kore ku-kih.
 3-bury-PERSIS-NP LOC LOC-mud
 'Let's go to the billabong and get into the water there, then we'll get some
 (filesnakes) that are lying in the weed, and some that are buried in the mud.'

In the mediopassive construction, the lexical verb is incorporated into *re* 'go'. This verb also incorporates 'associated motion' verbs (e.g. *sing-go* 'go along singing'), and in such associated motion constructions it is the 'go' verb that determines the overall argument structure. With the mediopassive version of this construction, in which verbs of opening or severing (like *marrhmang* 'to open (something)' and *djalkmang* 'to split (something)') are incorporated into *re*, the 'go' meaning is no longer present, although an 'along' spatial element may remain. As with the 'associated motion' uses, the resultant complex is intransitive; unlike the associated motion verbs, however, it takes as its subject the object of the incorporated verb, so that in 13.136, for example, the subject of *marrhmire* is 'the shell' (i.e. the patient of the verb *marrhmang* 'open'). See §12.5 for further examples and discussion.

13.136 *Ka-rrang-marrhm-i-re.*
 W 3-mouth-open-IVF-goNP
 '(The shell) opens.' [KS 212]

Neither of the above constructions is used productively; so far the first is attested with about ten verbs and the second with only two. And in both cases the uses of a passive-like diathesis appears to be a side-effect of a particular semantic effect conveyed by the suffix: in the first case the passive diathesis appears to follow from the general correlation with passive voice and resultativity; in the second owing to a more idiosyncratic connection between trajectory and certain types of result.

The reflexive/reciprocal is also used with a passive-like meaning. However, this use is extremely rare and only a couple of examples are attested, such as [cover-RR] for 'it's covered over' and [shaft-pull.out-RR] for 'the shaft has been pulled out'; see also 13.145 below. (For fuller discussion see §10.3.4.7.)

13.4.3.2 Vague third person plural subjects

Third person plural subjects, as well as objects (see above), can have a non-referential, vague interpretation and such uses are frequently found in statements focussing on a resultant state. In describing a picture of a bottle with a cork in it, for example, some informants

employ a passive-like use of the reflexive (13.137), while others use a third person augmented subject (13.138) whose exact reference is left unspecified. Similarly a picture of a tree-trunk with a rope around it was described with an unspecified third person augmented object (13.139).

13.137 *Ka-rrang-barlhme-rr-en.*

3-mouth-block-RR-NP
'Its opening is blocked.'

13.138 *Birri-dang-barlhme-ng.*

3a/3P-mouth-block-PP
'They've blocked its opening.' (i.e. the bottle is stopped with a cork)

13.139 *Birri-yarl-dukka-ng kun-dulk.*

3a/3P-string-tie-PP IV-tree
'The tree has a rope tied round it.' (i.e. they've tied a rope round it)

Kunwinjku speakers fluent in English often translate such constructions with the English passive. In Andrew Manakgu's English translation of Nawakadj Nganjmira's Kunwinjku in *Kunwinjku Spirit* (Nganjmira 1997:258), for example, the Kunwinjku expression *kunubewu birringerrehmeng* 'maybe they ran over him' is translated with the passive 'he might get run over (with all them cars)':

13.140 *Dorothy ngane-wam ngane-h-yawa-ni Alex, kunubewu*
W 1ua-goPP 1ua-IMM-search-PI maybe

birri-ngerrehme-ng moddikka.

3a/3-run.over-PP car

'Dorothy and I were always looking for Alex. We were worried he might get run over with all them cars.'

Another example from the same source (p.40) is *wurdyaw birrinjinlgwarrewong birrihwoni yaldanj* (lit. 'they spoil the child and gave him *yaldanj* water-lily'), translated as 'the little boy had been spoiled by people giving him *yaldanj*'.

13.4.4 Secondary predicate constructions

Secondary predicates — which supply a predication holding at the time of the event or state denoted by the main predicate — are expressed in one of two ways.

A small set of predominantly adjectival roots may be incorporated into the verb, provided they are modifying an absolutive argument (13.141). Incorporated generic roots may also be given a secondary predicate interpretation, particularly when coreferential with a non-third person argument (13.142). For further discussion and examples see §10.4.4.

13.141 *Nungka-kih ka-mak, kun-kodjke boken, wanjh ka-rrulkki-manka-n.*

W he-now 3-good IV-sleep two then 3-internally.sick-fall-NP

'He's all right for a couple of days, then he falls down sick from some internal cause.' (This describes the results of a certain sort of sorcery; the noun *kun-dulkki* refers to sicknesses with no externally obvious cause.) [KH 157]

13.142 *Arduk garrard an-yaw-bawo-ng gure arduk berluh rowk.*
 Dj IOBL mother 3/1-child-leave-PP LOC my aunty all
 'My mother left me as a child with all my aunties.'

13.143 *Kabirri-barrkid-wokdi.*
 W 3a-different-speakNP
 'they speak differently.'

The second method is to place an appropriate nominal immediately before (13.144, 13.145) or after (13.146, 13.147) the verb, within the same intonational group.

13.144 *Ngalelek birri-berdnud=wi birri-wam la Na-korrkko*
 I corella 3aP-uncircumcised=only 3aP-gOPP CONJ I-[name]
nakka bene-rrayka-ng.
 MA:DEM 3uaP-be.circumcised-PP
 'The corella ancestors went uncircumcised but the Nakorrkko father and son were circumcised.' [GID]

13.145 *Yawurrinj na wangbol ø-garrm-i bi-djal-gadju-ngi, djarre*
 Dj young.man now [sorcery item] 3/3P-hold-PI 3/3hP-just-follow-PI far
wanjh nungan=wali bi-bu-ni. Na-mege bininj yawurrinj
 then 3mascEMPH=in.turn 3/3hP-kill-PI MA-that man young.man
gun-munungu ø-durnde-ngi.
 IV-hit.man 3P-return-PI
 'The young man would hold onto that *wangbol*⁷ and follow him far until he would kill him in revenge. That young hit man would come back as the victorious revenge killer.'

13.146 *Twelve years old, I first came, a-m-wam wurdyau.*
 1-hither-gOPP child
 'I first came (here) when I was twelve years old, I came as a child.'

13.147 *Wanjh birri-djal-yo-y birri-mim-dubbe.*
 W then 3aP-just-lie-PP 3aP-eye-blocked
 'Then they just lay there with their eyes closed.' [OP 352]

As 13.144 and 13.147 illustrate, secondary predicates may take the pronominal prefixes under the same circumstances as when they are used as primary nominal predicates (§13.3.2). This raises the question of whether such examples as the above are a genuinely distinct construction, or merely represent the conjoining of two predicates, of the type 'they lay there; their eyes were closed'. This is part of the more general problem of demonstrating the existence of larger grammaticalised syntactic constructions, and will be encountered again in Chapter 14 when we discuss serialised constructions and other complex sentences. As with so many issues in the syntax of Bininj Gun-wok, there are two main clues to the construction type: the contiguity requirement, and the joining of the elements under one intonational contour, whereas separate predications would have the possibility of being non-adjacent, and under distinct contours. Obviously, however, the restriction of constructional

⁷ This is a sort of wooden tube, sealed with ironbark resin, in which some exuviae (e.g. faeces) of a wanted criminal have been placed.

rules to these two highly iconic elements makes secondary predication less easy to identify unambiguously than in the many Australian languages which use case agreement rules to flag secondary predication (see e.g. Dench & Evans 1988).

Two more conventionalised subtypes of secondary predication deserve special mention. The first is the 'locative secondary predicate', giving the concurrent or subsequent location of the object of verbs of placing, finding etc. These are represented by locative expressions, realised either as locative-affixed nominals (13.148), or by prepositional groups (13.149, 13.150):

- 13.148 *Nawalawalak bi-bawo-ng ku-red.*
his.yB 3/3hP-leave-PP LOC-camp
'He left his younger brother in the camp.' [KS 38]
- 13.149 *Yiben-ma-ng wurdurd ngaben-rohrokme kure Marrkolidjban.*
2/3pl-get-NP children 1/3pl-put.in.groupNP LOC [place]
'Go and get the children and I'll put them in a group at Marrkolidjban.'
- 13.150 *Yabok, yabok manih nga-ngalke-ng man-kung kure mi-kambe.*
sister sister VE:DEM 1/3-find-PP III-honey LOC VEG.LOC-antbed
'Sister, sister, I've found some honey here in an ant bed.'

Note that since locative primary predicates always require a stance or positional verb (§13.3.4), which does not appear with locative secondary predicates, the constructional distinction between primary and secondary predication is clearer here than with the examples discussed at the beginning of this section.

The second conventionalised type of secondary predication involves perception verbs. In many languages, including English, there is a special construction (and special lexemes) for presenting perception events without necessary reference to the perceiver, but in a 'source construction' (see Viberg 1984) with the perceived object framed as subject with an obligatory subject complement: 'I heard her' but 'she sounded **upset** (to me)'. Bininj Gunwok, like most Australian languages (see Evans & Wilkins 1998), lacks a specific perceptual-source construction, instead using the regular perception verb and presenting the evaluations as a secondary predicate on the object (on the lines of 'I heard her upset', as in 13.151, 13.152). Note that, unlike the English construction (which allows the perceptual judge to be suppressed), rendering the evaluative nature of the expression optionally covert, the Bininj Gunwok construction always has an overt perceptual judge. The only sensory modality which allows something like a source construction is smell, which is expressed by the predicate adjective *banj* 'stink' (§8.3.2) if the smell is bad.

- 13.151 *Gabarri-na-n an-warre, gabarri-wo-n.*
Dj 3a/3-see-NP VE-bad 3a/3-put-NP
'If it looks bad they put it back.' (lit. If they see it (as) bad, they put it back.)
- 13.152 *Birri-bo-na-ng njamed birri-do-y djidjerok birri-bo-nguneng*
3a/3P-liquid-see-PP whatsit 3a/3P-strike-PP melaleuca 3a/3P-liquid-eatPP
birri-bekka-ng na-bang and birri-wam wanjh.
3a/3P-taste-PP MA-'cheeky' 3a/3P-goPP then
(Here they lived thirsty, at one time. They ate (only) honey:) 'They went and got water out of the Melaleuca trees but it tasted foul (lit. they tasted it foul) and so they kept going.' [GID]

The form *bu* may optionally precede the secondary predicate:

- 13.153 *A-manj-bekka-n bu an-mak, a-ga-n.*
 Dj 1/3-taste-hear-NP SUB VE-good 1/3-take-NP
 'If (the yam) tastes good, I take it.' (lit. If I taste that it's good (the yam), I take it.)
- 13.154 *Gabarri-na-n gabarri-bebge bu ngan-mak, gabarri-yiga-n,*
 Dj 3a/3-see-NP 3a/3-take.outNP SUB VE-good 3a/3-get-NP
 (continuation of 13.151) 'If it looks good when they take it out, they gather it.'
 (lit. If they see it, when they take it out, as good, then they gather it.)

The multifunctionality of *bu*, which functions as both a general subordinator, especially in adverbial clauses (§14.2, §14.4), and a preposition meaning something like 'as regards, concerning' (§6.4.1.3), raises the question of whether sequences like *bu an-mak* are actually adverbial or conditional clauses ('when it's good, if it's good') structurally parallel to sequences like *bu nga-yahwurd-ni* [1-small-PI] 'when I was small', or are prepositional groups (comparable to English 'I see it **as a good one**'). Again reflecting the difficulty of structurally distinguishing primary and secondary predication, there is no conclusive evidence either way, although there is one small fact favouring the analysis as preposition: perceptual complement clauses (§14.2.2.1), unlike many other types of subordinate clauses, are not normally introduced with *bu*.

13.4.5 Impersonal constructions

There are a small number of impersonal verbs⁸ in which the experiencer appears as the grammatical object.

The possibilities for the grammatical subject are varied. In some cases there is no overt subject at all:

- 13.155 *Ngan-kinjeh-kinje-ng.*
 W 3/1-ITER-burn-PP
 'I reached the climax (just before ejaculation).' (lit. It was burning me.) [KH 83]

In other cases a particular external noun is fixed as subject, as with (*kun*)*bele* 'cramp':

- 13.156 *Kun-bele ngan-karrme-ng ngan-mim-ladbom.*
 I IV-cramp 3/1-grab-PP 3/1-eye-turnPP
 'That cramp was intense, it turned my eye.' [GID]
- 13.157 *Bele ngan-denge-karrme.*
 I cramp 3/1-foot-grabNP
 'I've got a cramp in my leg.' [GID]

In other cases again, as with *djarebun* 'cause desire for (especially in the case of food)', the set of subjects ranges across a number of semantically plausible candidates: *nabiwo* 'honey', here causing desire for a change of diet, to meat (13.158), and *burda* 'grass sp. used as cooking herb', here meaning something like 'a desire for *burda* grass seized her' (10.324).

⁸ See Walsh (1987) for a survey of impersonal verb constructions in Australian languages.

- 13.158 *Birri-na-ng ka-m-kuk-ngorr-ngorrka-ng.* "Kadberre,
 W 3a/3P-see-PP 3/3-hither-body-ITER-carry.on.shoulder-PP 12aOBL
karri-djarewo-ng, karri-ngu-n, na-biwo kan-djarebom."
 12a/3-be.hungry-PP 12a/3-eat-NP I-[honey.type] 3/12-cause.desirePP
 'They saw him coming with the kangaroo on his shoulder. "It is for us, we are
 hungry for meat, we will eat it, (eating too much) honey has made us desire
 (meat).' [OP 358, with slight modifications to translation]

The grammatical relation held by the non-experiencer nominal is not always easy to determine. Expressions for 'have toothache' in Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku use a verb like 'take' (Dj) or 'follow' (W), with the experiencer as object and the word 'tooth' incorporated (13.159, 10.323) or external (13.160). It is not clear whether 'tooth' should be analysed here as transitive subject (i.e. '(my) tooth is taking me'), along the lines of the 'desire' construction, or as object (i.e. 'it is taking me, at my tooth') with an unspecified subject, as with the 'climax' construction, though treating it as transitive subject would go against a general ban on incorporating transitive subjects (see §10.4.3.1).

- 13.159 *An-yidme-ga-n.*
 Dj 3/1-tooth-take-NP
 'My tooth is aching.'
- 13.160 *Gun-yidme an-ga-n.*
 Dj IV-tooth 3/1-take-NP
 'My tooth is hurting me, is aching.'

With just one impersonal construction the benefactive applicative is used; again this deals with toothache, but in the Kuninjku and Kune dialects. In common with a handful of phraseologised benefactives (§10.3.1.6) the benefactive does not appear to add a new argument in this construction.

- 13.161 *Djudju ngan-marne-ngalke-ng.*
 I, E toothache 3/1-BEN-find-PP
 'I've got a toothache.'

13.4.6 Structure of idioms

Cross-linguistic similarities and differences in the syntactic structure of idioms have been used as evidence for particular analyses of syntactic structure.⁹ Relevant dimensions for polysynthetic languages are the grammatical and thematic relations available to the fixed argument (e.g. object in English 'kicked the **bucket**'), and whether the fixed argument is incorporated or external.

⁹ See for example Marantz (1984) on subject-object asymmetries in idiom formation (i.e. that you get V + Object idioms but not (Transitive) Subject + V idioms); Heath (1986:385), who argues that the existence of just such Subject + V idioms in Nunggubuyu is evidence against the existence of a VP constituent (e.g. *headache-afflict X* for 'X has a headache'); Speas' equivocal evaluation of data from Hungarian idioms (Speas 1990); and a brief suggestion in Baker (1995:133) that because it is the bound morphemes in polysynthetic languages which are the arguments, idioms should be confined to incorporated nouns and not found with external nouns.

Bininj Gun-wok has a rich set of idioms, first discussed by Berndt (1951) from which some of the following examples are drawn (glossed and orthographically adapted). The evidence from these idioms suggests that it allows transitive subjects to be the fixed term in idioms, in addition to intransitive subjects and objects, and body parts and complements of these arguments; on the other hand, there is no evidence for indirect objects ever being fixed. The fixed argument may be incorporated or external, according to the idiom.

The data given below illustrate the range of possibilities, but is still preliminary. In particular, I have not explored the degree to which the relevant arguments must be a given lexeme: is it a matter of semantically definable selectional restrictions (e.g. 'body part', 'liquid', 'weapon') or actual lexical restrictions (e.g. *keb* 'nose').

I have also yet to obtain comprehensive data on how far incorporated nominal roots have the option of appearing externally (as with 'tooth-take' for 'have toothache' discussed in the preceding section), or whether in particular cases they must be incorporated for the idiomatic meaning to be expressed. The basic pattern is for incorporation to be obligatory when the idiomatic meaning is being expressed, provided that (a) the relevant root is incorporable (this excludes, for example, *mayh* 'rainbow serpent', which is not an incorporable root and must remain external), and (b) the argument is in an incorporable grammatical relation to the verb (i.e. object or intransitive subject, or a body part of or secondary predicate on either of these).

Thus *w birri-dulk-dukkang* [they-tree-tied] has the idiomatic meaning 'they (women in a ritual) danced around and around a special post or tree', and as such must use the incorporated form of tree *kundulk*, whereas to express the more literal meaning 'they tied up the tree', either the incorporated form or the external form (*birridukkang kundulk*) is appropriate. Likewise *w ben-bid-bayeng bedberre* [he/them-hand-bit them] has the idiomatic meaning 'he died', and as such must incorporate its noun, whereas the more literal meaning 'he bit their hands' is compatible with both incorporated and unincorporated versions (i.e. also with *benbayeng kunbid bedberre*). To the extent that incorporation is obligatory, such idioms would become structurally indistinguishable from noun-verb compounding, discussed in §8.1.3.2. Note, however, that there are also idioms in which an incorporable object noun remains external: see *kun-madj ... kadjung* and *duleno ... kadjung* (13.162).

For each type, I first give those which incorporate the nominal, and then give those where the nominal appears externally. (For discussion of phraseologisation of the applicative and reflexive/reciprocal affixes see §10.3.)

OBJECT:

13.162	<i>yirrkke-bakke</i>	[coals-break(tr.)]	'burn down to coals'
	<i>kurlh-we</i>	[vomit-throw]	'be successful in a hunting expedition'
	<i>kodj-nan</i>	[head-see]	'be taller than someone' (I) (13.117)
	<i>yid-ngalge, rid-ngalke</i>	[fight-find]	'pick a fight' (Dj, I)
	<i>dalk-yame</i>	[grass-spear]	'roam free (of dogs)'
	<i>dalk-ngun</i>	[grass-eat]	'die' (w) (13.163)
	<i>dang-bakke</i>	[mouth-break]	'obtain a large sum of money' (I) (13.164)
	<i>kun-madj ... kadjung</i>	[bag ... follow]	'follow the stitch (in making a bag)' (E)
	<i>duleno ... kadjung</i>	[song ... follow]	'sing a song' (E)

- mayh ... bengkan* [snake ... know] 'have knowledge of ceremony' (I) (13.120)
- mayh ... yakwon* [snake ... finish] 'complete ceremony' (I) (13.165)
- 13.163 *Dja med, ø-bal-dalk-ngu-ø munguyh.*
W CONJ wait 3/3P-away-grass-eat-IMP always
'But wait, presently he will die.' (lit. He will eat grass all the time.)
- 13.164 *Balang ø-bimbom dolobbo, ø-dang-bakke-ng nungka.*
I [subsection] 3/3P-paintPP bark.painting 3/3P-mouth-break-PP 3masc
'Balang painted a bark painting and really got a lot of money for it.'
- 13.165 *Mayh ngarri-yakwo-ng, bonj ø-bunbom.*
I snake 1a/3-finish(tr.)-PP right 3P-finishPP
'We completed the ceremony and now it's finished.'

There are also a few examples involving the lower object of a ditransitive verb:

- 13.166 *wangbol ... won* [wangbol ... give] 'perform wangbol sorcery on IOBJ' (Dj)
gun-buyiga ...won [different ... give] 'do something unexpected to' (Dj)
man-kordang ... won [magic ... give] 'give magic powers to' (I) (13.167)
- 13.167 *Man-kordang birri-wo-ng wayah-wayarra.*
E III-magic 3aP/3-give-PP REDUP-ghost
'The ghosts gave him the power to be a clever man.' (lit. The ghosts gave him magic.)

There are a number of examples where the fixed element is the body part of the object (incorporated in all examples so far):

- 13.168 *Ngarrbenbene-djen-bolkkadju-ng.*
W 1ua/3du-tongue-follow-NP
'We both copy the speech of those two.' [Berndt 1951:268]
- 13.169 *ø-Geb-ngune-ng.*
Dj 1/2-nose-eat-PP
'I thank you.' (lit. I ate your nose.) A synonymous alternative in most dialects is *korn-nguneng* 'I ate your crotch/balls' (which can also be used to a female addressee). As well as meaning 'thankyou' this is used as an expression of great affection.
- 13.170 *ngurl-durrkme*
heart-jerk.out
'kidnap with intent to seduce' (This can also be used more literally, e.g. in describing a dog pulling out the heart of an animal to eat.) [GID]

A productive little set of idioms with incorporated body parts of the subject involve expressions for being interrupted in the midst or on the verge of unloading some bodily fluid or semifluid, where the name for the relevant fluid/body part is incorporated into the relevant word for 'cut, chop': *djobge* (Dj) or *dadjke* in (W, I and E). Thus in Dj *ngan-gord-djobgeng* [3/1-faeces-cutPP] means '(s)he interrupted me in the middle of defecating' and *ngan-duk-djobgeng* [3/1-sperm-cutPP] means '(s)he interrupted me on the verge of ejaculation'.

- 13.171 *Ngan-dile-djobge-ng.*
 Dj 3/1-urine-cut-PP
 '(S)he interrupted me in the middle of urinating.'

INTRANSITIVE SUBJECT There are only a couple of clear examples of this construction. One is the idiom *bolk-yakmen* [place-become.nothing], which means 'something bad happen somewhere', typically in the context of saying a death has occurred somewhere (see 10.74). The other involves the external noun *mayh* 'snake', which is also used to refer allusively to the rainbow serpent and thereby, even more indirectly, to particular ceremonies. The expression *mayh kawokdi* (lit. 'the rainbow serpent speaks') is used (publicly) to refer obliquely to the staging of certain ceremonies:

- 13.172 *Mayh ka-wokdi Mimarn.*
 serpent 3-speakNP [location]
 'There will be a ceremony at Mimarn.' [GID]

There are more examples involving subject complements (external (13.173), incorporated (13.174)) and body parts (13.175, 13.176, both incorporated) of intransitive subjects.

- 13.173 *Kun-kamak ø-yimerrange-ni.*
 W IV-good 3P-turn-PI
 'A ceremony was held.' (lit. It turned good.) [Berndt 1951:266]
- 13.174 *kodjdje-wake*
 asleep-crawl
 'go looking for a girlfriend/boyfriend at night' [GID]
- 13.175 *Birri-kele-bukminj.*
 W 3aP-fear-dry.up-PP
 'They lost all their fear.' [Berndt 1951]
- 13.176 *Ba-ngolek-djobme-ng.*
 Dj 3P-breath-cut.off-PP
 '(S)he died.'

TRANSITIVE SUBJECT A number of idioms having to do with situations over which people have no control involve a fixed transitive subject.

It is striking that the fixed subject element always appears externally rather than incorporated; the only possible exception is the problematic idiom for 'suffer from tooth-ache' where it is unclear whether incorporated 'tooth' is in subject or object relation (see above). Some examples of idioms with fixed transitive subjects were given already in the preceding section on impersonal verbs; further examples are:

- 13.177 *Gebdjined ngan-h-ma-ng.*
 Dj cold 1/3-IMM-take-NP
 'I have a cold.' (lit. A cold gets me.)
- 13.178 *Mayh ngan-kolhbom, konbib nga-ngune-ng minj*
 serpent 3/1-strike.with.illnessPP corned.beef 1/3-eat-PP NEG
nga-rrang-baru-rr-imeninj tap nga-wam nga-bo-nguneng.
 1-mouth-rub-RR-IRR 1-gOPP 1/3-liquid-eatPP

'The rainbow serpent struck me (with illness) because when I ate some corned beef I didn't ritually rub my mouth (with sand) before drinking out of the tap.'
(The verb *kolhbun* has as its basic meaning 'poison fish by the use of plant toxins'; the idiom *mayh kolhbun* is then used, with human objects, to refer to sickness caused by failure to observe certain food rituals; in common with many parts of Australia, the Rainbow Serpent is implicated in such sicknesses.)

Two idioms fix the body part of the object, and at the same time restrict the subject to one or two possible nouns. Onset of menstruation is expressed by the verb 'pierce' (object's foot), with the subject fixed as 'stick' or 'bamboo spear':

- 13.179 *Kun-dulk / madjawarr bi-rrengedjudme-ng.*
W IV-stick bamboo.spear 3/3hP-foot-stick.in-PP
'She had her first menstrual period.' (lit. A stick/bamboo spear pierced her foot.)

Drowning is expressed by the verb 'eat (object's nose)', with the subject fixed as freshwater (*gukku*) or seawater (*gurrula*) as appropriate:

- 13.180 *Gukku / gurrula bi-geb-ngune-ng.*
Dj water sea 3/3hP-nose-eat-PP
'He drowned.' (lit. The water/sea ate his nose.)

Two other expressions of mishap with fixed transitive subjects involve the collocations *njale* √*ngun* [what eat (O)] 'what happen to O' and [spear] *baye* [O] 'spear hit O'.

- 13.181 *Njaleh mak ngun-nguneng?*
W what then 3/2-eatPP
'What happened to you?' (lit. What ate you?)

- 13.182 *Man-gole bi-baye-ng.*
W III-spear 3/3P-bite-PP
'A spear hit him.'

And expressions relating to the height of water use the verb *djobge* 'cut' (object: extent reached), with 'water' as transitive subject.

- 13.183 (*Gukku*) *bi-gom-djobke-ng.*
Dj water 3/3hP-throat-cut-PP
'The water came right up to his throat.' (lit. The water cut his throat.)
- 13.184 (*Kukku*) *ø-warde-djobke-ng.*
W water 3/3P-rock-cut-PP
'The water came up to a point on the rock.' (lit. The water cut the rock.)

ADJUNCTS A few idioms involve adjuncts rather than arguments. An example is:

- 13.185 *Nga-djordminj gu-bid nuye.*
W 1-grow.bigPP LOC-hand 3masCOBL
'He reared me.' (lit. I grew big by his hand.)

13.5 Verbal satellites and other unaffixed nominals

In this section we examine two ways in which morphologically unmarked nominals enter into construction with an adjacent verb: verbal satellites, and nominal adjuncts of various types which escape overt role-marking.

I reserve the term verbal satellites for two types of case:

- (a) nominals that are subcategorised by the verb but are not arguments (§13.5.1), and therefore ineligible for registration by pronominal prefix or as an incorporated nominal, and
- (b) preverb-like elements which combine with the verb to give a more specific characterisation of the event type; the semantic relation parallels that of prebound + theme structures (§8.2.1), but instead of being morphologically fused, the element is placed immediately before the inflected verb (§13.5.2). Most of these are loanwords (especially from English), but a small number appear to be inherited.

The use of unaffixed nominal adjuncts, which we will discuss in §13.5.3, is a result of the general optionality of case-type morphology in Bininj Gun-wok. In most cases a role-marking affix could in principle be used to make the thematic role explicit, so that the unaffixed form is an optional alternative to a more explicitly role-marked form.

13.5.1 Subcategorised, non-argument nominals

Verbal satellites that are subcategorised by the verb, but do not function as arguments, are almost invariably non-referential, and go unmodified. As the examples below will illustrate, the satellite noun may either precede or follow the verb. Their functions are varied, most importantly including:

- (a) Purpose complements (e.g. Dj *barroweng gukku* [3-diePP water] '(s)he was dying for a drink'). Another example is:¹⁰

13.186 *Ngarri-bebm-i, bakki-yak-ga barri-yiga-ni or bakki barri-dowe-rr-inj.*
 Dj 1a-appear-PI tobacco-PRIV-OBL 3aP-fetch-PI tobacco 3aP-die-RR-PP
 'We'd turn up there, cause we had no tobacco, they'd go to fetch some or else they'd all be starving for tobacco.'

- (b) Complements of involvement, as with work (with crocodiles, crocodile hunting etc.) (13.187) and *card kabirridirri* 'they are playing cards'.

13.187 *Bani-djarrk-wokgihm-i ginga.*
 Dj 3uaP-together-work-PI crocodile
 'The two of them used to work together shooting crocodiles/as crocodile hunters.'

¹⁰ In Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali only, the verb *dowe* can incorporate some goal nominals (e.g. E:D *nga-ronj-doweng* [1-water-diePP] 'I was thirsty' and MM *ba-kukku-doweni* '(s)he was dying for water'). This is not possible in the other dialects (see §10.4.3.1), but illustrates the borderline argument status of such nominals.

- (c) Subject complements, e.g. 'turn into *birds*' (Text 1.68), 'turn into *larvae*' (13.188), w *Nawaran kukborledkerrinj Ngalyod* 'the oenpelli python turned into *Ngalyod* (the rainbow serpent)'.
 13.188 *Bodbang ka-rrabu-ngukde-ng wanjh marre ka-yimerra-n.*
 green.ant 3-egg-excrete-NP then larvae 3-turn.into-NP
 'Green ants lay eggs which then turn into larvae.'

- (d) Locutionary complements, as in 'I called my wife *a whore*' (13.189), 'say *fish*' (13.190), 'say/go *waw*' (13.191), 'mention/announce wind/green plums (13.192–13.194). Locutionary complements may sometimes be separated from their verb by an object nominal group (13.193). Complements of *yime* 'say' need not be regular nominals, but may include any representation of a sound, such as *waw* and *wa* (13.191), and this use grades into the combination of *yime* with ideophone-like elements discussed in the next section.

13.189 *Ngaye daluk a-marne-yime-ng ngal-goigoi.*

Dj I wife 1/3-BEN-say-PP II-whore
 'I told my wife she's a whore.'/I called my wife a whore.'

13.190 *Birri-ma-yi kun-malawo birri-djangwe-meninj djenj*
 3a/3P-get-IRR IV-branch 3aP-perform.increase.ritual-IRR fish

birri-yime-ng. "Ngarri-djare djenj ka-wernm-en ngarri-ngu-n".

3aP-say-PP 1a-want fish 3-increase-NP 1a-eat-NP

'When they would perform the increase ritual they would go and get branches and say *fish*. "We want fish to increase so we can eat".'

13.191 "Wa, wa waw, waw", \emptyset -yime-ng "waw", *wanjh bene-h-bu-rr-inj,*
 ow ow ow ow 3P-say-PP ow then 3aP-IMM-hit-RR-PP

bene-h-bu-rr-inj, kure-beh, konda-beh bene-h-bu-rr-inj.

3uaP-IMM-hit-RR-PP there-ABL here-ABL 3uaP-IMM-hit-RR-PP

(He grabbed him and held him around the waist here.) "Ow, ow", he cried and they both fought and fought all over the place.'

13.192 *Maih al-dehne gun-wok ga-m-ga-n, ga-morlewa-n*
 Dj bird FE-DEM IV-word 3/3-hither-carry-NP 3-inform.about-NP

gun-mayorrk.

IV-wind

'That bird brings warning, it tells you there's wind coming.'

13.193 *Ngal-ekke djirungh-djirungh ka-wokdi man-dudjmi ka-mulewa-n.*

FE-DEM pallid.cuckoo 3-speakNP III-green.plum 3-inform.about-NP

'The Pallid Cuckoo calls out and announces the coming into season of the Green Plum fruits.'

13.194 *Ngarri-bolk-ngeibu-n ngan-ege gure ganjdji, gure gu-wukku, gelbi.*

Dj 1a-place-call-NP VE-that LOC under LOC LOC water lair

'We call that place that is underneath, in the water, his *gelbi* (lair).'

13.5.2 Preverb-like satellites

The normal way of borrowing verbs from English is as satellites combined with a very general verb from Biniŋ Gun-wok,¹¹ most commonly \sqrt{yime} 'say, do', \sqrt{re} 'go' or \sqrt{gan} 'take'. The borrowed words normally precede the inflected verb, but occasionally follow it.

- 13.195 *walkabout* \sqrt{ga} 'take someone walkabout'
naughty \sqrt{yime} 'have a "naughty", have illicit sex'
start \sqrt{yime} 'start'
blockim \sqrt{yime} 'block'
travellingman \sqrt{re} 'go travelling' (also phonologically adapted as *drabla* \sqrt{re})
- 13.196 *Bandi-ga-ni* *walkabout, lookabout* *bandi-ga-ni*.
 Dj 3a/3pl-take-PI 3a/3pl-take-PI
 'They'd take them walkabout, they'd take them to look around.'
- 13.197 *Kamak, ngurri-ka-n use ngurri-yime*.
 3-good 2a-take-NP 2a-doNP
 'It's OK, you take it and use it.'

There are a few cases where an ideophone-like element (§13.13) can function as a prepositional in combination with the thematics *me* or *ke*, or enter a preverb construction with *yime* or *gan/kan*. Thus 'be silent' is normally *ngurdme* (e.g. Kuniŋjku *karri-ngerh-ngurdme* [12a-breath-be.silent] 'we hold our breath', but in Kunwinjku at least *ngurd* can sometimes occur externally in combination with *yime*:

- 13.198 *Ka-bal-h-ngolek-djobme, ngurd ka-yime*.
 W 3-away-IMM-breath-cut.offNP silent 3-say/doNP
 'His breath gets short, and then stops completely.' [KH 157]

Similarly, in Kuniŋjku *derrengkerd* refers to the sound of an axe cutting deep into wood; it may either combine with the thematic *me* as a prepositional to give the verb *derrengkerdme* '(axe) make sound as it cuts into wood', or appear as a preverb before *yime*:

- 13.199 *Wanjh bi-marne-wenjhme-ng ku-mekke kam-lobme-ng yimarnek*
 then 3/3hP-BEN-trick-PP LOC-DEM 3hither-run-PP like
 \emptyset -libka-ng, \emptyset -libka-ng, \emptyset -libka-ng, kun-kudji \emptyset -libka-ng, \emptyset -bekka-ng
 3P-lick-PP 3P-lick-PP 3P-lick-PP IV-one 3P-lick-PP 3/3P-hear-PP
derrengkerd \emptyset -yime-ng *kabban* \emptyset -baye-ng *na-mekke waliman*
 [axe sound] 3P-say-PP handle 3/3P-bite-PP MA-DEM axe
dadken kare ...
 stone.axe maybe
 'Then he tricked him into licking (the honey), he licked and licked and then he heard the sound of the axe squeaking in the wood as the handle was grabbed ...'
 [GID]

¹¹ A few English verbs are actually integrated with the thematic *-men*, and as such become part of a single (complex) verb stem. See §8.2.3.11 for examples.

This very limited possibility of alternation between prebound and preverbal structures contrasts with a much greater productivity of the same phenomenon in the Gunwinyguan languages at the western (e.g. Warray) and southern (e.g. Ngalkakan) peripheries of the group.

13.5.3 Unaffixed nominal adjuncts

The various affixes that can be used to mark such adjunct roles as instrument, cause and source were discussed in §5.2. In each such case, however, it is possible to use the nominal with no overt marking, leaving the determination of its role to context and background knowledge. The use of bare nominals is commonest with verbs that stereotypically imply particular thematic roles as adjuncts: vehicles, or purpose, with *re* 'go', source of material with *marnbun* 'make', instrument with *bun* 'hit', and so on. Unaffixed adjunct nominals are usually placed next to the verb, though locationals appear to have more freedom in this regard.

Initial observations suggest that use of the bare nominal is commonest in the north-westernmost dialects (Dj, W, I), which about languages with practically no role marking (like Iwaidja and Maung), but detailed quantitative studies would be required to evaluate this claim definitively.

- (a) INSTRUMENT Leaving the NP unmarked is an alternative to the use of instrumental-*yih* (§5.2.1.2) or comitative *-dorreng* (§5.2.1.5):

13.200 *Na-mekbe djarlung na-bang, gun-dulk nga-bu-n.*
Dj MA-DEM brown.snake MA-dangerous IV-stick 1/3-hit-NP
'That brown snake is a dangerous one, I'll hit it with a stick.'

13.201 *An-dehne gun-dulk nga-bu-n.*
Dj MA-DEM IV-stick 1/3-hit-NP
'I'll hit him with this stick.'

13.202 *Ba-wam djobba.*
Dj 3P-goPP helicopter
'He came by helicopter, in the helicopter.'

13.203 *Gabbala ngarr-e-i.*
Dj boat 1a-go-PI
'We went by boat.'

13.204 *Gabarri-behge-∅ an-dubang, gabarri-waral-dolngbu-n.*
Dj 3a/3NP-touch.with.smoking.leaves-NP III-ironwood 3a/3-spirit-drive.away-NP
'They're touching (the dead man's possessions) with smoking ironwood leaves, to drive away his spirit.'

- (b) PURPOSE This is the usual way to express purpose with non-human goals, particularly with the verb *re* 'go'. (With human goals, in contrast, the COMitative applicative is often used to promote goal NPs to argument status — §7.6.2.)

13.205 *Ba-re-i an-djai.*
Dj 3P-go-PI III-cane.grass
'She would go off for cane grass.'

- 13.206 *Mayh* \emptyset -*wam*.
 animal 3-gOPP
 'He went hunting.'

(c) SOURCE OF MATERIAL This is an alternative to the more explicit expression of source using the ablative (§5.2.2.1).

- 13.207 *Godwalidjbun* *ga-yed-marnbu-n gun-god*.
 Dj white.throated.warbler 3-nest-make-NP IV-paperbark
 'The white-throated warbler makes its nest out of paperbark.'

- 13.208 *Darh-yak, gun-dalk ngarri-rurrk-nam-i. An-ngulubu*
 Dj bark-PRIV IV-grass 1a/3-shelter-make-PI III-spear.grass
arri-rurrk-nam-i, arri-yo-i.
 1a/3-shelter-make-PI 1a-lie-PI
 'If we had no stringybark, we used to make shelters out of grass.
 We'd build them out of spear grass, and sleep in them.'

(d) LOCATION, DIRECTION, AND SOURCE OF MOVEMENT. Various means for indicating locative relations have already been discussed: the locative suffix for location and direction (§5.2.1.4), the ablative for source of movement (§5.2.1.1), and the locative prefix (§5.2.2.1) and locative preposition (§6.4.1.1), the last two also serving as markers of location or direction.

However, all three primary locational relations can also be expressed by unaffixed nominals. This is most likely to happen with proper nouns, and when the accompanying verb is *re* 'go' or *bebme* 'arrive at' (direction: 13.209, 13.210), or the verb *dolkkan* 'get up; leave; come from' (source of movement: 13.210, 13.211). With static location there does not appear to be any restriction on the verb involved; examples are attested, for example, with 'spear' ('at Lorlo'; Text 2.15) and 'hold ceremony' (13.173), as well as with motion verbs such as *derrehme* 'move across' (13.211). For examples where proper nouns are overtly marked for location, see 6.89, with a locative suffix, and 6.77, 6.78 with the locative preposition *kure* ~ *kore*. Occasionally unaffixed nominals are also used to express adnominal modification with the meaning 'X, from Y', e.g. 'David, from Korlobidahdah'. See Text 5.20 for an example.

- 13.209 *Nungan* \emptyset -*bakke-rr-inj* Darwin *birri-wam, kun-bang*
 3mascEMPH 3P-compose-RR-PP 3AP-gOPP IV-grog
birri-bongune-ng wanjh birri-bawo-ng \emptyset -*mayah-mayahme-ng*.
 3AP-drink-PP then 3AP-leave-PP 3P-ITER-get.lost-PP
 'He created it (a song) for himself when they went to Darwin and got drunk
 and they left him and he became lost.'

- 13.210 *Djamarlingki Nakorrkko bene-dolkka-ng wanjh Mindjilang bene-bebme-ng*.
 [place] [name] 3uaP-set.off-PP then [place] 3uaP-arrive-PP
 'The Nakorrkko creation ancestors set out from Djamarlingki and arrived
 at Midjilang.'

- 13.211 *Arri-yi-rrolkga-ni Awarn.garradj arri-bal-e-i Garlbagarridjam*
 Dnj 1a-COM-set.off-PI [place] 1a-along-go-PI [place]

arri-bal-derrehm-i.

1a-along-move.across-PI

'We would set off with them (the spearshafts) from Awarn.garradj and keep going along, and we'd cross over at Garlbagarridjam.'

- (e) CAUSE Cause may be expressed overtly by the instrumental (§5.2.1.2), genitive (§5.2.1.3), and locative (§5.2.1.4) suffixes, as well as by either of the applicative prefixes: the benefactive (§10.3.1.5) and the comitative (§10.3.2.4); the reader is referred to these sections for the various semantic nuances these means express.

In addition, however, one often encounters the use of bare nominals to express cause, with no overt marking on either noun or verb:

- 13.212 *Gukku ga-m-waihme, an-djeuk-wern.*

Dj water 3-hither-riseNP III-rain-much

'The water is rising from all the rain.'

- 13.213 *Ngarri-marnbu-ni, yimin makem fire here middle nomo propa bigwan*
 Dnj 1a/3-make-PI used.to make not really big

jad kunak, an-yahwurdurd, Djibdjib ngarri-marnbu-ni.

that fire VE-small [spirit being] 1a-make-PI

'We used to make fires in the middle (of our campsite), not really big ones, little ones, we made them because of those *Djibdjib* spirit beings (which might come and molest us otherwise).'

13.6 Adverbs of location and time

13.6.1 Locational adverbs

Adjuncts of place may be expressed by members of the closed class of locational adverbs, as an alternative or supplement to the use of nouns or demonstratives affixed for a locational role, to nominal groups headed by the locative preposition, or to unaffixed proper nouns used with locative function.

Such locational adverbs are, morphologically, a subset of the broader nominal class, sharing restricted aspects of role-marking morphology with nominals more generally, such as the possibility (for most locationals) of taking the ablative suffix *-beh* (e.g. *kanjdjibeh* 'from inside, from underneath') and, less commonly, the locative *-ka(h)* when indicating direction (5.68). Some have absorbed the locative prefix *gu-/ku-* (e.g. *ku-djaku* 'on the left' (cf. *kun-djaku* 'left hand'), *ku-kun* 'on the right' (cf. *kun-kun* 'right hand')), and others optionally take the locative suffix *-kah* (Dj, *w yerre ~ yerrekah* 'after'). The only special morphological possibility found with locational adverbs is the directional prefix *berre-*, found on '3-D' terms (e.g. *berre-kaddum* 'upwards', *berre-kakbi* 'northwards'), and this is restricted to Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali (see §5.2.2.5). Syntactically they have no special characteristics, and can be placed anywhere in the clause, though they tend to fall outside any nominal arguments or adjuncts that are present. The possibility of using certain locationals as postpositions is discussed in §6.4.2.

A number of semantically based subclasses exist:

CARDINAL TERMS These are skewed about 45° anticlockwise from the standard reference:

<i>kakbi</i> 'north, north-east'		
<i>karrikad</i> 'west, north-west'	+	<i>koyek</i> 'east, south-east'
		<i>walem</i> 'south, south-west'

Two sentence examples are:

13.214 *Yiman gayime goyek-be ga-m-lobme gun-mayorrk gun-godjngol,*
Dj ... like ... east-ABL 3-hither-runNP IV-wind IV-stormcloud

ngandjeuk ga-m-lobme goyek-beh.

III-rain 3-hither-runNP east-ABL

'So a wind and stormclouds are coming up from the east, rain is coming up quickly from the east.'

13.215 *Bene-bebme-ng kondah nuk kakbi.*

W 3uaP-arrive-PP here DUB north

'The two of them arrived around here somewhere to the north.' [KS 20]

RELATIVE LOCATION In this category are *kanjdji* 'down, under; inside', with its two antonyms *kaddum* 'up, above' and *kuberrk* 'outside' (E:D *kurorrebo*) as well as its partial synonym *kururrk* 'inside (an enclosed space)' (see §5.2.2.1 on the ongoing grammaticalisation of this form from a locative-prefixed noun *ku-rurrk* 'in the cave'), as well as such terms as *ku-djakku* 'on/to the left', *ku-kun* 'on/to the right', *ngahdjarre* 'this side, this way' (Dj), *djurrungun* 'straight ahead' (Dj), *borledmiken* 'on the other side of, behind' (formed by adding genitive *-ken* to the verb *borledme* 'turn around').

13.216 *Ban-marne-dang-balhm-i barri-dowe-ni ganjdji gu-rurrk.*

Dj 3/3pIP-BEN-entrance-be.blocked-PI 3aP-die-PI down/inside LOC-cave

'The entrance would close behind them and they would die inside the cave.'

DISTANCE AND SERIATION *darnkih* 'close (up), near (in place or time)', *djarre* 'far, a long way off (in place or time)', *yerre(-ka)* (*rerre* in eastern dialects) 'behind; after, later', *yungki* 'in front, further along; first', *werrk* 'first in series (space or time)' (but also 'quickly, in a hurry' in W and I).

The first four of these, it will be seen, are polysemous between spatial and temporal meanings, as the following examples illustrate:

13.217 *Nga-wam darnkih.*

W 1-gOPP close

'I went close'. [E&E 88]

13.218 *Darnkih ka-m-re.*

W soon 3-hither-goNP

'It will be soon'

13.219 *Namege bininj darngih ga-rrowe-n.*

Dj MA:DEM man close 3-die-NP

'That man's "close-up dead", is about to die.'

Verbs of movement, of course, provide a natural bridging context, since travelling spatially behind, for example, means arriving later:

- 13.220 *Yerre nga-m-re.*
 Dj behind 1-hither-goNP
 'I'll come behind you, after you.'
- 13.221 *Nungga werrk ba-warde-bidbom, aye yerre, a-weleng-bidbom.*
 Dj 3masc first 3/3P-rock-climbPPP 1 behind 1/3-then-climbPPP
 'He climbed up the rock first, then I climbed up behind/after.'

With other verbs, however, pure spatial ('these two teeth behind' in 7.211) or temporal senses (13.222) are obtained:

- 13.222 *Aleng ba-rrowe-ng, ngaye nga-djordminj yerre.*
 Dj 3fem 3P-die-PP 1 1-grow.upPPP after
 'She died before I grew up.' (lit. She died, I grew up after/later.)

Two of these polysemous locational adverbs have formally related verbal prefixes, for example 13.217 can be paraphrased as *ngadarnhwam*. In the corresponding verbal prefixes space/ time polysemy is either restricted or absent: *darnh-* 'close (to)' is almost always used spatially (§11.5.4) and *yingkih-* 'first' is only ever used temporally/aspectually (§11.4.6).

13.6.2 Time adverbs

Time specification can be achieved in three ways, not counting the use of time prefixes on the verb (see §11.4 and §11.6).

The first method is through the use of a nominal or nominal group, for example a noun capable of measuring time, typically *kun-kak* 'night', *dird* 'moon' (MM *garrakbal*) or *kudjewk* 'rain, rainy season, year', plus a numeral or root like *buyika* 'other'. Apart from the restricted use of the 'time' suffix *-keno* in eastern dialects (see §5.2.1.12), there is no overt marking of the time relation, which is inferred from the lexical content of the expression. There is a tendency for the time expression to precede the verb.

- 13.223 *Ga-rrowe-n malayi, bogen gun-gak ga-rrowe-n.*
 Dj 3-die-NP tomorrow two IV-night 3-die-NP
 'He'll die tomorrow, in two nights he'll die.'
- 13.224 *Gabarri-re, dird na-gudji gabarri-dowe-n.*
 Dj 3a-goNP moon MA-one 3a-die-NP
 'They (the victims) go off, and after a month they die.'
- 13.225 *Bogen gu-djeuk ba-rrowe-ng.*
 Dj two LOC-rain 3P-die-PP
 'He died two years ago.'

Where necessary the direction of temporal projection may be shown by the addition of a word like 'come' or 'before', as with MM *naguji garrakbal ngan-kare* [one moon before] 'one month ago', W *dird kamre* [moon it-comes] 'next month', W *kun-barnangarra-buyika* [IV-day-other] 'the other day' and W *dird-buyika* [moon-other] 'last month'.

The second method is to use a verbal expression describing the epoch, season or diurnal cycle. There is considerable variation in how far such words get morphologically frozen and acquire nominal characteristics, and time expressions of this type are strung along a continuum from adverbial clauses comprising a word with full verbal status, to nominals which happen to be of verbal origin. See §4.1.2 and §5.6.2 for discussion and examples; some samples are Dj *ba-garre-wakwam* [3P-law-was.ignorant] 'the founding time, dream time (before the laws of life were known)', (all dialects) *ka-ngurdurlme* [it-thunders] 'stormy season', W *kum-barrhbom* [it-hither-dawned] 'at dawn (past)', MM *ka-rrung-di* [it-sun-stands] 'mid-day, "dinner-time"', Dj *ga-rrung-yibme* [it-sun-sinks] 'sunset'.

- 13.226 *Ga-ngutda-ngutme mayhmayh gabarri-wokdi.*
 MM 3-sun-just.riseNP birds 3a-speakNP
 'The birds sing at dawn.'

The third method is to use a word from the class of temporal nominals. These words are basically morphologically invariable, except that some may take the past suffix *-ni* to emphasise their location in the past (8.93, 13.227). This suffix is attested with *kaluk* 'then, next', *ku-kak* 'at night, during the night' and Dj *an-garehgen* 'a while back', *wolewoleh* 'yesterday' and *wolehwolehbuyiga* 'the day before yesterday'. Particular temporal nominals may also contain noun-class prefixes (e.g. Dj *an-gare* [III-old] 'before', W *kun-kudji* [IV-one] 'once'), locative prefixes (Dj *gu-gak* 'night-time' < *gun-gak* IV-night), the part suffix *-no* (E *kakno* 'night') or the suffix *-wi* (Dj *malaiwi* 'tomorrow', *bolkgimewi* 'just about', *ngokkowi* — 'afternoon' (Dj), 'yesterday' (MM)). In Kune many temporals have both of the latter suffixes (e.g. *ngorkkowino* 'night').

- 13.227 *An-gareh-gen-ni a-rrurrkmirri gure Bulaydjang.*
 Dj III-before-GEN-P 1-workP LOC [place]
 'A few months ago I was working at Bulaydjang.'

Time adverbs tend to precede the verb when used in verbal clauses (13.228–13.230), but this is not always the case (13.231).

- 13.228 *Gorrogo, bu ngarri-ni gorrogo, birrgala barri-mun.ge-yi gakbi.*
 Dj before REL 1a-sit before boomerang 3aP-send-PI northeast
 'Before, as we were before, they used to send boomerangs north-eastward (from the desert).'

- 13.229 *Gorrogo nga-wayini a-burnbom.*
 Dj already 1-singP 1-finishPP
 'I've already finished singing.'

- 13.230 *Galuk yerrega bu ga-nudme-n an-egé ga-ngu-n.*
 Dj later afterwards when 3-rot-NP VE-that 3-eat-NP
 'Till later, afterwards, when it rots, that's when he eats it.'

- 13.231 *Karri-durnde ngulam Djandi.*
 E:N 12a-returnNP tomorrow Sunday
 'We'll come back tomorrow, on Sunday.'

When used in non-verbal predicates they are usually preceded by *wanjh* 'then, now':

13.232 *Yekke wanjh bolkkime.*Dj cool.season then now
'It's the cool season now.'

Temporal nominals may be divided semantically into the following groups. Note that there is a lot of semantic extension and change across dialects, for example the extension of *gugak* from 'night' to 'last night' to 'yesterday' in Gun-djeihmi, of *ngokkowi* from 'afternoon' to 'yesterday afternoon' to 'yesterday' across the dialects, and of *mala(y)wi* from 'morning' (one of its senses in Kunwinjku and Kuninjku) to 'tomorrow' in all dialects. A likely cause of such changes is the bleeding of tense meaning from the verbal inflection onto the temporal (e.g. *kukak* 'night' in 'I saw him in.the.night' will be construed in context as 'last night', which may go on to become part of its lexical meaning).

RELATIVE TIME

<i>bolkgime</i> (Dj), <i>bolkkime</i> (W), <i>bolkki</i> (I)	'now, today'
<i>bolkgimewi</i> (Dj)	'just about, only now'
<i>gugak</i> ~ <i>guwak</i> (Dj), <i>ngokkowi</i> (MM), <i>wolewoleh</i> (I)	'yesterday'
<i>boyen</i> (W, I), <i>boyenjhgen</i> (MM)	'in the recent past, in the last couple of days'
<i>gorrogo</i> (Dj), <i>korroko</i> (W)	'before, formerly; already'
<i>ngokko</i> (W, Dj)	'already'
<i>an-gare</i> (Dj), <i>an-garehgen</i> (Dj)	'in the olden days, before'
<i>na-yuhyungki</i>	'the ancestors; the time of the first beings'
<i>kaluk</i>	'later, after a while, bye and bye' (see below)
<i>malayi</i>	(also <i>malaiwi</i> in Dj) 'tomorrow; the morrow'
<i>ngulam</i> , <i>ngulanjak</i> (I, E)	'tomorrow; the morrow'
<i>yerre(ka(h))</i>	'behind, after'
<i>werrk</i>	'first'

An example is:

13.233 *Ngad guwak djama andi-ma-yi.*Dj 1a yesterday NEG 3/1a-get-IRR
'She didn't get us any filesnakes yesterday.'

DIURNAL

<i>kukabel</i>	'pre-dawn'
<i>malayi</i> (all dialects except Dj)	'morning' (cf. prefix <i>mala-</i> 'morning' (§11.6.2))
<i>malamalaiyi</i> (Dj)	'morning'
<i>kukak</i> (W, I)	'during the night, last night'
<i>guwakguwak</i> (Dj)	'night-time'
<i>ngorkkowino</i> (E)	'night'
<i>ngokkowi</i>	'afternoon' (Dj), 'dusk, early evening' (I)
<i>wolewoleh</i> (Dj, W, I)	'late afternoon, dusk'
<i>makirrarra</i> (I)	'dusk'
<i>barnangarra</i>	'daytime'

<i>kumunun</i> (W, I)	'midnight, dead of night'
<i>gu-mununburrk</i> (Dj)	'midnight, dead of night'

An example (note the semantic difference from the Dj cognate *guwak* in the last example):

- 13.234 *Birndu ngan-baye-ng ku-kak.*
 W mosquito 3/1-bite-PP LOC-night
 'The mosquitoes bit me during the night.'

DURATION

<i>munguy</i>	'continually; for good'
<i>munguyhmunguy</i>	'always; for a long time'
<i>galukborrk</i> (Dj)	'for a long time'
<i>gun-babi</i> (Dj)	'for long'
<i>gun-guyenggu</i> (Dj)	'for a long time, in the long run'
<i>waken</i> (W)	'a couple of days'

Two examples are:

- 13.235 *Ba-djal-yim-i galukborrk "gurlulk, gurlulk" ba-yime-ng.*
 Dj 3P-just-say-PI long.time [onomatopoeic] 3P-say-PP
 'She just kept saying for a long time: "gurlulk, gurlulk".'
- 13.236 *Munguih gunak ga-rrowe-n.*
 Dj continually fire 3-die-NP
 'The fire keeps going out.'

ITERATION

<i>an-gudji-(h)gen</i> (Dj)	'once'
<i>kun-kudji</i> (W, I)	'once'
<i>boken-kah</i> (I)	'twice'

An example:

- 13.237 *Kun-kudji birri-borrkke-ng mamurrng kore Manuwukan.*
 I IV-one 3aP-dance-PP [ceremony] LOC Maningrida
 'Once they danced a Mamurrng ceremony at Maningrida.'

SERiation See also the discussion of space/time polysemy in §13.6.1.

<i>werrk</i>	'first' (cf. verbal prefix <i>yingkih-</i> in §11.4.6)
<i>yerre, yerrekah</i>	'later, afterwards; behind'
<i>kaluk</i>	'later, after a while, by and by'
<i>weleng</i>	'then, next' (cf. formally identical verbal prefix in §11.4.5)

An example is:

- 13.238 *Weleng ku-meke-be bene-dolkka-ng bene-djowkke-ng kabo-no.*
 I then LOC-DEM-ABL 3uaP-get.up-PP 3uaP-cross-PP river-PRT
 'Then, from there, the two of them got up and crossed a river.'

Kaluk, when used as an adverb with the meaning 'then, later' has the same freedom of position as other time adverbs, and need not precede the verb directly (13.239; Text 4.6). Alternatively it may function as a modal particle with straightforward future meaning, in which case it must immediately precede the verb (see §9.3.2 for examples).

- 13.239 A: *Namege yi-na guwarrang!* B: *Djama a-na-yi.*
 Dj MA:DEM 2/3-seeIMP echidna NEG 1/3-see-IRR
 'Look at that echidna!' 'I didn't see it.'
- A: '*Galuk*' *na-gudji yinan.*
 later MA-one 2-see-NP
 'You'll see one later.'

13.7 Manner adverbs

As with adverbs of place and time, manner-adverbial modification can be effected by nominal groups, whose constituents may bear appropriate role-affixation such as the instrument suffix or the 'manner' use of the Class III prefix (*m*)*an-* (§5.2.2.4) or may simply appear without formal marking (§13.5.3). In addition there is a set of specific lexical manner adverbials, which occasionally contain non-productive morphology, though many have the suffix *-kih* (which is dropped in any corresponding verbal-prefix form); see §4.3.7.

Specific semantic sub-classes are:

SPEED/INTENSITY As well as modifying clauses in the regular way, these can be used in isolation as imperatives (e.g. *yalmo!* 'slowly!', *wern.gih!* 'louder/faster/harder!'). Those marked with '(x2)' may be reduplicated for emphasis.

<i>korre</i> (x2)	'quickly' (sometimes also 'already (quickly)')
<i>yeledj</i> (x2) (W)	'slowly, gently, softly'
<i>yamgo</i> (Dj)	'slowly'
<i>yalmo</i> (I)	'slowly'
<i>ngalingali</i> (Dj)	'slowly'
<i>walakkih</i> (x2)	'gradually, bit by bit'
<i>wernkih</i>	'properly; loud, fast, hard' (cf. verbal prefix <i>wernh-</i> in §11.3.2.1)
<i>bulkkidj</i>	'really, properly, truly'
<i>na-borlok</i> (Dj)	'swiftly, suddenly, "one shot"'
<i>an-baloh</i> (Dj)	"quick job", hastily'

Some examples:

- 13.240 *Yalmo! Nakka wurdurd!*
 slowly MA:DEM children
 'Drive slowly, there's children here!'
- 13.241 *Nga-makmen walakkih.*
 W 1-become.goodNP gradually
 'I'm gradually improving.' [E&E 88]

- 13.242 *Ngan-du-i bulkkidj.*
 Dj 3/1-swear.at-PP properly
 'He really swore at me.'
- 13.243 *Yawarral naborlok bi-baye-ng, ga-ngu-n djorrkgun.*
 Dj [snake.sp.] swiftly 3/3h-bite-PP 3/3-eat-NP rock.possum
 'The diamond-headed rock snake swiftly bit the possum to eat him.'
- 13.244 *Gorre arri-ma-ngi an-djarradjarra, an-baloh.*
 Dj quickly 1a-get-PI III-stringybark III-hasty
 'We got the stringybark quickly, and made a hasty job of it.'

MOTIVES

- djanggogo* 'for nothing, for no purpose, for no payment'
man-molk (W), *molkno* (I, E) 'secretly, stealthily' (cf. verbal prefix *molk-* in §11.7.2)
red-dorrengh (I) 'with all the possessions needed to shift camp' (this could be treated as a straightforward comitative use, but for the dropping of *kun-* from *kun-red* 'camp')

An example:

- 13.245 *Djanggogo a-marnbom, djama andi-wo-yi.*
 for.nothing 1/3-makePP not 3a/1-give-IRR
 'I made it for nothing, they never gave me anything.'

SPATIAL LAYOUT

- monambadbad* 'in single file'
rayekkih 'in one place, without moving around, stationary'
 (cf. the adjective root *rayek* 'hard')
gun-wunggal (Dj) 'behind someone'

Examples:

- 13.246 *Yiman wolewoleh birri-m-yurrubirdihme-ng nganabbarru monambadbad.*
 like yesterday 3aP-hither-gallop-PP buffalo single.file
 'Just like yesterday when the buffalo came galloping towards us in single file.'
- 13.247 *Wurdurd yuwn ngurri-wohre ngurri-djal-ni-n rayekki.*
 children NEG.IMP 2a-moveNP 2a-just-sit-IMP stationary
 'Children, don't move around everywhere. Just sit in the one place.'

QUANTIFICATION A rather disparate collection of adverbs with quantificational-type meanings exists:

- yawoyhno ~ rawoyhno* 'again' (see discussion of verbal prefix *yawoyh-* in §11.3.5.1)
bebbeh-bebbeh (Dj), 'all around, from each place' (see discussion of verbal prefix
bebbeh-be (I) *bebbeh-* in §11.3.1.3)
- 13.248 *Mani mak bebbebeh, ngalengman kunj birri-murrng-doyi.*
 VE-DEM also from.each.place 3femEMPH kangaroo 3a/3P-bone-crush-IRR
 'It (a grindstone) was used from each place (in a different manner), this one was used for grinding kangaroo bones.'

Finally, note that nouns denoting actions, suffixed with privative *-yak* (§5.2.1.6), are also used as manner adverbs meaning ‘without Xing’. In this use they drop their noun-class prefix, so that *wok-yak* rather than *kun-wok-yak* is used (13.249) and *yid-yak* rather than *kun-yid-yak* (13.250).

13.249 *Gurri-modme-n garri-ni-n wok-yak!*

Dj 2a-be.quiet-IMP 12a-sit-IMP talk-PRIV
‘You mob shut up and let’s all be quiet!’

13.250 *Bayun gurri-bu-rr-en gun-yi gurri-bawo yid-yak garri-ni-n*
Dj don’t 2a-hit-RR-IMP IV-trouble 2a-leaveIMP trouble-PRIV 12a-sit-IMP

djamun gan-ma-ng.

policeman 3/1a-take-NP

‘Don’t fight each other, lay off the quarrelling, let’s just sit here without fighting, or the policeman will get us.’

13.8 General clitics

Several clitics are able to attach to constituents of a range of word classes; their clitic status is indicated by their lack of independent word stress. Other clitics with specifically nominal hosts are discussed in the section dealing with the morphology of their host: see §6.5.1 for the clitic =*wali*, which attaches to nominal groups, and §10.2.3 on the placement of oblique pronouns after the verb to indicate objects, though in this case they are not phonologically integrated to the point of losing their own word stress.

13.8.1 =*ki(h)* ‘now’

This clitic occurs most commonly on pronouns, with the meaning ‘this ... now’, that is what has just been talked about, or is contextually obvious; an example is 13.251 (see also §7.1.4). On demonstratives such as *gonhda* ‘here’ (13.252) it has a similar effect.

13.251 *Aleng=gi an-gare.*

Dj she-NOW III-before
‘(I had) this one now (your truck) before.’

13.252 *Arri-dolkga-ni an-gorle arri-bunj-yiga-ni, Nulkwarre or Gugarndjal.*
Dnj 1a-go.up-PI III-bamboo 1a-bamboo-fetch-PI [place] [place]

Arri-dolkga-ni an-gorle arri-dadjge-yi. Gonhda=gi Wirriiri
1a-go.up-PI III-bamboo 1a-cut-PI here=NOW [place]

arri-dadjge-yiii, ngarri-yo-i, ngarri-godj-djuhm-i, ngarri-yo-i.

1a-cut-PI 1a-sleep-PP 1a-head-bathe-PI 1a-lie-PI

‘We used to climb up to fetch bamboo, at Nulkwarre or Gugarndjal. We used to go up and cut bamboo. Here at Wirriiri now we’d cut (bamboo) for a long time, then lie and have a rest, we’d wet our heads (to cool down) and have a rest.’

I also have one example each of it combining with nouns (13.253) and verbs (13.254). From this small sample, and from these particular contexts of utterance, it is not possible to determine what semantic contribution the clitic makes here.

13.253 *anything tree, gun-dulk=gi, whole lot gun-dulk*
 Dnj IV-tree-? IV-tree
 'all sorts of trees'

13.254 *∅-Bah-bakme-ng=ki.*
 E 3P-ITER-break-PP=?
 'It's broken down properly.'

Two lexicalised expressions — *gayakki* 'no, nothing' and *woibukki* 'true' — appear to have absorbed this clitic. Their roots are respectively \sqrt{yak} 'without' and \sqrt{woibuk} 'true'. A suffix *-kih* also appears on a number of adverbs; see §13.6 and §13.7.

13.8.2 =bukka 'eh?'

This invites the hearer to supply more information. It is probably derived from the verb *bukkan* 'show'.

Attached to a non-ignorative, it is usually a request to verify the marked word, functioning like an English tag question or 'eh'.

13.255 *Barri-wam=bukka Pine Creek?*
 Dj 3aP-goPP=eh?
 'They've gone, haven't they, to Pine Creek?'/ 'They've gone to Pine Creek, eh?'

However, it may be requesting further information from the hearer, rather than simply confirmation, or merely indicating uncertainty about the some aspect of the proposition:

13.256 *Nga-bekka-ng=bukka ka-h-ni nuk ∅-mey.*
 W 1/3-feel-PP=eh? 3-IMM-sitNP DUB 3/3P-getPP
 'I feel something at your end, maybe it's an animal.' [OP 423]

This clitic most commonly attaches to ignoratives, inviting the hearer to respond to the interrogative:

13.257 *Yauk-yauk bogen, njamed, Al-gaihgo. A-wakwam aye njale=bukka?*
 Dj girls two what [name] I-forget:PP I what=eh?
Al-buyiga, am, daluk bogen, al-daluk rouk, yauk-yauk bene-djuhm-i
 II-other um woman two II-female all girls 3ua.P-swim-PI
gu-gukku.
 LOC-water

(A younger woman with a strong voice was doing the narration, prompted by an old, frail but knowledgeable woman.) '(About) the two girls, and (the one called) *Al-gaihgo*. I've forgotten it, what is it eh? Another two women, both females. The two girls were swimming in the water.'

- 13.258 *Ngarri-wam right up to, ngaled=bukka ngarri-wam?*
 W 1a-goPP where=eh? 1a-goPP
 ‘We went on to, where was it we went?’ (This is my only instance of the root *ngaled*. It is possibly an archaic form from the series *ngale/njale* reflected in Djehmi *ngayed*.)

This clitic has a rarer variant =*makka*, apparently synonymous:

- 13.259 *bula kan-ka-ng ngadberre andu, bula yi-yime,*
 W earthquake 3/1a-take-PP us then earthquake 2-callNP
njale=makka bula.
 what=eh? earthquake
 ‘An earthquake struck us then, a whatchacallit, eh, an earthquake.’

13.8.3 =wi ‘only’

This restricts the scope of a (semantic) predication to the host word. It may attach to any non-verbal word class capable of serving as a semantic predicate (see 13.144 for a secondary predicate example), though mostly words bearing this clitic are arguments (13.260, 13.261) or adjuncts (13.262) in their clause.

- 13.260 *Gun-wardde=wi ø-djal-wo-n.*
 Dj IV-money=only 1/2-just-give-NP
 ‘I will give you only money.’
- 13.261 *Manawukan=wi ngurri-re?*
 Maningrida=only 2a-goNP
 ‘Are you only going to Maningrida?’ [GID]
- 13.262 *Manin yawurrinj=wi kabirri-bidbu-n.*
 VE:DEM young.men=only 3a-climb.up-NP
 ‘Only the young men can get in this one (truck).’ [GID]

It is often used in conjunction with the prefix *djal-* ‘just’ to clarify the scope of restriction; this may attach to the verb (13.260) (see §11.3.5.2 for more detailed discussion of *djal-*), or to the noun bearing =*wi* (13.263).

- 13.263 *Djal-bim=wi ø-yuwurrinj yiman delek bolkki nga-h-bimbom*
 just-image=only 3P-lieIRR like white.ochre now 1/3-IMM-paintPP
wolewoleh kunekke ka-yime-ninj kun-kudji dilh dilh dilh.
 yesterday NEU:DEM 3-do-IRR IV-one dot dot dot
 ‘There was only (solid figure) images in white ochre like I use today and like I painted before with dots, one by one dot dot dot.’ [GID]

On certain verbs =*wi* gains the idiomatic meaning ‘right away, in a minute’, as in 13.264. Presumably the extension is from ‘I’ll do nothing but return’ to ‘therefore, nothing will delay me — I’ll be right back’.

- 13.264 *A-m-durnde-ng=wi.*
 Dj 1-hither-return-NP=only
 'I'll be right back.'

In Manyallaluk Mayali, this clitic occurs frequently on verbs used in the past imperfective (13.265); while in some cases it simply follows the past imperfective suffix (*djangka-ni=wi*), in others it is attached to verbs like *ni* 'sit' with no overt past imperfective markers, and in others it has actually displaced the past imperfective suffix (*barri-djuhgewi*; cf. its Gun-djihmi past imperfective equivalent, *barri-djuhgeyi*). It therefore appears to be in the process of being grammaticised as a new form for the past imperfective category in this dialect.¹²

- 13.265 *Guk-no ngarri-ngu-ni=wi, barri-juhge=wi guhgu-gah, bang-no*
 MM body-PRT 1a/3-eat-PI=only 3a/3P-soak=only water-LOC poison-PRT
ba-we-yi gukgu-yi gunj gure worrbajin gobagohbany
 3/3-throw-PI water-INST kangaroo LOC old.fashioned old.people
barri-djan.ga-ni=wi.
 3a-hunt-PI=only
 'We used to eat the body (of the yam), they used to soak it in water, and the water would leach out the poison; in the olden days the old people used to hunt kangaroos.'

A formative *wi*, probably related, occurs in several time adverbials; see §4.3.8. In Kunwinjku it has also developed into a suffix, or part of a suffix, for the instrumental; see §5.2.1.9.

13.8.4 =bonh 'already'

This suffix is restricted to Kune, and so far only a few examples have been recorded, in all of which it follows either the verb or an oblique pronoun postposed after the verb. Bidialectal speakers say it is roughly equivalent to *wanjh* 'then' in other dialects (§13.12.4), although *wanjh* has many more functions than *bonh*. When combining with a verb in the past perfective it means roughly 'already'; with a non-past verb used as a suggestion, it means 'now'.

- 13.266 *Duruk ngun-baye-ng ngudberre=bonh.*
 E:N dog 3/2-bite-PP 2OBL=already
 'The dog's already bitten you.'
- 13.267 *Yi-re=bonh.*
 E:N 2-gONP=already
 'You go now.'

Rembarrnga (McKay 1975:232) has a formally identical particle which McKay glosses 'resultative'. Unlike in Kune, in Rembarrnga it is positionally free.

¹² In such cases it is difficult to be consistent about representing boundaries consistently; I use the clitic boundary when it follows an existing past imperfective inflection, and a suffix boundary when it displaces the suffix. But such divisions are rather artificial.

13.8.5 =warridj 'too, also'

This follows a word, group or clause of which a previously given predication is also true.

- 13.268 *Na-mud yi-ma-ng, na-mud a-ma-ng aye arduk=warridj.*
 Dj I-group 2/3-get-NP I-group 1/3-get-NP I IOBL=too
 'You get your group, and I'll get my group too.' (said by someone challenging another to a fight)

Often the host is the only word in its clause:

- 13.269 *Gu-behne marrek anabbarru ba-diwirrinj. Gunj, gornobolo,*
 Dj LOC-DEM not buffalo 3P-standIRR kangaroo agile.wallaby
yok, ngal-wanjdjuk. Galawan=warridj.
 bandicoot II-emu goanna=too
 'Here there were no buffalo. Kangaroos, agile wallabies, bandicoots, emus. Goannas too.'

- 13.270 *Ngaye=warridj.*
 W I=too
 'Me too.'

This clitic tends to occur at the end of the intonational group, even where a word over which it has scope comes earlier:

- 13.271 *Na-djinem ka-h-ngu-n=warridj.*
 I I-black.rock.kangaroo 3/3-IMM-eat-NP=too
 'The black rock kangaroo eats it also.'

However, the Etheringtons' grammar gives an example of it occurring earlier:

- 13.272 *Bininj=warridj nga-na-ng.*
 W man=also 1/3-see-PP
 'I also saw a man.' [E&E 88]

13.8.6 =duninj(h) 'real'

The final *h* in all dialects, and the final *-nj* in Gun-djeihmi, are sometimes dropped.

On nominals this clitic marks the preceding word as an authentic or good example of the entity or quality referred to.

- 13.273 *Dinirdini ga-wokdi, gunumeleng=duninj.*
 Dj cicada 3-talk buildup.season=real
 'The cicadas are crying out, (that) it's the real build-up season.'
- 13.274 *Man-nguk nuye, mako man-nguk nuye nungkah yimarnek*
 I III-guts 3mascOBL didg III-guts 3mascOBL him CTRFAC
birri-kodj-yime-ng mako=duninj na-mekke but nungka nguk-no
 3AP-head-say-PP didj=real MA-DEM him guts-3POSSD

Bulanj nuye.

[subsection] 3mascOBL

'The didgeridoo was made from his (Balang's) gut, everyone thought it was a real didgeridoo but it was Bulanj's guts.' (speech error; should have said 'Balang's guts')

13.275 *Djang ba-yimerra-nj gorro:go, an-ege an-godjboyorr, djama*
Dj dreaming.site 3P-turn.into-PP before VE-that III-washaway not

ngan-gabo=duninjh.

III-billabong=real

'It became a *djang* (dreaming site) long ago ... there where that washaway came from downstream, not really a billabong.'

On adjectives this emphasises the outstanding degree of the quality (13.276); see §13.3.7 on its use in comparative and superlative constructions.

13.276 *an-mak-duni*

Dj VE-good-real

'really good one'

The clitic =*duninjh* may also occur as a free form after verbs, again with the meaning 'really', whether used simply as an intensifier (13.277), or to mean 'in the proper way' (13.278). This second sense is equivalent to the verbal prefix *wernh-* (§1.3.2.1).

13.277 *Wudda al-gudji ø-marnedjare=duninj.*

Dj you FE-one 1/2-desireNP=real

'I really want you, only you.'

13.278 *Wurdurd ngurri-na ngaleng ka-bengka-n ka-borrkke=duninj.*

children 2a-lookIMP her 3-know-NP 3-danceNP=real

'Look you kids, she knows how to dance the proper way.'

This clitic frequently combines with *woybukki* 'true', to give *woybukki=duninj*

13.9 Negation

We have already discussed aspects of negation in a number of places. Here we summarise the main types, and give pointers to more detailed discussion in other sections.

Note that negation is the grammatical domain whose formal exponents vary most across dialects. The negative particle, negative imperative particle and negative interjection all have major differences across dialects, and different forms of the negative are sometimes used as dialect names (see §1.2.3). The privative suffix is also the only grammatical formative to have a distinct form in the respect register, though here there is no variation across geographical dialects.

13.9.1 Negative interjection

The interjection meaning 'no' is *burryak* in Kunwinjku, *kurruh* in Kune, and *kayakki/kayakki* in the remaining dialects. In the respect register it is *kayakura*. Except for *kurruh* all

these are built up from the privative suffix (see §5.2.1.6). These words can also be used to mean '(it's) nothing' or 'there is/was nothing'; the interjection *larrh* can also be used with this meaning in all dialects. Note that in a response that affirms agreement with a negative polarity question (e.g. 'didn't he come?') one uses the positive interjection (§13.12): 'yes (he didn't come)' rather than the negative.

These can either stand alone, or be followed by an appropriate negative statement:

- 13.279 A: *An-gorle uddanggi nga-yawa-m, djama a-ngalge-meninj.*
 Dj III-spear 2OBL 1/3-look.for-PP NEG 1/3-find-IRR
 'I looked for your spear, but didn't find it.'
- B: *Gayakki, djama yi-yawa-yi.*
 no NEG 2/3-look-IRR
 'No, you didn't look for it.'
- 13.280 A: *Man-me kan-dadju bih?* B: *Kurruh, marrek ø-dadju-ng.*
 E:D III-food 2/1-giveIMP OK? no NEG 1/2-give-NP
 'Give me some food, eh?' 'No, I won't give you (any).'

13.9.2 Negation in indicatives and interrogatives

This is signalled by a negative particle placed immediately before the verb. When discussing past events the regular TAM inflection is replaced by the irrealis (§9.3.5), while with other TAM values, such as non-past, negation is signalled by the negative particle alone. The forms of the negative particle are Dj *djama*, W and I *minj*, and o.d. *marrek*, though in Gun-djeihmi, Kunwinjku and Kuninjku *marrek* is also used to some extent (14.125; T4.4).

- 13.281 *Djalbonj, gumekbe gabani-yarlarrme, djama gabani-yawoh-ma-rr-en.*
 Dj finished after 3ua-split.upNP not 3ua-again-marry-RR-NP
 'And that's it, after they split up, they never mate with each other again.'
- 13.282 *Kúnabidji minj kabindi-berd-dadjdje, man-karre bedberre.*
 I [name] NEG 3a/3pl-penis-cut III-custom 3aOBL
 'The Kúnabidji do not practice circumcision. It is their custom.'
- 13.283 *Marrek birri-ngu-yi.*
 E NEG 3a/3-eat-IRR
 'They didn't eat it.'

The negative interacts with a number of verbal affixes to give specific complex meanings. Two important ones are 'not again', expressed by the sequence of the negative particle plus the verbal prefix *yawoyh-* 'again' (13.284), and 'no further', expressed by the negative particle plus the verbal prefix *bal-* 'along' (13.285).

- 13.284 *Bu karri-djal-burriwe, kunukka kun-warre. Minj karri-yawoyh-dulubun*
 W SUB 12a-just-throwNP IV:DEM NEU-bad NEG 12a/3-again-shootNP
nawu kuluban.
 MA:REL flying.fox
 'If we just chuck them away, that's very bad. We won't be able to shoot any more flying foxes.' [KS 46]

- 13.285 *Ngarr-yo kondah dja ø-dung-yibme-ng, dja minj ngarr-bal-e*
 W 12-lieIMP here CONJ 3P-sun-set-PP CONJ neg 12-just-goNP
yungkih.
 in.front
 'Let's camp here at sunset, because we can walk no further.'

Denial of the applicability of a nominal descriptor to its referent is also expressed using the appropriate negative particle, as with Dj *djama an-gabo-duninjh* 'not a proper billabong' (see 13.275).

13.9.3 Negation in imperatives

Some dialects have special negative particles for use in prohibitives: Dj *bayun*, and w and I *yuwun* ~ *yawn*. These combine with the non-past rather than the imperative form of the verb.

- 13.286 *Ngai, bayun yi-wokdi gorlonj, ngarr-bawo.*
 Dj hey PROHIB 2-talkNP son 12-leaveIMP
 'Don't argue, son, let's leave it be.'
- 13.287 *Yawn yi-kilekme warde ka-bakme.*
 I PROHIB 2/3-touchNP might 3-breakNP
 'Don't touch it or it might break.'

In reporting speech containing negative commands, the regular negative particle is used instead of the prohibitive:

- 13.288 *Nga-marne-yime-ng djama ga-bolk-melme.*
 Dj 1/3-BEN-say-PP NEG 3/3-place-treadNP
 'I told him not to set foot here.'
- 13.289 *Nga-marne-yime-ng djama ga-m-re.*
 Dj 1/3-BEN-say-PP NEG 3-hither-goNP
 'I told him not to come.'

Kune lacks a special prohibitive particle, using the regular negative particle *marrek* for negative commands as well.

13.9.4 Negation in existentials

Existential negation is most commonly expressed by using a privative-suffixed noun as a nominal predicate (see §5.2.1.6 for further examples):

- 13.290 *Ngad kabbal konda wardde-yak.*
 I we plain here rock-PRIV
 'We are plains people, there is no stone country here.'
- 13.291 *Ku-mekke bini-bininj-yak, nungka na-djal-kudji.*
 I LOC-DEM REDUP-person-PRIV 3masc MA-just-one
 'But there were no people there, only himself.'

Although such privative predicates can be used in any tense without special marking, it is also possible to suffix them with the past marker:

- 13.292 *Ba-gukku-yak-ni.*
 Dj 3P-water-PRIV-P
 'There was no water.'

Where it is clear from context what is lacking, negative existentials can be expressed just using the negative interjection:

- 13.293 *Yimanmakken bininj bin-karrme-ng kayakki bin-wurrhke-ng.*
 E:D CTRFAC person 3/3plP-get-PP no 3/3plP-trick-PP
 'They all thought he had got lots of people there but he had tricked them, there was no one.'

13.9.5 Negative pronouns

Negative pronouns ('no-one', 'nowhere', 'in no way' etc.) are expressed by placing the appropriate ignorative pronoun (§7.2) between a negative particle and the verb:

- 13.294 *Balang kururrk ø-wawhme-ng marrek baleh yim-eninj ø-bebme-ninj*
 E:D [subsection] inside 3P-screamPP NEG ...how-IRR... 3P-get.out-IRR
ku-wardde-rurrk bi-bad-dabke-ng bi-marne-wurlhke-ng.
 LOC-rock-cave 3/3hP-rock-block.up-PP 3/3hP-BEN-light.fire-PP
 'Balang inside screamed in pain and there was nothing he could do to get out of the rock cave because Bulanj had blocked the entrance with rocks and fire.'

Plentiful examples are given in §7.2.

13.9.6 Referent negation

Denial that a referent has been correctly identified is expressed by a one-word clause using the adjectival *wid* 'the wrong one' (also 'strange, different'), appropriately prefixed for gender:

- 13.295 *Ngalngale ngalkka? Kalidjan ngalekke. Ngal-wid.*
 FE-who FE:DEM [subsection] FE:DEM FE-wrong
 'Who is that woman? That's Kalidjan. No not her (it's another one).'

13.9.7 Lexical negatives

We lack the space to explore this topic fully here, but the following particularly important negative verbs should be mentioned: *-wakwan* 'not know, be ignorant of' (see discussion of interactions with aspect in §9.3.4.2), *-kaybun* 'not give to, withhold from' (see Text 1.5; 14.126), *mayahme* 'be lost, confused, unaware' (13.296), and *-midjbun* 'not recognise'. There are also two important predicate adjectives: *-warnyak* 'not want to, not feel like' (13.42, 13.111) and *-mungu* 'not responsible for, not involved in, innocent, having no proprietary rights with regard to something' (13.297, 13.298).

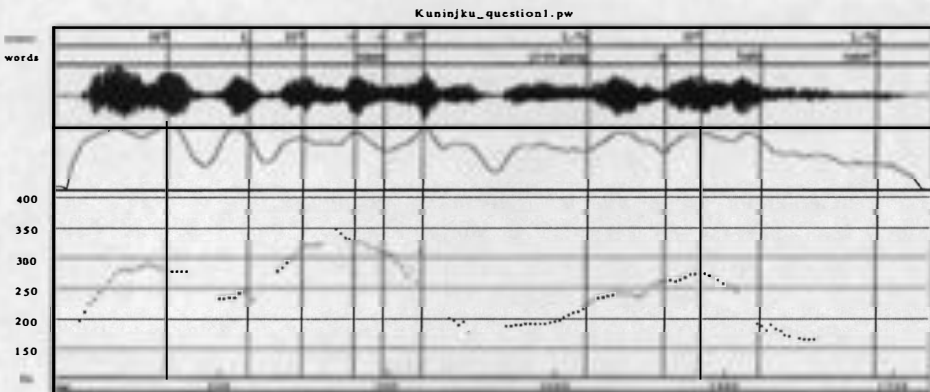
- 13.296 *Balanda kabirri-na-n kabirri-yime "Oh good colour", la*
 white.people 3a/3-look-NP 3a-sayNP CONJ
kabirri-mayahme na-djamun ka-h-di.
 3a-be.unawareNP I-sacred 3-IMM-standNP
 'Non-aboriginal people look (at a bark painting design) and they say "Oh good colour", but they're not aware that there is a sacred/secret meaning there.' [GID]
- 13.297 *Namege bininj ga-mungu, djama bi-bu-yi.*
 MA:DEM man 3-innocent NEG 3/3hP-kill-IRR
 'That man's innocent, he didn't kill him.'
- 13.298 *Duruk ngadberre, wudda yi-mungu.*
 Dj dog 1aOBL you 2-not.responsible
 'That dog's ours, not yours (you've got no claim/authority over him).'

13.10 Questions

Signalling of yes-no questions is most commonly achieved by intonation, without further formal marking. Consider the following example of a sequence of two questions (the first polar, the second a *wh*-question). In the sound spectrogram following the example the F_0 contour is shown in the bottom window; the top two windows show amplitude traces, and in the example sentence itself the intonation has been represented using the TOBI transcription system as adapted to Bininj Gun-wok (see Bishop & Fletcher forthcoming).

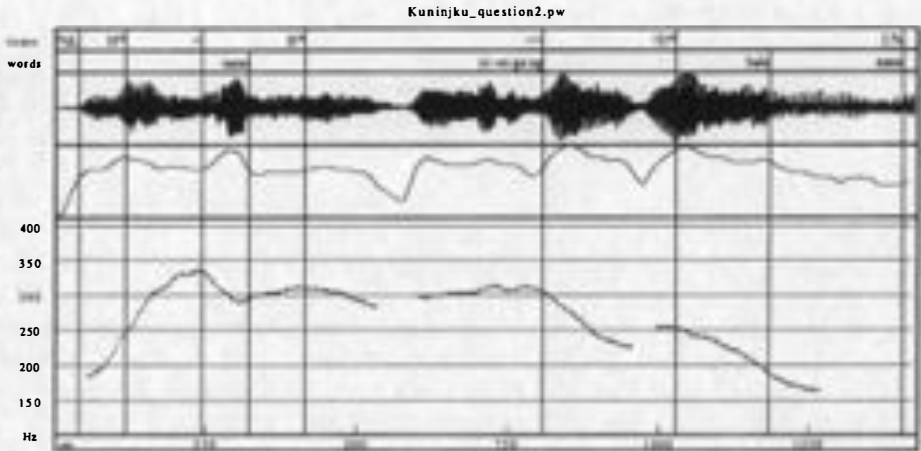
In each of the two questions, the intonation contour rises to a high over the main focus of the question (*nani yim* ... in the first, and *baleh* in the second), followed by a steep fall. In the TOBI notation used here this is shown by an H* (high) over the raised pitch syllable, followed by a L-% (low continuation tone, at right-edge) at the clause edge.

- 13.299 a H* L H* H* L-% H* L-%
Na-kudji nani yi-m-ka-ng o baleh nani?
 MA-one MA:PROX.SER 2/3-hither-carry-PP or where MA:PROX.SER
 'Did you bring one of them, and if so where is it?'



This contrasts with a later repetition of nearly the same words by the same speaker, but this time not as a question but as a hint or suggestion; in this case there is a gradual fall over the whole utterance, notative in the TOBI system by an arrow showing pitch continuation, !H* showing a slight downstep, then dropping to a final low L%:

- 13.299 b. H* H* → !H* L%
Nani yi-m-ka-ng o bale nani
 MA:PROX.SER 2/3-hither-carry-PP or where MA:PROX.SER
 ‘You might have brought it, or it might be somewhere.’



The clause-initial word *yiddok*, restricted to the western dialects (Dj and W), converts declaratives into yes-no questions, glossed Q. It is usually clause initial.

- 13.300 *Yiddok kan-h-na-n?*
 W Q 2/1-IMM-see-NP
 ‘Do you see me? [KH]’

Sometimes it is used rhetorically or sarcastically to mean ‘do you really think it is?’ or ‘I suppose you think it is?’:

- 13.301 “*Garrang! Dimin-dimin ganmani-lidjge! Ganmani-djamun-lidjge.*”
 Dj mum small.stripey.fish 3/1ua-pinchNP 3/1ua-privates-pinchNP
 “*Yiddok ngaye, dja ngudman nu:k, ngudman nu:k dimin-dimin*
 Q I CONJ 2EMPH DUB 2EMPH DUB small.stripey.fish
ngunmani-djamun-djuime!” *ba-yim-i na-rangem.*
 3/2ua-privates-squeezeNP 3P-say-PI I-boy

(Sisters:) “‘Mum! Those small stripey fish are pinching the two of us, pinching us on our private parts!’”

(Brother:) “‘Do you really think it’s me, I reckon you’re doing it yourselves. It’s your problem if (you think) those little fish are squeezing your private parts!’ said the boy.’ (cf. another version of this in Text 6)

Yiddok can be used on its own, with the meaning ‘really? is that right?’.

Polar questions to which the speaker is expecting a negative answer can be asked by using the negative particle plus the irrealis, with a questioning intonation contour:

- 13.302 *Minj kum-ra-yinj?*
 W NEG 3Phither-go-IRR
 'Didn't he come?' [E&E 100]

The use of the clitic =*bukka* 'eh?' in inviting an answer to a statement for which the speaker lacks sufficient information was discussed in §13.8.2 above.

Kune has a clause final particle *bih?* that calls for confirmation, agreement or consent on the hearer's part; it is often used to soften imperatives (13.303) or make requests seem less pushy (13.280).

- 13.303 *Yi-kurrme bih!*
 E 2-putIMP OK?
 'Put it there, OK?'

Information questions are formed using an appropriate member of the ignorative pronoun set. Although these also allow indefinite and negative pronoun readings (thus *njale* can mean 'what', 'something' or, with a negative, 'nothing'), the fact that an information question is intended is signalled by placing the ignorative in clause-initial position and using interrogative intonation. See §7.2 for discussion and exemplification.

13.11 Particles

These are morphologically invariable words that express the speaker's attitude to the clause, evaluate its truthfulness, or suggest the range of situations to which it applies. They differ from interjections, to be discussed in the next section, in typically not constituting a complete utterance in themselves. However, the dividing line is not always clear, since certain words that are basically interjections sometimes occur alone but are also frequently integrated intonationally (e.g. *wanjh* and *bonj*, to be discussed in the interjections section), while other words that are basically particles and are normally integrated into the clause may be used on their own (e.g. *kare* 'maybe, perhaps').

13.11.1 *yimankek ~ yimanek ~ yimarnek* 'counteRFACTual'

This counterfactual has a number of different forms, partly depending on the dialect. The first form is preferred in Gun-djeihmi; in this dialect the first syllable is sometimes dropped to give *man.gek*. In Kunwinjku both *yimankek* and *yimanek* are found, while in Kuninjku the preferred form is *yimarnek*. In Kune a further alternative form *yimanmakken*, apparently synonymous with *yimankek* etc., is also sometimes heard (see 13.293).

This particle is used to represent a descriptor nominal, or the state of affairs in a clause, as someone's belief. This belief is almost always false, but see 13.312 below for one example where it is justified. In each case it is left to an interaction of the context and the construction type to decide who is supposed to hold the belief; the most common alternatives are the subject of an immediately preceding clause of perception or judgment (13.305, 13.306), the subject of an immediately following verb in the irrealis (13.311, 13.312), or a hypothetical onlooker (13.308).

According to the exact construction in which it occurs, a range of distinct senses can be distinguished.¹³

- (a) When it precedes a nominal (13.304, 13.305) or perfective verb with a stative interpretation (e.g. *doweng* 'died, was dead' in 13.306) it reports a mistaken perception based on illusory resemblance:

13.304 *Yimarnek man-bedje la wayarra ka-bardrohkrome.*
 I CTRFAC III-spear.grass CONJ spirit 3-stand.like.spear.grassNP
 'It looked like spear grass but it really was a spirit standing up like spear grass.'
 [GID]

13.305 *Bindi-na-ng bedda la yimanek kunj, wanjh bindi-yame-ng.*
 I 3a/3pl-see-PP them and CTRFAC kangaroo then 3a/3pl-spear-PP
 'They saw them and thought they were kangaroos (failing to realise they were really dangerous snake beings), then speared them.'

13.306 *Karri-na-ng yimarnek ø-dowe-ng ba ngal-mak ø-ngehme-ng.*
 I 12a-see-PP CTRFAC 3P-die-PP but FE-good 3P-breathe-PP
 'We saw her (the buffalo) and thought she was dead but she was still breathing OK.'

- (b) However, when the nominal is in a purpose role, as in 13.307, the 'supposedly' applies to the purpose, rather than the entity itself; in this example emu who has been deceived into thinking that she has to go off for fire, when in fact the other creatures merely want to get her out of the way so they can eat the kangaroo without sharing any with her.

13.307 *Bonj an-barrgid ba-wam, man.gek gunak*
 Dj OK VE-other 3P-goPP CTRFAC fire
 'All right, she (emu) had gone off another way, supposedly to get fire.'

- (c) When placed before a verb, it can have one of three interpretations. Before a verb in the irrealis it most commonly means 'was about to v', 'nearly Ved'. In the first example below, the false belief is, as it were, attributed to a hypothetical onlooker (i.e. 'one would have expected that ...'); in the second, to the subject of the irrealis verb (i.e. her intentions about what she was going to say).

13.308 *Yimarnek bi-yame-ninj la ø-dedj-barlkarrhke-ng ø-mud-yarlarrme-ng*
 I CTRFAC 3/3hP-spear-IRR CONJ 3/3P-butt-graze-PP 3/3P-feather-scatter-PP
wanjh ø-ngukdirrhme-ng ø-kuk-wurrhke-rr-inj!
 then 3P-shit.oneself.in.fright-PP 3P-body-startle-RR-PP
 'He nearly speared him but grazed his backside, feathers went everywhere and he got such a fright that he shat himself!'

¹³ Particles whose range corresponds closely to that described here are common in Australian languages; see Laughren (1982) on the Warlpiri particles *kulanganta* and *nganta*, Breen (1984) on particles in Yandruwandha and Pitta-Pitta that represent both semblative and counterfactual, and Evans (1995c:378–382) on the semantically similar Kayardild particle *maraka* (which, unlike *yimankek*, can be used to outline a right course of action that was not followed).

- 13.309 *Dja Wurrakak kun-bid nuye bi-rrang-balhme-ng kore kun-dang*
 W CONJ [name] IV-name 3mascOBL 3/3hP-mouth-block-PP LOC IV-mouth
ngalengngarre, yimanek ngaleng ø-yime-ninj kun-warre kore bene-yonginj.
 3femOBL CTRFAC 3fem 3P-say-IRR IV-bad LOC 3uaP-liePP
 'But Wurrakak put his hand over her mouth, because she was about to say where
 they had slept together.'

It can also mean 'tried (unsuccessfully) to' (13.310, also 9.83–9.85) or 'was supposed to, was planning to' (13.311, 13.312). Here the false belief is the subject's belief about the realisation of their intentions.

- 13.310 *Yimarnek nga-rrulubu-yi, la ø-bid-deyhme-ng, minj ø-dowkme-ninj.*
 CTRFAC 1/3-shoot-IRR CONJ 3P-finger-click-PP NEG 3P-go.bang-IRR
 'I tried to shoot but the trigger just clicked without it (the gun) discharging.' [GID]
- 13.311 *Yimarnek wolewoleh nga-m-durnd-i la ngandi-marne-kuyenghme-ng.*
 CTRFAC yesterday 1-hither-return-PP CONJ 3a/1-BEN-make.stay-PP
 'I was supposed to come back yesterday but they've made me stay for a long time.'
- 13.312 *Yimarnek kam-ra-yinj la Ngarridj bi-rrahme-ng.*
 CTRFAC 3hitherP-go-IRR CONJ [subsection] 3/3hP-block-PP
 'She was going to come but Ngarridj wouldn't let her.'

Occasionally the particle is used after a verb in the perfective to describe situations that have almost reached their conclusion (13.313), though it more common to use the verbal prefix *guyin-/balanh-* for this (§11.4.4).

- 13.313 *Wanjh bene-rdehme-ng bene-djal-rdehme-ng bene-rdehme-ng*
 then 3uaP-chop-PP 3uaP-just-chop-PP 3uaP-chop-PP
bene-h-djal-yi-wam bene-yi-wam ngoko-kenh wanjh
 3uaP-IMM-just-COM-goPP 3uaP-COM-goPP already-GEN then
bene-karnhmeng yimarnek.
 3uaP-make.narrowPP CTRFAC
 'Then they started to chop and chop and chop (to get themselves down).
 They kept going, as fast as they could until they had nearly cut through.'

As mentioned above, there is one case in which the attributed belief is actually correct. A common leitmotif in stories concerning the Rainbow Serpent is the belief that it will not hear the noise of one slapping mosquitoes, as long as this is done loudly; but as soon as one does it softly, by squashing them or brushing them away, she will hear and attack. In the following passage *yimanek* precedes the statement 'Ngalyod wouldn't hear them if they slapped loudly', and has been translated by Andrew Manakgu as 'they reckoned', which captures the meaning perfectly, since it is more typically used in counterfactual contexts but is also compatible with true belief, as in this case:

- 13.314 *Birndu kum-mirnde-wam, wanjh bene-h-bu-ni wernkih ka-mak,*
 W mosquito 3hitherP-many-goPP then 3ua/3P-IMM-hit-PI hard 3-good
yimanek Ngalyod minj benbene-bekka-yinj bu wernkih bene-h-bu-ni.
 CTRFAC Rainbow NEG 3/3duP-hear-IRR SUB hard 3ua/3P-IMM-hit-PI

Wanjh yerre bene-h-yirm-i nawu birndu wanjh
 then after 3ua/3P-IMM-brush-PI MA:REL mosquito then

benmene-bekka-ng wanjh benmene-kuk-nguneng.

3/3duP-hear-PP then 3/3duP-body-eatPP

'Mosquitoes started to swarm around them, and they slapped at them hard, but that was OK, they reckoned Ngalyod couldn't hear them slapping hard. But when they started brushing them off gently, he heard them and ate the two of them.'

[KS 40]

13.11.2 *djaying* 'supposedly'

This particle is most common in Gun-dednjenghmi, but rarely heard in other dialects to its east, such as Kuninjku. It is also a counterfactual, but is more restricted in its semantic range, only occurring in cases in which the mistaken person is not a participant of the clause in its scope, and not applying to cases of similarity, or of events that nearly happened. The person holding the mistaken belief is typically the speaker (13.315; see also 9.87) though it may also be the subject of a preceding utterance verb (13.316).

13.315 *Djaying ba-m-ra-yinj.*

Dj supposedly 3P-hither-go-IRR

'I thought he was going to come (but he didn't).'

13.316 *Wanjh bu barri-yime-ni djaying 'O djang ø-gurrme-rr-inj',*

Dnj OK REL 3aP-say-IRR supposedly oh dreaming 3P-put-RR-PP

gayakki djang-yak.

nothing dreaming-PRIV

'And though some might say, mistakenly, 'Oh, a dreaming put itself there', there's nothing, no dreaming.'

13.11.3 *wardi/wardibu* 'try, hopefully'

The form *wardibu* is found in Gun-djeihmi, while *wardi* is found in the other dialects, and is clearly related to the *wardi* ~ *warde* found in 'lest' constructions (§9.3.2). It is always clause initial.

This particle has two meanings. It can be used to preface suggestions (something like 'what about ...?' or 'could you try ...?'):

13.317 *Wardi man-me ngurri-munkewe-men nakka bininj kukadjeh?*

E:D try III-food 2a-send-IMP MA:DEM person abundant

'Could you try and send food for all the people?'

13.318 *Ah! Wardi kun-mim yi-ma-ng wardi mulawarre ka-madjyikolda-n.*

oh try IV-eye 2/3-get-NP might aunty 3-have.nothing-NP

'Oh! Well could you get the eyes too, otherwise aunty will go empty handed.'

- 13.319 *Wardi yim-ra-y yi-na-n*
 try 2-hither-go-IMP 2/3-see-IMP
 'Just come over here and have a look.'

Alternatively, it can express the speaker's hope for a successful attempt, something like 'hopefully' or 'we'll try', as in 13.320 (see also 7.91).

- 13.320 *Nicholas ngaye Benny Lee, Helen Lee, arri-m-wam wakkidj, djenj*
 Dj me 1a-hither-goPP fishing fish
ngarri-m-wam wardibu ngarri-ma-ng, djama arri-bangme-ma-yi,
 1a-hither-goPP try 1a/3-get-NP not 1a/3-not.yet-get-IRR
gayakki,
 nothing
 'Nicholas, me, Benny Lee and Helen Lee have come here fishing, have come for fish. To try and catch something, but so far we haven't got anything.'

13.11.4 *barna* 'look's like it's time'

This particle, restricted to the Mayali dialects, signals that the time has come to get on with some hard task.

- 13.321 *Arri-bed-yauh-dadjge-yi, ngarri-godj-djuhm-i ngarri-yo-i. Ngarri-dukka-ni*
 Dnj 1a-now-again-cut-PI 1a-head-bathe-PI 1a-lie-PI 1a-tie-PI
warre ngarri-dukka-ni andu barna arri-re-i.
 poor.feller 1a-tie-PI then looks.like.time 1a-go-PI
 'Now we'd cut some more, then we'd wet our heads and have a rest. We'd tie them up in bundles, poor us (working so hard), we'd tie them up, then: "looks like it's time to go".'
- 13.322 *Barna, ga-wurlu-wurlhme.*
 Dj looks.like.time 3-EXT-burnNP
 'Oh well, looks like it's burning off time.'

13.11.5 *kab* 'what about?'

This particle is confined to Kunwinjku, and introduces a suggestion, either about a fact being true (e.g. what about X?) or, with an imperative, about a course of action:

- 13.323 *Kab yi-ra-y?*
 W what.about 2-go-IMP
 'What if you go?'/ 'Why don't you go?' [E&E 91]

13.11.6 *burrbbarna* 'for sure'

This particle is confined to Gun-djeihmi. It expresses the speaker's conviction in what he says; it variously translates as 'for sure, clearly, obviously'.

- 13.324 *Ngarri-durnde-ng, na-behne burrbarna an-djeuk ngaye nga-burru-n*
 Dj 1a-return-NP MA-that for.sure III-rain I 1-know-NP
a-m-gayeh-burru-n ga-m-lobme. Galuk gamak gare ngarri-ni
 1-hither-?-know-NP 3NP-hither-runNP then good maybe 1a-sitNP
gu-rurk rouk.
 LOC-shelter all
 ‘We’ll go back, cause I know for sure that rain is going to come up. Then it
 might be good for us all to sit inside under cover.’

13.11.7 warre! djohboi! ‘poor feller!’

These two particles normally occur clause finally, and signal pity or affection for some entity involved in or likely to be affected by the action:

- 13.325 *Na-bene maih a-na-ng ga-m-golu-rr-en gaddum-be djohboi.*
 Dj MA-that bird 1/3-see-PP 3-hither-descend-RR-NP up-ABL poor.feller
 ‘I’ve seen those birds coming down (to the waterhole) from higher up, dear
 little things.’
- 13.326 *Gukku barri-bó-djare Nángarridj bayun yiban-gelehme, bayun*
 Dj water 3aP-liquid-wantNP [skin] don’t 2/3pl-scareNP don’t
yi-bangme-yarl-waroume warre!
 2-not.yet-line-jerkNP poor.feller
 ‘They’re wanting water. Hey, Nangarridj, don’t scare (those birds), don’t jerk
 your line yet, poor little things!’

The object of pity may be oneself (poor me, poor us), as in 13.321.

13.11.8 kare and kunubewu ‘maybe’

Uncertainty is expressed by the particles *kunubewu* (mostly in w) and *kare* (in other dialects, though also possible in w). *Kare* may be a frozen form of the third person non-past verb *kare* ‘he/she/it goes’. It is sometimes pronounced with a final glottal stop: *kareh*.

These particles are used to express uncertainty about details (13.327), or the likelihood of an event (13.328), but also in describing a particularised but typical hypothetical situation (13.329).

- 13.327 *Bu ngarri-berredjalkma-ng ngarri-yime kare na-kudji*
 I SUB 1a-get.food.stuck-NP 1a-sayNP maybe MA-one
ø-bolkyakm-inj wanjh ngulam karri-bengyirri.
 3P-bad.luck.happen.somewhere-PP then tomorrow 12a-hearNP
 ‘If we get food stuck when eating we say that someone has maybe had an
 accident and the next day we’ll hear the news.’ [GID]
- 13.328 *Kunubewu Ngalyod ka-m-re ka-ka-n na-wu kuluban*
 w maybe Rainbow 3-hither-gonP 3/3-take-NP MA-REL flying.fox

minj ka-rrurndi-we.

NEG 3/3-return-causeNP

'Maybe Ngalyod will come and take the flying fox away, and never return them.' [KS 46]

13.329 *Gorogo na-djik bininj-ni. Gare ba-bebm-i, aa*
Dj long.ago I-tawny.frogmouth person-PI maybe 3P-appear-PI

gunj barri-wo-ni, gun-diu ...

kangaroo 3a/3P-give-PI IV-liver

'Long ago Na-djik the tawny frogmouth was a person. He might turn up (at someone's camp). They would give him some kangaroo meat, liver ...'

Semantically these forms belong in the same category as the various preverbal modal particles discussed in §9.3. However, they can also occur postverbally as in 13.330, clause finally as with *gunubewu* in 13.332, or alone, as one says just *kare* to mean 'maybe; I don't know'. These are not positional possibilities for the preverbal modal particles.

13.330 *Na-buybuyika yi-bengka ø-bimbom kareh nawu na-yuhyungki.*
MA-REDUP-different 2-know 3P-paintPP maybe MA-REL I-old.people
'Maybe they painted different things, the old people.' [GID]

13.11.9 *yarrkka* 'anything, etc.'

This particle, used most commonly in the Mayali dialects, is usually translated into Kriol as *enijing* (< English 'anything'), but has a much wider range of meaning than standard English 'anything' would imply; often a better translation is 'et cetera' or 'and so on'. It basically suggests that the proposition would still be applicable under any range of conditions that the cultural context would allow.

13.331 *Gure man-garre ngadberre mulil, yiman gayime gu-bu namarnde*
Dj, w LOC III-ceremony 1aOBL feast ... for.example... LOC-SUB corpse

ga-rrowe-n, or yiman gayime bininj ngarri-djuhme yarrkka.

3-die-NP ...for.example... person 1a-bogeyNP anything

'At our ceremonies we have a feast, for example when someone dies, for example when we Aboriginal people have a bogey ceremony, and so on.'

13.332 *Ngarri-m-yauh-re ngahdjarre, gare djal ngarri-yauh-re*
Dj 1a-hither-again-goNP this.way maybe just 1a-again-goNP

gu-bolk-buyiga dja yarrkga bu Sunday, week off nuye, an-buyiga
LOC-place-other and anything when his VE-other

djandi gunubewu.

Sunday maybe

'We'll come here this way again, maybe we'll just go to another place again. And whenever it's Sunday, on his week off, maybe some other Sunday.'

13.11.10 *mungu* 'accidentally'

This is clearly related to the nominal predicate root *-mungu* 'uninvolved, not responsible' (see §13.9.7), which unlike the particle is always prefixed for gender. It is used in Gundjehmi to mean 'by accident, without intending to':

- 13.333 *A-warrgah-wo-ng mungu.*
 Dj 1/3-wrong-give-PP by.accident
 'I gave it to the wrong person by accident.'

13.11.11 *nuk* 'DUBitative'

This marks doubt, uncertainty or scepticism. The vowel is usually long; this is characteristic of monosyllables (see §2.1.2). In the western dialects it is often also used as a one-word utterance, something like English 'I dunno', to express either lack of certainty or reluctance to participate, but Kune speakers say they do not use it in this way, instead saying *kareh, ngawarkwan* 'maybe, I don't know'.

In clauses it usually follows the word about which the most doubt is being expressed:

- 13.334 "O" \emptyset -yime-ng "konda nu:k nga-na-ng modjarrkki ka-bolh-yo".
 E:D oh 3P-say-PP here DUB 1/3-see-PP freshwater.crocodile 3-track-lieNP
 "'Oh" he said, "I must be looking at freshwater crocodile tracks".'
- 13.335 *Arri-yerrga-ni arri-yo-i gare malaiwi ngalengman nuk,*
 Dnj 1a-sit-PI 1a-sleep-PI maybe tomorrow herEMPH perhaps
Na-Yulhman-gen ngarri-yerrga-ni.
 I-[clan]-GEN 1a-sit-PI
 'We'd sit down there and camp the night, then maybe the next day we'd sit down at her (country) maybe, we'd sit down in Na-Yulhman clan country.'
- 13.336 A: *Galuk na-mak?* B: *Na-mak nu:k, nah ngarri-ngu-n.*
 MM then MA-good MA-good DUB MA:DEM 1a-eat-NP
 'Then it's a good one?' 'I suppose you could say it's good; we eat it.'
- 13.337 *Gunubewu ngal-buyiga daluk nga-ma-ng nu:k.*
 Dj maybe FE-other wife 1/3-get-NP DUB
 'Maybe I'll get another wife, who knows?'

The doubt expressed is often feigned or rhetorical. It is often used in suggestions or accusations (often joking) not likely to be taken seriously (13.338), or likely to meet with disagreement (13.301), roughly like English 'I reckon it's ...'.

- 13.338 *Ngudda wanjh kan-marne-ngaduhge-ng. Ngaye nuk nga-mungu.*
 W you then 2/1-BEN-fire.up-PP I DUB 1-not.responsible
 'You're the one who got me fired up (to have an affair with you). I reckon I wasn't the one who started it.' [KH 67]

13.11.12 *yiga(h)* 'some'

This particle partitions the space of possibilities over which the proposition or some part of it may apply; according to the constructional context it may have a range of English translations: 'sometimes, or, some (of them), maybe'.

It may, for example, have scope over a subset of entities (13.339, 13.340), in which case 'some of them' is the best translation:

13.339 *Ba-wilkde-ngi, yiga barri-warlkga-rr-inj.*

Dj 3P-put.on.fire-PI some 3aP-hide-RR-PP
'While he was putting it on the fire to cook, some of the others hid themselves away.'

13.340 *Gorogo bininj barri-worm-i barri-m-re-i, na-meg-be*
Dj before person 3aP-swim-PI 3aP-hither-go-PI MA-that-ABL

Pine Creek-be yiga, Gunbarlanja-be yiga barri-m-re-i, still
Creek-ABL some Oenpelli-ABL some 3aP-hither-go-PI

barri-warm-i barri-djuhm-i bularl
3aP-swim-PI 3aP-bogy-PI bark.raft

'In the old days people used to come swimming across, some of them from there at Pine Creek, some from Oenpelli used to come, they'd still swim across, using a stringybark raft.'

But it can also mean 'on some occasions', 'sometimes', as in the next three examples. Stringing a series of *yigah* together like this is a common equivalent of English 'or':

13.341 *Ngarri-bebm-i, bakki-yak-ga barri-yiga-ni or bakki barri-dowe-rr-inj,*
Dj 1a-appear-PI tobacco-PRIV-OBL 3aP-fetch-PI or tobacco 3aP-die-RR-PP

yiga money, ga-yime-n an-me, gu-mege gorogo ngandi-ga-ni ...
some 3-do-NP III-food LOC-there before 3a/I-take-PI

'We'd turn up there, cause we had no tobacco, they'd go to fetch some or else sometimes they'd be starving for tobacco. Or sometimes money, or sometimes food. There, in the olden days, they used to carry me ...'

13.342 *Na-mekke nadjinem man-me ka-ngun man-badbirri, yika*
MA-DEM I-black.rock.kangaroo III-food 3/3-eatNP III-fruit.sp some

ka-kolu-ng ku-wardde ka-kolu-ng man-buyh-buyika ka-ngu-n.
3-descend-NP LOC-rock 3-descend-NP VE-REDUP-other 3/3-eat-NP

'That black rock kangaroo eats Melodorum fruit, sometimes it comes down from the rocks and eats other kinds of food.'

It can also be used to give a single instance in illustration, as in the following example, where the Mayali word for the freshwater crocodile (in contrast to the word in other dialects and languages) is being given:

13.343 *But na-behne ngad now na-djeihmi, yiga Mayali,*
Dj MA-this we I-djeihmi some [language]

ngarringeibu-n modjarrgi

1a-call-NP

'But we Na-djeihmi here, to take Mayali as an example, we call it *modjarrgi*.'

And it may indicate that an evaluation is being made from one of several perspectives:

13.344 *Ngan-ege gurrambalk, yiga gun-rurrk an-mak, djalbonj an-ege*
Dj VE-that house some IV-shelter VE-good enough VE-that

a-yolyolme-ng.

1-tell-PP

'That house, in some respects it's a good shelter. Enough, that's what I've talked about.'

Sometimes this particle is reduplicated, to stress distributivity:

13.345 *Wanjh gabarri-bo-delengga-n gure gured bedberre,*
Dj then 3a-liquid-carry.in.container-NP LOC LOC-place 3aOBL

wanjh gabandi-bo-wo-n yigahyiga na-wu gabarri-ni.

then 3a/3pl-liquid-give-NP some.each MA-REL 3a-sitNP

'Then they'll take water back to their nests, and share out the water among the other lot of birds who had stayed behind.'

13.12 Interjections

Bininj Gun-wok has a rich and frequently-used set of interjections.¹⁴ These play such a central role in the organisation of conversation that it is possible to carry out certain sorts of conversation with little resort to the morphologically complex verbs so typical of its grammar. A sample conversation in Gun-djeihmi, developed by Eddie Hardy and myself for pedagogical purposes, but not unrepresentative of normal conversation, is given below. Interjections are in bold; the glosses used in this example are a little fuller than will generally be given.

13.346 A: **Boi!**

Hey.come.here!

(Old woman to youth:) 'Hey, come here!' (Old woman holds up baby.)

B: **Njonj-njonj!**

Njudj!

Njonj-njonj!

What.a.little.sweetheart!

Blow.your.nose!

What.a.little.sweetheart!

'Isn't she a little sweetheart!

Blow your nose!

Isn't she cute!'

B: **Gakkak, bakki gan-wo-ø!**

granny tobacco 2/1-give-IMP

'Granny, give me a smoke!'

A: **Nja! Gun-warde gan-wo-ø ngayeman=wali!**

here.you.are IV-money 2/1-give-IMP 1EMPH=in.turn

'Here you are. And you give me some money!'

¹⁴ See Evans (1992b) for a more detailed discussion of some of these.

- B: *Gayakki!* (pause) *Bonj! Mah! Garri-re!*
 have.nothing enough let.it.happen.now 12a-goNP
 'I've got nothing.' 'OK then. Come on, let's go!'
- A: *Med! A-madj-ma-ng werrk.* (pause) *Ma!*
 wait 1/3-swag-get-NP first OK to.act.now
 'Wait on! I'll get my stuff first.' 'OK (I'm ready so) we can go now.'
- B: *Wanjh, bonj, garri-re. Bobo!*
 well enough 12pl-goNP goodbye
 'Well, that's it, let's go! (To others remaining behind) See ya!'
- A: *Bobo.*
 goodbye
 (Also going) 'See ya!'

Interjections can be usefully grouped into the following functional categories:

- Response interjections like *wou* 'yes', *woibukki* 'true', *gayakki* 'no'.
- Exclamations (or 'emotive interjections') that express the speaker's current emotions or sensations, such as *warddau* 'ouch' and *waaau!* 'aargh!'.
- 'Cognitive' interjections express changes in the speaker's state of knowledge; an example is *gek!* 'I say', 'I have just found out something interesting'.
- 'Conative' interjections that are aimed at getting an addressee's attention, or demanding an action or response from the addressee. Examples of these are *bauh!* 'shh!', *njudj* 'blow your nose!' and *tja!* 'git! (to a dog or pig)'.
- Conversational organisers like *bonj* 'finished, righto, well, so', *wanjh* 'now, then, next, all right' which serve to organise the overall move structure of a discourse, but also of basically non-verbal interaction.

Below I first give a complete listing and approximate translation of interjections in each of the above groups. Then I discuss in more detail the class of 'conversational organisers', which is the richest set semantically and functionally.

13.12.1 Response interjections

Throughout this section dialect affiliations of particular interjections are shown in square brackets where appropriate; no note on dialect means it is found throughout the dialect chain.

<i>wou</i> [Dj, MM]	yes (in reply to polar question) ¹⁵
<i>yo</i> [W, I]	yes (in reply to polar question) ¹⁶
<i>gayakki</i> [Dj, I, E]	no, nothing
<i>burrkyak</i> [W]	no, nothing
<i>kurruh</i> [E]	no, nothing
<i>larrh</i>	nothing; there was nothing; it didn't work out

¹⁵ Compare Rembarrnga *woh* 'yes (reply to question or suggestion)'.

¹⁶ Compare Ngalakan *yo* 'yes'.

<i>adjuh</i>	1. who knows; maybe; search me; let me think about it 2. (in I) said after a joke which provides mild embarrassment to the hearer
<i>arda</i> [I]	OK
<i>ngoi</i> [Dj, MM, W, E]	OK (acquiescing to a request)
<i>badbu</i> [I]	yes, it might be
<i>a</i>	what was that?, what did you say?
<i>gen!</i>	1. oops! I mean ... (introduces self-correction when speaking) 2. get along with you! piss off! (in response to joke or outrageous statement) ¹⁷
<i>karrimen</i> [I]	just joking!

Examples illustrating some of these interjections are:

13.347	A: <i>Mah, yi-wayini!</i>	B: <i>Ngoi, galuk nga-wayini.</i>
Dj	it's.time 2-singIMP 'Come on, sing!'	OK FUT 1-singNP 'OK I'll sing.'
13.348	<i>Bini-ka-ng kenh bi-ka-ng ku-mekke yungkih ...</i>	
E:D	3ua/3P-take-PP oops 3/3hP-take-PP LOC-DEM ahead 'They took him, oops, I mean he took him on ahead there ...'	
13.349	A: <i>Dja baleh ngarr-e?</i>	B: <i>Adju.</i>
W	CONJ where 12-gONP 'Where will we go?'	I.don't.know 'I don't know.'
	A: <i>Yiddok koyek ngarr-djal-e.</i>	B: <i>Ngoy. Mah! Mah!</i>
Q	east 12-just-gONP all right 'Shall we head east?'	it's.time it's.time 'OK. Let's go then.'

Two groups of interjections presuppose specific features of the social setting, and their use merits further discussion:

<i>nadjalaminj</i>	bless you (to a member of the Badmardi clan who has just sneezed)
<i>nabamgarrk</i>	bless you (to a member of the Mirarr clan who has just sneezed)
<i>balmarded</i>	} sorry for the swearing! (different forms are used when different relatives are insulted, see below)
<i>go</i>	
<i>gabarani</i>	
<i>kurdihi</i> [I]	

The first set, exemplified by the first two forms above, comprises so-called *yigurrumu* words, which should be uttered when a companion sneezes. Unlike such English interjections as 'Gesundheit' or 'bless you', which are basically insensitive to social setting, the Bininj Gunwok equivalents encode specific assumptions about the identity of the interlocutor — in particular, his or her clan membership. Every speaker belongs to a patrilineal clan (§1.4). In addition to specific clan names, such as *Badmardi* or *Djok*, each clan has a special word

¹⁷ Compare Rembarnga *ken* 'woops' (mostly recorded in cases of slips in speaking, whether concerning fact, grammatical form or inadvertent language mix), Ngalakan *gen* 'oops! (as when one has mis-spoken)'.

known as a *yigurrumu*.¹⁸ For example, the *yigurrumu* of the *Badmardi* clan is *nadjalaminj*, and that of the *Mirarr* clan is *nabamgarrk*. Traditionally, *yigurrumu* had a range of functions, including their use as ritual invocations and to ward off danger. Today, however, their main use (at least in the Kakadu area) is as a response to sneezing. Chaloupka (1993:73) writes that the appropriate name 'is still used by the old people when somebody sneezes, so that the person's spirit, if ejected by the sneeze, would know where to return'.

A second group of interjections with highly specific social deixis are a set of words that are appropriate as a response of sympathy or apology after someone has been sworn at. Swearing in a joking way is a somewhat ritualised activity with clear norms about who can swear at what kin (see Garde 1996 for a detailed discussion), and the use of these interjections falls within the scope of norms about swearing.

A brief but typical Gun-djeihmi exchange exemplifying the use of one of these interjections, *balmarded*, was staged for me by a single informant, but is quite typical of what actually occurs:

- 13.350 A: *Yi-balk-beng!* *Yi-nguk-gord-beng!* *Yi-bid-dedj-djo-rr-en!*
 Dj 2-orifice-mind 2-guts-shit-mind 2-hand-crotch-fuck-RR-NP
 'You orifice-maniac! You shit-brain! You wanker!'
- B: *Balmarded!*
 sorry.for.my.sibling
 'Don't get upset, brother!'

Note that *balmarded* may be used either by a third person, in which case the interjection offers sympathy (paraphrasable something like 'I'm sorry to hear you sworn at like that, brother'), or by the initial swearer himself, in which case it is used to apologise for one's own behaviour (much as the statement 'just a joke— don't be offended' might be used in English).

The choice of 'sorry for the swearing' interjection depends on the kinship relation of the sympathiser to the insultee. If, as in 13.350, the insultee is the speaker's brother or sister, the interjection *balmarded* is used. If the insultee is the speaker's wife (actual or classificatory), father, mother, uncle (*ngadjadj*), cross-cousin (*ganjok*) or mother's father (*mamamh*), the interjection *go* is employed. And if the insultee is the child, nephew/niece, son-in-law, mother-in-law, or parallel grandparent (*gagak* or *mawah*) of the speaker, the interjection *gabarani* is used. These are the Gun-djeihmi norms, and there is some difference across dialects; Garde (1995:110–116) has a detailed discussion of the norms in the Kuninjku dialect.

13.12.2 *Emotive and cognitive interjections*

The most important are:

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| <i>wau</i> | ow! |
| <i>bulkkidj</i> (1) | oh shit! (said after fumbling or dropping something) |
| <i>warddaw ~ wardaw</i> | yow! oh I'm tired! oh my goodness! |
| <i>njonj-njonj</i> | how sweet! how lovely! (normally used in response to a baby, |

¹⁸ This word is probably related to the Iwaidja word *yuwurrumu* (via lenition of *g* > *w* and vowel assimilation in Iwaidja), which simply means '(patrilineal) clan' in Iwaidja and related languages.

(also Dj <i>onj-njonj</i> in)	but can also be used in other situations, e.g. marvelling at a floodplain full of magpie geese)
<i>karddjinga!</i> (E, I)	oh God! oh no! (said after witnessing something amazing)
<i>gek!</i>	I say! (in response to perceiving situation) Fair dinkum! Really! (as interested response to someone else's statement)
<i>yeng!</i> (I)	oh, it's nothing (not what I thought)!

An example:

13.351	<i>Gek, ga-bukmen!</i>
Dj	I say 3-dry.becomeNP 'I say, it's getting dry!'

13.12.3 Conative interjections

The most important of these are:

<i>ay!</i>	hey! (in hailing someone)
<i>oi!</i> (Dj)	hey! (in hailing someone)
<i>boi!</i> (Dj)	hey, come here! ¹⁹
<i>bordoh!</i> (E)	go on! (encourages someone to do something)
<i>woi!</i>	come here! ²⁰
<i>ngai!</i>	hey! (exhortation to activity) ²¹
<i>nja!</i>	here you are! (on giving someone something)
<i>kah!</i> (I)	ta! (acknowledgment of retreat)
<i>mah!</i>	come on, time (for someone) to act! get to it! (can be used to get someone else to do something, but also to serve notice of one's own intention to begin)
<i>med</i> (Dj, w, I)	hang on, wait a bit, I'm not ready yet. (in response to a request)
<i>manj</i> (E, MM)	hang on, wait a bit, I'm not ready yet. (in response to a request)
<i>bebba</i>	it'll be a while yet (in response to a request, or an enquiry about whether something is ready)
<i>ma</i> ²²	OK, go ahead now (after a delay, gives permission for something to happen) ²³
<i>njudj!</i>	blow your nose!
<i>bauh!</i>	shh! shut up!

¹⁹ Compare Rembarrnga *boy* 'hey' (attract attention)

²⁰ Compare Rembarrnga *woy* 'here', 'this way', 'come here', 'pass it here' (handsign for beckoning).

²¹ Compare Rembarrnga *ngayh* 'hey listen' (request consideration of a point of view with a view to action)

²² The orthography causes some confusion here. Orthographic *mah*, phonetically [maʔ], which is used to spur on action, is distinct from orthographic *ma*, with a distinctive aspiration after the vowel [mah], which is used to signal that permission to go ahead is now being given.

²³ Compare Rembarrnga *ma* 'OK' (when acceding to a request or agreeing to a suggested course of action).

tja! git! (to a dog or pig). (Note that the stop in this interjection is always voiceless, the only example of an obligatorily voiceless stop in the language.)

Some examples:

13.352 *Mah,* *yi-yarl-durrkma-ø!*
 Dj time.to.do.something 2/3-line-pull-IMP
 'Come on, it's time to pull your line in!'

13.353 *Manj ngarr-marne-walkka-rr-en!*
 E:D wait 12/3-BEN-hide-RR-NP
 'Wait let's hide ourselves from him!'

Note that the form *med* is occasionally integrated into a phonological phrase and used more like a conjunction meaning 'later on when':

13.354 *ø-Karrme kakkak ø-karrme kaluk ø-dadjdje med yi-djordme-n*
 1/2-grabNP grandson 1/2-grabNP FUT 1/2-cutNP wait 2-grow.up-NP
ø-dadjdje.
 1/2-cutNP
 'I'll grab hold of you grandson, I'll grab you and when you've grown up
 I'll circumcise you.' [Garde 1995:140]

13.12.4 Conversational organisers *bonj* and *wanjh*

These structure the overall move sequence or narrative structure of a discourse. The two most important conversational organisers are *bonj*, which signals the completion of one topic or organisational unit, and *wanjh*, which shows a new direction for the conversation and can also begin a new turn or a whole conversation. More abstractly, *bonj* means 'now, as the end of something'²⁴ and *wanjh* 'now, as the beginning of something'; 'now' can be relativised to 'then' in both cases. Each can work at a number of levels, signalling episodes within a story or turn, turns in a conversation, or boundaries to a whole activity, conversation or narrative.

An example of *bonj* signalling the completion of an episode within a single story is the following, excerpted from Text 1.19–23; for simplicity of exposition only the translations of the surrounding text are given here, but see Appendix 1 for the full version. The occurrence of *bonj* in line d. marks the completion of the pus-spattering episode, and is followed by a new episode in which Cuckoo-shrike, his sore now properly lanced, is able to walk.

- 13.355 a. (Pigeon) dug in (Cuckoo-shrike's) sore, and he burst the pus out.
 Dj b. All that pus rushed out.
 c. Blood and pus spattered him all over, the red-eyed pigeon (hence his red eye-marks today).
 d. *Bonj.* ('All right.')

²⁴ Interestingly, in the respect register the form *kun-bonj* (i.e. with the Class IV prefix) is used to express *korroko* 'before'.

- e. (Cuckoo-shrike) got up, tested his foot on the ground, put his weight on it, it was all right.
 f. He got a bamboo spear shaft.

An example of *bonj* signalling the end of a conversation, drawn from the same telling of the Emu myth (lines 56–64), is the following. The various mythical characters, who are about to assume their eventual forms as birds, are asking each other what species they will turn into. The end of the conversation is signalled in line h. by a turn beginning with *bonj*, followed by an explicit suggestion that they each now go their own way:

- 13.356 a. While the others were sitting in the tree, (they asked):
 Dj b. ‘What are you going to turn into?’
 c. She (emu) tried to talk, but it was no good.
 d. She tried (to speak) but it was no good, it was something else (than language).
 e. She just kept saying for a long time: ‘*gurlulk, gurlulk*’ she went.
 f. ‘That’s how you turned out’ (they said).
 g. ‘How am I going to turn out? I’ll turn into an emu.’
 h. ‘*Bonj*, (that’s it then), we’ll each go our own separate way.’
 i. And they all got up.

Bonj may also signal a speaker’s renunciation of some activity. In 13.357, for example, the malevolent *Daddubbe* spirit supplements an announcement that he has stopped killing people with *bonj* between two clauses:

- 13.357 a. ‘*Ngaye Daddubbe, nga-bom bininj nga-yakwo-ng,*
 Dj I [name] 1/3-killPP person 1/3-finish-PP
 ‘I, Daddubbe, have finished killing people,
 b. *bonj,*
 finished
 ‘enough,
 c. *nga-bunbom bolkgime.*
 1-stopPP now
 ‘I’ve stopped now.’

It is also typical to signal the end of a narrative with *bonj* or its derivative *djalbonj* (*djal-* means ‘only, just’ so *djalbonj* means ‘that’s all, there’s nothing else’). For example, the narrative just given ends in the following way:

- 13.358 *Minj djama barri-yawoih-na-yi gayakki, gu-djal-mege ba-bunbom,*
 Dj NEG not ya/3P-again-see-IRR nothing LOC-just-there 3P-stopPP
an-ege gun-wok, bonj.
 VE-that IV-word finished
 ‘And no-one ever saw (Daddubbe) again, he stopped (bothering people) then and there, that’s the story, that’s all.’

A more specialised use of *bonj* is in concessive constructions, where ‘although X, Y’ is expressed by ‘X *bonj* Y’. This can be understood as ‘X is the case — but enough, its effects go no further — Y’.

- 13.359 *ø-Dowe-ng ø-ni bonj bi-djal-kadju-y.*
 I 3P-be.sick-PP 3P-sitPI finished 3/3hP-just-follow-PP
 'Although he was sick he still just followed her around.'
- 13.360 *Nga-karrme-ninj bonj nga-djal-yakwo-n.*
 I 1/3-keep-IRR finished 1/3-just-finish-NP
 'Although I should keep it, I'll just use it all up anyway.'

The uses of *bonj* discussed so far have involved discourse organisation. But it can also be used to organise activity more generally. It is frequently uttered to show when a speaker judges an activity is complete, whether the activity is carried out by the speaker or someone else. For example, one could say it to indicate that one has finished a task (say, packing one's swag) or activity (e.g. watching a video) and is ready to move on to another, or one could use it to regulate someone else's activity, e.g. to signal that one has been given enough of something.

The interjection *bonj*, then, is used in an extremely general way to signal the end of a unit of narrative, conversation, or of non-verbal activity. It can operate at a number of levels; within a story, for example, it can mark the end of short episodes, or of the whole narrative, and within a larger non-verbal interaction (e.g. helping someone change a tyre) it may signal the completion of either a sub-event (e.g. tightening a bolt) or of the whole event (changing the tyre).

Wanjh is likewise used in an extremely general and flexible way, but to signal the beginning of new units rather than their end. It is used in all dialects except Kune, where the clitic =*bonh* is used instead (§13.8.4), but only Gun-djeihmi examples will be used for illustration in this section.

Basically *wanjh* can be translated as 'right then (right now), something new starts'. *Wanjh* varies considerably in its degree of syntactic integration: it often occurs as an isolated word, but it also occurs in various positions within the clause, including preverbal (13.361), postverbal (Text 1.53) and postnominal (14.170). Two constructions in which it is more tightly integrated syntactically, and which are discussed separately, are temporal sequence clauses (§14.4.2) and the apodosis of conditionals (§14.4.4).

In narratives it frequently signals the beginning of a new episode; in giving the same narrative in English, bilingual speakers use 'all right'.

- 13.361 *Na-djik ba-m-bebme-ng gu-mege.*
 Dj I-tawny.frogmouth 3P-hither-appear-PP LOC-there
Wanjh bi-berdme-ninj, barri-yame-ng, barri-burnname-ng.
 then 3/3P-cover-IRR 3a/3P-spear-PP 3a/3P-stop-PP
 'Na-djik turned up there. **Just then** as he was about to cover him
 (with the bark), they speared him and stopped him doing it.'

In such cases *wanjh* signals the beginning of a short new action rather than a larger-scale paragraph. An example of it signalling the latter is 13.362, where the narrator, after an excursus on what crocodiles are called in an impressive variety of neighbouring languages (of which the last two lines are included here), gets back to talking about what the crocodile actually does. In such circumstances the best translation is 'well'.

- 13.362 *Yiman ga-yime Rembarrnga, yiman ga-yime Dangbon, or Ngalkbon,*
 Dj like 3-dONP [language] like 3-dONP [language] [language]

But na-behne ngad now Na-djeihmi, yiga Mayali, ngarri-ngeibu-n
 MA-this we I-djeihmi some [language] 1a/3-call-NP

modjarrgi, bedda gun-djawonj gabarri-ngeibu-n
 freshwater.crocodile they IV-Jawoyn 3a/3-call-NP

goymarr, bu ngarri-ngeibu-n. Wanjh ginga
 freshwater.crocodile REL 1a/3-call-NP then crocodile

nga-yolyolme, but ga-rohrouk. Bu ga-yime ginga ga-bolkbun,
 1-tellNP 3-alike REL 3-doNP crocodile 3-buildNP

'Like for example the Rembarrnga, like the Dangbon or Ngalkbon. But we Na-djeihmi here, or Mayali, we call it *modjarrgi*, they Jawoyn call it *goymarr*, and we too can call it that way. **Well now** I'll explain about the estuarine crocodile, but (the freshwater croc) is just the same. That which the crocodile does, when he builds a tunnel ...'

In other cases it is better translated as 'at that very moment'; it signals the beginning of a new action as coinciding temporally with a previously stated action:

13.363 *Bonj, maih ba-yimerra-nj, wanjh ba-berl-da-nginj.*
 Dj finished bird 3P-turn.into-PP then 3P-wing-stand-PP
 'And so he turned into a bird, at that moment he sprouted wings.'

13.364 *Galuk ga-guk-nudme-n, wanjh gu-mege ga-ngu-n.*
 Dj later 3-body-rot-NP then LOC-that 3-eat-NP
 'And when later the body rots, that's when he eats it.'

13.365 *Ga-bal-ngokda-n ga-rrung-yibme ganjdji, wanjh, ga-golu-ng.*
 Dj 3-away-night.fall-NP 3-sun-setNP down then 3-descend-NP

gare djenj ga-bu-n, ga-ngu-n,
 maybe fish 3/3-kill-NP 3/3-eat-NP

'When night falls and the sun sets down, that's when he goes down and maybe kills a fish, and eats it.'

13.366 *Gunak ba-yerrng-yiga-ni ba-yerrng-yiga-ni. Bedman wanjh*
 Dj fire 3P-wood-go.for-PI 3P-wood-go.for-PI themselves then

barri-yerrng-me-i.

3aP-wood-get-PP

'She was going around and around for firewood. But just then they themselves got the firewood.'

Wanjh can also be used to signal the initiation of a new interactional phase, for example as an accompaniment to the departure of speaker or hearer. In this case it normally follows the verb (e.g. Dj *are wanjh* [I-go then] something like 'I'll be going then.'). At the end of narratives it is also sometimes combined with *bonj* in the expression *wanjh bonj*, whose effect is roughly 'well, that's it!' or 'that's the end, then'.

Cognates of both *bonj* and *wanjh* also occur in neighbouring languages, though *wanjh* varies in its meaning and function.

In Dalabon *wanjh* can mean 'well now' or 'since'. In Ngalakan (Merlan 1983) there is a particle *wañba* 'should not', with a synonymous prefixal form *wañ* as in *ngiñ-wañ?-janggan* 'you shouldn't go hunting.' In

Jawoyn (Merlan n.d.) a cognate form *wayn* has developed into an enclitic, usually to the first word of the clause, which marks subordination in a general way.

In Dalabon *bonj* means 'finished!' or 'and that was it!'; in Ngalakan *boñi* is an adverb meaning 'now, already'. In Rembarnga (McKay 1975:247–248) *bonj* means 'that's enough', 'stop', 'the end'.

13.13 Ideophones

There is quite a large class of ideophones (see §4.3.13 for a partial list), used to represent sounds accompanying actions in the narrative. These are normally placed next to the verb depicting the relevant event, and the ideophone is often rhythmically integrated, that is not cut off by a long pause, although it is also possible to pause before it for dramatic effect. Unlike preverb-like satellites however (§13.5.2), ideophones are accompanied by a reset of the intonational range, and often a change in voice quality, for example to a more nasalised production in the case of the ideophone representing the sound of the didgeridoo, which is either *didjmurrng* or *didjmrroo* according to the dialect.

13.367 *Barri-dulk-djobge-yi worr! barri-man.ga-ni.*

Dj 3a/3P-tree-chop-PI crash 3aP-fall-PI

'They (the old men) would chop down a tree and crash! — they (the youths) would fall down.'

13.368 *Morle ka-monhme ka-burrhnjudjme didjmurrng didjmurrng.* (k.k.)

didgeridoo 3-haveNP 3/3-blowNP ...[ideophone]...

'He's got a didgeridoo and he's blowing it *didjmurrng didjmurrng*.' [GID]

13.369 *Kuni ø-wam dorlh ø-bom, dorlh ø-bom,*

there 3P-goPP [ideophone] 3/3P-hitPP [ideophone] 3/3P-hitPP

dorlh ø-bom wanjh.

[ideophone] 3/3P-hitPP then

'He hit the clap sticks *dorlh!*, and he went along like that, *dorlh!* he hit them *dorlh!* he hit them and so on.' [GID]

Ideophones are normally unanalyseable, but in MM there are a few words that function as ideophones but which are morphologically complex, comprising an incorporated noun root plus a verbal prebound. Examples are *marlaworrbak* 'branch.break!' and *dedj.bak* 'tail.break!', each of which combines an incorporated noun root ($\sqrt{\text{marlaworr}}$ 'branch', $\sqrt{\text{dedj}}$ 'tail') with the prebound *bak* (cf. *bakme* 'break'). For examples of their use see Text 3.9 and Text 3.37.

14 *Syntax of complex sentences*

14.1 The rarity of subordination in Bininj Gun-wok

Subordination is rare in Bininj Gun-wok, and there is a paucity of formally distinct subordinating structures.¹ In fact, although there are certain formal features that are commoner in subordinate clauses — notably demonstratives of the *nawu* series, and the ‘immediate’ verbal prefix — there is no formal marking that is unique to subordinate clauses. For example, the *nawu* series, whose most common use is as a relative pronoun, can also be used as a demonstrative for new mentions. The only special subordinate structures are rare and limited to some dialects: Kunwinjku allows the genitive case to follow inflected verbs, basically in purpose clauses; this is also found in Manyallaluk Mayali, which also allows the ‘time’ nominal suffix to appear on verbs in adverbial clauses of time.

To some extent, the complex verbal morphology and obligatory argument registration of the language reduces the need for subordination. For example, it is often possible to have more than one predicate in a single verb complex. This may arise through the use of incorporated verb forms (14.1; cf. Chapter 12), manner/action prefixes (14.2; cf. §11.7), or compound verbs with highly complex semantics, which often derive historically from gerundive or secondary predicate incorporation (14.3).

14.1 *Ga-ganj-nguni-hmi-re.*
Dj 3-meat-eat-IVF-goNP
‘He goes along eating meat.’

14.2 *Aban-guni-marne-bebme-ng.*
Dj 1/3pl-VIOL-BEN-appear-PP
‘I came in on them fighting.’

¹ This has often been claimed to be a typical characteristic of polysynthetic languages – see Mithun (1984b) and Heath (1975), who include Kunwinjku and Nunggubuyu, respectively, in their discussions. It should not, however, be taken as criterial, since there are polysynthetic languages like Yimas (Foley 1991) which have non-finite constructions. Within the Gunwinyguan family, Warray (Harvey 1986:229) is particularly interesting in having an infinitive construction which bears dative case-marking and drops pronominal agreement. Dalabon (my own field notes) has extensive possibilities for inflecting verbs for case showing interclausal relations, though without dropping the pronominal agreement; like Rembarrnga to its east it has special pronominal prefix forms confined to certain types of subordinate clause. Rembarrnga, though comparably polysynthetic to BGW, also has clear infinitive constructions (Nordlinger & Saulwick 2002).

- 14.3 *Bi-gerremadbu-ni.*
 W 3/3hP-wait.for.something.to.cook-PI
 'He (a cannibal) waited for her to cook.' [Oates 1964:106]

Consider the main three 'engineering problems' for non-finite subordinate clauses in languages that have them: identifying a deleted pivot, identifying the antecedent, and inferring interclausal relations of relative tense, purpose etc. How are these resolved in a polysynthetic language like Bininj Gun-wok?

IDENTIFYING THE PIVOT In languages with non-finite clauses, pivots are restricted syntactically so that it is possible to retrieve their identity. For example, we may know that the deleted argument must be the subject of the verb. If rich verbal cross-referencing always identifies arguments — of which there may be more than one — there is no need for such a 'pivot'. In the following examples, biclausal equi constructions in English are translated by two finite verbs in Bininj Gun-wok; the identity of the argument(s) of the second verb is in each case clear from the pronominal prefixes.

- 14.4 *Bani-wam gabani-na-n al-badjan.*
 Dj 3uaPP-go:PP 3ua/3-see-NP II-mother
 'They have gone to see their mum.'
- 14.5 *Yi-djare yi-na-n?*
 Dj 2-want 2/3-see-NP
 'Do you want to see it?'
- 14.6 *Ka-bengka-n ka-marnbu-n.*
 E:N 3-know-NP 3/3I-make-NP
 'He knows how to make them (boomerangs).'
- 14.7 *Nga-bengka-n nga-monghme lama.*
 E:D 1-know-NP 1-haft.spearpointNP shovel.spear
 'I know how to haft a blade onto a shovel spear.'

IDENTIFYING THE ANTECEDENT In many cases, the 'matching' of arguments by person and number allows us to pair up each argument in the would-be subordinate clause with its antecedent. Consider our English sentence, 'they watched him lying in the shade', in which ambiguity arises because either 'they' or 'him' can be antecedent. The two sentences below each unambiguously express one of these senses; no ambiguity arises because we can 'match' the number of the second subject with that of one of the arguments of the first:

- 14.8 *Barri-nahna-ni ba-h-yo-i gu-djurle.*
 Dj 3a/3P-watch-PI 3P-IMM-lie-PI LOC-shade
 'They watched him lying in the shade.' (he is in the shade)
- 14.9 *Barri-nahna-ni barri-h-yo-i gu-djurle.*
 Dj 3a/3P-watch-PI 3aP-IMM-lie-PI LOC-shade
 'They watched him lying in the shade.' (they are in the shade)

In most cases the combination of person and number is enough to sort out participants. But in the case of third person minimal acting upon third person minimal, or third person augmented on third augmented, potential ambiguities arise. For example, 14.6 can have the

further reading 'he (X) knows that he (Y) makes them'. These ambiguities can be eliminated in a number of ways:

- (a) Through narrowing the reference of one argument by cross-referencing another participant via the possessor-raising use of the benefactive applicative, whose indexed possessor must be object rather than subject (14.10). Related to this is the use of the benefactive with 'want' when the subject of the desire complement is different from the subject of 'want' itself (see §10.3.1.6).

14.10 *Na-mege ga-m-re, gogok na-wu gun-marne-yame-ng.*
 Dj MA-that 3-hither-go eB MA-REL 3/2-BEN-spear-PP
 'Here comes the man who speared your brother.'
 * 'Here comes the man, whom your brother speared.'

- (b) Through use of pronoun forms showing gender, where this can disambiguate, as well as the 'emphatic' and 'in turn' forms; see §7.1.3.

- (c) Through use of overt afterthought NPs:

14.11 *Galuk danjbik dja bogen bani-lobm-i gunak-dorreng*
 then three or two 3uaP-run-PI fire-with
bani-wurlh-wurlhge-yi, dja barri-ru-ngi yawurrinj.
 3aP-REDUP-light-PI and 3aP-burn(intr)-PI youth
 'Bye and bye two or three would run around with a firestick and set fire
 (to the shelter), and they would get burned, the youths.'

- (d) Through exploitation of frame semantics. In 14.12, for example, from the Morak text, we identify the respective subjects through our knowledge of the overall semantic frame, which throughout the text involves the old men imposing unpleasant tests or tasks upon the initiates. From the same text 14.13, again exploits cultural knowledge, here that the old men 'guard' and 'watch over' the initiates rather than vice versa.

14.12 *Barri-re-i barri-nahna-ni gabo ga-mirnde-rri, bandi-bidbu-ihge-yi*
 Dj 3aP-go-PI 3a/3P-watch-PI ant 3-many-standNP 3a/3plP-go.up-CAUS-PI
yawurrinj.
 youth
 'They'd go along looking for where there were lots of green ants around, and make them climb up, the youths.'

14.13 *Gohbagohbanj barri-djal-ni bandi-nahna-ni.*
 Dj old.men 3aP-just-sit 3a/3plP-watch-PI
 'The old men would just sit watching over them.'

SPECIFYING INTERCLAUSAL RELATIONS OF TENSE, CAUSALITY ETC. To a large extent the semantic relationships between clauses can be inferred from a comparison of the TAMs of each clause. For example, a sequence of past followed by non-past (14.14) typically signals purpose with same subjects.

14.14 *Bani-wam gabani-na-n al-badjan.*
 Dj 3uaP-goPP 3ua-see-NP II-mother
 'They have gone to see their mum.'

And a sequence of past imperfective followed by past perfective typically signals a 'when/while' adverbial clause. The following example illustrates a sequence of three tenses signalling cross-clausal relations: past imperfective in the framing 'when' clause, past perfective for the framed event (here an act of perception), then the non-past for the perceived event (see §14.2.2.1 below).

- 14.15 *Kum-kuyin-re-y* \emptyset -*bekka-ng* *kabene-mim-baye* *man-mim*,
 W 3Phither-almost-go-PI 3/3P-hear-PP 3ua-see-biteNP III-see
man-karralarlhmanj.
 III-bush.cashew
 'As he was coming closer he heard two people eating seeds, bush cashew nuts.'
 [OP 439]

Sometimes particular subordinate-type interclausal relationship can be inferred from the presence of an adverb or adverbial prefix in one clause, even though neither clause is formally subordinate in any way. Thus in 14.16 the adverb *yerre* 'after, behind' in the second clause signals a relationship between clauses that would be captured by the subordinating conjunction 'before' in English.

- 14.16 *Aleng ba-rrowe-ng*, *ngaye nga-djordmi-nj yerre*.
 Dj she 3P-die-PP I 1-grow.up-PP later
 'She died before I grew up.' (lit. She died, I grew up later/behind.)

The verb prefix *djal-* 'just' in the first clause, combined with a second clause denoting some bounding action (e.g. 'seeing his camp' in 14.17), renders the sense translated by the subordinating conjunction 'until' in English (for further examples see §11.3.5.2).

- 14.17 *Kaluk mungoyh bene-djal-bok-ka-ni bene-bal-h-wam*
 W then long.time 3uaP-just-track-take-PI 3uaP-along-IMM-goPP
bene-yawoyh-red-na-ng.
 3uaP-again-camp-see-PP
 'They continued tracking him until they came to his second camp.'
 [Oates 1964:109]

Rarely, case suffixes on the fully inflected verb are used to signal temporal or purposive relations between clauses, though this is much rarer than in Dalabon, for example. Significantly, this use is commonest in the two dialects in closest contact with Dalabon: Manyallaluk Mayali (14.18; see also 8.99 and 5.114) and Kune (14.19).

- 14.18 *Bunbarr barri-m-re-yi barri-yi-rdam-i-gen*.
 MM [herb.sp.] 3uaP-hither-go-PI 3uaP-COM-flavour-PI-GEN
 'They were coming back with *bunbarr* herb, to stuff (the kangaroo) with.'
 14.19 *Na-mekke* \emptyset -*wam nungka kornkumo bi-nahna-ng-kah* \emptyset -*wam*.
 E MA-DEM 3P-goPP he father3REF 3/3P-watch-PP-LOC 3P-goPP
 'His father went off (to find him) while (the clever man) watched him.'
 (See §6.3.1 on the abbreviation 3REF.)

FORMAL MEANS OF EXPRESSING SUBORDINATION: SUMMARY The formal indicators of subordination thus amount to:

- (a) Case-marking on the verb (as in 14.18, 14.19), though this is rare.
- (b) Grammatically-determined sequences of tenses, such as the imperfective-perfective sequence for framing 'when' clauses, and the use of non-past clauses for purpose and as perception complements.
- (c) The use of subordinating conjunctions has not been exemplified above, but two that are commonly used are *bu* 'when, if' (which is also used for a range of other subordinate clauses, such as 14.20), and *ba* 'in order to/that'. Subordinating conjunctions are commonest in adverbial clauses and will be discussed in §14.4.

14.20 *Wanjh karri-bolbme-ng bu karri-dadjke na-wu kunj*
 W then 12a-become.accustomed-PP SUB 12a-cutNP MA-REL kangaroo
ka-rohrok.
 3-same
 'We've got used to cutting kangaroos the same as them (*mimihs*).' [KS 90]

Beyond this a great deal of what would be subordinated in English is simply expressed by strings of finite verbs, sometimes serialised in tightly-linked sequences (§14.5), but often just loosely strung together, as in 14.21, though with intonation assisting the grouping. Since the complex topic of intonation is beyond the scope of this grammar such loose sequences will not be discussed here.

14.21 *ø-Kolu-y ø-wurlebme-ng ø-yawa-m, kayakki.*
 E 3P-descend-PP 3P-swim-PP 3P-search-PP nothing
 'He swam down to look for it, but to no avail.'

The rest of this chapter is structured as follows. In §14.2 we examine complementation; in §14.3 relative clauses, and in §14.4 a range of adverbial constructions, including conditionals. In §14.5 we look at serialised constructions, and in §14.6 we examine nominalised clauses.

14.2 Complementation

For the most part, complement constructions are formed simply by conjoining the two clauses. Outside the requirement for plausible semantics, there are no constraints on the grammatical roles involved; for example, the common NP may be subject of both, or object of the main clause and subject of the subordinate. All core arguments are cross-referenced, as in a main clause, and there are no special subordinate TAM inflections. There are, however, particular TAM sequences characteristic of complement clauses: most importantly, the selection of irrealis on complements of verbs like 'want', 'ask', 'forget', and the selection of immediate aspect and non-past tense in complements of perception predicates. There is also some evidence that 'want', 'perception' and causative constructions allow the option of close juncture between the two fully inflected verbs (see below).

We next discuss cases in which there is no special grammatical signalling of complementation, and then pass to the restrictions on sequences of TAM with particular complements.

14.2.1 Complementation without formal marking

The following example is a Gun-djeihmi sentence of three finite verbs, all inflected for tense/mood and actants, translating an English sentence best rendered with a main verb, a gerund and a bare complement verb:

- 14.22 *Barri-dange-rr-inj gandi-nahna-ni ani-bu-rre-ni.*
 Dj 3aP-stand-RR-PP 3a/1a-watch-PI 1ua-hit-RR-PI
 'They stood watching us fight.'

Various meanings that would be expressed with a complement in English are expressed simply as a sequence of two verbs in Biniñ Gun-wok, such as 'finish' (14.23), 'know (how to)' (14.24), 'pretend to' (14.25), 'try' (14.26) and 'teach/show' (14.27). In all these cases the TAM of both verbs is absolute, that is calculated relative to the utterance time. Complements containing more than just a verb, such as an object noun, will usually be introduced by the general relative demonstrative *nawu* (14.27).

- 14.23 *Nga-bo-ngune-ng nga-yakwo-ng.*
 Dj 1/3-liquid-consume-PP 1/3-finish-PP
 'I've finished drinking it.' (lit. I drank (and) finished it.)
- 14.24 *Nga-burrbu-n nga-wokdi-ø.*
 Dj 1-know-NP 1-talk-NP
 'I know how to talk (language).'
- 14.25 *Ga-gurre-n na-be ga-rrenggelhme.*
 Dj 3-pretend-NP MA-DEM 3-limpNP
 'That fellow over there is pretending to limp.' ('He gammon limping.')
- 14.26 *Gun-wok ba-rohrokme-ng, ga-warre. Ba-rohrokme-ng ba-yime-ng gawarre,*
 IV-talk 3P-try-PP 3-bad 3P-try-PP 3P-speak-PP no.good
an-wid.
 VE-different
 'She tried to talk, but it was no good.' OR: 'She tried to speak but it was no good, it was something else (than language).'
- 14.27 *Nagidjgij an-bukka-bukka-ng ngadberre, na-wu gunj ngarri-yam-i,*
 [name] 3/1-ITER-show-PP us MA-DEM kangaroo 1a/3-spear-PI
na-wu maih arri-bu-ni.
 MA-DEM animal 1a/3-kill-PI
 'Nagidjgidj taught us how to spear kangaroos, and how to kill animals.' (lit. Nagidjgidj taught us that business/law of how we speared kangaroos and killed animals.)

Although the verbs in these complement constructions are morphologically indistinguishable from ordinary main verbs, there is some evidence that syntactically they are tightly linked to the complement-taking predicate. Firstly, unlike normally chained verbs (which are strung together with a 'listing' intonation), verbs in complement constructions fall under a single intonation contour. Secondly, it is normal for their arguments not to interpose between the two verbs, so that they are placed before and/or after the verb sequence (14.28);

with verbs of causation the verbs may be reordered relative to the temporal sequence, so that the causative verb follows the complement verb (14.29).

14.28 *Bininj gabarri-dowe-n gaban-marnbu-n gabarri-ngoreng-yo.*

Dj person 3a-die-NP 3/3pl-make-NP 3a-sick-lieNP
'He can make people die and get sick.'

14.29 *Yiman bolkgime ngarri-h-ni, wakkidj nungga ba-djare-ni ba-m-wam*

Dj like now 1a-IMM-sitNP fishing he 3P-want-PI 3P-hither-goPP

ngadburrung.

brother

'Like now we're sitting here, he wanted to come fishing, my brother.'

Evaluative complement-taking predicates are expressed by following the word for 'good' with a complement in absolute tense, usually the non-past (14.30); this is also the usual construction for giving and requesting permission (§9.3.2).

14.30 *Gamak nga-bongu-n?*

Dj good 1/3-drink-NP
'Is it OK to drink (beer in your car)?'

14.2.2 Complementation marked by sequence of TAM

In the complement types discussed so far, the selection of TAM values is absolute, being oriented to the moment of the speech act. In 14.22, for example, as well as 14.31, the perception clause is in the past imperfective, with pastness calculated relative to the moment of speech, and disregarding the simultaneity, in relative terms, of the perceiving and perceived events; in this sense, there is no pressing reason to consider the construction a complex sentence rather than a sequence of the two independent clauses 'they saw the buffalo; it was sleeping'. In 14.32, on the other hand, the TAM value selected is relative; the non-past is used because the perceived event is non-past relative to the perceiving event, and the immediate aspect marker *h-* (§11.4.3) is commonly inserted in the complement clause.²

14.31 *Minj birri-na-yinj nganabbarru ø-yo-y, wanjh man-wurrk*

I not 3a/3-see-IRR buffalo 3P-sleep-PP then III-bushfire

bi-wayhke-ng.

3/3hP-wake-PP

'But they didn't see the buffalo, which was sleeping, until a bushfire woke him up.'

14.32 *Na-bene maih a-na-ng ga-m-golu-rr-en gaddum-be djohboi.*

Dj MA-DEM bird 1/3-see-PP 3-hither-descend-RR-NP up-ABL poor.thing
'I've seen those birds coming down (to the waterhole) from higher up, dear little things.'

² This was first pointed out by Rowe (n.d.:26): 'It seems that *h* is used in verbs mostly to emphasise the "presentness" of an activity ... The ... use is very common in stories. The story is set in the past but some of the verbs are in the present continuous.'

Since the full semantics of the clause can only be evaluated by taking into account its relation to the framing perception clause, these are clearly complex sentence constructions despite the lack of uniquely subordinate-clause morphology.

In this section we discuss perceptual and knowledge complements, utterance complements (including jussives), resultative complements, closing with a series of constructions taking the irrealis in the complement clause in which the status of the irrealis as absolute or relative TAM category is less clear. Where relevant we comment on the difference between absolute and relative TAM values.

14.2.2.1 Perception and knowledge complements

As just exemplified, perceptual complements, as well as complements of knowledge and ignorance, commonly occur in relative-tense constructions in which the perceived-event predicate is in the non-past, often but not always with the immediate aspect prefix as well. Further examples are with 'see' (14.33), 'hear' (14.34, 14.35), 'know' (14.36, 14.37) and 'not know' (14.38):

14.33 *Ba-na-ng ga-h-barndi.*

Dj 3/3P-seePP 3-IMM-be.highNP
'He saw it hanging up.'

14.34 *Birri-bek kang ka-h-borrbborrbme ...*

3aP-hear-PP 3-IMM-dripNP
'They heard it dripping ...' [GID]

14.35 *Yi-gurr-en, yi-garrme. A-bekka-ng ga-djili-djihm-e.*

Dj 2-lie-NP 2-haveNP 1/3-hear-PP 3-EXT-jingle-NP
'You're lying, you've got some (money). I heard it jingling.'

14.36 *Ngaye nga-burrbu-n gurri-h-wokdi.*

Dj I 1-know/understand-NP 2a-IMM-talkNP
'I can understand you talking.'

14.37 *Nga-bengka-n ku-mekke ka-yo kun-bad.*

E:D 1-know-NP LOC-DEM 3-lieNP IV-money
'I know where the money is.'

14.38 *∅-Wakwa-ni na-yin ka-m-h-wage.*

W 3P-not.know-PI 1-snake 3-hither-IMM-crawlNP
'He didn't know that a snake was crawling towards him.' [Rowe n.d.: 26]

Note that where English often simply uses an indefinite noun phrase object of existence with perception verbs, Bininj Gun-wok prefers to use thethetic construction with a stance verb (14.39) and, where allowed, an incorporated generic noun (14.40), which asserts existence inside the complement predicate:

14.39 *Barri-re-i barri-nahna-ni gabo ga-mirnde-rri.*

Dj 3aP-go-PI 3a/3P-look.out.for-PI green.ant 3-many-standNP
'They'd go along looking for a whole lot of green ants.'

- 14.40 \emptyset -*Kuyin-kolu-y* *ku-kabo* \emptyset -*kuyin-worhna-ng ka-bolh-yo*
 3P-almost-descend-PP LOC-billabong 3/3P-almost-see-PP 3-track-lieNP
 \emptyset -*barlah-yo-y* \emptyset -*larrhme-ng*.
 3P-slither.track-lie-PP 3P-dry-PP
 'He was about to go down to the billabong when he saw (there were) tracks,
 crocodile sliding tracks of a crocodile drying in the sun.'

Two differences between the absolute and relative tense constructions deserve mention. Firstly, there is usually a difference in argument registration as well. In the absolute TAM construction the perceived participants are registered as arguments on the perception verb as well as in the perceived predicate, on the model of 'they-us-saw we-fought' (14.22), and 'he-them-heard they-played' (14.41). In the relative-tense construction, on the other hand, the perceived participant is usually not registered on the perception verb, so that one can say 'he-it-saw they.two-are.high' as in 14.42; this example also exemplifies the tendency to revert to absolute tense for the perceived event after the first complement clause.

- 14.41 *Ben-bekka-ng wurdwurd birri-h-dirri*.
 W 3/3plP-hear-PP children 3aP-IMM-play
 'He heard children playing.' [Oates 1964:92]
- 14.42 \emptyset -*Na-ng kabene-h-barndi kore kaddum, bene-h-ngu-ni man-ekke*
 W 3/3P-see-PP 3ua-IMM-be.highNP LOC high 3uaP-IMM-eat-PI VE-DEM
man-karralarlhmanj bene-h-darlkke-yi.
 III-bush.cashew 3uaP-IMM-crack-PI
 'He saw the two of them up in the tree eating bush cashew fruit.' [KS 68]

Secondly, there is a difference in semantic emphasis between the two constructions, with the absolute construction focussing on the perception of the entity, and the relative construction focussing on the perception of the state affairs, as in the difference between English 'I saw him sleeping' and 'I saw that he was sleeping'. Compare 14.31 and 14.32: in the first, absolute construction, the focus is on the fact that they didn't see the buffalo, whereas in the second, relative construction, the focus is on the actions of the birds as they come down to the waterhole.

When the TAM of the perception clause is non-past, of course (as in 14.43), we cannot tell whether the non-past in the complement clause results from the relative or the absolute rule. However, at least for certain person/number/animacy values of the subject of the perceived event, the semantic contrast is inferrable from the presence or absence of its appearance as object of the perception verb; in 14.44, for example, the choice of the third person minimal object prefix *nga-* instead of the third augmented object form *ngaban-* indicates that the relative TAM construction is being employed.

- 14.43 *Kabirri-h-djal-ni kabirri-bekka-n ka-m-ngolek-wokdi*.
 W 3-IMM-just-sitNP 3a/3-hear-NP 3-hither-breathing-speakNP
 'They sit and hear the sound of his spirit approaching.' [KH 156]
- 14.44 *Bu nga-bolk-na-n gabarri-bolk-warreh-warrewo-n wanjh bonj*
 Dj SUB 1/3-place-see-NP 3a/3-place-ITER-wreck-NP then finished

nga-re wanjh gu-bolk-buyiga gure a-h-ni.
 1-goNP then LOC-place-other there 1-IMM-sitNP
 'If I see that they are destroying (my) country well then I will go and live there
 in another place.'

I have just one example, from Manyallaluk Mayali, in which relative tense is used but the subject of the perceived event is registered as an argument on the perception verb (14.45). It is not clear at this stage if this exceptional behaviour is confined to that dialect.

14.45 *Bi-yaw-na-ng ka-yaw-kodjdje-yo.*
 MM 3/3P-child-see-PP 3-child-sleep-lieNP
 'She saw the baby sleeping.'

While on the topic of perception clauses it should be noted that non-verbal predicates may appear as complements of perception verbs:

14.46 *∅-Danjbom ∅-na-ng berl-yi.*
 W 3/3P-spearPP 3/3P-see-PP arm-INSTR
 'He speared it (a fish, perhaps like a lungfish) and saw it had arms.'

14.2.2.2 Utterance and jussive complements

Reported statements and questions are virtually always direct: the quoted speech or thought are given with the TAM and other deictics as actually uttered or thought, most commonly in the non-past, while the locutionary verb has absolute tense, typically the past perfective or imperfective. There is typically an upward resetting of the intonational pitch range, as well as other voice-quality indicators that the speech is quoted.

14.47 *Barri-djawayhm-i "na-nganjuk gaban-h-bu-n?"*.
 Dj 3aP-ask-PI MA-who 3/3pl-IMM-kill-NP
 'They'd ask, "Who's killing them?"'

14.48 *Ba-warnyak-ni, gun-yidme ba-mulewa-ni, "Gun-yidme a-rrowe-n"*
 Dj 3P-not.want-PI IV-tooth 3P-talk.about-PI IV-tooth 1-hurt-NP
ba-yim-i.
 3P-say-PI
 'He wouldn't want any (food), and would mention his tooth: "My tooth is aching"
 he'd say.'

14.49 ... *∅-yim-i "Ka-bu-n kinga".*
 W 3-think-PI 3/3l-kill-NP crocodile
 '... she was thinking "He is killing the crocodile".'

14.50 *Bukbuk bininj ∅-durnd-i ku-red, ben-marne-yime-ng "Ngayi*
 coucal man 3P-return-PP LOC-camp 3/3plP-BEN-say-PP I
ngane-danginj ∅-dowe-ng".
 1a-standPP 3P-die-PP
 'Pheasant coucal man went back to his camp and told them: "My brother is dead".'

- 14.51 \emptyset -Kele-durh-durnd-i ku-red ben-marne-yime-ng "Nga-kelem-inj
 3P-afraid-ITER-return-PP LOC-camp 3/3pl-BEN-say-PP 1-grow.afraid-PP
 wayarra".

ghost

'He went back to his camp and told them "I have grown afraid of the ghosts".'

Occasionally the irrealis may be used in the quote clause to indicate some speaker assessment that the representation of the communication is subjective and not completely dependable (see 6.20 for an example).

Noises, as opposed to utterances, may be introduced by the verb *re* 'go' rather than a speech act verb (14.52); the verb may, unusually, follow the ideophone giving the noise. However, it is also possible to use *yime* 'do, say' in these circumstances (14.53).

- 14.52 *Ngal-kordow kordorrk! ka-re.*
 II-brolga [ideophone] 3-GONP
 'Brolgas go *kordorrk!*'

- 14.53 *Duruk birri-kom-dukka-ng korroko Aboriginal birri-kom-dukka-ng*
 dog 3a/3P-neck-tie-PP long.ago 3a/3P-neck-tie-PP
wanjh ngarlirrk ngal-bu \emptyset -yime-ng "lerre lerre lerre".
 then snail.shell FE-DEM 3P-say-PP ...[ideophone]...
 'A long time ago it was the Aboriginal way to place collars of snail shells around the necks of dogs and those snail shells would jingle, going "*lerre, lerre, lerre*".' [GID]

The sole example of indirect speech in questions that I have seen is the following sentence from the Kunwinjku Spirit corpus, which changes the person and tense values to those appropriate to the utterance event:

- 14.54 *Macassar bininj ngandi-djawa-m, baleh ngaye nga-h-yo-y.*
 W man 3a/1-ask-PP where I 1-IMM-lie-PP
 'The Macassans asked me where I lived.' [KS 246]

Imperatives and requests, in contrast to questions and statements, are pretty well equally split between direct and indirect quotations; 14.55 exemplifies the use of direct quotation with an imperative, and 14.56 illustrates the use of indirect speech, shown by the use of non-past instead of imperative TAM inflection (not decisive evidence for indirect speech, given that the non-past is sometimes used for polite imperatives — §9.3.2), and the use of third instead of second person subject pronominals. (See 13.289 for a further example.)

- 14.55 *Bi-marne-yime-ng "Kan-wo-n delek!" Bi-marne-yime-ng "Marrek*
 3/3hP-BEN-say-PP 2/1-give-NP clay 3/3hP-BEN-say-PP not

\emptyset -wo-n."

1/2-give-NP

'He said: "Give me the white clay!". And he said: "I won't give it to you".'

- 14.56 *Bene-rlombe-ng bindi-marne-mulewa-m bininj bu kabirri-kele-rlombe,*
 W 3uaP-run-PP 3a/3pl-BEN-tell-PP person SUB 3a-fear-runNP

wardi *Ngal-yod* *kaben-kuk-ngu-n.*
 might.be II-rainbow.serpent 3/3pl-body-eat-NP
 'The two of them ran and told people to run away, or Ngalyod would eat them.'
 [KS 40]

14.2.2.3 Resultative and other causal complements

The most tightly linked type of resultative complements like 'spear him dead' are expressed by following the first verb, in whichever TAM category is suitable, by the result predicate, which always remains in the non-past (see also Text 6.59). Note that a pronoun may intervene between the two verbs (see 7.154 for an example).

14.57 *Karri-yame-ø ka-kuk-yo-ø!*
 E:D 12a-spear-NP 3-body-lie-NP
 'Let's spear him dead!'

14.58 *Bi-bom ka-kuk-yo.*
 A 3/3HP-hit/killPP 3-body-lieNP
 'He hit him/her dead.'

It is also possible to use absolute tense in the result predicate, indicating a looser connection between the two events (14.59, 14.60). Note that in 14.60 the reduplicated iterative form of the result predicate indicates it is linked not just to the preceding verb, but to other similar events that had preceded.

14.59 *Bi-bom ø-kuk-yo-y.*
 W 3/3HP-hitPP 3P-body-lie-PP
 'He hit her and she lay dead.'

14.60 *Wanjh bi-yawoyh-yam-i na-buyika, bi-yam-i ø-kukyo-kuk-yo-y.*
 W then 3/3HP-again-spear-PI MA-other 3/3HP-spear-PI 3P-ITER-body-lie-PP
 'Then he would spear another one, he'd spear him, and the bodies lay dead.'
 [OP 363]³

A number of two-verb causal constructions appear in the corpus, though with such low frequency that I only have one or two examples of each. 'Leave' (14.61, 14.62) and 'make' (14.63, 14.64, 10.385) each form synthetic causatives in which the caused verb directly follows the verb of causation. To show that the non-past in these complements results from a relative TAM rule we need examples with a past main-clause verb, and so far these are rare, but an example is Text 6.101.

14.61 *Arr-bawo-ø ga-geyo-ø nabibe.*
 Dj 1a-leave-IMP 3-sleep-NP my.MM.who.is.your.child
 'Let's leave my granny to sleep.'

14.62 *Al-ege daluk ga-wok-wern, djama ngan-bawo-n nga-wokdi.*
 Dj II-that woman 3-word-much NEG 3/1-leave-NP 1-talk
 'That woman talks too much, she never lets me talk.'

³ Carroll gives the translation 'he was spearing them and leaving the bodies', but I have altered this to a more literal translation here.

- 14.63 *Ngaye ngaben-marnbu-n kabirri-yawoyh-mimbi-men, ba*
 W I 1/3pl-make-NP 3a-again-be.alive-NP so.that
kabirri-djal-darrkid munguyh.
 3a-just-alive always
 'I will make them all alive again, so that they'll stay alive forever.' [KS 120]

- 14.64 *Kan-marnbu-n karri-mimbi man-djewk dja man-djewk.*
 W 3/1a-make-NP 12a-alive III-year and III-year
 'He makes me alive every year.' [KS 120]

Other synthetic causatives, equally rare in the corpus, employ overt markers of subordination such as the general subordinating conjunction *bu* (14.65) or the locative preposition *kore* (14.66) after verbs that are more usually used as independent transitive predicates: *djurkkan* 'force, be pushy to, prevail on' and *ngurdke* 'stop, prevent'.

- 14.65 *Ngudda kan-h-djurkka-ni bu nga-yame-ng.*
 W you 2/1-IMM-force-PI SUB 1/3-spear-PP
 'You were pushing me into spearing him.' [KS 252]

- 14.66 *Ka-ngurdke kore karri-djohme bu karri-baru-rr-en ku-kodj,*
 W 3-stopNP LOC 12a-coughNP SUB 12a-rub-RR-NP LOC-head
ka-djal-e kanjdji ku-rrenge.
 3-just-goNP down LOC-foot
 'It stops us from coughing when we rub it over ourselves from top to foot.' [KS 196]

14.2.2.4 Complements taking the irrealis

A number of verbs commonly take complements in the irrealis, but it is not usually appropriate to say the irrealis is governed by the construction, since the irrealis usually encodes the absolute low realis status of the proposition from the point of view of the speaker at the moment of speech. In one or two cases, however, the assessment as low realis is relativised to the subject of the complement-taking verb.

Consider the verb *djare* 'want', which can take complements with the same subject (14.5, 14.67, 13.299), with a totally different subject (14.68, 14.69), or with a partially disjoint subject (14.70). It is possible, though not necessary, to prefix benefactive *marne-* to *djare* if the subjects are not identical (14.70, 10.147).

- 14.67 *Birri-kerrh-kerrnge kabirri-djare konda kabirri-ngime kamak.*
 3a-REDUP-new 3a-want here 3a-enterNP good
 'These new people, they want to come here, it's OK for them to enter.' [GID]
- 14.68 *Birri-ma-yi kun-malaworr birri-djangwe-meninj 'djenj'*
 3aP-get-IRR IV-leaf 3aP-perform.increase.ritual-IRR fish
birri-yime-ng, 'Ngarri-djare djenj ka-wernme-n ngarri-ngun'.
 3aP-say-PP 1a-wantNP fish 3-increase-NP 1a-eat-NP
 'When they would perform the increase ritual they would go and get branches and say: "Fish! We want fish to increase so we can eat".' [GID]

14.69 *Yi-djare* \emptyset -*bu-n* \emptyset -*kuk-kurrme*.
 2-wantNP 1/2-hit-NP 1/2-body-put.downNP
 'Do you want me to hit you and knock you down?'

14.70 *Ngun-marne-djare* *ngune-wokdi*.
 3/2-BEN-wantNP 2ua-talkNP
 'She wants to talk to you.'

In all these examples the 'want' verb is in the non-past, as is the complement; the non-past is an appropriate absolute TAM value, since at the moment of speech the complement event is potential or future, falling within the semantic range of the non-past. When 'want' is in the past, it is commonest for the complement to be in the irrealis (14.71, 14.72).

14.71 *Nga-djare* *nga-m-ra-yi* *nga-bunjhme-yi*.
 Dj 1-want 1-hither-come-IRR 1-kiss-IRR
 'I wanted to come and kiss her.'⁴

14.72 *A-djare-ni* *a-bu-yi*.
 Dj 1-want-PI 1/3-kill-IRR
 'I wanted to kill him (but didn't).'

14.73 *Nga-djare* *gogok* *ba-m-ra-yi* *bi-bunjhma-yi*.
 Dj 1-want eB 3P-hither-go-IRR 3/3hP-kiss-IRR
 'I wanted my older brother to kiss her.'

14.74 *Al-ege* *daluk* *nga-djare-ni* *ngani-yi-wirrinj*.
 Dj FE-that woman 1-want-PI 1ua-sleep-IRR
 'I wanted that woman to sleep with me.'

Similar uses of the irrealis in complements are found with *djawan* 'ask':

14.75 *Nga-djawa-m* *al-ege* *daluk* *ngan-bunjhma-yi* / *bi-bunjhma-yi*.
 Dj 1/3-ask-PP FE-DEM woman 3/1-kiss-IRR 3/3P-kiss-IRR
 'I asked that woman to kiss me/him.'

However, the main verb in such cases cannot be said to strictly govern the irrealis, since the evaluation of the lowered realis state of the complement is arguably always made with respect to the speech act. This is because the use of the irrealis is restricted to cases where the complement is unrealised, or is unspecified for realisness but with a strong implication that it didn't occur. Where the event described in the complement actually occurred, it may take a realis past ending:

14.76 *Yiman* *bolkgime* *ngani-h-ni*, *wakkidj* *nungga* *ba-djare-ni* *ba-m-wam*
 Dj like now 1ua-IMM-sitNP fishing he 3P-want-P 3P-hither-goPP
ngadburrung.
 my.brother
 'Well here we are sitting here now, my brother wanted to come fishing (and here we are).'

⁴ In both 14.71 and 14.73 the verb 'want' lacks a past inflection, even though these were given as translations of past English sentences. Unless the translation was inaccurate, the possibility of omitting tense from 'want' may be taken as evidence for a special complement construction.

There is a stronger case for regarding the irrealis as being governed by the main clause predicate in the case of the verb for 'forget'. This has a number of lexical equivalents in different dialects, but let us consider the Gun-djeihmi form *benghngukme*. This takes complements in the irrealis, with overt negator *djama*, whether or not the 'forgotten event' in fact eventuates. It seems that if the two clauses have same subjects, the interpretation is that the subordinate event didn't happen; if they have different subjects, that the subordinate event did happen.

14.77 *Nga-benghngukme-ng djama nga-m-ra-yi ø-na-yi.*
 Dj 1-forget-PP not 1-hither-go-IRR 1/2-see-IRR
 'I forgot to come and see you.'

14.78 *Nga-benghngukme-ng djama ba-m-ra-yi ngan-na-yi.*
 Dj 1-forget-PP not 3P-hither-go-IRR 3/1-see-IRR
 'I forgot that she was coming to see me.'

14.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are not a clearly delineated formal category in Bininj Gun-wok. Most translation equivalents of English relative clauses, at least those which qualify arguments of the main clause, employ the *nawu* demonstrative series, though see §6.3.5 for some counter-examples. But presence of a *nawu*-series demonstrative is not a sufficient condition to diagnose relative clauses, since the *nawu* demonstratives are used more generally to introduce any stretch of language that will help identify the referent; as discussed in §7.3, the best gloss for these demonstratives is 'that which you should be able to identify from the following words', and it commonly occurs with bare nouns, for example, where these are sufficient to evoke a referent. The difficulty of describing distinct relative clause-structures is amplified by the arbitrariness of identifying clause boundaries in a language without morphosyntactic dependencies or fixed constituent orderings; this makes it difficult to decide, for example, when one is dealing with an 'embedded' clause, except in the naive sense in which the head noun and its predicate are lineally separated by the clausal material providing the identifying material. Finally, the fact that all arguments have obligatory representation on the verb, and are only ever optionally present as external phrases, renders 'gaps' useless as diagnostics.

Bearing this in mind, the rule for forming relative clauses in Bininj Gun-wok could be formulated simply as 'use an appropriate *nawu* series demonstrative, followed by a semantically appropriate descriptor clause'. (Note that the *nawu* series demonstratives are formed by prefixing the gender prefix to the general subordinating conjunction *bu*, with some morphophonemic changes.) The following material basically elaborates this formulation.

Note that there are no restrictions, in terms of grammatical relations, on the shared argument, which may be subject (14.80) or object (14.83, 14.89) in the main clause, and subject (14.81) or object (14.79, 14.80) in the subordinate clause. The treatment of non-arguments is dealt with at the end of the section.

Relative clauses are most commonly adjoined after the main clause (14.79, 14.80), but rarely they are embedded (14.81, 14.82). The main clause antecedent is typically modified by another demonstrative.

- 14.79 *Ga-rrulk-gimuk ngan-du nga-djobge.*
 Dj 3-tree-big VE-REL 1/3-cutNP
 'The tree that I will chop down is big.'
- 14.80 *Na-mege bininj ga-m-re, na-wu gogok bi-yame-ng.*
 Dj MA-that man 3-hither-goNP MA-REL brother 3/3hP-spear-PP
 'The man is coming, whom your brother speared.'
- 14.81 *Galuk na-gudji [na-wu ba-di gu-mekke], [na-wu gare yirridjdja o*
 Dj then MA-one MA-REL 3P-stand LOC-there MA-REL maybe Yirridjdja or
duwa, njamed], ba-bili-doh-dombu-ni dja ga-warre, barri-djal-ru-ngi.
 Duwa what 3/3P-fire-INCEP-extinguish-PI and 3-bad 3aP-just-burn-PI
 'Then one (youth) who was right there, who was maybe Yirridjdja or Duwa,
 whatever, would try to put out the fire but to no avail, they'd all just get burned.'
- 14.82 *Ga-djal-e bu ga-guk-nudme-n, gu-mege wanjh ga-ngu-n,*
 Dj 3-just-goNP SUB 3-body-rot-NP LOC-DEM then 3/3l-eat-NP
na-mege [na-wu na-gerrnge] minj ga-ngu-n,
 MA-that MA-REL MA-fresh not 3-eat-NP
 'He just does nothing until the body rots, and that's when he eats it; that which
 is fresh he doesn't eat ...'

Occasionally the relative demonstrative is placed prosodically in the main clause:

- 14.83 *right bi-wo-ni na-mege bininj na-wu, bi-yam-i na-buyiga*
 Dj right 3/3hP-give-PI MA-DEM man MA-REL 3/3hP-spear-PI MA-other
bi-malng-durndewe-yi bin-wo-ni na-mege wangbol.
 3/3hP-spirit-bring.back-PI 3/3plP-give-PI MA-that wangbol
 'Right, he'd give her to that man, who'd speared the other bloke, brought his spirit
 back, and given them back the *wangbol* (a sort of voodoo figure).'

More usually it is in the subordinate clause, typically clause initially (14.84, 14.85) but not necessarily (14.86–14.88):

- 14.84 *An-dehne gun-dulk, an-du ba-djordm-inj ngaye guned ngarduk.*
 Dj VE-this IV-tree VE-REL 3P-grow-PP I country my
 'This is the tree that grew in my country.'
- 14.85 *Yiman gayime bininj, na-wu na-buyiga bi-yam-i, djarreh*
 Dj, W ...for.example... man MA-REL MA-other 3/3hP-spear-PI far
na-yunggi, ø-re-i, birri-wo-ni wangbol ngan-ege.
 MA-ahead 3P-go-PI 3a/3P-give-PI wangbol VE-REL
 'For example a man, who had speared another man, and got off far ahead (of his
 pursuers), They'd give that *wangbol* to him.'
- 14.86 *Na-mege ga-m-re, gogok na-wu gun-marne-yame-ng.*
 Dj MA-that 3-hither-goNP eB MA-REL 3/2-BEN-spear-PP
 'Here comes the man who speared your brother.'

- 14.87 *Na-bene bininj, wudda gogok wuddanggi na-wu gun-marne-bom.*
 MA-this man you eB your MA-REL 3/2-BEN-killPP
 'This is the man who killed your brother.'
- 14.88 *Al-ege daluk, gogok gun-marne-bom ngal-u.*
 FE-that woman eB 3/2-BEN-hitPP FE-REL
 'This is the woman who your brother hit.'

In many cases the lack of clear clause boundaries makes it arbitrary to assign the relative demonstrative to one clause rather than another:

- 14.89 *Bu karri-bu-n na-wu karri-na-n kelebuk, wanjh kan-bu-n kadberre*
 W SUB 12a-kill-NP MA-REL 12a-see-NP tame then 3/1a-kill-NP us
mimih.
 mimih
 'If we kill those we see are tame, then *mimihs* will kill us.' [OP 443]

And in rare cases there is scrambling of material between the two clauses; in 14.90, for example, the relative verb *benedahkendoy* appears between the demonstrative and the head noun, while the directional complement of the verb ('in the billycan') follows the head noun:

- 14.90 *Dja na-wu bene-dahkendo-y man-kung kore djabbilana munguyh*
 W and MA-REL 3uaP-put.in-PP III-honey LOC billycan long.time
ø-deleng-barndi kore balabbala ku-red kore bene-yo-y.
 3P-container-be.up.highP LOC table LOC-camp LOC 3uaP-sleep-PP
 'And that left-over sugarbag that was in the billycan would stay hanging for them near the table at the camp where they were staying.'

In general the selection of the gender-appropriate form of the relative demonstrative follows the rules for gender agreement given in §5.5: the vegetable form (*ng*)*andu* (Dj; 14.79, 14.84) or *manbu* (W; 14.91), the feminine form *ngalu* (Dj; 14.88) or *ngalbu* (5.293) and the masculine form *nawu* (14.87, 14.90). As befits the default status of the masculine gender, the *nawu* form is by far the commonest; it is also the only form used with non-singular human referents (14.92). We saw in §5.5 that neuter agreement is extremely rare; and examples of neuter relative pronouns are non-existent; the formally corresponding demonstrative *kunu* basically functions as a time demonstrative (§7.3.1.2).

- 14.91 *Kum-durnde-ngi madjawarr man-bu ø-djabda-nginj.*
 W 3Phither-return-PI spear VE-REL 3P-stick.up-PP
 'The spears which stuck up in the group came back.' [PC 105]
- 14.92 *Dja yika karri-ka-n ku-red bu karri-djare, karrben-marne-ka-n*
 W and some 12a-carry-NP LOC-camp SUB 12a-wantNP 12a/3pl-BEN-take-NP
na-wu kabirri-h-ni ku-red.
 MA-REL 3a-IMM-sitNP LOC-camp
 'And we take some back to camp, if we want, we take it back for those who are sitting in the camp.'

Relative clauses of location are introduced either by *gubu* (in Gun-djeihmi), which is the locative form of the *nawu* series (14.93), the locative demonstrative *kumek(k)e/gumege*,

often with the general subordinator *bu* (14.94–14.96), or the locative preposition *kore* (W; 14.97a) or *kure* (o.d.; 14.97b).

14.93 *Ngarri-m-lobme-ng Nawurlanjdi gu-bu ga-h-rud-djoukge*
 Dj 1a-hither-drive-PP [place] LOC-DEM 3-IMM-road-crossNP
 'We drove to Nourlangie, where the road crosses (the river).'

14.94 *Nga-bolk-dilebo-m gukku ba-bo-marnbu-rr-inj, wanjh gu-mege bu*
 Dj 1/3-place-piss-PP water 3P-liquid-make-RR-PP then LOC-there SUB
nga-wodjme-ng.
 1-sink-PP
 'I pissed onto the place and it turned to fresh water; that's the place where I sank down.'

14.95 *An-bolk-bukka-ng gu-mege, bu nungga ba-rrang-inj.*
 3/1-place-show-PP LOC-there SUB he 3-stand-PP
 'He showed me the place where he was born.'

14.96 *Ku-mekke ka-djang-di Bunkurduyh-Bunkurduy ku-mekke*
 Dnj LOC-DEM 3-dreaming-standNP [place] LOC-DEM

ngan-bu ø-do-ng[i] korroko ...
 VE-REL 3/3P-strike-PI long.ago

'There is a dreaming there at Bunkurduyh-Bunkurduyh, where she struck like that long ago ...' (*ngan-bu* here is not functioning as a relative pronoun, but means something like 'like that')

14.97 a. *Birri-dowe-ng kore birri-moken-yonginj.*

W 3aP-die-PP LOC 3aP-bunch-sleepPP
 'They died where they slept all together.' [KS 435]

b. *Djikkabbal kun-red kure Kamarrang ø-danginj.*
 [place] IV-place LOC [skin] 3P-be.bornPP
 'Djikkabbal is the place where Kamarrang was born.'

Presentative relative clauses in English of the type 'this is the X that Y' are often translated into a single clause:

14.98 *An-ege gun-dulk bi-bedme-ng gogok ngan-marne-bom.*
 Dj VE-that IV-tree 3/3hP-fall.on-PP brother 3/1-BEN-kill
 'This is the tree that fell on him and killed my brother.'

If the pivot is a possessive in the subordinate clause, the possessed argument will be suffixed with *-no*:

14.99 *Njale [na-wu al-yurr ga-ngu-n marlaworr-no] ga-ngei-yo.*
 Dj what MA-REL II-grasshopper 3/3-eat-NP leaf-POSSD 3-name-lieNP
 'What is the plant called that Leichhardt's grasshoppers eat its leaves?'

If the pivot is an adjunct in the subordinate clause, a simple paratactic structure with no relative pronoun is used:

- 14.100 *Ngan-ege gun-dulk, gan-marne-yime-ng woibukki.*
 Dj VE-that IV-tree 2/1-BEN-say-PP truth
 'That tree, you told me the truth about it.' (given as translation for
 'that is the tree you told me about.')

14.4 Adverbial clauses

The lack of formally distinct subordinate clauses is even more evident in the case of adverbial clauses. These are frequently indistinguishable from main clauses on the one hand, and coordinate clauses on the other. In fact, since main clauses normally occur within higher order discourse sequences in which a range of cross-clausal semantic links are found, the totally free-standing main clause is also a rarity. 'Discourse-organising' interjections, such as *bonj* 'finished' and *wanjh* 'then; next' (§13.12.4), then play an important in organising sentences into coherent paragraph-like units, with the result that a sequence CLAUSE — INTERJECTION — CLAUSE may be best translated with an English subordinate clause, as in the following extract from the story of Nadjik the tawny frogmouth, for which I have furnished both a literal translation using independent English clauses and interjections, and a freer translation rendering the sense using a more articulated syntactic structure.

- 14.101 *Wanjh bi-berdme-ninj, barri-yame-ng, barri-burnnameng. Bonj, maih*
 then 3/3hP-cover-IRR 3a/3P-spear-PP 3a/3P-stop:PP OK bird

ba-yimerra-nj, wanjh ba-berl-da-nginj.
 3P-turn.into-PP just.then 3P-wing-stand-PP

Literal: 'Then, he was going to cover him (with the bark), they speared him, they stopped him. All right, he turned into a bird. Then he sprouted wings.'

Freer: 'Just as he was about to cover him (with the bark), they speared him and stopped him doing it. And so he turned into a bird; at that moment he sprouted wings.'

In many conditional and temporal adverbial constructions the 'adverbial clause' is indistinguishable from a main clause; *gare* (14.132, 14.161) could be translated as 'maybe' (modal adverb) or 'if' (conjunction), while *yerre* (14.16) could be translated as 'after, later' (time adverb) or recast with the meaning 'before'. And *dja*, usually best translated as 'and' (i.e. as a coordinating conjunction), can sometimes mean 'but' (again, a coordinating conjunction) but also 'so' or 'because' (i.e. a subordinating conjunction linking cause and consequence). Rather than try to force this range of clauses into procrustean categories, I shall ignore the distinction between main, subordinate and coordinate clauses when it comes to the range of interclausal meanings associated cross-linguistically with adverbial clauses, and instead use semantic groupings of linkage types.

There are around a dozen subordinating conjunctions across the dialects, such as *bu* 'when/if/as for', *ba* 'in order to', *bambu* 'so that' (I, E only) *dja* 'and, and so, but', *la* 'and' (W and eastern dialects), *wanjh* 'then, next', *yika* 'in some cases', *yiman* 'like, when, for example'. The exact number depends on where one draws the line between conjunctions and time or modal adverbs in cases like *yerre* and *gare* (see preceding paragraph). Intonation plays an important role in marking clausal linkage, but is beyond the scope of this grammar (see Bishop, in prep); for present purposes 'non-final intonation', typically a suspended high

contour, is simply shown by a comma. In rare cases case marking on the verb is used to show interclause relationships, particularly with purposives (14.18, 14.19).

14.4.1 Intentionality and cause

There is a clear asymmetry between the formal means for expressing intentionality (purpose or 'so that' clauses) and expressing prior cause. The conjunction *ba* (and the I variant *bambu*) is a clear and unambiguous exponent of intention, and there are also less commonly used constructions involving conventionalised tense sequences and case suffixes on the verb. For cause, on the other hand, adverbial clauses make use of either loan conjunctions from Maung/Iwaidja and English, or zero overt marking; the only traditional marker for cause is restricted to apprehensive causal clauses.

INTENTION AND PURPOSE In all dialects, purpose clauses mostly employ the conjunction *ba*. Usually this is clause initial (14.102, 14.103), but sometimes it follows the verb (14.104). The TAM inflection in the purpose clause is usually calculated absolutely; most commonly it is non-past, after imperatives (14.103–14.104) and non-past verbs (14.102), but it may be irrealis (14.105) when the realis status of the purpose clause is being downplayed (for example so as not to commit to whether it happened). Occasionally the non-past is used for purpose clauses embedded in past narratives, presumably because the intended action is non-past relative to the enabling action (14.106).

14.102 *Karri-kurlah-ma-ng man-ngarnarrngh, karri-do-ng kun-bad-yih,*
E:D 12a-skin-take-NP III-owenia.vernicosa 12a-pound-NP IV-rock-INSTR

karri-djuhke ku-ronj, kurlah-no, ba djenj ka-rrowe-n.
12a-immersenP LOC-water skin-3POSSD so fish 3-die-NP

'We take the skin of the *owenia vernicosa*, pound it with a rock, and put it to soak in the water, so that fish will die.'

14.103 *Yi-rrolkka ba karri-re.*

2-get.upIMP so 12a-goNP
'Get up so we can go.'

14.104 *Yi-wok-bimbu-ø, ga-burrbu-n ba.*

W 2-language-write-NP 3-know-NP so
'Write down the language, so he will know it.'

14.105 *Ben-djawa-m bininj kunak ba ø-kinje-meninj.*

W 3/3plP-ask-PP person fire so 3P-cook-IRR
'He asked the people for a fire, so that he could cook it.' [KS 208]

14.106 *Bininj ø-borledme-ng kunj, ba bedda kabirri-wernh-lobme djarre.*

E person 3P-turn-PP kangaroo so they 3a-proper-runNP far
'The people turned themselves into kangaroos, so they could run further and faster.'

The conjunction *bambu*, limited to eastern dialects, is synonymous with *ba*; it is probably a merged form of the sequence *ba* plus general subordinating conjunction *bu*, with

prenasalisation of the second syllable. The sequence *ba bu* is found in Kunwinjku with similar meaning (14.108).

14.107 *Ngun-bukka-n kun-wok bambu yi-kurrmen.*
 2/3-show-NP IV-language so 2-put.down-NP
 'He'll show you the language so you can put it (write it) down.' [GID]

14.108 *Kan-wo djurra ba bu nga-na-n.*
 W 2/1-giveIMP book so SUB 1/3-see-NP
 'Give me the book, so I can look.' [E&E 102]

Ba or *bambu*, however, are not obligatory, since purpose complements may also be expressed simply by conjoining the purpose clause after the enabling clause, with TAM appropriate to an independent clause:

14.109 *Ga-bawo-n ga-nudme-n wanjh nud ga-ngu-n.*
 Dj 3-leave-NP 3-rot-NP then rotten 3-eat-NP
 'He leaves it to rot, and then eats it rotten.'

14.110 *Ngaye gorrogo an-bang nga-gurmi, gun-gurlah a-mangi.*
 Dj I before III-poison 1/3-put.down-PI IV-skin 1/3-getPI
 'I used to put down baits to get dingo pelts.'

14.111 *Nahni djurra gun-bukka-n yi-rrilhdilhm-e gun-djeihmi. gun-wok*
 Dj MA:DEM book 3/2-show-NP 2-write-NP [language] IV-language
 'This book will show you how to write down Gun-djeihmi language.'

14.112 *Bani-wam gabani-na-n al-badjan.*
 Dj 3uaPP-goPP 3ua-see-NP II-mother
 'They have gone to see their mum.'

The following example illustrates two purpose-marking strategies: the use of *ba* in the second clause, and simple verbal juxtaposition in the first.

14.113 *Ga-garrme bathroom baddumang arri-geb-na-rr-en, and gukku ba*
 Dj 3-haveNP mirror 1a-face-see-RR-NP water so
arri-djuhme, gure ngarri-madj-djirridjbu-n.
 1a-washNP LOC 1a/3-swap-wash-NP
 'It's got a bathroom and mirrors for us to see our faces, and water so that we can have a wash, where we can wash our clothes.'

Purpose clauses with *ba* may be used as main clauses with the restoration of the enabling clause left to the hearer's inference. Such clauses function as exhortations:

14.114 *Ba garri-re!*
 Dj so 12a-goNP
 '(Do what you need to) so that we can go!'

14.115 *Yi-worrkme-n ba!*
 Dj 2-become.fill-NP so
 '(Eat up) so that you are full!'

Finally, the genitive suffix *-ken/-gen* is occasionally attached to inflected verbs in purpose clauses, though this is only attested in Manyallak Mayali (14.18) and in Kunwinjku, where it occurs relatively frequently in the Kunwinjku Bible, as in:

- 14.116 "Bu na-marnde ka-bebme kabi-bawo-n bininj, wanjh ka-djal-e
 W SUB I-devil 3-come.outNP 3/3h-leave-NP person then 3-just-goNP
 kore kukku-yak ka-bolk-yawa-n ka-ngudj-ngehme-kenh.
 LOC water-PRIV 3/3l-place-seek-NP 3-vigour-take.a.breakNP-GEN
 'When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walks through dry places,
 seeking rest.' [GKK Luke 11.24]

APPREHENSIVE A particular semantic subtype of purpose construction grammaticalised in most Australian languages and frequently associated with subordinate clause morphosyntax is the 'apprehensive' construction, with the meaning 'do X, in case/to avert that this bad thing Y happens'. In Bininj Gun-wok the modal particle *wardi ~ warde*, in conjunction with the non-past is used to express this meaning (9.32, 9.33, 14.158). However, this particle actually occurs more often in main clauses, with the meaning 'this bad thing might happen' (see §9.3.2 for examples), so there is no reason to propose a particular apprehensive subordinate construction, as opposed to a simple clause sequence where proximity implicates a purposive link, and the semantics of apprehension are supplied by the particle.

CAUSE As mentioned above, there is no single morpheme clearly specialised as a causal conjunction. Frequently causal relations are left implicit, with the cause and consequence clauses simply conjoined with no overt marker:

- 14.117 Bu ka-kurrabu-n marrek ka-re, ka-kom-dadjme, konda
 SUB 3-wind.blow-NP NEG 3-goNP 3-neck-breakNP here
 kun-kom nuye.
 IV-neck his
 'If the wind is blowing they don't go out (the *mimih*), because their necks
 would break here at their necks.' [GID]
- 14.118 Mayh ngan-kolhbom, konbib nga-ngu-neng minj
 rainbow 3/1-strike.with.illnessPP corned.beef 1/3-eat-PP NEG
 nga-rrang-baru-rr-imeninj tap nga-wam nga-bongu-neng.
 1-mouth-rub-RR-IRR tap 1-goPP 1/3-drink-PP
 'The rainbow serpent struck me (with illness) because when I ate some corned
 beef I didn't ritually rub my mouth (with sand) before drinking out of the tap.'
 [GID]

Nonetheless, there are a number of other ways of indicating cause.

Firstly, the conjunction *la* (loaned from Iwaidja or Maung, and present in all dialects except Gun-djeihmi), which basically means 'and', is often used to connect two clauses between which a clausal relation exists (14.119, 14.120). The conjunction *dja*, also basically 'and', can be used in a similar way (14.121–14.123); the Etheringtons' grammar states that in Kunwinjku it can mean 'because, and can be used for so, and or but' (Etherinton & Etherinton 1994:102). In both types the conjunction initiates the second clause in terms of prosodic grouping. Note that, where the presentation of clauses follows temporal order, a translation 'and' is also suitable for English (14.119), but in other cases only 'because' is

suitable (14.120, 14.121); this 'because' reading is also sometimes appropriate when the conjoined element is a noun phrase or adjunct instead of a full clause (14.122).

- 14.119 *Kun-madj ngurri-yingki-marnbu la ku-murrng karri-re.*
 IV-swap 2a-before-prepareIMP CONJ LOC-early 12a-goNP
 'Get your swags ready beforehand because we'll be going early.' [GID]
 'Get your swags ready beforehand, and we'll go early.'
- 14.120 *Werrk karri-lawkma-ng la dolobbo ka-kuk-djokkorra-nj.*
 quickly 12a-peel.bark-NP CONJ stringy.bark 3-body-become.tight-PP
 'We must hurry to peel the bark off the tree because the bark is becoming tight
 (due to the onset of the dry season).' [GID]
- 14.121 *Kan-wo manimunak dja nga-marrwe-dowe-ng.*
 W 2/I-giveIMP magpie.goose CONJ 1-hunger-die-PP
 'Give me some goose because I am hungry.' [OP 447]
- 14.122 *Barri-wurlh-wurlhge-yi, dja njamed-gen.*
 Dj 3aP-ITER-light.fires-PI CONJ what-GEN
 'They would go around lighting fires, for/because of whatever reason.'

Finally, where the situation described in the second clause is enabled by that in the first clause, the translation 'so' is appropriate alongside 'and':

- 14.123 *Bonj, garri-balge, dja garri-re.*
 Dj enough 12a-have.plenty CONJ 12a-goNP
 'OK, we've got plenty, so let's go.'
- 14.124 *Ngaye nga-na-ng nayin, dja nga-kele-rlombe-ng.*
 W 1sg 1/3-see-PP snake CONJ 1-afraid-run-PP
 'I saw a snake, so I ran away.' [E&E 102]

It is striking that the semantic range of *la* and *dja*, including as it does simple conjunction, cause and purpose, is exactly parallel to that of simple clause sequences without an overt conjunction, so that these overt conjunctions can be said to share the same set of contextual implicatures that enriches simple clause sequencing.⁵ I therefore avoid postulating 'because' as part of the lexical meaning of *la* and *dja*, and simply gloss them as CONJ.

A second formal means used with causal clauses is the modal particle *wardi* ~ *warde* 'might', normally employed in clauses with the meaning 'this unpleasant/dangerous thing might happen'. In Kuninjku this can be used with causes taking the form of dangerous (14.125) or unpleasant (14.126) facts motivating the actions in the first clause. Again, though, it seems that the 'cause' reading comes from the proximity of the two clauses, while *wardi* contributes the semantics of 'unpleasant possibility' in the cause clause.

⁵ This is not to claim, of course, that *la* means 'because' (i.e. that 'because' is a conventional sense) any more than 'and' means 'and therefore' in an English sequence 'my house is on fire and my children are gone': there is an ample pragmatic literature (see Levinson 1983) on ways in which pragmatics can enrich the basically conjunctive meaning of 'and'.

- 14.125 *Marrek ngalyod birri-kurrm-eninj ya ku-wardde marrek wardi*
 NEG rainbow.serpent 3aP-put-IRR yeah LOC-rock not might
birri-bimbu-yi wanjh ben-ngu-yi, wardi ka-yo ka-bim-yo
 3a/3P-paint-IRR then 3/3pP-eat-IRR might 3-lieNP 3-painting-lieNP

Kubumi and Kabarbarre and Dilebang and Milmilngkan and Kabolkdadjerren.

'They didn't put rainbow serpents when they painted on the rock, because if they painted them then the snake might have consumed them because there were rainbow serpents located at Kubumi, Kabarbarre, Dilebang, Milmilngkan and up to where that area finishes.'

- 14.126 *Minj ngalkka ngurri-wo-n kunj, karri-kaybun ngalengman-wali*
 NEG FE-DEM 2a/3-give-NP kangaroo 12a/3-withholdNP herEMPH-in.turn
wardi kan-kaybu-n man-me man-djay.
 might 3/1a-deny-NP III-veg.food III-[tuber.sp.]
 'Don't give her (emu) any of that kangaroo meat because she is not going to share the tubers with us.'

A third formal possibility is to use the English word 'because':

- 14.127 *Bikibiki an-ngorrme-ng an-wayhke-ng, wanjh a-rrolkka-ng, an-warrhke-ng,*
 Dj pig 3/1-pick.up-PP 3/1-lift-PP then 1/3-get.up-PP 3/1-drop-PP
wanjh a-rrolkka-ng, an-warrhge-ng na-meke bikibiki, because
 then 1/3-get.up-PP 3/3-drop-PP MA-DEM pig
na-bang-kirridjdja-ni.
 MA-fierce-really-P
 'A pig picked me up off the ground with his shoulders, then I got up, he dropped me down, then I got up, that pig dropped me down, because he was really fierce.'
- 14.128 "Maddjurn ba-wodjme-ng" *barri-bolk-ngeibo-m, because maddjurn*
 python 3P-sink-PP 3a/3P-place-call-PP python
ba-wodjme-ng.
 3P-sink-PP
 'They called it "where the python sank down", because a python sank down there.'

It has frequently been remarked that Australian languages borrow such conjunctions in order to have an explicit means of marking such discourse relations as cause, and certainly most uses of 'because' in Mayali or Kunwinjku can be translated into English with 'because'. However, there are uses of 'because' that fall outside, even with the very wide range that comes from admitting the 'discourse' sense of because (I assert X, because Y is relevant), and which cannot be translated as English 'because'; an example is 14.129, where the best translation is 'but'. Such examples suggest that, for some speakers at least, 'because' is merely another conjunction like *la* and *dja* that includes causality in its semantic range, but can also be used for a wide other range of logical connections.

- 14.129 *Yirridjdja Duwa im lookafterim because minj gabarri-burrbu-n that*
 Dj Yirridjdja Duwa NEG 3a-know-NP

lot wurdurd.

lot children

'Yirridjdja and Duwa moieties look after each other, but they don't understand, the younger people.'

14.4.2 Temporal relations

As with relations of causality and intention, there is frequently no explicit marking of temporal relations. However there are a number of ways of making temporal relations explicit when needed. The various verbal prefixes coding aspect and sequence (§11.4) play a particularly important role here.

SIMULTANEITY AND TEMPORAL FRAMING The two commonest means for expressing this are:

- (a) Placement of the general subordinator *bu* in the framing clause, most typically in initial position (14.130, 14.131) but sometimes later in the clause (14.132).
- (b) Simple juxtaposition, with the framing clause first (14.133, 14.134). Rarely the conjunction *dja* may be used (14.135), if the subjects are different.

Simultaneity of clauses with distinct subjects will normally call for the use of the IMMEDIATE prefix (14.133) in all dialects except Kune. The exact translation as 'when', 'while' or 'as' depends on context, and particularly on the TAM value of the two clauses.

- 14.130 *Bu ngaye nga-yawurd-ni, ngandi-marne-yolyolm-i*

W SUB I 1-small-P 3a/1-BEN-tell-PI

'When I was small, they used to tell me stories.' [PC 106]

- 14.131 *Bu man-kole kabirri-yame-rr-en, bininj kabirri-baye na-mekk*

W SUB III-spear 3a-spear-RR-NP person 3a-biteNP MA-DEM

marlakka ba kun-yid kaben-wo-n.

stringbag so IV-fight 3/3pl-give-NP

'When they are fighting each other with spears, men bite this string bag (a little bag they wear round their necks), to give them power.' [KS 822]

- 14.132 *Na-gudji gare bu ba-bolk-warre-woh-wo-ni njamed narlangak*

Dj MA-one maybe SUB 3/3P-place-bad-INC-make-PI what blanket.lizard

barri-ma-ngi.

3a/3-grab-PI

'When one (youth) would be about to muck around (not staying in the place where he was told), they (the old men) would pick up a whatsit, a blanket lizard.'

- 14.133 *Barri-h-ngu-ni djilidjilih, gorlobbarra barri-na-ng.*

Dj 3a/3P-IMM-eat-PI cane.grass wallaroo 3a/3P-see-PP

'While they were eating cane grass, they saw a wallaroo.'

14.134 *Ngan-djedj ga-gobu-n, wurlk-no gunj garndalpburru.*
 MM III-[plant.sp.] 3-flower-NP fire-3POSSD macropod antilopine.wallaroo
 'When the *cochlospermum fraseri* comes in to flower, it's time to hunt antilopine wallaroos with fire-drives.'

14.135 *Goba-gohbanj barri-borrkge-yi, dja yawurrinj bandi-nahna-ni.*
 Dj REDUP-old.person 3aP-dance-PI and young.man 3a/3pl-watch-PI
 'The old men danced, while the young men watched them.'

Clauses marked with *bu* normally come first (14.130, 14.131), but may follow a framing negative clause (14.136, 14.137). The meaning 'won't X as long as Y' can be expressed by adding the verbal prefix *bangme-* 'not yet' (§11.4.5) to the verb in the main clause (14.136).

14.136 *An-djal-nekke an-garre nuye na ginga djama*
 Dj III-just-that III-custom his now estuarine.crocodile not
ga-bangme-ngu-n bu ga-h-gulba-re,
 3-not.yet-eat-NP SUB 3-IMM-blood-goNP
 'It's just as I have just told you, his custom, the estuarine crocodile; he won't eat (his victim) as long as the blood is flowing.'

14.137 *Minj karri-re kore man-dalk-kuyeng-kuyeng bu karri-ma-ng man-me.*
 W not 12a-goNP LOC III-grass-long-long SUB 12a-get-NP III-food
 'We don't go into the long grass when we go hunting.' [KS 112]

If the complex clause describes a repeated event, the TAM sequence is imperfective-imperfective:

14.138 *Barri-bal-djudwarrehwarrewo-rre-ni, ba-rrurnde-ngi, darah*
 Dj 3a/3P-away-turn.backs.on-RR-PI 3P-return-PI stringybark
ba-ma-ngi, ban-berdm-i, ban-bu-ni.
 3/3lP-pick.up-PI 3/3plP-cover-PI 3/3plP-kill-PI
 'He'd come back, pick up a piece of stringybark, cover them (with it) and kill them.'

There are three other more explicit means of marking the general relation of temporal coincidence and framing. Firstly, and apparently only in Gun-djeihmi, the framing clause may be preceded by the locative preposition *gure*:

14.139 *Gure bi-djal-yawa-ni ganjdji ba-djal-wokda-nj na-mege.*
 Dj while 3/3hP-just-see-PI under 3P-just-speak-PP MA-DEM
 'While she was looking for him under the leaves that one (quail) spoke up.'

14.140 *Garrang! Yi-na-ø nagomdudj ganmani-lidjge-yi ngarrewoneng gure*
 Dj mother 2-see-IMP initiate 3/1du-pinch-PI 1duOBL while

ani-birndulhmi!

1ua-splashPI

'Mum! Look at (our brother the) initiate who has been pinching the two of us while we were splashing about!' (This is from the Gun-djeihmi version of Text 6.)

Secondly, and again only in Gun-djeihmi, the subordinate verb may be prefixed with *gu* (14.141). This is normally the locative prefix (§5.2.2.1) but may here simply be a reduced form of the locative preposition.

- 14.141 *Bedman gu-barri-barnh-barndi* “*Ngayed yi-yimarra-n?*
 Dj theyEMPH LOC-3a-REDUP-hangPI how 2-turn.into-NP
 ‘While the others were sitting in the tree, (they asked) “What are you going to turn into?”.’

Thirdly, this time only in Manyallak Mayali, the subordinate verb may bear the temporal case suffix *-geno*, normally found on time nominals (§5.2.1.12); see 8.99 for an example.

Where the framing clause is in some sense a precondition for the inception of the second clause (which will be translated sometimes as ‘when’ and sometimes as ‘once’ or ‘only when’), the framing clause is often marked with *ngandu(d)* (Dj) or *med* (I). Usually *med* is an interjection meaning ‘wait, hold on’, but here it is integrated into the intonational contour of the clause.

- 14.142 *Loklok ba-yim-i andud ba-djordm-inj ba-boledme-ng, gebyirrg*
 Dj skink 3P-do-PI once 3P-grow.up-PP 3P-turn-PP [snake.sp.]
maih ba-yimarra-n.
 animal 3P-turn.into-NP
 ‘Once the skink gets big, it turns into a snake.’

- 14.143 *Ngaye ngandu nga-re, bayun yi-djirdma-ng.*
 Dj I once 1-goNP don’t 2-steal-NP
 ‘Don’t steal it once I go!’

- 14.144 *Ngandu birndu-wern, an-dumuk ngarri-worrhme.*
 Dj once mosquito-many III-native.cherry 1a-lightNP
 ‘When/once there are a lot of mosquitoes, then we light a fire of native cherry wood.’

- 14.145 *Med yi-djordme-n ø-dadjje-ø*
 I wait 2-grow.up-NP 1/2-cut-NP
 ‘Once you’re grown up I’ll circumcise you.’ [Garde 1996:140]

TEMPORAL SEQUENCE. Once again, the commonest strategy is to simply place the verbs in the order of occurrence with no further explicit marking of temporal relationships:

- 14.146 *Barri-darrgid-ma-ngi. Barri-ga-ni barri-mungewe-yi. Barri-re-i.*
 Dj 3a-alive-grasp-PI 3a-take-PI 3a-let.go-PI 3a-go-PI
 ‘They (the initiates) would pick (the snake) up. Then they’d take it and let it go. Then they’d keep going along.’

When more attention is focussed on a moment in the sequence, the discourse-organising interjection *wanjh* ‘then’ is used. Normally this falls in the second clause of an intonationally linked pair, as in:

- 14.147 *Birri-worrhm-inj, wanjh birri-yo-y.*
 E 3aP-become.full-PP then 3aP-sleep-PP
 ‘When they had eaten their full, they went to sleep.’

A special use in which it appears in the first clause, in conjunction with the irrealis, is to specify an action that was about to happen, before being preempted by a second action:

- 14.148 *Wanjh bi-berdme-ninj, barri-yame-ng, barri-burnnameng.*
 Dj then 3/3hP-cover-IRR 3a/3-spear-PP 3a/3P-stopPP
 'Just as he was about to cover him (with the bark), they speared him and stopped him doing it.'

For more discussion of the semantics of *wanjh* see §13.12.4.

Kaluk, basically 'later, after a while' but also usable as a modal preverb marking futurity (§9.3.2), can also be used to make the event sequence overt. Whereas this word is always preverbal when marking futurity, it need not be when used as a conjunction.

- 14.149 *ngarrbek ø-buni-h-bu-ni. Kaluk ku-mekbe man-kung ø-na-ng.*
 W echidna 3P-REDUP-IMM-kill-PI then LOC-there III-sugarbag 3/3P-see-PP
 'He was killing edhidnas, then he saw a sugarbag.' [Oates 1964:98]

The relative temporal relation between clauses can also be made explicit through the use of the verbal prefixes *weleng-* 'then' (14.150) and *yingkih-* 'first' (see §11.4.5–11.4.6 for fuller discussion).

- 14.150 *Bedda kabirri-dokme wanjh ngarr-weleng-re.*
 I they 3a-lead.offNP then 1a-then-goNP
 'They'll go first and then you and I will go after.' [GID]

It may also be shown by the adverbials *yerre ~ rerre* 'behind, later' (14.151, 14.152; also 14.16) and *werrk* (14.151), or the adjective *yungki* '(as) first (one)' (14.152).

- 14.151 *Bu ngarri-birli-ma-ng lorrkkon-kenh Bulanj werrk ka-birli-ma-ng,*
 I when 1a-fire-get-NP Lorrkkon-GEN Bulanj first 3-fire-get-NP
wanjh Bangardi yerre, wanjh Ngarridj, Kodjok. Yerre Duwa
 then Bangardi after then Ngarridj Kodjok after Duwa
kabirri-birli-ma-ng, Kela, Wamud, Balang, Kamarrang.
 3a-fire-get-NP
 'When we get fire for the Lorrkkon ceremony, first all the Bulanj subsections get fire, then Bangardi, Ngarridj, and Kodjok. After this all the Duwa get fire, Kela, Wamud, Balang and Kamarrang.' [GID]

- 14.152 *Ngayi nga-yungki nga-rrulebo-m wanjh nungka rerre.*
 I I 1-first 1/3-shoot-PP then he after
 'I shot it first and then he shot it next.'

Where an initial state of affairs lasts some time up to a delimiting event, two constructions may be used. In the first construction the clause expressing the initial state of affairs includes the adverb *korroko/gorrogo* 'for a long time; long ago', while the clause with the delimiting event is marked with *wanjh* 'then' before or after its verb (14.153, 14.154). The resultant construction may be translated as 'for a long time ... and then' or simply as '(for a long time) until'.

- 14.153 *Galukborrk ba-werrhme-ng gorrogo ba-rrolga-ng wanjh.*
 Dj long.time 3P-scratch-PP long.time 3P-get.up-PP then
 'She raked them up for a long time until he suddenly flew up.'
- 14.154 *Ku-m-wam ø-yerrka-ng korroko, wanjh bi-djawa-m ...*
 W 3P-hither-goPP 3P-sit-PP long.time then 3/3hP-ask-PP
 'He came and sat down for a long time, then/until he asked him ...' [OP 447]

More commonly the first verb takes the prefix *djal-* 'just' and is followed by a second clause giving the endpoint (see also 14.18):

- 14.155 *Maminga gun-ma-ng, yi-djal-yo-ø yi-rrowe-n.*
 Dj clam 3/2-get-NP 2-just-lie-NP 2-die-NP
 'If a giant clam grabs you, you just stay there until you die.'
- 14.156 *Gabarri-djal-noihme-noihme dja ga-rrung-bebme.*
 Dj 3a-just-ITER-fuckNP and 3-sun-appearNP
 'They just keep fucking until the sun comes up.'

The 'until' meaning can also be conveyed by pairing a verb in immediate aspect with a *bu* clause containing a verb like *yakmen* 'die down, become nothing':

- 14.157 *Ngaye nga-h-ni Darwin bu ø-yakm-inj rowk.*
 W I 1-IMM-sitP SUB 3P-become.nothing-PP all
 'I lived in Darwin until everything settled down.' [KS 256]

14.4.3 'X without Ying'

To express the fact that one action was carried out and a second one wasn't, *djal-* 'just' is prefixed to the verb of the first clause, followed by an ordinary negative clause:

- 14.158 *Munguih ø-djal-barndi ku-kak minj ø-kolu-yi, wardi*
 E always 3P-just-be.highP LOC-night not 3P-come.down-IRR might
birri-baye-meninj.
 3a/3-bite-IRR
 'He stayed up in the tree all night without coming down, in case the snakes bit him.'

14.4.4 Conditionals

The commonest type of conditional employs the subordinating conjunction *bu* in the protasis, usually initially (14.159, 14.160) but more rarely later in the clause (14.161). (Formally these clauses are thus identical to the 'when' clauses discussed in §14.4.2 above.) Very rarely, *bu* appears in the apodosis instead, with no identifiable difference in meaning (14.162).

- 14.159 *Bu karri-ngadjinbu-n, karri-ngeybu-n kun-nguya yikurrumu.*
 SUB 12a-sneeze-NP 12a-name-NP IV-clan secret.version.of.clan.name
 'If we sneeze, we call out the *yikurrumu* version of our clan name.'

- 14.160 *Bu anabbarru barri-darnh-bebme-rre-ni, barri-darnh-bu-ni.*
 Dj SUB buffalo 3aP-close.up-appear-RR-PI 3a/3P-close.up-kill-PI
 'When/if the buffalo stampeded up close, they'd shoot them at close range.'
- 14.161 *Na-gudji gare bu ba-bolkwarrewohwo-ni ... njamed, narlangak*
 Dj MA-one perhaps SUB 3P-muck.around-PI what blanket.lizard
barri-ma-ngi, bandi-bu-ni narlangak-yi, darrgid.
 3a/3P-pick.up-PI 3a/3pl-hit-PI blanket.lizard-INSTR alive
 'If one (initiate) was maybe mucking around ... they'd pick up a whatsit, a blanket lizard, and they'd flog him with it, alive.'
- 14.162 *Djama njanjuk ngarri-ma-yi ga-djal-yakki, bu ga-yauh-makna-n.*
 Dj not something 1a-get-IRR 3-just-nothing SUB 3-again-look.around-NP
 'If we don't get anything at all, then we'll have a look (for fish) somewhere else.'

Where an adjective follows a verb of perception or discovery, and it is the ascription of the quality that is conditional, *bu* will come between the verb and the adjective:

- 14.163 *Gabarri-na-n an-warre, gabarri-bawo-n; gabarri-bebge bu ngan-mak,*
 Dj 3a/3-see-NP VE-bad 3a/3-leave-NP 3a/3-take.outNP SUB VE-good
gabarri-ga-n.
 3a/3-take-NP
 'If they see it's a bad one, they leave it; if they take out a good one, they take it.'
- 14.164 *A-manjbeikka-n bu an-mak, a-ga-n.*
 Dj 1/3-taste-NP SUB VE-good 1/3-take-NP
 'If I taste that it's a good one, I take it.'

Rarely, the protasis follows the apodosis:

- 14.165 *Kanjwerr mim-rayek bu ngarri-do-ng.*
 waterlily.fruit seed-hard SUB 1a-pound-NP
 'The seeds of the waterlily fruit are hard if we pound them.'

Most commonly both clauses are in the non-past (14.159), and of course a clause may also be non-verbal (14.165); such combinations are appropriate for general statements of condition and consequence. But other TAM values are possible: past imperfective in both clauses is used when outlining repeated condition and consequence in narratives about past customs (14.160, 14.161), the non-past followed by a prohibitive clause (prohibitive particle plus non-past) is used when giving instructions about what to do in a general class of situations (14.166), and the irrealis in both clauses is used for counter-factual conditionals, whether located in the present (14.167) or the past (14.168). See 9.99 for an unusual example of an irrealis in the protasis followed by the non-past in the apodosis.

- 14.166 *Bu yi-na-n kelebuk yuwn yi-bu-n.*
 SUB 2/3-see-NP tame PROHIB 2/3-kill-NP
 'If you see a tame animal, don't kill it.'
- 14.167 *Bu nungka ø-di-wirrinj, wanjh nga-bu-yi.*
 W SUB he 3P-stand-IRR then 1/3-hit-IRR
 'If he was here, I would hit him.'

- 14.168 *Bu* \emptyset -*bu-yi* *ngarduk duruk, wanjh nga-bu-yi.*
 W SUB 3/3I-hit-IRR my dog then 1/3-hit-IRR
 'If he had hurt my dog, I would have hit him.'

In addition to TAM values on the verb, various other expressions may be used to modulate the likelihood of the condition occurring, such as *gare* 'maybe' (14.161) and *yiman baleh* 'like somewhere' (14.169):

- 14.169 *Ngandi-marne-yime-ng "kun-red man-ih nguddangke, bu yiman baleh*
 3/1a-BEN-say-PP IV-place VE-DEM your SUB like where
ngarri-dowe-n wanjh nguddangke kun-re yi-worhna-n".
 1a-die-NP then your IV-place 2/3-look.after-NP
 'They said to me, "This place belongs to you and if we might like die somewhere,
 then you have to look after this place".'

The apodosis sometimes contains *wanjh* 'then', initially (14.169) or finally (14.170). Such overt marking is commoner when the conditional is part of a more complex logical sequence requiring more 'punctuation' (as in these examples), and in fact *wanjh* can then bracket off the beginning of a whole double conditional, as with its first occurrence in 14.170:

- 14.170 *Bu rakalk kaben-yawa-n bininj kun-dulk kabirri-djuhke*
 SUB sorcerer 3/3pl-seek-NP person IV-stick 3a/3-make.wetNP
wanjh ka-warme, la darnki. Bu ka-yibme, djarre wanjh.
 then 3-floatNP CONJ near SUB 3-sinkNP far then
 'If a sorcerer wants to find a (particular) victim, they throw a stick in the water.
 If it floats then (the victim is) close, if it sinks, then the victim is a long way away.'
 [GID]

As with other types of adverbial clause, it is frequent for intonation and juxtaposition to be the only mark of the relationship, so that the conjunction *bu* is frequently omitted:

- 14.171 *Na-warre, djama arri-gorle-wo-yi.*
 Dj MA-bad not 1a-spear-give-IRR
 'If it was no good, we wouldn't give the spear (in *bulk* exchange).'
- 14.172 *Marrek gurri-darrgid-ma-ng, bi-rrulubu-n bokkoh-yi.*
 Dj not 2a/3-alive-pick.up-NP 1a/2a-hit.with.missile-NP spear.type-INSTR
 'If you don't pick it up alive, we'll spear you.'

All other characteristics of conditionals, as described above for those overtly marked with *bu*, can be found in conditionals with no overt link other than intonation. TAM values again vary according to the realis and aspectual status of the situation, being attested as non-past (14.172, 14.173), irrealis (14.171) and past imperfective (14.174), and the likelihood of the condition may be modulated with adverbs like *gare* 'maybe' (14.173, 14.175):

- 14.173 *Gare wurdyau gabani-garrm-e, an-ege wern maih ga-garrme*
 Dj maybe child 3ua/3-get-NP VE-DEM much food 3-getNP
berrewoneng.
 3uaOBL
 'If it maybe happens that two people conceive a child, then in that case he
 (the father) gets a lot of food for them.'

- 14.174 *Bininj na-buyiga bi-marne-djidma-ngi daluk, yawurrinj,*
 Dj man MA-other 3/3hP-BEN-steal-PI woman youth
bi-godjek-ma-ngi barri-gadju-ngi na-mege yawurrinj, barri-bu-ni,
 3/3hP-eloping-take-PI 3a/3-follow-PI MA-DEM youth 3a/3P-hit-PI
barri-yam-i.
 3a/3P-spear-PI
 'If another man pinched his wife, if a young man ran off with her, they'd follow that man and kill him, they'd spear him.'

- 14.175 *Gare gabarri-ngalbonhge, arri-munáme nguddangge. (k.k.)*
 Dj perhaps 3a-obtainNP 1a/3-keepNP 2OBL
 'If anyone should get some food, we'll keep some for you.'

Again, the protasis may occasionally follow the apodosis:

- 14.176 *Gunak ga-bili-yakme-n, gayakki, a-rrilebu-n.*
 Dj fire 3-flame-become.nothing-NP nothing 1-piss-NP
 'The flames will go out if I piss on them.'

14.5 Serialised constructions

By serialised constructions I refer to tightly linked sequences of fully inflected verbs, necessarily under a single intonation contour and without intervening material being acceptable, that have a meaning more specific than can be obtained from the composition of the individual verb meanings plus the pragmatic contribution made through juxtaposition and order. Distinguishing true serialised-verb constructions from simple strings of verbs is a notoriously difficult problem — see, for example, Enfield (2000) on Lao and Eather (1990) on Nakkara — and each of the four operational elements this definition includes is still problematic to apply in our present state of knowledge. We still lack an explicit description of intonation,⁶ a large enough corpus to decide whether the lack of intervening material simply reflects the overall preference of the language for long strings of verbs, a dictionary with specific enough entries for verb lexemes to determine the precise semantic contribution of each lexeme, and an explicit account of the pragmatics of adjunction. This account of verb serialisation, then, must be regarded as extremely preliminary, and further investigation is likely to throw up many more subtle examples.

The two most clear-cut cases of serialisation involve the verbs *re* 'go' and *ni* 'sit', which when serialised follow the verb they modify, adding the aspectual meanings 'do while going along; do repeatedly' and 'do/be in a state for a long time'. Both constructions are commonest in the eastern dialects, and interestingly correspond to morphological categories lacking or rarely used in these dialects, respectively incorporation of verbs into *re* 'go' (see §12.3) and use of the 'away, along' directional *bal-* (§11.2.2) and use of the past imperfective aspect TAM inflection.

⁶ Though the corpus in Carroll (1995), with its annotations of pause lengths, is now a useful source as regards rhythmic groupings. The present author, together with Judith Bishop and Janet Fletcher, is working on a full description of the intonational system.

Serial constructions with *re* 'go' have three distinct but closely related meanings. Passing from the meaning most closely related to that of the verb when used independently, they are:

DO WHILE GOING ALONG, GO ALONG V-ING as in 14.177, but also more the general dynamic meaning of a gathering change of state (14.178, 14.179). Note that *re* in the first clause of 14.178 is simply dynamic, while in the second clause it merges the movement and change-of-state meanings.

14.177 *Kun-dulk nakkanj ka-warme ka-re.*

E:N IV-stick MA:DEM 3-floatNP 3-goNP
'A stick is floating along (down the river).'

14.178 *Ka-ngokda-n ka-re, mudda ka-kolu-ng ka-re.*

E:N 3-become.night-NP 3-goNP sun 3-descend-NP 3-goNP
'Night is falling, the sun is going down.'

14.179 *Ka-rrolka-n ka-re, ka-berl-yalkme.*

E:N 3-fly.up-NP 3-goNP 3-wing-spreadNP
'It spreads its wings and takes off.'

14.180 *Munguyh, birri-wayini-wirrinj birri-ra-yi, birri-yime-ninj*

E:D long.time 3aP-sing-IRR 3aP-go-IRR 3aP-say-IRR

'*Wardbukkarra, Wardbukkarra Djingakbangakba nguyunguy kayakay*'.
...[song words]...

'They kept walking along singing: "*Wardbukkarra, Wardbukkarra Djingakbangakba nguyunguy kayakay*".'

Interestingly †David Karlbuma, the Kune speaker who supplied these sentences, gave Dalabon equivalents in which the first verb was incorporated into *bon* 'go', linked to the incorporating verb by *ye ~ yi*: the Dalabon equivalents were *dulh djakih kah-warme-ye-bon*, *mudda kah-yibme-yibon* and *kah-werl-yalhme-yebon* respectively.

GO AROUND V-ING Here the action still involves movement, but is repeated rather than continuous, so that the movement translation into English is habitual 'go around Ving' rather than 'go along Ving'.

14.181 *Yiben-bolka-n yi-re!*

2/3pl-follow.scent-NP 2-goNP

'You (always) go around sniffing their scent!' (i.e. of girlfriends or women)
(uttered as part of a joking exchange) [Garde 1996:138]

V HABITUALLY, USED TO CARRY OUT ACTION V Here the habitual component is carried over, but the movement meaning is no longer required, so that the construction can still be used with non-movement verbs:

14.182 *Ngane-du-rr-inj ngane-wam ...*

1ua-swear.at-RR-PP 1ua-goPP

'I used to swear with him ...' [Garde 1996]

Serial constructions with *ni* 'sit' can be used to give a general durative meaning. Unlike the construction with 'go', the first element can be a (change of) state verb like *dowe* 'be sick; die' (14.183a) or a (change of) stance verb like *yerrkan* 'sit (down)' (14.184), and in fact the

ability of *ni* to combine non-pleonastically with *yerrkan* 'sit' demonstrates that in this construction it has a more general durative meaning, rather than its specific lexical meaning of 'sit'.

14.183 a. \emptyset -Dowe-ng \emptyset -ni.
 3P-die/be.sick-PP 3P-sitP
 '(S)he was sick.'

b. \emptyset -Dowe-ni.
 W 3P-die/be.sick-PI
 '(S)he was sick.'

14.184 \emptyset -Bolk-yawam kore ku-buk ba \emptyset -yerrka-yinj \emptyset -ni-wirrinj dja
 W 3/3P-place-seeKPP LOC LOC-dry so 3P-sit.down-IRR 3P-sit-IRR CONJ

baladj na-wern-ni kore kukku.

leech MA-many-PI LOC water

'She looked for a dry place where she could sit down (for a long time), because of the leeches near the water.' [KS 16]

Two points need to be made about this use of *ni*.

Firstly, though it is commoner in eastern dialects (Kuninjku and Kune) that lack the past imperfective category (as shown by the synonymy of 14.183a and b), it is still found in Kunwinjku at least (as shown by 14.184).

Secondly, it may occur to the reader that *doweni* as in 14.183b, is simply a coalesced and grammaticalised form of *doweng ni* as in 14.183a. At least within the recent time frame of the Gunwinyguan languages, this is clearly not the case, since past imperfectives in *-ni* are found throughout the Gunwinyguan family, and in fact a past imperfective in *-ni* is reconstructible to a time depth well beyond Proto Gunwinyguan (see Alpher, Evans & Harvey, to appear). On the other hand, the root *ni* for 'sit' is ubiquitous in non-Pama-Nyungan languages and probably reconstructible to Proto Australian, so that an original source of the past imperfective as a grammaticisation of 'sit' on the Kuninjku pattern is not unlikely, albeit at a much greater time-depth. The serialised construction in eastern dialects would thus be a recapitulation of the first part of a rather common path of grammaticalisation.

14.6 Nominalised clauses

In §4.1.2 I mentioned a number of cases of inflected verbs lexicalised as nominal arguments, such as W *bene-danginj* [they two-stood] 'the two siblings', Dj *ga-bo-man.gan* [it-water-falls] 'waterfall' and Dj *ba-yo-i* (it. 'it lay') 'leftovers'. For some, their derived nominal status is shown by their ability to take nominal prefixes for noun class or location, (e.g. Dj *al-nguni-h-yo* [II-you.two-IMM-lie 'your wife', Dj *gu-barroweng* [LOC-(s)he.died] 'at his/her funeral').

These examples, which have specific idiomatic meanings, are best analysed as lexicalised nominalisations formed by zero conversion from inflected verbs, and then allowing, in some cases at least, the prefixation possibilities available to regular nominals. Such lexicalised deverbal nominalisations can be used as arguments without the need for an accompanying

demonstrative or possessive pronoun to establish their categorial status as a noun. Likewise they can function as a possessor noun within a noun phrase simply through juxtaposition:

- 14.185 *ngan-yaume-i gun-red*
 Dj 3/1-conceive-PP IV-country
 my.mother
 'my mother's country (i.e. the country of (she who) conceived me)'

The ability to use fully inflected verbs as nominal arguments is not limited to such lexicalised forms. Although it is not a common strategy, there are a number of textual examples in which inflected verbs (along with adjuncts or adverbs) function as nominalised clauses would in English. In contrast to the situation with verbs lexicalised as nouns, such 'improvised nominalisations' are normally overtly marked as referring expressions by either a possessive pronoun (14.186, 14.187), the masculine (and general) relative demonstrative *nawu* (4.188, see also 14.27), or the locative (or temporal) demonstrative *gubu* (14.189).

- 14.186 *so much ngan-garre nga-marne-yolyolme gure ngayeman ngarduk*
 Dj III-culture 1/3-BEN-tellNP LOC myself.EMPH my
that far, gure man-guyeng man-garre ngarduk nga-wam djarreh,
 LOC VE-long III-story my 1-goPP far
gure nga-rrabbolk-m-inj.
 LOC 1-adult-INCH-PP
 'I tell him all about culture and about my own life, about the long story of **my distant travels**, about how I grew up.'

- 14.187 *but ngalengman maddjurn, gun-merlem-bok ngarre*
 Dj herEMPH black.headed.python IV-belly-track herPOSS
ba-m-wage-ng gaddum-be gu-bolk-dulum
 3P-hither-crawl-PP upstream-ABL LOC-place-high
 'her, black-headed python, it's the belly-track of **her slithering down from the high ridges upstream**'

- 14.188 *Ba njamed yi-mene-yime-n bu an-garehgen. Bu dabbarrabbolk*
 Dj well what 2/3-BEN-say-IMP when III-before when old.people
bu barri-djah-djangga-ni na-wu barri-wurth-wurhge-yi.
 when 3aP-INCEP-hunt-PI MA-that 3aP-ITER-light.fire-PI
 'Well, you tell them what happened in the old days, the time of the old people. When they used to start on the hunt, **about how they used to burn off then.**'

- 14.189 *Bolkgime ngaye nga-yolyolme, gu-bu, gu-bu nga-wurdurd-ni.*
 Dj now I 1-tellNP LOC-REL LOC-REL 1-child-P
 'Now I will tell about **when I was little.**'

Appendix 1: texts¹

Text 1: Toby Gangele: Alwanjdjuk the emu (Gun-djeihmi)

Told by Toby Gangele to NE in Gun-djeihmi, Nourlangie Camp, May 1987. Transcribed by NE and Violet Lawson, Cooina, 1990.

1. *Al-wanjdjuk gorrogo al-gohbanj ba-rri ba-yim-i.*
II-emu before II-old.person 3P-beP 3P-say-PI
Long ago, Emu was an old woman.
2. *Wou, ba-re-i an-djai, ba-bu-ni.*
yes 3P-go-PI III-cane.grass 3/3P-hit-PI
Yes, she would go off to get cane grass.
3. *Ba-re-i ba-ngolu-ngi ba-rro-ngi gu-warde.*
3P-go-PI 3/3P-roast.on.coals-PI 3/3P-pound-PI LOC-rock
She used to go and roast it, and pound it on a rock.
4. *Ban-wo-ni barri-m-guyin-re-i darn.gih,*
3/3pl-give-PI 3a-hither-almost-go-PI close
She'd offer it to them, they'd come close almost up to her, [note offer/give polysemy]
5. *"ngam" ba-yim-i, ban-gaibu-ni.*
gulp 3P-do-PI 3/3plP-deny-PI
but she'd swallow it down, "gulp", and deny them the food.
6. *Aleng ba-djal-yim-i.*
she 3P-just-do-PI
She used to to that all the time.
7. *Wurdurd barri-marrih-marridowe-ng.*
children 3aP-ITER-be.hungry-PP
The children got hungrier and hungrier.
8. *[na wirriwirriyak ba-rrenge-mok-ni.]*
now cuckoo.shrike 3P-foot-sore-(sit)PI
Now Black-faced cuckoo-shrike had a sore foot.
[This line came in too early, and is a false start].

¹ In the following texts, incomplete or interrupted words are represented by '... '.

9. *Bad wurdurd-no ragul, gorlobbok, goddoukgoddouk,*
 ? children-3POSS red.eyed.pigeon peaceful.dove bar.shouldered.dove
gikgik, njanjuk-njanjuk maih na-wern-gen, barri-marridowe-ndi.
 brown.honeyeater all.sorts bird MA-many-GEN 3aP-be.hungry-PERSIS:PI
 All her children — the red-eye pigeon, the peaceful dove, the bar-shouldered dove, the
 brown honeyeater, all sorts of birds, they were perpetually hungry.
10. *Barri-wam djilidjilih barri-dalk-djobge-yi,*
 3aP-gOPP cane.grass 3a/3P-grass-cut-PI
 They went out for cane grass and were cutting it.
11. *barri-h-ngu-ni djilidjili, gorlobbarra barri-na-ng.*
 3a/3P-IMM-eat-PI cane.grass kangaroo 3a/3P-see-PP
 As they were eating cane grass, they saw a kangaroo.
12. *Barri-durnd-i, wirriwirriyak ba-rrenge-mok-ni.*
 3aP-return-PP black.faced.cuckoo.shrike 3P-foot-sore-PI
 They turned around, (then) Black-faced cuckoo-shrike's foot started to hurt.
13. *"Ayed garri-yime? Nga-rrenge-mok" ba-yime-ng.*
 how 12aug-doNP 1-foot-sore 3P-say-PP
 "What are we going to do? I've got a sore foot", he said.
14. *Gun-dulk barri-me, barri-nud-gorrhge-ng.*
 IV-stick 3a/3P-getPP 3a/3P-pus-burst-PP
 They picked up a stick, and they burst his pus out.
15. (? *wirri..nungan..*)
 [inaudible]
16. *njamed na-wu, ragul,*
 whatchamacallit MA-that red.eyed.pigeon
 That whatchamacallim, the red-eyed pigeon,
17. *nungga gun-dulk ba-me-i.*
 he IV-stick 3/3P-get-PP
 he picked up a stick.
18. *"Aye, a-nud-gorrhge" ba-yime-ng.*
 me 1/3-pus-burstNP 3P-say-PP
 "Me, I'll burst the pus out", he said.
19. *Bi-mok-garu-i, bi-nud-gorrhge-ng.*
 3/3hP-sore-dig-PP 3/3hP-pus-burst-PP
 He dug in his sore and burst his pus out.
20. *Gun-nud ba-rrolga-ng an-ege.*
 IV-pus 3P-arise-PP VE-that
 All the pus rushed out.
21. *Gurlba gun-nud bi-rrelkge-ng rouk, ragul.*
 blood IV-pus 3/3hP-spatter-PP all red.eyed.pigeon
 Blood and pus spattered him all over, the red-eyed pigeon (hence his red
 eye-marks today).

22. *Bonj. Ba-rrolkka-ng ba-bolk-melme-ng ba-rra-nginj gamak.*
OK 3P-get.up-PP 3/3P-ground-tread-PP 3P-stand-PP good
OK. He got up, he tested his foot on the ground, he put his weight on it, it was all right.
23. *An-gole ba-me-i.*
III-bamboo 3/3P-get-PP
He got a bamboo shaft.
24. *Barri-guni-nahna-ni.*
3a/3P-stalking-watch-PI
They were watching him stalking.
25. *Ba-guni-yiga ... ba-yame-ng, ba-yame-ng.*
3/3P-stalking-take 3/3P-spear-PP 3/3P-spear-PP
He was taking it (the spear) along sneaking up, he speared it (the kangaroo), he speared it.
26. *Bonj, barri-guk-ngorrme barri-yi-bebme-ng.*
OK 3a/3P-body-pick.upPP 3a/3P-COM-appear-PP
All right, they picked it up and went back to the camp with it.
27. *Barri-ngalwandjuk-ni, bandi-yi-na-ng.*
3aP-emu-bePI 3a/3pl-COM-see-PP
'They that were emus, they saw them with it.
28. *"Aaa, gadberre" ban-bal-manjh-manjbom rouk.*
ah for.us 3/3plP-away-ITER-thankPP all
'Ah, food for us', and she (Emu) thanked them all profusely.
29. *"Oo gunak gare yi-yerrng-ma-ng, gun-boi."*
oh fire perhaps 2/3-wood-get-NP IV-cooking.stone
'Well maybe you should get some firewood and cooking stones' (they said to her).
30. *Ba-gaihme-ng ba-wam darn.gih, ba-rrarnh-gaihme-ng.*
3P-call.out-PP 3P-goPP close.up 3P-close-call.out-PP
She went a little way, and called out from close by.
31. *"Bebba" ba-djal-wam ba-djal-wam.*
not.yet 3P-just-goPP 3P-just-goPP
'Not yet' (they replied). She just kept going and going.
32. *Gunak ba-yerrng-yiga-ni ba-yerrng-yiga-ni.*
fire 3/3P-wood-go.for-PI 3/3P-wood-go.for-PI
She was going around and around for firewood.
33. *Bedman wanjh barri-yerrng-me-i.*
theyEMPH then 3a/3P-wood-get-PP
But then they themselves got the firewood.
34. *Gun-boi barri-me-i, barri-mud-ginje-ng,*
IV-cooking.stone 3a/3P-get-PP 3a/3P-fur-cook-PP
They got cooking stones and singed its fur.

35. *ngayed barri-yime-ng, anegebu.*
how 3aP-do-PP all.that.stuff
(That's) what they did, all that sort of stuff.
36. *Barri-girribom, barri-bard-ngorrme-i.*
3a/3P-roastPP 3a/3P-knee-break-PP
They roasted it; they broke its leg joints.
37. *Barri-girribom rouk, gorre ba-ru-i.*
3a/3P-roastPP all quick 3P-cook-PP
They roasted it all, and it was soon cooked.
38. *Bonj an-barrgid ba-wam, man.gek gunak.*
OK VE-other 3P-goPP supposed fire
All right, she (Emu) had gone off another way, supposedly to get fire.
39. *Ba-yerrng-yiga-ni ba-djoleng-m-inj ba-ru-i na-wu gunj.*
3/3P-wood-go.for-PI 3-ready-INCH-PP 3P-cook-PP MA-that kangaroo
While she was going for wood it had been cooked and got ready, that kangaroo.
40. *Barri.. barri-marnbom rouk,*
3aP 3a/3P-preparePP all
They prepared it,
41. *barri-bebbe-gana-ga-ng, gun-berd, gun-dad,*
3a/3P-DIST-ITER-take-PP IV-tail IV-thigh
they each took their share, some part of the tail, some a thigh,
42. *njanjuk namegebu barri-bebbe-gana-ga-ng.*
anything all.those 3a/3P-each-ITER-take-PP
they each took something like that.
43. *Na-gudji djirndih gun-dume ba-yi-warlkga-rr-inj.*
MA-one quail IV-backbone 3/3P-COM-hide-RR-PP
One bird, Quail, had hidden himself away with the backbone.
44. *Aleng al-wanjdjuk ba-m-durnd-i.*
she II-emu 3P-toward-return-PP
(Just then) Emu came back.
45. *"Maih na-wu, gunj na-wu bonj andi-wo, gunj andud!"*
meat MA-that kangaroo MA-that OK 2a/1-giveIMP kangaroo then
"Right, give me that meat, that kangaroo then!"
46. *"Gunj-yak, ba-yak-m-inj.*
kangaroo-PRIV 3P-nothing-INCH-PP
"There's no kangaroo, it's all finished.
47. *Njamed djirndi gare ba-yi-warlkga-rr-i-nj njanjuk gu-mege ganjdji."*
what quail perhaps 3/3P-COM-hide-RR-PP something LOC-there underneath
Maybe that whatsit, quail, might have hidden himself away with it or something under
(the leaves) there."

48. *Djirndi-djahdjam merenghmerenggidj right bi-yawa-ni.*
 quail-place ? 3/3P-look-PI
 The merengmerenggidj(?) looked for him there were the quail was.
49. *Ba-ngarre-werrhm-i gun-marlaworr, gun-boi ba-ngune-ng,*
 3/3P-scrub-scratch-PI IV-leaf IV-cooking.stone 3/3P-eat-PP
 While she was scratching around in the leaves, she ate a cooking stone,
50. *gun-njamed, gun-yirrge ba-ngune-ng.*
 IV-what IV-ash 3/3P-eat-PP
 and the whatsitsname, the ash.
51. *Gure bi-djal-yawa-ni ganjdji ba-djal-wokda-nj na-mege.*
 while 3/3P-just-look-PI under 3P-just-speak-PP MA-that
 While she was looking for him under the leaves that one (Quail) spoke up.
52. "Ayega monidj" *ba-yim-i.*
 where sneaking 3-say-PI
 "Where can I sneak off?", he was saying.
53. *Galukborrk ba-werrhme-ng, gorrogo ba-rrolga-ng wanjh.*
 long.time 3P-scratch-PP before 3P-get.up-PP then
 She raked them up for a long time before he suddenly flew up.
54. *Gun-barlkbu an-ege bi-rrelme-ng.*
 IV-digging.stick VE-that 3/3P-throw-PP
 She threw that digging stick at him.
55. *Gun-barlkbu ba-m-durnd-i, gun-gom bi-gom-djudme-ng.*
 IV-digging.stick 3P-toward-return-PP IV-throat 3/3P-throat-stick-PP
 The digging stick came back and stuck right in her throat.
56. *Bedman (gu?)-barri-barnh-barnd-i*
 themselves LOC-3aP-REDUP-hang:PI
 While the others were sitting in the tree (they asked),
57. "Ngayed yi-yimerra-n?".
 what 2-turn.into-NP
 "What are you going to turn into?"
58. *Gun-wok ba-rohrokme-ng, ga-warre.*
 IV-talk 3P-try-PP 3-bad
 She tried to talk, but it was no good.
59. *Ba-rohrokme-ng ba-yime-ng ga-warre, an-wid.*
 3P-try-PP 3P-speak-PP 3-bad VE-different
 She tried to speak but it was no good, it was something else (than language).
60. *Ba-djal-yim-i galukborrk "gurluk, gurluk" ba-yime-ng.*
 3P-just-say-PI long.time (onomatopoeic) 3P-say-PP
 She just kept saying for a long time: "gurluk, gurluk".
61. "Anege yi-yimerra-nj."
 that 2-turn.into-PP
 "That's how you turned out", (they said).

62. *"Ayed a-yimarra-n? Al-wanjdjuk a-yimarran!"*
 how 1-turn.into-NP II-emu 1-turn.intoNP
 "How am I going to turn out? I'll turn into an emu."
63. *"Bonj, garri-bebbe-yarlarrme."*
 all right 12a-each-separateNP
 "That's it then, we'll all go our own separate ways."
64. *Barri-dolkga-rr-inj rouk.*
 3aP-get.up-RR-PP all
 And they all got up.
65. *Djirndi na-wu na-mege goddoukgoddouk na-wu gorlobbok*
 quail MA-that MA-that bar.shouldered.dove MA-that peaceful.dove
na-wu merengmerenggidj na-wu njamed na-wu wirriwirriyak,
 MA-that ? MA-that whatsit MA-that cuckoo-shrike
na-wern-gen bininj.
 MA-many-GEN people
 That quail and that bar-shouldered dove and that peaceful dove and that
merengmerenggidj and that whatsit, the cuckoo shrike, all the many people.
66. *Na-mege bininj barri-yim.. maih barri-yimerra-nj rouk, alengman*
 MA-that person 3aP- bird 3aP-turn.into-PP all herself
al-wanjdjuk.
 II-emu
 All those people turned into birds, including Emu herself.
67. *Wanjh barri-mun.ge-rr-inj. Bonj, maih barri-yimerra-nj.*
 then 3aP-send-RR-PP finished bird 3aP-turn.into-PP
 And then they sent each other off. That's all. They'd all turned into birds.

Text 2: Jimmy Kalarriya: Emu story (Gun-dedjnjenghmi)

This is the transcription of a text told in the Gun-dedjnjenghmi dialect by Jimmy Kalarriya, Kodjok/Na-wamud Na-wurrbbarn from Manmoyi, Western Arnhem Land. The story is the 'Greedy Emu' bird story associated with the site Lorlo in Warddjak clan estate. Recorded by Peter Cooke, Manmoyi October 1991. Transcribed by Murray Garde and NE. Additional comments, given here as footnotes, from discussion between NE, MG and JK at Maningrida, 15/2/95.

1. *Ngale ngarrku ngurrurdu djang ka-yo ø-djang-kurrme-rr-inj,*
 thatFE our emu dreaming 3-lieNP 3P-dreaming-put-RR-PP
 That emu of ours is a dreaming, she put herself in the landscape as a dreaming,
2. *ka-djang-di kurdukadji*
 3-dreaming-standNP emu
 there's an emu dreaming there

[*kurdukadji* and *ngurrurdu* are words from different dialects — see Appendix 2]

3. *Dedjarlkarrhmeng kure Na-warddjak-kenh*
[place] LOC [clan]-GEN
at Dedjarlkarrhmeng in Nawarddjak clan country.
4. *Ngarri-djang-berhme ba Wularri*
1a-dreaming-increase.ceremonyNP and [place — wind dreaming]
We carry out increase ceremonies (for emu) there, and at Wularri.
5. *Wularri ngarri-djang-berhme kun-kurra,*
[place] 1a-dreaming-increase.ceremony IV-wind
At Wularri we carry out increase ceremonies for wind.
6. *kun-kurra and djang kurdukadji mak Lorlo,*
IV-wind dreaming emu too [clan]
There's the wind and the emu dreaming too in Lorlo (clan country).
7. *ku-mekke ka-djang-di Bunkurduyh-Bunkurduy,*
LOC-DEM 3-dreaming-standNP [proper name]
There is a dreaming there at Bunkurduyh-Bunkurduyh,
8. *ku-mekke ngan-bu ø-do-ng[i] korroko ..*
LOC-DEM III-DEM 3/3P-strike-PI long.ago
where she struck that (plant) [or: like that] long ago,
9. [later correction:] (*ba-rro-ngi korroko ngalwurrbbarn*)
3/3]-strike-PI long.ago II[clan]
where that Wurrbbarn clan woman struck it long ago,
[*Wurrbbarn* is a Kunwinjku-speaking clan name, but is also the Rembarnga word for 'emu'.]
10. *ngaleh ngal-yuhyungki ngurrurdu ngaleng bininj, Bulanjdjan.*
FE:DEM II-ancestor emu she human [skin]
that female ancestor emu, she was a human (then), of Bulanjdjan subsection.
11. *mayh na-mekke nakka bininj-ni,*
bird MA-DEM MA:DEM human-P
Those birds, they were human then,
12. *bininj yerre-kah-wi na-wu korlordoddok,*
person after-LOC-only MA-REL peaceful.dove
people only afterwards became (such birds as) the peaceful dove,
13. *la rakul lumbuk karrkanj, njalehnjale,*
and red.eyed.pigeon banded.fruit.dove brown.falcon whatever
the red-eyed pigeon, the banded fruit-dove, the brown falcon and so forth,
14. *nakbu wakwak nakka bininj-ni.*
MA.DEM crow MA:DEM person-P
and the crow was human too.
15. *Djuwe na-mekke wirriwirriyak ba-yameng karndakidj Lorlo.*
great.bowerbird MA-DEM cuckoo.shrike 3/3P-spear-PP kangaroo [place]
The great bowerbird and black-faced cuckoo-shrike speared a kangaroo at Lorlo.

16. *Ku-mekke ka-djang-di mak ngurrurdu yerrih.*
 LOC-DEM 3-dreaming-standNP also emu behind
 There's a dreaming there and also an emu (dreaming) behind;
17. *Ku-bolk-yirridjdja ngurrurdu.*
 LOC-place-Yirridjdja emu
 the emu dreaming is a Yirridjdja moiety place.
18. *Kaluk ø-wam ban-kaybuh-kaybu-ninj ngan-burda..* [inaudible]
 then 3P-gOPP 3/3plP-REDUP-deny-PI III-cane.grass
 Then she went and refused to give them any cane grass.
19. *bedman barri-dowe-ni kun-marrwi. Barri-dowe-ni.*
 theyEMPH 3aP-die-PI IV-hunger 3a-die-PI
 They were dying of hunger. They were really starving.
20. *Nungka ba-rrenge ... denge-mok-ni na-wu wirriwirriyak.*
 he 3P-foot foot-sore-PI MA-DEM cuckoo.shrike
 His foot ... foot was hurting, that black-faced cuckoo-shrike.
21. *Wanjh marrkinj warde ø-marrkinj-yi-djangka-yi,*
 well champion? maybe 3/3P-champion-COM-hunt-PI
 Well, he was a champion, he hunted like a champion,
22. *ba barri-nah-na-ni kunj. La ø-kuni-djehme-ng njamed*
 so.that 3a/3P-REDUP-see-PI kangaroo and 3/3LP-VIOL-crawl-PP what
 so that they looked around for kangaroo, and he crawled up to kill it, (but) whatsit,
23. *ba-rre.. denge-nud-ni. Wanjh ø-denge-nud-dowkke-ng*
 3P- foot-pus-PI then 3/3LP-foot-pus-burst-PP
 his foot was all pussy. Then he (shrike's companion) burst the pus out of his foot,
24. *wanjh ngal-ekke wawkak karri-na-n konda ka-mim-dah²*
 like FE-DEM crow 12a-see-NP here 3-eye-bad
 so that then crow, when we see him here his eye is no good,
25. *wanjh bi-mim-delkkeng nud-no.*
 then 3/3hP-eye-spatterPP pus-his
 then his pus spattered in his eye,
26. *and njamed djirndih bi-keb-delkke-ng*
 whatsit quail 3/3hP-face-spatter-PP
 and spattered whasisname's face, quail's,
27. *and lumbuk konda kabarri-keb-malkme nud-no bi-keb-delkke-ng.*
 fruit.dove here 3a-nose-be.markedNP pus-3POSSD 3/3hP-face-spatter-PP
 and the fruit-dove has his face marked here, where the pus spattered his face;
28. *Na-mekke wirriwirriyak ka-keb-malkme, denge-nud-no.*
 MA-DEM cuckoo.shrike 3-face-be.markedNP foot-pus-his
 his face is marked with the pus from his foot, from that black-faced cuckoo-shrike.

² Dnjkamimdah = w kamimwarre.

29. *ø-Bolk-melme-ng man-kole ø-me-y,*
3/3P-ground-trod-PP III-spear 3/3P-pick.up-PP
He tested his foot by treading on the ground, and picked up his spear.
30. *ø-korlh-mibo-m borndok kamak rowk.*
3/3P-put.spear.in.woomera-PP woomera good all
He put his spear in his woomera, that was OK.
31. *Wanjh karndakidj barri-marne-darrkid-bengka-ng³ ba-yameng.*
then kangaroo 3a/3-BEN-body-think-PP 3/3-spear-PP
Then they thought about where they had the kangaroo's body there with them,
and he speared it.
32. *Barri-kuk-yi-rrurnd-i ngalengman ngurrurdu*
3a/3-body-COM-return-PP she emu
They brought back the body, and she, emu,
33. *wanjh not happy ba how ø-yime-ng ba-djurrkm-eninj.*
then so.that 3-say-PP 3P-rejoice-IRR
well, she was unhappy, but how could she have been, she should have rejoiced.
34. *Njamed-kenh kun-djare burda bi-djare-bom.*
what-GEN IV-want [plant.sp.] 3/3hP-desire-hitPP
For whatsit, a desire for the *burda* plant seized her. [*Duwa* lect name for *man-djay*]
35. *Konda Lorlo waleng ku-bolk-Bularldjdja-kenh.*
here [place] ?⁴ LOC-place-[clan?]-GEN
Here at Lorlo, in Bularldja clan territory,
36. *Bularldjdja bokenh kun-yed Yayminji and Lorlo.*
[clan] two IV-place [place] [place]
two Bularldja places, Yayminji and Lorlo,
37. *And njamed Karlbbarrad kun-yed.*
whatsit [place] IV-place
and whatsitname, that place Karlbbarrad.
38. *Ku-bolk-Bularldjdja-kenh, ku-djal-bolk-danjik ku-mekke kun-yed.*
LOC-place-[clan]-GEN LOC-just-place-three LOC-DEM IV-place
In Bularldjdja clan country, at just those three places there,
39. *Ba-yame-ng ngurrurdu*
3/3L-spear-PP emu
he speared an emu.
40. [JK: added 15/2/95: *wanjh alengman ba-yika-ng an-bunbarra*]
then sheEMPH 3/3l-get-PP III-kangaroo.herb
And then she for her part (i.e. emu) went to get the herb for cooking kangaroo,

3 On tape sounds like *birri-mardadj-behbengkang. Barrimarnedarrkidbengkang*: means something like 'they thought about where they he had speared it', where it really was.

4 *-waleng* is the Dalabon form of the ablative suffix; it is not clear what its function is here.

41. (? *welng* *dowenghdoy* ...)
[transcriptin uncertain] [inaudible]
42. *wanjh barri-marne-wenjhme-ng.*
then 3a/3-BEN-trick-PP
then they played a trick on her over it.
43. *ø-Wam, ngan-burnbarra ba-yika-ng.*
3P-goPP III-kangaroo.herb 3/3P-get-PP
She had gone off to get kangaroo herbs,
44. *Barri-marne-bolk-ngeybu-ni ba-djal-ey munguyh.*
3aP/3-BEN-place-name-PI 3P-just-goIRR long.time
and they kept directing her to keep going. (lit. they kept naming places for her,
so she would keep going)
45. *Ba-djal-wam, konda ba-rrurrkme-ng an-burnbarra ba-yi-ni.*
3P-just-goPP here 3/3P-pull.up-PP III-cooking.herb 3/3P-COM-sitPI
She went along; here she pulled up some kangaroo herb and sat there with it.
46. “*Kayakki*” *barri-marne-yi-mi “balay, balay,*
no 3a/3P-BEN-say-PI far far
“No”, they said to her. Go further!
47. *yi-ra-y yi-rrurrkme dja kun-yad-yih*
2-go-IMP 2/3-pull.upNP and IV-digging.stick-INSTR
Go and dig up (some more) with your digging stick!”
48. *ba-djal-e-y munguyh ba-yika-ng.*
3P-just-go-PI always 3/3-get-PP
She just kept going along gathering (herbs).
49. *Ba-re-y ba-kayhm-i bedberre ngurrurdu.*
3P-go-PI 3P-shout-PI them emu
She went along shouting out to them, emu did.
50. “*Konda nga-rrang-marrhme-ng*” *ban-marne-yim-i mulah (morlah?).*
here 1-mouth-open-PP 3/3plP-BEN-say-PI MeZ
“I’ve got my mouth open here!” she kept saying to them, their oldest mother did,
51. “*Kayakki yi-djal-rah-ra-yi kun-yungki dja* –
no 2-just-REDUP-go-IRR IV-ahead and [inaudible]
“No, you just keep going on ahead and [inaudible]”
52. *yad-yih ba-djal-ey munguyh.*
digging.stick-INSTR 3P-just-goPI always
She just kept going along with her digging stick.
53. *Ba-djal-wam, n[ɡ]a-yuhyungki*
3P-just-goPP 1[I]-in.front
She just kept going on further and further,
54. *ba-rruk.. an-burnbarr ba-yi-durh-durnd-i*
3P-pulled.up? III-herb 3P-COM-INCEP-return-PI
pulling up kangaroo herb, and she set off back with it.

55. *bedman korlokun barri-barrh-barrhbo-m.*
 theyEMPH ?[korrvhkv] 3a/3P-INCEP-cover-PP
 They covered it over (the what?).
56. *Barri-barrh-barrhbo-m berd-no ba-yi-warlkka-rr-inj djirndih,*
 3a/3P-ITER-cover-PP tail-its 3/3P-COM-hide-RR-PP quail
 They covered it (the remains?), and quail hid himself away with the (kangaroo) tail.
57. *djirndih ngal-u na-yahwurdurd, ba-yi-warlkka-rr-i-nj.*
 quail FE-that MA-little 3/3P-COM-hide-RR-PP
 That little quail hid himself away with it.
58. *Andud kun-bad kure kayulyurkkarrinj ku-bad-kah.*
 then IV-rock LOC ? LOC-rock-LOC
 Then that rock (?) [meaning unclear].
59. *Njamed-no berd-no ba-yi-warlkka-rr-inj.*
 whatsit-its tail-its 3/3P-COM-hide-RR-PP
 He hid himself away with its whatsit, with his tail.
60. *Namurla namurla namurla bunkurduh bunkurduy*
 [song words]
 (Someone sings:) *Namurla namurla namurla bunkurduh bunkurduy*
61. *namurla namurla namurla baleh wurang baaa,*
 (song continued.)
62. *bidjirdridi* (growls).
 squeak! (sound of quail)
63. *Bi-wok-ma-ngi djirndih.*
 3/3hP-language-get-PI quail
 He adopted the call of the quail as his language.
 [Note use of *bi-* here, presumably due to the personification of quail prior to this.]
64. *Wehwehweh ba-kod-weh-wehm-i kumekke djalnekke*
 scratch.scratch 3/3P-paperbark-ITER-scratch-PI LOC:there just-there
ba-h-buldi, djirndih.
 3P-IMM-be.downPI quail
 Scratch! Scratch! Scratch! (Emu) scratched around in the paperbark there, right where
 quail was down underneath.
65. *Mene kumeke berdno bi-yi-burlaburladme,*
 ? there tail.its 3/3hP-COM-?
 He (?)ed its tail there.
66. *bonj ba-ngole-yame-ng. Wanjh mayh*
 OK 3/3P-[ngolek?]-spear-PP right birds
 He speared him in the (?). Right, so the birds said:
67. *"Baleh ba-yimerra-nj? Kaddum karri-dolh-dolka-n."*
 where 3P-happen-PP up 12a-REDUP-go.up-NP
 "What happened? Let's fly up (to safety)."

68. *Ngallengman, ngurrurdu wanjh ø-kuk-manj(rn?)bu-rr-inj*
 sheEMPH emu then 3P-body-make-RR-PP
 Then she, emu, rearranged her body.
69. *ngaleh bulanjdjan-ni ngal-yuhyungki.*
 whosit [skin]-PI II-ancestor
 She had been a whosit, a Bulanjdjan subsection ancestor,
70. *Ngale ngarrku. Rlorlo.*
 whosit ours [clan]
 from our whosit, from Lorlo clan.
71. *Kondah one way ø-ma(rn?)bu-rr-i-nj. Dreaming kondah*
 here 3P-make-RR-PP here
 She turned herself into a dreaming here, for good,
72. *boy djang. Ka-djang-di.*
 dreaming 3-dreaming-standNP
 it's a male dreaming here.
73. *But na-nih really one rlorlo, ku-bolk-yirridjdja, kurah?*
 MA-DEM [clan] LOC-place-yirridjdja there
 But it's really that one in Lorlo, in that Yirridjdja place.
74. *Bulanj djakerr. Rlorlo. ngal-yuhyungki.*
 [skin] younger.sibling [clan] II-before
 Bulanj was the younger brother, of Lorlo clan. She was the ancestor.

Text 3: Peter Bolgi: Hunting freshwater crocodile (Manyallaluk Mayali)

Recorded at Manyallaluk from Peter Bolgi by Judith Bishop, Archive tape MM2 [DAT]/MMm7 & 8. Transcribed by Judith Bishop with the help of Judy Galmur; subsequently checked with PB & AB, 16/8/98, with slight further retranscriptions by NE in August 1999.

1. *Barri-re::, goba-gohbany na, barri-re::,*
 3aP-goDUR REDUP-old.person now 3aP-goDUR
 They went along, the old people, you know, they went along,
2. *barri-nan-i ga-dolo-dolpm-e gorlomomo.*
 3a/3P-see-PI 3-REDUP-swim-NP freshwater.crocodile
 and they saw freshwater crocodile swimming along.
3. *Wardi bani-mirnde-di gu-mekge.*
 maybe 3uaP-many-stand LOC-DEM
 Maybe there was a big mob of them there.
 [The use of the unit augmented rather than the augmented here is puzzling.]
4. *Nawern bu barri-na-ng.*
 MA-many SUB 3aP-see-PP
 Lots of them, they saw.

5. “*Ngale, bony! Gandi-gerri-worrhm-e(n?)*”
right enough 2a/1a-ground.oven-make.fire-NP
“Right, this is it. Make us a ground oven!”
6. *Gun-gerri barri-worrhm-i ngan-gimuk.*
IV-ground.oven 3a/3P-make.fire-PI VE-big
They made a big ground oven fire.
7. “*Woy, gani-marne-wo-rr-en!*”
come.on 1ua-BEN-give-RR-NP
“Come on, we’ll help each other!”
8. *Barri-juhm-i na.*
3aP-go.into.water-PI now
With that, they entered the water.
9. *Na-guji jal-marlaworr-bak,*
MA-one just-leaf-break.off
One of them would just break off leaves,⁵
10. *now detjmak duninyba-mang-i.*
now hero real 3P-take-PI
and then the real brave guy took it.
11. *Ba-nulk-ngun-i. Ba-warlka-rre-ni gu-bo-bulhjan.*
3P-water.weed-eat-PI 3P-hide-RR-PI LOC-water-deep
He’d be in among the water weeds. He’d hide himself in the deep water.
12. *Gu-lanybulh-be ba-barndi.*
LOC-log[underside]?-ABL 3P-hang-PI
He’d hang from the underside of a log.
13. *Gun-marlaworr-dorrenge ba-gotj-barrkbu-rre-ni.*
IV-leaf-with 3P-head-cover-RR-PI
He’d cover his head with the leaves.
14. “*Nahni bo!*”
“All in!”
15. *Barri-marne-yarrm-i.*
3a/3P-BEN-swim.out-PI
They swam out to help him.
16. (*O?*), *barri-re barri-birndulhm-i gure-beh gure-beh,*
? 3aP-go 3aP-strike.waterPI there-ABL there-ABL
(Others?) would go and strike the water with their hands, from one end of the place to the other,
17. *barri-birndulhm-i::, binij.*
3aP-strike.water-PI finish
they’d keep on striking the water, (then they were) done.

⁵ See §13.13 on this deverbial ideophone.

18. *Barri-ni na.*
3aP-sitP now
Now they'd sit down.
19. *Barri-ni barri-molk-nahna-ni,*
3aP-sitP 3aP-sneakily-watch-PI
They sat down while keeping an eye out.
20. *barri-nyak-nyak, wurduh-wurdurt.*
3aP-REDUP-chatter REDUP-children
All the kids would be chattering away.
21. *Barri-marne-bo-bu-ni,*
3a/3P-BEN-liquid-hit-PI
They hit the water for it (the crocodile)
22. *barri-na-ni ga-dolpme.*
3a/3P-see-PI 3-swimNP
(and then) they saw it swimming.
23. *"Gumekge! Walem!" gareh "gakbi!" o "goyek! ngale gareh garri!"*,
there south maybe north or east right maybe west
"Over there! To the south!" or maybe "North!" or "East! maybe to the west!"
24. *barri-marne-yim-i.*
3a/3P-BEN-say-PI
they'd tell them (the men in the water (the hunters)).
25. *Gorrogo ba-gokwerrem-i namekge.*
for.a.long.time 3P-concentrate/focus-PI MA:DEM
For a long time he'd been focused (on the crocodiles).
26. *Detjmak na-wu.*
hero MA-REL
That brave guy.
27. *Marlaworr-no-yi ba-rrolgan-i bat ba-yipm-i.*
leaf-3POSSD-INSTR 3P-rise.up-PI CONJ 3P-sink.down-PI
With the leaf covering his head, he was rising up and sinking back down again.
28. *Ba-jal-re bi-morokm-i-;*
3P-just-go 3/3P-being.wary-PI
It would be swimming along being wary of him,
29. *bi-mang-i na.*
3/3hP-take-PI now
and then he'd catch it.
30. *Barri-nan-i bart.*
3aP/3-see-PI thrash.about
They'd see it thrash about.
31. *"Bordoh nga-rretj-ngune-ng!"*
great 1-arse-eat-NP
"This is great, I could kiss you all over!", [Judy G's translation]

32. *en ba-ngurt-ngurtma-ngi, barri-jan.gayhm-i.*
and 3/3P-ITER-take.everything-PI 3a/3P-call.out-PI
and he was getting all the crocodiles, they were cheering him on.
33. *Ba-jal-ga-ni:: bony,*
3P-just-carry-PI:DUR finish
He just kept on carrying them out, till he was done.
34. “*Yi-mim-dapge-yi!*”
2-eye-cover.up-IRR
“What about covering its eyes!”,
35. *wardimak bi-bu-yi bert-no-yi.*
otherwise? 3P/3-hit-IRR tail-POSS-with
otherwise it might hit him with its tail.
36. *Bi-jal-gan-i,*
3P/3-just-carry-PI
He just carried them out.
37. *bi-gurrmeh-gurrme-y du. Jut-bak. ø-Guk-gurrpme-ng.*
3P/3-ITER-put.down-PP too neck-break 3P-body-twitch-PP
and he put them all down. (Then) broke their necks. They lay twitching.
[Note the deverbal ideophone *jutbak* and the lack of pronominal prefixation on *gukgurrpme*.]
38. “*Mayh nyaleman, na-jal-wern*”,
flesh.food what MA-just-a.lot
“Here’s food, what about that eh, a lot of it”,
39. *barri-yim-i.*
3aP-say-PI
they’d say.
40. *Marrek ø-nahna-ni yaw-no ba mayh ba-bawo-ni yeh*
NEG 3P-watch-PI baby-POSS CONJ flesh.food 3-leave-PI ?
He wouldn’t leave any food behind, any of those young ones,
41. *nanu yaw.*
MA:DEM baby
those baby crocodiles.
42. *Na-gih-gimuk werrk ba-jal-ma-ngi.*
MA-REDUP-big first 3/3P-just-take-PI
The big ones he just took first.
43. *Ba-lng-yakwon-i na-gih-gimuk.*
3P-then-finish.up-PI MA-REDUP-big
Then he finished (bringing in) the big ones.
44. *ya-yaw-no na ban-jut-bak-bakge-yi.*
REDUP-baby-3POSSD now 3/3plP-neck-REDUP-break-PI
Now he broke the necks of the young ones.

45. *Ba-jal-duh-durndeng-i gure gun-marlaworr nuye-ga ba-warlkga-rre-ni.*
 3P-just-ITER-return-PI where IV-leaf his-LOC 3P-hide-RR-PI
 He just kept returning to where he hid under his leaves.
46. *Ba-gotj-barrkbu-rre-ni, ba-molk-nahna-ni.*
 3P-head-cover-RR-PI 3P-watch-see-PI
 He covered his head and kept a look out.
47. *Ba-jal-yi-ni:, madi.*
 3P-just-COM-sit maybe
 He just stayed there with it (under his leaves), maybe.
48. (*Neibo?*) *gareh ba-lng-guk-yo-y.*
 somewhere maybe 3P-then-body-lie-PP
 It might be dead already.
49. *Yaw-no, na-gimuk, dabu-gen-no ba-lng-ma-ngi,*
 baby-3POSSD MA-big egg-GEN-3POSSD 3P-then-take-PI
 Baby ones, big ones, pregnant females, he took them all then,
50. “*Ngale bony*”,
 right finish
 “OK, that’s it”.
51. *Barri-murrwit-ginye-yi,*
 3aP-scales-burn-PI
 They burnt the scales off,
52. *barri-gep-dukgan-i, ngan-butbu:t, wanyh.*
 3aP-snout-tie.up-PI IV-bark.of.the.stringy.bark⁶ then
 then they tied up their jaws with stringy-bark
53. *Barri-dang-barrme-niny.*
 3aP-mouth-close-IRR
 so as to close up their jaws.
54. *Barri-murrwit-ginyey-i, barri-nguk-mang-i, barri-weleng-dram-i,*
 3a/3P-scales-burn-PI 3a/3P-guts-take-PI 3a/3P-then-stuff.with.hot.coals-PI
barri-bulnam-i.
 3aP/3pl-cover.with.paperbark.and.hot.coals-PI
 They burnt off the scales, took the guts out, then stuffed the bodies with hot coals, and covered them with paperbark and hot coals.
55. *Nguk-no mijelp barri-ginye-yi.*
 guts-POSS by.itself 3aP-cook-PI
 They cooked the guts separately;
56. *Bepbe-beh nungan.*
 DIST-ABL himself
 each his own.

⁶ This identification needs checking; in Gun-djeihmi *an-budbud* refers to the kurrajong, whose bark is also used for making string.

57. *Nguk-gih yaw-no.*
guts-NOW small-3POSSD
First up the small guts (intestines, heart),
58. *Nguk bajan-no, marlk-no.*
guts-large-3POSSD liver-3POSSD
(then) the larger guts (stomach), and the liver.
59. *Barri-werrkm-i, barri-m-ngun-i, barri.[inaudible]-banderrm-i,*
3a/3P-take.out.of.ground.oven-PI 3a/3P-hither-eat-PI 3a/3P-?-cut.into.quartersPI
They'd take them out of the ground oven and eat them, (? and cut them into quarters)
60. *gun-balem-mak ba-lng-yo-y.*
IV-fat-good 3P-then-lie-PP
Then the good fat would remain.
61. *Di:rd-genh ngan-bu ba-lng-balem-yalhm-i, yiga.*
moon-GEN VE-SUB 3P-then-fat-?-PI sometimes
[translation needs checking — could it mean 'sometimes the fat would last for a month?']
62. *Barri-jal-balem-nguh-ngu-ni.*
3a/3P-just-fat-ITER-eat-PI
They'd just eat and eat the fat.
63. *Barri-weleng-worrkme-ni,*
3aP-then-fill.oneself.up-PI
Then they'd get full.
64. *barri-yawoih-re gah..*
3aP-again-goPI [false start]
They'd go (to the water?) again.
65. *gabo-no barri-gabo-gajung-i.*
spring-3POSSD 3aP-spring-follow-PI
They'd follow the spring water.
66. *Yiga barri-jal-y(errgani?)[jidaran – Kriol?] bu barri-jal-garrm-i mayh.*
sometimes 3aP-just-(sit.around?) SUB 3aP-just-have-PI flesh.food
Sometimes they'd just stay home, if they'd just got food.
67. *Barri-ni, gohba-gohbany bandi-jawa-ni, "Mah! Garri-lng-re"*
3aP-sitP REDUP-old.person 3a/3plP-ask-PI OK! 12a-then-goNP
They'd sit around, and the old people would ask them: "Right! Shall we go now?"
68. *barri-lng-re bu barri-bolk-ngeybu-ni*
3aP-then-go SUB 3aP-place-name.call-PI
Then they'd go to the places whose names the old people have called (places which are good for finding tucker).
69. *Guny-gah na.*
kangaroo-LOC now
(They'd go) for kangaroo now.

70. *O ngan-gung-gah bandi-jare-bun-i du na, ba gany-no-yi.*
 or III-sugarbag-LOC 3a/3pP?-desire-hit-PI too now so meat-3POSSD-INSTR
 Or the desire for honey would seize them, to eat with the meat. ['wanting something
 sweet after all the salty food' — JG]
71. *Ngan-gung-gah barri-yawa-m.*
 III-sugarbag-LOC 3a/3P-look.for-PP
 (So) they'd look for sugarbag.

Text 4: Eddie Hardy: The *morak* ceremony (Gun-djeihmi)

Told by Eddie Hardy to NE in the Gun-djeihmi dialect, February 1989, Patonga.
 Transcribed by Eddie Hardy and NE, Patonga, February 1989.

The Morak ceremony belonged to the various floodplain groups, such as the Umbugarla and Ngumbur, and was their equivalent to the initiation ceremonies practiced by other groups. There was a Morak initiation site near the present Patonga Airstrip settlement. The details of this ceremony were told to Eddie Hardy by the late Butcher Knight.

1. *An-garehgen gohbagohbanj barri-nam-i gun-djurle gimuk-gen.*
 III-before old.men 3a/3P-make-PI IV-shade big-GEN
 In the olden days the old men would make a big bough-shade.
2. *Yawurrinj bandi-gurrm-i,*
 young.men 3a/3pP-put-PI
 They put the young men there,
3. *barri-ni gure gu-rurrk.*
 3aP-sitP LOC LOC-shelter
 to sit inside the shelter.
4. *Barri-djal-ni marrek barri-woh-bolk-na-yi gu-red gayakki,*
 3aP-just-sitP NEG 3a/3P-a.bit-place-look-IRR LOC-camp nothing
 They just sat there, and weren't allowed to look around the camp at all,
5. *dja barri-djal-ni gu-rurrk gu-mege.*
 CONJ 3aP-just-sitPI LOC-shelter LOC-there
 and they just sat there in the shelter.
6. *Galuk gohbagohbanj barri-marne-yime-rre-ni:*
 bye.and.bye old.men 3aP-BEN-say-RR-PI
 Bye and bye the old men would say to each other:
7. *"Mah".*
 let's.get.on.with.it
 "Let's get on with it."
8. *Galuk danjbik dja bogen bani-lobm-i gunak-dorrens bani-wurh-wurhge-yi,*
 then three CONJ two 3uaP-run-PI fire-with 3uaP-ITER-light-PI
 Then two or three would run around with a firestick and set fire (to the shelter),

9. *dja barri-ru-ngi yawurrinj. [laughter]*
 CONJ 3aP-burn-PI young.man
 and the young men would get burned.
10. *Galuk na-gudji na-wu ba-di gu-mekke,*
 bye.and.bye MA-one MA-REL 3P-standPI LOC-right.there
na-wu gare yirridjja o duwa, njamed,
 MA-REL maybe [moiety] or [moiety] whatever
 Bye and bye one who was standing right there, who was maybe of the Yirridjja or
 Duwa moiety, whatever,
11. *ba-bili-doh-dombu-ni dja gawarre barri-djal-ru-ngi.*
 3/3P-fire-INCEP-put.out-PI CONJ no.good 3aP-just-burn-PI
 would try to put out the fire but it'd be no good, they'd just all get burned anyway.
12. *Barri-bebme-rre-ni barri-re-i.*
 3aP-emerge-RR-PI 3aP-go-PI
 They'd all come out and they'd go along.
13. *Bandi-ga-ni walkabout, lookabout bandi-ga-ni.*
 3a/3plP-take-PI 3a/3plP-take-PI
 They'd take them walkabout, they'd take them to look around.
14. *Gare na-gudji yawurrinj marridj ba-bok-nahna-ni.*
 maybe MA-one young.man maybe 3/3P-track-watch-PI
 Maybe one of the youths would be watching a track.
15. *"Njamed, na-gudji nayin ga-yo!" ba-mulewa-ni.*
 what MA-one snake 3-lieNP 3P-inform-PI
 "Hey, there's a snake here!", he'd say.
16. *Well, gohbagohbanj bandi-marne-yime-ni:*
 old.men 3a/3plP-BEN-say-PI
 Well, the old men would say to them:
17. *"Gurri-darrgid-ma-ø!"*
 2a-alive-grasp-IMP
 "You mob pick it up alive!"
18. *Marrek gurri-darrgid-ma-ng, bi-rrulubu-n bokkoh-yi."*
 not 2a-alive-grasp-NP 1 a/2a-hit.with.missile-NP spear-INSTR
 If you don't pick it up alive, we'll spear you!"
19. *Barri-darrgid-ma-ngi.*
 3a/3P-alive-grasp-PI
 They picked it up alive.
20. *Barri-ga-ni barri-mungewe-yi.*
 3a/3P-take-PI 3a/3P-let.go-PI
 They'd take it and let it go.
21. *Barri-re-i.*
 3a/3P-go-PI.
 They'd go along.

22. *Na-gudji gare bu ba-bolk-warre-woh-wo-ni*
 MA-one maybe SUB 3/3P-place-bad-INC-make-PI
 When one (youth) would be maybe mucking around (not staying in the place where he was told),
23. *njamed narlangak barri-ma-ngi.*
 what blanket.lizard 3a/3-grab-PI
 they (the old men) would pick up a whatsit, a blanket lizard.
24. *Bandi-bu-ni narlangak-yi, darrgid.*
 3a/3pl-hit-PI blanket.lizard-INSTR alive
 They'd belt them with a blanket lizard, a live one.
25. *Bi-djal-wirri-wirrk-m-i o narlangak bi-baye-yi.*
 3/3hP-just-EXT-scratch-PI or blanket.lizard 3/3hP-bite-PI
 It would just scratch him all over, or the blanket lizard would bite him.
26. *Bonj, barri-djal-bu-ni.*
 enough 3a/3P-just-hit-PI
 Even so, they'd just keep flogging him.
27. *Barri-re-i gare ginga barri-barlah-na-ni.*
 3aP-go-PI maybe crocodile 3aP-slither.track-see-PI
 They'd go along and maybe they'd see some crocodile slither-tracks.
28. *Barri-djuhm-i barri-yawa-ni barri-darrgid-ma-ngi.*
 3aP-swim-PI 3aP-look.for-PI 3aP-alive-grab-PI
 They'd have to swim in and look for it and grab it alive.
29. *Barri-re-i o barri-yauh-dolkka-ni barri-yauh-re-i gu-bolk-buyiga.*
 3aP-go-PI or 3aP-again-get.up-PI 3aP-again-go-PI LOC-place-other
 They'd go along or get up again and go along again to another place.
30. *Barri-yo-ngi*
 3aP-sleep-PI
 They'd sleep there,
31. *one line bandi-gurrm-i.*
 3a/3plP-put-PI
 and they'd put them in one line.
32. *Gobagohbanj barri-djal-ni bandi-nahna-ni.*
 old.men 3aP-just-sit(PI) 3a/3plP-watch-PI
 The old men would just sit and watch over them.
33. *Gu-wak ba-guyin-yimarra-ni,*
 LOC-night 3P-almost-turn.into-PI
 When it would be almost dark,
34. *mulirr barri-manbu-ni barri-borrkge-yi all the gohbagohbanj.*
 corroboree 3aP-make-PI 3aP-dance-PI old.men
 they'd stage a corroboree, all the old men would dance.

35. *Gohbagohbanj barri-borrkge-yi*,
old.men 3aP-dance-PI
The old men would dance,
36. *dja yawurrinj bandi-nahna-ni*.
and young.man 3a/3pl-watch-PI
and the young men would watch them.
37. *Galuk ba-malayi-barrhbu-ni, barri-yauh-re-i gu-gabohgabo*.
bye.and.bye 3P-morrow-dawn-PI 3aP-again-go-PI LOC-streams
Bye and bye the next day would dawn, and they'd go on again along the creeks.
38. *Barri-re-i barri-nahna-ni*
3a-go-PI 3a/3P-look.out.for-PI
They'd go along looking for
39. *gabo ga-mirnde-rri*.
green.ant 3-many-standNP
where there were lots of green ants around.
40. *Bandi-bidbu-ih-ge-yi yawurrinj*,
3a/3plP-go.up-IVF-CAUS-PI young.man
They'd make the young men climb up.
41. *barri-djal-bidbu-ni gu-worr-godj-duninj*.
3aP-just-go.up-PI LOC-leaf-head-real
They'd just climb up right into the tree top.
42. *Gu-mege barri-bunbu-ni yawurrinj*.
LOC-there 3aP-stop-PI young.man
There they'd stop, the young men (being bitten by green ants).
43. *Barri-dulk-djobge-yi gohbagohbanj*,
3a/3P-tree-chop-PI old.men
The old men would chop the tree down,
44. *barri-dulk-djobge-yi wurr!*
3a/3P-tree-chop-PI crash
they'd chop down the tree ... crash!
45. *Barri-man.ga-ni*.
3a-fall-PI
They'd fall down.

**Text 5: Lena Yarinkura: The killer *mimihs*
(Kune Dulerayek)**

This text was narrated by Lena Yarinkura (with some discussion by her husband Bob Burrawal) in the Kune (Dulerayek) dialect, as part of the documentation of paperbark sculptures she had made for Maningrida Arts and Crafts. It was recorded at Maningrida

21/10/94, and subsequently transcribed and translated by Murray Garde with the help of Tom Wood; interlinear glosses and some modifications to the translation added by NE.

1. *ϕ-Ni Kodjok bi-wokna-ng nakornkumo ϕ-yime-ng*
 3P-sitP [subsection] 3/3HP-call.out-PP his.father 3P-say-PP
"Ngabba nga-re nga-djangka-n".
 fatherVOC 1-goNP 1-hunt-NP
 A man of Kodjok subsection called out to his father as he left saying, "Father I'm going hunting".
2. *"Ma korlonj wardi yi-ra-y yi-yawan ngarrku. Nga-djare-dowe-n."*
 time.to.act son might.be 2-go-IMP 2-look-NP usOBL 1-desire-die-NP
ϕ-Wam, ϕ-wam, marrek ϕ-bengka-yi yungkih Kamarrang rowk
ϕ-goPP ϕ-goPP NEG 3P-know-IRR in.front [subsection] all
bini-marne-warlkka-rr-inj.
 3ua/3P-BEN-hide-RR-PP
 "OK my son, you go and look for something for us. I'm really hungry." And so off he went but he didn't know that two men of Kamarrang subsection were ahead hiding from him.
3. *ϕ-Wam kunj ϕ-karwo-ng, bini-na-ng*
 3P-goPP kangaroo 3/3P-frighten.off.animal-PP 3ua/3P-see-PP
ϕ-warrowk-warrowkme-ng ku-bad nakkan woybukki
 3P-ITER-hop-PP LOC-rock MA:DEM true
ϕ-bebme-ng. "Manj ngarr-marne-warlkkarren."
 3P-appear-PP wait 12/3-BEN-hide-RR-NP
 He frightened off a kangaroo and the two of them saw it hop away in the rocks. Then Kodjok appeared himself. "Wait, let's hide ourselves from him."
4. *Bini-warlkka-rr-inj bini-na-ng kunj ϕ-djorlme-ng ϕ-wam*
 3uaP-hide-RR-PP 3ua-see-PP kangaroo 3P-hop-PP 3P-goPP
bedman bini-ni ku-bad-rurk bini-kodjkerr-inj
 theyEMPH 3uaP-sitP LOC-rock-cave 3ua-stay.still-PP
Bini-niiii kaluk bini-na-ng ϕ-bidbom ϕ-kolu-y
 3uaP-sitP:DUR then 3uaP-see-PP 3P-go.upPP 3P-go.down-PP
"Ngarr-marnburre-men nuye" bini-yime-ng.
 12-prepare.self-IMP himOBL 3uaP-say-PP
Kam-wam wanjh korren darnkih, ϕ-kuyin-warrowkme-ng ϕ-bad-melme-ng
 3Phither-goPP then ? close 3P-almost-jump-PP 3P-rock-tread-PP
bini-warrowkme-ng bini-karrmeng.
 3uaP-jump-PP 3uaP-grab-PP
 Those two hid themselves and watched the kangaroo hop away and so they remained still in a cave. They stayed there a long time until they saw Kodjok climbing up and down in the rocks. "Let's get ready for him", they said. Just as Kodjok was about to jump up and stand on a rock, the two Kamarrang sprang out and grabbed him.

5. *Wanjh bini-ka-ng. ø-wawhme-ng baleh yime-ng wanjh ø-kodjkerr-inj.*
 then 3ua/3P-take-PP 3P-yell.out-PP ...do.what-PP... then 3P-be.still-PP

Bini-wam bi-marne-yime-ng na-yahwurd,
 3uaP-gOPP 3/3hP-BEN-say-PP MA-small

"Kokok kano ngayih nga-karrme, ngudda yi-re yibin-ma-ng bininj".
 eB ? I 1-holdNP you 2-gONP 2/3pl-get-NP person

"Ma, yi-karrme-n, ngayih nga-re ngabin-ma-ng. Nga-re ngabin-ma-ng
 OK 2/3-hold-IMP I 1-gONP 1/3pl-get-NP 1-gONP 1/3pl-get-NP

wardi ngun-bu-n yi-wernh-karrme" bi-marne-yime-ng.
 might.be 3/2-kill-NP 2/3-properly-holdNP 3/3hP-BEN-say-PP

"Nga-bengka-n nga-karrme" ø-yime-ng.
 I-know-NP 1-holdNP 3P-say-PP

And so the two Kamarrang took him and Kodjok yelled out but there was nothing he could do. Kodjok remained still, they went off, and the younger Kamarrang said to his brother, "I'll hold on to him and you go off and get everyone else". "OK, you hold him, and I'll get them. But watch out, hold on to him tightly, otherwise he'll kill you." "Yes I know, I'll hold on to him", the younger brother said.

6. *Bini-di koh wam bin-marne-yime-ng, "Kun-madj nawu djerrh*
 3uaP-standP ? 3P-goP 3/3plP-BEN-say-PP IV-swap MA:DEM bag

nawu kunukka bu ka-m-yo-ø ka-warlkka-rr-en ngurri-m-ay rowk
 MA:DEM there SUB 3-hither-lie-NP 3-hide-RR-NP 2a-hither-goIMP all

karri-re, mayh nga-bawo-ng" ø-yime-ng. Birri-mey "Ma karri-ray"
 12a-gONP animal 1/3-leave-PP 3P-say-PP 3aP-takePP OK 12a-goIMP

birri-marne-yime-ng.

3a/3P-BEN-say-P

Those two stayed and the younger Kamarrang went back to his family and said, "Let's go, bring your baskets and string bags lying around inside, I've left some meat behind back there" he said. They got their things together. "OK let's go", they all said.

7. *Birri-wam ø-kudkudme-ninj bi-djawa-yi. "Bordoh yi-karrme [= I yidjalkarrme]."*
 3aP-goP 3P-run-IRR 3/3hP-ask-IRR just 2/3-holdNP

"Nga-karrme" ø-yime-ninj, munguyh, birri-wayini-wirrinj birri-ra-yi,
 1/3-holdNP 3P-say-IRR long.time 3aP-sing-IRR 3aP-go-IRR

birri-yime-ninj "Wardbukkarra, Wardbukkarra Djingakbangakba nguyunguy
 3aP-say-IRR [song words]

kayakay."

[song words]

They kept travelling and Kamarrang ran off ahead and called out to his brother, "Just keep holding on to him!" "I've still got him", he said. The others kept walking, singing as they went: "Wardbukkarra, Wardbukkarra Djingakbangakba nguyunguy kayakay".

8. “*Nakkan marrek ngurri-yime kayakay, dja muyumuy ngurri-yime*”
 MA:DEM not 2a-sayNP [song.word] CONJ [song word] 2a-sayNP
bin-marne-yime-ninj, Kodjok na-mekke na-wernwarre.
 3/3pP-BEN-say-IRR [subsection] MA-DEM MA-younger.sibling
 “Hey, don’t call out that *kayakay*, say *muyumuy*!”, one of the brothers said.
9. *Munguyh birri-ra-yi ø-kudkudme-ninj nungka Kodjok bi-djawa-yi*
 long.time 3aP-go-IRR 3P-run-IRR he [subsection] 3/3hP-ask-IRR
 “*Bordoh yi-karmeh?*” “*Nga-karme*” *ø-yime-ninj. ø-durnde-yi*
 still 2/3-holdNP 1/3-holdNP 3P-say-IRR 3P-return-IRR
birri-wayini-wirrinj birri-ra-yi, “Wardbukkarra, Wardbukkarra Djingakbangakba
 3aP-sing-IRR 3aP-go-IRR [song words]
muyumuy kayakay.” “*Nakkan marrek kayakay ngurri-yime, djamuyumuy*
 [song words] MA:DEM not [song word] 2a-sayNP CONJ
ngurri-yime, wardi ngun-bekka-n ngudberre kabi-bu-n.”
 2a-sayNP might 2/3-hear-NP 2aOBL 3/3hNP-kill-NP
 They kept walking a long way and Kamarrang called out to his brother, “Brother have you still got him?” “I’m still holding him”, he replied. Kamarrang ran back to the others who were singing as they went: “*Wardbukkarra, Wardbukkarra Djingakbangakba nguyunguy kayakay.*” “Hey, don’t call out that *kayakay*, just say *muyumuy* otherwise he’ll hear you and kill my brother”.
10. *But nungkah [r]nane Kodjok nakkaya korroko bin-bekka-ng*
 he MA:DEM [subsection] MA:DEM before 3/3pP-hear-PP
birri-kayhme-ng birri-wam. [nj] Yungkih darnkih bonh⁷ ø-marnburr-inj.
 3a/3-call.out-PP 3aP-goPP hesitation ahead close then 3P-prepare-PP
 “*Kamarrang, yi-rrolkka-ø nga-marnburr-en, nga-marnburr-en uncke*
 [subsection] 2-get.up-IMP 1-arrange.self-NP 1-arrange.self-NP youOBL
ba, kamak rowk kan-karme,” *bi-marne-yime-ng. Nakka*
 so good all 2/1-holdNP 3/3hP-BEN-say-PP MA:DEM
bi-marne-wenjhme-ng ku-mekke. ø-Borledme-ng “Ma!” Bi-bawo-ng
 3/3hP-BEN-trick-PP LOC-DEM 3P-turn-PP OK 3/3hP-leave-PP
ø-dolkka-ng ø-marnburr-inj ø-borledme-ng bi-karme-ng like
 3P-get.up-PP 3P-arrange-PP 3P-turn.around-PP 3/3hP-hold-PP
bi-bodme-wo-ng. Like first up bene-yime-ng kureh, bindi-mirrkme(-ng?)
 3/3hP-back-give-PP 3uaP-do-PP there 3a/3pP-face.front.on-?
na-mekke bininj birri-m-rakburr-inj.
 MA-DEM person 3aP-hither-go-PP
 However, Kodjok had already heard them calling out as they went (and because of their singing he knew they were *wardbukkarra mimih* who would kill him). As they came closer Kodjok said to Kamarrang who was holding him, “Just let me move a

⁷ *Bonh* is the Kune equivalent of *wanjh* in other dialects. See §13.8.4.

bit so you can hold me much better”, but he was tricking him. He turned around and Kamarrang said “OK”, and let go of him and he stood up and moved around so his back faced his *mimih* captor. Originally they had both been facing the approaching people (who were really *mimih*).

11. *Rawoyh-no* \emptyset -*kudkudme-ng* “*Ngadburrung yi-karrme!*”.
 again-PRT 3P-run-PP brother 2-holdIMP
 “*Nga-karrme*” \emptyset -*yime-ninj*. *Birri-wayini-wirrinj*, “*Wardbukkarra, Wardbukkarra*
 1/3-holdNP 3P-say-IRR 3aP-sing-IRR [song words]
Djingakbangakba muyumuy kayakay”. “*Yakkan marrek ngurri-yime kayakay*
 [song words] ? NEG 2a-sayNP [song word]
dja muyumuy ngurri-yime, wardi ngun-bekkan ngudberre.”
 CONJ [song word] 2a-sayNP might 3/2a-hear-NP 2aOBL
 Again he (the younger Kamarrang) ran back. “Brother are you holding him?” “I’m
 holding him”, the other replied. The others sang, “*Wardbukkarra, Wardbukkarra*
Djingakbangakba nguyunguy kayakay”. “Don’t say *kayakay* say, *muyumuy*
 otherwise he’ll hear you.”
12. *Korroko bin-bekka-ng nungka* \emptyset -*nanga-na-ng birri-kuyin-darnkihme-ng*
 before 3/3pP-hear-PP he 3P-ITER-see-PP 3aP-almost-be.close.up-PP
bonj \emptyset -*marn-marnbu-rr-inj na-mekk bukka Kodjok, Kamarrang kah*
 finished 3P-ITER-make-RR-PP MA-DEM eh [subsection] ?
bi-nanga-na-ng bi-ngerh-do-y rerreh \emptyset -*badbadme-ng*
 3/3hP-ITER-see-PP 3/3hP-heart-strike-PP after 3P-flop.around.on.ground-PP
 \emptyset -ni wurru [= I la] balay.
 3P-sitP CONJ far
 But Kodjok had already heard them coming and he saw them coming close so he made
 his move and struck Kamarrang and knocked him to the ground where he rolled
 around in pain and Kodjok took off and ran a long way.
13. *Kaluk na-mekke na-kornkungmo*⁸ *nungkah* \emptyset -*bengka-ng korroko bi-na-ng,*
 later MA-DEM I-fatherPOSSD 3masc 3P-know-PP before 3/3hP-see-PP
*bi-bo-m kun-morne*⁹ *rerreh yungki like* \emptyset -*kurrkurrkme-ng na-kornkungmo.*
 3/3hP-hit-PP IV-shoulder later first 3P-twitch-PP I-fatherPOSSD
 *\emptyset -niiii, nungkah-bonh*¹⁰ *na-mekke na-wu na-ne Kodjok*
 3P-sitP:DUR 3masc-then MA-DEM MA-REL MA-DEM [subsection]
konda birri-kerng-lawkme-y. Bi-kanj-ngu-neng.
 here 3a/3P-cheek-slice-PP 3/3hP-meat-eat-PP
Kodjok bi-karrme-ng Kamarrang-yih bi-kanj-ngu-neng
 [subsection] 3/3hP-hold-PP [subsection]-INSTR 3/3hP-meat-eat-PP

⁸ The pronunciation with a final velar nasal, as here, is unusual; in other dialects the form is *nakornkumo*.

⁹ This is a specifically Kune word (cf. Dalabon *mvrne*); in other dialects ‘shoulder’ is *kun-karlang*.

¹⁰ The enclitic *bonh* is a specifically Kune form, corresponding to *wanjh* in other dialects.

bi-kerng-lawkme-y ba yiman birri-bu-yi birri-ngu-yi kun-kanj nuye.
 3/3HP-cheek-slice-PP so.that like 3a/3P-hit-IRR 3a/3P-eat-IRR IV-meat his
 Later, Kodjok's father already knew that something had happened to his son because his shoulder had been twitching. [It is believed that different parts of the body refer to various kin; the shoulder refers to one's son. When a part of the body has a nervous twitch it is believed that this refers to something significant happening to the respective family member.] Kodjok had his cheek on his face cut off and eaten by Kamarrang who was holding on to him (and who was really a killer *mimih*) and they would have eventually killed him and eaten all of him.

14. *ϕ-Worhna-worhna-ng bi-na-ng na-ne ka-m-kudkudme¹¹ ka-m-re-re¹²*
 3P-ITER-watch-PP 3/3HP-see-PP MA-DEM 3-hither-runNP 3-hither-ITER-goNP

ϕ-bebme-ng. "Njale ngun-baye-ng korlonj?"

3P-emerge-PP what 3/2-bite-PP son

"Kayakki Ngabba, ngandi-bu-yi ngandi-barlanh-bu-yi ngandi-kuyin-bu-yi",
 nothing father 3a/1-kill-IRR 3a/1-almost-kill-IRR 3a/1-almost-kill-IRR

ϕ-yime-ng. "Kamarrang ngan-karrme-ng nga-bo-m ϕ-ngerh-dadjme-ng."

3P-say-PP [subsection] 3/1-grab-PP 1/3-hit-PP 3P-heart-break-PP

Bonj nungkah ϕ-me-y na-mekke njamed like njamed na-ne kun-djila
 right 3masc 3/3-get-PP MA-DEM what what MA-DEM IV-axe

ϕ-mirrh-warbom nungka kareh baleh ka-yime,
 3/3P-sharp.part-sing.magicalllyPP 3masc maybe howNP 3-sayNP

na-bene marrek ka-burkme-n, [MG: yiman dadken]
 MA-DEM NEG 3-become.dry-NP like stone.axe

yoh dadken, dadken ϕ-mey, kuu, manjh na-mekke dule-no
 yes stone.axe stone.axe 3/3P-takePP ? wait MA-DEM song-3POSSD

ken njamed na-mekke dule-no na-wu nungkah Burlanj
 oops what MA-DEM song-3POSSD MA-REL 3masc [subsection]

na-kornkungmo ϕ-karrme-ng, [MG: ϕ-wayirni] yoh ϕ-wayirni ...
 MA-fatherPOSSD 3P-have-PP 3P-singP yeah 3P-singP

His father sat and kept watch until Kodjok came running home "What bit you my son?" "No father, they tried to kill me, they nearly killed me", he said. "That Kamarrang grabbed me but I struck him and killed him." So, his father went and got his stone axe and sang the sharp edge of it (to give it power to kill someone) with his own special song which he had. And so he started to sing ... [Discussion with Kamarrang Bob Burruwal follows in order to clarify some details of the story.]

15. Burruwal:

Na-mekke ϕ-wam nungkah kornkungmo bi-nahna-ng-kah ϕ-wam ϕ-rerrka-ng
 MA-DEM 3P-goPP he his.father 3/3HP-watch-PP-LOC 3P-goPP 3P-sit-PP

¹¹ This form is equivalent to *lobmeng* in other dialects.

¹² The use of the reduplicated form here was said to be equivalent to the immediate form *kamhre* in other dialects.

bi-nahna-ng marrek birri-na-yi la nungka clever marrkidjbu
 3/3h-watch-PP NEG 3a/3P-see-IRR CONJ he shaman shaman
nungka kornkumo. ø-Ngurdurl-ra-yi "Kal[u]k njale-ken ka-ngurldulme"
 he father 3P-thunder-go-IRR then what-GEN 3-roarNP

birri-yime-ng.

3aP-say-PP

Kodjok's father went off to find the killer *mimih* and he sat down watching them but they could not see him because he was a 'clever man' or shaman. Then thunder roared. "What made that thunder", they called out.

16. LY: *Nungkah ø-wayini-wirrinj.*

he 3P-see-IRR

Kodjok's father kept singing.

17. BB: *Keep goin' ø-wayini-wirrinj na-mekke mimih birri-wayini birri-dirri-wirrinj.*

3P-sing-IRR MA-DEM mimih 3aP-singP 3aP-play-IRR

Birri-ni start birri-yime-ng birri-wayini "Manjhkilkilyo manjhdjilimarda
 3aP-sitP 3aP-say-PP 3aP-singP [song words]

manjhdjordobbo dirridiridibbo". Yi-bengka-n na-mekke nawu David
 [song words] 2-know-NP MA-DEM MA:DEM

ka-wayini yo djad kind ø-borledke-ng yo.

3-singNP yeah that 3/3P-turn-PP yeah

The killer *mimih* kept singing and standing there. They sang like this:

"*Manjhkilkilyo manjhdjilimarda manjhdjordobbo dirridiridibbo*". You know this is the same song which David (Karlbuma) sings today, well that's the kind those *mimih* were singing.

18. LY: *Ngalkarredilhilmiken bini-borrkke-meninj.*

[song/dance style] 3uaP-dance-IRR

The two of them danced that style called *Ngalkarredilhilmiken*.

19. BB: *Ngalkahdilhilmiken rowk.*

[song/dance style] all

All that *ngalkahdilhilmiken* style.

20. LY: *Nguni-dolkka-n nguni-borrkke. Bedman mimih like bindi-ngeybu-yi kareh*
 2ua-get.up-NP 2ua-danceNP 3aEMPH mimih 3a/3pl-call-IRR maybe

bindi-bimbu-yi Ngalkahdilhilmiken rowk nguni-dolkka nguni-borrkke
 3a/3pl-paint-IRR [style] all 2ua-get.upIMP 2ua-danceIMP

na-mekke bini-dolkka-ng bini-borrkke-ng yi-bengka-n

MA-DEM 3uaP-get.up-PP 3uaP-dance-PP 2-know-NP

na-mekke David ka-wayini Kamarrang, Korlobidahdah.

MA-DEM 3-singNP [subsection] [place]

That's the way those *mimih* call that song and the way they paint themselves. (They sing the words) "You two get up and dance *Ngalkahdilhilmiken*". Just like today David (Karlbuma) of Kamarrang subsection sings, from Korlobidahdah.

21. "Kaluk njale na-ne ka-ngurdulme njale ka-kodj-ngolke?"
 then what MA-DEM 3-thunderNP what 3-head-cloud.pile.upNP
birri-marne-yime-ninj birri-bekka-rr-inj ø-ngurdulme-ng
 3aP-BEN-say-IRR 3aP-hear-RR-PP 3P-thunder-PP
bedda birri-mekke birri-borrkke-meninj. Ku-mekke bi-nahna-ng Bulanj.
 they 3a-DEM 3aP-dance-IRR LOC-DEM 3/3hP-watch-PP [name]
 "What's it thundering for? What's going on here?", they said to themselves as they
 heard the thunder whilst they were dancing. But Kodjok's father, Bulanj was there
 watching them.
22. BB: *Birri-wayini: birri-wayini: kure, birri-ngurdme-ninj, birri-ngurdme-ninj*
 3aP-singP 3aP-singP there 3aP-stop-IRR 3aP-stop-IRR
ø-marduhme-ninj, ø-marduhme-ninj na-w shhhhhhkew bi-do-y
 3P-lightning-IRR 3P-lightning-IRR MA-DEM [onomatopoeic] 3/3hP-strike-PP
but nungka na-mekke kornkumo. Na-mekke njamed ø-karrme-ng Bulanj
 he MA-DEM his.father MA-DEM what 3/3P-get-PP [name]
kornkumo. ø-Djal-wam kun-kudji wanjh bonj. Bin-kodj-worrhme-ng
 father 3P-just-goPP IV-one then finished 3/3pP-head-destroy-PP
na-mekke story bonj.
 MA-DEM finished
 The killer *mimih* kept singing and singing and then they stopped and saw a great
 bolt of lightning *shhhhhhkew*. It was Bulanj, Kodjok's father making the lightning.
 It came done and struck them all and destroyed them. That's the story of these
 paperbark sculptures.

Text 6: Mick Kubarkku: Ngurdyawok and Nawalabik (Kuninjku)

Told by Mick Kubarkku, a Kuninjku speaker (though in the text some of the characters speak Kunwinjku). Versions of this story are also told further west in Kunwinjku and Gundjehmi country.

This version was recorded Yikarrakkal outstation, 21/11/89 by NE, Carolyn Coleman and Murray Garde. The story was told around the evening campfire to an audience of around fifteen Kuninjku-speaking people from outstations in the region, who were gathered at Yikarrakkal for a vernacular literacy workshop. Subsequent transcription by Murray Garde in Maningrida and by NE and Murray Garde in Melbourne; translation by Murray Garde and NE.

As becomes clear (though not until lines 46–49, through the use of triangular kin terms which allow the relationships to be worked out), Ngurdyawok is the husband of one of the sisters, while Nawalabik is their brother and Ngurdyawok's brother-in-law.

1. *Yo, Ngurdyawok, Nawalabik, en ngal-daluk na-mekke,*
yes [name] [name] and II-woman MA-DEM
Yes, Ngurdyawok, Nawalabik, and his sisters;
[ngal-daluk, the II-prefixed form of 'woman', is an anaphorically possessed form
with the meaning 'his sister']
2. *ngal-dah-daluk na-ngamed.*
II-REDUP-woman MA-whatsit
his sisters, whatsit,
3. *Nawalabik Ngurdyawok nakka*
[name] [name] MA:DEM
those fellers, Nawalabik and Ngurdyawok,
4. *wanjh na-mekke na-rangem la ngal-dah-daluk na-mekke wanjh*
then MA-DEM MA-male CONJ II-REDUP-woman MA-DEM then
birri-wam
3aP-goPP
well that boy and his sisters went.
5. *wanjh birri-wam kure birri-wurlebme::ng*
then 3aP-goPP there 3aP-swimPP
Well, they went there and swam.
6. *birri-wurlebme::ng wanjh bene-h-bo-rro-y,*
3aP-swimPP then 3uaP-IMM-liquid-strike-PP
They swam, then they started clapping on the water.
7. *bene-h-bo-rro-y njamed njamed nakkan njale nakkan,*
3uaP-IMM-liquid-strike-PP whatsit whatsit MA:DEM what MA:DEM
They clapped on the water, whatsit, what's that called —
8. *ngad madjulbirri yo madjulbirri*
we ? yes ?
we say madjulbirri, yes, madjulbirri —
9. *djiluh djiluh djiluh djiluh ku-ronj ya,*
splash splash splash splash LOC-water yes
they splashed and splashed and splashed and splashed in the water, yeah.
10. *bene-h-bo-rro-y bene-h-bo-rro-y ngal-dah-daluk*
3uaP-IMM-liquid-strike-PP 3uaP-IMM-liquid-strike-PP II-REDUP-woman
The two of them were clapping and clapping on the water, the two girls.
11. *bene-h-bo-rroy la nungan ø-dingih-di wanjh ku-mekke*
3uaP-IMM-liquid-strike-PP CONJ he 3P-ITER-standP then LOC-DEM
The two of them were beating the water, and he was standing there,
12. *nungan ø-dingih-di ø-yime-ng*
heEMPH 3P-ITER-standP 3P-say-PP
He stood there and said,

13. *"Konda wanjh ngune-h-na-n nga-wurlebme ngayi,*
here then 2ua-IMM-see-NP 1-swimNP I
"You two look at me swimming here;
14. *ngayi nga-wurlebme, la ngudda wanjh ngune-bo-rro!"*
I 1-swimNP CONJ you then 2ua-water-strikeIMP
I'm going to swim, and you two strike the water".
15. *Wanjh bene-bo-rro-y bene-h-bo-rroy wanjh la nungka ø-wurlebme-ng*
then 3uaP-liquid-strike-PP 3uaP-liquid-strike-PP CONJ he 3P-swim-PP
So the two of them struck the water then, they struck the water and he swam.
16. *ø-djal-yulyulme-ng kure ø-na-ng kure ø-na-ng*
3P-just-swim.under.water-PP there 3P-see-PP there 3P-see-PP
He swam along under the water, looked this way and that,
17. *ø-na-ng kabene-bebbeh-bo-rro-ng,*
3P-see-PP 3ua-DIST-liquid-strike-NP
and saw them each striking the water in a different place
18. *djilu lahlarrk wanjh ø-wabwabme-ng*
splash naked then 3P-sneak.up-PP
splashing about naked; then he snuck up on them
19. *durrk durrk. "Ah, karrang na-ni ladjkurrungu¹³ ngudda*
tug tug aa mum MA-DEM mardayin.novice you
kanhbene¹⁴-kornmud-yirridjme-ng ngarrewoneng."
3/1aIMM-pubic.hair-snatch-PP 1ua
Tug! Tug! (he pulled their pubic hairs). "Aa, mother, your son the *mardayin* ceremony
novice here has been snatching at our pubic hair!"
20. *"Aa, kare ngudman nakka nuk burd kare*
aa maybe youEMPH MA:DEM DUB grunter.fish maybe
ngunhbene-kornmud-baye ngudberre la ngayi nga-mungu."
3/2uaIMM-pubic.hair-biteNP you CONJ I 1-uninvolved
"Aa, it was you yourselves, it might have been a grunter fish or something nibbling at
your pubic hairs, because I had nothing to do with it."
21. *"Ngudda wanjh, ngudda kanh-kornmud-yirridjme-ng ngarrewoneng."*
you then you 2/1aIMM-pubic.hair-snatch-PP 1ua
"It was you, you were snatching at our pubic hair."
22. *"Ngayi wanjh burrkyak, la burd nakka."*
I then nothing CONJ grunter.fish MA:DEM
"It wasn't me at all, but that grunter fish."
[Again, *burrkyak* is the Kunwinjku form; in Kuninjku it would be *kayakki*]

¹³ The term *ladjkurrungu* is used, in reference and address, to refer to someone who is a novice in the Mardayin ceremony. From now on it will not be translated.

¹⁴ Here and on and off through the text the characters speak Kunwinjku (since it is a story from that area). Here this is shown by the prefix *kanhbene-*; in Kuninjku it would be simply *kan-* (§10.2.2.3).

23. *Rawoyhno wanjh, "Ngane-rawoyh-bo-rro-ng," wanjh bene-bo-rro-y*
 again then 1ua-again-liquid-strike-NP then 3uaP-liquid-strike-PP
 Again they said: "Let's clap on the water again", and they clapped on the water.
24. *djilurth djilurth djilurth djilurth djilurth djilurth bene-bo-rro-y.*
 splash splash splash splash splash splash 3uaP-liquid-strike-PP
 Splash! Splash! Splash! Splash! Splash! Splash! they struck the water.
25. *Wanjh, "Konda ngune-na nga-wurlebme, wanjh yewelk kondah ngah..."*
 then here 2ua-seeIMP 1-swimNP then bubble here 1IMM
njamed yewelk, burrng-burng, nawu yewelk kabirr-ih-wokdi, wanjh
 whatsit bubble(W) bubble-bubble MA:DEM bubble 3a-IMM-sayNP then
burng-burng
 bubble-bubble
 Then he said: "You two look at me swimming here, bubbles here I'm —" whatsit,
yewelk (bubbles), (we say) *burng-burng*, they call bubbles *yewelk* —
26. *"konda ngune-na nga-h-baye yewelk mak la ngudda*
 here 2ua-seeIMP 1-IMM-biteNP bubble also CONJ you
ngune-bo-rr."
 2ua-liquid-strikeIMP
 "You two watch me swallow the bubbles here, and you two clap on the water."
27. *Wanjh bene-bo-rro-y rawoyhno bene-rawoyh-bo-rro-y*
 then 3uaP-liquid-strike-PP again 3uaP-again-liquid-strike-PP
 Then they clapped on the water and clapped on the water again.
28. *ø-wurlebme-ng yiman ku-mekke djunj ø-bayeh-baye-ng la ø-djal-wam*
 3P-swim-PP like LOC-DEM bubbles 3P-ITER-bite-PP CONJ 3P-just-gOPP
 He swam again, and acted like he was swallowing bubbles there but he just went along
29. *ø-yulyulme-ng ø-wam kure wanjh ø-rawoyh-wam ø-na-ng*
 3P-sneak.up-PP 3P-goPP there then 3P-again-gOPP 3P-see-PP
kabene-h-rawoyh-bo-rro-ng djirlurth djirlurth djirlurth¹⁵ wanjh
 3ua-IMM-again-liquid-strike-NP splash splash splash then
 and snuck up, went there and then again he went and saw them splashing and splashing
 and splashing the water.
30. *ø-wabwabme-ng djirrih djirrih! ben-kornmud-yirridjme-ng*
 3P-sneak.up-PP tickle tickle 3/3plP-pubic.hair-s snatch-PP
 He snuck up and tickle! tickle! he snatched at their pubic hair.
31. *"Ah", wanjh ø-wabme-ng*
 aa! then 3P-move.along-PP
 "Aa!" (they called out) then he moved along (under the water).

¹⁵ The last occurrence of *djilurth* is pronounced without the final glottal stop and merged with the following *wanjh*.

32. *kure* \emptyset -*dolhme-ng* *wanjh* \emptyset -*dolhme-ng* *bene-h-marne-yimeng*,
 there 3P-pop.up.head-PP then 3P-pop.up.head-PP 3ua/3P-IMM-BEN-say-PP
 He popped his head up somewhere, then popped it up somewhere else, and the two girls
 said to him:
33. “*Ladjkurrungu njal ngudda kanhbene-kornmud-yirridjme-ng ngarrewoneng?*”
 novice what you 2/1uaIMM-pubic.hair-snatch-PP 1ua
 “*Ladjkurrungu*, what are you doing snatching at our pubic hair?”
34. “*Ngayi wanjh nga-mungu*”, \emptyset -*yime-ng*, “*ngayi nga-mungu nakkan*
 I then 1-uninvolved 3P-say-PP I 1-uninvolved MA:DEM
 \emptyset -baye-ng burd=bukka ngun-kornmud-baye-ng ngudberre”.
 3P-bite-PP grunter=eh? 3/2a-pubic.hair-bite-PP you.pl
 “It wasn’t me”, he said. “I’m innocent; it must have been that grunter fish nibbling at
 your pubic hair.”
35. *Wanjh bene-h-bo-rro-y* *wanjh birri-wam*,
 then 3uaP-IMM-liquid-strike-PP then 3aP-goPP
 Then the two of them clapped on the water, then they all went.
36. *birri-wam birri-bidbom wanjh birri-yo-y*.
 3aP-goPP 3aP-climb.upPP then 3aP-lie-PP
 They went and climbed up (out of the billabong), then lay down.
37. *Birri-yo-y wanjh bene-djangka-ng, bene-djangka-ng*
 3aP-lie-PP then 3uaP-go.hunting-PP 3uaP-go.hunting-PP
 They lay down, then the two of them (i.e. the two men, Ngurdyawok and Nawalabik)
 went hunting, the two went hunting,
38. *Ngurdyawok la nungka Nawalabik, ken, bene-wam njamed Dird*
 [name] CONJ he [name] oops 3uaP-goPP whatsit Moon
na-wu duruk birri-kom-dukka-ng korroko Aboriginal birri-kom-dukka-ng,
 MA-REL dog 3aP-neck-tie-PP before Aboriginal.way 3a/3P-neck-tie-PP
 Ngurdyawok and him, Nawalabik, the two of them went off with whatchacallim,
 Moon, that dog of theirs, they tied something (snail-shells) around his neck (as a rattle)
 in the old Aboriginal way.
39. *wanjh ngarlirrk ngal-bu* \emptyset -*yime-ng lerre lerre lerre*
 then [snail.sp.] FE-REL 3P-say-PP rattle rattle rattle
 Well, those snail shells (around his neck) went rattle rattle rattle,
40. *bene-h-wam wanjh bene-h-wam mayh bene-h-bom*,
 3uaP-IMM-goPP then 3uaP-IMM-goPP animal 3ua/3P-IMM-killPP
 They went along then and went and killed an animal.
41. *yimarnek bi-rrulubom nungka kun-dulk*,
 CTRFAC 3/3hP-hit.by.throwingPP he IV-stick
 He (Ngurdyawok) wanted to kill him (Nawalabik) by throwing a stick at him.
42. *yimarnek bi-rrulubom la* \emptyset -*djal-durnd-i*
 CTRFAC 3/3hP-hit.by.throwingPP CONJ 3P-just-return-PP
 He wanted to kill him by throwing a stick, but he just came back (without doing it).

43. *ben-bengka-ng ngal-dah-daluk, ben-bengka-ng wanjh*
3/3plP-think-PP II-REDUP-woman 3/3plP-think-PP then
He was thinking about the sisters, he was thinking about them then,
44. *birri-yo-y ku-mekke ø-wam ben-bengka-ng birri-yo-y ngal-dah-daluk*
3aP-lie-PP LOC-DEM 3P-goPP 3/3plP-think-PP 3aP-lie-PP II-REDUP-woman
“they were sleeping there”, he went along and was thinking about them, “the sisters were sleeping”.
45. *Wanjh nungka kam-duh-durnd-i ø-na-ng kabirri-yo*
then he 3towardsP-INCEP-return-PP 3/3P-see-PP 3a-lieNP
Well, he started back, and saw them sleeping there.
46. “*Nga!*” *bi-djurlhme-ng.*
hey 3/3h-wake-PP
“Hey!”, he woke her (his wife).¹⁶
47. “*Nakkan na-wu nadjumuwarre kam-wam=bukka ngurri-h-yo*”
MA:DEM MA-REL [triangular kin term] 3towardsP-goPP=eh 2a-IMM-lieNP
“Here, my wife, the one who is your brother and my brother-in-law is coming now, you (women) sleep together (for safety, to avoid the sexual antics of your brother).
48. *ngayi burrkyak, ladjkurrungu ngudda*” *bi-djurlhme-ng*
I nothing novice your 3/3hP-wake-PP
Not because of me, but because of that novice (brother) of yours” he (said as he) woke her.
49. “*Ladjkurrungu wanjh yi-re, konda ngal-yabokwarr ngane-yo.*”
novice then 2-goNP here [triangular kin term] 1ua-lieNP
“Ladjkurrungu, you go (and sleep somewhere else), I’m sleeping here with the one who is my wife and your sister.”
50. “*O, ku-mekke nuk ku-bolk-buyika nga-h-yo.*”
oh LOC-DEM DUB LOC-place-other 1-IMM-lieNP
“O, I better sleep somewhere else.”
51. “*Ya wanjh yi-ra-y ku-ni yi-yo.*”
yes then 2-go-IMP LOC-DEM 2-lieNP
“Yes, you go and sleep over there then.”
52. *Bene-wam la nungan ø-wanah-wam man-kung ø-bekka-ng,*
3uaP-goPP CONJ heEMPH 3P-ITER-goPP III-honey 3/3P-hear-PP
ø-wanah-wam ø-bekka-ng bu:m ka-h-yime,
3P-ITER-goPP 3/3P-hear-PP hum 3-IMM-sayNP
(Later) the two of them (Ngurdyawok and Nawalabik) went off, and he (Ngurdyawok) was going along and heard the sound of (bees buzzing near their) honey, as he was going along he heard them going hummmm;

¹⁶ Here and in the next three lines, it is the use of triangular kin terms by Ngurdyawok that holds the key to figuring out who is doing what.

53. *bobbidj*, \emptyset -*bekka-ng ka-h-bume*, *wanjh birri-yo-y, birri-yo-y malamalayi*
[bee sp.] 3/3P-hear-PP 3-IMM-humNP then 3aP-lie-PP 3aP-lie-PP tomorrow
bobbidj bees, he heard them humming. Meanwhile they (back at the camp) slept, they
slept till the next day.
54. *wanjh bene-dolkka-ng bene-wam*. “*Ngarr-e*” *biliken bene-mey, mak*
then 3uaP-get.up-PP 3uaP-goPP 12-goNP *billycan 3ua/3-getPP* another
biliken
billycan
Right, the two (men) got up and set off. n“Let’s go!” They took a *billycan*, and another
billycan,
55. *nanih biliken wanjh bene-ka-ng rowk*
MA:DEM *billycan* then 3uaP-take-PP all
and this other *billycan* they took, all of them.
56. *bene-wa::m kure wanjh “Na-ni yi-na bobbidj,*
3uaP-goPP there then MA-DEM 2-seeNP [bee.sp.]
The two of them went along there, then (one of them said): “See these *bobbidj*
bees here,
57. *la nga-bidbu-n wanjh nga-ngadje-ng wanjh,*
CONJ 1-climb.up-NP then 1/3-strike-NP then
well I’ll climb up and strike the tree.
58. *nga-rradjje nga-yende*¹⁷-*dadjke*
1/3-cutNP 1/3-projecting.branch.stump-cutNP
I’ll cut the off projecting branch-stump (to get at the honey).
59. *nga-yende-dadjke ka-manka-n.*”
1/3-branch.stump-cutNP 3-fall-NP
I’ll cut the branch-stump down.”
60. “*Ma ma ma*”, \emptyset -*bidbom wanjh \emptyset -yende-dadjje-ng, \emptyset -yende-dadjje-ng*
hey hey hey 3/3P-climbPP then 3/3P-branch.stump-cut-PP 3/3P-stump-cut-PP
rowk
all
“Hey, hey, hey!”, he climbed up and cut off all of the branch stump.
61. *wii bum \emptyset -manka-ng.*
whee boom 3-fall-PP
Whee, boom! it fell down.
62. *Yimanek \emptyset -kuyin-dabu-bakme-ng dabu-no \emptyset -mey.* “*Ay! ay! ay!*”
CTRFAC 3/3P-almost-(bee).egg-break-PP egg-3POSSD 3/3P-getPP stop stop stop
He was about to get the eggs, he got the eggs, but “Stop! stop! stop!” (said the other).

¹⁷ Once again, *yende* is a Kunwinjku form; the Kuningku form would be *dinjh-no*.

63. *"Mandi yi-yakwa-n la na-njeknjek, na-njeknjek mandi yi-yakwa-n,*
 NEG.IMP 2-eat-NP CONJ MA-taboo.food MA-taboo.food NEG.IMP 2-eat-NP
 "Don't eat it, because it's taboo food (for you, in your ritual state as an initiand); it's
 taboo food, don't eat it! [This quote is in Kun-kurmg.]
64. *kayakki kayakki ka:k, ka:k, ka:k kayakki", kondah ku-djen ø-ka-ng*
 NEG NEG no no no NEG here LOC-tongue 3/3P-take-PP
kun-djen ø-nguneng dabu-no wanjh ø-yo-y. "Kak kak kak kayakki!"
 IV-tongue 3/3P-eatPP egg-3POSSD then 3P-lie-PP no no no no
"Ngayi kayakki, kuni na-ngalabak kayakki."
 I nothing here MA-cheek nothing
 "No, no, no, no, no, no!", (but) he took it on his tongue here. He ate the food with his
 tongue and it remained there (on his tongue). "No, no, no, no!" "I've got nothing here,
 there's nothing in my cheeks."
65. *"Ba yi-ngune-ng kun-mekke na-djamun nakka yi-ngune-ng.*
 but 2/3-eat-PP IV-DEM MA-taboo MA:DEM 2/3-eat-PP
Na-njeknjek wanjh yi-yakwam."
 MA-taboo then 2/3-eatPP
 "But you ate it then, you ate that ritually taboo food. You ate that ritually taboo food
 then." [Note that this is repeated, first in the everyday and then in the Kun-kurmg
 register.]
66. *Wanjh bene-bo.. ø-monbuhme-ng rowk yiman kondanj wanjh*
 then 3ua/3P-liquid 3/3P-break.open.honey-PP all like here then
 OK, the two of them ... he broke open all the honeycomb then.
67. *ø-kurrme-ng yiman kuni, wanjh bonj bene-baru-y, ø-baru-y rowk,*
 3/3P-put-PP like IV:DEM then finished 3ua/3P-paint-PP 3/3P-paint-PP all
 He put it like this, then they rubbed (the honey), rubbed it all (onto the twig scoop
 which they'll use to eat it up with).
68. *ø-baru-y rowk, ø-baru-y rowk, ø-baru-y wanjh ø-yakwo-ng.*
 3/3P-paint-PP all 3P-paint-PP all 3/3P-paint-PP then 3/3P-finish-PP
 He painted it all, painted it all, painted honey (onto the twigs) till they'd done it all.
69. *Wanjh "Konda yi-na-ø nga-rrijnh-bardmey", ø-yime-ng. ø-Dijnh-bardka-ng*
 then here 2-see-IMP 1/3-knob-break.offPP 3-say-PP 3/3-knob-break.off-PP
 Then he said "Look here, I've broken off the knob (of the tree-trunk)". He'd broken
 off the knob,
70. *wanjh ø-bo-rrolka-ng man-kung. ø-li::bka-ng, ø-li::bka-ng,*
 then 3P-liquid-come.up-PP III-honey 3/3P-lick-PP 3/3P-lick-PP
ø-li::bka-ng, ø-li::bka-ng, ø-lib-libka-ng,
 3/3P-lick-PP 3/3P-lick-PP 3/3P-ITER-lick-PP
 then honey came gushing out. He (Ngurdyawok) licked, and licked, and licked,
 and licked, and licked.
71. *"Yi-m-lobme-n yi-m-lobme-n, yi-m-ra-y, yi-m-ra-y,*
 2-towards-run-IMP 2-towards-run-IMP 2-towards-go-IMP 2-towards-go-IMP

- yi-m-ra-y, ba yingan=wali yi-libme.*
 2-towards-go-IMP so.that youEMPH=IN.TURN 2-lickNP
 “Run over here, run over here, come, come, come, so that you can have your turn at licking!”
72. *Wanjh bi-marne-wenjhme-ng ku-mekke kam-lobme-ng*
 then 3/3hP-BEN-trick-PP LOC-DEM 3:towards-run-PP
 Then (Nawalabik) played a trick on (Ngurdyawok) there. He (Ngurdyawok) ran up.
73. *ø-libka-ng, ø-libka-ng, ø-libka-ng, kun-kudji ø-libka-ng, ø-bekka-ng*
 3/3P-lick-PP 3/3P-lick-PP 3/3P-lick-PP IV-one 3/3P-lick-PP 3/3P-hear-PP
derrengkerd
 [sound of axe]
 He licked and licked and licked, and licked one more time, then he heard the noise of an axe (stuck in wood).
74. *ø-yime-ng kabban ø-baye-ng na-mekke waliman, dadken kare,*
 3P-say-PP axe.handle 3/3P-bite-PP MA-DEM steel.axe stone.axe maybe
 That steel axe made a noise as it bit (into the wood), or maybe it was a stone axe,
75. *yimarnek ø-yime-ng rawoyhno lib.. “Yi-yakwa-ø”, bi-marne-yime-ng*
 CTRFAC 3/3P-say-PP again lick 2/3-eat-IMP(k.k.) 3/3hP-BEN-say-PP
 He was about to have another lick ... “You eat!”, (Nawalabik) said to him [in Kun-kurrng] —
76. *wanjh ø-kuyin-libme-ng bonj wanjh bi-djurd-dadjdje-ng.*
 then 3P-almost-lick-PP finished then 3/3hP-nape.of.neck-chop-PP
 right, he was about to have a lick, but that was it, (Nawalabik) chopped him in the back of the neck then.
77. *ø-Keleh-kele-kayhme-ng wanjh, ø-kele-kayhme-ng rowk wanjh,*
 3P-REDUP-afraid-cry.out-PP then 3P-afraid-cry.out-PP all then
 He cried out in terror then, he cried out in utter fear.
 [This is a rare case of an adverbial prefix being reduplicated.]
78. *ø-me-y, wanjh bi-kuk-kurrme-ng man-kole nuye,*
 3/3P-pick.up-PP then 3/3P-body-put.down-PP III-spear his
 He (Nawalabik) picked up his (Ngurdyawok’s) stuff then, laid out his body, his spear,
79. *man-kole nuye bi-marne-kurrme-ng, borndok nungka=kih,*
 III-spear his 3/3P-BEN-put.down-PP spear.thrower he=NOW
 He put down his spear for him, his spear thrower, and then (Ngurdyawok) himself,
80. *ku-mekke ø-yi-yo-y darrkid-no ø-yo-y.*
 LOC-DEM 3/3P-COM-lie-PP body-3POSSD 3P-lie-PP
 And he lay there with them, his body lay there.
81. *La nungka wanjh ø-duh-durnd-i man-kung ø-deleng-me-y,*
 CONJ he then 3P-INCEP-return-PP III-honey 3/3P-container-get-PP
 And then he (Nawalabik) set off back to camp, he took a container of honey,
82. *ku-red bene-h-wam, ø-bebme-ng kure ngal-daluk ngal-badjan*
 LOC-camp 3uaP-IMM-goPP 3P-turn.up-PP LOC II-woman II-mother

birri-h-ni.

3aP-IMM-sitP

The two of them (Nawalabik and his dog, presumably) went along towards their camp, and turned up where his mother and sisters were staying.

83. *Birri-h-ni, "Nga, na-wu ladjkurrungu baleh ø-wam?"*
 3aP-IMM-sitP hey MA-REL initiate where 3P-goPP
 They were sitting there, (and said:) "Hey, where's that initiate (our son/brother) gone?"
84. *"Kure wanjh ka-m-h-re, kurih Mondabongkel kureh wanjh*
 there now 3-towards-IMM-goNP there [name] there now
ka-h-re
 3-IMM-goNP
 "He's coming up now, there's Mondabongkel (the dog) there now already."
85. *"njamed, nabarlek." Yimarnkek, la nungka ø-kuk-yo-y. ø-Kuk-yo-y*
 what [wallaby.sp.] CTRFAC CONJ he 3P-body-lie-PP 3P-body-lie-PP
 (He must have a) whatchallit, a *nabarlek*." (Nawalabik) acted as if it were like that, but he lay dead, he lay dead;
86. *ku-mekke bi-bawo-ng wanjh ø-kuk-yo-y.*
 LOC-DEM 3/3P-leave-PP then 3P-body-lie-PP
 he'd left him there and he lay dead.
87. *Birri-wohna-ng wanjh ø-ngokda-nj.*
 3aP-look.out-PP then 3P-become.night-PP
 They kept watch for him then, and it grew dark.
88. *Ngalengman ngal-badjan ø-nalkbom, ø-nalkbom rowk, ø-nalkbom*
 sheEMPH II-mother 3P-cryPP 3P-cryPP all 3P-cryPP
 The mother cried, and cried her eyes out, she cried.
89. *wanjh birri-yo-y rowk, wanjh na-mekke nungka na-wu bi-djurd-dadjke-ng*
 then 3aP-sleep-PP all then MA-DEM he MA-REL 3/3HP-nape-chop-PP
na-murnungu wanjh, ø-borrme-ng wanjh ø-kodjke-yo-y.
 MA-killer then 3P-snore-PP then 3P-asleep-lie-PP
 Then they all slept, and he who had chopped him in the back of the neck, the murderer, he snored as he slept.
90. *ø-Kodjke-yo-y, wanjh ø-me-y man-kung birri-me-y na-mekke birri-me-y*
 3P-asleep-lie-PP then 3/3P-get-PP III-honey 3a/3P-get-PP MA-DEM 3a/3P-get-PP
 He slept, then he picked up the honey, they got that honey.
91. *wanjh birri-nangah-na-ng birri-worrhme-ng wanjh, birri-dalk-berreweng*
 then 3a/3P-ITER-see-PP 3aP-make.a.fire-PP then 3a/3P-grass-set.ablaze-PP
 Then they looked at it, and made a big fire, and set some grass ablaze.
92. *birri-worrhme-ng ø-runguh-ru-y ø-njerreyh-njerreyhme-ng, la nungan*
 3aP-make.fire-PP 3P-ITER-burn-PP 3P-ITER-sizzle-PP CONJ heEMPH

borr.

snore

They made a fire, and it burned and burned, and sizzled and sizzled, and he just went SNORE.

93. *Birri-bal-madj-me-y birri-wa::m kure:: birri-buyika ku-mekke*
 3aP-along-swag-get-PP 3aP-goPP there 3aP-other LOC-DEM
na-wernwarre birri-m-h-ni.
 MA-older.brother 3aP-towards-IMM-sitP
 Then they packed up their swags and went along there, to where some others were, to where some of (his) older brothers were camped.
94. *Birri-wam birri-bebme-ng, "Aa ladjkurrungu kenh karrard*
 3aP-goPP 3aP-appear-PP aa initiate oops mother
ka-m-nalk-ki-re,
 3-hither-cry-IVF-goNP
 They went along and arrived. "Ah, initiate, I mean mother, is coming along crying.
95. *kare ladjkurrungu njale bi-baye-ng. Kare ladjkurrungu, njale nuk*
 maybe initiate what 3/3hP-bite-PP maybe initiate what DUB
bi-baye-ng?"
 3/3hP-bite-PP
 Maybe something has bitten (our) initiate (brother). Maybe something has bitten (our) initiate brother?"
96. *Wanjh birri-doh-doko-rrokme-ng birri-bebme-ng, "Ngurri-mulewa!"*
 then 3aP-INCEP-ITER-go.ahead-PP 3aP-appear-PP 2a-tellIMP
 Then they went on ahead (to investigate) and arrived. "Tell us (what happened)!"
97. *Wanjh, "Bi-djurd-dadjdje-ng, na-ngamed Ngurdyawok, Ngurdyawok*
 then 3/3hP-nape-chop-PP MA-who [name] [name]
la Nawalabik bi-djurd-rdehme-ng".
 CONJ [name] 3/3hP-nape-knock-PP
 Then (they said): "He chopped him in the nape of the neck, whatsisname, Ngurdyawok, Ngurdyawok, and it was Nawalabik who knocked him in the back of the neck."
98. *"Kaluk?"*
 then
 "And then what?"
99. *"Ka-kuk-yo, korroko."*
 3-body-lieNP before
 "He's already dead."
100. *"Kare nungka baleh ø-wam?"*
 maybe he where 3P-goPP
 "And where might he (Nawalabik) have gone?"
101. *"Kureh ngarri-bawo-ng ka-yo, ka-kodjke-yo la ngarri-marne-kinje-ng*
 there 1a-leave-PP 3-lieNP 3-asleep-lieNP CONJ 1a-BEN-cook-PP

ku-mekke man-kung ka-ru-ng."

LOC-DEM III-honey 3-burn-NP

"We left him lying there asleep, and we've burned honey there for (i.e. to exact magical revenge on) him, there's honey burning there."

102. *Birri-kuyin-wohna-ng na-bang na-mekke duruk na-wu*
 3aP-almost-look.around-PP MA-dangerous MA-DEM dog MA-REL
bin-karre-bolh-mey bin-h-kadju-y ku-mekke ku-bininj
 3/3pIP-calf-track-pick.upPP 3/3pIP-IMM-follow-PP LOC-DEM LOC-person

∅-bebme-ng.

3P-appear-PP

They were about to look around, when that vicious dog which had been following their tracks, which had followed them now to where the people were, appeared.

[This is the only example of LOCative *ku-* prefixed to the noun *bininj*, and may be a speech error.]

103. *Birri-na-ng na-ni kam-bebme-ng wanjh ∅-nangah-na-ng*
 3a/3P-see-PP MA-DEM 3hitherP-appear-PP then 3P-ITER-see-PP
∅-dubume-ng birri-yame-ng, birri-yame-ng, birri-yame-ng,
 3/3P-flock.of.birds.fly.up-PP 3a/3P-spear-PP 3a/3P-spear-PP 3a/3P-spear-PP
birri-yame-ng, birri-yame-ng birri-warreh-warrewo-ng birri-yame-ng,
 3a/3P-spear-PP 3a/3P-spear-PP 3a/3P-ITER-miss-PP 3a/3P-spear-PP

∅-ngime-ng.

3/3P-enter-PP

They saw it appearing there, then they watched a flock of birds fly up from the ground.

They speared and speared and speared and speared and speared, but they missed, they speared, and it (the dog?) went inside. [The translation of this section is problematic.]

104. *Birri-karu-y birri-karu-y, birri-karu-y, birri-karu-y rawoyhno, ∅-bebme-ng.*
 3aP-dig-PP 3aP-dig-PP 3aP-dig-PP 3aP-dig-PP again 3P-appear-PP
 They dug and dug and dug and dug again, and it appeared.

105. *Birri-kadju-y, birri-yame-ng birri-yame-ng birri-yame-ng birri-yame-ng*
 3aP-dig-PP 3a/3P-spear-PP 3a/3P-spear-PP 3a/3P-spear-PP 3a/3P-spear-PP

∅-ngime-ng.

3/3P-enter-PP

They dug and they speared and speared and speared and speared and it went inside.

106. *Birri-karu-y birri-karu-y birri-karu-y birri-karu-y birri-karu-y birri-karu-y*
 3a/3P-dig-PP 3a/3P-dig-PP 3a/3P-dig-PP 3a/3P-dig-PP 3a/3P-dig-PP 3a/3P-dig-PP

rowk.

all

They dug and dug and dug and dug and dug and dug everywhere.

107. *Birri-rawoyhno, ∅-bebme-ng. Wanjh birri-kadju-y, man-dubang*
 3a-again 3P-appear-PP then 3a/3P-chase-PP III-ironwood.tree

la birri-djandjanme-y birri-djalk-djalkme-y.

CONJ 3aP-pull.spear.out.of.body-PP 3a/3P-ITER-cut.up-PP

He just kept sizzling down and his body fluids dripped down towards them until it was all finished, and they pulled the spear out of his body and hacked him into pieces.

115. *wanjh birri-kinje-ng nungan=wali. Bonj.*

then 3a/3P-cook-PP heEMPH=in.turn finished

So that's how they cooked him in revenge. The end.

Text 7: David Kalbuma: Fish poisoning (Kune Narayek and Dalabon)

This text was given by David Kalbuma to NE in November 1991 at Korlobidahdah outstation. It was dictated step by step as his wife Kodjdjan actually carried out the procedure described over the course of an afternoon.

Nearly parallel versions, first in Kune Narayek and then in Dalabon, were given, and both are included here in order to show the close structural isomorphism between the two languages. (See §1.2.4.3 on Kune–Dalabon bilingualism). The Dalabon orthography used here differs from that for Kune only by the addition of *v* for the sixth (high central) vowel.

Note that the term *mawurrumbulk* can refer to a range of unrelated plants capable of being used as fish poisons; see Chaloupka and Giuliani (1984) and Russell-Smith (1985) on the range of this term.

Particular striking parallels between the Kune dialect and Dalabon, as they appear in this text, are:

- the high incidence of shared or near-identical vocabulary, e.g. all fish terms, terms for poison plants, pounding, throwing poison in water, and fish poison, and
- use of instrumental to mark 'catfish' when used as a transitive agent in Kune, exactly as in Dalabon; this ergative use of the instrumental is restricted to Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali.

Kune version:

1. *Wolewoleh Kodjdjan mawurrumbulk ø-me-y, ngarri-madbom,*
afternoon [subsection] fish.poison.plant 3/3IP-get-P 1a-waitP

ø-weleng-djorndo-y.

3/3IP-then-pound-P

This afternoon Kodjdjan gathered plants for use as fish poison; we waited, while she pounded them. (The procedure involves pounding the branches, to release the poison from the bark.)

2. *Kumekke-beh ø-kolkbo-m ngarri-nahna-ng djenj ø-dowe-ng*
then-ABL 3/3IP-throw.poison.in.water-PP 1a-watch-PP fish 3P-die-PP

ø-kodjka-ng. ø-dowe-ng djirrbili ngong, wakbah, bokorn, djabel.

3-float-PP 3P-die-PP [fish.sp.] mob [fish.sp.] [fish.sp.] [fish.sp.]

Then she threw the poison-bundles in the water and we watched the fish floating to the surface and dying. [The verb *kodjkan*, lit. head-carry, specifically refers to the action

of stunned fish floating up to the surface.] Lots of *djirrbili* fish (a type of glass-fish) died, *wakbah* fish (a type of catfish), spangled grunters, and mouth almighties.

3. *Kodjdjan bi-weleng-bid-dulubom wakbah-yih ø-weleng-kurlba-ka-ng.*
[subsection] 3/3hP-then-hand-spikePP catfish-INSTR 3P-then-blood-carry-P
Then a lesser salmon catfish spiked Kodjdjan on the hand and she bled.
4. *Kumekke-beh mambard ø-me-y, wurdurd birri-kuk-me-me-y,*
there-ABL billycan 3/3lP-get-P children 3a/3P-body-ITER-get-P
birri-kurrme-kurrme-ng mambard-kah,
3a/3P-ITER-put-P billycan-LOC
After that she got a billycan, and the children picked up all the dead fish and put them in the billycan.
5. *weleng Kodjdjan ø-djirridjbom, ngarri-ngu-neng.*
then [subsection] 3/3lP-washP 1a/3-eat-P
Then Kodjdjan washed them, and we ate them.

Dalabon version:

1. *Dabarng Kodjdjan mawurrumbulk kah-ma-me, yilah-yidjnja-ng,*
afternoon [subsection] fish.poison.plant 3/3-REDUP-getPP 1a/3-hold-PP
kah-yvlvng-djornduyhm-inj.
3/3l-then-pound-PP
This afternoon Kodjdjan gathered plants for use as fish poison; we held them, while she pounded them.
2. *Kah-djukwo-ng wah-kah, kah-kolkbo-ng.*
3P-throw-PP water-LOC 3P-throw.poison.in.water-PP
Ka-yvlvng-do-nj djenj, kah-kodjka-ng bokorn, djabel, djirrbvlv, wakbah.
3-then-die-PP fish 3-float-PP [fish.sp.] [fish.sp.] [fish.sp.] [fish sp.]
She threw it in the water. Then fish died, mouth almighties, spangled grunters, glass fish and catfish floated to the surface.
3. *Kodjdjan bvkah-yvlvng-ngarrinj-dulubo-ng wakbah-yih*
[subsection] 3/3h-then-hand-spike-PP catfish-INSTR
kah-yvlvng-ngarrinj-kurlba-bo-ng.
3-then-hand-blood-go-PP
Then a lesser salmon catfish spiked Kodjdjan on the hand and she bled.
4. *Wurdurd mambard bvlah-me, bvlah-yvlvng-njerrh-yunjh-yunj,*
children billycan 3a/3-getPP 3a/3-then-body-ITER-putPP
The children got a billycan, and then put all the dead fish into it.
5. *Kodjdjan kah-yvlvng-yewkm-inj wah-kah, kah-yvlvng-kinj-vng mimal-kah,*
[subsection] 3/3-then-wash-PP water-LOC 3/3-then-cook-PP fire-LOC
yalah-yvlvng-ngu-nj.
1a-then-eat-PP
'Then Kodjdjan washed them in the creek, then she cooked them on the fire, and then we had a feed.'

Text 8: David Kalbuma: Commentary on a rock painting (Kune Narayek)

Told by David Kalbuma to NE at Yayminji, Arnhem Land, 16/7/95; transcribed and translated by DK and NE, same day. The text was given as a description of an old rock painting, accompanied by gestures pointing to the elements of the painting.

1. *Yow, nani nungan nawaran ø-bom, na-kudji bininj,*
yeah this heEMPH Oenpelli.python 3/3P-killP MA-one man
Yeah, this (male figure here) has killed an Oenpelli python, this one man.
2. *kabin-marne-kayhme na, "nawaran nga-bom" ø-yime-ng.*
3/3pl-BEN-call.outNP now Oenpelli.python 1/3-killPP 3P-say-PP
He's calling out to them now; "I've killed an Oenpelli python", he said.
3. *Nanemah nungan, kunj ka-kuni-ka-n, ø-yame-ng na,*
this.other.one heEMPH kangaroo 3/3-VIOL-take-NP 3/3P-spear-PP now
This other one here is sneaking up on a kangaroo, he's speared it now.
4. *birri-kayhme-ng "Eyi! ø-Yame-ng!" and*
3aP-cry.out-PP hey 3/3P-spear-PP
They cried out "Hey! He speared him!", and
5. *bedman kabirri-du-rre-n na, daluk-ken kabene-du-rre-n.*
theyEMPH 3a-swear-RR-NP now woman-GEN 3ua-swear-RR-NP
these (other) ones now are quarrelling, two of them are fighting over a woman.
6. *Nungka man-korle ka-karrme na-wern,*
heEMPH III-bamboo.shafted.spear 3/3-holdNP MA-many
This man here is holding a whole lot of bamboo-shafted spears,
7. *nungka kun-dulk ka-karrme,*
heEMPH IV-tree 3/3-holdNP
and this one here is holding a tree.
8. *and nungan ka-wayirni na-kudji, and ka-njarlme, kabirri-melme,*
heEMPH 3-singNP MA-one 3-danceNP 3-stompNP
And this one here is singing, and dancing, and they are stomping;
9. *ngal-kudji daluk ka-borrkke, bedman nungan Na-mumuyak,*
II-one woman 3-danceNP theyEMPH heEMPH I-[ancestral.figure]
one woman is dancing, they're (celebrating) him, Namumuyak —
10. *mimih karre-no.*
Mimih song-3POSSD
it's a song belonging to the *Mimihs*.
11. *Kun-dulk bedberre man-dedjbang, mm, dorrbakbak, djorrkkundedjmildungh,*
IV-tree theyOBL III-[tree.sp.] [tree.sp.] possum's.sperm
That tree (depicted here) is a *man-dedjbang*, a *dorrbakbak*, known as 'rock possum's sperm',

12. *bonj*.
finished
That's all.

**Text 9: David Kanari: Where the python sank down
(Gun-djeihmi)**

Told by David Kanari to NE in Gun-djeihmi, Muirella Park, February 1990; transcribed by DK and NE, Cooinda, February 1990.

1. *Bolkgime ngarri-m-lobme-ng, JimJim-beh gu-mege ga-bolk-ngei-yo,*
now 1a-hither-drive-PP [place]-ABL LOC-there 3-place-name-lienP
Today we drove down here from Jim Jim, that place there's called
2. *Cooinda Hotel, wanjh gu-mege gun-bang ngarri-h-bo-ma-ng,*
then LOC-that IV-grog 1a-IMM-liquid-get-NP
Cooinda Hotel, there where we get grog,
3. *bu gabarri-bo-ma-ng, yiman bininj ga-garrme gun-warde.*
REL 3a-liquid-get-NP like person 3-haveNP IV-money
where they get grog, like if someone has money.
4. *Ngarri-m-lobme-ng Nawurlanjdi gu-bu ga-h-rud-djoukge,*
1a-hither-drive-PP [place] LOC-REL 3-IMM-road-crossNP
We drove to Nourlangie, where the road crosses (the river),
5. *galuk ngahdjarre yunggi, ngarri-m-wam*
then this.side ahead 1a-hither-gopp
just a bit further, we went
6. *wanjh nga-marne-bolk-ngeibo-m ngadburrung Nicholas,*
then 1/3-BEN-place-say.name-PP brother
then I told my brother Nicholas the name of that place.
7. *wanjh ngan-djawa-m nungan-wali ba-yime-ng,*
then 3/1-ask-PP he-in.turn 3-say-PP
then *he* asked *me*, he said:
8. *"Njale njanjukgen maddjurn ba-wodjme-ng?" ngan-djawa-m nungga.*
what why python 3P-sink-PP 3/1-ask-PP he
"Why is it called *Maddjurn bawodjmeng*¹⁸ ('where the black-headed python sank down')", he asked me.
9. *Ngayeman-wali nga-marne-yime-ng*
1EMPH-in.turn 1/3-BEN-say-PP
Then *I* said to *him*:

¹⁸ Compared to the verb *yibme*, which can also mean 'sink' (or '(sun)set') and is typically used of boats or people, *wodjme* implies that its subject is large, long and heavy (e.g. a log (*gun-wodj*, from which *wodjme* is derived), or in this case a huge snake). In other dialects *yibme* covers both.

10. *Djang ba-yimerra-nj gorro:go,*
dreaming.site 3P-turn.into-PP before
It became a djang (dreaming site) long ago ...
11. *an-ege an-godjboyorr, djama ngan-gabo-duninh,*
VE-that III-washaway not III-billabong-real
that washaway there, it's not really a billabong,
12. *but ngalengman maddjurn,*
herEMPH black.headed.python
her, black-headed python,
13. *gun-merlem-bok ngarre ba-m-wage-ng gaddum-be gu-bolk-dulum*
IV-belly-track herPOSS 3P-hither-crawl-PP upstream-ABL LOC-place-high
it's the belly-track of her slithering down from the high ridges upstream.
14. *galuk gu-mege ba-bolk-na-ng ba-yime-ng*
later LOC-that 3/3P-place-see-PP 3P-say-PP
When she saw that place she said:
15. *"niyih nga-rrarnh-wodjme",*
here 1-near-sinkNP
"Near here is the place where I can sink down (under the water)",
16. *wanjh gu-mege maddjurn ba-wodjme-ng.*
then LOC-then python 3P-sink-PP
so that's where black-headed python sank down.
17. *Maddjurn ba-wodjme-ng, wanjh gukku ba-rrilébo-m,*
python 3P-sink-PP then water 3P-piss-PP
Black-headed python sank down, and pissed out fresh water there.
18. *"Wanjh, an-dehne nga-rrilebu-n" ba-yime-ng,*
well.now VE-that 1-piss-NP 3P-say-PP
"Well, I'll pass my urine now", she said.
19. *"wanjh, an-dehne gukku nga-bo-bawo-n bedberre munguih-munguih,*
well VE-that water 1-liquid-leave-NP for.them for.ever
"Yeah, I'll leave that water for them for ever,
20. *bu ngayed ngan-dehne ga-yimerra-n,*
REL how VE-that 3-turn-NP
so that whatever season it may be —
21. *gurrung, wurrngeng, yekke, gurrung-duninh,*
hot.dry first.cool winter hot.dry-proper
the hot dry season, or the first cool, or winter, even in the middle of the hot dry season —
22. *wanjh andi-dilé-bongu-n, ngaye gure nga-wodjme-ng and nga-rrilébo-m.*
then 2a/1-piss-drink-NP I LOC 1-sink-PP 1-piss-PP
well, you mob will be able to drink my piss, where I sank under the water and urinated.

23. *Nga-bolk-ngei-gurrme-ng.* " *Na-yunggi bininj ba-bolk-ngei-gurrme-ng*
1/3-place-name-put-PP MA-first person 3/3P-place-name-put-PP
I have named this place." So the first person named the place,
24. *ba-yime-ng gu-behne maddjurn ba-wodjme-ng.*
3P-say-PP LOC-there python 3P-sink-PP
and called that place 'where the black-headed python sank down'.
25. " *Nga-bolk-dilebo-m gukku ba-bo-marnbu-rr-inj,*
1-place-piss-PP water 3P-liquid-make-RR-PP
"I pissed onto the place and it turned to fresh water;
26. *wanjh gu-mege bu nga-wodjme-ng,*
then LOC-there REL 1-sink-PP
that's the place where I sank down."
27. *maddjurn ba-wodjme-ng barri-bolk-ngeibo-m,*
python 3P-sink-PP 3a/3P-place-call-PP
They called it 'where the python sank down',
28. *because maddjurn ba-wodjme-ng, and maddjurn na-mege*
python 3P-sink-PP python MA-that
because a python sank down there, and that black-headed python
29. *maih, nayin, gabani-guk-rohrok, ga-garrme gun-guk-bele ngarre*
animal snake 3ua-body-alike 3-haveNP IV-body-white her
is an animal, a snake, they have the same form, she has a white stripe,
30. *al-guk-gurduk. Balanda gabarri-yime*
FE-body-black white.person 3a-sayNP
and a black body. White people call it
31. *black and white striped taipan gabarri-h-ngeibu-n,*
3a-IMM-call-NP
a black and white striped taipan (should be 'python' — N.E.) is what they call it,
32. *but ngad ngarri-yime-n, maddjurn ngarri-ngeibu-n.*
we 1a-say-NP python 1a-call-NP
but we say, we call it, *maddjurn.*
33. *Djalbonj, well gu-mege gukku ngarri-bo-ma-ng bu gurrung ga-yimerra-n*
finished LOC-there water 1a-liquid-get-NP REL hot.season 3-turn-NP
Right, well we can get water there when it becomes the hot dry season.
34. *An-djal-nekke nga-yolyolme-ng bolkgime Nicholas,*
VE-just-that 1-tell-PP now
That's what I told to Nicholas just now,
35. *ngaye, Mr David Kanari, djalbonj.*
I finished
I, Mr David Kanari. That's all.

**Text 10: David Kanari: The crocodile and his lair
(Gun-djeihmi)**

Recorded by NE from David Kanari in Gun-djeihmi at Muirella Park, February 1990; transcribed and translated at Cooina, February 1990, by NE and DK.

1. *Bonj bolkgime ngan-ih ngaye nga-yolyolme, ginga*
 OK now VE-this I 1-tellNP estuarine.crocodile
 Right, now in this story I'll tell about the estuarine crocodile,
2. *yiman ga-yime modjarrgi,*
 like 3-doNP freshwater.crocodile
 like the freshwater crocodile, too ...
3. *or yiman goyek-goyek bedda gabarri-ngeibu-n golomomo,*
 like REDUP-east they 3a/3-call-NP
 or as the easterners call it, *golomomo*,
4. *yiman ga-yime, yiman gayime Rembarrnga, yiman gayime Dangbon, or Ngalkbon,*
 like 3-doNP ...for.example... ...for.example...
 [for.example]
 like for example the Rembarrnga, like the Dangbon or Ngalkbon.
5. *But na-behne ngad now na-djeihmi, yiga Mayali, ngarri-ngeibu-n*
 MA-this we MA-djeihmi some 1a/3-call-NP
modjarrgi,
 freshwater.crocodile
 But we Na-djeihmi here, or Mayali, we call it *modjarrgi*.
6. *bedda gun-djawonj gabarri-ngeibu-n goymarr, bu ngarri-ngeibu-n.*
 they IV-Jawoyn 3a/3-call-NP SUB 1a/3-call-NP
 They Jawoyn call it *goymarr*, which we can (also) call it.
7. *Wanjh ginga nga-yolyolme, but ga-rohrok. Bu ga-yime ginga*
 then crocodile 1-tellNP 3-alike SUB 3-doNP crocodile
ga-bolkbun,
 3-buildNP
 Well now I'll explain about the estuarine crocodile, but (the freshwater crocodile) is just the same. That which the crocodile does, when he builds a tunnel,
8. *ngarri-bolk-ngeibu-n ngan-ege gure ganjdji, gure gu-wukku, gelbi.*
 1a/3-place-call-NP VE-that LOC under LOC LOC-water lair
 we call that place that is underneath, in the water, his *gelbi* (lair).
9. *Modjarrgi ga-garrme gelbi ga-rohrok,*
 freshwater.crocodile 3-haveNP lair 3-alike
 The freshwater croc has one in the same way.
10. *wanjh yiman ga-yime ga-baye duruk, or yiman ga-yime bigibigi,*
 then ...for.example... 3/3-biteNP dog ...for.example... pig
 Then when, for example, he bites a dog, or a pig,

11. *yiman gayime gunj, or yiman gayime bininj.*
...for.example... kangaroo ...for.example... person
or a kangaroo, or a person,
12. *wanjh na-mege ginga ga-ga-n gu-rurrk ganjdji,*
then MA-that crocodile 3/3-take-NP LOC-cave underneath
then that crocodile takes it down into his cave under the ground,
13. *gure gelbi ga-yi-ngime-n. Djama ga-bangme-guk-ngu-n,*
LOC lair 3/3-COM-enter-NP not 3/3-not.yet-body-eat-NP
and goes into his lair with it. He doesn't eat its body yet.
14. *wanjh bonj na-gerrnge ga-bu-n,*
then OK MA-fresh 3/3-kill-NP
Then, well, when he first kills it,
15. *ganjdji ga-guk-gurrme, ga-h-yo, galuk ganjdji, gure gu-wukku*
under 3/3-body-putNP 3-IMM-lieNP later inside LOC LOC-water
he puts the body underneath to lie, then inside, where it's in the water,
16. *galuk gaddum-ga ga-gurrme gure ga-h-yo, gu-bolk-buk, ga-h-yo,*
later up-OBL 3/3-putNP LOC 3-IMM-lieNP LOC-place-dry 3-IMM-lieNP
then he puts it higher up in the tunnel to lie in a dry place,
17. *galuk ga-guk-nudme-n, wanjh gu-mege ga-ngu-n.*
later 3-body-rot-NP then LOC-that 3/3-eat-NP
and when later the body rots, that's when he eats it.
18. *Djama ga-bangmi-ngu-n an-bu wanjh ga-gulba-re na-gerrnge,*
not 3/3-not.yet-eat-NP VE-REL then 3-blood-gonP MA-new
He doesn't eat it yet when there's fresh blood flowing.
19. *ga-djal-e bu ga-guk-nudme-n, gu-mege wanjh ga-ngu-n,*
3-just-gonP SUB 3-body-rot-NP LOC-that then 3/3-eat-NP
He just does nothing until the body rots, and that's when he eats it.
20. *na-mege na-wu na-gerrnge minj ga-ngu-n,*
MA-that MA-REL MA-fresh not 3/3-eat-NP
That which is fresh he doesn't eat.
21. *bu ga-bu-n, ga-guk-yi-ngime-n, ga-guk-bawo-n wanjh ga-re,*
SUB 3/3-kill-NP 3/3-body-COM-enter-NP 3/3-body-leave-NP then 3-gonP
When he kills it and takes the body in, he leaves it and goes off,
22. *ga-bal-ngokda-n ga-rrung-yibme ganjdji,*
3-away-night.fall-NP 3-sun-setNP down
when night falls and the sun sets down,
23. *wanjh, ga-golu-ng, gare djenj ga-bu-n, ga-ngu-n,*
then 3-descend-NP maybe fish 3/3-kill-NP 3/3-eat-NP
then he goes down and maybe kills a fish, and eats it, [They can eat fish fresh.]
24. *ga-rrurnde-ng ga-godjge-yo,*
3-return-NP 3N-sleep-lieNP
goes back and has a sleep.

25. *djama ga-bangmi-ngu-n na-mege na-wu na-gerrnge ba-bo-m, ga-bawo-n,*
not 3-not.yet-eat-NP MA-that MA-REL MA-fresh 3/3-kill-PP 3/3-leave-NP
He doesn't eat it yet, that which he has freshly killed, he leaves it,
26. *galuk yerre-ga bu ga-nudme-n anegé ga-ngu-n,*
later after-LOC SUB 3-rot-NP like.that 3-eat-NP
till later, afterwards, when it rots, that's how he eats it.
27. *an-djal-nekke an-garre nuye na ginga*
VE-just-that III-custom his now estuarine.crocodile
It's just as I have just told you, his custom, the estuarine crocodile,
28. *djama ga-bangme-ngu-n bu ga-h-gulba-re ,*
not 3-not.yet-eat-NP REL 3-IMM-blood-goNP
He won't eat it as long as the blood is flowing.
29. *ga-bawo-n galuk ga-re, djandi, an-gudji,*
3-leave-NP then 3-goNP week III-one
He leaves it while one week goes by,
30. *djandi bogenh, gu-mege bu gabi-marne-ganj-yo,*
week two LOC-there REL 3/3h-BEN-meat-lieNP
two weeks, when he has the meat lying there ready,
31. *now might be ga-ngu-n yerre-ga ,*
3/3-eat-NP after-LOC
now he might eat it, afterwards.
32. *gun-godjgulu garri-yime, ngabbard nungan bi-wo-ng, creature,*
IV-sense¹⁹ 12a-doNP father(god) heEMPH 3/3hP-give-PP
We use our common sense, that (our) father gave to all creatures;
33. *because nungga, gubu garri-yime ngabbard, gun-godjgulu bi-wo-ng*
he when 12a-doNP father IV-sense 3/3P-give-PP
nungan own way
he
when we act as we do, it is because he, our father, gave to each creature its own sort of sense.
34. *gure nungan an-garre nuye, djama ga-bangme-ngu-n ,*
LOC heEMPH III-custom his not 3-not.yet-eat-NP
Whereby he, after his own custom, does not eat yet,
35. *ga-bawo-n ga-nudme-n wanjh nud ga-ngu-n ,*
3-leave-NP 3-rot-NP then rotten 3-eat-NP
he leaves it to rot, and then eats it rotten,
36. *an-djal-nekke an-garre, a-yolyolme-ng, djalbonj.*
VE-just-that III-custom 1-tell-PP finished
It's just as I've told you, his custom. That's all.

¹⁹ *Gun-godjgulu* means 'brain'; 'rationality'; 'commonsense'.

**Text 11: Ruby Ngalmindadjek: Getting crocodile eggs
(Gun-djeihmi *Gun-gurrng*)**

Recorded at Biruk (Bamboo Creek) by NE from Ruby Ngalmindadjek, December 1989; transcribed Nourlangie Camp by NE with the help of RN, January 1990.

This short text in the Gun-djeihmi variety of *gun-gurrng* is about getting crocodile eggs and catching filesnakes. For comparison, an 'ordinary language' version has been supplied underneath each line of *gun-gurrng*. The speaker was obliged to talk *gun-gurrng* to everyone at this time, while in mourning for the death of her husband.

1. *Gamarlang, ngarri-doga-ng, ngarri-doga-ng gu-mekke,*
Gamak ngarri-wa-m ngarri-wa-m gu-mekke,
 good 1a-go-PP 1a-go-PP LOC-DEM
 OK, we went there.
2. *gilkgen garri-modme-ng, garri-modme-ng gilkgen, wirlarrk*
dabu garri-me-i garri-me-i dabu wirlarrk
 egg 12a/3-get-PP 12a/3-get-PP egg crocodile.egg
 We got eggs, eggs we got, crocodile eggs.
3. *wanjh, na-mege dabu garri-modme-ng, wanjh garri-dogan gu-mekke,*
wanjh na-mege dabu garri-me-i, wanjh garri-re gu-mekke
 right MA-that egg 12a/3-get-PP then 12a/3-gONP LOC-DEM
 OK, we got the eggs, then we went there (to another stretch of creek).
4. *garri-yauh-modme, wanjh, garri-m-warnduihme,*
garri-yauh-mang wanjh garri-m-durndeng
 12a/3-again-getNP right 12a/3-hither-returnNP
 We'll get some more, then we'll come back here.
5. *bu le:rra wanjh bonj, that means nothing, we don't catch anything, lerra,*
bu larrk wanjh bonj larrk
 SUB nothing right enough nothing
 If there's nothing, well, OK [...], nothing,
6. *bu le:rra wanjh gayagura, wanjh garri-m-warnduihme minj arri-modme-ng.*
bu larrk wanjh gayakki wanjh garri-m-durndeng minj arri-me-i
 REL nothing then nothing then 12a/3-hither-returnNP not 1a/3-get-PP
 If there's nothing, right, nothing, well then we'll come back without getting anything.

Appendix 2: basic vocabulary

This list contains, as far as they are known, the forms in all dialects (and in Kun-kurrng) for most of the 150 lexical items used in Alpher and Nash (1999) for lexicostatistical classifications of Cape York languages. This list incorporates the 100-word list of O'Grady and Klokeid (1969:303–307), a further twenty words from Hale's (1961) 100-word list that are not in O'Grady and Klokeid's, another twenty-five words from Black's (n.d.) 100-word list but not in either of the above, and a further five words added by Alpher and Nash to their Cape York comparisons because of their relevance to the monsoon tropics of Australia.¹ Ten of the 150 words are personal, demonstrative or interrogative pronouns; the reader is referred to Chapter 7 for these forms. Items follow the semantic fields used in the volumes of the *Handbook of Australian languages*.

As far as possible, terms from all dialects are given; the tags given Dj, MM, W, I, and E are used to identify forms specific to one dialect or another. Where no tag is given the identical word is found in all dialects. \$ before a term identifies words from the *kunkurrng* avoidance register; unless otherwise indicated these are identical across dialects, and will be cited in the Kunwinjku/Kuninjku orthography. Where nouns have a suppletive incorporated (root) form, this is listed after 'incorp.', with dialect specification if necessary. Where a word appears to be a loan, the source is given.

Part of speech is given after the first Bininj Gun-wok word and unless otherwise specified is the same for all others. The following abbreviations are used for part-of speech membership: adj. (predicative adjective), v. dtr. (ditransitive verb), v.i. (intransitive verb), v. pref. (verbal prefix) and v.t. (transitive verb). Full sets of senses are not usually given, unless needed to show the precise meaning of the sense under discussion.

Body parts

head: Dj *gun-godj* (n.), MM *gun-gotj*, W, I
kun-kodj, E *kodjno*; \$ *kun-bambarah*

hair (of head): Dj *gun-ngabek* (n.), MM
gun-marre, E *marreno*, W *kun-ngabek*
~ *kun-ngabed*, I *kun-ngabek* ~ *kun-*
marre, E *marreno*; \$ *kun-burndih*

chin: Dj *gun-djangarak* (n.), W, I *kun-*
dangmad, I, E *dangmadno*

forehead: Dj *gun-milh* (n.), W, I *kun-milh*;
\$ *kun-bambubbu*

eye: Dj, MM *gun-mim* (n.), W, I *kun-mim*,
I, E *mimno*; \$ W *kun-kambulu*, I *kun-*
kalngunj

¹ Their last term, 'mangrove' (*avicennia* sp.) is omitted because (saltwater) mangroves are not found in the environments in which most BGW dialects are spoken, and mostly lack a lexical exponent; so is the term 'shield', which refers to an item of material culture absent from Western Arnhem Land.

- nose; face: Dj *gun-geb* (n.), MM *gun-geb*,
W, I *kun-keb*, I, E *kebno*;
\$ W, Dj *kun-modjarrk*, I *kun-
nganjdjak*
- mouth: Dj *gun-dang* (n.), W, I *kun-dang*, E
dangno; \$ *kun-djangara*
- tongue: Dj, MM *gun-djen* (n.), W, I *kun-
djen*, I, E *djenno*; \$ *kun-kudjyirri*
- tooth: Dj *gun-yidme* (n.), MM *gun-yitme*,
W, I *kun-yidme*, I, E *ridmeno*;
\$ *kun-kudjyirri*
- ear: Dj, MM *gun-ganem* (n.), W,
I *kun-kanem*, E *kanemno*;
\$ *kun-mardorrh*
- neck, throat: Dj, MM *gun-gom* (n.), W, I
kun-kom, E *komno*; \$ *kun-munjud*
- nape: Dj *gun-djud* (n.), W, I *kun-djud*,
E *djudno*; \$ *kun-munjud*
- chest: Dj *gun-berre* (n.), W *kun-berrekalk*,
I *kun-berre*, *kun-manem*, E *berreno*;
\$ *kun-romed*
- rib: Dj *gun-bikbik* (n.), W, I *kun-birrkbirrk*,
I, E *birrkbirrkno*
- breast: Dj, MM *gun-djikka* (n.), W,
I *kun-djikka*, E *djikkano*
- belly (external), paunch: Dj *gun-melem*
(n.), I *kun-melem*, E D *ngukno*
- stomach (internal): Dj *gun-djing* (n.),
W *kun-wurrganj*, I *kun-njam*,
E *wurrno*
- guts, innards (including stomach and
intestines): Dj *gun-njam* (n.), W *kun-
njam*, MM *gun-nguk*, I *kun-nguk*,
ngukno; \$ I *man-njam*
- shoulder: Dj *gun-garlang* (n.), W *kun-
mone*, W, I *kun-karlang*, E *mvrnino*
- armpit: Dj *gun-wanj* (n.), I *kun-wanj*,
E *wanjno*
- upper arm; wing: Dj, MM *gun-berl* (n.),
W, I, E *kun-berl*, I, E *berlno*;
\$ *kun-barndja*
- elbow: Dj *gun-nei* (n.), W *kun-ney(h)*,
I *kun-ney*, I, E *neyno*
- hand: Dj *gun-bid* (n.), MM *gun-bit*, W, I
kun-bid, E *bidno*; \$ *kun-kundam*
- fingernail: Dj, MM *gun-bidngalanj* (n.),
W *kun-bidngalang*, I, E *kun-bidngalanj*
- hip: Dj *gun-rakmo* (n.), W *kun-mobalh*,
I *kun-ngardmo*, *kun-rakmo*, I, E
ngardmono
- leg, thigh: Dj *gun-dad* (n.), W, I *kun-dad*,
E *dadno*; \$ *kun-karnkelk*
- knee: Dj *gun-bard* (n.), W, I *kun-bard*,
E *bardno*; \$ *kun-kuyuk*
- shin, calf, lower leg: Dj *gun-garre* (n.),
W, I *kun-karre*, E *karreno*
- foot: Dj, MM *gun-denge* (n.), W, I *kun-
denge*, E *dengeno*; \$ *kun-badjorr*
- skin: Dj, MM *gun-gurlah* (n.), W, I *kun-
kurlah*, E *kurlahno*
- bone: Dj *gun-murrng* (n.), W, I *kun-
murrng*, I, E *murrngno*, MM, I, E *mono*
- blood: Dj *gun-gurlba* (n.), W, I *kun-
kurlba*, MM *gurlbano*, E *kurlbano*;
\$ *kun-kurradj*
- spit: Dj *gun-nunj* (n.), W *kun-nunj*,
I, E *nunjno*
- urine: Dj *an-dile* (n.), W, I *man-dile*,
I *dileno*
- faeces: Dj *an-gord* (n.), W *man-kord*,
kurduk, I *kordduk* ~ *kurdduk* (but
incorp. \sqrt{kord}), I, E *kordno*
- heart: Dj *gun-durddu* (n.), W, I *kun-
durddu*, E *ngerhno*; \$ *marlkdjakarlno*
- liver: Dj, MM *gun-diu* (n.), W *kun-diw*,
MM *gun-marlk*, I *kun-marlk*, E
*marlkno*¹
- fat, grease: Dj, MM *gun-balem* (n.),
W, I *kun-balem*, I, E *balemno*
- egg: Dj *dabu* (n.), W *wirlarrk*,²
MM *dabuno*, I, E *dabuno*³;
\$ *morrodjornno*.

¹ The I, E and MM forms may be a Dalabon loan — cf. D *marlkno* 'liver' — since reflexes of the *gun-diw* form are more widely distributed, e.g. Ngalakan *jiwi*.

tail: Dj *gun-berd*, W, I *kun-berd*, I, E *berdno*, MM *bertno*

Human classification

man, person, Aboriginal person: *bininj* (n.); \$ *yul*⁴

woman: *daluk* (n.); \$ *ngal-djubdjubken*.

old man: Dj *nagohbanj* (n.), W, I, E *nakohbanj*

Mammals

animal: no word exists with this exact range; the nearest is Dj *maih*, o.d. *mayh* 'flesh food', which includes animals, birds, fish and edible insects'; it also means 'creature' more generally and is widely used as a euphemism for *ngal-yod* the Rainbow Serpent

dog: Dj, W, I, E *duruk* (n.), MM *djamo*⁵; \$ Dj, E, W *djungdjungh*, *njunjungh* [KH]

dingo: Dj *nagarndegin* (n.), W, I, E *dalkken* (lit. 'of the grass'), W *na/ngal-woydo* (according to sex of dingo); \$ *djanudken*, *djarnudken*. Note that the \$ forms calque the structure of *dalkken*, since *man-djanud* means 'grass'.

Reptiles

snake (generic): there is no generic covering exactly the range of English 'snake'. *Nayin* (*narin* in eastern dialects) comes closest, but for dangerously poisonous snakes the term *dadbe*, which means 'king brown

snake' in some dialects, can also be used as a generic. In the avoidance language, *namari* covers non-dangerous snakes, and *nayambah* covers dangerous snakes; these are based on the adjectives *mari* 'good' and *yambah* 'bad' respectively.

goanna (Gould's Sand Goanna, but also often used as a generic): Dj *galawan* (n.), W, I *kalawan*; \$ Dj *maih djenguk*, I *mayawurlhwurlh*

Birds

feather: Dj *daberrk* (plume), *gun-mud* (down) (both n.), I *mudno*, MM *mutno*

pelican: Dj, W, E *makkakkurr*, I *werni*

Fish

fish (gen.): *djenj* (n.); \$ *korngelk*

Insects

fly: Dj *bod* (n.), I *bord*; \$ *muk*

mosquito: *birndu* (n.); \$ *mernengel*

Language

language, speech, sound: Dj, MM *gun-wok* (n.), W, I, E *kun-wok*, E:D *duleno*; \$ *gun-darok*

name: Dj *gun-ngei* (n.), MM *gun-ngey*, I *kun-ngey*, I, E *ngeyno*, *ngeyno*

Artefacts

boomerang (used ceremonially only, and traded from south): Dj *birrkala* (n.), W *birrgala*, I *barlkkkan*, *karlikarli*

woomera, spearthrower: Dj, W, I *borndok* (n.); \$ *karndubu*

yamstick, digging stick: Dj *gun-barlkbu*, *gun-barlkkku* (n.), MM *gun-djatj*, *nganwarnbu*, I *kun-karninj*; \$ *kun-budjub*

rope, string: Dj *gun-yarl* (n.), I *man-yarl*, E *kun-yarl*; \$ *man-yirrurl*, *man-yurrurn*

² Probably a Iwaidja loan; cf. Iwaidja *wirlarrg* 'egg'.

³ Dj uses the term *an-dabu* specially for bee eggs.

⁴ The \$ form is a loan from Ngandi *yul* or Ritharrngu *yu:l* 'human; Aborigine; man'.

⁵ A loan from Rembarnga, which has the identical form.

**Food, fire, water, camp and
humanised places**

- meat, flesh: Dj *gun-ganj* (n.), MM *ganjno*,
W, I *kun-kanj*, I, E *kanjno*;
\$ *kun-mulbbuy*
- vegetable food (can also mean food in
general): Dj *an-me* (n.), MM *ngan-me*,
W, I, E *man-me*; \$ (m)*an-worrh*
- fire: Dj, MM *gunak* (n.), W *kunak*,
I *kun-rak*; \$ *kun-mimal*
- ashes: Dj, MM *gun-wilk* (n.) (but note MM
loc. form *gu-yilk-kah*), W, I *kun-bule*,
E:D *kun-djarriidj*; \$ Dj *gun-djarriidj*
- smoke: Dj, MM *gun-dolng* (n.), W, I, E
kun-dolng; \$ *gun-mimal*
- water (fresh): Dj *gukku* (n.), M *gukgu*,
W *kukku*, E *kun-ronj* incorp. \sqrt{bo}
(Dj, W), \sqrt{kolk} (E); \$ *kun-djurkkinj*,
incorp. $\sqrt{djurkkinj}$
- camp, home, place (local), hearth:
Dj *gun-red* (n.), I, E *kunred* W *kun-*
wadda,⁶ MM *gun-wadda*; \$ *kun-*
melworn
- place, country: Dj, MM *gun-bolk*,
W, I, E *kun-bolk*; \$ *kun-melworn*
- shade, shadow, shelter: Dj *gun-djurle*,
W, I *kun-djurle*; \$ *kun-kurnu*

Celestial, weather

- sun: Dj, MM *gun-dung* (n.), W, I *kun-dung*,
E *mudda* MM *gun-mutda*⁷, E:D *ngal-*
benbe; \$ I *ngal-djarala*, I, W *kun-*
djarala, Dj *gun-mimal*
- moon, month: Dj, W, I *dird* (n.), W, I
karrakbarl MM *garrakbarl*;
\$ *berrebabi*, *bendarr*
- star: Dj, MM *ginhginh* (n.), W, I, E
kinhkinh

- cloud: Dj *gun-ngol* (n.), MM *gun-godjngol*,
E *berreno*, W, I, E:D *kun-ngol*; \$ *kun-*
kurnu
- sky, heavens: Dj *gaddum*, I *kaddum* (n.);
\$ *kadwohka*
- wind: Dj *gun-mayorrk* (n.), W *kun-*
mayorrk, I *kun-kurra*; \$ I *kun-mawun*,
W *kun-mawul*
- rain: Dj *an-djeuk*, MM *ngan-djewk*, W, E
man-djewk; \$ Dj *mindjil*, W *mandjil*

Geography, etc.

- stone, rock (also money): Dj *gun-wardde*
(n.), MM *gun-wartde*, W, I *kun-wardde*,
I, E *kun-bad*; \$ *kun-bangam*
- hole: there is no single word covering
English 'hole'. For ruts, ditches etc. the
root *djorlok* is used (I *kun-djorlok*, Dj
gun-bolk-djorlok); for enclosed spaces
like caves, rooms or other cavities the
root *rurrk* is employed (Dj *gun-bolk-*
rurrk 'hole, burrow', I *kun-rurrk* 'cave,
hollow, large hole or cavity', W *man-*
rurrk 'hole'; \$ *kun-yurryurr*), for
burrows like goanna holes the root *midj*
is employed (Dj *gun-midj*, I *kun-midj*,
both 'goanna hole, burrow'), and for
vertical breathing holes (e.g. of a
tortoise or crab buried under the mud)
the root *mim* (Dj *mim*, I *mimno*) is
used.
- mud: Dj *gun-gih* (n.), I *kun-kirh*, *kirhno*
- sand: Dj, MM *gun-gayalanj* (n.), W *kun-*
karnalanj, E, I *kun-kawadj*;
\$ I *kun-karnalanj*
- ground, dirt: Dj, MM *gun-gurlk* (n.), W, E
kun-kurlk; \$ *kun-kabuy*
- creek, river: Dj *an-gabo* (n.), W, I *man-*
kabo, E *kabono*
- north, northeast: Dj *gakbi* (loc.), W, I *kakbi*
- south: Dj, W, I, E *walem* (loc.)
- east, southeast: Dj *goyek* (loc.), W, I, E
koyek; \$ W *kure kamdungkurudme*
[KH]

⁶ *Kun-red* is found in W, but has the connotation
'old, abandoned camp'.

⁷ The E and MM forms appear to be loans from
Dalabon, where 'sun' is *mudda*.

west, northwest: Dj *garrigad* (loc.), W, I, E
karrikad

Flora

tree; stick: M *gun-dulk* (n.), W, I, E *kun-dulk*; \$ *kun-muluru*

grass: Dj, MM *gun-dalk* (n.), W, I *kun-dalk*
\$ *kun-djarnud*

bark: Dj *an-gurlah* (n.), W *man-kurlah*,
I, E *kurlahno*, MM *gouk*⁸

leaf: Dj, MM *gun-malaworr* (n.), W *kun-marlaworr*, I *kun-worr*, *kun-malaworr*
E, MM *malaworrno*,
E:D *kun-djalh*, incorporated form
mala- (I, E); \$ *kun-worred*

long yam (*dioscorea transversa*): Dj
garrbarda (n.), W, I *karrbarda* E
kayawal; \$ (m)*an-karremudyi*

'cheeky yam' (*amorphophallus glabra*):
Dj *an-didjgan.gu* (n.), *gamarn*, W
kamarn, I, E *man-yawok*; \$ (m)*an-*
mari, (m)*an-mileken*

screw palm (*pandanus spiralis*): Dj *an-*
yakngarra (n.), W *man-belk*, I, E *gun-*
dayarr; \$ *kun-yarilng*, *kun-rarilng*

water pandanus (*pandanus aquaticus*):
Dj *an-djimdjim* (n.), MM *ngan-*
djimdjim, W, I, E *man-djimdjim*;
\$ *kun-yarilng*

rock pandanus (*pandanus basedowii*): Dj
an-morre (n.), I *man-njohmi*, E *man-*
ngokngo; \$ *kun-yarilng*

Qualities

(Adjectives are cited in the masculine form,
except where they are normally restricted
to compounds, in which case only the root
is cited.)

Number

one: Dj, MM *nagudji* (adj.), W, I, E
nakudji; \$ *na/(m)an-ngomi*

two: Dj *bogen* (adj.), MM *burrgeh*,
bogenh W, I *boken*, E *djarrkno*;
\$ *bulalh*⁹

three: Dj, W, E *danjbik* (adj.), I *nakudji*
djarrkno, MM *worrbbam* (◀
Rembarrnga); \$ (m)*an-bulalh* (m)*an-*
ngomi

many: *nawern* (adj.); \$ *nakorrongo*

Colour

(These are normally compounded with *kuk*
'body' or a part noun.)

black: Dj *nagukngurlmeng*, *guk-gurduk*
(adj.), Dj, W *√bulerri*, I *kukkurduk*,
MM *gun-djarriidj*, I *nangurlmeng*,
E:R *√ngurlmeng*; \$ *√kurlngunj*

Dimension

big, important: Dj, MM *nagimuk* (adj.),
W, I *nakimuk*, E *nabadjan*;
\$ *nakorrongo*

small: Dj, W, I, E *nayahwurd* (adj.), E:D
yawnohwurd; \$ Dj *namanjyakku*,
W *namanjakkuhwurd*

long, tall: Dj *naguyeng* (adj.), W, I, E
nakuyeng; \$ *nawulhwulh*

short: Dj, W *√djumbung* (adj.), I
deddjumbung, E *dukkurrhno*;
\$ *nangadjan*

Physical property

dry (of place), shallow: Dj, MM *ga-buk*
(pred. adj.), W, I *ka-buk*, E *kaburk*.
W allows the form *man-buk* to be used
attributively of inanimates;
\$ *ka-burnduyh*

heavy: Dj, W, I *√dulmuk* (adj.)

light: Dj, W, I *-wob* (adj.)

hard: Dj, W, I, E *narayek* (adj);
\$ *√dernku*

soft: Dj *nagerlk* (adj.), W, I, E *nakerlk*

⁸ In E this has the more specific meaning
'paperbark'.

⁹ Loan from *bulal'* 'two', found in most Yolngu
languages.

Age and value

good: *namak* (adj.), *kamak* (pred. adj.);
 \$ *namarlang*, *kamarlang*
 bad: *nawarre* (adj.), *kawarre* (pred. adj.);
 \$ *na-yambah*
 rotten: $\sqrt{\text{nud}}$ (adj.), $\sqrt{\text{nudmen}}$ (v.i.);
 \$ I *nadjarr*, $\sqrt{\text{nadjarrmen}}$, W
 $\sqrt{\text{yomohbanj}}$. (Used in the non-past,
 $\sqrt{\text{nudmen}}$ means 'become rotten'; in
 descriptions it is normally used in the
 past perfective, i.e. 'it's got rotten'.)

Verbs of motion and induced motion

go: $\sqrt{\text{re}}$ (v.i.); \$ $\sqrt{\text{dokan}}$. This verb is also
 used for 'walk', with the specification
gurrenge 'on foot' added if needed; MM
 also uses $\sqrt{\text{wohre}}$ for 'walk'
 climb up, go up, ascend: $\sqrt{\text{bidbun}}$
 (v.i.); \$ Dj $\sqrt{\text{mirrngalkme}}$, W
 $\sqrt{\text{mirrngalhme}}$. This verb also
 means 'climb' when used transitively,
 particularly when an object is
 incorporated e.g. I *dulk-bidbom* '(s)he
 climbed a/the tree'
 run, go fast, drive: Dj, W, I, E $\sqrt{\text{lobme}}$
 (v.i.), E $\sqrt{\text{kudkudme}}$ ¹⁰;
 \$ $\sqrt{\text{kurlkurlme}}$
 fall, fall down: Dj $\sqrt{\text{man.gan}}$ (v.i.), W, I
 $\sqrt{\text{mankan}}$; \$ $\sqrt{\text{mandjarrme}}$
 throw: Dj, I $\sqrt{\text{we}}$ (v.t.); \$ $\sqrt{\text{warlhke}}$.
 pick up, get; marry: $\sqrt{\text{mang}}$ (v.t.);
 \$ $\sqrt{\text{modme}}$
 take, carry, give a lift to: Dj $\sqrt{\text{gan}}$ (v.t.),
 I, E $\sqrt{\text{kan}}$; \$ $\sqrt{\text{yirrolkan}}$
 leave: $\sqrt{\text{bawon}}$ (v.t.); \$ $\sqrt{\text{warnmorrhme}}$

Giving

give: Dj, W, I, E, MM $\sqrt{\text{won}}$ (v. ditr.),
 E:R $\sqrt{\text{dadjung}}$ (esp. in contexts of 'hand

to, pass to'); \$ $\sqrt{\text{weyibun}}$, W
 $\sqrt{\text{djedjuhme}}$

Position and induced position

sit, be sitting: $\sqrt{\text{ni}}$ (v.i.); \$ $\sqrt{\text{morndi}}$
 stand (intr): $\sqrt{\text{di}}$ (v.i.) MM $\sqrt{\text{wohrdi}}$;
 \$ $\sqrt{\text{djarrbelme}}$
 lie, lie down: *yo* (v.i.); \$ $\sqrt{\text{morndi}}$

Affect

cut: Dj $\sqrt{\text{djobge}}$ (v.t.), W $\sqrt{\text{djobke}}$, W, I
 $\sqrt{\text{dadjke}}$ MM $\sqrt{\text{datjge}}$; \$ $\sqrt{\text{dilhke}}$
 hit, kill: $\sqrt{\text{bun}}$ (v.t.); \$ $\sqrt{\text{bonghme}}$. With the
 specific meaning 'kill, spear, shoot',
 $\sqrt{\text{biribonghme}}$ is also used
 spear with a pronged spear (from close up):
 Dj, W, I $\sqrt{\text{danjbun}}$ (v.t.);
 \$ I $\sqrt{\text{yakidjme}}$, W $\sqrt{\text{djarrkbonghme}}$
 spear (typically from a distance, with a
 more solid spear): $\sqrt{\text{yame}}$ (v.t.);
 \$ I $\sqrt{\text{biribonghme}}$, W $\sqrt{\text{djakidjme}}$
 dig: Dj, MM $\sqrt{\text{garung}}$, I $\sqrt{\text{karung}}$ (v.t.);
 \$ $\sqrt{\text{rlurribme}}$
 burn, cook (intr.): $\sqrt{\text{rung}}$ (v.i.); \$ *bobekme*
 burn, cook (tr.) Dj, MM $\sqrt{\text{ginje}}$ (v.t.), W, I,
 E $\sqrt{\text{kinje}}$; \$ $\sqrt{\text{bobekke}}$
 eat: $\sqrt{\text{ngun}}$ (v.i.); \$ $\sqrt{\text{yakwan}}$
 bite: $\sqrt{\text{baye}}$ (v.t.); \$ $\sqrt{\text{lawme}}$

Attention, mental activities and attitudes

smell: $\sqrt{\text{nome}}$ (v.t.); \$ $\sqrt{\text{yamohme}}$
 hear, listen; understand: $\sqrt{\text{bekkan}}$ (v.t.);
 \$ $\sqrt{\text{marrngalahme}}$
 look at, see: $\sqrt{\text{nan}}$ (v.t.); \$ $\sqrt{\text{kurdurdme}}$
 dream: W $\sqrt{\text{bukirriyo}}$ (v.i.)
 dream of: Dj $\sqrt{\text{bugirribun}}$ (v.t.),
 W, I, E $\sqrt{\text{bukirribun}}$;
 \$ $\sqrt{\text{borridjbonghme}}$ ¹¹

¹⁰ Probably a loan from Dalabon, where the verb for 'run' is *kudkud(mv)*.

¹¹ Cf. Burarra *borrich* (n.) 'dream, vision'.

Talking, etc.

- say, do: *yime* (v.i.); \$ *dakalhme*
 [In *w*, possibly as a result of the need to distinguish 'say' and 'do' in bible translation, the term $\sqrt{\text{kurduyime}}$ is used to mean 'do'; this is recognised but only rarely used in other dialects.]
 speak, talk: $\sqrt{\text{wokdi}}$ (v.i.); \$ $\sqrt{\text{darokdi}}$
 cry: *Dj*, *w*, *I* $\sqrt{\text{nalkbun}}$ (v.i.);
 \$ $\sqrt{\text{ngadjjihme}}$
 laugh: *Dj*, *w*, *I* $\sqrt{\text{djekme}}$ (v.i.);
 \$ $\sqrt{\text{yedjekme}}$

Corporeal

- die, be sick: $\sqrt{\text{downen}}$ (to specify the die meaning, *E* uses the phrase *kukno* $\sqrt{\text{downen}}$); \$ *I* $\sqrt{\text{ngaririhme}}$,
 $\sqrt{\text{ngayirihme}}$, *w* $\sqrt{\text{ngarrkme}}$
 sickness: *Dj* *gun-djak*, *w*, *I* *kun-djak*
 be hungry: *Dj*, *MM* $\sqrt{\text{marradowen}}$, *w*, *I*
 $\sqrt{\text{marradowen}}$. hungry (v.i.),
I *ka-marrwe* (pred. adj.);
 \$ *I* $\sqrt{\text{marrwulngayirihme}}$,
w $\sqrt{\text{marrwulngarrkme}}$

Location

- far: *Dj*, *I* *djarre* (loc.), *w* *djarreh*;
 \$ *w* *djarreken*
 near: *Dj* *darn.gih* (loc.), *darnh-* (v. pref.),
w, *I*, *E* *darnkih*, *darnh-*; \$ *kalhki*
 up, above; in(to) high country: *Dj* *gaddum*,
gaddung (loc.) *w*, *I*, *E* *kaddum*;
 \$ *kadwohka*
 down; below; inside: *Dj* *ganjdji* (loc.), *w*, *I*
kanjdji; \$ *kilhken*/*kilkken*. With the
 'inside' meaning *gururrk*/*kururrk* is
 also used, particularly in situations of
 greater enclosure, though the exact
 boundary with *ganjdji*/*kanjdji* varies
 with the dialect.

Time

- now, today: *Dj* *bolgime*, *I*, *E* *bolkkime*;
 \$ *kolhkol*
 tomorrow: *Dj* *malaiwi*, *w* *malaywi*,
I *malayi*, *E* *ngulam*; \$ *milbabba*
 bye and bye: *Dj* *galuk*; *w*, *I* *kaluk*;
 \$ *Dj* *gun-mari*

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Abbreviations:

AIAS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (to May 1990, then renamed Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies – AIATSIS)
AJL	Australian Journal of Linguistics
AL	Anthropological Linguistics
ANPWS	Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service
ANU	Australian National University
CUP	Cambridge University Press
MIT Press	Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press
NLLT	Natural Language and Linguistic Theory
OUP	Oxford University Press
PL	Pacific Linguistics
STUF	Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung

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